KRISTANG (MALACCA CREOLE PORTUGUESE)

By

Alan N Baxter

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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated this thesis is my own work.

Alan N Baxter
December 1984
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To begin I would like to express my gratitude to the people of the Creole Portuguese speaking community of Melaka who showed overwhelming hospitality in accepting me into their community and who taught me their language and traditions. I am particularly grateful, however, to my principal informant Mr Patrick De Silva for his generosity, his patience and the interest he showed in my project, and to many other friends in the Portuguese Settlement, Praya Lane and Trankera who provided information used in the preparation of this thesis.

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Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Prof R.W. Thompson of La Trobe University for first introducing me to Malacca Creole Portuguese.
The aim of this thesis is to describe the main structures of Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese) spoken by some 1,000 people in Melaka, West Malaysia. Assumptions underlying the study are outlined in the introduction, as are matters relating to the data and previous studies. In Chapter One a sketch of the sociolinguistic background of Kristang, from the Portuguese period to the present, is provided. Chapter Two outlines the main features of the phonology, focusing in particular on the consonants, vowels and some aspects of stress. The question of a suitable orthography is also raised.

The principal part of the study is contained in chapters Three to Eight. Chapter Three establishes the parts of speech of Kristang on a language internal basis. The internal structure of the noun phrase is considered in Chapter Four, particular attention being given to prenominal determiners, possessive constructions and relative clauses. Chapter Five describes the functions and co-occurrence of the various premodifiers of predicates: tense-mood-aspect markers, negators and modal modifiers. Chapter Six considers the major functions of the NP in the clause and the means whereby these functions are indicated. The clause and its various forms are discussed in Chapter Seven. The chapter begins with a discussion of the declarative clause according to predicate type: verbal or non-verbal, and follows with a discussion of imperative and interrogative clauses and certain structures presenting different informational formats of the clause. The final chapter, Chapter Eight, describes the linking of clauses and the linking of predicates. Principal topics are coordination and subordination of clauses, existential sentences and verb serialization.
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INTRODUCTION

This study describes the language called Kristang or Malacca Creole Portuguese, spoken in Melaka, West Malaysia. It focuses on the main structures of the grammar. An outline of the sociohistorical context of the language and a sketch of the phonology are also included.

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 generalizations, I have, in some cases, adopted familiar formalisms used in Generative theory. For the same reason, in Chapter Five, 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 identifying 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 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 (1933) and by Chaves (1933).

Rêgo (1942) 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 fifteen Iberian-derived creoles and, finally, a structural comparison of Kristang, Afrikaans, Malay and Dutch.

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

The present study expands and develops areas covered in previous linguistic work on Kristang and studies the language in 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 1980-1 and 1982-3 respectively. During this 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 twenty five hours of text transcribed from tape recordings and of material transcribed directly from informants. Most of the examples in the study are from the tape transcriptions.

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

The actual objective of the study was initially only known to my principal informant Patrick De Silva and then later to four others who participated in actual informant sessions. As far as the rest of the community was concerned I was interested in their traditions and the general history of the community.

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. On a number of occasions when I actually turned it on people thought I was turning it off. 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.

A list of informants who provided data used in the preparation of the thesis is provided in the Appendix.

0.3 Organization 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 Two since previous work on the language has devoted little space to this topic. 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 Three 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 organizational 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 Five in relation to Tense-Mood-Aspect marking, in Chapter Six in relation to their grammatical relation core NP arguments, in Chapter Seven in relation to the form of the verbal clause and to an extent in Chapter Eight in relation to clausal objects.

In Chapter Four 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 Five 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 Six 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 function 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 Seven. 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 according to the number of grammatical relation core arguments they take as intransitive and transitive. 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 nominal 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 Eight 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 serializations of diverse functions.

0.4 Symbols and abbreviations

0.4.1 Phonetic symbols

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

- *g* (IPA ə)
- *q* (IPA ɛ)
- *ae* (IPA œ)
- *ø* (IPA ɔ)
- *y* (IPA ʊ)
- *c* (IPA tʃ)
- *j* (IPA dʒ)
- *s* (IPA ʃ)
- *m* (IPA m)
- *n* (IPA n)
- *ñ* (IPA ɲ)
- *ng* (IPA ŋ)
- *t* tonic stress
- *e* non-tense vowel
- *i* e.g. i, weak non-syllabic vocoid in diphthong
- *$* syllable boundary
- *#* word boundary
- *c* consonant
- *v* vowel
Hokkien tones:

\begin{align*}
\wedge & \quad \text{high} \\
\nearrow & \quad \text{rising} \\
\searrow & \quad \text{falling} \\
\Downarrow & \quad \text{low} \\
\Uparrow & \quad \text{mid}
\end{align*}

0.4.2 Abbreviations

( ) * 
optional item
unacceptable utterance

? (preceding a word) marginally acceptable utterance

\{\ldots\} 
commission 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
\(\emptyset\) null entity

A accusative relator
AD adversative relator
ADJP adjective phrase
ADJ adjective
ADV adverb
AFF affirmation particle
BE existential verb
B benefactive relator
BM Bahasa Malaysia (Standard Malay)
BabM Baba Malay
C comitative relator
CL clause
COM \(\overline{\text{di}}\) in the function of comparative relator
COMP completive aspect
COND conditional relator
CONJ conjunctive relator
COP copula
CP consensual particle
D disjunctive relator
D. Dutch
DEM demonstrative article
DET determiner
E emphatic particle
E. English
FI future-irrealis particle
FUT future reference
GO goal relator
G possessive relator \(\text{sa}\)
H. Hokkien
I instrumental relator
ID interrogative determiner
IMP imperative !!
INDEF indefinite article kal
INT1 preadjectival intensifier
INT2 postadjectival intensifier
IP interrogative pronoun
K Kristang
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CHAPTER 1

SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

Malacca Creole Portuguese is a Portuguese based creole spoken by approximately 1,000 people in Melaka\(^1\) 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' (e.g. Knowlton 1964:212), the speakers themselves mostly refer to it as Kristang, the term by which they also refer to themselves and their religion.\(^2\) 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',\(^3\) or bahasa geragau 'shrimp language'.\(^4\) Portuguese writers have referred to Kristang as Malaqueiro, Malaquense, Malaquês and Malaquenho (Hancock 1969:38) or as o dialecto Português de Malaca (Rêgo 1941-2).

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

\(^1\)Throughout this study I shall use the current Malay spelling, Melaka, to refer to the town, while retaining the old British spelling, Malacca, in Malacca Creole Portuguese and in the names of institutions which originally used that spelling.

\(^2\)The noun compound Papia Kristang derives from the sequence verb + noun, for example eli ta papià Kristang 'He is speaking Kristang'.

\(^3\)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'.

\(^4\)The Kristangs are well known in Melaka for catching and selling grago, a small shrimp (zool. Acetes) found close in-shore. The netting of this shrimp by means of the langgian 'push-net' is one of the Kristang fishing traditions.
as serani and in Portuguese as descendentes dos antigos portugueses 'descendents of the old Portuguese' (Rêgo 1941:4). 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.\(^5\)

In this chapter I shall outline the sociohistorical background of the language and its contemporary sociolinguistic context.

1.1 Melaka and its ethnolinguistic diversity

Melaka is the capital of Melaka 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 1983:496-3). Subsequently it underwent three periods of colonization: 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, Melaka today depends on rubber and manufacturing industries. Like other large Malaysian towns Melaka 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 Melaka town. The principal ethnic groups in the town, recorded in the last census in 1970, were 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 1983:32-4). As there have been no substantial changes in migration, I assume the current proportions to

\(^5\)While I am reluctant to use the term Creole, since it is not a term used by the speakers themselves, it is a more flexible term diachronically than both Kristang and 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).
Melaka, 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).

The Indians in Melaka town belong to two main groups: Southern - Tamils, Telegus and Malayalis; and Northern - Punjabis and Gujaratis (Sandhu 1983:198-9). 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 Melaka from the beginning of the sixteenth century (Eredia 1613:1-20) and who, initially, married Batak and Balinese slave women (Sandhu 1983:101). The Chitties are the descendants of the early Tamil Keling merchants who were present in Melaka from the beginning of the sixteenth century. They too appear to have married with other groups (Narinsamy 1983:244).

The 'Others' referred to in the census noted above are mainly Eurasians (Sidhu 1983:37-8), 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.

In view of the number of ethnic groups present in Melaka, the linguistic diversity of the town is considerable. The principal ethnic languages of Melaka are Malay, Hokkien (which is widely used between the different Chinese) and Tamil. The lingue franca of Melaka 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.

Unfortunately there are no studies based on more recent survey figures.

The official language of Malaysia is standard Malay, Bahasa Malaysia. Malay as a lingua franca is spoken in pidginized 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 pidginized language, Bazaar Malay differs slightly according to the ethnolinguistic affiliation of the speaker. Contemporary Melaka 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 creolized 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 1981:126-8).

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 creolized, the creoles maintaining many features in common, yet, developing characteristics related to their particular linguistic environments. Kristang, the Creole Portuguese of Melaka in West Malaysia, is one such creole. Other varieties of Creole Portuguese, related to that of Melaka, 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 Melaka from the beginning of the sixteenth century.
1.2.1 Melaka on the eve of the Portuguese conquest

Under the Malay Sultanate of the fifteenth century, Melaka became established as a trade entrepot, economically dependent on the trade passing through the Malacca Straits. By the beginning of the sixteenth century Melaka 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 Melaka were mainly textiles, spices and drugs, jewels and precious metals, comestibles, base metals and iron mongery, pottery, cowrie shells and slaves (Wheatley and Sandhu 1983:503-4).

Through its role as an international port and trade centre Melaka developed a multi-ethnic character. Tome Pires (1944:268-9) lists the races which frequented the port at this time. They represented peoples from most of the countries on the trade routes to Melaka. Pires claims that often eighty four languages were spoken. In the settled community, aside from the Malays, the principal ethnic groups were Gujaratis, Parsis, Bengalis, Arabs, Javanese, and Tamils (Wilkinson 1912:71-6; Sandhu 1983:179; Sandhu and Wheatley 1983,II:542). The lingua franca of this multi-ethnic community would have been a pidginized form of Malay, Bazaar Malay (Lach 1965:515, 518-9).

1.2.2 Portuguese presence in Melaka

In 1511, the Portuguese seized control of Melaka, 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 "broken" 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 was Malay, used in a pidginized 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 some contemporary observers, these slaves numbered some 3,000 (Manguin 1983:209-10). 8

Whether a stable a pidgin arrived in Melaka with the Portuguese and their camp followers is open to debate. The Portuguese were still new to India when Melaka was conquered. That a pidgin originating in Africa could also have been present is possible as there may have been Pidgin/Creole speaking Africans and mestizos 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. 9 Nevertheless, the various varieties of Creole Portuguese are remarkably similar (cf. Hancock 1975:224-7). The fact that Portuguese colonial expansion was to a certain extent a cumulative process, allowing some shifting of mestizos 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

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8 These slaves had been bonded to the Sultan and the merchants of Melaka. 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 1983 a and b)

9 The presence of Africans at a much later stage, 1879, is mentioned in Bird (1883:134). Batalha (1958) cites the observation of a sixteenth century visitor to Macao concerning African presence (Hancock 1975:214).
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 lingua francas, themselves showing similarities with general creole structure (Baxter 1983).

In Melaka, 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 socialization of children it was creolized. I say 'a language of primary socialization' 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 Melaka, Malay continued to be present in indigenous, creolized (among the Babas and the Chitties) and pidginized varieties.

The use of the pidgin as a first language required an expansion of its reduced structure. To realize this, extra linguistic form was acquired partly through convergence with other languages present and partly through natural creolization 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 nativization of the pidgin. The first native speakers of the pidgin would probably have been the offspring of unions between Europeans and locals or slaves\(^1\), unions between Indian mercenaries and locals or slaves, unions between the slaves themselves or slaves with 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).\(^1\) Owing to scanty documentation for the Portuguese period it is difficult to estimate the size of the 'Portuguese speaking' community. Speakers of Standard Portuguese were

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\(^1\) Bocarro (c. 1634:14) reports that 250 married Portuguese owned some 2,000 slaves of various races.

\(^1\) Jack-Hinton (1969:530) is of the opinion that Portuguese marriages in in Melaka 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 Mestigo (Portuguese-Indian Muslim or Portuguese-Hindu), low caste Hindus or slaves of various origins, with occasional orphan girls from Portugal and some Chinese.
few. According to MacGregor (1955:6) the Portuguese seldom exceeded 600 and generally averaged about 200, Melaka 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.¹²

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 Melaka probably spoke Pidgin/Creole Portuguese in some form, then Eredia's account of Malaka 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 language.

1.2.3 The Dutch period

In 1640, anxious to capture Melaka's rich trade and strategic military position on the straits, the Dutch laid siege to the city. After five months Melaka 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 1603 people of Portuguese extraction remaining in Melaka (Muller 1914:62), a considerable proportion of the overall population. Moreover, from

¹²The 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 mestigos and local converts.
Schouten's report it appears that as well as mestizos and "black fishermen", some Europeans also constituted the 'Portuguese' population (Leupe 1859:114-132).

As early as two months after the Dutch takeover, Commissioner Schouten reports Dutchmen marrying Portuguese widows and "Portuguese mesties" women (Leupe 1859:73, 128). Governor Bort, writing in 1678, makes similar references (Bort 1678:41) and one sixteenth century visitor to Melaka 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 colonized 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 1965:223-4, Hesseling 1979:24-5). Thus, while Dutch was the official language of administration, Creole Portuguese came to be used widely by the Dutch themselves.

The extent to which the Dutch and Dutch Eurasians in Melaka 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 mestizo and indigenous wives and their children (cf. Bort 1678:87). It is even more likely

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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.
that it was used by their slaves. Such possibilities must be taken into account when considering census figures for the time.

When Governor Balthasat 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 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 constituted the largest linguistic group in the town.

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 lingua francas 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 monopolized by the Dutch. Prior permission was required from Batavia in order to employ Creoles in the Administration (Bort...

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14 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 1979:23-4; Smith 1977:15-22). In Batavia, the presence of a large Pidgin/Creole Portuguese speaking slave population, coupled with the fact of Dutch–Portuguese mestizo intermarriages, perpetuated the use of Creole Portuguese (Boxer 1965:224-5). 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.

15 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 Melaka were also of Indian origin is not clear from existing studies.

16 Bort (1678:39-44) lists 733 Dutch, 588 Malays (+180 slaves), 214 Moors (+214 slaves) and 426 Chinese (+237 slaves).
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. However, to judge from the impressions of the British administration and visitors to Melaka early in the nineteenth century, the majority of Creoles in the latter stages of the Dutch rule must have been poor fishermen (Lewis 1927 [in Dickinson 1941:260-1], 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 1963: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 Melaka (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 1665, a Catholic rebellion in the Dutch colony of Paramaribo, in South America, raised doubts about the loyalty of the Catholics in other Dutch colonies. In Melaka 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).

Hancock (1970:355-6) finds that the greatest sphere of Dutch influence in the lexicon of Kristang is in items relating to the home. In fact Bort says (ibid:76) that until 1646 the Catholics had enjoyed free practice of religion publicly, however, on June 12, 1646, "the practice of the Romish faith was interdicted for the first time" (1666). Later comments (p85) suggest that neither the 1646 nor the 1666 proclamations had much effect.
The latter decree was enforced seriously for a short time (Bort 1678:83-6), causing a displacement of Portuguese families and their dependents, including a good number of "black fishermen". Yet, Smith (1961) and Teixeira (1963:149-61) document the continued presence of priests in Melaka 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 2000 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 1961:102-5, Boxer 1965:142; Andaya 1983:211). Had it been otherwise, the Creoles may not have survived Dutch rule as Catholics but may 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 kristang (the language, the people and the religion). In this respect, it appears that the role of the fraternity of the irmãng di greza (brothers of the Church) in providing an element of cultural continuity was significant. The fraternity, a Dominican tertiary organization, is traditionally a domain of Kristang and is connected with local religious traditions 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 1969:253-4).

19 In the New World the identification of the colonizing language with Christianity is evident in such expressions as Spanish ¡Hable cristiano! and Portuguese falar como um cristão 'to speak clearly'.
1.2.4 The nineteenth and twentieth centuries

In 1795, with the French invasion of Holland, Melaka 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 1942-5, Melaka 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 1940:260-1) is instructive:

5.21

The inhabitants that come next under consideration are the Siranies or native Portugueze - 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 inquiries 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.

20 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 1969:88-9). However, the period appears to have had little influence on the language and culture of the Creole community.

21 Paragraph numbering is from the original.
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 Melaka 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. Since 1970, with increased industrial development in Melaka, 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 term shift away from fishing as a full time activity (Chan 1969:152). However, a core remaining in Melaka 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 Melaka 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 Melaka from the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Chan (1969:68) five schools were built for the community through public funding and

22 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.
through the Portuguese Mission. The London Missionary Society, between 1815 and 1843, organized 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, would have spoken English. However, to judge from the low numbers of British present in Melaka 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 Melaka was essentially a Chinese city. In fact, in 1891, out of a total population of 16,557, there were 8,409 Chinese (L.Mears 1983:199), 877 Indians (D.Mears 1983:144) and approximately 1,600 Creoles The rest were predominantly Malays and Malay was the lingua franca (Bird 1879:19). 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 1834-5 (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

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23 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.

24 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 (p22) that towards the end of the nineteenth century in Government employment generally and in Melaka, a preponderance of Eurasians among the non-Europeans employed.

25 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).
Francis Institution, the Conossian Convent, the French Convent, and the Anglo-Chinese High School, all of which were attended by Creoles.26

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 following map shows the location of the principal Kristang speaking population.

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26 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.
Figure 1-1: Melaka town map
1.2.4.1 The Portuguese Settlement

The Portuguese Settlement was established in 1933 under the British administration to re-house some of the poorer families predominantly from the Praya Lane - Bandar Hilir area where the sea had severely eroded the land.\(^27\) 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 (Santa Maria 1979).\(^28\) During fieldwork in 1980-1 and 1982-3 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 households (56\%) of all Kristang speaking areas in Melaka. Praya Lane had 40.6\%.\(^29\) 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 twenty 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 twenty years are speakers. Thus approximately 60\% of the population of the Portuguese Settlement would appear to be speakers of Kristang.

\(^27\)Although the Portuguese Settlement was the concept of a French missionary, Fr. Jules Pierre François, its realization was yet another instance of the favourable disposition of the British Administration towards the Eurasians (cf. Chan 1969:22; De Silva 1981:5-10).

\(^28\)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 bumiputera 'son of the soil' privileges. In other words, the Creoles now unofficially have the same privileges (access to education, bank finance, special grants etc.) as Malays.

\(^29\)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.
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. It has a high proportion of unskilled workers of low educational standard and a considerable number of unemployed. 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 1980-1. The Portuguese Settlement community also appears to display inward focussing 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 1969:258-261). 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.

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 1969:160-7). A survey conducted in 1979 revealed that 43 men were involved full-time in fishing-related activities, 37 as fishermen and 6 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.

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.
1.3 Use and disuse of Kristang

1.3.1 Diglossia in the past

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 Standard 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 Standard Portuguese has not exerted a subsequent influence on Kristang. In fact, there is likely to have been a continued lexical influence from Standard Portuguese mainly through the presence of the Portuguese missionaries and to some extent through schools operating in Melaka last century.

It is not known how long after the Dutch takeover Standard 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 ibid). 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 Standard Portuguese until late last century is also significant. According to Fr. Manuel Teixeira (p.c.) Portuguese and Kristang were used by the priests in
the nineteenth century. A recently located text in Kristang of the Gospel according to St Luke, dated 1884, is in a style approaching Standard Portuguese (Anon. 1884). Prior to the First World War, Fr. Goncalves prepared a Kristang version of the St Anthony novena (p.c. 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 Standard Portuguese. The Via Sacra in Kristang, used by the missionaries in that period and published in Rêgo (1942:69-88), contains considerable Standard Portuguese lexicon.

Some of my oldest informants consulted in Melaka 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 Macau and from the community itself (p.c. Fr. M.J. Pintado). In this respect, another important factor in the exposure of the Creoles to Standard Portuguese may have been the Portuguese Convent day school and a boarding school operating in the early 1900s whereby girls from poorer families might be taken in by the convent.

Some older informants knew parts of the Catechism in a style of Kristang approaching Standard Portuguese. Some families possess pre-war Standard Portuguese editions of the Catechism, some of which had been hand copied. In the past there have been cases of individuals having been taught Standard 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 Standard Portuguese at St Joseph's Seminary in Macao. Even in relatively recent times the priests held classes in Standard Portuguese for some of the young people and some songs were learnt in Standard Portuguese. On occasions, in the presence of Portuguese visitors, I have observed

32 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!

33 The term *fila di skol* 'daughter of the school' was used by elderly female informants in reference to these 'boarders'.

34 One such ex-student, interviewed in Singapore, spoke Standard Portuguese fluently.
attempts at code switching by some speakers who have had a little formal exposure to Standard Portuguese.

One of the consequences of this exposure of the Kristangs to Standard Portuguese has been the perpetuation of the myth that Kristang is a broken form of Modern Portuguese that has no grammar.\(^{35}\) I have heard this opinion voiced on a number of occasions by Kristang speakers (some of whom had been exposed to Standard 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 1980:80-1; Sta Maria 1982:209, 211).\(^{36}\)

1.4 The current linguistic situation

Today the majority of the Creoles know local varieties of Bazaar Malay and Malaysian English\(^{37}\) 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 a dying language.

Various domains of Kristang use have already disappeared, for example, the traditional marriage, the festival of *San Juan* (St John) and the festival of *Intrudu* (Carnaval), to name but a few.\(^{38}\) 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

\(^{35}\)Yet another popular myth is the claim that Kristang is medieval Portuguese (Houston 1983:77).

\(^{36}\)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.

\(^{37}\)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 (1980:167-92): 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.

\(^{38}\)These traditions are well described in Silva 1981.
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 disappearance 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 figure 1-1). 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.

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 effect.
Although Malay is the lingua franca of Melaka, 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, 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. 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). 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilingualism</th>
<th>Diglossia</th>
<th>Bilingualism with diglossia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MP - K</td>
<td>LME - SME</td>
<td>K - LME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MP - BM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

40 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%.

41 Diglossia in both its classical and in its extended use. (Fishman 1971:75).

42 By Standard Malaysian English I mean the ex-official standard of education.
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.

In the following sections I shall describe the consonant and vowel phonemes of Kristang and their realizations. 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 recognize 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 Melaka, 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 [ə], are omitted from the discussion.

2.1 Consonants

Kristang has the following consonant phonemes:

Table 2-1: Kristang consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>apico-</th>
<th>alveo-</th>
<th>post-</th>
<th>palato-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
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<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
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<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
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<td>g</td>
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<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>c</td>
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<td>j</td>
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<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(v)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>&quot;n&quot;</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap/trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /n/ and includes /w/ and /y/ as consonant phonemes. For reasons discussed in 2.4, these latter segments are treated as non-syllabic vocoids.

