

MALACCA CREOLE PORTUGUESE A BRIEF TRANSFORMATIONAL OUTLINE

Ian F. Hancock
University of Texas at Austin

0.0.0. Historical Background

The Malaysian Creoles, or Sārani, descend from the 800 original Portuguese who, with 600 Indian fellow seamen, first arrived in Malacca in 1511.¹ The city remained a colony of Portugal until December, 1640, when the Dutch, after a series of naval offenses, succeeded in blockading the city and reducing the population of twenty thousand by starvation to ca. three thousand, within a space of five years. About 1,000 of these were Portuguese, or Portuguese Eurasians, the so-called "Black Christians".

0.1.0. At the time of the Dutch takeover, the majority of the inhabitants were transported to other areas in the East, such as Diu, Goa, Ceylon, Negapattam, and especially Batavia (Djakarta), which came to be known as "New Malacca" and where a creole-speaking population has survived into the 20th century.²

0.1.1. According to the Dagregister for December, 1641, only 1,603 of the citizens who remained in Malacca at the time of the takeover were of Portuguese stock. By the end of the period of Dutch occupation in 1795, the total population of Malacca had risen only to 15,000.

0.1.2. From the outset the Dutch clamped down on the practice of the Roman Catholic faith in the city; all chapels, convents and churches were either made into barracks and storehouses, or burnt to the ground. An exception was the Church of St Francis Xavier in the centre of the city, which was converted to a Reformed Church chapel. Roman Catholic citizens were highly taxed, and forbidden to practice their religion openly under penalty of banishment. All Catholic clergy were forced to give up their vestments and vocation, and no foreign priest was permitted to land in the city.

0.1.3. The local Dutch governor at that time, Balthazar Bort, noted that the "... prohibition of the exercise of the Romish religion has notably reduced the population of the town". This was because nearly all of the Sārani population who could afford it, being unable to be christened, married, or buried according to their faith, left Malacca for Siam, Laos, Cochin, Hainan and Cambodia; only the poor remained. In a city where the cosmopolitan population attended Hindu and Buddhist temples, Muslim mosques and Protestant chapels, the Creoles were subjected to rigorous and continuing religious persecution, and allowed no right to worship; nevertheless, throughout this period, priests were able to be smuggled into the region from Goa and Macao, and masses held in secret deep in the forests around the city.

0.1.4. Accounts such as these have been handed down verbally, and culled from visitors' observations, since written details of the welfare of the Creoles under Dutch rule from before 1767 have so far not been located. It is probable that the very persecution suffered by the Sārani in fact, has caused them to cling so tenaciously to their faith and language.

0.1.5. Although the Sārani were restricted in these many ways by the Dutch, they were albeit expected to man the Dutch garrisons, and marriage between Dutch and Creole was not infrequent. At least a quarter of the present-day Creole population bears Dutch surnames, and the Dutch language has left its mark upon the Portuguese Creole, *Papia Kristang*;³ but Dutch as a discrete language has long since disappeared from Malaysian shores, probably not surviving for very long after British takeover in 1795. Ironically, an Italian visitor to Malacca in 1695 noted that some of the Dutch Malaccans, who had taken Creole wives and mistresses, had themselves become converted by them to Catholicism.⁴

1 See Hancock 1969: 38 for a brief historical sketch of events following this.

2 See François 1920: 84 and Hancock 1972 for historical and linguistic details.

3 See Hancock 1970. Dutch lexical influence is largest in domestic vocabulary probably as a result of Creoles having been formerly employed in Dutch households in Malacca as cooks, servants, etc., cf. earlier references to Afrikaans as "Kitchen Dutch", for example.

4 Gemeli Careri, *Giro del Mondo* (1695), quoted in Teixeira 1961:322.

0.2.0. Papia Kristang remains the first language of the majority of the Malaccan Creoles, whose number has been estimated as high as six thousand.⁵ It is also spoken by a community in Singapore, and may possibly survive on Pēkan Tugu in Java. It was also spoken until the 19th century at the Cape in South Africa where it has left traces in the speech of the present-day Cape Malays.⁶ The Creole Portuguese of Hong Kong, transported from Macao (founded by the Portuguese in 1557) during the last century, appears to be almost identical to Papia Kristang, and also survives.⁷

0.2.1. In Malaysia, education in all State schools is now compulsorily carried out through the medium of Bahasa Mělayu. Private parochial or mission schools teach in English, Chinese or Tamil, but for the Creole population, no Creole-language schools exist, or are at present projected.

0.3.0. The origins of Papia Kristang are not known. Despite its distance from the Mediterranean, it seems to have more features in common with Sabir, with which it has been linked,⁸ than have Portuguese derived Creoles closer to Portugal. It may have developed from a non-African pidgin Portuguese acquired by sailors at Arguin Island off the north-west African coast,⁹ and brought to the Far East after only brief stops along the African littoral.

0.3.1. Indo-Portuguese and Papia Kristang differ in several respects. Coastal India was being visited by the Portuguese from 1498 onwards, eleven years before Malaya was reached, but it is not likely that Papia Kristang is a development from Indo-Portuguese, but rather that the same pidgin became differently creolized in India and Malaya.

0.3.2. The reason that Macao and Java Creole Portuguese dialects and supposedly the now probably extinct dialects of Timor, Shanghai, etc., are so similar, is that Papia Kristang was in all likelihood already creolized when it spread to these areas, and therefore more resistant to modification.

0.3.3. The Creole Portuguese spoken at the Cape was the Papia Kristang of Batavian slaves, and may, as Valkhoff and others have suggested,¹⁰ have played a major part in the development of Afrikaans. Certainly the Pasar Malay pidgin in common use in Malaysia and parts of Indonesia reflects many Portuguese pidgin features such as the use of the genitival particle *punya*,¹¹ almost total loss of morphological features, such as the prefixes *běr-*, *měm-*, *di-*, and a high proportion of Portuguese-derived lexicon.

0.3.4. The reverse influence is of course also marked, especially in areas of phonology and calquing (PK *kumí bėntu*, Mal *makan angin*, "to stroll", lit. "eat wind", PK *mai-pái*, Mal *ibu-bapa*, "parents", lit. "mother-father", etc.).

0.3.5. The origins of some Papia Kristang features are shared by Malay as well as other Portuguese-derived Creoles, and are more difficult to pinpoint an origin for. Plurality by reduplication (2.1.2. 2.12.0) is found by the creoles of Diu and Bombay, for example,¹² and

5 By da Sailva Rêgo (1960-1). This estimate may be a little high.

6 See Kok 1953, and Valkhoff 1966:241-5.

7 The Hong Kong Creoles have a weekly musical radio programme in their language. In Macao, the creole appears to have become a local dialect of Portuguese with only minimal vestiges of creolization.

8 Especially by Thompson 1961. Such common features include the use of a pre-object-nominal preposition (LF *per*, PK – and Papiamentu – *ku*, 2.5.0.), retention of the bound morpheme *-to* (Lingua Franca), *-du* (PK, 2.12.2.) in the past participle, lack of gender/number concord (2.12.1.), and so on. For discussions of the Lingua Franca, see Clarke and Bonaparte 1877, and Coates 1971.

9 P.E. Russell, in an unpublished addendum to Whinnom 1965, has suggested that Arguin may have been the home of pidgin Portuguese rather than the African mainland, since it was a multilingual fort and trading station probably using Sabir as the common language, and a regular calling-point for vessels bound out from Lisbon. Anthony J. Naro of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Chicago in a very significant (and as yet unpublished) paper first presented at the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society in April 1973, on the other hand, suggests and presents very plausible evidence for the possibility that Pidgin Portuguese originated in Portugal itself, and was taught to Africans brought there to be trained as interpreters as an intentionally simplified "reconnaissance language". He finds no evidence of this being a development of any earlier pidgin such as Sabir.

10 Valkhoff 1966.

11 E.g. *saya punya rumah*, "my house", rather than Standard Malay *rumah saya*; cf. both constructions in Papia Kristang: *yo-să káză ~ káză yo*.

12 Although this may have been taken to these colonies by Malaccan Creoles when they were relocated by the Dutch in 1640.

the post-nominal possessive pronoun (2.3.3., 2.9.6.) in São Tomé, Príncipe and Annobom.¹³ 0.4.0. The future of Papia Kristang is uncertain. As an unwritten and nationally unimportant language which is usually abandoned by first generation Sārani born outside Malacca, and as the tongue of a small Christian group amidst a dispassionate Muslim majority, it seems destined to expire; and yet it has survived against similar odds since 1640, and is still being learned in Malacca from childhood as the language of the home and the church.

0.4.1. The Sārani identify themselves with Europe, and especially Portugal, although for most the only European link is a linguistic one. 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; the resident priests sent out from Portugal to the mission at St. Peter's have to learn Papia Kristang or use English or Malay. The feelings of kinship with Portugal were demonstrated during the course of the writer's fieldwork in Malacca, when he was on several occasions asked whether he was Portuguese, and on two occasions introduced as one, these nationals being apparently the most concerned outsiders known to Sārani experience. Pressures against the Malacca Creoles within Malaysia are largely social and religious, perhaps the very factors which are perpetrating their existence as a cohesive ethnic group.

1.0.0. Phonology

No systematic attempt has yet been made to describe the phonology of Papia Kristang adequately. Brief texts in the same phonemic orthography may be found in Hancock 1969 and at 3.0.0. below.

1.1.0. The orthography employed here is based upon that until recently used for Malay, with the exception that Malay e-breve (ě) for /ê/ is written (ã). This has the advantage of being a spelling 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.

