Andrew J. Moody

Macau's Languages in Society and Education

Planning in a Multilingual Ecology

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Planning in a Multilingual Ecology

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Acknowledgements

The ideas and perspectives that inform this discussion of Macau's linguistic ecology have been developed, refined, and delivered in two classes that I have taught for the past 18 years at the University of Macau (UM): namely, 'Introduction to Sociolinguistics' and 'World Englishes'. It is fitting, therefore, that the volume should first acknowledge the students who have informed my own thinking about and experiences with the Macau language ecology. For most of the time that I have taught 'Sociolinguistics' at the University of Macau, the first writing assignment that I have asked each student to complete is a detailed description of their linguistic repertoire: the languages, dialects, varieties, styles, registers, etc., that they know and that can be said to define their linguistic identity. The degree of multilingualism that UM students bring to the English-language classroom was immediately striking within the first year of reading those assignments, and the hundreds of essays submitted by students striving to accurately describe the languages within their personal repertoire have inspired this endeavour to describe Macau's language ecology and to advocate for ecological approaches to language policy and planning.

The work of two scholars has been especially informative with regard to my thinking about linguistic ecologies in Macau and the South China region, and I've been fortunate to enjoy talks about many of the issues covered within this volume with both scholars. I first heard Prof. Salikoko S. Mufwene (University of Chicago) speak at the Mid-American Linguistics Conference in 1994 while I was a graduate student at the University of Kansas. Professor Mufwene offers clear-headed and eye-opening challenges to myths about language contact and his ground-breaking work on ecological approaches to language genesis have influenced much of my own thinking about how language ecologies exist and should be examined. And no one has spent more energy examining the language ecologies of the South China region than Prof. Kingsley Bolton (Stockholm University). I first met Prof. Bolton also in 1994 while doing fieldwork in Hong Kong for my dissertation on Hong Kong English and he has become a mentor, collaborator and encouragement for my examination of sociolinguistics in Macau over the years. His work on *Chinese Englishes* (Bolton 2003) not only sets the foundation for an examination of language in Macau, but it also defines an approach to history and language that brings rigorous examination of linguistic influences in time and space in what he has sometimes called 'linguistic

Contents

Abbreviations

AIOUM	Asia International Open University (Macau)
AL	*Assembleia Legislativa* 'Legislative Assembly'
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BAA	Basic Academic Achievements
BNO	British National Overseas
CityU	City University of Macau
CMI	Chinese Medium of Instruction
CNY	Chinese New Year (a.k.a. Lunar New Year)
CPE	Chinese Pidgin English
CPSP (or PSP)	*Corpo de Polícia de Segurança Pública* 'Public Security Police Corps'
CPU	Centre for Pre-University Studies, University of Macau
CSL	Chinese as a Second Language
CUHK	Chinese University of Hong Kong
DSEC	*Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos* 'Statistics and Census Service'
DSEJ	*Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude* 'Education and Youth Affairs Bureau'
DSES	*Direcção dos Serviços de Ensino Superior* 'Higher Education Bureau'
DSI	*Direcção dos Serviços de Identificação* 'Identification Bureau'
EMI	English Medium of Instruction
EPM	*Escola Portuguesa de Macau* 'Macau Portuguese School'
ESFSM	*Escola Superior das Forças de Segurança de Macau* 'Academy of Public Security Forces'
ESL	English as a Second Language
EU	European Union
FAH	Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Macau
FED	Faculty of Education, University of Macau
FLL	Faculty of Law, University of Macau
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GVS	Great Vowel Shift

HKC	Hong Kong Cantonese
HKU	Hong Kong University
HZMB	Hong Kong–Zhuhai–Macau Bridge
IFT	*Instituto de Formação Turística de Macau* 'Macao Institute for Tourism Studies'
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
IPIM	*Instituto de Promoção de Comércio e do Investimento de Macau* 'Macau Trade and Investment Promotion Institute'
IPM	*Instituo Politécnico de Macau* 'Macao Polytechnic Institute'
KMT	*Kuomintang* 'National Party'
KWNC	Kiang Wu Nursing College
LEP	Language Education Policy
LPP	Language Planning and (Language) Policy
MA	Master of Arts
MIM	Macau Institute of Management
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MOP	Macanese Pataca
MSAR	Macau Special Administrative Region
MUST	Macau University of Science and Technology
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PMI	Portuguese Medium of Instruction
PPP	Pre-primary and Primary
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRD	Pearl River Delta
PSL	Portuguese as a Second Language
ROC	Republic of China
SAFP	*Direcção dos Serviços de Administração e Função Pública* 'Department of Civil Service Administration'
SAR	Special Administrative Region
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SJM	*Sociedade de Jogos de Macau* 'Macau Gaming Company'
SL	Second Language
SLI	Standard Language Ideology
STDM	*Sociedade de Turismo e Diversões de Macau, SA* 'Tourism and Entertainment Company of Macau, Ltd'
SWC	Standard Written Chinese
TDM	*Teledifusão de Macau* 'Macau Broadcasting Company'
UEA	University of East Asia
UM	*Universidade de Macau* 'University of Macau'
USJ	University of Saint Joseph
WC	Written Cantonese
WHO	World Health Organization

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Chapter 1
The Linguistic Ecology of Multilingual Communities

1.1 Introduction

Multilingual post-colonial communities like Macau offer a profound illustration of
how the history of language contact continues to define and influence much of the
language planning and policy for a community. Macau is widely regarded as the
first European colony in China and one of the earliest European settlements in Asia.
Macau was also the last colonial possession in China to return to Chinese sovereignty
on 20 December 1999. During the nearly 500-year history of colonialism in Macau,
however, the world changed dramatically. When 16th-century Portuguese traders
first landed in Macau, they represented one of the strongest empires at the time, and
one engaged in a deep rivalry with Spain to spread Catholicism around the globe. As
other European and American colonial endeavours developed across Asia through
the centuries—first the Dutch and then the English and Americans—they all came
to Macau. But Macau was not exceptional as a European enclave within Asia, and
Macau's colonial history intimately connects the territory to other modern states
throughout Asia: Japan, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Timor-Leste, India
and Hong Kong, to name a few. Consequently, Macau's colonial and post-colonial
experiences mirror the experiences of other multilingual states in Asia and the rest
of the world. The history of multilingualism and diversity within the community
not only provides an interesting backdrop to the territory's 1999 return to China,
but it also defines much of the community's understanding of its linguistic heritage
and it shapes the community's aspirations for the future. This opening chapter will
survey much of the literature related to developing a sociolinguistic understanding
of Macau's history and the impact that it has had upon its current development of
language policy.

1.2 Language Ecology and History in the Definition of National Languages

The past century and a half have witnessed the opening and development of emerging Asian economies as global participants, an event that has allowed many Asian nations to develop into multilateral participants in various world dealings. The Meiji Restoration in 1868 brought Japan out of feudalism and isolation and drove the nation to strive for economic and eventual military domination of the region (Akamatsu 1972). Although the initial results of this domination were disastrous and culminated in the nation's decisive defeat in World War II and an American occupation for nearly another 7 years (1945–1952), the initial development of the nation as a global economy and a regional political power has not changed substantially in the 150 years since the Meiji Restoration. Similarly, the end of the Qing emperorship and the establishment of the Republic of China (ROC) was an event that opened China to many modernizing influences from the West. Missionaries had worked to promote Christianity and proselytize new believers before the establishment of the ROC, but the change in government allowed Christian missionaries to establish schools and universities that not only promoted Christianity, but an image of western modernity (Bolton 2003). Although China was closed to these influences after the 1949 establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the formal 'Opening Up Policy' of 1979 has further developed China as a global economic, military and political entity (Wei 1995). This development of Asia, a concerted opening up to global markets and modern conceptualisations of the nation state, continued to progress throughout the twentieth century as countries like Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Indonesia each emerge as modern nations, some of them after lengthy and painful colonial occupations (esp. Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and Myanmar).

In each of these emerging Asian nations, the country has had to find ways to unify diverse populations, many of whom speak mutually unintelligible languages. In Japan the cultural and linguistic unification was relatively easy to accomplish on the three main islands of Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu because Japanese citizens spoke mutually intelligible varieties of the same language. In other emergent countries unification was taken as an imperative by virtue of the nation's colonial history, which often defined the boundaries of the modern state. For example, both India and Myanmar were former colonies of Great Britain and, during the post-colonial transition to nationhood, both of these nations were formed as multi-cultural and multilingual nations by the imposition of a colonial border that later evolved into a national border. Consequently, national unification around a common linguistic and cultural identity has been an ongoing challenge for both India and Myanmar, more so, perhaps, in the case of the former, where there is no clear single majority language. Finally, there are countries like China, Indonesia or the Philippines where the boundaries of the nation may or may not have been defined by colonial occupation, but where the vast majority of citizens speak languages that, although they are genetically related, are regarded as different languages because they are mutually

unintelligible. In cases like these the definition of a national language often privileges one group of citizens—speakers of a particular variety—over another.

Throughout Asia, therefore, the past 150 years has been a time for Asian countries to emerge as modern nation states and, as such, most have sought to develop and implement language policies that unify the nation culturally and, at the same time, define the unique experience of each nation. The history of each Asian nation reverberates into their contemporary linguistic ecology to constrain and influence the choices of a national language. In the case of Japan, the history of a strong feudal system in part defined strict cultural hierarchies and restrained the development of linguistic diversity. In India and Myanmar colonialism created linguistically diverse nations where they would not likely have developed naturally, and the history of colonialism offers these states the former colonial language as a possible language of unification. Finally, in cases like China, Indonesia or the Philippines a history of linguistic diversity alongside a single dominant language variety—Mandarin Chinese, Bahasa Indonesia or Filipino—complicates the choice of a standard language variety as varieties compete with one another for an official status. Similarly, Macau's history as a Portuguese trading outpost, as a colony of Portugal, as a 'neo-colony' of Hong Kong and finally as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China with only limited sovereignty reverberates into the linguistic ecology with implications for language planning and policy (LPP) and the definition of a cultural identity.

1.2.1   Multilingualism

What makes a speech community a multilingual community? Clearly, relatively large numbers of speakers using mutually unintelligible languages from historically (usually genetically) different language families characterises the prototypical understanding of a multilingual speech community. This model of multilingualism describes multilingual Asian countries like India, Myanmar, Malaysia and Singapore. The kingdoms, principalities and sultanates comprised within the colonial borders became multilingual colonies that attracted merchants, administrators and labourers from a vast interconnected empire where the imperial language was a cultural or linguistic unifier. An alternate experience of multilingualism, though, is one where speakers use varieties that are genetically related; although these related varieties are from the same language family, they are nevertheless largely unintelligible. This model of multilingualism could easily be adopted to understand Asian countries like China or the Philippines. In each case, the degree of multilingualism within these modern states is somewhat modified by the adoption (or the imposition) of a national language that promotes intelligibility across spoken and written varieties. For example, in the Philippines, regardless of what spoken languages are used, the system of writing that is used across the country is based largely upon Tagalog, the language of the region of Manila on Luzon Island. In the case of China, the writing system of Standard Written Chinese (SWC) is used across the country with little dialectal or regional variation that is visible in the written form of Chinese. The

Chinese writing system had allowed speakers of diverging and mutually unintelligible languages to retain cultural and linguistic connections long before the twentieth -century development of SWC. The writing system of Chinese characters is a logographic system and has only a very weak connection to the phonetic form of words, and certainly not a connection that would easily allow readers to distinguish between texts written by writers who speak different varieties of Chinese. In this sense, the common use of written Chinese and SWC masks the actual degree of variation that exists across mutually unintelligible spoken varieties of Chinese. There is good reason to consider, therefore, that this model of multilingualism, although it is not a prototypical description of multilingualism, nevertheless describes much of what a multilingual speech community does. Figure 1.1 illustrates these two models of multilingualism resulting from mutually unintelligible languages that are either genetically related or not.

The challenges related to successfully standardising and codifying a national language, and the behaviours of switching between varieties or competing standards, are not unique to multilingual communities whose languages are mutually unintelligible. The same types of code switching between regional, social or ethnic varieties takes place within the processes of standardisation even when the community *is not* multilingual in either of the two ways described here. Even when language varieties *are* mutually intelligible, the challenges of standardisation amidst socially-motivated switching between varieties persists. This would describe the challenge to standardise in countries like Japan, which has a strongly defined standard language but, at the same time, a number of varieties that are, for the most part, intelligible

Multilingualism with Genetically Unrelated Languages
- India — standardising Hindi (Indo-European) amidst various Dravidian languages
- Myanmar — standardising Burmese (Sino-Tibetan) amidst Shan (Tai) and other languages

Macau

Multilingualism with Genetically Related Languages
- China — standardising Chinese (Sino-Tibetan) amidst various similar varieties
- Philippines — standardising Filipino (Austronesian) amidst various similar varieties
- Indonesia — standardising Bahasa Indonesia (Austronesian) amidst various similar varieties

Fig. 1.1 Multilingualism and the Development of Standard Languages in Asia

with one another. Like speakers in each of the other two types of multilingual speech communities, Japanese speakers may shift back and forth from their native variety to the standard variety of the language, perhaps without any explicit awareness that they are doing so. Although countries like Japan are not multilingual in the sense that mutually unintelligible varieties are used simultaneously within the community, the processes of standardisation nevertheless contends with *variety switching* that is not unlike the shifting behaviours found in multilingual communities.

Macau, is, in fact, multilingual is all the senses that have been described above. Historically different languages like Chinese (representing the Sino-Tibetan language family), English and Portuguese (representing Germanic and Romance branches of the Indo-European language family) are frequently used in Macau. At the same time, mutually unintelligible varieties of Chinese, like Cantonese, Hokkien and Putonghua, are simultaneously used with a common SWC writing system. Finally, competing varieties of languages—especially ones that are not readily recognised as different languages—are also historically present within Macau's linguistic ecology. For example, Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) developed in Macau and, although most individuals no longer recognise the variety as a contemporary language of Macau, it is clearly similar to non-native varieties of English spoken in Macau today. Similarly, the co-existence of Makista (Macau Creole Portuguese) and Standard Continental Portuguese has led to decreolisation of the former in favour of adoption of the latter as a prestige variety of Portuguese.

1.2.2   Language Ecology

The understanding of multilingualism that is developed in this volume is one that acknowledges and attempts to account fully for the inherent internal variability of language systems. Amidst this variability—both within and between languages—socio-economic, political and historical factors operate to define what the general public considers and refers to as languages and dialects. However, the actual commitment to these definitions within a speech community may also be variable and affected by various sociolinguistic and ideological factors. Some members of the Macau speech community, for example, may be adamantly opposed to seeing Mandarin (a.k.a. Putonghua) and Cantonese as anything other than different languages, yet other members may fervently refer to the differences as mere dialect differences. While most linguists would argue that the distinction between language and dialect, when talking about two varieties that are historically, genetically and taxonomically closely related, is a more or less arbitrary distinction, members of the specific speech community may alternatively argue that the distinction is quite important to maintain.

Indeed, sociolinguists have long noted that the distinction between a language and a dialect gives very little information about the relationship between the two varieties, but can instead tell us a great deal about the communities that assign the labels to varieties. This internal variability of multiple languages and multiple language varieties forms the basis of diversity within any linguistic ecology, where languages are

born, compete for social status and eventually die. Because the linguistic ecology of Macau is one that has been largely influenced by waves of colonial domination, it is, therefore, important to first examine the general ways that colonialism affects a linguistic ecology and the types of languages that are associated with the different types of colonisation.

Most historians recognise two broadly descriptive types of colonization: settlement colonisation and exploitation colonisation (Kohn 2012; Young 2001). Within the history of English, for example, the former is responsible for large-scale settlement of settlers from England to colonies in North American (into what became Canada and the United States) and to Australia and New Zealand. The movement of settlers and the inherent connections to the country of origin are part of what define our current American, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Englishes. Alternatively, exploitation colonisation does not necessarily result in large numbers of settlers relocating into a region from the colonising country the same way that settlement colonialism does. When we look at the colonial spread of English, for example, we might note that the historical reality of Britain's colonial presence in Hong Kong is substantially different from that of North America, Australia or New Zealand. Hong Kong was founded as a British trading outpost at the Eastern side of the Pearl River delta in 1841 as a measure to protect British ships leaving the delta region with goods traded in the Chinese city of Canton, (known today by its Chinese name *Guangzhou*). Welsh (1993) notes that Hong Kong had been founded as a military outpost primarily because it was sparsely populated, and that the outpost 'might well have remained only as a naval base and fortified camp, with the trade reverting to Canton and social life to Macao' (p. 138). What instead ensured that Hong Kong would grow into a centre of trade and commerce was the 1856 destruction of the Canton *factories* (i.e., warehouses with trading floors), which were occupied by merchants from England and other Western countries. Rather than try to fully repair and reinstate the factories, England decided to invest instead in developing the infrastructure of Hong Kong and take full advantage of the deep-water harbour that lies on the north side of Hong Kong Island.

Hong Kong, then, was established with the original intention as a protected free port of trade (where no charges were to be paid to either the Chinese or the British government) and where two legal systems – one based upon a Chinese legal code and one based upon an English code – would allow minimal interference of one culture upon the other (Welsh 1993). Although the dual legal systems were eventually dropped in favour of a single unified code, the intention and early implementation of a dual code system suggest much about the intended nature of the colony. Hong Kong was not founded as a settlement colony where immigrants from England would soon outnumber the population of local Chinese residents. More importantly, the English language and culture was not intended to dominate in the life of the community. Instead, the original intention was to implement English law simply as a protection afforded to the few English citizens who required residence in Hong Kong. Settlement in 1841 of Hong Kong island, with settlers arriving from Canton, not England, found little, if any, resistance from the small population living there, 4,350 people, according to the British administrator of the colony, Sir Alexander

Robert Campbell-Johnston (Welsh 1993, p. 137). Those first English speakers who arrived in Hong Kong tended to work as career colonial administrators, often with military experience or rank. Like Campbell-Johnston, when they completed their assignments for the colonial government, they returned to retire in England. At the same time, merchants and workers who arrived in Hong Kong in those early years and successively throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were predominantly Chinese from Canton, or more broadly, Guangdong Province (the Chinese province that Canton is in and that both Hong Kong and Macau are adjacent to).

The pattern of settlement in Hong Kong, therefore, was markedly different from the patterns of settlement in the British settlement colonies in North America, Australia or New Zealand. In the case of settlement colonies, immigrants arrived from Britain without intention of return. Perhaps more importantly, in settlement colonies there was a fundamental displacement of the local indigenous populations, both in terms of their numbers and their cultural dominance within the colonies. Although English settlers were initially outnumbered by the indigenous populations in each area, the ratios changed in succeeding generations as indigenous populations became minority populations. In sociolinguistic terms, the indigenous languages spoken in English settlement colonies began to decline after the arrival of English settlers. The effect has been two-fold: the loss of many of the indigenous languages of North America, Australia and New Zealand,[1] and the shift of indigenous peoples from their native languages to English. The result of settlement colonialism has been nothing less than language death and language shift as a result of a language policy to promote monolingualism within the regions. In Hong Kong, however, there was never any displacement of Chinese by English speakers as either the statistically or culturally dominant language (Schneider 2007, p. 135). Unlike the settlement colonies, the founding of a British colony in Hong Kong did not result in the loss of the Chinese (specifically, Cantonese) language or in the subsequent replacement of the language with monolingualism in English. Quite to the contrary, the linguistic ecology that has developed in Hong Kong is typical of those in Kachru's (1985) *Outer Circle* and *Expanding Circle* of English users where English is typically used by multilingual users in multilingual settings.

Mufwene (2001, 2004) expands upon this understanding of the effects of history, specifically colonial history, in the formation of *linguistic ecologies* and the development of new language varieties. Mufwene (2001) traces the notion of a linguistic ecology to Voegelin, Voegelin and Schultz's (1967) work on language evolution and notes that the concept of ecology is largely derived from work in evolutionary biology. A biological ecology is defined by a *gene pool* where the specific environment gives those genes and their resulting biological features meaning as either supportive or inhibitive of adaptation to the environment. If a particular biological feature gives a species an advantage in adapting to its environment, those genes that produce the advantageous features are essentially guaranteed a place within the species' gene

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[1]It is worth noting that, although Maori has been in relative decline since the arrival of English settlers to New Zealand, significant efforts by the New Zealand government have protected the language and ensured its survival into the twenty-first century (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2015).

pool. At the same time, those genes that produce features that in turn threaten a species' ability to adapt to its environment are naturally eliminated from the gene pool. Those genes that produce features that neither promote nor inhibit adaptation are subsequently allowed to remain within the gene pool as variation.

Mufwene (2001) extends this understanding of a biological ecology to languages. In the same way that an entire biological species is defined by its gene pool, a language is defined by a *feature pool* that contains all the possible features (e.g., morpho-syntactic features, lexicon, phonological features, etc.) of the language. As with a biological species, variation is the essential quality of the language's feature pool, and Mufwene (2001, p. 22) notes that factors such as 'cross-dialect and interdialectal variation (insofar as they are considered parts of coexistent systems in a communal language), as well as the way structural principles coexists in a language' enter into the feature pool that defines the linguistic ecology of emergent language varieties.

This approach to language genesis offers several distinct advantages in the analysis of language planning and policy within Macau. First the ecological approach to language emphasises the importance of history in the genesis of languages and in the formation of linguistic identities. Macau has an unprecedentedly long history of contact between European, Chinese, East, South and South East Asian languages. The ecological approach does not place artificial limitations upon the spheres of contact between languages, but instead maintains that historical influences persist and even prevail when they are socially relevant. Second, the linguistic ecology approach to understanding multilingualism requires a careful and thorough inventory of languages that comprise the linguistic ecology. Because Macau is a small sociolinguistic speech community, this task of defining the linguistic landscape—the full range of linguistic variation that may enter the feature pool—in detail is a realistically achievable one. A thorough description of a linguistic ecology is not limited to the standard languages that are present and, in fact, the standard language ideology (SLI) may severely inhibit the recognition of multilingualism when it is present. It is, therefore, important that an understanding of the many varieties of languages is also accounted for in the historical description of the Macau linguistic ecology (see Chaps. 3 and 4).

1.2.3 Standard Languages in Multilingual Societies

Within the development of the modern nation state most speech communities express a strong desire to adopt a standard language (Joseph 2004), and Macau is like many of the emerging nations of Asia in this regard. The desire to adopt a national language may, in many cases, be primarily utilitarian; unstructured multilingualism (i.e., multilingualism where there is neither a dominant nor a standardised language) can be quite costly and inefficient (Phillipson 2003). The utilitarian desire for language standardisation frequently seeks to establish egalitarian access to the nation's resources through a common language. More often, however, the goal of establishing and promoting a standard language is driven by a desire for unification of competing

ethnolinguistic and national identities. It is not enough, for example, that Japanese be used as the national language for the sake of efficiency; Japanese citizens should also feel that the Japanese language best represents their membership within the speech community. Unfortunately, this desire for unification of ethnolinguistic and national identities privileges those individuals who may, for one reason or another, have easier access to the standard language. This forms the basis of most complaints that standard languages actively discriminate against certain groups of individuals (Lippi-Green 2012). To understand the process of how standard languages are developed and adopted in societies will improve our understanding of Macau's language ecology and how multilingualism is, or is not, allowed to flourish within the territory.

Milroy and Milroy's (2005) classic discussion of language standardisation provides much of the understanding for how dialect levelling is intimately connected to the processes of standardisation. They argue that the defining feature of standardised languages is their 'intolerance of optional variability in language' (26). The standardisation process is one that allows maximum functionality of the standard language with minimal variability, and the processes of standardisation—currently operating in both Mandarin and Cantonese, as well as varieties of English and Portuguese in Macau—is a complex nexus of processes that affect the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive language policy within the territory.

Although they were originally proposed to describe the process by which English developed as a standard *written* language, Leith's (1983) four stages of language standardisation, *selection*, *acceptance*, *elaboration* and *codification*, are also often applied to the standardisation of spoken languages. As the first step in the process of language standardisation, *selection* refers to the choice of a variety that will become the basis of the standard language. Leith's (1983) stage of *acceptance* refers to the conditions under which the selected variety acquires prestige among 'the powerful and educated classes, and the implications that this has for speakers of other dialects' (32). This stage of acceptance, therefore, is somewhat misleading because it only refers to the way that the standard is treated within one segment of society; it is *accepted* by the powerful and educated classes. A more egalitarian examination of this stage of the process would also recognise that the speakers of other dialects are *restricted* from participating in the definition of the standard, and that linguistic variation is also ultimately restricted. Thus, renaming Leith's process of acceptance as a process instead of *restriction* emphasises the effect of acceptance upon the entire linguistic ecology. Restriction reduces the inherent variability in a language by eliminating stigmatised variation within the standard. Stigmatised forms are defined and isolated as non-standard forms that are to be at least avoided and, whenever possible, eliminated. Alternatively, the next stage of standardisation, *elaboration*, expands the functions of the standard language by increasing the number of functional domains where the language may be used. These two processes together, restriction and elaboration, accomplish what Leith (1983) describes as the ultimate aim of the standardisation process: that the standard language should have 'maximal variation in function, and minimal variation in form' (p. 32). Elaboration increases the variety of functions where the standard language is used, while restriction reduces the amount of formal variation, regardless of whether it comes from social, ethnic or regional

varieties of the language. These two stages of standardisation cannot take place before the selection process is completed, but, in many ways, the stages of restriction and elaboration are never really completed within the standardization process. For example, when a new genre develops, the process of elaboration specifies how the standard language can be used within that genre (Devitt 1989). This is a continuous process of standardization because new functions are constantly developed within the language. Likewise, restriction is a continuous process of standardization that functions primarily in the form of stigmatisation of non-standard—or, more accurately, undesirable—language features (Cameron 1995; Lippi-Green 2012).

Unlike the other processes of standardization, Leith's final stage of the standardization process, *codification*, is one that *can* very easily be measured in degrees. Spelling can be standardized in glossaries or word lists used by printers; grammatical rules are codified in descriptive or prescriptive grammars for native and non-native speakers of the standardizing language; the words of the language, including their pronunciation, can be recorded into dictionaries that specify standard meanings, usages and pronunciations. Furthermore, the process of codification often involves a type of *top-down* official authority that will specify whether new meanings, usages or pronunciations are to be sanctioned as features of the standard. Official governmental agencies like the French Academy, the State Language and Letters Committee in the People's Republic of China or Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs work to try and prohibit various types of language that they feel should not be considered standard (Heath 1976; van Els 2010).

When judging the relative progress of codification within a standard language, then, there are two factors that need to be considered. The first is what I will call the *range* of codification products. Codification takes place in order to reduce several different types of language variability: pronunciation, spelling, grammar and word meaning, to name a few. Standard languages might specify standards across the full range of usage—that is, across all the different ways that language can be used—or they might, instead, only specify standards across a few types of uses. Compare, for example, the codification of English as opposed to Japanese. Whereas both English and Japanese have a clear codification of word meanings in the form of monolingual dictionaries, the pronunciation standards are somewhat less clear in English than in *Hyoujungo* 'standard Japanese'. Standard Japanese specifies a single pronunciation for most words as well as an intonation structure (i.e., stress placement), but English allows a relatively wider degree of variability between two poles of what might be called Standard English English[2] and Standard American English. Even within the two defined standard varieties, however, exist a great deal of variability that can nevertheless be called 'standard' (Trudgill and Hannah 1994; Modiano 1999), and this differs from Japanese, where relatively little variability is referred to as 'standard Japanese'.

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[2]This is Trudgill and Hannah's (1994) term for the standardised variety of 'Standard English as it is normally written and spoken by educated speakers in England and, with minor differences, in Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, The Republic of Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa' (p. 2).

This range of codification captures one measure of standardisation by which we may say that a language is more or less standardised than another, but it doesn't completely capture the possible degrees of standardisation. The second factor to consider when estimating the degree of a language's standardisation is the *coherence* of the standard. It does not say enough about the standardisation process to say that multiple linguistic systems are codified unless those systems of codification are relatively *coherent* and in agreement with one another. For example, English desk dictionaries frequently use a codification system to suggest a standard pronunciation of individual words. While a few dictionaries (most notably, online dictionaries) adopt the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to suggest pronunciations, most do not (Fraser 1997) and there is even some variability in the way that IPA is used. For example, the description of traditional short and long pairs of vowels, such as those contrasting in the words *heat* and *hit*, can be described qualitatively as a tense and lax pair or quantitatively as a long and short pair. Both descriptions are correct and the choice of one over the other is more or less arbitrary, but the important fact here is that both are used. In a highly codified standardised language, there is little choice or variability of the codification system. The codification of standard English, therefore, is not as *coherent* as is the codification of other standardised languages, and this might be a more general characteristic of pluricentric language like English (Clyne 2012; Leitner 2012).

The linguistic ecology of Macau hosts a number of standard, standardising and non-standard languages. Standard varieties of English (like American English and English English) are taken as standards in the territory and contrast with local varieties like Hong Kong English or Macau English (Moody 2008). Similarly, the two most highly recognised varieties of Portuguese (Brazilian and Continental Portuguese) contrast with historically indigenised varieties of the language. But the effect of language standardisation is most keenly demonstrated in the choice of Chinese languages, where a highly standardised variety of *Putonghua* (i.e., Mandarin) contrasts with the standardising variety of Cantonese (especially Hong Kong Cantonese). To a lesser extent, the Chinese language of Hokkien is also standardising and offers contrast to a number of non-standard Chinese languages that are not developing standard varieties (e.g., Hakka, Chiu Chow, Swatow, etc.). Multilingual communities like Macau not only face the inherent challenges of multilingualism when developing language policy, and especially educational language policy, but they must also contend with the diversity of varieties within language and the appropriate choice of a suitable standard.

1.2.4   The Standard Language Ideology (SLI) in Multilingual Societies

Milroy and Milroy (2005) examine the linguistic variability that accompanies standardised languages, especially English, and note that no living language can ever

be fully standardised; only a dead language can be standardised to allow no vari-ability. The process of standardisation, therefore, is an abstraction along a principle to allow maximum functionality with minimal variation. The result of the standardi-sation process, however, is not elimination of variability, and the process will always necessarily fail to eliminate variation. Instead, Milroy and Milroy argue that 'it seems appropriate to speak more abstractly of standardisation as an *ideology*, and a stan-dard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality' (p. 19 italics in original). Thus, the notion of the standard language ideology (SLI) is developed in order to understand how the process of standardisation operates in societies that have adopted or are attempting to adopt a standard language. The SLI is based upon a belief that a strong standard language should not allow mixing from other languages and that it should try to reduce variability within the language. To this degree the SLI promotes two important myths about the standard language: a *myth of purity* and a *myth of immutability*. The myth of purity extends the principle of maximal functionality of the standard language. If the standard language is fully functional in all language domains, then it doesn't require mixing, borrowing or code-switching to enhance its functionality within any domain. Consequently, language mixing, borrowing or code switching are regarded as corruptions of the *purity* of the standard language and regarded as inhibitors to the standard's ability to function in all domains. Mixing or hybridisation of language varieties is not treated as a natural and predictable feature of multilingual societies where the SLI is promoting a standard variety, but it is instead regarded as a form of corruption that finds its way into a language when speakers are not diligent. The SLI also treats variability in language not as a natural and acceptable feature of the social use of language, but as a form of corruption that should be corrected wherever possible. The myth of immutability suggests that the form of the standard, in addition to its functionality, does not change over time and that any changes *must* be corruptions—never improvements or innovations.

The SLI, therefore, actively obscures the actual social processes that produce stan-dard languages. Standard languages are selected from a repertoire of varieties, any one of which could serve as the standard language. The reasons for that selection, however, are not related to any inherent feature of the language, but instead to the association of that language with a social class of power and prestige. Likewise, the features of the variety are not, in and of themselves, associated with power and pres-tige; it is the users of those features who lend prestige to the variety's features. The SLI, however, obscures this process by promoting a myth that the standard language has an inherent ability to represent speakers of social prestige and that this ability cannot be diminished by time or space. By obscuring the process of selection, the variability between standard and non-standard varieties can no longer be seen as an arbitrary choice of one language variety over another. The SLI, through the operation of its myths of purity and immutability, then, compels speakers to reinterpret vari-ability as corruption of usage. In this way the SLI accomplishes the goal of restriction by stigmatising variability within the standard language and promoting a mythically pure version of the language.

This function of the SLI is common throughout all types of multilingual commu-nities. When, however, the selection of a standard language is from among a range

of mutually intelligible varieties—as it is, for example, in the case of English or Japanese—then the multilingual nature of mixing features of standard and non-standard varieties is not as easy to detect. It may not be clear, for example, whether /ɑ/ or /ɔ/ is the standard pronunciation of the vowel in words like *caught*, *law* or *pot*. This is because the standardisation process has not completed the selection of the standard vowel in that class of words. However, pronunciations like [wɔ˞ʃ] for *wash*, *fishin'* for *fishing* or usages like '*he don't know nothing*' are all heavily stigmatised as non-standard forms. The process of standardisation has resoundingly restricted these pronunciations from use in the standard language. The SLI, though, tells speakers of English (and especially American English in the case of these examples) that these usages are corruptions of the language. Non-standard usages are not simply alternatives that should be avoided, but the myth of purity suggests that these non-standard features are corruptions of a natural ideal that is represented by the standard language and that users of these features are, for some reason, participating in that corruption. The imperative to avoid these usages is often moral and usage of the stigmatised features can easily invoke harsh judgment upon the speakers who use them; like the corruptions themselves, the myth of purity promotes the misconception that speakers who speak corrupt English must also be corrupt.

Likewise, this function of the SLI condemns language mixing between varieties that are different enough to be mutually unintelligible and can be considered as different languages. In multilingual communities language mixing is also frequently treated as a corruption and harsh judgments may be given to speakers who do not solely use the standard language. Speakers who mix other languages with the standard language are rarely praised for linguistic creativity, or appreciated for their ability to use two languages at a time. More often, the bilingualism or multilingualism is regarded as *subtractive* in the sense that it does not allow for complete use of the standard language in all functional domains. In this way, the myth of purity privileges the standard language as a variety—and often the only variety—that can function for all the needs of the society. The SLI associates monolingualism with the myth of purity because those speakers who are monolingual must use the standard language without resort to any other languages. And the evaluation of bilingualism/multilingualism as either additive or subtractive is made in reference to this myth of purity. A speaker who uses the standard language as a monolingual *and* knows another language will be deemed as additively bilingual. Speakers, however, who cannot or choose not to use the standard language in all domains will be evaluated as subtractively bilingual.

In Macau the function of the SLI is important because there are a number of choices of *lingua franca* varieties to be used between speakers who do not speak the same language natively. Cantonese can be used between local speakers of Southern Min (a.k.a. Hokkien) Chinese and other varieties. Putonghua is the usual lingua franca used in the tourist industry, especially between non-resident workers and tourists from the People's Republic of China (PRC). English is used as a lingua franca in many business and educational domains. And even Portuguese is a viable lingua franca, especially within media, official governmental uses and judicial domains. In each of these domains the choice of a standard and the use of the standard as a lingua franca potentially influences the possible interactions in that language.

1.3 Ideologies of Language and Cultural Contact

The SLI seeks unification of language with culture and, ultimately, nationhood. This is essentially what the myth of purity advocates for modern nation states who adopt and/or establish standard languages. While the SLI obscures the processes that allow one variety to be selected as the standard variety, it also encourages a range of discourses that actively oppose the linguistic diversity inherent in speech communities in order to formulate a discourse that coincides with the myth of purity. Consequently, undergraduate students, when asked to describe their linguistic repertoire, will write opening sentences like 'I was born in Macau, therefore I speak Cantonese.' Not only does the statement reject the writers' own linguistic diversity, but it associates a single variety of language with the place in a way that does not acknowledge the ecology's full diversity.

To the degree that a discourse of purity and unification is adopted to promote the myth of purity within language, it is also adopted to promote a myth of purity within culture, too. The various Chinese cultures, along with Chinese languages, that exist within the ecology are generalised as *Chinese* within the nation state in an attempt to promote the discourse that 'we Chinese speak Chinese'. Other languages—most notably Portuguese and English—are also generalised, especially as they are used within highly codified environments like education. Students are not concerned to learn Brazilian Portuguese or Continental Portuguese; they simply want to learn an idealised form of standard Portuguese, and the discourse of purity necessitates that variability in language be ignored, or even rejected. When students learn English, suggestions that they speak Hong Kong English or Macau English become accusations of corrupted language use. The discourse of purity rejects the existence of language variation and replaces it with naive assumptions and statements about what actually happens in multicultural societies like Macau. Likewise, the discourse of purity rejects characterisations of cultural contact that do not support the myth of purity. Cultures in contact with one another are treated as pure, invariable entities even when, in fact, the degree of variability entering into the linguistic ecology is quite high.

In accounting for the linguistic ecology of Macau, we should seek to reject those ideologies, myths and biases that prevent us from accurately accounting of the range of variability that exists in a community. We should also understand that informants—interview subjects in a formal research project or citizen respondents to an official census—will try to frame their language experiences and proficiencies with as little variability as they can afford. When variability is seen as impurity or corruption, few will find the motivation to actively and fully account for those variations.

1.4 Conclusion

Decisions about language planning or policy are not formulated in isolation of the sociolinguistic realities that define a speech community, nor in isolation of the historical influences that have formed linguistic ecologies and come to shape and influence speech communities. The linguistic ecology of Macau represents generations of language mixing of various forms: Western languages entered the ecology as Macau became the primary hub of trading activities between China and Europe; various South Asian, East Asian, South East Asian and African languages entered the ecology with the importation of workers and traders from those regions; and speakers of various Chinese languages were drawn to Macau by the promises of economic development and refuge. To ignore the myriad of languages that have influenced and defined the Macau ecology over the past 500 hundred years is to ignore much of what makes Macau a unique and self-sustaining speech community. The adoption of standard languages, which is one of the primary goals of LPP, should incorporate rather than overlook sociolinguistic insights informed by a careful and complete acknowledgement of a speech community's linguistic diversity.

Chapter 2 of this volume will examine what many people feel is the single most unique feature of Macau: its size. Although the size of a speech community is rarely discussed as a factor in sociolinguistic description, a careful examination of Macau as a small community will suggest the impact that sociolinguistic, socio-economic and historical factors have had on the development of language planning and language policy (LPP) within the territory. Chapters 3 and 4 will describe Macau's linguistic ecology as it developed over its 500-year history as a Portuguese colony. The history and development of Chinese languages will be the focus of Chaps. 3 and 4 will examine the history of other languages, especially two contact varieties, in the territory. Chapter 5 will examine Macau's development of multilingualism in the 20 years since administration of the territory was transferred to the People's Republic of China. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 will examine respectively Macau's language policies and practices in (1) pre-primary and primary education, (2) secondary education and (3) tertiary (i.e., higher) education. Finally, Chap. 9 will consider the future of Macau as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC and what measures might best address changing LPP needs and commitments.

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Chapter 2
The Sociolinguistics of Size: How Multilingualism in a Small Society Differs from a Large One

2.1 Introduction

With the release of the 2011 census results the *Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos* 'Statistics and Census Service' (DSEC) announced that the population of Macau had grown by an unprecedented 26.9% from ten years earlier to 552,503 residents (DSEC 2012). More recently, the 2016 by-census—which is conducted in the five-year period between the 10-year censuses using random sampling to measure possible demographic changes—confirms that the population likely increased by another 17.8% to 650,834 at an annual growth rate of 3.3% (DSEC 2017). Although this increase of growth in the territory is significant, the population nevertheless remains quite small. Likewise, the land area of the territory also grew by 18.2% from 25.8 sq. km in 2011 to 30.5 sq. km in 2016. This is a land area that is roughly the size of Providence, Rhode Island or Bangkok's old Khet Don Mueang Airport. Macau is, therefore, by almost any measure small.

Does size matter, though, when we discuss the sociolinguistic dynamics of a speech community? Does size matter when a community attempts to develop language policies that benefit its residents or when a community attempts to respond to the demands of multilingualism within the community or the region? Does size matter when a community seeks to preserve minority languages or languages that don't enjoy high levels of standardisation? This volume seeks to discuss and consider each of these questions that examination of one unusually small speech community, Macau.

2.2 Defining Macau

Macau is a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and is located approximately 60 km southwest of Hong Kong along the western bank of the mouth of the Pearl River in what is commonly referred to as the Pearl River

Delta. The territory is geographically divided into three areas: peninsular Macau, Taipa Island and Coloane Island.[1] In the past there was a narrow causeway between the two islands, but land reclamation outward from the causeway has created a new land area called Cotai (formed by combining the first syllables of Coloane and Taipa). The neighbouring island of Wankam (a.k.a. *Hengqin*, the name in Putonghua[2]) belongs to China and is governed by the Zhuhai Special Economic Zone (SEZ), with the exception of a one-square-kilometre strip of land housing the University of Macau. This strip of land is governed by the Macao SAR (see the map in Fig. 2.1).

The total land area of Macau is 30.5 sq. km. (not counting the 1 sq. km. campus of the University of Macau), although the vast majority of the population lives in peninsular Macau. The overall population density of Macau is 21,340 people per square km, but the mostly densely populated area of Macau, Areia Preta & Iao Hon, is residence to 170,953 people per sq. km. (DSEC 2017).

2.2.1 Naming Macau

The naming of Macau, including two English spelling variants of the territory's name, deserves some special attention because it highlights much of the multilingual history of the territory and the pluricentric linguistic practices that have developed in the territory. There are two official government-recognised names for the territory— one in Chinese characters and one in alphabetic characters—and these two names are historically and etymologically unrelated to each other. The Chinese (Cantonese) name of the territory is 澳門特別行政區 *Oumun Dakbit Hanzing Keoi* (or *Aomen Tebie Xingzheng Qu* in Putonghua). Usually, however, the name is reduced to just the first two characters, 澳門 *Oumun* (pronounced as *Aomen* in Putonghua). The Macau SAR government uses *complex* or *traditional Chinese characters* in most documents in sharp contrast to the PRC government's exclusive use of *simplified Chinese characters*. Interestingly, then, these two writing systems, traditional and simplified Chinese characters, allow for a second way of writing Macau's Chinese name in simplified Chinese characters: 澳门特别行政区. The two writing systems parallel and perhaps amplify a contrast between two spoken varieties of Chinese: (1) Cantonese, the *de facto* standard variety of Chinese used in Macau, and (2)

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[1]Recent relocation of the University of Macau to Wankam (a.k.a. Hengqin) island has expanded the territorial jurisdiction of Macau beyond these older borders. While Macau's jurisdiction in Wankam is currently restricted to the University of Macau campus, the prospect of joint development of Wankam Island (see *China Economic Review* 2013) has fuelled further speculation that Macau can expand territorially.

[2]Chinese names in this volume will normally appear in the primary language that is used in Macau, Cantonese, with transliterations into Putonghua (i.e., standard Mandarin Chinese) wherever relevant. Proper nouns (family and given names of individuals, place names, etc.) will use the Macau system of transliteration for Cantonese. This system of transliteration is somewhat different from the system used in Hong Kong and lends much of the distinctive Macau flavour to items from Cantonese (see Moody 2008 for discussion).

Fig. 2.1 Map of Macau (colour)

Putonghua, the *de jure* standard variety of Chinese mandated for official use in the PRC (see 3.7 below for further discussion). While the two writing systems don't appear to amount to much of a difference to most Western readers (and, in fact, only three of the seven characters of Macau's official name differ in form), the differences are potentially quite meaningful to Chinese readers. Most individuals from the PRC prefer to use the simplified characters without any special feelings about traditional characters. Macau residents, however, like residents of Hong Kong or Taiwan, will adamantly insist that only traditional characters should be used in Macau; for

example, Badcanto (2012) describes negative reactions from Macau residents toward a MacDonald's restaurant sign that used simplified characters (see Chan 2015; Yan 2015 and discussion in 3.7.2 for more about reactions to different types of Chinese characters). Academic discussions of differences between simplified and traditional Chinese characters include Guo (2004) and Rogers (2005). In this way, local Macau residents, like Hong Kong residents and Taiwanese, demonstrate a strong preference for traditional Chinese characters and they connect their use to a local Macau identity (Li 2006).

The roman alphabetic name of the territory, used in most, if not all, non-Chinese languages[3] is not phonologically or historically related to the Chinese name. As with the Chinese name of the territory, there are two ways of spelling the name and the two alphabetic spellings also express potentially different identity concerns. The two variants, *Macau* and *Macao*, represent the same pronunciation. There is, however, tremendous misunderstanding about the origins of the two variants: many individuals feel that *Macau* is a Portuguese spelling, while *Macao* is an English spelling. In fact, both the *-au* and the *-ao* spellings are used in Portuguese documents dating back to the sixteenth century and in English documents dating back to the seventeenth century. The name of the territory was first borrowed into English as the name of a card game in the late eighteenth century with the normal spelling of *Macao*, although the OED notes an alternate spelling of *Makao*.

Wu and Jin (2014) examine archival evidence of the variants used in sixteenth-century Portuguese and Spanish correspondence and conclude that the *–ao* variant *Macao* is the oldest and mostly likely derives from the Portuguese spelling of *Macão*. This variant, containing the nasal coda in the second syllable, likely represents an approximation of Cantonese *Ma Gang* 'Ma Harbour' (i.e., the harbour of the goddess Ah-Ma). Presumably the city was named for the Ah-Ma temple that stood (and still stands today) at the end of the peninsula (see Tam & Vu 2014). How, then, did the Portuguese spelling of *Macão* come to be regarded incorrectly as an English spelling *Macao*?

Representations of the /aʊ/ diphthong in English generally prefer an *–ow* spelling, and this is probably related to the diphthong's origin as a product of the English Great Vowel Shift (GVS) phenomenon (see Williams 1975; Millward 1996). While the GVS affected words that had so-called 'long vowels' in Middle (or Early Modern) English, the Great Vowel Shift's addition of the /aʊ/ diphthong to the English vowel inventory facilitated borrowings from a wide range of languages that had not contributed words to Middle English or Early Modern English lexicons. And a number of loanwords ending in the /aʊ/ diphthong have indeed entered the English language using either an *–ao* spelling (e.g., *ciao*, *cacao*, *curacao*, etc.) or an *–au* spelling (e.g., *frau*, *landau*, *luau*, etc.). It is interesting to note that a number of

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[3]Even Japanese, a language that systematically uses many Chinese characters when writing Chinese place names, does not use the Chinese name of Macau. Instead, Japanese マカオ *Makao* is formed from the alphabetic name of the territory. Similarly, Korean also uses phonetic transcription of the territory's name, although it should be noted that there are two transcriptions in use in Korean, 마카오 *Makao* and 아오먼 *Aomeon*, the former transcribing the English name and the latter transcribing the Putonghua name of the territory.

Chinese loanwords have entered English with both the –*ao* and the –*au* spellings used alternately, such as *tau* and *tao* or *lao* and *lau* (Moody 1996). It is, therefore, difficult to conclude that the –*ao* spelling is an English spelling as is often presumed to be. Neither –*au* nor –*ao* are used in native English words, and there also seems to be little preference for one over the other in loanwords. Likewise, there is some preference in Portuguese to represent the /aʊ/ diphthong as –*ao* (e.g., *limão*, *pão*, *São Paulo*, etc.), although there are also examples of words using –*au* for this diphthong in Portuguese (e.g., *bacalhau*, *causa*, *fauna*, *saudade*, etc.). There is, therefore, little evidence supporting the contention that the -*au* spelling (as opposed to –*ao*) is Portuguese. Portuguese uses an –*ao* spelling for the /aʊ/ diphthong, although the diphthong is almost always nasalised (as represented by –*ão*). The Portuguese spelling –*au* is also used for the /aʊ/ diphthong, especially (though not exclusively) when the diphthong is not nasalised. While both variants appear in English words, there may be a slight preference for the –*au* variants as an English spelling.

There is, however, a strong, almost fanatical, belief that the two spelling variants complementarily represent contrastive Portuguese and English spellings, despite linguistic and historical evidence identifying the source languages for the variant spellings. The belief that *Macao* is the English name and that *Macau* is the Portuguese name of the territory should be treated as a myth, or folk etymology. Despite this *myth of separate source languages* that is frequently promoted in Macau to explain the two variants, there is a diversity of linguistic practice within the territory. A number of local institutions use the -*au* spelling in their name (e.g., University of Macau, Macau International Airport, Macau Government Tourism Office, etc.) and a slightly smaller number of institutions use the -*ao* spelling (e.g., Macao Trade and Investment Promotion Institute, Monetary Authority of Macao, Macao Polytechnic Institute, etc.). While both spellings are possible representations of /aʊ/ in either Portuguese or English, it is interesting to note, however, that the –*ao* spelling is the one and only way to represent this diphthong in the PRC's roman transcription system that is used with Putonghua, the *pinyin* transcription (see discussion of pinyin in 3.6.1). In pinyin this diphthong can only be transcribed as –*ao*. Likewise, the only government institutions that categorically refuse to use the –*au* spelling are those institutions that are under control of the central Chinese (i.e., PRC) government. At the time of the handover from Portuguese to Chinese administration of the territory, the institutional preference for –*ao* spellings was frequently associated with a change in institutional preference for the English language over the Portuguese. The change in political governance and administration from Portugal to the PRC, therefore, was subtly associated with the promotion of the –*ao* spelling to the degree that the political transition has promoted the myth that –*ao* is English and –*au* is Portuguese (see arguments about 'Portuguese porosity' in Palmer and Simpson 2015). Unfortunately, there is little linguistic or historical evidence to support this association, although there is good evidence that the –*ao* spelling is the earliest Portuguese spelling (Wu and Jin 2014). Nevertheless, in the practices of many local Macau residents the –*ao* spelling is frequently associated with language policies and practices that have been standardised and promoted by the PRC government.

Local Macau practice, however, remains pluralistic in the sense that either the -*au* or the -*ao* spelling may be used. In this volume I have chosen to use the spelling of *Macau* in all circumstances (following local Macau preferences), except in cases where I refer to the legal name of the territory as specified within the Macau 'Basic Law' (Chinese Government 1993), the *Macao Special Administrative Region* (MSAR).

2.2.2 Administration of Macau

Macau was founded as a centre of trade between China and Portugal in 1557 and represents one of the earliest Western settlements in the Far East. It was subsequently administered as a colony of Portugal until it was declared a 'free port' separate from China in 1849 (World Travel Guide 2020). The various Chinese governments throughout the centuries-old existence of the territory never recognised Portugal's claim on Macau, but at the same time never challenged that claim. Between 1844 and 1976 Macau, along with other Portuguese territories like Goa and Timor, was considered an 'overseas province' of Portugal. Portuguese rule of Macau was strengthened by the authoritarian regime of António de Oliveira Salazar (1932–1968) until the 1974 Carnation Revolution when Portugal renounced all claims to colonial possessions, including Macau. However, China allowed Portugal to continue to administer Macau as a special territory until the end of the century. The Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration of 1987 outlined the terms under which Macau was to be administered as an SAR of the People's Republic of China after the handover on 20 December 1999.

The territory does not offer citizenship, but instead two types of residency: temporary and permanent. In either case residents have the obligation to keep their residency up-to-date by being physically present in the territory for certain periods of time. Workers are not considered residents of Macau and must hold an overseas work permit (a *blue card* that can be issued to either *long-term* or *occasional* workers) in order to live and work in Macau. Residents may hold a variety of different citizenships, but most are Chinese and/or Portuguese citizens. Any resident born in Macau before October 1981 is eligible to claim Portuguese citizenship, which includes the right of abode in the European Union (EU). This is markedly different from residents of Hong Kong, most of whom were only eligible to receive a British National Overseas (BNO) passport that does not grant the right of abode in the United Kingdom. In addition, ethnic Chinese residents of Macau are eligible to assert Chinese citizenship and may receive a Chinese government-issued Macao SAR passport, which is only available to Chinese citizens who are residents of Macau.

Since the 1999 handover Macau has continued to maintain close international relations with Portugal and other former Portuguese colonies such as São Tomé, Cabo Verde (Cape Verde) and Timor-Leste (East Timor). Macau's international relations, however, are more easily dominated by its relations with its most proximate neighbours, Hong Kong and China and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Taiwan. Macau

has an international airport that hosts a number of flights to China, Taiwan and several locations in Southeast and East Asia. In particular, the airport serves as an inexpensive point of entry for Taiwanese visitors to the Chinese mainland. The border crossings to China are still in place and visitors from the People's Republic of China (PRC) are required to hold valid passports in order to enter the Macao SAR. The border crossing to China at the Zhuhai Special Economic Zone (SEZ) is an urban crossing and the border forms the territory's Northern boundary in Macau's the most populated district. Because of the close proximity of the border crossing, Macau residents frequently cross to Zhuhai for shopping, meals and entertainment. Increasingly Macau residents are buying property in Zhuhai and take up residence there while working in Macau. However, it is Macau's relationship to Hong Kong that has traditionally dominated and defined Macau's international relations. Travel between Hong Kong and Macau is conducted primarily by three high-speed commercial ferry companies and the journey, which takes about one hour, is facilitated by the fact that Hong Kong and Macau residents are free to travel to the other SAR using only their permanent residency documents. Since the 2018 completion of the Hong Kong—Zhuhai—Macau Bridge (HZMB)—a 55 km long sea bridge that includes an underwater tunnel—travellers also have the option of regular bus routes between Hong Kong and Macau. Television and radio broadcasts from Hong Kong are easily received in Macau and Hong Kong film and print media are widely available. Because of the ease of travel between the two SARs and cultural similarities—including a commonly used Cantonese variety of Chinese (see discussion in 3.3)—Hong Kong and Macau share a number of similarities that sometimes mask the more profound differences that will be discussed in this volume.

2.2.3   Macau's Economy

The Macao SAR has seen unprecedented growth since the handover from Portuguese to Chinese administration. In 1996, three years before the 1999 handover, the total population (which includes temporary and permanent residents, non-resident workers and foreign students living in Macau) was 414,128.[4] By the end of August 2016 that population had grown to 650,834; the 61% increase in the size of the population was the result of an average annual growth rate of 2.9%. The greatest rate of growth in the past 20 years was measured between the years 2011 and 2016 when the population increased by 17.8% at an average annual growth rate of 3.6% (DSEC 2017). This rate of growth after the handover, however, represents a slight decrease in the rate, from an average annual growth rate of 4.8% in the 15 years before the handover

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[4]The number of non-resident workers and foreign students living in Macau were not included in census or by-census data as categories until 2006, so it is difficult to know the exact numbers of these residents before 2006. Interestingly, before the 2011 census the resident population was divided into two categories: 'usual residents' and 'mobile residents' (i.e., residents who did not normally reside in Macau). The 1976–2006 figures from censuses and by-censuses only report demographic data related to usual residents.
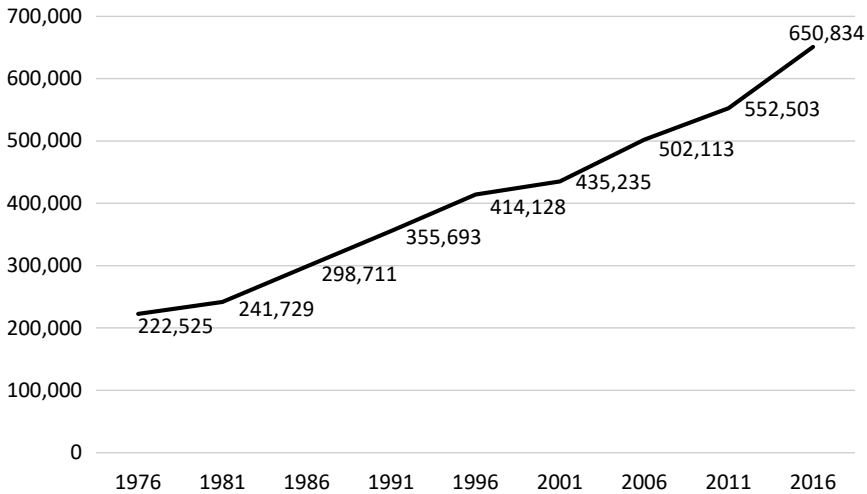
(1981–1996) to the slower 2.9% average annual rate of population growth since the handover. Figure 2.2 below describes the Macau's resident population growth from 1976–2016.

These simple growth rates, however, potentially mask more fundamental ways that the Macau population has been changing since the 1999 handover. Census figures from 1976 to 2001 do not separate the *resident* population from the *non-resident* population.[5] Although Macau does not have the authority to grant citizenship to residents, it can control who has the right to reside in the territory permanently as a *permanent resident*.[6] The results of the 2016 census report that, in addition to the 485,255 legal permanent residents of Macau, the city had 62,304 non-resident workers and 4944 foreign students living in Macau. Non-resident workers and foreign students are allowed to reside within the city, but only for the period of time specified in their work permits or student visas. The census data is potentially confusing because the definition of *resident* that DSEC uses within the census includes four categories of individuals: (1) permanent residents, (2) temporary residents (i.e., those who have been granted residency, but for a limited period of time), (3) non-resident

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[5]Part of the problem with DSEC's use of the term *resident* to refer to anyone living in Macau at the time of the census is that it is inconsistent with broader local use of the term. In most instances (other than the census) the term *resident* is used to signify individuals who hold temporary or permanent residency in the territory, as distinct from non-resident workers and foreign students. This volume will strive to avoid confusion with the two terms by using the full term *temporary/permanent resident* when referring to Macau citizens. See 5.2.1 for brief description of the laws and application procedures pertaining to temporary/permanent residency.

[6]Temporary residency is not fundamentally different from permanent residency. Residents who are not born in Macau are first awarded temporary residency and, if able to maintain the requirements of temporary residency for seven years, are allowed to apply for permanent residency.

workers and (4) foreign students living in Macau. If we separate the number of non-resident workers and foreign students living in Macau from the temporary/permanent residents, the growth rates for the latter category are much more modest. In the years after the handover, the number of temporary/permanent residents increased from approximately 414,000 to 537,018. This increase of 29.7% represents an average annual growth rate of just 2.0% and it is considerably slower than the 3.6% annual growth rate for the entire territory (a growth rate that includes non-resident workers and foreign students in Macau). This is because Macau's population growth rate has been driven primarily by growth in the number of non-resident workers and foreign students in Macau.

The average annual growth rates of the two smaller populations—non-resident workers and foreign students living in Macau—were substantially greater in the five years from 2011 to 2016. The number of non-resident workers increased from 62,304 in 2011 to 104,464 in 2016, representing an overall increase of 67.7% and an annual growth rate of 13.5%. Similarly, the number of foreign students living in Macau grew by 89.2% from 4,944 in 2011 to 9,352 in 2016, representing an annual growth rate of 17.8%. While the 9,352 foreign students living in Macau account for just 1.4% of Macau's total population, the non-resident workers account for a much more substantial 16.1% of the total population. The number of non-resident workers in Macau has increased dramatically since 2006, as demonstrated in Fig. 2.3 below, and their inclusion in the 2011 census data as a separate category of the population reflects that change in importance for this group.

Many of the social and economic changes that Macau has experienced since the 1999 handover from Portuguese to Chinese (i.e., PRC) administration and the impact of these changes on language and language policy will be described in greater detail
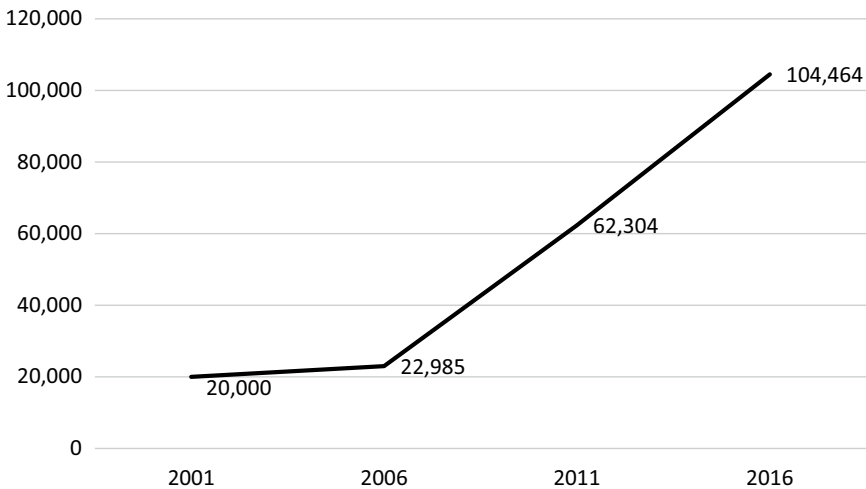
Fig. 2.3 Non-Resident Worker Population, 2001–2016. *Source* DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

in Chapter 5 of this volume. However, the changes to Macau's population, where non-resident workers make up roughly 1/6 of the total population, need to be understood within the broader contexts of economic development, and especially the unique development of Macau as a gaming (i.e., gambling) economy. Figure 2.4 below charts Macau's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from 1987 (13 years before the December 1999 handover) to 2017. The exponential growth has been related to the diversification of the casino economy in 2002 and the progressive development of the gaming industry since that time. While the importance of gaming within the Macau economy will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5, several interesting details about the importance of gaming can be noted within Fig. 2.4. First, the economy began to grow consistently after gaming was diversified in 2002, despite the fact that the SARS epidemic of 2003 depressed the economies of most of Macau's neighbours. Similarly, the 2008 global recession only slightly affected Macau's economic growth. Finally, the depressed economy in 2015–2016 is solely related to a 'slump' in gaming revenues that resulted from PRC restrictions on gamblers.

The recent growth in Macau's population, economy and infrastructure are closely related to the 1999 handover of Macau. Lo (1999) notes that up until the time of the handover Macau's casino industry had prospered primarily from the wealth and resources of Hong Kong, a relationship that, according to Lo, resulted in dependence on Hong Kong:

> It can be argued that Macao represents a neo-colonial model of development in the sense that it successfully relies on Hong Kong's capital, expertise and knowledge to develop its economy. In other words, economically speaking, Macao is a de facto neo-colony of Hong Kong rather than of Portugal, where the business people are relatively uninterested in injecting their capital into the Macao economy. (54).
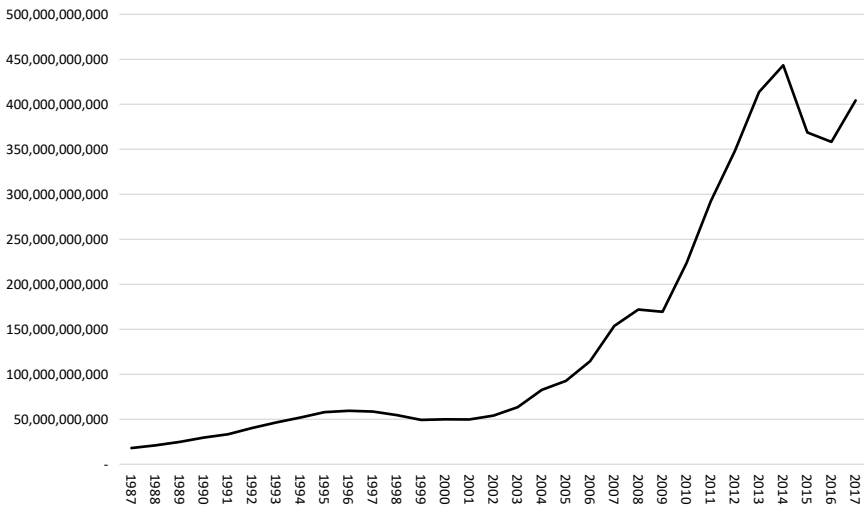
Fig. 2.4 Gross Domestic Product (GDP), 1987–2017. *Source* DSEC (2020a)

Lo's analysis, however, describes the casino-based economic relationship of Macau and Hong Kong before the handover; an interesting transformation has occurred since the handover. The growing Chinese economy and increasing numbers of tourists from the Chinese mainland have awoken a new period of growth and investment that is no longer dependent on capital investment from Hong Kong. In the weeks following the 1999 handover the Macau government sought to attract casino investors from outside Hong Kong and Macau. The result was the 2002 award of three gaming concessions (i.e., franchises) to the local SJM (*Sociedade de Jogos de Macau, S.A.*), the American Wynn Resorts (Macau), S.A. and to the Galaxy Casino, S.A., a cooperative enterprise of American and Hong Kong investors (Lo 2005; Government Information Bureau of the Macao SAR 2003, p. 218). By the end of 2002 the three concessions had been doubled to include three more 'sub-concessions', which were awarded to Venetian Macau, S.A. (later renamed Sands China, Ltd), MGM Grand Paradise, S.A. (a partnership of MGM Mirage and Pansy Ho) and to Melco PBL Jogos (Macau), a partnership of the Australian Melco and Lawrence Ho (Lam and Scott 2011). In effect, the handover has brought Macau a degree of economic independence from Hong Kong and a potentially new set of educational goals and language proficiencies needed to interact with the growing Chinese and Asian markets and with investors from North America.

While there is an international aspect to Macau's development of its gaming market, there is also a preponderance of evidence that growth in the Chinese economy has fuelled most of the growth of Macau's gaming economy, and primarily in the form of visitor arrivals. Figure 2.5 charts the growth in visitor arrivals to Macau in the past 21 years, from 1997 (just three years before the handover to Chinese administration) to 2018. These government data distinguish visitors from the PRC (i.e., the bottom
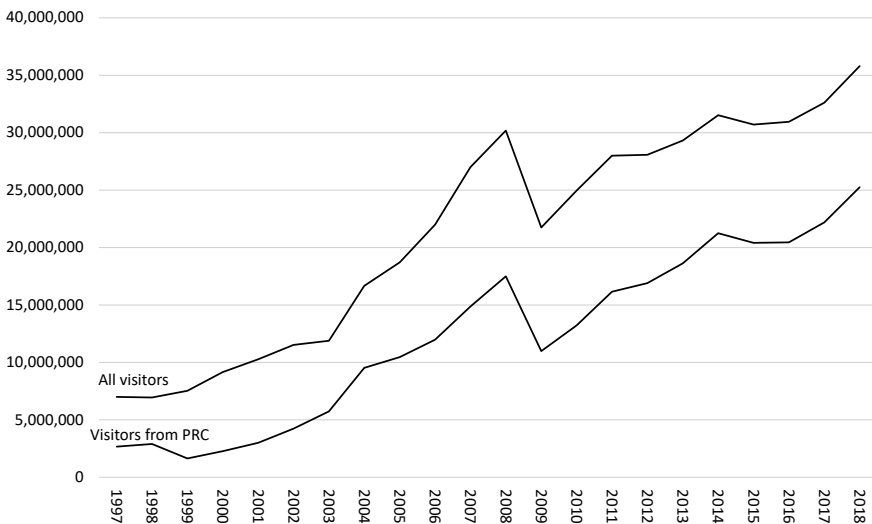
Fig. 2.5 Visitor Arrivals, 1997–2018. *Source* DSEC (2020b)
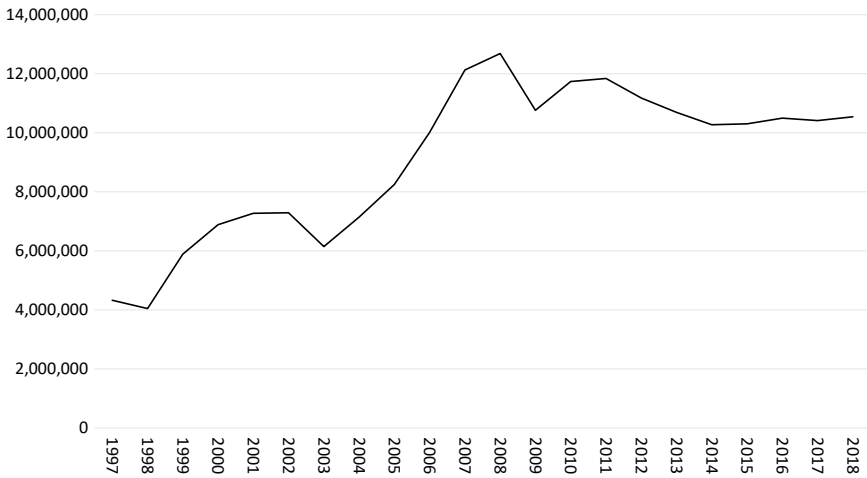
Fig. 2.6 Non-PRC Visitor Arrivals, 1997–2018. *Source* DSEC (2020b)

line of the graph) from the total number of visitor arrivals to Macau (i.e., the top line of the graph). Of the 7,000,370 visitors in 1997, 2,673,681 (38.2%) were from China. The total number of visitors grew to 35,803,700 in 2018, representing a 411% increase and a 19.9% average annual growth rate. While Chinese arrivals accounted for 38.2% of the arrivals in 1997, the 25,260,600 Chinese arrivals in 2018 accounted for 70.6% of all visitor arrivals. The 845% increase in the number of visitors from the PRC over the 21-year period represents a 40.2% average annual growth rate.

While the number of visitor arrivals from China grew much more dramatically than the number from other places, Fig. 2.6 above demonstrates how the growth in visitor arrivals from other places has increased less dramatically, and even declined slightly in the past 10 years since 2008.

These data suggest that Macau's economic development since the 1999 handover has relied primarily on the development of the gaming industry and Chinese tourist arrivals to the territory. Lo's (1999) claim that Macau could be regarded as a neo-colony of Hong Kong because it is dependent upon Hong Kong capital seems anachronistic in the 20 years after the handover, and we expect to find linguistic consequences to the shift from an economy that was dependent on Hong Kong tourism to one that is now dependent on Chinese tourism.

2.3 Sociolinguistic, Socio-Economic and Historical Factors Related to Macau's Linguistic Ecology

Among the many misconceptions about Macau that result from its proximity to and long association with the larger territory of Hong Kong is the belief that Macau is

a 'Portuguese-coloured' reflection of Hong Kong. Indeed, English was the official language of law and government throughout the British colonial history of Hong Kong, and this official language has been retained within the territory since its 1997 return to Chinese sovereignty. Similarly, Portuguese was established as the official language of law and government within the former Portuguese colony of Macau, and, like Hong Kong, this language has remained in Macau since its return to Chinese sovereignty in 1999. However, comparisons about the respective roles of English and Portuguese within the two territories do not go much beyond these facts. As will be described in greater detail in Chap. 5, Portuguese is still retained as a language of law (i.e., Macau's laws are written in both Chinese and Portuguese) and it is used as the language of the Tribunal de Última Instância 'Court of Final Appeal' and it may be used by legislators in the Assembleia Legislativa 'Legislative Assembly'. Very little other official communication within the SAR, however, used Portuguese. While much of this volume is devoted to a careful and thorough analysis of Macau's linguistic ecology, a brief survey of the evolution of the territory's educational language policy will highlight some of the ways in which multiple factors have affected the development of a policy that privileges English over the territory's official language of Portuguese. In order to understand the various factors that have come to influence the establishment of language policy—and especially the selection of a medium of instruction (MOI) in Macau schools—it is important to avoid the simplistic and naive generalisation that MOI derives solely from the colonial Portuguese administration of the territory before the 1999 return to Chinese administration.

Instead, a wide range of sociolinguistic, socio-economic and historical factors—as well as a variety of often-contradictory language attitudes—influence the various ways in which the territory has come to develop a language policy. For example, from a macro-sociolinguistic point of view English and Portuguese have developed very differently as languages of global communication, with Portuguese rarely used as a language of international communication. Taking English as a medium of instruction (MOI) in Hong Kong, therefore, is easily explained independently of its former colonial status: English has increasingly been adopted as an MOI worldwide in places that don't have a history of British colonialism. Macau and Hong Kong are, therefore, equally motivated to adopt English as a viable MOI because of the language's international status. Unfortunately, Portuguese is not widely recognised as a medium of international communication nor as an international lingua franca, and the lack international prestige associated with Portuguese explains, in part, why Portuguese was not a dominant part of the multilingualism that historically flourished in Macau. This multilingualism not only includes several mutually unintelligible Chinese dialects, but also a number of European, African, South Asian and South East Asian languages (Huang et al. 1988; Zhang 2001). Within the context of a multilingual Portuguese-administered territory, English found a place amongst the other languages in the years leading up to the handover, and it was not seen as a threat to any other languages in the territory. Instead, societal multilingualism fostered attitudes that have encouraged Portuguese, English and Chinese to develop simultaneously as the three educational MOIs in the territory.

Socio-economic factors have also had a significant impact on the presence of English in Macau and its suitability as a medium of instruction. Specifically, economic growth and trade in the region has primarily gone through Hong Kong since that territory was ceded to Great Britain in 1842. With the establishment of a British colony on the South China coast, there has been a continuous and unrelenting *brain drain* from Macau to Hong Kong. Recognition of this brain drain offers a more complete portrait of the 'neo-colonial' relationship that Lo (1991) suggests. It is not enough to recognise simply that Macau relies upon Hong Kong's 'capital, expertise and knowledge' (54). Much of these resources were developed in Hong Kong by siphoning them away from Macau, and this was especially the case early in Hong Kong's colonial history. Until 1842, though, Macau was the centre of English-speaking trade and culture in South China (Bolton 2003). The intellectual and technological resources lost in brain drain went to support the economic success of Hong Kong, and these resources included a number of proficient English speakers from Macau (Braga 1998). Ease of transportation and communication between the two territories allowed the drain of talent and resources from Macau to continue throughout the twentieth century. There is, however, a tradition of English in Macau that predates the settlement of Hong Kong, which suggests that English-medium education in Macau is not simply an attempt to imitate Hong Kong. Although individuals may or may not be aware of the history or the tradition of English instruction in Macau, there is no reason for local residents to regard English medium of instruction (EMI) education as a social feature imported from Hong Kong. It is much more the case that this tradition moved from Macau to Hong Kong.

Finally, historical factors have contributed to a series of attitudes and practices that distinguish Macau from Hong Kong and support the use of English as a medium of instruction. Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain at the end of the First Opium War in 1842. The ensuing British rule of Hong Kong was accomplished by a clear military presence and infrastructure that made Hong Kong part of the British Empire, and assimilated a number of Chinese people into that Empire. Macau, however, was founded as a trading outpost and the Portuguese military presence that was garrisoned with the city was primarily used to battle piracy and to protect various international trading interests, including English trading interests (Van Dyke 2005). Indeed, the most well-known military activity in Macau was the 1622 defeat of 800 Dutch invaders by 150 residents of Macau, an event still celebrated each June 24th. There is no history of armed conflicts with China in order to establish, preserve or maintain the Portuguese administration of Macau. Unlike Hong Kong, for most of its history Macau was simply a poorly organised multilingual enclave of foreign traders. After Hong Kong was ceded to Britain in 1842, however, Portugal soon followed suit and attempted to declare Macau a colony in 1849. By that point, though, trade with China was no longer the profitable enterprise that it had been in the seventeenth century. After the defeat of authoritarian rule in Portugal in 1974, Macau was declared a possession of China and Portugal finally relinquished colonial claims over the territory. For the next 25 years Macau continued to be governed by a Portuguese administration with Chinese approval. The style of administration that developed in Macau, therefore, was one that did not attempt to establish a Portuguese

cultural empire—including an empire of the Portuguese language—as an alternative to Chinese language or identity. The lack of imposition of Portuguese infrastructure, not to mention Portuguese culture, values and practices, allowed Macau to develop more *laissez-faire* and pluralistic approaches and attitudes toward education, especially with reference to language policies and the preference for a medium of instruction.