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. Hereafter the symbol ` is used to indicate primary stress.
2.1.1.1 Stops

Stops contrast in initial and medial position in identical environments:

/p/ pâi 'father' kapà 'castrate'
/b/ bài 'go' kabà 'finish'
/t/ tèng 'have, be' àti 'until'
/ç/ đèng 'dried stingray' àdi 'duck'
/k/ kabà 'finish' sàku 'sack, pocket'
/g/ gabà 'praise' sàgu 'sago'

2.1.1.2 Affricates

Affricates contrast in initial and medial position in identical environments:

/c/ cìru 'smell' incidu 'full'
/ç/ jèru 'son in law' jinjìbri 'ginger, gums'

2.1.1.3 Fricatives

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

/f/ fâi 'do' kòfi 'coffee'
/s/ sài 'go out' kòsi 'kick' màs 'more'

/suñà 'to plant, dream'
/z/ zuñà 'beat, thrash' kòza 'so and so'

/ʃ/ bafà 'to steam'
/z/ bazà 'pour'
/s/ básu 'under'
/f/ bàfu 'breath'
Initial /z/ occurs only in zuñã '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 bòs 'you': vòs 'voice'. However, all speakers have /v/ medially in nòvi 'nine', contrasting with nòmi 'name'\(^\dagger\). 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 nǜbu : P. novo 'new'.

2.1.1.4 Nasals

**Initial position**

Only /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ contrast:

/m/ màng 'hand'
/n/ nàng 'NEG IMP'
/ŋ/ ŋåmi 'tapioca'

The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs infrequently in initial position. The other words observed with initial /ŋ/ are ŋå and ŋu, abbreviations of madriña and padriñu, 'godmother' and 'godfather' respectively, and ŋa, an abbreviation of mña 'my', frequent in the expression ŋa mài! 'good heavens!' (literally 'my mother!').

**Medial position**

Here all nasals contrast:

\(^\dagger\)This may be due to the influence of Standard Portuguese through past teaching (see 1.3.1).
Final position

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

/m/  dâm  'draughts'
/n/  kalkûn  'turkey' (< D. kalkoen)
/ng/  mâng  '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:

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{Given the fact that Kristang /ng/ is generally a reflex of Portuguese nasal vowels, for example Kristang mâng < P. mão 'hand', forms such as lûngâ 'moon', lungâdu 'lunatic' and ûawá 'one', suggest that the variety of Portuguese involved in the formation of Kristang conserved the residual nasalization of Old Portuguese thus: lûa 'moon' Modern Portuguese lua) and probably ûa 'one, a' (Modern Portuguese uma). Varieties of Brazilian and continental Portuguese are known to conserve the nasalization of Old Portuguese in precisely this way (Vazquez Cuesta and Mendes da Luz 1971, I:147, 240). (It is interesting to note that while Modern Portuguese replaced the nasalization with /m/, Galician did so with /ng/, just as in Kristang. Thus, Galician unga = Modern Portuguese uma 'one, a'.}\]
kanggrézu  'crab'
kambrâng  'prawn'
kàntu  '1. how many, 2. corner'
kàñji  'porridge'
kansâdu  'tired'
kandîa  'candle'

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

kambrâng mizâng  [kambrâmmizâng]  'mizang prawn'

2.1.1.6 Flap/trill /r/

/r/ contrasts in initial medial and final positions:

rèzu  'prayer'  kàra  'face'  mâr  'sea'
tèzu  'tight'  kâda  'each'  mâl  'bad'
pèzu  'weight'  kàma  'bed'  màs  'more'
rlîna  'sirindit bird'  kàna  'cane'  màng  'hand'
lîna  'line'

/r/ is realized 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:

làia 'kind'  fòla 'leaf'  màl 'bad'
ràia 'stingray'  fòra 'outside'  màr '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: pètu 'chest, breast' and petu 'near' < Portuguese peito and pertu [underlining mine] respectively). These are /i/, /e/ ~ /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/ ~ /o/, /u/ and /ø/". Although it is not clear from this statement just what phonemic status the author was giving the variants /e/, and /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /ø/, 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 /ø/. The following system of eight vowel phonemes and the marginal phoneme /ae/ is proposed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Unrounded</th>
<th>Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ae)</td>
<td>(ae)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>i</strong></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>ë</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Height</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Back</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Round</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/  àenti  'aunt'
     àntis  'before'

gæmpa  'grandfather'
gæmma  'grandmother' (note the geminate /m/)
gæelës  '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/, /ø/, /a/, /ø/, /o/, /u/. However, the full core system is only evident in medial position, since in initial and final position /e/, /ø/, /ø/ and /o/ do not contrast:
| Initial | /i/  | ìra | 'anger' |
|         | /ə/  | ेरा | 'perhaps' |
|         |       | ेँँा | 'yard measurement' |
|         | /e/  | ेँँी | 'he, she, it' |
|         | /a/  | ेँँील | 'there' |
|         |       | ेँँीला | 'there (further)' |
|         |       | ेँँीलु | 'garlic' |
|         | /o/  | ेँँीलु | 'eye' |
|         | /ɔ/  | ेँँीला | 'to see' |
|         | /u/  | ेँँींडी | 'yesterday' |
|         |       | ेँँींडी | 'where' |
| Medial  | /i/  | मळळ | 'thousand' |
|         | /ə/  | मळळ | 'bee, honey' |
|         |       | ेँँतु | 'quiet' |
|         | /e/  | ेँँतु | 'correct' |
|         | /a/  | मळळ | 'bad' |
|         | /ɔ/  | मळळ | 'soft' |
|         | /o/  | ेँँळळ | 'children's game of marbles' |
|         | /u/  | ेँँळळ | 'flower, vulva' |
The distribution and status of /e/, /ø/, /ø/ and /o/ will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1.1 The problem of [e] and [ø]

[e] and [ø] only contrast in medial position. Hancock (1969, 1973) drew attention to the pair [pøtu] 'near': [petu] 'chest' as evidence of the phonemic status of these vowels. This pair raises an interesting point. /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:

pøtu ~ pøtru ~ pørtu 'near'

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

bøsu ~ børsu 'verse, song'

cf. bøsu 'lip'

Clear cut cases of contrast are few and seem to be restricted to three environments: before /t/, /s/ and /z/:
bèsu 'lip'
mèsu 'still'
rètu 'correct'
kètu 'quiet'

tèzu 'tight'
rèzu 'prayer'

azèti 'oil'
lèti 'milk'
sèti 'seven'

In view of this, the most plausible approach seems to be to treat 
[ɘ] and [e] as phonemes which are distinctive only before /t/, /z/, /s/. In all other environments the distinction is neutralized, [ɘ] 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 [ɘ] and [e] are as follows:

[ɘ]

_r  kørè 'to want'
_m  lèmi 'rudder'
_ñ  lèña 'firewood'
_b  lèbi 'light (weight)'
_k  sèku 'dry'
_1#  mèl 'honey, bee'

---

3 It is interesting that in this set of contrasts the Kristang words with /e/ derive from Portuguese words which, according to dialect, contain either a close vowel or a diphthong, for example beigo 'lip'. On the other hand, the Kristang words with /ɘ/ derive from Portuguese words which contain an open vowel /ɘ/, for example mesmo 'even, yet'.

In a large number of words the distribution of [ø] 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 [ø], rather than [e], tends to occur as the penultimate vowel. Some clear cases are:

- bemfêta 'beautiful'
- bèla 'old (female)'
- gu₂la 'gullet'
- lagrêza 'generous'
- pêgâ 'to catch'

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

- bemfetu 'handsome'
- belu 'old (male)'
- pregu 'nail'

2.2.1.2 The problem of [o] and [ø]

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

- gôli 'marbles game'
- môli 'soft'
- bôdu ~ bôdru 'edge'
- dodu 'crazy'
However, as in the case of [ə], [ɔ] occurs before /r$/ which is currently being lost in many words and gives rise to further contrasts before /t/:

\[
sonti \sim sorte \quad \text{'type'}
\]
\[
anoti \quad \text{'night'}
\]

Given these contrasts, it appears that the two vowels must be treated as phonemes which only contrast before /l/, /d/ and /t/. Elsewhere, the distinction is neutralized, [o] and [ɔ] occurring in free variation. Again, as in the case of [ə] 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 pɔbri 'poor'
- v nɔvi 'nine'
- m nɔmi 'name'
- n$ pɔnta 'to shoot'
- ŋ bɔrgɔnuzu 'shy'
- tr qtru 'another'
- r fɔrsa 'strong'
- k qkəl 'spectacles'

4 Here too there is a trace of the historical precedent mentioned in the previous note. Kristang anoti 'night' derives from Portuguese a noite 'at night', noite containing a diphthong with a close [o]. Kristang mɔli 'soft' derives from Portuguese mole 'soft' which contains the open vowel [ə].
Parallel to the case of /e/ and /ø/ discussed above, for many words the distribution of /o/ and /ø/ displays a tendency towards vowel harmony with the word final vowel. If a word ends in /a/, there is a tendency for [ø] to be preferred in the penultimate syllable, and if a word ends in /u/, [o] tends to be preferred. Some clear cases are the following:

sògru 'father in law'  sëgra  'mother in law'
bòlu  'cake'  bòla  'ball'
prigasòzu  'lazy (male)'  prigasòza  'lazy (female)'
fòru  'trouble'  fòra  'outside'
tròku  'turn'  tòkà  'touch'
òru  'gold'  nòra  'daughter in law'
sabròzu  'tasty'  angkòza  'something'
dònu  'owner'  tòna  'again'

2.2.1.3 The problem of [ä]

A consideration of the limited distribution of [ä] 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 [ə]

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

mërka 'to overturn'
marka 'to mark'
merka 'to stare'
bēriǎ 'to caulk a boat'\(^5\)
bariâdu 'confused'
presîzu 'need, necessary'
prestâdu 'quickly'
kēnē 'small'
kaniâ 'to thrash'
rēdōnu 'round'
redâda 'a lot of'

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

pēsō 'to prick' (\(<M\) pesok)
pēsona 'poison'
sērē 'lemon grass' (\(<M\) serai)
sērēnu 'dew'
kērâ 'food stuck to the pot' (\(<D\) kraag)
korâzi 'naughty'

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

\(^5\)Note that words beginning /bēr/ or /kēr/, such as bēriǎ 'to caulk a boat' or kēriâ 'to raise a child, an animal' are phonetically very different from those having syllable initial /br/ or /kr/, such as bridu 'hour' or krensa 'child'.

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 /káza/, where /á/ = /ã/. Moreover, he states (1973:25) that "/a/ is realized as a half-close back vowel with lip spreading [γ], 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 papiã e até 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

kàza  'house'
kazà  '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 kaza ; and zero, as in the second syllable of kazamìntu 'wedding' or in the second syllable of kàza. These levels may be shown as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'house'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kàza</td>
<td>1 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'marry'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kazà</td>
<td>2 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'wedding'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kazamìntu</td>
<td>2 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 sections 2.6.5 and 2.6.6. below). Thus, /i/, /e/, /ə/, /a/, /ø/, /u/ will be realized as [i], [e], [ə], [a], [ø], [o], [u] in a syllable with stress 1 (main stress) or stress 2. However, in unstressed syllables they are realized as [-tense] as [i], [ø], [ø], [a], [ø], [o], [u]:

\[ V \rightarrow [-tense] / \]

In an unstressed syllable, /a/ is variably realized as [ə]:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
    \text{V} \\
    \text{+high} \\
    \text{+back} \\
    \text{-round} \\
    \text{-tense}
\end{array} \rightarrow \left< \begin{array}{c}
    \text{2 high}
\end{array} \right> / \]

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

2.4 Diphthongs and vowel sequences

Kristang has the following repertoire of word internal vowel sequences:
Of the above vowel sequences, numbers 1-7, 8a, 9a, and 10 are monosyllabic and numbers 2b, 3b 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:
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 realized as a full vowel or a non-syllabic 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) cùa 'rain'
  - dia 'day'
- **glide + V** (1 syllabic peak) diàbu 'devil'
  - guèla 'gullet'
- **V + glide** (1 syllabic peak) pèu 'foot'
  - pài father

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

/kɛ/ + /ɛli/ --> [kwɛli]

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:

- [papì] [papyà] 'talk'
- [dùɛnsà] [dwɛnsà] 'illness'

Moreover, the distribution of [w] and [y] is quite deficient. [y] only occurs word initially in one word, [yò] 'I'. [w] only occurs word initially in one word, [wèsti] '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] 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:

$$C + \{y\} + [a]:$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/b/</th>
<th>abuà</th>
<th>'fly'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>piàng</td>
<td>'spinning top'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>komfià</td>
<td>'believe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>niòra</td>
<td>'shortly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>amiàng</td>
<td>'tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>diànta</td>
<td>'rascal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>tiàng</td>
<td>'children's game'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>siàra</td>
<td>'madame/miss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>aliàda</td>
<td>'party'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>ŋjuàdu</td>
<td>'fed up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>nsaguà</td>
<td>'rinse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>caskià</td>
<td>'be coquettish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kuidàdu</td>
<td>'take care'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Intervocalic distribution of [w] and [y] is very limited. [w] only occurs in Malay derived items, for example, [rawè] 'type of fishing line'. [y] occurs in the following:

- goièba 'guava'
- bòia 'buoy'
- làia 'kind'
- pàia 'marsh'
- sàia 'dress'
- kabàia 'traditional women's blouse'
- ràia 'stingray'
- ràiu 'wicked'
- gaiòla '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/.
So far only the on-glides of diphthongs have been considered. However, in the on-glide position, the vowels /i/ and /u/ have a noticeably higher degree of tension than in the off-glide position:

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{abwa}] & \quad \text{`to fly'} \\
[\text{saudâdî}] & \quad \text{`longing, yearning'} \\
[\text{dyâbû}] & \quad \text{`devil'} \\
[\text{pâi}] & \quad \text{`father'}
\end{align*}
\]

Some linguists (for example, Navarro-Tomás 1972) have distinguished on-glides from off-glides as semi-consonants and semi-vowels respectively. However, there is no systematic phonemic distinction between semivowels and semiconsonants, they are both [-syllabic] realizations of /i/ and /u/ syllable initially and syllable finally. In order to simplify description, I shall represent them both as [y] and [w] in broad phonetic transcription.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[-cons]} \\
\text{[+high]} \\
\text{[-stress]}
\end{array}
\quad \longrightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{[-syllabic]} \\
\text{[+syllabic]} \quad \quad \text{[+syllabic]}
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

This rule is ordered after the stress rules discussed in 2.6.5 and 2.6.6.

2.5 Phonotactics - the syllable

In Kristang, as in all languages, there are severe restrictions on the co-occurrence of sound segments.

In the following account on restrictions on segment sequences in Kristang, the syllable will be taken as prime. However, while there are good reasons for taking the syllable as basic in a phonotactic account (Hooper 1974:186-194; Sommerstein 1977:193-7) it will be seen that recourse must also be had to the word because there are some consonants which only occur in word initial or word final positions or only in word internal position. That is, the position of the syllable within the word is also relevant.
2.5.1 The structure of the syllable in Kristang

The nucleus of a syllable in Kristang may consist of a vowel or a nasal consonant. A nasal consonant syllable nucleus always stands without onset or coda. However, a vowel nucleus may occur alone or with a coda and, or, with an onset. The coda only occurs in syllables with an onset of one or two C, or no onset at all. Syllables consisting of V or C alone, or of VC or CCCV, may only occur in polysyllabic words. However, syllables consisting of CV, CVC, CCV, and CCVC may occur in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words.

There are eight possible syllable types in Kristang:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>m$bès</td>
<td>'once'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>ë$li</td>
<td>'he, she, it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V</td>
<td>jà</td>
<td>'perfective aspect particle (PF)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C C V</td>
<td>stî$ru</td>
<td>'style'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C C C V</td>
<td>strâ$du</td>
<td>'dais for bride and groom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V C</td>
<td>ëm$bru</td>
<td>'shoulder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C V C</td>
<td>màl</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C C V C</td>
<td>krôl</td>
<td>'hair bun' (&lt;? D krul 'curl')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.2 Syllabic consonants

Nasals are syllabic when they occur word initially followed by the consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, c, j, f, s, z/. Consider the following examples:
This class has been created by word-initial vowel loss, as is still evident in some variable items, for example:

\[ \text{nčıdu} \sim \text{ičıdu} \quad \text{‘filled’} \]

A similar case involves some nouns. Hancock (1973:26) points out that \text{n̥gua} (rarely \text{ngua}) ‘one’, which functions as an indefinite article (see 4.1.1.2), may reduce to nasals homorganic with the initial consonant of the following word. The effect of this is such as to create syllabic nasals. Consider the following examples:

\[ \text{mbanda} \quad \text{‘one side’} \]
\[ \text{mpoku} \quad \text{‘a little’} \]
\[ \text{nsentu} \quad \text{‘one hundred’} \]

This fusion, however, is not a productive synchronic process. It appears to be restricted to a small number of words with which it is obligatory and the article not usually recoverable. For example:

\[ \text{n̥gua kaza \quad *ngkaza \quad ‘a house’} \]
\[ *\text{n̥gua poku \quad mpoku \quad ‘a little, some’} \]
In the word angkọza ~ ngkọza 'thing', the fusion is complete as it can co-occur with the indefinite article:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋgua} & \text{ angkọza} \ \text{prētu} \\
\text{one} & \text{ thing} \ \text{black}
\end{align*}
\]

'A black thing'.

However, in a couple of cases alternation is possible. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋgua} & \text{ bēs} \ \sim \ \text{mēbēs} \\
\text{one} & \text{ occasion} \ \text{one+occasion}
\end{align*}
\]

'Once'.

Another case of fusion, which involves the negator (NEG) ngka (occasionally nūngka) with the verbs kerē 'want', tēng 'have, be' and the modal pōdi 'can' (cf. Hancock 1973:33) has also resulted in the formation of syllabic nasals:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nte} & \quad \text{'NEG + tēng'} \\
\text{mpōdi} & \quad \text{'NEG + pōdi'} \\
\text{nggē(re)} & \quad \text{'NEG + kēre'}
\end{align*}
\]

While full forms such as ngka tēng may very occasionally be observed in the speech of older people, the integral forms are predominant.

As the above two reductions are unproductive, I have chosen to treat all such words as belonging to the same class as those discussed at the beginning of this section, i.e. they contain syllabic nasals. This obviates complicating the phonology by having to include across word-boundary environments in the nasal syllabification rule.

The following rule will account for syllabic nasals:

\[
C \quad [+\text{nasal}] \longrightarrow [+\text{syll}] / \#C
\]
2.5.2.1 Syllabic vowels

The following vowels may form a syllable without onset or coda: /i, e, a, o, u/. Examples:

- î$la ‘island’
- ê$li ‘he, she, it’
- a$li ‘there’
- ô$lu ‘eye’
- u$bi ‘to hear’

2.5.3 Syllable structure: onset and coda

The following sections illustrate the consonants occurring in the onset and coda. As stated above, the onset may contain one, two or three consonants. As single consonant onsets are sufficiently illustrated in the general discussion of contrasts the present section will be limited to illustrating consonant clusters in the onset.

2.5.3.1 Cluster of two consonants in the coda

There are three types of clusters of two consonants:

**Type 1**
This cluster only occurs in word initial position:

- m smôla ‘alms’
- s { p } spôlu ‘mirror’
- t stôri ‘story’
- k skôla ‘school’

**Type 2**
The following set of clusters may occur word initially and word internally:
Examples:

**Word initial**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>prèsu</td>
<td>'price'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>brèu</td>
<td>'caulking tar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>friu</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>trusè</td>
<td>'twist, turn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>drèntu</td>
<td>'inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>krènsa</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>grèza</td>
<td>'church'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Word internal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>da$prà</td>
<td>'flee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kum$prìdu</td>
<td>'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>kò$bra</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàmbra</td>
<td>'room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>kà$sri</td>
<td>'negro'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ìm$sri</td>
<td>'annoyance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>kà$stra</td>
<td>'letter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dis$trèu</td>
<td>'interference'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>pò$drì</td>
<td>'rotton'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàn$drì</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>là$kri</td>
<td>'sealing wax'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ìng$krì</td>
<td>'anchor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>là$gri</td>
<td>'tear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kàng$grèzu</td>
<td>'crab'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type 3**

In word initial position the following set of clusters may occur:
In word internal position, following an open syllable, only [fl] and [kl] occur: təflak 'tablecloth' (<D. tafellaken), deklarə 'claim, declare'. Word internally, following a closed syllable, only [pl] occurs: komplimintu 'complement'.

2.5.3.2 Onset of three consonants

The following set of consonant clusters occurs only in word initial position:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Cluster</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p spreçə</td>
<td>'to massage'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s { t } r strikə</td>
<td>'to iron' (&lt;D. strijken)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k skrəbu</td>
<td>'slave'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.3.3 Consonants occurring in the coda

The following consonants are permitted in the coda word finally:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>'drafts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>'sea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>'more'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Word internally and followed by a syllable beginning with a consonant, [z] and [b] are permitted in the coda: azbìru 'fuss', uzdü 'cuckold'; bëbsdù 'tipsy', dìbsdà 'debt'.
2.6 Stress

In section 2.3.1 above, stress has been discussed in relation to vowel quality. The present section considers the assignment of stress 1, the main stress at word level.

Kristang is a syllable timed language like Malay. As such it shows a tendency to place main stress on the penultimate syllable of words ending in open syllables and on the final syllable of words ending in closed syllables.

2.6.1 Types of stress

2.6.1.1 Polysyllables

(i) Penultimate syllable

A large number of words have penultimate syllable main stress. This is particularly true of words ending in a vowel and especially so if they are nouns, pronouns, demonstrative determiners, adjectives or adverbs but rarely if they are verbs. It is also true of a small number of words ending in consonants. Examples:

    abàna 'fan'    N
    èli 'he'      PRO
    ìsti 'this'   DEM
    gràndi 'big'  ADJ
    àti 'until'   ADV
    pòdi 'can, be able'  V
    flòris 'flower'  N
    ìsèn 'perfume'  N
    fàsèl 'easy'    ADV

Verbs, however, are a notable exception to this generalization. Most verbs in Kristang end in a vowel and take final syllable stress. However, stress on many verbs tends to move onto the penultimate syllable if a stressed syllable closely follows in the next word (see 2.6.4).

(ii) Final syllable

Most verbs, and most nouns ending in consonants, and some of adverbs ending in consonants are stressed on the final syllable:
A small number of adverbs, adjectives and nouns, all ending in vowels, also take final syllable stress:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>trité</th>
<th>'oyster'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dagù</td>
<td>'jaw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gragò</td>
<td>'shrimp' (&lt; M. gragoh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rawè</td>
<td>'fishing line with multiple hooks' (&lt; M. rawai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>fedè</td>
<td>'stinking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>erà</td>
<td>'perhaps'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nali</td>
<td>'there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naki</td>
<td>'here'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Antepenultimate stress

A very small class of nouns and one located adjective have stress on the antepenultimate syllable:
Netika 'tuberculosis'
kolera 'cholera'
mbalidu 'useless person'

ADJ animu 'brave' (rarely used by older speakers)

2.6.1.2 Monosyllables

Monosyllabic nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and interrogative pronouns are stressed. Relator words are unstressed. Examples:

N flói 'flute'
pāi 'father'
māng 'hand'
sāl 'salt'

PRO bōs 'you'
nūs 'we'

V bāi 'go'
bēng 'come'

ADJ bōng 'good'
māl 'bad'

IP kī 'what?'
kēng 'who?'

REL ku 'with, and'
kē 'or'
na 'to, in'

2.6.2 Relationship between stress and syntactic function

From the above, it appears that stress and syntactic function correspond to some extent. This is most evident in the case of some noun and verb pairs:
The above facts have parallels in Portuguese.

2.6.3 Accounting for stress

Rules can easily be devised for stress types 1(i) and 1(ii) where they apply to large classes. However, rules cannot readily be devised for the small classes involved in 1(i), 1(ii), 1(iii) and perhaps 2. These smaller classes are probably best treated as exceptions to the general rules of stress placement as cases which would have to be learned individually.

