

## VOCABULARY OF THE EXTINCT TUGU PORTUGUESE CREOLE DIALECT USED BY THE PORTUGUESE DESCENDANTS IN TUGU VILLAGE, NORTH JAKARTA

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**Abstract--** At that time, the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect was used as the primary means of communication to purposely prevent members of the VOC from understanding them (Suratminto, 2010). Eventually, due to such isolation, the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect had become extinct, with only a small percentage of vocabulary and clauses retained in cultural references. A qualitative method is applied to determine how the Portuguese descendants use the vocabulary from the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect to reinforce their cultural identity. This research finding that the cultural identity of the Portuguese descendants was reinforced through various means. First, some of the Tugu Portuguese Creole vocabulary has been preserved in the Keroncong Tugu songs, which are still being performed and passed down to subsequent generations. Moreover, music groups of Portuguese descent have performed these songs at various events, while wearing traditional clothes. Second, the names from the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect are still being used for kinship system of Tugu Portuguese Descendants and certain instruments of keroncong. The implication of the findings is that such actions can be used by other cultures to strengthen their cultural identities, regardless of whether the dialect is currently being used as the primary means of communication.

**Keywords:** vocabulary of the extinct Tugu Portuguese, dialect, Portuguese descendants

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### INTRODUCTION

After the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511, the Sultans of Johor attempted to reclaim Malacca. However, such efforts continuously failed, since their weapons were inferior to those of the Portuguese. Eventually the Dutch East India Company (VOC), with the help of Sultan Alauddin Syah, reclaimed Malacca from the Portuguese (Spruit 1989: 55). Subsequently, the Portuguese prisoners of war and their families were moved to Batavia by the Dutch. These men were then employed as VOC

soldiers in order to defend Batavia against outside attacks from, for example, the Sultanate of Banten, whose relationship with the VOC was strained due to their destruction of Jayakarta (1619) and the establishment of the VOC Batavia trading center. Since these former prisoners of war could not be used as slaves (since they were Catholic), they were given the status of *Mardijkers*, meaning “the freedom of people” in Dutch. However, one stipulation was that the men and their families had to embrace

Protestantism. These *Mardijkers* were initially placed outside of the wall of Batavia, where the Portuguese Church (or Sion Church) on Pangeran Jayakarta Street is currently located. However, they were eventually moved to the isolated village of Tugu in present-day Semper Barat Village, North Jakarta.

Whole language can be changed. It changes due to language contact between two language with different backgrounds such as the local language in Malacca and Portuguese that occurred since Malacca falling down to Portuguese in 1551. That language was growing became the local of Portuguese language which is known as Krestang language. In linguistic term, this condition is called pidgin language. Pidgin language usually has a simple grammar with a vocabulary by mixing both languages. A pidgin language does not have a mother tongue speakers. If it is evolving into native language by a next-generation, it is called creole language. Thus, creole language is the result of development process from pidgin language became mother tongue. Regarding the creation of pidgin language, Corr Van Bree (1990:272) said:

*Pidgin language emerged through a process of learning a second language*

*because of pressure situation such as in plantations, where the slaves from various regions in Africa are employed in one place and they must communicate with their peers in addition to their master. Varieties of language emerge from the process of fossilization and convention.*

Creole language grammar still is like a pidgin language, but it is called creole language because in conventionally, this language has function as a mother tongue. Pidgin language could become creole language when the foreign speakers used it and their descendants used it too as their first language from generation to generation. Creole language term comes from French creole language or Portuguese creole language. Therefore, Tugu language is included creole language (Suratminto, 2010)

At that time, the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect was used as the primary means of communication to purposely prevent members of the VOC from understanding them (Suratminto, 2010). Eventually, due to such isolation, the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect had become extinct, with only a small percentage of vocabulary and clauses

retained in cultural references. Therefore, the purpose of the present study is two-fold: to explain the function of the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect and its diversity in Tugu culture, and to determine how the Portuguese descendants currently use the vocabulary to reinforce their cultural identity.

## RESEARCH METHOD

### Ethnographical Qualitative Research in Tugu, North Jakarta

A qualitative method is applied to determine how the Portuguese descendants use the vocabulary from the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect to reinforce their cultural identity. For data collection, an ethnographic method is used, which includes the following steps:

- 1) Direct observations of the social behaviors of the Portuguese descendants in Tugu Village, based on the extinction of the dialect declared by Suratminto et al. (2016) in their book titled, *Language Extinction: Tugu Portuguese Creole in the Maintenance of Tugu Culture*.
- 2) Recording the vocabulary of the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect that is still being used among the Portuguese descendants in Tugu Village.

