

# THE PORTUGUESE IN THE EAST



A CULTURAL HISTORY OF A  
MARITIME TRADING EMPIRE

SHIHAN DE SILVA JAYASURIYA

# THE PORTUGUESE IN THE EAST

Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya is Senior Fellow at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London. She is an Elected Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland, and is also associated with the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, King's College London. She obtained her Ph.D. in Linguistics at the University of Westminster, London. She is the author of *Tagus to Taprobane, An Anthology of Indo-Portuguese Verse*, *Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon* and *African Identity in Asia*, and editor of *Sounds of Identity*, *The African Diaspora in Asia: Historical Gleanings*, *Invisible Africans: Hidden Communities in Asia*, *Uncovering the History of Africans in Asia* and *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean* (co-edited with Richard Pankhurst).

# THE PORTUGUESE IN THE EAST

*A Cultural History of a Maritime Trading Empire*

SHIHAN DE SILVA JAYASURIYA

Tauris Academic Studies  
LONDON • NEW YORK

Published in 2008 by Tauris Academic Studies,  
an imprint of I.B.Tauris and Co Ltd  
6 Salem Road, London W2 4BU  
175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010  
[www.ibtauris.com](http://www.ibtauris.com)

In the United States of America and Canada distributed by Palgrave  
Macmillan, a division of St Martin's Press  
175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010

Copyright © 2008 Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya

The right of Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya to be identified as author of  
this work has been asserted by the author in accordance with the  
Copyright, Designs and Patent Act 1988.

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this  
book, or any part thereof, may not be reproduced, stored in or  
introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by  
any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or  
otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

International Library of Colonial History 11

ISBN: 978 1 84511 585 2

A full CIP record for this book is available from the British Library  
A full CIP record for this book is available from the Library of  
Congress

Library of Congress catalog card: available

Printed and bound in India by Thomson Press from camera-ready  
copy supplied by Oxford Publishing Services

To My Grandparents

Gate Mudaliyar Samson Perera Abeyasekera Disanayake Wijetunge  
and

Sophia Elwina Wijetunge (née Wickremasinghe),  
who introduced me to Eastern and Western cultural traditions without  
which this book would not have been written.



# Contents

|  |      |
|--|------|
| List of Illustrations  | viii |
| List of Abbreviations  | ix   |
| Acknowledgements   | xi   |
| Preface  | xiii |
| <br>   |      |
| 1. The Portuguese and the Indian Ocean                                       | 1    |
| 2. Luso-Asian Literature   | 12   |
| 3. Music and Postcolonial Identity   | 39   |
| 4. Portuguese Expansion and Language Contact                                 | 71   |
| 5. Cultural Interactions and Linguistic Innovations<br>in an Indo-Portuguese | 100  |
| 6. Portuguese in Malacca and Sri Lanka                                       | 125  |
| 7. Language Change in Portuguese Space                                       | 152  |
| 8. Twilight of the Estado da India   | 170  |
| <br>   |      |
| Bibliography   | 195  |
| Glossary   | 208  |
| Index  | 209  |



# Illustrations

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Map of Asia showing languages influenced by Portuguese<br>(cartography by Clifford Pereira)   | 2   |
| Map of Southeast Asia showing languages<br>influenced by Portuguese (cartography by<br>Clifford Pereira)  | 5   |
| <i>Mara Nutem Fundu</i> Score of an Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon<br>ballad (arranged by Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya and<br>notated by Simon Proctor)                                    | 27  |
| <i>Surya-Noketranche Porim Porzoletta</i> Score of a Goan Mando<br>Song (arranged and notated by Anthony Noronha)   | 44  |
| Musicians and dancers at a Sri Lankan <i>Baila</i> party depicted<br>on a gramophone record sleeve (collection of<br>Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya)                                    | 48  |
| <i>Kaffrinha</i> Arranged by Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya, scored by<br>Simon Proctor and computer transcription by João Paulo<br>Cota  | 58  |
| A Sinhalese couple on their wedding day dressed in<br>clothing influenced by the Portuguese (Source: J. Ferguson<br>(1903). <i>Ceylon in 1903</i> . Colombo: A. M. and J. Ferguson) | 59  |
| Façade of St Paul's church, Macau (collection of<br>Clifford Pereira)   | 83  |
| Fort Jalali, Oman (collection of Clifford Pereira)  | 96  |
| Map of the Indian sub-continent showing languages<br>influenced by Portuguese (cartography by Clifford Pereira)   | 137 |
| Vimaladharmasuriya, King of the Kandyan kingdom<br>(Sri Lanka) and Portuguese admiral (collection of<br>Shihan de Silva Jaysuriya)  | 140 |

# Abbreviations

|         |                                 |
|---------|---------------------------------|
| Ø       | absence of TMA marking          |
| 3s      | third person singular           |
| A       | Adjective                       |
| ACC     | Accusative                      |
| ADV     | Adverb                          |
| ANT     | Anterior                        |
| Ap      | Adposition                      |
| ART     | article                         |
| ASP     | aspect                          |
| AUX     | auxiliary                       |
| COMP    | completive                      |
| CON     | consensus particle              |
| DAT     | dative                          |
| DESC    | descriptive                     |
| EMPH    | emphasis                        |
| EXISTbe | existential be                  |
| G/GEN   | genitive                        |
| GO      | goal relator                    |
| IPA     | International Phonetic Alphabet |
| KOR     | Indo-Portuguese of Korlai       |
| LOC     | locative                        |
| MAC     | Macao Portuguese Creole         |
| MAL     | Malacca Portuguese Creole       |
| MANG    | Indo-Portuguese of Mangalore    |
| MOD     | modality                        |
| N       | noun                            |
| NEG     | negative                        |
| NOR     | Indo-Portuguese of Norte        |
| NP      | noun phrase                     |
| NPM     | Indo-Portuguese of Negapatnam   |
| O       | object                          |
| OBJ MKR | object marker                   |
| -P      | non-punctual aspect particle    |

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| PF     | perfective aspect particle                         |
| PFC    | perfective   |
| -P ASP | nonpunctual aspect                                 |
| POST   | postposition                                       |
| PP     | possessive pronoun                                 |
| PREP   | preposition  |
| QUOT   | quotative  |
| R      | recipient relator                                  |
| RP     | relative pronoun                                   |
| S      | subject  |
| SIN    | Sinhala  |
| SLMC   | Sri Lankan Malay Creole                            |
| SLPC   | Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole                        |
| SOV    | Subject Object Verb                                |
| SP     | Standard Portuguese                                |
| SR     | di in the function of possessive or source relator |
| SVO    | Subject Verb Object                                |
| TNS    | tense  |
| V      | verb   |
| VOC    | Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie                  |

# Acknowledgements

I am obliged to Mr Sonny Ockersz (President, Catholic Burgher Union, Batticaloa, Sri Lanka) who has acted as the liaison to the Burgher community in Batticaloa, the people who have kept the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon alive for so long. I am grateful to the Afro-Sri Lankans in Puttalam who showed me how their music and dance had been transmitted from generation to generation without any formal training. I am obliged to Marshall Wambeck and Gerald Wickremasuriya for providing me with valuable information about Wellington Bastianz, the composer of *Chorus Baila*, the genre of cross-cultural music that caught the pulse of independent Sri Lanka. I wish to thank the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the Fundação Oriente for funding my field work.

I should like to thank Mr K. D. Somadasa, the Curator of the Hugh Nevill Collection at the British Library, London for making the largest collection of nineteenth-century Asian Portuguese folk verse available to me. I also thank the University of Graz, Austria, for granting me permission to work on the Hugo Schuchardt manuscript '*Zum Indo-portugiesischen von Ceylon*'.

Thanks are also due to those who have constructively commented on my works throughout the years: Professor Ratna Wijetunge, Professor Clive Willis, Professor Theodora Bynon and Professor Philip Baker. I would like to thank Simon Proctor for arranging my notation of the Sri Lankan song. I am grateful to Anthony Noronha for writing the score of a Goan Mando and to Clifford Pereira for drawing the maps for this book. Some years ago, I spent a day with Professor Charles Boxer and his wife, in their charming country house, discussing informally the Portuguese explorations in the East. He was enthusiastic about my work on cross-cultural interactions and I am thankful for his guidance on works to consult.

I am grateful to my parents, Dr Fairlye de Silva and Mrs Pearl de Silva for encouraging me to train up to the Trinity College of Music (London) diploma in western classical music on the piano and also to perform Sri Lankan Kandyan dancing which gave me a balanced outlook on cultural expressions from the two hemispheres. I thank my husband, Dr Hemal

Jayasuriya, for critical and constructive comments on the script. This book would not have been written, however, without the patience of my son, Johan Heshan.

# Preface

The Portuguese expansion in the Orient following Vasco da Gama's voyage to India in the late fifteenth century led to prolonged contact between diverse cultures. The activities of Afonso de Albuquerque and da Gama encouraged miscegenation between the Portuguese and the Asians which resulted in generations of mother-tongue speakers of Luso-Asian languages which were used in negotiating oriental commerce. These languages outlasted Portuguese presence in Asia and are now becoming moribund, due to the sociopolitical changes that followed when the Portuguese presence ended. Nevertheless, the Portuguese stamp is evident in the words that have been adopted by several indigenous languages. Portuguese became the language of colonisation in sundry places in the Indian sub-continent, and also in Malacca, Macau and Timor. Portuguese is now an official language in East Timor.

Chapter 1 sets the scene for a hypothesis that a Portuguese *lingua franca* served as the link language in Portuguese Asia. This language outlasted Portuguese rule in certain parts of Asia and also became the bridging tongue between other European powers who followed the Portuguese into the Indian Ocean. Contact languages result from contact of cultures. By taking the case of the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon (now called Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole), which has both a voluminous recorded literature and contemporary communities who speak this language, I demonstrate the importance of language in trading and empire building. Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon and Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole are synonymous. Ceylon is the name given to the Island by the British administrators. The name changed to Sri Lanka when it became a republic in 1972.

The next chapter draws attention to both secular and religious literature in former Portuguese Asia which is a hybrid of European and Oriental imagery. It includes a nineteenth-century manuscript of Indo-Portuguese ballads which I transcribed, edited and translated into Standard Portuguese and English, together with my interpretations of the stanzas through my knowledge of both Portuguese and Sri Lankan cultures. I resisted the temptation to embellish them and remained faithful

to the original compositions of the anonymous poets. Hugo Schuchardt, the distinguished German linguist, took a keen interest in contact languages and these ballads are among his collection of manuscripts at the University of Graz, Austria. Through the *Cantiga de Ceilão* (Song of Ceylon), I also demonstrate how Indo-Portuguese ballads sung in the East Coast of Sri Lanka influenced this composition by Jorge de Sena, the contemporary Portuguese poet. By comparing twentieth-century Indo-Portuguese stanzas with those in a nineteenth-century manuscript in the British Library, London, I demonstrate how oral traditions affect the lyrics of ballads. Ballad fragments from other Luso-Asian languages illustrate how the Lusitanian sailors and soldiers spread the ballads in lands far away from Portugal. Twentieth-century Indo-Portuguese religious literature, the Apostle's Creed, is of interest linguistically and historically.

The impact of Portuguese presence on the popular music of Asia, an unexpected outcome which falls outside the official plan is the focus of Chapter 3. While the Portuguese impact on religious music has been acknowledged, there has not been much emphasis on how it affected contemporary popular Asian music, and also on the introduction of western music concepts to Asia. It also demonstrates the importance of cross-cultural compositions in the postcolonial identity of decolonised nations. Popular music is more dynamic than traditional music and often neglected as they are oral traditions.

By illustrating Portuguese words that have been adopted by more than fifty Asian languages, the breadth of the Lusitanian imprint is demonstrated in Chapter 4. Tracing contact situations which resulted from trading, missionary activities and Portuguese settlers, I have illustrated how Portuguese words could have passed into Asian languages.

The effect of cultural contact on language is considered in Chapter 5. Words are most commonly adopted in a contact situation. This is a two-way exchange but in an asymmetric relationship as in colonisation, the colonised people's language adopts more words from the language of the colonisers. Borrowed words have to be adapted to the phonological system of the borrowing language and I have identified phonological rules that govern this process. These borrowed words can be grouped into semantic categories which represent areas of contact. There are non-Portuguese words in Indo-Portuguese indicating that other languages were also spoken at the time. I also compare Indo-Portuguese in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in order to illustrate the effects of socio-political change on language.

Chapter 6 makes a comparative study of two Luso-Asian languages: Papia Kristang (Malacca Portuguese Creole) and Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon (Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole). It takes into consideration how tense, mood and aspect are expressed in these languages and how they deviate from the pattern found in Standard Portuguese. It considers if these languages are similar to Bickerton's Prototypical Creole System. These languages are representative of grammaticalisation of the other Portuguese-based contact languages that once thrived in Asia. I also contextualise the development of Indo-Portuguese, illustrating linguistic pressures faced by post-colonial nations. Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon was affected by Dutch and English after the Portuguese era ended. The indigenous languages, Sinhala and Tamil, became more important after Sri Lanka regained her independence. Grammatical variation in Indo-Portuguese is of interest to historians of languages, to linguists and to sociologists.

By considering shared linguistic features in Luso-Asian languages, in Chapter 7, a case is made for a Luso-Asian language to have originated in South India (Cochin) and then spread to other parts of Asia. Comparative studies with Papia Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese), Macau Portuguese Creole and Indo-Portuguese dialects of Korlai, Mangalore, Negapatnam, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Norte (Bombay, Bassein area) support the hypothesis for a common origin of these languages, which facilitated communication between the network of fortresses and trading posts that were the pivotal points of the Portuguese maritime empire. It also brings to light the competition that the Portuguese faced in the Indian Ocean.

Finally, in Chapter 8, the nature of the *Estado da Índia*, the Portuguese breakthrough in Asia and also Portuguese influence after other Europeans entered into trading partnerships in the Indian Ocean is considered. It highlights the outcomes of cross-cultural interactions emanating from the Portuguese expansion in the East and the intangible Portuguese legacies in Asia which have outlasted the material monuments.



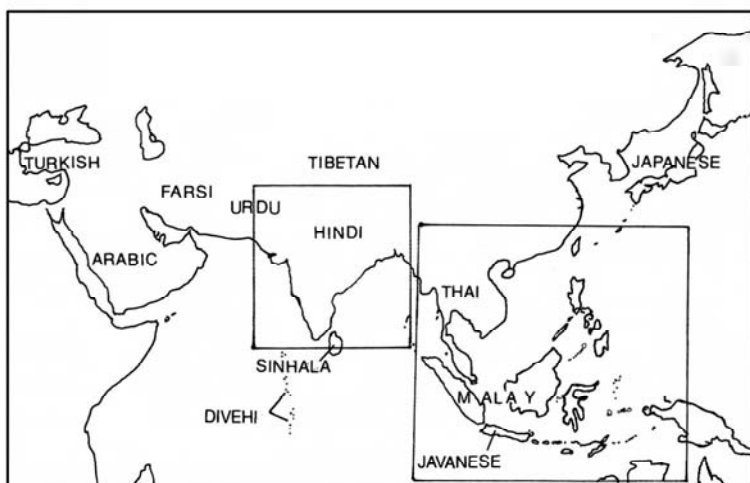


# 1

## The Portuguese and the Indian Ocean

Vasco da Gama's voyage to India in the late fifteenth century paved the way for maritime contact and commerce between the Orient and the Occident. The Portuguese foray into Asian waters turned the Indian Ocean into a zone for cross-cultural contact between East and West. Previous seafaring nations in Europe had not expanded their territories into other continents. It could be argued that the Portuguese expansion overseas was the beginning of globalisation. Vasco da Gama's epic-making voyage opened up new horizons for the Portuguese, who had stumbled upon ancient, sophisticated and culturally diverse trading networks that operated on the natural rhythm of the monsoon winds spanning the entire Indian Ocean from East Africa to the South China Seas. Da Gama sought experienced pilots who could unlock the secret of the monsoon and help him to reach India. He engaged a navigator, who was guided by the *kamal*, an ancient Arab navigational instrument, to sail on the Indian Ocean (Klein 2006). This instrument measured the altitude of stars and the latitude of ports and was used by Arab and Indian navigators who had mastered the techniques required to sail on the Indian Ocean. The *kamal* made the fixed horizon, rather than the rolling deck of the ship, one of the crucial variables in determining latitude by angular measurement. The quadrant and the ancient astrolabe which were used on European ships were unreliable when the ship was in motion.

The objectives of the Portuguese in the Orient were to spread Christianity and to capture the spice trade (Willis 1999). Spices were being taken to Antwerp and Bruges via Mameluke Egypt and Venice until the Portuguese broke this pattern. The Portuguese being new entrants to the spice market in the early sixteenth century, threatened the market share of the Mameluke Sultan in Egypt. The Venetians were also disturbed by the



Map of Asia showing languages influenced by Portuguese (cartography by Clifford Pereira).

potential loss of their trade. Reacting to the hostility of the established trading partners in the Indian Ocean, King Manuel created a Portuguese state in the Indian Ocean. Dom Francisco de Almeida (a cousin-in-law of Vasco da Gama) was appointed as the first Viceroy of the Estado da India (the State of India which spanned from the Cape of Good Hope to China). Cochin was the commercial and political headquarters of the Estado until 1530. Sealing off the traditional Red Sea to Venice route, the Portuguese established a chain of fortresses for trading which converged to Cochin (Malekandathil 2001: 148). Even after the administrative function was shifted to Goa, Cochin continued to be the commercial capital of the Estado. Afonso de Albuquerque, who became Viceroy in 1509, was able to capture Goa, Malacca and Ormuz, between 1510 and 1515, all of which were vital entrepôts in the strategy of the intended Portuguese monopoly. Thereby the Portuguese were able to control the west coast of India, the Moluccas (Spice Islands) and the trade route through the Persian Gulf.

A trading post at Muscat gave them a toehold required for the seizure of Ormuz whereby they gained a foothold in the Persian Gulf. In Sri Lanka, they were able to subjugate much of the Island and were not limited to the maritime provinces. The Portuguese established trading posts in Bengal, Myanmar (formerly Burma) and Thailand (formerly Siam). Malacca was the centre of a radial trade system that embraced Goa in India, Macau in China,

Nagasaki in Japan, the four islands in the Moluccas and three of the lesser Sunda Islands of which Timor is the best known. In Macau, the factory was established in 1557 and some 20 years later the emperor of China's Ming Dynasty recognised the Portuguese as brokers for trading with Japan; the two Oriental nations had rejected direct trading. The products of the Portuguese Oriental trading network included gold from both Sumatra and China, silver from Japan, pepper from both Malabar and Indonesia, cloves, nutmeg and mace from the Spice Islands, cinnamon from Sri Lanka, silks and porcelain from China, cotton textiles from Gujarat and Coromandel, indigo from various sources, sandalwood from Timor and horses from Persia and Arabia.

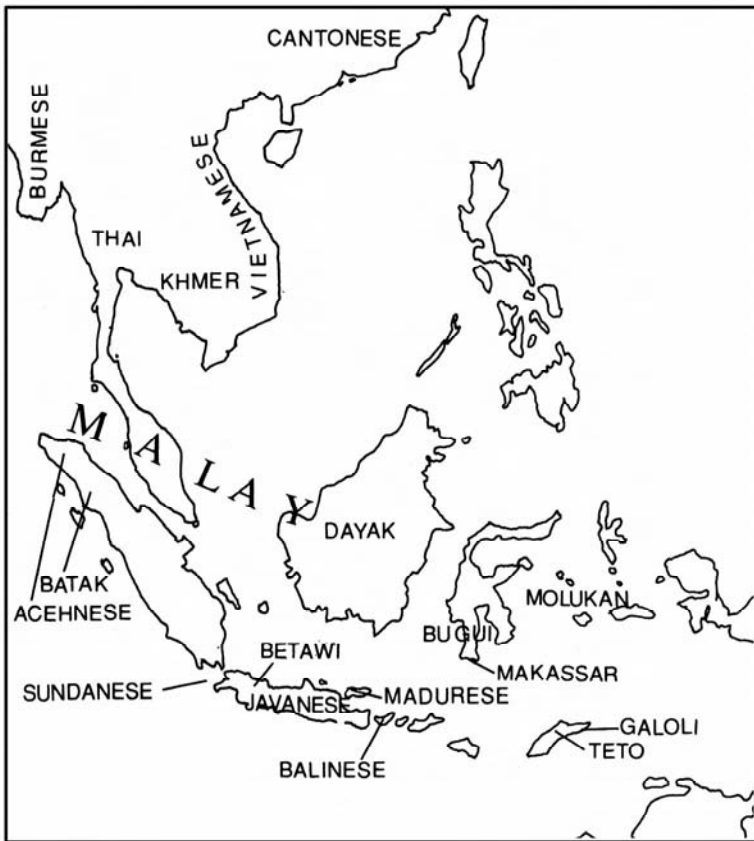
The Portuguese were continually interacting with 'Others', peoples of alien cultures, who spoke many languages and who had different religious beliefs and practices. The Portuguese enterprise functioned on interdependence and interactions with other cultures. Understandably, they introduced many western cultural traits to the Orient which were reinforced or transformed by the European nations that followed them to these lands. The Indian Ocean became a Portuguese lake in the sixteenth century, and the Lusitanians were breaking ancient trading links and destroying the fortunes of other nations. The ability of the Portuguese to interact with 'others' in order to pursue their goals is exemplified by – Ahmed Ibn Majid – the finest Arab navigator of the day, who Vasco da Gama took on board in East Africa to guide him through the unfamiliar parts of the Indian Ocean and on to India (Newitt 1995). The Portuguese shortage of manpower in the imperial venture meant that they had to be innovative in this respect also. The shortage of Portuguese women on these voyages could only result in miscegenation though it has been suggested that it was a method of breeding *mestiços/mestiças* (people of Portuguese and Asian descent) who would be loyal to the Portuguese. Afonso de Albuquerque, however, encouraged miscegenation. Generations of *mestiços* were cultural intermediaries transmitting Lusitanian cultural traits to Asians. *Mestiços* were mother-tongue speakers of Luso-Asian languages which became the voices of commercial exchange between the East and the West. These languages outlasted Portuguese presence in Asia and are now becoming moribund, due to the economic and sociopolitical changes that followed and the emergence of other trade languages. Nevertheless, the Portuguese stamp is evident in the Portuguese words that have been adopted by several indigenous languages. Portuguese became the language of commerce and colonisation in sundry places in the Indian sub-continent, in Malacca, Macau and Timor.

From the second half of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese spread their language, mostly in pidginised and creolised forms, as a *lingua franca* along the coasts of Africa and Asia, from the Cape Verde Islands to Canton and the Moluccas. Adolfo Coelho (1880–1886) first aroused interest in the Portuguese dialects which were then expanded by Hugo Schuchardt, a distinguished German linguist. Schuchardt was a student of August Schleicher whose *Compendium* of 1861–2 is considered to be one of the major syntheses of Indo-European comparative grammar (Bynón 2001: 1223). Schuchardt pointed out that the history of the discovery of the Portuguese conquests is likewise the history of the spread of the Portuguese language. Missionary activities enhanced the spread of Portuguese, which was considered the language of Christianity *par excellence*. A knowledge of Portuguese was looked upon as an index of European culture.

Leite de Vasconcellos (1901) surveyed the African creoles and sketched the Portuguese dialects in his survey. It seems likely that Portuguese was pidginised in Angola and Mozambique though the evidence for these languages is scarce excepting for a barracoon jargon in Mozambique (Richardson 1963). Moser (1969) refers to the ‘broken Portuguese’ (*pequeno-português* or *pretuguês*) spoken by illiterate people in the Angolan cities. Wurm (1971) mentions a Pidgin Portuguese in eastern Timor. Clements (2000) puts forward a theory for the existence of a Pidgin Portuguese in India but excludes Sri Lanka. Clearly there is scope for expansion of this model.

At Jakarta (formerly Batavia), the Dutch people of mixed descent and their slaves, spoke creole until about 1800, and in the nearby village of Tugu, the dialect continued until after 1900. Moreover, the music genre known as *Kroncong* in Java, highlights the extent to which the Portuguese cultural influences have spread as one may not expect to find Lusitanian influences in parts of the world which were the jewels in the Dutch Crown. In Malacca, which the Portuguese controlled from 1511 to 1641, there are still *Papia Kristang* (Malacca Creole Portuguese) speakers. This dialect was carried to Singapore where, according to Teixeira (1963), it was spoken by an offshoot of the Malaccan community. Whinnom (1956) derives the Philippine Spanish Creole from relexification of Moluccan Portuguese. In 1557, a Portuguese settlement was established in Macau resulting in a creole-speaking community. The dialect was carried to Hong Kong where creole was spoken by a few thousand people.

Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado (1936: xxiii), a Goan Jesuit linguist, drew attention to Portuguese being spoken in its ‘pure’ or ‘corrupt’ form in India, Malaysia, Pegu, Burma, Siam, Touquin, Cochín-China, China, Kamarin in Persia, in Basra of the Turkish Vilayet, and at Mecca in Arabia. He adds that



Map of Southeast Asia showing languages influenced by Portuguese  
(cartography by Clifford Pereira)

it was not limited to the Portuguese but that Hindus, Mahommedans, Jews, Malays and other Europeans spoke it as a bridging tongue among each other and with the indigenous people. He also draws attention to the use of Portuguese by Dutch missionaries in their own dominions and by English Protestant ministers in Ceylon (called Sri Lanka today).

Southeast Asia was attractive for its spices – cloves in the Moluccas, nutmeg and mace in Banda, pepper in Sumatra and Sunda, sandalwood in Timor, camphor in Borneo, benzoin and aloes in Sumatra and Cochin-China. These spices were brought to Malacca where the demand and supply met and were traded there. In addition, there was Malacca musk, sealing wax and precious stones in Burma and North Siam, exported

through Pegu, tin in the Malay Peninsula and gold in Sumatra. In 1533 and 1537, the royal monopoly in the spice trade in Malacca ended, leaving a window of opportunity for the *casados* (married men) to enjoy large profits in the Bengal-Malacca, Coromandel-Malacca and Cochin-Malacca routes. From Cochin, some of these oriental commodities were taken to Lisbon. Once the trading post in Macau was established, in 1557, Chinese goods (porcelain, silk, lace, jewellery, minted brass) flowed to Cochin and other parts on the Malabar Coast. The Portuguese liberated the King of Cochin from vassalage to the Zamorin. They made him an independent king and officially performed his coronation in 1505. This illustrates that the Portuguese entry into Indian Oceanic waters was beneficial to local rulers who had been powerless and unable to express their authority militarily. Portuguese trading posts sprang up in coastal India: Bassein, Bombay (Mumbai), Cochin, Daman, Diu, Korlai, Mahe, Mangalore and Negapatnam. Daman and Diu which controlled Gujarati shipping were important in the western Indian Ocean trade. When British rule ended in 1948, Portuguese India was limited to the coastal enclaves of Dadra, Daman, Diu, Goa and Nagar Haveli. In 1954, Dadra and Nagar Haveli were taken over by India. Portuguese rule in India ended in 1962, when India took over Daman, Diu and Goa.

This book puts forward the hypothesis that a Luso-Asian lingua franca served as the medium of communication between the Portuguese and the Asians. In Sri Lanka, it served as the bridging tongue between, not one, not two, but three European powers and the indigenous people. Throughout its recorded history of 2,500 years, the Indian Ocean island of Sri Lanka has attracted the attention of many nationalities: Indians, Persians, Arabs, Malays, Chinese, Abyssinians, Greeks, Italians, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French and British. Sri Lankan culture had been moulded by the neighbouring Indian subcontinent, and by Buddhist and Hindu philosophies, for 2,000 years, when the Portuguese made contact. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (the modern appellation for the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon) served as the language for external communication and trade for almost three and a half centuries. Prolonged contact between two peoples, who did not speak a common language, and generations of *mestiços* and *mestiças*, resulted in a creole language. Today the creole is mainly spoken in *Madakalapuva* (Batticaloa), *Tirikunamale* (Trincomalee) and *Puttalam* (Puttalam). There are, however, a few creole speakers in other parts of the country.

Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole is related to the varieties of Indo-Portuguese that once flourished in coastal India – Bombay area,

Cannanore, Cochin, Daman, Diu, Mahé, Mangalore and Negapatnam (Schuchardt 1882, 1883a, 1883b, 1890; Dalgado 1903, 1906, 1917, 1922). Indo-Portuguese is still spoken in Daman and Korlai (Clements and Koontz-Garboden 2002). Hugo Schuchardt, the 'Father of Creole Linguistics' stated in the nineteenth century that a comprehensive description of Indo-Portuguese would have to be based on the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon as it had a relatively large literature. Reinecke (1975: 77) suggests that Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole is a special case of Indo-Portuguese because the dialect was used extensively and for very long.

Ferdinand de Saussure drew attention to the relations which may exist between the history of a language and the history of a race (Harris 1983: 21). As Thomason and Kaufman (1992) point out, the history of a language is not an independent phenomenon which can be studied without reference to the social context in which it is embedded. It is a function of the history of its speakers.

Of the three waves of European influences that washed over Sri Lanka, the first, the Portuguese wave, was never completely obliterated by the subsequent Dutch and British waves. The Portuguese have influenced many aspects of Sri Lankan society and culture (names, administration, furniture, architecture, dress, cuisine, flora, fauna, music, dance, theatre, religion, education, language, literature). Portuguese lexical borrowings in Sinhala reveal cross-cultural contact (de Silva Jayasuriya 2000a, 2000b).

Phonological, phonetic, syntactic elements and even inflectional morphology follow structural borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman 1992). Extensive structural borrowing however usually requires bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers over a considerable period of time. In Asia, the Portuguese married indigenous women who remained in their speech communities and therefore did not stop speaking in their mother tongues. These indigenous languages became the 'second mother tongue' of the creole-speaking children and their descendants, regardless of how important Portuguese Creole was to them as a badge of social identity (Holm 1994: 264). Indo-Portuguese speakers have been subjected to bilingualism or multilingualism over several centuries, particularly by Sinhala and Tamil, the indigenous languages. Moravcsik (1978: 10) asserts that there can be no structural borrowing without lexical borrowing. Lexical borrowing can occur even without widespread bilingualism. In a language maintenance situation, and when there is little bilingualism, only non-basic vocabulary is borrowed.

The Sinhala, Tamil, Malayālam, English and Dutch words adopted by Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole as well as the Portuguese words adopted in



Sinhala, belong to semantic fields such as food, drink, time, currency, social, household, administration, place names, surnames and personal names, which indicate the flows from one linguistic system to another. Some words represent new concepts or objects introduced by the Portuguese. Others represent instances where Portuguese words such as *janelaya* have been adopted in preference to the Sinhala synonym *karulava*.

Almost all contemporary work on language change recognizes the central role of variation. Being the vehicle of change, variation also provides an elegant resolution to the Saussurean paradox which questioned how a language can continue to function effectively as a structured system when it is in the middle of a number of changes.

Cross-cultural secular and religious Luso-Asian literature is the focus of the next chapter. The existence of a copious literature in the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon makes it an important case study of Portuguese Creole. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole still survives – against all odds – mainly in the colloquial form and in ballad fragments. On hearing these ballads, Jorge de Sena, the contemporary Portuguese poet, composed the *Cantiga de Ceilão* (Song of Ceylon). While the religious literature is known due to the presence of an active Catholic Church in Sri Lanka, secular literature is barely recognised. Portuguese sailors and soldiers seem to have spread ballads throughout Asia.

Chapter 3 concerns post-colonial nations, and how crossing cultural borders have shaped contemporary popular music of countries with former Lusitanian links, which yet have Luso-Asian communities such as India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Indonesia. The Goan *Mando*, Sri Lankan *Baila* and *Kaffrinba*, Indonesian *Kroncong*, Malaysian *Pantun* and *Joget*, illustrate Portuguese influences in contemporary popular Asian music. Even though decolonisation heightens an awareness of ancient roots, cultural flows have tended to preserve Lusitanian links.

The results of several centuries of contact with the indigenous languages of Asia have transformed Luso-Asian tongues, in cases such as Sri Lanka, where they survived for several centuries. Chapter 4 illustrates how language contact results in lexical borrowing. Although this is a two-way process, generally there are many more words from the language that is considered to be prestigious being passed on to the other language. By illustrating Portuguese words adopted into more than fifty Asian languages, and highlighting the circumstances of their contact situations, this chapter enables one to appreciate the breadth and depth of Portuguese influences in Asia. Portuguese words have withstood socio-political changes and have remained in Asian languages despite the

decolonised nations carving out a new postcolonial identity. It is worth noting that the Portuguese imprint has not been erased by the waves of other colonisers that washed the shores of the Indian Ocean after them. Perhaps the Portuguese encounter with the Moors for several centuries when Portugal was part of Iberia had prepared them for their Oriental adventure and encounter with other cultures.

The results of prolonged cultural interactions between people of two diverse nationalities and linguistic systems as mirrored by the lexicon of Asian languages, is the main focus of Chapter 5. I have drawn attention to the phonological changes that occur when languages come into contact (Sinhala and Portuguese) deriving the phonological rules that govern Portuguese words adopted into Sinhala, the mother-tongue of 74 per cent Sri Lankans and the language for interethnic communication in the Island.

Structural borrowing, on the other hand, is a more complicated process requiring different conditions and this is illustrated through the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon which has seen several changes in the socio-politics and has had contact with not one, not two, but three European powers. It includes a typological comparison of the nineteenth and twentieth-century Luso-Asian languages of Sri Lanka. It also concerns gender and number agreement.

A comparison of two Luso-Asian languages still spoken in Malaysia and in Sri Lanka is undertaken in Chapter 6. It illustrates that, contrary to popular belief, what was formerly called 'Broken Portuguese' and considered to be an inferior version of the European Portuguese is, in fact, a language in its own right with a distinct grammar, but with a different set of rules. Bickerton's Prototypical Creole System is considered in order to ascertain if it fits in with the Asian Portuguese Creoles.

In Chapter 7, linguistic features – Reduplication, Tense, Mood and Aspect – in the Luso-Asian languages of North India, Negapatnam, Mangalore, Korlai, Sri Lanka, Malacca and Macau are compared. A hypothesis for the origin of Luso-Asian languages which were spoken in areas that were networked through a series of thalassic fortresses and trading posts is presented. The shared linguistic features among these languages, forms the basis for arguing that a Luso-Asian lingua franca with regional variation existed throughout Asia.

Hugo Schuchardt felt that any study of Indo-Portuguese should be based on the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon due to the large literature available at the time. By including twentieth-century data, for this important contact language, I have widened the dataset included in my linguistic analyses. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole is more than the mother-tongue of

a speech community. It served as the island's *lingua franca* for almost 350 years and was the bridging tongue, not only between the Portuguese and the Sri Lankans but also between the Dutch and the Sri Lankans and thereafter between the British and the Sri Lankans. Historical, sociological, political and demographical factors have affected the development of the creole. The evolution of a language cannot be studied without taking into account extra-linguistic factors. Throughout its 500 years of survival, Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole has been exposed to changing political and social situations. It has been in contact with Sinhala and Tamil, two verb-final languages, and also with Dutch and English, two verb-medial languages. The typological comparison of nineteenth and twentieth-century data included here, indicates that the structure of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole has gradually shifted towards that of a verb-final language.

However, there are no colloquial data available for the nineteenth century; assertions are based on literary data only for the nineteenth century. If and when data from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries become available, it would be possible to trace the linguistic development of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole in full. The majority of Creole words have Portuguese etyma. While the creole is becoming moribund, Portuguese cultural influences in Sri Lanka continue. Portuguese cultural influences extend beyond those who claim Portuguese ancestry. Portuguese influences have diffused to the Sri Lankans at large. In some instances these have been transformed to suit the climate of modern post-colonial Sri Lanka.

I have also drawn attention to verb, adjective and noun reduplications attested in Asian Portuguese Creoles. Noun reduplication was attested in all the Asian Portuguese Creoles. This illustrates shared features and contact between the Portuguese Asian territories. It suggests that the Portuguese and Malay linguistic systems were also interacting with one another in the Indian Ocean region during the sixteenth century. Studies of Luso-Asian languages contributes to an understanding of other varieties of contact languages. They also provide insights into socio-linguistics, cultural history, literature, folklore, ethnomusicology, anthropology and sociology of Asia.

The Portuguese empire was not staffed by Europeans alone. It was an amalgam of Europeans, Africans and Jews. This enriched the results of cross-cultural contact. Chapter 8, considers the twilight of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. What began as a commercial activity and the search for oriental spices got entangled with missionary activities. The complicated political set up in Asia with Asian kings and princes threatened by local

enemies meant that the Portuguese were often invited in to protect these monarchs. At times power slipped into Portuguese hands resulting in territorial control and expansion. Seapower often saved the Portuguese from attacks by competing Europeans and established traders. Although Portuguese dominance in the Indian Ocean ended in the sixteenth century, Mozambique, Goa, Daman, Diu, Macau and East Timor continued under Portuguese control until the twentieth century. Yet the resurgence of the Portuguese language and identity in East Timor makes one wonder if the sun has actually set on the Portuguese empire.

There have been many histories written about the Portuguese expansion overseas. Yet the historiography on cultural interactions between the Portuguese and the Asians has been neglected. The Portuguese State of India extended from the Cape of Good Hope to China. In this book, I have confined myself to Asia. Due to space constraints, the African part of the *Estado* remains to be treated in another volume. Lévi Strauss (1963) advocates a joint approach with both history and anthropology to build a comprehensive picture of the past. Warning against taking one view of the past, be it anthropological or historical, he emphasises the need for a two-pronged attack. This book combines history, anthropology, language, oral traditions in literature and music, in order to draw attention to the cultural history of Portuguese Asia.

## 2

# Luso-Asian Literature

The literatures of peoples who have come into contact, particularly folk songs, mirror the interactions of their cultural systems. As the ‘Father of Creole Linguistics’, Hugo Schuchardt, the distinguished German linguist, pointed out in the late nineteenth century, there is significant material on the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon.

### **Secular Literature**

This literature is little known today. The creole ballads represent a tradition which the Portuguese took with them to their overseas territories. The creole communities have been the bearers of these songs for several centuries and have kept them alive through an oral tradition for four centuries before they were recorded. The songs would have changed from the original compositions as the singers improvised.

I located a late nineteenth-century manuscript with two Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon ballads (56 stanzas) in the University of Graz, Austria, among the Hugo Schuchardt Collection. Schuchardt included them in his essay ‘On the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon’. I have set out my translations into Standard Portuguese and English below. In translating the manuscript, I remained faithful to the original compositions of the anonymous poets, resisting the temptation to embellish them.

Schuchardt stated that Mr Eaton who sent him these songs from Sri Lanka (which was called Ceylon at that time) admitted that he was not always certain as to the intended meaning. The verses may, in their oral transmission, have lost their original form. The first song is untitled. The composer of the ballad is male and he seems to be addressing his fiancée. It seems to be akin to the *Cantigas de Amigo* (‘love songs which are sung by a girl’) and *Cantigas d’Amor* (‘songs of love’) in Portuguese literary tradition. The lyrics narrate his longing for his loved one, the pathos of love and how his heart ‘broke’ due to the pain. Stanza 9

emphasises the weight of this pain which will cause his heart to crack open even if it was made of marble. Continuing on the theme of the power of love, Stanza 10 draws attention to the weakening of the hero's body and his melting heart. Stanza 11 continues the theme of melting, but this time metaphorically, as the hero is not aware of the passage of time due to his emotions. Stanzas 12 and 13 describe the pangs of love causing sleeplessness and restlessness to the lover. Stanzas 14 to 17 illustrate the pleasures and pains of love. In stanza 18, the hero indicates that the pain is so great that it might be better to put an end to his life.

The hero's tender age is apparent in stanza 19 and stanzas 20 and 21 describe his intense feelings and his fidelity. Stanzas 22 to 25 illustrate unrequited love. The imagery in stanza 26 illustrates that the poet was influenced by the local flora, as the coconut trees are abundant in Sri Lanka, particularly on the coastal belt. Stanza 27 praises the heroine. A local custom is captured in stanza 28 because the washerman is associated with marriage ceremonies and the virginity and purity of the bride. Stanza 29 implies that the horse will carry love without taking revenge. Stanzas 30 and 31 describe the heroine and it seems to be a Burgher (a person of Portuguese and/or Dutch descent) girl judging from her fair complexion. Not surprisingly, her lips are compared to corals, which are associated with maritime life. The disparity between the lovers is brought to the fore in stanzas 32 and 33. Stanzas 34 and 35, describe the two sides of love. The final stanza, 36, leaves the interpretation to the reader. In what follows, I have set out the Standard Portuguese translation and the paraphrases of the stanzas.

Schuchardt noted that these songs have the characteristics of the love songs from the west coast of India and that Stanza 36 is similar to a stanza in an Indo-Portuguese ballad from Mangalore. Mr Eaton had sent Schuchardt the score of the Mangalorean song called '*Margaritta Maria, Margaritta, Margaritta Senhoras*'. Mr Eaton had written a temperance song in the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon, to the same tune, which Schuchardt incorporated into his essay, as he considered the material to be linguistically interesting. This song is about the evils of wine and its effects on one's health, work and life. Stanza 1 refers to a drunkard and stanzas 3 and 4 are cynical about alcohol and implies that water preserves one's health and livelihood better. Stanza 5 blames wine for causing bad mouth odours, weakness in the legs and giddiness. Stanza 7 uses a local idiom and refers to a drunkard as 'a boiled shrimp'. This concerns the fair-skinned Burghers who turn pink when they are drunk. Interestingly, the same idiom is in Sinhala also, as people of fair complexion who turn pink are referred to as *thambapu isso* which means 'boiled prawns'.

# Nineteenth-century Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon/SLPC untitled song

*Schuchardt Manuscript*

*My Translation (SP)*

1. Quem quer ovi  
Hum sucesso de vento?  
Te vi hum maço  
Hum grande tromento!

*Quem quer ouvir  
Um sucesso de vento?  
Um mancebo vem  
Num grande tormento!*

Who wants to hear, // a success of vanity? //  
A young man comes, // In a great torment!

2. Buscando te vi  
De tempos passado  
Ja olha per nova  
Ja fica ariado!

*Buscando eu venho  
De tempos passados  
Olhei a noiva  
Fiquei árido!*

Searching I come, // Of times past, // I saw the fiancée, // I was parched!

3. Quanto annos, e tempo,  
Ja guarda respeito!  
Ja olha per vos!  
Agora satisfeito!

*Quantos anos, e tempos,  
Guardei respeito!  
Olhei-vos!  
Agora estou satisfeito!*

How many years, and times, // I guarded respect! // I saw you! //  
Now I am satisfied!

4. Ja encontra per vos,  
Ne muito alegre!  
Gardeçe per vos  
Com grande saudade!

*Encontrei-vos,  
Com muita alegria!  
Agradeço-vos  
Com grande saudade!*

I met you, // with much joy! // I thank you // with great nostalgia!

5. Amor tem hum causa  
Que cahi ne tentação!  
Primeiro ne vista  
Segundo ne coração

*Amor é a causa  
Porque cai na tentação!  
Primeiro na vista  
Segundo no coração*

Love is the cause // That I fell into temptation! // First at sight //  
Second in the heart

6. Ja usa amor  
Com coração forte  
Amor causador  
Eu casta mea morte!

*Usei amor  
Com um coração forte;  
Amor causou dor  
Eu castigo a minha morte!*

I resorted to love // With a strong heart; // Love caused pain // I chastise my death!

7. Vide meu amor,  
Todo penas ja passa;  
Agora tem basta!  
Meu coração ja quebra!

*Porque meu amor,  
Todas as penas passei;  
Agora basta!  
Quebraste o meu coração!*

Because my love, // I passed all pains; // Now it is enough! // You broke my heart!

8. Amor ja da dor *Amor deu dor*  
 Ne peito nocente *Nascida no peito*  
 Castigo de Deos *Castigo de Deus*  
 Acha brandamente. *Acho-o brando.*

Love gave pain//Born in the breast//God's punishment//I find softly.

9. Amor ja da dor *Amor deu dor*  
 Que non pode supporta! *Que não posso suportar!*  
 Si fora peder marma, *Se feito em pedra marmore,*  
 Lodia fende, rabenta! *Daria fenderia, rebentar!*

Love gave pain//That I cannot support!//If made in stone marble,/  
 It would crack, to break!

10. Eu com hum amor *Eu com um amor*  
 Fraco mais figueira! *Fico mais fraco!*  
 Minha coreção *O meu coração*  
 Darte como çera! *Derrete como cera!*

I with a love//I stay more weak!//My heart//Melts like wax!

11. De amor sua causa *Por causa do seu amor*  
 Per mi ja suçede! *Eu consegui!*  
 Hum dia per outro *Um dia depois do outro*  
 Como sal te darte. *Derrete como sal.*

Because of your love//I succeeded!//One day after another//Melts like salt.

12. Sober minha cama *Na minha cama*  
 Si eu descansado! *Estava descansando!*  
 Com lagres de meu olho, *Com lágrimas de meus olhos*  
 Alfada molhado! *A almofada está molhada!*

Upon my bed//I am resting!//With tears of my eyes//The cushion is wet!

13. Nontem parmi sono *Para mim não há sono*  
 Nem parmi hum descanso, *Para mim nem descanso,*  
 Causo de amor *Por causa do amor*  
 Tem grande espanto. *É um grande espanto.*

For me there is no sleep,//Nor for me rest,//Because of love//It is a great shock.

14. Amoroço peito, *Amoroço peito,*  
 Rigoroso coreão, *Rigoroso coração,*  
 Eu ne vossa braço *Eu nos vossos braços*  
 Lo morre com afeição. *Morarei com afeição.*

Amorous breast,//Rigorous heart,//I in your arms//Will live with affection.

15. Larga todo te anda! *Largo tudo, ando!*  
 Vos que hora lo vi? *Virás aquela hora?*  
 Minha coreção, *O meu coração,*  
 Non pode suffri. *Não pode sofrer.*



I leave all, I go!//Will you see that hour?//My heart,//Cannot suffer.

16. Depois de toma,  
Amor seu sentido  
Carne de meu corpo  
Ja tem bem dartido.
- Depois de tomadas,  
O sentido do amor  
A carne do meu corpo  
Tem muito a dar.*

Having taken,//Love's feeling//My body's flesh//Had much to give.

17. Depois de toma  
Amor seu lembrança  
Anoite, dedia  
Nontem hum descanso!
- Depois de tomadas  
As lembranças de amor  
De noite e de dia  
No tenho um descanso!*

Having taken//love's memories//At night and at day//I do not have a rest!

18. Ai! amor! amor!  
Parque vingança da?  
Doque da vingança  
Melhor vida tira.
- Ai! amor! amor  
Porquê vingar-te?  
Porquê vingar-te?  
Melhor tirar a vida.*

Ah! love! love!//Why avenge yourself?//Why avenge yourself?//Better to take life.

19. Ja toma amor  
Ne poco idade;  
Per larga mão  
Sinte piedade.
- Tomei-me de amor  
Com pouca idade;  
Largo a mão  
Sinto piedade.*

Love took me//at a young age;//I release the hand//I feel pity.

20. Ja toma amor  
Com grande lembrança!  
Depois de toma,  
Sabe tem vingança!
- O amor tomou-me  
Com grandes lembranças!  
Depois de tomado,  
Sei tem vingança*

Love took me//With great memories!//Having taken,//I know it has vengeance!

21. Eu ama per vos  
Com coreção forte;  
Assi lo ama  
Ate minha morte.
- Eu amo-vos  
Com um coração forte;  
Assim amarei  
Até à minha morte.*

I love you//with a strong heart;//Thus I will love//Until my death.

22. Eu ja ama per vos  
Assi verdedeiro;  
Minha corpo morto  
Vos ja tem herdeiro.
- Eu amei-vos  
Assim verdadeiramente;  
Do meu corpo morto  
Vos sois herdeira.*

I loved you//thus truly;//Of my dead body//You are heiress.

23. Amor afeição,  
Firma ate cabo!  
Si arma treição,  
Lo leva diabo!
- Amor afeição,  
Firme até ao fim!  
Se há uma traição,  
O levará o diabo!*

Love affection, // strong until the end! // If there is a treason, //  
the devil will carry it!

24. Amor ja falla *Amor disse*  
Junto lo morre *Moraremos juntos!*  
Ja olha pobreza *Ela viu pobreza*  
Salta ja curre! *Ela saltou e fugiu!*

Love said // We will live together // She saw poverty // She jumped and ran away!

25. Amor ja falla *Amor disse*  
Junto lo morre! *Moraremos juntos!*  
Amor non tem dodo *Amor não é dado*  
Vida per perde *Para perder a vida*

Love said // that we will live together! // Love is not given // to lose life.

26. Albre curto curto, *O coqueiro muito pequeno,*  
Coco buli agoa! *Toca a água!*  
Iste tempo seu amor *Agora o seu amor*  
Lo leva diabo. *O diabo levará.*

The very short coconut tree, // touches the water! //  
Now your love, // the devil will carry.

27. Nem alto, nem curto, *Nem alto, nem baixo,*  
Honeste altura! *Honesta altura!*  
Todos te gana *Todos gabam*  
De vossa postura! *A vossa postura!*

Neither high nor low // Honest stature! // Everyone praises // Your posture!

28. Vide hum amor *Uma vida de amor*  
Todo passos ja passa! *Todos os passos passou!*  
Ne trajo de mainato *No trabalho do lavadeiro*  
Ate ropa ja lava! *Até a roupa lavou!*

A life of love // Passed all the steps! // The work of the washerman //  
until the clothes were washed!

29. Lo mara primera *A amarrarei primeiro*  
Ne cavallo seu pe *Ao pé do cavalo*  
Lo leva per amor *Ele levará amor*  
Sem sabe vingara *Sem saber da vingança.*

First I will tie her // To the horse's foot // He will carry love //  
Without knowing of revenge.

30. Rosto color de rosa *O rosto cor de rosa*  
Conde chero ambri de ambrosia *Cabelo com cheiro ambrosia*  
Ai, minha amor *Ai, o meu amor*  
Hum minina gallante *Uma menina galante*

Face colour of pink // Hair with smell of ambrosia // Ah, my love // A gallant girl.

31. Ail! minha amor *Ail! o meu amor*  
 Como agoa cristallino! *Como água cristalina!*  
 Beijo de coral *Lábios de coral*  
 Dente risca fino! *Dente de risco fino!*

Ah my love//Like clear water!//Lips of coral//Trace delicate teeth!

32. Vos tem ne castella, *Você está no castelo,*  
 Eu tem ne cidade; *Eu estou na cidade;*  
 Quelei pode tem *Como é possível*  
 Amor firmidade? *Firmar amor?*

You are in the castle, //I am in the city; //How is it possible //To secure love?

33. Vos tem ne cidade, *Você está na cidade,*  
 Eu aqui prezado! *Eu estou aqui querida!*  
 Nué vossa culpa *Na vossa culpa*  
 Tem minha peccado! *É meu o pecado!*

You are in the city, //I am here dear! //In your shame //Is my sin!

34. Hum peito 'margoso *Um peito amargo*  
 Hum cruel offerço *Uma cruel afeição*  
 Hum cor'ção cruel, *Um coração cruel,*  
 Lo paga primeço! *Pagará a promessa!*

A bitter breast //A cruel affection //A cruel heart, //Will pay the promise!

35. Hum firme peito, *Um peito firme,*  
 Com liel coração, *Com coração leal,*  
 Sempre ama firme *Sempre ama firme*  
 Sem arma treição! *Sem armar traição!*

A firm breast, //With loyal heart, //Always firm love //  
 Without armed treason!

36. Chuva fino, fino *Chuva fina, fina*  
 Riba de cozinha! *Sobre a cozinha!*  
 Vista de maço *Vista de um mancebo*  
 Sober hum mininal *Sobre uma menina!*

Fine rain, fine //On top of the kitchen! //Sight of a young man //On top of a girl!

The stanza draws attention to the drunkard, who will be in deep sleep and only wake up on Monday morning. This is an exaggeration to emphasise the effects of over-drinking. Stanzas 8 and 9 emphasise how wine will ruin a person's life and how the drunkard's face will be disfigured with swollen eyes and how his vision will also be impaired. Stanzas 10 and 13 seem to invoke a sense of religiosity in the drunkard, as it refers to Saint Louis. It evokes a sense of guilt in the drunkard by implying that the moral code of the church will decline due to his actions. The next few stanzas (14–15) refer to the drunkard's addiction, as he pours wine down his

throat. This makes him giddy and he loses his balance. Understandably, in stanzas 16 and 17, the body is metaphorically referred to as a boat which sways. Stanza 18 draws attention to the addiction of the drunkard, who drinks more wine to treat his headache. Stanza 19 refers to the drunkard speaking an unintelligible language. In the final stanza, the effect of the drunkard's addiction is exposed; he is refusing to drink any medicine as his stomach is already full with wine. In fact, he cannot walk or even crawl to his bed and he is sleeping in the kitchen intoxicated with alcohol.