It appears that rules for stress placement will have to apply to syntactic classes, e.g. verbs are stressed on the final syllable, nouns are stressed on the penultimate syllable if ending in a vowel, on final syllable if ending in a consonant.

2.6.4 Words shifting stress in the clause

Many verbs display a tendency to shift their stress from ultimate to penultimate syllable when they are followed by a stressed syllable in the next word. This is particularly so at a fast rate of utterance. Compare the stress on the verb bebê 'drink' in the following examples:

(a) ęli ta bebê sıra
3s -P drink toddy

'He is drinking toddy'.
In (a), the verb *bebê* is followed immediately by a primary stress and the primary stress on the verb tends to shift onto the penultimate syllable. In (b), where the verb is not immediately followed by a primary stress, the primary stress on the verb is on the final syllable. In serial constructions, however, the first verb in series always takes penultimate syllable main stress (see 8.4).

A similar stress shift process is found in Sri Lankan Creole Portuguese (Smith 1977:87) and São Tomé Creole Portuguese (Ferraz 1979:25).

2.6.5 Main stress rules

Stress placement on nouns, polysyllabic pronouns, adjectives and adverbs may be accounted for by means of the following rule:

\[
\text{[+syll]} \rightarrow \text{[+stress]} / \begin{array}{c}
1 \times \\
2
\end{array} \\
(C V ) C (V) # \\
0 \ y \\
0 \\
[-verb]
\]

The rule states that stress falls on the penultimate syllable if the word ends in a vowel and on the final syllable if the word ends in a consonant. The diacritics *x* and *y* cause stress to be placed on the antepenultimate and final syllables respectively if a word is so marked in the lexicon. For example, */kôlera/ 'cholera' and */müi/

---

6A parallel tendency to shift stress is observed with *akê*, the reduction of *akêli* 'that'. When a main stress does not immediately follow, as in (a), stress falls on the second syllable: *akê*. Yet, when a main stress follows, as in (b), stress tends to fall on the first syllable: *âke*.

(a) *akê* angkôza
that thing

'That thing'.

(b) *âke* dîa,
that day

'That day'.
'grind' would be listed in the lexicon as exceptions type $x$ and $y$ respectively. The diacritics follow the use of Hooper and Terrell (1976) in dealing with exceptions to general stress placement in Spanish.

Stress placement on verbs may be accounted for by the following rule:

$$ V \rightarrow [+stress] / V^2 C^# \uparrow(x) [+verb] $$

The rule states that stress is placed on the final syllable except if a verb is marked with the diacritic $x$ in the lexicon which causes stress to be placed on the penultimate vowel.

2.6.6 Rules for assigning other degrees of stress

Stress on syllables other than the tonic syllable is related to the number of syllables in the word and the position of tonic stress.

In Kristang, one can speak of a cadence of stress at the word level which consists of a series of strongly and weakly stressed syllables. According to our analysis of stress into three levels, a strongly stressed syllable may have stress 1 or stress 2, and a weakly stressed syllable may have stress 2 or no stress, relative to the tonic syllable. In words consisting of two or more syllables, there is one primary stress per word. The position of the primary stress has consequences for the cadence of syllable stress. Thus, for example, a four syllable word such as kazamintu 'wedding' consists of the cadence strong/weak/strong/weak:

```
  kazamintu
  2 0 1 0
```

Words having two or more syllables fall into two main classes according to main stress: those with final syllable main stress and those with penultimate syllable main stress. The following patterns of primary, secondary and zero stress are typical:
The placement of secondary stress in these patterns may be accounted for by means of the following rule:

\[[+\text{syll}] \longrightarrow [2\text{str}] / (C V)C [1\text{str}]\]

The rule states (i) if two syllables precede a syllable with primary stress, then the first syllable in sequence receives secondary stress. (ii) if only one syllable precedes, it receives secondary stress.

2.7 Orthography

2.7.1 Orthographies already in use

The lack of written materials in Kristang and a negative attitude towards the language on the part of many speakers have their roots in the notion that Kristang is a corrupt form of Portuguese. This misconception was often voiced by the British. Thus, for example Cameron (1865:375) termed it "a sort of broken Portuguese". It has also been voiced by some of the Portuguese Missionaries for whom it is a "dialect" which has "lost all its grammar" (Pintado 1980:81).

Most of the little material written in Kristang in the past has been prepared in an etymological Portuguese-style orthography with occasional concessions to the phonology of Kristang. Materials prepared by the missionaries generally used this type of spelling. Consider the following example from Rêgo (1933:206):
Minha princesa rosa,  
my princess rose  
Príncipe de carbão;  
Prince S coal  
Bõs chorã com bõs sa pai,  
you cry C 2s G father  
Eu chorã com minha irãmão.  
Is cry C my brother  

The following list shows certain words from the text along with their contemporary pronunciations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Contemporary Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Príncipe</td>
<td>[príspí]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carbão</td>
<td>[karbang]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rosa</td>
<td>[rôza]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bõs</td>
<td>[bõs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eu</td>
<td>[yô]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The correspondence between this orthography and the phonology of Kristang is only partial. For example, ç represents both [s] ([príspí]) and [k] ([karbang]), ão represents [ang] ([karbang]), s represents both [z] ([rôza]) and [s] ([bõs]). Texts in this type of orthography may be found in Rêgo (1941-2) and Agência Geral do Ultramar (1954:7-31).

Other texts, especially those written by the Creoles themselves, show varying degrees of influence from Portuguese, Malay and English orthography. The extent of Portuguese influence depends on the extent of contact with Portuguese. For example some individuals have Portuguese dictionaries and have attended classes in Standard Portuguese given by the missionaries. The following text was probably originally compiled by the missionaries but modified by the Creoles:
Nosiora di consengsang
Our Lady S Immaculate Conception
ra-say-bay ki nos ta offerasay
receive what 1pl -P offer

Nossa razu veng di korasang
1pl G prayer come S heart
reza kadadia nos per-may-tay.
pray each day 1pl promise

Note the Malay style use of k to represent /k/ in kadadia 'each day', ng to represent /ng/ in veng 'come'; the Portuguese etymological style use of v to represent /b/ in veng /beng/ and the use of nossa to represent /nussa/; the English style -ff- to represent /f/ and ay to represent /e/ in offerasay /ofresay/ 'offer' (the extra syllable is probably for singing purposes).

The latter text is only slightly more accessible to Kristang speakers than the previous one. Texts in a similar orthography may be found in Sta Maria (1980:197-224).

The decision to adopt a particular spelling system is ultimately in the hands of the speech community itself. Clearly, those who feel that Kristang is an offshoot of Portuguese may wish the Kristang orthography to approximate to that of Portuguese. In fact, the Portuguese Settlement Committee has occasionally used a Portuguese dictionary to spell Kristang words. Arguments in favour of a Portuguese based orthography are that such a system would allow the community access to writings in Standard Portuguese and that speakers of Portuguese could read Kristang. However, such arguments are of doubtful validity for a number of reasons:

1. The syntax and lexicon of the two languages are considerably different.

2. It is doubtful that the community would make the effort to learn a foreign spelling system, let alone undertake to read books in such a spelling.

3. Portuguese speakers have little difficulty reading Kristang in a Malay type orthography.

The practical reality is that Kristang is demising and to expect a community of fairly low literacy level to learn a new orthography is
totally unrealistic. On the other hand, an orthography based on Malay holds considerable appeal. Such a system was proposed by Hancock (1973:25) because it "has the advantage of being a system with which most Papia Kristang speakers are already familiar, and may easily be used since the phonological systems of the two languages are, broadly speaking, identical".

Indeed, since most of the community has had some exposure to written Malay, there exists a situation where, with a minimum of effort, Kristang could be written and read by a large sector of the population in a relatively short time if a Malay derived spelling system was adopted. Such a program could be readily implemented if the governing committee of the community produced a newsletter in Kristang.
2.7.2 Hancock's orthography

The following orthography for Kristang was proposed and used in Hancock (1973):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>Surface Phone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e, 潟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o, 潟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>å, Æ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only differences between this system and that presently used...
for Malay are that \([c]\) is represented by \(ch\) rather than by \(c\), \([\ddot{e}]\) is represented by \(\breve{a}\) rather than by \(e\), and stress is marked with an acute accent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kristang</th>
<th>Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>([c])</td>
<td>achá 'receive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([\ddot{e}])</td>
<td>sãpåtu 'shoe'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present description uses Hancock's orthography without the diacritic '⁷', representing \([\ddot{e}]\) by \(a\) and /æ/ by \(\ddot{a}\), for example kāza [kāzæ] 'house' and bōriā [bōriǎ] 'to caulk', respectively. Moreover, the vowels [o], [ŋ] and [e] and [ŋ] will be distinguished in contrasts as o, ŋ, e and ŋ and the semivowels [w] and [y] will be represented by ŋ and /ng, except in the word [yò] 'I' which I shall represent as yo. A grave accent will be used to mark stress in certain cases.

Stress will only be marked on multi-syllable words in the following cases:

1. where stress does not fall on the penultimate syllable
2. where the stressed penultimate syllable is a syllabic nasal, as for example ēgka 'NEG' and ēgua 'one'
3. where the penultimate syllable is a diphthong
4. to disambiguate words stressed on the penultimate syllable

On monosyllables stress will only be marked where ambiguities arise. Attention will not be given to stress shifting (2.6.4), except in verb serialization (see section 8.4). However, the reader should bear in mind that a verb with syllable final stress tends to shift the stress to the penultimate syllable if it is followed immediately by a main stress in the next word.
CHAPTER 3

PARTS OF SPEECH

In this chapter the form classes of Kristang based on morpho-syntactic and semantic criteria are presented. The discussion will establish the following classes, some of which will be subcategorized:

- Article
- Quantifier
- Cardinal numeral
- Pronoun
- Noun
- Adjective
- Verb
- Modal
- Relator
- Particle
- Interjection
- Adverb

3.1 Articles

Articles constitute a distributional class by virtue of occurring before nouns and functioning as indicators of reference.

3.1.1 Demonstrative articles

Formally, demonstrative articles occur in Noun Phrases before the head noun (see section 4.1.1), in which position they may be preceded by a quantifier type 1 or followed by a quantifier type 2 (see 3.2 below). Their function is to modify the meaning of the noun in terms of reference and deixis. There are two such demonstrative articles in
Kristang:

isi ~ isti 'this (closer to the speaker)'
akē ~ akeli 'that (further from the speaker)'

3.1.2 Interrogative article

The interrogative article kal occurs before a noun if the identity of an unspecified determiner within an NP is requested:

(1) kāl mangga bos kerē ?
which mango 2s want

'Which mango do you want?'

kal occurs stressed before a noun and does not occur with quantifiers. However, it may occur with numerals.

kal may also function as an indefinite article in declarative clauses. In this role it occurs unstressed and has the meaning 'some':

(2) kal jenti ǹgka gostà figu
some person NEG like banana

'Some people don't like bananas'.

As an indefinite article its most frequent role is in kal teng 'there is/are' existential sentences (see 8.2.2).

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 falà bai na tal tal lugà
this faith FI say go L such such such place
healer

'The faith healer will say "Go to such and such a place!"'.

3.2 Quantifiers

Functionally, quantifiers modify the head noun in terms of amount. Formally, they precede the head noun and may be subclassified into four types by the following criteria:

1. co-occurrence with numerals
2. co-occurrence with determiner:
   (a) occurrence precedes determiner
   (b) occurrence follows determiner

On this basis the following quantifiers may be differentiated:

Quantifier 1: tudu 'all'
Quantifier 2: otru 'other, another'
             más 'more'
Quantifier 3: cada 'each'
Quantifier 4: tantu 'much, many'
             mpoku 'some, a little'

The following matrix shows the distribution of the differentiating features for each class of quantifier (see 4.1.1):

Table 3-1: Differentiating features of quantifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differentiating feature</th>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Q2</th>
<th>Q3</th>
<th>Q4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (a)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

eli teng chegá doi
3s have arrive money

'He has enough money'.
3.2.1 Interrogative quantifier

The interrogative quantifier kàntu 'how many?' has the following characteristics:

1. occurs stressed before a common noun or a non-unique proper noun
2. may not occur with demonstrative articles
3. may not occur with numerals

kàntu represents an unspecified quantifier within an NP and requests its identity:

(3) kàntu famila bos teng?
   how many offspring 3s have
   'How many children do you have?'

In addition to kàntu other items may function as interrogative quantifiers (see 7.4.2.2).

3.3 Cardinal numerals

Functionally numerals fall into two classes: cardinals and ordinals. Cardinal numerals are part of the prenominal determiner of the noun phrase as discussed in 4.1.1. They may be identified formally by the fact that they may occur between quantifier 2 or quantifier 3 and the noun:

(4) a. otru dos krensa
    Q2 2 child
    other
    'Two other children'.

b. kada kuatu sumana
    Q3 4 week
    each
    'Each four weeks'.

Their function is to specify the number of entities denoted by the noun.

The cardinal numbers in Kristang may be predicted from the following selection:
1. ñgua 19. disnovi
2. dos 20. binti
3. tres 21. binti ñgua
4. kuatu 30. trinta
5. singku 40. korenta
6. sez 50. sinkuenta
7. seti 60. sasenta
8. õitu 70. satenta
9. novi 80. oitenta
10. des 90. noventa
11. onzi 100. nsentu
12. dozi 101. nsentu ñgua
13. trezi 200. dos sentu
14. katorzi 1,000. ñgua mil, m'nil
15. kinzi 2,000. dos mil
16. disês 3,000. tres mil
17. diseti 1,000,000. ñgua miliàng, m'miliàng
18. dizõitu

The words sentu, mil, miliàng, as opposed to nsentu, ñgua mil and ñgua miliàng, 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 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

A small number of common nouns show a sex distinction by having distinct feminine and masculine forms:
alkubitera  'procuress'
alkubiteru  'procuror'
bela  'old woman'
belu  'old man'
fila  'daughter'
filu  'son'
galinya  'hen'
galu  'rooster'
kuzinyera  'cook (female)'
kuzinyeru  'cook (male)'
madrinya / nya  'godmother, female sponsor at wedding'
padrinyu / nyù  'godfather, male sponsor at wedding'
nòiba  'girlfriend, fiancee, bride'
nòibu  'boyfriend, fiance, groom'
priseza  'princess'
prispi  'prince'
raînya  'queen'
re  'king'
sogra  'mother-in-law'
sogru  'father-in-law'
tia  'aunt'
tiu  '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. baka machu  
   bovine male 
   'bull'

   b. baka femi  
   bovine female 
   'cow'

This process has a parallel in Malay:

(7) a. lembu jantan  
   bovine male 
   'bull'

   b. lembu betina  
   bovine female 
   'cow'

3.4.2 Proper nouns

Formally, proper nouns do not reduplicate and they do not take adjectives in the postmodifier.³

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.

³Subclass 1 allows a special use of adjectives in nicknames:

   John godru nenàng chegà inda 
   fat NEG-PF arrive yet 

   'Fat John hasn't arrived yet'.
2. Calendar items:
   a. Days: dumingu 'Sunday'
          sabdu 'Saturday'\(^4\)
   b. Months: disemba 'December'
            jun 'June'\(^5\)
   c. Festivals: natâl 'Christmas'
                 san pedru 'St Peter's'

3. Geographical names:
   a. Countries: samatra 'Samatra'
                  siàm 'Thailand'
   b. Cities, suburbs:
      malaka 'Melaka'
      padri sa chang 'The Portuguese Settlement'.
   c. Islands: ila grani 'Pulau Besar, the main island to the south of Melaka'.
   d. Hills: oiteru bandera 'St Paul's Hill'

\(^4\)The other five days of the week are generally as in Bazaar Malay:

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

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

   sigunda fera 'Monday'
   tersa fera 'Tuesday'
   kuata fera 'Wednesday'
   kinta fera 'Thursday'
   sesta fera 'Friday'

\(^5\)The names of months are from English. However, janeru (< P. janeiro)'January' is occasionally used.
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. kàl ñgua John ?
which one
'Which John?'
b. akeli John
that
'That John'.
c. kada natàl
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:

a | alegria | 'happiness'
andason | 'behaviour'
kàuzu | 'reason, cause'
lembransa | 'thought, memory'
sintidu | 'feeling, thought'
siùmi | 'jealousy'
trabalu | 'trouble, difficulty'

The following examples show typical functions of abstract nouns:
The function of abstract nouns is frequently fulfilled by adjectives or verbs premodified by a *sa* possessive construction:

(10) a. *elì sa kumì ŋka retu*  
3s G eat NEG correct  
'His diet was incorrect'

b. *elì sa ràiba yo mpodi aguentà*  
3s G angry 1s NEG-can endure  
'I can't bear his anger'

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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>nu ~ nus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bo ~ bos</td>
<td>bolotu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>e ~ eli</td>
<td>olotu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third 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'.

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

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.

6. The form bos-turu (I assume turu is a variant of tudu 'all') may be derived through convergence with Melaka Bazaar Malay which has the form lu semua '2pl (lu '2s' + semua 'all')'.

7. The forms bos tudu and eli tudu have a special meaning in contemporary Kristang:

eli . tudu ta bai nakè kazamintu  !
3s all -P go L+that wedding (party)  
'He too is going to the wedding party!'
Régo (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 'impersonalized' expressions such as:

\[(11)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{jenti fala \ ja \ kumi, \ ja \ kumi la !} \\
\text{person say PF eat, PF eat E}
\end{array}
\]

'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, the 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 *ma* 'mother' and *pa* 'father' or *ma* and *pa* respectively. Grandparents are addressed as *abo* 'grandparent' or as *gaempa* 'grandfather' or *gaemma* 'grandmother'. Uncles and aunts are addressed as *angkel* 'uncle' and *aenti* 'aunt', formerly *tia*, or *tanta* (< D. *tante* 'aunt'), and *tiu* respectively. A woman may be addressed by her husband as *mul* 'wife (lit. woman)' and she may address her husband as *maridu* 'husband', however, such use is rare. The terms *angkel* 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 *abo*. The words *bui* '?', *om* (< D. *oom* 'uncle') and *nyom*, which appears to derive from *kanyong* '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

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8 It is, however, common in traditional stories.
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 12a and b.

(12) a. nggêng 'nobody'
keng keng 'anybody'
b. nada 'nothing'
ki ki 'anything, whatever'
kalkizera 'whichever (one)'

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

Hancock (1973:26) reports ki ki koza as 'anything'. I have not 
oberved this use. However, I have observed ki ki angkoza which means 
'anything' but not 'anything'. In my observations koza only occurs 
as a despective meaning 'so and so', as in (a), or as an emphatic 
particle as in (b):

(a) akè koza tokadu mambès !
that drunk again
'That so and so is drunk again!'.

(b) koza di ràiu akè krensa !
S wicked that child
'So naughty, that child!'.

9
(13) keng keng pun podi balâ
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 nalâ
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 ngeng and nada.

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

(15) a. keng ganyâ lo ri la
who win FI laugh E

'Whoever won would laugh'.

b. ki teng eli kere 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 angkoza 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 *tudumbès Ncommo n* 'all the X (every single X)', which may reduce to *tudumbès*, functions as an indefinite pronoun meaning 'everything/everybody'.

### 3.5.2.1 Indefinite pronouns in negated clauses

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

(18) a. *nte* nada na riba di meza  
    NEG-BE nothing L top S table  
    'There is nothing on top of the table'.

b. nggëng ñgka olâ 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 ñgka.

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

(19)  
    ki ki (pun)  
    anything also  
    eli ñgka olâ {  
    3s NEG see keng keng (pun)  
    anyone also  

    'He didn't see anything, anyone (at all)'.

In subject position focussed position, the presence of the verb *pun* is required.

(20)  
    keng keng pun nte 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:
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
    many 1s G friends RP PF go
    skola pun ja bai fora di tera
    school also 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 Chapter Four.

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:

kì 'what?'
kèng 'who?'

kì represents non-human and inanimate NPs and kèng represents human NPs:
a. ki ta fazê nali ?
what -P do there
'What are you doing there?'

b. kèng ja murè ?
who PF die
'Who died?'

ki may also function as an interrogative determiner:

(24) ki 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) akè 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) akè kaza ponta kì sa klor ?
that house end what G colour
akè kaza bedri
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 nick-names.

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:

- grandi 'big'
- kaninu 'small'
- sonè 'little'
- kumpridu 'long'
- altu 'tall'
- kutru 'short'

2. Physical property:

- duru 'hard'
- moli 'soft'
- pezadu 'heavy'
- lebi 'light'
- friu 'cold'
- kenti 'hot'
- dosi 'sweet'
- azadu 'sour'
3. Colour:

- pretu 'black'
- brangku 'white'
- bramilu 'red'
- marelu 'yellow'
- bedri 'green'
- azul 'blue'
- choklat 'brown'

4. Human propensity:

- slumi 'jealous'
- amorozu 'loving'
- alegri 'happy'
- chadu 'clever'
- besta 'stupid'
- kaïnyu 'stingy'
- lagreza 'generous'
- gabadu 'proud'
- râiu 'wicked'
- prigasozu 'lazy (male)'
- prigasoza 'lazy (female)'
- mintirozu 'deceitful (male)'
- mintiroza 'deceitful (female)'
- bemfetu 'handsome (male)'
- bemfeta 'handsome (female)'

5. Age:

- belu 'old'
- (bela 'old (feminine)')
- nubu 'new'
- antigu 'very old'

6. Value:

- bong 'good'
- mal 'bad'
- riku 'rich'
- pobri 'poor'

---

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 inda
2s child still

'You are still young'.

---
7. **Speed:**

- prestadu 'fast'
- bagareza 'slow (also 'mentally slow')'

8. **Position:**

- lonzi 'far'
- pātu 'near'
- fundu '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 mulè 'woman', as in ñgua omi belu 'an old man', ñgua mulè bela 'an old woman', for example. However, such use is uncommon as belu and bela have become nouns for 'old man' and 'old woman' respectively. Otherwise, the adjective 'old' is always belu, regardless of the gender of the nominal.

### 3.7 Verbs

The verb 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 bomon 'very' or mbès '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 Five) and depict actions, states and changes of state. They may be subcategorized 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 Five). 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:

- bai 'go'
- nadà 'swim'
- parì '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:  

(27) akè mà ñgua yo olà ku eli
that more 1 1s see A 3s

ta remà remà
-P row row

'That other one, I saw he was rowing and rowing'.

\[\text{The active verb lembra 'remember' may reduplicate after first person singular subjects to yield a special meaning: 'as far as I can recall':}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo lembra} & \quad \text{lembra} & \quad \text{ake oras} & \quad \text{yo ja beng} \\
1s \text{remember} & \quad \text{remember} & \quad \text{that time} & \quad 1s \text{PF come} \\
\text{na Banda Hilir} & \quad \text{fikà} & \quad \text{GO stay} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'As far as I can recall I then came to live in Banda Hilir'.
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 kabâ '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 tokà '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 mandà ku eli gostà pikadèl
1s PF order A 3s like shrimp cutlet

\*I ordered him to like shrimp cutlets'.

7. may not occur in the imperative:

\*gostà pikadèl
like shrimp cutlet

\*Like shrimp cutlets!'

