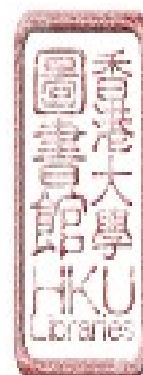


A SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC
INVESTIGATION OF MACANESE:
THE PORTUGUESE-BASED CREOLE OF MACAO

Marie Arana-Ward
University of Hong Kong
July, 1977

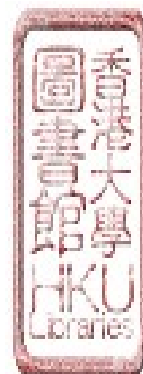


Declaration

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled "A Synchronic and Diachronic Investigation of Macanese -- The Portuguese-Based Creole of Macao," has been done after registration for the degree of Master of Arts, and has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this or any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

June 1977

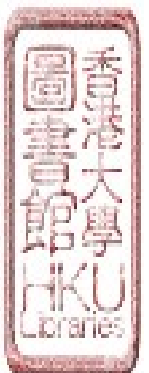
Michael B. Apple



ABSTRACT

Abstract of dissertation entitled "A Synchronic and Diachronic Investigation of Macanese -- The Portuguese-Based Creole of Macao," submitted by Marie Arana-Ward as partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Arts (Language Studies) at the University of Hong Kong in July of 1977.

This paper intends to demonstrate that the Portuguese creole of Macao has undergone considerable structural, lexical, and phonological changes since its origination in the sixteenth century. Several linguists (notably Perreira, Batalha, and Thompson) have attempted to capture the salient features of the creole at different stages and in different locales. The early form of Macanese (pre-World War II) is treated separately as the "Old Dialect." The analyses of the creoles as described by Batalha and Thompson in the 1950's and 1960's are outlined, contrasted and criticized. Hong Kong Macanese, being the sole variety which survives in spoken form, is analyzed through original research and empirical data. The author's research is based on tape recordings and personally elicited information from a group of local informants. The main focus is placed on three individuals: two who are Macanese creole speakers, and one who is a Macao-standard Portuguese speaker. Their language systems are analyzed and compared to the earlier descriptions of the creole. A sociolinguistic study of the forces of change within the creole's life-cycle is then drawn. The main descriptive body of the work is preceded by a historical account of the merging of the languages in contact. It is followed by a sample glossary of the creole, examples of Macanese literature, and phonetic transcriptions of some of the recordings conducted by the author.



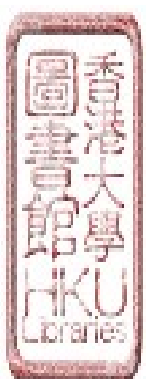
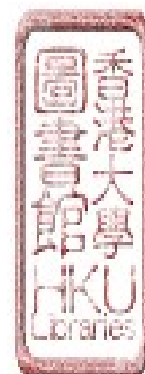
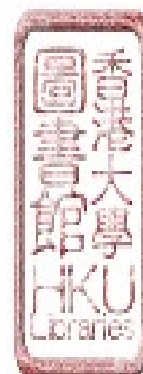


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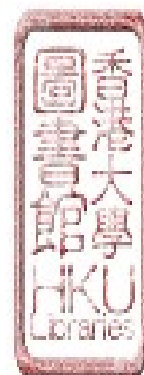


INTRODUCTION

The vast majority of the work done on Macanese has been done in Portuguese. The little that has been done in English represents only scattered snatches of linguistic information. In either language, there is no concrete and thorough investigation of the actual creole and the sociological factors that spawned it.

The creole is, in fact, known by many names. Macanese, Makati, lingua-de-Macau, Macaista, Macaenses and lingua-Macaista are the more academic terms for the language. The standard Portuguese speakers of Macao and Hong Kong refer to it somewhat condescendingly as o-patoa. The Macanese who do not speak the true creole may claim it is a fala-cabeça, or improvisational tongue, which, having no system, is only a degenerate form of Portuguese.

Ideally, a complete study of the language comprising a detailed analysis of all existing phonological, grammatical, and lexical peculiarities should be done -- based on original research and personally elicited linguistic data. This work does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of the existing creole. Given the restricted time allotted in this program, and the expected de-emphasis on research work in a course-work degree, a more realistic goal will be attempted. I therefore submit this investigation in the following format:



CHAPTER. I

A historical account of the merging of the languages in contact, and the emergence of the creole -- the backdrop which gave rise to the language. A description of the old dialect of Macao, now obsolete, but preserved in smatterings of literature.

CHAPTER. II

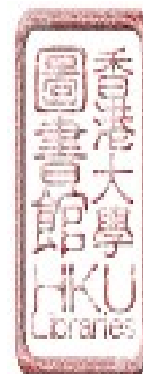
A survey of the literature written on the subject from a linguistic standpoint, attempting to organize and consolidate the information into a compact description of the language, in terms of the points covered by the authors.

CHAPTER. III

A profile of the current surviving dialect of Hong Kong, concentrating on two representative informants from a large (4,000 strong) population of Macanese speakers. An analysis of their language systems following the points covered in Chapter II, based on original research and personally elicited linguistic data.

CHAPTER. IV

An investigation of the sociological factors that have been instrumental in the process of linguistic change. A discussion of the diglossian pressures and their effects on the language and its future.



NOTES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Note 1: The Chinese passages rendered in romanization (unless quoted from some other work) will be given here in the Yale system of Mandarin. While well aware that a Cantonese version would be more appropriate, the passages are more intended for theoretical discussion than for purposes of information. Since my acquaintance with Chinese is via Mandarin, therefore, I will take the liberty of employing the Mandarin equivalents.

Note 2: The references to the bibliography are given in the following format:

(the author's last name; the number of the work in the bibliography, if more than one is listed for that author; the page from which the quotation has been made.) ex. (Batalha; 5:125) or (Weinreich; 24)

work page page

Abbreviations:

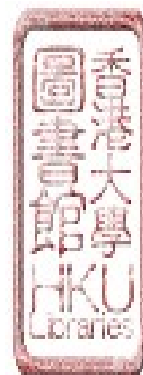
(SP) Standard Portuguese; the standard Portuguese equivalent for the word or phrase in question.

(MW) Marie Ward; translation done by the author of this paper.

lit. literally (m.), (f.) male, female

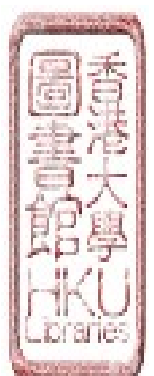
vl. voiceless mod. modifier

vd. voiced quant. quantifier



CHAPTER ONE

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE



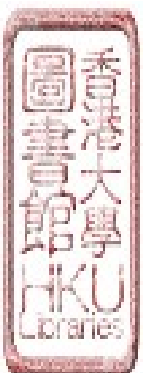
A-HISTORICAL-PERSPECTIVE

The Establishment of Macao

Portugal's early interest in China was founded on a desire for the establishment of trade relations. Portuguese maritime expansion into the Orient was actually a continuation of the Crusades. The expeditions of the 16th century were a natural consequence to the aggressive religious aspirations of Crusaders in their spirit of expanding Christendom to distant and heathen lands. This missionary ambition became the outward motive for Portugal's penetration into the Far East. The underlying attraction, however, which was subsequently to become the basis for Portuguese persistence in China, was the hope for an active trade, and a determination to enjoy the famed riches of the East.

In 1508, King Manuel, keen to promote Portugal's role in trade, sent off an expedition to Malacca headed by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. The ambitious Portuguese monarch, termed the "Grocer King" by Francois I because of his desire to develop trade (Boxer; 1), instructed Lopes to:

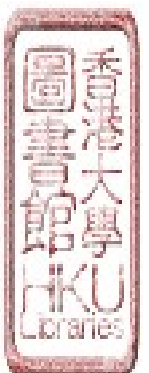
Ask after the Chijns (Chinese), and from what part they come, and from how far, and at what times they come to Malacca, or to the places at which they trade, and the merchandise they bring, and how many of their ships come each year, and regarding the form and type of their ships, and if they return in the same year, and if they have factors or houses in Malacca, or in any other country, and if they are wealthy merchants. (Braga;60)



Although Lopes de Sequeira was ineffective in promoting trade relations with China, three years later Alfonso de Albuquerque conquered the port of Malacca and established excellent trade relations with Chinese shipping merchants. Two years later, in 1513, the Captain of Malacca, Ruy de Brito, dispatched Jorge Alvares in a vessel for China. He was not permitted to enter China beyond Canton, nevertheless managed to further trade relations and assure the Portuguese that association with the Chinese promised bountiful financial rewards. ~ Fernão Peres de Andrade followed with Portugal's first official expedition. This contact served to make a very positive impression on the Chinese who had hitherto been hesitant to deal with this strange and foreign element. The success of this voyage, however, was completely undone by the subsequent visit of Fernão Peres' brother, Simão de Andrade, whose piratical conduct was to rend Sino-Portuguese relations for a period of thirty years. The Chinese were convinced that Portugal was not to be trusted. Any trading that did take place at this time took the form of intermittent smuggling operations. (Usellis; 2-4)

During this rupture, in 1542, Portuguese deserters in a Fukien junk accidentally "discovered" Japan. The discovery proved to be a tremendously profitable market, and although the drive to continue trade with China was temporarily diverted, a port between Malacca and Kyushu soon became mandatory.

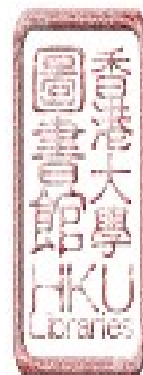
1550 heralded a new treaty with the Chinese. An annual "fair" for the exchange of goods was to be held on the island of



Shang Chuan, several miles from the Pearl River estuary. This was not to be a permanent settlement, but a makeshift camp for the trading season. The Japanese, willing to do business with the Portuguese, had expressed an interest in Chinese goods. The Chinese, in turn, were very enthusiastic to import Japanese fineries. As a result, the Portuguese became middlemen in this lucrative trade relationship. The makeshift matsheds erected and burned annually at Shang Chuan became the initial step in the founding of the colony of Macao.

Portugal was to reap great financial reward as middlemen in East Asian trade. Due to tyrannical behavior on the part of Japanese Wako pirates along the China coast, trade between the Chinese and Japanese Empires had been strictly forbidden in 1480 by the Ming Emperor. Contrary to the popular notion that the Portuguese were driven by the desire to carry tea and spices back to Europe, the mainstay of profit was to be derived from this role of middlemen. The Englishman, Ralph Fitch, having visited the East Indies in 1585, documented Portuguese trade involvement in the following account:

When the Portugales goe from Macao in China to Japan, they carrie much white silke, Gold, Muske, and Porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but Silver. They have a great Carake which goeth thither every yeare, and shee bringeth from thence every yeare above 600,000 crusadoes; and all this silver of Japan, and 200,000 crusadoes more in Silver which they bring yearly out of India, they employ to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence Gold, Muske, Silke, Copper, Porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. (Boxer; 6)



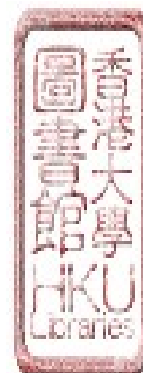
These cargoes were supplemented by such exotic freight as "pedigree Arabian horses, Bengal tigers and peacocks." (Boxer; 12) The Macao Carrack is richly represented in the picture-screens of Japanese classical painting.

The Portuguese were dissatisfied with the transient nature of their settlement in China. In India, Malaya, and Indonesia by this time, they had settled the mainland in a more permanent manner with forts and cities for trade and defense. They hoped to accomplish the same in China. The breakthrough was achieved in 1554 when Leonel de Sousa made an agreement with the Hai-Tao (Vice-Commissioner of Maritime Affairs) in which he agreed to pay Chinese customs duties. As a result, the Portuguese were given the privilege denied the other "fo-lang-chi" or European traders of various lands, anxious to enter into the activity. De Sousa wrote of his achievement:

This agreement was not put down in writing nor was an official document drawn up, as I had no letters patent, but we have undertaken to pay twenty per cent customs tax, as is the custom, like the Siamese from the kingdom of Siam, who frequent these waters under license from the Emperor of China. (Usellis; 8)

A Chinese source dating from 1564 corroborates this:

In the year chia-yeu (1554), some Fo-lang-chi (Portuguese/Europeans) barbarian ships came and lay at anchor in Kwangtung waters. Then, Chou Luan, who claimed himself to be the K'e-kang (headman of the foreigners), and the foreign barbarians assumed the name of another kingdom and reported falsely to the Vice-Commissioner of Maritime Affairs (Hai-Tao) so that they could pay duties according to the regulations. The Vice-Commissioner, Wang Po, gave them permission to trade. Chou Luan and others often used small boats to induce the foreigners to carry their goods and to go near the city of Canton to trade; they also went into the city to trade(in Usellis; 8)



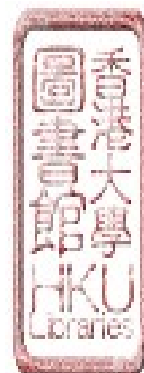
This, then, was the entry that the Portuguese needed for the consolidation of their monopoly on the Far Eastern trade. It was from this agreement that the Portuguese gained their foothold in China, and established themselves, not on an island isolated from the mainland (Shang Chuan), but on the continent itself, at the very underbelly of China.

Father Gabriel Mattos wrote sometime after 1557, documenting the establishment of Macao:

This land of Macao used to belong to the Emperor of China, but is now that of the King of Portugal and of the Portuguese who live in it. This is so because the mandarins of Canton gave it to them and confirmed the date. The Portuguese had traded with the Chinese at the island of Sanchuan until the year 1553. They then move to Lapacao in 1555, and were brought to Macao in the year 1557. The mandarins gave them this port in which to trade, and when they came to know the Portuguese well, as peaceable and good traders, they allowed them to trade at Canton ... The gift of this port and city was confirmed to them as a reward for the great service rendered by the Portuguese in destroying a notorious brigand who even threatened the city of Canton. For this reason the Portuguese were brought nearer to Canton...and the high mandarins were so pleased that by way of thanks they gave each of the Portuguese leaders a "golden chop." (Braga; 109)

The Chinese were to call the new port by various names: Ou Mun, Hon-Kiang, Hoi-Hoo, Kian-Hu, Hoi-Kiang, Hian-Hoi, and Lin-Long. (Brazão; 229) The most common of these names, Ou Mun, meaning "Gate of the Bay," is still used by Chinese today. However, the Portuguese version is said to be derived from A-ma-ngao or the Bay of Ama, the Goddess of Sailors (perhaps an adaptation of Kuan-Yin, the Goddess of Mercy). The temple to the goddess, Ama, still stands at the harbour of Macao, and is, reportedly, the most ancient of Macanese buildings.

Fernão Mendes Pinto, explorer and chronicler, wrote in 1555



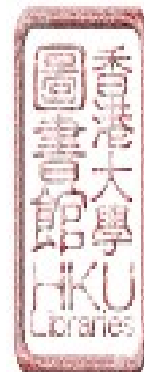
of his visit to a Portuguese priest at the settlement of "Amaquao." (Brazão; 229) The unusual spelling is only a reflection of the orthographic inconsistencies of the times. Spelling at the whims of the individual writer was not uncommon in those early days of few standard forms.

This "heathen" name did not win the affection of the Christian Portuguese who rechristened it "Povoação de Nome de Deus na China" (Village of the Name of God in China) upon their settlement in 1557. It was subsequently changed in 1585 to "Cidade de Nome de Deus" upon the installation of a Governor. (It had been hitherto governed by the Captain of the Japan trade route.)

Promotion of Trade

Once Macao was established, the trade route which would make Portugal dominate the Asian seas began to flourish. The *naos*, smaller and more seaworthy vessels than the carracks, were built at the Indo-Portuguese yards at Goa, Damão, Bassein, and Cochin. From these points, they would sail with Indian and European goods to Malacca. From Malacca the *naos* would depart for Macao where the crews would spend long stretches of time waiting for the half-yearly sales of silk at Canton. Thus, Macao came to be the most active Portuguese settlement in Asia, and the most permanent encampment for the sailors.

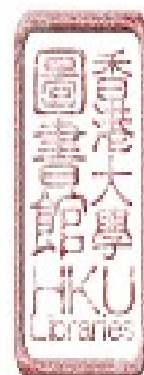
From Macao, the vessels would sail for Kyushu. On the return trip they would stop at Macao to unload the Japanese goods, and then sail once more for Goa. In its entirety, the full route would take approximately three years to complete, depending on the freight and



any interferred monsoons. Eventually, such additional stops as Timor and Formosa were included in the voyage.

In this expansive global circuitry of Portuguese trade, the sailors had occasion to interact with people of diverse ethnic backgrounds and a veritable Babel of tongues. Those same sailors who frequented the African ports were, in the course of their lifetimes, to experience the contrasts of Indian and Asian ports of call. Cabral (1500), Vasco da Gama (1500), Magellan (1520), and Mendes Pinto (1540's) were but a few of the famous Portuguese explorers whose expeditions touched on such varied lands as South America, Africa, India, and Asia. These years were to represent the climax of the great Age of Discovery. This was a glorious epoch in Portuguese history, an era of adventure and romance "por mares nunca de antes navegados." (Vasconcellos; 7)¹ Those who sailed these expeditions moved freely from one vessel to another and from one trade route to another. A sailor, in the span of his career, could conceivably come upon countless civilizations and encounter countless tongues. Alfonso de Albuquerque, the founder of the Portuguese Empire in Asia, for instance, had, previous to his exploits in the East, ventured into the coasts of Africa, Madagascar, and India. So the breadth of Portuguese exploration in this Renaissance period exposed the common sailor to many languages. This contact experience was compounded by the constant transport of crew members and slaves of distinct ethnic backgrounds. In the transient nature and ever-churning activity of these times, the backdrop for multifarious language contact situations was created.

¹ Quote from L. Camões: "for seas never before navigated" (MW)



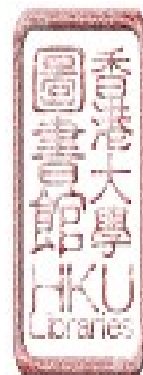
Monogenesis-Theory-of-Pidgins

In his resoundingly controversial article, "The Origin of European-based Pidgins and Creoles" (1965), Whinnom proposed that Sabir, the medieval lingua franca of the Mediterranean, was the origin of all European-based creoles. Whinnom presumed that in their extensive exploration, the Portuguese naturally and freely employed Sabir, the common auxiliary language of the Crusaders and European tradesmen.¹ Evidently, Sabir differed from area to area in its lexis, but the syntax was consistent and can be compared to modern European-based pidgins and creoles. A Sabir (also known as Lingua Franca) passage in Moliere's Le-Bourgeois-Gentilhomme (1660) illustrates two characteristics commonly found in pidginization: the reduction in pronominal forms, and the use of an invariable verb form.

Se ti sabir,
Ti respondir;
Se non sabir
Tazir, tazir
Mi star Mufti:
Ti qui star ci?
Non intendir:
Tazir, tazir.

(if you know
you reply
if you don't know
be quiet, be quiet,
I am Mufti:
Who are you?
if you don't hear
be quiet, be quiet.) (in Todd: 34)

¹ Ian Hancock defines Sabir as "a pidginized variety of Provençal, influenced lexically by French, Catalan, Italian, etc., and various languages of the Eastern Mediterranean...(which) existed for several centuries..." (Hancock; 516)



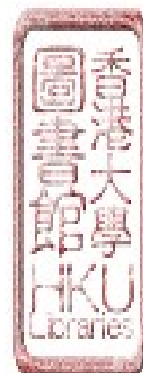
Almost two centuries later, in 1830, an Algerian version of Lingua Franca displayed marked similarities, although the lexis was taken from Italian. An example follows. Like the extract above, it uses star as the unchanging rendition of the copular; all verbs are realized in infinitive form; only one pronominal form (ti) is utilized:

qui star aki?
intrar
ounde ti venir?
ove ti andar?
mi andar spassegiar
ti querer mi andar con ti?
si, andar sieme sieme

(who is there?
come in
where do you come from?
where are you going?
I am going for a stroll
do you want me to go with you?
yes, let's go together) (in Todd; 34)

Note that in the 19th century Algerian version of Sabir, reduplication (sieme-sieme), a characteristic common in Asian languages, is utilized. It might even not be too far-fetched to say that language contact during the Age of Discovery left distinct non-European influences in the language of Sabir.

As the Portuguese sailed along the coasts of Africa, India, and the Far East, according to Whinnom, they established a language, implementing Sabir syntax expanded by a largely Portuguese vocabulary. Being that the Portuguese were the first European traders in the East, Portuguese creole can be said to be the proto-creole or original pidgin form. Any subsequent pidginization (i.e. China coast pidgin English or Neo-Melanesian), in light of this theory, is merely relexification of the original Portuguese model.



Textual references to the widespread usage of Portuguese or Lingua Franca in Africa and Asia tend to support Whinnom's theory. Barbot, advising travellers to the Americas, wrote in 1746,

In the first place it is requisite for the person that designs to travel into those parts to learn languages, as English, French, Low Dutch, Portuguese and Lingua Franca.
(in Todd; 35)

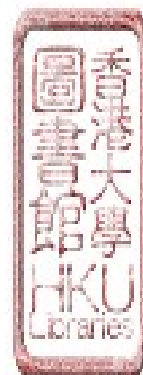
Phillips, referring to his traveling companions in voyages along the African coast in 1693 commented,

Mr. William Ronan, an Irish gentleman, who had lived long in France, and spake that language fluently, as well as the bastard Portuguese the negroes use along this coast. (in Todd; 35)

Finally, Jespersen writes with reference to Noble's 18th century account of the Chinese who

spoke a broken and mixed dialect of English and Portuguese. (in Todd; 35)

The evidence for Whinnom's claim lies basically in that there is a remarkable commonality in the features of Macanese Portuguese and in other European pidgins and creoles in the Caribbean, in Africa, and elsewhere. Thompson also comments on these similarities in his article, "A Note on Some Possible Affinities between the Creole Dialects of the Old World and Those of the New." Some of these features are cited as:



- (1) the use of particles preceding verbs to make aspect and tense formations.
- (2) reduplication in derivation and in phrase-structure.
- (3) such semantic developments as:
("too much") Ermitano - masiao
Cavitenó - dimasiado
Zamboangueno - demasiado
Papiamentu - masa

relexified in such languages as:

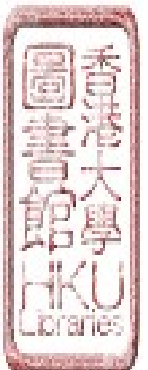
Dominican Creole - tro (Fr. trop)
Chinese Pidgin - /tumeçi/ (Eng. too
Neo-Melanesian - /tumeç/ much)

- (4) presence of /kaba/ indicating completed action and /na/ the preposition "in" found in
Philippine contact-vernaculars
Macanese
other Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles,
Papiamentu
French-based creoles
Sranan (Hall; 3:121)

Gil Vicente, the great Portuguese Renaissance dramatist, poked fun at the speakers of African Coast pidgin in two of his plays written in the 1530's:

Negro: Ja a mi forro, nam.sã.cativo
Bosso conhece Maracote?
Corregidor Tibão è.
Ele comprei a mi primeiro;
Quando ja paga a rinheiro (dinheiro)
Deita a mi fero-na-pe.
(from Clerigo-da-Beira
in Batalha; 3:23.)

(Negro: Now I am free, I'm not captive.
Do you know Maracote?
He's the Tibão of Corregidor.
He bought me first;
When he paid the money
My foot irons were cast off.) MW



E na mão minha-barete (meu berrete)
Mi risse (disse) a ela: Minha rosa,
Minha oio de saramonete
(Batalha; 3:23)

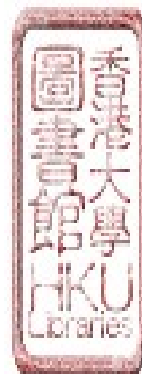
(And with my cap in hand
I said to her -- My rose,
My ? eyes) MW

Falai-me por o bida bosso.
(por vida vossa) (Batalha; 3:23)

(Tell me of your life.) MW

It is not surprising, taking Whinnom's Sabir-monogenesis theory into account, that the expressions nam-sã-cativo, fero-na-pe, and minha barete, could be heard in Macanese circles even today.

In fact, there are many similarities between the ancient creole of Macao and Afro-Portuguese creoles (in particular the creole of Cabo Verde). It is even said that in many instances the old Macao dialect and colloquial Brazilian Portuguese have much in common (Batalha; 3:24) With Whinnom's theory in mind, such a similarity is completely understandable, since the vast majority of Brazil's labor force was, in fact, made up of black Africans who would have been familiar with black Portuguese pidgin. In turn, the black Portuguese pidgin would have been known to the Portuguese sailors who manned the vessels which sailed the Eastern seas. In this way, then, the global sharing of linguistic forms is entirely conceivable.

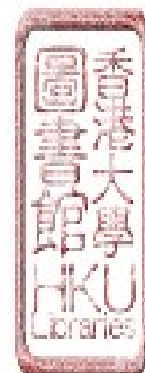


The Influence of the Trade Route on Macanese

The Chinese influence on the Macanese creole is not readily perceivable in a study of the early dialect. Unlike the syntax of China Coast Pidgin English, for example, where the relative positions of "Wh-" words (hawfaesan: 爲什麼, "why"; hwasajd: 在何處, "where"; or, hwatajm: 什麼時候, "when"), or the use of classifiers (wənpisi silka, "some silk") is determined to a large extent by Chinese structure, Macanese does not seem to reflect the involvement of the Chinese language. This fact in itself could serve to support Whinnom's monogenesis theory. If the pidgin was initially not a give-and-take language of compromise, it might certainly have been a variety of Sabir, a known and tested simplified language, drawn on naturally by the Portuguese navigators. R. W. Thompson writes of the Macanese:

There is little evidence of
Cantonese influence in the
structure and lexicon of their
mother tongue which seems to
have come to China ready-made.
(Thompson; 5:109)

In any case, early Macao was somewhat of an isolated community. The Chinese were not permitted to stay within its borders after sundown. The traders and workmen who came in during the day to do business and labor, were commanded by Chinese edict to return to "Chinese" territories at night. Similarly, the Portuguese were not permitted beyond the confines of Macao. As such, the intercourse between the Chinese and the Portuguese was kept at a minimum, at least in the developing stages of Macao's history. The Chinese, coming into the colony during the day, then, would have had to comply with a predominantly Portuguese environment. If the situation had

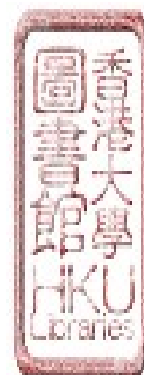


been reversed, perhaps the Portuguese would have been forced to learn Chinese immediately. As it was, however, as masters of their own soil, isolated geographically and socially, the Portuguese were able to select and modify the language of contact on their own terms.

According to Batalha, the contributions which Macanese received from Chinese are only recent ones. This influence is curious in that, unexpectedly, "Chinese" features are not attributable to the mode in which the Chinese may have acquired Portuguese. That is to say, the Chinese have not modified Macanese by positing features of their own language, via interference, in the process of bilingualization. Actually, the Chinese influence on Macanese, if there is any at all, is derived from the fact that the Macao Portuguese have always habitually spoken Cantonese.¹ Any Chinese features in Macaista are attributable to the Cantonese-speaking Portuguese, and not to native Chinese speakers. (Batalha; 7:124)

Nevertheless, quite aside from the Chinese, there was much foreign intervention which did leave its mark on Macanese. Taking into account that the Portuguese vessels traded at many ports and probably took on manpower at various locations, it can be presumed that a great deal of human traffic, non-marine and non-Portuguese, made its way to Macau. This, in fact, is precisely what did happen.

¹ Please refer to note 1 on page 134 of the Appendices.

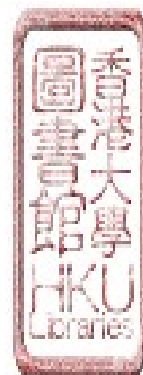


Since Goa was the port of origin for the Japan trade route, much Indian culture was transported from there to Macao. Aside from the actual physical transportation of slaves and sailors, many words of Indian origin were carried into the Old Macao dialect. Such words include alua or aluà (a sweet); jambo-and-jambolão (fruits); baniane (men's houseshirt or jacket); chale (a long and narrow building along an alley inhabited by craftsmen and artisans); daia (midwife) and others, which are still employed the language of in Macao.

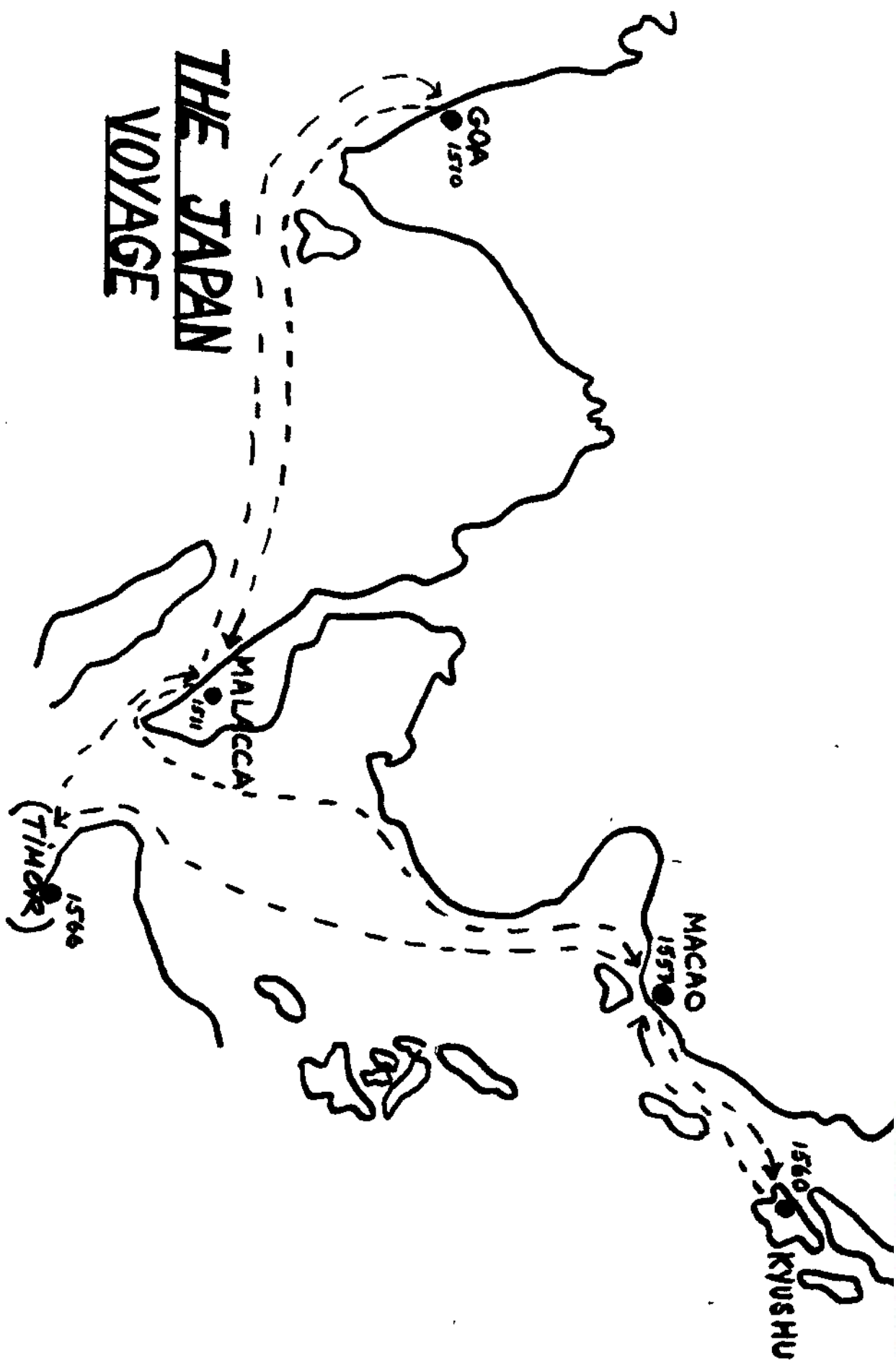
(Batalha; 7:7)

There are those who would maintain that Macaista is but a simple extension or development of Indo-Portuguese. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, who investigated the Portuguese language in Asia in his Glossario-Luso-Asiatico distinguished Macanese from Indo-Portuguese, yet agreed on their mutual influence:

O crioulo macaista, posto que não pertença ao grupo dos indo-portugueses, tem muitos traços comuns, assim na gramática como no vocabulário; e isto por tres razões: a identidade donde procedem, pois todos representam o português popular, especialmente do Sul, dos seculos XVI e XVII; as leis gerais que presidem a formação e regulam a evolução de semelhantes dialectos; e a mutua influencias, sobretudo lexica, pelas relações, outrora tão frequentes, entre a Índia e o Extremo Oriente. (Dalgado; 360)



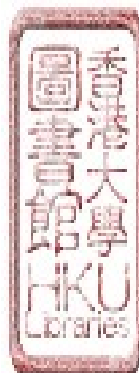
THE JAPAN VOYAGE



(The Macanese creole, although it does not belong to the group of Indo-Portuguese Languages, has many common features in the grammar as well as in the vocabulary; this is so for three reasons: the identity from which they proceed, since they all represent popular Portuguese, especially of the South in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the general laws which formed and regulated the evolution of the similar dialects; and the mutual influence, especially lexical, by relations between India and the Far East, which were so frequent in antiquity.) (MW)

There is no doubt that India is represented in the Macao creole, although overall Indian influence enjoyed little impact in Macao in comparison to influences of other nationalities. The recent fight for Goan independence in the 1960's, and the subsequent liberation from Portuguese rule, totally terminated any residual contact that Macao had with India. In Macao today, there are reputedly only a stray handful of persons claiming Indian heritage.

The African influence in Macao was extensive. During the 16th and 17th centuries, many of the galley slaves were black Africans. Vessels, shifting from trade along the African coasts to trade in Asia, would bring shipfuls of Africans for menial labor. These slaves were renowned for their dedication and tenacity. When the Dutch attacked the Macao harbor in 1622, hoping to capture it as their own trading base, it was the black slave population which was responsible for a staunch defense and a sound victory. Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the Dutch Captain who vigorously pursued the notion that possession of Macao would mean a strangle-hold on the coveted Chinese overseas trade, wrote in his official journals following his defeat:



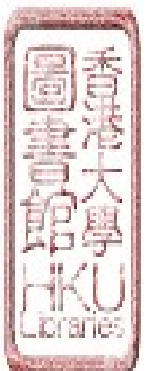
The slaves of the Portuguese at Macao served them so well and faithfully that it was they who defeated and drove away our people there last year... The Portuguese beat us off from Macao with their slaves; it was not done with any soldiers, for there are none in Macao....(Boxer; 85)

The continued contact between Macao and Afro-Portuguese colonies insured that African representation and influence in Macao would be maintained. During the 19th century the Portuguese military used Macao for training or as a transitional post: troops from Angola or Mozambique were not unusual guests in Macao. Vestiges of their stay remain in the form of black-skinned, curly-locked Macanese progeny. In Ou-Mun Kei-Leok (Monografia de Macao) it is written:

Quanto as mulheres tambem ha
duas especies, brancas e negras,
distinguindo-se em senhoras e
escravas. (Gomes; 170)

(As for the women, there are also
two varieties: whites and blacks,
distinguished as ladies and slaves.) MW

The statement indicates not only that blacks were numerous, but further implies that Chinese were rare in the Macao community. Given the presence of these Africans, it is not surprising that Afro-Portuguese influenced Macanese. The two languages (especially the creole of Cabo Verde and Macaista) have the following similarities:



- (1) the reduction of the diphthong /ou/ to /u/,
and /ei/ to /i/

<u>SP</u>	<u>Cabo Verde</u>	<u>Mac.</u>
<u>cousa</u> :	/kuza/	/kuza/
<u>ouvir</u> :	/ubi/	/uvi/
<u>candeia</u> :	/kadia/	/kadia/

- (2) the reduction of the nasal diphthong em/ai/ to a
- closed nasal vowel.

