

## Rua de Macau 澳門街 – Heterotopic Urbanity in the Celebration of Place, Memory and Identity

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**KEYWORDS:** Macau (1999-today); place memory; heterotopia; Patúa creole language; postcolonial studies; urban geography

In his introduction to *Rethinking France: Les lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora complained that we no longer know where we are going and where we come from, and lamented the loss of a clear vision that France used to have of its future and purpose.<sup>1</sup> That vision told historians what to retain from the past in order to prepare the nation for the future. With the disappearance of the perception of the past, France in the 1970s stopped anticipating its future. Nora's concern was about the production of national identity after France had lost two decolonization wars and seen the collapse of the Third Republic ideals. Where can sites of memory and glory be found in times of crisis? I would agree with Pierre Nora's analysis and argue that China's clear vision of nation-building and unlimited progress is helping it prepare for the future by discarding much of its past. But what happens when a community disagrees with a vision that threatens its very existence? Under which conditions can *les lieux de mémoire* be reclaimed to create space and celebrate a distinct identity? On the basis of one single example, I will suggest that more attention be granted to dialects and creole languages that promote a distinct sense of urbanity. In my analysis of a neighborhood in downtown Macau, I will look at contemporary attitudes towards memory, landmarks, space, and self and the Other.

My paper about urbanity as seen through the examination of *lieux de mémoire* in space and language has concerned the re-invention of a community during a period of uncertainty, that began in 1999 when the city of Macau became Chinese. What matters most to the Macanese-speakers who participate in the activities of the Dóci Papiaçam di Macau theater troupe is the enlargement and management of a space for "betweenness," ambiguity, uncertainty and vacancy. Unencumbered by its tenuous colonial identity, their city can thrive in such a space if it can play out the peculiarities of its own urbanity. Macau has witnessed no scramble for sovereignty but constant and playful renegotiations over a place whose history is physical and imagined as well as virtual. Parody and make-believes are important tools to move deftly through scale from a local creole dialect to English as *lingua franca*, and from the cobbled streets of Macau to the shopping strips of a global city. In this sense, Macau may contribute to a more nuanced definition of the heterotopic urbanity that Michel Foucault has defined in an eloquent tirade:

We have, therefore, countries without places and histories without chronologies: cities, planets, continents, and universes that have left no trace on any map or in any sky quite simply because they do not belong to any space. Of course these cities, these continents, and these planets are born in people's minds, or actually from the gaps between their words, from the density of their stories, or from the placeless place of their dreams, from the emptiness of their hearts. This in short is the sweetness of utopias. I believe nevertheless that any society engenders utopias that have a precise and material place, which we can locate on a map, and utopias that have a given time, which can be described and measured according to our daily calendar. [...] Moreover, among all these places that are distinct from each other, we find places that are totally different, that are opposed to all, and whose fate would be to delete them, to compensate them, to neutralize them, or to purify them.<sup>2</sup>

1 Pierre Nora, "General Introduction," in *Rethinking France. Les lieux de mémoire*, Vol. 1, *The State*, edited by D. P. Jordan (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), xviii.

2 Michel Foucault, "Les hétérotopies," radio feature, *France Culture*, December 7, 1966. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IxOruDUO4p8> (accessed on May 22, 2015).

My paper discusses an alternative vision of urbanity, which several anthropologists, urban planners, geographers and sociologists have articulated. Maurice Freedman (1961) and, more recently, Tong Chee Kiong and Lily Kong (2000), have investigated the relationship between modernity and traditional identities in the case of Singapore or rural China. Urbanity seems to me absent from these analyses, even when this urbanity can be seen and heard in the social media. Michel Foucault's definition of heterotopia as a parallel world and a negotiated construction has opened new perspectives to the analysis of the spatial in-between or topos where nature, community and language meet.<sup>3</sup> In comparing narratives on spatial memory from the perspective of a language on the verge of extinction, my purpose is to highlight the link that urbanity has forged between cityscape and drama, and between architectural legacy and cultural creativity. I examine urbanity and the representation of alterity and urbanity in the practice of everyday life as revealed in tales and songs in a multilingual setting, and in a severely constrained physical environment. I have gathered a coherent corpus of information on trans-linguistic spatiality, and selected a number of scenes from the trash literature of Hollywood movies, public ads from colonial Hong Kong, Canto-pop songs, and video clips in or on Macanese Patuá. Within this limited corpus, I have focused on instances of transition, and on the mechanisms of parallelism and parody. This has led me to argue that heterotopic urbanity leads to a new understanding of the relationship between dominant and subaltern cultures, and of the emotional entanglement of a community with its neighborhood.

