

Code-Switching and Portuguese Influence in the Invention of Tetun-Portu as a Creole

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ABSTRACT

A creole is a pidgin that has attained the first generation of the speaker. The formation of a creole might be influenced by several factors and the two of them are code-switching and the influence of a dominant language. In relation to the two factors, there is a creole that might fit the situation. The creole is the Tetun-Portu language and the creole is presumably invented from the combination between the Tetun-Terik language and the Portuguese language. The backbone of the language might be adopted from the Tetun-Terik language but the codes have been dominated by the Portuguese language. The invention of the creole might be related to the Portuguese occupation in the Timor Island several centuries ago. Due to the interesting characteristics, the researcher would like to investigate the creole further. In conducting the study, the focus will be on how the code-switching influence the invention of the creole and the Portuguese influence within the invention of the creole itself. The findings of the study confirm that the Tetun-Portu language might be considered as a creole because it has completely different structures and it has adopted more codes from the Portuguese language.

Keywords: *Creole, Tetun-Terik, Tetun-Portu, code-switching, Portuguese influence*

INTRODUCTION

Language as means of communication is always interesting to study. Since the nature of language is to bridge communication among the users, it can be very flexible and thus different from one region to another. In addition, language can also be absorbing other codes in order to build mutual understanding between the two parties who are involved in the communication. This situation is depicted clearly by a language phenomenon known as creole. A creole might be formed by combining two different languages into one and such combination might be very subtle that one might not find the trace of the origins of the two languages. Before stepping any further, a definition of creole should be provided first. Creole is

formed first from pidgin. A pidgin is a language that does not have any native speakers; in the very first place, it is a contact language (Wardhaugh, 2006). The formation of pidgin is enabled by a multilingual situation in which those who want to establish communication should find or improvise a simple language system. The language system then will enable the invention of mutual communication. If the multilingual situation is related to colonization as the influencing factor, then the imbalance of power may be the main factor behind the invention of pidgin. The reason is that the speakers of one language dominate the speakers of other languages. Specific to the case of the study, the speakers of Portu language had dominated the speakers of the Tetun language.

Overtime the pidgin certainly develops itself so that it will acquire native speakers. When a pidgin has attained its native speakers, it will be regarded as creole. Creole therefore can be regarded simply as pidgin that has attained its native speakers (Holmes, 2013); or in a more complicated manner creole may be defined as a pidgin that has become the first language of a new generation of speakers. Pidgin is enabled to be creole only when it is mastered by the new generation of speakers or when it has become the mother tongue of the new generation. As a result, the creole will be used as the daily language. When this creole is related to the context of colonization, apparently the creole serves as the communication means between the colonizer and the colonized. To put it simply, creole serves as the language of the slaves. The position of such language thus becomes important in order that the colonizer may exert their power onto the colonized.

One creole from the context of colonization is Tetun-Portu. Tetun-Portu is a creole resulted from the combination between the original Tetun language and the Portuguese language. The background behind the invention of the creole can be found in the historical fact that Portuguese conquered East Timor first in 1515 and their occupation was marked by the establishment of their first fortress in this region within the same year (TirtoID, 2017). Prior to their conquest upon East Timor, the Portuguese first landed in the Ternate Sultanate around 1512 (one year after they conquered Malaka under the leadership of Alfonso d'Albuquerque). Their original plan was to conquer Molluca but, unfortunately, their presence in this region was followed by Spain. In the same time, there was a battle between the two sultanates there namely the Ternate Sultanate and the Tidore Sultanate. As a result, the two countries were engaged in the battle for their own interest. The

Portuguese assisted the Ternate Sultanate while the Spanish assisted the Tidore Sultanate. In 1522, the Portuguese were permitted to establish a fortress in the Ternate Sultanate under the following conditions: the Portuguese should help the Ternate Sultanate to fight the Tidore Sultanate. As something in return, the Portuguese demanded that the Ternate Sultanate sell their clovers to the Portuguese only. In other words, the Portuguese wanted to monopolize the clover trade in this region.

