CREOLE UNIVERSALS AND KRISTANG
(MALACCA CREOLE PORTUGUESE)

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0. INTRODUCTION

This paper[1] is concerned with the relation of Kristang[2] (a Creole Portuguese spoken in Malacca, West Malaysia) to Creole Universals of the type advanced in Bickerton 1981. Data from Kristang and Bazaar Malay are examined.

It is not my intention to query the nature of Bickerton's Creole Universal features as such, but rather to consider the suitability of Kristang data for such a discussion.

1.0 The 'natural' Creole Universals hypothesis

Bickerton (1981) claims that in its development from Hawaiian Pidgin English, Hawaiian Creole English manifests substantial innovations "which can have owed little or nothing to HPE, to English or to any of the substrate languages involved" (1981:132). Furthermore, these 'innovations' follow a "regular pattern of invention" (1981:132) evident in situations where normal language transmission was impossible and people were forced to manufacture an adequate language quickly from inadequate materials. According to Bickerton (1981:4), situations where the human language capacity was stretched to such limits are those where creole languages:

1. Arose out of a prior pidgin existing for no more than one generation.

2. Arose in a population where not more than 20% were native speakers of the dominant language and where the remaining 80% was composed of diverse language groups.

By comparing creole structures from a number of unrelated creole languages, Bickerton (1981) found parallels which appear to defy mere coincidence and seem unaccountable in terms of monogenesis, substratum influence or simplification of the superstratum. Creole language evolving in conditions 1 and 2 above (e.g. Guyanese Creole English and Hawaiian Creole English, according to Bickerton) share a number of structural features.

Bickerton hypothesises that if in the transition from pidgin to creole, the 'expansion' that takes place in the first generation of creole speakers does not rely on linguistic input, then it must be internally given by the human language faculty (Bickerton 1977:64). In a later work (1981), this hypothesis is presented in terms of the human bioprogram and it is implied that the parallels between creoles have an analogue in child language acquisition processes.

1.1 Creole Universals and Kristang

Bickerton (1981) chooses to use Kristang data in his discussion of Creole Universals. Yet, how suitable is Kristang for such a comparison?

The theory of monogenesis might be claimed to have some relevance to the case of the Portuguese Creoles, as they are so remarkably similar (cf. Hancock 1975). The fact that Portuguese expansion was to a certain extent a cumulative process whereby mestizo and indigenous elements, free men and slaves, might shift from colony to colony lends credibility to a pidgin diffusion argument and the possibility of partial monogenesis. Yet, as Bickerton indicates in the Hawaiian case, pidgins are highly variable. So, the suggestion that the same pidgin was creolised in different areas (cf. Hancock 1975:217) is rather tenuous unless it was an extended pidgin like Tok Pisin. If partial diffusion occurred at all, it seems more likely that it would have been through the presence of not merely pidgin speakers but also creole speakers from other areas. However, pidgin/ creole languages are not spread like infectious diseases. If such intercolony movements were to have the type of impact required for monogenesis, they would need to involve a considerable population. Documentation for the period does not give a clear idea of the numbers of people involved.

How well Kristang fits condition (1) is thus difficult to ascertain. Yet, it seems feasible that the first generation of speakers would have been the offspring of unions between the occupying forces and locals and slaves. Condition (2) is partly fulfilled because native speakers of Portuguese in Malacca would have been less than 20% (cf. Baxter 1982:2). In the early stages the remaining 80% was composed of diverse language groups: Javanese, Tamils, Gujaratis, Siamese, Burmese, Chinese and Malays. Indeed, a contemporary observer suggested that upwards of 84 languages were occasionally spoken (Seiler 1982:1)! However, a pidgin was already spoken in Malacca: Bazaar Malay. Thus, bilingualism may have played a role in the formation of Kristang, especially as Malay seems to have been the only other language used to any extent by the creoles until well into the British period. Finally, social factors are also relevant: although Malacca hardly presents the classical plantation creole situation, in the Portuguese period there was a considerable slave population. Bocarro (c.1634:14) reports that 250 married Portuguese owned some 2,000 slaves of various races.

Overall, Kristang may partly meet conditions 1 and 2, although bilingualism might have had a mitigating effect on its autonomy as a creole.

1.2 Creole Universals in Kristang

In the following sections I shall examine Kristang data for evidence of creole Universals as advanced in Bickerton (1981:chapter 2). The extent to which Kristang meets 'natural' Creole Universals may have implications for Bickerton's theory and will certainly cast further light on the history of Kristang. Comparative material will be provided from Malacca Bazaar Malay (MP) as a gauge on the autonomy of Kristang at each point.

1.2.1 Movement rules.

Bickerton (1981:51-56) claims that left dislocation is the typical creole strategy for focussing constituents. Kristang and MP chose from the following means, sometimes in combination:

1. left movement.
2. focussing particles.
3. subject copying.
4. stress.