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:
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 kerè 'want', sintì 'be of the opinion' (sintì 'feel' is active) and lembra 'think' (lembra '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**
  - bai 'go'
- **activity**
  - nadà 'swim'
- **process**
  - parì 'give birth'
- **ambient**
  - kai chua 'rain'
- **existential**
  - teng 'be, exist'

With the exception of the existential verb teng, which behaves as a stative verb, other intransitive verbs are all active.¹²

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:

¹²There are two verbs teng: the intransitive 'be, exist' and a transitive 'have'. Both are stative.
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:

- nadà 'swim'
- drumì 'sleep'
- papià 'speak'
- andà 'walk'
- kurè '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:

- krisè 'grow'
- murè 'die'
- gumità 'vomit'
- kagà '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 a subject. In the former category there are only two verbs kai chua 'rain' and furâ bentu 'be windy'. In the latter category there is only one verb: fuzilà 'flash (lightening)'. 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
    Is 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 bendê yo sa prau ku Jeroni
    Is PF sell Is 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 30a 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 may occur with a clausal object:

(31) yo kerè eli beng amiàng
   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 kerè '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 Seven where they are considered in the context of the verbal clause.

3.8 Modals

The modals misti 'must' and podi '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. occur before the predicate and allow no intervening item
5. have special negative forms mpodı 'NEG-can, able' and numisti

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

Table 3-3: Relator words of syntactic function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
<th>RELATOR</th>
<th>ITEM RELATED</th>
<th>CHAPTER, SECTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACCUSATIVE</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>CL</td>
<td>8.1.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSIVE</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>4.1.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>4.1.3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3-4: Relator words of semantic function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
<th>RELATOR</th>
<th>ITEM RELATED</th>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADVERSATIVE</td>
<td>mas 'but'</td>
<td>NP, CL</td>
<td>8.1.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maski...(mas) 'although'</td>
<td>NP, CL</td>
<td>8.1.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENEFACTIVE</td>
<td>padi ~ pa ~ para 'for'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMITATIVE</td>
<td>ku 'with, accompanying'</td>
<td>NP, CL</td>
<td>4.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku 'with'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku 'from'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>8.1.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku 'from, of'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPARATIVE</td>
<td>chuma ~ kuma 'as, like'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>7.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di 'than'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONDITION</td>
<td>kantu ~ si (obs.) 'if'</td>
<td>CL</td>
<td>8.1.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISJUNCTIVE</td>
<td>kë 'or'</td>
<td>NP, CL</td>
<td>4.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kë 'or'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>8.1.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL</td>
<td>ku 'to'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL</td>
<td>ku 'with'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE</td>
<td>na 'at, in'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECEPIENT</td>
<td>ku 'to'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>di 'from, of'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku 'from'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>6.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMPORAL</td>
<td>ati ~ sampe (&lt; M) 'until'</td>
<td>NP, CL</td>
<td>6.3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ati ~ sampe (&lt; M) 'until'</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>8.1.2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{13}\) The relator kantu 'if' derives from P. quando 'when' and may occasionally be observed functioning as 'when':

 amnesty, tudu, kantu beng sibisu
tomorrow all COND come work

nang rintà rentu !
NEG-IMP enter inside

'Tomorrow, everyone, when you come to work, don't go in!'.
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 tense marker *ja* and the verb: the verb *kabâ* '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 *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 section 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 *kabâ* '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 ngka

The negative particle ngka 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 nà

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, râiu, nà !
   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 papià nasàng nasàng"
   3s drunk FI speak type type

   "nà ?"
   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)  seng ka
       AFF QP
  eli bebe sura { } ?
  3s drink toddy ngka ka
     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:

adöi!  'pain'
aiö!   'surprise'
alamå! 'surprise and anger'
då!    '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, modality 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 may 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'

daga  '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, prepresa, the meaning being the same: 'very quickly'.
Certain adjectives may also function as adverbs of manner, for example:

\[(36) \text{grandi}\]
\[\text{big}\]
\[\text{eli ta papià \{ mintarozu \} }\]
\[3s -P \text{ speak}\]
\[\text{deceitful}\]

'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':

\[(37) \text{bos ja sai bomong sedu}\]
\[2s \text{ PF exit very early}\]

'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 subcategorized formally. Functionally they comprise six semantic classes: locative, temporal, aspeactual, 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 Six) 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:

- **riba** 'up, above'
- **basu** 'beneath, below'
- **fora** 'outside'
- **rentu ~ drentu** 'inside'
- **diànti** 'front'
- **ilagri ~ ilagra** 'adjacent'
- **naki ~ akì** 'here'
- **nalì ~ ali** 'there'
- **nalà ~ alà** 'there further'

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

(38) nang pàsa diànti !!
NEG-IMP pass front IMP
'Don't pass in front!'.

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

(39) a. akì elì teng spinyu
here 3s have thorn
'Here it (=fish) has a spike'.

b. elì akì 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:
Two subclasses of locative adverbs may be established on the basis of further noun properties. Subclass 1 comprises riba, basu, fora, rentu, diànti and ilagrī ~ ilagraī. These items share the following properties:

1. Can occur preceded by sa:

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

2. Do not occur followed by sa:

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

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

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

Subclass 2 comprises akì, alì and alà (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) nalâ sa papa nggê da 
there G father NEG-want give
'There's father (i.e. the speakers 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) *akê kaza sa (n)alî 
that house G there
*'That house's there'.

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

(47) *nalî di akê kaza teng tantu alî 
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 akî, alî and alâ generally occur preceded by incorporate na even when preceded by other relators:

(48) di naki ati nalî dos pedra
S here until there 2 stone
'From here to there is two miles'.

There is no functional difference between di naki and di akî. This suggests that that akî, alî and alâ are in variation with naki, nalî and nalâ respectively. However, informants do not find the sequence na naki 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 temporal adverbs display certain noun properties. Such adverbs constitute subclass 2:

onti 'yesterday'
ozndia ~ ozi 'today'
amiàng 'tomorrow'
pamìâng 'morning'
ampamìâng 'tomorrow morning'
prehìrimu 'the beginning, the old days'
agora 'now'

These temporal adverbs display the following noun properties:

1. They may function as head of a NP:

(49) amiàng sabdu
tomorrow Saturday
'Tomorrow is Saturday'.

2. They may act as possessive determiner of a noun:

(50) agora sa krenkrensa bomong ràiul
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:
The class of temporal adverbs may generally occur in clause initial, pre-predicate and post predicate (generally following NP arguments of the predicate):

(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 kabà 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. chegà sa dia di dumingu,
arrive G day S Sunday
kaba misa yo lo panyà agu
finish mass 'is FI take water
lo bai dali ku eli, ku eli
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 duènti duènti duènti
each day touch ill ill ill
kà ja parà skola
finish PF stop school
'Each day I used to get ill invariably; then I stopped school'.

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

- anu pasadu 'last year'
- anu truzudu15 'last year'
- otu anu 'next year'
- amiàng otu dia 'day after tomorrow'
- onti otu dia 'day before yesterday'
- onti anoti 'last night'
- ozi anoti 'tonight'
- di logu mesu S presently even 'immediately'

14 The reduction of kaba to kà as in this example is common to all functions of kaba except that of main verb.
15 The word truzadu appears to occur only in this expression.
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:

- ñda ~ inda 'yet' (obs.)
- nenâng ((i)nda) 'not yet'
- mesu 'still'

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

(54) a. eli nenâng beng kaza (ñda)
    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'.

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

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

In such cases nenâng 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:

16 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'.

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16 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'.
Father did some work in Singapore, you know? He came home after not even one week.

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

(57) eli nenàng ola ku John مدة
3s NEG-PF see A yet

'He hasn't seen John yet'.

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

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

(58) a. inda teng mulè
yet have wife

'He (the speaker's brother, an old man) still has a wife'.

b. olotu ta perà inda
they -P wait yet

'They are still waiting'.

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

(59) eli teng mesu na praia
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:

- sempri
- slalu (< M. selalu)
- membès
- mambès
- (di) tona

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

(60) a. mambès eli teng akì
    again 3s BE here
    'Again he is here'.

b. e sa pai sempri ta bebè nalà
    3s G father always -P drink there
    'Her father often is drinking there'.

c. olotu ja bai Australia mambès
    3pl PF go again
    'They went to Australia again'.

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

Other items may function as frequency adverbs. For example, the temporal adverb niòra 'shortly' reduplicates to function as the frequency adverb niòra niòra 'often'. The frequency adverb membès is itself derived from a reduplicated temporal adverb functioning as a frequency adverb: mbèsa mbèsa (~ mbèsa per mbèsa) 'sometimes'.

17 The adverb mambès derives from

màs + ògua + bes
more 1 occasion
Modal adverbs express an evaluation of the clause in terms of possibility and certainty. They constitute a small closed class which includes:

- **diski**¹⁸: 'evidently, it is said'
- **sertu**: 'sure, certain'
- **memāng (<M. memang)**: 'certainly'
- **kisa**: 'perhaps' (obs.)
- **anumbêṣ**: 'perhaps'
- **erâ**: 'likely'

The most frequent position for these is clause initial:

(61) anumbêṣ yo sa sogru lo bendê  
perhaps 1s G father in law FI sell  
akē langgiâŋg  
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 *podi fikâ* ('can' + 'happen') frequently functions as a modal adverb with the meaning 'possibly':

(62) podi fikâ lo kai chua  
can happen FI fall rain  

'Possibly it will rain'.

The adverb **erâ** 'likely' may reduplicate:

(63) era erâ lo kai chua  
likely likely FI fall rain  

'It may well rain'.

¹⁸ 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. Silva Dias 1959:21).
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:

- ʊndi 'where?'
- kōra 'when?'
- kifōi 'why?'
- kāi ~ klāi '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

  ʊndi bos ja pari ?
  where 2s PF bear

  'Where were you born?'

b. Pre-predicate

  bos kōra lo bai Jasin ?
  2s when FI go

  'When will you go to Jasin?'

c. Post-predicate

  bos ja dali ku eli kifōi ?
  2s PF hit A 3s why

  'Why did you hit him?'

The time and location interrogative adverbs, kōra and ʊndi may function as relative adverbs (see 4.1.8.3) and, along with kifōi, they may function as subordinating relators introducing adverbial clauses (see 8.1.2.4). Both kōra and ʊndi 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: asi '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):

(55) a. nus ja pegà ñgua kambràng asi grandi
 1pl PF catch 1 crab thus big

  'We caught a crab so big'.

b. eli ta papià asi
 3s -P speak thus

  'She was talking like so'.

When it modifies predicates, asi 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 pegà 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'
tamîng    '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 aki pun  
3s PF come here too  
'He came here too'.  
b. eli pun ta kumi  
3s too FI eat  
'He is eating'  
c. eli ja kumi pun  
3s PF eat too  
'He ate too'.  
d. yo ja ola ku John pun  
1s PF see A too  
'I saw John too'.  
e. pun toka pagà  
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 acha abizu  
3s still PF receive invitation  
'He too received an invitation'.

3.12.10 Restricting adverbs

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

(69) a. eli ta kumi namâs  
3s -P eat just  
'He was just eating'.
b. eli saja ta kumi
3s just -P eat

'He alone was eating'.

19

c. Maria ta papiā ku John namās
-P speak C just

'Maria was speaking with John only'.

In 69a, the subject was doing nothing other than eating. In 69b
the subject, and no-one else was eating. In 69c 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 namās 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:

mutu 'very (in few cases), too'

bomong ~ bong bong '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 bebè mutu tantu sura
3s drink too much toddy

'He drinks too much toddy'.

For some speakers, saja in pre-predicate position can also mean
'deliberately'.
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 papià 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 papià kristàng
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 màs 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: menus 'less'
Superiority: màs 'more'
Equality: chuma ~ kuma ~ komu (obs.) 'like, as' 20

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

(75) akè femi ja subî bentu, ja da gritu, 
that female PF ascend wind PF give yell
falà akè omi ta beng; chuma angkô
say that man -P come like thing
ja kachô 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'.

20 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:

\[
\text{NP} \rightarrow \{ \text{PRENOMDET} \} \text{NOUN} \{ \text{POSTNOMDET} \} \text{PRONOUN}
\]

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 (POSSI). The five types of prenominal determiners are shown respectively in the following examples:

Quantifier:
(1)  kada kaza
     Q  house

     'Each house'.

**Demonstrative article:**

(2)  akè albi
     DEM tree

     'That tree'.

**Numeral:**

(3)  dos prau
     2  boat

     'Two boats'.

**Interrogative determiner:**

(4)  kì redi ?
     ID net  Q

     'What net?'.

**Possessive NP + sa:**

(5)  eli sa irmāng 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
Q1(INT1) { POSS1 | Q2 | Q3 | NUM *+ | (INT2)Q4

PREND -->
{}

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 mas occurs with DEM it must occur with NUM
7. + co-occur
8. * co-occur except when n'gua functions as INDEF

Key:
DEM : akè ~ akeli 'that', isi ~ isti 'this'
ID : kàl 'which', kì 'what'
INDEF : kal 'some'
INT1 : bomong 'very', mutu 'very+
INT2 : mbès 'very++'
NUM : n'gua '1', dos '2', ...
POSS1 : sa type possessive construction
Q1 : tudu 'all'
Q2 : otu 'other', mà ~ màs 'more'
Q3 : kada 'each'
Q4 : tantu 'many', mpoku 'a little'
The following examples demonstrate some of the possibilities of co-occurrence of prenominal determiners:

**Q1 + DEM:**

(6) \[ \text{tudu } \text{akè } jenti } \]

\[ Q1 \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{people} \]

'All those people'.

**DEM + Q2 + NUM:**

(7) \[ \text{akè } \text{màs } \text{ñgua} \quad \text{kaza} \]

\[ \text{DEM} \quad Q2 \quad \text{NUM}\text{-1} \quad \text{house} \]

'That other (next) house'.

**Q3 + NUM**

(8) \[ \text{ada } \text{dos } \text{dia} \]

\[ Q3 \quad \text{NUM}\text{-2} \quad \text{day} \]

'Each two days'.

**POSS1 + NUM**

(9) \[ \text{yo } \text{sa } \text{tres } \text{irmàng} \]

\[ \text{is } G \quad \text{NUM}\text{-3} \quad \text{Sibling} \]

'My three brothers/sisters/brothers and sisters'.

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

(10) a. \[ \text{tudu } \text{mbès } \text{akè } \text{jenti } \text{ja } \text{saí} \]

\[ Q1 \quad \text{INT1} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{people} \quad \text{PF} \quad \text{leave} \]

'All those people left'.

b. \[ \text{teng } \text{bomon} \text{g} \text{tantu } \text{pesi } \text{na } \text{rentu} \]

\[ \text{BE } \quad \text{INT2} \quad Q4 \quad \text{fish} \quad L \quad \text{inside} \]

'There are a quite a lot of fish inside'.

In addition to the above prenominal determiners, the plural personal pronouns may also function as determiners and may be preceded by the quantifier *tudu*:
4.1.1 'Articles' and reference

Of the prenominal determiners, the demonstratives akɛ ~ akɛli 'that' and isi ~ isti 'this', and the numeral ŋgua 'one' may function as articles. In this function their semantic role is to categorize reference.

4.1.1.2 ŋgua as an 'indefinite article'

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

(12) eli ja olà ŋgua mulè brangku mbès,  
3s PF see 1 woman white very
se ? ..(..).. ta andà la, ta fai isoti  
know -P walk E -P do this+way
ku eli. e ja sigi, se? ..(..)..<akɛ mulè  
R 3s 3s PF follow know? that woman
ja disè basu di agu  
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 ŋgua rapàs, ...(..) .. eli, isi rapàs pun  
BE 1 fellow 3s this fellow also
bai rezà rezà ku san antoni  
go pray pray R Saint Anthony

'There was a fellow, ...(..) .. he, this fellow also would go and pray and pray to Saint Anthony..'
The use of ngua 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 akè ~ 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 akè ~ 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', akè ~ akeli for 'further from speaker'. The entity referred to is immediately identifiable (i.e. physically present):

(14) akè 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 akè ~ 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, akè mulè 'that woman' and isi rapàs 'this fellow' are instances of such reference. In anaphoric reference, akè ~ 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 akè ~ akeli and isi ~ isti in many cases, however,

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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'. 
appears to mark an asserted specific entity rather than one that is presupposed:

(16)  
\[\text{yo sa ilagra di kaza, eli sa pai duenti} \]
\[\text{is G adjacent S house 3s G father ill} \]
\[\text{fosa; kà eli ja beng; nu ja gità ku} \]
\[\text{strong finish 3s PF come 1pl PF call A} \]
\[\text{isi omi eli fikà na Kampong Tengah, se?} \]
\[\text{this man 3s stay L know?} \]

'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 prenominal determiners

A NP occurring without a prenominal 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 puzà 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 sabè keng ja tomà. kristâng!
1s know RP PF take
akè banda sa jenti. teng ñgua machu
that side G person BE 1 male
di akè banda sa jenti
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 buskà .jeru
3s -P seek son-in-law
'He is looking for a son in law'.

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

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

(22) japàng ja matà china
Japanese PF kill Chinese
'The Japanese killed Chinese'.

After some others, however, an indefinite NP without ñgua may be understood as singular:

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

(24) ja pari 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 ñgua is also admissible.
A particularly curious case is the environment following existential teng. Here [+human] nouns generally must occur with ñgua:\(^2\)

(25)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{teng} & \text{omi na fora} \\
\text{BE} & \text{ñgua man L outside} \\
\end{array}
\]

'There is a man outside'.

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

(26)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{teng} & \text{kobra na kaza} \\
\text{BE} & \text{ñgua snake L house} \\
\end{array}
\]

'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)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
kab\text{à di tras, na Municipal, teng} \\
\text{finish S behind L BE} \\
sibrisu kosa\text{ng. isi sibrisu di piùn} \\
\text{work empty (<M.) this work S peon} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\(^2\)An exception, however, is jenti which may occur after teng with or without ñgua:

(a)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
teng ñgua jenti na fora \\
\text{BE 1 person L outside} \\
\end{array}
\]

'There is someone (a person) outside'.

(b)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
teng jenti na fora \\
\text{BE person L outside} \\
\end{array}
\]

'There is someone/people outside'.

\(^2\)An exception, however, is jenti which may occur after teng with or without ñgua:
'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.  

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) **fem** ja kazâ ku kristâng
    girl PF marry A

'The girl (=speaker's daughter) married a Kristang'.

(30) teng mazùngua ja kazâ ku china; *china pun*,
    BE more+ 1 PF marry A Chinese Chinese too, even
    nsè papià kristâng !
    NEG+know speak

'Ah another one married a Chinese. The Chinese doesn't know how to speak Kristang either!'
(31) ja pari first krensa machu, kabà
(she) PF bear child male finish
krensa machu ja murè ...
child male PF die
'She first gave birth to a boy, then the boy died..' 

(32) police ja buskà
police PF seek
'The police looked (for him)' .

(33) olotu ja falà ku gomintu
they PF speak C government
'They spoke with the government'.

(34) sun ja disè
'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. 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.

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:

   amôr
   korsâng
   (a) minya }
       pai
       mai

   love
   heart
   'My }
   father
   mother

   minya is also used in the exclamnation 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 Melaka', more the equivalent of 'the John house' than 'John's house'.

4 Other types of possessive constructions are:
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, 228-9) and Baba Malay punya:

(36) yo _sa kaza  
BM/BabM: aku punya rumah  
1s G house 

'My house'.

In Standard Malay punya is a verbal with the lexical meaning 'to have'. Macdonald (1976:36) 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 is to be found in Hokkien. Lim (1981:45-52) shows that *punya* as a function word is grammatically related to the Hokkien morpheme *ê* 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 *ê* is that of possessive marker.⁵ Consider the following example, adapted from Lim (1981:47):

(39)  
Baba Malay  
    gua  punya  rumah  
1s + punya + house  

Hokkien  
    guā  ê  chhū  
1s + ê + house  

'My house'.

Concerning the Portuguese source for *sa*, Rêgo (1941:15) states that *sa* is a contracted form of Portuguese *sua* '3rd person sg. 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. Delgado 1917).

⁵Lim (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 marker;
(ii) marker of temporal and locative modifiers;
(iii) relativizer.

I have observed in section 4.1.3.7 that Kristang *sa* also may function as a relativizer.
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) Mod. 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 Delgado 1917:50-3, 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 Delgado (1917) called "partial reciprocal transfusion" is likely to have resulted in grammatical and lexical affinities across the areas (Ferraz 1984). If it did originated in India, it had in Malacca plenty of reinforcement from Malay and subsequently Dutch and English.
Probably the most reasonable approach to the origin of *sa* is to postulate multiple sources - Portuguese, Indo-Portuguese Creole, 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 gitā 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 of the banana tree'

(48) kaza di pedra -- kaza pedra
house S stone
'House of stone'.

The reason for this tendency is that *di* is unstressed and, in addition, the NPs related by *di* are in a sequence parallel to the NPs in the Standard Malay possessive relationship, that 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*:
Table 4-1: Possession relators and possession types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possession relationship</th>
<th>sa</th>
<th>di</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ownership</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kinship</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 body-part</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 part-whole</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 origin</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 spatial</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 'piece' of</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) *(akè) kareta di Albert that car S
da bai Johor ku { I}
1pl PF go
Albert sa kareta G car

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

---

6Exception 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)'.

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

(51)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{di Albert} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{ake kareta,} & \quad \text{that car} \\
\text{Albert sa} & \quad \text{G}
\end{align*}
\]

'That car is Albert's'.

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

(52)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?(akè) susi di Albert} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{that elder} & \quad \text{sister} \\
\text{nus ja bai Johor ku} & \quad \text{C} \\
\text{1pl PF go} & \quad \text{G} \\
\text{Albert sa susi} & \quad \text{G} \\
\text{elder sister} & \quad \text{G}
\end{align*}
\]

'We went to Johor with Albert's elder sister'.

(53)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?(akè) (ǹgua) susi di Albert} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{that elder} & \quad \text{sister} \\
\text{Albert sa susi} & \quad \text{G} \\
\text{elder sister} & \quad \text{G}
\end{align*}
\]

'Albert's elder sister is out front'.
However, when the possessive relationship is expressed in an equative construction, \( \text{di} \) is more acceptable:

\[(54)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{akè mulè } \text{Albert } \text{sa } \text{G } \\
& \text{that woman } \{ \text{jirisàng } \text{relative } \}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{susi } \\
& \text{elder sister } \\
& \text{sogra } \\
& \text{mother in law } \\
& \text{jirisàng } \\
& \text{relative } \\
& \text{irmàng } \\
& \text{sister }
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{b. } \text{akè mulè } \{ \text{? jirisàng } \text{relative } \} \text{ di } \text{Albert } \text{S }
\]

\[
\text{? irmàng } \\
\text{sister }
\]

\[
\text{elder sister } \\
\text{mother in law } \\
\text{relative } \\
\text{sister }
\]

'That woman is Albert's [relative sister].'.

Notice that with less specific nominals, \text{jirisàng 'relative'} and \text{irmàng 'sister'}, \text{di} is more acceptable.

Area 3, body-part relations, can only be expressed by means of \text{sa}:

\[(55)\]

\[
\text{Albert sa peu inchidu } \text{G foot swollen }
\]

'Albert's foot is swollen'.

\[(56)\]

\[
\text{*(akè) peu di Albert inchidu } \text{that foot S swollen }
\]

\* 'Albert's foot is swollen/The foot of Albert 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 aròs cf. * aròs 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 aròs cf. * aròs sa ngkati
1+kati S rice rice G 1+kati
'A kati (1 3/4lb) 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 gitā { prau sa tabu
boat G plank
}
this 1pl call

'this we call the { boat's planking
planking of the boat

(65)

Singapura sa kristāŋ
G

nsabe papiā
kristāŋ di Singapura NEG-know speak
Creole S

Singapore's Kristangs

'{ don't know how to
Kristangs of Singapore

speak Kristang'.