These sociolinguistic, socio-economic and historical factors, therefore, have fostered a number of different attitudes towards language policy generally and towards educational mediums of instruction specifically. The lack of government regulation of language policy has allowed schools to formulate policies in response to various needs and desires within the community. Consequently, EMI instruction has competed with other languages and, at the same time, found support within the community. With the lack of overt government regulation, MOI issues in Macau are frequently influenced by various competing *interests* within the community. These interests, though, are multi-faceted and typically defined by diverse ideological influences, such as politics, nationality, ethnicity, socio-economic status, regional identity, etc. Each of the different interests competes for students within the broadly defined constraints of MOI policy and, at the same time, consistently focuses its gaze outside the territory for models and justification of policy. In the past the outward gaze of the community was mostly *backwards* or *sideways* for models of educational policy and resolution of MOI issues: backwards towards the territory's colonial history and sideways (i.e., laterally) toward the practices of Macau's neighbours: China, Hong Kong or Taiwan. English medium of instruction and English as a second language instruction, however, increasingly represents a look *forward* towards contacts with the rest of Asia, North America and the global economy.

2.4   Conclusion

Despite tremendous geographical, demographic and economic growth in the past 20 years since the 1999 handover of administration to China, Macau remains a very small territory. And, when it comes to language planning and language policy (LPP), size matters. A 500-year history as a Portuguese territory—and the various events affecting the Portuguese empire during that time—shaped the linguistic ecology of the territory as well as expectation of what LPP should respond to within and deliver to the community. While recent development of Macau's economy as the world's premiere gaming market suggests that language needs and orientations may be shifting and changing, policy is obliged to respond to those shifts and changes.

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Chapter 3
Historical Contexts of Multilingualism: Chinese Languages of Macau (1500–1999)

3.1 Introduction

Macau was established as a trading outpost in the earliest days of Western colonial expansion into Asia. Indeed, Macau was the first European trading outpost established in China and was the last colonial outpost to remain under administration by a European country until the return of the territory to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1999. Much of the history of colonialism in East and Southeast Asia is symbolised and recorded within the changing landscapes of power and domination over the past five centuries of Macau's history. The arrival of Portuguese traders in the sixteenth century heralded the short-lived but significant rise of Portuguese influence in the region. Later centuries would see the arrival of the Spanish in the Philippines and rivalry with Dutch, French and English traders and entrepreneurs throughout South East Asia and China. And the influence of each of these colonial languages can be measured within Macau's history. Macau's history of Western colonisation is the longest within Asia, and that history has played a crucial role in framing the traditions of multilingualism that persist until today. Any European language that was used as a colonial language in Asia also had a presence within Macau's linguistic ecology. But there is also a history of Chinese varieties that have flooded into the region, as well as various other languages from Southeast Asia, and these should not be overlooked.

This chapter and Chap. 4 will attempt to account for the full range of the linguistic diversity that developed in Macau over the period since the establishment of the trading outpost in 1557 until the handover of the territory's administration to China on 20 December 1999. Chapter 4 will examine the presence of European languages of colonialism in Macau's history—most notably Portuguese and English—and the regional non-Chinese languages that have been brought to the territory by merchants, labourers, sailors and many others while Macau served as a centre for economic activity in China and the greater South East Asian region. In addition, Chapter 4 will examine two contact varieties that developed in Macau as a result of contact with European speakers. This chapter, however, will focus on the complex relationships

between the various Chinese languages that have found a place within Macau's complex linguistic ecology.

3.2   The Official Status of Chinese in Macau

After passing southward through Guangzhou, the metropolitan capital of Guangdong Province, the Pearl River splinters into a number of tributaries that define the Pearl River Delta (PRD). At the eastern corner of the delta is the former British colony of Hong Kong, and Macau sits at the western corner of the delta. These three cities, Guangzhou (or Canton, as it was once known in English), Hong Kong and Macau, form the cultural and linguistic boundaries of the Pearl River Delta. The linguistic ecology of the delta region is dominated by Cantonese varieties of Chinese, although other notable varieties of Chinese have had historic and enduring influence in the region generally, and in Macau especially.

On 13 January 1991, a mere nine years before the anticipated handover of Macau sovereignty from Portuguese to PRC administration, Chinese was made an official language in Macau by Decree-Law no. 455/91 (Casabona 2012, p. 231). This is substantially later than the promotion of Chinese as an official language in Hong Kong, where Chinese was given legal status as an official language in 1974 (So 1996, p. 41). Chinese was made official in Hong Kong after a number of bitter riots that protested, among other things, a language policy that allowed only the use of English in government services and education.[1] In 1963, 11 years before the establishment of Chinese as an official language of Hong Kong, the colony's Legislative Council approved the Chinese University of Hong Kong's charter, which stipulates Chinese as the principle language of instruction and operation of the university (Communication and Public Relations Office, CUHK 2013). Although it is not clearly defined in its English name, the Chinese name of the university (中文大學 *Jungman Daaihhok / Zhongwen Daxue*) clearly identifies itself as the 'Chinese language' university. But these changes in language policy took place nearly three decades before Chinese was given corresponding status as an official language in Macau. The Portuguese administration of Macau did not, in this regard, follow the example of Hong Kong and Macau did not give Chinese the status of an official language until 1990—a full 17 years after Hong Kong had recognised the official status of Chinese. Moreover, the institutionalisation of Chinese as an official language in Macau came three years *after* the signing in late 1987 of Portugal's agreement to return Macau to PRC sovereignty in 1999. It is not entirely clear why Macau did not recognise Chinese as an official language of the territory earlier. The lack of recognition certainly benefitted Portuguese-speaking interests that sought to maintain dominance within the government during the period of transition (Clayton 2001) and this alone may explain a

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[1]Ironically, it is this language policy that provided much of the original motivation to establish the University of East Asia in Macau in 1981 (Mellor 1988; University of Macau 2015). See discussion in 8.6.1 of the history of the University of East Asia, which later became the University of Macau.

reluctance to recognise Chinese as an official language. But the lack of an articulated language policy is also consistent with much of Macau's history of a *laissez-faire* 'hand-off' treatment of language and culture throughout its colonial history, and this is precisely the approach that allowed multilingualism to flourish within the territory.

Macau's current official language law, which is codified inside the Basic Law of the SAR, does not specify a variety of spoken language to be made official (Chinese Government 1993). In fact, the Basic Law—the constitutional documents that have legally defined Macau since the 1999 handover to Chinese administration—does not clearly and unequivocally state what the official language of Macau *is*; instead, it simply designates that, in addition to Chinese, Portuguese may be used as an official language.[2] Like the Hong Kong law, the only reference is that 'in addition to the Chinese language, Portuguese may also be used as an official language' (Chapter 1, Article 9). This is, however, in sharp contrast to the PRC's statement of the official status of the Chinese language, where the official spoken variety of Chinese for China is specified as Putonghua (Chinese Government 2000). Given the number of mutually unintelligible dialects of Chinese that are available in Macau to be promoted as an official variety, this may, at first appear to be a terrible oversight. Without specifying which variety of Chinese is to be used as the official language, official speeches may use Cantonese, Putonghua or any of the other numerous mutually unintelligible varieties that are used in Macau. On the other hand, another way to interpret this apparent oversight is that the predominance of Cantonese was so unquestionable at the time when the Basic Law was drafted that it was not necessary to specify a variety. This, however, is not entirely consistent with the historical record in either Hong Kong or Macau. Bolton (2003) describes the degree of Chinese multilingualism in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 60s when a number of new immigrants flooded into the territory from all over China (see, for example, Li 2006) and this type of immigration from China also occurred in Macau (Pina-Cabral 2002, pg. 26). At that time Cantonese was transitioning from a lingua franca—i.e., a variety of Chinese used by Chinese speakers who did not necessarily know each other's native language—to become the first or usual language that it is today. Shipp (1997) describes a similar expansion of Macau's population during the 1940s and 50s. During this time refugees flooded into Macau from various places in China and brought with them their various Chinese languages. In both Hong Kong and Macau Cantonese emerged as the lingua franca to eventually develop into the standard language of the two territories. But it is from this context of Chinese multilingualism that Hong Kong and Macau's official language laws were drafted, and these laws demonstrate a clear flexibility in *not* defining the variety of Chinese that is to be official. The result of this flexibility is the legally sanctioned possibility of plurality within the two societies. Macau's official language law does not specify one variety at the expense of any other, and, as will be argued throughout this volume, this has become an important feature of language policy in the southern end of the PRD (i.e., Hong Kong and Macau) and a feature that is in sharp contrast with the rest of China.

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[2]Chapter 5 will discuss in greater detail the designation of official languages within the Basic Law, as this is more directly related to the development of Macau since the 1999 handover.

The designation of Chinese, then, as an official language of Macau demands special attention to how the standard language ideology (SLI) is likely to affect the perception and preservation of diversity. Chinese is a language that is comprised of a number of historical and geographical variants (Norman 1988) and many of the contemporary variants are, in fact, mutually unintelligible. To say, then, that 'Chinese' dominates within the linguistic ecology of Macau may be true, but the statement misses much of the interesting and important diversity that is represented within the Chinese languages spoken in Macau. Instead, this chapter will examine the diverse Chinese languages that have an historical presence within the Macau linguistic ecology in an attempt to understand how the SLI and the processes of standardisation affecting several of these languages have likely come to affect the perception and evaluation of the varieties.

3.3 Cantonese

Cantonese is a member of the Yue family of Chinese languages. Yue is one of the primary dialect groups of Chinese and is popularly known as Cantonese, especially in the standardising form that is widely used in Hong Kong. According to Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2015) there are more than 60 million speakers of Cantonese worldwide, and the variety can be found in overseas Chinese communities throughout South East Asia and North and South America. Despite occasional disputes about where *true Cantonese* is spoken, Cantonese dominates as a standardising language in Hong Kong, and there may be good reason to consider that Macau Cantonese is based upon a slightly different variety of Cantonese than are the varieties that are dominant in either Guangzhou or Hong Kong (Sousa 2011; Lo 2013).

Differences between the varieties of Cantonese spoken in the three dominant cities of the Pearl River Delta, Hong Kong, Guangzhou and Macau, do not usually affect the mutual intelligibility of the varieties, and there are strong tendencies for dialect levelling to occur between the varieties (Xu & Situ 2006, p. 501). This levelling in turn produces convergence toward the standardising variety of Hong Kong Cantonese. There may very well have been variational differences between Macau Cantonese and Hong Kong Cantonese in recent history, but the processes related to the standardisation of Cantonese have functioned to limit the variability of the language while, at the same time, increasing the range of functions where the language is used.

Given the understanding of the processes of standardisation outlined in Chap. 1, we can examine the standardising variety of Hong Kong Cantonese (HKC) and draw some generalisations about the degree to which HKC has also developed as a standard language in Macau. HKC is based upon the variety of the language that is spoken in Guangzhou, although the usual processes of standardisation and dialect levelling have functioned to produce a variety that is distinct to the Hong Kong media (Zhang 2001; Deng 2009). This variety of HKC is a media variety and it is most closely associated with a number of highly successful spoken media in Hong Kong, including Hong Kong movies, radio and television broadcasts and popular music

(Xu and Situ 2006; Zhao 2008) As will be argued in greater detail below, this media variety is standardising and it is used simultaneously with other non-standardised varieties in Hong Kong and throughout the PRD region. It is important, therefore, to acknowledge the inherent variation that currently exists within Cantonese. While much of this variation develops from natural divergence of varieties, immigration into the region has driven much of the dialect levelling of Cantonese in Hong Kong and Macau and resulted in the widespread adoption of varieties that approximate the media standard.

To say that Hong Kong Cantonese is a *standardising language* means that the variety is currently undergoing all of the processes of standardisation described in 1.2.3, although these processes are not fully completed. As mentioned above, HKC is *selected* from the variety of Cantonese that is spoken in the area around Guangzhou (traditionally known as *Canton*), the capitol city of the Chinese province of Guangdong. The Cantonese language, however, is spoken within a much larger region that includes most of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces in the PRC. This broader use of Cantonese is acknowledged within the Chinese name of the language in a way that it is not acknowledged in the English name. While the English name suggests that use of the language might be restricted to Canton, in Chinese the language is usually named *Gwongdungwa* (Putonghua *Guangdonghua*), literally meaning the 'language of Guangdong [province]'. Another Chinese name for Cantonese, *Yutyu* (Putonghua *Yueyu*), refers more to the dialect group (and, perhaps to a grouping of people) rather than to a specific region. The range of diverse Cantonese-speaking communities in China is enhanced by a number of overseas Chinese communities that also speak Cantonese, such as those in Singapore, Malaysia or North America, where Cantonese was for a long period of history the dominant Chinese language. Immigrants to those places did not necessarily come from Guangzhou, but from the regions that are actually closer to the coastal cities of Hong Kong and Macau, and the Cantonese varieties that were taken abroad were slightly different from the variety that developed into HKC. For example, Coe (2014) notes that Chinese immigrants to North America in the nineteenth century predominantly came from the Cantonese-speaking town of Toisan (臺山 Putonghua *Taishan*). Many of the culinary and cultural tradition of Cantonese speakers in North America originate in Toisan and, therefore, these traditions sometimes contrast with the Cantonese customs that we currently associate with Hong Kong. Similarly, the variety of Chinese that was taken to North America in the nineteenth century differs somewhat from the variety that developed into standardising HKC in the twentieth century. Unfortunately, these potentially fossilised variational differences in Cantonese overseas communities are today considerably difficult to measure among contemporary overseas speakers of Cantonese because of the influence of HKC as the emerging standard for all Cantonese speakers. Nevertheless, Berlie (1999b) notes that there are two distinct dialect groups of Cantonese speakers in Macau: speakers from the Pearl River Delta's southern region (e.g., Zhongshan, Shunde and Panyu) and speakers from the Toisan, Foshan and Guangzhou region of Guangdong Province. He estimates that, at the time of the 1999 handover, the territory was host to 280,000 speakers of the South PRD dialect of Cantonese and another 80,000 speakers of what he calls 'Guangzhou Cantonese'.

Restriction and *elaboration* have also taken place within the development of spoken and written HKC, and discussion of these phases of standardization will treat spoken Cantonese and written Cantonese separately. The restriction of variation in pronunciation has defined a relatively broad range of Cantonese spoken features as acceptable to production of standard Cantonese. There were even attempts, as described by Bolton and Hutton (1995, 2000) to 'ban' the language of criminal secret societies in Hong Kong (called *Haksewui* or 'triads'), although these attempts were finally circumvented by the use of banned language in popular culture. The functions of spoken HKC have also been elaborated to all possible official uses within Hong Kong and Macau, including, but not limited to, uses in the legislative and judicial branches of government, all broadcast media and in a vibrant popular culture that is especially known for producing films, television dramas and pop music in Cantonese. These elaborated functions sharply contrast with other overseas Cantonese-speaking Chinese communities (e.g., Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, etc.), where Cantonese is not used across the full range of possible functions. Similarly, in Guangzhou, where Cantonese is spoken as a native language and the place where the source dialect of HKC was selected, spoken Cantonese is rarely used in media or educational contexts, and never in governmental functions (He 2004; Li 2012; Peng and Zhong 2012).

While each of the four stages of standardisation (see Leith 1983 and discussion in 1.2.3) are observable within the standardisation of Cantonese, there is strong evidence that the process is not fully completed and that the language should be regarded as a *standardising* language. Evidence for the *codification* of Cantonese mostly clearly suggests that the standardisation process has only begun to define the standard. For example, both Putonghua and Cantonese are tonal languages, as are *all* varieties of Chinese (Norman 1988). While there is widespread agreement, reinforced by standardisation, that there are four lexical tones in Putonghua, there is widespread disagreement about the number of tones in Cantonese. Most linguists and many contemporary textbooks work with six tones in Hong Kong Cantonese (see Matthews and Yip 1994; Yip and Matthews 2000; Quora 2020). However, older textbooks (e.g., Lau 1972) instruct Cantonese with nine lexical tones and there is widespread popular agreement in Macau among native speakers that Cantonese has 9 tones. Shih (2018) addresses the question of how many tones there are in Cantonese (her native language) and cites popular notions about the question:

> One major source of frustration [with learning Cantonese] centers on the number of tones. In an informal and highly unscientific survey also filed by Victor Mair, 12 respondents (mostly native speakers of Cantonese) thought that the number of tones ranged anywhere from five to 11. (Shih 2018).

Shih correctly attributes the widespread disparity in answers to the degree of standardisation that the language has experienced:

> One reason why Cantonese can't seem to agree on the number of tones is because they aren't emphasized in schools the way that mainland China does for pinyin or Taiwan with zhuyin. Astonishingly, the Jyutping romanization system for Cantonese wasn't developed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong until 1993. To my knowledge it's mainly used for computer input and teaching non-Cantonese natives. Even then, there are separate textbooks

for students who either want to learn how to write Cantonese characters or speak the tones; very rarely are they encouraged to begin with both. (Shih 2018).

Textbooks for native and non-native speakers, standardised (and widely used) transcription systems and a common understanding of the language's phonology (including agreement on how many tones are in the language) are all features of highly standardised languages, and Cantonese has not yet fully moved to codify a standardised variety. Although Cantonese is the most widely-spoken language in Macau, because the language is not yet highly standardised, speakers will not usually have much explicit knowledge about the language. Native speakers will, of course, have competence in the language that gives them knowledge to use the language in well-formed utterances, but they may not know how to describe the linguistic features of Cantonese.

The role of Cantonese within the life and vitality of Macau cannot be underestimated. It is a standardising language—not a fully recognised standard language—and as such its status as a medium of education, media or as an official language is subject to challenges from more highly standardised languages like Putonghua (a.k.a. Mandarin Chinese, see 3.6). Although the prestige and official status of Cantonese in Hong Kong is frequently taken as affirmation of Macau's policies that also privilege the official use of Cantonese, it does not codify Cantonese as the official language of Macau, nor does it guarantee its continued use as the dominant medium of instruction within the territory.

As the purpose of these chapters (i.e., this chapter an Chap. 4) is to develop and understanding of Macau's linguistic ecology at the time of the handover, attention will be paid to the official census data reporting languages used in the 1991 census, the 1996 by-census and the 2001 census. These represent the two censuses' procedures conducted before the 1999 handover to Chinese administration and the results of the first census after the handover.[3] There are a number of inconsistencies in the way that data are presented within these three documents. First, the 2001 census distinguishes between usual and additional languages, but the other two documents do not. Second, the treatment of language used is not the same in all three of the census/by-census procedures: the 1991 census and the 1996 by-census lump all Chinese languages other than Cantonese and Putonghua into a category of 'Other Chinese languages', although the 2001 census reports Hokkien as a separate language. Third, figures related to the use of multiple languages are reported in the 2001 census report as types of bi-, tri- or multi-lingualism, not as raw figures of additional languages used. Therefore, the data have been analysed in an attempt to separate the use of multiple other languages into a single figure of how many individuals speak those languages. For example, the Macau censuses will report the number of individuals who speak three languages, such as Cantonese, Putonghua and English, or two languages such as Portuguese and English, but the report will not simply report how many people speak Cantonese, Putonghua, English or Portuguese as an additional language. Instead, the 1991 census and the 1996 by-census only reports the number of individuals who

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[3]The 1981 census does not include questions on language use and has not been consulted in this survey. The by-census was not conducted between censuses until 1996.

Table 3.1 Number of Cantonese Speakers in Hong Kong and Macau, 1991–2001

	Hong Kong		Macau	
	Usual language	Language ability[a]	Usual language	Language Ability[a]
1991	4,583,322 (88.7%)	95.8%	289,297 (85.8%)	–
1996	5,196,240 (88.7%)	95.2%	346,082 (87.1%)	–
2001	5,726,972 (89.2%)	96.1%	372,697 (87.9%)	395,888 (93.3%)

Sources Census and Statistics Department (2001), DSEC (1993, 1997, 2002)
[a]Language ability is the combined proportion of speakers who use the language as usual and additional language

speak a language as a usual language, not an additional language. Since the Macau censuses and by-censuses are performed in the same years as the Hong Kong census and by-censuses, the Hong Kong and Macau data are easily compared in the tables below. Finally, it should be noted that data regarding language in the Macau censuses and by-censuses only survey residents (i.e., individuals legally residing in Macau as 'normal residents') of 3-years of age and older and that the Hong Kong censuses and by-censuses survey residents of 5-year of age and older (Table 3.1).

The 2001 Macau census—taken just two years after the 1999 handover—records that 372,697 (87.9%) residents identified themselves as usual speakers of Cantonese and that at least another 23,191 residents spoke Cantonese as an additional language. Hence, 93.3% of Macau's population spoke Cantonese as either a usual or additional language. As discussed in Chap. 1, there is a likely tendency for respondents to under-report the degree of bilingualism/multilingualism that they are actually capable of performing, and this is closely related to the standard language ideology's (SLI) myth of purity and what I have termed a discourse of purity (see discussion in 1.3). The myth of purity rejects the notion that standard or standardising languages are selected from varieties that may be considered non-standard and the discourse of purity disables speakers of these non-standard varieties from acknowledging that multiple Cantonese varieties exist and are used within a society. With regard to census responses about a standardising language like Cantonese, the SLI and the discourse of purity may compel respondents to report somewhat inflated rates of Cantonese use because respondents may not easily identify or acknowledge varieties that diverge from the standard or standardising variety. Nevertheless, the census data are the most consistent and reliable measure of language use within the territory, and much will be made of these official data in this volume.

Perhaps as an unintended consequence of the close similarity and relationship between the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR is the fact that Macau's language census questions—indeed, most of the census questions—are nearly identical to those on the Hong Kong census. The Hong Kong census has included questions about usual and additional language since their inclusion in 1961 (Bacon-Shone and Bolton 1998) and, because of the similarity of the two censuses, the data from Hong Kong and Macau are easily comparable. By examining the data from the two SARs, especially in relation to any reliable data available from the PRC, it is possible to

Table 3.2 Number of Hokkien Speakers in Hong Kong and Macau, 1991–2001

	Hong Kong		Macau	
	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability
1991	1.9%	3.6%	–	–
1996	1.9%	3.9%	–	–
2001	1.7%	3.9%	18,868 (4.4%)	28,664 (6.8%)

Sources Census and Statistics Department (2001), DSEC (1993, 1997, 2002)

examine some of the unique features that differentiate language use in Macau from its neighbouring cities.

Cantonese, at the time of the 1999 handover to Chinese administration, was reported as more widely spoken in Hong Kong (i.e., by 96.1% of the population) than it was in Macau, where only 93.3% of the population spoke Cantonese.[4] In both populations there was a noticeable increase in the proportion of Cantonese speakers in the decade marked by the two censuses, and this is to be expected, in part, by the standardisation of Cantonese in the region and its widespread use in education, media, government, etc. in the two cities. Nevertheless, the difference in the number of speakers in the two cities suggests that other languages—other Chinese or non-Chinese languages in Macau—have more widespread use in Macau than in Hong Kong.

3.4 Hokkien

Hokkien is a member of Min family of Chinese languages. Min is one of the larger and more internationally prominent dialect groups of Chinese and goes by a number of different names: Hokkien, Fukien, Min Nan or Southern Min are the most common of the names. Hokkien is the dominant language in the island of Taiwan and, as a result of recent political movements on the island, the language has also come to be known as *Taiwanese* (Wu 2011; Dupré 2014). For this reason, Hokkien is currently undergoing some of the same measures of standardisation that have influenced speakers of the Cantonese language. According to Ethnologue (Lewis, Simon & Fennig 2015) there are more than 46 million speakers of Hokkien worldwide, and, like Cantonese, the variety can be found in overseas Chinese communities throughout South East Asia, North and South America. Table 3.2 reports the proportion of the respective populations of Hong Kong and Macau who claimed an ability to use Hokkien as either a usual or additional language in 2001 (and, in the case of Hong Kong, the decade preceding the 2001 census).

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[4]Comparison of the proportions of Cantonese speakers for the two populations suggests that the difference is significant (z score $= 27.9587$, $p < 0.00001$).

Both Hong Kong and Macau have sizable populations of Hokkien speakers. The Hong Kong 2001 census lists that 1.7% of residents self-identify as speakers of Hokkien as a usual language and another 2.3% of the population use the language as an additional language. During the decade from the 1991 to the 2001 census, the proportion of speakers of Hokkien as a usual language decreased slightly in Hong Kong, but the proportion of speakers who spoke Hokkien as an additional language increased by about the same amount. This suggests that the Hokkien community in Hong Kong was experiencing a slight and subtle shift from Hokkien as a first (or, in the language of the census, *usual*) language toward a status as a second (or *additional*) language. The proportion of Hokkien speakers in Macau in 2001 was considerably larger, with 18,868 individuals (4.4%) claiming to use the language as a usual language and another 9,796 individuals claiming to use Hokkien as an additional language.[5] Altogether, 6.8% of residents claimed to use Hokkien as either a usual or additional language in the 2001 Macau census.

Berlie (2012), however, suggests that there is a much larger community of Hokkien speakers than what is reported within the official census documents and that the Hokkien community is both more affluent and wields greater political power in Macau than it does in Hong Kong. Whereas Hokkien speakers came to Hong Kong primarily in waves of immigration in the late-1940s and 1950s (Barnett 1962)—a time when speakers of minority Chinese 'dialects' flooded into Hong Kong in the aftermath of the Communist People's Liberation Army (PLA) victory over Nationalist *Kuomintang* (KMT) forces—Macau's Hokkien community was already established within the territory and as such, remains a much older and more thoroughly indigenised language community (Pina-Cabral 2002). Austin Coates, writing in 1978 about the Hokkien heritage of the city, observes that:

> Symptomatic of how little anything changes, the descendants of the [Hokkien] community still live in this southern part of Macao, in which Fukienese [Hokkien] is widely spoken, with Cantonese of course as the *lingua franca*. (Coates 1978, p. 37).

But Macau's traditional Hokkien-speaking community has been strengthened by recent immigration of Hokkien speakers from the PRC. Berlie (2012) notes that in 1999 (i.e., the year of Macau's handover to Chinese administration) legal immigrants mostly from Fujian Province, the primary Hokkien-speaking province, made up 45% of all legal immigrants and that in December 2011, 20% of Macau's population were speakers of Hokkien. Because many of these individuals also speak Cantonese, it is, therefore, easy to see how the numbers of Hokkien speakers can be misrepresented in the census data.

And it is also important to note that the presence and predominance of Hokkien in Macau is not a modern phenomenon. Porter (1996) and Lamas (1999) both recount the most popular hypothesis related to the origin on the name of *Macau* and the belief that Portuguese traders who settled in the territory encountered the Chinese names *Ah-Ma Gang* literally 'Ah-Ma Harbour' or *Ah-Ma Gau* literally 'Ah-Ma Port'.

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[5]Comparison of the proportions of Hokkien speakers in the two populations suggests that the difference is significant (z score = 125.8133, $p < 0.00001$).

Since *Ah-Ma* is a form of address to the 'Ma' deity, it is easy to imagine that the name was shortened to *Ma Gang* or *Ma Gau* and rendered in Portuguese as *Macão* (see discussion in 2.2.1). The Ah-Ma (a.k.a. A-Ma) deity is a traditional Hokkien goddess who protects sailors and fishers. Temples devoted to worship of the deity are, of course, quite common in the coastal areas of Fujian province, but can also be found to extend south along the Chinese coast beyond Fujian and into Guangdong. The prominence of the Ah-Ma deity with the port suggests that Hokkien fishers were the original settlers of the region that became Macau, a point echoed by Gunn (2005). What is significant in the two possible sources of the name *Macau*, however, is the focus on 'Ma' (from the more conventional title 'Ah-Ma'). 'Ah-Ma' is the familiar or affection name given to the Hokkien deity by adding 'Ah' before the actual name, 'Ma'. Although worship of Ah-Ma is common throughout coastal Hokkien-speaking regions where communities either live on the water or derive their livelihood from fishing, Ah-Ma is especially important to the cultural history of Macau. The current Ah-Ma temple in Macau (see Fig. 2.1) was built during the Wan-li reign of the Ming dynasty (i.e. 1572–1620) and is one of the oldest structures in Macau (Lamas 1999, pp. 21–22). Although there is no definitive proof that this story provides a satisfactory origin for the source of the territory's name, it does highlight the importance of Hokkien-speaking fishing communities along the South China coast and as an enduring community within Macau's linguistic ecology.[6] This version of the founding of Macau, then, would suggest that many of the Cantonese speakers arrived as settlers only *after* the Portuguese trading outpost was established (Pina-Cabral 2002). Indeed, Shipp (1997) acknowledges that only a small number of fishing families were living in the area that was originally founded as Macau and that there was virtually no agriculture in the area.

Berlie (1999a) estimates that in 1998, the year before the handover of Macau to PRC administration, there were 110,000 members of the Hokkien community, a number much larger than the number suggested by the 2001 census. Although the vitality of the Hokkien language in Macau is still strong, it has also been affected by shift to other languages, most notably to Cantonese. Community members still identify intergenerationally with the Hokkien language—and perhaps they also maintain a fair degree of passive bilingualism in the language—after the younger generations have quit using Hokkien and shifted to Cantonese.

Like Cantonese, Hokkien is a standardising language and this may contribute, to some degree, to the preservation of the language within Macau. For many years the official policy of the ruling KMT party in Taiwan was to promote the use of *Kuoyü* (or *Guoyu,* the preferred name for Mandarin within the Republic of China), as the primary working and sole official language of the ROC. Hokkien, however, is the language of the region of China that Taiwan is most proximate to and it is the Chinese language that has been continuously used on the island for the longest period

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[6]Unfortunately the current Chinese name of the territory, 澳門 Cantonese *Oumun*, Putonghua *Aomen*, does not share much, if any, phonetic similarity to the Portuguese/English name of the territory. The Chinese name, therefore, is not informative of what Chinese language may have served as a source or transmission language for the Portuguese name *Macau*. See further discussion in 2.2.1 about the naming of Macau.

of time. Recent years have witnessed challenges to the monolithic authority of the KMT as the governing party of Taiwan and, as this power to govern exclusively has been challenged, so too has the official preference for *Kuoyü* also been challenged (Scott and Tiun 2007; Wu 2011). More frequently Hokkien is promoted alongside of the *Kuoyü* as a medium of instruction, language of media and a symbol of a Taiwan that is not dominated exclusively by the single-party rule of the KMT. This recent development of Hokkien as a language of national communication within the Taiwanese Republic of China has driven the need and desire to standardise the language, and there is no clear evidence that the motivation to standardise Hokkien is shared anywhere outside of Taiwan. Nevertheless, media and educational materials from Taiwan are readily available in Macau and it is likely that the standardisation of Hokkien in Taiwan—both a prerequisite for internationalisation of the media and a sign of the degree of standardisation—may have helped to forestall the loss of Hokkien as a language of Macau.

As is frequently the case when including non-standard or standardising languages as a self-report option in language or dialect surveys, the name of the variety is an important factor that can ultimately affect the rate of identified use of the language. Unfortunately, the Macau census refers to Hokkien as 福建話 (i.e., Cantonese *Fukginwa* or Putonghua *Fujianhua*). The standardised variety of Hokkien, however, is usually referred to as either Taiwanese or *Minnanhua* 'language of Southern Min'. While linguists may note that all the terms refer to essentially the same language, the possible associations with each term are different and these associations can easily influence the way that speakers self-identify themselves as speakers of the language variety. Whereas the Macau term specifically makes reference to the Fujian Province in China, it may also imply to speakers that residents of the province speak the language primarily, if not exclusively. In this way, the terminology used in the Macau census survey may further limit the number of valid responses by speakers of the language who are not really *from* Fujian, but nevertheless speak Hokkien.

3.5 Other Chinese Languages

Despite the similarities between Hong Kong and Macau as linguistic ecologies, it is difficult to compare census and by-census data from the period before the 1999 handover. While the Hong Kong census lists the proportional number of Chiu Chau and Hakka speakers in the census and by-census figures, Macau simply lists them as speakers of 'other dialects' of Chinese (which sometimes includes, but sometimes does not include, Hokkien speakers in that category). Table 3.3 lists all speakers of Chinese languages other than Cantonese and Mandarin in the Hong Kong and Macau censuses and by-census for the decade preceding Macau's 1999 handover (i.e., 1991–2001).

Both communities, Hong Kong and Macau, exhibit a greater degree of multi-lingualism in varieties of Chinese than what is usually described about either terri-tory. Both communities also appear to be moving through stages of shift, where

Table 3.3 Number of Speakers of Other Chinese Languages (i.e., other than Cantonese and Putonghua) in Hong Kong and Macau, 1991–2001

	Hong Kong		Macau	
	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability
1991	364,694 (7.0%)	16.1%	32,217 (9.6%)	–
1996	340,222 (5.8%)	15.4%	30,848 (7.8%)	–
2001	352,562 (5.5%)	15.3%	32,125 (7.8%)	61,367 (14.5%)

Sources Census and Statistics Department (2001), DSEC (1993, 1997, 2002)

communities that do not speak Cantonese as a usual language are diminishing (at nearly the same rate) over the decade and shifting to Cantonese. First, if we look at the number and proportion of residents who use a Chinese language other than Cantonese or Putonghua as a usual language, the innate degree of multilingualism in Chinese languages is significantly higher in Macau.[7] However, the overall prevalence of Chinese multilingualism in the two communities, measured by the total ability to use another Chinese language as either a usual or additional language, was somewhat lower in Macau, where only 14.5% of residents used a Chinese language other than Cantonese or Putonghua, compared to 16.5% of Hong Kong residents.[8] This suggests that, while there might be more Chinese multilingualism in Hong Kong as either a usual or additional language, there also a greater tendency to retain this multilingualism and *not* shift to a standard language as the usual language in Macau. If we further consider that these data include the 6.8% of residents who use Hokkien in Macau, only 7.7% of Macau's population uses other Chinese dialects (i.e., varieties other than Cantonese, Putonghua or Hokkien), as compared to 12.6% in Hong Kong. Table 3.4 below lists the different languages used in Hong Kong in the decade before Macau's handover. While the Hong Kong census reports three languages other than Cantonese, Putonghua or Hokkien, namely Chiu Chau, Hakka and Shanghainese, the Macau census does not offer such detailed description of Chinese multilingualism.

3.5.1 Chiu Chau

Chiu Chau is a member of the Southern Min family of Chinese languages. Chiu Chau—also written as Teochew, Chaozhou or Choushan—is the dialect spoken in the Guangdong Prefecture city of Chaoshan, and it is one of the more prominent dialects of Chinese spoken in Hong Kong. Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2015) notes that intelligibility between Chiu Chau and Amoy (the prestige dialect of the Southern

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[7]Comparison of the proportions of speakers who use another Chinese language as a usual language for the two populations suggests that the difference is significant (z score = 62.8765, $p < 0.00001$).

[8]Comparison of the proportions of all speakers who use another Chinese language as either a usual or additional language for the two populations suggests that the difference is significant (z score = 14.3118, $p < 0.00001$).

Table 3.4 Number of Speakers of Other Chinese Languages (i.e., other than Cantonese, Putonghua and Hokkien) in Hong Kong and Macau, 1991–2001

		Hong Kong			Macau[a]		
		Usual language	Additional language	Language ability	Usual language	Additional language	Language ability
1991	Chiu Chau	1.4%	4.0%	5.4%	–	–	–
	Hakka	1.6%	3.7%	5.3%	–	–	–
	Shanghainese	0.7%	1.2%	1.8%	–	–	–
	Total	**3.7%**	**8.9%**	**12.5%**			
1996	Chiu Chau	1.1%	3.9%	5.0%	–	–	–
	Hakka	1.2%	3.6%	4.9%	–	–	–
	Shanghainese	0.5%	1.1%	1.6%	–	–	–
	Total	**2.8%**	**8.6%**	**11.5%**			
2001	Chiu Chau	1.0%	3.8%	4.8%	–	–	–
	Hakka	1.3%	3.8%	5.1%	–	–	–
	Shanghainese	0.4%	1.1%	1.5%	–	–	–
	Total	**2.7%**	**8.7%**	**11.4%**	**13,257 (3.1%)**	**19,446 (4.6%)**	**7.7%**

Sources Census and Statistics Department (2001), DSEC (1993, 1997, 2002)
[a]Macau Census documents only report totals figures for 'other Chinese languages' in 2001 and later

Min language that is named after the city of Amoy, Putonghua *Xiamen*) is somewhat difficult. Tsoi (2005) reports that there are 10 million speakers of Chiu Chau in the PRC (mostly within the area of Chaoshan) and another 2–5 million speakers outside of China, most notably in Thailand, as well as a number of other overseas Chinese communities in South East Asia (e.g., Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, etc.) and North America. Chiu Chau was an especially important language in Hong Kong and associations of Chiu Chau merchants and businessmen have a special history in Hong Kong (see Zanzanaini 2017). The Hong Kong 2001 census reports that 4.8% of residents (roughly 248,000 individuals) used Chiu Chau as either a usual or additional language (although this proportion is in decline from 5.0% in 1996 and 5.4% in 1991). There is no report of the number of speakers of Chiu Chau in any Macau census report before or after the 1999 handover, which suggest that in Macau the language has neither a significant proportion of speakers nor the prestige and political power that the language has in Hong Kong. Indeed, decisions such as which languages will be given as optional responses on the census (e.g., whether respondents are given the option to choose 'Chiu Chau' or 'other', in this case) is an ideological choice by the census bureau, as is the decision of which languages to list individually in the census report. While the language is not accounted for within the Macau census, it is nevertheless reasonable to assume that the power and prestige of the language in Hong Kong would have also found some expression in Macau, too.

3.5.2 Hakka

Hakka is a member of the Gan family of Chinese languages and, like Hokkien, one of the most widely spoken varieties of Chinese outside of China. The home of the language is in Meizhou, roughly 485 km away from Macau. According to Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2015) there are more than 30 million speakers of the Hakka dialect worldwide, especially in overseas Chinese communities throughout South East Asia. Hakka is frequently taken as a somewhat stigmatised variety in most overseas Chinese communities, and Hakka speakers frequently face prejudice and discriminatory practices (Constable 2005). It is, therefore, not difficult to imagine that a number of individuals who have some knowledge of the language are likely to under-report use of the language in the census. Nevertheless, the 2001 Hong Kong census reports that 5.1% of residents (roughly 264,000 individuals) use Hakka as either a usual or additional language (although this proportion is a slight decline from 5.3% in 1991). While there is an old and rich heritage of Hakka farmers and fishers residing in Hong Kong (see, for example, Knott 2020), the language and the culture have been in decline for some time. There is no report of the number of speakers of Hakka in any Macau census report before or after the 1999 handover, but, given the prevalence of the language in the region, Hakka has likely had some presence in the language ecology at the end of the colonial administration at the end of the previous century.

3.6 Putonghua

Mandarin Chinese goes by a number of different names. In Taiwan the variety is called *Kuoyü* (or *Guoyu*), literally 'national language'. The term used in this volume, *Putonghua*, literally 'ordinary speech', is the term that has been most widely adopted in the PRC. Interestingly, some overseas Chinese communities like Singapore prefer to avoid the political dimensions of these names and instead refer to the language as *Mandarin* or *Huayu*, lit. 'Chinese language'. While individuals may feel that there is an important difference between the varieties described by each of these different names, most linguists agree that the varieties are mutually intelligible and that the differences between the varieties result from sociolinguistic or dialectal variation.

According to Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2015) there are more than 847 million speakers of Putonghua worldwide and the language retains a very special status as the official language of the People's Republic of China (Chinese Government 2000). Although the language is not widely spoken as a usual language in either Hong Kong or Macau, the status of both territories as Special Administrative Regions (SAR) of the PRC means that Putonghua is also the official language of both SARs. While the number of residents who spoke Putonghua as a usual language was small in both territories in the decade before Macau's handover to Chinese administration (i.e., ranging between 0.9 and 1.6%), the language was used as an additional language by

Table 3.5 Number of Putonghua Speakers in Hong Kong and Macau, 1991–2001

	Hong Kong		Macau	
	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability
1991	51,577 (1.1%)	18.1%	4,016 (1.2%)	–
1996	65,892 (1.1%)	25.3%	4,955 (1.2%)	–
2001	55,410 (0.9%)	34.1%	6,660 (1.6%)	107,853 (25.4%)

Sources Census and Statistics Department (2001), DSEC (1993, 1997, 2002)
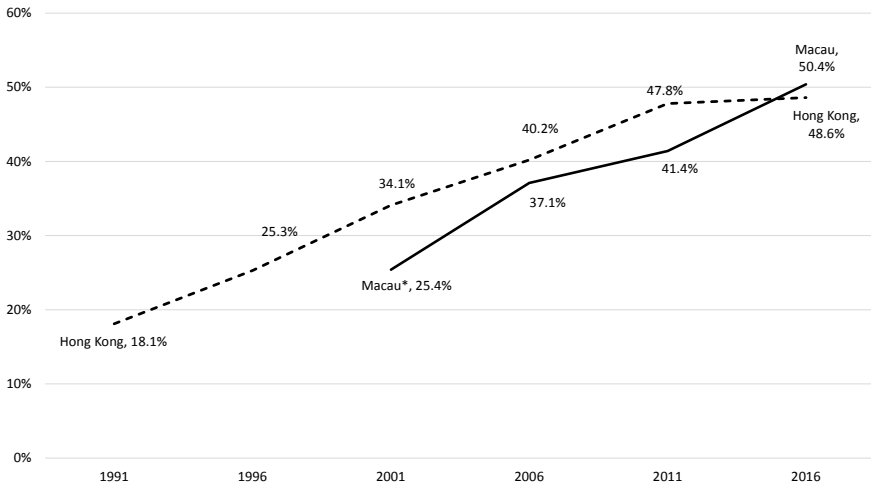
*Data regarding the number of Putonghua speakers is not avilable on the Macaus census or by-census before 2001.

Fig. 3.1 Proportion of Population with Ability to Use Putonghua (Usual and Additional Language) in Hong Kong and Macau, 1991–2016. *Sources* Census and Statistics Department (2001, 2017), DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2016)

an increasing number of users in Hong Kong during the decade. Table 3.5 reports on the data from the census reports of the decade leading up to the 1999 handover of Macau administration to the PRC.

In the 2001 Hong Kong and Macau censuses a greater proportion of residents in Hong Kong (i.e., 33.2%) claimed to use Putonghua as an additional language than in Macau (i.e. 23.8%).[9] And this occurred despite the fact that a larger proportion of residents in Macau speak Putonghua as a usual language than in Hong Kong.[10] Figure 3.1 shows the increase in the number of Putonghua speakers (as both a usual and an additional language) in both SARS since the handovers to Chinese adminis-tration. While familiarity with Putonghua increased in both Hong Kong and Macau,

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[9]Comparison of the proportions of speakers who use Putonghua as an additional language for the two populations suggests that the difference is significant (z score = 126.4789, $p < 0.00001$).

[10]Comparison of the proportions of speakers who use Putonghua as a usual language for the two populations suggests that the difference is significant (z score = 45.6769, $p < 0.00001$).

the proportion of residents claiming to use Putonghua in Macau surpassed the proportion in Hong Kong in the 2016 by-censuses. In that census, more than half of Macau residents (i.e., 50.4%) claimed to use Putonghua, whereas 48.6% of Hong Kong residents made the same claim.[11]

Putonghua is not only taken as the standard language of the PRC, but it is also the most widely learnt variety of Chinese outside of China. The principle power of the variety results from a high level of standardisation and codification of both the spoken and the written varieties of the language, and these two measures of standardisation have had a profound influence on all Chinese language communities that use non-standard or standardising varieties of Chinese. I will, therefore, discuss the effects of standardisation of Putonghua and the complex relationship that it shares to Standard Written Chinese (SWC) in Macau, Hong Kong and, indeed, the entire country of China.

3.6.1 Standardisation of Putonghua (Spoken Standard)

The variety of Chinese that was selected to become standard Chinese is spoken in the northeast region of China, specifically the provinces of Jilin, Liaoning and Heilongjiang, as well as portions of Inner Mongolia. This region is formally known as the *Northeast China* and comprises the historical region of Manchuria. The Symposium on the Standardization of Modern Chinese formally defined Putonghua as taking 'the Beijing phonological system as its norm of pronunciation, and Northern dialects as its base dialect' (Wang 1995, translated and quoted in Chen 1999). Although particular phonological and lexical features that are unique to the Beijing dialect are used to justify claims that *Beijinghuar* 'Beijing dialect' is distinctive from Putonghua, according to PRC law Putonghua is based upon the Beijing dialect (Chinese Government 2000). As expected within the process of standardisation, various vernacular regional features of the variety have been restricted from inclusion in standardised Putonghua, and the functions of the variety have been expanded to all public and private domains for use of the language. In terms of the last step in standardisation, *codification*, Putonghua's pronunciation, lexis and grammar are all highly standardised with very little variability allowed in the language, especially when used in state-owned media (Chen 1999).

Putonghua is distinguished as one of the world's best examples of how languages may be codified quickly (from the top down) and promoted at the expense of other language varieties. A number of scholarly examinations of north-eastern varieties of Chinese contributed to the eventual codification of the phonetic forms of the language: four contrastive lexical tones and an inventory of 404 contrastive syllables that may appear with any of the four tones. In particular, the adoption of the *pinyin* romanisation system clarified several important contrasts in Putonghua that do not

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[11]Comparison of the proportions of speakers who use Putonghua as a usual and additional language for the two populations suggests that the difference is significant (z score $= 27.2532$, $p < 0.00001$).

exist in other varieties of Chinese. While the pinyin romanisation system was widely taught and encouraged since its adoption by the PRC in 1958, the system has become even more important as an input method for writing Chinese on electronic devices. Anecdotally speaking, Chinese university students thirty years ago made frequent transcription errors in their use of pinyin, and these kinds of errors are now quite rare. Contemporary university students are now highly proficient users of the pinyin transcription system because it is essential to the writing of Chinese on a computer.

Before 1979 and the formal adoption of a policy of opening up in the PRC, Putonghua was primarily used as a type of lingua franca, that is, a variety of Chinese used between speakers who do not speak the same Chinese language. It was quite common in the early days of the PRC for Chinese citizens to hear their leaders speak Putonghua with strong regional accents. Chairman Mao Zedeng's pronunciation was heavily influenced by his native variety of Chinese from Hunan (a Xiang variety of Chinese) and Chairman Deng Xiaoping's strong Sichuan accent (a Mandarin variety of Chinese) frequently led citizens to remark that his spoken Putonghua was largely unintelligible (Friedman 1994; Wertime 2012). More recently, however, Chinese leaders have placed a great deal of importance on speaking Putonghua without clearly identifiable regional accents or pronunciations (Wertime 2012).

One may argue, therefore, that the tolerance afforded to variation within Putonghua has changed within Chinese society. In terms of the process of standardis-ation, the change is realised as a reduction in the amount of structural variation within the language. But what is the driving motivation for this more recent change in the degree of standardisation of Putonghua? The most likely answer is that the dominant forces of standardisation have changed from top-down forces into bottom-up forces, and that this change is closely related to the change in political and economic poli-cies within the PRC. Before the institutionalisation of the 1979 opening up policy—a policy that began to experiment with various forms of capitalism—the primary moti-vation for using Putonghua without local accents came from the PRC government. While there may have been small advantages afforded to speakers who were able to use Putonghua without an identifiable accent, these advantages were negligible. The reason for this was that power and prestige were primarily obtained through partici-pation in the communist party. There were few chances to amass wealth outside of that political structure, and the political structure showed a clear preference for indi-viduals from meagre, usually rural, backgrounds. In that political climate there were no imperatives and few advantages afforded to using Putonghua. In fact, precise use of Putonghua (without a discernible accent) might even have undermined an indi-vidual's attempt to assert their priviledged status as a member of the rural poor class of society.

Experimentation with a capitalist economy over the past 40 years, however, has produced a significantly different type of motivation to the use of Putonghua without an accent. The advantages that individuals now find to using Putonghua are more easily quantifiable: better jobs, faster career advancement and other socio-economic benefits. These bottom-up pressures to adopt the standardised spoken variety of Putonghua have proven much more effective than the older top-down pressures. Parents increasingly promote the use of Putonghua at home with their children as

a measure to help them succeed in the more commercially-oriented economy. This predominance of Putonghua reached a new high in 1986 when the PRC government declared that *only* Putonghua should be used as a language medium of instruction (MOI) in all but the China's official ethnic minority schools.[12] With these official and economic developments in China, it is no surprise that a number of scholars have suggested that Putonghua will soon replace other varieties of Chinese as the sole spoken variety with the People's Republic of China (Cao 2001, 2006; Qian 2005).

3.6.2 Standardisation of Standard Written Chinese

The standardisation of Standard Written Chinese (SWC) and the standardisation of Putonghua are intimately connected to one another, although the stories of how these two were standardised are somewhat different. Whereas the overt top-down measures to standardise Putonghua were adopted in 1958 in the PRC, the standardisation of SWC began with the political movement called the May 4th Movement of 1919. Although the May 4th Movement was a student-led political action that eventually led to the establishment of the Republic of China (ROC), it began as a movement to simplify the way that Chinese was written and to adopt a written standard that more formally resembled the spoken language (Chang 2011). Before the development of SWC, Chinese was written in a style called *Wenyanwen*, literally 'literary style'.[13] This style was highly economical and required a great deal of learning to use effectively, and it was, in a sense, representative of the feudal class system that had prevented the majority of Chinese people from developing literacy skills. The May 4th Movement promoted an alternative style called *Baihuawen*, literally 'plain speech style'. *Baihuawen* allowed individuals to write Chinese word-for-word with the same vocabulary and grammar as spoken Chinese; this had not been possible in *Wenyanwen* and the adoption of *Baihuawen* promoted an increase in Chinese literacy. The spoken language that was adopted to form the basis for SWC was Putonghua (although the variety was not known by that name at that time). After the establishment of the PRC in 1949 the connection between the spoken and written standard was more fully formalised so that today SWC is essentially Putonghua, with very few divergences between written and spoken forms.

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[12]Wangdu (2012) notes that Article12 of the 1995 Chinese Education Law provides that 'schools and other educational institutions primarily for "minority" nationalities may use the spoken or written language in common use among the ethnic group or in the locality as the language of instruction'. Members of the officially recognized 'minority nationalities' represent about 8.4% of the Chinese population. There are a number of complicated issues related to the ability to teach in these minority languages: Pei (2013) notes that only 60% of minorities can actually speak their languages; Ma (2006) observes that only 12 of the 55 minority groups have a written script for their language. Most importantly, however, is Tsung's (2009) argument that the same social forces that threaten the Chinese dialects have also made minority language education less attractive to those groups who are eligible for it.

[13]*Wenyanwen* is also sometimes called 'Classical Chinese' and it still has a limited place in the curricula of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau.

While the development of SWC has clearly aided in the widespread development of literacy across China and within Greater Chinese communities like Hong Kong and Macau, it also represents something of a threat to Chinese languages (i.e., dialects) other than Putonghua. There is a great deal of lexical correspondence between spoken Cantonese and SWC, with the exception of some high frequency Cantonese function words (e.g., pronouns, the linking verb, basic verbs like those for 'eat', 'see', 'sleep', 'go', etc.) that cannot be used in SWC. In fact, for many of these words there is no way to write them in SWC and Written Cantonese (WC) has had to develop unique forms for many of these words. While the lexicon of Cantonese largely corresponds to the lexicon of SWC, these high frequency divergences between Cantonese and SWC are nevertheless great enough that there is still a gap between the way one says something in Cantonese and the way that it is written in SWC. Since SWC is used in a relatively specified number of functional domains, Cantonese-speaking regions like Hong Kong and Macau have developed a type of diglossia in which the functions of Spoken Cantonese are not perfectly mirrored in SWC. For example, when a formal speech is delivered in a public venue, like a university graduation, the speech is written in SWC, but delivered in Cantonese. The sentence structure, as much as SWC differs from Cantonese, will represent Putonghua structures and words that are not normally used in Cantonese are used because they have been written into the SWC text. These 'written to be read' genres, therefore, represent an interesting kind of diglossia (or, more accurately digraphia) where SWC is read with Cantonese pronunciations. In other spoken genres, however, Cantonese words and sentence structure would prevail.

This means that Cantonese speakers, in order to become proficient users of SWC, must learn the vocabulary and grammar of Putonghua. They may continue to use Cantonese pronunciations of the SWC vocabulary without fully acquiring Putonghua pronunciation, but there will always be a discernible gap between the way something is written in Chinese (i.e., SWC) and said in Cantonese. One might argue, in fact, that the acquisition of SWC for a Cantonese speaker is instruction in a non-native dialect, or a non-native language. Granted, few Cantonese speakers see it this way, but that is, in part, because of the complementarity of written and spoken genres: there are relatively few genres where a text is written to be read, or where faithful transcription from spoken Cantonese is required.[14]

3.7   Conclusion

Chinese is, without doubt, the single most important language within Macau's linguistic ecology. However, Chinese is not a single language, and any attempt to

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[14]There are increasingly frequent examples of written texts that attempt to use uniquely Cantonese terms and sentence structure. This use of Written Cantonese, however, only appears in a small number of highly specified domains and it may represent a kind of emerging digraphia (Moody and Hashim 2009).

understand language in Macau without properly accounting for the degree of multi-lingualism that exists *within* Chinese varieties will fail to fully understand Macau's linguistic ecology. While Putonghua is the official language of the People's Republic of China and, as a Special Administrative Region of the PRC, the official language of Macau, less than one-quarter of the population used the language as either a usual or additional language before the 1999 handover to Chinese administration. The proportion of the population using Putonghua since that time, however, has grown to more than half. While Cantonese remains as the dominant usual language in Macau, it is spoken as a *standardising* language—one that has not yet developed the full range of codification that Putonghua (and Standard Written Chinese) has undergone. And Hokkien most clearly defines much of the unique character of Macau's linguistic ecology. While there is good evidence that Macau was a Hokkien fishing village when Portuguese traders first arrived in the sixteenth century, only a small number of residents have retained Hokkien as their usual language as the community has undergone shift toward Cantonese. Chapter 4 will continue to examine the linguistic ecology of Macau before the 1999 handover in terms of the non-Chinese languages that have been brought to the territory as a result of nearly 500 years of colonial domination.

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Chapter 4
Historical Contexts of Multilingualism: Non-Chinese Languages of Macau (1500–1999)

4.1 Introduction

Macau was the first permanent European colonial presence established in China, and it was, interestingly enough, the last one whose sovereignty was returned to China. The Portuguese explorer Jorge Álvares led the first European sea-based mission to South China in 1514 and Portuguese merchants and traders established trading enclaves within the vicinity of Macau; a permanent Portuguese trading outpost in Macau followed soon after that initial expedition to the South China coast (Russell-Wood 1992). Whereas Chapter 3 was devoted to an understanding of the various Chinese languages that have interacted within Macau's linguistic ecology before the 1999 handover of sovereignty to the PRC, this chapter will explore the non-Chinese languages that entered Macau's language ecology after the arrival of the Álvares expedition. Once these languages arrived in Macau, many were allowed to flourish within the territory until the 1999 handover. This chapter will endeavour to develop a detailed catalogue of all the non-Chinese languages that have likely had a significant and lasting effect upon Macau linguistic ecology before the 1999 handover of the territory to Chinese administration. In addition to the colonial languages that were brought to the territory from Europe after the Álvares expedition, a number of regional non-Chinese languages also entered the Macau language ecology at various times in its nearly-500-year history as a Portuguese territory. Finally, this chapter will discuss the unprecedented development of two contact varieties that developed as a direct result of colonial intervention in Macau: a Portuguese-based creole and an English-based pidgin.

4.2 Colonial Languages

The 500-year history of Macau can be conveniently divided into three shorter periods for more detailed examination: (1) the zenith of Portuguese trade between China and

Japan through Macau (1557–1639); (2) the entrance of other European trader to contest Portuguese dominance in South China (1640–1842); and (3) the decline of Portuguese dominance in the region until the eventual handover of the territory (1843–1999). Portuguese traders and clergy defined Macau's earliest history and the dominance of the Portuguese language within Macau's linguistic ecology is most clearly unchallenged during the earliest colonial years. Macau's growth and development as a territory during the zenith of Portuguese trade was fuelled by the highly-profitable trade of Chinese silk and Portuguese firearms to Japan in exchange for silver (Russell-Wood 1992). This most lucrative period as a Portuguese trading colony ended, however, when the Japanese port in Nagasaki was permanently closed to foreign traders in 1639.

Portugal maintained administrative jurisdiction of Macau after the collapse of the Japan trade routes, but the appeal of trade was never again as sweet as it had been when Japan was willing to pay for goods in silver, and Portugal's dominance in the region as a world colonial power was challenged directly by the Dutch and somewhat less directly (although ultimately more effectively) by the British and other Western trading interests. During the second stage of Macau's history, the territory was technically still a colony of Europe, but was instead characterised more as a European enclave within South China. As such, the territory developed as a hub of contact for anyone—traders, clergy, sailors, merchants, etc.—who had business with China. This hub drew a number of colonial European as well as regional languages (both Chinese and non-Chinese) into an increasingly diverse and complex linguistic ecology. European languages entered Macau as European interests began to compete for dominance within China. In his analysis of the history of English in China, Bolton (2003) describes the nature of European languages that were first brought to Macau and then to the rest of China: first as vehicles of trade, then in support of particular religious ideologies and finally as mediums of instruction in education. This second period of Macau's history (1640–1842) saw the introduction of English to South China as the worldwide colonial power bases moved away from Portugal and towards England. This local implementation of global power in Macau and the rest of South China reached a new peak in 1842 when England's victory in the First Opium War secured a permanent trading outpost on Hong Kong Island.

Macau's linguistic ecology is nearly medieval and the contemporary effects of a long history of multilingualism are, in many ways, difficult to assess. However, the city has responded to ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity throughout its 500-year history by allowing the development of language policies that tolerate and preserve multilingualism. Portuguese has served as a central language of government and administration, but, since Macau developed as a hub of intercultural contact, Portuguese was not finally institutionalised as the single, or even dominant, language of commerce and education in the territory. Instead, the Portuguese administration allowed speakers of other languages to enter the territory and work toward their own interests in whatever language best suited those interests. The growth and development of Hong Kong since its founding in 1842 represents the growing interest from England in trade and cultural exchange with (or, as some may argue, cultural

domination of) China, but those interests did not begin blithely in 1842. They had, instead, grown and developed for more than a century earlier in Macau.

And this is how the history of colonial languages might be understood in Macau during the final period of Macau's history (i.e., 1843–1999), from the establishment of a permanent British settlement in Hong Kong to the eventual handovers to Chinese administration of Hong Kong in 1997 and of Macau in 1999. While Portuguese has clearly been Macau's single most important colonial language for administration of the territory, it is not the only European language spoken in the territory, and this fact has had a profound influence on the way that the territory developed and continues to develop. Nevertheless, the Portuguese language forms a 'major artery' that runs through the entire history of Macau's linguistic ecology to define the territory that was returned to Chinese administration in 1999 and, indeed, since that time.

4.2.1   Portuguese

The Portuguese language was first brought to the South China coast in 1514 when Jorge Álvares travelled to the Pearl River delta from the Portuguese trading outpost of Malacca in search of opening trade with the Chinese. The Portuguese had successfully established militarised outposts in Goa (in modern India) and in Malacca (in modern Malaysia) in 1510 and 1511 respectively to protect trading vessels travelling between Asia and Europe. Although Álvares's and successive missions to seek an official trading relationship with China were initially unsuccessful, the Portuguese travelled up the South China coast and were able to find a number of Chinese who were willing to trade without the sanctioned approval of their emperor. According to Coates (1978), the Portuguese were able to establish a small enclave in Liampo (i.e., modern Ningbo, Zhejiang, China) as a base of trade with Malacca and Europe until the settlement was attacked in 1549 by Chinese forces seeking to stamp out illicit trade. This was, however, after the Portuguese accidentally discovered Japan in 1542–1543 and established a highly prosperous trade relationship between Liampo, Malacca and Nagasaki. Unwilling to lose the developing trade relationships with Japan, which relied heavily on Portuguese traders' ability to supply Chinese silk to Japan, the Portuguese established an outpost further south on the South China coast on Sanchuang Island (also *Shangchuan*, according to Gunn 2018), called São João (i.e., St. John) in Portuguese, and continued the lucrative trade with Japan. In 1553 the traders abandoned Sanchuang for the more suitable Lampacau Island (also *Lampakkao* and *Langbaigang*), which was considerable closer to the current location of Macau (Gunn 2018). From the base in Lampacau, Portuguese ships were equipped to fight marauding pirate attacks in the regions and thereby, according to Coates (1978), earned the respect of the local Canton merchants and government officials. Operations to further protect shipments along the South China coast began to move toward Macau, and eventually led the Portuguese to find and occupy the peninsula of Macau. Although we do not know the exact date when this began, the celebrated Portuguese explorer Fernão Mendes Pinto wrote a letter in 1555 addressed from the

port of Macau. In the winter months of 1556–1557 official settlement of Macau began, purportedly with official and formal permission from the Canton government.[1]

4.2.1.1 Macau Portuguese, 1557–1639

Unfortunately, we have little information about those first individuals who travelled to the Far East and entered Macau's language ecology. Gebhardt (2015, p. 28) notes the importance of the *lançados*, described as 'Portuguese convicts and adventurers who settle abroad, married local women, and "went native," as well as their *mestiço* descendants' (p. 28), in facilitating communication between local Chinese merchants and traders travelling to and from Europe. The Portuguese were so successful at developing various trading relationships in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that Russell-Wood (1992) describes Portuguese as 'the *lingua franca* of the west coast of India, and of much of the coastal regions of Asia and Africa' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (p. 192). Portuguese ships were notoriously multilingual, a fact that is often overlooked, or dismissed, in the attempt to compose a narrative that is consistent with the standard language ideology's myth of purity (see Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008). While the ship's officers and most of the merchants were probably first-language speakers of Portuguese, there is no reason to assume that this would be true for the crews of the ships. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008), in an analysis of the multiple variants that populate the linguistic ecologies around the formation of new Englishes, argue that target language variants were neither uniform nor monolithic:

> The superstrate was also shaped by sailors, soldiers, adventurers, hunters, missionaries, tradespeople, indentured workers, plantation owners, overseers, settlers, schoolteachers, and—in some island and costal contexts—divers and whalers. This was a rather varied input, that reminds us that the notion of a TL [target language] is an idealisation. More often—and certainly outside the classroom—the TL was a varied and 'moving' target. (188–9).

This approach to understanding the historical development of new Englishes informs our description of linguistic ecologies and how they relate to the transmission of colonial languages. There would likely have been many different varieties of Portuguese used on board the vessels, and even a smattering of other European languages. Coates's (1978) narrative of this early period of Macau's history notes what he calls 'an unusually cosmopolitan side' of the Portuguese presence in Asia: 'provided a man spoke Portuguese and was a Catholic—or pretended to be—it was not too difficult to find a place for himself in Portuguese Asia' (63).

It is, therefore, important to avoid overly simplified characterisation of these early developments of Macau's linguistic ecology. Overly simplified accounts of contact between speakers of what we today understand as the Portuguese language and speakers of an equally over-simplified understanding of the Chinese language may appeal to individuals who seek to promote the myth of purity when investigating

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[1]Bolton (2003) notes that a number of historians dispute the accuracy of some of Coates's accounts. Coates (1978) claims that the permission to settle Macau was from Canton 'though exactly in what form and from whom is not known' (28).

linguistic and cultural contact. But the standard language ideology and its myth of purity may also prevent investigators from recognising the full range of variability when languages do (or did) come into contact.

The first arrival of the Portuguese language in Macau, then, would not have been the highly standardised variety that we know and use today; that particular language in the 16th century had only begun to develop a standardised variety that is fully distinct from other romance, and especially Iberian, varieties of language (see discussions in Hock and Joseph 1996 and Ostler 2005). The SLI and the myth of purity not only produces a discourse that obscures the origin of the standard language, the discourse of purity also obscures the true nature of language contact, especially nascent language contact like that represented in the early history of Macau. The language ecology that developed from the earliest Portuguese contact in Macau would have been extremely diverse and open to many possible influences from various dialects and languages. In addition to the Portuguese and Chinese traders in the territory, there undoubtedly would have been individual merchants from Malacca (one of the primary destinations from Macau) and likely traders from Goa, too. Coates (1978) makes an important point about the independence of Macau's *Senate* (i.e., the body of municipal governance) that is interestingly relevant to the development of Macau's early language ecology. Under the Portuguese colonial structure, Macau should have been governed directly by the colonial administration in Goa, but 'Goa did not authorize the foundation of Macao. Goa was informed, some months after the event, that Macao had been founded' (32). Coates points this out in order to argue that, technically speaking, 16th century Macau did not fully fit into the Portuguese administration of Asia, and this is a feature of the territory's independence that lasted for centuries (33). This independence in the formation and administration of Macau would have influenced the early formation of the territory's linguistic ecology. Far away and formally isolated from Portugal's colonial infrastructure, Macau was founded by diverse interests competing in a relatively unrestrained and unregulated political ecology. Is it any surprise that, centuries later, Macau's language policies are frequently described as *laissez faire*? The lack of strict regulation and freedom that came to characterise the territory did not result from a period of neglect; it was the design from the outset.

With the establishment of St. Dominic's Church in 1587, however, we have a much better chance of knowing the types of Portuguese that were mixing into the language ecology. Although church services and scholarship were undoubtedly performed in Latin, priests would likely have been first language speakers of a wide variety of European, especially Romance, languages. This would have been the most likely place for an introduction of the standardised form of Portuguese as it was developing in Europe at that time. The support of Standard Portuguese and other European languages grew in 1594 with the establishment of East Asia's first European university in Macau.[2] St. Paul's University College was operated by the Jesuits near St.

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[2]Santo Tomas University in the Philippine capital of Manila is the oldest continuously functioning university in Asia. It was established in 1611 by 3 priests (Miguel de Benavides, Frs. Domingo de Nieva and Bernardo de Santa Catalina) in the Spanish colony. Pires (1987) notes that the Madre de

Paul's Church in Macau until 1762 and the college brought a range of students from as far away as Japan and Goa for study (Santos 1968). The College was not considered a comprehensive university according to the standards of the time, but it did grant recognised degrees for 168 years before it was closed. While the language of instruction would undoubtedly have been Latin, teachers in the college would also have come from diverse places with equally diverse language backgrounds.

Macau developed between two harbours, the western inner harbour and the eastern outer harbour, of the peninsula. The 16th century city was not yet enclosed within walls, but Coates (1978) notes that there was what he describes as a 'border crossing' at the narrowest part of the peninsula north of the city. While this crossing was originally established to collect duty on goods brought into the city by land, rules were also enforced to ensure that Chinese would not remain within the city overnight (Bolton 2003). Interestingly, Coates (1978) argues that Chinese who had converted to Christianity—an act that was always accompanied with cutting the long braided 'queue' of hair and wearing western suits—were not necessarily expected to leave the city; they were not considered exempt from the rules, but, as Coates argues, they were no longer considered 'Chinese'. In terms of the city's language ecology, therefore, we can surmise that Chinese would have had a very strong presence within the city, even after dusk. Of the city's 5000–6000 residents at the end of the sixteenth century, Coates estimates that only 1000 would have been Portuguese (pp. 43–44). And he also notes that those 1000 Portuguese residents, especially in the early decades of settlement, were exclusively men. These Portuguese residents were encouraged to take local Christian wives, but there were few Chinese Christians in Macau, especially in the earliest years of settlement. Instead, wives were brought to Macau from the mixed-race Christian communities that had begun to develop in Malacca and from communities of Japanese Christian converts. Coates (1978) argues that 'from these three main strands—Portuguese, Malacca mestiça, and Japanese—the native-born Macanese originated' (p. 45). More recently, Xavier (2016) defines the Macanese as 'Portuguese-Eurasians born in Macau, or the descendants of Portuguese Eurasians not born Macau but with cultural roots in Portugal, Goa and western India, Macau, Hong Kong, Canton, Shanghai, Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia, or Timor' (p. 94). About the origins of this community, Prestage (1933) notes that the Portuguese conqueror of Goa and Malacca, Afonso de Albuquerque, had instituted a policy of interracial marriage with local women from the earliest founding of Macau and Xavier (2016) cites historian António M. Jorge da Silva's speculation that 'the first Macanese was probably the child of a Portuguese father and a Malaccan, Japanese, Malay, or Goanese mother' (p. 95). While more will be discussed about this particular linguistic community, the Macanese, throughout this chapter and this volume, the Portuguese genealogists Jorge Forjaz (cited by Xavier 2016) has suggested that there are two

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Deus School in Macau was made into a University College in 1594 to become 'the first European style university in the Far East, 25 years before the creation of the University of S. Tomás in Manila' (p. 16).

Fig. 4.1 Macau's Likely
Population Demographics in
1600. *Source* Coates (1978)
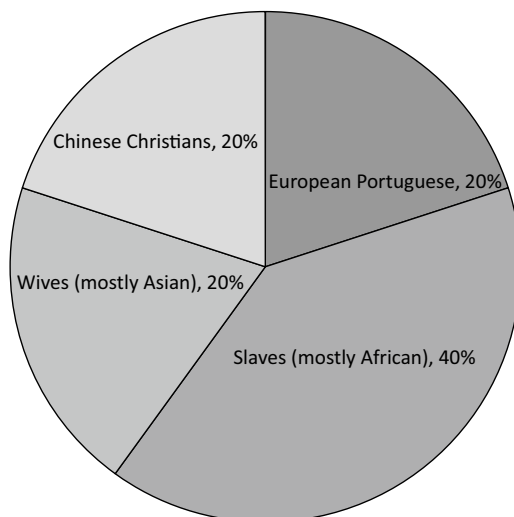
Macanese migrations[3] that took place during this period of history: from Portugal to
Goa (1514–1700) and from Goa to Macau (1557–1850).

Finally, Coates (1978) suggests that there were twice as many slaves in Macau
as there were Portuguese, since each family kept several. In terms of the language
ecology, these slaves may have been Africans from Portuguese colonies in Africa
(Portuguese Guinea, Cabo Verde, Mozambique, etc.), Malays or Indians. Needless
to say, the large number of slaves would have introduced a number of different
possible languages into the language ecology that came to define Portuguese in
Macau. Figure 4.1 below suggests a likely demography of Macau at the end of the
sixteenth century.

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw a number of challenges to the
Portuguese interests worldwide and in Asia by the Dutch. According to Coates (1978)
Dutch ships were first sighted in Macau in 1601 as Dutch merchants sought to open
their own trading relations between Japan and China. The Dutch East India Company
successfully established trading relations with Japan in 1609, but found that the
Portuguese monopoly on Chinese silk prevented them from achieving the same level
of prosperity that the Portuguese had. Although Macau had from the beginning of
the seventeenth century been founded to fortify defences against pirates, the territory
was woefully ill prepared when the Dutch laid siege to the city on 23–24 June 1622.
Coates (1978) observes that the Japan fleet of Portuguese trading vessels had arrived
from Malacca just before the siege, but that 'there were only 1,000 people in the city,
with only eighty Europeans capable of bearing arms' (58). In Coates's account of the
siege of Macau, the Dutch invaders outnumbered the Macau Portuguese defenders,

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[3]Xavier (2016) discusses four Macanese migrations where the two remaining occur in the last period
discussed in this chapter: from Macau to Hong Kong (1841–1945) and from Hong Kong to other
countries (e.g., the United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil and Portugal) from 1945 to the present.

but the battle was determined when Portuguese cannons hit the Dutch main powder magazine. The defenders were also able to attack the invasion force with enough ferocity that their inferior numbers were obscured. Many of the invaders were killed or captured and the surviving Dutch quickly fled back to their ships and sought a truce.

This particular battle for Macau was not unique within the Portuguese history in Asia: the Portuguese had faced the Dutch invasion forces before in Mozambique (1607 and 1608), in Goa (1603 and 1610) and in Malacca (1616 and 1629); and Macau would sustain another attack in 1626 and Malacca would fall to the Dutch in 1641 (Russell-Wood 1992). However, this particular attack did much to confirm the Portuguese identity of the city, and it was celebrated as a Macau holiday each June 24th until the 1999 handover of Macau. Sadly, the holiday is no longer observed as an official holiday in Macau, although many long-term residents continue to remember it.

Huang (1999) estimates the population of Macau from the earliest settlement records in 1562 through population census documents in 1999. It is not entirely clear what boundaries of the territory Huang uses for the analysis, nor is it clear how the ethnicity of the population is distinguished as Chinese, Portuguese or other. In particular, it seems that Huang's analysis of population statistics probably extends to the entire region that became the contemporary Macau, beyond the strict confines of the 'old city' walls. Furthermore, there is no formal treatment of the Macanese population, and it seems likely (from the numbers that Huang suggests) that this population was treated as Chinese, as they are sometimes treated in contemporary Macau. Despite these methodological questions about Huang's (1999) population statistics, the data represents one of the only attempts by historians to establish authoritative statistics about Macau's population across the territory's entire history. Macau's population from 1562 to 1639 is illustrated in Fig. 4.2 to show the likely growth and development of the city during this first phase of history.

4.2.1.2 Macau Portuguese, 1640–1842

The seventeenth century had opened with a number of challenges to the Portuguese Empire. Attacks by the Dutch represented one challenge, but the Iberian-based empire had also been challenged by the Habsburg (a.k.a. Hapsburg, as it is usually written in English) kingdom of Spain, which ruled Portugal for 60 years from 1580 to 1640. During the rule of Portugal by the Habsburgs, the Portuguese kings were exiled to Brazil (Disney 2009) and Macau remained loyal to the house of Bragança (a.k.a. Braganza). When João IV ascended to the restored Portuguese Empire in 1640 he added the final phrase to the formal name of the city to become *Cidade do (Santo) Nome de Deus de Macau, Não há Outra Mais Leal*, 'City of the Holy Name of God of Macau, There is None More Loyal'; Macau became known within the empire as the *Leal Senado*, the 'Loyal Senate'.

