



Macau: History, Land and the People

Situated on the western shore of the Pearl River in South China, Macau⁽¹⁾ is only about 40 nautical miles to the west of Hong Kong, making it accessible by jetfoil within an hour. It is a former Portuguese colony which boasts several firsts in the history of the Far East, for example, it is the site of the earliest European settlement dating back to the mid-sixteenth century, and the establishment of the first occidental university in South China, the University College of St. Paul, which was founded by the Jesuits "to cultivate missionaries for the region" (Young, 2009, p. 412).

As of December, 2007, Macau was a small city of only about 28.6 square kilometres and 531,400 inhabitants (DSEC, 2008; cf, Moody, 2008, p. 3). Geographically, the territory is made up of the Macau peninsula and two islands, Taipa and Coloane, the latter two being linked together by reclamation. The tourism and entertainment industries have grown steadily since the 1990s. To international travellers and tourists, Macau is probably best known for its well-furnished casinos and sundry gaming activities, which have earned it the title of "The Monte Carlo of the Orient".⁽²⁾ Apart from being a lucrative business attracting millions of tourists to Macau per year, the gaming enterprises generate a huge amount of income representing a significant portion of the territory's GDP. In the third quarter of 2007, for example, the growth rate of GDP was an impressive 30.9 per cent, contributing substantially to an overall growth rate of GDP in that year at 37.3 per cent (Moody, 2008, p. 10). The 25 casinos of "Asian Las Vegas" generated USD6.87 billion in gross revenue (Statistics and Census Service, 2007), making it the most profitable casino destination in the world (Young, 2009, p. 412). It is no wonder further expansion of the gaming market was one of the eight long-term economic develop-

ment strategies of the postcolonial government (Jeong, 2000). As indicated in the Basic Law of Macau, the capitalist economic system will remain unchanged for at least 50 years thanks to the "one country, two systems" socio-political arrangement after the handover in 1999.

Although Macau, too, was a colony like Hong Kong, the patterns of its colonization and decolonization are very different (Cheng, 1999). It was leased to the Portuguese in 1557 as an outpost to facilitate their trading activities in the Far East, especially with China and Japan, at a time when direct trading between these two countries was banned. The Portuguese request for a settlement area at the gate of South China was granted largely as a reward for their active role in keeping pirates off the southern Chinese coast. During the initial stage of the lease agreement, the Portuguese enclave had to pay an annual ground rent of 500 taels of silver to the Ming Dynasty, and the territory remained under Chinese jurisdiction until 1887, when a treaty was signed with the Chinese side conceding that "Portugal will forever administer Macau" (Cheng 1999, p. 1). Almost a century later, a new agreement was reached between Portugal and the People's Republic of China in 1979, redefining Macau as "a Chinese territory under Portuguese administration" (*ibid.*), an agreement which formally set forth the two-decade long decolonization process. On 20th December 1999, Macau became the second Special Administrative Region of China (MSAR) after Hong Kong. Commenting on the conquest-free colonization and non-violent decolonization processes of Macau, Cheng (1999, p. 35) raises questions about Frantz Fanon's "paradigm of enmity between native and colonizer" and regards the case of Macau as "almost an anomaly because the phenomena do not fit in with global theorists' belief that colonization is homologous to conquest and decolonization to revolution" (*ibid.*, p. 42; cf, Fanon, 1967; see also Li, 2002 with regard to the decolonization process of Hong Kong).

By virtue of being a former Portuguese colony, subject to perennial economic influence

1. The spelling "Macao" is English, while "Macau" is Portuguese (see Moody, 2008, p. 13). The same territory is referred to as *Ou Mun* in Cantonese, and *Aomen* in Putonghua or Mandarin.
2. The domain of gaming naturally has its own culture-specific register, which is the object of research in several studies, including master's theses (see, e.g., Ching, 1998; Shao, 1998; Mok, 2000).

澳门语言现状再探

The State of Multilingualism in the Macau SAR: An Update

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澳门：历史、地理、人口

澳门位于南中国珠江的西岸，距离香港的西部约四十海浬，从香港乘坐水翼船前往，船程少于一小时。澳门是前葡萄牙殖民地，拥有远东史上多个第一，比如：西方人在东亚的第一个据点，葡人首次登岸的历史可回溯至十六世纪中叶；而由耶稣会创办的圣保禄大学学院(University College of St. Paul)，则是南中国第一所以西方模式建立的大学，旨在「培养事奉该区的传教士」(Young, 2009, 第412页)。

直至2007年12月为止，澳门的面积只有28.6平方公里，常住人口约531,400(DSEC, 2008；另参见Moody, 2008, 第3页)。地理上，澳门由澳门半岛、凼仔和路环组成，凼仔和路环原来是两个分离的小岛，后来由填海工程把两个离岛完全连接，两岛之间填海得出的地段现称为「路氹城」。从上世纪九十年代开始，澳门的旅游和娱乐业得到了稳定的发展，对外国游客来说，最为人所知莫过于当地的娱乐场所和各式各样的博彩活动，以致澳门素有「东方蒙地卡罗」之称。⁽¹⁾ 澳门的娱乐博彩活动，每年吸引了数以百万计的游客，而博彩公司的收益更佔了区内生产总值(GDP)举足轻重的比

例。以2007年第三季为例，澳门的生产总值上升了30.9%，带动该年全年生产总值按年上升了37.3%(Moody, 2008, 第10页)。有「亚洲拉斯维加斯」的澳门共有25个赌场，博彩收益为澳门特区政府带来了高达68.7亿美元的税收(Statistics & Census Service, 2007)，使澳门成为世界上最有利可图的博彩之地(Young, 2009, 第412页)。难怪回归后澳门特区政府订定八大长远经济发展策略时，把扩充博彩市场列为其中之一项(Ieong, 2000)。澳门《基本法》明确规定，在「一国两制」的实践下，1999年澳门回归中国后，社会生活和政治制度将保持五十年不变。