3) The data analysis is based on the theory of language function by Gobard (1976), Crystal (2000), and Sallabank (2011). The analysis also focuses on the semiotics of culture (Hoed, 2014) and the connotation process (Barthes, 1957) in the reinforcement of the Portuguese cultural identity in Tugu village.

### Vocabulary of The Extinct Tugu Portuguese Creole Used

Crystal, in his book titled, *Language Death* (2000: 1), explained that a language is “dead” when no one uses it as a means of communication. He also stated that the extinction of a language can be due to various reasons, e.g., a natural disaster, genocide, cultural assimilation, etc. According to Crystal (2000), the degrees of language extinction are as follows:

- 1) *Viable language*: language with a large population and no threat of extinction.
- 2) *Viable but small language*: A language that is used in an isolated community with approximately 1,000 speakers who are aware that their language represents their cultural identity.

- 3) *Endangered language*: A language only spoken in certain situations within a community in order to keep the language alive.
- 4) *Nearly extinct language*: A language only spoken by a few people who will not live much longer, due to age, disease, etc.
- 5) *Extinct language*: A language that has died with the last remaining speaker.

Sallabank, in her book titled, *Language Endangerment* (2011), added several triggering factors of language extinction: war, authoritative pressure, economic reasons (e.g., migration), cultural domination by a majority population, political reasons (e.g., language education policies), historical reasons (e.g., colonization, border conflicts, etc.), and language attitudes. Moreover, she stated that the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect is an endangered language, since it is only used in certain situations in Tugu Village. Meanwhile, based on a 2014 study by the Linguistics Department in the Faculty of Humanities at Universitas Indonesia, the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect is officially extinct. However, some its vocabulary has been retained in the

village's cultural references (Suratminto et al., 2016).

Refer to Gobard (1976) opinion, an extinct language is not totally extinct but there is a shifting of function. Even though the language that has extinct is not use anymore in communication function, but it is still functions to show culture identity. Culture is one thing that characterized a group of population. According to Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1963:357), culture is a pattern that implicitly and explicitly formed and at the same time also decides collection habitual of symbol that has different target in every population group and displayed in form of artifact. Meanwhile to see language as a tool to survive certain culture, it can be seen through the form of that culture of certain group or population. The form of that language consists of idea, behavior, and artifact (material culture).

#### a. **Idea**

The idea of culture is a culture in form of ideas, opinion, thought, norms, rules, and others abstract that cannot be touched. The form of this culture is in population's mind. If the population state their idea in form of writing or painting or other expression so the location of that

ideal culture is in form of creation, and visual product in form of script and books from population's author.

**b. Behavior**

Behavior is a form of culture as pattern of action from people of the population. This form often mentioned as social system. This social system consists of interacted human activities. Doing contact each other and associate with other humans according to certain pattern based on habit custom. It is concrete, occurred in everyday life, observable and documentable.

**c. Artifact (Material Culture)**

Artifact is a form of physical culture as product of activity, act, and product of all human which in the society its form is can be touched, seen, and documented. It is the most concrete among three form of culture.

In the society real life, a form of culture cannot be separated with another form of culture. Something likes a form of culture, which is created from certain idea, arranges and directs into action (habitual) a product (artifact).

Gobard (1976) sub-divided a language into four functions:

- 1) *Vernacular function*: As a means of communication within an ethnic group (e.g., Java, Sunda, Bugis, etc.).
- 2) *Vehicular function*: As a means of communication in the fields of law, politics, and administration between two different ethnic groups (e.g., Indonesia and the United States).
- 3) *Cultural reference function*: As a cultural reference for a certain population or ethnic group (e.g., social activities, traditional ceremonies, etc.).
- 4) *Mythic or religious function*: A language that is used in mythological/religious ceremonies or teachings.