Macau had been founded as a Portuguese trading outpost focussed on a highly profitable trade with Japan. The lucrative trade in Chinese silk was exchanged for
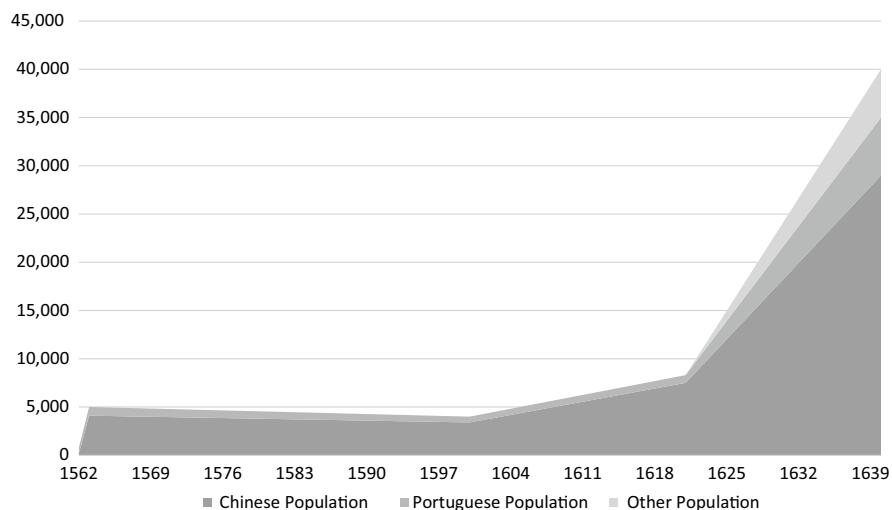
Fig. 4.2 Macau's Estimated Population, 1562–1639. *Source* Huang (1999)

Japanese silver and transactions were conducted in a small Portuguese enclave on the island of Dejima in Nagasaki harbour (Gunn 2018). Japanese silver had bankrolled Macau's establishment and justified the continuous Portuguese presence within the territory (Cremer 1987; Cremer and Willes 1991). The trade with Japan was, however, short-lived. In 1587 the ruling Daimyo Toyotomi Hideyoshi forbade Christianity, which had developed primarily through the activities of Portuguese missionaries in Nagasaki. After a number of conflicts with the ruling Tokugawa shogunate, Tokugawa Iemitsu expelled Portuguese traders and clergy from Nagasaki in 1639 and formalised a period of isolation in which Dutch traders were the only Europeans allowed to remain in Japan. Having lost the lucrative trade in Japanese silver, Macau's place within the Portuguese trading empire was uncertain (Cremer 1987; Dyke and Paul 2005). Portuguese outposts in Malacca and Goa proved to be much more supportive of continued trade between Europe, South Asia and South East Asia. When the trade with Japan ended there was still a European market for Chinese teas and porcelains, but it was clear that Macau had already enjoyed its greatest success as a centre for trade and investment during its colonial period. After a number of Dutch victories in South and Southeast Asia in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese interest in trade with East and South East Asia waned (Boxer 1988, 1990). Portuguese traders instead preferred to trade directly with Malacca, Goa and a number of outposts in Africa. The establishment of plantation colonies in Brazil from 1530 onward had also drawn Portuguese attention further away from East Asia until the Portuguese presence in Macau, except for the church and a modest governmental and military presence required to support those endeavours, was diminished by the mid-seventeenth century (Ostler 2005). The city had successfully repulsed the most threatening Dutch invasion force in 1622 and had remained a loyal Portuguese territory, but the territory never

developed a base of industry or manufacturing for Portuguese enterprises. Instead, the territory became a host to merchants, traders and sailors from various other European colonial powers that had intentions to establish permanent trading relations with China. And as other colonial powers began to gain interest in trade with China, Macau became a platform for other nations to promote their own agendas in the region.

After the collapse of trade with Japan, Macau lost its importance to the Portuguese empire as a trading partner, and the administration of the city in the second half the seventeenth century began to faulter into lawlessness. Chinese officials had constructed a *barrier gate* north of the city in the earliest days of Macau's history to prevent Chinese from living in the city, but from the earliest history of the city residents had found ways to circumvent the law requiring Chinese to leave the city walls at night (Coates 1978). Now the barrier gate was closed to prevent smuggling and other unlawful activities outside of the city, and residents of Macau learned what they have always known about living in Macau until this day: the city survives only because it is allowed commerce and resources from China. Coates (1978) describes that the city survived during these desperate years only because officials allowed the gates to be opened once a fortnight for trade and supplies. Indeed, Huang's (1999) reckoning of Macau's population in Fig. 4.3 during this second period of history illustrates the rapid decline of the city in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The survival of the city was not guaranteed throughout the seventeenth century, but things began to improve with the start of the eighteenth century. A growing number of traders from Holland, England, France, Sweden, Denmark and even the newly established United States brought individuals of all nationalities to Macau as an entry point into trade with China (Van Dyke 2005). The Chinese '*Hong* merchant'
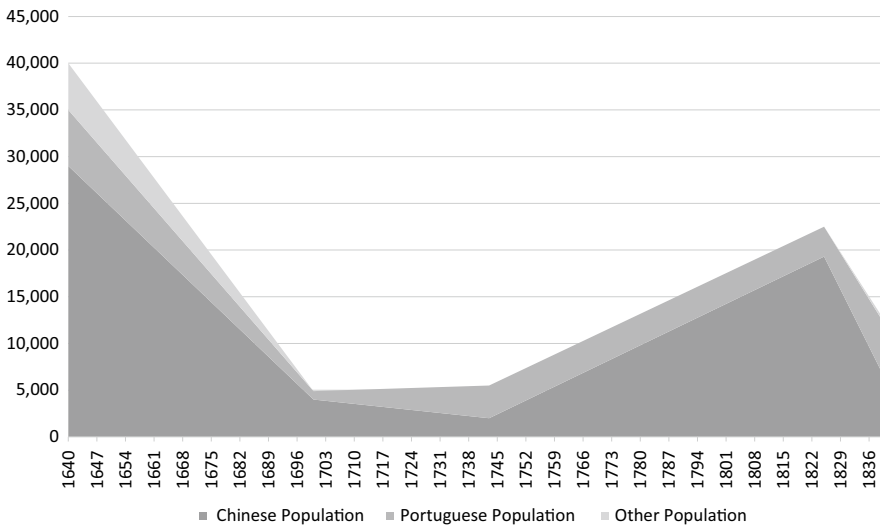
Fig. 4.3 Macau's Estimated Population, 1640–1836. *Source* Huang (1999)

system, which began in 1700 and continued until the end of the Canton system in 1842 defines much of the development of Macau during this time period. Only a handful (i.e., no more than a dozen) Chinese merchants were licensed by the Chinese Qing (a.k.a. Ch'ing) government to trade with foreign interests, and trade was only allowed to be conducted in Guangzhou (a.k.a. Canton) in what were called *factories* during the trading season (Van Dyke 2011). The factories were, in fact, warehouses where traders could collect and store merchandise before moving it to large ocean-going vessels in Whampao (i.e., 黄埔 Cantonese *Wongbou,* Putonghua *Huangpu*). Located on Saamin (Putonghua *Shamian*) Island in Canton, the factories were also home to the foreign traders during the trading season and traders were not allowed to leave the island. The policy of isolating foreign traders on Saamin Island was, perhaps, informed by the Portuguese intramuros system, a system that the Chinese rulers had allowed to develop in Macau (Gebhardt 2015). When the Canton trading season was over, however, the traders had to leave Guangzhou and the only place they could reasonably go to, without returning to Europe, was Macau. In this way Macau came to host a small international community of seasonal residents—traders residing in Macau in the off-season—but overseen and administered by Portuguese colonial officials. Therefore, while Portuguese remained the dominant colonial language within the city, it was not the only European language used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It was during this period, in the years of a burgeoning European trade with China through the narrow corridor of Macau and Canton, that Macau once again began to thrive as a multilingual territory and become, as Coates (1978, p. 83) describes it 'the outpost of all Europe in China'. Traders from all the major European powers found their way to Macau throughout the trading season, but especially in the off-season when they were not allowed to stay in Canton. At this time a number of different Chinese varieties also found their way into Macau's language ecology, but they were also somewhat marginalised from the daily life of the city.[4]

The earliest Portuguese traders had come to Macau without families, but took wives from Goa, Sri Lanka, Malacca and Japan. These are the earliest racial origins of the Macau Eurasians who became known as *Macanese.* As Chinese converted to Christianity, they also came to enter into married union with both Portuguese and Macanese until the Chinese language and culture came to dominate the group (Pina-Cabral 2002). The term Macanese here refers to local Macau residents who are of mixed race origin (i.e., Eurasian), and are traditionally distinguished from

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[4]It seems unlikely that Huang (1999) has fully accounted for the seasonal population surges in his estimation of Macau's population during this period of history (see Fig. 4.3).

the much larger Chinese community.[5] Little has been written about the sociolinguistic position of the Macanese before the nineteenth century, but this period of Macau's history would have required local residents to use *both* the Portuguese spoken by soldiers, priests and administrators arriving from Portugal *and* the local variety of Portuguese, a creole language called *Makista* (see 4.4.1). As intercultural go-betweens, the Macanese were generally fluent in both varieties of Portuguese, in addition to Chinese (usually Cantonese) and English.

While the resumption of European trade with China in the eighteenth century supported Macau's administrative infrastructure, which was essentially a Portuguese colonial infrastructure, Coates (1978) also observes that Portugal lost two-thirds of its trade volume due to mismanagement and incompetence during the reign of José I (1750–1777). Although Macau was able to retain a semblance of wealth and development during the international period of the city's history, colonial Portugal lost much of its international power during this same period. Coates (1978) notes that during the reign of José I an edict was issued abolishing slavery in Macau, although there is good evidence that slaves were still held within the territory into the nineteenth century. Writing from his notebooks kept while visiting Macau in 1835, the American missionary Elijah Coleman Bridgman estimated the population of Macau was composed of 'Portuguese, say from 4600 *a* 4700, of these 2600 *a* 2700 are females, 800 *a* 900 are slaves, and 300 are soldiers; Chinese population 30,000′ (Bridgman 1835, p. 292). Figures 4.2 and 4.3 illustrate these proportions of the population for both the entire population and the Portuguese population respectively (Figs. 4.4 and 4.5).

Finally, Coates (1978) reminds us that Macau Portuguese speakers established the first newspaper to be printed in East Asia in 1821 when reform-minded colonials brought a printing press to Macau. The Portuguese *Abelha da China* 'The Bee of China' was printed in Macau as a liberal newspaper, espousing the reformist politics that supported a constitutional monarchy, and was edited by the Principal of the Dominicans. When liberalism failed and autocracy prevailed in Portugal, the newspaper was disbanded and reformed as the more conservative *Gazeta de Macau* 'The Macau Gazette'. Nevertheless, the introduction of modern newspaper printing

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[5]The term *Macanese*, as one might expect, is frequently taken as a site of ideological contention about who may (and who may not) claim identity as a local resident of Macau. The term is frequently over-generalised by Chinese speakers from the PRC to refer to any Chinese resident of Macau, roughly the equivalent of 澳門人 Cantonese *Oumun-jan* (Putonghua *Aomenren*) 'Macau people'. These same speakers from the PRC will in turn refer to mixed-race Macanese people as *Portuguese*, despite the fact that Macanese may have little, if any, experience in Portugal. Ironically, Clayton (2009) describes an attempt by the Macau late-colonial government in the 1990s (just 9 years before the handover) to similarly over-generalise the definition of Macanese to 'everyone born in Macau, regardless of ethnicity, language, religion or nationality' (p. 110). This is not, however, the standard use of the English term by most Macau residents and this difference of usage may cause confusion, especially in scholarly works about Macau written by writers from the PRC. The use of the term in this text follows the Oxford English Dictionary's note that the word usually specifies 'mixed Chinese and Portuguese descent', although we note that the mixture is usually much more diverse than this narrow definition allows. For description of the Macanese of Macau see Cabral & Lourença (1993), Pinto (2001) and Pina-Cabral (2002).
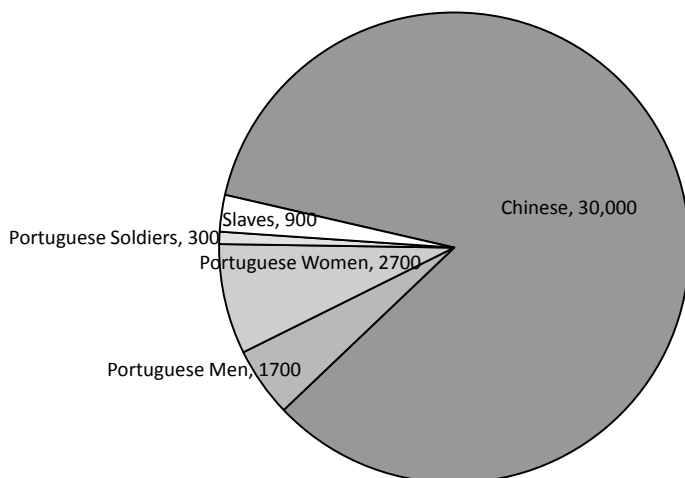
Fig. 4.4 Macau's Total Population Demographics in 1835. *Source* Bridgman (1835)
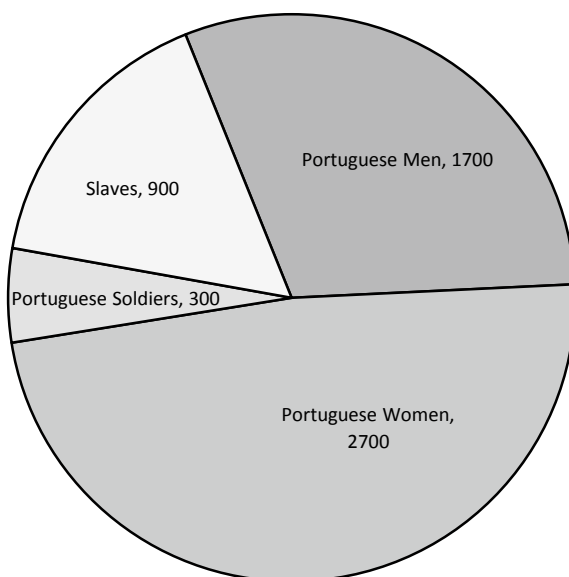
Fig. 4.5 Macau's Portuguese (Non-Chinese) Population Demographics in 1835. *Source* Bridgman (1835)

was a significant innovation introduced by the Portuguese to China early in the 19th century.

4.2.1.3 Macau Portuguese, 1843–1999

Great Britain's establishment of a permanent colony on Hong Kong island in 1842 had a tremendous effect on Macau, whose Portuguese trade had dwindled to a fraction of what it had been two centuries earlier. Macau had become, essentially, a multicultural European enclave, administered by a Portuguese colonial authority in support of other nations' trade and diplomatic missions to China. Coates (1978) describes the initial *brain drain* of Portuguese (and especially well-to-do Macanese) outside of Macau:

> Until well into the present [20th] century, the government of Hongkong and the principal firms and banks in Hongkong and Shanghai were dependent for their smooth running on their methodical, painstaking Portuguese clerks, originally from Macao. (p. 108).

Macau became a source of local managerial-level labour throughout the development of trade and administration that England had negotiated to establish in Hong Kong, as well as the foreign concessions in Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai.

There was, however, ambiguity in the role that Macau was to take within the Portuguese empire. From the earliest days, Macau was administered by the Portuguese with a small garrison of Portuguese military stationed within the city, but the Portuguese administrators never disobeyed directives from China. To do so, as the city has always understood, would mean the potential closure of the barrier gate that had been constructed at the north end of the territory and consequential starvation of the city. The city had been administered within the Portuguese colonial infrastructure as a municipality of the Overseas Province of Goa until 1844, when Macau was upgraded to become an Overseas Province. At this point, the Portuguese administrators began to assert the city's autonomy and expand the borders from the old city walls outward to the barrier gate. The First Opium War (1839–1842) had concluded with the cessation of Hong Kong to Great Britain and the Second Opium War (1856–1860) had expanded that territory to include Kowloon and eventually allowed foreign traders into the concessionary cities of Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai. At this time of British colonial expansion into China, the Portuguese became acutely aware that their presence in Macau had never been asserted by military might nor formalised by treaty. The Portuguese sought to secure sovereignty over Macau by treaty in 1864, but were not successful until the Sino-Portuguese Treaty was signed on 1 December 1887 in Beijing. According to Coates (1978), the provisions of the treaty were: (1) perpetual occupation and government by Portugal; (2) the promise that Macau would take steps to control the flow of opium into China; and (3) the promise that Macau would never alienate its dependencies without agreement with China.

Figure 4.6 illustrates Huang's (1999) estimates of Macau's population from 1878 to 1938. This sixty-year period begins at a time when the Portuguese government was seeking to make Macau a formal colony of Portugal, but it was also during this period that the Macanese diaspora out of the city was in full swing. With Macanese finding opportunities for work outside of the territory, the city slowly became repopulated from the surrounding region of Guangdong Province. Huang, however, does not
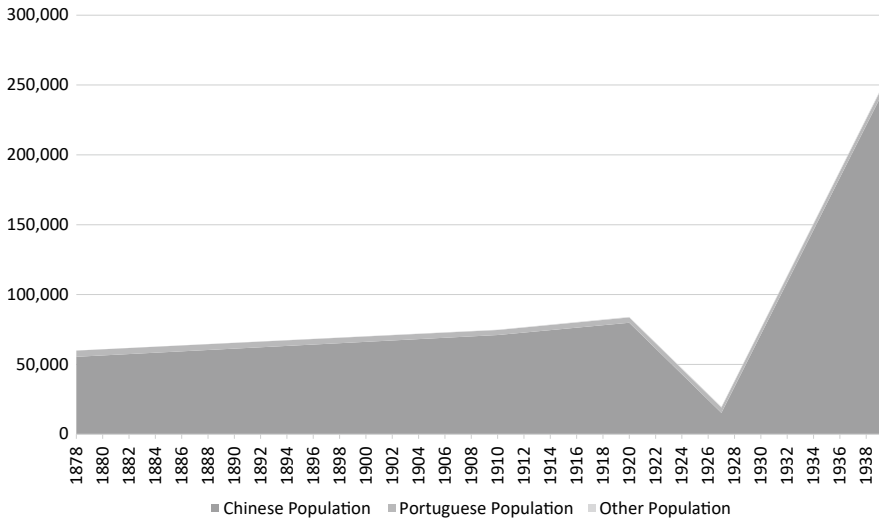
Fig. 4.6 Macau's Estimated Population, 1878–1938. *Source* Huang (1999)

account for the massive refugee population that flooded into Macau between 1941 and 1945 during World War II. The resident population of Macau was about 200,000, but the city took in 400,000 refugees to triple the city's population (Reeves 2014). During the second world war, Portuguese Macau was a neutral territory, but surrounded by Japanese occupation forces in China and Hong Kong, and it became a refugee centre for the region. With an additional population of 400,000 refugees, Macau's population during the war was essentially the same as the population in 2016, but on one third of the current land area (i.e., just peninsular Macau, without any population living in Taipa or Coloane islands). Without modern structures to house the massive influx of refugees into the territory, the population survived on boats throughout the territory. Unfortunately, Huang does not account for these events within their estimation of the Macau's population during World War II.

While Macau was a culturally diverse multilingual city, the administration of the territory was enacted entirely through the medium of Portuguese. This is, however, in sharp contrast to the myriad languages of trade and commerce used within the territory, a contrast that persists until the present day. As the language of colonial administration, Portuguese functioned as the dominant language of the courts, the top administration of the territory and, most importantly, the civil service. This particular feature of the civil service—the use of the Portuguese language—has been some-what retained since the handover and will be discussed in more detail in 5.3.1. The civil service that developed during the late colonial period was one in which non-Chinese-speaking Portuguese authorities, usually filling the highest positions in the government, communicated with the general population through a class of *Macanese*

civil servants. Edmonds (1993) notes that the Macau government was intent to establish 'a Portuguese imprint on the Macau civil service' and, therefore, routinely sent local residents to Portugal for training during the late-colonial period (p. 883).

The language habits of the Macanese have had a significant impact on the educational system and on various medium of instruction (MOI) policies in local schools. Mellor (1988) notes that it was the colonial policy since 1850 to provide Portuguese medium of instruction education to the Macanese. The linguistic situation that had developed up until this time was a type of limited diglossia in which Chinese (i.e., Cantonese) was the language used in the home and in informal interactions. These functional domains of Cantonese largely correspond to what Ferguson (1959) calls an 'L variety' in diglossic speech communities. As in other diglossic communities, then, Portuguese fulfilled the functional roles typical of what Ferguson calls an 'H variety'. Portuguese was used in formal domains of law, government and education. However, the language of the Macanese was not the same Portuguese language of the highest administrative officers from Portugal; instead, the language of the Macanese was a creolised variety of Portuguese that may have roots in the Portuguese creole spoken in Malacca (Baxter, 1996) but is nevertheless indigenous to Macau. This language will be discussed in more detail in 4.4.1 and the contemporary importance of the language will be discussed in 5.3.3. Holm (1989) describes the institutionalisation of Portuguese education as the beginning of decreolization of the native *Makista* (a.k.a. Macau Creole Portuguese), although there is good reason to think that other languages within the ecology also hastened the death of the creole. The late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries also witnessed two more migrations of the Macanese out of Macau, first to Hong Kong (1841–1945) and then to other countries like the United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil and Portugal (see 4.2.1.1 and Xavier 2016 for more about the Macanese migrations). These last two migrations of Portuguese speakers out of the territory continued the trend that Bridgman had noted within the *Chinese Repository* in 1835, when the Chinese population outnumbered the Portuguese by more than 6 to 1. Edmonds (1993) estimates that there were less than 10,000 Macanese in Macau in the decade before the handover and Pina-Cabral (2002, p. 37) estimates that there were only 7000 (with many living permanently in Hong Kong). Both numbers are consistent with the number of Portuguese speakers reported in the 1991 and 2001 censuses. Huang's (1999) estimates of Macau's population growth from 1950 to 1997 are illustrated in Fig. 4.7.

In the twentieth century, therefore, Standard Portuguese came to dominate within both the civil service and in the schools that used Portuguese as a medium of instruction (MOI). Generally speaking, though, Portuguese language education was limited to those children of resident Portuguese and the Macanese. Most local Chinese residents did not choose to send their children to Portuguese medium of instruction (PMI) schools. Furthermore, the language was rarely taught as a second language in any of the non-Portuguese MOI schools. The Macau government began in 1978 to offer grants to schools to support the teaching of Portuguese, but Bray (1992) notes that these had little impact until 1987, when the grants were promoted more prominently. In 1988 the Macau government made an unprecedented declaration that Portuguese would become a compulsory subject in all private schools, but strong
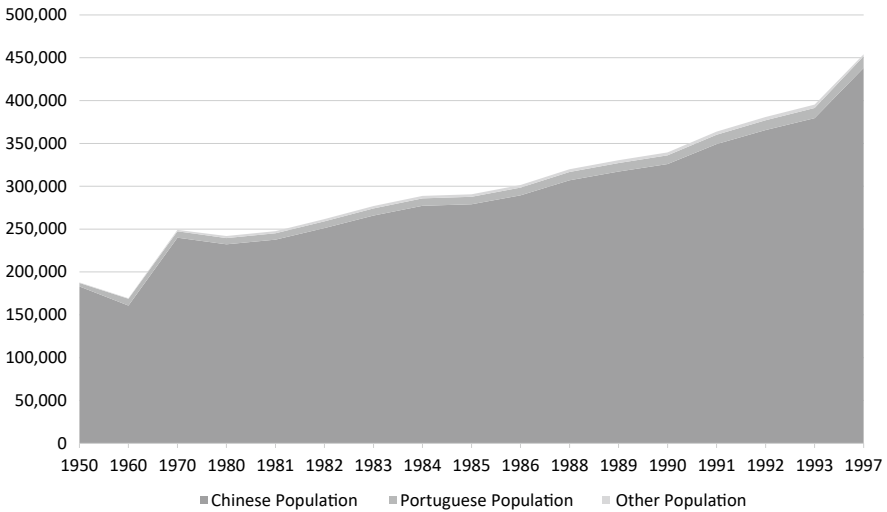
Fig. 4.7 Macau's Estimated Population, 1950–1997. *Source* Huang (1999)

local opposition ultimately pressured the government to retract the proposal. Consequently, widespread Portuguese language instruction, as either a teaching medium or a subject language, was never established within the territory.

Unfortunately, the Macau censuses did not ask questions about languages spoken until the 1991, and data presented from the censuses and by-censuses conducted before 2001 only report what the Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos (DSEC) 'Department of Census and Statistical Services' calls the usual language. Reports of additional languages are included in census reports from 2001 onward. Nevertheless, the census data in Table 4.1 from the decade before the 1999 handover demonstrate how dramatically the number of Portuguese speakers had declined during the twentieth century. Although the number of Portuguese speakers (i.e., as a usual language) increased by 20% from 1991 to 1996, the number as a proportion of the population, from 1.82% to 1.85% remained more or less stable. This proportion, however, declined to only 0.66% of the population using Portuguese as a usual language in 2001. While it is impossible to know from these early census data how many individuals used Portuguese as an additional language before 2001,

Table 4.1 Number of Portuguese Speakers in Macau, 1991–2001

	Usual language	Language ability
1991	6132 (1.82%)	–
1996	7352 (1.85%)	–
2001	2813 (0.66%)	11,144 (2.63%)

Sources DSEC (1993, 1997, 2002)

the 8331 residents who spoken Portuguese an as additional language accounted for just 1.96% of Macau's population in 2001.

4.2.2 English

Hong Kong was formally established as an English colony in 1842 and, from that time on, became the de facto centre of the language's presence within the Pearl River Delta and, indeed, all of China. The historical circumstances that led the unequivocal cessation of Hong Kong Island to British control was the defeat of the Qing Emperorship in the First Opium War and the subsequent Treaty of Nanking, signed on 29 August 1842. Expansion of Hong Kong's territories to a lease on Kowloon, the New Territories and some 233 outlying islands came in 1898 as a by-product of the defeat of Chinese forces in the Second Opium War (1856–1860).[6] Before the establishment of an English colonial presence in Hong Kong, though, English traders were resident in Macau.

Coates (1978) writes of an English couple named Forbisher who were on their way to work as shipbuilders at the English outpost in Hirado, Nagasaki, in 1620 when they were shipwrecked off the South China coast. The couple and their maid, Judith, were arrested by the Portuguese and brought to Macau, but the Forbishers were eventually taken to Malacca where the husband was executed and the wife repatriated to England. Priests in Macau, however, had convinced Judith to convert to Catholicism and remain in Macau, where she became *Julia.* In Macau she married a young Macanese man who was given a post in Malacca's customs house. When Peter Mundy, one of the earliest English travellers to China, also visited Malacca in 1637, he wrote of an English woman 'Married to a Portugall Mestizo' (Coates 1978: p. 68). As the earliest written English record of contact between the English and Chinese, Mundy's diary of his trips to Macau paints an important picture of the history of English in China, and Bolton (2003) goes to great lengths to describe in detail the scholarly importance of the diaries. The first English traders to arrive in China would have had little, if any, proficiency in Chinese and, like Mundy, would have relied upon Spanish and Portuguese as *linguae francae* (Gebhardt 2014). Bolton (2003: p. 135) describes a number of 'mixed Indo-Portuguese' terms that Mundy introduces in his diaries, such as *bamboo*, *junk* (as in a boat), *pagoda*, *tea* and *typhoon* and argues that 'Mundy's journal is notable not so much for examples of early pidgin, but much more for examples of early "Asian English(es)"' (p. 138). Coates (1978) notes that from the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a slight, but regular increase in the number of English traders that came into Macau. By the end of the century the

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[6]Although Hong Kong Island had been ceded to Great Britain, the earliest negotiations to facilitate the return of the leased territories to Chinese control made it clear to the Thatcher government that it would ultimately be impossible to return part of Hong Kong (i.e., the leased portion of Kowloon and the New Territories) and retain Hong Kong Island. Therefore, negotiations began in 1982 to return the entire colony to Chinese sovereignty (see Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China 1998).

British East India Company occupied the property that Coates (1978, p. 84) calls the Camões Museum, 'the finest property in the place'. The introduction of English to the linguistic ecology of Macau in the eighteenth century heralded the rise of a new international power and the next lingua franca that would be used in the wake of that power. The English traders who came to trade with the South China coast were soon followed by Protestant missionaries who, similar to the Portuguese Catholics before them, sought to establish Protestant Christianity in China.

The first of these Protestant missionaries to produce a Chinese translation of the Bible, English-born Robert Morrison, moved to Macau in 1807 and worked continuously until his death in 1834 on a Chinese translation of the Bible. The endeavour to translate the Bible into Chinese and to introduce Protestant Christianity to China largely coincided with the growing economic and military power of England. Unable to support his family in Macau in any other way, Morrison took a job as a translator for the British East India company and was able to continue his work on a Chinese-English dictionary and his translation of the Bible. Despite ill-feelings about the way that the British East India was compelling China to open its ports to the opium trade, Morrison continued working for the company until 1834, just before his death later that year (Townsend 2007; Hancock 2008; Daily 2013). Morrison's grave, incidentally, can be viewed at the so-called Protestant Cemetery attached to Morrison Chapel in Macau. The Chapel sits near the Entrance of the Camões Gardens in Macau, alongside a building that houses the Portuguese government-funded *Fundação Oriente* 'Oriental Foundation'. This building, however, was the original headquarters of the British East India Company when it was centred in Macau. Macau also hosted an English-language printing press, the first of its kind in the region. So et al. (2000) note that there were a number of newspapers published in Portuguese and English in Macau between 1822 and 1840, but that between the two languages 'the English newspapers published in Macao during this period had greater impact' (553). English language instruction in Macau began with the Morrison Education Society School, which operated briefly in Macau from 1839 to 1842, after which it then moved to Hong Kong (Bolton 2003). And this is the story of much of the earliest English-language influences in Macau: after 1842, English-language institutions moved to Hong Kong and Macau was effectively abandoned as an English-language outpost.

What was the impact of the establishment of Hong Kong upon Macau's society, economy and language ecology? That is a relatively easy question to answer by simply looking at the role that Hong Kong played in Macau's social development up until the 1999 handover of Macau to the PRC. The founding of a trading outpost in Hong Kong created an instantaneous need for English-language administrative skills from the very small population of the Chinese fishing community that was in Hong Kong prior to 1842. The more contemporary phenomenon of brain drain began to syphon off much of the most capable administrative leadership from Macau to work in Hong Kong, and there is good evidence that this brain drain continues today, even with the impressive recent development of the Macau gaming economy (see 5.2.2 for a description of the contemporary growth of this economy). While Holm (1989) attributes the death of the Macau Creole Portuguese to the institutionalisation of standard Portuguese as the MOI in Macau schools, there is also good evidence that

English also played a role in the decreolisation and eventual loss of Makista from the Macanese community.

Holm suggests that the death of Makista (which he calls Macau Creole Portuguese) is likely related to the high degree of proficiency that most nineteenth century Macanese had in English and the ensuing brain drain that drew many of these speakers to Hong Kong. For example, Holm (1989) quotes a journalist writing in Hong Kong around 1900 as saying that 'it was as hard to find a Macanese who could *not* speak good English as it was to find one who could speak good Portuguese' (p. 297, emphasis in original). The lack of 'good Portuguese' might be a reference to the dominance of Makista, where the standardised variety is evaluated as 'good' and those varieties that diverge are regarded as deficit. But what is more compelling about the journalist's description is the observation that English at the end of the nineteenth century had already become closely associated with the Macanese community. The traditional fluency in English doubtlessly enabled much of the Macanese migration describe in 4.2.1.3, first from Macau to Hong Kong (1841–1945) and later, from 1945 to present, from Hong Kong to other countries (Xavier 2016). Macau's linguistic ecology, however, especially when compared to Hong Kong (as it frequently is) represents a more complex situation with regard to English and Portuguese, the two colonial languages that had dominated the ecology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Portuguese began to disappear long before the handover of administration of the territory from Portugal to the People's Republic of China. While the city had become a Chinese-speaking city by the end of the seventeenth century, English rose to prominence within the city throughout the eighteenth century until the founding of Hong Kong, when most of the English-language infrastructure (including, most importantly, the English-speaking Macanese population) moved to Hong Kong.

Statistics about the number of English speakers in Macau at the time of the handover suggest, however, that the loss of English in the nineteenthth and early twentieth century was not complete. Again, it is unfortunate that the census does not distinguish between usual and additional languages until the 2001 census, but we can clearly see the dominance of English at that time in Table 4.2. While there were twice as many Portuguese speakers as English speakers (i.e., residents who reported speaking Portuguese or English as their usual language) in 1991 and 1996, the number of English speakers did not drop as sharply in 2001 as did the number of Portuguese speakers. The number of Portuguese speakers dropped by 61.7% from 1996 to 2001, but the number of English speakers dropped by just 12.4% during the same period. According to the census data, the number of Portuguese and English speakers in the territory in 2001 was nearly the same: there were 2813 speakers of

Table 4.2 Number of English Speakers in Macau, 1991–2001

	Usual language	Language ability
1991	1777 (0.53%)	–
1996	3189 (0.80%)	–
2001	2792 (0.66%)	47,228 (11.1%)

Sources DSEC (1993, 1997, 2002)

Portuguese as a usual language and 2792 speakers of English as usual language. The difference of 21 speakers represents just 0.005% of Macau's population in 2001. However, in addition to the 2,792 speakers of English as a usual language, another 44,436 individuals (representing 10.5% of the total population) spoke English as an additional language. This means that in 2001, just two years after the Macau's 1999 handover, the number of residents who reported an ability to use English as either the usual or an additional language was 4.24 times larger than the number of residents who reported an ability to use Portuguese. This emphasis on English included a number of highly competitive schools that use English as the institutional MOI (Lau 2009). A number of scholars have speculated that the 1999 handover allowed Macau to place a greater emphasis on the development of English within the territory (see, for example, Young 2006), but a more accurate and complete understanding of the linguistic ecology would recognise that English had already been dominant within the territory for at least 150 years before the handover.

4.2.3   Spanish, Dutch and Others

The Macau censuses do not list any European (i.e., colonial) languages other than Portuguese and English in the census reports, although there are good reasons to think that other languages were in the linguistic ecology of territory before the 1999 handover. As other nations sought to develop colonial interests in China, Coates (1978, p. 83) calls Macau 'the outpost of all Europe in China.' Two languages that bear special mention here are those of Portugal's earliest rivals, Spanish and Dutch. Van Dyke (2006) notes that during the Habsburg (a.k.a. Hapsburg) years of the Portuguese empire, from 1580 to 1640, there was Spanish influence on various Portuguese settlements and that a long-standing trading network—one that would facilitate the trafficking of labour from South China to North America in the nineteenth century—involving Macau, Manila and Mexico developed during this time. Gebhardt (2015) demonstrates further that, although the Portuguese Jesuits in Macau and the Spanish Dominicans in Manila pursued very different strategies of colonisation in their respective cities, there was also extensive cooperation during the reign of the unified kingdom, and that the cooperation resulted in frequent communication between the two Iberian settlements in Asia.

One source of information that testifies to Macau's multilingual history is the Old Protestant Cemetery where Robert Morrison is buried. The cemetery sits below Morrison Chapel within the grounds of the Casa Garden. Coates (1978) tells the story of how Morrison secured permission to bury his wife within the garden; as a protestant she had not been allowed burial inside the city walls at the Portuguese cemetery. Once the Protestant cemetery was established it became the final resting place for anyone in Macau who did not die a Catholic. In their pictorial guide to the cemetery, Ride and Ride (1996) describe each of the memorials and grave markers within the cemetery. Of the 189 markers and memorials within the cemetery, the vast majority (i.e., 112, representing 59.3% of the 189) are of British subjects. Another

Fig. 4.8
Non-English-Language
Graves in the Old Protestant
Cemetery. *Source* Ride and
Ride (1996)
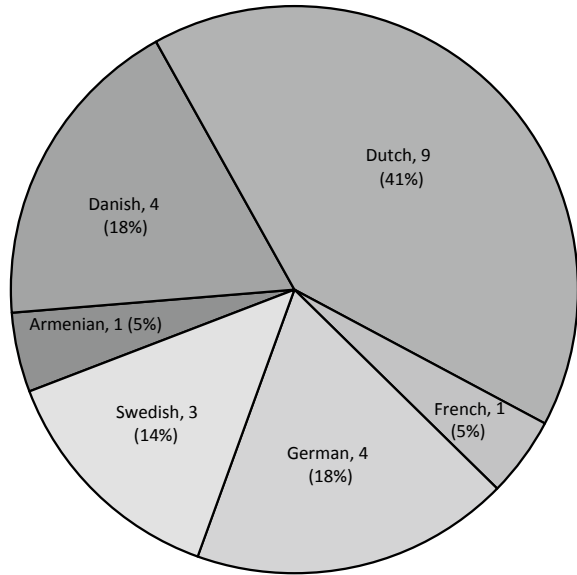
52 Americans and one Australian[7] bring the number of presumed English speakers represented within the cemetery to 165, representing 87.3% of the markers. Two of the markers are unknown, but six other languages are represented by the remaining 22 markers in the cemetery: Armenian (1), Danish (4), Dutch (9), French (1), German (4) and Swedish (3). Figure 4.8 illustrates the distribution of the languages represented by the remaining 22 memorial markers in the Old Protestant Cemetery. While a survey of the gravestones does not definitively describe the Macau's linguistic ecology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is highly suggestive of the degree and types of European multilingualism that existed within the small multicultural enclave.

4.3   Regional Non-Chinese Languages

The development of Macau as a hub of cosmopolitan contact—a meeting point where trading relationships could be negotiated, financed and enacted—formed the foundation for the contemporary territory of Macau. Portuguese administrators were necessary to the operation and administration of the hub and, according to accounts examined in 4.2, a modest Portuguese military presence was required to combat piracy in the region. While this hub drew Chinese and European speakers into a complex and developing linguistic ecology, the hub also introduced speakers of other

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[7]The Australian who is memorialised with a marker in the Old Protestant Cemetery is, in fact, Prof. Lindsay Ride, one of the compilers and authors of the manuscript cited here (Ride and Ride 1996). The stone in the wall was installed after his death in 1977 and is the most recent memorial within the cemetery.

non-Chinese regional languages. This section will examine the different non-Chinese East and South East Asian languages that have been introduced into Macau's ecology during its history of nearly 500 years as a Portuguese administrated territory.

4.3.1   *Japanese*

The Portuguese presence in Japan, like other colonial presences around the world, was designed to accomplish two goals in Japan, the development of trade and the establishment of Christianity. The Portuguese, therefore, brought much more than a vital and thriving trade of various goods and produce from East and South East Asia; they also brought Christianity to all of their trading outposts and enclaves across Asia, including the South Western Japanese port region of Nagasaki. The Portuguese influence on the Japanese language has been well documented, and the Portuguese loanwords that were borrowed into Japanese in the sixteenth century represent the first and oldest European influences in what would eventually become a large volume of borrowings from English, French, German and other European languages (Loveday 1996). Japanese words for goods traded from Portugal and its trade colonies include a number of terms that mostly represent novel items (food and clothing) from European culture, including パン *pan* 'bread', 天ぷら *tempura* 'batter fries', たばこ *tabako* 'tobacco', シャボン *shabon* 'soap', 地盤 *jiban* 'undershirt', etc. (Loveday 1996). These loanwords not only illustrate the active vibrant trade that Japan enjoyed with Portugal; they also illustrate Japan's connection to global enterprises that were devoted to promoting multilateral trade between various partners worldwide. For example, the Japanese term for 'spicy', ピリ辛 *pirikara*, is formed by blending Portuguese *piri* with the indigenous Japanese flavour term *kara*, a term that can refer to 'salty' flavours in food or 'dry' flavours in alcoholic drinks. The Portuguese element of the blend, like most loanwords in Japanese, is written in the katakana script—a script that is normally reserved for transcribing loanwords from non-Chinese languages—and the term is identical to the current Portuguese term for spicy sauce or oil, *piripiri*. According to the OED, the English term *peri-peri* refers to a flavour 'made from or flavoured with hot red chillies' and this term, like the Japanese word, was also borrowed into English through the transmission language of Portuguese. This word for 'spicy' is not indigenous to Portuguese, but is instead a loanword derived from the Portuguese experience in Africa. The term *piripiri* (or *peri-peri*) is common to many Bantu languages and the OED attributes the source of the loanword to Tsonga, a Bantu language spoken in, among other places, the former Portuguese colony of Mozambique. The word was presumably borrowed into Japanese through the same transmission language from whence it was borrowed into English, from Portuguese. Without Portuguese as a language of transmission, it seems very unlikely that this African loanword would have found its way into the Japanese language 400 years ago.

Perhaps none of the Portuguese influences on Japanese culture have been so thoroughly examined as the introduction of Christianity in the 16th century. Portuguese

missionaries established churches throughout Nagasaki prefecture, including many of the islands that belonged to the prefecture. Christianity, however, was banned by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1587 (Boxer 1951; Kitagawa 2007) and this led to the eventual expulsion of Christian missionaries from Japan and the persecution of Japanese who sought to profess or practice their faith. The martyrdom of 26 Japanese Christians in Nagasaki is commemorated in a memorial sculptured relief on Nishizaka hill, near the sight of the Nagasaki atomic bombing memorial. Although Christianity was successfully repressed in urban Nagasaki, it continued to be practiced in secret on many of the isolated islands around Nagasaki, especially in the Gotoh Archipelago of islands. Within these island communities *secret Christians* developed iconography that intended to blend Christian images with Buddhist icons and even obscure the Christian nature of the works of art. Secret Christians preserved a number of different rituals from the Catholic mass (Sieg 2019) and musical styles of chanting called *orasho* (from Latin *oratio* 'prayer') (see van Ooijen no date), but the Catholic Church has not authenticated the secret Christian ceremonies as canonical practices (Harrington 1993). Today, the secret Christian practice of religion in Japan has virtually disappeared.

The bones of the 26 Nagasaki martyrs are quite visible where they are interred within the ruins of *Saõ Paulo* (St. Paul) Church in Macau, one of the most iconic and recognisable symbols of Macau. When Jesuit missionaries were expelled from Nagasaki, they fled to Macau, and, in addition to the bones of the martyred Japanese, brought back a number of converted Japanese Christians (Coates 1978). There are legends that Japanese stone masons contributed to the design and construction of the iconic church facade, making the ruins of the church an especially poignant resting place for the martyrs' remains (Gunn 2011). More generally, Gunn (2011) describes the diasporic Japanese communities of the seventeenth century in Southeast Asian cities like Manila, Phnom Penh, Hoi An and Macau. After return to Japan was prohibited by Tokugawa Iemitsu in a series of exclusion acts (1633–1636) these communities simply 'disappeared through assimilation into the host communities' (p. 211). Gunn notes that Japanese would generally live in two specific districts of Macau, *Patio de S. Paulo* and *Patio de Espinho*, and that there was also a community living on the other side of the border gate that separated Macau from China. In addition, Gunn (2011, p. 231) cites Teixeira's (1979) identification of 25 graves of Japanese Christians buried in São Paulo Church between 1648 and 1688. While Macau's community of Japanese Christians were easily assimilated into the Macanese population, Gunn further notes that Chinese authorities would frequently send shipwrecked Japanese sailors to Macau (e.g., as they did in 1685, 1795, 1798, 1813 and 1832) unintentionally ensuring that the Japanese language maintained a presence within Macau's linguistic ecology (p. 231).

4.3.2   Malay

In addition to Macau, the other sizable Portuguese-established colonial presence in South East Asia was the colony of Malacca.[8] The linguistic relations between the two cities, Macau and Malacca, extend back to the founding of Macau, only 46 years after the establishment of a Portuguese presence in Malacca. Both cities adopted an intramuros system of isolation from the larger Chinese or Malay communities outside the inner-city walls (Luoreiro 2002). Although merchants and labourers could enter the cities during the daytime, the cities were closed at night and allowed only their 'foreign' Christian residents to remain. There were two linguistic effects of the intramuros system. First, as Portuguese and other residents took local wives and raised families within the intramuros, the city walls provided a clear boundary where creole languages could develop (see 4.4.1 on the development of the Portuguese creole language Makista in Macau). Second, the inherent similarity of the Macau and Malacca intramuros formed a natural organic bond between the two cities, and allowed for easy migration and communication between the two cities. The Malay influence on Kristang (the Portuguese creole that developed in Malacca) was extended to Makista during these periods of contact between the two cities (Baxter 2005; Cardosa 2012; Pinharanda Nunes 2012a).

In the twentieth century, and especially in the years before the handover to Chinese administration of the territory, Macau became the immigration destination for a number of ethnic Chinese from Malaysia and other locations in South East Asia (Pina-Cabral 2002; Koo 2015). Although these immigrants were primarily speakers of Chinese languages (e.g., Chiu Chow, Hokkien, Hakka, etc.) and English, they have ensured that Malay continues to have a presence within the linguistic ecology, if not directly, at least an indirect influence on the varieties of Chinese spoken by immigrants.

4.3.3   Konkani and Hindi

The Portuguese administration of Goa on the western coast of India has for a long time had an influence on the administration of Macau. Goa was established as a Portuguese outpost in 1510, only 47 years before the founding of Macau, and it was, therefore, an important stop in the shipping of merchandise and the transfer of passengers between Europe and Macau. At several points in the history of the Portuguese administration of Macau, the territory was considered part of the overseas colony of Goa and in this way the relationship between the two territories was formalised. While many

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[8]The current name *Melaka* represents a standardised transcription according to Malaysian language policy to use the national language Bahasa Melayu and its romanisation script for place names. Since I am discussing historical influences here, I will use the older historical names of city (i.e., *Malacca*, rather than *Melaka*) and the language (i.e., *Malay*, rather than *Bahasa Melayu*).

Table 4.3 Estimated number of residents from India, 1999 and 2020

	Before the 1999 Handover	In 2020
Goa	115	66
Daman	29	25
Diu	4	0
Other Parts of India	45	30
TOTAL	**193**	**121**

Source Estevam Gomes (personal communication, 14 May 2020)

historians believe that the earliest Macanese mothers were from Goa (see Pina-Cabral 2002 and discussion in 4.2.1.2), there was continuous communication between the two territories until the end of Portuguese administration of Macau in 1999. Earliest descriptions of Makista (Macau Creole Portuguese) also note the influence of *Canarim*, an older Portuguese name for Konkani (the primary language spoken in Goa) (Pereira 1889, cited in Pina-Cabral 2002).

Currently, there is still a small community of Portuguese speakers from Goa as well as the two other Indian communities of Diu and Daman, ensuring that the languages of this community continue to be represented within the linguistic ecology. The local language of Goa is Konkani, although speakers from the territory frequently speak Portuguese, English and Hindi as well. Although there are no publicly available estimates of the size of this community, Estevam Gomes, who originally came to Macau from Goa in the 1980s, estimates that about 115 Goans lived in Macau before the 1999 handover, as well as 29 individuals from Daman and 4 from Diu (personal communication, 14 May 2020). However, 42% of these residents from Goa had left Macau by 2020 (see Table 4.3). Gomes further estimates that 75% of the residents from Goa speak both Portuguese and Konkani, and that 95% speak English, making this community an essentially trilingual community. Only 20% of speakers from Goa speak Hindi, although Hindi and English are spoken by most of the other Indians residing in Macau.

4.3.4 Burmese

Pina-Cabral (2002) notes that from the 1950s ethnic Chinese individuals in Southeast Asia were frequently the brunt of ethnic discrimination and violence, and that this was the source of a wave of ethnic Chinese immigration into Macau (see also Koo 2015). Following a repressive movement against Chinese merchants in Burma (a.k.a. Myanmar, as it is called today), a number of ethnic-Chinese Burmese fled the country with many of them settling in Macau. Cao (1999) notes that in the 1970s 8,000 Burmese Chinese immigrated to Macau and that, at the time of the handover, the number of Burmese immigrants had grown to as many as 10,000. While this number may not seem like an especially large number, ethnic-Chinese citizens from Burma would have accounted for nearly 2% of Macau's resident population at the time of the

handover. While many of these ethnic Chinese spoke, or came to speak, Cantonese as their usual language, the influence of the Burmese language, in addition to the other possible Chinese varieties that would have been introduced by these new immigrants, came to find a place within Macau's linguistic ecology.

4.3.5   Timorese and Other South East Asian Languages

Cao (1999) investigates the impact of immigration from South East Asia upon Macau society before the 1999 handover and notes that, in addition to the large number of individuals from Burma (a.k.a. Myanmar) who settled in Macau, the next largest immigration from South East is a group of 10,000 Cambodian Chinese who immigrated in the 1970s. Despite the fact that such a large group of immigrants came to Macau in a relatively short period of time, the impact of the Cambodian language upon Macau's linguistic ecology is probably mollified by the eventual loss of this community. Cao (1999) notes that by 1999 less than 2000 of these immigrants from Cambodia had remained in Macau.

Cao (1999) also reports that a number of immigrants began arriving to Macau from Indonesia in the 1960s. He estimates that around 5,000–6,000 immigrants, most of whom were ethnic Chinese, began arriving in the 1970s, although only 2000 of these remained in Macau until 1999. There is, however, good reason to consider that this group's influence on the Macau linguistic ecology remains after the handover. First, there has been consistent growth in the number of domestic workers entering Macau from Indonesia since the 1999 handover, and the use of Indonesian labour is likely to support the continued presence of the language within Macau's linguistic ecology. Second, many of the Indonesian immigrants that Cao (1999) identifies would likely have come to Macau seeking political and cultural refuge from Timor-Leste (a.k.a. East Timor). As one of the 'forgotten' colonies of Portugal in South East Asia, the territory is situated at the eastern end of the island of Timor. Timor-Leste gained its independence from Indonesia in 1999, and much of the argument in favour of independence relied upon historical evidence that the Portuguese language and Christianity had forged ethnolinguistic identities that were unique to the region and were maintained in distinction to those of the rest of Indonesia (Taylor-Leech 2008, 2009; Shah 2012). During much of the resistance movement that sought independence for Timor-Leste, refugees, both political and economic, fled Timor to Macau, whose Portuguese administration gave them refuge.

4.4   Contact Languages

Mufwene (2015) describes the complex relationship between different types of colonialism and the contact language varieties produced by those colonial histories. Whereas trade colonialism produces pidgin (i.e., trade) languages, 'exploitation

colonialism' (i.e., a type of settlement colonialism that relies upon the trafficking of human labour) produces creoles. The resulting relationship between colonialism and contact language genesis is that pidgins and creoles are distributed complementarily to one another according to the type of colonialism that was practiced within the former colony. Where pidgins developed in former trade colonies, creoles normally did not develop. And in the former colonies where slavery was primarily responsible for supplying labour, creoles developed and pidgins did not.

Macau, however, is one of the rare areas where both types of contact languages—a trade pidgin *and* a creole language—developed over the nearly 500-year history of colonialism in the territory. Macau's colonial experience as a colony of Portugal, one that supported and encouraged Portuguese men to take Asian wives from Portuguese Asia supported the development of the Macanese Eurasian community. While this alone could have driven the linguistic development of a creole variety of Portuguese, the phenomenon was probably assisted by the large number of slaves that were trafficked into the city as labourers. But this was only the first of Macau's colonial experiences. As a trading outpost that was opened primarily to English-speaking traders in the eighteenth century, Macau also developed an English pidgin. These two colonial experiences as both a settlement *and* a trade colony do not negate one another; both are part of the cultural and linguistic heritage of the territory. But they instead illustrate the very different types of colonialism brought to the territory by Portugal and Great Britain. Whereas Macau was a settlement/exploitation colony of Portugal from its founding until the nineteenth century, the English presence in Macau treated the city as a trade colony. And, most importantly, the linguistic consequences of these two types of colonial histories are clearly evident within Macau's historic language ecology.

4.4.1 Makista

The Macanese, as should be obvious by this point in the chapter, are central to the history of European and other languages in Macau. The first Portuguese to journey to Macau and other parts of Asia were men, and numerous historians have noted that European women normally did not come to settle in Macau (e.g., Forjaz 1996; Russel-Wood 1992; Pina-Cabral 2002; Xavier 2016). Xavier (2016) cites the Portuguese historian da Silva in the assertion that the first wives in Macau would have been ethnic Asians from Malacca, Japan or Goa who had converted to Christianity. Pina-Cabral (2002) further notes that local Chinese women who converted to Christianity would have also been marriageable to these early Portuguese settlers. Within a very short period of time from the original settlement of Macau, from the collapse of trade with Japan at the beginning of the seventeenth century onward there were very few European Portuguese entering Macau and the Macanese dominated the life and administration of the city (Meuwese 2012). While the earliest settlers from Portugal would likely have spoken 'some form of maritime Portuguese' (Pina-Cabral 2002, p. 21), those varieties would have been used within the complex linguistic ecology

described in 4.2.1 above. The resulting Macau Portuguese Creole language of the native Macanese community that formed in the sixteenth century was Makista.[9]

The mixed-race Macanese community began to develop within the first period of Macau's history (i.e., 1557–1639) with constant emigration from Portugal and Goa, but new arrivals became less frequent as after the trading relationship with Japan collapsed. Cultural and social isolation from Portugal during the second period of Macau's history (i.e., 1640–1842)—despite the fact that the territory remained a *Leal Senado* 'loyal municipality'—was intensified by the deterioration of Portugal's trade economy. Throughout this entire period, Pina-Cabral (2002) notes that Makista became and remained the dominant language used within the city, but the diminishing number of arrivals from Portugal probably intensified the linguistic isolation of the city. As such, the creole language is 'a Creole dialect very close to the Portuguese maritime Creoles that were spoken in most parts of the Portuguese maritime empire, from Cape Verde to Timor' (Pina-Cabral 2002, p. 40). Pina-Cabral also cites the novelist/journalist Marques Pereira's observations about Makista as they are recorded in his writings from Macau in the 1880s. Pereira claims that the language was influenced by Konkani (see 4.3.3 above) and Spanish (see 4.2.3), although the grammar primarily comes from Chinese (Pina-Cabral 2002, p. 40). However, Smith (2012) follows work by Baxter (1996; 2005) among others, to argue that Malay was the chief substrate (i.e., grammaticaliser) of both early (sixteenth–seventeenth century) Makista and Kristang (the Portuguese Creole that developed in Malacca). Pinharanda Nunes (2012a) essentially agrees with this characterisation of Makista and argues that much of the inflectional morphology that Pereira observed in the nineteenth century would have been introduced to Makista during a period of partial decreolisation, probably beginning early in the nineteenth century.

This period of decreolisation largely corresponds to the commencement of what Pina-Cabral (2002, p. 5) calls Macau's 'Colonial period', 1846–1967.[10] While there are accounts of Chinese who had converted to Christianity in the last half of the eighteenth century, Pinharanda Nunes (2012a) notes that this does not necessarily indicate that Chinese and Macanese were cohabitating with one another, as nineteenth century

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[9]There are a number of terms that can be used for this *Macau Creole Portuguese*, which is Holm's (1989) term following conventions for naming used in pidgin/creole studies. The most common name for the language used regularly by the press and government in Macau is *Patuà* (i.e., 'patois') (e.g., see Goldthread 2019), but this volume avoids this term and the negative connotations associated with the term. Macanese have given the language a somewhat poetic nickname, *Dóci Língu de Macau* 'Sweet Language of Macau'. Senna Fernandes (2004) calls the language *Maquista Chapado* 'Pure Macanese'. This volume will follow the conventions of contemporary scholars (e.g., see Tomás 1988; Pinharanda-Nunes 2012b; Pinharanda 2014) working in both English and Portuguese by using the term *Makista*.

[10]When discussing the period of colonialization of Macau, Portuguese and Mainland Chinese scholars often settle upon different interpretations of when Macau can formally be called a Portuguese colony, and Pina-Cabral's (2002) 'Colonial period' corresponds with most Portuguese scholars' understanding that Macau only became a formal colony of Portuguese sovereignty *after* Hong Kong was ceded to Britain. Most Portuguese scholars will also point to 1974 as the end of Portuguese colonialism, when Portugal renounced sovereign control of all colonies (see further discussion of the end of colonial rule in 5.1).

accounts still refer to Chinese and Portuguese parts of the city as separate areas. In the second half of the nineteenth century, unlike the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was increasing immigration of Portuguese from Portugal (Pina-Cabral 2002, p. 141) and Macanese were given Portuguese medium of instruction (MOI) education and admitted into the Macau civil service (Pinharanda Nunes 2012a). These socio-cultural circumstances probably hastened decreolisation, which had already begun, and Pina-Cabral (2002, p. 41) notes that by the 1950s Makista had disappeared as a medium of communication from Macau. The two final Macanese immigrations—from Macau to Hong Kong (1841–1945) and from Hong Kong to other countries from 1945 to present (see discussion in 4.2.2)—made it very unlikely that Makista in Macau would survive the twentieth century administration by Portugal.

The twentieth century not only saw Makista disappear from Macau, but much of the distinctiveness of the Macanese community in Macau also began to disappear. Pina-Cabral (2002) notes that in 1940s Hong Kong there were clear distinctions drawn between three groups: Europeans, Eurasians and Portuguese. Although many individuals observe that these distinctions continued until the 1970, the equivalence of Macanese identity with Portuguese ethnicity (and distinct from either other Europeans or other mixed-race communities) demonstrates the difficulty of varying nomenclature when discussing creole communities and the specific hazards of borrowing terms like *Macanese* or *Patuà* without fully understanding and acknowledging their historical legacies. Clayton (2009) notes that in the years before the handover to Chinese administration the Portuguese government of Macau sought to restore a sense of connection between the local Cantonese-speaking Macanese community and the community that exists in diaspora.

4.4.2 Chinese Pidgin English

Bolton (2003) was among the first of contemporary scholars to recognise the centrality of Macau to the development of Chinese Pidgin English (CPE). Portuguese was the undisputed lingua franca of the trade with Western countries throughout Asia and there is some evidence that the Portuguese had some interest in learning and using the Chinese language (Ansaldo et al. 2010). At the start of the eighteenth century, however, a number of traders from Europe began arriving in Macau to trade directly with licenced Chinese merchants, known as *Hongs*, located in Canton (i.e., modern Guangzhou), and none of these traders were as eager or as insistent on trade as the English. Van Dyke (2005) describes that the first English (and other) traders to arrive in Macau would have conducted their business in Portuguese, not Chinese or English. Ansaldo et al. (2010) also note that the early English traders never showed much interest in learning Chinese or establishing institutions that would encourage or enable them to do so.[11] This meant, however, that the earliest English traders were

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[11]It should be noted that, while this characterization may well reflect the attitudes of the earliest English traders, it does not apply to the English missionaries that followed. Protestant missionaries

reliant upon Portuguese, and especially Macanese, to serve as mediators and inter-
preters for English interests. There is some evidence that Pidgin Portuguese (i.e., a
variety of Portuguese used by the English who first travelled to Macau) may have
influenced some of the grammatical structures of Chinese Pidgin English (Matthews
and Li 2012), a view shared by Holm (1989) and many others. Among the first people
that English traders would have needed to communicate with were Macanese pilots
and crew who would ferry passengers and freight from ocean-going vessels up the
Pearl river from Macau to Canton. However, Ansaldo et al. (2010) argue that the
influence of Makista upon CPE would have been short-lived and infrequent.

According to Shi (1991), the earliest evidence that CPE was developing as a
trade language were travel memoirs written in the mid-eighteenth century. Within
the first half of the nineteenth century Chinese began publishing chapbooks like
The Common Foreign Language of the Redhaired People and *The Chinese and
English Instructor*, both described extensively in Bolton (2003). These books relied
upon the transliteration of English words with Chinese characters that would mimic
English words, phrases or sentences. While there is evidence that English traders were
actively involved in *pidginizing* their own language (see Hall 1944), the chapbooks
described by Bolton (2003) demonstrate that by the nineteenth century the Chinese
were actively teaching and learning the language. Ansaldo et al. (2010) suggest that
because the British were originally the most motivated to promote the use of CPE,
much of the structure of the pidgin as an early *trade jargon* in the eighteenth century,
therefore, derives from English. However, as trade with the British became more
appealing, the Chinese began to promote the use of CPE and Chinese elements came
to dominate within the emerging *extended pidgin* of the early nineteenth century.
CPE had been used exclusively in Canton as part of the Canton trade, but the First
Opium War (1839–1842) ended the Hong merchant system, which the Chinese had
institutionalised in part to keep English and other Westerners out of China, and estab-
lished a permanent British presence in Hong Kong. As British influence grew in the
nineteenth century within China the use of CPE spread up the coast of China, espe-
cially to the concessionary cities of Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai, where the Second
Opium War (1856–1860) had given the British and other Western powers the right to
establish trading quarters within these cities. Bolton (2003) documents the transition
away from CPE toward 'a more "standard" variety of English' (p. 191) as a result
of English language instruction (both as a subject and as a medium of instruction)
in China. In particular, missionary schools and universities that promoted the use of
English quickly shifted the Chinese preference away from Chinese Pidgin English
toward learning of a standardised form of English.

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like Robert Morrison applied great effort (and achieved tremendous fluency) in learning Chinese
in the nineteenth century (Martino 2003). The traditions of Sinology established by these early
Protestant missionaries to China are documented in the collection of papers published as the *Chinese
Repository* (Bridgman 1835).

4.5 Conclusion

There are several important lessons to be gleaned from this chapter's extended discussion of the history of non-Chinese languages in Macau. First of all, Macau is an intensely multilingual territory and has been since it was first founded in the middle of the sixteenth century. The unquestioned dominance of Chinese, then, within the modern Macau of the second half of the twentieth century is not entirely consistent with the traditions of multilingualism within the city. Simply stated, Macau became a Chinese city before the handover of administration to the People's Republic of China (PRC), but this was a slow process that took place with tolerance for an intense amount of multilingualism. Portuguese, English or other colonial languages were not necessarily forced upon a population that would have preferred their native Cantonese, as some scholars might read into the narrative of history (e.g., Young 2006; Yan 2019). These languages *and local variants of these languages* have been embedded within the linguistic ecology long before the handover of sovereignty to China.

Secondly, the languages—European, Chinese, regional Asian languages and contact varieties—that entered the linguistic ecology did so without strong preferences for highly standardised version of those languages. This is, in part, due the time period when Macau was founded and the fact that standardisation of many of the languages that entered the early ecology, especially Portuguese, had not yet reached its apex. But this is also true for the English of British traders who actively sought to teach and use a pidginised variety of English. And it is also true of Macau's two dominant varieties of Chinese, Cantonese and Hokkien, both of which in the twenty-first century have yet to be fully standardised. The lack of clear standard languages, and the standard language ideologies (SLI) that accompany those languages, meant that localisation of language varieties was a normal process that happened every time new languages entered the ecology.

The final point to be gleaned from the history of Macau's language ecology is somewhat more related to the history of sovereignty in the administration of Macau. The Portuguese did not necessarily establish Macau with the ambition of colonising China; the trade colony and the armaments that were installed were designed to protect Portuguese ships from pirates and marauders. As the Jesuits brought Christianity to South China, there certainly were intentions to convert locals to the faith, but this was never established as a long-term goal or mission the same way that Dominicans embarked upon the goal of conversion in, for example, the Philippines. The socio-historical circumstances of Macau's colonial administration inspired a method of governance that privileged pluralistic approaches to administration, especially approaches that allowed Portuguese, Macanese, Chinese and later English interests to thrive within the territory. Macau rarely clashed with the Guangdong (i.e., provincial) administration of China in either the late Ming or throughout the Qing dynasties, and the borders of the territory were not even fixed until the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking was signed in December 1887 (Lo 1989). The ambiguity of territorial sovereignty is also illustrated by the definition of Macau's colonial

period. Portuguese scholars frequently fix Macau's colonial period narrowly from the date of the Sino-Portuguese Treaty in 1887 to 1974, the year Portugal overthrew the authoritarian *Estada Novo* regime and renounced all colonial possessions. Another date signifying the end of colonialism and frequently used by non-Chinese scholars is 1967, when the Governor of Macau at the behest of the PRC government signed an admission of guilt for having killed eight individuals during the suppression of a protest in what has been called the '123 Incident' (see Pina-Cabral 2002; Clayton 2009). Chinese scholars from Hong Kong or the PRC, however, often fail to represent the complexities of the transition of sovereignty and simply assign the end of Portuguese colonialism to the date 1999, the year of the handover of administration (see, for example, Yan 2019; Zhang 2020). Of course, the handover of administration is a reasonable date to assign to the end of Portuguese colonialism, but do to so without inspection misses important aspects of how Macau was governed in the 25-year period from Portugal's renunciation of colonialism to the handover, and, indeed, for much of Macau's history. Without a clearly mandated sovereignty over the territory the Portuguese administration allowed traders, missionaries, educators, etc. to pursue their individual interests in whatever language they please. The implications for language planning and language policy before the handover are clear: language policy was more often shaped with incentives than initiatives, initiatives were preferred over guidelines, and guidelines were issued much more frequently than actual regulations. The ensuing language policies that developed over the 450-year history of multilingualism and contact promoted a *laissez faire* educational environment were businesses, churches and schools could use whatever language they chose with little, if any, interference (or even comment) from the government.

Therefore, the linguistic ecology that developed in Macau until the 1999 handover was not only diverse and varied, but the language planning and policy mechanisms that allowed multilingualism to flourish within the territory were operating to ensure that the territory remained diverse and multilingual. From here, this volume will turn its attention to the development of language policy since the 1999 handover.

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Chapter 5
Overview of Social and Educational Changes to Macau: Twenty Years After the 1999 Handover

5.1 Introduction

On 20 December 1999, when much of the world was preparing for the impact of anticipated Y2K software failures from the upcoming turn of the century, the Portuguese administration of Macau was handed over to a local government that had been chosen by the People's Republic of China (PRC) to govern with loyalty to the PRC's sovereignty over the territory. In the afternoon of 19 December, then-governor Vasco Vieira attended a formal ceremony for the lowering of the Portuguese flag. Celebrations began at sundown in Macau's newly-built Cultural Centre and climaxed at midnight with the swearing-in of the first Chief Executive of the Macao Special Administrative Region (MSAR), Edmund Ho Hau Wah. Celebrational performances continued until dawn on 20 December, the official date on which Macau was no longer administrated by Portugal, but by the PRC.

The handover, at the time and since, has often been touted as the end of European colonialism in Asia (e.g., see Baird 1999), but this characterisation, accurate as it is, misses much of the complexity related to the Macau's sovereignty before and after the handover (Clayton 2009). Macau had originally been founded as a centre of trade between Portugal and Asia (especially Japan), but, as demonstrated in Chap. 4, the Portuguese were somewhat hesitant rulers of the territory. The territorial borders of Macau and the Portuguese control over the city was not formally confirmed by treaty until the signing of the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking on 1 December 1887. Portuguese and Chinese scholars, therefore, frequently differ on the dates of Portugal's sovereign possession of Macau as a colony. Before 1887, the municipal council was the primary authority of administration within the territory, but this administration was nearly always at the pleasure of the Ming and later Qing authorities in Guangdong. Many Portuguese scholars promote the point of view that Portugal maintained a 'colonial presence' in Macau before 1884, but that the government of Portugal did not directly administer Macau as a formal 'colony' until 1887.

The date of the end of Portuguese colonialism presents further ambiguities in the controversial assignment of a date. Some Portuguese scholars, like Pina-Cabral (2002), choose to refer to 1967 as the date in which Portugal lost sovereignty of Macau. The date is related to civil unrest that escalated into a full-blown riot on 3 December 1966 and ended with the Macau police killing 8 individuals and injuring more than 200 others (Clayton 2009). The events are known as the *123 Incident* because of the date (i.e., December 3 is equivalent to 12–3, or 123) and the incident brought official condemnation of police actions from the PRC government. The conflict was resolved with the Portuguese government's apology to the PRC for the police response. Commentators often note that, with this apology, Portuguese sovereignty in Macau was permanently eroded (Hao 2011; Lam and Clayton 2016). The ambiguity of naming a date for the end of Portugal's colonial rule of Macau is intensified by the Portuguese 1974 *Carnation Revolution*, which ended in the defeat of Portugal's authoritarian regime and the official renunciation of all oversees colonial claims (Harsgor 1980; Garcia 2014). Clearly, the Portuguese unilaterally renounced colonialism and signalled their intention to return the territory to Chinese administration in 1974. Portugal did not establish diplomatic relations with the PRC until 1979, but as soon as formal relations were established negotiations for the return of Macau to Chinese rule commenced. Although one might argue that most, if not all, processes of decolonisation are gradual, especially when they do not derive from an armed revolt, the point to be taken here is that Portugal was at best a reluctant coloniser of Macau and the transition to Chinese sovereignty began long before the handover at midnight, 20 December 1999.

In the 200 years from the collapse of trade with Japan to the formalisation of Portugal's possession of Macau in 1887, the territory had gone through a number of demographic and social changes. Cantonese speakers from the region had at first come to live and trade outside the city walls and eventually they filled the peninsula to the border gate at the north end of the territory. By the end of the nineteenth century Cantonese had come to dominate the linguistic ecology, although there remained a strong traditional Hokkien-speaking community within the territory, as well as several other Chinese dialects. Macau's creole variety of Portuguese, Makista, was the dominant language of administration and governance until the end of this time period, but the municipal authorities allowed many other colonial languages, most notably English, to establish institutions within the city and thrive without much attempt to restrain or regulate. By the time of the handover, just 112 years after Portugal had renewed its interest in governing the territory as a colony, the linguistic ecology had transitioned through further changes. The memory of Makista was vibrant and had developed into an important touchstone of Macanese identity (Clayton 2009), but the language had blended with learner varieties of Portuguese to eventually become lost to standard European Portuguese, which concurrently became the official language of government and the medium of instruction (MOI) in Macanese schools. English had retained much of its utility, especially as an MOI in elite private schools in Macau. Finally, the full range of diversity in other languages, most of which are discussed in Chap. 4—including Konkani, Filipino languages, Indonesian languages, Vietnamese,

Cambodian, Burmese, etc.—was clearly identifiable within the linguistic ecology of the territory at the time of the handover and has remained visible since the handover.

While Macau's 1999 handover was a clear and distinct change in administration, many of the changes to the territory would not be apparent for several years after the handover. Likewise, many of the changes to the linguistic ecology had also been taking place for years before the handover, and these changes were to have profound impacts on the language and educational policies of the territory (Fong 1999). This chapter will survey some of the important social, linguistic and educational changes that Macau has undergone within the first twenty years as a Chinese Special Administrative Region (SAR). Despite the dramatic changes in the leadership and administration of the territory, Macau has retained much of the *laissez-faire* approach toward educational and language policy that had allowed multilingualism to flourish within the territory for the 450 years before the handover.

5.2 Macau Society Since 1999

Chapter 2 briefly outlined some of the features of Macau society as it exists today. One of the key points made about the sociolinguistics of Macau is that it is a very small territory. The land area listed in the 2016 by-census was only 30.5 sq. km and the total population was 650,834 (DSEC 2017). While the politics of colonisation and decolonisation have produced a number of ambiguities about Macau's sovereignty, the small size of the territory simply compounds and intensifies these ambiguities. Because of its small size, Macau is dependent upon surrounding territories, especially China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, for its economic livelihood. And as the PRC economy has grown and developed in the past 20 years, Macau's economy has grown with it. This section will survey the changes over the past 20 years in Macau's population and demographics, economy and society, and educational environment.

5.2.1 Population and Demographic Changes

The 2016 Macau by-census reports that the preceding 20 years had experienced relatively rapid population growth, with the highest rate of growth in the last five years of the period, between the 2011 census and 2016 (DSEC 2017). Figure 5.1 illustrates the rates of population growth from 1996 to 2016. The by-census report further notes that the youth population (i.e., children ranging in age from 0–14) increased at a rate of 18.2% from 2011 to 2016, and that this was a substantial increase from previous 5-year census/by-census periods. Youth populations will be given special attention in Chapters 6 and 7 of this volume when discussing the population enrolled in pre-primary/primary and secondary education respectively. These groups are especially relevant to the future educational development of the territory.
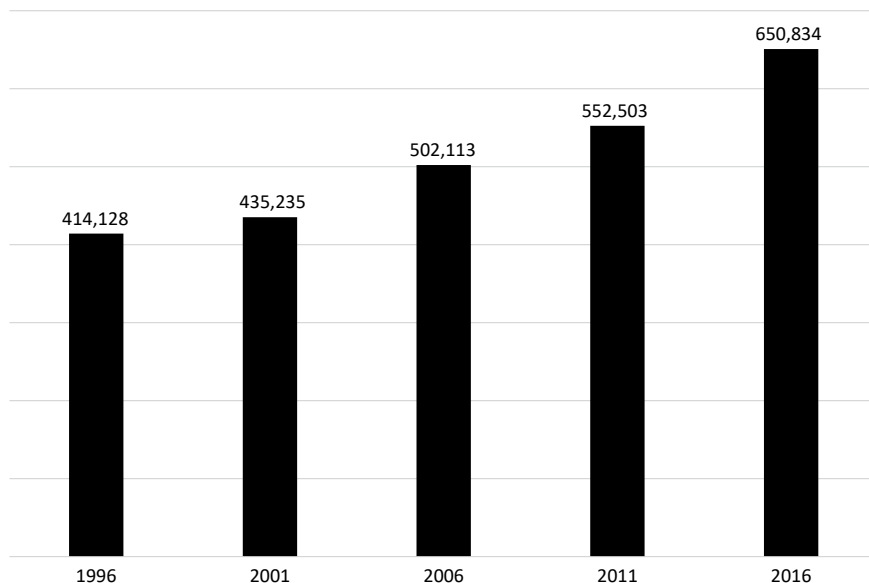
Fig. 5.1 Macau's Population, 1996–2016. *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

The terms used by the Macau *Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos* (DSEC) 'Statistics and Census Service' are not entirely consistent with the terms used in other government sectors and can easily lead to errors when examining census data. What DSEC calls the 'resident population' is in fact made up of three groups: what DSEC calls the 'local' population, non-resident workers and foreign students. Macau does not have the right to grant citizenship to its population and, consequently, everyone residing in Macau will retain citizenship from some other place. However, the Basic Law of the Macao SAR gives the territory the right to grant 'residency' (Chinese Government 1993a) and, within the territory, this works essentially like citizenship. Two types of residency are granted within the SAR: permanent and temporary. António (2019) outlines the basic process for applying for residency through one of three separate channels. Individuals who were born in Macau, but, for whatever reason, did not maintain a residency card, may apply for one with the *Direcção dos Serviços de Identificação* (DSI) 'Identification Bureau'. There is a separate application process for Portuguese citizens through the *Corpo de Polícia de Segurança Pública* (CPSP or PSP) 'Public Security Police Corps'. However, the largest number of applicants for Macau residency apply through the *Instituto de Promoção de Comércio e do Investimento de Macau* (IPIM) 'Macao Trade and Investment Institute'. IPIM will consider applications for residency, provided the applicants contribute to the society as either 'investors (major investment / investment plan), managerial personnel or technical personnel' (António 2019). António's description of the process of application suggests that it is neither speedy nor certain. In recent years the number of individuals awarded residency has declined compared
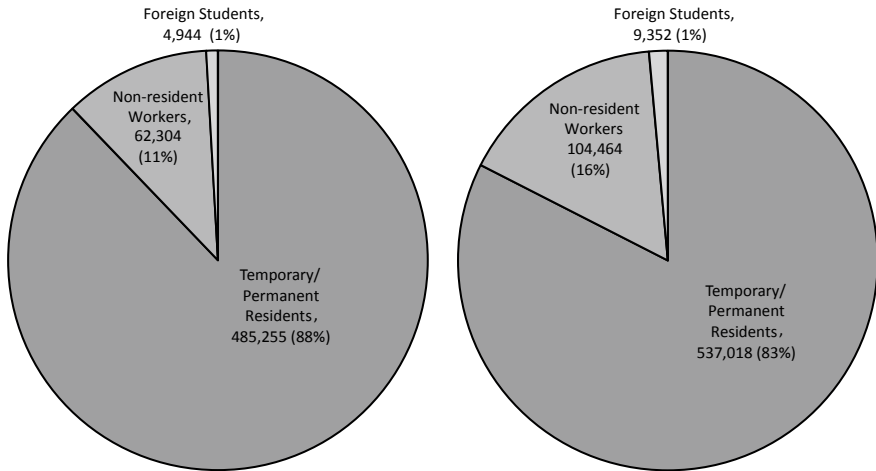
Fig. 5.2 Macau Population by Residency Type, 2011 and 2016. *Source* DSEC (2012, 2017)

to the years just after the handover. Macau Daily Times (2018) reported that in the first half of 2018 IPIM received 10 applications from 'investors' and approved 2 (20%). At the same time, IPIM received 143 applications from management or technical personnel and only approved 21 (14.7%). Each of these three application processes allows the MSAR government to grant individuals *temporary residency*, which must be renewed every 2–3 years. After 7 years of holding temporary residency, the individual may apply for *permanent residency*, but this too appears to be increasingly difficult to obtain.

