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**Lusophonization returns?  
The condition of language policy and  
planning in a post-colonial plurilingual  
Timor-Leste**

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree

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by

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## **Abstract**

The present study examines the national language policy and language in education policy in Timor-Leste, a post-colonial nation that has adopted an exogenous language (Portuguese) and an autochthonous language (Tétun) to be its official languages, and two exogenous languages (Indonesian and English) as working languages. Based on an analysis of the findings, it argues that there is convincing evidence that both the policies are moving towards assimilationist exclusionary monolingual Portuguese model.

It was originally intended to investigate the use of languages in three senior high schools in Timor-Leste. However, due to logistical and administrative reasons, the study did not eventuate as planned. Instead, the researcher interviewed 13 key informants from parliamentarians, ministry of education officers, high school directors and teachers, as well as government and non-governmental organizations officers, both in Díli, Timor-Leste and subsequently in Hamilton, New Zealand.

The objective of the interviews was to gather data on the interviewees' perspectives on the current national language policy and language policy in education. The study found that the debate of national language policy and its implementation, as well as implications, in educational domains is still vibrant and therefore far from over. The data from the interviewees showed that even some politicians did not agree with the current national language policy, saying that Timor-Leste should only use Tétun at the moment and keep Portuguese for the future. It was also said that there was no time frame apportioned in the implementation of the national language policy and therefore there was a rush toward Portuguese monolingual policy with the risk of devaluing Tétun and other national languages at the same time.

While there was a bulk data from interviewees showed that there is an imperative for the development of Tétun to improve its status planning, the language was viewed not politically and financially supported to

develop, which some earlier studies had called the state of affair more symbolic than substantial.

The language in education policy to use Portuguese as a mandated medium of instruction and Tétun simply to function an auxiliary role posed real challenges to education sector in Timor-Leste. High school principals and teachers complained about the use of Portuguese as medium of instruction and Tétun functions as auxiliary language because in the front line they found out that more than 80% of teachers were not qualified to teach that the majority of the teachers obtained their education in Indonesian, which means that they hardly use Portuguese to teach. There was a mismatch of idealized language policy and reality of language planning and therefore some teachers even said that they had to write their lesson plans in Indonesian, used Google translation to translate them into Portuguese to be used later to transfer knowledge to their students. For ease of students' understanding, they had to and normally use Tétun, even Indonesian, to explain the content of their teachings.

Lack of essential pedagogic materials also mentioned to be complicating the issue. Both principals and teachers suggested that teaching materials had to be provided in accordance with language policy in education, i.e. to be both in Portuguese and Tétun.

For professional development of teacher, it was learned that sending teachers away to attend basic Portuguese courses was not sufficient in equipping the teachers to be effective and efficient teachers unless they were given specific training based on their subjects and continued tutoring at their workplaces.

The study also explored the extent to which the data from interviewees, and accidentally one classroom observation, indicated degree of plurilingualism in Timor-Leste. The preliminary data showed that at least three languages were used in an interview sessions, with the most four languages used, reflecting the existence of plurilingualism in the country.

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Regardless of this, it is me who should be held responsible for any errors or omissions found in the thesis.

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# Chapter One: Contexts

## **1.0 Introduction**

East Timor, which is officially known as Timor-Leste, is swimming in an ocean of problems. One of these problems is its national language policy and the implementation of that policy. It has been identified as a problem before restoration of independence and even beyond (e.g.: Soares, 2000; Taylor-Leech, 2007b; UNDP, 2011, p. 46). The present study intends to venture into the whirlpool of the problem, attempting to see the issue with an insider's eyes. However, any no language problem takes place in isolation; it is caused or propelled by other socio-political, economic and cultural aspects, either directly or indirectly. To set the stage, this chapter will provide historical, socio-political and cultural contexts that frame the problem of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1.1 will be dedicated to discussing the land, the people and the culture. It will be followed by Section 1.2 on the country's linguistic situation. Section 1.3 will discuss the 'contact' with foreign countries, especially the centuries of colonial rules and land partition by the Portuguese; the interregnum of Japanese during the Second World War; the 24 years of Indonesia's most brutal occupation of Timor-Leste; and the country's struggle for liberation; the 33 months of UN administration; and the restoration of independence in May 2002. And lastly, Section 1.4 will outline Timor-Leste as an independent country and the challenges it faces in the process of its nation-state building in the era of globalization.

### **1.1 Timor: The land, the people, and the culture**

Timor-Leste is roughly half of Timor Island, situated in the south eastern extremity of lesser Sunda. It lies about 620 kilometres on the

northwest of Australia's Northern Territory. Map 1.1 represents the island of Timor, which is located in the middle of two neighbouring giants, i.e. Australia and Indonesia. Although it is the largest among the islands stretching out on the lesser Sunda, the island of Timor is very small, which renders it rather insignificant, both politically and geographically. There is no well-cited geological study that clearly establishes the time of the formation of the island. However, archaeological studies show that the island was populated between 30,000 and 40,000 B.C.E (e.g. O'Connor, 2003, 2007, 2012). Some even speculated that the island was already inhabited by Papuan people around 70,000 B.C.E. (see [http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%ADnguas\\_de\\_Timor-Leste](http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%ADnguas_de_Timor-Leste)).

Due to its position as a bridge to Australia and Melanesia, Timor became a stop-over for people from Asia and Papua (e.g. Dunn, 1983; Leach, 2007; Metzner, 1977) on their voyages to Melanesia and beyond. Although there is no agreement about who settled there first, the island is now populated by people with Austronesian and Papuan origins. They have coexisted for millennia, living in societies with similar social stratifications as nobles, commoners and outcasts or slaves. Noble families are further divided into *liurai* (king), *dato* (vice) and *makaer-fukun* (literary cult holder or decision makers). They lived in their cult houses (*uma-lulik* or *uma-lisan*) with a very complex alliances of wife-giver (*umane*) and wife-taker (*feto-saan*) (Dunn, 1983; Gunter, 2010; Metzner, 1977). This culture has been maintained ever since, before the colonial rules of Portuguese and then the Dutch, especially before the arrival and the domination of Christianity and Catholicism over their local traditions. Frequently, the people were at war with other warring groups ending up enslaving the captured enemy or simply annihilating the conquered. Nonetheless, the patrilineal-patrilocal and matrilineal-matrilocal family systems allowed these families grow to bigger and more complex. Before the coming of the Portuguese, the island was loosely ruled by one traditional kingdom called Welulik (which literally means sacred water) whose language was Tétun. The kingdom was then broken into two smaller kingdoms: Wehali

(literary means water under banyan tree) in western Timor which developed Tétun Belu and Webiku (means water from bamboo) in south-eastern area where Tétun Terik was developed (da Silva, 1999, p. 9). Like many primordial societies, petty kingdoms paid duties to their larger kingdom which the latter normally returned in the form of protection from other kingdoms. However, such reciprocity changed with the first European people to set their feet there in early sixteenth century.

One historical evidence is that Portuguese people were so afraid of Timor partly because head-hunting practice was still predominant during those years and being sent to Timor was like being into a gateway to hell (e.g.: Dunn, 1983; Fox, 2001; Ramos-Horta, 1987). The Portuguese only loosely controlled Timor after the introduction of coffee as cash crop in 1815 but in terms of administration it was only somehow effective until 1906. Frequently, Portuguese allured local *liurai* to be their instrument and therefore hereditary military ranks and attributes were granted to them, like *brigadeiro* (brigadier), *maior* (major), *kabitan* (captain), *tenente* (lieutenant), and *kabu* (private) (Gunter, 2010). They were sometimes also given Portuguese flags and other regalia which they kept in their cult houses to be worshipped later.

Even after that, there were head-taxes that enraged local people who organized fighting against Portuguese and the last massive uprising was led by Dom Boaventura of Same which was crushed in 1912. Due to divide and rule politics acted out by Portuguese, some *liurai* from the eastern part of Timor were used by Portuguese to defeat Dom Boaventura. The story goes that some of my great-great parents were involved in the war and during my childhood I was told that the heads of those killed in Manufahi were kept in a big banyan tree alongside other banyan trees used to keep heads of local 'heroes' who had died there. Even after the Second World War, there was still an uprising against the Portuguese in Viqueque area in 1959, which was believed to be agitated by *Permesta* (*Perlawananana semesta*, universal resistance) elements of recently-independent Indonesia, who avowedly

fought every element of colonialism after Asia-Africa conference in Bandung in 1950s.

There are disagreements about the duration of Portuguese rule over Timor and then Timor-Leste but the general view is that Portuguese is part of Timor-Leste and that Portuguese ruled the country for more than 450 years.

Map 0-1.1: Timor-Leste between two giants, Indonesia and Australia



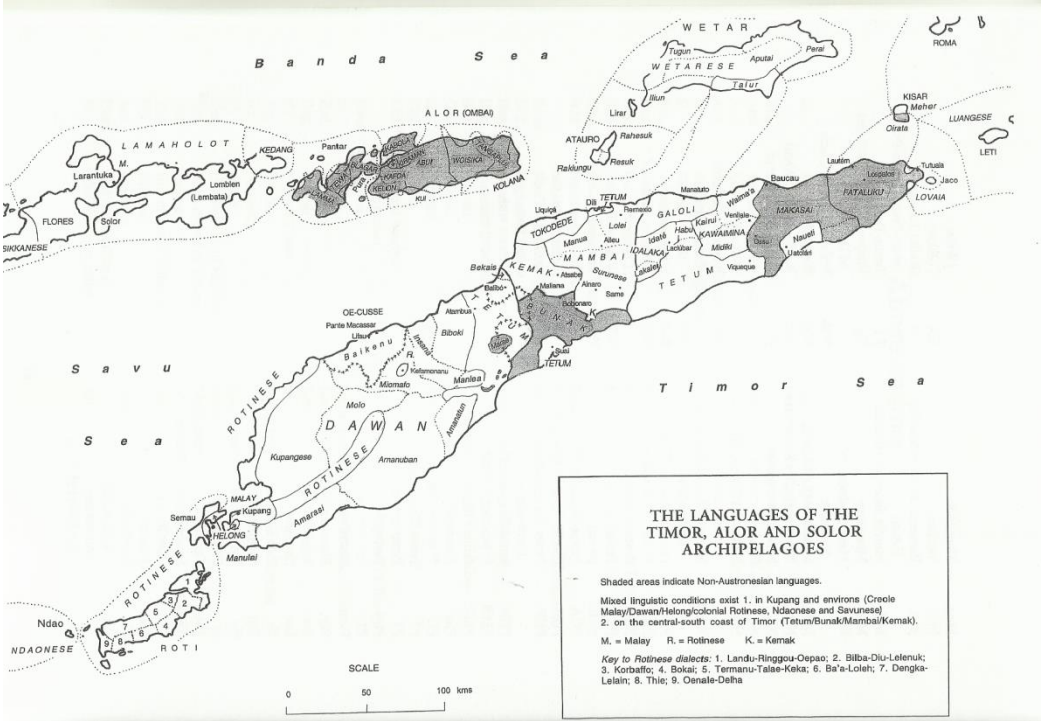
Source: UN (2011) retrieved from <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/timoreg.pdf>

## 1.2 Timor's linguistic situation

Hull (1998) posits that there are 16 linguistic unities, along with their dialects, known to the people of Timor. Only four out of these indigenous languages are hosted in the western part of Timor whereas the eastern part is home for the other twelve. Although the eastern part of Timor is known as a polyglot country, especially with regard to the number of languages and

dialects known to the people, it is yet a subject of contention and therefore far from conclusive (Hajek, 2000). Some researchers (for example Dunn, 1983, p. 3; Vale de Almeida, 2001, p. 598) reported that there are more than thirty dialects spoken in the country. Similarly, the 2004 Household Census reported that there were 32 language varieties in Timor-Leste. However, the classification done by Hull (2002) is now generally accepted that there are 16 native languages of Timor-Leste, with four languages belonging to Non-Austronesian languages while the rest to the Austronesian language group. Map 1.2 shows the ethno-linguistic situation of Timor and its adjacent islands.

Map 1.0-1: Languages of Timor and its adjacent islands



Source: Hull, 1998

### **1.3 Colonialism, occupation and national liberation**

The Portuguese first set their feet on the Timor's shore in 1515, partly in search of sandalwood and other indigenous commodities, such as bee-wax. However, the Portuguese were not the first to come into contact with the people. In 14<sup>th</sup> century that were reports in China and Java about the island's white sandalwood tree (Fox, 2000, p. 6). It might be possible that some ethnic Malays had also earlier contact, with the evidence found in the world addressed to foreigner, *malae*. The people of Timor-Leste will celebrate 500 years of Portuguese's "discovery" of the island in 2015, assuming the time the island had contact with Portuguese. However, it was also known that one of the first vessels to reach the north coast of the island was Magellan's ship, Victoria, on 26 January 1522, out of which a report came that the trade of sandalwood and wax in Java and Malacca was originally from Timor (Fox, 2000, p. 7).

It is often argued that Portuguese colonized Timor for more than 450 years however the claim was recently contested that the Portuguese administration became effective only since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century Kammen (2010). The Portuguese only set up their trading posts along coastal areas of Timor, such as in Solor, Larantuka, Lifau and then Díli, with frequents visits to places like Manatuto and Vemasse (Kammen, 2010). However, with the Dutch company trying to have control over sandalwood trade and influence, the Portuguese were pushed eastward and began to lose western part of Timor. In order to quell continuous conflict, there was an agreement reached in 1912 according to which the island was divided, relatively equal, into western and eastern parts. West Timor belonged to the Dutch, which then became Indonesian West Timor when Indonesia proclaimed its independence in 1945. The Portuguese controlled East Timor until 1975, when it abruptly left Timor after a civil war, partly instigated by Jakarta as a pretext for invasion with the incursion in the border town of



Balibo and then the killing of five Western journalists, including a New Zealand born journalist, as well as recruitment and training of Timorese militias to take Timor-Leste and then later integrate it into the Unitary State of Indonesia.

Seeing that the Indonesian invasion was inevitable, the FRETILIN party, which was then supported by the majority of the people, unilaterally proclaimed the country's independence on November 28, 1975. However, just nine days after the proclamation, Indonesia launched a large-scale invasion and then annexed it as its 27th province. The Indonesians brutally occupied the region for almost 25 years during which about one third of the population were killed. Timorese resisted the genocidal occupation on three different fronts: diplomatic, armed forces, and clandestine operations. In September 1999, in a UN-supervised referendum, 78.5% of the population voted for independence from Indonesia. Soon after that, the UN administered Timor-Leste for 32 months to prepare the Timorese for internationally-recognized independence. On May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2002, Timor-Leste once again became an independent country after Portuguese colonialism, Indonesian occupation and UN mandate (Chopra, 2000).

Some, like the politically motivated group CPD-RDTL (Popular Council for the Defence of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste), consider that Timor-Leste achieved independence only once. However, certain politicians, like Avéline Coelho, founder of the Timorese Socialist Party and current Minister of Council of Ministers and Mr Lansell Taudevin's 2009 book (*East Timor: Half an island, twice nation*), think that the country got its independence twice. Mr Coelho's recent book, *Merdeka Dua Kali* (Independence Twice), written in Indonesia, exemplifies the claim. In my opinion, the country has been independent three times: first from Portugal, then Indonesia and then from the United Nations. The United Nations held absolute power, from legislative, executive to judiciary, which some author associated it with a "kingdom" (Chopra, 2000). Timor-Leste is possibly the first Asian country to have adopted US dollar as its currency. The country is

not yet as totally free as a country, especially with colonial legacies that cripple it, such as the issue of language policy and planning, as well as various challenges associated with globalization.

#### **1.4 *Independent in a globalizing world***

As Timor-Leste became an independent county in the new millennium, it faced lot of problems. The UNDP reports that Timor-Leste is one of the poorest countries in the world with almost half of the over one million population live under the poverty line of 0.88 USD per capita per day. The World Bank reported that the country's economic growth in 2011 was 10 per cent however the inflation rate for the same year was recorded at 13 per cent. These problems were exacerbated by the destruction of much of the infrastructure before the retreat of Indonesian armed forces where almost 80 per cent of the buildings were burned down. For the education sector, the situation was aggravated by the departure of around 80 per cent of qualified Indonesian teachers (Cliffe, 2000), leaving the task of building the education sector almost from zero.

However, another problem, or rather an advantage, is the language. During Indonesian occupation, schooling was compulsory and there are around 10,000 Indonesian university graduates in Timor-Leste. Some of these felt that they had to contribute to the development of the country through the education sector, and are now teaching although almost 80 per cent are not formally qualified to teach. The situation is also complicated by the fact that the mandated media of instruction are Portuguese and Tétun, a foreign and second language for almost all of them. Tétun Prasa, which is creole of Portuguese (de Carvalho, 2001b), is spoken by almost 80 per cent of the population but for many it is their second language. Only around 30 per cent of the population speaks it as their home language.

As a relatively new country, nationalism and patriotism were like fresh air for the people, especially the young. However, such sentiment becomes rather vague when it touches upon the issue of language and national identity. The problem of language policy and planning, and its language in education policy and planning, poses a degree of crisis of identity among Timorese. Such sentiments becomes vaguer when the young people, who constitute half of the population, are in search of jobs in the market and have to learn both Portuguese and English to find jobs, either in UK and Ireland, often at the cost of changing their nationality. They may feel that the issue of language and nationality becomes rather irrelevant, including increasing demands for regionalism or supra-nationalism and globalization, as well as global citizenship.

## **1.5 Summary**

Timor Island is a home for two different ethno-linguistic groupings: the Austronesian and Papuan. Although these people had lived side by side for millennia, the colonial powers divided the island into west and east. West Timor belongs to Indonesia as a province but the eastern part briefly became an independent country in 1975, a status was restored in 2002.

Independent Timor-Leste has a lot of problems to withstand where education sector is one of those problems. The issue of language policy and planning, especially language in education policy and planning, becomes more than merely an interesting academic exercise, but a matter of vital concern to the future of the nation.

For me, the issue of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste presents an interesting topic to explore. However, it is a delicate issue which will easily entrench my position, either loved or hated. The following chapter will review the literature on language policy and planning, particularly language in education, in Timor-Leste.



## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

### ***2.0 Introduction***

Timor-Leste, which unilaterally declared its independence in 1975 but could only restore its independence on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2002, is a post-colonial country. Timor-Leste was arguably believed to have endured 450 years of Portuguese colonialism, followed by almost 25 years of most brutal Indonesian occupations and then 33 months of UN rule. As a new country, there are a lot of problems facing the country; one of them is its language policy and planning, with myriad linguistic problems associated to colonial legacies (Taylor-Leech, 2007a, 2013; Vale de Almeida, 2001, 2004). It has been reported elsewhere (see for example Fishman, 1968; Fishman, 1972; Le Page, 1964; Taylor-Leech, 2007a) that language problems have been characterizing many developing and postcolonial nations and polities, especially those who just became independent, like Timor-Leste.

This chapter intends to sketch out the language problem of Timor-Leste, its national language policy and planning, as well as its language in education policy. The chapter will also focus on the past and recent studies on the general issues of language policy and planning, particularly language policy and planning in the contexts of Timor-Leste as a postcolonial plurilingual country. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into the following sections: Section 2.1 will deal with definition of terms; Section 2.2 will focus on national language policy; Section 2.3 will map out language in education policy and planning; and Section 2.4 will explore past and recent study on language policy and planning and the intended niche which the present study wished to occupy. A summary will end the chapter.

## **2.1 Definition of terms**

There is a huge literature on the issue of national language policy and planning. Consequently, there are different terms coined by different scholars. Therefore, it seems imperative at the outset to engage in terminological clarification in order to give certain degree of elucidation of the terms used, as well as to provide necessary signposts for the current study. With regard to the capacity of individuals or society in using language(s) or language varieties, either separate or integrated, among the most frequently encountered but also highly contested terms are bilingualism, multilingualism, metrolingualism, and plurilingualism.

According to Richards and Schmidt (2010, p. 55) bilingualism is “...the use of at least two languages either by an individual or by a group of speakers” in a particular region or nation. This concept subsumes the knowledge of two languages by an individual, known as individual bilingualism, and the presence of two languages within a society, societal bilingualism. Bilingualism is in contrast to monolingualism, which became an iconic model during the ideology of one-state, one-religion and one-language. Multilingualism, on the other hand, is defined as the use of three or more languages by an individual or by a group (Richards & Schmidt, 2010, pp. 379-380). Both bilingualism and multilingualism denote the competence of their speakers, either individual or group to use competently several languages, with the knowledge of these languages as separate and equal in a sequential order.

In addition, recently other terms are being used as well, such as plurilingualism (Canagarajah, 2009), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2009) and polylingualism (Jørgensen, 2008). According to Richards and Schmidt (2010, p. 442), plurilingualism is defined as the knowledge of several languages by an individual. In terms of the history of the concept of plurilingualism, the term was first used by the Council of Europe in 2001 to define language situation in its member states where plurilingualism was

common. According to the Council of Europe (2001) plurilingualism refers to "...the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction..." (as cited in Stratilaki, 2012, p. 192). For the context of South Asia, Canagarajah (2009) then used the term to describe language situation in which different languages were in contact and therefore frequently used in mixing for communicative purposes without necessarily having a full competence in all of those languages. For Canagarajah (2009) multilingualism implies the knowledge and competence of three or more languages whereas the use of different linguistic repertoires for the purpose of communication, without having a full competence in these languages, is best described as plurilingualism. For the context of Timor-Leste, (Barnard, Robinson, da Costa, & da Silva Sarmiento, 2013), who conducted a study of code-switching at a university level in Díli in 2011, confirmed that the linguistic repertoire of most people in Timor-Leste is best described as plurilingual, because the participants in their study frequently codeswitched between languages, although they were not necessarily communicatively competent in the switched languages. Nevertheless, Timorese society as a whole could be described as multilingual

Another term, metrolingualism, was coined by Otsuji and Pennycook (2009, p. 244) to criticize the idea of seeing language as static, and they described the situation of metrolingualism as a "creative linguistic condition across space and borders of culture, history and politics, as a way to move beyond current, and perhaps static, terms such as *multilingualism* and *multiculturalism*" (original emphasis). They argued that metrolingualism is "product typically of modern, urban interaction" (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2009, p.245) which undermines dichotomies of monolingualism/multilingualism. According to Otsuji and Pennycook (2009),

Metrolingualism describes the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language; it does not assume connections between language, culture, ethnicity, nationality or geography, but rather seeks to explore how such relations are

produced, resisted, defied or rearranged; its focus is not on language systems but on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction. (p. 246)

The concept of fluidity in metrolingualism is similar to what Shohamy (2006) described as the nature of language, which is both dynamic and unbound to any geographical border, although in the ambiance of language policy and planning it is treated as monolithic, static and deterministic and therefore it can be manipulated by those who are in power.

There are different terms worth defining of how, when and where languages are acquired or learned. According to Richards and Schmidt (2010, p. 221) first language is the language that is first acquired during someone's childhood. It is also referred to as mother tongue and also native language. First language is often abbreviated as L1. In contrast to first language, a second language is broadly defined as any language learned after one's native language (Richards & Schmidt, 2010, p. 514). A second language is learned because it is needed for survival as well as a passport to success because the second language may have occupied important functions in a region or nation such as in the public administration and education. According to Ellis (2008, p. 5), "sometimes a distinction is made between a 'second' and a 'third' or even a 'fourth' language....however, the term 'second' is generally used to refer to any language other than the first language". For the context of Timor-Leste, where different languages are learned after one's first language, such as Tétun, Indonesian, English and Portuguese, these languages, based on this definition may be called second languages. However, the linguistic situation in Timor-Leste does not allow for easy definitions; many people marry across linguistic borders and their children will thus speak two (or more) 'first' languages and even 'mother tongues'. Thus, rather than regarding other languages than these as second, third, fourth or fifth languages, it is better to refer to them all as *additional* languages. Even Tétun is an additional language for majority of the people.



It is commonly believed that Portuguese is a foreign language in Timor-Leste. However, according to Richards and Schmidt (2010, pp. 224-225) it is not the case because a foreign language is defined as "...a language which is not the native language of large numbers of people in a particular country or region, is not used as a medium of instruction in schools, and is not widely used as a medium of communication in government, media, etc.". While there are not very large numbers of Timorese who consider Portuguese as their first language it is used as a medium of communication in schools and government circles. Another distinction often made is between a second language and a foreign language. According to Ellis (2008), the former has a social and institutional role to play in the community, whereas the latter has no major role in the community and primarily learned only in the classroom settings. For the context of Timor-Leste again, the first condition is met under this definition but with the second and third categories. Therefore, Portuguese is not a foreign language.

## ***2.2 Language policy and planning in Timor-Leste***

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, pp. xi, 3) defined language policy as "...a body of ideas, laws, regulation, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system" whereas language planning is "... an attempt by somebody to modify the linguistic behavior of some community for some reason." Language planning is intended to change or not to change the use of a language or languages in one or more communities in a deliberate, covert or overt way. Language planning can be further divided into three important areas: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning, with prestige planning is often added.

According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 4) language policy and planning is a part of national resources planning. Therefore, national language policy and planning is commonly designed by politicians, although their decisions may be informed by linguists. Language planning is the

implementation of language policy, which relates to whether to put the language policy in practice or not. Language policy and planning are normally carried out by national or local government (macro-level), institutions (meso-level) and people themselves, including (language) teachers (micro-level). Language policy is highly political and contentious when issues like which language to choose and its status function designated to it come to surface.

For a post-colonial country like Timor-Leste, the decision of national language policy of adopting Tétun and Portuguese as co-official languages posed certain problems which therefore should be subjected to critical scrutiny because language policy affects the way everybody lives in which one or more languages are used and lived through. It is the case that the national language policy and planning in Timor-Leste was and is made by politicians, and therefore it was correctly referred to as political decision.

Timor-Leste is a home for around 30 different languages and dialects and therefore some previous studies have referred to it as multilingualism (Hajek, 2000) or reduced multilingualism (Taylor-Leech, 2007b, 2009). However, the study by Barnard et al. (2013) argued that Timor-Leste is best described as a plurilingual society where different linguistic repertoires are used by the people for the purpose of communication, without necessarily having full competence in all of those languages. There are, of course, cases where people can be competently speaking different languages but the language repertoire for the vast majority of people in Timor-Leste is best explained as plurilingual. The 2010 Census indicated that the literacy rate of the people aged between 15 and 24 in any of the four languages which constituted 72.1 per cent in 2004 had increased to 79.1 in 2010 (National Directorate of Statistics, 2011).

The present study intends to critically examine the language policy and planning in Timor-Leste as well as its ramifications with regard to language in education policy. It is expected that the present enquiry makes an academic

contribution and insight from an applied linguist's point of view, to future necessary institutional improvements, as well as future studies, in the field of language policy and planning and language in education policy. Map 2.1 is the political map of Timor-Leste, with its 12 districts, with islands of Ataúro on the north of Díli and Jaco on the eastern tip of Timor Island. The autonomous region of Oecusse is an enclave of Timor-Leste located on the north-west of the island surrounded by Indonesian districts. It was kept as a Portuguese based on the 1916 agreement, partly because it was the capital of Portuguese Timor because the capital was moved to Díli in 1769.