<u>SP</u>	<u>CV</u>	<u>Mac.</u>
<u>bem</u> :	/bẽ/	/bẽ/

- (3) the reduction of the centering diphthong /ua/
to /u/

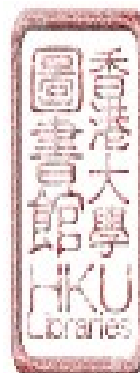
<u>SP</u>	<u>CV</u>	<u>Mac.</u>
<u>agua</u> :	/agu/	/agu/
<u>tabua</u> :	/tabu/	/tabu/

- (4) the opening of certain vowels:

<u>SP</u>	<u>CV</u>	<u>Mac</u>
<u>baixeza</u> :	/baxeza/	/baxeza/
<u>cabeça</u> :	/kabesa/	/kabesa/

- (5) the alternation and confusion of the flapped and
rolled /r/

<u>SP</u>	<u>CV</u>	<u>Mac.</u>
<u>terra</u> :	/tera/	/tera/
<u>correr</u> :	/kore/	/kore/
<u>aranha</u> :	/ařana/	/ařana/



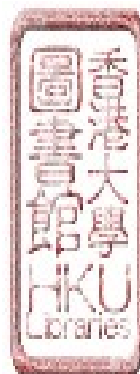
(6) common syntactic structures

<u>SP</u>	<u>CV</u>	<u>Mac</u>
<u>eu medo:</u> (tenho medo)	/i medu/	/eu medu/
<u>cair:</u>	ponte <u>kei</u>	eu <u>cai</u> lapis
	tabua	arvore <u>cai</u> flor

(Batalha; 7:128)

Spain was represented in Macao in that during the period from 1580 to 1640, Portugal was ruled by Spain under the house of Braganza. It is said that Macao suffered an economic setback from this political shift. At any rate, during this period, Macao conducted a very active trade with Manila, a Spanish colonial port. A good number of the men on Portuguese vessels must have been Spanish. In fact, a Spanish garrison helped to defend Macao in the 1622 attack. (Boxer; 86) Spain's involvement would explain the old Spanish words that crop up in the Macanese (and Malaccan) creoles: ie chareta (spoon or ladle). This word does not exist in Metropolitan Portuguese. It is, instead, colher. However, in Spanish, "spoon" is cuchara or cuchareta.

Since the various British attempts to overtake Macao in the 17th century, Macanese has undergone much influence from English. The proximity of Macao to the British colony of Hong Kong has served to solidify Macao's long intimacy with the English language. Many of the English loanwords borrowed in antiquity persist even today among Macanese speakers:



<u>SP</u>	<u>Mac.</u>	<u>Eng.</u>
<u>perigoso</u> :	dangeroso	dangerous
<u>escarrador</u> :	espitune	spittoon
<u>acaso feliz</u> :	fluquice	fluke

(Batalha; 7:129)

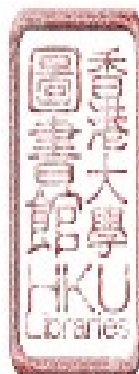
By far the largest contingent of "foreigners" in Macao were the Malaccans or Malays. In the annual journey up the coast, the Portuguese sailors brought scores of Malays with them as wives or domestic servants. Malay women were known for their sweet and docile natures. The rugged seafaring Portuguese were attracted to their patience and warm natures:

Com sua tradicional beleza e afectividade, muito devem ter suavizado a seus maridos a aspera vida que então por aqui levavam. (Batalha; 3:30)

(With their traditional beauty and tenderness, they must have soothed the rough lives which their husbands led in these parts.) MW

It is not surprising, then, that Macanese kitchen or domestic terms are dominated by Malay words. Examples would be arroz pulu (from Malay pulut, "rice"), or gargu (from Malay gargul, "pot"). (Batalha; 7:127)

The very structure of Macanese seems to have been tempered by Malay. Reduplication (the practice of rendering a noun plural by its repetition), for instance, is a feature in Malay. It has been argued that Macanese reduplication has been borrowed from Chinese.



Upon close investigation, however, the function of Chinese reduplication is in marked contrast with that of Macanese. In Chinese, reduplication renders the meaning of "all" or "every;" i.e. 人人 signifies "all the people," or 天天, "every day." In Malay, reduplication is simply a plural marker; i.e. orang-orang (people), or puan-puan dan tuan-tuan (ladies and gentlemen). The function of reduplication as a pluralizer in Macanese (quiança-quiança: the children; or tchina-tchina: the Chinese people) is closer to its Malay counterpart.

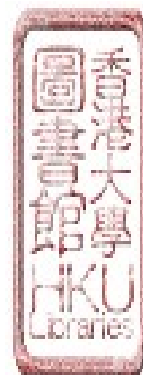
The fact that the Portuguese were forced to find marriage partners outside of China meant that foreign influence was inevitable. Intermarriage with Chinese would not be sanctioned for some time to come.¹ Batalha writes:

Mesmo depois de aberta ou removida a muralha divisoria, e estabelecida a confiança entre os dois povos, muito tempo devera ter-se pasado antes que uma mulher chinesa consentisse em ligarse a um "diabo estrangeiro." (Batalha; 7:127)

(Even after the opening or removal of the dividing wall, and the establishment of trust between the two people, much time must have passed before a Chinese woman would have consented to wed herself to a "foreign devil.") MW

The women of Macao were thus an imported commodity. They were courageous women, accompanying men of a strange race to help settle an unknown and distant land.

¹ Please refer to note 2 on page 136 of the Appendices.

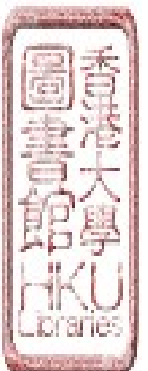


女蕃圖



Senhora macaense com saraça (século XVIII) vista por olhos chineses. Do Ao Men Chi Lüeh ou Ou-Mun Kei-Leok (monografia de Macau), 2.ª ed., Cantão 1800. Reproduzido de R. W. Thompson, Two synchronic cross-sections in the Portuguese Dialect of Macao (Orbis, tomo VIII, n.º 1, 1959).

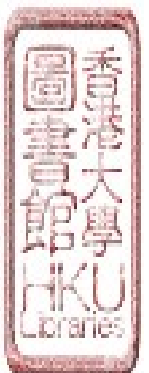
«Mesmo as mais tafulas macaenses, depois de vestidas, às vezes ricamente, cobrem-se com a desgraçosa saraça que lhes envolve a cabeça e o corpo...» — Carlos J. Caldeira, em Archivo Pittoresco (1858) apud Pe. Manuel Teixeira, Galeria de Macaenses Ilustres do Século XIX, p. 44.



The Portuguese were not adverse to intermarriage with Orientals predominantly because of the influence of their own missionary teachings. The relationship between the Portuguese people and their Church was so binding that conversion to Christianity was all that was necessary to transform a member of a different race into a kindred spirit. A Christian (Catholic) woman was an acceptable wife, regardless of color, or culture, or native tongue.

Boxer, describing the "flourishing traffic of human flesh" (the buying, selling, and transportation of slave-prostitutes) in the 16th and 17th centuries, states that vast numbers of Japanese prostitutes were taken to Macao and Malacca. Once there, they were assimilated into the populations. Boxer writes:

It is also probable that the small stature of the Macanese may be attributed in some measure to this mixture of Japanese blood. The early settlers did not mix with the local Chinese population, and the majority of the women with whom they lived were Japanese or Malays. The Spanish Franciscan Frey Augustin de Tordesillas in 1579, and the Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignani some twenty years later, both comment on the fact that the Portuguese and Eurasians at Macao did not mix socially with their Chinese neighbours of Heungshan, nor did the two races have any form of contact other than the purely commercial. The admixture of Chinese blood which the Macanese inherited in the course of centuries came from the cohabitation of masters with their muitsai (slaves), and was for many years less noticeable than the strain derived from other Asiatic races and African negresses. (Boxer; 231)



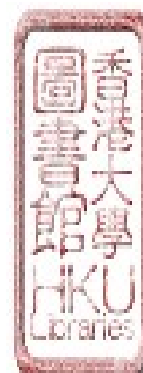
The importation of different nationalities for purposes of intermarriage or slavery produced the variety of languages in contact from which Macanese was spawned. Whinnom presents a theory in his article "Linguistic Hybridization" (based on a parallel with biological processes) in which he proposes that more than two languages in contact are necessary for the production of a true pidgin. Two languages in contact will only result in an interlingual improvisation, but a variety of languages will provide the urgency for a common tongue which is necessary in solid and pervasive pidginization. Whinnom uses the example of a German boy and an English boy employing French as a medium of communication. He states that in each pidgin situation, there is a superstrate or target language aimed at by several substrate languages. In the case mentioned above it would be:

<u>Target Language (French)</u>
Substrate Languages (English & German)
(Whinnom; 3:106)

In the case of Macanese:

<u>Target Language (Portuguese-Sabir)</u>
Malay, Japanese, Indian Langs., African Langs, etc.

In this view, the Portuguese mariners set Sabir as the model or target language. Macanese, then, was a product of the interaction of the diverse substrate languages in relation to the superposed Sabir language.



Batalha's writing seems to support this:

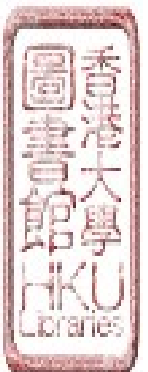
Em 1563, segundo Montalto de Jesus em seu Historic Macao, estavam ja na cidade novecentos portugueses, alem de "alguns milhares de malaio, indianos e africanos, a maior parte como escravos domesticos." Essa gente de desvairadas nações, como diria o velho Fernão Lopes, tinha de usar entre si e nas relações com seus senhores uma lingua comum -- e essa lingua era o portugues. (Batalha; 3:22)

(In 1563, according to Montalto de Jesus in his Historic Macao, there were already nine hundred Portuguese, also "some thousands of Malays, Indians, and Africans, the majority as domestic slaves." These people of strange nations, as old Fernão Lopes said, had to use amongst themselves, and in dealings with their masters, a common language -- and this language was Portuguese.) MW

The situation is reminiscent of the Black slave population in colonial America, where the common language among speakers of varied African dialects became the Gullah creole. The need for these mutually unintelligible dialects to find a means of communication, served to confirm the acceptability of the creole.

The Old Dialect

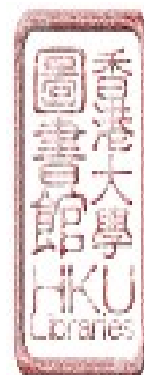
There are several inherent problems in the description of the old Macanese Creole. first of all is the decision as to how the old creole and current dialect are to be demarcated in time. Macanese currently is but a vestigial language in Macao. There are very few speakers of the creole still living, the shift having been complete to a standard form of Portuguese or to Cantonese. Even the remaining aged speakers employ what we will term a present-day variety of Macaista. Their language is in some cases, quite similar to the more evolved Macanese spoken by some 4,000 Macao Portuguese residing in Hong Kong.



For the sake of convenience, we will call the language which existed in Macao before the standardization of Portuguese Old Macanese. It was not only standardization which served to decreolize the language in Macao, but new social influences which rendered the language undesirable and useless. Decreolization will be discussed in the last chapter of this work.

From 1715, the date of the establishment of the British East India Company in Canton, until 1840, the year of the Opium War, the British influence in Macao was considerable. Macao was virtually the hub of the active opium trade. The British promoted the trade of opium enthusiastically even though the Chinese Emperor had strictly banned the purchase and use of the "foreign mud." The British were to pay the Chinese in silver for the much-desired tea, silks, and rhubarb. The Chinese, however, sneered at the goods the English had to offer (cotton, woollens, etc.), and so the English were obliged to develop the importation of opium from Bengal to China. Naturally, the demand for such an addicting commodity could only increase ...

Lintin (the former Portuguese encampment), an island at the very mouth of the Pearl River estuary, became the "public but unofficial centre of opium smuggling." (Hughes; 101) The British came to settle in considerable numbers in neutral Macao from whence they directed the controversial manufacture of the raw Indian opium.



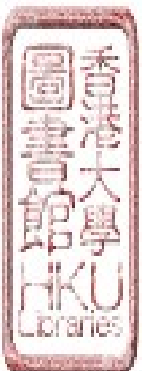
The Chinese officials were enraged by the demoralizing effects of the opium, and insisted on the removal of the British from Macao.¹ When the British Captain (Elliot) suggested to the Portuguese Governor (His Excellency Adriaão Accacio de Silva Pinto) that the British and the Portuguese might collaborate against the Chinese, the latter "rolled his liquid eyes nervously" and replied that "Macao, alas, must preserve its honorable and traditional role of neutrality." (Hughes; 113) The British thus terminated a century's residence in Macao. The creole of Macao was, during that span of time, greatly augmented by an English vocabulary.

Hong Kong's involvement in opium trade was not arrested officially until 1907 when Britain and China entered an agreement to cease any opium transactions. By this time, however, Hong Kong had consolidated itself into a strong forward-moving commercial center. Following its example, Macao began to tighten its reins and become a more "Portuguese" colony. Portuguese schools were established and the learning of standard Portuguese became favored.

The influences of English and standard Portuguese, thus, slowly crept into Macao over a period of 50-100 years from approximately 1800 to 1900. By 1901, a letter written in creole by a Macanese lady was to report:

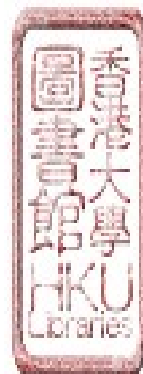
Estung-a linguazi (o crioulo)
si Sium nom pode intende, eu logo
fala modo di agora, meo portugue-
sado, meo ingresado (inglesado);
o intão pode fala mode de Vochom
(chines) qui faze avano, si Sium quere. (Batalha; 7:6)

¹ Please refer to note 3 on page 138 of the Appendices.



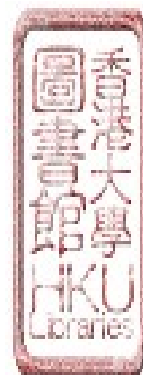
(This language the creole if Sir cannot understand, I will speak in the current fashion, half-Portuguese, half-English; or in the fashion of a Chinese, if Sir desires.) MW

The turn of the century was to mark the change from the conservative creole with its 16th century roots, to the modern-day creole, tempered and molded by the norms of English and Metropolitan Portuguese. When referring to the old creole, then, we are specifically considering the language which existed before the turn of the century (1900). Before this time, there was little immediate pressure to standardize the language for purposes of education or for greater social mobility. The language remained largely a preserved relic form of 16th century (or even earlier, medieval) Portuguese vocabulary and grammatical structures. It must be remembered that Macao was not settled by Renaissance intellectuals, but by rough seafaring men whose language had retained simple archaic forms. In terms of Matteo Bartoli's four areal norms, Macao can be said to have followed the norm of the isolated area: "an area that is cut off and shielded from communication tends to retain older forms." (Bolinger; 355) Since Macao, as a distant colony, was unable to run the course of the normal language evolution in Portugal, the creole survived in a frozen form. This is in interesting contrast to the language of Brazil, which spurred by strong feelings of national autonomy following independence, evolved much more quickly than Metropolitan Portuguese. Brazilian Portuguese is now a language quite distinct from that of Portugal.



Another difficulty with the description of the old creole, is that, given the flimsy documentation of the language before the 1950's, any solid reconstruction becomes problematic. Leite de Vasconcellos wrote a short work, "Sur le Dialecte Portugais de Macao" in 1898, in which he encouraged the investigation of Macaista. No description was attempted. Several years earlier, in 1880, F. Adolpho Coelho published an article, "Os Dialectos Romanicos ou Neo-Latinos na Africa, Asia e America" in the Boletim da Sociedade De Geographia de Lisboa. The article is a very tentative description of four pages. Until the work (1940's and onward) of Senhora Graciete Batalha, indefatigable researcher of Macanese, and except for several investigative attempts by R. Wallace Thompson (1950's-60's), no systematic documentation of the dialect of Macao was attempted.

In the eighteenth century, two Chinese magistrates from Heong Shan compiled the work, Ou-Mun Kei-Leok, in which they described the life in Macao. The book, translated into Portuguese in 1950 by Luis G. Gomes (Monografia de Macao), is a monumental repository of facts and minutiae relevant to historic Macao of that period. In the work, the authors set forth ten pages of vocabulary used in the Macanese creole. The words are rendered in a Cantonese phonetic representation via characters. Naturally, the phonetic rendering leaves much to be desired, as the reader is never sure whether the phonetic interpretation accurately relates the language as it was pronounced, or is only an approximation for convenience.



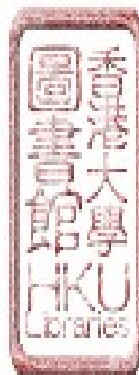
Phonology

The pronunciation of vowels seems to have been carried over from early Portuguese to old Macanese. In Macanese, the vowels a, e, and o in final syllables are produced as diphthongs. For example, mês, vêz, pos and rapaz are rendered as /meĩʃ/, /veĩʃ/, /poĩʃ/ and /rapaĩʃ/. This sort of diphthongization can also be found in the region of Alcanede in Portugal, a provincial area where many older forms have been retained. (Batalha; 3:32) More importantly, such diphthongization can be found in Brazil, which would lead us to conclude that this pronunciation must have been prevalent in the Portuguese language at the time of colonization (the Sixteenth century).

The loss of the final r in Macanese is another feature of archaic Portuguese that was passed along into the old dialect and remains in some cases in the present-day creole. The infinitive verb form in Portuguese typically ends in r: falar, comer, etc. However, in 1 Macanese, the r was dropped in all verbs (fala, comê, etc.) and, indeed in all words with r in final position (calô - calor). Apocope, was, in fact, realized in most Portuguese creoles (certainly in all Indo-

Portuguese dialects where all the final phonemes were dropped: minh' filh' - minho filho. (Batalha; 3:32) This fact would imply that final phonemes were unstable phonemes in the language popular during widespread colonialization, namely 16th century Portuguese.

The work, Ou-Mun Kei-Leok, cited earlier, despite its obvious shortcomings as a phonetic guide to early Macanese, roughly outlines some of the peculiarities of the language. As Thompson wrote in his short exposee of the language (the only descriptive work in English):

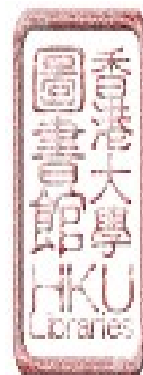


Although the glossary is neither full nor accurate enough for us to obtain a clear picture of the pronunciation of the Eighteenth century dialect, we have some pointers to the old pronunciation in the Cantonese syllables chosen to represent it. (Thompson; 3:34)

Interestingly enough, the transcriptions of the Portuguese /ʒ/ and /ʃ/ (/kanʒa/ canja, and /ʃuva/ chuva, respectively) are rendered in the glossary as one sound, tch (kan-tchi and tchou-a). If this is an accurate transcription of the old creole, then there is a historical base for the present-day Macanese preservation of palato-alveolar affricates where Portuguese has palato-alveolar fricatives:

Portuguese word	Phon. trans.	Ou-Mun Kei-Leok transcription	Macanese (Thompson)	English
chuva	/ʃuva/	tchou-a 租 華	/çuwa/çuva/	rain
chão	/ʃa/	tchang 爭	/ça/	dog
enchente	/enʃentj/	in-tchim-tei 燕 占 地	/en'čente/	flood
canja	/kanʒa/	kan-tchi 間 治	/'kanʒi/	broth, porridge
aljofre	/al'ʒofre/	a-tcho-fei-lei 亞 佑 肥 離	/al'ʒofre/	pearl

The glossary here, then, is probably an accurate record of the sounds that were produced in Old Macanese. Modern Portuguese pronunciation (use of palato-alveolar fricatives) is in direct contrast. It is well known, however, that Chinese speakers have distinct difficulties in the reproduction of palato-alveolar fricatives. (In Chinese Pidgin English, for instance, shoe becomes /su/ or /çu/.) The introduction of affricates in place of fricatives might have been directly attributable to Chinese interference.



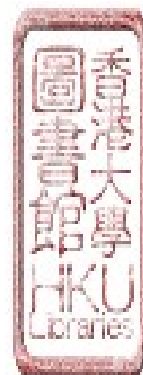
This initial interference might have led to reinforcement through imitation, and thus produced the pronunciation which persists even in today's creole. Relevant to this, Haugen states:

A bilingual speaker introduces a new loanword in a phonetic form as near that of the model language as he can... if he has occasion to repeat it, or if other speakers also take to using it, a further substitution of native elements will take place.... if monolinguals learn it, a total or practically total substitution will be made. (Haugen; 216)

In this case then, the Chinese perceptualization of /ʃ/ or /ʒ/ as tch (later distinguished into /tʃ/ and /ʒ/) was probably fixed in the dialect and remained so until today. Of course we must emphasize that this is to be regarded as a hypothetical explanation, since we cannot be entirely sure that the pronunciation (or mispronunciation) by the Portuguese sailors may not have been the initial step.

The glossary in Ou-Mun Kei-Leok affords us another insight into the phonology of the early dialect. The transcription of the standard Portuguese palatal [ʎ] (<lh>) is given simply as /l/. Examples of this would be the transcriptions of velho as uai-lou, or filho as fei-lou. Where standard Portuguese would produce the last syllables of both words as /lju/, the Chinese transcriptions indicate that the /l/ was definitely not palatalized. In the present day dialect, this feature is retained. Current Macanese pronunciation of these words would be /velo/ and /filo/¹ respectively.

¹ Thompson's transcription



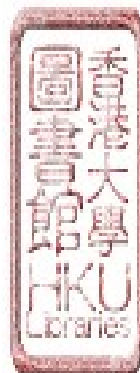
Thompson points out that probably the most important feature revealed by the glossary of Ou-Mun Kei-Leok is the highly dialectal nature of many of the words listed. Sometimes these words survive in the current creole. Reconstruction is then an easy process. However, many words have become obsolete, and unknown to the present-day Macanese speaker. The meaning of these obsolete words can never be confirmed. Thompson specifically cites a case where reference to the spoken dialect has aided in the clarification of the item: mo-pa-la kin-ni. Gomes' translation of the book gives the Portuguese reconstruction as abobara. This, of course, begs the question, how did abobara come to be realized as mo-pa-la kin-ni? The answer lies in the spoken dialect of Hong Kong, where the word for "pumpkin" or abobara, is /bobra gine/ (literally, "pumpkin of Guinea").

(Thompson; 3:37)

According to Pereira, who wrote on the Macanese creole in the late 1800's, the dialect at that time consisted of three distinct varieties:

- a) Closed Macaista, or "pure" Macaista spoken by the lower classes.
- b) Macaista modified by a tendency toward standard Portuguese spoken by the more elite people in contact with the Metropolitan element.
- c) Macaista spoken by the Chinese. (Pereira; 55)

If this was indeed the case, then, perhaps the dialect as perceived by the Chinese authors in Ou-Mun Kei-Leok is of a distinct variety. This notion of a subdivided Macanese is a further complicating factor in the attempt to systematically reconstruct the old creole.



In spite of the drawbacks, assumptions concerning the lexis and syntax can be drawn from old letters and documents. The language in these is markedly different from the Macanese which survives today. By comparing lexical and syntactical features of old Macanese to medieval Portuguese or to what we know of Sabir, we can begin to understand why and how the language developed as it did.

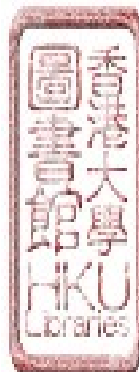
Lexis:

Some of the archaic Portuguese lexical items which existed in the old dialect (various have even survived in the present-day creole) are:

- azinha (SP depressa) in a hurry, quickly
- ade (SP pato) duck
- bredos (SP couve) a vegetable akin to cabbage
- pateca (SP melancia) watermelon (Batalha; 7:125)

Such words would be unrecognizeable to a young Macanese, and do not appear in current editions of Portuguese dictionaries.

PRONOUNS: Vos, the all-encompassing term for you, was used in the old creole with no polite-familiar distinction. (Vossotro in some old texts.) Standard Portuguese utilizes o senhor, os senhores for polite address and você for familiar address. In modern Macanese, tu seems to be a recent acquisition, along with an attendant social awareness that usually accompanies polite and familiar address forms.



The pronouns of the old creole can have unusual forms. Some of these are:

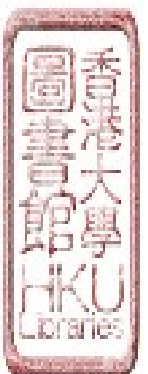
<u>unga</u>	(SP uma)	one, a
<u>estunga</u>	(SP esta)	this
<u>umsong</u>	(SP ele or ela)	he, she
<u>vossotro</u>	(SP vos)	you
<u>illotro</u>	(SP eles or elas)	they (m. or f.)

(Batalhas; 35-6)

These constitute a strange amalgam of possible etymologies.

Estunga could be a melding of esta and unga, meaning "this one."

On the other hand, we could conjecture that unga and estunga might have been influenced by the Chinese use of classifiers. In Cantonese, the general classifier go (個) would correspond to nga in these examples. Umsong seems to make little sense in a Portuguese context. Perhaps it is an inaccurate rendering of the English "someone?" Vossotro for vos, aside from being an old form, is almost a direct duplication of the Spanish "you" - vosotros. If we can say that illotro is an item created on the basis of vossotro, then we can summarily account for the entire list. Such an approach (of glossing over confusing features) is very common in the existing literature on Macanese. The dangers are obvious. Such explanations can only be tentative, and, at best, hypothetical, given the little work that has been done on the reconstruction of the early creole and its comparison to Sabir and ancient Portuguese.



NAMES: Batalha points out that although the old creole did not distinguish between polite and familiar forms, there was no shortage of diminutives or affectionate names in the language. Unlike today's Macanese, in which names are arbitrarily shortened in much the same fashion as English (Alberto: Berto, Al), the old dialect employed much creativity in these "nomes de casa:"

<u>Pancha</u>	(from Inacia)	
<u>Chana</u>	(Alexandra)	
<u>Chente</u>	(Vicente)	
<u>Chencho</u>	(Lourenço)	(Batalha; 7:36)

FORMS OF ADDRESS: The following outline of greetings and address forms of the old dialect is based on Batalha's article "Estado Actual do Dialecto Macaense." She writes that the information was either personally drawn from an eighty-year-old informant, or taken from Manuel Pereira's notes published in the journal, Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo in 1899.

I. Relations:

Parents: pai, mãe [mã'i]
papá, mamá [mamã]

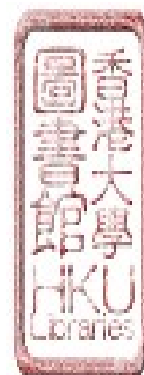
Siblings: -use of the diminutive name

-eldest brother or sister: mano (m.)
or mana (f.)

-usage of você for you, not used by older persons

Grandparents: -avô (m.), avó (f.)

-avôdinho (m.), avôdinha (f.) for grandparents who were simultaneously godparents.



Uncles, aunts:

- tio (m., /tju/) and tia (f., some-
times titi)
- tio-avô, tia-avó, brother or sister
of grandparent. (also titi-bô for
infants)

Step-parents: -tio or tia (or pai, mãe, or actual
names)

Godparents: -padrinho (m.) or madrinha (f.) or
padinho, madinha

Spouses: -meu marido (in reference to one's
husband) or, for humbler classes,
nuhm or nhum followed by first
names (in place of Senhor).

II. Non-relatives:

Servants: -sium (patrão) to master
siara (patroa) to mistress
-sium-sium (senhores) ladies
and gentlemen

Youths or men of inferior classes: referred to as
-nhum or nhom

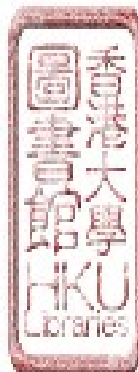
Young girls or new brides: referred to as
-nhonha (pl. nhonhonha)
according to M. Pereira, the dimi-
nutives nhi, nhim, nina, and
nhinina were also used.

III. Church and School:

Ecclesiastical names:

- sium vigario, vicar
- sium padre or padre, priest
- senhor curra, padre curra, curate
- senhor Bispo, bishop
(note the hierarchy of sium vs.
senhor)

Teachers: -mestre (m.), mestra (f.)
-minha mestra (m.)



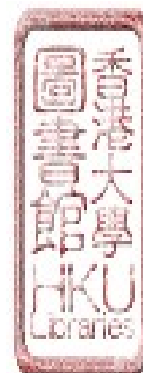
Morphology and Syntax

GENDER: Old texts of Macanese abound with confused concord between masculine or feminine substantives and their modifiers. Batalha cites the following examples from ancient works:

<u>minha velo</u>	(f. mod., m. noun)
<u>unga piru</u>	(f. mod., m. noun)
qui <u>mau hora</u> hoze ja ven	(m. adj., f. noun)
masqui seza <u>isca</u> sã <u>nosso</u>	(f. noun, m. mod.)
	(Batalha; 3:34)

Loreto Todd writes that ^{gender} distinctions in pidgins and creoles are generally reduced or eliminated. (Todd; 17) In simplification, the language suffers a loss of grammatical inflection, and gender is usually one of the first things to be dropped. Hall states that loss of gender is "one of the major types of simplification that speakers of European languages considered necessary in order to make themselves understood by the natives with whom they came into contact." (Hall; 3:58) In Macanese, it is interesting to note that the gender of pronouns and quantifiers has been typically reduced to female and not male:

<u>unga porto</u>	(f. mod., m. noun)
<u>unga mina</u>	(concord)
<u>unga mes</u>	(f. mod., m. noun)
<u>minha filo</u>	(f. mod., m. noun)



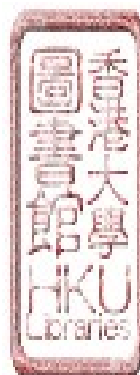
Adjectives seem to be expressed in male:

<u>unga festa calado</u>	(f. quant., l f. noun, m. adj.)
<u>voz agudo</u>	(f. noun, m. adj.)
<u>tudo gente</u>	(m. adj., f. noun)

COPULAR: An archaic form which is retained in the old dialect and survives in the present-day creole is the copular sam or sã. In medieval Portuguese, sã was the first person singular form of the verb ser, to be. In contemporary Portuguese, the corresponding form would be sou. In Macanese, however, sam (or sã), was, and in some cases, continues to be used as the universal copular:

<u>Nunca sam</u>	(SP não è) I, you, he, she, it, we, they <u>BE</u> not. (Ferreira; 58)
<u>Sã dia de alegria</u>	(SP É dia de alegria.) It's a festive day. (Ferreira; 59)
<u>Vos tamem sã</u>	(SP Você também sois.) You also are. (Ferreira; 23)
<u>Macau sã assi</u>	(SP Macau assim è.) Macau is like that. (Ferreira)

PLURALIZATION: A feature existing in the old creole which no longer persists in contemporary Macanese is the pattern of reduplication. As mentioned earlier, this is not a vestigial form of Old Portuguese, but, probably, an importation from Malay. The usage of reduplication to signify a plural number was either dropped or substituted by standard Portuguese utilization of the plural maker s.



Whereas, for instance, the old creole would employ the form filo-filo (son-son) to mean sons, present day Macanese would either simply use filo (singular in all cases), or the standard marker s: filos (filhos, sons). Some examples of reduplication:

Fala co tudo titi-titi, mano-mano,
tudo chacha-chacha quelora vem Ong-
cong, lembra visita Merenda Ai. (Ferreira; 86)

(Tell all the aunts and uncles, brothers (and sisters),
all the old folks who come to Hong Kong to
remember to visit Merenda Ai) MW

...criança-criança core carera... (Pereira; 780)

(...the children run a race...) MW

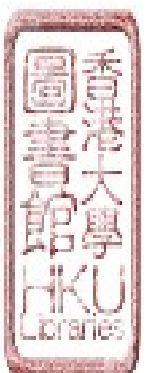
Reduplication is also used (much more seldom than for pluralization) to change words from one class to another, or to intensify the meaning of certain words. For instance, in the same source as the one cited above, a correspondent writes:

Oze pramicedo, sentado omsong-omsong
na minha tope..... (literally "she-she")

(This morning, sitting all alone in
my room...) MW

Two processes are achieved here. Firstly, the reduplication of the pronoun (omsong) produces an adverbial: she-she = by herself. Secondly, the reduplication gives the added feeling of intensity: all by herself.

The first process is somewhat parallel to the one in Chinese, in which adjectives are made adverbs by reduplicating the adjectival morpheme and adding the de particle:



<u>kwài</u>	(fast)
<u>kwaikwài(r)de</u>	(quickly)

The second feature of intensification has a similar counterpart in Chinese, where the feeling of a passage can be more casual, more cosy, by the reduplication of certain morphemes. Compare:

Wǒ měityan chǎwán wǎnfàn, dōu dzài
wàitou sànbu.

(Every day after dinner, I take a
walk outdoors.) MW

Wǒ měityan chǎwán wǎnfàn, dōu dzài
wàitou sànsanbù. (Wang;37)

(Every day after dinner, I take a
little walk outdoors.) MW

or the intensification:

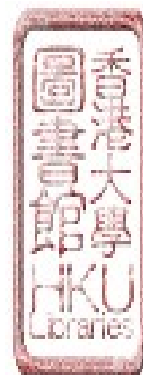
hěn gān gān jìng jìngde (extremely clean)

POSSESSIVES: Possessive forms were distinctive in the old creole. In these constructions, the possessive pronoun sua (3rd person singular: its, his, her) was added to pronouns, or substantives which refer to the possessor:

ele-sua (lit. he-its, meaning his)

Vosotro-sua (lit. you-its, meaning your)

This concatenation of two pronomial forms served to intensify the meaning of possession. The form actually evolved somewhat from sua to sa, so that in the old creole the following expressions were possible:



<u>eu-sa mão</u>	my hand
<u>ele-sa casa</u>	his house
<u>gente-sa ropa</u>	people's clothes

This sort of construction can be found in written medieval Portuguese. In today's Macanese, the possessive form would be meu-sa (my-its, as opposed to eu-sa, I-its) (Batalha; 4:32) or seu-sa (his-its, as opposed to ele-sa, he-its).

VERBS: Perreira describes the tense system of the old creole in his journal, Ta-Ssi Yang-Kuo, published in Macao in the 1890's. The following is an outline of the main points set forth in his article: (Perreira; 61)

A. The infinitive is formed --

1. by the apocope of Portuguese verbs, and the accentuation (grave) of the final vowel-

batê from bater
falla from fallar
comê from comer

2. by the same form, but adding syncope-

ola from olhar

3. from Malay and other languages-

chipi, chubi, chaca, chiqui, chuchu

4. by the present indicative of Portuguese-

3rd person singular vem, for vir
3rd person plural sã, for ser



B. The present indicative was formed--

1. by the above infinitive-

eu gosta de flor (SP eu gosto de flores)
china comê rato
eu ôla na jinella

2. by placing ta before the infinitive-

eu ta fazê (SP eu estou fazendo, eu faco)

3. by placing ta before the present (A.4.)

eu ta ven
eu ta vai (SP eu vou)

4. by employing a form of the present-

vos sã tolo (SP vos es, vos sois tolo)

5. by employing (in the negative) the first person singular present form-

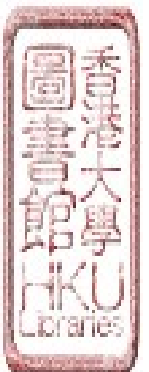
eu non quêro
nos non quêre
illotro non quêre

C. The past was formed by the above infinitive preceded by the adverb ja-

eu ja ôla (SP olhei, vi)
eu ja fallá

D. The future was formed by substituting the ja of the past by the adverb lôgo-

eu lôgo vai (SP eu irei)
eu lôgo falla



- E. Logo and ja could also be used in the present form-

Ja vai (SP ja vou)
lôgo vai ja

- F. The imperative was expressed by the usage of the interjection me!

bebê me! (SP beba!)
fazê cama, me!