The nineteenth-century manuscript in the Hugh Nevill Collection in the British Library, London, on the other hand, contains a larger collection (1049 stanzas) of Indo-Portuguese ballads and is a valuable source for many academic disciplines.

### Nineteenth-century Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon song: 'Margarita Maria Margarita'

*Schuchardt Manuscript (SLPC)*

*My Translation (SP)*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Curre vi irmãos, curre vi irmãos<br>Curre vi assinal!<br>Si vos nade assina minha irmãos,<br>Beberajo não larga | <i>Venham correr irmãos, venham correr irmãos</i><br><i>Venham correr acenar!</i><br><i>Se vocês não têm nada para acenar meus irmãos,</i><br><i>Não largues um bêbado</i> |
|--|--|

Come run brothers, come run brothers, // Come run beckon! // If you have  
 nothing to beckon, my brothers, // Do not release a drunkard

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 2. Batte, batte mãos, batte, batte mãos<br>Batte, batte mãos, vi!<br>Velhos te folga, maços alegre,<br>Mininas ta sorri. | <i>Bate, bate as mãos, bate, bate as mãos</i><br><i>Bate, bate as mãos, vem!</i><br><i>Os velhos folgam, os mancebos alegam,</i><br><i>As meninas sorriem.</i> |
|--|--|

Clap, clap hands, clap, clap hands, // Clap, clap hands, come! //  
 The old rejoice, the young men cheer, // The girls smile.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 3. Batte, batte mãos, batte, batte mãos<br>Batte, batte mãos, vi!<br>Velhos te folga, maços alegre,<br>Mininas ta sorri. | <i>Bate, bate as mãos, bate, bate as mãos</i><br><i>Bate, bate as mãos, vem!</i><br><i>Os velhos folgam, os mancebos alegam,</i><br><i>As meninas sorriem.</i> |
|--|--|

Clap, clap hands, clap, clap hands, // Clap, clap hands, come! // The old rejoice,  
 the young men cheer, // The girls smile.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 4. Agoa si bebe, agoa si bebe<br>Lo logra ramedil!<br>Çedo lo irgui, venkel lo abri<br>Bemfeito lo servi | <i>Se bebes agua, se bebes agua</i><br><i>Conseguirás um remédio!</i><br><i>Acordarás cedo, abrirás a loja</i><br><i>Farás o serviço bemfeito</i> |
|--|---|

If you drink water, if you drink water, // You will find a remedy! // You will  
 awaken early, You will open the shop // You will serve well

5. Vinho tem hum treidor, minha nona      *O vinho é um traidor, minha senhora*  
 Vinho tem um treidor      *O vinho é um traidor*  
 Mão pe, não da força, minha nona      *Mãos e pés, não dão força, minha senhora*  
 Boca lo da feidor!      *A boca terá mau cheiro!*

Wine is a traitor, my lady//Wine is a traitor//Hands and feet, do not give  
 strength, my lady//The mouth will stink!

6. Vinho lo engana, minha nona      *O vinho enganará, minha senhora*  
 Vinho lo engana;      *O vinho enganará;*  
 Tonto, tordoadado, minha nona      *Tonto, atordoadado, minha senhora*  
 Cabeçe lo vira.      *A cabeça virará.*

Wine will delude, my lady//Wine will delude; //Giddy, dizzy, my lady//  
 The head will turn

7. Camarão cozido si quer' olha,      *Se queres ver um camarão cozido,*  
 Olha per hum beberão;      *Procura um bêbado;*  
 Quando sua olhos te abri,      *Quando seus olhos se abrem,*  
 Segundofeira palmiaã!      *Na segunda-feira de manhã*

If you want to see a boiled shrimp, //Look for a drunkard; //  
 When his eyes open, //Monday morning!

8. Quem te bebe vinho, minha nona,      *Quem bebe vinho, minha senhora,*  
 Lo trize ruino      *Ficará arruinado*  
 Corpo disfayido minha nona      *Corpo desfigurado minha senhora*  
 Rosto de moffino!      *Rosto de um idiota!*

Whoever drinks wine, my lady, //Will be ruined, //Disfigured body my  
 lady //Face of an idiot!

9. Quem te bebe vinho, minha nona!      *Quem bebe vinho, minha senhora!*  
 Lo anda perdido      *Perder-se-á*  
 Rosto lo incha; vistas lo fica,      *O rosto inchará; olhos ficarão,*  
 Torto, truçido.      *Torto, torcido.*

Whoever drinks wine, my lady! //Will lose himself //  
 The face will swell up; eyes will be, //Crooked, tortuous.

10. Que foi Sin' Louis, que foi Sin' Louis      *Quem foi São Luís, quem foi São Luís,*  
 Quem ja arma treição?      *Quem armou traição?*  
 Aquel vidro de vinho, Sinyo,      *Aquele copo de vinho, Senhor,*  
 Valia, dous fanões!      *Vale dois fanões!*

Who was Saint Louis, who was Saint Louis //Who armed treason? //  
 That glass of wine, Sir, //Worth two fanams!

11. Que foi Sin' Louis, que foi Sin' Louis      *Quem foi São Luís, quem foi São Luís,*  
 Vistas sarado?      *Olhos fechados?*  
 Capella de olho, Sinhonay,      *Alinbo da capela, pequeno Senhor,*  
 Te fica pezado!      *Fica pesado!*

Who was Saint Louis, who was Saint Louis, //Eyes closed? //

Good order of the chapel, Little Sir, // Becomes burdensome!

12. Que foi ne vestido Sin' Louis  
Lama astanto?  
Ja perde balança quando sasse,  
Sasse ne recanto!
- O quem estava no vestido de São Luis  
Bastante lama?  
Perdeu equilibrio quando saciado,  
Saciado no canto!*

Whoever was in the clothes of Saint Louis//Enough stain?//  
Lost balance when quenched,//Quenched in the corner!

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 13. Sacude bota pô, Sin' Louis<br>Beberajo larga mão!<br>Nemiste sigoor mais Sin' Louis<br>Nemiste dai pião! | <i>Sacode o pó da bota, São Luis</i><br><i>Bêbado larga a mão!</i><br><i>Não necessita fiar mais São Luis</i><br><i>Não necessita jogar pião!</i> |
|--|---|

Shake, dust, pour, Saint Louis//Drunkard release the hand!//  
No need to spin more Saint Louis//No need to play top!

14. Na minha mani, na minha mani,  
Na minha manila  
Vinho ne garganto te vaza  
Como ne funila!

In my mania, in my mania, // In my mania //  
Pours wine into the throat // Like into a funnel!

15. Cabeçe te vira, Sinhonay!  
Corpo te balança!  
Ovi minha pai, ovi minha mai  
Viramento branda!
- A cabeça vira, Pequeno Senbor!  
O corpo balança!  
Ouvi meu pai, ouvi minha mãe  
Viramento brando!*

The head turns, Little Sir!//The body swings!//  
Listen my Father, listen my Mother//Turning soft!

16. Minha pobre corpo Sinyonay,  
Rolla como barco  
Samater de vinho quando daje,  
Tabos fica fraco.
- O meu pobre corpo Pequeno Senbor,  
Rola como um barco  
Quando bate numa tempestade de vinho,  
As tábuas ficam fraas.*

My poor body Little Sir, // Rolls like a boat //  
When hit in a storm of wine, // The planks become fragile.

17. Cabeça te vira, Sinyonay      *A cabeça vira, Pequeno Senhor*  
Corpo te balança!      *O corpo balança!*  
Iste pobre corpo, Sinyonay      *Este pobre corpo, Pequeno Senhor*  
Onde lo descanca?      *Onde descancará?*

The head turns, Little Sir//The body swings!//  
This poor body, Little Sir//Where will it rest?

18. Cabeçe tem tonto Sinyonay,  
Tem for'de sentido;  
Ramedi de vinho te trize  
Hum grande perigo!
- A cabeça está tonta, Senhor  
Está sem de sentido;  
Traz um remédio de vinho  
É um grande perigo!*



invited me to translate this manuscript, which had been overlooked for a century. The scholars who consulted the Collection (2227 manuscripts) were orientalist; the other manuscripts are either in Sinhala, Tamil, Pāli or Malayālam (Somadasa, 1987–95).

The Nevill manuscript is illegible in places. Several scribes have recorded the stanzas or copied them from another manuscript. I had problems in transcribing the manuscript and it was refreshing to find my sentiments being voiced by Jorge de Sena, one of the foremost contemporary Portuguese poets, in his *Cantiga de Ceilão* (1982): ‘*estes versos portuguesas leio como se lêem as pedras no fundo de água turva e remexida* (SP).’ (I read these Portuguese verses like people reading stones which are in the depths of muddy, swirling waters.)

Jorge de Sena, through his contemporary poem, *Cantiga de Ceilão*, draws attention to the linguistic and literary outcome of the Portuguese encounter with Sri Lanka. The Batticaloa Burghers gave me a booklet of *Cantigas* printed in 1976 by the Catholic Burgher Union, Batticaloa. Even though the spoken creole is becoming moribund, the community are able to sing Portuguese Creole songs. The booklet contains ballad fragments such as *Mara Nutem Fundu* which inspired Jorge de Sena. He begins and ends the *Cantiga de Ceilão* with Standard Portuguese translations of lines that are in the Batticaloa booklet of *Cantigas*: ‘*Mara nutem fundu minbe vida par tira Rue nuga largu minbe morte par leva*’ (SLPC). The sea is not deep enough to take away my life/ /There is no street wide enough to carry my dead body.

Jorge de Sena rediscovers Portuguese ballads, through *Cantiga de Ceilão*. He draws attention to Portuguese literary and linguistic traditions that have survived in South Asia. Ballads were known throughout Europe since the late Middle Ages; they combine narratives, dramatic dialogue and lyrical passages in stanzaic form sung to a rounded tune and often includes a recurrent refrain. The ballad and the quatrain are the two most characteristic folk-forms of the Iberian Peninsula. Ballad (from the Latin word *ballare* meaning ‘to dance’) was a short popular song that may contain a narrative element. Ballads were usually accompanied by instruments such as the fiddle, harp, guitar, banjo or dulcimer. In the European literary tradition, a ballad is a popular or traditional song type that was at its height during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which coincides with the Portuguese presence in Sri Lanka (1505–1658).

Jorge de Sena was a poet, short fiction writer, novelist, playwright, essayist and critic of music, theatre and film. He considered himself, above all, a poet. The *Cantiga de Ceilão*, composed by Jorge de Sena on 24 March 1974, was published in 1982 in *40 Anos de Servidão* (‘40 years of Servitude’).



The Portuguese adopted the word *Ceilão* from *Selendip* (the Arabic appellation for the Island) which is ultimately of Pāli origin (*Sibalan* + *Dvīpa* meaning 'Island of the Sinhalese').

### **Cantiga de Ceilão (song of Ceylon)**

1. *O mar não é tão fundo que me tire a vida*  
*Nem há tão large rua que me leve a morte*  
 (The sea is not deep enough to take my life away  
 There is no street broad enough to carry my deadbody)
  
2. *Mara nutem fundu minbe vida par tira*  
*Rue nuga largu minbe morte par leva*  
 (The sea is not deep enough to take my life away  
 There is no street broad enough to carry my deadbody)

*Escritos em caracteres tamis, e transcritos com fonética inglesa*

*Por quem mal sabe a lingua em que soavam,*

(Written in Tamil characters, and transcribed with English phonetics  
 by those who did not know well the language that they relished)

*Estes versos portugueses leio como se lêem as pedras*

*No fundo de água turva e remexida.*

*E chegam-me do fundo de Ceilão e do tempo*

*Por mão amiga que os encontrou ainda vivos.*

(I read these Portuguese verses like reading stones

In the depths of muddy swirling waters

And they come to me from the depths of Ceylon

and through time

By a friendly hand which found them still alive.)

3. *Nesta noite do mundo a abater-se sombria*  
*sobre um Portugal que os deuses já cegaram*  
*Estes versos emergem com uma tranquilidade*  
*Terrível de lingua morta a desfazer-se*  
*E cujos ossos restam dispersos num e de um rimance*  
*Cantado já quarto séculos numa terra albeia.*  
 (In this night of the world reduced to darkness  
 Upon a Portugal that the gods already blinded  
 These verses emerge with a terrible tranquillity  
 Of a dead language disappearing  
 And whose bones rest dispersed in one ballad or another

Sung for four centuries in a foreign land)

4. *Distâncias de oceanos os conduziram como hábito de serões e vigílias.  
Solidões do longe os ensinaram a quem partilhou tédios e saudades.  
E apesar de outros povos, outros domínios, outros reinos  
ficaram nas memórias teimosas de abandonada gente  
quando o império se desfez e os nomes se esqueceram.*  
(Oceanic distances drove them like the habit  
Of awoken nights and vigils. Loneliness of distances  
Trained them who shared tediousness and nostalgias  
And despite other people, other lands, other reigns  
Remained persistent in the memories of abandoned people  
When the empire broke up and the names were forgotten.)
5. *Falam de morte a que profundas não bastam  
e de ruas estreitas em que ela não cabe ou passa.  
Fundos de mar e ruas como a vida sabe  
se perdida em si mesma, presa por um fio  
a um país esquecido e que se esquece ao longe  
palavra a palavra, por gente dissolvida.*  
(They speak of a death that is not profound enough.  
And of narrow streets in which it is not fit to go or pass  
Depths of the sea and streets such as known by life  
If lost in itself, held by a yarn of thread  
To a forgotten land and that which is forgotten for long  
Word for word, by dispersed people.)
6. *Nesta noite do mundo, os versos se refazem  
numa leitura minha que os restaura incertos,  
incertos e inseguros de como eram outrora.  
Mas o que dizem dizem. Não os ouve nada  
nem ninguém. Chegam a mim para ficar  
como mortos da mesma morte que negam.*  
(In this night of the world, the verses restore themselves  
In a reading of mine that restores the uncertain,  
Uncertain and unsure of how they were formerly  
But they say what they say. Neither being heard  
Nor being seen by anybody. They come to me like death to remain  
As dead, by the same death that they deny.)
7. *Morte de amor será de que o rimance cantava.*

*Morte de longes em que a lingua só ainda soava.  
 Morte de oceanos e de ruas em que a vida vai  
 separando um a um os amantes que houver,  
 deixando-os pelo tempo largo e pelo espaço estreito  
 em que se apagam todos como a voz se apaga.*  
 (Death of love was what the ballad sang  
 Death of distances in which only the language is still heard  
 Death of oceans and of streets in which life is going on  
 Separating the lovers, one from the other  
 Leaving them for the liberal time and the narrow space  
 In which they quench all as the voice fades away).

8. *O mar não é tão fundo que me tire a vida  
 Nem há tão larga rua que me leve a morte*  
 (The sea is not deep enough to take away my life away  
 There is no street broad enough to carry my dead body.)

Jorge de Sena retained Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole for the first two lines of Stanza 1 but he translated them into Standard Portuguese for the opening and closing lines. I have translated below the ballad in the booklet of *Cantigas* given to me by the Burghers ('people of Portuguese and Dutch descent') in Batticaloa (Eastern Sri Lanka).

### **Mara Nutem Fundu (The sea is not deep enough)**

*(SLPC followed by my translation)*

1. *Mara nutem fundu mingha wide par tira*  
 (The sea is not deep enough to take my life away)  
*Rue nuga largu mingha morte par leva*  
 (The street is not broad enough to carry my deadbody)
2. *Amor ja fala mingha juntu lo moore,*  
 (Love said she will come and live with me)  
*Ja oya pourasa ela larga ja kure*  
 (When she saw my poverty, she ran away)
3. *Anala de oru sathi padera junthu,*  
 (The ring of gold with seven stones)  
*Quem kera anala vie kasa mingha junthu*  
 (Whoever wants the ring has to marry me)
4. *Pentia kabelu nona mara konde grande,*



*Mara Nutem Fundu* Score of an Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon ballad (arranged by Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya and notated by Simon Proctor)

(Comb your hair lady, tie a big knot in the hair)

*Asetham nutem fala loda minha sangui.*

(If you don't have oil, I will give you my blood)

5. *Oru irumam mingha dosi irumam,*

(Dear sister, my sweet sister)

*Vos cum mure oie evu lo mure amiam.*

(You and I will live together with love)

6. *Altu cokera sue sura animal lo da,*

(Tall coconut tree's toddy we'll give to animals)

*Sura faje vignu todus corsam alagra*

(Toddies become wine, all hearts become happy)

7. *Pappa ja fala parme eli per casa,*

(Father told me, if you marry him)

*Katru fanam paga par me kilai lo justa.*

(How will you live, he will give you four fanams only)

8. *Anala de oru ja kai na posu*

(The ring of gold fell into the well)

*Tira vossa lansu para seka vossa rosttu*

(Take your handkerchief to dry your tears)

9. *Kaadi nona kaadi nona evu ja manda karte,*  
(Each day every day lady, I sent a letter)  
*Pappa medu mamma medu ja pincha na ortha.*  
(Father fears, mother fears, threw it into the garden)
10. *Pussa na cadera evu santha na portal*  
(Pull the chair, I sit in the garden)  
*Jada par beva par me vignu de Natal*  
(He gave me to drink, the Christmas wine.)

I have used my training as a pianist in the Western classical canon (Trinity College of Music, London) to arrange the song, *Mara Nutem Fundu*, for the piano. Simon Proctor, a professional composer, has notated it.

I traced some of these stanzas to the nineteenth-century Hugh Nevill manuscript in the British Library which has a section on 'Portuguese Song Batticaloa'. The contemporary song is limited to ten stanzas which is not surprising as the ballads became shorter due to oral transmission; the version in the Nevill manuscript song has 103 stanzas. The composers of these ballads are anonymous but would have been mother-tongue speakers of Indo-Portuguese.

In the *Cantiga*, de Sena muses on life and death. Understandably, the sea was an important theme in some of the finest Portuguese ballads such as *A Nau Catarineta*. De Sena has remained faithful to the creole in Lines 1–2 of Stanza 2 as he has not made an attempt to translate them into Standard Portuguese. He seems to have been particularly captivated by these two lines, as he translated them into Standard Portuguese in Stanzas 1 and 8.

In Stanza 2, Lines 5–8, he refers to reading Portuguese verses from Ceylon (the anglicised version of *Ceilão*). I became interested in de Sena when I learnt that he had experienced similar feelings to mine when reading Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole literature. I have not met him and he died in 1978. We share the same sentiments in reading the nineteenth-century manuscript of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole verse. The manuscript was illegible in places. Translating them was also a challenge for me, as creole languages are allowed to evolve freely, and the word lists available, were inadequate. The manuscript is a snapshot of two interacting cultural systems. I was intrigued to find out what the verses intended to communicate. By first translating the stanzas into Standard Portuguese, I was able to extract the meaning of most words. Translating the non-Portuguese words whose

etyma are in many languages (Sinhala, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Tamil, Malayālam, Malay, Dutch and English) was also a challenge.

In Stanza 3, de Sena refers to a Portugal that has already been blinded as he had experienced the dark age of Portugal, the Salazar regime. In Stanza 3, Lines 2–6, de Sena refers to a language which is becoming moribund. He is referring to a language which is still spoken by a few hundred Burghers – Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. He refers to ballads sung for four centuries in a foreign land. These ballads are still sung by several thousand members of the Burgher community.

In Stanza 4, Lines 4–6, de Sena draws attention to the Portuguese descendants in Sri Lanka. As a maritime enterprise, the Portuguese were driven by oceanic distances. They made contact with new lands and people of other cultures. In Sri Lanka, when the Portuguese empire disintegrated, despite other reigns (Dutch, British and since 1948 by the Sinhalese), the ballads have remained in the memories of the ‘abandoned people’, the *Mestiços*/Burghers/ Creoles. In Stanza 5, Lines 4–5, de Sena refers to death, deep sea, narrow street. He implies that the Portuguese Burghers have a tenuous link with Portugal. Contact with Portugal ceased in 1658 when the Dutch took over parts of the maritime provinces. The Dutch allowed the Portuguese to go to another Portuguese holding of their choice.

In Stanza 6, de Sena implies that he is reading the creole stanzas though he is unsure if his reading is accurate. He implies that they communicate their message. De Sena points out that they are as silent as death and not known by many. He makes it clear that they are denying death; they are stubbornly refusing to die!

In Stanza 7, de Sena implies that the ballad is singing of love, a popular theme in ballads. Again he plays with death. He ends on an optimistic note by mentioning the liberal times ahead; Salazar’s regime came to an end on 25 April 1974.

Jorge de Sena, draws the attention of contemporary Portuguese scholars to the Portuguese literary traditions that are still practised by ‘the abandoned people’ – the Portuguese Burghers of Sri Lanka. Perhaps de Sena’s separation from his native Portugal, made him sensitive to other misplaced communities. As Portuguese ballads are a disappearing tradition even in Portugal, it is quite remarkable that they survive in Sri Lanka where Portuguese contact was severed 350 years ago. The survival of a Portuguese Creole – against all odds – is exceptional, particularly as the Dutch and the British succeeded the Portuguese in Sri Lanka. Portuguese ballads have influenced a popular Sri Lankan genre of music, song and dance called *baila* (see Chapter 3).

King Alfonso (1221–84) was one of the greatest royal patrons of scholarship and the arts that the Western world has known. He supported lyric poetry of various types and troubadour poets from various countries. He was a poet himself and his poetic compositions rank among the finest of his era (Zenith 1995: ix). Although the King's prose was in his native tongue, Castilian Spanish, he composed poetry in Galician-Portuguese, the language spoken in northern Portugal and in the Spanish region of Galicia. In the Iberian Peninsula, up to about the 1450s, songs were called *cantigas*. Written in Galician-Portuguese between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, *cantigas* have survived in a handful of *cancioneiros* ('song books'). Galician-Portuguese poetry included *cantigas d'amor* ('songs of love'), *cantigas d'amigo* ('love songs sung or spoken by a girl') and *cantigas d'escarnho* ('satirical songs'). Six *cantigas d'amigo* composed by Martin Codax, a thirteenth-century jongleur, are of particular value as their musical notation has survived.

Since the fifteenth century, the word *cancioneiro* (*cancionero* in Spanish) has meant a collection of poems without music. In the early sixteenth century, an impending divorce between poetry and music was clearly signalled in both Spain and Portugal. In Spain, this was signalled at Valencia, in 1511, through the printing of Fernando de Castillo's *Cancionero General*. Portugal followed, a few years later, in 1516, at Lisbon, by printing Garcia de Resende's *Cancioneiro Geral*. Most fifteenth century and sixteenth century *cancioneros* were compiled for learned or aristocratic readers. More mundane collections devoted exclusively to ballads (*romances*) for the wider public, began to appear with the *Cancionero de Romances*.

Ballads are popular songs that narrate a story in oral form through narrative and dialogue. Folk or popular ballads are one of the earliest forms of literature and draw their material from the early periods or rural sections of a culture. The Nevill and Schuchardt manuscripts illustrate characteristics of ballads such as simple diction; foreshortened action; refrain; themes of love; and physical courage. There are a few Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole word lists which have a small number of words. They were inadequate to translate the manuscripts. I, therefore, first translated the stanzas into Standard Portuguese (SP), which proved to be a rewarding strategy, as most of the lexicon in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole is from Portuguese. The translation is not intended to be anything more than an expression of fidelity to the creole texts; comprehensibility, rather than literary perfection was my goal.

The eight ballads in the first two groups of the Nevill manuscript ('Portuguese Song Batticaloa' and '*Cantiga de Purtigese – Kaffrein – Neger Song*

*Portuguese*”) are a mixture of eastern and western poetic imagery. Themes familiar in Portuguese ballads – not the radiant happiness of reciprocated love but the sorrow of unrequited love – are illustrated in the Nevill manuscript. For example:

| <i>SLPC</i>      | <i>SP</i>                 | <i>English</i>           |
|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Dispedede amor   | <i>Despedida amor</i>     | Say goodbye love         |
| Dispedede agora  | <i>Despedida agora</i>    | Say goodbye now          |
| Akal deya lo oya | <i>Até o dia que vere</i> | Until the day I will see |
| Vos mea signora  | <i>Você minha senhora</i> | You my lady              |

Portuguese love poetry was developed by the Portuguese King, Dom Diniz (1259–1325), who was a poet himself. He is considered the maker of the Portuguese language and the founder of Portuguese literature. Medieval Portuguese literature stems from the School of Troubadours which originated in Provence, France. Love, glory and independence were the themes of the troubadours who travelled from castle to castle spreading the doctrine of love, equality and fraternity. Fugitive meetings of lovers is illustrated in the Nevill manuscript.

| <i>SLPC</i>           | <i>SP</i>                       | <i>English</i>                |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Sie kerra parmie      | <i>Se me queres</i>             | If you want me                |
| Garda loomi ne kanaal | <i>Guarda uma luz no canal</i>  | Keep a light on the canal     |
| Buscando lovi amoor   | <i>Virei à sua procura amor</i> | I will come and seek you love |
| Contra de animal      | <i>Contra os animais</i>        | Against the animals           |

In Portuguese ballads, the heart is portrayed as something tangible and solid. In the creole, it is adapted as in the Nevill manuscript:

| <i>SLPC</i>         | <i>SP</i>                        | <i>English</i>               |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Korasang de karni   | <i>Coração de carne</i>          | Heart of flesh               |
| Kanthi pode suffree | <i>Quanto pode sofrer?</i>       | How much can it suffer?      |
| Fora podra marma    | <i>Se feito de pedra mármore</i> | Even if made of stone marble |
| Se massmo lo avree  | <i>Se abrirá por si mesmo</i>    | It will open itself          |

Observations of nature are linked to people’s behaviour as in Portuguese ballads. For example:

| <i>SLPC</i>          | <i>SP</i>                 | <i>English</i>       |
|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Kada anoe kada anoe  | <i>Cada ano cada ano</i>  | Each year each year  |
| Kada anoe de mossáán | <i>Cada ano na monção</i> | Each year at monsoon |



|                       |                              |                     |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| Alrie nuda foya       | <i>Árvore muda de folhas</i> | Trees change leaves |
| Jantis muda Kondisaan | <i>Gentes mudam de humor</i> | People change moods |

In the absence of audio-visual recordings of the Portuguese era, the stanzas in the two manuscripts portray a vivid picture of cross-cultural interactions. No canvas could portray more vividly the intimate contact between the Sri Lankans and the Portuguese than, for example:

| <i>SLPC</i>          | <i>SP</i>                                 | <i>English</i>              |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Se kera pervos       | <i>Se queres</i>                          | If you want                 |
| Au lo lava mea terra | <i>Eu levarei você para a minha terra</i> | I will carry you to my land |
| Mea korpo fia barko  | <i>O meu corpo fica um barco</i>          | My body becomes a boat      |
| Braso fia vala       | <i>O braço fica uma vela</i>              | The arm becomes a sail      |

Religious themes which are moving expressions of faith and devotion are encountered in the creole ballads. For example:

| <i>SLPC</i>          | <i>SP</i>                     | <i>English</i>         |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| Eau kaem minhe amoor | <i>Eu com o meu amor</i>      | I with my love         |
| Tantae confiaansa    | <i>Tenho tanta confiança</i>  | I have much confidence |
| Deaus taen ne Savos  | <i>Deus está no céu</i>       | God is in heaven       |
| Nas ne baláansa      | <i>Nós estamos em balanço</i> | We are in balance      |

Some stanzas indicate experience and philosophy of the poet. For example:

| <i>SLPC</i>         | <i>SP</i>                   | <i>English</i>         |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| Istie tampoe amoor  | <i>Estes tempos amor</i>    | Love these times       |
| Nuntaen confiyansa  | <i>Não têm confiança</i>    | Has no certainty       |
| Meeyor ama doos     | <i>Melhor amar dois</i>     | Better to love two     |
| Oruha per sigraansa | <i>Ter um por segurança</i> | To have one for safety |

The themes in the ballads in Batticaloa can be traced back to authentic Portuguese ballads such as *Bela Infanta* which are still sung in Portugal. Caufriez (1998a: 219) records *Bela Infanta* as sung in Trás-os-Montes, where the ballad has survived. These lyrics can be mapped on to those in Sri Lanka. The following line is from Portugal: '*Este anel de sete pedras ... que eu convosco reparti.*' (SP) (This ring of seven stones ... that I divided with you.) And the theme is continued in the Batticaloa ballad of *Mara Nutem Fundu* as shown below: '*Anel de oru sathi padera juthu/ /Quem kera anala vie kasa mingha junthu*' (SLPC). (The ring of gold with seven stones, / whoever wants the ring will have to marry me.)

The same theme is found in a 1884 manuscript of Indo-Portuguese of Mahé (Schuchardt 1890): ‘*Anela de or jambalon sete pedra junto/ /Quem quer esta anela jambolan caça minha junto*. It is also found in the Indo-Portuguese of Norte (Dalgado 1906: 213): ‘*Anel do oiro, bai Monquim, / /Sete pedra junta: / /Si quer anel, bai Monquim, / /Casae minha junta*. The Portuguese ballad also survives in the Azores and in Brazil. In Sri Lanka, Portuguese ballad fragments have been in the hands of the creole communities, and have survived through an oral tradition for centuries. Today these ballads are sung by a handful of Sri Lankans reminding us that Luso-Asian voices still exist. It is more significant that these ballad fragments have provided the basis for modern Sri Lankan popular music through *baila*, a form of music associated with the Portuguese. *Bailas* are dance songs (cf. Latin *ballare* ‘to dance’). Wellington Bastianz, who had Dutch, Portuguese and Sinhalese ancestry, hybridised Iberian, African and Sinhalese music in post-colonial Sri Lanka (de Silva Jayasuriya 2004). The origins of the modern *baila* can be mapped on to the first two groups of the Nevill manuscript. The ‘Portuguese Batticaloa Songs’ represent the Iberian melodies of harmony and the *kaffrinha* (feminine diminutive of kaffir – from the Arabic word *qafir* ‘infidel’) contributed the African rhythms. While the Portuguese ballad is disappearing in Sri Lanka, its transformation into *baila* has ensured its longevity in the Island (see Chapter 3). A contemporary ballad is given below. I have added in the Standard Portuguese and English translations of the stanzas.

**A twentieth-century ballad:  
Correnja Neeta Sue Suramba (SLPC)**

Coro:      Corenja neeta sure ray suramba  
              Corenja neeta sure ray  
              Corenja neeta sure suramba  
              Corenja neeta sure ray.

1.    Astandu pera longi evu buskandu javi  
      Abri vossa porte nona danturu para vi
2.    Pavam karavadu nona rodiana ortha  
      Evu tem vossa mai fiya visiyane porta
3.    Vos ala pregadu mingha nona evy akki santadu  
      Evu akki santadu mingha nona vos par may lembrandu
4.    Savam kere puyar kera Barva par thrusse

Anala kera dhorthy nona bunitu par parse

### **Cora Juanita Sorriso Suramba (Standard Portuguese)**

Coro:     *Cora Juanita sorriso Suramba*  
             *Cora Juanita sorriso*  
             *Cora Juanita sorriso Suramba*  
             *Cora Juanita sorriso*

1.   *As tantos por longe eu veio buscando*  
       *Abri vossa porta senhora para ver dentro*
2.   *Pavão cravado senhora rodear a horta*  
       *Eu tem vossa mae ficar na vossa porta*
3.   *Você ali pregoado minba senhora eu aqui sentido*  
       *Estou aqui sentido minba senhora por meu lembrado você*
4.   *Sabão cera polvilho quero barba por torce*  
       *Quero anelo de ouro senhora para aparência bonito*

### **Blush Juanita Smile Suramba (my translation)**

Chorus:   Blush Juanita smile Suramba  
             Blush Juanita smile  
             Blush Juanita smile Suramba  
             Blush Juanita smile

1.   I came searching for very long  
       Open your door lady to come inside
2.   Peacock carriage lady encircling the garden  
       I fear your mother to stay on your door
3.   You there crying my lady I am here aggrieved  
       I am here aggrieved my lady for I remembered you
4.   I want soap and powder to twist the moustache  
       You want the ring of gold to appear beautiful

Mr C. M. Fernando, a Sinhalese, who graduated in law from the University of Cambridge, England, was the pioneer researcher of 'Portuguese music' in Sri Lanka. His seminal paper (1894) includes a few lines of the scores of some songs in the Nevill manuscript: *Coran Jonita*, *Singale Nona*, *Bastiana*. *Singale Nona* was particularly popular and was the

finale at parties in Cinnamon Gardens, the most fashionable suburb of Colombo. Reginald Henry de Mel and Pamela Wijewardene, who recalled this song from their youth, sang it to me a few years ago.

The 800 stanzas in the third group of the Nevill manuscript – ‘Susasoe De Oersaan maas Falentine’ (Story of Orsan and Valentine) are not too fragmented. This medieval European ballad formed the basis for *Balasanta Nādagama*, one of the earliest Sinhala dramatic performances. Balasanta was the mother of Orson and Valentine. *Nādagamas* are a genre of Sri Lankan plays which have been influenced by the Portuguese (Goonatilleka 1984).

Ballad fragments elsewhere in the *Estado da Índia*, for example, in Mangalore, bear a resemblance to Creole ballads, as Schuchardt pointed out in his essay, ‘On the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon’ (see below). A comparison of ballad fragments from different Asian Portuguese Creoles would be an interesting avenue for future research.

*Indo Portuguese of Ceylon (Schuchardt)*

*Chuva fino fino*  
*Riba de cozinha!*  
*Vista de maço*  
*Sober hum minina!*

*Indo Portuguese of Mangalore (Schuchardt)*

*Chuva fino Margarita*  
*Riva de cozinha*  
*Olha de maço Margarita*  
*Riva de menina.*

The stanzas in the Nevill and Schuchardt manuscripts illustrate how alien forms of cultural expression are adapted into local forms of cultural expression. As Brookshaw and Willis (2000: iii) point out, it is perhaps significant that some of the most vibrant forms of cultural expression that have survived in the old Portuguese empire have their roots in the medieval ballad and lyric tradition that the early settlers and adventurers took with them.

Ballads are associated with singing and dancing. They narrate simple stories of love and adventure. The composers of ballads remain anonymous. Ballads were altered and adapted from the original compositions, as they were passed on from generation to generation orally. Ballads have survived for so long, though they were not recorded, because they were memorable – the stories were enjoyable and satisfied those who knew them. Ballads have a strong rhythm and usually the second and fourth lines rhyme. Ballads use simple language, and set the scene economically, telling the story dramatically through dialogue and action.

### Religious Literature

Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole religious literature comes to us through the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka. Both Hugo Schuchardt and Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado drew attention to religious texts, particularly those that were printed by the Wesleyan Missionary Press such as the 1803 publication – *Cantigas e louvors per serviços-missionario traduzido per o lingoa portuguezã qui tem papiado ne Ceylon* ('Songs and praises for missionary services translated into the Portuguese language that is spoken in Ceylon').

An example of early twentieth-century Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole religious literature, from Colombo, is given below. The prayers are linguistically interesting. Dutch orthography is apparent in places. As they refer to King Edward VII who reigned in Britain from 1901–1910, the language of the creole is from the first decade of the twentieth century. He married, Princess Alexandra of Denmark and they had three sons and three daughters. Their first son bore the title of Prince of Wales. Listed below are *Oreçans ne o lingua português de Ceylon* (Prayers in the Portuguese Language of Sri Lanka which refer to the British Royal family (de Mello 1908: 388).

#### Oração por o Rey, a Rainha, o prinspe de Wales, o Reyal Famílho, o Governador (SLPC)

*A Omnipotente e moito graciôso Deos e Pai, nós tê rugá com Ti per tem misericordiôso sobre nosse Sinhor Soberano Rey Edward VII, a Rainha Sinhora Alexander e prinspe de Wales e todo o Reyal Famílho, e sobre o alto Courto de Parlamento e aqui ne Ceylon nós te rugá per o Governador e Consellbe, Julgadores e todos em autoridade baido de nosse Rey, que ellotros podi ordená todo cousas ne cizo, justicia e misericordia, per a honra de Teu Santo Nome e per o bem de Teu Igreja e povo, per meyo de Jesus Cristo, nosso Sinhor. Amen.*

#### Oração pelo Rei, a Rainha, o príncipe de Gales, a Real Família, o Governador (SP)

*Ao Onipotente e muito graciôso Deus e Pai, rogamos com Ti para que seja misericordioso sobre nosso Senhor Soberando Rei Edward VII, a Rainha Senhora Alexandra e príncipe de Gales e toda a Família Real, e sobre a alta Corte do Parlamento e aqui no Ceilão rogamos pelo Governador e Conselho, Julgadores e todos em autoridade abaixo do nosso Rei, que todos possam governar com prudência, justiça e misericórdia, pela honra de Teu Santo Nome e pelo bem de Tua Igreja e povo, por meio de Jesus Cristo, nosso Senhor. Amém.*

**Prayer for the King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales,  
the Royal Family, the Governor (My Translation)**

Of the Omnipotent and very graceful God and Father, we beg of you to be merciful to us our Lord Sovereign King Edward VII, the Queen Lady Alexandra and Prince of Wales and all the Royal Family, and upon the High Court of the Parliament and here in Ceylon, we beg of you the Governor and Council, Judges and all in authority under our King, and that everybody may govern with prudence, justice and mercifulness, by the honour of your Holy Name and by the good of your church and people, by the permission of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

**The Apostles' Creed**

The Apostles' Creed is also called *Apostolicum* and it is a statement of faith that is used in the Roman Catholic, Anglican and several Protestant churches. Traditionally, it is believed to have been composed by the twelve Apostles, though it actually developed from the early interrogations of the catechumens (people receiving instructions to be baptised by the Bishop). In about AD 200, for example, the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus is preserved in Rome. The Bishop would question 'Dost thou believe in God, the Father almighty'. These statements, stated affirmatively became a creed. They were, in fact, called baptismal creeds. The Apostles' Creed of today is similar to that used in the Church of Rome in the third and fourth centuries. In the early sixth or early seventh centuries, it reached its final version. It gradually replaced other Apostles' Creeds and was known and accepted as the official statement for faith of the whole Catholic Church in the West by the late twelfth/early thirteenth century, during the period of Pope Innocent III (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1911: 488).

**Pai Nosse (SLPC)**

Pai nosse qui está ne céos, santificádo seja tua nomi, venho nós a tua Reyno, seja fêto a tua vontade, assi ne terra, como ne céos;

O pan nosse de cada dia nos dá ojo, e perdová nós nosse dívidas, assi como nós perdovamos nosse dividóris, e nan nos desse caí em tentação, mas livra nós de mal. Amen.

**Pai Nosso (Standard Portuguese)**

*Pai nosso que está nos céus, santificado seja teu nome, venha a nós o teu Reino, seja feito a tua vontade, assim na terra como nos céus;*

*O pão nosso de cada dia nos dá hoje, e perdoa nossas dívidas, assim como nós perdoamos nossos devedores, e não nos deixe cair em tentação, mas livra-nos do mal. Amém.*

### **Pater Noster (a simple rosary book, 1927)**

Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.

### **Ave Maria (SLPC)**

Ave Maria cheia de gracia o Senhor tem contigo bento es tu anter as mulhers, e bento tem o froite de tua venter, Jesus. Sante Maria, mãe de Déos, rogá per nós pecadores, agora en ne hora de nosse morti, Amen.

### **Ave Maria (standard Portuguese)**

*Ave Maria cheia de graça o Senhor tem conosco bendito és tu entre as mulheres, e bendito é o fruto do teu ventre, Jesus. Santa Maria, mãe de Deus, rogai por nós pecadores, agora e na hora de nossa morte, Amém.*

### **The Ave Maria (a simple rosary book, 1927)**

Hail Mary full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our death. Amen.

### **Gloria Pai (SLPC)**

Gloria Pai, ao Filho, ao Espírito Santo.  
Como era ne princípio agora e sempre e cada sempre. Amen.

### **Glória ao Pai (standard Portuguese)**

Glória ao Pai, ao Filho, ao Espírito Santo.  
Como era no princípio agora e sempre e cada sempre. Amém.

### **The Gloria Patri (a simple rosary book, 1927)**

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

### 3

## Music and Postcolonial Identity

The Portuguese love for music is well-documented in the sixteenth century at the battle of El Ksar El Kabir, in Morocco, where no less than 10,000 guitars were lying in the battlefield among the dead soldiers (Tomás 1879). There is no doubt that music played an important part in the lives of the Portuguese. The Portuguese being the pioneer European nation to make prolonged contact with the Orient, introduced new features, new musical instruments, new textures, new forms of vocal music and new genres of music. The Orientals had their own array of instruments in all three categories before their encounter with the Portuguese. New percussion instruments such as drums, cymbals, triangles and tambourines; new string instruments such as the citterns, clavichord, dulcimer, harp, harpsichord, lute, vihuela, viola, violin and piano; new wind instruments such as the trumpet and organ were all introduced by the Portuguese to their Asian holdings. The most important influence, however, stems from the introduction of harmony – the combination of simultaneous notes to form chords – a feature of Western music. The theoretical basis that underpins the analysis of this chapter is that historical, sociopolitical and cultural factors influence the composition and survival of music and dance genres of colonised peoples and, in turn, postcolonial identities.

Although the Portuguese were in Goa for 450 years (1510–1961) they were in Sri Lanka only for 150 years (1505–1656). Before their encounter with the Portuguese, music in Goa and Sri Lanka were influenced by Indian music. Harmony added a new dimension to Sri Lankan and Goan music. Polyphony was introduced around 1540 while homophony was introduced after 1650. The new form of vocal music involved an organised band of singers, the chorus or choir. Choral singing could be in unison where all the voices sing the same part or the voices could have different melodies or strands of melodies allotted to more than one voice.



New genres of music introduced by the Portuguese included three kinds: psalms and litanies which are relatively unadorned, *cantigas*, *villancicos* and *cantatas* which are more ornate, and *motets*, *oratorios*, operas and masses which are elaborate. Not surprisingly, the first Goan songs to be influenced by harmonisation are the Christian sacred songs, particularly hymns. The Goan Catholics composed new genres of folk music – *mando*, *dulpod* and *dekni* – combining Goan folk music with the newly introduced concept of harmony and new forms of vocal music. The parochial schools started by the Italians which offered a free music education to Catholic Goans influenced their musical tastes and musical literacy. There is some indication that the *mandos* were influenced by the Portuguese literary tradition called *cancioneiros* ('song books'), which have two themes: love and satire.

In Sri Lanka, the Portuguese were ousted by the Dutch and the Catholic Church rocked and tumbled. It almost disappeared and was revived by the Goan Father Joseph Vaz. His colleague, Father Joacome Gonzalvez, devoted his time to indigenising the Catholic Church and translated the catechisms into Sinhala and Tamil. As the Portuguese did not train an indigenous clergy, the Catholic devotees held on to their beliefs by maintaining the practice by meeting in each other's houses. Portuguese folk music and dance, on the other hand, seems to have survived. The main reservoirs and cultural intermediaries of these traditions are the Portuguese Burghers ('people of Portuguese and Sri Lankan descent').

The post-colonial period has resulted in the evolution of new genres of music and dance. Such genres combine elements from two or more cultures. Sri Lanka was exposed to European influence for almost half a millenium. Three European powers – Portuguese, Dutch and British – were in Sri Lanka, each for a period of about 150 years. Only the British controlled the entire Island from 1815 until 1948. The Portuguese controlled more land than the Dutch. The cultural flows of the three colonisers were not the same. Certain cultural aspects were not altered drastically by colonisation. Religion, Language, Music and Dance are important elements in the culture set. The Portuguese introduced the Catholic Church to Sri Lanka and although Calvinists and Anglicans followed them to the Island, the largest number of Christians today are Roman Catholics. There are 66 per cent Buddhists, 13 per cent Hindus, 12 per cent Muslims and 6 per cent Christians. Political moves made eight years after independence (in 1956), to revive Sinhala, the mother-tongue of 76 per cent of the population and the language for inter-ethnic communication, as the national language have succeeded. Tamil, (the

language of the largest minority (18 per cent), and English (the language for external communication) are also official languages today.

The Malay Peninsula and Indonesia are at the crossroads of three trade networks of global importance: the Indian Ocean, the China Sea, and the Spice islands of East Indonesia. The Malays had cultural contact with India, China, the Middle East and Europe. Contact with the Portuguese from almost 500 years ago (1511 to 1641) has influenced postcolonial Malay music and dance. *keroncong*, *joget* and *pantun* are discussed in this chapter. Ships sailing on the southwest monsoon remained in the Straits of Malacca for several months until they could return using the northwest monsoon. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, Malacca was an attractive commercial site for European nations who wanted to trade in the Straits.

### **Mando**

Due to the socio-political changes that followed after the British entry to India and the migration of many Goan Catholics to other lands, the genres of Catholic Goan music, are understandably losing popularity. On the other hand, the Goan diaspora illustrates how important music and dance are to the identity of diasporic communities. While traditional Goan Catholic music is declining in Goa today, the diaspora seems to have held on to their melodies. The melodies and dances of the diaspora seem to have been more vibrant a few decades ago as the younger generations are influenced by other 'globalised' genres of music and also perhaps because they have no memories of their 'homeland'. Most of the Goans in Britain have arrived through East Africa. I interviewed the distinguished Goan Oboist, Conductor and Composer, Anthony Noronha, who came to Britain after spending several years in Kenya. He shared with me his knowledge and understanding of the *mando* and Goan folk music and dance gained over many long years.

The *mando* is a genre of poetry, music and dance. Its origins lie in Goan folklore and folksong. The *mando* is primarily a love song. It was typically sung at Catholic Goan weddings and other social functions. A bride was expected to compose a *mando* and sing at her wedding. The lyrics would typically convey her love and her pathos at being separated from her loved one and her pangs of desire to be united with him. Love *mandos* fall into three categories: yearning, lamentation and union known as *utrike*, *villap* and *ekvott* respectively in Konkani, the Indic language of the Goans.

The *mando* is believed to have originated in the 1830s and its popularity

peaked around 1890 and 1950. According to José Pereira (2000), the *mando* resulted from the turmoil that arose following the political changes in Portugal at that time. After the French Revolution of 1789, the French empire expanded under Napoleon and invaded Portugal in 1870. After the French were ousted, the Portuguese monarchy became constitutional, although absolutism made an attempt to re-establish itself during the period of 1823 to 1834. The introduction of elections to Portugal and its colonies caused chaos in Goa and conflict between different ethnic and caste groups. The *mando* dance was created after the introduction of ballroom or social dancing in the 1840s. The *mando* dance is considered to be a hybrid of two eighteenth-century European dances – the *minuet* and the *contredanse*. *Mandos* were originally danced in Goan mansions, some of which rivalled those in Portugal. In the *minuet*, the couple touch hands during the gallant play of courtship and wooing. In the *mando*, on the other hand, touching was not permitted which seems to be culturally more feasible. The French *contredanse* which was danced in a circle or in double-file, originated from the English country dance. The underlying theme of the *mando* is the combat of love. The dramatisation of courtship and wooing was adopted from the *contredanse*. Men and women face each other in double-file and the dance begins with a bow. The body turns to the sides, to frontal position and three-quarter view and the men and women glide towards each other. The *mando* is a choreography of the combat of love – approaching, retreating, searching, evading, separating and uniting. The *mando* is thus a dance of stylised courtship. Not surprisingly bodily contact is not permitted, but eye contact is important and the men make passes at the women. Courtship and seduction continue through the non-verbal language. Women move demurely, assuming attitudes of stylised wooing, inviting and refusing by gestures. Men wear European clothes indicating western influence but the women wear Goan clothing (a two-piece *bazu-torhop* – bodice-sarong like waist cloth – and a *turalo* – shawl). Their partners wore Brahmin costumes. They carried a fan which is nowadays replaced by an oriental fan. Women hide behind the fan and avoid the lustful glances of their partners. They fan themselves and use body movements in playful seduction. The coquettish glance in their eyes continue the non-verbal dialogue. The men flick their handkerchiefs and cut figures in the air and adjust their top hats in order to attract their partners. The *mando* dance acts as a catalyst to precipitate the *mando* song.

European social dancing seems to have its origins in the country ideal of the Provençal *troubadours* and the German *minnesingers* ('singers of love') which was formulated between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. It

had three notes with which a man expressed his veneration for a woman – joy, love and courtesy. The *mando* is slow and the Goans point out that they have no intention of rushing a love song! The melody of the *mando* begins in a minor key and modulates to a major key. It begins on the fifth note and is sung in two parallel voices: the third and the fifth. The *ghummat* (earthenware drum with iguana skin) and the violin are the typical instruments. Mandolin, guitar and piano can also accompany the music. *Mandos* are set in six-four time. The stanzas are typically quatrains, and often have a refrain. The lyrics of the *mandos* are in Konkani, the Indic language of Goa. Konkani was initially written with the Roman script but nowadays due to political pressures, the *Devanāgarī* script is favoured. The song has a refrain and three stanzas. I have given the English translations of the stanzas. Yearning and desire are expressed in the lyrics which sparkle with gems, pearls, flowers and angelic presence.

### Surya-Noketranche Porim Porzoletta

1. *Surya-noketranche porim porzoletta [Konkani]*  
*Mogach' muja suka*  
*Bemfeit fulo munn tum mannyka*  
*Adoraro kortam tuka*  
 (You shine just like the sun and the stars  
 Joy of my love  
 My gem, beautiful flower that you are  
 I adore you)
2. *Alambrado pole tuje mogreche kolle [Konkani]*  
*Distai motianch' zole*  
*Visrisetai muje dolle*  
*Kalliz lobddol'm re tuj'korbe*  
 (Your cheeks are amber, and buds of jasmine  
 They seem like a cluster of pearls  
 My eyes are dazzled  
 My heart now clings to you)
3. *Ekū velu punnum yeunnum mell re maka [Konkani]*  
*Anja muja y anja*  
*Sopnnant dekiy' anvem tuka*  
*Mirbmirbeanim uttail' maka*  
 (Come and visit me at least once



*Surya-Noketranche Porim Porzoleta* Score of a Goan Mando Song (arranged and notated by Anthony Noronha).

Angel, oh my angel  
 I saw you in a dream  
 And you awoke me with anguish)

*Refrain:*

*Yo yo gopantulea y anja [Konkani]*

*Ekuch punn beiju di re maka*  
 (Come, come, oh angel of my bosom  
 Give me a kiss, at least one)

Propelled by missionary activities, the Portuguese introduced religious music through the Catholic Church to their overseas territories. The *mando* is a fusion of Christian religious and Indian folk music. It is a composition by Goans who have crossed cultural borders. The *mando* is at the cusp of the East and the West and is a cross-cultural composition. It is rarely danced today whether in India or elsewhere in the world, and has declined in popularity. The seductive nature of the *mando* is not limited to the music and lyrics; the *mando* dance is also a vehicle for courtship and seduction. Erotic passion was the main theme of social dancing which evolved in Europe from the eleventh century onwards. The *mando* seems to be a seductive adaptation of European social dancing to the Goan way of life. While music provides the opportunity for seduction through lyrics, dance enables non-verbal signals to be conveyed.

### Romances

The *romance* (ballad) is one of the oldest and most important genres of Portuguese sung poetry. *Romances* are orally transmitted songs and epic poems of which there are several variants. Portuguese *romanceiro* (traditional balladry) is regarded as one of the richest and most innovative in Europe. The Portuguese ballads have survived in the oral traditions of the Burghers in the East Coast, linking them to Trás-os-Montes (in Portugal), the Azores and the North-East of Brazil where the Portuguese ballad still survives, despite the brief encounter between Portugal and Sri Lanka. The Portuguese ballads have survived in the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon, today known as Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, the bridging tongue between the Sri Lankans and the three European powers. Three colonial waves washed over the shores of Sri Lanka: Portuguese, Dutch and British. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole was the lingua franca and served as the language of trade and external communication during the colonial era until English replaced it (de Silva Jayasuriya 2003a). A few examples, from a nineteenth-century manuscript in the British Library, London, which I translated using Standard Portuguese as a guide, illustrate the seductive nature of these ballads (de Silva Jayasuriya 2001c). The Dutch orthography in parts of the script illustrates that the scribes knew Dutch and Portuguese. The Dutch attempted to follow the Portuguese pattern of miscegenation.