Of the 650,824 individuals counted in the 2016 by-census, 537,018 (82.5%) are temporary/permanent residents in the sense that they have the right to live in the territory independently of a work or study permit. The Statistics and Census Service, however, uses the term *resident* to refer to anyone living within Macau on the date of the census. DSEC's *resident population* does not refer to the population of temporary and permanent residents; this group is included as just one portion of the resident population. Instead, DSEC refers to this population of temporary and permanent residents as the *local population* (DSEC 2017). In addition to permanent or temporary residents of Macau, the SAR also hosts *non-resident workers* who are issued a 'non-resident work permit' and *foreign students* who are issued a visa and stay permit. Figure 5.2 shows the structure of these three populations in 2011 and 2016.[1] While the number of foreign students doubled during the five years between the 2011 census and the 2016 by-census, the change in the overall structure of Macau's population was comparatively small. The change in the number of non-resident workers within the territory, from 62,304 to 104,464 (an increase of 67.7%) represents a much more

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[1]Unfortunately, census reports of the number of foreign students in Macau is not available before 2011.

noticeable change in the territory's demographics, where the non-resident workers' proportion within the population increase from 11.3% in 2011 to 16.1% in 2016.

The 2016 by-census records that 17.5% of Macau's population live within the territory as either students or guest workers—sojourners without any real chance to apply for residency. One effect of these circumstances, which essentially respond to a labour shortage, is that the age distribution of the population is somewhat skewed by the high number of non-resident workers. The 'local population' (i.e., DSEC's term for Macau temporary/permanent residents) is 'concentrated in the age groups of 25–34 and 50–59′ (DSEC 2017; p. 4). However, because non-resident workers are predominantly within the younger of these two groups, the younger age group tends to overshadow the older group in importance when looking at Macau's entire population. The result is that Macau's population of permanent residents is aging more quickly than it would appear when looking at only the combined total population of temporary/permanent residents, non-resident workers and foreign students.

95.9% of Macau's local population responded in the 2016 by-census that they were ethnically Chinese. The remaining choices listed within the *2016 Population By-census: Detailed Report* for ethnicity are Portuguese, Chinese and Portuguese, Chinese and non-Portuguese (presumably mixed-race ethnicity), Portuguese and others (again, presumably mixed-race ethnicity) and others. Figure 5.3 illustrates the distribution of these five ethnicities. While Macau was dominated by the mixed-race Macanese before 1900, this community is not identified by the term *Macanese* in the census. Probably most Macanese would prefer to identify themselves as 'Chinese and Portuguese' or just 'Chinese'. Among all non-Chinese ethnicities in
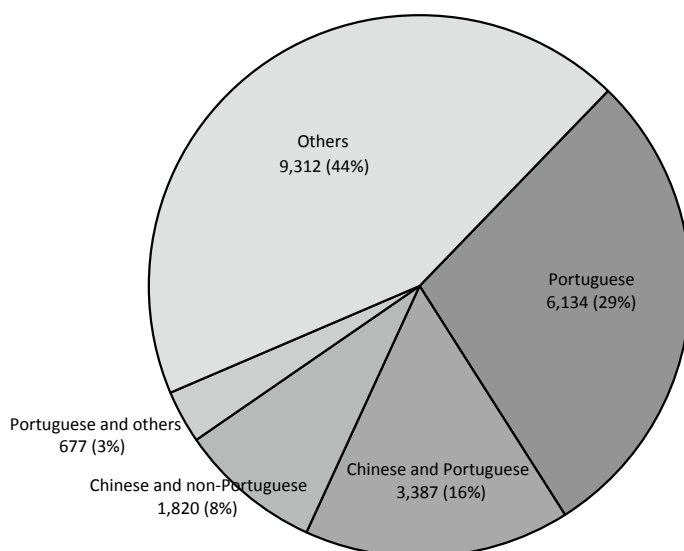
Fig. 5.3 Non-Chinese Ethnic Population of Macau, 2016. *Source* DSEC (2017)

Macau, Portuguese or some form of mixture with Portuguese accounts for 48% of the non-ethnic Chinese population.

5.2.2 Economic and Social Developments

In his narrative history of Macau, Coates (1978) describes the motivation for Macau's Governor Isidoro Guimarães to institute licensed gambling in Macau in 1847. Having lost revenue sources of shipping income to the newly opened Hong Kong and burdened with the administration of Timor, the Portuguese colony sought to license and tax the fantan houses that had already established themselves within the city. While the Macau government continued to license and regulate gaming interests in the territory until the handover, the casinos in 1999 were one of several interesting features of the territory that attracted tourists from Hong Kong. Stanley Ho Hung-sun's *Sociedade de Turismo e Diversões de Macau* (STDM) held a monopoly on gaming operations and there was little incentive or possibility that the gaming market could grow substantially. In 2001 the MSAR government announced boldly that they would increase the number of gaming licenses from one to three. The response from overseas gaming operators was tremendous, and the number of licences was soon expanded to six by splitting each of the three concessions to create three new 'sub-concessions'. Today, the six gaming operators include the local company *Sociedade de Jogos de Macau* (SJM), the Hong Kong Galaxy Entertainment Group, the Australian/Macau co-founded Melco Resorts and Entertainment, the US/Macau co-founded MGM Macau and two US operators, Wynn Macau and Las Vegas Sands (Moody 2008).

It is difficult to underestimate the degree to which diversification of Macau's gaming market, tied to growth of China's consumer base, has fuelled the growth of Macau's GDP described in Fig. 2.1. According to the 2016 by-census, 21.2% of Macau's population worked directly within 'gaming and junket[2] activities' (DSEC 2017, p. 11). Although this estimate[3] is a slight decline from the 2011 census, the proportion of the population working directly within the gaming industry doubled in the 15 years since the expansion of the industry in 2001. Supporting industries like construction (since the casinos had to be built after granting the gaming concessions in 2001) and hotel and restaurant industries also make up large portions of Macau's employed population. Manufacturing industries, primarily of textiles, that existed at the beginning the twenty-first century have declined in the twenty years since the handover and in 2016 workers in these industries accounted for just 1.9% of Macau's employed population. Figure 5.4 illustrates how jobs in four prominent

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[2]Junkets are gambling support operators who rent space within licensed casinos where licensed croupiers employed by the casinos conduct the games. Junkets can operate supporting services (food, hospitality, etc.) and can extend lines of credit to gamblers. Macau's casinos do not normally extend lines of credit to gamblers (Master 2014).

[3]The by-census is a projection based upon a random sampling of the population.
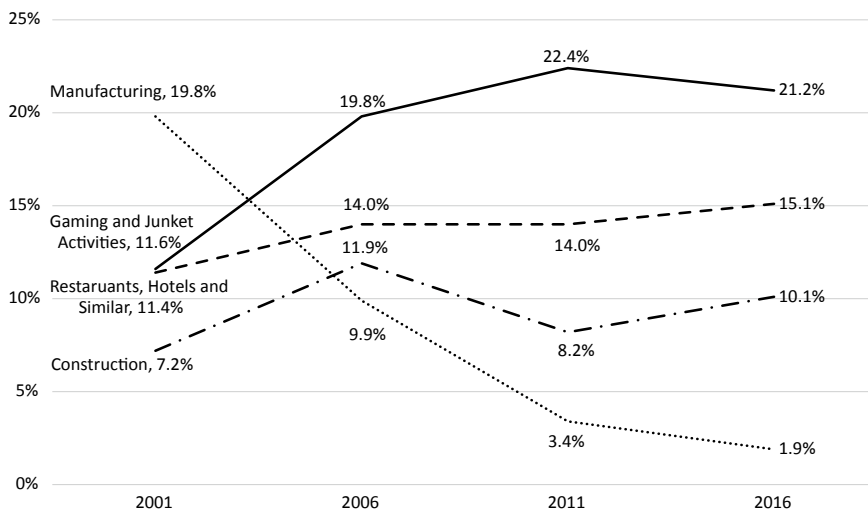
Fig. 5.4 Proportion of Employed Population in Four Selected Industries, 2001–2016. *Source* DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

industries—(1) gaming and junket activities, (2) manufacturing, (3) construction and (4) restaurants, hotels and similar—has changed in the 15 years since expanding the gaming industry.

Although the gaming and junket activities industry employs the largest proportion of population in Macau, the gaming industry also drives much of the restaurant and hotel industries within the territory; together these two sectors account for hiring of 25.2% of the employed population. The combined effect is that gaming and junket activities, construction and restaurant, hotels and similar together employ 46.4% of the working population. It is quite easy to see, therefore, that the gaming industry has been primarily responsible for Macau's economic growth since the handover, making it the 4th largest per capita GDP in the world, and the largest in Asia (World Bank 2020).

Despite the extremely high value of Macau's per capita GDP, the distribution of wealth within the society has only begun to build a middle class (Liu et al. 2015). Figure 5.5 illustrates growth of the median income in Macanese Patacas (MOP), which has tripled in the last 15 years. The jobs that Macau workers have been employed in have also changed dramatically over the past 15 years, as demonstrated in Table 5.1.

The 9 occupations listed in the Macau census reports are divided here into two basic types of occupations: *blue-collar* and *white-collar*. The largest rate of growth in employment during the last 15 years was between 2001 and 2006, when 35% more people were employed within the territory at an average annual growth rate of 7.0%. Since 2006 the average annual growth rate has been more consistently maintained at 3.2%. While the number of blue-collar workers has remained largely consistent during the past 15 years between 90,000 to 115,000, the number of white-collar
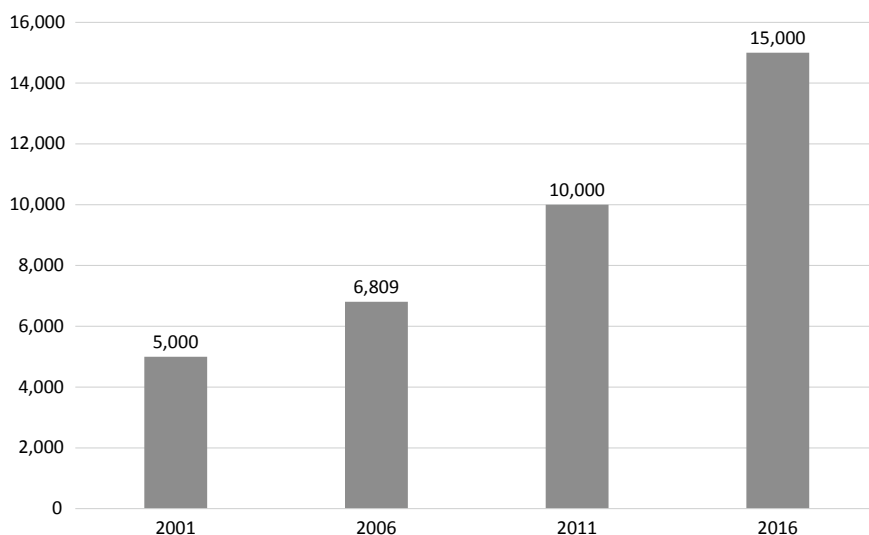
Fig. 5.5 Median Income in Macanese Patacas (MOP), 2001–2016. *Source* DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

workers has more than doubled during the same period. Figure 5.6 illustrates the growth of the two types of workers.

Occupation is one reliable measure of social class, and the increase in both income rates and the proportion of white-collar occupations suggest that the growth of the gaming industry has begun to transform Macau society from one with a large number of a working-class jobs into a more predominantly middle-class society. In many parts of the world home ownership is frequently upheld as a measurement of the development of a middle class within the society. Table 5.2 lists the different types of housing reported in the census and by-census reports for the last 15 years, particularly whether the homes are owned (with or without a mortgage) or rented.

The number of owned homes has remained more or less stable between 2001 and 2016, although the number of households living in rented homes has nearly doubled (+92.1%) during the same period. One reason why improved occupations and incomes have not produced a growth in home ownership is, in part, related to a 'property bubble' that has made it difficult for residents to convert improved income into home ownership (Reuters 2014). Instead, improved earnings over the last 15 years can more easily be spent on motor vehicles, as demonstrated in Table 5.3.

In 2001 most households did not own a motor vehicle, and by 2011 the opposite was true: most households did own a motor vehicle. While most of these vehicle-owning households (61.9%) owned a single vehicle in 2001, by 2016 53.0% of households that owned motor vehicles owned more than one. Figure 5.7 illustrates the number of motorcycles and automobiles respectively per 100 households and

Table 5.1 Macau's employed population by occupation, 2001–2006

	2001	2006	2011	2016
White-Collar Occupations				
Legislators, Senior Officials, Directors and Managers	13,948 (6.5%)	18,645 (6.4%)	25,246 (7.5%)	30,435 (7.8%)
Professionals	7,177 (3.3%)	10,288 (3.5%)	15,349 (4.5%)	16,598 (4.2%)
Technicians or Associate Professionals	20,545 (9.6%)	30,261 (10.4%)	36,356 (10.8%)	47,238 (12.1%)
Clerks	39,824 (18.5)	66,624 (22.9%)	93,686 (27.7%)	99,450 (25.4%)
Service or Sales Workers	42,677 (19.8%)	57,326 (19.7%)	72,089 (21.3%)	82,816 (21.2%)
White Collar Sub-Total	**124,171 (57.7%)**	**183,144 (63.1%)**	**242,726 (71.9%)**	**276,537 (70.6%)**
Blue-Collar Occupations				
Skilled Workers of Agriculture and Fishery	2,482 (1.2%)	2,564 (0.9%)	1,508 (0.4%)	2,078 (0.5%)
Craft Workers	26,114 (12.1%)	30,636 (10.6%)	25,937 (7.7%)	32,489 (8.3%)
Plant and Machine Operators	26,842 (12.5%)	23,211 (8.0%)	15,457 (4.6%)	15,385 (3.9%)
Unskilled Workers	35,450 (16.5%)	50,761 (17.5%)	52,088 (15.4%)	64,975 (16.6%)
Blue Collar Sub-Total	**90,888 (42.3%)**	**107,172 (36.9%)**	**94,990 (28.1%)**	**114,927 (29.4%)**
TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION	**215,059**	**290,316**	**337,716**	**391,464**

Sources DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

how recent growth (i.e., between 2011 and 2016) in the number of automobiles has been greater.

5.2.3   Educational Development

In their history of education in Macau Lau (2009) notes that pluralism in educational institutions in Macau was the norm before the 1999 handover. Pluralism was allowed to grow and develop by government policies that did not closely regulate the educational system, nor specify standards or benchmarks for institutions to meet (Vong and Wong 2010). The handover of administration to the PRC, however, potentially meant an end to the *laissez-faire* approach to educational guidelines and standards.
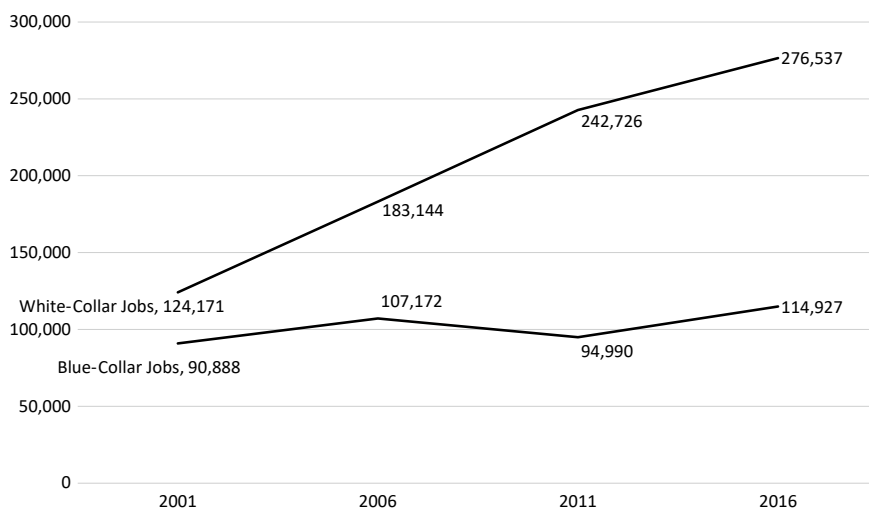
Fig. 5.6 White-Collar and Blue-Collar Jobs, 2001–2016. *Source* DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

Table 5.2 Types of Housing, 2001–2016

	2001	**2006**	**2011**	**2016**
Home ownership	102,302 (76.9%)	116,096 (72.8%)	119,578 (70.8%)	124,126 (66.2%)
Rental tenants	25,243 (19.0%)	37,037 (23.2%)	41,376 (24.5%)	48,481 (25.8%)
Employer provided	2,786 (2.1%)	2,070 (1.3%)	2,303 (1.4%)	2,290 (1.2%)
Other	2,674 (2.0%)	3,964 (2.5%)	5680 (3.4%)	12,721 (6.8%)
TOTAL	**133,055**	**159,412**	**168,937**	**187,618**

Sources DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

Table 5.3 Households Owning Motor Vehicles, 2001–2016

	2001	**2011**	**2016**
Without a Motor Vehicle	**74,869 (55.6%)**	**76,786 (45.0%)**	**82,571 (43.8%)**
With a Motor Vehicle	**59,726 (44.4%)**	**93,749 (55.0%)**	**105,993 (56.2%)**
Motorcycle Only	26,012 (19.3%)	40,240 (42.9%)	39,728 (21.1%)
Private Car Only	18,389 (30.8%)	23,986 (25.6%)	28,680 (15.2%)
Motorcycle and Private Car	15,325 (25.7%)	29,523 (31.5%)	37,585 (19.9%)
Number of Motor Vehicles			
1	36,970 (61.9%)	46,631 (49.7%)	49,824 (47.0%)
2	17,284 (28.9%)	30,667 (32.7%)	34,957 (33.0%)
3 or More	5,472 (9.2%)	16,451 (17.5%)	21,212 (20.0%)
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	**134,595 (100%)**	**170,535 (100%)**	**188,564 (100%)**

Sources DSEC (2012, 2017)
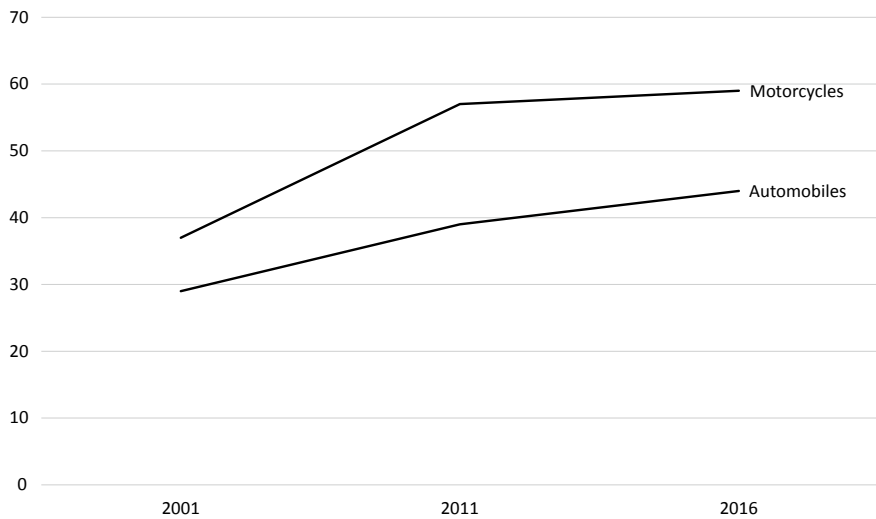
Fig. 5.7 Number of Motor Vehicles per 100 Households, 2001–2016. *Source* DSEC (2002, 2012, 2017)

In 1991, just four years after the signing of the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration that became the foundation for the 1999 handover, Macau passed the Macau Educational System Law No. 11/91/M (DSEJ 1991). The law made 9 years of education free and universal throughout the territory and was implemented between 1991 and 1998 (Tang and Bray 2000). The systems of education that existed within Macau before the passage of the 1991 Education Law (DSEJ 1991) were idiosyncratic and disparate, but the law formalised the basic structure of education as described in Table 5.4. Although the provisions for free and universal education had previously only applied to students enrolled in government schools, the 1991 law also provided a mechanism for the government to subsidise the education of students enrolled in private schools, provided the schools participated within a loosely-mandated structure of education, which included some curricular guidelines and other policies, such as class size, teacher certification, etc.

Table 5.4 Structure of Macau Education

	Number of Years
Pre-Primary	3*
Primary	6
Junior Secondary	3
Senior Secondary	3**

Source DSEJ (2014)
* Expanded from 1 to 3 years in 2006 (see Macao SAR Government 2006)
** Made compulsory in 2006 (see Macao SAR Government 2006)
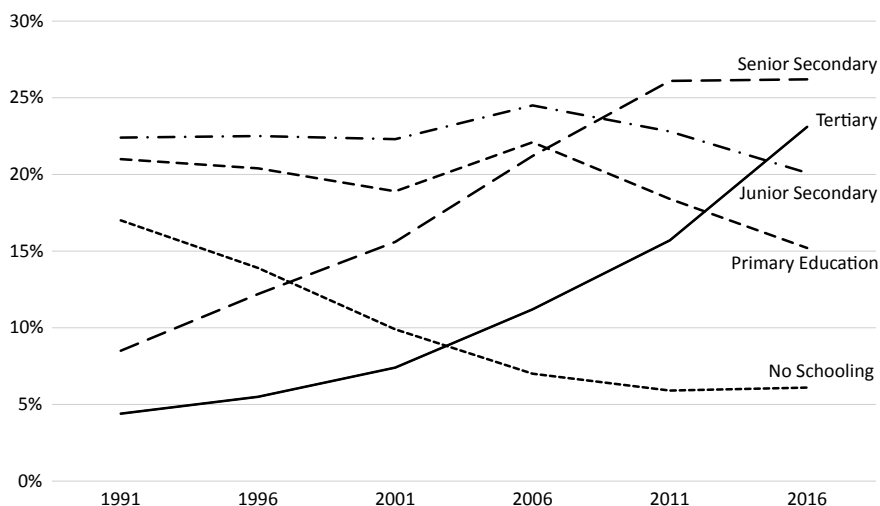
Fig. 5.8 Proportion of Population by Highest Educational Attainment, 1991–2016. *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

The effects of implementing free universal education can be observed within the census figures over the last 30 years. Figure 5.8 illustrates the proportion (i.e., percentage) of Macau's population highest educational attainment at five different levels: *no schooling* (meaning no primary education was ever undertaken[4]), three levels of mandatory education (i.e., *primary*, *junior secondary* and *senior secondary* education) and *tertiary* (i.e., a Bachelor's degree or similar in higher education).

The percentage of the population having 'no schooling' declined sharply after 2001 from a high of 17.0% in 1991 to a low of 5.9% in 2011. The percentage of the population completing senior secondary education rose dramatically and consistently in the first 20 years after passage of the universal basic education law and the percentage has plateaued at a consistent 26.1% in 2011 and 26.2% in 2016. The proportion of the population that only completed primary or junior secondary education has also consistently dropped in the last 10 years as the completion of senior secondary has become the norm in Macau. Finally, the proportion of the population with a tertiary education degree rose most dramatically from 4.4% in 1991 to 23.1% in 2016. Figure 5.9 illustrates the consistent increase in the literacy rate as a nother key indicator of the success of public education from the handover until now

The Macau*Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude* (DSEJ) 'Education and Youth Affairs Bureau' reports that in the 2018/2019 school year there were 74 schools operating in Macau. This number, however, is not entirely relevant to the discussion of language policy in this volume, and there are a number of complicated

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[4]The DSEC census figures also include a category for incomplete primary education, although these are not included here. The figures for this category are relatively high in 1991, but show a sharp decline that is similar to the figures for 'no schooling': 1991 (21.0%); 1996 (20.4%); 2001 (18.9%); 2006 (13.9%); 2011 (5.9%); and 2016 (6.1%).
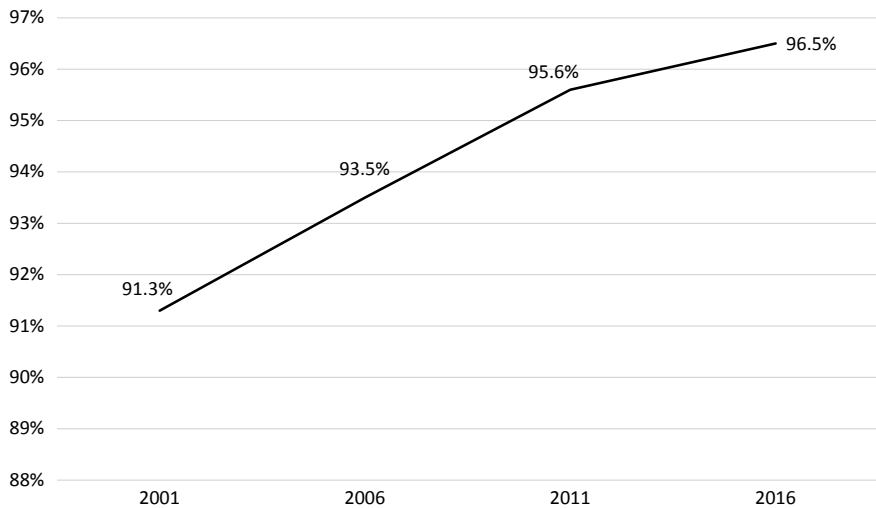
Fig. 5.9 Literacy Rate, 2001–2016. *Source* DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

factors associated with counting the number of schools. Instead, it is more impor-
tant to look at the number of *school sections* as distinct from schools. A section
may be either pre-primary, primary or secondary. If a school has all three levels
(as many schools in Macau do), then DSEJ will normally count the sections as a
single school when it is on a single campus. If, however, the pre-primary, primary
or secondary sections have a different chief administrator (e.g., one head master for
the primary school and another for the secondary school), DSEJ may count these as
different sections of the same school, or as different schools. Furthermore, a number
of schools have different sections at the same level that use different mediums of
instruction (MOI). Therefore, if a school has a secondary section that offers educa-
tion in Chinese MOI and another secondary section that offers education in English
MOI (and there are a number of Macau schools that do exactly this), then DSEJ
will normally count these as two separate sections. Altogether Macau's 74 schools
offer education in 112 sections that, for the purposes of discussion in this volume,
operate as individual schools (DSEJ 2019b). Table 5.5 describes the distribution
of these 112 sections across three different types of schools: government schools,

Table 5.5 Number of School Sections by Type, 2018/2019 Academic Year

Type of Section	Number of Sections
Government Schools	9
Subsidised Schools (Private Schools Offering Free Education)	93
Fully Private Schools	6
TOTAL	**112**

Source DSEJ (2019b)

Table 5.6 Number of School
Sections Offering Chinese,
English and Portuguese as
MOI, 2018/2019 Academic
Year

Medium of Instruction	Number of Sections
Chinese Medium of Instruction (CMI)	93
English Medium of Instruction (EMI)	15
Portuguese Medium of Instruction (PMI)	4
TOTAL	**112**

Source DSEJ (2019c)

subsidised schools and private schools.[5] Government schools are funded and operated entirely by the government, offer the government-specified curriculum, participate in all regulations and guidelines given by DSEJ and guarantee that anyone living in Macau can receive 15 years of free universal education. Individual government schools may have specific entry requirements (including language requirements) that students must meet before they can enter the school, but the small network of nine government schools guarantees a place for any student at any of grade of primary or secondary education. Government schools only offer Chinese MOI or Portuguese MOI (where English is frequently offered as a subject in all primary and secondary grades).

Subsidised schools are private schools that receive government funding for eligible students (i.e., permanent or temporary residents and their children); other students, if admitted, must pay tuition fees at these schools. Subsidised schools are normally not allowed to charge subsidised students fees greater than MOP 1000 annually (approximately HK$997 or US$124.25). In exchange for the tuition subsidy received for local students, subsidised schools teach the same curriculum as government schools and follow the same regulations and guidelines issued by DSEJ. Subsidised schools may offer education in Chinese, Portuguese or English MOI, and are obliged to offer one of the other three languages as a subject, regardless of the MOI. Private schools are fully private, receive no fee offsetting subsidies from the government and are not obliged to participate in any DSEJ curricula or regulations. Although private schools may use any MOI, most use English. Table 5.6 identifies the number of schools offering education with Chinese as the medium of instruction (i.e., CMI), English (EMI) and Portuguese (PMI).

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[5]Macau documents will sometimes use terminology that is also potentially confusing, but these are the terms that this volume will adopt. Government schools are sometime called *official schools*, especially within the name of the school. Subsidised schools *are* privately-owned entities, but they are distinguished from the fully private schools by their participation in the standardised government curriculum and the fact that students' tuition fees are paid by the government. There are also inconsistencies in the term *school*, which in DSEJ documents usually refers to a single location and a single principal. To avoid problems with these definitions, this volume will adopt the term *school section* as the most relevant way of counting schools.

Table 5.7 Usual and Total Speakers of Macau Census Languages, 1996–2016

	1996		2001		2006		2011		2016	
	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability
Chinese Varieties										
Cantonese	346,082 (87.1%)	91.0%	372,697 (87.9%)	93.3%	421,699 (85.7%)	90.8%	449,274 (83.3%)	90.0%	506,625 (80.1%)	87.8%
Putonghua	4,955 (1.2%)	12.5%	6,660 (1.6%)	25.4%	15,937 (3.2%)	37.1%	27,129 (5.0%)	41.4%	34,606 (5.5%)	50.4%
Hokkien	–	–	18,868 (4.4%)	6.8%	19,739 (4.0%)	6.8%	19,957 (3.7%)	6.9%	–	–
Other Chinese	30,848 (7.8%)	14.3%	13,257 (3.1%)	7.7%	13,479 (2.7%)	10.0%	10,633 (2.0%)	8.8%	33,453 (5.3%)	18.2%
Chinese Sub-total	**381,885 (100%)**		**411,482 (100%)**		**470,854 (100%)**		**506,993 (100%)**		**574,684 (100%)**	
Chinese	381,885 (96.1%)		411,482 (97.0%)		470,854 (95.6%)		506,993 (94.0%)		574,684 (90.1%)	

(continued)

Table 5.7 (continued)

	1996		2001		2006		2011		2016	
	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability	Usual language	Language ability
Portuguese	7,352 (1.8%)	4.1%	2,813 (0.7%)	2.6%	3,036 (0.6%)	2.1%	4,022 (0.7%)	2.4%	3,675 (0.6%)	2.3%
English	3,189 (0.8%)	9.3%	2,792 (0.7%)	12.1%	7,290 (1.5%)	14.9%	12,155 (2.3%)	21.1%	17,639 (2.8%)	27.5%
Tagalog	–	–	3,450 (0.8%)	–	6,535 (1.3%)	–	9,415 (1.7%)	2.6%	18,953 (3.0%)	4.1
Japanese	–	0.06%	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
French	–	0.1%	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other	5,062 (1.3%)	8.32%	3,666 (0.9%)	6.9%	4,576 (0.9%)	5.5%	6,546 (1.2%)	4.7%	17,906 (2.8%)	7.3%
TOTAL	**397,488**		**424,203**		**492,291**		**539,131**		**632,857**	

Sources DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

5.3   Linguistic Ecology

Macau's linguistic ecology at the time of the handover at the end of 1999 was dominated by Chinese, and especially Cantonese, and much of the multilingualism that had developed over the 450 years of Portuguese administration of the territory was not immediately visible. Table 5.7 describes the number of speakers across 20 years of censuses and by-censuses conducted in Macau from 1996 to 2016. Only data from residents 3 years of age and older are included in these census reports. These data give a quick look at the types of multilingual variation that existed in the territory just before and for 16 years since the handover. The census questionnaire asks residents about their *usual language* and any additional languages. Usual language, according to the formal glossary of terms in the 2016 by-census report refers to 'the language an individual mostly used at home' (DSEC 2017, p. 37). The term *additional language* is not operationalised within the census documents, although the term seems to refer to any languages that respondents may report using in addition to their usual language. Within census reports these are normally referred to as *other languages* in the 1996,[6] 2001 and 2006 reports. The 2011 and 2016 reports do not directly refer to these additional languages, but instead calculate the *language ability* of residents who respond to the survey. Language ability simply combines the number of speakers who use a language as a usual language with those who use the language as an additional language in order to express an aggregate proficiency in the language. Table 5.7's first column for each year's census or by-census report lists the number and percentage of usual speakers of each language. The second column for each year lists the total percentage of the population speaking each listed language. This total number is delivered in the 2011 and 2016 reports as 'language ability', but has been calculated from the other three reports by adding the cumulative number of speakers who reported using the languages as a usual language with the number of speakers who use it as an additional language.

5.3.1   Official Language Policy

The Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China serves as the constitutional law of the territory. Article 9 of Chapter 1 'General Principles' provides the only statements about the MSAR's official languages:

> 澳門特別行政區的行政機關、立法機關和司法機關, 除使用中文外, 還可使用葡文, 葡文也是正式語文。(Chinese Government 1993c, p. 3).

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[6]The 1996 census report is not reported in English. The Chinese and Portuguese terms used are 其他可操語言 *qita ke cao yuyan* 'other usable language' and *outra língua falada* 'another spoken language'.

Além da língua chinesa, pode usar-se também a língua portuguesa nos órgãos executivo, legislativo e judiciais da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau, sendo também o português língua oficial. (Chinese Government 1993b, p. 3).

In addition to the Chinese language, Portuguese may be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Macao Special Administrative Region. (Chinese Government 1993a, p. 3).

The three versions cited here are all official copies of the Basic Law published in Chinese, Portuguese and English respectively, and the three versions are largely equivalent to one another. Interestingly, the document does not state in simple and unequivocal language what the official language of the MSAR *is*. As mentioned in Chapter 3 above, Order of the President No. 37 codifies Putonghua, 'a common speech with pronunciation based on the Beijing dialect', as the standard spoken language of the PRC and 'standardized Chinese characters' as the standard written language (Chinese Government 2000). The Basic Law would not necessarily seek to contradict the statement of a national language law, although the Basic Law is older than this Presidential order. It should also be noted here that the Chinese version of the Macau Basic Law that is published in Macau (and cited above) is *not* written in the simplified Chinese characters that PRC law specifies as defining the written language; the published Basic Law uses traditional characters. There is, therefore, at least some ambiguity as to which written language is taken as standard by the MSAR government. PRC law specifies simplified Chinese characters as the written standard in China, but actual practice uses traditional Chinese characters (see 3.6.2 for discussion of differences) in Macau.

The PRC official language law also specifies that the spoken standard is Putonghua, but this is another possible discrepancy between PRC law and MSAR practice. While some official SAR activities might use Putonghua, Cantonese is more typically used in ceremonial and official functions, not to mention the day-to-day operation of the MSAR government. Macau's Basic Law does not specify a spoken variety of Chinese to be used, and the choice of terminology within the law creates and interesting ambiguity when interpreted in either Putonghua or Cantonese. The Chinese word for the Chinese language that is used within the Basic Law is 中文 Putonghua *Zhongwen*. In Putonghua this refers specifically to the written language, not a spoken variety, and sometimes this word is more accurately translated as 'Chinese culture' or 'Chinese literature' according to the context. However, this term would rarely be used in Putonghua to refer to a spoken variety of Chinese; there are several other terms that could be used for that. In Cantonese, however, this word *Jungman* is the unmarked term for the Chinese language and it is frequently used to describe either spoken or written varieties. If a spoken language were to be specified within the official language statute of the Basic Law, this term would not have been used, and the law itself allows some degree of flexibility for interpretation. However, for Cantonese speakers the term *Jungman* would seem to justify the use of Cantonese as the official variety.

In addition to not specifying that Chinese is the official language of the MSAR, Article 9 also fails to fully specify Portuguese as an official language. Instead, it

Table 5.8 Languages Spoken in the Macau Civil Service, 2008

	Number of speakers
Cantonese	18,911 (97.8%)
Mandarin	13,217 (68.3%)
Portuguese	8,333 (43.1%)
English	11,329 (58.6%)
Others	205 (1.1%)
TOTAL	**19,341 (100%)**

Source Moody (2008)

says that 'Portuguese *may be used as* [italics added] an official language' (Chinese Government 1993a, p. 3). While Portuguese could function in official capacities, the Basic Law does not specify that it *is* an official language. Furthermore, the obligation to use Portuguese is mollified by the use of the word *may*; without requiring any government department to use Portuguese, the wording seems to suggest that at some point in the future Portuguese *may not* be used an official language.[7]

Finally, what is interesting about the three versions of the Basic Law cited here is that the third one, the English version, exists at all. English does not have any clear legal status within the Macau SAR and there is no mention of the use of English within the Basic Law. Here again there exists a discrepancy between the PRC law and the MSAR's actual practice. Moody (2008) surveyed Macau government websites that were available from the official MSAR government portal in order to determine how many websites had pages in Chinese, Portuguese and/or English. Every government website had a version in Chinese, and all but three had a website in Portuguese. But 70% of the websites also had versions in English, and some of the agencies with English websites were somewhat surprising: the Legislative Assembly, the Identification Bureau, Macao Prison, the Land, Public Works and Transport Bureau, the Housing Bureau and the Infrastructure Development Office all had English websites (Moody 2008, pp. 4–5). There is clearly an imbalance of information within government websites; Chinese versions were not only more prevalent, but they generally carried more information than websites in the other two languages. In 2020 all information available through the Government Portal (SAFP 2020) was available in three languages: Chinese (with a choice of either simplified or traditional Chinese characters), English and Portuguese. This promotion of English within the government is matched with its prevalence within the civil service. Moody (2008) noted that 58.6% of civil servants spoke English, compared with just 43.1% who could speak Portuguese in 2008 (see Table 5.8).

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[7]The Chinese term signifying permission (not obligation) to use Portuguese here is 可 *ke* 'can, may'. The Portuguese term is *pode* (v. *poder*) 'can, may'.

Table 5.9 Languages Used within the Macau Civil Service, 2018

	Administrative Staff	Security Personnel
Spoken Languages		
Cantonese	19,571 (95.6%)	11,076 (98.2%)
Mandarin	15,573 (76.0%)	8,358 (74.1%)
Portuguese	8,696 (42.5%)	1,302 (11.5%)
English	13,789 (67.3%)	5,328 (47.2%)
Written Languages		
Chinese	19,916 (97.3%)	11,060 (98.1%)
Portuguese	8,674 (42.4%)	1,331 (11.8%)
English	13,730 (67.0%)	5,322 (47.2%)
TOTAL	**20,479**	**11,278**

Source SAFP (2018)

A more recent examination of the Civil Service (SAFP 2018) confirms that the proportion of administrative staff[8] who speak English grew to 67.3%, representing a 21.7% increase. Portuguese-speaking administrative staff, however, increased by just 4.4% and, when considering the overall 5.8% increase in the number of administrative staff, lost 0.6 points over the 10 years (Table 5.9).

As legally designated official languages, the use of Chinese varieties and Portuguese within the civil service is quite understandable, but English has no such legal designation within the territory. Nevertheless, the implementation of English within the Macau civil service and throughout government operations is accepted as an unremarkable feature of Macau society, and one without legal or governmental directive to use English. These features of English used as an official language within the Macau SAR has led Moody (2008, 2019) to assert that, in addition to Chinese and Portuguese, English also functions as an official language. The difference is that the uses of Chinese and Portuguese are encoded, albeit somewhat ambiguously, as *de jure* official languages, whereas English is taken as a *de facto* official language.

5.3.2 Chinese: Cantonese, Putonghua and Other Chinese Languages

Chinese languages have dominated the linguistic ecology of Macau for more than a century and the Macau census and by-census results confirm that they are still the

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[8]The 2018 survey of the civil service includes staff hired as security, whereas they were not included in previous surveys. While statistics about languages spoken for both administrative staff and security personnel are included in Table 5.9, only administrative staff are discussed here. The 2018 survey also separates written proficiency from spoken, but only spoken proficiency is discussed here.

dominant languages spoken within the territory. There has been, however, a clear decline in the number of people who speak Chinese as a usual language over the last two decades since the 1999 handover. The greatest proportion of Chinese speakers in the territory was recorded in the 2001 census at 97%; in the 2016 by-census that had fallen to 90.1%. However, the Macau census surveys all residents: temporary and permanent residents, non-resident workers and foreign students. An examination of what the census report calls the *local population* (i.e., temporary and permanent residents only) would likely show that this proportion has not changed much in the last 20 years. The decline in the proportion of Chinese speakers is instead caused by the expansion of non-Chinese non-resident workers, especially in the gaming and tourism industries that have developed in support of the casino economy.

Media usage often reflects the prevalence and prestige of languages with their social environment and Macau media are predominantly, though not exclusively, in Chinese. Currently there are 13 Chinese-language daily newspapers printed in Macau that altogether print 100,000 copies daily (Government Information Bureau 2019) The newspaper with the largest circulation is 澳門日報 *Oumen Jatbou* '*Macau Daily News*'. The Macau Government Information Bureau (2019) also notes that Macau published 9 weekly publications in Chinese in addition to one weekly magazine published bilingually in Chinese and Portuguese and one published in Chinese, English and Portuguese. Cantonese is the dominant Chinese language spoken within the territory and is the usual language of 80.1% of the population of Macau. The publicly-owned *Teledifusao de Macau* (TDM) 'Macau Broadcasting Company' operates one terrestrial television station that broadcasts primarily in Cantonese and Portuguese, although a few English and Putonghua programmes are also broadcast. Through its subsidiary Radio Macau, TDM also owns and operates one terrestrial radio station that broadcasts primarily in Cantonese, but might include occasional programming in Putonghua, Portuguese or English.

There have been speculations, before the 1999 handover and since, of whether or not Cantonese would retain its dominance within the territory after the handover or be replaced by Putonghua (see Harrison 1984; Yan 2014). Chinese was not made an official language in the territory until 1991, just eight years before the handover. Although Chinese was designated as the *de jure* official language, the variety of Chinese was not specified in either Decree-Law no. 455/91 (Casabona 2012, p. 231) or in the Basic Law (Chinese Government 1993a). The feeling driving speculations about the retention of Cantonese was that Cantonese might be replaced by Putonghua, the same way that administration of the territory would be replaced by officials selected by the People's Republic of China. Figure 5.10 shows the relative proportions of Cantonese and Putonghua speakers who report using the languages as usual languages in the census. While there has been an increased proportion of Putonghua speakers in the territory—and this happened primarily between 2001 and 2011—the number of Putonghua speakers in the territory seems to have remaining stable since 2011.

There has, however, been an increase in the number of Macau Cantonese speakers who claim ability in Putonghua on the Macau census in the past 20 years, and this is a phenomenon that has also been observed in Hong Kong (Bacon-Shone
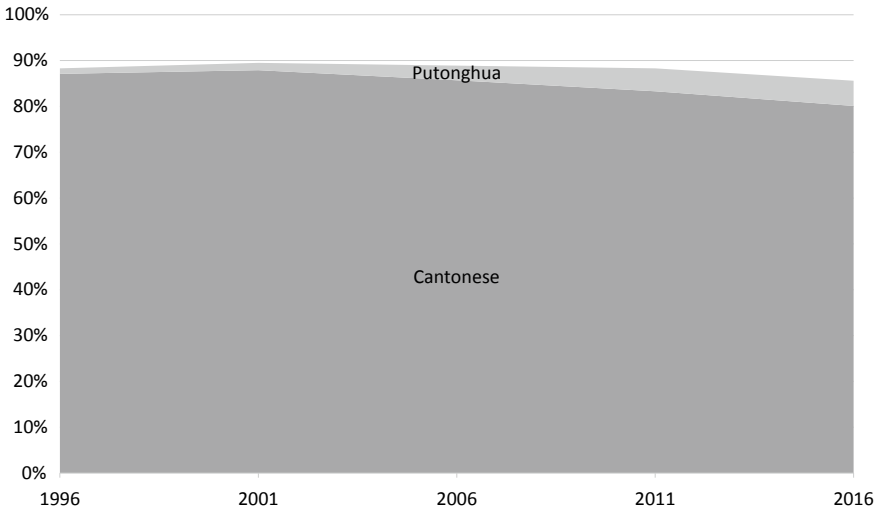
Fig. 5.10 Proportion of Population Using Cantonese and Putonghua as a Usual Language, 1996–2016. *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

and Bolton 2008; Bacon-Shone, Bolton & Luke 2015). Figure 5.11 illustrates the growing proportion of Macau's population that claim an ability to use Putonghua. The proportion of the population that claimed an ability to use Putonghua increased from 12.5% in 1996 (the last by-census before the handover) to 50.4% in 2016.

Fig. 5.11 Proportion of Population with Ability to Use Putonghua (Usual or Additional Language), 1996–2016. *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

The growth rate in Putonghua ability has also been consistent since the handover. The reasons for the growth are probably complex and deserve more attention than can sufficiently be given in this volume, but several likely reason can be suggested here. First, tourists from the PRC are the primary engine driving the consumer base of the gaming and tourism resort industry of Macau (Simpson 2014; Sheng and Gu 2018), and the service industries that are closely tied to gaming and tourism generally use Putonghua as a lingua franca with visitors from the PRC. To illustrate how important visitor arrivals from China are to Macau's gaming industry, Fig. 2.5 graphs the 2076% increase in arrivals from 1.6 million in 1999 to 35 million in 2018. Second, with the growth and development of the gaming and tourism industry in Macau has come new infrastructural demands: integrated casino resorts had to be built, public utilities had to be expanded and the workers for these projects generally came from the PRC as non-resident workers. While these employees, like the PRC tourists, speak a variety of Chinese languages, Putonghua serves as a reliable lingua franca for Chinese speakers who may not speak mutually intelligible varieties of Chinese. Finally, in addition to these ways in which Macau Cantonese speakers interact authentically with Putonghua speakers on a daily basis, the standard language ideology (SLI) has likely had an effect on how Macau residents respond to the census questionnaire. When Cantonese speakers learn to read and write, they learn Standard Written Chinese (SWC), which largely corresponds with spoken Putonghua, but they learn to read Chinese with Cantonese pronunciations of the words. As Putonghua became more prevalent in society—first among tourists and non-resident workers, but later in media and education—residents would willingly respond that they know and use the standard language regardless of actual proficiency or frequency of use. Because the SLI necessitates that everyone should know and be able to use this variety and because Putonghua has become the official language of post-handover Macau, residents might simply be more willing to acknowledge proficiency in Putonghua without actively using it in day-to-day interactions.

It was noted in Chap. 3 that Macau is historically a Hokkien-speaking region and that Hokkien has retained a prominent and sizable community throughout the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the Macau census and by-census reports only include information about the number of Hokkien speakers in 2001–2011. Nevertheless, the proportion of Hokkien speakers in Macau (see Fig. 5.12) seemed to remain quite stable throughout that decade. Other Chinese languages (i.e., other than Cantonese or Putonghua), which, for the sake of consistency include the Hokkien-speakers in Fig. 5.12, have fluctuated somewhat since the handover, but have generally increased.

5.3.3   Portuguese

It would probably not be very accurate to think of Portuguese as a dominant language of Portuguese Macau before the handover; in 1996 there were only 7,352 speakers of Portuguese as a usual language and these speakers represented just 1.8% of the population. In the 2016 by-census only 3,675 individuals identified Portuguese as
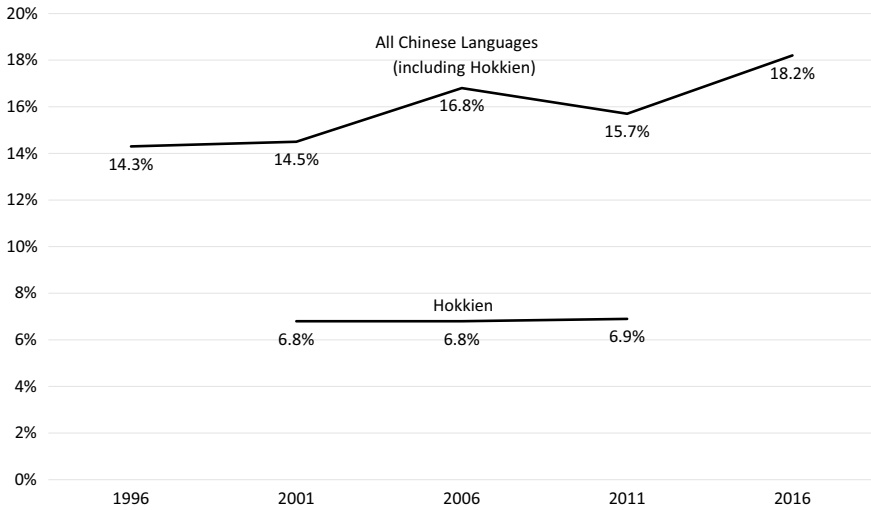
Fig. 5.12 Proportion of Population with Ability to Use Hokkien and/or Other Chinese Languages (Usual or Additional Language), 1996–2016. *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

their usual language. In the territory there are now half as many Portuguese speakers as there were 20 years ago, and overall population growth has reduced the proportion of the Portuguese population to just 0.6%. Figure 5.13 describes the proportion of the population that use Portuguese as both (1) a usual language and (2) a language ability
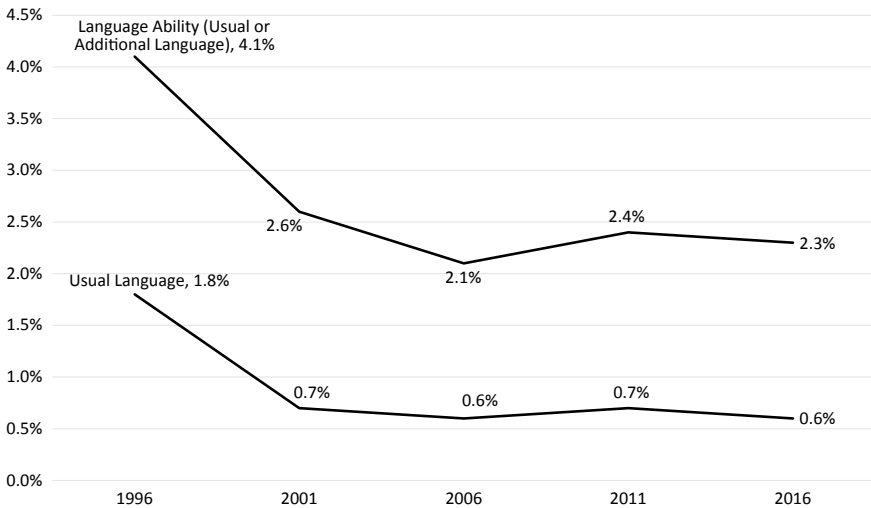
Fig. 5.13 Proportion of Population with Ability to Use Portuguese, 1996–2016. *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

(i.e., as either a usual or additional language). The largest decline in the proportion of Portuguese speakers in the territory was in the years immediately after the 1999 handover. However, most of the Portuguese speakers who left in those early years after the handover were speakers who used the language as a usual language—presumably they were continental Portuguese expatriates who were working in the territory. What Fig. 5.13 illustrates is that the permanent residents of Macau (i.e., what the DSEC refers to as the 'local population') who speak Portuguese as a usual language have remained in Macau after the handover ensuring that Portuguese remains within the linguistic ecology of the territory. Furthermore, the proportion of the population who use Portuguese as an additional language has remained relatively stable since the handover and increased slightly in 2011 and 2016.

Portuguese, therefore, *has* been retained in post-handover Macau and the media is a prominent use of the language. The Government Information Bureau (2019) notes that Macau continues to publish three Portuguese daily newspapers. The number of publications, despite the small size of the Portuguese-speaking community, suggests that Portuguese retains prestige of use within the territory. Yan (2017) notes that Portuguese had been promoted within the civil service before the handover, and this is one domain where Portuguese is primarily retained. For example, in the 2016 by-census it was estimated that 10,618 individuals used Portuguese as an additional language, and in 2018 there were 10,027 civil servants who had knowledge of Portuguese. These civil servants would account for 94.4% of Macau residents who speak Portuguese as an additional language, and would account for 70.2% of all Portuguese speakers in Macau. It is clear, therefore, that the Portuguese language is still closely associated with the civil service and government administration. But this generalisation misses a more specific function of Portuguese within the MSAR; namely, the singular importance that the language retains within juridical domains (Casabona 2012). Mancuso (2006) describes that 60% of Macau's laws are first drafted in Portuguese and then translated into Chinese, and the legal basis for this tradition is outlined in historical documents by Aresta (1995). While lower courts (e.g., the Court of First Instance) operate primarily in Chinese, all judges are capable of reviewing evidence and reports in either Chinese or Portuguese, and decisions are written in either language. The Court of Final Appeal, however, operates entirely in Portuguese with at least one judge on each of the Court's two benches using Portuguese without an ability to use Chinese (i.e., a Portuguese speaker who does not speak Chinese). While there are pressures to conduct more legal business in Chinese, especially in the upper courts, Mancuso (2006) suggests that retention of Portuguese as the primary working language of the upper courts—and by extension, although to a lesser degree, also the lower courts in Macau—keeps the control of Macau's courts firmly within Macau. As a small territory, Macau's sovereignty is potentially over-shadowed by larger neighbours like Hong Kong, Taiwan or the People's Republic of China. Given that Macau is constitutionally part of the PRC, the most obvious threat to the independence of Macau courts would come from adopting a PRC judicial system that operates solely and entirely in Chinese. However, by retaining Portuguese as the principle language of the law, the courts and the judiciary, the MSAR has effectively ensured that lawyers cannot easily enter the territory to practice law without first

having experience in Continental Portuguese language and law. Portuguese within Macau's legal system, then, is retained more as a language of exclusion than for any advantage that civil servants may gain by speaking Portuguese.

5.3.4   English

Harrison (1984) suggested that Macau could benefit from committing a larger importance to English within the linguistic ecology, and Botha and Moody (2020) confirm that this has indeed occurred. Like Portuguese, the proportion of speakers who use English as their usual language is relatively small and accounts for just 2.8% of Macau's population. Nevertheless, the number of individuals who use English as their usual language grew by a dramatic 453% from 3,189 in 1996 to 17,639 in 2016. Figure 5.13 illustrates the growing proportion of the population that speak English either as a usual or additional language. While the English-speaking proportion of the population grew consistently in the first 10 years after the handover, the growth began to accelerate in 2006 (Fig. 5.14).

Moody (2008) describes Macau English as a language most closely associated with media, commerce and education. According to the Macau's Government Information Bureau (2019) there are two English-language daily newspapers, although there were three until *Macau Business Daily* ceased publication in 2017. Like products in other languages, English-language newspapers from Hong Kong (e.g., *South China Morning Post*) and the PRC (e.g., *China Daily*) are readily available in Macau,
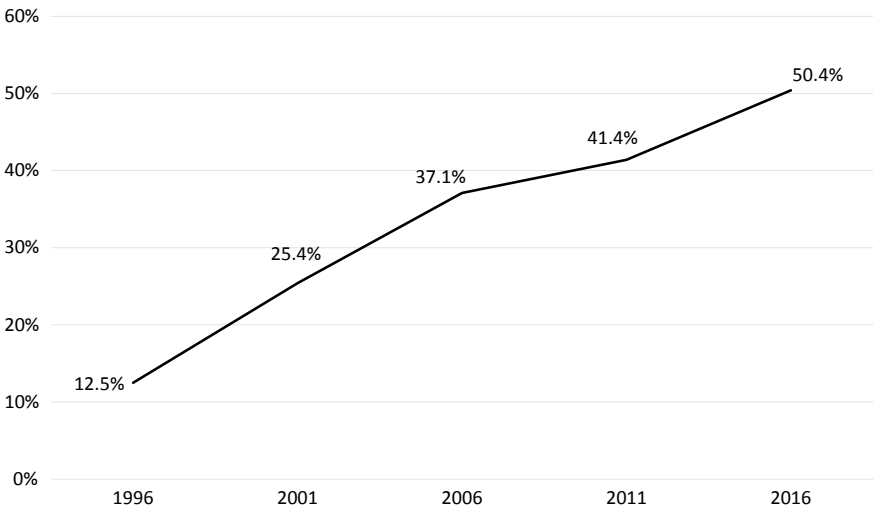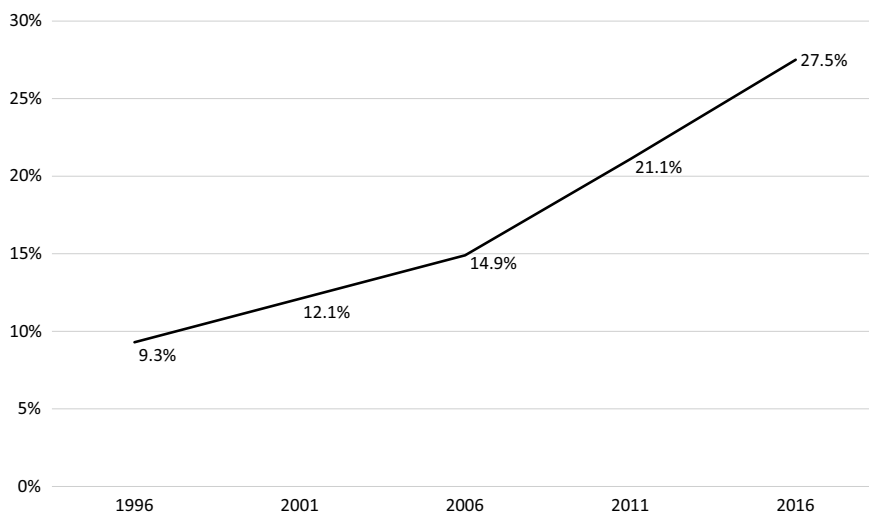

Fig. 5.14   Proportion of Population with Ability to Use English (Usual or Additional Language), 1996–2016. *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

even though they are not published within the territory. English-language terrestrial television and radio broadcasts from Hong Kong can easily be received in Macau, as well as a large number of cable, satellite and internet broadcasts originating outside the territory.

In the 2016 by-census 27.5% of Macau's population claimed the ability to use English, but this proportion represents the entire population. If we instead look at the working-age population and focus on individuals between the ages of 25 and 49, the proportion of English speakers increases significantly to 35.5%. Although the number of residents who use English as their usual language has increased in Macau, first-language English speakers only account for 2.8% of the population. Most of these individuals reside in the territory as non-resident workers, or as temporary/permanent residents with managerial expertise (see the description of criteria for applying for residency in 5.2.1). As these individuals moved into the work force with little or no ability to speak Chinese, they have made English an increasingly important language in the commercial sector. Moody (2008) notes that the Macau *Commercial Code* (Godinho 2003) has been translated into English because the language is considered the dominant commercial language in many industries in Macau. Although legal proceedings usually take place in either Portuguese or Chinese, Godinho (2007) notes the particular importance that English has in the transaction of business law in Macau.

Finally, it was noted earlier that there are 15 school sections (13.4%) that use English as the medium of instruction in Macau, and that most other schools teach English as a subject language. Ieong (2002) writes that Chinese and English are compulsory subjects in all Macau schools regardless of the MOI. The prevalence of English ability among school-aged children in Macau, as reported in the 2016 by-census, is illustrated in Fig. 5.15. Even among the youngest age group, children who are 3–4 years old, 12.4% report a knowledge of English, and this proportion increases up 48.1% of 20–24-year olds. While there are complex and multifaceted motivations for the use of English in Macau's schools, Ieong (1994) notes one easily identifiable attraction: namely that English allows graduates enhanced opportunities in business.

5.4   Educational Languages and Language Policy

The years since the 1999 handover of administration to the PRC have witnessed a number of changes in both the languages used in Macau schools and the government's regulatory policies about those languages. There are, essentially, two ways of charac-terising the languages used in Macau schools: as either a medium of instruction (MOI) or as a school subject, which the *Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude* (DSEJ) 'Education and Youth Affairs Bureau' calls a *second language* (SL). This section will review the MOI and SL developments in the territory over the 20 years since the handover in all of Macau's pre-primary, primary and secondary schools. Specific implementation of language as subject teaching policies will be discussed
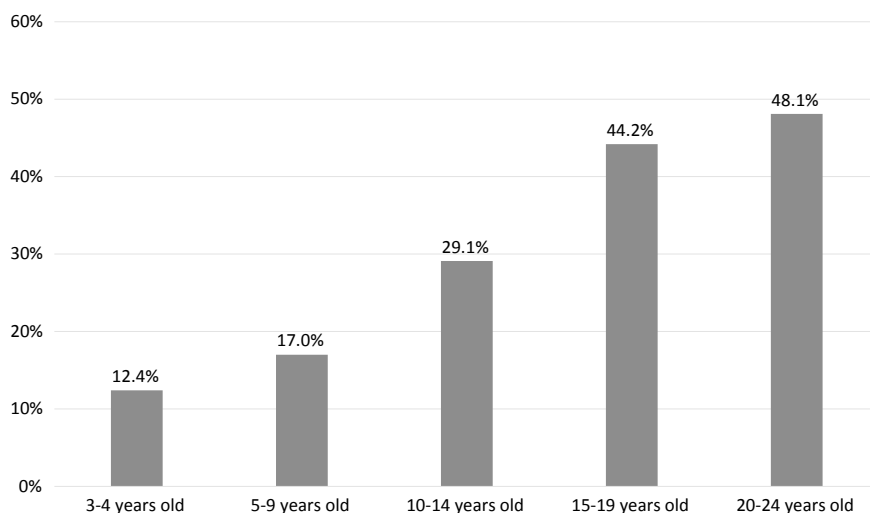
Fig. 5.15 Proportion of Population by Age Group with Ability to Use English (Usual or Additional Language), 2016. *Source* DSEC (2017)

separately as they pertain to pre-primary and primary education in Chap. 6, and to secondary education in Chap. 7. Language use and policies for tertiary education will be the focus of Chap. 8.

As mentioned in Sect. 5.2.3, there are three types of schools in Macau: government schools, subsidised schools and private schools.[9] Government schools are fully funded by the government and offer free education to all enrolled students. Private schools receive no government funding and are funded by charitable organisations (esp. religious organisations) and student tuition; fully private schools are under no obligation to follow government educational language policy. Subsidised schools are essentially private schools, but the tuition fees for students who are Macau temporary or permanent residents are paid by the Macau government (at a fixed standardised rate), making the education for those students free.[10] In exchange, subsidised schools must participate in a number of government regulations regarding curricula and instruction, including language policy. Table 5.5 list the number of school sections[11] by type, and this is graphically represented in Fig. 5.16 below.

Government schools only adopt one of the two official languages, Chinese or Portuguese, as MOI. In most cases the implementation of a Chinese curriculum uses Cantonese (Ieong 2002), but there is at least one government school that adopts

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[9]Terminology in various government documents and academic studies is not consistent, but these terms are adopted in this volume with consistency. Differences will also be noted when quoting from sources that use different terms.

[10]Subsidised schools cannot charge fees greater than MOP 1000 (appx. US$125) per student per year.

[11]See fn. 5 for a description of school types and the term *school section.*

Fig. 5.16 Distribution of Government, Subsidised and Private Schools, 2018/2019Academic Year. *Source* DSEJ (2019b)
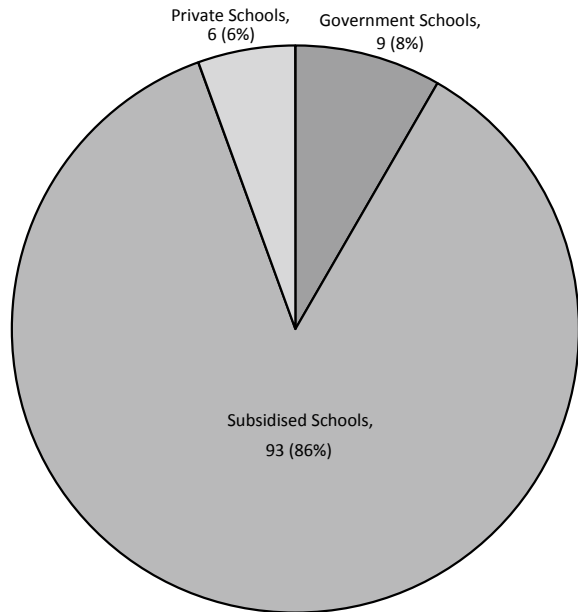
Putonghua as the primary medium of instruction. Whether government schools operate as Chinese medium of instruction (CMI) or Portuguese medium of instruc-tion (PMI) schools, they are obliged to offer the other official language as a course subject (i.e., as a second language). Subsidised and private schools are allowed to adopt any language as MOI, but in actual practice only three languages are used as MOI, Chinese, English or Portuguese. As with government schools, the imple-mentation of curricula in Chinese normally uses Cantonese, but in recent years it has become clear that a number of teachers (mostly hired as non-resident workers) cannot speak Cantonese and instead deliver classes in Putonghua. Subsidised schools that offer English medium of instruction (EMI) education are asked to offer at least one of the official languages as a school subject. The number of schools offering CMI, EMI and PMI are listed in Table 5.6 and illustrated in Fig. 5.17.

The raw number of school sections suggests, to some degree, the number of interest groups that there are invested in education in each of the three possible mediums of instruction. What it doesn't demonstrate, however, is the capacity of the three mediums of instruction within in the territory. Table 5.10 lists the number of school sections and the number of students studying within Chinese, English and Portuguese MOI at all government, subsidised and private schools at all three levels (pre-primary, primary and secondary) of education in the 2018/2019 academic year. The density of students in private education is optimal, with 3.1% of students in schools that account for 3.6% of school sections. The density of students in subsidised education is somewhat high (although class sizes are controlled by DSEJ regulations), where 87.4% of students are studying in subsidised schools, which make up 83% of all school sections. Presumably, DSEJ regulations will also regulate class sizes and the

Fig. 5.17 Distribution of Chinese, English and Portuguese Medium of Instruction School Sections, 2018/2019 Academic Year. *Source* DSEJ (2019b)
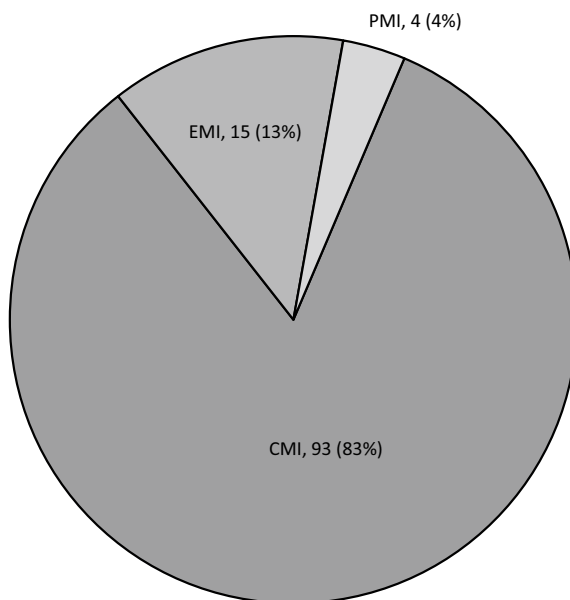
number of classes with the per-student subsidy paid to schools. Finally, as might be expected, the density of students in private schools is the lowest; 9.5% of students study in private schools, which account for 13.4% of schools.

While government schools only offer CMI and PMI education, subsidised schools only offer CMI and EMI education. Private schools offer education in Chinese, English and Portuguese, but it should be noted that the largest PMI school is the *Escola Portuguesa de Macau* (EPM) 'Macau Portuguese School'. EPM enrols 595 students in all primary and secondary grades (i.e., from Primary 1—Form 6). Students at EPM account for 92.7% of all primary and secondary students enrolled in PMI schools.

The decline in PMI education in Macau is to be expected after the 1999 handover, when many colonial officials left the territory. Indeed, the total number of speakers of Portuguese has declined (see 5.3.3), and it is only natural to expect that PMI education would also wane (Botha and Moody 2020). Table 5.11 lists the total number of pre-primary, primary and secondary students enrolled in Chinese, English and Portuguese medium of instruction over the last 30 years. Several features of Table 5.11 deserve special mention. The figures for 1989 and 1996 are from Berlie and they appear to be estimates rather than based on statistics from DSEJ. Figures for 2003 are reported by Bray and Koo (2004) and they record an aberrational decline in EMI enrolments along with a corresponding increase in the number CMI enrolments (see Fig. 5.18). Bray and Koo (2004) cite DSEJ as the source of the figures. DSEJ's annual 'Statistical profile of non-tertiary education' lists the number of students enrolled in school sections, but the document does not always identify the MOI of the schools or school sections. In order to calculate the number of students enrolled

Table 5.10 Student Enrolments by Medium of Instruction, School Type and Grade Level, 2018/2019 Academic Year

		Government		Subsidised		Private		Total	
Pre-Primary	Chinese	546	(81.3%)	15,084	(96.54%)	503	(22.6%)	16,133	(87.1%)
	English			541	(3.5%)	1500	(67.4%)	2,041	(11.0%)
	Portuguese	126	(12.8%)			224	(10.1%)	350	(1.9%)
	Sub-total	**672**	**(100%)**	**15,625**	**(100%)**	**2,227**	**(100%)**	**18,524**	**(100%)**
Primary	Chinese	719	(95.2%)	24,632	(84.5%)	1254	(51.0%)	26,605	(82.2%)
	English	–		4505	(15.5%)	849	(34.5%)	5,354	(16.5%)
	Portuguese	36	(4.8%)	–		357	(14.5%)	393	(1.2%)
	Sub-total	**755**	**(100%)**	**29,137**	**(100%)**	**2,460**	**(100%)**	**32,352**	**(100%)**
Secondary	Chinese	964	(98.9%)	19,227	(85.7%)	1335	(51.1%)	21,526	(82.7%)
	English	–		3200	(14.3%)	1041	(39.8%)	4,241	(16.3%)
	Portuguese	11	(1.1%)	–		238	(9.1%)	249	(1.0%)
	Sub-total	**975**	**(100%)**	**22,427**	**(100%)**	**2,614**	**(100%)**	**26,016**	**(100%)**
	TOTAL	**2,402**		**67,189**		**7,301**		**76,892**	

Source DSEJ (2019b)

Table 5.11 Number of Students in Three MOI, 1989–2019

	1989*	1996*	2003**	2006	2012	2017	2019
Chinese	60,660	80,000	80,069	79,041	62,527	61,391	64,264
English	4,150	12,000	5,644	12,322	10,273	11,064	11,636
Portuguese	3,500	4,000	831	891	625	822	992
TOTAL	68,250	96,000	86,544	92,254	73,425	62,094	76,892

Sources Berlie (1999); Bray and Koo (2004); DSEJ (2006, 2012, 2017b, 2019a)
* Figures for 1989 and 1996 are probably estimates
**Figures for 2003 are from Bray & Koo (2004) and they record an aberrational decline in EMI education. This may be due to an error in calculating enrolments in schools with both CMI and EMI sections
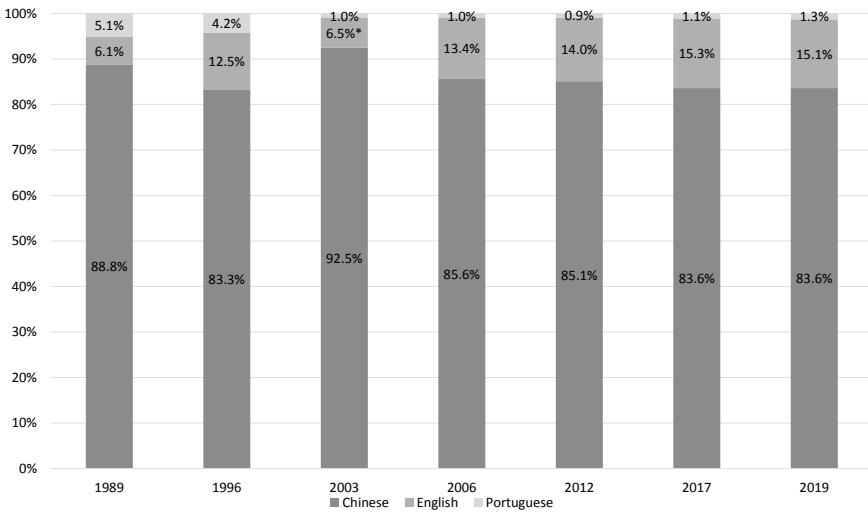
*Figures for 2003 are from Bray & Koo (2004), who record an aberrational decline in EMI education. This may result from an error in calculating enrolments in schools with both CMI and EMI sections.