**Map 2.1: Map of Timor-Leste with its districts**



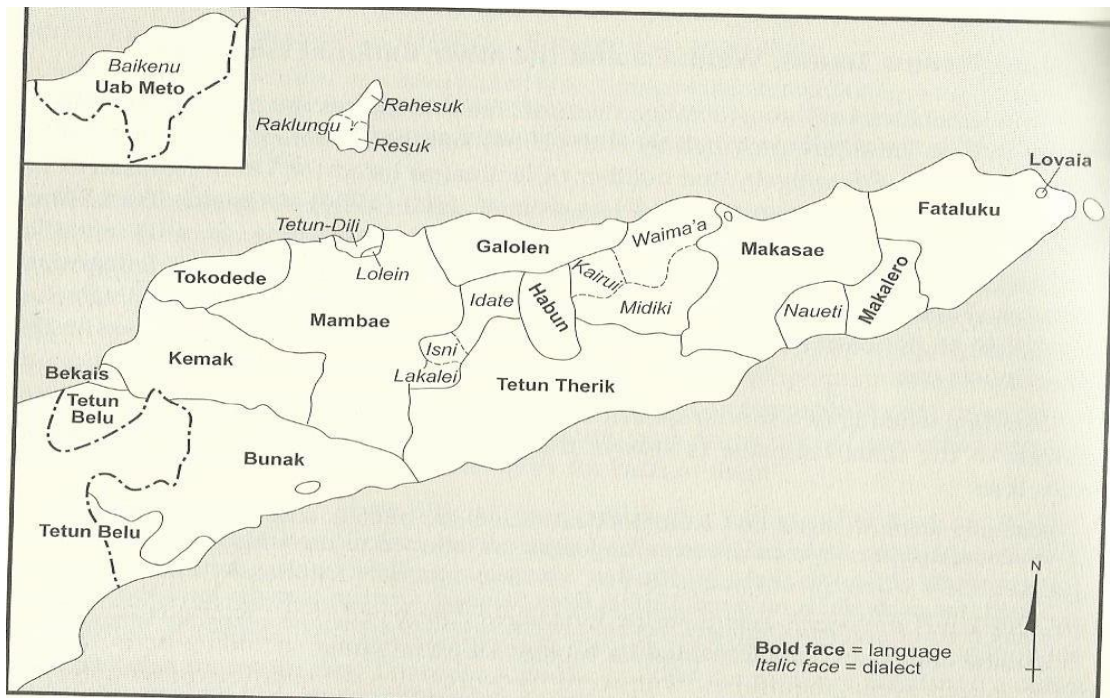
(UN, 2007)

There is no linguistically informed language census thus far and therefore in terms of the number of languages and dialects known to the people it is yet a subject of contention and therefore far from conclusive

(Hajek, 2000). However, earlier studies (for example Dunn, 1983, p. 3; Vale de Almeida, 2001, p. 598) reported that there are more than 30 languages and dialects spoken in the country. Timor-Leste's 2004 Household Census reported that there are 32 language varieties in Timor-Leste (as cited in Taylor-Leech, 2009, p. 155) and 2010 Population and Housing Census reconfirmed that there are more than 32 indigenous languages spoken, in addition to Portuguese, English, Indonesian and other Chinese languages such as Mandarin, Cantonese and Hakka. However, the linguistic community tends to believe in the classification done by (Hull, 2002) that there are 16 native languages of Timor-Leste, with four languages belonging to Non-Austronesian languages while the rest to the Austronesian language group. As a Timor-Leste's student, I will consistently refer to the two censuses data on language policy as legitimate, although often inaccuracies are found. One possible reason is language policy and planning, including language classification, is an act of political self-determination. In other words, to assign a language or a language variety as a distinct language or dialect is a matter of political exercise, not merely linguistic one, and often time asymmetries in language planning is based on undemocratic top-down language classification.

It is also the case that additional languages such as Portuguese, English and Indonesian are not actually foreign in Timor-Leste, partly due to the status designated by the Constitution as official and working languages respectively, as well as their wider use in the administration. Map 2.2 shows so-called national languages and their dialects, was made based on Hull's model of language classification.

**Map 2.2: Timor-Leste's national languages and their dialects**



(Bowden & Hajek, 2007)

Language policy and planning in Timor-Leste constitute a typical problem facing a postcolonial and newly independent country where colonial legacies are rampant (Taylor-Leech, 2007a). In Indonesia and Malaysia, each previously under Dutch and British colonial rule, adopted Indonesian and Malay to be their official languages after independence (Omar, 2007; Simpson, 2007). However, many sub-Saharan African countries opted for colonial languages to be their official language, including those former Portuguese colonies (Vilela, 2002). Timor-Leste, unlike Indonesia and Malaysia, adopted Tétun and Portuguese to be the country's official languages. The pronouncement was made clear in Article 13 of the 2001 Constitution of Timor-Leste which says that Tétun and Portuguese are official languages of Timor-Leste and that Tétun and other national languages shall be valued and developed by the state (Constituent Assembly, 2001). This is slightly different from the 1975 FRETILIN Constitution where only Portuguese

was granted official status while Tétun was merely regarded as the national language (Jolliffe, 1978). The country also adopted Indonesian and English as its working languages in the article 159 of the 2001 Constitution (Constituent Assembly, 2001).

### **2.2.1 The development of Tétun**

Tétun, which literally means the language of the lowland people, is widely spoken as it functions as a *lingua franca*. According to da Silva (1999, p. 9) Tétun was the language of Welulik Kingdom which loosely ruled the eastern Timor before the arrival of Portuguese. The kingdom was later further divided into two: Wehali on the western part of eastern Timor and Webiku on the south-eastern area. Wehali's Tétun was and now known as Tétun Belu, spoken in the area around Belu District of West Timor whereas Webiku's language was Tétun Terik. da Silva (1999, p. 9) argued that Tétun Prasa or Tétun Díli is a creole of Tétun Belu, Tétun Terik and Portuguese. Whether it constitutes a language or a dialect of Tétun is still in contestation. However, the language was mainly developed in the capital Díli since 1769. Díli was then a Mambae-speaking area.

The Catholic Church was partly responsible for the distribution of Tétun in their efforts of and civilizing and catholicizing the people, along with other languages such as Galolen and Makasae (Hull, 1998). During the Portuguese colonial rule, Tétun was not permitted to be used in classrooms (Ramos-Horta, 1987), partly due to the assimilationist policy (Hull, 1999a). According to Vale de Almeida (2001); (Vale de Almeida, 2004, p. 95) Tétun was the language of *gentios* or the heathen as Portuguese was for the *assimilados* during the promotion of this apparently bilingual language policy.

During the Indonesian illegal occupation, the Catholic Church in Timor, with the approval of the Vatican, adopted Tétun as a language of the liturgy when the use of Portuguese was banned (Hajek, 2000, p. 406). So, by the

Catholic Church, Tétun was a language of resistance against the Indonesianization, as well as the elimination of Portuguese.

Under the Decree Law No. 1/2004 it is Tétun Prasa or Tétun Dili which is the Official Tétun, which has to be complied and be used in education and social communications. It then becomes clear that the urban capital's Tétun is the standardized Tétun, and the National Institute of Linguistics (INL) legally functions as the scientific custodian of the official language.

The 2001 Asia Foundation's East Timor's National Survey reported that more than 91 per cent understood Tétun and that 58 per cent of the population could read and write in Tétun (Asia Foundation, 2001, p. 5). In terms of age, the survey indicated that Tétun was spoken by 96 per cent of those under 25. According to 2004 Census, Tétun was spoken by 68.1 per cent of the population and in to 2010 Census, Tétun was spoken by 77.8 per cent in 2010 (National Directorate of Statistics, 2011).

### ***2.2.2 The development of Portuguese***

Portuguese was used in Portuguese administration and education in Timor-Leste, which was then called Portuguese Timor. In 1975, the language was spoken by roughly 0.25 per cent of the population of 650,000. Map 2.3 shows where Portuguese is now spoken.

**Map 2.3: Portuguese-speaking countries, plus Macau**



(Observatório da Língua Portuguesa, 2011a, 2011b)

Hajek (2000) argued that there was a move to impose monolingual Portuguese policy in Timor Portuguese in 1960 in during which the local population were urged to pray and even curse in Portuguese. In education sector, where the Catholic Church was trusted to run, Portuguese was largely imposed and the use of local languages, especially Tétun, was not encouraged. Ramos-Horta (1987, p. 9) and Pinto and Jardine (1997, p. 35) reported that those who were caught speaking Tétun would be punished with *palmatório*, a type of heavy solid and rounded bat, which would make the punished hands swollen for two weeks if the students were beaten a hundred times. Timorese could withstand one hundred stokes while any Portuguese would barely take seven stokes with this type of *palmatória*. Regardless of this rigid policy, Ramos-Horta (1987, p. 9) said that less than one per cent of the student could “muster a few words of Portuguese.” As late as 1970s, there was just 0.25 per cent of *assimilado* or assimilated local people (Taylor, 1995, p. 32) in addition to around 0.2 per cent of Portuguese citizens (Hajek, 2000, p. 402) who could speak in Portuguese. By 1997, Portuguese was reported to have been spoken by 2 per cent of the total population (Costa, 2001, p. 60). So, it was clear that Tétun was a language of resistance against imposition of Portuguese monolingual policy.



The FRETILIN party, who unilaterally proclaimed Timor-Leste's independence in November 1975, adopted Portuguese as an official language, while Tétun was adopted as a national language (Jolliffe, 1978). However, it is now difficult for some people to understand why a liberation movement such as FRETILIN decided to use Portuguese as official language. However, the experience of Luso-African countries showed that the elites chose Portuguese even though they vehemently fought against the regime. One of the reasons was that in Luso-African countries like Mozambique there was no local language whose speakers constituted a majority, and therefore Portuguese was seen as a neutral language (Kathupa, 1994; Vilela, 2002). That is not the case with Timor-Leste, where Tétun was widely spoken and functioned as a lingua franca for the people. With the occupation of Indonesia, the Portuguese language was banned from 1975-1999 (Hajek, 2000) in public use although it was still used in the *Externato de São José* (Lusa, 2002), as well as in the seminary in Díli. As a seminarian I learned the language from late 1989 up to 1993, and relearned it at the *Universitas Timor Timur* (UNTIM) in 1996/1997. So, although there was Indonesianization of Timor-Leste, Portuguese was still limitedly used in Catholic schools, as well as UNTIM in mid 1990s.

According to Hull (1999b), there are historical and cultural reasons for the adoption of Portuguese. Under brutal occupation after 1975, there was massive campaign of Indonesianization where the use of Portuguese and other local languages was not tolerated. Another researcher has called this "detimorization" (de Brito & Bastos, 2007, p. 241). The 2010 Census indicated that Portuguese was spoken by 17.2 per cent in 2004, which then increased to 39.2 per cent by 2010, with more than 20 per cent increase (National Directorate of Statistics, 2011).

This surge may be explained by the fact that there have been efforts concerted and consolidated to make Portuguese an official language in all areas of administration, including education. There were around 170 Portuguese teachers (Brummitt, 2002) deployed in early years of restoration

of independence to promote Portuguese in education however the policy was realigned, especially after 2006. The Portuguese government reported that over the decade the bilateral assistance to Timor-Leste accounts for almost €20 million (about 26 M USD or 32 M NZD), where more than 52 per cent of it went to education, whose main objective was focused on the education and reintroduction of Portuguese (Portuguese Government, 2013). Since 2007 the Portuguese-Timor-Leste bilateral cooperation has been centered on the consolidation of Portuguese as an official language (Portuguese Government, 2013), which is called as a 'special cooperation' by the Portuguese politicians (Lusa/SOL, 2013).

The Council of Ministers' meeting on June 15, 2011 approved two more important issues about the use of official language in education and public domain. The first one was in relation to Curriculum Plans for Implementation of Basic Education Curriculum designed by the professors from the University of Minho in Portugal. The second issue was unbelievably a government resolution on the institutional communications between Timor-Leste's state institutions with the United Nations, its agencies and the European Union, asking these international institutions to "...promote, immediately and by all means, the systematic use of Timor-Leste's Official Languages" (Government of Timor-Leste [GTL], 2011). This resolution was to a certain extent a continuation of the resolution of the National Parliament on the use of official languages to urge the government to pursue a bilingual policy of Tétun and Portuguese in public administration, either in internal and external communications (National Parliament, 2010). The resolution also urged members of the parliament to have a least one plenary session in Portuguese in a month, as well as discussion at the committee level in Portuguese once in a month. Recommendation number five of the resolution called on the government to allocate more money for the recruitment of Portuguese teachers with the view of intensifying the teaching and promotion of Portuguese in Timor-Leste.

At present Bivona (2012) reported that there were 170 Portuguese teachers stationed in Timor-Leste, mainly from Portugal, to train 7000 teachers to strengthen Portuguese language skills hoping that within six years period Portuguese will be the official language of instruction. During a national conference organized by the Ministry of Education in October 2009, the Portuguese embassy in Timor-Leste revealed that there are about 170,000 book titles stored in 24 libraries. Brazil alone contributed over 80,000 of Portuguese magazines circulated in the country as a way consolidating Portuguese language (Bivona, 2012).

Many young people who fought against Indonesian occupation wondered why Portuguese was adopted as an official language. The same question may be reverberated in either in Indonesia or Australia, as well as some ASEAN countries, such as Singapore. There are reasons or motivations for language policy and planning, which according to Ager (2001) are largely identified as social, political and economic. Under these motivations there are their sub-sets as well such as identity, insecurity, ideology, and image for political motivation or reason. The sub-sets under social motivation are inequality and integration whereas one sub-set under economic is instrumentality. According to J.W. Tollefson (1991, p. 11) language policy is highly ideological so that it can be used to “sustain existing power relationships...” For the ideology operating behind the making of Portuguese as an official language, which is a passport to Portuguese post-colonial identity or Lusophone is Lusotropicalism, the concept of Portuguese people being able to live in the tropics through miscegenation, a doctrine accredited to (Freyre, 1956), which was first published in 1933 (Vale de Almeida, 2001, 2004).

### **2.2.3 *The development of Indonesian***

The almost antidote of Portuguese monolingual policy was exercised by the occupying forces of Indonesia where Indonesian was imposed as the

only official language as well as language of instruction. As a student during Indonesian period, I still remember how, during my primary and secondary education, someone would be severely punished for speaking other languages during school hours, where schools were remotely run by military officials. Two of my teachers were military officials embedded into the school for so-called dual functions or *dwi-fungsi* of the armed forces to have both civil and military roles, in addition to other military informant teachers. By early 1990s, there was a curriculum change in Indonesia where local contents in education was considered where local languages like Tétun were introduced into education. At the same time, there were different rudimentary linguistic studies of local languages of Timor-Leste done. When Indonesia left the country in October 1999, it was reported that the language was spoken by nearly 70 per cent of the population, only the second most popular language after Tétun. According to 2010 Census Indonesian was spoken by 66.8 per cent of the population in 2004 however the number of speakers has been plummeted. In 2010 those capable of speaking the language were 55.6 per cent (National Directorate of Statistics, 2011). There were about 2,000 Timorese students studying in Indonesia in 2003 (Bayuni, Fri, June 13 2003) and now the number may have climbed up to 10,000 students.

#### **2.2.4            *The development of English***

English was made the official language of Timor-Leste during the rule of the United Nations from October 1999 until May 2002. It was reported that in early 2000, the language was spoken by roughly 2 per cent of the population. In 2004, English was spoken by 10.0 per cent of the population. According to 2010 Census the language is now spoken by 22.3 per cent of the population (National Directorate of Statistics, 2011), with an increase of more than 12 per cent within the period of six years. The language is popular among young people, especially of those working with UN missions and the international development agencies operating in Timor-Leste.

In summary, it can be said that language policy and planning in Timor-Leste reflects different imprints of Portuguese colonial rule, Indonesian occupation and almost 36 months of UN administration. These historical factors account for the multilingual nature of the nation and the plurilingual repertoire of the majority of its people. However, there are also concerted efforts by the parliament and government to impose the use of official languages, with more emphasis on Portuguese, not only to the people of Timor-Leste but also to international institutions and UN agencies working in Timor-Leste.

### ***2.3 Language in education policy and planning***

Language in education policy is the primary manifestation or implementation of the national language policy and planning. According to J.W. Tollefson (1991), language in education policy is the real face of a national language policy because it can provide access to economic and political power, including the future rulers of the country, as well as those are to be ruled. Timor-Leste's language in education policy has been marked by a continuous battle of influence involving different linguistic background, especially involving Australian and Portuguese linguists and educators. Under such circumstances, a state of confusion and chaos would be the best way to describe language in education policy in Timor-Leste.

According to Taylor-Leech (2013, pp. 115-118) the language in education policy can be divided into five stages starting in late 1999 up to 2012. She said that from late 1999-2004 the policy was marked by intense education and reintroduction of Portuguese where the Indonesian was phased out. During this period, there were around 170 Portuguese teachers sent to teach schools either in Díli or in remote areas. In early 2000 the Indonesian Department at the UNTL was renamed as Malay Department and then closed down giving way for Portuguese department to emerge. Taylor-Leech (2013, p. 115) said:

In the transitional period to formal independence in 2002, driven by the desire to dismantle the Indonesian system, Ministry of Education policy-makers focused on phasing out Indonesian and phasing in Portuguese as the MOI in the academic year 2000–2001.

Portuguese was used as the mandated medium of instruction from Grade 1 up to six and as a subject it was given four hours a week and Indonesian was taken out of the curriculum. From 2004 to 2006/2007 the language in education policy was marked by submersion to transitional bilingualism in Portuguese. The medium of instruction was regulated by the Education Policy Framework for 2004–2008 where Tétun and Portuguese were recognized as co-official languages where both languages have roles of mutual enrichment. However, in 2005, the time allotted to teaching of Portuguese and Tétun as subjects in schools was three hours for Portuguese and five hours of Tétun in Grade 1 and 2, moving to four hours each for Grade 3 and then five hours of Portuguese and three hours of Tétun in Grade 4 and finally six hours of Portuguese and two hours of Tétun in Grades 5 and 6. For Grade 7 up to 9, the time allocation was five hours of Portuguese and three hours of Tétun per week. However, as there was a lack of resources, Tétun was not taught in schools. In 2006 that the Ministry of Education said that the language of teaching would be Portuguese and Tétun to function as an auxiliary language.

The period of 2006/2007 was marked by political crises in Timor with the fall of Alkatiri's government. According to Taylor-Leech (2013, p. 117) the policy was moving towards Portuguese assimilation policy rather than balanced bilingualism, according to the Constitution. The next evolution of language in education, 2008-2012, was marked by the emergence Basic Education Act in 2008 where Article 8 of the Act said that languages of instructions were Tétun and Portuguese. In 2010, there was a policy move to use mother tongues in pre- and primary schools. Under the policy, mother tongues are used in pre-school up to Grade Four, and then Portuguese is introduced from Grade 5; English is introduced in Grade 7.

However, the 2011 Secondary School Curriculum reemphasized that Portuguese is the only medium of instruction at all educational levels (Ministry of Education [ME], 2011, pp. 32, 34). Under the policy, the time allocated for Portuguese is four times a week from Grade 10 to 12 while both Tétun and English have 3 hours per week (Ministry of Education [ME], 2011, p. 30). The time allocated to the teaching of Indonesian is only two hours a week and one possible reason for such allocation is that only 5-10 per cent of Timor-Leste's secondary graduates continue their study in Indonesia (Ministry of Education [ME], 2011, p. 34). The curriculum document said that Portuguese is the compulsory language to be taught but there is no such statement made about Tétun.

The language in education policy has also been supported by at least one Parliamentary resolution on the use of official languages in education and administration, specifying Portuguese to be the sole language of instruction at all educational levels in the country.

In summary, there is a confusing language in education policy during the period of ten years of independence from 2002 to 2012. The policy moves back and forth whether to use only Portuguese as language of instruction or to use other languages as well, such as Tétun and other mother tongues.

## ***2.4 Past and recent studies on language policy and planning in Timor-Leste***

The language policy and planning in Timor-Leste has been widely studied by different researchers, mostly from Australia. The development of Tétun in Timor-Leste up to date is almost entirely accredited to Dr Geoffrey Hull. He was heavily involved in the status and corpus planning of the language policy and planning when he worked as research coordinator until 2007. de Brito and Bastos (2007, p. 241) noted that Hull was one of the main

specialists involved in the studies of Tétun and other native languages of Timor-Leste, as well the main defender the current national language policy and planning. His arguments for the current language policy and planning have been widely read (e.g.: Hull, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2002). For over a decade Dr Hull was the associated with Tétun and INL but when the government stopped his contract in 2007, the INL lost a resourceful and knowledgeable person in the field of language policy and planning, as well languages of Timor-Leste. Although some academics did not entirely agree with him due to his linguistic background in Romance languages, he laid the ground work of modern Tétun.

There was a thesis on language policy and planning in Timor-Leste submitted (Taylor-Leech, 2007a) which argued that current language policy and planning was influenced by the colonial legacies and that it makes the identity of the nation's people a hotly contested issue, involving those who went to Portuguese schools and those who went to Indonesian schools. She has also written different academic journals and/or publications (Taylor-Leech, 2007b, 2008, 2009, 2011). During the course of writing this thesis, she wrote another article on medium of instruction (MOI) policy in Timor-Leste where she said that there is a move to make Portuguese a matter of linguistic assimilation rather than balanced bilingualism (Taylor-Leech, 2013, p. 117). She also said that Tétun, which functioned as a symbol of national identity during Indonesian occupation, now functions as a mere linguistic symbol of instead of the official status granted by the Constitution (Taylor-Leech, 2008, pp. 158, 162). Hajek's contribution is also essential in understanding the issues of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste, even from the development of corpus planning in Waima'a, Maku'a, and other indigenous languages (e.g.: Bowden & Hajek, 2007; Hajek, 2000, 2006). One study was done by Macalister (2012) on the *de facto* language policy regarding language use in public domain where his findings showed that Portuguese in official language use is very dominant in Timor-Leste but Tétun is none, leading him, like Taylor-Leech, to believe that Tétun is now treated merely as



symbolic (Macalister, 2012, p. 42). He also argued that there is an on-going process of 'Lusophonisation' in Timor-Leste, a country which is not only multilingual but also plurilingual as described and explained by Barnard et al. (2013).

Given that language policy is a very contentious issue in Timor-Leste, any research done into the subject often runs the risk of being labelled as biased, partly because of either-or attitude towards the two official languages. Many Lusophone researchers tend to make grandiose claims that Timor-Leste's identity is Portuguese and that the culture is *mestiça*, which simply reduces a very complex issue such as language and identity. Those who are from an Anglo- American background, although somehow impartial, are labelled biased by the government because of questioning the issue of language policy in Timor-Leste.

The present study is done by a Timor-Leste student, who was also privileged to have joined the struggle for independence as a student leader (Cristalis, 2002), with an insider's view how language policy and planning, particularly language in education policy, has shaped Timor-Leste as it is after more than a decade of its restoration of independence. The study is built upon two opposing views about language policy and planning in Timor-Leste by Anglo-American and Lusophone researchers. However, the present study tries to understand the language policy from a post-colonial perspective, as well as post-modernism views on the issues of language policy and planning, as proposed by J.W. Tollefson (1991) and others.

## **2.5 Summary**

As a postcolonial country, language policy and planning in Timor-has inevitably been influenced by the Portuguese colonial rule, Indonesian occupation, three years of UN administration and the international recognition of an independent Timor-Leste. The Constitution grants Tétun and

Portuguese and official languages while Indonesian and English are adopted as working languages. As a result, different laws and resolutions have been issued in relation to the use of official languages, both in public administration and education. Likewise, there have been different language in education policies - whether the medium of instruction should only be Portuguese, or be aided by Tétun - because Portuguese is spoken only by roughly 20 per cent of the population. The problematic policy of making Portuguese the only medium of instruction is compounded by the fact that almost 90 per cent of the teachers are reported not have competency in the language. The present study stands as one carried out by a young person who is heavily affected by the language policy with an insider's views. It is hoped that the study will come up with some solid findings and recommendations to make the policy beneficial to the people who suffered a lot under different colonial yokes. The following chapter, methodology, will explain and justify the data collection (and analysis) procedures needed to address of language policy and planning in a post-colonial setting

In the light of the above review, the following questions will be addressed in the present study:

1. What is the situation of the national language policy and planning after 10 years of Timor-Leste's restoration of independence?
2. To what extent do a group of key stakeholders agree with the national languages and the languages in education policies?
3. To what extent do the attitudes of these stakeholders align with previous research into the topic?
4. What are the implications of these findings for future developments in these policies?

## **Chapter Three: Research Methodology**

### **3.0 Introduction**

The present Chapter discusses the research plan, its methodology and design, as well as data collection technique and then data interpretation. Hence, the Chapter is divided into the following four sections. Section 3.1 will deal with original research plan and *in situ* adjustment. Then it will be followed by Section 3.2 which focuses on research methodology which will discuss the nature of qualitative or naturalistic or interpretative research. Section 3.3 will be devoted to research methods and design, as well as research techniques such as sampling and *in situ* data collection. Lastly, section 3.4 deals with data analysis using grounded theory and their interpretation. The Chapter will end with a conclusion.

### **3.1 Original research plan**

Based on my research proposal (attached here as Appendix 1) submitted to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences' Ethics Committee of the University of Waikato, a case study involving three senior high schools in Timor-Leste on the use of languages in the classrooms was proposed. The research was planned because Timor-Leste has adopted two official languages - Portuguese and Tétun, and mandated these to be the media of instruction at all levels of the education system. However, there has been very little research carried out as to how effectively these two languages are used at the primary level (Quinn, 2007, 2010) and at tertiary level, but none thus far in the secondary schools. The present study was intended to be the first to be done at secondary level on language in education policies. There are concerns that neither teachers nor students are fully competent in Portuguese, and there are few pedagogically appropriate materials available in Tétun. The question arises as to how teachers cope in the situation.

Hence, the intended research was to investigate their respective use of Portuguese and Tétun and other local languages by teachers and students in selected classes in three secondary schools: FINANTIL Senior High School in Díli, Hato-Udo Senior High School in Hato-Udo in Ainaro District, and Olo-Cassa High School in Ossú, Viqueque District. This investigation would be carried out by observing and audio recording two lessons and conducting post-lesson discussions with the respective teachers; these discussions would also to be audio-recorded. It was planned to conduct two surveys; firstly with all the teachers in the three schools, and secondly with the students in the observed classes, by means of mainly closed-item questionnaires. If possible, semi-structured interviews will also be conducted with the principals of the schools concerned, officials of the Ministry of education and district regional offices, and with staff at the National University, teacher training institutions, and the National Institute of Languages. The study was to be carried out in accordance with the *Human Research Ethics Regulations* of the University of Waikato and was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Waikato. The letter of Approval is attached here as Appendix 2. The approval letter is dated July 20, 2012, although now it is automatically changing the date.

However, it was not possible to conduct the project as designed, largely due to administrative and logistical issues. Three weeks after my arriving in Timor, all the schools were still on holiday. The schools started on August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2012. Nonetheless, for most schools, the first week was still an extended holiday. Accordingly, the schools indeed started in the first week of September. I managed to meet different school directors about my intention of carrying out a research in their respective schools. However, it was hard to meet these directors, particularly when I had to travel to three different districts, each distant from the others. I went twice to Ossú to meet the director of Olo-Cassa High School but he told me to wait until he organized a class for me. Despite his willingness, there was no response forthcoming by

mid-September 2012. I also went to Ainaro but the school was still on its extended holiday during the first week of September 2012. Often I made arrangements to meet the directors but many times the meeting did not take place because school directors were busy preparing national exams for year 12 students. And, as usual, there were study weeks before the exam for the students and other students from year 10 and 11 had to be on holiday, the latter were to be among my possible research participants. So, the holiday ran from 27 of September until 22 October 2012. The exam itself was conducted in the first week of October. And after the exam, there was cross-checking of results and then a week's break for most of the teachers involved in administering the test. So, the school started exactly on October 22<sup>nd</sup> 2012, the day of my return to New Zealand. With all these complexities, I had to change gears to collect data from available sources, and it seemed that interviews were potentially the most practical and useful. So, I had to go and knock at the door of politicians and other officials of the Ministry of Education to interview them on the issues of language policy and planning, especially on language in education policies.

### ***3.2 Research methodology and interview as a research method***

According to Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011, p. 81) the case study is the best tool in describing naturalistic interpretative enquiry because it is seen as "... the whole is more than the sum of its parts." It is hoped that with this method would be instrumental in shedding lights in the issues of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste, based on the eyes of the participants.