Intermarriage between the Dutch and the *mestiças* was encouraged. Although Dutch was used for official purposes, it did not take root in the Island. Indo-Portuguese, on the other hand, was spoken in Dutch households, where Dutch children were brought up by *mestiça* mothers or creole-speaking nannies. The stanzas given below are from several songs and are all sung by a man. Erotic passion, provocation and seduction prevail.

*Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon*

*My Translation*

*Ovi mea oru*

Listen my precious

*Agora prova savor*

Now relish the taste

*Perki vos ama*

Because love, you are

*Na un brasso dos amor*

In the arms of love

*Amoor kie canta parmie*

Love who sings for me

*Que bonitoe ja trancha*

That entwined beauty

*Eau lo chucha bossa patoe*

I will suck your breast

*Corsaan per incha*

For the heart to fill

*Baso ondie tando*

Wherever you go

*Eau tame juntadoe*

I also join

*Sie fora aen rosa*

If I was a rose

*Ne patoe pragadoe*

Pinned on your breast

*Iste orres tardu amor*

At this late hour love

*Kee serves akee*

Who waits here?

*Kee nuntha nath amor*

The one who never loved anyone

*Prasaba bos partee*

Offers himself to your side

*Sie javie ne kassa*

If you come to my house

*Lo da per kome*

I will give you something to eat

*Namas noeva eu*

To court you only

*Loda per bebe*

I will give you something to drink

## **Baila**

*Baila* could be considered a transformation of the Portuguese ballads. An unexpected musical outcome resulted immediately after independence, in the 1950s. The key figure in the history of *baila* is Gajanayake Mudiyan-selage Mervin Ollington Bastianz (1913–85) who was born near Galle in southern Sri Lanka. Among the Sinhalese, the family identifier is the ‘*ge*’ or ‘*gedera*’ (household) name. Due to western influence some people adopted a surname and one or more personal names. When Queen Elizabeth II visited Ceylon (as it was called then), in 1954, the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawela (1953–6), asked Bastianz, to sing a *baila* for the Royals, which

acknowledges the acceptance of *baila* by the ruling elite. Sir John could not resist dancing in public when he heard *bailas*. In the 1960s, Sinhala civil servants who were based in the northern city of Jaffna were nostalgic and requested Bastianz to put on a *baila* show in Jaffna. Bastianz was posthumously honoured in 2005 at the BMICH (Bandaranayake Memorial International Conference Hall), Colombo at a ceremony held for legendary figures in Sri Lankan music, dance and cinema.

It is worthwhile considering to what extent the creativity of colonised people who draw on colonial and indigenous systems is represented in cross-cultural post-colonial compositions. *Baila* is a cross-cultural genre. The assimilation and adaptation of cultural practices, and the cross-fertilisation of cultures can be seen as positive, enriching and dynamic. The word *baila* is Portuguese and is misleading as it is not a Portuguese genre per se. Hybridity, the integration or mingling of cultural signs and practices from the colonising and colonised cultures, is an important concept to breakdown the false assumption that colonised cultures remain static. I will, however, consider the concept of borders; the crossing and recrossing of cultural borders. Two kinds of intellectuals have been identified in post-colonial societies based upon their intellectual orientation: 'syncretic border intellectuals' and 'specular border intellectuals'. Bastianz was a 'syncretic border intellectual' and combined elements in two cultures (the culture of the coloniser and that of the colonised). Even 'specular border intellectuals', those who are unable to be or unwilling to be at home in two cultures cannot resist the infectious tunes of the *bailas*.

*Baila* illustrates that the post-colonial is a continuation of the colonial. People of Portuguese descent (Burghers) in Batticaloa, on the east coast, have been the guardians of Portuguese cultural traits for several centuries. The Batticaloa Burghers sing about the 'Ring of Gold' in *Mara Nutem Fundu* and the themes of these ballad fragments link Batticaloa with Trás-os-Montes (in Portugal), the Azores and the North-East of Brazil where the Portuguese ballad still survives (see Chapter 2). A longer version of this ballad is in a nineteenth-century manuscript, in the British Library London, which I translated into Standard Portuguese and into English (de Silva Jayasuriya 2001a). Bastianz included Portuguese ballads in his album of *bailas*.

A genre known as *vada baila* (*debate baila*) was sung in Sri Lanka at the time that Bastianz composed *chorus baila*. *Vada baila* were musical debates and contests of wit. They were a popular form of entertainment. *Vada baila* seems to be similar to *canto ao desafio* (challenge song) sung in Portugal and Brazil. *Vada baila* competitions were a popular form of entertainment





Musicians and dancers at a Sri Lankan *Baila* party depicted on a gramophone record sleeve (collection of Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya).

where the audience supported their favourite. The performer's ability to convert the audience or judges to his way of thinking wins him the competition. The qualities valued are verbal wit and repartee. This seems to have been introduced by the Portuguese through *canto ao desafio* or *canto ao baldão* in Portugal. Susana Sardo (2005: personal communication) remarks that most of the singers of *canto ao desafio* are men. She adds that it is a competition between two singers who create different texts on the spur of the moment using the same melodic pattern. The audience is normally divided between the two singers. It contributes to the spirit of the duel and participants sometimes prompted the singer that they supported. The audience thereby actively participates in the competitions. They show their approval by clapping or disapproval by whistling. On 22 March 2004,

a troupe from Alentejo performed *canto ao baldão* in Lisbon. This tradition still survives in Portugal, Azores, Madeira. Emerson Silva (2005: personal communication), a Brazilian lawyer who is researching Portuguese music in the world, identifies this tradition with *repente* in north-eastern Brazil which is a challenge between two viola players. *Canto ao desafio* is thought to be related to the Provençal *tenso*, a twelfth and thirteenth-century verse debate between two troubadours, and also to the Catalan *partimen*. This must go back to the medieval Iberian tradition of the troubadours, a word which has its etymon in Arabic (*tarrab* ‘minstrel, one who affects listeners with a musical performance’ or *tarraba* ‘to perform musically’). The troubadour’s poetic debate stems from the Arab literary debates called *munaẓarat*. Verbal contests are an important means of communication and entertainment in sub-Saharan Africa.

Bastianz’s *chorus baila* transformed the entertainment sphere of post-colonial Sri Lanka. Simply known as *bailas* nowadays, they are sung at informal parties and hotel receptions and the listeners find it hard to stay off the dance floor. Bastianz would have been influenced by Portuguese ballads, *kaffrinha* and *vada baila*. *Baila* music characteristically was played with instrumental combinations of banjo or mandolin, violin, guitar, *rabana* (hand-held frame drum) and a pair of congas. Today *baila* ensembles include modern instruments (electronic keyboards, electric guitars, trumpets, saxophones and drum sets). In my opinion, the dance-quality of the *baila* rhythm provides the impetus for social dancing, a concept introduced by the West. *Baila* is not danced by pairs of men and women embracing each other. Being an open dance, it is culturally acceptable to the Sri Lankans. Couples danced facing each other and around each other; touching was kept to a minimum. Sri Lankan parties, whether at private houses or at halls or hotels, are not complete without a ‘*Baila* Session’. Even if the evening had tired out the participants, the *baila* re-energised them and got them onto the dance floor. Although Portuguese presence in Sri Lanka was relatively short, it appears that they introduced European folk dances which would have been the predecessors of the *baila* dance.

*Baila* is the most popular genre of music. The cassette, DVD and CD sales of *baila* recordings far outweigh the sales of other types of music, reinforcing the entertainment value of this genre of music. *Baila* cassettes sell ten times more than Sinhalese light classical music known as *Sarala Gee*, though cassette sales may be a skewed sample for measuring the popularity of music. Although *baila* originated in an urban setting, radio, television and cinema are reinforcing its popularity throughout the Island.

*Baila* was on air through a regular programme broadcast by Radio Ceylon. Sheeran (2002: 146) reports that *baila* has reigned as Sri Lanka's most commercially successful music since the late 1970s. *Baila* recordings are available in some countries where there are Sri Lankan diasporists. Sri Lankans of any age, of all ethnic and socioeconomic groups, dance *baila*. Moreover, *baila* intertwines the ethnic groups (Sinhalese, Tamils, Moors, Malays, Burghers) both in the Island and in the diaspora. Bastianz sang in five Sri Lankan languages (Sinhala, Tamil, English, Malay and Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole) and entertained all the ethnic groups on the Island. He played the violin and the piano but valued his guitar. The Sri Lankan input to *baila* is apparent in the lyrics. The sentiments expressed in some songs are culturally feasible for a country where parents are loved and respected. Bastianz rode on the high of independence and fused western and eastern traditions. The first verse and chorus of the song about the mother is given below. The Sinhala is followed by my transliteration and translation.

1. *Le kirikarala oba mata perva*  
 (You turned your blood into milk and fed me)  
*Ma podi darura e rasakara birva*  
 (I was a small baby and I drank it with relish)  
*Ra dabaval oba nonida unne*  
 (Day and night you kept awake)  
*Ma binda duk vindi bava danne*  
 (I know you suffered for my sake)

*Chorus: Matakai Amme obe daru nalaville*  
 (Mother, I remember the lullabies)  
*Ma podi kale padevapu totille*  
 (That you sang whilst you rocked the cradle when I was a baby)

Bastianz also wrote about a father and his children. Verse 3 and the chorus of that song are given below:

3. *Kate ati pute mage rubara duve mage*  
 (My articulate son, my beautiful daughter)  
*Me rate obe saba mage*  
 (This country is yours and mine)  
*Mav piyo ati obage gei hitu deriyo vage*  
 (Your parents are like gods in the house)  
*Yabatin obe rekaganna*  
 (They look after you well)

*Ma piya reka varane*  
 (Under my protection)  
*Adare daru vanne*  
 (Dear children)  
*Veva matu oba sarane*  
 (And may there be fortune in your life)  
*Obe guna kanda patire*  
 (Your good attributes become known)  
*Veva piya tuma mage*  
 (My father)

*Chorus: Viriyen soya api rakshakala Piya*  
 (Our courageous father who protected us)  
*At muduntiya vandinemi gunaya kiya kiya*  
 (We keep our hands on our forehead and worship him)

The majority in Sri Lanka are Buddhists. Not surprisingly, Bastianz also composed a song about *Vesak* (the main Buddhist festival which marks the birth, enlightenment and *parinibbana* of the Buddha) entitled *Yaman Bando Vesak Balanna* which means 'Let's go, Banda, to see the Vesak decorations'. Dance is not a form of worship in Buddhism, though *shabda puja* (sound offerings) is practised. The *hevsi* (Buddhist temple ensemble) plays musical offerings three times a day. The melodies of the Buddhist chant, especially those of the various styles of *parittha* have had a strong influence on Sinhala folk songs. In Sinhala, chanted verse and sung prose (*kavi*) prescribed sequences of long and short syllables (*matru*) structure the melodic rhythm. Buddhist chant is an intoned recitation based on the phonological properties of *Pali* (the language used to spread Buddhism) and which is restricted to a three-tone scale. Buddhist chant and Sinhala traditional music are formulaic in nature and reflect a broader, older musical history of the South Asian region. Buddhist practices with respect to music are diverse. Musical offerings include chanted recitation of religious texts by monks and making instrumental offerings by lay people. At the Temple of the Tooth (*Dalada Maligawa*) in Kandy, praise singers (*kavikara maduva*) sing eulogies (*prasasti*) to Buddha using eighteenth-century melodies from South India.

Sri Lankan music has been, understandably, influenced by Indian music. According to Sarachchandra (1966: 137), Sri Lanka's leading dramatist, literary evidence indicates that North Indian *Rāgas* and *Tālas* were in vogue in Sri Lanka from early times. By the end of the nineteenth

century, after 400 years of colonisation, a search for what is national had begun. At that time, Sri Lankans were hit by a new wave of North Indian music which was reintroduced through the Sri Lankan theatre. My great uncle, Mr Wilmot P. Wijetunge, an art critique (1944) reported that the theatrical troupe called 'The Elphinstone Dramatic Company of Bombay' was brought to Colombo by Balliwalla, a talented and ambitious Parsi, actor-manager. In the early twentieth century, North Indian *tabla* (hand-played drums of North and Central India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) and the harmonium were introduced by the Bombay theatre groups from western India. The captivating melodies of *nurti* led to the adoption of the North Indian Rāgadhāri school as the classical music discipline by the Sinhala people. Sinhala plays written in *nurti* style gave voice to the rising chorus of nationalist sentiment. *nurti* songs based on North Indian Rāgas and Tālas, revived an interest in North Indian classical music in Sri Lanka. Indian music is built on Rāgas, the melodic building blocks, which are used to express a particular sentiment. According to Sarachchandra (1966: 137) the earlier *nurtiya*, the new genre of drama with acts and scenes as in European plays, did not have a Presenter (*potē gurā*) like in the Nādagamas. The instruments played were the violins and the *dhōl*. The *tāla* (rhythm) was provided by cymbals or a metal triangle. The *sruti* (drone) was initially provided by a bag-pipe made from goat's bladder. Later, it was replaced by the harmonium (called *seraphina* in Sri Lanka). Theatrical music reached the Sri Lankan villages also and *tabla* became popular among Sri Lankan musicians. The *tabla* are the principal drums of modern Hindustani music. The *seraphina*, introduced through India to Sri Lanka, added a new dimension to Sinhalese music as it introduced harmonisation. Indian film music also began to influence Sri Lankan music from the 1930s onwards. Further interest in North Indian music was aroused when Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, dramatist and musician who is India's only Nobel Prize Winner for Literature, visited Sri Lanka in 1934 with a performing troupe from *Santiniketan* (House of Peace), India. They staged several song and dance recitals in Colombo and Galle. These performances inspired Sri Lankans to study music in *Santiniketan*. They returned with a new style of music where the *sitar* (fretted long-necked lute) and the *esraj* (Bengali fiddle) played an important role. The *sitar*, a prominent instrument of northern and central areas of South Asia, became popular in Sri Lanka, particularly in radio music. In the 1950s, Professor Ediriweera Sarachchandra, perhaps recognising the post-colonial mood, sought to attain a viable fusion of Western and Asian modes in the Sinhala theatre. His path-breaking Nādagama play *Maname*, in 1956, demonstrated that the traditional

and the modern could be fused quite desirably. Almost after ten years of independence, Sinhala drama which had been in the periphery during the colonial era became a vibrant mode of artistic expression and was brought to the centre stage.

*Baila* is a melange of African, Asian and European musical traditions. Bastianz was interacting with three traditions because of his ethnic and socio-economic background. There are many Portuguese words in Sinhala *bailas* such as, *nōna* and *vijōle*. Some *bailas* are humorous and the lyrics can be a mixture of Sinhala and English, representing the bilingualism of the Sri Lankans. It could also be interpreted as Bastianz highlighting the linguistic change in post-colonial Sri Lanka. The verse (my transliteration and translation) given below illustrates:

*Kussi Amma Sēra was in love with one Perera*  
 (Kitchen maid Sera was in love with a Perera)  
*And there was trouble down the lover's lane*  
 (And there was trouble down the lover's lane)  
*Ane mage nōna mate gedere yanne one*  
 (Oh my lady I want to go home)  
*Mage māse pabē padīya denneko*  
 (Please give me my wages for the past five months)

Sri Lankan music has been influenced by European instruments, European musical melodies and harmonies. Western music is harmonic and built upon changing chord patterns. Harmony, combines notes simultaneously to produce chords, and successively to produce chord progressions. *Baila* employs simple harmonic progressions, often the cadence I-IV-V-I (tonic subdominant-dominant-tonic) or simply I-V-I-V repeated ad infinitum. Most *bailas* are in major key signatures. Traditional Indian music does not use major and minor scales as in Western European music. The meter of *baila* is 6/8 (6 beats to a bar in quaver time). Cross rhythms found in African music is prevalent in *baila*. In *baila*, however, the rhythm is as important as the melody. European music and instruments were introduced to Sri Lanka by the Portuguese through both religious and secular music. Trading and missionary activities were the initial goals of the Portuguese. Christian hymns have existed in Sri Lanka, at least since the sixteenth century when the Portuguese introduced the Catholic Church. During the Portuguese era, there were several kingdoms in Sri Lanka: Kōtte, Sitawaka, Kandy and Jaffnapatam. Portuguese territorial control varied throughout this period and much of the Kandyan

kingdom (with the exception of Batticaloa and Trincomalee) remained under Sinhalese rule. Even so, a *Tamboru-Purampettukāra Ansaya* (Drum Trumpet Unit) was established in the Kandyan courts mainly as an orchestral escort to the Kings, Ambassadors and other dignitaries of the Court. Conch shell trumpets travelled through South Asia and Southeast Asia with the spread of Buddhism. In Sri Lanka, *bakgedi* (conch shell) trumpets are blown in Buddhist temples as part of the *bēvisi*.

In Portugal, guitars are called by the generic term, *viola*. Bastianz referred to his guitar as *vijole* (a word that Sinhala borrowed from the Portuguese word *viola*). The eastern type of guitar has a sharply waisted body and comes in two variants – *bandurra* (characterized by its round soundhole), profuse ornamentation and a pair of additional sympathetic strings. The *bandura* was used widely by the Cossacks during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to accompany the epic *dumi*, historical songs, ballads and other forms. *Bandora* is a plucked chordophone (classified as a lute). The violin was introduced to Goa through Catholic Church music in the sixteenth century. Kullatillaka (undated) adds that the fiddle/violin (spelt as *rebequo* by him) was also brought by the Portuguese. The *rabeca* has its origins in the Byzantine *lūrā* and the Arabian *rabāb*. The *rabāb* and *rubāb* (possibly of Persian origin) are distinguished on medieval textual grounds. The *rabāb* was a bowed instrument while the *rubāb* was plucked. *Rebec* type instruments have been known in Europe under different names and in various shapes from the late tenth century or early eleventh century. They were used in European art music during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It is interesting that the nineteenth-century Hugh Nevill manuscript of Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon songs mentions *rebec*. The instrument is known as *ravikinne* in Sinhala. Its etymon seems to be *rabec* + *nha* ('little *rebec*' as *nha* is the Portuguese diminutive). The Nevill manuscript refers to *ravokiya* (Dutch orthography for *ravikinba*). Kullatilleka (undated: 27) remarks that the *rebec* was used in religious music by friars as it was closest to the human voice. The *ravikinnes* as depicted in an early nineteenth-century wall painting in a Buddhist temple (*Purvaramaya* in Kathaluwe, Off Galle, southern Sri Lanka) has a gourd-shaped resonator.

When Fernando (1894) played Portuguese songs at the Royal Asiatic Society, Colombo, the Sri Lankan Portuguese orchestra included two violins, two guitars, a tambourine, triangle and a *banderinha*. He regretted that the only *vianle* (a guitar shaped instrument with 13 strings which he translated as a tenor violin) player was unable to perform due to old age. He drew attention to the *banderinha* (which he called a mandolin) that was fast becoming obsolete. He mentions that Sri Lankan mothers and

nannies/*ayahs* sang Portuguese lullabies. The Sinhala lullabies which say *doiya babā* (sleep baby) has Portuguese etymon (*doiya* is from the Portuguese word *dormir* 'to sleep'). The tradition of singing lullabies until babies fall asleep is still practised in Portugal.

The Portuguese engaged in missionary activity and made conversions to Catholicism. These new converts would have been exposed to Catholic Church music and singing. There were many non-Catholics and I think that the relative sociability of the Portuguese seems to have contributed to significant musical acculturation. Music would have provided an interactive interface for the two culturally diverse peoples – the Portuguese and the Sri Lankans.

Sri Lankan drama and theatre that evolved in post-colonial Sri Lanka developed a confident attitude towards traditional arts. Bastianz had the talent to compose a genre of music which combined the traditional and the modern. The themes and lyrics of the songs were socially engaging. The lyrics and poetry of the *bailas* are Sri Lankan. Although Bastianz belonged to a minority ethnic group, he addressed the majority. His lyrics were mostly in Sinhala, the language of interethnic communication and the language of the majority in Sri Lanka. The lyrics demonstrate that Bastianz was more than a composer-musician-singer. He was a politician, who did not enter the political arena. Moreover, he was also a song-writer, spokesman and educator to the newly independent nation.

*Baila* is a Sri Lankan composition which has incorporated elements from Portuguese and African music. It is a seamless merging of musical traditions from three continents. *Baila* is built on a western European melodic system. *Baila* is based on western tonal harmony. Harmonisation was a feature of European music, but when Bastianz composed *baila*, harmonization had entered Sri Lankan music through Hindustani music and through the introduction of the *seraphina* (harmonium). Asymmetric and cross rhythms in *baila* are a feature that has been introduced through African music, mainly through *kaffrinha* rhythms. The Afro-Sri Lankans seem to have been closely integrated with the Europeans and it is not surprising that musical flows were fluid between the African and European music systems. Bastianz set the scene for many other talented *baila* singers (predominantly male), many of whom were from the western coastal belt. As many of them were either Burghers or Roman Catholic Sinhalese, it has mistakenly led some to assume that *baila* is a Portuguese genre. *Baila* has no ethnic, religious or socioeconomic bias. A cross-cultural musical composition emerged when Sri Lankans were searching for a new postcolonial identity. *Baila* is a forum where ethnic and religious



boundaries may be evaded altogether. *Baila* sessions anywhere in the world include Sri Lankans of varied ethnic background. Even the non-Sri Lankans join the dance floor; they cannot resist the rhythms and melodies of the *bailas*.

Popular music does not represent value; it embodies them. Popular music in contemporary societies seems to have originated at the social margins – among the poor, the migrant, the rootless and the ‘queer’. Bastianz did not belong to the new elite of postcolonial Sri Lanka. But his ethnicity and socioeconomic background enabled him to compose a genre of music that reached both the centre and the periphery. *Baila* is not a part of the traditional culture of Sri Lanka; it signifies a new identity. It is a genre that fitted the postcolonial climate. Most other genres of music in Sri Lanka call for performers and listeners but *baila* has a sense of informality and has contributed to its popularity.

Emulation of the ‘Western’ would not have been acceptable in the post-independence climate but a transformation or juxtaposition became acceptable, and even popular, not only in dance and music but also in other cultural traits. It seems that Bastianz tried to re-orientate Sri Lankans to the post-independent climate by highlighting and communicating Sri Lankan values. He could be regarded as one of the most important public personalities of postcolonial Sri Lanka.

### ***Kaffrinha***

Ediriweera Sarachchandra (1966: 131) identifies *kaffrinha* as a body of music introduced by the Portuguese, a dance tune with which the jester opens *Rolina*, the play composed in the late nineteenth century by C. Don Bastian. The Portuguese overseas expansion was manned by Europeans, Africans and Jews. The lyrics of *kaffrinha* or ‘Portuguese Negro Songs’ are in the nineteenth-century Indo-Portuguese manuscript in the British Library. Fortunately, the scores of a few of these songs were published in the nineteenth century by Mr C. M. Fernando. The titles of some of his scores and those in the nineteenth-century manuscript are the same. *kaffrinha* (*kaffir* + *nha* (which is the Portuguese diminutive)) is associated with the *Kaffirs* (an ethnonym for people of African descent in Sri Lanka) and the Portuguese, it is sometimes called *kaffrinha baila*. Ariyaratne (1999) draws attention to the Sinhalese component in modern *kaffrinha* and cautions against the Sinhalese component. A comparison with Portuguese and African folk music would help to ascertain the Sinhalese input to contemporary *kaffrinha*. *Baila* (from the Portuguese word ‘dance’) is a Lusitanian musical legacy in Sri Lanka. *Kaffrinha/kaffrinha baila/baila* refer

to popular music, song and dance in contemporary Sri Lanka (de Silva Jayasuriya 2004b).

Only a few texts of music have survived from the last decades of the British era. There are two dances – the *lancers* and the *kaffrinha* – which the Batticaloa Burghers consider as part of their Portuguese heritage. A well-known *kaffrinha* tune ‘*Singale Nona*’ (which means ‘Sinhalese Lady’) is in the *Ceylonese Dances* score. This song was the finale at bohemian parties of the Island’s elite in Cinnamon Gardens, the most fashionable suburb of Colombo.

### **Singale Nona (Sri Lanka Portuguese creole)**

Singale Nona! Singale Nona!  
 Eu kere kasa  
 Porta ninkere, orta ninkere  
 Figa namas da  
 Figa namas da, none  
 Figa namas da.

### **Senhora Cingaleza (SP)**

*Senhora Cingaleza! Senhora Cingaleza!*  
*Eu quero casar*  
*Eu não quero uma porta, Eu no quero uma terra*  
*Dás sua filha somente*  
*Dás sua filha somente, Senhora*  
*Dás sua filha somente.*

### **Sinhalese lady**

Sinhalese lady! Sinhalese lady!  
 I want to marry  
 I don’t want a house, I don’t want land  
 Only give me your daughter  
 Only give me your daughter, lady  
 Only give me your daughter.

The century-old process of African musical flows into Sri Lanka has not been well documented. African slaves were transported to Portugal from 1414 onwards at about 700–800 per year from West Africa. By the mid-sixteenth century, Lisbon’s black community numbered about 10,000 (approximately 10 per cent of the population) (Fryer 2000). The

The musical score is for a piece titled 'Kaffrinha'. It is written in 6/8 time and features a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in Portuguese. The score is arranged in six systems, each consisting of a treble and bass staff. Chords F, C, and F are indicated above the treble staff in various systems. The lyrics are: Singa-le No-na, Singa-le No-na, Eu ke re ka sa, Or ta ni ka ra, Por ta ni ka ra, fi ju na mas, da, Fi ju na mas, da no ne, fi ju na mas, da, Singa-le No-na, Singa-le No-na, Eu ke re ka sa, Or ta ni ka ra, Por ta ni ka ra, fi ju na mas, da, Fi ju na mas, da no ne, fi ju na mas, da.

*Kaffrinha* Arranged by Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya, scored by Simon Proctor and computer transcription by João Paulo Cota

Portuguese stimulated the Indian Ocean slave trade. Africans were aboard the ships that sailed to India but more were taken on board during the voyage. Evidence so far suggests that African soldiers were brought to Sri Lanka from Goa in the sixteenth century. The Dutch and the British continued this practice increasing the pool of Afro-Sri Lankans. Africans were soldiers, sailors, musicians, nannies, bodyguards, water carriers, palanquin carriers and divers in pearl fisheries (de Silva Jayasuriya 2003b, 2003c).

The oldest recorded 'African' songs in Sri Lanka that I have located are in a late nineteenth-century manuscript in the British Library, London. The Hugh Nevill manuscript has a group of songs entitled '*Cantiga De*



A Sinhalese couple on their wedding day dressed in clothing influenced by the Portuguese (Source: J. Ferguson (1903). *Ceylon in 1903*. Colombo: A. M. and J. Ferguson.

*Portuguese – Kaffrein – Neger Song Portuguese*’ which is in Portuguese and Dutch orthography indicating the scribes’ bilingualism.

Alex van Arkadie, who now works at the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) in Rome, and whose father was a close friend of

Bastianz, recalls the *kaffrinba* dance in the 1950s performed by Burghers who disguised themselves as kaffirs by blackening their faces. It had been the most popular item in the annual travelling entertainment show. Bastianz's father and Van Arkadie's relatives had been part of this group of travelling entertainers who performed in the houses of the rich Burghers. The vibrant rhythms have undoubtedly influenced Bastianz's composition of the *baila*. The *kaffrinba* song '*Singale Nona*' (Sinhalese Lady) was the finale at every party in Cinnamon Gardens, the most fashionable suburb of Colombo, in the early twentieth century. Asymmetric rhythm (which C.M. Fernando called 'a peculiar jerky movement') seems to be a characteristic of the *kaffrinbas*. *Kaffrinbas* were always in 6/8 time and the last note in the bar was generally a crotchet (Fernando 1894: 186). African music is rhythmic; cross-rhythms (syncopations) and asymmetric rhythms prevail.

Victor Melder (2004: personal communication), a Burgher diasporist by the Sri Lankan government for establishing a library in Australia which houses a collection of valuable Sri Lankan books and publications, recalls that his father Randolph Melder was in the 'Nigger Minstrel Troupe' in Kandy. At these occasions, Earle Bartholomeusz, Sonna Rosairo and other Burghers sang Afro-American spirituals and work songs such as *Alabama*, *Cotton Picking Time*, *Massa in the Cold Cold Ground*, *Roll Dem Golden Bells*. They played *ukuleles*. Randolph had a black mask with white lips and wore white gloves. The others blackened their faces and wore white gloves. They called the leader 'massa' (i.e. Master), a term that goes back to the days of slavery. Deva Surya Sena (1978), a Sinhalese aristocrat who promoted Sinhalese classical music also sang Afro-American spirituals, perhaps because they were popular at that time. This illustrates how African music was fashionable around the time of independence in Sri Lanka.

Jennifer van der Graft (2004: personal communication), the great grand-daughter of a prominent Dutch Burgher, Alfred Buultjens drew my attention to a vivid description of the *kaffrinja* (the Dutch spelling of *kaffrinba*) by another Dutch Burgher Carl Muller (Muller 1993: 58):

and revels they were. The band had arrived: three boys in bow ties, two fiddles and a tom-tom and Jessie Ferdinands produced a harmonica and Finny Jackson played the spoons, clickety-clack on his knees and a rollicking *kaffrinja* set everybody in motion with Colontota's uncles hitching up their sarongs [a cloth wrap-around worn by men in Sri Lanka] and jerking around shouting '*adi-ji adi-ji*' and the ladies holding the sides of their skirts and high-stepping to the beat.

When R. L. Brohier (1965), a surveyor, visited an Afro-Sri Lankan colony in Puttalam, in 1915, on a Saturday evening, the colonists were having 'a feast of merriment and sound, with music as its strongest impelling force'. Those taking part were singing and dancing for their own enjoyment. Both young and old enthusiastically joined in the music and dance. These festive evenings were associated with christenings, birthdays, anniversaries of any kind or even a simple moonlit night.

### Manha

The African presence in Sri Lanka has not received much scholarly attention. They are a small minority and are a marginalised group. They are part of a culture which is undergoing rapid assimilation. Any information that we have at present about them may be lost if it is not recorded. Afro-Sri Lankans have their roots in several African countries (de Silva Jayasuriya 2003a). The fate of the Africans who went eastwards (as willing or unwilling migrants) to lands in the Indian Ocean was different to fellow-Africans who travelled westwards across the Atlantic Ocean. Afro-Sri Lankans were employed as mercenaries, musicians, road-builders, railway-line constructors, watchers in salt-pans, brick-layers, palanquin-carriers, domestic servants, divers in pearl fisheries, nannies, nurses, village officials and bodyguards. Although there was a significant Afro-Sri Lankan presence on the Island there is no written history about them. In Asian literature, people of negroid African descent have been referred to by several names (de Silva Jayasuriya 2006a). In modern Sri Lanka, people of negroid phenotype are called *Kaffirs*, a carry over from the colonial days. The Portuguese word *cafè* is a borrowing from the Arabic word *qafir* ('infidel') which the Arabs used for non-Muslims. The word *Kaffir* may convey negative connotations to those who do not know its etymon. In Sri Lanka it is merely an ethnic label. It is not a racial epithet. The incoming Africans were familiar with oral traditions, but not with literary traditions. It is therefore important to document their oral history. The Afro-Sri Lankans who were creolised in Sri Lanka, nevertheless, remain an identifiable ethnic group.

The Portuguese identity of the Afro-Sri Lankans is signalled through language, religion, music, song and dance. While their linguistic identity is becoming blurred, their musical traditions mark them out. The last community of Afro-Sri Lankans, in Sirambiyadiya (near Puttalam in the North-Western Province) have been marginalised. Currently there are about fifty Afro-Sri Lankan families in Sirambiyadiya (de Silva Jayasuriya 2001b). More interesting, however, is that the Sirambiyadiya *Kaffirs* sing

*manbas*. In Sirambiyadiya, the bride and groom cut the wedding cake, drink wine and sing *Manbas* together with relatives and friends. They hold hands and dance in a circle. *Manbas* are short compositions. The *manba*, given below, is sung at Afro-Sri Lankan weddings when the bridal couple are seated. The verse seems appropriate for an occasion on which the groom is explaining to his parents that he has chosen well. It could be paraphrased as: 'I picked a woman to be my wife, in the hands she smells.' The community are aware of the context of the song but they are not able to give a word for word translation.

*SLPC (my transliteration)*

*Nam papa naman cherure re*  
*Panya mulamu*  
*Nam papa naman cherure ba*  
*Panya mulamu*

*Standard Portuguese*

*Mama Papa no mão cheiro*  
*Apanbei meu mulher*  
*Mama Papa no mão cheiro*  
*Apanbei meu mulher*

According to M. J. Elyas, a retired *Grāmasevaka* (village official), in the last Afro-Sri Lankan community in Sri Lanka, their ancestors were brought to Sri Lanka in batches by the European colonisers. They were gradually weaned from their African customs and European traditions were superimposed on them by those transporting them to Sri Lanka. In what follows, the cultural traits – language, religion, music, song, dance – of the Afro-Sri Lankans have been considered in order to draw attention to their changing identity. Language and religion are generally accepted as the most important elements in the culture set. The Afro-Sri Lankans spoke Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, the language which fulfilled the crucial bridging role communicating in a multilingual environment outlasting three waves of colonial rule. The robustness of the language and its survival without obliteration by the Dutch and the British, the two European colonisers following Portuguese rule is remarkable. The successive colonial rulers had to learn Portuguese Creole in order to communicate effectively in Sri Lanka. Only after three and a half centuries

did creole give way to English which became – and remains – the lingua franca for external communication and trade. There are now only about 500 creole speakers on the Island. The availability of government-subsidised education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels to all Sri Lankans since the 1950s has resulted in Afro-Sri Lankan children attending schools where they receive instruction in Sinhala, the mother-tongue of most Sri Lankans and the language of interethnic communication.

Music is a fine art that is concerned with the combination of sounds with a view to beauty of form and the experience of emotion; a song is a piece of music for voice or voices, whether accompanied or unaccompanied by musical instruments; dance generally accompanied by musical sound, finds expression in an infinite range of styles, forms and techniques. It is music, song and dance which bind the remaining creole speakers with the creole community at large, which includes Portuguese Burghers (people of Portuguese descent) numbering 5000.

The music of the Sirambiyadiya Afro-Sri Lankans signals their Portuguese identity. The Sirambiyadiya *Kaffirs* play a pink three-stringed long-necked wooden lute with a trapeziform resonator, the drum, and home-made instruments such as a glass bottle with a metal spoon, two coconut halves and a wooden chair/stool or a metal vessel with two wooden sticks. They do not play any African instruments. Marie Jacinta, a young Afro-Sri Lankan, has formed a music group with ten musicians. They earn a living by playing their music and singing choral songs in Colombo. A Former Sri Lankan President, R. Premadasa, acknowledged Marie Jacinta's contribution to Sri Lankan music and awarded her a certificate in recognition of her talent (de Silva Jayasuriya 2005b, 2005c). The victory song, *Senhor Santantoni*, apparently sung by the soldiers en route to Sri Lanka survives in the creole. The soldiers who had lost a home, found another in Sri Lanka by lighting candles to Saint Anthony, 'the finder of lost articles'. Evidently, the incoming Africans would have sung the song in another language, but the contemporary version is given below.

### SLPC

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>Male Solo:</i>     | Sinhora Santantoni suva vela namao o      |
| <i>Female Chorus:</i> | Sinhora Santantoni suva vela namao ya oya |
| <i>Whole Group:</i>   | Vela namao ya oya, Canseru namao ya oya   |
|                       | Ya ganha ya ganha                         |
|                       | Ya ganha bandera                          |
|                       | Ya oya ya oya – vela namao ya oya         |



## SP

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>Os Masculinos:</i> | <i>Senhor São Antoni sua candeia no mão</i>   |
| <i>As Mulheres:</i>   | <i>Senhor São Antoni sua candeia no mão viram</i>   |
| <i>Grupo Inteiro:</i> | <i>A candeia no mão viram, A lanterna no mão viram</i><br><i>Ganberam ganberam</i><br><i>Ganberam a bandeira</i><br><i>A candeia no mão viram</i>                                     |
| <i>Male Solo:</i>     | Lord St Anthony's candle in the hand  |
| <i>Female Chorus:</i> | We saw Lord St Anthony's candle in the hand   |
| <i>Whole Group:</i>   | We saw the candle in the hand, We saw the lantern in<br>the hand<br>We have captured, we have captured<br>We have captured the flag<br>We saw we saw<br>We saw the candle in the hand |

Self-expression of African identity through music, dance and song could be misinterpreted as slave resistance. It is not surprising that Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole is becoming moribund. In contrast to the creole-speaking people in Batticaloa, on the east coast of Sri Lanka, who are teaching some children to speak creole, most of the younger Afro-Sri Lankans do not speak creole and, language will not be an identifier for much longer. Nevertheless, they have been able to remain as Roman Catholics, a religion that was introduced to Sri Lanka by the Portuguese and therefore which signals a Portuguese link. Portuguese Creole songs, run deep in their blood and are part of their group identity. While the Portuguese hallmarks on linguistic and religious traits of the Afro-Sri Lankans are declining their musical and choreographic elements are vibrant and persistent, signalling their Portuguese identity.

### Kroncong, Joget, Pantun

Portuguese musical legacies are also vibrant in Southeast Asia. Margaret Kartomi (1984: 312–219) states that *kroncong*, *joget*, *ronggeng* and *dondang sayang* were music and dance genres that evolved in the Malay courts throughout the Malay Archipelago during the period of Malay-Portuguese contact. New rhythms contributed to the popularity of cross-cultural music and dance such as *joget* and *kroncong*. *Kroncong* is considered to be a successful Indonesian-European artistic synthesis. The guitar and the ukelele provide harmony in the *kroncong*. *Keroncong* is thought to have

evolved in the sixteenth-century Portuguese colonies in the Moluccas (Maluku) and Batavia (Jakarta). Malaysian *keroncong* is mainly associated with Malacca (Malacca), a former Portuguese colony (Matusky and Chopyak 1998: 439). *Kroncong* became firmly established in Jakarta by the 1800s, and also in the other port cities. The Indonesian *keroncong* is thought to be the origins of the Malaysian *keroncong*, which is probably the oldest genre of popular Malaysian music.

Pinto da França (1970: 40) recorded a song which Professor Charles Boxer heard in 1933, at Jakarta. It was sung by travelling singers called *Tandjidor*.

|                              |                        |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Bastiana, Bastiana</i>    | Bastiana Bastiana      |
| <i>Bastiana minja our(o)</i> | Bastiana my dear       |
| <i>Bastiana lensu</i>        | Bastiana handkerchief  |
| <i>Komigo pinhor</i>         | Is with me as a pledge |
|                              |                        |
| <i>Nang quer fica triste</i> | Do need to be sad      |
| <i>Ficai consoled</i>        | Be consoled            |
| <i>Kom algum dia mais</i>    | In a few days more     |
| <i>Lo fica djuntad</i>       | We will be together    |

In Batavia, *keroncong* is associated with the *Mardijkers* (freed African, Indian or Malay slaves of the Portuguese who had been converted to Catholicism). Immigration of *Mardijkers* had ceased in the nineteenth century and then they had ceased to exist as a separate ethnic group except in the village of Tugu near Tanjung Priok where a small pocket of 'Black Portuguese' lived. This Christian group had continued to perform *keroncong*. *Mardijkers* and *keroncong* were also found in Ambon, the Moluccas, another Portuguese-Dutch-Indonesian hybrid space. By the mid-twentieth century, *keroncong* penetrated inland and was influenced by gamelan music. Bronia Kornhauser (1978) also draws attention to the cross-cultural nature of *keroncong* and the unique style of instrumental accompaniment in *keroncong* which distinguishes it from other genres of music in Java. One group of instruments strictly adheres to the metric pulse of the song producing a musical texture with a constant underlying stream of quaver and semiquaver note values. The other group has a relatively high degree of metrical freedom creating a texture of linear independence and generally conforms to Javanese ensemble playing. The melodic and harmonic roots are European and were introduced by the Portuguese. The banjo and ukulele play alternating and interdependent parts and are reminiscent of

Javanese gamelan instruments (*keethuk* and *kempyang*). Gamelan instruments are also recreated in the elaborate guitar figuration (metallaphone or xylophone, gender or gambang), rhythmic and percussive plucking of the cello (drum or kendhang ciblon), the continuing melody of the violin (*rebab*, a bowed lute), the interpolative flute part (*suling*, a bamboo flute) and the slow moving bass (gong or other punctuating instruments). Female soloists resemble the *pesindhan* (solo singer in gamelan music) (Wong and Lysloff 1998: 102–3). A style of European-influenced popular music became known as *kroncong*. Today's *kroncong* ensembles have one or more singers, ukulele, banjo, guitar, cello, double bass, violin and flute. In the nineteenth century, the Portuguese songs accompanied on the *kroncong* guitar indicate the Malay, Dutch and Eurasian musical factors. These songs had catchy melodies which people could remember and, understandably, they became popular. These verses were originally four-line quatrains and became known as *pantun* in the Malay-speaking quarters when the Portuguese words were replaced by Malay.

*Joget* emphasises duple and triple-beat divisions, both in alternation. The rhythm, is similar to 6/8 dances like the *tarantella* and *fandango*, although *joget* is commonly notated in 2/4 time. The most important identifying feature is a constant rhythmic feeling of two against three, achieved in various ways. *Joget* is fast and it has a four-beat rhythmic pattern, incorporating a triple figure. Traditionally, the violin, *rebana* (a single-headed frame drum), *gendang* and gong played *joget*. *Joget* and *kroncong* are known by the Malay diaspora in Sri Lanka who visit Malaysia and Indonesia but they are not popular genres among the Sri Lankan Malays.

The Sri Lankan Malays, descendants of Malays who were brought to Sri Lanka by the Dutch and the British, had maintained the tradition of singing *pantuns*. In 1975, Hussainmiya (1987: 80) interviewed a 90 year-old Malay lady, Mrs Merbani Salim née Jury Weerabangsa who could recite *Pantuns*. He points out that the Sri Lankan Malays have belonged to a fairly literate society who composed a considerable number of *bikayats* (prose works) and *syairs* (works in verse) written in the Gundul (a Sri Lankan Malay word whose etymon is Javanese and which refers to the unvocalised Arabic script – Malay texts written in Arabic script are generally known as Jawi, as it is written without vowelisation) script. The *bikayats* derive from Arabian, Persian, Indian and Javanese sources and are tales, romances, legends and epics. The *syair* syaikh Fadlun and the *syair* Kisahnya Khabar Orang Wolenter Bengali are two well-known Sri Lankan *syairs*. The first describes the pious Fadlun who lived in Arabia during the times of the

Caliph Omar. The latter is about the armed skirmish between Malay and Bengali soldiers in Colombo on New Year's Day in 1819.

*Pantuns* are quatrains which can be spoken, recited or sung for a variety of occasions. In Malaysia, they are often performed in a competition to determine who can create the best *pantun*. Traditionally such competitions played a part in courting among young men and women. These competitions involve small or large groups and they were partly presentational and partly participational. Sometimes professional dancing girls created *pantun* with male observers, when they challenged them with flirtatiousness. On the other hand, new *pantuns* are created in an impromptu manner. The meanings of *pantun* may become clear in the last two lines and are difficult to follow. However, the meaning between the two parts of lines is expected to be obscure, subtle and esoteric. The last two lines can be a logical conclusion to the first two lines or can be a surprise. The ability to create good *pantun* was highly respected in Malaysian society though there is less emphasis on it now. *Pantuns*, typically, begin with references to nature or a place in Malaysia. They are secular songs and are about love and personal relationships. An example is given below (Matusky and Chopyak 1998: 436).

*Apa kena padi-ku ini*  
 (What ails my ricefield so fine)  
*Sini sangku, Sana pun goyang?*  
 (Entangled here, there on the move?)  
*Apa kena hati-ku ini*  
 (Whatever ails this heart of mine)  
*Sini sangku, sana pun-sayang*  
 (Entangled here, there in love)

The following is an Indonesian *pantun* (Saldin 1996: 31).

*Pisang emas dibawa belayar*  
 With gold bananas we sail away  
*Masak sebiji diatas peti*  
 A ripe one on the chest we save  
*Hutang emas boleh dibayar*  
 Our debts of gold we can repay  
*Hutang budi dibawa mati*  
 A debt of heart we take to the grave.  
  
*Apa guna pasang pelita*

Why attempt to light a lamp  
*Jika tidak dengan sumbuhnya*  
 If the lamp has not a wick  
*Apa gunga bermain mata*  
 Why look at me like a wamp  
*Kalan tidak dengan sungguhnya?*  
 If it is only for a trick

*Kalan ada jarum yang patah*  
 If you find a broken needle  
*Jangan simpan di dalam peti*  
 Don't keep in your chest  
*Kalan ada silap dan salah*  
 If you find that we have erred  
*Jangan simpan di dalam hati*  
 Don't harbour it in your breast

Sri Lankan *pantuns* were collected by Mr A.H. Greasy and published as a booklet in *Dendang Sayang Pantun Selong* (Saldin 1996: 31). *Pantuns* are sung at some Malay weddings and circumcision ceremonies but Mr Saldin points out that they have evolved into a Sri Lankan variety which resembles *baila*. The Sri Lankan Malays say that the beat is similar to *baila*. An example is given below from Saldin (2001). The form of the Sri Lankan *pantuns* is also similar to *chorus baila*. *Nona* means 'lady' in Sri Lanka. *Sirih kaya* is a desert/sweet dish of the Malays introduced to Sri Lanka through the Malay diaspora.

### Chorus

|                                  |                              |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Sayang kecil anak</i>         | My tiny little girl          |
| <i>Seppe sayang kecil anak</i>   | My darling little light      |
| <i>Tangan pegang mari tandak</i> | Hold my hand, let's dance    |
| <i>Nyari di malam</i>            | To-night, to-night, to-night |

### Verses

|                                 |                             |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Sirih cappi cappi Amoi</i>   | Chewing, chewing betel Amoi |
| <i>Jangan buang luda</i>        | Don't you spit it out       |
| <i>Kasih satu cium Nona</i>     | Give me just a kiss, Nona   |
| <i>Jangan bilang sudah</i>      | Enough, don't you shout     |
| <i>Tepung tumbuk habis Amoi</i> | Finish pounding flour Amoi  |

*Masak sirih kaya  
Nonape muka pantas Amoi  
Semua orang nanti suka*

Making sirih kaya  
Nona has a pretty face  
All the boys will like her

*Satu, dua, tiga, empat  
Lima, enam, tujuh  
Kalau abang lambat datang  
Nona tutup pintu*

One, two, three, four  
Five, six, seven  
If hubby gets late to come  
He'll be denied heaven

When people of diverse cultures come into contact, they adopt new cultural elements. In popular Sri Lankan Malay songs today the singers are accompanied by both eastern and western instruments: *sitar*, *tabla*, harmonium, violin, guitar, cello. The western concept of harmonisation is introduced through the guitar and harmonium. The lyrics of a Sri Lankan Malay song which was broadcast through Sri Lankan television is given below with a translation.

### **A contemporary Sri Lankan Malay song: female solo**

#### *Transliteration*

*Inni chara ma pinchakang  
Apa se na kirja salahan  
Sayang sayang kenapa inni  
Susahang nyang kasi kalbudan*

#### *Translation*

To break up this way  
What wrong have I done  
Love, love why is this  
Give sadness to my heart

### **Male solo**

#### *Transliteration*

*Apanang nya jadi chupatan  
Sayang sayang seppe tera hilang  
Susahang jamanu ambil kalbudan  
Tumau chari seppe per katang*

#### *Translation*

What happened so soon  
Love, my love is not lost  
Don't take sadness to your heart  
Don't question my word

### **Female solo**

*Sala bahasa orang pe  
Tussa ma ambil jivanang  
Sala bahasa orang pe  
Tussa ma ambil jivanang  
Nya jadi sayang nya salahan  
Orang pe katang thusa threema*

The wrong language of the people  
Don't take seriously in life  
The wrong language of the people  
Don't take seriously in life  
Love that happened was a mistake  
Don't accept peoples' word

**Male solo***Sabaran kalu ada menjabat*

Patience, if there is wickedness

*Samma hayat habis sama*

All life will end

*Sabaran kalu ada menjabat*

Patience, if there is wickedness

*Samma haylat habis sama*

All life will end

*Luar negri se pi sampe*

I have reached another country

*Tua jadi ma datang*

I will be old when I return

Colonial cultures are altered or suppressed by cultural denigration, the conscious and unconscious oppression of the indigenous personality and culture by a supposedly superior racial or cultural model. Nationalism emerged as a means of binding together disparate communities and cultures when colonial states achieved independence. All things foreign became unfashionable and were a continuation of colonial control. The popularity of *baila* would have been boosted by postcolonial nationalist fervour. *Baila* signals the pulse of the new nation which was determined not to be totally swamped by colonial cultural infusions. The Sri Lankan elite were denationalised and were unable to appreciate indigenous arts. *Baila* undermines their tendency to emulate British music, song and dance.

Music and dance unravel the past and reveal the complexity of identities. During the euphoria of independence, at a time when Sri Lanka was re-fashioning her national identity, *baila* fitted the new climate. A harmonious fusion combining local and western forms captured the postcolonial nation's mood. *Mando*, *baila*, *kaffrinha*, *kroncong*, *pantun* and *joget* illustrate that postcolonial cultures are not mere continuations of the colonial models. These reflect an unconscious sociocultural transformation of Asian musical tastes due to contact with Portuguese culture.

## 4

# Portuguese Expansion and Language Contact

In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese Crown was the principal agency which established and sustained the trading links with Asia. The Portuguese were able to interact with Asians entering into joint ventures with them. There were government officials, soldiers, missionaries, Jews, New Christians and married settlers (*casados moradores*) in the Estado da India, who came into contact with Asians and Africans for different purposes. When people from different speech communities come into prolonged contact, then inevitably their languages also come into contact. This chapter illustrates lexical borrowing. Cross-cultural interactions are mirrored in the words that are adopted from one language to another. Usually in asymmetric relationships, such as colonisation, more words pass from the language that is considered prestigious on to the language of those who are in a less powerful position. Portuguese presence in Asia is signalled, even many years after the Portuguese presence and dominance ended in these areas, through Portuguese words that have passed into Asian languages and which are still being used in colloquial and literary forms. These words have not been discarded even when Portuguese colonisation ended. Dalgado (1936), lists several Portuguese words that have been adopted by more than fifty languages in Asia – Acehnese, Anglo-Indian English, Annamite/Annamese/Vietnamese, Arabic, Assamese, Balinese, Batavian, Batta or Batak, Bengali, Bugui, Burmese, Chinese (Cantonese), Dayak, Galoli, Garo, Gujarati, Hindi, Indo-French, Japanese, Javanese, Kambojan (Khmer), Kanarese, Kashmiri, Khassi, Konkani, Lashkhari-Hindustani, Macassar, Madurese, Malay (*Bahasa Malaysia* and *Bahasa Indonesia*), Malayalam, Marathi, Moluccan, Nepali, Nicobarese, Oriya, Persian (Farsi), Pidgin-English, Punjabi, Siamese (Thai), Sindhi, Sinhala, Sundanese, Tamil, Telugu, Teto, Tibetan, Tonkinese, Tulu and Turkish – is a significant



contribution. Clearly there needs to be more research into culture contact as evidenced through Portuguese lexical borrowings in Asian languages. I have also included Portuguese borrowings in Divēhi, Urdu, *Bahasa Malaysia* (Malaysian) and *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian). A complete analysis of the etymology of the lexicon in these Asian languages is an area for future research. I have given a few examples to illustrate borrowings in each language discussed below. I have also tried to ascertain if there was direct contact between the Portuguese and the Asians, through trading, missionary activities or through miscegenation. Lexical borrowing occurs under different circumstances when languages come into contact, and words about a new concept or object are introduced.

### Indonesian Languages

Acehnese, a Malayo-Polynesian language in the Austronesian group, has Portuguese borrowings. The Acehnese are one of the main ethnic groups in Sumatra, Indonesia. It was the first country in the archipelago to adopt Islam, in the thirteenth century. Aceh was the biggest threat to Portuguese in this area. There was 150 years of war with two peaceful years, when a Portuguese ambassador was sent there. Portuguese merchants traded in Aceh during the war years and also stayed there (Pinto da França 1970: 11–12). Having driven out the Portuguese in the seventeenth century, the Sultanate of Aceh was dominant in Northern Sumatra until the Dutch dominated it in 1904. Today, Aceh is administered as part of Indonesia.