### Macau as a Case Study for Urbanity

I am using linguistic details to deal with the uncertainties surrounding the relevance of heterotopia to a tiny ethnic community. Since language is my source of information on urbanity, I must mention the work several linguists have conducted on space. In her introduction to *lingua franca* communication in multiethnic contexts, Christiane Meierkord mentions a hypothesis by Tom Koole and Jan ten Thije's on the construction of intercultural discourse. Far from being problematic, the intercultural and multilingual communications that participate in *lingua franca* communication may result in the construction of "a new, in-between, third culture."<sup>4</sup> This reminds me of another hypothesis, advanced by Umberto Eco when he discussed Walter Benjamin's *reine Sprache*, according to which there must be a *tertium comparationis* to which all languages converge.<sup>5</sup> I would propose the name of a candidate for this convergence of alterities. My champion for heterotopia would be the home of a local language that has developed in the intimacy of four *linguae francae* — the patuá of Macau in contact for centuries with Portuguese, English, Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese.

My paper is born as a reaction to an article by Hao Zhudong (University of Macao) who has reviewed the history of Macanese literature in an attempt to understand the "clash of civilizations" between "China and western cultures" that would have "impacted social change" in Macau.<sup>6</sup> Despite being exhaustive and balanced in his treatment of the Chinese and European literary traditions in Macau, I have found his article disappointing. Hao remains hostage to a dichotomist approach that leaves no room for the discussion of an urbanity that would be intercultural and bilingual. His choice of writers' quotations makes apparent he believes that the Macanese suffer from an identity conflict:

We speak different languages and cannot really understand each other. So we use their pens. While I use a brush to write Chinese characters, they use a pen to scratch down something like the claws of a bird. However hard we look at what we write, we still have difficulty in

3 Michel Foucault, "Des espaces autres. Hétérotopies," *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (1984): 46-49.

4 Christiane Meierkord, "Lingua Franca Communication in Multiethnic Contexts," in *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*, ed. H. Kotthoff and H. Spencer-Oatey (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 199.

5 Umberto Eco, *Dire quasi la stessa cosa. Esperienze di traduzione* (Milan: Bompiani, 2003), 442-443.

6 Zhidong Hao, "Understanding Macau's History and Society," *Revista do Instituto Politécnico de Macau [Ao'men ligong xuebao / 澳門理工學報]* (2008): 78.

understanding each other. [...] With sadness and eyes filled with tears, he [the son of Macau] knelt on the ground, looking up at the sky and hoping that God will take care of him. The future is ambiguous, uncertain and insecure.<sup>7</sup>

We may smile at this picture of desolation. I will question Hao Zhudong's premises on conflict, culture, loyalty and identity by looking at non-literary information sources and introducing a few Macanese people in the debate. In my examination of place in the oral languages of Macau, I will argue for the benefits of the rich, complex, nuanced and fluid interactions that have made unique the fabric of Macanese urbanity.<sup>8</sup>

### The History of the Original Topos

We usually credit the rapid growth of China to political reforms, the corruption of the local party officials, Confucian work ethic, the return to China of graduates from American universities, a history of transnational connections, the ethnic loyalty of the Chinese diaspora, and the emergence of a new regional identity. We tend to speak of "economic miracle" and "globalizing cities" when we analyze the profound transformations of the coastal area that stretches from the highest building in the world, in Shanghai to the tower of the Macau Bank of China.<sup>9</sup>

Located at the entrance of the Pearl River delta, the former Portuguese colony of Macau has been the gateway to China for almost five centuries. As space of cultural transition at the frontier of several empires, the city of Macau has reflected dreams, desires and despair of a complex kind. Ancient China and the colonial decorum of Portugal confronted there the international forces of an economy in mutation. A new linguistic identity and with it an urbanity emerged from chance encounters between courtesans and sailors, officials and entrepreneurs. By the end of the 1950s, a bird of a different feather began to soar in the fluid, mobile, ever-changing sky of capitalism. From trading post on the South China coast, multilingual Macau has turned itself into a premier entertainment center.

