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**A GRAMMAR OF KRISTANG  
(MALACCA CREOLE PORTUGUESE)**

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## INTRODUCTION

This study describes the language called Kristang or Malacca Creole Portuguese, spoken in Malacca, West Malaysia. It focuses on the main structures of the grammar of Kristang as spoken by conservative speakers and includes an outline of the sociohistorical context of the language and a sketch of the phonology.

Kristang is unique as the last surviving variety of Creole Portuguese in South East Asia which still functions as a mother tongue and home language of a speech community. However, its speech community is small and is receding. A detailed account of Kristang is fundamental to an overall understanding of the diffusion of Creole Portuguese in Asia and is of prime importance to the overall field of Creole Portuguese and creole language studies. For these reasons, observational accuracy is given prime importance in the present study.

The study is not couched in terms of any particular theory and is not intended as a discussion of linguistic theory. The grammar is essentially descriptive, the aim being to present an account of the basic structures in an informal way that reflects the language faithfully and which at the same time is readily accessible to the reader. However, in the description of certain grammatical points some theoretical discussion is incorporated either to facilitate description of the point at issue, for example accusative marking (6.2), or where the point at issue is pertinent to theory, for example Bickerton's Creole Universals.

Moreover, where particularly relevant to the understanding of certain important points of the grammar, comparisons are made with Malay, Baba Malay, Bazaar Malay, Hokkien, Dutch, Portuguese or other varieties of Creole Portuguese. However, such comparisons are not systematically treated.

The approach taken is broadly that of form to function, whereby discrete classes of lexemes and structures are established on language internal grounds and then related to semantic categories. However, in some instances, for example the account of adverbs and that of relative clauses, a functional approach has been necessary to facilitate description.

In order to facilitate the presentation of certain generalisations, I have, in some cases, adopted familiar formalisms used in Generative theory. For the same reason, in Chapter 5, I have adapted from Johnson (1981) the use of tense diagrams.

Like other Creole languages, Kristang displays a good deal of variation. Such variation may be related to a number of sociolinguistic factors, such as age, sex, education, and use of Malay and English, to name but a few, and may be indicative of

style levels and change in the language. At the outset of fieldwork in 1980, it had been my intention to study variation in Kristang, yet it very soon became apparent that such an undertaking was impossible in the absence of an overall description of the language. In the present description the question of variation receives only cursory attention, a proper account being beyond its scope. However, throughout the study account is taken of some aspects of variation: lexical, syntactic, and to a lesser extent, phonological. In some cases, for example in the discussion of question words, some headway is made towards indentifying the significance of the variation within the creole system. In the case of lexemes with variable forms, rather than choosing one form over others, I have, in most cases, ranked them impressionistically in left-right order from most frequent to least frequent.

### **0.1 Previous work on Kristang**

Brief studies of traditional songs, verse and stories, all transcribed in a Portuguese-style orthography, were published prior to World War Two by Rêgo (1932, 1938b) and by Chaves (1933a and b).

Rêgo (1941-42) discussed in a limited and general way some elements of morphology and syntax and presented a word list accompanying an extensive annotated collection of sayings, songs, verses, traditional stories and some texts compiled by the missionaries for use in the church. Later, a brief discussion of some elements of grammar, lexicon and phonology appeared in Knowlton (1964). However, it was not until Hancock (1969, 1970, 1973 and 1975) that serious attention began to be paid to Kristang. Texts in phonetic script and a brief outline of aspects of morphology, phonology and of the multiple lexical origins (Portuguese, Malay, Indian, Chinese, Dutch and English) appeared in Hancock (1969). Discussion of the Dutch lexicon in Kristang appeared in Hancock (1970) and in Hancock (1973) a sketch grammar and accompanying lexicon in phonemic script. Subsequently Hancock (1975) discussed the origins of Kristang and the formation of Creole Portuguese and presented a brief comparative study of Kristang and Bazaar Malay along with a comparison of Creole features (Taylor 1971) and basic lexicon for 15 Iberian-derived creoles and, finally, a structural comparison of Kristang, Afrikaans, Malay and Dutch.

A discussion of basic lexicon, collected by means of a Paiva Boleo questionnaire, and brief remarks of phonology appeared in Batalha (1981).

In the course of the present study I shall have occasion to refer to some of these previous works.

The present study expands and develops areas covered in previous linguistic work on Kristang and studies the language in far greater detail, concentrating on the main structures of the grammar. Moreover, it also pays attention to phonology, previously a largely untouched area, and considers aspects of the sociohistorical context of the language.



## 0.2 The data

The data presented in this study were collected during two field trips of eight months and three months duration in 1980-81 and 1982-83 respectively. During that time I lived in the Portuguese Settlement, the main area where Kristang is spoken, and participated in the daily activities of the community.

The corpus comprises approximately 25 hours of text transcribed from tape recordings and material transcribed directly from informants. Most of the examples in the study are from the tape transcriptions.

Before commencing fieldwork in Malacca in 1980, I spent two months in Singapore working with ex-Malacca informants and transcribing material recorded in 1961 which was given to me by Professor R.W. Thompson. When I arrived in Malacca I had a basic working knowledge of the language. From the outset I spoke Kristang and was addressed in Kristang.

During the first four months of fieldwork I recorded traditional stories and some conversation and began to analyse the grammar. At the same time considerable time was spent listening to and speaking Kristang and generally participating in the activities of the community. In this way I was able to assess fairly completely the extent of Kristang use within the Portuguese Settlement and in the Praya Lane and Trankera communities. Moreover, I was able to establish a large number of important contacts and friendships which later helped me to collect a considerable corpus of recorded speech. The bulk of my recorded data was not collected until the latter stages of my first field trip.

In collecting tape recorded data I deliberately selected speakers who were from households where Kristang was the language of the home and who were consistent users of Kristang outside the home. They were also people with whom I was well acquainted.

Most of the recorded data are from people speaking about topics relating to traditional Kristang activities and their own experiences in the Kristang community (children's games, peer group, household activities, fishing, superstitions, weddings, funerals, traditional music and dance, Church). These topics were chosen for two reasons: 1. to ensure the maximum participation of the speaker through their personal involvement with the topics, 2. to avoid code switching (since most Kristangs also speak English and Malay). Also included, however in a minor way, were the topics of school and employment. Although topics were deliberately selected there was no attempt made to adhere to them or follow any special order. The important factor was for people to feel at ease and talk freely.

The recordings were conducted in the homes of the speakers or at the stalls in the Portuguese Settlement at night time. In the majority of cases, people knew they were being recorded. However, the recorder was unobtrusively located and never started at the outset. Albeit I did not notice much style shifting. In most cases the recordings were done in the presence of other people who sometimes joined in.

Formal work sessions were also conducted throughout the fieldwork period with four informants of different ages and from time to time with several others. My primary approach in such sessions was not to elicit from English or Malay as I quickly found that this yielded examples influenced by either language. Rather the approach was to evaluate material language internally, presenting informants with sentences taken

from recordings or enlisting their help in transcribing material and thereby discussing constructions in the recordings. Nevertheless, some elicitation from English and Malay was also incorporated as a check on material obtained otherwise and in compiling a lexicon.

### 0.3 Organisation of the grammar

While the grammar concentrates on the morphosyntax of Kristang, an outline of the main points of the phonology is presented in Chapter 2. In this chapter I discuss the distribution of the consonants, vowels and diphthongs of Kristang and look at the main points of syllable structure and stress placement. The final section raises the question of orthography.

In Chapter 3 the parts of speech of Kristang are presented on a language internal morphosyntactic basis and their formal and semantic properties described. Twelve parts of speech are established: article, quantifier, cardinal numeral, pronoun, noun, adjective, verb, modal, relator, particle, interjection and verb. For organisational reasons, certain parts of speech do not receive detailed description or exemplification here. Instead, they are discussed in detail in the sections describing the diverse structures in which they occur. Thus, for example, verbs do not receive detailed treatment in this chapter. Rather, they are considered in Chapter 5 in relation to Tense-Mood-Aspect marking, in Chapter 6 in relation to their grammatical relation core NP arguments, in Chapter 7 in relation to the form of the verbal clause and to an extent in Chapter 8 in relation to clausal objects.

In Chapter 4 the structure of the noun phrase (NP) is discussed. Topics receiving special attention are the question of prenominal determiners and reference (i.e. 'articles'), the two types of possessive determiners and the various relative clause structures.

Chapter 5 considers the auxiliary complex of the predicate. This comprises items which modify the predicate in several ways: Tense-Mood-Aspect particles, negators and modals. The discussion concentrates on the function of the auxiliary items and the restrictions on their co-occurrence.

Chapter 6 considers the principal grammatical and semantic functions of NPs within the clause. A distinction is drawn between those NPs which are semantically conditioned by the predicate (core NPs) and those which are not (peripheral NPs). In the former class two types of NPs are distinguished which bear a grammatical relation to their predicate: subject and object. These NPs have special morphosyntactic status. The grammatical relations of subject and object are defined at the outset of the chapter. A particularly interesting feature of the grammar of Kristang is that the object NP may be overtly indicated by the relator *ku*. The conditions for object marking and the significance of optional object marking are discussed in some detail. Consideration is then given to other NP types: non-grammatical relation core NPs and peripheral NPs, whose semantic relation to the predicate is in most cases indicated overtly by a relator. The functions of such NPs and the relators involved are discussed. Finally, brief attention is given to the elision of NPs and to the origin of the multifunctional relator *ku*.

The clause is discussed in Chapter 7. First, from the perspective of the declarative clause, clause types are considered according to their predicate class: verbal or non-verbal. The discussion of the verbal clause proceeds according to the type of verb involved. Verbs are subclassified as intransitive and transitive according to the number of grammatical relation core NPs they take. Subclassification of these two classes in certain cases concerns the type of peripheral NP or the non-grammatical relation core NP with which they occur. The discussion of the non-verbal clause covers clauses with noun phrase, relator phrase or adjective phrase predicates. The first of these are classified as ascriptive, equative and possessive. The second comprise comitative and source relator phrases. The third involve simple adjective phrases or comparative constructions, the latter expressing three types of relationships: comparison of degree, comparison of equality, correspondence of identity. Following the description of the declarative clause according to predicate type, attention is given to imperative and interrogative clauses. In the final section I discuss five structures which function to present the information in the clause in different perspectives.

Chapter 8 discusses complex structures involving the linking of clauses and predicates. The chapter begins with a discussion of structures involving coordination and subordination of clauses. This is followed by an account of structures which involve a special relationship between the existential verb *teng* and a clause, and whose function is connected with topic presentation. Finally, I discuss a range of verb serialisations of diverse functions.

## 0.4 Symbols and abbreviations

### 0.4.1 Phonetic symbols

The following list shows the phonetic conventions used in this description:

ë	(IPA ə)	ˈ	tonic stress
ɛ	(IPA ε)	˘	non-tense vowel
æ	(IPA æ)	˙	e.g. <i>ɨ</i> , weak non-syllabic
ɔ	(IPA ɔ)	˚	vocoid in diphthong
y	(IPA ɥ)	\$	syllable boundary
c	(IPA tʃ)	#	word boundary
j	(IPA dʒ)	C	consonant
š	(IPA ʃ)	V	vowel
<u>m</u>	(IPA ɱ)	ʔ	glottal stop
<u>n</u>	(IPA ŋ)		
<u>ñ</u>	(IPA ɲ)		
ng	(IPA ŋ)		

### Hokkien tones:

ˆ	high
ˊ	rising
ˋ	falling
˘	low
-	mid

## 0.4.2 Abbreviations

-	variants
()	optional item
*	unacceptable utterance
?	(preceding a word) marginally acceptable utterance
..(..)..	omission in text
1pl	first person plural
1s	first person singular
2pl	second person plural
2s	second person singular
3pl	third person plural
3s	third person singular
Ø	null entity
A	accusative relator
AD	adversative relator
ADJ	adjective
ADJP	adjective phrase
ADV	adverb
AFF	affirmation particle
B	benefactive relator
BE	existential verb
BM	Bahasa Malaysia (Standard Malay)
BabM	Baba Malay
C	comitative relator
CL	clause
COM	<i>di</i> in the function of comparative relator
COMP	completive aspect
COND	conditional relator
CONJ	conjunctive relator
COP	copula
CP	consensus particle
D	disjunctive relator
D.	Dutch
DEM	demonstrative article
DET	determiner
dial	dialect
E	emphatic particle
E.	English
FI	future-irrealis particle
FUT	future reference
G	possessive relator <i>sa</i>
GO	goal relator
H.	Hokkien
I	instrumental relator
ID	interrogative determiner
IMP	imperative !!
INDEF	indefinite article <i>kal</i>
INT1	preadjectival intensifier

INT2	postadjectival intensifier
IP	interrogative pronoun
L	locative relator
LME	Local Malaysian English
M.	Malay
MC	main clause
MP	Melaka Bazaar Malay (Melayu Pasar)
N	noun
NEG	negator
NEGIMP	negative imperative
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
O	object
obs.	obsolete item (= item very rarely used by older speakers)
ONUM	ordinal numeral
P.	Portuguese
-P	non-punctual aspect particle
PF	perfective aspect particle
POSS	possessive relator
POSS1	possessive NP indicated by G
POSS2	possessive NP with S
POSTA	post adjectival modifier
POSTNOMDET	postnominal determiner
PRED	predicate
PRENOMDET	prenominal determiner
PRO	pronoun
QP	interrogative particle
R	recipient relator
RC	relative clause
RP	relative pronoun
REL	relator
RelPr	relator phrase (Rel + NP)
S	<i>di</i> in the function of possessive or source relator
SME	Standard Malaysian English
SU	subject
TMA	Tense-Mood-Aspect
V	verb
VP	verb phrase



## Chapter 1

### SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

Malacca Creole Portuguese is a Portuguese based creole spoken by approximately 1,000 people in Malacca<sup>1</sup> on the south-west coast of the Malaysian peninsula (see figure 1). It is also spoken by the older members of some migrant families in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore.

Although this language is generally referred to as Papia Kristang 'Christian speech' (Chaves 1933a:169, Hancock 1969:38), the speakers themselves mostly refer to it as Kristang, the term by which they also refer to themselves and their religion. Kristang has been referred to by various names in other languages (Hancock 1969:38). In English it is known as Portuguese, local Portuguese or Portuguese patois. In Malay it is known as (*bahasa*) *serani* 'Catholic (Eurasian) language'<sup>2</sup> or *bahasa geragau* 'shrimp language'.<sup>3</sup> Portuguese writers have referred to Kristang as *Malaqueiro*, *Malaquense*, *Malaquês* and *Malaquenho* (Hancock 1969:38) or as *o dialecto Português de Malaca* (Rêgo 1941-42).

Similarly, the speakers of the language have been referred to by a variety of terms. For example, in English they have been referred to as Creole (Hancock 1969) or Portuguese Eurasian (Chan 1969), in Malay as *serani* and in Portuguese as *descendentes dos antigos portugueses* 'descendants of the old Portuguese' (Rêgo 1941-42:4). The speakers themselves mainly use the term Kristang in their own language and Portuguese (Eurasian) in English.

In the present work I shall refer to the language as Malacca Creole Portuguese or Kristang. I shall refer to the people with whom the language is associated as Creoles.<sup>4</sup>

In this chapter I shall outline the sociohistorical background of the language and its contemporary sociolinguistic context. The reader should bear in mind that the discussion of the sociohistorical context of Kristang is intended to provide an overall setting and should not be construed as a definitive statement. Indeed, a comprehensive analysis of the sociohistorical issues, while of fundamental importance, is far beyond the scope of the present study.

#### 1.1 Malacca and its ethnolinguistic diversity

Malacca is the capital of Malacca State and has a current population of approximately 450,000. The city was founded between 1400 and 1401 and governed throughout the century by a Malay Sultanate (Sandhu and Wheatley 1983:496-98). Subsequently it underwent three periods of colonisation: Portuguese (1511-1641), Dutch (1641-1795; 1818-1823) and British (1795-1818; 1823-1957). In 1957 it became part of the new independent

country of Malaysia. Formerly an important centre of international trade, Malacca today depends on rubber and manufacturing industries. Like other large Malaysian towns Malacca is cosmopolitan in character, yet it is unique in having been cosmopolitan from the time of the Malay Sultanate (Sidhu 1983:32).

The speakers of Kristang represent only one small minority among several ethnic groups present in Malacca town. The principal ethnic groups in the town, recorded in the last census in 1970, are Malays, Chinese, Indians and 'Others' (which include the Kristang speakers). Their respective proportions according to that census were 14.8%, 75.4%, 7.1% and 2.5% (Sidhu 1983:32-34). As there have been no substantial changes in migration, I assume the current proportions to be similar.<sup>5</sup> Malacca, like other west coast towns, has a predominant Chinese population, which in this case consists of five main groups: Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese, Hainanese and Teochiu. The majority, however, are Hokkien (L. Mearns 1983:138).<sup>6</sup>

The Indians in Malacca town belong to two main groups: Southern – Tamils, Telegus and Malayalis; and Northern – Punjabis and Gujaratis (Sandhu 1983b:198-99). Smaller groups are the Pakistanis, Ceylonese Tamils and 'Other' Ceylonese, Bengalis and Sindhis (D. Mearns 1983:213).

In addition to the above principal Chinese and Indian subgroups, two small 'mixed' communities should be mentioned: the Babas and the Chitties. The Babas are the descendants of Hokkien Chinese settlers who were present in Malacca from the beginning of the sixteenth century (Eredia 1613:1-20) and who, initially, married Batak and Balinese slave women (Sandhu 1983a:101). The Chitties are the descendants of the early Tamil Keling merchants who were also present in Malacca from the beginning of the sixteenth century. They too appear to have married with other groups (Narinasamy 1983:244).

The 'Others' referred to in the census noted above are mainly Eurasian (Sidhu 1983:37-38), a legacy of the colonial periods. It is this group that displays the highest degree of segregation (Sidhu 1983:39). No less than four fifths of Eurasians are Portuguese Eurasians (Chan 1983:267). The speakers of Kristang constitute a subset of this latter group. Portuguese Eurasian descent does not imply ability to speak Kristang because this group has largely shifted to English as its first language. The reasons for this shift are complex and, in general, relate to the effects of the importance of English during the British colonial period.

In view of the number of ethnic groups present in Malacca, the linguistic diversity of the town is considerable. The principal ethnic languages of Malacca are Malay, Hokkien (which is widely used between the different Chinese) and Tamil. The *lingue franche* of Malacca are English and Malay. English, having been the language of the British Colonial Government, is widespread and spoken on a continuum ranging from reduced varieties which show convergence with the ethnic languages, to Standard Malaysian English.

The official language of Malaysia is Standard Malay, Bahasa Malaysia. Malay as a *lingua franca* is spoken in pidginised varieties known as Bazaar Malay or *Melayu Pasar*. The use of Malay as a *lingua franca* is attested early in the sixteenth century (Lach 1965:515). As a pidginised language, Bazaar Malay differs slightly according to the ethnolinguistic affiliation of the speaker. Contemporary Malacca Bazaar Malay,



however, shows considerable influence from Hokkien, regardless of the ethnolinguistic background of the speaker (Lim 1981).

Two of the ethnic communities mentioned above, the Babas and the Chitties, have adopted Malay generally as a first language, although some families may retain Hokkien or Tamil or have adopted English as the home language. The variety of Malay spoken by the Babas, Baba Malay, is in fact a creolised variety of Malay, closely related to Bazaar Malay (Lim 1981:11-15, 30-32), and the variety spoken by the Chitty community appears to be very similar (Lim 1981:126-28).

## **1.2 The origins of the Kristang speech community**

As a result of Portuguese colonial expansion during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, various Portuguese derived contact languages came into existence, in particular in Africa and Asia. Many of these languages may have owed their genesis in part to the spread of West African Pidgin Portuguese, used in exploration during the latter part of the fifteenth century.

In time, the Pidgin Portuguese of many areas became creolised, the creoles maintaining many features in common, yet, developing characteristics related to their particular linguistic environments. Kristang, the Creole Portuguese of Malacca in West Malaysia, is one such creole. Other varieties of Creole Portuguese, related to that of Malacca, were spoken until this century in Macao, Hong Kong, Jakarta, Larantuka (Flores) and Dili (Portuguese East Timor).

The development and survival of Kristang to the present are closely connected with the history of Malacca from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

### **1.2.1 Malacca on the eve of the Portuguese conquest**

Under the Malay Sultanate of the fifteenth century, Malacca became established as a trade entrepot, economically dependent on the trade passing through the Malacca Straits. By the beginning of the sixteenth century Malacca had become the pivot in an international trade complex which extended throughout South East Asia and South Asia and reached as far as the Philippines and China in the east and North Africa and the Middle East to the west. The commodities traded in Malacca were mainly textiles, spices and drugs, jewels and precious metals, comestibles, base metals, pottery, cowrie shells and slaves (Sandhu and Wheatley 1983:503-04).

Through its role as an international port and trade centre Malacca developed a multi-ethnic character. Tomé Pires (1944:268-69) lists the races which frequented the port at this time. They represented peoples from most of the countries on the trade routes to Malacca. Pires claims that often 84 languages were spoken. In the settled community, aside from the Malays, the principal ethnic groups were Gujaratis, Parsis, Bengalis, Arabs, Javanese, and Tamils (Wilkinson 1912:71-76; Sandhu 1983b:179; Sandhu and Wheatley 1983:542). The lingua franca of this multi-ethnic community would appear to have been a pidginised form of Malay, Bazaar Malay (Lach 1965:515, 518-19). However, the possible presence of a Pidgin Arabic cannot be ruled out.

### 1.2.2 Portuguese presence in Malacca

In 1511, the Portuguese seized control of Malacca, cutting the Arab trade route to Europe and gaining control of the spice trade (Noonan 1968:66-74). The origin of Kristang lies in this conquest.

The linguistic situation from the outset of the Portuguese period must have been quite complex. The invading army was heterogeneous, consisting of 800 Europeans and 600 Indian troops (Wilkinson 1912:73). After the conquest some 300 troops remained as the occupying force (Noonan 1968:57). Metropolitan Portuguese and a foreigner-talk variety thereof must have been spoken by the European elements. The Indian troops, whose origins are unclear, presumably spoke Jargon/Pidgin Portuguese as well as their own language(s). The Portuguese had not been established long enough in India for a creole to have developed, Goa having been founded only in 1509. The predominant local language in Malacca was Malay, used in a pidginised form as a *lingua franca* among the resident foreign population which then consisted mainly of Javanese, Tamils and Hokkien Chinese (Eredia 1613:19-20; Sandhu 1983a:97, 1983b:185). This Bazaar Malay must have been used also by the pre-existing slave population which the Portuguese took over. According to contemporary observers, these slaves numbered some 3,000 (Manguin 1983:209-10).<sup>7</sup>

Whether a stable pidgin arrived in Malacca with the Portuguese and their camp followers is open to debate. The Portuguese were still new to India when Malacca was conquered. That a pidgin originating in Africa could also have been present is possible as there may have been Pidgin/Creole Portuguese speaking Africans and *mestiços* of African origin among the occupying forces.

There are certainly grammatical similarities between the African varieties of Creole Portuguese and Kristang. However, according to Hancock (1975) there appear to be no common grammatical features for which sources cannot be found in Malay.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the various varieties of Creole Portuguese are remarkably similar (cf. Hancock 1975:224-27). The fact that Portuguese colonial expansion was to a certain extent a cumulative process, allowing some shifting of *mestiços* and indigenous elements, free men and slaves between colonies, lends support to a diffusion argument and the possibility of partial monogenesis (Baxter 1983:3).

In the years following the takeover, with movement between the Indian and South East Asian colonies and Portuguese slave traffic, other Pidgin/Creole Portuguese speakers would have been present. In this respect there may be some significance in the fact that the Kristang future negator *nadi* and the genitive relator *sa* are parallel to forms in the Creole Portuguese languages of India and Ceylon (Dalgado 1917:19; Hancock 1975:223).

However, if such transition between colonies was to have the sort of impact that would be required by monogenesis, a considerable shift of pidgin/creole speaking population would be required. The similarities between the Portuguese Creoles might be better explained through a combination of factors: partial monogenesis, partial influence of creole universals of the type mentioned by Bickerton (1981), and partial influence of pre-existing non-Portuguese derived *lingue franche* themselves showing similarities with general creole structure (Baxter 1983).

In Malacca, the pidgin Portuguese preceding Kristang would have been an autonomous reduced system based on Portuguese and showing convergence with the languages present in the contact situation. As there was a pre-existing lingua franca which continued to be spoken, it is likely that the pidgin would have received considerable influence from it. Moreover, being used by speakers of various linguistic origins, the pidgin would have been variable in structure (cf. Bickerton 1981:18). When the pidgin became a language of primary socialisation of children it was creolised. I say 'a language of primary socialisation' because, as Holm (1983:27) has pointed out, one of the main differences between the Portuguese colonial enclaves of Asia and those of Africa was that, in Asia, the speakers of Creole Portuguese did not stop using the other languages present and the creoles developed in a bilingual or multilingual situation. Indeed, in the case of Malacca, Malay continued to be present in indigenous, creolised (among the Babas and the Chitties) and pidginised varieties.

The use of the pidgin as a first language required an expansion of its reduced structure. To realise this, extra linguistic form was acquired partly through convergence with other languages present and partly through natural creolisation processes. In the case of Kristang the convergence was probably mainly with Malay, largely Bazaar Malay, access to the target language being limited by the small numbers of Portuguese and the fact that most of them lived apart in the fort.

Metropolitan Portuguese is presumed to have been taught in the convents, and there was a school run by the cathedral (Cardon 1934:11). However, the general populace would have been largely unaffected by such teaching.

Intermarriage of the newcomers with the local population must have been an important factor for the nativisation of the pidgin. The first native speakers of the pidgin would probably have been the offspring of unions between Europeans and locals or slaves,<sup>9</sup> unions between Indian mercenaries and locals, and, in some cases, unions between locals who were under Portuguese cultural influence, such as, for example, Christian converts.

A key role in the development of the creole would have been played by official marriages between Europeans and locals. Mixed marriages had the support of the Crown, although this was probably more through political necessity than racial tolerance. In the face of a labour shortage in the colonies, the home government encouraged mixed marriages with the idea that the *casados* 'married men' would form a loyal permanent population, adapted to local conditions and readily available for defense purposes (MacGregor 1955:9-12). However, according to the complaints of the missionaries, concubinage with local women, often slaves, was more frequent than official marriage (MacGregor 1955:11; Boxer 1963:61).<sup>10</sup> Owing to scanty documentation for the Portuguese period it is difficult to estimate the size of the 'Portuguese speaking' community. Speakers of Metropolitan Portuguese were few. According to MacGregor (1955:6) the Portuguese seldom exceeded 600 and generally averaged about 200, Malacca being a mere staging post. Moreover, it seems that intermarriage was unpopular. Thus in 1525 there were only 38 *casados* and by 1626 a mere 114, of whom 62 lived outside the castle walls (MacGregor 1955:11-12), probably on farms. Barretto de Resende (<1638:4), some ten years later notes only 250 married whites.<sup>11</sup>

The observations of travellers of the period concerning the overall population are not particularly clear as they indiscriminately count 'Christians'. However, assuming that a good number of Christians in Malacca probably spoke Pidgin/Creole Portuguese in some form, then Eredia's account of Malacca in 1613 can give a rough idea of the speaker population. Eredia counts 7,400 Christians in the town and along the river and 300 Portuguese *casados* and soldiers in the fort (Eredia 1613:20-21). It may not be overoptimistic to suggest that half the total would have been speakers on a continuum of pidgin, creole and target languages.

### 12.3 The Dutch period

In 1640, anxious to capture Malacca's rich trade and strategic military position on the straits, the Dutch laid siege to the city. After five months Malacca fell, its population reduced from some 20,000 to a mere 2,150 (Leupe 1859:116).

The 'Portuguese' speaking population was further reduced as many of the wealthy Portuguese and their retinue were provided free passage to Negapatam and Goa (Leupe 1859:46, 52) while others, priests, Portuguese prisoners, free Portuguese and 'mestic citizens' (Eurasians) were transported to Batavia (Leupe 1859:64, 74, 76). Nevertheless, the Daagregister for December 1641 reports 1,603 people of Portuguese extraction remaining in Malacca (Muller 1914:62), a considerable proportion of the overall population. Moreover, from Schouten's report it appears that as well as mesticoes and 'black fishermen', some Europeans also constituted the 'Portuguese' population (Leupe 1859:114-16, 132).

As early as two months after the Dutch takeover, Commissioner Schouten reports Dutchmen marrying Portuguese widows and 'Portuguese mesties' women (Leupe 1859:73, 128).<sup>12</sup> Governor Bort, writing in 1678, makes similar references (Bort 1678:41) and one sixteenth century visitor to Malacca reports Dutchmen succumbing to the Roman Catholic faith of their Creole wives (Sheehan 1934:100). In fact, very few Dutch women emigrated to the East and the rigid religious, caste and social systems of the colonised countries restricted the Dutchmen to women of Eurasian, low class or slave origins. As a result, in colonies such as Batavia and Ceylon, Dutchmen were largely in contact with women who were either of Indo-Portuguese descent or Indo-Portuguese cultural influence (Boxer 1965:223-24; Hesselning 1979:24-25). Thus, while Dutch was the official language of administration, Creole Portuguese came to be used widely by the Dutch.

The extent to which the Dutch and Dutch Eurasians in Malacca may have used Creole Portuguese is unclear from the available materials. However, to judge from the examples of Batavia and Ceylon it is highly likely that it would have been used by their mestico and indigenous wives and their children (cf. Bort 1678:87). It is even more likely that it was used by their slaves.<sup>13</sup> Such possibilities must be taken into account when considering census figures for the time.

When Governor Balthasar Bort compiled his census (Bort 1678:39-44) he listed 1,469 Portuguese creoles ('Portuguese half-castes and blacks') with 551 slaves; the latter presumably spoke Pidgin/Creole Portuguese. The Dutch possessed 394 slaves<sup>14</sup> and there were 82 black and half-caste wives; both these groups may have spoken Pidgin/Creole Portuguese. So the total of Pidgin/Creole Portuguese speakers in 1678 may have exceeded

2,000. As such, the Creole element at this stage would have constituted the largest linguistic group in the town.<sup>15</sup>

The strength of numbers must have made a considerable contribution to language maintenance during this period.

Another factor, however, is that the Dutch themselves must have had little impact on the linguistic status quo as they represented a small minority. Malay and, for some time, 'Portuguese' continued as the *lingue franche* of the town and Portuguese had to be used by the Dutch Reformed Church (Andaya 1983:199), even as late as 1726 (Muller 1914:62).

While large in number, the speakers of Creole Portuguese represented a class of low socio-economic status. They were the displaced former prestige group. Administration and trade positions were monopolised by the Dutch. Prior permission was required from Batavia in order to employ Creoles in the Administration (Bort 1678:50) although at a later time a few Creoles were involved in the garrison (Irwin 1956:122, 126). To a certain extent they also appear to have been employed in Dutch households.<sup>16</sup> However, to judge from the impressions of the British administration and of visitors to Malacca early in the nineteenth century, the majority of Creoles in the latter stages of the Dutch rule must have been poor fishermen (Lewis 1827 [in Dickinson 1941:260-61], Begbie 1834:492).

The low socio-economic status and common occupational basis of the Creoles, in combination with their strong Roman Catholic affiliation, must have created a group cohesion that facilitated language maintenance.

### 1.2.3.1 Religious persecution and linguistic maintenance

It is often claimed that during the Dutch administration the Catholics suffered severe religious persecution (cf. Teixeira 1963b:ch.XI). It has been suggested that this persecution was an important factor in motivating linguistic maintenance as it acted to unite the Creoles (Hancock 1973:23).

Claims of religious persecution are based largely on the 'face value' of the report by Governor Bort concerning official attempts to prevent the public practice of Roman Catholicism in Malacca (Bort 1678:76-86). However, the 'face value' of the report is not necessarily significant, and only relates to a short period during the Dutch rule. The initial attitude of the Dutch was one of tolerance. Indeed, Commissioner Schouten, in 1641, recommended that the practice of the Roman Catholic religion be allowed for political reasons (Leupe 1859:138). However, in 1645, a Catholic rebellion in the Dutch colony of Pernambuco, Brazil and the eventual loss of that colony in 1654, raised doubts about the loyalty of the Catholics in other Dutch colonies. In Malacca this led to the posting of official decrees in 1646 and 1666, banning the practice of Roman Catholicism and expelling the clergy (Bort 1678:79-81).<sup>17</sup>

The latter decree was enforced seriously for a short time (Bort 1678:83-86), causing a displacement of Portuguese families and their dependents, including a good number of 'black fishermen'. Yet, Smith (1961) and Teixeira (1963b:149-61) document the continued presence of priests in Malacca during the Dutch period, generally clandestine but occasionally legitimate. Indeed, as Andaya (1983:211) points out, evidence of toleration may be seen in the fact that in 1669 there were about 2,000 Catholics and even in the early eighteenth century they outnumbered the Protestant congregation sixfold. Certainly

from the beginning of the eighteenth century there was total freedom of religious practice as evidenced by the construction of St Peter's Church in 1710. The Dutch policy towards the Catholics appears to have been sporadic: occasional official condemnation and general unofficial toleration (Smith 1961:102-05; Boxer 1965:142; Andaya 1983:211). Had it been otherwise, the Creoles might not have survived Dutch rule as Catholics and might have converted to Protestantism as did the Batavia Creole Portuguese community (cf. Lopes 1936:164).

It is difficult to say how important religious persecution was to linguistic maintenance. That religion itself was quite important is clearly suggested by the word *kristáng* (the language, the people and the religion).<sup>18</sup> In this respect, it appears that the role of the fraternity of the *irmáng di greza* (brothers of the Church) in providing an element of cultural continuity was significant. The fraternity, a Dominican tertiary organisation, is traditionally a domain of Kristang and is connected with local religious traditions dating from an early time. Until today, although the Church is no longer a domain of Kristang, the Creoles remain strongly homogeneous in their religious affiliation. Non-Catholic intermarried elements as a rule become converted to Catholicism (cf. Chan 1969:253:54).

#### 1.2.4 The nineteenth and twentieth centuries

In 1795, with the French invasion of Holland, Malacca was taken over by a British caretaker administration. Except for a short period of seven years (1818-1825) when it was returned briefly to the Dutch, and the Japanese occupation of 1942-45,<sup>19</sup> Malacca remained in British hands until 1957 when Malaysia achieved independence.

Reports on the Creole population from early in the nineteenth century generally depict them as an impoverished class. The following extract from a census conducted in 1827 (Dickinson 1940:260-61) is instructive:

5.<sup>20</sup> The inhabitants that come next under consideration are the Siranies or native Portuguese – These are the remains of the once large population of Malacca who are now dwindled to no more than 2,289 souls. Although the ancestors of this race originally intermarried with the native women their descendents are now altogether separate and form by Customs and habits a distinct class. They retain in their countenance, the prominent features of their ancestors although in color, as dark as the natives and are, therefore, very easily distinguished.

6. These people are all poor and many live in wretched houses erected in that part of Malacca called Banda Hilir. It is by these men that the Inhabitants are so largely supplied with fish – with but few exceptions they have no other employment and are constantly out in small sampans following this precarious livelihood. Amongst such a number of families some might have been expected to have turned their attention to the more profitable and eligible mode of living by cultivating the soil and supplying the Town with vegetables, but as far as my enquiries have been made, there are none but such as I have described and a few handicraftmen. At Boongha Raya near the river's side they have a decent well built church, are bigotted

Roman Catholics, and are regularly supplied with Priests who are sent for the purpose by the two colleges at Goa and Macao.

7. They speak a language peculiar to themselves which may be dominated [sic.] as Creole Portugueze as the original has been greatly corrupted.

Throughout the British period and until recent times the Creole population in Malacca has seldom exceeded 2,000 owing to continued out-migration (Chan 1969:65-100) to areas of growth, initially Penang and then Singapore and the Federated Malay States.<sup>21</sup>

Since 1970, with increased industrial development in Malacca, the migration of young people to seek employment in other states appears to have been reduced to some extent. The migration shows a change in the occupational characteristics of the creole speakers: in the latter nineteenth century and in the twentieth century they shift away from full time fishing into other unskilled work as domestics and labourers, or semi-skilled work – mainly clerical (Chan 1969:140-53). Newbold's comments in 1839 already signal a change:

They are an improvident and impoverished class, subsisting principally by fishing, and upon the produce of little gardens and enclosures attached to their houses, many of them are employed as servants to gentlemen, and as writers in offices

(Newbold 1839 I:138).

There has been a long shift away from fishing as a full time activity (Chan 1969:152). However, a core remaining in Malacca continued to engage in fishing on a full-time basis and today it is still practised on a part-time basis by a large number.

The migration was a response to a number of factors: a reaction to the acute poverty of the community (Chan 1969:67) and the economic stagnation of Malacca in the nineteenth century as it failed to compete with Penang and Singapore and, partially, a response to educational opportunities.

Schools catering for Creoles were operating in Malacca from the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Chan (1969:68) five schools were built for the community through public funding and through the Portuguese Mission. The London Missionary Society, between 1815 and 1843, organised junior schools catering for Creoles (Newbold 1839 I:186); Harrison 1983:304). In 1826, the Malacca Free School opened, offering free education in English to poor children from all ethnic groups (Harrison 1983:306). Thus, by the turn of the century, a good number of Creoles, probably mainly males,<sup>22</sup> would have spoken English.<sup>23</sup> However, to judge from the low numbers of British present in Malacca last century, the use of English by the poorer majority of Creoles was probably not very common until the end of the century. Turnbull (1983:271) points out that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Malacca was essentially a Chinese city. In fact, in 1891, out of a total population of 16,557, there were 8,409 Chinese (L. Mearns 1983:199), 877 Indians (D. Mearns 1983:144) and approximately 1,600 Creoles.<sup>24</sup> The rest were predominantly Malays and Malay was the lingua franca (Bird 1982:19). In contrast, the European population was minimal. In the mid 1880s there were only some 30 Europeans present and in 1891 there were 113; even as late as 1931 there were only 330 (Turnbull 1983:271). It is perhaps hardly surprising that a Portuguese interpreter and translator was employed by the colonial administration in 1834-35 (Newbold 1839 I:135).

From the beginning of the twentieth century the Creoles came to speak English widely. Initially, two boys schools were run by the Portuguese Mission from 1894 to 1906 in Hilir and Trankera and a girls school operated in 1903 in Trankera (Portuguese Mission records: *Eschola de meninos*). Later, several schools were established: St Francis Institution, the Conossian Convent, the French Convent, and the Anglo-Chinese High School, all of which were attended by Creoles.<sup>25</sup>

In the twentieth century the population shows historical continuity in residence in Trankera, Bunga Raya (northern end of Jalan Bunga Raya) and Hilir (coastal side of Jalan Banda Hilir), all three having been areas of Creole residence during the Portuguese, Dutch and early British period (Chan 1967:102-15). However, whereas they were previously concentrated in the northern suburbs, from the 1920s the concentration shifted to the southern area of Praya Lane – Banda Hilir, mainly as a result of the outmigration mentioned earlier. Today, while some wealthier families have moved to suburban areas, the Creoles are mostly concentrated in the Banda Hilir – Praya Lane area. Only a handful of families remain in Trankera and Bunga Raya appears to have only two families. The largest single concentration is the Portuguese Settlement. The map on page 11 shows the location of the principal Kristang speaking population.

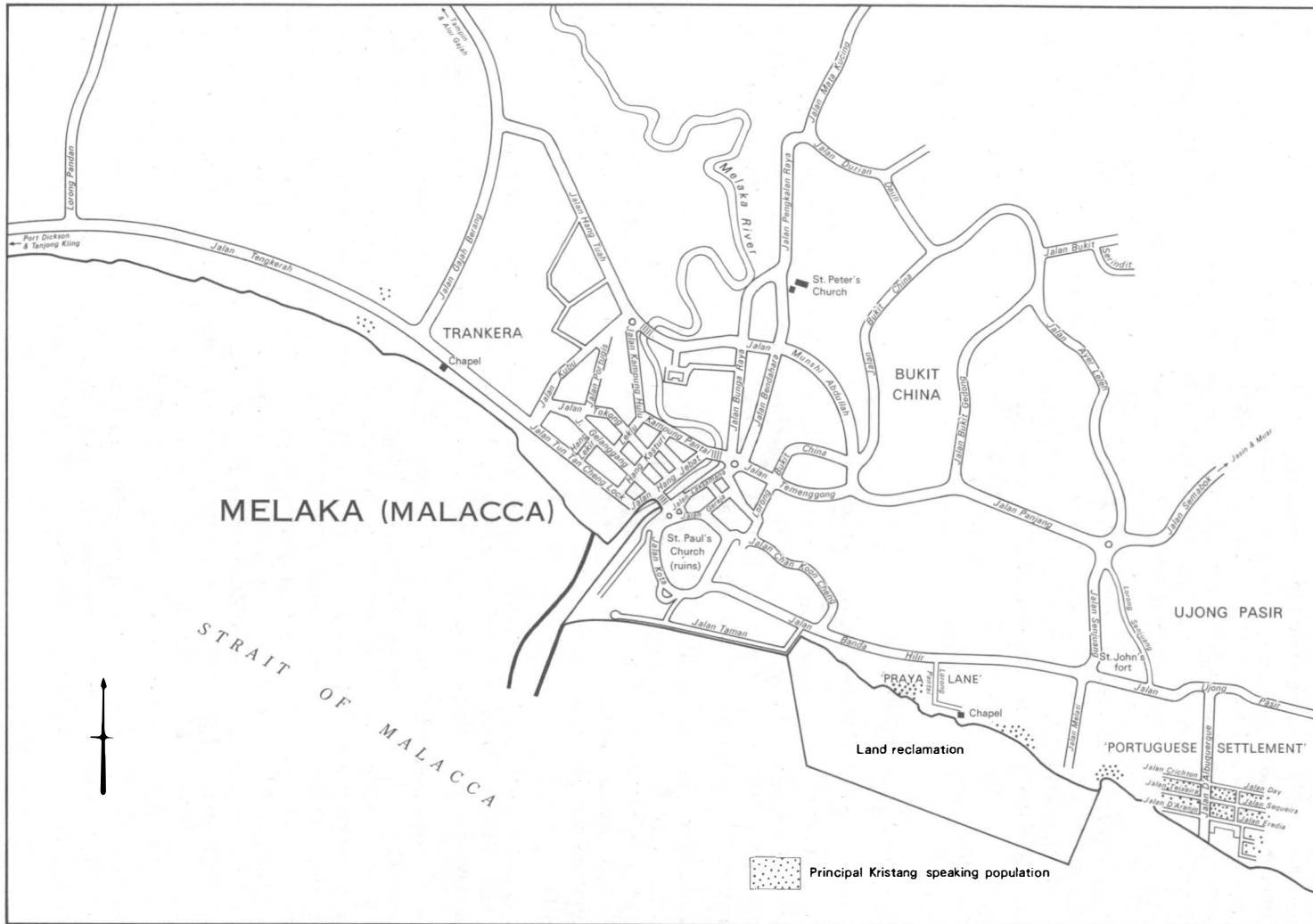
#### 1.2.4.1 The Portuguese Settlement

The Portuguese Settlement was established in 1933 under the British administration to rehouse some of the poorer families predominantly from the Praya Lane – Bandar Hilir area where the sea had severely eroded the land.<sup>26</sup> Originally 28 acres in size, the Portuguese Settlement has been reduced in area by successive alienations of land to the government and to the Church, and now has little scope for expansion (Sta Maria 1979).<sup>27</sup> During fieldwork in 1980-81 and 1982-83 acute overcrowding was evident, some of the poorer houses being occupied by four families.

The establishment of the Portuguese Settlement has had the effect of creating a cultural homeland. In 1967 Chan (1969:263) found that the Portuguese Settlement had the highest proportion of Kristang speaking household (56%) of all Kristang speaking areas in Malacca Praya Lane had 40.6%.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately there are no current survey results available; however, from personal observation the Portuguese Settlement is still relatively the area of greater Kristang use. It has a population of approximately 1,100 (cf. P.S.H.S. 1979, Banerji 1979), and although a house to house survey on the actual numbers of Creole speakers was not made, I was in most houses and therefore can give a rough estimate of the speaker population. Thus it is my impression that most people over 20 years of age speak Kristang (i.e. roughly 45% of the population) while perhaps only a third of those of speaking age who are below 20 years are speakers. Thus approximately 60% of the population of the Portuguese Settlement would appear to be speakers of Kristang.

The significance of the Portuguese Settlement as a linguistic and cultural core is clear. It has the largest single concentration of the Creole population, a large proportion of which is relatively poor. It is among the poor that the traditional values and norms appear to be better preserved. It has a high proportion of fishermen, fishing being an activity long associated with the Creoles as is testified by its place in Creole folklore. Fishing is exclusively a domain of Kristang.<sup>29</sup> It has a high proportion of unskilled





Malacca town map

workers of low educational standard and a considerable number of unemployed.<sup>30</sup> The Portuguese Settlement has a high proportion of women in the traditional roles of childbearing, general domestic work and the cottage industries of *blachan* (shrimp paste) and *pasia* (dried fish) manufacture. Until marriage women are restricted socially. The community displays a high proportion of intra-marriage and subsequent parental residence. There were six such marriages during fieldwork in 1980-81. The Portuguese Settlement community also appears to display inward focusing in its kinship and friendship relations. Finally, it displays a high proportion of extended families with older speakers of Kristang present. The extended family is an important domain of Kristang (cf. Chan 1969:258-61). Older female members of the extended family generally share the role of mother to younger children, leaving the actual mother to carry out general domestic work, wash clothes for other households or participate in the cottage industries. All the preceding factors combine to facilitate the maintenance of a Kristang speech community.

### 1.3 Use and disuse of Kristang

#### 1.3.1 The influence of Metropolitan Portuguese

Hancock (1975:25) states that 'unlike the situation for most creole languages, no feelings of linguistic inferiority exist in Malacca since a diglossia situation has not pertained for 300 years or more'. Thus he implies that Portuguese has exerted little influence on Kristang over the last 300 years.

While it is true that speakers of the target language have not been present in large numbers since the Portuguese period it would be wrong to say that Portuguese has not exerted a subsequent influence on Kristang. In fact, there is likely to have been a continued lexical influence from Portuguese mainly through the presence of the Portuguese missionaries and to some extent through schools operating in Malacca last century.

It is not known how long after the Dutch takeover Metropolitan Portuguese co-existed with Kristang. However, Portuguese would have been used by the Portuguese Missionaries in the eighteenth century and it may have been taught to a limited extent.

As already observed above, schools for Creoles operated from early last century under the auspices of the Portuguese Mission, the London Missionary Society and the Malacca Free School. It is possible that the first of these taught some Portuguese. However, as one of the primary aims of the London Missionary Society was to teach children to read and write the vernacular languages (while also imparting English), their school for 'Portuguese' children must have taught Portuguese. The fact that their schools were segregated into Malay, Indian, Chinese and Portuguese (Harrison 1983:306) supports this view. The third school, the Malacca Free School, also taught Portuguese (Turnbull 1983:258; Harrison 1983:306). The *Eschola de meninos* 'children's school' run by the Portuguese Mission at a later date may also have taught some Portuguese, although according to the records (written mainly in Portuguese) it was an English school.

The fact that reports of proceedings of meetings of the governing body of St Peter's Church were written in Portuguese until late last century is also significant. According to Fr Manuel Teixeira (personal communication) Portuguese and Kristang were used by

the priests in the nineteenth century. A recently located Kristang text of the Gospel according to St Luke, dated 1884, is in a style approaching Portuguese (Anon. 1884). Prior to the First World War, Fr Gonçalves prepared a Kristang version of the St Anthony novena (personal communication Fr M.J. Pintado) and Fr Alvaro Coroado used Kristang in the Hilir Chapel and occasionally in St Peter's until the Second World War. Here again, it is highly likely that the type of Kristang used would have been influenced by Portuguese. The *Via Sacra* in Kristang, used by the missionaries in that period and published in Rêgo (1941-42:69-88), contains considerable Portuguese lexicon.

Some of my oldest informants consulted in Malacca claimed that in the early pre-war period the nuns in the Portuguese Convent, whom they felt were from Macao, spoke Portuguese and had taught some Portuguese. Indeed, at that time nuns were drawn both from Macao and from the community itself (personal communication Fr M.J. Pintado). In this respect, another important factor in the exposure of the Creoles to Portuguese may have been the Portuguese Convent day school<sup>31</sup> and a boarding school operating in the early 1900s whereby girls from poorer families might be taken in by the convent.<sup>32</sup>

Some older informants knew parts of the Catechism in a style of Kristang approaching Portuguese. Some families possess pre-war Portuguese editions of the Catechism, some of which had been hand copied. In the past there have been cases of individuals having been taught Portuguese by the priests. Usually these were people involved in the running of the church. There have even been past instances of young men being educated in Portuguese at St Joseph's Seminary in Macao.<sup>33</sup> Even in relatively recent times the priests held classes in Portuguese for young people and some songs were learnt in Portuguese. On occasion, in the presence of Portuguese visitors, I have observed attempts at style shifting by some speakers who have had a little formal exposure to Portuguese.