There are Portuguese borrowings in Balinese, an Austronesian language, spoken by three million people who live mainly in Bali and the adjoining island of Nusa Penida. Balinese is also spoken in western Lambote and in transmigration sites in Lampung (Sumatra) and central Sulawesi (Brown 2006: 654).

| <i>Acehnese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Kapitan         | <i>Capitão</i>    | Captain        |
| Mentiga         | <i>Manteiga</i>   | Butter         |
| Sábun           | <i>Sabão</i>      | Soap           |

Tomé Pires (1944: 201–2), who wrote in the early sixteenth century, on what he saw in the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, mentions the island of Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa which are next to Java having many ports, foodstuffs and slaves (both male and female). He mentions the trade between these islands and Java; slaves and horses being taken to Java to be sold and, foodstuffs and cloths being brought back in return.

| <i>Balinese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bandéra         | <i>Bandeira</i>   | Flag           |
| Piring          | <i>Pires</i>      | Saucer         |
| Ronda           | <i>Ronda</i>      | Patrol         |
| Sábun           | <i>Sabão</i>      | Soap           |
| Suredadu        | <i>Soldado</i>    | Soldier        |

In 1522, the Portuguese signed a treaty with the Indonesian prince in the port of Sunda Kelapa at Djakarta. They erected a *feitoria* and traded for many years. After Malacca's defeat to the Dutch in 1641, some Portuguese private merchants moved on to Batavia and traded in Dutch territory. Batavia is the name given by the Dutch to Jakarta on the island of Java which is the capital of today's Indonesia. Batavia was founded in 1619 and was the commercial capital of the Dutch. The Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) employed Portuguese-speaking soldiers, workmen and artisans. In Batavia, the Dutch also married Portuguese-speaking women. Portuguese became the lingua franca of Batavia. Also known as Betawi or Jakarta Malay, Batavian is a Malay-based creole which is quite distinct from both Standard Indonesian and from other Malay-based contact languages. The *Mardijkers* (from the Malay word *merdeka* meaning 'free') had mixed ethnic origins but were identified as a Portuguese-community in Batavia until the nineteenth century. After that, they blended in with the Eurasians in Batavia, namely the Dutch-Indonesian descendants. It is not surprising that Portuguese words have passed into Batavian. In Tugu, a few kilometres inland from Jakarta harbour Portuguese was spoken in the twentieth century.

| <i>Batavian</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bilúdrú         | <i>Veludo</i>     | Velvet         |
| Karêpus         | <i>Carapuça</i>   | Cloak          |
| Kintal          | <i>Quinta</i>     | Kitchen-garden |
| Pásu            | <i>Vaso</i>       | Vessel/Vase    |
| Sidádi          | <i>Cidade</i>     | City           |

Batak is an Austronesian language, spoken in Sumatra (Dalby 1997: 3069). The Batak or Batta are closely related ethnic groups in Central Sumatra. They are descendants of a powerful Proto-Malayan people who lived in relative isolation until recently in the highlands surrounding Lake Toba in the mountains of North Central Sumatra and the port of Natal. The Portuguese, looking to strengthen their ties in the Far East, but being overthrown from their fort in Pasai, Sumatra, and by the neighbouring state of Pedir during the rising power of Aceh, formed an alliance with the

non-Moslem Batak on the west coast of Sumatra. The Batak were one of the last people in Indonesia to come under Dutch colonial control.

There are four languages in South Sulawesi – Bugui, Mandar, Toraja, Macassar – which belong to the West Austronesian linguistic sub-group. The Bugis live on the coastal areas of Sulawesi Selatan and near the rice fields in the hinterland. Rice was exported from the central plains of the Bugis, and also from around Macassar. In fact, the rice requirements of the Malacca Portuguese fortress could have been met from South Sulawesi (Pelras 1996: 118).

| <i>Batta/Batak</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bandéra            | <i>Bandeira</i>   | Flag           |
| Bilúlu             | <i>Veludo</i>     | Velvet         |
| Kareta             | <i>Carrêta</i>    | Cart           |
| Lélang             | <i>Leilão</i>     | Auction        |
| Pestúl             | <i>Pistola</i>    | Pistol         |

In 1607, the Sultan of Johor, who was an enemy of the Portuguese tried to prevent these rice exports. The Bugis language, has close affinities both linguistically and culturally, with the Macassarese who are nearby. The importance of Macassar during the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean impinged on the Bugis. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Macassarese realms of Goa and Tallo had overlordship of most of the Bugis lands.

| <i>Bugui</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Biyóla       | <i>Viola</i>      | Guitar         |
| Dádu         | <i>Dado</i>       | Die            |
| Garéja       | <i>Igreja</i>     | Church         |
| Jandéla      | <i>Janela</i>     | Window         |
| Kéju         | <i>Queijo</i>     | Cheese         |

They befriended the Dutch to overthrow Macassar, in 1667, and since then were regarded as the most powerful kingdom in South Sulawesi (Hockings 1993: 48). Since the eighteenth century, Macassar has been the home to most Bugis, leading to confusion between the two peoples. In the past century, there has been a common Bugis-Macassar identity and many think that they are synonymous (Pelras 1996: 14). Although this blurs the linguistic distinction of the two groups, they were considered separate as Dalgado (1936) confirms. There are colonies of Bugis in Borneo, Malaya Peninsula and Eastern Sumatra.

Dayak is the term used for a number of Proto-Malay groups in Borneo speaking a variety of Dayak belonging to the Austronesian family. Dalgado (1936: xc) conjectures that Portuguese words passed to Dayak through Malay but from 1590 to 1643, the Portuguese had a factory in Borneo. Therefore, Portuguese words could have passed directly into Dayak. The Dayak are found in three countries: Indonesia (Kalimantan), Malaysia (Sabah and Sarawak) and the Sultanate of Brunei. It is not clear which Dayak language Dalgado considered.

| <i>Dayak</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Kapir        | <i>Cafre</i>      | Kaffir         |
| Karéta       | <i>Carrêta</i>    | Cart           |
| Sábtu        | <i>Sábad</i>      | Saturday       |
| Separo       | <i>Separado</i>   | Separate       |
| Tempo        | <i>Tempo</i>      | Time           |

From Java, in Indonesia, the Portuguese established themselves as an informal trading network in the area. They achieved this through linking up with the local upper class through intermarriages and also through Luso-Asian Christian communities who identified with the Portuguese.

| <i>Javanese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Baluvárti       | <i>Baluarte</i>   | Bulwark        |
| Bonékô          | <i>Boneca</i>     | Doll           |
| Korsân          | <i>Corsão</i>     | Heart          |
| Pitô            | <i>Fita</i>       | Ribbon         |
| Skólah          | <i>Escola</i>     | School         |

Javanese, an Austronesian language, has Portuguese borrowings. It is one of the three languages spoken on the island of Java; the other two being Sundanese and Madurese. Javanese is spoken by the majority of the peoples who live in the Central and Eastern part of Java.

There was a large community – 500 – of Portuguese in Macassar in the early seventeenth century (Boxer 1967: 3). Once Malacca fell into Dutch hands, in 1641, the Portuguese traders moved on to Macassar. The ruler of Macassar had a cordial relationship with Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, the main Portuguese agent in the area (Boxer 1967: 3). As Perlas (1996: 141) points out, the Portuguese were the main suppliers of arms and gunpowder to Macassar. Many aristocrats in Macassar and the Chief Minister, Karaéng Pa'tingalloang could read and write Portuguese. Boxer (1961: 57) confirms that Macassar regents spoke fluent Portuguese. In

1660, Macassar fell into Dutch hands. Not surprisingly, there are Portuguese borrowings in Macassar, an Austronesian language.

| <i>Macassar</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bandeja         | <i>Bandeja</i>    | Tray           |
| Jandéla         | <i>Janela</i>     | Window         |
| Kadéra          | <i>Cadeira</i>    | Chair          |
| Sapada          | <i>Espada</i>     | Spade          |
| Turumbéta       | <i>Trombeta</i>   | Trumpet        |

Sundanese or Basa Sunda, an Austronesian language, spoken in the western parts of the island of Java has Portuguese borrowings. A few examples are given below.

| <i>Sundanese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bálla            | <i>Bailar</i>     | dance/to dance |
| Méja             | <i>Mesa</i>       | Month          |
| Rénda            | <i>Renda</i>      | Rent/Lace      |
| Sáku             | <i>Saco</i>       | Pocket         |
| Sínyo            | <i>Senhor</i>     | Gentleman      |

Madurese, an Austronesian language, is the language of the Indonesian island Madura and eastern Java. Dalgado (1936: lxxxix) proposes that Javanese may have been the media through which Portuguese words passed into Madurese, as Portuguese contact with Madura was minimal.

| <i>Madurese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Chinélo         | <i>Chinela</i>    | Slipper        |
| Káldu           | <i>Caldo</i>      | Broth/Soup     |
| Sáptô           | <i>Sábado</i>     | Saturday       |
| Sínyo           | <i>Senhor</i>     | Gentleman      |
| Sordádu         | <i>Soldado</i>    | Soldier        |

*Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian) has been the national language of Indonesia since 1945, although it was only the mother-tongue of 5 per cent of Indonesians. It was strongly associated with nationalism, having been declared the national language in 1928 by young nationalists who gave a new label to the Malay language in Indonesia in keeping with national sentiment. However, Indonesian succeeded in becoming the national language in the 1990s quite admirably, in a linguistically pluralistic society (Brown 2006: 639–641). Pinto da França (1970: 65–67) lists Portuguese borrowings in Indonesian and a

few examples are given below. He also mentions a few Portuguese words, idioms and names in Jakarta, Banten, Central Tugu, Java, Ambon, Hitu, Soya, Hatalai, Moluccas, Ceram, Kisar, Solor, Sulawesi, Flores and Sumatra.

| <i>Indonesian</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bangku            | Banco             | Bench          |
| Kedju             | Queijo            | Cheese         |
| Padri             | Padre             | Priest         |
| Pita              | Fita              | Ribbon         |
| Sekolah           | Escola            | School         |

### **Malaysian Languages**

In Southeast Asia, Portuguese merchants broke into the intra-Asian trade network with the help of merchants from Kalinga (South India). In Malacca, goods from Southeast Asia, China, India and Middle East were collected and redistributed. Malacca was the key trading port in Southeast Asia. In 1509, Diogo de Sequeira discovered Malacca's potential as a trading centre and on 17 July 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque conquered it, building a fortress there. Malacca became the key foothold of the Portuguese, east of Sri Lanka, and a base for trading further east. In Malacca, there was a fortress, garrison and town council. For over a thousand years, Malay has been the lingua franca in the bazaars and markets of Southeast Asia where many people traded. There are many dialects, and during Dutch rule, Riau Malay, the dialect spoken in Central Sumatra, near Singapore, became the standard. While it is not certain what Dalgado called Malay, I have included the Standard Malay equivalent in the examples given below. Although the Portuguese did not normally learn the indigenous languages of the countries that they encountered, the Portuguese captives in Malacca learnt Malay, becoming the first Europeans to learn this language (Teixeira 1961: 38).

| <i>Standard Malay</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Mentega               | Manteiga          | Butter         |
| Minit                 | Minit             | Minute         |
| Tuala                 | Toalha            | Towel          |

The Portuguese realised the trading potential that was further east of Malacca and sent ships under the command of Francisco Serrão to the islands of Tidore and Ternate. These two islands were the sole producers of cloves and nutmeg. Since 1520, a Portuguese community was

established in these eastern Indonesian islands and the Portuguese Captain administered the clove monopoly from his base in the Moluccas. Yet most of the Moluccas fell outside the *Estado* and was not a part of the official empire. There was much intermarriage, both from those within the *Estado* and from those outside it. The Portuguese Captain married the Sultan's daughter reinforcing his contacts at the highest possible levels. Others married Indonesians in Ternate, Ambon and Moro establishing links in the area. By the 1560s, it was estimated that there were 70,000 Christians in Ambon, where Francis Xavier had preached (Newitt 2004: 161). Understandably, there are Portuguese borrowings in Moluccan and the examples given below illustrate.

| <i>Moluccan</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bariga          | <i>Barriga</i>    | Stomach        |
| Cabessa         | <i>Cabeça</i>     | Head           |
| Lénsu           | <i>Lenço</i>      | Handkerchief   |
| Maman           | <i>Mamã</i>       | Mother         |
| Papá            | <i>Papá</i>       | Father         |

The Portuguese Creole of East Timor was brought in from elsewhere but it developed under the influence of Tetum (Holm 1989: 295). Portuguese missionaries adopted Tetum and therefore Tetum spread in the area under Portuguese administration. Vasconcellos (1901: 184) states that a creolised Portuguese did not develop in Timor as Tetum served as a *lingua franca*. Dalgado (1936: xcii) stated that Teto, spoken in the Portuguese colony of Timor, was well stocked with Portuguese words.

| <i>Teto/Tetun</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Barreti           | <i>Barrete</i>    | Cap            |
| Escola            | <i>Escola</i>     | School         |
| Prokurador        | <i>Procurador</i> | Proctor        |
| Sapateru          | <i>Sapateiro</i>  | Shoemaker      |
| Vidro             | <i>Vidro</i>      | Glass          |

Teto/Tetum/Tetun is an Austronesian language. The Portuguese occupied the eastern part of the island of Timor calling it Timor Leste which means East Timor. In Timor, power was held by the Lusitanised 'new elite', once it became an outpost of the Portuguese empire. Catholic Timorese with Portuguese names controlled the sandalwood trade. Timor came under Indonesian rule from 1999, after Portuguese domination ended in 1975. After its independence from Indonesia in 2002, East

Timor has decided to retain the Portuguese language as an official language, alongside Indonesian.

There are Portuguese borrowings in Galoli, an Austronesian language, a dialect of north-east Timor. The existence of a dictionary of Galoli-Portuguese (Silva 1905) indicates that there were probably bilinguals in these two languages.

| <i>Galoli</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Abril         | <i>Abril</i>      | April          |
| Adeus         | <i>Adeus</i>      | Adeus          |
| Advogádu      | <i>Advogado</i>   | Advocate       |
| Devosã        | <i>Devoção</i>    | Devotion       |
| Salvasã       | <i>Salvação</i>   | Salvation      |

### **Cambodia**

From 1505 to 1605, the Dominicans were in Cambodia, and the Franciscans were there from 1585 to 1698 but the Jesuits had the longest presence in Cambodia, from 1616 to 1729 and their presence ended when José Pires was in charge.

| <i>Kambojan/Khmer/Cambodian</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Crus                            | <i>Cruz</i>       | Cross          |
| Kristăng                        | <i>Cristão</i>    | Christian      |
| Minüt                           | <i>Minuto</i>     | Minute         |
| Missa                           | <i>Missa</i>      | Mass           |
| Sabu                            | <i>Sabão</i>      | Soap           |

A large Japanese community was in Cambodia and provided the impetus for the Jesuits to set up a mission there (Teixeira 1961: 435–436). By 1600, there was a Portuguese community in Cambodia. A Portuguese, Diogo Veloso, led the army of the exiled Cambodian king and was made governor of a province (Marga 1867: 43–5). There are Portuguese borrowings in Khmer, an Austro-Asiatic language. It is also called Kambojan or Cambodian and is the national language of Cambodia. It belongs to the M[on]-K[hmer] family of languages which includes more than one hundred languages in mainland Southeast Asia. Khmer has adopted many words from other languages (Sanskrit, Pāli, Thai, Chinese, Vietnamese, French and Portuguese) (Frawley 2003: 355). A few Portuguese borrowings in Khmer are given below.



### Burma/Myanmar

Portuguese borrowings are also in Burmese, a Sino-Tibetan language family in the Tibeto-Burman group. Burmese is spoken in Myanmar, formerly called Burma. Portuguese soldiers who abandoned the Estado fought in the wars of Burma. Some Portuguese settled down on the Burmese Coast. The Portuguese had an official settlement in Siriam which is in Myanmar today.

| <i>Burmese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Kappali        | <i>Cafre</i>      | African        |
| Ksap-pyah      | Sabão             | Soap           |
| Laylan         | <i>Leilão</i>     | Auction        |
| Nan-na-si      | <i>Ananás</i>     | Pineapple      |
| Ngan           | <i>Ganso</i>      | Goose          |

### Tibet

Dalgado could only find three Portuguese borrowings in Tibetan, but predicts that more Portuguese words might enter Tibetan as communication between Tibet and India increase.

| <i>Tibetan</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Ko-pi          | <i>Couve</i>      | Cabbage        |
| Sh'e-pa        | <i>Pão</i>        | Bread          |
| So Ch'a        | <i>Chá</i>        | Tea            |

There was a Portuguese mission founded in Tibet by the Jesuit António de Andrade, in 1642, which continued under Father Gonçalo de Sousa and João Cabral (Cardinal Saraiva 1818: 149). Tibetan is a member of the Tibeto-Burman language group within the Sino-Tibetan family. These words could have entered Tibetan through Hindi, Punjabi or Anglo-Indian English.

### Vietnam

There are Portuguese borrowings in Annamite/Annamese/Vietnamese and Tonkinese, which belongs to the Austroasiatic language family. Tonkinese is the northern dialect of Annamese spoken in Vietnam. The Annamese form the majority of the population of Vietnam. There were three kingdoms of Annam: Tonking in the North, Annam in the Centre and Cochinchina in the South. In 1516, the Portuguese made contact with Vietnam. They were followed by visiting Dominican missionaries in 1527. Eight years later, a Portuguese port and trading centre was

established at Faifo (called Hoi An). Portuguese missionaries continued to go to Vietnam in the sixteenth century. They were followed by other European missionaries, notably the French Jesuit missionary, Alexandre de Rhodes. In 1628, Father Jeronimo Rodrigues sent Father Julian Baldinoti in Gaspar Borges da Fonseca's ship to Tonkin or Annam to start a mission in Vietnam. The mission continued until 1802, where Father Nâncio Horta was in charge. Father Baldinoti was too old to learn the local language and sought help from the Jesuits in Cochinchina (Teixeira 1961: 432–4). Starting with Father Francisco Buzone and ending with Father Bento Ferreira, the Jesuits worked from 1615 to 1750 in Cochinchina (Teixeira 1961: 443–5). Annam was on the northeast of Cochinchina. Annamese is the official language of Vietnam which was called Annam during the country's French period. Annamese is the mother-tongue of 86 per cent of Vietnamese and since the twentieth century, it is the official language of the country. Understandably, there are many Chinese borrowings in Vietnamese which also used Chinese characters in the written language. Contact with the Portuguese and French has altered the script to the Latin script which was considered easier for teaching and communicating with the population at large. A few Portuguese borrowings in Vietnamese are given below.

| <i>Annamite/Annamese/Tonkinese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Banh                               | <i>Pão</i>        | Bread          |
| Cà-phe                             | <i>Café</i>       | Coffee         |
| Chè                                | <i>Chá</i>        | Tea            |
| Côc                                | <i>Copo</i>       | Cup            |

### **Siam/Thailand**

Tomé Pires (1944: 103) mentions the three ports in the kingdom of Siam known as Thailand today. He mentions the trade in Siam with China and the large number of Chinese who were in Siam at that time. He adds that there were Arabs, Persians, Bengalis, people from Kalinga and other nationalities in Siam. Despite the French influence in Thailand and South-east Asia in general, from the late seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries, Portuguese remained the language of court correspondence for Thai-European relations.

In Thailand (formerly Siam) the Portuguese were present from the 1520s onwards and were the first European diplomats at the court of Ayuthaya. Though Ayuthaya fell to the Burmese in 1569, the Thais quickly regained the capital, making it one of the largest cities to be encountered

by the Portuguese. Armed with guns introduced by the Portuguese and new cavalry skills acquired from the Portuguese, but using elephants, the Thais went on to reconquer Chiang Mai in the north. By 1600, there was a Portuguese settlement in Ayuthaya. The 1691 map of Ayuthaya in the Du Royaume De Siam, clearly shows the Portuguese settlement, known to the Thais as *Bang Portuguet* to the south of the city next to the Chao Phraya River surrounded by the Cochinchinese (to the west), Chinese (north), Japanese (east), Malays (southwest) and Macassars (south) (Pereira 2005: personal communication). The Portuguese settlement also had two-walled enclosures belonging to the 'Jacobin Portuguese' and the Portuguese Jesuits. The Dominicans and Franciscans started missions in Siam. Although a Jesuit, Father Baltasar de Sequeira tried to open a mission in Siam, in 1606, his attempts failed. In 1656, however, Father Thomas Valgnaner's attempts succeeded and the Jesuits carried on their work until 1767 (Teixeira 1961: 439–42). Understandably, the Thais adopted Portuguese words. Thai is the most important language in the Tai family. It is the national language of Thailand. A few examples of Portuguese borrowings in Thai are given below.

| <i>Siamese (Thai)</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bāt                   | <i>Padre</i>      | Priest         |
| Cōngsul               | <i>Consul</i>     | Consul         |
| Kāb                   | <i>Capa</i>       | Cloak          |
| Mísa                  | <i>Missa</i>      | Mass           |
| Sābū                  | <i>Sabão</i>      | Saban          |

## China

Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (1924–33), the sixteenth century chronicler recorded that Fernão Peres de Andrade made a second attempt at an expedition to China. In August 1517, Fernão Peres reached the islands of China. From the late 1520s to the 1540s, Portuguese *casados*, adventurers or others, traded mainly in the Chekiang-Fukien area. Some Portuguese seem to have collaborated with pirates off the China Coast. In the early 1550s, it became necessary to establish a base halfway along the China Coast. Before the founding of the base in Macau, Portuguese power was not institutionalised in the China Coast. The Portuguese had problems distinguishing themselves from *W'o-k'ou*, whom the Chinese called pirates. In order to establish that they were not pirates to the Ming bureaucrats, the Portuguese withdrew from Chekian and Fukien to central Kwantung. The Chinese authorities were not able to catch, Tchang-Si-Lau, the 'king



Façade of St Paul's church, Macau (collection of Clifford Pereira).

of the islands of Canton', the leader of the pirate bands. After an agreement between Leonel de Sousa and the Chinese and, the Portuguese helping the Chinese to fight off pirates, the Portuguese established themselves in Macau. The Portuguese settled down on the Macau peninsula from 1557, after a deal was struck between the local mandarins and Leonel de Sousa (Willis 2002: 57). In the 1580s, Jesuits established a mission in Zhaoqing, a city which is about 50 miles west of Canton. This mission was short-lived; it was forcibly closed in 1589.

Macau was the first European settlement in the Far East and was one of the largest trading stations in the region until the mid-nineteenth century. It was a quasi-independent commercial centre of the Portuguese. It continued to be an outpost of the Portuguese empire, even when the Portuguese control in the East ceased. There are many Chinese dialects but the Portuguese probably came into contact with Cantonese more than with other dialects. Over 90 per cent of Macanese speak Cantonese as their mother-tongue although Portuguese was the official language. There are about 10 per cent Macanese who speak Creole Portuguese as their mother-tongue. I have identified some Cantonese words with Portuguese etyma (see below) (Huang 1970). In Mandarin *Kāfēi* and *Mǎnbān* are coffee and bread, respectively.

| <i>Cantonese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bàh-bā           | <i>Papá</i>       | Papa           |
| Ga-fé            | <i>Café</i>       | Coffee         |
| Mihn-bāau        | <i>Pão</i>        | Bread          |
| Wāai-ōu-lin      | <i>Violino</i>    | Violin         |

It is uncertain what Chinese language Dalgado was referring to. A few words that he called Chinese are also found in his list of Pidgin English, a trade language. Evidence suggests that Chinese Pidgin English grew from the Pidginised Portuguese. The earliest examples of Chinese Pidgin English, which were spoken during a voyage in 1748, were more Portuguese than English. The example given below illustrates: '*Carei grandi bola, pickeninini bola?*' 'Do you want a large whore or a small whore?' (Bauer 1975: 95)

### **Pidgin English**

Pidgin English is a contact language and is used in Asian ports. As the British were often taking over trade from the Portuguese, it is understandable that some Pidgin English words should have Portuguese etyma. In 'A Voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748', C F Noble reported on a 'broken and mixed dialect of English and Portuguese' in China (Bauer 1975: 96). Bauer (1975: 86) estimates that 700 to 750 Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) words would be enough to conduct trade. The meaning of Pidgin is 'business'. Chinese Pidgin English has apparently introduced Portuguese words to Hawaiian Pidgin English, thereby diffusing Portuguese words into the Pacific.

| <i>Pidgin-English</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Amah                  | <i>Ama</i>        | Nanny          |
| Compradore            | <i>Comprador</i>  | Buyer          |
| Galanti               | <i>Grande</i>     | Big            |
| Na                    | <i>Não</i>        | No             |
| Sabby/Savvy/Shapi     | <i>Saber</i>      | Know           |

### **Japan**

In Japan, the Jesuit missionaries were successful in their primary function. However, as Portuguese trading activities with Japan grew, the Jesuits also acted as brokers in the bullion trade. The Vatican gave the Jesuits permission to take part in the silk trade. A Christian community sprang up in Japan since Francis Xavier's visit and numbered about a thousand when he left Japan, barely after two years. A mission was established in Kyoto,

after 1650. In 1571, the Jesuits secured Nagasaki, a small fishing village on Kyushu, as a free port where silk could enter Japan. By 1571, there were 30,000 Christians in Japan. In 1581, there were an estimated number of 150,000 Christians served by 200 churches and 85 Jesuits (Boxer 1951) Nagasaki, became a quasi-independent commercial centre of the Portuguese. Many Jesuits spoke Japanese and acted as interpreters between the Japanese and the Portuguese. There are Portuguese borrowings in Japanese, spoken as a mother-tongue in Japan only, but also spoken by the Japanese diaspora, in Hawaii and the Americas. A few Portuguese borrowings in Japanese are given below.

| <i>Japanese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Anjo            | <i>Anjo</i>       | Angel          |
| Báter-en        | <i>Padre</i>      | Father         |
| Bisukóto        | <i>Biscoito</i>   | Biscuit        |
| Garasa          | <i>Graça</i>      | Grace          |
| Sinnyoro        | <i>Senhor</i>     | Gentleman      |

### **India: Indic Languages (Indo-European language family)**

#### ***Assam***

Assamese, an Indic language, is spoken in Assam which belonged to the Bengal Presidency but today, it is a State of India. Given the significant number of Portuguese that were in Bengal, it is not surprising that Assamese should have borrowed Portuguese words.

| <i>Assamese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Girja           | <i>Igreja</i>     | Church         |
| Lilám           | <i>Leilão</i>     | Auction        |
| Mej             | <i>Mesa</i>       | Table          |
| Phitá           | <i>Fita</i>       | Ribbon         |
| Tamburu         | <i>Tambor</i>     | Drum           |

There are Portuguese borrowings in Garo, a Sino-Tibetan language family in the Tibeto-Burman group. It is spoken in the lower part of the Assam valley of Northeast India. Dalgado (1936: lxxviii) states that Bengali and Assamese were the media through which Garo adopted Portuguese words.

In 1517, João de Silviera arrived in Chittagong with four ships. At that time, the port of Chittagong was part of the state of Arakan. By the 1530s, there were Portuguese customs houses at Chittagong and Satgaon – both of which later came under the Sultan of Bengal.

| <i>Garo</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Butam       | <i>Botão</i>      | Button         |
| Kamij       | <i>Camisa</i>     | Shirt          |
| Pistol      | <i>Pistola</i>    | Pistol         |
| Saia        | <i>Saia</i>       | Skirt          |

The River Hugli increasingly became the centre of Portuguese activities in Western Bengal. Several Portuguese settlements (missionary, trade or pirate/mercenary) were established in Bengal and by the end of the sixteenth century much of Bengal's trade was in the hands of the Portuguese. Portuguese deserters who were searching for fortunes which they could not obtain by working for the Estado, traded outside the official empire. They were called *Chatins* and they made contact with the ports (Satgaon and Chittagong) of Bengal and the Coromandel Coast (Pulicat) as early as 1510.

In 1519, there were between two and three hundred Portuguese in Pulicat. Considering that the Portuguese personnel were not very numerous, this is a significant number. The Estado was hostile to the *Chatins* and penalised them by levying 10 per cent tax while the Hindus and Muslims were charged only 6 per cent. Many Portuguese and Luso-Asians settled in the Bay of Bengal. In 1577, Pedro Tavares formed a community in Hugli to provide the Mughal emperors with luxury items bought overseas. The Chittagong community, on the other hand, was founded by slavers who preyed on people who lived along the banks of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers. In 1629, 750 Portuguese lived in Chittagong, the second largest population of European Portuguese, outside Goa (Collis 1943). Among the Portuguese settlements in Bengal were Dianga, Sandip, Katrabhu, Chandiken, Sripur and Bandel.

The census of 1837 (Wild 2000:58) shows that a quarter of the population of Calcutta were Moslem, just under three quarters were Hindu. Three groups (Armenian, European and Eurasian) made up the balance. Of these three minority groups, almost a quarter were Portuguese, and another quarter were British, many of the others were Eurasian, with a few French, Armenians and also some Jews and Arabs. In fact, the Portuguese outnumbered the British in Calcutta in the early nineteenth century. By the twentieth century the Portuguese descendants in Bengal had become absorbed into the Anglo-Indian communities. The Portuguese legacy is now restricted to Portuguese borrowings in Bengali, Portuguese names, Catholicism and food among the Anglo-Indians. Campos (1998: 214–220) and Sengupta (2001: 28) also list Portuguese

words borrowed by Bengali. Bengali, an Indic language, is spoken in West Bengal, India and in neighbouring Bangla Desh.

| <i>Bengali</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Anārasí        | <i>Ananás</i>     | Pineapple      |
| Caju           | <i>Caju</i>       | Cashew         |
| Girijá         | <i>Igreja</i>     | Church         |
| Krus           | <i>Cruz</i>       | Cross          |
| Pādiri         | <i>Padre</i>      | Priest         |

Daman and Diu, where Gujarati is spoken belonged to the Portuguese until 1961 when the Indian government took them over and gave them territorial status. A fortress was built in Damão in 1536 and at Diu in 1535. Many people in Daman are still Catholics whose prayers are yet in Portuguese. They attended Catholic schools which taught Portuguese until 1993. In 2000, Portuguese was reinstated as a subject. There are about 4,000 speakers of the Indo-Portuguese of Daman (Clements 2002: 197). Bilinguals in Gujarati and 'Portuguese' would have facilitated the Portuguese borrowings in Gujarati, an Indic language and the official language of the State of Gujarat in India. It is also spoken in Maharashtra, particularly in Bombay (nowadays called Mumbai), Karnataka, lower Punjab, Rajasthan and Sind. It is also spoken by some Indian diasporas – Zoroastrians (generally known as Parsis), Hindus, Muslims and Jains who are in the Persian Gulf. It is also spoken in East and South Africa, United Kingdom, North America and Australia by the Indian diaspora communities (Brown 2006: 173).

| <i>Gujarati</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Kampás          | <i>Compasso</i>   | Compass        |
| Marmar          | <i>Mármore</i>    | Marble         |
| Paráncb         | <i>Prancha</i>    | Plank/Board    |
| Sapát           | <i>Sapato</i>     | Shoe           |
| Tuval           | <i>Toalha</i>     | Towel          |

Campos (1998: 223–227) and Dalgado (1936) list Portuguese words borrowed by Hindustani. Before India's independence from Britain, in 1948, Hindi and Urdu, together were called Hindustani. In the colloquial form, Urdu and Hindi are similar but they differ in the script. While Hindu employs the Devanāgarī script, Urdu uses the Perso-Arabic script. Urdu is spoken in Pakistan and also by the Muslims in India and in the diaspora worldwide. Hindi and Urdu are Indic languages. Hindi is the



national language of India today. In addition, it is the official state language in Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Hindi is spoken outside India, in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Fiji, Mauritius, Yemen, South Africa, Surinam and England, by the diaspora. The Portuguese had trading posts in North India and it is not surprising that there are Portuguese words in Hindi. Hindi is spoken and written by almost the whole of North India (Brown 2006: 303).

| <i>Hindi/Urdu</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Biskut            | <i>Biscoito</i>   | Biscuit        |
| Girjá             | <i>Igreja</i>     | Church         |
| Phitá             | <i>Fita</i>       | Ribbon         |

According to Dalgado (1936: lxiv), the Portuguese borrowed the Persian word *lashkbari* for the indigenous soldiers whom they engaged in their empire. The Muslims generally served as crew in the long distance voyages and their speech was called Lashkhari-Hindustani. He adds that this language had borrowings from Portuguese dating from their contact in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The *Lashkbaris* had also borrowed English words when they came into contact with the British later on.

| <i>Lashkbari-Hindustani</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Ariyá                       | <i>Arrear</i>     | To harness     |
| Kasturá                     | <i>Costura</i>    | Seam           |
| Pont                        | <i>Ponta</i>      | Deck/Bridge    |
| Rodá                        | <i>Roda</i>       | (Ship's) Wheel |
| Virādor                     | <i>Virador</i>    | Ship look out  |

In 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque conquered Goa and erected a fort in the island of Tissary (called *Tisvady* today). Goa which was the Portuguese military and administrative headquarters of the *Estado da Índia* ceased to be so after Dutch intrusions. While the empire was crumbling away, Viceroy and officials made large personal fortunes although the defences of Goa were stripped and the royal treasury was depleted (Newitt 1986: 8). Konkani is spoken not only in Goa but throughout the Konkan. It is therefore spoken in Mangalore and Mahé where dialects of Indo-Portuguese were recorded by Hugo Schuchardt, the German linguist, at the end of the nineteenth century. The Portuguese erected a fortress at Mangalore in 1568. Given the extensive contact between Portuguese and

Konkani-speakers, it is not surprising that there are many Konkani words with Portuguese etyma.

| <i>Konkani</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Ādvogād        | <i>Advogado</i>   | Advocate       |
| Āgōst          | <i>Agosto</i>     | August         |
| Āmend          | <i>Amêndoa</i>    | Almond         |
| Parānch        | <i>Prancha</i>    | Dagger         |
| Sumān          | <i>Semana</i>     | Week           |

The Portuguese trading post in Chaul was fortified, in 1524, having been given permission by the Portuguese Crown to do so in 1516. Chaul was a key point of control for Portuguese commerce in the sixteenth century. A promontory overlooking the harbour at Chaul was at the heart of three major confrontations in the sixteenth century. In 1594, the Portuguese took the promontory and formed a village at its base. This village was called Korlai after the surrounding valley. The villagers spoke a dialect of Indo-Portuguese which is called Indo-Portuguese of Korlai. According to Clements (2002: 196) there are about 800 speakers of the Indo-Portuguese of Korlai. In 1740, Chaul and Korlai were taken over by the Hindu Marathas, and the Christian Marathas who had the opportunity to escape, migrated to Goa. Lower caste Indian Christian tenant farmers remained in Korlai as they could not get away. Dalgado (1906: 143) states that one or two Portuguese-speaking parish priests stayed on in Chaul. When the number of Christians decreased, the parish priest moved from Chaul to Korlai (Meersman 1972). The last Portuguese priest left Korlai in 1964 when the Vatican decided that the Catholics should worship and pray in their vernacular language. It is understandable that there are Portuguese words in Marathi, an Indic language.

| <i>Marathi</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Ark            | <i>Arco</i>       | Arc            |
| Istād          | <i>Estado</i>     | State          |
| Māmā           | <i>Mama</i>       | Mother         |
| Pāpā           | <i>Papá</i>       | Father         |

Oriya is spoken in Orissa which was in the Bengal presidency but is today an independent State of India. Dalgado (1936: 493) and Campos (1998: 222) also list some Portuguese words that have been adopted by Oriya. The Portuguese had trading contacts with the King of Orissa as indicated by João de Barros (1638), who recorded that the main kings

whom they traded with, were on the coast in Orissa, Bisnaga (Vijayanagar), Siam (Thailand) and China. There are 62 distinct tribal groups. Those on the coastal plains have adopted the Hindu way of life, unlike those on the hills.

| <i>Oriya</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Anáras       | <i>Ananás</i>     | Pineapple      |
| Kalāpāti     | <i>Calafate</i>   | Caulker        |

Punjabi, an Indic language, is spoken in East Pakistan and in northwest India (Dalby 1997: 5179). It has Portuguese borrowings. Portuguese words may have passed into Punjabi through Hindustani.

| <i>Punjabi</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Almāri         | <i>Armário</i>    | Cupboard       |
| Karābini       | <i>Carabina</i>   | Rifle          |
| Kumedan        | <i>Comandante</i> | Commander      |
| Mastari        | <i>Mestre</i>     | Chief          |
| Rasid          | <i>Recibo</i>     | Receipt        |

Sindhi, an Indian language, is spoken in the Sind, Pakistan and in India (Gujarat and Rajasthan) (Dalby 1997: 5181). There was trading between the Sind and Muscat. When the Portuguese lost Muscat in 1650, it affected this trade (Subrahmanyam 1993: 191). Multilingualism (Sindhi, Gujarati, Portuguese) could have enhanced lexical borrowing. The Portuguese who deserted royal service and the official empire went to various parts in the East including the Sind, Bengal, China, Malacca, Pegu, Diu, Ormuz and Cambaiya – according to Francisco Silveira (Sousa Pinto 1997: 63).

| <i>Sindhi</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i>     |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Batelo        | <i>Batel</i>      | Little Boat        |
| Khāju         | <i>Caju</i>       | Cashew             |
| Phagāru       | <i>Pagar</i>      | To pay/ compensate |

### Dravidian Languages

What Dalgado (1936: 437) calls Kanarese is misleading as the term includes people in the Konkan including Goans who speak Konkani, an Indic language. The term Kannadā is a better label for this Dravidian language which is spoken in the state of Karnataka. Some examples of Portuguese borrowings in Kannadā are given below.

| <i>Kanarese/Kannada</i> | <i>Portuguese</i>     | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Dôse                    | <i>Doce</i>           | Sweet          |
| Evanjêlu                | <i>Evangelho</i>      | Gospel         |
| Rabaku                  | <i>Rabeca</i>         | Violin         |
| Ripu                    | <i>Ripa</i>           | Lath           |
| Spiritu Sântu           | <i>Espírito Santo</i> | Holy Spirit    |

The Portuguese had several fortresses on the Malabar Coast. They reached Calicut in 1498 but the fortress was built only in 1513 by Afonso de Albuquerque. Cochin was the pivotal point of Indian Oceanic trade for several decades. The fortress in Cochin was built in 1503. The Dutch ousted the Portuguese from Cochin and the Malabar region and South India, in 1663, having conquered Quilon and Crangnaore. The historiography of Indian Art testifies to the extent that the Portuguese penetrated. Portuguese art entered into that of Kerala, though it is difficult to distinguish between the two (Poduval 2001). Cochin was, however, the centre of Portuguese activity in the East until 1530, when Goa became the administrative and military headquarters. Even after that Cochin continued to direct educational affairs. Given the importance of Cochin, it is not surprising that Malayālam, the Dravidian language of Kerala, has borrowed Portuguese words.

| <i>Malayālam</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Chakku           | <i>Saco</i>       | Pocket         |
| Káppiri          | <i>Cafre</i>      | African        |
| Rabekka          | <i>Rabeca</i>     | Violin         |
| Vássi            | <i>Bacia</i>      | Basin          |
| Vĩññu            | <i>Vinho</i>      | Wine           |

Tamil is a Dravidian language of Tamil Nadu, South India and the most widely spoken language in the world. It is also spoken by the diaspora in Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Mauritius and in the West. A large community of Portuguese that were outside the Estado, were in São Tomé de Meliapore which had its own Bishop. There were also Portuguese settlements in Negapatam and Pulicat with their trading posts and fortresses. From the Coromandel Coast, the Portuguese were trading with Malacca. By 1520, two or three hundred Portuguese were estimated to have been trading on the Coromandel Coast (Subrahmanyam 1993: 71). The Jesuits established themselves in Tuticorin, Pulicat and São Tomé de Meliapore on the Coromandel Coast.

| <i>Tamil</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Iskiriván    | <i>Escrivão</i>   | Clerk          |
| Kumádrí      | <i>Comadre</i>    | God Mother     |
| Orelóju      | <i>Relógio</i>    | Clock          |
| Rósa         | <i>Rosa</i>       | Rose           |

Telugu is a Dravidian language and is spoken in the State of Andhra Pradesh in South India. A dialect of Telugu was spoken by Telugu diasporists in Sri Lanka (Hettiarachchi 1969). Both Telugu and Kannada developed under the patronage of the emperors of Vijayanagar, in South India. The Portuguese had much commercial contact with the Vijayanagar empire which had no less than 300 ports involved in maritime commerce, trading with the West and Persia.

| <i>Telugu</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Amáru         | <i>Amarra</i>     | Cable          |
| Bátu          | <i>Pato</i>       | Duck           |
| Páska         | <i>Pascoa</i>     | Easter         |
| Polísu        | <i>Polícia</i>    | Police         |
| Sabbu         | <i>Sabão</i>      | Soap           |

Tulu/Tulava is a Dravidian language spoken in South India and it has adopted Portuguese words. Dalgado (1936: lxxvi) found more Portuguese words in Tulu than in adjacent areas.

| <i>Tulu</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Apóstale    | <i>Apostolo</i>   | Apostle        |
| Kusinu      | <i>Cozinha</i>    | Kitchen        |
| Lándaru     | <i>Lanterna</i>   | Lantern        |
| Listu       | <i>Lista</i>      | List           |
| Mátri       | <i>Madre</i>      | Mother         |

## India: Germanic Languages

### ***Anglo-Indian***

Anglo-Indian English is a Germanic language, a branch in the Indo-European language family. Campos (1998: 208–14) gives a list of such words. Considering that Luso-Indians in Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai, the capitals of the three British Presidencies, became absorbed into the Anglo-Indian community, it is not surprising to find Portuguese words in Anglo-Indian English.

| <i>Anglo-Indian English</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bandejah                    | <i>Bandeja</i>    | Tray           |
| Stevedore                   | <i>Estivador</i>  | Stevedore      |

## India: Romance Languages

### *Indo-French*

Indo-French is a member of the Latin group within the Indo-European family of languages. The term Indo-French refers to the language spoken in French controlled parts of India such as Pondicherry on the Coromandel Coast.

| <i>Indo-French</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bayadère           | <i>Bailadeira</i> | Female dancer  |
| Loje               | <i>Loja</i>       | Shop           |
| Papaye             | <i>Papaia</i>     | Papaw          |

## India: Austro-Asiatic Language

Khassi is an Austro-Asiatic language in India. Khassi-Jyntia tribes in the southern frontier of the Assam valley speak Khassi. It has no literature or script of its own. There are many Khassi dialects and Cheara, the most commonly used dialect, has many Bengali and Hindi borrowings and Dalgado (1936: lxxx) surmises that these languages have been the media through which Portuguese words entered Khassi.

| <i>Khassi</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Lilam         | <i>Leilão</i>     | Auction        |
| Mez           | <i>Mesa</i>       | Table          |
| Phiris        | <i>Pires</i>      | Saucer         |
| Sha           | <i>Chá</i>        | Tea            |

## Nicobar Islands

Nicobarese, an Austroasiatic language, has borrowed Portuguese words. There are many dialects of Nicobarese in the Nicobar Islands, where there were Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century. Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy of India, died of fever in these islands, while on his way from India to Sumatra (Pinto 1725).

| <i>Nicobarese</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Katére            | <i>Cadeira</i>    | Chair          |
| Menśa             | <i>Mesa</i>       | Table          |

|        |               |        |
|--------|---------------|--------|
| Patáta | <i>Batata</i> | Potato |
| Sál    | <i>Sal</i>    | Salt   |
| Sapéó  | <i>Chapéu</i> | Hat    |

## Dardic Languages

### *Kashmir*

Dalgado (1936: lxx) surmises that Portuguese words would have passed into Kashmiri through the Muslim rulers of Kashmir. Persian was the language of the court and correspondence in Mughal India. Kashmiris have borrowed Portuguese words from Hindustani, Punjabi and Persian. Kashmiri is spoken in the vale of Kashmir and its surrounding area.

| <i>Kashmiri</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Chai            | <i>Chá</i>        | Tea            |
| Mez             | <i>Mesa</i>       | Table          |
| Sában           | <i>Sabão</i>      | Soap           |
| Tabáku          | <i>Tabaco</i>     | Tobacco        |

## Nepal

There are Portuguese borrowings in Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language. Dalgado (1936: lxxv) conjectures that Portuguese words passed into Nepali through Hindi. He says that Nepali is a dialect of Hindi, originating from Rajasthani, the vernacular language of Rajputana. Nepali is spoken in Nepal, Darjiling (India), Bhutan and Sikkim (Dalby 1997: 5178).

| <i>Nepali</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Chābi         | <i>Chave</i>      | Key            |
| Fāltó         | <i>Falto</i>      | Deficient      |
| Mej           | <i>Mesa</i>       | Table          |
| Pipá          | <i>Pipa</i>       | Pipe           |
| Sābún         | <i>Sabão</i>      | Soap           |

## Sri Lanka

The Portuguese were blown off course to Galle in 1505 while on their way to the Maldives. In 1518, a small fortress was built in Colombo and another at Mannar in 1560, both on the west coast of the Island. Several other *fortalezas* were built in the maritime provinces. More Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala, an Indic language, are given in Chapter 5.

| <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bōlaya         | <i>Dado</i>       | Ball           |

|           |               |        |
|-----------|---------------|--------|
| Dāduva    | <i>Dado</i>   | Die    |
| Gāstuva   | <i>Gasto</i>  | Spent  |
| Pappa     | <i>Papa</i>   | Father |
| Vendēsiya | <i>Vendas</i> | Sale   |

### Maldives

Dalgado does not mention, Divēhi, but the Portuguese had contact with the Maldivian Islands. I have, therefore, included a few Portuguese borrowings in Divēhi. In 1518, Kalu Mohammed allowed the Portuguese to build a fort in Male, hoping that they would reduce the power of Mam' Ali of Cannanore (de Silva 2001/2002: 11). In 1552, Father Baltasar Gago asserted that it would be impossible for the Portuguese to maintain the Asian empire without retaining control of the Maldives, as they need regular supplies of coir (Rego 1947–63). Coir, made from the fibre in the coconut, was used to make rope and was useful to repair damaged ships. The inhabitants of Minicoy Island, immediately to the north of Maldives speak Divēhi, but call it 'Mahl'. Male, the capital of the Maldives was called Mahl in some ancient documents. Minicoy was part of the Maldives group until the early sixteenth century, and enjoyed close relations with Maldivians until the island was acquired by India in the late 1940s.

There are a few Portuguese borrowings in Divēhi. The word *miskiy* for a mosque is a direct borrowing from Portuguese. This word appears in documents after the brief 15-year Portuguese rule (1558–73) of the Maldives. Previously, the word *dhanaaru* was used. In 1194 documents, *masdbidu* (from the Arabic word *masjid*) is used (Maniku 2000: VII). The other examples given below could have been borrowed through Sinhala or Arabic into Divēhi.

| <i>Divēhi</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Alamaari      | <i>Armário</i>    | Cupboard       |
| Alavangu      | <i>Alavanca</i>   | Handspike      |
| Armada        | <i>Armada</i>     | Armada         |
| Feyru         | <i>Pêra</i>       | Pear           |
| Miskiy        | <i>Mesquita</i>   | Mosque         |
| Paan          | <i>Pão</i>        | Bread          |

### The Middle East

Arabic, a Semitic language within the Afro-Asian family, is an official language of 21 countries, today, in the Middle East, North Africa and in Israel, where it is the second official language. There are significant Arab minorities in Iran and Turkey also (Brown 2006: 423). The Portuguese





Fort Jalali, Oman (collection of Clifford Pereira).

came into contact with Arabic, often in the East, as it was already a trade language. When Vasco da Gama had his second audience with the Zamorin of Calicut on 30 May 1498, he delivered a letter, written in both Arabic and Portuguese. The Portuguese came into contact with Arabic-speakers in the Gulf States.

In Bahrain, for example, the *dhoms* built today, demonstrate, that they have modified the ancient designs to incorporate Portuguese features after their contact in the sixteenth century (Kay 1989: 28). The Portuguese controlled Bahrain for some 80 years and had a fortress – *Qala'at Al Bahrain* (Bahrain Fort), until they were defeated by the Persians in 1602 (Kay 1989: 67). The Portuguese occupied the fortress in Sohar (Oman) during the sixteenth century, reducing the boundary wall and replacing the old bricks with stone (Dinteman 1993: 103). They built a fort in Khasab (Oman) in the early seventeenth century. In 1624, it became the base from which the Portuguese Admiral, Ruy Freire da Andrade, attempted to recapture Ormuz, which was only 88 kilometres away (Dinteman 1993: 110).

In 1507, Muscat came under Portuguese domination after the loss of Kalhat, Sur and Quriyat. Don Manuel da Souza Coutinho built Fort Capitan (Mirani) in 1507. Muscat, however, served as an important supply base with forts protecting its harbour. It was an important holding of the

Portuguese, who controlled the commercial traffic of the Indian Ocean through the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries. In 1650, Sultan bin Saif al-Ya'rubī of Oman took Muscat from the Portuguese (Subrahmanyam 1993: 191). The Portuguese also built Fort São João (Jalali) (Peterson 2007: 5). In 1581, however, the Turks took it over but the Portuguese regained their position by completing Fort Mirani. In 1650, the Portuguese were defeated from Muscat by Sultan bin Saif I who captured forts Mirani, Jalali and Mutrah from the Portuguese (Dinteman 1993: 201). Arabic was already a major trading language in the Indian Ocean, when the Lusitanians arrived on the scene. Understandably, Arabic has Portuguese borrowings.

| <i>Arabic</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Bābā          | <i>Papa</i>       | Father         |
| Bobra         | <i>Abóbora</i>    | Pumpkin        |
| Ghess         | <i>Gesso</i>      | Gypsum         |
| Salātha       | <i>Salada</i>     | Salad          |
| Vābūr         | <i>Vapor</i>      | Vapour         |

### Persia/Iran

Farsi is an Indo-Iranian language, a major sub-group of the Indo-European language family. In its classical form of Persian, it was the language of the Bengali Court during the Mughal rule of India. While spices were attractive, gold and silver were the main commodities exported. These were obtained from Africa and Persia respectively, by bartering Indian cotton cloth and fine porcelain. Horses were also being bred in Persia, and also in Arabia. The Portuguese controlled the Persian Gulf by occupying Ormuz where Albuquerque built a fortress in 1515. Although the Shah of Ormuz had been a puppet of the Portuguese since Albuquerque's day, Islam was a powerful force in Ormuz Island, and the Portuguese had not destroyed the mosques there. When Ormuz fell into British hands, in 1621, 2,600 men, women and children were repatriated to Muscat. This was due to the significant number of *casados* in Ormuz at that time. Understandably, there are Portuguese borrowings in Persian.

| <i>Persian/Farsi</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Mez                  | <i>Mesa</i>       | Table          |
| Mūsīgī               | <i>Música</i>     | Music          |
| Purtughāl            | <i>Portugal</i>   | Portugal       |
| Sabāt                | <i>Sapato</i>     | Shoe           |

## Turkey

Turkish is a member of the southwestern group of Turkic languages called Oghuz. The Turkish language is divided into three periods: Old Anatolian, Ottoman and Modern Turkish. Ottoman, the language of the Ottoman Empire, was influenced by Arabic and Persian. The Ottoman Empire had accepted fleeing Portuguese Jews who settled in today's Greece and Turkey. Therefore, it is not surprising to find Portuguese borrowings in Turkish.

| <i>Turkish</i> | <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Cancha         | <i>Gancho</i>     | Hook           |
| Qápatan        | <i>Capitão</i>    | Captain        |
| Vápor          | <i>Vapor</i>      | Vapour         |
| Váril          | <i>Barril</i>     | Barrel         |

While modern Turkish, a member of the Altaic family, is the official language of Turkey, it is also spoken in the Balkans, particularly in Cyprus, Greece and Bulgaria. Although the Portuguese did not have any presence in Turkey, the languages came into contact. In 1492, during the expulsion, some Spanish Jews chose to be exiled in the Ottoman Empire. Due to the turn in the climate after the Lisbon massacre in April 1506 and the Inquisition in 1536, many Portuguese Jews also went to the Ottoman Empire (Altabé 2000: 121–2). This would have provided the setting for Portuguese and Turkish bilingualism, which would have enhanced Portuguese lexical borrowings in Turkish.