This wealthy, small (30 square kilometers), and densely inhabited city (550,000 inhabitants) receives every year about 35 million tourists who are attracted by the promises of the gambling industry. Every day, hydrofoil ferries make 80 trips between the two cities. In the first nine months of 2012, visitor arrivals totaled 20,864,685.<sup>10</sup> Gambling has always been vital to the economy of the territory. In the 1980s, two thirds of Macau's tax revenue used to come from the Sociedade de jogos de Macau, which is the Portuguese name of Stanley Ho's gaming empire. Twenty Las Vegas-style casino resorts with 60,000 hotel rooms have been completed on the reclaimed land between Taipa and Coloane. Deutsche Bank (Hong Kong) and Société Générale (Asia) are the leading banks of the Wynn Resorts project. The ex-colony, run by business tycoons like Stephen Hung, is listed before Zurich as the world's most expensive cities.

Macau has inspired sumptuous melodramas in which officers clad in white uniforms confronted Oriental casino barons and rescued poorly dressed courtesans. Take as examples films like *Macao, l'enfer du jeu* that Jean Delannoy directed in 1942. In 1950, this movie was dubbed, received a new happy end, and came out under the title *Gambling Hell*. The same year, United Artists showed *Forbidden*, with Macau in the background. Tony Curtis played the role of a tough operator, while Joanne Dru acted as the fugitive widow of an American racketeer. Curtis managed to catch Miss Dru before she married the suave Bettger, an underworld boss. Everything ended up well with villains' bodies scattered all over the idyllic setting. In 1952 Paramount Theatre produced *Macao*, a

7 Original quotation: 燈前鄉語各西東，未解還教筆可通。我寫蠅頭君寫爪，橫看直視更難窮 [...] 帶著憂傷的神色，雙膝跪地，仰起頭，淚滿眼眶。Ibid., 81, 92.

8 Philippe Forêt, "De la vertu au vice: l'espace des loisirs à Macao," in *Freizeit und Vergnügen vom 14. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. J. Gilomen et al. (Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 2005), 173-185; Philippe Forêt, "Globalizing Macau: The Emotional Costs of Modernity (1910-1930)," in *Globalization and the Chinese City*, ed. F. Wu (London: Routledge, 2006), 108-124.

9 Carolyn Cartier, *Globalizing South China* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 256-257.

10 Statistics and Census Service, Government of Macao SAR, September 24, 2012.



(opposite page) Fig. 1: Map of Macau Peninsula, China

movie that featured Jane Russell, Robert Mitchum, an oriental seaport, a smoky gambling parlor, and the international police. Thanks to Jane Russell's low cut sweaters, reviewers' comments were positive: "A fabulous speck on the earth's surface — that's Macao, the place and the film."<sup>11</sup> A few years later, in 1957, Joseph Kessel (Académie française) wrote *Hong Kong et Macao*, which is a surprising report on opium, gambling, the secret police, destitution, and unexpected wealth.

Social reality normally differs from Hollywood movies. In the Macau of the 1950s, the contrast between screenplays and the street scenes was particularly striking. Public assistance did not exist, schools were neither free nor mandatory, and hospitals were supported by voluntary contributions. The city ranked remarkably low as center of culture since it had no theater, no concert hall, no public library, and no art gallery. Speaking about nearby Hong Kong, George B. Cressey (Syracuse University) complained that: "There is nowhere to turn for information on the history, art, political developments or economics of China... The elite Hong Kong Club has a large collection of Victorian biography, but virtually nothing on modern China... [The University of Hong Kong] library is innocent of current literature on China."<sup>12</sup> Since disturbances of the public order were rare, Lisbon had decided to neglect this faraway colony, which, according to the *Wall Street Journal* barely had a present and much less of any real future. Observers commented on the extremely weak position of this den of inequities. The port was militarily indefensible and heavily dependent on China for importations and on the USA for exportations. The Portuguese colony used to smuggle strategic war materials to Guangzhou, which was tolerated as long as the United Nations' embargo against Red China said nothing about Macau. This policy changed when the Eisenhower administration (1953-1961) enforced an effective blockade.