Research is defined as "...a process of collecting, analysing and interpreting information to answer questions" (Kumar, 2011, p. 8) whereas research methodology is generally understood as "...the philosophy or

general principle which guides the research (Dawson, 2002, p. 22). Hence, research methodology follows a set of generally accepted principles that guide the process of data collection, their analysis and interpretation. Research methods, on the other hand, are more related to the tools or instrumentations, such as interview, surveys, etc. utilized to gather data (Dawson, 2002). The present study falls into an applied, descriptive qualitative research, which is also dubbed as naturalistic or interpretative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Kumar, 2011, p. 14).

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011, pp. 3-4) qualitative research is a type of study that "...involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspection, life story, interview, artefacts, and cultural texts and production...." Regarding the domain in which the employ qualitative research is employed, Kalof, Dan, and Dietz (2008, p. 79) asserted that research is usually used in the enquiry of "societal and cultural phenomena that take place in the world" including cultural symbols and its practices such as language policy and planning. A common theoretical approach used in qualitative research is interpretative which aims "... to describe the lived experiences of individuals from their own viewpoints and to understand how people 'interpret' their experiences (Kalof et al., 2008, p. 80).

The present study is a case study about the language policy and planning, particularly language in education policy, in a plurilingual situation. The instrumentation used to gather primary data is interview, which according to Edley and Litosseliti (2010, p. 157) is not only a reciprocal two-way dialogue, in which an interviewer obtains information from an interviewee, but is also a 'window onto the mind' of an interviewee.

According to Dawson (2002, pp. 28-29) there are different types of interviews and the most common ones are unstructured, semi-structured and structured interviews. The type of interview used in the present study is semi-structured interview in which variations a list of questions were asked in a

fairly flexible order to get specific information in relation to language policy and planning and language in education policies and practices. The emerging data was subsequently compared and contrasted however the flow of the interview is made in a flexible tone to allow new information to emerge.

In order to solicit the different perspectives on language policy and planning, I originally aimed for prominent yet controversial figures in term of language policy and planning. On my list were former President José Ramos Horta, current Prime Minister José Alexandre 'Xanana' Gusmao, Dr Mari Alkatiri from FRETILIN, a former Prime Minister that was toppled in 2006, President of the National Parliament, Mr Vicente Guterres of CNRT party, Mr Adriano do Nascimento from Democratic Party, and the incumbent President of the Republic, a former army general Mr Taur Matan Ruak, who was outraged by a court hearing delivered in Portuguese in 2009 to try his soldiers for their involvement of killing the almost thirty police officers in 2006. These figures, due to their prominence, represent the "Government Agencies" in terms of actors in language planning (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 6). I also wanted to interview the President of INFORDEPE, who recently completed his doctoral degree in Linguistics from the University of Western Sydney in Australia, as well as other officials from the Ministry of Education within the context of "Education Agencies" in language planning. Non-Governmental Organizations such as the Timor-Leste NGO Forum and Timor-Leste's Teachers' Association were also in the list to be interviewed to obtain their perspectives in relation to their involvement in the issues of language policy and planning. However, it must be admitted that to see senior politicians in Timor-Leste was, and will always be, challenging, partly due to their commitments, especially the presentation of rectified budget to the national parliament which coincided with the course of the research.

As a result, I interviewed three parliamentarians, an acting president of INFORDEPE (Timor-Leste's teacher education institute), a vice-director of National Institute of Linguistics, a national coordinator for National Education Commission of the Ministry of Education, one senior high school director and

a vice-director of another senior high school in Dili. I tried my best to meet the President of INFORDEPE but he was on his annual leave and would only be back in the office on November 9, 2012. I attempted also during two weeks to meet Ministry of Education's Director for Curriculum but his staff told me that he was out of office to monitor secondary schools exams in process. Some of face-to-face interviews involved Timorese workers, temporarily studying in Hamilton, and two online interviews were also done - with an assistant professor of Community Development of UNTL in Dili and a Timorese artist and designer living in Indonesia. I approached my eventual interviewees in two ways. Some I knew personally and I asked them if they would be willing to be interviewed by me for the purpose of my research; those not known to me were recommended by the first set of interviewees, and I made contact with them by telephone (or e-mail in the case of the interview we resident in Indonesia). Each of my participants agreed to speak frankly but confidentially. In the event that reports of this study are published or otherwise publicly disseminated, pseudo names will be allocated to the interviewees, and personal details will be removed to avoid the possibility of actual identification.

It is hoped that the selected participants will represent different actors and agencies involved in language policy and planning in Timor-Leste. I believe that these twelve interviewees are continuously constructing their understanding of social worlds and their views related to language policy and planning in Timor-Leste, particularly language in education policies which are likely to change over time. Table 3.1 provides the list of the officials and individuals (N=13) I actually interviewed for the purpose of the present study.



Table 3.1 List of research participants

<b>No.</b>	<b>Title and Name</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Approximate age</b>	<b>Approximate interview duration</b>	<b>Matrix language</b>	<b>Other languages used</b>	<b>Date of interview</b>
1.	Mr Nuno Gomes, M.Ed	Vice Director of INL	Early 50s	30 minutes	Tétun	Indonesian, English, & Portuguese	19-Oct-12
2.	Ms Lourdes M. Bessa, MP	President, Committee B on Foreign Affairs, Security, and Defence	Early 40s	30 minutes	Tétun	Indonesian, English, & Portuguese	20-Oct-12
3.	Mr Virgílio Hornay, MP	President, Committee G on Education	Early 40s	30 minutes	Tétun	Indonesian & Portuguese	22-Oct-12
4.	Mr Eladio Faculto, MP	Member, Committee G on Education	Early 40s	35 minutes	Tétun	Indonesian & Portuguese	22-Oct-12
5.	Mr Domingos Sávio	Director, 10 de Setembro SHS, Díli	Early 40s	25 minutes	Tétun	Indonesian & Portuguese	25-Sep-12
6.	Mr Aloysius Mauberek	Vice Director, FINANTIL SHS, Díli	Early 40s	30 minutes	Tétun	Indonesian & Portuguese	27-Sep-12
7.	Mrs Maria F. Guterres	Acting President, INFORDEPE	Early 50s	30 minutes	Tétun	Indonesian & Portuguese	17-Oct-12
8.	Ms Francisca de Jesus Soares	Coordinator, National Education Commission	Late 30s	25 minutes	Tétun	English, Indonesian, & Portuguese	19-Oct-2013

9.	Mr Bruno Sarmento	Student, Government Employee	Early 30s	30 minutes	Tétun	Indonesian, English, & Portuguese	28-Nov-12
10.	Ms Domingas Halle	Student, International NGO staff	Mid 20s	30 minutes	Tétun	Indonesian, English, & Portuguese	28-Nov-12
11.	Mrs Jenny Field	Visiting professor, UNTL	Mid 60s	30 minutes	English		18-Dec-12
12.	Mr Antero B. da Silva, Ph.D	Assistant professor, UNTL	Mid 40s	email interview	English	Indonesian & Portuguese	2-Jan-13
13.	Ms Maria P. Ribeiro	Artist and designer	Mid 20s	Email interview	Tétun	Indonesian, English, & Portuguese	3-Jan-13

### **3.3 Further details of the research participants**

Following is the brief profile of each participant involved in the present study.

1. Mr Gomes is the Vice Director of the Instituto Nacional de Linguística. He was born in Fohorem Sub-district of Kovalima District in late 1960s. His home language is Tétun Terik and then Portuguese. He attended Portuguese primary school and then attended Indonesian Teacher Education College. He then continued his study at the Universitas Timor Timur, Indonesian name for the current rebirth of Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e (UNTL), majoring in Indonesia and graduated in late 1990s. He then became a teacher at the UNTL. By mid 2000s he was sent to study education in Brazil for his advanced degree in education.
2. Ms Lourdes M. Bessa, MP was born in Portuguese Timor before the invasion of Indonesia. She and her family then went to Portugal, stayed and studied there until late 1990s when she came to Australia. Her first language is Portuguese, although she may describe herself as a bilingual person. She is also fluent in English. She held important positions prior to becoming an MP for the Democratic Party. She was a political adviser to the US ambassador in Timor-Leste while at the same time actively involved in the party as an influential woman figure of the party which is commonly associated with young generation. She was a member of student's resistance organization, RENETIL, where she held the position for external affairs. She is now the President of Committee B of the National Parliament which deals with foreign affairs, security, and defence.
3. Mr Virgílio Hornay, MP is currently the President of Committee G on Youth, Education, and Culture. He is also a member of the Democratic Party. He comes from Lautém District and speaks Fataluku at home. He then studied

Indonesian during Indonesian occupation. He is in early 40s. Fataluku is his first language and Indonesian is his second. His elder brother Sérgio is a lawyer while his younger brother Leo is a youth leader.

4. Mr Eladio Faculto, MP is in his early 40s and is a member of the Committee G of the Timor-Leste's unicameral National Parliament. He is a representative from FRETILIN's Party. He was born and raised in Díli in a Portuguese assimilated family. His parents speak Portuguese at home and Tétun Prasa, which has strong influence of Portuguese. He underwent Indonesian education where Indonesian was imposed as the only medium of instruction. He continued his secondary school in a Jesuit-run school in Díli where Portuguese was used as the medium of instruction in late 1980s. The school was closed down in 1991 after Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991. He then involved in youth movement for national liberation, OJETIL. In early 2000s, as the secretary general of the organization, he and other youth leaders affiliated with FRETILIN. He is still enrolled as a student at UNTL's Faculty of Social and Political Sciences.
  
5. Mr Domingos Sávio was born in 1970s in Quelicai Sub-district of Baucau into a Makasae family. Baucau and Viqueque districts are the two districts where Makasae is predominantly spoken. He then went to Indonesian schools. He studied English at the UNTL in early 2000 and then graduated in late 2000s. He co-founded *Escola Secundária Pública 10 de Dezembro* in 2000 where he is now assuming the position as director. The school is well known to be run by young teachers and therefore is very active in language policy activism. Some of the teachers were involved in demonstration against teaching of Portuguese to high school teachers and recently against the mother tongue program advocated by Prime Minister's spouse Kirsty Sword Gusmao.

6. Mr Aloysius Mauberek is the Vice Director of *Escola Secundária Pública FINANTIL* in Comoro, Díli. He is in his early 40s. He was born in Covalima District and his home language is Tétun Terik. Apparently his second language is Indonesian and Tétun Díli. He graduated from UNTL's math department and is teaching math class at the school. He is also a leader of Timor-Leste's Teacher's Association.
  
7. Mrs Maria F. Guterres is the head of Research and Development Department of the teacher training institute (INFORDEPE). As the president was on leave, the interview was done in her capacity as an acting president. Age wise, she was in her early 50s. She was born into a Chinese Timorese family where she spoke Haka as her first language and then acquired Tétun. She went to Portuguese medium of instruction. She was a teacher during Indonesian occupation and after independence of the country. She studied Portuguese at the Department of Portuguese of UNTL. She graduated in mid-2000s and then went to Portugal for her advanced degree in education.
  
8. Ms Francisca de Jesus Soares is currently the coordinator for National Education Commission of the Ministry of Education. The commission is mainly tasked to implement mother tongue based multilingual education where Prime Minister's wife Kirsty Sword Gusmao is the main figure behind the project. Ms Soares studied Education and Public Policy at the University of Waikato. She graduated in summer 2012. Her sister Dulce is now the Vice-Minister of Education for Primary Education while her brother Adérito is the Commissioner for Anti-graft/corruption Commission. She was born into a Kemak (a.k.a. Ema) speaking community in Maliana. Tétun and Portuguese were widely used in the family and Indonesian was learned in schools.

9. Mr Bruno Sarmento was a government employee working for Timor-Leste's Ministry of Infrastructure. He was born in Díli more than 30 years ago into a Tétun Terik speaking family. He then acquired Tétun and learned Indonesian in schools. He went to study in Indonesia. At the time of interview, he was studying English at the Waikato Pathway College.
  
10. Ms Domingas Halle, now in her late 20s, was born in Díli into a Tétun speaking family. She speaks Tétun as her first language and then learned Indonesian in early school years. She studied in Australia for her diploma and now she is studying Communication for her bachelor degree at the University of Waikato. She is a competent speaker of Indonesian and English.
  
11. Mrs Jenny Field is a New Zealander who has been a visiting professor at UNTL's English Department since mid-2000s. She just recently returned from Timor-Leste. She initiated UNTL-University of Waikato collaborate projects from which various research and education programs were carried out. She recently graduated from the University of Waikato's Applied Linguistic Department with an M.Phil degree on Flax system in Timor-Leste.
  
12. Mr Antero B. da Silva, Ph.D. is now an assistant professor at the UNTL's Community Development's program. He is in his mid-40s and was born into a Naueti speaking family in Uatucarbao Sub-district in Viqueque. He came to Díli in early 1980s to study, where he intensively acquired Tétun and learned Indonesian. He went to study in the Philippines and Ireland where he was exposed to English. He recently obtained his doctoral degree from University of New England in Australia. He is an active member of FRETILIN and a member of Consultative Council for Petroleum Fund. The interview data here was obtained from an email interview carried out in early January 2013. He wrote in English.

13. Ms Maria P. Ribeiro was born and raised in Díli. She is in her mid-20s. For her senior high school, she went to a prestigious Jesuit-run school in Díli. She is now studying and working as artist and designer in Bandung, Indonesia. She is a native speaker of Tétun, with native-like competence of Indonesian. She can speak both English and Portuguese. A list of questions in English was sent to her and she responded in Tétun.

A list questions were asked to the participants in order to get their views in relation to language policy and language in education policies in Timor-Leste. Following is the list of questions asked to research participants to elicit their views on language policy and planning and language in education planning.

1. The current education policy is for all instruction to be carried out in either Tétun or Portuguese; do you see this as a positive or a negative policy?

[If response is positive]:

- a. What are the advantages of this policy?
- b. What do you think might be some disadvantages?

[If response is negative]

- a. What do you think are the main disadvantages of this policy
- b. Can you think of some possible advantages of this policy?

2. What do you think can be done to improve the teachers' competence in Portuguese?
3. What do you think can be done to improve the students' competence in Portuguese?
4. What needs to be done to enable teachers to teach effectively in Tétun? [for example]

Developing the language – eg lexical modernization, expansion of (digitalised?) texts

Teaching materials (Computerization?) and methodology

### Professional development for teachers

[In such cases as above – how can this be done, where, by when, and by whom?]

5. What do you see as the role of English [Indonesian????]
  - a. in education
  - b. in wider society
6. Timor-Leste today is a very multilingual nation. How do you see this linguistic situation developing in the next ten years or so?
7. Thank you for answering my questions. It has been most helpful. Have you any questions you would like to ask me?

The questions were written in English but translated into Tétun during face to face interview sessions with Timorese research participants. Interview with Mrs Field was done in English, as well as the questions sent for out email interviews. Based on the questions, it is hoped that the data collected could shed light on general perspectives about language policy and planning, particularly language in education policies, in Timor-Leste.

### **3.4 Data analysis and interpretation**

As already explained earlier, the present study is an interpretative or qualitative research trying to describe and explain the language situation in a post-colonial Lusophone country where multilingual and/or plurilingual is the natural linguistic setting. As an interpretative research it operates on the inductive logic or reasoning where both collection and analysis occurring at the same time – leading to grounded theory. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967) grounded theory is a theory which is based on the actual data rather than a predefined assumption. In order to reach such grounded or situated theory, which derives from the Greek word *theoria* is centered on the way of seeing (Schmidt, 2006, p. 95), there are several steps to be followed from data transcription, collation and management, data selection, and data coding to data analysis and interpretation.



The software program NVivo 10 was used to analyze the data once the data are stored in the computer and systematically collated. After the data were collated and managed, the data were then coded with the view of deconstructing them into several manageable chunks in order to better understand the phenomenon in question. So, by employing grounded theory, the data have to be transcribed, collated and then managed to allow selection of key data for exploration. However, in order to find key data, the coding has to play roles here. There are three different types of coding involved. With open coding, the data are identified based on categories, which then compared and contrasted using axial coding. The last stage of coding is selective coding where core categories are selected for further analysis.

In other words, grounded theory is made by constantly comparing the data applicable to each category, integrating these categories and the properties, bounding the theory and then formulating the theory, or the way of seeing an issue. By doing so, warrants or criteria for interpretative research involving credibility, dependability, reliability or transferability, and trustworthiness are met. Credibility here is more about the process of data categorization and judgment which should be done free from either ideological or epistemological biases where dependability is more about the use of rigorous procedures involved in data collection and analysis. The reliability of the study, which is a case study of language policy and planning in a post-colonial multilingual and/or prulingual settings, can be related to other similar contexts or situation whereas trustworthiness is more on what really eventuates on the ground, not a fabrication of it.

In summary, the grounded theory was used in the data collection, analysis and interpretation due to its nature of fluidity, interactiveness and open-endedness (Charmaz, 2006, p. 178). The grounded theory *analysis* shapes the conceptual content and direction of the study.

### **3.5 Summary**

The present study is a qualitative case study on language policy and planning, particularly as regards language in education policy, in the plurilingual context of Timor-Leste. This chapter has dealt with the research methodology underlying the project, its original design and actual implementation, and the methods of data collection and analysis which were applied. Data were collected from interviews with 13 participants representative of political parties, government agencies, education, non-governmental organizations and private levels.

This is the first study by a Timorese student after the country gained its internationally recognized independence over a decade ago, a subject who is affected by the language policy and planning. Previous studies have indicated that the issue of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste is yet a very interesting vibrant topic to explore. Yet it is also very intriguing one for an insider such as myself because such discussion of language policy and planning is to certain degree somewhat divisive, a predicament of what a new nation is worried to go through, a reminiscence of what happened in 2006 east-west divide. The different views of the interviewees in this study will be presented and discussed in the following chapter.

## **Chapter Four: Research Findings**

### **4.0 Introduction**

As described in the previous chapter, the approved research plan did not eventuate for the reasons explained there. The present chapter presents and comments on the findings of the twelve interviews held in Dili and subsequently in Hamilton (with two e-mail interviews). The chapter is divided as follows. Section 4.1 presents the opinions expressed by the interviewees regarding the choice of the official languages policy and that of the language in education. Section 4.2 focuses on their views regarding the societal use of the two working languages, English and Indonesian, and the various national languages or mother tongues. Section 4.3 explores their opinions on the challenges of implementing of language policies in education, particularly as regards the plurilinguistic nature of classrooms in Timor-Leste. Section 4.4 explores this issue of plurilingualism by exemplifying and discussing the extent of code switching and code mixing in most of the interviews data. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the main findings, to lead into the following chapter, in which I will discuss these findings in relation to the relevant literature reviewed in Chapter Two.

### **4.1 The choice of official languages**

The interviewees expressed views largely a) in favour of the policy, or b) favouring the policy with reservations, c) or opposition to the policy, especially as regards the use of Portuguese as one of the official languages (and medium of instruction). I have translated the quotations below from (usually) Tétun into English. Each of them is numbered. The numbered extracts have been checked by a bilingual colleague for accuracy of literal meaning and intent.

#### **4.1.1 Positive views**

For Democratic Party MP Ms Lourdes Bessa, the decision to choose Tétun and Portuguese to be Timor-Leste's official languages was a correct decision for political and historical reasons. She said,

*The decision to adopt two official languages Tétun and Portuguese, as stipulated in the Constitution, is a political decision. ....Because there is a need to have an official language and of all the alternatives available we decided to adopt Portuguese. #1*

According to her, the decision to adopt Portuguese as an official language was motivated by Timor-Leste's historical connections with Portugal and the wish to maintain the country's distinctiveness in the region, especially in the light of its recent violent history with Indonesia and the potential dominance of neighbouring Australia; these factors make it impossible to adopt Indonesian and English Timor-Leste's official languages.

*The decision to adopt Portuguese as an official language was a decision that was understandable, for me, because of many aspects. First of all, because we had a very long violent history with our neighbour Indonesia that makes it impossible, even emotionally hard for our people, to consider using Bahasa. As for English, because we want to maintain our difference, as well as distance, from countries such as Australia and other Anglo-Saxon countries. And Portuguese because we have linkages with Portugal for such a long time and we used Portuguese as language of resistance during resistance period, as well as relational bonds. #2*

Similarly, MP Eládio Faculto of FRETILIN party, the adoption of Portuguese as an official language was primarily because of historical coincidence, especially 450 years of Portuguese colonization over the country. He said,

*When we think back, to do a retrospective of our past, obviously there were big countries that came to occupy our land, bringing with them linguistic penetration into the land. The first is Portugal. The colonizers colonized Timor-Leste for more than 450 years during which they did linguistic penetration here and forcibly transformed the language to be a language of the people. #3*

He also believed that during the colonization, Portuguese had made a peaceful cultural and linguistic penetration into Timor and therefore Portuguese is now a language of the people, not a foreign language. According to him, the choice to use

both Portuguese and Tétun as official languages is an ideal solution as the two languages 'click'.

In addition to the reasons presented above, Mrs Maria Guterres, acting president of the teacher training institute (INFORDEPE), said she agreed with the political and historical reasons for adopting Portuguese, because it was used a language of resistance by Timorese resistance movements during the country's struggle for independence from Indonesia. She also said that adopting Portuguese would make it possible to have closer ties with the community of Portuguese speaking countries (CPLP) as well as the European Union, where job opportunities are amply available. She also mentioned that although Portuguese is not an elite language now but in the long run, it will beat every 'dialect' in Timor-Leste, even Indonesian. She believed that Portuguese can help the development of Tétun in Timor-Leste. For Mrs Guterres, therefore, it is obvious that the adoption of Portuguese is historically and politically, as well as economically, motivated.

Dr Nuno Gomes, vice director of the National Institute of Linguistics (INL), thought that the policy of adopting both Tétun and Portuguese as the country's official languages was positive because these two languages have long history in Timor. He said that the love for Tétun should not make the people hate Portuguese because Portuguese had penetrated into local culture and therefore Portuguese is needed in order to develop Tétun. Like Ms Bessa he thought that these two languages can help each other in their development, especially in advancing the corpus of Tétun:

*Tétun as an official language has its own grammar, orthography and other rules. INL has provided training to teachers in order to allow teachers to write and use Tétun correctly. Tétun Díli has absorbed many Portuguese lexicons and one way of developing Tétun is for everyone to learn its uniformed standardized orthography and grammar books.... #4*

Likewise, Mr Bruno Sarmiento also said that the adoption of Portuguese to be a co-official language facilitates economic accessibility and social movement. He referred to the government's efforts in sending Timorese young people to work in UK, Australia

and Korea because of such reasons. He believed that having the knowledge of Portuguese is seen as a stepping stone in learning other European languages, such as English. He said:

*We are not going to find jobs in our country. Now our leaders are sending our youth to South Korea, Portugal and even Australia. This is not to mean that Portuguese is the only international language. However, our knowledge of Portuguese will make it easier for us to learn other romance languages, as well as English. With Portuguese, we do not necessarily start from zero but we have basic skills in place to begin with. We have people working in U.K. holding Portuguese passports. #5*

A similar point was made by Miss Maria Ribeiro, who argued that the adoption of Portuguese as a co-official language was positive because Portuguese is an international language and lingua franca of CPLP member states. She also said that it is highly likely that Portuguese could enrich Tétun and other indigenous languages of Timor-Leste. She argued:

*The policy is a positive one due to the following reasons. First, Portuguese is an international language and is used by eight countries that adopt Portuguese as their official language. For us in Timor, using Portuguese means to have more influence in the global politics. As a member of CPLP countries, Portuguese will allow us to better communicate with each other. As a Timorese, I feel that this is a great opportunity to us. Another point I would like to make is that by using Portuguese we can enrich Tétun and other local languages which can be seen as good assets for the future of the country. #6*

In summary, these interviewees provided strong reasons and / or motivations why Timor-Leste adopted Portuguese to be the country's co-official language, along with Tétun. These motivations are largely related to historical, political, economic and social movement benefits for Timor-Leste.

#### **4.1.2 Modified agreement**

However, for Dr Antero Benedito da Silva, the adoption of Portuguese is more a geopolitical act which shows how Timor-Leste positions itself in larger linguistic struggle

for global political influence involving English, represented by the United States, and Hispanic languages by Latin American countries. He wrote in his email interview,

*... Adopting Portuguese as an official language besides Tétun is a highly political decision. Political because it has more to do with regional and international power settings: Anglo Saxon versus Latino competition for cultural influence in the world. It seems Timor-Leste had decided to side with Latinos. #7*

He considered that Tétun is still developing and therefore it needs Portuguese to be fully developed as a language. However, he also warned that the language may lose its Timorese-ness as it adopts more Portuguese lexicon.

Mrs Field agreed that the language policy has been positive but she questioned whether focusing too much on the two official languages might have undermined the development of the two working languages, Indonesian and English, which are regional and internationally important:

*With the use of Portuguese and Tétun, the great positive is that Timor-Leste is a multilingual country because individuals can speak different languages. But I wonder what would be the effect of such policy for two working languages: Bahasa Indonesia and English. They will disappear or being minimized. #8*

She believed that the essence of language is for communication and therefore it is important for Timor-Leste to interact with Timor-Leste's two larger neighbours, Indonesia and Australia by using their languages. She also observed that the current national language policy was leaning towards Portuguese monolingual policy, especially when government's public servants are obliged to learn Portuguese but not Tétun and the other two working languages.

#### **4.1.3 Negative views**

All the above interviewees agreed that it is important to have Portuguese and Tétun as official languages of Timor-Leste. However, the following interviewees tended to disagree with the current language policy. MP Virgílio Hornay, President of the Timorese National Parliament's Committee F on Education believed that there was

considerable linguistic uncertainty in the country due to the adoption of Portuguese and Tétun as co-official languages. He said that only Tétun should be used for the present time and the use of Portuguese for official purposes should be reserved for the future, when the coming generation is more competent in using Portuguese:

*If we want to be consistent with our language policy, we should use only Portuguese. But this is the problem. If we have political commitment to be a member of Portuguese speaking countries, we all have to be with Portuguese, at least in our thought. It should be only for the future but for the present, it should be Tétun. #9*

He thought that the decision to adopt Portuguese as an official language was an obvious manifestation of emotional attachment to Portugal by the older generation although there is no tangible economic benefit for Timor-Leste in becoming a member of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP). On the other hand, he argued that Timor-Leste has more economic benefits from its alignment with neighbouring ASEAN countries and Australia. He said:

*... Economically speaking, we do not get a lot from CPLP. But now economically we benefit more from Indonesia, Australia and Singapore. .... Import graphic shows that our trade volume is increasingly high with Indonesia, Australia, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. Our trade volume with Portugal is relatively lower. .... Economically, we are stronger with ASEAN countries. #10*

In addition, Ms Francisca de Jesus Soares, the National Coordinator for National Education Commission, whose main program is to promote mother tongue based multilingual education for Timor-Leste, asserted that the policy has had huge negative impacts on education, especially with higher rates of students' drop out and repetition, as well as hindering parents to involve in education of their children. She said:

*Even before and after the restoration of independence we have been using both Portuguese and Tétun as mandated media of instruction. However, the negative side of the policy is that we have students' higher rates of repetition and abandonment due to the fact that only few people can speak these languages. Even the policy has*



*excluded the participation of parents in their children's education.*  
#11

A similar point was raised by Mr Aloysius Mauberek, a secondary school vice-director in Díli, who said that the adoption of Portuguese has proved to be unhelpful for the development of the country and that the official language should be a national language which is widely spoken, i.e., Tétun: *The decision to adopt Portuguese is proved to be counter-productive. Instead we should have adopted a language which is familiar to everyone to be our official language.* #12

Like Mrs Field, Mr Mauberek also observed that the current language policy is moving toward a Portuguese monolingual policy and that the development of Tétun is rather ignored by our political leaders because Tétun is treated only as a secondary official language of the country: *"Tétun is mentioned as the first official language in our Constitution but in reality it is a number two official language. This is a violation of the Constitution itself."* #13

His colleague, Mr Domingos Sávio, the director of a public secondary school in Comoro, Díli, said that the decision to adopt Portuguese as one of Timor-Leste's official language was due to the older generation's nostalgic attachment to the past and therefore such decision tended to ignore the majority of the young people who were schooled during the Indonesian occupation. He believed that such a decision reflects power relations, and that there were hidden economic agendas of those involved behind the policy:

*The decision to adopt a colonial language was a political decision, partly because of our leaders' romanticism with the past. So, there is a kind of hidden agenda in the adoption of a colonial language to be the country's official language. If they did not decide so, it would be hard for them to find jobs. So, language is seen as a mean of control by the older generation, which is the minority, over the younger generation."* #14

A similar viewpoint was raised by Miss Domingas Halle, who used to work for an international NGOs operating in the area of law and justice. She welcomed the idea of

adopting Tétun as an official language because the language belongs to the people but that was not the case with Portuguese. She thought that instead of choosing Portuguese, the country ought to adopt a language which is globally used, such as English:

*Now what is important is to make adjustments necessary so that we can fit in the globalization itself. The world is so globalized that whether we like it or not, gradually there will be an international lingua franca for wider communication. #15*

She argued that with globalization, there are possibilities for people to find jobs elsewhere in the world, and the passport for such social movement had to be reflected in the national language policy by adopting the language of globalization, which is English, as an official language. She also said that the evidence from the field had confirmed that Portuguese is not popular and that English had gained ground in the country: *“Though Portuguese has been introduced in education for more than ten years, Portuguese is not as popular as English. English has shifted the roles of Portuguese.” #16*

In conclusion, this section highlights the interviewees' opinions on the choice of the two official languages, i.e. Tétun and Portuguese. As seen above, opinions vary, reflecting the fact that the issue of official language adoption is still a very contentious issue within Timorese society. Some interviewees believed that the adoption of Tétun and Portuguese as the country's official languages is positive because Timor-Leste was a colony of Portuguese and being its colony the language had been welcomed as a part of local languages. Consequently, Tétun in its initial stages of development should need Portuguese to develop its lexicon. The policy is also positive because by choosing Portuguese as an official language, Timor-Leste would like to mark its difference in the region and that the language would bring Timor-Leste closer to CPLP and the European Union, with Portugal as its point of departure.