One of the consequences of this exposure of the Creoles to Portuguese has been the perpetuation of the myth that Kristang is a broken form of Metropolitan Portuguese that has no grammar.<sup>34</sup> I have heard this opinion voiced on a number of occasions by Kristang speakers (some of whom had been exposed to Portuguese formally), by priests and by Portuguese visitors to the Portuguese Settlement (some of whom have even stayed with Kristang families). Similar opinions are also to be found in local publications (cf. Pintado 1980:80-81; Sta Maria 1982:209, 211).<sup>35</sup>

#### 1.4 The current linguistic situation

Today the majority of the Creoles know local varieties of Bazaar Malay and Malaysian English.<sup>36</sup> While a number of fluent Kristang speakers are clearly more adept at Kristang and some older female speakers have very limited English, not all Creoles know Kristang. In other words, it is clear that Kristang is receding.

Various domains of Kristang use have already disappeared, for example, the traditional marriage, the festival of *San Juang* (St John) and the festival of *Intrudu* (Carnaval), to name but a few.<sup>37</sup> Other domains are in the process of disappearing, for example the tradition of the *stori rainya* and the musical traditions of the *branyo* and the *mata kantiga* (cf. Rêgo 1941-42).<sup>38</sup> The use of Kristang in the Church until the Second World War was undoubtedly of fundamental importance for linguistic maintenance. But, in the present, the Church uses English, Malay, and Cantonese. The Creoles hear mass in English.

The demise of Kristang may be hastened by the effects of a project whereby the sea along the Bandar Hilir foreshore is being filled to reclaim land (see Map 1). The effect of this project has been to landlock the Praya Lane community and cover the inshore prawn and shrimp grounds. According to fishermen in the Portuguese Settlement, the general effect of this filling on their catch has been drastic. The Praya Lane community has been forced to abandon fishing. Should the reclamation proceed further it will landlock the Portuguese Settlement. Thus, fishing, one of the last domains of Kristang is under threat.

The knowledge of English amongst the Creoles reflects the social force of this language during the British colonial period and its extensive use in the education system until 1971. It also appears that English is the language that the Creoles most frequently listen to on the radio and the television and most frequently read. English represents for them a language of social prestige. In families which are of higher socio-economic status or higher educational level, English is generally the home language, unless elder relatives who are Kristang speakers live in the same house. In the families that prefer to speak English, Kristang is often considered a low prestige language. It is even believed unwise to speak Kristang to children because it is felt that they will not learn English properly, especially with the current education system in Malay. This attitude is far more dangerous to the maintenance of Kristang than is continuous convergence with Malay. It appears that English, and not Malay, is replacing Kristang as the language of the Creole Portuguese community.

Although Malay is the lingua franca of Malacca, it is seldom spoken by the Creoles within the Portuguese Settlement among themselves. Nevertheless, Malay is currently more important than English. Bahasa Malaysia, the national language, is the language of education and public administration. Today, given the fact that a growing number of young Creoles stay at school longer and the fact that relatively few workers are employed within the Portuguese Settlement,<sup>39</sup> contact with Malay is far greater than in the past. However, in the Portuguese Settlement and within the home, the influence of Malay is mitigated by the fact that it is the language of Islam.

The linguistic behaviour of the Creoles represents a complex of multilingualism and diglossia.<sup>40</sup> In general, the Creoles display a relationship of diglossia and bilingualism between Kristang (K) and local Malaysian English (LME), bilingualism alone between Kristang and local Bazaar Malay (MP), and diglossia alone between local Malaysian English and Standard Malaysian English (SME).<sup>41</sup> In the case of the Creoles who have been educated in Bahasa Malaysia, or those who have to use Bahasa Malaysia in their employment, these may display diglossia in local Bazaar Malay and Bahasa Malaysia. The current linguistic situation may be summarised as follows:

<u>Bilingualism</u>	<u>Diglossia</u>	<u>Bilingualism with diglossia</u>
MP - K	LME - SME	K - LME
	MP - BM	

A complex of sociolinguistic factors which include such variables as age, sex, education, occupation, economic status, setting and topic of discourse determine the language used between Creoles. Thus the language used may be Kristang, English or, less commonly, Malay, or combinations of these, especially of the first two.

## NOTES

1. For the sake of uniformity in the text of this study I shall use the traditional English spelling, Malacca. However, the Malay spelling, Melaka is the form currently used in Malaysia and it is this spelling that will be used in the Kristang examples.
2. *Serani* 'Nazarene' is derived from Arabic. The word *serani* alone refers to the language in the following sentence in Bazaar Malay: *lu cakap serani* 'you speak Kristang'.
3. The Kristangs are well known in Malacca for catching and selling *grago*, a small shrimp (zool. *Acetes*) found close in-shore. The netting of this shrimp by means of the *langgiang* 'push-net' is one of the Kristang fishing traditions.
4. While I am reluctant to use the term Creole, since it is not used by the speakers themselves, it is a more flexible term diachronically than either Kristang or Portuguese Eurasian. I find the latter term particularly problematic because, as a racial term it implies that the population to which it refers is Eurasian. It does not admit people of other ethnic origins who happen to be native speakers of Creole Portuguese because of circumstances, for example slaves or adopted children (the latter feature still being relevant).
5. Unfortunately there are no studies based on more recent survey figures.
6. The 1970 census gave the respective percentages as Hokkien 46.2, Hakka 15.5, Cantonese 13.5, Hainanese 10.8, Teochiu 9.3 (L. Mearns 1983:138).
7. These slaves had been bonded to the Sultan and the merchants of Malacca. They were of various origins (Reid 1983b:170) but it is likely that many were Javanese, Balinese, Makassarese and Bugis, these peoples being predominant slave stock in the 16th century (cf. Reid 1983a and b).
8. The presence of Africans at a much later stage, 1879, is mentioned in Bird (1982:134). Batalha (1958) cites the observation of a sixteenth century visitor to Macao concerning African presence (Hancock 1975:214).
9. Bocarro (c.1634:14) reports that 250 married Portuguese owned some 2,000 slaves of various races.
10. Jack-Hinton (1969:530) is of the opinion that Portuguese marriages in Malacca were more likely to have been with Indians than with Malays, intermarriage with Muslim women being rare. However, he does not present any evidence to support this claim. Specifically, he claims that:

The Eurasian community itself when it developed was probably Luso-Indian rather than Luso-Malay, for although marriages and unions with some Malay girls and non-Muslim girls from the further east of the Archipelago did occur, Muslim political and religious antagonism must have limited the opportunities for the former marriages very considerably, and the bulk of marriages must have been with girls from Goa and the Indian forts, themselves either *Mestiço* (Portuguese-Indian Muslim or Portuguese-Hindu), low caste Hindus or slaves of various origins, with occasional orphan girls from Portugal and some Chinese.

11. The observation by Leupe (1859:7) that in 1639 there were '3,000 *casados ordinair*' has been claimed by some writers (cf. Noonan 1968:91) to mean the *casados* in the sense of European Portuguese married to locals. In the face of the observations of MacGregor (based on official correspondence of the time) and Barretto de Resende, Leupe's claims seem extraordinary. It seems more likely that the figure of 3,000 refers to a wider category of 'married men', perhaps including *mestiços* and local converts.
12. Hancock (1969:45) implies that the presence of Dutch surnames among the Creole speaking population today is evidence of Dutch-Creole Portuguese intermarriage at this time. However, while this may be true to some extent, the bulk of Dutch surnames are more likely to have resulted from the absorption by the Portuguese Eurasian community of the hitherto separate Dutch speaking Dutch Eurasian community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Chan 1969:63). Some earlier Dutch-Portuguese Eurasian marriages may have provided a precedent.

In the twentieth century there has also been an absorption of Anglo-Eurasians, a fact readily evident from English surnames among the community.

13. In Ceylon, where Creole Portuguese was in wide use in the community, in the Church and in the courts, the language was used extensively by the Dutch and their descendents and was retained as a home language well into the nineteenth century (Hesseling 1979:23-24; Smith 1977:15-22). In Batavia, the presence of a large Pidgin/Creole Portuguese speaking slave population, coupled with the fact of Dutch – Portuguese *mestiço* intermarriages, perpetuated the use of Creole Portuguese (Boxer 1965:224-25). Lopes (1936:163) claims that in seventeenth century Batavia, among the free men and slaves of the Dutch East Indies Company, Portuguese was more widely spoken than Dutch and Malay.
14. Fox (1983:249) states that in Batavia, until approximately 1660, the majority of slaves were not from the Indonesian region but from Bengal, Arakan, Malabar and the Coromandel coast. They spoke Creole Portuguese and were responsible for its spread amongst the slave population (cf. Fox 1983:257). To what extent Dutch slaves in Malacca were also of Indian origin is not clear from existing studies.
15. Bort (1678:39-44) lists 733 Dutch, 588 Malays (+180 slaves), 214 Moors (+214 slaves) and 426 Chinese (+237 slaves).
16. Hancock (1970:355-56) finds that the greatest sphere of Dutch influence in the lexicon of Kristang is in items relating to the home.
17. In fact Bort says (1678:76) that until 1646 the Catholics had enjoyed free practise of religion publicly, however, on June 12 1646, 'the practise of the Romish faith was interdicted for the first time'. Later comments (p.85) suggest that neither the 1646 nor the 1666 proclamation had much effect.
18. In the New World the identification of the colonising language with Christianity is evident in such expressions as Spanish *¡Hable cristiano!* and Portuguese *falar como um cristão* 'to speak clearly'.

19. A number of Creoles fought against the Japanese in D-Company, a completely Eurasian company of the Malacca Volunteer Company. During the Japanese occupation the Creoles suffered an increased death rate and a reduction in the male population owing to forced conscription by the Japanese (Chan 1969:88-89). The Japanese occupation marked the end of the effective use of Kristang in the Church and the suspension of many cultural traditions (including religious practice) for a period of three years.
20. Paragraph numbering is from the original.
21. Since Malaysian Independence there has been some migration to the U.K., Canada and Australia. The largest number of migrants appears to be in Perth, Western Australia.
22. I say 'mainly males' projecting backward from the fact that among my informants, old women who have lived in traditional fishing households generally had little or no education. In fact, three of my oldest female informants coming from such backgrounds claimed to know very little English and commented that their mothers had known virtually no English.
23. Chan (1969:21) notes that the 1911 Federated Malay States census commented on the keen ability of the Eurasians to speak English. He also notes (p.22) that towards the end of the nineteenth century in Government employment generally, and in Malacca, a preponderance of Eurasians among the non-Europeans employed.
24. The 1891 census lists 1,756 'Eurasians' without distinguishing the type of Eurasian (Chan 1967:70). However, a census conducted by the Portuguese Mission in 1889 listed 1,571 Portuguese Eurasians (Chan 1969:97).
25. To judge from personal observation of the community, generally the educational level attained by Creoles has been low (cf. Chan 1983:272). The educational level of women is traditionally much lower than that of men. Of older female informants consulted, few had more than one or two years of school and three had none at all.
26. Although the Portuguese Settlement was the concept of a French missionary, Fr Jules Pierre François, its realisation was yet another instance of the favourable disposition of the British Administration towards the Eurasians (cf. Chan 1969:22; Silva 1981:5-10).
27. In recent times the National and State Governments have shown some interest in the community and have funded the construction, at the Portuguese Settlement, of a jetty for the fishing boats and a new community building. More important, in 1984 the Creoles were extended some of the *bumiputera* 'son of the soil' privileges (access to education, bank finance, special grants, etc.) of Malays.
28. Kristang is also spoken as a second language by three Chinese shop families in the Portuguese Settlement and a fourth in the Praya Lane community.
29. As noted in 1.2.3 above, fishing appears to have been the main occupation of the Creoles in the nineteenth century. This century, however, it has declined in importance as a full-time activity both for economic and environmental reasons (cf. Chan 1969:160-67). A survey conducted in 1979 revealed that 43 men were involved full-time in fishing-related activities, 37 as fishermen and six as fishmongers. It

was found that 33 families were dependent on fishing as their sole livelihood and that an additional 50 families depended on fishing for subsistence income (Portuguese Settlement Housing Survey 1979; Banerji 1979); the real figure in the latter case was probably higher. During fieldwork it was observed that, on reaching retirement, men frequently took up fishing.

30. Chan (1969:258-60) found that the use of Kristang in the home was generally an inverse index of educational achievement and economic status. This observation appears valid for the present also. Comments on unemployment are based on the Portuguese Settlement Housing Survey (1979) and on personal observation.
31. One older female informant commented that in the 1920s, some Creole parents preferred to send their children to the French Convent school because it was felt that at the Portuguese Convent school they would learn too little English!
32. The term *fila di skola* 'daughter of the school' was used by elderly female informants in reference to these 'boarders'.
33. One such ex-student, interviewed in Singapore, spoke Portuguese fluently.
34. Yet another popular myth is the claim that Kristang is medieval Portuguese (Houston 1983:77).
35. Recently certain Portuguese have expressed interest in the idea that Kristang should be taught formally. However, such an exercise is of dubious value as those involved have also indicated their wish that Standard Portuguese be taught along with Kristang.
36. By 'local variety of Malaysian English' I mean a variety of English situated on a continuum between the two varieties described by Platt and Weber (1980:167-82): Malaysian English (1) and Malaysian English (2). The former is a variety whose speakers were English medium educated, the latter a variety whose speakers were Malay medium educated.
37. These traditions are well described in Silva 1981.
38. Undoubtedly the disappearance of these domains is owed to a great extent to the influence of Western culture. With reference to the musical traditions, the introduction of Portuguese regional dances and songs which are completely foreign to the community has also had a strong negative effect.
39. According to the Portuguese Settlement Housing Survey (1979), about 21% worked within the community. Those who worked outside were employed in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs; the semi-skilled workers were a minority. The main types of work were: factory worker 32%, labourer 16%, clerk 10%.
40. Diglossia in both its classical and its extended use. (Fishman 1971:75).
41. By standard Malaysian English I mean the ex-official standard of education.



## Chapter 2

### PHONOLOGY OUTLINE

As the main focus of this study is on the syntax of Kristang, the present chapter will be limited to outlining the basic points of the phonology. As such it builds on and extends knowledge of the sound system that has been provided by Hancock (1969, 1973) and Batalha (1981). Certain aspects of these descriptions will be referred to in that which follows.

In particular, the present study aims at describing the main segmental and suprasegmental characteristics of the surface phonology of Kristang. For descriptive convenience, however, some formal devices taken from Generative Phonology are used. Bearing in mind the limitations of distinctive features for describing sounds (Ladefoged 1980) and the fact that an extensive acoustic and articulatory study of Kristang has not been conducted, I shall adopt the features of Chomsky and Halle (1968) for the description of some aspects of the sound pattern of Kristang. Any departure from these will be explained where relevant. Unless otherwise indicated, representations are in broad phonetic notation and an acute accent is used to indicate primary stress.

In the following sections I shall describe the consonant and vowel phonemes of Kristang and their realisations. Attention is given to the question of reduced vowels, stress, diphthongs and syllabic consonants. Finally, the phonotactics of Kristang and the issue of stress placement are outlined and the question of an orthography is raised.

Throughout the discussion the strategies of Smith (1977:38-40) in dealing with native and non-native lexicon of Sri Lanka Creole Portuguese, a creole with a similar history, are adopted. Principally, Dutch loans are treated as native for the reason that the period of Dutch influence is over. The creoles do not know Dutch and do not recognise Dutch loans as non-native. However, in the present study, loans from languages which the creoles do know and which exert a continuing influence on the creole, Malay and English in the case of Malacca, are considered if such words have been absorbed to the extent that their origin is unknown to Kristang speakers or they have completely replaced a Kristang item. Thus, segments which occur in identifiable loans from Malay, for example [ʔ], and English, for example [ʃ], are omitted from the discussion.

## 2.1 Consonants

Kristang has the following consonant phonemes:

	Table 2.1: Kristang consonant phonemes					
	bilabial	labio-dental	alveo-dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	velar
stop	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>		<i>t</i> <i>d</i>			<i>k</i> <i>g</i>
affricate					<i>c</i> <i>j</i>	
fricative		<i>f</i> ( <i>v</i> )	<i>s</i> <i>z</i>			
nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
tap/trill				<i>r</i>		
lateral liquid			<i>l</i>			

Aside from the inclusion of the phoneme (*v*), which is highly infrequent and restricted in distribution, this inventory corresponds with that given by Hancock (1973:25), except that Hancock uses /*ch*/ for /*c*/, /*ny*/ for /*ɲ*/ and includes /*w*/ and /*y*/ as consonant phonemes. For reasons discussed in 2.4, these latter segments are treated as non-syllabic vocoids.

The above consonant inventory overlaps with the overall consonant system of Malay (including native Malay and loan consonants) described in Onn 1980:8-21.

### 2.1.1 Distribution and contrasts of consonants

The phoneme system of Kristang consists of a core of highly frequent phonemes with full distributions and a periphery of infrequent phonemes with restricted distributions.

In this section we establish the phonemic inventory for the consonant system on the basis of phonological contrasts.

### 2.1.1.1 Stops

Stops contrast in initial and medial position in identical environments:

/p/	[páy]	father	[kapá]	castrate
/b/	[báy]	go	[kabá]	finish
/t/	[téng]	have, be	[áti]	until
/d/	[déng]	dried stingray	[ádi]	duck
/k/	[kabá]	finish	[sáku]	sack, pocket
/g/	[gabá]	praise	[ságu]	sago

### 2.1.1.2 Affricates

Affricates contrast in initial and medial position in identical environments:

/c/	[céru]	smell	[iñcídu]	full
/j/	[jéru]	son-in-law	[jiñjibri]	ginger, gums

### 2.1.1.3 Fricatives

All fricatives contrast medially but only three contrast initially and /s/ alone occurs in final position:

/f/	[fáy]	do	[kófi]	coffee
/s/	[sáy]	go out	[kósi]	kick
	[más]	more	[suñá]	to plant, dream
/z/	[zuñá]	beat, thrash	[kóza]	so and so
/f/			[bafá]	to steam
/z/			[bazá]	pour
/s/			[básu]	under
/f/			[báfu]	breath

Initial /z/ occurs only in [zuñá] 'beat, thrash', a verb which is unknown to many younger speakers. In time, feasibly, /z/ will not contrast initially.

#### /v/

A very small number of older speakers show an initial contrast [bós] 'you' : [vós] 'voice'. However, all speakers have /v/ medially in [nóvi] 'nine', contrasting with [nómi] 'name'.<sup>1</sup> Thus, while [v] must be considered part of the Kristang system, it is marginal in the sense that it is highly limited in frequency and distribution.

Historically, in certain words, Kristang /b/ corresponds to Portuguese /v/, for example, Kristang [núbu] : P. *novo* 'new'.

#### 2.1.1.4 Nasals

##### Initial position

Only /m/, /n/ and /ɲ/ contrast:

/m/	[máng]	hand
/n/	[náng]	NEG IMP
	[namás]	only
/ɲ/	[ɲámi]	tapioca

The phoneme /ɲ/ occurs infrequently in initial position. The other words observed with initial /ɲ/ are [ɲá] and [ɲú], abbreviations of [madríɲa] and [padríɲu], 'godmother' and 'godfather' respectively, and [ɲa], an abbreviation of [míɲa] 'my', frequent in the expression [ɲa mái] 'good heavens!' (literally: 'my mother!').

##### Medial position

Here all nasals contrast:

/m/	[káma]	bed
/n/	[kána]	cane
	[mína]	hymen, virgin
/ɲ/	[líɲa]	line
	[kuɲádu]	brother-in-law
/ng/	[lungádu]	lunatic, crazy <sup>2</sup>

##### Final position

/m/, /n/ and /ng/ occur in final position, the former two being infrequent:

/m/	[dám]	draughts
/n/	[kalkún]	turkey (< D. <i>kalkoen</i> )
/ng/	[máng]	hand

No contrasts have been found in identical environments.

#### 2.1.1.5 The sequence nasal + consonant

Nasals do not contrast before a consonant. The point of articulation is homorganic with that of the following consonant. Consider the following examples:

[kanggrézu]	crab
[kambráng]	prawn
[kántu]	1. how many, 2. corner
[káɲji]	porridge
[kansádu]	tired
[kandía]	candle

At a fast rate of utterance the same process applies across word boundaries:

[kambrángmizáng]	[kambrammizáng]	mizang prawn
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### 2.1.1.6 Flap/trill /r/

/r/ contrasts in initial medial and final positions:

[réntu]	inside	[kára]	face	[már]	sea
[dénti]	tooth	[káda]	each	[mál]	bad
[pézu]	weight	[káma]	bed	[más]	more
[ríña]	sirindit bird	[kána]	cane	[máng]	hand
[líña]	line				

/r/ is realised both as a tap and a trill. These are not positional variants but rather depend on emphasis, the trill occurring under stress.

### 2.1.1.7 Lateral liquid

/l/ contrasts in initial, medial and final positions:

[láya]	kind	[fóla]	leaf	[mál]	bad
[ráya]	stingray	[fóra]	outside	[már]	sea

## 2.2 Vowels

In Hancock's (1973:25) description of the Kristang vowel system he noted that 'Papia Kristang has eight vowels, only six of which are contrastive (with one located exception: *pétu* 'chest, breast' and *pétu* 'near' < Portuguese *peito* and *perto* respectively). These are /i/, /e/ - /e/, /a/, /ɔ/ - /o/, /u/ and /ə/'. Although it is not clear from this statement just what phonemic status the author was giving the variants /e/, and /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /o/, it is apparent from his orthography (see 2.7.2) that they are treated as variants of phonemes.

The present description differs slightly from that of Hancock (1973) in its phonological interpretation of the surface vowel phones. In particular, it assigns phonemic status to /e/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /o/, and phonemic and allophonic status to /ə/. The following system of eight vowel phonemes and the marginal phoneme /ae/ is proposed:

	Unrounded		Rounded
	Front	Central	Back
High	i e		u o
Mid	ɛ (ae)	ë	ɔ
Low		a	

While the core vowel system of Kristang resembles that of Malay, the latter has only six vowel phonemes /i/, /e/, /ə/, /u/, /o/ (Onn 1980:19-23). However, [e], [ɛ], [ɔ], [o] are present in the phonetic output of some varieties of Malay (Yunus Maris 1980:32). Malay also shares with Kristang the feature of having [ə] both as a realisation of /ə/ and as a realisation of /a/ (Onn 1980:21).<sup>3</sup> The status of [ə] in Kristang is discussed below in sections 2.2.1.3, 2.3 and 2.3.1.

The features 'high' and 'low' (Chomsky and Halle 1965) are inadequate for the description of the Kristang vowel system which displays more than three degrees of contrastive opening on the surface. Thus, I have adopted a single feature 'height', which in this case allows five degrees of height. The above vowels may be given the following feature specification:

	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ae</i>	<i>ë</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
Height	5	4	3	2	2	1	3	4	5
Back	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Round	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+

### 2.2.1 Distribution and contrasts

As in the case of the consonant system, when discussing the vowels of Kristang it is fitting to speak of a core system and of marginal phonemes.

Although Kristang employs the nine vowel phonemes set out above, two of these, /ae/ and /ë/, are of a different nature to that of the remaining seven.

The vowel /ae/ may be considered a marginal phoneme not belonging to the core system. It occurs in only four words, three of English origin and the fourth of unknown origin:

/ae/	[áenti]	aunt	<E. <i>auntie</i>
	[ántis]	before	
	[gáempa]	grandfather	<E. <i>grandpa</i>
	[gáemma]	grandmother	<E. <i>grandma</i>
	[gáelës]	gills	

The vowel /ë/, although part of the system, is of low frequency and limited distribution. The status of /ë/ will be discussed in 2.2.1.3, 2.3 and 2.3.1 below.

Seven vowel phonemes constitute the core system: /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/, /u/. However, the full core system is only evident in medial position, since in initial and final position /e/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /o/ do not contrast.

#### Initial

/i/	[íra]	anger
/ɛ/	[ɛrá]	perhaps
	[ɛ́la]	yard measurement
/e/	[éli]	he, she, it

/a/	[alí]	there
	[alá]	there (further)
	[álu]	garlic
/o/	[ólu]	eye
/ɔ/	[ɔlá]	to see
	[ónti]	yesterday
/u/	[úndi]	where

### Medial

/i/	[míl]	thousand
/ɛ/	[mɛl]	bee, honey
	[kɛtu]	quiet
/e/	[rétu]	correct
/a/	[mál]	bad
/ɔ/	[mɔli]	soft
/o/	[gólí]	children's game of marbles
/u/	[fúla]	flower, vulva

### Final

/i/	[rí]	laugh
	[kí]	what?
/e/	[fazé]	do
/a/	[dá]	give
	[di]	of
	[lá]	emphasis marker (<MP lah)
/ɔ/	[dɔ]	mourning
/o/	[lo]	future marker
/u/	[uzdú]	cuckold
	[kú]	arse

The distribution and status of /e/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /o/ is somewhat problematic as they are subject to considerable variation. Some aspects of this variation will be discussed in the following sections.

#### 2.2.1.1 The problem of [e] and [ɛ]

[e] and [ɛ] only contrast in medial position. Hancock (1969, 1973) drew attention to the pair [pɛtu] 'near' : [pétu] 'chest' as evidence of the phonemic status of these vowels. This pair raises an interesting point. [ɛ] occurs before /r\$/ word internally. However, /r/ in syllable final position word internally is variable and currently being lost from many words. In many cases, words containing syllable final /r/ internally present three forms, one without /r/, one with /r/ shifted by metathesis either into the following syllable or to prevocalic position in the same syllable:

[pɛtu] ~ [pɛtru] ~ [pɛrtu] near

The effect of this variation is to create words containing [ɛ] which may contrast with [e], as in the case mentioned by Hancock noted above:

	[bɛ́su]	~	[bɛ́rsu]	song, verse
cf.	[bésu]			lip

Clear cut cases of contrast are few and seem to be restricted to three environments: before /t/, /s/ and /z/:

[bésu]	lip
[mɛ́su]	still
[rétu]	correct
[kɛ́tu]	quiet
[tézu]	tight
[rɛ́zu]	prayer
[azéti]	oil
[léti]	milk
[séti]	seven

In view of this, the most plausible approach seems to be to treat [ɛ] and [e] as phonemes which are distinctive only before /t/, /z/, /s/.<sup>4</sup> In all other environments the distinction is neutralised, [ɛ] and [e] occurring in free variation. There is a tendency for the open and close vowels to be preferred in certain environments. However, there is nothing systematic about their distribution. Preferred environments for [ɛ] and [e] are as follows:

	[ɛ]		
__r\$	[bɛ́rsu]	song, verse	
__m	[lɛ́mi]	rudder	
__ñ	[lɛ́ña]	firewood	
__b	[lɛ́bi]	light (weight)	
__k	[sɛ́ku]	dry	
__l#	[mɛ́l]	honey, bee	
	[e]		
__#	[keré]	to want	
__r#	[mulér]	woman (variant infrequently heard)	
__s#	[lés]	to read	
__d	[sédi]	thirst	

In a large number of words the distribution of [ɛ] and [e] displays a tendency towards vowel harmony. The tendency is for a height correspondence between the penultimate vowel and the word-final vowel. This is particularly clear when such words end in /a/, in which case [ɛ], rather than [e], tends to occur as the penultimate vowel. Some clear cases are:

[bemfɛ́ta]	beautiful
[bɛ́la]	old (female)
[guɛ́la]	gullet



<i>[lagréza]</i>	generous
<i>[pɛgá]</i>	to catch

On the other hand if a word ends in /u/, [e], rather than [ɛ], tends to occur as the penultimate vowel:

<i>[bemfétu]</i>	handsome
<i>[bélu]</i>	old (male)
<i>[prégu]</i>	nail

### 2.2.1.2 The problem of [o] and [ɔ]

As in the case of [e] and [ɛ], [o] and [ɔ] contrast only in medial position in a few words. Clear cases are before /l/ and /d/:

<i>[góli]</i>	marbles game
<i>[móli]</i>	soft
<i>[bódu]</i> ~ <i>[bódru]</i>	edge
<i>[dódu]</i>	crazy

However, as in the case of [ɛ], [ɔ] occurs before /r\$/ which is currently being lost in many words and gives rise to further contrasts before /t/:

<i>[sóti]</i> ~ <i>[sórti]</i>	type
<i>[anóti]</i>	night

Given these contrasts, it appears that the two vowels must be treated as phonemes which only contrast before /l/, /d/ and /t/.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere, the distinction is neutralised, [o] and [ɔ] occurring in free variation. Again, as in the case of [ɛ] and [e], there is a tendency for the open and close vowels to be preferred in certain environments. But the distribution is not systematic. Notable preferred environments for [ɔ] and [o] are:

	[ɔ]	
__b	<i>[póbri]</i>	poor
__v	<i>[nóvi]</i>	nine
__m	<i>[nómi]</i>	name
__n\$	<i>[pɔntá]</i>	to shoot
__ñ	<i>[bɛrgɔñúzu]</i>	shy
__tr	<i>[ótru]</i>	another
__r\$	<i>[fórsa]</i>	strong
__k	<i>[ókɛl]</i>	spectacles

	[o]	
__d	<i>[pódi]</i>	can, be able
__t	<i>[anóti]</i>	night
__z	<i>[ózi]</i>	today
__s#	<i>[bós]</i>	you
__r#	<i>[amór]</i>	love
__ng	<i>[bóng]</i>	good

Parallel to the case of /e/ and /ɛ/ discussed above, for many words the distribution of /o/ and /ɔ/ displays a tendency towards vowel harmony with the word final vowel. If a word ends in /u/, there is a tendency for [o] to be preferred in the penultimate syllable, and if a word ends in /a/, [ɔ] tends to be preferred. Some clear cases are the following:

[sɔgru]	father-in-law	[sɔgra]	mother-in-law
[bɔlu]	cake	[bɔla]	ball
[prigasɔzu]	lazy (male)	[prigasɔza]	lazy (female)
[fɔru]	trouble	[fɔra]	outside
[trɔku]	turn	[tɔkɔ]	touch
[ɔru]	gold	[nɔra]	daughter-in-law
[sabrɔzu]	tasty	[angkɔza]	something
[dɔnu]	owner	[tɔna]	again

### 2.2.1.3 The problem of [ɛ̃]

A consideration of the limited distribution of [ɛ̃] suggests that the status of this vowel is complex. It has two functions: 1. It is a phoneme. 2. It is a positional variant of /a/ in unstressed syllables. In the following sections both these functions are considered.

### 2.2.1.4 Phonemic status of [ɛ̃]

The vowel [ɛ̃] only contrasts with other vowels in a medial position and never with main stress:

[mɛ̃rká]	to overturn
[marká]	to mark
[mɛ̃rká]	to stare
[bɛ̃ryá]	to caulk a boat <sup>6</sup>
[baryádu]	confused
[prɛ̃sizu]	need, necessary
[prɛ̃stádu]	quickly
[kɛ̃né]	small
[kanyá]	to thrash
[rɛ̃dónu]	round
[rɛ̃dáda]	a lot of

There is also a large number of frequently used words derived from Malay, English and Dutch containing [ɛ̃] and conforming to Kristang syllable structure. Some of these, which Kristang speakers do not identify as foreign, are further evidence for contrastive distribution of [ɛ̃]:

[pɛ̃sɔ]	to prick	(<M. <i>pesok</i> )
[pɛ̃sɔñna]	poison	
[sɛ̃ré]	lemon grass	(<M. <i>serai</i> )
[sɛ̃rɛ̃nu]	dew	
[kɛ̃rá]	food stuck to the pot	(<D. <i>kraag</i> )
[korázi]	naughty	

In view of the above distribution, [ĕ] must be treated as a marginal phoneme not occurring with main stress.

## 2.3 Unstressed vowels in word final position

Although Hancock (1973) does not discuss unstressed vowels he consistently represents words such as *kaza* 'house' as /káză/, where /ă/ = /ĕ/. Moreover, he states (1973:25) that '/ə/ is realised as a half-close back vowel with lip spreading /ɣ/, especially in final position; otherwise it is articulated in mid-central position'.

Ignoring the clues in Hancock (1973), Batalha (1981:42) maintains that reduced vowels are practically non-existent in Kristang: '*As vogais reduzidas, aliás, são praticamente inexistentes no papiá e até o o final, transcrito [u], é bastante audível,...*'.

The findings of this analysis, however, are that Kristang does have reduced vowels and that they may be related to stress not only in word-final position but also internally.

### 2.3.1 Stress and reduced vowels

There is considerable contention in the literature as to the phonetic nature of stress. It has variously been correlated with loudness, increased muscular effort in the lungs (i.e. intensity), duration and especially with pitch (Fry 1955, Lehiste 1970).

Regardless of the phonetic nature of stress, in Kristang stressed and unstressed syllables are readily perceivable. Thus, the words

[káza]	house
[kazá]	marry

are identified by their different tonic stress. Aside from tonic stress, two other levels may be identified: secondary, as in the first syllable in [kazá]; and zero, as in the second syllable of [kazamintu] 'wedding' or in the second syllable of [káza]. These levels may be shown as follows:

[káza]	house
1 0	
[kazá]	marry
2 1	
[kazamintu]	wedding
2 0 1 0	

The distribution of vowel phones may, for the purpose of description, be related to the stress strength of the syllable in which the vowel occurs (the assignment of stress will be discussed in section 2.6.5 and 2.6.6 below). Thus, /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /o/, /u/ will be realised as [i], [e], [ɛ], [a], [ɔ], [u] in a syllable with stress 1 (main stress) or stress 2. However, in unstressed syllables they are realised as [-tense] as [ĩ], [ẽ], [ɛ̃], [ã], [ô], [d̃], [ù]:

$$V \text{ ---> } [-\text{tense}] / \text{-----} \\ \text{-stress}$$

In an unstressed syllable, /a/ is variably realised as [ɛ]:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ +\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{round} \\ -\text{tense} \end{array} \right] \text{ ----> } \left( \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{2 high} \end{array} \right] \right) / \text{-----} \\ \text{-stress}$$

One factor influencing the variation is the speed of utterance, the lax vowel tending to occur in slow deliberate speech and [ɛ] occurring otherwise.

## 2.4 Diphthongs and vowel sequences

Kristang has the following repertoire of word internal vowel sequences:

1	/au/	[áw]	[páw]	stick
2 (a)	/ai/	[áy]	[páy]	father
(b)		[aí]	[raíña]	queen
3 (a)	/eu/	[éw]	[séw]	sky
(b)		[éw]	[péw]	foot
4 (a)	/oi/	[óy]	[nóyba]	girlfriend
(b)		[óy]	[nóybu]	boyfriend
5	/io/	[yó]	[byóla]	violin
6 (a)	/ui/	[úy]	[rúybu]	bream fish
(b)		[wí]	[mwí]	grind
7 (a)	/iu/	[íw]	[fríw]	cold
(b)		[yú]	[syúmi]	jealousy
8 (a)	/ua/	[wá]	[rakwá]	shift
(b)		[úa]	[cúa]	rain
9 (a)	/ia/	[yá]	[pyáng]	spinning top
(b)		[ià]	[día]	day
10 (a)	/ue/	[wé]	[dwénti]	ill
(b)		[wé]	[gwéla]	gullet

Of the above vowel sequences, numbers 1-7, 8a, 9a, and 10 are monosyllabic and numbers 2b, 8b and 9b are bisyllabic. The monosyllabic sequences are differentiated according to whether the first or the second vowel is stressed. Numbers 5, 6b, 7b, 8a, 9a, 10 are stressed on the second vowel and numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 6a, 7a are stressed on the first vowel.

In addition, Kristang has the following sequences of three vowels:

[láya]	kind, type
[bóya]	buoy

I have chosen to treat sequences of vowels as sequences of vowel phonemes because the greater number occur across word boundaries and those that are word internal and monosyllabic have a restricted distribution.

In this treatment, the first element in word internal VV sequences may be realised as a full vowel or a nonsyllabic glide derived from a vowel phoneme. If the first element is a full vowel, the second element may be a glide or a full vowel. Thus the possibilities are:

V	+	V	(2 syllabic peaks)	[cúá]	rain
				[díá]	day
glide	+	V	(1 syllabic peak)	[dyábu]	devil
				[gwéla]	gullet
V	+	glide	(1 syllabic peak)	[péw]	foot
				[páy]	father

Certain facts favour an analysis whereby glides are derived from vowel phonemes. Glides are derived from vowels across word boundaries:

/ku/ + /eli/ ---> [kweli]

These sequences of glide and vowel are precisely those found word internally. A rule will be required for glide derivation to work across word boundaries and alternative pronunciations of some words suggest such an analysis is valid internally:

[papiá]    [papyá]    talk  
[dʰénsá]    [dwénsá]    illness

Moreover, the distribution of [w] and [y] is quite deficient. [y] only occurs word initially in one word, [yó] 'I'. [w] only occurs word initially in one word, [wésti] 'west'. Medially, [y] and [w] are most frequent between stops and vowels. [y] occurs between [p, m, f, d, t, s, l, k] and [a], and between [b, n] and [o], and [b] and [u]. [w] occurs between [b, g, ng, t, j, k] and [a] and between [b, m, k] and [i], and between [d, g] and [e]. Examples:

		[y]			[w]		
		C + {		[y]	} + [a]:		
				[w]			
/b/					[abwá]		fly
/p/	[pyáng]						
/f/	[kɔmfyá]						
/m/	[amyáng]						
/d/	[dyánta]						
/t/	[tyáng]				[twála]		towel
/s/	[syára]						
/l/	[alyáda]						
/j/					[ñjwádu]		fed up
/g/					[nsagwá]		rise
/k/	[caskyá]						be coquettish

## C + [y] + [o]:

/b/	[byóla]	violin
/n/	[nyóra]	shortly

## C + [y] + [u]:

/b/	[byúba]	widow
-----	---------	-------

## C + [w] + [i]:

/m/	[mwí]	grind
/k/	[kwidádu]	take care

## C + [w] + [e]:

/d/	[dwénti]	ill
/g/	[gwéla]	gullet

Intervocalic distribution of [w] and [y] is very limited. [w] only occurs in Malay derived items, for example, [rawé] 'type of fishing line'. [y] occurs in the following:

[goyéba]	guava
[bóya]	buoy
[láya]	kind
[páya]	marsh
[sáya]	dress
[kabáya]	traditional women's blouse
[ráya]	stingray
[ráyu]	wicked
[gayóla]	cage

The deficient distribution of [w] and [y] in initial and intervocalic positions, and their high frequency between consonants and vowels suggests that they are not underlying phonemes. Indeed, there is never a contrast between [y] and [i] or between [w] and [u]. Therefore, it appears that the more appropriate approach is to derive the glides from underlying vowels /u/ and /i/.

In summary, glides in Kristang may be derived by means of the following rule which operates word-internally and across word boundaries:

100. <i>nsentu</i>	2,000. <i>dosmil</i>
101. <i>nsentuńgua</i>	3,000. <i>tresmil</i>
200. <i>dosentu</i>	1,000,000. <i>ńgua milińng, m milińng</i>
1,000. <i>ńgua mil, m mil</i>	

The words *sentu*, *mil*, *milińng*, as opposed to *nsentu*, *ńgua mil* and *ńgua milińng*, mean respectively 'hundreds, thousands, millions' for example:

- (5) *sentu di jenti*  
 hundreds S people  
 'Hundreds of people'.

Another semantic class of numerals, ordinal numerals, constitutes part of the postmodifier of the nominal (see 4.1.7).

### 3.4 Nouns

The noun in Kristang has the following characteristics:

1. it may function as the head of a NP
2. it may be premodified by a demonstrative article
3. it may be premodified or postmodified by a *sa* possessive construction

Nouns denote entities or classes of entities.

Nouns in Kristang fall into three classes: common, proper, and abstract.

#### 3.4.1 Common nouns

Common nouns are formally distinguished from proper nouns by the fact that they may co-occur with adjectives, determiners and certain quantifiers. Unlike proper nouns, common nouns do not by themselves denote individual entities. Rather, they denote classes to which individual entities may be related.

There are two main classes of common nouns: count nouns, and non-count nouns, respectively:

1. *omi* 'man', *trigi* 'tiger', *kaza* 'house', ...
2. *farinya* 'flour', *lama* 'mud', *agu* 'water', ...

Formally, count nouns are distinguished from non-count nouns by the ability of the former to co-occur with numerals and the inability of the latter to reduplicate.

##### 3.4.1.1 Sex distinction

A small number of common nouns show a sex distinction by having distinct feminine and masculine forms:

<i>alkubitera</i>	procuress
<i>alkubiteru</i>	procuror
<i>bela</i>	old woman
<i>belu</i>	old man

<i>fila</i>	daughter
<i>filu</i>	son
<i>galinya</i>	hen
<i>galu</i>	rooster
<i>kuzinyera</i>	cook (female)
<i>kuzinyeru</i>	cook (male)
<i>madrinya / nyá</i>	godmother, female sponsor at wedding
<i>padrinya / nyú</i>	godfather, male sponsor at wedding
<i>nóiba</i>	girlfriend, fiancée, bride
<i>nóibu</i>	boyfriend, fiancé, groom
<i>priseza</i>	princess
<i>prispi</i>	prince
<i>raínya</i>	queen
<i>re</i>	king
<i>sogra</i>	mother-in-law
<i>sogru</i>	father-in-law
<i>tia</i>	aunt
<i>tiu</i>	uncle

This distinction maintains a distinction found in Portuguese. A sex distinction found in the adjective class discussed below (section 3.6) also derives from this source.

A distinction in noun sex is otherwise made by means of compounding the nouns *machu* 'male' or *femi* 'female' to the noun in question:

- |                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| (6)a. <i>baka machu</i> | b. <i>baka femi</i> |
| bovine male             | bovine female       |
| 'bull'                  | 'cow'               |

This process has a parallel in Malay:

- |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (7)a. <i>lembu jantan</i> | b. <i>lembu betina</i> |
| bovine male               | bovine female          |
| 'bull'                    | 'cow'                  |

The construction is also found in other creole languages, in Portuguese based creoles such as those of Cabo Verde (Almada 1961:91, Meintel 1975:211), Ceylon (Dalgado 1900:30) and São Tomé (Ferraz 1979:60) and non-Portuguese based such as Martinique Creole French and Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1974:90-91).

### 3.4.2 Proper nouns

Formally, proper nouns do not reduplicate and they do not take adjectives in the postmodifier.<sup>4</sup>

Typically they denote uniquely identifiable entities and in this role they do not occur with premodifiers. Semantically, the class consists of four types of names:

#### 1. Personal names:

John, Anna, Jeroni, Filomena, etc.



## 2. Calendar items:

a. Days:	<i>dumingu</i> <i>sabdu</i>	Sunday Saturday <sup>5</sup>
b. Months:	<i>disemba</i> <i>jun</i>	December June <sup>6</sup>
c. Festivals:	<i>natál</i> <i>sanpedru</i>	Christmas St Peter's

## 3. Geographical names:

a. Countries:	<i>samatra</i> <i>siám</i>	Sumatra Thailand
b. Cities, suburbs:	<i>malaka</i> <i>padri sa chang</i>	Malacca <sup>7</sup> The Portuguese Settlement
c. Islands:	<i>ila grani</i>	Pulau Besar, the main island to the south of Melaka
d. Hills:	<i>oiteru bandera</i>	St Paul's Hill

In certain cases, the reference of a proper noun may be [-unique]. When this occurs, the proper noun in question may behave as a common noun, taking demonstratives, quantity words or numerals and attributive adjectives:

- (8)a. *kál n̄gua John?*  
which one  
'Which John?'
- b. *akeli John*  
that  
'That John'.
- c. *kada natál*  
each Christmas  
'Each Christmas'.
- d. *anu nubu*  
year new  
'New Year'.

### 3.4.3 Abstract nouns

Abstract nouns share with other nouns the features of functioning as a NP head which may be premodified by a *sa* possessive construction. They do not occur with postmodifiers or with numerals. Abstract nouns denote immaterial entities.

The class of abstract nouns is small and includes the following:

<i>alegria</i>	happiness
<i>andasáng</i>	behaviour
<i>káuzu</i>	reason, cause

<i>lebransa</i>	thought, memory
<i>sintidu</i>	feeling, thought
<i>siúmi</i>	jealousy
<i>trabalu</i>	trouble, difficulty

The following examples show typical functions of abstract nouns:

- (9)a. *yo mpodi falá eli sa trabalu*  
 1s NEG-can tell 3s G trouble  
 'I can't (even begin to) tell (you) his troubles'.
- b. *eli sa andasáng aké sorti*  
 3s G behaviour that type  
 'His behaviour was like that'.
- c. *aké aliadu nté alegria*  
 that party NEG-have happiness  
 'That party has no life (isn't enjoyable)'.

The function of abstract nouns is frequently fulfilled by adjectives or verbs premodified by a *sa* possessive construction:

- (10)a. *eli sa ráiba you mpodi aguentá*  
 3s G angry 1s NEG-can endure  
 'I can't bear his anger'
- (10)b. *eli sa kumí ngka retu*  
 3s G eat NEG correct  
 'His diet was incorrect'

### 3.5 Pronouns

Pronouns may be formally distinguished from nouns by the fact that they never occur with premodifiers or attributive adjectives and they do not reduplicate. There are five classes of pronoun: personal, indefinite, deictic, relative, and interrogative.

#### 3.5.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns make specific reference to people and animate entities (the latter applies to the third person only). They represent a small closed class which may be distinguished from indefinite pronouns by the following characteristics:

1. They have a person distinction.
2. They have a number contrast.

Contemporary Kristang has the following system of personal pronouns:

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	<i>yo</i>	<i>nu ~ nus</i>
2	<i>bo ~ bos</i>	<i>bolotu</i>
3	<i>e ~ el ~ eli</i>	<i>olotu</i>

The third person person singular pronoun, *eli* 'he, she', may refer to [+/-human] and [+/-animate] entities.

Other pronouns have been reported in the past. Rêgo (1941:15, 1942:54,61) notes *ela* 'she' (which he states is rare), *elotro* 'they' and *nos* 'we'. Hancock (1975:212) did not find *ela* in 1968 although it is registered by Knowlton (1964:239) and Rêgo. Hancock (1973:26) observes also *nos ~ nos-turu* 'we', *bos-turu* 'you (pl)', *elotru ~ olotu ~ eli-turu* 'they'.<sup>8</sup>

I have not observed any of these forms in use. However, informants verified them as acceptable 'older' forms.<sup>9</sup>

Rêgo's form *elotro*, and Hancock's *elotru ~ olotu ~ eli-turu* raise the question of the origin of *olotu*. Is it derived from *eli + tudu* 'he + all' or from *eli + otru* 'he + other'? Given the fact that *olotu* contains stressed /o/ in the second syllable, and the fact that /r/ loss in *otru > otu* is widely observed and that *eli* may reduce to *el* before a stressed syllable, I believe *eli + otru* is a likely source. However, given the Bazaar Malay parallels for the forms in *-turu* noted above, the development of *olotu* may have been stimulated by similar tendencies in other languages.

Rêgo (1941:15) and Hancock (1973:26) report that *jenti* 'people, person' may be used with the meaning 'I'. However, the only instances I have observed where *jenti* is translatable as 'I' (but does not necessarily have the meaning 'I') are in 'impersonalised' expressions such as:

- (11) *jenti falá ja kumí, ja kumí la!*  
 person say PF eat, PF eat E  
 'If I say I've eaten, I've eaten!' (lit. 'If one/a person  
 says one/a person has eaten, one/a person has eaten!')

### 3.5.1.1 Terms of address

The second person has certain restrictions. One cannot freely use *bo ~ bos* as a term of address. Generally, this form is used when addressing people of one's own generation or close friends in the previous generation. However, once an addressee who is very well known to the speaker has been addressed with the appropriate formal term, the second person singular may then be used.

In many homes parents are addressed as *mai* 'mother' and *pai* 'father' or *ma* and *pa* respectively. Grandparents are addressed as *abó* 'grandparent' or as *gaempa* 'grandfather' or *gaemma* 'grandmother'. Uncles and aunts are addressed as *angkël* 'uncle' (< E. uncle) and *aenti* 'aunt', formerly *tia*, or *tanta* (< D. tante), and *tiu*

respectively. A woman may be addressed by her husband as *mulé* 'wife (lit. woman)' and she may address her husband as *maridu* 'husband', however, such use is rare.<sup>10</sup> The terms *angkél* and *aenti* are also used when addressing non-family members of previous generations. Occasionally, if the non-family member is quite elderly, the appropriate term of address is *abó*. The words *buí* '?', *om* (< D. *oom*) and *nyom*, which may derive from *kanyóng* 'elder brother', were formerly used as a respectful term of address for an elderly man. The words *ba* (< *baba*) and *nona*, which may derive from the Baba Malay words *baba* 'Baba, Baba male' and *nyonya* 'Baba female', are often used by members of a previous generation, or by older members of the same generation, when addressing a teenage person. The word *ba* may also be used for males younger than teenage.

### 3.5.2 Indefinite pronouns

Formally this class resembles personal pronouns in that its members do not co-occur with premodifiers or with post-modifier adjectives and do not reduplicate. However, they are distinguished from other pronouns in that they do not embody a person/number distinction.

In function indefinite pronouns refer to selection, quantity or distribution of nominals in a general sense without making specific reference.

In Kristang there are two subclasses of indefinite pronouns: those that refer to human nouns and those that refer to non-human nouns, as in (12)a and b.