In Kristang, left movement may be used with intransitive verbs (1) or objects (2), (3). Parallels are to be found in MP:

```
(1)        ja      kure  eli
      MP   sudah   lari  dia
           TNS     V     PRO
           What he did was run away.

(2)        John,  ngwa   femi        ja       ola
      MP   John,  satu   perempuan  (sudah)   tengok
           S      1      woman       TNS      V
           It was a woman that John saw.

(3)        ake  femi,       John  ja      ola
      MP   itu  perempuan,  John (sudah)  tengok
           DEM  woman                TNS  V
           It was that woman that John saw.
```

If the object is indefinite, it can only be shifted to pre-V position, as in (2). However, if definite, the object may be shifted to the left of the subject, as in (3).

Both subjects and objects may be focussed by means of teng (MP ada), the existential locative verb:

```
(4)        teng     ngwa  femi,      John  ja      ola     (ku    eli)
      MP   ada      satu  perempuan  John (sudah)  tengok  (sama  dia)
           EXISTbe  1     woman      John  TNS     see     (ACC   she)
           It was a woman that John saw.

(5)        teng     John  ja      ola     ngwa  femi
      MP   ada      John (sudah)  tengok  satu  perempuan
           EXISTbe  John  TNS     see     1     woman
           It was John who saw a woman.
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This focussing function of teng is interesting as it parallels that of the equative copula in Guyanese Creole English, which, according to Bickerton, is a typical creole fitting requirements 1 and 2. However, this feature is shared with MP.

1.2.2 Articles

Bickerton (1981:56) claims the following system for creole languages:

- a definite article for presupposed specific NP.
- an indefinite article for asserted specific NP.
- zero for non-specific NP.

Kristang generally conforms to this system, as does MP:

- definite article: ake/akeli for presupposed specific NP:

    (6)   ake omi   teng   na   kaza
        MP itu orang ada   dalam rumah
         1   *man*   EXISTbe PREP   *house*
        The man is in the house. (You already know about the man;
        I'm telling you where he is.)

- indefinite article: ngwa/satu for asserted specific NP:[3]

    (7)   teng   ngwa omi   na   kaza
        MP ada   satu orang dalam rumah
        EXISTbe   1   *man*   PREP   *house*
        There's a man in the house. (I've seen the man; you don't know
        about him so I'm telling you about him and where he is.)

- zero article: for non-specific NPs:

    (8)   na   matu   teng   kobra
        MP dalam utan   ada   ular
        PREP   *jungle* EXISTbe *snake*
        There are snakes in the jungle. (General condition of the
        jungle.)

    (9)   kobra   pesonya
        MP ular   rachun
        snake   poison
        Snakes are poisonous. (Generic.)

1.2.3 Tense - Modality - Aspect systems

1.2.3.1 The Creole system

Bickerton claims (1981:58) that most creoles express tense, modality and aspect by three preverbal markers, which, if they co-occur, do so in the order T M A. The typical system is claimed to have particles of identical meaning:

A. tense particle: [+anterior] = past before past for action verbs and past for stative verbs. ["An anterior marker is like the pluperfect but not quite ..(...)... It's a kind of discourse marker which is used to signal states or events which are anterior to things which have been under discussion in the course of the same discourse" (Bickerton 1979:3).]

B. modality particle: [+irrealis] = futures, conditionals.

C. aspect particle: [+non-punctual] = progressive - durative and habitual durative.

D. the stem form in isolation expresses the unmarked term in the above three areas: present statives and past non-statives.

Combined forms, according to Bickerton, may also occur in the typical system although for some languages they have disappeared through decreolisation. If they occur, he claims, their meaning is the same:

(a) +anterior +irrealis : counterfactual conditions
(b) +anterior +non-punctual : past before past durative or habitual actions
(c) +irrealis +non-punctual : habitual or durative unrealised actions
(d) +anterior, +irrealis, +non-punctual : counterfactuals which express duration or habituality

Kristang has the following system, closely paralleled by MP:

A.   ja : tense; past for action verbs & anterior for statives (cf. M sudah).
      [ja < P. ja *already*]

B.   logu : modality; future-irrealis, incl. counterfactuals, conditionals
      (cf. M nanti). [logu < P. logo *presently*]

C.   ta : non-punctual; indifferent to past/pres/fut; progressive or iterative
      actions, incl. unrealised actions (but not habitual iteratives) (cf. M
      sedang). [ta < P. está *is*]

D.   Ø : non-past, habitual, past habitual, past narrative for action verbs;
      present and past for statives and modals (cf. M Ø).

E.   kaba : completive; can't occur with statives or modals (cf. M habis).
      [kaba < P. acabar *finish*]

      Combined forms:

 (i)   ja + kaba : past completion (cf. M sudah habis)

(ii)   ja + ta : past before past durative; also habituals where the action
       begins before the point of reference (see (4) below).

     Although in form the Kristang system is similar to the Creole one, simi-
larity in function is only partial. The strongest similarities lie in points
B and C, and the combined forms (b) and (ii). The greatest differences lie in A,
D, the presence of a completive E, and combined form (i), which is unparalleled
in the Creole system. In the Kristang system, the functions of the Creole
combined markers are largely relegated to the single markers, e.g. Creole (c),
(d) and (a) are all handled by the modality particle B, logu.

     In Kristang, the tense particle A, ja, is not an anterior marker but rather
a simple past marker in the sense that it marks actions prior to the moment of
discourse [+past]. It parallels Malay sudah to a certain extent although in
Malay, past actions, if not ambiguous in time and not contrastive, may be