- G. The negative was expressed by special forms:

1. In the present, certain verbs are negated

by non or nun-
non quero
nun sabe

others, and those usually preceded by ta,
are negated by nunca

nunca comê, nunca ta comê
nunca fazê, nunca ta fazê

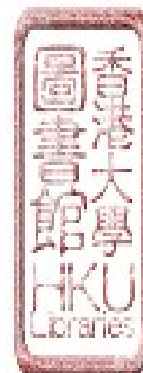
2. In the future, the verb is negated by nadi
(probably a derivation of não hade)-

nadi fazê (SP não farei)
nadi querê

3. In the past, the verb is negated by nunca

or nunca ja-

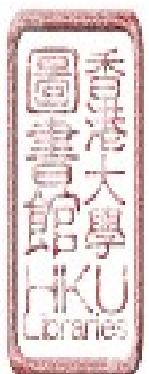
nunca fazê
nunca ja fazê



CHAPTER TWO

A SURVEY OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

An Analysis of the "Current" Dialect According to
Existing Literature on the Subject



A SURVEY OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

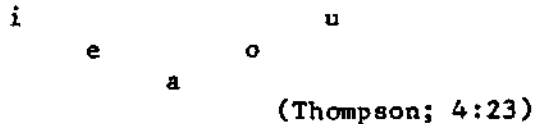
An Analysis of the "Current" Dialect According
to Existing Literature on the subject

Phonology

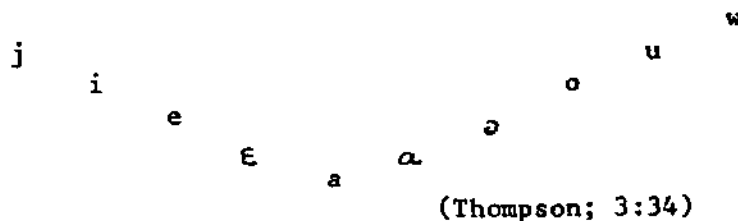
VOWELS: Thompson describes the vowel system of Macanese (specifically the Hong Kong dialect) on two occasions. In his article, "O

Dialecto Portugues de Hongkong," he depicts the system in a very simple diagram:

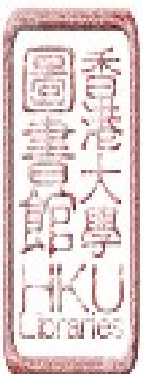
As vogais são:



In his description of Macanese vowels in "Two Synchronic Cross Sections in the Portuguese Dialect of Macao," published a year earlier, he gives a slightly more extensive diagram, incorporating the semi-vowels:



Thompson modifies this earlier version by saying that [e] and [ɛ] seem to be members of the same phoneme /e/, as [a] and [ɑ] are of /a/, and [ɔ] and [o] are of /o/. Unlike standard Portuguese, says Thompson, there are no whispered or nasal vowels. There is very little difference between stressed and unstressed vowels. This similarity among vowels in contrasting positions is a characteristic aspect of the creole.



Batalha's description of Macanese vowels is less orderly. (Batalha; 4) Rather than define them as a system, she gives a brief and desultory list of some of their peculiarities:

- 1) Pretonic vowels are sometimes closed and sometimes open. Unlike SP where pretonic vowels are usually mute, Macanese is less rigid:

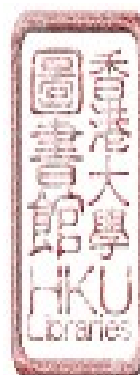
<u>SP¹</u>		<u>Mac. (from Batalha)</u>
<u>comer</u>	/kumeIr/	[cɔmê]
<u>querer</u>	/kIreIr/	[querê]
<u>nervosa</u>	/nIrvoʒə/	[nervósa] or nêrvósa

Batalha states that the symbols [a], [e], and [o] are representative of a wide variation of allophones. Their very natures are imprecise and irregular.

- 2) Pretonic [e] can be realized as /i/:

<u>SP</u>		<u>Mac.</u>
<u>fome</u>	/fom/	[fomi]
<u>felicidade</u>	/fIlisidadj/	[felicidadi]

¹ The SP transcription is my own. Batalha's work, like Thompson's, suffers from a lack of consistency in phonetic transcription. Note the non-standard mode of transcribing the phonetic sounds.

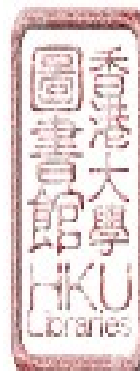


- 3) Batalha lists the random realization of que (what) for qui (who) as a phonetic variation. (It might be more accurate to say it is a confusion of lexis, and not a phonological matter.)
- 4) Porque (/purkeI/) is pronounced *[porquê] whether or not it functions as an interrogative.
- 5) The final unstressed [o] is characteristic in the creole:

SP		Mac.
<u>filho</u>	/filju/	[filo] (B. writes *[filho], which is inaccurate.)
<u>Fernando</u>	/fernandu/	*[Fernando]

- 6) The typical vocalization of final [l] (common also in Brazil).

SP		Mac.
<u>mal</u>	/mal/	mau
<u>Brasil</u>	/brazil/	brasiu
<u>papel</u>	/papel/	papeu



- 7) The nasal vowel is expressed as a near-open vowel:

SP		Mac.
<u>mamão</u>	/mamãw/	[mamã]

This work represents the extent of the description of Macanese vowels.¹

DIPHTHONGS: Thompson writes that the general lack of decreasing diphthongs is a feature of Macanese. (Thompson; 3:34) That is to say, [ei] and [ou] are nonexistent. They are replaced instead by [e] and [o] as in:

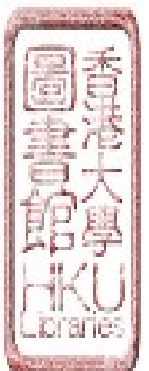
SP		Mac.
<u>peixe</u>	/peĩʃ/	[peʃ]
<u>touro</u>	/touro/	[toro]

Batalha seems to agree only partially. Her list states:

- 1) The diphthong ei in the old dialect was realized as ê. Currently it is a diphthong with a decidedly closed e, as in cadêira. The closed ê probably is a vestige of the old creole augmented today by the i.

¹ Compare the Standard Portuguese vowel system:

(i) i	(ɐ) ɐ	(u) u	(Willis; 14)
I ɨ		(ø) ø	
(e) e		o	
ẽ	(ɞ) ɞ	o	



- 2) The nasal diphthong ãi in words such as tem, vem, becomes ẽi: tẽi, vẽi. (Here is a distinct clashing with Thompson, who claims that there is no vocalic nazalization in Macanese.)
- 3) The SP diphthong -ão becomes [ã] as in [pãŋ] [mãŋ] [xãŋ]. This [ŋ] is, and was, used generally to replace nasalized vowels.
- 4) The diphthongization of the closed vowels ê and ô :

<u>mês</u>	[mâis]
<u>vez</u>	[vâis]
<u>pôs</u>	[pôis]

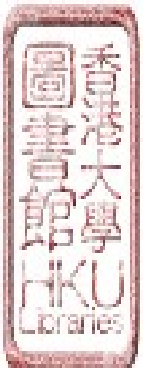
(See page 37)

- 5) In the word coisa, in particular, the frequent substitution of ui for oi yields /kuIza/.

The old dialect realized the word as ancusa or cusa, which probably led to the above pronunciation.

(Batalha; 4:7)

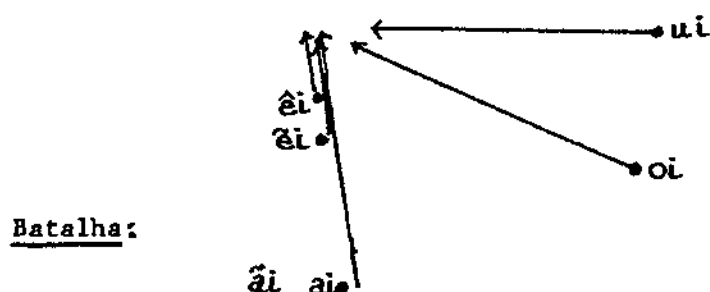
Whereas Thompson insists that diphthongs do not exist in Macanese, Batalha outlines cases where they do. In spite of the fact that their articles were published within one or two years of one another, then, we must conclude that they were referring to different stages in the life-cycle of the creole. It must also be remembered



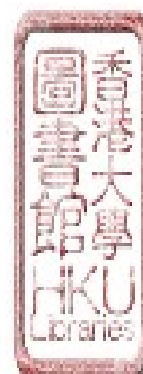
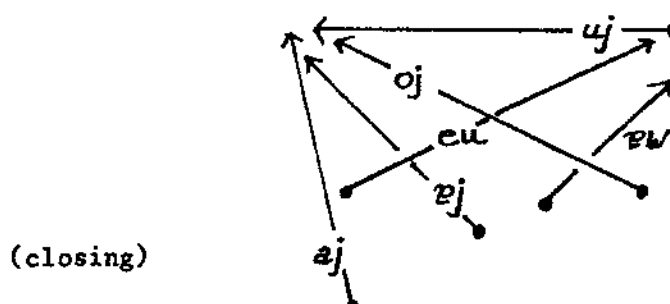
that Batalha's work is based in Macao, where what remains of the dialect (in elderly people) is highly colored by standard Portuguese. Thompson's work, on the other hand, is based on Hong Kong speakers, whose creole is of a more conservative nature. Their respective positions on diphthongization can be illustrated in the following diagrams:

Thompson:

NO DIPHTHONGIZATION

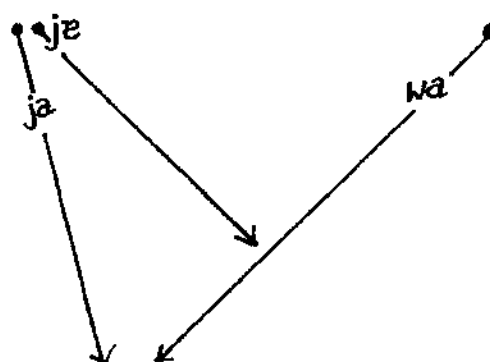


Standard Portuguese diphthongization (according to Willis):



SP diphthongization (Cont'd)

(opening)
or
(centering)



CONSONANTS: Thompson outlines the Macanese consonantal system in two separate diagrams (as he does his vowels), but the contrasts are minimal in that they only vary in the positional display of the consonant phonemes, not in their phonetic features. Both diagrams are unlabelled, and in the following representation (an amalgam of both), the labels are mine:¹

bi-labial		labic-dental	dental-alveolar		alveo-palatal	pala-tal	velar
<u>nasals</u>	m	-	n			n	n
<u>plosives</u>							
vl.	p		t		ç		k
vd.	b		d		ʒ		g
<u>fricatives</u>							
vl.		f		s		ç	
vd.		v		z		ʒ	
<u>liquids</u>			l, r			ɭ	

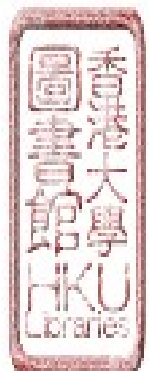
(Thompson; 3:34)

Thompson points out that the fricatives [ç] and [ʒ] and palatal [ɭ] are used only by young Macanese "who affect to speak well." (Thompson; 3:34) The older people seem to prefer the affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] and non-palatal velar [x] (This is discussed in the previous chapter on page 38 .)

¹ Compare the Macanese system to the Portuguese consonants:

bi-labials		labio-dentals	dentals	alveo-lars	palatals	velars
<u>plosives</u>						
vl.	p		t			k
vd.	b		d			g
<u>fricatives</u>						
vl.		f				
vd.		v				
<u>laterals</u>				l	j	g,w
<u>nasals</u>	m			n	ɲ	ɲ
<u>vibrants</u>				r, rr		ʝ, ʎ
<u>sibilants</u>						
vl.			s		ç	
vd.			z		ʒ	

(Willis; 15)



The typically Portuguese palatalization of /s/ to /š/ in the final position does not occur in Macanese, since plurality is not usually expressed by -s in the creole.

Once again, Batalha's analysis takes the form of list of characteristics. In this case, however, the features cited are more descriptive than the simple chart in Thompson's work:

- 1) The final -s is deleted, not only in the plural, but in any word ending in -s. Nevertheless, an individual who normally deletes final -s can be heard to say dois vâis, dois rapáis.

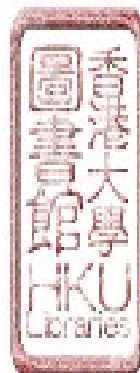
- 2) The final -r is also dropped:

<u>calor</u>	becomes	<u>calô</u>
<u>querer</u>	-	<u>quê</u>
<u>sentar</u>	-	<u>senta</u>
<u>comer</u>	-	<u>comê</u>
<u>dormir</u>	-	<u>dormi</u>

However, if the r-word is followed by a word beginning with a vowel -- the r is pronounced:

Quer um doce? Ná que?

- 3) The confusion between flapped and rolled r. There is a tendency to reduce the rolled r to flapped r in such renderings as: /tera/, /moreu/, /rato/, or /raio/. This is undoubtedly due to Chinese interference. The Chinese, like very young Portuguese children, find it difficult to produce the multiple vibration of the rolled r, and so reduce it to the flapped version. However, in the writings of Lionel de Sousa (1563) we find "tera e morer"



(for terra and morrer), indicating that the reduction of the rolled r might have been a feature of ancient Portuguese.

Also characteristic of the creole, is the reverse realization: that of a rolled r where a flapped r is normal -- arrame (for arame), or carril (for caril). This seems to be instance of hyper-correction.

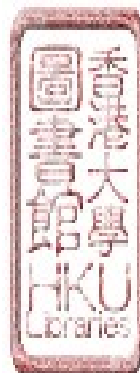
- 4) The initial phonemes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ (Batalha misrepresents these as " [ʃ] " and "j-" respectively) are preserved in their ancient forms, /č/ and /ǵ/.

SP	Mac.
chuva /ʃuva/	tchubi
chistosa /ʃistɔzɐ/	tchistosa
jambolão /ʒambolɔw/	djambolão

- 5) In the word, goiaba, /b/ is substituted for /v/. There is no similar substitution in other words.
- 6) The /v/ in the word você is deleted to render the reduced from [ocê] or ucê. This deletion is not consistent in other words.¹

Basically, the grossly misleading and unsystematic phonetic transcriptions utilized by both Thompson and Batalha make it very difficult to reconstruct the exact sounds of Macanese. Thompson, in one instance, transcribes the word longe (SP /lɔ nʒ/) as longe. The mistake is obvious. Batalha transcribes comer as [cɔmê] -- c is not a phoneme, it is a grapheme.

¹ The reader is reminded that all of the transcriptions of Macanese given here are either taken directly from Batalha or from Thompson. I am not always in agreement with their respective formats.



Whereas Batalha's listing of phonological peculiarities is informative, it is hardly exhaustive. It seems her work would profit by a more scientific approach to phonological analysis.¹ Thompson's efforts would be made more comprehensible by examples and elaboration.

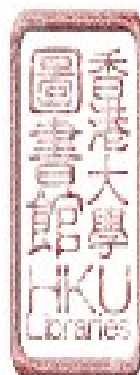
Lexis

As in all pidgins, the lexis of Macanese is greatly reduced. In the process of simplification, only the most rudimentary language necessary for the immediate transmission of ideas is retained. Creative, expressive, and even technological language becomes difficult in a pidgin without massive importation or borrowing. Whinnom asserts that pidgins are linguistic systems which, through simplification, have suffered extensive deficiencies. In the pidgin-creole continuum, however, the deficiencies can be repaired:

...it is now fairly well established that every creole language of which we have early texts appears to have repaired many of the deficiencies of its parent pidgin by reconstructing a more elaborate and more flexible syntax, and reintroducing in the verbal system, for instance, distinctions of, and methods of marking, tense, aspect, mood, and so on. (Whinnom; 108)

In the reconstruction of a pidgin language and the establishment of a creole, not only is morphology and syntax reworked, but the lexis is made to adapt to its wider application. Macanese creole filled the lexical gaps inherited from its parent pidgin through

¹ In all fairness, the phonological transcriptions in Sra. Batalha's latest work, "Glossario do Dialecto Macanese," are very clearly and accurately represented.



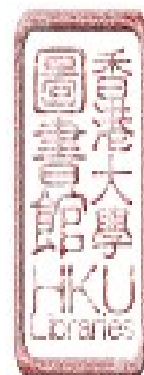
importation. Importation from standard Portuguese was constant in the gradual post-creole continuum, since Metropolitan Portuguese speakers were always available to augment the Macanese lexis. As mentioned earlier, however, massive lexical importation (non-Portuguese) was experienced through the foreign elements (wives, slaves, domestic servants, Chinese workers) which constantly filtered through old Macao.

There was a very consistent lexical borrowing from the Malay language. Firstly, there were great numbers of Malay women in the early colony. Secondly, Malacca (as the Portuguese port of call (1) preceding Macao on the trade route, and (2) predating Macao in terms of historical settlement) was a natural source for linguistic importation. Malays, cast as mothers and domestics, doubling in the traditionally female role of language instructors, interjected much of their own native tongue alongside the creole. Malay loanwords are, generally, typical of feminine vocabulary: terms for cooking, kitchen utensils, and dress. As Batalha writes:

Isto prova que a mulher malaia, ou antes malaio-portuguesa, porque a assimilação, como hoje diríamos, foi em Malaca pronta e duradoira, a mulher malaio-portuguesa, pois, como mãe, esposa, ama de meninos ou simples criada, teve presença vigorosa e influenciadora na formação do vocabulário macaense. (Batalha; 6:8)

(This proves that the Malay woman, before becoming Malayo-Portuguese, due to assimilation (as we would say today) was, in Malacca, a willing and enduring person. The Malayo-Portuguese woman, then, as mother, wife, nanny, or simply as maid-servant, had a vigorous presence and influence on the formation of the Macanese vocabulary.) MW

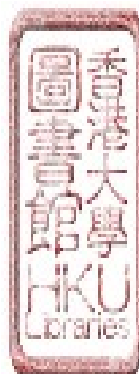
Some Malay loanwords which have carried over from the Portuguese creole of Malacca are listed on page 158 of the Appendices.



In her earlier works, Batalha writes that Macanese, in terms of lexis, is more a "dialect" than a "creole." (Batalha; 2:195) That is to say, Macanese approximates Metropolitan Portuguese: it is not a "compromise" language. Except for some peculiar phonetic and grammatical realizations, and apart from its Asian importations, it closely resembles Portuguese. This is in considerable contrast to, say, a language like Neo-Solomonic pidgin. As demonstrated by the following excerpts, Macanese is, relative to other creoles, very faithful to its parent standard:

Neo-Solomonic	English
<p>ɔrajt. mifələ i-go lɔŋ sɔlwatɐ, lɔkawtɪm flʃ, naw wɪn i-kəm, naw mifələ i-go ɔləbawt lɔŋ kinú, naw blɔ- fələ wɪn i-kəm naw, mifələ...</p>	<p>Very well, we kept going on the sea, hunting for fish, and a wind rose; now we were going in ca- noes, and an immense wind arose now, and we.... (Hall; 3:151)</p>
Macanese	Portuguese
<p>Iou sã Merenda Ai! Tudo gente na Macau assi choma pa iou. (Ferreira; 85)</p>	<p>Eu sou Merenda Ai! Toda a gente na Macau assim me chomam. (MW)</p>

In spite of its largely Portuguese character, Macanese vocabulary feels the impact, especially in its later stages, of its Chinese environment. It is only in its lexis, incidentally, that Macanese seems to be affected by Cantonese. Importation is only natural in a setting where the creole speakers (predominantly Eurasians or Europeans) are surrounded by several millions of Chinese. There are many physical items in this Asian setting which would have no Portuguese equivalents (cooking terms, drugs, fish, flowers, plants...). Other items have Portuguese counterparts, but maintain their Chinese names because of the persistent usage of Chinese by vendors, servants, etc. The Chinese terms are thus reinforced. Some Chinese loanwords existing in the current dialect are:



<u>Macanese</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>amui</u>	a-mui 亞妹	young Chinese girl
<u>atai</u>	a-tai 亞弟	young Chinese boy
<u>aguchao</u>	ha-chang 蝦籠	fishing (shrimp) nets (Batalha; 7:29-43)
<u>chatom</u>	ch'a tong 茶桶	teapot (Batalha; 7:124)

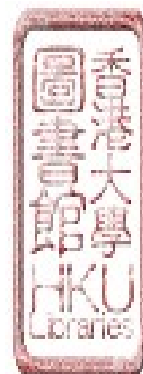
Batalha also cites the word amochai (SP amorzinho), or "little darling." The word is, interestingly, what Haugen would term a loanblend (Haugen; 218), or a partial substitution of a native morpheme within the loanword. The word consists of the components:

amor (Portuguese) : love

chai (Chinese 仔) : diminutive suffix

There are many instances of old creole words which have been replaced by Chinese loan-borrowings. One of these is the old Macanese word, cancom ([kākq]), meaning a particular kind of cabbage not found in Portugal. The use of this word by some old Macanese octogenarian would provoke laughter from younger persons, who would naturally use the Chinese term ong ch'oi ([ŋ t͡ʃɔi] 莖菜, (Batalha; 7:105). Interestingly enough, the word, cancom is still used by Macaista speakers in Hong Kong, illustrating the conservative nature of the Hong Kong dialect.

The influence of English has been considerable in Macanese. It was due initially to the English population in Macao during the height of the opium trade (1800's) (see p. 27). The proximity of Hong Kong, and the relationship between Macau and this successful neighbor, encouraged extensive lexical importation. Today, in Macao, English is recognised as the language of greater currency,



and, as such, has been widely accepted as part of the Macanese repertoire.

Some of the English loanwords in the creole would be:

<u>English</u>	<u>Macanese</u>	<u>SP equivalent</u>
fat	<u>afete</u> [áfét]	<u>gordo</u>
hard up	<u>adape</u> [adáp]	<u>sem dinheiro</u>
humbug ¹	<u>ambaque</u> [ábá] <u>ambaque</u> [ábák]	<u>enganar</u>
honeydew	<u>anidiu</u> [anidiu]	<u>melão</u>
cash	<u>cash</u> [kés]	<u>dinheiro de contado</u> (caixa?) (Batalha; 7:105)

Indo-Portuguese lexis represents a smaller group of loanwords in Macanese. Nevertheless, these words serve to illustrate the influence of the trade route, and the subsequent contacts which were maintained by the Indian and Asian Portuguese colonies:

<u>Indian</u>	<u>Macanese</u>	<u>English</u>
tçāl	<u>chale</u> [çali]	alley
concani	<u>cacada</u> [kakada]	roar of laughter
bhōi	<u>boy</u> [boi]	waiter (boy)
?	<u>bicho</u> ² [biço] (bicho-mar bicho-mel bicho-dachim bicho-nune)	creature, orphan, animal (Batalha; 3:105)

¹ Also found with the same meaning in Australian Pidgin English; "watsəmətər ju bin həmbəg lɔŋ ʃajnəmən? Why did you cheat the Chinese?" (Hall; 3:152)

² Also found with varying meaning in Brazilian colloquial Portuguese: "Eyi! Bichô! Não o terminaste?" "Hey! Mate! Haven't you finished it?"



Morphology and Word Classes

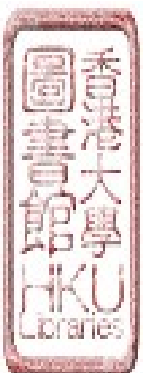
The following outline on the morphological characteristics of Macanese is based on Batalha's article "Estado Actual do Dialecto Macaense" (written in 1957). It is, to my knowledge, the most recent work which analyzes the structure of Macanese to any depth.

PLURAL: The plural form in the creole is distinguished by the suppression of final -s. Sra. Batalha gives the examples:

<u>as casa</u>	the (pl.) house
<u>tres pataca</u>	three coin
<u>nove hora</u>	nine hour
<u>dois cão</u>	two dog
<u>dois mão</u>	two hand
<u>dois ladrão</u>	two thief

This feature can also be found in Brazilian Portuguese and in the creoles of Sto. Antao (Cabo Verde), Portuguese Guinea, and Indo-Portuguese.

As mentioned in the previous section, "The Old Dialect," early Macanese employed reduplication to denote plural number (quiança-quiança to mean children). This format has now been entirely abandoned. The current system is to mark plurality with the singular form. (as in the examples given above).



Even so, the standard Portuguese practice of employing the -s marker for pluralization is gradually being adopted. Those who say "meus cão" can also be heard to say "meus cães" at different occasions. Batalha demonstrates a current awareness that plural -s is a preferred form, in the humorous example:

"é na olhos esquerda ou na olhos direita?"

Is it in the left eyes or the right eyes? (MW)

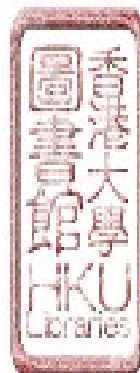
This is a form of hypercorrection in that the speaker is aware that the usage of the -s marker is associated with correctness. He employs the -s indiscriminately, and even where unnecessary.

GENDER: There is a distinct confusion of gender in Macanese. Where standard Portuguese has definite rules of concord for gender of substantives and modifiers, Macanese does not. The following collocations are typical:

<u>uma botão</u>	a (f.) button (m.)
<u>uma dia</u>	a (f.) day (m.)
<u>meu mão</u>	my (m.) hand (f.)

The confusion of gender is so extensive as to affect not only asexual objects, but even human subjects. Batalha gives an anecdote to illustrate:

<u>Rapaz: ele, ele, ele....</u>	Boy: he, he, he....
<u>Professora: ele quem?</u>	Teacher: he who?
<u>Rapaz: meu mãe!</u>	Boy: my mother! (MW)



INFLECTION AND TENSE: The conjugation of verbs is suppressed in Macanese, and a simplified tense system is implemented. The present tense is reduced to the verb in the form of the third-person singular for all cases:

SP: ele sabe Mac.: eu, tu, ele, etc... sabe

Sometimes, Batalha concedes, the first person plural is conjugated (eu sei), but this is rare. (Note that in Pereira's analysis p.50, he writes eu quêro, but vos, ilotro, etc. quêre.)

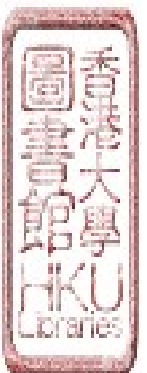
Not only is there a reduction of person in verbal inflection, but there is also a reduction in actual tenses. The three principal tenses: present, past perfective and imperfective past are replaced by the present + the impersonal infinitive:

- Ele falá nã vai: can mean 1) ele diz que nã vai. (SP)
He says he is not going.
- 2) Ele disse que nã vai. (SP)
He said he is not going.
- 3) Ele diz que nã foi. (SP)
He says he did not go.
- 4) Ele disse que nã foi. (SP)
He said he did not go.

The old creole, with its three principal formulas, was more explicit in the expression of tense:

<u>Ja vai</u>	perfect	<u>Ja comê</u>
<u>Ta vai</u>	present	<u>Ta comê</u>
<u>Logo vai</u>	future	<u>Logo comê</u>

In addition to verbal simplification in the current dialect, reflexive pronouns are deleted (come-lo from lo come becomes simply comê).



PRONOUNS: The pronouns of Macaista generally have the same form as those of standard Portuguese. Very rarely can these forms of the old creole still be heard:

estum (este) - this (m)

estunga (esta) - this (f)

nossotro (nos) - we

vossotro (vos) - you

aquelotro (aquele) - that

The most interesting difference in current pronominal usage is the formation of POSSESSIVES. Generally, the possessive is formed by the collocation of the personal pronoun and the enclitic particle -sa.

<u>eu-sa</u> casaco	(SP) o meu casaco	my coat
<u>ele-sa</u> mãe	a mãe dele	his mother
<u>tia-sa</u> casa	a casa da tia	aunt's house

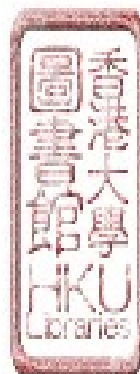
Batalha mentions a new development: the pronoun in the standard possessive form (inflected) is employed alongside the particle.

e de eu-sa has become:

<u>e de meu-sa</u>	(SP) é meu	it's mine
--------------------	------------	-----------

eu-sa cão has become:

<u>meu-sa</u> cão	(SP) meu cão	my dog
-------------------	--------------	--------



The INDEFINITE PRONOUNS also have certain peculiarities:

- (1) Tudo (all) is used in place of todo, -a, -os, -as

(all of the, every) --

<u>tudo coisa</u>	(SP) todas as coisas
	all of the things
<u>tudo dia</u>	todas os dias
	every day

- (2) Gente (people) is used to mean alguem (someone):

<u>empresta gente</u>	emprestar a <u>alguem</u>
	to lend someone

This word (gente) is used to mean "person" in a non-collective sense:

<u>um gente</u>	one person
<u>dois gente</u>	two people

This would correspond to the Chinese use of number + substantives:

一個人	(literally: <u>one</u> [classifier] <u>person</u>)
二個人	<u>two</u> [classifier] <u>person</u>)

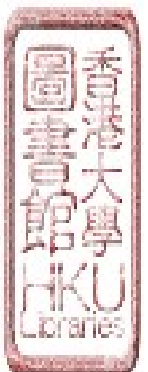
INTERJECTIONS: Batalha lists the following Macanese interjections:

<u>me!</u>	intensifier
<u>pa!</u>	intensifier
<u>uah!</u>	amazement, admiration
<u>aiah!</u>	depending on intonation: impatience, amazement
<u>auah!</u>	pain
<u>uiah!</u>	depending on intonation: admiration, anger

The first two are taken from Portuguese. Me! can be used interchangeably with pa!, and both can be compared to the American colloquial man! as in:

<u>depressa, me!</u>	Hurry, man!
<u>na que, pa!</u>	I don't want to, man!

In fact, me! is said to be a shortened form of homem! (man!) and pa! is, similarly, a shortened form of rapaz! (boy!). The remaining four interjections are directly borrowed from the Cantonese.



Syntax

Two summaries on Macanese syntax were published by Batalha. The first was in the Macao journal Mosaico in 1952-53. The second appeared in her article, "Estado Actual do Dialecto Macaense" in the 1958-59 Revista Portuguesa de Filologia. The following analysis is based on a compilation of information from both works.

ARTICLES: The definite article is not expressed before proper names as is the custom in standard Portuguese.

eu vi Jose

(SP) eu vi o Jose

In fact, most definite articles are lost before common nouns, except where needed to express plurality:

ali esta fazê() casa

A house is being built there.

agora () galinha muito caro

Chicken is very dear now.

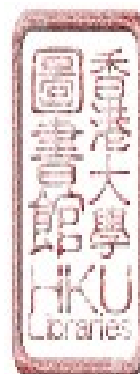
but: agora as galinha muito caro

The chickens are very dear now.

PRONOUN COMPLEMENT: In Macanese, mim is used in place of the standard Portuguese, me.

ele disse a mim

(SP) ele me disse



Very often, the pronoun complement for other persons is substituted by the subject pronoun:

nã bate ele

(SP) não lhe batas

The personal pronoun forms of se, lhe, or o are rarely used, being substituted by você or te. It is interesting to note here that te, the standard Portuguese familiar form, is preferred in Macanese when speaking to strangers or social superiors. The SP polite possessive forms, seu or sua, are, correspondingly, only used in Macanese when speaking to children or closely acquainted adults. The roles of these pronouns, then, in standard Portuguese and Macanese are completely reversed.

ADJECTIVES: As a rule, adjectives do not necessarily agree with substantives in gender or number. In all cases, adjectives are rendered in the masculine singular form:

casa muito fresco

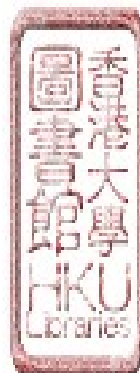
galinha caro

Modifiers are often used where substantives would be more grammatically appropriate:

<u>ocê</u>	<u>fala</u>	<u>mentiroso</u>
N	V	Mod.
you speak as a lie.		

in place of the more standard:

<u>você</u>	<u>dize</u>	<u>uma</u>	<u>mentira</u>
N	V	NP	
you tell a lie.			
(speak)			



INFLECTION AND TENSE: The Macanese subject is seldom in concordance with the predicate. The verbs are usually expressed in the third-person singular form or in the impersonal infinitive, regardless of the subject:

elas sempre inventa mentira

(SP) elas sempre inventam mentiras

The verb, inventa, can either be regarded as adhering to the SP form of the third-person singular, or as the infinitive inventar, which has undergone apocope.

The present tense is usually employed in all cases. Even in reference to deceased persons, Macanese curiously uses the present tense. A widow relates:

meu marido é forte

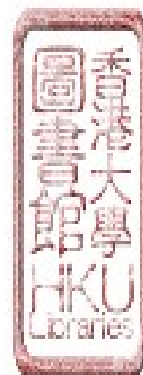
my husband is strong

Conjunctions usually associated with the SUBJUNCTIVE are rare in Macanese, having been replaced by the indicative or the infinitive:

ela nã quê eu sabe

(SP) ela não quere que eu saiba

she doesn't want me to know



IMPERATIVES are always in the second-person singular familiar form, regardless of the relationships of the interlocutors. One would say vem! or desculpa! to a respected elder as well as to one's own child. The construction nã que + infinitive is the common form for negative imperatives in Macanese:

<u>nã que corê!</u>	don't run!
<u>nã que comê!</u>	don't eat!

Sentences lacking verbs are extremely common:

ela pena, nã queria deixa casa
(lit.) she sick, didn't want leave house

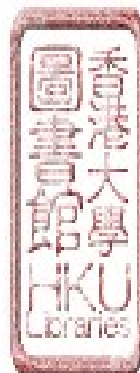
<u>ovos caro!</u>	eggs dear (expensive)!
-------------------	------------------------

<u>eu fomi!</u>	I hungry!
-----------------	-----------

Batalha relates these to Chinese syntax, where verbs are often unnecessary. Consider the absence of linking verbs in the following:

她病	she sick
雞蛋貴	eggs dear(expensive)!
我餓	I hungry! ¹

¹ My examples.
An expression common in Macanese is é n'ê? (literally, is not is?) meaning isn't it? This would seem to be closely related to the Chinese structure 是不是, meaning the same thing.



PREPOSITIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS: Where prepositions and conjunctions are indispensable in standard Portuguese, Macanese seems to delete them quite freely:

nã tem arroz come

(SP) não tem arroz para comer

there is no rice to eat

empresta gente

(SP) emprestar a alguém

to lend to someone

In expressions such as da eu or da gente (give me, give someone) the prepositions are absent. Batalha again compares this construction to the Chinese equivalents: 給我 or 給有人. (The absence of conjunctions in the subjunctive is mentioned earlier.)

EXCLAMATIONS: Batalha also discusses the use of the particle sa in exclamations. (Although it has the same pronunciation as the possessive sa mentioned above, it is actually of different origin.) The particle is used as an enclitic, attaching itself to any expression and giving added emphasis:

nã presta-sa!

no good!

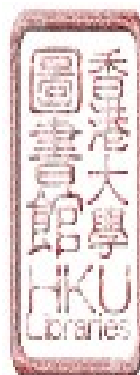
nã bom-sa!

no good!

The -sa particle may also be attached to vem, the whole expression having the function of an intensifier:

ocê esta comê que?

chocolate vem-sa!



what are you eating?
chocolate!!!

Apparently, this emphatic -sa is of recent origin, not existing in old creole texts. However, it was from an old verse in Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo that Batalha found a possible etymological explanation for the particle:

mas eu nun sa' sã quim

(SP) mas não sei quem é

but I don't know who it is

Sa' here, is a shortened form of the verb saber, to know. The usage of sa as an enclitic particle would thus be similar to the colloquial American expressions, "Y'know?" or "See?", used as an emphatic phrase, as well as a means of checking channel, felicity conditions, etc. In this function, sa can be said to be identical to the Brazilian expression viu:

tem viajado muito, viu?
they've travelled a great deal, y'know?

não é possível, viu?
it's not possible, see?