1.2.0. Papia Kristang has eight vowels, only six of which are contrastive (with one located exception: *pētu* 'chest, breast' and *pētu* 'near' < Portuguese *peito* and *perto* respectively). These are /i/, /e/ ~ /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/ ~ /o/, /u/ and /ə/. For some speakers there is a certain amount of free variation between /i/ and /e/, and /o/ and /u/. Phonetically, /ə/ is articulated as a half-close back vowel with lip spreading [ɻ], especially in final position; otherwise it is articulated in mid-central position. The diphthongs are /ai/, /au/, /eu/, /iu/, /oi/, /ia/, /iã/, /ua/, /ue/, /uã/ (*frai* 'nice', *saudádi* 'yearning', *péu* 'leg, foot', *siúmi* 'jealousy', *koitádu* 'pity', *papiá* 'speak', *fróniã* 'pillowcase', *rakúa* 'run away', *aguentã* 'arrest' and *chúã* 'rain').

1.3.0. The consonants are /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /ch/, /j/, /k/, /g/, /f/, /s/, /z/, /m/, /n/, /ng/, /ny/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/. Plosives are unaspirated in all positions, and /l/, /r/, /t/ and /d/ tend to be slightly retroflexed, especially in the speech of older generation speakers. As in Malay orthography, *ng* represents the velar nasal [ŋ], the nasal plus stop ([ŋg] and [ŋk]) being written /ngg/ and /ngk/: *lúngã* [lúŋə] 'moon', *sáŋgi* [sáŋgi] 'blood', *ngkã* [ŋkə] 'not', *nggrátu* [ŋgrátu] 'ungrateful'. /ch/ and /j/ are affricates, and for some speakers historic [v] is retained (the usual reflex being /b/): *uvidã* ~ *ubída* 'ear'. The palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] occurs in lexical adoptions from English containing that sound: *máshín* 'machine'.

1.4.0. Stress is marked throughout with an acute accent. As is the practice in Malay, reduplications (see 2.12.0) may be indicated by a small subscripted numeral 2 thus: *línggu-línggu* 'languages' written *línggu₂*.

2.0.0. Grammatical Description

The principal structural features of Papia Kristang are here outlined:

2.1.0. All grammatical utterances in the language derive from one or more of six kernel

¹³ Papia Kristang also shares similarities with Palenquero and Papiamentu; a newspaper in the latter language was in part intelligible to Malaccan informants to whom it was shown. At the same time, these creoles differ considerably from those derived from Portuguese in West Africa, where both African languages and Portuguese have continued to exert influence. This reflects a common linguistic process, the extremities of a language, in this case geographical rather than social, being less subject to change than the mainstream varieties, and as a result retaining far more conservative features.

sentence patterns. Each of these consists of two immediate constituents; a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP). In its simplest form this may be exemplified by the following:

Juáng flói
NP + VP 'John whistles'

2.1.1. The NP consists of an optional determiner plus a nominal word. The determiner may be an article (Da), a demonstrative (Dd) or a quantifier (Dq) (see also 2.3.3 and 2.9.5/6):

Da *ngwã* ~ *n'* (*m'* + bilabial, *ng'* + velar) 'a, an'
Dd *isi* 'this, these', *áti* 'that, those', *akéli* 'that, those'
Dq *m'pòku* 'some, a few', *mútu* 'many', *t'uru* 'all', *kádã* 'each'.

2.1.2. The nominal word may be a noun (N) or a pronoun (PN); the noun may be abstract (Na) or common (Nc):

Na *dué* 'pain' *amór* 'love', *lembránsã* 'memory', *sentídu* 'feeling'

Nc *álbi* 'tree', *kachòru* 'dog', *péu* 'leg', *bíspu* 'bishop'

Pluralization may optionally be shown by reduplication of N after Dd or Dq:

mútu gátu ~ *mútu gátu-gátu* 'many cats'

At least one instance of a separate fossilized plural in /-ís/ has been noted, although for some speakers the two forms are in free variation:

flor 'flower' (or 'flowers') *florís* 'flowers' (or 'flower')

2.1.3. The pronoun (P) may be personal (Pp) or indefinite (Pi):

Pp *yo* 'I', *bo* ~ *bos* 'you (sg. and pl.)', *el* ~ *éli* 'he, she, it, they', *nu* ~ *nos* ~ *nos-túru* 'we', *bos-túru* 'you (pl.)', *elótru* ~ *olotú* ~ *éli-túru* 'they'

Jénti lit. 'person/people', is commonly used instead of *yo*, and may be regarded as a deletion of *isi jénti* 'this person':

jénti keré báí ~ *yo keré báí* 'I want to go'

Pi *nggégng* 'nobody', *keng-keng* 'anybody', *nádã* 'nothing', *ng'kózã* 'something', *kíki-kózã* 'anything', *túru-més* 'everybody'

Pp and Pi may not be preceded by determiners, although *éli* may precede the demonstrative *isi*:

éli, isi dos bándã teng jénti Kristáng fiká 'they, these two places have people Christian stay(ing) (these are the two places where the Christians (i.e. Creoles) live)'

éli, isi kambrádu bong yo 'He, this my good friend'

The same Pp may be optionally repeated after the NP:

súkri ku mantégã éli dos kózã difrénti 'sugar and butter they are two different things'
akéli krénsã-máchu éli béstã 'that boy he is stupid'

2.2.0. The six kernel predicate patterns are:

2.2.1. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + (*sámã ku*) + NP + (AD_P^t)

PvAD (preverbal adverb): *slálu* 'always', *sémpri* 'always', *aunã-bés* 'maybe', *mutu-bés* 'often', *tántu* 'certainly', *prafórsã* 'of necessity'

Neg (negator) *ngkã*, *nádi* (= **ngkã lógo*)

TM (tense/aspect marker)

ta progressive action marker

ja past action marker

lógo ~ *lo* 'future action marker'

∅ non-past action marker

kabá completed action marker

ta, *ja* and *lógo* may not occur in combination with each other

ta has no tense reference:

yo ta kantá 'I'm singing'

yo ta kantá tému bos chegá 'I was singing when you arrived'

TM's are optional when AdtP occurs in the predicate phrase:

ki-órã yo bál Málákã isi Páskál 'When I go to Malacca this Easter'

Kabá may precede or follow the main verb:

yo ja kabá kuml ~ *yo ja kuml kabá* 'I have finished eating'

sámã ku 'like, as'

ADtP (adverb of time phrase): *agórã* 'now', *ónti* 'yesterday', *ozi-díã* 'today', *mas pòku órã*

'in a little while', *díã pasádu* 'yesterday', *pamyáng-pamyáng* 'each morning', *mi-órã* 'soon', *índã* 'yet'

ADpP (adverb of place phrase): *naki* 'here', *nalá* 'there', *na-nalá* 'at that place', *lónzi di nos* 'far from us', *na kázã* 'at home'

Examples:

Juáng tántu ngkã sámã ku Kristubáng ozi-díã 'John certainly isn't like Christopher today'
Akéli kamizã aunã-bés n'saguáti 'That shirt might be a gift'

2.2.2. NP + (éli) + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + (ADint) + $\frac{A}{VP}$ + (AD_p^tP)

éli optionally follows Na or Nc only

ADint (intensifying adverb): *mútu* 'very', *bomóng* 'very', *mpangkádu* 'very', *m'póku* 'a little', *tang* 'so', *fórsã* 'exceptionally', *tántu* 'certainly'

A (adjective): *bong* 'good', *frai* 'nice', *kãnínu* 'small', *marélu* 'yellow'

VP (verb phrase): *kumí* 'eat', *bebé* 'drink', *kasá tígri* 'hunt tigers'

Examples:

áti kuvêlu éli mutu-bés ngkã bomóng prestádu 'That rabbit (it) often isn't very quick'

Juánã ta kuzé búnychis 'Joan is cooking beans'

Juánã bunítu 'Joan is pretty'

Juánã sabé 'Joan knows'

2.2.3. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + Vt + ((Prep) + NP) + (ADman) + (AD_p^tP)

Vt (transitive verb): *kunisé* 'be acquainted with', *skribé* 'write', *falá* 'say', *olá* 'see', *mirá* 'look at', *fumá* 'smoke', *lembrá* 'remember'

Prep (preposition): *ku* 'with', *na* 'to, on', *dári* 'from', *nté* 'without', *di* 'of, from', *pádi* 'for, to', *pra* 'for', *básu di* 'under', *na ribã di* 'on top of', *dréntu* 'inside'

ADman (adverb of manner): *lestí* 'readily', *bagãbãgã* 'quietly'

Examples:

yo-sã mái-pai slálu skribé ku yo alégri 'My parents always write to me in a cheerful way'

rátu pasá na chang na kázã bagãbãgã 'The mouse crossed the floor in the house quietly'

méstri-di-skólã ta les 'The school-teacher is reading'

méstri-di-skólã ta les búku 'The school-teacher is reading a book'

2.2.4. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + Vint + (Prep + NP) + (ADman) + (AD_p^tP)

Vint (intransitive verb): *chegá* 'arrive', *drumí* 'sleep', *trimí* 'tremble'

Examples:

fógu jadí prestádu minggu pasádu 'The fire happened quickly last week'

nu ta trimí ku fríu na águ 'We were shivering from the cold in the water'

2.2.5. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + Vs + (ADint) + A

Vs (sense verb): *cherá* 'smell', *fiká* 'become', *sentí* 'feel', *teng* 'be'