There were two interviewees who agreed with the national language policy with reservations, with one saying that to choose Portuguese alongside with Tétun is an expression of our allegiance with Latin American countries in making the language to

balance Anglo-American linguistic dominance in the world. However, the interviewee believed that Tétun should absorb more local lexicons in its efforts to modernize itself. Another interviewee said that she agreed with the decision but the same attention should be given to two working languages as well because these two languages are regionally and internationally influential. This interviewee observed that there has been a consistent move towards Portuguese only language policy in that such policy may have marginalized Tétun, English, Indonesian and other native languages, which all marks the multilingual nature of the country.

Those who did not agree with the decision argued that the decision to adopt Portuguese was more a manifestation of the minority older generation's nostalgia with the past and by doing so they keep the majority who were educated in Indonesian marginalized. One interviewee pointed out that there is huge impacts of the current language policy and planning, especially in education, because there are higher rates of repetition and drop outs by students. Three interviewee in this camp believed that at the present time the country's official language should be only Tétun, a language that is spoken by the majority of the people and the marker of Timor-Leste's national identity. One interviewee believed that English should be adopted alongside Tétun because of its symbolic power as world's economic, social and political medium of communication. Another interviewee believed that local languages or dialects should be used in education in tandem with Portuguese and Tétun in order to improve education sector to be more inclusive and participatory.

#### ***4.2 The choice of working languages and other national languages***

This section deals with point of views made by the interviewees in relation to the choice of two working languages (Indonesian and English) and other national languages and/or mother tongues. The opinion of the interviewees can be grouped into positive and negative stands towards any of these two working languages.

#### 4.2.1 Positive views

Dr Gomes agreed with the policy of adopting Indonesian and English as the country's working languages. He viewed these languages as resources and particularly as regards Indonesian, because East Timorese people are advantaged by being able to speak the regionally significant language:

*Bahasa Indonesia is a resource for us. We Timorese have to be proud of ourselves because in addition to Tétun and Portuguese, we have also a language of our neighbour with sufficient mastery. Now people in other advanced countries such as Australia and United States are learning Indonesian. Indonesian is a very important language in the region. We are lucky because our Constitution positions Indonesian and English as our working languages. ...English is also our resource and schools are obliged to teach these languages as subjects. #17*

Similarly, Ms Ribeiro viewed the choice of working languages as positive because these languages are all important: with Indonesian as an important regional language and English as an international language:

*It is clear that English is a very important international language, especially in education. Therefore, whether we like it or not, we have to learn the language. The role of Bahasa Indonesia is also very important in the society because we share even land border with Indonesia, our larger neighbour. #18*

She also said that when it comes to education, especially as regards the availability of affordable textbooks, it is very possible to locally buy good ones in Indonesian, with the content very similar to those written in English. As a New Zealander who had taken different teaching positions at the *Universidade Nasional Timor Lorosa'e* (UNTL), the only state university in the country, Mrs Field agreed with the choice of Indonesian and English as working languages of the country:

*Indonesia is your rather larger neighbour and English is a huge international language. ... With English, for instance, travelling to academic sites such as English speaking countries to present papers and, of course, Bahasa to be able to communicate with your neighbors. #19*

In terms of the use of these languages in academia, she believed that Timor-Leste's educators should have their voices heard in the regional and international forums and therefore it is important to have fluency in both Indonesian and English:

You really expect your high school teachers to have such competence as well as they go to other academic circles to have some competencies in both English and Bahasa. ... *It is good to have fluency in these two languages: Bahasa and English.* #20

However, she felt that the current language policy, especially the language –in-education policy, may have lessened the power of these languages. Regardless of the policy, she observed that there was increasing interest in learning English, especially among the younger Timorese. She believed that by keeping both Indonesian and English, Timor-Leste will make its position counted in the region and in the international forums. She argued, *“If Timor-Leste is going to take its place in the world, it would be good to hold to Bahasa Indonesia to some way, some form, and English.”* #21

For Mr Sarmento, the roles of both Indonesian and English in Timor-Leste's society are very important due to the economic accessibility and social movement associated with these languages:

*The roles of our working languages both in the society and in education have been significant. For English, it is more on economic accessibility and movement. However, Bahasa Indonesia is growing in our country, even after we kicked the former occupier out.* #22

He pointed out that almost every household in Timor-Leste has access to Indonesian television programs and therefore those who were born long after the Indonesian withdrawal can even speak the language with a certain level of fluency:

*Now almost every household has antenna and because of our state TV has very little program, families can access Indonesian TV channels where they can watch Indonesian soap operas et cetera. Even those who were born after Indonesian left Timor can speak Indonesian.* #23

He also highlighted that if there is any option given for mid-income parents to send their children abroad to pursue their advanced studies, they would choose Indonesia because of its affordability and their familiarity with Indonesian.

Mr Hornay felt that the policy of adopting Indonesian and English as Timor-Leste's working languages was good because the majority of the people had been to Indonesian schools and Timor's increasing trade volume with Australia and ASEAN countries like Malaysia and Singapore:

*When I link it with older generation, they are more politically and emotionally attached to Portuguese. The same thing can be said about us who went to Indonesian schools. I am a graduate of an Indonesian university. So, maybe there are certain values that I like from Indonesia and such sentiment is entirely human. But economically, we do not get much from CPLP countries. Now, in terms of economy we get a lot from Indonesia, Australia and Singapore. The graphic of our trade volume shows that there is increase trade with countries such as Indonesia, Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand. When I compare that with Portugal the percentage is very small. ... Becoming a member state of ASEAN will make us stronger economically. #24*

So, according to Mr Hornay, Timor-Leste's working languages have been very useful in terms of economic advantages it gets from its neighbouring countries.

#### **4.2.2 Negative views**

Unlike the above interviewees, the following respondents had negative views about either one or both of the working languages. Ms Bessa seemed to adopt a rather pragmatic stand on the choice of Indonesian and English as the working languages for Timor-Leste when she argued that English did not have roots in the country and that Timor-Leste had a black history with Indonesia. She stated:

*Because we just came out of a long and very violent history with our neighbour Indonesia, it was impossible, emotionally, for our people to consider using Bahasa Indonesia. The same can be said about English because we want to maintain our distinctiveness, as well as*

*distance, with Anglo-Saxon countries such as Australia and others.*  
#25

Nonetheless, she said that being able to communicate in Indonesian was recommended as knowledge of the language has regional potential:

*If we speak many languages, we are good anywhere, in any context. I do not speak Bahasa but I encourage everyone to learn it because it represents a grand potential in the region....* #26

Similarly, Dr da Silva said that he did not think that both Indonesian and English had strong political roots in the country because the Timorese society is very politically aware of the rationale behind the current language policy. He said, *“Both languages have no political roots to be accepted and developed in Timor... They are only as far as geography in concern and particularly English which has a more international influence”*. #27

However, he thought that it is possible for these two languages to be learned in Timor-Leste, particularly if the Australian government started to take in Timorese workers. He said, *“...there is possibility that English speakers will increase if the Australian Government will accept Timorese workers the same the British and the Irish do.”* #28

He continued that Indonesian is an easy language to learn but there is no political support for the language to grow in Timor-Leste: *“Indonesian language would be there as it is an easy language for Timorese kids to learn; still it has no political support as far as Constitution is the parameter.”* #29

On the contrary, Mr Mauberek did not agree with the policy because he thought that as an independent country, Timor-Leste should use predominantly Tétun as it is spoken by the majority of the population. He said that the government should develop Tétun and if that is not the case then it would lose the battle with Indonesian and English.

*We may decide not to develop Indonesian and English here but these languages have power to develop themselves here. Why? Because noodles, salt, rice, soap etc. are from Indonesia and they are labelled in that language. If we have antenna, we normally watch Indonesian films. .... So, in the future, if we do not develop Tétun and other national languages or our mother tongues, they will lose ground and might not be able to compete with English and Indonesian. #30*

However, he also acknowledged that Indonesian and English play significant roles in the society, especially in terms of science and technology because books in Indonesian are easy to get and relatively cheap. He also noted that young people attending English courses had increased from time to time although these courses were not free of charge:

*Although English courses are not free, they are willing to pay to learn. Portuguese, on the other hand, is provided free of charge but the class seems empty and emptier. This could be a hint for the future of English and Portuguese. #31*

Mr Mauberek's statement is reinforced by a recent research carried out by INFORDEPE which, according to Mrs Guterres, found that more than 23,000 third year senior high school students nationwide preferred to learn English first and then Portuguese. A similar point was also made by Mr Sávio, who said that Timor-Leste should only use Tétun because it is an index of identity of the people and therefore the working roles of Indonesian and English should be taken over by Tétun:

*Timor-Leste should invest now in developing Tétun and oblige every Timorese to learn the language because it is the marker of our national identity. Portuguese and other languages can only be learned after Tétun, through foreign language academies or under language department at university or high school levels where students can choose. #32*

Accordingly, these two interviewees argued that, as an independent country, its working language should be Tétun because it is a marker of Timorese national identity.



A similar point of view was presented by Ms Halle, who said that Timor-Leste's priority should be developing Tétun and other local languages in order to preserve them from dying. She argued that languages like Indonesian and English can only be learned as foreign languages.

*As the roles of Indonesian and English, these languages should be optionally provided as subjects so that they can learn. Some young people are not familiar with Indonesian and therefore if there is explanation in Indonesian it may just compound the problem. It is true that they have exposure of Indonesian through television but the language is more colloquial than academic. As for English, parents want their children to learn English, as it is associated with language of economic accessibility and social movement, these parents argue that those who do not learn the language are left behind in a globalized world and therefore their movement is restricted. #33*

She argued that if Timor-Leste tends to treasure Portuguese than other endogenous languages, these languages might die out in the future. She said, *"If we tend to value European languages, we will let our languages die out."* #34

To summarize, in this section, I have presented different societal views on the adoption of Indonesian and English as the country's working languages. The interviewees who agreed with the policy regarding the current working languages said that the adoption of Indonesian and English was positive because these two languages are important regionally and internationally. Therefore, being able to have communicative competence in these languages would provide the speakers with economic and educational benefits, as well as political leverage in the region. However, those who did not agree with the policy of working languages argued that Timor-Leste had violent history with Indonesia and therefore it is negative to have adopted its language as a working language. Similarly, the language's entry into the country had curtailed the development of both Portuguese and Tétun. As for English, it was argued that the language did not have roots in the country. The interviewee with indifferent views believed that the country's working languages should be Tétun, along with a regionally or internationally influential language. Only one interviewee considered the roles of local/national languages and pointed to the threat posed to these by the more

dominant languages identified in the national policy. In the following section, I will present points presented by interviewees around the issue of the implementation and challenges of language in education policy, because it is believed that schooling is the battleground where divergent opinions often collide.

### **4.3 Language in education policy: Its implementations and ramifications**

This section will present how language in education policy is implemented, and then the challenges it posed, based on the opinions from the interviewees. The issues presented ranged from a too hasty transition in the implementation of language policies, to a lack of qualified teachers and lack of teaching materials, as well as students' higher rates of repetition and drop-outs, as well as student's under-achievement. Other related issues such as a linguistically confused generation also surfaced.

#### **4.3.1 Rushed transition**

There were three interviewees who mentioned about lack of timely transition for the implementation of the languages policies in education. Ms Bessa thought the implementation of language in education policy, especially Portuguese, was too hasty. She said:

*Now I feel that we tended to value and made a rush to use Portuguese immediately and by doing so we devalue our own language, Tétun. I think it is important to develop these two languages at the same time so that they can help each other. #35*

She continued:

*If only we had a transitional phase, we could have done reform by educating our teachers in order to upgrade their knowledge up to a minimum of diploma one or two or three because the majority of our teachers just finished either their primary or secondary education. So, we are having problems in terms of quality teaching and learning. The simple reason is that our educators come from different educational backgrounds and obtained their degrees in*

*Indonesian education. Language clearly becomes an obstacle in the learning process in Timor-Leste...#36*

She stated that part of the reason was lack of clear vision in Timor-Leste's political leaders on language policy, which had slowed down the development of Tétun and made it more challenging to develop.

Mr Hornay also thought that there was a rush in making Portuguese official when the majority of the population was not ready. He suggested that Portuguese could be used in the future but for the present it should only Tétun that ought to be used, including in education. Mrs Field also highlighted that there was a lack of necessary transition in place with the implementation of language in education policy.

#### **4.3.2 Challenges around qualified teachers and teaching materials**

Mr Hornay said that almost 70% of the current teachers are not qualified to teach as they could have only finished either elementary or secondary schools:

*The challenge we are having right now with the learning and teaching process is that the number of teachers who are not qualified is about 7500 out of 12000 teachers that we have, a very significant figure. #37*

He continued that INFORDEPE is now providing training to these teachers to make them capable of teaching. Mrs Guterres, acting President of INFORDEPE, agreed that the teacher training institute had worked hard to train teachers, not only in Portuguese but also in teaching methodology and even research skills. However, for Mr Sávio such training was never sufficient.

*Teaching in Portuguese is an obvious challenge for teachers because most of them had their degree in Indonesian and therefore they do not have sufficient command of Portuguese. Provided that teachers' manuals are in Portuguese, most of the teachers cannot use the manuals. As a way out, they have to write in Indonesian and then use Google translation to translate it into Portuguese which in turn transfer it to students. They use Tétun to explain. #38*

He added:

*...as a principal I would like to recommend that training of teachers should be specifically provided based on the context of Timor-Leste. The language training that we had was not beneficial to us and students and it could be a backlog for the upliftment of education in Timor-Leste. #39*

His colleague teacher, Mr Mauberek agreed and added:

*If the law says that we can either use Tétun or Portuguese to transfer knowledge to our students, it should be reasonable to have books in both Tétun and Portuguese. So far, books are only written in Portuguese. It is really difficult to implement the law as we do not understand Portuguese. #40*

He continued that the decision to adopt Portuguese as a medium of instruction was proved to be counter-productive because the majority of the teachers are trained in Indonesian. He also believed that the Portuguese short courses were not effective when he said: *Providing short courses are not panacea for making teachers competent teachers of Portuguese. #41*

Both of them apparently wanted to use Tétun to teach and therefore there should be textbooks written in Tétun and that the government should invest more in developing the country's official and national language, Tétun, as Mr Sávio pointed out:

*Tétun is an index of our national identity. We have to use Tétun to teach. But in order to teach in Tétun, we need books in Tétun. If we teach in Tétun, students and the public can treasure the language. Government should invest more in education by establishing teams to write books for Timor-Leste. Tétun should be taught as subject from primary to tertiary education in Timor-Leste..... It is with Tétun that we advance the quality of education in Timor-Leste and then the development of the country. #42*

His colleague Mr Mauberek concurred, when he said:

*In order to find solution to this linguistic mess, it is recommended that we only use Tétun to teach. To be able to teach in Tétun, we*

*need books that are written in Tétun as well, a language we are already familiar with. As long as I am concerned, books in Tétun are not many. This happens because the government is not serious enough in developing the language. We have people who we believe can write books. The question now is whether the government can work with them. #43*

Regarding teaching materials, Mr Sávio said that they did not have sufficient materials and that even if they had enough books, the contexts tend to represent either Indonesian or Portuguese contexts rather Timor-Leste itself:

*We do not have enough books. Even if we have some books, the contents of these books are not relevant to the curriculum. They reflect more Portuguese curriculum. All books written in Portuguese represent only the context of Portugal. We have some textbooks as well, for instance Sociology and Anthropology, which represent more Indonesian context. #44*

Regarding teachers' professional development, both of these interviewees said that they need intensive specific subject related training, not merely in communicative competence of Portuguese. Mr Mauberek argued:

*We do not just go there for the sake of communicative competence in Portuguese. What we need is more specific training related to subjects contained in our national curriculum. For instance, I am a math teacher and I should be trained how to teach math effectively. During the Portuguese course, we were provided with basic conversational skills in Portuguese. This is not adequate for knowledge transfer. #45*

His colleague Mr Sávio, in turn, added:

*... if they (Ministry of Education) wanted to give us education for instance on how to teach Portuguese, then they have to make sure that there are books available on the subjects there should be specific education for specific teachers on how to make use of the books. Education en masse that we had unfortunately did not reflect this wish but we went there to learn about World Cup and Olympic games. This does not promote science but retell the story of such*

*events. The education en masse was not beneficial to teachers and students. The quality of education, therefore, is now moving backwards. #46*

To summarize, in relation to language in education policy, the interviewees pointed out that the policy was hastily implemented and it was exacerbated by considerable lack of human resources, specifically qualified teachers, and supporting facilities such as teaching materials, which all pose serious challenges for the implementation of language in education policies.

#### **4.3.3 Higher rates of students' drop-out, repetition and under-achievement**

Two interviewees pointed out obvious impacts of language in education policy in regard to students. As said earlier, Ms Soares said that the policy had huge negative impacts on education with higher rates of students' drop out and repetition. Her comments are more related to the emergence of mother tongue based multilingual education projects in Timor-Leste.

In addition, Mr Mauberek said that with the language policy, there is a lack of students' engagement in teaching and learning process. He added that the use of Portuguese as a medium of instruction had serious negative impacts on students' achievement, as measured by the national assessment:

*The use of language has also greatly impact lower scoring scale on the six subjects on national exam. The average grade point of students is just four. If we compare this with other countries, it is shocking. In early years of independence from 2002 to 2004, when we used Indonesian they had good scoring scale. The teaching and learning process was very interactive. They asked questions and we engaged in live interactions. But now it is very difficult. It is a matter of fact that UNTL has now made decision to automatically admit those with scoring band 30 into the university. That means many students will not be able to continue their study. There are private universities but they are also extremely expensive. So the language policy, to some degree, has created a hidden but systematic unemployment. #47*

He also said that all the national tests are provided in Portuguese and this may have a negative effect on the overall academic achievement of students. So, there are serious impacts associated with the current language policy in education on students' in-class participation and their achievement.

#### **4.3.4 Linguistically uncertain and superficial generation**

Four interviewees said that with the current language policies in education, the students are linguistically confused, and that their academic knowledge becomes superficial or even fragmentary. Mr Hornay said that the current language policy in education had created a generation which is linguistically confused. He said, “... *One of the disadvantages of the current language policy is that it infuses a sense of linguistic uncertainty among the younger generation.*” #48

In addition to this “linguistic uncertainty” one interview indicated that the current language policy might have created superficiality in language learning. Ms Halle said: *With the current language policy in education, there is a kind of linguistic confusion among the children. Now we even have mother tongue programs, which will be followed by Tétun, then Portuguese and then English.* #49

Another issue with the policy is what was described as ‘a huge cognitive load’ by Mrs Field:

*With so many languages, how do you have ‘depths’ in languages? I would just be worried that there are strong emphasis on two languages and that will limit the opportunities to mingle with your neighbours. .... One thing that I’d think to comment on is the push for English teachers to do Ph.D. in Portuguese. I think that that could possibly a wrong decision. I’m concerned that these teachers who just nearly got their competence in academic English are now being asked to do the same with Portuguese for Ph.D. That’s a huge cognitive load.* #50

In addition, according to Mr Mauberek, the impacts of the policy are rather fragmentary on the process of students' learning. He said:

*With the current language policy in education, the direct impact is student's linguistic competence is not deep enough; they understand a little bit of Portuguese, a little bit of Tétun and a little bit of English. Their understanding of science itself might be fragmentary. They will be lost in the myriad of languages. #51*

Therefore, these interviewees believed that the current language policies in education had cast considerable negative effects on students and young people in general because the students were believed to be linguistically confused, academically superficial and intellectually fragmentary.

#### **4.3.5 Development of Tétun**

All the interviewees stressed the importance of developing Tétun, they felt that the status of Tétun is being neglected, partly due to the development of another official language, Portuguese. Ms Bessa thought that Tétun has to be developed and taught because many Timorese do not know to write and use the language properly and that the INL staff should be adequately equipped in order to carry out their tasks professionally. She argued that at present Tétun is devalued and therefore it is now important to give due valorisation for the language by developing it:

*I think it is important to develop these two languages (Tétun and Portuguese) at the same time so that they can help each other. When we implement the use of Portuguese in our country at the same time we have to make sure that we have to develop our languages as well because we are aware of the challenges we have with our Tétun: its standardization, grammar, lexicons, etc. #52*

She added:

*We need to develop Tétun. That is important. However, in order to develop Tétun, for example, we have done many things. We have done things with the support from foreign linguists such as from Australia. We have to train our linguists. We have to equip our INL. We have to allocate budget to INL so that they are able to do the works. Tétun does not only lack its vocabularies but also other aspects. We need a model. Based on what language we develop Tétun? We have Portuguese. #53*



She said that Tétun has to be developed like Portuguese and for that reason Timor-Leste needs a good language policy in place: “*We do have our National Institute of Linguistics, which has done great things, but we need a sound, clear and effective policy in developing our Tétun so that it can be on the equal footing with Portuguese.*”#54

For her, the way in which Tétun should be developed is according to the case of Cape Verde where a local creole was developed out of Portuguese and that it now enjoys its status as an official language along with Portuguese. She said: ....

*We can look at the case of Cape Verde. Currently they are using Creole as an official language but for creole to reach such status it has to be developed along with Portuguese. ....So, I said ‘Together we implement Portuguese, together we develop Tétun.’#55*

She also said that Tétun should be taught so that people can use it correctly according to its own lexis and grammar:

*Tétun should not only be used. Because when I get letters for the Committee, I cannot manage to understand them. I have to ask for assistance because there are certain parts of the letters that I cannot understand particularly in their structures, vocabularies that are often full in Bahasa Indonesia and then there are words that are coined from English into Tétun, such as *envairomentu* and *atakasaun*. #56*

So, for Ms Bessa, Tétun has to be developed as a language by taking Portuguese as its base or lexifier so that it can become a creole of Timor-Leste. There should be an instituted language policy on loan words especially from English and Indonesian in Tétun as a way of appropriating Tétun as a creole of Portuguese.

Her fellow MP, Mr Faculto, also made similar point by saying that Tétun has to be taught in schools with Portuguese and for that reasons there have to be books provided in both Tétun and Portuguese, as well as professional development of teachers.

However, he felt that the type of Tétun to be developed should be the one that borrows extensively from the Portuguese lexicon.

*We need to have books in order to develop our Tétun and Portuguese. There should be a committee established to do translation of those books coming into the country and the translation from Portuguese to Tétun has to be checked for accuracy by the ministry of education. ... Portuguese dictionaries have to be freely distributed among students in order to help them how to use Portuguese words so that later they can make comparison with Tétun. .... We have to find an effective mechanism enabling our teachers and students to develop our Tétun and Portuguese in schools. We have to find ways so that the students who are already either in primary and junior secondary schools to have intensive Portuguese and Tétun classes. #57*

He believed that there was a peaceful linguistic penetration during the historic accident of Portuguese colonization of Timor-Leste., The Indonesian occupation, and the consequent intervention of Indonesian that came with the regime, has made the learning of both Portuguese and Tétun difficult:

*Indonesians came with a language that almost everyone in the society could speak..... in all of the schools, people spoke the language easily. Some even found it hard to speak Tétun. Sometimes, when I speak with high Portuguese terminologies, some could not manage to understand. As a UNTL student, sometimes I use high Portuguese terms, which I believe are Tétunized already, they do not understand. When I speak in Bahasa Indonesia, they comprehend it easily. #58*

He felt that nowadays, when the role of Indonesian has been limited and Portuguese is being reintroduced, he has started to see Timorese people speaking good Tétun with a Portuguese-like pronunciation.

*Shortly after independence, Tétun was still a difficult language to speak. When we listened to them speaking, they mixed a lot and it was not easy to understand them. But now the Tétun language is getting better, as we see in television from their interlocutors. We start to see the beauty of the language. They start to use Tétun with Portuguese terminologies and their pronunciations have changed.*

*This means that our Tétun is evolving, progressing despite of other existing problems. People start to speak in a systematized way. #59*

He urged Timorese linguists to make every effort to make sure that Tétun borrows carefully from the Portuguese lexicons.

*I therefore ask linguists to develop our Tétun to ensure that there is good conjunction, make sure that Tétun has verbs, has meaning to conquer people's understanding of the language because the language is extremely valuable, a language that is capable of transmitting ideas, unlike the language of godmothers trying to unravel their riddles. #60*

He believed that Portuguese at this stage is the only medium of instruction that can help effective learning process of students even though there are obvious problems with the Portuguese competence of Timorese teachers:

*... I think it is highly necessary to introduce these two languages (Portuguese and Tétun) in schools. Portuguese, at this moment, we can say that it can create enabling environments for students to learn effectively. However, it is from teacher's interpretation of the materials that is difficult because their knowledge of the language is insufficient. #61*

Asked whether people in Timor-Leste had to learn four languages plus one, he stated that it has become an imperative to better channel Timor-Leste's interest both at national and regional or international levels through the country's language policy.

*We have to look at different alternatives available on languages, not only for means of communication but also for national and international standings. We have to make certain adjustment in this area. We should not only think about our national interests. #62*

He further elaborated that the language should have its economic leverage in the region and urged government and linguists to make efforts to make this appeal a possibility.

*I think products that come into the country should be obliged to write in Tétun. Menus in restaurants should also be written in Tétun. Some can be written in English but some has to be written in Tétun in order to help enrich our Tétun in the market. If a foreigner visits Timor-Leste and sees that everything is written in English, s/he would not learn Tétun. But if it is written in Tétun they have to learn the language. Sacks of rice imported here are still written in the language of the country of origin. .... Tétun should not occupy the domain of social communication. It has to enter the market. The government should consider this proposal by entering into different types of cooperation and involve linguists. #63*

However, for Dr da Silva, Tétun is still underdeveloped in its vocabulary and structure and therefore it needs Portuguese to grow because the development of Tétun has tendency to have Portuguese loan words instead of local languages:

*Since Tétun is still underdeveloped in terms of vocabulary and language structure, having Portuguese as official and intermediary language to complement Tétun seems to be the right decision, as Tétun Prasa has been very much developed out of Portuguese rather than other local languages. #64*

He then stressed that the combination of Tétun and Portuguese would make Timor-Leste mark its cultural and political distinctiveness in the region. He wrote:

*Portuguese could also become culturally a comparative advantage of the Timorese which might serve as a source of ingredient for tourism development in the region. Finally, Portuguese and Tétun could make Timor as distinct nation rather than culturally submissive to either Australia which is predominantly Anglo-Saxon or Indonesia, the former occupier. #65*

However, he raised his concern that such policy may backfire at Tétun as a an endogenous language losing its local rootedness or its Timorese-ness and he urged Timorese linguists to use locally available vocabularies, while sounding the alarm of adopting an-anti foreign languages policy under the pretext of colonial or occupier languages.