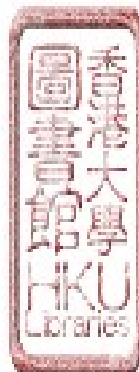
Sa, then, can be accounted for as a form of saber. How is vem-sa explained? The explanation is to be found in the use of lái-ke in the Cantonese dialect. The following phrases have the same meaning, except that those employing lái-ke (literally "come"+ particle) are more emphatic:

hai mat ie? what is this?

hai mat ie lai-ke? what is this?

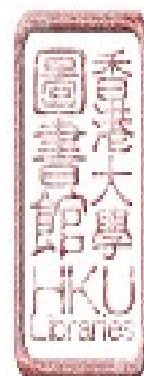
san-sam. clothes.

san-sam lai-ke. clothes!



The Macanese vem-sa (literally "come" + particle) is probably a direct parallel to this feature in Cantonese.

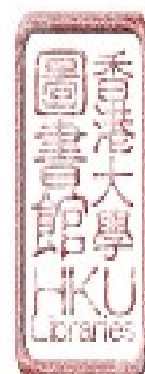
Batalha writes that those who claim to hear Chinese syntax in the Macanese dialect (i.e. absence of prepositions, or copular verb), should keep two tendencies in mind. The first is that some who speak Macanese normally would speak Chinese. In the practice of trying to speak "Portuguese," they are more likely to think in Chinese. The second point is that there is a marked tendency in the dialect to reduce Portuguese to concentrated phrases. (Rather than be a direct copy, then, Macanese only seems to resemble Chinese in the feature of syntactical terseness.) Batalha's approach here is less than clear, and lacks in empirical evidence. A more systematic attempt to compare Chinese and Macanese syntax will follow in the next chapter.



CHAPTER THREE

AN INVESTIGATION OF HONG KONG MACANESE

A Synchronic Study Based on Personal Research



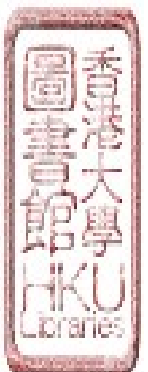
AN INVESTIGATION OF HONG KONG MACANESE

A Synchronic Study Based on Personal Research

Methodology

The following observations are based predominantly on the language systems of three informants. Two of these subjects are male speakers of the creole who spent their childhoods in Macao, but have not lived there since the 1950's (since the standardization of Portuguese). Their languages are thus free from enforced Portuguese contamination. The third subject is a Portuguese woman who, having been born and raised in Macao has had contact with the creole, although she herself does not speak it. She is used as a control subject, since her dominant language is standard (albeit not Metropolitan) Portuguese. This third subject represents the educated Macao version of the standard, and, as such, is an appropriate contrast for the first two Macanese speakers. Profiles on the two Macanese informants can be found in the Appendices of this work. Their backgrounds and attitudes will be dealt with at some length in the sociolinguistic chapter which follows.

The information on the current state of Macanese was gathered from numerous social meetings. After gaining rapport with the speakers, they were willing to speak naturally and participate in recording sessions. This was a major hurdle, as some Macanese speakers are predictably embarrassed of their language. (This point in particular will be covered in later discussions.)



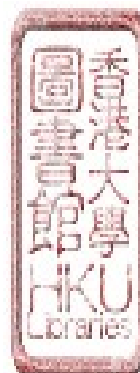
Several methods were used in the elicitation of the creole.
The subjects were asked to:

1. (individually) describe cartoons,
2. discuss photographs (in dialogues),
3. orally translate short sentences from written English.
4. orally translate longer passages from written English
and
5. read short Macanese works and paraphrase them in
precis.

Many of these sessions were recorded. Some of these tapings are
transcribed in the Appendices of this paper.

Focus

In order to most effectively illustrate the contrast of my
observations with those of Thompson or Batalha, this chapter will
deal mainly with the features described in their respective studies.
In a complete description of Macanese, more detailed work on all
facets of the language would be mandatory. For the purposes of the
paper, which intends to show the phylogenetic trend manifested in
the current creole, I have chosen to limit my description. The
following description of Macanese, then, will cover the same points
as the literature summarized in the previous chapter. In doing so,
I hope to afford the reader a rapid and obvious comparison between
the claims of existing literature and my own observations.



Phonology

VOWELS: The vowel system of the speakers is fairly similar to the one outlined by Thompson,¹ except for the addition of [ɪ]:

j i ɪ e ε a ɔ o u w

It differs from standard Portuguese in that there is no vocalic nasalization with the one exception mentioned under "DIPHTHONGS."

As in Batalha's description, nontonic vowels are pronounced in random fashion, sometimes closed and sometimes open:

<u>comer</u>	(SP) /kumelr/	(Mac.) /kome/ (open)
<u>aquele</u>	(SP) /akelɪ/	(Mac.) /kelɛ/ (open)
<u>hoje</u>	(SP) /oʒ/	(Mac.) /oʒɪ/ (closed)

In standard Portuguese, pretonic <e> is typically closed and rendered as /i/:

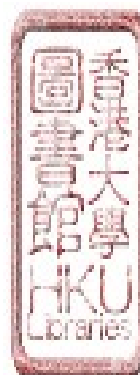
<u>elaborar</u>	/ilabuˈrar/
<u>elefante</u>	/ilɛˈfant/

In Macanese, these are consistently produced as they are written: /e/.

<u>elaborar</u>	/ɛlabora/
<u>elefante</u>	/ɛlɛfantɪ/

Word final <e>, pronounced (if at all) in standard Portuguese as palatalized /j/, is realized in Hong Kong Macanese as /ɪ/. This is in contrast to Batalha's observations which claim the

¹In any reference to Thompson's or Batalha's works, please consult the summary of their writings in the previous chapter.



phonetic realization of word final <e> to be /i/. Here, the tendency is shorten the vowel, bringing the pronunciation somewhat closer to Portuguese.

In standard Portuguese, <o> is either realized as /o/ or /u/ depending on syllable stress (tonic). In H.K. Macanese, there is some variation. Most of the time, the pretonic and final unstressed <o> is produced as /o/:

<u>'bolo</u>	(SP)	/bol <u>u</u> /	(Mac.)	/bol <u>o</u> /
<u>in'teiro</u>	(SP)	/InteIru/	(Mac.)	/Inter <u>o</u> /
<u>por'que</u>	(SP)	/purkeI/	(Mac.)	/por <u>ke</u> /

Nevertheless, there are occasions where H.K. Macanese more closely resembles the standard pronunciation:

nadi vai porke iou cansadu

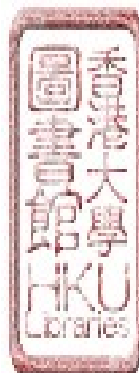
As mentioned by Batalha, there is a tendency to vocalize final <l>, substituting /w/ in its place. In citation form, however, the /l/ is pronounced:

<u>qual</u>	(Mac.)	/kwaw/	(in running speech)
	(Mac.)	/kw <u>al</u> /	(in citation form)

DIPHTHONGS:Thompson stated that the decreasing diphthongs /eI/ and /ou/are non-existent in Macanese, being replaced by the vowels /e/ and /o/. This is to some extent corroborated in this study:

<u>peixe</u>	(SP)	/peIʃ/	(Mac.)	/pe <u>ʃe</u> /
<u>inteiro</u>	(SP)	/InteIru/	(Mac.)	/Inter <u>o</u> /

The nasalized diphthong -ão. which appears in word-final position is undergoing an interesting transition in Macanese. Batalha writes, and Ou-Mun Kei-Leok would agree, that this diphthong is rendered as /aŋ/. This is true to some extent in my subjects:



balichão (SP) /baliʃãw/ (Mac.) /baliʃan/

however, in many examples, the -ao is attempted:

cão (Mac.) /kẽw/

não (Mac.) /nẽw/

Diphthongs are realized in some cases by a variety of different phonemes:

não (SP) /nãw/ (Mac.) /nẽw/, /nã/, /nam/

tem (SP) /tãI/ (Mac.) /tem/, /tẽI/

vem (SP) /vãI/ (Mac.) /vem/, /vẽI/

There is an awareness of the correctness of the diphthongization of final -ão demonstrated by the following example of hyper-correction:

amanhã (SP) /amẽnʒã/ (Mac.) /amajnʒẽw/

The substitution of /uI/ for /oI/ in the example given by Batalha: coisa (Mac.) /kuIʒa/

is not stable since /kwel kuIʒa/ now exists alongside the dialectal /kuIʒa/. Other decreasing diphthongs are realized in H.K. Macanese:

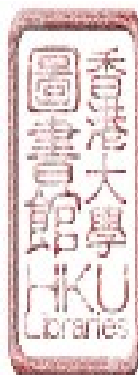
trazer /trelze/

ta vai /ta vaI/

escondeu /skondew/

eu /jow/

Centering diphthongs are also represented. Whereas early Macanese would have pronounced cuzinhar as /kuzina/, H.K. Macanese approaches a form of diphthongization, in /kuzina/. However, there is some variation in this, diphthongization, as the word acompanhar is given consistently by one of the subjects as /akompana/.



CONSONANTS: It is in the consonantal system that H.K. Macanese seems to have evolved the most. The informants switch frequently from the Macanese consonants as Thompson described them, to the standard Portuguese system. With regard to the /l/, /ʎ/ distinction, for instance, one utters

el' sã filho de Maria

and within the same conversation stubbornly insists

iou sã filo Macao.

The palatalization of /s/ to /ʃ/ in final position does not occur. Thompson also claimed that it did not. Both of my informants produce /trez meziz/ for tres meses. The initial phoneme /ʃ/, pronounced /g/ only by the very early, is now produced in its standard form. Examples of this:

jovem /ʃovɨm/ (formerly /govɨm/)

jambolão /ʃambolɔ̃/ (formerly /ʒambolaŋ/)

jantar /ʃanta/ (formerly /ʒanta/)

/ʃ/ is sometimes identical to the standard:

chuva (SP) /ʃuva/ (Mac.) /ʃuva/

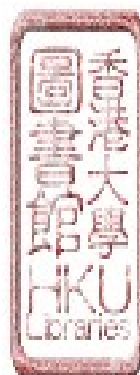
(not Batalha's tchubi)

and sometimes in concordance with Batalha's findings:

chistosa (SP) /ʃistoza/ (Mac.) /ʃistoza/

(Batalha: tchistosa)

It is interesting, here, to remember Thompson's assertion in 1959, that /ʃ/, /ʒ/ and palatal /l/ were used only by young Macanese "who affect to speak well." (Thompson; 3:34). These speakers, although they do not command a standard form of Portuguese, are obviously aware of the standard phonological system.



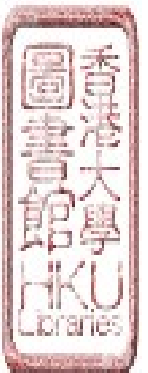
One feature which is by and large conservative in H.K. Macanese is the apocope of final -r in verbs as well as in other lexis:

iou podo garanti_	(SP <u>garantir</u>)
lotro nam vai luga_	(SP <u>lugar</u>)
cresê_	(SP <u>crescer</u>)
comê_	(SP <u>comer</u>)

The confusion of flapped and rolled /r/ does not seem to be as pervasive as Batalha implies. However, even my control subject, the speaker of Macao standard Portuguese, made a point of telling me that a "Metropolitano" tends to roll his "r's" much more than even the educated speaker of Portuguese in Macao. In other words, Macanese speakers in general would utilize a greater preponderance of flapped r's. One of my informants, interestingly, employs American English r's (frictionless continuant) throughout.

On another subject and in agreement with Batalha's analysis, você is often reduced to ocê. The only other comparable consonantal reduction I could find was in the reduction of the standard Portuguese beijo (kiss) to (Mac.) ucho. Note however, that vocalic reduction in word-initial position is common: ilotro is very often pronounced as lotro.

The phonology of H.K. Macanese seems to be teetering between a vestigial form of the old creole and standard Portuguese. It is, in fact, the phonological system (rather than morphology or syntax) which has evolved most rapidly in H.K. Macanese. The language as a whole "sounds" more like Portuguese. It seems to be in the process of discarding those features which made it a "Chinese version": features like affricates (for palatal fricatives), [ŋ] (for diphthongization), the substitution of pure vowels for diphthongs, etc.



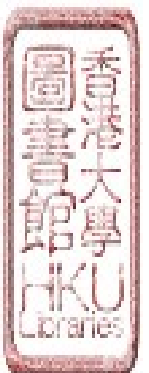
Lexis

The lexical items employed by these informants are somewhat different from those items found in the language that Batalha describes. It must be remembered that my informants are between the ages of 35 and 45, whereas Batalha distinctly says, "assim das conversas com pessoas muito idosas..."¹ (Batalha; 3: 14) This, along with the fact that the bulk of her original work was conducted in the late 1950's and early 1960's, would place her subjects at the relative age of 95-105, or two generations earlier than my informants. Expectedly, the language has undergone a dramatic lexical upheaval, in part because of the fashions and fads of each generation, and in part because of the tremendous influx of loan words from more technological and modern languages.

Nevertheless, the retention of some ancient lexis is quite remarkable in H.K. Macanese. As mentioned earlier, the word cancom is preserved in Hong Kong although the Macao version has long employed ong ch'ói. On one occasion, an informant uses the word azinha which has been obsolete in Portuguese for centuries. The modern word, depressa, adopted by the other informant is in interesting contrast.

There is a particularly noteworthy discussion in one of the recordings. Speaker A uses the modern term pato ("duck"). B corrects him with ade (the ancient word for pato). Speaker A insists on pato, and speaker B responds, "pato, yes, but not in

¹ (according to conversations with very elderly persons...) MW



Chinese!" Ade persists in H.K. Macanese, but will, no doubt, be replaced at some future time with its contemporary counterpart pato.

As quoted from Whinnom earlier, pidgins and creoles have a distinct tendency to enrich their vocabularies via importation. Lexical gaps, common in diminished tongues, are filled with appropriate items from other languages in the environment. In the case of Macao, Macanese is increasingly adoptingly Chinese loanwords (ong ch'oi for cancom) In the case of Hong Kong, the natural tendency is to adopt from English. Hong Kong Macanese does, however, employ Chinese lexis in reference to things typically Chinese: foods, medicines, artifacts, etc. Cantonese in Hong Kong habitually borrows from English, however, and so the direction of the donor-recipient relationship (English to Cantonese) is carried over into Macanese (English to H.K. Macanese).

There are endless examples of English lexis in H.K. Macanese. The creole is fairly peppered with English contributions. One of my informants produced:

Iou na vai bicozo iou sta cansadu.

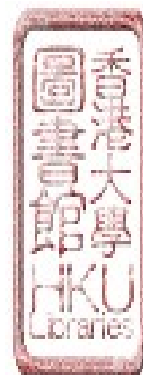
I'm not going because I'm tired.

The usual Macanese word here would be porque (as in SP.) This might have seemed to be a case of interference, if it hadn't been supported by a regular usage by other speakers. In another instance, the same speaker uttered:

Ela fico prenhan.

She became pregnant.

The usual Macanese word here would be gràvida (as in SP). The diglossian circumstances in Hong Kong of English as the "high" (and



donor) language appears to be influential in the adoption of new lexis in H. K. Macanese.

The corpus of Chinese lexis in H.K. Macanese is not constantly supplemented. The Cantonese words utilized are actually carried over from the early dialect:

atai young Chinese boy
apo old Chinese woman
abulo (from hap lo) circular baskets with a conjoining
rod

There is little, if any, new and consistent important from Cantonese in the current Hong Kong creole.

Borrowings from other languages which took place in the early creole are still represented in the Hong Kong variety. The speakers still utilize such expressions:

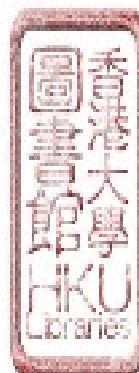
sayang! sayang! (from Malay)
(It's a pity)

Ilotro nade comê tifin amanhã. (from Anglo-Indian)
(They will not eat lunch tomorrow.)

awabi com galinha preta (from Japanese)
(abalone and chicken dish)

ele chubi eu! (from Malay)
(he pinched me!)

Boy! (to call waiters) (from Anglo-Indian, bhôi)



As proof of the extensive lexical changes in Macanese, when asked to read some rhymes from the old creole, none of the informants was able to completely understand the passages. The grammar is comprehensible, but a considerable portion of the lexis does not exist in their vocabularies.

Morphology, Word Classes and Syntax

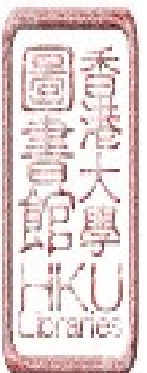
The features of Macanese morphology, word classes and syntax are also in the process of transition. The tendency, again, is toward a closer approximation of the standard.

PLURALIZATION: Aa Batalha writes, reduplication to mark plurality is now rare. My informants insist it is obsolete. Batalha describes a system of pluralization which employs a singular substantive preceded by a plural quantifier (and followed, where applicable, by a singular modifier). She further states that this system is currently coexistent with standard utilization of the -s plural marker (plural modifiers + plural substantive). These concurrent systems are also implemented by my subjects. Depending on the situation (whether or not I was eliciting the plural in citation form), they would employ both kinds of pluralization:

<u>as</u> casa	(quantifier marker)	the <u>houses</u>
gajo no ta comê <u>maça</u>	(no marker)	the <u>apples</u>
ela usa <u>oclo</u>	(no marker)	glasses

also:

ela usa <u>oclos</u>	(standard marker)	<u>glasses</u>
tres <u>mezes</u> pasadus	(standard marker)	three <u>months</u> past



GENDER: The marking of gender is also a random system (sometimes accountable by variables of formality). In running dialogue or casual monologue, the subjects would issue such collocations:

<u>acunga</u>	(f.)	<u>dia</u>	(m.)
<u>semano</u>	(m.)	<u>pasada</u>	(f.) (SP semana pasada)
<u>coisa</u>	(f.)	<u>entero</u>	(m.)
<u>quele</u>	(m.)	<u>camisa</u>	(f.)
<u>qualque</u>	(m.)	<u>avanda</u>	(f.)
<u>este</u>	(m.)	<u>coisa</u>	(f.)

However, in formal elicitation, they would produce the standard forms:

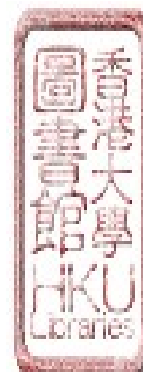
<u>esta mesa</u>	<u>vela fea</u>
<u>esta coisa</u>	<u>cabelo anelado</u>
<u>meio dia</u>	etc.
<u>meia hora</u>	

So, there is a very definite awareness of the correctness of concord between the gender of modifiers and substantives. The agreement between adjectives and nouns they modify, is far more regular than Batalha seems to allow.

DEFINITE ARTICLES: There is a general lack of definite articles in Macanese. As Batalha states, articles seem to be retained only where needed to express or emphasize plurality"?

() chacha ven casa amanhã the old lady comes home tomorrow
as chacha ven casa amanhã the old ladies come home tomorrow
 Nevertheless, there are traces of articles throughout the language-systems of my informants, with no apparent explanation:

<u>um</u> vela	an old woman
----------------	--------------



Even though the gender of the articles does not concord with the gender of the noun, it is a distinct attempt to express singularity through the usage of um.

PRONOUNS: Batalha stated that the pronouns of Macanese generally have the same form as those of standard Portuguese. My informants seemed to be less than sure of those standard forms. The demonstrative this and that (SP: este, -a, -es, -as;; aquele, -a, -es, -as) are realized in H K. Macanese with meanings which vary from the standard:

Na vai comê quele peixe (SP: that)
(to mean:)

I'm not going to eat this fish

Iou quierê comê quele bolo (SP: that)
(to mean:)

I want to eat the cake

For such a speaker, at lease, quele is a universal modifier, serving either as an article or as demonstrative pronoun.

In some cases, the demonstratives in collocations do not show concord with the substantives:

este (m.) coisa (f.)

quel (m.) coisa (f.)

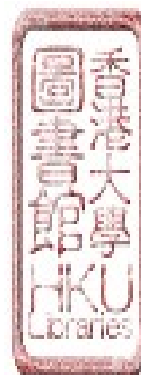
Sometimes, old forms of the dialect persist, as in acunga (SP: aquele):

voce onde compra acung' camisa?

(meaning:)

Where did you buy that shirt?

Even though the demonstratives may tend to resemble standard Portuguese forms, they hardly have the identical usage that Batalha implies.



The personal pronouns, however, are almost the same:

<u>Mac.</u>	<u>S.P.</u>
iou/eu	eu
você/ocê	tu, você
ele	ele
ela	ela
nos	nos
ilotro/lotro	eles, elas
-	vos, vocês

The notable variations are the second-person singular forms, and the third-person plural. There is no tu/vos distinction in Macanese to denote formality or familiarity. "They" is consistently expressed by the old dialect form of ilotro, or the reduced version, lotro.

One of my informants rather extensively uses the term gajo to mean ele and ela. In standard Portuguese slang, gajo means "guy" and is a male noun. However, employed by this informant (as, indeed, by others) gajo is an asexual pronoun (as is 他 in Chinese), and can be used in reference to either he or she:

Gajo no ta comê maça. He wasn't eating the apples.

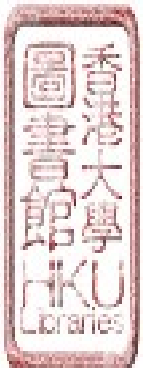
Gajo quando vem casa? When is she coming home?

The formation of possessive pronouns is as Batalha describes: the personal pronoun followed by the enclitic particle -sa:

<u>eu-sa</u> peše	<u>my</u> fish
<u>lotro-sa</u> comida	<u>their</u> food

In no cases did I find the new development which Batalha mentions: that of the pronoun in the inflected form:

<u>meu-sa</u> peše	my fish
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A variation approaching standard usage, however, is found in the occasional inflection of possessives, not within the pronoun element as Batalha claims (meu-sa), but in the particle ending:

El' ta come el-su carne (SP sua carne)

Gajo is also used for possessive constructions:

El' ta comê gajo pão. He was eating his bread.

Object or reflexive pronouns are generally replaced by the subject pronouns throughout:

da ele (SP da lhe) give her
(ilotrô) chama pa iou (SP me chamam) call me

However, there are cases which demonstrate an awareness of the correctness of object or reflexive forms even by those who may prefer the subject pronouns in general usage:

lheu-goste este...lheu-goste este...este...jogo?
(the SP form here should be lhe)

INTERROGATIVES: Interrogative words in Macanese are very similar to those of standard Portuguese. There are, however, two notable exceptions:

cusa? (SP o que?) What?
qualunga? (SP qual, quais) which?

Cusa is a consistent substitution for (SP) o que? Qualunga and qual, however, seem to be inherent variations in a single speaker's repertoire. One speaker will use qualunga and qual within the same conversation for no apparent reason.



CONJUNCTIONS AND PREPOSITIONS: In regard to conjunctions and prepositions, my observations are very similar to those of Batalha. H.K. Macanese deletes nearly all of these. There are few attempts at reconstructing standard prepositions, although some were recorded:

Nã teq raison pur ește. (SP para)

Passa pur mi vaga.

INFLECTION AND TENSE: The confused processes of verb inflection are highly indicative of the transitional state of H.K. Macanese. Batalha writes that all tenses are represented by either the third-person singular form (ex. comê), or the infinitive form with apocope of the final r (also comê, henceforth called "special infinitive"). The verbal system of my informants is considerably more complicated. An outline of this system follows:

1. The copular is deleted in most stative constructions:

não paraciso It isn't necessary.

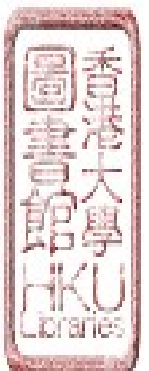
iou cansadu I'm tired.

2. The simple present tense is either indicated by the verb in third-person singular, or the special infinitive, or (for first-person only) by standard inflection. This standard form is especially typical where emphasis is desired:

ilotro sabê they know

você treizê you bring

inflected: iou podo garanti I can guarantee



3. The present continuous (progressive) tense is consistently expressed as ta + the verb in third-person singular, or special infinitive. Ta is a shortened form of the Portuguese verb, estar.

<u>iou ta comê</u>	I'm eating
<u>ele ta treizê</u>	she's bringing
<u>nos ta vai</u>	we're going

In some cases, the informants use an approximation of the standard inflected form (estar + gerund), but always keep estar in the third-person singular form:

<u>šta chuvindo</u>	it's raining
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4. The simple past is expressed in a variety of ways. Actually, the speaker has the choice of expressing the past in four different ways:

a. the old dialect system:

ja + verb (3rd -person sing. or
special infinitive)

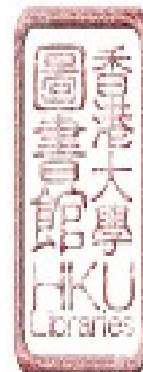
b. identical to present (even continuous
present)
as according to Batalha.

c. standard inflection: of third-
person-singular-past for all cases.

d. or any combination of the above three.

Some examples of the past from my informants:

<u>iou compra</u>	>	I bought
<u>iou compro</u>		
<u>você abri</u>	>	you opened
<u>ocê ja abri</u>		
<u>ele ta comê</u>	>	he ate
<u>ele ja comê</u>		



ela-sab' she did know

iou ja vai
iou foi > I went

There is an interesting feature in the expression of past: when the negative element is added, all past-tense verbs (almost without exception) are rendered in the form of third-person singular present, or the special infinitive;

iou nã compra for I didn't buy
você nã abri you didn't open
ele nã comê he didn't eat
iou nã vai I didn't go

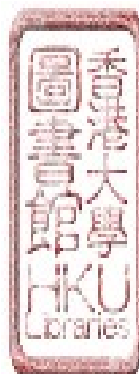
Another interesting point: when the past is emphatic (as in "I did eat it) my informants utilize the standard inflection of the third-person singular in all cases. Even with the retention of the old dialect form of ja, the same sort of inflection is added:

(iou) ja comeu
(iou) comeu > I ate (emphasized)

In the negative, two processes occur. The first process utilizes the simplest format: the verb in the third-person form or the special infinitive:

iou nã comê I didn't eat
(emphasized) The second process employs the old dialect feature, nunca:

nos onten nunca comê nada
yesterday we didn't eat anything



5. The continuous past is expressed by the same construction as continuous present: the third-singular-present form preceded by the marker ta:

iou ta comê I was eating

One of my informants consistently used an approximation of the standard inflected form of the continuous past (past of estar + gerund), but he kept the verb estar in the third-person-singular-present form in all cases:

iou sta comindo I was eating

ilotro sta falando they were talking

6. The immediate future, expressed in standard Portuguese by estar + para + verb, is rendered in H.K., Macanese by either
- a) the verb in third-person-singular-present form, or special infinitive, or
 - b) the verb in the above (a.) form preceded by the marker ta:

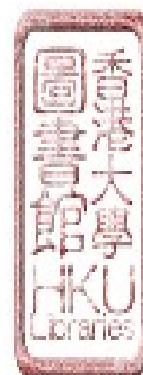
ele treizê
ela ta treizê } He is going to bring.

One of my informants demonstrated a seeming interference from English when producing:

Ela ta vai treizê. She is going to bring.

(literally, "she is going bringing")

7. The future tense is usually expressed in the same manner as the present continuous (ta + 3rd-person sing. present, or special infinitive), or by the same form as the old dialect (logo + 3rd-person or special infinitive):



Ilotro ta come
lotro logo come } They will eat.

However, in the negative, the future tense takes on a different form of expression. As in the old dialect, the marker for negative future is nadi (According to Pereira (Pereira; 61), nadi was probably a reduction of não + hade.) In some cases, this old form is preserved:

gajo nadi ven She/he will never come.

ilotro nadi vai They are not going.

In other cases, the nadi form is shortened to nai:

Iou nai comê nadi quel coisa

I won't eat any of it.

Yet another kind of negative future construction is the negative marker na + the all-encompassing verb format (3rd-person-sing.-present, or special infinitive) cited by Batalha:

Iou na comê ningom.

I won't eat any of them.

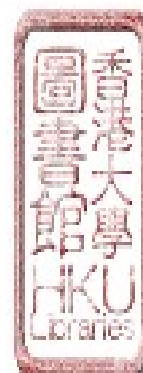
8. Compound verbs are interesting in that the first verb in the construction is generally not inflected in H.K. Macanese:

ele quiere comê can mean:

He wanted to eat;

he wants to eat;

or, he will want to eat.



iou <u>quiere</u> comê	>	I want to eat.
iou <u>que</u> comê		
gato <u>sabe</u> comê	>	The cat knows how to eat.
gato <u>sa</u> comê		
ilotro <u>pode</u> comê	>	They can eat.
ilotro <u>puy</u> comê		

- 9 The verb form tem (third-person-sing-present of tener) in H.K. Macanese enjoys extensive usage worthy of comment:

<u>tem chuva</u>	it's raining
<u>não tem gente</u>	there are no more people

The conjunction with que, it can mean to have to (standard usage) as in:

<u>iou tem que vai</u>	I have to go.
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However, the same construction in the negative can also express need or want:

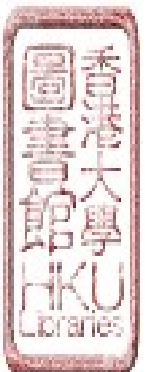
<u>iou não tem que nada</u>	<	I don't need anything.
	<	I don't want anything.

Chinese Influence and its Implications

As written previously, the Macanese creole, even in its earliest stages, shows few signs of influence from Chinese. Unlike the English derived China Coast Pidgin, there is no Chinese structure in Macanese morphology or syntax.

In China Coast Pidgin, Chinese syntax clearly influences the language:

<u>Eng.</u>	There is too much dust on the table.
<u>CCP.</u>	/tuməçi dəst tebəl tapsajd/
<u>Chin.</u>	tài dwo ch'én dzài jwodz shàngle.



Chinese morphology also has considerable impact on China Pidgin. The effects of Chinese are briefly indicated by the following points:

- 1) Relative clauses, prenominal in Chinese, are also prenominal in the pidgin:

/gɔspɪŋ maen/ (Hall; 3:64)

(literally: God's business man (priest)

or, in English, "a man who has God as his business"— the relative clause is postnominal in English)

The above example is comparable to the Chinese:

dzwo mǎi-mài de ^Nrén

but contrasts with the Macanese equivalent:

^N
gajo qui faze negoxa

- 2) The usage of classifiers, mandatory in Chinese, appears in the pidgin:

/tupisibɔk/ (Hall; 3:57)

(literally, two pieces book, or in English, "two books". The classifier always precedes the substantive and follows the quantifier. The above example is comparable to the Chinese:

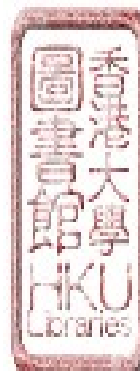
lyǎng jǎng jwodz, but contrasts with the Macanese equivalent:

dos mesa

- 3) ə is used as a suffix, to form adjectives from verbs. This parallels 的, de in Chinese morphology:

/bɔjlə	mit/	boiled meat
/spɔjlə	tli/	rotten tree
/brokə	tebəl/	broken table (Hall; 3:57)

The above examples are comparable to the Chinese:



煮的肉 (vb. + suffix + noun) chude rou,
but contrast with the Macanese equivalent:

carne assado na agu (noun + past participle)
etc.

These are just a few instances of Chinese features which are carried over to China Coast Pidgin, but do not seem to appear in Macanese.

Another example, less clear, perhaps, is the question of interrogative words in China Pidgin vs. Macanese. For instance, hawfaesan, like its Chinese counterpart:

為什麼 (why?)

is mostly confined to the sentence-initial position¹:

Hawfaesan twelv dolar blon tumači?

why is twelve dollars to much?

Hawfaesan misi no hav kači buk? (Hall; 3:152)

why hasn't missy brought a book?

In Macanese (as in Portuguese), question words have much more scope in movement, much more syntactic freedom:

Porke el' nã vai amanhã?

El' porke nã vai amanhã?

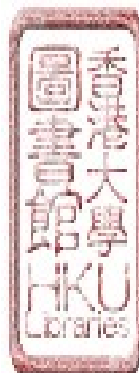
El' nã vai amanhã porke?

Ocê goste qual?

Qual ocê goste?

Ocê qual goste?

¹ in some cases, the Chinese interrogative word may follow the subject.





Um estrangeiro

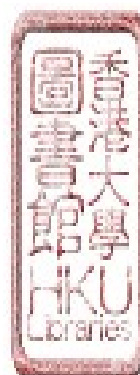
Reduplication seems to be the only feature that can be convincingly claimed as Chinese. However, as mentioned earlier, it is probable that it was adopted from Malay, since in Macanese, like Malay, reduplication denotes simple plurality and not "every" or "all" as it does in Chinese.

Whereas Macanese is not molded, then, by Chinese syntax or morphology, it is certainly colored by Chinese phonology and Chinese lexis (loanwords). Except for such peculiarities as tense markers, and special pronominal forms (possessive), etc., Macanese is structurally very similar to Portuguese.

This fundamental distinction between Macanese and China Coast Pidgin seems to contest the notion of relexification that has been put forward by Whinnom and supported by various others (R. W. Thompson, C. R. Boxer, etc.) From a superficial comparison of the two languages (it can only be superficial until much more extensive work is done in both cases), the logical conclusion is that two such morphologically and syntactically differing languages cannot be related by simple relexification. A comparison of 19th century texts in Macanese, on the one hand, and China Pidgin on the other, certainly corroborates this.

As Hall writes,

The argument from relexification assumes that only abstract syntactic patterns are valid criteria for determining linguistic relationships, and that phonological and morphological correspondences are not relevant. (Hall; 3:122)



Because the two languages (and others) share certain lexis, or function words, it does not follow that wholesale relexification (implying the retention of basic syntactic forms) has taken place. More likely, the coincidences are attributable to widespread language contact, and extensive importation.

There are instances in each language of heavy influences by the other. That is to say, Macanese has adopted many expressions from China Pidgin, and, similarly, China Pidgin displays many direct effects of exposure to Macanese. In Macanese folktales one can find the following words from English:

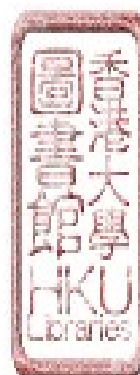
cash
adape (hard up)
afete (fat)

In China Pidgin poetry, likewise, Portuguese-based words appear:

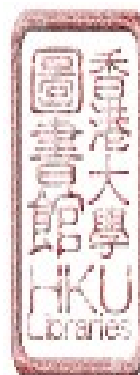
maski (apesar de)
pemi (permissão)

Whereas these may only be instances of neighborly infiltration, they have been cited as proof of the relexification theory.

The limited Chinese influence on Macanese is due to the constraints imposed on Sino-Portuguese contact during the pidgin's formative stages. It could probably be argued that when the English were settling Hong Kong in the 18th century, Chinese isolationism had become somewhat modified. The "relexified" China Pidgin may have been affected by Chinese more, because of its greater usage by Chinese speakers. However, this explanation would not account for



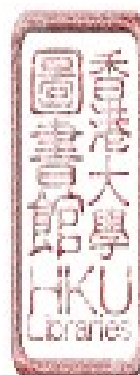
the lack of change in basic syntactic forms of Macanese as its ranks of Chinese speakers increased after the 18th century. The fact that Chinese has so obviously affected China Pidgin and so little affected Macanese, may imply separate genetic (polygenetic) origins for these two languages.