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. ñgua prau madera sa
1 boat wood G

'A wooden boat'.

b. ñgua buseta oru sa
1 betel gold G

box

'A golden betel box (containing the accessories required for the chewing of betel-nut)'.
As Poss is mutually exclusive with ñgua it could not originate in the prenominal determiner.

In this attributive function sa is equivalent to di:

(67) a. ñgua prau di madera
     1 boat S wood

     'A wooden boat'.

b. ñgua buseta di oru
     1 betel S gold box

     '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 sa and di

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun class</th>
<th>Possessive relator</th>
<th>Possessive relator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yo sa kaza</td>
<td>* kaza di yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td>1s G house</td>
<td>house S 1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'My house'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>John sa kaza</td>
<td>* kaza di John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper names</td>
<td>G house</td>
<td>house S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'John's house'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trankera sa jenti</td>
<td>jenti di Trankera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place names</td>
<td>G person</td>
<td>person S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Trankera's people'</td>
<td>'people from Trankera'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>baka sa kandri</td>
<td>kandri di baka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common nouns</td>
<td>bovine G meat</td>
<td>meat S bovine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'buffalo's meat'</td>
<td>'meat of buffalo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prau sa tabu</td>
<td>tabu di prau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boat G plank</td>
<td>plank S boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the boat's planking'</td>
<td>'the planking of the boat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ǹgka sisti 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baba Malay</th>
<th>gua pukol punya itu orang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I hit POSS the man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hokkien</th>
<th>guā phhā ē hit khhō lāng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I hit POSS the+classifier man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'The man whom I hit'.

4.1.3.8 *sa* as a nominalizer

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

(70) a. elī sa kumī āngka retu

3s G eat NEG correct

'Her eating (i.e. diet) wasn't right'.

b. bos sa rāiu yo mpodi guenta

2s G wicked ts 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 prenominal 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. kambrâng 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 rudià
   Creole dance rove
   'roving branyo (when musicians play in the street, from house to house)'
b. panu kubrì
   cloth cover
   'blanket'
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)  
\[ \text{a.} \quad \text{mulè laba ropa} \]  
\[ \text{woman wash clothes} \]  
\[ \text{'washerwoman'} \]  

\[ \text{b.} \quad \text{omi pega pesi} \]  
\[ \text{man catch fish} \]  
\[ \text{'fisherman'} \]  

These compounds appear to derive from relative clauses. For example 74a. might originate from a structure of the type:

(75)  
\[ \text{mulè ki laba ropa} \]  
\[ \text{woman RP wash clothes} \]  
\[ \text{'woman who washes clothes'} \]  

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)  
\[ \text{albi figu grandi} \]  
\[ \text{cf. * albi grandi figu} \]  
\[ \text{tree banana big} \]  
\[ \text{'big banana tree'} \]
The type of compounding in 74 is problematic with adjectival modification of this type. Thus, in the sentence

(77)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{altu} & \quad \text{tall} \\
?\text{ngua omi pega pesi} & \quad \text{grandi} \\
\uparrow \quad \text{man catch fish} & \quad \text{big} \\
\text{godru} & \quad \text{fat}
\end{align*}
\]

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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?ngua omi pega pesi, grandi \quad ?ngua omi} \\
\uparrow \quad \text{man catch fish, big} \uparrow \quad \text{man}
\end{align*}
\]

'A fisherman, a big man'.

(79)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{teng \quad ?ngua omi pega pesi, eli grandi} \\
\text{BE \quad ?ngua omi pega pesi, eli grandi} \\
\uparrow \quad \text{man catch fish, 3s big}
\end{align*}
\]

'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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
albi & \quad \text{figu} \quad \text{albi di figu} \quad \text{figu sa albi} \\
tree & \quad \text{banana} & \quad \text{tree of banana} & \quad \text{banana G tree}
\end{align*}
\]

'Banana tree'. (There is however a difference in informational prominence in the word order in the possessive paraphrases here.)
(81) bela machadu
sail axe
cf. bela chuma machadu
sail like axe
'axe sail'

(82) branyô rudià
cf. branyô ki rudià
Creole dance rove
RP rove
'roving branyô'.

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

(83) angkoza suzu
ting filthy
cf. angkoza ki suzu
thing RP filthy
'evil spirit'
'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', luga pari 'womb', bichu anela 'type of caterpillar' and bela machadu 'ake-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:

(84) akē krenkrensa ta fazē 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 [krəŋˈnəsə]) i.e. krensa + krensa
'children'
b. femfemi i.e. femi + femi
'women'
c. kankambradu ~ kambrakambradu i.e. kambradu + kambradu
'friends'
d. famfamila i.e. famila + famila
'offspring'
c. sosoti i.e. sorti + sorti
'all kinds'

In the latter case full reduplication is not possible.

Reduplication of common nouns which can refer to states may derive adverbials:

(a) yo fila fila ja bai fika Kelang
1s girl girl PF go stay
'When I was just a girl I went to live in Kelang'.

'(b) pampamiang eli bendē mee
morning+morning 3s sell noodle
'Early in the morning he sells noodles'.

In the latter case, the reduplication of pамиang is parallel to that of pagi in Malay: pagi pagi 'early in the morning'.
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 jirisang 'relatives', rona '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 87a and b, whereas a non-specific plural subject or object does not reduplicate, as in 88a and b:

(87)

a. akè krenkrensa ta fazè amoku
that children -P make noise
'The children are making noise'.

b. eli gostà ku akè krenkrensa
3s like A that children
'She likes those children'.

(88)

a. eli gostà krensa
3s like children
'She likes children'.

b. femi gostà 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 89a and b:
a. John sa kachoru G dog
'John's dog'.

b. John sa kachoru kachoru 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!'  

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

(91) a. yo sa sogru gadra pastu
1s G father in law keep bird
'My father in law keeps birds'.

b. yo sa sogru gadra pastu pastu
1s G father in law keep bird bird
'My father in law keeps all kinds of birds'.

---

8 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!'
4.1.5 Postnominal determiners

The postnominal determiner 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:

\[ \text{POSTND} \rightarrow (\text{ADJP}) (\text{ONUM}) (\text{POSS2}) (\text{RC}) \]

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) ñgua omi bomong godru
1 man INTvery ADJfat

'A very fat man'.

**Ordinal number:**

(93) akè 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) akè omi ki bos ja olà
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.
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 }

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

INT2: mbès '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 98a, physical property, as in 98b, and human propensity, as in 98c:

   (98)
   \[
   \begin{align*}
   \text{a. } & \text{ngua albi} \{ \text{green big} \} \\
   & \text{1 tree} \\
   & (\text{?}) \text{grandi bedri} \\
   & \text{big green} \\
   \text{'A big green tree'.} \\
   \text{b. } & \text{ngua koku} \{ \text{hard green} \} \\
   & \text{1 coconut} \\
   & (\text{?}) \text{duru bedri} \\
   & \text{hard green} \\
   \text{'A hard green coconut'.} \\
   \text{c. } & \text{ngua machu} \{ \text{wicked white} \} \\
   & \text{1 male} \\
   & (\text{?}) \text{raiu brangku} \\
   & \text{wicked white} \\
   \text{'A wicked white boy (i.e. pale complexion)'.}
   \end{align*}
   \]

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

   (99)
   \[
   \begin{align*}
   \text{a. } & \text{ngua omi} \{ \text{wicked old} \} \\
   & \text{1 man} \\
   & (\text{?}) \text{raiu belu} \\
   & \text{wicked old} \\
   \text{'A wicked old man'.} \\
   \text{b. } & \text{ngua omi} \{ \text{wicked fat} \} \\
   & \text{1 man} \\
   & (\text{?}) \text{raiu godru} \\
   & \text{wicked fat} \\
   \text{'A wicked fat man'}
   \end{align*}
   \]

4. Dimension tends to take preference over physical property:
5. Dimension and age, as in 101(a), and colour and age, as 101(b), seem unrestricted in order:

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

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. only the Dimension class typically allows reduplication, for example:

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 103a and 103b respectively:
(103) a. nu mui ku eli finu finu
   t'pl 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:

(104)

   ñgua
   1
   namba { dos }
   number 2
   tres
   3
   etc.

   'First, second, third, etc'.

Ordinal numbers may function attributively and predicatively:

(‘05) a. De Silva sa kaza namba dos
       G house number 2
       'The De Silva's house is the second (one)'.

   b. akè kaza namba dos, De Silva sa
      that house number 2 G
      'The second house is the De Silva's'.

4.4.8 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 1981:131-2).
Both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are to be found in Kristang (Hancock 1973:30), as exemplified in 106 and 107 respectively:

(106) akè omi keng ja beng panyà akè factory,
that man RP PF come take that
eli bong la
3s good E

'That man who came to take over the factory, he was really good'.

(107) bos sa mule, ki yo sa fila, misti pari
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). 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 Clauses 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 relativizes 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 relativize: subject, object, recipient and possessor, as shown respectively in examples 108, 109, 110 and 111:

9 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.
Many of my friends who went to school too left the country.

Then we would measure (the distance) with the stick that we were hitting.

The boy to whom you gave the money is my brother.

The one whose house I took you to (lit. 'The one who I took you to her house').
b. (Main clause: subject)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{keng} & \quad \text{RP} \\
\text{akè} & \quad \text{mulè} \quad \{ \} \quad \text{sa} \quad \text{fila} \quad \text{bos} \quad \text{kubisà} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{G} \quad \text{daughter} \quad 2s \quad \text{covet} \\
\text{rezà} & \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{san} \quad \text{antoni} \\
\text{pray} & \quad \text{R} \quad \text{Saint} \quad \text{Anthony}
\end{align*}
\]

'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 akè tempu kora yo teng nakè Praya Lane, but that time when 1s BE L+that teng ñgua krensa ja toka pegà di churikati BE 1 child PF get catch S goblin

'But that time when I was (living) in Praya Lane there was a child who got caught by a churikati goblin'.

(113) ma olotu fala na pètu yo sa rua, se ?, but 3pl say L near 1s G street know ?

yo sa rua undi akè bus andà nakì, 1s G street where that walk here,

ngka ? nakè, nakè banda Day Road, NEG L+that L+that side

olò fala nalì, 3s say there

nali petu akè albi ñgka mutu bong 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')'.

---

10 The word churikati (occasionally kurichachi) is derived from Malay curi 'steal' + katek 'dwarf'.

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 relativized. 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 kontà stori raìnya omi
1pl woman people tell story man

'We are women. People who tell traditional stories are men'.

(115) **Head = RC object (MC subject)**

ma, chuma falà, prau bo fai ɨngua sumana ìngka
but like say, boat 2s make 1 week NEG

balè
value

'But, say, a boat that you make in one week is useless'.

(116) **Head = RC recipient (MC subject)**

a. akè f-mi bos ja da akè katrì Angela,
that female 2s PF give that letter

ìngka ?
NEG

'The girl to whom you gave the letter is Angela, isn't it?'

b. akè kaza sa rabông ja kebrà ja fazè retu
that house G roof PF break PF make correct

'The house whose roof was broken has been repaired'.

11The stori raìnya (lit. story+king+queen) or stori raìnya are tales traditionally told to children and told at wakes.
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)
mas ñgua, jenti prenyna eli parì murè
more 1 person pregnant 3s bear die
fikà pontianak
become vampire
'Another one, a pregnant woman who dies in childbirth becomes a vampire'.

b. Head = RC subject (MC object)
yo sa kanyòng ñgua eli tokà ñgua
1s G older one 3s strike 1
brother
ñgua master eli da kosi
3s give kick =master
'My eldest brother, he struck 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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF RELATIVE CLAUSE</th>
<th>ROLE OF HEAD NOUN IN RELATIVE CLAUSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELATOR:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keng</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUCING:</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-REDUCING:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pro-copy</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 the 'most explicit' and therefore the better candidate for use with a wide range of arguments, is restricted to subject arguments.

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 Standard 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 creolized 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 by Bazaar Malay) where it has been described as a development taking place posterior to that of the reducing type relative clause (Peet 1973:96).

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 prenominal 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 prenominal 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. \(\text{padri} \quad \text{ja beng}\)  
   priest PF come  
   'The priest came'.

b. \(\text{olotu} \quad \text{ta brigà}\)  
   \(\frac{3s}{-P}\) fight  
   'They are fighting'.

c. \(\text{tudu} \quad \text{ja sai}\)  
   \(\frac{Q1}{PF}\) exit  
   'All went/came out'

d. \(\text{tenò} \quad \text{tantu}\)  
   \(\frac{BE}{Q4}\)  
   'There is a lot'.

e. \(\text{akeli} \quad \text{yo sa}\)  
   that \(1s\)  
   'That is mine'.

f. \(\text{ki} \quad \text{akeli} \ ?\)  
   \(\frac{ID}{that}\)  
   'What is that'.

g. \(\text{eli} \quad \text{ja bendè dos}\)  
   \(\frac{3s}{PF}\) sell \(\frac{2}{}\)  
   'He sold two'.

h. \(\text{eli} \quad \text{sa} \quad \text{ja pedrè}\)  
   \(\frac{3s}{G}\) PF lose  
   'His is lost'.

i. \(\text{akè prau} \quad \text{di Michael}\)  
   that boat \(S\)  
   'That boat is Michael's'.

In broad terms, prenominal and postnominal determiners may co-occur in headless NPs. One example should suffice:
4.2 Coordination

NPs may be coordinated 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 coordination is discussed in section 8.1.1.

4.2.1 Conjunction

NPs may be conjoined by means of the comitative relator ku 'with' thus:

\[(120)\]

\[\text{branyo membés teng bióla ku floi} \]
\[\text{sometimes have violin C flute} \]

'Branyo (the Kristang dance music) sometimes has violin and flute'.

b. \[\text{yo sa papa ku yo sa kanyong ta bai mar} \]
\[\text{Is G father C Is G elder -P go sea brother} \]

'My father and my brother are going fishing'.

The second NP and the comitative relator may be shifted to the right of the verb:

\[(121)\]

\[\text{yo sa papa ta bai mar ku yo sa kanyong} \]
\[\text{Is G father -P go sea C Is G elder brother} \]

'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 ke:

(122) a. Peter ke John logu sigi ku bos
    D FI follow C 2s

    'Peter or John will go with you'.

b. justu dos ke tres !
    just 2 D 3

    'Just two or three!'

c. ja fikà sa mai pai lo bai buscà sa
    PF become G parents FI go seek G

    jenti idadi, olotu sa jirisăng mesu, sa
    person age 3pl G relative still, G

    abò kë sa tia, akè jenti idadi
    grand or G aunt that person age

    parent

    ŋgka ?
    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 + taming 'even + also'.

The particle kë is derived from the Malay question particle kah, which in Baba Malay (Lim 1982:95-6), Melaka Bazaar Malay and other

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Another common form of disjunction involves a construction of the type 'if not...then', for example:

kantu ŋgka Michael, Pio lo kumî akè 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.
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'.
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:

\[
\text{Predicate} \rightarrow (\text{Aux}) + \{ \text{AdjP} \}
\]

\[
\text{VP}
\]

\[
\text{NP}
\]

\[
\text{RelP}
\]

If the predicate is a verb phrase, it may comprise a complement of NP arguments. These NP complements are discussed in detail in Chapters Six and Seven. 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:

\[
\text{Aux} \rightarrow (\text{NEG}) (\text{TMA}) (\text{MODAL})
\]

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:

\[
\text{TMA} \rightarrow \{ \text{ja}, \text{ta}^* \}
\]

\[
\quad \rightarrow \{ \text{logu}^*, \text{kaba} \}
\]

\(\{ \quad \}
\)

\[* = \text{do not co-occur}\]

Key:

- \text{ja} = \text{perfective aspect particle}
- \text{logu} = \text{future-irrealis mood particle}
- \text{ta} = \text{non-punctual aspect particle}
- \text{kaba} = \text{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 \text{ja}

The perfective aspect particle \text{ja} (<P. \text{já} 'already') may co-occur with verbs, adjective phrases and noun phrases. 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 \text{ja} in these different predicates in the following sections.

5.1.3 The particle \text{ja} with active verbs

The particle \text{ja} occurs with active verbs in two types of time context:

1. A perfective aspect particle derived from P. \text{já} is common to all varieties of Malayo-Portuguese and most varieties of Indo-Portuguese Creole.
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)**

\[ \text{---S---} \quad \text{-----------} \rightarrow \text{t} \]

\[ R \quad M \]

**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:
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 these 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)  
\[ \text{kora yo chegà nali eli ja bai} \]  
\[ \text{when 1s arrive there 3s PF go} \]  

'When I arrive there he has (HABITUAL)/ will have gone'.

This may be expressed in the following diagram:
Figure (b)

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c}
\hline
 & S & t \\
\hline
M & & \\
\hline
R & & \\
\hline
\end{array} \]

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 baìi, takes place prior to the point of reference \( R \), yo chega naìì. 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 chegà eli ja ta kumi
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 Is 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 chegà eli ja bai
when Is PF arrive 3s PF go

'When I arrived he left (# When I arrived he had left)'.

(8) kora yo ja chegà eli ja ta kumì
cor 3s 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 9a, or to add a second ja after the verb, as in 9b, or to use the adjective nubu 'new' in an adverbial function, as in 9c, or the adverb pun, as in 9d:

^However, some speakers find 7 ambiguous, meaning: 'When I arrived he left/ 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 10a, TMA may co-occur with the adjective altu because the height of the child changes with age. However in 10b, TMA is ungrammatical because altu refers to a static state, the colour of the house:

(10) a. isti krensa ja altu
    this child PF tall

'This child is (getting)/already tall'.

b. akë 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:
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)  
\[
\text{tempu di gera eli ja mestri di skola}
\]
\[
\text{time S war 3s PF teacher S school}
\]

'(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 examples below.

In examples 12, the point of reference coincides with the moment of discourse:

(12)  
\[
a. \text{eli ja sabê olotu teng akî}
\]
\[
3s PF know 3pl BE here
\]

'She already knows (has come to know already) they are here'.

\[
altu 'tall'
\]
\[
belu 'old'
\]
\[
duënti 'ill'
\]
\[
godru 'fat'
\]
\[
infadu 'sad'
\]
\[
magru 'thin'
\]
\[
seku 'dry'
\]
\[
surdu 'deaf'
\]
b. eli ja sinti bos ta ngganu 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 kumë tantu ! bo lo fikë 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)

```
---S=----|=====>t
   |
M
R
```

Key:

- t      time axis
- S==> situation referred to by the verb in question
- M      moment of discourse
- R      point of reference

Note, however, that 12a and 12b are also acceptable in a context where the point of reference is prior to the moment of discourse, as in figure (d) below.

In 13 the point of reference is prior to the moment of discourse:
Example 13 may be given the following representation:

**Figure (d)**

```
-----S==>|==|==|=>-----> t
```

**Key:**
- \( t \) time axis
- \( S==> \) situation referred to by the verb in question: \( \text{eli sabè, eli duènti} \)
- \( M \) moment of discourse
- \( R \) point of reference: \( \text{yo chegà} \)

In 14 the point of reference is habitual circumstance:

```
(14)  
\begin{align*}
\text{kora yo chegà nali eli ja } & \{ \text{sabè know} \\
\text{when 1s arrive there 3s PF } & \{ \text{kansadu tired} \\
\end{align*}
```

'When I arrive there he \( \{ \text{knows} \) already'.

Example 14 may be given the following representation:
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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kora } & \quad \text{yo chegà } \quad \text{nali } \quad \text{eli ja } \quad \{ \text{know} \} \\
\text{when } & \quad \text{1s arrive there } \quad \text{3s PF } \quad \text{kansadu } \quad \text{tired} \\
\text{'} & \quad \text{When I arrive there he will already } \quad \{ \text{know} \} \quad \text{be tired}'.
\end{align*}
\]

Example 15 may be represented as follows:
The function of _ja_ with stative verbs and change of state adjectives is matched by Malay _sudah_:  

(16)  

\[ \begin{align*}  
\text{a. (i)} & \quad \text{'He knows already'.} \\
\text{b. (i)} & \quad \text{'He knew already'.} 
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}  
\text{a. (ii)} & \quad \text{'He is already fat'; 'He has become fat'.} \\
\text{b. (ii)} & \quad \text{'He was already fat'; 'He had become fat'.} 
\end{align*} \]

(17)  

\[ \begin{align*}  
\text{a. (i)} & \quad \text{'When I arrive he already knows'} \\
\text{b. (i)} & \quad \text{'When I arrive he will already know'} 
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}  
\text{a. (ii)} & \quad \text{'When I arrive he is already tired'} \\
\text{b. (ii)} & \quad \text{'When I arrive he will already be tired'} 
\end{align*} \]
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 \(\text{lo} \sim \text{logu}\)

The particle \(\text{logu} (< \text{P. logo} \ 'presently')\), which frequently reduces to \(\text{lo}\) is a marker of future-irrealis mood.\(^3\) It typically occurs with active verbs and to a lesser extent occurs with stative and change of state verbs and, infrequently, with adjectives. \(\text{lo} \sim \text{logu}\) 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,\(^4\) or which have an attenuated truth value by being considered 'characteristic', as in 21:

\[(18)\] amìàng otu dia, elì \text{logu} bai mar
tomorrow other day 3s FI go sea

'The day after tomorrow he will go fishing'.

\[(19)\] kantu yo teng doi yo \text{lo} \text{komprà kareta}
if 1s have money 1s FI buy car

'If I \{ \} the money I \{ \} buy a car'.

\(^3\)Forms deriving from \(\text{P. logo}\) functioning as markers of future-irrealis are widely observed in Asian Creole Portuguese.

'It is not the case that modal adverbs are always followed by a predicate with \(\text{lo} \sim \text{logu}\):

Krenkrensa anumbéès ja bai lugà ñgka bong
child+child perhaps PF go place NEG good

'Children perhaps went to an evil place'.
(20)  

sertu
sure

\{ anumbës \}
perhaps

lo  kai  chua
FI  fall  rain

erà
probably

Surely

'\{ Perhaps \} it will rain'.

Probably

(21')  

el  lo  falà  ku  sa  mai  pai  ke  da
3s  FI  speak  R  G  mother  father  want  give

seng,  ja  fikà,  sa  mai  pai  lo  bai
yes  PF  become  G  mother  father  FI  go

buskà  sa  jenti  idadi
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'.

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)  
pidi  ku  bela  Rosil.  eli  lo  sabè
ask  R  old  3s  FI  know

'Ask old Rosil. She will know'.

(23)  
amiàng  eli  lo  sabè
tomorrow 3s FI know

'He will know tomorrow'.

If it occurs with change of state verbs, \( \text{lo} \sim \text{logu} \) confers an inferential value:

\[(24)\]
\[
\text{eli lo lembrà bos kere brigà} \\
\text{3s FI think 3s want fight}
\]

'He will think you want to fight'.

When \( \text{lo} \sim \text{logu} \) occurs with adjectives it confers an inchoative value:

\[(25)\]
\[
\text{eli lo duënti} \\
\text{3s FI ill}
\]

'He will become ill'.

However, the inchoative value of adjectives is more frequently expressed by means of the verb \( \text{fikà} \) 'become, stay':

\[(26)\]
\[
\text{eli lo fikà duënti} \\
\text{3s FI become ill}
\]

'He will become ill'.