Therefore, based on Gobard's (1976) classification, the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect falls under the *cultural reference function* category. This means that some of its vocabulary is still used as a cultural reference, even though the dialect is no longer the primary means of communication.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Semiotics and the Connotation Process in Forming the Cultural Identity of the

**Portuguese Descendants in Tugu Village.**

In his book titled, *Semiotik dan Dinamika Sosial Budaya* (2014), Hoed stated that semiotics is the study of signs and symbols in human culture. In other words, everything that is present in human life can be seen as a sign or symbol, which, in turn, gives everything meaning. Meanwhile, Barthes (1957) used semiotics to explain how humans are dominated by the connotation process in their social lives; that is, how the daily activities in human culture (regardless of whether they are necessary for existence) are believed by society in general. Moreover, Barthes, in his book titled, *Mythologies* (1957), explained that myths can be the results of connotations. He supported his argument by performing *démontage sémiologique* or the dismantling of semiology into a number of cultural phenomena that have become myths.

According to Figure 1, which presents the connotation model by Barthes (1954) and applies it to the present study, the signifier is “expression” (E), while the signified is “content” (C). In their social lives, people usually develop signs, and if the

development of a sign proceeds to C, then it is referred to as a “connotation.” In this case, a connotation is a new meaning that is given by the people in accordance with their point of view, knowledge or background. In the present study, it was found that the cultural identity of the Portuguese descendants in Tugu Village are formed through the connotation process (see Figure 1).

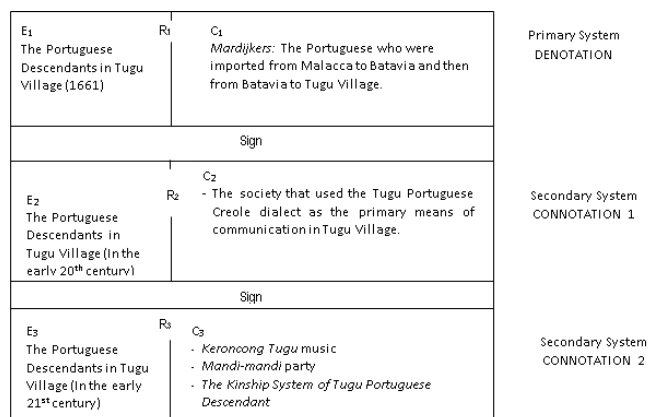


Figure 1. The Model by Barthes (1957) Applied to the Present Study (Source: Hoed, 2014).

**Keroncong Tugu**

The *Keroncong Tugu* music always reminds the listeners in Tugu Village of their past, since the song lyrics are written in Portuguese Creole. The most important instrument in the music is the *cavaquinho*, a small stringed instrument with four wire or gut strings. However, the *cavaquinho* instrument has been adapted into a local version called the

*keroncong*. According to Jesus Espada (2010: 15), efforts have been made to preserve the music of Tugu Village as an ethnic treasure (Jesus Espada: 2010: 15).

*Keroncong* music shows the heritage line of the Portuguese in Southeast Asia. This is the same opinion of Margaret Kartomi who mentions that *keroncong* music is a typical Portuguese heritage in Southeast Asia. Margaret Kartomi (1984) mentions that *keroncong*, *joget*, *ronggeng*, *dendang sayang* are popular music and dances in Nusantara when it has been happen cultural contact between Portuguese and local community. Tone notation of Portuguese music became popular and it is a cross-cultural music notation that exists in *keroncong* music. *Keroncong* is a synthesis between Indonesian and European music. Guitar and Ukulele are the main harmony tones in *keroncong*. Initially, *keroncong* became popular in Maluku and Batavia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Meanwhile, *keroncong* in Malaysia was influenced by *Keroncong* from Malacca, a Portuguese colony. *Keroncong* became increasingly popular in Batavia in the 1800s and in several port cities.

Pinto da França (1970: 40) recorded a song which was heard by

Professor Charles Boxer in 1933 in Jakarta.

<i>Bastiana, Bastiana</i>	Bastiana bastiana
<i>Bastiana minja our (o)</i>	Bastiana my gold
<i>Bastiana lensu</i>	Bastiana handkerchief
<i>Komigo pinbor</i>	Leaving it to me
<i>Nang quer fica triste</i>	Don't want to be sad
<i>Ficai consoled</i>	Also in bad mood
<i>Kom algum dia mais</i>	In some days again
<i>Lo fita djuntad</i>	We will be together

Figure 2. The Song of Portuguese Creole

In Batavia, *keroncong* is associated with *Mardeikers*, the slaves from Afrika, India dan Melayu that were released by Portuguese. Then, this group lived in Tugu. They were called as “Black Portuguese”. They were not embrace Catholic anymore, but embraced to Protestant. Nevertheless, they still preserved *keroncong*. Besaide in Tugu, *Mardeikers* and *keroncong* can also be found in Ambon, Maluku and Flores.