*The disadvantages of the policy however might be identified as following; first, instead of adopting from local language to enrich Tétun, it tends to Portuguese to complement Tétun in terms of adoption of vocabularies, and possibly language structure. In long run, Tétun might lose its identity of Timorese-ness. It is therefore vital for linguists to pay high attention to this issue to ensure local languages as sources of strength to fill up vocabulary deficiency of Tétun to make Tétun a precise and grammatically rich language as well. Second, optional decision “either/or” in reality provides scope for people to excuse learning one language and not the other, and this further put them in the line of anti-Portuguese as an official language and often has racial consequences. Still along this line people might turn to Indonesian language, the language of the occupier, which they are today, because Portuguese is considered a difficult and colonial language, when Indonesian is also a colonial language. #66*

He also highlighted the importance of developing and enhancing the status of Tétun in the domain of higher education by establishing a Tétun department:

*It has been a public concern for a while that the INL should establish a Tétun Language Literature or alike to promote Tétun development. This could be a three years course, developed in the same way the Portuguese and English Department in the Faculty of Education and Humanities Studies. In this way, the department could develop a proper curriculum which will be also responsive to the needs of the education from primary and higher education teachers. This move will certainly multiply the numbers of Tétun experts in a very dramatic and systematic way. The use of technology in promoting language will be also part of this project, as the internet use is expanding throughout the country and will continue to do so. #67*

As for Mr Sarmento, Tétun has to be developed and then to be introduced as a compulsory subject for students to learn in schools to ensure that the students can read and write correctly in Tétun:

*We have to introduce Tétun as a subject so students can learn how to read and write correctly.... We should speak and write Tétun according to its rules, unlike young people who come up with their slangs every time they wish. #68*

He added if Tétun is not taught there would be a dramatic twist in the writing of Tétun: this is because text language or the emergence of slang is dominant among younger users of Tétun. Sarmento believed that it is Tétun who should be developed first and once Tétun is strong enough then Portuguese can also be introduced to enrich Tétun, especially in its lexicons. He argued:

*If Portuguese is taught, Tétun should be taught too, so that students know how to write according to the correct rules of Tétun. ...We can learn Portuguese but we should not degrade our Tétun and other local languages. By learning Portuguese we enrich our Tétun. Our Tétun will be richer in the next ten years because Tétun takes many lexicons from Portuguese. #69*

Therefore, to Mr Sarmento, Tétun is not well developed now and there is an urgent need to develop it promptly. He believed that because Tétun has dominant oral tradition, it should be used in educational settings so both teachers and students know how to read and write well and correctly in Tétun. Portuguese, given to its status a co-official language, can be learned after Tétun.

A similar point was made by Ms Halle, who said that Tétun has to be developed primarily due to its status as one of Timor-Leste's national languages as well as a co-official language, alongside Portuguese. She also said that Tétun should be taught both to teachers and students so that they know how to use the language properly accordingly:

*Although Tétun is our national language, the language is not spoken by all the people because some people still speak their local languages. ...We know that not everyone from Díli who is teaching in schools. Tétun#70*

She said there should be a language proficiency test soon after the language training in order to know whether a teacher is competent in teaching Tétun.

*I am not so sure about those who are teaching languages whether there has to be a prior training for them or not. ....However, if it is done it could become a way of detecting a teacher's language*

*transfer competency which is very important in teaching a language.*  
#71

She said that correct Tétun should be used and taught in academic realms because the academic genre is different from daily conversational language.

*As we know, the language or dialect that we speak is not the same in its written and spoken forms. Academic, non-academic and conversational language is different. Sometimes I do not understand your Tétun simply because you use either unfamiliar Portuguese or Tétun words. Most importantly, our youth tend to make slangs, which they think cool for them, but it is not easy to be understood by others. #72*

Similar points were made by Ms Ribeiro who said that Tétun is a national treasure and therefore the language should be developed in terms of its corpus planning aspects and its material development, as well professional development for Tétun teachers.

*As a Timorese I am proud to have Tétun grow richer and richer in terms of its grammatical rules, orthography and implementation.... I have a simple thought that even teachers have to learn Tétun in order to teach the language, in addition to their professional trainings. #73*

She said that Timorese families too have roles to play in making Tétun a mother tongue for the generations to come, especially those who are living in and around the capital, Díli.

On the development of Tétun, another important point was made by Mrs Field who said that it was necessary to invest in the development of Tétun by making good dictionaries of, and teaching materials in, Tétun, and that the language should be used in Tétun teacher education programmes because Tétun is at present very unstable.

*It's good to invest in Tétun, get good dictionaries, teaching materials and do professional development for teachers. That helps the status*

*too. It's a national language. .... Tétun is very unstandardized. Tétun should also be seen as a resource. #74*

Asked whether the current national language policy was moving toward Portuguese monolingual policy, she asserted that the move was happening as every public servant is obliged to attend Portuguese classes after or during work hours although this insufficient Tétun.

*It's happening and teachers in high schools are doing it. It's just amazing. I was impressed that English teachers had to go to Bali to do marking, etc. But they also go to Portuguese classes every night. It's an obligation for government civil servants to learn Portuguese. But training is not enough and to teach in Portuguese is hard. #75*

However, these viewpoints are in contrast with the view of the vice director of the INL, Dr Gomes, who argued that Tétun had been developed because it has its own proper grammar, orthography and rules in that everyone has to follow, albeit the presence of different writing systems found within the society.

*Tétun as an official language should have its grammar, orthography, as well as rules that everyone should comply with. The National Institute of Linguistic has made the work done and had disseminate the language to teachers on how to write the language according to its proper rules. #76*

He also mentioned that INL had worked hard to ensure that Tétun is taught in schools. This point of argument was confirmed by Mrs Guterres who said that the teacher education institute have had worked with INL since 2007 to ensure that Tétun is introduced as a subject to be learned by the future teachers.

In addition, Dr Gomes emphasized that the institute had reached 80% of the areas in which local teachers and community leaders were trained to teach Tétun in classroom settings. As vice director of INL, Dr Gomes speaks with linguistic expertise and authority. However, some of the claims are contested by educators on the ground. Four high schools visited by the researcher in the course of the present study confirmed



that Tétun was not being taught as a subject in those schools. Three were in the eastern part whereas one was in the central part of Timor-Leste. The principals of these schools said that they did not have Tétun teachers as well as textbooks to use. Regarding the use of Tétun in the wider society, Dr Gomes urged everyone to comply by the rules of the language issued by the institute because language policy is part of nation building process:

*The official Tétun derives from Tétun Prasa, which has dominant Portuguese vocabularies. For everyone to develop the language to be on equal foot with other languages, every Timorese should learn the grammar of Tétun under the guidance of INL, including with the orthography so that everyone has to write in a uniformed way. We know for sure that in terms of orthography alone many people still do not comply. But as a nation, if we want our language to develop, we all have to comply, to write according to the standardized form of Tétun. If there is any divergence in terms of opinion, let us talk. However, in terms of implementation, everyone without exception should comply. We all should be united in developing our language from now on and in the future. If now we have endless discussion on grammar, how to write, I think Tétun is stagnant, let alone to become a medium of instruction in schools. #77*

He said that in order to avoid linguistic confusion, especially among educators on the loan words and new coinage, the policy is to go first with Tétun Terik and then Portuguese. For instance, he pointed out that there was a term that INL recently coined for environment because of the misuse by those who do not know how to translate the word into Tétun via Portuguese and the new coinage is *horik-le'un* for Portuguese *meio-ambiente* (environment).

*For example, there is a term INL is trying to coin, especially for the world environment, because some people use it *envaironmentu*, the equivalent translation is not *envaironmentu* because there is no such word in Portuguese. *Envaironmentu* is coined out of English while our policy clearly regulates that if there is no equivalent vocabulary in Tétun Terik, we then have adopt Portuguese vocabularies. It is what the policy says. So, in order to coin the correspondent word, which is of course not *envaironmentu* but *meio-ambiente* which INL later translated as *horik-le'un*. *Le'un* is a thing that circles or surrounds us; *horik-le'un* is a compounding. We have to socialize the use of the term in order to dissipate disagreement on the use of*

*the term for environment. So, we all should adopt one concept only, that we want to learn what is right and correct. If we all put our trust in one institute to guide us, we will use only one form that is commonly agreed upon. #78*

However, Mr Mauberek believed that Tétun has been effectively downgraded to merely a secondary official language after Portuguese and he asserted that such an actualization of the policy is a violation of the Constitution itself.

*If we see the decision made by our RDTL state in relation to our official languages, as stipulated in the Constitution, it is obvious that we have two official languages: number one is Tétun and number two Portuguese. But in its implementation, we make number one as number two and then number two as number one instead. According to the science of math, this is a violation of the Constitution itself. #79*

He said that the essence of language in education policy is to help transmit knowledge to students and he believed that policy should help teachers to do it if there are bilingual manuals and/or textbooks in both Tétun and Portuguese:

*The language that we use in school is essentially to transfer knowledge that we get from books to students. It would have been great if there two languages, i.e. Tétun and Portuguese, are used in the books. Sadly, the books are written only in Portuguese. ....Books in Tétun would have helped us a lot because majority of us use Tétun to explain. So, we need books that are written in Tétun. To date, we do not have any books written in Tétun. #80*

He viewed that Timor-Leste's political leaders have no interest in developing Tétun and this lack of linguistic nationalism can only be rectified by equal and fair budget allocation for the development of Tétun and Portuguese, as well as different processes taken in order to make Tétun standard with reference to the simplification efforts of the current status Indonesian:

*I think the state is disinterested in developing Tétun. If they were interested then they would have supported our linguists to write*

*textbooks in Tétun and that for every subject there are Tétun dictionaries and grammar books available. Learning in and with Tétun as medium of instruction would be easier for both teachers and students. Unlike Portuguese where we have to grope with one or two Portuguese words only. If we want Tétun to be used in education sector, then the state has to allocate budget, same amount of budget allocated for the development of Portuguese and that there should be also training of teachers in Tétun. If we do not have these things in place now, we would be worse in the future. Bahasa Indonesia had to go through series of orthography simplifications and it takes long process to reach its current status. In our case, we do not even develop it but we neglect it. Therefore, I dare to say that we do not have our linguistic nationalism. #81*

He said that the country's political leaders do not have clear language policy to develop Tétun and therefore the destiny of our national languages is rather bleak because they are losing ground to English and Indonesian. He believed that the development of Tétun can be seen as an indicator that Timor-Leste cares about and therefore saves its national languages from vanishing, including in filtering the entry of foreign words into Tétun:

*If we do not develop our local languages, our languages at district levels will die out some day in the future because it is easy for our people to absorb foreign words that evolve so fast in our lives.... on daily basis. #82*

For Mr Sávio, because Tétun is a symbol of national identity, it has to be used in education and that there should be textbooks written in Tétun, which contain Timor-Leste's context specific, to enable Timorese students to learn and to love the language.

*Teachers are making their efforts to teach in Tétun because it is a symbol of national identity. The government has to produce textbooks in Tétun so that students can learn and that the Timorese public can appreciate the language. And if there are textbooks in Tétun, make sure that they specifically reflect the context of Timor-Leste. #83*

He believed that some Timorese are capable of writing textbooks in Tétun but the question now is whether the government is willing to support them both politically and

financially to carry out the tasks. He believed that if there are textbooks written, it would help with acquisition planning of Tétun at educational levels across Timor-Leste.

*In my point of view, there are knowledgeable Timorese who can write textbooks in Tétun but I think such works cannot materialize due to lack of support from the government. Even worse, the government does not know whether we already have such people because the government is not working closely with those at the UNTL. There are linguists there and I believe that they can write textbooks in Tétun. If the government is serious about developing Tétun, they should invest more in this area so that textbooks in Tétun are written. Only by doing so, Tétun is taught from primary education to university levels. #84*

He viewed that the situation of linguistic confusion had impacted the quality of education in Timor-Leste from bad to worse and therefore the situation has to be remedied as soon as possible. For him, the solution lies with the use of Tétun as the medium of instruction because he believed that only with Tétun Timor-Leste can advance its education, a key factor in developing the young democratic country and its human resource.

*The language in education policy is a serious problem and it has to be dealt with urgency. If such situation is not addressed, the quality of education would be increasingly deteriorated. .... Only with Tétun we can develop education and then Timor-Leste. #85*

He asserted that Portuguese and other foreign languages such as English and Indonesian could be learned after strong foundation in Tétun has been established. Consequently, courses in these foreign languages should only be offered at higher education levels to allow students to choose.

To summarize, all the interviewees agreed that there is a need to improve the status of Tétun. However, their views were slightly different on how the language should be developed, particularly as to whether to make Tétun a creole of Portuguese or to maintain a certain degree of linguistic purism while Tétun is being developed. Most of the interviewees also pointed out that Tétun should be taught in schools to both students and teachers. However, there was idea to extend the function of Tétun in

economic domain where labels and instructions of imported goods are written in Tétun. The following section will touch upon the everyday plurilingual situation in Timor-Leste as evidenced from different languages used by the interviewees.

#### **4.4 Situation of plurilingualism in Timor-Leste**

According to Sankoff and Poplack (1981), there are three different types of code-switching i.e. tag switching, intra-sentential switching, inter-sentential switching. To these may be added a fourth: the choice by a speaker to switch languages in longer turns. As showed in Table 3.1, the interviewees, except Mrs Field, code-switched in at least three languages: Indonesian (I), English (E) and Portuguese (P). Tétun Terik (TT) or classical Tétun is also parsimoniously used, as well as neologism (N). However, given that many Tétun lexicons are nativized from Portuguese, it is only in written forms that these words can be distinguished from Portuguese.

For the present study, the researcher is trying to be consistent that where the matrix language is Tétun, the tags found therein are considered Tétun unless indicated otherwise. In this section, the examples of intra-sentential and inter-sentential switching are presented first due to the rarity of its incidence while there are myriad examples of tag switching, an indicative of plurilingualism rather than multilingualism. In plurilingualism, is speaker is not required to be fluent in the languages used, but merely familiar with some forms of other languages. Thus, tagging is the preferred form of code-switching in Timor-Leste, as indicated from the interview data.

##### **4.4.1 Intra-sentential switching**

There was one example of inter-sentential switching made during the interview with Mr Mauberek where he used Indonesiann words like *bakso*, *warung* and *sepatu* and then switched to a whole sentence in Indonesian mimicking how Indonesian street-vendors are walking from one house to another persuading the people to buy their sales. He said:

1. Maibé Indonesia (I), maské sira sai ona, ohin-loron sira mai fali hodi fa'an bakso (I), loke warung (I), suku sepatu (I), agora sai-tama uma fa'an roupa hodi husu "Bapak beli...? Ya, beli... secara tersembunyi berkembang (I). #86 -- Mr Mauberek [*However,*

*Indonesian people, although they had left, now they return by selling meatballs, open up food-stalls, sew shoes, now they go from one house to another by asking "Buy anything, sir? Yes, I would like to buy .... The language is being developed unconsciously.]*

#### **4.4.2 Inter-sentential switching**

In the following examples, two interviewees were found consistent with their use of inter-sentential switching.

2. Tuir loloos ita hotu tenke hatene lian Bahasa Indonézia. Grande poténsia iha ita-nia sorin. Malázia mós. Tanto mais de nós (P). #87 -- Ms Bessa [*The truth is that everyone should be able to understand Indonesian Indonesia. The grand potential is right next to us. So is Malaysia. Let alone us.*]
3. Jadi (I), ida-ne'e fila-fali bá estudante ididak ninian daya tangkap (I), sira kapta oinsá. Sira balu ita la presiza hatudu step by step (E). Sira rasik bele figure out (E). #88 -- Ms Halle [*So, it goes back to every student's intelligence how to capture. Some do not need to demonstrate it step by step. They themselves can figure out.*]

As the examples show Ms Bessa tended to use Portuguese and/or nativized Tétun while Ms Halle switched to two different languages, i.e. Indonesian and English.

#### **4.4.3 Tag switching**

The interviewees made tag switching at least in three different languages, which are all recognized by the Constitution, either merely used one of those languages or used them in tandem. The following examples show how tagging was found dominant in the data.

##### **4.4.3.1 Tag switching to Indonesian only**

In the examples provided, three interviewees chose to use Indonesian. Mr Faculto went to Indonesian-medium school but then continued his study in Portuguese medium instruction run by Portuguese Jesuits in Dili, although the school had to be closed down after the November Massacre in 1991. The researcher knows him from the time of resistance, and in the interview he mostly used Portuguese words, which he believed had been Tétunized. However, he could also use Indonesian with words like *gado-gado* (a type of salad) instead of *misturado* in Portuguese. He may believe that by

using these words he does not show any aversion to Indonesian, a language which he believed to have impacted negatively the development of Portuguese and Tétun.

Mr Hornay is a typical example of those who were schooled under Indonesian occupation where exposure to Portuguese was minimal. He is originally from Lautém District on the eastern tip of the country where acquisition of Tétun was restricted and Fataluku, the local language, is predominant. He went to Indonesian university and apparently his frequent use of *sa'ida* (what, similar to *apa* in Indonesian and *anu iha* Javanese) seems to be affected by his fluency in Indonesian. His fluency in Indonesian might be elucidated from a common joke in Timor-Leste that majority of those who are from the district can only speak two languages. Under Portuguese time, they were fluent in both Portuguese and Fataluku and during Indonesian occupation they were fluent in Indonesian and Fataluku. When Timor-Leste gained its independence, it is believed that they only speak Fataluku and Portuguese or English, not Tétun.

Both Mr Faculto and Mr Hornay are in their late thirties or early forties because they were born after Portuguese left Timor in 1975. Mr Sarmiento, on the other hand, was born in 1980s where exposure to Indonesian was dominant, which is not a surprise to find his tags in Indonesian. However, his parents are well educated and are from native speakers of classical Tétun or Tétun Terik. He was born and raised in Díli and therefore his way of expressing his ideas reflects his competence of Indonesian, Tétun and Portuguese.

4. Ha'u fiar katak se jersaun ida mai ne'e ita konsisten (I) ho Portugés, yang jelas (I) sociedade ita opta lingua Portugés no Tétun. Agora, bahasa (I) ne'e bahasa (I) ida bé bahasa pergaulan (I), mezmu ida-ne'e sai hanesan bahasa ibu (I). #89 -- Mr Hornay [*I believe that if the next generation is consistent with Portuguese, it is clear that the society has opted for Portuguese and Tétun. Now the language is more like a lingua franca, although it is also a mother tongue.*]
5. Agora ita ko'alia Tétun ne'e gado-gado (I) loos, kahur-malu; la hetan entaun impresta hosi Bahasa Indonesia. Keta halo bá ita-nia lian Tétun ne'e la menarik (I) karik. #90 – Mr Faculto – [*Now we speak Tétun which is highly mixed, mixed; if we do not find any*

*words then we will borrow from Indonesian. I wonder if our language is not interesting anymore.]*

6. Ne'ebé ha'u hanoin iha tinan sanolu nune'e, iha instansi (l) governu-sira nian ne'e surat resmi (l) sira ne'e ema sei hakerek iha Portugés maibé atu ko'alia lorloron ema sei ko'alia Tétun. #91 – Mr Sarmiento – *[Therefore I think that in the next 10 years, in government offices people will write official letters in Portuguese but in daily conversation they may keep speaking Tétun.]*

The above examples showed that the first interviewee switched to Indonesian for words like *bahasa pergaulan* (lingua franca) and *bahasa ibu* (mother tongue), which were easy to pick during the course of the interview. The second interviewee, however, used the words like *gado-gado* and *menarik*. *Gado-gado* is a typical Indonesian salad but he later explained as *kahur malu* (mixed) in Tétun. He seemingly assumed that the interviewer was familiar to the association. The probable reason for the switch may be pragmatic as well as familiarity with the interviewer. The third interviewee's choice of words usage such as *instansi* (institution) and *surat resmi* (official letter) resembles the first interviewee as these words were easy to pick and widely used. As indicated in the example, the word class for which Mr Sarmiento code-switched in Indonesian is related to governmental organizations such as *instansi* (institution) and *surat resmi* (official letter). This is an indicative that, although Mr Sarmiento knew words like *instituisaun* or *karta ofisiál* in Tétun, it can be inferred that picking up those tags in Indonesian was easy and that he was sure that his interlocutor was familiar with such tags.

#### **4.4.3.2 Tag switching in English only**

As already mentioned elsewhere in this section, Ms Bessa is fluent in Portuguese and English. Her fluency in these two languages was because of her stay in Portugal and Australia, like many Timorese *diasporas*. Her family went first to Portugal and then returned to Australia to stay and work there. During the interview she code switched mostly in these two languages. The examples provided below show the tags in English



only. She knew that the researcher could understand English. She knew to whom she was talking to as well as the contexts about which the interview was made.

7. Ita-nia estudante balu diretamente kontakta ho universidades balu iha Estadus Unidus ne'ebé iha apoiu bá foreign students (E) no konsege bá duni. #92 -- Ms Bessa – [*Some of our students directly contacted certain universities in the United States that support foreign students and they managed to go there.*]
8. Ita Timor ne'e grow up bilingual (E), ki'ik-oan ko'alia lian materna, ko'alia lian Tétun. #93 -- Ms Bessa [*We, Timorese grow up bilingual, kids speak mother tongue, also speak Tétun.*]

The choice of *foreign students* and *grow up bilingual* here seems to be the case that the interviewee is bilingually competent.

#### **4.4.3.3 Tag switching in Portuguese only**

The tags found here were made by Mr Faculto.

9. Kolonizadór Portugál ne'ebé koloniza Timor durante quatro centos e cinquenta anos (P). #94 – Mr Faculto -- [*Portugal the colonizer colonized Timor during four hundred and fifty years.*]

As he was educated in Portuguese school, the data shows that Mr Faculto generally counts in Portuguese, a linguistic preference which is very common among those who went to Portuguese schools.

#### **4.4.3.4 Tag switching in Portuguese and English**

The tags below show how Ms Bessa was able to switch to both English and Portuguese and even surprisingly Indonesian. The example also shows Ms Bessa's preference to use Tétun with Portuguese lexis. Instead of using *bainhira*, she preferred *quando* and *porqué* rather than *tan* or *tanbá* because it may be the case that she easily picked *quando* and *porqué* during the course of the interview.

10. Segunda ita-boot fila entaun sorte ita hasoru malu ohin porque (P) Segunda ami sibuk (I) fali ona ho plenária. #95 --Ms Bessa -- *[If you go back on Monday then you are lucky that today we could catch up because on Monday we will be busy as usual with plenary.]*

11. Porque (P) ita quando (P) domina lian barbarak, we are good anywhere, in any context (E). #96 -- Ms Bessa -- *[Because when we master many languages, we are good anywhere in any context.]*

So, as indicated earlier, with the use of these tags, Ms Bessa was aware of whom she was speaking to as well as the issue being tackled. Her preference of inserting *sibuk* instead of busy or *okupadu* is worth noting because the word is commonly used by Indonesian graduated politicians within her party's rank. Although she was raised and educated in Portuguese, Ms Bessa could use some Indonesian, like other politicians do, to show that she was sympathetic with Timorese people speaking Indonesian. This is consistent with her statement elsewhere during the interview where she encouraged other people to learn the language because it represents a potential in the region.

#### Tag switching in Indonesian and English

The following examples show tags in both Indonesian and English by an interviewee.

Buat-sira ne'ebé foun atu ita simu lalais, hints (E) ne'e kan (I) ita risih (I) oituan. #97-- Ms Halle -- *[That is a new thing for me to get it immediately because the hints make me a little bit uncomfortable.]*

Aprende tiha Portugés mak bá fali Inglés ne'e easier (E), tanbá barak mak hanesan; ninian rules (E) ne'e ema dehan baku (I) tiha ona. #98 – Ms Halle -- *[Learning English after Portuguese is easier because there are many similarities; the rules are pretty fixed already.]*

This examples show that Ms Halle made switches to English, even though the equivalent words of Tétun might be used too. Ms Halle was in her mid-20s and was schooled in Indonesian but after Timor-Leste's independence she was awarded scholarships to study in Australia and New Zealand where she was frequently exposed to and used English. The examples provided here give hints to her education as well as age.

#### Tag switching in Portuguese and Indonesian

The following examples are taken from two members of parliament when they made tags both in Portuguese and Indonesian.

Tan númeru ne'ebé la tama diploma ne'e kala sete mil e tal (P), númeru ida mais significante (P) kecualli (I) ita kria kedas iha sub-distritu. #99 – Mr Hornay -- *[Because the number (of teachers) who did not get diploma is about seven thousand and a half, a very significant number; unless we create (training) at sub-district level.]*

Iha-ne'e fali mestre-sira balu bá to'o iha-ne'ebá mak asal bunyi (I) de'it, hotu tiha mak kuandu estudante-sira pergunta sira, sira nakdoko tiha ona, la hatene sira ohin preparado (P) ka lae. #100 – Mr Faculto-- *[Here some lecturers are just making non-sense sounds and after the lecture when some students ask them questions they are shaken, I do not know whether they are prepared or not.]*

In the examples above, it is evident that tags from Mr Hornay also counted in Portuguese while some basic words are in Indonesian. As he was in his early forties or late thirties, he underwent Indonesian-medium education both in Timor and went to university in Java for his first degree. He comes from a district where Fataluku was dominantly used. However, as a politician he had to learn Portuguese and used it sparingly. The data shows that when he could not find words like *a não ser* or *se não* in Portuguese, he switched to Indonesian.

For Mr Faculto, the words like *asal bunyi*, which is normally shortened as *asbun* was very commonly used by Indonesians to indicate someone who talk nonsense or rubbish,

which he may not find its equivalent in Portuguese. But for the most part, in he used Portuguese words like *preparado* here instead of saying *la pronto* (not ready), which is also commonly used in Tétun. The reason for such switch was partly for economy of speech.

#### 4.4.3.7 Tag switching in English and Tétun Terik

This is an example where Ms Bessa made switches to English and Tétun Terik.

La bele obriga profesór bá hanorin profesór bá simu formasaun wainhira (TT) nia struggling (E), to feel struggling (E). #101 -- Ms Bessa [*Teachers should not be obliged to be trained if they are struggling, to feel struggling.*]

She might not realize that the word wainhira is Tétun Terik where it is bainhira in Tétun Prasa or official Tétun with a slightly phonemic change from /w/ to /b/.

#### 4.4.3.8 Tag switching involving neologism

The following examples provide tags using neologism.

Envairementu (N) ne'e mai hosi liafuan Inglés sedangkan (I) ita-nia polítika, enkuantu vokabuláriu, kosa-kata (I) ne'e la iha Tétun Terik, foin mak ita foti hosi Portugés. #102 – Dr Gomes – [*Envairementu is coined out of English while our policy, therefore if there is no vocabulary, vocabulary in Tétun Terik, we then adopt Portuguese vocabularies.*]

I mestre-sira mós hau senti katak karik atu hanorin maibé kompeténsia la duun bele fo efeitu bá ita-nia alunu-sira i environment (E) enveronmentu (N) ko'alia Portugés nian ne'e balu balu de'it. #103 – Mr Sarmiento – [*And teachers too, I think that if they teach but when they feel that they are not so competent, this may affect our students and the environment of speaking Portuguese is limited only to some.*]

These two examples illustrate how neologisms are made, one by linguistic authority and another by the popular use, with the former trying to exemplify how new words are coined *ex nihilo* and the latter presumably led by the belief that words finale *-nt* in

English automatically becomes *-mento* in Portuguese, which then nativized as *-mentu* in Tétun. These examples also proved that if there was no state sanctioned standardization of Tétun, any form of Tétun could take place, because Tétun itself at this state is very unstable. The INL, according to Dr Gomes, is well aware of this situation even though it is under-resourced to deal with the issue.