- (12)a. *nggéng*            nobody  
       *keng keng*        anybody
- b. *nada*            nothing  
       *ki ki*            anything, whatever<sup>11</sup>  
       *kalkizera*        whichever (one)

The reduplicated forms *keng keng* and *ki ki* are frequently used followed by the adverb *pun* < M. 'also' for emphasis:

- (13) *keng keng pun podi balá*  
       anyone also can dance  
       'Anyone can dance'.

Occasionally, the form *keng pun* may be observed in the function of 'anyone':

- (14) *keng pun podi bai nalá*  
       who also can go there  
       'Anyone can go there'.

*keng keng*, *keng pun* and *ki ki* may also function in the scope of negation, the typical role of *nggeng* and *nada*.

In addition to the two subclasses of indefinite pronouns in (12)a and b, certain other items may function as indefinite pronouns. The forms *keng* and *ki* function as 'whoever' and 'whatever':

- (15)a. *keng ganyá lo ri la*  
 who win FI laugh E  
 'Whoever won would laugh'.  
 b. *ki teng eli keré da ku bos*  
 what have 3s want give R 2s  
 'Whatever he has he wants to give you'.

The common noun *angkoza* may function as an indefinite pronoun meaning 'something'.

- (16) *teng ankoza na rentu*  
 BE thing L inside  
 'There is something inside'.

Similarly, the common noun *jenti* 'person' may function as an indefinite pronoun meaning 'somebody':

- (17) *teng jenti na fora*  
 BE person L outside  
 'There is somebody outside'.

The NP *tudumbés Ncommon* 'all the X (very single X)', which may reduce to *tudumbés*, functions as an indefinite pronoun meaning 'everything/everybody'.

### 3.5.2.1 Indefinite pronouns in negated clauses

The negative indefinite pronouns *nada* and *nggégng* only occur in negated clauses:

- (18)a. *nté nada na riba di meza*  
 NEG-BE nothing L top S table  
 'There is nothing on top of the table'.  
 b. *nggégng ngka olá nada*  
 nobody NEG see nothing  
 'Nobody saw anything (lit. nothing)'.

While there appears to be no restriction on the type of negator in such clauses, the most frequent type involves *ngka*.

However, a non-negative indefinite pronoun may also occur in the scope of negation:

- (19) *eli ngka olá* { *ki ki (pun)*  
 3s neg see anything also  
*keng keng (pun)*  
 anyone also  
 'He didn't see anything, anyone (at all)'.

In subject position, focused position, the presence of the adverb *pun* is required.

- (20) *kengkeng pun nté na kaza*  
 anyone also NEG-BE L house  
 'Nobody at all is in the house'.

The indefinite pronouns *keng keng* and *ki ki* have parallels in Malay: *siapa siapa* and *apa apa* respectively, which may occur in the scope of negation:

- (21) *siapa siapa (pun) tiada di rumah*  
 anyone also NEG-BE L house  
 'Nobody (at all) is at home'.

### 3.5.3 Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns connect two clauses which have a noun phrase in common. The pronoun represents the noun phrase in the second clause. It occurs in initial position of the clause and is preceded by the shared noun phrase:

- (22) *tantu yo sa kambra kambradu ki ja bai skola pun*  
 many ls G friends RP PF go school also  
*ja bai fora di tera*  
 PF go outside of country  
 'Many of my friends who went to school too left the country'.

There are two relative pronouns in Kristang:

*ki* that  
*keng* who

*keng* represents [+human] nominals and *ki* represents [+/-human] and [-animate] nominals. Their role in relative clauses is discussed in sections 4.1.8.1 and 4.1.8.2.

### 3.5.4 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns represent an unspecified noun phrase within the clause, of which the identity is requested.

There are two interrogative pronouns:

*kí* what?  
*kéng* who?

*kí* represents non-human and inanimate NPs and *kéng* represents human NPs:

- (23)a. *kí ta fazé nali?*  
 what -P do there  
 'What are you doing there?'  
 b. *kéng ja muré?*  
 who PF die  
 'Who died?'

*kí* may also function as an interrogative determiner:

- (24) *kí bolu akeli?*  
 what cake that  
 'What cake is that?'

### 3.6 Adjectives

Formally adjectives are distinguished from other word classes by the fact that they are preceded by a noun and may be premodified by certain intensifier adverbs such as *mutu* 'too' and *bomong* 'very'. Adjectives may also occur in comparative structures (see section 7.2.4).

Adjectives may occur as postnominal modifiers in a NP (see 4.1.5) or may function as predicates (see 7.2.3). Compared with verbs, which also may be preceded by a noun, adjectives in a predicative function are highly restricted as to premodification by Tense, Mood and Aspect (TMA) particles (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of premodification of adjectives and verbs by TMA particles).

The semantic function of adjectives is to modify the reference of a nominal by expressing some distinguishing property of that nominal.

Adjectives in Kristang have the quality of being both attributive and predicative in function. The attributive function consists in modification of the head noun within the nominal phrase:

- (25) *aké kaza bedri, eli sa*  
 that house green, 3s G  
 'That green house is his'.

Adjectives in a predicative function single out a quality of the head noun, introducing it as the principal assertion of a clause (it represents new information):

- (26) *aké kaza ponta kí sa klor? aké kaza bedri*  
 that house end what G colour that house green  
 'That end house, what colour is it? That house is green'.

Adjectives in a predicative function are identified by subject-predicate intonation and by the fact that, like verbs, they may be negated, they may co-occur with TMA particles under certain conditions (see sections 5.1.3.3, 5.1.4, 5.1.5, 5.1.6 and 5.1.7), and they may be foregrounded by being placed to the left of the subject (see 7.5.2.1).

Adjectives in attributive function co-occur with common nouns and abstract nouns. They only co-occur with proper nouns in nicknames.

In both attributive and predicative functions certain adjectives may reduplicate (see 4.1.6.2).

#### 3.6.1 Semantic classification of adjectives

Kristang adjectives fall into eight classes, the first seven of which match the semantic categories used for cross language comparison in Dixon (1977). Examples of each class are shown as follows:

## 1. Dimension:

<i>grandi</i>	big
<i>kaninu</i>	small
<i>soné</i>	little
<i>kumpridu</i>	long
<i>altu</i>	tall
<i>kutru</i>	short

## 2. Physical property:

<i>duru</i>	hard
<i>moli</i>	soft
<i>pezadu</i>	heavy
<i>lebi</i>	light
<i>friu</i>	cold
<i>kenti</i>	hot
<i>dosi</i>	sweet
<i>azedu</i>	sour

## 3. Colour:

<i>pretu</i>	black
<i>brangku</i>	white
<i>bramilu</i>	red
<i>marelu</i>	yellow
<i>bedri</i>	green
<i>azúl</i>	blue
<i>choklat</i>	brown

## 4. Human propensity:

<i>síumi</i>	jealous
<i>amorozu</i>	loving
<i>alegri</i>	happy
<i>chadu</i>	clever
<i>besta</i>	stupid
<i>kaínyu</i>	stingy
<i>lagreza</i>	generous
<i>gabadu</i>	proud
<i>ráiu</i>	wicked
<i>prigasoze</i>	lazy (male)
<i>prigasoza</i>	lazy (female)
<i>mintirozu</i>	deceitful (male)
<i>mintiroza</i>	deceitful (female)
<i>bemfetu</i>	handsome (male)
<i>bemfeta</i>	handsome (female)



### 5. Age:

<i>belu</i>	old <sup>12</sup>
( <i>bela</i> )	old (feminine)
<i>nubu</i>	new
<i>antigu</i>	very old

### 6. Value:

<i>bong</i>	good
<i>mal</i>	bad
<i>riku</i>	rich
<i>pobri</i>	poor

### 7. Speed:

<i>prestadu</i>	fast
<i>bagareza</i>	slow (also: mentally slow)

### 8. Position:

<i>lonzi</i>	far
<i>pɛtu</i>	near
<i>fundu</i>	deep

Some of the items listed here show a gender distinction. This distinction is functional for these items. However, the distinction *belu* 'old (masculine)' / *bela* 'old (feminine)' only seems functional with the nouns *omi* 'man' and *mulé* 'woman', as in *ńgua omi belu* 'an old man', *ńgua mulé bela* 'an old woman', for example. However, such use is uncommon as *belu* and *bela* are nouns for 'old man' and 'old woman' respectively. Otherwise, the adjective 'old' is always *belu*, regardless of the gender of the nominal referent.

## 3.7 Verbs

The verbs may be formally identified by the following criteria:

1. ability to co-occur with the modal *podi* 'can, possible'
2. inability to co-occur with the intensifiers *bomong* 'very' or *mbés* 'extremely'
3. inability to function attributively
4. inability to occur as the undetermined head of an NP

Criterion 1 distinguishes verbs from adjectives and nominals. Criteria 2 and 3 distinguish verbs from adjectives and criterion 4 distinguishes verbs from nominals.

Verbs function as predicates (see Chapter 5) and depict actions, states and changes of state. They may be subcategorised formally by overlapping criteria as:

1. active, stative and change of state verbs
2. intransitive and transitive verbs

I shall consider these criteria separately in the above order.

### 3.7.1 Active verbs

Active verbs are distinguished by the fact that they may co-occur with all TMA and Modal particles (see Chapter 5). Moreover, the Modals may occur with their full range of meanings.

Active verbs involve dynamic situations as defined by Comrie (1976:49): ‘the situation will only continue if it is continually subject to a new input of energy’. The ‘situation’ is the entity referred to by the particular verb – the action, process or event.

Some examples of active verbs in Kristang are:

<i>bai</i>	go
<i>nadá</i>	swim
<i>parí</i>	give birth

A large number of active verbs (transitive and intransitive) which involve a conscious effort on the part of their subject may reduplicate yielding a meaning of repetition or duration:<sup>13</sup>

- (27) *aké má nígua yo olá ku eli ta remá remá*  
 that more 1 1s see A 3s -P row row  
 ‘That other one, I saw he was rowing and rowing’.

### 3.7.2 Stative verbs

Stative verbs may be distinguished formally from active verbs by the following criteria:

1. inability to co-occur with the non-punctual aspect marker *ta* (see 5.1.5)
2. inability to co-occur with the verb *kabá* ‘finish’ in the function of completive marker (see 5.1.7)
3. co-occurrence with the TMA particle *ja* with an inchoative anterior value meaning ‘already’ rather than as a perfective marker, the latter function being typical of *ja* when it co-occurs with active verbs (see 5.1.3)
4. restricted co-occurrence with Modals; inability of Modals to occur with their full range of meanings (see 5.4)
5. may not be modified by the verb *toká* ‘touch’ in either its Modal or its Passive functions (see sections 5.4, 7.5.3 and 8.4.2.4)
6. may not occur in the complements of causative constructions:

*\*yo ja mandá ku eli gostá pikadél*  
 1s PF order A 3s like shrimp patties  
 \*‘I ordered him to like shrimp patties’.

7. may not occur in the imperative:

*\*gostá pikadél!*  
 like shrimp patties  
 \*‘Like shrimp patties!’

Stative verbs refer to situations which are states. Following Comrie (1976:49) 'With a state, unless something happens to change that state, then the state will continue .. (..) .. To remain in a state requires no effort'.

Typical stative verbs in Kristang are:

<i>gostá</i>	like
<i>sabé</i>	know

### 3.7.3 Change of state verbs

A small number of verbs are semantically stative but syntactically fall between the two classes, active and stative. Such verbs include *keré* 'want', *sintí* 'be of the opinion' (*sintí* 'feel' is active) and *lembirá* 'think' (*lembirá* 'remember' is active). They share stative features 2 - 5. However, they may occur with the non-punctual particle *ta* to yield readings where the 'state' referred to is in process or somehow 'actual' (see 5.1.5). I shall term these verbs change of state verbs.

### 3.7.4 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are those which occur with one obligatorily expressed argument, the subject (see sections 6.1.1 and 7.1.1.). Several classes of intransitive verbs may be distinguished:

basic motion	<i>bai</i>	go
activity	<i>nadá</i>	swim
process	<i>parí</i>	give birth
ambient	<i>kai chua</i>	rain
existential	<i>teng</i>	be, exist

With the exception of the existential verb *teng*, which behaves as a stative verb, other intransitive verbs are all active.<sup>14</sup>

The first three classes are distinguished by their distributions with certain peripheral NP arguments: benefactive, instrumental, source, goal, locative and comitative.

Intransitive verbs of basic motion constitute a small closed class with the following members:

<i>bai</i>	go
<i>beng</i>	come
<i>subí</i>	ascend
<i>disé</i>	descend
<i>rintá</i>	enter
<i>sai</i>	go out

They are distinguished by the fact that they may co-occur with benefactive, instrumental, source, goal and comitative NPs (see section 6.3).

Intransitive verbs of activity constitute a large class which includes such verbs as:

<i>nadá</i>	swim
<i>drumí</i>	sleep
<i>papiá</i>	speak
<i>andá</i>	walk
<i>kuré</i>	run

They may be distinguished by the fact that they may co-occur with locative and comitative arguments, but not source or goal arguments.

Intransitive verbs of process include such verbs as:

<i>krisé</i>	grow
<i>muré</i>	die
<i>gumitá</i>	vomit
<i>kagá</i>	defecate

They are distinguished by the fact that they may co-occur with locative arguments, but not goal or comitative arguments. Intransitive verbs of basic motion, activity and process are further discussed in section 7.1.2.

The last two classes are distinguished by idiosyncracies with respect to their core argument. Ambient verbs are of two types: those that precede their subject argument in unmarked word order and those which may be preceded by a subject but which generally occur without one. In the former category there are only two verbs *kai chua* 'rain' and *fufá bentu* 'be windy'. In the latter category there is only one verb: *fuzilá* 'flash (lightning)'. Further discussion of ambient verbs is to be found in section 7.1.3.

There is only one existential verb, *teng* 'exist, be'. It differs from the ambient verbs in that it does not require all subjects in the post verbal position. Rather, *teng* is followed by subjects which represent new information and preceded by those which present old information (see section 7.1.3).

### 3.7.5 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are those which take two core NPs which stand in the grammatical relations of subject and a direct object with respect to the verb (see section 6.1). For example, the verb *dali*:

- (28) *yo ja dali ku eli*  
 1s PF hit A 3s  
 'I hit him'.

Transitive verbs in Kristang may be subclassified in a number of ways. A principal division may be made between those verbs that merely have two cognitively obligatory arguments, which function grammatically as subject and object, as in (28), and those that have an additional cognitively obligatory argument, as in (29):

- (29) *yo ja bendé yo sa prau ku Jeroni*  
 1s PF sell 1s G boat R  
 'I sold my boat to Jeroni'.

This latter class I shall call trivalent verbs.

A further fundamental distinction may be drawn between those verbs that are purely transitive, such as *dali* 'hit' in (28) above, and those that may function as intransitives, as for example *midu* 'fear' in (30)a and b:

(30)a. *yo midu ku eli*  
1s fear A 3s  
'I fear him'.

b. *yo midu*  
1s fear  
'I am afraid'.

On the basis of this subdivision, further classes may be established according to whether the subject or the object of the transitive verb functions as the subject of the corresponding intransitive verb (see section 7.1.4.1). Yet a further important distinction may be made according to whether the transitive verb can occur with a clausal object:

(31) *yo keré eli beng amiáng*  
1s want 3s come tomorrow  
'I want her to come tomorrow'.

The latter distinction may be further subdivided according to whether or not the verb permits deletion of the subject of the object clause under identity with the subject of the main clause (see section 7.1.4.2).

The distinction of active, stative and change of state verbs cuts across the classes I have just outlined. For example, *dali* 'hit', in (28) is active, *midu* 'fear', as in (30), is stative and *keré* 'want', as in (31), is change of state.

Transitive verbs taking clausal objects may also be classified according to the semantic relationship between the verb and the clausal object as **assertive**, **factive**, **semifactive** and **volitional** (see section 8.1.2.2), distinctions which are reflected to an extent in the form of the clausal object.

For economy of description I shall leave detailed discussion and further exemplification of the classes of transitive verbs until Chapter 7 where they are considered in the context of the verbal clause.

### 3.8 Modals

The modals *misti* 'must' and *podí* 'can, able' may be identified by the following formal criteria:

1. they may not occur with the non-punctual aspect particle *ta*
2. they may not occur with the reduced future-irrealis particle *lo*
3. they may not occur with the perfective aspect particle *ja*
4. they occur before the predicate and allow no intervening item
5. they have special negative forms *mpodí* 'NEG-can, able' and *numisti*

The function of the modals is to modify the predicate in terms of two scales of modality, respectively: possibility (*podī*) and necessity (*misti*).

### 3.9 Relators

Relators share the features of occurring before NPs and of not allowing any intervening item to occur. They indicate the function of NPs in the clause and the function of clauses within the sentence. In two cases, that of the possessive relators *sa* and *di*, a relator indicates the function of an NP within an NP.

In some cases the relator indicates the semantic function of the NP, that is, its peripheral role (see 6.3). In such cases the relator has semantic content and may be glossed. In other cases it indicates the syntactic role of the NP, for example object (see 6.1.2 and 6.2). In such cases the relator is devoid of semantic content.

In the following tables relators are listed in terms of their functions and reference is given to the chapter sections where each relator is discussed:

Function	Relator	Item related	Chapter section
Accusative	<i>ku</i>	NP	6.1.2, 6.2, 6.5
	<i>ki</i>	CL	8.1.2.1
Possessive	<i>sa</i>	NP	4.1.3.1
	<i>di</i>	NP	4.1.3.2

Function	Relator	Item related	Chapter section
Adversative	<i>mas</i> 'but'	NP, CL	8.1.1.1
	<i>maski...</i> ( <i>mas</i> ) 'although'	NP, CL	8.1.2.4
Benefactive	<i>padi</i> ~ <i>pa</i> ~ <i>para</i> 'for'	NP	6.3.2 8.1.2.4
Comitative	<i>ku</i> 'with, accompanying'	NP, CL	4.2.1 6.3.8, 6.5 8.1.1.1
Comparative	<i>chuma</i> ~ <i>kuma</i> 'as, like' <i>di</i> 'than'	NP	7.2.4

Condition	<i>kantu ~ si</i> (obs) 'if' <sup>15</sup>	CL	8.1.2.4
Disjunctive	<i>kë</i> 'or'	NP, CL	4.2.2 8.1.1.1
Goal	<i>ku</i> 'to'	NP	6.3.7, 6.5
Instrumental	<i>ku</i> 'with'	NP	6.3.7, 6.5
Locative	<i>na</i> 'at, in'	NP	6.3.5
Recipient	<i>ku</i> 'to'	NP	6.3.1, 6.5
Source	<i>di</i> 'from, of'	NP	6.3.6
	<i>ku</i> 'from'	NP	6.3.6
Temporal	<i>ati ~ sampe</i> (< M) 'until'	NP, CL	6.3.9 8.1.2.4

### 3.10 Particles

Particles are items which have a grammatical function only.

#### 3.10.1 Tense-Mood-Aspect (TMA) particles

##### 3.10.1.1 Perfective aspect particle

The perfective aspect particle *ja* may be identified by the following criteria:

1. precedes an active verb attributing it perfective aspect (see 5.1.3, 5.1.3.1 and 5.1.3.2)
2. only one item may intervene between the perfective aspect *ja* and the verb: the verb *kabá* 'finish' in the role of completive marker (see 5.1.7)
3. may not co-occur with NEG (see 5.3)
4. may not co-occur with modals (see 5.4)
5. may not co-occur with the future-irrealis particle *lo ~ logu* (see 5.1.4)

##### 3.10.1.2 Future-irrealis particle

The future-irrealis particle *lo ~ logu* may be identified by the following criteria:

1. occurs prior to verb or prior to an adjective referring to a transitional state (see 5.1.4)
2. in pre-predicate position may reduce to *lo*

3. no item may intervene between the future particle *lo ~ logu* and the predicate
4. *lo ~ logu* marks a verbal or adjectival predicate as future, hypothetical or possible (see 5.1.4)

### 3.10.1.3 Non-punctual aspect particle

The non-punctual aspect particle *ta* may be identified by the following criteria:

1. precedes active and change of state verbs and change of state adjectives (see 5.1.5)
2. no item may intervene between *ta* and the verb
3. may not co-occur with the verb *kabá* 'finish' when the latter functions as completive marker (see 5.1.10)
4. may not co-occur with modals (see 5.4.4.)

### 3.10.2 Negative particles

Negative particles share the following characteristics:

1. they occur prior to an active verb and permit no intervening items (see 5.3)
2. they negate the clause

There are three negative particles.

#### 3.10.2.1 The negative particle *ńgka*

The negative particle *ńgka* may be identified by the following criteria (see 5.3.1):

1. may occur before all types of verbal and non-verbal predications
2. may not co-occur with the TMA particle *ja*
3. may not occur with the TMA particle *logu*
4. negates the truth value of the clause for present, past and habitual contexts

#### 3.10.2.2. The negative imperative particle *nang*

The negative imperative particle *nang* (see 5.3 and 7.3.1) has the following characteristics:

1. occurs before active verbs or the modal *misti* and allows no intervening item
2. occurs in clauses with second person singular or plural or with first person plural subject
3. confers the value of negative imperative on the clause



### 3.10.2.3 The future-irrealis negative particle *nadi*

This particle may be distinguished as follows:

1. occurs before a verbal or adjectival predication and allows no intervening item
2. does not occur with modals
3. does not occur with TMA particles
4. negates the clause and confers the future irrealis value of *logu* on the predicate

See section 5.3.3 for details.

### 3.10.3 Affirmation particle *seng*

This particle is distinguished by the following characteristics:

1. occurs as a single word utterance as an affirmative response to a yes/no question:

*Morris ta bai mar?                    seng*  
                   -P go sea                    AFF  
 'Is Morris going fishing?' 'Yes'.

2. occurs in the tags of tag questions followed by the question particle *ka* (see 7.4.1.2)
3. affirms the truth value of the interrogated clause

### 3.10.4 Consensus particle *ná*

The consensus particle may be distinguished by the following characteristics:

1. occurs as a single word utterance affirming the truth value of an affirmative clause:

(32) *eli tokadu, ráiu, ná!*  
 3s drunk wicked CON  
 'He is badly behaved when he is drunk, you know!'

2. occurs in the tag of a tag question soliciting an affirmative answer (see 7.4.1.2)

3. occurs as a single word utterance soliciting affirmation of an affirmative clause uttered by a second speaker:

(33) *'eli tokadu, lo papiá nasáng nasáng' 'ná?'*  
 3s drunk FI speak type type CON  
 'When he is drunk he will say all kinds of things'. 'Really?'

### 3.10.5 The interrogative particle *ka*

This particle may be identified by the fact that it may occur in tag questions after *seng* 'yes' or *ngka* 'no' in clause final position:

(34)	<i>eli</i>	<i>bebé</i>	<i>sura</i>	{	<i>seng</i>	<i>ka</i>	
	3s	drink	toddy		AFF	QP	
					<i>ngka</i>	<i>ka</i>	} ?
					NEG	QP	

'He drinks toddy does he? / doesn't he?'

The function of *ka* is to mark the item after which it is postposed as the focus of the question. The role of *ka* in questions is discussed in 7.4.1.2.

### 3.10.6 The emphatic particle *la*

This particle may be formally identified by the fact that it occurs after noun phrases, predicates and clauses. Its function is to mark the item after which it is postposed as the focus of emphasis (see 7.5.2.2).

## 3.11 Interjections

Interjections are distinguished by the fact that they always occur in isolation. They constitute emotional responses to situations and are not part of a communicative speech act. There are four interjections in Kristang, all of which are used in Malay:

<i>adó!</i>	pain
<i>aió!</i>	surprise
<i>alamá!</i>	surprise and anger
<i>dá!</i>	anger

## 3.12 Adverbs

Adverbs constitute a separate lexical class by default: they do not meet the formal specifications for any other class. They comprise a large number of adjuncts to the clause and may function as modifiers of adjectives, nouns, verbs, clauses, and other adverbs.

On a formal basis three classes of adverbs may be distinguished:

1. those that may shift within the clause without changing the overall meaning
2. those that may not shift without changing the overall meaning of the clause
3. those that may not shift

Semantically they may be broadly classified into twelve categories: temporal, aspectual, frequency, interrogative, demonstrative, locative, manner, intensity, restrictive, additive, modal and comparative.

In the following sections I shall discuss the three formal classes, relating them to the mentioned semantic categories.

### 3.12.1 Class 1 adverbs which may occur with intensifier adverbs

The first class can be further subdivided into adverbs which may occur with an intensifier adverb (see section 3.12.11.1 below) and those which may not. The former class comprises traditional adverbs of manner and two temporal adverbs.

#### 3.12.1.1 Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner express the manner in which the situation depicted by the predicate is carried out:

*presta* quickly  
*bagá* slowly

Adverbs of manner generally occur after the verb they modify, however, they may also precede the predicate complex or occur in clause initial position:

- (35) *eli ja beng presta*  
3s PF come quickly  
*eli presta ja beng*  
*presta eli ja beng*  
'He came quickly'.

Adverbs of manner may reduplicate for intensity. In the case of *presta* the reduplication may be full, *presta presta*, or partial, *prepresta*, the meaning being the same: 'very quickly'.

Certain adjectives may also function as adverbs of manner, for example:

- grandi*  
big  
(36) *eli ta papiá* { *mintarozu* }  
3s -P speak { deceitful }  
*eradu*  
wrong  
'He is talking big, deceitfully, erroneously'.

#### 3.12.1.2 Temporal adverbs occurring with an intensifier adverb

There are only two adverbs in this subclass: *sedu* 'early' and *tadri* 'late':

- (37) *bos ja sai bomong sedu*  
2s PF exit very early  
*bos bomong sedu ja sai*  
*bomong sedu bos ja sai*  
'You left very early'.

Both these adverbs may reduplicate for intensity. *sedu*, as well as allowing full reduplication also allows partial reduplication: *sesedu*.

### 3.12.2 Class 1 adverbs not taking intensifier adverbs

The other members of this class may not be further subcategorised formally. Functionally they comprise six semantic classes: locative, temporal, aspectual, frequency, modal and interrogative adverbs. In general, locative, temporal, frequency, modal and interrogative adverbs may occur in clause initial, pre-predicate and post predicate (after the core NP arguments (see Chapter 6) if any) positions. Aspectuals are more limited. I shall discuss each class briefly.

#### 3.12.2.1 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs express the spatial setting of the predication. They comprise a closed class which includes the following:

<i>riba</i>	up, above
<i>basu</i>	beneath, below
<i>fora</i>	outside
<i>rentu ~ drentu</i>	inside
<i>diánti</i>	front
<i>ilagri ~ ilagra</i>	adjacent
<i>nakí ~ akí</i>	here
<i>nalí ~ alí</i>	there
<i>nalá ~ alá</i>	there further

Locative adverbs most frequently function as adjuncts and in this role generally occur in post predicate position:

- (38) *nang pasá diánti !!*  
 NEG-IMP pass front IMP  
 'Don't pass in front!'

However, they may also occur in pre-predicate and clause initial position:

- (39)a. *akí eli teng spinyu*  
 here 3s have thorn  
 'Here it (= fish) has a spike'.  
 b. *eli akí teng spinyu*  
 3s here have thorn  
 'It, here, has a spike'.

While locative adverbs display typical adjunct properties, they also display a number of noun properties. Such facts conspire to make their classification somewhat problematic, as they may function both as adverbs and as nouns.

Typical noun properties of locative adverbs are:

1. They may be preceded by *di*, the source/possession relator:

(40) *olotu jenti di fora*  
 3pl person S outside  
 'They are outsiders'.

2. They may be preceded by *na*, the location relator:

(41) *na basu teng kodra*  
 L underneath BE rope  
 'There is rope underneath'.

Two subclasses of locative adverbs may be established on the basis of further noun properties. Subclass 1 comprises *riba*, *basu*, *fora*, *rentu*, *diánti* and *ilagri* ~ *ilagra*. These items share the following properties:

1. Can occur preceded by *sa* :

(42) *aké koku sa rentu podri*  
 that coconut G inside rotten  
 'The inside of that coconut is rotten'.

2. May occur followed by *sa* :

(43) *fora sa meza ngka limpu*  
 outside G table NEG clean  
 'The outside table isn't clean'.

3. May occur in constructions of the form: *na X di + NP*:

(44) *na diánti di kaza teng albi kobu*  
 L front S house BE tree coconut  
 'In front of that house there is a coconut palm'.

Subclass 2 comprises *akí*, *alí* and *alá* (and the variants incorporating *na*), the deictic members of the class of locative adverbs. These are distinguished by the following features:

1. May be followed by *sa* :

(45) *nalá sa papa nggé da*  
 there G father NEG-want give  
 'There's father (i.e. the speaker's real father, who lived in Trankera, as opposed to her adoptive father, who lived in the Portuguese Settlement) didn't want to let me (change my surname)'.

2. Do not occur preceded by *sa* :

(46) *\*aké kaza sa (n)alí*  
 that house G there  
 \*'That house's there'.

3. Do not occur in the construction *na X di + NP*:

- (47) \**nalí di aké kaza teng tantu albi*  
 there S that house BE many tree  
 \*'At there of the house there are a lot of trees'.

A further comment is warranted concerning the deictic locative adverbs. The items *akí, alí* and *alá* generally occur preceded by *na* even when preceded by other relators:

- (48) *di nakí ati nalí dos pedra*  
 S here until there 2 stone  
 'From here to there is two miles'.

There is no functional difference between *di nakí* and *di akí*. This suggests that *akí, alí* and *alá* are in variation with *nakí, nalí* and *nalá* respectively. However, informants do not find the sequence \**na nakí* acceptable, so the two sets of forms are not always equivalent.

### 3.12.3 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs express the temporal setting of the predication. They constitute a closed class which may be divided into three subclasses:

1. Those that share certain properties of nouns.
2. Those that do not share noun properties.
3. Those that share neither feature 1 nor feature 2.

While temporal adverbs generally function as adjuncts of the predication, some display certain noun properties. Such adverbs constitute subclass 2:

<i>onti</i>	yesterday
<i>ozndia ~ ozi</i>	today
<i>amiáng</i>	tomorrow
<i>pamiáng</i>	morning
<i>ampamiáng</i>	tomorrow morning
<i>prémiru</i>	the beginning, the old days
<i>agora</i>	now

These temporal adverbs display the following noun properties:

1. They may function as head of a NP:
 

(49) *amiáng sabdu*  
 tomorrow Saturday  
 'Tomorrow is Saturday'.
2. They may act as possessive determiner of a noun:
 

(50) *agora sa krenkrensa bomong ráiu*  
 now G children very wicked  
 'Children these days (lit. these day's children) are very wicked'.

The third subclass of temporal adverbs, which does not share the features of subclasses 1 and 2, includes the following:

<i>nanggora</i>	just now, a moment ago
<i>antis</i>	before
<i>algumesu</i>	right now
<i>dispóis</i>	after (obs.)
<i>fing</i>	the end
<i>për fing</i>	finally (obs.)
<i>mazanti</i>	first
<i>nióra ~ mióra</i>	shortly
<i>manióra</i>	in a little while

The class of temporal adverbs may generally occur in clause initial, pre-predicate and post predicate (generally following NP arguments of the predicate) positions:

- (51)a. *mazanti eli lo bai misa*  
 first 3s FI go mass  
 'First he will go to mass'.
- b. *eli mazanti lo bai misa*  
 3s first FI go mass  
 'He first of all will go to mass'.
- c. *eli lo bai misa mazanti*  
 3s FI go mass first  
 'He will go to mass first'.

In addition to the temporal adverbs mentioned above, a number of other items may function as temporal adverbs. Some such items are single words, as for example the adjective *nubu* 'new' or the verb *kabá* (generally with penultimate syllable stress, *kaba*) which function respectively as temporal adverbs meaning 'recently, newly' and 'after, then':

- (52) *eli nubu ja sai*  
 3s new PF exit  
 'He left recently/just now'.
- (53)a. *chegá sa dia di dumingu, kaba misa yo lo*  
 arrive G day S Sunday finish mass 1s FI  
*panyá agu lo bai dali ku eli, ku eli*  
 take water FI go hit A 3s A 3s  
 '(Intrudu's) day, Sunday came; after mass I would take some  
 water and I would throw it at him and him'.
- b. *kada dia toka duénti duénti duénti ka ja pará skola*  
 each day touch ill ill ill finish PF stop school  
 'Each day I used to get ill invariably; then I stopped school'.<sup>16</sup>

Other items which function as temporal adverbs constitute fixed expressions with a special meaning:

<i>anu pasadu</i> year past	'last year'
<i>anu truzadu</i> <sup>17</sup>	'last year'
<i>otu anu</i> other year	'next year'
<i>amiáng otu dia</i> tomorrow other day	'day after tomorrow'
<i>onti otu dia</i> yesterday other day	'day before yesterday'
<i>onti anoti</i> yesterday night	'last night'
<i>ozí anoti</i> today night	'tonight'
<i>di logu mesu</i> S presently even	'immediately'
<i>di tras</i> S behind	'finally'

### 3.12.4 Aspectual adverbs

Aspectual adverbs indicate whether the situation depicted by the verb is in process, not yet begun or begun at a prior time. They constitute a small closed class:

<i>nda ~ inda</i>	yet (obs.)
<i>nenáng ((i)nda)</i>	not yet
<i>mesu</i>	still

Each of these adverbs may occur in pre-predicate position:

- (54)a. *eli nenáng beng kaza (nda)*  
3s NEG-PF come house yet  
'He hasn't come home yet'.
- b. *eli mesu teng John sa kaza*  
3s still BE G house  
'He is still at John's house'.<sup>18</sup>

In pre-predicate position *nenáng* has a special function as an aspectual negator (see 5.3.2). However, it may also occur in pre-subject position:

- (55) *nenáng eli chegá, Maria ja bai*  
NEG-PF 3s arrive PF go  
'He hadn't yet arrived when Maria left'.

In such cases *nenáng* may function as a conjunction (see also 8.1.2.4). This is more obvious in the following example, where it occurs before a NP:



- (56) *pa ja fai sibisu Singapura, ngka?*  
 father PF do work NEG  
*nenáng ngua sumana ja beng kaza*  
 NEG-PF 1 week PF come house  
 'Father did some work in Singapore, you know?  
 He came home after not even one week'.

*nda ~ inda* may occur in conjunction with *nenáng* when the latter is in pre-predicate position. If the predicate is followed by a single NP argument, *nda ~ inda* generally occurs after the NP:

- (57) *eli nenáng olá ku John nda*  
 3s NEG-PF see A yet  
 'He hasn't seen John yet'.

If the predicate is followed by more than one NP argument, *nda ~ inda* is usually dropped, its occurrence seeming to depend on the length of the clause.

Occasionally, *nda ~ inda* occurs alone, with the meaning 'yet, still'. In this role it may occur before or after the predicate:

- (58)a. *inda teng mulé*  
 yet have wife  
 'He (the speakers's brother, an old man) still has a wife'.  
 b. *olotu ta perá inda*  
 they -P wait yet  
 'They are still waiting'.

Like *nda ~ inda* the adverb *mesu*, in addition to occurring in pre-predicate position, may also occur in post-predicate position:

- (59) *eli teng mesu na práia*  
 3s BE still L beach  
 'He is still at the beach'.

### 3.12.5 Frequency adverbs

Adverbs expressing the frequency of the situation depicted by the predicate constitute a small closed class which includes the following:

<i>sempri</i>	always
<i>slalu</i> (< M. <i>selalu</i> )	always
<i>membés</i>	sometimes
<i>mambés</i> <sup>19</sup>	again
<i>(di) tona</i>	again

Most frequency adverbs may occur in pre-subject, pre-predicate and post predicate positions:

- (60)a. *mambés eli teng akí*  
 again 3s BE here  
 'Again he is here'.

- b. *e sa pai sempri ta bebé nalá*  
 3s G father always -P drink there  
 'Her father often is drinking there'.
- c. *olotu ja bai Australia mambés*  
 3pl PF go again  
 'They went to Australia again'.

However, clause initial and clause final positions appear to be the more frequent. The adverbs *tona* and *sempri* are exceptions. *sempri* is odd in clause initial position and most common in pre-predicate position. *tona* is more frequent in post-predicate position.

Other items may function as frequency adverbs. For example, the temporal adverb *nióra* 'shortly' reduplicates to function as the frequency adverb *nióra nióra* 'often'. The frequency adverb *membés* is itself derived from a reduplicated temporal adverb functioning as a frequency adverb: *mbés mbés* (~ *mbés pēr mbés*) 'sometimes'.

### 3.12.6 Modal adverbs

Modal adverbs express an evaluation of the clause in terms of possibility and certainty. They constitute a small closed class which includes:

<i>diski</i> <sup>20</sup>	evidently, it is said
<i>sertu</i>	sure, certain
<i>memáng</i> (< M. <i>memang</i> )	certainly
<i>kisá</i>	perhaps (obs.)
<i>anumbés</i>	perhaps
<i>erá</i>	likely

The most frequent position for these is clause initial:

- (61) *anumbés yo sa sogru lo bendé aké langgiáng*  
 perhaps ls G father-in-law FI sell that push-net  
 'Perhaps my father-in-law will sell that push net'.

However, they may also occur in pre-predicate and clause final positions.

The expression *podí fiká* ('can' + 'happen') frequently functions as a modal adverb with the meaning 'possibly':

- (62) *podí fiká lo kai chua*  
 can happen FI fall rain  
 'Possibly it will rain'.

The adverb *erá* 'likely' may reduplicate:

- (63) *era erá lo kai chua*  
 likely likely FI fall rain  
 'It may well rain'.

### 3.12.7 Interrogative adverbs

Interrogative adverbs represent unspecified adjuncts within the clause: adverbs, NPs, and relator phrases. There are four interrogative adverbs corresponding to four types of adjuncts: location, time, cause and manner, respectively.

<i>úndi</i>	where?
<i>kóra</i>	when?
<i>kifói</i>	why?
<i>kái ~klái</i>	how?

Like other interrogative words interrogative adverbs occur stressed within the clause. They may occur in different positions within the clause, for example:

(64)a. Clause initial

*úndi bos ja pari?*  
 where 2s PF bear  
 'Where were you born?'

b. Pre-predicate

*bos kóra lo bai Jasin?*  
 2s when FI go  
 'When will you go go Jasin?'

c. Post-predicate

*bos ja dali ku eli kifói?*  
 2s PF hit A 3s why  
 'Why did you hit him?'

The time and location interrogative adverbs, *kóra* and *úndi* may function as relative adverbs (see 4.1.8.3) and, along with *kifói*, they may function as subordinating relators introducing adverbial clauses (see 8.1.2.4). Both *kóra* and *úndi* may reduplicate in the latter role as indefinite temporal and locative subordinating relators (see 8.1.2.4).

In addition to the above interrogative adverbs certain other items may function as interrogative adverbs (see 7.4.2.2).

#### 3.12.7.1 Demonstrative adverb

There is one demonstrative adverb: *así* 'thus, like so', which refers deictically to qualities of the item it modifies. It modifies adjectives, as in 3.12.7.1(a), and predicates, as in 3.12.7.1(b):

(65)a. *nus ja pegá nígua kambráng así grandí*  
 1pl PF catch 1 crab thus big  
 'We caught a crab so big'.

b. *eli ta papiá así*  
 3s -P speak thus  
 'She was talking like so'.

When it modifies predicates, *así* generally occurs in post-predicate position. However, it may occur in pre-predicate and clause initial positions.

### 3.12.8 Class 2 adverbs

The class of adverbs which may not shift without changing the overall meaning of the clause comprises two semantic classes: additive and restrictive adverbs.

### 3.12.9 Additive adverbs

Additive adverbs signify that the item which is modified stands in a relation of addition with respect to some previous item in discourse. For example, in the clause:

- (66) *eli pun ja pegá pesi*  
 3s too PF catch fish  
 'He too caught fish'.

The presence of *pun* signifies that, in addition to another person or other persons catching fish, the subject caught fish.

Such adverbs constitute a small closed class which includes:

*pun*           also  
*tamín*       also (obs.)

Additive adverbs appear to be unrestricted in their distribution and may modify NPs, verbal and adjectival predicates and adverbials:

- (67)a. *eli ja beng akí pun*  
 3s PF come here too  
 'He came here too'.
- b. *eli pun ta kumí*  
 3s too FI eat  
 'He is eating'.
- c. *eli ja kumí pun*  
 3s PF eat too  
 'He ate too'.
- d. *yo ja olá ku John pun*  
 1s PF see A too  
 'I saw John too'.
- e. *pun toka pagá*  
 too oblige pay  
 'One was also obliged to pay'.

The adverb *mesu*, in addition to functioning as an aspectual adverb, also functions as an additive adverb. Thus *mesu* can also mean 'too':

- (68) *eli mesu ja achá abizu*  
 3s still PF receive invitation  
 'He too received an invitation'.

### 3.12.10 Restricting adverbs

There appear to be only three of these: *namás* 'just, merely', *saja* (< M. *sahaya*) 'just, merely' and *onsóng* 'alone'. They signify that the item they modify is unique in the context:

- (69)a. *eli ta kumí namás*  
 3s -P eat just  
 'He was just eating'.
- b. *eli saja ta kumí*  
 3s just -P eat  
 'He alone was eating'.<sup>21</sup>
- c. *Maria ta papia ku John namás*  
 -P speak C just  
 'Maria was speaking with John only'.

In (69)a, the subject was doing nothing other than eating. In (69)b the subject, and no one else was eating. In (69)c it was John alone that Maria was speaking to.

While *saja* may occur in both pre-predicate and post-predicate positions, I have not observed *namás* in pre-predicate position.

### 3.12.11 Class 3 adverbs

The class of adverbs which occur in a fixed position comprises two semantic classes: intensifier adverbs and comparative adverbs.

#### 3.12.11.1 Adverbs of intensity

Adverbs of intensity function to heighten or lower the quality expressed by the item they modify. They constitute a small closed class with two members:

<i>mutu</i>	very (in a few cases), too
<i>bomong ~ bong bong</i>	very

The adverb *bomong* is derived from the reduplication of the adjective *bong*.

Adverbs of intensity premodify adjectives and the quantifier *tantu*:

- (70)a. *eli bomong grandi*  
 3s very big  
 'He is very big'.
- b. *eli bebé mutu tantu sura*  
 3s drink too much toddy  
 'He drinks too much toddy'.

A number of other items may also function as adverbs of intensity. For example, the quantifier *mpoku* 'some, a little' functions as an adverb of intensity meaning 'slightly', which may occur before or after an adjective:

- (71) *eli grandi mpoku*  
 3s big a little  
 'It is slightly big'.

Some of these other items may also modify verbs. For example, *mutu tantu* 'too + much':

- (72) *ta papiá mutu tantu*  
 -P speak too much  
 'He is talking excessively'.

In the role of adverb of intensity, the comparative adverb *menus* 'less' pre-modifies verbs and has the meaning 'scarcely':

- (73) *eli menus papiá kristáng*  
 he less speak  
 'He scarcely speaks Kristang'.

### 3.12.11.2 Comparative adverbs

Comparative adverbs occur in adjective phrases and have a special role in adjective clauses of comparison:

- (74)a. *yo más altu di eli*  
 1s more tall S 3s  
 'I am taller than him'.
- b. *eli chuma dodu*  
 3s like crazy  
 'She is sort of crazy'.

Adjective clauses of comparison are discussed in section 7.2.4.

Comparative adverbs may be classified according to their comparative function as follows:

Inferiority:	<i>menus</i>	less
Superiority:	<i>más</i>	more
Equality:	<i>chuma ~ kuma ~ komu</i> (obs.)	like, as <sup>22</sup>

The adverb *chuma* also occur at the beginning of clauses where it has the meaning 'as if':

- (75) *aké femi ja subí bentu, ja da gritu,*  
 that female PF ascend wind PF give yell  
*falá aké omi ta beng; chuma angkó*  
 say that man -P come like thing  
*ja kachó ku eli*  
 PF disturb A 3s  
 'The girl had a fit. She screamed. She said that man was coming.  
 As if something was molesting her'.

## NOTES

1. Some older speakers have a demonstrative article *tal tal ~ tal* 'such, such and such', which may not occur with any other prenominal modifiers:

*isi mestri lo falá bai na tal tal lugá*  
 this witch doctor FI say go L such such place  
 'The witch doctor will say "Go to such and such a place!"'.

2. The verb *chegá* 'arrive' may function as a type 4 quantifier, *chega*, meaning 'enough':

*eli teng chega doi*  
 3s have arrive money  
 'He has enough money'.

3. *famila* exists in variation with *família*.
4. Subclass 1 allows a special use of adjectives in nicknames:

*John godru nenáng chegá inda*  
 fat NEG-PF arrive yet  
 'Fat John hasn't arrived yet'.

5. The other five days of the week are generally as in Bazaar Malay:

<i>hari satu</i>	(day + 1)	Monday
<i>hari dua</i>	(day + 2)	Tuesday
<i>hari tiga</i>	(day + 3)	Wednesday
<i>hari empat</i>	(day + 4)	Thursday
<i>hari lima</i>	(day + 5)	Friday

The Bazaar Malay items may alternate with English items. Some older speakers know a Portuguese derived system:

<i>sigunda fera</i>	Monday
<i>tersa fera</i>	Tuesday
<i>kuata fera</i>	Wednesday
<i>kinta fera</i>	Thursday
<i>sesta fera</i>	Friday

6. The names of months are from English. However, *janeru* (< P. *janeiro*) 'January' is occasionally used.

7. Certain place names are used variably with Malay or English derived pronunciations:

< M		< E	
[singapúra]	Singapura	[singapó]	Singapore
[kuálalumpur]	Kuala Lumpur	[keé!]	K.L. (= Kuala Lumpur)

Henceforth, in Kristang examples this variation will be shown by the use of Malay or English spelling as the case may be: Singapura, Singapore, Kuala Lumpor or the acronym K.L. I shall also use the current Malay spelling *Melaka* for the town name in Kristang examples.

8. The form *bos-turu* (I assume *turu* is a variant of *tudu* 'all') may be derived through convergence with Malacca Bazaar Malay which has the form *lu semua* '2pl (*lu* '2s' + *semua* 'all')'.
9. The forms *bos tudu* and *eli tudu* have a special meaning in contemporary Kristang:

*eli tudu ta bai naké kazamintu!*  
 3s all -P go L +that wedding (party)  
 'He too is going to the wedding party!'

However, the widely heard forms *bolotu tudu* 'you all', *nus tudu* 'we all', *olotu tudu* 'they all', do not have this meaning.

10. It is, however, common in traditional stories.
11. Hancock (1973:26) reports *ki ki koza* as 'anything'. I have not observed this use. However, I have observed *ki ki angkoza* which means 'any thing' but not 'anything'. In my observations *koza* only occurs in a despective meaning 'so and so', as in (a), or as an emphatic particle as in (b):

(a) *aké koza tokadu mambés!*  
 that drunk again  
 'That so and so is drunk again!'

(b) *koza di ráiu aké krensa!*  
 S wicked that child  
 'So naughty, that child!'

12. There appears to be no adjective for 'young', which is expressed by means of a noun. Thus, *krensa* 'child' is used to express 'young age' in the following example:

*bos krensa índa*  
 2s child still  
 'You are still young'.

13. The active verb *lembrá* 'remember' may reduplicate after first person singular subjects to yield a special meaning: 'as far as I can recall':



*yo lembrá lembrá aké oras yo ja beng*  
 1s remember remember that time 1s PF come

*na Banda Hilir fiká*  
 GO stay

'As far as I can recall I then came to live in Banda Hilir'.

14. There are two verbs *teng*: the intransitive 'be, exist' and a transitive 'have'. Both are stative. For a discussion of the functions of the lexeme *teng* see section 7.1.5.
15. The relator *kantu* 'if' < P. *quando* 'when' may occasionally be observed functioning as 'when':

*amiáng, tudu, kantu beng sibisu nang rintá rentu!*  
 tomorrow all COND come work NEG-IMP enter inside  
 'Tomorrow, everyone, when you come to work, don't go in!'

16. The reduction of *kabá* to *ká* as in this example is common to all functions of *kabá* except that of main verb.
17. The word *truzadu* appears to occur only in this expression.
18. Out of context *mesu* in this example is ambiguous between 'still' and 'even'. On the latter reading, the example means 'even he is/was at John's house'.
19. The adverb *mambés* derives from

*más + nígua + bes*  
 more 1 occasion

20. The form *diski* derives from a construction involving the Portuguese verb *dizer* 'say, tell': P. *diz que* or *diz-se que* 'it is said that' (cf. Dias 1959:21).
21. For some speakers, *saja* in pre-predicate position can also mean 'deliberately'.
22. The form *chuma* may be owed to the influence of its functional equivalent in Malay, *macam*.

## Chapter 4

### THE NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase (NP) in Kristang is a structure which can occur as subject of a verb, object of a verb, object of a relator or as a predicate.

The NP consists either of a noun and its optional adjuncts – prenominal determiners and postnominal determiners – or of a pronoun. The noun or pronoun is the head of the NP. However, the noun may be elided so that the nominal phrase consists only of the prenominal determiner or the prenominal determiner and the postnominal determiner or the postnominal determiner alone. The form of such reduced NPs is outlined in section 4.1.9 below. The NP itself may be elided when it is recoverable from context.