虽然在过去澳门和香港都是欧西国家的殖民地，但两地殖民化和去殖民化的过程却迥然不同(Cheng, 1999)。1557年，葡萄牙向明朝政府租借澳门作为其在远东的贸易前哨站，以对中国和日本进行贸易，那时与这两个国家通商是被禁止的。葡萄牙人之所以获准在中国领土之上租借地方殖民，很大程度上源于葡人在南中国海域驱

1. 澳門的博彩活動有其自身的文化特點，因而經常成為各項研究的焦點，當中包括一些碩士論文研究(如Ching, 1998; Shao, 1998; Mok, 2000)。

from Hong Kong, an untypical colony-turned metropolitan city under British jurisdiction until 30th June 1997, the sociolinguistic situation of the Macau SAR is understandably complex. Young (2009) points out that in the education system of postcolonial Macau, three written languages (Chinese, Portuguese and English) and four spoken languages (Cantonese, Putonghua, Portuguese and English) are represented. The speakers of these languages are, however, very uneven. According to the Statistics and Census Service (2006), around 95.6 per cent of the population claimed to be Chinese speakers, with Cantonese being the usual language of 85.7 per cent, Putonghua 3.2 per cent and other dialects 6.7 per cent. The number of English and Portuguese speakers amounted to barely 1.5 per cent and 0.6 per cent, respectively.

The presence of other Chinese "dialects" may be accounted for by the fact that about 30 percent of the ethnic Chinese came to Macau from mainland China some 10 to 15 years before the handover. Like increasingly frequent cross-border movements, immigration from mainland China has never stopped since the handover. These new immigrants speak a number of more or less distinct Chinese varieties, with Cantonese functioning as the lingua franca. Putonghua is becoming more and more popular as a result of the postcolonial government's efforts promoting it in the education domain.

There are a range of languages represented by the 2.3 percent of speakers of "Other Languages" in the 2006 by-census. This is consistent with an earlier language survey conducted toward the end of the last century (Wong, 1998). Apart from Cantonese, Putonghua, Portuguese and English, other languages spoken in Macau include Thai, Burmese, Indonesian, some Filipino varieties and Japanese. Code-switching between Cantonese, Portuguese and English is reportedly very common (Ching, 1995; Wong, 1998).

The ethnic Portuguese community is tiny. Of the 11,000 plus speakers of Portuguese in Macau, only around 30 per cent (3,500) are not civil servants (Moody, 2008, p. 6). There

is, however, a relatively small but important community which came to be called the Macanese. They are residents of Portuguese and Asian ancestry as a result of mixed marriages (Cheng, 1999; Lei, 2001), Macanese speakers are often referred to as "Nhonha" (and their language, *Lingua Nhonha*, "Nyonya language"). which designates "mixed-race people of partly Portuguese descent" (Bradley, 2005, p. 187). This "emergent minority" owes their origin "largely to the fact that since the founding of Macau there had been very few Portuguese women there" (Cheng, 1999, p. 203), for "wives ranked as a significant item in the list of imports" (Coates, 1987, p. 34; cf, Amaro, 1994). Cheng (1999) further remarks that early settlers "sought wives primarily from Malaysia, Japan and India" and that "some abandoned Chinese infant girls were brought up as Christians and became candidates for mixed marriages" (Cheng, 1999, p. 203).

There used to be over 20,000 Macanese in Macau. But after the Second World War, many emigrated overseas, mainly to Anglophone countries. Today, the Macanese number about 10,000, or barely two percent of the total population. Being highly educated, many Macanese are either professionals such as lawyers and architects, or occupy senior positions in the MSAR government. They are mostly bilingual in Portuguese and Cantonese, some trilingual in Portuguese, Cantonese and English, but their Chinese literacy skills are generally described as weak. As one Macanese writer put it:

Apart from the Portuguese, an official language the Macanese were taught for centuries in the local classrooms or at home, and the "patuá" or "lingua maquista" the older generation used as "creole" that somehow helped differentiate them from the "outsiders" unable to speak it, most of the Macanese were more or less fluent in Cantonese, as was anyone born and raised in Macau. They were naturally taught Chinese (the Cantonese dialect) by members of their family (mixed or not)

赶海盗有功，在租借协议的初段，葡萄牙每年需向明朝政府缴付地租500两白银，而澳门的主权一直都在中方。直至1887年，清政府和葡政府签订条约，承认将澳门永久割让给葡萄牙（Cheng, 1999, 第1页），澳门就成为了葡萄牙的殖民地。约一个世纪后的1979年，葡萄牙政府和中华人民共和国政府签订新条约，重申澳门是「葡萄牙管治下的中国领土」（同上），并订下澳门回归中国的时间表，自此澳门便正式开始其后长达二十年的去殖民化过程。1999年12月20日，澳门继香港之后正式回归中国，成为中国第二个特别行政区。Cheng（1999, 第35页）评论澳门非征服的殖民化和非暴力的去殖民化过程时，曾质疑Frantz Fanon「本地人和殖民者互相憎恨的范例」之说，并认为澳门「几乎是一个反例，因澳门现象跟国际理论家所认同的『殖民化等同征服，去殖民化等同革命』并不一致」（同上，第42页；另参见Fanon, 1967和Li, 2002「香港去殖民化的过程」部份）。

从社会语言学角度来说，澳门作为葡萄牙的殖民地长达数个世纪，经济上又一直受著邻近的香港所影响，²⁾ 这样的背景之下，澳门语言现状呈复杂面貌是完全可以理解的。Young（2009）指出澳门后殖民地时期的教育系统，出现了三文（中、葡、英）四语（粤、普、葡、英）的现象。事实上，说这几种语言的人口相当不平均，据2006年澳门统计处的调查，约95.6%的人口自称以中文为母语，其中以粤语为惯用语的佔85.7%，普通话佔3.2%，其他方言佔6.7%，而英语和葡萄牙语分别仅佔1.5%和0.6%。