unmarked. Unlike the Creole [+anterior] particle, ja marks past and not past
before past, for action verbs. Action verbs, however, are unmarked for past
where they refer to past habitual ('used to') actions; again, this parallels MP.
On the other hand, stative verbs are unmarked for past but may be marked by ja
(and sudah in MP) to give emphasis to the prior establishment of the state: it
was already in existence before the time of reference. Thus:

     (10)   kora yo   ja   chega eli (ja)   teng   na   kaza
         MP bila gua   datang dia (sudah) ada   di   rumah
             ADV   I   TNS *arrive he*   TNS   EXISTbe PREP *house*
             When I arrived he was (already) at home.

This is also true of modals which, like statives, are unmarked for past:

     (11)   kora yo   ja   ngkontra ku   eli, eli (ja)   sabe
         MP bila gua   jumpa   sama dia, dia (sudah) bisa
             ADV   *I* TNS *meet*   ACC *he, he* TNS   *know*

             papia malayu
             cakap malayu
             speak malay

             When I met him he (already) knew how to speak Malay.

ja (but not MP sudah) functions in a similar way when it occurs with ta and
active verbs:

(12)   kora   yo   ja   chega, eli (ja)   ta   kumi
     MP   bila   gua   datang, dia (sudah)   (*sedang) makan
     ADV *I*   TNS   *arrive,* *he* TNS   -P ASP   *eat*
          When I arrived he was (already) eating.

(13) NOTE also:

          kora   yo   chega eli   (ja)   ta   kumi
     MP   bila   aku   datang dia   sedang   makan   pun
     ADV *I*   *arrive* *he* TNS   -P ASP   *eat*   EMPH
          When I arrive he is (already) eating.

So, with statives and modals, ja appears to function as an anterior marker. This runs contrary to A in Bickerton's Creole TMA system. Yet, when ja occurs with ta + *action verb,* it does function like the combined form (b) in Bickerton's system. There is, however, an additional marker, sta, which appears to have an anterior value with action verbs when preceded by ja:

(14)   kora   yo   ja   chega   eli ja   (sta) bai
     MP   bila   gua   datang dia sudah   pergi pun
     ADV *I*   TNS   *arrive* *he* TNS   ANT   *go*   EMPH
          When I arrived, he had (already) gone.

This marker is infrequent in use, yet, a large number of informants confirmed its [+anterior] value.[4] It has no parallel in MP. However, generally anterior marking with action verbs in Kristang is done by means of the completive kaba, or by placing an additional ja after the verb, or the emphatic particle pun.

(15)   kora   yo   ja   chega   eli   { ja   kaba   bai   }
                                        { ja   bai   { ja }   }
                                        {   { pun } }

       MP   bila   gua   datang dia   { sudah habis pergi   }
                                             { sudah pergi { sudah }   }
                                             {   { pun }   }

       ADV *I*   TNS   *arrive* *he*   { TNS   COMP   *go*   }
                                         { TNS   *go*   { TNS }   }
                                         {   { EMPH }   }

          When I arrived he had already gone.

Ø in Kristang is also radically different from marker D of the Creole system as it expresses for action verbs: present, past/present habitual, past narrative (possibly a trace of a previous anterior TNS system but now rare and restricted to certain verbs, e.g. fala *say*), and for stative verbs and modals: past and present. This is almost the opposite of marker D in Bickerton's system and again largely, parallels Malay.

Some of the functions of ja and Ø are evident in the following texts:

Text 1

1. tempu japang ake, nu ja   bai alo   gaja, a! ja   bai fika nala,
                                  A   A
   time *Japan* *that,* *we* TNS *go* *Alor* *Gajah,* *ah!* TNS *go* *stay* *there,*

2. yo sa maridu   fai sibrisu basu   japang;
                          A
    I   's husband (Ø=Past Hab) work   under Japanese;

    That was during the Japanese time, we went to Alor Gajah, ah! we went to
    stay there, my husband was working for the Japanese;

Text 2

1. japang   ja   rinta nus sa kaza, eli fala nus ta gadra
              A   A   A
    Japanese TNS enter we 's house, he Ø say we ASP keep

2. ropianu   na   rentu kaza, nus fala ngka, eli   ngge
                                       A   M
    European in inside house, we Ø say no,   he NEG want

3. konfia, eli ke   chuchu ku   beinat ku yo, se?,   ka   yo
                      M   S
    believe, he Ø want stab   INSTR bayonet to I,   know?, COMP I

4. ja   bota kure, kaba eli ja bai riba,   ja bai riba
        A   A   A   A
    TNS rush run, COMP he TNS go upstairs, TNS go upstairs

5. e   ja   bongka tudumbes nus sa riba,   eli lembra teng
            A   A   S
    he TNS disturb everything we 's upstairs, he Ø believe be

6. ropianu la,   ka   nte   ja sai, ja dise   ke eli ja
                        S   A   A
    European EMPH, COMP NEG be TNS exit, TNS descend and he TNS

7. bai; nyonyor   otu beng,   keng teng fila fila tudumbe olotu
    A   A   S
    go; frequently they HAB come, who Ø have daughters all   they

8. toma   otu reip;   yo sa kunya kunyada dos bota
    A   A   A
    HAB take they HAB rape I 's nieces   two HAB

9. kure,   bai skunde na greza, midu toka   reip
    A   A   A   S   M   A
    run, HAB go hide   in church, fear oblige rape

The Japanese came into our house, he said we were hiding Europeans inside
the house, we said we weren't, he didn't believe us, he wanted to bayonet
me, you know?, then I ran off, then he went upstairs, he went upstairs and
disturbed everything, he thought there were Europeans there; since there
weren't he came out, came downstairs and left. They used to come frequently,
whoever had daughters they would take them all and rape them; my two nieces
used to run away, they would go and hide in the church, they were afraid of
being raped.

1.2.3.2 Pidgin traces

Interestingly, kaba, logu and ja appear to show pidgin traces in that they also occur outside the auxiliary. Yet, again they parallel MP:

```
(16)      Jo   kumi,   kaba,   yo   bai    langgiang
    MP    aku  makan   habis,  aku  pergi  langgai
          I    eat     COMP    I    go     prawn net
          I eat, after that I go prawn netting.
          (Note that kaba refers back to the previous clause.)
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(17)      ma,    nang    amoku,  logu  yo   bai    greza
    MP    ma,    jangan  bising, nanti aku  pergi  gereja
          mother, NEG IMP noise,  FUT   I    go     church
          Mother, don't make a fuss, I will go to church (later).
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(18)      ja     !    eli  bai   na    singapura
    MP    sudah  !    dia  pergi (ke)  singapura
          TNS    EMPH he   go    PREP  Singapore
          He has gone to Singapore.
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Also, both logu and ja (and Malay nanti and sudah) may occur as single word responses to questions.

Distributional facts such as these might support a theory of derivation for TMA markers whereby they originate in the pidgin as sentence adverbs in clause external position and are gradually incorporated into the auxiliary (cf. Bickerton 1981:78-81; Sankoff 1979:28-9).

In pre-creole Portuguese pidgins, it appears that kaba, ja and logu were temporal adverbs marking *earlier* and *later* (Bickerton 1981:79; Naro 1978:329). All three are widely spread in Portuguese creoles. For example, Cabo Verde Creole has them with similar functions (Hancock 1975:222). Bickerton assumes that *earlier* and *later* markers based on a temporal adverb and a verb meaning *finish* are prime markers selected in any pidgin; he refers to Hawaiian Pidgin English (cf. Sankoff 1979 for a Tok Pisin example.). However, it is difficult to know to what extent these 'pidgin traces' in Kristang are merely derived through convergence.

1.2.4 Realised and unrealised complements

Bickerton (1981:59-72) claims that creole complementisers are selected by the semantics of the embedded sentence. Thus, in the sentence

```
(19)      He went to wash { and he washed     }
                          { but he didn't wash }
```

in a creole language, the first clause would signal whether or not the complement was realised. Both Kristang and MP share this distinction:

```
(20)      eli  ja      bai  { ?*Ø  } laba korpu mas  eli  ngka  laba korpu
                            { ke   }

    MP    dia (sudah) pergi { ?*Ø } mandi    tapi dia  tidak mandi
                            { mau }

          he  TNS     go   { *Ø   } bathe    but  he   NEG   bathe
                           { want }

          He went to wash but he didn't wash.
```

1.2.5 Relativisation

Bickerton (1981:62) claims relative pronouns may be deleted in subject position and suggests creoles might originate without relativisers, like Hawaiian Creole English.