#### 4.4.3.8 Tag switching in three languages

The switches provided here were made by two relatively young Timorese female in their mid-20s. The examples of word choices illustrate how they make use of their linguistic repertoires available at least in three languages in Portuguese, Indonesian and English as an evidence of plurilingualism rather than multilingualism. Ms Ribeiro's data is extracted from an email interview where her writing style might be considered as quasi-texting language which the researcher had to decode for the purpose of this present study.

Macau (P) ne'e rai ida maju (I) tebes ho sira-nia multiple (E) língua. So (E), tansá Timor la bele sai hanesan nia? #104 [*Macau is a very developed country with its multiple languages. So, why can't Timor be like it?*]

Note that her way of writing 'Macau' was in Portuguese and she also used *maju* instead of *avansada* or *dezenvolvida* in nativized Tétun. She also used English tags like *multiple* and so although the better term for the first would be multilingual.

Equally, Ms Halle also showed that she could speak, or at least use, four different linguistic repertoires for her daily communication. The interesting thing is the insertion of *sira* as a plural marker between two Indonesian words, *universitas* and *ternama*.

Mungkin (I) ita-nia inan-aman-sira ne'e fond of Portugese (E) tanbá uluk rai-di'ak. Sira ne'e eskola to'o de'it quarta classe (P), most of them (E), la'os bá universitas (I)sira ternama (I). #105 – Ms Halle -- [*Maybe our parents are fond of Portuguese because of their nostalgia with the past. They only finished their fourth year of elementary school, most of them did not go to well-known universities.*]

In the above extracts, even she though linguistic repertoire included four languages, Ms Halle's choice of lexical and syntactic features clearly suggests plurilingual rather than multilingual use.

#### 4 . 5 Summary

This Chapter has presented the interviewees' opinions on the choice of the two official languages, Tétun and Portuguese, as well as the country's working languages, Indonesian and English. As seen above, opinions vary, reflecting the fact that the issue of official language adoption is still very contentious within Timorese society. Some interviewees believed that the adoption of Tétun and Portuguese as the country's official languages is positive because Timor-Leste had been a colony of Portuguese during which the language had been welcomed into the family of local languages, particularly Tétun. It was made clear by the interviewees that Tétun, in its present stage of development, would need Portuguese to develop because the two languages fit each other well. However, some interviewees believed that Tétun should make lexical borrowing from other national languages rather than Portuguese in its efforts to modernize itself. Another interviewee said that she arguably agreed with the decision but the same attention should be given to two working languages too because these two languages are regionally and internationally influential.

Those who did not agree with the decision argued that the decision to adopt Portuguese was more a manifestation of the minority older generation's nostalgia with the past and by doing so they minoritize the numerical majority who were educated in Indonesian. The interviewees in this camp believed that at the present time the country's official language should be only Tétun, the language spoken by the majority of the people and the marker of the Timor-Leste's national identity. One interviewee believed that English should be adopted alongside Tétun because of its symbolic power as world's economic, social and political benefits.

To some interviewees, the policy was seen as positive because by choosing Portuguese as an official language, Timor-Leste marks its distinctiveness in the region and that the language would bring Timor-Leste closer to CPLP and the European Union,

with Portugal as its entry point. However, there were interviewees who argued that to choose Portuguese alongside with Tétun was an expression of our allegiance with Latin American countries to make balance of power in the world where Anglo-American linguistic dominance is hegemonic.

Regarding views on the adoption of Indonesian and English as the country's working languages, the interviewees who agreed with the policy said that the adoption of Indonesian and English was positive because these two languages are important regionally and internationally. Therefore being communicatively competent in these languages would provide the speakers with economic and educational benefits, as well as political leverage in the region. However, those who did not agree with the working languages policy argued that Timor-Leste had undergone a violent history with Indonesia and therefore it is negative to have adopted its language as a working language. Similarly, official recognition of Indonesian in the country had curtailed the harmony of Portuguese and Tétun. As for English, it was argued that the language did not have strong roots in the country.

The Chapter also solicited different points presented by interviewees around the issue of the implementation and challenges of language in education policy in which they argued that the policy was hastily implemented. Such condition was then aggravated by considerable lack of human resources, specifically qualified teachers, and supporting facilities such as teaching materials, which all pose serious challenges for the implementation of language in education policies. In addition, there are serious impacts associated with the current language policy in education, particularly higher rate of students' repetition and drop-outs, as well as parents' involvement in the education of their children.

All the interviewees apparently agreed that there is an imperative to improve the status of Tétun. However, their views were slightly different on how the language has to be developed, particularly whether to make Tétun a creole of Portuguese or to maintain certain degree of linguistic purism in the development of Tétun. Most of the interviewees also pointed out that Tétun should be taught in schools to allow both students and teachers to learn the language. It was also argued that Tétun should be used for

labelling and marking of imported goods into the country as a way of raising the status of Tétun in the economic sphere.

From the interview data, as evidenced from interviewees' code of choices, it can be argued that Timor-Leste is also characterized by a situation of plurilingualism where repertoires of at least three languages are used during daily communication. The finding, therefore, confirmed the earlier study done by Barnard et al. (2013). Although there are examples of intra-sentential and inter-sentential switching, the findings showed that the dominant mode is tag switching, which in itself indicative of plurilingual use rather than multilingual competence in all four language used. However, it is also evident that most of the interviewees were at least bilingually competent. It was suggested that the reasons for the code-mixing or switch is a complex interplay between personal, linguistic and sociocultural factors leading to the plurilingualism evident in these interviews and – to the extent that these may be representative of educated Timorese – this may well be also the case in the wider society in Timor-Leste. The next Chapter will further discuss the issues of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste, languages in education policies, as well the emergency of mother-tongue based education projects and the situation of plurilingualism in Timor-Leste.



## **Chapter Five: Discussions**

### **5.0 Introduction**

Based on the findings in the previous chapter, the present chapter will discuss national language policy in regard to official languages and working languages, as well as language in education policy with their ramifications. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into four sections. Section 5.1 focuses on present national language policy, Section 5.2 will discuss the language in education policy, Section 5.3 will focus on working languages, and finally Section 5.4 will deal with the situation of plurilingualism in Timor-Leste, as evidenced from interview data. These points will be related to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. This chapter will end with a summary.

### **5.1 Present national language policy: Summary of findings**

From the preceding chapter, it can be summarized that the opinions articulated by the interviewees varied surrounding the choice of the two official languages, Tétun and Portuguese. There were six interviewees who agreed with the current language policy and planning, two interviewees agreed with reservations, and the other five interviewees disagreed with the current language policy.

The six participants who viewed the current policy as positive agreed with the choice of Portuguese. Their arguments ranged from the historical reasons that Portuguese had ruled Timor-Leste for more than 450 years, and that during this period of colonial rule, Timor-Leste had become culturally Lusophone and therefore it became linguistically and culturally distinctive to other countries in the region but similar to former colonies of Portuguese. Another reason was that Portuguese was the language of resistance against the brutal 25 years occupation of Indonesia.

Those who agreed with reservation (Dr da Silva and Mrs Field) argued that by adopting Portuguese Timor-Leste takes side with the Latinos in the global fight over linguistic and cultural dominance of the Anglo-American, and that the present language

policy as enshrined in the Constitution reflects degree of societal multilingualism but there was a concerted move towards Portuguese monolingual policy.

Those who did not agree with the current language policy argued that adopting Portuguese as an official language had negative effects such as creating linguistic confusion among the people and that the language is not economically promising. Other reasons were that the policy had resulted in negative impacts on education, notably with higher rates of repetition and drops out among students, as well as marginalization of the less advantaged groups in education. Another reason is that adopting Portuguese was a decision by the Portuguese educated elite in order to benefit itself while marginalizing the other majority educated under Indonesian systems. All the interviewees in this camp said that Tétun should be used, with one believing that it should be used alongside English, the language of the global economy, while another interviewee argued for multilingualism where mother tongue-based education should become the springboard.

### **5.1.1 Positive views**

Three arguments made in support for the current language policy, especially Portuguese, were that Portuguese is part of Timor-Leste's history because it has made Timor-Leste culturally distinctive in the region, as well as the use of Portuguese as language of resistance against Indonesian occupation.

#### **5.1.1.1 Portuguese is part of Timor-Leste's history**

In the interview five participants (Ms Bessa, Mr Faculto, Mrs Guterres, Dr Gomes, Mr Sarmiento and Ms Ribeiro) said that one of the reasons for adopting Portuguese was because Portuguese is part of Timor-Leste's history. Without any doubt, Portuguese was and is part of Timor-Leste's history. Nonetheless, it has to take into account that the history is the relationship between a colonizer and a colonized and such relationship is never a bed of roses. The history is marked by wars, conquests, occupation, imposition and resistance. It is also the history of identity making and remaking or reclaiming which leaves the claim to be interpreted in various ways. According to Mr

Faculto, part of the history was interpreted as the Portuguese colonialism which lasted for 450 years and during that time there was “peaceful linguistic penetration” into local languages and therefore it ‘clicks’ to go along with Tétun.

The argument concurs with statements made by either by Timor-Leste’s prominent political figures such as Xanana Gusmao (Kammen, 2010) and Portuguese, such as former President Eanes (Carey & Bentley, 1995). Linguists such as Hull (1999a) also believed that Timor-Leste was colonized for 450 years and the length of colonialization had made Timor-Leste different from Indonesia. However, as Kammen (2003) pointed out, it was never 450 years and it was not peaceful penetration because there were wars, even during the so-called pacification period.

#### **5.1.1.2 Portuguese language makes Timor-Leste distinctive**

One interviewee (Ms Bessa) said that due to long contact with Portuguese, Timor-Leste has become culturally distinctive. The idea was raised by Hull (1999a) and Ramos Horta who argued that if Portuguese language is taken away from the people then there will be no such thing as Timor-Leste (as cited in Leach, 2007). Hull (1999a, p. 58) even said that there is ideological difference between colonizing powers such as Portuguese and the Dutch with the former opting more for assimilation of the colonized whereas the latter tended towards an integrationist policy. With assimilationist policy in mind (Hull, 1999a), it is possible that such cultural distinctiveness could be made, especially in relation to language and religion, with the Portuguese promoting Catholicism and the Dutch Protestantism.

However, Vale de Almeida (2001) argued that the idea of creating cultural exclusivism is the main tenet of Lusotropicalism, the word which was credited to by Freyre (1956). Vale de Almeida (2001) said that the idea was heralded as a doctrine or even a theory by colonizers in Portugal and the elite in its overseas provinces during the period of 1960s and 1970s. Ms Bessa, and others who were educated and lived in Portugal, may have been somehow influenced by the value of Lusotropicalism infused into academic settings or dominant Lusophone culture. Such position may be explained by the assimilationist policy of Portuguese, which according to (Hull, 1999a, p. 58), may

take forms of converting local people into Catholicism, to impose the use of the imperial language among the locals, to encourage the local to adopt Portuguese names and even to think as a Portuguese.

The concept of Lusotropicalism was fathomed by Luso-African liberation leaders as a method of colonialization (de Andrade, 1982). Vale de Almeida (2001) pointed out that the main idea behind such move is to promote what he called as 'selective forgetting' in which the people of Timor-Leste forget about the abrupt leave of Portuguese which prompted Indonesian invasion and occupation of the country and then Portuguese's lukewarm position on the question of Timor-Leste at the United Nations (Retbøll, 1984, p. 196). So, there is argument that Portuguese makes the local cultures distinctive in the region, but similar to Portugal (Esperança, 2005). In fact, one of the reasons Timor-Leste adopted Portuguese was to make it as a little Portuguese community in Southeast Asia. However Vale de Almeida (2001) asserted that such cultural exceptionalism is driven by the idea of Lusotropicalism, a post-colonial identity of relationship between the colonizer and its former colonies .

### **5.1.1.3 Portuguese as language of resistance**

Another reason stemming out of the choice of Portuguese as an official language was that Portuguese was used as language of resistance. This was mentioned by two interviewees (Ms Bessa and Mrs Guterres). The view is well reflected by statement made by the current President of the Republic that Portuguese was used as language of resistance, especially by the elite or so-called Lusophone leaders such as Xanana Gusmao and others (Ruak, 2001). The argument is also supported by studies done by Cabral and Martin-Jones (2008) which said that Portuguese was used as a language of resistance. However Cabral and Martin-Jones (2008) also said that other languages were used as well, including Tétun and Indonesian. This statement was also confirmed by Mr Mariano Sabino, a politician from Democratic Party, when he said that Tétun was also used as language of resistance (Agence France Presse, December 11, 2001). Therefore, while it is true that Portuguese was used and seen as a language of resistance, there were other languages used as well, such as Tétun and Indonesian.

### **5.1.2 Modified agreement**

Two research participants, i.e. Dr da Silva and Ms Field, agreed with the present language policy with reservations. For Dr da Silva, adopting Portuguese was a highly political decision made by Timor-Leste to take side with the Latinos in the global fight over linguistic and cultural Anglo-American hegemony. Such an argument has been well studied and presented by Pennycook (1998), Phillipson (1992), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), and others. However, as Mr Mauberek and Ms Hale argued, making Portuguese a privileged language in Timor-Leste would possibly kill other local languages. Therefore, English may be considered a 'killer' language (Hull (1999b); Mühlhäusler (1996) and Pakir (2001), it seems obvious. All dominant languages kill, although some languages kill more than others. In that respect, it may be that Portuguese becomes over-dominant in Timor-Leste, especially if there is a move toward a monolingual assimilationist Portuguese policy.

### **5.1.3 Negative views**

Five people (Mr Hornay, Ms Soares, Mr Mauberek, Mr Sávio and Ms Hale) did not agree with the current language policy. The arguments ranged from linguistic confusion among the people, marginalization of the students who are not competent in Portuguese and that the current language policy was made to benefit only the elite minority who had Portuguese education.

#### **5.1.3.1 The policy has created a generation of confusion**

One interviewee (Mr Hornay) said that the current language policy had created a generation which is linguistically confused. The confusion was centred around the issue whether it should be Tétun, an index of national identity as da Silva (1999) said, which should be used to define the people, or Portuguese which is just spoken by the tiny minority. The same problem had occurred in many Luso-African countries where after claiming their independence from Portuguese, they all adopted Portuguese, which is the language of the colonizer, to be their official language (da Silva, 1999, p. 12; Vilela, 2002). Mar-Molinero (1997) argued that one of the problems associated with the use of

a colonial language is the sense of split identity, or identity rush as argued elsewhere, that such problems are common to newly independent countries (Sua, 2013).

Because of such linguistic uncertainty, four of these five interviewees argued that the official language should only be Tétun, with one (Ms Halle) wanting to have it alongside English. She argued that one of the motivations for language policy and planning should be economic and social mobility, especially in the era of globalization, where English functions as the language of the global economy. Her point may also be well explained, according to Mrs Guterres, by a recent survey carried out by the INFORDEPE that majority of 23,000 high school students preferred English to Portuguese. The findings may have partially explained the statement she made by Ms Halle that English is more popular than Portuguese, among the young generation. Mrs Field's observation had also confirmed the truth. However, Ms Halle's point of views may be opposed by a figure who played central role in the national language policy and planning, who argued that English may pose a "threat of Anglicization" ( Hull (1999b, p. 5).

This point of view is also seconded by several interviewees who argued that adopting Portuguese was a political statement to take sides with Latinos in the fight against Anglo-American linguistic and cultural dominance. Two said that English did not have strong roots in the country and therefore it cannot be granted an official status, unlike Portuguese and Tétun. According to da Silva (1999, p. 12), Portuguese has been used in Timor-Leste for centuries and it was adopted as an official language by FRETILIN party in 1975. The party adopted Tétun as national language and it was widely used in the literacy campaigns (Dunn, 1983; Fox, 2000; Jolliffe, 1978).The FRETILIN also encouraged further studies in the local languages (Jolliffe, 1978, pp. 76, 335). .

Moreover, unlike other newly-liberated nations which had adopted Portuguese as a 'neutral' official language, such as Mozambique (Kathupa, 1994), Tétun is now widely spoken in Timor-Leste. Although it was noted that only around 30 per cent of the people speak it as their first or home language, the 2010 Census showed that the language is now spoken by more than 80 per cent of the population. It is then clear that

Tétun is now assuming its status as an index of national identity and therefore language of social cohesion (da Silva, 1999). Although it is official, along with Portuguese, the language is treated as a second official language, as Mr Mauberek pointed out. Some researchers (for example Macalister, 2012; Taylor-Leech, 2012) called it as merely symbolic token.

The majority of the participants agreed that Tétun has to be developed and that Portuguese can be used to enrich Tétun's lexicon. However, the question now is whether to take more Portuguese lexicons or to take more Tétun Terik lexicons, as mandated by the guardian of Timorese languages, the National Institute of Linguistics. The director of INL argued that Tétun should take more lexicons from local languages to ensure its Timorese-ness. One of the interviewees called this phenomenon linguistic nationalism. However, others such as Ms Bessa, Mrs Guterres, Mr Faculto and Ms Ribeiro, considered that Tétun should take more Portuguese lexicon to make it a creole of Portuguese.

### **5.1.3.2 The current policy excludes people from education**

Two interviewees (Mr Mauberek and Ms Soares) said that the current language policy had excluded people and therefore had disadvantaged some, especially students, where there are higher rates of repetition and drop-outs, as well as lack of active in-class engagement and academic underachievement. The Ministry of education reported in 2009 that there was 82.7 per cent of the net enrolment rate and out of this figure only 59 per cent reached grade 5. So drop out was almost 30 per cent, which then worsened by repetition rates which were recorded at 25 per cent for 2008-2008 (as cited in UNDP, 2011, pp. 45-46).

This point has been made in other contexts. For example, Chimbutane (2011, p. 15) said that the choice of a colonial language in education can succeed in school so that they have economic accessibility and social movement. More widely, J.W. Tollefson (1991, p. 16) said that language policy is about who have access to "economic access and political power" and it is in and through school that such policy

manifests itself. Such situation would prompt Le Page (1964, p. 2) to say that any language barriers will constitute economic barriers.

### **5.1.3.3 The supports the elite's hidden agenda**

In his interview, Mr Sávio said that the adoption of Portuguese is a reflection of the elite's economic agenda to dominate the majority educated in Indonesian schools. Such an argument has been made by Pennycook (1994), J.W. Tollefson (1991) and Shohamy (2006). It was clear that the policy was intended to phase out Indonesian language and culture, even to take it out from young people's minds, so that they would be more receptive to Portuguese. Such a hidden agenda may reflect, as Mrs Field said, systematic moves towards Portuguese monolingual policy, either in public domains or in educational settings. Portuguese, like Britain but earlier, according to Phillipson (1992), used to rule the seas but now it is their language that rules Timor-Leste. It can be conjectured that the underlying hidden agenda is selective forgetting of collective memory where Indonesians are to be seen as brutal occupier and therefore their language should not be used. On the other side, Portuguese is the language of the civilized people and therefore Timor-Leste should adopt it in order to be in the same foot with civilized Portuguese, a new mission of assimilation which is entirely unattainable for an independent country like Timor-Leste.

## **5.2 *Present language in education policy***

In relation to current state of language in education policy, the interviewees said that there is rush in the implementation of the language policy, lack of qualified teachers, which is compounded by lack of teaching materials, student's higher rates of repetition and drop-outs, which is perceived to have been caused by the use of two official languages in education. Another argument surrounds the issue of student's under-achievement and active in-class engagement. A linguistically confused generation was also raised into attention.



### **5.2.1 *Rushed transition***

There were three interviewees (Ms Bessa, Mr Hornay, and Mrs Field) who mentioned about the lack of timely transition for the implementation of the language in education policy. According to Ms Bessa, there was a rush in making Portuguese official, and therefore many efforts were put in place to promote the language, which at the same time downplayed the development of Tétun. The statement was shared by other views that the status of Tétun as a co-official language is just symbolic token (Macalister, 2012; Taylor-Leech, 2007b, 2011). Kingsbury (2007) and Quinn (2007); (Quinn, 2010) noted that teacher's competence in Portuguese was very limited.

Mr Hornay viewed that Portuguese was the language of the elite minority and therefore to make it official without due transition was simply problematic, either in administration or education. Therefore, he suggested using solely Tétun in the meantime to remedy what he called "linguistic confusion" among the people, particularly students.

In addition, the visiting professor at UNTL pointed out that the lack of effective transition in the implementation of the policies had created problems, not only in administration but also education in general.

### **5.2.2 *Lack of qualified teachers and appropriate teaching materials***

Three research participants (Mr Hornay, Mr Sávio, and Mr Mauberek) raised the issues surrounding lack of qualified teachers, both in terms of quantity and quality, as well as lack of teaching materials, such as textbooks.

Mr Hornay said that almost 70% of the current teachers are not qualified to teach as they could have only finished either elementary or secondary schools. However, it is believed by many (e.g. Cliffe, 2000) that there were around 80 per cent of qualified Indonesian teachers left Timor-Leste in 1999 and therefore in order to fill the gap another 80 per cent was recruited but this percentage of teachers are largely those who are unqualified to teach. This number also accounts for those who went to Indonesian schools and before after 1970s and therefore are unable to teach in Portuguese.

Mr Sávio said that they lacked teaching materials such as textbooks to use and therefore sometimes they had to use Google translation services to translate materials from Indonesian into Portuguese to facilitate teaching and learning processes. He also mentioned that although there were some books dropped by the Ministry of Education to use, these books are written in Portuguese and therefore they did not contain local contents, as well as teachers' limited proficiency in Portuguese.

Mr Mauberek also made the same statement that most of the books found in this resource scarce school were written in Portuguese and these books were under-utilized because almost no one could use it to teach.

To summarize, in relation to language in education policy, the interviewees pointed out that the policy was hastily implemented and it was exacerbated by considerable lack of human resources, specifically qualified teachers, as well as supporting facilities such as teaching materials, which all pose serious challenges for the implementation of language in education policies.

### ***5.2.3 Higher rates of students' drop-out, repetition and under-achievement***

Two interviewees (Ms Soares and Mr Mauberek) pointed out obvious impacts of language in education policy in regard to students. As said earlier, Ms Soares said that the policy had huge negative impacts on education with higher rates of students' drop out and repetition. Such statement is supported by studies from other contexts, especially Mozambique, that where there is an imposition of Portuguese as the medium of instruction, then it is possible that many schools would be characterized by higher rate of repetition and drop-out (Chimbutane, 2011). The previous study by the Ministry of Education supported the statement that in 2009 there was 82.7 per cent of the net enrolment rate and out of this figure only 59 per cent reached grade 5. So drop out was almost 30 per cent, which then worsened by repetition rates which were recorded at 25 per cent for 2008-2008 (UNDP, 2011, pp. 45-46). Mr Mauberek added that with the current language in education policy, there was notable lack of students' in-class engagement as well as lower scores as measured against national assessment. He also explained that, the average score was 24 points for six subjects where the

requirement to get into the only state-owned university of *Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e* (UNTL) is 30 points, which simply pushed some other graduates into unemployment. The idea that the language of instruction is the standard and/or the official language which pushes out the majority has been widely accredited to J.W. Tollefson (1991); (J.W. Tollefson, 2002 ). Language in education policy, especially medium of instruction policy has been also referred to as medium of power by Annamalai (2004).

#### **5.2.4 Linguistically uncertain and superficial generation**

Four interviewees (Mr Hornay, Mr Halle, Mrs Field, and Mr Mauberek) said that with the current language policies in education, the students are linguistically confused, and that their academic knowledge becomes superficial or even fragmentary. Mr Hornay said that the current language policy in education had created a generation which is linguistically confused.

*One of the disadvantages of the current language policy is that it infuses a sense of linguistic uncertainty among the younger generation. #48*

In addition, Ms Halle pointed out the current language policy might have created superficiality in language learning, when she said:

*With the current language policy in education, there is a kind of linguistic confusion among the children. Now we even have mother tongue programs, which will be followed by Tétun, then Portuguese and then English. #49*

The notion of superficiality was also mentioned by Mauberek when he said:

*With the current language policy in education, the direct impact is student's linguistic competence is not deep enough; they understand a little bit of Portuguese, a little bit of Tétun and a little bit of English. Their understanding of science itself might be fragmentary. They will be lost in the myriad of languages. #51*

Another issue with the policy is what was described as ‘a huge cognitive load’ by Mrs Field:

*With so many languages, how do you have ‘depths’ in languages?  
.... I’m concerned that these teachers who just nearly got their  
competence in academic English are now being asked to do the  
same with Portuguese for Ph.D. That’s a huge cognitive load. #50*

All in all, these interviewees believed that the current language policies in education had resulted in linguistically confused, academically superficial and intellectually fragmentary. I believe that the confusion here is not only to be understood in terms of linguistics but also identity formation, which was called as hybrid or in-between-ness by Babha (as cited in Vale de Almeida, 2004, p. xi). Esperança (2005, p. 14) arguably may be correct when he said that the current modern culture in Timor-Leste is culture of *mestiça* and therefore a hybrid country for what was called as whitening or *mestiçagem* of the people of Timor-Leste by Vale de Almeida (2004, p. 65). Ramos-Horta, former President of the Republic of Timor-Leste, who was born of a Portuguese father and local Timorese woman, may be a perfect example of this model, who adamantly defined, and reduced, Timor-Leste solely based on the Portuguese language and Catholicism when he said, “if you take away Portuguese language and religion, there is no such thing as East Timor” (Chesterman, 2001). It might be the case because based on 2010 Census the number of people subscribed to Catholicism have reached almost 97 per cent and that those whose first names Portuguese are 98 per cent (de Carvalho, 2001b, p. 71).

### **5.2.5 Development of Tétun**

All the interviewees stressed the importance of developing Tétun because they felt that the status of Tétun is being neglected, partly due to the development of another official language, Portuguese. One of the politicians thought that Tétun has to be developed and taught because many Timorese do not know to write and use the

language properly and that the INL staff should be adequately equipped in order to carry out their tasks professionally. The idea is supported by earlier studies (e.g. da Silva, 1999; van Klinken, 1999) that Tétun is marker of national identity and that there are spelling problems associated with the language. The same interviewee also pointed out that at present Tétun is devalued, a situation which is similar to the African languages pointed out by (Kamwendo, 2010), and therefore it is now important to give due valorisation for the language by developing it in terms of its standardization, grammar, lexicons, etc. with Portuguese at its base, to make it like a Creole of Cape Verde, which now shares co-official language of Cape Verde.

One of her fellow MPs also made similar point by saying that Tétun has to be taught in schools alongside with Portuguese and therefore textbooks should be provided in both Tétun and Portuguese, as well as professional development of teachers. However, he made his points clear when he said that the type of Tétun to be developed should be the one that borrows extensively from the Portuguese lexicon. He believed that there was a peaceful linguistic penetration during the historic accident of Portuguese colonization of Timor-Leste., The Indonesian occupation, and the consequent intervention of Indonesian that came with the regime, has made the learning of both Portuguese and Tétun difficult. These two statements may be better referred to as cultural exclusivism by Vale de Almeida (2004).

Another interviewee, who works at UNTL, also made the point that Tétun is still underdeveloped in its vocabulary and structure and therefore it needs Portuguese to grow because the development of Tétun has tendency to have Portuguese loan words instead of local languages. Under this description, it may be necessary to call the function of Portuguese as a helping stick for the development of Tétun. Such ideas have been made elsewhere, especially by Hull (1999b, p. 2) who considers that Portuguese could fulfil the function of the “expansion and enrichment” of Tétun and other national languages. The UNTL lecturer also stressed that the combination of Tétun and Portuguese would enable Timor-Leste to mark its cultural and political distinctiveness in the region, a point which Vale de Almeida (2004) referred to as cultural exceptionalism or cultural exclusivism. The lecturer also raised his concern that the policy of Portuguese ‘enrichment’ of Tétun and other local languages could make

Tétun lose its local Timorese-ness, which is an indicative of sounding an alarm for internal purism, reminiscent of Jacobinism in early years of the French Academy.