The NP has the form:

$$\text{NP} \text{ ---> } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(PRENOMDET) NOUN} \\ \text{PRONOUN} \end{array} \right. \text{ (POSTNOMDET)}$$

In the following sections I shall discuss the morphosyntax of the constituents of the NP.

#### 4.1 Constituents of the NP

##### 4.1.1 Prenominal determiners

Kristang has in common with Portuguese, Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay the feature of prenominal determiners.

There are five types of prenominal determiners in Kristang: Quantifiers (Q), Numerals (NUM), Demonstrative articles (DEM), Interrogative determiners (ID) and Possessive NPs (POSS1). The five types of prenominal determiners are shown respectively in the following examples:

##### Quantifier:

- (1) *kada kaza*  
Q house  
'Each house'.

##### Demonstrative article:

- (2) *aké albi*  
DEM tree  
'That tree'.

**Numeral:**

- (3) *dos prau*  
 2 boat  
 'Two boats'.

**Interrogative determiner:**

- (4) *kí redi ?*  
 ID net Q  
 'What net?'

**Possessive NP + sa:**

- (5) *eli sa irmáng femi*  
 3s G sibling female  
 'His sister'.

Co-occurrence restrictions on these prenominal determiners are exceedingly complex, especially where quantifiers are concerned, and an extensive account is far beyond the scope of the present description. Some of the principal facets of co-occurrence and its complexities may be shown in broad terms by the following expansion:

	DEM				
				NUM *+	
	Q1 (INT1)	{ POSS1 }	Q2 }	{	}
				(INT2)Q4	
PREND --->	[		Q3		]
		INDEF +			
		ID *			

**Restrictions:**

1. Q3 and Q4 are mutually exclusive
2. Q1 and NUM are mutually exclusive
3. Q1 and Q2 are mutually exclusive
4. POSS1 and Q4 are mutually exclusive
5. Q1 and Q4 are mutually exclusive
6. If Q2 *más* occurs with DEM it must occur with NUM
7. + co-occur
8. \* co-occur except when *ngua* functions as INDEF

**Key:**

DEM	:	<i>aké ~akeli</i> 'that', <i>isi ~isti</i> 'this'
ID	:	<i>kál</i> 'which', <i>kí</i> 'what'
INDEF	:	<i>kal</i> 'some'
INT1	:	<i>bomong</i> 'very', <i>mutu</i> 'very+'

- INT2 : *mbés* 'very++'  
 NUM : *ńgua* '1', *dos* '2', ...  
 POSS1 : *sa* type possessive construction  
 Q1 : *tudu* 'all'  
 Q2 : *otu* 'other', *má* ~ *más* 'more'  
 Q3 : *kada* 'each'  
 Q4 : *tantu* 'many', *mpoku* 'a little'

The following examples demonstrate some of the possibilities of co-occurrence of pronominal determiners:

Q1 + DEM:

- (6) *tudu aké jenti*  
 Q1 DEM people  
 'All those people.'

DEM + Q2 + NUM:

- (7) *aké más ńgua kaza*  
 DEM Q2 NUM-1 house  
 'That other (next) house.'

Q3 + NUM:

- (8) *kada dos dia*  
 Q3 NUM-2 day  
 'Each two days.'

POSS1 + NUM:

- (9) *yo sa tres irmáng*  
 1s G NUM-3 sibling  
 'My three brothers/sisters/brothers and sisters.'

An additional complication to be noted is that Q1 may be followed by the intensifier *mbés* and that Q4, if *tantu*, may occur with the intensifiers *bomong* or *mutu*:

- (10)a. *tudu mbés aké jenti ja sai*  
 Q1 INT1 DEM people PF leave  
 'All those people left'.  
 b. *teng bomong tantu pesi na rentu*  
 BE INT2 Q4 fish L inside  
 'There are quite a lot of fish inside'.

In addition to the above pronominal determiners, the plural personal pronouns may also function as determiners and may be preceded by the quantifier *tudu*:

- (11) *kora jenti muré, tudu nus kristáng bai*  
 when person die Q1 1pl go  
 'When people die, all we Kristangs go (to the wake).'

#### 4.1.1.1 'Articles' and reference

Of the pronominal determiners, the demonstratives *aké ~ akeli* 'that' and *isi ~ isti* 'this', and the numeral *ńgua* 'one' may function as articles. In this function their semantic role is to categorise reference.

#### 4.1.1.2 *ńgua* as an 'indefinite article'

The numeral *ńgua* 'one' may co-occur with a noun in the function of an 'indefinite article' rather than that of numeral. As an indefinite article *ńgua* identifies an indefinite NP, an NP assumed by the speaker not to be uniquely identifiable to the hearer. In the following examples, *ńgua* identifies entities which the speaker knows about but the hearer does not; the speaker is telling the hearer about these entities and *ńgua* marks their first mention in the text:

- (12) *eli ja olá ńgua mulé brangku mbés, se ?..(..) ta*  
 3s PF see 1 woman white very know -P  
*andá la, ta fai isoti ku eli. e ja sigí, se?*  
 walk E -P do this+way R 3s 3s PF follow know?  
 ..(..) *aké mulé ja disé basu di agu*  
 that woman PF descend under S water  
 'He saw a woman who was very white, you know?...she was walking,  
 she was going like this to him (beckoning), he followed her, you know?  
 ...the woman went down under the water.'

- (13) *teng ńgua rapás, ...(..) eli, isi rapás pun bai rezá rezá*  
 BE 1 fellow 3s this fellow also go pray pray  
*ku san antoni*  
 R Saint Anthony  
 'There was a fellow, ...(..)he, this fellow also would go and pray and  
 pray to Saint Anthony..'

The use of *ńgua* in the above cases is parallel to the use of *satu* 'one' in Malay.

#### 4.1.1.3 The demonstratives and definite reference

The demonstratives *aké ~ akeli* 'that' and *isi ~ isti* 'this' co-occur with nominals to signal two types of definite reference: deictic and anaphoric. In the first instance they function as demonstratives, in the second as definite articles.

As demonstratives, the deictic function of *aké ~ akeli* and *isi ~ isti* is to establish the proximity to the speaker of the entity referred to by the head: *isi ~ isti* for 'closer to speaker', *aké ~ akeli* for 'further from speaker'.<sup>1</sup> The entity referred to is immediately identifiable (i.e. physically present):

- (14) *aké prau pezadu*  
 that boat heavy  
 'That boat is heavy.'

- (15) *isti prau teng buraku*  
 this boat have hole  
 'This boat has a hole in it'.

The derivation of a definite article from a demonstrative is a widely observed diachronic phenomenon. Such a process was typical of the formation of the Romance definite articles (Elcock 1960:77).

As definite articles, the anaphoric function of *aké ~akeli* and *isi ~isti* is to identify a presupposed specific entity which, at some time, has previously been mentioned. That is, the entity referred to is known to speaker and hearer and the speaker is saying something about this definite entity. In examples (12) and (13) above, *aké mulé* 'that women' and *isi rapás* 'this fellow' are instances of such reference. In anaphoric reference, *aké ~ akeli* is the more common article. This use is parallel to the use in Malay of *itu* 'that' as the more common article for anaphoric reference.

The use of *aké ~akeli* and *isi ~isti* in many cases, however, appears to mark an asserted specific entity rather than one that is presupposed:

- (16) *yo sa ilagra di kaza, eli sa pai duénti fosa;*  
 1s G adjacent S house 3s G father ill strong  
  
*ká eli ja beng; nu ja gitá ku isi omi eli fiká*  
 finish 3s PF come 1pl PF call A this man 3s stay  
  
*na Kampong Tengah, se?*  
 L know?  
 'My nextdoor neighbour, her father was quite ill; then she came  
 (to my house); we called this man who lives in Kampong Tengah,  
 you know?'

In (16), the speaker knew that the hearer could not identify the referent *isi omi* yet she used *isi*.

#### 4.1.2 Absence of pronominal determiners

A NP occurring without a pronominal determiner may have three types of reference: generic, indefinite or definite (situational).

##### 4.1.2.1 Generic reference

Nouns of generic reference occur in propositions which assert something about the class of the noun:

- (17) *kobra pesonya*  
 snake poison  
 'Snakes are poisonous'.

- (18) *lagratu puzá obu*  
 crocodile lay egg  
 'Crocodiles lay eggs'.

Generic propositions may not contain TMA particles.

#### 4.1.2.2 Indefinite reference without determiner

A NP which occurs without a prenominal determiner may have indefinite specific or non-specific reference as shown respectively in the following examples:

- (19) *yo sabé keng ja tomá. kristáng! aké banda sa jenti.*  
 1s know RP PF take that side G person

*teng ngua machu di aké banda sa jenti*  
 BE 1 male S that side G person  
 'I know who took it. A Kristang! From the people of that side.  
 It was a boy from the people of that side'.

- (20) *eli ta buská jeru*  
 3s -P seek son-in-law  
 'He is looking for a son-in-law'.

After some verbs an indefinite NP without *ngua* is understood as plural:

- (21) *eli ta pontá pastu*  
 3s -P shoot bird  
 'He is shooting birds'.

- (22) *japang ja mata china*  
 Japanese PF kill Chinese  
 'The Japanese killed Chinese'.

After some others, however, an indefinite NP without *ngua* may be understood as singular.

- (23) *yo sa fila ja kazá ku moru, moru kristáng*  
 1s G daughter PF marry A Indian Indian Christian  
 'My daughter married an Indian, an Indian Christian'.

- (24) *ja parí krensa machu la*  
 PF bear child male E  
 'She (= the speaker's mother) gave birth to a boy'.

In both the plural and singular cases the indefinite NP may be either specific or non-specific. In the singular cases, as in examples (23) and (24), the prenominal determiner *ngua* is also admissible.

A particularly curious case is the environment following existential *teng*. Here [+human] nouns generally must occur with *ngua*:<sup>2</sup>

- (25) *teng* (  $\emptyset$  / *ńgua* ) *omi na fora*  
 BE 1 man L outside  
 'There is a man outside'.

However, other nouns may occur after *teng* with specific or non-specific indefinite reference with or without *ńgua*:

- (26) *teng* (  $\emptyset$  / *ńgua* ) *kobra na kaza*  
 BE 1 snake L house  
 'There is a/some snake in the house'.

The more frequent form is without the prenominal determiner, even in cases of indefinite specific reference. The following examples show respectively NPs of indefinite specific and indefinite non-specific reference:

- (27) *kabá di tras, na Municipal, teng sibrisu kosóng.*  
 finish S behind L BE work empty (< M.)

*isi sibrisu di piún*  
 this work S peon

'In the end at the Municipal there was a vacant job; the job was for a peon..'

- (28) *kora olotu bai na matu, kantu falá teng trigí, olotu*  
 when 3pl go L jungle if say BE tiger 3pl

*isoti podi pusá aké trigí sa bida, aké trigí*  
 this+kind can pull that tiger G life that tiger

*nadi, nadi modé ku olotu*  
 NEG-FI NEG-FI bite A 3pl

'When they (people with special powers) would go into the jungle, say if there was a tiger, they could control that tiger's life like that; the tiger wouldn't, wouldn't bite them...'

In the light of the above discussion, it seems that the marking of specific and non-specific indefinite reference overlaps in certain cases.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4.1.2.3 Definite reference without determiners

As in the case of specific indefinite reference, where the article is sometimes absent, instances of specific definite reference without the definite article may also be observed:

- (29) *femi ja kazá ku kristáng*  
 girl PF marry A  
 'The girl (= speaker's daughter) married a Kristang'.



- (30) *teng mazúngua ja kazá ku china; china pun*  
 BE more+1 PF marry A Chinese Chinese too, even  
*nsé papiá kristang!*  
 NEG+know speak  
 'Ah another one married a Chinese. The Chinese doesn't know how to speak Kristang either!'
- (31) *ja parí first krensa machu, kabá krensa machu*  
 (she) PF bear child male finish child male  
*ja muré...*  
 PF die  
 'She first gave birth to a boy, then the boy died..'
- (32) *police ja buská*  
 police PF seek  
 'The police looked (for him).'
- (33) *olotu ja falá ku gomintu*  
 they PF speak C government  
 'They spoke with the government.'
- (34) *sol ja disé*  
 sun PF descend  
 'The sun set'.

These are instances of situational reference (unambiguous reference within the particular universe of discourse) where the entity referred to is very familiar to the speaker or assumed common knowledge.

### 4.1.3 Possessive determiners

There are two principal formal means of determining the possession of the head of the NP.<sup>4</sup> One is located in the prenominal determiner and involves a NP plus the possessive relator *sa*. The other is located in the postnominal determiner (see 4.1.5) and involves the relator *di* plus NP. For efficiency of exposition I shall consider both the predeterminer possessive and the postdeterminer possessive forms in this section.

#### 4.1.3.1 Possession by means of NP plus *sa*

The prenominal possessive determiner consists of a NP plus the possession relator *sa*:

- (35) *yo sa kaza*  
 I G house  
 'My house'.

The relationship thus expressed is that the head NP *kaza* is possessed by the NP *yo*.

The origin of *sa* genitive is difficult to pinpoint. Several sources must be considered: Malay, Hokkien, Portuguese, Dutch and English and Indo-Portuguese Creole.

Syntactically and semantically, *sa* parallels the function of Bazaar Malay (cf. Hancock 1975:219, 228-29) and Baba Malay *punya*:

- (36)
- |          |             |              |              |
|----------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
|          | <i>yo</i>   | <i>sa</i>    | <i>kaza</i>  |
| BM/BabM: | <i>aku</i>  | <i>punya</i> | <i>rumah</i> |
|          | 1s          | G            | house        |
|          | 'My house'. |              |              |

In Standard Malay *punya* is a verbal with the lexical meaning 'to have'. Macdonald (1976:86) observes that, in Indonesian, a sentence such as:

- (37) *saya punya rumah*  
 1s have house  
 'My house/I have a house (depending on intonation)'.

can be synonymous with

- (38) *rumah saya*  
 house 1s  
 'My house'.

However, the origin of the use of *punya* as a marker of possession is not to be found in Malay alone. As Ikranagara (1980:139) observes, this construction is considered a marker of Chinese Malay.

In Melaka, the origin of the use of *punya* as a possessive marker lies in Hokkien. Lim (1981:45-52) shows that *punya* as a function word is grammatically related to the Hokkien morpheme *é* such that in Baba Malay such that in Baba Malay '*punya* has acquired the grammatical function of its Hokkien semantic counterpart' (page 46). One of the grammatical functions of Hokkien *é* is that of possessive marker.<sup>5</sup> Consider the following example, adapted from Lim (1981:47):

- (39) Baba Malay:        *gua punya rumah*  
                              1s + *punya* + house
- Hokkien:                *guà é chhū*  
                              1s + *é* + house  
                              'My house'.

Concerning the Portuguese source for *sa*, Rêgo (1941:15) states that *sa* is a contracted form of Portuguese *sua* '3rd person singular possessive determiner for female possessee'. He claims that both forms, *sua* and *sa* are used. Today, only *sa* is used in speech, while *sua* sometimes occurs in traditional songs. The derivation of *sa* from *sua* is reasonable given the following type of construction in Portuguese:

- (40) *a senhora sua filha*  
 DET madame POSS her daughter  
 'Madame's daughter'.

However, another possible source, of far greater potential frequency, is the *-sa* ending on the second person singular and the first person plural feminine possessive determiners in Portuguese (cf. Dalgado 1917).

- (41) *a vossa mãe* cf. Kristang: *bos sa mai*  
 DET POSS you mother 2s G mother  
 'Your mother'. 'Your mother'.
- (42) *a nossa mãe* cf. Kristang: *nus sa mai*  
 DET POSS our mother 1pl G mother  
 'Our mother'. 'Our mother'.

Dutch also may have made a contribution. Papiamentu has a genitive particle, *su*, which is functionally related to the possessive relator in Dutch (Wood 1970:65; Birmingham 1970:65). This is clear in the following examples, adapted from Birmingham:

- (43) Papiamentu: *Juan su kas*  
                                 G house  
                                 'Juan's house'.
- (44) Old Dutch: *Jan zijn huis*  
                                 G house  
                                 'Jan's house'.
- (45) Modern Dutch: *Jan's huis*  
                                 G house  
                                 'Jan's house'.

The parallel with Kristang is interesting. A very important point is that the *sa* type genitive is a feature common to most varieties of Indo-Portuguese and to all varieties of Malayo-Portuguese (Macao, HK, Singapore, Malacca, Tugu, Bidau (Timor)). Most of the substrate languages (Indian, Chinese, Malay) have a parallel construction (see Dalgado 1917:50-53, for a discussion of the genitive in Indo-Portuguese). The *sa* genitive may well have originated in India. In this respect, the frequent contact between the Asian Portuguese Creoles leading to what Dalgado (1971) called 'partial reciprocal transfusion' is likely to have resulted in grammatical and lexical affinities across the areas (Ferraz 1984). If it did originate in India, it had in Malacca plenty of reinforcement from Malay and subsequently from Dutch and English.

Probably the most reasonable approach to the origin of *sa* is to postulate multiple sources – Portuguese, Indo-Portuguese Creole, Malay, Baba Malay, Hokkien, Dutch and English.

#### 4.1.3.2 Possession determined by *di* plus NP

The postnominal possessive determiner consists of the relator *di* 'of, from' plus a NP:

- (46) *isti, nu gitá kabesa di prau*  
 this 1pl call head S boat  
 'This, we call the head of the boat (the mooring cleat at the prow)'.

This type of possession construction is derived from Portuguese.

The *di* possessive may easily give rise to compounding:

- (47) *fola di figu* -- *fola figu*  
 leaf S banana leaf banana  
 'Leaf of the banana tree'. 'Banana leaf'.
- (48) *kaza di pedra* -- *kaza pedra*  
 house S stone house stone  
 'House of stone'. 'Stone house'.

A plausible reason for this tendency is that *di* is unstressed and, in addition, the NPs related by *di* are in a sequence parallel to that of the NPs in the Malay possessive relationship of **possessor + N possessee**.

#### 4.1.3.3 *sa* and *di* possession in contrast

The distribution of possession constructions in terms of the types of possession relationships inherent in Kristang reveals considerable overlap in the uses of *sa* and *di*:

Possession relationship	Relators	
	<i>sa</i>	<i>di</i>
1 ownership	+	?
2 kinship	+	?
3 body-part	+	6
4 part-whole	+	+
5 origin	+	+
6 spatial	?	+
7 'piece' of	.	+

I shall briefly consider the details of this distribution. First, unshared and partially shared distribution, areas 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7. Second, shared distribution, areas 4 and 5.

#### 4.1.3.4 Unshared and partially shared distribution

In the area of ownership, *di* is generally less acceptable:

- (49) *nus ja bai Johor ku* { *\*? (aké) kareta di Albert*  
 1pl PF go I that car S  
*Albert sa kareta*  
 G car

'We went to Johor in Albert's car'.

- \*? (aké) kareta di Albert  
 that car S  
 (50) { } teng na diánti  
 BE L front  
 Albert sa kareta  
 G car  
 'Albert's car is out front'.

However, when ownership is expressed as a predicate, *di* is acceptable:

- di Albert  
 S  
 (51) aké kareta, { }  
 that car  
 Albert sa  
 G  
 'That car is Albert's'.

In the area of kinship, *di* possession is similarly less acceptable:

- \*? (aké) susi di Albert  
 that elder sister S  
 (52) nus ja bai Johor ku { }  
 1pl PF go C  
 Albert sa susi  
 G elder sister  
 'We went to Johor with Albert's elder sister'.

- \*(aké) (ńgua) susi di Albert  
 that 1 elder sister S  
 (53) { } teng na diánti  
 BE L front  
 Albert sa susi  
 G elder sister  
 'Albert's elder sister is out front'.

However, when the possessive relationship is expressed in an equative construction, *di* is more acceptable:

- susi  
 elder sister  
 sogra  
 mother-in-law  
 (54) a. aké mulé Albert sa { }  
 that woman G  
 jirisáng  
 relative  
 irmáng  
 sister

- \*? *susi*  
elder sister
- \*? *sogra*  
mother-in-law
- b. *aké mulé* { *di Albert*  
that woman } S
- ? *jirisáng*  
relative
- ? *irmáng*  
sister
- elder sister  
mother-in-law }  
'That woman is Albert's { relative  
sister }'.

Notice that with less specific nominals, *jirisáng* 'relative' and *irmáng* 'sister', *di* is more acceptable.

Area 3, body-part relations, can only be expressed by means of *sa*:

- (55) *Maria sa peu inchidu*  
G foot swollen  
'Maria's foot is swollen'.
- (56) \*(*aké*) *peu di Maria inchidu*  
that foot S swollen  
\*\*'Maria's foot is swollen./The foot of Maria is swollen'.

This may correlate with the fact that body parts are inalienable.

In area 6, that of spatial relationships, *di* is preferred to *sa*:

- (57) ? *na meza sa riba*  
L table G top  
? 'On top of the table./On the table's top'.
- (58) *na riba di meza*  
L top S table  
'On (the) top of the table'.
- (59) ? *na prau sa rentu*  
L boat G inside  
? 'In the boat's inside./Inside the boat'.
- (60) *na rentu di prau*  
L inside S boat  
'Inside the boat'.

In area 7, 'piece' of *X* constructions refer to a non-specified 'piece' of some material which is alienated from its referent nominal. The relationship is thus one of 'piece' to 'essence' or 'content':

NP1 consists of NP2 or, NP2 embodies NP1

This type of relationship may only be expressed by means of *di*:

- (61) *mposta di arós* cf. *\*arós sa mposta*  
 1+blob/heap S rice rice G 1+blob/heap  
 'A heap of rice'.  
 (62) *mpinggu di agu* cf. *\*agu sa mpinggu*  
 1+drop S water water G 1+drop  
 'A drop of water'.

The expression of measurements is similar:

- (63) *ngkati di arós* cf. *\*arós sa ngkati*  
 1+kati S rice rice G 1+kati  
 'A kati (1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>lb) of rice'.

#### 4.1.3.5 Shared distribution

The areas 4 and 5, part-whole and origin relationships, allow both *sa* and *di*, as examples (64) and (65) show:

- (64) *isti, nu gitá* ( *prau sa tabu* )  
 this 1pl call ( boat G plank )  
*tabu di prau*  
 plank S boat

'This we call the ( boat's planking )'  
 planking of the boat

- (65) ( *Singapura sa kristáng* ) *nsabe papiá*  
 G NEG-know speak  
*kristáng di Singapura*  
 Creole S

'( Singapore's Kristangs ) don't know how to speak (Kristang)'.  
 Kristangs of Singapore

The difference between the *sa* and *di* constructions in the above cases appears to be one of informational prominence by left-right word order.

Frequently a possessive phrase with *sa* may be found in the postnominal determiner, often in the attribution of material qualities:

- (66)a. *ngua prau madera sa*  
 1 boat wood G  
 'A wooden boat'.

- b. *ńgua buseta oru sa*  
 1 betel-box gold G  
 'A golden betel-box (containing the accessories required  
 for the chewing of betel-nut)'.

As Poss1 is mutually exclusive with *ńgua* it could not originate in the prenominal determiner.

In this attributive function *sa* is equivalent to *di*:

- (67)a. *ńgua prau di madera*  
 1 boat S wood  
 'A wooden boat'.
- b. *ńgua buseta di oru*  
 1 betel-box S gold  
 'A golden betel-box'.

#### 4.1.3.6 The class of the possessor noun

Description of the two types of possessive constructions is considerably clarified if the noun class of the possessor nominal is taken into account, as the following table and examples show:

Table 4.2: Possessor nouns with <i>sa</i> and <i>di</i>		
Possessive relator		
Noun class	<i>sa</i>	<i>di</i>
1 pronouns	<i>yo sa kaza</i> 1s G house 'My house'	* <i>kaza di yo</i> house S 1s
2 proper names	<i>John sa kaza</i> G house 'John's house'.	?* <i>kaza di John</i> house S
3 place names	<i>Trankera sa jenti</i> G person 'Trankera's people'	<i>jenti di Trankera</i> person S 'people from Trankera'
4 common nouns	<i>baka sa kandri</i> bovine G meat 'buffalo's meat'	<i>kandri di baka</i> meat S bovine 'meat of buffalo'
	<i>prau sa tabu</i> boat G plank 'the boat's planking'	<i>tabu di prau</i> plank S boat 'the planking of the boat'



The *sa* possessive is generally favoured by the nominal classes which involve human referents. However, both the *sa* possessive and the *di* possessive are generally available for [-human] nouns aside from the exceptions observed in sections 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.2 above.

#### 4.1.3.7 *sa* as marker of a modifying clause

Occasionally a clause rather than a NP may be observed occurring before *sa* in a possessive construction:

- (68) *eli ñgka sistí na kaza sa jenti*  
 3s NEG stay L house G person  
 'He isn't a person who likes to sit around at home'.

In such cases the clause + *sa* functions as a restrictive relative clause.

The source of this form may be Baba Malay or Bazaar Malay influenced by Hokkien. The following examples of Baba Malay and Hokkien are adapted from Lim (1981:50):

- (69) Baba Malay: *gua pukol punya itu orang*  
 I hit POSS the man  
 Hokkien: *guà phhă é hit khhô lánġ*  
 I hit POSS the+classifier man  
 'The man whom I hit'.

#### 4.1.3.8 *sa* as a nominaliser

Verbs and adjectives may be nominalised by means of the relator *sa* in complex nominal phrases. In (70)a and b respectively, the verb *kumí* and the adjective *ráiu* are nominalised by *sa*:

- (70)a. *eli sa kumí ñgka retu*  
 3s G eat NEG correct  
 'Her eating (i.e. diet) wasn't right'.  
 b. *bos sa ráiu yo mpodi guentá*  
 2s G wicked 1s NEG-can tolerate  
 'I can't tolerate your wickedness'.

#### 4.1.4 The head

The head of the NP is the entity on which constituents of the pronominal determiner or the postnominal determiner are dependent. The head is thus a pronoun or a noun. A pronominal head may be any of the following pronouns, described in section 3.5: personal pronoun, indefinite pronoun, deictic pronoun, interrogative pronoun. A nominal head may be any of the nouns described in section 3.4. In addition, however, a nominal head may consist of a nominal compound or a reduplicated noun. I shall discuss these in the following sections.

#### 4.1.4.1 Noun compounds

Compounding is a productive process for the derivation of nouns in Kristang. Three widely observed types of compound are Ncom + Ncom, as in (71), N + Adj, as in (72), and N + V, as in (73):

- (71)a. *bela machadu*  
sail axe  
'axe-sail (sail shaped like an axe-head)
- b. *kambráng trigi*  
prawn tiger  
'tiger prawn (a prawn with stripes)
- c. *albi figu*  
tree banana  
'banana tree'
- d. *bichu anela*  
worm ring  
'type of caterpillar which rolls up into a ring'
- (72)a. *alma disperadu*  
soul desperate  
'ghost'
- b. *angkoza suzu*  
something filthy  
'evil spirit'
- c. *John altu*  
tall  
'tall-John (nickname)'
- (73)a. *branyo rudiá*  
Creole dance rove  
'roving branyo (when musicians play in the street,  
from house to house)'
- b. *panu kubrí*  
cloth cover  
'blanket'
- c. *lugá parí*  
place give birth  
'womb'

Another type of noun compounding, not so common, consists of N + V + N, as in (74), wherein the verb always receives main stress on the penultimate syllable:

- (74)a. *mulé laba ropa*  
woman wash clothes  
'washerwoman'

- b. *omi pega pesi*  
 man catch fish  
 'fisherman'

These compounds appear to derive from relative clauses. For example (74)a might originate from a structure of the type:<sup>7</sup>

- (75) *mulé ki labá ropa*  
 woman RP wash clothes  
 'woman who washes clothes'

The status of the above compounds as morphologically grammatical units rather than syntactic structures depends on formal and semantic criteria:

1. the syntactic separability of the words involved
2. the predictability of the meaning of the compound from the meaning of its parts

All of the above compound types may function as syntactic subject or object and as possessor or possessee in possessive constructions with *sa*. With the exception of the type in (74) they all behave as units with respect to adjectival modification, for example:

- (76) *albi figu grandi* cf. \**albi grandi figu*  
 tree banana big  
 'big banana tree'

The type of compounding in (74) is problematic with adjectival modification of this type. Thus, in the sentence:

- (77) *?ńgua omi pega pesi* (*altu grandi*)  
 1 man catch fish ( big )  
*godru*  
 fat

the adjective tends to modify *pesi* (except for *altu* which is semantically incongruous with *pesi*) unless a pause is inserted between *pesi* and the adjective. Without the pause (77) means 'a man catches a big/fat fish'; with the pause it means 'a tall/big/fat fisherman'. However, the latter is unusual. The most natural way to render the phrase 'a big fisherman' is either to opt for the superstratum lexeme *peskador* 'fisherman' or to use a Topic-Comment structure with adjective fronting in the comment, as in (78), or a *teng* existential structure as in (79):

- (78) *ńgua omi pega pesi, grandi ńgua omi*  
 1 man catch fish big 1 man  
 'A fisherman, a big man'.
- (79) *teng ńgua omi pega pesi, eli grandi*  
 be 1 man catch fish 3s big  
 'There is a fisherman, he is big'.

Most of these compounds listed are syntactically separable only by particles which conserve the semantic relation between their components, for example:

- (80) *albi figu*  
tree banana  
'Banana tree'.  
cf. *albi di figu figu sa albi*  
tree of banana banana G tree  
(There is however a difference in  
informational prominence in the word  
order in the possessive paraphrases here.)
- (81) *bela machadu*  
sail axe  
'axe sail'  
cf. *bela chuma machadu*  
sail like axe
- (82) *branyo rudiá*  
Creole dance rove  
'roving branyo'  
cf. *branyo ki rudiá*  
Creole dance RP rove

However, some compounds, such as *angkoza suzu* allow no separation at all:

- (83) *angkoza suzu*  
thing filthy  
'evil spirit'  
cf. *angkoza ki suzu*  
thing RP filthy  
'something which is filthy'

Thus, on formal grounds, the above items behave as grammatical units.

On semantic grounds the meanings of most of the items listed are predictable from the meanings of the individual words. However, some, such as *angkoza suzu* 'evil spirit', *lugá pari* 'womb', *bichu anela* 'type of caterpillar' and *bela machadu* 'axe-sail' are not.

While some of the items listed fully fit the criteria for treating compounds as grammatical units, most items only fit the syntactic criteria. Thus, compounding must be seen as a dynamic process, the end result of which is a 'fit' of criteria 1 and 2.

#### 4.1.4.2 Reduplication of nouns

Reduplication in Kristang is a characteristic shared with Malay. It is not only a feature of the noun class but also a feature of the adjective, adverb and verb classes.

In the noun class, reduplication is a characteristic of the common count nouns, signifying plurality, as in (84):<sup>8</sup>

- (84) *aké krenkrensa ta fazé amoku*  
that children -P make noise  
'The children are making noise'.

However, reduplication is not the only means of signalling plurality on nouns. This may be done also by means of premodifiers or by context.

In some cases, a noun may reduplicate only partially. The following partial reduplications are typical, although in deliberately careful speech the full forms may occasionally be used:

- (85)a. *krenkrensa* (also [*krɛŋgɛnsá*])  
children  
i.e. *krensa + krensa*
- b. *femfemi*  
women  
i.e. *femi + femi*

- c. *kamkambradu ~ kambrakambradu*      i.e. *kambradu + kambradu*  
 friends
- d. *famfamila*      i.e. *famila + famila*  
 offspring
- e. *sosoti*      i.e. *sorti + sorti*  
 all kinds

In the latter case full reduplication is not possible.

Words beginning with a consonant and containing an internal syllable final nasal seem particularly prone to partial reduplication.

Reduplication is not permitted if a numeral premodifier co-occurs with the noun:

- (86)    *\*tres krenkrensa*  
           three children  
           ‘Three children’.

Moreover, some collective nouns, such as *jirisáng* ‘relatives’, *ropa* ‘clothing’, do not reduplicate.

The process of reduplication appears to be linked with the distinction of specific vs. non-specific reference. Thus, a specific plural subject or object reduplicates as in (87)a and b, whereas a non-specific plural subject or object does not reduplicate, as in (88)a and b:

- (87)a. *aké krenkrensa ta fazé amoku*  
           that children -P make noise  
           ‘The children are making noise’.
- b. *eli gostá ku aké krenkrensa*  
           3s like A that children  
           ‘She likes those children’.
- (88)a. *eli gostá krensa*  
           3s like children  
           ‘She likes children’.
- b. *femi gostá ku eli*  
           women like A 3s  
           ‘Women like him’.

Thus, in possessive constructions reduplication (or other number marking) is required for plural possessees because the referent of the possessee is specific. Compare (89)a and b:

- (89)a. *John sa kachoru*  
           G dog  
           ‘John’s dog’.
- b. *John sa kachorukachoru*  
           G dogs  
           ‘John’s dogs’.

Note, however, that the non-reduplicated subject of the existential verb *teng* 'be' means 'one or more':

- (90) *nang bai rentu! teng kachoru!*  
 NEG-IMP go inside BE dog  
 'Don't go inside! There is a dog/are dogs!'<sup>9</sup>

The reduplication of non-specific objects can have the meaning of 'all kinds of, lots of'. Compare (91)a and b:

- (91)a. *yo sa sogru gadrá pastu*  
 1s G father-in-law keep bird  
 'My father-in-law keeps birds'.  
 b. *yo sa sogru gadrá pastu pastu*  
 1s G father-in-law keep bird bird  
 'My father-in-law keeps all kinds of birds'.

#### 4.1.5 Postnominal determiners

The postnominal determiners may be manifested by an adjective phrase (ADJP), a relative clause (RC), a possessive determiner (POSS2) or an ordinal number (ONUM). These constituents may occur singly or co-occur according to the sequence shown:

POSTND ---> ( (AdjP) (ONUM) (POSS2) (RC) )

Restriction: only POSS2 and RC may co-occur with PRONOUN

The four types of postnominal determiners are shown respectively in the following examples:

Adjective phrase:

- (92) *ńgua omi bomong godru*  
 1 man INTvery ADJfat  
 'A very fat man'.

Ordinal number:

- (93) *aké kaza namba dos*  
 that house number 2  
 'The second house'.

Possessive determiner type two (*di* + NP):

- (94) *kabesa di prau*  
 head S boat  
 'The head (mooring cleat on the prow) of the boat'.

Relative clause:

- (95) *aké omi ki bos ja olá*  
 that man RP 2s PF see  
 'The man that you saw'.

In addition to the above postnominal determiners certain other items may function as determiners following the head. Notable cases are locative adverbs, as in (96) and the quantifier *tudu* as in (97).

- (96) *ake prau nalf yo sa*  
 that boat there 1s G  
 'That boat there is mine'.
- (97) *isi ranchu tudu Albert sa jirisang*  
 this group all G relative  
 'All this gang are Albert's relatives'.

In the following sections I shall describe the adjective phrase, ordinal numbers and the relative clause. The possessive determiner type two has already been described above in section 4.1.3.2.

#### 4.1.6 The adjective phrase

The adjective phrase (AdjP) consists of an obligatory adjective (Adj) and of an optional preadjectival intensifier (INT1) or a postadjectival modifier which may be manifested by an intensifier (INT2) or an adjective:

AdjP ---> (INT1) ADJ (POSTA)

POSTA ---> { INT2 }  
 ADJ

INT1: *mutu* 'very+', *bomong* 'very'.

INT2: *mbés* 'extremely'.

Any of the adjectives described in section 3.6 may occur in the adjective phrase.

In the following two sections I shall consider sequences and reduplication of adjectives.

##### 4.1.6.1 Sequences of adjectives

Sequences of adjectives are uncommon. When they do occur their relative order, in some cases, tends to depend on the semantic classes to which they belong. I say 'tends to depend' because variation occurs; in fact, by increasing the pause after the first adjective, the co-occurrence of the second adjective is made more acceptable regardless of its semantic class. Nevertheless, some general tendencies in the relative order of co-occurrence of adjectives may be stated:

1. Value adjectives do not combine with other adjectives.
2. Colour adjectives tend to take preference over adjectives of dimension, as in (98)a, physical property, as in (98)b, and human propensity, as in (98)c:

- (98)a. *ńgua albi*  
1 tree ( ? *grandi bedri* )  
big green  
'A big green tree'.
- b. *ńgua koku*  
1 coconut ( ? *duru bedri* )  
hard green  
'A hard green coconut'.
- c. *ńgua machu*  
1 male ( ? *ráiu brangku* )  
wicked white  
'A wicked white boy (i.e. light skinned)'.

3. Both dimension, as in (99)a, and age, as in (99)b, appear to take preference over human propensity:

- (99)a. *ńgua omi*  
1 man ( ? *ráiu belu* )  
wicked old  
'A wicked old man'.
- b. *ńgua omi*  
1 man ( ? *ráiu godru* )  
wicked fat  
'A wicked fat man'.

4. Dimension tends to take preference over physical property:

- (100) *ńgua prau*  
1 boat ( ? *pezadu grandi* )  
heavy big  
'A big heavy boat'.



5. Dimension and age, as in (101)a, and colour and age, as in (101)b, seem unrestricted in order:

(101)a. *ngua kaza*  
 1 house ( *belu grandi*  
 old big )  
*grandi belu*  
 big old  
 'A big old house'.

b. *ngua saróng*  
 1 ( *azúl belu*  
 blue old )  
*belu azúl*  
 old blue  
 'An old blue sarong'.

The significance of the different orders in the above cases is one of focus – the adjective closest to the noun is prominent.

#### 4.1.6.2 Reduplication of adjectives

Certain adjectives may reduplicate to express intensity. Of the semantic classes listed in 3.6.1 only the Dimension class typically allows reduplication, for example:

(102) *nus sibrí aké pesi kanikaninu*  
 1pl use that fish small+small  
 'We use the very small fish (to make *pasia* 'dried fish')'.

Classes 3 (Colour), 4 (Human Propensity) and 7 (Speed) do not reduplicate. In the remaining classes reduplication depends on the individual adjective. Certain members of these remaining classes may reduplicate to function as adverbs. For example, *finu* 'fine' of class 2 (Physical Property) and *belu* 'old' of class 5 (Age) as in (103)a and (103)b respectively:

(103)a. *nu muí ku eli finu finu*  
 1pl grind A 3s fine+fine  
 'We grind it (the fish) very fine'.

b. *eli belu belu ta bai mar*  
 3s old old -P go sea  
 'When he was old he was (still) going fishing'.

#### 4.1.7 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers consist of *namba* + cardinal number:

- |       |              |                |
|-------|--------------|----------------|
|       |              | <i>ńgua</i>    |
|       |              | 1              |
| (104) | <i>namba</i> | ( <i>dos</i> ) |
|       | number       | 2              |
|       |              | <i>tres</i>    |
|       |              | 3              |
|       |              | etc.           |
- 'First, second, third, etc'.

Ordinal numbers may function attributively and predicatively:

- (105)a. *De Silva sa kaza namba dos*  
           G house number 2  
 'The De Silva's house is the second (one)'.
- b. *aké kaza namba dos, De Silva sa*  
     that house number 2                   G  
 'The second house is the De Silva's'.

#### 4.1.8 Relative clauses

Traditionally, relative clauses have been classified as restrictive and non-restrictive.

A restrictive relative clause is essential for the identification of the referent of the head noun. Without the clause the hearer cannot clearly identify the head. A non-restrictive relative clause, however, supplies additional information about an already identified nominal; it is not essential to the identification of the head (Comrie 1981:131-32).

Both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are to be found in Kristang (Hancock 1973:30), as exemplified in (106) and (107) respectively:

- (106) *aké omi keng ja beng panyá aké factory, eli bong la*  
       that man RP PF come take that                   3s good E  
 'That man who came to take over the factory, he was really good'.
- (107) *bos sa mulé, ki yo sa fila, misti parí*  
       2s G woman RP 1s G daughter must bear  
 'Your wife, who is my daughter, must give birth'.

While in general form identical to the restrictive relative clause, the non-restrictive relative clause may be distinguished by the fact that it may occur preceded by comma intonation.

In my observations, non-restrictive relative clauses are rare in Kristang. Restrictive relative clauses are, however, frequent. As such I shall limit the following discussion to restrictive relative clauses, adopting the definition of Comrie (1981:136):

...a relative clause consists of a head and a restricting clause. The head itself has a certain potential range of referents but the restricting clause restricts this set by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the overall construction.

There are three main types of relative clause in Kristang:

1. relator type, in which the head of the clause is indicated by a special particle
2. reducing type, which has neither relator nor the head noun present
3. non-reducing type, in which the head nominal is replaced by a personal pronoun

These different types of clause may be classified according to the role of the head noun in the relative clause, where restrictions are evident. The role of the head in the main clause appears to be unrestricted (however, see comments on *keng* in 4.1.8.2 below).

In the following sections I shall describe the three types of relative clause with particular attention to the following arguments within the relative clause: subject, object, recipient and possessor.

#### 4.1.8.1 Relative clause involving relators

In this type of relative clause the head may be signalled by a relator which occurs in clause initial position (as in the case of *ki* or *keng* or adverb relators).<sup>10</sup> The grammatical role of the head in the relative clause is not encoded in the relators. Comrie (1981:140) refers to this type of relative clause as the 'gap' type.

#### 4.1.8.2 Clause containing *keng* and *ki*

As seen above in examples (106) and (107), relative clauses may be introduced by the relative pronouns *keng* 'who' and *ki* 'that, which'; *keng* only applies to [+human] heads while *ki* applies to all heads.

In my observations, although it may be elicited in translations from English, *keng* is rare in actual use. Moreover, according to the few examples I have observed in use, *keng* occurs in restricted relative clauses in which the head noun is confined to the role of subject in both the main clause and the relative clause. Nevertheless, informants accept as grammatical *keng* relatives in which the head noun is the object of the main clause. *keng* also appears acceptable where the head noun is the topic (see example (106) above) and the recipient (see example (110) below). However, while informants accept as grammatical relative clauses in which *keng* relativises the object or the recipient of the relative clause, they point out that *ki* is more usual. The fact that *keng* seems limited to relative clause subjects suggests that *keng* is becoming, through disuse, a relative pronoun in which subject case is encoded.

The relator *ki*, however, is quite frequent. There is no restriction as to which relative clause nominals it may relativise: subject, object, recipient and possessor, as shown respectively in examples (108), (109), (110) and (111):

- (108) **RC: subject** (Main clause: subject)

*tantu yo sa kambra kambradu ki ja bai skola pun*  
 many 1s G friend friend RP PF go school too  
*ja bai fora di tera*  
 PF go out S country  
 'Many of my friends who went to school too left the country'.

- (109) **RC: object** (Main clause: instrumental object)

*ká lo midí la ku akeli pau ki nus ta dali*  
 finish FI measure E I that stick RP 1pl -P hit  
 'Then we would measure (the distance) with the stick that we were hitting'.

- (110) **RC: recipient** (Main clause: subject)

*aké krensa ( keng ) bos ja da aké doi yo sa irmáng*  
 that child { RP } 2s PF give that money 1s G brother  
*ki*  
 RP  
 'The boy to whom you gave the money is my brother'.

- (111) **RC: possessor**

- a. (Main clause: topic)

*aké ngua ki yo ja lebá ku bos e sa kaza, eli bendé*  
 that 1 RP 1s PF take A 2s 3s G house, 3s sell  
*ticket aké tempu*  
 that time  
 'The one whose house I took you to (lit. The one who I took you to her house)'.

- b. (Main clause: subject)

*aké mulé ( keng ) sa fila bos kubisá reza ku san antoni*  
 that woman { RP } G daughter 2s covet pray R Saint Anthony  
*ki*  
 RP  
 'The woman whose daughter you fancy has a devotion to Saint Anthony'.

### 4.1.8.3 Relator adverb

Relative clauses may also be introduced by the adverbs *kora* 'when' and *undi* 'where':

- (112) *mas aké tempu kora yo teng naké Praya Lane, teng, ngua*  
 but that time when 1s BE L+that BE 1  
*krensa ja toka pegá di churikati*  
 child PF touch catch S goblin  
 'But that time when I was (living) in Praya Lane there was a child who got caught by a *churikati* goblin'.<sup>11</sup>
- (113) *ma olotu falá na petu yo sa rua, se?, yo sa rua*  
 but 3pl say L near 1s G street know? 1s G street  
*undi aké bus andá nakí, ngka? naké, naké banda*  
 where that walk here, NEG L+that L+that side  
*Day Road, oló falá nali, nali petu aké ali ngka mutu bong*  
 3s say there there near that tree NEG very+ good  
 'But they say near my street, you know, my street where the bus goes here, you know? at that, at that side (of) Day Road, they say there, there near that tree it isn't very good (i.e. 'an evil place').

In such cases the head nominal is limited to functioning as a locative or temporal adverb in the relative clause. The head nominal must be [-animate].

### 4.1.8.4 The reducing type of relative clause

This type of relative clause occurs without relators and without the head nominal. Any class of noun may be relativised. Together with the *ki* relator type relative clause, the reducing type is the most frequent relative construction observed. Examples:

- (114) **Head = RC subject** (Main clause object)  
*nus femi. jenti kontá stori rainya omi*  
 1pl woman people tell story man  
 'We are women. People who tell traditional stories are men'.<sup>12</sup>
- (115) **Head = RC object** (MC subject)  
*ma, chuma falá, prau bo fai ngua sumana ngka balé*  
 but like say, boat 2s make 1 week NEG value  
 'But, say, a boat that you make in one week is useless'.
- (116) **Head = RC recipient** (MC subject)
- aké femi bos ja da aké katra Angela, ngka?*  
 that female 2s PF give that letter NEG  
 'The girl to whom you gave the letter is Angela, isn't it?'
  - aké kaza sa rabóng ja kebrá ja fazé retu*  
 that house G roof PF break PF make correct  
 'The house whose roof was broken has been repaired'.

#### 4.1.8.5 Non-reducing with pronoun copy

In this type of relative clause the head noun has a full clause paratactically opposed to it and the head noun in the paratactic clause is taken up by a pronoun. The relationship between the head and the restricting clause is very much like that of topic to comment (see section 7.5.1.1) but without an intervening pause:

(117)a. **Head = RC subject (MC subject)**

*más ñgua, jenti prenya eli parí muré fiká pontiank*  
 more 1 person pregnant 3s bear die become vampire  
 'Another one, a pregnant woman who dies in childbirth becomes a vampire'.

b. **Head = RC subject (MC object)**

*yo sa kanyóng ñgua eli toká ñgua master eli da kosi*  
 1s G older brother one 3s touch 1 3s=master give kick  
 'My eldest brother, he suffered a master who used to kick'.

#### 4.1.8.6 Access to relative clause formation

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the role of the head in the relative clause is critical to the type of relative clause construction used. I shall briefly consider some implications of this fact.

The following table shows the distribution of the different relative clause formation strategies against the role of the head noun in the relative clause:

Type of relative clause	Role of head noun in relative clause			
	subject	object	recipient	possessor
Relator: <i>ki</i> <i>keng</i>	x x	x (x)	x (x)	x (x)
Reducing:	x	x	x	x
Non-reducing: <i>pro-copy</i>	x	x	x	x

In Keenan and Comrie (1977) it was proposed that the 'ease' of accessibility to relative clause formation may be defined by a hierarchy of the following form:

subject > direct object > non-direct object > possessor

The significance of this hierarchy is that, cross-linguistically, fewer languages can form relative clauses with the arguments to the right. On this basis, Keenan and Comrie proposed a language universal to the effect that if a language can form relative clauses on a given position on the hierarchy then it can also form relative clauses on all positions higher. Kristang conforms to this hierarchy.

Comparing the distribution of the principal relative clause types, the *ki* type, the reducing type and the non-reducing pronoun copy type, there is overlap. Comrie (1981:156) has suggested that in languages where more than one relative clause formation strategy exists, distribution of types is not arbitrary. He claims that where a language has both a more explicit (e.g. pronoun retention, noun retention) and a less explicit (e.g. reducing or gap) way of forming relative clauses, then the more explicit type is used lower down the hierarchy and the less explicit is used higher up the hierarchy. It is clear, however, from the shared distribution, that this is not the case in Kristang. Moreover, the non-reducing pronoun copy type of relative clause, which Comrie would label that 'most explicit' and therefore the better candidate for use with a wide range of arguments, is restricted to subject arguments in Kristang.

The overlapping of the various types of relative clauses is significant in terms of the dynamics of the Kristang system. The *ki* relator type is derived from the superstratum and may be seen as representing a 'higher' style (if one can speak in these terms in a context where Metropolitan Portuguese is no longer on a continuum with Kristang), which I feel often represents convergence with English. The reducing type, according to Bickerton (1981:62), is typical of early creolised languages (although, as I have noted elsewhere (Baxter 1983:151), Bazaar Malay also shares this feature) and is possibly the oldest of the various relative clause types in Kristang. The non-reducing pronoun-copy type is also found in other Creoles (although, in the case of Kristang, it is a feature shared with Bazaar Malay) where it has been described as a development taking place posterior to that of the reducing type relative clause (Peet 1978:96).

#### 4.1.9 The reduced NP

From what was said at the outset of the chapter concerning the form of the NP it follows that the reduced NP may consist of a noun, a pronoun, or a pronominal determiner and/or a postnominal determiner.