Examples:

krénsã-fémi sentí trísti 'The girl feels sad'

akéli florís cherá bomóng dósi 'That flower smells very sweet'

yo teng bong 'I'm (feeling) good'

2.2.6. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + Vs + (sámã ku) + NP

Examples:

krénsã-fémi sentí sámã ku trubádã 'The girl feels like an idiot'

akéli florís cherá sámã ku rózã-munggáring 'That flower smells like jasmine'

2.3.0. Separation transformations

The following most frequently occur:

2.3.1. Dd + NP → NP + Dd

ísi kubís → kubís ísi 'this cabbage'

Cf. the following distinction:

akéli kázǎ gráni ~ kázǎ akéli gráni 'that house is big'

akéli kázǎ gráni ~ kázǎ gráni akéli 'that big house'

Dq + NP → NP + Dq appears to be restricted to *m'póku* 'a few': *m'póku kukís bendé ~ kukís m'póku bendé* 'a few cakes to sell'

2.3.2. N + A → A + N *ébrǎ séku → séku ébrǎ* 'dry grass'2.3.3. P + *sǎ* + NP → NP + P (with deletion of *sǎ*)

yo-sǎ chapéu ~ chapéu yo 'my hat'

yo-sǎ spingǎrdǎ kúrtu ~ spingǎrdǎ kúrtu yo 'my short gun'

yo-sǎ spingǎrdǎ kúrtu ~ spingǎrdǎ yo kúrtu 'my gun is short'

Retention of *sǎ* (NP + P + *sǎ*) results in nominalization: *chapéu yo-sǎ* 'the hat is mine'

éli sámǎ ku bós-sǎ 'it's the same as yours'

2.3.4. AD + TM + V → TM + AD + V → TM + V + AD

pun ja beng ~ ja pun beng ~ ja beng pun 'also came'

TM + AD + V does not appear to operate with K-adverbs in interrogative constructions (see 2.7.1).

úndi ta báí? ~ ta báí úndi? (but not **ta úndi báí?*) 'Where are you going?'

kái lo' fazé? ~ lo' fazé kái? (but not **lo' kái fazé?*) 'How will (you) do (it)?'

2.3.5. NP + VP + NP + AD → NP + VP + AD + NP

bo mará ísi dos páu juntádu → bo mará juntádu ísi dos páu 'You tied these two sticks together'

2.3.6. NP † VP₁ + VP₂ → VP₁ + NP + VP₂

nu sabé kuré → kuré nu sabé 'We know how to run'

éli chádu skribé → skribé éli chádu 'He is able to write'

2.3.7. NP + AD + NP → NP + NP + AD

ísi nakí éli-sǎ kóbǎ ~ ísi éli-sǎ kóbǎ nakí 'This is his grave here'

Also *ísi kóbǎ nakí éli-sǎ* (Dd + NP + AD + NP) 'This grave here is his'

2.3.8. NP + V + Prep + NP₁ + NP₂ → NP + V + NP₂ + Prep + NP₁

yo mandá ku éli ng'kátrǎ → yo mandá ng'kátrǎ ku éli 'I sent him a letter'

2.4.0. The imperative transformation

IMP + *bos* + VP → VP

IMP + *bos santá* → *santá!* 'IMP + you sit down → sit down!'

2.4.1. The negative imperative

IMP + *bos* + neg + VP → *nang* + VP

IMP + *bos ngkǎ santá* → *nang santá!* 'IMP + you don't sit down → don't sit down!'

2.5.0. Formation of indirect objects

Certain prepositional phrases in kernel pattern 2.2.3. which begin with *pádi* or *ku* may be transformed into indirect objects when they follow any of a limited number of verbs:

da ku 'give to', *prestá ku* 'lend to', *ofresé ku* 'offer to', *mandá ku* 'send to', *irgí pádi*

'build for', *komprá pádi* 'buy for', *achá pádi* 'get for', *fazé pádi* 'make for'

Examples:

el ofresé' fumánsǎ ku yo → el ofresé yo fumánsǎ 'She offered me a cigarette'

bo achá pusá-fógu pádi nos → bo achá nos pusá-fógu 'You got us (some) matches'

2.6.0. Deletions

One deletion has already been noted above at 2.3.3. Others include:

2.6.1. Optional deletion of TM with ADt

ki-órã yo báí grézã ampamyáng ~ ki-órã yo lo' báí grézã ampamyáng 'When I go to church tomorrow morning'

2.6.2. Optional deletion of éli before genitive particle sã

akéli éli-sã írmang-fémi → akéli sã írmang-fémi 'that's his sister'

2.6.3. Optional deletion of preverbal preposition pádi

trabálu pádi prendé → trabálu prendé 'A bother to learn'

éli gostá keré prendé 'She likes to want to learn, i.e. she really wants to learn'

yo gostá kalú pòdi achá fazé sibrísu na-nalá 'I want if able get do work at that-place' ('I would like to be able to get work there')

pamyáng-pamyáng pòdi báí labá kórpu na prái 'each morning able go wash body at beach' ('Each morning we are able to go swimming at the beach')

2.6.4. Deletion of object of transitive verb:

NP + V + NP → NP + Vt

yo kumí arós → yo kumí 'I eat rice' → 'I eat'

nu ta kuzé rópã → nu ta kuzé 'We are sewing clothes' → 'We are sewing'

2.6.5. Optional deletion of partitive di (see 2.9.6.)

tántu di yo-sã kambrádu → tántu yo-sã kambrádu 'many of my pals'

ng'kasínu di kándri → ng'kasínu kándri 'a package of meat'

2.6.6. Optional deletion of subject or object pronouns

fazé éli tézu → fazé tézu 'Make it tight'

lembrá yo lógo báí Natál sejã '(I) think I'll go at Christmas only'

yo lo' mandã bos nos-sã pinturã ki-órã nos dos tomã 'I will send you our photograph when we both take (it)'

2.6.7. Dd is deleted in question-transformations:

ísi kubitór longgã → ki longgã? 'This lid is loose → what is loose?' (see 2.7.0.)

2.6.8. Deletion of preposition ku after change of focus transformation (cf. 2.3.8.):

NP₁ + VP + NP₂ + Prep + NP₃ → NP₃ + NP₁ + VP + NP₂

yo lo' fazé klómpu ku ísi kadérã → ísi kadérã yo lo' fazé klómpu 'I am going to make clogs with this wood'

2.7.0. Questions

2.7.1. K-questions: Adverbs of interrogation are referred to here as K-adverbs and include:

kai 'how', *ki-fói* 'why', *ki-káuzu* 'for what reason', *ki-láyã* 'in what way', *ki*, *ki-kózã* 'what', *keng* 'who', *keng-sã* 'whose', *ki-órã* 'when' (but cf. non-interrogative *témpu* 'at the time that'), *úndi* 'where', *di-úndi* 'whereat'

The question transformation simply involves rewriting the NP or AD_P^t substituting the appropriate K-adverb:

Q + akéli térong *kái n'éli-sã kabésã* → *ki (-kózã) kái n'éli-sã kabésã?*

K

'That apple fell on his head' → 'What fell on his head?'

Q + *bos-sã írmang-fémi ja mudré* térong akéli → *bos-sã írmang-fémi ja mudré ki?*

K

'Your sister bit that apple' → 'What did your sister bite?'

Q + *chúã ta kái* túru-bándã → *chúã ta kái úndi?*

K

'Rain is falling everywhere' → 'Where is rain falling?'

Q + chúã ta kái túru-bándã → *ki ta kái úndi?*

K

K

'Rain is falling everywhere' → 'What is falling where?'

Note the optional application of the separation transformation (2.3.4.) with K-adverbs:

chúã ta kái úndi? → *úndi chúã ta kái?* 'Where is rain falling?'

2.7.2. Yes/No questions: Those questions requiring a yes or no answer have the same syntactic ordering as the declarative form but, as with K-questions, are uttered with rising inflection.

Unlike K-questions, they may have the optional question-tag *-ka* (after positive or negative questions) or *ngkǎ* (after positive questions):

- Q + *el kumí* → *el kumí (-ka)?* → *el kumí, ngkǎ?*
 'He eats' → 'Does he eat?' → 'He eats, doesn't he?'
- Q + *el ngkǎ kumí* → *el ngkǎ kumí (-ka)?*
 'He doesn't eat' → 'Doesn't he eat?'