In 1562, a new Sultan was crowned and his name was Sultan Baabullah. Under his reign, the relationship between the Portuguese and the Ternate Sultanate got worse. Then, in 1575 Sultan Baabullah demanded the Portuguese to leave his sultanate and finally in 1578 the Portuguese completely fled themselves to the Tidore Sultanate and the Timor Island. Presumably, their presence in the Tidore Sultanate was not long because the Spanish still had their influence in that area. Therefore, the Portuguese continued their escape to the Timor Island. As a result, the Portuguese finally conquered the whole island around the same year. Based on the urban stories told from one generation to another, the Portuguese catholicized the local people and they even took the royal prince from the local kingdoms to be their advisors. Most of the royal prince came back home but they were unable to speak the original Tetun language since they often used the Tetun Portu language in their daily communication with the Portuguese. Ever since then, the Tetun Portu language started to be spoken until the present day.

Tetun-Portu creole has drawn the interest of many linguistics. An early study toward the creole spoken in the Timor Island dated back to 1992 and 1995. In 1992, the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia conducted a research on the morphological system of the predicate of Tetun language and the

conclusions of the study are as follows: (a) it seems the predicate of Tetun language has closed characteristics; (b) the membership of the predicate is relatively limited; (c) the predicates are also found in multiple types of discourse, speech style, and problems; and (d) there are also predicates that have been similar to those of Bahasa Indonesia (Soedjatno, Solchan, Aminoedin, & Djajengwasito, 1992). On the other hand, in 1995 the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia conducted another study and the focus of the study in this period was the oral literature of Tetun; the conclusion of the study has been that the oral tradition of Tetun plays significant role in multiple domains of Tetun society (Suarjana, Ardana, Sudiarga, & Negara, 1995).

Unfortunately, the two studies only focus on the Tetun in general instead of the creole Tetun-Portu whereas the case of the present study is the creole Tetun-Portu. From the name, the creole involves the fusion of two languages namely Tetun and Portu. Looking at the possibility of the fusion of the two languages, a creole should be sociohistorical (McWhorter, 1998). Based on the sociohistorical trait, there is another interesting aspect that should also be investigated within the invention of the creole Tetun-Portu, namely code-switching. Code-switching refers to the use of certain codes among certain people or addressees (Holmes, 2013). There is a possibility that code-switching occurs due to the efforts to maintain a major source of conversational implicatures (Scotton, 1982). These conversational implicatures are very important to maintain good communication in a multilingual community. Not to mention, during the period of the invention the Timor Island had been occupied by the Portuguese. Thus, Tetun-Portu has an important and even significant role to play within the daily communication at that period; however, there is a significant impact that the Tetun-Portu language has been in use up to date and this is the impact

of colonization that people are not aware of. As a result, the code-switching might also play a part in the invention of Tetun-Portu creole (St. Clair & Murai, 1974).

From the overall explanation, the Tetun-Portu creole seems to be interesting to study and since there are few studies that have been directed toward analysing the creole studying the creole might be worth to doing. In guiding the process of analysis, the main focus will be answering the question of how languages get mixed (DeCamp & Hancock, 1974). Then, the efforts of answering the main question will be performed by answering the two problems as follows:

1. How does the code-switching influence the invention of Tetun-Portu language?
2. How does the Portuguese people influence the invention of the Tetun-Portu language?

Through the two problems, it is expected that better a description on the Tetun-Portu Language might be provided so that better understanding toward the creole might be gained among the readers in general and the linguists in specific.

METHODOLOGY

The data for the analysis in the study were gathered through an informal focused group discussion (FGD). The participants of the FGD were the university students in the City of Yogyakarta who speak the creole Tetun-Portu, namely those who were presumably from the Timor Island. Then, the informal FGD was conducted on Saturday, May 12th, 2018. Within the informal FGD, the researcher had set a data gathering instrument. It consisted of 10 sentences of Bahasa Indonesia and their translation into English, Tetun-Terik, and Tetun-Portu, 10 vocabularies of Bahasa Indonesia and their translation into English, Tetun-Terik, and Tetun-Portu, and 10 questions on the predicate of Bahasa Indonesia and their translation into English,

Tetun-Terik, and Tetun-Portu. The 10 sentences in the first instrument were randomly selected from the studies on the oral tradition of Tetun-Terik language (Suarjana, Ardana, Sudiarga, & Negara, 1995) so that the use of Tetun-Portu might be confirmed.