Over time, *keroncong* became popular but it makes *Tanjidor* and *Lenong Betawi* become increasingly forgotten. *Tanjidor*'s fortune still survive until the second world war and it still can be found *Tanjidor* orchestra by featuring saxophone, trumpet, drum and bell. This type of music comes from Dutch military music. This shows the relationship between Portuguese society in Batavia and the colonial army. Associated with art that existed at the time, some

Portuguese musicians presented a quartet game by using popular violins which displayed in restaurants of Batavia. However, Portuguese's wealth vanished when the Japanese colonized Indonesia. They are treated cruelly. The Portuguese Tugu society lives in tormenting tribulations for long time. This became a potential opportunity for the majority of the population around Tugu village to take over Tugu region by killing people of Portuguese descent in Tugu village and burning down its region. Fortunately it did not happen because the mass murder plan could be prevented by Haji Maksum (he is native Betawi person and landowner is in the area) who said that the Portuguese society in Tugu village is also an Indonesian society. Nevertheless that bad plan was still done a year later by burning down the region in Tugu village. Fortunately, the Portuguese Tugu society succeeded to be evacuated first by bringing their property. In relation to linguistics, indeed Creole language has own uniqueness. Creole language is an important language variation because it has a social status in some places and it is used as a tool of communication. In the early days, Creole is also often called "Market language" or Bastard Portuguese

etc (Holm: 1988: 1). Since the beginning of Creole language until the XVIII century, it always has been dubbed a language that has no rules (Pereira: 2006: 105). In this century there are several works that discuss about creole languages, one of them is Portuguese creole vocabulary in Asia. Lodewyk Domenicus in 1780 published *Novo Glosaryos: do Holandes, Malaio e Portugues* (The List of New Vocabulary Dutch, Malay and Portuguese) whose purpose is the first guidance for the Dutch who will come and dwell in Batavia, beside that it is mentioned that Portuguese which they meant in this book is Batavia Creole Portuguese (Pereira: 2006: 105).

In general, *Keroncong Tugu* music is unique in several ways. First, the performers wear traditional clothes and scarves inspired by the Timor-Leste society and culture. Second, the music uses the typical *keroncong* instrument, which includes the following variations (each with Portuguese names):

*a. Macina:* A small guitar with four strings that is played simultaneously with other musical instruments. The size of the *macina* is similar to that of the *prounga*.



b. *Prounga*: A medium-sized guitar with five strings. According to Paramitha Abdurrahman (2008: 42), the word *prounga* means “a song for one voice” (solo).

c. *Jiteira*: The last guitar’s name is *jiteira*. This five-stringed guitar is larger than the *prounga*.

In regard to the song lyrics, they were written in the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect and passed down from generation to generation. Although the performers do not fully understand the meaning of the lyrics, they still maintain the language by singing the songs. The following are the lyrics of three songs, which are still sung in the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect:

### 1. Yan Kagè Léti

*Yan Kagè léti*

*Trees pedra keenti*

*Ladang busi kampu*

*Boi thing picadu*

*Tróng ku thing èbèrtu*

*Eru éru sinyo kabèr jèru*

*Cirmel isté tèra*

*Tambur labe géra*

*Ja bira bandè*

*Ja tokka piloor*

*Isa pusa*

*Naris di justisa*

*Di dèra di dèra*

*Taflak fól figèra*

*Unga rabana unga gitèra*

*Unga alfada unga istèra*

(Source: *Keroncong Tugu*)

In this song, the wife of a man named *Yan* has been kidnapped by a Portuguese soldier. This has caused him great misery. As a result, the narrator advises the man to use *três pedras quentes* (three hot stones), as treatment for his diarrhea.