Kristang and MP have relativisers, ki and yang, but seldom use them, parataxis being the rule:

(21)   bo se   pampamyang   ake china Ø   ta   bende mi: ?
          MP   tau pagi pagi   itu cina   Ø   jual mee ?
          you know early morning ART *Chinese* ØREL -P ASP *sell   noodles* Q
          You know, the Chinese guy who sells noodles early in the morning?

(22)   na fora teng   ngwa jenti Ø   ja   pasa
          MP   di luar ada   satu orang Ø   sudah lalu
          outside EXISTbe 1   *person* ØREL TNS   *pass*
          Outside, someone passed by.

1.2.6 Negation

Bickerton claims that in creoles generally, nondefinite subjects and nondefinite VP constituents and the verb must all be negated in negative sentences (Bickerton 1981:65-66). He gives the following incorrectly analysed example from Kristang:

(23)   ngka ng'koza   nte   mersimentu
          not no-thing not-have value
          Nothing has any value.

The second constituent, actually angkoza, means *thing* or *something* and not NEG+thing. This, of course, doesn't affect his argument as the subject is still negated. However, I haven't yet registered ngka angkoza as *nothing*. According to my observation,

(24)   nada   nte   balor
          nothing NEG *have value*

with nada *nothing*. Similarly, for *nobody* there is the integral form nggeng, derived from the superstratum:

(25)   nggeng ngka ola   nada
          nobody NEG   *see nothing*
          Nobody saw anything.

These NEG incorporated forms, nada and nggeng, cannot support Bickerton's claim for creole negation. There are other words for nothing and nobody, to begin: ngka nada (NEG *nothing*) and nte jenti (NEG *have person*). Yet, these two forms exist as single utterance replies to questions and do not appear to function in clauses. In addition, there are two other forms which are Malay derived and do function in clauses: keng keng (pun) *anyone (at all)*, and ki ki (pun) *anything (at all)* [cf. MP siapa siapa (pun) and apa apa (pun) respectively]. However, they do not involve the negative morpheme:

(26)   keng keng (pun) nte   na   kaza
          MP   siapa siapa (pun) tiada di   rumah
          *who   who   *EMPH NEGbe PREP *house*
          Nobody is at home (lit. *anybody at all isn't at home*).

Finally, Bickerton's 'negative happy' sentence from Guyanese Creole:

(27)   non dag na bait non kyat
       No dog bit any cat.

in Kristang would be:

(28)   nte   kachoru ja mudre   gatu
       MP   tiada   anjing   tokak   kucing
            NEGbe ØDET   *dog*   TNS *bite* ØDET *cat*

Thus, neither Kristang nor MP resemble Bickerton's creole system in the area of negation.

1.2.7 Existential and possessive

Bickerton claims that for a wide range of creoles, the same lexical item is used to express existentials and possessives, yet, this is not the case for their superstrate languages (Bickerton 1981:66). While it is true that Kristang shares this feature:

(29)   teng   ngwa mule   (ki)   teng ngwa fila
       MP   ada   satu perempuan (yang) ada   satu perempuan anak
            EXISTbe DET *woman*   REL   POSS 1   *daughter*
            There is a woman who has a daughter.

it is also true of MP and sixteenth century Portuguese.

1.2.8 Copula

Bickerton states that most creoles show similarities in their absence of copula (Bickerton 1981:67).

1. Adjectives are verbs in creoles (see section 1.2.9.1. below).
2. Locatives are introduced by verbs limited to that role (not extending to existential or pronominal environments).
3. Nominal complements are either introduced by zero copula or a predicate marker or a distinct verb.

Point 2 is not fulfilled. Locatives in Kristang (and Malay) are generally introduced by existential teng (MP ada):

(30)   eli teng   { na rentu   }
                        { na bangsal }

       MP dia ada   { di dalam   }
                        { di bangsal }
          he EXISTbe   PR N

          he *is*   { *inside*   }
                        { *at the fishing hut* }

Yet, in Kristang, fika *stay* (MP tinggal) is also used to introduce locatives where the location is more permanent:

(31)   eli fika   na   kwalumpo
       MP dia tinggal di   kwalumpo
           he *stay*   PREP *Kuala Lumpur*
           He is in Kuala Lumpur.

Point 3, is fulfilled, yet, shared by MP. Kristang and MP generally don't use a copula with noun complements or adjectives:

(32)   eli mestri   eli doudu
     MP   dia guru   dia bodoh
          He is a teacher.   *He is stupid.*

There is some evidence, however, that Kristang is acquiring a copula by extension of teng to adjective and nominal complements in response to convergence with MP (or is it that K and MP are converging with English?):

(33)   eli (teng)   raiba
     MP   dia (ada)   marah
          he   (Existbe) anger
          He is angry.

(34)   nus   teng   kwatu irmang   ku   irmang
     MP   kita ada   empat adek   beradek
          we   EXISTbe four   brother CONJ   brother >1 brother
          We are four brothers (brother with brother).