Minimally, the NP may be manifested by the following items:

- a. noun
- b. pronoun
- c. Q1
- d. Q4
- e. DEM
- f. ID
- g. NUM
- h. POSS1
- i. POSS2

The following pronominal and postnominal determiners may not occur as manifestations of the minimal NP: Q2, Q3, ADJ, INDEF.

The possible manifestations of the minimal NP are shown respectively in the following examples:

- (118)a. *padri ja beng*  
 priest PF come  
 'The priest came'.

- b. *olotu ta brigá*  
3s -P fight  
'They are fighting'.
- c. *tudu ja sai*  
Q1 PF exit  
'All went/came out'.
- d. *teng tantu*  
be Q4  
'There is a lot'.
- e. *akeli yo sa*  
that 1s G  
'That is mine'.
- f. *kf akeli ?*  
ID that Q  
'What is that?'
- g. *eli ja bendé dos*  
3s PF sell 2  
'He sold two'.
- h. *eli sa ja pedré*  
3s G PF lose  
'His is lost'.
- i. *aké prau di Michael*  
that boat S  
'That boat is Michaels's'.

In broad terms, prenominal and postnominal determiners may co-occur in headless NPs. One example should suffice:

- (119) *akeli bedri yo sa*  
that ADJ 1s G  
'The green one is mine'.

## 4.2 Co-ordination

NPs may be co-ordinated in an additive relationship, conjunction, or in an exclusive relationship, disjunction. NPs so linked are of equal status and the overall construction constitutes a single NP constituent at clause level. Clause co-ordination is discussed in section 8.1.1.

### 4.2.1 Conjunction

NPs may be conjoined by means of the comitative relator *ku* 'with' thus:<sup>13</sup>

- (120)a. *branyo membés teng bióla ku floi*  
sometimes have violin C flute  
'Branyo (the Kristang dance music) sometimes has violin and flute'.



- b. *yo sa papa ku yo sa kanyóng ta bai mar*  
 1s G father C 1s G elder brother -P go sea  
 'My father and my brother are going fishing'.

The second NP and the comitative relator may be shifted to the right of the verb.

- (121) *yo sa papa ta bai mar ku yo sa kanyóng*  
 1s G father -P go sea C 1s G elder brother  
 'My father is going fishing with my elder brother'.

#### 4.2.2 Disjunction

NPs may be linked in a complex by disjunctive co-ordination. The usual disjunctive particle in Kristang is *kě*:

- (122)a. *Peter kë John logu sigí ku bos*  
           D          FI follow C 2s  
 'Peter or John will go with you'.

- b. *justu dos kë tres!*  
 just 2 D 3  
 'Just two or three!'

- c. *ja fiká sa mai pai lo bai buská sa jenti idadi,*  
 PF become G parents FI go seek G person age  
*olotu sa jirisáng mesu, sa abó kë sa tia,*  
 3pl G relative still, G grandparent or G aunt  
*aké jenti idadi ngka?*  
 that person age NEG  
 'So his parents will go and find their elder (go-between), a relation of theirs, their grandparent or their aunt, the old person, you know?'

Other disjunctive particles, used infrequently, are *atu* (< M *atau*) and *atimintu*. The latter may possibly be derived from *ati* + *tamíng* 'even + also'.<sup>14</sup>

The particle *kě* is derived from the Malay question particle *kah*, which in Baba Malay (Lim 1982:95-96), Melaka Bazaar Malay and other simplified varieties of Malay (cf. Collins 1980:34) has a similar function. The following example is acceptable in both Baba Malay and Melaka Bazaar Malay:

- (123) *Peter kah John nanti pergi sama lu*  
           D          FI go C 2s  
 'Peter or John will go with you'.

#### NOTES

1. Hancock (1973:26) also lists *ati* 'that, those'; I haven't attested it. In the example he gives, *ati* 'until' may be functioning as 'even'.
2. An exception, however, is *jenti* which may occur after *teng* with or without *ngua*:

a. *teng ñgua jenti na fora*  
 be 1 person L outside  
 'There is someone (a person) outside'.

b. *teng jenti na fora*  
 BE person L outside  
 'There is someone/people outside'.

3. Aside from this overlapping, the function of the indefinite article *ñgua* in examples (1) and (2) matches Bickerton's Creole article system (Bickerton 1981:56) more closely than was suggested in Baxter (1983). However, the function of *ñgua* in examples 1 still matches that of Malay and Bazaar Malay and thus could still be the result of convergence with local Malay, rather than a 'Creole' development.
4. Other types of possessive constructions are:

(i) A Portuguese derived means which uses *minya / mia* < P *minha* 'my (fem)'. It is attested in Rêgo 1941:15, yet today it is rare and limited to certain lexical items expressing familiar relations:

a. *minya* { *amór*  
*korsáng*  
*pai*  
*mai* }

love  
 heart  
 'My { father  
 mother

*minya* is also used in the exclamation *nya mai!* lit. 'my mother!'.

(ii) A form of possession possibly deriving from Malay observed by Hancock 1975 and which places the possessor after the possessee:

c. Kristang: *kaza John*  
 house

Malay: *rumah John*  
 house  
 'John's house'.

In my observations this construction is rare and when it does occur it is restricted to one or two words, one being *kaza*. Although semantically a form of possession, syntactically the sequence of constituents is that of **noun + attribute**, comparable with sequences of **common noun + proper noun** such as *ila jawa* 'the small island just off Malacca', more the equivalent of 'the John house' than 'John's house'.

5. Lim (1981:47) observes that *punya* in Baba Malay has three grammatical functions related to the notion of 'possession' and which match the functions of Hokkien *ê*, namely:

- (i) possessive maker;
- (ii) marker of temporal and locative modifiers;
- (iii) relativiser.

I have observed in section 4.1.3.7 that Kristang *sa* also may function as a relativiser.

6. Except in some extended uses where a special meaning is given to some body part as, for example in *kabesa di prau* 'head of the boat (mooring cleat on the prow)'.
7. However, it is likely that 74a might be derived through convergence with Bazaar Malay which has *puan cuci kain* 'woman wash clothes'.
8. Reduplication of common nouns which can refer to states may derive adverbials:
  - a. *yo fila fila ja bai fiká Kelang*  
1s girl girl PF go stay  
'When I was just a girl I went to live in Kelang'.
  - b. *pampamiáng eli bendé mi*  
morning+morning 3s sell noodle  
'Early in the morning he sells noodles'.

In the latter case, the reduplication of *pamiáng* is parallel to that of *pagi* in Malay: *pagi pagi* 'early in the morning'.

9. Malay and Local Malaysian English share this feature:

Malay:                    *ada anjing!*  
BE dog

Local Malaysian  
English:                *got dog!*  
BE

Both:                    'There is a dog/are dogs!'

10. As observed in 4.1.3.7, the possessive relator *sa* may occasionally mark a modifying clause following the head noun. Such modifying clauses constitute a marginal relator-type restrictive relative clause.
11. The word *churikati* (occasionally *kurichachi*) is derived from Malay *curi* 'steal' + *katek* 'dwarf'.
12. The *stori re rainya* (lit. story+king+queen) or *stori rainya* are tales traditionally told to children and told at wakes.
13. Although Hancock (1973:30) claims that Malay *dan* 'and' is also used in conjunction, I have not observed this use.
14. Another common form of disjunction involves a construction of the type 'if not...then', for example:

*kantu ngka Michael, Pio lo kumí aké bolu*  
if neg FI eat that cake  
'Michael or Pio will eat that cake (lit. if not Michael, then Pio..)'.

This disjunction may be treated as a reduction of a conditional conjunction of two clauses.

## Chapter 5

### THE AUXILIARY COMPLEX

The predicate in Kristang consists of an optional auxiliary complex and of either a verb phrase, an adjective phrase, a noun phrase or a relator phrase. The auxiliary complex serves to modify the meaning of the predicate in various ways:

The predicate has the form:

$$\text{Predicate} \text{ ---> } (\text{Aux}) + \left( \begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{RelP} \end{array} \right)$$

If the predicate is a verb phrase, it may comprise a complement of NP arguments. These NP complements are discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7. They are not relevant to the co-occurrence of the verb with the auxiliary complex. Rather, it is the class of verb – active, stative or change of state – that is relevant.

The present chapter discusses the morphosyntax of the auxiliary complex in relation to the predicate.

#### 5.1 The auxiliary complex

The auxiliary complex consists of three categories which modify the meaning of the predicate: Negation, TMA (Tense-Mood-Aspect) and Modal. The order of these categories is:

$$\text{Aux} \text{ ---> } (\text{NEG}) (\text{TMA}) (\text{MODAL})$$

##### 5.1.1 The TMA category

The TMA category occurs in the predicate complex in a position after NEG and before Modal. It consists of particles which modify the predicate for tense, mood and aspect. Strict co-occurrence and sequential restrictions apply to the particles and when they do occur in combination, no other categories may intervene. Hence they may be considered formally as a unit.

The TMA category has the following structure:

$$\text{TMA} \text{ ---> } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} ja \\ \logu^* \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} ta^* \\ kaba \end{array} \right\}$$

(\* = do not co-occur)

**Key:**

<i>ja</i>	perfective aspect particle
<i>logu</i>	future-irrealis mood particle
<i>ta</i>	non-punctual aspect particle
<i>kaba</i>	completive aspect particle

In addition to the internal co-occurrence restrictions of the TMA category, certain restrictions apply to the occurrence of TMA in the predicate. In broad terms, the TMA category may only occur in VP, AdjP and NP predicates.

In the following sections I shall discuss the TMA constituents.

### 5.1.2 The function of *ja*

The perfective aspect particle *ja* (< P. *já* 'already') may co-occur with verbs, adjective phrases and noun phrases.<sup>1</sup> Its aspectual function varies according to whether it modifies

1. an active verb
2. a stative verb, a change of state verb, an adjective phrase or a noun phrase.

I shall consider the function of *ja* in these different predicates in the following sections.

### 5.1.3 The particle *ja* with active verbs

The particle *ja* occurs with active verbs in two types of time context:

1. **absolute time** – where the point of reference is prior to the moment of discourse and corresponds to the situation referred to by the active verb
2. **relative time** – where the point of reference is subsequent to the situation referred to by the active verb.

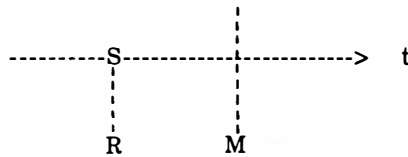
#### 5.1.3.1 *ja* and absolute time

The particle *ja* most frequently occurs with active verbs which depict a situation which takes place at a point of reference which is prior to the moment of discourse:

- (1) *eli ja bai mar (onti anoti)*  
 3s PF go sea yesterday night  
 'He went fishing (last night)'.

This may be expressed in the following diagram:

Figure (a)



**Key:**

- t      time axis  
 M      moment of discourse  
 S      situation referred to by the verb in question: *bai mar*  
 R      point of reference: *onti anoti*

In such cases the situation is viewed as complete as in Comrie's sense of the perfective: 'a complete situation with beginning, middle and end' (Comrie 1976:18).

Interestingly, the Malay perfective marker *sudah* 'already' does not match Kristang *ja* in contexts of the type shown in (1) and Figure (a). In such cases, the Malay verb does not occur with a TMA marker:

- (2) *dia pergi laut (tadi malam)*  
 3s go sea ago night  
 'He went to sea last night'.

The introduction of *sudah* here would add the sense of emphatic 'already'. Situations prior to the moment of discourse, unless ambiguous in their time reference or occurring in contrast to another situation, are generally unmarked in Malay.

The correspondence of perfective *ja* with past contexts has in the past led to the analysis of *ja* as a past tense marker as in Hancock (1973) and Baxter (1983). However, the correspondence of *ja* marking of actives in past contexts and the ready use of *ja* in translations of English past verb forms suggest that *ja* may be becoming, for some speakers, a past tense marker rather than a perfective marker.

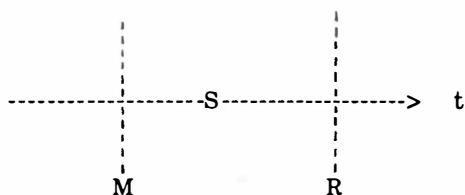
### 5.1.3.2 *ja* + V active in a context of relative time

The particle *ja* may co-occur with an active verb which refers to a situation which takes place prior to another situation. This 'prior' function may be observed in utterances referring to habitual or future situations:

- (3) *kora yo chegá nalí eli ja bai*  
 when 1s arrive there 3s PF go  
 'When I arrive there has has (HABITUAL)/will have gone'.

This may be expressed in the following diagram:

Figure (b)



**Key:**

- t        time axis  
 R        point of reference  
 S        situation referred to by the verb in question  
 M        moment of discourse

The situation S, *eli bai*, takes place prior to the point of reference R, *yo chegá nali*. The moment of discourse M is only relevant to the future reading of (3).

The TMA marker *ja* has this same 'prior' marking function when it occurs with the non-punctual marker *ta*. In such cases *ja* may be translated as 'already':

- (4) *kora yo chegá eli ja ta kumí*  
 when 1s arrive 3s PF -P eat  
 'When I arrive he is (HABITUAL)/will be already eating'.

This 'prior' function of *ja* in (3) is partially matched by that of the Malay perfective aspect particle *sudah* 'already'. However, in addition to the habitual and future readings, Malay allows a third dimension, a 'prior to moment of discourse' reading:

- (5) *bila gua datang dia sudah pergi*  
 when 1s arrive 3s PF go  
 (i) 'When(ever) I arrive he has gone (HABITUAL)'.  
 (ii) 'When I arrive he will have gone'.  
 (iii) 'When I arrived he had gone'.

The third meaning is expressed in Kristang by other means, as will be explained below.

In the case of example (4), Kristang *ja* is not matched by Malay *sudah*. *sudah* may not combine with the non-punctual marker *sedang*:

- (6) *bila gua datang dia sudah \*sedang makan*  
 when 1s arrive 3s PF -P eat  
 'When I arrive he is (HABITUAL)/will be already eating'.

A curious feature of *ja* is that when such cases as (3) and (4) are put into a context prior to the moment of discourse, as in (7) and (8) respectively, *ja* may only function as a 'prior' marker when it occurs with *ta*. When *ja* occurs alone, as in (7), it doesn't mark prior occurrence:

- (7) *kora yo ja chegá eli ja bai*  
 when 1s PF arrive 3s PF go  
 'When I arrived (≠ When I arrived he had left)'.<sup>2</sup>
- (8) *kora yo ja chegá eli ja ta kumí*  
 when 1s PF arrive 3s PF -P eat  
 'When I arrived he was already eating'.

The usual way to mark the prior occurrence of the situation *eli bai* in (7) is either to use *ja + kaba* to express the prior completion of the action, as in (9)a, or to add a second *ja* after the verb, as in (9)b, or to use the adjective *nubu* 'new' in an adverbial function, as in (9)c, or the adverb *pun*, as in (9)d:

- (9)a. *kora yo ja chegá eli ja kaba bai*  
 when 1s PF arrive 3s PF finish go
- b. *kora yo ja chegá eli ja bai ja*  
 when 1s PF arrive 3s PF go PF
- c. *kora yo ja chegá eli nubu ja bai*  
 when 1s PF arrive 3s new PF go
- d. *kora yo ja chegá eli ja bai pun*  
 when 1s PF arrive 3s PF go too  
 'When I arrived he had left'.

### 5.1.3.3 *ja* with stative and change of state verbs, adjectives and NPs

With these classes of predicate *ja* signifies that the state which is in existence at the point of reference came into existence prior to the point of reference.

Before discussing the values of *ja* with such predicates a comment is required concerning the fact that adjectives and NPs may occur with certain TMA particles. The ability of an adjective to occur with TMA depends on its being used to refer to a change of state rather than a state. The general value of TMA with adjectives is inchoative. Thus, in (10)a, TMA may co-occur with the adjective *altu* because the height of the child changes with age. However in (10)b, TMA is ungrammatical because *altu* refers to a static state, the height of the house:

- (10)a. *isti krensa ja altu*  
 this child PF tall  
 'This child is (getting)/already tall'.
- b. *aké kaza \*ja altu*  
 that house PF tall  
 'That house is tall'.

Clearly, the occurrence of TMA with an adjective is dependent on the nature of the subject.



The class of adjectives which can refer to change of state/state includes:

<i>altu</i>	tall
<i>belu</i>	old
<i>duénti</i>	ill
<i>godru</i>	fat
<i>infadu</i>	sad
<i>magru</i>	thin
<i>seku</i>	dry
<i>surdu</i>	deaf

As stated above, such adjectives occur with certain TMA markers. Typically they occur with *ja* and to a lesser extent with *logu* and *ta* (see sections 5.1.4, 5.1.5 and 5.1.6).

NP predicates are more restricted in their co-occurrence with TMA markers than are adjectives. They may co-occur with *ja* only when the NP refers to an entity which involves a change of state, for example:

- (11) *tempu di gera eli ja mestri di skola*  
 time S war 3s PF teacher S school  
 '(By) war time he was already a school teacher'.

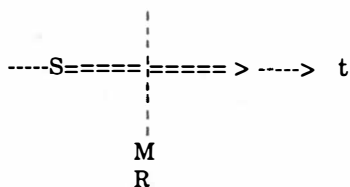
When *ja* occurs with a stative verb, a change of state verb, an adjective or a NP, there are four possible relations between the point of reference and the moment of discourse. The point of reference may be prior to, simultaneous with or subsequent to the moment of discourse or it may be habitual circumstance. Thus when *ja* occurs with these predicates four interpretations are possible, as will be seen from the example below.

In examples (12), the point of reference coincides with the moment of discourse:

- (12)a. *eli ja sabé olotu teng akí*  
 3s PF know 3pl BE here  
 'She already knows (has come to know already) they are here'.
- b. *eli ja sintí bos ta ngganá ku eli*  
 3s PF be of opinion 2s -P trick A 3s  
 'He is (already) of the opinion that you are tricking him'.
- c. *nang kumí tantu! bo lo fiká godru*  
 NEG-IMP eat so much 3s FI become fat  
*eli ja godru!*  
 3s PF fat  
 'Don't eat so much! You'll get fat'. 'He is already fat'.

The examples in (12) may be given the following representation:

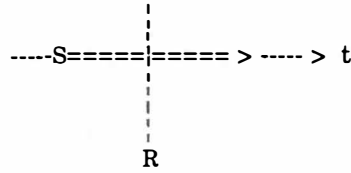
Figure (c)





Example (14) may be given the following representation:

Figure (e)



**Key:**

- t            time axis
- S== >     situation referred to by the verb in question: *eli ja sabé, eli ja kansadu*
- R            point of reference: *yo chegá*

The moment of discourse bears no time relation to the point of reference. In other words, R may be located at any point on the time axis after S. Wherever R is located it is always the case that S exists and that S began to exist prior to R.

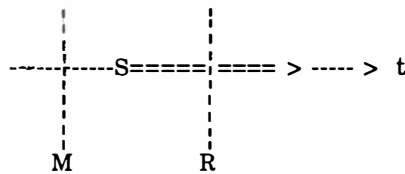
In (15) the point of reference is subsequent to the moment of discourse:

- (15) *kora yo chegá nalí eli ja*     *sabé*  
       when 1s arrive there 3s PF     { know }  
    *kansadu*  
    tired

'When I arrive there he will already { know be tired }'.

Example (15) may be represented as follows:

Figure (f)



**Key:**

- t            time axis
- S== >     situation referred to by the verb in question: *eli ja sabé, eli ja kansadu*
- R            point of reference: *yo chegá*
- M            moment of discourse

The function of *ja* with stative verbs and change of state adjectives is matched by Malay *sudah*:

- (16) *dia sudah* { i. *tahu*  
3s PF know }  
ii. *gemok*  
fat

- a. (i) 'He knows already'.  
(ii) 'He is already fat'; 'He has become fat'.  
b. (i) 'He knew already'.  
(ii) 'He was already fat'; 'He had become fat'.

- (17) *bila aku sampai dai sudah* { *tahu*  
when 1s arrive 3s PF know }  
{ *leteh* }  
tired

- a. (i) 'When I arrive he already knows'.  
(ii) 'When I arrive he is already tired'.  
b. (i) 'When I arrive he will already know'.  
(ii) 'When I arrive he will already be tired'.

The readings a and b of example (16) and readings a and b of example (17) match the descriptions of their Kristang counterparts in Figures (c), (d), (e) and (f), respectively.

#### 5.1.4 The function of *lo* ~ *logu*

The particle *logu* (< P. *logo* 'presently'), which frequently reduces to *lo* is a marker of future-irrealis mood.<sup>3</sup> It typically occurs with active verbs and to a lesser extent occurs with stative and change of state verbs and, infrequently, with adjectives. *lo* ~ *logu* marks events, states, and actions which have no truth value either by virtue of being in a context subsequent to the moment of discourse, as in (18), conditional on a counterfactual proposition, as in (19), or dependent on a modality of probability with future reference, as in (20),<sup>4</sup> or which have an attenuated truth value by being considered 'characteristic', as in (21):

- (18) *amiáng otu dia, eli logu bai mar*  
tomorrow other day 3s FI go sea  
'The day after tomorrow he will go fishing'.  
(19) *kantu yo teng doi yo lo komprá kareta*  
if 1s have money 1s FI buy car  
'If I have/had the money I will/would buy a car'.

- sertu*  
sure
- (20) { *anumbés* } *lo kai chua*  
perhaps FI fall rain  
*erá*  
probably
- Surely  
{ Perhaps } it will rain'.  
Probably
- (21) *el lo falá ku sa mai pai ke da seng, ja fiká,*  
3s FI speak R G mother father want give yes PF become  
*sa mai pai lo bai buská sa jenti idadi*  
G mother father FI go seek G person age  
'He (the potential groom) would tell his parents that he wanted to become engaged, so his parents would go and look for an old person (i.e. to act as a go-between).'

There are, however, future-irrealis contexts where *lo ~logu* does not occur. For example, the first verb occurring after *kantu* 'if', as in example (19), is not modified by *lo ~logu*.

When *lo ~logu* occurs with stative verbs it has an inferential value, as in (22), or an inchoative value, as in (23):

- (22) *pidí ku bela Rosil. Eli lo sabé*  
ask R old 3s FI know  
'Ask old Rosil. She will know'.
- (23) *amiáng eli lo sabé*  
tomorrow 3s FI know  
'He will know tomorrow'.

If it occurs with change of state verbs, *lo ~logu* confers an inferential value:

- (24) *eli lo lembrá bos keré brigá*  
3s FI think 3s want fight  
'He will think you want to fight'.

When *lo ~logu* occurs with adjectives it confers an inchoative value:

- (25) *eli lo duénti*  
3s FI ill  
'He will become ill'.

However, the inchoative value of adjectives is more frequently expressed by means of the verb *fiká* 'become, stay':

- (26) *eli lo fiká duénti*  
3s FI become ill  
'He will become ill'.

In function, *lo ~logu* resembles Malay *nanti* and *akan*, both of which are used in varieties of Melaka Bazaar Malay as future-irrealis particles, although the former appears to be more common:

- (27) *dia* { *nanti* } *pergi Johor*  
 3s { *akan* } go  
 'He will go to Johor'.
- (28) *kalu gua ada uang gua* ( { *nanti* } ) *beli kereta*  
 if 1s have money 1s { ?*akan* } buy car  
 'If I have/had the money I will/would buy a car'.
- (29) *mungkin dia* { *nanti* } *pergi John punya rumah*  
 perhaps 3s { *akan* } go G house  
 'Perhaps he will go to John's house'.
- (30) *itu tempu, pagi dia pergi langgai habis itu,*  
 that time morning 3s go push-net COMP that  
*dia (nanti) pergi pasar*  
 3s go bazaar  
 'In those days he used to go langgai netting early in the morning;  
 after that he would go to the bazaar'.

While there is similarity between the function of Kristang *lo ~logu* and that of Bazaar Malay *nanti* and *akan*, the use of a future marker in Malay is optional and less rigid than in Kristang (i.e. less frequent). In fact, cases like (28), (29) and (30) frequently occur without future marking.

### 5.1.5 The function of *ta*

*ta* (< P. *está* '(3s) is') is a marker of non-punctual aspect and 'newness' of the action or state expressed by the predicate. It is indifferent to time. The non-punctual function of *ta* is partially parallel to the role of Malay *sedang* and *lagi*, as will be seen below.

The marker *ta* may co-occur with:

1. active verbs
2. change of state verbs
3. adjectives referring to a change of state

However, it may not occur with stative verbs. The distribution of *ta* with these four classes of predicate is shown in examples (31)a, b, c and d, respectively:

- (31) *eli ta* {  
 3s -P {  
 a. *les buku*  
 read book  
 b. *sintí bos eradu*  
 think 3s wrong  
 c. *godru*  
 fat  
 d. *\*sabé akeli*  
 know that

- a. 'He is reading a book'.
- b. 'He is of the opinion that you are wrong'.
- c. 'He is fat/he has become fat'.
- d. '\*He is knowing that'.

The function of *ta* varies according to the class of predicate with which it occurs. With active verbs it signifies non-punctual aspect and thus expresses progressive or iterative actions as in (32) and (33) respectively;

- (32) *eli ta bai pegá kambráng ozi atadi*  
 3s -P go catch crab today afternoon  
 'He is/was/(will be) going to catch crabs (this afternoon)'.
- (33) *eli ta fai sibrisu na Jasin*  
 3s -P do work L  
 'He is working in Jasin'.

With change of state verbs, *ta* expresses a state in process:

- (34) *eli ta sintí bos keré ngganá ku eli*  
 3s -P feel 2s want trick A 3s  
 'She is/was thinking you want(ed) to trick her'.

The meaning with *ta* is that the 'opinion' is 'actual' and perhaps 'temporary', not as strongly established as where *sintí* occurs without an overt TMA marker:

- (35) *eli sintí bos keré ngganá ku eli*  
 3s think 2s want trick A 3s  
 'She thought/thinks you want(ed) to trick her'.

With change of state adjectives, *ta* indicates the 'inchoative' nature or the 'actuality/newness' of the state expressed by the predicate. The more common meaning is 'inchoative'. Thus, (36) generally means 'he has become/is becoming fat':

- (36) *eli ta godru*  
 3s -P fat  
 'He is fat'.

Informants point to the similarity of (36) to sentences containing the verb *fiká* 'become'.

- (37) *eli ta fiká godru*  
 3s -P become fat  
 'He is becoming fat'.

However, some adjectives referring to a change of state take on a meaning of 'actuality' when they occur with *ta*:

- (38)a. *aké agu ta seku*  
 that water -P dry  
 'The sea is at low tide (lit. 'the water is dry')'.
- b. *John ta duénti*  
 -P ill  
 'John is "actually/newly" ill'.

Speakers claim that the difference between (38)b and (39) is that the former is more immediate, actual:

- (39) *John duénti*  
ill  
'John is ill'.

For example, (38)b would be likely to be used if John had recently become ill whereas (39) would be likely to be used if John had been ill for a longer period. However, some flexibility is allowed. So, even if John had been ill for some time, the speaker might choose to present this fact as more 'actual'. The actuality value in sentences such as (38)a and b may not be paraphrased using *fiká*. The adjectives *duénti* 'ill', *infadu* 'sad', *seku* 'dry' may be frequently observed occurring with *ta* with the actuality meaning. However, it is not always easy to draw a line between the inchoative and actual values of *ta* + adjective, as may be seen from the following example:

- (40) *eli ta feu*  
3s -P ugly  
'He is ugly (he is handsome but he has acne now)'.

In this instance both values coincide (this is also the case in (38)b above) and some speakers interpret this as a temporary state. Such a temporary value can be seen in:

- (41) *eli ta bunitu!*  
3s -P pretty  
'She is pretty! (e.g. 1. on becoming an adolescent  
2. because of her dress)'.

The origin of *ta* + Adj structures is discussed in the following section.

The functions of the Kristang non-punctual marker *ta* with different classes of predicates are only partially matched by Bazaar Malay *sedang* and *lagi*:

- a. *lihat buku*  
read book
- b. \**pikir lu salah*  
think 2s wrong
- (42) *dia* ( *lagi* ) ( )  
          *sedang*
- c. \**godru*  
fat
- d. \**tahu itu*  
know DEM

- a. 'He is reading a book'.  
b. \*'He is of the opinion you are wrong'.  
c. \*'He is fat'.  
d. \*'He is knowing that'.



An additional difference, however, is that unlike *ta*, Bazaar Malay *sedang* and *lagi* are generally restricted to contrastive or emphatic situations because the verb alone, without TMA marking, may express non-punctual aspect:

- (43) *dia lihat buku*  
 3s read book  
 'He is reading a book'.

### 5.1.6 Origin of the inchoative-actual value of *ta* + adjective

The inchoative/actual value conferred by the non-punctual aspect marker when it occurs with adjectives has been observed in unrelated creole languages such as Guyanese Creole English and Hawaiian Creole English (Bickerton 1981:69) and Indian Ocean Creole French (Corne 1981:105-106). Bickerton has seen in these parallels further support for the hypothesis of Creole Universals. In the case of Kristang, however, the values of *ta* + adjective may be explained by reference to language internal factors and by reference to the Portuguese substratum.

The inchoative sense of *ta* + adjective might be viewed as a reduction of a structure involving *fiká* 'become', suggested by the similarity between examples (36) and (37). Moreover, both the inchoative and actual senses of *ta* + adjective have a parallel in the superstratum.

Portuguese may use one of two copulas with adjectives: *ser* or *estar*. The former generally indicates inherent characteristics with no suggestion of change; the latter generally denotes qualities which are the result of change from a different state or which may change into a different state. Thus, in the following example:

- (44) *pai* { *é* } *doente*  
           (*ser*)  
           *está*  
           (*estar*)  
 'Father is ill'.

The difference is that with *ser* the illness is long established and not likely to change, whereas with *estar*, the illness is viewed as the result of change, temporary.

Neither the 'inchoative' nor the 'actual' value of *ta* + adjective is to be found in Malay, where the non-punctual marker *sedang* may not occur with adjectives:

- (45) \**dia sedang* { *gemok* }  
       3s -P       *fat*  
                   *sakit*  
                   ill  
 'He is fat/ill'.

### 5.1.7 The function of *kaba*

The word *kabá* (<P. *acabar* 'finish'), in addition to functioning as a lexical verb, an adverb (see 3.1.2.3 and 5.2) and as a conjunction (see 8.1.1.1), functions as a marker of completive aspect in modifying serialisations (see 8.4.2.2). In this role *kaba* is always stressed on the penultimate syllable. It has a parallel in Malay *habis* as will be seen below.

The role of *kaba* as a completive aspect marker is restricted to its occurrence with active verbs, generally (but not necessarily) in conjunction with *ja*:

- |      |             |           |           |              |              |            |             |             |   |            |   |
|------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|---|------------|---|
| (46) | <i>kora</i> | <i>yo</i> | <i>ja</i> | <i>chegá</i> | <i>nalí,</i> | <i>eli</i> | <i>(ja)</i> | <i>kaba</i> | { | <i>bai</i> | } |
|      | when        | 1s        | PF        | arrive       | there        | 3s         | PF          | finish      | { | go         | } |
|      |             |           |           |              |              |            |             |             |   | <i>sai</i> |   |
|      |             |           |           |              |              |            |             |             |   | exit       |   |

'When I arrive he had gone/gone out'.

The function of *kaba* here is to mark prior completion of the action depicted by the verb *bai* or *sai* with respect to the action depicted by the verb *chegá*. Note also that in example (46) the presence of *ja* is not essential, even in the past context.

In such cases *kaba* cannot be the lexical verb 'finish' because it would be anomalous with the [-durative] active verbs *bai* and *sai*. The lexical verb 'finish' is only grammatical with [+durative] active verbs:

- |      |            |   |             |                     |             |   |                           |           |             |   |
|------|------------|---|-------------|---------------------|-------------|---|---------------------------|-----------|-------------|---|
| (47) | <i>eli</i> | { | <i>ta</i>   | }                   | <i>kaba</i> | { | <i>*sai</i>               | <i>di</i> | <i>kaza</i> | } |
|      | 3s         |   | -P          |                     | finish      |   | exit                      | S         | house       |   |
|      |            |   | <i>logu</i> |                     | <i>kumí</i> |   | <i>kumí</i>               |           |             |   |
|      |            |   | FI          |                     | eat         |   | eat                       |           |             |   |
|      |            |   | {           | <i>is finishing</i> | }           | { | <i>*leaving the house</i> | }         |             |   |
|      |            |   | {           | <i>will finish</i>  | }           | { | <i>eating</i>             | }         |             |   |

The completive marker *kaba* may also occur with certain change of state adjectives:

- (48) *yo ja prenya, ja kaba prenya olotu pun ja mudá beng akí*  
 1s PF pregnant PF finish pregnant 3pl too PF move come here  
 'I was already pregnant; when my pregnancy was over they too shifted house and came here'.

The lexical verb *kabá* 'finish' is ungrammatical with adjectives as in (49):

- |      |             |   |             |   |             |               |           |             |            |
|------|-------------|---|-------------|---|-------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| (49) | <i>*eli</i> | { | <i>ta</i>   | } | <i>kabá</i> | <i>prenya</i> | <i>má</i> | <i>ńgua</i> | <i>mis</i> |
|      | 3s          |   | -P          |   | finish      | pregnant      | more      | one         | month      |
|      |             |   | <i>logu</i> |   |             |               |           |             |            |
|      |             |   | FI          |   |             |               |           |             |            |

'\*She finishes/finished, is/was finishing, will/would finish being pregnant in another month'.

The function of Kristang *kaba* as a completive has a parallel in Malay *habis* 'finish'. Like *kaba*, *habis* is restricted to active verbs:

- (50) *bila gua sampai dia* { *(sudah) habis pergi*  
 when 1s arrive 3s { PF COMP go  
   *baru pergi* }  
   new go  
   *sudah pergi pun*  
   PF go too

'When I arrived he had already gone'.

However, as in the case of Kristang, Bazaar Malay may instead use *baru* 'new' or the adverb *pun* to stress completion.

### 5.1.8 The question of *sta*

In addition to the TMA markers discussed in the previous sections, a fifth particle, *sta* occurs occasionally with active verbs, (generally, but not necessarily, in a past context):

- (51) *kora yo ja chegá eli ja sta bai*  
 when 1s PF arrive 3s PF go  
 'When I arrived he had gone (already)'.

The function of *sta* is difficult to establish. It is attested in Rêgo (1941-42) but unclearly glossed. It also occurs in traditional stories and songs. In (51) it gives emphasis to the prior nature of the action of the predicate *bai* in relation to the action of the predicate *chegá* and, as such, might be interpreted as an anterior marker. Informants widely confirm its emphatic 'prior' function in utterances such as (51).

Example (51) is comparable to example (52) where *kaba*, an additional *ja*, the adverb *pun* or the adjective *nubu* in adverb function are more usual ways of stressing the prior nature of the earlier action:

- (52) *kora yo ja chegá, eli* { *ja kaba bai*  
 when 1s PF arrive 3s { PF finish go  
   *nubu ja bai* }  
   new PF go  
   *ja*  
   PF  
   *ja bai* {  
   PF go { *pun* }  
   too

'When I arrived he had already gone'.

In other cases, *sta* seems to be a variant of *ta*. For example, in a present context *sta* has no anterior value, but rather a non-punctual value:

- (53) *yo sta kontá stori ku bos!*  
 1s tell story C 2s  
 'I'm (just) conversing with you'.

This non-punctual value is absent when *sta* occurs with *ja*, as in (51).

In a previous discussion of TMA (Baxter 1983:158), I suggested that *sta* might be derived from a past form of Portuguese *estar*, perhaps *estava* 'imperfect (singular)', given its semantic content in examples such as (51). However, this suggestion is difficult to support in the light of its use in the present, as in (53). A more plausible account might be that *sta* was indeed a variant of *ta* historically and that as *ta* predominated and *sta* became less used, it acquired a special emphatic meaning.<sup>5</sup>

### 5.1.9 Absence of a TMA marker

The absence of a TMA marker before a predicate may express a range of meanings according to the class to which the predicate belongs. The function of the unmarked predicate in Bazaar Malay is similar and will be discussed at the end of this section.

With active verbs the absence of a TMA particle has four functions:

1. It may signify imperative (in conjunction with 2nd person subject):

- (54) *(bos) bai na butika komprá dos kati arós!*  
 3s go L shop buy 2 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> lb rice  
 'Go to the shop and buy 2 kati of rice!'

The imperative is discussed in 7.3.

2. With the verb *falá* 'say, tell' it may signify past/non-past:

- (55) *eli falá Nick nté*  
 3s say NEG-BE  
 'She says/said Nick isn't there'.

3. Past/non-past habitual:

- (56) *yo sa pai fai sibrisu na municipal*  
 1s G father do work L  
 'My father works/used to work in the Municipal'.

4. In past contexts where time has already been marked, an active verb without TMA signifies a single past action:

- (57) *ja kaba gera, el bai tona kontiná ku aké sibrisu la*  
 PF finish war 3s go again continue C that work E  
 'After the war, he went back, continued with that job'.

- (58) *tudu, tudu jenti midu, midu ke papiá pun jenti;*  
 all all person fear fear want speak also person  
*yo sa pai pará fai sibrisu; isi japáng ja beng*  
 1s G father stop do work this Japanese PF come

*yo sa pai nunggere*  
 1s G father NEG-want

'Everyone was scared; people were even scared to talk. My father stopped working – the Japanese came, he didn't want to (work)'.

- (59) *ńgka lemrá; yo sa papa justu mbés dali ku yo la*  
 NEG remember 1s G father just once hit A 1s E  
 'I don't remember; my father only hit me on one occasion'.

With stative or semi-stative verbs, and with adjectives, absence of a TMA marker signifies past/non-past, as may be seen in examples (60), (61) and (62) respectively:

- (60) *eli sabé bos ta beng*  
 3s know 2s -P come  
 'He knows/knew you are/were coming'.
- (61) *eli sintí teng kobra nalí*  
 3s think BE snake there  
 'He thinks/thought there is/was a snake there'.
- (62)a. *eli infadu*  
 3s sad  
 'He is/was sad'.
- b. *aké kaza bedri*  
 that house green  
 'That house is/was green'.

In Bazaar Malay the unmarked form of the verb is also multifunctional in terms of tense and aspect values depending on the particular class of predicate involved.

The unmarked active verb in Bazaar Malay has five functions, all of which may be demonstrated by the following example:

- (63) *dia makan goreng pisang*  
 3s eat fry banana<sup>6</sup>
- (i) **Present non-punctual:**  
 'He is eating banana fritter'.
- (ii) **Present habitual:**  
 'He eats banana fritter'.
- (iii) **Past non-punctual:**  
 'He was eating banana fritter'.
- (iv) **Past habitual:**  
 'He used to eat banana fritter'.
- (v) **Past punctual:**  
 'He ate banana fritter'.

The unmarked stative verb, change of state verb, adjective phrase (change of state and state), and nominal phrase signify either past or present, as may be seen in (64)a, b, c (i) and (ii) and d respectively:

- (64)a. *dia tahu itu*  
 know that  
 'He knows/knew that'.

- b. *dia ingat itu betul*  
 3s recall that true  
 'He remembers/remembered that is/was true'.
- c. (i) *dia gemok*  
 3s fat  
 'He is/was fat'.
- (ii) *dia kecil*  
 3s small  
 'He is/was small'.
- d. *dia guru*  
 3s teacher  
 'He is/was a teacher'.

### 5.1.10 Combinations of TMA particles

Combinations of TMA particles are highly restricted. There are three possible combinations, the second and third of which are infrequent:

1. *ja + kaba* : 'past completion', as discussed in relation to example (46) above.<sup>7</sup>
2. *ja + sta* : 'past before past' as discussed in relation to example (51) above.
3. *ja + ta* : duratives and habituais where the action begins before the point of reference.

The combined form (3) expresses durative and habitual where the action or change of state occurs before the point of reference. Thus the combination is indifferent to time and may occur in the past, present or future:

- (65)a. *kora yo chegá eli ja ta kumí*  
 when 1s arrive 3s PF -P eat  
 will be  
 When I { arrive  
 arrived (HAB) } he { is } already eating'.  
 was
- b. *kora yo ja chegá eli ja ta kumí*  
 when 1s PF arrive 3s PF -P eat  
 'When I arrived he was already eating'.

### 5.2 'Adverbial' features of TMA particles

While the TMA particles are generally limited to their special functions in pre-predicate position, *ja*, *logu*, and *kaba* display certain adverbial qualities. In the case of *kaba*, which derives from a verb, such qualities may be related to the influence of Malay *habis* which functions both as adverb and as a TMA marker. Examples of its adverbial function (adverb of time) have been given in section 3.12.3.

In the case of *ja* and *logu* the adverbial qualities may be related to their origin, both having derived from adverbs, and to the influence of Malay *sudah* and *nanti* which serve as adverbs and TMA markers.

The particles *ja* and *logu* (but not *lo*) occur occasionally in contexts outside the predicate. First, they both may occur in post-predicate position with emphatic value. An example has already been given for *ja*, example (52), but not for *logu*:

- (66) *jenti falá mampoku dia lo sudé ku eli mesu la!*  
 person say more+few day FI occur A 3s even E  
*el lo duénti, lo fika logu!*  
 3s FI ill FI become FI  
 'People say before long it will happen to him himself!  
 He ill be ill, he will become ill, presently!'

Secondly, they both may occur in adjunct-like functions, where they may not be readily related to a predicate:

- (67)a. *kabá, ja kantu anu, ja kantu anu, yo, kantu<sup>8</sup>*  
 finish PF how many year PF how many year 1s COND  
*sabé isorti, tantempu eli ngka tomá isi, yo lo*  
 know this+type much+time 3s NEG take this 1s FI  
*bai fazé*  
 go do  
 'Then, already how many years, already how many years, if I  
 knew it was like that, that for so long she hadn't taken this  
 (pension cheque), I would have done it'.
- b. *machu lo sibi femi; logu, keng fazé kukis olotu*  
 male FI use female FI who do cake 3s  
*bai bendé kaza kaza*  
 go sell house house  
 'Men would dress up in women's clothes; later, those who  
 made cakes used to go and sell them from house to house'.

### 5.3 The NEG constituent

Negation of the predicate is performed by means of the NEG category which occurs before TMA and Modals, as in the following examples respectively:

- (69)a. *aké tempu eli nenáng ta fai sibisu na PWD*  
 that time 3s NEG+yet -P do work L  
 'In those days he wasn't yet working for the Public Works Department'.

- numisti*  
NEG+must
- b. *eli* { *mpodi* } *andá*  
3s NEG+can walk
- ńgka toka*  
NEG oblige  
must not
- 'He { cannot } walk'.  
is not obliged to

There are four negators in Kristang:

1. *ńgka* : a general negator for past or present
2. *nadi* : a negator incorporating future-irrealis
3. *nenáng* : a negator incorporating perfective aspect
4. *nang* : a negator incorporating imperative mood

Strict restrictions apply to the co-occurrence of negators with TMA particles, modals and the predicate. In the following sections I shall discuss the negators *ńgka*, *nadi* and *nenáng* and the restrictions on their co-occurrence with other items of the predicate complex. The imperative negator *nang* is discussed in 7.3.1.

### 5.3.1 The negator *ńgka*

The negator *ńgka* is derived from Portuguese *nunca* 'never' and occasionally it is realised as *nungka*. Functionally however, *ńgka* has no clear parallel in either Portuguese or Malay: it is the general negator for past and present in Kristang with all types of predicates – verbs, adjectives, nominal phrases or relator phrases. *ńgka* may not occur with *ja* or *logu* (see below), and is only very rarely observed with *ta*, in cases of emphasis with active verbs:

- (70) *yo ńgka ta bai kaza*  
1s NEG -P go house  
'I am not going home'.

The inability of *ńgka* to occur with *ja* and *logu*, and its very rare occurrence with *ta* is paralleled in Malay where the general negator *tidak/tak* does not co-occur with the perfective particle *sudah*, the future-irrealis particle *nanti* or the non-punctual aspect particle *sedang*.

As a consequence of its inability to occur with TMA particles, the occurrence of *ńgka* with active verbs affects their tense/aspect interpretation adding a further two TMA dimensions to the unmarked verb:

- (i) **punctual**  
Where: *ńgka* + V active = NEG (*ja* + V active)
- (ii) **non-punctual**  
Where: *ńgka* + V active = NEG (*ta* + V active)



Thus NEG + V active may be interpreted as:

{	past	}	{	punctual	}	{	habitual	}
	present			non-punctual			non-habitual	

Example (71) should clarify this point:

(71) *eli n̄gka bai mar*  
3s NEG go sea

Possible interpretations:

- 'He didn't go fishing' [+/- HAB]
- 'He doesn't go fishing' [+ HAB]
- 'He isn't going fishing' [+/- HAB]
- 'He wasn't going fishing' [+/- HAB]

Certain modals and stative verbs have a special form incorporating the negative. They are the result of the reduction and assimilation of *n̄gka*, or earlier *nungka*, to the initial consonant of the verb (see section 2.5.2). Such forms are listed in (72), the less frequent variants being shown in brackets:<sup>9</sup>

(72)	<i>nté</i>	~	( <i>nunténg</i> )	=	'NEG + <i>téng</i> '		
	<i>nggé</i>	~	<i>nggere</i>	~	( <i>nungere</i> )	=	'NEG + <i>keré</i> '
	<i>mpodi</i>	~	( <i>numpodì</i> )	=	'NEG + <i>podì</i> '		
			<i>numisti</i>	=	'NEG + <i>misti</i> ' <sup>10</sup>		
	<i>nsé</i>	~	<i>nsabe</i>	=	'NEG + <i>sabé</i> '		

Bearing in mind the special forms listed above, *n̄gka* may negate all modals:

(73)	<i>eli</i>	{	<i>numisti</i>	}	<i>bai</i>
	3s		NEG-must		go
			<i>mpodi</i>		
			NEG-can		
	'He	{	must not	}	go'.
			cannot		

### 5.3.2 The negator *nenáng*

The negator *nenáng*<sup>11</sup> incorporates the perfective aspect and may be translated as 'not yet'. It is indifferent to time and may occur in past, present or future contexts and occurs with all types of predicates except relator phrases. It has a parallel in Malay *belum* 'not yet'.

The negator *nenáng* occasionally occurs together with *n̄da* ~ *inda* (<P. *ainda* 'still, yet') 'yet', the latter following the verb complement:

- (74) *eli nenáng bai kaza (inda)*  
 3s NEG-PF go house yet  
       hadn't  
 'He ( hasn't ) gone home yet'.  
       won't have

In such cases the meaning is the same as when *nenáng* occurs alone:

As seen in example (74) above, *nenáng*, like *ja*, may occur in past, present or future contexts.

The negator *nenáng* has the same distribution as *ja* with the various types of predicate. It most frequently occurs with active verbs but occasionally occurs with stative and change of state verbs, adjectives and NPs, as in the following examples:

(75)a. **Active verb**

- nenáng kai chua*  
 NEG-PF fall rain  
 'It ( hasn't  
       hadn't ) rained yet'.

b. **Stative verb**

- eli nenáng sabé les skribé*  
 3s NEG-PF know read write  
 'He ( doesn't  
       didn't ) yet know how to read and write'.

c. **Change of state verb**

- aké tempu, yo nenáng lembrá eli ladráng*  
 that time 1s NEG-PF think 3s thief  
 'At that time I didn't yet think he was a thief'.

d. **Adjective**

- aké tempu pa nenáng duénti*  
 that time father NEG-PF ill  
 'At that time father wasn't ill yet'.

e. **Noun phrase**

- eli nenáng mestri*  
 3s NEG-PF teacher  
 'He ( isn't  
       wasn't ) a teacher yet'.

In its distribution with the TMA and Modal categories, *nenáng* also parallels *ja*. Of the TMA markers only *ta* may co-occur with *nenáng*:

- (76) *aké tempu eli nenáng ta fai sibisu*  
 that time 3s NEG-PF -P do work  
 'At that time he wasn't working yet'.

With modals *nenáng* is unrestricted but infrequent:

- (77) *eli nenáng*      *podi*  
 3s NEG-PF      {      can      }      *bai (nda)*  
    *misti*      }      go      yet  
    must
- 'He { cannot  
 must not } go yet'.

### 5.3.3 The future negator *nadi*

The negator *nadi*, (<P. *não ha de* 'NEG + have to')<sup>12</sup> incorporates the future-irrealis mood. It has no parallel in Malay. Functionally it signifies 'NEG + *logu*':

- (78) *kantu yo nté*      *doi*      *yo nadi*      *komprá moto*  
 if      1s NEG-have money 1s NEG-FI      buy      motorcycle  
 'If I { don't  
 didn't } have the money I { won't  
 wouldn't } buy a motorcycle'.
- (79) *Tate nadi*      *bai mar*      *ozi*      *anoti*  
    NEG-FI go sea      today night  
 'Tate won't go fishing tonight'.

The negator *nadi* has the same distribution as *logu* with the various predicate types (see section 5.1.4). It occurs commonly with active verbs, occasionally with stative and change of state verbs and infrequently with adjectives. With stative verbs it confers an inferential or an inchoative value and with adjectives too it confers an inchoative value:

#### (80)a. Active verb

*eli nadi kantá*  
 3s NEG-FI sing  
 'He won't sing'.