Fig. 5.18 Distribution of Students in Three MOI, 1989–2019. *Sources* Berlie (1999); Bray & Koo (2004); DSEJ (2006, 2012, 2017b, 2019a)

within the three different MOI, enrolment figures for individual school sections must be collected according to the MOI of the particular school section. However, the MOI is not always easily identified with the school section and it must be painstakingly confirmed for each school section in DSEJ's report. It would be very easy to incorrectly calculate the number of students enrolled in EMI schools if enrolments from individual schools, not school sections, are taken as final figures. This is because several very large subsidised schools that are primarily CMI schools *also* have EMI sections (as previously noted in Sect. 5.2.3). Bray and Koo (2004) acknowledge that there are mixed Portuguese and Chinese sections in government schools and that enrolment figures have been calculated separately, but there is no similar statement

to this effect for EMI sections in CMI schools. Remaining data in Table 5.11 are drawn from annual DSEJ reports (DSEJ 2006, 2012, 2017h, 2019b).

Figure 5.18 illustrates the proportional distribution of enrolments in three MOI from 1989 to 2019. Portuguese MOI education began to decline before the handover and has never accounted for more than 1.3% of enrolments since 1996. English MOI education, however, has increasingly taken up a larger proportion of enrolments since 1989. The biggest increase was from 6.1% in 1989 to 12.5% in 1996, and the proportion of students enrolled since 2006 in EMI has remained relatively stable at 13.4–15.3%.[12]

Moody (2019) examines the details of a Macau SAR government document entitled 'The Macau SAR Government Non-tertiary Education: Language Education Policy' (DSEJ 2017a). The 'Language Education Policy' (LEP) is the first document of its kind within the MSAR to outline in broad strokes regulations related to the adoption of a teaching medium, the teaching of language subject courses and language teacher proficiencies. The LEP does not regulate tertiary (i.e., higher) education, which is overseen instead by the *Direcção dos Serviços de Ensino Superior* (DSES) 'Higher Education Bureau', and DSEJ administration of language policy only pertains to government schools and subsidised schools. Discussion of how the LEP is implemented in pre-primary/primary (PPP) schools and in secondary schools will be discussed in Chaps. 6 and 7 respectively. However, Moody (2019) notes that the LEP makes several surprising statements about Macau's languages and what the policy seeks to accomplish. In particular, the document acknowledges that, as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China, PRC laws on the official nature of spoken and written languages apply to the Macau SAR, too. Specifically, the document states that '…the standard spoken Chinese language refers to Putonghua and the standard written Chinese language refers to the standardised Chinese characters…' (DSEJ 2017a, p. 2). As noted earlier in this chapter, 87.8% of Macau's population speak Cantonese and only 50.4% (the highest percentage ever recorded in census documents) have an ability to speak Putonghua. While the LEP statement is somewhat surprising, given the fact that Cantonese is a standardising language in Hong Kong and Macau (see discussion in 3.3), to take Putonghua as the official language when so many people speak Cantonese (or another Chinese variety) instead is quite normal in most parts of China. What is more surprising about the statement is that it appears to specify a norm for education that is not consistent with actual practice: more than 90% of CMI schools use Cantonese, not Putonghua, as the MOI (Ieong 2002).

In addition to naming Putonghua as the standard variety of Chinese, the LEP also specifies that the 'standard written Chinese language refers to the standardised Chinese characters' (p. 2). The terms of reference here are somewhat ambiguous and might consequently refer to several different things. Standard Written Chinese (SWC) is usually considered to be the same language for all speakers of Chinese, regardless of the variety of Chinese they speak (see discussion in 3.6.2). While there may be elements of Cantonese vernacular that are introduced into written

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[12]This assumes, however, that the aberrational data from 2003 results from a simple miscalculation.

Chinese in some limited genres (see, for example, Moody and Hashim 2009 and discussion of written Cantonese introduced to advertising in women's magazines), this does not seem to be the primary focus of the policy (although it might be a secondary motivation for the statement). Instead, the policy focusses on 'standardised Chinese characters' as the defining feature of standard Chinese. Further statements made within the LEP about the types of Chinese characters to be taught—traditional versus simplified Chinese characters—focus the document's attention away from complex features of SWC: the LEP simply promotes simplified Chinese characters as 'standardised Chinese characters'. For example, the LEP continues to contrast 'standardised Chinese characters' with 'traditional Chinese characters', identifying 'standardised Chinese characters' *as* simplified Chinese characters:

> Helping students acquire a good knowledge of traditional Chinese characters should be prioritised in Chinese lessons. However, schools can, at their own discretion, use teaching materials written in traditional Chinese characters or standardised Chinese characters as approved by the government. (DSEJ 2017a, p. 6).

The Language Education Policy document, therefore, sends mixed messages about the language to be used in education. Simplified Chinese characters are standard Chinese and standard Chinese should be taught in classrooms, unless schools want to use traditional Chinese characters, instead. Similarly, Putonghua is identified as the spoken standard variety and the spoken standard should be taught to students—unless, of course, schools prefer to use Cantonese instead. These contradictions arise from centuries of multilingual policy without strong centralised control to produce two discourse traditions in post-handover Macau: a *discourse of integration* and a *discourse of autonomy*.

5.4.1 Discourse of Integration

The 1999 handover of Macau to PRC administration integrated the territory as a Special Administrative Region within the bureaucracy of the People's Republic of China. Macau had functioned for centuries without clear definitive declarations of an official language, and multilingualism thrived within the ecology. Educational language policy, like much of the *laissez faire* treatment of education before the handover, was never clearly articulated (Ieong 1993). While the articulation of a language policy for education is unprecedented and potentially threatens school autonomy, specific statements within the LEP (DSEJ 2017a) draw upon a rhetoric of peaceful and fortuitous integration with the PRC as potential justification for the policy. The statement of 'focal points' within the LEP include the following statements about the relationship between Macau and the PRC[13]:

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[13]Not surprisingly, the document uses the *–o* spelling of Macau that is preferred in the PRC (see discussion in 2.2.1) and refers to China as the *Chinese mainland* (not, *Mainland China*). One typical reason for this choice of words is that the phrase *Mainland China* is sometimes thought to suggest

1.4 Macao's increasingly close relationship with the Chinese Mainland

Exchange between Macao and the Chinese mainland has been increasing since the Macao SAR government was established. Therefore, it has become crucial to promote Putonghua. (DSEJ 2017a, p. 2).

The statement of 'exchange' with PRC government moderates Macau's more complex relationship with the PRC, and posits that Macau might possess more sovereignty than the relationship as an SAR actually allows. Nevertheless, the 'crucial' need to promote Putonghua is largely left unspecified in the fourth focal point quoted above. The articulation of the eighth focal point attempts to clarify the motivation to teach Chinese:

1.8 The cultural role of the language education policy

Aside from a means of communication, language is also the vehicle of culture. The language education policy plays a significant role in transmitting and developing Chinese culture as well as promoting multiculturalism. The language education policy of Macao should ensure the further development of Chinese culture in the city and take into account its multicultural characteristics. (DSEJ 2017a, p. 3).

This particular focal point identifies two goals of the LEP: to develop Chinese culture and to account for multicultural characteristics. The point continues to specify the Chinese language as the mechanism for developing Chinese culture, but no similar mechanism is identified to promote multiculturalism. In fact, there is no statement that multiculturalism *should* be promoted. It appears, therefore, that the focus of the LEP is *not* to develop multiculturalism. Instead, multiculturalism is almost treated as a potential impediment to the development of Chinse culture. Multiculturalism is something to 'take into account' within the larger goal of promoting Chinese culture.

The justifications, therefore, for the promotion of Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters within the LEP are (1) exchange with the PRC and (2) promotion of Chinese culture. Furthermore, the LEP espouses several goals related to the discourse of integration: students should 'speak relatively fluent Putonghua, write traditional Chinese characters correctly … [and] understand standardised Chinese characters' (DSEJ 2017a, p. 5) and DSEJ aims to 'incrementally raise Chinese teachers' ability to teach in Putonghua' (DSEJ 2017a, p. 4). Although PRC educational language policy places a much greater emphasis upon the use of Putonghua and without nearly as many 'considerations' for local languages (Feng and Adamson 2019), the discourse of integration within the LEP brings Macau's stated policy more closely aligned to PRC policy than any previous policy statement.

5.4.2 Discourse of Autonomy

As a small territory, the autonomy of Macau is naturally under threat from the influence of interests from larger or more powerful states within the region. Hong Kong is

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that there are more Chinas than one, and that a Mainland China would potentially be regarded as just one of several.

larger and its economy and infrastructure are more developed than Macau's. China is the ultimate ruler of Macau and controls the flow of all resources across the border. Taiwan offers a range of alternative choices for education, especially higher education. Macau borrows policy and infrastructural approaches from each of these territories when developing educational policy, but to do so entails the potential threat of losing some degree of local autonomy. The DSEJ Language Education Policy (LEP) document also borrows from a discourse of autonomy in order to assert local independence and control over the drafting and implementation of the LEP. For example, the document's ninth focal point addresses the independence of Cantonese and traditional Chinese characters within the community:

> 1.9 The tradition of speaking Cantonese and the value of traditional Chinese characters
>
> For a long time, Cantonese and traditional Chinese characters have been most widely used in schools and among Macao residents. The language of education policy should reflect and acknowledge their importance. (DSEJ 2017a, p. 3).

The policy actions are as vague as the focal points suggest here: 'reflect and acknowledge' does not necessarily entail specific policy goals or outcomes. However, the important point here is that is that Cantonese and traditional Chinese characters, although they are not treated as standard Chinese, are taken as symbols of autonomy and difference from PRC language policy. The LEP's sixth focal point also acknowledges the local importance of English within the discourse of autonomy:

> 1.6 The need for Macao to develop into an international city
>
> To develop Macao into an international city and to ensure the sustainable development of its economy and society, it is necessary to popularise English among residents and nurture foreign language professionals. (DSEJ 2017a, p. 3).

English is not tied to any cultural or historical legacy within the city, although the traditions of EMI are at least as old, and perhaps older, than the traditions of using Cantonese and traditional Chinese characters in education. Instead, English is tied to goals of internationalisation and the support of 'foreign language professionals' within the territory. Interestingly, the policy does not specify that the professionals should be English-speaking, but assumes that anyone coming from outside of the region—especially Hong Kong, Taiwan or the PRC—would speak English and would use English rather than Chinese as a possible lingua franca. In this way, the support for English in the LEP functions within the discourse of autonomy because it enables Macau to hire professionals who are not necessarily Chinese speakers while, at the same time, not excluding Chinese speakers from work within the territory.

5.4.3 Merging the Discourses of Integration and Autonomy

While statements on the use of Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters assert motivations to integrate with PRC educational language policy, statements about

the use of Cantonese, traditional Chinese characters and English assert motivations to remain autonomous from PRC policies. Statements about Portuguese education, however, simultaneously express both the desire to remain autonomous and the need find a meaningful place within the PRC as a Chinese SAR. The fifth focal point of the LEP describes the possible role of Portuguese in Macau:

> 1.5 The need for Macao to act as a platform for cultural, trade and economic exchanges between the Greater China Region and Portuguese-speaking countries
>
> With its unique language and cultural advantage, Macao, in recent years, has been successfully acting as a platform for cultural, trade and economic exchanges between the Greater China Region and Portuguese-speaking countries through holding the "Forum for Economic and Trade Cooperation between China and Portuguese-speaking countries [sic]" and other activities. Teaching Portuguese to students *in an appropriate and effective way* [italics added] is significant in terms of sustaining and taking full advantage of Macao's regional advantages. (DSEJ 2017a, p. 2).

Portuguese at the end of Macau's colonial era was not a widely used medium of instruction in Macau schools, but PMI has diminished even further since the 1999 handover. Therefore, it would not be very easy to argue that Portuguese-language education is a necessity for the cultural identity of Macau. While there is a long tradition of using Portuguese in education, the number of students currently enrolled in PMI schools now hovers at around 1%, and much of this proportion is actually only enrolled in pre-primary education (see Table 5.10). Only 1.2% of primary and 1.0% of secondary students are enrolled in PMI school sections. Consequently, the LEP does not make a direct appeal to the importance of Portuguese-language education using the discourse of autonomy.

Instead, the LEP characterises Portuguese as a 'cultural advantage' and cites as an example Macau's participation in the Forum for Economic and Trade Cooperation Between China and Portuguese-Speaking Countries (Macao). This annual Forum maintains the office of the Permanent Secretariat within Macau (Forum Macao 2020). The stated purpose of the organisation is 'promoting economic and trade exchanges between China and Portuguese-speaking Countries, by using Macao as a connecting platform between those places' (Forum Macao 2020). The organisation does not directly represent the Macau government, but is instead under the sponsorship and control of the PRC government. Macau simply becomes a 'platform' (i.e., a term that the LEP has borrowed from the Forum) for the implementation of trade strategies between China and the eight member nations: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Timor-Leste. While the work of the organisation is important and fundamental to cooperation between the MSAR and PRC governments, it hardly seems central enough to highlight within a territory-wide language policy. Instead, it is selected as an example of the kinds of ways in which Macau might leverage its linguistic and cultural heritage as a former Portuguese territory into a role within the PRC. Because this heritage is 'unique', the focal point appeals to both the discourses of integration and autonomy.

What is further intriguing about the commitment to Portuguese-language education (presumably as either MOI or school subject) is the degree to which the LEP qualifies any commitment to implementing education in Portuguese. The LEP also

supports the teaching of Portuguese 'in an appropriate and effective way', and these moderating terms are repeated throughout the LEP. The LEP states the objective that the government aims to 'nurture *a certain amount* [italics added] of Chinese-Portuguese bilinguals' (DSEJ 2017a, p. 4). These terms are both ambiguous and they mollify any real commitment to increasing the enrolment in PMI or in Portuguese subject courses. Indeed, Bray (1992) notes that in 1988 the colonial Portuguese government announced that they would implement compulsory Portuguese language courses as a subject in Macau schools, but the plan had to be scrapped due to public opposition (see discussion in 4.2.1.3). It's difficult to imagine that such an announcement wouldn't spark a similar reaction today.

5.5 Conclusion

Macau society has undergone a number of very dramatic social changes since the 1999 handover from Portuguese administration to become a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China. The Portuguese had never fully imprinted a Portuguese linguistic identity upon the territory and, consequently, at the time of the handover Portuguese was used by just 4.1% of the entire population, and only 1.8% of the population used the language as a usual language. Near two-thirds of those usual-language speakers of Portuguese (61.7%), however, had left the territory with the colonial administration after the handover. It is, therefore, remarkable that the MSAR has, 20 years after the handover, retained Portuguese as an official language. Although the 2016 by-census had estimated that Portuguese was spoken by just 2.3% of Macau's population, the language remains as an important symbol of a local Macau identity, regardless of whether it is actually used within linguistic practice or not. In the same way that Portuguese is used to exclude non-local interests from participation in the judicial and legislative framework of the territory, the language comes to symbolise the territory in an acknowledgement that Macau's linguistic ecology is distinctive and unique.

The creation of Macau's multilingual linguistic ecology was driven, in part, by four-and-a-half centuries of colonial administration that did not require the use of one language at the expense of another. Portuguese and English—as well as their contact varieties Makista and Chinese Pidgin English—all enjoyed important roles within the ecology and the standardised varieties of these languages have been retained as important mediums of instruction within Macau schools. Regional languages from the South and South East Asian regions—Filipino, Konkani, Burmese, Thai—have each found a place within the linguistic ecology as each is brought to the territory by long- and short-term sojourners and residents. Cantonese, Hokkien and a number of other Chinese languages ultimately came to find dominance within the linguistic ecology, but the legal status of Chinese was not confirmed in Macau until 1991, just eight years before the handover. Nevertheless, the dominance of Chinese within Macau's educational system and the linguistic ecology was guaranteed by the freedom from regulation that the government offered before the 1999 handover.

The *laissez faire* treatment of education, and particularly of educational language, allowed diversity to flourish without regulatory protections of that diversity.

But the 1999 handover brought a different regulatory approach to many aspects of Macau society, including education. The People's Republic of China has not encouraged pluralism with regard to Chinese languages in educational language policy (Feng and Adamson 2019) and this has in part supported the loss of Chinese languages across China (Bai 1994; Chu 2001). Likewise, the LEP (DSEJ 2017a) suggests that Macau is not immune from the desire that has spread across China to specify a standardised variety of Chinese in education. In 2014 the Education and Youth Affairs Bureau (DSEJ) embarked upon a project to update the various curricula, including language curricula, used in Macau schools (DSEJ 2017a). While the discourse of integration urges policy makers to follow the PRC's example and clearly specify spoken Putonghua and written simplified Chinese characters as the educational standard, the discourse of autonomy replaces such proclamation with vague commitments and under-specified standards.

Chapters 6 and 7 will examine the features of the new language-related curricula that have been progressively implemented in Macau schools since the 2015/2016 academic year as well as the specific features of the linguistic ecologies where these curricula were introduced. Chap. 6 will survey the linguistic ecology of students enrolled in 9 years of pre-primary and primary (PPP) schooling in Macau and the revisions undertaken to the use of Chinese, English and Portuguese as both mediums of instruction (MOI) and as what DSEJ calls 'second language' subject courses. Chap. 7 will examine the implementation of these language-teaching curricula into the existing linguistic ecologies of junior secondary and senior secondary education.

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Chapter 6
Language and Educational Language Policy in Childhood Education: Pre-primary and Primary Education

6.1 Introduction

The Macau Department of Census and Statistical Service's *2016 Population By-Census: Detailed Report* opened by reporting that the substantial increase in population from the 2011 census was due to an increased number of non-resident workers and 'a rebound in the birth rate over the past five years' (DSEC 2017, p. 1). While the number of non-resident workers is likely to have little effect on the services provided by the Macau educational system, the rebound in the birth rate will have ramifications for years to come. Most of the scholarship on language planning and language policy in Macau focusses on the implementation of language teaching at the secondary and tertiary (i.e., higher) educational levels, but this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive view of the pre-primary and primary (PPP) levels of education in Macau. The Macau Educational Act was passed in 1991 (see DSEJ 1991) and provides for three levels of compulsory or universal education: pre-primary, primary and secondary education. This chapter will focus on the implementation of educational language policy and provisions for pre-primary and primary education in Macau.

Table 6.1 outlines the structure of pre-primary and primary education in Macau along with the ages for students in each grade. Students should turn the age listed in Table 6.1 before 31 December of the year they start that grade. Because classes normally begin in late-August, the range of ages in any particular class is 16 months (i.e., from 1 September to 31 December of the following year). This chapter will first examine the macro-sociolinguistic data reported in demographic data from the 2016 by-census report to understand the linguistic ecology of students at the pre-primary and primary levels. An examination of the various types of schools (i.e., government, subsidised and private) and the three mediums of instruction (MOI) used in Macau (i.e., Chinese, English and Portuguese) will suggest how schools respond to and reciprocally shape the linguistic ecology of PPP students. Finally, this chapter will examine language curricula and language policy as it especially pertains to pre-primary and primary education.

Table 6.1 Structure of Pre-primary and Primary (PPP) Education

Educational level	Age of student*
Pre-primary	
K1	3
K2	4
K3	5
Primary	
P1	6
P2	7
P3	8
P4	9
P5	10
P6	11

Source DSEJ (2019a)

* Students must turn this age before 31 December of the year they enrol in that grade.

6.2   Languages and Language Ecology

The recording of a 'rebound' in the birth rate in the 2016 by-census was a welcome sign of growth, and a sign that local schools will soon be in higher demand. For nearly twenty years the school-age population had been in decline, while the population of Macau had been growing at an average annual growth rate of 3% (see 5.2.1). Figure 6.1 graphs the decline and eventual rebound in growth in the number of children between the ages of 3–9 years old, which roughly corresponds to pre-primary and primary aged students.[1] Between 1996 and 2011 Macau lost a little more than half (50.5%) of its PPP population. While this loss is indeed dramatic, the entire population of Macau grew by 63.7% during the same period of time, intensifying the proportional loss of the PPP-aged population.

These statistics, however, are from DSEC (i.e., the Statistics and Census Service) and they simply estimate what school enrolments were over the past 20 years according to the number of eligible students in the territory.[2] Figure 6.2 graphs the actual enrolment rates for 10 years from 2009 to 2018.

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[1]The Macau census reports language use (as both usual and additional languages) in increments of population age. The first increment, age 3–4, roughly corresponds to the range of schooling in pre-primary school. After this first increment the census documents report language us in regular five-year increments (e.g., 5 – 9; 10 – 14; etc.). This analysis of language use by age, which examines the number of pre-primary and primary residents within the Macau census data, will treat the 3–4 age group as pre-primary students and the 5 – 9 age group as primary students.

[2]The estimate, however, is probably very close for two reasons. First, the sample of residents age 3 – 9 represents a span of 8 years of age and school enrolments for K1 – P6 represent 9 years of schooling. Second, in Macau the rate of school enrolment for primary school is 97.76%. For pre-primary male and female students, the rate is 97.07% and 94.08% respectively (Knoema 2020).
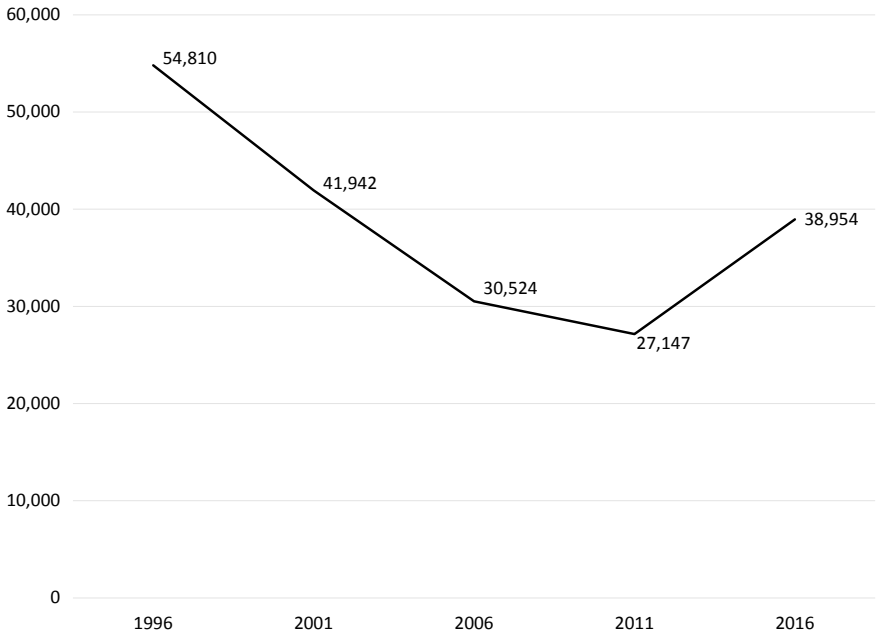
Fig. 6.1 Pre-primary- and Primary-Age Population (3–9-Year Olds) 1996–2016. *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)
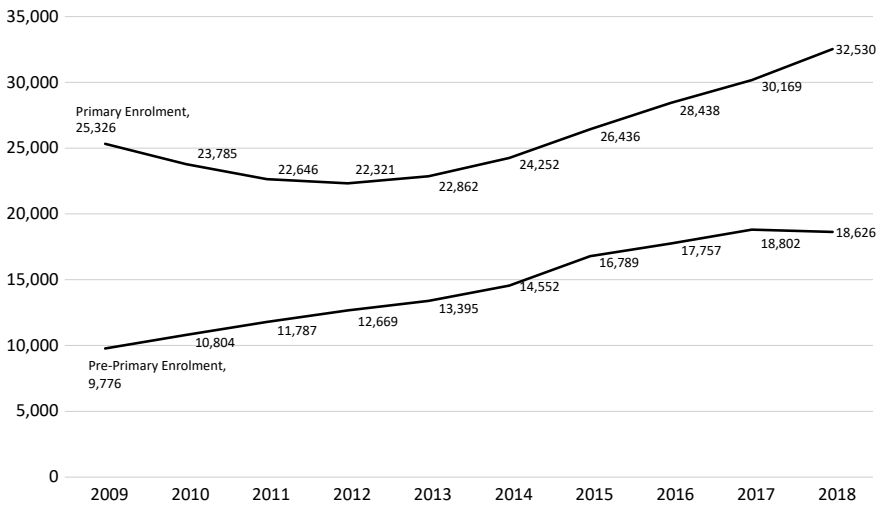
Fig. 6.2 Pre-Primary and Primary (PPP) Enrolments, 2009/2010–2018/2019 Academic Years. *Source* DSEJ (2019b)

Table 6.2 Usual Language and Total Language Ability of Pre-Primary Speakers, 1996–2016

	1996	2001	2006	2011		2016	
	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Language ability*	Usual language	Language ability*
Chinese varieties							
Cantonese	13,297 (94.2%)	9,107 (94.2%)	5,927 (89.8%)	7,899 (89.8%)	93.5%	11,589 (89.0%)	93.5%
Putonghua	59 (0.4%)	29 (0.3%)	99 (1.5%)	217 (2.5%)	11.2%	498 (3.8%)	15.4%
Hokkien	–	149 (1.5%)	119 (1.8%)	195 (2.2%)	4.0%	–	
Other Chinese	375 (2.7%)	92 (1.0%)	32 (0.5%)	62 (0.7%)	1.6%	206 (1.6%)	4.3%
Chinese Sub-total	**13,731 (100%)**	**9,377 (100%)**	**6,177 (100%)**	**8,373 (100%)**		**12,293 (100%)**	
Chinese Languages	13,731 (97.3%)	9,377 (97.0%)	6,177 (93.5%)	8,373 (95.2%)		12,293 (94.4%)	
Portuguese	228 (1.6%)	67 (0.7%)	91 (1.4%)	81 (0.9%)	1.1%	32 (0.2%)	0.7%
English	82 (0.6%)	70 (0.7%)	143 (2.2%)	224 (2.5%)	7.3%	541 (4.2%)	12.4%
Tagalog	–	105 (1.1%)	163 (2.4%)	74 (0.8%)	1.4%	54 (0.4%)	0.5%
Other	72 (0.5%)	45 (0.5%)	29 (0.4%)	42 (0.5%)	1.0%	102 (0.8%)	1.5%
TOTAL	**14,113 (100%)**	**9,664 (100%)**	**6,603 (100%)**	**8,794 (100%)**		**13,022 (100%)**	

Sources DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)
*Data about additional languages (i.e., language ability) are not reported by age group until 2011 and 2016.

The Macau census reports also illustrate how the linguistic ecology of the territory has changed since the 1999 handover and, because usual language statistics are recorded from residents age 3 and above in increments of five years (i.e., 3–4 years of age and 5–9 years of age), the data can be easily applied to represent pre-primary and primary students respectively. Table 6.2 lists the languages used by pre-primary students who are 3–4 years old, the youngest age group represented in the Macau language use census. *Usual language* refers to the language reportedly spoken at home and *total language ability* refers to the usual language plus any additional languages that the resident speaks.[3] Unfortunately, the census does not record additional languages used by increments of age until 2011, therefore it is impossible to calculate the residents' total language ability before the 2011 census and the 2016

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[3]These are DSEC terms used in the Macau census and by-census reports. See 5.3 for a discussion of the terms used in official census documents.

by-census. Nevertheless, the trends over the past 20 years among 3–4-year olds are informative and are reflective of larger changes within the society.

It was noted in Chap. 5 that the proportion of Cantonese speakers in Macau society was slowly dropping and that the number of Putonghua speakers was increasing (see Fig. 5.11). This same phenomenon is observable among pre-primary students, although the rate of change is not as high as in the total population. Over the 20 years from 1996 (three years before the 1999 handover) to 2016, the proportion of 3–4-year olds using Cantonese as their usual language dropped slightly from 94.2 to 89.0%. Alternatively, the proportion of pre-primary-aged child using Putonghua grew from 0.4% in 1996 to 3.8% in 2016. The number of 3–4-year olds using Putonghua as their usual language increased by 129% to more than double during the five years between the 2011 census and the 2016 by-census. The 2011 census and the 2016 by-census suggest that the ability for pre-primary students to use Putonghua as an additional language has also been growing since the handover, as it has for the entire population. 11.2% of parents claimed that their pre-primary children could use Putonghua in 2011 and 15.4% claimed so in 2016. Use of other Chinese languages as a usual language has fluctuated during the 20 years after the handover, but essentially represented between 2.3 and 2.9% of the pre-primary population from 1996 to 2011. In 2016, however, the proportion of pre-primary children who spoke a Chinese language other than Cantonese or Putonghua as a usual language fell to 1.6%. The ability to use Chinese languages other than Cantonese and Putonghua, and especially Hokkien, as either a usual or additional language also remained relatively stable for 3–4-year olds between 2011 and 2016, dropping from 5.6% to 4.3%.

The number of Portuguese-speaking 3–4-year olds has severely declined in the 20 years since the handover, reflecting larger changes within Macau society. Although only 228 (1.6%) pre-primary students spoke Portuguese in 1996, that number fell to just 32 (0.2%) by 2016. Interestingly, the number of pre-primary-aged children who spoke English as a usual language increased by 560% from 82 in 1996 to 541 in 2016. This increase represents a proportional increase from 0.6% to 4.2%. As English-language curricula came to dominate younger and younger age groups during the 20-years after the handover, the proportion of pre-primary children whose parents claimed an ability for them to use English as a language ability also increased from 7.4% in 2011 to 12.4% in 2016. Figure 6.3 charts the proportion of Portuguese and English-speaking children from this age group over the past 20 years.

The linguistic ecology of primary-aged residents age 5–9 is very similar to those features discussed for pre-primary-aged students and results from 20 years of Macau census reports for primary students age 5–9 are recorded in Table 6.3. As with pre-primary-aged speakers there is a slight decline in the proportion of Cantonese speakers and a slight increase in the proportion of Putonghua speakers. The numbers of speakers of Hokkien and other Chinese languages in this age group are also relatively stable and the decline in the number of Portuguese speaking primary
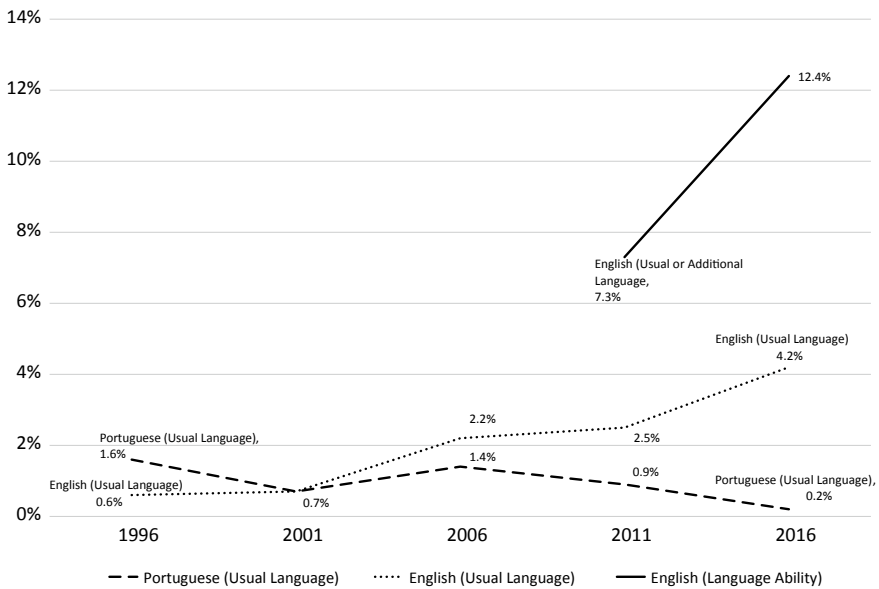
Fig. 6.3 Proportion of Pre-Primary-Age Population with Ability to Use English and/or Portuguese, 1996–2016. *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

children, from 588 in 1996 to 128 in 2016, is just as palpable among primary-aged children as it is for pre-primary children. The number of primary-aged residents who use English as a usual language has also increased substantially, from 197 (0.5%) in 1996 to 800 (3.1%) in 2016; this 406% increase represents a somewhat slower rate of change than the 560% increase observed among pre-primary children. Nevertheless, the greatest difference between the two populations of pre-primary-aged and primary-aged residents is their use of English as an additional language. In 2011 13.1% of primary-aged children had an ability to use English (as either a usual or an additional language); this proportion increased to 17.0% in 2016. The rate of increase between the 2011 census and the 2016 by-census was also very similar for these two populations: the proportion of pre-primary children using English increased by 5.1 points from 7.3% to 12.4% and the proportion of primary children increased by 3.9 points from 13.1% to 17.0% (see Fig. 6.4). This would seem to indicate that the pressure to adopt English at younger and younger ages has begun to influence the language behaviour of all PPP children at about the same time.

Table 6.3 Usual Language and Total Language Ability of Primary Speakers, 1996–2016

	1996	2001	2006	2011		2016	
	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Language ability*	Usual	Language ability*
Chinese varieties							
Cantonese	38,312 (94.1%)	30,974 (96.0%)	22,403 (93.7%)	16,623 (90.6%)	95.4%	23,262 (89.7%)	95.5%
Putonghua	75 (0.2%)	116 (0.4%)	177 (0.7%)	419 (2.3%)	25.1%	927 (3.6%)	34.6%
Hokkien	–	434 (1.3%)	279 (1.2%)	403 (2.2%)	4.3%	–	
Other Chinese	1,374 (3.4%)	209 (0.6%)	158 (0.7%)	85 (0.5%)	2.1%	536 (2.1%)	6.0%
Chinese Sub-total	**39,761 (100%)**	**31,733 (100%)**	**23,017 (100%)**	**17,530 (100%)**		**24,725 (100%)**	
Chinese	39,761 (97.7%)	31,733 (98.3%)	23,017 (96.2%)	17,530 (95.5%)		24,725 (95.3%)	
Portuguese	588 (1.4%)	145 (0.4%)	166 (0.7%)	165 (0.9%)	1.6%	128 (0.5%)	1.6%
English	197 (0.5%)	191 (0.6%)	392 (1.6%)	443 (2.4%)	13.1%	800 (3.1%)	17.0%
Tagalog	–	125 (0.4%)	280 (1.2%)	184 (1.0%)	1.5%	143 (0.6%)	0.7%
Other	151 (0.4%)	84 (0.3%)	66 (0.3%)	31 (0.2%)	1.0%	136 (0.5%)	1.2%
Total	**40,697 (100%)**	**32,278 (100%)**	**23,921 (100%)**	**18,353 (100%)**		**25,932 (100%)**	

Sources DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)
*Data about additional languages (i.e., language ability) are not reported by age group until 2011 and 2016
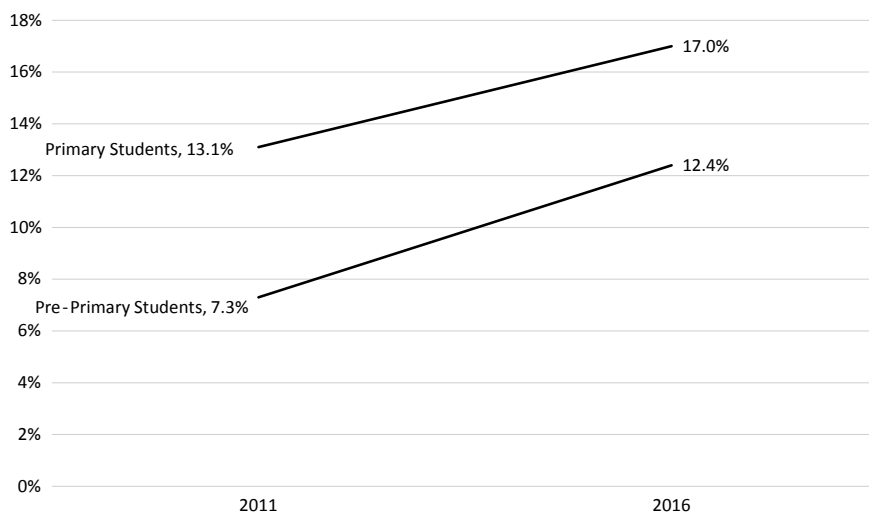
Fig. 6.4 Proportion of PPP-Age Population with Ability to Use English (Usual or Additional Language), 2011–2016. *Sources* DSEC (2012, 2017)

6.3   Pre-Primary Schools and Mediums of Instruction

According to DSEJ statistics, there are 62 school sections[4] offering pre-primary education in Macau for 18,524 students within 654 classes (DSEJ 2019b). The vast majority of these school sections, as suggested in Table 6.4, are subsidised schools, which educate 84.4% of pre-primary students in 49 school sections. There are 7 private school sections that educate 12.0% of pre-primary students and 6 government sections for the remaining 3.6% of students.

Government schools in Macau only use Chinese or Portuguese as teaching mediums, but subsidised and private schools are free to choose any medium of instruction (MOI). In actual practice, only one private school offers Portuguese medium of instruction (PMI); all other subsidised or private schools offer either Chinese medium of instruction (CMI) or English medium of instruction (EMI). Table 5.10 lists the 2018/2019 enrolments in three mediums of instructions within the three types of

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[4]As noted in 5.2.3, DSEJ's method of counting schools and sections is somewhat complicated, and not entirely consistent. A school usually entails a single location. Some schools have multiple sections in different mediums of instruction (e.g., a Chinese section and an English section) and these sections might be on the same campus, or different campuses. Some schools only offer pre-primary, primary or secondary levels of education, or some combination of the three levels. In addition, different MOI sections may have different principals. If the sections have separate campuses or principals, DSEJ will usually count them as different sections. For the purposes of this volume, however, a school section is defined as a level (i.e., pre-primary, primary or secondary) in a medium of instruction (Chinese, English or Portuguese). For example, if a school offers pre-primary education in CMI, but primary education in both CMI and EMI, this school would be counted as three school sections.

Table 6.4 Pre-primary and Primary Enrolments by Grade in Three Types of Schools, 2018/2019 Academic Year

	Pre-primary				Primary							
	K1	K2	K3	Sub-total	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	Sub-total
Government Schools	233	233	206	**672**	193	141	127	112	98	84	**755**
Subsidised Schools	5,285	5,378	4,962	**15,625**	5,947	5,015	4,736	4,647	4,529	4,261	**29,137**
Private Schools	776	792	659	**2,227**	466	411	413	389	397	384	**2,460**
Total	**6,294**	**6,403**	**5,827**	**18,524**	**6,606**	**5,567**	**5,277**	**5,148**	**5,024**	**4,730**	**32,352**

Source DSEJ (2019b)

Table 6.5 Student Enrolments in Pre-primary Education by Medium of Instruction, School Type and Grade Level, 2018/2019 Academic Year

| School type | MOI | Grade | | | | |
		K1	K2	K3	Total enrolment	
Government	Chinese	188	191	167	546	(81.3%)
	Portuguese	45	42	39	126	(18.8%)
	Sub-total	**233**	**233**	**206**	**672**	
Subsidised	Chinese	5,100	5,219	4,765	15,084	(96.5%)
	English	185	159	197	541	(3.5%)
	Sub-Total	**5,285**	**5,378**	**4,962**	**15,625**	
Private	Chinese	167	168	168	503	(22.6%)
	English	533	539	428	1500	(67.4%)
	Portuguese	76	85	63	224	(10.1%)
	Sub-Total	**776**	**792**	**659**	**2,227**	
	TOTAL	**6,294**	**6,403**	**5,827**	**18,524**	

Source DSEJ (2019b)

schools and these data are repeated in Table 6.5 for individual years (i.e., grade levels) of pre-primary education.

The largest proportion of students are enrolled in subsidised schools and 96.5% of these pre-primary children study in CMI subsidised schools. Government schools have the lowest enrolment numbers for pre-primary students with only 672 (3.7%) enrolled in government schools. While the majority of the pre-primary students attending government schools are in CMI sections, a significant proportion (18.8%) are enrolled in PMI education in government schools. Students in private schools account for just 12.0% of students in pre-primary education, but the focus of education in private schools is skewed toward the use of English as the MOI: 67.4% of pre-primary students enrolled in private schools are enrolled in EMI sections. The number of students enrolled in pre-primary private schools using CMI and PMI are considerably smaller proportions, 22.6% and 10.1% respectively. Figure 6.5 illustrates the distribution of pre-primary students enrolled in the three mediums of instruction without regard to whether the schools are government, subsidised or private.

Chinese is the MOI for 87.1% of Macau's pre-primary students. Ieong (2002) notes that in Chinese schools Cantonese is the language of instruction, and this is not expected to have changed much in pre-primary and primary schools over the years, with one exception. *Escola Oficial Zheng Guanying* (鄭觀應公立學校 *Zheng Guanying Gongli Xuexiao* 'Zheng Guanying Public School'[5]) started offering

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[5]Macau schools are required to have a name in one of the official languages. Schools with English names must also have either a registered Chinese or Portuguese name. Government schools like this one must have both a Chinese and a Portuguese name. The English name used here is borrowed from the school's website.
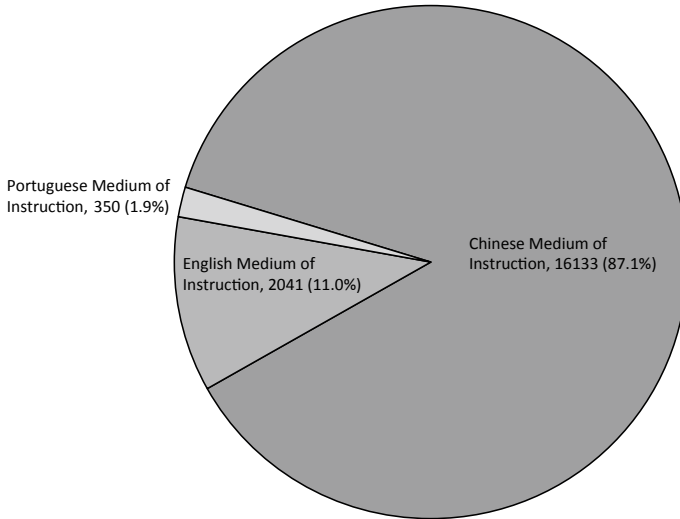
Fig. 6.5 Distribution of Pre-primary Students in Chinese, English and Portuguese MOI, 2018/2019 Academic Year. *Source* DSEJ (2019b)

Chinese MOI education in 2011 using Putonghua as the principle medium of instruction (Moody 2019). In the 2018/2019 school year there were 144 pre-primary students enrolled at this school, accounting for 26.4% of pre-primary students studying in government schools in Chinese, but only 0.9% of pre-primary students studying in all types of CMI schools.

English is the MOI for 11.0% of pre-primary students in Macau. The majority (75.3%) of these students enrolled in EMI school sections are in five private schools. Three of these schools offer 15-years of comprehensive education in English, but two, *Colégio Perpétuo Socorro Chan Sui Ki (Sucursal)* 'Chan Sui Ki Perpetual Help College (Branch School)' and *Centro de Educação Infantil Santo António* 'St. Anthony's Kindergarten', only offer pre-primary education. Together, these two schools enrol 846 pre-primary students, which account for 41.5% of the pre-primary students studying in EMI schools. Because these two school sections only offer EMI education to pre-primary students, the number of spaces in EMI primary schools has become somewhat more competitive in recent years, and the 846 students at these two pre-primary schools may have difficulty finding a place in an EMI primary school section.

Finally, Portuguese is the MOI for 1.9% of pre-primary students, and this is the largest proportion of students enrolled in PMI at any grade level in Macau. There are only two schools that offer PMI education at the pre-primary level. *Escola Primária Luso-Chinesa da Flora (Secção Portuguesa)* 'Flora Luso-Chinese Primary School (Portuguese Section)' is a government school that enrols 126 (36%) pre-primary students. This school also offers six grades of primary education (i.e., P1–P6), but only 36 students are enrolled in the six primary grades. Normally, fewer than 15% of

students who study in PMI government schools remain in PMI government schools for their primary education. This abandonment of PMI education in the government schools is indicative of the regard that local parents have for PMI and government schools that offer education in Portuguese. The government school sections offering PMI education generally struggles to enrol students after pre-primary grades. The remaining 224 (64%) pre-primary students enrolled in PMI education study at *Jardim de Infância "D. José da Costa Nunes"* 'D. José da Costa Nunes Kindergarten'. The Macau Portuguese School (EPM) does not offer pre-primary education and, most students at this kindergarten continue to EPM for primary and secondary levels. This is indicated by the similarity in class sizes at *Jardim de Infância "D. José da Costa Nunes"* and primary enrolment levels at EPM.

6.4   Primary Schools and Mediums of Instruction

DSEJ statistics list 71 school sections that offer primary education, which comprises six grade levels. Altogether there are 32,352 students enrolled within 1112 classes (DSEJ 2019b). Like pre-primary education, the majority of primary students are studying in subsidised schools that educate 90.1% of primary students within a total of 61 school sections. This proportion of students is larger than the proportion of pre-primary students enrolled in subsidised schools. Four private school sections enrol just 7.6% of primary students and 6 government sections educate the remaining 2.3% of primary students. Table 5.10 lists the 2018/2019 enrolments in three mediums of instruction and these data are expanded in Table 6.6 to show the total number of

Table 6.6 Student Enrolments in Primary Education by Medium of Instruction, School Type and Grade Level, 2018/2019 Academic YearAcademic Year

School type	MOI	Grade						Total enrolment	
		P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6		
Government	Chinese	185	135	119	110	94	76	719	(95.2%)
	Portuguese	8	6	8	2	4	8	36	(4.8%)
	Sub-total	**193**	**141**	**127**	**112**	**98**	**84**	**755**	
Subsidised	Chinese	5,114	4,216	3,937	3,906	3,858	3,601	24,632	(84.5%)
	English	833	799	800	741	671	661	4,505	(15.5%)
	Sub-total	**5,947**	**5,015**	**4,737**	**4,647**	**4,529**	**4,262**	**29,137**	
Private	Chinese	209	208	209	209	210	209	1,254	(51.0%)
	English	181	144	142	129	125	128	849	(34.5%)
	Portuguese	76	59	62	51	62	47	357	(14.5%)
	Sub-total	**466**	**411**	**413**	**389**	**397**	**384**	**2,460**	
	Total	**6606**	**5567**	**5277**	**5148**	**5024**	**4730**	**32,352**	

Source DSEJ (2019b)

students enrolled in each grade level from P1 (i.e., Primary 1) to P6.

Subsidised schools, which enrol 90.14% of primary students, only offer CMI and EMI education, and the proportion of EMI educated students increases dramatically from 3.5% of pre-primary students to 15.5% of primary students enrolled in EMI subsidised schools. This increasing popularity of EMI from pre-primary to primary suggests the importance that EMI has within the local Macau community, especially as it pertains to preparation for EMI in secondary and eventually tertiary (i.e., higher) education. Nevertheless, the remaining 84.5% of students in subsidised schools are studying in Chinese MOI classrooms. Government schools are the least popular educational option and only 2.3% of primary students are enrolled in government schools. Whereas Portuguese was a valuable option for 18.8% of pre-primary students in government schools, only 4.8% of primary students studying in government schools are enrolled in PMI sections. The actual number of students in PMI at government schools is surprisingly small: 36 students (distributed across 6 grade levels) are enrolled in *Escola Primária Luso-Chinesa da Flora* (*Secção Portuguesa*) 'Flora Luso-Chinese Primary School (Portuguese Section)' and there are only two students in the P4 grade. These low numbers of enrolment clearly test the government's commitment to offering PMI despite the lack of interest from Macau families. 2,460 (7.6%) students are enrolled in fully private primary schools, which offer education in either Chinese, English or Portuguese MOI. Figure 6.6 illustrates the distribution of primary students within three MOI, Chinese, English and Portuguese, regardless of the school type.

Chinese is the MOI for 82.2% of Macau's primary students and this represents a slight reduction in the proportion of students in CMI pre-primary schools, where
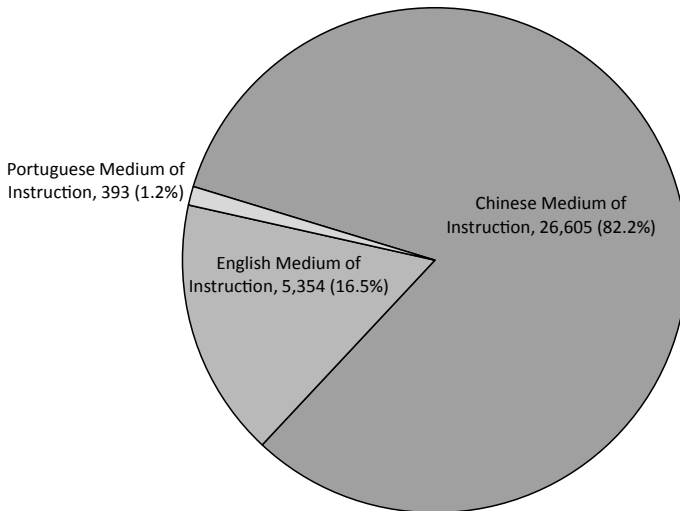
Fig. 6.6 Distribution of Primary Students in Chinese, English and Portuguese MOI, 2018/2019 Academic Year. *Source* DSEJ (2019b)

Table 6.7 Pre-primary and Primary Enrolments *Escola Oficial Zheng Guanying*, 2018/2019

	Pre-primary				Primary						
	K1	K2	K3	Total	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	Total
Students	47	48	39	144	68	41	40	30	27	24	231
Classes	2	2	2	6	3	2	2	2	1	1	11

Source DSEJ (2019b)

87.1% study in school sections using Chinese as the MOI. As was noted in 6.3, Cantonese is taken as the MOI in most CMI schools. *Escola Oficial Zheng Guanying* is one school that has adopted Putonghua as the medium of instruction, but primary enrolments in this government school are not as strong as pre-primary enrolments. In the 2018/2019 academic year there were 144 pre-primary students enrolled in 6 classes across 3 grades (i.e., K1–K3). By contrast, only 231 primary students were enrolled in 11 classes across 6 grades (i.e., P1–P6). The enrolled classes, however, are not distributed evenly across the six grades. Table 6.7 lists the pre-primary and primary enrolments and the number of classes at the school by grade years. Because a higher level of proficiency in Putonghua is expected at Zheng Guanying Public School than what is required at other government schools, the school has not attempted to populate all grades at once by enrolling students from other schools, but has instead simply added one grade level of primary instruction annually since the Putonghua curriculum was introduced in 2011. This particular government school has also piloted a 'bilingual education' programme in which classes in physical education, visual arts or music are taught in Portuguese and all other subjects are taught in Putonghua (Lusa 2017). While a number of students have left the school since the announcement of bilingual education, the programme's Putonghua entrance requirement makes it unlikely that emptied seats could be easily filled.

Portuguese is an MOI for only 1.2% of primary students. In addition to the 357 students enrolled in EPM, another 36 students are enrolled in PMI at *Escola Primária Luso-Chinesa da Flora* (*Secção Portuguesa*) 'Flora Luso-Chinese Primary School (Portuguese Section)'. This government school is also committed to piloting a bilingual curriculum in Portuguese and Chinese (Lusa 2017).

Finally, English is the instructional medium for 16.5% of primary students in Macau. In addition to two fully private schools that offer EMI education at six primary levels, there are nine subsidised school that use English as the MOI for primary education.

6.5 Language Curriculum and Language Policy

The Language Education Policy (LEP) introduced at the end of Chapter 5 offers very few guidelines about the teaching of languages in Macau schools (DSEJ 2017a). However, there are four basic points that motivate the policy statement, and these

are derived from the 'Fundamental Law of Non-Tertiary Education System' (Macao SAR Government 2006). The four principles are:

(1)   Public schools[6] should adopt one of the official languages to be the medium of teaching, and provide students with the opportunity of learning the other official language.

(2)   Private schools[7] can use the official languages or other languages to be the medium of teaching.

(3)   Private schools that plan to use other languages to be the medium of teaching should be assessed and approved by the education authority and be confirmed that they possess adequate conditions prior to the enforcement of the language.

(4)   Private schools using other languages as the medium of teaching should provide the opportunity of learning at least one of the official languages. (DSEJ 2017c, pp. 1–2)

This section will examine the pre-primary and primary language curricula and how they are designed and implemented in in accordance of these four basic principles.

6.5.1   Pre-Primary Curriculum

The curriculum plan for pre-primary (i.e., K1–K3) education lists five learning areas: (1) health and physical education, (2) language, (3) personal, social and humanities education, (4) mathematics and science and (5) arts (DSEJ 2014). DSEJ also specifies that pre-primary classes should spend 1200–1650 min per week teaching the curriculum for 39 weeks a year for three years (and the document further specifies that total pre-primary instruction should be 140,000–193,050 min within the three years).

Whereas the pre-primary curriculum plan only specifies the number of hours of instruction to be delivered within the K1–K3 programme, the educational goals and objectives are specified within a list of Basic Academic Attainments (BAA) expected at completion of pre-primary education (DSEJ 2016d). The language learning area (coded as area 'B') is divided into 19 specified learning objectives for listening (coded 'B-1′'), speaking (B-2), reading (B-3) and writing (B-4). Most of the specified outcomes are too vaguely defined to be useful for understanding language curricula, as illustrated by a selection[8]:

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[6]'Public schools' here are what this volume refers to as government schools.

[7]This classification of 'private schools' may refer to both subsidised and fully private schools, but only subsidised schools are governed by the policy. In effect, therefore, the LEP regulates what this volume refers to as subsidised schools.

[8]The document that his cited here is DSEJ-provided English translation of the officially published BAA, which are in Chinese and Portuguese.

B-1-1		Be able to distinguish different sounds, feel the different tones of voice and intonations;
…		
B-1-4		Be able to understand the words in everyday use and instructions, and act according to the given instructions;
…		
B-2-3		Be able to clearly express one's living experience, needs and emotions; and to describe simple things and the sequence of their development completely;
…		
B-3-2		Be able to read independently and attentively, preliminarily master the ways of reading;
…		
B-4-3		Be able to use pictures, symbols or along [sic] with words, to record the experiences of life and feelings, and create stories. (DSEJ 2016d, pp. 5–6).

It is difficult to imagine how the BAA sampled here would translate into teaching lessons, but lesson development is illustrated within a series of PowerPoint slides that DSEJ provides to teachers (DSEJ 2016e). Teachers are especially encouraged to develop thematic lessons that will incorporate skills from multiple learning areas.

There is no reference to second language instruction for pre-primary students within the LEP document, which is designed to formulate an educational language policy in broad strokes. Generally speaking, the policy has the stated objective 'to specify … the status of Chinese, Portuguese and English and put emphasis on educating students to be biliterate (to master written Chinese and Portuguese) and trilingual (to speak fluent Cantonese, Putonghua and Portuguese)' (DSEJ 2017a, pp. 3–4). Interestingly, the specification of the status of English is ignored within the LEP. The resulting impression left by the policy appears to be to *de-emphasise* the importance of English as a language of Macau. But this is inconsistent with actual practice in many pre-primary schools where, if English is not the MOI, it is introduced as a school subject. Even the published BAA specify that students should 'be able to understand and speak a simple second language' (DSEJ 2016d, p. 5).[9] While there is an attempt to specify that a second language should be taught in addition to the MOI, the language policy does not specify the teaching of English as a policy objective at any grade. Instead the LEP and the published BAA allow schools the freedom to interpret the learning objectives very broadly and to choose what, if any, languages they will teach in addition to the MOI. The second language might be English, Portuguese, Putonghua or even Cantonese for the 11% of pre-primary students whose first language is not Cantonese (see Table 6.2).

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[9]The specified attainment is coded as B-1-5. The Chinese and Portuguese texts of the BAA are '能聽説簡單的第二語言' [*Neng tingshuo jiandan de di'er yuyan* 'able to hear and speak simple second language'] and '*Conseguir ouvir e falar uma segunda língua simples*' ['being able to hear and speak a second language simple'].
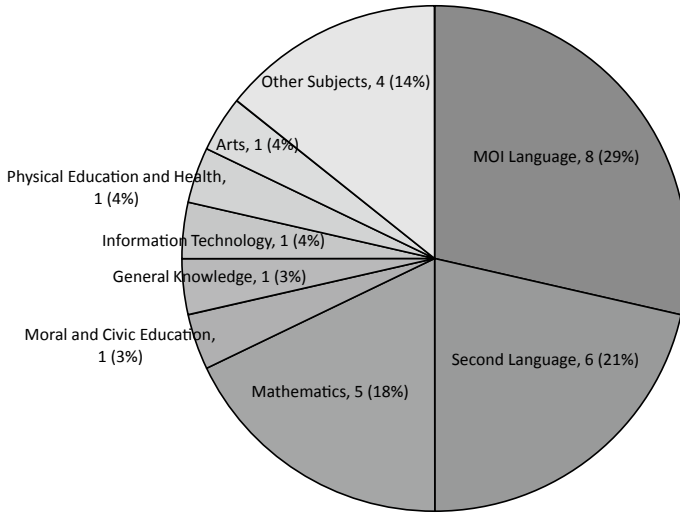
Fig. 6.7 Distribution of Average Weekly Instructional Hours in Primary Curriculum Plan. *Source* DSEJ (2014)

6.5.2 Primary Curriculum

Whereas the Language Education Policy (LEP) offers no statements about language teaching to pre-primary students, the policy does have one specific recommendation for primary students:

> Educational institutions must teach students at least one language other than the medium of instruction throughout primary education. The teaching of such language should be more standardised and systematic in the fifth and sixth year of primary education. (DSEJ 2017a, p. 5).

The 'second language' referred to in the LEP is not defined according to individual students' ability: second language here refers to the school language subjects taught in contrast to the MOI language. It is conceivable, therefore, that neither the MOI nor the second language are first languages (i.e., home language) for many Macau primary students. While DSEJ does not address instruction in children's first language, it does specify the number of hours to be spent on language instruction in primary school. On average, DSEJ expects that 6–10 h per week will be spent on instruction in the language that is the medium of instruction and 5–7 h will be spent on the second language. Figure 6.7 illustrates how the average of these two recommendations (i.e., 8 and 6 h respectively) would look within a 35-h week.[10] Combined language instruction in the MOI language and the second language is intended to account for 50%

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[10]Although averages, not maximums, figures are used here to calculate the number of hours of instruction in MOI language (8 for 6–10), second language (6 for 5–7), mathematics (5 for 4–6) and 'other subjects' (4 for 0–8), the total number of 35 h is the maximum allowed for an instructional week.

Table 6.8 Comparison of Primary Curriculum for Chinese, English and Portuguese as MOI and as Second Language

	Chinese				English				Portuguese			
	CMI		CSL		EMI		ESL		PMI		PSL	
	Junior	Senior	Junior	Senior	Junior	Senior	Junior	Senior	Junior	Senior	Junior	Senior
(1) Essential Ideas												
Number of Ideas	4		5		4		3		0		2	
Number of paragraphs	9		6		3		4		3		5	
Number of words (Chinese)	1282		1384		1028		559		280		523	
Number of words (Port.)	905		942		703		376		202		366	
(2) Curricular Objectives												
Number of Objectives	10		7		9		8		4		5	
Number of words (Chinese)	576		322		468		284		467		94	
Number of words (Port.)	406		201		290		203		280		59	
(3) Basic Academic Achievements												
Listening	9	12	5	9	10	14	8	10	7	8	12	8
Speaking	12	16	7	10	13	14	13	13	13	7	12	10
Chinese Characters	14	9	8	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Reading	17	20	10	12	16	21	11	18	11	7	11	8
Writing	13	15	7	8	11	17	8	13	8	5	7	6
General Purpose	4	8	3	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

(continued)

Table 6.8 (continued)

	Chinese				English				Portuguese			
Explicit Knowledge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16	13	–	–
Intercultural Competence	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Subtotal	69	80	40	52	50	66	40	54	55	40	43	33
Total BAA	**149**		**92**		**116**		**94**		**95**		**76**	
Number of words (Chinese)	4226		2345		2490		1927		2196		1500	
Number of words (Port.)	3133		1792		1720		1411		1383		987	

Source Macao SAR Government (2016)

of the instructional hours in a week, and it would be impossible to devote less than 40.7% of the instruction hours to instruction in languages.

The primary curriculum is encoded within Macau law as 'Dispatch of the Secretary for Social Affairs and Culture No. 19/2016′ (Macao SAR Government 2016). The law was posted to the *Boletim Oficial* 'Official Bulletin' on 29 February 2016 and it is archived (and accessible) from the *Imprensa Oficial* 'Official Press'. DSEJ also provides a link to the legal document within their Curriculum Development Website (DSEJ 2016a). Like all laws in Macau, the curriculum law is written in Chinese and Portuguese. The document is structured around each of the learning areas described in Fig. 6.7, and each of the areas is described in detail within appendices (one per learning area) within the law.[11] The appendices relating to language are specific to each of the three languages discussed within the curriculum, Chinese, English and Portuguese, and the appendices are also specific to whether the language is a medium of instruction (MOI) or a school subject, which the law calls a 'second language' (SL). Therefore, in addition to the 6 appendices describing non-language-related teaching areas, there are another six appendices describing language curricula: two for Chinese (one as an MOI and one as subject/second language), two for English (MOI and SL) and two for Portuguese (MOI and SL). These six curricula will be referred to in this volume as Chinese as medium of instruction (CMI), Chinese as second language (CSL), EMI, ESL, PMI and PSL.

Each appendix describing a curriculum for each learning area follows the same format of three sections: (1) 'essential ideas', (2) 'curricular objectives' and (3) 'requirements of basic academic competencies' (BAA). 'Essential ideas' are often policy justifications or intentions, as there is little structure to the statements and a great deal of variability in how many points are promoted as essential to understanding the motivation and intended outcomes of the various curricula. For example, the Chinese language teaching appendices propose four essential ideas in 9 paragraphs about Chinese as a MOI, and five ideas in six paragraphs about Chinese as a subject language. The Portuguese MOI language teaching appendix, on the other hand, introduces *no* essential ideas about the PMI curriculum in three short paragraphs. The Portuguese as subject language (i.e., Portuguese as a second language, PSL) curriculum statement has two points promoted as essential ideas within five paragraphs of text. There is, therefore, a high degree of variability in terms of the specificity of the six language curricula. Generally speaking, the Chinese curricula have the highest degree of specificity and the Portuguese curricula have the lowest. In order to compare the degrees of elaboration within the six language curricula, the number of points, number of paragraphs and the number of words[12] (in both the

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[11]The appendices really form the bulk of the curriculum laws and look more like chapters than appendices. The Portuguese words used for these chapters is *Anexo* 'appendix' and the Chinese word is 附件 *fujian* 'annex, appendix'.

[12]The methods of counting words in Chinese and Portuguese is fundamentally different, and, consequently, the Chinese text (although it is usually shorter on the page) always has more words than the Portuguese text. Portuguese words are defined by the spaces between words and punctuation used. Chinese words are essentially counted as characters.

Chinese and Portuguese versions) of the 'essential ideas' sections from each of the six language-related appendices are described in (1) of Table 6.8.

The second subsection of each language curriculum appendix contains a number of 'curricular objectives' that are intended to be met during the 6-year period of primary education. The CMI curriculum has the greatest number of stated objectives, 10 in all, and the PMI curriculum has the fewest, just 4. The number of words in both the Chinese and Portuguese versions of the law is also included in (2) of Table 6.8 along with the number of objectives for each of the six language curricula appendices.

The final section of each curriculum appendix is a number of basic academic achievements (BAA) that students are expected to achieve during the period of study in primary school. BAA are divided into intended learning outcomes for junior primary grades (P1–P3) and senior primary grades (P4–P6). All the language-related curricula contain BAA pertaining to four basic skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. The two Chinese curricula (the CMI and the CSL curricula) contain BAA related to two other kinds of skills: knowledge of Chinese characters and 'general purpose' skills. The PMI curriculum contains a number of BAA for 'explicit knowledge' of Portuguese and the PSL curriculum contains 2 BAA (one in junior primary and one in senior primary) related to 'intercultural competence'. Features of the BAA for individual language curricula will be discussed in the respective sections below. Section (3) of Table 6.8 lists the number of junior and senior primary BAA for each skill area in the six language curricula as well as the number of Chinese and Portuguese words within this final section of each language-related curriculum appendix statement in the education law.

6.5.2.1   Chinese

84.8% of primary students are in government or subsidised Chinese medium of instruction (CMI) school sections and it is, therefore, no surprise that the Macau government's educational law defining language curricula would specify more essential ideas, establish more curricular objectives and articulate more BAA for the CMI curriculum than any other curriculum. The articulation of points within the 'essential ideas' section of the educational law often read as observations about the social role of individual languages and the justification for specific policy decisions. The four essential ideas introduced about the importance of Chinese in Macau society reflect not only the sociolinguistic realities described throughout this volume, but also outline the aspirational goals of a language policy. The four points made within the 'essential ideas' section are[13]:

(1)   It is intended for all students to fully develop their qualities in the Chinese language;
(2)   Perform the basic function of the Chinese language;
(3)   Give importance to the unification between the instrumental and the humanist; and

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[13]All English translations used here are from the Portuguese version of the text, although both versions were consulted in preparation of the English translation.

(4)   Valuing the diversification and effectiveness of the ways and means of studying the Chinese language. (Macao SAR Government 2016, pp. 127–128)

The first point, that students should fully develop their abilities in Chinese, may be intended to justify the use of Putonghua in addition to Cantonese as a MOI, and the accompanying use of simplified Chinese characters in addition to traditional characters. In developing the point, the text continues that '…students should be able to use Cantonese as well as Mandarin' and that 'students must correctly use traditional characters and know the *legally* [italics added] standardised Chinese characters used in the People's Republic of China' (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 127). The educational law codifies the intended practice that is outlined within the Language Education Policy (LEP), discussed in Chap. 5 (DSEJ 2017a). Although usual practice in Macau CMI schools is to teach in the medium of Cantonese with traditional characters, the LEP suggests that students should also learn Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters. The use of Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters is justified as a requirement to correct what is presented within the appendix as previous generations' neglect of these languages. It is further suggested that a failure to do so might be interpreted as criminal malfeasance because the simplified Chinese characters carry the weight of a *legal* standard within Macau. The same justification is further developed in the second point, where lawmakers add that acquisition of Chinese is intended to reflect 'the succession of traditional culture to the promotion of contemporary civilisation' (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 127). Again, the justification of Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters appeals in the second point to a modern view of the Chinese language and culture that is overlooked if the modernised language is not taught.

The third point argues that Chinese not only functions as a language of communication, but that it 'is also a support of the culture and thought that contain a valuable human connotation' (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 127). The interconnected importance of the language with the culture is emphasised in this point and the acquisition of culture as 'connotation' suggests that it should be effortless, natural and intuitive. Indeed, the opening paragraph of the four essential ideas makes a profound connection between the study of Chinese and moral and aesthetic developments:

> The primary school curriculum should be dedicated to the training and development of the basic quality of the Chinese language of the students, with the effect not only of increasing the competence in the use of this language, but also the training of moral virtues, the cultural influence as well as increasing the aesthetic dimension of students, creating a basis for integral and permanent development in student learning. (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 126).

While the fourth and final point advocates for mixed methods of language instruction, the third point seems instead to emphasise further the necessity to make CMI education contemporary, relevant and grounded in current uses and applications.

The CMI curriculum outlines 10 curricular objectives. Although most of the objectives are related to the development of language proficiency in Chinese, the first objective asks that students develop 'their enthusiasm for the study of Chinese characters and Chinese culture as well as the feeling of love for their country and Macau'

(Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 128). This particular statement, interestingly, is repeated as a curricular objective in the junior secondary curriculum for CMI education, but not in the senior secondary curriculum. The statement is also consistent with the Language Education Policy's (LEP) similar statements that, as an SAR of the People's Republic of China, Macau inherits Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters as standard Chinese languages (DSEJ 2017a). As the first curricular objective within the earliest language curriculum (namely, the primary language curriculum), the statement allows the curriculum to continue to specify curricular objectives for the learning of Cantonese and traditional Chinese characters without any accusation or implication that the purpose of doing so would oppose this initial curricular objective. The objective also continues to state that the teaching of Chinese should 'at the same time, guide students to be concerned with contemporary cultural life, and to respect and understand multiculturalism' (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 128). While this reference to multiculturalism might seem somewhat unprecedented as a curricular objective for language acquisition, it is likely intended to counterbalance the previous statement that equates good acquisition of Chinese with patriotism.

The remaining CMI curricular objectives continue to specify a number of expected skills related to the simultaneous acquisition of Putonghua and Cantonese as well as education in the uses of both simplified and traditional Chinese characters. In particular, students are expected to know 'the 3000 most used Chinese characters and to write at least 2000 of these' (Macau SAR Government 2016, p. 129). The fifth objective asks students to 'build the skill for the correct use of traditional characters and knowledge of Chinese characters legally standardised by the People's Republic of China' (Macau SAR Government 2016, pp. 128–129). Furthermore, the seventh objective notes the following about the choice of a Chinese variety:

> Upon completion of primary education, if the medium language of subjects is Cantonese, students should be able to use Cantonese fluently and properly as well as hear and speak Mandarin. If the medium language of subjects is Mandarin, students should be able to use Mandarin fluently and properly as well as to hear and speak Cantonese. (Macau SAR Government 2016, p. 129).

Simply put, neither Putonghua nor Cantonese are to be excluded from education at the expense of the other.

Basic academic achievements (BAA) for the CMI primary curriculum are divided into the six categories described in Table 6.8, listening, speaking, Chinese characters, reading, writing and general purpose. A number of BAA require simultaneous acquisition of Cantonese and Putonghua and knowledge of both simplified and traditional Chinese characters:

A-1-8   Enjoy listening to songs, poems and children's stories in Cantonese and Mandarin, through which you can feel the art of the rhythm of the language;

…

A-2-11   Understand daily conversation, prayers of texts, news and children's stories, among others, in Cantonese and Mandarin;

…

B-1-10   If the medium language is Cantonese, speak Cantonese fluently; if the medium language is Mandarin, speak Mandarin fluently;

…

B-1-12   Be able to chat with others in Cantonese and Mandarin;

…

C-2-3   Know the standardised Chinese characters with the help of the "General Table of Standardised Chinese Characters" and dictionaries;

…

D-1-6   Recite texts, in Cantonese and Mandarin, correctly and fluently, with emotion and rhythm; (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 130–133).

These BAA are designed to measure the implementation of the LEP's specific objective that Macau students learn to speak *both* Cantonese and Putonghua and learn to read and write *both* simplified and traditional Chinese characters.

The BAA for the Chinese language curricula, both as an MOI and as a language subject (i.e., second language), include several intended learning outcomes that are classified by the curriculum law as 'general purpose' achievements. These deserve special mention because 'general purpose' achievements only appear in the two curricula for Chinese. The 12 general purpose achievements listed in the primary CMI curriculum include the following:

F-2-5   Know Chinese culture and the characteristics of other ethnic cultures through the learning of the Chinese language;

F-2-6   Know how to use the knowledge of the Chinese language to solve the simple problems of life; (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 137).

While the first of the two suggests that Chinese cultural and linguistic knowledge *can* be a sufficient instrument for learning about other ethnic groups, it is not entirely clear what 'simple problems of life' can be solved, especially with knowledge of Chinese.

The curriculum for Chinese as a language subject, or what DSEJ refers to as Chinese as a second language (CSL), is intended for those students enrolled in PMI or EMI schools in Macau. 15.2% of students enrolled in government or subsidised schools are in either EMI or PMI education. 4,505 of those students are enrolled in English MOI; the remaining 36 students, representing 0.12%, are enrolled in the government school that uses Portuguese as the MOI. Although these 4,541 students are not exclusively first-language speakers of Chinese, most are, and CSL classes are somewhat of a misnomer for these students. Nevertheless, the essential ideas about Chinese language subject curriculum carry a somewhat different tone from the essential ideas articulated within the CMI curriculum. The five essential ideas are:

(1)   Emphasise the social function of the Chinese language, develop in students all the basic qualities of the Chinese language;

(2) Help students to understand Chinese culture, integrating them into social life;

(3) Respect the cultural differences of different ethnicities and value the adequacy of the curriculum;

(4) Value the practice of the Chinese language and emphasise the use of the knowledge learned; and

(5) Create a good environment to learn the Chinese language and increase the effectiveness of learning (Macao SAR Government 2016, pp. 137–139)

The second and fifth points are especially relevant to the group of students studying in EMI and PMI schools. The explanation and development of the second idea notes the connection between Chinese language and culture:

> Since Chinese society resides essentially in Macau, the Chinese language curriculum, as a second language, should stimulate students' interest in learning the Chinese language, helping them to understand the connotation of Chinese culture, the habits of expression in the language and Chinese cultural customs. Helping students to improve knowledge and understanding of Chinese culture, as well as to foster a taste for the language. (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 138).

Similarly, the fifth point emphasises that 'students should be organised to participate in sociocultural activities related to the Chinese language, for example activities to celebrate traditional Chinese festivals, exhibitions' (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 139). Although most of the students enrolled in the CSL curriculum would be both ethnically Chinese and speakers of Chinese, the curriculum instead emphasises that cultural difference must exist between students:

> The Chinese language (second language) curriculum for primary education should take into account students' cultural differences, reinforcing their taste for Chinese culture, constantly broadening their cultural vision, promoting deep mutual understanding and harmony between different cultures. (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 137).

The goals of the curriculum, therefore, appear to be focussed on learning Chinese as a second language when, in fact, it is the usual language of 95.3% of primary-aged children (see Table 6.3). According to the 2016 by-census, only 1,207 (4.7%) primary-aged residents *do not* use Chinese as their usual language. But there are 5,747 primary children enrolled in EMI or PMI school sections. Even if every primary-aged child who is not a first language speaker of Chinese is enrolled in an EMI or PMI school section (and this is not the case—some *are* enrolled in CMI school sections), then 4,541 (79.0%) of EMI and PMI students *also* use Chinese as their usual language. The primary (and secondary, for that matter) CSL curriculum, then, does not adequately focus on the students who are enrolled in the CSL classes, but instead treats them as though they have no competence in the language when, if fact, most do. Instead, the CSL curricula—that is the primary, junior secondary and senior secondary CSL curricula—appear to be motivated to teach Chinese to a small minority population of students who are not ethnically Chinese and have no competence in the language.

The seven curricular objectives described in the primary CSL curriculum are mostly focused on the improving a presumed second-language proficiency in the

Chinese language. Students are expected to know at least 2000 Chinese characters and be able to write at least 800 of them. While this number would not allow them read or write very widely in the language, it would create a strong foundation for further learning in the language. Whereas the CMI curriculum specifies that *both* Cantonese and Putonghua are to be learned, the CSL curriculum consistently specifies that either Cantonese *or* Putonghua can be learned. Similarly, the CSL curriculum allows schools to choose either traditional or simplified Chinese characters as the object of instruction. This choice between Cantonese and Putonghua—related to the similar choice between traditional and simplified Chinese characters—is reinforced throughout the BAA of the curriculum. The only time that both languages are not specified is one of the BAA for senior primary:

C-2-2   To know the traditional Chinese characters and the standard ones used in the People's Republic of China, in an amount of not less than 2000, and of these to know how to write at least 800; (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 142).