(35)   nus   teng   ungwa tropa   korenta   di   ladrang
     MP   kita ada   satu   kumpulan empat puloh   penyamun
          we   EXISTbe one   gang   forty   PREP   thief
          We are a gang of forty thieves.

1.2.9.1 Adjectives as verbs

For a number of unrelated creoles it is claimed that there is good evidence for treating adjectives as a subcategory of verbs (Bickerton 1981:68-69). In Kristang (and MP) the parallel distribution of adjectives and verbs with the auxiliary (TMA) particles suggests that a similar approach is warranted:

1. Ø, unmarked for TMA.

   - With V Action = PRES/PAST HABITUAL/PAST NARRATIVE
   - With V Stative = PRES/PAST
   - With Adjective = PRES/PAST

          V Action   V Stative   Adjective

          eli kumi   eli sabe   eli godru
     MP   dia makan   MP   dia tahu   MP   dia gemuk
          he Ø eat   *he Ø know*   *he Ø fat*
          He eats/ate.   *He knows/knew.*   *He is/was fat.*

2. ja, tense particle.

   - With V Action = PAST
   - With V Stative = PAST/PRES; INCEPTIVE ANTERIOR ASPECT
                      (emphasis on state having begun prior to
                      focus of discourse)
   - With Adjective = PAST/PRES; INCEPTIVE ANTERIOR ASPECT

          V Action   V Stative   Adjective

          eli ja kumi   eli ja   sabe   eli ja   godru
     MP   dia (sudah) makan MP dia sudah tahu   MP dia sudah gemuk
          he   eat   *he   know*   *he   fat*
          He ate.   *He already knows/*   *He is/was already*
                                 knew.   *fat.*

3. ta, nonpunctual aspect particle.

    - With V Action = PAST/PRES; -P ASP
    - With V Stative = *
    - With Adjective = PAST/PRES;   (i) INCHOATIVE ASPECT : 'becoming';
                                    (ii) INCIPIENT ASPECT : 'newly'.

	V Action		V Stative		Adjective	
	eli ta kumi		*eli ta sabe		eli ta godru	
MP	dia sedang makan	MP	*dia sedang tahu	MP	*dia sedang gemuk	
	he eat		*he know*		(MP = *he is being fat	
	He is/was eating.		*He is/was knowing*		*He is/was becoming fat/*	
					he is/was 'newly' fat.	

4. kaba, completive aspect particle, preceded by ja.

    - With V Action = + COMPLETE (PAST)
    - With V Stative = *
    - With Adjective = */ + COMPLETE (PAST) depending on Adjective.

	V Action		V Stative		Adjective	
	eli ja kaba kumi		eli ja kaba sabe		*eli ja kaba godru	
MP	dia (sudah) habis makan	MP	dia sudah habis tahu	MP	*dia sudah habis gemuk	
	He had finished eating.		*He had finished*		*He had finished*	
			knowing.		*being fat.*	

But:

	?eli ja kaba dwenti	
MP	?dia sudah habis sakit	
	He got over his illness.	

5. logu, modality particle.

    - With V Action = FUTURE/IRREALIS : 'will, would'.
    - With V Stative = FUTURE/IRREALIS INCHOATIVE/INFERENCE
    - With Adjective = FUTURE/IRREALIS INCHOATIVE : 'will/would become'.

	V Action		V Stative		Adjective	
	eli logu kumi		eli logu sabe		eli logu godru	
MP	dia nanti makan	MP	dia nanti tahu	MP	dia nanti gemuk	
	He will/would eat.		*He will know*		*He will/would become fat.*	

Formal differences between adjectives and verbs lie in the restricted co-occurrence of adjectives with Modal particles (podi *can, may*, misti *must*, toka *obligation*) and in the co-occurrence of adjectives with the intensifier adverbs bomong *very+* and mutu *very* (MP banyak and sangat respectively) among others.

1.2.9.2 Inchoative value of -P ASP with Adjectives

An interesting aspect of this distribution is that the Kristang -P ASP marker ta (case 3 above), when applied to adjectives, assumes an inchoative value or signifies 'newness'. MP does not share either of these features. The inchoative function parallels Guyanese Creole English, Hawaiian Creole English and Indian Ocean Creole French (Bickerton 1981:68-69). The latter language also displays the 'newness' function of the -P ASP marker with certain adjectives (Corne 1981:105, 112). In the case of Kristang, however, both values

of -P ASP + Adjective may be explained without appealing to Creole Universals. There are two possibilities. The inchoative function could be viewed as the result of reduction of a structure involving fika *to become*:

(36)   eli ta fika   godru → eli ta godru
       he   become fat
       He is getting fat.