CHAPTER FOUR

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Societal Pressures and the Disappearing Creole



A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE:

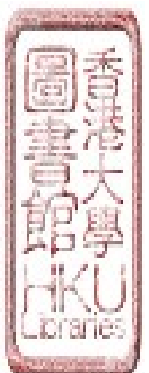
SOCIETAL PRESSURES AND THE DISAPPEARING CREOLE

Inherent Problems

One need only look around Macao or Hong Kong in search of a Macanese speaker to realize that the creole is a very rare commodity. The majority of "dialect" speakers in Macao or Hong Kong seem to lie somewhere short of a standard form of Portuguese. These sub-standard speakers presume they speak a sort of patois, when their language, in fact, bears no resemblance to, or no traces of the ancient creole. The task of sorting through the masses of non-standard Portuguese speakers to arrive at informants who are representative of the "last generation" of "filo Macao"¹ is a difficult one, indeed.

Even having found subjects to study, the investigator must be assured that they are able to sustain at least some semblance of a dialogue in Macaista. There are many "speakers" of a fairly conservative Macanese in Hong Kong who, in actual fact, can only utter random words of the old creole and recall expressions used by their grandparents long ago. The difficult search for two informants who (speaking a tongue unspoiled by Portuguese education) can support their roles in a running dialogue, is convincing enough evidence of the fast disappearance of Macanese.

¹"filo Macao," literally "son of Macao," is used both in reference to the Macanese people and the Macanese dialect.



Macao

Pereira, the 19th century investigator of Macanese, wrote that the birth of the creole was due primarily to the lack of standard Portuguese available to the local community in Macao:

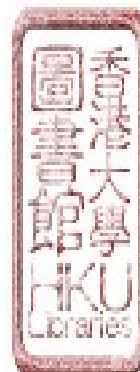
D'esses diversos factores, combinados com a lingua portugueza, nasceu o dialecto macaista que se poude ir conservando e desenvolvendo com a falta de escolas, regidas por professores originarios do reino, que durante bastante tempo, faltaram em Macau. (Pereira; 54)

(From these diverse factors [Spanish English, Chinese, Malay, and Indian], combined with the Portuguese language, was born the Macanese dialect. The creole was able to persist and develop due to the fact that schools with teachers registered by the crown were, for so long unavailable in Macao.) MW

The intermarriage of the Portuguese in the 16th and 17th centuries, the transient nature of the settlement, and the imposed sequestration of the settlers, all contributed to the birth of Macanese pidgin as an auxilliary contact language. It was, to use Reinecke's term, a truly "marginal" language, serving as a social medium for an international community. With the subsequent lack of education and the births of native speakers, the language was creolized and transixed in a frozen form. The people (like the language) were quite unlike their Portuguese ancestors and quite divorced from the Chinese milieu:

Quer isto dizer que os macaenses, praticamente entregues a si mesmos durante mais de trezentos anos -- so neste seculo, por razões evidentes, e que o contacto com a Metropole se estreitou -- e não so cercados pelo povo chines no exterior, mas tendo-o adentro das suas Portas, das suas ruas, das suas casas, preservaram ate hoje um estilo de vida e uma maneira de ser que não se confundem com o estilo chines nem com o caracter chines. Mas que tambem não se identificam perfeitamente com os da Metropole.

Sao macaenses. (Batalha; 3:9)



(This is to say that the Macanese, left to themselves for more than three hundred years -- the distance from Portugal did not narrow, for obvious reasons, until this century -- and not approached by the Chinese people outside, but having them within the city-limits, within their streets, their houses, preserve even today a style of life and a certain manner which cannot be confused with a Chinese style, nor with the Chinese character. Neither can they be identified with those of Metropolitan Portugal.

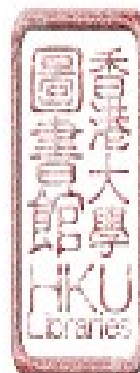
They are Macanese.) MW

The language was as individual as the people. It bore no resemblance to Chinese, yet was hardly identical to Metropolitan Portuguese. The Bishop D. Alexandre Pedrosa, in the mid-eighteenth century, wrote somewhat disparagingly on the early deterioration of the Portuguese language in Macao. He refers to the Macanese women:

alem disso falem uma linguagem que é mistura de todos os idiomas e girias, imperceptivel aos que não são criados no pais, por culpa dos maridos e pais de familia, que ha dois seculos não cuidaram em introduzir o portugues correcto (Teixeira; 45)

(besides this, they speak a language which is a mixture of all the languages and jargon, incomprehensible to those who were not born in this land, by fault of the husbands and fathers of the family, who for two centuries have not bothered to introduce correct Portuguese.) MW

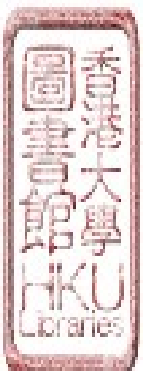
If Pereira was correct -- that the language was spawned because of the paucity of good teachers -- then, certainly, the vast educational improvements that have been made in Macao have been the ruin of the creole. Since the turn of the century, many fine Portuguese schools have sprouted up in the colony: the Liceu, the Escola de Santa Tosa, the Seminario, the Salesiano, etc. In most of these schools, Portuguese is taught exclusively up to the level of Primary 6, at which time the parents can choose to stream the child into a Portuguese-dominant education or an English-dominant



education. Even if the English section is chosen, Portuguese is maintained in the child's curriculum until graduation. Upon graduation from the Portuguese section, the student is fully qualified to pass into the higher educational system in Portugal.

Academic improvements have served to make Macaista nearly obsolete in present-day Macao. Those like Batalha and Ferreira, who have worked on the creole in the context of Macao have, by their own admission been forced to use the very elderly as informants. Nevertheless, even the conservative language systems of these old creole speakers have probably been affected by their children's preference for standard languages.

In spite of improved Portuguese education in Macao, however, the dominant language is not Portuguese. It is not even English, the language of Macao's influential neighbor, Hong Kong. Cantonese is by far the dominant tongue in usage, and, increasingly, in status. One Macanese acquaintance informed me that Cantonese is seeping into even what were formerly exclusively Portuguese domains. Evidently, during the riots of 1967, Portugal discreetly signalled to China that it would not strain to keep Macao as a colony. China made no move to take over. The situation never overtly developed, but the Red Guard had flexed its muscles in Macao, and the position of strength was shown to be on the side of the Chinese -- clearly not on the side of the Portuguese. H.K. Macanese openly acknowledge (their Macao relations are more cautious) that Portuguese rule in Macao is only a figurehead position; that the Portuguese government is, in fact, dependent on



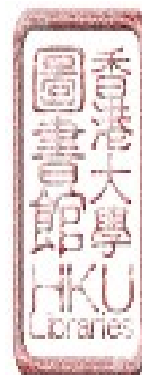
and controlled by a strong Chinese undercurrent.

In regard to the dominance of Cantonese in Macao, Batalha (herself a teacher in one of the Macao Portuguese secondary schools) writes:

A maior parte das crianças, e mesmo dos jovens, exprime-se com grande dificuldade em português, tanto falando como escrevendo, mas não o fariam mais facilmente se as deixassem usar o velho dialecto, porque esse tambem eles não conhecem. Não é contra o patoa que lutam actualmente os professores nas escolas, primarias e secundarias. Lutam -- e uma verdadeira luta, sem tréguas e sem glória -- contra a proponderância da lingua chinesa, muito maior hoje do que era ha trinta ou quarenta anos e dia a dia ganhando terreno no nosso meio. (Batalha; 3:53)

(The majority of children, as well as youths express themselves with great difficulty in Portuguese, in speaking as with writing, but would not do any better in the old dialect, since they do not know it either. It is actually not the patois that the teachers are fighting in the primary and secondary schools. They are fighting, - and it is a formidable fight, without truce and without glory -- against the preponderance of the Chinese language, much greater today than thirty or forty years ago, and gaining terrain each day in our midst.) MW

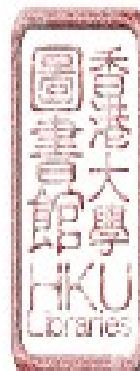
Another H.K. Macanese acquaintance informs me, with a tone of wonderment, that even the "gente branca" (the pure-blooded Portuguese) speak Cantonese in the offices, and prefer Cantonese amongst themselves socially. Macanese, then, is disappearing, on the one hand, because of the standardization of Portuguese in the schools, and, on the other hand, because of the increasing popularity of Cantonese.



The attitude towards the creole by standard Portuguese speakers in current Macao, is predictably one of disdain. My control subject, educated by Portuguese nuns ("Metropolitanas") is very proud of the fact that she does not, and never has, spoken such an impoverished "patois." It is said that when Ferreira's play, written in the style of the old creole, was produced in Macao some years ago, the Governor agreed to attend only in the company of an interpreter. My H.K. Macanese informants saw this as a distinct flaunting of linguistic status, since, they felt, a Portuguese speaker would have no trouble understanding the dialect. The condescending attitude of standard speakers towards the creole created the distinctly polar diglossia which led eventually to the complete abandonment of Macanese in Macao. Those with elderly parents who speak the patois are somewhat embarrassed of their relations. This consciousness of the social prestige that a language represents is common in most situations where the creole and one of its parent standard languages are coexistent. Edith Efron, writing on the Haitian awareness of linguistic status states :

The uneducated Haitian feels an immense pride in his child who goes to school and becomes "educated," who can "really" write and speak the French language; and conversely, the French-speaking Haitian who has emerged from the lower classes may feel real shame over his exclusively Creole-speaking family, keeping them out of sight of his more educated acquaintances. (in Hall; 3:132)

The same sort of social pressure has served to expedite the eradication of Macaista in its native Macao.



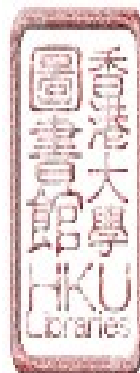
The filo Macao, or Macao Portuguese, is a complicated creature to describe. Batalha defines the "filho de Macao" as:

....o descendente de portugueses, nascido em Macau, com mistura de sangue chines, ou indiano, malaio, javanes, felipino, japones, que sei eu...-- numa palavra, o mestiço. E não conheço povo onde esta palavra mestiço seja tão totalmente desprovida de complexos. "Eu sou mestiço," dizem rapazinhos do Liceu com toda a naturalidade, "porque meu pai e português e minha mãe é chinesa." (Batalha; 3:9)

(...the descendant of the Portuguese, born in Macau, with an admixture of Chinese blood, or Indian, Malay, Javanese, Filipino, Japanese...-- in one word, a mestizo. And I don't know another people for whom this word mestizo is so totally free from complexes. "I am a mestizo," say boys of the Primary School with all candor, "because my father is Portuguese and my mother is Chinese.") MW

Although these people readily accept their mixed heritage, there is still a very acute awareness of ethnicity. The prerequisite for membership to the filo Macao clan is, as Batalha states above, at least one Portuguese parent or grandparent. From there, the ethnic backgrounds of the remaining ancestors define one's status. The more European blood, the higher the prestige.

The filo Macao are an insular group, having strong ties to one another that transcend national boundaries. In the bay area of San Francisco there is a relatively large settlement of H.K. Macanese. Their sense of unity is strong enough to warrant a monthly publication (U.M.A. News Bulletin) which enjoys a sizeable circulation. (Refer to this journal of page 143 of the Appendices.)

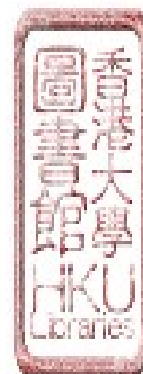


In spite of the fact that the backgrounds and ethnic combinations of these people may be totally diverse, they share the common bond of living (or having lived) in an Asian context, and being at once Portuguese and Oriental in their customs. The filo Macao enjoys the baius (sausages) in a hearty Lusitanian cuisine, yet, like any Chinese, sneers contemptuously at those who "nãõ da cara" (don't give you face). The Hong Kong Macanese, especially, live in a multifaceted world of whirling cultures, and are capable of dealing like natives in all of them.

Hong Kong

The H.K. Macanese are a particularly interesting group. These are generally people who came from Macao after the Second World War because Hong Kong bore great promise as a center of commerce and finance. Macao is a tiny colony, offering little opportunity in either of these fields. The booming colony of Hong Kong was accessible and more than willing to accept these loyal Portuguese people who had so bravely assisted them in sheltering goods and people during the Japanese occupation.

As written earlier, the Portuguese colonialists, unlike the English, eventually adopted Chinese as one of their spoken languages. In fact, the typical H.K. Macanese can speak at least three languages: Cantonese, Macanese-Portuguese, and English. Many of them have an even greater repertory of languages. Between my two informants, the following languages are spoken: English, Cantonese,

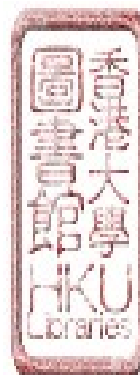


Hakka, Shanghainese, Macanese-Portuguese, Spanish, French, and Zambangueno. This facility for tongues has made them highly desirable in the business world of Hong Kong. R.W. Thompson writes:

Literate in English and speaking fluent English and Cantonese as well as their native language, their services are greatly in demand in business houses, the Governmental Service and Banks.
(Thompson; 3:33)

The Hong kong Macanese are a very tightly knit group bound together by their common, however remote, bonds of Lusitanity and Catholicism.(Refer specifically to the extract on p. of the Appendices.) They are neither fully Portuguese nor fully Orientals, and they playfully reject either extreme. (The rejection of the status-dominant Portuguese is somewhat akin to the lower-middle-class New Yorker referring to the upper class as the "hoy-palloy" or the "high-falluters". The element of prestige or respect is not lost in the jibe.) Full-blooded Portuguese are known as ngau-suk, or cow-dung (Macanese is very rich in profanity and vulgarisms.). Full-blooded Chinese are termed maldita-raza, or accursed race. References to (or address forms for) Chinese people are curiously always rendered in Cantonese: atai, amai, apo. It would be strange, indeed, to refer to an elderly Chinese woman as avò, or avòdinha. Apo would be more appropriate. It is almost as if a Chinese label is meant to consciously separate the Chinese from the Macanese. Batalha writes on this:

Curioso è que o filho de Macau e o chines se consideram mutuamente estrangeiros. Contudo, se um chines puro e baptizado, usa nome português, frequentou as nossas

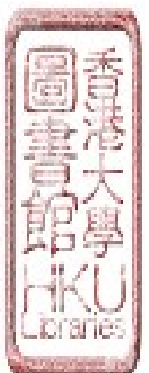


escolas, assimilou a nossa lingua e a nossa cultura, passa automaticamente a ser considerado pelos macaenses como um dos seus. Conhecemos assim muitos macaenses por adopção, mas a eles não se aplicam os termos filho da terra ou Ou-Mun ian. (Batalha; 3:9)

(Curiously, the filho de Macau and the Chinese consider themselves mutual strangers. If a pure Chinese is baptized, uses a Portuguese name, frequents our schools, is assimilated to our language and our culture, he passes automatically as one of the Macaenses. Many Macanese are thus adopted, however the terms filho da terra or Ou-Mun ian would never be applied to them.)MW

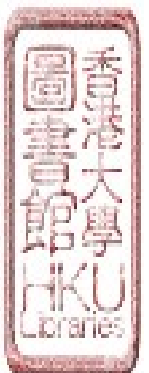
The distance which the Macanese maintain from any Chinese acculturation is bizarre in light of the fact that they (my Macanese acquaintances, at least) could, and do, pass as Chinese people. One of my informants, looking at me earnestly with two markedly Oriental eyes, said, "I have no Chinese blood, you know, I am Portuguese and English...." The Portuguese side is much more highly valued than the English. Both of my informants have British surnames (British fathers) and, yet, curiously, although their English is excellent, it is slightly tinged with a telltale Portuguese accent.

The advantage of studying the creole in Hong Kong rather than in Macao is that the language has not been affected by the educational norms and standardization programs that have swept Macao. There is no extensive standard Portuguese media to affect the language. Without Portuguese radio or T.V. announcers, and without Portuguese journalism, the creole has remained considerably more conservative in H.K. Nevertheless, H.K. Macanese has



experienced profound repercussions from the changes in Macao. Even though the actual language has not been tampered with by education or imposed norms, H.K. Macanese have felt the social pressures of the diglossian situation initiated in Macao. The youngest speakers of H.K. Macanese are, like my informants, about thirty-five years old. These people are old enough to have experienced life in Macao before the 1950's. Until this time any standardization was only limited and half-hearted. My informants left Macao before standard educational programs were enforced. Their children and, in fact, the children of H.K. Macanese in general, do not speak any creole. As such, these individuals represent the last speakers of Macaista.

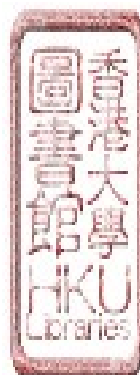
The awareness of the unacceptability of speaking a diminished language is made very obvious by a comment on the part of my control subject (Macao standard Portuguese speaker). "My children do not study Portuguese. I don't want them to study a half-baked version -- and, after all, what else would they get here?"



The Micro-Sociolinguistic Roots of Decreolization

The two informants studied in this work have interesting similarities and revealing contrasts. Firstly, they are both roughly the same age, and as can be expected in a small enclave like Macao, were childhood friends. The first subject, whom I shall call here, Dino, is half-Portuguese and half-English. The second subject, whom I shall call here, Pancho, is half-English and half-Latin admixture (Spanish and Portuguese). Although Dino was born in Macao, and Pancho was born in China, they found themselves in Macao during the war and became friends. Macanese was the dominant language in their relationship. Dino continued his education in Hong Kong, and Pancho, after a brief stay in Hong Kong, continued his education in Europe and America. Although Dino and Pancho experienced rather different educations in radically different locales, they once more find each other in Hong Kong, and are, in fact, both successful bankers with different expatriate multinational banks.

The two informants contrast in one rather relevant point. Pancho, having lived in America amongst overseas Macanese (in the aforementioned San Francisco community), has developed a strong sense of pride and attachment to Macanese. The experience of living away from the colony and reminiscing with other Macao natives has enabled him to see the charm and appeal of the creole. Dino, having spent his entire life in either Macao or Hong Kong, sees the language from a different perspective. He is acutely embarrassed by

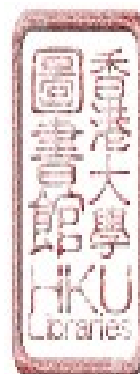


the language, and refuses to speak it with any persons who speak a more standard version of Portuguese. He, in his attempts to be more cosmopolitan, and in his efforts to offset his geographically confined experience, sees Macanese as a distinctly sub-standard areal variety of Portuguese.

Interestingly, these attitudes are manifested quite clearly in the recordings.¹ Pancho's Macanese retains old creole forms. His language is more well-defined, more conservative. He adheres, for the most part, to the tense system as described by Pereira in the 1890's. He is freer with colloquial forms, and keeps his sentences simple and short. In dialogues with Dino, he scolds him for not utilizing the appropriate (old) Macanese lexis.

On the other hand, Dino's language, although never modified by a Portuguese normative education, strains toward the Portuguese model. He has adopted standard pronouns and vocabulary. He attempts the inflection of verbs, and imitates the phonological system of Metropolitano. Dino is more representative of the typical H.K. Macanese speaker. Dino's attitude toward the creole as a negative status marker exemplifies the general feeling of the Hong Kong Portuguese. It is this attitude which is quickly consuming Macanese and will render the language completely obsolete within fifty years.

¹Please refer to the transcriptions in the appendices.

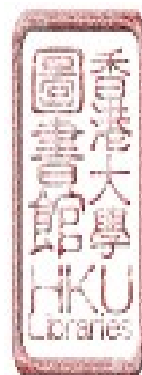


The Macro-Sociolinguistic Trend of Decreolization

The unique feature of the creole in Hong Kong, as opposed to the creole in Macao, is the gradual nature of its death. In Macao, the creole was dissolved in virtually one generation. The educational and societal pressures to emulate standard Portuguese (or employ the more popular Cantonese) attained results almost immediately. In Hong Kong, however, the relative freedom of the Macanese from at least one of the two pressures (the educational), resulted in the prolongation of the creole for one additional generation -- that of the two informants studied here. This additional generation serves as an intermediary stepping stone in the linguistic continuum from the creole to the standard (or from the creole to another dominant language). Whereas Macao, then, has experienced a sudden transition, imposed by the educational system and the government, Hong Kong Macanese is undergoing a singularly unique post-creole continuum.

David DeCamp, in his article, "Toward a Generative Analysis of a Post-Creole Continuum" writes:

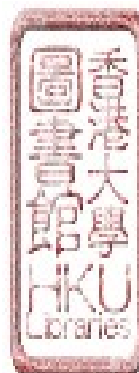
Not every creole has a post-creole stage in its life-cycle. I suggest that both of the following conditions must be present: First, the dominant official language of the community must be the standard language corresponding to the creole. Second, the formerly rigid social stratification must have partially (not completely) broken down. That is, there must be sufficient social mobility to motivate large numbers of creole speakers



to modify their speech in the direction of the standard, and there must be a sufficient program of education and other acculturative activities to exert effective pressures from the standard language on the creole. (DeCamp; 1:351)

In Hong Kong, of course, the first prerequisite does not apply. The dominant official language is certainly not Portuguese. However, there is much contact and intimate familial connections between the Macanese of Hong Kong and the citizenry of Macao. Although the official policies in Macao have no direct influence over the language situation in Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Macanese are affected by the deeper and more pervasive social and emotional ramifications of these policies. That is, to say that while we can conclusively state that Portuguese does not enjoy official status in Hong Kong, the H.K. Macanese, by sheer fact of proximity and family ties, are made to feel the impact of the diglossian state in Macao.

The second prerequisite only partially applies. In Hong Kong, there are unlimited possibilities for social mobility. The two informants studied here are, for instance, from relatively middle-class backgrounds. However, in their respective statures as international bankers, they regularly share the company of wealthy and educated Portuguese, and socialize extensively with this socio-economic strata. They are made to feel (rather sharply) the relative statuses of standard Portuguese and Macanese. The crucial point is here, for although having been made to feel the societal advantages of commanding the standard language, they have no educational means of attaining that standard. Although the motivation to speak a standard version is high, and, as shown,



speakers grope to imitate Metropolitan Portuguese, there is no recourse, neither for themselves, nor for their children. This, in short, is why the post-creole continuum of Macanese in Hong Kong will be arrested with the death of the last speaker of my informants' generation. The children of these last genuine speakers are educated in English and Cantonese, after the Hong Kong mold, and the post-creole continuum comes to an abrupt halt.

The notion of a post-creole continuum was sparked by Reinecke's usage of the term "continuum" in reference to the linear development of a language system. It is, in a sense, also a product of Hall's conceptualization of the "life-cycle" of a pidgin-creole. DeCamp uses the term ("post-creole continuum") in reference to the shadowy area of metamorphosis between the usage of a creole and the adoption of a standard language. Instead of a sharp cleavage between the cessation of one language system and its substitution by another, there is a progressing series of systems or interlanguages¹ between the creole and the standard.² The progression of these systems is illustrated by the following figures in Day's article, "Decreolization:"

¹ The term interlanguage was actually used by Selinca/ in reference to a learner's progressive mastery of a language through stages of competency. Nemtsa referred to these as approximative systems. Corder used the label transitional competence.

² This is reminiscent of the notion of grammars in child language acquisition. The child progresses through different rule-governed systems before he arrives at the adult language system.

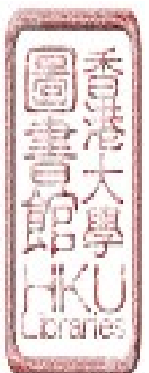


Figure 1. A rough idealized sketch of a post-creole speech continuum in which there are a number of overlapping systems.

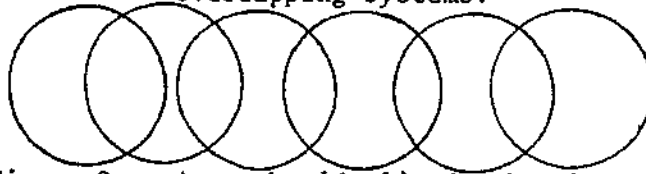
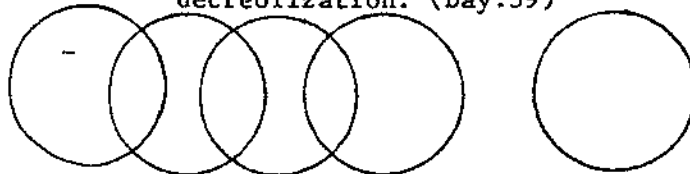


Figure 2. A rough idealized sketch of an earlier stage of Figure 1, in which the post-creole continuum has not yet reached the final stage of decreolization. (Day:39)

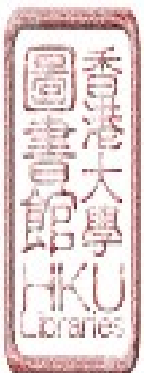


The interlanguages, or overlapping systems, are characterized by a high degree of code switching. The speaker has a choice of systems whose use may be dependent on stylistic features (↗ oratorical), or status features (↗ prestige), etc. Tzuzaki, for instance, in his discussion of language systems, sees Hawaiian English as consisting of :

- (1) an English-based pidgin, (2) an English based creole, and (3) a dialect of English, which in turn is divisible into (a) a non-standard, (b) a standard variety. (in Day;39)

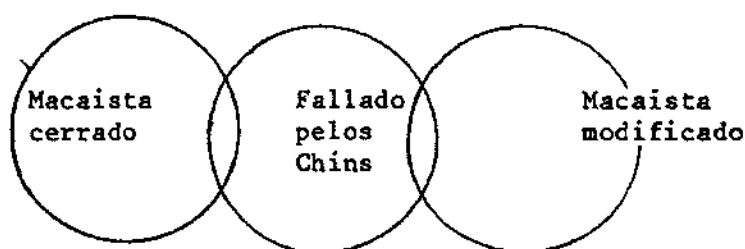
The choice between these systems is governed by any number of sociological variables.

Applying this theory to Macanese, we can readily see the informants undergoing what Hall would term a "linguistic schizophrenia." The notion of systems within a continuum is

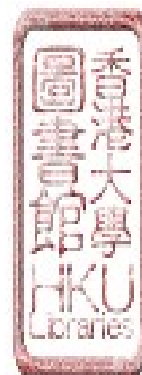


particularly applicable to the case of the one informant (Dino) who struggles to approximate the standard language. His language system lies suspended in the continuum between the more faithful creole version of the other informant (Pancho), and the control subject's *dialect of the standard*.

Even before the turn of the 19th century, Pereira postulated the existence of a three-level system in Macanese. He wrote that the creole did not exist in a single form, but, rather, was represented by three varieties. Macaista cerrado, or pure Macanese, was spoken principally by the lower classes. Macaista modificado was characterized by a tendency to approximate Portuguese. It was used predominantly by the more refined citizens. Macaista fallado pelos chins (Macanese as spoken by the Chinese) was the third variety. (Pereira; 55) Even as early as this, then, the notion of systems in a continuum was applicable to Macanese. The following diagram illustrates how these varieties might be represented in a continuum:

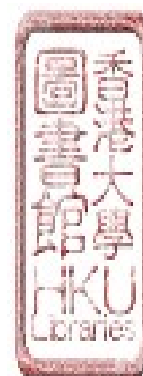


In this diagram, the language of the lower classes was the original creole. It was imitated by the Chinese and rendered in their own version. Finally it was modified to more closely resemble the standard Portuguese. It is conceivable that two, or even three, of these systems could be part of a single individual's repertoire.



Code switching, then, was as much a feature of the creole in its early days, as it is now in its decline.

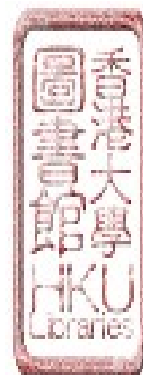
As represented by Figure 1 in Day's article, however, the post-creole continuum does not stop until the full adoption of the standard language is achieved. There are two features in Hong Kong Macanese that make the completion of this course impossible. The first is that the corresponding standard language (Portuguese) does not exist in Hong Kong. The second is that the language (Macanese) is not being passed on to the younger generation and, therefore, will disappear. The case of H.K. Macanese as the terminal stage in the post-creole continuum is more fittingly represented by Figure 2 of Day's article. Although the diagram is meant to illustrate an early and incomplete stage of decreolization, it aptly depicts the Hong Kong situation. The language, in the process of evolving towards a closer approximation of its parent standard is rendered obsolete by non-linguistic factors. Macanese has been discarded in Macao due to enforced standardization, and is being discarded in Hong Kong due to diglossian pressures. This sudden death prevents the language from developing through any further stages in the continuum toward standard Portuguese. If the children of the Hong Kong Portuguese were learning the dialect from their parents, the progressive chain of systems within the post-creole continuum might be completed.



One thought must be added before any conclusions are drawn concerning the final demise of Macanese. As Weinreich warned:

Many "obsolescent" languages have received new leases on life through a rejuvenated language loyalty among their speakers and have made the prediction of the death of languages a hazardous business. (Weinreich:108)

The positive attitudes found in the conservative informant (Pancho), and in such devoted speakers as the Macanese of San Francisco, could theoretically reverse the plummeting course of the creole. Unfortunately, however, the constant geographical dispersion of the Macanese population, compounded by their characteristically facile acclamation into foreign cultures would make such a recovery unlikely.



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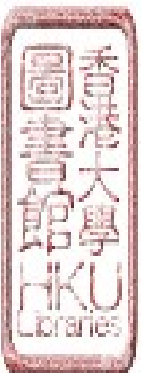
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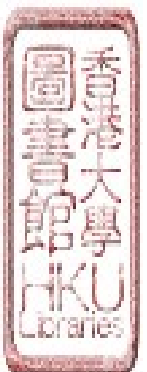
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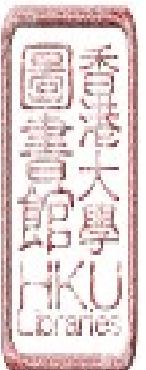
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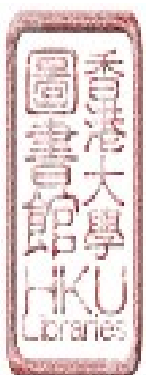
Weinreich, Uriel; Languages in Contact; Mouton, The Hague, 1968.

Whinnom, Keith:

- 1) "Spanish in the Philippines, A Sociolinguistic Survey;" Journal of Oriental Studies, I, i, Hong Kong, 1954.
- 2) Spanish Contact Vernaculars in the Philippine Islands; H.K.U. Press, Oxford U. Press, London, 1956.
- 3) "Linguistic Hybridization and the 'Special Case' of Pidgins and Creoles;" Pidginization and Creolization of Languages (ed. Dell Hymes); Cambridge U., 1971.

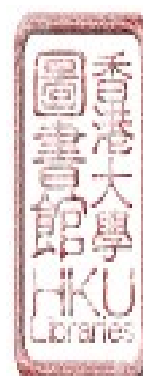
Willis, R. Clive; An Essential Course in Modern Portuguese; Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1965.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ADDITIONAL NOTES

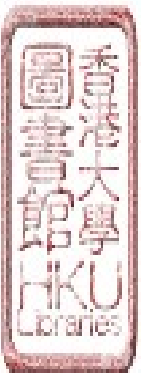


APPENDIX I:ADDITIONAL NOTES

(from p. 22)

¹ J. Leite de Vasconcellos, in his article entitled "Sur Le Dialecte Portugais de Macao," described the typically Portuguese sensitivity toward the acquisition of the languages of colonized territories:

En même temps que nous imposions notre domaine politique, nous avons aussi imposé notre langue, qui souvent est malheureusement le seul vestige qui soit demeuré de l'action civilisatrice du Portugal dans ces régions lointaines. Lorsque des peuples parlant des langues différentes se trouvent en contact, une lutte morale s'établit quelques fois entre eux. C'est ce qui est arrivé entre nous et les peuples assujettis. Un habile grammairien du XVI^e siècle, Fernão de Oliveira, indique parfaitement le phénomène dans ces termes: "nous voyons que plusieurs indigènes d'Afrique, de la Guinée, du Bresil, et de l'Inde n'aiment pas les Portugais nés chez eux, seulement à cause de la dissemblance des langues; au contraire nos compatriotes naturels de ces pays-là chérissent les Portugais, disant que ceux-ci sont des



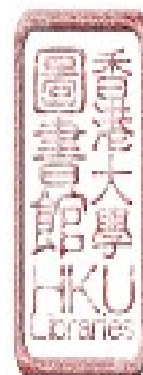
leurs, parce qu'ils parlent la même langue." De cette lutte il est résulté deux faits: les Portugais ont eu besoin d'apprendre les langues des gentils: les gentils ont eu besoin d'apprendre celle des Portugais.

(Vasconcellos; 7)

¹
translation:

While imposing our political domain, we have also imposed our language, which often is unfortunately the only vestige of Portuguese (efforts to establish) civilization that persists in these distant lands. When people speaking different languages find themselves in contact, a moral struggle sometimes develops between them. This is what has happened between us and the subjugated peoples. An able grammarian of the 16th century, Fernão de Oliveira, describes the phenomenon in this way: "We see that the indigenous people of Africa, Guinea, Brazil, and India, don't like the Portuguese who are born there, only because of the difference in languages; in contrast, our compatriots there cherish the Portuguese because they claim them as their own, they speak the same language. From this struggle two facts result: the Portuguese have had to learn the local tongue, the locals have had to learn Portuguese.

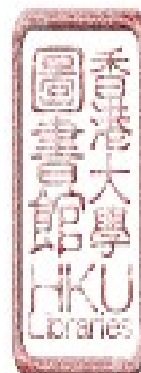
(MW)



(from p. 31)

²Batalha, in her article entitled "Lingua de Macau", further expounds on the question of Sino-Portuguese intermarriage:

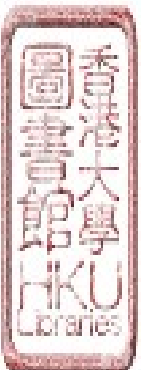
O distinto historiador Pe. Manuel Teixeira publicou, anos depois de primeira edição destes artigos, um interessantíssimo estudo — Os Macaenses, Macau 1965 — em que debate precisamente esta questão. Aduzindo documentos e testemunhos que considera fidedignos, afirma que somente a primeira geração de macaenses nasceu de indianas e malaias e que logo em seguida os portugueses de Macau começaram a casar-se de preferência com chinesas convertidas ao cristianismo, ou mestiças da mesma raça, concluindo que foram as chinesas, desde logo e predominantemente, as mães das sucessivas gerações de macaenses. Sem querer meter a foice em seara alheia, o certo é que o testemunho da língua leva a conclusões algo diferente quanto ao predomínio das mães chinesas. Evidentemente que algumas deve ter havido. Mas por que motivo ainda nos textos em crioulo do século passado as palavras malaias quase duplicam as de origem chinesa? Porque não se usaria ainda no século XIX o termo chinês (como se usa hoje que as mães chinesas são realmente em maioria) para artigos domésticos como passo (tigela), estrica (ferro de engomar), curum (capoeira), sanco (escarrador) e de culinária como cancom (certa espécie de hortaliça), trate (semente de lotus), arroz pulu (gomoso) e outros adiante citados? Porque se vestiam as mulheres dos



portugueses de Macau mais a maneira malaia, com saraças de pano de sarom e bajus (termos malaaios) do que à chinesa, como acontece nos nossos dias? Porque têm os filhos de Macau das gerações menos recentes, traços físicos mais marcadamente malaaios do que chineses? (Batalha; 3:28)

²translation:

The distinguished historian Father Manuel Teixeira published, years after the first edition of these articles, a very interesting work -- Os Macaenses, Macau 1965 -- in which precisely this question is discussed. Presenting documents and testimonies which are considered reliable, he asserts that only the first generation of Macanese were born of Indians and Malays (women) and that soon thereafter the Portuguese of Macau began by preference to marry Chinese women converted to Christianity, or mestizas of the same race, concluding that it was the Chinese (predominantly) since that time, who mothered the successive generations of Macanese. Without wanting to impinge on someone else's discussion, the fact is that the testimony given by the language itself leads to conclusions which do not agree with this theory of the predominance of Chinese matriarchs. It is obvious that there must have been some (Chinese mothers). Otherwise why is it that in the last century Malay terms have been substituted by Chinese counterparts? Why weren't Chinese terms, then, used before the 19th century, if then, as now, Chinese



mothers were in the majority -- domestic articles like passo (bowl), estrica (starching iron), curum (chicken-coop), sanco (spittoon), and culinary terms as cancom (kind of vegetable), trate (lotus seed), arroz pulu (sticky rice) and others already cited? Why were the women of the Portuguese dressed more in the manner of Malays than Chinese, with saraças of cloth and saiom and bajus (Malay terms) rather than in Chinese style as is true these days? Why do the Macanese of the most recent generations have physical traits more markedly Malay than Chinese?