Then, in order to support the data that had been found in the informal FGD the researcher conducted an informal interview. The informal interview involved three participants (2 males and 1 female) who speak Tetun-Terik, Tetun-Portu, or both languages. The speaker of Tetun-Terik was involved because the backbone of Tetun-Portu is the Tetun-Terik language. Within the interview, 10 questions around the creole were asked to all of the respondents. The interview was conducted in Bahasa Indonesia; as a consequence, the responses that had been gathered within the interview should be transcribed first and then all of these responses should be translated into English. All of the data that had been gathered would be analysed in order to depict the process of the creole invention.

DISCUSSION

After having conducted the informal focused group discussion (FGD) and interview, the findings would be presented and be discussed in the following sections. The focus of the discussions would be around the influence of code-switching in the invention of Tetun-Portu language and the Portuguese influence within the invention of the Tetun-Portu language.

The Influence of Code Switching in the Invention of Tetun-Portu Language

As having been stated in the introductory section of the paper, creole referred to a pidgin that had gained speakers or that has had the first generation of speakers. In relation to the definition, during the FGD several words from both languages, namely Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu, had been

gathered. These words were presented in the following table (Timor, 2018).

Table 1. Sampled Vocabulary between Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu

N o	Bahasa Indonesia	English	Tetun-Portu	Tetun-Terik
1	Tidak	No	Na'õ	Lae
2	Tuan	Mister	Senhor	Nain
3	Jalan	Street	Rua	Dalan
4	Terima kasih	Thank you	Obrigado	Obrigado Terima kasih
5	Bencana	Disaster	Desastre	Desastre Bencana
6	Masalah	Problem	Problema	Lia
7	Malas	Lazy	Barukten	Baruk
8	Bekerja	Work	Servisu	Kriyan
9	Berangkat	Go	Boa viagem	Laon
10	Pulang	Return	Fila	Fila

The above vocabulary had been randomly selected in order to confirm that the two languages had different words or codes. From the vocabulary, it might be inferred that Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu have different codes. These codes were native to each region; however, some codes were similar not only to each other but also to the national language (Bahasa Indonesia). The solid example was code number 4: for saying terima kasih or thank you, the code was obrigado for both Tetun-Portu and Tetun-Terik (exactly the same from the

Portuguese code obrigado); in the same time, the code from Bahasa Indonesiaterima kasih might also be used presumably in the daily conversation. The similar case was also found in code number 5 and also the other codes from the above vocabulary. Furthermore, there was another interesting finding, namely code number 3: for stating jalan (Bahasa Indonesia) or street (English), the code from Tetun-Terik was *dalan* and this code had exactly the same meaning as the code *dalan* in Javanese. This finding might be intriguing since several sources state that Gadjah Mada under the reign of Majapahit Empire expanded the territory up to the area of Timor Island; therefore, the code appearance might be the influence of the expansion. However, there should be further investigation on the case.

After gathering the different codes, analysis on the structure between the two languages should be conducted. The analysis aimed at seeing structure-level similarities or differences. Finding the similarities or differences in the structure level was very important in order to assure whether the Tetun-Portu was a creole or a mere code-switch in the daily life. Regarding the analysis, ten random sentences from Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu had been selected but three examples would be discussed further so that a brief yet complete understanding toward the Tetun-Portu might be established (Timor, 2018).