On the other hand, both values of ta + Adjective have a parallel in the Portuguese superstratum where the copular estar is used with adjectives to denote changeable characteristics. As I have noted earlier, ta derives from P. está (estar *to be*).

1.2.10   Questions

Bickerton (1981:70) claims no creole shows any difference in structure between questions and statements and that if question particles are used, they are sentence final and optional. Kristang and MP also work this way, using rising intonation or question particles:

(37)   eli fuma   (na)   ?
       MP dia merokok (tidak ka) ?
           he   smoke   NEG-Q
           Does he smoke? (He smokes, doesn't he?)

1.2.11   WH-Questions

According to Bickerton (1981:70), for Wh-questions the question word is preposed to the declarative form of the sentence. The question words, if not a direct superstrate adaptation, always consist of two morphemes: the first derived from a superstrate Q-word and the second from a superstrate word for place, time, manner, cause etc. Kristang conforms to these predictions:

	K			MP	
(38)	ki	luga	*Where?*	(di)	mana
	what	*place*		PREP	*where*
(39)	ki	ora	*When?*		bila
	what	*hour*			*when*
(40)	ki	laia	*How?*	apa	macam
	what	*kind*		*what*	*kind*
(41)	ki	kauzu	*Why?*	apa	pasal
	what	*reason*		*what*	*reason*

Here Kristang is closer than MP to Bickerton's creole system.

1.2.12   Passive constructions

Bickerton (1981:71-72) states that passives are rare in creoles and that where they do exist they are either marginal or relatively recent superstrate borrowings. He claims that the general pattern for creoles in 'lexical diathesis': for transitive verbs, NVN is interpreted as 'actor-action-patient' and NV as 'patient-action'. Kristang and MP share such a system:

(42)   eli sa   pai   ja   sunya   ake albi

MP   dia punya bapak   (sudah) tanam   itu pokok

he   's   father   TNS   plant   DET tree

     ACTOR   ACTION   PATIENT

His father planted the tree.

(43)   ake albi   ja   sunya

MP   itu pokok   sudah tanam

    DET *tree*   TNS   *plant*

      PATIENT   ACTION

The tree was planted.

The passive may be expressed by means of the passive auxiliary toka (parallel to Malay kena), roughly equivalent to *get*, except that toka carries a pejorative sense:

(44)   ake pesi   ja   toka   kumi   (di   gatu)

MP   itu ikan (sudah) kena   makan (di   kucing)

    DET *fish*   TNS   PASSaux *eat*   (PREP *cat*)

The fish got eaten (by the cat).

1.2.13 Perception verb complements

Bickerton (1981:99-104) claims that perception verb complements are finite in creoles because:

1. they may contain aspect
2. they won't allow subject deletion
3. they won't allow extraction, e.g. focussing (Propositional Island Constraint).

[We will not examine the stronger claim that all complements are finite in early creolised languages.]

In Kristang perception verb complements may contain aspect:

(45)   yo ja ola   ku   ake omi   ta   sai   di   kaza

MP   aku   tengok sama itu orang ?*sedang keluar dari rumah

    I TNS *see*   ACC DET *man*   -P ASP   *leave* PREP *house*

I saw the man leaving the house.

Moreover, a complement containing aspect permits subject deletion:

(46)   yo ja   ola   ta   sai   di   kaza

MP   aku (sudah) tengok ?*sedang keluar dari rumah

    I   TNS   *see*   -P ASP   *leave* PREP *house*

I saw (the man) leaving the house.

and allows extraction:

(47)   ake omi   ta   sai   di   kaza, yo ja   ola

MP   itu orang sedang keluar dari rumah, aku (sudah) tengok

    DET *man*   -P ASP *leave* PREP *house,* *I*   TNS   *see*

The man was leaving the house, I saw (him).

(48)   ake omi (ki) yo ja   ola   ta   sai   di   kaza

MP   itu orang   aku (sudah) tengok ?sedang keluar dari rumah

    DET *man*   REL *I*   TNS   *see*   -P ASP   *leave* PREP *house*

The man I saw was leaving the house.

Thus Kristang does not conform to Bickerton's claim.

1.2.14 Serial verbs and case marking

In the absence of prepositions from substrate/superstrate, a creole will develop serial verbs for case marking (Bickerton 1981:118-131).

Although Kristang has a full complement of prepositions derived from Portuguese and Malay, there is some evidence for a serial verb role in benefactives and instrumentals (this is paralleled in MP).

Benefactive:

(49)		yo	ja	tize	isti	floris	da	ku	eli
	MP	saya		ambil	itu	bunga	kasih	sama	dia
		I	TNS	*bring*	*this*	*flower*	*give*	*to*	*her*

This was consistently given as a translation of *This flower is for her.*

Instrumental:

(50)		eli	toma	faka	kotra	kandri
	BM	dia	pakai	pisau	potong	daging
		he	*take*	*knife*	*cut*	*meat*

He cut the meat with a knife.