「其他方言」的出现肇因于澳门回归前的10-15年，大量内地人移居澳门，人数佔当时华籍居民人口总数约30%之多。回归后，澳门和内地互动繁多，与越来越多的跨境活动、过境

人流相似，内地人移居澳门的趋势从未停止过，这些内地新移民各自说著不同的汉语方言，而彼此之间则以粤语为通用语（lingua franca）。回归后，普通话随著澳门特区政府在教育领域上的推广，变得越来越受欢迎，地位举足轻重。

此外，根据2006年中期人口统计，其中有2.3%的人口表示以「其他语言」为母语，这结果与上世纪末的调查几乎是一致的（Wong, 1998）。除了粤语、普通话、葡语和英语，在澳门通用的「其他语言」包括泰语、缅甸语、印尼语、菲律宾方言和日语。在多语环境下，语码转换出现在粤语、葡语和英语之间的情形十分普遍（Ching, 1995, Wong, 1998），这一点下文将再提及。

澳门以华籍居民为主，葡裔群体相对而言显得很小说，大概只有11,000人。他们大多在政府体系中工作，只有约30%（3500人）并非公务员（Moody, 2008, 第6页）。此外，「土生葡人」（Macanese）是另一个人数少而地位高的群体，他们是葡裔和亚裔通婚的后代（Cheng, 1999; Lei, 2001），被称为Nhonha，意思是「有葡国血统的混血儿」，他们的语言则被称为Lingua Nhonha（Nyonya language）（Bradley, 2005, 第187页）。这个因中葡通婚而自然产生的少数群体（emergent minority）其来源可追溯至澳门开埠的初期，当时澳门的葡裔居民主要是男性，女性的数目并不多（Cheng, 1999, 第203页），为解决当地「新娘荒」的难题，「输入」女性便成为进口清单上一非常重要的项目（Coates, 1987, 第34页，另参考Amaro, 1994）。据文献记载，早期的葡国殖民者曾经从势力可及的马来

2. 香港在1997年6月30日之前是英國管治之地，是一個「非典型殖民地」國際大都會。

at home, or led into talking because their language environment was overwhelmingly Cantonese: friends, traders, shoppers, radio, TV. (Jorge, 2010)

The Macanese community often call themselves "*Filhos da Terra*" (literally "sons of the earth", Amaro, 1994), suggesting a widely shared awareness of being a rootless class, as well as a bitter resentment of the prejudice that they frequently have to put up with from both the Chinese and the "pure" Portuguese. One correlate of this perception of feeling rootless is one of not belonging to either community. According to Lei (2001), herself a Macanese, "[t]hey can participate in either community; yet, they do not belong to any one of them. The Portuguese community would consider them more Chinese than Portuguese while the Chinese community would consider them more Portuguese" (Lei, 2001, p. 23).

Throughout much of the colonial period, Portuguese was the only official language. It was not until 12th December 1991 that the Chinese language gained official status. After the handover, the Basic Law stipulates that apart from Chinese, Portuguese may also be used. Article 9 of the MSAR Basic Law (China, 1993) states that "in addition to the Chinese language, Portuguese may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Macao Special Administrative Region" (also cited in Young, 2009, p. 414). As in Hong Kong, the term "Chinese" denotes standard written Chinese, which is largely based on Putonghua or Mandarin, whereas spoken Chinese is generally understood to be Cantonese. Like Hong Kong, as part of the "one country, two systems" socio-political arrangement, printed Chinese in Macau continues to be written in traditional (as opposed to simplified) Chinese characters. During the colonial period, knowledge of Portuguese was a *sine qua non* for promotion in the civil service. In accordance with its unrivalled status in the Colonial government, Portuguese was the only language of communication between the Chinese civil servants and their Portuguese supervisors (Sheng, 2004; cf,

Young, 2009, p. 414). This situation was reversed after December 1999. The Basic Law makes it clear that knowledge of Chinese is one important criterion for promotion within government ranks.

As a colony, Macau was untypical as far as the spread of the colonizers' language is concerned. The Portuguese government made little effort to promote Portuguese among the local people (Bray and Koo, 2004). Hence, until the 1970s, very few Chinese learned or spoke any Portuguese. This point is nicely illustrated in the collection of first-person narratives in Jill McGivering's (1999) interesting book, *Macau remembers*. There, 26 representative figures from different communities and walks of life were interviewed and their personal accounts made up the substance of a collection of fascinating stories falling into five distinct themes: Political Portraits, History and Heritage, Casinos and Crime, Culture at the Crossroads, and City of God. Thus José Chui, a successful ethnic Chinese civil engineer in his mid-30s, recalls that "[w]hen I was a boy, there were only two or three schools for the Portuguese children using the Portuguese language. All the other schools taught in Chinese. When I started to learn a second language, it was English. It was unheard of to learn Portuguese" (*ibid.*, p. 87). This point is echoed by Gary Ngai, an experienced Chinese promoter of local culture: "When I first came here [from Mainland China] twenty years ago, almost no Chinese, beyond a handful of civil servants, spoke Portuguese... The attitude used to be: 'Why should I bother to learn Portuguese? It's useless'" (*ibid.*, p. 158). The colonial administration seemed laissez-faire or indifferent as to their language policy in Macau, if there was one (Bray and Koo, 2004).