2.8.0. Generalized bases

2.8.1. Conjoining

Any two (seldom more) of the six kernel pattern types (2.2.1-6) may form a generalized base for a conjoined sentence rewrite:

[S₁] [S₂] → [S₁] + Conj + [S₂]

Conj (conjunction): *ku*, *dan* 'and', *tapi* 'but', *maski*, *sunggopún* 'although, nevertheless', *káuzi* 'because', *atáu* 'or', *así* 'therefore', *sampé*, *até* 'until'

Examples:

- [*Jeráldu juntá dúriang*] [*el lemrá yo gostá*]
 → *Jeráldu juntá dúriang káuzi el lemrá yo gostá* 'Gerald gathered durians because he thought I liked (them)'
 [*yo lógo bebé isi cha*] [*el nté léti*]
 → *yo lógo bebé isi cha máski el nté léti* 'I will drink this tea even though it has no milk'

When only the subject NP's differ for two kernel patterns in a generalized base conjoined by *ku* or *dan*, redundant elements may be deleted, and *pun* or *tamíng* introduced into the second constituent:

- [*Biulántǎ sái di kázǎ*] [*Antóno sái di kázǎ*]
 → *Biulántǎ sái di kázǎ ku Antóni sái di kázǎ tamíng* 'Violanta leaves the house and Tony leaves the house too'
 → *Biulántǎ sái di kázǎ ku Antóni tamíng* 'Violanta leaves the house and Tony (does) too'
 → *Biulántǎ ku Antóni sái di kázǎ* 'Violanta and Tony leave the house'

2.8.2. Relative clauses

Sentences containing relative clauses derive from a generalized base whose constituents share identical NPs. The second of these becomes the relative pronoun *ki*, or *keng* for persons:

- [*yo ja buská m'búku*] [*m'búku teng n'almarí*]
 'I found a book a book in is the cupboard'
 → *yo ja buská m'búku ki teng n'almarí* 'I found a book which was in the cupboard'
 [*nu olá ku Juáng*] [*Juáng ta santá na kadérǎ*]
 'We see John John is sitting on a chair'
 → *nu olá ku Juáng keng ta santá na kadérǎ* 'We see John who is sitting on a chair'

Change of focus may be achieved by embedding the relative clause within the host clause:

- m'búku [yo ja buská m'búku] teng n'almarí*
 → *m'búku ki yo buská teng n'almarí* 'A book I found was in the cupboard'
Juáng [nu olá ku Juáng] ta santá na kadérǎ
 → *Juáng keng nu olá (,) ta santá na kadérǎ* 'John, whom we saw (,) is sitting on a chair'

2.8.3. Restrictive clauses and appositive clauses

The relators *ki* and *keng* introduce two types of relative clauses, those which define the preceding NP more specifically (a restrictive clause), and those which add new, incidental information to the preceding NP (an appositive clause).

Examples:

Restrictive:

mulé keng ja falá akéli ku yo, teng sabór 'The woman who told me that is in good health'

Appositive:

mulé, keng jénti landósǎ, teng sabór 'The woman, who is Dutch, is in good health'

2.8.4. Relative clause deletions

In some instances *ki/keng* or *ki/keng* + Vt may be deleted from a relative clause leaving a phrase modifying the nominal head:

sapátu [ki teng pétu di fôgu] aună-bés lôgo kemá 'The shoes which are near the fire perhaps will burn'

- + *sapátu pétu di fôgu aună-bés lôgo kemá* 'The shoes near the fire perhaps will burn'
- Siără Núnis [keng fiká na Trangkéră] ja parí n'útu krénsă-soné* 'Mrs Nunes who lives in Tranqueira, has had another baby'
- + *Siără Núnis na Trangkéră ja parí n'útu krénsă-soné* 'Mrs Nunes in Tranqueira has had another baby'

Deletion of *ki/keng* before a NP reverts the relative construct to the base pattern:

akéli figu ki frútă sabrózu 'That is a banana, which is a tasty fruit', 'That banana, which is a tasty fruit'

- + *akéli figu frútă sabrózu* 'That banana is a tasty fruit'
- isi yo-să úmpi, keng pekadór* 'This is my uncle, who is a fisherman', 'This, my uncle, who is a fisherman'
- + *isi yo-să úmpi pekadór* 'This, my uncle, is a fisherman'

2.8.5. Adjectival modifiers

When one of the two constituent elements of a generalized base, both of which share a common NP, is of the form NP + A, the second element may be transformed into an adjectival modifier:

[yo cherá n'florís] [isi florís bunítu]

- + *yo cherá n'florís ki bunítu* 'I smelt a flower which was beautiful'

[yo kunisé n'stóri] [stóri isi trísti pádi kontá]

- + *yo kunisé n'stóri ki trísti pádi kontá* 'I know a story which is sad to relate'

[yo panyá m'peníti] [peníti agúdu na púntă]

- + *yo panyá m'peníti ki agúdu na púntă* 'I picked up a pin which was sharp at the point'

2.8.6. Deletions in adjectival modifiers

The relator *ki/keng* may be optionally deleted from sentences of the above pattern:

yo cherá n'florís ki bunítu → *yo cherá n'florís bunítu* 'I smelt a beautiful flower'

yo kunisé n'stóri ki trísti pádi kontá

- + *yo kunisé n'stóri trísti pádi kontá* 'I know a story sad to relate'

yo panyá m'peníti ki agúdu na púntă

- + *yo panyá m'peníti agúdu na púntă* 'I picked up a pin sharp at the point'

The N + A → A + N separation transformation (2.3.2.) may optionally operate when the complement consists only of an adjective or adjectives:

yo cherá n'florís bunítu → *yo cherá m'bunítu florís* 'I smelt a beautiful flower'

but not: **yo kunisé n'trísti pádi kontá stóri*

2.9.0. Comparatives

Comparisons are made between sentences of kernel pattern type 2.2.2. The base contains the item COMP(arative), but the rewrite depends upon the sameness or difference of the adjectivals. The following comparative forms occur in Papia Kristang:

Mas... di 'more than', *ménu... di* 'less than', *así... di* 'the same as', *iguál ku* (non-separable) 'the same as'

2.9.1. Nominals different, adjectivals identical:

[Juáng gráni COMP] [Pédru gráni]

- + *Juáng gráni mas di Pédrú gráni* 'John is big more than Peter is big'

With the obligatory comparative separation transformation NP + A + *mas di* → NP + *mas* + A + *di*, plus regular deletion of repeated elements (2.8.1.), this yields:

Juáng mas gráni di Pédrú gráni

- + *Juáng mas gráni di Pédrú* 'John is bigger than Peter'

2.9.2. Nominals identical, adjectivals different:

[Juáng póbri COMP] [Juáng trísti]

'John is poor' 'John is sad'

- + *Juáng póbri mas di Juáng trísti* 'John is poor more than John is sad'

When NP's are identical, the second is replaced by a Pp:

- + *Juáng póbri mas di éli trísti* 'John is poorer than he is sad'

2.9.3. Nominals and adjectivals different:

[*Juáng mídu COMP*] [*Pédru bráni*]
 'John is fearful' 'Peter is courageous'

In this instance no deletions are made, although the rewrite is an infrequently-occurring construction:

→ *Juáng mas mídu di Pédru bráni* 'John is more fearful than Peter is courageous'

2.9.4. Comparative links as relative clauses:

In the same way as a generalized base, one kernel of which contains a predicate adjective, will yield a sentence containing an adjectival (cf. 2.8.5), e.g.

[*yo dali matá ku m'brigadáng*] [*akéli brigadáng malbádu*]

→ *yo dali matá ku m'brigadáng keng malbádu*

→ *yo dali matá ku m'brigadáng malbádu* 'I killed a wicked soldier'

so the preceding comparative conjunctions (2.9.1-3) may also operate as relative clauses:

[*yo báí da bístă ku Juáng*] [*Juáng duénti COMP*] [*Pédru duénti*]

→ [*yo báí da bístă ku Juáng*] [*Juáng así duénti ku Pédru*]

→ *yo báí da bístă ku Juáng, keng así duénti ku Pédru* 'I went to visit John, who is as sick as Peter'

2.9.5. Genitival constructions:

Genitive forms derive from a base containing *teng* 'have':

Juánă teng fílu-kachóru → *fílu-kachóru Juánă-să*

'Joan has a puppy' 'the puppy is Joan's'

NP₁ V NP₂ NP₂ NP₁ + *să*

Which may be rewritten NP₂ + NP₁ → NP₁ + NP₂:

fílu-kachóru Juánă-să → *Juánă-să fílu-kachóru*

'The puppy is Joan's' 'Joan's puppy'

The above constructions underly the string

[*yo gostá ku fílu-kachóru*] [*Juánă teng fílu-kachóru*]

'I like puppies' 'Joan has a puppy'

→ *yo gostá ku fílu-kachóru ki Juánă-să* 'I like the puppy which is Joan's'

→ *yo gostá ku Juánă-să fílu-kachóru* 'I like Joan's puppy'

2.9.6. Determiner nominals:

Including the above form NP-*să* + NP, the determiner nominal may be written in three ways:

a) NP₁ + *să* + NP₂ *Juánă-să kachóru* *yo-să kachóru*
 'Joan's dog' 'my dog'

b) NP₂ + *di* + NP₁ *kachóru di Juánă* *kachóru di yo*

c) NP₂ + NP₁ *kachóru Juánă* *kachóru yo*

cf. 2.3.3.

2.10.0. Nominalization

Nominalizations appear to be derived from equivalent sentence structures, although the process may not be a productive one since such nominal items may occur in the language as single morphemes (but see 2.12.2). Examples include:

[*Juáng skribé m'búku NOM*] [*el fazé kuntriasáng*]

'John wrote a book' 'It caused a commotion'

→ *Juáng-să skribesáng fazé kuntriasáng* 'John's writing caused a commotion'

[*krénsă-krénsă ta papiá NOM*] [*el agrabá ku yo*]

'The children are talking' 'It annoys me'

→ *krénsă-krénsă-să papiaméntu agrabá ku yo* 'The children's talking annoys me'

2.10.1. Agent nouns:

These are formed from *jénti* + the corresponding verb:

n'jénti keng kantá mestí teng bong osé

'A person who sings must have a good voice'

→ (*n'*) *jénti-kantá mestí teng bong osé* 'A singer must have a good voice'

n'jénti keng skribé mestí sabé spel

'A person who writes must know how to spell'

→ (*n'*) *jénti-skribé mestí sabé spel* 'A writer must know how to spell'

- n'jénti keng sandé mpódi báí nté chirípu fórti*
 'A person who climbs cannot go without strong boots'
 + (*n'*) *jénti-sandé mpódi báí nté chirípu fórti* 'A climber cannot go without strong boots'

2.11.0. Negation

This has been touched upon above at 2.2.1 and 2.4.1. The formula for negation is:

NP + *ngkǎ* + (TM) + VP

yo ngkǎ ta bai 'I am not going'

With the rewritcs

ngkǎ lógo + VP → *nádi* + VP (negative future)

bo ngkǎ lógo ri → *bo nádi ri* 'You won't laugh'

ngkǎ + VP IMP → *nang* VP (negative imperative)

bo ngkǎ ri → *nang ri!* 'You don't laugh' → 'Don't laugh!'