Table 2. First Example of the Comparison between Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu on the Structure-Level

Bahasa Indonesia	Seorang bapak dan seorang ibu mempunyai tujuh orang anak dan yang bungsu bernama Suri Ikun.
English	A father and a mother had seven children and the youngest one was named Suri Ikun.
Tetun-	Ema nia aman <u>ida no ema nia inan ida</u> iha oan nain hitu, <u>ida</u>

Terik	<u>Ikun</u> tau naran Suri Ikun.
Tetun-Portu	Ema nia aman <u>ho ferik</u> iha oan nain hitu, <u>no nia oan Ikun</u> naran Suri Ikun.

In a glance, the structure seemed to be quite similar. However, there were several codes in the Tetun-Terik language that had been omitted and been replaced in the Tetun-Portu language specifically *ida*. The code *ida* seemed to occupy the function of nominal marker *a* in English or *seorang* in Bahasa Indonesia. Probably, for the sake of effectiveness within the invention such codes had been omitted. Then, the code *no*, which means *and* or *dan*, had been replaced by *ho* with similar meaning. This, once again might have been the influence of Portuguese language. The structure itself looks quite different despite the similarity.

In the second sentence, more codes from Portuguese language had been adopted into the Tetun-Portu language and the structure was even more concise (Timor, 2018).

Table 3. Second Example of the Comparison between Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu on the Structure-Level

Bahasa Indonesia	Menurut cerita zaman dahulu, matahari dan bumi jaraknya tidak seperti sekarang ini.
English	According to the story from long time ago, the sun and the earth used to be close to each other.
Tetun-Terik	<u>Tuir ai kranok</u> uluk <u>niankatak loro no rai la dok malu hanesan oras ne'E daudaun</u> .
Tetun-Portu	<u>Histori</u> uluk <u>loron e rai la besik hansa agora ne</u> .

In this example, the structure of Tetun-Portu was briefer than that of Tetun-Terik. The brief structure could be seen from the

codes of Tetun-Terik that had been omitted and been replaced by the codes of Portuguese. Tuir ai kraonik (menurut cerita zaman dahulu/according to the story from long time ago) had been simply replaced by histori just the same as the other codes (loron e rai for nian katak loro no rai and besik hansa agora ne for dok malu hanesan oras ne'E daudaun). Such replacement implied that the Tetun-Portu language adopts the structure of Tetun-Terik as the backbone for the development of the creole.

In the third example, once again the adoption of codes from the Portuguese language had been adopted. The adoption was clearly depicted in the following example (Timor, 2018).

Table 4. Third Example of the Comparison between Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu on the Structure-Level

Bahasa Indonesia	Seorang permaisuri dan seorang raja mempunyai dua orang putra.
English	A queen and a king once had two sons.
Tetun-Terik	<u>Liurai fetu ida no liurai mane ida iha oan rua.</u>
Tetun-Portu	<u>Iha uno fetu rai ho iha uno mane rai por dois oang mane.</u>

In addition to the brief structure, more codes from the Portuguese had been adopted. The adoption of uno and por was more than enough to confirm that the codes from the Portuguese had been used in the structure of Tetun-Portu. Then, as usual the structure of Tetun-Portu was briefer than that of Tetun-Terik and the brief structure could be seen from the fewer codes that have been used. Apart of the brief structure, there was a code that might be similar between the Tetun-Terik language and the Tetun-Portu language namely oan and oang. Both of these codes referred to the

same code namely child. However, the difference was that the code oan in the Tetun-Terik already bore the meaning son while the code oang in the Tetun-Portu language had not born the meaning son, instead it merely bears the meaning child. Therefore, the gender marker mane should be added into the code oang in order to form the meaning son. Since there were two sons the word dois (meaning two in Tetun-Portu) should be used.

The use of gender marker was another interesting finding that had been gathered during the informal FGD. Just like the other European language, the Tetun-Portu language also had gender marker namely mane for a male and fetu for a female. However, the gender only served as specifier. For example, in order to state which man or which woman a speaker of Tetun-Portu would simply say mane ne'e ka or fetu ne'e ka. In the daily life, the gender marker was not used for stating the different actor and also the different point of view except for the third singular person point of view. The description of the case was provided in the following table (Timor, 2018).