In function, \( \text{lo} \sim \text{logu} \) resembles Malay \text{nanti} and \text{akan}, both of which are used in varieties of Melaka Bazaar Malay as future-irrealis particles, although the former appears to be more common:

\[(27)\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nanti} \\
\text{dia \{ \}} \\
\text{3s akan go}
\end{array}
\]

'He will go to Johor'.

\[(28)\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nanti} \\
\text{kalu gua ada uang gua (}} \\
\text{if 3s have money 3s ?akan buy car}
\end{array}
\]

'If I have/had the money I will/would buy a car'.
While there is a similarity between the function of Kristang 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. estā '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:
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)  
\[\text{eli ta bai pegà kambràng ozi atadi} \]
\[3s -P \text{go catch crab today afternoon} \]
\[\text{'He is/was/(will be) going to catch crabs (this afternoon)'}\]

(33)  
\[\text{eli ta fai sibrisu na Jasin} \]
\[3s -P \text{do work L} \]
\[\text{'He is working in Jasin'}\]

With change of state verbs, *ta expresses a state in process:

(34)  
\[\text{eli ta sintì bos kere ngganà ku eli} \]
\[3s -P \text{feel 2s want trick A 3s} \]
\[\text{'She is/was thinking you want(ed) to trick her'}\]

The meaning with *ta is that the 'opinion' is 'actual' and perhaps 'temporary', not as strongly established as where sintì occurs without an overt TMA marker:
(35) eli sinti bos kere nagnan 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 *fika* 'become':

(37) eli ta fika 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. akê agu ta seku
that water -P dry
'The sea is at low tide (lit. 'the water is dry').

b. John ta duenti
-P ill
'John is "actually/newly" ill'.

Speakers claim that the difference between (38b) and (39) is that the former is more immediate, actual:

(39) John duenti
ill
'John is ill'.

For example, (38b) 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 38a and b may not be paraphrased using fikâ. The adjectives duènti '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 38b 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:


(42)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(42)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>lihat buku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>*pikir lu salah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>*godru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>*tahu itu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>'He is reading a book'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>'*He is of the opinion you are wrong'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>'*He is fat'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>'*He is knowing that'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 1981:105-6). 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 fikâ '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:

\[(44)\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{pai} \\
\text{(ser)} \\
\text{doente} \\
\text{está} \\
\text{(estar)}
\end{array}
\]

'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:

\[(45)\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{*dia} \\
\text{fat} \\
\text{3s} \\
\text{-P} \\
\text{sakit} \\
\text{ill}
\end{array}
\]

'He is fat/ill'.

5.1.7 The function of kaba

The word kaba (<P. acabar 'finish'), in addition to functioning as a lexical verb, an adverb (see 3.12.3 and 5.2) and as a conjunction (see 8.1.1.1), functions as a marker of completive aspect in modifying serializations (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:
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 chegà. 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)
\[
\text{ta} \quad \text{*sai di kaza} \\
\text{eli} \quad \text{exit S house} \\
\text{3s logu finish kumì} \\
\text{FI eat}
\]

is finishing *leaving the house
will finish eating

The completive marker kaba may also occur with certain change of state adjectives:

(48)
\[
\text{yo ja prenyà, ja kaba prenyà} \\
\text{1s PP pregnant PF finish pregnant}
\]
\[
\text{olotu pun ja mudà beng akì} \\
\text{3pl too PF move come here}
\]

'I was already pregnant; when my pregnancy was over they too shifted house and came here'.

The lexical verb kabà 'finish' is ungrammatical with adjectives, as in 49:
The function of Kristang kaba as a completive has a parallel in Malay habis 'finish'. Like kaba, habis is restricted to active verbs:

(50) (sudah) habis pergi
     PF COMP go
     bila gua sampai dia { baru pergi }
     when 1s arrive 3s 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 chegà 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 (1941-2) 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 chegà 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)
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ja} & \text{kaba} & \text{bai} \\
\text{PF} & \text{finish} & \text{go} \\
\text{kora yo ja chegâ, eli} & \{ \text{nubu ja bai} \} \\
\text{when 1s PF arrive 3s new PF go} \\
\text{ja} & \{ \} \\
\text{PF go pun too} \\
\end{array}
\]

'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)
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{yo} & \text{sta} & \text{kontà stori ku bos!} \\
\text{1s tell story C 2s} \\
\end{array}
\]

'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.\(^5\)

\(^5\)One informant suggested that ja sta bai originated from English just + ta bai. However this fails to account for the non-punctual nature of sta in 53.
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 komprà dos kati aròs !
3s go L shop buy 2 1 3/4lb rice

'Go to the shop and buy 2 kati of rice!'

The imperative is discussed in 7.3.

2. With the verb falà 'say, tell' it may signify past/non-past:

(55) eli falà Nick ntè
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 kontinà
PF finish war 3s go again continue

ku akè sibrisu la
C that work E

'After the war, he went back, continued with that job'. 
'Everyone was scared; people were even scared to talk. My father stopped working - the Japanese came, he didn't want to'.

'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 sabè bos ta beng
3s know 2s -P come

'He knows/knew you are/were coming'.

(61) eli sinti teng kobra nali
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. ake 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:

\[(63)\]  
\[\text{dia makan goreng pisang}\]
\[3s \text{eat fry banana}\]

(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 64a, b, c (i) and (ii) and d respectively:

\[(64)\]

a. dia tahu itu
know that

'He knows/knew that'.

b. dia ingat itu betol
3s recall that true

'He remembers/remembered that is/was true'.

\[^6\text{Note the word order goreng pisang in contrast with Standard Malay pisang goreng.}\]
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. \textbf{ja + kaba} : 'past completion', as discussed in relation to example 46 above.

2. \textbf{ja + sta} : 'past before past' as discussed in relation to example 51 above.

3. \textbf{ja + ta} : 'duratives and habituals 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

\begin{itemize}
  \item In other instances of TMA + kaba, for example logu + kaba or ta + kaba as in the following examples, \textit{kabà} is the lexical verb 'to finish':
    \begin{itemize}
      \item i. kora pai beng, el lo kaba fazè akè lemi
          when father come 3s FI finish make that rudder
          'When father comes he will finish making that rudder'.
      \item ii. eli ta kaba kumì
          3s -P finish eat
          'He is finishing eating'.
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
the combination is indifferent to time and may occur in the past, present or future:

(65) a. kora yo chegå eli ja ta kumî
when 1s arrive 3s PF -P eat

arrive will be
'When I { he { is } already eating'.

b. kora yo ja chegå eli ja ta kumî
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 fala mampoku dia lo sudê ku eli
person say more+few day FI occur A 3s
mesu la ! el lo duèntî, lo fikå logu !
even E 3s FI ill FI become FI

'People say before long it will happen to him himself! He will 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:
'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'.

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. akè tempu eli nenàng 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'.

kantu 'if' < P. quando
There are four negators in Kristang:

1. \( \text{n}g\text{k}\)a : a general negator for past or present
2. nadi : a negator incorporating future-irrealis
3. nenâng : 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 \( \text{n}g\text{k}\)a, nadi and nenâng 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 \( \text{n}g\text{k}\)a

The negator \( \text{n}g\text{k}\)a is derived from Portuguese nunca 'never' and occasionally it is realised as nungka. Functionally however, \( \text{n}g\text{k}\)a 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. \( \text{n}g\text{k}\)a 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 \( \text{n}g\text{k}\)a ta bai kaza
'ts NEG -P go house
'I am not going home'.
The inability of ſngka 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 ſngka with active verbs affects their tense/aspect interpretation adding a further two TMA dimensions to the unmarked verb:

(i) punctual

Where: ſngka + V active = NEG (ja + V active)

(ii) non-punctual

Where: ſngka + V active = NEG (ta + V active)

Thus NEG + V active may be interpreted as:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{past} & \text{punctual} & \text{habitual} \\
\text{present} & \text{non-punctual} & \text{non-habitual}
\end{array}
\]

Example 71 should clarify this point:

(71)  
eli ſngka bai mar  
3s NEG go sea

Possible interpretations:

a. 'He didn't go fishing' [+/- HAB]

b. 'He doesn't go fishing' [+ HAB]

C. 'He isn't going fishing' [+/- HAB]

d. '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 ſngka, 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: 9

(72)

ntè ~ (nunteng) = 'NEG + teng'
nggè ~ nggere ~ (nungere) = 'NEG + kere'
mpodi ~ (numpodi) = 'NEG + podi'
numisti = 'NEG + misti' 10
nsè ~ nsabe = 'NEG + sabe'

Bearing in mind the special forms listed above, ŋgka may negate all modals:

(73)

numisti
NEG-must

eli { }
3s

mpodi
NEG-can

'He { } go'.
must not
cannot

5.3.2 The negator nenàng

---

9Variants involving the full form of such NEG.V cases may very occasionally be observed:

ŋgka sabe
ŋgka teng
ŋgka kere
ŋgka misti

Such full forms are usually observed in emphatic contexts.

10Another form of negated misti is nang misti 'NEG IMP + misti'
The negator nenang\textsuperscript{11} 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 nenang occasionally occurs together with nda \textasciitilde{} inda (\textlangle P. ainda 'still, yet'\textrangle) 'yet', the latter following the verb complement:

(74) \begin{align*}
eli & \text{ nenang } \ bai \ kaza \ (inda) \\
3s & \text{ NEG-PF } \text{ go} \ \text{house} \ \text{yet} \\
\text{hadn't} & \\
\text{'He } & \{ \text{ hasn't} \} \ \text{gone home yet'}. \\
\text{won't have} & 
\end{align*}

In such cases the meaning is the same as when as when nenang occurs alone.

As seen in example 74 above, nenang, like ja, may occur in past, present or future contexts.

The negator nenang 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. \textbf{Active verb}
\begin{align*}
enang & \ \text{ kai } \ chua \\
\text{NEG-PF } & \ \text{fall} \ \text{rain} \\
\text{hasn't} & \\
\text{'It } & \{ \text{ hasn't} \} \ \text{rained yet'}. \\
\text{hadn't} & 
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{11}I am uncertain of the origin of this negator. It may be derived from Portuguese nem não?'not yet'. Tugu Creole Portuguese, formerly spoken in Tugu, Jakarta, had the aspectual negator indana:

\begin{align*}
eli & \text{ indana } \ kusi \\
3s & \text{ NEG-PF } \text{ eat} \\
\text{'He hasn't eaten yet'}. 
\end{align*}
b. Stative verb

eli nenâng sabe les skribè
3s NEG-PF know read write

'doesn't'

'He { } yet know how to read and write'.

didn't

c. Change of state verb

akè tempu, yo nenâng lembrà eli ladrâng
that time 1s NEG-PF think 3s thief

'At that time I didn't yet think he was a thief'.

d. Adjective

akè tempu pa nenâng duènti
that time father NEG-PF ill

'At that time father wasn't ill yet'.

e. Noun phrase

eli nenâng mestri
3s NEG-PF teacher

'He { } a teacher yet'.

wasn't

In its distribution with the TMA and Modal categories, nenâng also parallels ja. Of the TMA markers only ta may co-occur with nenâng:

(76) akè tempu eli nenâng ta fai sibisu
that time 3s NEG-PF -P do work

'At that time he wasn't working yet'.

With modals nenâng is unrestricted but infrequent!

(77)

eli nenâng { } bai (nda)
3s NEG-PF go yet

misti
must
5.3.3 The future negator nadi

The negator nadi, (P. não ha de 'NEG + have to')\(^2\) incorporates the future-irrealis mood. It has no parallel in Malay. Functionally it signifies 'NEG + logu':

\[(78)\]

\[
\text{kantu yo ntè doi yo nadi}
\]
\[
\text{if 's NEG-have money 's NEG-FI}
\]
\[
\text{komprà moto}
\]
\[
\text{buy motorcycle}
\]

"If I have the money I wouldn't buy a motorcycle".

\[(79)\]

\[
\text{Tate nadi bai mar ozi anoti}
\]
\[
\text{NEG-FI go sea today night}
\]

'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:

\[\text{Similar forms are found in other varieties of South East Asian and South Asian Creole Portuguese. For example, Batavia Creole Portuguese in Schuchardt (1891:95) has nada. The form nad in Damão Creole Portuguese was observed by Dalgado (1903:11). Smith (1977:174) observes the form na: in Sri Lankan Creole Portuguese.}\]
(80)

a. Active verb

eli nadi kantà
3s NEG-FI sing

'He won't sing'.

b. Stative verb

Rosil nadi sabè
NEG-FI know

won't know

'Rosil { 1 won't find out'.

13

(c. Change of state verb

eli nadi kerè ku bos
3s NEG-FI want A 2s

'She won't like you'.

d. Adjective

eli nadi duènti
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 podi or misti:

(81) *podi

can

eli nadi { } kantà
3s NEG-FI sing

*misti

must

*must

be able to

'sing'.

13The meaning 'find out' is more commonly expressed by the serial construction acha + sabe 'get to know'.


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 misti and podi which modify the predicate in terms of two modality scales:

- **NECESSITY**: misti 'must, oblige'
- **POSSIBILITY**: podi 'able'

Certain verbs, when they occur in modifying serializations (see 8.4.2) also function as modal modifiers. Thus the active transitive verbs tokà 'touch' and achà 'receive' function in modifying serializations 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 misti and podi.

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 misti 'must' and the verb tokà in modifying serializations with the value of 'be obliged to'. In this role tokà receives penultimate syllable stress.

The modal misti is generally a marker of obligation:

(82) eli misti bai mar ozi anoti
3s must go sea today night

'He must go fishing tonight'.

However, misti is systematically ambiguous allowing also an inferential reading. In 82 the inferential reading would be 'He must have gone fishing tonight'.

In serializations involving modal modification, tokà is a marker of obligation where the subject is compelled to do something (generally unfavourable) by forces beyond his control:
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 podi 'can, able' and the verb achà 'receive' in modifying serializations where it has the value of 'manage, get to' (see 8.4.2.3). In the role of modal achà receives penultimate syllable stress.

The modal podi is systematically ambiguous, allowing three senses: a root sense of possibility, as in 84a, permission, as in 84b, and ability, as in 84c:

(84) a. yo lembrà eli podi beng sedu
    is think 3s possible come early
    'I think he might come early'.

    b. pai falbos podi bai
    father say 2s able go
    'Father says you can go'.

    c. Leonard podi fufà floi
      able blow flute
      'Leonard is able to play the flute'.

The usual way to express possibility is by means of anumbès 'possibly' or podi fikà 'it could turn out':

anumbès
{     } eli lo beng sedu
  podi fikà 3s FI come early

Possibly
{      } he will come early'.
  It could turn out

It is more usual, however, to use sabè 'know', in cases involving ability.
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
get go

'Maria got to go to Christmas Island'.

5.4.3 Combinations of modals

The modals *misti* and *podi* do not co-occur; neither do the verbs *toka* and *acha* which may act as modal modifiers in serial constructions. However, *misti* and *podi* may combine with *toka* and *acha*. In such combinations *misti* only occurs with its inferential meaning, as in 86a and b, and *podi* only occurs with its possibility sense, as in 87:

(86) a JO lembra eli misti toka pagà
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) toka
oblige

yo leembrà eli podi { } bai Singapura
1s think 3s can

acha
get

have

'I think he might { } to go to Singapore'.

get

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 *acha* and *toka*, in their modal modifying function:
The modals misti and podi further resemble stative verbs in two ways:

I. When unmarked for TMA they are indifferent to past/present:

(89)

| misti | must |
| podi | able |

el | bai |

3s | misti | go |

processing...
could have gone
could go
can go
had to go
must go

'He \{ \text{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:

be able to
have to

'He \text{will} \{ \text{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):

\begin{align*}
(90) & \quad \text{eli} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{misti} \quad \text{bai} \\
& \quad 3s \quad \text{PF} \quad \text{must} \quad \text{go} \\
& \quad \text{had to} \\
& \quad '\text{He already} \{ \text{must} \} \quad \text{go}'. \\
& \quad \text{will have to} \\
\end{align*}

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:

\begin{align*}
(91) & \quad \text{eli} \quad \text{toka} \quad \text{bai} \quad \text{Singapura} \\
& \quad 3s \quad \text{oblige} \quad \text{go} \\
& \quad \text{used to have to} \\
& \quad '\text{He} \{ \text{go to Singapore} \}'. \\
& \quad \text{has to (present or future)} \\
\end{align*}

On the other hand, acha, when unmarked for TMA, may be interpreted as past habitual or present habitual:
When *toka* and *acha* occur with *ja*, the meaning is not one of emphasis as in the case of the modals. Rather, they co-occur with *ja* just as they would as main active verbs depicting single event or action prior to the moment of speech, or prior to the moment of reference:

(93)

a. eli | ja | oblige
     3s  PF  acha
get

'b. oras di yo chegâ nali eli ja toka bai hours S 'is arrive there 3s oblige go

'When I | there he | has | been
arrive     arrived
will have

obliged to go already'.

All Modals may occur with the future-irrealis particle logu:
(94) podi
able
misti
must

eli logu { } bai Singapura

3s FI

toka
oblige
acha
get

will be able
must (FUT)

'He { } go to Singapore'.

will be obliged
will get to

However, logu may not reduce to lo before podi or misti:

(95) podi
can

eli *lo { } bai Singapura

3s FI

misti go

must

This fact may be related to a slightly different reading of logu. If a future time reference adverb and logu occur in the same sentence both podi and misti are ungrammatical:

(96) *podi
can

amiàng eli logu { } bai Singapura

tomorrow 3s FI

*misti go

must

"Tomorrow he will { } go to Singapore'.

It may be that when logu occurs with podi and misti it functions as a sentential adverb and not a TMA particle.
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 metê '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 drumi
   3s -P sleep
   'He is sleeping'.

1 (b) 
   olotu ja mure
   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 1975):

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 own 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 1981:125-9). 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Proper names</th>
<th>Kin terms</th>
<th>human</th>
<th>animate</th>
<th>inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>obligatory</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ku is obligatorily absent. For example: teng 'have', lumia 'mention' and gadrà 'keep'.

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:

- amor 'love'
- busidu 'hate'
- judà 'help'
- kazà 'marry'
- respetu 'respect'
- etc.

2 Verbs generally taking human or animate objects only:

- bulì 'disturb'
- chomà 'call'
- kūrià 'raise, look after'
- koitadu 'pity'
- matà 'kill',
- parì 'to give birth, to be born'
- etc.
Paradigms of the following representatives 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(i)</th>
<th>(ii)</th>
<th>(iii)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amor</td>
<td>chomà</td>
<td>champò ~ champurà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>busidu</td>
<td>kerià</td>
<td>dali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kazà</td>
<td>koitadu</td>
<td>gostà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>judà</td>
<td>matà</td>
<td>largà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reapol</td>
<td>pontà</td>
<td>midu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reapotu</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngkontrà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olà</td>
<td></td>
<td>olà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pegà</td>
<td></td>
<td>pegà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pontà</td>
<td></td>
<td>sabè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Thus with this set of verbs it seems that the individual verb generally does not influence accusative marking.
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:

(4)

Fidelis sa fila ja olà ku { nus } 1pl
   G daughter PF see A

me  
you
her,him

'Fidelis' daughter saw { us }'.

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)

pontà *ku pastu
   shoot A bird

a. eli ta bai!
   3s -P go pegà *ku pesi
   catch A fish

   'He is going to shoot birds/catch fish'.

b. eli gostà *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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sabè</th>
<th>akè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>know</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eli</th>
<th>gostà</th>
<th>*ku</th>
<th>ñgua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta olà</th>
<th>buku bersu kristang</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-P see</td>
<td>GENERIC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sabe</th>
<th>akè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>know</td>
<td>that</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eli</th>
<th>gostà</th>
<th>*ku</th>
<th>ñgua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta olà</th>
<th>buku bersu kristang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-P see</td>
<td>GENERIC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, however, the following personifying use of ku with an inanimate indefinite object, expressing irony:

(7) olotu respetu ku doi!

'He knows a Kristang song.'