2.11.1. Some verbs have a separate negative form:

ngkǎ keré → *nggére* 'not to want'

ngkǎ teng → *nté* 'not to have'

ngkǎ podí → *mpódi* 'unable'

ngkǎ mestí → *numestí* 'must not'

2.11.2. Negative NP's are followed by a negative VP:

nggéng mpódi 'no one is able'

nádǎ nádi fói 'nothing will happen'

ngkǎ ng'kózǎ nté mersiméntu 'nothing has any value'

2.11.3. Negative kernel patterns may be linked by *ku/dan . . . tamíng/pun* in the same way as positive kernel patterns:

Juáng lo' teng na skólǎ dan yo lo' teng na skólǎ tamíng 'John will be in school and I'll be in school too'

Juáng nádi teng na skólǎ dan yo nádi teng na skólǎ tamíng 'John won't be at school, and I won't be at school either'

2.11.4. Negative extension:

Negative sentences can be extended by sequences in a way not possible with positive sentences, using *mísu* 'even', with neg + VP:

yo-sǎ pái ngkǎ ja kumí nádǎ; ngkǎ n'fáiskǎ mísu

'My father didn't eat anything, not even a bread-roll'

2.12.0. Reduplication

Nominal reduplication as an exponent of plurality has been mentioned at 2.1.2:

lagrátú-lagrátú 'crocodiles'

It also operates for verbs, indicating repetitive action:

el ta andá-andá 'he kept on walking'

For adjectives, indicating intensity:

sibrísu ísi fásǎl-fásǎl 'this work is very easy'

And for adverbs for emphasis:

úndi-úndi 'wherever', *keng-keng* 'whoever', *ki-órǎ-ki-órǎ* 'whenever'

2.12.1. Residual gender distinction

Knowlton 1964 and Silva Rêgo 1942 have both noted a separate feminine third person personal pronoun, *élǎ* in Papia Kristang. This was unknown to the informants consulted in the preparation of the present description.

A small group of adjectives exhibit evidence of noun-adjective concord, although for all the speakers consulted these are in free variation:

bunítǎ ~ *bunítu* 'beautiful', *alégrǎ* ~ *alégru* 'happy', *prigǎsózǎ* ~ *prigǎsózu* 'lazy', *mintǎrózǎ* ~ *mintǎrózu* 'deceitful', *bélǎ* ~ *bélu* 'old'

2.12.2. Bound morphemes

A small number of bound morphemes are still productive in the language:

-*méntu* 'nominalizer' (see 2.10.0)

kazá 'to marry', *kazáméntu* 'wedding'

-*dór* 'agentis nominalizer'

merká 'to sell', *merkádór* 'merchant'

-*du* 'attributivizer'

kebrá 'to break', *kebrádu* 'broken'

tomá 'to take', *tomádu* 'taken, oillaged'

A few preterite forms are irregular:

skribé 'to write', *skrítu* 'written'

bebé 'to drink', *bébdu* 'drunk'

The regularized forms *skribédu*, *bebédu* were acceptable to the informants.

2.12.3. *Emphatic tag -la*

The tag *-la* may be appended to nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives or interjections as a highlighter, or to add emphasis. Examples are:

éli-la palábră ki nos na Mălăka papiá 'THOSE are the words we in Malacca use'

nos-să tántă-la ja muré 'It was our AUNT who died'

ast 'Of course!'

astá-la! 'Of course!'

mpódi-la! 'That cannot be!'

seng-la! 'Yes!'

Beng-la! 'Come!'

3.0.0. Phonemicized Text

This text, originally written in Portuguese-based impressionistic spelling,¹⁴ was written to commemorate the visit of the Portuguese Minister of Overseas Affairs to Malacca on May 19th, 1952.

AO MUITO RESPEITADO SENHOR, COMANDANTE MANUEL MARIA SARMENTO
RODRIGUES MINISTRO DO ULTRAMAR-PORTUGUES

Mútu Respítadu Sinór,

Nos jénti, desendé di antígu Portugés di Mălákă, ki nakí ja beng kwátru séntu ánu pasádu, teng nakí ózi túru juntádu, ku mútu tántu alégriă, keré resibé ku bos, Respítadu Sinór di Portugál. Nos bomóng gabádu di tang grándi ónră, ki Sinór ja da ku nos, beng bizitá ku nos túru.

Sinór-să grándi sibřisu, ki ja fazé ku Francés, Marikánu, Spanyol dan Inggres elótru-să gobermíntu, ja chegá nos-să ubídă. Isi káuzu, nos fiká gabádu m'bes.

Nos podí papiá ku jústu rizáng ki, kwátru séntu ánu fóřă teng, ki-óřă Alfónso di Albukérke ja plantá éli-să péu n'ísi téřă di Mălákă, éli ja teng dos sentídu na éli-să pensáméntu. Priméru sentídu, ganyá ísi téra pa Re Dong Manuél-să Sinór ku lantá naki ngwă grándi póde. Ísi sórti, éli ja regí ngwă fortăléză ku nómi di Famósă; segúndu éli-să sentídu, teng keré spalá túru-bándă m'bes dutřina di Krístu; ísi káuzu, el ja regí ngwă gréză ku nómi di nos-să Siyără di Asunsáng, mĩsu na lărgă di fortăléză.

Di téřă di Mălákă, soldádu ku marinúeru ja bai túru-bándă; ku elótru ja bai tamíng misyonáriu túru-bándă di téřă di Sámátră, Ambóinu, Ternáti, Timór, Siáng, Chínă, Japáng, pregá dutřină di Krístu. Mălákă n' akéli témpu teng ngwă sidádi bomóng gráni.

Ki-óřă Portugál-să pódi ja kai kansádu di fazé tántu gráni sibřisu, Landés-să jénti ja tomá ísi sidádi. Elótru ja distruí túru gréză dan nung desá ku nos-să ábu, disábu fazé rézu na abértu; éli ja persegí ku jénti Kristáng. Isi káuzu, nós-să jénti di Mălákă ja fuzí na mátu. Nalá bibé, tapí Portugál ngkă skisé ku elótru; nalá ja mandá misyonáriu keng bibé juntádu ku elótru, na témpu di tántu nfádu ku trabálu.

Ísi sórti, Respítadu Sinór, bos, ki ku tántu amór, ja beng nakí bizitá ku nos túru, nos tamíng keré mostrá nos-să amór ku Portugál, téřă di nos-să ábu dan disábu. Nos, ózi-diă nakí juntádu, keré ofrisé ku bos, ngwă saguáti ki-sórti judá podí mostrá, ku Sinór Prezidénti di Ripúblikă, Sinór Jenerál Krabíru Lopés dan ku túru jénti Portugál.

Respítadu Sinór, judá fazé mersé ku nos resibé ísi kasínu. Na dréntu teng dos pédră; ngwă ja rangká di fortăléză: ísi mostrá nos-să gráni amór ku Portugál, téřă di nos-să ábu ku disábu; segúndă pédră ja rangká di Gréză di Anunsiádă; ísi da mostrá nos-să Fe, ki Portugál ja trazé nakí dan ki nos ta gardá ku mútu tántu amór.

14 Probably transcribed by the local Portuguese priest.

Nos mas pidí, mútu respitádu Sinór, fazé gráni mersé ku nos aseté ísi palábru skrítu na nos-sá língu di Kristáng, judá podí mostrá na túru Portugál ki na Málákă teng Kristáng papiá Portugés.

Agóřă nos teng dibásu di Inglatěřă, kambrádu bélu di Portugál; nos fiká gradisídu pa fasilidádi pádi nos desá praktiká nós-să fe di Kristáng.

Kómu finál, nos pidí ku Sinór Minístru, judá lebá nós-să respítu, ku Sinór Prizidénti dan ku túru Portugál ki ja mandá Sinór beng bizitá ku nos desendéti di Portugés ántigu di Málákă.

NOS FIKÁ FIELMÉNTI
MÚTU RESPITÁDU SINÓR,
Komunidádi Portugés di Málákă

3.1.0. Free translation

Much respected Senhor,

We, the people descended from the early Malaccan Portuguese who came here four hundred years ago, have all gathered here today with much happiness to receive you, respected Senhor, from Portugal. We are flattered by such a great honour which the Senhor has given us by coming to visit us all.

News of the Senhor's great work, which he has undertaken with the French, American, Spanish and English governments, has reached our ears; for this reason we are made the more proud.

We can say with certainty (with reason) that four hundred years ago when Alfonso de Albuquerque set foot on Malaccan soil, he had two thoughts in mind: firstly to acquire the land for King Dom Miguel's agent(?) and establish authority. Thus was built the fortress called Famosa. The second thought was to spread everywhere at once the doctrine of Christianity, and so he eventually built the church called Our Lady of Assumption, as he had done the fortress.

From Malacca, soldiers and sailors went everywhere, as had also missionaries to Sumatra, Amboina, Ternate, Thailand, China and Japan to preach the doctrine of Christ. Malacca in those days was a very great city.