As with the BAA of the CMI curriculum, the CSL contains eight BAA classified as 'general purpose' expected learning outcomes. These include:

F-2-3   Know the characteristics of Chinese culture through the learning of the Chinese language;
F-2-4   Know how to use your knowledge learned about the Chinese language to solve the simple problems of life; (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 144).

While the second BAA is unchanged from the CMI curriculum, F-2-3 has removed the expectation that students learn about other ethnic groups through the medium of Chinese.

6.5.2.2   English

The two Chinese language primary curricula, for CMI and CSL education, articulate the greatest number of BAA: 149 and 92 respectively. The number of BAA codified for the English as a medium of instruction (EMI) and English as a second language (ESL) curricula is 116 and 94 respectively. The Chinese BAA, however, were spread over 6 basic defined skill areas, whereas the English BAA are only across the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. There is, therefore, at least as much attention—and arguably more—given to the definition of standards in the EMI and ESL curricula as there are in the CMI and CSL curricula. This is consistent with DSEJ's Language Education Policy (LEP), which primarily focuses on establishing standards related to English-language teacher training (Moody 2019). Whereas the LEP establishes those standards for teachers teaching in English as either MOI or second language, it suggests that similar standards for Chinese and Portuguese instructors should also be prepared in the future (DSEJ 2017a).

The curriculum for English as an MOI in primary schools articulates four essential ideas:

(1)   Develop the English language in students in order to reinforce their personal and intellectual development and their cultural knowledge;

(2)   The curriculum must be student-centred, with teaching in line with their capabilities. Through the provision of more diversified learning materials and resources and a diversified learning environment, it is intended to raise students' motivation for studies, in order to create a basis for lifelong learning;

(3)   Through the learning of English, students must develop basic language skills, namely oral comprehension, oral expression, written comprehension and written expression, in order to achieve the objective of communicating and exchanging with other people, also developing their knowledge and creating values, during the process of learning this language; and

(4)   Diversified pedagogy should be adopted that values the formation of higher-level thinking skills and other knowledge (Macao SAR Government 2016, pp. 154–155)

The first point appears to suggest that the role of English as a lingua franca justifies its use as an MOI in Macau. The paragraph supporting and developing this point continues that the English language 'allows students to access information and knowledge from other regions of the world relatively easily' (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 154). In a somewhat related point, the third point emphasises the communicative nature of English and advocates for communicative language teaching. The supporting paragraph further argues that 'as English comprehension skills develop, so do your creativity and cultural awareness' (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 155). The two remaining points advocate for innovative pedagogical practices, namely student-centred teaching and diversified pedagogy. All nine of the curricular objectives are related to the improvement of English-language proficiency, with the possible exception of the sixth: 'allow students to learn about different cultures, so that they learn to respect cultural differences, broaden their horizons and establish good attitudes' (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 155).

The essential ideas articulated for the ESL curriculum, which is designed for students who are studying in CMI and PMI schools, are very similar to the EMI curriculum's points within the 'essential ideas' section, but somewhat truncated:

(1)   Valuing the development of students' interests and abilities in language learning;

(2)   Enable students to use English to communicate with others by developing basic English skills; and

(3)   Promote the adoption of diversified teaching methods (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 161)

     Similarly, the eight curricular objectives for the ESL curriculum are essentially the same as those for the EMI curriculum, but in truncated form.

The EMI and ESL BAA go into the most detail of any of the language curricula for specifying intended learning outcomes for primary students. Whereas the pre-primary BAA listed just 19 intended learning outcomes within the four skills (i.e., listening, speaking, reading and writing), the primary BAA for schools using English as the MOI list 116 intended learning outcomes that are coded *A*, *B*, *C* and *D* respectively for the four skills. The BAA are divided to apply to two separate three-year segments of primary education. BAA for lower primary grades (comprising P1–P3)

are coded as *A-1-X*, *B-1-X*, etc., and BAA for upper primary grades (comprising P4–P6) are similarly coded with the number *2* (e.g., *A-2-X*, *B-2-X*, etc.). The BAA run a full range of specificity and vagueness, as illustrated by a selection of attainments from the lower primary EMI curriculum:

A-1-3	Segment a syllable into its constituent sounds/phonemes;
…	
A-1-9	Demonstrate interest in watching videos and movies;
…	
B-1-1	Pronounce the 26 letters of the alphabet correctly;
…	
B-1-6	Know when to use formal and informal greetings and farewells;
…	
C-1-1	Recognize upper and lower case [sic] letters in print type;
…	
C-1-8	Scan a textbook to look for specific pieces of information;
…	
D-1-4	Begin to apply correct grammar in writing;
…	
D-1-11	Complete simple practical tasks in writing; (DSEJ , pp. 3–7).

There are 32% more BAA specified for upper primary grades, which may be intended to signal increased importance of language instruction in P4–P6 grades, and the BAA run similar degrees of specificity:

A-2-1	Identity stressed syllables in words;
…	
A-2-14	Understand subject matter in the content area that is delivered in English.
…	
B-2-3	Show organization when presenting ideas;
…	
B-2-11	Show cultural awareness while communicating with others;
…	
C-2-5	Read aloud texts with meaning;
…	
C-2-10	Be able to tackle a larger variety of text types;
…	
D-2-7	Elaborate on main ideas;
…	
D-2-13	Begin to show creativity; (DSEJ 2016f, pp. 3–7).

As with the pre-primary BAA cited in 6.5.1, it should be noted that the original and official versions are codified in Chinese and Portuguese and the DSEJ versions cited here are provided for 'reference only' (and this is clearly marked upon the documents).

While the BAA provide a rough outline (in varying degrees of detail) of the intended learning outcomes of the DSEJ curricula, the actual implementation document for the primary EMI curriculum is the 220-page *Primary English Curriculum Guide for Schools Using English as the Primary Language of Instruction* (DSEJ 2016c). The guide is prepared by a group of academics working in English-language

educational research mostly from Hong Kong and Macau and the guide is only available for EMI and ESL teachers.[14] The curriculum guide offers interpretations of the BAA and guidelines for developing, designing and implementing an EMI curriculum and assessing student performance within the curriculum. The guide also introduces resources for the development of relevant teaching materials. The largest portion of the guide, however, is devoted to an appendix that outlines schemes of work that are aligned with the BAA for EMI primary schools. The curriculum guide clarifies how the EMI curriculum is to be implemented in Macau: the published BAA provide the legal basis for the curriculum and the mandatory use of the curriculum in government and subsidised schools as the BAA are published as legal documents (e.g., Macao SAR Government 2006, 2016); the curriculum guide provides the details for how the various curricula are to be implemented over 6 years of primary or secondary education.

In addition to a curriculum guide for schools that use English as the MOI, DSEJ also provides a curriculum guide for primary schools that teach English as a subject/second language (ESL). Chinese is the MOI for 82.2% of Macau students and, in government and subsidised schools (the schools that the BAA and government curriculum apply to) 84.8% of students are studying in CMI school sections. The vast majority of these 25,351 primary students study English as their second language from P1 through P6. Whereas the curriculum for primary schools using English as the MOI specifies 50 BAA for lower primary and 66 for upper primary, the curriculum for schools teaching English as a subject specify 40 BAA for lower primary and 51 for upper primary. The BAA for primary school sections teaching English as a second language largely correspond to the BAA for school sections using English as the MOI; the latter simply specify a few more BAA than the former. In particular, the BAA for schools teaching English as subject (ESL) do not require students to learn to read or write cursive letters. Most of the BAA cited above from the EMI curriculum (DSEJ 2016f) can also be found with the exact same code in the ESL curriculum (DSEJ 2016g). DSEJ also prepares a 227-page curriculum guide for schools *not* using English as MOI (DSEJ 2016b) and there is a great deal of correspondence between the EMI and ESL curriculum guides. The curriculum guide for schools teaching the ESL curriculum is slightly longer and has additional sections describing more basic or fundamental educational principles. For example, the section on curriculum assessments adds subheadings on 'definition of assessment', 'purposes of assessment', 'basic principles of assessment' and 'principles of English language assessment' (DSEJ 2016b, pg. ii). And there are similar expansions of topics related to materials use and development. An appendix on BAA-aligned schemes of work has been slightly reduced for primary schools teaching English as a subject language, but the sample lesson plans have been greatly expanded within the ESL curriculum guide. While the reduction in work schemes is understandable

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[14]At the time of writing, curriculum guides were only available for EMI and ESL educators on DSEJ's 'Curriculum Development Website' (DSEJ 2016a), but there are empty links for guides to CMI, CSL, PMI and PSL curricula. Curriculum guides for these remaining curricular were presumably planned and may be offered at some time in the future.

(because fewer hours per week are expected to be devoted to teaching English as a subject in the ESL curriculum) the expansion of lesson plans suggests that more teachers are engaged in teaching English as a second language in Macau and that this group would benefit from more detailed directions about teaching.

6.5.2.3   Portuguese

The shortest and least specific of the three curricula designed for primary MOI is the Portuguese MOI curriculum. The majority of Macau students enrolled in PMI attend the private *Escola Portuguesa de Macau* (EPM) 'Macau Portuguese School' and these curricula do not apply to fully private schools like EPM. Since there are no subsidised schools offering PMI education, this curriculum, would only apply to the 36 primary students enrolled in PMI at *Escola Primária Luso-Chinesa da Flora* (*Secção Portuguesa*) 'Flora Luso-Chinese Primary School (Portuguese Section)'. It is, therefore, understandable that the curriculum would not be fully developed at the time that it was passed. There are no points articulated within the 'essential ideas' section of the law's appendix for the PMI curriculum; three paragraphs simply state that PMI education exists within Macau and that the DSEJ is responsible for administration of the curriculum. Similarly, the PMI curriculum articulates four curricular objectives, which the document actually calls 'principles'.[15] The first three objectives are related to proficiency in the basic skills: the first to listening and speaking, the second to reading and the third to writing. The final objective is that students should have technical knowledge of the Portuguese language structure, especially phonology, lexis, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. The primary PMI curriculum also specifies 55 intended learning outcomes for junior primary education and 40 for senior primary education. Like the English curricula, the BAA are coded for listening (A), speaking (B), reading (C) and writing (D). These BAA include:

A-1-6	Transpose oral statements to other forms of expression;
…	
A-2-4	Select the necessary information for intended objective;
…	
B-1-4	Expose to justify opinions;
…	
B-2-7	Read clearly, fluently and with appropriate intonation texts of different types, namely in prose and poetry.
…	
C-1-6	Distinguish essential information from accessory;
…	
C-2-7	Read for recreation and information.
…	
D-1-6	Develop dialogues;
…	
D-2-5	Produce creative texts from different stimuli, namely images, music, films, advertising and videos. (Macao SAR Government 2016, pp. 146–148).

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[15]The Portuguese term is *princípios* 'principles' and the Chinese term used is 要素 *yaosu* 'element'.

The PMI curriculum includes a fifth category of intended learning outcomes that is not included in any other primary curriculum, 'explicit knowledge'. The BAA for explicit knowledge of Portuguese seem to apply to perceived problems that first-language speakers of Chinese may have with learning and using Portuguese, but this is not clearly expressed within the document. These explicit knowledge BAA include:

E-1-1	Properly use punctuation marks and auxiliary writing signs;
E-1-2	Properly use the graphic accentuation signs;
E-1-3	Distinguish the stressed syllable from unstressed syllables;
…	
E-1-11	Transform phrases by expanding or reducing;
E-1-12	Transform sentences by changing the type and shape;
E-1-13	Identify words belonging to the same vocabulary area;
…	
E-2-3	Identify different morphological processes of word formation;
E-2-4	Identify classes and subclasses of words;
E-2-5	Distinguish tense, mood and aspect of verbal forms;
…	
E-2-10	Distinguish period and paragraph;
E-2-11	Find information in a text by indicating the paragraph; (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 148–149).

Because these explicit knowledge BAA incorporate a number of different language skills, the category does not appear to be coherently defined as it is expressed within the law.

While the PMI curriculum applies to a very small group of students in Macau, the teaching of Portuguese as a second language (PSL) is one of the primary initiatives of the Language Education Policy (DSEJ 2017a). All schools in Macau are required to offer both of the official languages as subject courses, so the PSL curriculum would be one that every school would need to observe and it could potentially affect a large number of primary students. Unfortunately, the PSL curriculum is the shortest, with the least number of words and fewest number of BAAs, of any of the primary language curricula. The curriculum makes two points within the essential ideas section about the purpose of a Portuguese language curriculum in Macau: (1) 'valuing the learning of the Portuguese language' and (2) 'acquisition of basic communication skills in Portuguese in primary education' (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 150). The curriculum's opening paragraph attempts to summarise the importance of Portuguese to Macau society and education:

> The globalisation to which societies are exposed today refers to an increasingly urgent need to know how to deal with diversity and *otherness* [italics added]. In this sense, language learning is considered to be a fundamental asset in building a harmonious society, open to pluricultural and plurilingual spaces, such as the Macau Special Administrative Region (hereinafter referred to as MSAR). (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 149–150).

Interestingly, the document does not make any reference to the fact that Portuguese is an official language of the territory. And the justification for studying Portuguese, that it will help to build a harmonious society, could easily be made about any language. Furthermore, there is no mention of a historical relationship with Portugal or the Portuguese language within the 'essential ideas' section of the curriculum. Instead, the document makes an oblique reference to teaching students how to deal with 'otherness'. The Portuguese term used within the text is *alteridade*, and the Chinese term used is 差異性 *chayi-xing*. The terms, especially the Portuguese term, derive from the philosophical tradition of alterity (Spivak 2012). The term suggests a binary relationship between the 'self' and 'other' and it is frequently used in postcolonial theory to understand how colonialism imposes racist systems of oppression upon the colonised (Said 1994). Within the context of the PSL curriculum, the term harkens to the colonial relationship between Macau and Portugal and suggests that reconciliation might entail undertaking the study of Portuguese.

The curricular objectives advanced within the PSL curriculum are succinct and quoted here in entirety:

(1) The motivation for learning Portuguese language and culture;
(2) The desire to use the Portuguese language inside and outside the school context;
(3) The taste for reading in Portuguese;
(4) Proficiency in basic communication skills: oral and written comprehension and expression;
(5) Mastering Portuguese language learning strategies. (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 150–151)

The curriculum also includes 43 BAA for junior primary students and 33 for senior primary students. These, too, are very simple and succinctly expressed, as demonstrated in a selection of some of the intended learning outcomes:

A-1-1   Identify sounds of the Portuguese language;
A-1-2   Identify different intonations;
A-1-3   Distinguish the intonation of the Portuguese language from your own;
A-1-9   Identify words to greet;
…
A-1-10   Identify ways to greet;
A-1-11   Identify words to say goodbye;
A-1-12   Identify words to thank or react to thanks;
…
A-2-6   Identify characters in a story;
A-2-7   Understand the fundamental topics in a children's story;
…
B-1-1   Speak audibly;
…
B-1-10   Use simple forms of greeting;
B-1-11   Use simple forms of farewell;
…
B-2-10   Use treatment formulas, greetings and thanks appropriately, according to the communication situation
C-1-1   Read and understand image captions;
…
C-1-10   Read selected stories, in group;
C-2-8   Use a bilingual dictionary, with support from teachers;
…
D-1-3   Write uppercase and lowercase letters appropriately, leaving the correct space between words;
D-1-4   Use punctuation marks, in particular the period, the comma and the question mark;
…
D-2-2   Use punctuation marks properly;Use punctuation marks properly;
D-2-3   Use simple phrases to describe familiar images or topics;
D-2-4   Start the process of self-correcting your own writing;
D-2-5   Demonstrate creativity in writing; (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 151–153).

While the first 31 BAA in the primary PSL curriculum are focussed on the development of basic proficiency in Portuguese, the expectations seems somewhat lower than for those students enrolled in CSL or ESL courses.

The final set of BAA for the primary PSL curriculum is labelled within the appendix as 'intercultural competence'. There are only two intended learning outcomes specified in this section: the first for junior primary students and the second for senior primary students. The two BAA, quoted in entirety, are:

E-1-1   Identify the similarities and differences between the main cultures present in the MSAR;
E-2-2   Interact with the Other, developing interest and taste for different cultures. (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 153).

These intended learning outcomes make more explicit the enduring and unique connection that the Portuguese language has with the territory. The first BAA suggests

that there are only two main cultures present within Macau and that the understanding of these two can be simply and easily reduced to the learning of Portuguese. The second BAA presents the same binary approach to cultural diversity and returns to use the language of alterity to identify the Portuguese language as representative of the 'other'. The binary opposition between the culture of the 'self', which is presumably Chinese, is to be contrasted with the culture of 'the other', which in this BAA is represented by speakers of the Portuguese language. The use of the term 'other' is capitalised in the translation and used with the definite article here because the original Portuguese phrase '*o Outro*' is also capitalised within the original Portuguese text of the law: *Interagir com o Outro, desenvolvendo o interesse e o gosto por culturas diversas* (Macao SAR Government 2016, p. 153).[16] Although the law specifically states that the purpose of studying the Portuguese language is to develop sensitivity to cultural diversity, Portuguese is to be regarded as the language of 'the other': not an authentic language of Macau.

6.6 Conclusion

Macau's history of multilingualism and multiculturalism, much like the school systems that developed within the territory, developed in an environment of relative freedom from regulation. Languages have entered into the ecology and, in some cases, came to thrive and develop as important markers of ethnolinguistic identity. Others have faded and disappeared with time. The pre-primary and primary language curricula are designed to ensure that schools prepare citizens for participation within Macau society, and that language needs are adequately and effectively met. The first 10 years after the 1999 handover saw a declining birth rate at the same time that the territory grew in population size. Although the number of PPP students dwindled in the initial years after the handover, they had begun to rebound by the 2016 by-census. In the wake of the rising birth rate, DSEJ in 2014 undertook a broad-ranging revision of the curricula used in government and subsidised schools. One of the primary objectives of the revisions was presumably to ensure that schools could effectively educate students to become fluent in three written and four spoken languages, namely Chinese (spoken as both Cantonese and Putonghua), English and Portuguese. Within the revisions, Chinese and English are given the largest degree of specificity and these languages hold the highest expectations of learning. The Chinese curricula attempt to implement (or at least allow) the teaching of Putonghua, without necessarily requiring it. English curricula attempt to specify standards that will prepare most students for EMI education in secondary school and university. Unfortunately, the Portuguese curricula do not show any strong or lasting commitment to PMI or PSL education in the scheme of primary education.

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[16]Capitalisation of a term is not possible in Chinese. Chinese also does not have articles that can be translated easily from Indo-European languages. The term used within the Chinese text of the law is 他人 *taren* 'others'. The term might alternatively be translated as 'other people'.

Chapter 7 will continue to examine the curriculum revisions that have been introduced in Macau secondary schools, and Chap. 8 will explore the history and growth of tertiary education.

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Chapter 7
Language and Educational Language Policy in Youth Education: Junior and Senior Secondary Education

7.1 Introduction

Despite the important role that the Portuguese language played in Macau throughout more than 450 years of administration by Portugal, the Portuguese late-colonial government did not try to develop or implement standards about education until well after the handover had been negotiated in Sino-Portuguese Declaration of 1987 (Bray 2001; Tang 2003; Bray and Koo 2004). The resulting unregulated educational landscape allowed various interests and approaches to find expression in individual schools. Hence, individual schools in Macau have traditionally looked to neighbouring regions for models of education and implementation methods for MOI: to Portugal for models of Portuguese as a medium of instructions, to Hong Kong for models of English and Cantonese MOI, and to the People's Republic of China or Taiwan for models of Chinese MOI. Consequently, the various influences from these different educational systems are still apparent within Macau's schools. An example of how competing interests have looked outside Macau for curricular models is the teaching of history. Clayton (2001) discusses the attempt by local schools to define and teach the subject of history during the transition period from Portuguese to Chinese sovereignty. While some schools taught the subject with an emphasis that aimed to prepare students to study in mainland universities, other schools instead sought to prepare students for study in Taiwan or Hong Kong universities and taught history accordingly. However, no school taught Macau History because the interests that drove the curricula did not value the development or teaching of such courses. Clayton (2001) notes that, during the transition period of the years before and after the handover, issues of localisation with regard to the teaching of history within the Macau curriculum were addressed for the first time. The plurality of pedagogies, teacher training and curricula that were implemented in Macau schools before the 1999 handover had supported a regulatory approach that has repeatedly been described as *laissez-faire*. And in the absence of strong leadership from government regulators, individual schools found themselves adopting curricula and pedagogies from schools outside of Macau. Anecdotally speaking, a call to the DSEJ (*Direcção*

dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude 'Education and Youth Affairs Bureau') in the early 2010s confirmed that the SAR government required all secondary schools to teach Chinese and Western History, and most did so. Although it was not clear *how* the required history courses were being taught in Macau's schools, DSEJ's response that 'most schools' were abiding by the requirement to teach history also erodes confidence in the implementation of a curricular requirement. If History classes are mandatory, how is it that only 'most schools' teach them? Although History courses were required in Macau schools, DSEJ appeared to have little regulatory authority to ensure that the required course were taught, and even less to oversee what content was taught in the required History courses. In addition, DSEJ further noted that a number of schools had begun to introduce Macau History as a school subject.

The development of a history curriculum (or even a requirement to teach history) illustrates much of the traditions in which Macau curricula have been developed and implemented within the small territory. The majority of schools are private schools that operate with government subsidies. While they are subject to government guidelines for curricula, pedagogy and administration, the government has traditionally allowed the subsidised schools a great deal of flexibility within a *laissez-faire* approach to regulating education. Although secondary school is the final level of compulsory education in Macau, the various curricula adopted within Macau schools assume that students will take college entrance examinations in a variety of different places: Macau, Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Taiwan, Portugal, the UK, the US, etc. Therefore, the interests represented by these different systems of higher education have, for many years in the midst of minimal regulation, come to define the curricula that are today used in Macau's subsidised schools.

While a *laissez-faire* approach to education regulation and language policy has defined much of how Macau schools have traditionally operated, the 2015 passage of an 'Administrative Regulation' mandates that DSEJ establish basic academic achievements (BAA) for all levels of education (Macao SAR Government 2015). The introduction of government mandated BAA has potentially changed the nature of DSEJ's regulation of local schools. In 2017 the secondary curricula were passed by 'Dispatch' for both junior secondary (Macao SAR Government 2017b) and senior secondary education (Macao SAR Government 2017a). Implementation of these new curricula and BAA began in the 2017/2018 academic year in the first years of junior and secondary education (i.e., Forms 1 and 4) and has continued to be implemented to a new grade each successive year (e.g., in Forms 2 and 5 in the 2018/2019 academic year and in Forms 3 and 6 in the 2019/2020 academic year). Hence, the new government curricula for junior and senior secondary schools began implementation in the 2017/2018 academic year and were fully implemented in the 2019/2020 academic year (DSEJ 2016). Table 7.1 outlines the structure of secondary education in Macau along with the ages for students in each grade. As with pre-primary and primary school sections, students should turn the age listed in Table 7.1 before 31 December of the year they start that grade. This chapter will begin by examining the sociolinguistic data reported in the 2016 by-census report to understand the linguistic ecology of students in secondary sections. Next the chapter will survey the different types of schools in Macau (i.e., government, subsidised and private), the three mediums

Table 7.1 Structure of Secondary Education

Educational level	Age of student*
Junior Secondary	
Form 1 (F1)	12
Form 2 (F2)	13
Form 3 (F3)	14
Senior Secondary	
Form 4 (F4)	15
Form 5 (F5)	16
Form 6 (F6)	17

Source DSEJ (2019a)
* Students must turn this age before 31 December of the year they enrol in that grade

of instruction used (Chinese, English and Portuguese) and the relative number of students enrolled in types of schools and mediums of instruction. Finally, the chapter will close with a detailed examination of the language curricula implemented within secondary schools beginning in the 2017/2018 academic year and an examination of how language policy has changed instructional practices.

7.2 Language Ecology

Whereas the pre-primary and primary (PPP) aged population (i.e., 3–9-year olds) had been in decline for the first 10 years after the 1999 handover, the 2016 by-census reported a strong rebound in the territory's birth rate from 2011, which in turn produced a clear surge in the number of PPP-aged students in 2016 (see Fig. 6.1). The Macau censuses and by-censuses from the last 20 years record 10 years of growth in the number of secondary student-aged population, followed by ten years of decline.[1] In 2016 there were 53,605 residents between the age of 10–19, and this was a 9.0% decline from 1996. However, Macau's population grew by 57% during those twenty years from the 1996 to the 2016 by-censuses, so the decline in the number of 10–19-year olds represents a much larger decline of that group as a *proportion* of the entire population. Based upon the decline in the number of PPP student population during the same time period, we can expect that the secondary-aged population will continue to decline for 10 more years until the 2026 by-census.

While the census reports give us an idea about the number of eligible secondary school students and how this group has been in decline for the past 10 years, DSEJ

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[1]The Macau census and by-census reports describe the population's usual languages and language abilities (i.e., all languages that individuals can use) in 5-year increments of age (i.e., 3 – 4-years of age; 5–9; 10–14; 15–19). The age increments do not match exactly to the ages of secondary students as listed in Table 7.1, but the examination of two groups, residents 10–14 years of age and 15–19 years of age, are intended to represent junior and senior secondary students respectively.
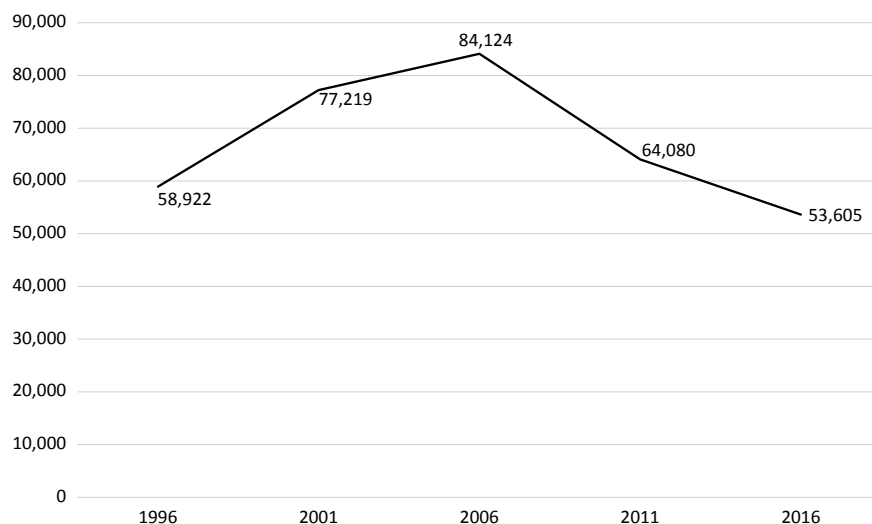
Fig. 7.1 Secondary School Aged Population (10–19-Year-Olds), 1996–2016, *Sources* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

records a 32% decline in secondary school enrolments over the past 10 years. Figure 7.2 graphs the secondary enrolment rates for the 10 years, from 2009 to 2018. The correspondence between the two graphs in Figs. 7.1 and 7.2—the former recording the decline in the population of residents and the latter recording the decline in secondary school enrolments—suggests a high degree of confidence that the figures in the census accurately portray what is also happening within school classrooms.

The Macau census and by-census reports also document the linguistic ecology of the resident population (i.e., temporary and permanent residents, non-resident workers and foreign students) and how it has changed over the last 20 years. Secondary students can be divided into two groups: junior secondary (aged 12–15) and senior secondary (aged 15–18). While the censuses do not directly measure these two groups, they do measure the language capabilities of two groups that largely correspond to junior and senior secondary students: 10–14-year olds and 15–19-year olds. As has been discussed throughout this volume, the census and by-census reports document residents' usage of usual languages and additional languages. Information about both usual and additional languages is available in all census reports, but only usual language data are available in increments of five years in all census reports. The method of reporting results changed in the 2011 census to allow additional languages to be reported as *language ability*, which represents the combined total of individuals who speak a language as either a usual language or an additional language. Table 7.2 reports the languages used by junior secondary students (represented by 10–14-year-old residents) for the 20 years since the 1999 handover.
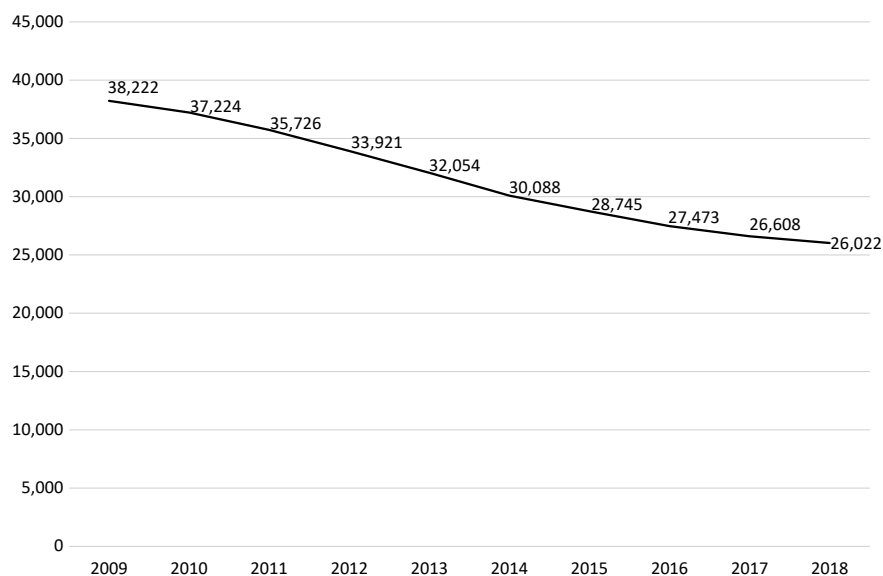
Fig. 7.2 Secondary Enrolments, 2009/2010–2018/2019 Academic Years, *Source* DSEJ (2019b)

The proportion of Chinese-speakers within the 10–14-year old age group is very high, although there was a slight decline in the 2016 by-census results, from 96.6% in 2011 to 96.0%. Chapter 5 noted that there had been a slight, but regular, decline in the number of Cantonese speakers from the 1996 by-census (conducted three years before the 1999 handover) until the 2016 by-census. While this decline had been observed among pre-primary and primary students, it was not observed among junior secondary students within the first five years after the handover (i.e., from 2001–2006); the proportion of Cantonese-speaking junior secondary students actually increased from 94.6% in 1996 to 95.1% in 2006. Since the 2006 by-census, however, the proportion of Cantonese speakers in the 10–14 age group seems to be just under 90% (89.8% in 2011 and 89.0% in 2016). It was also earlier noted that the number of Putonghua speakers increased during the 20 years since the 1999 handover, and the increase among junior secondary students has not been as steep as the increase for other age groups. The proportion of Putonghua speakers during this time period increased by just 3.1 points from 1996 to 2016.

The number and proportion of junior secondary children who speak Hokkien or other Chinese languages[2] as usual languages have declined slightly during the 20 years since the handover, as illustrated in Fig. 7.3. What is more surprising about the changes is the degree of change from year to year. While the total number of speakers in these two groups remained relatively stable from 1996 to 2001, there was a sharp decline recorded in 2006 and 2011, and a slight increase in 2016 (Fig. 7.3).

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[2]Data on the use of Hokkien (as separate from other Chinese languages) is only gathered in the 2001 and 2011 censuses and the 2006 by-census.

Table 7.2 Usual Language and Total Language Ability of Junior Secondary Speakers, 1996–2016

	1996	2001	2006	2011		**2016**	
	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Language ability*	Usual language	Language ability*
Chinese varieties							
Cantonese	32,926 (93.4%)	39,034 (94.6%)	34,286 (95.1%)	23,259 (89.8%)	96.0%	18,618 (89.0%)	95.8%
Putonghua	96 (0.3%)	141 (0.3%)	190 (0.5%)	575 (2.2%)	36.1%	710 (3.4%)	55.9%
Hokkien	–	1,238 (3.0%)	571 (1.6%)	475 (1.9%)	4.0%	–	–
Other Chinese	1,474 (4.2%)	436 (1.1%)	317 (0.9%)	172 (0.7%)	2.7%	742 (3.5%)	9.9%
Chinese Sub-total	**34,496 (100%)**	**40,849 (100%)**	**35,364 (100%)**	**24,481 (100%)**		**12,293 (100%)**	
Chinese Languages	34,496 (97.9%)	40,849 (99.0%)	35,364 (98.1%)	24,481 (96.6%)		12,293 (96.0%)	
Portuguese	561 (1.6%)	219 (0.5%)	195 (0.5%)	253 (1.0%)	1.5%	171 (0.8%)	2.0%
English	87 (0.2%)	64 (0.2%)	291 (0.8%)	355 (1.4%)	16.5%	461 (2.2%)	29.1%
Tagalog	–	47 (0.1%)	163 (0.5%)	179 (0.7%)	1.2%	101 (0.5%)	1.0%
Other	96 (0.3%)	68 (0.2%)	68 (0.2%)	83 (0.3%)	1.3%	113 (0.5%)	2.0%
TOTAL	**35,240 (100%)**	**41,247 (100%)**	**36,060 (100%)**	**25,351 (100%)**		**20,916 (100%)**	

Sources DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)
*Data about additional languages (i.e., language ability) used are not reported by age group until 2011 and 2016

The proportion of junior secondary students who speak English or Portuguese as their usual language is very small. The number of junior secondary-aged children who speak Portuguese as their usual language has declined by 69.5% from 561 in 1996 to 171 in 2016. Similarly, the number of children from this age group who use English as their usual language has increased by 430.0% from 87 in 1996 to 461 in 2016. Despite these dramatic increases and declines in the numbers of English and Portuguese speakers, the proportion has never reached more than 1.6% of junior secondary children using Portuguese as their usual language in 1996, or 2.2% using English as their usual language in 2016. The high proportion of junior secondary students using English as an additional language, however, is reflected in the proportion of students with *language ability* in English; the proportion of students who use English as either a usual or additional language essentially doubled between 2011 and 2016,

*DSEC only records Hokkien speakers separately from speakers of other Chinese languages in 2001, 2006 and 2011.
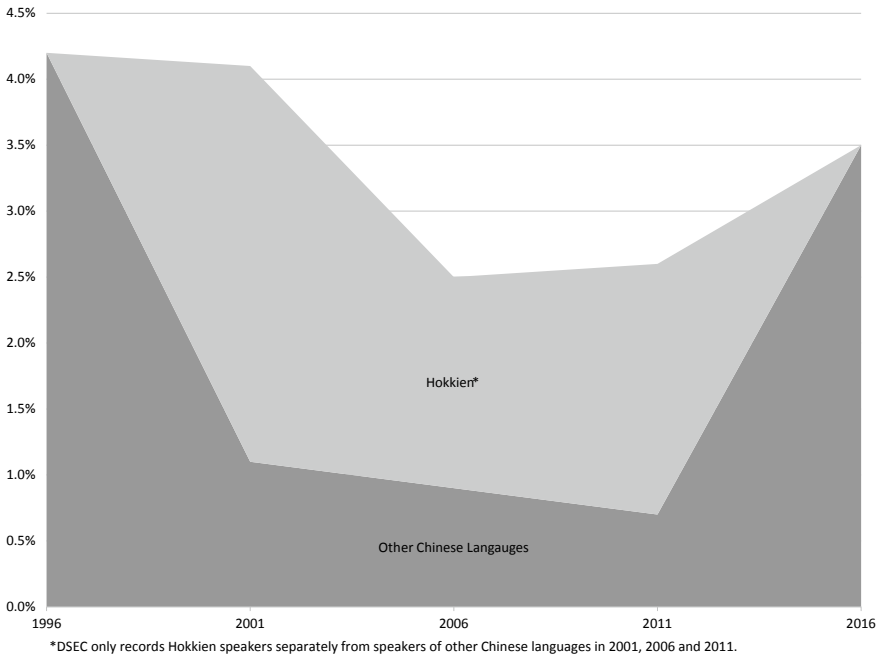
Fig. 7.3 Proportion of Junior Secondary-Age Population with Ability to Use Hokkien and/or Other Chinese Languages (Usual or Additional Language), 1996–2016, *Sources* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

from 16.5% to 29.1%. 4,195 junior secondary students claimed a knowledge of English in 2011 and this number increased to 6,078 (+44.9%) in 2016 (Fig. 7.4).

The linguistic ecology of senior secondary students, which is represented in the census and by-census reports as young people aged 15–19, is very similar to the ecology of junior secondary students. The population is predominantly Chinese-speaking and Cantonese is the dominant Chinese language. Nevertheless, the dominance of Cantonese is somewhat less certain among senior secondary students. For the first 10 years after the handover, Cantonese was the usual language for 88.2%–91.8% of the senior secondary age population. That proportion sharply declined to 82.8% in 2016, however. One possible reason for the decline is that the census population is somewhat larger (and older) than senior secondary students. Whereas senior secondary accounts for three grade levels, the census and by-census surveys are of groupings of five-years of age (e.g., 15–19-years of age). The grouping probably includes a small, but significant number of 'foreign students' enrolled in Macau universities. The 2016 by-census report notes that there were 9,352 foreign students in Macau, an increase of 89.2% from 2011.[3] The largest majority of these foreign students are from the People's Republic of China and most do not speak Cantonese

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[3]Foreign students were not counted in the census or by-census surveys before the 2011 census, presumably because the number was substantially smaller.
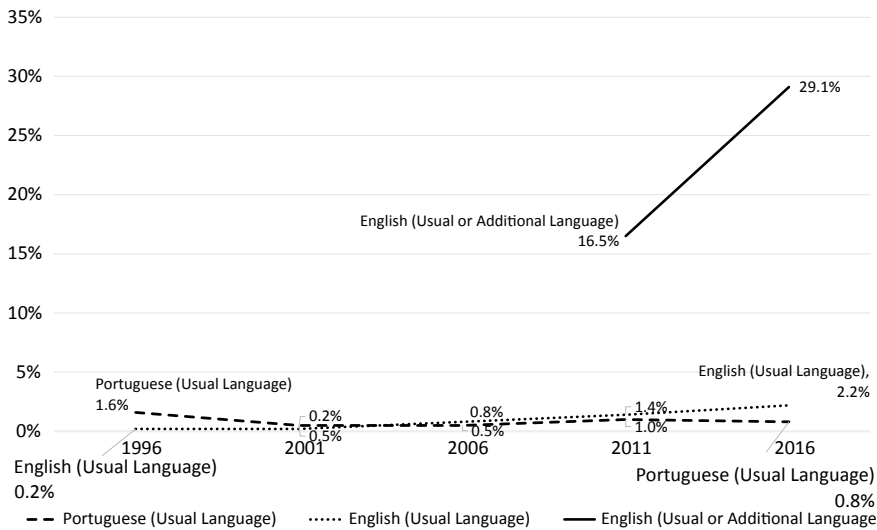
Fig. 7.4 Proportion of Junior Secondary-Age Population with Ability to Use English and/or Portuguese (Usual or Additional Language), 1996–2016, *Source* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

(see 8.2 on sojourner students in Macau). Consequently, most would tend to respond on the census that they speak Putonghua. Consider how the relatively small number of foreign students might influence the report of usual language for 15–19-year olds within the Macau census. Most of these 9,352 foreign students belong to a larger group of 15–24-year olds, straddling the two groups of 15–19-year olds and 20–24-year olds. Within this larger group of 15–24-year olds, however, foreign students account for just 5.2% of 15–24-year olds in 2011, but 11.0% in 2016. This alone might easily account for the 5.6-point drop in the proportion of Cantonese-speaking senior secondary students in the 2016 census, as well as the 2.3-point increase in the number of residents who speak Putonghua as their usual language. When one considers that a large number of senior secondary students from Macau travel abroad for *their* university education, the effect of this small group of foreign students within the group of 15–19-year-olds in Macau is probably amplified. Table 7.3 describes the linguistic ecology of 15–19-year-olds in Macau over the past 20 years since the 1999 handover of the territory.

The increase in the ability to use English as either the usual or an additional language for the senior secondary population between 2011 and 2016 is the most dramatic for any group of students in Macau. Whereas 11,103 (28.7%) individuals from the group of 38,729 15–19-year-olds claimed an ability to use English in the 2011 census, the number increased by 30% to 14,438 (44.2%) individuals from the group of 32,689 15–19-year-olds in 2016. When viewed together with the proportional changes for pre-primary, primary and junior secondary students, the recent spread of English as a language of education in Macau is palpable. Figure 7.5 graphs

Table 7.3 Usual Language and Total Language Ability of Senior Secondary Speakers, 1996–2016

	1996	2001	2006	2011		2016	
	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Language ability*	Usual language	Language ability*
Chinese varieties							
Cantonese	20,894 (88.2%)	33,030 (91.8%)	42,325 (88.1%)	34,294 (88.4%)	93.0%	27,074 (82.8%)	89.3%
Putonghua	235 (1.0%)	351 (1.0%)	2,027 (4.2%)	2,560 (6.6%)	52.4%	2,918 (8.9%)	70.2%
Hokkien	–	1,548 (4.3%)	2,024 (4.2%)	914 (2.4%)	5.1%	–	–
Other Chinese	1,815 (7.7%)	639 (1.8%)	1,096 (2.3%)	332 (0.9%)	5.2%	1,684 (5.2%)	15.1%
Chinese Sub-total	**22,944 (100%)**	**35,568 (100%)**	**47,472 (100%)**	**38,100 (100%)**		**24,725 (100%)**	
Chinese Languages	22,944 (96.9%)	35,568 (98.9%)	47,472 (98.8%)	38,100 (98.4%)		24,725 (95.3%)	
Portuguese	578 (2.4%)	188 (0.5%)	202 (0.4%)	172 (0.4%)	1.4%	175 (0.5%)	2.6%
English	47 (0.2%)	59 (0.2%)	155 (0.3%)	267 (0.7%)	28.7%	417 (1.2%)	44.2%
Tagalog	–	38 (0.1%)	128 (0.3%)	143 (0.4%)	0.5%	177 (0.5%)	1.0%
Other	113 (0.5%)	119 (0.3%)	107 (0.2%)	47 (0.1%)	1.6%	244 (0.7%)	3.7%
Total	**23,682 (100%)**	**35,972 (100%)**	**48,064 (100%)**	**38,729 (100%)**		**32,689 (100%)**	

Sources DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)
*Data about additional languages (i.e., language ability) used are not reported by age group until 2011 and 2016

the changing proportions of English speakers who are pre-primary age (3–4), primary age (5–9), junior secondary age (10–14) and senior secondary age (15–19).
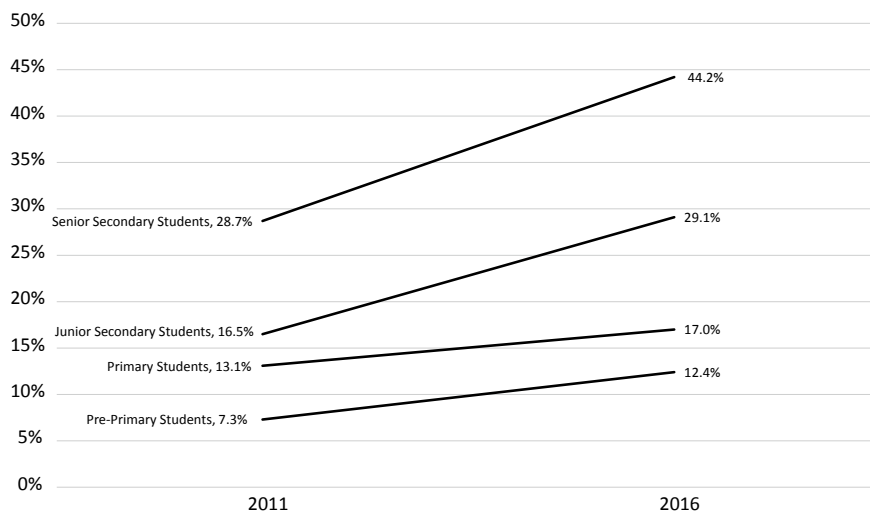
Fig. 7.5 Proportion of PPP- and Secondary-Age Population with Ability to Use English (Usual or Additional Language), 2011–2016, *Sources* DSEC (2012, 2017)

7.3 Secondary Schools and Mediums of Instruction

According to DSEJ's annual survey of Macau schools, there were 50 school sections[4] that offered secondary education to 26,016 secondary students within 986 classes in the 2018/2019 academic year (DSEJ 2019b). As with pre-primary and primary school sections, the vast majority of secondary sections are subsidised schools, which educate 86.2% of secondary students within 39 school sections. Enrolments in private schools are substantially smaller where 5 school sections are responsible for the education of 2,614 students, which represents 10.0% of secondary students. Although 6 school sections are publicly funded as governments schools, enrolment in these sections is the lowest for any level of schools in Macau (i.e., pre-primary, primary or secondary); government schools only educate 3.7% of secondary students. Table 7.4 lists enrolments by school type for each of the six grade levels of secondary education.

As with PPP schools, government schools only offer education within Chinese medium of instruction (CMI) classes or Portuguese medium of instruction (PMI) classes. Private schools offer both CMI and PMI in addition to English medium of instruction (EMI). Although subsidised schools are allowed to offer education in any

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[4] As noted in 5.2.3, the method of counting a *school section* in this volume diverges slightly from DSEJ's method of counting schools. School sections are defined within this volume as a level (in this case the secondary level) in a medium of instruction (Chinese, Portuguese and English). One private secondary school, Macau Anglican College, offers subsidised junior secondary instruction (Forms 1–3) in English, but the senior secondary levels (Forms 4–6) are not subsidised. This school is, therefore, counted as two sections: the subsidised junior secondary section and the private senior secondary section. See 6.3, fn. 4 for more about the methods of counting school sections.

Table 7.4 Secondary Enrolments by Grade in Three Types of Schools, 2018/2019 Academic Year

	Junior secondary				Senior secondary				Secondary Total
	F1	F2	F3	Sub-total	F4	F5	F6	Sub-total	
Government Schools	120	148	134	**402**	206	165	202	**573**	**975**
Subsidised Schools	4,125	3,816	3,494	**11,435**	3,608	3,676	3,708	**10,992**	**22,427**
Private Schools	497	443	448	**1,388**	450	400	376	**1,226**	**2,614**
TOTAL	**4,742**	**4,407**	**4,076**	**13,225**	**4,264**	**4,241**	**4,286**	**12,791**	**26,016**

Source DSEJ (2019b)

Table 7.5 Secondary School Enrolments by Medium of Instruction and School Type, 2018/2019 Academic Year

School type	Medium of instruction	Total enrolment	
Government	Chinese	964	(98.9%)
	Portuguese	11	(1.1%)
	Sub-total	**975**	
Subsidised	Chinese	19,227	(85.7%)
	English	3,200	(14.3%)
	Sub-total	**22,427**	
Private	Chinese	1,335	(51.1%)
	English	1,041	(39.8%)
	Portuguese	238	(9.1%)
	Sub-total	**2,614**	
	TOTAL	**26,016**	

Source DSEJ (2019b)

of these three dominant mediums of instruction (MOI), in actual reality they only offer CMI and EMI sections. Table 7.5 describes the distribution of all secondary students (junior and senior) according to the MOI in three types of schools, government, subsidised and private.

Chinese MOI education dominates secondary education regardless of the type of school. While it is most prominent in government schools, where 98.9% of secondary students are enrolled in CMI school sections, CMI also accounts for the language of education for 85.7% of students in subsidised schools and 51.1% of students in private schools. Portuguese MOI education, despite the fact that it is given privileged support within government schools as an official language, is really only a viable option in the private educational sector. A single private school, the *Escola Portuguesa de Macau* (EPM) 'Macau Portuguese School' is responsible for the education of 238 secondary students, which account for 95.6% of the secondary students enrolled in PMI schools. Only 11 secondary students are enrolled in the government PMI school and these 11 students are only in junior secondary classes. English as an MOI is still primarily associated with private-school education in Macau, where 39.8% of secondary students enrolled in private schools are studying in English MOI school sections. Nevertheless, recent years have seen increasing public interest in subsidised school sections offering English MOI classes. Although subsidised EMI school sections only educate 14.3% of students studying in subsidised schools, the number of students is three times greater (307%) than the number of students enrolled in private EMI school sections. Whereas 1041 secondary students are enrolled in private EMI school sections, 3200 are enrolled in subsidised EMI school sections where education is free. Figure 7.6 illustrates the distribution of secondary students in three mediums of instruction without regard to whether the school is government, subsidised or private.
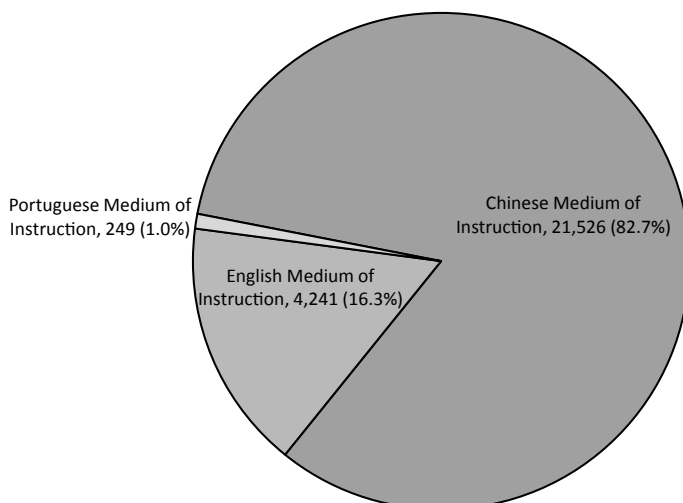
Fig. 7.6 Distribution of Secondary Students in Chinese, English and Portuguese MOI, 2018/2019 Academic Year, *Source* DSEC (2019b)

The proportions of CMI, EMI and PMI for secondary school sections is essentially unchanged from primary education, suggesting that once students enter primary school, they do not usually change MOI when moving to secondary school. Chinese is the MOI for 82.7% of secondary students. While the vast majority of schools use Cantonese as the actual MOI for most classes, schools, like many employment sectors in the territory, have been facing a serious teacher shortage (Yu 2015). The booming casino industry and the tourism industries that are supported by casino gaming have, in many ways, proven a more lucrative and attractive industry to work in and many qualified teachers—especially secondary school teachers—have left the profession. Local resident teachers (i.e., teachers who are permanent residents of Macau) are usually Cantonese speakers, but a number of Putonghua-speaking teachers have been hired as non-resident workers from the PRC to teach content courses in Chinese MOI schools. In 2015 the *Macau Daily Times* newspaper reported that at least 8 schools were using Putonghua in some capacity as a teaching medium (Macau Daily Times 2015) and there is little likelihood that the number of schools has not grown since 2015. In particular, Putonghua is a common MOI for Chinese language classes. Consequently, many Chinese-speaking students studying in Chinese medium of instruction schools may not receive Chinese instruction within their first language, Cantonese. Instruction is instead given in Putonghua. This policy of using Putonghua as a MOI in certain subjects or in certain schools has received mixed reaction from parents and educators, and even DSEJ has expressed reluctance to embrace the use of Putonghua (Macau Daily Times 2017). When asked about the increasing use of Putonghua in Macau's schools, especially to teach the Chinese language, DSEJ's Head of Education Research and Resources, Wong Kin Mou responded that 'DSEJ does not fully endorse the widespread adoption of Mandarin as the medium

of instruction for Chinese language courses' (Macau Daily Times 2017). Unfortunately, however, the move to use more Putonghua in classrooms is not motivated by any strong feeling about the superiority or utility of the language; it is almost entirely motivated by a shortage of teachers.

7.3.1 Junior Secondary Schools

The distinction between junior secondary and senior secondary education has become less pronounced since the 2006 Basic Law of the Non-Higher Education System (Macao SAR Government 2006) added senior secondary schools to schemes of universal mandatory education. The change made senior secondary schools eligible to become subsidised and increased enrolments and completion rates throughout the territory (Meneses 2020). Before the passage of the law, however, there were serious fears that students would end their formal education when they completed Form 3 (i.e., the last grade of junior secondary school) and go to work in the newly revitalised casino industry (van Schalkwyk et al. 2006). Since the 2007/2008 academic year, therefore, the distinction between junior and senior secondary educational systems has not been so prevalent. Nevertheless, because there are clear differences in the language ecologies of junior and senior secondary students and, because the language curricula are promoted differently for the upper and lower grades, this chapter will also consider the schools and their mediums of instructions separately.

Table 5.10 presents the 2018/2019 enrolments in three mediums of instruction for three different types of schools in Macau. Table 7.6 presents those data for the

Table 7.6 Student Enrolments in Junior Secondary Education by Medium of Instruction, School Type and Grade Level, 2018/2019 Academic Year

School type	Medium of instruction	Grade			Total enrolment	
		F1	F2	F3		
Government	Chinese	119	141	131	391	(97.3%)
	Portuguese	1	7	3	11	(2.7%)
	Sub-total	**120**	**148**	**134**	**402**	
Subsidised	Chinese	3,478	3,200	2,993	9,671	(84.6%)
	English	647	616	501	1,764	(15.4%)
	Sub-total	**4,125**	**3,816**	**3,494**	**11,435**	
Private	Chinese	255	218	216	689	(49.6%)
	English	200	196	186	582	(41.9%)
	Portuguese	42	29	46	117	(8.4%)
	Sub-total	**497**	**443**	**448**	**1,388**	
	Total	**4,742**	**4,407**	**4,076**	**13,225**	

Source DSEJ (2019b)

three grade levels of junior secondary education, Forms 1–3. The largest proportion of Macau junior secondary students are enrolled in subsidised schools, and 84.6% of these students are in CMI institutions. EMI institutions account for 15.5% of Macau's primary enrolments in subsidised schools (see Table 6.1), and EMI school sections account for a similar 15.4% of secondary enrolments in subsidised schools. There appears, therefore, a very large (and understandable) correspondence between the MOI of a student's primary school and the MOI of their secondary school. Indeed, it would be very difficult to imagine that students who have not studied in CMI education in their primary school would attempt to change to CMI secondary education. While there are similar demands when changing from primary CMI education to junior secondary EMI, the demands of learning to read and write English would not likely rival the demands of learning to read and write Chinese at such a late age (see discussion of the Chinese writing system and the particular challenges for literacy in the language in 3.6.2).

Government schools offer free education in both official languages, and the DSEJ Language Education Policy (LEP) has described the need to 'nurture a certain amount of Chinese-Portuguese bilinguals' (DSEJ 2017c, p. 5). However, the proportion of students in PMI within government junior secondary schools dwindles from a high of 18.8% in pre-primary to 4.8% in primary to 2.7% in junior secondary; there are *no students* enrolled in PMI senior secondary grades in governments schools. The numbers of students receiving PMI secondary education from government schools is surprisingly small: only 11 students are enrolled in the government PMI school section, and 7 of those 11 are in Form 2.

The elite nature of English education as a feature of private schools is demonstrated in the popularity of EMI private junior secondary schools. While 34.5% of primary students enrolled in private schools were studying in EMI school sections (see Table 6.6), this proportion increases to 41.9% of students in private junior secondary schools. Full waiting lists and highly competitive admission procedures in the private EMI schools (at both primary and secondary levels) suggest that the capacity for EMI has not yet met the demand.

7.3.2   Senior Secondary Schools

Senior secondary education has been mandatory since the 2006 passage of the Basic Law of the Non-Higher Education System (Macao SAR Government 2006). There are slightly fewer students enrolled in senior secondary education than junior secondary, but this is probably related to the demographic decline in the numbers of residents of secondary education age. In the 2018/2019 academic year there were 12,791 senior secondary students, compared to 13,225 junior secondary students in the same year. 85.9% of these students are enrolled in subsidised schools, which offer education in either Chinese MOI or English MOI. Private schools account for 9.6% of senior secondary students in either CMI, EMI or PMI. The remaining 4.5% of senior secondary students are enrolled in government schools that offer education in

Table 7.7 Student Enrolments in Senior Secondary Education by Medium of Instruction, School Type and Grade Level, 2018/2019 Academic Year

School type	Medium of instruction	Grade			Total enrolment	
		F4	F5	F6		
Government	Chinese	206	165	202	573	(100%)
	Portuguese	0	0	0	0	
	Sub-total	**206**	**165**	**202**	**573**	
Subsidised	Chinese	3,095	3,205	3,256	9,556	(86.9%)
	English	513	471	452	1,436	(13.1%)
	Sub-total	**3,608**	**3,676**	**3,708**	**10,992**	
Private	Chinese	235	205	206	646	(52.7%)
	English	176	156	127	459	(37.4%)
	Portuguese	39	39	43	121	(9.9%)
	Sub-total	**450**	**400**	**376**	**1,226**	
	Total	**4,264**	**4,241**	**4,286**	**12,791**	

Source DSEJ (2019b)

either of Macau's two official languages, Chinese or Portuguese, as the MOI. During the 2018/2019 academic year, however, there were no senior secondary students enrolled in Macau government PMI school sections. Table 5.10 lists the 2018/2019 enrolments in three mediums of instruction and these data are expanded in Table 7.7 to show enrolments in each of the three senior secondary grade levels, Forms 4–6.

Senior secondary enrolment figures for government schools are consistent with the numbers from junior secondary and primary enrolments. 100% of senior secondary students in government schools are enrolled in CMI school sections, making the one PMI government school an impractical option. Therefore, all senior secondary students enrolled in any PMI section are in the private *Escola Portuguesa de Macau* (EPM) 'Macau Portuguese School'. 86.9% of the 10,992 students enrolled in subsidised schools are enrolled in CMI school sections. The proportion of students enrolling in CMI is slightly higher from junior secondary to senior secondary, but this is primarily because the number of the students enrolled in EMI subsidised senior secondary school sections is 328 (18.6%) students fewer than the number of junior secondary students enrolled in EMI subsidised school sections. The lower number of senior secondary students in EMI school sections might, in part, be related to one new English school section. *Colégio Diocesano de São Jose 6* (English Section) 'Saint Joseph Diocese School 6' only offered two grade levels of EMI junior secondary schooling during the 2018/2019 academic year, and will presumably add an additional grade level each year until they are offering all six secondary levels in English MOI. While the number and proportion of senior secondary students studying in EMI subsidised schools may appear to be falling, the overall capacity for EMI education is in fact increasing as an increasing number of school sections like Saint Joseph Diocese School 6 open to offer EMI education. Whereas EMI schooling is most

closely associated with Macau's private schools, the proportion of senior secondary enrolments in private EMI school sections is somewhat smaller than the proportion of junior secondary enrolments.

7.4   Language Curriculum and Language Policy

Moody (2019) discusses in detail the likely intentions that have motivated the 2017 Non-tertiary Education: Language Education Policy (LEP) (DSEJ 2017c). The policy does not formulate clear policy goals nor does it specify exactly how objectives are to be approached in either curriculum or pedagogy. Instead, the objectives articulated within the LEP are broadly defined and allow a number of qualifications to reduce the urgency of the policy. Most surprisingly, the LEP proclaims that Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters are the official language of Macau, as they are also the official language of the People's Republic of China (PRC). While the LEP continues to assert that 'all citizens shall have the right to learn and use the standard spoken and written Chinese language' (DSEJ 2017c, p. 2), there is also broad tolerance of the enforcement of this principle so that 'Chinese schools can use Cantonese as the medium of instruction in non-language subjects' (DSEJ 2017c, p. 6). In most schools Cantonese is the preferred MOI for subject courses, but the LEP also specifies as a 'general regulation' that Putonghua should be used for the teaching of Chinese language courses:

> Schools are encouraged to progressively create conditions in which Putonghua can be used in the teaching of Chinese. (DSEJ 2017c, p. 6)

The directive to progressively use Putonghua as the instructional medium for Chinese doesn't actually take on the form of a regulation. The other three 'general regulations' in the LEP, for example, use the modal *should* to enforce action. 'Encouragement' further mollifies the directive to 'create conditions'—not actually use Putonghua. Despite the directive to find ways to introduce more teaching of Putonghua in Chinese-language education, though, a representative of the DSEJ, when asked about the use of Putonghua to teach Chinese in Macau schools, responded that the DSEJ 'does not fully endorse' the practice (Macau Daily Times 2019). The mixed messages from the LEP and the DSEJ to schools, students and parents about the adoption of Chinese as a MOI are, at best, confusing.

Nevertheless, DSEJ has specified a number of basic academic attainments (BAA) to be adopted as intended learning outcomes for secondary schools, and this section will survey the curricula and regulations implemented for both language as a MOI and as a subject language (SL) in Macau's government and subsidised schools. The curricula for junior and senior secondary education are codified within two laws: the junior secondary curriculum is encoded within 'Order of the Secretary for Social Affairs and Culture No. 56/2017′ (Macao SAR Government 2017b) and the senior secondary curriculum is encoded within 'Order of the Secretary for Social Affairs and Culture No. 55/2017′ (Macao SAR Government 2017a). These laws pertain

comprehensively to the junior and secondary curricula, included the use of language as either a medium of instruction (MOI) or as a language subject, conventionally referred to within the curricula as a second language (SL). Since there are three languages—Chinese, English and Portuguese—that are used in secondary schools as either MOI or SL, the laws describing the junior and secondary curricula describe six different language curricula: Chinese as a medium of instruction (CMI), Chinese as a second language (CSL), English as a medium of instruction (EMI), English as a second language (ESL), Portuguese as a medium of instruction (PMI) and Portuguese as a second language (PSL).

Each curriculum is divided into three sections: (1) 'essential ideas', (2) 'curricular objectives' and (3) 'requirements of competencies' as basic academic achievements (BAA). As with all laws in Macau, the official text of the law is written in Chinese and Portuguese. English-language quotations from the law are translated from the Portuguese version with discussion of relevant differences in the Chinese version when needed.

7.4.1 Junior Secondary Curriculum

The curriculum plan for junior secondary education lists six learning areas: (1) language and literature, (2) mathematics, (3) personal, social and humanities education, (4) science and scientific technology, (5) physical education and health, and (6) arts. Figure 7.7 illustrates how DSEJ expects that schools will spend time on subjects within these six learning areas in what would be an average of a 39-h school week.[5] Combined instruction in the MOI language and the second language would account for 10–18 h in an instructional week. On average, 36% of instruction time would be spent on language learning. It would be difficult to see that the time spent on language could account for anything less than 24% of the weekly instructional hours, and it could conceivably account for as much as 50% of the weekly instructional hours.

As with the pre-primary and primary curricula, the DSEJ Curriculum Development Website (DSEJ 2016a) serves as a repository of links to the published curricula and other documents that may help schools and teachers implement the junior secondary curriculum. The published criteria are of varying lengths and specificities, as demonstrated in Table 7.8. The Chinese as medium of instruction (CMI) curriculum contains the greatest number of words (in both Chinese and Portuguese) and specifies the greatest number of intended learning outcomes, 116, expressed as basic academic achievements (BAA). As with the language curricula in primary education, the Portuguese as medium of instruction (PMI) curriculum contains the fewest number of words (in both Chinese and Portuguese) and specifies just 44 BAA. However, the number of words in the six curricula—in addition to the number of

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[5]A 39-h school week is what is calculated when one adds the average values specified within the curriculum plan. For example, 5–9 h weekly spent on MOI Language is entered in the chart as 7 h. The minimum number of weekly instruction hours is 28 and the maximum is 40.
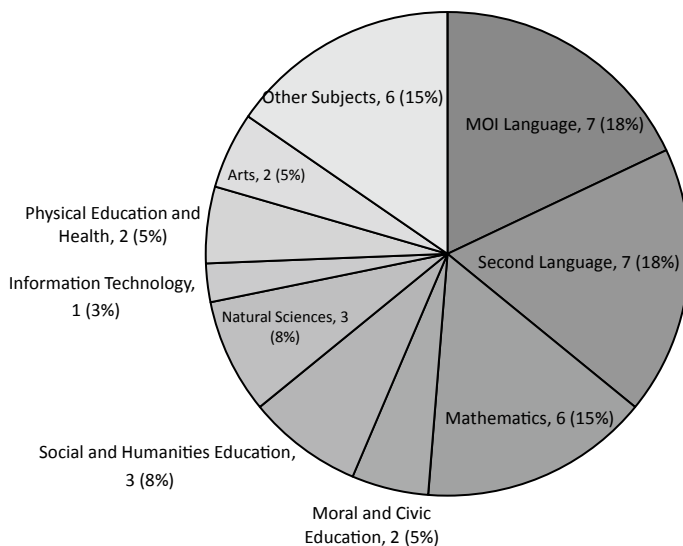
Fig. 7.7 Distribution of Average Weekly Instructional Hours in Junior Secondary Curriculum Plan, *Source* DSEJ (2014)

points made, the number of curricular objectives or the number of BAA—offers only the most superficial insights into the ways that language policy has treated the three languages differently as either MOI or subject languages. A more thorough examination of each curriculum will explore some of the more substantive differences between how the three languages are intended to be used in Macau.

7.4.1.1 Chinese

The 'essential ideas' section of the Chinese medium of instruction (CMI) curriculum contain four fundamental points that govern the delivery of the curriculum:

(1) Aimed at all students with the aim of improving, in general, the quality of Chinese language of general secondary school students;

(2) Attach importance to the basic requirements of Chinese language education and develop learning habits and attitudes;

(3) Guide students to deepen their knowledge of Chinese culture and understand and respect different cultures; and

(4) Pay attention to the diversification and efficiency of learning methods, boosting students' autonomous learning. (Macau SAR Government 2017b).

The second point is expanded in two paragraphs to explain that Chinese is intended for life-long learning, and this is repeated, to some degree, in the final point about autonomous learning. These two points, however, might be made about any language that functions as a medium of instruction, and they don't offer many insights into

Table 7.8 Comparison of Junior Secondary Curriculum for Chinese, English and Portuguese as MOI and as SL

	Chinese		English		Portuguese	
	CMI	CSL	EMI	ESL	PMI	**PSL**
(1) Essential Ideas						
Number of Ideas	4	4	5	4	0	3
Number of paragraphs	10	9	12	10	2	4
Number of words (Chinese)	1210	1095	1156	842	356	373
Number of words (Portuguese)	824	750	777	549	242	217
(2) Curricular Objectives						
Number of Objectives	9	7	15	12	8	8
Number of words (Chinese)	725	521	480	351	255	401
Number of words (Portuguese)	474	342	278	209	156	245
(3) Basic Academic Achievements						
Listening	12	11	22	13	10	8
Speaking	19	18	19	18	10	12
Chinese Characters	16	13	–	–	–	–
Reading	37	32	22	16	13	8
Writing	22	20	22	15	5	10
General Purpose	10	9	–	–	–	–
Explicit Knowledge	–	–	–	–	6	–
Intercultural Competence	–	–	–	–	–	5
TotalBAA	**116**	**103**	**85**	**62**	**44**	**43**
Number of words (Chinese)	4026	3599	2077	1363	951	1350
Number of words (Portuguese)	3026	2653	1570	1045	581	858

Source Macao SAR Government (2017b)

how Chinese is intended to function uniquely as an MOI in Macau schools, nor what motivates the language policy.

The first of the four points is expanded to address the variety that is to be taught in Macau schools. Confirming DSEJ's commitment to teaching Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters within Macau's schools, the curriculum expands upon the first point of the essential ideas:

> Cantonese is the most widely used language in the MSAR, while Mandarin is the common language of China and one of the working languages of the United Nations. The curriculum aims to train students in the fluent and *appropriate* [italics added] use of Cantonese, to continue learning Mandarin for basic communication, to know the Chinese characters legally standardised in the People's Republic of China, to use traditional characters correctly and to master the regular written language, increasing globally the ability to use the Chinese language. (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 726).

It is not entirely clear what an 'appropriate use of Cantonese' would be, or concurrently what an *inappropriate* use would be. Nevertheless, the curriculum maintains a commitment to both Cantonese and Putonghua, both traditional and simplified Chinese characters, but it essentially leaves to individual schools to find the balance that is 'appropriate' for the learning needs of students.

Finally, the third point of the four articulated essential ideas expresses the relationship between learning through the medium of Chinese and the development of what the curriculum describes as a Chinese character:

> Traditional Chinese culture is a cluster of linguistic habits, cultural traditions, thoughts, consciences and emotional connections of the Chinese nation, which incorporate the cultural contents, moral regulations, thoughts, personalities and values generally recognised and accepted by the Chinese as the main source of the curriculum of the Chinese language. Thus, the Chinese language curriculum should guide students to get to know Chinese culture in depth, fully absorb its cultural contents, forming the national spirit, patriotism and love of Macau. (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 726).

Interestingly, the argument here does not transpose traditional culture (represented by traditional Chinese characters and Cantonese) against the national language (and ostensibly the language of patriotism), Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters. Instead, the paragraph suggests that national devotion—specifically 'national spirit, patriotism and love of Macau'—is more deeply embedded within CMI education than can be altered by choosing a medium as either Cantonese or Putonghua, or traditional or simplified Chinese characters. The purpose of this particular paragraph might be interpreted as a commitment to integration with the People's Republic of China *regardless* of whether the MOI follows a traditional local norm or a more modern PRC norm. Both are valid choices for acquiring 'national spirit, patriotism and love of Macau'.

The curriculum lists 9 somewhat broadly defined curricular objectives that are intended to define Chinese MOI education. As with the primary CMI curriculum, one of the objectives is for students to develop 'a feeling of love for their country and Macau' (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 727). The remaining objectives are mostly related to development of language proficiency, although they do not specify any measurable outcomes. That is the purpose of the remaining 116 BAA. The intended learning outcomes are divided between the four language skills and they include the following selection of BAA:

A-1-2   Be able to interact in a civilised and appropriate way with others during the hearing process;
…
A-3-1   To be able to understand daily life and various types of media in Cantonese, as well as the recitation of texts in Cantonese manuals;
A-3-2   Understand the standard Mandarin of proper speed in everyday communication;
…
B-4-1   Be able to use Cantonese proficiently, to communicate with others on several occasions;

B-4-2	Be able to use Mandarin to communicate at a general level with others.
…	
D-2-1	Know how to recite texts in Cantonese in a correct, fluent and emotional way, deepening the understanding of the text through recitation;
…	
D-2-3	Be able to recite Mandarin texts.
E-2-3	Be able to use punctuation marks correctly;
…	
E-4-1	Be able to write a narrative text with a clear core, detailed content and real emotion; (Macao SAR Government 2017b, pp. 728–735).

In addition to these intended learning outcomes, the CMI and CSL curricula also specify a number of BAA related to the learning or Chinese characters:

C-2-1	Know at least 3500 usual Chinese characters and of these know how to write at least 2500;
…	
C-2-5	Understand Chinese characters legally standardised by the People's Republic of China. (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 751).

Finally, the BAA include ten intended learning outcomes that are classified as 'general purpose' achievements. These include:

F-1-3	Have the pleasure to participate in the activities of practicing the Chinese language, improving its quality and the skills of social life in practical application;
…	
F-3-4	Be able to cite important source of information in study reports. (Macau SAR Government 2017b, p. 736).

Finally, it should be noted that Chinese is the medium of instruction for 85.0% of junior primary students enrolled in government or subsidised schools. The CMI curriculum would apply directly to more Macau students than any of the other curricula.

Chinese would be the second language (i.e., taught as a subject language) to most of the 1,775 (15.0%) students enrolled in EMI or PMI government or subsidised school sections in Macau, and for those students the CSL curriculum would apply to their learning. Despite the fact that the majority of students are ethnically Chinese, the junior secondary curriculum for Chinese as a second language frames the curriculum as if it is to be implemented for students who do not speak Chinese as their first language. For example, the CSL section outlining 'essential ideas' begins with statements like 'Macau is a multicultural society resulting from the combination of Chinese and Western cultures' and 'students in schools or classes with Chinese as a second language have diverse cultural backgrounds' (Macao SAR Government 2017b, pp. 736–737). The solution to these supposedly diverse backgrounds is a curriculum designed to 'reinforce their [students'] affection for Chinese culture and

constantly expand their cultural vision' (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 737). The essential ideas section continues to articulate the following four points:

(1) Valuing the communicative function in the studies of the Chinese language and improving, in an integral way, the basic quality of the Chinese language of the students;

(2) Guide students to better understand Chinese culture, expanding the cultural horizon, promoting understanding and multicultural harmony and ensuring the students' global development;

(3) To take care of the cultural differences and the base of studies of the students and to give importance to the adequacy of the curriculum; and

(4) Create a diversified Chinese language learning environment and promote the diversity of forms of study, striving to improve learning efficiency. (Macao SAR Government 2017b, pp. 737–738)

The first point is interpreted within the essential ideas as supporting the teaching of 'more common Chinese characters and the ability to hear and speak Cantonese *or* [italics added] Mandarin' (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 737). The curriculum does not explicitly designate one variety, but allows schools the freedom to choose whether they teach Putonghua or Cantonese as a second language. Furthermore, the designation of 'common Chinese characters' does not dictate whether schools should teach traditional or simplified Chinese characters. Development of the third point seems to lower expectations of developing high levels of proficiency in Chinese; the paragraph supporting the point notes that 'schools should know the students' Chinese language bases and their different study needs … allowing various types of student to achieve success in Chinese language studies' (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 738). These expectations for the learning of CSL—along with the suggestion that the curriculum should promote love of country—suggest that high levels of proficiency in the Chinese language (or, more accurately, the Chinese languages) are less important than positive feelings towards the culture and the nation. The statement also suggests that schools might want to establish CSL classes that expect differing levels of proficiency, depending on student ethnicity. Ethnic Chinese students studying in the CSL curriculum might also be expected to achieve higher levels of proficiency than non-ethnic Chinese students studying in the CSL curriculum.

The curricular objectives for the junior secondary CSL curriculum echo many of the objectives of the CMI curriculum, especially in the development of 'a feeling of love for the country and for Macau' and 'diligent and serious learning attitude' (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 738). The primary differences are that CSL students are expected 'to understand and speak Cantonese *or* [italics added] Mandarin' and that teachers are expected to 'support them [students] to correctly use traditional Chinese characters *or* [italics added] Chinese characters legally standardised by the People's Republic of China' (Macau SAR Government 2017b, p. 738). These differences are also fully reflected within the expected learning outcomes that are encoded within 103 BAA within the curriculum. As with the CMI curriculum, the CSL junior secondary curriculum specifies BAA related to listening, speaking, reading, writing and knowledge of Chinese characters. In most cases, the BAA specify that either Putonghua or Cantonese can be learned, and that schools may

teach either traditional or simplified Chinese characters. One exception to this standard within the CSL curriculum, however, is C-2-5, 'Understand Chinese characters legally standardised by the People's Republic of China' (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 742). Otherwise, however, the BAA do not specify one spoken or written variety over another.