#### b. Stative verb

*Rosil nadi sabé*  
    NEG-FI know  
 'Rosil { won't know  
 won't find out<sup>13</sup> }

#### c. Change of state verb

*eli nadi keré ku bos*  
 3s NEG-FI want A 2s  
 'She won't like you'.

d. **Adjective**

*eli nadi duénti*  
 3s NEG ill  
 'He won't become ill'.

Like *logu*, *nadi* does not co-occur with TMA markers. However, it differs from *logu* in its distribution with modals, not occurring with *podí* or *místi*:

(81) *eli nadi* { *\*podí* } *kantá*  
 3s NEG-FI { can } sing  
                   { *\*místi* }  
                   must  
 'He won't { be able to } sing'.  
                   \*must

## 5.4 The modal category

The predicate may be modified for modality by the modal category (Modal) which occurs between TMA and the predicate. Its appearance always depends on a predicate, covert or overt, which it modifies. The modal category comprises the two modals *místi* and *podí* which modify the predicate in terms of two modality scales:

NECESSITY : *místi* 'must, oblige'  
 POSSIBILITY : *podí* 'able'

Certain verbs, when they occur in modifying serialisations (see 8.4.2) also function as modal modifiers. Thus the active transitive verbs *toká* 'touch' and *achá* 'receive' function in modifying serialisations as modal modifiers of necessity and possibility, respectively, with the meanings of 'be obliged' and 'manage'. Although these verbs are not modals, they do display some of the characteristics of modals and, as such, I shall include some description of their modal function in the following sections along with that of *místi* and *podí*.

5.4.1 The modality of *necessity* in the modal category

This scale embodies the notions of necessity and obligation and is expressed by means of the modal *místi* 'must' and the verb *toká* in modifying serialisation with the value of 'be obliged to'. In this role *toka* receives penultimate syllable stress.

The modal *místi* is generally a marker of obligation:

(82) *eli místi bai mar ozi anoti*  
 3s must go sea today night  
 'He must go fishing tonight'.

However, *místi* is systematically ambiguous allowing also an inferential reading. In (82) the inferential reading would be 'He must have gone fishing tonight'.

In serialisations involving modal modification, *toka* is a marker of obligation where the subject is compelled to do something (generally unfavourable) by forces beyond his control:

- (83) *eli toka bai Jasin*  
 3s oblige go  
 'He is obliged (forced) to go to Jasin'.

The function of *toka* in such cases is parallel to that of M. *kena* (see section 8.4.2.3).

#### 5.4.2 The modality of *possibility* in the modality category

This scale is expressed by means of the modal *podí* 'can, able' and the verb *achá* 'receive' in modifying serialisations where it has the value of 'manage, get to' (see 8.4.2.3). In the role of modal *acha* receives penultimate syllable stress.

The modal *podí* is systematically ambiguous, allowing three senses: a root sense of possibility, as in (84)a, permission as in (84)b, and ability, as in (84)c:

- (84)a. *yo lemrá eli podi beng sedu*  
 1s think 3s possible come early  
 'I think he might come early'.<sup>14</sup>
- b. *pai falá bos podi bai*  
 father say 2s able go  
 'Father says you can go'.
- c. *Leonard podi fufá floi*  
 able blow flute  
 'Leonard is able to play the flute'.<sup>15</sup>

In its modifying serial role *acha* means 'manage, get to' and involves the notion that 'external forces make it possible for the subject to do X'.

- (85) *Maria ja acha bai Christmas Island*  
 PF get go  
 'Maria got to go to Christmas Island'.

#### 5.4.3 Combinations of modals

The modals *misti* and *podí* do not co-occur; neither do the verbs *toká* and *achá* which may act as modal modifiers in serial constructions. However, *misti* and *podí* may combine with *toka* and *acha*. In such combinations *misti* only occurs with its inferential meaning, as in (86)a and b, and *podí* only occurs with its possibility sense, as in (87):

- (86)a. *yo lemrá eli misti toka pagá*  
 1s think 3s must oblige pay  
 'I think he must have to pay'.
- b. *eli misti acha bai Christmas Island*  
 3s must get go  
 'He must get to go to Christmas Island'.

- (87) *yo lembrá eli podi* { *toka*  
1s think 3s can { oblige } *bai Jasin*  
*acha*  
get

'I think he might { have  
get } to go to Jasin'.

While such combinations are possible, they are not common.

#### 5.4.4 Co-occurrence of TMA and Modals

The co-occurrence of TMA particles with Modals is highly restricted. To an extent, the Modals resemble stative verbs in their inability to occur with the TMA particles *ja + kaba* and *ta*. This distribution is matched by the verbs *achá* and *toká*, in their modal modifying function:

- (88)a. *eli ja kaba* \*{ *misti*  
3s pf finish { able } *bai skola*  
go school  
*toka*  
oblige  
*acha*  
get  
\*musting  
\*canning  
'He had finished { being obliged } to go to school'.  
getting

- b. *eli ta* { *\*misti*  
3s -P { must  
*\*podi*  
can } *bai skola*  
*\*?toka* go school  
be obliged  
*\*?acha*  
get/manage  
\*musting  
'He is { \*canning  
being obliged } to go to school'.  
getting

The modals *misti* and *podi* further resemble stative verbs in two ways:

I. When unmarked for TMA they are indifferent to past/present:

- (89) *eli* { *podi*  
3s { able } *bai*  
*misti* go  
must  
could have gone  
could go  
'He { can go }'  
had to go  
must go

However, unlike stative verbs *podi* and *misti*, when unmarked for TMA, allow also a future interpretation. Thus, in an appropriate context, (89) may also have the following reading:

'He will { be able to  
have to } go'.

II. The co-occurrence of *ja* with a modal gives emphasis to the prior inception of the modal modification of the predicate (i.e. that at some point prior to the point of reference the proposition M(V) was true):

- (90) *eli ja misti bai*  
3s PF must go  
had to  
'He already { must } go'.  
will have to

Neither feature I nor feature II is shared by *toka* and *acha* in their modal function. *toka*, when unmarked for TMA, has a past habitual or present habitual/non-habitual or future reading, just like an active verb:

- (91) *eli toka bai Jasin*  
3s oblige go  
'He { used to have to  
has to (present or future) } go to Jasin'.

On the other hand, *acha*, when unmarked for TMA, may be interpreted as past habitual or present habitual:

- (92) *eli acha bai Jasin*  
3s get go  
'He { got to  
gets to } go to Jasin'.







10. Another form of negated *misti* is *nang misti* 'NEG IMP + *misti*'.
11. I am uncertain of the origin of this negator. It may be derived from Portuguese *ainda não* 'not yet'. In vestigial Tugu Creole Portuguese, formerly spoken in Tugu, Jakarta, I have observed the aspectual negator *indana*:

*eli indana kumí*  
 3s NEG-PF eat  
 'He hasn't eaten yet'.

12. Similar forms are found in other varieties of South East Asian and South Asian Creole Portuguese. For example, Batavia Creole Portuguese in Schuchardt (1891:95) has *nada*. The form *nad* in Damão Creole Portuguese was observed by Dalgado (1903:11). Smith (1977:174) observes the form *na*: in Sri Lankan Creole Portuguese.
13. The meaning 'find out' is more commonly expressed by the serial construction *acha* + *sabé* 'get to know'.
14. The usual way to express possibility is by means of *anumbés* 'possibly' or *podí fíká* 'it could turn out':

{ *anumbés* } *eli lo beng sedu*  
 { *podí fíká* } 3s FI come early  
 { 'Possibly' } he will come early'  
 { It could turn out }

15. It is more usual, however, to use *sabé* 'know', in cases involving ability.

## Chapter 6

### CORE AND PERIPHERAL ARGUMENTS

In this chapter I will discuss the principal grammatical and semantic functions of NPs within the clause. In the grammar of Kristang a prime distinction may be drawn between core and peripheral arguments of a clause. Core arguments may be defined as those NPs which are semantically required by the predicate and, as such, are cognitively obligatory. Peripheral arguments, however, are those NPs which are not semantically required by the predicate but which occur whenever semantically feasible as contextual indicators, adjuncts to the predication.

In Kristang most predicates are either intransitive or transitive, having respectively one or two core NPs. The special status of these particular NPs is indicated morphosyntactically: they stand in a grammatical relation to the predicate. The two grammatical relations in Kristang are subject and object. The core NP of intransitive predicates and one of the core NPs of a transitive predicate typically functions semantically as actor. This core NP is the subject. The core NP of transitive clauses which is not semantically a potential actor is typically an undergoer. This core NP is the object.

Not all core NPs, however, are grammatical relation NPs. Thus, for example, in Kristang, as in other languages, the verb *meté* 'put' requires a locative NP (see 6.3.5: cf. Longacre 1976:35) whereas the verb *da* 'give' requires a recipient NP (see 6.3.1), yet these NPs do not stand in grammatical relations to their respective verbs.

In the following two sections I define the grammatical relations of subject and object for Kristang and then discuss conditions for object marking. Following this, the form and function of non-grammatical relation core NPs and peripheral NPs is discussed in section 6.3. Finally, in section 6.5, I briefly consider the origin of Kristang *ku* as a multifunctional relator.

#### 6.1 Grammatical relations defined for Kristang

On the basis of language internal morpho-syntactic criteria, two grammatical relations may be identified for the grammar of Kristang: **subject** and **object**.

### 6.1.1 Subject

The NP which functions as grammatical subject of a clause may be defined by the following criteria:

1. it does not occur with case marking
2. in clauses of unmarked word order it occurs to the immediate left of the predicate except in clauses containing ambient verbs and certain occurrences of the existential verb *teng* (see section 7.1.3)
3. it is the cognitively obligatory argument of an intransitive predicate occurring in isolation, that is, independent of context
4. it is crucial to the formation of the adversity passive (see section 7.5.3)
5. it is crucial to the operation of Equi-NP deletion (see section 7.1.4.2).

The subject NP expresses a range of semantic functions among which the principal are actor or undergoer of the clause as in (1)a and b respectively:

- (1)a. *eli ta drumí*  
 3s -P sleep  
 'He is sleeping'.  
 b. *olotu ja mur*  
 3pl PF die  
 'They died'.

### 6.1.2 Object

The NP which functions as the object of a transitive predicate may be defined by the following criteria:

1. it may take object marking with *ku*, although this marking is not strictly determined by its grammatical relation status (see section 6.2)
2. in transitive clauses of unmarked word order, it occurs to the immediate right of the verb except in certain cases when a recipient NP is present (see section 6.3.1)
3. it is crucial to the formation of the adversity passive (see section 7.5.3).

The object expresses a range of semantic functions of which the principal is that of undergoer of the action expressed by the verb:

- (2) *eli ja dali ku John*  
 3s PF hit A  
 'He hit John'.

## 6.2 Object marking

As seen in the previous sections, in Kristang the relations between the object NP and its governing verb are expressed by two means: word order and case marking by means of a relator which precedes the object NP.

Alternation between morphologically marked and unmarked accusatives has been widely studied (cf. Garcia 1975, Hopper and Thompson 1979, Tunbridge 1980, Comrie 1981). One of the most interesting findings of this work is that while such languages differ as to which class of nominals takes accusative case marking, there appears to be no variation in the hierarchy of occurrence and obligatory presence of accusative marking. The following hierarchy is consistently observed (cf. Silverstein 1976):

**Figure 6-1: NP hierarchy for accusative marking**

Pronouns – Pronouns – Proper names – human – (animate) – inanimate  
 1 & 2                    3                    Kin

Objects represented by nominals on the left of the hierarchy are most likely to be marked and are followed in receding order of likelihood by the classes of nominals extending to the right. If a language has accusative marking on a given position of the hierarchy, then it will have it on all higher positions (i.e. to the left).

Languages vary as to the extent of obligatory and optional marking and absence of marking on the hierarchy. Spanish has obligatory marking right down to proper names, optional marking on human and animate nouns and no marking on inanimate nouns. On the other hand, in Urdu, accusative marking is obligatory on pronouns and proper names and optional on all other nominals.

A further finding of recent studies is that accusative marking may encode definiteness and/or animacy and/or the speaker's attitude to the NP. In Spanish and Urdu, all three factors are relevant to accusative marking (Tunbridge 1980:55-110), while in Persian it is definiteness (Comrie 1981:125-29). On the other hand, in Sri Lanka Creole Portuguese, Smith (1977:165) finds that the accusative suffix – *pe* is obligatory on human nouns, optional on non-human animates and absent on inanimates. That such factors are relevant to Kristang accusative marking will be seen in the following sections.

**6.2.1 Accusative marking in Kristang: the relator *ku***

Accusative marking in Kristang varies according to the particular NP and verb. As such, accusative marking may be obligatory, optional or absent. Nominals may be ranked on the following hierarchy according to their ability to take accusative marking:

**Figure 6-2: NP hierarchy for accusative marking in Kristang**

Pronouns > Proper names > Kin terms > human > animate > inanimate  
 <----->                    <----->                    <----->  
                   obligatory                    optional                    absent

In broad terms, accusative marking in Kristang is related to the definiteness and/or animacy of the object; however, where it is optional it may be subjectively manipulated by the speaker.

It is not the case that the relator *ku* as an accusative marker is optional after all verbs. With some verbs, for example *teng* 'have', *ku* is obligatorily absent.

Verbs after which accusative *ku* is frequently observed with variable distribution in my recorded data fall into three classes:

1. Verbs generally taking human objects only:

<i>amór</i>	love
<i>busidu</i>	hate
<i>judá</i>	help
<i>kazá</i>	marry
<i>respetu</i>	respect
etc.	

2. Verbs generally taking human or animate objects only:

<i>bulí</i>	disturb
<i>chomá</i>	call
<i>këriá</i>	raise, look after
<i>koitadu</i>	pity
<i>matá</i>	kill
<i>parí</i>	to give birth, to be born
etc.	

3. Verbs taking human, animate or inanimate objects:

<i>biziá</i>	watch, mind
<i>champó ~ champurá</i>	mix <sup>1</sup>
<i>buská</i>	seek
<i>dali</i>	strike
<i>gostá</i>	like
<i>kuntenti</i>	be content with
<i>largá</i>	leave
<i>lembirá</i>	remember
<i>midu</i>	fear
<i>ngkontrá</i>	encounter
<i>olá</i>	see
<i>pegá</i>	catch
<i>pontá</i>	shoot
<i>sabé</i>	know
etc.	

Paradigms of the following subset of these three types of verbs occurring with the set of objects in the hierarchy of figure 6-2 have been checked with informants and their distribution observed in recordings:

(3)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
	<i>amór</i>	<i>chomá</i>	<i>champó ~ champurá</i>
	<i>busidu</i>	<i>keriá</i>	<i>dali</i>
	<i>kazá</i>	<i>koitadu</i>	<i>gostá</i>
	<i>judá</i>	<i>matá</i>	<i>largá</i>
	<i>respetu</i>	<i>pontá</i>	<i>midu</i>
			<i>ngkontrá</i>
			<i>olá</i>
			<i>pegá</i>
			<i>sabé</i>

While the range of objects which occur with these verbs is not uniform, the cut-off points for obligatory and optional accusative marking with different types of objects are found to be broadly the same.

The following sections discuss the distribution of accusative marking in more detail. The discussion will be limited to simple noun phrases which occur as objects in declarative clauses, these being the most frequent in my recordings.

### 6.2.2 Obligatory accusative marking

Direct objects which are pronouns or proper human names are obligatorily marked by *ku*:

					<i>yo</i>				
					<i>ls</i>				
					<i>bos</i>				
					<i>2s</i>				
					<i>eli</i>				
					<i>3s</i>				
(4)	<i>Fidelis</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>fila</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>olá</i>	<i>ku</i>	{	<i>nus</i>	}
		<i>G</i>	<i>daughter</i>	<i>PF</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>A</i>			
								<i>1pl</i>	
								<i>bolotu</i>	
								<i>2pl</i>	
								<i>olotu</i>	
								<i>3pl</i>	
								<i>Anna</i>	
								<i>me</i>	
								<i>you</i>	
								<i>her, him</i>	
								<i>'Fidelis' daughter saw</i>	<i>{ us }'</i>
								<i>you</i>	
								<i>them</i>	
								<i>Anna</i>	

The presence of accusative marking here corresponds to high animacy and definiteness of the object nominal. This observation is valid for all verbs in (3).

### 6.2.3 Absence of accusative marking

There are two cases where accusative marking is absent:

A. Accusative marking is categorically absent with non-human animate nominals of generic reference, even on 'higher' non-human animates such as dogs:

- (5)a. *eli ta bai* { *pontá \*ku pastu* }  
 3s -P go { shoot A bird }  
           *pegá \*ku pesi*  
           catch A fish  
 'He is going to shoot birds/catch fish'.

- b. *eli gostá \*ku kachoru*  
 3s like A dog  
 'He likes dogs'.

The absence of overt accusative marking here correlates with a lack of definiteness.

B. Accusative *ku* generally does not occur with inanimate objects of definite, indefinite or generic reference (note that when inanimate nominals occur without articles they may only be interpreted as having generic reference). So here, the absence of accusative marking correlates with an absence of animacy:

- (6) *sabé*                      *aké*  
 know                      that  
 (6) *eli* { *gostá* } *\*ku* { *ńgua* } { *buku* }  
 3s { like } A { 1 } { *bersu kristáng* }  
           *ta olá*                      Ø  
           -P see                      GENERIC  
           knows                      { that } { book }  
 'He { likes } { a } { Kristang song } }  
           is looking at                      { books }  
   { Kristang books }

Note, however, the following personifying use of *ku* with an inanimate indefinite object, expressing irony:

- (7) *olotu respetu ku doi!*  
 3pl respect A money  
 'They respect money!'

The speaker is lamenting people's materialism and gives the inanimate object the attention a human object might deserve.



### 6.2.4 Optional accusative marking

Accusative marking is optional with four classes of noun: kin terms, names of supernatural beings, human common nouns and animate nouns. Although all of these classes take optional accusative marking, each class displays an overall preference for presence or absence of the accusative marker. The preferences are shown in the following chart in correlation with the type of noun and the type of reference available to the noun:

reference	kin terms	proper supernatural names	human common	animate
definite	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	∅
indefinite			∅	∅
generic			∅	

*ku* = preferred presence of accusative marking  
 ∅ = preferred absence of accusative marking

The chart clearly shows the relationship between accusative marking and animacy/definiteness. If a noun is of high animacy and it is also definite, it is preferably marked by *ku*. If a noun is indefinite (i.e. of indefinite or generic reference) or of lower animacy, it is preferably not marked by *ku*.

In each class, deviation from the preferred form of the object may be subjectively motivated. In broad terms, what is involved in such subjectively motivated alternations is a signalling of what I shall refer to as speaker interest. Speaker interest in the object involves such notions as empathy, familiarity, favourable disposition, value.

However, while informants suggest that there is an affective difference between presence and absence of accusative *ku* with these nominals, and while that difference may be observed in discourse, it is evident that many instances of variation are not governed by semantic principles. Such variation suggests change in the system of accusative marking and may be related to convergence with English. Some teenage informants see the difference between presence and absence of *ku* as merely one of preference – where preference coincides with the general tendencies of accusative use for each type of nominal. Thus instances of variation in a given text may constitute a mixed bag, some being rule governed some not. These comments are relevant to variable accusative marking of all human nominals.

I shall first discuss the cases where *ku* is preferred and then the cases where absence of case marking is preferred.

### 6.2.4.1 Instances of preferred accusative marking

Accusative marking is preferred with kin terms, proper names of supernatural beings and human common names of definite reference. With these nominals the absence of *ku* may relate to a lack of speaker interest, which of course, may mean many things.

In general informants felt that the  $\emptyset$  variants were less clear references to the object. Such reference may be motivated by various factors. In examples (8)a and (8)b a difference in meaning is particularly clear:

(8) **Kin term:**

- a. *yo ja olá* { <sup>A</sup> } *Maria sa pai*  
 1s PF see  $\emptyset$  G father  
 'I saw Maria's father'.

- b. *eli sabé* { <sup>A</sup> } *yo sa susi*  
 3s know  $\emptyset$  1s G elder sister  
 'He knows my elder sister'.

In (8)a, the presence of *ku* implies 'seeing in close proximity', an exchange of glances and perhaps even an exchange of words. The absence of *ku* implies less proximate or detached 'seeing'. Similarly in (8)b, the presence or absence of *ku* after *sabé* 'to know, be acquainted with' implies greater or lesser acquaintance. Whether or not *ku* occurs seems to depend on the speaker's familiarity with, interest in, or disposition towards the predication. Thus, in (8)a and (8)b it would be possible to 'understate' the predication by not using *ku*.

The affective value attached to *ku* may be further exemplified by (9)a and b:

(9) **Human common noun of definite reference:**

- a. *yo sa kanyóng* { *ja olá* } { <sup>A</sup> } *aké femi*  
 1s G elder brother like  $\emptyset$  that female  
*sabé*  
 know  
 saw  
 'My elder brother { likes } that girl'.  
 knows
- b. *yo ja gostá ku isi machu*  
 1s PF like A this boy  
 'I already liked this boy'.

In (9)a, if the assertion concerning 'that girl' was prominent in discourse, *ku* would generally be present, especially if the speaker felt some involvement or familiarity with the predication (acquaintance with the referent, favourable disposition towards the

the predication (acquaintance with the referent, favourable disposition towards the referent, etc.). This is the case in (9)b which was uttered after an explanation by the speaker of how after her engagement her fiancé virtually ignored her and how she had become friendly with another boy. Eventually, the engagement had to be broken because *yo ja gostá ku isi krensa* – where *isi krensa* is singled out for special emphasis and deictically refers to frequent prior reference to the person's name. The non-occurrence of *ku* would be odd here. On the other hand, *ku* would generally be absent in (9)a if the assertion wasn't prominent, viewed without special interest.

However, in the case of (10), informants could only point to the 'correctness' or 'clarity' of the *ku* variant:

(10) **Supernatural:**

*aké tempu sa jenti midu { ku } deus*  
 that time G people fear { Ø } God  
 'Those times people feared God'.

The Ø variant was acceptable but considered slightly odd.

#### 6.2.4.2 Preferred absence of accusative marking

Accusative marking is preferably absent with human common nouns of indefinite reference (with or without an indefinite article), generic reference and non-human animate nouns of definite or indefinite reference.

With these nominals the presence of *ku* may correlate with the extent to which the speaker shows interest in the object referent, informants suggesting that the *ku* variants are somehow clearer. The affective reasons for the presence of *ku* can be various:

(11) **Human common noun of indefinite reference:**

- a. *eli ja olá { <sup>A</sup> } *ngua jenti**  
 3s PF see { Ø } 1 people  
 'He saw someone/a person'.
- b. *bo ola ku *ngua jenti*, nakí teng *ngua*, -----*  
 2s see A 1 people here be 1 'name'  
 'You see someone/a person (i.e. a faith healer), there's one here'.
- c. *yo sa filu ja kazá { <sup>A</sup> } *ngua fila china**  
 1s G son PF marry { Ø } 1 girl Chinese  
 'My son married a Chinese girl'.
- d. *eli ja kazá *ngua malayu*, eli ja sai *kristáng**  
 3s PF marry 1 Malay 3s PF leave Christian  
 'She married a Malay, she stopped being a Christian'.

So, for example in (11)c, a mother (the speaker) could subtly show approval of her son's marriage to a Chinese by using *ku*. In (11)d, however, no special interest is shown where the speaker's daughter married a Malay (possibly because it is considered bad to become a Muslim).

An indefinite object may also occur without an indefinite article. This possibility is not available to all verbs. After many verbs, for example *buská* 'to seek', *pontá* 'to shoot', *matá* 'to kill', a noun without an article is only understood as having generic reference. However, indefinite human objects without indefinite articles occasionally occur with *ku*:

(12)a. *yo sa susi ja kazá ( <sup>ku</sup> A ) moru*  
 1s G elder sister PF marry {  $\emptyset$  } Indian  
 'My elder sister married an Indian'.

b. *eli ja kazá ( <sup>ku</sup> A ) femi malayu*  
 3s PF marry {  $\emptyset$  } woman Malay  
 'He married a Malay woman'.

c. *namba dos ja kazá ( <sup>ku</sup> A ) kristáng*  
 number 2 PF marry {  $\emptyset$  } Creole  
 'The second (a male) married a Kristang'.

In the case of (12)a, informants felt that the object was either identifiable as an individual, or simply given more emphasis because of familiarity or empathy. Examples from discourse seem to confirm these comments. In (12)b, the referent of the object which occurs without *ku* was readily identifiable to both speaker and hearer. (The sentence occurred in a discourse along with (13)a below, the speaker being strongly of the opinion that Creoles shouldn't marry Malays.) The object has been left unmarked. However, the speaker of the *ku* variant of (12)c has felt the object merited greater identity (the topic is the marriages of her children).

There is a particularly interesting aspect to accusative *ku* marking with indefinite human nouns preceded by the indefinite article. The marking of 'interest' in such cases can signal the difference between a referent which is greater or less identifiable. Thus, informants point out that in (11)a the presence of *ku* can indicate a referent which is more identifiable than in plain indefinite reference: 'someone (possibly X or Y, members of the set of people who are likely to pass by)'. With the  $\emptyset$  variant, however, the speaker merely considers the referent as a nonspecific member of a set: 'someone (a member of the set 'people')'. It is the former use, the less indefinite reference, which is involved in example (11)b. Here, a member of a subset is referred to: 'a faith healer (= *ngua jenti*)'. This 'definite' indefinite reference dimension of accusative *ku* marking strongly resembles what Comrie (ibid:128) has referred to as "definite superset" reference in Persian by means of accusative marking of an indefinite object.

In the case of human common nouns of generic reference, *ku* is far less acceptable:

(13) **Human common noun of generic reference:**

- a. *kifóí olotu soti malisia ke buska* { <sup>?ku</sup><sub>A</sub> } *femi malayu?*  
 why 3pl kind lecherous want seek <sub>Ø</sub> girl Malay  
 'Why should they be so lecherous that they want to look for Malay girls?'
- b. *eli gostá* { <sup>?ku</sup><sub>A</sub> } *jenti prenya la!*  
 3s like <sub>Ø</sub> people pregnant E  
 'It (the vampire) likes pregnant women!'
- c. *eli kurá* { <sup>?ku</sup><sub>A</sub> } *jenti*  
 3s cure <sub>Ø</sub> person  
 'He cures people.'
- d. *yo champó ku jenti idad idadi*  
 1s mix A people age age  
 'I mix with elderly people.'

However, where *ku* is acceptable the difference in meaning between presence and absence of *ku* seems to depend on whether the speaker's own experience of the generalisation is being considered or whether the speaker is making the greatest possible generalisation. This seems to be borne out in discourse. In (13)d, for example, the speaker envisages the set of old people with which she mixes at a women's association which runs cooking classes (after uttering (13)d, she goes on to explain this).

With definite and indefinite non-human animates *ku* may occur on certain 'higher' animates:

(14) **Non-human animate nouns of definite reference:**

- a. *nus ja olá* { <sup>\*ku</sup><sub>A</sub> } *aké pesi*  
 1pl PF see <sub>Ø</sub> that fish  
*?ku*  
 { <sup>?ku</sup><sub>A</sub> } *aké kachoru*  
<sub>Ø</sub> that dog  
 'We saw that fish/that bird'.
- b. *eli kere pontá* { <sup>ku</sup><sub>A</sub> } *aké pastu*  
 3s want shoot <sub>Ø</sub> that bird  
 'He wants to shoot that bird'.

- c. *yo sabé* ( <sup>A</sup> ) *aké kachoru*  
 1s know Ø that dog  
 'I know that dog'.

(15) **Non-human animate nouns of indefinite reference:**

- a. *Veronica sa pai ja pontá* ( <sup>A</sup> ) *ńgua pastu*  
 G father PF shoot Ø 1 bird  
 'Veronica's father shot a bird'.

- b. *eli ja* ( <sup>matá</sup> ) *ku* ( <sup>\*?kobra</sup> ) *snake*  
 3s PF kill A snake  
           *olá*                    *\*bichu*  
           see                      worm/grub  
 'He killed a dog/snake/grub'.

In (14)b above, the use of *ku* seems to depend on the interest of the speaker in the shooting of the bird. With (14)c, it appears to depend on 'familiarity' – with *ku* the reading is more like 'acquainted with', whereas without *ku* it is 'recognise'. Clearly the former meaning is available because a dog as a pet is considered higher in animacy than one that is not a pet.

In (15)a the presence of *ku* can correlate with special interest on the part of the speaker, either greater identifiability of the object (a specific (type of) bird) or interest in the shooting of the bird. In (15)b, with an indefinite animate object which is not preceded by the indefinite article, *ku* very rarely occurs. Here dog is slightly more acceptable because of higher animacy status.

### 6.2.5 Accusative marking: concluding remarks

The foregoing discussion has shown that, in broad terms, accusative marking in Kristang may be related to the definiteness and/or animacy of the object. Where accusative marking is obligatorily present it correlates with both definiteness and animacy; where it is absent it correlates with a lack of animacy. Where accusative marking is optional, the general tendency is for *ku* to correlate with high definiteness and animacy. However, the speaker may subjectively manipulate the definiteness or animacy of the object.

### 6.3 Other NP types

In this section I discuss two principal NP types: those core NPs that do not stand in a grammatical relation to their predicate, and peripheral NPs.

Peripheral NP arguments provide the contextual coordinates for the predication. They express adjuncts of the action, such as beneficiaries, instruments, causes and co-participants, or the spatial or temporal setting. Their relation to the predication is, in most cases, indicated by a relator.

### 6.3.1 Recipient argument

The NP which stands in the relation of recipient of the action expressed by the verb is indicated by the relator *ku*. The recipient NP may occur in two positions: after the object NP, as in (16)a, or prior to the object NP as in (16)b:

(16)a. *eli sa tiu ja bendé aké prau ku yo*  
 3s G uncle PF sell that boat R 1s  
 'His uncle sold the boat to me'.

b. *eli ja da ku yo oitenta pataka*  
 3s PF give R 1s eighty dollar  
 'He gave me eighty dollars'.

The latter position is more frequent, particularly with higher positions of the animacy/definiteness scale.

The marking of a recipient NP is 'optional' with certain NP heads. However, recipients are almost always marked with *ku*, regardless of nominal class. This is especially so where the recipient NP follows the object. Absence of the relator is rare and when it does occur it follows the hierarchy for accusative marking:

(17)

	<i>ku yo</i>	
	R 1s	
	<i>ku Rita</i>	
	R	
<i>eli ja da</i>	{	<i>aké pesi</i>
3s PF give		that fish
		( <i>ku</i> ) <i>eli sa pai</i>
		R 3s G father
		( <i>ku</i> ) <i>aké gatu</i>
		R that cat
		me
'He gave	{	Rita
		his father
		the cat
		} the fish'.

In cases where the recipient is not marked, real world knowledge of what entities may be acceptable donors, recipients and gifts must be called upon in order to interpret the object and the recipient. Thus, for example, in the above example, *aké gatu* could not be the object because one does not give cats to fish.

In rare cases where both the recipient and the object are human and are both marked with *ku*, the order is object followed by recipient:

- (18) *krensa krensa olotu ja da ku eli ku ngua mulé china*  
 child child 3pl PF give A 3s R 1 woman Chinese  
 'When he was a young child they gave him to a Chinese woman'.

### 6.3.2 The benefactive argument

The argument which stands in the relation of beneficiary of the action expressed by the verb is in most instances indicated by one of the following relators:

- padi* (widely used)  
*pada* (<M. *pada*, less frequently used; generally by younger speakers or speakers with a lot of contact with Malay.)  
*pě ~ pa ~ para* (<P. *para*; rare; generally restricted to older speakers.)

However, a benefactive argument may also be indicated by the verb *da* 'give' (see sections 8.1.2.4 and 8.4.2.1).

The benefactive argument occurs to the right of the object NP:

- (19) *eli ja komprá ngua bicycle padi Victoria*  
 3s PF buy 1 B  
 'He bought a bicycle for Victoria'.

### 6.3.3 The instrumental argument

The relation of the NP which functions as an instrument manipulated by the actor in order to effect the action is indicated by means of the relator *ku*:

- (20) *eli ja kotrá aké kandri ku faka*  
 3s PF cut that meat I knife  
 'He cut the meat with a knife'.

### 6.3.4 The causal argument

The NP which functions as the uncontrolled cause of a change in the patient is indicated by the noun *káuzu* 'cause, reason' which in conjunction with the relator *di* functions as a causal relator:

- (21) *nus ta padisé káuzu di eli sa pai*  
 1pl -P suffer cause S 3s G father  
 'We are suffering because of her father'.

### 6.3.5 Locative argument

An NP expressing the location may be indicated by the relator *na*. With intransitive predications where the location is expressed by a simple nominal phrase, as in (22), *na* is obligatory:



- (22) *eli ta drumí na* { *chang*  
3s -P sleep L floor }  
*kambra*  
bedroom

'He is sleeping on the floor/in the bedroom'.

However, the location may be specified by a nominal phrase involving such specific locationals as the following:

<i>rentu ~ drentu</i>	inside
<i>riba</i>	above, on top of
<i>basu</i>	beneath
<i>tras</i>	behind
<i>diánti</i>	in front
<i>fora</i>	outside
<i>ilagri ~ ilagra</i>	adjacent

In such cases, *na*, although preferred (except with *ilagri*) is optional:

- (23)a. *eli ta santá (na)* { *rentu*  
3s -P sit L inside } *di Bel sa butika*  
*tras* behind S G shop  
*fora* outside  
*diánti* front

'He is sitting { inside  
behind } Bel's shop'.  
outside  
in front of

- b. *eli ta santá (na)* { *basu di albi*  
3s -P sit L under S tree }  
*riba di kareta*  
top S car

'He is sitting { beneath the tree }  
on top of the car

- c. *eli ta santá (?na) ilagri (di) Bel sa butika*  
3s -P sit L adjacent S G shop  
'He is sitting next to Bel's shop'.

However, if the locational functions as the head of the NP, *na* is obligatory, except in the case of *ilagri ~ ilagra* with which it is preferably absent:

- (24)a. *eli teng* { \*Ø } { *tras* }  
 3s BE *na* *diánti* *fora* *basu* }  
 L *ribu* *rentu*

behind  
 in front  
 outside  
 'He is ( beneath )'.  
 on top/above  
 inside

- b. *eli teng* { Ø } *ilagri*  
 3s BE ?*na* adjacent  
 L  
 'He is next door'.

With the verbs *botá* 'place, put' and *meté* 'put into', *na* occurs optionally, although it is preferred, with the locative argument:

- (25)a. *nu meté nígua tersu (na) sa mang*  
 1pl put 1 crucifix L G hand  
 'We put a crucifix in his hand'.  
 b. *kéng ta botá lama (na) yo sa prau?*  
 who -P put mud L 1s G boat  
 'Who is putting mud in my boat?'

### 6.3.6 Source argument

The relation of the NP which expresses the place from which the action proceeds may be indicated by the relator *di*. With most verbs *di* is obligatory:

- (26)a. *eli ja sai di kaza*  
 3s PF leave S house  
 'He left the house'.  
 b. *eli ja chegá di Kuala Lumpur*  
 3s PF arrive S  
 'He arrived from Kuala Lumpur'.  
 c. *eli ja beng di otru tera*  
 3s PF comes S other land  
 'He came from another country'.

However, with some verbs, for example, *disé* 'to descend', *di* is optional:

- (27) *toka disé (di) kareta*  
 oblige descend S car  
 'One was obliged to get out of the car'.

### 6.3.7 Goal argument

The place or entity towards which the action is directed may be indicated by the relator *ku* or by the relator *na*, according to the class of nominal involved. If the goal entity is animate, it is indicated by *ku*:

- (28)a. *olotu ja bai ku Uncle Min*  
 3pl PF go GO  
 'They went to Uncle Min'.
- b. *isi nosióra ja beng ku yo na sonu*  
 this Our Lady PF come GO 1s L dream  
 'This Our Lady came to me in a dream'.

Thus, the goal argument is indicated by the same means as the comitative argument (see next section) and clauses containing such arguments can only be disambiguated by means of real world knowledge.

Inanimate nominal entities in the role of goal may be but generally are not, indicated by the relator *na*:

- (29) *eli ja bai (na) town*  
 3s PF go GO  
 'He went to town'.

Actions such as *andá* 'walk', *kuré* 'run', when directed towards a goal can only be specified by a serial construction involving the general motion verb *bai* 'go':

- (30) *eli ja { anda } bai kaza*  
 3s PF { walk } go house  
           *kure*  
           run  
 'He { walked } home'.

Serialisation is discussed in 8.4.

### 6.3.8 Comitative argument

The NP argument which 'accompanies' the actor argument in the action expressed by the verb is always indicated by the relator *ku*:

- (31) *Albert ta balá ku Lucy*  
 -P dance C  
 'Albert is dancing with Lucy'.

### 6.3.9 Temporal argument

The relation of the NP which specifies the time at which the event depicted by the verb takes place may or may not be indicated overtly.

Overt indication is performed by means of certain words which may function as temporal relators. The temporal adverb *antis* 'before', the location noun *rentu* 'inside' (both in conjunction with the relator *di*) and the verb *kabá* 'finish' may function as temporal relators: *antis di* 'before', *rentu di* 'within' and *kaba* 'after':

- (32)a. *eli logu beng Melaka rentu di ngua mis*  
 3s FI come inside S 1 month  
 'She will come to Malacca within a month'.

- b. *olotu ta bai Muar { antis di  
 3pl -P go before S } natál*  
*kaba*  
 finish

'They are going to Muar before/after Christmas'.

However, an NP functioning as a temporal argument does not require such overt indication:

- (33) *eli ja muré { isti ngua mis  
 3s PF die this 1 month }  
 dos anu pasadu  
 2 year past*  
 'He died { this month }'.  
 two years ago

### 6.4 Elision of NPs

Core and peripheral NPs may readily be deleted in context regardless of the type of predication in the clause: verbal, nominal, adjective phrase or relator phrase. Thus, for example, in a clause with a trivalent verbal predication, one, two or all three core arguments may feasibly be elided where they are unambiguously recoverable from context. Thus a verb can occur without any core arguments:

- (34) *(eli) ja da (ku yo) (aké doi)*  
 3s PF give R 1s that money  
 'He gave me the money'.

The same conditions may also apply to peripheral NPs. Thus, in (35), if the goal NP is recoverable from context, elision is possible:

- (35) *bos ta bai (town) agora?*  
 2s -P go now  
 'Are you going (to town) now?'

### 6.5 The origin of Kristang *ku* as a multifunctional relator

A point of considerable interest arising from the discussion of core and peripheral NPs is the multifunctional role of *ku*. A detailed discussion of the origins of multifunctional *ku* would involve consideration of comparative material from Portuguese, South Asian and South East Asian Creole Portuguese and substrata languages, and as such is beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, certain points merit comment here.

The relator *ku* <P. *com* 'with' has five functions, identifying the role of an NP as accusative, recipient, comitative, instrumental, and goal. All of these functions may be related directly and indirectly to the influence of multifunctional relators in languages relevant to the development of contemporary Kristang, especially Portuguese, South Asian Creole Portuguese and, above all, Bazaar Malay.

In Sixteenth Century Portuguese, for example, two multifunctional relators performed the functions of Kristang *ku*. The relator *com* 'with' indicated comitative and instrumental functions of NPs, and the relator *a* 'to' indicated accusative, recipient (dative) and human goal functions.<sup>2</sup>

A feature of multifunctionality common to all varieties of South Asian Creole Portuguese is the indication of accusative and recipient functions of NPs by a relator deriving from the Portuguese benefactive relator *para* 'for' (Smith 1977:169). This feature is also found in Nineteenth Century texts of Tugu Creole Portuguese (Schuchardt 1891:95, 99) and Macao Creole Portuguese (Batalha 1958:202, 212), so it would not be unreasonable to assume that it was present in Malacca at an earlier stage.<sup>3</sup>

Dutch and English have probably not played a significant role, although it should be borne in mind that they respectively use a single relator to indicate the instrumental and comitative roles of NPs: D. *met* and E. *with*; also English uses *to* both as a recipient and goal relator.

However, a particularly strong congruence is found between the functions of *ku* and those of the Bazaar Malay relator *sama*, which indicates four functions: accusative, recipient, comitative and human goal.<sup>4</sup> A [+ human] goal may also be indicated by *sama*, although *ke* is more often found in this role. The following examples show the respective functions of *sama*:

#### Accusative:

- (36)a. *gua tengok sama lu*  
 1s see A 2s  
 'I see you'.
- b. *dia kasi itu kelapa sama gua*  
 3s give that coconut R 1s  
 'He gave the coconut to me'.
- c. *gua pergi utang sama dia*  
 1s go jungle C 3s  
 'I went to the jungle with him'.

- d. *gua cakap sama dia*  
 1s speak C 3s  
 'I spoke with him'.
- e. *dia pergi sama bomoh*  
 3s go G faith healer  
 'He went to a faith healer'.

The instrumental function of an NP is indicated by *dengan* 'with'.

The functions of Kristang *ku* may thus be related to the influence of Bazaar Malay *sama* in conjunction with the influence of multifunctional relators in other languages present in Malacca.<sup>5</sup> Note, in addition, that a precedent does exist in Portuguese for the analysis of *com* as an accusative relator. A number of common verbs are followed by *com* + N:

- (37) *ele [ brigou  
 falou ] com ela  
 encontrou-se*  
 fought  
 'He [ spoke ] with her'.  
 met

The ultimate source for Bazaar Malay accusative and comitative *sama* seems to be Hokkien, wherein accusative, instrumental and comitative functions are performed by a single relator, *kap* 'with':

- (38)a. *guà kǎp î khuǎ*  
 1s 3s look  
 'I saw him'.
- b. *guà yōng chhá kǎp î phhǎ*  
 1s use stick 3s hit  
 'I hit him with a stick'.
- c. *guà kǎp î khhĩ khiā*  
 1s with 3s go walk  
 'I went for a walk with him'.

The source of the range of accusative marking in Kristang and its role as a marker of definiteness, animacy and speaker interest is difficult to trace. Whether Kristang developed this system alone or is it a flow on from the superstratum or substrata is a very difficult question to answer since both the superstratum and the principal substratum have accusative marking:

Table 6.2: Accusative marking in 16th Century Portuguese and Bazaar Malay		
	Accusative marking	
Nominal class	16th Century Portuguese	Bazaar Malay
pronouns	+	+/-
proper names	+	+/-
kin	+	+/-
human	+/-	+/-
animate	+/-	+/-
inanimate	-	-

Moreover, the three features relevant to Kristang accusative marking, definiteness, animacy and speaker empathy, seem relevant to each of these systems.

A third potential source is the Indian connection. In the early years of Portuguese Malacca, Indo-Portuguese creoles would have provided input to Kristang. As observed above, accusative marking is found in the Indian varieties of Creole Portuguese, where it is largely through the influence of Indian substrata – in particular Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali and Sinhalese. The accusative marking systems of these Indian languages are not unlike that of Kristang (cf. Parke 1979).

## NOTES

1. *champó* ~ *champurá* <M. *campur*.
2. The following examples of sixteenth century Portuguese show respectively a indicating accusative, recipient and human goal NPs, and *com* indicating comitative and instrumental NPs:
  - a. *Filenor matou a Minarte* (Delille 1970:62)  
'Filenor killed Minarte'.
  - b. *e deu licença a João da Nova que se pudesse ir à India* (Barros 1552-53:280)  
'And he gave permission to João de Nova to go to India'.
  - c. *levou esta nova aos seus* (Barros 1552-53:196)  
'He took this news to his people'.
  - d. *e êle, com os outros capitães tornou ao longo da praia* (Barros 1552-53:231)  
'And he, with the other captains, went back along the beach'.

- e. *mandou logu aos capitães das naus que, com artilharia, varejassem a ilha* (Barros 1552-53:230)  
 Presently he ordered the captains of the ships to bombard the island with artillery'.

Modern Portuguese too has these relators with the same functions, however, accusative *a* is very limited (Willis 1971:373-75).

3. However, Macao Creole Portuguese also appears to have had *ku* as an accusative and recipient relator in certain cases (see examples in Batalha 1958:202, 204, 207).
4. In some varieties of Malay accusative and recipient NPs are indicated by the relator *pada* which generally functions as an indicator of benefactive NPs. Such is the case, for example, in Minado Malay (Watusake 1981) and Northern Moluccan Malay (Voorhoeve 1983). This makes an interesting parallel with the presence of an accusative/recipient marker derived from P. *para* in South Asian and earlier South East Asian Creole Portuguese.
5. Some corroboratory evidence is suggested by nineteenth century texts of Tugu Creole Portuguese in Schuchardt (1891) where, for example, *koen* (<P. *com*) and *per* (<P. *para*), function as accusative markers congruent with *sama* in parallel texts in simplified Malay.



## Chapter 7

### THE CLAUSE

The clause in Kristang consists of a predicate and one or more core NP arguments according to the nature of the predicate; it may also contain peripheral NP arguments and adverbs. The clause may be classified formally and functionally as declarative, imperative and interrogative. It may also be classified by its predicate type as verbal or non-verbal. While the unmarked word order of the principal clause constituents is **subject NP + predicate**, there is considerable flexibility of order. Changes in constituent order reflect the pragmatics of the clause.

The chapter begins with a discussion of verbal and non-verbal clause types from the perspective of the declarative clause. This is followed by a consideration of the imperative clause and the interrogative clause. Finally, several means for presenting the information of the clause in different perspectives are discussed.

#### 7.1 The verbal clause

Clauses containing verbal predications fall into three main classes on the basis of the number of core NP arguments the verb can take. Thus, according to whether the verb is intransitive, transitive or transitive-trivalent, a clause may have one, two or three core NP arguments respectively. A clause containing a verbal predication may also contain optional adjuncts of the action, such as adverbs or relator phrases, which express circumstantial information.

In the following sections I shall discuss the verbal clause according to the type of verb it contains.

##### 7.1.1 The intransitive verbal clause

The intransitive verbal clause contains an intransitive verb and its core NP which functions syntactically as subject.

As already noted in Chapter 3 there are five major classes of intransitive verbs in Kristang: basic motion, activity, process, ambient and existential. The form of the intransitive verbal clause, as defined by the position of its subject NP and the type of peripheral NPs which it may contain, depends on the class of verb present.

### 7.12 Intransitive verbs of basic motion, activity or process

In clauses containing these three classes of verbs, the core NP occurs to the left of the verb in unmarked word order:

- (1) *Rosil ja sai*  
       PF exit  
 'Rosil went out'.

As stated in Chapter 3, these classes of verbs are distinguished by their distributions with peripheral NP arguments.

Thus, intransitive clauses containing verbs of basic motion may contain benefactive, instrumental, directional and comitative NPs respectively:

- (2)a. *eli ja bai padi John*  
       3s PF go B  
 'He went on John's behalf'.
- b. *eli lo beng ku bas*  
       3s FI come I bus  
 'He will come by bus'.
- c. *Anna ja kai di albi*  
       PF fall S tree  
 'Anna fell from the tree'.
- d. *pai ta bai Singapura*  
       father -P go  
 'Father is going to Singapore'.
- e. *eli ja beng ku yo sa susi*  
       3s PF come C 1s G elder sister  
 'He came with my elder sister'.

Verbal clauses with intransitive verbs of activity typically may contain locative and comitative arguments:

- (3)a. *olotu ta drumí na chang*  
       3s -P sleep L floor  
 'They are sleeping on the floor'.
- b. *bos sa abó ta papiá ku padri Pintado*  
       2s G grandfather -P speak C Father  
 'Your grandfather is speaking with Father Pintado'.

Clauses with intransitive verbs of process typically may contain locative arguments, but not goal or comitative arguments:

- (4) *eli ja krisé na Melaka*  
       3s PF grow L  
 'He grew up in Melaka'.

### 7.1.3 Clauses containing ambient and existential verbs

Clauses containing these verbs display certain idiosyncracies with respect to the location of the core argument.

Ambient verbs are of two types, the first of which requires the subject NP to follow the verb in unmarked word order:

- (5)a. *yo lembrá logu kai chua*  
 1s think FI fall rain  
 'I think it will rain'.  
 b. *ta fufá bentu!*  
 -P blow wind  
 'It's windy!'

The second class of ambient verb has only one member, *fuzilá* 'flash (lightning)', which may be preceded by a subject NP but generally is not:

- (6) (*fuzilada*) *ta fuzilá*  
 lightning -P flash  
 'Lightning is striking'.

Clauses containing the existential verb *teng* are similarly idiosyncratic. In unmarked word order *teng* is followed by a subject NP which represents new information. Thus, in (7) the subject is preferred in post-verbal position.

- (7)a. *mai, teng n̄gua omi na fora!*  
 mother BE 1 man L outside  
 'Mother, there's a man outside!'  
 b. *\*?mai, n̄gua omi teng na fora!*  
 mother 1 man be L outside  
 'Mother, a man is outside!'

*teng* has a similar function in existential sentences (see section 8.2).

However, in (8), where the subject is definite, specific, and old information, the subject must precede the verb in unmarked word order:

- (8)a. *mai, John teng na fora!*  
 mother BE L outside  
 'Mother, John is outside!'  
 b. *\*mai, teng John na fora!*  
 mother BE L outside  
 \*'Mother, there is John outside!'