Table 5. Statement of Daily Activities Based on Gender and Point of View

Bahasa Indonesia	Saya (pria/wanita) sedang makan. Kamu (pria/wanita) sedang makan. Dia (pria) sedang makan. Dia (wanita) sedang makan.
English	I am eating. You are eating He is eating. She is eating.
Tetun-Terik	Ha'u ko'i ka ne'e. Ha'u ko'i ka ne'e.

	Mane ko'i ka ne'e. Feto ko'i ka ne'e.
Tetun-Portu	Ha'u sei han hela. Ha'u sei han hela. Mane sei han hela. Feto sei han hela.

The above structure seemed quite similar to that of English. This finding was very interesting because typically a European language had a gender marker to all objects. Due to the typicality, the Tetun-Portu language, since it adopted the Portuguese codes, should also bear the same characteristic namely using the gender marker in all objects. Instead, the gender marker was used only as a specifier for the actor. Other than that, the regular codes would be used in the conversation. Such characteristic might be influenced more by the Tetun-Terik language as the foundation or the backbone of Tetun-Portu language.

In brief, the code-switching was very useful in showing the dominance of Portuguese language within the Tetun-Portu language. Recalling the fact that there should be an imbalance of power in order that a creole might be invented, the imbalance of power had been shown in the adoption of more Portuguese codes than the Tetun-Terik codes within the Tetun-Portu language. These codes were very apparent in the structure that the Tetun-Portu language had. In the same time, the adoption of more Portuguese codes implied that the Portuguese language served as a means of authority for the local people during the occupation period. In other words, the Portuguese codes in the Tetun-Portu language served as a symbol of political authority during the occupation period.

The Portuguese Influence within the Invention of Tetun-Portu Language

From the codes and the structure, it might be inferred that the Tetun-Portu language has already met the criteria of being a creole namely being a new language that the speakers of both original language (namely the speakers of Tetun-Terik and the speakers of Portuguese language) do not understand. However, further confirmation should be conducted. In order to confirm that the Tetun-Portu language is categorized as creole, an interview that involves three respondents, namely Respondent A, Respondent B, and Respondent C, is performed (Language, 2018). Respondent A is a male speaker of Tetun-Terik language; he comes from the District of Kakulukmesak, the Regency of Belu, the Province of East Nusa Tenggara and he is about 22 years old. Respondent B is a female speaker of Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu language; she was born in Dili but she has grown up in the Regency of Atambua and she is 30 years old. Respondent C is a male speaker of Tetun-Portu and Tetun-Terik language; his origin is Timor Leste but he has grown up in the County of Atambua due to the Referendum that took place around 1998-1999 and he is around 29 years old. Ten questions are provided to the three respondents and their responses are far beyond the expectation of the study.

In general, the three respondents agreed that Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu are two different languages. Respondent A said that since his mother tongue was Tetun-Terik he had been accustomed to speaking the Tetun-Terik language; as a result, he would be confused when he met people who spoke the Tetun-Portu language. However, a different situation was encountered by Respondent B and Respondent C. According to Respondent B, she used to speaking the Tetun-Terik language but because of the influence from her father's family she was forced to learn speaking the Tetun-Portu language

Mother tongue, oh Mom's tongue, that will be Kupang (Tetun-Terik) but Dad's tongue is Tetun-Portu. So my mother tongue is Tetun-Terik. However, when the big family of our father pays a visit we should and (even) we are forced to learn Tetun-Portu (Respondent B).

On the other hand, Respondent C said that he had been able to speak both languages but he was more fluent in speaking the Tetun-Portu language than the Tetun-Terik language. He learned speaking the Tetun-Terik language after he had to move to West Timor due to the Referendum that took place around 1998-1999.

For me, probably because I had been raised in Timor Leste, at that time Timor-Timur, I learn speaking Tetun-Portu. After the Referendum between 1998 and 1999, I moved to West Timor (Respondent C).