The most interesting feature of the junior secondary CSL curriculum's BAA are those that are classified as 'general purpose' BAA, a category that only appears within the CMI and CSL curricula. These 'general purpose' expectations include:

F-1-3   Be willing to participate in Chinese language practice activities, improving their
          quality and social live skills in practical application.
…
F-2-1   Be able to plan simple Chinese language activities with colleagues under the
          guidance of teachers, with plan, division of work, cooperation and results;
F-2-2   Actively participate in activities related to the Chinese language, organised by
          classes and schools. (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 746).

These do not appear to be strongly related to academic achievements, but instead related to active participation within a curriculum, and within activities that might be extra-curricular. Indeed, there are a number of such activities organised inter- or intramurally in Macau, such as Chinese New Year celebrations, speech contests, Mid-Autumn Festival activities, etc. It appears that the government curriculum is designed to ensure, at least in part, multicultural participation in many of these activities.

7.4.1.2   English

The Macau educational law contains two English-language curricula for junior secondary education: the first is for English as a medium of instruction (EMI) and the second is for schools where English is taught as a second language subject course (ESL). The essential ideas and curricular objectives in the two curricula are nearly identical to one another with only a few sentences added to the EMI curriculum to denote additional functions of English as an MOI. For example, both curricula open with the same paragraph describing the global and multicultural importance of English in Macau:

> Macau is unique for its cultural diversity, but it is becoming increasingly globalised. The English language serves as a bridge for effective communication with the world. It has a dominant role in many sectors such as business, education and tourism, among others. It is essential to train new generations of students with an adequate command of the English language, in order to be able to respond to future challenges in various areas regarding the social and economic development of Macau. (Macao SAR Government, 2017b, p. 753 and p. 760).

The minor differences between the two texts, the curriculum for English in MOI schools and the curriculum for English in other schools, offer interesting insights into how the territory intends to treat English within the linguistic ecology. For

example, the English as MOI document adds that English 'is a tool that facilitates life-long learning, critical thinking, and harmonious coexistence with others' (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 753). This statement within the introductory paragraphs of the document may appear to make a statement about the intended ancillary role that English is expected to play in Macau society, and this would be consistent with the government's implementation of a language policy that, at least on the surface, attempts to emphasise the importance of Chinese within Macau, not the value of English. The document for English as an MOI continues to cite the need for 'global competitiveness' as a further goal of EMI education. The documents do not, however, cite the knowledge or use of English as a necessary or desirable goal for the development of Macau or Chinese society.

The list of junior secondary English BAA—85 for EMI schools and 62 for other schools—are much like the BAA for primary education described in Chapter 6 in that they run a full gambit of vagueness and specificity.[6] However, there are clear differences between the expected learning outcomes when English is the MOI language and when it is not. The following examples from the BAA for schools where English is a subject language (i.e., ESL) look very similar to the types of BAA that had been specified in primary education:

A-3	Identify the stressed syllables in polysyllabic words;
…	
A-13	Take down notes on the main points of a talk.
B-1	Attempt to pronounce a new word from its spelling;
…	
B-9	Express opinion clearly;
…	
B-18	Demonstrate interest in social interaction.
…	
C-3	Recognise the format and language features of a variety of text types;
…	
C-10	Identify the main ideas and key details of a text; what the author wants to tell or describe;
…	
D-1	Use more varied vocabulary with correct spellings;
…	
D-14	Appreciate and evaluate peers' writing; (DSEJ 2017e, pp. 3–5).

By contrast, the BAA specified for English in EMI junior secondary schools represents significantly greater levels of achievement, and there is very little overlap between the BAA for non-EMI and EMI schools. The following selection of BAA illustrate the higher-level demands of EMI:

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[6]DSEJ supplies translations of the BAA for the two junior secondary English curricula (2017d, 2017e) for 'reference only'. These translations are cited here.

A-2	Deduce the meaning of unknown words while listening;
…	
A-6	Recognise the level of formality of spoken discourse;
…	
A-16	Recognise the use of intonation for topic management and turn-taking;
…	
B-3	Establish cohesion through lexical and grammatical choices;
…	
B-9	Adjust the formality of speaking according to the context or relationship with the interlocuter;
…	
C-3	Understand meanings of words on different levels, including denotative and connotative levels, and words with more technical meanings;
…	
C-9	Ask and answer questions while reading, and re-read to help determine or clarify the main ideas and key details of a text;
…	
C-14	Make effective and judicious use of the dictionary and language references to assist reading and understanding new words in texts;
…	
C-22	Demonstrate interest in reading for pleasure.
…	
D-10	Write with a clear understanding of the purpose and audience awareness;
…	
D-16	Write short stories that arouse the reader's interest;
…	
D-22	Acknowledge sources of information in writing by giving references. (DSEJ 2017d, pp. 4–7).

Whereas the BAA documents specify in broad terms the intended learning outcomes of the curriculum, the interpretation of the BAA and the design of specific lesson plans is addressed within two documents that the DSEJ posts on the Curriculum Development Website to guide teachers and administrators in implementation of the curriculum: (1) the Junior Secondary English Curriculum Guide for Schools Using English as the Primary Language of Instruction (EMI) (DSEJ 2017b) and (2) Junior Secondary English Curriculum Guide for Schools not Using English as the Primary Language of Instruction (non-EMI) (DSEJ 2017a). The sections and content within the two guides are nearly identical except for differences that arise from the BAA (e.g., interpretations of the BAA, sample lesson plans illustrating the BAA, etc.) for the two types of schools.

7.4.1.3 Portuguese

The two Portuguese-language curricula are the shortest curricula within DSEJ's 2017 junior secondary curriculum revisions: the curriculum for Portuguese as a medium of

instruction (PMI) contains just 1562 words in Portuguese and 979 words in Chinese. This is roughly just 25% of the longest language curriculum published within the law for junior secondary students, the CMI curriculum. As was noted in the discussion of the PMI curriculum for primary schools, there is little surprise that the PMI curriculum is underdeveloped; there are only 11 students in government secondary schools where this curriculum would apply. Nevertheless, the curriculum opens the 'essential ideas' section with an eloquent appeal to history, multiculturalism and globalisation as a rationale for having Portuguese as an MOI in Macau:

> In Macau, Portuguese is one of the official languages. It is a host language, as can be seen by students of different ethnicities and creeds who attend schools in the area. It is the sixth language, in number of native speakers, and was, for more than two centuries, the *lingua franca* that allowed understanding between various peoples. It is the official language of the eight Portuguese-speaking countries and, for that reason, it is a language that opens doors to a vast market. The mastery of the Portuguese language is, therefore, decisive in terms of access to knowledge, development and social relationships. It is expected that the teaching of Portuguese will contribute to students' academic and professional success. (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 746).

Unlike the Chinese curricula (both CMI and CSL), however, there is no statement of expectation within either curricular objectives or BAA that students will develop 'national spirit, patriotism and love of Macau' (Macau SAR Government 2017b, p. 726) through the study of this official language. Instead, the overt published justifications for offering PMI education are mostly commercial and related to expanding markets in Portuguese-speaking countries like Brazil. Likewise, the curricular objectives and BAA are primarily related to the development of language proficiency. What the PMI does contain that is unique to this curriculum is a set of six BAA classified as 'explicit knowledge of the language', cited here in entirety:

E-1 Identify fundamental aspects of morphology;
E-2 Consolidate knowledge about fundamental aspects of syntax;
E-3 Recognise properties and forms of organisation of the lexicon and vocabulary;
E-4 Identify characteristic aspects of phonetics and phonology in Portuguese;
E-5 Recognise processes of meaning and semantic relations between words;
E-6 Identify fundamental aspects of grammar. (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 749).

The intended learning outcomes listed within the 'explicit knowledge of the language' BAA are not the types of skills that PMI students—who study within a medium language of instruction from primary ages into secondary school—would be expected to have *as explicit knowledge.* These are learning outcomes that are more closely associated with the study of a *second* language variety, and the label of 'explicit knowledge of the language' suggests that the curriculum intends that student studying in the government PMI school section should learn Portuguese in the way that a second language learner—not a native speaker with competence—would learn and use the language. These 'explicit knowledge' learning expectations are better suited to learning in PSL courses than school sections that use Portuguese as the medium of instruction. Interestingly, Holm (1989) is among several linguists who have suggested

the *Makista* (a.k.a. Macau Creole Portuguese) was decreolised through the mechanism of instruction in standard Portuguese when Macanese speakers were given PMI education in the nineteenth century. These measures to ensure an 'explicit knowledge' of Portuguese seem designed to similarly ensure that a learner variety—or creole—never again achieve widespread usage within the territory.

The junior secondary curriculum for the study of Portuguese as a second language (PSL) potentially applies to many more students than the 11 students studying in the government PMI school section. All government schools and many subsidised schools will offer PSL classes to their students enrolled in CMI or EMI sections. The essential ideas articulated within the PSL curriculum for junior secondary students do not make any justification for the teaching of Portuguese as either a mechanism for global development or as the official language of Macau. Instead, the justifications rely upon the belief that Portuguese language learning 'is essential to develop multicultural and multilingual competence, a relevant aspect in the Macao Special Administrative Region' (Macao SAR Government 2017b, p. 749). The points articulated within the 'essential ideas' section further justify this somewhat vague role of Portuguese language learning:

(1)   Valuing language learning;

(2)   Acquisition of basic communication skills in Portuguese and promotion of students' integral development; and

(3)   Student-centredness—motivation and interest, engines of learning success. (Macao SAR Government 2017b, pp. 749–750)

Likewise, the eight articulated curricular objectives are very generally related to language learning and could be applied to the study of almost any language. In only one curricular objective is reference even made to the Portuguese language: 'contribute to a greater capacity for cooperation and interaction with others … in the areas in which you will act as a speaker, listener, reader and writer of the Portuguese language …' (Macao SAR Government 2019b, p. 750). As with the BAA for the primary PSL curriculum, the 38 skills-related BAA for the junior secondary PSL curriculum refrain from placing a heavy burden on students to improve proficiency in the language:

A-6   Identify the subject of a dialogue related to family themes and your area of interest, in the private, educational and public domains;

…

B-3   Ask and answer simple questions about yourself or other people you know;

…

C-1   Read a text, obeying the rules of punctuation and graphic accentuation;

…

D-2   Write an SMS or e-mail message; (Macao SAR Government 2017b, pp. 751–752).

These BAA suggest that DSEJ is not so interested in ensuring that graduates who took Portuguese as a second language have a high proficiency in the language, but

that they are more interested in ensuring that students have a positive experience with the language possibly with the unstated objective to build a tradition of PSL instruction in Macau. While these intended learning outcomes respond to language learning skills, the PSL curriculum for junior secondary students includes five BAA under the category of 'intercultural competence', and the five are cited here in full:

E-1   List dates and places with brands of Portuguese culture in Macau;

E-2   Identify emblematic heritage from Portugal and other cultures;

E-3   Compare the gastronomy, music and crafts of Portugal with those of Macau;

E-4   Identify, on a map, the Portuguese-speaking countries;

E-5   Identify with the Other, knowing their culture and accepting it. (Macao SAR Government 2019b, p. 753).

These BAA are not closely related to intercultural competence (as it is normally understood in language teaching literature), but instead ask students to connect the Portuguese language to the historical, social and cultural environments of Macau, and this is essentially the only place in which those goals are outlined within the curriculum. It should also be noted that, as with the primary PSL curriculum, the final BAA (i.e., E-5) of the junior secondary curriculum borrows from the language of alterity to describe Portuguese speakers as 'other' (see discussion in 6.5.2.3).

7.4.2   Senior Secondary Curriculum

The curriculum plan for senior secondary education lists the same six compulsory learning areas that comprise the junior secondary curriculum, but adds a set of 'electives'. Electives are to be distinguished from compulsory subjects, and the curriculum plan suggests that a school must offer 'at least 7.5 lessons per week on average' as elective courses (DSEJ 2014). Figure 7.8 illustrates how DSEJ expects that schools will spend time on subjects within these six learning areas in what would be an average of a 40-h school week.[7] Combined instruction in the MOI language and the second language will account for 10–14 h in an instructional week. On average, this is would be 30% of the instruction time spent on language. It would be difficult to see that the time spent on language instruction could account for anything less than 23% of the weekly instructional hours, and it could conceivably account for as much as 41% of the weekly instructional hours.

The proportion of time to be spent on language learning in the senior secondary curricula represents the least number of hours spent on language—either as the MOI language or a subject language—in any of the DSEJ curricula for primary or secondary students. DSEJ's translation of the EMI and ESL BAA for senior secondary grades hint at the rational for the reduction of hours in curricula. The documents note that 'senior secondary grades are more able to manage their own learning. This is the

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[7]A 40-h school week is what is calculated when one adds the average values specified within the curriculum plan. For example, 5–7 h weekly spent on MOI language is entered in the chart as 6 h. The minimum number of weekly instruction hours is 30 and the maximum is 43.
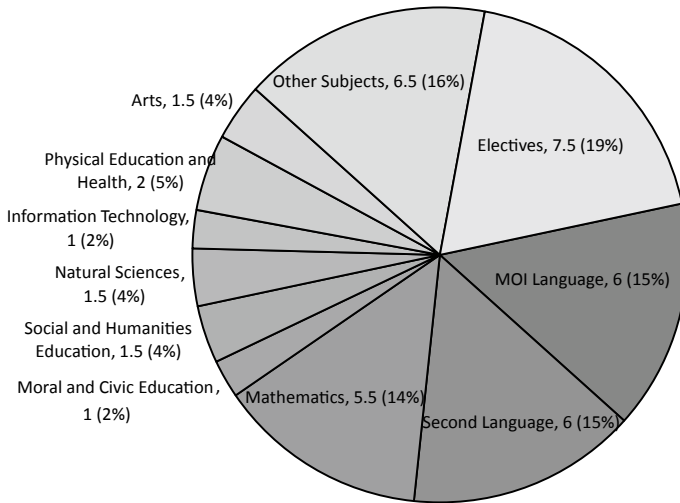
Fig. 7.8 Distribution of Average Weekly Instructional Hours in Senior Secondary Curriculum Plan, *Source* DSEJ (2014)

time to introduce students to various language development strategies' (DSEJ 2017f, pp. 1–2; DSEJ 2017g, p. 2). While the number of hours for language instruction is reduced in senior secondary education, the most striking addition is the inclusion of 7.5 weekly hours of elective courses. DSEJ's curriculum plan notes that these elective courses may be in any of the learning areas, including either MOI or subject languages. Nevertheless, the design of the curriculum seems to allow for greater flexibility in course offerings that will engage students in self-motivated learning.

The senior secondary curricula for specific learning areas, including the three languages as either MOI or second language (SL), are published in Chinese and Portuguese by the government printing office (Macao SAR Government 2017a), and links to these are available on DSEJ's Curriculum Development Website (DSEJ 2016a). DSEJ provides a translation of the EMI and ESL curricula, but all translations of the CMI, CSL, PMI and PSL curricula discussed here are from the Portuguese versions. Table 7.9 describes the features of the three sections of each of the six senior secondary language curricula.

7.4.2.1 Chinese

Of the six language curricula, the two Chinese language learning curricula for CMI and CSL education offer the greatest amount of specificity and development in terms of the number of words used within the curricula, the number of points made in the 'essential ideas' section of the curricula, the number of curricular objectives that are defined and the number of intended learning outcomes expressed as BAA. Chinese is the MOI for 87.6% of senior secondary students enrolled in either government or subsidised schools. It is, therefore, understandable that the exposition of the

Table 7.9 Comparison of Senior Secondary Curriculum for Chinese, English and Portuguese as MOI and as SL

	Chinese		English		Portuguese	
	CMI	CSL	EMI	ESL	PMI	PSL
(1) Essential Ideas						
Number of Ideas	4	4	4	3	0	2
Number of paragraphs	10	12	9	8	1	5
Number of words (Chinese)	1138	1565	738	611	138	437
Number of words (Portuguese)	852	1100	545	465	89	265
(2) Curricular Objectives						
Number of Objectives	9	8	9	5	7	11
Number of words (Chinese)	874	780	304	177	202	439
Number of words (Portuguese)	586	529	208	129	118	261
(3) Basic Academic Achievements						
Listening	14	12	19	18	8	8
Speaking	28	26	22	18	10	9
Chinese Characters	16	14	–	–	–	–
Reading	41	34	22	20	4	7
Writing	43	35	15	12	3	8
General Purpose	18	53	–	–	–	–
Explicit Knowledge	–	–	–	–	13	–
Intercultural Competence	–	–	–	–	–	5
TOTAL BAA	**160**	**174**	**78**	**68**	**38**	**37**
Number of words (Chinese)	6126	5126	2110	1619	842	1074
Number of words (Portuguese)	4612	3929	1478	1156	521	697

Source Macao SAR Government (2017a)

CMI curriculum would take the greatest share of attention within the education law. As with the primary and junior secondary CMI curricula, the senior secondary curriculum places emphasis upon the desire to 'increase their [students'] knowledge of Macau, spreading and cultivating the national spirit, loving the country and Macau' (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 635). This particular curriculum, however, begins with a statement that one purpose of the Chinese language within Macau is 'to improve the basic quality of local citizens and the global competitiveness of Macau' (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 635). To this end, the 'essential ideas' section lists four basic points about the senior secondary CMI curriculum:

(1) Fully improve the quality of Chinese language for secondary students, establishing a permanent learning base;

(2) Expand students' cultural horizons, promoting their integral development;

(3) Promote active and autonomous learning, forming the capacity for self-learning; and

(4)   To be concerned with the characteristics of individuality and life planning of students, satisfying the requirements of their personal development. (Macau SAR Government 2017a, pp. 635–36)

The curriculum includes 9 curricular objectives that are primarily related to the development of proficiency in the Chinese language (and, as with the primary and junior secondary curricula, the 'moral, aesthetic and humanistic development' that is presumed to develop from the language). In particular, the senior secondary curriculum specifies that students should develop appreciation for Chinese calligraphy and the classical works of Chinese culture. These emphases are not unique to the senior secondary curriculum, but somewhat more prominently displayed within the 'curricular objectives' section. The curriculum also lists160 basic academic achievements (BAA) that students are expected to learn throughout their study of Chinese. The curricular objectives and the BAA place equal weight of emphasis on Cantonese and Putonghua, and stress that students should have a good understanding of *both* traditional and simplified Chinese characters. The following is a brief sample of the senior secondary BAA:

A-1-2   Be able to listen with interest to different opinions;

…

Learning group A-4: Understanding Cantonese and Mandarin.

A-4-1   To be able to understand daily life and various types of media in Cantonese, as well as the recitation of texts in Cantonese manuals;

A-4-2   Be able to understand Mandarin in everyday communication;

A-4-3   Be able to enjoy recitation, storytelling, theatre and other artistic interpretations in Cantonese and Mandarin;

…

B-2-6   Be able to use rhetorical and body language consciously, emphasising expression;

…

B-5-3   Clearly determine the objective of debate and be able to participate in a debate with an attitude of dialogue on an equal footing, achieving the objective of clearly distinguishing between facts and reasons;

B-5-4   In debate, endeavour to judge each party's points of view and objectives, raising their own points of view with reasons and arguments, as well as to learn from the opinions of others, so that they serve as a reference, improving their knowledge through debate.

…

C-3-1   Know at least 3500 usual Chinese characters and of these know how to write at least 3000;

…

D-9-7   Know by heart at least 16 excellent old poems and 10 excellent classic articles.

…

E-8-5   During writing be able to demonstrate a correct attitude of behaviour in society, developing a good interpersonal relationship. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, pp. 638–649).

Unique to the Chinese BAA are a set of 'general purpose' BAA. Within the CMI there are 18 of these intended learning outcomes organised around five different types of achievement:

(1) Reinforce the integration of Chinese language learning;

(2) Autonomous organisation of Chinese language study activities;

(3) Articulate the Chinese language studies and develop social practice activities;

(4) Mastering basic interview methods; and

(5) Being able to produce simple study reports. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, pp. 649–650.

While some of these final 18 general purpose BAA do indeed seem to respond to general purposes, others (e.g., interview methods) promote somewhat more specific vocational skills.

The senior secondary curriculum for Chinese as a second language (CSL), as was noted for both the primary and junior secondary CSL curricula, is primarily intended for the 1,436 students in EMI school sections that are subsidised by DSEJ tuition payments. These students represent 12.4% of the senior secondary students enrolled in government or subsidised schools. It should be noted again that in the 2018/2019 academic year there were *no* senior secondary students enrolled in Portuguese MOI government school sections.

Despite the fact that the majority of these students are ethnically Chinese, the CSL curriculum develops a tone of appreciation and acceptance of cultural differences. The 'essential ideas' section states a very common refrain about the convergence of cultures in Macau when it observes that 'Macau is a multicultural society with a predominantly Chinese population, being a meeting point for Eastern and Western culture[8] and international talent' (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 650). Like the CMI curriculum, the CSL curriculum also advocates for the teaching of Chinese as a method to enhance 'the overall competitiveness of Macau' (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 651). The 'essential ideas' section includes the following four points about CSL education:

(1) Emphasise the communication function in the learning of the Chinese language and generally improve the quality of the Chinese language in secondary school students;

(2) Guide students to deepen their knowledge of Chinese culture, expanding the cultural horizon, promoting understanding and multicultural harmony, ensuring the students' global development;

(3) Address cultural differences and students' study needs, improve curriculum flexibility and adaptation, offering a Chinese language curriculum suitable for students with different cultural backgrounds and development goals; and

(4) Promote active learning and on-your-own initiative, forming the autonomous learning capacity of students with relevance to general studies, preparing for further studies or job search. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, pp. 651–652)

The development of the first point addresses the variety of Chinese to be used, as clarified in discussion related to the first point:

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[8]The Portuguese terms used here are '*cultura oriental e ocidental*' literally 'oriental and occidental culture'. The Chinese terms used, 中西文化 *Zhong Xi wenhua* 'Chinese [and] Western culture', are notably less parochial.

> Cantonese is the everyday language spoken by the people of Macau, while Mandarin is the common language of our country and one of the working languages of the United Nations. The curriculum aims to encourage students to use Cantonese and Mandarin for easy communication, to demand knowledge of Chinese characters legally standardised in the People's Republic of China, the correct use of traditional characters and the mastery of regularised written language, increasing globally the ability to use Chinese in terms of language and writing. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 651).

As expected, both Cantonese *and* Putonghua (and both traditional *and* simplified Chinese characters) are given status as official Chinese languages within the curriculum. Like many other parts of the CSL curriculum, the opening sentences in the paragraph above have been copied from the CMI's 'essential ideas', but with an interesting change. The CMI curriculum had stated that 'Cantonese is the everyday language spoken by the people of Macau, while Mandarin is the common language of China and one of the working languages of the United Nations' (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 635). Whereas the CMI curriculum had identified Putonghua as the language *of China*, the CSL curriculum changes this to 'our country'[9] (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 651). It was noted in the discussion of the CSL curricula for primary and junior secondary that the CSL curricula appear to be aimed for students who do not necessarily know Chinese—students for whom Chinese truly is a second language. However, this is not entirely consistent with the learning situation of the majority of students enrolled in EMI school sections; most of those students *are* first language speakers of Chinese. In this particular case, the CMI curriculum places distance between Macau and China, referring to the country in a normal colloquial way as simply 'China'.[10] The CMI document suggests that China is a territory that is linguistically and administratively distinct from Macau and that, while residence in Macau might be symbolised by the use of Cantonese, citizenship within China entails the use of Putonghua. However, the CMI curriculum does not promote one language over the other, and the ultimate suggestion in the CMI curriculum is that *residency is equivalent to citizenship*. But this is not true for many of the non-Chinese citizens who are temporary/permanent residents of Macau. They may hold residency in the territory, even permanent residency, without holding PRC citizenship. The change from 'China' in the CMI curriculum to 'our country' in the CSL curriculum forces the reader in the CSL curriculum to acknowledge their citizenship in a way that the CMI curriculum takes Chinese citizenship for granted. If the student, studying in an EMI school section and taking the CSL curriculum is a Chinese citizen, then the text invites them to acknowledge the citizenship within the collective 'we' of 'our country' and undertake the study of Putonghua as is the normal responsibility of a citizen. If, however, the student is *not* a Chinese citizen, the 'we' of 'our country' becomes an exclusionary 'we'. Non-Chinese citizens may feel the value of learning Putonghua,

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[9]The Portuguese text reads *o mandarim é a língua commum do nosso país*… 'Mandarin is the common language of our country' and the Chinese text reads 普通話是我國的通用語言 *Putonghua shi wo guo de tongyong yuyan* 'Putonghua is our country's common language'.

[10]The Portuguese term used is *China* 'China' and the Chinese term used is 中國 *Zhongguo* 'China'. These terms are colloquial terms for the country and contrast with the more formal terms in Portuguese *Replubíca Popular da China* and Chinese 中華人民共和國 *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo* 'People's Republic of China'.

even in Macau where it is not used as an everyday language, but the responsibility to study Putonghua will not derive from their residency in Macau or their citizenship. While the change may appear to be a minor alteration and one that the drafters of the legislation were not fully aware of while writing the 'essential ideas' section, the change of reference from 'China' to 'our country' in the Chinese curricula was somewhat foreshadowed by the PSL curricula's use of the language of alterity. In the same way that the PSL curricula borrow the language of alterity to refer to the 'other' as Portuguese speakers, the CSL curriculum text defines the 'self' as citizens of China. Together, these two curricula—the Portuguese as a second language (PSL) curriculum and the Chinese as a second language (CSL) curriculum—suggest a consistent message to all students, whether they are enrolled in CMI, EMI or PMI schools: the Chinese language symbolises membership within the Macau and PRC community, while Portuguese is the former language of colonialism and 'the Other'.

The CSL curriculum continues to specify eight curricular objectives, which correspond to the nine objectives of the CMI curriculum; the CMI curricular objective to promote aesthetic appreciation of the Chinese language alone is not included within the CSL curriculum. The senior secondary CSL curriculum also includes 174 BAA related the learning of Cantonese *or* Putonghua, as demonstrated by a brief excerpt of the BAA:

A-4-1   Be able to understand Cantonese or Mandarin in everyday communication;

A-4-2   Be able to enjoy recitation, storytelling, theatre and other artistic interpretations in Cantonese or Mandarin.

…

B-7-1   Be able to produce a short narrative, descriptive and dissertative speech in Cantonese or Mandarin;

B-7-2   Be able to converse freely in Cantonese or relatively fluent Mandarin.

…

C-3-1   Know at least 3000 usual Chinese characters and of these know how to write at least 2500;

…

D-2-1   Be able to recite poetry and essays in Cantonese or Mandarin in a correct, fluent and emotional way;

D-2-2   Be able to recite a text in Cantonese or Mandarin naturally in front of an audience. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, pp. 655–658)

The only reference to the use of either traditional or simplified characters is the BAA coded as C-2–3, which expects graduates to 'understand the basic knowledge of conversion between traditional and simplified characters' (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 657). Otherwise, the senior secondary curriculum for CSL gives schools the flexibility to choose to teach either traditional or simplified Chinese characters, Cantonese or Putonghua.

Both the CMI and CSL curricula use the word 'modern' to characterise the learning and usefulness of the Chinese language. The Portuguese term *moderna/-os* appears 9 times within the two senior secondary curricula and five of these uses are in the 'essential ideas' section to describe the role of Chinese in Macau schools (twice in the CMI curriculum and three times in the CSL curriculum). Likewise, the Chinese term 现代 *xiandai* 'modern' is used in parallel texts with the Portuguese

term. 'Modern' is used in the curricula to describe the importance of Chinese to *cidade moderna* / 現代都市 *xiandai dushi* 'a modern city', *cidadãos modernos* / 現代公民 *xiandai gongmin* 'modern citizens' and *sociedade moderna* / 現代社會 *xiandai shehui* 'modern society'. And the study of Chinese proposed within these two curricula is of *linguagem Chinesa moderna* / 現代漢語 *xiandai Hanyu* 'modern Chinese language' using *métodos modernos de estudo* / 現代學習方式 *xiandai xuexi fangfa* 'modern methods of study'. Although the terms for *modern* are used in other curricula (e.g., Information Technology, Social and Humanities Education, Moral and Civic Education, etc.), they are not used in any of the other four language-related curricula. The CMI and CSL curricula are the only language-teaching curricula that use the term *modern* in any way. Although Chinese-language texts might be classical and Chinese characters might be traditional, the CMI and CSL curricula presents Chinese language instruction as a modern pedagogy for a modern language, which is essential to building a modern citizenry and modern society within Macau, which is, of course, presented in the Chinese curricula as a modern city. This characterisation of the standardised variety of Chinese, Putonghua, contrasts sharply with the dominant language of Macau, Cantonese. For example, the simplified Chinese characters that are promoted within all the Chinese curricula contrast with the 'traditional Chinese characters' used in Macau. Traditional characters could also be described as *complex characters* (and this is one way to refer to them in Chinese)[11]; such a term would effectively contrast with 'simplified'. However, the use of the word 'traditional' more directly contrasts with the term 'modern' and suggests that, whereas Cantonese is 'traditional', Putonghua is 'modern'. Likewise, by extension one could argue that the characterisations of languages are intended to suggest that Cantonese is a quaint reminder of an older traditional Chinese culture, but that Putonghua represent the modern China that is more typically regarded as 'rising' (Kang 2009).

7.4.2.2   English

Macau's educational law provides curricula for the study of the English as a medium of instruction (EMI) and as a second language (ESL). Both of the English-language curricula stress the importance of English to internationalisation of the territory and the 'ability to respond to challenges of future economic, social and various development in Macau' (Macao SAR Government 2019a, p. 671 and p. 677). The EMI curriculum promotes four points as 'essential ideas' related to the use of English as an MOI:

(1)   Take care of individual differences in the level of English language among students;

(2)   Consider the needs of students with regard to English, both in pursuit of studies and in employment;

(3)   Consider the different functions of the English language in today's society; and

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[11]In fact, the Chinese terms used within the curricular documents to describe 'traditional' and 'simplified' characters are 繁 *fan* 'complex' and 簡 *jian* 'simple'. These terms are translated into Portuguese as *tradicionais* 'traditional' and *simplificados* 'simplified'.

(4)   Support students in learning other subjects in English. (Macao SAR Government
        2017a, p. 672)

The final point is not included within the ESL curriculum, but the first and third
points are copied verbatim from the EMI curriculum into the ESL curriculum. The
second point is also a nearly-verbatim copy of the EMI point, but changes the word
'employment' to 'professional activity' (Macau SAR Government 2017, p. 672).[12]
Similarly, the five curricular objectives listed within the ESL curriculum are identical
to those in the EMI curriculum:

(1)   Extend the knowledge, techniques, skills, tastes attitudes and values that students
        already have;

(2)   Provide students with an English base for further study of employment[13];

(3)   In addition to offering quality teaching, teach students language learning strategies,
        so that each one can develop the potential of English learning;

(4)   Understand the differences in terms of level and ability of English language among
        students of complementary secondary education, helping each one to fully develop
        their potential; and

(5)   In addition to teaching grammar and lexicon among other linguistic components, the
        English language should be a means for communication, obtaining knowledge and
        exchanging experiences. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, pp. 672–673 and p. 678)

The EMI curriculum adds the following four curricular objectives:

(6)   Reinforce students' ability to use English in the learning of other subjects;

(7)   Introduce students to literary texts to develop their language appreciation skills;

(8)   Guide students to have contact with various texts and to establish a relationship
        between themselves, texts and the world, in order to develop intellectual, emotional,
        socio-cultural capacities and awareness of the world; and

(9)   Allow students to provide personal and analytical responses to information and literary
        texts. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 673)

While some of these curricular objectives are difficult to assess (for example, how
would teachers know that a student has or doesn't have sufficient 'awareness of
the world'), most are clearly focussed on the improvement of English language
proficiency.

The legal documents are only available in Chinese and Portuguese, but DSEJ
provides translations (for reference only) of the EMI and ESL basic academic
achievements (BAA). As with the primary and junior secondary curricula, the law
specifies more BAA for school sections using English as the MOI than for schools

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[12]In Portuguese the EMI curriculum's *o emprego* 'employment' is changed to the ESL curriculum's
actividade profissional 'professional activity'. In Chinese the EMI and ESL curricula use the same
term, 就業 *jiuye* 'employment'. This kind of change, one which is made only in the Portuguese
version of the law with no reflected change in the Chinese version, is rare.

[13]Again, the ESL curriculum substitutes the term *professional activity* for *employment* here within
the Portuguese version the law.

teaching English as a second language. Table 7.9 lists the number of BAA for each of the four language skills in addition to a number of descriptive features of the EMI and ESL curricula. There are 78 BAA for students attending EMI schools and 68 for students studying English in CMI or PMI schools. There is, however, very little overlap between the BAA specified for students in EMI and non-EMI schools. The following are a sampling of the BAA from non-EMI schools (i.e., the ESL curriculum):

A-6	Recognise the setting and follow the plot of a simple oral narrative;
…	
A-18	Understand the importance of listening for different purposes.
…	
B-6	Recount personal experiences in an organized manner;
…	
B-13	Give clear instructions on a simple process in daily life;
…	
C-5	Read a text at an appropriate pace with accuracy and fluency to achieve the purpose of reading;
…	
C-16	Make inferences and draw conclusions based on information supplied and implied;
…	
D-5	Establish cohesion through lexical and grammatical choices;
…	
D-10	Appreciate teacher feedback and use it to improve own writing; (DSEJ 2017g, pp. 3–6).

Alternatively, the following are sample BAA for senior secondary students in EMI schools:

A-3	Understand more formal language commonly used in a range of school subjects;
…	
A-17	Understand speakers who use a range of accents and varieties of English;
…	
B-3	Demonstrate a higher level of pronunciation accuracy;
…	
B-9	Organise and deliver a short presentation on a more complex topic with ideas logically sequenced;
…	
B-19	Show respect for, and understanding of, diverse and opposing opinions during a discussion;
…	
C-6	Read intensively and extensively a wide range of texts for various purposes;
…	
C-12	Make effective use of an English-English dictionary for advanced learners to assist reading and understanding how new words are used in texts;

…
C-21   Recognize common literary devices and explain the deeper meaning conveyed by
        the author and the impact made on the readers;
…
D-3   Use a wide range of techniques to create structured and coherent texts;
…
D-10   Avoid plagiarism by paraphrasing ideas from source texts effectively and
        accurately;
…
D-15   Write with increasing fluency, confidence and motivation. (DSEJ 2017f, pp. 4–7).

DSEJ also distributes two curriculum guides for senior secondary teachers: one for those teaching in EMI schools (DSEJ 2018b) and one for those teaching in non-EMI schools (DSEJ 2018a). 'Forwards' sections of the two documents are identical, as are the tables of contents and subjects covered within the documents. Differences between them are generated by explanations about the BAA for the two types of schools. In the end, the curriculum guide for EMI schools is 199 pages in length, and the guide for non-EMI schools is 180 pages in length with only minor differences between the two guides.

7.4.2.3   Portuguese

It has been noted throughout this volume that the PMI curricula apply to a very small number of students in primary and secondary government school sections: in the 2018/2019 academic year there were 36 students enrolled in the government's primary PMI section and 11 students enrolled in the junior secondary section. In the 2018/2019 academic year there were *no* students enrolled in the government's senior secondary section. Since this curriculum came into effect in the 2017/2018 school year, no students have been enrolled in senior secondary sections using the PMI curriculum.

The opening sentence of the senior secondary PMI curriculum refers to the number of other languages in Macau as the central *problem* to the use of Portuguese as an MOI in Macau:

> For the elaboration of the requirements of academic competences of the Portuguese language in complementary secondary education, we start from the analysis of the problem inherent to the teaching of Portuguese as a teaching language in the MSAR and its peculiar status in a multicultural society, in which several languages coexist—English, Cantonese, Mandarin and Portuguese. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 665).

Nevertheless, the PMI curriculum specifies 7 curricular objectives and 38 BAA. The curricular objects are cited here in full:

(1)   Increase students' communication skills, promoting linguistic cognitive and metacog-
       nitive processes;

(2)   Guide students toward the development of reading competence, which contributes to
       the correct production, written and oral, of various types of texts;

(3) To awaken, in the students, sensitivity and capacity for aesthetic appreciation;

(4) Broaden the students' knowledge base, providing them, simultaneously, with autonomous and guided learning opportunities;

(5) Promote the integral development of students and their capacity for permanent learning;

(6) Cultivate, in students, positive values and attitudes towards the Other and the world, leading to the development of intercultural awareness and competence; and

(7) Guide students towards a conscious choice of their future development. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, pp. 665–666)

It was noted that the primary and junior secondary PSL curricula had borrowed from the discourse of alterity to frame Portuguese speakers as 'other' (see 6.5.2.3 and 7.4.1.3 respectively). While this discourse was not introduced into either the primary or junior secondary curricula for PMI school sections, the language of alterity *is* borrowed here into the senior secondary curriculum for PMI schools and consequently potentially distances Chinese learners of Portuguese from the Portuguese residents in the territory.

The PMI curricula at all levels (primary, junior and senior secondary) propose a set of BAA that are classified as 'explicit knowledge' of the language. These intended learning outcomes assume that students *will not* have competence (i.e., native ability) in Portuguese and should know how more about the structure of the language. Within the senior secondary PMI curriculum there are more of these 'explicit knowledge' BAA than any other type of BAA; they account for one-third of all the BAA. The 13 'explicit knowledge' BAA from the senior secondary PMI curriculum are cited here in entirety:

E-1   Identify the main stages of the formation and evolution of the Portuguese language;

E-2   Identify the phonological processes of insertion, suppression and alteration;

E-3   Indicate the geographical distribution of the Portuguese language in the world;

E-4   Mastering rules of oral and written syntax;

E-5   Use phrasal semantic rules;

E-6   Apply coordination and subordination processes;

E-7   Master lexical enrichment processes, namely through word formation and the construction of lexical and semantic fields;

E-8   Recognise principles and intentions of textual construction, as well as textual coherence and cohesion mechanisms;

E-9   Structure texts, according to different typologies, such as narrative, descriptive, argumentative and explanatory;

E-10 Use discourse analysis techniques;

E-11 Master principles of pragmatics and textual linguistics;

E-12 Correlate texts and intratext;

E-13 Distinguish, semantically, the categories of tense, mood and aspect. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 667).

While many of these skills would be subsumed as language proficiency, others like the knowledge of the history of Portuguese or identifying Portuguese-speaking countries on a map, would not.

As has been noted with the primary and junior secondary PSL curricula, the senior secondary curriculum is intended for students in government and subsidised EMI and CMI school sections. The senior secondary PSL curriculum repeats the familiar refrain that the learning of Portuguese is intended to improve 'civic values such as participation, pluralism and openness in multilingual and multicultural spaces' (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 668). The rationale for the study of Portuguese as a second language (i.e., a school subject) is much the same as the rationale for studying German, French or Japanese: the activity is 'an added value for social well-being and a solid basis for a sustainable knowledge economy' (Macao SAR Government 2017a, pp. 667–668). While curricular objectives and BAA support the improvement of Portuguese language proficiency, the standards of achievement for PSL are somewhat lower than the standards encoded within either the CSL or ESL curricula. Finally, the PSL curriculum includes five BAA related to the improvement of 'intercultural competence', and these are cited here in entirety:

E-1 Compare festivals and holidays in Portugal with those in Macau;

E-2 Identify, based on diverse texts and supports, the main characteristics of the geography of Portugal and China;

E-3 Compare everyday life, leisure and traditional histories in Portugal with those in Macau;

E-4 Relate data from the Portuguese cultural heritage with those from other cultures;

E-5 Meet renowned Portuguese personalities and others represented in Macau. (Macao SAR Government 2017a, p. 671).

As oddly as the discourse of alterity was borrowing into the senior secondary PMI curriculum, references to Portuguese speakers as 'other' are missing from the senior secondary PSL curriculum.

7.5 Conclusion

Moody (2019) argued that two discourse traditions within the Macau SAR government had found expression within the territory's first Language Education Policy (LEP), namely the discourse of integration and the discourse of autonomy. Each of these discourses can be clearly identified within the curricula for language instruction in the primary and senior secondary levels. Chinese, especially within the teaching of Putonghua and simplified Chinese characters, contributes to the discourse of integration. The curricula remind students that, as citizens of the People's Republic of China, they have the duty to learn Chinese and thereby gain access to the moral and patriotic values represented by the language. Although Portuguese had reinforced the discourse of autonomy within the LEP document (DSEJ 2017c), Portuguese is

distanced within the curricula by invoking the language of alterity to describe the goals and objectives of Portuguese second language learning. This language is not associated with the curriculum for the learning of Portuguese as a medium of instruction (PMI), and there are several possible reasons for this. First, the PMI secondary curriculum applies to a very small group of Macau students, 11 in all. Although the government consistently voices its commitment to Portuguese-language education within the territory, the fact of the matter is that very few students are enrolled in PMI classes, and the overwhelming majority (95.6%) of them are enrolled in the private *Escola Portuguesa de Macau* (EPM) 'Macau Portuguese School'. Since the government curricula only applies to government and subsidised schools, and, since no subsidised schools teach in the MOI of Portuguese, the PMI curricula only applies to the 11 students enrolled in the *Escola Secundária Luso-Chinesa de Luís Gonzago Gomes.* It seems, therefore, that, despite government commitments to maintaining a base of Portuguese-language talent within the territory, there is little commitment to the language from the local community. The language of the PSL curricula (in both junior and senior primary and in junior secondary) borrows from the discourse of alterity to describe Portuguese speakers as 'the Other'. While it not necessarily the intention of the curriculum to isolate and stigmatise speakers of Portuguese within the territory, this is one likely effect of alterity discourse. Portuguese speakers are not treated as equal and legitimate citizens of the territory, but are instead treated as 'the Other'. Conversely, Chinese is treated as the language of 'the self' (in contradistinction to 'the Other'). Whereas Portuguese, as either a medium of instruction or a second language, had been hypothesised as a language capability that could potentially function to strengthen the discourse of autonomy in the LEP, the curriculum laws instead attempt to further isolate the language from the experience of Macau secondary students as a legitimate and authentic language of Macau.

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Chapter 8
Language in Higher Education: Local Needs and Global Desires

8.1 Introduction

Macau is frequently described by visitors and residents alike as a city of contrasts: a place where East meets West; traditional Chinese culture survives in modern settings; quiet European medieval-style streets wind and lead into some of the world's most exciting casinos. These are just a few of the contrasts that are frequently suggested to describe Macau. These contrasts are useful in that they distil the typical experiences of the city and express those experiences into a form that will guide how visitors are likely to view the territory for the first time. And this is a very important function for a city whose GDP depends on tourism, entertainment and gaming. But these pithy characterisations of Macau also provide a glimpse of one central characteristic of the city and its culture, its pluralism. Many factors have contributed to form the pluralistic society described in this volume. Macau was offered as a place of shelter to a small group of Portuguese traders in 1553, but it very quickly grew became an international centre of Catholic activity in Asia and of European trade with India, Japan, the Malay Peninsula and, of course, China. From the earliest founding of the city local identity was formed in distinction to several other highly multilingual and multicultural societies, all of which influenced the development of local languages and educational traditions. Even the name of the city testifies to the cultural and linguistic plurality of the territory, whether you call it *Oumun* (Cantonese), *Aomen* (Putonghua), *Macao* or *Macau*, all are possible names and each has it legitimate and authentic uses within the territory.

The 1999 handover of Macau to administration as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China has contributed a new chapter in the narrative of the city's endeavours to compose an identity that is socio-culturally and linguistically distinct from its neighbours. The Chinese city that borders Macau to the north, the Zhuhai Special Economic Zone (SEZ), is at least three times larger than Macau (Zhuhai Government 2007) and, although most of us who live in Macau tend to think of Zhuhai as an outlying suburb of the much older and more international Macau, there is good reason to consider that Macau is in fact the outlying

suburb. On a clear day Hong Kong's Lantau island is clearly visible from Macau and transportation to that larger and more internationalised city is both quick and inexpensive. There are also numerous daily air flights to locations within the PRC or Taiwan, and these locations are some of the easiest trips to make outside of Macau. How, then, is Macau to preserve and protect its pluralistic culture and plurilingual traditions when it is surrounded by larger more powerful neighbours that neither understand nor appreciate the contrasts that have developed in the territory over the past 500 years?

Previous chapters have examined the multilingual history that predates post-handover Macau society. Recent efforts to clarify the government's role in specifying curricula for pre-primary, primary and secondary schools have prompted the government to devise policies that essentially define four spoken and three written languages as the official languages of education in Macau: Cantonese and Putonghua are two spoken varieties of Chinese, whose written variety, along with English and Portuguese (spoken and written) are each planned for within the official education policy laws. This chapter will examine how each of these languages has found a place of expression within higher education curricula in the city, and how these expressions may continue to shape the linguistic ecology of the territory.

In a post-script to Bernard Mellor's (1988) memoir of the founding of the University of East Asia, Peter Ng, the businessman who originally conceived of the university, wrote about the urgent needs facing the University of Macau:

> First, it [the Macau government] will have to re-double its efforts toward the preservation of the cultural heritage of Macau. Secondly, it will have to educate and train local people for the administration of Macau so that an orderly transition can take place and stability and prosperity of the region can be maintained... (116, ellipsis in original).
>
> …
>
> The Founder and the sponsors[1] hold the firm view that Macau being small, a university there must be capable of attracting students and faculty from the rest of East Asia and other parts of the world in order to grow, and indeed to survive: and such an institution would reflect the character of Macau itself as a multilingual and multicultural society. (117).

Ng articulates the challenges of establishing University education within a small community. Institutions must balance a response to local educational needs with the institutional need to grow through international expansion. Finding the necessary balance between locally-oriented programmes intensifies the need to find balance between local and foreign students and staff. These connections between Macau, China, South East Asia and Europe, however, have defined the multiculturalism and multilingualism of the territory and they continue to shape the mission of higher (i.e., tertiary) education in Macau as well as the languages used to deliver tertiary education.

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[1] According to Mellor (1988), the 'Founder' in his volume refers to a company called Ricci Island West Ltd., which was incorporated in Hong Kong in 1975 and registered in Macau in 1980 (p. 6). The 'sponsors' refer to the three business partners who started Ricci Island West Ltd, namely Peter Ng, Edward Woo and K. K. Wong (p. 12).

8.2   Language Ecology

This volume has made extensive use of the reports of the Macau census and by-census, which are conducted every five years. The *Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos* (DSEC) 'Statistics and Census Service' documents report on residents' use of *usual language*. Although each speaker is presumed to have one (and only one) usual language, the usual language does not necessarily equate with speakers' first language, although for most people a usual language would likely also be their first language. In the report of the 2011 census DSEC introduced two new features to their reporting of languages. Previously, additional languages had been reported as multilingual abilities. For example, the census report would list the number of speakers who spoke one additional language to their usual language. The number of residents who speak Cantonese and English, for example, would be reported along with other possible combinations of two languages: Cantonese and Putonghua, English and Portuguese, etc. Older census reports would then continue, after listing these different types of bilingualism, to then report the number of individuals who could speak *two* languages in addition to the usual language in various possible combinations. Next, reports would list combinations of usual language and *three* additional languages, and usual language and *four* additional languages. The organisation of reported data and the emphasis of the census and by-census reports before 2011, therefore, was on degrees and types of multilingualism—not on the actual languages used within the territory. The 2011 census report introduced the reporting of *language ability* as the first of the two new features presented in the 2011 report (DSEC 2012). Although we no longer know how many speakers claim to speak two, three, or more languages in addition to their usual language, we now know that in 2011 485,061 individuals claimed an ability to speak Cantonese as either a usual or additional language, and that this number represents 90.0% of Macau's population at that time.[2] Similarly, we know that 113,803 (21.1%) individuals claimed an ability to speak English as either a usual or an additional language in 2011. The second feature introduced in the reporting of language ability in the 2011 census report was language ability by age groups. Because age groups are in increments of 3–4-years of age, 5–9-years of age, 10–14-years of age, etc., age groups have been taken in this volume to represent the language abilities of various groups of students: pre-primary, primary, junior secondary and senior secondary.

The age group of 20–24-year-olds will be used to represent the language ecology of university students. Unlike pre-primary, primary and secondary education, tertiary[3] education is not mandatory and the number of residents within this age group within the Macau general population is much larger than the number of university students. Whereas the description of Macau's linguistic ecology for pre-primary, primary and

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[2] Actually, this represents 90.0% of Macau's population age 3 and older. Usual or additional language data for residents under the age of 3 are not reported in the census or by-census.

[3] The term *tertiary* is frequently used in Hong Kong and Macau to refer to any course of study leading to a higher degree, including, but not limited to, bachelor's degree, master's degree, MPhil, PhD, etc.

secondary students based census data was closely aligned with students enrolled in those grade levels, the description of 20–24-year-olds may not represent the ecology of enrolled university students as closely. Nevertheless, the group does illustrate the range and prevalence of linguistic competencies and proficiencies that exist within the population that Macau university students are drawn from, and analysis will suggest how this group has changed since the 1999 handover of Macau to Chinese administration. Table 8.1 lists the reported usual languages and language abilities (i.e., languages used as either a usual or additional language) for Macau residents aged 20 to 24. Within the population census DSEC defines the resident population as three groups of individuals residing in the territory at the time of the census: residents (either temporary or permanent), non-resident workers and foreign students. Needless to say, the foreign student population largely falls within this category of 20–24-year-olds.

Table 8.1 Usual Language and Total Language Ability of Tertiary-Aged Speakers, 1996–2016

	1996	2001	2006	2011		2016	
	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Usual language	Language ability*	Usual language	Language ability*
Chinese varieties							
Cantonese	25,344 (78.5%)	22,757 (81.6%)	36,587 (83.8%)	46,562 (86.2%)	89.9%	39,582 (81.9%)	81.5%
Putonghua	1,022 (3.2%)	1,333 (4.8%)	3,185 (7.3%)	4,438 (8.2%)	60.9%	6,493 (13.4%)	74.0%
Hokkien	–	2,632 (9.4%)	2,358 (5.4%)	2,073 (3.8%)	6.6%	–	
Other Chinese	5,908 (18.3%)	1,165 (4.2%)	1,513 (3.5%)	933 (1.7%)	6.5%	2,265 (4.8%)	14.7%
Chinese Sub-total	**32,274 (100%)**	**27,887 (100%)**	**43,643 (100%)**	**54,006 (100%)**		**48,340 (100%)**	
Chinese Languages	32,274 (96.3%)	27,887 (96.2%)	43,643 (98.1%)	54,006 (96.6%)		48,340 (91.6%)	
Portuguese	454 (1.4%)	168 (0.6%)	124 (0.3%)	192 (0.3%)	1.7%	133 (0.3%)	2.0%
English	180 (0.5%)	203 (0.7%)	322 (0.7%)	559 (1.0%)	33.1%	1,143 (2.2%)	48.1%
Tagalog	–	280 (0.9%)	415 (0.9%)	724 (1.3%)	1.3%	1,481 (2.8%)	3.7%
Other	620 (1.8%)	436 (1.5%)	473 (1.1%)	563 (1.0%)	3.7%	1,676 (3.2%)	8.1%
TOTAL	**33,528 (100%)**	**28,974 (100%)**	**44,977 (100%)**	**56,044 (100%)**		**52,773 (100%)**	

Sources DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

*Data about additional languages used are not reported by age group until 2011 and 2016

Cantonese is the dominant language for university-aged residents of Macau, but the proportion of Cantonese speakers has not been very stable for this group over the past 20 years. At the time of the handover the proportion of Cantonese speakers was probably hovering at about 75%. Although the number of Cantonese speakers in 2016 had increased by 56% from 25,344 in 1996 to 39,582, the proportion of Cantonese speakers within the territory did not change much, decreasing slightly from 75.6% in 1996 to 75.0% in 2016. The 56% increase in the number of Cantonese speakers from 1996 to 2016 represents an annual growth rate of 2.8%, which is the same as the average growth rate for the age group, and only slightly less than the 3.0% rate of growth for the entire population. The rate of growth for Putonghua speakers in this age group appears as one of the more dramatic demographic changes in Macau. While there were only 1,022 Putonghua speakers in 1996, this number increase by 535% to 6,493 in 2016, representing an annual growth rate of 26.8%. The number of individuals who use Putonghua as their usual language has increased at a rate that is 10 times faster than the rate of increase of Cantonese speakers.

Although Putonghua is used as a usual language by just 13.4% of the population of tertiary-aged residents, the proportion of the population claiming an ability to use Putonghua, as either a usual or additional language, increased by 14.4% from 34,142 individuals in 2011 to 39,045 in 2016. In 2016 74.0% of the population of 20–24-year-olds claimed some ability to use Putonghua, and this number is likely to increase in the future as secondary schools implement more explicit Putonghua language training within Chinese medium of instruction (CMI) education and in the Chinese second language (CSL) curricula implemented in non-CMI secondary schools. More importantly, this increase in the use of Putonghua in Macau suggests a shifting pattern away from what Li (2005) described as the use of Cantonese as a lingua franca within the territory. In 2016 there were 39,582 residents within the age group of the tertiary-aged population who claimed to use Cantonese as a usual language, but only 3,452 residents from this age group claimed to use the language as an additional language. This means that 9,739 (73.8%) of the 13,191 non-Cantonese-speaking residents in this age group use a language other than Cantonese in daily communication. Interestingly, the number of non-Cantonese speaking 20–24-year-olds is nearly the identical to the 9,352 foreign students who were in the territory during the 2016 census. Zhang (2013, 2020) reports on a study of foreign students at the University of Macau (where a large proportion of Macau's foreign students are enrolled) and their reliance on Putonghua as a lingua franca. These students are sojourners in Macau with little opportunity to remain in the territory after completing their tertiary degrees and, as such, have potentially little impact on the long-term linguistic ecology of the territory.

It was noted that for secondary school-aged residents, the number of Hokkien and other Chinese-speakers had remained relatively stable over the 20 years after the handover at about 3.0–4.2% of the population. This is not the case for the 20–24-year-olds over the past twenty years in Macau, and the decline in the proportion of speakers of other Chinese languages, including Hokkien, is graphically represented in Fig. 8.1. Hokkien is only recorded within the reports of the 2001 and 2011 censuses and the 2006 by-census. Presumably, Hokkien speakers would have been counted
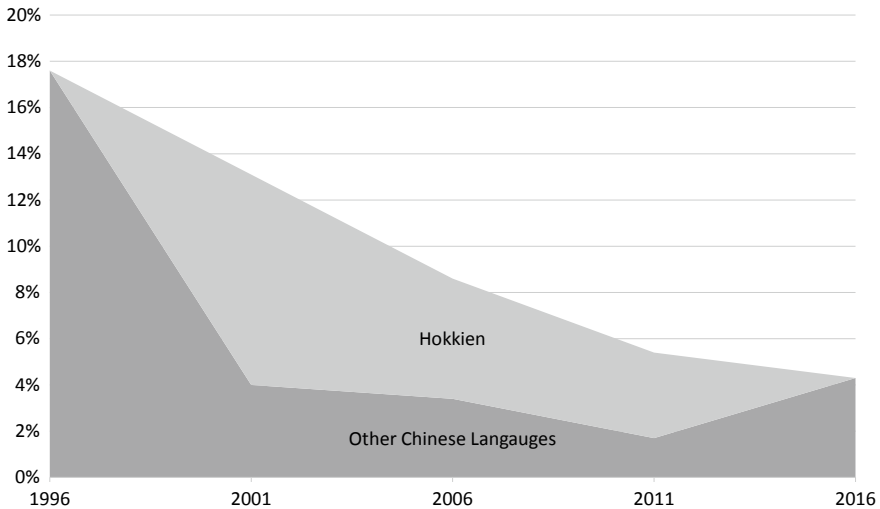
Fig. 8.1   Proportion of Tertiary-Age Population with Ability to Use Hokkien and/or Other Chinese Languages (Usual or Additional Language), 1996–2016. *Sources* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

as speakers of 'other Chinese languages' in the reports of the 1996 and 2016 by-censuses. Nevertheless, the number of speakers of other Chinese languages made up 17.6% of Macau's population of 20–24-year-olds in 1996, just three years before the handover to PRC administration. That proportion began to fall dramatically and consistently over the next 20 years to just 4.3% in 2016. The decline in the number of speakers of other Chinese languages (including Hokkien) has also been just as dramatic; although there were 5,908 speakers in the age group in 1996, only 2,265 were counted in 2016, suggesting that 61.7% of the young speakers of these languages no longer spoke them. The implications of this loss to the language ecology will likely take several more years to fully understand, however, because 14.7% of the 20–24-year-olds reported that they retained an ability to speak another Chinese language in 2016. Nevertheless, when these languages are no longer used as a usual language—especially as the language used at home—they become more difficult to pass onto younger generations. The loss of Chinese variation in Macau, therefore, may be inevitable.

The proportion of the 20–24-year-olds who speak either Portuguese or English as a usual language is understandably small. Although 1.4% of young adults in this age group reported speaking Portuguese as their usual language in the 1996 by-census (three years before the 1999 handover), this number dropped relatively quickly to 0.7% in the 2001 census, and then to 0.3% in the 2006 by-census. Since 2006 the proportion of young adults who speak Portuguese as a usual language has remained relatively stable at 0.3% of the age group. However, during the 20 years since the 1999 handover the proportion of young adults who speak English as a usual language has slightly, but gradually, increased from 1.8% in 1996 to 2.2% in 2016. Changes
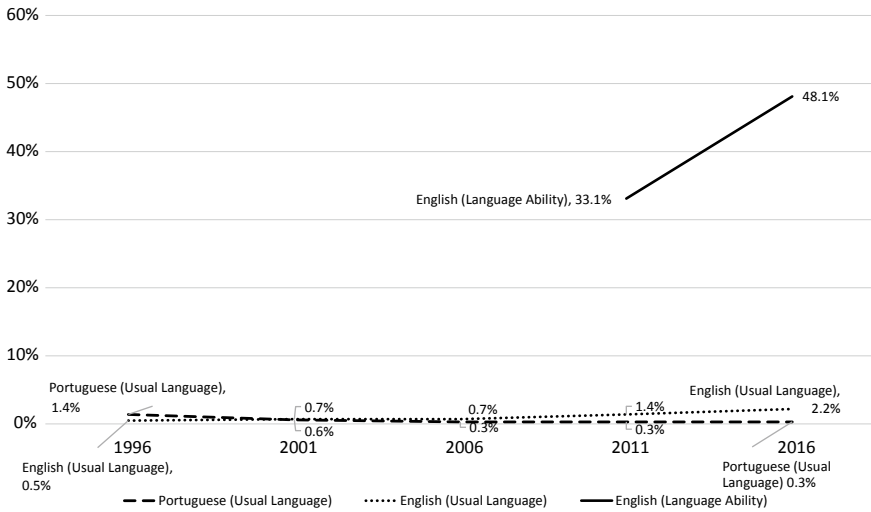
Fig. 8.2 Proportion of Tertiary-Age Population with Ability to Use English and/or Portuguese (Usual or Additional Language), 1996–2016. *Sources* DSEC (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

in the actual number of speakers within this age group are much more dramatic: in 1996 there were 454 Portuguese speakers (usual language) and 180 English speakers (usual language) in this age group; by 2016 the number of Portuguese speakers had shrunk to 133 (−70.7%) and the number of English speakers had grown to 1,143 (535.0%). More importantly, however, is the change in the percentage of individuals who are able to use English as an additional language. The 2016 by-census estimates that 48.1% of 20–24-year-olds are able to use English as an additional language, and that this proportion has increased from 33.1% in the 2011 census (Fig. 8.2)

8.3 Economic Development and Growth of Higher Education

It was noted in Chapter 5 that since the 1999 handover of Macau to PRC administration two notable social developments had occurred: the overall levels of education, including the number of residents with higher education degrees, have increased and the overall proportion of the population working in middle-class jobs has increased. Figure 8.3 illustrates the increase in the number of degrees from higher education within the territory between the 2011 census and the 2016 by-census. While 15.8% of the population had higher education degrees in 2011, the number of degree holders increased by 57.5% over the five-year period from 74,418 individuals holding tertiary degrees to 117,188 individuals. Overall, 22.6% of Macau's resident population held degrees of higher education in 2016.

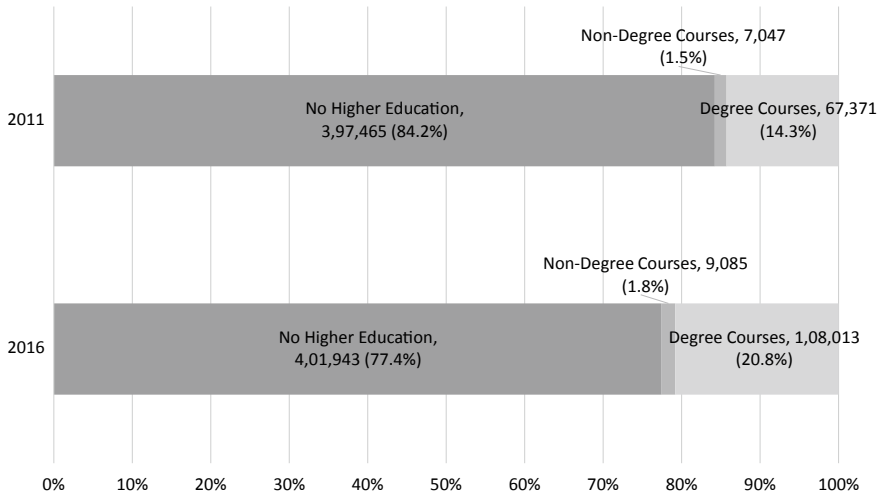**Fig. 8.3** Residents with Tertiary Education Degrees, 2011–2016. *Source* DSEC (2012, 2017)

The relationship between the growth in the number of individuals holding degrees of higher learning and the development of the middle class can be demonstrated by examining the types of jobs that tertiary degree-holding individuals have entered. Table 5.1 lists the growth of nine occupations reported over the past 15 years of censuses and by-censuses in Macau and divides these occupations into those that might traditionally be considered white-collar and blue-collar jobs. Table 8.2 lists the number of workers in each of the nine occupations who have degrees of higher education and the proportion, represented as a percentage, of all workers in the occupation. For example, in 2001 there were 4,013 holders of higher educational (i.e., tertiary) degrees employed as 'legislators, senior officials, directors or managers', and these 4,013 represented 28.8% of the total number of individuals employed within this occupation, 13, 948 (see Table 5.1 for the total figure). By 2016 the number of employees in the occupation who held a degree of higher learning had increased by 444% to 17, 807, and this represented 58.5% of the 30,435 individuals employed in this occupation (see Table 5.1 for the total figure).

In the 2016 by-census DSEC estimated that 123,047 individuals within Macau's employed population of 391,464 individuals held degrees of higher education, representing 31.4% of the employed population. While there was growth in the number of tertiary degree holders across every occupation within the survey, the gains among employees in blue-collar jobs could be considered somewhat greater than the gains among employees in white-collar jobs. Whereas the number of white-collar employees holding tertiary degrees increased by 342% from 25,404 to 112, 261, the number of blue-collar employees increased by 552% from 1,655 to 10,786. However, the overall growth of Macau's job market from 2001 to 2016 more than doubled the number of white-collar jobs; during the 15-year period white-collar jobs increased by 123% from 124,171 jobs to 276,537. The growth in blue-collar jobs, from 90,888

Table 8.2 Proportion of Employed Population Holding Degrees of Higher (i.e., Tertiary) Education in Nine Occupations, 2001–2016

	2001	2006	2011	2016
White-Collar Occupations				
Legislators, Senior Officials, Directors and Managers	28.8%	37.0%	41.3%	58.5%
Professionals	89.7%	96.4%	89.5%	92.2%
Technicians or Associate Professionals	38.5%	44.5%	52.4%	61.8%
Clerks	13.5%	17.8%	23.7%	31.8%
Service or Sales Workers	3.9%	5.9%	11.8%	19.5%
White Collar Employed Population	**20.5%**	**24.9%**	**30.5%**	**40.6%**
Blue-Collar Occupations				
Skilled Workers of Agriculture and Fishery	0.8%	0.6%	2.8%	5.3%
Craft Workers	2.1%	2.8%	5.2%	7.6%
Plant and Machine Operators	0.7%	1.1%	1.2%	4.5%
Unskilled Workers	2.5%	3.6%	6.0%	11.6%
Blue Collar Employed Population	**1.8%**	**2.7%**	**5.0%**	**9.4%**
TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION	**12.6%**	**16.7%**	**23.3%**	**31.4%**

Source DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

to 114,927, represented a much more modest increase of 26%. Furthermore, during the 15-year period 176,405 jobs were added to the economy, where 86,857 (49.2%) were white-collar jobs taken by graduates of higher education. Figure 8.4 charts the
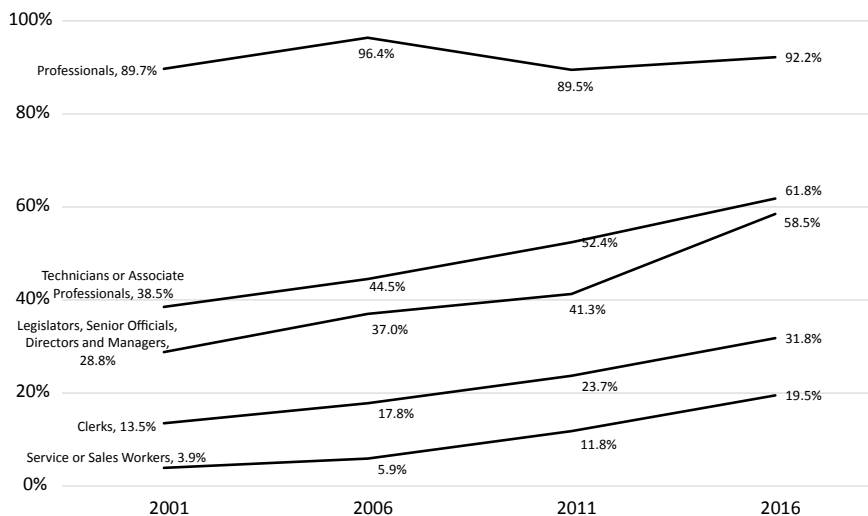

Fig. 8.4 Tertiary Education Degrees in White-Collar Jobs, 2001–2016. *Source* DSEC (2002, 2007, 2012, 2017)

growth in the proportion of individuals in white-collar jobs holding degrees of higher education. While the proportion of 'professionals' who hold degrees of higher education has remained more or less stable over the past 15 years, every other occupation has increased by at least 15.6 points ('service or sales workers') to as much as 29.7 points ('legislators, senior officials, directors and managers').

While much of the growth in residents holding degrees of higher education has come from the employment of non-resident workers, the foundation for the increase in the number of tertiary degrees has been among the permanent/temporary residents of Macau, which DSEC calls the 'local population'. Between 2011 and 2016 the local population increased by 51,763 individuals, representing a modest increase of 10.7%, or 2.1% annual growth. The number of non-resident workers, however, increased by 42,160 individuals, representing a more substantial increase of 67.7%, or 13.5% annual growth. During the same period, from 2011 to 2016, Macau hired 12,598 non-resident workers in Macau who held degrees of higher education, representing a 29.8% increase. Alternatively, the increase in the number of temporary/permanent residents holding degrees of higher education was 40,642 from 2011 to 2016, representing a 49.7% increase among temporary/permanent residents during the 5-year period. Although the rate of population growth from non-resident workers was about 6 times higher during these five years, the rate of growth of higher education degrees from the local population (i.e., temporary/permanent residents) was 167% higher than the rate of growth from non-resident workers. While growth in the resident population holding tertiary degrees has, in part, been boosted by hiring non-resident workers within several high-growth industries, the 'local population' of temporary/permanent residents is more directly responsible for the growth in the number of degrees in the territory.

Figure 8.5 illustrates what disciplines the 108,013 tertiary degrees held by Macau temporary/permanent residents are in. As might be expected, Business Administration is the most common degree, making up 30.4% of all bachelor's degrees and 31.4% of all degrees of higher education. Generally speaking, the proportion of disciplines represented by bachelor's degrees is generally reflective of the overall number of tertiary degrees. The higher proportion of degrees in Business Administration among *all* tertiary degrees (in comparison to the proportion of undergraduate degrees) suggests that post-graduate education in Business Administration is also robust. Not surprisingly, educational attainments in Education, Law and Engineering, Manufacturing and Architecture show similar robust support of post-graduate education within the territory. For example, undergraduate degrees in Education make up 5.6% of the number of undergraduate degrees and Education degrees account for 5.9% of all tertiary degrees. Likewise, undergraduate degrees in Law make up 4.2% of undergraduate degrees and the discipline accounts for 4.3% of all degrees; undergraduate degrees in Engineering, Manufacturing and Architecture make up 7.7% of undergraduate degrees and the discipline accounts for 7.8% of all degrees. The disciplines that demonstrate the greatest difference between the proportion of undergraduate versus all tertiary degrees are for two service industry-oriented disciplines: Tourism, Hotel and Catering Services and Other Services. Whereas undergraduate
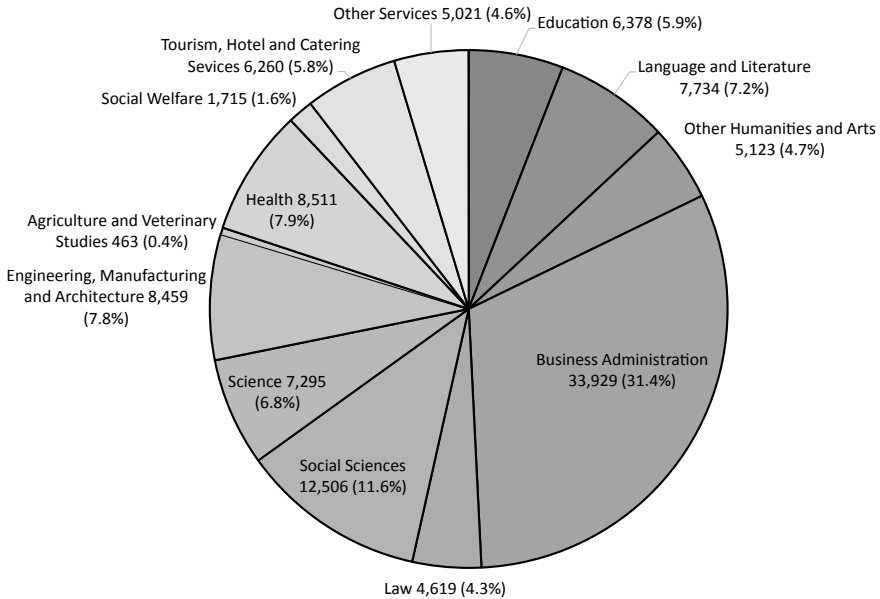
Fig. 8.5 Disciplines of All Tertiary Degrees Held by the Local Population (Temporary/Permanent Residents), 2016. *Source* DSEC (2017)

degrees in Tourism, Hotel and Catering Services account for 6.4% of undergraduate degrees, the discipline only accounts for 5.8% of all tertiary degrees within the territory. Likewise, undergraduate degrees in Other Services represent 5.1% of all undergraduate degrees, but the discipline only accounts for 4.6% of all tertiary degrees. While there are employment opportunities for graduates with undergraduate degrees in these disciplines, the support for postgraduate study within these disciplines is understandably weaker. Although the differences are not very large, they may signify the importance of recent growth in the hotel/casino integrated resort economy and the relatively new degrees that have been created to cater to those industries.

8.4 Overview of Higher Education Institutions

Degrees of higher education in Macau come from a variety of institutions and from a wide variety of locations. Figure 8.6 illustrates the distribution of where the 123,047 degrees of higher learning held within Macau's population were obtained. 24.8% of higher education degrees were obtained from institutions within the People's Republic of China, and 8.9% were obtained from institutions in Taiwan. Without doubt, however, the largest proportion of tertiary degrees, 39.5%, are obtained from institutions within Macau.

Fig. 8.6 Location of Macau's Tertiary Education Degrees, 2016. *Source* DSEC (2017)
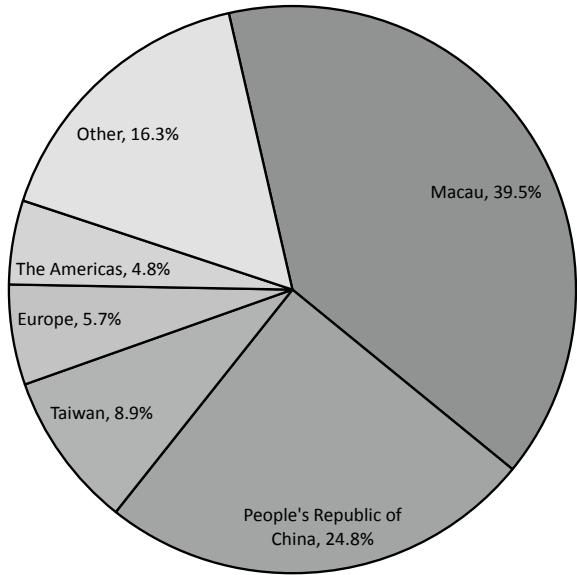
Macau's institutions of higher learning are relatively young and none were established before 1981. The most recent published data on institutions of higher learning within Macau is available from the *Direcção dos Serviços do Ensino Superior* (DSES) 'Higher Education Bureau' (DSES 2020) and the summary of data from the 2016/2017 academic year (i.e., the most recent publication, as of mid-2020) reports that a total of 32,750 students were enrolled in tertiary programmes at 10 institutions of higher learning (DSES 2016). Table 8.3 lists the 10 tertiary institutes

Table 8.3 Institutions of Higher Learning in Macau

Year Established	Institution	Status
1981	University of Macau	Public
1988	Academy of Public Security Forces	Public
1991	Macao Polytechnic Institute	Public
1992	City University of Macau (formerly Asia International Open University [Macau])	Private
1995	Institute for Tourism Studies	Public
1996	University of Saint Joseph (formerly Inter-University Institute)	Private
1999	Kiang Wu Nursing College of Macau	Private
2000	Macau Institute of Management	Private
2000	Macau University of Science and Technology	Private
2001	Macau Millennium College	Private

Source GAES (2006), DSES (2020)

in Macau by the date of their founding and describes their status as either public (i.e., owned by the Macau government) or private.

These institutions of higher learning aim to fulfil a number of different educational goals for the territory and, increasingly, for the neighbouring region, too. Of the 32,750 students who were registered within an institution of higher learning in 2016, DSES reports that 54.7% are what they call 'local students', which DSES defines as 'holding Macao resident identity cards' (DSES 2016, p. 19).[4] These local students are essentially temporary/permanent residents of Macau and they do not require student visas in order to live and attend classes at university. The remaining 14,821 students enrolled in higher education, therefore, are 'non-local students' and require a foreign student visa to reside in Macau. The number of registered foreign students, however, is substantially higher (58.5%) than DSEC's estimation of 9,352 foreign students in Macau during the 2016 by-census. While it is possible that the by-census has inaccurately estimated the number of foreign students in Macau,[5] it seems at least equally possible that many of these non-local students would be registered (and, perhaps, paying fees) while not actually residing in Macau. Of the 14,821 non-local students in Macau, 13,949 (94.1%) are from the People's Republic of China.