### 7.1.4 The transitive verbal clause

Transitive verbs are those which have two grammatical relation NPs: a subject and an object. In unmarked word order the subject NP precedes the verb and the object NP follows the verb:

- (9) *yo ja olá ku bos*  
 1s PF see A 2s  
 'I saw you'.

The transitive clause may present a variety of forms depending on the particular class of transitive verb present. In Chapter 3 transitive verbs were classified into three principal types:

1. transitive verbs that may function intransitively
2. pure transitive verbs
3. trivalent transitive verbs

In the following sections I shall consider transitive clauses containing these classes of verbs.

#### 7.1.4.1 Transitive verbs that may function intransitively

There are two types of transitive verbs which may function intransitively: those where the object of the transitive clause functions as the subject of the intransitive clause, as in (10)b; and those where the subject of the transitive clause functions as the subject of the intransitive clause, as in (11)b and (12)b:

- (10)a. *Pio ja kebrá aké janela*  
 PF break that window  
 'Pio broke the window'.
- b. *aké janela ja kebrá*  
 that window PF break  
 'The window broke'.

- (11)a. *yo ta kumí bredu*  
 1s -P eat vegetable  
 'I am eating vegetables'.

- b. *yo ta kumí*  
 1s -P eat  
 'I am eating'.

- (12)a. *yo midu ku eli*  
 1s fear A 3s  
 'I am afraid of him'.

- b. *yo midu*  
 1s fear  
 'I am afraid'

The first class consists of 'causative' verbs, which are active transitive verbs with actor subjects which effect a change in the undergoer object. This class in Kristang includes such verbs as:

<i>kemá</i>	burn
<i>kebrá</i>	break
<i>sunyá</i>	plant
<i>kotrá</i>	cut
<i>kuzé</i>	cook
<i>mará</i>	tie
<i>labá</i>	wash
<i>fazé</i>	make
<i>baré</i>	sweep
<i>pedré</i>	lose
<i>parí</i>	give birth

The intransitive clause with such verbs is functionally equivalent to an agentless passive, presenting the undergoer NP as subject and omitting the agent NP:

(13)a. *yo sa mai ja parí ku yo na Melaka*  
 1s G mother PF bear A 1s L  
 'My mother gave birth to me in Melaka'.

b. *yo ja parí na Melaka*  
 1s PF bear L  
 'I was born in Melaka'.

(14)a. *yo ja pedré yo sa buseta*  
 1s PF lose 1s G betel nut box  
 'I lost my betel nut box'.

b. *yo sa buseta ja pedré*  
 1s G betel nut box PF lose  
 'My betel nut box is lost/got lost'.

(15)a. *yo sa pai ja sunyá aké albi*  
 1s G father PF plant that tree  
 'My father planted the tree'.

b. *aké albi ja sunyá*  
 that tree PF plant  
 'The tree was planted'.

Although this type of lexical diathesis has been observed in a number of creole languages (Bickerton 1981:71-72), it is difficult to say whether its presence in Kristang is an independent development since a parallel process is to be found in Baba Malay (cf. Lim 1981:113-14) and also in Bazaar Malay as in (16):

(16)a. *dia punya bapak (sudah) tanam itu pokok*  
 3s G father PF plant that tree  
 'His father planted the tree'.

b. *itu pokok sudah tanam*  
 that tree PF plant  
 'The tree was planted'.

The second class consists of active and stative verbs, as in (11) and (12) respectively above, which may delete their object independently of context. This class may be subclassified according to whether its members may occur with a clausal object. The division coincides with the distinction of active and stative. Active verbs in this class may not take a clausal object.<sup>1</sup> The active subclass includes such verbs as:

<i>kumí</i>	eat
<i>bebé</i>	drink
<i>balá</i>	dance
<i>kantá</i>	sing

Stative verbs in this class may occur with clausal objects. They include such verbs as *midu* 'fear', *ráiba* 'be angry'.

- (17)a. *yo midu eli logu beng*  
 1s fear 2s FI come  
 'I am afraid that he will come'.
- b. *yo ráiba eli ta beng*  
 1s angry 3s -P come  
 'I am angry that he is coming'.

#### 7.1.4.2 Clauses containing pure transitive verbs

The class of pure transitive verbs consists of active, stative and change of state verbs and includes verbs such as:

<i>achá</i>	find, receive
<i>ngkontrá</i>	meet
<i>dali</i>	hit
<i>pontá</i>	shoot
<i>matá</i>	kill
<i>fumá</i>	smoke
<i>olá</i>	see
<i>skisé</i>	forget
<i>gostá</i>	like
<i>keré</i>	want
<i>ubí</i>	hear
<i>lembirá</i>	think, remember

Some examples follow:

- (18)a. *yo ja ngkontrá ku eli*  
 1s PF meet A 3s  
 'I met him'.
- b. *eli ja dali ku yo*  
 3s PF hit A 1s  
 'He hit me'.

- c. *bos gostá sura*  
 2s like toddy  
 'You like toddy'.
- d. *Tate ja olá ku bela Rosil*  
 PF see A old  
 'Tate saw old Rosil'.

This class may be further subclassified into verbs which may occur with a sentential object and those which cannot. Those in the latter category are active verbs with actor subjects while those in the former category, although active, stative and change of state, as in (19)a, b and c, all require experiencer subjects:

- (19)a. *Rosil ja olá ku Pio sai di kaza*  
 PF see A leave S house  
 'Rosil saw Pio leave the house'.
- b. *eli sabé bos teng akí*  
 3s know 2s BE here  
 'She knows you are here'.
- c. *yo keré Noel beng kantá*  
 1s want come sing  
 'I want Noel to come and sing'.

A subclass of transitive verbs which are able to take clausal objects allows same subject clausal objects and requires equi-NP deletion. The distinction coincides with the change of state and stative classes:

- (20)a. *eli keré bai ila grandi*  
 3s want go island big  
 'He wants to go to the big island (south of Melaka)'.
- b. *Fidelis gostá balá branyo*  
 like dance Creole dance  
 'Fidelis likes to dance branyo'.

For some further comments on clausal objects, see section 8.1.2.2.

#### 7.1.4.3 Verbal clauses containing trivalent transitive verbs

Trivalent verbs are active transitive verbs that require a third core NP in addition to the two grammatical relation NPs which function as subject and object:

- (21)a. *yo ja da ku eli yo sa langgiáng*  
 1s PF give R 3s 1s G push net  
 'I gave him my push net'.
- b. *eli lo botá aké redi na prau*  
 3s FI put that net L boat  
 'He will put the net in the boat'.

In (21)a, the third core NP is a recipient argument while in (21)b it is a locative NP. The largest class of trivalent transitive verbs have recipient core NPs. All trivalent transitive verbs are active.

Two overlapping distinctions are relevant to the subclassification of trivalent transitive verbs:

1. whether the verb allows object deletion independent of context
2. whether the verb allows a clausal object

In the latter case, a further distinction may be drawn according to the nature of the clausal object.

#### 7.1.4.4 Object deletion independent of context

The first distinction is evident in the contrast between the verb *bendé* 'sell', a verb which allows deletion of its recipient NP independent of context, and the verb *da* 'give' which does not allow such deletion:

(22)a. *yo ja bendé ku eli yo sa prau*  
 1s PF sell R 3s 1s G boat  
 'I sold him my boat'.

b. *yo ja bendé yo sa prau*  
 1s PF sell 1s G boat  
 'I sold my boat'.

(23)a. *yo ja da ku eli yo sa prau*  
 1s PF give R 3s 1s G boat  
 'I gave him my boat'.

b. \**yo ja da yo sa prau*  
 1s PF give 1s G boat  
 \*'I gave my boat'.

Most trivalent verbs do not allow such context independent deletion. Those that do are few. In addition to *bendé*, the class includes *skribé* 'write', *gritá* 'call', *pagá* 'pay', and *prendé* 'teach, learn'. While *skribé*, like *bendé*, allows deletion of the recipient NP, it may also allow deletion of the object:

(24)a. *yo ja skribé ku eli ñgua katra*  
 1s PF write R 3s 1 letter  
 'I wrote her a letter'.

b. *yo ja skribé ñgua katra*  
 1s PF write 1 letter  
 'I wrote a letter'.

c. *yo ja skribé ku eli*  
 1s PF write R 3s  
 'I wrote to her'.



The verb *prendé*, on the other hand, only allows deletion of the object:

- (25)a. *eli ja prendé ku yo nígua kantiga*  
 3s PF teach R 1s 1 song  
 'She taught me a song'.
- b. \**eli ja prendé nígua kantiga*  
 3s PF teach 1 song  
 \*'She taught a song'.
- c. *eli ja prendé ku yo (na skola)*  
 3s PF teach R 1s L school  
 'She taught me (at school)'.

Note that (25)b, ungrammatical with the reading 'teach', is grammatical with the reading 'learn': 'She learnt a song'.

#### 7.1.4.5 Trivalent verbs with clausal objects

The majority of trivalent verbs take clausal objects such as in the following examples:

- (26) *sa mai ja mandá ku eli bai komprá jagra*  
 G mother PF send R 3s go buy jaggery  
 'Her mother sent her to buy jaggery'.
- (27) *Patrick ja falá ku yo Albert teng akí*  
 PF tell R 1s BE here  
 'Patrick told me Albert was here'.

Verbs taking clausal objects include *prendé* 'teach', *skribé* 'write', *gritá* 'call', *pidí* 'request', *falá* 'say', *mandá* 'send, order'. Trivalent verbs which do not take clausal objects are few. They include such verbs as *bendé* 'sell', *mpustá* 'borrow'.

A further distinction may be drawn as to the type of clausal object involved. Four types of clausal object occur with trivalent verbs. Type 1 consists of a full clause, the subject of which is unrestricted and may even be identical with the subject or the recipient:

- a. *Albert teng akí*  
 BE here
- (28) *Patrick ja falá ku yo* { b. *eli ta bai* }  
 PF tell R 1s { 3s -P go }
- c. *bos bai kaza*  
 3s go house

Albert is here  
 'Patrick told me { he was going }'.  
 "You go home!"

The clausal objects in such cases may also be interpreted as direct quotations. For example (28)a could be 'Patrick told me: "Albert is here"'. In the case of (28)c, where the subject of the object clause is coreferential with the recipient of the main clause, the object clause constitutes an imperative clause.

Type 2 consists of a reduced clause, where the subject of the object clause is equivalent to the recipient NP of the main clause. Semantically this type of clause is related to (28)c:

- (29) *Patrick ja falá ku eli bai kaza*  
 PF tell R 3s go house  
 'Patrick told him to go home'.

Type 3 also consists of a reduced clause where the subject of the object clause is equivalent to the recipient NP of the main clause:

- (30) *yo ja prendé ku eli les*  
 1s PF teach R 3s read  
 'I taught him to read'.

Type 3 appears at first to simply involve an object clause: *eli les*. However, closer inspection suggests that it involves both an object and a recipient NP. In order to see this, it is necessary to consider the form of non-clausal objects with the same verb, *prendé*:

- (31) *yo ja prendé ku eli ngua kantiga*  
 1s PF teach R 3s 1 song  
 'I taught him a song'.

As discussed in 6.3.1 the recipient NP may precede or follow the object. In the following example it follows the object:

- (32) *yo ja prendé ngua kantiga ku eli*  
 1s PF teach 1 song R 3s  
 'I taught a song to him'.

Now, observe the following example and compare it with example (30) above (repeated here as (33)b):

- (33)a. *yo ja prendé les ku eli*  
 1s PF teach read R 3s  
 'I taught him to read' (lit. 'I taught to read to him').
- b. *yo ja prende ku eli les* (= (30))  
 1s PF teach R 3s read  
 'I taught him to read'.

In (33)a the verb *les* is fronted just as it were a recipient NP. Other trivalent verbs, for example *mandá* 'send, order', behave similarly:

- (34)a. *yo ja mandá ku eli ngua katra*  
 1s PF send R 3s 1 letter  
 'I sent her a letter'.
- b. *yo ja mandá ngua katra ku eli*  
 1s PF send 1 letter R 3s  
 'I sent a letter to her'.
- c. *yo ja mandá ku eli bai*  
 1s PF order R 3s go  
 'I ordered her to go'.

- d. *yo ja mandá bai ku eli*  
 1s PF order go R 3s  
 'I ordered her to go' (lit. 'I ordered to go to her').

Clausal objects are further discussed in 8.1.2.1 and 8.1.2.2. See also section 8.4.2.5 for evidence that the item fronted is in fact a verb.

### 7.1.5 The verb *teng*

The verb *teng* has two principal functions: (i) as an intransitive existential verb, glossed as 'BE' and (ii) as a transitive verb expressing possession, which may be glossed as 'have'. These functions are shown in (35)a and b respectively:

- (35)a. *eli teng na bangsal*  
 3s BE L hut  
 'He is at the (fishermen's) hut'.  
 b. *eli teng dos prau*  
 3s have 2 boat  
 'He has two boats'.

Lexemes deriving from P. *ter* 'have', displaying existential and possession functions are also found in other varieties of Creole Portuguese. Moreover, it has been observed that in a number of different creole languages a single lexeme functions both as an existential and as a possession indicator and it has been suggested that such a feature may be typical of creoles (Bickerton 1981:66).

Although these two functions of *teng* may have originated in Kristang itself, parallel functions are found in the Malay verb *ada*. The functions of *teng* could thus be Malay derived:

- (36)a. *dia ada di bangsal*  
 3s BE L hut  
 'He is at the (fishermen's) hut'.  
 b. *dia ada dua perahu*  
 3s have 2 boats  
 'He has two boats'.

In addition to functioning as an existential verb and as a verb indicating possession, *teng* has a minor third function: copular verb with NP and AdjP predicates. In this third function Kristang *teng* and Bazaar Malay *ada* are parallel. Compare:

- (37)a. *bos teng yo sa mai*  
 2s COP 1s G mother  
 'You are my mother'.  
 b. *awak ada aku punya emak* (MP)  
 2s COP 1s G mother  
 'You are my mother'.

- (38)a. *eli teng duénti*  
 3s COP ill  
 'He is ill'.
- b. *dia ada sakit* (MP)  
 3s COP ill  
 'He is ill'.

## 7.2 The non-verbal clause

There are three types of non-verbal clause: nominal, relator phrase and adjectival.

### 7.2.1 The nominal clause

Nominal clauses contain a noun phrase as predicate. In such clauses the subject precedes the predicate in unmarked word order. Nominal clauses may be declarative or interrogative (see 7.4) but not imperative (see 7.3).

There are three types of nominal clause in Kristang: ascriptive, equative and possessive.

#### 7.2.1.1 Ascriptive nominal clauses

Ascriptive nominal predicates consist of an indefinite NP (with or without a determiner) which ascribes a certain property to the subject:

- (39)a. *eli bong ígua omi*  
 3s good 1 man  
 'He is a good man'.
- b. *eli padri*  
 3s priest  
 'He is a priest'.
- c. *kobra animál*  
 snake animal  
 'Snakes are animals'.

#### 7.2.1.2 Equative NP predicates

Equative predicates consist of a definite NP. Their function is to identify the referent of the predicate NP with that of the subject NP:

- (40) *aké omi yo sa pai*  
 that man 1s G father  
 'That man is my father'.

The subject and predicate NPs in such nominal clauses may be permuted:

- (41) *yo sa pai aké omi*  
 1s G father that man  
 'My father is that man'.

### 7.2.1.3 Possessive predicates

Possessive predicates consist of an NP and the relators *di* or *sa*. They express a relation of possession between the NP of the predicate and the NP of the subject such that the former is the possessor and the latter the possessee:

- (42) *aké prau* { *John sa* }  
 that boat { G }  
           *di John*  
           S  
 'That boat is John's'.

### 7.2.2 Relator phrase predicate

A clause may contain a relator phrase as predicate. There are only two types of such predicate. One denotes source and involves the relator *di*:

- (43) *eli di Trankera*  
 3s S  
 'She is from Trankera'.

The other denotes a comitative relation and involves the relator *ku*:

- (44) *mastantu yo ku natibu*  
 mostly 1s C Malay  
 'Mainly I'm with Malays'.

### 7.2.3 Adjective clause

The predicate in such clauses consists of an adjective phrase:

- (45) *eli duénti*  
 she ill  
 'She is ill'.

As discussed in Chapter 5, such predicates may be modified by TMA particles according to the nature of the adjective.

### 7.2.4 Adjective clauses of comparison

Adjective clauses of comparison semantically involve a comparison of the subject with another entity (the object of comparison) in terms of a particular quality (the basis of comparison). Formally and functionally there are three types of comparative structures in Kristang:

1. comparison of degree, involving superiority or inferiority
2. equality
3. correspondence of identity

#### 7.2.4.1 Comparison of degree

This type of comparison involves two parameters: superiority and inferiority. A clause of comparison of superiority between two entities contains a predicate with an adjectival head (the basis of the comparison) preceded by the adverb *más* 'more' and followed by the relator *di* and a nominal phrase which is the object of comparison:

- (46) *eli más altu di Pio*  
 3s more tall COM  
 'She is taller than Pio'.

The comparative predicate may occur, dependent on context, without the object of comparison:

- (47) *eli más altu*  
 3s more tall  
 'She is taller'.

When the comparison of superiority involves a comparison between more than two entities, traditionally termed 'superlative', the predicate consists of the adjective which is the basis of the comparison followed by *mbés* functioning as an intensifying adverb meaning 'most':

- (48) *di tudu krenkrensa nakí eli grandi mbés*  
 COM all children here 3s big most  
 'Of all the children here she is the biggest'.

Here, unlike the case of simple comparison in (46) above, in unmarked word order the object of comparison precedes the predicate.

There are two ways of making a comparison of inferiority between two entities and they both involve a structure parallel to that of comparison of superiority. One way is simply to use the polar opposite of the basis of comparison. Thus, instead of saying 'John is less tall than Peter' one simply says 'John is smaller than Peter':

- (49) *John más kaninu di Peter*  
 more small COM  
 'John is smaller than Peter'.

The other means is to use the adverb *menus* 'less', retaining the original basis of comparison, *altu*:

- (50) *John menus altu di Peter*  
 less tall COM  
 'John is less tall than Peter'.

I have not observed *menus* used in superlative comparisons of inferiority. Rather, the opposite polarity term of the basis of comparison is used. The structure, however, is the same as that used for superiority superlatives:

- (51) *di tudu krenkrensa nakí eli kaninu mbés*  
 COM all children here 3s small most  
 'Of all the children here she is the smallest'.

#### 7.2.4.2 Comparison of equality

A clause involving a comparison of equality involves a predicate which consists of an adjective, preceded by the adjective *iguál* 'equal' in the function of adverb. The object of comparison is preceded by the relator *ku* and, although it can occur to the right of the predicate, as in (52)a, it is generally incorporated into the subject, as in (52)b:

- (52)a. *John iguál grandi ku Peter*  
           equal big C  
           'John is as big as Peter'.
- b. *John ku Peter iguál grandi*  
       C equal big  
       'John and Peter are as big as each other'.

Depending on the context, the basis of the comparison may be omitted:

- (53) *John ku Peter iguál*  
       C equal  
       'John and Peter are the same'.

#### 7.2.4.3 Correspondence of identity

This type of clause involves a predicate consisting of an adjective, which is followed by the adverb *chuma* (~ *kuma*) 'like' and the object of comparison:

- (54) *John pretu chuma kafri*  
       black like Kaffir  
       'John is as black as a Kaffir'.

Depending on the context, the basis of the comparison may be omitted:

- (55) *John chuma Peter*  
       like  
       'John is like Peter'.

### 7.3 Imperative clause

The imperative clause contains either:

1. an active verb or predicate without TMA particles and an optional second person subject  
 or,
2. the verb *beng* 'come' followed by a clause with a 1st person plural subject and an active verb without TMA modification.

Imperative clauses are distinguished from declarative clauses by greater stress, particularly on the verb and by an intonation contour which is initially high and decreases gradually over the remainder of the clause. These differences are embodied in the symbol '!!':

- (56)a. *(bos) bai kaza !!*  
 2s go home IMP  
 'Go home!'
- b. *beng nus kantá !!*  
 come 1pl sing IMP  
 'Let's sing!'

### 7.3.1 Negative imperative clause

The negative imperative clause comprises an optional second person singular or plural subject or a first person plural subject and an active verb preceded by the imperative negator *nang* (<P. *não*) 'no':<sup>2</sup>

- (57)a. *(bos) nang bebé sura !!*  
 you NEG-IMP drink toddy IMP  
 'Don't drink toddy!'
- b. *nus nang papiá papiá !!*  
 1pl NEG-IMP talk talk IMP  
 'Let's not talk so much!'

Functionally *nang* is parallel to the Malay imperative negator *jangan*:

- (58) *jangan minum tuak !!*  
 NEG-IMP drink toddy IMP  
 'Don't drink toddy!'

## 7.4 The interrogative clause

Functionally there are two types of question in Kristang: those requiring a yes/no answer and those requiring a clause answer.

### 7.4.1 Yes/no questions

A yes/no question may be formed in two ways: simply by using an interrogative intonation contour or by placing a tag question form after a declarative clause.

#### 7.4.1.1 Intonation question

The only difference between this type of clause and a declarative clause is a rising intonation contour and more stress on the last word:



- (59)        -   -   -   /  
*John ja bai kaza?*  
             PF go house  
 'Did John go home?'

#### 7.4.1.2 Tag question

A Tag question is formed by placing one of the following tag forms with rising intonation after an intonation question:

- (60)    *eli bebé sura* {    a. *ńgka*  
           3s drink toddy    NEG  
                               b. *ńgka ka*  
                               NEG QP  
                               c. *seng ka (ńgka)* ?  
                               yes QP NEG  
                               d. *ńá*  
                               CP  
                               e. *ka*  
                               QP

- a., b. 'He drinks toddy doesn't he?'  
 c.    'He drinks toddy does he (or not)?'  
 d.    'Is it so that he drinks toddy?'  
 e.    'Does he drink toddy?'

Similarities with Malay are strong. The particle *ka* in (60)b, c and e is the Malay interrogative particle *kah* and the Kristang tag forms (60)b, c and e have easily identifiable Malay parallels in (61)a, b and c, respectively:

- (61)    *dia minum tuak* {    a. *tidak kah*  
           3s drink toddy    NEG QP  
                               b. *ya kah tidak* } ?  
                               yes QP NEG  
                               c. *kah*  
                               QP

- a. 'He drinks toddy doesn't he?'  
 b. 'He drinks toddy does he?'  
 c. 'Does he drink toddy?'

Occasionally, in interrogative clauses which constitute a surprised response to a statement, the tags *seng ka*, *ńgka ka* and *retu ka* may occur clause initially:

- seng*  
             AFF  
 (62) { *ńgka* } *ka eli ńgka bebé sura?*  
           NEG    QP 3s NEG drink toddy  
             *retu*  
             true

- a. 'Really? He doesn't drink toddy?'
- b. 'No!? He doesn't drink toddy?' (lit. 'What? He doesn't drink toddy?')
- c. 'Is it true he doesn't drink toddy?'

Again, there is a parallel in Malay:

- (63)    a. *betol*  
           true  
           {                    } *ka dia tidak minum tuak?*  
                                   QP 3s NEG drink toddy
- b. *tidak*  
               NEG
- a. 'It is true he doesn't drink toddy?'
  - b. 'No!? He doesn't drink toddy?'

#### 7.4.2 Questions requiring clause answers

There are two types of questions requiring clause answers: permission questions and content questions.

##### 7.4.2.1 Permission questions

The permission question comprises the modal *podi* followed by a clause without TMA marking. They display the typical interrogation intonation. Such questions require an answer of permission or prohibition which, rather than a full clause, is most frequently *podi* 'can' or *mpodi* 'NEG-can':

- (64)    *podi yo santá?*  
           can 1s sit                    {                    }  
   *mpodi*  
   NEG-can
- 'May I sit down?'    '( You may                    )'  
   You may not

##### 7.4.2.2 Content questions

Content questions are formed by substituting a question word for the constituent being questioned, and by using interrogative intonation. Interrogative words may represent a range of constituents: determiners or quantifiers within NPs, NPs, adverbs, adjectives and subordinate clauses. NPs in any role may be questioned, interrogative words freely taking relators.

Content questions concerning constituents other than the subject may present the questioned constituent in different positions in the clause. On the one hand, it may occur in the very place where it would occur in unmarked word order in the declarative clause:

- (65) *bos ja pari úndi?*  
 2s PF bear where  
 'You were born where?'

The intonation contour of such questions is the same as that of yes/no questions.

On the other hand, more frequently the questioned constituent is moved to the left to a position between the subject NP and the predicate complex, as in (66)a, or to clause initial position, as in (66)b:

- (66)a. *bos úndi ja pari?*  
 2s where PF bear  
 'Where were you born?'
- b. *úndi bos ja pari?*  
 where 2s PF bear  
 'Where were you born?'

The intonation pattern in this type of content question is high on the question word (i.e. higher pitch and greater stress) but otherwise the same as that for intonation questions.

In addition to the interrogative words identified in Chapter 3 (see sections 3.1.1., 3.2.1. and 3.12.7) certain other words combine with an interrogative word to function as bimorphemic interrogative words:

- (67) *kí banda* 'where'  
 what side
- kí sorti* 'how?'  
 what kind
- kí láia* 'how?' (obs.)  
 what kind
- kí káuzu* 'why?'  
 what cause
- kí ora* 'when?'  
 what hour
- kí tempu* 'when?'  
 what time
- kái tantu* 'how many?'  
 how many
- kál nígua* 'which?'  
 which one

Bimorphemic question words have been observed in a number of creole languages (Bickerton 1981:71) and it may be the case that such forms in Kristang represent a more typically creole element in the grammar as opposed to superstrate adaptations. Compare, for example, *kí banda* and *úndi* as equivalents for 'where?'. However, certain parallel bimorphemic forms do exist in Melaka Bazaar Malay, as, for example, *apa macam* 'how (lit. what + kind)?', so Kristang may not have derived them all independently.

Some of the interrogative words identified in Chapter 3 derive from bimorphemic question words, and in two instances both forms are co-existent in the contemporary language:

- (68)a. *kái* ~ *klái* < *kí* *lái* 'how?'  
 b. *kóra* ~ *kióra* < *kí* *ora* 'when?'  
 c. *kifói* 'why?' < P. *que foi* 'what + was'

In (68)a and b, the monomorphemic forms *kái* 'how?' and *kóra* 'when?' are the most frequent and the bimorphemic forms are the least frequent.

The following examples show content questions involving the interrogation of various clause constituents:

(69)a. **Subject:**

*kéng ja furtá yo sa redi?*  
 who PF steal 1s G net  
 'Who stole my net?'

b. **Possessor:**

*kéng sa langgiáng bos ja panyá?*  
 who G push-net 2s PF take  
 'Who's push net did you take?'

c. **Temporal adjunct:**

*kóra lo beng tona?*  
 when FI come again  
 'When will you come again?'

d. **Adjunct of reason:**

*bos kifói nggé judá ku eli?*  
 2s why NEG-want help A 3s  
 'Why don't you want to help him?'

e. **Predicate adjective:**

*kí soti John?*  
 what sort  
 'How is John?'

f. **Demonstrative article:**

*kál prau bos sa?*  
 which boat 2s G  
 'Which boat is yours?'

g. **Quantifier:**

*kái tantu ropianu ja beng?*  
 how many European PF come  
 'How many Europeans came?'

## 7.5 Information formatting devices

This section considers several formally distinct constructions which present the constituents of a clause in different ways:

Left dislocation  
 Topicalisation  
 Left movement  
 Structures involving the particle *la*  
 Passive

These constructions may be termed information formatting devices: formal means whereby the information in a clause may be presented in different perspectives.

For economy of description, in the following subsections I shall group the constructions according to the type of information formatting device they represent.

### 7.5.1 Topicalisation devices

Topicalisation devices present a constituent as **topic**, identifying the constituent about which the remainder of the structure makes a comment. Two structures may present topics: **Left dislocation** and **Topicalisation**.

#### 7.5.1.1 Left dislocation

Left dislocations consist of an NP followed by a clause which contains a pronoun co-referential with that NP. For example:

- (70) *yo sa maridu, eli volunteer*  
 1s G husband 3s  
 'My husband was a volunteer'.

In the literature the term dislocation was originally applied to a transformation in English grammar (Ross 1967). Subsequently, the term has been applied to structures of the form of (70) above in various languages. In the case of Kristang, however, there is no evidence to suggest that such structures are the result of movement.

Left dislocation in Kristang may be characterised as a type of topic-comment structure. The NP *yo sa maridu* is the topic of conversation: it may have been previously mentioned (a resumptive topic) or, having been on the speaker's mind, may simply be introduced as the setting for the following discourse (a contrastive topic). The clause *eli volunteer*, is a comment about the topic. It represents new information presented against the background of the topic.

The topic in left dislocations is not restricted to the subject of the clause. It may also be the object, as in (71), or the recipient, as in (72):

- (71) *aké omi, yo sa maridu ja dali ku eli*  
 that man 1s G husband PF hit A 3s  
 'That man, my husband hit him'.

- (72) *aké omi, yo sa maridu ja bendé pesi ku eli*  
 that man 1s G husband PF sell fish R 3s  
 'That man, my husband sold him fish'.

### 7.5.1.2 Topicalisation

In topicalisation a constituent is marked as a topic by movement left from its unmarked position.

Topicalisation may apply to the following constituents of the declarative clause:

- objects
- peripheral arguments
- certain adverbs

Objects may be moved either to a position prior to the subject, as in (73)a, or to a position between the subject and the verb as in (73)b:

- (73)a.  $\overbrace{\text{O}} \quad | \quad \overbrace{\text{SU}} \quad | \quad \overbrace{\text{PRED}} \quad |$   
*agora isti krenkrensa tudu, master mpodi dali; ja fiká,*  
 now this children all NEG-can hit PF become  
*olotu nggé lebá prendé;*  
 3pl NEG-want carry learn

- b.  $\overbrace{\text{SU}} \quad | \quad \overbrace{\text{O}} \quad |$   
*ngka komu prēmīru; prēmīru sa krenkrensa, ku jenti idadi,*  
 NEG like first first G children C person age  
 $\overbrace{\text{PRED}} \quad |$   
*bong bong respetu, ngka tudu, más tantu*  
 very respect NEG all more many

'Now teachers can't hit all these children, so, they don't get them to learn.  
 It's not like the old days. Children in the old days were very respectful  
 of old people, not all of them, most of them'.

Peripheral NP arguments and certain adverbs (namely temporal, aspectual, frequency and modal adverbs) may also be topicalised. The following example shows topicalisation of the recipient NP, *nus* 'we', of the verb *da* 'give':

- (74) *ja da aké kaza ku sa nora fiká;*  
 PF give that house R G daughter-in-law stay

$\overbrace{\text{R}} \quad | \quad \overbrace{\text{O}} \quad | \quad \overbrace{\text{PRED}} \quad |$   
*ku nus nada ngka da!*  
 R 1pl nothing NEG give

'He gave the house to his daughter-in-law to stay in.  
 To us he gave nothing!'

Examples (75) and (76) show respectively the topicalisation of a goal peripheral NP, *John sa kaza* 'John's house', and of a temporal adverb, *mazanti* 'first':

- (75) *John sa kaza, eli nadi bai*  
 G house 3s NEG-FI go  
 'He won't go to **John's house**'.
- (76) *mazanti, yo misti bai kaza*  
 first 1s must go house  
 '**First**, I must go home'.

Topicalisation may also apply to constituents of content questions in which the questioned constituent has already been topicalised:

- (77) *na tempu japáng, bos sa irmáng, úndi ta fiká?*  
 L time japanese 3s G brother where -P stay  
 'Where was **your brother** living during the **Japanese time**?'

In (77) the peripheral temporal argument *na tempu japáng* 'in the Japanese time' and the subject NP *bos sa irmáng* 'your brother' are both topicalised. Both these constituents function as topics, the background information against which the remainder of the clause, the comment, is to be understood.

## 7.5.2 Focusing devices

Focusing devices present a constituent in such a way as to mark it as representing salient information. Aside from the use of stress, two constructions may present focused constituents: **Left/right movement** and structures involving the particle *la*.

### 7.5.2.1 Left/right movement

A subject may be focused by right movement. In the following example, the subject *japáng* 'the Japanese' is focused:

- (78) *tempu ropianu governá, nu nté nada tristeza infadu;*  
 time European govern 1pl NEG-have nothing sadness  
*angkoza pun nus kumí, tudu teng; kaba, isi mal fortuna,*  
 thing too 1pl eat all have finish this bad luck
- PRED      SU
- ja beng japáng, ja gera, isi japáng ja governá...*  
 PF come Japanese already War this Japanese PF govern  
 'When the Europeans were in charge we didn't have anything to worry about. We had something to eat, everything. Then, the bad luck, **the Japanese** came, there was war, the Japanese were in charge'.

An adjective phrase within an NP may be focused by left movement, moving the adjective phrase to the left of the determiner which precedes the nominal:

- (79) *olotu falá "kéng, kéng aké?" eli falá "ńgua mulé bemfeta,*  
 3pl say who who that 3s say 1 woman attractive

ADJ	DET	N	
<i>nechēs</i>	<i>ńgua</i>	<i>mulé</i>	<i>, eli falá</i>
pretty	1	woman	3s say

'They said "who, who is that?" He said "an attractive woman.  
 A pretty woman", he said'.

In Chapter 3 it was mentioned that temporal, aspectual, frequency and modal adverbs may occur in several positions in the clause. Of these adverbs, some, such as modal adverbs, occur most frequently in clause initial position while others, for example aspectuals, occur most frequently in pre-predicate position. Such adverbs, while possibly allowing left movement, may also allow right movement.

### 7.5.2.2 The particle *la*

Constituents may be focused by means of the particle *la* which marks them as the focus of emphasis in discourse:

- (80)a. *yo lemrá eli ja parí na Melaka la, ma yo nsabe undi*  
 1s think 3s PF bear L E but 1s NEG-know where  
 'I think he was born in **Melaka** but I don't know where'.

(The topic under discussion was whether the speaker's father was born in Melaka or in Kuala Lumpur.)

- b. *keng pedré toka fai kondi konda! seng, retu retu!*  
 who lose oblige do yes true true

*keng ganyá lo ri la!*  
 who win FI laugh E

'Whoever loses has to do "kondi konda" [= pace the distance a stick is struck while other children chant "kondi konda"]! \_\_\_\_\_ Yes that's right! Whoever wins **will laugh!**'

- c. *mas eli ja dali ku yo ku agu, ńgka tantu la, ja toká*  
 but 3s PF hit A 1s I water NEG much E PF touch

*mpoku namás, ńgka tudu mbés; rayu la, akí sa jenti;*  
 little just NEG all once rascal E here G person

*seng la, aké tempu olotu pinchá agu ku jenti olotu*  
 yes E that time 3pl throw water R people 3pl

*da binyu, seng*  
 give spirits yes



'But when he hit me with water, it wasn't **much**, I just got a little, not all over. They're **rascals** the people here. **Yes** (indeed) [The speaker agrees with a previous comment I made] in the old days when they threw water at people (during *intrudu*) they gave (them a glass of) spirits, yes'.

- d. *sai la!*  
go out E  
'Get out!'

Often *la* serves to mark a contrast of consequence:

- (81)a. *yo sa papa, isi n̄gua, ja pidi tuká nomi; nalá sa*  
1s G father this 1 PF ask change name there G  
*papa nggé da, ká ja fiká isoti la*  
father NEG-want give finish PF stay this+kind E  
'My father, this one [= the adoptive father], asked if my name could be changed. The father there [= the real father] wouldn't allow it so it stayed like that'.
- b. *e ja dali ku rota ku yo, ká yo nggere gritá más*  
3s PF hit I cane A 1s finish 1s NEG-want call more  
*ku eli la, sampe agora*  
A 3s E until now  
'He hit me with a cane so I didn't want to address him any more, until now'.

The particle *la* is also to be found with similar functions in Hokkien, Baba Malay, Bazaar Malay and Malaysian and Singapore English, its origin ultimately being Hokkien (Richards and Tay 1977; Lim 1981:61-65).

### 7.5.3 Passivisation

The passive structure is a device which assigns a special informational prominence to the core arguments of an active transitive verb.

In the passive clause the undergoer functions as the grammatical subject while the agent functions as a peripheral argument. This is best understood in contrast with the syntactically and pragmatically less marked active clause. Compare the following clauses:

- (82)a. *churikati ja pegá ku eli*  
goblin PF catch A 3s  
'A goblin caught him'.
- b. *eli ja toka pegá di churikati*  
3s PF touch catch S goblin  
'He was caught by a goblin'.

In the active clause (82)a *churikati* has the grammatical role of subject and the semantic role of agent while *eli* has the grammatical role of object and the semantic role of undergoer. However, in the passive clause (82)b, *churikati*, the semantic agent, is assigned the grammatical role of a peripheral argument expressing source whereas *eli*, the semantic undergoer has been promoted to the role of grammatical subject. In this way, attention is drawn to the element *eli* which is not presented as topical in the active clause. At the same time, the informational importance of *churikati*, which was topical in the active clause, is diminished, it is not presented as topical.

Passivisation is signalled on the verb by means of serialisation. The verb *toká* 'touch, contact' functions as a modifying serial verb indicating that the clause is passive. In this role *toká* is always stressed on the penultimate syllable.

I shall refer to this type of passive as the Adversity Passive. It is only available to transitive verbs capable of expressing adversity and which have agent subjects and undergoer objects. It is thus dictated by semantic relations and not by the syntactic status of NPs.

Clauses involving the adversity passive may occur without the agent if the agent is known to the speaker and hearer or if the speaker wishes not to identify the agent or if the agent is unknown:

- (83)a. *eli ja toka kemá*  
 3s PF touch burn  
 'He got burnt'.
- b. *aké bicycle ja toka furtá*  
 that PF touch steal  
 'The bicycle got stolen'.

The full *toka* passive clause with the agent phrase present seems to be restricted to animate core NPs.

Although it is of minor significance in the grammar, a further structure, functionally parallel to, and possibly derived from, the adversative passive, deserves mention. This structure is unproductive and limited to the verbs *kumí* 'eat' and *rintá* 'enter':

- (84)a. *aké pesi ja kumi gatu*  
 that fish PF eat cat  
 'The fish got eaten by the cat'.
- b. *chang ja kumí mar*  
 land PF eat sea  
 'The land was eroded by the sea'.
- c. *aké kaza ja kumí fogu*  
 that house PF eat fire  
 'The house got burnt down'.
- d. *fugáng ja rintá agu*  
 kitchen PF enter water  
 'The kitchen was penetrated by water'.

There is no pause between the undergoer NP and the verb complex. The relator *di* may be inserted after *kumí* but not after *rintá*. The undergoer may be [+/- animate].

The functional parallel with the adversity passive is strong. The structure in (84) involves the notion of adversity and presents the undergoer as topical, in subject position, while demoting the agent, in this case to object position (or to peripheral status if *di* is inserted).

### 7.5.3.1 Source of the *toka* adversity passive

Passives signalled by verb serialisation, involving a verb of 'experiencing' such as, for example, suffer or touch, are common in South East Asian languages (Keenan 1985(b):260-261). Indeed, the Kristang *toka* adversity passive has a syntactic and semantic parallel in Malay, the *kena* adversity passive, from which it may be derived. The basic meaning of *kena* is 'come in contact with'. As with Kristang *toka*, Malay *kena* functions in adversity passives with or without the agent (cf. Yeoh Chiang Kee 1977:109-114). The *kena* adversative passive is commonly found in these roles in Melaka Bazaar Malay:

- (89)a. *itu orang china kena tangkap japang*  
 that man Chinese touch catch Japanese  
 'The Chinese man got caught by the Japanese'.  
 b. *itu rumah kena bakar*  
 that house touch burn  
 'The house got burned'.

In Standard Malay, the agent phrase in *kena* passive clauses is preceded by *oleh* 'by' (adapted from Yeoh Chiang Kee 1979:109):

- (90) *buku itu kena koyak oleh Ahmed*  
 book that touch tear by  
 'The book was torn by Ahmad'.

The adversative passive with a verb of 'contact' is also found in Hokkien, although in the full passive *hō* 'give' must also occur:

- (91)a. *ī hō kui lia tĩō*  
 3s give ghost catch strike  
 'He was caught by a ghost'.

In the agentless passive *tĩō* may occur alone:

- b. *hit ě chhũ tĩō sīo*  
 det CL house strike burn  
 'The house got burnt'.

## NOTES

1. Two new transitive verbs which may behave intransitively are currently being derived from the reinterpretation of the pure transitive verb *labá* and its object as a single verb constituent. The first instance involves *labá* + *korpu* 'wash + body':

(i) *labá korpu* ----> *lapoku*  
 wash body                      bathe

The new verb behaves transitively, as in (ii), or intransitively, as in (iii):

(ii) *lapoku ku eli la!*  
 bathe A 3s E  
 'Bathe him (a child)'

(iii) *eli nenáng lapoku*  
 3s NEG-PF bathe  
 'He hasn't bathed yet'.

The second instance involves *labá* + *peu* + *mang* 'wash + foot + hand':

(iv) *labá peu mang* ----> *lapimáng*  
 wash foot hand                      wash-foot-hand

The new verb, *lapimang* 'wash-foot-hand' behaves transitively, as in (v), or intransitively, as in (vi):

(v) *lapimáng ku eli!*  
 wash-foot-hand A 3s  
 'Wash his feet and hands!' (lit. 'wash-feet-hands him!')

(vi) *eli nenáng lapimáng*  
 3s NEG-PF wash-foot-hand  
 'He hasn't washed his feet and hands'.

2. The negator *nang* may occur with the word *subida* 'ever' (which never occurs alone) yielding the imperative 'never!':

*nang subida papiá isoti !!*  
 NEG-IMP ever speak that+kind IMP  
 'Never speak like that!'

The word *subida* evidently derives from P. *sua vida* 'your life'.

## Chapter 8

### INTERCLAUSAL AND INTERPREDICATE RELATIONS

In this chapter complex structures involving the linking of clauses, predicates to clauses, and of predicates to predicates will be discussed. In coordination constructions clauses are linked in a relationship of equal status. They function as independent clauses. Where clauses are linked by subordination, one clause is dependent on the other. The sections on *teng* existential sentences and the cleft sentence consider constructions which involve a special relationship between the existential verb *teng* and a clause. The final section discusses verb serialisations – complex structures involving the concatenation of verbs in a diverse range of functions.

#### 8.1 Structures involving more than one clause

Structures that involve more than one clause are of two main types:

1. **Coordination** – wherein one clause is not a constituent of the other.
2. **Subordination** – wherein one clause is a constituent of the other.

In the case of subordination a further distinction may be drawn according to whether the subordinate clause is an immediate constituent of the main clause or a constituent of an NP. The latter case involves relative clauses which have been described in Chapter 4.

#### 8.1.1 Coordination

Coordination of clauses may be indicated by two means: either by a relator or by parataxis.

##### 8.1.1.1 Coordination by relator

Coordinative relators occur between two clauses A and B expressing four semantic relations. There are three such relators in Kristang: *ku* 'and, with', *kë* 'or' and *mas* 'but' whose sole function is to express respectively comitative (i.e. addition), disjunctive (i.e. alternation) and adversative (i.e. concession) coordination.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, the verb *kabá* 'finish' functions as a fourth coordinative relator with a consecutive-temporal value ('then, after'): the clause it follows is prior in time to the clause which it precedes. The four types of coordination are shown respectively in the following examples:

- (1)a. *eli ta bebé sura ku ta kumí seba*  
 3s -P drink toddy C -P eat pork fat  
 'He is drinking toddy and eating pork fat'.
- b. *eli ja bai tera kë ja muré*  
 3s PF go land D PF die  
 'He returned to his home country or he died'.
- c. *eli kaninu mas eli forsa*  
 3s small AD 3s strong  
 'He is small but he is strong'.
- d. *yo sa maridu lo ntará bredu, tudumbés, kaba yo*  
 1s G husband FI bury vegetables all finish 1s  
*bai buská doi*  
 go seek money  
 'My husband would plant vegetables, the lot, then I would go and look  
 for money (i.e. selling them)'.

### 8.1.1.2 Coordination by parataxis

The relator *ku* is unusual in clausal coordination. When it does occur it appears to result from English influence and is restricted to clauses with common subjects the second of which is elided, as in 1(a) above. The comitative relation is generally expressed by parataxis:

- (2) *eli ta bebé sura, ta kumí seba*  
 3s -P drink toddy -P eat pork fat  
 'He is drinking toddy and eating pork fat'.

### 8.1.2 Subordination

In subordination one clause (the subordinate clause) functions as a formal constituent of another clause (the main clause). Two types of subordination may be distinguished according to the role of the subordinate clause in the main clause: **nominal** and **adverbial**. In nominal subordination the subordinate clause functions as a core NP in the main clause. In adverbial subordination the subordinate clause functions as a peripheral argument in the main clause.

Subordination of clauses may be expressed by relators or by parataxis.

#### 8.1.2.1 Nominal subordination by relator

Nominal subordination is occasionally expressed by means of the relator *ki*:

- (3) *eli falá ki isi, tudu angkoza ta subí presu*  
 3s say A this Q1 thing -P rise price  
 'He said that this, everything is increasing in price'.

This role of *ki* is parallel to one of the functions of P. *que*, from which it is derived.

The use of *ki* introducing accusative nominal clauses is more likely to be found in the speech of older people or in 'formal' speech, for example in a speech at a wedding:

- (4) *nus pidi ki tudu bolotu podi kumi sabrozu*  
 1pl ask A all 2pl can eat tasty  
 'We ask that you all may eat to your satisfaction'.

### 8.1.2.2 Nominal subordination by parataxis

Parataxis is the common means of expressing nominal subordination. Noun clauses may occur in subject role, as in (5)a, and in object role, as in (5)b and c:

- (5)a. *ngka bong eli ja largá sibrisu*  
 NEG good 3s PF leave work  
 'It's not good that he has left his job'.
- b. *yo sabé eli teng aki*  
 1s know 3s BE here  
 'I know that he is here'.
- c. *yo ja skribé ku eli John ja kazá*  
 1s PF write R 3s PF marry  
 'I wrote to him that John has married'.

In object nominal subordination some transitive verbs, as in (6), optionally take *ku* prior to the noun clause while after others, as in (7), *ku* is categorically absent:

- (6)a. *Maria ja fazé ku eli kai*  
 PF made A 3s fall  
 'Maria make him fall'.
- b. *olotu fazé jenti padisé*  
 3pl make people suffer  
 'They make people suffer'.
- (7) *yo gostá eli teng aki*  
 1s like 3s BE here  
 'I am pleased that she is here'.

The presence or absence of *ku* prior to the nominal clause shows a strong correspondence with the semantic class of verb present in the main clause. Noun clause objects occur after the following four semantic classes of verb:

- (8)a. *sintí*                    feel, be of the opinion  
*sabé*                      know  
*falá*                        say, tell
- b. *gostá*                    like  
*koitadu*                 regret  
*skisé*                      forget

- c. *olá*                    see  
*ubí*                        hear  
*kai na sintidu*        realise
- d. *mandá*                send  
*forsá*                    force  
*fazé*                    do, make

These classes are defined by the relationship between the verb and the noun clause. Class (a) are verbs which introduce propositions which represent new information: assertive verbs (Hooper 1974). Class (b) are verbs which introduce propositions which represent known information: factive verbs (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971). Class (c) corresponds to verbs which may behave as factives or as assertives: semifactive verbs (Karttunen 1971). Class (d) are verbs which introduce propositions towards which will or intention is directed: volitional or intentional verbs (Klein 1977:5).

Noun classes after assertive verbs (class (a)) and factive verbs (class (b)) do not take *ku*. The presence of *ku* prior to noun clauses after semi-factive verbs (class (c)) depends on the verb in question: *olá* 'see' takes *ku* optionally while *ubí* 'hear' and *kai na sintidu* do not occur with *ku*. Noun clauses following volitional verbs (class (d)) (*mandá* 'order', *forsá* 'force') may be preceded by *ku* according to the conditions discussed in 6.2.<sup>2</sup> The presence or absence of *ku* with some verbs, for example *falá* 'say, tell' may signal the difference between an intentional or an asserted complement:

- (9)a. *yo ja falá ku eli bai*  
 1s PF say A 3s go  
 'I told him to go'.
- b. *yo ja falá eli ta bai*  
 1s PF say 3s -P go  
 'I said he was going'.

Corresponding to the feature that volitional verbs in general may take *ku* prior to an object nominal clause is the fact that such nominal clauses are TMA-less (with the exception of *rezá* 'pray, hope', which optionally allows *logu* before the verb of its object nominal clause):

- \**ta*  
 -P
- (10) *yo ja mandá ku eli* ( \**ja* ) *sai*  
 1s PF order A 3s ( PF ) exit
- \**lo*  
 FI
- 'I ordered him to get out'.

### 8.1.2.3 Nominal subordination of Q-clauses

Q-clauses are nominal clauses introduced by a question word subordinated to the main clause without relators. They resemble content questions in their constituent order and by the fact that a question word (interrogative article, interrogative quantifier,



interrogative pronoun or interrogative adverb) takes the place of a constituent which represents unspecified information. However, they do not have interrogative intonation. They also show some similarities to relative clauses, yet, they do not have recoverable heads.