(MW)

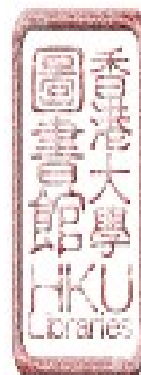
(from p.36)

³The Chinese authorities in Canton (the Hai Kwan Pu, or "Hoppo" in pidgin) posted the following public notice:

About this time the devil ships are arriving and it is feared that lawless vagabonds will again tread their old habits. It is highly important that all have regard for their face and repent bitterly of their previous faults. Let them not dare to employ young boys as servants to lead them to brothels nor to bring prostitutes into the Factories...It is the duty of the Hong merchants continually to instruct the Barbarians.

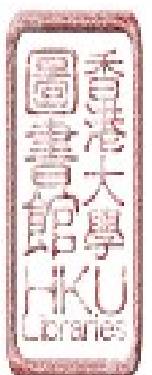
Since our Hong merchants are men of property and good family, it becomes them to have a tender regard for their face, not to cheat but to trade justly and so win devil confidence.

(Hughes:104)



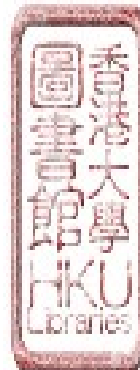
APPENDIX II

PROFILES OF THE INFORMANTS



CHILDHOOD:

*cannot write or read Chinese characters.



PROFILE #2: PANCHOBACKGROUND:Born: March 4, 1933Mother: Spanish (Philippines)

Shanmin, (Canton) China

Father: IrishCHILDHOOD:

ages 0-9: China, Hong Kong, Macao
 9-13: Macao
 14-15: Hong Kong
 16---: Australia, Canada, U.S.

LANGUAGE REPERTORY:

Languages spoken at parents' home: English: 40%-45%
 (in order of dominance) Spanish: 30%
Cantonese: 20%
Macanese: 5%

Languages of education: English (via nanny, & in U.S.)
 (in order of dominance) Cantonese (ages 6-8)
Portuguese (2 yrs.
 in Macao orphanage)

Languages of employment: English (American firm)
 (in order of dominance) Cantonese (extensive
 Chinese business)
Macanese (local, internatl.
 business)
Spanish (occasional business)

Other languages: Shanghainese, Hakka (some)

No spouse or children.

ATTITUDINAL QUESTIONS:

Macanese is spoken usually with friends, and for both lighthearted
and serious discussion. (Sometimes w/family.)

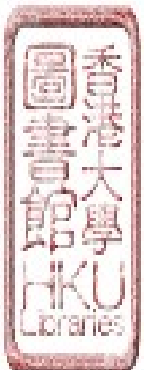
Would not hesitate to use Macanese with Metropolitan Portuguese
 speakers. Would feel no embarrassment whatsoever.

Feels Macanese has not changed since his childhood, and has no
 difficulty in speaking to elderly people

Feels that people who know Macanese use it very frequently.

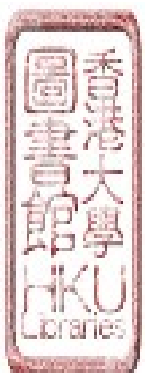
Feels the language is not dying; says most Macanese children
 understand the language, and will probably speak it as they
 grow older.

* cannot write or read Chinese characters.



APPENDIX III

U. M. A. NEWS BULLETIN





NEWS BULLETIN

UMA, INC.

2642 - 45th AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94116

Vol.9 No.2
FEBRUARY - 1976

M. H. Gutterres
Editor

Tel. (415) 387-9425

SOMETHING NEW FOR 1976

The San Francisco chapter of U.M.A. is initiating a series of social evenings for members and their friends during 1976.

The Knights of Columbus Hall, 2800 Taraval at 38th Avenue, is to be the venue for a varied program of activities to suit nearly everyone's taste. Bingo, Dinners, Dances, Movies, Sing-a-longs, card and mah jong games, etc., are all in the planning stage. For the first two months of 1976, two functions have been fixed:-

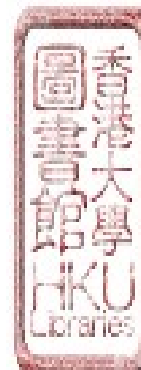
FIRST.- January 30th, Friday. Pot Luck dinner & musical evening. For those who wish to play cards or mah jong, the hall will be available to all members and friends as from 11 a.m. onwards. Make up your own foursomes and/or contact and inform Alda Ribeiro - Tel. 566-1498. Dinner will be at 7 p.m. in the evening. All are welcome. The Club will provide plates, cutlery, free coffee, tea, rice, bread. Drinks will be available at the bar for .25¢ and .50¢. There will be no other charge, but all participants are requested to bring along a pot luck dish to share with others. It is suggested that dishes should have a Far Eastern Portuguese bias, in other words ... "comida de Filho Macau". Music will follow the dinner.

SECOND.- February 27th, Friday, BINGO. Bingo will start at 7.30 p.m. at the Knights of Columbus Hall. Light refreshments will be available.

Subsequently :- CASINO NIGHT
"April in Portugal" Night.

Keep a lookout for time and date in your Bulletin.

CLUB LUSITANO
NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY



extract from U.M.A. Bulletin (União Macaenses Americanos)

NOSSA GENTE - AN ESSAY FROM SAN MATEO

First off, when someone on a crowded No. 2 Clement bus is heard say the words "Nossa Gente?", you don't have to look around to be able to tell that the speaker is one. As likely as not, the next words you hear will: "Filho de quim, huh?" and, as the blood rushes quickly to the roots of your hairpiece, you pretend you don't know they are speaking about you, and wish that you were reading "Time" instead of "Playboy".

"THEY" are of course a pair of Nossa Gente old ladies, I use the term "old" not out of disrespect for their advancing years, and indeed I may be challenged by those who say, for example:

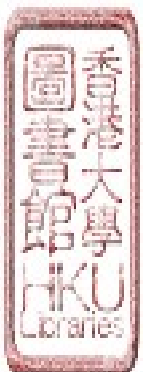
"Ela tem setenta anos somente. Ta jove na!"

I say old ladies simply because, to my youthful mind (in spite of the hairpiece), anybody past the age of retirement generally falls into this category. Again, I repeat, no disrespect intended. If the one who is asked "Filho de quim?" does not have the answer, her rejoinder will very likely be: "Pode ser gente de Xangai." To wit, these N.G. old ladies are not "gente de Xangai." So much is obvious. What, then are they? They are the N.G. aristocrats. They are, if you please, NOSSA GENTE DE HONG KONG.

We could be more specific, like Professor Henry Higgins when he analyzed Eliza Doolittle's dialect, and narrow down the origin of the two N.G. ladies to a particular neighbourhood. By the very hauteur in their voices, it may be construed that these two old ladies with their Wing Fat shopping bags come from old N.G. families long established in that area of Hong Kong Island known, for reasons long since lost to memory, as MATAMORO. They belong therefore to the true aristocracy of the N.G. community, unlike the N.G.s of Homuntin or Tsimshatsui, who are the Joaozinhos-come-lately. Nor the paisanos of the Kowloon foothills, it goes without saying. Nor the denizens of North Point, who hardly speak the lingo. Not even, if the truth be told, the nouveaux riches of Kowloon Tong and Kadoorie Hill. And, perish forbid, certainly not the N.G.s of Wanchai.

MATAMORO is the N.G. heartland, an area bounded by Mosque Junction, Caine Road, and several other calcadas whose names I have since forgotten, and though its inhabitants live on a polyglot island and the menfolk in commerce must on occasion use other tongues, the ladies cling to, and perpetuate by passing along to succeeding generations, the dialect which has endured these four hundred years and more.

Your might argue that MACAU, only 40 miles to the west, should be the N.G. Heartland. After all, you say, are not all N.G.s also "Filhomacaus"? And I answer: yes, but not all Filhomacaus are N.G.s. Not all of us are members of the aristocracy. True N.G.s come only from Matamoro. Do we question that champagne comes only



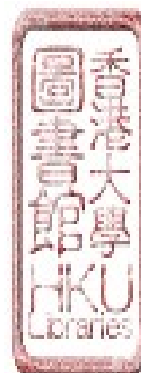
from the French province of that name? We certainly do not. The rest of us may be Chablis or Beaujolais, or even occasionally a Pinot Blanc, but only the elect can claim Champagne in their veins.

However, for the purposes of this essay, let us suppose that NOSSA GENTE is used in the broader sense to encompass every Zinho, Afit, and Aleo who lays claim to the heritage. What do we find? A pret-ty wide range, let me tell you. All the way from cabelo loiro, and olhos azul through every conceivable tint and hue to ui-de preto (mas de boa feição). While most of us are somewhat in the middle, largely because the two extremes tend to marry each other, there is no question that your average N.G. can look like they came from anyplace on the face of this earth, although by and large the median latitude falls somewhere between the Equator and the Tropic of Cancer. Which is to say that a tropical origin accounts for a sunny, and accordingly tanned, disposition.

But what, you may well ask, do we have in common that allows an N.G. to recognize a fellow N.G. in a crowd though the two be perfect strangers? I'm sure you've all had a like experience. You go, for instance, to Kong's Cafe for a beef chow mein and right away you see this guy who looks like he owns the darn place. You've never seen him before, and you're sure it's not a case of deja vu either. But you know, you absolutely got that gut feeling, this guy is N.G.!! No question about it. How does this strange phenomenon come about?

Of course, Api has an answer. It may not be the only answer. It may not even be the right answer (though in all modesty Api is hardly ever wrong). Okay, you want to know what the answer is? I'm tempted to keep you all in suspenders till next month, but that really wouldn't be cricket. The ANSWER IS (are you ready for it?) THE ANSWER IS: AR.

You see, don't you? Ar is translated into our adopted tongue as "air". The classic compliment paid by an N.G. to a non-N.G. is to remark to another N.G.: "Ele tem ar de nossa gente" which in the Queen's English simply means, "This man has a certain distinctive air about him which, disregarding his other objectionable characteristics, such as to have been born an ingles, nevertheless exudes a quality of behavior and demeanor which classifies him as being civilized and educated, and we should really not find it too disagreeable to be associated with him."



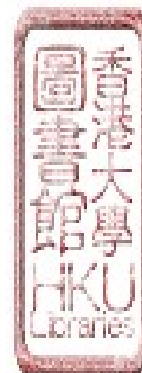
The New Year's Eve Dance was, by all accounts, a smashing success. It was certainly well attended. Lionel Sequeira's Orchestra played oldies but goodies, plus some newies. Of the former, "Cae, cae, eu não posso levantar" seemed to elicit the most enthusiastic response.... Present at the festa were many, many old friends, some of whom we hadn't seen in years. It was an occasion for the most nostalgic of saudades. Beijos and abraços were given, lágrimas shed, and "baloney" both dished out and consumed.... There were those of us, perhaps the most chauvinistic ones, who would have given our eye-teeth for a good hot cup of café à la Clube Lusitano, but shucks, maybe another time, eh?..... Anyhow, we think the organizers did a fine job, and the affair was, as we said before, rather a jolly good show. To crown the evening, or more accurately the wee small hours, Bob and Jean Xavier held a "depois da festa" festa at their home in the Burlingame Hills, where in the chill, clear air of a Northern California New Year's Day, three of our hardier San Mateans girded their loins and dived like otters into the swimming pool (30°F) for a suitable recompense. Emerging with curdled loins so to speak, they and we were served by our hostess with Bob's excellent empada and other festive offerings.....There was talk afterwards that the fearless trio would take on San Francisco Bay next year...We shall see....

❖ SAN MATEO ❖

DEAR API'S COLUMN

Dear Api: Can you please help me? I recently returned from a trip to the Orient, where I had a really terrific time. However, I discovered on my return that I had contracted a skin condition on my left foot, which hampers my sporting activities. Anything you can tell me will be appreciated. Yours truly, ATHLETICALLY INCLINED.

Dear Athletically: Aha! It appears you have a classic case of that Eastern malady, Hong Kong foot, otherwise known as Sportsman's Spurge. An uncle of mine happens to be an authority (without benefit



of medical degree) on this vile fungus. His advice is, and I quote, "N'quero fazê nada. Deixá vai. São ui-de sabroso cusá!" The quotation would lose its bite in translation, so I leave it to you whether you want to heed Uncle Zinho's sage dictum.

Dear Api: My wife says that vento sujo and savan are one and the same. I maintain that they are different. Can you clear this up for us? Yours truly, PUZZLED.

Dear Puzzled: One thing that Dear Api cannot do is to clear up vento sujo or savan. Vento sujo is what you get when you open your car window on the Bayshore Freeway during the rush hour. Savan, not to be confused with the French authoress of the same name, is a much more insidious type of pollution. In its most extreme form, it can cause color-blindness and severe migraine. The milder common, or household, savan causes cakes to collapse during baking.

My advice is to take short, shallow breaths when faced with either vento sujo or savan. If all else fails, call an exorcist.

* * * * *

(Editor's Note: The Treasurer reminds me that people who don't pay their membership dues can sometimes catch savan.)

* * * * *

AUNTY MILLIE'S RECIPE CORNER

W A T C H T H I S S P A C E

(Editor's Note: As we go to press, we learn from a reliable source that Aunty Millie declines to part with her recipes, saying she doesn't think the readers can get all the ingredients anyway. For the next issue, we will try and get Aunty Cissie's recipes instead. We hope to start with Porco balichao tamarinho and arroz carregado.)

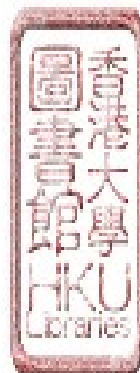
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In closing, your Editor wishes to remind you that he welcomes your contributions. Please call him evenings at 349-2707.

REMEMBER OUR MOTTO:

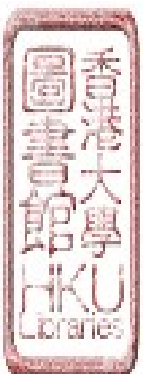
S A N M A T E O T Ê M C H I S T I

Até logo.



APPENDIX IV

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SOME RECORDINGS



APPENDIX IV:

Phonetic transcriptions of some recordings. (Stress marks are used only in places which need clarification.)

PANCHO	DINO
/jow ta kɔ'me eo sa 'peše/	/jow ta ko'me eo sa 'peše/
1. I am eating my fish.	
/el ta ko'me el sv 'karne/	/ela ġa ko'me 'elasa/
2. She ate her meat.	
/el ta 'kome gažv paŋ /	/e šta ko'mindo eli sa paŋ/
3. He was eating his bread.	
/ilotro ta ko'me/	/lotro logo ko'me 'lotrosa komida/
4. They will eat their meals	
/nos ža ko'mew onterj /	/onte nos ko'meo/
5. We did eat yesterday.	
/jow 'kjere ko'me bolo/	/jow 'kjere ko'me kele bolo/
6. I want to eat the cake.	
/kato'rijo 'sabi ko'me/	/kele plkeno kã 'sabi ko'me/
7. The little dog knows how to eat.	
/el podI ko'me 'tudo/	/ela podi ko'me 'kelaj koiza en'tero/
8. She can eat the whole thing.	
/na ku'zipa terj komida/	/na ku'zipa terj uŋ poko komida/
9. There is some food in the kitchen	
/ela nunka ko'me aŋos/	/ela noŋa ko'me aŋos/
10. She didn't eat that rice.	
/ gažv no 'eta ko'me ma'sa/	/ele na sta komindo akele pomba/
11. He wasn't eating those apples.	
/Ilotro nadI ko'me tifi amajaw/	/lotro nadi amo'sa amanjew/
12. They won't eat lunch tomorrow.	
/nos onterj nunka ko'me nada/	/nos noŋa ko'me nada onte/
13. We didn't eat anything yesterday.	
/žača non sabI ko'me, ž/	/ešte vela non sabI kome/
14. The old woman doesn't know how to eat	
/el nam pui ko'me mas/	/ela nam podi ko'me mais/
15. She can't eat any more.	
/po'keI ningjen ta vai/	/po'keI ningjen foi/
16. Why has nobody gone?	
/'kuza gajo ta treze/	/'kuza ele ta treI'ze/
17. What is he bringing?	



/soso'der mas sedo/

/este koi'se maiš sedo/

35. It happened earlier

/stongo doI/

/jow ten dowres de bariga/

36. My stomach aches.

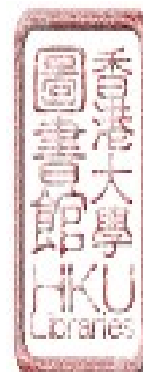
The following paragraphs describe the sequence of sketches on the next page:

PANCHO:

/doz rapaz ta brinkə bola. uŋ rapaz p^hnta'pe bola na ža'nela i ke'bro vidro. gažo fužeo, mai de kaza veŋ pa žanel kebrada i skom'po mono em'pido ali/

DINO:

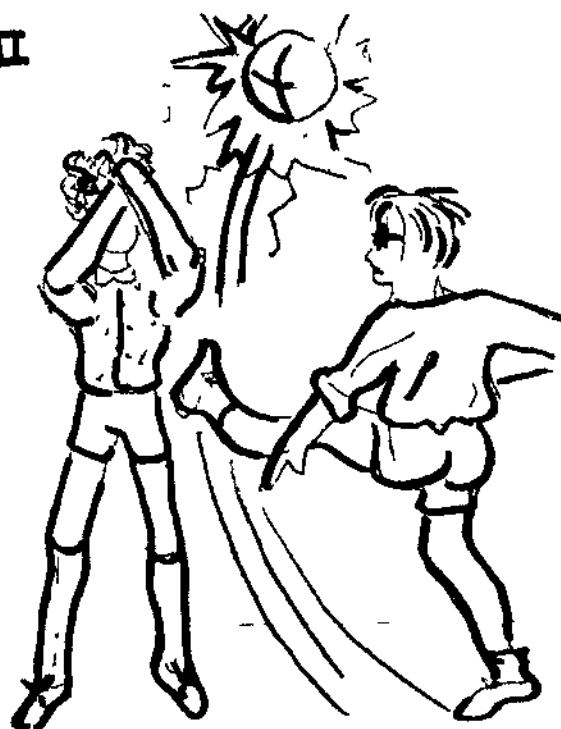
/en el lado el e diš pe ke le'otro kon oklo. ole žuta bola, sta beŋ, ele žu'to kele bola, e ešte rapaš kon kabə lo aneladv, ele faljo, i ešte bola kebrow žanela, kebrow žanela, i ešte rapaš kon oklo, ele vivo, ele pintow, maš kele otro fiko ali. veŋ owŋ vela na žanela discom'po lotro/



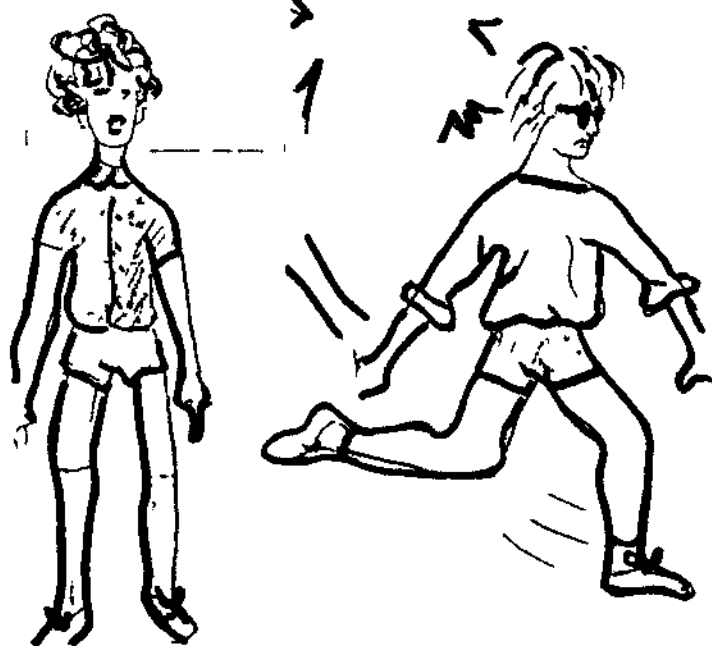
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II



III

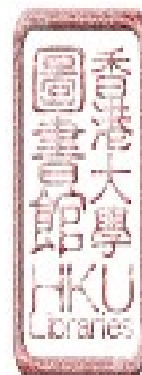


IV



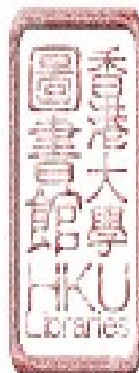
APPENDIX V

NOTES FROM A SEMINAR ON MALACCAN-
PORTUGUESE VS. MACAO-PORTUGUESE
GIVEN BY THE AUTHOR (May 5, 1977)

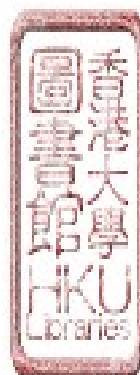


SOME COMMON LEXICAL ITEMS IN THE MALACCAN AND MACANESE CREOLES,
AND THEIR RESPECTIVE DIVERGENCES FROM THE STANDARD PORTUGUESE

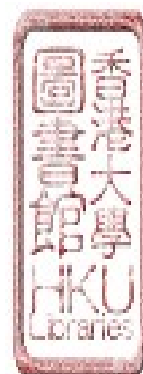
English	SP	Malaccan ¹	H.K. Macanese ²	Old Macanese ³
opium	opio /'o pju/	afião (ão=/aŋ/)	a'fjaŋ 'opju	a-ueng (ya-pyan)
star	estrêla /iʃ'trela/	strela	'strɛla	i-si-te-lei-la
wind	vento /'vɛ tu/	bento	'vento	uan-tou
be/have	tem (ter) /tem/ (be=estar)	tem	teŋ	teng
rain	chuva /'ʃu va/	chuba, chua (ch=/ʃ/)	'ʃuva, 'ʃua, ʃuves'kina, ʃi'vina	tchou-a
this, that year	este, esse ano /ɛIst, ɛsI 'a nu/	esti ano	es'tuŋa 'ano	i-si an-lou
water	agua /'agwa/	agu	'agwa 'agu	a-ku
open the door	abrir a porta /a'brira'por- ta/	abri porta	'abri 'porta	a-peí-lei po-ta
close the door	fechar a porta /fe'ʃara'por- ta/	ficha porta (ch=/ʃ/)	fi'ʃa 'porta	fei-tcha-po-ta
far	longe /lɔŋ/	lonzi	'lɔnge	lan-tch'in
beach	praia /'praja/	pray	'praja	pa-lai-a
climb the hill	subir o mato /su'birɔ'ma- tu/	subi mato	su'bi- 'mato	sou-pât-má-tou

¹(Rêgo; 113-142)²(Thompson; 3:37-53)³(Gomes; 226-236)

English	SP	Malaccan	H.K. Macanese	Old Macanese
uncle, antie, etc.	(tio, tia)	nhom (m.) nhonha (f.)	puŋ	iông
clerk (scribe)	escrivão /ĩskri'võw/	scribão (ão=/aŋ/)	skri'vaŋ	i-si-kei- lei-uang
grand- father old man	avo /a'vo/	baba	a'vo	pá-ap'ó
mother	mãe /mãĩ/	mai	mai	má
son	filho /'filju/	filo	'filo	fei-lou
daughter	filha /'filja/	fila	'fila	fei-la
woman	mulher /mu'ljeIr/	muler	mu'ler	mou-ie-lou
golden	ourives /o'rivs/	ori-ore	o'rive	u-lei-pei
old	velho, -a /'velju/	bela	'velo	uâi-lou
to hear	ouvir /o'vir/	oubi	u'vi	u-fei
(plant)	amargoso /amar'gozu/	margoso	mar'goso	ma-lap-kou-tchou
caftan	(wd. obso- lete/ka' baja/	cabaia	ka'vaja	kai-uai-ieok
padding	(chumaço) almofada /almu'fada/	alfada	an'fada	tchou-ma-sa

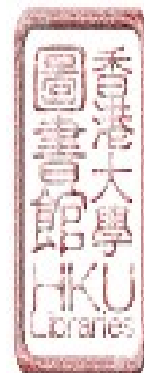


English	SP	Malaccan	H.K. Macanese	Old Macanese
to eat	comer /ku'meIr/	comê	ko'me	ku-mei
to drink	beber /bɛ'beIr/	bebê	be'be	pei-pei
porridge	canja /'kã ʒa/	cangi (g=/z/or/ʒ/)	'kanʒi	kan-tchi
bird	passaro /'pa saru/	pastro	'pastro	pa-sou-lou
stove	fogão /fu'gõw/	foga (burn)	fo'gan	fu-kang
glasses	oculo /'o kũlu/	ocul	'ɔ klo	ok-ku-lou
one	uma -un /'uma/ /ũ/	unha	'uŋa	ung-a
two	dois /'dois/	dos	dɔ s	lo-sou
you	você /vo'seI/	bôs -bosê	ɔ'se	uo-sie
there is no I have no	não tem /nõw tem/	nu te	noŋ teŋ	nông-teng
to laugh	rir (se) /rir/	ri	ri	lei
to look at	ja olhou /ʒa 'olju/	ola	ǵa ɔ'la	iá-ó-lá
very	muito /mwitu/	munto	'mutu	mut-tou
go home	vai a casa /vaja'kaza/	bai casa	vai 'kaza	uai-ka-chá

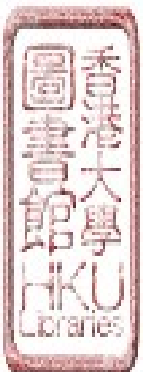


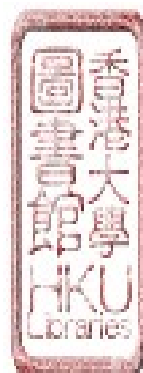
The following list represents some of the Malay loanwords that appear in the Macanese creole: (Batalha; :7-108)

<u>Macanese</u>		<u>Malay</u>	<u>English (trans. of Mac.)</u>
<u>amoc</u>	/ámók/	amog, amuk	(to run) amok
<u>araviro</u>	/àravíro/	arbiru	restless
<u>aronça-aronça</u>		arong	back and forth
	/aronsa-/		
<u>bagi</u>	/bàdǵi/	wajek	sweet gummy rice
<u>baju</u>	/bàdǵu/	baju	smock (dress)
<u>balancaz</u>		blangkas	crab
	/balankaz/		
<u>balecha</u>		balachan	shrimp sauce
	/balečar/		
<u>boncô</u>	/bonkô/	bongkok	hunchback
<u>cachipe</u>	/kâčip/	cachip	avaricious
<u>camcam</u>	/káŋkáŋ/	kang-kang	wide apart
			(of the legs)
<u>camcom</u>	/káŋkóng/	kang-kong	spinach-like
			vegetable
<u>capir</u>	/kâpí/	kapis (shell)	squeeze, trap
<u>cate</u>	/kâti/	kati	measure, weight
<u>catupa</u>	/katupá/	ketupat	rice pudding
<u>chacha</u>	/čača/	chachah	sweet soup
<u>chacha</u>	/čača/	chacha (disabled)	old woman
<u>chamorado</u>		champor	mixed
	/čšporádo/		



<u>Macanese</u>		<u>Malay</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>chipe-chipe</u>		chipe, chipo	sleepy (eyes)
	/čip-čip/	(closed conches)	
<u>chirir</u>	/čirí/	chirit	defecate, diarrhoea
<u>chocorrir</u>		shok	fall in love
	/čokoří/		
<u>cholido</u>	/čolído/	cholek (dig with spoon)	interfering, meddling
<u>chubir</u>	/čubí/	chubit	pinch
<u>chuchur</u>	/čužú/	- chuchuk	prick, perforate
<u>chupa</u>	/čúpa/	chupak	liquid measure
<u>condorim</u>		kanduri	measure, weight
	/kõdorĩ/		
<u>copo-copo</u>		kupu kupu	butterfly
	/kõpo kõpo/		
<u>cudum</u>	/kuduŋ /	kudong	short, stumpy
<u>curum</u>	/kurúŋ /	kurong (fish trap)	chicken-coop
<u>cuta</u>	/kutáŋ /	kutang	girdle
<u>cuti</u>	/kutí/	kutil (pick, break)	bang, slap
<u>dachim</u>	/dačĩŋ /	dachem	scale, balance
<u>daiom</u>	/daiónŋ /	daiong	oar
<u>dodol</u>	/dõdól/	dodol	sweet cake
<u>dom-dom</u>		dondon	cloth, pattern
<u>ganta</u>	/gãta/	gantang	dry weight
<u>gingli</u>	/džĩgli/	chingala	Senegalese
<u>gondom</u>	/gõdónŋ /	gondong (goitre)	ball, sphere
<u>gonchom</u>	/gõčõŋ /	gonchang	shake

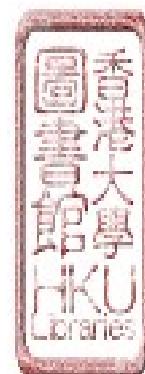




English	Malay	Macanese
push, drag	hela	hela /ela/
fruit	jambua	jambua /dʒəbua/
maize	jagong	jagong /dʒagong/
interpreter	jurubahasa	jerubassa
Chinese junk (boat)	ajong	jungco /dʒungco/
soup with noodles	laksa (10,000)	lacassa /lakassa/
fold, stratum	lapis	lapes /lapes/
slippery	liclin	lichim /licim/
confusion	lauk (sidedishes)	lau-lau
gold, weight	mas	maz /maz/
sombre, paling	muram	murum /murum/
sweet dumplings	ondeh-ondeh	onde-onde /odidi/
vase, basin, bowl	pasu	passo /pasu/
wide open	palang	palag-pala /palag/
chopping knife	parang	para /para/
100 kates (catties)	picul	pico /piko/
bamboo pole for	pungah	pinga /piga/
transporting goods	pulut	pulu /pulu/
gummy, glutinous	saiang	saiḡ /saiag/
pity, too bad	sambal	sambal /səbal/
appetizer, condiment	sangku	sanco /səko/
spittoon	santan	santḡ /sətan/
coconut milk	sapang (tree)	sapḡ /sapag/
wood	sa + paku	sapcca /sapəka/
Chinese penny		

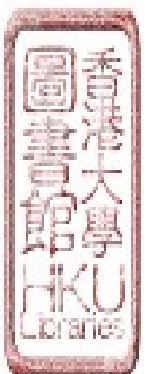
(one money)

<u>Macanese</u>		<u>Malay</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>saraça</u>	/sarasa/	sarasah	mantilla
<u>sarã-murum</u>			
	/sãrã muruŋ /sarang-burong		dishevelled (hair)
	(bird nest)		
<u>sarai-marai</u>			
	/sarái marái/	murai (bird)	forgetful old man
<u>sarambau</u>			fishing apparatus
<u>sarom</u>	/sarom /	sarang	cloth
<u>sará-sarú</u>		sarat (laden)	tiresome to feet
	/sará sarú/	sarut (gnawing)	
<u>savan</u>	/saván /	sawan (convulsion)	mysterious disease
<u>siput</u>	/sipút/	siput	mollusk
<u>tael</u>	/taél/	tahil	weight
<u>tití</u>	/tití/	titir	beat together
<u>tudum</u>	/tudũ/	tudong (cover)	hat (Chinese)



APPENDIX VI

EXAMPLES OF MACANESE WRITING



I.

Sium Márquis Prera:

Oze (20) pramicedo (509), sentado omsong-omsong (510) na minha tope (511), ta lembrá qui lembrá (512) di nosso Macau! Qui saião (513) non tem ninguim pra papiá (514) di nosso téra!!

Un̄-a repente (515), criança-criança corê carêra (104) ven falá qui ta na porta, un̄-a home co gazeta (516) «Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo».

Minha Sium: non pôde carculá qui contente eu ja ficá quando abri gazeta, dá com tanto ancuza (517) que eu conheçê assi ben fêto!! Non pôde risistí un̄-a cacada (92 e 518) quando, chegá fôla 56, achá acun̄-a: «Lio-liolorchavai Cantão», inchido de pique fino-fino de baço (519). Cuza (54) sucedê, Sium Márquis Prera?! Sium já nunca lembrá más iá?! (520).

Pos eu, parece que ta urí inda, nosso mai di casa (521), com minh'áia Zabel, qui Deus alembra (522), cantá:

— Lio-liolorchavai Cantão
buscá seda fazê quimão;
Novo-novo nina mstí,
Vêlo-velo limpá chão.»

Acun̄-a «Madera, Madera» (523), tamen (524) sa un̄-a lenga-lenga muto cuza (134) de cumprido; mas non ten chiste. Más hom sa eu nunca tirá Sium sa (525) tempo com parabiça (526) qui non vae nem ven (527).

Mas se Sium mestê dá licença (528) eu explicá un̄-a ancuza: «Aguchan» (529), na sua nota di fôla 64, falá nun sabe sa qui cuza (54); eu agora lôgo dá clareza (530) pra Sium sa gazeta. «Aguchan» são un̄-a laia de rede de panhá pece (306) (qui un̄-a home omsong pôde levantá, lêve, qui pôde passá di un̄-a vanda pra otro vanda. Na (531) Macau tem muto manêra di panhá pece: pôde largá rede grande; tem un̄-a laia chomá Sarambau (532) e tem est'un̄-a «Aguchan» e qui sabi se más atgung-a manêra qui eu nunca olá!!

Cavá escrevê chegá até aqui, repara qui, na fôla 65, Sium já falá torná na «Lio liolorchavai», agora tudo entero. No mestê rêva (533) eu já tomá confiança de fazê lembrá un̄-a ancuza qui Sium nunca esqueçê.

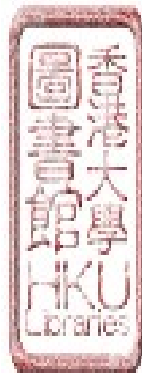
Agora só más dos palavra na más (536). Pôde explicá sa qui foi, este um pôco gente di Governo (534) já mandá acun̄-a home assi grande (535) pra Macau? Sam pra cuza fazê, na (536)?!

.....
Sam divêra (537) sintí un̄-a ancusa pezado na coração quando urí inglezada fazê chacota di nosso boborica (538). Nós ôtro, Sium co eu, sam nós já nacê na Macau; mas nosso gente (539) sam tudo de aqui, por isso nos sintí vergonha olá este um pôco, vai pa alá sevandiziá com tudo china-china. Qui sabe Sium logo entendê este linguazí o nadí. Nosso rancho (540) nunca sã (541) falá assim sa (542); mas eu já prendê (543) com dós chacha (409) más véla (374 e 436) de Macau, promor de (43) sintí saião (513) decá (167) cavá (121) un̄-a lingu assi chistosa. Oze em dia tudo nhonhonha sã falá portuguezado; caregá na r como acun̄-a Chen-te! (544) Estun̄-a linguazí já servi pra eu anos trazado visti bobo (545) na Quarentóra (546) na más. Si Sium non pôde intendê, eu lôgo falá módo de agora (547), méo portuguezado, méo ingrezado; ô intão pôde falá módo de Vochom que fazê avano (548), si Sium querê.

Mas más certo sa Sium Márquis Prera lôgo rasgá, mecê na mão (549) pinchá fóra (191) na sanco (550) est'un̄-a cambada (551) di boborica. (538) Mas gente andá tong tong-mong tong (552) co este frio. Onte topá (553) co un̄-a nosso filo de Macau (554), boncó (555), ravirado (556) co saração (557) qui já panhá quando sai di treato, já fica assi.