Not only did the Portuguese have little initiative to promote their language, they also showed no interest in learning the regional vernacular, Cantonese. Thus Dr. Sales Marques, the Macanese mayor of Macau before the handover, said that "[w]ithin the [legislative] council, most of the business is done in Cantonese now, and I speak it pretty well. It's too late for me to learn how to read

西亚、日本和印度等地，物色一些女子嫁到澳门作葡人的妻子；另外，一些被天主教教会养大的华籍女性弃婴，由于深谙西方文化、语言和礼仪，长大后也自然而然成为葡人混血通婚的理想对象（Cheng 1999，第203页）。

过去，澳门大约有20,000名土生葡人，但在第二次世界大战以后，很多都已移居到海外去，特别是前往以英语为母语的英国。目前，澳门只剩下约10,000名土生葡人，仅佔总人口的2%。虽然土生葡人的人数不多，但相对于华籍居民，他们普遍受过高等教育，而且职业高尚，不是专业人士如律师、建筑师，就是特区政府的高官。土生葡人多精通葡语和粤语，有的也懂英语，不过，他们的中文读写能力一般都较中国人为弱。以下是一土生葡人作家对此的评论：

土生葡人在学校或家里学习官方语言葡萄牙语，年长一辈则使用一种叫patuá（或lingua maquista）的混合语，patuá能帮助他们区别不会这种语言的「外人」；此外，正如其他在澳门出生长大的居民，大多数土生葡人还会说流利的粤语。处于一个粤语佔绝对优势的語言环境中，他们自然地学会粤语，或因家人、朋友的缘故而被引导说粤语（Jorge, 2010）。

这些土生葡人经常自称为Filhos da Terra（字面意义为「大地之子」，Amaro 1994），反映出他们普遍意识到自己是无根的一群，也因中国人和纯种葡萄牙人的歧视和偏见而感到怨怼，这种无根的感受来源自身份上得不到任何一个群体的认同。根据土生葡人的自述，他们表面上可以参与任何一个群体，但实际上

却不属于任何一方，葡萄牙人视他们为中国人，而中国人就觉得他们是葡萄牙人（Lei, 2001，第23页）。

澳葡时代的大部分时间，葡萄牙语是澳门唯一的官方语言。直至1991年12月开始，中文始获得法定的语文地位（Young, 2009，第414页），《基本法》第九条订明回归后：「澳门特别行政区的行政机关、立法机关和司法机关，除使用中文外，还可使用葡文，葡文也是正式语文。」条文中的「中文」并没有明确的定义，情况就如香港一样，可指以普通话为基础的标准书面语，也可以指粤语口语。文字方面，在「一国两制」的方针下，澳门可以继续使用繁体字，有别于内地推行的简化字。殖民地时代，葡语地位特殊，葡语的水平是公务员升迁不可或缺的要素（sine qua non），而在澳葡政府里，华籍公务员和他们的葡籍上司沟通时，葡语是唯一的语言（Sheng, 2004；另参考Young, 2009，第414页）。这个情形要到1999年12月后才出现逆转，《基本法》规定了今后中文知识将是公务员升迁的一项重要标准。

在殖民地时代，葡人没有在澳门积极传播葡萄牙语，也没有意识把葡语大力地推广到民间，这点跟其他殖民国的语言政策非常不同（Bray & Koo, 2004）。因此，直至1970年代，在澳门居住的华籍居民很少会说葡萄牙语，这一点在麦洁玲的《说吧·澳门》（1999）一书中清楚地反映出来，该书的内容是26位来自澳门不同群体和阶层人士的访问纪录，书中把他们的个人经历组成五个引人入胜的主题故事：政治写照（Political Portraits）、历史和传统（History and Heritage）、赌博和犯罪（Casinos and Crime）、交叉路口的文化（Culture at the Crossroads）和上帝之城（City of God）。以下两个例子是书中阐述当地人对学习葡语的看法：成功的华籍土木工程师崔世

and write Chinese properly" (*ibid.*, p. 33). As a consequence, there was a kind of language divide between the Portuguese and the local Chinese throughout the colonial era, which helps explain the lack of communication between them. According to Sir Roger Lobo, another "successful son of the enclave" (*ibid.*, 71), "there was always a divide between the Chinese and the non-Chinese... It was almost like two separate worlds" (*ibid.*, p. 73). It is in this regard that the Macanese have rendered a great service to Macau: they have played an active role as a bridge between these two communities.

In the run-up to the handover, however, there was manifestly a change in attitude. Many Macau Chinese had the incentive to learn Portuguese. According to Gary Ngai, this trend was especially clear among young people attending Portuguese courses in evening classes (*ibid.*, p. 158). Lei (2001) also notes that many Macanese started learning Chinese (Cantonese and Putonghua) shortly before the handover. The vitality of Portuguese is further assured by the language-in-education policy governing the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools after the handover. Sou (2000) notes that there are three categories of schools according to the teaching medium adopted in the school: Chinese, Portuguese and English. In "official schools", the principal teaching medium may be Chinese or Portuguese, with one or the other being a compulsory second language. Private schools, on the other hand, may choose to have any of the three languages as the teaching medium, with the proviso that a second language—to be chosen from the other two languages—must be included in the curriculum. A more recent development is that:

Under Law, No. 9/2006, the latest law which outlines the non-tertiary education system in post-colonial Macao, all government educational institutions may adopt one official language (Portuguese or Chinese) as medium of instruction while private educational institutions may choose the medium

of instruction according to the needs of their students. In addition, both government and private educational institutions are suggested to provide students with an opportunity to learn at least one official language that is not used as the medium of instruction (Young, 2009, p. 416).

Language, Culture and Identity

As a correlate of being populated by a majority of Cantonese-dominant speakers, the lingua franca in Macau is Cantonese. Being adjacent to the Guangdong province of the PRC, Macau has evolved its own unique Cantonese culture, which is partly characterized by Portuguese influence. While there is no evidence that Cantonese-speaking residents of Macau are assertive of their language and culture, recent events across the Chinese border are indicative of the extent to which some Cantonese speakers in Guangdong province are determined to defend their regional vernacular.