A large number of refugees burdened the local economies of Macau and Hong Kong. In 1950, the year after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the missionary bodies of Macau did not do much more than distributing cheap rice to hungry masses. In Hong Kong, the population register of one of the squatters' settlement included a village chief from Hunan province, a nationalist officer, a one-legged nationalist soldier, a former reporter for the Nationalist Central News Agency, a college student, a physician from Anhui, a landlord from Hunan, and a landlady from Hubei province. They were apparently all unemployed, except for the ex-village chief who sold cigarettes and the ex-officer who ran a tailor shop.<sup>13</sup> Few among them were expecting to stay in Macau and Hong Kong, either because they were waiting for the collapse of the communist regime before returning home, or because they were planning to somehow migrate to Southeast Asia or North America. American immigration laws had, however, such restrictive quotas that only 105 Chinese immigrants were admitted in the USA in 1952. In the 1950s, the majority of the population experienced abject poverty, tens of thousands of refugees lived in wooden huts, and the musty streets were crowded with ragged children who begged for *pataca* coins. Eight year-old girls earned \$ 1.75 for working 81 hours a week in dangerous firecracker factories. Macau, "the poor man's Monte Carlo," went through a severe recession after the Korean War (1950-1953). Policemen with rifles guarded the empty floors of hotel casinos. Pieces of Americana, like the Coca-Cola ads of the local bottling plant, littered Avenida Almeida Ribeiro. Prostitutes were cheap, and pimps aggressive.

Beijing adroitly avoided confrontation with the American Seventh Fleet and usually restrained pro-communist agitation in the drab colony. Rather than violence, compromise, helped by a tradition of cultural indifference, was found to be the best ingredient for interaction between communist China and the leftover of Portuguese imperialism. Lisbon's colony was for Beijing an important source of foreign exchange mostly. The stability of the legal framework and the chance to make money in a stable currency encouraged the Chinese business community to tolerate the anachronisms of the imperialist order and the rigidity of the communist system. Commerce with the "free world" moved unrestrained through Macau. By the end of the 1950s, the bustling

11 Bosley Crowther, "Macao, with Robert Mitchum and Jane Russell, Feature at Paramount Theatre," *The New York Times* (May 1, 1952).

12 George B. Cressey, "Hong Kong, Beachhead for Democracy," *Far Eastern Survey* 20-15 (1951): 154.

13 H. R. Lieberman, "Refugees of China Form Varied Mass," *The New York Times* (February 26, 1951).

colony had become Asia's "bargain counter." The period brought a boom that benefited the tycoons who had invested in labor-intensive industries. The casino industry, textile factories and duty-free trade have offered long-term perspectives that were absent from the more traditional opium smuggling, gold traffic, prostitution, and gambling activities.

Describing the sordid urbanity that prevailed in Macau sixty years ago may help in explaining today's Macanese strategy for survival and empowerment. I could thus give a historical dimension to today's celebration of a heterotopia that scholars have left undocumented. I will now describe the resources called upon to justify the community's actions, its escape from extinction, the rewriting of its history and the recovery of its identity and dignity.

### Today's Spectacle of Heterotopia

Macau's permanent residents are Cantonese speakers who are schooled in standard Chinese (*putonghua* [普通話]) and British English. English is widely used as a *lingua franca* for communication with international visitors, either as standard English or pidgin English (Chinglish). Another language used to be a *lingua franca* in the colony: Patuá, which is also known as *Docí Papiaçam di Macau*, *tianmei de yuyan* [甜美的語言], and more formally as *Aòmen tu sheng tuyu* [澳門土生土語]. Bearing in mind that all Patuá speakers are Cantonese speakers, I will examine the place of today Patuá in daily life and at the street level, and more specifically investigate the interactions of Patuá with the ubiquitous Cantonese, dominant Chinese, and prestigious English.