From the above response, it might be inferred that Respondent C should learn to speak the Tetun-Terik language in order to be accepted by the surrounding community. Learning the Tetun-Terik therefore was very important in order that Respondent C might survive within the new community.

Regarding the structure, all of the three respondents agreed that the Tetun-Portu language had different structure in comparison to the Tetun-Terik language. In addition, the Tetun-Portu language had different forms, speech style, stress, and intonation. For example, the equivalent form of now in the Tetun-Terik language is *huin* while in the Tetun-Portu language is *agora*. This might be the reason why, according to the opinion by Respondent A, the Tetun-Portu language had also been known as the Tetun-Agora language.

The difference might be they have *agora* (the Bahasa Indonesia word for "sekarang" (now) is "agora" in Tetun-Portu). In Tetun-Terik, the equivalent word will be *huin* (Respondent A).

Despite the differences, Respondent C stated that there were several words that had been similar. Thus, the statement confirms the similar codes that had been gathered in Table 1. However, most of the times the codes between the two languages were completely different.

In my opinion, some words are similar (while) some other words are different between Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu (Respondent C).

Through the interview, the researcher would like to investigate how the languages get mixed as well in order to confirm that the Tetun-Portu language might be considered as creole. With regards to the question, the three respondents provided various responses but the three responses indicated that there might be a contact between the Tetun-Terik language and the Portuguese language.

It might be that, because we live there, let's say we are the landowner there (the local region) so the spoken language is Tetun-Terik. The use of Tetun-Agora (Tetun-Portu) might be influenced by foreign people who live in the local region, for example Timor Leste, so that the people who live there are influenced by the language of the foreign people (Tetun-Portu) (Respondent A).

Respondent A said that the contact was established between the landowners (the native people) and the foreign people (presumably the Portuguese). The contact was intense in the region known as Timor Leste (used to be Timor-Timur, the 28th province of the Republic of Indonesia). However, the response by Respondent A implied that Portuguese people might not be the only nation that had been influencing the local people. On the contrary, Respondent B said that the Tetun-Portu language had been dominating because of the mixed marriage between the descendants of the people from Timor Leste who got married with the local

people or the people who came from outside Dili region.

In my opinion, about Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu, the speakers of Tetun-Portu mostly come from Dili. So, their ancestors are mostly from Portu (Portuguese). Regarding the Tetun-Terik, the speaker of Tetun-Terik are the descendants of the Dili ancestors who got involved in a mixed marriage with the local people living outside Dili (Respondent B).

Different than the other two responses, Respondent C seemed to provide the clearest picture regarding the contact between the speakers of Tetun-Terik language and the Portuguese people. In his opinion, there used to be three tribes that spoke the Tetun-Terik language namely Kemak, Marae, and Bunak. However, from the three tribes the Kemak tribe was able to speak Tetun-Portu; as a result, the Kemak tribe had been able to establish communication with the Portuguese people through the use of the Tetun-Portu language.

In my opinion, as far as I know, from my grandfather, long time ago during the occupation period of Portuguese there have been certain tribes. These certain tribes, namely Kemak, Marae, and Bunak, are the pioneering tribes or the very first speakers of Tetun-Terik. The two tribes, Marae and Bunak, dominantly speak Tetun-Terik. However, the Kemak Tribe, the eldest tribe in the Timor Land, specifically ranging from Atambua to Timor Leste, is more of moderate speaker. So, the people of this tribe are able to speak Tetun-Terik and Tetun-Portu fluently. So, it is the two tribes (Marae Tribe and Bunak Tribe) who speak Tetun-Terik for the very first time (Respondent C).

From the response by Respondent C, it might also be inferred that the Kemak tribe served as the mediator between the local

tribes (such as Marae and Bunak) and the Portuguese people so that the Portuguese people might exert their influence toward the native people. In the same time, the Kemak tribe might expand the use of Tetun-Portu language to further regions; consequently, the Tetun-Portu language might be better known by people who lived in the other regions at that time.