After a century of Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean, there were communities who called themselves Portuguese, in most ports and islands in Indonesia, in the capitals and ports of China, Japan, Cambodia, Ayuthya, Arakan, Delhi, Bijapur, Golconda, Madurai, Sri Lanka, Maldive Islands, Swahili Coast and in the hinterland of Zimbabwe (Newitt 2004: 191). The extent of Portuguese presence in the East is apparent by the myriad of fortresses, trading posts and churches that they erected, which are mostly in ruins or non-existent now. The Portuguese linguistic legacies, on the other hand, are intangible but are far more widespread geographically than perhaps one might expect. This transmission, was not due to the written form of the languages. In fact, the Theory of Monogenesis, asserts that the world's contact languages which have European base languages are relexifications of previously Portuguese contact languages. This is based on the assumption that the Portuguese were the first European nation to make links overseas. There is no space

in this book to explore the contact situations that affected all the Asian languages that have adopted Portuguese words, as the Portuguese presence in Asia was widespread. Even though there were only a few Portuguese in Asia, there were contact points – fortresses, trading posts, missions. The Jesuits studied Asian languages and prepared dictionaries and grammars on them. They were bilingual and acted as interpreters. The *mestiços/mestiças* also were bilingual. Bilinguality provides a mechanism for lexical borrowing. Whenever new objects or concepts were introduced, by the Portuguese, those words were adopted by Asian languages. Some Asian languages borrowed Portuguese words through another Asian language such as Hindi, together with the new concepts or objects were introduced to them. The conditions and mechanisms for borrowing are discussed further in Chapter 5. Pidginised Portuguese was spoken as trade languages in several parts of Asia from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. They would have influenced other trade languages such as Chinese Pidgin English and Bazaar Malay which were important in facilitating Indian Ocean trade.

## Cultural Interactions and Linguistic Innovations in an Indo-Portuguese

This chapter illustrates the effects of cultural contact through the case of Sri Lanka. It demonstrates the process of linguistic change induced through cross-cultural contact. Language and culture are intertwined. As such, lexical borrowings, phonological borrowings and structural borrowings are considered.

Trading and colonisation bring people speaking different languages into contact. Cross-cultural contact introduces new objects and new concepts, thereby leading to the introduction of new words into the borrowing language. My hypothesis is that Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala, the language of the majority of Sri Lankans, are found mainly in specific areas of Sri Lankan socio-culture, particularly, in those where the Portuguese made a lasting impression. Culture contact between the Portuguese and Sri Lankans has left its mark on several areas of the island's social fabric. The European Portuguese lexicon also changed after the Portuguese encounter with Sri Lanka. I have highlighted these effects by identifying semantic fields which indicate where lexical exchange between (Indo)-Portuguese and Sinhala took place. These words reflect the widened knowledge bases of both the Sri Lankans and the Portuguese, whose diverse cultural systems established systemic links. A few Sinhala words have been adopted by Portuguese. Some words common to Portuguese and Sinhala may have already existed in Sinhala, due to the contact that Sri Lankans had already had with Arabs and Persians before the Portuguese arrived in Sri Lanka. Also it must be kept in mind that both Sinhala and Portuguese are Indo-European languages. Some words that Indo-Portuguese and/or Portuguese have borrowed from Sinhala are given below:

| <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>(Indo)-Portuguese</i> | <i>English/Gloss</i>         |
|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Appuhāmi       | <i>Apuame</i>            | Appuhami                     |
| Īswara         | <i>Ipsara</i>            | A Hindu god                  |
| Jātaka         | <i>Jataka</i>            | ABuddhist story              |
| Kōtte          | <i>Cota</i>              | Kotte                        |
| Surā           | <i>Sura</i>              | A Sri Lankan alcoholic drink |

Loans are linguistic items, usually words, which have been incorporated into a language or dialect other than the one in which it originated. There are four types of loan processes affecting borrowing:

**Loan Words** where both form and meaning are borrowed or ‘assimilated’ with some phonetic adaptation to the phonological system of the new language, for example tax, court, chart.

**Loan Blends** where the meaning is borrowed but only part of the form is borrowed, for example News-papella (*papella* has a Portuguese etymon) meaning ‘newspaper’. The Portuguese word is *jornal*.

**Loan Shifts** where the meaning is borrowed but the form is native, for example *extensivamente* (<extensively when the Portuguese word is *extensamente*), *generalmente* (<generally when the Portuguese word is *geralmente*) and *silentemente* (<silently when the Portuguese word is *silenciosamente*).

**Loan Translations/Calques** where the morpheme in borrowed words are translated item by item, for example *novas-papella* (‘newspaper’), *escola-mestre* (‘schoolmaster’) and *parte-possuidor* (‘shareholder’).

Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala have been enhanced by those who are bilingual in Sinhala and Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. Bilingualism leads to two linguistic phenomena – code mixing and code switching. Lexical borrowing, however, is different from code mixing, although it may not be easy to distinguish the difference between them in practice. Code mixing is where non-native items are not adapted morphologically and phonologically. It involves the transfer of linguistic elements from one language to another. Bilingual speakers use elements from Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole in an utterance of Sinhala and vice versa. Code switching, on the other hand, refers to the switch bilingual speakers make between two languages. It refers to the alternation between Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (SLPC) and Sinhala (SIN) made in the same utterance by bilingual speakers. Code mixing and code switching are both language-

contact communication strategies. In code mixing, there is a base language and it is possible to detect monolingual chunks in an utterance which alternates with chunks calling upon the rules of both languages. Some argue that code-switching is used as an 'In-Group' language. Typical utterances of code mixing and code switching can be schematised as follows where L indicates language:

Code mixing:  $/L_{\text{SIN}}/(L_{\text{SIN}}L_{\text{SLPC}})/L_{\text{SIN}}/(L_{\text{SLPC}}L_{\text{SIN}})/L_{\text{SIN}}/$

Code switching:  $L_{\text{SIN}}/L_{\text{SLPC}}/L_{\text{SIN}}/L_{\text{SLPC}}/L_{\text{SIN}}/$

Speakers replacing the foreign sounds by phonemes of their own language (phonetic substitution) informs us of the acoustic relation between the phonemes of the two languages. Based on the phonological behaviour of Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala, I have identified fifteen phonetic rules.

Speakers replacing the foreign sounds by phonemes of their own language (phonetic substitution) inform us of the acoustic relation between the phonemes of the two languages. Comparing the forms in the donor and recipient languages (Portuguese and Sinhala) gives the correspondences between the languages at the time of borrowing and their differences are ascribed to the differences in the phonological systems of the languages concerned.

### Phonological rules governing Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| Rule 1 | $[0] \rightarrow [va] \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} u \\ o \end{smallmatrix} \right\} = (\#)$  |
| Rule 2 | $[0] \rightarrow [ya] \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} i \\ e \\ a \end{smallmatrix} \right\} = (\#)$   |
| Rule 3 | (nasalised vowel) $\rightarrow$ (nasal consonant) = #  |
| Rule 4 | $ei \rightarrow \bar{e}$<br>$ea \rightarrow \bar{e}$<br>$oa \rightarrow u$<br>$ua \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} o \\ a \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$<br>Also exceptions to this rule as:<br>$ue \rightarrow \bar{e}$<br>$ai \rightarrow a$ |
| Rule 5 | $0 \rightarrow y/V-V$  |
| Rule 6 | $[f] \rightarrow [p]$  |
| Rule 7 | $0 \rightarrow V/C-C$  |
| Rule 8 | $[g] \rightarrow [k]$  |

|         |               |
|---------|---------------|
| Rule 9  | [l] → [ɾ]     |
| Rule 10 | [r] → [ɻ]     |
| Rule 11 | [b] → [β]     |
| Rule 12 | [b] → [p]     |
| Rule 13 | [v] → [β]     |
| Rule 14 | [v] → [p]     |
| Rule 15 | [nh] → [ññ] |

Examples of Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala with English translations are also given in this chapter together with their semantic category. These indicate areas of cross-cultural contact. A complete analysis of Sinhala words with Portuguese etyma remains to be undertaken. These words are so well assimilated into Sinhala so as not to be recognizably foreign. A knowledge of Portuguese and Sinhala is necessary to recognise the Portuguese origin of Sinhala words.

### Civil Administration

The Portuguese did not change the local administrative machinery and introduce their own to Sri Lanka. Instead, they grafted on the Portuguese system with the Captain-General as the head, to that of the Sri Lankans, with the King at the pinnacle. The post of *Vedor da Fazenda* (Superintendent of Revenue) was the second position created by the Portuguese in order to control and consolidate political power. Understandably, there were conflicts between the Captain-General and the *Vedor da Fazenda*. Not surprisingly, two of the most able Captain-Generals of Sri Lanka, Constantino de Sa and Diogo de Mello, proposed that the position of *Vedor da Fazenda* be abolished, arguing that it was a financial burden to the Portuguese Crown to pay two high-ranking officers in Sri Lanka. Although de Mello was able to convince Conde de Linhares, the Viceroy of India, the Portuguese Crown did not rubber stamp the change in the administrative structure, as the *Vedor da Fazenda* was expected to watch the activities of the Captain-General. This demonstrates that the Portuguese enterprise had checks and balances in place, which is a feature of modern corporations. A few Portuguese words associated with civil administration are given below with the Sinhala equivalent and their meaning.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Aberto</i>     | Abærtu(va)     | Vacancy        |
| <i>Paga</i>       | Pagā(va)       | Payment/bribe  |
| <i>Pena</i>       | Pæna           | Pen            |
| <i>Regua</i>      | Rēgu(va)       | Custom house   |
| <i>Renda</i>      | Renda(ya)      | Hire/Rent      |



### Administration of Justice

In administering justice also, the Portuguese showed a remarkable ability to work with the grain. The Portuguese Captain-General replaced the Sri Lankan King as the chief law-giver. He thereby became the head of a dual legal system, which combined both Portuguese and Sri Lankan laws. A new capital and court was established at Malwana (in the kingdom of Kōtte) by Captain-General Azevedo. A *junta* (tribunal) consisting of Sinhalese nobles and experts was established. The Captain-General could investigate both civil and criminal cases. He had the authority to pass the death sentence on both Portuguese nationals and the Sinhalese. He could not, however, pass a death sentence on a high-ranking Portuguese official. Such cases had to be referred to Goa, if they were found guilty and the death sentence was passed in Goa. Portuguese words relating to the administration of justice have been borrowed by Sinhala.

| <i>Portuguese</i>  | <i>Sinhala</i>  | <i>English</i> |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>Apontamento</i> | Apontumentu(va) | Copy decree    |
| <i>Forca</i>       | Pōraka(ya)      | Gallows        |
| <i>Procurador</i>  | Perakadōru(va)  | Proctor        |
| <i>Petição</i>     | Petsama         | Petition       |
| <i>Testamento</i>  | Testamēntu(va)  | Testament/Will |

### Military Structure

The Portuguese were short of manpower and therefore it is not surprising that they merged the local army with their own. The Portuguese army consisted of companies, each including 30, 36 or 38 soldiers and led by a Captain.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Baioneta</i>   | Bayinettu(va)  | Bayonet        |
| <i>Cavaleiro</i>  | Kavalēru(va)   | Horseman       |
| <i>Companha</i>   | Compañña       | Company        |
| <i>Pistola</i>    | Pistōla(ya)    | Pistol         |
| <i>Soldado</i>    | Soldādu(va)    | Soldier        |

The Portuguese personnel included *solteiros* (bachelors) and *casados* (married soldiers). The Captain-General headed the army and was followed by a Captain-Major to the Captains. Captaincy of a fortress was usually offered for meritorious services to the Crown; it was a lucrative post with many perquisites. The Portuguese army was multiethnic and Africans were an asset. Africans sent from Goa, for example, saved a

Portuguese defeat in Sri Lanka, in 1630 (de Silva 1972). *Sri Lankan lascars* who were local militia also served in the Portuguese army. Understandably, Portuguese words relating to military activities were adopted by Sinhala.

### Land Administration

According to the Sinhalese system, all land rights belonged to the King who had the power to allocate lands, to whoever he deemed fit, and also to repossess lands, whenever he wished. The King was the proprietor of all lands (Geiger 1960: 50). His permission was needed if a new village had to be built or if a tank was to be constructed, for example. Although the King ceded part of the land to the Portuguese, they did not become proprietors of the lands. The Portuguese were simply tenants who were liable to pay tax to the Sinhalese King or to provide services instead. The village was the Unit of disposal of land. There were several types of villages: *gabadagam* (royal villages), *nindagam* (service villages), *vihāragam* (villages gifted to Buddhist temples) and *devālagam* (villages gifted to Hindu temples). The Portuguese gifted temple lands to Franciscan missionaries. They distributed small villages to the Sinhalese army personnel – *mudaliyars* (a high military official), *aratchies* (the captain of a company of Sinhalese soldiers) and *lascarins* (a Sri Lankan soldier, though the word can also mean sailor in other countries and then the ethnic origin also varies).

The Portuguese kept a *tombo* (land register). This helped to increase revenue through taxation, a system which was based on quit-rent, first compiled by Antão Vaz Friere, who was appointed as *Vedor da Fazenda* in 1607. The 'Statement of Revenue and Expenditure in the State of India' of 1607 declared that the Portuguese Captain General was collecting rents which the Sinhalese King, Rajasinha of Sitawaka, used to collect (Abeyasinghe 1966: 132). Captain Ribeiro, a Portuguese who served in Sri Lanka, recorded that the *lekam miti* (land rolls) which the Sinhalese King had been keeping were simply translated into the Portuguese language for their purposes (Pieris 1909: 93). Sri Lankan records were kept on *ola* (palm) leaves until the Portuguese period when the substance for writing changed to paper. Portuguese settlers could hold land for two or three generations and thereafter they could leave these lands to female heirs who had to provide soldiers to fulfil military obligations. Quit rent became the norm in Portuguese controlled areas. The main difference was in the method of paying the quit-rent. Under Portuguese administration, quit-rent was paid with cash unlike the Sinhalese practice of paying back through service. When Azevedo became the Governor of Goa, he passed

a viceregal provision giving the Captain-General of Kōtte the authority to grant land and also to withdraw land particularly to reward or sustain the armed forces. Land grants were therefore used to attract and buy allegiances. The *lascars*, however, were not able to tend their lands as their military commitments were demanding. The Portuguese, therefore, began to pay the *lascars* a maintenance allowance but demanded quit rent on the lands. In 1620, the *lascars* refused to pay quit rents as they had enjoyed tax free land grants when they served the Sinhalese King. The Portuguese had to stop the maintenance allowance to the *lascars* in the 1620s due to financial problems. Captain General de Sa had suggested compiling a new *tombo*, in order to ascertain all the lands and to redistribute some of these lands to *lascarins* on more favourable terms (Abeyasinghe 1966: 125–6).

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i>    | <i>English</i>   |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Bada</i>       | Badda             | Rent             |
| <i>Taxar</i>      | Takseru (karanna) | To rate/appraise |
| <i>Tombo</i>      | Tombu(va)         | Record/archive   |

### Religion and Education

In ancient and medieval Sri Lanka, education was conducted through the *pansala* (temple). Higher literary education was limited to the monks who learnt Pāli and Sankskrit.

Archaeological evidence suggests that a Nestorian Christian community lived in Sri Lanka during the eighth century. The Portuguese, nevertheless, introduced the Catholic Church to the Island. This did not, however, change the relationship between religion and education. The Jesuits, were the pioneer European educators in Sri Lanka. They established educational establishments to provide a Western education to the children of the Portuguese *casados* (married soldiers). The Portuguese influenced some Sri Lankan nobility also to educate their children according to the Western methodology. Dom Philip Nikapitiya Bandara who studied at Saint Anthony's College, Colombo, continued his education at the Franciscan College of the Magi at Bardez. He became the first Sri Lankan to study in a Western university. He entered the University of Coimbra but unfortunately died before he completed his studies.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i>    | <i>English</i>   |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Escola</i>     | Iskōla(ya)        | School           |
| <i>Cantar</i>     | Kantāru (karanna) | To chant/sing    |
| <i>Padre</i>      | Pādiri(ya)        | Christian priest |

|                |            |        |
|----------------|------------|--------|
| <i>Pascoa</i>  | Pāsku      | Easter |
| <i>Rosario</i> | Rōsari(ya) | Rosary |

Missionary work by the Portuguese began in 1543 under Friar João de Vila de Conde, after an invitation from King Bhuvanakabāhu VII. In 1556, 70,000 Sri Lankans on the west coast converted of their own accord (Queyroz 1688). There were privileges for those who converted to Catholicism. The Portuguese authorities in Sri Lanka renounced their claim to the *marala* (a levy paid to the government on a dead person’s movable effects), for those who converted to Catholicism. This meant that some converted even on their death bed. The Portuguese King extended this policy to encourage the male heirs of the deceased to convert. The death duty was waived if they converted within four months of the death. If the heir to the property resisted conversion, another male heir who converted could claim the property. Portuguese words relating to religion and education have been adopted into Sinhala together with the new practices.

**Names**

Portuguese surnames, personal names, titles and job titles have been borrowed by Sri Lankans. Some took on Portuguese surnames as it was a sign of westernisation and was beneficial to identify themselves with the Portuguese administration. These surnames have continued throughout the Dutch and British eras and even into post-independent Sri Lanka. They do not represent Lusitanisation. The Portuguese gave titles such as Dom and Dona to uppercrust men and women and these outlasted Portuguese rule. Dom, in fact, is also used as a personal name. Siñño, on the other hand, represents a westernised man. The word *kāpiri* whose etymon is Arabic *qafir* and adopted by Portuguese, has become an ethnonym for people of African descent who live in Sri Lanka (de Silva Jayasuriya and Pankhurst 2003).

|                    |                |                |
|--------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Portuguese</i>  | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i> |
| <i>Cafre</i>       | Kapiri(ya)     | African        |
| <i>Capitão</i>     | Kapitanu(va)   | Captain        |
| <i>Constantino</i> | Konstantinu    | Constantine    |
| <i>Português</i>   | Prutugīsi      | Portuguese     |
| <i>Senhor</i>      | Siñño          | Sir            |

**Clothing**

The Portuguese introduced western clothing to Sri Lanka. Most of the words describing items of clothing worn by urban Sri Lankans and even

some villagers are Portuguese borrowings. Many Sri Lankan Buddhist brides wear a face veil and a train on their wedding day, which is a western influence. Couples exchanging rings and getting engaged to be married, publishing banns are also western influences. Since tailoring was introduced by the Portuguese, many Sinhala words associated with dressmaking have Portuguese etyma. The Portuguese traditional costumes, however, are not worn even by the Portuguese Burghers (descendants of the Portuguese) today. A few Portuguese words relating to clothing which have been adopted by Sinhala are given below.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i>  |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Botão</i>      | Bottama        | Button          |
| <i>Saia</i>       | Sāya           | Skirt/Petticoat |
| <i>Sapateiro</i>  | Sapatēru(va)   | Shoemaker       |
| <i>Sapato</i>     | Sapattu(va)    | Shoe            |
| <i>Veludo</i>     | Vilūda         | Velvet          |

### Flora and Fauna

The Portuguese introduced plants to several countries during their voyages thereby enriching their ecosystem. They played a major role as primary and secondary carriers in the global dissemination of cultivated plants. They may have taken plants, cuttings or seeds. They introduced plants from Europe, Africa and South America to Sri Lanka. It is not certain if the species originating in Malaysia and in Indonesia were introduced by the Portuguese or by the Southeast Asians to Sri Lanka. Garcia de Orta, a Portuguese, was the greatest naturalist of the century. Portuguese words for animals have also been borrowed by Sinhala.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Ananás</i>     | Annāsi(ya)     | Pineapple      |
| <i>Burro</i>      | Būru(va)       | Ass            |
| <i>Cajo</i>       | Kaju           | Cashew         |
| <i>Pepino</i>     | Pipinna        | Cucumber       |
| <i>Pera</i>       | Pēra           | Pear           |

### Cuisine

At their first encounter, the Sri Lankans thought that the Portuguese were eating hunks of stone and drinking blood. They had not seen bread or wine previously. Ironically, bread has become an everyday item of food. The Portuguese introduced chillies, an important ingredient in dishes. The well-known Monis Bakeries in the southern province, still bake Portu-

guese biscuits and sweets. A few Portuguese words borrowed by Sinhala are given below.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Balchão</i>    | Balichau       | Caviar         |
| <i>Biscoito</i>   | Viskōtu        | Biscuit        |
| <i>Doce</i>       | Dōsi           | Sweet/Candy    |
| <i>Pão</i>        | Pān            | Bread          |
| <i>Queijo</i>     | Kēju           | Cheese         |

### Furniture

In medieval Sri Lanka, chairs were rarely used and tables were unknown (Geiger 1960: 46). Beds, chairs and chests were limited to palaces and temples. When the Portuguese went to India, a new style of furniture, combining Indian wood and Portuguese designs evolved. Twisted rope, which was reminiscent of ships, was common in settees, tables and chairs. A few original pieces of Indo-Portuguese furniture made in rosewood still exist. Some Sinhala words with Portuguese etyma are given below.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Banco</i>      | Banku(va)      | Bench          |
| <i>Canapé</i>     | Kanappu(va)    | Couch          |
| <i>Mesa</i>       | Mēsa(ya)       | Table          |
| <i>Pintura</i>    | Pintūra(ya)    | Picture/Film   |
| <i>Sofa</i>       | Sōpa(va)       | Sofa           |

### Architecture

Portuguese architecture was introduced to Sri Lanka through fort building and churches. A few ruins of fortresses and churches remain. In domestic architecture, there are some European architectural elements that have been introduced. Romanesque arches and fanlights with intricate decorations, for example, are European influences. In some cases, such as *janela* (window), a Sinhala word – *kanulawa* – existed but the Portuguese word became vogue in colloquial Sinhala. The Sinhala word is not in vogue nowadays. Portuguese words in Sinhala, therefore, do not necessarily imply that the Portuguese introduced the architectural features to Sri Lanka.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i>     |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>Arco</i>       | Arukku(va)     | Arch of a building |
| <i>Câmara</i>     | Kāmara(ya)     | Room/Chamber       |
| <i>Cidade</i>     | Sidādi(ya)     | City/Town          |
| <i>Figura</i>     | Pigura         | Figure of survey   |

*Janela*

janēla(ya)

window

### Music, Song and Dance

The most pervasive Lusitanian legacy is in popular music, song and dance of Sri Lanka. This was quite unconscious and unexpected. The Portuguese soldiers seem to have carried their guitars with them and indulged in song and dance when they were not at war. The violin was used by priests in churches as it was the closest to the human voice. The Sinhalese King had a Unit in his court which played trumpets and thrombones together with Sinhala drums to escort foreign ambassadors to the Court. This unit is named after the instruments that were introduced by the Portuguese *Tamböru-Purampettukāra Ansaya* (in Sinhala) which means ‘Trombone-Trumpet Unit’ (Kulatillaka undated: 26). A few Portuguese words relating to music, song and dance borrowed by Sinhala are given below.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i>              |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Baile</i>      | Bayila(ya)     | baila song                  |
| <i>Cafrinha</i>   | Capiriñña      | a genre of dance/music/song |
| <i>Ravkinna</i>   | Ravikiñña      | violin                      |
| <i>Trombeta</i>   | Trampettu(va)  | trumpet                     |
| <i>Viola</i>      | Viyole         | guitar                      |

### Social

It is not surprising that Portuguese words relating to social activities were borrowed by Sinhala. The Portuguese who came to Sri Lanka were in need of leisure activities – playing games, gambling and drinking. They also had relationships with the women. The Catholic religion encourages stable relationships and it is not surprising that the Portuguese married Sri Lankan women. In Sinhala an auxiliary verb is generally added when a Portuguese verb is borrowed, as shown below.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i>     | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| <i>Bola</i>       | Bōla(ya)           | Ball           |
| <i>Casar</i>      | Kasāda (bandinava) | To marry       |
| <i>Dado</i>       | Dādu(va)           | Die            |
| <i>Pregão</i>     | Peragam(a)         | Marriage bans  |
| <i>Taberna</i>    | Tæbæru(ma)         | Tavern         |

### Temporal Elements

In commercial contracts, time is of paramount importance. When commodities will be delivered and when payment will be made, by whatever

method is relevant in these situations. Therefore Sinhala words adopted Portuguese words relating to quantities and time. The roman names for the months of the year and the Roman calendar were also introduced.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Agosto</i>     | Agostu         | August         |
| <i>Hora</i>       | Hōrā(va)       | Hour           |
| <i>Novembro</i>   | Novāmbara      | November       |
| <i>Numero</i>     | Nommara(ya)    | Number         |
| <i>Semana</i>     | Sumāna(ya)     | Week           |

### Transport

It is not surprising that Portuguese names of vehicles were borrowed by the Sinhalese. The Portuguese arrived in ships and navigational aids were important. When they were in Sri Lanka, transport was by foot, cart or on horseback. A few Portuguese words describing vehicles used for transport and associated parts have been adopted by Sinhala.

| <i>Portuguese</i> | <i>Sinhala</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Carrêta</i>    | Karatta(ya)    | Carriage cart  |
| <i>Compasso</i>   | Kompāsu(va)    | Compass        |
| <i>Nau</i>        | Nava           | Ship           |
| <i>Retôrno</i>    | Retōrno        | Return         |
| <i>Roda</i>       | Rōda(ya)       | Wheel          |

There are also Portuguese borrowings in other languages of Sri Lanka – Tamil and Sri Lankan Malay Creole. A comprehensive work remains for a future date. For Portuguese borrowings in Tamil see O.M. da Silva (1990, 1994).

About 90 per cent of the words of contact languages are from the base or lexifier language. Not surprisingly, therefore, most of the words in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole are Portuguese. I have, however, identified non-Portuguese words in the two nineteenth century manuscripts (Hugh Nevill and Hugo Schuchardt) that I have transcribed, translated and interpreted. They illustrate that the lexicon of the creole contains words that are not from the base language. Dalgado (1900; 1919–21; 1936) and Yule and Burnell (1886) were useful sources in identifying the etyma of the words that have been adopted by Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole speakers.



### Dutch Borrowings in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

It is not surprising that Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole borrowed Dutch words. When the Dutch took over maritime provinces of the Island, some Dutchmen married *mestiças*. As their children, spoke creole and the Dutchmen also learnt Indo-Portuguese, the process of borrowing was facilitated.

| <i>Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole</i> | <i>Dutch</i>       | <i>English</i> |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Falentine/Falentyn/Falenteyn       | <i>Falentyn</i>    | Valentine      |
| Koraal                             | <i>Coral</i>       | Coral          |
| Landes                             | <i>Hollandsche</i> | Dutch          |
| Neger                              | <i>Neger</i>       | Negro          |
| Venkel                             | <i>Winkel</i>      | Shop           |

### English borrowings in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

There are many English borrowings in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. As the Burghers began to speak the new prestige language, English, during the British Era, this is not surprising. Bilingualism and multilingualism of the Burgher community would have contributed to English words being adopted by Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. A few examples that I have identified are given below.

| <i>Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole</i> | <i>English</i> | <i>Standard Portuguese</i> |
|------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| Beer                               | Beer           | <i>Cerveja</i>             |
| Cake                               | Cake           | <i>Bolo</i>                |
| Very                               | Very           | <i>Muito</i>               |
| Well                               | Well           | <i>Bem</i>                 |
| Wine                               | Wine           | <i>Velho</i>               |

### Arabic Words in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

Sri Lankans had contact with the Arabs and Persians before they came into contact with the Portuguese. Arabic was a trading language in the Indian Ocean when the Portuguese forayed into these waters. The two linguistic systems would have interacted and it is not surprising to find that Indo-Portuguese borrowed Arabic words.

| <i>Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole</i> | <i>Arabic</i>   | <i>English</i>   |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Alfado                             | <i>Almofada</i> | Cushion          |
| Kafar/Kaffr                        | <i>Kafr</i>     | Kaffir           |
| Mohamet                            | <i>Mohamed</i>  | Mohamed          |
| Mossaam                            | <i>Monso</i>    | Monsoon          |
| Sucani                             | <i>Sukkān</i>   | Rudder/A Boatman |

### Indic Words in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

It is not surprising to find Sinhala words in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole as there are bilinguals in these languages. Many Sinhala words have Sanskrit etyma. There are Hindi, Hindustani and Sanskrit words also in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole.

| <i>Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole</i> | <i>Indic Languages</i>            | <i>English</i>     |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Cholle                             | <i>Choli</i> (Sanskrit)           | Woman's bodice     |
| Fulla                              | <i>Phul</i> (Hindi)               | Flower             |
| Jambo                              | <i>Jambo</i> (Hindustani/Sinhala) | Roseapple          |
| Sagovathi                          | <i>Sangbat</i> (Hindustani)       | Gift               |
| Satta                              | <i>Sata</i> (Sinhala)             | Cents              |
| Sura                               | <i>Sura</i> (Sanskrit)            | An alcoholic drink |

### Dravidian words in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole has borrowed a few words from Tamil and Malayālam. This is not surprising as Tamil is an indigenous language of Sri Lanka and also an official language of the country.

| <i>Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole</i> | <i>Dravidian Languages</i>        | <i>English</i>  |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Mainatae                           | <i>Mainatta</i> (Tamil/Malayālam) | Washerman/Dhoby |
| Poodoocherry                       | <i>Pudu-ch'cheri</i> (Tamil)      | Pondicherry     |

### Malay borrowings in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

Two words with Malay etyma have also been borrowed by Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. Therefore, the words could have entered Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole through Sinhala.

| <i>Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole</i> | <i>Malay Languages</i> | <i>English</i> |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Mallaiya                           | <i>Malaya</i>          | Malay          |
| Ravana                             | <i>Rabana</i>          | Drum           |

### Grammatical Change in Indo-Portuguese

When people who do not speak each other's mother-tongue come into continued contact, it becomes necessary that a medium of communication should evolve as a bridging tongue. Contact languages – pidgins and creoles – evolve in such situations. While a creole is the mother-tongue of a speech community, a pidgin is nobody's mother-tongue. As only a few Portuguese women were sent to the Orient, miscegenation with Asians was inevitable. The offspring of these unions – *mestiços* and *mestiças* – were mother-tongue speakers of the creole languages which served as bridging

tongues between the indigenous peoples and the Portuguese and sometimes even between the other Europeans who followed them to the Orient. Indeed, in Sri Lanka, Creole Portuguese served as the *lingua franca* for 350 years bridging the gap between, not one, not two, but three European powers (Portuguese, Dutch and British) and the indigenous people. Creole Portuguese has survived half a millenium in Sri Lanka. It is still spoken and is being taught to children in the Eastern Province of the Island by their parents who uphold this language as being most important to their group identity. Identity is important for revitalisation. Various factors such as clothes, occupation, geographic origin, ethnic origin, religion and language are key dimensions of group identity. Language, however, is the most important factor, as people feel that they can maintain their group identity by learning their language. The relationship between language and group identity is not static. It varies as a function of the power relations between groups.

In linguistics it has always been clear that certain languages resemble each other more than others, as shown by dialectology and genetic relationship. Typology classifies languages according to their structural characteristics, and not according to their ancestry. Typological similarities are not considered to be necessarily indicative of genetic relatedness. Language typology is concerned with the ahistorical comparison of languages. The linguistic analysis in this chapter compares the typology of nineteenth century and twentieth century literary and colloquial Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole data. The superstratum language, Portuguese, is verb-medial. In Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) languages, the genitive follows the noun and it has prepositions. In Portuguese, however, the adjective can precede or follow the noun depending on whether the adjective is a limiting adjective or qualifying adjective. The substratum languages, Sinhala and Tamil, on the other hand, are verb-final languages where the adjective precedes the noun, the genitive precedes the noun and which have postpositions.

Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole data from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have not been located to date. The late nineteenth-century data are from the two manuscripts that I have translated: the Hugh Nevill Collection in the British Library and the Hugo Schuchardt Collection in the University of Graz, Austria (de Silva Jayasuriya 2001a). Dalgado (1900) is also a valuable source for nineteenth-century data. The earliest data for the twentieth century, from de Mello (1908–20), provide both prose and verse examples. De Vos (1950) gives examples of the spoken and written language at that time. Theban (1985) provides an example of the variety of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole spoken in Batticaloa

in 1970. Smith (1978a, 1978b) gives colloquial Batticaloa Portuguese Creole in the 1970s. Two Sri Lankan scholars, Thananjayarajasingham and Goonatilleka (1976), also carried out fieldwork in Batticaloa in the 1970s. In 1974, Goonatilleka (1983a) conducted a survey in Puttalam. My data (1998) are from Batticaloa and Akaraipattu (eastern province) and Puttalama (north-western province). In what follows, the Standard Portuguese equivalent of the Portuguese Creole is given in order to highlight the divergences from the base language.

### Major Constituent Order

Virtually all known Creole languages have a word order of Subject-Verb-Object (SVO). This is also the basic word order of Portuguese (the superstratum language). On the other hand, the substratum languages (Sinhala and Tamil) are verb-final; their word order is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV). The Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole data provides examples of both SVO and SOV.

**nineteenth century** (Schuchardt Manuscript, Song 2, Verse 21):

|           |                |         |              |
|-----------|----------------|---------|--------------|
| Eu        | ama            | per     | vos (SLPC):  |
| S         | V              | OBJ MKR | O            |
| <i>Eu</i> | <i>amo-vos</i> | (SP) :  | 'I love you' |
| I         | love           | you     |              |
| S         | V              | O       |              |
| I         | love           | you     |              |

**nineteenth century** (Schuchardt Manuscript, Song 1, Verse 11, Lines 3 and 4):

|                     |                               |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Hum dia per outro   | <i>Um dia depois do outro</i> |
| One day for another | One day after another         |
| S                   | S                             |

|                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Como sal te darte      | <i>Derrete como sal</i> |
| Like salt melts        | melts like salt         |
| O V                    | V O                     |
| 'One day after another | Melts like salt'        |

**nineteenth century** (Nevill Manuscript, Group 3, Verse 2, Line 1)

|       |      |     |      |         |            |           |                 |
|-------|------|-----|------|---------|------------|-----------|-----------------|
| Ellie | fooy | oen | Ree  | (SLPC): | <i>Era</i> | <i>um</i> | <i>Rei</i> (SP) |
| S     | V    |     | O    |         | V          |           | O               |
| He    | was  | a   | King |         | He was     | a         | King            |

'He was a King'

**nineteenth century** (Nevill Manuscript, Group 3, Verse 127, Lines 3 and 4)

|                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| SLP                          | CSP                          |
| Frankeryk sua Ree            | <i>O Rei de França</i>       |
| 'The French King             |                              |
| French          King         | The King of France           |
| S                            | S                            |
| Wosse wiede lo tirre         | <i>Tirará a vossa vida</i>   |
| Will take your life'         |                              |
| Your   life   will take      | will take your life          |
| O                          V | V                          O |

Both SVO and SOV are also found in the texts of Dalgado (1900) and De Mello (1908–1920). From the 1970s onwards the SOV structure is attested in the Batticaloa District and dominant in Puttalama.

**1970s Batticaloa** (Smith 1978a: 73)

(SLPC)

|    |        |      |     |          |      |           |
|----|--------|------|-----|----------|------|-----------|
| Ew | diñeru | jon  | –pe | ja-      | da   | tiña      |
| I  | money  | John |     |          | give | have      |
| S  | O      |      | DAT | TNS      | V    | AUX       |
| Eu | tinha  | dado |     | dinheiro | ao   | João (SP) |
| I  | have   | give |     | money    | to   | John      |
| S  | AUX    | V    |     | O        |      |           |

'I had given the money to John'

**1970s Batticaloa** (Goonatilleka 1985: 162)

|                   |      |     |     |              |           |            |          |             |
|-------------------|------|-----|-----|--------------|-----------|------------|----------|-------------|
| Eu                | casa | pe  | t-  | anda (SLPC): | <i>Eu</i> | <i>von</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>casa</i> |
| S                 | O    | LOC | ASP | V            | S         | V          |          | O           |
| (SP): 'I go home' |      |     |     |              |           |            |          |             |
| I                 | home |     |     | go           | I         | go         |          | home        |

**1974 Puttalama** (Goonatilleka 1983a: 10)

|  |      |     |              |           |             |              |
|--|------|-----|--------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| Yo   | aros | ta  | cume (SLPC): | <i>Eu</i> | <i>como</i> | <i>arroz</i> |
| S  | O    | ASP | V            | S         | V           | O            |
| (SP): I      rice                          eat                          I      eat                          rice |      |     |              |           |             |              |

'I eat rice'

|                     |     |      |              |            |                |              |
|---------------------|-----|------|--------------|------------|----------------|--------------|
| Nos                 | te  | cume | aros (SLPC): | <i>Nós</i> | <i>comemos</i> | <i>arroz</i> |
| S                   | ASP | V    | O            | S          | V              | O            |
| (SP): 'We eat rice' |     |      |              |            |                |              |
| We                  | eat | rice |              | we         | eat            | rice         |

### 1998 Akaraipattu (de Silva Jayasuriya 1998)

|              |             |      |             |            |                 |
|--------------|-------------|------|-------------|------------|-----------------|
| Ape          | Dada        | mara | -ntu        | ja         | vi (SLPC):      |
| PP           | S           | O    | LOC         | TNS        | V               |
| <i>Nosso</i> | <i>avô</i>  |      | <i>veio</i> | <i>por</i> | <i>mar</i> (SP) |
|              |             |      |             | PP         | S               |
| Our          | grandfather | sea  |             |            | come            |
| Our          | grandfather |      | come        | by         | sea             |
|              |             |      | V           | PP         | O               |

'Our grandfather came by sea' [*Apē* is the Sinhala word meaning 'our']

### Noun-Adjective Order

In Standard Portuguese the noun generally precedes the adjective when the adjective ascribes some quality such as colour, size, shape, taste, position, smell, sound, nationality, religion or profession, or stands in a comparison, or when it is modified by an adverb or adverbial phrase or other modifier. For example:

|                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Um vinho doce</i>       | 'a sweet wine'          |
| <i>A religião católica</i> | 'the Catholic religion' |
| <i>O judeu errante</i>     | 'the wandering Jew'     |
| <i>Flores brancas</i>      | 'white flowers'         |

There are a few adjectives in Standard Portuguese which can follow or precede the noun, but the meaning of the adjective changes, depending on its position. For example:

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Um amigo velho</i>  | 'a friend who is old'                            |
| A friend old           |  |
| <i>Um velho amigo</i>  | 'a person who has been a friend for a long time' |
| An old friend          |  |
| <i>Um homem grande</i> | 'a tall man'                                     |
| A man tall             |  |
| <i>Um grande homem</i> | 'an important man'                               |

An important man

In Sinhala and Tamil, the adjective precedes the noun.

*Kalu sapattu* (Sinhala)

black shoes                    'black shoes'

*Karuppu chapato* (Sri Lankan Tamil)

black shoes                    'black shoes'

The Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole data illustrates variation in the order of the noun and the adjective. From the earliest available texts, which are from the early nineteenth century, we find both configurations.

**1826 Versão Wesleyana** (Dalgado 1900: 94)

Fallando, Eu ja pecca, em quanto que eu ja trahi o innocente sangue (SLPC)

Saying I sinned in how much that I betrayed innocent blood

A        N

*Dizendo: Pequei, traindo sangue innocente* (SP)

Saying I sinned betraying blood innocent

N        A

'Saying: I sinned betraying innocent blood'

**1852 Versão Wesleyana** (Dalgado 1900: 94)

Fallando, Eu ja pecca, trahindo o innocente sangue (SLPC)

A        N

Saying I sinned betraying innocent blood

*Dizendo: Pequei, traindo sangue innocente* (SP)

Saying I sinned betraying blood innocent

N        A

'Saying: I sinned betraying innocent blood'

**1885 Versão Wesleyana** (Dalgado 1900: 94)

Fallando: Eu ja pecca, trahindo o sangue innocente (SLPC)

Saying I sinned betraying blood innocent

N        A

*Dizendo: Pequei, traindo sangue innocente* (SP)

Saying I sinned betraying blood innocent

N        A

'Saying: I sinned betraying innocent blood'

The same variation is attested in the late nineteenth-century manuscripts of Schuchardt, Nevill and De Mello (1908–1920). However, from the 1970s onwards, it is exclusively AN (Theban, 1985; Smith, 1979; Goonatilleka, 1983a). For example:

**1998 Batticaloa** (de Silva Jayasuriya)

Queria ung grande caus (SLPC):

*Queria um grande coisa* (SP)

I would like a big thing I would like a big thing ANAN

'I would like a big thing' tem

poveri Burghers (SLPC): *há mestiços pobres* (SP)

there are poor Burghers there are Burghers poor ANNA

'There are poor people of mixed (Portuguese) descent'

### Genitival Modifier

The Genitive follows the noun in Standard Portuguese. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole can express possession either by a prenominal possessive phrase or a postnominal possessive phrase. The former involves a Noun Phrase and the possession relator *sua/seu* (3rd person singular possessive pronoun in Portuguese) and the latter involves a postnominal possessive phrase, the relator *de* ('of/from') and the Noun Phrase. The latter is a possessive construction derived from Portuguese. Both types are attested in the Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole data. In Sinhala and Tamil, the genitive precedes the noun. For example:

Lamaya-ge putuva (Sinhala)

child GEN chair 'child's chair'

Pillai-udaia kathirai (Sri Lanka Tamil)

child GEN chair 'child's chair'

**nineteenth century** (Schuchardt Manuscript, Song 1, Verse 16):

Amor seu sintido (SLPC) *O sentido do amor* (SP) 'Love's feeling'

GEN N

N GEN

Love's feeling The feeling of love

Carne de meu corpo *A carne do meu corpo* 'My body's flesh'

N GEN

N GEN

Flesh of my body Flesh of my body

**nineteenth century** (Nevill Manuscript, Group 3, Verse 20, Line 3)

Kom Deos sua banse (SLPC): *Com a benção de Deus* (SP) 'With God's blessing'

GEN N

N GEN

With God blessing With blessing of God



**nineteenth century** (Nevill Manuscript, Group 3, Verse 318, Line 1)

Sangue de Emperdoor (SLPC): *Sangue do Imperador* (SP) ‘The Emperor’s blood’

N GEN N GEN

Blood of Emperor Blood of Emperor

The same variation is attested in De Mello (1908–1920), but from the 1970s onwards, the genitive precedes the noun as is illustrated in Theban (1985) and Smith (1978b). Examples from my data are given below.

**1998 Puttalama** (de Silva Jayasuriya)

Minha Pappa – s nome Peter Manuel Mamma – s nome Dominica N

GEN N GEN N

(SLPC): My Father’s name Peter Manual Mother’s name Dominica

*O nome do meu pai é Pedro Manuel o nome da minha mae é Dominica* (SP)

N GEN N GEN

The name of my Father is Pedro Manuel the name of my Mother is Dominica  
‘My father’s name is Peter Manual and my mother’s name is Dominica’

**1998 Batticaloa** (de Silva Jayasuriya)

Minha Mamma- s nome Nora Petersz (SLPC):

GEN N

My Mother’s name Nora Petersz

*O nome de minha mae é Nora Petersz* (SP):

N GEN

The name of my Mother is Nora Petersz  
‘My mother’s name is Nora Petersz’

Onta Jenny se birthday (SLPC):

GEN N

Yesterday Jenny’s birthday

*Ontem era o dia de anos da Jenni* (SP)

N GEN

Yesterday was the day of birthday of Jenny  
‘Yesterday was Jenny’s birthday’

Although the genitive precedes the noun in Sinhala, the genitival modifier is not the third person singular possessive (*sua/sen*) as in the Creole.

### Adposition Order

Adpositional word order typology is concerned with whether a language uses mainly prepositions (Pr) or postpositions (Po). A preposition is a pre-noun adposition (Ap) and a postposition is a post-noun adposition. Languages can

be typologised as ApN or NAp. In Portuguese, only prepositions are found but in Sinhala and Tamil, on the other hand, only postpositions prevail. In Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, from the late nineteenth century to late twentieth century, there are mostly prepositions but a few postpositions are attested. However, from the 1970s, only postpositions are attested.

**1826 Versão indoportuguesa da missão wesleyana** (Dalgado 1900: 96)

E Jesus já impe diante de o governador (SLPC):

TNS      PREP

And Jesus stand in front of the governor

*E Jesus ficou de pé diante do governador* (SP)

PREP

And Jesus was standing in front of the governor

‘And Jesus was standing in front of the governor’

**Late nineteenth century** (Nevill manuscript, Group 1, Song 2, ver. 43, l. 2)

Estrala dianthie (SLPC): *Diante das estralas* (SP) ‘In front of the stars’

POST      PREP

Star in front of in front of the stars

**1970** (Theban 1985: 278)

Contas-discontas 30–8–70 ate lo fica thiradu (SLPC):

POST

Income expenditure until will be presented

*Deve e haver até 30–8–70 ser apresentado* (SP)

PREP

Income and expenditure until will be presented

‘income and expenditure until 30–8–70 will be presented’

As Holm (1988:40) points out, creoles that remain in contact with their substrate language(s), could be more influenced by them, particularly if the substrate(s) becomes prestigious, as is the case for Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. In Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, there is variation between Portuguese and Sinhala/Tamil with increasing evidence to show the growing influence of the dominant languages of contemporary Sri Lanka. The major constituent order, noun-adjective order, genitival modifier and adposition order have all shifted away from Portuguese to that of Sinhala/Tamil. For 350 years of the creole’s lifespan, it was the prestige language on the Island. The new prestige language, English, is also a verb-medial language and therefore is typologically similar to that of Portuguese. Even after Sri Lanka regained her independence in 1948, English continued to be the language for higher education. In 1956,

the introduction of Sinhala as the language in which public examinations are to be held, and the language of instruction in higher education, established Sinhala as the dominant language on the Island. This policy was intended to give the rural masses a 'free education' up to the tertiary level and employment opportunities thereafter. The minorities were allowed to sit examinations in the English medium. Therefore English began to lose its prestigious status and Sinhala, the language for interethnic communication on the Island, began to exert more pressure on the Portuguese Creole. Post-colonial Sri Lanka also began a programme to subsidise education from the primary to the tertiary level in an attempt to increase the literacy rate of the population. Although placements in tertiary educational establishments were competitive due to the scarcity of places, primary and secondary education was available to all in theory. Literacy was valued per se and also viewed as a passport to success. The creole communities sent their children to the local government-subsidised schools. The Christian missionary schools continued to provide an education in the English medium but were situated in the urban areas. The fees for the Christian schools were much higher than the nominal fees charged by the Government-subsidised schools. Burgher and kaffir children could obtain an education in the government-subsidized schools at no apparent cost to themselves. This scenario did not prevent the creole communities from maintaining their mother-tongue but it exposed their children to verb-final languages at school. This increased the proficiency of bilingualism in Sinhala/ Tamil and Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. It is not surprising therefore that the typology of modern Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole has shifted to SOV. This makes Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole an exception, as all known creoles are typologically SVO. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole maintains creole features such as object marking and Tense-Mood-Aspect (TMA) markers. A comparison of this grammatical feature in two Luso-Asian tongues – Malacca and Sri Lanka – is in chapter 6.

### **Inflection in Indo-Portuguese**

Creole languages have reduced inflection. It is worthwhile investigating whether the gender and number inflections which prevail in Portuguese have been retained in the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon. The nineteenth century data is from the two manuscripts that I have transcribed and translated – the Hugo Schuchardt Manuscript and the Hugh Nevill Manuscript (de Silva Jayasuriya 2001a) – and from Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado's book 'Indo-Portuguese de Ceylão' (Dalgado 1900). For the twentieth century, Ian Russell Smith's data (1978–1984) on Batticaloa Portuguese (Eastern Province) illustrates a colloquial dialect of the creole.

Tavares de Mello (1908–1920), on the other hand, includes both colloquial and literary examples from various locations on the Island. The possessive adjective, indefinite article and demonstrative pronoun from both literary and colloquial Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole in two centuries have been included in order to determine if gender and number agreement changed over time. The Standard Portuguese equivalents are also given to highlight the deviations from the base language.

### ***Possessive Adjective***

In Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (SLPC), the possessive adjective shows variation in gender and number agreement with the noun. For example:

- (i) minha corpo morto (SLPC): meu corpo (SP) ‘my dead body’  
Ata minhe mortie (SLPC): Até à minha morte (SP) ‘Until my death’
- (ii) Lodar meu sintodoe (SLPC): *Darei* meus sentimentos (SP) ‘I will give my sentiments’  
meu rayinha (SLPC): a minha rainha (SP) ‘My Queen’
- (iii) Per sua altase (SLPC): *Por* sua altase (SP) ‘For her highness’ sua olhos (SLPC): seus olhos (SP) ‘his eyes’  
Fooy per soewe cases (SLPC): *Foram para* suas casas (SP) ‘Went to their houses’  
Ellie seu governoe (SLPC): O seu governo (SP) ‘His government’
- (iv) Tira vossa lanso (SLPC): *Tira o* vosso lenço (SP) ‘Take your handkerchief’  
vossa culpa (SLPC): vossa culpa (SP) ‘your shame’  
vossa baso da koral (SLPC): vossos beijos de coral (SP) ‘your lips of coral’  
wosse rostoe liempoe (SLPC): vossa rosto limpo (SP) ‘your clean face’
- (v) Ay noosa prasarae (SLPC): *Ai* noosa prazer (SP) ‘Ah our pleasure’  
nosse dieseljoe (SLPC): nosso desejo (SP) ‘Our desire’

### ***Indefinite Article***

The Indefinite Article in the creole shows variation in gender and number agreement. For example:

hum minina (SLPC): uma menina (SP) ‘a girl’  
hum maçeo (SLPC): um manjebo (SP) ‘a young man’

Eukontrei un rosa amor (SLPC): *Encontrei* uma rosa amor (SP) ‘I met a rose love’

Oen Ree peyadadie (SLPC): Um Rei *piadoso* (SP) 'A merciful King'

### ***Demonstrative Pronoun***

The demonstrative pronoun also shows variation in gender and number agreement in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. For example:

Iste pobre corpo (SLPC): Este *pobre corpo* (SP) 'This poor body'

Istee ores tardee nona (SLPC): Estas *tardes horas senhora* (SP) 'Lady at these late hours'

Oya iste fulla (SLPC): *Eu vejo esta flor* (SP) 'I see this flower'

Ja panya aka rosa (SLPC): *Apanhei aquela rosa* (SP) 'I plucked that rose'

Affasan de akel rosa (SLPC): *Afeição por aquela rosa* (SP) 'Affection for that rose'

Ne akel kaminhoe (SLPC): *Naquele caminho* (SP) 'On that road'

For the twentieth century, in Batticaloa Portuguese, there is only one form of the possessive adjective – *mine*. The Portuguese forms *minha* (feminine) and *meu* (masculine) are not prevalent. The indefinite article in the creole is *ung*. In Portuguese, there are two forms – *um* (the masculine) and *uma* (the feminine). The Batticaloa Portuguese demonstrative pronoun, *isti*, has lost inflection for gender and number agreement. The Portuguese masculine, feminine and neuter forms are *este*, *esta* and *isto*. Gender agreement-disagreement in the possessive adjective, indefinite article and demonstrative pronoun of the nineteenth and twentieth-century creole illustrates that they changed over time.

## 6

# Portuguese in Malacca and Sri Lanka

Malacca and Sri Lanka were two important strongholds of the Portuguese. Not surprisingly, there are a sizeable number of Portuguese speakers in these Lusitanian spaces. Control of Malacca, placed the spice trade in their hands. It was pivotal to Portuguese participation in Southeast Asian trading, military and proselytising. From the Malaccan base, the Portuguese were able to coordinate their activities as merchants and missionaries in Macau, Japan, the Spice Islands (Moluccas), Solor, Timor, Siam (Thailand) and Pegu (in Burma). The bishopric of Malacca, became the centre of religious activities for 300,000 Catholics who lived in an area spanning from Pegu to Japan. Representatives of the principal religious orders – Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits – were based in Malacca.

The duration and sequence of European colonisation in Malacca and Sri Lanka are similar. The Portuguese presence in Malacca began in 1511 with its capture by Afonso de Albuquerque. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira visited Malacca a few years before that, in 1509. In Sri Lanka, the Portuguese period, however, is taken to be 153 years though Portuguese domination of the Island lasted only for 61 years (1597–1658). From 1505 to 1551, there was a Portuguese-Sinhalese Alliance and from 1551–1597, the Kōtte kingdom was a Portuguese Protectorate. In Malacca, the Portuguese were displaced by the Dutch in 1641, and the Portuguese era lasted for 130 years. In Sri Lanka also, it was the Dutch who succeeded the Portuguese, after battling for twenty years, gaining and losing fortresses. The British occupied Malacca from 1795 until 1957. The British were in Sri Lanka from 1796 in the maritime provinces and in 1815 also gained the Kandyan kingdom which had previously been under Sri Lankan rule. Sri Lanka regained her independence in 1948, nine years before Malacca.