In July 2010, the authorities in Dongguan removed a plaque which quoted an obscene rallying cry of the Cantonese-speaking war hero Yuan Chonghuan of the Ming Dynasty, who fought very hard to halt the onslaught of the Manchus in the early seventeenth century. The removal of that plaque in Yuan's memorial park, a popular tourist attraction, upset many Cantonese speakers, triggering a lot of internet comments venting the netizens' anger (He, 2010).

In that same month, some members of the CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) put forward a proposal to ask the local broadcaster Guangzhou Television to broadcast programmes in Putonghua on its news channel and channel one instead of Cantonese. This move was found alarming by some local residents, who protested strongly against that proposal, on the grounds that for centuries, the Cantonese vernacular has been an important carrier of Lingnan culture (i.e., the culture of South China), including opera, music and cuisine. The Guangdong government was quick to deny any attempt to deni-

平在三十多岁时曾回忆道：「小时候，只有两至三所给葡籍孩子的葡语学校，其他学校都用中文教学，英语是我学习第二语言时所选的语言，我从未听闻有人学习葡语。」（同上，第87页）；这点得到了富有经验的澳门文化促进者魏美昌的回应：「二十年前当我从内地第一次到澳门，发现除了华籍公务员以外，差不多没有人会葡语……他们的态度是：为什么我要花时间学习葡语？没有用的！」（同上，第158页）可见殖民地的行政机关似乎对葡语的语言政策采取不予干预或莫不关心的态度（Bray & Koo, 2004）。

澳葡政府不仅从没主动制定长远政策推广葡语，葡人同时也表现出没有兴趣学习殖民地的通用语——粤语。回归前澳门土生葡人市长麦健智博士曾表示：「现在于立法会内，大部份事务都以粤语完成，我会说流利的粤语，不过学习读写中文就太迟了。」（同上，第33页），结果澳门社区就分成了葡语和粤语两个社群，因语言的不同它们之间也就一直没有沟通。另一位地区成功人士罗保爵士为这一点作注脚（同上，第71页）：「华籍和非华籍居民一直都被分隔……就好像生活在两个截然不同的世界一样。」（同上，第73页）。在这样的背景之下，兼通葡语和粤语的土生葡人扮演著沟通两个群体的桥樑角色，对澳门社会可谓贡献至大。

然而在回归的前夕，这种互不学习对方语言的态度出现了微妙的变化，很多澳门中国人开始对学习葡语产生兴趣，这种趋势在年轻一群当中尤为明显，例如他们会在下班后参加夜间葡语进修课程（同上，第158页）。Lei (2001) 察觉到很多土生开始学习粤语或普通话，作为母语以外的沟通语言。回归后，澳门特区政府制订了教学语言政策，为中小学的教学语言提供指引，葡语的生命力因而得到了保证。Sou (2000) 指出澳门特区政府成立

后，澳门的学校可以按教学语言分为三类：中文、葡文、英文。官立学校的教学语言主要是中文或葡文，选中文作为教学语言的话，葡文则须列为第二语言必修课，反之亦然。另一方面，私立学校绝大部分以中文、葡文或英文为教学语言，学生必须从教学语言之外的其余两种语言，选择一种作为外语学习。举例来说，若以中文为教学语言，学生必须从葡文或英文之中选其一作为第二语言学习的必修课，若以葡文或英文作为教学语言，语言必修课的安排相同。关于澳门教学语言的政策，最近的发展是：

第9/2006法律是澳门回归后，非专上教育教学语言运用的最新指引。当中规定所有官立的教育机构可以订立其中一种官方语言（葡文或中文）为教学语言，而私人的教育机构则可根据学生的需要而订立教学语言。此外，特区政府同时建议官立和私立学校提供一种教学语言以外的官方语言作为学生学习外语的机会（Young 2009，第416页）。

语言、文化和身份

由于澳门大部份人口是粤籍人士，因此澳门的通用语顺理成章是粤语。也由于邻近中国广东省，澳门发展了自身独特兼具葡国特色的广东文化，虽然暂时没有证据显示澳门人为粤语和粤文化感到自豪，但是最近在内地广东省发生的捍卫粤语风波，却显示出语言文化和身份认同的密切关系。

事缘2010年7月，东莞市文化管理局拿掉了袁崇焕雕像上刻著的颇受争议的粗口口头禅，由于袁崇焕是十七世纪初东莞出身的明末抗清名将，袁崇焕纪念



grate Cantonese to the advantage of Putonghua, but this event made news headlines in the region (including the HKSAR and MSAR) for about three weeks before it calmed down (Zheng, 2010, Anonymous, 2010).

Since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, the language policy of new China may be broadly characterized as "dialect bilingualism" (Erbaugh, 1995; cf. Li and Lee, 2004). That is, the promotion of Putonghua, the national lingua franca, will not take place at the expense of the local or regional vernacular(s). This is also true of Macau, where the use of Cantonese remains unimpeded after the hand-over under the "one country, two systems" socio-political arrangement. From the point of view of preserving Cantonese language and culture in Macau, while there is no evidence that its Cantonese-speaking residents reacted strongly to the recent news events which, to many, suggested that the vernacular was under threat, such reactions are a good reminder that language and culture are closely bound up with speaker identity.

Language contact phenomena

As Cantonese and Portuguese (including Macanese) have been in contact for more than four hundred years in Macau, it is not surprising at all that contact-induced changes have occurred in the vernacular of their speakers. And, Macau Cantonese has also been influenced by English to some extent, largely as a result of exposure to Hong Kong electronic media and frequent contact with Hong Kong visitors. Moody (2008) notes that much of the phonological influence of Cantonese in Hong Kong English (HKE) may also be observed in the English of Chinese speakers in Macau. He lists ten of the more salient phonological influences from Cantonese among HKE speakers that are shared by their counterparts in Macau (Moody, 2008, p. 11).

A survey of the relevant literature shows that much of the mutual influence between Cantonese and Portuguese manifests in the form of lexical borrowing, intra-sentential code-switching and, to a lesser extent, induced syntactic change as well.