When Portugal's might fell, and she declined from doing so much (administrative) work, people from Holland took this city. They destroyed all the churches, forsaking our ancestors, who had to pray in the open air; they persecuted the Creoles. Because of this, our Malaccan people fled into the forests. There they stayed, but Portugal did not forget them: she sent missionaries who lived together with them during those distasteful and troublesome times.

In the same way, respected Senhor, as you, who with much love came here to visit us all, we too want to show our love for Portugal, the land of our ancestors. Gathered here today, we want to offer you a gift, of a kind which will help show (this love) to the Senhor Presidente da Republica, Senhor General Craveiro Lopes, and to all the people of Portugal.

Respected Senhor, help us to make our thanks by accepting this casket. Inside are two stones: one was taken from the fortress; this represents our great love for Portugal, the land of our forefathers. The second stone was taken from the Church of the Annunciation; this represents our faith, which Portugal brought here and which we guard with very much love.

We ask further, highly respected Senhor, that in making our thanks we may explain these words, which are written in our language, Kristang. Please could you show to all Portugal that in Malacca there are Christians who speak Portuguese (still).

Now (1952) we are under Britain, that old friend of Portugal, and we are able to develop freely (mature with ease) since the practice of the Christian faith is allowed.

In conclusion, we ask that the Senhor Minister please convey our respects to the Senhor Presidente and to all Portugal, who sent the Senhor to come and visit with the descendents of the early Portuguese of Malacca.

We remain faithfully, much respected Senhor, the Portuguese Community of Malacca.

4.0.0. Papia Kristang Basic Lexicon

4.1.0. Verbs

Abuse	Mbīsi	Finish	Kabá, Triminá
Agree	Silisé	Flog, whip	Zorniká
Annoy	Agrǎbá	Fly	Abuá
Ask	Pidī	Forget	Skisé
Awaken	Kordrá	Forgive	Da pedráng
Be (locating)	Teng	Give	Da
Bear, endure	Aturá	Go	Bai
Beat	Tizá	Go away!	Rakuá!
Become	Fiká	Go back	Birá
Begin	Komesá	Go up	Subí
Believe	Konfiá	Grow	Kresé, Ngkudá
Birth, give	Parí	Hang	Nforká
Bite	Mudré	Have	Teng
Bleed	Sanggrá	Hear	Ubí
Blink	Pichipichí	Help	Astendé, Judá
Blow	Sufrá	Hold	Pegá
Bore, drill	Furá	Hunt	Kasá
Break	Kebrá, Gabratá	Hug	Abrásá
Build	Regí	Hurt	Trumínyu, Chuchú
Burn	Kemá	Jump	Saltá, Pinchá
Burst	Rabentá	Keep	Gadrá, Mantí
Buy	Kumprá	Kill	Matá
Can, be able	Pódi	Kiss	Cherá, da bókǎ
Cannot	Mpódi	Knock	Bostiá
Care for	Kidá	Know	Sabé, Kunisé
Carry	Lantá	Laugh	Ri, Kuchiká
Catch	Pegá	Leave, go out	Sai
Chase	Sigí	Lie down	Detá
Chew	Mastigá	Lift	Kratá
Choke	Afugá, Sǎngkáng	Listen	Kustá
Choose	Skulé	Live, be alive	Bibá
Climb	Subí, Ratá	Live, reside	Fiká
Come	Beng	Look (at)	Olá
Cook	Kuzé, Masá	Look after	Kidá
Copulate	Bringká fúlǎ	Make	Fazé
Cover	Kubrí, Stópu	Marry	Kazá
Crush	Chipé	Move	Mobá
Curtsey	Nzélú, Yozélu	Must	Mésti
Dare	Afótu	Open	Abri
Dip	Mergulá	Pull	Tirá
Do, make	Fazé	Push	Pusá
Dream	Sunýá, Lumýá	Put	Metí, Botá
Drink	Bebé	Remember	Lembrá
Drive away	Alú, Distará	Scratch	Ranyá
Drop	Fazé kai	See	Olá, Spiá, Ripará
Eat	Kumí	Seek	Buská
Enter	Ntrá	Seize	Panyá
Exchange	Truká	Shake	Sakudí, Trimí
Expect	Isprá, Sperá	Shout	Gritá, Chomá
Fall	Kai, kai básu	Shut	Pichá
Fasten	Mará	Sit	Santá
Fight	Brigá	Slap	Bostiá
Fill	Nché	Sleep	Drumí
Find	Buská, Ntopá	Snore	Rongká

Socialize, mix	Champorá	Dumb	Múmu, Bísu
Split	Rachá	Each	Kádã
Spoil	Daná	Empty	Bazíđu
Squat	Nzélu	Every	Kádã, Túru
Squeeze	Chipé	Expensive	Káru
Stab	Fisgá	Faithful	Fiyél
Stand	Mpé	Far	Lónzi
Stay	Fiká	Filthy	Súzu, Kótor
Steal	Ratiá, Frutá	Fine	Fínu
Stop, cease	Perá	First	Pimíru
Stutter	Gágu	Fresh	Frésku
Swallow	Nggulí, Tragá	Foolish	Béstã
Take	Tomá	Glad	Alégru, /-ã
Take, accompany	Kumpanyá	Good	Bong
Talk	Papiá	Greedy	Golózu
Tell	Falá	Green	Bédri
Thank	Falá mersé	Heavy	Prezádu
Think	Pensá, Lembrá	High	Áltu
Threaten	Mezá	Hoarse	Rúku
Tie up	Mará	Hot	Kénti
Tilt	Mpinyá	Hungry	Fómi
Tremble	Trimí	Inexpensive	Barátu
Walk	Andá, Kumí béntu	Interwoven	Papuá
Want	Keré	Jealous	Siúsu
Not want	Nggére	Lazy	Prígásózã/-u
Wash	Labá	Long	Kumprídã
Wear	Bisí	Lucky	Fortúnã
Wipe	Seká	Many	Tántu
Work	Fazé sibrísu	Mean	Skaká, Káinyu
Write	Skribé	Middle	Miã
Yawn	Busichá	Miserable	Danádu, Mízářbãl
		Naked	Dispíđu
		New	Nóbu
4.2.0. Adjectives		Nice	Frai
Afraid	Míđu	Old	Bélã/-u
All	Túru, Túdu	Only	Úniku
Angry	Ráibã, Furiádã	Other	Útu, ótru
Bad	Mal	Own	Própi
Better	Miyór	Painful	Frumíntu
Big	Gráni	Poor	Póbri
Black	Prétu	Pretty	Bunítã/-u
Blind	Teng ólu tórtu	Red	Brumílu, Ngkarnádã
Blue	Azúl, Blau, Blu	Rich	Ríku
Blunt, dull	Tompól	Ripe	Madúřã
Bold	Brábu, Bráni	Rotten	Pódri
Broken	Kebrádu	Sad	Ánsiã, Trísti
Careless	Chúpã	Salty	Salgádu
Clean	Límpu	Sharp	Agúdu
Cold	Fríu	Short	Kúrtu
Correct	Rétu	Small	Kãnínu, Pãkãnínu
Crazy	Lungádu	Soft	Móli
Dangerous	Riskádu	Sour	Azédu
Dark	Skúru	Strong	Fórti
Dead	Muré	Sweet	Dósi
Deaf	Súrdu	Tasty	Sabózu
Deep	Fúndu	Thin	Mágri
Drunk	Bébdú, Ferádu	Third	Treséru
Dry	Séku		

Tired	Nfádu, Sónu	4.4.0 Plants, food, eating	
Tough	Nsútu	Banana	Fígu, Písang
Ugly	Féu	Bean	Búnchis
Untidy	Skabeládu	Bread	Pang, Róti
Varied	Bariádu	Breakfast	Almúsu
Wet	Muládu	Bushland	Mátu
White	Brángku	Cake	Kukĩs
Yellow	Marélu, Marĩzu	Calabash	Kalbás
Young	Mǎnĩnu	Chocolate	Chokláti
		Coconut	Kóku, Lányǎ
		Coffee	Kófi
		Cookie	Biskóitu
		Corn	Mĩlu
		Cucumber	Pipĩnyu
		Egg	Óbu
		Flour	Farĩnyǎ
		Flower	Flor, Florĩs
		Food (unprepared)	Kumĩriǎ
		Food (prepared)	Láu
		Fruit	Frútu, Frútǎ
		Garden egg	Brinjálǎ
		Ginger	Áliǎ
		Hemp	Bánggi
		Ingredients	Témprǎ
		Irish potato	Atápǎl
		Lemon	Limáng
		Mango	Mánggu
		Mango-tree	Manggéǎ
		Meat	Kándri, Fles
		Nut	Abiláng
		Milk	Léti
		Olive oil	Azéti
		Onion	Sǎbólǎ
		Peanut	Káchang
		Palm	Pálmǎ
		Palm sugar	Jágrǎ
		Peach	Pésgu
		Pawpaw	Papáyǎ
		Pepper	Primentǎ
		Pineapple	Nanás
		Pomegranate	Rumáng
		Pumpkin	Abóborǎ
		Rattan cane	Rotáng
		Rice	Arós
		Rice, burnt	Néli
		Root	Ras
		Saffron	Safráng
		Sapodilla	Chĩu
		Salt	Sal
		Spice	Témprǎ
		Straw	Pálpǎ
		Sweet potato	Batátǎ
		Sugar (cane)	(kǎnǎ di) súkri
		Tamarind	Tambrĩnyu
		Tea	Cha, Te
		Thicket	Blángkǎ
		Tobacco	Tabáku
4.3.0 Animals			
Animal	Animál		
Ant	Frumĩngǎ		
Bedbug	Putubézǎ		
Bee	Lǎbǎ		
Bird	Pástu		
Buffalo	Búfrǎ		
Cat	Gátu		
Cockatoo	Kakǎtúǎ		
Cockroach	Kéchuǎ		
Cow	Bákǎ		
Crab	Kanggrézu		
Crocodile	Lagrátu		
Dog	Kachóru		
Donkey	Búru		
Duck	Árdi, Ádi		
Elephant	Alfánti		
Fin	Ázǎ		
Fish	Pési		
Fly	Múskǎ, Kámbarang		
Frog	Mandúku, Kódu		
Goat	Kábrǎ		
Hen	Galĩnyǎ		
Iguana	Gwǎnǎ		
Lizard	Chichá		
Lion	Liyáng		
Monkey	Buzĩu		
Mosquito	Muskĩtu		
Mouse	Tĩkus, Rátu		
Oyster	Trite-gráni		
Parrot	Núri		
Peacock	Pábang		
Pig	Pórku, Letáng		
Prawn	Kambráng, Grágu		
Rabbit	Kuvélu, Kwélu		
Rooster	Gálu		
Seaslug	Bĩchu-di-már		
Snail	Sipút		
Snake	Kóbrǎ		
Spider	Labǎlábǎ		
Swallow	Andurĩnu		
Tiger	Tĩgri		
Tortoise	Tatrúgǎ, Tontóng		
Turkey	Kalkún		
Turtle	Biúku		
Worm	Cháching		