In the nineteenth century, philologists, missionaries, administrators and colonised peoples became interested in contact languages. The Portuguese and other Europeans who entered into the networks in the Indian Ocean were economic agents whose aim was to maximise the profits for their countries. They also introduced western values including religious beliefs and practices. The variety of roles that the European expansionists performed called for a number of conflicting linguistic strategies (Mühlhäusler 1995: 235). While it was fashionable to replace the Asian languages with European languages, colonial policies varied across time and space. Depending on the socio-political climate, metropolitan languages were promoted and at other times indigenous languages were promoted. Pidgin and creole languages that resulted from European commercial and colonial expansions in the Indian Ocean have, in the last few decades, caught the attention of scholars worldwide. These languages are important from a philological point of view. Hugo Schuchardt challenged Augustus Schleicher's (1821–68) *Stammbaumtheorie* (The Family Tree Theory) which viewed language as a natural organism following the natural laws such as regular sound change which the Neogrammarians of the day had upheld. This turned Schuchardt's attention to creole languages where language mixing had disrupted the internally motivated historical sound changes which could be prevalent in languages that evolve in isolation (Holm 1988: 3). As Holm (1988: 6) points out, a creole is spoken natively by a speech community, often by those whose ancestors have been geographically displaced. Migration from the ancestral homeland has affected contact with the superstratum language. It also has effects on the socio-cultural identity of those speaking the creole as a mother-tongue. In this chapter, I will compare the dialects of Malayo-Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese which are still spoken. The Portuguese descendants in Malacca, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Puttalama are examples of Asia's connection with the Portuguese.

### **A Prototypical Creole**

I agree with Baker (1995:6) that creole languages are the successful outcome of contact situations. Creoles and pidgins are not failed attempts of Asians, Africans or American Indians attempting to learn the languages of a seemingly more powerful group, whether European or other. These languages are simply the solutions to communication problems resulting from people speaking different mother-tongues coming together through various situations such as trade and colonisation. Hence, Indo-Portuguese and Malacca Creole Portuguese should not be viewed as being inferior

brands of Portuguese. They are new languages with their own specific grammar. What identifies them with Portuguese is their lexicon which is largely influenced by Portuguese.

Bickerton (1981, 1984) tried to account for the similarities in the grammars of the creole languages which have various base languages, such as French, English, Portuguese and Dutch. However, Bickerton's Language Bioprogram Hypothesis has been contested, not only by linguists but also by other academics. Edelman, a Nobel prizewinning neurobiologist, refutes both Bickerton's Language Bioprogram Hypothesis and also Chomsky's Language Acquisition Device (Baker 1995: 6). Edelman's view is supported by his empirical research of over 20 years. He asserts that humans programme their own brain through a process that is analogous to Darwin's natural selection. Gerald Edelman does not believe that humans are programmed by a biological clock.

Bickerton (1981: 58) claims that the prototypical creole system expresses tense, modality and aspect by three preverbal markers, which, if they co-occur, do so in the order Tense, Modality, Aspect (TMA). These particles may occur in many possible combinations. He claims that the typical creole system will have particles of identical meaning. The existence of preverbal TMA markers in most creoles has been seen by Bickerton as evidence for the monogenesis of creoles. The origin of the TMA system, however, is controversial. Bickerton (1974) defends the universal theory which claims that Tense, Mood and Aspect are biologically encoded in the brain. He (1981) describes the core creole system which pertains only to a system of grammaticalised markers of TMA and this provides a framework to analyse TMA markers as follows:

tense particle: [+ anterior] = past before past for action verbs and past for stative verbs.

modality particle: [+ irrealis] = futures, conditionals

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

The presence of each particle contrasts with its absence, the stem form in isolation expressing the unmarked term in the above three areas: present with statives and past with non-statives.

Bickerton (1981) formulates ten characteristics for the creole TMA markers.



- ❑ The zero form of the verb marks simple past for non-stative verbs and nonpast for stative verbs.
- ❑ A marker of anterior tense indicates past for stative verbs and past-before-past, or past, for non-stative verbs.
- ❑ A marker for irrealis mood indicates 'unreal time' (i.e. future, conditional, subjunctives) for all verbs.
- ❑ A marker of nonpunctual aspect indicates durative, habitual or iterative aspect and is indifferent to the nonpast-past distinction.
- ❑ All markers are in preverbal position.
- ❑ The markers can be combined, but in an invariant ordering: anterior TENSE, irrealis MOOD, nonpunctual ASPECT.
- ❑ The meaning of anterior + irrealis is 'an unrealised event in the past'.
- ❑ The meaning of anterior + irrealis + nonpunctual is 'an unrealised event in the past, of a nonpunctual nature', something like '[if only] X would have gone on doing Y'.
- ❑ The meaning of anterior + nonpunctual is 'a durative action or a series of nondurative actions taking place either before some other event under discussion, or during a period of time regarded as definitely closed'.
- ❑ The meaning of irrealis + nonpunctual is future progressive.

He states that combined forms may occur in a typical creole language, although they have disappeared for some languages through decreolisation. If creole languages are subject to pressure from the lexifier language, they begin to lose creole characteristics and become like the base/lexifier language.

- + anterior + irrealis: counterfactual conditions
- + anterior + non-punctual: past before past durative or habitual actions
- + irrealis + non-punctual: habitual or durative unrealised actions
- + anterior + irrealis + non-punctual: counterfactuals which express duration or habituality.

Tense, Mood and Aspect have attracted much interest and attention in linguistics, recently. Detailed studies of TMA markers in Asian Portuguese Creoles have not been conducted. Such analysis should include Luso-Asian languages of Sri Lanka and Malaysia, which could shed light on TMAs. It would thereby contribute to our understanding of TMA semantic universals in general. Tense, Mood and Aspect are a universal feature in languages but they differ in their role in a particular grammar

and the way that they are expressed. They could be marked morphologically (by inflection on the verb, for example) or syntactically (in a lexical manner, for example, by an adverbial expression). One of the most conspicuous features of creole languages, is the marking of Tense, Mood and Aspect by pre-verbal particles. It is, however, not limited to creoles and is attested in some pidgins also. The TMA particles in creole languages display the order Tense-Mood-Aspect-Verb Stem (Bakker et al 1995). Tense, Mood and Aspect are defined as different categories but it is generally accepted that they are interconnected with each other. In fact, they impinge on each other and blur the distinction of the categories. The phenomenon of preverbal TMA markers may be attributable to universals but their number and semantics may be influenced by other factors including other languages represented in the contact situation. TMA markers in Indo-Portuguese (Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole) and Malayo-Portuguese (Malacca Portuguese Creole known as *Papia Kristang* – language of Christians) are considered with data from Baxter (1983), Dalgado (1900), Nevill (1904) and Smith (1979, 1984) to investigate:

- ❑ How Tense, Mood and Aspect is expressed in Asian Portuguese Creoles. The choice is from preverbal markers, adverbial elements, modal auxiliaries, serial verb constructions or verb suffixes.
- ❑ Whether the TMA systems of Asian Portuguese Creoles included in this study are the same, semantically and syntactically.
- ❑ Whether Asian Portuguese Creoles have a grammaticalized TMA system consisting of three distinct markers – one for Tense, one for Mood and one for Aspect.
- ❑ Whether the Tense, Modality and Aspect systems in Asian Portuguese Creoles have changed over time.
- ❑ Whether the substrate languages (the lexifier language for all being Portuguese) influence the development of the TMA system.
- ❑ Whether the TMA markers of the creoles conform to Bickerton's prototypical creole system.

Comrie (1985: 9) defines tense as 'the grammaticalized expression of location in time.' He characterises tense as the relation between two temporal points: event time (E) and speech time (S) as Absolute Tense, or event time (E) and reference time (R) as Relative Tense. Absolute Tense can be represented as:

Present: E simultaneous with S

Past: E before S

Future: E after S

Relative Tense can be represented as:

Relative Present: E simultaneous with R

Relative Past: E before R

Relative Future: E after R

In what follows, when comparing the Portuguese creoles of Malacca and Sri Lanka, Tense will be defined as the grammaticalised relationship between E and R, because in creole languages, we are concerned with Relative Tense, not Absolute Tense and therefore the concept of Tense is different to that of Portuguese, English and French, for example. It does not make any suggestions about the situation continuing into the present and/or future.

### **Papia Kristang/Malacca Portuguese Creole**

In 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque, the Viceroy of the Estado da India, sailed to Malacca from his base in Goa, commanding a force of 1100 to 1200 men. His initial intension was to free the Portuguese prisoners in Malacca and seek commercial concessions. His proposals were refused and he resorted to capture Malacca forcefully establishing a strong military presence there. Tomé Pires, served as the Crown *Feitor* (Factor) in Malacca from 1512 to 1515. In his historical account, *Suma Oriental*, he recorded that there was no trading port larger than Malacca, where the supply met the demand for goods from the East and West. From the Malaccan base, the Portuguese were able to explore producers of oriental commodities further east. By employing Malay and other pilots and traders, in 1511, an expedition led by António de Abreu sailed together with two other boats commanded by Francisco Bisagudo. Francisco Rodrigues, the pilot-cartographer mapped the 'discoveries' of the expedition. They sailed along the east coast of Sumatra and the north coast of Java reaching Amboina and the Banda Islands. They found the suppliers of cloves and nutmeg, and in 1522 began to build a fortress in Ternate. António de Brito was made the Captain-General of the Moluccas, which was also known as the Spice Islands.

The reason for Portuguese capture of Malacca was not imperialistic but commercial and strategic. They wanted control of a base in the Far East so that the trade that flowed from further east was in their hands. A

*fortaleza* (fortress) in Malacca was constructed to protect the Portuguese goods; it was not a structure which was intended for warfare. Controlling the trade that passed through the Straits of Malacca was the concern of the Portuguese. For Malacca, there was not much change – a Malay ruling class, a trading aristocracy, was replaced by a Portuguese one instead. Albuquerque encouraged the development of an Eurasian population in Malacca by offering dowries to Malay women who married Portuguese men, and to *casados* (married Portuguese soldiers) he offered the *dusun* (orchards) abandoned by the Malay nobility who followed the Sultan into exile. In 1532, there were 40 *casados* in Malacca, increasing to 300 by the end of the sixteenth century (Villiers 1987: 48). The *casados*, however, became influential and powerful not through becoming landowners but by dominating the *Câmara* (municipal council) and the *Misericórdia* (charitable organisation) which administered the main hospital at Malacca. Most Portuguese in Malacca were *soldados* (soldiers). In the absence of a permanent military organisation, the *soldados* attached themselves to *fidalgos* (noblemen) who therefore acquired personal armies.

Even after the Portuguese were officially ousted from most Southeast Asian lands, some Portuguese continued to live in those areas. Language (Portuguese), religion (Christianity) and clothes (European but modified to suit the local conditions) shaped a Portuguese identity. Concentrating on the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, Andaya (1995: 130–131) describes the ‘Portuguese tribe’ as consisting of several groups. Firstly, the *mestiços*, who were the descendants of Portuguese *casados* and Malay women. Secondly, the *Mardijkers* (from the Malay word *merdeka* meaning ‘free’), descendants of former slaves from the Indian subcontinent, who were Christians. The *Mardijkers* wore European clothing but they had not worn shoes. Thirdly, the indigenous Christians who had embraced Christianity in their struggles against their Muslim neighbours. These Christians had simply transferred their allegiance to the newly-arrived Dutch. In Malacca and Jakarta, they were identified as Portuguese. Finally, Christian Filipinos from Pampanga, Luzon, an island in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, who had served the Spaniards, were also part of the Portuguese community. In 1663, when the Spaniards had left Maluku, they had stayed on and served the Dutch. Malacca was the most conducive location for these ‘Portuguese’ groups who were ethnically mixed but were identified as Portuguese.

*Papia Kristang* is spoken mainly in Malacca, by a small Luso-Asian community who are partly descendants of the Portuguese who had a major stronghold in the area. From Malacca, the Portuguese were able to command the straits between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. By 1613,

it was estimated that Malacca had 7,400 Christians and 300 Portuguese (Baxter 1985: 18). Even after the Dutch takeover in 1641, *Papia Kristang* was used by the Dutchmen who married *mestiça* girls. The Dutch language was used in administrative affairs. In 1610, the Dutch got a foothold in the area through Jakarta, which they called Batavia. Malayo-Portuguese was spoken in Java and also in Timor until the twentieth century. The Dutch were able to capture the whole of the Malay Indonesian Archipelago from the Portuguese, excepting for eastern Timor and Fort Larantuka on the island of Flores. Malayo-Portuguese was spoken, also, in Ternate, Ambon, Banda, Ungung Pandang (Macassar), Martapura (Borneo) and by five communities in Sumatra. It is interesting that Malayo-Portuguese was spoken in Dutch territory – Batavia – in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Around 1670, about 150 Portuguese Creole-speakers were moved to an isolated area called Tugu, northeast of Jakarta.

Malacca Portuguese Creole is related to the Portuguese Creoles spoken in Singapore, Tugu and Bidau which are all grouped as Malayo-Portuguese. In Singapore, there were two Portuguese schools during the first part of the twentieth century.

Today, Malayo-Portuguese speakers have integrated into Eurasian communities in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, particularly during World War II, Portuguese Creole-speakers migrated to other areas in Malaysia (Chan 1969: 65–100). Another dialect of Malayo-Portuguese was spoken in Penang (Luau Tikas) and was spoken by the Eurasians from Phuket (Thailand), who moved to Penang in the nineteenth century (Chong 1975: 118–119). Some Portuguese Creole-speakers moved to Penang from Malacca, also in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Baxter 1988: 9). The Singapore community maintained close associations with that of Malacca through intermarriages and social relationships. Baxter (1996:309) remarks that the language of the Portuguese Creole-speakers in Singapore is more conservative, resembling that of the elderly speakers in Malacca. In 1886, Adolfo Coelho published a study of Singapore Creole Portuguese (Morais-Barbosa 1967: 174–82). Tugu Creole Portuguese, documented by Schuchardt (1891) and Wallace (1978) is not very different from *Papia Kristang*. After Malacca was captured by the Portuguese, often Malay and Javanese men served in the ships of the Portuguese Crown and also in those of private Portuguese merchants. Sometimes, Malays and Javanese piloted these ships and even captained them (Thomaz 1974: 183, 190). Portuguese *feitores* (factors) spoke Malay during the initial period of Portuguese presence in Malacca. Malacca Portuguese Creole TMA system

is closely paralleled by Malacca Bazaar Malay (MBM) (Baxter 1983). The Malacca Portuguese Creole has two substratum languages: Baba Malay (a Creole) and Malacca Bazaar Malay (both a Pidgin and a Creole). In what follows, examples to illustrate the TMA in Malacca Portuguese Creole are given. The tense particle, *ja* [from the Portuguese word *ja*: meaning 'already'] denotes past for action verbs and anterior for statives (cf. MBM *sudah*).

MPC *kora yo ja chega eli (ja) teng na kaza*

MBM *bila gua datang dia (sudah) ada di rumah*

ADV I TNS arrive he (TNS) EXIST be PREP house

'When I arrived he was (already) at home.'

The same occurs in modals, which like statives, are unmarked for the past:

MPC *kora yo ja ngkontra ku eli, eli (ja) sabe papia malayu*

MBM *bila gua jumpa sama dia, dia (sudah) bisa cakap malayu*

ADV I TNS meet ACC he, he (TNS) know speak malay

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

When *ja* occurs with *ta* it functions in the same way as action verbs. This, however, is not paralleled in Malacca Bazaar Malay *sudah*.

MPC *kora yo ja chega, eli (ja) ta kumi*

MBM *bila gua datang, dia (sudah) (sedang) makan*

ADV I TNS arrive, he (TNS) -P ASP eat

'When I arrived he was (already) eating'.

The modality particle, *logu* [from the Portuguese word *logo* meaning presently] indicates future-irrealis, including counterfactuals and conditions (cf. MBM *nanti*). It functions with both Action and Stative Verbs as shown below.

|     |            |              |              |               |
|-----|------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| MPC | <i>eli</i> | <i>logu</i>  | <i>kumi</i>  | (action verb) |
| MBM | <i>dia</i> | <i>nanti</i> | <i>makan</i> |               |
|     | he         | MOD          | eat          |               |

‘He will/would eat’

|     |            |              |             |                |
|-----|------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| MPC | <i>eli</i> | <i>logu</i>  | <i>sabe</i> | (stative verb) |
| MBM | <i>dia</i> | <i>nanti</i> | <i>tabu</i> |                |
|     | he         | MOD          | know        |                |

‘He will know’

The non-punctual particle, *ta* [from the Portuguese word *está* is] is indifferent to past/present/future; progressive or iterative actions, including unrealised actions (but not habitual iteratives) (cf. MBM *sedang*).

|     |             |            |               |            |               |               |              |            |
|-----|-------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
| MPC | <i>kora</i> | <i>yo</i>  | <i>chega</i>  | <i>eli</i> | ( <i>ja</i> ) | <i>ta</i>     | <i>kumi</i>  |            |
| MBM | <i>bila</i> | <i>aku</i> | <i>datang</i> | <i>dia</i> |               | <i>sedang</i> | <i>makan</i> | <i>pun</i> |
|     | ADV         | I          | arrive        | he         | (TNS)         | -P            | ASP          | eat        |
|     |             |            |               |            |               |               | EMPH         |            |

‘When I arrive he is (already) eating’

The completive particle, *kaba* [from the Portuguese word *acabar* which means ‘finish’] is the completive particle. It cannot appear with statives or modals (cf. MBM *habis*).

|     |              |            |           |              |             |
|-----|--------------|------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| MPC | <i>kaba</i>  | <i>eli</i> | <i>ja</i> | <i>bai</i>   | <i>riba</i> |
| MBM | <i>habis</i> | <i>dia</i> |           | <i>pergi</i> | <i>atas</i> |
|     | COMP         | he         | TNS       | go           | upstairs    |

‘He went upstairs’

There are combined forms also in Malacca Portuguese Creole. For example, *ba* + *ta* indicates past before past durative, and there are also habituais where the action begins before the point of reference. With

action verbs only, *ja* + *kaba* indicates past completion (cf. MBM *sudah habis*).

|     |            |                  |              |              |
|-----|------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|
| MPC | <i>eli</i> | <i>ja</i>        | <i>kaba</i>  | <i>kumi</i>  |
| MBM | <i>dia</i> | ( <i>sudah</i> ) | <i>habis</i> | <i>makan</i> |
|     | he         | TNS              | COMP         | eat          |

'He had finished eating'

The Ø indicates non-past (present), habitual, past habitual, past narrative for action verbs; present and past for statives and modals (cf. MBM Ø). In Malacca Creole Portuguese, Ø is almost the opposite of *0* in Bickerton's Creole System, as it expresses present, past/present habitual, past narrative for action verbs and past and present for stative verbs and modals. This is paralleled in MBM.

|     |               |              |                        |                 |             |                         |
|-----|---------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| MPC | <i>eli</i>    | <i>kumi</i>  | ( <i>action verb</i> ) | <i>eli</i>      | <i>sabe</i> | ( <i>stative verb</i> ) |
| MBM | <i>dia</i>    | <i>makan</i> |                        | <i>dia</i>      | <i>tabu</i> |                         |
|     | he            | eat          |                        | he              | know        |                         |
|     | 'he eats/ate' |              |                        | 'he knows/knew' |             |                         |

Malacca Portuguese Creole is spoken by about 2,000 people in Malaysia, out of which about 1200 live in Malacca (Baxter 1999). In Malacca Portuguese Creole, *ja*, the tense particle, is not an anterior marker; it is a simple past marker. It marks actions prior to the moment of speaking [+ past]. It is paralleled in MBM by *sudah* although in MBM, past actions, if not ambiguous in time and not contrastive, may be unmarked. Unlike the Creole [+ anterior] particle, *ja* marks past and not past before past, for action verbs. Action verbs, however, are unmarked for past, where they refer to past habitual ('used to') actions. This also parallels Malacca Bazaar Malay. Stative verbs are unmarked for past, but may be marked by *ja* (and *sudah* in MBM) to give emphasis to the prior establishment of the state. It was already in existence before the time of reference. Therefore, *ja*, functions as an anterior marker with statives and modals. This is in contrast to Bickerton's Creole TMA system. But when *ja* occurs with *ta* + action verb, it functions like the combined form in Bickerton's system. However, there is an additional marker, *sta*, which has an anterior value with action verbs when preceded by *ja*.



MPC *kora yo ja chega eli ja (sta) bai*

MBM *bila gua datang dia sudab pergi pun*

ADV I TNS arrive he TNS (ANT) go EMPH

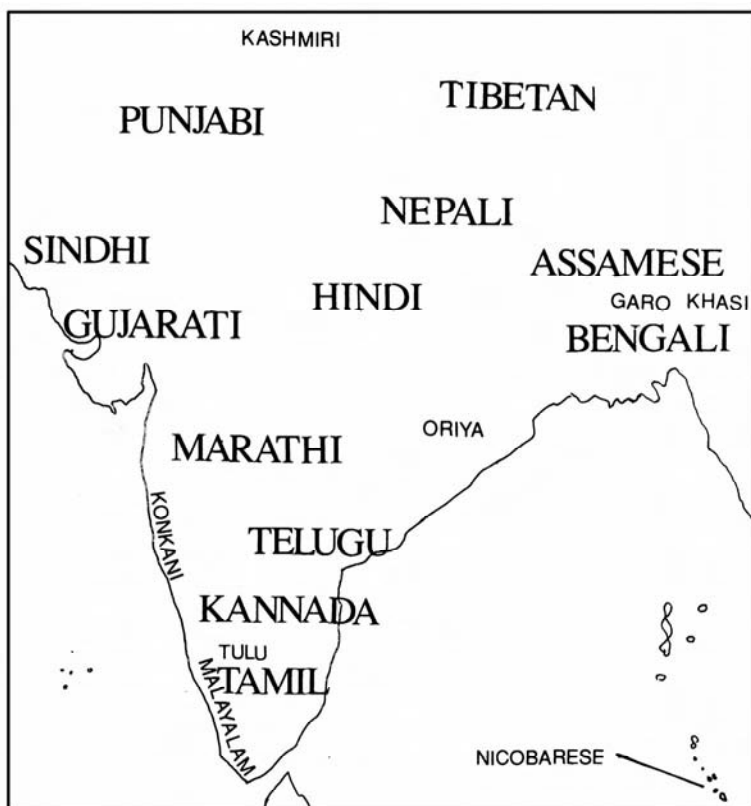
‘When I arrived, he had (already) gone’.

### Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon/Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

The cinnamon in Sri Lanka was the best in the world. Even today, Sri Lanka supplies 75 per cent of the world market with cinnamon. In addition, elephants and precious stones were sought after by the Portuguese. Having fortresses in Sri Lanka gave the Portuguese an advantage in trading with both coasts of India. When the Portuguese began to lose control of the Asian waters, Captain Ribeiro advised the Portuguese King to withdraw all his forces in the East and to place them in Sri Lanka. He prophesised that thereby the Portuguese would be able to maintain a significant strategic position in the Indian Ocean. Unfortunately, the Portuguese king did not take the advice of Captain Ribeiro. After a twenty year struggle, with the Dutch, losing and regaining forts, the Portuguese presence officially ended in 1658 with the loss of Mannar and Jaffna.

Contact between the Portuguese and the Indian sub-continent began at the end of the fifteenth century. While on a voyage to the Maldiv Islands, in 1505, a chance storm swept a Portuguese fleet, commanded by Lourenço de Almeida, to Galle. From 1517 onwards, the Portuguese established *feitorias* (‘trading posts’) and *fortalezas* (‘fortresses’) in Sri Lanka. The Portuguese who came as traders and missionaries were soon drawn into the Island’s politics. In 1505, Sri Lanka had three kingdoms: Kōtte, Kandy and Jaffnapatam. Each kingdom had a king, but Kōtte was the largest, richest and most powerful, both economically and politically. Its king was considered the ‘Emperor of Ceilão’; he had suzerainty over the whole country.

Ceylon, the British appellation for Sri Lanka is an anglicisation of the Portuguese word *Ceilão* whose etymon is ultimately Pāli *Sihalan*. The Island was known as *Taprobani* to the Greeks and Luis de Camões who wrote the epic poem of Portugal referred to it as *Os Lusíadas* perhaps due to his classical education; Ptolemy called the Island Taprobani in his maps. The Portuguese borrowed the Arabic word *Selen* and referred to the Island as *Ceilão*, for example, in the historical works of Father Fernao de Queyroz’s



Map of the Indian sub-continent showing languages influenced by Portuguese (cartography by Clifford Pereira).

*Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceilão* (Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon). The Arabs called the island *Selendip* (the island of the Sinhalese).

Father Perniola (1989: xiv), who has documented the history of the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka from its inception, states that there is no record of the Franciscan friars, who were the earliest missionaries and chaplains in Portuguese forts, garrisons or settlements, learning Sinhala or Tamil in the early sixteenth century and that the religious work was done through interpreters. It is unclear who these interpreters were and what languages they spoke. Father Don Peter (1978: 205–6) states that the Franciscans were not required to know any language other than Portuguese, as the people knew 'Portuguese of one form or another'. The

Jesuits, who came from 1602 onwards, learnt the local languages (Don Peter 1978: 212). The Jesuits were not always mother-tongue speakers of Portuguese as they were from different countries and had different nationalities and could be considered as one of the earliest multinational corporations. This may have contributed to the process of creolisation. Abeyasinghe (1966: 215) states that the Jesuits taught Sri Lankans to read and write Portuguese in the missionary schools. Father Don Peter (1978: 202), formerly Rector of the Colombo Archdiocesan Seminary College and Former President of the Sri Lanka Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses, who also carried out extensive research on the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka, indicates that Portuguese colonial administrators were not conversant in Sinhala or Tamil and communicated through interpreters. He adds that direct communication was possible only with those Sri Lankans who had learnt Portuguese. There was not much incentive for the Portuguese to learn local languages as they were not based in any particular fortress for too long. The Portuguese administrators and military were periodically transferred to other parts of the empire or recalled to Portugal. *Casados* (married men), on the other hand, remained in Sri Lanka. Don Peter (1978: 203) states that the Sri Lankans gained a knowledge of the Portuguese language, through trading, fort building and other employment with the Portuguese. He adds that Colloquial Portuguese became known as Indo-Portuguese. He also states that the *casados* and upper class Sri Lankans educated their children in missionary schools where they learnt to read and write Portuguese, in order to enhance their job prospects with the Portuguese, for trade and commerce, and for social prestige.

Bethencourt (1998: 404) points out that the construction of fortresses was a principal activity of the Portuguese throughout the empire, essentially to defend the communities in the colonies and the commercial activity based in the territories under the administration of the Crown. The Portuguese empire was a constellation of coastal fortresses and trading posts, but as Subrahmanyam (1993: 216) points out, Sri Lanka was an exception to the rule. The Portuguese penetrated into the hinterland of Sri Lanka, although much of the Kandyan kingdom remained under Sinhalese control during Portuguese rule. The ethnicity of the Sri Lankans with whom the Portuguese came into contact in 32 fortresses (Abeyasinghe 1966: 28, 47, 49; 1986: 17, 18) and 31 ports (Queyroz 1688: 31) would have influenced the creolisation process. According to Clive Willis, the number of European Portuguese on the Island was no more than four hundred at any one time (de Silva Jayasuriya 2001a). The Portuguese also

brought Kaffirs, who may have spoken a pidginised/creolised variety of Portuguese, from Africa. Kaffir is a word which the British and Dutch borrowed from the Portuguese, who had adopted the Arabic word *qafir* which means 'non-believer' when referring to non-Muslim East Africans. *Kāpīri* (Sinhala) and *Kāpili* (Tamil) from Kaffir has become the ethnonym for people of African descent in Sri Lanka. In addition, Sri Lanka had extensive contact with Cochin and Goa which would have had some effect on the creolisation process as creole speakers would have come into contact with the Indo-Portuguese of Cochin. Portuguese attempts to gain control of the entire Kandyan kingdom did not succeed, although they took hold of Batticaloa (1627) and Trincomalee (1623). The Kandyan king befriended the Dutch in order to drive out the Portuguese. The Dutch took control of Batticaloa in 1638, Galle in 1640, Colombo in 1656 and Jaffna in 1658. After driving out the Portuguese, the Dutch did not hand over the lands to the Kandyan king. The Dutch were, however, limited to the coastal areas. They did not control as much land as the Portuguese. The Dutch offered the residual Portuguese the opportunity to relocate to Portugal or to a Portuguese colony in India. Most took advantage of this offer and the only remaining Portuguese were young women whom the Dutch retained as potential wives for themselves (Knapp 1981: 87). The Portuguese-speaking daughters of Dutch paternal descent were the prospective wives of the steady stream of Dutch immigrants (De Vos 1950: 134). Although Dutch was spoken by the elite Dutch families and used for administrative purposes during the Dutch era, attempts to spread Dutch on the island had failed. Instead, the Dutch had to learn the creole. Portuguese Creole was spoken in Dutch households as Dutch children grew up with mother-tongue speakers of the creole (their mothers or their nannies). Although Dutch was used for official purposes, there is no indication that a Pidgin Dutch or Creole Dutch existed in Sri Lanka.

The Dutch, in turn, lost their territorial holdings on the coastal areas, to the British, from 1796 onwards. In 1815, the British defeated the Kandyan army and were able to colonise the entire Island, a feat that the previous two European nations attempted but were unable to accomplish. The British had to learn Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole during their initial decades on the island. This resulted in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole word lists and grammars being compiled by the British (Berrenger 1811; Callaway 1818; Fox 1819). During the British era, church services were held in the Portuguese Creole. There were also Portuguese interpreters and Portuguese-speaking jurors in the Courts of Justice (De Vos 1950: 134). There is no evidence to suggest that an English pidgin or creole

X.  
REGIS IN CANDY ET ADMIRALIS  
effigies.



**V**ERA hac est effigies & imago potentissimi Regis, qui Fimala Dermaſuriada, alio vero nomine, quod, cum in iuventute ſua à Luſitanis in propugnaculo Columbo baptizaretur obtinuit, Don Ioan de Auſtria vocatur. Rex hic illuſtri familia natus, bellis ab ineunte ætate operam dedit, & in ea aliquanto tempore vixit Cum Admirale familiariſſime conuerſatus eſt, & omnem ei benevolentiam exhibuit, ut ex hiſtoria prolixè patet.

XI INSI

Vimaladharmasuriya, King of the Kandyan kingdom (Sri Lanka) and Portuguese admiral (collection of Shihan de Silva Jaysuriya)

developed. English, however, gradually became the new prestige language and is the new lingua franca.

Reverend Henry Perera, preached in 'Portuguese' to his congregation at the Kandy Methodist Church during the early twentieth century (Perera 2003: personal communication). Today there are Portuguese descendants in Wahakōtte, near Kandy, but they cannot speak creole. Although Kandy was not colonised by the Portuguese, the Catholics who fled Dutch

persecution took refuge, under Sinhalese rule, in the Kandyan kingdom. De Vos (1950: 134) states that a lecture on World War II was delivered in the late 1940s at Galle (Southern Province) in the 'patois' (i.e. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole) to a fairly large audience. This indicates that there were a sizeable number of people in Galle, who understood the creole even around the middle of the twentieth century.

Goonatilleka (1985: 158) states that there had once been a school in Batticaloa which taught in the Portuguese medium and that it had closed down in the late nineteenth century, due to lack of funds for maintaining such a private institution. The sociopolitical changes that followed independence, in 1948, have had an effect on the creole communities. When Sinhala (an Indic language spoken only in Sri Lanka, which is related to Divēhi, the language of the Maldives Islands) and Tamil (a Dravidian language also spoken in Tamil Nādu, South India) became more important as media of education, bilingualism/multilingualism among the creole population increased. This has had an effect on the typology of the creole which has shifted from a verb-medial to a verb-final language. Sinhala and Tamil are verb final languages. All known creole languages and European Portuguese are verb-medial.

Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole initially developed in contact with Sinhala (the mother-tongue of the majority of Sri Lankans and the language of interethnic communication) and subsequently came into contact with Tamil, Dutch and English (de Silva Jayasuriya 1999a). Creole continued to serve as a lingua franca for almost 350 years. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole was not, therefore, merely the mother-tongue of its speech community. Although many predicted its demise in the nineteenth century, it has survived into the twenty-first century and is still spoken by about 500 people. A few parents are teaching their children creole as they consider it the most important element in their cultural identity. However, as many as 5,000 people know the lyrics of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole songs, and events where they meet to sing these collectively, giving rise to an act of cultural identity, which takes place from time to time (de Silva Jayasuriya 1999c). There are two groups of mother-tongue speakers of the creole: the Burghers (the Dutch word *Vrijburgers* was anglicised as Burghers 'towns people' and in this context includes the descendants of both the Portuguese and the Dutch) and the *Kaffirs* (de Silva Jayasuriya 2005a).

Many Burghers switched over to English and were favoured candidates for administrative jobs during the British era, a practice which continued even in postcolonial Sri Lanka as the Christian Missionary Schools continued to provide an education in the English medium. In the 1950s,

however, a wave of Sinhalese nationalism spread across the Island making all things foreign unfashionable. In 1956, Sinhala became the official language on the Island. To-date however, English has continued to be the lingua franca and to serve as the language for international communication and trade. Both of the indigenous languages, Sinhala and Tamil, are less suited for international communication. Nevertheless, this scenario had an impact on the creole communities. Thanan Jayarajasingham and Goonatilaka (1976: 232) report that, in the 1970s, there were 250 Portuguese Burgher families in Batticaloa, and that there were 179 Portuguese Burgher children in the *Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya* ('Sinhalese Secondary School') in Batticaloa. The Catholic schools were also compelled to become bilingual and had to teach in English and Sinhala/Tamil.

It is due to those Burghers who belonged to the lower socioeconomic groups and who continued to speak Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, recognising that creole is the most important element in their Portuguese identity, that Sri Lanka can today celebrate the continued existence of a contact language which has survived for 500 years. Today's Burghers are multilingual and acknowledge the need to learn other languages, particularly to enhance job prospects. Nevertheless, some insist that their children must learn creole before learning other languages. The creole-speaking Burghers do not envisage visiting their ancestral home, Portugal, due to their impoverished state. They have acquired the local languages and are often mistaken for Moors (people of Arab descent) due to their fair complexion. But not all the Burghers are of fair complexion; their poise and gait, however, signal their European roots. They are integrating into multiethnic Sri Lanka but are nevertheless proud of their Portuguese heritage. The Kaffirs are also fast integrating into multiethnic Sri Lanka. They are aware that their characteristic physiognomic features are being diluted in the melting pot. The ability to speak creole is limited to the elderly Kaffirs now. Language has generally been accepted as the most important cultural identifier, but the Kaffirs may be an exception, as they perceive music and dance – not language – as their ethnic hallmark.

In Sri Lanka, there have been no conditions for decreolisation as there was no pressure from European Portuguese since contact with Portugal was severed, in 1658, when the Dutch replaced the Portuguese administration. The Dutch implanted Calvinism in place of Catholicism in the maritime areas under their control. The Catholic Church was rebuilt in Sri Lanka due to the efforts of the Goan Priest, Father Joseph Vaz and his colleagues. Creole is now falling into disuse as a tool of communication due to pressure from other languages and the socioeconomic conditions prevailing on the Island.

The creole developed initially in contact with Sinhala and later came into contact with Tamil (seventeenth century), Dutch (late seventeenth century onwards) and English (nineteenth century onwards) (de Silva Jayasuriya 1999b). I have added in the counterparts in Sinhala (SIN), my mother-tongue, in order to try to ascertain whether there has been any substratum influence on the creole TMA markers.

### Nineteenth-Century Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

Dalgado states (1900: 40) that all the tenses and moods of the regular verbs are formed periphrastically with the infinitive or participle and with the adverbs or auxiliary verbs, without number and person distinction. I have critically examined Dalgado's labels for the TMA markers. Examples, both from Dalgado's work, and from my published translations of the Nevill manuscript are set out below. The Nevill manuscript is in Dutch orthography in places (for example *rostoe* for Portuguese *rosto*). It represents an oral tradition. It is the largest collection of Asian Portuguese Creole folk verse. Dalgado's data, on the other hand, is based on written material. His terminology is that of traditional grammar. Example of TMA markers attested in the nineteenth-century Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole data are given below to which I have added in Sinhala counterparts. The particle *já*, designates the perfective according to Dalgado (1900). It indicates tense for action verbs as illustrated below.

|                          |            |            |           |              |            |           |               |
|--------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| SLPC                     | <i>Sie</i> | <i>bos</i> | <i>ja</i> | <i>Ovira</i> |            |           | <i>rostoe</i> |
| SIN                      |            | <i>obe</i> |           | <i>har-</i>  | <i>ev-</i> | <i>ot</i> | <i>mubune</i> |
|                          | If         | you        | TNS       | turn         | TNS        | if        | face          |
| 'If you turned the face' |            |            |           |              |            |           |               |

The particle *ló* designates the future of the indicative and of the conjunctive according to Dalgado (1900). It is the first syllable of *logo* and indicates modality (see below).

|                                 |           |               |            |      |            |               |                |
|---------------------------------|-----------|---------------|------------|------|------------|---------------|----------------|
| SLPC                            | <i>Lo</i> | <i>frecha</i> | <i>na</i>  |      | <i>vos</i> | <i>patho</i>  |                |
| SIN                             |           | <i>vidin</i>  | <i>nam</i> |      | <i>obē</i> | <i>papuwe</i> | <i>etutele</i> |
|                                 | MOD       | shoot         | MOD        | into | your       | breast        | into           |
| 'I will shoot into your breast' |           |               |            |      |            |               |                |

The particle *lodía* designates the conditional and the imperfective of the conjunctive according to Dalgado (1900). It is composed of *ló* (=logo) and *dia*, an abbreviation of *deviá* or *deveria*.



|      |              |                |                 |                |
|------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| SLPC | <i>Lodia</i> | <i>fende,</i>  | <i>rabenta!</i> |                |
| SIN  |              | <i>palenne</i> | <i>vevi</i>     | <i>kadenne</i> |
|      | MOD          | crack,         | MOD             | break!         |

'It would have to crack, to break!'

The *té* designates the present positive of the indicative according to Dalgado (1900) who states that it is a corruption of *está* or *stá* > *tá* > *té*.

|      |               |             |           |                |
|------|---------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|
| SLPC | <i>Parkei</i> | <i>woos</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>churra</i>  |
| SIN  | <i>Ayi</i>    | <i>obe</i>  |           | <i>andanne</i> |
|      | Why           | you         | ASP       | cry            |

'Why are you crying?'

*Kava* not in Dalgado; completive; occurs with action verbs; from *acabar* 'to finish'.

|      |             |                  |              |               |
|------|-------------|------------------|--------------|---------------|
| SLPC | <i>Kave</i> | <i>less</i>      | <i>tall</i>  | <i>caarta</i> |
| SIN  |             | <i>kíyevela-</i> | <i>ivere</i> | <i>—</i>      |
|      | Finish      | read             | finish       | such          |
|      |             |                  |              | letter        |

|      |                  |               |                 |
|------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| SLPC | <i>Save</i>      | <i>toedoe</i> | <i>noves</i>    |
| SIN  | <i>danegatta</i> | <i>okkoma</i> | <i>pravurti</i> |
|      | know             | all           | news            |

|      |                  |             |                |
|------|------------------|-------------|----------------|
| SLPC | <i>Santa</i>     | <i>Ree</i>  | <i>Peppeyn</i> |
| SIN  | <i>vadivenna</i> | <i>raja</i> | <i>Pepyn</i>   |
|      | sit              | King        | Pepyn          |

|      |              |                 |                |                    |
|------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| SLPC | <i>Koen</i>  | <i>teen</i>     | <i>grandee</i> | <i>mageves</i>     |
| SIN  | <i>samag</i> | <i>kopamene</i> | <i>loku</i>    | <i>kanagatuwak</i> |
|      | With         | such            | great          | sadness            |

'After he finished reading such a letter, he knew all the news. King Pepyn sat down with such great sadness.'

Examples of *0* imperative; non-past (present) and past for stative verbs and action verbs and Combined Forms (*ja kana* past perfective are given below.

SLPC *Nona de Colombo, Sava batha bolae* (**stative verb**)

SIN *Nona Kolembe danneva hadanne keik*

Lady from Colombo know make cake

'Colombo Lady *knows* how to make cake'

SLPC *Sawe toedoe nowes*

SIN *danneva okkoma pravurti*

know all news

'He *knew* all the news'

SLPC *Ja ffoi passeya na manya* (**action verb**)

SIN *gi yā avidinne uda -ye*

TNS go TNS walk in morning in

SLPC *Na kampos tha floris*

SIN *uya -nē mal*

in field in of flowers

SLPC *Auw buska amor na manya*

SIN *mame boyanne premaya uda -ye*

I search love in morning in

SLPC *Kaen granthe amoris*

SIN *sameg loku premaya*

With great love

'In the morning, I went for a walk, in the field of flowers. In the morning, with great love, I *searched* love.'

SLPC *Marra kieriya*

SIN *mubude one*

sea want

SLPC *Passa keerya pascador va na*

SIN *yanne ōne malukārāya yanne nebe*

pass want fisherman go not

|      |               |                |             |                       |                |
|------|---------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| SLPC | <i>Dossa</i>  | <i>anoo</i>    | <i>sou</i>  | <i>menena</i>         | <i>sava</i>    |
| SIN  | <i>doleba</i> | <i>avurudu</i> | <i>mame</i> | <i>gehenu- lamaye</i> | <i>danneva</i> |
|      | twelve        | year           | I           | girl child            | know           |

|      |                |            |                |             |
|------|----------------|------------|----------------|-------------|
| SLPC | <i>Busca</i>   | <i>sou</i> | <i>amoroo</i>  | <i>na</i>   |
| SIN  | <i>boyanne</i> | <i>obē</i> | <i>prēmaye</i> | <i>nebe</i> |
|      | search         | your       | love           | no          |

‘The sea wants to pass by. It does not want to go pass the fisherman. I know that I am a twelve year old girl. I search not your love.’

|      |                  |              |
|------|------------------|--------------|
| SLPC | <i>Depois de</i> | <i>ellie</i> |
| SIN  | <i>passē</i>     | <i>obu</i>   |
|      | after            | he           |

|      |           |             |                |     |     |
|------|-----------|-------------|----------------|-----|-----|
| SLPC | <i>Ja</i> | <i>cava</i> | <i>andawee</i> |     |     |
| SIN  |           |             | gi             | -yō | -t  |
|      | TNS       | COMP        | go             | TNS | ASP |

‘After he had gone’

An extract from Dalgdao (1900), given below, serves to illustrate the TMA markers – *ja*, *lo*, *te* found in nineteenth century Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole.

|      |           |          |                 |             |             |           |              |           |               |             |
|------|-----------|----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| SLPC | <i>Ne</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>terceiro</i> | <i>dia,</i> | <i>Elle</i> | <i>ja</i> | <i>irguí</i> | <i>de</i> | <i>morte,</i> | <i>Elle</i> |
|      | On        | the      | third           | day,        | he          | TNS       | rise         | from      | dead          | he          |

|      |           |             |            |              |          |           |              |           |            |               |
|------|-----------|-------------|------------|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|------------|---------------|
| SLPC | <i>ja</i> | <i>subi</i> | <i>per</i> | <i>céos,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>té</i> | <i>santá</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>mão</i> | <i>dreito</i> |
|      | TNS       | ascend      | to         | heaven       | and      | ASP       | sit          | on        | hand       | right         |

|      |           |             |          |            |             |                  |           |             |             |           |           |
|------|-----------|-------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| SLPC | <i>de</i> | <i>Deos</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>Pai</i> | <i>todo</i> | <i>poderoso,</i> | <i>de</i> | <i>onde</i> | <i>Elle</i> | <i>ló</i> | <i>vi</i> |
|      | of        | God         | the      | Father     | all         | mighty           | from      | where       | he          | MOD       | see       |

|      |            |              |             |                 |          |               |
|------|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|----------|---------------|
| SLPC | <i>per</i> | <i>judgá</i> | <i>todo</i> | <i>viventes</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>mortos</i> |
|      | to         | judge        | all         | alive           | and      | dead          |

‘On the third day he rose from the dead, he ascended to heaven and sitting on the right hand of God, the Father all Mighty, from where he will see to judge all alive and dead’.

### Twentieth-Century Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

The data for twentieth-century Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole are from Batticaloa (Eastern Province whose etymon is the Sinhala word – *Mada Kalapuwa* which means ‘muddy lagoon’. The Burghers (descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch) who live in Dutch Bar, Jayanthi Pura and Cinnauppodai still speak creole. The data for Batticaloa Portuguese (a variety of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole) is from Smith’s published works which only include a few sentences (1979, 1984). In Trincomalee also, Creole is spoken.

The etymon of Trankoomaal/Trencomaal is Tamil from *Trikonamalai* Trencommaal ‘Holy Konesvaran Hill’ (cf. Sinhala *Tirikunāmale*, Portuguese *Triquinamale* Dutch *Tricoenmale*). Trincomalee is a city on the east coast of Sri Lanka. It is considered to be one of the best natural harbours in the world. The Portuguese took control of Trincomalee in 1623. It was one of the few Portuguese holdings in the Kandyan kingdom which was otherwise under Sinhalese rule.

The particle *já* indicates past tense for action verbs.

|      |               |            |             |             |           |             |           |
|------|---------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| SLPC | <i>Besim</i>  | <i>ja:</i> | <i>-kay</i> |             | <i>ne</i> | <i>ca:m</i> |           |
| SIN  | <i>Pigane</i> |            | <i>vet</i>  | <i>-une</i> |           | <i>bima</i> | <i>te</i> |
|      | plate         | TNS        | fall        | TNS         | on        | floor       | on        |

‘The plate fell on the floor’

The modality particle *lo* indicates the future-irrealis as shown below.

|      |            |                  |             |            |            |            |             |
|------|------------|------------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| SLPC | <i>ung</i> | <i>a:nu</i>      | <i>me:</i>  | <i>na:</i> | <i>lo-</i> | <i>da:</i> | <i>skei</i> |
| SIN  | <i>eke</i> | <i>avurudde-</i> | <i>kete</i> |            | <i>ne</i>  | <i>den</i> | <i>ne</i>   |
|      | one        | year             | EMPH        | TAG        | MOD        | give       | MOD PREP    |

‘It seems they will only give (it) for one year’

The aspect particle *te* indicates the present/imperfective.

|      |             |              |              |            |     |              |            |              |
|------|-------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-----|--------------|------------|--------------|
| SLPC | <i>te -</i> | <i>anda:</i> | <i>o:res</i> | <i>vi:</i> |     | <i>fala:</i> | <i>-tu</i> | <i>anda:</i> |
| SIN  |             | yane         | kote         | ev         | -it | kiye         | -la:       | yanne        |
|      | ASP         | go           | time         | come       | TNS | tell         | PFC        | go           |

'Come and tell me when you are going'

|      |               |               |                |              |                |           |            |            |                 |                |
|------|---------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|
| SLPC | <i>inde</i>   | <i>prende</i> | <i>prende</i>  |              | <i>fela:</i>   | <i>tu</i> | <i>ki-</i> | <i>ta-</i> | <i>fela</i>     | <i>viradu</i>  |
| SIN  | <i>taveme</i> | <i>padam</i>  | <i>keranna</i> | <i>padam</i> | <i>keranna</i> |           |            |            | <i>kizyanne</i> | <i>veradi:</i> |
|      | still         | study         |                | study        | QUOT           | PFC       | DESC       | ASP        | say             | wrong          |

'To say "keep on studying" is wrong.' Reduplication indicates duration in this instance.

The particle *ka* indicates the completive and it is not attested in the data.

The combined forms: *lo-ka* future perfective  
*ja-ka* past perfective

|      |             |            |           |               |               |              |                 |  |
|------|-------------|------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|--|
| SLPC | <i>En</i>   | <i>lo-</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>prende</i> |               |              |                 |  |
| SIN  | <i>Mame</i> |            |           | <i>padam</i>  | <i>karala</i> | <i>ivere</i> | <i>karannam</i> |  |
|      | I           | MOD        | COMP      | study         |               | COMP         | MOD             |  |

I will (would) study (and finish)'

|      |           |               |           |           |              |            |           |                  |
|------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------|------------------|
| SLPC | <i>En</i> | <i>dineru</i> | <i>ja</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>pesam</i> | <i>ja-</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>anda</i>      |
| SIN  | Mame      | salli         |           | dun       | -ne          | ekkena     |           | gih -il -la      |
|      | I         | money         | TNS       | give      | TNS          | person     | TNS       | COMP go COMP TNS |

'The person I gave the money to had gone off'

In Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, the tense particle, *já*, is a simple past marker. It is not an anterior marker as in Bickerton's hypothetical prototypical creole system. *Ló*, the modality particle, occurs with both action verbs and stative verbs and indicates the future/irrealis. *Te/te* the aspect particle indicates the present/imperfective. This is in contrast to Standard Portuguese which employs verbal inflections to denote Tense, Mood and Aspect. In the creole, verbal inflections have been lost and the verb has been reduced to a single form. Sinhala employs inflections and auxiliary verbs to indicate Tense, Mood and Aspect. The TMA system in Sinhala is different to that of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole.

## Inventory of Morphemes

### Linguistic feature: tense

| <i>Language</i> | <i>Form</i> | <i>Function/Meaning</i>  |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| MPC             | Ja          | Past Perfective/Anterior |
| SLPC 19C        | Ja          | Past Perfective          |
| SLPC 20C        | Ja          | Past Perfective          |

### Linguistic feature: mood

| <i>Language</i> | <i>Form</i> | <i>Function/Meaning</i> |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| MPC             | Logu        | Future/Irrealis         |
| SLPC 19C        | Lo          | Future/Irrealis         |
| SLPC 20C        | Lo          | Future/Irrealis         |

### Linguistic feature: aspect

| <i>Language</i> | <i>Form</i>          | <i>Function/Meaning</i>                |
|-----------------|----------------------|--|
| MPC             | Ta                   | Present/Imperfective                   |
| SLPC 19C        | Te                   | Present/Imperfective                   |
| SLPC 20C        | Te                   | Present/Imperfective                   |
| <i>Language</i> | <i>Unmarked Form</i> | <i>Function/Meaning</i>                |
| MPC             | Ø                    | Present/Past                           |
| SLPC 19C        | Ø                    | Imperative/Present/Past                |
| SLPC 20C        | Ø                    | Imperative/Present/Past                |
|                 | <i>Combined Form</i> | <i>Function/Meaning</i>                |
| MPC             | ja kaba              | Past Perfective                        |
| SLPC 19C        | ja cawa              | Past Perfective                        |
| SLPC 20C        | ja-ka                | Past Perfective/Perfect/<br>Pluperfect |
| SLPC 20C        | lo-ka                | Potential Perfective                   |

### Etymology of the TMA particles

| <i>Language</i>     | <i>Tense</i>       | <i>Mood</i>        | <i>Aspect</i>      |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| MPC                 | ja (<ja)           | logu(<logu)        | ta(<está)          |
| SLPC (19th century) | ja                 | Lo                 | te (está)          |
| SLPC (20th century) | ja (<ja)           | lo (<lo(go))       | Te (está)          |
| <i>Language</i>     | <i>Mood/Aspect</i> | <i>Mood/Aspect</i> | <i>Mood/Aspect</i> |
| MPC                 | kaba(<acabar)      | ja kaba            | ha ta              |
| SLPC (19th century) | lodía (<lo+dia)    | kawa (<acabar)     | ja cawa            |
| SLPC (20th century) | ka (<acabar)       | lo-ka (<acabar)    | ja ka              |

The past is marked in both the creoles by a particle which appears to derive from the Portuguese adverb *ja* (<'already'). *Logu/lo* (<*logo* 'soon' Portuguese adjective) has become the future marker in Malacca and Sri Lanka Portuguese Creoles. In Malacca Portuguese Creole, aspect is marked by *ta* and in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole by *té* and *ta*. Their etyma could be either the 3rd person singular of the Portuguese verb *esta* ('to be' – *estar*) or from the 3rd person singular of the Portuguese verb *tem* ('to have' – *ter*). The Portuguese creoles of Malacca and Sri Lanka express Tense, Mood and Aspect syntactically by preverbal free morphemes. Their semantics do not appear to differ. These particles follow the order Tense-Mood-Aspect-Verb Stem. Both creoles have a past tense marker, a future mood marker and a durative aspect marker. Two combined forms were also attested in both the creoles; one was common to both but the other was not.

In Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, no major changes were attested in the TMA systems in two distinct (nineteenth and twentieth) centuries. However, we can only ascertain if the TMA system has changed since its genesis if and when data from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries become available. It is not possible to ascertain if there is substrate influence on the TMA system of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole by analysing data alone. It is apparent that the grammar of Sinhala is different to that of the creole.

The TMA markers of Malacca Portuguese Creole, on the other hand, have parallels in one substrate language, Malacca Bazaar Malay. However, Baxter has not provided any data for Baba Malay, the other substrate. The Malay substrates influenced the development of TMA in Malacca Portuguese Creole.

The TMA system of Malacca Portuguese Creole and Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole have similarities. A Malay-based creole could have existed in the Indian Ocean before the Portuguese arrived on the scene in the sixteenth century. However, as TMA markers exist in other creoles this does not seem plausible. Both creoles display divergences from Bickerton's prototypical creole system, particularly in the anterior tense marker. This is particularly interesting as the creoles have an Indo-European superstratum language, similar to that of Bickerton's prototypical creole system.

In both Malacca and Sri Lanka, Portuguese continued to be spoken in the Dutch periods. As Andaya (1983: 199) points out, Portuguese was the language of the Dutch Reformed Church in Malacca, as late as 1726 (Muller 1914: 62). In fact, in early nineteenth-century Malacca, members of the London Missionary Society preached in Indo-Portuguese. Although

the Portuguese costumes are worn in Malacca, today this is not the case in Sri Lanka. In terms of clothing the Portuguese Burghers are not different to people of other ethnic groups who wear western clothing. The Portuguese Burghers, however, believe that they are the descendants of the Portuguese who were in Sri Lanka although their physiognomy varies and they are not easily distinguishable from other ethnic groups on the Island. Batticaloa and Trincomalee have not been sites of tourist attraction and have evolved in a natural way. Any traditions that they have maintained are due to the importance that they place on their Portuguese identity. In fact, their solidarity is quite remarkable. Despite requests from the Dutch Burghers to join in with them to strengthen the power of the Burghers, they have chosen to remain separate. Although some of their surnames are Dutch – Ockersz, Outschoon – for example, they have assumed a Portuguese identity of which the creole language is an important factor.



## Language Change in Portuguese Space

The Portuguese communicated through interpreters when they first arrived at India in 1498. The interpreter that Vasco da Gama trusted was a Polish Jew who spoke Italian and Castillian and was therefore understood by the Portuguese. It is not surprising that Portuguese-based contact languages evolved in Asia. In this chapter, I put forward a hypothesis for the development of a Portuguese Creole in Cochin which then spread elsewhere in Asia. *Cochim de baixo* or *Portuguese Cochin* was important, not only in the international trade but also in the intra-Asian and intra-Indian trade. Upriver from *Cochim de baixo* was *Cochim de Cima* or *Mattancheri*. The Indian rajas lived in *Mattancheri* where the Estado da India had constructed a palace in the 1560s (Subrahmanyam 1987: 62). Although Cochin became a little less important when Goa was established as the administrative headquarters of the Estado, it still commanded attention. Although Cochin was not as important as Malacca, Goa or Ormuz, the *Carreira da India* (ships that sailed from Lisbon to India) had to stop in Cochin to collect the pepper supply that had to be shipped to Lisbon. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, Cochin's trade extended both eastwards and westwards. Cochin traded with Gujarat, Diu, Surat and Chaul on the Malabar Coast, north of Goa. Cochin exported pepper, ginger, other spices, coir, coconuts, brought from Malacca and China to these ports in North India. Raw cotton, textiles, grain and opium were exported from these North Indian ports to Cochin. For most of the sixteenth century, pepper and opium were contraband items. These items were traded either with the connivance of the official Portuguese authorities turning a blind eye or surreptitiously without their knowledge. Cochin traded with the Coromandel Coast, Bengal, Malacca, Macau and Manila. From Cochin, timber, pepper, areca and other spices were exported to the Coromandel

Coast. Textiles and rice were imported to Cochin, in return. In addition, Cochin traded with Southeast Asia – Pegu, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra.

A contact language which developed in Cochin from 1501 could have spread to Sri Lanka and Malacca. Cochin was the seat of government for the Estado da India until 1530 when this function was transferred to Goa (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1987). The Portuguese established settlements in Sri Lanka from 1517 and in Malacca from 1511 (Subrahmanyam 1993: 12). Sri Lanka has had extensive contact with Cochin from 1517 onwards. Although administrative affairs were transferred to Goa, Sri Lankan education continued to be directed from the Malabar Coast, most probably from Cochin. The Portuguese institution, *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy) in Cochin handled the money and belongings of the dead *casados* (married men) in Sri Lanka and Malacca, Kanara and the Malabars, while the *Misericórdia* in Goa handled these arrangements for Portuguese *casados* in Diu, Daman, Bassein and Goa. In addition, the Roman Catholic Church in Sri Lanka belonged to the dioceses of Cochin. Mathew (1983: 147–148) states that Portuguese trade in the sixteenth century involved contact between Cochin and Malacca, and also between Cochin and Sri Lanka. Copper was taken to Sri Lanka from Cochin and Cinnamon was brought back on the return journey to Cochin.

Asian Portuguese Creoles share common features such as reduplication of nouns to indicate plurality and preverbal free morphemes to mark Tense, Mood and Aspect. Fifty seven features (twenty five grammatical and thirty two lexical), all divergences from Portuguese, of the Portuguese Creoles of Malacca, Sri Lanka, Cochin and North India are discussed. The Portuguese Creole of North India incorporates Bombay, Bassein, Chaul as described by Dalgado (1906). The data for Malacca is from Hancock (1975) and Baxter (1988), the data for Sri Lanka is from Dalgado (1900), Smith (1977) and mine, the data for Cochin is from Schuchardt (1882) and the data for North India is from Dalgado (1906). Dalgado (1919–21) and Yule and Burnell (1886) have been useful sources to establish the etyma of words. In the table below, a √ implies that the feature is attested in the Creole.

| <i>Linguistic Features</i> | <i>Sri Lanka</i> | <i>Cochin</i> | <i>North India</i> | <i>Malacca</i> |
|----------------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------|----------------|
| TMA markers                | <i>te</i>        | <i>te</i>     | <i>ta</i>          | <i>ta</i>      |
| Present tense              | <i>ja</i>        | <i>ja</i>     | <i>ja/ji</i>       | <i>ja</i>      |
| Past perfective            | <i>lo</i>        | <i>lo</i>     | <i>ba(d)</i>       | <i>lo</i>      |
| Future tense               |                  |               |                    |                |

|   |  |   |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|---|
| Existential and possession ('to be/to have')                              | <i>tem</i>   | <i>tem</i>                                  | <i>tem</i>  | <i>teng</i>                                 |
| Zero copula   | √  | √   | √   | √   |
| Modal verbs   | <i>Pode/podi<br/>miste/misti/meste</i>   | <i>pode/podi<br/>miste/misti<br/>/meste</i> | <i>pode/podi</i>  | <i>pode/podi<br/>miste/misti<br/>/meste</i> |
| Serialverbs   | √  | √   | √   | √   |
| Multiple negation   | √  | √   | √   | √   |
| Adjective reduplication for intensity                                     | √  | √   | √   | √   |
| Plural marking by reduplication   | √  | √   | √   | √   |
| Nouns unmarked for plurality  | √<br>also -s   | √<br>also -s                                | √   | √   |
| Possession by genitival link  | <i>sua</i>   | <i>su</i>                                   | <i>su/s</i>   | <i>Sa</i>                                   |
| Accusative-dative marking (relator-derived from a Portuguese preposition) | <i>para/par/por<br/>(‘for’)</i>  | <i>para/<br/>par/por<br/>(‘for’)</i>        | <i>para/par/por<br/>(‘for’)</i>                               | <i>com<br/>(‘with’)</i>                     |
| Negation present  | <i>não</i>   | <i>não</i>                                  | <i>nu</i>   | <i>nang</i>                                 |
| past future   | <i>nunca<br/>nada</i>  | <i>nuca<br/>nada</i>                        | <i>nu<br/>n’had/n’ha</i>                                      | <i>ngka<br/>nádi</i>                        |
| Bimorphic interrogative words   |  |   |   |   |
| Portuguese <i>como</i> ('how') <i>quando</i> ('when') <i>que</i> ('what') | <i>kie laye<br/>que hora</i>   | <i>quelai<br/>quiora</i>                    | <i>qui<br/>lai<br/>qui<br/>côç</i>                            | <i>ki láia<br/>ki ora<br/>ki kauça</i>      |
| Verb inflection   | Base form is the Portuguese infinitive without the final 'r'. Past participle form ending in | Base form is the Portuguese infinitive      | Base form is the Portuguese infinitive without the final 'r'. | Base form is the Portuguese Infinitive      |

|                             |  |   |   |   |
|-----------------------------|--|---|---|---|
|                             | <i>do/du</i><br>Present participle<br>form ending in<br><i>ndo/ndu</i> . | without<br>the final<br>'r'.<br>Past<br>participle<br>form<br>ending in<br><i>do/du</i><br>Present<br>participle<br>form<br>ending in<br><i>ndo/ndu</i> . | Past<br>participle<br>form<br>ending in<br><i>do/du</i><br>Present<br>participle<br>form<br>ending in<br><i>ndo/ndu</i> . | without<br>the final<br>'r'.<br>Past<br>participle<br>form<br>ending in<br><i>do/du</i><br>Present<br>participle<br>form<br>ending in<br><i>ndo/ndu</i> . |
| Numerals 100<br>and/or 1000 | with 'a'/'one'<br>preceding  |   | with<br>'a'/'one'<br>preceding  | with<br>'a'/'one'<br>preceding  |

### Portuguese Words: Change of Form

Understandably, the borrowed Portuguese words have been adopted to the phonological systems of the Indian languages. The initial 'a' and the final 'o' have been dropped and they have changed in form.

| <i>Word/meaning</i>        | <i>Sri Lanka</i> | <i>Cochin</i> | <i>N. India</i> | <i>Malacca</i> |
|----------------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>abobora</i> 'pumpkin'   | bobra            |               | bobra           |                |
| <i>Amarra</i> 'to tie'     | mará             |               | mará            |                |
| <i>amarelo</i> 'yellow'    | marello          |               | marello         |                |
| <i>Camarão</i> 'shrimps'   | cambrão          | cambrom       | cambrão         | kambráng       |
| <i>Filhas</i> 'children'   | fifes            |               | fifis           |                |
| <i>caranguejo</i> 'crab'   | caringuejo       | caringuejo    |                 |                |
| <i>Não quer</i> 'not want' | niquer           | niquer        | niquer          |                |
| <i>caranguejo</i> 'crab'   | kangrey          |               |                 | kanggrézu      |
| <i>Passaro</i> 'bird'      | pastro           |               | pastr           |                |
| <i>Dona</i> 'lady'         | nona             | nona          | nona            | nóna           |

### Indic Borrowings

Indic words have been borrowed only by the Indo-Portuguese dialects of Sri Lanka and Norte. This is not surprising as the substratum languages in North India were Indic languages. In Sri Lanka, Sinhala is an Indic language. These words relate to food, clothing, building material, flora and social aspects.

| <i>Word/Meaning/Etyma</i>                       | <i>Sri Lanka</i> | <i>Norte</i> |
|---|------------------|--------------|
| <i>bhat</i> 'rice with husk' (<Marathi/Konkani) | batte            | bat          |
| <i>cacada</i> 'burst of laughter' (<Konkani)    | cacada           | Cacad        |

*mati* 'clay' (<Konkani/Marathi)  
*choli* 'bodice' (<Konkani)  
*fula* 'flower' (<Konkani)

meti  
 chola  
 fula  
 meti  
 chola  
 fula

### Dravidian Borrowings

Dravidian words relating to food, building material and currency have been borrowed by the Portuguese Creoles of Sri Lanka, Cochin, North India and Malacca.

| <i>Word/Meaning/Etyma</i>                          | <i>Sri Lanka</i> | <i>Cochin</i> | <i>Norte</i> | <i>Malacca</i> |
|--|------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Appam</i> 'rice-cake' (<Tamil-Malayalam-Telugu) | appa             | apa           | Apa          |                |
| <i>Panam</i> 'a currency' (<Tamil-Malayalam)       | panan            | fano          |              |                |
| <i>kari</i> 'curry' (<Tamil-Malayalam)             | carí             | carí          | carí         | kari           |
| <i>chunnambu</i> 'lime' (<Malayalam)               | chunambo         |               | chun-am'     | chun-ambu      |

### English Borrowings

The presence of English words in the creoles illustrate that the Portuguese creoles were used as a lingua franca even during the British Empire in the Orient (i.e. at least in the nineteenth century), until perhaps English took over this role. For English borrowings in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, see de Silva Jayasuriya (2000d).

| <i>Word</i> | <i>Sri Lanka</i> | <i>Cochin</i> | <i>Norte</i> | <i>Malacca</i> |
|-------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| brandy      | brandy           |               | brandy       | brándi         |
| engineer    | engineer         |               | enjiner      |                |
| equal       | equal            |               | equal'       |                |
| pound       | poun             |               | pound        |                |
| passenger   | passangeiro      |               | passangeiro  |                |
| tax         | tax              | tax           |              |                |
| bottle      | bottal           |               |              | bótal          |

### Other Borrowings

A few words from Persian, Greco-Latin, Malay, Arabic and Indian-English have also been adopted by the Portuguese Creoles of Sri Lanka, Cochin, North India and Malacca.

| <i>Word/Meaning/Etyma</i>              | <i>Sri Lanka</i> | <i>Cochin</i> | <i>Norte</i> | <i>Malacca</i> |
|--|------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>bazar</i> 'market' (<Persian)       | bazar            |               | bazar/Bazá   |                |
| <i>banyan</i> 'vest' (<Indian-English) | banian           |               | banian'      |                |

|   |             |             |                   |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>cardomomo</i> ‘a spice’ (<Greco-Latin)             | kerde-mungu | carda-mungu | carda-Mungo       |
| <i>rabana</i> ‘drum’ (<Malay)                         | rabana      |             | rabana            |
| <i>pateca</i> ‘water-melon’ (<Arabic)                 | pateca      |             | pateca            |
| <i>tiffin</i> ‘snack/afternoon tea’ (<Indian-English) | tifin       |             | tifin’      tifin |

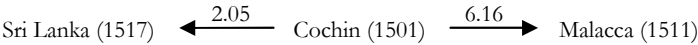
Of the 57 features discussed above, 55 features were attested in Sri Lanka, 32 in Malacca, 30 in Cochin and 45 in North India. The number of features shared by each pair of creoles is of more relevance and the figures are set out in Table 1 below. A comparison of the number of features could only give a reliable indication of how closely the pairs of creoles are related if both the quality and quantity of data available for each creole were similar. By using the statistical method followed by Baker (1998) for Atlantic English Creoles, I have eliminated the bias in favour of Sri Lanka for which the most amount of data is available.

**Table 1. Number of shared features per pair (from most to least)**

| <i>Countries and no. of features</i> | <i>Countries and no. of features</i> | <i>Countries and no. of features</i> |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Sri Lanka/North India 43             | Sri Lanka/Cochin 31                  | Sri Lanka/Malacca 30                 |
| Malacca/Sri Lanka 30                 | Malacca/North India 24               | Malacca/Cochin 23                    |
| Cochin/Sri Lanka 31                  | Cochin/Malacca 23                    | Cochin/North India 21                |
| North India/Sri Lanka 43             | North India/Malacca 24               | North India/Cochin 21                |

**Table 2. Difference between actual and predicted number of features shared by each pair of creoles**

| <i>Countries and No. of Features</i> | <i>Countries and No. of Features</i> | <i>Countries and No. of Features</i> |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Sri Lanka/Cochin<br>2.05             | Sri Lanka/North India<br>0.42        | Sri Lanka/Malacca<br>0.88            |
| Malacca/Cochin<br>6.16               | Malacca/Sri Lanka<br>0.88            | Malacca/North India<br>1.26          |
| Cochin/Malacca<br>6.16               | Cochin Sri Lanka<br>2.05             | Cochin/North India<br>2.68           |
| North India/Sri Lanka<br>0.42        | North India/Malacca<br>1.26          | North India/Cochin<br>2.68           |



Some pairs of creoles show more features than predicted but others show less. The extreme range is from 6.16 for Cochin and Malacca to -2.68 for North India and Cochin. The results in Table 2 indicates that Cochin has a better than random number of features shared with the creoles of Malacca (6.16) and Sri Lanka (2.05). Indo-Portuguese of Cochin has had no significant influence on the Indo-Portuguese of North India. Malacca has a better than random figure only for Cochin (6.16). It has worse than random figures for Sri Lanka and North India, -0.88 and -1.26 respectively. Sri Lanka has a better than random figure only for Cochin (2.05). It has worse than random scores for North India (-0.42) and Malacca (-0.88). North India has worse than random scores for all three creoles: Sri Lanka (-0.42), Malacca (-1.26) and Cochin (-2.68). The findings can be diagrammatically represented as above (The direction in which the features are assumed to have travelled is indicated by the arrowhead). The Portuguese Creole of Cochin is closely related to the Portuguese Creoles of Malacca and Sri Lanka.

Schuchardt divided the Asian Portuguese Creoles into four groups: Malayo-Portuguese, Sino-Portuguese, Gauro (Aryan) Portuguese and Dravido Portuguese. Dalgado (1917) was unsure of the justification of the latter two groups and suggested that they should form a single group: Indo-Portuguese. He also pointed out that there has been frequent contact between the Asian Portuguese Creoles and that a 'partial reciprocal transfusion' had resulted in grammatical and lexical affinities across the areas. Ferraz (1987) comments that due to the clustering of these creoles, their non-Portuguese features may be due to an Asian substrate influence at a particular point in space and time whence they spread to other parts of Asia. He asserts that frequent contact between the Asian Portuguese Creoles at the formative stage led to shared grammatical features. He suggests polygenesis of creoles and mutual influence where there has been contact at the outset. A Portuguese-based contact language which developed in Southern India in contact with a Dravidian Language (Malayālam) would have been used in the early sixteenth century as a contact language in Malacca and Sri Lanka. A second Portuguese-based contact language would have developed in Northern India in contact with Indo-Aryan languages. As the two contact languages would have begun to develop thirty years apart from one another, this would have given enough time for the existence of second generation Creole speakers in Cochin. There has been no previous research to assess the degree of affinity and historical links between the Asian Portuguese Creoles. The 57 features chosen, and the method of calculation adopted, which takes into account

the differences in Asian Portuguese Creoles, provide a good basis for this analysis. As and when additional data from these Asian Portuguese Creoles become available, the figures can be recalculated. This is an avenue for further research.

### Malay and Portuguese *Lingue Franche* in the Indian Ocean

Malay would have been one of the *lingue franche* in the Indian Ocean particularly in South Asia and Southeast Asia, when the Portuguese arrived as merchants and missionaries. Reduplication is perhaps the most important feature as it reminds us of the competition that the Portuguese faced when they were in the Indian Oceanic waters. Reduplication is not a feature that exists in Portuguese. In Sinhala there is reduplication to indicate an on-going action. It is interesting that this construction has been borrowed by the Sri Lankan Malays who speak Sri Lankan Malay Creole (de Silva Jayasuriya 2002b). The Malaysians and Indonesians find these constructions amusing when Sri Lankan Malays visit Malaysia and Indonesia and speak in their mother-tongue. Tamil does not normally have reduplications excepting replacive reduplications where the first syllable of the repeated morpheme is replaced by another syllable.

SIN Mama pothak bala bala inna -kote magē I book read read be when my

|     |                 |            |          |
|-----|-----------------|------------|----------|
| SIN | <i>yabaluwa</i> | <i>āv-</i> | <i>a</i> |
|     | friend          | come       | TNS      |

‘When I was reading a book, my friend came’.

Reduplication of nouns is not a feature of Portuguese, Sinhala or Tamil, but it is a salient feature of the Malay languages and the only way of marking plurality. Reduplication is a process that is encountered in creole languages (Muhlhausler 1975). It is, however, not limited to creole languages (Moravcsik 1978). It is the process of repeating all or part of a word (more than a single segment), the result still being a phonological word with its pitch and stress pattern. It is distinct from iteration, which repeats a word, each word having its independent phonological and semantic qualities. It is also distinct from repetition where phrases or clauses are repeated generally to signal augmentation of time or space, or more intense action. Examples of reduplication found in the description of Asian Portuguese Creoles are given in what follows. According to Schuchardt (1889: 476) the Portuguese Creoles of India and Sri Lanka belong to the group entitled Indo-Portuguese, that of Malacca to Malayo-Portuguese and that of Macau to Sino-Portuguese. The data in this paper



includes five Indo-Portuguese creoles (Sri Lanka in Dalgado 1900; Smith 1979; Nevill 1904; Negapatnam in Dalgado 1917, North India in Dalgado 1906, Mangalore in Schuchardt 1883, Ferraz 1987, Korlai in Clements 1996, Malayo-Portuguese (Malacca Creole Portuguese) in Baxter 1988 and Sino-Portuguese (Macau Portuguese Creole) in Dos Santos Ferreira 1978).

Indo-Portuguese, Malayo-Portuguese and Sino-Portuguese developed from the sixteenth century onwards due to the Portuguese entry and expansion in the Orient. These creoles evolved as fort creoles because the Portuguese empire revolved around fortresses and trading posts. In 1505, the Portuguese were windswept to Sri Lanka during their voyage to the Maldiv Islands; they established trading posts and fortresses from 1517 onwards. In 1511, the Portuguese established themselves in Malacca which was also the forward base for Macau where they established themselves in 1555/57. The creole languages considered in this paper may have influenced one another as there was contact between these cities due to trading, religious and administrative reasons of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* (State of India) which extended from Mozambique in East Africa to China through a closely linked system of fortresses and trading posts. On the other hand, the creoles could have developed distinct characteristics due to the influence of different substratum languages. We cannot, however, eliminate parallel development of shared characteristics. Dalgado, however, comments that there had been frequent contact between the Asian Portuguese Creoles and that 'partial reciprocal transfusions' had resulted in both grammatical and lexical affinities across the areas. As the Asian Portuguese Creoles could be clustered into groups, their non-Portuguese features could be attributed to substrate influences at distinct Asian geographic locations.

The data included in this paper range from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century. The chosen examples serve to illustrate the reduplication processes discussed in this chapter. Since the data is from published sources, it is not possible to comment on the productivity of the reduplicative processes described which have been organised by syntactic category of the input forms. For example, reduplication, information about the category of output, the form of reduplication and its semantic effect is provided. There is variation in the form of reduplication; whole or partial reduplications are attested in the creoles. Partial reduplication depends on the number of syllables in the input form. Where the input form is bisyllabic, there are three possible outcomes as schematised below, but only the first and last options are attested in the data. In the schematic representation, *S* indicates a syllable.

S1S2 -> S1-S1S2/S1S2-S2/S1S2-S1S2

Since it appears that the final syllable of a polysyllabic word is not reduplicated in Asian Portuguese Creoles, the following schematises the possible outcomes for trisyllabic words:

S1S2S2->S1-S1S2S3/S1S2-S1S2/S1S2S3-S1S2S3

Reduplication of the first syllable and full reduplication are attested in the Asian Portuguese Creoles. Some demonstrate a preference for partial reduplication (i.e. Malacca and North India) while others do not (i.e. Sri Lanka and Negapatnam). For Mangalore and Korlai, it is not possible to ascertain if there is a preference or not for partial reduplication from the data considered in this paper. The preference for partial reduplication is consistent across the syntactic categories. Examples of partial reduplication are attested for Adjective, Noun and Adverb reduplication in Malacca, and for Noun reduplication in North India.

### Verb Reduplication

In the Asian Portuguese Creoles, verb reduplication is associated with continuous or discontinuous repetition of the activity which the verb denotes. It takes the form of whole word reduplication. There is no change in the category of the reduplicated words.

#### ***Sri Lanka***

*Papugachi vardie, Riva da pikatie,*

*Batha batha asa, Vai kantha chikotie*

parrot green, top of peak, flutter flutter wing, go sing chikoti

'The green parrot, On top of the peak, flutters the wings a lot, Goes to sing Chikoti'

#### ***Mangalore***

*Ai bate bate aza, Margarita*

Ah! flutters flutters wing, Margarita

'Ah! flutters wings a lot, Margarita'

#### ***Malacca***

*yo lembrá lembrá aké oras*

I remember remember that time

*yo ja beng*  
I PF come

*na Banda Hilir fiká*

GO Banda Hilir stay

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

|             |             |               |              |             |             |               |             |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>teng</i> | <i>ńgua</i> | <i>rapás,</i> | <i>(...)</i> | <i>eli,</i> | <i>isi</i>  | <i>rapás</i>  | <i>pun</i>  |
| <i>be</i>   | <i>one</i>  | <i>fellow</i> | <i>(...)</i> | <i>he,</i>  | <i>this</i> | <i>fellow</i> | <i>also</i> |

|            |             |             |           |              |                |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>bai</i> | <i>rezá</i> | <i>rezá</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>san</i>   | <i>antoni</i>  |
| <i>go</i>  | <i>pray</i> | <i>pray</i> | R         | <i>Saint</i> | <i>Anthony</i> |

‘There was a fellow, (...) *be*, this fellow also would go and pray and pray to Saint Anthony’.

|            |           |             |           |            |           |            |
|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>aké</i> | <i>má</i> | <i>ńgua</i> | <i>yo</i> | <i>olá</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>eli</i> |
| that       | more      | 1           | I         | see        | A         | 3s         |

|           |             |             |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>ta</i> | <i>remá</i> | <i>remá</i> |
| -P        | row         | row         |

‘That other one, I saw he was rowing and rowing’.

### Adjective Reduplication

In the Asian Portuguese Creoles, the reduplicated adjective denotes emphasis on or an augmented degree of the quality described by the adjective, without affecting the interpretation of the base. It takes the form of whole word reduplication.

#### *Sri Lanka*

*Nade fica triestie, Meu irmaan sinhere,*

NEG be sad, my sister lady

*Pokoe pokoe deye,*  
few few day

*Eu lo-wie cad- ore*

I ASP return each opportunity

‘Do not be sad, My sister lady, In a very few days, I will return at each opportunity’(to see you).

**Mangalore***Chuva fin fin Bastiana*

rain fine fine Bastiana 'Very fine rain, Bastiana'

**Malacca***nus sibri aké pesi kani-kaninu*

we use that fish small+small

'We use that very small fish (to make pasia 'dried fish')

*nu mui ku eli finu finu*

we grind A it fine fine

'We grind it (the fish) very fine'

*eli belu belu ta bai mar*

he old old -P go sea

'When he was old he was (still) going fishing'

**Macao***China-gôrdô chomá Fu, Tem tánto-tánto sapéca*

Chinese fat speaks Fu, Has much much money

'The fat Chinese who speaks Fu has a vast amount of money'.

**Noun Reduplication**

Reduplication of nouns indicate plurality in all the Asian Portuguese Creoles. In a few occurrences, the form of the reduplicated noun is reduced as in North India and Malacca. However, in Negapatnam the reduplicated noun can function either as a noun or as an adverb.

**Sri Lanka***Anthra minina minina, Massavos tama juntadoe*

Among girl girl, Young men have gather 'Amongst the girls, young men have gathered'

*Toodoo pai pai, Jaffoi per praya**All father father, TNSgo to seashore 'All the fathers have gone to the seashore'***Negapatnam***Adivaita ôgu metádi metádi 'divide the egg in halves'**divide egg half half*

**Norte**

*Você criança-criança quilai tem?*

You child child how are

'How are your children?'

**Malacca**

The process of reduplication appears to be linked with the distinction of specific vs non-specific reference. A specific plural subject or object reduplicates as in the example given below but a non-specific plural subject or object does not reduplicate, as also shown in the second example below:

*Aké krenkensa ta faze amoku*

*that children ASP make noise*

*femi gostá ku eli*

women like A he

'Women like him'.

In Malacca, plurality can be signalled by context (as in the above example) or by a premodifier. Thus, in possessive constructions, reduplication (or other number marking) is needed for plural possessors as the referent of the possessee is specific. For example:

*tantu yo sa kambra kambradu ki ja*

many I G friend friend RP TNS

*bai skola pun*

go school too

*ja bai fora di tera*

TNS go out SR country

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

The reduplication of non-specific objects can have the meaning of 'all kinds of/lots of'. The following two examples will illustrate:

*yo sa sogru gadrá pastu*

I G father-in-law keep bird 'My father-in-law keeps birds'.

*yo sa sogru gadrá pastu pastu*

I G father-in-law keep bird bird 'My father-in-law keeps all kinds of birds'.

*aké krenkrensa ta fazé amoku*

that children ASP make noise

'The children are making noise'.

Reduplication of *krensa* is not permitted, however, if a numeral premodifier co-occurs with the noun.

*\*tres krenkrensa*

three children 'three child-child'

*krensa krensa olotu ja da ku eli ku ngua mulé china*

child child they TNS give A he R one woman chinese

'When he was a young child they gave him away to a Chinese woman.'

*yo fila fila ja bai fiká Kelang*

I girl girl PF go stay Kelang

'When I was just a girl I went to live in Kelang'.

Change of category from noun to adverb is observed only in examples (h), (i) and (j) from Malacca.

*pampamiáng eli bendé mi*

morning+morning he sell noodle

'Early in the morning he sells noodles.'

### **Macau**

*Quiança-quiança ta brincá na pátio*

child child ASP play in courtyard

'The children are playing in the courtyard'.

### **Adverb Reduplication**

In some Asian Portuguese Creoles, adverb reduplication (whole or partial word) for intensity and duration was attested. There is no change in category of the reduplicated words.

**Norte**

*semp semp tá padecend de lumbrig mesm*

always always ASP suffer from bellyworm same

'Forever suffering from the same bellyworm'.

**Malacca**

*erá erá lo kai chua*

likely likely MOD fall rain

'It may well rain'.

**Macau**

*perto-perto di mar*

near near to sea

'Very near to the sea'

*Andá vagar-vagar, nádi cai*

go slowly slowly NEG fall

'Go very slowly, you will not fall'

**Interrogative Words and Indefinite Pronouns**

In Malacca Creole Portuguese only, Interrogative Words and Indefinite Pronouns may be reduplicated with a change of interpretation as identified here. They are whole word reduplications. However, the category of the semantic change of the reduplication is unclear. Both *kora* and *undi* reduplicate to function as indefinite relators.

| <i>Creole</i> | <i>Base</i> | <i>Gloss</i> | <i>Reduplication</i> | <i>Gloss</i>      |
|---------------|-------------|--------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| MAL           | <i>kora</i> | when         | <i>kora-kora</i>     | whenever          |
|               | <i>undi</i> | where        | <i>undi-undi</i>     | wherever          |
| <i>Creole</i> | <i>Base</i> | <i>Gloss</i> | <i>Reduplication</i> | <i>Gloss</i>      |
| MAL           | keng        | who          | keng-keng            | anybody/anyone    |
|               | ki          | what/that    | ki-ki                | anything/whatever |

*keng keng pun podi belá*

anyone also can dance

'Anyone can dance'

*keng keng pun nté na kaza*

anyone also NEG-be LOC house

‘Nobody at all is in the house’

A non-negative indefinite pronoun may occur in the scope of negation:

*eli ñgka olá keng keng (pun)*  
he NEG see anyone also  
‘He did not see anyone (at all)?’

*eli ñgka olá ki ki (pun)*  
He neg see anything also  
‘He did not see anything (at all)’

**Other Forms of Reduplication**

In addition to the above mentioned forms, Korlai and Sri Lanka have a pattern of reduplication in which the first syllable of the repeated morpheme is replaced by *bi* and *ki* respectively. Replative reduplication appears to be based on Indic (i.e. Marathi substratum in Korlai) and Dravidian (i.e. Tamil substratum in Batticaloa Portuguese, a variety of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole) patterns.

| <i>Creole</i> | <i>Reduplication</i> | <i>Gloss</i>   |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------|
| Korlai        | <i>buni-bini</i>     | ‘good and all’ |
| Sri Lanka     | <i>runday-kinday</i> | ‘scolded etc’  |

For a synchronic description and further discussion on replative reduplication in Korlai Portuguese see Clements (2000). With the exception of the two examples from Malacca of reduplicated nouns functioning as Adverbials, reduplication in Asian Portuguese Creoles correspond to Kouwenberg and LeCharité’s category of Inflectional Reduplication in the *Caribbean Creole languages* (1998). However, where there is reduction in the first element, these are in contrast to Kouwenberg and LeCharité’s findings in the *Caribbean Creole Languages* where the reduction of an element is limited to Derivational Reduplication. Whole word reduplications are attested in all the Asian Portuguese Creoles considered. Partial reduplications are attested only in the Malacca, Macau and North Indian data. Replative reduplications are attested only in Korlai and Sri Lanka.

Perhaps the most interesting outcome of this research is the reduplication of nouns to indicate plurality which is found in all the Asian Portuguese Creoles. This is a typical feature of the Malay languages. If



noun reduplication for plurality had its origins in the Malay languages, then it raises the question of how this feature was transmitted to the Indian Sub-Continent. This question cannot be answered without further research. Noun reduplication, however, is not obligatory for plurality in nineteenth century Sri Lanka, Negapatnam, North India and Mangalore. Plurality is generally marked by a final 's'. When more research on the historical development of these creoles is conducted, it would be possible to make some inferences about the development of noun plurality in these creoles. Reduplication is most widespread in Malacca where several types of reduplication are attested. This is perhaps due to the influence from the Malay substrate and also the extent of time that Malacca Portuguese Creole has been in contact with Malay.

According to the Monogenesis Theory, all European pidgin and creole languages originated from a Portuguese-based pidgin which evolved in West Africa during the fifteenth century. This theory asserted that Pidgin Portuguese was relexified when other European nations took control of areas where Pidgin Portuguese was spoken. Baker (1995: 5) points out that the historical evidence supporting this theory is unconvincing. Clearly, there is scope for further historical investigations. He also draws attention to the unsatisfactory explanations on why the words are replaced by words from other European languages, if Pidgin Portuguese had been a successful medium of international communication. Studies of Portuguese-based contact languages are particularly important as the Portuguese were the first Europeans who had prolonged contact with other continents. Even if the monogenesis theory seems to have gone too far in its assumptions, it seems plausible that a lingua franca originating in Cochin would have influenced that of Sri Lanka and Malacca. Given the importance of Cochin in the intra-Indian trade and the existence of Portuguese communities emanating not only from the official empire but also outside its boundaries. The data available at present is limited to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Anglo-Indian communities in the capitals of the British Presidencies – Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata – have absorbed Indo-Portuguese people. Indo-Portuguese of Madras was mentioned by the London Missionary Society who found that Testaments and Bibles in the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) were understood in Malacca but not those written in the Indo-Portuguese of Madras.

There is no space in this book to give detailed accounts of all the Portuguese contact languages in the East known to-date. It is, however, worth considering the Portuguese spaces: Macau and Timor. The Portuguese established a *feitoria* at Macau, in 1555. This trading post was on a

peninsula and two small islands in the estuary of the Pearl River which led to Canton. According to Batalha (1974: 21, 29), Macau was thinly populated at the time and the wives of the earlier Portuguese settlers were from Malacca. Macau Creole Portuguese or Macaista has Malay words and structures. It also has sixteenth-century Afro-Portuguese recorded by the Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente. Clearly, there is scope for comprehensive investigations into the African presence in Macau and in other countries in Asia. The Portuguese enterprise included Africans and it provided a vehicle for the displacement of Africans not only in Asia but in the Americas. Once the British established a colony in Hong Kong, the Macanese Luso-Asians were sort after as they spoke Cantonese, Macaista and also Portuguese, if they were educated. Macaista underwent decreolisation, excepting for the older speakers in Hong Kong and Shanghai, who returned to Macau after the 1949 Chinese Revolution. In 1985, the Macanese community in Hong Kong was 7000 (Batalha 1985: 296) but the younger members in the community were disinterested in Macaista. According to Holm (1989: 298), the 12,000 Euroasians in Macau speak a post-creole variety of Portuguese mixed with English and Chinese. While Macau is important for being the last Portuguese colony in Asia, Timor should be considered for the resurgence of Portuguese. According to Baxter (1996: 318), at least one variety of Creole Portuguese existed in East Timor – Bidau Creole Portuguese. The *moradores* (residents or settlers) spoke Bidau Creole Portuguese. They had moved to East Timor from Lifau (in West Timor) and the Flores. Bidau Creole Portuguese is closely related to the Portuguese Creoles of Malacca and Macau phonologically, morphosyntactically and lexically. Portuguese soldiers were moved from one fortress to another and that provided a vehicle for spreading linguistic features in Asian Portuguese Creoles. Although the leixcon of these creoles vary depending on the substratum languages, the majority of the words have Portuguese etyma. It is therefore not difficult to pick up the Portuguese Creole when moving from one Portuguese space to another in Asia. Timorese Portuguese, on the other hand, shows lexical peculiarities which are possibly found in the Portuguese languages of Macau and Goa today. This would be a fruitful area for future research.

## Twilight of the Estado da India

Although travellers such as Marco Polo had been to some Asian countries, the Portuguese were the first western nation to penetrate into Oriental cultures. What started off as a trading expedition in search of spices turned into proselytising and territorial control. The Portuguese were breaking into already established economic networks and engaging in trade with ancient nations.

The Portuguese expansion was complemented and reinforced by religion. They did not introduce Christianity to the East; Christianity existed in Persia, India, Sri Lanka and China prior to the arrival of the Lusitanians. Saint Thomas, the disciple of Jesus Christ, took the ideology to South India. An eighth-century Nestorian cross found in Anuradhapura, suggests that a Persian Christian community lived in Sri Lanka at that time. In West China, the Sianfu tablet of the seventh century illustrates that the message of Christ had reached China before the Portuguese made contact with the East (Panikkar 1953). This tablet recorded that Olopen came from Syria in AD 635 with the 'true sacred books' and that he was well received by the Chinese Emperor and that churches were built thereafter. The Portuguese Christianisation, however, was a state enterprise where the king paid for the ecclesiastical establishment in the East (Panikkar 1959: 280).

In this chapter, I have considered what light history can cast upon culture and how the study of human cultures can light up the past. In offering an interpretation of Portuguese cultural transmission in Asia, I have considered those within the official empire as well as those outside its boundaries. An interpretation of the Portuguese interactions in Asia and cross-cultural exchange, from an eastern point of view, is offered.

Colonisation disturbs cultural identity as it alters the existing pattern. Analysing the culture of colonised people is a complex problem. According to Arjun Appadurai (1996: 13) people belonging to a particular

culture, possess common attributes – linguistic, territorial, material – and are conscious of possessing these attributes. To these, I would also add musical taste and religious affiliations. The Portuguese encountered much diversity in the East. Eastern culture is not uniform and cannot be treated en bloc. Perhaps the plurality of Asian cultures enabled the Asians to interact with the Portuguese who were also experienced at interacting with other ethnic and religious groups, particularly due to their contact with the Moors who dominated them for 350 years and the Jews who had fled from persecution in Spain. Fifteenth-century Portugal, was a kind of proto-America where people of any ethnic group were sought after and their talents recognised. The head of the Academy at Sagres, which was established to train navigators, was Mestre Jaime Creques, a Spanish Jew (Cooperman 2000: 129). This appointment was made by Infante Dom Henrique (1394–1460), who was better known as Prince Henry the Navigator. King João II (1481–95) also recognised and utilised Jewish talents in natural affairs. He commissioned Jewish scholars to refine the astrolabe and other navigational devices and mathematical tables which helped sailors to calculate the distance from the equator by measuring the position and height of the sun. When King Manuel I proclaimed the Edict of Expulsion on 5 December 1497, the Jews were forced to choose between expulsion or forced conversion to Catholicism. The king closed the ports, fearing that the Jews would leave. This resulted in many forced conversions. *Conversos* and *Novos Cristãos* (New Christians) served in the maritime enterprise of the Lusitanians. Although Lisbon was a Cosmopolitan city where Moors, Christians and Jews lived together, in the fifteenth century, the Great Riot of 1506 paved the way for the Portuguese Inquisition that followed in 1536.

The breakthrough of a small nation on the Atlantic, with few resources, is remarkable for not just being the first European nation to establish a maritime trade route to the East but also for what it set in train for the other Europeans that followed them. Initially, the race was between the two Catholic states – Spain and Portugal. The conflict between Spain and Portugal was resolved by the Pope, in 1494, in the Treaty of Tordesillas which demarcated the areas that each nation could explore.

The Portuguese were treading on unknown ground as is clear from the pecuniary gifts that Vasco da Gama took with him for the Indian nobility. As the Portuguese wanted to reach India, either by land or sea, there were parallel expeditions in operation. The overland expedition of Pero de Covilha succeeded before da Gama's voyage to India. Luís Vaz

de Camões, in his *Os Lusíadas* (The Lusiads) set into verse the achievements of the sons of Lusitania (The Lusitanians). He mentions in the opening stanza of his epic poem, that the Lusitanians sailed on seas that had not been navigated before. This can be misinterpreted. The Indian Ocean had been navigated by several others – Indians, Malays, Chinese, Arabs – who had mastered the monsoons or trade winds and were engaged in cross-cultural exchange and trade. The Portuguese were therefore entering a maritime trading zone which was dominated by Asians. As new entrants to these markets, they had to collude with Asian traders and capture a market share for themselves. They did this by forming alliances directly with Asian traders or through marriages with Asians, across the social spectrum.

The voyage to India took over six months and cost many lives. Shipwreck was a real possibility; and the Portuguese originally called the southern tip of Africa, Cape of Storms and then after successfully rounding it, they renamed it Cape of Good Hope. It is worth considering why the Portuguese entered into such a risky activity. It was a high risk-high return venture. By reaching the sources of the spices and buying them directly from the producers or eastern markets, and by-passing the middlemen that transported them to Europe, the Portuguese were able to make a large profit. The Portuguese made the initial and all important break into the international markets turning the Indian Ocean into a Portuguese lake, dominating the Asian commerce throughout the sixteenth century. They established new trade links and competed with parallel economic networks.

### **The Nature of the *Estado***

The Estado da Índia is defined as extending from the Cape of Good Hope to the Nanjing Bay in China. This, however, does not imply that the Portuguese ruled the entire coastline within these boundaries. The geographical limits of the Viceroy of India and his jurisdiction was over all Portuguese settlements and interests between the southern tip of Africa and the lower Yangtze River. It included both official and unofficial Portuguese settlements within these boundaries (Disney 1995: 26). In reality, however, the Estado was a constellation of trading posts and fortresses. Luís Filipe Thomaz (1985) considered the Estado as a network linking a series of nodes, each with a formal Portuguese administration, conforming to an approximately common pattern. The narrow and formal definition of the Estado applied to legal and bureaucratic matters, but the broader definition was assumed in practice. The Estado with its central-

ised directives in Goa was unwieldy. Its jurisdiction was too wide and not effective in some parts, particularly in Southeast Asia.

Within the Estado, the Royal Monopolies and tax curtailed the fortunes and some Portuguese left the Estado to make a larger fortune. The Portuguese King had a monopoly on certain commodities but there were leakages and in reality there were other buyers also. Pepper, cloves, ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg, sealing wax, silk and tincal (borax) were taken to Lisbon by clandestine traders who stored these goods in their houses, and avoided entering them in the *Casa da India* (House of India). The *Casa da India* was an important establishment in Lisbon. It was a large warehouse which stored the commodities brought by the Portuguese in the official empire and by the private Portuguese traders. The *Casa da India* was also an emporium or market place where these commodities could be bought and sold.

Ship loads with spices were found in the Red Sea also. In 1513, several ship loads of pepper were transported from the Malabar Coast to Aden and Mecca. The Portuguese had diplomatic relations with the local Kings and rulers who had to ensure that the commodities were sold only to the Portuguese Crown. A monopoly situation with one buyer for a commodity is not profitable to the producer or seller of the goods, as the monopolist fixes the price. There are no free market conditions where demand and supply meet, allowing for the market to determine the price of the commodity. In this restrictive situation, it is understandable that the producers of the commodities sold the goods to other buyers. On eighth September 1520, the *Ordenações da India* (Acts of India) at Evora listed the commodities that were reserved for the Crown. In 1570, the Portuguese King realised the impracticality of the royal monopoly and opened up the trade to all.

What began as a commercial venture with the King of Portugal owning a few fortified ports in Asia where his fleets could be based, developed into an empire. In Portuguese imperial history, the empire is considered to have been in three phases. The 'first empire' of the Portuguese, founded in 1415 as a maritime commercial endeavour in Africa and Asia never completely faded away. The trade in ivory lingered on, feeding the East African settlements by Indian traders from Diu, who continued to prosper. Newitt (1986: 8) argues that the 'third empire, founded in Africa and which lasted until the Portuguese Revolution in 1974, was built on the vestiges of the 'first empire'. The 'second empire' was trans-Atlantic, involving slaves, sugar and gold with the major trading partners being Angola and Brazil.

The Portuguese trade on the Malabar Coast, during the early sixteenth century, began a new phase in international relations. The Portuguese established diplomatic relations with the local rulers. A treaty of commerce and peace was signed by the Zamorin of Calicut, in 1500. A new trading organisation, a *feitoria* (factory) was established by the Portuguese, on the Calicut Coast, and it was announced to the mercantile world. A factory was a commercial organisation having an autonomous existence set up in the Portuguese empire or in a protectorate through a concession granted by the local rulers (Godinho 1969: 49–50). A *Feitor* (Factor) was in charge of the economic, financial and administrative activities and he was the appointed agent of the Portuguese Crown. The factory was also a storehouse for both oriental commodities awaiting trans-shipment to Lisbon and for goods brought from Lisbon to be bartered in the Orient.

Portuguese fortresses were erected since 1505, starting from the Malabar Coast. Malik Ayyaz, the governor of Diu, was defeated by the Portuguese in 1509. Thereafter he became an ally of the Portuguese. In 1535, the ruler of Gujarat allowed the Portuguese to establish a fortress in Diu. In 1509, Chaul and Batecal (Bhatkal) became tributaries of the Portuguese King, paying 2,000 and 1,500 xerafins respectively. A *feitoria* accommodated the Portuguese commercial community, the church and the burial grounds, which formed a separate entity in a foreign country (Diffie and Winius 1977: 313–14). The *feitor* regulated Portuguese traders and dealt with the local authorities. A Portuguese Viceroy or governor complemented by officials and a fortress became part of the trading machinery. The Viceroy entered into commercial contracts, on behalf of the Portuguese King. Cochin became the seat of the Portuguese overseas government until 1530. Then, the administrative headquarters was moved to Goa due to the trade available north of Cannanore and the Canara Coast, Goa and Gujarat. According to Mathew (1983: xii), the Portuguese trade entered a declining phase after 1530. *Cartazes* (from the Arabic word *cirtas* meaning a paper or a document) was a permit that other ships wishing to come through Portuguese controlled areas had to obtain. It was a kind of safe-conduct or passport (*Navicert*) issued by the maritime authorities in the East, particularly in the Indian Ocean, to the merchant ships, so that they could sail and enter the ports and load and unload without problems. Once the Portuguese began to control the trade on the Malabar Coast, the Arab merchants began to establish alternative routes away from the Malabar Coast. Therefore the Portuguese were forced to establish outposts in other areas also. In 1597, Sri

Lanka was made a tributary to the Portuguese King. In 1508, the ruler of Ormuz submitted himself to Portuguese suzerainty paying 15,000 xerafins annually as tributes and a fortress was erected in Ormuz from where the Portuguese controlled the Gulf until 1622 when Persia regained it with British help. Goa and Malacca were conquered by Albuquerque in 1510 and 1511 respectively. From Goa, the Portuguese were better placed to prevent the Arab traders from trading on the Malabar Coast. From Ormuz, the Portuguese could control the flow of spices from the Malabar Coast, into the Persian Gulf. From Malacca, the Portuguese controlled the far eastern trade into the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese designs to conquer Aden, from where ships from the Malabar Coast sailed on to Cairo and Alexandria through the Red Sea, did not come to fruition.

The Portuguese wanted 'Christians and Spices'. They engaged with the Christians on the Malabar Coast. In 1502, a delegation of 30,000 St. Thomas Christians had met Vasco da Gama and had presented to him a sceptre with three silver bells on the top as a symbol of submission to him (de Barros 1638).

The Portuguese collaborated with the Muslim merchants who were already established on the Malabar Coast, even though their experience in Iberia had made them apathetic towards the Muslims. The Portuguese also traded with the Vijayanagar kings in Central India, and the Kalinga Indian merchants in Malacca. Spreading the word of Christianity was one of the objectives and understandably the Lusitanians established a 'Rome in the Orient' in Goa to train the clergy to be sent out to the Estado. This also brought out religious fervour in some. Muslims felt threatened by the fever of conversions to Catholicism. According to Manuel Lobato (1995: 97), Ternate, in the Moluccas, became the main defender of Islam threatened by the Christian missionary zeal of the Portuguese and Spanish presence in the region. Several Islamic principalities which extended beyond the Moluccan archipelago turned to Ternate as a protector of Islam.

The Portuguese religious policy in Diu was atypical as they allowed the Hindus to retain and repair their temples. This was a favour granted in return for their help to Dom Affonso Mendes, the Jesuit patriarch of Ethiopia, who was expelled from Abyssinia and imprisoned by the Turks (Da Cunha Rivara 1857-6: 1012, 1254-5).

The main Portuguese trade between Malacca and India was from Goa-Chaul, Cochin and Negapatnam. The Portuguese were able to capture the trade on the Malabar Coast and set up several fortresses on the west coast of India – Cochin, Fort Aguarda (Goa), Bassein, Daman and Diu. On the



Coromandel Coast, they only had unofficial Portuguese settlements in Pulicat, São Tome and further north in Chittagong and Hugli.

The Portuguese Crown was not particularly worried about territorial control and domination of Asians. The Portuguese government did not instruct Dom Francisco de Almeida to annex Asian lands to the Portuguese Crown. Albuquerque did not attempt to dominate the lands adjacent to Malacca. Yet, from his Malaccan base, he built up a network of allies nearby in Pegu (a town in Burma today), Thailand, Java, the Moluccas, Banda and later on in China. Their main objective was controlling the exchange and circulation of commodities. They sought to achieve this by the introduction of *cartazes* and port duties. If their trading interests were protected by the domination of territories, then they resorted to control lands. Colonisation was not a main objective of the Portuguese. It could be argued that the thalassic network of fortresses and trading posts of the Portuguese seaborne empire also functioned as cultural intermediaries. The Portuguese could be considered to have been cultural brokers, introducing western values and customs to the East. What began as an expedition in search of oriental spices and establishing trading contacts, made a lasting impression on Asian societies. The Portuguese employed a variety of methods to entrench themselves in the Asian trade such as exploiting regional conflicts, mistrust within ruling families, intermarriages with Asian elites and entering into partnerships with Asian traders.

The Portuguese administration was makeshift and rudimentary. The Portuguese Crown did not appoint many officials. Moreover, there was no distinction between government officials and traders. All officials, clergy and soldiers – were associated with the trade in some way. Everyone was allowed to carry commodities on board the royal ships and the weight of these goods apportioned to each person was proportional to his rank. Despite regular prohibitions, private trading carried on in ships that they fitted out themselves. Perhaps we should try to understand this in a context where the Portuguese sailor-soldier was dependent on monetary rewards from the Crown – which, often, they did not receive or received belatedly. The Portuguese administration was essentially military and there were no permanent civilian administrators. As Villiers (1987: 47) points out, it was not surprising that corruption and profiteering existed at all levels, from the illegal sale by the Viceroy, to piracy and private trading in royal ships, by captains, and desertion, theft and murder by the soldiery. All this had a knock-on effect and the Portuguese lost their supremacy in the Indian Ocean at the end of the sixteenth century, but continued to have a few holdings until the end of the twentieth century.

From the Coromandel Coast to Malacca, trade was in the hands of the Indian Kalinga merchants who had settled down in Malacca when the Portuguese entered these waters. The West Asian traders (Arabs, Persians, Turks) limited their activities to the Arabian Sea including Cambay and Southwest India. Independent Chinese merchants ceased to sail west of Malacca. Although six naval expeditions were sent westwards from China under Commander Cheng-Ho, they were hastily withdrawn (Prakash 1993: 204).