The language in education policy is the key that the national language policy is to be implemented. However, it must be admitted that the language in education policy in Timor-Leste has been ambiguous, partly to make way to a Portuguese monolingual policy or to adopt a rather laissez-faire multilingual policy, a reminiscent of Portuguese policy in 1960s (Hajek, 2000). It is interesting to see the history of language in education policies since 2000. It is true that language policy is made in order to officialise policy or practice already in use. As it has been indicated earlier, the 1975 Constitution recognized Portuguese as official and Tétun as national language. The same attitude went on until the Indonesian invaded. To a conference participants held in August 1999 in Melbourne, the President of the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT), Xanana Gusmao, from his Cipinang Prison in Jakarta, emphasized the importance of developing Tétun, popularizing Portuguese and the continued study of Indonesian (as cited in Hull, 1999b, p. 1).

It is still vivid to remember what then CNRT President, Xanana Gusmao, said at that time that whether young people, whether they like it or not, they had to learn Portuguese because Portuguese was part of our history. However, what stunned many was that Tétun was adopted as an official language. This stated and overt language policy was well covered up by the long held bilingual practice where Portuguese was and is the language of the elite, the ruling minority, and Tétun as the language of the ruled majority. So, to some extent bilingualism in Timor-Leste is just a disguise or rather a hidden agenda of Portuguese monolingual policy, partly dictated by the doctrine of Lusotropicalism espoused by the so-called Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries, the CPLP, the Portuguese Commonwealth, Lusophone, which is an equivalent of English Commonwealth.

Although choosing a colonial language to be an official language was controversial, it is not new for many newly independent countries, especially from the experience of countries in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. For Timor-Leste, to adopt Portuguese as a co-official language, along with Tétun, and to regard other local

languages as national languages to be developed by the state looked promising. It was more promising to adopt both Indonesian and English as the working languages of the country. However, as indicated earlier, the move towards making Portuguese the country's monolingual policy derailed the implementation process.

One of the concrete challenges was in the education sector where almost 80 per cent of the infrastructure was destroyed by departing Indonesian forces and their militia groups, as well as 80 per cent of Indonesian teachers, leaving a huge gap to fill. It is now known that almost 80 per cent of the teachers are not qualified to teach (Cliffe, 2000) and the same figure constitute those who cannot use Portuguese as language of instruction to transfer knowledge to students. Different language in education policies were made in order to deal with the situation but it seems clear that the policy is leaning toward Portuguese monolingual policy. Teachers were recruited to attend Portuguese classes hoping that they would teach the class in Portuguese with just five months Portuguese courses, exacerbated by lack of teaching materials, textbooks and libraries.

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classes hoping that they would teach the class in Portuguese with just five months Portuguese courses, exacerbated by lack of teaching materials, textbooks and libraries.

### **5.3 Code-switching in society and in the interviews**

According to Sankoff and Poplack (1981), there are three different types of code-switching i.e. tag switching, intra-sentential switching, inter-sentential switching. To these may be added a fourth: the choice by a speaker to switch languages in longer turns. All the interviewees, except Mrs Field, code-switched in at least three languages: Indonesian (I), English (E) and Portuguese (P). Tétun Terik (TT) or classical Tétun is also parsimoniously used, as well as occasional neologisms (N). However, one caveat worth noting is that many Tétun lexicons are nativized from Portuguese, it is only in written forms that these words can be distinguished from Portuguese. The study found that intra-sentential and inter-sentential switching were rare in the data while there are myriad examples of tag switching, an indication of plurilingualism rather than multilingualism. According to Barnard et al. (2013) and (Canagarajah, 2009), in plurilingualism, a speaker is not required to be fluent in the languages used, but merely familiar with some forms of other languages. Thus, tagging is the preferred form of code-switching in Timor-Leste.

#### **5.3.1 Intra-sentential switching**

There was one example of inter-sentential switching made during the interview with Mr Mauberek where he used Indonesian words like *bakso*, *warung* and *sepatu* and then switched completely to Indonesian when he said:

- ✓ Maibé Indonesia (I), maské sira sai ona, ohin-loron sira mai fali hodi fa'an bakso (I), loke warung (I), suku sepatu (I), agora sai-tama uma fa'an roupa hodi husu "Bapak beli....? Ya, beli... secara tersembunyi berkembang (I). #86 -- *Mr Mauberek [However, Indonesian people, although they had left, now they return by selling meatballs, open up food-stalls, sew shoes, now they go from one house to another by asking "Buy anything, sir? Yes, I would like to buy .... The language is being developed unconsciously.]*



*The examples show that intra-sentential switching is very rarely found in the interview data, although in actual utterances selective use of switching may eventuate.*

### **5.3.2 Inter-sentential switching**

Two interviewees were found to be consistent with their use of inter-sentential switching.

- ✓ Tuir loloos ita hotu tenke hatene lian Bahasa Indonézia. Grande poténsia iha ita-nia sorin. Malázia mós. Tanto mais de nós (P). #87 -- Ms Bessa [*The truth is that everyone should be able to understand Indonesian Indonesia. The grand potential is right next to us. So is Malaysia. Let alone us.*]
- ✓ Jadi (I), ida-ne'e fila-fali bá estudante ididak ninian daya tangkap (I), sira kapta oinsá. Sira balu ita la presiza hatudu step by step (E). Sira rasik bele figure out (E). #88 -- Ms Halle [*So, it goes back to every student's intelligence how to capture. Some do not need to demonstrate it step by step. They themselves can figure out.*]

As the examples show, Ms Bessa tended to use Portuguese and/or nativized Tétun while Ms Halle switched to two different languages, i.e. Indonesian and English. These examples seem to prove earlier studies done about language use in Timor-Leste that it is age-segregated.

### **5.3.3 Tag switching**

The interviewees made tag switching at least in three different languages. The following examples show how tagging was found dominant.

#### **5.3.3.1 Tag switching to Indonesian only**

Three interviewees (Mr Faculto, Mr Hornay, and Mr Sarmento) chose to use Indonesian.

- ✓ Ha'u fiar katak se jersaun ida mai ne'e ita konsisten (I) ho Portugés, yang jelas (I) sociedade ita opta lingua Portugés no Tétun. Agora, bahasa (I) ne'e bahasa (I) ida bé bahasa pergaulan (I), mezmu ida-ne'e sai hanesan bahasa ibu (I). #89 -- Mr Hornay [*I believe that if the next generation is consistent with Portuguese, it is clear that the society has opted for Portuguese and Tétun. Now the language is more like a lingua franca, although it is also a mother tongue.*]
  
- ✓ Agora ita ko'alia Tétun ne'e gado-gado (I) loos, kahur-malu; la hetan entaun impresta hosi Bahasa Indonesia. Keta halo bá ita-nia lian Tétun ne'e la menarik (I) karik. #90 – Mr Faculto – [*Now we speak Tétun which is highly mixed, mixed; if we do not find any words then we will borrow from Indonesian. I wonder if our language is not interesting anymore.*]
  
- ✓ Ne'ebé ha'u hanoin iha tinan sanolu nune'e, iha instansi (I) governu-sira nian ne'e surat resmi (I) sira ne'e ema sei hakerek iha Portugés maibé atu ko'alia lorloron ema sei ko'alia Tétun. #91 – Mr Sarmiento – [*Therefore I think that in the next 10 years, in government offices people will write official letters in Portuguese but in daily conversation they may keep speaking Tétun.*]

The above examples showed that the first interviewee switched to Indonesian for words like *bahasa pergaulan* (lingua franca) and *bahasa ibu* (mother tongue), which were easy to pick during the course of the interview. The second interviewee, however, used the words like *gado-gado* and *menarik*. *Gado-gado* is a typical Indonesian salad but he later explained as *kahur malu* (mixed) in Tétun. He seemingly assumed that the interviewer was familiar with the association. The probable reason for the switch may be pragmatic as well as familiarity with the interviewer. The third interviewee's choice of word usage such as *instansi* (institution) and *surat resmi* (official letter) resembles the first interviewee as these words were easy to pick and widely used and understood.

### 5.3.3.2 Tag switching in English only

As explained earlier, Ms Bessa is fluent in both Portuguese and English. The examples provided below show her tags in English.

- ✓ Ita-nia estudante balu diretamente kontakta ho universidades balu iha Estados Unidos ne'ebé iha apoiu bá foreign students (E) no konsege bá duni. #92 -- Ms Bessa – [*Some of our students directly contacted certain universities in the United States that support foreign students and they managed to go there.*]
  
- ✓ Ita Timor ne'e grow up bilingual (E), ki'ik-oan ko'alia lian materna, ko'alia lian Tétun. #93 -- Ms Bessa [*We, Timorese grow up bilingual, kids speak mother tongue, also speak Tétun.*]

The choice of *foreign students* and *grow up bilingual* here seems to be the case that the interviewee is bilingually competent.

### 5.3.3.3 Tag switching in Portuguese only

The tags found here were made by Mr Faculto.

- ✓ Kolonizadór Portugal ne'ebé koloniza Timor durante quatro centos e cinquenta anos (P). #94 – Mr Faculto -- [*Portugal the colonizer colonized Timor during four hundred and fifty years.*]

As Mr Faculto was educated in Portuguese-medium schools, the data shows that he generally counts in Portuguese, a linguistic preference which is very common among those who went to such schools.

### 5.3.3.4 Tag switching in Portuguese and English

The tags below show how Ms Bessa was able to switch to both English and Portuguese. The example also shows Ms Bessa's preference to use Tétun with Portuguese lexis. Instead of using *bainhira*, she preferred *quando* and *tan* for *porque* because it may be the case that she easily picked *quando* and *porqué* during the course of the interview.

- ✓ Segunda ita-boot fila entaun sorte ita hasoru malu ohin porque (P) Segunda ami sibuk (I) fali ona ho plenária. #95 --Ms Bessa -- *[If you go back on Monday then you are lucky that today we could catch up because on Monday we will be busy as usual with plenary.]*
- ✓ Porque (P) ita quando (P) domina lian barbarak, we are good anywhere, in any context (E). #96 -- Ms Bessa -- *[Because when we master many languages, we are good anywhere in any context.]*

Her preference of inserting Indonesian word *sibuk*, instead of busy or *okupadu*, is worth noting because the word is commonly used by Indonesian-graduated politicians within her party's ranks. Although she was raised and educated in Portuguese, Ms Bessa could use some Indonesian, like other politicians do, to show that she was sympathetic with Timorese people speaking Indonesian. So, the use of the word may have politically motivated. This is consistent with her statement elsewhere during the interview where she encouraged other people to learn the language because it represents a potential in the region.

### 5.3.3.5 Tag switching in Indonesian and English

The following examples show tags in both Indonesian and English by Ms Halle.

- ✓ Buat-sira ne'ebé foun atu ita simu lalais, hints (E) ne'e kan (I) ita risih (I) oituan. #97– Ms Halle -- *[That is a new thing for me to get it immediately because the hints make me a little bit uncomfortable.]*
- ✓ Aprende tiha Portugés mak bá fali Inglés ne'e easier (E), tanbá barak mak hanesan; ninian rules (E) ne'e ema dehan baku (I) tiha ona. #98 – Ms Halle -- *[Learning English after Portuguese is easier because there are many similarities; the rules are pretty fixed already.]*

This examples show that Ms Halle made switches to English, even though the equivalent words of Tétun might be used too. Ms Halle was in her mid-20s and was schooled in Indonesian but after Timor-Leste's independence she was awarded

scholarships to study in Australia and New Zealand where she was frequently exposed to and used English.

### 5.3.3.6 Tag switching in Portuguese and Indonesian

The following examples are taken from two interviewees when they made tags both in Portuguese and Indonesian.

- ✓ Tan númeru ne'ebé la tama diploma ne'e kala sete mil e tal (P), númeru ida mais significante (P) kecuali (I) ita kria kedas iha sub-distritu. #99 – Mr Hornay -- *[Because the number (of teachers) who did not get diploma is about seven thousand and a half, a very significant number; unless we create (training) at sub-district level.]*
  
- ✓ Iha-ne'e fali mestre-sira balu bá to'o iha-ne'ebá mak asal bunyi (I) de'it, hotu tiha mak kuandu estudante-sira pergunta sira, sira nakdoko tiha ona, la hatene sira ohin preparado (P) ka lae. #100 – Mr Faculto-- *[Here some lecturers are just making non-sense sounds and after the lecture when some students ask them questions they are shaken, I do not know whether they are prepared or not.]*

In the examples above, Mr Hornay also counted in Portuguese while some basic words are in Indonesian. The data shows that when he could not find words like *a não ser* or *se não* in Portuguese, he switched to Indonesian. For Mr Faculto, the words like *asal bunyi*, which is normally shortened as *asbun*, was very commonly used by Indonesians to indicate someone who talk nonsense or rubbish, and he may not have found its equivalent in Portuguese. But for the most part, he used Portuguese words like *preparado* here instead of saying *la pronto* (not ready), which is also commonly used in Tétun. One possible reason for such switch is for economy of speech.

### 5.3.3.7 Tag switching in English and Tétun Terik

The following example shows how Ms Bessa made switches to English and Tétun Terik.

- ✓ La bele obriga profesór bá hanorin profesór bá simu formasaun wainhira (TT) nia struggling (E), to feel struggling (E). #101 -- Ms Bessa [*Teachers should not be obliged to be trained if they are struggling, to feel struggling.*]

She might not realize that the word *wainhira* is Tétun Terik where it is *bainhira* in Tétun Prasa or official Tétun with a slightly phonemic change from /w/ to /b/. Therefore, Tétun should not only be learned by students but also by politicians alike.

### 5.3.3.8 Tag switching involving neologism

The following examples provide tags using neologism.

- ✓ Envaironmentu (N) ne'e mai hosi liafuan Inglés sedangkan (I) ita-nia polítika, enkuantu vokabuláriu, kosa-kata (I) ne'e la iha Tétun Terik, foin mak ita foti hosi Portugés. #102 – Dr Gomes – [*Envaironmentu is coined out of English while our policy, therefore if there is no vocabulary, vocabulary in Tétun Terik, we then adopt Portuguese vocabularies.*]
- ✓ I mestre-sira mós hau senti katak karik atu hanorin maibé kompeténsia la duun bele fo efeitu bá ita-nia alunu-sira i environment (E) enveronmentu (N) ko'alia Portugés nian ne'e balu balu de'it. #103 – Mr Sarmiento – [*And teachers too, I think that if they teach but when they feel that they are not so competent, this may affect our students and the environment of speaking Portuguese is limited only to some.*]

These two examples illustrate how neologisms are made, one by a linguistic authority to provide an instance of incorrect coinage of Tétun while another in popular use presumably led by the belief that word-final *-nt* in English automatically becomes *-mento* in Portuguese, which is then nativized as *-mentu* in Tétun.

These examples also proved that if there was no state sanctioned standardization of Tétun, any form of Tétun could take place, because Tétun itself at this stage is very unstable. The last example proves what van Klinken (1999) has said that there are

different way of writing Tétun and this poses challenges in communication. It seems that the INL is well aware of this situation even though it is under-resourced to deal with the issue.

### 5.3.3.9 Tag switching in three languages

The switches provided here were made by two relatively young Timorese femaleS in their mid-20s. The examples of word choices illustrate how they made use of their linguistic repertoires available at least in three languages i.e. Portuguese, Indonesian and English. Ms Ribeiro's data is extracted from an email interview where her writing style might be considered as quasi-texting language which the researcher had to decode for the purpose of this present study.

- ✓ Macau (P) ne'e rai ida maju (I) tebes ho sira-nia multiple (E) língua. So (E), tansá Timor la bele sai hanesan nia? #104 [*Macau is a very developed country with its multiple languages. So, why can't Timor be like it?*]
- ✓ Mungkin (I) ita-nia inan-aman-sira ne'e fond of Portugese (E) tanbá uluk rai-di'ak. Sira ne'e eskola to'o de'it quarta classe (P), most of them (E), la'os bá universitas (I)sira ternama (I). #105 – Ms Halle -- [*Maybe our parents are fond of Portuguese because of their nostalgia with the past. They only finished their fourth year of elementary school; most of them did not go to well-known universities.*]

Ms Ribeiro's way of writing 'Macau' was in Portuguese and she also used *maju* instead of *avansada* or *dezenvolvida* in nativized Tétun. She also used English tags like *multiple* and *so*. Equally, Ms Halle also showed that she could speak or at least use four different linguistic repertoires for her daily communication. The interesting thing is the insertion of *sira* as a plural marker between two Indonesian words, *universitas* and *ternama*.

In summary, as the interview data show, it can be argued that Timor-Leste is a plurilingual country where repertoires of at least three languages are used during daily communication. The finding, therefore, confirmed the earlier study done by Barnard et al. (2013). Although there are examples of intra-sentential and inter-sentential switching,

the findings showed that the dominant mode is tag switching, which in itself indicative of plurilingual use rather than multilingual competence in all four languages used. However, it is also evident that most of the interviewees were at least bilingually competent.

#### **5.4 Towards a plurilingual society of Timor-Leste**

It is been said that Timor-Leste is a multilingual (for example by Hajek, 2006; Taylor-Leech, 2009) country where there are around 30 native languages spoken. These languages are mainly from two different language phyla which either belong to Austronesian (not Australian as some authors have asserted) and Papuan or Trans-New-Guinea. In addition to this, there are other languages such as Hakka, Cantonese, Portuguese, Indonesian, and English.

Tétun, which literally means the language of the lowland people, is widely spoken as it functions as a lingua franca. It was used by Tétun Terik kingdom of Wehali, now in the Indonesian town of Betun in West Timor, and distributed along the southern coastal areas of the island. It was then taken by Portuguese and their cross-breeds or *mestiços* to Díli in 1769 where it had contact with local Mambae speakers of the town to become the current Tétun Prasa or Tétun Díli. Under the Decree Law No. 1/2004 it is this version that is called the Official Tétun and it has to be followed and used in education and social communications. It then becomes clear that the variety of Tétun most commonly use in the capital is a standardized Tétun, with the INL under the law functions as the scientific custodian of the official language. The 2010 Census said that Tétun is spoken by 56.1 per cent of the population of almost 1.1 million people. Out of this figure, the language is spoken by 80.9 per cent of the urban population. As for Portuguese, the Census indicated that it was spoken by around 25.2 per cent of the population, Indonesian by 45.3 per cent and English by 24.7 per cent. The data shows that some people at least speak four languages in addition to their home languages.

According to Richards & Schmidt (2010, p. 379-380) multilingualism is defined as the use of three or more languages by an individual or by a group. Canagarajah (2009) argued that multilingualism implies the knowledge and competence of three or more



languages. However, if it relates to the use of different linguistic repertoires for the purpose of communication, the best term according to him is plurilingualism. Barnard et al. (2013) who conducted a study at a university level in Díli in 2011 confirmed that the linguistic situation in Timor-Leste is best described as plurilingual. The current findings also confirmed the earlier study, as evidenced from the interview data, that although some Timorese are bilingual or even multilingual, in their daily conversation they use different linguistic repertoires of at least three languages for the purpose of communication.

## **5.5 Summary**

The process of language policy and planning in Timor-Leste, and consequently its language in education policy, had certain motivations or reasons to consider, according to the participants in the present study. These reasons range from the view that Portuguese was part of Timor-Leste's history, the language of resistance, a helping stick for the development of Tétun to the concept of the imagined world of Portuguese former colonies as Lusotropicalism. The central tenets of the idea of Lusotropicalism are miscegenation, cultural hybridity, and creolization of local languages (Vale de Almeida, 2004). The idea of Lusotropicalism, which was championed by Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre in 1930s until 1960s, was so dominant in 1960s and 1970s, even beyond, that elites in former colonies were and are hooked up to take the doctrine for granted. The adoption of Portuguese as an official language of Timor-Leste, alongside a downgraded Tétun, is an obvious manifestation that such doctrine is being revived in an independent Timor-Leste which defines itself as an anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism in its national anthem, *Patria! Patria!*

There are convincing arguments made by the interviewees, and supported by key background sources, or showing that the various language in education policies imposed are moving towards making a monolingual national language policy in Timor-Leste with Portuguese as the only official language. Such an imposition will be destined to fail, according to Baldauf, Kaplan, Kamwangamalu, and Bryant (2011), as there are resource constraints. In other words, the policy would be seen as a *laissez-*

*faire* policy lacking strict control over the implementation of a balanced bilingualism, as enshrined in the Constitution. One possible reason is that it contradicts with linguistic reality of Timor-Leste, where the nature of multilinguality of the nation and its people, as well as individual plurilinguality, is evident. A monolingual assimilationist language policy and planning fails to capture that language is fluid and a product of constant sociocultural factors which cause it to be constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed, or even resisted.

Therefore, for Tétun to function as a national language that unifies people of different background, it is important how these processes are perceived, made, remade, and then resisted with the view of seeing the process of language policy and planning, with its language in education policy, from the perspective of post-modernism, combined with post-colonial tools ingrained in the intricate issues of language policy and identity, as well as culture. If language, as well as identity, is a social phenomenon and therefore socially constructed, it should be socially constructed, deconstructed and / or reconstructed.

## **Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations**

### **6.0 Introduction**

The final chapter is largely divided into three sections. Section 6.1 will be devoted to briefly summarize the previous chapter, as well as some of the limitations of the study. Section 6.2 will focus on the arguments made in relation to the current national policy and language in education policies. Section 6.3 will outline some recommendations in relation to the improvement or implementation of the national language policy and language in education policy based on the findings from the present study, and finally Section 6.4 is used for personal statements in relation to the topic or language problem under scrutiny.

### **6.1 Brief summary of previous chapter**

The current language policy and planning in Timor-Leste has been referred to as a very democratic one in the new millennium (Instituto Nacional de Linguística (INL), 2003). However, the language policy has also been very divisive along the generational line, as evidences from previous studies and statistics (Bexley, 2007; Kingsbury, 2010; Leach, 2003; Taylor-Leech, 2007a), as well from the present research participants. Those interviewees, who agreed with current policy, especially in relation with the status of Portuguese an official language along with Tétun, said that the policy was imposed in order to mark political and geographical boundaries in the sense that Timor-Leste was a colony of Portuguese for several centuries and therefore Portuguese is part of the history of Timor-Leste. It has also been said that the Portuguese language was used a resistance language during the resistance against Indonesian illegal occupation of the half-island polity. Another argument was that by adopting Portuguese, Timor-Leste makes linkages to traditional friends of the country in the Communities of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), particularly Portugal.

However, those who did not agree with the policy said that the current national language policy is an exercise of the country's elite power play with their inherent

hidden agendas to control the majority of the population, especially the youth who had undergone Indonesian education and therefore have limited knowledge of and proficiency in Portuguese. So, in this view, the policy is undemocratic and authoritarian in nature. It was also argued that the explicit nature of the policy can be understood; however, there should be a proper transition before implementation so that there is no sense of linguistic uncertainty among the population, particularly the youth who constitute half of the population. Another argument against the policy is that the current language policy has proved to be counter-productive and exclusivist as evidenced by higher rates of student's repetition and drop outs, as well as academic under-achievement, which turns many young, potentially productive, people into early unemployment.

Regardless of these arguments for and against, the research participants unequivocally agreed that Tétun, which is perceived as an index of national identity, should be enriched. However, how to enrich it remains divisive: one group argue that Tétun should take Portuguese as its base or lexifier to make it a creole of Portuguese , while another group want to maintain the Timorese-ness of the language by adopting lexicons from local or regional languages.

The rise of the mother tongue-based multilingual education was seen a catalyst by some, although some participants saw it as divisive and unoperationalizable, while others appealed for more state commitment and support for multilingualism, which is the linguistic nature of the country. However, the data from interviews clearly indicated that the participants' use of at least three different linguistic repertoires make them plurilingual, regardless of whether their competence in the languages they used was balanced.

The original research plan was to investigate the use of different languages in classroom settings based on the current language in education policy which constitutes Portuguese as the only medium of instruction with Tétun to function as an auxiliary language. However, due to administrative and logistical problems, the present study interviewed 13 key informants: parliamentarians, officials in the government's ministry of education, , professionals and NGO workers, either in Díli or Hamilton, New Zealand.

While it is limited in scope and time, the study illuminates a burning issue in relation to language policy and planning, especially language in education policy, conducted by a person who is significantly affected by the policy. Regardless of limitations, there are some arguments to be made based on the findings of the present enquiry.

## **6.2 Arguments made on the basis of present study**

Based on the present study, the following are some of the arguments that are made in relation to current national language policy and language in education policies:

6.2.1 Timor-Leste's national language policy was enshrined in the constitution, especially articles 13 and 159. The fact that it identified two official languages and two working languages, and designated other local languages as national is a reflection of accommodating language as right and resource. However, the adoption of the foreign languages, especially Portuguese as an official language along with Tétun, was a shock to some people, because by 1997 Portuguese was only spoken by two per cent of the population (Costa, 2001, p. 60).

6.2.2 Although Tétun and Portuguese share the same status as official languages in the Constitution, the national languages policies are moving towards a monolingual policy emphasising Portuguese, in which the role of Tétun becomes very secondary, perhaps even a symbolic token of national identity. The two interviewees who observed this situation happening hold a position supported by earlier studies done by Macalister (2012) and Taylor-Leech (2011).

6.2.3 The same trend towards monolingualism has been foreseen in the languages in education policy, which is perceived as the real intent of the broader national language policy, despite the lack of Portuguese competence among the vast majority of the nation's teachers. Three of the interviewees confirmed that there was a trend towards

Portuguese monolingual policy in the forms of provision of Portuguese textbooks, and high salary incentive and accolades for those who are competent in Portuguese, as well as the continued dissuasion of use of Tétun in the classroom. My school visits to four secondary schools in Viqueque and Ainaro districts during the course of research confirmed that Tétun was not taught as subject, partly because there were no competent teachers and no textbooks. This is reminiscent of pseudo-bilingual laissez-faire policy promoted by the Portuguese in the 1960s and early 1970s where the elite were taught in Portuguese and the majority were left with Tétun (Vale de Almeida (2001)).

6.2.4 The trend towards monolingualism in education is sharpened by the practical difficulties of implementing bilingual education. Several of the interviewees referred to this, particularly as regards a) more than 80 per cent of teachers are not trained or qualified to teach, b) these teachers are those who mostly underwent education in Indonesian and therefore are not competent Portuguese speakers, and c) there are shortages of teaching materials, such as textbooks. Cliffe (2000) said that around 80 per cent of Indonesian teachers retreated in 1999 leaving behind a huge gap to fill. With nine years of compulsory education, it seems that the demand for more teachers is increasing. The 2008 UNISCO National Education Support Strategy mentioned that at least 1,500 are needed, an addition to already more than 6,000 teachers, at primary school level, to make the teacher-student ratio 1:30 (as cited in UNDP, 2011, p. 46). It is difficult to see how, in the present circumstances, these targets are to be met.

6.2.5. The roles of the two working languages, Bahasa Indonesia and English, are likely to change in the near future because there is strong focus on the development of Portuguese, partly driven by the idea to make Timor-Leste the local equivalent of Portuguese in Asia, a Portuguese tropicalism or Lusotropicalism, which relies on Portuguese cultural exclusivism (Vale de Almeida, 2001, 2004) based on cultural hybridity, which is *mestiçagem* (Vale de Almeida, 2004) or *mestiça* (De Carvalho, 2001a; Esperança, 2005) and linguistic creolization (Vale de Almeida, 2004). All these

definitions of the people of Timor-Leste are blatantly incorrect because it is the history of struggle against Portuguese colonialism and Indonesian illegal occupation that define them; not the idea of Lusotropicalism.