Influence of Portuguese on Macau Cantonese

Several studies (e.g., Ching, 1995; Wong, 1998) show that lexical borrowing from Portuguese is very common in Macau Cantonese. For example, the Portuguese word *folga* "on leave" is transliterated as fo1 gaa2, as in:

你幾時“科架”呀?

Nei5 gei2 si4 fo1 gaa2 aa3?

"When are you going on leave?" (Wong 1998: 6)

One point of interest is that fo1 gaa2 sounds similar to the indigenous expression with the same meaning 放假 (fong3 gaa3). Another example is *bolsa* "scholarship", which is similarly rendered as 煲沙 "bou1 saa1", as in:

你讀 Master 可以申請煲沙

Nei5 duk6 Master ho2 ji5 san1 cing2 bou1 saa1

"To study a Master's degree you can apply for a scholarship", (*ibid.*, p. 7)

Code-switching between Portuguese and Cantonese is also commonly heard. One high-frequency example is the adverb *tudo* "all", as in:

全家人 *tudo* 出晒街

cyun4 gaa1 jan4 tudo ceot1 saai3 gaai1

"The whole family all have gone out", (Ching, 1995, p. 26)

According to Wong (1998), some Cantonese speakers pronounce *tudo* as du1 du4, making it more like an instance of borrowing. Other examples of contact-induced changes in Cantonese include the coining of new lexical items after the Portuguese model, as in the case of 擺名 (baai2 meng2, "to apply [for something]"), which is based on *pôr o nome*, literally "put one's name (on it)". This lexical item has slowly supplanted the usual Cantonese expression 報名 (bou3 meng2) in such contexts as students applying for a place at university (Ching, 1995, p. 26).

园又是受欢迎的旅游景点，这次变动令许多广东人感到不快，网民不断地在网上留言表达不满(He, 2010)。

同月，某政协委员以亚运即将开幕为理由，建议广州电视台用国家通用语普通话，替代地方方言粤语作新闻广播的媒介。这个提议使当地居民警觉起来，纷纷对此表示强烈不满。历史上，过去数百年来粤语一直是中国南部岭南文化的重要载体，包括戏剧、音乐和菜式。广东当局随即马上否认政府有意消灭当地粤语语言文化，不过这次事件还是上了当地各家报章的头条(包括香港和澳门)，前后扰攘了三星期才告平息(Zheng, 2010; Anonymous, 2010)。

自从1949年中华人民共和国成立后，国家语言政策可说是秉持「方言、普通话」并行的双语方针(Erbaugh, 1995; 另参考 Li & Lee, 2004)，即推广国家通用语普通话的同时，并不会消灭本地的方言或土语。这个大方向同样适用于澳门，回归后在「一国两制」的推行下，当地粤语的使用并没有受到任何干扰。从保护澳门粤语和粤文化的角度看，虽然目前并没有证据显示澳门的粤语使用者对广东省发生的事情表示强烈反应，但最近广东方面发生的保卫粤语风波，再次提醒我们语言文化与身份认同两者是密不可分的。

语言接触现象

在澳门，粤语和葡语(澳门葡语)的接触长达四百多年，社会语言学家告诉我们，两种语言长期接触难免引起相互间的变化，此外澳门粤语亦因香港的电子媒体和来自香港的大量游客而受到一定程度的影响。英语方面，Moody注意到受粤音影响的港式英语也出现在澳门英语之中，他曾罗列出十项同时出现在香港英语和澳门英语之中的「粤式英语」供学习者参考(2008, 第11页)。

先说粤语和葡语间的相互接触，大量相关的研究文献显示，粤葡接触而出现的变化，表现在词汇借用和句内语码换转上，也有一些表现在语法转变上。

葡语对澳门粤语的影响

过往的研究(如Ching, 1995, Wong, 1998)显示澳门粤语从葡语里借入词汇是非常普遍的语言现象，例如葡语词folga(放假)借入粤语后成为音译词fo1 gaa2用于日常会话中：

你几时“科架”呀？

Nei5 gei2 si4 fo1 gaa2 aa3?

“When are you going on leave?”

(Wong, 1998, 第6页)。

这里值得提出的是，fo1 gaa2 的发音跟其粤语意思「放假」(fong3 gaa3)非常相近，可说是音意兼备；又例如葡语词 bolsa 指「奖学金」，借入澳门粤语后成为音译词「煲沙」“bou1 saa1”：

你读Master可以申请煲沙

Nei5 duk6 Master ho2 ji5 san1 cing2
bou1 saa1

“To study a Master's degree you can apply for a scholarship”)(同上, 第7页)

葡粤之间的语码转换是普遍现象，其中副词tudo(全部)是一个出现频率非常高的例子：

全家人tudo出晒街

cyun4 gaal jan4 tudo ceot1 saai3
gaal1

“The whole family all have gone out” (Ching, 1995, 第26页)

Tudo是葡语说法，还没有汉字的写法。Wong(1998)指出，一些粤语使用者

Influence of English on Macau Cantonese

The spread of English in Macau may be partly attributed to the influence of Hong Kong English media—television and radio—and partly to the fact that English occupies an increasingly important position in the domains of education, business and tourism. Popular examples cited include the use of English sports jargon such as *start*, *jumping* (swimming), *walking*, *jump ball*, *hand ball*, *line ball* and *outside* (basketball). Ching (1995) further remarks that his own students typically greet each other with “Hi”, and that part of their “university-speak” includes the word *seminar*, and the clipped word *U* (pronounced as *you*) which is short for “university”. Other examples of English words occurring in mixed code come from a variety of domains: *shopping*, *call* (verb and noun), *cash*, *copy* (verb and noun), *interview* (sometimes simplified as *in*), *miss* (e.g. the bus), *toilet* and *walkman*. Code-switching may also take the form of loan blends or “compromise forms” (Clyne, 1991), as in 食 *lunch* (sik6 *lunch*, “eat lunch”) and 做 *show* (zou6 *show*, “acting out a show”) (Ching, 1995, pp. 28-30). As the lingua franca of both Hong Kong and Macau is Cantonese, most of the lexical borrowings from English found in Hong Kong Cantonese may also be found in Macau Cantonese. Apart from loanwords borrowed a long time ago, such as 巴士 (baa1 si2, “bus”) and 的士 (dik1 si2, “taxi”), there are more recent examples which do not have accepted written forms in Chinese/Cantonese. One such example is *quali* (kwo1 li2, “qualification”) (Ching, 1995, p. 29). Ching (1995) also shows that intra-sentential code-switching between Cantonese and English is fairly common in Macau, especially among educated Macau Chinese.