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:
Table 6-1: Noun class, reference and optional accusative marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REFERENCE</th>
<th>kin terms</th>
<th>proper supernatural names</th>
<th>human common</th>
<th>animate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>definite</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generic</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 informant's comments suggest that there is an affective difference between presence and absence of accusative ku with these nominals, and while that difference can 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 *∅* 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:**

```
ku
A
a. yo ja olâ { } Maria sa pai
   'I saw Maria's father'.

ku
A
b. eli sabè { } yo sa susi
   '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 *sabè* '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):
Human common noun of definite reference:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja} & \quad \text{olà} \\
\text{PF} & \quad \text{see} \\
\text{ku} & \quad \text{a.kè femi} \\
\text{ja} & \quad \text{Gosta} \\
\text{is} & \quad \text{G} \\
\text{kanyòng} & \quad \text{elder} \\
\text{like} & \quad \text{femi} \\
\text{sabè} & \quad \text{know} \\
\text{saw} & \quad \text{girl}'.
\end{align*}
\]

a. yo sa kanyòng { gostà } { } akè femi

'**My elder brother** likes that female'

b. yo ja gostà ku isi machu

'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 referent, et cetera). This is the case in 9(b) which was uttered after an explanation by the speaker of how after her engagement her fiance virtually ignored her and how she had become friendly with another boy. Eventually, the engagement had to be broken because yo ja gostà ku isi krens - where isi krens 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akè tempu sa jenti midu { } deus} \\
\text{that time G people fear Ø God} \\
\text{'Those times people feared God'}.
\end{align*}
\]

The Ø variant was acceptable but considered slightly odd. These
comments are supported by my recordings, where the names of higher supernatural beings such as deus 'God', nosiòra 'Our Lady', jizùs 'Jesus', san antoni 'Saint Anthony', siù mutru 'the Dead Lord' seldom occur without accusative ku.

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:

ku

a. eli ja olà { } ñgua jenti
   3s PF see ∅ 1 people

'He saw someone/a person'.

b. bo olà ku ñgua jenti, nakì teng ñgua, ---
   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 kazu { } ñgua fila china
   1s G son PF marry ∅ 1 girl Chinese

'My son married a Chinese girl'.

d. eli ja kazu ñgua malayu, eli ja sai
   3s PF marry 1 Malay 3s PF leave
   kristàmg 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 buskà 'to seek', pontà 'to shoot', matà '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 kazà { } moru  
   1s G elder PF marry Ø Indian sister
   'My elder sister married an Indian'.

b. eli ja kazà { } femi malayu  
   3s PF marry Ø woman Malay
   'He married a Malay woman'.

c. namba dos ja kazà { } kristàng  
   number 2 PF marry Ø 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 Ø 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. kifôi olotu soti malîsia ke buskà
   why 3pl kind lecherous want seek
   ?ku
   { } femi Malayu ?
   Ø girl Malay
   'Why should they be so lecherous that they want to look for Malay girls?'

b. eli gostà { } jenti prenya la !
   3s like Ø people pregnant E
   'It (the vampire) likes pregnant women!'

   ?ku
   

c. eli kurà { } jenti
   3s cure Ø person
   'He cures people'.

d. yo champô 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 generalization is being considered or whether the speaker is making the greatest possible generalization. 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 olà { } akè pesi
   Ø that fish
b. eli kere pontà { } akè pastu
   3s want shoot Ø that bird

(15)  Non-human animate nouns of indefinite reference:

a. Veronica sa pai ja pontà { } ñgua pastu
   G father PF shoot Ø 'bird
   'Veronica's father shot a bird'.

b. eli ja { } ku {*?kobra } snake
   3s PF olà A snake
   *bichu
   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 'recognize'. 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 15b, 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 animate 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 NP that do not stand in a grammatical relation to their predicate, and peripheral NPs.

Peripheral NP arguments provide the orientational setting 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 bende akè 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)

ku yo  
R 1s
ku Rita  
R
eli ja da { } akè pasi  
3s PF give that fish
(ku) eli sa pai  
R 3s G father
(ku) ake gatu  
R that cat

me  

'Rita

'He gave { the fish'.

his father

the cat
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, akè 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
child child 3pl PF give A 3s R 1
mulè china
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.)

pe ~ 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 kompra 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 kotrà akè kandri ku faka
  3s PF cut that meat I knife

'He cut the meat with a knife'.

6.3.4 The causal argument

An NP which functions as the uncontrolled cause of a change in the patient is indicated by the noun kàuzu 'cause, reason' which in conjunction with the relator di functions as a causal relator:

(21)  nus ta padisè kàuzu 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)  chang
       floor

  eli ta drumì na {   }
  3s -P sleep L 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:
In such cases, na, although preferred (except with ilagri), is optional:

(23)

rentu ~ drentu 'inside'
riba 'above, on top of'
basu 'beneath'
tras 'behind'
diànti 'in front'
fora 'outside'
ilagri ~ ilagra 'adjacent'

'a. eli ta santà (na) { } di Bel sa butika
3s -P sit L fora S G shop
outside

'He is sitting { } Bel's shop'.
outside
in front of

b. eli ta santà (na) { } di albi
3s -P sit L riba di kareta
under S tree
top S car

'He is sitting { }'.

beneath the tree
on top of the car

'm. eli ta santà (?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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tras} \\
\text{diànti} \\
*\emptyset \\
\text{fora} \\
\text{a. eli teng} & \mid \mid \mid \text{basu} \\
& \text{3s BE} \\
& \text{na} \\
& \text{hiba} \\
& \text{L} \\
& \text{rentu} \\
\end{align*}
\]

behind
in front
outside
'He is \{ beneath \}'.
on top/above
inside

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset \\
\text{b. eli teng} & \mid \mid \mid \text{ilagri} \\
& \text{3s BE} \\
& \text{?na} \\
& \text{adjacent} \\
& \text{L} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He is next door'.

With the verbs botà 'place, put' and metè 'put into', na occurs optionally, although it is preferred, with the locative argument:

(25) a. nu metè ñgua tersu (na) sa mang
      \text{\textsuperscript{1pl}} \text{put} \text{\textsuperscript{1}} \text{crucifix} \text{\textsuperscript{L}} \text{\textsuperscript{G}} \text{hand}

We put a crucifix in his hand'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. kèng ta botà lama (na) yo sa prau} \\
& \text{who} \text{\textsuperscript{-P}} \text{put} \text{mud} \text{\textsuperscript{L}} \text{\textsuperscript{1s}} \text{\textsuperscript{G}} \text{boat}
\end{align*}
\]

'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 chegà di Kuala Lumpur
    3s PF arrive S
    'He arrived from Kuala Lumpur'.

c. eli ja beng di otru tera
    3s PF come S other land
    'He came from another country'.

However, with some verbs, for example, disè 'to descend', di is optional:

(27) toka disè (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 nosiòra 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 rai (na) town
     3s PF go GO

     'He went to town'.

Actions such as andâ 'walk', kurê 'run', when directed towards a goal can only be specified by a serial construction involving the general motion verb bai 'go':

(30)  anda   
      walk
     eli ja  {    } bai kaza
     3s PF kure go house
     run

     walked
     ran

     'He { walked home'.

Serialization 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 balâ 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 kabâ 'finish' may function as temporal relators: antis di 'before', rentu di 'within' and kabâ 'after':
However, an NP functioning as a temporal argument does not require such overt indication:

(33) isti ñgua mis
eli ja murè |
this 1 month
3s PF die dos anu pasadu
2 year past

'the 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) (akè 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:
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
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 Melaka at

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 Joã da Nova que se pudesse ir à India
   (Barros 1552-3:280)
   'And he gave permission to João de Nova to go to India'.

c. levou esta nova aos seus
   (Barros 1552-3:196)
   'He took this news to his people'.

d. e êle, com os outros capitães, tornou ao longo da praia
   (Barros 1552-3:231)
   'And he, with the other captains, went back along the beach'.

e. mandou logo aos capitães das naus que, com artilharia, varejassem a ilha
   (Barros 1552-3:230)
   '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 1971:373-5).
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: 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'.

---

2 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).

3 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 (Watuseseke 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.
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 Melaka. 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:

\[(37)\]
\[
\text{brigou}
\]
\[
\text{ele} \quad \{ \text{falou} \quad \} \quad \text{com ela}
\]
\[
\text{encontrou-se}
\]

'He [spoke ] with her'.

\[
\text{met}
\]

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. gua kap i khuā
   1s 3s look

'I saw him'.

b. gua yōng chhá kap ī phhā
   1s use stick 3s hit

'I hit him with a stick'.

c. gua kap ī khhī khiā
   1s with 3s go walk

'I went for a walk with him'.

---

4Some corroboratory evidence is suggested by nineteenth century texts of Tugu Creole Portuguese in Schuchardt (1891) where, for example, generally *koen* (<P. *com*), and occasionally *per* (<P. *para*), function as accusative markers congruent with *sama* in parallel texts in simplified Malay.
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 16thC Portuguese and Bazaar Malay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal class</th>
<th>16thC Portuguese</th>
<th>Bazaar Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper names</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Melaka, 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).
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 Three 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.

7.1.2 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'.

Verbal clauses with intransitive verbs of activity typically may contain locative and comitative arguments:

(3) a. olotu ta drumì na chang
3s -P sleep L floor
'They are sleeping on the floor'.

b. bos sa abò ta papià ku padri Pintado
2s G grandfather -P speak C Father
'Your grandfather is speaking with Fr. Pintado'.

Clauses with intransitive verbs of process typically may contain locative arguments, but not goal or comitative arguments:

(4) eli ja krisè 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 idiosyncrasies 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 lembra logu kai chua
1s think FI fall rain
'I think it will rain'.

b. ta fufa bentu!
-P blow wind
'It's windy!'
The second class of ambient verb has only one member, *fuzilà* 'flash (lightening)', which may be preceded by a subject NP but generally is not:

(6) (fuzilada) ta fuzilà 
lightening -P flash 

'Lightening is striking'.

Clauses containing the existential verb *teng* are similarly idiosyncratic. *teng* must be followed by a subject NP which represents new information. Thus, in 7 the subject must follow the verb for the utterance to be acceptable:

(7) a. mai, teng ñgua omi na fora ! 
mother BE 1 man L outside 

'Mother, there's a man outside!'.

b. *?mai, ñgua 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:

(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:
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 10b; and those where the subject of the transitive clause functions as the subject of the intransitive clause, as in 11b and in 12b:

(10) a. Pio ja kebrå akè janela
   PF break that window
   'Pio broke the window'.

b. akè janela ja kebrå
   that window PF break
   'The window broke'.

(11) a. yo ta kumÌ bredu
   1s -P eat vegetable
   'I am eating vegetables'.

b. yo ta kumÌ
   1s -P eat
   'I am eating'.

(12) a. yo midu ku eli
   1s fear A 3s
   'I am afraid of him'.

(9) yo ja olà ku bos
1s PF see A 2s
'I saw you'.
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:

- kemà 'burn'
- kebrà 'break'
- sunyà 'plant'
- kotrà 'cut'
- kuzè 'cook'
- marà 'tie'
- labà 'wash'
- fazè 'make'
- barè 'sweep'
- pedrè 'lose'
- pari '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 pari ku yo na Melaka
1s G mother PF bear A 1s L

'My mother gave birth to me in Melaka'.

b. yo ja pari na Melaka
1s PF bear L

'I was born in Melaka',

(14) a. yo ja pedrè yo sa buseta
1s PF lose 1s G betel nut box

'I lost my betel nut box'.
b. yo sa buseta ja pedrè  
's G betel nut box PF lose  
'My betel nut box is lost/got lost'.

(15) a. yo sa pai ja sunyà akè albi  
's G father PF plant that tree  
'My father planted the tree'.

b. akè albi ja sunyà  
that tree PF plant  
'The tree was planted'.

Although this type of lexical diathesis has been observed in a number of creole languages (Bickerton 1981:7'-2), 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 1981:113-4) and also in Bazaar Malay as in '6:

(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. The active subclass includes such verbs as:

kumî 'eat'
bebe 'drink'
balâ 'dance'
kantà 'sing'

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{1}}\] Two new transitive verbs which may behave intransitively are currently being derived from the reinterpretation of the pure transitive verb labâ and its object as a single verb constituent. The first instance involves labâ + korpu 'wash + body':

(i) \text{labâ} \text{ korpu} \rightarrow \text{lapoku} \\
\text{wash} \text{ body} \rightarrow \text{bathe}

The new verb behaves transitively, as in (ii), or intransitively, as in (iii):

(ii) \text{lapoku} \text{ ku} \text{ eli} \text{ la!} \\
\text{bathe A 3s E} \\
'Bathe him (a child)!'.

(iii) \text{eli nenâng} \text{ lapoku} \\
\text{3s NEG-PF bathe} \\
'He hasn't bathed yet'.

The second instance involves labâ + peu + mang 'wash + foot + hand':

(iv) \text{labâ} \text{ peu} \text{ mang} \rightarrow \text{lapimâng} \\
\text{wash} \text{ foot} \text{ hand} \rightarrow \text{wash-foot-hand}

The new verb, lapimâng 'wash-foot-hand' behaves transitively, as in (v), or intransitively, as in (vi):

(v) \text{lapimâng ku eli!} \\
\text{wash-foot-hand A 3s} \\
'Wash his feet and hands (lit. wash-feet-hands him)!'.

(vi) \text{eli nenâng lapimâng} \\
\text{3s NEG-PF wash-foot-hand} \\
'He hasn't washed his feet and hands'.
Stative verbs in this class may occur with clausal objects. They include such verbs as midu 'be afraid', ràiba 'be angry':

\[(17)\] a. yo midu eli logu beng
  1s fear 2s FI come
  'I am afraid that he will come'.

b. yo ràiba 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:

- achà 'find, receive'
- ngkontrà 'meet'
- dali 'hit'
- pontà 'shoot'
- matà 'kill'
- fumà 'smoke'
- olà 'see'
- skisè 'forget'
- gostà 'like'
- kerè 'want'
- ubì 'hear'
- lembrà 'think, remember'

Some examples follow:

\[(18)\] a. yo ja ngkontrà ku eli
  1s PF meet A 3s
  'I met him'.

b. eli ja dali ku yo
  3s PF hit A 1s
  'He hit me'.

This class may be further subclassed 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 19a, b and c, all require experiencer subjects:

(19) a. Rosil ja olà ku Pio sai di kaza
    PF see A leave S house
    'Rosil saw Pio leave the house'.

b. eli sabè bos teng akî
    3s know 2s BE here
    'She knows you are here'.

c. yo kere Noel beng kantà
    Is 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 kere bai ila grandi
    3s want go island big
    'He wants to go to the big island (south of Melaka)'.

b. Fidelis gosta balà branyô
    like dance Creole dance
    'Fidelis likes to dance branyô'.

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 langgiang
   Is PF give R 3s Is G push net
   'I gave him my push net'.

   b. eli lo botà akè redi na prau
   3s PI 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 bendè '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 bendè ku eli yo sa prau
   Is PF sell R 3s Is G boat
   'I sold him my boat'.

   b. yo ja bendè yo sa prau
   Is PF sell Is G boat
   'I sold my boat'. 
Most trivalent verbs do not allow such context independent deletion. Those that do are few. In addition to bendè, the class includes skribè 'write', grità 'call', pagà 'pay', and prendè 'teach, learn'. While skribè, like bendè, allows deletion of the recipient NP, it may also allow deletion of the object:

(24) a. yo ja skribè ku eli ñgua katra
   1s PF write R 3s 1 letter
   'I wrote her a letter'.

b. yo ja skribè ñgua katra
   1s PF write 1 letter
   'I wrote a letter'.

c. yo ja skribè ku eli
   1s PF write R 3s
   'I wrote to her'.

The verb prendè, on the other hand, only allows deletion of the object:

(25) a. eli ja prendè ku yo ñgua kantiga
   3s PF teach R 1s 1 song
   'She taught me a song'.

b. *eli ja prendè ñgua kantiga
   3s PF teach 1 song
   *'She taught a song'.

c. eli ja prendè ku yo (na skola)
   3s PF teach R 1s L school
   'She taught me (at school)'.

Note that 25b, 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 mandà ku eli bai komprà jagra
     G mother PF send R 3s go buy jaggery

     'Her mother sent her to buy jaggery'.

(27) Patrick ja falà ku yo Albert teng aki
     PF tell R 's BE here

     'Patrick told me Albert was here'.

Verbs taking clausal objects include prendè 'teach', skribè 'write', grità 'call', pidì 'request', falà 'say', mandà 'send, order'. Trivalent verbs which do not take clausal objects are few. They include such verbs as bendè 'sell', mpustà '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:

(28)

     a. Albert teng aki
        BE here

     Patrick ja falà ku yo { b. eli ta bai }
     PF tell R 's -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 28a could be 'Patrick told me: "Albert is here"'. In the case of 28c, 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 28c:

(29) Patrick ja falâ 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 prendê ku eli les  
    Is 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, prendê:

(31) yo ja prendê ku eli ñgua kantiga  
    Is 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 prende ñgua kantiga ku eli  
    Is 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 33b):

(33) a. yo ja prende les ku eli  
    Is PF teach read R 3s  
    'I taught him to read (lit. 'I taught to read to him')'.

b. yo ja prendè ku eli les (= 30)
1s PF teach R 3s read
'I taught him to read'.

In 33a the verb les is fronted just as if it were a recipient NP. Other trivalent verbs, for example mandà 'send, order', behave similarly:

(34) a. yo ja mandà ku eli ñgua katra
1s PF send R 3s 1 letter
'I sent her a letter'.

b. yo ja mandà ñgua katra ku eli
1s PF send 1 letter R 3s
'I sent a letter to her'.

c. yo ja mandà ku eli bai
1s PF order R 3s go
'I ordered her to go'.

d. yo ja mandà bai ku eli
1s PF order go R 3s
'I ordered her to go (lit. 'I ordered to go to him').'

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 Basaar Malay ada are parallel. Compare:

(37) a. bos teng yo sa mai
2s COP 'is G mother
'You are my mother'.

MP b. awak ada aku punya emak
2s COP 'is G mother
'You are my mother'.

(38) a. eli teng duènti
3s COP ill
'He is ill'

MP b. dia ada sakit
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 ñgua omi
    3s good 1 man
    'He is a good man'.

   b. eli padri
    3s priest
    'He is a priest'.

   c. kobra animãl
    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) akê omi yo sa pai
    that man 1s G father
    'That man is my father'.

The subject and predicate NP in such nominal clauses may be permuted:
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)  
\[ \text{John sa} \]
\[ \text{akè prau } \}
\[ \text{that boat di John} \]
\[ S \]

'That boat is John's'.

Nominal clauses of the possessive or classificatory type may occur with peripheral arguments for source and location:

(43)  
\[ \text{akè omi yo sa irmàng di Tampin} \]
\[ \text{that man 's G brother S} \]

'That man is my brother from Tampin'.

(44)  
\[ \text{eli mestri na Singapura} \]
\[ 3s \text{ teacher L} \]

'She is a teacher in Singapore'.

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:

(45)  
\[ \text{eli di Trankera} \]
\[ 3s \text{ S} \]

'She is from Trankera'.

The other denotes a comitative relation and involves the relator ku:
(46) mastantu yo ku natibu
mostly 1s C Malay

'Mainly I'm with Malays'.

The second type of predicate may co-occur with locative or temporal peripheral arguments:

(47) akë tempu
mastantu yo ku natibu { }
mostly 1s C Malay
na sibriau
L work
then
'I was mainly with Malays { }'.
at work

7.2.3 Adjective clause

The predicate in such clauses consists of an adjective phrase:

(48) eli duënti
she ill

'She is ill'.

As discussed in Chapter Five, such predicates may be modified by TMA particles according to the nature of the adjective. Adjective clauses may also contain peripheral arguments or adverbs where semantically feasible:

(49) na Singapura
eli duënti { }
3s ill akë tempu
that time
in Singapore
that time

'He was ill { }'.

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:

(50) 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:

(51) 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 mbës functioning as an intensifying adverb meaning 'most':

(52) di tuđu krenkrena nakë eli grandi mbës
COM all children here 3s big most
'Of all the children here she is the biggest'.

Here, unlike the case of simple comparison in 50 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':
The other means is to use the adverb *menus* 'less', retaining the original basis of comparison, *altu*:

(54) 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:

(55) di tudu krenkrensa nakî eli kaninu mbâs 
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 *iguàl* '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 56a, it is generally incorporated into the subject, as in 56b:

(56) a. John iguàl grandi ku Peter 
equal big C 
'John is as big as Peter'.

b. John ku Peter iguàl grandi 
C equal big
'John and Peter are as big as each other'.

Dependent on context, the basis of the comparison may be omitted:
(57) John ku Peter igual
    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:

(58) John pretu chuma kafri
    black like Kaffir

'John is as black as a Kaffir'.

Dependent on context, the basis of the comparison may be omitted:

(59) John chuma Peter
    like

'John is like Peter'.

7.3 Imperative clause

The imperative clause contains either:

1. an active verb 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 '!!':

(60) a. (bos) bai kaza !
    2s go home IMP

'Go home!

b. beng nus kantà !
   come 'pl 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':

(61) a. (bos) *nang bebè sura !!*
you NEG-IMP drink toddy IMP

'Don’t drink toddy!'

b. *nus nang papià papià !!*
‘pl NEG-IMP talk talk IMP

'Let’s not talk so much!'

Functionally *nang* is parallel to the Malay imperative negator *jangan*:

(62) *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.

---

2 The negator *nang* may occur with the word *subida* 'ever' (which never occurs alone) yielding the imperative ‘never!’:

*nang* subida *papià isoti !!*
NEG-IMP ever speak that+kind IMP

'Never speak like that!'.

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:

(63)  
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:

(64)  
a. ŋgka
NEG
b. ŋgka ka
NEG QP
ele bebè sura { ] ?
3s drink toddy c. seng ka (ŋgka)
yes QP NEG
d. nà
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 64(b), (c) and (e) is the Malay interrogative particle kah and the Kristang tag forms 64(b), (c) and (e) have easily identifiable Malay parallels in 65a, b and c, respectively:
Occasionally, in interrogative clauses which constitute a surprised response to a statement, the tags seng ka, ŋka ka and retu ka may occur clause initially:

(66)

\begin{align*}
\text{seng} & \\
\text{AFF} & \\
\{ \text{ŋka} \} & \text{ka eli} \text{ŋka bebē sura ?} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{QP} \text{3s NEG drink toddy} \\
\text{retu} & \\
\text{true} & \\
\end{align*}

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:

(67)

\begin{align*}
a. \text{betol} & \\
\text{true} & \\
\{ \} & \text{ka dia tidak minum tuak ?} \\
b. \text{tidak} & \text{QP} \text{3s NEG drink toddy} \\
\text{NEG} & \\
\end{align*}

a. 'Is it 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':

(68)

```
podi yo santà ?
can  is sit
```

'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:

(69)

```
bos ja pari ūndi ?
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 70(a), or to clause initial position, as in 70(b):

(70) a. bos ùndi ja pari ?  
2s where PF bear  
'Where were you born?'

b. ùndi 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 Three (see sections 3.1.1, 3.2.1, 3.5.4 and 3.2.7) certain other words combine with an interrogative word to function as bimorphemic interrogative words:

(71)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ki</th>
<th>banda</th>
<th>'where?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>side</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ki</th>
<th>sorti</th>
<th>'how?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>kind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ki</th>
<th>làia</th>
<th>'how?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>kind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ki</th>
<th>kàuzu</th>
<th>'why?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ki</th>
<th>ora</th>
<th>'when?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>hour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ki</th>
<th>tempu</th>
<th>'when?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kài</th>
<th>tantu</th>
<th>'how many?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td>many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kàl</th>
<th>ñgua</th>
<th>'which?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td>one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, *ki banda* and *undi* 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 Three derive from bimorphemic question words, and in two instances both forms are co-existent in the contemporary language:

(72) a. *kāi ~ klāi* < *ki lāia* 'how?

b. *kōra ~ kiōra* < *ki ora* 'when?'

c. *kifōi* 'why? < *P. que foi* 'what + was'

In 72(a) and (b), the monomorphemic forms *kāi* 'how?' and *kōra* '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:

(73) a. **Subject:**

\[ \text{kēng ja furtā yo sa redi ?} \]

'Who stole my net?'

b. **Possessor:**

\[ \text{kēng sa langgiang bos ja panyā ?} \]

'Who's push net did you take?'

c. **Temporal adjunct:**

\[ \text{kōra lo beng tona ?} \]

'When will you come again?'
d. Adjunct of reason:

bos kifōi nggē jūdā ku eli?
2s why NEG-want help A 3s

'Why don’t you want to help him?'

e. Predicate adjective:

kī sotī John?
what sort

'How is John?'

f. Demonstrative article:

kāl prau bos sa?
which boat 2s G

'Which boat is yours?'

g. Quantifier:

kāi tāntu 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

Topicalization

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 Topicalization devices

Topicalization 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 Topicalization.

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:

(74) yo sa maridu, eli volunteer
1S G husband 3S
'My husband was a volunteer'.

In the literature the term left dislocation was originally applied to a transformation in English grammar (Ross 1967). Subsequently, the term has been applied to structures of the form of 74 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 characterized 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 75, or the recipient, as in 76:

(75) akè omi, yo sa maridu ja dali ku eli
that man 1s G husband PF hit A 3s
'That man, my husband hit him'.

(76) akè omi, yo sa maridu ja bendè pesi ku eli
that man 1s G husband PF sell fish R 3s
'That man, my husband sold him fish'.

7.5.1.2 Topicalization

In topicalization a constituent is marked as a topic by movement left from its unmarked position.

Topicalization 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 (a), or to a position between the subject and the verb as in (b):

(77)

a. agora isti krenkrensa tudu, master mpodi dali; 
   now this children all NEGcan hit
   ja fikā, olotu nggè leba prendà; 
   PF become 3pl NEG-want carry learn
   b. ŋgka konu prēmiru; prēmiru sa krenkrensa, 
      NEG like first first G children
      ku jenti idadi, bong bong respectu, 
      C person age very respect

'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 topicalized. The following example shows topicalization of the recipient NP, nus 'we', of the verb da 'give':
(78) ja da akè kaza ku sa nora fikà;
    PF give that house R G daughter stay in law

    R | O | PRED
    ku nus nada ñgka da !
    R 1pl nothing NEG give

'He gave the house to his daughter in law to stay in. To us he gave nothing!'.

Examples 79 and 80 show respectively the topicalization of a goal peripheral NP, John sa kaza 'John's house', and of a temporal adverb, mazanti 'first':

(79) John sa kaza, eli nadi bai
    G house 3s NEG-FI go

'He won't go to John's house'.

(80) mazanti, yo misti bai kaza
    first 1s must go house

'First, I must go home'.

Topicalization may also apply to constituents of content questions in which the questioned constituent has already been topicalized:

(81) na tempu japàng, bos sa ñmàng, ñndi ta fikà ?
    L time japanese 3s G brother where -P stay

'Where was your brother living during the Japanese time?'

In 81 the peripheral temporal argument na tempu japàng 'in the Japanese time' and the subject NP bos sa ñmàng 'your brother' are both topicalized. 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 Focussing devices

Focussing 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 focussed constituents: Left/right movement and structures involving the particle la.