### 2. Gatu Matu

*Yo oo lateng unga gatu*

*Sua kabelu pretu dretu*

*Yo so olu nungku berkonya*

*Kere buska filu bunitu*

*Yo so olu nungku berkonya*

*Kere buska filu bonito*

*Teng ung gatu anda ronda*

*Ya kumi ung ratu kaba*

*Iste korsang yo kere intra*

*Buska filu yo kere kaja*

*Iste korsang yo kere intra*

*Buska filu yo kere kaja*

(Source: *Keroncong Tugu*)

*Gatu Matu* song is a love-themed song, telling someone who wants to find a mate and marrying immediately. The lyrics of the song are written quite simply by using Portuguese. In this song, a

young man wants to find a mate and be married immediately. The line *Yo so olu nungku berkonya*, which means "I'm never shy," highlights the anxious figure who has been alone for too long. Until finally his desire to "*Kere buska vilu bonito*" which means "he wants to find a beautiful woman". The lyrics of this song is closed with a clear statement about his desire to marry "*Buska vilu yo kere kaja*" that means "Seeking man (girl) (I) want to marry".

### 3. Cafrinho

*Kaffrinha* music became popular after it was used to accompany *Rolina*, a drama staged on December 27, 1877 in Colombo, Sri Lanka. It was brought by the Portuguese diaspora from Europe, African and Jewish. Since it is generally used to accompany dance, it is also referred to as *Kaffrinha Baila*. For the Portuguese creole society in Sri Lanka, *Kaffrinha Baila* is a popular music and song. One of *Kaffrinha* collections part of Ceylon is *Cantiga De Purtigese - Kaffrein - Neger Song Portuguese*. When the slaves from Sri Lanka and Ceylon were taken to the Indies from Malacca, *kaffrinha* was one of the music styles used in Batavia. *Kaffrinha* began to reduce its lover when the decline of the

use of Portuguese in the 18th century. It is reduced to a title song of the *keroncong* Tugu music, *Cafrinho*. This song, titled, *Cafrinho*, refers to the Africans, Indians, and Sri Lankans who were brought from Malacca. The following lyric of *Cafrinho* song as follows:

*Bate porta pidi agu kere bebe*  
*Verias kere intra yo mayo kere sabe*  
*Cafrinho kiteng santadu*  
*Lanta plo bate-bate*  
*Cafrinho kere anda kaju*  
*Tira terban nadi sako*  
*Pasa na bordu maar*  
*Ola nabiu kere nabiga*  
*Vilu-vilu nangkorsan mal*  
*Nungku aja dijustizia*  
*Bate porta pidi agu kere bebe*  
*Verias kere intra yo mayo kere sabe*  
*Dong ale didonggan*  
*Belu kordong barla bong bang*  
*Ung mekas munte ne mau*  
*Kere bla um jang difra*  
*Kartapa sai vula*  
*Morsegu supesta*  
*Kruci teng Na kabesa*  
*Su vilu teng nabariba*  
*Bate porta pidi agu kere bebe*  
*Verlas kere intra yo mayo kere sabe*  
 (Source: Keroncong Tugu)

The songs mentioned above are material culture that is related closely to the Tugu Portuguese Creole because there is still the use of Portuguese language that is adapted for the writing of the lyrics. The songs are always sung when the *Cafrinho* music group performs in certain events, except Nina Bobo song which is a song to accompany the child to sleep. This shows that the Tugu society of *Cafrinho* musical group has been preserving the culture of Tugu Portuguese Creole by singing lyrics song without changing it in Indonesian or other languages. Thus, the Tugu Portuguese Creole still fulfills the function of cultural reference.

The aforementioned *Keroncong Tugu* songs are representative of the Portuguese culture, since they use the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect in their lyrics. The songs are always sung when *Keroncong Tugu* music is performed at certain events. For example, in June 2016, a music group consisting of Portuguese descendants was invited to attend *The First Asian Portuguese Community Conference* in Malacca, Malaysia, where they performed *Keroncong Tugu* music for the attendees, while wearing traditional Indonesian

clothes (Figure 3). Meanwhile, the other group of Portuguese descendants performed Portuguese songs and wore traditional Portuguese clothes (Figure 4). At that time, this researcher found that the reinforcement of their cultural identity was apparent through such unique performances.



Figure 3. Performance of *Keroncong Tugu* in The First Asian Portuguese Community Conference in Malacca, Malaysia. (Source: The Researcher, 2016).



Figure 4. Performance by a Music Group of Portuguese Descent (Source: The Researcher, 2016).