Influence of Cantonese on Macau Portuguese and Macanese

Portuguese and Macanese, too, have been influenced by Cantonese to some extent. Obvious examples are loan translations involving culture-specific practices, such as *bolo lunar* (月餅 “moon cake”) and *cabeça de cobra* (蛇頭

“snakehead”, Wong, 1998, pp. 6-7). According to Lei (2001), there are quite a few loanwords and loan translations in Macanese which may be traced back to traditional Chinese religious practices, for example, *cau-tau* (“to kowtow”), *fu* (“magical paper”), *banco do além* and *papel de pagode*, both meaning “paper money burnt as offering to the dead”. Another interesting example takes the form of a loan blend: *pac-fanista* “drug addict”, which is derived from Cantonese baak6 fan2 (白粉, “drug”) and the Portuguese derivational suffix *-ista* (Fernandes and Baxter, 2001; also cited in Bradley, 2005, p. 188).

At the level of syntax, Ching (1995) reports that Portuguese speakers in Macau have developed a Sinicized Portuguese question-tag, *é não é?*, which is modelled on the A-not-A construction in standard Chinese 是不是? (shì bú shì?) and Cantonese 係唔係 (hai6 m4 hai6), both meaning “isn’t it?” (Ching, 1995, pp. 26-27).

Language Shift: The case of Macanese

The forefathers of the Macanese community spoke a Portuguese creole called Macanese (also known to members of the speech community as Patuá), which was characterized by significant influence from Malay and other Pacific languages (Bradley, 2005; Tomás, 1988, 1994). Following the introduction of standard Portuguese in the 1950s, however, Macanese slowly lost its vitality and gradually disappeared. Today, as Lei (2001) points out, “Macanese as a medium of communication has largely vanished (...). The creole exists only in songs, jokes, plays, and literature. The older generation of this community could understand and use the creole, although they only use, most of the time, individual lexical items. The younger generation is more inclined to speak and write standard Portuguese” (Lei, 2001, p. 20). Many Macanese, however, feel psychologically insecure, as shown by the fact that they refer to themselves as “neither meat nor fish” (Zepp, 1991, cited in Lei, 2001, p. 21), or in Bhabha’s phrase, “white, but not quite” (cited in Cheng, 1999, p. 203).

Although the Macanese community has

会把tudo发成du1 du4, 使之听起来比葡语词更像一个粤语音译借词。词组模仿(coining of lexical items)是另一个因接触而引致转变的例子, 例如动宾片语「摆名」(baai2 meng2, 申请[一些项目]), 就是模仿葡语的pôr o nome而构成的, 在澳门粤语中意思是「摆上某人的名字」。一些特定的语境当中, 这个词已经渐渐地代替了原粤语惯用语「报名」(bou3 meng2), 例如学生申请大学学位等(Ching, 1995, 第26页)。

英语对澳门粤语的影响

英语在澳门的传播, 一方面归因于香港英语媒体如电视和电台的影响, 另一方面也因为英语在国际上越发重要的影响力, 尤其是在教育、商业和旅游等领域, 一些常见的例子例如英语运动术语start, jumping(游泳), walking, jump ball, hand ball, line ball 和 outside(篮球)等。Ching(1995)指出, 他的学生见面时不说早晨而说Hi, 此外seminar(研讨会)和「大学」(university)的缩略语U现都变成了大学校园里的常用语。其他在澳门粤语口语中经常出现的英语单词各来自不同的领域, 例如: shopping、call(动词和名词)、cash、copy(动词和名词)、interview(有时简缩成 in)、miss(带宾语如the bus)、toilet 和 walkman等。语码转换方面, 手段包括混合语(loan blends)或折衷方式(compromise forms)(Clyne, 1991), 例如「食lunch」(sik6 lunch, 午餐)和「做show」(zou6 show, 作秀)(Ching, 1995, 第28-30页), 其中的动词谓语是粤语, 名词宾语却是英语。由于香港和澳门都以粤语为通用语, 大部份在香港粤语中出现的英语借词都可以在澳门粤语中找得到, 遑论一些早期借词如巴士(baa1 si2, “bus”)和的士(dik1 si2, “taxi”)等; 另外, 还有一些过去

不为中文或粤语接受的例子, 现在已成为为常用词, 例如quali(kwo1 li2, “qualification”)(Ching, 1995, 第29页)。Ching(1995)又指出, 澳门粤语中句内粤英语码转换情况非常普遍, 特别是在教育水平高的华籍人士当中。

粤语对澳门葡语和澳门土语的影响

语言接触之下, 葡语和澳门葡语同样在某程度上受到了粤语的影响, 显见的例子包括与文化相关的意译词(loan translations), 如bolo lunar(月饼)和cabeça de cobra(蛇头, Wong, 1998, 第6-7页)。根据Lei(2001), 一些音译或意译的葡语词甚至可以上溯至中国民间的传统信仰和宗教, 如cau-tau(叩头)、fu(符)、banco do além 和 papel de pagode, 后两个词组表示为死者烧冥纸。以混合语形式出现的例子, 有意思的莫如pacfanista(吸毒者), 其词干源自粤语baak6 fan2(白粉), 而词缀-ista则来自葡语(Bradley, 2005, 第188页)。