1.3 Summary list and comments

	Creole feature	K only	K + MP
1.2.1	Movement rules		+ marginal
1.2.2	Articles		+
1.2.3	T M A	+ marginal (sta)	+ partial
1.2.4	Realised/unrealised complements		+
1.2.5	Relativisation		+
1.2.6	Negation		
1.2.7	Existential & possessive		+
1.2.8	No copula		+ partial
1.2.9.1	Adjectives as verbs		+
1.2.9.2	Inchoative value of -P ASP with Adjectives	(+)	
1.2.10	Questions		+
1.2.11	WH-questions	+	+ partial
1.2.12	Passives (diathesis)		+
1.2.13	Perception verb		

Kristang and MP resemble the creole system on twelve points. It appears that the two languages are more closely related than previously claimed (cf. Hancock 1975). Bilingualism must have played an important role in the formation of Kristang. Isn't it likely then that Kristang came to match Bickerton's creole system merely through convergence with MP?

Bickerton would probably claim that Kristang simply acquired the sort of rules it was supposed to acquire as a creole and that whether or not they were present in the input to creolisation is not an issue: Kristang may have taken them from MP or may have arrived at them independently (cf. Bickerton 1981:50-51).

However, the retention of so many features resembling the creole system, in spite of bilingualism, is doubtless attributable to Kristang's contact with a language that resembles the creole system in certain features. The interesting point is that there are no 'creole' features common to MP which Kristang does not share. There is only one feature that MP doesn't share: the inchoative and 'nowness' values of -P ASP + ADJ. However, this feature may be explained without recourse to Creole Universals. There are two other features which MP doesn't completely share: WH-Q and Anterior sta.

The use of Kristang data in a discussion of Creole Universals warrants considerable caution. Kristang appears partly to meet the socio-historical conditions 1 and 2, and indeed shows traces resembling Bickerton's Creole Universal features. However, the fact that traces of such features are present does not guarantee support for Bickerton's case. Kristang may not have evolved these features independently.

Finally, a question which can barely be touched upon here: How did Malacca MP acquire its creole features? It has been spoken in a multilingual situation as a lingua franca by Portuguese Creoles, Tamils, Chinese (mainly Hokkien) and Malays for at least four centuries. Some of these groups have abandoned their own languages in favour of this reduced variety of Malay; thus, for example, a 'creole' MP, Baba Malay, is the language of the Straits Chinese (Lim 1981). So, Malacca MP, an extended, stable pidgin for a large number of speakers, and for some a creole, could well be expected to display some common creole features. Another point is that certain Austronesian features and Chinese language features are close to those of the creole system, e.g. TMA.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper originally presented at the XV Pacific Science Congress, Dunedin, New Zealand.

2. In the literature Malacca Creole Portuguese has often been referred to as Papia Kristang. However the speakers of the language generally refer to it as Kristang and it is this name that I shall use in this paper.

3. There are some cases, however, where ngwa is preferably absent in asserted specific reference, both in Kristang and MP:

        teng ngwa kobra na   kaza
MP ada   satu ular dalam rumah
There is a snake in the house.

Elicitation of this sentence from English often yields the variant with ngwa, while observation of conversation texts suggests that after existential teng, ngwa is generally absent for asserted specific reference involving such nominals as kobra *snake*, kachoru *dog*, gatu *cat* or jenti *people*, but not, for example, omi *man*, mule *woman*, krensa *child*.

4. At this stage of my research, the origin of sta is unclear. It is attested in Rêgo (1942) but unclearly glossed. It is also frequent in traditional songs. It may be derived from P. estava *was* (imperfect) given its semantic content and the suggestion that such auxiliaries seem to give rise to anterior particles (cf. Bickerton 1981:86). However, it is also possible that sta may have originated as a variant of ta.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	action verb		NEG	negative
ACC	accusative marker		NEGbe	negative + be
ADJ	adjective		NEG-Q	negative question
ADV	adverb		NP	noun phrase
ASP	aspect (non-punctual)		-P ASP	nonpunctual aspect
CONJ	conjunction		PASSaux	passive auxiliary
COMP	completive		Past Hab	past habitual
DEM	demonstrative		POSS	possessive 'have'
DET	definite article		PREP	preposition
EMPH	emphasis		PRO	pronoun
EXISTbe	existential be		S	stative verb
FUT	future-irrealis mood		TMA	tense-mood-aspect
HAB	habitual		TNS	tense (past)
HPE	Hawaiian Pidgin English		V	verb
IMP	imperative		WH-Q	question word; question
K	Kristang		Ø	absence of TMA marking
M	modal verb		ØDET	absence of determiner
MP	Malacca Bazaar Malay		ØREL	absence of relativiser
N	nominal			

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