Tree	Álbi	Boat	Bárku, Práu
Vegetable	Brídu, Prátu	Book	Búku
Vinegar	Binágrí	Bucket	Báldi
Water	Águ	Buoy	Bóyǎ
Water, drinking	Águ-bebé	Candle	Kandǎǎ
Wheat	Trǐgu	Candlestick	Katisál
Wood	Pau, Lényǎ, Madérǎ	Church	Grézǎ
Yam	Yam, Yámi	Crib	Bobói
		Cup and saucer	Kópi-pirǐng
4.5.0 Natural phenomena		Cupboard	Almarí
Ash	Sǐnzǎ	Door	Pórtǎ
Charcoal	Kabráng	Drum	Tamból, Brembréng
Coast	Kóstǎ	Fence	Pagá
Color	Klor	Fork	Gárfu
Copper	Kóbri	Furniture	Abiméntu
Country	Térǎ	Garden	Jardǐng
Dawn, to	Manisé	Glass	Bǐdru
Day	Dǎǎ	Goods	Fazéndǎ
Diamond	Diamáng	Graveyard	Oitéru
Drain	Lóngkang	House	Kázǎ
Evening	Atádi	Kettle	Kétǎl
Fire	Fógu	Kitchen garden	Ótrǎ
Gold	Óru	Knife	Fákǎ
Ground	Chang	Lamp	Lámpu, Lantérǎ
Iron	Féru	Lid	Kubitór
Lead	Chúmbu	Latrine	Kakús
Meteor	Strélǎ-di-karérǎ	Mat	Stérǎ
Midday	Metádi-dǎǎ	Medicine	Mezǐnyǎ
Midnight	Miǎ-núti	Mirror	Spélu
Moon	Lúngǎ	Oven	Fugáng
Morning	Pamyáng	Pen	Pénǎ
Mountain	Mónti	Pillow	Anfádǎ
Mud	Lámǎ	Pillowcase	Frónyǎ
Night	Anúti	Piece	Pǎdás
Noise	Róngku	Place	Lúgǎ, Bándǎ
Rain	Chúǎ, Chúbǎ	Plaster	Argámásǎ
River	Rǐu	Pot	Tizálǎ, Panélǎ, Kasról
Sand	Áriǎ	Plate	Basǐu
Silver	Prátǎ	Rowboat	Baláng
Smoke	Fúmu	Sack	Gúni
Star	Strélǎ	Saucer	Pirǐng
Stone	Pédrǎ, Pédru	School	Skólǎ
Sun	Sol	Song	Kántu
Thunder	Gurugúru, granggrúng	Spoon	Kulé
Time	Témpu	Stair, ladder	Skádǎ
Time, period of	Spásu	Station	Stasáng
To-day	Ózi, ozi-dǎǎ	Story, tale	Stóri
Tomorrow	Amyáng	Street	Rúǎ, Kamǐnyu
Tomorrow morning	Ampamyáng	Table	Mézǎ
Typhoon	Tufáng	Tablecloth	Taflák
Wind	Béntu	Teapot	Póchi-té
World	Múndu, Dúnyǎ	Towel	Tuálǎ, Mandóku
Yesterday	Ónti, ónti-dǎǎ	Town	Sidádi
		Vehicle	Karétǎ
4.6.0 Household etc.		Car	Motoká
Bed	Kámǎ	Bike	Báisǎkǎl
Bell	Sǐnu	Plane	Bárku-abuá

Trishaw	Bechá	Boy	Krénsă-măchu, Boi
Train	Tren, Rélwe	Bride	Nóibă
Verandah	Bărandă	Brother	Írmang-măchu
Wash-basin	Baskóng	Child	Krénsă, Păkăńńu
Water-drum	Tángki	Chief	Kabésă, Mandór
Wheel	Ródă	Chinese	Jénti Chină
Whip	Chambúku	Christian	Kristáng
Window	Janéľă	Creole	Jénti Kristáng,
Word	Palăbră	(Malaccan)	Topáz, Topáziu, Săráni
		Daughter	Filă
4.7.0 Clothing		Daughter-in-law	Nóră
Baggage	Trósă	Devil	Diăbu
Blouse	Kăbáyă	Dutchman	Jénti Landósă, Jénti Landés
Bracelet	Tángkal	Englishman	Jénti Inggrés
Button	Butáng	European	Jénti Erópă, Ropiánu
Cap	Krapúsă	Family	Familiă, Raskúnyă
Clothing	Rópă, Dástor	Father	Pai
Clogs	Klómpu, Prómpă	Father-in-law	Sógru
Comb	Pénti	Frenchman	Jénti Fránsă
Creole hair-bun	Kónde	Friend	Ránchu, Kámbră
Gloves	Askúng	Gentlefolk	Bonjénti
Handkerchief	Lénsu	Girl	Krénsă-fémi
Hat	Chapéu	Girlfriend	Amígă, Nóibă
Jacket	Báju	God	Déus
Jewelry types	Korkupíng, pakupáku	Grandfather	Pai-abó
Knot	Kăńóp	Grandmother	Mai-abó
Lace	Réndă	Groom	Núbu
Mattress	Bolsă	Husband	Spósu, Marídu
Necklace	Pínding	Indian	Múru
Necktie	Dási	Japanese	Jénti Japáng
Pajamas	(Báju-)pajámă	Malayan	Jénti Măláyu
Perfume	Sénsi	Man	Ómi
Pigtail, braid	Cocháng	Master	Méstri
Pipe	Pípă	Mister	Siyór, Sinór
Ribbon	Fítă	Mistress, lover	Dámă
Sandals	Chákiă	Mother	Mái
Sash	Banderól, Bandéră	Mother-in-law	Sógră
Satchel	Bandălă	Mrs.	Siără
Shawl	Tókă	Muslim	Múru
Shawl, wedding	Báuchi	Parents	Mai-pái
Shirt	Kamíză	People	Póbu, Jénti
Shoe	Sapátu, Kálsu	Person	Jénti
Slipper	Chinéľă, Chiripú	Portuguese	Jénti Portugés
Sock	Kus, Miă	Procuror	Páilot, Asentidór
Spectacles	Ókăľ	Prostitute	Mulé-danádu, Fémi-diăbu
Sword	Spádă	Relatives	Jerisáng
Thimble	Dédăľ	Sister, elder	Súsi
Trousers	Kalsáng	Sister, younger	Írmang-fémi
Umbrella	Sumbrélu	Son	Fílu
Walking-cane	Tóngkat	Spirit	Sprítu
Wrapper	Sárong	Tribe, ethnic group, nation	Nasáng
4.8.0 Persons		Uncle	Tíu, Tatúm, Úmpi
Aunt	Tíă, Tántă, Ánti	Visitor	Jénti-bizitá
American	Jénti Marikánu	Wife	Spósă, Marídă
Baby	Krénsă-soné	Woman	Mulé
Bastard	Pútă	Young man	Famíľă

Youth	Mansibu	Macao	Makáu
4.9.0. Geographical names		Madras	Mădrástă
Amboina	Ambóinu	Malacca	Mălákă
Bengal	Benggálă	Malaysia	Téră Măláyú
Ceylon	Seláng, Téră Jínggli	Portugal	Portugál
China	Téră Chínă	Singapore	Singăpúră
England	Téră Inggrés	Spain	Téră Spanyol
Europe	Erópă	Sumatra	Sămátră
France	Fránsă	Ternate	Ternáti
Holland	Téră Landósă, Téră Landés	Thailand	Siyáng
Ilher	Ilír, Hilír	Timor	Timór
Japan	Japáng	Tranqueira	Trangkéră
		U.S.A.	Téră Marikánu

4.10.0 Male proper names

Adáng, Altúfu, Antóni, Dízma, Érik, Eródi, Jeráldu, Jeróni, Jozé, Judéu, Kristubáng, Liándru, Níkolu, Simáng

4.11.0 Female proper names

Biulántă, Filumínă, Juánă, Kălără, Lizárdă, Mariă, Palfídă, Ranjinélă, Róză, Sulúndă