Agora eu ta vai lê Sium sa gazeta tam chistosa; só já chegá fôla 64 na más. Até ôtro vês.

Un̄-a Nhonha.



II.

Dialogo entre José Fagote e Pancha Cudum, ambos velhos (4)

Fagote. — Bons días, Senhora Pancha (438) !
 Minha musa encantadora !
 Quer bocê cazar comigo ?
 Diga já, já, sem demora !

Pancha. — *Cusa ? (34) Sium na sium sua terra*
Sã assim (439) pidi caçá ?
Ung-a ome assim vêlo
Inda nun sabe falá !

Fagote. — Oh ! minha querida flôr,
 Não se zangue por tão pouco !
 — Dê-me essa mão d'esposa,
 Quando não eu morro louco !

Pancha. — *Tirá mão d'aquí galégo !*
Vai caçá có moça, moça (440) !
Non basta vêlo françado
E sem sapêca na borça ! (441)

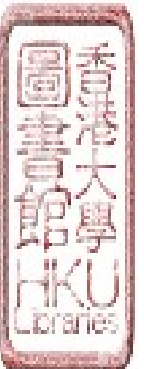
Fagote. — Eu já sei que não és moça,
 És uma velha coruja !
 Com os cabellos já brancos.
 E com a boca toda suja !

Pancha. — *Sai ! largato sem vergonha :*
Já depressa vai s'imbora !
Si non quêro, eu lôgo
Fazê corê com vaçôra !

Fagote. — Boça mercê não me insulte,
 Tome cuidado comigo !
 Nunca vi uma panthera
 Com tanta sanha comsigo !

Pancha. — *Azinha (37 e 39) ! trezé (442) vaçôra !*
Dáli (443), pinchá (191) na rua
Para este porco sem vergonha,
Déçá (167) elle mulá com chûa (444) !

Fagote. — Oh ! não, não, eu já me vou !
 Nada faço com esta gente.
 Que um raio abraza esta caza
 Junto com esta serpente !



MERENDA AI

Iou sã Merenda Ai! Tudo gente na Macau assi chomá pa iou. Seléa nóme nunca muto agradá. Masqui geniado, tamém pacência... Qui cuza pôde fazê, si ilôtro querê batizá iou co estunga nóme? Merenda Ai tamém sã nóme cristám...

Iou sã Macau-filo. Quelê-modo iou sã Macau-filo? Iou sã já nacê na Macau, j'olá? Têm tanto ano-iá... Mamã ficá na Basso-mónti, quelóra largá iou vém fora.

Cavá crecê, Mamã já ensiná iou fazê merenda, pa ganhá sapéca. Sã assi qui iou nuncassá vai escola, j'olá?

Táto qui já prendê fazê merenda, qui cavá já virá vendê merenda.

Quelóra iou ta negoxá na Macau, tudo dia pramicedo pegá lata corê casa-casa vendê merenda. Têm bólo-minino, bólo-márm're, cabelo-noiva... Têm apa-múchi, bicho-bicho, ladú... Tamém têm apa-bico, chilicote-fólia, bibinga-rabo, coquéra... Têm tanto-táto ancuza qui Merenhã Ai sã fazê, j'olá?

Negóxo nunca mau, mas cansado de morê tudo dia subi táto escada-cacada, entrá-sai casa de táto gente, sã têm qui pussá bafado. Ai! pa estunga vándá, ai! pa acunga vándá...

—Nhónha querê comprá merenda? Ai! qui cansado! Siúm querê merenda pa tomá chá? Ai! divera cansado! Títi boza non quêro merenda! Ai! qui dôl iou sua patinga!

Sã de gritá «Ai» tudo ora, ai! pa riva, ai! pa bássó, qui ilôtro na Macau já lembrá chomá pa iou Merenda Ai.

Dessá vai-iá... Iou nunca réva. Nós cristám têm qui sofrê calado, non pôde tudo ora réva, j'olá?

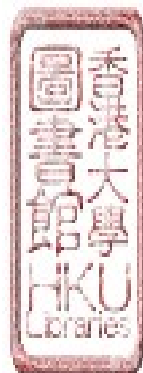
Táto ano na Macau vendê merenda, qui já pôde juntá unchinho sapéca pa olá filo-fila crecê.

Justo cavá guéra, pai-mai tamém já non têm. Assi vélo-vélo, tamém sã dessá Dios chomá-iá. Mulér tamém já non têm... Coitado, justo ta parí sua Mui-Mui, partéra falhá mãm, mulér já fichá ôlo.

Merenda Ai cartá su filo-fila, virá vém Ongcông negoxá.

Negóxo na aqui nunca mau. Sã trabalo, mas tamém têm pa ganhá.

Cavá mudá vém pa Ongcông, já abri estunga loja pa dá-comê gente, j'olá? Táto filo-filo de Macau contente *póng ch'an* iou. Quifoi ilôtro contente *póng ch'an* Merenda Ai? Nunca sã bóca-gránde, mas iou sã capaz cuzinhá pitisquéra de Macau, j'olá?



Vaca-mínchi, vaca chacháu margóso, pêsse cucús, pórco balichám-tamarinho, galinha chacháu parida, laia-laia chacháu, tanto ancuza iou sá fazê, qui ilôtro bêm de gostá. Mas iou têm unga ancuza qui ilôtro más gostá: sã Merenda Ai dessá filo-filo de Macau fiá, j'olá? Iou tamêm sã Macau-filo, ramendá ilôtro, j'olá?

Quim vêm comê, pôde passá vale. Na Ongcông chomá siná I.O.U. Cavá, na fim-fim de mês, quelóra Bánco dá su pága, ilôtro vêm pagá pa iou, j'olá? Sã assi qui iou ta vai negoxando...

Têm unga máno unga vez já ferá cãm! Comê um-cento ancuza, siná um-cento I. O. U., cavá virá costa vai andando azinha isquecê Merenda Ai sua porta. Iou qui sã más coitado. Si vai Bánco reportá, êle pôde ficá ferado. Si calá boca, sã nádi más olá iou sua sapéca; nádi pôde comprá sông... Mas dessá vai-iá. Masqui seza iou perdê sapéca, Dios sã gránde, j'olá? Sã têm qui tasquinhá de unga vándá, pa cobrí otrunga vándá...

Iou têm unga filo tamêm bêm de capaz. Sá quelê tanto ancuza. Já prendê papiá ingrê, já prendê batê máquina. Êle somente têm unga ancuza qui iou nunca muto gostá: bêm de capaz gastá iou sua sapéca. Iou amascá, ramendá cachôro, ele gastá ramendá filo de *tai-pán*! Mas dessá vai-iá... Sã iou sua filo gránde, j'olá?

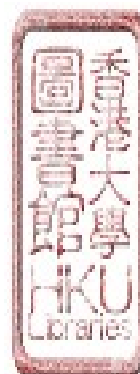
Merenda Ai ta vêlo, perto fêto tu-tum-piám... Quanto ano más lôgo vivo? Sã dessá filo-fila gozá unchinho...

Nôs tudo gostá Ongcông. Sã vida caro, mas têm qui tanto ancuza pa olá, tanto rabusônga pa comprá. Nunca sabroso? Somente têm ora, non têm águ pa banhá... Pacência-iá... Quelóra sã assi, nunca bôm banhá-iá. Dessá cutiaca xerá sôc-sôc, sã tanto qui lôgo sucedê.

Sã assi iou sua estória, j'olá?

—Nhum ta vai-iá? Non quêro pruvá iou sua áde cabidela? Vêm ná! Sentá ná! Non mestê cerimónia! Uví, si nunca trazê sapéca, pôde fiá!... Ai! assi azinha ta vai volta Macau? Bôm, vai-iá. Dá lembrança pa tudo gente conhecido. Falá co tudo títu-títi, máno-máno, tudo chá-cha-chácha, quelóra vêm Ongcông, lembrá visitá Merenda Ai. Non mestê cerimónia! Pôde fiá!

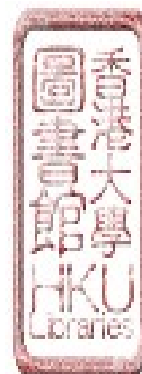
(Forreira; 85)



APPENDIX VII

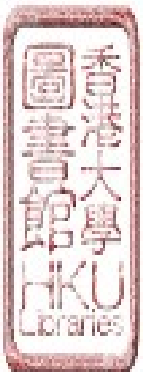
SAMPLE GLOSSARY

(Ferreira; 101-138)



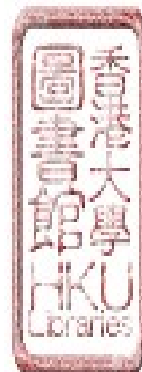
Ade ta guní
Já cai na quintal.
Chácha vêm cudi,
Suzá sua avental. (*)

- Abolô**—Conjunto de ternos de madeira e laca, muito antigo, que serve para guardar bolos, biscoitos ou outras guloseimas.
- Abuzador**—Atrevido; insolente. (Feminino: *abuzadéra*).
- Açafrám**—Açafrão.
- Achaque**—Doença habitual. *Achaque de cabeça*: dor de cabeça. *Achaque de romatismo*: dores reumáticas.
- Acunga**—Aquele; aquela.
- Áde**—Pato. *Áde salgado*: pato salmoirado. *Áde cabidela*: guisado feito com pato e sangue de pato. *Voz de áde-macho*: voz de pato; fala roufenha.
- Afordá**—Do inglês *afford*, no sentido de *dispor de economias; ter recursos; arcar com as despesas*.
- Águ**—Água. *Águ pa banhá*: água para banho.
- Aguaá**—Voar.
- Aiá**—Interjeição muito usada. Pode traduzir-se por *ora!*
- Ali-riva**—Lá em cima; lá do alto.
- Alúa**—Doce de Macau, próprio da quadra festiva do Natal; é semelhante ao doce da Índia, chamado *alud*.
- Amascá**—Esforçar-se; trabalhar muito.
- Amen-Jesú**—Pessoa que não tem vontade própria; sempre condescendente.
- Amui**—Rapariga chinesa; criada de servir de pouca idade. *Amui-amui*: raparigas chinesas. *Amui baléu*: rapariguinhas muito pintadas que são levadas em padiolas transportadas aos ombros por duas pessoas, em determinadas solenidades chinesas. *Amuichái*: rapariga ou criada chinesa muito jovem. *Amui de comprá som*: criada que vai ao mercado.
- Ancuza**—Coisa; alguma coisa. *Selca ancuza*: semelhante coisa.
- Anôte**—Noite; de noite.
- Apa-ano**—Cumaçã, quantidade de uma linguiça, com recheio de carne de porco, picada, e outros condimentos.
- Apai**—Termo chinês, que significa coxo. *Andá apai*: coxear.
- Apa-múchi**—Certa qualidade de doce feito com farinha de arroz.
- Apô**—Mulher chinesa, já de certa idade. *Apô de cartá águ*: mulher que traz a água.
- Ariaguéra**—Intriguista.
- Arôz**—Arroz.
- Arvirice**—Brincadeira; maldade; partida de crianças.
- Arviro**—Mauzinho; brincalhão; criança que gosta de fazer partidas.
- Asnéra**—Asneira; tolice; palavra obscena. *Asnéra gránde-gránde*: palavras. *Papá asnéra*: dizer tolices.
- Assi**—Assim. Tão. *Assi azinha*: tão depressa.
- Astrevê**—Atrever-se. *Iou nddi astrevê*: não me atraverei.
- Astrevido**—Atrevido; animoso. Desrespeitador.
- Atai**—Rapaz chinês. Criado chinês de pouca idade. Moço de recados. *Atai de rua*: rapaz sem educação.
- Atarde**—De tarde.
- Avaria**—Habilidade. Significa também prejuízo, maçadas. *Von bom buscá avaria*, não esteja a arranjar maçadas.
- Avô-pai**—Avô. (Fem. *Avó-mai*). *Atô-pai tá revu co avó-mai*: o avô está zangado com a avó.
- Azinha**—Depressa. É termo português antigo. *Azinha-azinha*: muito depressa.



Balichám salgado,
Tacho ta fritá.
Quim pobre-limpado,
Sã chubí pám tocá. (*)

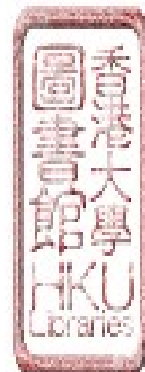
- Babuzéra**—Baboseira; disparate; tolice.
- Bacará**—Pôr pó na cara, mas de maneira exagerada.
- Bacarado**—Diz-se da mulher com exagerada quantidade de pó na cara.
- Badalá**—Falar muito; revelar indiscretamente.
- Bafá**—(S.) Jogo antigo de Macau, com pedras de dominó, em que participam três parceiros. (V.) Abafar; cozer. A expressão *bafá* antes significava cozer o arroz.
- Bagate**—Fascinação; encanto; coisa que enfeitiça.
- Bagateá**—Enfeitiçar; sujeitar à acção do feitiço ou de certo chá que se dá a beber, para cativar.
- Balá**—Bailar; dançar. Andar em rodopio. Andar em grande azáfama. *Balá rai, balá tén!* andar para a frente e para trás, em grande azáfama.
- Balichám**—Condimento salgado, preparado com camarões muito pequenos, secos. É quase indispensável em muitos pratos preparados à moda de Macau.
- Bandalho**—Sem vergonha; patife.
- Barbéro-ansiado**—Cheio de curiosidade; ansioso; impaciente.
- Bassá**—Baixar. *Bassá-ôlo*: baixar os olhos, sentindo-se humilhado.
- Básso**—Baixo.
- Batalhám**—Batalhão militar.
- Batê**—Bater. *Batê-asa*: sair; bater em retirada. *Batê bacía*: corresponde à expressão «pregoar aos quatro ventos». *Batê bólo*: confeccionar bolos. *Batê máquina*: escrever à máquina. *Batê rubicho*: fazer a trança, entrelaçando os cabelos.
- Baúl**—Baú. Mala de madeira de tampa convexa.
- Bazar**—Mercado.
- Bebinga**—Pudim; doce. Palavra proveniente de Goa, onde se diz *bebinca*. *Bebinga cantá*: pudim estragado, que no forno não conseguiu levantar, devido à influência perniciosa de «maus ares».
- Bebinga-rabo**—Pudim salgado, preparado com farinha de arroz, nabo, carne de porco, etc.
- Bêço**—Beijo. *Passá bêço*: fazer beijo, amuar-se.
- Bêm**—Bem. Muito. *Bêm de gostá*: gostar muito. *Bêm-fêto*: bem feito; perfeito.
- Bêça**—Bênção. Maneira antiga de cumprimentar as pessoas idosas, com respeito. Pedir a bênção. *Bênça Chácha*: «Sua bênção, avó!»
- Bicha**—Nome que se dá à rapariga chinesa vendida ou dada pelos pais a outrem e que vive em absoluta sujeição à pessoa que a recebeu.
- Bicho-bicho**—Doce macaense, feito com farinha e açúcar.
- Bispá**—Ver; topar. *Já bispá*: topou.
- Boba**—Tola; ingénua.
- Bôbo**—Tolo; ingénuo. *Bôbo* significa também pessoa mascarada. *Vestí bôbo*: pôr máscara, vestir-se de máscara no Carnaval.
- Boberica**—Tolices; coisas próprias de bobos.
- Bóca**—Boca. *Bóca-chácha*: boca de velha. *Bóca cherá lête*: traduz-se por «traz ainda o cheiro de leite na boca», significando «é ainda uma criança». *Bóca-dóci*: pessoa de falas doces, meiga, afectuosa. *Bóca-fino-fino*: palavras curtas, proferidas com rapidez, com o intuito de recalcitrar. *Bóca-gránde*: pessoa exagerada, que tem a mania de grandezas ou de valentias; gabarola. *Bóca-tórtio*: caretas; fazê *bóca-tórtio*: fazer trejeito da boca.



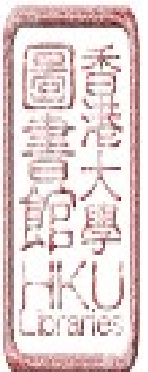
- Botica**—Loja; estabelecimento comercial. *Botica-mestre*: farmácia chinesa; estabelecimento onde se vendem chás medicinais ou outros medicamentos chineses. (*Mestre*, neste caso, significa curandeiro).
- Brejero**—Galanteador; velhaco.
- Brinco**—Brinquedo. Também significa espectáculo, representação. *Dá brinco* ou *fazê brinco*: realizar espectáculo.
- Bronco**—Estúpido; imbecil.
- Bufutiá**—Esbofetear.
- Buli**—Mexer; meter-se; provocar. *Buli co chacha sua gargú*, pode traduzir-se por: *buli*, meter-se; *co chacha sua gargú*, com o bule da avó. A frase corresponde a «quem se mete com a velha, arrisca-se a ouvir o que não quer».
- Bulicioso**—Diz-se da pessoa que gosta de agitar ou provocar. *Metediço*; intrometido.
- Bulido**—Pessoa que foi provocada.
- Buniteza**—Bonito ou bonita. Significa também engraçado, obediente.
- Burido**—Aborrecedor; antipático.
- Bus**—Autocarro; ônibus. (Influência do inglês «bus»).

Chácha sua chiquia
Tôrto ravidado.
Sium olá Maria,
Fazê Chácha chocado. (*)

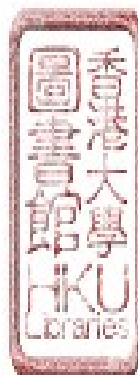
- Cabéça**—Cabeça. *Cabéça-grinde*: inovador; diz-se da pessoa que está sempre com inovações.
- Cabelo-noiva**—Doce de ovos em tiras fininhas, fazendo lembrar cabelos loiros; daí o nome de «cabelos de noivas».
- Cacada**—Gargalhada. No dialecto norteiro da Índia (falado principalmente em Bombaim) também se diz *cucada* com a mesma significação.
- Cacái**—Zarolho; vesgo. (Influência do inglês «cock-eyed»).
- Cachaçám**—Cachação. Pancada no cachaço.
- Cachí**—Morder; mastigar. Cortar com os dentes.
- Cadacê**—Cada um; cada qual.
- Cáfri**—Preto.
- Cái**—Uair. *Cái pó-mém*: perder a calma; desorientar-se. *Cai sol*, ao pôr do Sol; ao aproximar-se a noite.
- Calado-calado**—As caladinhas.
- Calça-ganga**—Fato de operário, feito com tecido de ganga.
- Calistro**—Calisto. Pessoa que traz má sorte.
- Cám**—Cão. Significa também calote. *Cám-china*: cão que ladra mas não morde; cobarde. (O cão chinês, normalmente, ladra muito mas foge quando se aproximam dele.) *Ferd cam*: pregar calote.
- Camalénga**—Abóbora.
- Camiám**—Camião; autocarro.
- Candia**—Vela de cera.
- Canecám**—Caneca grande.
- Cánji**—Canja. *Cánji de fula-papaia*: canja feita com a flor da papasira.
- Cantám**—Cantão.
- Capaz**—Que sabe muito; inteligente. Significa também atrever-se. *Si sã capaz!* Se se atreve! *Iou nunca capaz*: não me atrevi.
- Capido**—Entalado; apertado.



- Caréta**—Carro; qualquer veículo. *Caréta dódo*: carro que corre velozmente. Significa também «cavetas», trejeito do rosto. *Fazê caréta*: fazer cavetas.
- Cartá**—Transportar; trazer ou levar. *Cartá vai*: levar; *cartá vêm*: trazer. Significa também «estar grávida». *Jêto que ta cartá*: parece que está grávida.
- Catá-cuti**—Bugigangas; coisas sem valor.
- Cate**—Peso chinês, equivalente a 604 gramas; o termo provém da Índia, «cates», antigo peso indiano. Cada cate contém 16 taéis; cem cates fazem um pico.
- Catequizá**—Catequizar. Procurar convencer.
- Catiaca**—Sovaco.
- Catravada**—Grupo de pessoas, ordinariamente todas da mesma família. *Cartá na tudo sua catravada vêm*: trazer toda a sua gente.
- Catupá**—Bolo salgado chinês, feito com arroz.
- Cavá**—Depois; em seguida. *Cará vem de «acabar»*; significa também «acabar; terminar».
- Cegonha**—Cegonha. Nome que se dá à mulher que, nos tempos em que não havia autoclismo, ia às casas, muito cedinho, despejar as retretes.
- Ceróla**—Coroulas.
- Cêta**—Ceuta.
- Chácha**—Avó, pessoa idosa. Maneira respeitosa de se dirigir ou referir às senhoras idosas. *Chácha-chácha*: velhas.
- Chacháu**—Guisar; guisado. Mistura de várias coisas. Provém do termo chinês «ch'au», guisar.
- Chá**—Chá (bebida); *Chá-vêco*: folhas de chá. *Chá co açúcar*: chá com açúcar.
- Chacará**—Abraçar.
- Chalacá**—Chalaccar, dizer chalaças.
- Cháli**—Chailo, geralmente de lã, muito usado pelas senhoras antigas de Macau, sobretudo no Inverno.
- Chaminica**—Xícara chinesa pequena, sem asa.
- Chang-quêng**—Polícia chinesa.
- Chapadéca**—Rapariga branca, que não é feia nem bonita.
- Chapado**—Encostado. Achatado. *Nariz chapado*: nariz achatado.
- Chapéu-côco**—Chapéu de coco, muito usado antigamente por homens de Macau de certa posição social.
- Cháqui-cháqui**—A pretexto de.
- Charéta**—Colher grande, geralmente feita com meia casca de coco.
- Chatôm**—Bule de chá devidamente acondicionado num envólucro enchumassado, para conservar o calor.
- Chegá**—Chegar; alcançar. *Chegá mím*: alcançar com a mão.
- Cherá**—Cheirar. *Cherá corda*: expressão equivalente a «vá passear!».
- Chicú**—Legume chinês.
- Chilicôte-fólia**—Espécie de croquete, com recheio de carne picada, apresentando a massa uma camada em folhas.
- Chili-missó**—Tempero chinês, picante, preparado com uma espécie de pimento a que em Macau se dá o nome de chile.
- China**—Chinês. *China-china*: chineses.
- Chipt**—Apalpar. Apertar; reduzir. *Chipido*: apertado; estreito.
- Chiquí**—Apertar; estrangular. *Chiquí tripa*: expressão que significa «poupar a ponto de passar fome».
- Chiquia**—Carrapito. Porção de cabelo atado sobre a cabeça. *Mará chiquia*: atar o cabelo sobre a cabeça.
- Chiripo**—Tamancos.
- Chiste**—Graça natural. *Fazê chiste*: gracejar; fazer-se de engraçado. *Fazê pa chiste*: fazer por graça.



- Chistoso**—Engraçado; simpático.
- Chocado**—Arreliado; irritado.
- Cholê**—Tirar qualquer coisa duma vasilha com a colher.
- Cholido**—Intrometido; diz-se da pessoa que costuma meter-se com os outros.
- Chomá**—Chamar; chamar-se. *Chomá iou* ou *chomá pa iou?* Chamou-me?
Iou chomá: chamo-me.
- Chubí**—Do malaio *schubia*. Beliscar. *Chubí pái:* partir o pão.
- Chuchú**—Espetar; cravar. *Chuchú sapeca:* espetar dinheiro para a mão.
- Chuchuméca**—Intriguista; intrometido. Que se mete na vida alheia.
- Churá**—Chorar; lamuriar.
- Churuto**—Charuto.
- Cifrá**—Cerrar; arreganhar. *Cifrá dente:* mostrar os dentes, com expressão de cólera.
- Cioso**—Ocioso.
- Cissi**—Erguer; levantar. *Cissi calçim:* puxar as calças para cima.
- Ciumidade**—Ciúmes.
- Co**—Com. *Crê co crê, lê co lê:* crê com crê, lê com lê.
- Colé-gáfo**—Colher e garfo. Talher.
- Comê**—Comer. *Comê paga:* receber soldo.
- Companhá**—Acompanhar.
- Consumí**—Consumir; mortificar; dar desgostos.
- Consumiçám**—Consumição; desgostos; arrelias.
- Consumido**—Desgostoso; arreliado.
- Coquéra**—Pastéis de coco.
- Corázi**—Coragem.
- Corê**—Correr. *Corê greza:* visitar as igrejas na Quinta-feira Santa. *Corê-trás:* seguir. *Corê vai,* deve-se traduzir: *corê* por «correndo»; *vai* por «ir», isto é, «ir correndo».
- Coscorám**—Doce feito com farinha coberta de melão, em forma de concha, próprio da quadra do Natal.
- Cracaracá**—Cacaracá. Coisa de inferior qualidade; insignificante.
- Crê**—Crer; acreditar. *Iou nádi crê:* não acreditarei.
- Cristám**—Cristão; católico. *Cristám-novo:* chinês feito católico, quando adulto. *Língu cristám:* «*cristám*», nesta frase, significa «não-chinês»; *língu cristám:* língua não-chinesa, isto é, língua portuguesa ou dialecto macaense. *Papiá cristám:* falar em português ou no dialecto macaense.
- Cuachí**—Povides de melancia ou de outros frutos. (Palavra de origem chinesa.)
- Cuçá**—Coçar; provocar comichões.
- Cucús**—Cozido ao banho-maria.
- Cudí**—Acudir; socorrer. *Cudí!* Acudam!
- Cutám**—Corpete.
- Cuti**—Bater em alguém com qualquer objecto.
- Cuza**—Coisa; o quê. *Cuza iús querê?* Que quer? Que deseja? *Qui cuza?* Que coisa? O quê? *Qui cuza póde fazê?* Que se pode fazer?

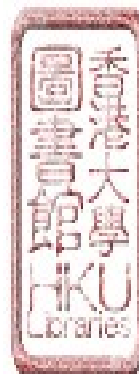


Drêto sã Mui-Mui,
Co rota rutiá.
Chencho olá amui;
Sua mãm cuçá-cuçá. (*)

Dá—Dar. *Dá-comê gente*: fornecer comida; aceitar comensais. *Dá co unga asnéra*: responder com um palavrão. *Dá-vesti*: ajudar a vestir.
Dále—Sovar. *Pegá idle*: dar uma sova. «Dar-lhe» originou *dale*.
Defronti—Equivale a dizer «alma danada».
Derdezido—Propositadamente.
Desbocada—Mulher que usa de linguagem obscena.
Dessá—Deixar. *Dessá vai ná*: deixá-lo.
Destunga—Deste ou desta.
Diabo-cacimba—Maldoso; provocador.
Dicotado—Mulher decotada.
Dios—Deus. *Dios dá graça*: Deus te dê graças; Deus seja contigo. *Dioza-ja*: (referindo-se a pessoa falecida) que Deus haja, que Deus tenha.
Discompô—Dar descompostura.
Divéra—Deveras; verdade. *Sã divéra*: é verdade.
Dizaforado—Atrevido; grosseiro.
Dizafôro—Atrevimento, abuso. *Selá dizafôro!* Semelhante abuso!
Dôi—Doer. *Dôi boca*: doer a boca. *Dôi unde?* Onde lhe dói?
Drêto—Direito; justo. *Sã drêto*: é justo.

Estopôr de Taia
Sĩ'nga galo-dôdo:
Nhónha erguí saia,
Sium Taia ficá mudo! (*)

Elá—Puxar; arrastar.
Ele—Pronome pessoal *ele* ou *ela*.
Ele sua—Seu ou sua (dele ou dela).
Emado—Guloso.
Embrulhá—Empacotar; fazer embrulho.
Empê—Ficar em pé. (Provém de «em pé».)
Enfeá—Enfear; desonrar.
Enfeado—Que se tornou falado; desonrado.
Erguí—Erguer; levantar; suspender.
Escabelá—Agredir; pegar pelos cabelos.
Escurecê—Ao escurecer; anoitecer. *Oavá escurecê*: depois de se fazer noite.
Esfolá—Esfolar.
Esfregá—Esfregar, no sentido de limpar. *Esfregá chãm*: limpar o chão.
Esguichá—Esguichar; deitar para fora.
Estendê—Estender. *Estendê lingu*: estender a língua no sentido de dizer mal das pessoas.
Estenteá—Estontear; atordoar.
Estopôr—Criatura feia ou má. Estafermo.
Estória—História.
Estunga—Este ou esta.

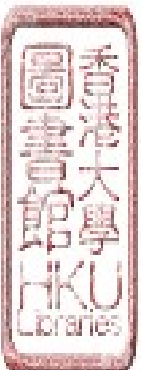


Fula laranjêra,
Noiva sã botá.
Quim fazê asnéra,
Sua fula lô muchá! (*)

- Faifum**—Nome duma doença, que tem as características do paludismo.
Falá—Falar; dizer. *Iou virá falá co êle*: dirige-me a ele, dizendo-lhe.
Falhá—Falhar; escapar. *Falhá mádm*: não apanhar ou receber bem.
Fan-tan—Jogo chinês muito antigo.
Fantanéro—Jogador viciado de fan-tan.
Fazê—Fazer; realizar. *Fazê floristria*: fazer figura; gastar com extravagância.
Fêde—Vem de *fedor*. Fedorento; que exala mau cheiro; fétido.
Fedorento—Antipático; indesejável.
Feiôna—Muito feia.
Feo—Feio. *Feo olá*: é feio, não fica bem.
Ferá—Enrascar; pregar. *Ferá côm*: pregar calote.
Ferado—Tramado; enrascado.
Fiá—Fiar. Comprar ou vender a crédito.
Ficá—Ficar; morar; viver. *Ficá deretido*: ficar babado; entusiasmado. *Ficá na Macau*: viver em Macau.
Fichá—Fechar. *Fichá áno*: fazer anos. *Fichá ôlo*: fuchar os olhos; morrer.
Filo—Filho. (Fem. *Fila*. Plural: *Filo-filo*.) *Filo-gránde*: o filho mais velho.
Fino—Estreito; delgado. *Fino-comprido*: estreito e comprido.
Fogám—Fogão.
Fólia—Folha. Significa também jornal.
Fontám—Armário pequeno de madeira, com portas de rede, muito antigo, que serve para guardar comida e temperos.
Fritá—Fritar; frigar.
Frónha—Fronha. Peça de roupa que envolve o travesseiro. Significa também carantonha. *Olá selá frónha*: ver semelhante carantonha.
Fugt—Fugir; escapar. Quando seguido de *vêm* significa vir. *Já fugi vêm*: veio; refugiou-se aqui. *Bolá fugi*: pôr-se a fugir.
Fula—Flor. *Fula laranjêra*: flor de laranjeira, com que as noivas adornam a cabeça.

Galo-dôdo cioso,
Cara de atail!
Vôs sã bulicioso,
Bulí co iou sua Chai. (*)

- Galado**—Enfeitiçado. *Ôlo galado*: que tem a vista sob a influência do feitiço.
Galantaria—Garridice.
Galánte—Esquisito; extraordinário.
Galinha chacháu parida—Nome duma especialidade de Macau, em que entra galinha guisada com gengibre, vinho, açafrão, etc. Diz-se *chacháu parida*, por ser um prato aconselhado às mulheres no período post-parto.
Galo-dôdo—Namorador. Homem com fama de conquistador.
Ganhá—Ganhar. *Têm pá ganhá*: pode-se ganhar; dá lucro. *Virá mádm, pôde ganhá*: numa volta de mãos ou num virar de olhos pode ganhar bem.
Garida—Namoradeira; presumida; dada à galantaria.
Garidça—Garridice; ar galanteador.
Garidóna—Aumentativo de *garida*. Muito namoradeira.
Gatunéro—Gatuno.
Gavartá—Esgaravatar. *Unde já vai gavartá?* Donde tirou! Onde o foi encontrar?



Hóme linguaréu
 Têm gosto de nhónha.
 Língu nuviléro,
 Más féde qui cegónha! (*)

Ham-chi-su—Bolinho chinês, achatado, mais parecido com biscoito, doce e salgado, feito com jagra (açúcar mascavado) e pontinhas de sal.

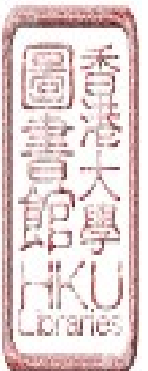
Hóme—Homem. *Hóme-hóme*: homens. *Hóme-hóme de hoje*: os homens de hoje.

Hotê—Hotel.

Hoze—Hoje.

Hui—(Provém do termo chinês *hui*, quotização, contribuição). Reunião de dinheiro, formada por contribuição, ordinariamente mensal, de um determinado número de associados incluídos numa lista previamente elaborada. O número de associados, que é fixado antes do início do *hui*, corresponde ao número de partes do mesmo. Por exemplo, se a lista contiver 24 nomes, o *hui* será de 24 partes. Há um responsável, que se chama «cabeça-do-hui», os restantes são «filhos». Cada «filho» pode inscrever-se na lista com uma ou mais partes; a sua contribuição, evidentemente, há-de corresponder ao número de partes. Os associados reúnem-se mensalmente, numa maneira geral no primeiro dia de cada mês, e cada um deles faz a entrega da sua respectiva contribuição ao «cabeça-do-hui». Em cada reunião se procura apurar a qual dos «filhos» cabe o direito de «apanhar» o *hui*, isto é, ficar com o bolo do mês, dentre os que não tenham ainda «apanhados». Chama-se «hui vivos» à parte ainda não levantada e «hui mortos» à que já se levantou. O apuramento mensal faz-se por meio de oferta de juro, normalmente lançada em bilhetinho fechado, sendo o direito concedido àquele que oferecer juro mais elevado. Em caso de igualdade, recorre-se ao sistema de licitação verbal. O bolo é então entregue ao que fez maior lanço, menos o montante que corresponde ao produto da importância do juro oferecido, pelo número de associados com *huís* «vivos» mais o «cabeça-

-do-hui». Cada um destes recebe uma parte do juro. Deixam de ter direito à importância do juro os associados com *huís* «mortos». O «cabeça-do-hui» goza da vantagem de ser o primeiro, dentre todos da lista, a levantar o bolo; há *huís* em que o «cabeça», ao levantar o primeiro bolo, é obrigado a compensar cada um dos «filhos» com quantia correspondente a dez por cento de cada contribuição, mas há-os também em que o responsável não é obrigado a qualquer contribuição. Subsequentemente, em cada mês, o «cabeça-do-hui» receberá do associado que levantar o bolo uma compensação correspondente, normalmente, a metade de cada contribuição. Por exemplo, se o valor de cada contribuição mensal for de dez patacas, receberá cinco. Em contrapartida, ele, durante toda a duração do *hui* é o único responsável pela importância integral das contribuições e é quem tem que entrar com o dinheiro se, no dia da reunião, algum dos «filhos» saltar com a sua contribuição. O *hui* termina quando o bolo mensal tiver corrido por todos os associados, um em cada mês. Há também *huís* quinzenais e mesmo semanais, mas estes são pouco frequentes entre os macaenses.



Ion subí travessa,
J'olá Tio Anhum:
Tio bassá cabeça,
Amui cubrí tudum! (*)

Iâm-chá—Termo chinês; significa «tomar chá». O *iâm-chá* é, praticamente, à hora do almoço. Os operários, normalmente, suspendem o trabalho por volta do meio-dia para o indispensável *iâm-chá*, o mesmo fazendo os homens de negócios, que aproveitam o *iâm-chá* para troca de impressões ou mesmo para tratar de assuntos relacionados com as suas actividades comerciais e outras.

Ilôtro—Eles ou elas. *Ilôtro sua*: deles ou delas.

Impada—Empada. Pastel de massa com recheio, ordinariamente de peixe, azeitonas, etc., próprio da quadra festiva do Natal.

Impinhá—Empenhar; dar em penhor.

Impostôr—No dialecto macaense, significa: vaidoso, orgulhoso; não tem o significado de embusteiro.

Inchido—Cheio. Significa também: que tem a barriga cheia.

Ingulí—Engolir; tragar. *Ingulí comê*: mal termina a refeição.