6.2.6. Under the strong push for Portuguese monolingual policy, the emergence of mother tongue based multilingual education, despite its appeal of power, remains in the shadow and therefore fated to fail (Baldauf et al., 2011). The state of a pseudo bilingual policy in Portuguese and Tétun and other national languages is reminiscent of the English-Vernacular Divide in India as studied by (Ramanathan, 2004, 2005), in which the state provides education for the rich in Portuguese and Tétun or other mother tongues to the poor. This leaves some conjecture that there is an elitist hidden agenda behind such policy (Annamalai, 2003, 2004) where the future rulers are prepared to rule the ruled, through the language in education policy (J.W. Tollefson, 1991). 6.2.6. All of the above arguments point to the fact that Timor-Leste is, and will remain, a plurilingual society, as evidenced by much of the literature reviewed (Barnard et al., 2013; Canagarajah, 2009; Costa, 2001; Ramos-Horta, 2012) and the very fact that all the Timorese interviewees codeswitched to a greater or lesser extent. Plurilingualism seems to be a more appropriate term to describe the linguistic situation rather than multilingualism (Hajek, 2000; Taylor-Leech, 2007b, 2013) or metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2009) because the data from these interviewees that knowledge of at least three different linguistic repertoires are used for communicative purposes, regardless of the equality of competence in the various languages. It is evident that the majority of the nation's population will likewise codeswitch between languages on a regular basis without necessarily being competent in all of them

### **6.3 Recommendations**

The present study would like to make the following recommendations:

6.3.1 As regards the National language policy, there needs to be greater clarification of the future roles of Portuguese and Tétun, and efforts made to promote this policy across

society. Similarly, the roles of Indonesian and English need to be clarified as well, in the light of future political, economic, and social trends. This is clearly a matter for politicians to work through, and to anticipate dissent from the policy, and to consider how such dissent can be handled in a democratic way.

6.3.2 with regard to the language in education policy, given the high proportion (80%) of undertrained and unqualified teachers and the lack of pedagogic materials, INFORDEPE needs to have a consistent plan and adequate financial support for the professional development (both linguistic and pedagogic) of teachers, the development of materials and other resources.

6.3.3. However the language policy eventually matures, there is a need to develop objectives and procedures for the corpus and status planning of Tétun. There is clearly a leading role for INL in matters such as shaping (if not controlling) the linguistic landscape, working with government departments to standardise Tétun for official purposes, and generally extending the domains in, and functions for, which Tétun could (and should be used

6.3.4 Further research is needed to understand more precisely the nature of plurilingual Timor-Leste. Here INL end can also play a key role, for example in shaping the linguistic, and other, components of the next national census. It can also play a role in developing bottom-up or grass-root approaches to language planning, using both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection and analysis.

## **6.4 Final statements**

Speaking from the context of some developing countries with language problems in 1960s, Le Page (1964) wrote:



*Decisions about a national language policy are normally made by politicians, not by linguists; and for political reasons which may seem valid at one moment but may have lost much of their force ten years later. The younger generation who has not had to fight for their independence may not share the cultural and nationalistic ideals of their parents (p. 80).*

This may be true but the political decision has to reflect not only pragmatic or romanticized stand but also democratic aspects in which a dynamic construction, deconstruction and reconstruction should play pivotal instrumental parts. This is simply because language is not a monolithic entity and therefore easily manipulated but it is attached to the people, their users and guardians, in a dynamic, intertwined, and ever-changing world.

Unlike the situation of young people described above, I was involved in the struggle for independence as a student leader for East Timor Student Solidarity Council (ETSSC) (Cristalis, 2002; Wigglesworth, 2007, 2010) which, compelled by the principle of social justice, equality, democracy, and love of humanity and nature, organized marginalized students totalling around 10,000 in Timor to demand a referendum and encourage people to vote for independence. I was quite involved in discussions about the future national language policy and, despite resignation calls from the country's politicians like Xanana and Ramos-Horta, we felt that we were marginalized by our victory. After more than ten years of the restoration of independence, I feel that I embody the sentiment of *tristes Lusotropicalistas*, in the words in Vale de Almeida, or rather a victim of Lusotropicalism ideals. Fanon may have called this '*Black skin white mask*' and Samora Machel could have called these politicians' *um pequeno Português com pele negra*' (A little black skinned Portuguese). I would rather call them Portuguese products of *mestiçagem* in Timor-Leste, whose mission is to make the land, the culture, and the language white, according to its mother country, Portugal. And the result, as it is revealing now, is what has been referred to as linguistic imperialism by Phillipson (1992) or neo-colonialism by Nkrumah (1965).

It is hoped that the academic contribution of this study will help to find some rational solutions to the problems of language and identity in Timor-Leste, a post-

colonial plurilingual country hoping with high expectation that young people like me are not marginalized by the love or greed for Lusotropicalisms of our elite Portuguese-assimilated politicians.

It is important, however, to make a caveat that I do not have any abhorrence to any language and culture, particularly the language and the culture of Portuguese. Such prejudice is neither the drive nor bias that I have in carrying out the present study but rather the purely academic nature which tries to question and to problematize the issues of language policy and planning, as well as language in education policy. Freire (1972) said that there are only two objectives of education, either to maintain dominance or to fight for liberation. It is for the sake of liberation and freedom that I wish to be the objective of the language policy and language in education policy and planning. The fact that I learned the language during Indonesian occupation and acquired passive competence in it proved that I like the language, just like Indonesian, English, Javanese, and Spanish, which makes me a plurilingual Timorese. However, it is just despicable to see the ideological underpinnings that breed asymmetrical relationship among cultures and languages, which turns one into the oppressor and another into the oppressed.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Human Research Ethics Committee Application for Ethical Approval

**1. NAME OF RESEARCHER(S)**

João da Silva Sarmiento (ID No 1172740)

**2. DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCHER(S)**

Applied Linguistics, Faculty of Arts and Social Science

**3. RESEARCHER(S) FROM OFF CAMPUS**

Not applicable

**4. TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT (provisional)**

Investigating language use in high school classes: Three case studies from Timor-Leste

**5. STATUS OF RESEARCH PROJECT**

MA (Applied) 90-point dissertation

**6. FUNDING SOURCE, if applicable**

NZ Development Scholarship

**7. NAME OF SUPERVISOR**

Dr. Roger Barnard

## **8. DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH PROJECT**

### **a) Justification**

Timor-Leste has adopted two official languages - Portuguese and Tétun, and mandated these to be the media of instruction at all levels of the education system. There has been very little research carried out as to how effectively these two languages are used at the primary level (Quinn, 2009) and at tertiary level (Barnard et al, 2011), but none so far in the secondary schools. There are concerns that neither teachers nor students are fully competent in Portuguese, and there few pedagogically appropriate materials available in Tétun. The question arises as to how teachers cope in the situation.

### **b) Objectives**

The overall aim of this research is to investigate their respective use of Portuguese and Tétun by teachers and students in selected classes in three secondary schools: one in the capital (Finantil High School in Díli, one other in the central area of the country of (Hato-Udo High School in Ainaro District), and the third in the eastern area (Olo-Cassa High School in Ossú, Viqueque). The data collected will be analysed so that the findings can be interpreted in ways relatable to similar contexts both in East Timor and elsewhere

### **c) Methods of information collection and analysis**

This investigation will be carried out by observing and audio recording two lessons and conducting post-lesson discussions with the respective teachers; these discussions are also to be audio-recorded. Towards the end of every such session, I will summarise what has been said by the participant, and ask for any further comments or clarifications or even corrections.

In addition, it is planned to conduct two surveys; firstly with all the teachers in the three schools, and secondly with the students in the observed classes, by means of mainly closed-item questionnaires.

If possible, semi-structured interviews will also be conducted with the principals of the schools concerned, officials of the Ministry of education and district regional offices, and with staff at the National University, teacher training institutions, and the National Institute of languages. Towards the end of every interview, I will summarise what has been said by the participant, and ask for any further comments or clarifications or corrections.

I will also keep a systematic journal recording relevant events et cetera that impact upon my data collection.

- **Methods of data analysis**

The observational data will firstly be analysed by a time lapse procedure, by which the audio recording will be marked every 10 seconds as to which language is being used at that point. A similar analysis will be carried out using the same procedure as to who is using the language at a given point.

A second analysis of the observational data will be conducted according to the interactional functions (Bowers, 1980) for which the teacher uses the languages. This will be done by producing transcripts of the data, and identifying which interactional functions are served by each of the teachers' utterances.

The data from the post-lesson discussions and interviews will be subjected to a process of grounded analysis, whereby the data will be firstly open coded on the basis of major themes derived from the functional analysis, then axial coded across the different participants. From these two processes, significant categories will be selected for further discussion.

The questionnaire data will be subjected to a descriptive statistical analysis; it is not intended at this stage to develop correlations through inferential statistical tests.

#### **d) Participant recruitment**

A letter will be sent by email to the principals of the three schools involved (see draft copy of an English translation of this letter in Appendix 1) seeking permission to conduct the research in their schools. It is more than possible that the communications infrastructure will not permit this to occur effectively and/or timely, and in this case the first contact with the schools will be by personal visit. During this visit, the aims and purposes of the project will be explained orally, and the letter and consent form left with the principals for their completion and signature (see appendix 2). These will be collected later.

In the event that the principals agree to allow the research to be conducted in their schools, a meeting will be held with prospective volunteer teachers. At this meeting the purpose of the research will be explained orally, and subsequently a letter of information, and consent form, will be provided in Tétun to teachers who consent to have their lessons observed (see appendices 3 and 4). These will be collected later.

Following this meeting, questionnaires (a translated version is provided in Appendix 5) will be distributed to all the teachers in the school. Consent will be implied by the voluntary completion of the (anonymous) questionnaires. The respondents will place them in an envelope left in the staff room.

Questionnaires (a translated version is provided in Appendix 6) will be distributed to students in the target classes, at the end of the school day; students who do not wish to complete the questionnaire can leave without doing so. The respondents will place them in an envelope left at the back of the classroom.

Other potential interviewees, such as officials in the Ministry of education, will be personally approached and invited to participate in the project. The aims of the project

will be explained orally and they will be given a letter and consent form similar to that provided to the teachers.

**e) Procedures in which participants will be involved**

See above

**f) Research Instruments**

The research instruments used in this study are as follows:

- i. Questionnaires (for a. teachers and b. students);
- ii. Classroom observations;
- iii. Post-lesson interviews with each teacher;
- iv. Semi-structured interviews with officials

**9. PROCEDURES AND TIME FRAME FOR STORING PERSONAL INFORMATION AND OTHER DATA AND MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIALITY OF PERSONAL INFORMATION**

All the collected electronic data will be securely stored in both my personal computer and - on my return to New Zealand - my office computer, to which only I have access via secure password. Backup copies will be made on a memory stick and stored in a secret and secure place which only I can access. Data collected in form of hard copies will be stored in a locked cupboard at my home and subsequently in my office in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, to which only I have access. They will be securely kept for the minimum of five years for the purpose of academic examination and review. After that they will be destroyed.

**10. ETHICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES**

*a) Gaining permissions/approvals from the “gatekeepers”*

The gatekeepers are the principals of the schools, and the way of gaining their permission has been outlined above.



b) *Access to participants*

This has been described above.

c) *Informed consent*

After the initial oral discussion, prospective teacher participants will have the opportunity to ask further questions about their involvement in this research. Teachers who are truly interested and decided to participate will let me have their decision by signing the consent form. They will be fully informed of the voluntary nature of participation, their rights to privacy and confidentiality. Teachers will not be asked to sign the consent form in the presence of other colleagues who may or may not eventually participate.

Student respondents to the questionnaires will indicate their consent by completing and returning the anonymous questionnaires. It will clearly be stated on the first page of the questionnaire that they are free to respond to the questionnaire as a whole, and may decline to answer any particular item if they so wish.

Student participants of each observed lesson will be accessed with the approval of the participant teacher of that class. I will be introduced to the class by the teacher as an observer as well as a researcher one or two lessons before those that I observe for my research purposes.

Teachers in Timorese high schools act *in loco parentis*, and they are considered formally able to give consent to being observed for the purposes of this research project on behalf of the students in their classes.

d) *Potential risk to participants*

No personal or professional risk is likely to arise from their participation. All participants will be assured that no matter what opinions they hold or what comments they make about each other, the identity of the information providers will

be kept strictly confidential and all participants' rights to anonymity and privacy will be well respected during and after the data collection.

e) *Publication of findings*

The findings from the data will be exclusively reported in this dissertation. However, it is anticipated that aspects of the emergent data will be published in refereed journals, and may also be presented at conferences. In all such cases, pseudonyms of all participants, the departments, and the schools will be used to safeguard the privacy of the participants.

f) *Conflict of interest*

There is no perceived conflict of interest in this project. I am neither employed in the schools nor in any power relationships with the teachers or students. As a teacher myself, I may be regarded in collegial terms by the participating teachers and officials I will make very clear my role as an impartial researcher based at an overseas university.

g) *Intellectual and other property rights*

I reserve the rights to the intellectual property arising from the study, including the audio- recordings of the observations and post-lesson discussions. Should they be used for any other purpose, my consent is required. When collecting documentary data, I will be aware of the intellectual property rights. School documents will be obtained with the consent of their copyright owners, if there are any, or the approval of the principals. No more than one copy will be made and it will only be used for the research purpose. No financial gains will accrue to either participants or the researcher. All document data will be stored, analysed and reported anonymously.

h) *Intention to pay participants*

There is no intention to pay the participants.

i) *Any other ethical or legal issue*

None is foreseen.

j) *The Treaty of Waitangi*

This research will be conducted in Timor-Leste.

## **11. ETHICAL STATEMENT**

This post-graduate study will strictly abide by the Ethical Conduct in Human Research and Related Activities Regulations 2008. As outlined in the University of Waikato Calendar 2012, I will fairly and fully represent the results as I honestly perceive them, without falsifying data, fabricating data, claiming results where none have been obtained, or fraudulently changing records. I will not commit or condone plagiarism. I will be scrupulously honest in the ascription of authorship, and will not list authors without their permission or attribute work to others who have not in fact contributed to the research. I will conform with professional standards and codes of ethics relevant to the discipline, as described above in this application.

a) *The basic ethical principles that will guide the research*

The ethical principles that guide this research project are those commonly held in the fields of applied linguistics and educational research. These involve the provision of explicit information about the research project participants, the protection of participants' confidentiality, the willingness of participation, and the right of participants to withdraw from the project at any time.


b) *The manner in which the researcher intends to apply them.*

I shall diligently carry out the research project, fully aware of, and in conformity with, the above principles and procedures.

Signature of Applicant \_\_\_\_\_

Applied Linguistics

Date:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'R Barnard', written in a cursive style.

Signature of Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Roger Barnard (rbarnard@waikato.ac.nz)

Applied Linguistics, School of Arts

## **List of Appendices**

Appendix 1 Information letter to the principals

Appendix 2 Informed Consent Form for principals

Appendix 3 Information letter to teacher participants

Appendix 4 Informed Consent Form for teacher participants

Appendix 5 Draft teacher questionnaire

Appendix 6 Draft student questionnaire

Appendix 7 Draft questions for individual interviews with principals

Appendix 8 Observation sheet

### *Notes:*

- 1. Appendices 1-7 are to be translated into Tétun*
- 2. The questionnaires will be reformatted, using tick-boxes*

## **Appendix 1: Information letter to the principals**

Investigating language use in high school classes: A case study from Timor-Leste

Dear Principal \_\_\_\_\_

I would very much appreciate your interest and participation in my M.A. research project.

By this study, I intend to explore how languages are used in secondary schools in various parts of Timor-Leste. By examining the use of teachers' language in secondary schools, I am hoping to construct and provide the educational administrators and teacher trainers with a better understanding of teachers' real situation, so that they can better provide support for teachers in their professional development.

I would appreciate it very much if you could agree to support me in my data collection in the following ways:

- allowing me to interview you about the general situation of your school
- authorizing my attendance at a school staff meeting so that I can explain my project and recruit the voluntary participation of two of the teachers;
- authorizing my access to observe two lessons in your school, and interview the teachers concerned afterwards;
- authorizing me to conduct an anonymous questionnaire with 11th grade students in your school. A copy of the questionnaire is attached.

Your rights, and those of all who volunteer to participate in the project, to privacy and anonymity will be entirely respected during and after the research. Neither you nor the school will be identifiable in any way. The name of your school is going to be kept anonymous as a way to ensure anonymity of the student and teacher participants. Your permission is very important to data collection process. If you withdraw your consent, both your teachers and students cannot continue to be my participants. Similarly, if one of your teachers withdraws his or her consent, the data become unusable. If that is the case, then I should find another school for my research project. Nonetheless, all the

data collected will be used strictly for the purpose of this academic research. The collected data, to which only my supervisor and I have access, will be kept securely for a minimum of five years for academic review, and after that it will be destroyed. No real names will be used in my MA dissertation, or in any resulting publication or conference presentations.

Your time and help will be highly valued. Every effort should be made to minimize the workload imposed on you and the possibility of interfering with your routine work.

This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, the University of Waikato. Should you have questions concerning the ethical conduct of this project, please feel free to discuss them with me in person, by email ([h2otimorleste@gmail.com](mailto:h2otimorleste@gmail.com)), or by phone ([mobile NZ: +64 021 1649 365](tel:+640211649365), [mobile Timor-Leste: +670 741 7040](tel:+6707417040)), or contact the Secretary of the FASS HRE Committee by email ([fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz)). You can also contact my supervisor by email: Dr Roger Barnard ([rbarnard@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:rbarnard@waikato.ac.nz)), if you wish to discuss in English language.

Your participation will be greatly appreciated. If you are willing to take part in this study, please read and sign the informed consent form below. For your personal records, it will be useful to keep a copy of this information letter and the completed consent form.

Yours sincerely,

João Sarmento

## Appendix 2 Informed Consent Form for the principals

### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

[A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant]

I \_\_\_\_\_ consent to participate in João Sarmento's research project, as described in the above letter. By signing this form, I certify that I have been given an opportunity to read the information letter, to ask questions and have them answered. I agree to participate voluntarily in this project in the ways that I consent below.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [✓] the appropriate box for each point.

Statements	Yes	No
I understand that my school does not have to participate in this project.		
I understand I have the right to withdraw myself at least five days after my participation from the project, or any information obtained from me up until analysis has commenced on my data.		
I authorize João Sarmento to attend a school staff meeting to talk to all teachers and recruit volunteer participants.		
I give my consent for João Sarmento to observe normal lessons, subject to the consent of the teachers concerned, and on behalf of their students.		
I agree to provide or authorize someone else to provide João Sarmento with school curriculum setting documents and school-based-and-created supplementary materials.		
I agree to take part in a semi-structured interview with João Sarmento.		
I agree that this interview may be audio-recorded.		
I understand that my rights to privacy and confidentiality, and those of all other research participants (teachers and students) are appropriately safeguarded.		
I understand that any data collected during this study will be reported only in summary format and in such a manner that no individual participant can be identified.		



I understand that only João Sarmento and his academic supervisor will have access to the data collected for this research project.		
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Participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Appendix 3 Information letter to teacher participants**

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

I would very much appreciate your interest and participation in my M.A. research project

By this study, I intend to explore how languages are used in secondary schools in various parts of Timor-Leste. By examining the use of teachers' language in secondary schools, I am hoping to construct and provide the educational administrators and teacher trainers a better understanding of teachers' real situation, so that they can better provide support for teachers in their professional development.

I would appreciate it very much if you could agree to be my participants and support me in my data collection in the following activities:

- I would be grateful if you would complete a questionnaire; the questionnaire should take in about 15 minutes
- you will be requested to allow me to observe and audio-record one of your normal lesson, and
- to have a short discussion (20-30 minutes) with me afterwards.

Your rights, and those of all who volunteer to participate in the project, to privacy and anonymity will be entirely respected during and after the research. Neither you nor the school will be identifiable in any way. This means that your name and the name of the school is going to be kept anonymous as a way to ensure anonymity of the student and teacher participants. If you have five days after your participation in the project to make a withdrawal of your consent and if that is the case, the data collected become unusable. Consequently, I should find another school for my research project. Nonetheless, all the data collected will be used for the purpose of this academic research. The collected data, to which only my supervisor and I have access, will be kept securely for a minimum of five years for academic review, and after that it will be destroyed. No real names will be used in my dissertation, or in any resulting publication or conference presentations.

I should also like to assure you that your participation in the data collection of this research is completely voluntary. You are free to participate or not, to participate fully or partially. You have the right to withdraw at any time and do not need to give any reason for doing so. You also have the right to decline to answer any particular question during the data collection, and withdraw any information you have provided up until analysis has commenced on your data.

Your time and help will be highly valued. Every effort should be made to minimize the workload imposed on you and the possibility of interfering with your routine work.

This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, the University of Waikato. Should you have questions concerning the ethical conduct of this project, please feel free to discuss with me in person, by email ([h2otimorleste@gmail.com](mailto:h2otimorleste@gmail.com)), or by phone ([mobile NZ: +64 021 1649 365](tel:+640211649365), [mobile Timor-Leste: +670 741 7040](tel:+6707417040)), or contact the Secretary of the FASS HRE Committee by email ([fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz)). You can also contact my supervisor by email: Dr Roger Barnard ([rbarnard@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:rbarnard@waikato.ac.nz)), if you wish to discuss in English language.

Your participation will be greatly appreciated. If you are willing to take part in this study, please read and sign the informed consent form below. For your personal records, it will be useful to keep a copy of this information letter and the completed consent form.

Yours sincerely,

João Sarmiento

## Appendix 4 Informed Consent Form for teacher participants

### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

[A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant]

I \_\_\_\_\_ consent to participate in João Sarmento's research project, as described in the above letter. By signing this form, I certify that I have been given an opportunity to read the information letter, to ask questions and have them answered. I agree to participate completely voluntarily in this project in the ways that I consent below.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [✓] the appropriate box for each point.

Statements	Yes	No
I understand that I do not have to participate in this project.		
I understand I have the right to withdraw myself from the project at least five days after my participation.		
I agree to complete the questionnaire provided by João Sarmento.		
I agree to allow João Sarmento to observe one lesson of mine.		
I agree to have the observed lessons audio-recorded.		
I agree to take part in a post-lesson discussion with João Sarmento after the observation.		
I agree to have the post-lesson discussion audio-recorded.		
I give my permission to João Sarmento to recruit volunteer students in my class to respond to a questionnaire.		
I understand that my rights to privacy and confidentiality are appropriately safeguarded.		
I understand that any data collected during this study will be reported in such a manner that no individual participant can be identified.		
I understand that only João Sarmento and his academic supervisor will have access to the data collected for this research project.		

Participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 5 Draft teacher survey questions

*Thank you for agreeing to respond to this questionnaire. Please remember that you may decline to answer any particular item if you so wish.*

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS

PERSONAL DATA	PLEASE SPECIFY
Age:	
Gender:	
Subject:	
Teaching experience:	
Educational background:	
Training attended:	

1. What languages do you use at home/school?

LANGUAGE	TICK/SPECIFY
a) Makasae	
b) Kairui	
c) Tétun	
d) Other	Please specify:

2. When did you start to learn Portuguese?

<b>SCHOOL LEVEL</b>	<b>TICK/SPECIFY</b>
a) Pre-school (kindergarten)	
b) Primary school	
c) Pre secondary school	
d) Secondary school	
e) Other...	Please specify:

3. I feel confident to use Portuguese in my lessons.

<b>YOUR OPINION:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) Strongly disagree	
b) Disagree	
c) Agree	
d) Strongly agree	

4. My spoken Portuguese is:

<b>YOUR ANSWER:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) Weak	
b) Fair	
c) Good	
d) Fluent	

5. Do you think that students should learn Portuguese because it is an important international language?

<b>ANSWER:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) No	
b) Yes	

6. Do you think that Portuguese should be the only medium of instruction for all subjects?

<b>ANSWER:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) No	
b) Yes	

7. Do you have sufficient support to enable you to teach in Portuguese?

<b>ANSWER:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) No	
b) Yes	

8. Do you have sufficient Portuguese teaching materials to use?

<b>ANSWER:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) No	
b) Yes	

9. Do you need more training in teaching Portuguese?

<b>ANSWER:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) No	



b) Yes	
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10 I am happy / not happy teaching Portuguese

because .....

.....

.....

.....

## Appendix 6 Draft student survey questions

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

*Thank you for agreeing to respond to this questionnaire. Please remember that you may decline to answer any particular item if you so wish.*

Age:	
Gender:	
Name of school:	
Year/class:	

1. What language(s) does your mother speak?

LANGUAGE	TICK/SPECIFY
8. Makasae	
9. Kairui	
10. Tétun	
11. Other	Please specify:

2. What language(s) does your father speak?

LANGUAGE	TICK/SPECIFY
a) Makasae	
b) Kairui	
c) Tétun	

d) Other	Please specify:
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3. What languages do you speak at home?

LANGUAGE	TICK/SPECIFY
1. Makasae	
2. Kairui	
3. Tétun	
4. Other	Please specify:

4. I started to learn Portuguese when I was in:

SCHOOL LEVEL	TICK/SPECIFY
f) Pre-school (kindergarten)	
g) Primary school	
h) Pre-secondary school	
i) Secondary school	
j) Other...	Please specify:

5. How do you rate your writing in Portuguese? Please tick the option that best describes your written Portuguese.

<b>LEVEL OF WRITTEN PORTUGUESE</b>	<b>TICK/SPECIFY</b>
a) I can describe where I live.	
b) I can explain what I like or dislike about something.	
c) I can briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions, plans and actions.	
d) Other...	Please specify:

6. How do you rate yourself in spoken Portuguese?

<b>LEVEL OF SPOKEN PORTUGUESE</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) Basic	
b) Good	
c) Very good	
d) Excellent	

7. Is Portuguese taught as a subject at this school?

<b>ANSWER:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) No	
b) Yes	

8. Which language do you want to be used as the medium of instruction?

<b>MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION</b>	<b>TICK/SPECIFY</b>
a) Your mother tongue	
b) Portuguese	
c) Tétun	
d) Other...	Please specify:

9. Portuguese should be the only medium of instruction for all subjects.

<b>YOUR OPINION:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) Strongly disagree	
b) Disagree	
c) Agree	
d) Strongly agree	

10. Does your school have a library to which you normally go to read books?

<b>ANSWER:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
c) No	
d) Yes	

11. We need more Portuguese books and other materials to use.

<b>YOUR OPINION:</b>	<b>TICK</b>
e) Strongly disagree	
f) Disagree	
g) Agree	
h) Strongly agree	

12. My assessment of my teachers teaching of Portuguese is positive.

<b>YOUR ATTITUDE</b>	<b>TICK</b>
a) Strongly disagree	
b) Disagree	
c) Agree	
d) Strongly agree	

## **Appendix 7 Draft questions for interviews with the principals**

1. How do you describe the development of education during the past 10 years of independence?
2. What do you think are the challenges for the education sector in Timor-Leste?
3. How do you deal with these challenges at your school levels?
4. Do you think that the decision to use Tétun and Portuguese as media of instruction poses a significant problem to teaching and learning?
5. Are Tétun and Portuguese taught in this school?
6. In what languages do your teachers normally teach and communicate with their students?
7. Do you think that you have enough teachers? Are their training and/or educational backgrounds relevant?
8. Do you think that the teachers are trained and well-supported to teach in these languages in your schools?
9. Is there anything else to be done in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning?

### Appendix 8 Observation sheet

Teacher: \_\_\_\_\_ Class: \_\_\_\_\_ Number of students:  
\_\_\_\_\_

Time: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Room No.  
\_\_\_\_\_

Lesson: \_\_\_\_\_ Content focus: \_\_\_\_\_

General description of the classroom (facilities, layout, etc.):

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Teaching procedures:	Key episodes:

General reflections:

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Questions for clarification in the post-lesson discussion:

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## Appendix 2: Letter of approval from the FASS Ethics Committee

Philosophy Programme  
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Sciences  
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THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

Joao da Silva Sarmiento  
Dr Roger Barnard

Applied Linguistics  
School of Arts

20 July 2012

Dear Joao

**Re: FS2012-38 Investigating language use in high school classes: Three case studies from Timor-Leste**

Thank you for submitting your amended application to me. You have answered all the questions raised by the Committee and I am happy to provide you with formal ethical approval.

I wish you well with your research.

Kind regards,

Ruth Walker  
*Chair*  
*Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.*