4.12.0 Anatomical, etc.

Anklebone	Ólu-di-péu	Hunger	Fómi
Arm	Mang	Intestines	Trípă
Armpit	Bódi, Kăchák	Jaw	Dágu
Back	Tras	Knee	Yozélu
Beard	Bárbă	Leg, foot	Péu
Blood	Sángi	Lip	Bésu
Body	Kórpu	Liver	Fígdu
Bone	Ósu	Lung	Bófi
Breast	Pétu	Mouth	Bókă
Buttocks	Ku	Mustache	Bigódi
Carcass	Mótri	Nail	Únyă
Chest	Chéstu, Pétu	Nausea	Nggúlu
Cholera	Kóleră	Nose	Narís
Coccyx	Ósu-di-rábu	Nostril	Buráku-di-narís
Cold	Katáru, Rapiământu	Penis	Pisá
Cough (n.)	Túsi	Perspiration	Sor
Ear	Ubídă	Pregnant	Prényă, Pizádă
Epilepsy	Duénsă-pusăpúsă	Pupil of eye	Karózu-di-ólu
Eunuch	Omi-kapádu	Pus, suppurate	Nsolpă
Excreta	Kaká	Rib	Kustélă
Eye	Ólu	Shoulder	Brásu
Eyebrow	Subrinsélă	Sickness	Duénsă
Face	Káră, Róstu	Skin	Péli
Fever	Fébri	Smallpox	Bésigă
Finger	Dédu	Sneeze (n.)	Spíru
Fingernail	Únyă-di-máng	Stomach	Stámu, Barígă
Genitalia	Bergónyă	Tail	Rábu
Gullet	Guélă	Tears	Lágru
Hair	Kabélu	Thirst	Sédi
Hand	Mang	Throat	Gargántă
Head	Kabésă	Toe	Dédu-di-péu
Heart	Korsáng	Toenail	Únyă-di-péu
Heel	Barígă-di-péu, Chíspu-di-péu	Tongue	Línggu
		Tooth	Dénti

Tuberculosis	Étikǎ	As	Así
Vagina	Fúlǎ	At	Na
Venereal disease	Dandísǎ, Duénsǎ-di-dandísǎ	At first	Mazánti
Womb	Lúgǎ-parí	Because (of)	Káuzi (di)
		Before	Diánti (di)
		Behind	Na tras (di)
		But	Tapí
4.13.0 Pronouns, verbal markers		Certainly	Tǎntu
I	Yo, jénti	Even	Mísu, Própi
You	Bo, bos	Everywhere	Túru-bándǎ, Nalá-nalí
He/She/It/They	El, Éli	Everyone	Túru-més
We	Nu, nos	For	Pádi, pra, pa
You (pl.)	Bos-túru, Bos, Bo	For this reason	Isi káuzu
They	El, Éli, Elótru, Eli-túru,	From	Di, Dári
Noncompletive Marker	Olotú	From here	D'alí
Future marker	ta	From there	D'alá
Past marker	lo', lógo, lógu	Hello	Kai!, Ki nóbes!
Completive Marker	ja	Here	N'akí
	kabá	Hour	Órǎ, Bǐdru
		How	Kai, Ki-sórti, Ki-láyǎ
4.14.0 Numerals		How many	Kántu
One	Ngwǎ	If	Kalú, Ka', Si
Two	Dos, Dóis	In	Na
Three	Tres	In a	N'úngwǎ
Four	Kwátu	In front of	Na frónti (di)
Five	Síngku	Inside	Dréntu (di), Réntu (di)
Six	Ses	Interjection of pain	adóí!
Seven	Séti	Interjection of pleasure	olé!
Eight	Óitu	Interjection of anger	da!
Nine	Nóbi	Interjection of surprise	ai!, wa!, ayó!, alá!
Ten	Des	In spite of	Máski
Eleven	Ónzi	Just	Jéstǎ
Twelve	Dózi	Kind of	Sórti di
Thirteen	Trézi	Manner, way	Sórti
Fourteen	Katórzi	Mile	Pédrǎ
Fifteen	Kínzi	Month	Mis
Sixteen	Disés	More (than)	Mas (di)
Seventeen	Diséti	More-or-less	Esnués
Eighteen	Disóitu	Near (to)	Pétu (di), Pértu (di)
Nineteen	Disnóbi	Nearly	Pétu, Pértu
Twenty	Bínti	Never	Ngkǎ m'bés
Twenty one	Bínti-ngwǎ	Nevertheless	Máski
Thirty	Tríntǎ	News	Nóbes
Hundred	(N')séntu	No	Ngkǎ
Thousand	Mil	No one	Nggéng
Half	Míu (n.), Míǎ (a.)	Nothing	Nádǎ
		Now	Agórǎ
4.15.0 Grammatical, miscellaneous		Nothing at all	Nté kikí
Again	Toná, Torná	Occasion	Bes
Against	Kóntrǎ	Of	Di
Also	Pun, Tamíng	On top (of)	Na rǐbǎ (di)
Although	Maski	Or	Atáu
Always	Sémpri, Slálu	Outside	Fórǎ (di)
And	Ku, Dan	Perhaps	Aunǎ-bes, Anumbés
Another	Ng'útu, n'útu	Quite	Jústu
Any	Kíkí	Readily	Lestí
Anyone	Keng-keng	Recently	Ja teng m'póku
Around	Sérkǎ		

So	Tang	Too, also	Pun, Tamíng
So much, So many	Astántu, Sotí	Under	Básu (di)
Some, A few	M'póku	Underneath	Dibásu (di)
Something	Ng'kózǎ	Until	Até, Sampé
Soon	Póku-órǎ, mi-órǎ	Very	Mútu, Múntu, Bomóng
Speed	Karérǎ	What	Ki
Still	Indǎ	What?	Kózǎ?
That	Akéli, Áti	What's the time?	Kant'órǎ agórǎ?
That one	Akel'úngwǎ	When	Ki-órǎ, Témpu
That other	Akel'útu	Where	Úndi
There	N'alá	Which, that	Ki, Kal
There is, There are	Éli, T'ngwǎ, N'alá teng	Who	Keng
These	Ísi, Ísti	Which one	Kal'úngwǎ
This	Ísi, Ísti	Why	Ki-fói
This one	Is'úngwǎ	With	Ku
Thus	Así	Without	Nté, Seng
To (preverbal)	Pádi, Pra	Yard (3 feet)	Élǎ
To (locative)	Na	Year	Ánu
Together (with)	Juntádu (ku)	Yes	Seng
Too, overly	Mútu tántu	Yet	Índǎ

Bibliography

- Baker, A.C., [c.1920]. "An Historical Sketch of Malacca". *Historical Guide of Malacca*, Malacca, pp 1-20.
- Beirão, Caetano, 1960. *A Short History of Portugal*, Lisbon.
- Chaves, Luiz, 1933a. 'O cristão', 'papiá cristão' ou 'seraní'. O português de Malaca em apontamentos folclóricos". *Língua Portuguesa*, 3: 169-178.
- 1933b. "O papiá cristão de Malaca. Mais apontamentos". *Língua Portuguesa*, 3: 209-216.
- Clarke, H., and L.L. Bonaparte, 1877. [Correspondence dealing with Sabir]. *The Athenaeum*, 50: 545, 607-8, 640, 671-2, 703. (April 28th to June 2nd, 1877).
- Coates, William A., 1971. "The Lingua Franca". *Proceedings of the 5th Kansas Linguistics Conference* (ed. F. Ingemann), pp. 25-34.
- Coelho, F.A., 1886. ["Singapore Creole Portuguese"]. *Boletim da Soc. de Geografia de Lisboa*, 6: 718-723.
- François, J.P., [?1920]. "The Portuguese of Malacca". *Historical Guide of Malacca*, Malacca, pp. 84-88.
- Hancock, I., 1969. "The Malacca Creoles and their language". *Afrasian*, 3: 38-45.
- 1970. "Some Dutch-derived items in Papiá Kristang". *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en en Volkenkunde*, 126: 352-356.
- 1972. "Some Dutch-derived items in Java Creole Portuguese". *Orbis*, 12: 549-554.
- Huet, G., 1909. "La communauté portugaise de Batavia". *Revista Lusitana*, 12: 149-170.
- Knowlton, Edgar C., "Malaysian Portuguese". *The Linguist*, 26: 211-213, 239-241.
- Kok, B., "A influência do português na Língua africânder". *Boletim Gêral do Ultramar*, 29: 85-90.
- Rêgo, A. da Silva, 1942. *Dialecto português de Malaca. Apontamentos para o seu estudo*, Lisbon.
- 1960-61. "Portugal e a Malásia". *Portugal em Africa*, número especial, July 1960-July 1961, pp 193-206.
- 1964. "A comunidade luso-malaia de Malaca e Singapura". *V. Colóquio Int. de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros, Actas* 1: 507-512.
- Schuchardt, H., 1891. *Über das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu*, Vienna.
- Teixeira, M., 1961. *The Portuguese missions in Malacca and Singapore, 1511-1958*. Vol. 1: Malacca, Lisbon.

- Thompson, R.W., 1961. "A note on some possible affinities between the creole dialects of the old world and those of the new". *Creole Language Studies*, 2: 107-113.
- Valkhoff, M., 1966. *Studies in Portuguese and Creole*, Johannesburg.
- 1972. *New Light on Afrikaans and "Malayo-Portuguese"*. Louvain.
- Whinnom, K. 1965. "The origin of the European-based creoles and pidgins". *Orbis*, 14: 509-527.