Adding layers of complexity to the triangular relationship between English, Chinese, and Cantonese may not be needed to make a few points about city and place in Patuá. Out of necessity, the Macanese must know standard English, tourism being a major employer of Macau, British Hong Kong being so close, and emigration to Canada, California, or Australia so common, but they converse between themselves in Cantonese, and more rarely in Patuá. These languages have a common feature: they are *linguae francae* since they allow communication between speakers across geographical, ethnic, social and linguistic divides, from the Cantonese bus driver and the Macanese casino croupier to the Sikh security guard and the Filipina maid. However, they do not enjoy the same political status and do not carry the same emotional attachment. Chinese and English are promoted by the gambling industry of Macau. A legacy from former times, Portuguese is protected by law as an official language of the territory, even if it is rarely heard in daily life. These are the three written languages of business, administration, and education. Cantonese, which is spoken by the huge majority of the Macanese, is an oral language that can be written, unlike Patuá, which is a purely oral language.

Let me give an example of the implications that linguistic diversity has on the emergence of a distinct sense of urbanity. *Yueliang daibiao wode xin* [月亮代表我的心] or "The Moon represents my heart" (Teresa Teng, 1977) is one of the pop songs that the Macanese and overseas Chinese communities have enjoyed the most.<sup>14</sup> Rita Botelho dos Santos's rendition of Teresa Teng's [鄧麗君] song at the performance she gave at the Casa de Macau of São Paulo in Brazil on August 12, 2007 is not especially memorable, except for the fact that the artist sung in Chinese and thanked her audience in Portuguese.<sup>15</sup> It seems that everybody at the Casa de Macau would have been tetra-lingual and understand both standard Chinese and standard Portuguese. Born in Macau, Rita dos Santos' listeners would have studied Chinese and Portuguese at the Liceu Nacional Infante. D. Henrique. They would have felt at home in a third language, Cantonese, and a fourth, Patuá, the Portuguese creole language that is spoken in Macau and earlier in Malacca and throughout the Portuguese colonial empire in Asia.

14 Teresa Teng [鄧麗君], *The Moon Represents my Heart* [Yueliang daibiao wode xin / 月亮代表我的心], Dao guo zhi qingge disi ji: Xianggang zhi lian [島國之情歌第四集: 香港之戀] (Taipei: Kolin Records Company, 1977). [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bv\\_cEeDlop0](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bv_cEeDlop0) (accessed on June 6, 2014).

15 Rita Botelho Dos Santos, Yue Liang na voz da macaense Rita. Projecto Memória Macaense (August 12, 2007). [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jah9\\_A2m8X0](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jah9_A2m8X0) (accessed on May 21, 2015).

Rita dos Santos' father, José dos Santos Ferreira, or Adé, was well known for his poetry in Patuá. He wrote the now classic "Macau sâm Assi" [This is Macau]:

Telado qui vélo  
 Co rópa sugá  
 Escada qu'istrêto  
 Janela co fula  
 Nho-nhónha cantá [...]  
 Christe qui papiâ na Guia  
 Core vai Dona Maria  
 Chega cedo San Ma Lou<sup>16</sup>

Directed by Sergio Perez, Adé's poem has recently become a delicious musical about Macau, where the Dóci Papiaçam di Macau actors sing "Macau sâm Assi." It is a rebuke of self-deprecating gossips and a eulogy to the neighborhoods of old Macau. The only non-Patuá speaker in the film made out of the musical is a Chinese tourist who appears at the last second to take a picture of this otherness. Urbanity is seen here as the subversive recasting of the community's loyalty to a place. The short movie was premiered at the Macau Art Festival of 2010 and received uncritically:

Aí está a grande novidade deste fim-de-semana: o videoclip de 'Macau Sâm Assi,' uma versão definitiva do clássico de Adé interpretada pelo grupo Doçi Papiaçam di Macau [...] Vamos lá!<sup>17</sup>

For obvious reasons, data on multilingual urbanity rarely figure in printed materials when one of the languages under consideration is oral. For information on how individuals negotiate the urbanity of their alterities, I have turned to oral sources of information, such as radio ads, songs, and movies in Hong Kong when similar materials are missing in Macau. Already present in Rigoberto do Rosário Jr.'s compositions in Patuá like "Macau terra minha" and "A minha tristessa" (which the Macanese rock band The Thunders played in 1969), the link between self-identity, city, and multi-lingualism is further stressed by many Cantopop bands, who recorded in English, Cantonese, and Chinglish to reach their audiences in Hong Kong, Macau, and Singapore. Since it merges Cantonese and British lyrics and tunes, the Reynettes' hit track "Kowloon Hong Kong" (1966) would be typical of a search for a heterotopia whose urbanity would welcome insiders' jokes and puns. "Hong Wrong" has explored recently the tension between English and Chinglish in a hilarious educational video film where the blogger has added to The Reynettes' lyrics restrained public service ads made by the colonial administration:

*Kung hei kung hei fat choy*  
*Lai see taw loy*  
 That's the thing to do  
*Kung hei kung hei fat choy*  
*Taw ling oom oi*  
 That's the thing to do  
 Walking down the street full of joy  
 Come here come here rickshaw boy  
 Take me down the street chop chop chop  
*A habba habba joe ding how ding how.*<sup>18</sup>  
 (The Reynettes, 1966)

<sup>16</sup> "Elderly roofs / Drying clothes / Narrow stairs / Flowers at the window / Singing women [...] / Gossips that begin in Guia [St. Lazarus Parish] / Spread instantly to Dona Maria / And arrive quickly at Almeida Ribeiro [the main avenue of Macau]," "Macau Sâ Assi canta o Coral do Dóci Papiaçam di Macau," *Crônicas macaenses*, posted February 18, 2014. <http://cronicasmacaenses.com/2014/02/18/macau-sa-assi-canta-o-coral-do-doci-papiacam-di-macau/> (accessed on May 21, 2015).

<sup>17</sup> "The big news this week-end: the video clip of 'Macau Sâm Assi,' a definitive version of the classic Adé by the group Doçi Papiaçam di Macau [...] Thumbs up!" "Macau sâm Assi," *Bairro do Oriente*, posted June 26, 2011. [http://bairrodoorienteblogspot.ch/2011\\_06\\_01\\_archive.html](http://bairrodoorienteblogspot.ch/2011_06_01_archive.html) (accessed on May 21, 2015).

<sup>18</sup> Hong Wrong, "Hong Kong Ephemeral" (Kowloon Hong Kong by The Reynettes). *Hong Wrong Hong Kong Culture & News blog*. <http://hongwrong.com/hong-kong-ephemeral/> (accessed on June 6, 2014).



Fig.2: Street scene in Sergio Perez's "Rua de Macau" [澳門街] (2008)

Shot in 2010 almost entirely in Cantonese, "A História de Diago" [*Ao'ge de gushi* / 奥戈的故事] is an austere film directed by Zhang Chi [张弛] about bilingual urbanity in 1999, just when Macau was transferred to China.<sup>19</sup> Diago is a moody Cantonese-Patuá speaking custom officer who is unwilling to take mandatory Chinese lessons. One of the episodes relates how he falls in love with Li Nian, a Chinese language instructor who has learned Cantonese in Macau. The plot takes a twist when the Chinese teacher enlists his help to buy tickets for a theater play in Patuá. The Macanese language, empty streets at night, and a song by Dos Santos would finally bring the two lead characters together, ... or maybe not since Li Nian does not answer when Diago asks her if she would emigrate to Portugal with him. The couple living happily in a multilingual heterotopia, why move to a monolingual heterotopia?