In relation to how the two languages get mixed in order to invent a creole, there was one matter that had been drawing the interest of the researcher. Based on these responses, it seemed that Portuguese people had strong influence over the people in the Timor Island. The strong influence had also been confirmed by all of the respondents. Respondent A stated that the influence does not only come from Portuguese but also from other foreign countries especially in terms of employment. Most of the people who work in the Portuguese-influenced area such as Dili are not originally from Timor especially the high rank officials. On the other hand, Respondent B stated that the Portuguese influence had been strong only in the regions that they used to occupy such as Dili. In the regions that they did not occupy, the influence was not that strong. Then, the solid example of the Portuguese influence could be found in the clothing and specifically the signature dish. Back then in Dili, whenever her family had banquet the signature dish such as *alderalda* and *watercress* should be on the table and the culture of serving the signature food had been brought by the Portuguese.

The Portuguese influence had also been confirmed by Respondent C. However, instead of stating that the Portuguese influence had been weak in the regions that had not been occupied by the Portuguese, Respondent C stated that the Portuguese influence had still been strong throughout the Timor Island. The influence had not only been brought by the Portuguese occupation but also by the people who took refuge to the parts of Timor Island that belonged to the Republic of Indonesia after

the Referendum took place around 1998 and 1999. During the event, the people who took refuge did not only bring their material belongings but also their cultural belongings and thus these cultural belongings influenced the people where these refugees settled down.

The influence of Portuguese is still strong even until now. Outside the ex-Portuguese occupied region the influence of Portuguese is still strong. The examples are the matters of conversation and probably the food. Usually the signature dish from *Portu* (Portuguese) can still be found. Even the culture of sipping coffee and wine is still strong from the old times. The *Tetun-Portu* is still spoken outside the ex-Portuguese occupied region because of the Referendum; at the time of Referendum between 1998 and 1999, people from Timor-Timur took refuge to Atambua. It is from this moment on that the people from Timor-Timur who entered Atambua starts speaking the language (*Tetun-Portu*). And the community who live nearby the area (Atambua) still speak the language (*Tetun-Portu*) due to the fact that there are several refugees from Timor-Timur community who have settled in Atambua and who have still been speaking the language (*Tetun-Portu*) (Respondent C).

Despite the contradiction between Respondent B and Respondent C, overall it might be inferred that the Portuguese language had exerted a strong dominance over the *Tetun-Terik* language. In the surface level, the *Tetun-Portu* language had adopted the structure of the *Tetun-Terik* language and the codes of Portuguese language altogether in the same time. Then, the codes of Portuguese language had been adopted in order to show the dominant power that the Portuguese people as the occupier. Since the imbalance of power had been one of the drivers for the invention of a creole, along with the newly resulted

language structure, the *Tetun-Portu* language might be considered as a creole.

CONCLUSION

Based on the overall discussion, several concluding remarks might be drawn. First, the code-switching has been helpful in maintaining the authority over the local people under the occupation era. The impact of the authority has been found even to date in the adoption of the Portuguese codes. The long-term adoption of the Portuguese codes signals the strong influence that the Portuguese people have as occupied in the Timor Island. Second, with regards to the Portuguese influence, the Portuguese influence might be said to have internalized the Portuguese culture and as a result the speakers of *Tetun-Portu* language develop closer relationship to Portuguese rather than to the native language. As a result, the original culture that the *Tetun-Portu* used to have might have been marginalized and even be replaced by the Portuguese culture. Overall, the influence has led to the invention of *Tetun-Portu* language among the local people of Timor Island. Thus, the *Tetun-Portu* language might be considered as a creole.

Finally, there are several limitations that should be given further investigation. The study only relied on the informal focused group discussion (FGD) and the interview for gathering the data. Therefore, in order to provide better data, field study might be worth to consider. Then, in order to describe the *Tetun-Portu* language well, the future researchers are expected to conduct field study with a focus on the syntactic and morphological process of the invention of the *Tetun-Portu* language so that a complete understanding toward the language might be developed with which more elements from the *Tetun-Portu* language may also be discovered to complete the discussion.

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