Insaguá—Lavar, ligeiramente. (Este termo provém de «ensaboar».) *Insaguá vista*: traduzido à letra seria: lavar a vista; significa: dar prazer à vista, com coisa ou figura agradável.

Intremente—Entrementes.

Inventaçám—Invenção; mentira, para enganar.

Ion—Eu. *Iou sua*: meu ou minha. *Iou sua pai*: meu pai. *Iou sua fila*: minha filha.

Iscapá—Escapar; livrar-se. *Iscapá moré*: escapar de morte, por pouco.

Iscuta—Espreitadela; olhadela. Significa também: visita breve. *Dá unga iscuta*: fazer uma visita breve.

Iscutá—Provém de «escutar», mas não tem o significado próprio deste vocábulo em português. *Iscutá*, significa «espreitar», «ver». *Já iscutá na buraco de porta, pa olá ancusa*: espreitou pelo buraco da fechadura, para ver coisas.

Ispalá—Espalhar; divulgar.

Ispêlo—Espelho. *Non têm ispêlo na casa?* Não tem em casa um espelho? *Pegá ispêlo*: pegar no espelho; mirar-se num espelho.

Juízo ta perdê,
Estung' estopôr!
Tudo amui querê,
Chomá ilôtro «amor»! (*)

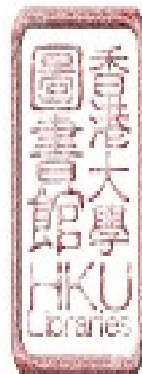
Já—Já. Nos verbos, o *passado* exprime-se antepondo-se o advérbio *já*.
Iou já falá: falei; *Vós já rai?* V. foi?

Jêto—Jeito. Parece que. Trejeito.

J'olá—Ver (no passado). *J'olá?* Viu? ou então, compreendeu?

Jóvi—Jovem.

Juntado—Junto, juntamente.

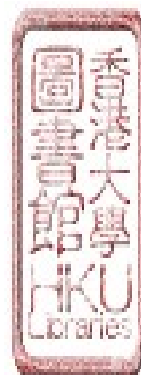


Lágrí cacho-cacho,
Qui vós ta churá;
Cocodilo macho,
Sã lôgo ramendá! (*)

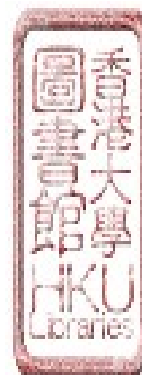
- Labitá**—Falar; papaguear. *Capaz labitá*: sabe falar bem.
- Ladino**—Astuto; espertalhão.
- Ladú**—Doce macaense, próprio da época do Carnaval. (O mesmo nome se dá na Índia a um doce seco.)
- Lágrí**—Lágrimas. *Lágrí cacho-cacho*: lágrimas como punhos. *Lágrí de cocodilo*: lágrimas de crocodilo, com o mesmo significado: lágrimas de hipócrita.
- Láia**—Espécie; maneira. *Láia-láia*: de várias espécies; coisas sortidas. *Tudo-láia*: toda a sorte; toda a qualidade. *Destunga láia*: desta maneira.
- Lám**—Fruto da China, parecido com azeitona, doce ou salgado, que se come como guloseima. Há também uma espécie de *lím*, da cor verde, com uma pontinha amarga, que tem efeitos medicinais.
- Lampiám**—Lampião. Nos tempos em que não se usava iluminação eléctrica, as casas macaenses eram iluminadas por lampiões de petróleo ou óleo de amendoim, uns modestos e outros mais luxuosos.
- Largá**—Largar; abandonar. Significa também «parir».
- Lau-chai**—Sobreloja modesta, de casas pequenas.
- Lavadéra**—Lavadeira. Mulher que lava a roupa, mas normalmente indo-a buscar às casas.
- Leám**—Leão. *Leám na gaiola*: leão enjaulado.
- Lecêço**—Furúnculo. (Provém do termo português «leicença».)
- Letrado**—Advogado; homem de letras.
- Levantá**—Levantar; erguer. *Levantá mesa*: retirar os objectos da mesa, após a refeição.
- Lichía**—Fruta da China, muito doce e aromática.
- Lichim**—Escorregadio; lugar escorregadio.
- Limpado**—Limpo. *Pobre-limpado*: pobretão, de algibeiras vazias.
- Lingu**—Língua. *Lingu carregado* significa: falar com afectação, carregando nos rr.
- Linguaréra**—Linguareira; má-língua.
- Lôgo**—Logo. Nos verbos, o futuro exprime-se antepondo-se o advérbio *logo*. *Iou lôgo vai*: irei ou hei-de ir. *Vós lôgo olá*: V. verá ou V. há-de ver.
- Logamente**—Imediatamente; depressa.
- Lorcha**—Pequena embarcação chinesa, geralmente movida a remo.

Mám chipí pê fêde,
Azinha lavá!
Bôlo ficá fêde,
Ninguim lôgo comprá. (*)

- Macao-filo**—Filho de Macau. Expressão que significa *nascido em Macau*.
- Mafomaria**—Feitiçaria; bruxaria; Habilidades feitas com a ajuda do demónio.
- Mala-tampipi**—Mala de rota ou verga, muito usada noutros tempos pelas famílias macaenses.
- Malau-cón**—Expressão chinesa que, traduzida à letra, seria *macaco seco*. Quando se quer referir a pessoa franzina, costuma-se dizer *ramendá malau-cón*: parece um macaco seco.



- Ma-língu**—Má-língua. Pessoa que costuma dizer mal dos outros. *Vós sã bém de mi-língu*: que má-língua que V. é.
- Malinguá**—*Má-língu* originou *malinguá*, verbo. Maldizer; dizer mal dos outros. *Tudo dia malinguá*: passa o dia a dizer mal dos outros.
- Mal-pôsto**—Mal vestido; mal apresentado.
- Mám**—Mão. *Mám fichado qui fichado*: mão sempre muito fechada; diz-se de pessoa avara; mesquinha. *Mám-tanto*: aquele ou aquela que mexe em coisas que não lhe competem. O vocábulo *mám* é empregado, em certas frases, em vez de *braço*. *Estendê nám*: estender o braço. *Mám comprido*: pessoa que costuma estender o braço para praticar roubo.
- Máno**—Irmão mais velho. Significa também, e sobretudo, o filho mais velho.
- Mapéça**—Brincadeira de mau gosto; partida. *Fazê mapéça*: pregar uma partida. *Mapéça* originou *mapeçoso*: o que propositadamente contraria ou aborrece os outros.
- Maquinéta**—Fogão de petróleo, pequeno.
- Más**—Mais.
- Masqui**—Este termo vem do malaio, significando: apesar de; embora. *Masqui se-a*: embora seja; *seza* está por *seja*, mudando-se o *j* por *z*.
- Mau coraçám**—Pessoa má; que deseja mal a outrem. *Êle qui mau coraçám*: Que mau que ele é.
- Mercê**—Graças a; marcê de. Expressão de reconhecimento respeitoso dum inferior para o seu superior.
- Mestê**—É mister; é preciso. *Non mestê*: não é bom; não é preciso.
- Mestre**—Mestre; professor.
- Mestre-china**—Curandeiro chinês.
- Metê**—Meter; pôr. *Metê pergunta*: pedir satisfações.
- Mínchi**—Prato tradicional da cozinha macaense: carne de vaca ou de porco, picada.
- Min-pau**—Termo chinês, que significa *pão*. *Min-pau quente-quente*: pão acabado de sair do forno.
- Mizinha**—Vem de *mezinha*. Remédios ou medicamentos caseiros. *Mizinha-sarda*: medicamento caseiro para a cura do *saván* (indisposição física produzida pela influência de matérias sujas ou malcheirosas). *Mizinha-vento*: para a cura de doença produzida por maus ares.
- Môfo**—Bolor; bafio.
- Môno**—Tolo; pateta.
- Mordecim**—Enfado; incómodo. *Atacá mordecim*: encher-se de enfado.
- Morê**—Morrer. *Más bom sã morê*: mais vale morrer.
- Môro**—Muçulmano; natural da Índia, que não seja cristão.
- Muchá**—Murchar.
- Mucho**—Murcho.
- Mufiná**—Amaaldiçoar; trazer má sorte ou mau agouro.
- Mufinaze**—Má sorte; mau agouro.
- Mufino**—Pessoa infeliz, portadora de mau agouro.
- Mulér**—Mulher. *Mulér-mulér*: mulheres. *Mulér-mulér sã lôgo gostá janoid*: as mulheres evidentemente que hão-de gostar de se apresentar bem.
- Murám**—Taciturno; enfraquecido; deprimido.
- Muto**—Muito. *Muto-táto*: muitíssimo.



Nhónha bacarado
Fazê garidiga.
Nhum ficá babado,
Papiá sua bohoriga. (*)

Nádi—Não. Não hei-de ou não há-de. Serve para indicar o futuro na forma negativa. *Iou sã nádi vai*: Eu é que não hei-de ir. *Nós nádi falá*: não havemos de dizer.

Na-más—Não mais; apenas. *Dós na-más*: apenas dois.

Nariz chapado—Nariz achatado.

Néto—Neto. *Néto-néto*: netos.

Nhónha—Menina solteira ou senhora casada, nova; moça. *Nho-nhónha*: plural de *nhónha*.

Nhum—Rapaz, homem novo. *Nhum nutrido*: gordo; robusto. *Nhu-nhum*: plural de *nhum*.

Nim—Nem.

Ninguim—Ninguém.

Nóme—Nome.

No-moh! Soly!—Termos em inglês «No more! Sorry!» mal pronunciados.

Non—Não. Serve para indicar o presente na forma negativa. *Iou non têm vagar*: Não tenho vagar.

Nunca—Não. Serve para indicar o passado na forma negativa. *Ele nunca fazê*: ele não fez.

Nuncassá—Expressão que corresponde a *não é preciso; não esteja com...* *Nuncassá corê*, não é preciso ir a correr. *Nuncassá cerimônia*: não esteja com cerimônias. *Nuncassá inventaçím*: não venha com mentiras.

Naviléro—Novaleiro. Diz-se de pessoa que gosta de contar novidades.

Olo-fino azinha
Bom sã zaprecê!
Nós sua Mariquinha,
Sã nádi vós querê. (*)

Oficins—Escritório; repartição (influência do espanhol).

Olá—Ver; olhar. *Vós olá! Veja lá! Já olá? Viu?*

Ôle—Olho; olhos. *Ôlo batê-batê*: abrir e fechar os olhos, com movimento rápido e seguido das pálpebras. *Ôlo-deco*: ânus. *Ôlo-fino*: corresponde a *colhos* cortados a canivetes.

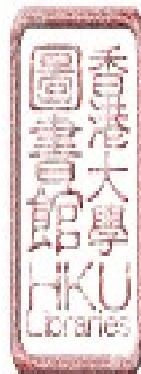
Onçôm—Só; sozinho; não está acompanhado; o próprio. *Ele onçôm vêem*: veio sozinho. *Sã êle onçôm falá*: é ele próprio que o diz. *Já ficô onçôm*: ficou só.

Onçong—Hong Kong.

Onte—Ontem. *Onte-onte*: anteontem.

Ôrde—Ordem. *Seguí ôrde*: cumprir a ordem. *Ôrde têm na rabo*: não fazer caso da ordem.

Otrunga—Outro ou outra. *Otrunga dia*: o outro dia.



Pancha vêm-cá báссо,
Ne-bom gurunhá.
Nhum ta dôi cachaço,
Azinha vêm pilá. (*)

Pa—Para.

Paché—Termo chinês. Significa *guarda-sol* ou *guarda-chuva*.

Paga—Ordenado. *Quelora recebê paga*: quando receber o ordenado.

P'ai-cun—Termo chinês. Significa *centro de jogotina*.

Pai-mai—Pais.

Palavrám—Palavra obscena. *Dá co dós palavrám*: responder com palavras obscenas.

Palestrá—Palestrar; cavaquear.

Pandegá—Pandegar; andar em pândegas; divertir-se.

Panhá—Apanhar; recolher. No jogo: acertar. *Já panhá!* Acertou! *Já panhá subiçalto*: sobressaltou-se.

Páno-elefante—Nome que se dá ao tecido branco, ordinário, próprio para roupa de cama. «Elefante» é a designação da marca do tecido. Os macaenses, para simplificar, chamam-no *páno-elefante*. Com este tecido se fazem também roupas interiores.

Pantomínéro—Pantomineiro; mentiroso.

Papiá—Papear; papaguear. Falar; dizer. *Papiá bém-fêto*: falar bem. *Qui cuza vós ta papiá?* Que está V. a dizer?

Papiaçám—*Papiá* originou *papiaçám*. Significa: fala; paleio. *Um-cento papiaçám*: muito paleio.

Papito—Vem de *palpite*. Pressentimento.

Parabiça—Tolice; disparate; coisa sem nexo.

Passá—Passar. *Passá vale*: «passar um vale». «Passar» aqui tem o significado de *assinar*; «vales» é o papelinho que se entrega, assinado, ao credor.

Pateca—Melancia.

Patinga—Nome que os macaenses dão à barriga da perna.

Paxá—Passar.

Pedí—Pedir. *Pedí entrada*: pedir aos pais da noiva autorização para a visitar em casa. *Pedí sapéca pa caza*: pedir dinheiro para a caixa, o mesmo que dizer, pedir gorjetas.

Pegá—Pegar. *Pegá sono*: pegar no sono; adormecer.

Pendurá—Pendurar. *Pendurá tacho*: pendurar a frigideira na parede; esta frase exprime: como não houve dinheiro para a comida, a frigideira não foi utilizada e, por isso, continuou pendurada na parede.

Pensám—Vem de *pensão*—encargo, obrigação—mas com o significado de: preocupação, cuidado. *Iou qui pensám*: estive muito preocupado. *Nuncassá pensám*: não esteja com cuidado.

Perdê—Perder. *Perdê chave*: perder a chave. Esta expressão contém certo espírito, pois é empregada com o significado de *padecer diarreia*; porque «perdeu a chave», tem agora a «porta aberta».

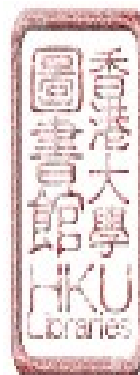
Perna azêdo—Diz-se de pessoa que tem os músculos das pernas doridos. Também significa *pernas fracas*.

Perto—Perto; próximo. Quase. *Perto de Macau*: próximo de Macau. *Perto fêto*: quase feito.

Pesépio—Presépio.

Pêsse—Peixe. *Pêsse cucús*: peixe cozido no banho-maria.

Pilá—Pilar. *Pilá sui costa*: «pillar» aqui não tem o significado de *pisar com o pilão*; está aqui por *fazer massagens*. A expressão *pilar* é empregada dado que uma das maneiras de os chineses fazerem massagens é com o punho fechado, dando pancadas leves nas costas, imitando o movimento do pilão. *Costa* está por *costas*.



Pilizá—Pelejar.

Pilizóna—*Pilizá* originou *pilizóna*: mulher que gosta de pelejar; desordeira.

Pim-pám—Pimpão. Valentão; fanfarrão.

Pinchá—Vem de *pinchar*, mas não tem o significado próprio do termo. No dialecto macaense significa: *arremessar*; *deitar*; *esbanjar*. *Pinchá fora*: deitar fora.

Pinga—Gota. Significa também a vara que os chineses trazem aos ombros com objectos pendurados nas extremidades.

Pingá-pingá—Aos pingos.

Pisunto—Presunto.

Pitisquéra—Petisqueira.

Pivete—Pivete que os chineses queimam para incensar os altares ou quando fazem as suas preces. *Pivete-céra*: pivete de cera.

Póng-ch'án—Expressão chinesa que significa *dar negócio*; *fazer-se frequês*.

Pórco—Carne de porco. *Pórco-balichâm-tamarinho*: prato macaense muito conhecido, preparado com carne de porco, tamarinho e o tradicional *balichão*.

Porquéro—Vem de *porqueiro*, mas não tem o mesmo significado que este vocábulo tem na língua portuguesa. *Porquéro*, no dialecto macaense, é o homem que vende carne de porco e carne de vaca.

Pramicedo—Pela manhã cedo.

Prendê—Prender. Aprender. *Ta prendê cuzinhá*: está a aprender a cozinhar.

Puliça—Maneira estropiada de se pronunciar *polícia*. *Puliça-môro*: polícia indiano que usa turbante. *Puliça-pau*: também significa *polícia*; o sufixo «pau» deriva do facto de os polícias civis, noutros tempos, trazerem bastão de pau.

Pussá—Puxar. *Pussá âncora subí*: levantar a âncora. *Pussá bafado*: cansado sem poder tomar respiração.

Putáu—Vasilha chinesa, de barro ou porcelana ordinária, geralmente muito tosca, que serve para guardar líquidos.

Quim querê pa vós,
Cucai, boca-gránde?
Iou ta dú co dôs
Asséra gránde-gránde! (*)

Qualunga—Qual; qual deles.

Quáto-cento—Alguns centos. Centenas.

Quarénta—Quarenta. *Quarénta-fora*: quarenta e poucos.

Quebrá—Quebrar; partir. *Quebrá-testa*: grande; a valer. *Festa de quebrá-testa*: grande festa.

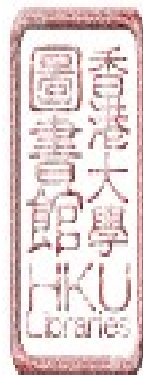
Quecido—Crescido.

Quelê—Qual; qualquer.

Quelê-modo—Como; de que modo; de qualquer modo. *Quelê-modo lôgo têm*: como há-de ter. *Quelê-modo pôde falá*: de que modo se pode dizer. *Quelê-modo tamém sã assi*: é assim, de qualquer modo.

Quelê-táto—Qualquer que seja a quantidade; grande quantidade; muito. *Quelê-táto tamém lôgo comprá*: há-de comprar, qualquer que seja a quantidade. *Quelê-táto gente já têm*: veio muita gente.

Quelóra—Qual hora; quando; no momento em que. *Quelóra largá iou vêm fora*: quando me trouxe ao mundo. *Quelóra iou já cai*: no momento em que cai.



Quémbra—Cãibra.

Querê—Querer; amar; desejar. *Quim querê*: quem ama. *Sã quim querê*? Quem é que deseja? *Qui cuza vós querê*? Que quer V.!

Qui—Que. *Qui cuza*: que coisa; o quê? *Quifoi*: porquê? *Qui laia*: como; de que maneira. *Qui nova*: Como está? Que novas? *Qui pôde*: como pôde. *Vós qui pôde*: V. tem cada uma! *Qui sabe*? Sei lá!

Quiada—Criada de servir.

Quiança—Criança. *Quiança-quiança*: crianças.

Quim—Quem. *Sã quim*? Quem é?

Quimâm—Casaco de senhora, muito usado antigamente, geralmente de seda.

Quinzéna—Casaco de homem.

Qui-quit—Peixe pequeno, muito vulgar na China.

Quirabim—Querubim; criança mimada; o sanjo da família.

Rato na cozinha,
Saia já trepá.
Pancha si-si azinha,
Qui rato dismaia! (*)

Rabéca—Rabeca; violino.

Rabicá—Pintar-se exageradamente.

Rabicho—Trança de cabelo, comprida, que as chinesas solteiras trazem pendente da nuca.

Rabiósque—Traseiro; nádegas.

Rabiscá—Rabiscar; escrever.

Rabixá—Trazer ou levar. Trazer pelo rabicho.

Rabujá—Rabujar; ralhar.

Rabusénga—Ninharia; bagatela.

Ragaça—Arregaçar. *Ragaça manga*: arregaçar as mangas.

Ramatá—Rematar; concluir; acabar. *Fazê ramatá*: fazer até ao fim; fazer o resto. *Já cunvidá ramatá*: acabou também por convidar. *Ramatá vós sua estória*: conclua a sua história.

Ramêde—Medo; susto. *Qui ramêde*? Que susto!

Ramendá—Parecer; semelhante; tal como. *Ramendá unga porco*: parecido com um porco. *Ramendá china-china*: tal como os chineses.

Rancá—Arrancar. *Já rancá de iou sua mām*: arrancou-me das mãos. *Rancá ôlo*: fixar os olhos, com o fim de meter medo; *rancá*, aqui, diverge de *carranca*.

Ravirá—Revirar. Virar; correr de ponta a ponta; fartur-se. *Comê qui ravirá*: fartar-se de comer. *Ravirá cabéça*: dar voltas à cabeça.

Ravirado—Revirado; estatelado.

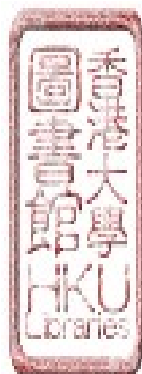
Rê—Rei.

Recetá—Receitar (medicamentos).

Régra—Linha, nas cartas. *Rabiscá dús regra*: escrever duas linhas.

Repente—Ímpeto de mau génio. *Mau repente*: mau génio.

Reportá—Influência do inglês: *ereports*. *Vai reportá*: apresentar queixa; levar ao conhecimento.



Réva—Zangado.

Revisô—Revisor.

Ri—Rir. *Ri qui istripá*: rir até revolver as tripas. *Ri qui roganhá*: rir até mostrar todos os dentes.

Risca—Risca; fila; traço. *Risca de trás*: última fila. *Rôpa risca-risca*: vestido às riscas.

Riva—Cima; em cima.

Rompánte—Rompante; arrogante.

Roncá—Roncar; ressonar.

Rônça-rônça—Movimento de ir e vir, caminhando pachorrentamente.

Rondánte—O que ronda as patrulhas. Graduado de serviço nas esquadras policiais.

Rôpa—Roupa; vestido.

Rôsa-dóci—Pão doce, torcido em forma de argola.

Ruçá—Vem de *roçar*, significando, entretanto, esfregar, aplicar medicamento no corpo. *Ruçá quémbrá*: curar da cãibra com aplicação de medicamento. *Ruçá na parede*: esfregar na parede.

Rutiá—Forma divergente de *rota*. Significa: sovar com rota.

Saia de balâm,
Sã qui bom olá:
Nhónha cai na chám,
Tánt'ancuza lô mostrá. (*)

Sã—Verbo *ser*. *Iou sã Macau-filo*: sou natural de Macau. *Vós sã quim?* Quem é V.? *Sã dicêra*: é verdade. *Macau sã assi*: assim é Macau. *Nós sã gente bem-fêlo*: somos gente séria. *Ilôtro sã aringuêra*: elas são intriguistas.

Sabe—Saber. Há casos em que se emprega apenas *sí*. *Iou non sí*: não sei.

Sáco-gúnde—Saco de arroz, vazio, que se utiliza para limpar os pés, fazendo as vezes de capacho.

Sai—Sair. *Quiada já sai*: a criada deixou de estar ao serviço. *Sai de quim?* A quem saiu?

Sáia—Saia ou saiote de senhora. *Sáia-dentro*: combinação de senhora.

Saiám—Que pena. Saudade. *Saiám* é originário do termo malaio *sayang*, que significa pena. *Saiám vós non pôde vêm*: que pena V. não poder vir.

Sam-sám—Sansão. *Fórti ramendá Sam-sám*: forte como Sansão.

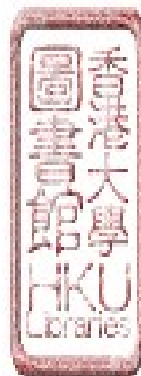
Sao-chi-pai—Altar chinês, geralmente estreito e alto.

Sandê—Acender. *Sandê véla*: acender a vela.

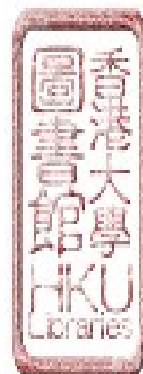
Sau-Ma-Lu—Maneira estropiada de se pronunciar *Sán Má Lou*, que, em chinês, significa *Avenida Nova* e que é a designação dada pelos chineses à Avenida de Almeida Ribeiro, de Macau.

Sapéca—Moeda ínfima de cobre, usada, noutros tempos, na China. *Sapéca*, no dialecto macaense, significa também *dinheiro*. *Iou non têm sapéca*: não tenho dinheiro. *Ele tem tanto sapéca*: ele tem muito dinheiro; é rico. *Sapéca-fêmea*: dinheiro fêmea (dinheiro que se reproduz, ganho com facilidade, desonestamente).

Sarangôm—Brinquedo de crianças, conhecido por *papagaio*. *Largá sarangôm*: fazer subir papagaios ou brincar com papagaios.



- Sarám-murúm**—Desgrenhado. *Cabelo sarám-murúm*: cabelo desmanchado ou despenteado.
- Saván**—Doença produzida pela influência de maus ares. Também se chama *sardn* ao efeito pernicioso que maus ares produzem nos bolos, doces, etc. em confecção. Segundo a convicção dos chineses e da gente antiga de Macau, as mulheres grávidas e as que se encontram no período menstrual são as que mais depressa transmitem o *saván*. E o certo é que, quase sempre, salvo raríssimas excepções, todo o bolo confeccionado na presença de mulher grávida ou menstruada não levanta; fica completamente estragado.
- Savanado**—Sob influência do *savím* (V. *Vantú*).
- Sêco ismirado**—Seco e murcho. *Ismirado* vem de *esmirrar*.
- Seguí**—Seguir; acompanhar. *Seguí trás*: acompanhar; ir atrás de.
- Seléa**—Semelhante. *Seléa asnéra*: semelhante tolice.
- Sentá**—Sentar-se. Emprega-se também no sentido de utilizar transporte para deslocação. *Sentá caréla*: seguir de carro. *Sentá camiã*: tomar autocarro.
- Sês-pique**—Jogo de *clu-clu*. «Seis piques», i. e. seis pintas, é o nome que se dá à combinação de dois dados cujas faces viradas para cima indicam um «ás» e uma «quina», totalizando seis pintas ou pontos.
- Sete-cavéra**—Mesmo jogo. «Sete-caveiras». Nome que se dá à combinação de um «duque» e uma «quina», totalizando sete pintas ou pontos. Esta combinação tem o nome de *cavéra* (caveira), devido à parecença que existe entre a disposição das pintas e uma caveira.
- Sete-gôrdo, sete-pique**—Também jogo de *clu-clu*. *Sete-gôrdo*: combinação de um «terno» e uma «quadra». A designação «gordo» provém da disposição das pintas, que faz lembrar uma pessoa gorda, com a barriga saliente. *Sete-pique*: combinação de um «ás» e uma «sena».
- Sevandizio**—Sevandija. Pessoa que se mete com outros, com risco de sofrer humilhação. *Sevandizio* originou *sevandiziú*: dar-se ao desfrute.
- Siára**—Senhora; mãe de família. É o feminino de *sium*.
- Siduzi**—Seduzir.
- Sim**—Sem. *Sim-regónha*: sem vergonha.
- Siná**—Assinar; apôr o nome.
- Si-si**—Vem de *ziri*. Urinar. *Fazê si-si*: urinar. Também se diz *sissica*.
- Sium**—Senhor. Patrão.
- Sôc-sôc**—Sovaquinho; cheiro desagradável, que emana do suor dos sovaquinhos. *Fêde sôc-sôc*: tresanda a sovaquinho.
- Sodado**—Soldado. *Sodado-sodado*: soldados.
- Sôm**—Termo chinês, que significa comida. *Comprá sôm*: ir às compras no mercado.
- Sombrêlo**—Vem de *sombreiro*. Guarda-sol ou guarda-chuva.
- Sonso**—Falho de memória; descuidado.
- Sópa**—Sopa. *Sópa-sópa de mulado*: molhado como uma sopa; feito em uma sopa.
- Sossegá**—Sossegar; acalmar.
- Sugá**—Enxugar. Pôr a roupa ao sol para secar.
- Susto**—Susto; medo. *Iou muito susto*: tenho muito medo.
- Sutate**—Tempero chinês, líquido, salgado, que se põe na comida ou em que se embebe a comida, e que substitui o sal.
- Sura**—Sujo. *Cabeça suzo*: «cabeça suja»; diz-se da pessoa que em tudo vê algum mal; pessoa que está sempre a pensar em maldades.



Tu-tum-piám feiôna,
Balá na travessa.
Jêto garidóna,
Co fula na cabeça. (*)

Ta-chim—Balança chinesa, geralmente de mão, que consiste em uma vara cónica, graduada, um prato pendurado numa das extremidades, um cordel na parte superior da mesma extremidade, que serve para suspender a balança na mão, e o respectivo peso, também atado a um cordel. Os *tu-chins* grandes são suspensos por duas pessoas, com *pinga* (vara) aos ombros. Estas balanças determinam o peso dos corpos em relação ao *cate* (604 gramas), ao *pico* (100 cates) ou *tucl* (1/16 de cate).

Tacho—Frigideira.

Tai-mông—Termo chinês, que corresponde a *palerma*; *toló*.

Tai-pán—Termo chinês. Exprime: *gente rica*.

Tambá—Remendar. *Tambá calça*: remendar as calças.

Tamêm—Também.

Táto—Tanto; muito. *Táto-táto*: imenso; muito.

Tasquinhá—Vem de *tasquinhar*, mas tem significado diferente, pois exprime: *furtar*; *subtrair*; *tirar às escondidas*.

Tau-lêng—Termo chinês que se emprega para designar a moeda de cinco avos, vigésimo de pataca.

Tel—Tael. Medida de peso, chinesa; uma das 16 partes em que o *cate* é subdividido.

Têm—Verbo *ter*. *Têm vida*: vive. *Quelôra tén vida*: quando vivia. *Tém aqui*: está aqui.

Temprá—Temperar.

Tentá—Ver; olhar. Fixar os olhos em alguém ou em alguma coisa.

Tentaçám—Tentação. Este termo é também empregado em locuções familiares, para referir determinada pessoa amiga. *Acunga tentaçám de Marichai*: aquele diabo da Marichai.

Têng-têng-lou—Nome, na China, do ferro-velho que anda de porta em porta em negócio de compra e venda de objectos usados, trazendo ao ombro uma *pinga* (vara) com dois cestos pendurados nas extremidades. O *têng-têng-lou* anuncia a sua presença, produzindo tinidos—«Têng... têng»—com o ferrinho que bate numa chapa de metal pendurada numa das mãos, à medida que vai andando. Daí o nome de *têng-têng-lou*: o homem que faz «têng-têng».

Tim-tim pa tim-tim—Tintim por tintim. Com toda a minuciosidade.

Tinhosa—Diz-se da criança impertinente, adoentada.

Titi—Tia. *Titi-titi*: tias.

Ti-ti—Alarido; teimosia. *Fazê ti-ti*: teimar. *Batê ti-ti*: bater os pés e fazer alarido, com intuito de teimar.

Tocá—Tocar. Acertar (no jogo ou lotaria).

Tomá chá—Tomar chá; lanchar. Pequena refeição entre o almoço e o jantar.

Tom-tôm—Rebuçados.

Torá português—À letra seria «torrar o português». Diz-se da pessoa que se esmera em falar correctamente o português, com pronúncia afectada.

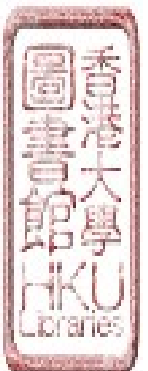
Torná—Tornar. Outra vez.

Travalo—Trabalhoso; custoso. *Assi travalo ganhá*: é tão custoso ganhar.

Trepá—Tregar; subir. *Trepá cama*: ir para a cama. *Trepá carêta*: subir para o autocarro. *Trepá telado*: trepar ao telhado.

Tréta—Treta; palavreado; lérias.

Triol—Berlinde. Bolinha de vidro, para jogo de rapazes.



- Tudúm**—Chapéu chinês, de aba muito larga, feito de verga com borda de rota. O *tudúm* tanto serve para resguardar do sol como da chuva. *Sã já cubrí tudúm*: é porque lhe serviu a carapuça.
- Tuna de musicuéro**—Tuna de músicos. Conjunto de tocadores de instrumentos de cordas, que pelo Carnaval costumavam vaguear por várias ruas da cidade, seguidos de mascarados.
- Tu-tum-piám**—Um estafermo; pessoa, geralmente velha, sem préstimo.

Unde vós já vai,
Prendê malinguá?
Língu lôgo cai,
De tanto badalú. (*)

Ucho—Beijo.

Umbigo-pegado—Pessoas inseparáveis; onde uma está, há-de também estar a outra.

Um-cento—Cem. Uma centena. *Um-cento fora*: cento e poucos.

Unchinho—Poucochinho; muito pouco. *Já faltá unchinho*: faltou muito pouco.

Ũnde—Onde. *Ũnde já vai?* Onde foi? *Ũnde lôgo tẽm?* Onde estará ou onde haverá?

Unga—Um ou uma.

Usá bôbo—Pôr máscara; vestir-se de máscara.

Uvi—Ouvir. *Iou uvi falá*: ouvi dizer. *Uvi! Ouça!*

Vêlo assi brejéro
Ficá sevandízio;
Ôlo qui ligéro,
Cabéça perdê juízo. (*)

Vaca chacháu margôso—Carne de vaca guisada com amargoso.

Vaca minchi—Carne de vaca, picada.

Vagar—Devagar; sem pressa. *Vagar-vagar*: muito devagarinho. *Vagar subí*: suba devagar. *Vagar-vagar andá*: ande devagarinho. *Vagar*: tempo; ocasião. *Iou non tẽm vagar*: não tenho tempo. *Si tẽm vagar lôgo rẽm*: virei se me sobrar tempo.

Vánda—Banda; lado. *Pa estunga vánda*: por estes sítios. *Vánda de trás*: parte traseira; parte posterior.

Vantú—Enguiçado; enfezado. Estado em que se fica (pessoa ou objecto) depois de affectado pela influência de mau olhado ou maus ares. *Siara já entrá, iou sua bôlo já ficá vantú*: a senhora entrou, e estragou-se o meu bolo.

Varê—Varrer; vaguear. *Varê rua*: sempre na rua.

Vazá—Vem de *vazar*, mas não tem o significado próprio deste termo. *Vazar*, no dialecto macaense, quer dizer precisamente o contrário: *encher*; *servir*. *Vazá chá*: servir chá; oncher a chávena com chá.

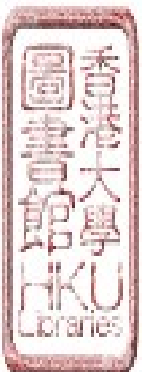
Vedade—Verdade.

Vegónha—Vergonha. *Iou vegónha*: tenho vergonha.

Vêla—Vela, que serve para dar luz ou que se põe no altar para adoração. Velha. *Vêla-vêla*: velhas.

Vêlo—Velho. *Vêlo-vêlo*: velhos.

Vẽm—Vir. *Vẽm-cá!* Venha cá! *Já vẽm?* Veio? *Ilêtro nádi rẽm*: Eles não virão.



Viázi—Viagem.

Vilám—Vilão.

Virá—Virar. *Virá ôlo*: volver os olhos, com expressão desvairada. *Virá-rirá*: de quando em vez. *Virá-mám*: numa volta de mãos; num virar de olhos. *Virá* exprime também *responder*; *replicar*. *Iou virá respondê*: respondi-lhe então.

Volontrôm—Pessoa gorda e desajeitada.

Vong-pit—Fruta da China, do tamanho de uvas, de casca amarela.

Xerá qui xerá,
Ai! Qui ramêde!
Tánto chacará,
Sua fula ficá fêde! (*)

Xáli—O mesmo que *cháli*: chaile.

Xerá—Cheirar. O mesmo que *cherá*.

Xicara—Xicara; chávena.

Zaragata fêto,
Sã de ciuridade.
Nina sua nêto,
Ispalá nuvidade. (*)

Zaprecê—Desaparecer. *Azinha zaprecê de iou sua diante!* Desapareça de-
pressa da minha vista!

Zaragata—Desordem; banzé.

Zaragatéra—Desordeira.

Zavaná—Vem de *safanão*. Sacudir; escorraçar.

Zinguá—Zingar; golpear; desfechar golpe com vara ou rota.

Zuní—Zunir.

Zunidela—Zunido.