7.5.2.1 Left/right movement

A subject may be focussed by right movement. In the following example, the subject japāng 'the Japanese' is focussed:

(82) tempu ropianu' governà, nu ntē nada
time European govern lpl NEG-have nothing

tristeza infadu; angkoza pun nus kumî, tudu
sadness thing too lpl eat all

PRED SU
teng; kaba, isi mal fortuna, ja beng japāng,
have finish this bad luck PF come Japanese

ja gera, isi japāng ja governà...
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 focussed by left movement, moving the adjective phrase to the left of the determiner which precedes the nominal:

(83) olotu falà "kèng, kèng akè ?"
3pl say who who that

eli falà "ŋgua mulè benfeta,
3s say 1 woman attractive

ADJ DET N

nechês ŋgua mulè", eli falà
pretty l woman 3s say

'They said "who, who is that?" He said "An attractive woman. A pretty woman", he said'.
In Chapter Three 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 focussed by means of the particle la which marks them as the focus of emphasis in discourse:

(84) a. yo leembrə ell ja pari na Melaka la,
    ls think 3s PF bear L E
    ma yo nsabe undi
    but ls NEG-know where

'I think he was born in Melaka but I don't know where'. (The topic under discussion was whether the speakers father was born in Melaka or in Kuala Lumpur.)

b. keng pedrə toka faî kondi konda !
    who lose oblige do
    seng, retu retu ! keng ganya
    yes true true who win

lo ri la !
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!'.

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 intrusion) they gave (them a glass of) spirits, yes'.

Often la serves to mark a contrast of consequence:

(85) a. yo sa papa, isi ñgua, ja pidi 1s G father this 1 PF ask

'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. yo sa papa, isi ñgua, ja pidi 1s G father this 1 PF ask

c. mas eli ja dali ku yo ku agu,
but 3s PF hit A 1s I water

Angka tantu la, ja tokà mpoku namàs,  
NEG much E PF touch little just

Angka tudu mbès; rayu la, akì sa jenti;  
NEG all once rascal E here G person

Seng la, akè tempu olotu pinchà agu  
yes E that time 3pl throw water

'Get out!'
The particle \( \text{la} \) 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 1981:61-5).

7.5.3 Passivization

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:

\[(86) \]
\[a. \quad \text{churikati} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{pegâ} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{eli} \quad \text{goblin} \quad \text{PF} \quad \text{catch} \quad A \quad 3s \]

'A goblin caught him'.

\[b. \quad \text{eli} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{toka} \quad \text{pegâ} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{churikati} \quad 3s \quad \text{PF} \quad \text{touch} \quad \text{catch} \quad S \quad \text{goblin} \]

'He was caught by a goblin'.

In the active clause 86(a) \text{churikati} has the grammatical role of object and the semantic role of agent while \text{eli} has the grammatical role of object and the semantic role of undergoer. However, in the passive clause 86(b), \text{churikati}, the semantic agent, is assigned the grammatical role of a peripheral argument expressing source whereas \text{eli}, the semantic undergoer has been promoted to the role of grammatical subject. In this way, attention is drawn to the element \text{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.

Passivization is signalled on the verb by means of serialization. The verb toka 'touch, contact' functions as a modifying serial verb indicating that the clause is passive.

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:

(87) a. eli ja toka kemä
   3s PF touch burn
   'He got burnt'.

b. akè bicycle ja toka furtà
   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 kumì 'eat' and rintà 'enter':

(88) a. akè pesi ja kumì gatu
   that fish PF eat cat
   'The fish got eaten by the cat'.

b. chang ja kumì mar
   land PF eat sea
   'The land was eroded by the sea'.

c. akè kaza ja kumì fogu
   that house PF eat fire
   'The house got burnt down'.

There is no pause between the undergoer NP and the verb complex. The relator di may be inserted after kumì but not after rintà. The undergoer may be [+/- animate].

The functional parallel with the adversity passive is strong. The structure in 88 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 serialization, involving a verb of 'experiencing' such as, for example, suffer or touch, are common in South East Asian languages (Keenan t.a. (b): 23-4). 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 1977:109-14). 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 Ahmad
book that touch tear by
'The book was torn by Ahmad'.

The adversative passive with a verb of 'contact' is also found in Hokkien.

d. fugāng ja rintà agu
kitchen PF enter water
'The kitchen was penetrated by water'.
CHAPTER 8

INTERCLAUSAL AND INTERPREDICATE RELATIONS

In this chapter complex structures involving the linking of clauses, predicates and 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 serializations - 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 Four.
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: 'and, with', ḳē 'or' and maš 'but' whose sole function is to express respectively comitative (i.e. addition), disjunctive (i.e. alternation) and adversative (i.e. concession) coordination.¹ In addition, the verb kaba 'finish' functions as a fourth coordinative relator with a consecutive-temporal value ('then, after'): the clause which 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 bebè sura ku ta kumî seba
    3s -P drink toddy C -P eat pork fat
    'He is drinking toddy and eating pork fat'.

b. eli ja bai tera ḳē ja murè
    3s PF go land D PF die
    'He returned to his home country or he died'.

c. eli kaninu maš eli forsa
    3s small AD 3s strong
    'He is small but he is strong'.

d. yo sa maridu lo ntarâ bresu, tudumbès, 'is G husband PI bury vegetables all
    kaba yo bai buskâ doi
    finish 1s go seek money
    'My husband would plant vegetables, the lot, then I would go and look for money (i.e. selling them)'.

¹The Bazaar Malay adversative relator tapi 'but' is infrequently used as an equivalent of maš.
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 bebè sura, ta kumï 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 adverbia. 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 falâ ki isi, tudu angkoza ta subî presu
3s say A this Q1 thing -P rise price

'He said that this, everything is rising 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 kumï 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 largâ sibrisu
   NEG good 3s PF leave work
   'It's not good that he has left his job'.

   b. yo sabè eli teng aki
      1s know 3s BE here
      'I know that he is here'.

   c. yo ja skribè ku eli John ja kaza
      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 fazè ku eli kai
      PF make A 3s fall
      'Maria made him fall'.

   b. olotu fazè jenti padisè
      3pl make people suffer
      'They make people suffer'.

(7) yo gostà 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:

(3) a. sintì   'feel, be of the opinion'
sabè   'know'
falà   'say, tell'
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 '970). Class (c) corresponds to verbs which may behave as factives or as assertives: semifactive verbs (Kartunnen '97'). Class (d) are verbs which introduce propositions towards which will or intention is directed: volitional or intentional verbs (Klein 1977:5).

Noun clauses 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: olà 'see' takes ku optionally while ubì 'hear' and kai na sintidu do not occur with ku. Noun clauses following volitional verbs (class(d)) (mandà 'order', forsà 'force') may be preceded by ku according to the conditions discussed in 6.2.² The presence or absence of ku with some verbs, for example falà 'say, tell' may signal the difference between an intentional or an asserted complement:

²Exceptions are the volitional verbs rezà 'hope' and kerè 'wish, want', which do not take ku:

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<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>gostà</td>
<td>'like'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koitadu</td>
<td>'regret'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>skise</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>olà</td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ubì</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kai na sintidu</td>
<td>'realise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>mandà</td>
<td>'send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>forsà</td>
<td>'force'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fazè</td>
<td>'do, make'</td>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>yo rezà eli lo fika bong</td>
<td>'I hope/pray he gets well'.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1's pray 3s FI become good</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>eli kerè sa filu prendè</td>
<td>'He wants his son to learn'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s want G son learn</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
(9) a. yo ja falá ku eli bai
   1s PF say A 3s go
   'I told him to go'.

b. yo ja fala 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 rezà 'pray, hope', which optionally allows logu before the verb of its object nominal clause):

(10)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{yo ja mandá ku eli } [ \text{*ja } ] \text{ sai} \\
1s PF order A 3s PF exit \\
\text{*lo} \\
\text{FI}
\end{array} \]

'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 susedè mesu
    what 1s G father PF say PF occur even
    'What my father said even happened'.
8.1.2.4 Adverbial subordination by relator

In adverbial subordination the dependent clause is preceded by the relators:

- ati ~ sampe 'until'
- padi 'for'
- maski 'although'
- kantu ~ si 'if'

or by other words, some in conjunction with the relator di, functioning as relators.

The interrogative words undi 'where', kora 'when' and kifo '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'. 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 kàuzu 'cause, reason', in conjunction with di and/or ki functions as a causal relator: kàuzu di ki 'because'.

Adverbial clauses subordinated by relators fall into six semantic categories according to the relator used:

- however, they may be observed in this function without reduplication, for example:

  undi yo bai yo sa pai mai
  where 1s go 1s G father mother
  teng na bodru
  BE L edge

  'Wherever I go my parents are nearby'.
Temporal : ati, sampe 'until'
antis di 'before'
kora 'when'
kora kora 'whenever'
rentu di 'while'
di 'since'

Locative : undi 'where'
undi undi 'wherever'

Cause : kàuzu 'because'
kifoi 'because'

Benefactive : padi 'for'

Adversative : maski 'although'

Conditional : kantu 'if'
si 'if' (rarely used by older speakers)

The following examples show adverbial clauses of the first three semantic types:

(14) a. kora ta bizià motri olotu membès papià 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 andà otu lo bebè
inside S -P walk 3pl FI drink

'While they were walking they would drink (i.e. participants in the branyo rudià tradition whereby on special occasions musicians would go around the village performing in the street, from house to house for the people to dance)'.

...
(15) eli lo bai undi teng jenti prenya  
3s FI go where BE people pregnant  
'It (the vampire) will go where there are pregnant women'.

(16) mutu prestadu yo ja largà skola kau di ki  
very+ quick 1s PF leave school cause S  
yo sa mai ja murè  
1s G mother PF die  
'I left school very quickly 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 komprà isti jaka  
PF buy this jackfruit

*ta
-P

padi nus { *ja } kumi
B 1pl PF eat

*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 komprà isti jaka  
PF buy this jackfruit  
da ku nus kumi
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* lit. 'but + that') and occasionally by the the Bazaar Malay adversative relator *sunggu* 'although':

(19)  
```plaintext
(maski
although
{   } eli kaninu eli forsa
sunggu 3s small 3s strong
although

'Although he is small he is strong'.
```

Occasionally *maski* occurs together with *mas* in the sequence:

*maski* + subordinate clause + *mas* + main clause

with no effect on the overall meaning of the sentence:

(20)  
```plaintext
(maski eli ąŋka 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:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>REFERENCE</th>
<th>protasis</th>
<th>apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 present/future</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>10 ~ logu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 habitual</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 past</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>ja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples show the three sequences:

It is interesting that Malay has itself adopted *maski*
(21) a. kantu yo bai Singapura yo lo kompra radio
COND 1s go 's FI buy
'If I go to Singapore I will buy a radio'.

b. kantu eli bebè eli rapià mintira
COND 3s drink 3s speak lie
'If he drinks he tells lies'.

c. kantu bos ja gità ku yo, yo ja bai
COND 3s PF call A 's 's 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 murè yo sa
'is G husband PF die 'is G
krenkrensa kaninu
child + child small
'My husband died when my children were small'.

b. eli birà di mar, el lo santà lo rezà
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 ñgka bai kaza sedu yo lo achà pankada
NEG go house early 'is FI receive beating
'If I don't go home early I will get a beating'.

b. eli ja falà bai skola lo skribì katra
3s PF say go school FI write letter
ku noibu
R boyfriend
'He said if I went to school I would (learn to) write letters to (the) 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:

\[
teng + \text{indefinite NP} + \text{relative clause}
\]

For example:

(24) teng ngua omi ki ja matà 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
1s G husband 3s 3s PF oblige

bai la, bai Singapura, bai isi gera sa kàuzu;
go E go go this war G reason

kaba di tras ja bai, justu pâtu natal
finish S back PF go just near Christmas

la; akè ora yo teng dos famila, ngua
E that time 1s have 2 child
"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'.

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)
"That time the fishermen 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)

'In my mother's time, you would be returning from church and people would take coal 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 relativized subject and the second with a relativized temporal adjunct. Note that example 25a above also contains a teng existential sentence with a headless relative clause in which a locative adjunct is the head: teng ŋua 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 raìnya 'traditional story':

(28)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \\
\text{b.} & \text{teng ŋua tempu teng ŋua jenti ki prigasozu;} \\
& \text{BE 1 time BE 1 person RP lazy} \\
& \text{agora isti prigasozu eli bomong trabalu} \\
& \text{now this lazy 3s very trouble} \\
& \text{\textquotesingle Once there was a lazy person; now this lazy person was really a problem\textquotesingle.}
\end{align*}\]

The example begins with an existential sentence in which a headless relative clause relativizes a temporal adjunct, ŋua tempu, of the existential sentence teng ŋua 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 ŋua china is introduced in a discourse which has as its theme a statue, nosiòra '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 + relative clause noun
For example:

(29) a. kal teng jenti rezà 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 rezà 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. 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 alà ku mestri  
    some BE person 3pl go see A medicine -man  
    'Some (people) go and see a medicine-man'.

c. kal teng (kaza) teng ñgua 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:
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:

\[
teng + \text{ definite NP } + \text{ relative clause}
\]

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 focussed by clefting:

(32) teng bos sa famila ki yo ta lantà, retu ?
BE 2s G child RP 'is -P carry, true

'It is your child I am carrying isn't it?'

8.4 Verb serialization

Serial verb constructions comprise two or more verbs which share certain NP arguments and which are paratactically opposed in a single clausalike intonation unit. Serialization 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 (in press)). I follow the approach of Bamgbose 1982, that serialization may derive from one or more clauses depending on the particular type of serialization.

In Kristang, there are two types of serialization: the linking type and the modifier type, both of which have been observed in the literature on serialisation.

8.4.1 Linking serialization

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 matà 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 pega (krenkrensa), eli matà (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 serialization

This type of serialization 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 preceeds 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 tokā, 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 kumī 'eat' functions as the main verb of the clause:

(35) akē pesi ja toka kumī di gatu
that fish PF PASS eat S cat

'The fish got eaten by the cat'.

Modifying serialization involves a number of distinct semantic functions of which the adversative passive is just one.

8.4.2.1 Relator role

In some serializations a modifying verb may function as a relator indicating the function of an NP within the clause. With certain non-directional verbs a serialization is the only means of indicating a goal NP. For example, in order to indicate a goal NP of the verbs andā 'walk' and kurē 'run', the verbs bai 'go' and beng 'come' are used:

5Another case of serialization involving direction, but not a prepositional function, occurs with the verb tomā '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 lebā 'carry':

bunyan ja toma lebā ku eli na matu
fairy PF take carry A 3s L jungle

'A fairy took him (away) to the jungle'. 

---

^Another case of serialization involving direction, but not a prepositional function, occurs with the verb tomā '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 lebā 'carry':

bunyan ja toma lebā ku eli na matu
fairy PF take carry A 3s L jungle

'A fairy took him (away) to the jungle'. 

---
Some instances of serialization indicating an instrumental or a benefactive NP may occasionally be observed in discourse (cf. example 18 above), although I have none in my tape recordings. The following examples were elicited from several informants as translations of their English glosses. In 37a the verb *tom̥a* 'to take' functions as a marker of an instrumental NP while in 37b the verb *da* 'give' functions as a marker of a benefactive NP:

(37) a.  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{eli} & \text{ja} & \text{tom̥a} \ faka \ kotr̥a \ kandri \\
3s & PF & \text{take knife cut meat}
\end{array}
\]

'He cut the meat with a knife

b.  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{yo} & \text{ja} & \text{tiẓe} \ \text{isti} \ \text{floris} \ \text{da} \ \text{ku} \ \text{eli} \\
1s & PF & \text{bring this flower give R 3S}
\end{array}
\]

'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 serialization with a relator role involves the verb *nṭe* 'NEGhave' which functions as a relator expressing a negative comitative role and meaning 'without':

(38)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{eli} & \text{ta} & \text{anda} \ \text{nṭe} \ \text{sapatu} \\
3s & -P & \text{walk NEGhave shoe}
\end{array}
\]

'He was walking barefoot (lit. without shoes)'.

In this role the verb *nṭe* 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 serializations, may function as aspectual modifiers of the main verb. Such is the case with kabà 'finish', parà 'stop', kontinà 'continue':

(39) tempu japång yo sa papa ja para faî sibrisu
    time Japanese 's 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 kabà 'finish' has become widely used as a marker of completion:

(40) kora yo ja chegå nali eli ja kaba bai
    when 's PF arrive there 3s PF finish go

    'When I arrived there he had gone'.

8.4.2.3 Modal modification

In modifying serializations, the verbs achà 'receive' and tokà 'strike, 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 pagå ku John
    3s PF touch pay R

    'He had to pay John (i.e. unfavourably)'.

The modifying roles of achà and tokà have parallels in Bazaar Malay dapat 'get, receive' and kena 'strike, touch' respectively:

(42) dia kena pergi Singapura
    3s strike 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 may turn (to pay)'.

8.4.2.4 Passive indicator

The verb tokà 'strike, touch' functions in modifying
serializations as an indicator of passive:

(44) a. eli ja toka pega di churikati
    3s PF touch catch S goblin

'He got caught by a churikati'.

b. akè kaza ja toka kemà
    that house PF touch burn

'The house got burnt'.

The verb tokà 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 Serialization involving da

The verb da generally means 'give'; however, when followed by a
clausal object it may mean 'allow', 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 kasì 'give,
allow'.

A small number of verbs occur after the verb da in serial
constructions which depict a single event. The modifying value
impacted by da is 'facilitative', as may be seen in the following

6 The verb desà 'allow, let' is also used.
In both examples, the modifying serialization \texttt{da + transitive verb} results in the formation of a new transitive verb. The verb status of \texttt{mpusta} and \texttt{kumı} is evident from the fact that both examples have objects present: \texttt{ake langgiang} in 47 and \texttt{papa galinya} in 48. Other cases of \texttt{da serialization} are \texttt{da sabe 'inform'} (\texttt{sabë 'know'}) and \texttt{da intende 'explain'} (\texttt{intendë 'understand'}). This type of construction may have originated as a nominalization. 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

\texttt{The notion of 'cause' is expressed by other means, the verb fazë 'make':}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \texttt{bos fazë akë pau impë}
2s make that stick stand
\end{enumerate}

'You make the stick stand up'

However, this construction also may give rise to a serial verb:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \texttt{(46) b. bos faze impë akë pau}
2s make stand that stick
\end{enumerate}

'You stand the stick up'.

---

\footnote{The notion of 'cause' is expressed by other means, the verb \texttt{fazë 'make':}'}
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 serialization:

(49) a. nu lo da ku olotu kumĩ
   3pl FI give R 3pl eat
   'We will allow them to eat'.

b. nu lo da kumĩ ku olotu
   3pl 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 sabẽ ku yo John teng aki
   3s PF give know R 3s BE here
   'He informed me John was here'.

Bazaar Malay:

(51) dia kasi tahu (sama) aku John ada sini
   3s give know R 's BE here
   'He informed me John was here'.

Hokkien:

(52) ê hō guà chaĩ John nā hît thāu
   3s give 's know L DET place
   'He informed me John was here'.
8.4.2.6 ke serialization

The serial construction to be considered here, involving the verb kerè 'want', appears to be evolving a new part of speech.

The verb kerè 'want' occurs in serial constructions in which it is followed by the verb of a reduced clause. In such constructions kerè 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', alegrì '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 ùndi teng doi ke komprarà kareta ?
3s where have money want buy car

'Where does he have money to buy a car?'

b. eli ntè doi ke komprarà 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:
In the type 2) sentence, *padi* 'for' may be substituted for *ke*, for example:

(56)  
\[
\text{eli ntè doi padi komprà kareta} \\
3s \text{NEG-have money B buy car}
\]

'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 unrealized.

The case of *ke* is best viewed as a 'dynamic' case of serialization, wherein the assumed function of the verb *kerè* is developing a new part of speech: a marker of unrealized propositions.

A parallel to *ke* serialization is to be found in Bazaar Malay and Hokkien where the verbs *mau* 'want' and *aî* 'want' respectively, may occur in the same environments as *ke*, and with similar functions. Consider the following examples:

**Bazaar Malay**

(57) a.  
\[
\text{dia takut mau pergi lu punya rumah} \\
3s \text{afraid want go 2s G house}
\]

'He is afraid to go to your house'.

b.  
\[
\text{dia, mana ada duit mau beli kereta ?} \\
3s \text{where have money want buy car Q}
\]

'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. ¹ khiâ ai khhi lî ê chhū
   3s afraid want go 2s POSS house
   'He is afraid to go to your house'

b. ¹ thô-lê ū lui (ai) bui chhia
   3s where have money want buy car
   'Where does he have the money to want to buy a car?'

c. ¹ bo (ū) lui ai bui chhia
   3s NEG have money want buy car
   'He doesn't have the money yet wants to buy a car'.
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 in the process of disappearing. 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 manyfold.

The importance of Kristang to contemporary creole issues is probably less than one would expect because it is a very old creole. Also, in terms of decreolization Kristang represents a special case because it doesn't decreolize 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, prior to discussing the structure of Kristang, 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 were important. Input from Indo-Portuguese Creole was also significant, as can be seen from certain shared linguistic features.

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 its use by the church until the Second World War.

In its survival until the present, Kristang provides a good example of how 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.

At 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 cainolinguisitc 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, such groups have played an instrumental 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 thesis. An interesting 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 have parallels in 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 futures in the substrate.

In the following paragraphs I shall briefly summarize the main points of the description and at the same time identify the parallels found with other languages and the areas where theory is relevant.

Kristang has a simple phonological system of seven vowel phonemes and eighteen 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 twelve 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 preceed the head while adjectives, ordinal numbers and relative clauses follow. There are two possessive constructions, one preceeding 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.

Some common nouns display a sex difference by compounding with the nouns 'male' and 'female'. This feature has a parallel in Malay but is
also found in certain creole languages such as, for example, Cabo Verde Creole Portuguese (Oliveira Almada 1961:91), Martinique Creole French and Tok Pisin (Muhlhausler 1974:90-1).

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 1980:73-4), and it is also present in Tok Pisin (Muhlhausler 1979:404-17).

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 creolized 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 kâ. 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, whose 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 kaba may function in modifying serializations 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. 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: topicalization, whereby the constituent about which the remainder of the structure makes a comment is identified; focussing, whereby a constituent is presented as salient information; passivization, whereby special informational prominence is assigned to the core arguments of an active transitive verb.

Topicalization is typically by left dislocation or by left movement. Focussing may be by left or right movement or by means of the particle la. Passivization is typically by means of a modifying serialization involving the verb tokâ 'strike, 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 focussing also is a widespread phenomenon and has been claimed by Bickerton to be a typical focussing strategy in creole languages (Bickerton 1981:51-6). 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 toka 'touch' in a modifying serialization 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 1981:71-2) and is also found in Bazaar Malay.
Kristang displays a number of complex structures involving the linking of clauses, predicates and 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 good deal of verb serialization. Serial constructions involve a single clause-like unit of more than one verb and fall into two main categories: linking serializations, in which the verbs in serial represent a sequence of actions which are subparts of an action viewed as a whole; modifying serializations, 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.

Serialization 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 serialization is a productive device in creoles for the derivation of case marking systems. In Kristang, serialization is significant in a range of semantactic functions: aspectual modification, modal modification, passive formation, derivation of transitive verbs and derivation of a new part of speech which marks unrealized propositions.

The presence and range of verb serialization 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 the dissertation 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 England, 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 thesis 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 thesis will prove helpful in this respect. In addition, archive work and research among the Kristan 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-fertilizing effect of such contact was first mentioned by Dalgado (1917). 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 (1975:218–9), 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 dissertation 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.
APPENDIX

The following is a list of informants who provided data used in the preparation of this thesis, showing their respective ages at May 1981:

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<th>Informant</th>
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<td>Roslyn Young</td>
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