语法层面上, 澳门葡语现已发展出一个葡语原来没有的疑问句尾(question-tag)é não é?, 这个A-不-A结构明显地是模仿标准中文「是不是」(shì bú shì?)和粤语「系唔系」(hai6 m4 hai6)而发展出来的, 即是英语isn't it?的意思(Ching, 1995, 第26-27页)。

语言转移: 澳门土语的情况

土生葡人的祖先以一种叫「澳门土语」(Macanese, 葡文称为Patuá)的混合语为母语, 这种语言以葡语为基础, 并受到马来语和其他太平洋诸岛的语言所影响(Bradley 2005; Tomás, 1988, 1994)。随著1950年代标准葡萄牙语的提倡, 澳门土语慢慢地失去生命力, 最后几近消亡。目前澳门土语的使用情况, 正如Lei(2001)所指出: 「作为沟通的语言澳门土语已接近消亡, 这种混合语只

lost much of their once vibrant vernacular, they are very proud of their culture and identity. For example, Macanese continues to be used in drama performances by a group of enthusiasts called *Grupo de Teatro Doci Papiacam di Macau* ("Macau's Sweet Language Theatre Group", Bruning, 2004). According to Prof. Baxter of the Research Centre for Luso-Asian Studies at the University of Macau, there are fewer than two dozen fluent speakers of Patuá in Macau and Hong Kong (Baxter, 2004). The Macanese also take pride in their food and culinary practices. Thus Jorge Smith, one of the immigrants of Chinese and Zimbabwean ancestry, described how he was pleasantly surprised by a Macanese host's invitation to a *cha gordo*, which turned out to be a Mediterranean-style feast: "We started at six o'clock in the evening and I left his house at around one in the morning. It's neither lunch nor dinner—you keep eating on and off for five or six hours. The importance placed on food is extremely Chinese in its orientation... but the format was very European, suited to the convivial aspect of Macanese society" (McGivering, 1999, p. 187). This is of course just another example showing some of the more pleasant things that can happen when cultures are in contact. ☸

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在一些歌曲、笑话、戏剧和文学作品中出现。土生葡人社区中，年老的一辈能明白和使用这种混合语，虽然大部份时间他们只是使用一些单词或短语；相反，年轻的一代在口语和书面语方面更倾向使用标准葡语。」(Lei, 2001, 20)现在的土生葡人大多会标准葡语，纵然如此，他们始终是欧亚混血儿，并非纯种白人，因著身份认同问题往往感到内心不安，这从他们自嘲「不是肉也不是鱼」(Zepp, 1991, 转引自Lei, 2001, 第21页)或「白人，但又不完全」可见一斑(Bhabha语，转引自1999, 第203页)。

纵使土生葡人曾经使用的混合语已濒临消亡，但他们对于自身的文化却感到非常骄傲。举例来说，由话剧爱好者组成的澳门土生土语话剧团(Bruning, 2004)每次演出话剧时都以澳门土语为语言媒介(Bruning, 2004)。据澳门大学葡亚研究中心Baxter教授的统计，目前在澳门和香港能说流利澳门土语的只剩下二十多人(Baxter, 2004)。此外，土生葡人对他们的食物和菜式也感到相当的自豪，Jorge Smith是中国和津巴布韦的后裔，也是澳门的新移民，他说到一次受土生葡人的邀请去吃肥茶(cha gordo)，席间他发现这竟是一场充满著地中海特色的盛宴，他感到既惊讶又愉快：「晚宴在六时开始，直至午夜一时才结束，平常的午餐和晚餐都不是这样，不会在五、六个小时之内吃吃停停。这次晚宴的重要性，在于这是一场糅合中西精髓的盛宴，也反映出土生葡人喜好盛宴的一面。」(McGivering, 1999, 第187页)诚然，当两种截然不同的文化相互接触之后，可以发生很多令人愉快的事情，以上就是其中一个例子。

梁慧敏，香港浸会大学中文系文学士、哲学硕士，香港大学语言学系哲学博士。现为香港教育学院中文系助理教授，主要从事有关粤语、现代汉语、粤普对比和社会语言学的研究与教学。著有专书 *On the Synchrony and Diachrony of Sentence-Final Particles*, 2010 和《正识中文》，2010；另有中英文学术论文十余篇，先后发表于港澳、内地和美加的学术期刊，范围包括：粤语语气词的功能和演变、粤语声调的变化、英语中的汉语音译借词、粤语书写手段的发展，以及香港语言使用的情况等，又曾为香港《明报》和香港电台「人民人情」节目撰写多篇探究生活语文的文章。

李楚成，香港中文大学英文系文学士，后负笈法国和德国，分别获应用语言学硕士和语言学博士衔，现为香港教育学院英文系教授。李教授的母语是粤语，他很早就对外语产生浓厚的学习兴趣，大学期间他以法语为副修科目，这一项语言能力使他能成功赴法完成硕士课程；后来李教授赴德学习德语，经过四个月密集式的课堂训练后，他掌握了德语的基本文法，后来更以德语完成他的博士论文。学成回港后，李教授一直在香港城市大学从事与语言学相关的研究和教学，前后共十六年，直至2008年获香港教育学院聘任为语文学院社会语言学教授。李教授的研究兴趣为社会语言学和双语环境下的语言使用，他所发表的论文涵盖三个主要领域：世界英语和香港英语、香港和台湾中英语码转换的动机、英语学习者的学习难点和修正策略。李教授的研究项目获得多项资助，包括两次获得香港特区政府研究资助局的优配研究金。此外，他曾超过十次获邀担当博士论文的考试委员，过去十多年又为本地多个学士和副学士课程作校外评审委员。



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