Q-clauses may occur in the same functions available to the standard nominal clause: subject, object and recipient as in (11), (12) and (13) respectively:

- (11) *ki yo sa papa ja falá ja susedé mesu*  
 what 1s G father PF say PF occur even  
 'What my father said even happened'.
- (12) *ki olotu ja sufrí olotu ja skisé*  
 what 3pl PF suffer 3pl PF forget  
 'What they suffered they have forgotten'.
- (13) *ńgka da sabé ku yo ki sorti eli ke bai tomá*  
 (3s) NEG give know R 1s what kind 3s want go take  
 'He didn't inform me how he wanted me to go and get it'.

#### 8.1.2.4 Adverbial subordination by relator

In adverbial subordination the dependent clause is preceded by the relators:

<i>ati ~ sampe</i>	until
<i>padi</i>	for
<i>maski</i>	although
<i>kantu ~ si</i>	if

or by other words, some in conjunction with the relator *di*, functioning as relators.

The interrogative words *undi* 'where', *kora* 'when' and *kifoi* 'why' may all function as relators introducing adverbial clauses. Both *undi* and *kora* may reduplicate to function as indefinite relators: *undi undi* 'wherever' and *kora kora* 'whenever'.<sup>3</sup> The temporal adverb *antis* 'before' and the noun *rentu* 'inside', both in conjunction with the relator *di*, function as temporal relators: *antis di* 'before' and *rentu di* 'while'. The noun *káuzu* 'cause, reason', in conjunction with *di* and/or *ki* functions as a causal relator: *káuzu di ki* 'because'.

Adverbial clauses subordinated by relators fall into six semantic categories according to the relator used:

<b>Temporal</b>	:	<i>ati, sampe</i>	until
		<i>antis di</i>	before
		<i>kora ~ kíóra</i>	when
		<i>kora kora</i>	whenever
		<i>rentu di</i>	while
		<i>di</i>	since
<b>Locative</b>	:	<i>undi</i>	where
		<i>undi undi</i>	wherever

<b>Cause</b>	:	<i>káuzu</i>	because
		<i>kifoi</i>	because
<b>Benefactive</b>	:	<i>padi</i>	for
<b>Adversative</b>	:	<i>maski</i>	although
<b>Conditional</b>	:	<i>kantu</i>	if
		<i>si</i>	if (rarely used by older speakers)

The following examples show adverbial clauses of the first three semantic types:

- (14)a. *kora ta biziá motri olotu membés papiá stori rainya*  
 when -P watch dead 3s sometimes talk story queen  
 'When they are watching over the body they sometimes tell traditional stories'.
- b. *rentu di ta andá otu lo bebé*  
 inside S -P walk 3pl FI drink  
 'While they were walking they would drink (i.e. participants in the *branyo rudiá* tradition whereby on special occasions musicians would stroll from house to house, performing in the street for people to dance)'.
- (15) *eli lo bai undi teng jenti prenya*  
 3s FI go where BE people pregnant  
 'She (the vampire) will go where there are pregnant women'.
- (16) *mutu prestadu yo ja largá skola kau di ki yo sa*  
 very+ quick 1s PF leave school cause S 1s G  
*mai ja muré*  
 mother PF die  
 'I left school very quickly (early) because my mother died'.

I shall consider the remaining three semantic types of adverbial clause, benefactive, adversative and conditional, individually.

The benefactive adverbial clause resembles the object nominal clause following volitional verbs in that it requires its verb to be non-finite:

- (17) *Lucy ja komprá isti jaka padi nus { \*ja } kumí*  
 PF buy this jackfruit B 1pl { PF } eat  
 \*ta  
 -P  
 \*lo  
 FI

'Lucy bought this jackfruit for us to eat'.

Benefactive adverbial clauses may occasionally be introduced by the verb *da* in the function of a relator:

- (18) *Lucy ja komprá isti jaka da ku nus kumí*  
 PF buy this jackfruit give R 1pl eat  
 'Lucy bought this jackfruit for us to eat'.

Adversative and conditional adverbial clauses differ from the other types of adverbial clauses seen above in that in unmarked word order the subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

Adversative adverbial clauses are generally introduced by the relator *maski* 'although' (? <P. *mas + que* 'but + that') and occasionally by the Bazaar Malay adversative relator *sunggu* 'although':<sup>4</sup>

- (19)  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{maski} \\ \textit{although} \\ \textit{sunggu} \\ \textit{although} \end{array} \right] \textit{eli kaninu eli forsa}$   
 3s small 3s strong  
 'Although he is small he is strong'.

Occasionally *maski* occurs together with *mas* in the sequence:

*maski* + subordinate clause + *mas* + main clause

the meaning being the same as when *maski* occurs alone:

- (20) *maski eli ngka bai skola (mas) eli chadu*  
 AD 3s NEG go school AD 3s clever  
 'Although he didn't go to school he is clever'.

Conditional subordination is expressed by means of *kantu*, less frequently by the Bazaar Malay conditional relator *kalu ~ kalau*, and very rarely by *si*. The order in the sentence is:

relator + subordinate clause + main clause  
 [protasis] [apodosis]

Certain tense restrictions apply to active verbs occurring in the protasis and the apodosis. There are three main sequences:

Reference	protasis	apodosis
1. present/future	∅	<i>lo ~ logu</i>
2. habitual	∅	∅
3. past	<i>ja</i>	<i>ja</i>

The following examples show the three sequences:

- (21)a. *kantu yo bai Singapore yo lo komprá radio*  
 cond 1s go 1s FI buy  
 'If I go to Singapore I will buy a radio'.
- b. *kantu eli bebé eli papiá mintira*  
 COND 3s drink 3s speak lie  
 'If he drinks he tells lies'.
- c. *kantu bos ja gitá ku yo, yo ja bai*  
 COND 3s PF call A 1s 1s PF go  
 'If you had called me I would have gone'.

### 8.1.2.5 Adverbial subordination without relator

Adverbial subordination without a relator is frequent in the expression of temporal relations:

(22)a. *yo sa maridu ja muré yo sa krenkrensa kaninu*  
 1s G husband PF die 1s G child+child small  
 'My husband died when my children were small'.

b. *eli birá di mar, el lo santá lo rezá*  
 3s return S sea 3s FI sit FI pray  
 'When he returned from fishing he would sit and pray'.

Conditional coordination also is often expressed without a relator:

(23)a. *yo íngka bai kaza sedu yo lo achá pankada*  
 1s NEG go house early 1s FI receive beating  
 'If I don't go home early I will get a beating'.

b. *eli ja falá bai skola lo skribí katra ku nóibu*  
 3s PF say go school FI write letter R boyfriend  
 'He said if I went to school I would (learn to) write letters to (my) boyfriend'.

## 8.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences involve the existential verb *teng* which introduces an indefinite NP and a relative clause. They are of two types which I shall call the *teng* type and the *kal teng* type respectively.

### 8.2.1 The *teng* type

The *teng* existential sentence has the following structure:

*teng* + indefinite NP + relative clause

For example:

(24) *teng íngua omi ki ja matá korpu na Muar*  
 BE 1 man RP PF kill body L  
 'There was a man who killed himself in Muar'.

The function of *teng* existential sentences is to introduce new information into the discourse. The NP introduced by *teng* has not previously been mentioned. Often this NP functions as topic in the subsequent discourse.

In such structures, the indefinite NP may be singular, as in (24), or plural, as in (25) below.

Three types of relative clause may be observed in *teng* existential sentences: relator, pronoun copy, and headless; the latter two being the most frequent in discourse.

The three main types of relative clauses in *teng* existential sentences are shown in (25), (26) and (27) respectively, along with the preceding and following discourse:

## (25) (Relator type)

- a. *yo sa maridu eli volunteer; e ja toka .bai la, bai Singapura,*  
 1s G husband 3s 3s PF oblige go E go

*bai isi gera sa káuzu; kaba di tras ja bai, justu pętu*  
 go this war G reason finish S back PF go just near

*natal la; aké ora yo teng dos famila, ńgua machu*  
 Christmas E that time 1s have 2 child 1 boy

*ńgua femi; ja bai tres kuátu mis nté nobės; teng*  
 1 girl PF go 3 4 month NEG-BE news BE

*kal keng falá volunteer di Melaka kristáng ja muré;*  
 which RP say all S PF die

*a, kaba nus kada dia naké kapela, teng ńgua greza*  
 finish 1pl each day L+that chapel BE 1 church

*nu bai rezá la, pidí ku deu desá librá tudu isi*  
 1pl go pray E ask R God leave free all this

*ranch ranchu beng kaza la*  
 group group come house E

'My husband was a volunteer. He had to go, go to Singapore because of the war. In the end he went just before Christmas. At that time I had two children, a boy and a girl. He went and for three or four months there was no news. There were some people who said that all the Melaka Creole volunteers had died. Ah! Then each day we were in the chapel, there's a church where we used to go and pray, ask God to release all this group to come home'.

- b. *aké mbės teng keng falá chang ta bulí*  
 that once BE RP say ground -P shake  
 'That time there were people who said the ground was shaking'.

Note that in the relator type of *teng* existential sentences, the head may depending on context, be omitted as in (25)b above.

## (26) (Pronoun copy type)

*aké tempu jenti ramedí mar bong bong fasël, kau*  
 that time person occupation sea very easy reason

*di ki isi nosióra rostu bai na mar bong bong fasël;*  
 S CONJ this Our Lady face go L sea very easy

*teng ńgua china eli ńgka kristáng, agora eli sa filu ja*  
 BE 1 Chinese 3s NEG Christian now 3s G son PF

*intrá kristáng, sa pai aké tempu n̄gka rintá kristáng,*  
 enter Christian G father that time NEG enter Christian

*eli gostá bai pegá isi kangrezu*  
 3s like go catch this crab

'That time the fisherman had it easy, because this statue of Our Lady faced the sea it was easy. There was a Chinese man who wasn't a Christian, now his son has become a Christian, his father (that time) didn't become a Christian. He (= 'a Chinese man') liked to go and catch these crabs'.

(27) (Headless type)

*kióra yo sa mama sa tempu, birá di greza jenti panyá*  
 when 1s G mother G time return S church person take hold

*aráng seká na rostú; más mal! pinchá lama, ná! agora*  
 charcoal wipe L face more bad throw mud CP now

*n̄gka mutu; agora jenti dali ku agu, teng kal jenti*  
 NEG much now person hit I water BE which person

*subí tolu toka dali ku agu; teng n̄gua bes yo pun*  
 ascend temper touch hit I water BE 1 time 1s too

*ja toká ku agu, n̄gua bes namás; yo pun ja skisé intrudu;*  
 PF touch I water 1 time only 1s too PF forget Carnaval

*kióra ja toka dali ku agu nubu ja lembrá*  
 when PF touch hit I water new PF remember

'In my mother's time, you would be returning from church and people would take charcoal and wipe it on your face (lit. wipe the face), even worse they would throw mud. Now not much. Now when people throw water there are some people who become angry if they get hit by water. Once I also got hit with water, once only; I too forgot Carnaval. When I got drenched I soon remembered'.

The above example contains two examples of existential *teng* clauses containing headless relative clauses: the first with a relativised subject and the second with a relativised temporal adjunct. Note that (25)a above also contains a *teng* existential sentence with a headless relative clause in which a locative adjunct is the head: *teng n̄gua greza nu bai reza la* 'there was a church where we would pray'.

A *teng* existential sentence may be embedded within another *teng* existential sentence. Consider the following example, the beginning of a *stori rainya* 'traditional story':

- (28)a.
- b.
- teng ñgua tempu teng ñgua jenti ki prigasozu; agora isti*  
 BE 1 time BE 1 person RP lazy now this
- prigasozu eli bomong trabalu*  
 lazy 3s very trouble
- 'Once there was a lazy person; now this lazy person was really a problem'.

The example begins with an existential sentence ((28)a) in which a headless relative clause relativises a temporal adjunct, *ñgua tempu*, of the existential sentence ((28)b) *teng ñgua jenti ki prigasozu*. In turn, the latter sentence contains a relator type relative clause: *ki prigasozu*.

The function of *teng* existential sentences, notably, the introduction of new information into the discourse, is demonstrated in the above examples. The NPs introduced by *teng* have not previously been mentioned. Thus, (28) is the beginning of a story. Often the NP introduced by *teng* functions as a contrastive topic. Thus, in (26) the NP *ñgua china* is introduced in a discourse which has as its theme a statue, *nosíora* 'Our Lady'; the speaker now is going to relate a story about the Chinese man and his connection with the statue.

### 8.2.2 The *kal teng* type

This type of existential sentence involves left dislocation of the determiner *kal* 'some'. It has the following form:

*kal + teng + indefinite plural noun + relative clause*

For example:

- (29)a. *kal teng jenti reza ku san antoni*  
 some BE person pray R Saint Anthony  
 'Some people pray to Saint Anthony'.

The undislocated form would be:

- b. *teng kal jenti rezá ku san antoni*  
 BE some person pray R Saint Anthony  
 'There are some people who pray to Saint Anthony'.

In function the *kal teng* type resembles the *teng* type of existential sentence introducing new information which may function as topic.<sup>5</sup> Often the noun introduced by *kal teng* represents a subset of a class which is under discussion.

As in the case of *teng* existential sentences, three types of relative clause may be observed: relator (*ki* only), pronoun copy and headless. Sentences of the first type are rare and for many speakers unacceptable. However, in *kal teng* sentences the indefinite noun may be omitted not only with relator type relative clauses but also in the case of pronoun copy or headless relative clauses:

- (30)a. *kal teng ki ta bai mar*  
 some BE RP -P go sea  
 'Some (people) are fishermen'.
- b. *kal teng (jenti) olotu bai olá ku mestri*  
 some BE person 3pl go see A medicine-man  
 'Some (people) go and see a medicine-man'.
- c. *kal teng (kaza) teng nígua omi*  
 some BE house have 1 man  
 'Some (houses) have a man (as their spirit owner)'.

While the noun introduced by *kal teng* may be [+/- human] or [+/- animate], NPs which are [- human] or [- animate] are generally found with headless relative clauses. The most frequent noun involved in *kal teng* sentences is *jenti* 'person'.

The function of the *kal teng* existential sentence, the introduction of new information, is demonstrated in the following example:

- (31) *eli falá "yo, bos beng yo sa class yo nadi fazé komu*  
 3s say 1s 2s come 1s G 1s NEG+FI do like  
*otru mestri fazé; kal teng mestri fazé distrau ku bolotu,*  
 other teacher do some BE teacher do disturb A 2pl  
*dali, da gritu; yo nggé; yo nadi dali ku bolotu;*  
 hit give yell 1s NEG-want 1s NEG-FI hit A 2pl  
*bolotu ja idadi"*  
 A 2pl age  
 'He said, "I, if you come to my class I won't do as other teachers do. Some teachers disturb you, hit you and yell. I don't want to. I won't hit you. You are already mature..."'

### 8.3 Cleft sentences

The cleft sentence is a construction whereby a clause is split into two clauses in order to give informational prominence to part of the clause. It occurs very rarely in my recordings.

The cleft sentence has the following form:

*teng* + definite NP + relative clause

The relative clause may be the relator type or the headless type. The relator *keng*, however, while acceptable, is unusual and more likely to occur in translations from English than in actual discourse.

In the following example the direct object of the relative clause has been focused by clefting:

- (32) *teng bos sa familia ki yo ta lantá, retu?*  
 BE 2s G child RP 1s -P carry, true  
 'It is your child I am carrying isn't it?'



## 8.4 Verb serialisation

Serial verb constructions comprise two or more verbs which share certain NP arguments and which are paratactically opposed in a single clause-like intonation unit. Serialisation is a common characteristic of languages of Africa, South East and East Asia, Papua New Guinea and Oceania, as well as in a number of Creole languages (Forman 1972, Voorhoeve 1975, Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978).

A central issue in the discussion of serial verbs has been the question of whether serial constructions derive from one clause or more than one clause (Bamgbose 1982, Foley and Olsen 1985). I follow the approach of Bamgbose 1982, that serialisation may derive from one or more clauses depending on the particular type of serialisation.

In Kristang, there are two types of serialisation: the linking type and the modifier type, both of which have been observed in the literature on serialisation.

### 8.4.1 Linking serialisation

In this construction the verbs linked represent a sequence of actions, subparts of an event viewed as a whole. The verbs occur within a single clausal intonation unit and the first verb invariably takes penultimate syllable main stress:

- (33) *eli pega matá la*  
 3s catch kill E  
 'He catches and kills (children)'.

Such series of verbs differ in meaning from a sequence of coordinated clauses:

- (34) *eli pegá (krenkrensa), eli matá (ku olotu)*  
 3s catch children 3s kill A 3pl  
 'He catches children and he kills them'.

The coordinated clauses can only represent two separate events, not a single event comprising two actions.

### 8.4.2 Modifying serialisation

This type of serialisation comprises two verbs which depict a single event. One of the verbs functions as main verb and is modified in some way by the other verb. The modifying verb does not retain its full semantic value. In some cases the modifying verb precedes the main verb, in others it follows. If the two verbs are adjacent, the first verb receives penultimate syllable main stress.

In the following example, the verb *toká*, which as a full lexical verb means 'touch', has a modifying role: it functions as a marker of the adversity passive (section 7.5.3); the verb *kumí* 'eat' functions as the main verb of the clause:

- (35) *aké pesi ja toka kumí di gatu*  
 that fish PF touch eat S cat  
 'The fish got eaten by the cat'.

Modifying serialisation involves a number of distinct semantic functions of which the adversative passive is just one.

#### 8.4.2.1 Relator role

In some serialisations a modifying verb may function as a relator indicating the function of an NP within the clause. With certain non-directional verbs a serialisation is the only means of indicating a goal NP. For example, in order to indicate a goal NP of the verbs *andá* 'walk' and *kuré* 'run', the verbs *bai* 'go' and *beng* 'come' are used:<sup>6</sup>

- (36)
- |               |   |             |   |             |             |
|---------------|---|-------------|---|-------------|-------------|
|               |   | <i>kure</i> |   | <i>bai</i>  |             |
|               |   | run         |   | go          |             |
| <i>eli ja</i> | { |             | } |             | <i>kaza</i> |
| 3s PF         |   | <i>anda</i> |   | <i>beng</i> | house       |
|               |   | walk        |   | come        |             |

'He { ran  
walked } home'.

Some instances of serialisation indicating an instrumental or a benefactive NP may occasionally be observed in discourse (cf. example (18) above). The following examples were elicited from several informants as translations of their English glosses. In (37)a the verb *tomá* 'to take' functions as a marker of an instrumental NP while in (37)b the verb *da* 'give' functions as a marker of a benefactive NP:

- (37)a. *eli ja tomá faka kotrá kandri*  
3s PF take knife cut meat  
'He cut the meat with a knife'.
- b. *yo ja tizé isti floris da ku eli*  
1s PF bring this flower give R 3s  
'I brought this flower for her/This flower is for her'.

Yet, such cases are not frequent, instrumentals and benefactives being more generally indicated by relators (see 6.3.3 and 6.3.2).

However, a common case of serialisation with a relator role involves the verb *nté* 'NEGhave' which functions as a relator expressing a negative comitative role and meaning 'without':

- (38) *eli ta anda nté sapatu*  
3s -P walk NEGhave shoe  
'He was walking barefoot (lit. without shoes)'.

In this role the verb *nté* has replaced the relator *seng* 'without' which is rarely used by older speakers.

#### 8.4.2.2 Aspectual modification

Certain verbs, when they occur in modifying serialisations, may function as aspectual modifiers of the main verb. Such is the case with *kabá* 'finish', *pará* 'stop', *kontiná* 'continue':

- (39) *tempu japáng yo sa papa ja para fai sibrisu*  
 time Japanese 1s G father PF stop do work  
 'In the Japanese time my father stopped work'.

It is in this role of aspectual modifier that the verb *kabá* 'finish' has become widely used as a marker of completion:

- (40) *kora yo ja chegá nalí eli ja kaba bai*  
 when 1s PF arrive there 3s PF finish go  
 'When I arrived there he had gone'.

#### 8.4.2.3 Modal modification

In modifying serialisations, the verbs *achá* 'receive' and *toká* 'touch' function respectively as modal modifiers of possibility and unfavourable obligation:

- (41)a. *eli ja acha bai Singapura*  
 3s PF receive go  
 'He got to go to Singapore'.  
 b. *eli ja toka pagá ku John*  
 3s PF touch pay R  
 'He had to pay John'.

The modifying roles of *achá* and *toká* have parallels in Bazaar Malay *dapat* 'get, receive' and *kena* 'strike, touch' respectively:

- (42) *dia kena pergi Singapura*  
 3s touch go  
 'He was obliged (forced against his will) to go to Singapore'.

Portuguese also has a colloquial use of *tocar* as an auxiliary of obligation. However, the obligation is not necessarily against the will of the subject:

- (43) *hoje, toca-me a mim (pagar)*  
 today touch me to me (pay)  
 'Today, it's my turn (to pay)'.

#### 8.4.2.4 Passive indicator

The verb *toká* 'strike, touch' functions in modifying serialisations as an indicator of passive:

- (44)a. *eli ja toka pegá di churikati*  
 3s PF touch catch S goblin  
 'He got caught by a churikati'.  
 b. *aké kaza ja toka kemá*  
 that house PF touch burn  
 'The house got burnt'.

The verb *toká* may only function as a passive marker in cases in which the patient is adversely affected (see section 7.5.3).

### 8.4.2.5 Serialisation involving *da*

The verb *da* generally means 'give'; however, when followed by a clausal object it may mean 'allow',<sup>7</sup> for example:

- (45) *pa nadi da ku yo sai fora*  
 father NEG-FI give A 1s go out outside  
 'Father won't let me go out (out of the village)'.

In both roles *da* has a parallel in Bazaar Malay *kasi* 'give, allow'.

A small number of verbs occur after the verb *da* in serial constructions which depict a single event. The modifying value imparted by *da* is 'facilitative', as may be seen in the following examples:<sup>8</sup>

*da + mpustá* 'loan' (*mpustá* 'borrow')

- (47) *e ja da mpustá ku yo aké langgiáng*  
 3s PF give borrow R 1s that push net  
 'He loaned me that push net'.

*da + kumí* 'feed' (*kumí* 'eat')

- (48) *papa galinya olotu da kumí ku olotu pa bizá*  
 porridge chicken 3pl give eat R 3pl B watch  
 'They feed them chicken porridge for watching (the dead)'.

In both examples, the modifying serialisation *da + transitive verb* results in the formation of a new bitransitive verb. The verb status of *mpustá* and *kumí* is evident from the fact that both examples have objects present: *aké langgiáng* in (47) and *papa galinya* in (48). Other cases of *da* serialisation are *da sabé* 'inform' (*sabé* 'know') and *da intendé* 'explain' (*intendé* 'understand').

This type of construction may have originated as a nominalisation. The ability of some trivalent verbs to treat the subject of a complement clause as a recipient argument and the verb of a complement clause as an object and to allow it to shift to a position following the main verb has already been mentioned in section 7.1.4.5. The same ability might be the source of *da + transitive verb* serialisation:

- (49)a. *nu lo da ku olotu kumí*  
 1pl FI give R 3pl eat  
 'We will allow them to eat'.  
 b. *nu lo da kumí ku olotu*  
 1pl FI give eat R 3pl  
 'We will feed them'.

A parallel to serial constructions involving *da* exists in Bazaar Malay and Hokkien. Compare the following examples:

#### Kristang:

- (50) *eli ja da sabé ku yo John teng akí*  
 3s PF give know R 1s BE here  
 'He informed me John was here'.

**Bazaar Malay:**

- (51) *dia kasi tahu (sama) aku John ada sini*  
 3s give know R 1s BE here  
 'He informed me John was here'.

**Hokkien:**

- (52) *i hō guà chai John nā hit thāu*  
 3s give 1s know L DET place  
 'He informed me John was here'.

**8.4.2.6 ke serialisation**

The serial construction to be considered here, involving the verb *keré* 'want', appears to be evolving a new part of speech.

The verb *keré* 'want' occurs in serial constructions in which it is followed by the verb of a reduced clause. In such constructions *keré* generally reduces to *ke*:

There are two principal types of sentence involving *ke* + reduced clause:

1. Those where *ke* is preceded by a predicate which is semantically subjective-emotive: *midu* 'fear', *alegri* 'happy', etc.
2. Those where *ke* is preceded by a nominal which is object of the verb *teng* 'have' in a negated or questioned clause.

The two types are shown in examples (53) and (54)a and b:

- (53) *eli midu ke bai bos sa kaza*  
 3s fear want go 2s G house  
 'He is afraid to go to your house'.
- (54)a. *eli úndi teng doi ke komprá kareta?*  
 3s where have money want buy car  
 'Where does he have money to buy a car?'
- b. *eli nté doi ke komprá kareta*  
 3s NEG-have money want buy car  
 'He doesn't have money to buy a car'.

As can be seen in these examples, the subject of the reduced clause introduced by *ke* is identical to that of the main clause. The clauses introduced by *ke* may not contain an overt subject and may not contain TMA markers or be negated or questioned. They represent potential propositions within the context of the overall sentence.

In the type (1) sentence, *ke* is optional (although it generally does occur) and is unaffected by negation or question:

- (55)a. *eli íngka midu (ke) bai bos sa kaza*  
 3s NEG fear want go 2s G house  
 'He isn't afraid to go to your house'.

- b. *eli úndi midu (ke) bai bos sa kaza?*  
 3s where fear want go 2s G house  
 'Where is he afraid to go to your house?'

In the type (2) sentence, *padi* 'for' may be substituted for *ke*, for example:

- (56) *eli nte doi padi komprá kareta*  
 3s NEG-have money B buy car  
 'He doesn't have money to buy a car'.

However, *ke* is the most frequent in discourse. In type (2) sentences *ke* functions as a purpose marker and is restricted to cases where the nominal which it follows is a constituent of a negated or questioned clause.

What is common to both type (1) and type (2) environments is that *ke* introduces a clause which is unrealised.

The case of *ke* is best viewed as a 'dynamic' case of serialisation, wherein the assumed function of the verb *keré* is developing a new part of speech: a marker of unrealised propositions.

A parallel to *ke* serialisation is to be found in Bazaar Malay and Hokkien where the verbs *mau* 'want' and *ai* 'want' respectively, may occur in the same environments as *ke*, and with similar functions. Consider the following examples:

#### Bazaar Malay:

- (57)a. *dia takut mau pergi lu punya rumah*  
 3s afraid want go 2s G house  
 'He is afraid to go to your house'.
- b. *dia, mana ada duit mau beli kereta ?*  
 3s where have money want buy car Q  
 'Where does he have the money to buy a car?'
- c. *dia tak (ada) duit mau beli kereta*  
 3s NEG have money want buy car  
 'He doesn't have the money to buy a car'.

#### Hokkien:

- (58)a. *î khiá aĩ khhĩ lí é chhũ*  
 3s afraid want go 2s POSS house  
 'He is afraid to go to your house'.
- b. *î thô-lô ũ lui (aĩ) bui chhiá*  
 3s where have money want buy car  
 'Where does he have the money to want to buy a car?'
- c. *î bó (ũ) lui aĩ bui chhiá*  
 3s NEG have money want buy car  
 'He doesn't have the money yet wants to buy a car'.

## NOTES

1. The Bazaar Malay adversative relator *tapi* 'but' is sometimes used as an equivalent of *mas*.
2. Exceptions are the volitional verbs *rezá* 'hope' and *keré* 'wish, want', which do not take *ku*:

a. *yo rezá eli lo fiká bong*  
 1s pray 3s FI become good  
 'I hope/pray he gets well'.

b. *eli keré sa filu prendé*  
 3s want G son learn  
 'He want his son to learn'.

3. However, they may be observed in this function without reduplication, for example:

*undi yo bai yo sa pai mai teng na bodru*  
 where 1s go 1s G father mother BE L edge  
 'Wherever I go my parents are nearby'.

4. It is interesting that Malay has itself adopted *maski*.
5. The structure would appear to be influenced by Malay *yang ada* 'REL + BE'.
6. Another case of serialisation involving direction, but not a prepositional function, occurs with the verb *tomá* 'take'. The verb alone can only refer to 'non-directional taking' and in order to express 'directional taking' it must be followed in series by the verb *lebá* 'carry':

*bunyán ja toma lebá ku eli na matu*  
 fairy PF take carry A 3s L jungle  
 'A fairy took him (away) to the jungle'.

7. The verb *desá* 'allow, let' is also used.
8. The notion of 'cause' is expressed by other means, the verb *fazé* 'make':

(49)a. *bos fazé aké pau impé*  
 2s make that stick stand  
 'You make the stick stand up'.

However, this construction also may give rise to a serial verb:

b. *bos faze impé aké pau*  
 2s make stand that stick  
 'You stand the stick up'.

## CONCLUSION

The principal purpose of this study has been to provide a quasi-synchronic descriptive grammar of Kristang as spoken by conservative speakers. The emphasis on description was motivated by the fact that Kristang is the last vital variety of South East Asian Creole Portuguese and is now receding. Thus, while in the course of the study a number of theoretical issues were addressed, observational accuracy seemed a necessary precondition and has therefore been given a prime place. Moreover, the kind of models available at present are so sophisticated that to apply them to the data collected would have meant that the whole work would have been multiplied manifold.

The importance of Kristang to contemporary creole issues is probably less than one would expect because it is very old creole. Also, in terms of decreolisation Kristang represents a special case because it doesn't decreolise in the direction of the original lexifier language. The quasi-synchronic description of the Creole is valid because of work going on in Portuguese Creoles elsewhere. Indeed, the present work should prove helpful where comparison is concerned.

There is one very large area of linguistics to which the study of Kristang can contribute, that of convergence: the realignment of the grammars of languages in contact which results in congruence. In a number of instances I have mentioned congruence existing between the structure of Kristang and that of Malay. The reasons for such congruence are not unlike those observed in other instances of convergence. Gumperz and Wilson (1971), in their study of the convergence of Marathi, Kannada and Urdu in the Northern Indian village of Kupwar, and Smith (1977), in his study of convergence of Sri Lanka Creole Portuguese with Tamil, in the village of Batticaloa, found the prime conducive factor to be bilingualism in a context of language maintenance. The congruence of Kristang and local Malay constitutes a similar case. In the formative period, Kristang must have received considerable influence from the mother tongue Malay of bilinguals who spoke Kristang as a second language. At the same time, Kristang as a mother tongue of bilinguals/multilinguals would have received, as it still does receive, continued influence from Malay.

In the course of this study I came to a number of conclusions concerning the development and maintenance of the language. In the early formative period, the presence of Malay and the maintenance of bilingualism was important. Input from Indo-Portuguese Creole was also significant, as can be seen from such shared linguistic features as, for example, the *sa* genitive, accusative marking, the TMA markers and the negators.

During the Dutch period, language maintenance was facilitated by a group cohesion caused by the size of the Creole population, their common occupational basis, fishing, their low socioeconomic status and their strong Roman Catholic affiliation.



The presence of Portuguese missionaries during the Dutch period and until the present has meant a continual cultural tie with Portugal. In this respect, Kristang continued to receive some influence from Metropolitan Portuguese and some support through the use of Kristang by the church until the Second World War.

In its survival until the present, Kristang provides a good example of how the social separateness of a linguistic minority can provide a type of isolation which promotes language maintenance, the type of strong isolation normally associated with geographical factors. In this respect Kristang joins the rank of such long enduring languages as Sephardic Spanish and Pennsylvania Dutch.

As the same time, the speech community has displayed a strong ability to incorporate outsiders, and this has definitely been a key factor for its survival. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Dutch Eurasians and Anglo Eurasians were absorbed into the community with a resultant cainolinguistic situation: both groups shifted their mother tongue to Kristang. Certain outsiders have become part of the Kristang speech community as a result of prolonged contact, for example, the case of the Chinese shop owners in the Portuguese Settlement and in Praya Lane. New outsiders are still incorporated into the speech community, albeit at a very low frequency, through intermarriage or through merely living with Kristang speaking families.

However, while Kristang is still vital and is still the first language of many Creoles, this is progressively less the case. The occupational basis of the community is changing, the Portuguese Settlement is being promoted as a tourist attraction, Kristang has been supplanted by English in many households and younger speakers, educated in Malay, display considerable Malay influence in their Kristang. Notwithstanding, the language will survive into the next century.

The prospects for survival could be improved considerably if the position of the language could be strengthened. This could be done in several ways. I have already mentioned earlier how easy it would be to initiate a newsletter in Kristang using Hancock's orthography. Such an endeavour could be carried out under the auspices of the Portuguese Settlement Committee and could perhaps be given some support by the missionaries, so that it is seen by the community as valid.

Work-groups on traditional cultural activities could also be given promotion. In the past, in the Portuguese Settlement and in Praya Lane, performing groups have played an important role in keeping music and dance traditions alive.

The language could also be reinstated to some extent in the Church. I think this is a strong practical possibility in the Portuguese Settlement, where mass is celebrated several times a week for a congregation which is almost exclusively Kristang. Similarly, the Assumption Chapel in the Praya Lane community celebrates mass several times a week for a largely Kristang congregation and I feel, there too, certain possibilities exist for the use of Kristang. Both in the Portuguese Settlement and in Praya Lane hymns are occasionally sung in Kristang.

Another possibility too, especially given the recent interest shown by the Malaysian Government in the Kristang community, is the use of Kristang to some extent in school, perhaps at a pre-school and primary level. Materials for such a project could be readily produced on the basis of data collected in the preparation of this work. A pertinent point here is that during my residence in the community, the Malay mistress in the Portuguese

Settlement pre-school occasionally encouraged the children to show some interest in their language and would write Kristang words in Malay orthography.

During the description of the main structures of the grammar of Kristang it was found that a number of constructions were shared with other languages. In particular, there are parallels with other creole languages (not to mention parallels with other varieties of Creole Portuguese), important parallels with neighbouring languages such as Malay and Hokkien and parallels with Metropolitan Portuguese. Doubtless, in a deliberately comparative study many more parallels would come to light. As is to be expected, in many areas there is a strong resemblance to Malay. I am convinced that further investigation will reveal the similarity to be even more extensive. In some instances, Kristang displays parallels with more than one of the languages in contact. Such parallels are very important. The best chance for a construction to become dominant is when there is a conspiracy between more than one source.

There are a number of points in the description relevant to current theory issues, in particular to questions of creole universals. In several instances Kristang matches points of Bickerton's Creole universals, and as pointed out in Baxter (1983), many of these features have parallels in Bazaar Malay. Again, conspiracy may be relevant – a coincidence between universal creole tendencies and features in the substrate.

In the following paragraphs I shall briefly summarise the main points of the description and at the same time identify the morphosyntactic parallels found with other languages and the areas where theory is relevant.

Kristang has a simple phonological system of seven vowel phonemes and 18 consonant phonemes. The syllable core may consist of a vowel or a syllabic nasal and tonic stress is generally on the penultimate syllable.

Kristang has 12 parts of speech as identified in this study. Basic clause constituent order is SVO, typical of creole languages but also typical of Malay and Metropolitan Portuguese. The order of elements in the NP is fairly rigid. Articles, cardinal numerals and quantifiers precede the head while adjectives, ordinal numbers and relative clauses follow. There are two possessive constructions, one preceding the head, the *sa* 'genitive' type, and the other, the *di* 'of' type, following the head. The *sa* 'genitive' possessive, has parallels in Malay, Hokkien, Dutch and Portuguese. A similar possessive is found in Papiamentu. The *di* possessive has a parallel in Portuguese.

Some common nouns display a sex difference by compounding with the nouns 'male' and 'female'. This feature has a parallel in Malay but, as I observed, it is also found in certain creole languages, Portuguese-based such as Cabo Verde, São Tomé, Ceylon; and non-Portuguese based such as Martinique Creole French and Tok Pisin.

Reduplication is a feature of the noun class (as it is of the verb, adjective, and adverb classes) and is paralleled in Malay yet, also, is found in certain creoles, for example, it is present in several Atlantic creoles in which it may be traced to superstrate and substrate languages (Hancock 1980:73-74), and it is also present in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1979:404-417).

The system of articles resembles that of Bickerton's Creole Universals (Bickerton 1981) and also parallels that of Bazaar Malay. The use of the demonstrative determiner as a definite article and of the numeral 'one' as an indefinite article and the absence of article for generics is matched in Bazaar Malay yet, historically, is a common linguistic process.

Relative clauses are of three main types: those involving relators, those without relators (the reducing type) and those involving a pronoun copy of the head. The second type is found in early creolised languages such as Hawaiian Creole English (Bickerton 1981:62) and is also present in Bazaar Malay (Baxter 1983:151). The pronoun copy type, also found in Hawaiian Creole English (Peet 1978:96), is likewise present in Bazaar Malay. Kristang relative clause formation strategies conform to the access hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977) and in broad terms, the different types of relative clause overlap in their functions. This fact is significant in terms of the dynamics of the Kristang system.

NPs may be coordinated disjunctively in a complex structure by means of the particle *kë*. The construction has a Bazaar Malay parallel. NPs may be classified on a syntactic and semantic basis as core and peripheral arguments. Core arguments are those which are obligatorily required by the predicate. Peripheral arguments are those which are not so required and are essentially optional adjuncts. Of the former, two core NPs enter into the grammatical relations of subject and object, which are significant for the workings of the grammatical principals of the language, such as, for example, passive formation or equi-NP deletion. Their special status is indicated morphosyntactically.

A particularly interesting aspect of Kristang grammar, and one which may be considered an areal feature of Asian Creole Portuguese, is the feature of optional accusative marking. The object NP may be overtly indicated by the relator *ku*. Accusative marking in Kristang is related to the definiteness and/or animacy of the NP in question: NPs of high definiteness and animacy are marked, inanimate NPs are not marked, those falling between are optionally marked according to their definiteness. Such a system is found in such diverse languages as Spanish and Persian. Kristang shares the feature with other varieties of Asian Creole Portuguese, such as, for example the Creoles of Tugu, Macau and Sri Lanka. Indeed, accusative marking was a feature of Sixteenth Century Portuguese. In Melaka, Bazaar Malay and Hokkien both show evidence of accusative marking and parallel Kristang in that their accusatives also function as the relator 'with'. In broad terms Kristang conforms to the type of universal NP definiteness/animacy hierarchy for accusative marking proposed by Silverstein (1976).

The clause in Kristang may contain verbal or non-verbal predications, a feature shared by other creoles and by Malay. Verbs are intransitive, transitive or bitransitive and may also be classified as active, stative and change of state. The verb does not show number and is modified for tense, aspect and mood by preverbal particles: TMA particles. Basically, there are three such particles: *ja* 'perfective', *ta* 'non-punctual' and *logu* 'future-irrealis'. In addition, the verb *kabá* may function in modifying serialisations as a completive aspect marker. The occurrence of these particles with verbs, and the type of modification involved, depends on the particular class of verb.

The Kristang TMA system bears some similarities to that of Bickerton's Creole system, principally the non-punctual and the future-irrealis particles. However, many of the details of the functions of the particles are different. Perfective, non-punctual and future-irrealis particles with the same cognates are found in other varieties of Asian Creole Portuguese, especially in South East and East Asia in Macau, Hong Kong and Tugu Creole, but also in South Asian varieties such as Sri Lanka Creole Portuguese. Some general functional and formal resemblances are also to be found in the Atlantic varieties of Creole Portuguese (Holm 1983:6). However, Bazaar Malay, has a system very similar to that of Kristang and I noted specifically that the perfective, non-punctual and future-irrealis forms in Kristang have Malay parallels with certain distributional and functional differences.

A particularly interesting feature shared with other creole languages, such as Guyanese Creole English, Hawaiian Creole English and Indian Ocean Creole French, is the inchoative value of **non-punctual + adjective**. However, motivation for this feature may be found in the Portuguese substrate in the construction *estar* + **ADJ**.

In a number of different creole languages a single lexeme functions as an existential and as a possession indicator (Bickerton 1981:66). Kristang shares this feature in the verb *teng*, which derives from Portuguese *ter* 'to have', and in doing so is paralleled by other varieties of Creole Portuguese and varieties of popular Brazilian Portuguese (Holm 1984:15-16). A parallel function is also found in the Malay verb *ada*. A further, yet minor, function of *teng*, that of copular verb with NP and ADJP predicates, is also shared with Bazaar Malay.

Non-verbal predications may contain NPs, relator phrases or adjective phrases as predicates. Where semantically feasible, they may be modified for perfective aspect and, in the case of adjectival predications, non-punctual aspect and future-irrealis mood.

Negation is performed by particles occurring in pre-predicate position. There are four negators, some of which involve aspect or mood: *ngka* 'NEG', *nenang* 'NEG-yet', *nadi* 'NEG-future-irrealis', *nang* 'NEG-imperative'. The form *ngka* bears some similarities to Malay *tidak* in its restricted co-occurrence with TMA particles. The forms *nenang* and *nang* are paralleled in function by Malay *belum* and *jangan*. The form *nadi* has parallels in varieties of South Asian Creole Portuguese, such as those of Damao and Sri Lanka, and in other varieties of South East Asian Creole Portuguese, such as that of Tugu. The imperative clause contains a second person or a third person plural subject and carries a special intonation contour. Interrogation may be performed by using an interrogative intonation contour, by tag question forms or by using question words and interrogative intonation. All three constructions have parallels in Bazaar Malay (cf. Baxter 1983:155). Intonation questions are widespread in creole languages (Bickerton 1981:70) and among the question words there are a number of typically 'creole' bimorphemic forms (cf. Bickerton 1981:71), some of which have parallels in Bazaar Malay. Some such bimorphemic forms are in the process of evolving into new single morphemes, as can readily be seen from data.

There are a number of strategies for presenting the information of the clause in different perspectives. There are three types of information formatting in Kristang: topicalisation, whereby the constituent about which the remainder of the structure makes a comment is identified; focusing, whereby a constituent is presented as salient information; passivisation, whereby special informational prominence is assigned to

the core arguments of an active transitive verb. Topicalisation is typically by left dislocation or by left movement. Focusing may be by left or right movement or by means of the particle *la*. Passivisation is typically by means of a modifying serialisation involving the verb *toká* 'touch'. Left dislocation is a widely observed construction, occurring in such diverse languages as English (Ross 1967) and Cabo Verde Creole Portuguese (Braga 1982). Left focusing also is a widespread phenomenon and has been claimed by Bickerton to be a typical focusing strategy in creole languages (Bickerton 1981:51-56). It is shared with Bazaar Malay (Baxter 1983:145).

The particle *la* serves to mark a construction as the focus of emphasis or as a contrast of consequence. It has a parallel in Malay, Malaysian English and in Hokkien, from which it derives.

Kristang has two means of passive formation. The first, the Adversity Passive, involves the verb *toká* 'touch' in a modifying serialisation and is only available to transitive verbs capable of expressing adversity and which have agent subjects and undergoer objects. It has a parallel in Malay and, as noted, is common in South East Asian languages. However, it may also be related to a colloquial use of the verb *tocar* 'touch' in Metropolitan Portuguese as a modal expressing obligation. The second type of passive in Kristang involves transitive verbs which may function intransitively. Such verbs are active transitives with actor subjects which effect a change in the undergoer object. An intransitive clause with such verbs functions as an agentless passive construction, presenting the undergoer as subject. This type of lexical diathesis has been observed in a number of creole languages (Bickerton 1981:71-72) and is also found in Bazaar Malay.

Kristang displays a number of complex structures involving the linking of clauses, predicates to clauses, and of predicates to predicates. The first category constitutes the coordination and subordination of clauses. In Kristang these relationships may be formed by means of relators connecting the clauses or merely by parataxis.

In object noun clause subordination, the presence or absence of the accusative relator *ku* prior to the noun clause shows a strong correspondence with the semantic class of verb present in the main clause: assertive verb (Hooper 1974), factive verb (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971), semifactive verbs (Kartunnen 1971) and volitional or intentional verbs (Klein 1977), thus lending support to the thesis of these authors that the semantics of the main verb is reflected in the form of its complement. However, this fact may in part be owed to the Romance element in Kristang.

Predicates and clauses may be linked in a complex by means of the existential verb *teng*. Such constructions function to introduce new information into the discourse.

Finally, Kristang displays a degree of verb serialisation. Serial constructions involve a single clause-like unit of more than one verb and fall into two main categories: linking serialisations, in which the verbs in serial represent a sequence of actions which are subparts of an action viewed as a whole; modifying serialisations, in which two verbs depict a single event yet one of the verbs functions as the main verb and is modified in some way by the other verb.

Serialisation has been observed in a number of diverse language groups: African, South East and East Asian, Papuan and Oceanic, as well as in various creoles. Bickerton (1981) has observed that serialisation is a productive device in creoles for the

derivation of case marking systems. In Kristang, serialisation is significant in a range of semantactic functions: aspectual modification, modal modification, passive formation, derivation of bitransitive verbs and derivation of a new part of speech which marks unrealised propositions.

The presence and range of verb serialisation in the grammar of Kristang is particularly interesting in the light of the suggestion of Bickerton (1984) that a typical innovation of a young plantation creole in the use of full verbs (or forms derived from full verbs) for functions that in the lexifier language are performed by prepositions, adverbs, complementisers, or auxiliaries. However, most of these serial constructions are paralleled in Bazaar Malay and, there is also some evidence of parallels in Hokkien, and in one instance a suggestion of Portuguese influence.

The strong congruence existing between many points of Kristang and Malay grammar is most likely owed to a prolonged process of convergence: grammar realignment through prolonged contact. Yet, what of the creole-like features? It might be said that Kristang is a creole language that displays classical creole features for the wrong reasons. Were they acquired in the formative period or later through convergence? If they were acquired in the formative period their presence in other languages (Bazaar Malay, Hokkien, Portuguese) does not detract from their value. As suggested above, the best chance for a feature to become dominant in a creole is where there is a conspiracy between more than one source: superstrate/substrate/creole universals. The conspiracy may be particularly strong if it involves a creole universal and one or more of the other sources.

On the other hand, the features could have been acquired at a later stage, through convergence with Bazaar Malay. If so Kristang (and Bazaar Malay) can still contribute to the study of contact derived syntax. The study of the grammar of a language with so many classical creole features may be of considerable use in understanding the grammar of a plantation creole.

The present study obviously leaves a number of questions unanswered. These must remain topics for further research. I shall briefly mention the more important themes.

The sociohistorical context in the Portuguese, Dutch and early British periods requires considerable further research. Its treatment in this book has been to provide an overall setting and it should not be taken as a definitive statement. Its clarification would require a careful sifting of archive materials in English, Holland, Indonesia, Macau and Portugal.

With respect to the Dutch and early British periods a particularly important point is whether more light can be thrown on the Dutch-speaking Eurasian population and the type of Dutch spoken. Hancock (1970) has drawn attention to the Dutch derived lexicon of Kristang and during the preparation of this work certain other Dutch items came to my notice. The processes whereby Dutch words have been adopted into Kristang deserve attention. The question of the use of Portuguese in education and of Portuguese and Kristang in the Church last century also needs close scrutiny.

In turn, a far more detailed diachronic account of the language is required, including a study of the differences between the language of older and younger speakers. Data collected during the preparation of this book will prove helpful in this respect. In addition, archive work and research among the Kristang speaking community in Malaysia and Singapore may well bring to light further written examples of the creole.

There is also the mammoth task of comparing Kristang with other East Asian varieties of Creole Portuguese, such as that of Tugu (Schuchardt 1891) and those of Hong Kong and Macao, and with the South Asian or Indo-Portuguese varieties. The mechanics of the linguistic relationships between the Asian varieties of Creole Portuguese, the areas of grammar bearing correspondences, is fundamental to the study of the diffusion of Portuguese in Asia.

The sociohistorical aspects of this diffusion require considerable research. There was fairly frequent contact between the Portuguese outposts of Asia and it seems that there was a fair amount of transmigration. The cross-fertilising effect of such contact was first mentioned by Dalgado (1971). The question of the identity of the carriers of the diffusion needs careful examination. The role of the missionaries, the military, the traders and the slaves would appear to be fundamental. The question of their origins is a difficult one. Again, these are topics which require archive work.

Also requiring further investigation is the question of predecessor languages in Melaka. Malay was certainly in use as a trade language when the Portuguese arrived in South East Asia, but Melaka was on the Arab trade route from India and Africa and this suggests the possibility of pidgin Arabic having been used.

Finally, much more work is needed on the connection between Bazaar Malay, a widespread phenomenon throughout the Indonesian archipelago, and Kristang. Such a discussion has been hindered to date by a lack of research into Bazaar Malay, by a lack of information on pre-contact Malay in Melaka and by a lack of information on the formative period of Kristang. We have already mentioned the role of Melaka Bazaar Malay in the formation of Kristang. However, the question raised by Hancock (1975:218-19), as to whether Bazaar Malay is modelled on Kristang requires careful consideration. Indeed, the two languages have much in common and Malay has absorbed a considerable number of Portuguese words. Recent research on varieties of Malay in Melaka (e.g. Lim 1981) points to the Hokkien element as being important, and it has been shown in the course of this work that certain features in Kristang have parallels in Hokkien. Doubtless the recent upsurge in interest being shown in Malay dialects (as, for example, Collins 1983) will provide more interesting insights and useful data for comparison with Kristang.

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