***Mandi-mandi Party***

The term *mandi-mandi* in the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect means “a party by young people to look for a mate and a party for old people to forgive one another” (Suratminto et al., 2016). The *Mandi-mandi* party, held on the first Sunday after the New Year, is a festive event attended by both the young and old. At the party, the attendees apply white powder to one another’s faces, based on the intention of either looking for a mate or forgiving one another. According to this researcher’s observations, the *mandi-mandi* parties are still being held (Pictures 3 and 4). For instance, the most recent one was held on January 8, 2016. At that time, the committee invited Xanana Gusmao (The first President of Timor-Leste) and Joseph Santa Maria (Chairman of Asian Portuguese Community). Again, this unique event effectively reinforced the cultural identity of the Portuguese descendants in Tugu Village.

### **The Kinship System of Tugu Portuguese Descendant**

The kinship system of Tugu Portuguese Descendant is patrilineal system. According to Van Dijk (2006), in the patrilineal kinship system, the position of man is higher than woman, so

a man has more power and control the family. In this case, it can be analyzed on the placement of family names. The structure of family names show that the husband name is always placed on the last name of wife. However, there was no omission from wife’s name. For example, it can be seen in the name of Matulda Quiko Abrahams (one of Tugu Portuguese descendants). In this case, the surname of Abrahams is placed at the end of her name. It shows that the man has more power than the woman. This assumption is supported by Guido Quiko’s (one of Tugu Portuguese Descendant) statement who said that in a discussion between the people of Tugu village, women were never involved. They were more often in the kitchen while men controlling the family and talking the problems about their environment. This situation shows that Tugu Portuguese Creole is more used by men than women.

### **CONCLUSION**

Tugu Portuguese Creole has been extinct language as means of communication in its era. Therefore the existence of Tugu Portuguese Creole is not as means of communication now, but it has a function as the cultural and mythical references as

stated by Gobard (1976) about the function of language. The cultural and mythical reference functions of Tugu Portuguese Creole can be found in songs, names of musical instruments, kinship systems, texts, gravestones, behavior, texts, artifacts (culinary) that contained in Tugu village now. Thus, referring to the results of this research, it can be said that Tugu Portuguese Creole is a tool of cultural disclosure. It also can be said that Tugu Portuguese Creole as a keeper of the culture of Tugu society that still survives up to now.

Based on the history, Tugu Portuguese Creole has existed in Batavia since 1641 when the Dutch seized Malacca from Portuguese. Creole Portuguese existed from 1511 when Portuguese seized Malacca from the Sultan Johor. When the Dutch seized some of the archipelagoes from the Portuguese such as Ambon, Banda Islands (1605), Ternate (1609) and Jayakarta (1619) from Sultan of Banten, the prisoners who were originally Catholics had to convert to Protestant and they were not slaves but their status became independent people (Mardijker or M). They still use Portuguese or Dutch names such as Salomon, Quiko,

Abrahams, Michiel, and Andries as their clan names up to now. It proves that although Tugu Portuguese Creole is extinct, it still has a mythic function that can be seen in the names on the tombstones and clans of Tugu society in Tugu village.

Tugu Portuguese Creole appears in the form of behavior of Tugu society that also has Creole Portuguese culture – Creole Tugu culture. The appearance of Tugu Portuguese Creole culture is caused the cultural Portuguese contact with the local culture of Batavia, especially *Sunda-Betawi* that occurred three centuries ago. Meanwhile, several words of Tugu Portuguese Creole are still used and manifested in cultural activities, so that Tugu Portuguese Creole has the function as a cultural reference (culture).

The purpose of the present study was two-fold: to explain the function of the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect and its diversity in Tugu culture, and to determine how the Portuguese descendants currently use the vocabulary to reinforce their cultural identity. Based on the findings, the cultural identity of the Portuguese descendants was reinforced through various means. First, some of the Tugu Portuguese Creole

vocabulary has been preserved in the *Keroncong Tugu* songs, which are still being performed and passed down to subsequent generations. Moreover, music groups of Portuguese descent have performed these songs at various events, while wearing traditional clothes. Second, the names from the Tugu Portuguese Creole dialect are still being used for kinship system of Tugu Portuguese Descendants and certain instruments of keroncong. Finally, festive events, such as the *mandi-mandi* party, are still being held in the community for both the young and old. The implication of the findings is that such actions can be used by other cultures to strengthen their cultural identities, regardless of whether the dialect is currently being used as the primary means of communication.

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