Table 8.4 offers some basic descriptive statistics about the sizes of the 10 tertiary institutions within Macau, including each institution's total enrolment as well as their post-graduate and undergraduate enrolments. The two largest institutions, each with just over 10,000 students enrolled, are the publicly-owned University of Macau (UM) and the privately-owned Macau University of Science and Technology (MUST). Table 8.4 also attempts to demonstrate the degree that the various institutions of higher education are internationalised by their student body and their teaching staff. The proportion of non-local students and non-local teaching staff refer to individuals who are *not* temporary/permanent residents at the institutions. For example, 36.81% of students at the University of Macau are non-local, meaning that the remaining 63.19% of students hold temporary/permanent residency in Macau. Conversely, 75.63% of students enrolled at the Macau University of Science and Technology are non-local, meaning that only 24.37% of students are temporary/permanent residents of Macau. Likewise, 19.63% of teaching staff at the University of Macau are non-local and would be allowed to work in Macau as non-resident workers, whereas 58.4% of staff at the Macau University of Science and Technology are non-local. Non-local students and staff require government issued non-resident work permits (for staff) or foreign student visas (for students) in order to live and work in Macau. Finally, Table 8.4 also lists the percentage of teaching staff holding PhDs. This section will examine publicly available descriptions for each of the four public and the six private institutions of higher education.

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[4]This definition of 'local students' would correspond to DSEC's definition of the 'local population'. Resident identity cards are only help by temporary and permanent residents.

[5]The by-census, unlike the census, is an estimate of population demographics based upon sampling of the population.

Table 8.4 Descriptive Statistics of Higher Education Institutions, 2016/2017 Academic Year

	Total enrolment	Postgraduate enrolment	Undergraduate enrolment	Non-local students	Non-local teaching staff	Teaching Staff with PhD
Public Institutions						
Academy of Public Security Forces	37	–	37	5.41%	–	–
Institute for Tourism Studies	1,576	–	1,576	16.43%	20.69%	41.05%
Macao Polytechnic Institute	3,144	–	3144	17.30%	11.79%	63.91%
University of Macau	10,029	3,479	6,550	36.81%	19.63%	85.69%
Private Institutions						
City University of Macau	5,834	1,373	4,461	39.80%	56.17%	68.34%
Kiang Wu Nursing College	297	10	287	11.11%	23.08%	40.00%
Macau Institute of Management	215	–	215	4.19%	33.33%	22.22%
Macau Millennium College	182	–	182	2.75%	57.14%	66.67%
Macau University of Science and Technology	10,373	2,772	7,601	75.63%	58.40%	59.67%
University of Saint Joseph	1,063	318	745	10.35%	11.43%	48.15%

Source DSES (2016)

8.4.1   Public Institutions of Higher Education

Macau's four public institutions of higher education are (1) Academy of Public Security Forces, (2) Institute for Tourism Studies, (3) Macao Polytechnic Institute and (4) the University of Macau. The *Escola Superior das Forças de Segurança*
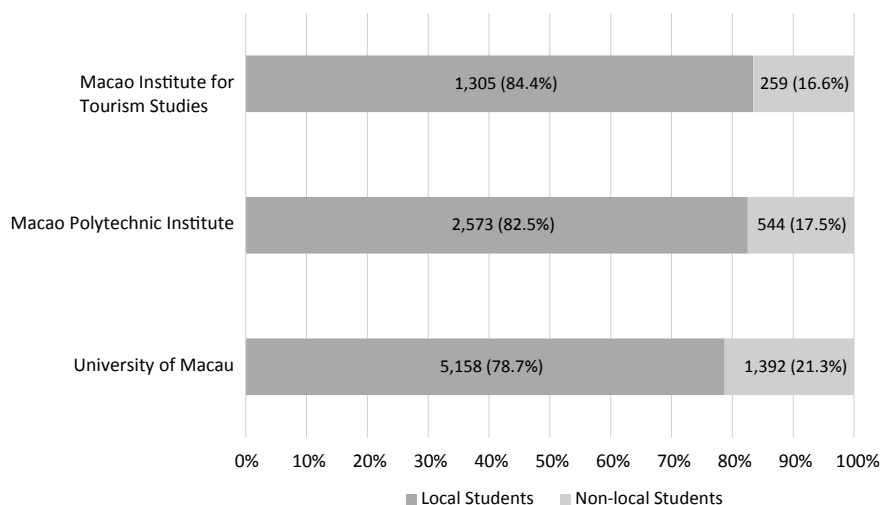
Fig. 8.7 Proportion of Local and Non-local Undergraduate Students at Three Public Tertiary Institutions, 2016/2017 Academic Year. *Source* DSES (2016)

de Macau (ESFSM) 'Academy of Public Security Forces'[6] is a public institution of higher education, but it only offers classes to members of a limited number of municipal institutions, such as the Public Security Police, Judicial Police, Marine Police, Immigration Police, etc. The training courses that it offers are not organized into degrees and admission to the institution, which is essentially a 'police academy', is not open to members of the public in the same way that other institutions of higher learning are open for applications of admission. Therefore, we will not consider this particular institution within the survey of higher education, except to note that ESFSM does provide language instruction in English to various groups of officers and these classes are usually out-sourced to institutions like the University of Macau.

The other three public institutions of higher learning are the *Instituto de Formação Turística de Macau* (IFT) 'Macao Institute for Tourism Studies', the *Instituo Politécnico de Macau* (IPM) 'Macao Polytechnic Institute' and the *Universidade de Macau* (UM) 'University of Macau'. Neither the Macao Institute for Tourism Studies nor the Macao Polytechnic Institute are comprehensive universities: they only offer bachelor-level degrees; the University of Macau is the only public institution that offers graduate-level degrees. Figure 8.7 compares the composition of the undergraduate student bodies of the three institutions. The ratio of local to non-local students at the three institutions is relatively similar, where the Macao Institute for Tourism

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[6] As with all public institutions in Macau, tertiary institutions that are publicly-owned have official names in both Chinese and Portuguese. Each of the four public institutions of higher education also have English names. Acronyms can be formed from any of these names. For example, the Chinese name of the University of Macau 澳門大學 *Oumun Daaihak* (Putonghua *Aomen Daxue)* 'Macau University' is typically shortened to 澳大 *Ou Daai* (Putonghua *Ao Da)*. This volume follows Macau's practice of using acronyms formed from the Portuguese name of the institution.

Bar chart showing proportions of local and non-local students:

- Undergraduate Programmes: 5,158 (78.7%) Local Students; 1,392 (21.3%) Non-local Students
- Post-graduate Certificate/Diploma Programmes: 120 (100%) Local Students
- Master's Programmes: 962 (40%) Local Students; 1,443 (60%) Non-local Students
- PhD Programmes: 97 (10.2%) Local Students; 857 (89.8%) Non-local Students

X-axis: 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

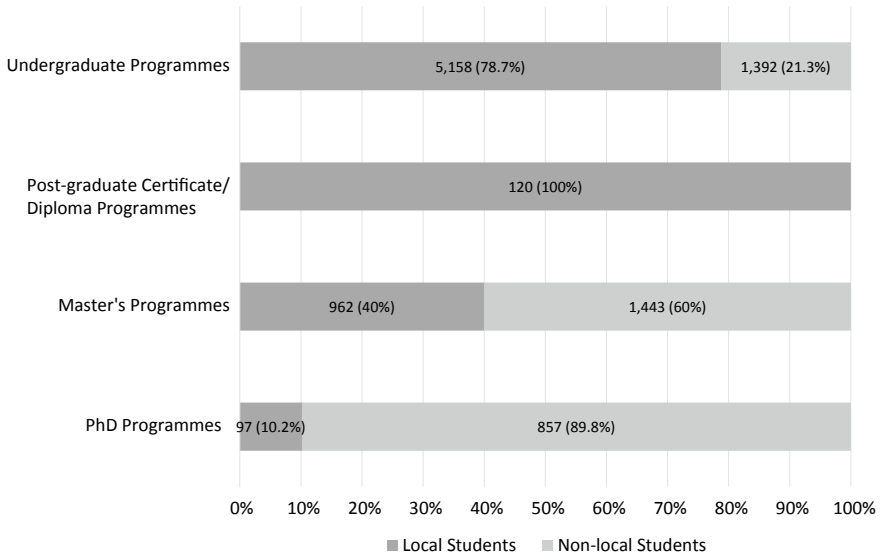Legend: ■ Local Students   ■ Non-local Students

Fig. 8.8 Proportion of Local and Non-local Students at the University of Macau, 2016/2017 Academic Year. *Source* DSES (2016)

Studies and the Macao Polytechnic Institute have 84.4% and 82.5% local students respectively, and the University of Macau has 78.7% local students as undergraduates. These ratios and their similarity are not coincidental, but follow directives from the Macau government to maintain a local character of undergraduate education. This means that at the University of Macau, which has the lowest proportion of local undergraduate students among the three public institutions, we can expect that 81.5% of those local students speak Cantonese, because this is the proportion of Macau's population of 20–24-year olds who are able to speak Cantonese (see Table 8.1). That would also mean that at least 64.2% of the undergraduate student body of the University of Macau is able to speak Cantonese, and the proportion is likely as high as 75%. The restriction on the proportion of non-local undergraduate students admitted to the institutions effectively maintains the local and Cantonese-speaking character of the three institutions, especially in their programmes of undergraduate education.

These restrictions on the proportion of non-local students, however, do not apply to the University of Macau's graduate programmes, where the proportion of non-local students is much higher than in the undergraduate programmes. Figure 8.8 describes the distribution of local and non-local students enrolled in undergraduate programmes, post-graduate certificate/degree programmes,[7] and master's and PhD

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[7]There are several postgraduate certificate/diploma programmes that account for the 120 local students enrolled in them. The Faculty of Law offers a Chinese and Portuguese MOI Postgraduate Diploma in 'Improvement of Legal Practice and Language', which aims to 'train up bilingual jurists in Chinese Language and in Portuguese Language' in addition to a Chinese MOI Postgraduate

programmes. Non-local students outnumber local students 2:1 in master's degree programmes and nearly 90% of PhD students are non-local students.

As was noted earlier, 94.1% of non-local students are from the People's Republic of China. The overall growth of post-graduate education at the University of Macau, therefore, has been driven not by expansion of programmes for local students; there are probably very few programmes that can effectively rely upon enrolment of local Macau students for expansion. Reliance on local enrolments for expansion of new programmes is especially risky because the pool of potential students is extremely limited within the small community and the pool can easily be affected by demographic changes in the territory (e.g., low birth rates, overseas study, etc.). Instead, the University has justified expansion of research-related graduate degrees by recruiting students from the PRC for graduate programmes. Figure 8.9 demonstrates this trend of recruiting non-local students over the past 10 academic years. While there is a general increase in the admission of non-local students in all public institutions, the University of Macau's post-graduate programmes have been the primary catalyst for this trend among public institutions.
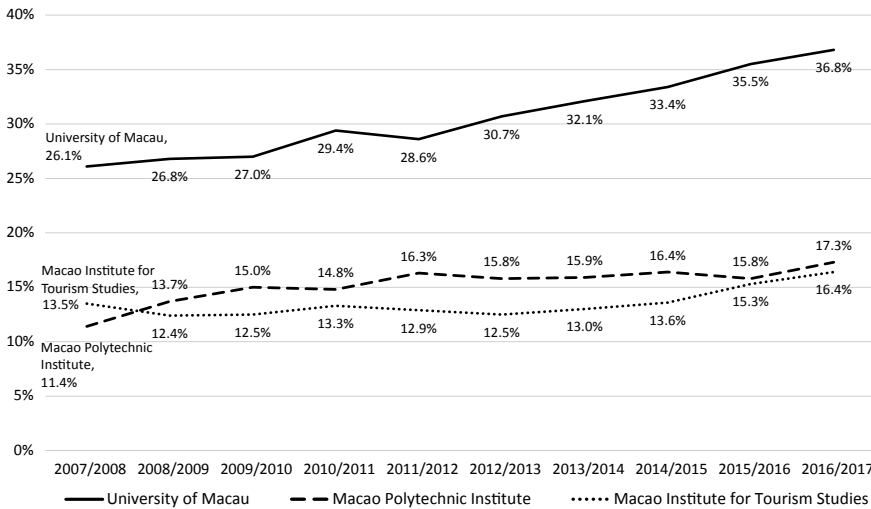
Fig. 8.9 Proportion of Non-local Students in Three Public Tertiary Institutions, 2007–2017. *Source* DSES (2016)

Diploma in 'Introduction to Macao Law', which is designed for students with law degrees in other regions (FLL 2020b). The Faculty of Education also offers a Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma for 'anyone who aspire [sic] to work in education sector' and 'in-service teachers' with specialisation in one of three areas: pre-primary, primary or secondary education (FED 2020a).

8.4.2   Private Institutions of Higher Education

The remaining six institutions of higher education in Macau are privately owned and generally funded by tuition fees. Three of the institutions are, by comparison, small and their educational training objectives are highly focused. The Kiang Wu Nursing College (KWNC) was founded in 1923 and is a subsidiary of the Kiang Wu Hospital Charitable Association (KWNC 2015b). The annual intake of students for their four-year Bachelor of Science in Nursing is 120, but there were only 297 students enrolled in the degree in the 2016/2017 academic year. Although KWNC offers a master's degree in Nursing, DSES reports that the 10 postgraduate students enrolled at the College were in postgraduate diploma programmes (DSES 2016). According to the entrance requirement for the BS in Nursing programme, students must 'demonstrate fluency in both written and spoken English as well as the Chinese languages' (KWNC 2015a). The Macau Institute of Management (MIM) is owned by the *Assoçiãcao de Gestão de Macau* (AGM) 'Macau Management Association', a non-profit organisation that offers training programmes related to improving management skills within the territory and a bachelor's degree in Business Administration within Macau (MIM 2014b).[8] The bachelor's degree is taught 'in Chinese, supported by Chinese and English textbooks' in five majors: accounting, banking and financial management, facility management, human resources management and management (MIM 2014a). In the 2016/2017 academic year DSES reports that MIM had 150 students enrolled in its bachelor's programme, as well as 35 students enrolled in other undergraduate programmes not leading to a bachelor's degree, namely a one-year undergraduate diploma, a two-year associate's degree and a three-year *bacharelato* programme. Finally, Macau Millennium College (MMC) offers two four-year bachelor's degrees in Hospitality Management and Commerce (majoring in Management Studies) and two-year associate's degrees in the same two areas in addition to a third area, Arts (majoring in Comparative Culture) (MMC 2020). DSES reports that in the 2016/2017 academic year MMC enrolled 126 students in the bachelor's programmes and 56 students in the associate's programmes. Although MMC does not specify a medium of instruction for the programmes, the webpages are entirely in Chinese and stress the merging of Chinese with Western business practices in their mission statement. These three tertiary institutions are all focused on undergraduate education for local Macau students. Between the three institutions, only 47 non-local students are enrolled in their undergraduate programmes, accounting for just 6.8% of the combined enrolment of the three institutions (Fig. 8.10).

The remaining three private tertiary institutions, University of Saint Joseph (USJ), City University of Macau (CityU) and Macau University of Science and Technology (MUST), offer graduate programmes to a larger number of non-local students, although in varying degrees of commitment to this model of growth. The University of Saint Joseph is the smallest of the three institutions with only 1,063 students

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[8]MIM also offers a Master of Business Administration in collaboration with Chaminade University of Honolulu, but, according to DSES statistics, no students were enrolled in any postgraduate programmes in the 2016/2017 academic year (DSES 2016).
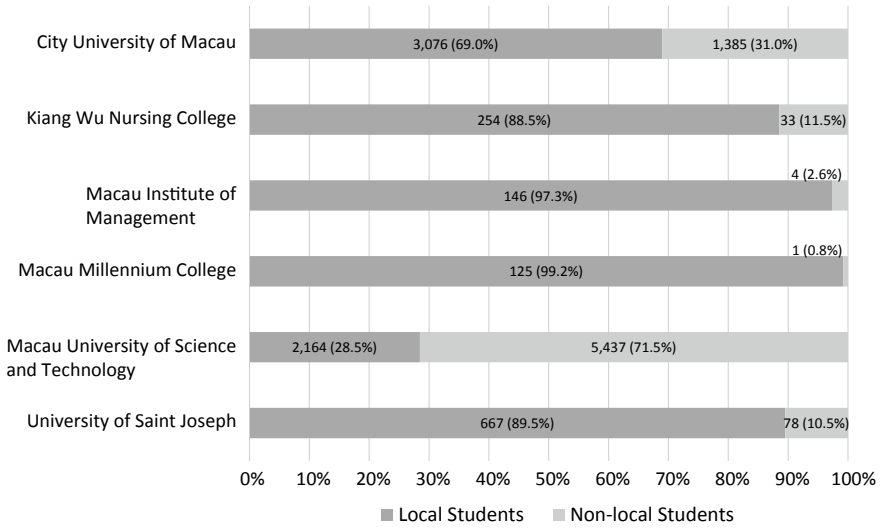
Fig. 8.10 Proportion of Local and Non-local Undergraduate Students at Six Private Tertiary Institutions, 2016/2017 Academic Year. *Source* DSES (2016)

enrolled during the 2016/2017 academic year, and there is a majority of local students within every degree offered by the University, even the PhD. Figure 8.11

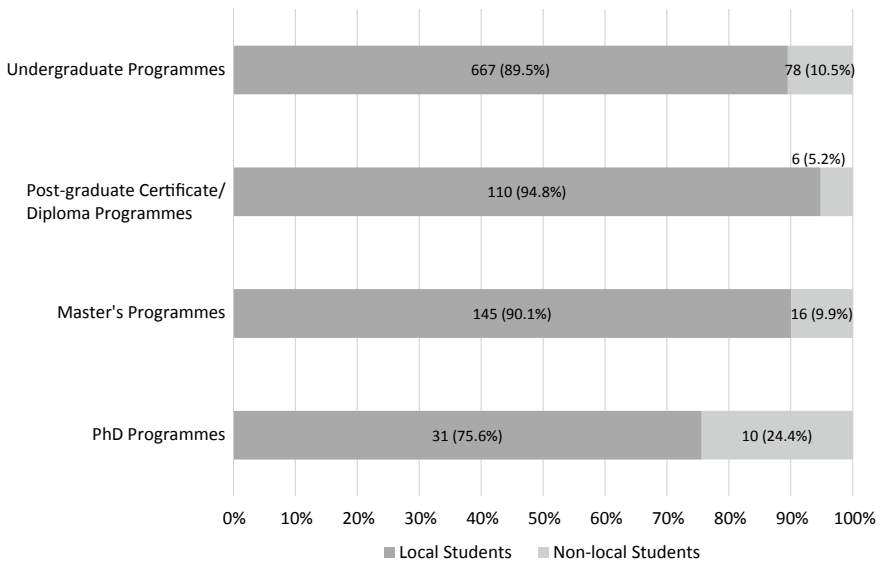**Fig. 8.11** Proportion of Local and Non-local Students at the University of Saint Joseph, 2016/2017 Academic Year. *Source* DSES (2016)

illustrates the distribution of local to non-local students at USJ, where the student body is predominantly local students. The university is a Catholic university with undergraduate degrees in Architecture, Business Administration, Christian Studies, Communication and Media, Design, Digital Cinema, Education, Environmental Science, Fashion Design, Philosophy, Portuguese-Chinese Studies (Language and Culture), Portuguese-Chinese Translation Studies, Psychology and Social Work (USJ 2020). All the degree programmes are taught in the medium of English, except for Portuguese-Chinese Studies (Language and Culture) and Portuguese-Chinese Translation; these two programmes require students to learn within all three mediums of English, Chinese and Portuguese. USJ also offers a range of master's and PhD degrees in areas very similar to the bachelor's degrees. All master's degrees are in English, except for the Master of Education, which uses either English or Chinese as MOI, and the Master of Lusophone studies in Linguistics and Literature, which uses Portuguese. PhD degrees each list three languages—English, Chinese and Portuguese—as possible instructional and research writing languages for the degree. Presumably, a PhD dissertation could be written in any one of the three languages.

The City University of Macau (CityU) is a private institution that currently occupies the former campus of the University of East Asia (UEA) and the University of Macau (CityU 2020b). The CityU website states the institution was 'formerly known as University of East Asia which was established in 1981, was renamed in 2011…' (CityU 2020a), but this is true for at least two other institutions that were formed out of the defunct UEA. The University of Macau (UM) was formed from the UEA's University College and Macau Polytechnic Institute (IPM) was formed from the UEA's Polytechnic College. UEA also had an Open University that was taken into holding by the Macau Foundation when the UEA became insolvent in 1988. The University College was reformed as the University of Macau in 1988 (UM 2015), and the Polytechnic was reformed as the Macau Polytechnic Institute (IPM) in 1991 (IPM 2020), both as publicly funded institutions. In 1988 the UEA's Open University was reformed as the East Asia Open Institute. Peter Ng, one of the UAE's founders, wrote about the purpose of the Open University at the time when it was divested from the University of East Asia:

> Its object is to complement the operations of the University by offering—through distance teaching methods—a wide range of programmes intended for the working adult, supported by weekend seminars and lectures on the University campus. It will not be, as the University is to be, subsidized by public funds: but will aim rather to give the University financial support from the revenues generated through its own programmes. (Mellor 1988, p. 118).

In 1992 the East Asia Open Institute changed its name to the Asia International Open University (Macau) (AIOUM) and ran distance learning programmes (mostly in Business Administration) for non-local students. In the first decade of the 2000s the student enrolment at AIOUM was more than 90% non-local (see Fig. 8.14). In 2010 the AIOUM was purchased by Mr Chan Meng Kam, and local businessman and leader of Macau's Hokkien-speaking community, and in 2011 the name was changed again to City University of Macau. The enrolment in 2010/2011 was 8,445 students and this was immediately reduced to 957 in the 2011/2012 academic year (DSES

2016). Although the local enrolment at CityU increased from 573 to 643 that year, the enrolment of non-local students was reduced to just 314, from 7,872 the previous year. Since 2011, CityU has begun moderately to grow its graduate programmes by recruiting more non-local students, but the undergraduate programmes have continued to enrol about 70% local students annually. The current distribution of local and non-local students at CityU is illustrated in Fig. 8.12.

CityU offers a number of different programmes in three mediums of instruction. Some degrees, like the Bachelor of International Tourism and Management (Chinese) and the Bachelor of International Tourism and Management (English), appear to be parallel degrees in two different MOI. Other programmes are exclusively in Chinese or English. CityU acknowledges that the bachelor's degree programme in Portuguese, *Curso de Licenciartura em Português* (*Norma Portuguesa*), is taught in 'Standard Portuguese' and the Bachelor of Arts in English is taught in English. It seems that courses like College English are required of all students, regardless of the MOI of the programme they enter. Likewise, some of CityU's master's and PhD programmes are offered in a choice of Chinese or English, but most are only offered in Chinese.

The largest tertiary institution in Macau is the Macau University of Science and Technology (MUST). In the 2016/2017 academic year MUST enrolled 10,373 students, which made it just slightly larger than the 10,029 students in the University of Macau (DSES 2016). According to the MUST website, however, in 2019/2020 the institution had grown by 16.8% to 12,119 students (MUST 2020). Figure 8.13 illustrates how MUST has been able to achieve growth during a time when Macau's college-aged population has been in decline: the institution has recruited students from the People's Republic of China to fill the student body in *all* undergraduate and postgraduate degrees. Consequently, the dominant popular perception within Macau
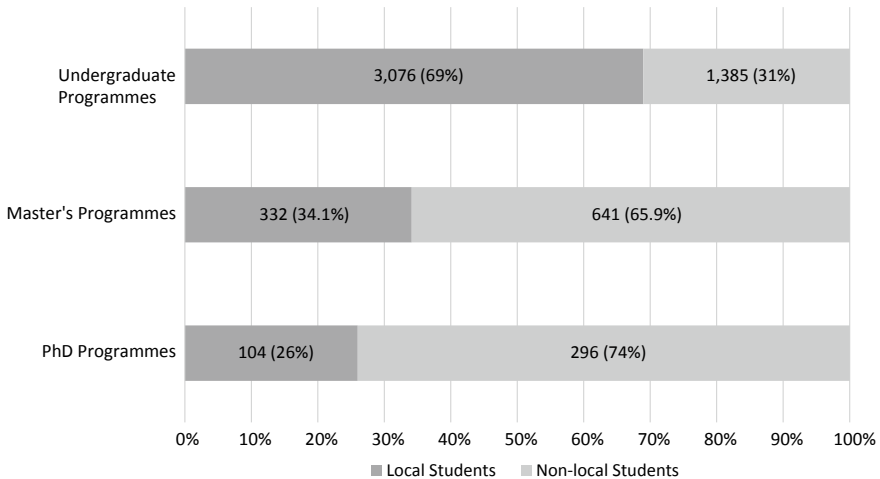

Fig. 8.12 Proportion of Local and Non-local Students at City University of Macau, 2016/2017 Academic Year. *Source* DSES (2016)
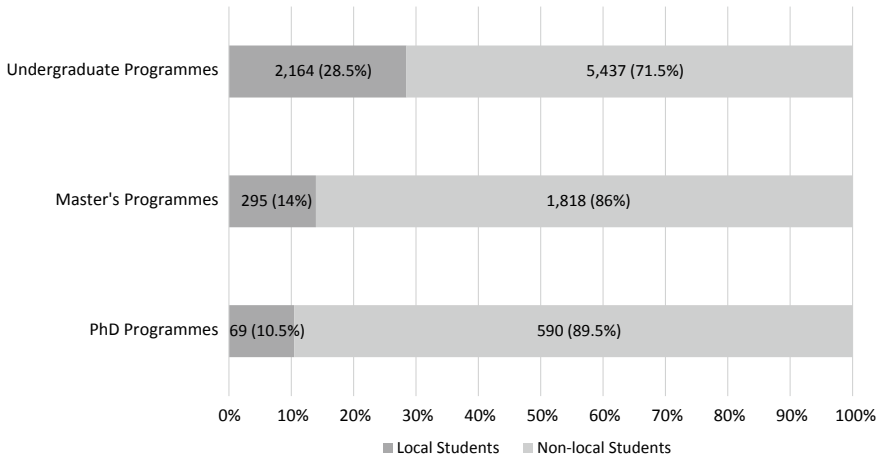
Fig. 8.13 Proportion of Local and Non-local Students at Macau University of Science and Technology, 2016/2017 Academic Year. *Source* DSES (2016)

about the character of the institution is that it is not overly concerned with local needs, interests or commitments. MUST has the highest proportion of non-local students (75.63%) and of non-local staff (58.40%) of any tertiary institutions in Macau, and it is hard to imagine that the institution would have many commitments, or even ability, to support Cantonese-language instruction within the various curricula. It in equally difficult to imagine that MUST students would share much in common linguistically with local students at other tertiary institutions in Macau. Consequently, sociolinguistic studies that have been conducted with MUST students, but then generalise results to characterise the language environment of Macau (most notably Young 2006; Botha 2013), tend to mischaracterise Macau's linguistic ecology as one that more closely resembles a university in the People's Republic of China. Indeed, since 75.63% of students and at least 50% of staff come from the PRC, the most accessible lingua franca at an institutions like MUST is Putonghua. And Botha's (2013) survey of the language used in classroom lectures supports this hypothesis that MUST does not fully teach in English, even when programmes are promoted as EMI programmes. Botha writes that 'in typical English medium classes some 70 per cent of students reported that all or most of their language exposure was to Putonghua' (Botha 2013, p. 471). While these findings from MUST are no real surprise to academics working in *public* EMI-institutions like the University of Macau, the Macao Institute for Tourism Studies or the Macao Polytechnic Institute, the findings do not reflect the attitudes or behaviours of students in institutions that maintain a strong connection to the local community. They are, instead, more reflective of the peculiar nature of MUST.

According to the online pamphlets describing each Faculty's (i.e., College's) programmes, there are only four undergraduate programmes that are offered entirely in English: two programmes in Business, one in Hospitality and Tourism

Management and one in Medicine. However, Botha (2013) examines the under-graduates in Business and Hospitality and Tourism Management to show that these programmes are, in fact, *not* delivered entirely within the medium of English. All other undergraduate programmes are listed as Chinese/English (with the exception of one programme in the International College that is offered in Chinese/English/Portuguese/Spanish). The International College also offers an MA programme that is taught in Chinese/English/Portuguese/Spanish and a PhD in Chinese/English/Portuguese, but every other MA and PhD programme—save two Chinese medium programmes in the Faculty of Law—is listed as Chinese/English. Botha's (2013) questions about EMI instruction at MUST, however, can be extended to these programmes that are listed as requiring both Chinese and English; if 70% of students in programmes that are advertised as EMI feel that most or all of the instruction is given in Putonghua, what will be the dominant MOI in programmes that are advertised as Chinese/English? Since 2011, when MUST began increasing recruitments from the PRC (see Fig. 8.14), and it seems unlikely that English is anything more than a language requirement required for matriculating into and/or graduating from a particular programme.

Figure 8.14 graphs the rates of enrolment of non-local students over the last 10 year for three private tertiary institutions, and there are three very different stories to be told about these three institutions. The University of Saint Joseph has remained the most consistently local institution with the lowest proportions (i.e., 10–11%) of non-local students. In the 2011/2012 academic year the City University of Macau 'rebranded' itself as a local institution by reducing its overall enrolment and slashing
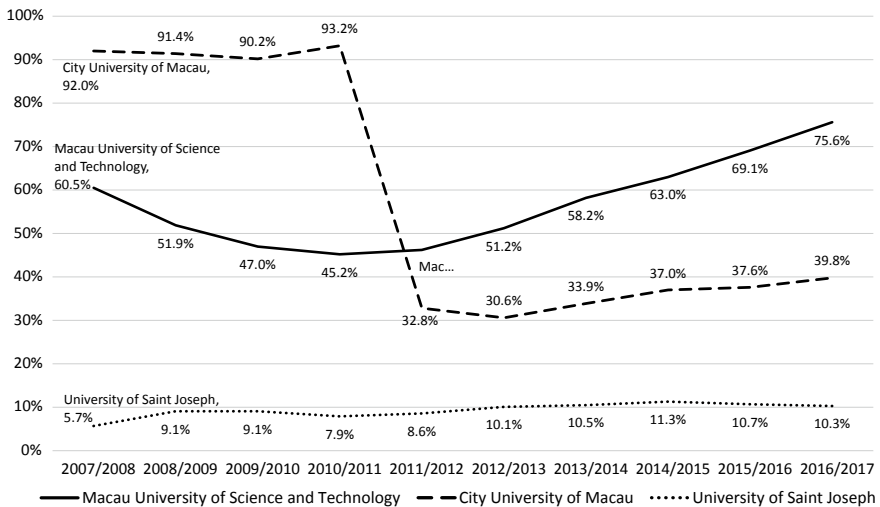

Fig. 8.14 Proportion of Non-local Students in Three Private Tertiary Institutions, 2007–2017. *Source* DSES (2016)

the proportion of non-local students from 93.2% of enrolments to 32.8%.[9] Since 2012/2013 CityU has experienced slow, but consistent growth in non-local enrolments. Finally, while MUST was able to reduce the number of non-local students to 45.2% in the 2010/2011 academic year, further growth has been fuelled almost entirely by non-local enrolments, which probably exceeded 80% of all enrolments in 2020.

8.5 Chinese in Higher Education

There is no strong tradition governing or regulating the use of Chinese in Macau tertiary education. Instead, Macau has always followed the example of Hong Kong by adopting English as the primary MOI. Recent years have seen an increasing number of classes and programmes offered in Chinese from the Macau University of Science and Technology (MUST), but, since enrolments in these programmes are dominated by non-local students from the People's Republic of China, they contribute very little to the educational needs of the local community. Public institutions in Macau use, for the most part, English as the primary medium of instruction, although there may be reason to think that the same factors that have made EMI a 'name only' activity at MUST (Botha 2013) also affects public institutions like the University of Macau. There has not been systematic study of the possible use of Chinese in programmes offered as EMI programmes at the University of Macau or other public institutions, although Gong's (2011) study of Cantonese-English code switching in EMI classes in the Department of Government and Public Administration suggests the prevalence of the phenomenon.

In addition to undergraduate Bachelor of Arts (BA) and postgraduate Master of Arts (MA) and PhD programmes in the Department of Chinese, the University of Macau offers only two undergraduate programmes taught entirely in Chinese: the Faculty of Education (FED) offers a Bachelor of Education in 'Secondary Education—Chinese' to train Chinese teachers for local secondary schools and the Faculty of Law (FLL) offers a Bachelor of Law in 'Chinese Language' to train local jurists to practice Macau law in Chinese. This particular programme in Law complements a Bachelor of Law that is conducted in Chinese and Portuguese, as well as a Bachelor of Law programme conducted entirely in Portuguese. In the same way that these FLL programmes are focused on specific community needs, FED also offers Bachelors of Education in 'Pre-Primary Education' and in 'Primary Education', two degrees in which the 'majority of courses are taught in Chinese' (FED 2020b). Furthermore,

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[9]At the time that CityU changed its recruitment strategy the University of Macau had just committed itself to building and moving to a new campus in Wankam (a.k.a. Putonghua *Hengqin*) Island (see Fig. 2.1). The move left the previous UM campus—a campus originally designed for the University of East Asia—vacant and the government began accepting bids from public and private institutions, including CityU, to occupy the campus. CityU may have sought to rebrand itself as a local institution in part to fair better in the competition to occupy the old University of Macau (University of East Asia) campus.

FED also offers three undergraduate programmes that are advertised as 'Chinese and English' (i.e., Integrated Science—with specialisations in either Physics, Chemistry or Biology) and one programme in 'Secondary Education—Mathematics' that is advertised as 'English and Chinese' (FED 2020b). Finally, the Department of History within the Faculty of Arts and Humanities (FAH) offers a Bachelor of History in which 'English will be the primary language of instruction and Chinese will be supplementary' (FAH 2015). In most cases, the use of Chinese in these programmes usually means that individual courses will be taught in Cantonese, although there might be specific pressures for staff to use Putonghua, instead.

8.6   English in Higher Education

Despite the fact that there are trends and palpable pressures from various stakeholders in society to offer more programmes using Chinese as a medium of instruction at the University of Macau, the fact remains that English is an entry requirement for every academic programme. Furthermore, English is a required course within the general education programme, where most courses are also offered in English. It is, therefore, very difficult (and perhaps impossible) to find an academic programme at the University of Macau (or any public tertiary institution, for that matter) that does not claim to use English in some form or another. And all PhD and master's programmes, with the exception of language programmes in the Department of Chinese or the Department of Portuguese, are conducted with coursework in English and require students to present research (usually in the form of a thesis or dissertation) written in English. This is not only an enduring tradition in tertiary education within the region, but it is frequently taken as one of the quality standards that Macau applies to distinguish degrees granted by institutions in Hong Kong and Macau (and sometimes, Taiwan) from those granted in the People's Republic of China. In their examination of code switching behaviours apparent in the EMI classrooms at the University of Macau, Gong (2011) finds evidence in the attitudes expressed about the code switching that Macau teachers and students value a strong commitment to EMI without the use of other languages. Bolton (2003) has written extensively on the early importance of English in institutions of higher learning in China, and how these traditions came to find refuge and eventually thrive in Hong Kong. In Macau, the tradition of English-language higher education was inherited more directly from Hong Kong. This section will examine how English medium of instruction was introduced in Macau tertiary institutions in the twentieth century and how this tradition responds to challenges in more recent years.

8.6.1   University of East Asia (UEA) and the Origins of EMI Higher Education

The University of East Asia (UEA) was founded in Macau in 1981 by a group of Hong Kong businessmen. The idea for a university in Macau grew out of the need for more institutions of higher learning in Hong Kong. In the 1970s and in much of the 1980s in Hong Kong and Macau there were only two universities—Hong Kong University (HKU) and later Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK)—that could offer higher degrees, despite an increasing demand for more opportunities for higher education. One of the three original founders of the university, Peter Ng Yuk-lun, had proposed to build a private university in Taipo, New Territories, Hong Kong, but the proposal was abandoned when it did not receive support from the Hong Kong government. The founding of a private university to confer degrees in Hong Kong in the 1970s, as it does today, required government approval, and Mr Ng's proposal failed to obtain that approval. However, in the late 1970s the Macau government, not surprisingly, had no regulation that would prohibit opening a new university within the territory. Together with two other businessmen, Edward Woo Pak-hay and Peter Wong King-keung, the three businessmen formed an engineering/land reclamation company called Ricci Island West Ltd. and in 1978 submitted to the Macau government a proposal to establish the University of East Asia. The original proposal was to reclaim the land between the two islands of Taipa and Coloane and build an industrial park. Profit from the development project would then be invested into building and financing the proposed university. The Macau government enthusiastically endorsed the formation of a university, but withheld approval of the reclamation project for further study. The initial motivation in the founding of the UEA, therefore, was to build a profitable business and meet Hong Kong needs for higher degrees. The plans to build the industrial park were never realised and the land between Taipa and Coloane was not reclaimed until *after* the 1999 handover of Macau. That reclaimed area is currently called the 'Cotai Strip' (named by combining the 'Co' of *Coloane* and the 'Tai' of *Taipa*) and has been under constant development since 2003 as a hub of casinos and integrated resorts at a price tag of more than US$ 13 billion.

The University of East Asia opened in 1981 with the initial goal of offering Hong Kong residents another avenue for obtaining higher degrees. The founding of the university also followed the end of the People's Republic of China's Cultural Revolution and the formal 'opening up' policy of trade and cultural/educational exchange that had been established in China just two years earlier in 1979. In his description of the early days of the University of East Asia, the founding chief administrator Bernard Mellor (1988) writes about the original drive to establish the university:

> The objective of the project was to offer university places to qualified overseas Chinese wishing to study in an environment where Chinese cultural tradition has continued to develop in close contact with the mainland, a tradition especially relevant to the official trading policies of the People's Republic of China (PRC). (Mellor 1988, p. 1).

The UEA had, in short, sought to capitalise on the growing interest in China, especially among the ethnic Chinese who were living outside of China.

Consequently, in setting up the university the founding businessmen looked to university models in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, The Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand for guidance. While it was assumed that the student body would primarily be made up of Hong Kong and Macau students, students and teachers from South and South East Asia were also expected to form part of the university community. These expectations had a significant impact upon the choice of a medium of instruction. The choice of English was never questioned from even the earliest planning stages of the university:

> It was the sponsors' [the three founding investors and their director] expressed intention that the language of instruction was to be English and the enrolment not drawn solely from Macau but also from Hong Kong and elsewhere in South and South East Asia. This implied in its turn that the minimum level of entry would approximate to that of the English-medium universities of the region. That is, adequate passes would be expected in those examinations that were set on well-understood advanced level syllabuses, after seven years of secondary studies, by reputed bodies such as those in Hong Kong and Britain, and which were widely respected throughout the English-speaking world. (Mellor 1988, p. 15).

Like many of the private tertiary institutions in Macau today, the UEA was not founded with the primary goal of meeting local Macau educational needs, or developing local talent. Instead, the institution was focused on needs from outside the territory to meet the immediate perceived educational needs of Hong Kong and ethnic Chinese communities in South East Asia.

These early designs of tertiary education at the UEA focussed on educational traditions that had developed in British Hong Kong and other formerly British colonies like Malaysia and Singapore. Entrance examinations and curricula assumed that students had studied an A-level syllabus in preparation, but this put local Macau students who had not had seven years of secondary education at a distinct disadvantage. In fact, many local schools in the early 1980s only offered five years of secondary instruction. In order to solve this problem, the University of East Asia also formed a junior college to offer one or two years of post-secondary English-medium instruction. The junior college, as such, was closed with the UEA's bankruptcy in 1988, but the mission of improving students' basic skills was transferred to the University of Macau's Centre for Pre-University Studies (CPU) for many years. Table 8.5 lists the number of students enrolled in the Junior College by their national origin. Although the number of students enrolled was few, the college was dominated by students from Macau and the institution had the effect of normalising the expectations for senior secondary education throughout the territory. Once senior secondary education was made free and compulsory in 2006, UM's Centre for Pre-University Studies was dissolved.

Mellor (1988) also notes that when the UEA was founded, 'Portuguese was to the third working language, and an Institute of Portuguese Studies was to be set up though not necessarily at the outset' (11). The choice of English as the medium of instruction at the founding of UEA, then, was a response to traditions of English-medium higher education in Hong Kong and other South East Asian universities. Written near the

Table 8.5 Enrolment in the UEA's Junior College by Origin of Students, 1981–1987

	1981/1982	1982/1983	1983/1984	1984/1985	1985/1986	1986/1987
Macau	62 (54.9%)	90 (47.4%)	58 (48.3%)	103 (48.6%)	193 (46.4%)	245 (51.1%)
Hong Kong	48 (42.5%)	99 (52.1%)	62 (51.7%)	104 (49.1%)	157 (37.7%)	152 (31.7%)
China	–	–	–	–	55 (13.2%)	56 (11.7%)
Malaysia	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other	3 (2.7%)	1 (0.5%)	–	5 (2.4%)	11 (2.6%)	26 (5.4%)
Total	**113 (100%)**	**190 (100%)**	**120 (100%)**	**212 (100%)**	**416 (100%)**	**479 (100%)**

Source Mellor (1988)

end of the UEA's existence as a private institution, Mellor (1988) predicted that Chinese medium of instruction would become increasingly popular within Macau and the Pearl River Delta region, but that instruction in English would not entirely disappear. Citing the spirit within which the University was founded he stated that, 'the objective will continue to be a special, bilingual society. It is unlikely that Macau will succeed in following that pattern with Portuguese substituted for English' (101).

Bray (2001) notes that in the 1982/1983 academic year 'Macau students formed only 11.7 per cent of the total students at the UEA, and the proportion fell to 6.6 per cent before rising again to 10.9 per cent in 1986/1987' (145). Enrolment figures for all colleges at the UEA (including the University College, Polytechnic Institute, Open College and Junior College), which are originally compiled by Mellor (1988) and cited by Bray (2001), are listed in Table 8.6. Although Bray's observation is essentially correct, that the proportion of students from Macau fluctuated with an eventual decline over the six year of operation, it should also be noted that the

Table 8.6 Total Enrolment in UEA Colleges by Origin of Students, 1981–1987

	1981/1982	1982/1983	1983/1984	1984/1985	1985/1986	1986/1987
Macau	67 (41.9%)	177 (11.8%)	316 (6.6%)	419 (8.5%)	585 (9.7%)	724 (10.7%)
Hong Kong	87 (54.4%)	702 (46.6%)	4,472 (93.0%)	4,409 (89.5%)	4,227 (70.1%)	5,071 (74.7%)
China	–	–	–	–	1,025 (17.0%)	776 (11.4%)
Malaysia	1 (0.6%)	3 (0.2%)	4 (0.1%)	72 (1.5%)	132 (2.2%)	133 (2.0%)
Other	5 (3.1%)	623 (41.4%)	18 (0.4%)	27 (0.5%)	57 (0.9%)	82 (1.2%)
Total	**160 (100%)**	**1,505 (100%)**	**4,810 (100%)**	**4,927 (100%)**	**6,026 (100%)**	**6,804 (100%)**

Source Bray (2001), Mellor (1988)

enrolment figures for Macau students increased steadily during the six years that the UEA operated. The apparent decline in the *proportion* of Macau students enrolled in the UEA is probably more closely related to the increased number of students from Hong Kong. It is also important to note that, when the first students from China began to attend the UEA, they made up more than 17% of the student body. 'Other' locations that students arrived from to study at the UEA, according to Bray (2001) included Burma, India, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, Peru, Portugal, Singapore, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States. However, foreign students from these locations never formed a significant proportion of the student body except in the 1982/1983 academic year when they accounted for 41.4% of students. In the following year the number of students from 'other' places fell from 623 to 18 (2.9%) and never again rose to more than 82 in the final year of operation.

The success of the University of East Asia as a local Macau institution should be measured in two ways. First, the Junior College was extremely popular and provided local students with a chance to enhance their education within a more internationally-structured English-medium curriculum. Students finishing this programme, whether they matriculated into the UEA's University College or went abroad for their tertiary education, would find themselves better prepared with an internationally-oriented English medium of instruction education than what they might have received from high schools that were more closely aligned with the interests of educational systems in neighbouring regions. Second, the UEA demonstrated that a university in Macau could conceivably sustain growth by providing international education to students in South and South East Asia, but, more particularly, that potential for growth would especially come from China.

In 1988 the University of East Asia was no longer able to continue operations because of financial difficulties and the Macau government purchased the institution (through the mediating institution of the Macau Foundation) without interrupting its operation. At the time that the UEA closed, it was offering undergraduate degrees in Arts, Social Science, Business Administration and Science. As Table 8.7 demonstrates, degrees in Business Administration and Arts were the most highly enrolled

Table 8.7 Degrees Awarded by the University of East Asia

	1984	1985	1986
First Degrees			
Bachelor of Arts	4	4	47
Bachelor of Social Science	21	11	10
Bachelor of Business Administration	25	46	67
Bachelor of Science	–	–	14
TOTAL	**50**	**61**	**138**
Higher Degrees			
Master of Business Administration	–	16	154

Source Mellor (1988)

programmes. Two new programmes were immediately developed in line with the UEA becoming a publicly administered institution: Law and Public Administration. Similarly, the School of Education was formally established in 1989 and the Department of Portuguese was launched in 1990. The early 1990s was a time when the Portuguese colonial government felt that Portuguese should be more widely used in education and some authors have suggested that the Macau government could have used the university as a means of strengthening the presence of the Portuguese language in Macau (see Bray 2001; Hui 1998). Ultimately, however, this objective was instead more effectively accomplished by retaining the institutionalised preference for Portuguese as a language of the courts and the civil service. Mellor (1988) specifically notes that during the transition of the UEA from private to public ownership, 'no objection was raised to the retention of English as the University's principal language of instruction' (p. 111).

It should also be noted that during this transitional phase from a private to a public institution a Centre for Translation and Interpretation was established within the University. The Centre and the UEA's Polytechnic institute were formally separated from the University of Macau in 1991 to form the Macao Polytechnic Institute. Mellor (1988) comments on the original intented purpose of the centre:

> Particular emphasis would be placed on the requirements of the transitional period to 1999—that is, on translation between Portuguese and Chinese, though certainly English and probably Japanese would provide alternative additional languages. (107).

Presumably, there are two factors that made Portuguese/Chinese translation an important need in the community. First, Chinese was made an official language of the territory in 1991 and, while the need for translation was certainly felt before that date, the *de jure* status of Chinese as an official language gave immediate urgency to that need. Second, the impending handover of Macau made a complete Chinese translation of the legal code an urgent necessity. Mellor's comments suggest that the role of translation within the university might have included work with English, but that translation between Chinese and English would not to be one of the primary objectives of the Centre, presumably because the university community—what Mellor (1988, p. 101) earlier describes as a 'special, bilingual society'—would not feel that translation was a necessary part of the University culture.

8.6.2 University of Macau

In 1991 the institutional name of the University of East Asia was changed to the current name, the University of Macau.[10] At this time, the degree structure was shifted from a three-year to a four-year degree programme. Hui (1998) has suggested that this change was made in order to 'facilitate the recognition of the degree by

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[10]As with all schools and public institutions in Macau, the University of Macau also has Chinese and Portuguese names: 澳門大學 *Oumun Daaihok* (Putonghua *Aomen Daxue*) and *Universidade de Macau.*

Table 8.8 Registered Students in 2019/2020 Academic Year in University of Macau Degree Programmes

Degree Programme	Number of Students Enrolled
PhD	1,202 (11.1%)
Master	2,220 (20.5%)
Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma	64 (0.6%)
Bachelor	7,358 (67.9%)
TOTAL	**10,844**

Source UM (2020)

Portuguese and local authorities' (Hui, 1998, 264, quoting from University of Macau internal documents) and argues somewhat unconvincingly that this was done to create 'a Portuguese academic structure for perpetuation of cultural influence as well as maintaining the Macanese interests by providing them a channel to work in Portugal after 1999' (269). The four-year degree programme structure currently matches the university degree structure in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong (where the degree-structure was also changed to a four-year programme, although there seems to have been no influence from Portugal to make this change in Hong Kong). Instead, it seems more likely that the change was motivated by once again looking to nearby neighbouring regions for educational models. Hui's criticisms of the change are also inconsistent with the retention of the three-year degree at the University of Macau. This degree, a *bacharelato*, was only offered in the Portuguese-language programme and it seems unlikely that concerns about the teaching of the Portuguese language would have ended the 3-year degree simply to retain a form of it in the department in which it was argued to be most inappropriate. In fact, the *bacharelato* degree is only recognised in Portugal. This degree was offered for a number of years until it was discontinued in 2006.

Currently, there are over 10,000 students enrolled during the 2019/2020 academic year at the University of Macau. Table 8.8 lists the current 2019/2020 academic year enrolments distributed across four different types of programmes: Bachelor, Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma, Master and PhD. With the exception of the three programmes already mentioned (i.e., two undergraduate programmes in Law and Education conducted in Chinese and one programme in Law conducted in Portuguese), all other undergraduate and graduate programmes purport to use English as the primary medium of instruction, although there might be some individual teachers who choose to use Cantonese or Putonghua as a supplementary MOI. However, because 78.7% of undergraduates are local students, 81.9% of whom speak Cantonese as their usual language, the choice of a supplementary Chinese medium of instruction is not entirely easy or straightforward. Putonghua is preferred by non-local students and teaching staff, especially by those who are from the PRC, where Putonghua is normally used as a lingua franca. But only 74% of local students report an ability to use Putonghua. While 80% of students would be able to follow a supplementary class lesson in Putonghua, a sizable 20% would not. In addition, DSES notes that only 19.6% of UM teaching staff are non-local. The remaining
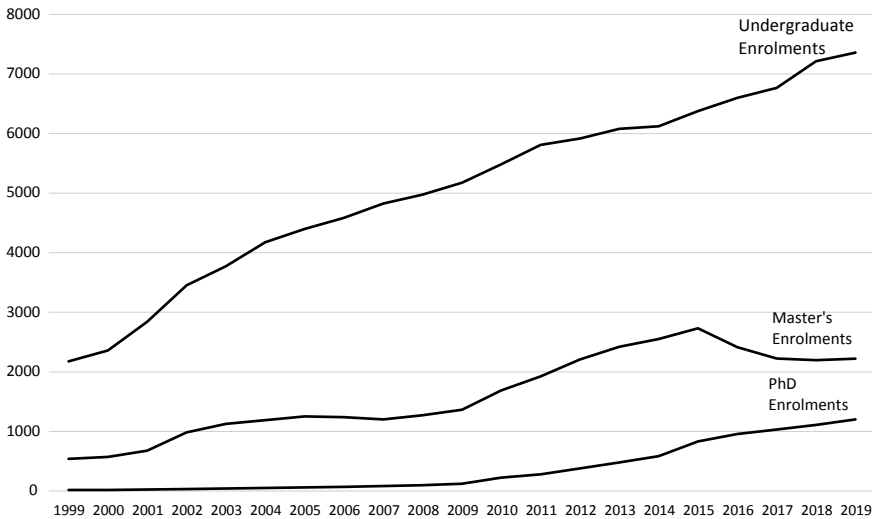
Fig. 8.15 University of Macau Enrolments, 2009/2010–2019/2020 Academic Years. *Source* UM (2006, 2020)

80.4% of teaching staff, therefore, are local Macau temporary/permanent residents (i.e., *not* non-resident workers). Although some teaching staff, especially those who are originally from China, may feel that a lesson recap in Putonghua is useful, local teaching staff would normally see this as unnecessary and instead reflective of teaching and learning traditions in China. There is, therefore, some internal pressure among teaching staff to preserve English as the medium of instruction at the University of Macau, especially in undergraduate programmes.

The University of Macau's growth has been consistent over the last twenty years since the 1999 handover of the territory to Chinese administration, as demonstrated in Fig. 8.15. Undergraduate enrolments have increased by 238.0% for an average annual growth of 11.9%. Master's degree enrolments have increased by 311.9% over the past 20 years with an annual growth rate of 15.6%. The highest enrolment in master's degree programmes was 2730 in the 2015/2016 academic year. Since the 2015/2016 academic year master's degree enrolments have dropped to 2,220 students in 2019/2020. Enrolments in PhD programmes, however, have been the most aggressively pursued in the past 20 years by the University of Macau. In 1999/2000 there were only 18 students enrolled in PhD programmes at the University of Macau, and in 2019/2020 there were 1202 students enrolled, representing a 6577.8% increase and an annual growth rate of 328.9%. The 2009/2010 academic year was the first year that more than 100 PhD students were enrolled in UM programmes. In the ten years since, enrolments have increased by 877.2% for an average annual growth rate of 87.7%. With the increasing number of PhD students, most of whom are from the People's Republic of China, as well as an increasing number of research staff who are also recruited from the PRC, there has been pressure to establish PhD programmes

that use the medium of Chinese and allow students to write in Chinese. To date, however, the University has refrained from allowing PhD dissertations to be written in any language other than English, except, of course, when the PhD is in the subject of a language other than English (e.g., dissertations for the PhD in Chinese may be written either in Chinese or English and dissertations for the PhD in Portuguese may be written in either Portuguese or English).

There have been few studies of language attitudes and the relationship to MOI issues within Macau institutions of higher education, however, Kuok (2006) conducted a needs analysis of perceived language needs within the University of Macau's Civil Engineering programme. While the group that was examined within the study is small, it is representative of the University as a whole and Kuok suggested of some of the ways that English is used as the medium of instruction. For example, when asked about the frequency of English-use within the Civil Engineering programme, teachers answered that it is used 100% of the time in 'reading textbooks, handouts, reference materials, etc.' (Kuok 2006, p. 88). However, the least frequent use of English was found in 'watch [sic] technical videos' where English was thought to account for less than 10% of this activity (Kuok, 2006: 129). When asked directly about class-room practice, the 13 content teachers surveyed in the study responded that they sometimes used Cantonese or Putonghua in their lectures to explain content, but none responded 'almost always' (the highest rating) and two responded that they 'never' used a language other than English (Kuok, 2006: 82). Among the comments that were of interest within the programme, only one student complained of a 'lack of translation' skills being taught within the programme (Kuok, 2006: 123); the majority of students instead felt that they would prefer to learn engineering without translation into Chinese, which suggests that Mellor's (1988, p. 101) observation that the goal of educating and creating a 'special bilingual society' may still be motivating the priviledged use of English as an MOI in higher education.

8.7   Portuguese in Higher Education

Only a few programmes are offered within the medium of Portuguese at Macau tertiary institutions, and most of these are post-graduate degrees designed for either foreign students from Portuguese-speaking countries or for teachers and translators to up-grade their language skills. One exception is the University of Macau's Bachelor of Law programme in Portuguese Language (FLL 2020a). Because of the additional demand on students' language proficiency in Portuguese, the programme is a five-year programme that normally sends students to study in Portugal for one year in order to qualify for completion of the programme. Because this programme relies upon advanced proficiency in the Portuguese language, it is difficult to recruit local students with sufficient proficiency in the language.

While PMI education is not very common within any institution of higher learning in Macau, Portuguese language courses are some of the most popular of any course at the University of Macau (Botha & Moody 2020). Figure 8.16 shows the student
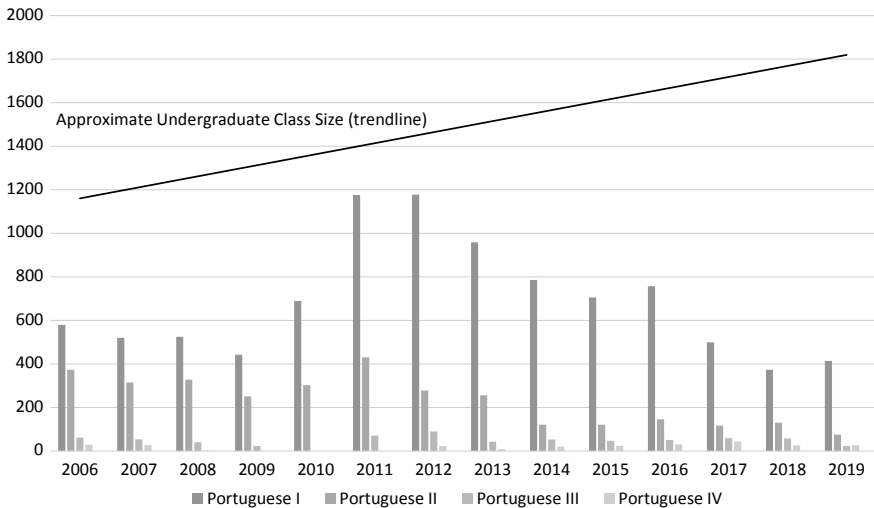
Fig. 8.16 Enrolment in Non-Major (Elective) Portuguese Classes, University of Macau, 2006/2007–2019/2020 Academic Years. *Source* Department of Portuguese, University of Macau

enrolment in four Portuguese classes offered as electives to students who are not majoring in the language: Portuguese I–IV. Each course is one semester long and the enrolments reported here are totals for the academic year, aggregating Fall and Spring enrolments for each year. In addition, a trendline is included showing one-quarter of the UM undergraduate enrolment for each year. This figure of one-quarter is more relevant than the total undergraduate enrolment because it represents the number of students within a class that enters any particular year for their four-year degree. Several things are interesting about the distribution of students in these Portuguese-language classes. First, the number of students who continue to take Portuguese II (i.e., the second semester) after Portuguese I reduced dramatically from 2006/2007 to 2019/2020. In 2006/2007, 373 (64.4%) of the 579 students who took Portuguese I continued on to take Portuguese II. In 2019/2020 only 76 (18.5%) of the 414 students enrolled in Portuguese I continued on to take Portuguese II. Enrolment rates in Portuguese III and IV are similarly low and never climb out of double-digit enrolment. In fact, in 2010, no students enrolled in Portuguese III or IV. Second, Portuguese I was most popular in the 2011/2012 and 2012/2013 academic years. Respective enrolments in Portuguese I in those two years were 1,176 and 1,177 students annually and total undergraduate enrolment was 5,811 and 5,916. Since one class of students during that time would be approximately 25.0% of the total under-graduate enrolment, class sizes in 2011/2012 and 2012/2013 were 1,453 and 1,479 respectively. This means that approximately 80% of undergraduate students took Portuguese I during those two academic years. Revisions to the University's General Education programme have removed many of the elective credits that undergrad-uate students would spend on Portuguese-language programmes, but the high-water

mark of undergraduate Portuguese-language education demonstrates how popular these languages courses can be when undergraduate students are given the freedom to choose them.

8.8   Conclusion

Unlike the PPP and secondary educational levels, English dominates in tertiary education as both a medium of instruction and as a subject language. The three public institutions of higher learning, the Macao Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), the Macao Polytechnic Institute (IPM) and the University of Macau (UM), are committed (at least in public statements, if not in actions) to offering education within the medium of English. As these institutions are predominantly established for the education of local residents and answer to public bodies that control their funding, the ensconced policy of EMI tertiary education is embraced by the local Macau community as the preferred language of higher education. Nevertheless, EMI tertiary education poses challenges to the linguistic ecology of the territory. Only 16.3% of secondary students graduate from EMI schools in Macau, and many of them travel abroad for their university education. This means that the majority of students at Macau tertiary institutions are studying through the medium of English for the first time. Preparation for EMI tertiary education in local high schools, therefore, is crucial to ensure that matriculating students have the required proficiency in English. Although, the tradition of EMI tertiary education is firmly rooted within the history and sociocultural experience of the community and local educators and students alike share a deep connection to the use of English in higher learning, challenges related to underprepared students' proficiency are daunting. Nevertheless, there is evidence that students and teachers alike hold strongly positive attitudes toward the use of English as a tertiary EMI and it seems unlikely that, despite pressures from competing private institutions, the public tertiary institutions will move away from EMI.

While most private tertiary institutions are also committed to educating local students, the two largest institutions have adopted growth strategies that do not respond especially to local educational needs or concerns. Because private institutions are not obliged to offer seats to local Macau students, the Macau University of Science and Technology (MUST) admits only a few local students each year. Instead, private institutions are free to recruit students from anywhere with very few, if any, restrictions. Many private institutions in Macau have remained committed to the education of local residents and, consequently, remain as relatively small institutions. MUST, however, has pursued a different model of growth by establishing a Chinese-oriented institution within Macau, and it seems that the City University of Macau (CityU) may have also begun to pursue a similar strategy for growth. In these institutions, with a majority of both students and staff from the People's Republic of China, there is little reason for the institution to enforce a strict EMI policy in programmes. Most students are from China (residing in Macau on foreign

student visas) and most of the teaching staff are also from China (residing in Macau on non-resident work permits). It really is no surprise that Botha (2013) found that English-medium of instruction at MUST was EMI in name only; the teaching staff and students alike are from the PRC where the normal MOI is Putonghua, and this is what they use.

There are, therefore, dichotomous goals within Macau's tertiary institutions: whether to focus on local educational needs or to develop globally-recognised programmes that potentially might limit local competitiveness to enrol. Public institutions must abide by government policy and not offer less than 70% of undergraduate enrolment spaces to local Macau students. This is consistent across all the publicly-funded institutions. The University of Macau, however, has adopted the strategy of recruiting post-graduate students from the PRC to develop the research profile of the University and to develop the institution's global competitiveness. While balancing local needs with global competitiveness, public institutions have also struggled to preserve English as the primary medium of instruction, and every institution has necessarily established programmes that use Chinese either as a *primary* or *supplementary* MOI. Although Chinese MOI may become an increasingly desirable alternative, especially to teaching staff and students who come from the PRC, local parents and student normally view EMI tertiary education within the territory as more desirable. There is, therefore, strong pressure from both institutional and community stakeholders to maintain EMI education and avoid the perception that EMI is in 'name only', as it appears to be in some privately-owned for-profit institutions.

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Chapter 9
Future Directions and Prospects for the Macau Language Ecology

9.1 Introduction

At the time of this volume's completion, Macau was in a potentially different socio-cultural environment than the one described throughout most of the volume. The 2019/2020 academic year was the final year of implementation of the new curricula for primary and secondary schools in Macau, but much of face-to-face teaching in the second semester of the academic year had moved to online learning. On 22 January 2020, the first imported case of the ailment that would later be named COVID-19 was discovered in Macau, and the number of cases rapidly grew to 10 within the next ten days (Macao SAR Government 2020). The virus had reached Macau just a few days before the Chinese (Lunar) New Year (CNY) celebration, a holiday that normally fills hotels and casinos and boosts the economy. The government moved quickly to suspend all casino operations for 15 days on 4 February. Schools and universities did not reopen for face-to-face classes after the CNY holiday and all instruction turned to on-line classes. The World Health Organisation (WHO) declared the coronavirus infection a global pandemic on 12 March 2020 (WHO 2020) and Macau moved to close borders to almost everyone except temporary/permanent residents. Casinos, hotels, restaurants and all the infrastructure built to propel Macau to the top of the world's gaming market were still in place and operational, but tourists were only allowed to trickle into the territory at incrementally increasing rates as the pandemic spread worldwide. By mid-August the city had experienced only 45 total cases of COVID-19, all of which were imported into the city without any local transmission (Macao SAR Government 2020).

The experience of the lockdown of the city during the final six months of this volume's preparation have highlighted a number of the points made throughout the volume. First, Macau is a very small territory and cannot easily sustain itself throughout a crisis that closes the borders. All food, electricity, water, supplies, etc. must be shipped to the territory either by sea or land ports. To close those ports to shipping traffic essentially isolates the city from resupply of resources. Stories of how the city was isolated at the beginning of the eighteenth century and then again

during the second world war are eerily reminiscent of the self-imposed isolation of 2020. Second, the casino integrated resort and gaming economy has given the local government a deep well of monetary resources that can easily be held in reserve for emergency use. Although the casino and border closure put Macau's economy on indefinite hold, financial reserves have allowed the territory to survive for at least the first 6 months of an economic recession that will likely continue for many more months. Finally, closure of the economy allowed the MSAR government to reaffirm its service to the local community and its commitment to development of that community. Recent years had seen a flood of non-resident workers and tourists from the People's Republic of China (PRC) entering the territory and transforming the demographics of the city, including the linguistic ecology. The measures taken to protect the city from the spread of COVID-19 have slowed economic growth for 2020, but ultimately preserved the welfare of the city's residents. This closing chapter will briefly examine the likely future development of multilingualism within Macau's multilingual ecology and recommend some possible directions for language policy and language planning.

9.2   Chinese

The point of view proposed within the volume on linguistic ecology in Macau is that the Chinese language is not a single unified language, but it is instead a complex nexus of several largely mutually-unintelligible varieties that are genetically and historically related and that largely share a common writing system. The dominant varieties in Macau are Cantonese, Putonghua and Hokkien, although there are a number of other varieties that have not been fully accounted for within the DSEC (i.e., 'Statistics and Census Service') reports. There has been strong pressure in recent years to move toward a standard of Putonghua in both education and industry. The tourism and gaming industries rely upon visitor arrivals from the PRC, and these visitors are accustomed to using Putonghua as a lingua franca in China. Likewise, a shortage of teachers has forced local secondary schools to hire teachers (usually, in subjects like Mathematics or Science) from the PRC, and these teachers, who work on non-resident worker permits, are usually unable to teach in any language other than Putonghua. The scenarios of language shift away from varieties of Chinese like Cantonese or Hokkien toward Putonghua is a very real and familiar experience of Chinese dialect communities within China, and of overseas Chinese communities in places like Singapore and Malaysia. As Putonghua becomes more highly regarded as an essential element of educational achievement, schools, and eventually families, shift away from other varieties of Chinese toward Putonghua as the usual language. There is, however, little evidence that families are abandoning the use of Cantonese in favour of Putonghua in Macau and the institutional status that Cantonese enjoys as a standardising language ensures its continued use within the territory for the foreseeable future. Furthermore, although Putonghua *is* used by several tertiary institutions within the territory—most notably the Macau University of Science and Technology

(MUST) and the City University of Macau (CityU)—those schools cater primarily to students from the PRC with only a minority of local Macau secondary school graduates matriculating into those institutions. Putonghua becomes a lingua franca for all interactions at those large private institutions, but they are not typical of the scholastic experience in Macau tertiary institutions, where the majority of students are from Macau (see Zhang 2020). Furthermore, in University classrooms where a majority of students are Cantonese speakers from Macau, Putonghua does not dominate in the same way; instead, Cantonese is more likely to be adopted as the lingua franca with Putonghua only used with speakers who *cannot* speak Cantonese. In the same way that a majority of local Macau students who speak Cantonese as their usual language shapes the interactions at local university classrooms like the University of Macau's, a majority of local Cantonese-speaking teaching staff at these institutions also influence the choice of language within the classroom and ensure that Putonghua is unlikely to replace English as the teaching medium. Although Cantonese might serve as a viable teaching medium in classrooms where teachers and a majority of students speak Cantonese as their usual language, it is not as effective for the 20–25% of students in the classroom who *do not* speak Cantonese. These Cantonese-speaking local students and teachers are generally not accustomed to using Putonghua as a lingua franca and, while they might prefer to use Cantonese as the medium of instruction, they are generally more comfortable with English as the medium of instruction (MOI) and more actively preserve EMI education. Consequently, there is little direct challenge from Putonghua of English as the essential language of higher education within the local Macau community.

However, there is evidence that the number of speakers of other Chinese languages—most notably Hokkien—may be under threat within Macau. Speakers of other Chinese languages are already quite small within the territory and, with the exception of Hokkien speakers, not generally organised into visible communities of speakers. Some effort should be made to suggest ways to preserve the multilingual heritage of Macau speakers of Hokkien and other Chinese languages. Within institutions of higher learning, these languages are typically seen as impediments to students' use of Putonghua and the highly valued Standard Written Chinese (SWC) that is intimately connected to Putonghua. Academy support for the use and study of these languages would be a first initial step that would go a long way toward the eventual documentation and preservation of the linguistic diversity represented by these Chinese languages.

9.3   English

Harrison's (1984) proposal that Macau would benefit from a wider adoption of English within the territory has essentially been implemented within the 20 years since the handover of the territory to Chinese administration in 1999. The number of English-speakers under the age of 55 within the territory, according to the 2016 by-census report, is essentially 50%, and the number is steadily climbing each year

(DSEC 2017). Within government and other services industries, English can be expected as a normal feature of the industries, and this is a clearly visible change within the territory over the past 20 years. Although there are pressures to use more Chinese-language instruction within government tertiary institutions like the University of Macau, the local Macau community has expressed an implicit support of EMI higher education by enrolling local students within the government-funded institutions that use English as the sole language of instruction and avoiding the private institutions that claim to use EMI, but do so in name only. While there is widespread recognition that Hong Kong English is a legitimate and authentic variety of English, Macau English does not enjoy the same widespread recognition (Moody 2008). English-language learning and use might enjoy further support in the territory from recognition that the language is *already* an accepted variety and that so-called native-speaker norms do not necessarily dictate legitimate uses of the language within the territory. Furthermore, there are a number of opportunities for local English speakers to expand their uses of the language. Although English is an important part of local businesses and education, local speakers enjoy only limited exposure to the language within the broadcast media. More direct support of English-language broadcasting, in either radio or television media, would be a good initial step to encouraging a more localised use and acceptance of English.

9.4 Portuguese

The loss of the Portuguese language within the territory of Macau is one of the most confounding and perplexing problems presented within this examination of the territory's linguistic ecology. Although Portuguese is highly visible and present within with the territory's linguistic landscape (Qi 2019), the number of residents who speak the language has continued to decline since the 1999 handover, when only 4.1% of the population had ability to use the language (DSEC 1997). Nevertheless, local Macau students at the University of Macau have demonstrated their strong interest in learning Portuguese when they are given a sufficient freedom to do so with their elective credits.

It does not seem likely, given the tone and content of the Portuguese-language curricula introduced at the primary or secondary educational levels, that more widespread learning and acceptance of Portuguese is achievable in the near future. In particular, the language curricula for Portuguese as a second language (PSL) consistently invoke the language of alterity to describe Portuguese speakers as 'the Other', suggesting that the curricula's architects see the language as part of a history of colonial exploitation. This kind of characterisation may strengthen an ethnolinguistic Chinese identity among Macau students, but it also discourages characterisation of the Portuguese language as a local Macau language. The characterisation of Portuguese as a language of oppression makes it difficult to accept simultaneous attempts to encourage use of the language. One method that might be adopted to

improve the learning of Portuguese within Macau schools is the 'bilingual education' method that is currently used within *Escola Oficial Zheng Guanying* 'Zheng Guanying Government School' (see Chap. 6). This school has elected to teach certain classes—notably Art and Physical Education—within the mixed mediums of Chinese and Portuguese. Although there are a number of potential risks with this particular method of bilingual education, it does present students with an authentic and indigenous language learning experience, which they might not otherwise have from the institutionalised PSL curricula.

Finally, there are also efforts within Macau to preserve or revitalise Makista (a.k.a. Macau Portuguese Creole) as a natural language of Macau. Although the language has been moribund for nearly a century (Holm 1989), it does represent a rallying point for local-Portuguese and Macanese identity within the community (Clayton 2009; Noronha & Chaplin 2012). In particular Eusébio (2013) describes the efforts of the *Dóci Papiáçam di Macau*, an amateur theatre group, to stage original productions that highlight the unique features of Makista. The annual theatre performances are extremely popular and sell out every night that they are staged in the Macau Cultural Centre, the largest public venue available for a musical or theatrical production. As an act of postcolonial identity, Morais (2016) notes that the 'Patua Theatre' (a colloquial name for the troupe) responds to a desire to creatively re-imagine Makista and Macau's linguistic ecology. Although the theatre productions are of little interest to language documentarians or sociolinguists, they do highlight the symbolic importance that Makista and, by extension, Portuguese have within the community.

9.5 Other Languages

Other language communities within Macau are small, although some have been established for a very long time. There is institutional support for the learning and promotion of some other European languages in Macau, most notably the *Alliance Française* maintains offices within the territory and supports the learning of French in Macau (Alliance Française Macao 2020) and the Goethe Institute in Hong Kong frequently sponsors events in Macau in support of German arts and language (Goethe-Institut Hong Kong 2020). A number of individuals enjoy studying and using other languages like Japanese and Korean within Macau, but there is only limited institutional support for the use of these languages within the territory and almost no recognition that some of the languages—most notably, Japanese—have resided within Macau's language ecology for more than 400 years. Other languages like Burmese, Timorese or Konkani are also still present within the language ecology, but there is little institutional support for documentation or survival of these languages and the long-established communities represented by the speakers of these languages. Support within the academy (i.e., institutions of higher learning) for the documentation and preservation of these languages and language communities would be a good first step to ensuring that the importance of the communities is fully recognised.

9.6 Conclusion

Macau's linguistic ecology has been, since the founding of the city in the sixteenth century, a complex ecology filled with local and imported variants of different languages. Over time, there have been attempts to simplify the ecology and several standardised varieties have had a role in reducing the overall complexity of the ecology. For example, in the nineteenth century standard Continental Portuguese MOI education was introduced in Macau with the result that Makista, the localised Portuguese Creole of the territory, became critically endangered through a process of decreolisation. Similarly, the introduction of standard English as the MOI and a second language in Macau schools has justified a generation of students to consider Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) as 'bad English', 'Chinglish' or a corruption of English produced by local norms. Nevertheless, the language was the standard for communication between early English traders and Chinese merchants, and the history of the variety is intimately connected to the history of Macau's linguistic ecology.

Today, there are two varieties of Chinese that might be thought of as *standardising*: Cantonese and Hokkien both share some features of standardisation, but are not yet accepted as fully standardised languages. Putonghua, one the other hand, is a highly standardised language and it carries with it much of the prestige associated with being one of the most (if not *the most*) widely spoken language in the world. As Putonghua enjoys a more valued position in Macau society and education since the 1999 handover, it is not difficult to imagine that it may potentially someday come to dominate the language ecology in the same way that standard Portuguese and standard English have exerted their influence. The choice of a standard language, however, as either an MOI or a subject language, exemplifies the actual purpose of the standard; while there might be competing standards to choose from (e.g., American English or British English; Brazilian Portuguese or Continental Portuguese), only standardised varieties are available to be chosen. Given the threat to multilingual ecologies like Macau's, steps should be taken to document and preserve the diversity when implementing standards for education.

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