In Jaime Brongo (2009), Sergio Perez mixes James Bond (hence the title in Patuá) with poorly dubbed Hong Kong action movies. "Big Sister, we've got a problem!" [*Grande irmã, temos problema!* / 大家姐有問題!] read the subtitles. In this parody film, the Macanese spy hunts down Serafim Cagalám, a serial killer who has stolen the "Minci Code" — the recipe for minced meat, which is at the heart of Macau's multicultural cuisine. Whoever holds the recipe has the people of Macau in his hands and tomorrow will rule the world. The last images of the film announce the plot of the next film: in boxer shorts, a middle-aged Macanese resident exercises in front of the emblematic Taipa Houses Museum whose quaint colonial architecture clashes with the gigantic Grand Hyatt, Crown Towers, Conrad Macao and Venetian Macao hotels that bar the horizon. Will Jaime Brongo go after the hotel tycoons and casino moguls who have supervised Macau's urban development? For all the heroes in these films, the urbanity of heterotopia means the safekeeping of a code, the wearing of an ivory dinner jacket, the saving of the world, the mastering of clichés, and behaving like Antony Sinclair or Roger Moore while being themselves — subsumed Patuá-speaking Macanese.<sup>20</sup> This urbanity has granted Adé or Sergio Perez a license for creative reenactments, the appropriation of foreign icons and local landmarks, and eventually the celebration of heterotopia quite at odds with the factual history of Macau.

19 C. Zhang, "A História de Diago," *Ao'ge de gushi* [奥戈的故事] (Macau: Companhia de Cinematografia Hou Long, 2010). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AiPhZfPHHV0> (accessed on May 22, 2014).

20 Dóçi Papiaçám, "Dóçi Culpa," published March 11, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YVv2Z0IHd6c> (accessed on May 21, 2015).



## Conclusion

Patuá speakers may be called the dreamers of an idyllic urbanity where memory is a shared neighborhood, communication is universal, language is a community, fiction is the only reality, and endless possibilities exist to question the passage of time and the ushering of globalization.<sup>21</sup> But the point in speaking Patuá lies in gaps in spatiality and meaning that Foucault has called “interstices.” Assigning to a given language a territory — for Patuá a restaurant, a street, a theater stage, a video clip, a cuisine recipe — implies by necessity the possession, subordination and administration of this place by its speakers. A process of legitimization is then expected by the audience, which can actually be seen in Sergio Perez’s documentary films and in the performances of the Dóci Papiçam di Macau.<sup>22</sup> Conversely a process of de-legitimization of the spatial claims made by other languages may occur, which we observe in Hong Wrong’s blog and the Jaime Brongo movie. “Rua de Macau” (Sergio Perez, 2009)<sup>23</sup> delimits very clearly the time zones occupied by normative English and those that belong to oral languages. Because our speakers have the command of all these competing languages, they can conduct with irony, mockery and self-derision processes that subvert mainstream urbanity.

My paper about urbanity as seen through the examination of place memory in language has concerned the re-invention of a community during a period of *uncertainty*. What matters most to the Macanese is the enlargement and management of a space for ‘betweenness,’ ambiguity, and vacancy. Unencumbered by its tenuous colonial identity, the city can thrive in such a space if it can play out the peculiarities of its own urbanity. Macau witnesses no scramble for sovereignty but constant and playful renegotiations over a place whose history is physical and imagined as well as virtual. Parody and make-believes are important tools to move deftly through scale from a local creole dialect to English as *lingua franca*, and from the cobbled streets of Macau to the shopping strips of a global city. In this sense, Macau may contribute to a more nuanced definition of heterotopic urbanity as being open and subject to change by the local community.

Acknowledgments: For their comments and critiques, I express my thanks to the students and colleagues of the Department of Applied Linguistics of the University of Applied Sciences of Zurich (ZHAW), and of the Department of History, Philosophy and Religious Studies of Nazarbayev University (NU), as well as to two anonymous reviewers.

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Fig. 1: <http://www.chinamaps.org/china/citymaps/macau-peninsula-map.html> (accessed on June 6, 2014).

Fig. 2: Street scene in Sergio Perez's "Rua de Macau" [澳門街] (2008). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8GYv8afEq6c> (accessed on June 6, 2014).