The *Estado* was not limited to Asia as it spanned from South Africa to China. Even when the Portuguese had to withdraw from Asian countries in the mid-seventeenth century, their presence in the Indian Ocean did not end. They carried on in East Africa almost up to the end of the twentieth century. In Mozambique, the foundations of a fortress was laid in 1506, to defend East Africa from the Turks. Over the years, it was able to resist Dutch, British and Omani intrusions and entrenched Portuguese power in East Africa until 1975.

### **The Portuguese Breakthrough in Asia**

The Portuguese made a financial breakthrough when they were able to purchase the oriental spices direct from the source. As the Muslim traders dominated the land route to India, by charting a sea route, the Portuguese were able to by-pass the bottlenecks and reach their goal. By eliminating the middlemen who were involved in transporting the oriental goods to Europe via the Red Sea (Aden), they were able to sell spices in Lisbon at a lower price than in other European markets such as Venice and Genoa. Having undercut the already established European markets, Lisbon became the spice market of Europe. The Arab merchants, Venetians and Genoese were affected by the Portuguese trade established on the Malabar Coast and also by the closure of the trade route through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea in favour of that via the Cape of Good Hope. King Manuel, named 'Manuel the Fortunate' would climb on to the top of the Belem Tower on the Estuary of the River Tagus and watch his ships, loaded with oriental goods, returning safely to Lisbon. The expulsion of Jews from Spain during King Ferdinand and Queen Isobella's reign in the fifteenth century led many Sephardic Jews to migrate to neighbouring Portugal. The Jews who converted to Christianity, *Novos Cristãos* played a major role in internationalising Portuguese trade, through the Jewish network that was established in India and Europe at that time. The Jews were acting as intermediators between the Christian and Muslim worlds. Venice and Genoa were established mercantile centres before Lisbon became the

spice market of Europe. Once the Portuguese established themselves in Goa, they were able to buy diamonds from the Vijayanagar kingdom and transport them to Europe direct. India was the sole supplier of diamonds during the early Portuguese period. Portuguese Jews arranged for the diamonds to be transported through the Jewish mercantile network to Europe so that they could be further cut, polished and sold.

The mercantile networks in Northern Europe, the Mediterranean and the Near East were built up by a variety of trading families in Europe. However, a global market was first created by the Portuguese, and the Spanish. Their trade networks criss-crossed three Oceans – the Indian Ocean, the Pacific Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean – thereby straddling the old and new worlds. Operating through a constellation of trading posts and fortresses, which were in effect fortified commercial intermediaries, the Portuguese were generally confined to the coastal areas. They paved the way for other Europeans – Dutch, French, British – to enter the waters of the Indian Ocean and trade with Asians.

Although other languages eventually replaced Portuguese as the language for external trade, Luso-Asian languages served as contact languages for many years after official Portuguese presence ended. In Sri Lanka, Indo-Portuguese was spoken through a century and a half of Dutch occupation of the maritime provinces. It was also spoken by the British who followed. They prepared word lists for their requirements on administrative matters. The New Testament was written in Indo-Portuguese during the Dutch Era and the British missionary, Robert Newstead, printed several editions of it for his work. Even when English replaced Indo-Portuguese as the new *lingua franca*, the Portuguese words that were adopted into the vernacular languages, Sinhala and Tamil, were not discarded.

Portuguese words that also passed into languages in the Indian Sub-Continent and in Southeast Asia, remind us of cross-cultural contact. When the Portuguese entered the Asian waters, there would have been a few *lingue franche*. Arabic spread with the Arab traders and Islam, from about the sixth century onwards. Malay spread with the Malay trade. These two trade languages could have interacted with sixteenth century Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese were not the first nation to encounter linguistic problems when trading in Asian waters, but the cultural gap between them and the Asians was wider than the other nations that had been trading. Portuguese words that passed on to over fifty Asian languages, demonstrated in Chapter 4, are testimony to the extent of the Lusitanian linguistic imprint in the East.

In 1521, when the Portuguese official embassy went to Chittagong and Gaur, the Ambassador, Gonçalo Tavares, had been shocked to find a Portuguese group already there under the leadership of Christóvão de Jusarte (Winus 1995: 176). It was difficult to differentiate between the 'shadow' merchants and mercenaries. Some traders became soldiers and in other instances, soldiers turned into traders. Asian rulers seem to have encouraged Indo-Portuguese merchants to join their armies. In 1547, for example, the Siamese King drafted around 50 Indo-Portuguese men into his army (Winus 1995: 174).

There was much trading by the Portuguese adventurers who had stepped outside the Estado in order to make a fortune. There was piracy by these Portuguese, particularly in Bengal where textiles, silks, indigo and saltpetre were traded. The Portuguese who were outside the Estado did sell their products in the market places that were under Portuguese jurisdiction. It makes economic sense not to have declared those who abandoned the Estado as illegal. These Portuguese adventurers supplied the official empire with products such as rice, for example, which was vital to maintain the Portuguese official base in Malacca. There was a symbiosis between the official and shadow empires. The Portuguese Crown, however, provided a disincentive for unofficial Portuguese traders by increasing their tax. In Malacca, while Hindu and Muslim traders were charged 6 per cent, unofficial Portuguese traders were charged 25 per cent. Yet there were large personal gains in the unofficial empire as the goods obtained through piracy had no economic costs.

The role of Portuguese as middlemen is demonstrated by their involvement in the India-China and Japan-China trades. The Portuguese enhanced the trade flows if the suppliers so wished. Silver bullions from Europe were transported to China, via Malacca by-passing India. The Spanish brought silver from Central America to the Philippines. The Portuguese entered into the Spanish silver trade in the Philippines and then took it to China. They were responsible for silver bullion flows into China, the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean and they also provided a flow of Chinese goods and silk to Japan (Souza 1993: 338). The Portuguese were brokers in a triangular trade between Canton and Japan, bartering Chinese silks and gold for Japanese silver and copper. Portuguese commerce prospered in the China Sea from 1543-1640. The Ming Emperors had forbidden any trading activity between the Chinese and Japanese due to Japanese piratical activities on the Chinese Coast. The Chinese did not allow the Portuguese onto Chinese soil. Instead, they went on board Portuguese ships and traded. Portuguese ships served as trading factories. Unknown

to both the Ming Emperors in China and the Portuguese King, the Portuguese colony in Macau was established, and functioned for 30 years. The Portuguese, who were the first Europeans in the Orient to establish a colony, were also the last. Macau was the last colony in the East and was handed over to China in 1999, two years after Hong Kong was handed over by the British.

Portuguese traders and missionaries complemented each other. In Japan, for example, the Portuguese traders funded the missions and were responsible for the tolerance shown to the Jesuits, first from the feudal lords in Kyushu, and then from the shogunate itself (Disney 1995: 30). In turn, the Jesuits, being bilinguals in Portuguese and Japanese, acted as interpreters between the Japanese and the Portuguese traders. The symbiosis between the traders and missionaries, the former financing the missions and the latter being the interpreters between the Japanese and Portuguese traders, exemplifies a strategy that prevailed elsewhere in Asia but which eventually collapsed indicating that preaching and commercial activity were incompatible.

Although the Portuguese enterprise was not a formal company like the VOC or East India Company (EIC), it did have the characteristics of a rudimentary unformalised company. It had to deal with paying wages to those that worked for the Crown and organising promotions for them. Profit maximisation, however, seems to have been the primary goal of the Portuguese who sought allies through evangelisation.

Where the Portuguese fell short was in achieving incentive compatibility. They did not alter the Asian administrative structures. They were administering mixed ethnic groups and they respected the differences. In Malacca, for example, they retained separate jurisdictions for the various communities, each under its own *syabbandar* (Chief of Port).

The *casados* were a formal group within the Estado and operated within the bounds of its political structure. This applies to Portuguese descendants in settlements in India apart from Goa, Daman and Diu who later became absorbed into the British Anglo-Indian communities. The *mestiços* settled in Dutch Cochin and the Portuguese outside the Estado of the eighteenth century, distanced themselves from the vestiges of the Estado. Nevertheless, they kept alive Portuguese cultural traditions. These Indo-Portuguese communities often blended into the Indo-Europeans resulting from later colonial interventions.

The Portuguese provided armed mercenaries to Asian monarchs in return for large monetary rewards, concession of trade privileges such as exemptions from customs and authorising the settlement of Catholic

priests. In 1545, about 160 Portuguese served in the Siamese King's army, during King Chairacha's campaign against Chiang Mai, which was threatened with falling into Burmese hands. In 1547, about 120 Portuguese served in a second war against Chiang Mai. In 1549, during Ayuthaya's first Burmese siege, 50 Portuguese defended Ayuthaya (Flores 1995: 67). In India, the Portuguese were greeted favourably by the King of Cochin who was pressured by the presence of the Zamorin of Calicut on the Malabar Coast. This is in contrast to the scenario in Goa where they had to gain control by force. One of the earliest commodities futures market was in Cochin where pepper was traded. With the entry of the Dutch and British into the waters of the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese had to concentrate their resources on a few fortresses. They closed the direct route from Cochin to Lisbon, in 1612, and concentrated on the route from Goa to Lisbon. The Dutch took Malacca in 1641 and Sri Lanka in 1658. Prior to that, the Portuguese lost Ormuz in 1622. These defeats affected the *casados* who had been actively trading with these centres but they indulged in the intra-Asian trade after that.

In 1620, Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho bought a three-year monopoly of the Japan voyage for 183,600 guilders. In 1621, Carvalho and other Portuguese country traders sold raw silk and other goods worth more than three million guilders, in Japan. The Japan and Manila voyages, from 1629 to 1632, were bought by Carvalho from the Viceroy, the Conde de Linhares, at a cost of 826,200 guilders. Together with António Fialho Ferreira, a relative and associate, Carvalho sold Chinese raw silk worth more than 3.1 million guilders per year from 1629 to 1632 (Souza 1986: 41). In 1633, four Portuguese merchants involved in the Japan trade were declared bankrupt, owing in the order of four million guilders (Boxer 1959: 131).

The Portuguese did not enter the Indian Ocean with the intention of controlling its lands and peoples. This was an activity to which they resorted if it enhanced their trading activities. Goa and Malacca, were conquered, but in Sri Lanka, for example, the indigenous rulers dragged the Portuguese into local warfare and politics. The Portuguese enclaves in Gujarat, however, were not conquered. The Sultan of Gujarat ceded Bassein and its territories to the Portuguese. Daman was included in 1539. The circumstances under which the Portuguese exercised authority in Macau does not correspond to conventional models of empire. China did not give up sovereignty of Macau; it tolerated Portuguese rule. This arrangement suited both the Portuguese and the Chinese.

The Portuguese had seapower in the Indian Ocean and were able to

mobilise their scarce forces fast enough to defend their bases. It was a matter of strategy and allocation of scarce resources. The *topazes* and Africans boosted their militia. António Bocarro, the sixteenth-century Portuguese chronicler, described the mercenary capabilities of the *Topasses* of Timor (Boxer 1947: 4). Having possessed guns and gunpowder, the Portuguese were wooed by Asian monarchs, who were pressured to defend their territories from neighbouring countries and the spread of Islam. In their anxiety to defend themselves in the short-term, they did not foresee that they were exposing themselves to another threat. In India, the Portuguese animosity towards Muslims was shared by the Vijayanagar emperors who had to protect Hinduism and South Indian culture. Having reached the Orient by engaging with Indian Ocean peoples, the Portuguese continued the pattern of collaborating with Asians, to obtain a market share, and even a monopoly, in some commodities. In Malacca, Affonso de Albuquerque was helped by a South Indian trader, Nina Chatu, who became a partner in the Southeast Asian trade of the Portuguese. In Macassar, the Portuguese were helped by Francisco Mendes, who was of mixed parentage. His Father was the ruler of Macassar who had converted to Christianity and his Mother was a *negra* ('black woman').

### **Portuguese Cultural Influences in the Indian Ocean**

Historians must rely only on written records. A study such as this combining both a Top-Down and Bottom-Up approach, therefore reveals a more comprehensive picture of the past. Historical documents on daily interactions between Europeans and Asians did not engage the chroniclers. The *Weltanschauung* (world view) changes when a Bottom-up approach is also taken into account. De Silva (1994) draws attention to differential integration in Sri Lanka. While the Portuguese establishment concentrated on trading and religious activities, a spontaneous process of interaction was occurring between the Portuguese sailors-soldiers and the Sri Lankans.

The Portuguese relationship with Asians, still remains vibrant with respect to Asian languages and postcolonial music and dance forms. In my opinion, they had a weapon – music – that was more powerful than their guns, but whose role has not been adequately recognised. Their affinity for music provided them with a docking point in lands where music was appreciated, where Europeans had not previously sustained contact. In 1578, the ten thousand guitars that were on the battlefield among the dead Portuguese soldiers in El Ksar El Kabir, Morocco, illustrate how the Portuguese carried guns and guitars even on the battlefields. The Sri

Lankans relive the memory of the arrival of the Lusitanians in a contemporary *baila* song which I have transliterated and translated below:

*Vayin bibi pan kakā [my transliteration]*

*Vella digē āva*

*Payin yamin Prūtugāsi*

*Kiyapu baila mēva*

‘Drinking wine, eating bread  
They came along the seashore  
While walking, the Portuguese  
Sang these songs’

The Portuguese, as cultural brokers, introduced western concepts of music to the East. Some forms of popular music that the Portuguese took with them were transformed and new forms – hybridised or mixed – emerged and still persist. The Portuguese ballads (*romances*) are remembered and sung many centuries after Portuguese presence ended in Luso-Asian spaces where Lusitanian descendants have upheld their Portuguese identity even during other European regimes and post-independent rule. These are illustrated in Chapter 2, together with religious literature in Indo-Portuguese. Now Luso-Asian languages are endangered languages, but Portuguese identity is signalled through music. More importantly perhaps, musical concepts introduced by the Portuguese washed over Asian countries and have become popular genres of music and dance in post-independent nations. In Sri Lanka and Malaysia, *baila* and *joget* are now part of local culture. The unconscious transformation of Asian musical tastes and more importantly, music as a docking point, has not been recognised. Western instruments – violin, organ, trumpet, trombone – were also introduced to Asia by the Portuguese. Together with music, the Portuguese also introduced European folk dancing which after the centuries that have elapsed are not easy to map on to Portuguese folk dances of today which have changed throughout the centuries. Yet *baila* and *joget* are strikingly different from other Oriental dances in terms of choreography. Homi Bhabha (1986) views hybridity as a transgressive act challenging the authority, values and representations of the coloniser and therefore becoming an act of self-empowerment and defiance. The term hybridity has been used interchangeably with creolisation to describe cross-fertilisation that occurs due to interacting cultural systems, resulting



in entirely new forms. As the term Hybridity has its origins in cross-breeding of two different species, it tends to imply that the cross-cultural product is the result of two interacting cultures. Therefore, this may not be an appropriate term to describe popular music genres that have evolved after the Portuguese era. They are a *mélange* in which identifying the components requires expert analysis.

Eastern clothing involved wrapping round a single piece of cloth, *sari*, *lungi*, *doti*, *sarong*, for example. Western clothing and fashions, dressmaking and tailoring were introduced to the East by the Portuguese. While trousers, dresses, shoes and hats are associated with Portuguese or European descendants in Asia, in some countries, these clothes are worn by the indigenous peoples who are not Christians. In fact, the hat was seen as a sign of westernisation. As the children of the Portuguese and Indian unions wore a hat, some believe that it gave them the ethnonym *topaṣ* (from the Hindi word *Toppivalla* which means 'a person wearing a hat'). An interpreter was called a *topaṣ* by the Jesuits and its etymon is Sanskrit *dvibashi* ('one who speaks two languages') (Dalgado 1936: 346–349). It was adopted by Malayālam as *Tôpâshi*. As Malayālam was the first language that the Portuguese learnt in India, it is not surprising that this word was borrowed by the Portuguese to represent an interpreter. While there is no space in this book to trace Portuguese influences on the socioculture of all Asian countries, Chapter 5 presents a case study of Sri Lanka. Headgear (hats or caps) were worn before the Portuguese made contact with the East, but the western style of headgear was introduced by the Portuguese. Portuguese influence on the Sri Lankan nobility's clothes was documented by Robert Knox, an Englishman who kept a diary of his observations in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century Sri Lanka. He described the attire of King Rājasinha II of the Kandyan kingdom which was not under Portuguese rule:

His apparel is very strange and wonderful, not after his own Country-fashion, or any other, being made after his own invention. On his head he wears a Cap with four corners, like a Jesuits three-teer high, and a Feather standing upright before, like that in the head of a fore-horse in a Team, a long band hanging down his back after the Portuguez fashion, his Doublet after so strange a shape, that I cannot describe it, the body of one, and the sleeves of another colour; He wears long Breeches to his Anckles, Shoes and Stockings. He doth not always keep to one fashion, but changes as his fancy leads him: but always when he comes aboard, his Sword

hangs by his side in a belt over his shoulder: which no Chingulays [Sinhalese] dare wear, only white men may: a Gold Hilt, and Scabbard most of beaten Gold. Commonly he holdeth in his hand a small Cane, painted of divers colours, towards the lower end set round about with such stones, as he hath, and pleaseth, with a head of Gold. (Ryan 1911: 53–54)

Culinary arts and new dishes such as pastries, cakes and puddings enriched the eastern cuisine, while oriental spices broke the monotony of western food. Jesuits also introduced South American food crops such as chilli pepper, potatoes (known to the Thais as *Man Farang*) and Guavas (simply called *Farang*). Chilli was introduced to Asia from the Americas by the Portuguese. It has become a *sine qua non* for some Asians, particularly the coastal peoples. Pepper is, however, indigenous to Asia. The Asian words for chilli do not always reveal that it was introduced by the Portuguese. The word *Farang* whose etymon is Frank was used for the Portuguese, and came to mean foreigner in the East. The Portuguese introduced crops such as *anaras* (pineapple) and *kaju* (cashew). Cashew nuts are today known in Bengal as *Hijli badam* from their initial introduction at the Hijli (Hugh) settlement. The Portuguese legacy is evident in the Bengali cuisine. Bandel Cheese, bread known today as *pao-roti* (*pão* means bread) or *Feringi-roti* for example, indicates how Portuguese culinary dishes were adopted by the Bengalis.

Indo-Portuguese furniture using local wood and Portuguese design gave rise to a new style of furniture. The spiral design which was reminiscent of the sea, ships and rope, is still used by furniture-makers in places which had Lusitanian links. Artistic expressions and decorative art changed and the depiction of the style of clothing, as seen in religious imagery, shows eastern influence. The use of oriental gems in jewellery designed by the Portuguese also shows a combination of resources from the East and the West. Amin Jaffer and Melanie Schwabe (1999: 8) have dated an ivory casket made in Kōtte, Sri Lanka, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. This casket is particularly interesting as it depicts religious scenes and is considered to have been a gift from Dharmapāla to the King of Portugal, in 1557, through Franciscan Friars, to announce an important event: the conversion of the Sinhalese King. This was a key event as a Christian monarch sat on the Sri Lankan throne, breaking established traditions that had continued for 2000 years.

Dharmapāla's grandfather, Bhuvanekabāhu VII, King of Kōtte, sought Portuguese military aid and offered a monopoly on cinnamon in return.

This paved the way for Portuguese domination of Kōtte, Jaffnapatam and parts of the Kandyan kingdom. The desire to gain the whole of Sri Lanka is apparent in the Portuguese plot to marry the eleven year old heiress of the Kandyan throne, Kusumasana Devi, baptised Dona Catherina, to a Portuguese *fidalgão*.

Several other ivory caskets have been manufactured in the early sixteenth century based on Portuguese designs. These caskets are based on Portuguese travelling boxes – rectangular with a pitched lid – and were influenced by European motifs and imagery. While some caskets are entirely Sinhalese in decoration, others are a hybrid of European and Sinhalese historical, religious and mythological motifs.

Portuguese architectural influences are identifiable in the East in churches and fortresses. Those buildings, modelled on themes from Italian Renaissance, baroque and neo-classical art, were contrasted and blended with late Gothic or Portuguese Manueline art with maritime themes. Wherever these structures have not survived, it is the architectural features and terms that bring back memories of a Lusitanian heritage. The intangible impressions are harder to recognise, particularly as it has been several centuries since the Portuguese lost control of the Indian Ocean. The sixteenth-century Portuguese chronicler, João de Barros, predicted that the Portuguese arms and pillars placed in Africa and in Asia, and in countless isles beyond the bounds of three continents, are material things, and that time may destroy them. He prophesised, however, that time will not destroy the religion, customs and language which the Portuguese have implanted in those lands. His prophetic words are given below: *‘As armas e padrões portugueses, postos em África e em Ásia, e em tantas mil ilhas fóra da repartição das três partes da terra, materiais são, e póde-ás o tempo gastar, porém, não gastará doutrina, costumes, linguagem, que os Portugueses nestas terras leixárem’* (Barros 1971: 405).

The Portuguese also introduced plants to the Asian countries and this is an important by-product of their presence in the Indian Ocean. They introduced, Tapioca, which was the common man’s bread until the 1980s, pineapple, which is the principal commercial crop in Muvathupuzha, Vazhakulam and Kottayam regions and cashew, which became the main commercial crop in the Malabar region, Quilon and central Kerala (Malekandathil 2001: 288). To Sri Lanka, among other plants, they introduced tobacco and cashew from South America which were potential cash crops.

The Portuguese knowledge base expanded when they came into contact with Asian cultures, influenced by philosophies such as Buddhism

and Hinduism which were older than Christianity. The Jesuits, who were a multinational Society, in addition to making conversions, wrote about Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Ethiopian languages and cultures. Their works provide an insight into eastern cultural systems and are a first effort by the West to understand the 'other'. Misunderstandings occurred on both sides. The Portuguese, on entering a temple where Hindus were worshipping Mari, the goddess of smallpox, thought that they were Christians praying to Virgin Mary. The Portuguese made their devotions and gave thanks for their safe landing in India at this Hindu temple which they believed to have been a worshipping place for Christians (Hutt 1988: 54).

The Sri Lankans, on the other hand, seeing the Portuguese drinking red wine, thought that they were drinking blood. Words concerning Christianity passed into Asian languages as new practices were introduced. Similarly, words on eastern religions passed into Portuguese or Indo-Portuguese as the Portuguese became aware of these philosophies and practices.

Soldiers were moved from one fortress to another after serving for a relatively short period of time. This meant that the Portuguese had little incentive to learn the vernacular languages. This should not be interpreted as them being unable to adapt to new cultures. On the contrary, adopting Asian customs, clothing, food, hygiene and medicine, for example, was not a problem for the Portuguese who settled down in Asia. It is only by highlighting the cultural flows between the Lusitanian adventurers and the Asians that we can hope to build a more complete picture of the Portuguese encounter with the peoples in the East.

### **Portuguese Influence after other Europeans Entered the Indian Ocean**

The Portuguese were displaced from their far eastern holdings – Malacca in 1641, Macassar in 1661, Moluccas in 1663. This was a process which began with the loss of Ambon to the Dutch, in 1605. In Timor, however, the *mestiços* were able to prevent military attacks against the Portuguese as they had networked with the local chiefs and they also had access to resources, both financial and land (Andaya 1995: 129).

Kenneth McPherson (1995: 231) points out that there was private Portuguese trading in the Bay of Bengal until the eighteenth century, either with British, French, Danes or alone. The East India Company (EIC) was preoccupied with attempting to take away the market share from the Portuguese or else trying to absorb the Portuguese into the EIC. Private Portuguese trading in textiles formed a large slice of the market. In

addition, the contacts made by the Portuguese in Southeast Asia were useful in exploiting new markets, particularly in Manila. At the end of the eighteenth century, Macau's trade with private Portuguese agents on both coasts of India was significant. Portuguese trading activity in South Asia and Southeast Asia dimmed down at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Portuguese lacked new commercial techniques and modern communication technology. The Napoleonic Wars led to the British hegemony of the Indian Ocean and a new capitalist world trade system evolved in the early nineteenth century. The Portuguese who ushered the British, Dutch, French and Danes into the commercial networks in Asia, were displaced from the Indian Ocean excepting for a few enclaves.

According to Dunn (1987: 200), the inferiority of the Portuguese against Netherlands shows the structural superiority of mercantile capitalism over the fossilised feudal system of Portugal. Some argue that the Portuguese power in Asia declined due to insufficient enforcement of the trade monopoly. This argument rests on the unavailability of a conscientious civil and military force loyal to the Portuguese Crown and, the lack of an efficient administration. Advocates of the free trade argue that the downfall of the Portuguese was due to the monopoly system. Trade monopolies existed in the Indian Ocean before they fell into the Portuguese Crown. Some monopolies were obtained through diplomatic means, as the Asian rulers wooed the Portuguese to boost their military strength. Others were obtained through military supremacy of the Portuguese. Trade, military supremacy and seapower were complementary.

The Dutch tried to follow the Portuguese model of intermarriage hoping that Dutch culture would also flow into Asia, but they failed. The paradox, then, is why the Portuguese traits have become so deep-rooted in Asia, when the Portuguese empire and colonisation did not last very long in most places. Historians examining the Estado have neglected the Portuguese presence outside the Estado and also the Portuguese communities and descendants that continued to live in Asia when the official Portuguese presence ended. Whatever they are called – *mestiços*, *topazes*, burghers or the 'Portuguese tribe' – they are cultural intermediaries and guardians of Lusitanian traits.

Even though exclusive trading rights disappeared, the Portuguese continued to live as pirates, gunners, petty traders and priests on the coast and hinterland. In India, by the seventeenth century, the Portuguese were being challenged by the Mughals who captured the Hugli River area in 1632. The Portuguese continued to live in these settlements and were gradually absorbed into the Eurasian community. With the rise in British

influence through the eighteenth century, many Portuguese went to Calcutta (*Kolkotta*) – the capital of British India. As Calcutta developed into an industrialised city, more Portuguese and Eurasians came to the city from the countryside settlements. This led to the construction of the Calcutta Roman Catholic Cathedral, between 1797 and 1799, on Portuguese Street.

After the Portuguese withdrew from Sri Lanka, having left no Sri Lankan clergy, the Catholic Church was threatened in the Dutch Era. It was rescued by Father Joseph Vaz from Goa who stepped into Sri Lanka in disguise, and worked in the Kandyan kingdom which was under Sinhalese rule. Catholic Priests were not allowed in the Dutch controlled maritime ports of Sri Lanka.

Even after the Portuguese were officially defeated by other Europeans from their fortresses in the East, it did not put an end to the Portuguese outside the Estado or the 'shadow empire'. The Portuguese presence in Thailand is an example. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese entered Southeast Asia, Ayuthaya (in the kingdom of Siam, called Thailand today) was the most powerful state in the Indochinese Peninsula. Malacca accepted Siam's suzerainty. In 1514, Albuquerque sent Duarte Fernandes to make contact with King Rama T'bodi at Ayuthaya, to develop a profitable trade with the Thais and to get political support in the area. As he was received favourably, Albuquerque sent a second envoy – António Miranda de Azevedo, a *fidalgo*. In 1518, a third visit led by Duarte Coelho resulted in a treaty which gave the Portuguese the rights of settlement and the freedom to practice Catholicism. These privileges were reciprocated by the Portuguese who offered their friendship and military equipment in return. Trading with Siam was deemed unprofitable by the Portuguese authorities. They, therefore, left it in the hands of private Portuguese traders who often traded without a licence. Maria de Conceição Flores (1995: 66), using Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* and Diogo de Couto's *Décadas da Ásia*, estimates that between 100 and 200 Portuguese were involved in private trading with Siam. The Siamese got military aid – reinforcements and firearms – through the private Portuguese traders. When French missionaries entered the Portuguese settlement in Ayuthaya, the Portuguese felt threatened. They complained to the Portuguese authorities, who sent an ambassador to Siam in 1684. The Portuguese settlement was reassured that they would be respected by King Narai who unfortunately died in 1688. The French garrison's expulsion followed, but the new Siamese King, Phetracha (1688–1703), entered into a treaty with the Dutch, in order to maintain Ayuthaya's international

trade. This was a familiar scene in the Indian Ocean where one European power was replaced by another.

The Santa Cruz Church on the west bank (Thonburi) of the Chao Phraya River in Bangkok, is a Portuguese church. This church has a Chinese Catholic congregation and is known to the Thais as *Wat Kuti Jin* meaning 'Chinese Monastic Residence'. However, in 1785, it had a congregation of 413 Siamese Catholics of Portuguese origin. These Portuguese eventually married into 'Pure Thai' families but their names, *Na Silawan* (from Da Silva), for example, reveal their Lusitanian links.

A village to the south of Ayuthaya is called *Kampong Farang* (meaning 'Foreigners' Village'). By the end of the seventeenth century, Ayuthaya had a population of around a million. The Portuguese Church of the Immaculate Conception to the North of the city of Bangkok suggests that the Portuguese had some influence, if only religious, along the Chao Phraya River. The church was taken over by the French and now has a Cambodian congregation.

The Burmese attacked the Thais in 1767, which resulted in the final destruction of Ayuthaya and the relocation of the Thai capital to the west bank of present-day Bangkok. The Portuguese built a church, in 1787, to the South of Bangkok on the banks of the river. This church of the Holy Rosary is still known to the Thais as *Wat Kalawan* (Kalawan or Calvary Temple – Kalawan is derived from the Portuguese *Calvário*). The present structure was rebuilt by Vietnamese and Cambodian Catholics in the nineteenth century.

The Dutch, acknowledging that the Portuguese had interlocked with Asian peoples, tried to emulate the Portuguese model, and experimented in three places: Batavia, Sri Lanka and Flores. When the Dutch women were not successful wives to the VOC (Dutch East India Company) men, they tried marrying them off to *mestiças* and Portuguese-speaking Asian women. So strong were the Lusitanian traits that, instead of learning the Dutch language and customs, these women influenced their husbands to speak Luso-Asian languages. Even though the Portuguese were defeated from Asia by other Europeans, they left behind cultural repositories – *mestiças* and *mestiços* – through whom Lusitanian customs continued to flow into the indigenous population. These bilinguals or multilinguals facilitated Portuguese words being transmitted to Asian tongues. It has been suggested that the Portuguese had an aggressive policy of miscegenation in order to produce *mestiças* who could be loyal soldiers. The Portuguese were thinly spread and needed to expand their defence force. They relied on an *ad hoc* auxiliary force made up of local soldiers/sailors called *lascars*, who

were not always loyal to the Portuguese. While it is uncertain if a policy of miscegenation was necessary, in the absence of Portuguese women in the overseas expeditions and the willingness of the Portuguese to cohabit or marry Asian women, the function of *mestiços* as cultural brokers has not been recognised. The Portuguese boosted their military strength by employing African soldiers. The Indian Ocean slave trade provided them with a ready market for obtaining Africans to whom they paid salaries. The multinational representation is apparent among the sailors, soldiers, missionaries and others in the Portuguese expansion overseas. The New Christians, those who converted from Judaism, were also on board Portuguese caravels that sailed to India. All in all, the Lusitanian expansion overseas resulted in three diasporas: the Portuguese, the Jewish and the Africans.

Portuguese sailors/soldiers in the East seem to have continued the European literary traditions of *romanceiros* and *cantigas*. Improvising on themes that emanated from Portugal, such as the 'Ring of Gold'. Portuguese diasporists also composed new ballads for their lady loves. Despite being an oral tradition, these ballad fragments have survived in several Lusitanian spaces in the nineteenth century. They began to die out in the twentieth century, perhaps following the introduction of other European languages, but are still sung in some Luso-Asian spaces.

The Portuguese could be considered as pioneers of cultural globalisation. They enhanced mobility and connectivity between diverse cultures, paving the way for breaking down the barriers that separated the East and the West. Cross-cultural contact also increased reflexivity where colonised nations examined their own culture against that of the dominant culture. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to colonise Asian lands, but were followed by other European nations – Dutch, French and British. Asians examining 'European' culture cannot often distinguish between the different sub-cultures of European nations. It is significant that after decolonisation, the national sentiments have not affected the Lusitanian imprint on several cultural aspects.

Over the centuries and across the globe, successive waves of invasion or trade, forced languages to pidginise and creolise. Portuguese became the language of global trade from the sixteenth century, and was used in pidginised or creolised forms by the Lusitanians and other Europeans who displaced them. Creolisation could be considered a result of cultural globalisation. Whether influenced by African Pidgin Portuguese and/or Asian Pidgin Portuguese, the Asian Portuguese Creoles connected the Portuguese trade network. In Chapter 6, I have compared two Luso-Asian



languages with Bickerton's Prototypical Creole system in order to demonstrate some special features of these languages. These languages became the means of day-to-day communication of, not only the Portuguese diaspora, but also of the Jewish and African diasporas, that were associated with the maritime enterprise. Reduplication of nouns to indicate plurality supports my assertion that a Malay lingua franca was current in the Indian Ocean, when the Portuguese entered these waters. As set out in Chapter 7, my hypothesis is that an Asian Portuguese Creole, which evolved in Cochin, spread to the other Luso-Asian spaces. The Portuguese vessels carried interpreters and this shows the variety of methods and innovations employed by the Lusitanians to fulfil their trading mission. The Lusitanians wanted to succeed and they employed people of various nationalities in their efforts to achieve their objective.

As the Portuguese empire is coming to an end, the recent events in Timor makes one wonder if the sun has yet set on this thalassic enterprise. The adoption of Portuguese as an official language after independence from Indonesia, in 1999, gives East Timor an identity as a 'Portuguese-speaking nation' securing its position amongst a global community. Although Portuguese is not an international language used in business and diplomatic affairs as is English, French or Spanish, it has been brought to the fore by Brazil, being the ninth strongest economic power in the world and perhaps even its success at football. The Portuguese language is a tool for asserting East Timorese identity *vis-à-vis* Indonesia which dominated East Timor from 1975 to 1999, before which, it was a Portuguese colony. Retaining Portuguese in a far flung country in the Indian Ocean might seem like a colonial hangover, but it allows Timor to identify itself with Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe. Portuguese is still spoken by a minority in India (Goa, Daman, Diu) and also in Macau where it still has official status.

From an Asian point of view, the reduction of Portuguese presence did not put an end to European dominance. While the Portuguese lost Cochin, in 1663, the Dutch ruled it from 1663 to 1795 and the British from 1795 to 1947, but it did not have the prominence it had enjoyed during the Portuguese Era. Cochin became pivotal to Indian Ocean trade after the Portuguese arrival, as it replaced its commercial rival, Calicut. The *casados* filled the vacuum created by ousting the Muslim traders. The Portuguese clergy complained that there were too many *fidalgos*. Understandably, there was friction between the *fidalgos* and the *casados*, as two Portuguese groups were now competing for trade. This must have been beneficial to the Asian producers as it would have driven up the

purchase price of the goods that they sold. India was the land of promise for *fidalgos* who were not the eldest in the family, as according to inheritance practices, they did not acquire their parents' property. *Fidalgos*, therefore, yearned for a captaincy of a fortress in the Estado where they could make a fortune for themselves.

The Portuguese diaspora has strengthened Lusitanian links and helped to diffuse European cultural traits and customs among them. Since the Portuguese 'went native' in the colonies, wherever they decided to settle down, they seem to have integrated well with the locals and passed on Lusitanian traits. While trading, proselytising and colonising have been the focus of historical works, the process of cultural transmission has been virtually unrecognised. A combination of studying historical documents and oral traditions, together with anthropological and linguistic sources, is necessary to build a more realistic picture of where, when, how and why events occurred.

The scope and authority of Portugal's achievements overseas and influences required intermarriages leading to miscegenation. Children of mixed parentage were necessary for the development of a creole language, and in the case of some Luso-Asian tongues, were reinforced by them, throughout other European regimes. The *mestiços* and *mestiças* were the crucial agents in cultural transmission. Those outside imperial networks were also important in this process, as is seen in the case of Bengal and Thailand, for example. Portuguese cultural influences, both within and outside the *Estado*, point to the need for imperial studies to consider the effect of cultural exchanges and cross-cultural interactions on the ongoing arrangements between the colonisers and the colonised, and their inadequacies.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans since Alexander the Great of Macedonia to have had an empire in Asia. Portuguese influence has shown remarkable staying power in Asia, both culturally and linguistically. The Lusitanian imprint lies not merely within the official empire; it goes far beyond its boundaries.



# Bibliography

- Abeyasinghe, T. (1966). *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, 1594–1612*. Colombo: Lake House Investments Ltd.
- Altabé, D. (2000). Portuguese Jews of Salonica. In: *Studies on the History of Portuguese Jews*. Eds: I. Katz and M. Serels. New York: American Society of Sephardic Studies.
- Andaya, L. (1995). The Portuguese Tribe in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. In: *The Portuguese and the Pacific*. Eds: F. A. Dutra and J. C. dos Santos. Santa Barbara: University of Santa Barbara.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
- Ariyaratne, S. (1999). *An Enquiry into Baila and Kaffirinna* [Sinhala Text]. Colombo: S. Godage Brothers.
- Baker, P. (1995). *From Contact to Beyond*. London: University of Westminster Press.
- (1998). Investigating the Origin and Diffusion of Shared Features among the Atlantic English Creoles. In: Baker, P. and Bruyn, A. (eds). *St Kitts and the Atlantic Creoles*. London: University of Westminster Press.
- Bakker, P., Post, M. and Van der Voort, H. (1995). TMA Particles and Auxiliaries. In: *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*. Eds: J. Arends, P. Muysken and N. Smith. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Barros, J. de (1638). *Decadas da Asia*. Lisboa.
- (1971). Gramática da língua portuguesa: cartinha gramática. Diálogo em louvor da nossa linguagem. Diálogo da viciosa vergonha, introdução de Maria Leonor Carvalho Buescu, Lisboa, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, fac-simile da edição de 1540.
- Batalha, G. (1974). *Lingua de Macau: O que foi e o que é*. Macau: Centro de Informação e Turismo.
- (1985). Situação e perspectivas do português e dos crioulos de origem portuguesa na Ásia Oriental (Macau, Hong Kong, Singapura, Indonésia). In: *Proceedings of the Congresso sobre a situação actual da lingual portuguesa no mundo*. Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Lingua Portuguesa. I, 287–303.
- Bauer, A. (1975). Das Kanton-Englisch ein Pidginidiom als Beispiel für ein soziolinguistisches Kulturkontaktphänomen. Bern, Frankfurt: Lang.
- Baxter, A. (1983). Creole Universals and Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese). *Pacific Linguistics* A–65 (3), 143–60.
- (1985). A description of Papia Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese). Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra.
- (1988). A Grammar of Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese). *Pacific Linguistics*, Series B, No. 95.

- (1996). Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Pacific and Western Pacific Rim. In: *Atlas of Languages and Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas*. Eds: Wurm, S., Muhlhäusler, P. and Tryon, D. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- (1999). Personal Communication.
- Berenger (1811). A Grammatical Arrangement on the Method of Learning the Corrupted Portuguese as Spoken in India. Colombo: Government Press.
- Bethencourt, F. (1998). A Administração da Coroa. In: *História da Expansão Portuguesa*. Eds: F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri. Navarra: Temas and Debates.
- Bhabha, H. (1986). The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism. In: *Literature, Politics and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference 1976–1984*, pp. 148–172. Eds. F. Barker, P. Hulme, M. Iversen and D. Loxley. London and New York: Methuen.
- Bible, The Holy* (1985). Authorized Version. Published in the Year 1611. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bickerton, D. (1974). Creolisation, Linguistic Universals, Natural Semantics and the Brain. *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics*. 6, 124–41.
- (1981). *Roots of Language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- (1984). The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis. *Behavioural and Brain Sciences* 7: 173–221.
- (1947). 'The Topasses of Timor'. *Koninklijke Vereeniging Indisch Instituut, Medeling* no. 73, *Afdeling Volkenkunde* 24, pp. 1–22.
- (1951). *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1959). *The Great Ship from Amakon*. Lisbon.
- (1961). *Four Centuries of Expansion, 1415–1825: A Succinct Survey*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- (1967). *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Brohier, R. L. (1965). *Discovering Ceylon*. Colombo: Lake House Investments Ltd.
- Brown, K. (2005). *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Bynon, T. (2001). The Synthesis of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Studies: August Schleicher. In: *History of the Language Sciences*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Callaway, J. (1818). *Vocabulary with useful Phrases, and Familiar Dialogues in the English, Portuguese and Cingales Languages*. Colombo: Wesleyan Mission Press.
- Campos, J. J. A. (1998). *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Cardinal Saraiva, D. Francisco de S. Luis (1818). *The Glossary of Portuguese Words derived from Oriental and African languages excepting Arabic*. Lisbon.
- Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de (1924–33). *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*. Ed: Pedro de Azevedo. Coimbra: Coimbra University Press.
- Castelo-Branco, S. (1997). *Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote.

- Caufriez, A. (1998a). *Romances du Trás-os-Montes: Mélodies et Poesies*. Paris: Centre Culturel Calouse Gulbenkian.
- (1998b). *Le Chant du Pain: Trás-os-Montes*. Paris: Centre Culturel Calouse Gulbenkian.
- Chan, K. (1969). A study in the social geography of the Malacca Portuguese Eurasians: M.A. Thesis: University of Malaya.
- Chen, J. (1970). *A Practical English-Chinese Pronouncing Dictionary*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company.
- Chomsky, N. (1968). *Language and Mind*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch.
- Chong, Y. (1975). The Portuguese Eurasians (Serani of Penang)'. In: S. Gardner (ed). *Malaysian Ethnic Relations*. Penang: Sociology Section, Universiti Sains Malaysia.
- Clements, J. C. (1990). Deletion as an Indicator of SVO: SOV Shift. *Language Variation and Change* 2.
- (1991). The Indo-Portuguese Creoles: Languages in Transition. *Hispania* 74, pp. 637–46. September.
- (1996). *The Genesis of a Language*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- (2000). Evidência para a existência dum pidgin Português asiático. Edited by Ernesto D'Andrade, Dulce Pereira, and Maria Antónia Mota, *Actas do Colóquio sobre Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa*, Braga: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística FLUL, 185–200.
- (2002). Two Indo-Portuguese Creoles in Contrast. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 17(2), 191–236.
- (2003). An A-morphous Morphological Account of the Reduplication Processes in the Asian Portuguese Creoles. In: *Twice as Meaningful*. Ed: S. Kouwenberg. London: Battlebridge Publications. pp. 193–200.
- Clements, J. C. and Koontz-Garboden, A. J. (2002). Two Indo-Portuguese Creoles in Contrast. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 17, pp. 191–236.
- Codrington, H. W. (1947). *Short History of Ceylon*. London: MacMillan & Company Ltd.
- Coelho, F. A. (1985). Contos Populares Portugueses: Prefácio de Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote. 2nd edition. (first published in 1879).
- (1880–86). *Os Dialectos Românicos ou Neolatinos na África, Ásia e América*. Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. Republished in J. Morais-Barbosa (ed). 1967. Estudos Linguísticos Crioulos. Lisboa: Academia Internacional de Cultura Portuguesa.
- Collis, M. (1943). *The Land of the Great Image*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Comrie, B. (1985). *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, E. K. (1953). *Ceylon: Its Geography, Its Resources and Its People*. London: Macmillan and Company Ltd.
- Cooperman, E. (2000). 'Portugues Conversos and Jews and their Trade. Relations between the New and Old Worlds'. In: *Studies on the History of Portuguese Jews*. Eds: I. Katz and M. Serels. New York: American Society of Sephardic Studies.

- Da Cunha Rivara, J. H. (1857–76). *Arquivo Português Oriental*. Nova Goa.
- Da Silva, O. M. (1986). *Sri Lanka and the Portuguese*. Colombo: M. D. Gunasena & Company Ltd.
- (1990). *Fidalgos in the Kingdom of Kotte*. Colombo: Harwoods Publishers.
- (1994). *Fidalgos in the Kingdom of Jaffnapatam*. Colombo: Harwoods Publishers.
- Da Silva Rego, A. (1959). *Portuguese Colonisation in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of The Royal Ordinances (Regimentos)*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Dalby, D. (1997). *The Global Language Register: A Transnational Key to the World's Languages and Peoples*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies and Wales: University of Cardiff.
- Dalgado, S. R. (1855–1922). *Estudos Sobre os Crioulos Indo-Portugueses*. Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (1998).
- Dalgado, S. R. (1900). *Dialecto Indo-Português de Ceylão*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.
- (1903). Dialecto Indo-Português de Damão. *Separata da Revista Ta-ssi-yang-kuo*. Serie II, Vol. III, No. 6, Vol. IV, Nos 2,4, 5, Lisboa.
- (1906). *Dialecto Indo-Português do Norte*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.
- (1917). Dialecto Indo-Português de Negapatão. *Revista Lusitana*, pp. 40–53.
- (1919–21). *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.
- (1922). *Dialecto Indo-Português de Goa*. Rio de Janeiro: J Leito & Company.
- (1936). *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*. Trans: A. X. Soares. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- De Brito, M. C. (1989). *Estudos de História da Música em Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa.
- De Castanheda, F. L. (1924). *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses*. Coimbra, livro 1.
- De Mello, T. (1908–1920). *O Oriente Português*. Revista da Comissão Archaeologia da India Portuguesa. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional.
- De Oliveira Marques, A. H. (1972). *History of Portugal*. New York/London: Columbia University Press.
- De Saussure, F. (1916). *Cours de Linguistique Générale*. Paris: Paytot.
- De Sena, J. (1982). Cantiga de Ceilão. In: *40 Anos de Servidão*. Lisboa: Moraes. pp. 164–6.
- De Silva, C. R. (1972). *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1617–1638*. Colombo: H. W. Cave & Company.
- (1987). *Sri Lanka: A History*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd.
- De Silva, C. R. (1994). Beyond the Cape: The Portuguese Encounter with the Peoples of South Asia. In: *Implicit Understandings*. Ed: S. B. Schwartz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2001/2). Portuguese Interactions with Sri Lanka and the Maldives in the Sixteenth Century: Some Parallels and Divergences. *Sri Lankan Journal of the Humanities* XXVII and XXVIII (1 and 2).
- De Silva, K. M. (1981). *A History of Sri Lanka*. London: C. Hurst & Company.

- De Silva Jayasuriya, S. (1996). Indo-Portuguese Songs of Sri Lanka. The Nevill Manuscript. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London LIX (2), pp. 253–67.
- (1999a). Echoes of the Tagus: Music of Sri Lanka. *The Indian Ocean Review* 12 (1), p. 18, Curtin University, Australia.
- (1999b). Portuguese in Sri Lanka: Influence of Substratum Languages. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 9 (2), pp. 251–70.
- (1999c). Tense Mood Aspect Markers in Asian Portuguese Creoles: a Comparison. The Creoles and Typology Workshop, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 26 August.
- (2000a). Indo-Português e Sinhala: Inter-Câmbio das Palavras. *PAPILA*, Vol. 10, pp. 66–77. University of Brasília, Brazil.
- (2000b). Portuguese Cultural Imprint on Sri Lanka. *LUSOTOPIE*, pp. 253–259, Paris, France.
- (2000c). Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole Verses. International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter, February, p. 19. The Netherlands: Leiden University.
- (2000d). Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole: a Language in Eclipse. *The Indian Ocean Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 20–21, Curtin University, Australia.
- (2001a). *An Anthology of Indo-Portuguese Verse*. Lewiston/ Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press.
- (2001b). *Les Cafres de Ceylan: Le Chânon Portugais. Cahiers des Anneaux de la Mémoire* No. 3, pp. 229–53. Nantes, France.
- (2002a). The Portuguese Encounter with Sri Lanka: A Musical Interface. *EPISTEME* No. 10–11–12, pp. 173–89. Revista Multidisciplinar da Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Portugal.
- (2002b). Sri Lankan Malay Creole: A Unique Malay. *NUSA* 52, Studies in Malay Dialects, Part III, Jakarta, Indonesia. pp. 43–52.
- (2003a). Changing Political Scenarios and Linguistic Innovation: The Case of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. *Sprachtypol. Univ. Forsch. (STUF)*, 56 (4), pp. 400–11, Berlin, Germany.
- (2003b). An African Presence in Sri Lanka. In: *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean*. Eds: de Silva Jayasuriya, S. and Pankhurst, R. New Jersey: Africa World Press.
- (2003c). *Les femmes et l'esclavage au Sri Lanka. Cahiers des Anneaux de la Mémoire* 5. Nantes, France.
- (2004). Baila: A Cross Cultural Composition. British Forum of Ethnomusicology Annual Conference, Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, Scotland.
- (2005a). Linguistic Flows and Identity. Paper presented at the Conference on Portugal and Sri Lanka; 500 years organised by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and held in Paris.
- (2005b). Sri Lankan Romanceiros and the Goan Mando. Conference on 'Music and the Art of Seduction' Organised by the Dutch Society for Ethnomusicology and World Music and the Amsterdam School of Cultural Analysis, University of Amsterdam.
- (2005c). Music and Dance in Identity Formation. British Forum of



- Ethnomusicology Annual Conference, School of Oriental and African Studies and AHRB Centre for Cross-Cultural Dance and Music Research, University of London.
- (2006a). Identifying Africans in Asia: What's in a Name? *African and Asian Studies*, Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.
- (2006b). Trading on a Thalassic Network: African Migration in the Indian Ocean. *International Journal of Social Sciences*, 188.
- De Silva Jayasuriya, S. and Pankhurst, R. (2003). On the African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean Region. In: *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean*, op. cit.
- De Sousa, A. B. (1930). *Subsidios para a historia militar maritima da India (1585–1669)*. Lisbon, I, 22–4.
- De Souza, T. (1979). *Medieval Goa: A Socio-economic History*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- De Trindade, P. (1630). Conquista Espiritual do Oriente. Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarina, Lisboa. Vol. I, 1962, Vol. II, 1964, Vol. III, 1967.
- De Vasconcelos, M. (1934). *Romances Velhos em Portugal*. 2nd ed. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.
- De Vos, F. H. (1950). Portuguese Patois. *The Journal of the Dutch Burger Union*, XL, October, Sri Lanka.
- Diffie, B. W. and Winius, G. D. (1977). *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dinteman, W. (1993). *Forts of Oman*. Dubai: Emirates Printing Press.
- Disney, A. (1995). Contrasting Models of 'Empire': The Estado da India in South Asia and East Asia in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. In: *The Portuguese and the Pacific*. op.cit.
- Don Peter, W. (1978). *Education in Sri Lanka Under the Portuguese*. Colombo: Catholic Press.
- Dos Santos Ferreira, J. (1978). Papiá Cristám di Macau. Macau.
- Dunn, M. (1987). Pepper, Profit and Property Rights: On the Nature of Economic Development of the *Estado da India* in Southeast Asia. In: *Portuguese Asia*. Ed. R. Ptak. Stuttgart: Springer Verlag. Wiesbaden GMBH.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911). USA: University of Chicago.
- Faria y Sousa, M. De (1590–1649). *The Portuguese Asia or the History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese*. Trans: Captain J. Stevens. West Mead, Hants: Gregg International (1971).
- Ferguson, J. (1903). *Ceylon in 1903*. Colombo: A.M. & J. Ferguson.
- Fernando, C. M. (1894). The Music of Ceylon. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon)*, XIII, pp. 83–189.
- Ferraz, L. (1987). Portuguese Creoles of West Africa and Asia. Ed: G. Gilbert. In: *Pidgin and Creole Languages. Essays in Memory of John E. Reinecke*. Honolulu: Hawaii University Press. 337–60.
- Flores, M. Da Conceição (1995). Portuguese Relations with Siam in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. In: *The Portuguese and the Pacific*, op. cit.
- Fox, W. (1819). *A Dictionary of the Ceylon-Portuguese, Singalese and English Languages*. Colombo: Wesleyan Mission Press.

- França, A. D. P. D. A. (1970). *Portuguese Influence in Indonesia*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
- Frawley, W. (2003). *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frith, S. (1996). *Music and Identity. Questions of Cultural Identity*. In: S. Hall and P. du Gay (Eds). London: Sage Publications.
- Fryer, P. (2000). *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil*. London: Pluto Press.
- Gallop, R. (1936). *Portugal: A Book of Folk-Ways*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gallop, R. (1937). Cantares do Povo Português: Estudo, Critico e Comentário. Edição do Instituto para a alta Cultura. Lisboa: Depositária Livraria Ferin.
- Geiger, W. (1960). Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times. Ed: H. Beechert. Wiesbaden. O Harrassowitz.
- Gnana Prakasar, S. (1919). Portuguese in Tamil. Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register Vol. 5. pp.70–7.
- Godinho, V. (1969). *L'Economie de L'Empire Portugais aux Xve et XVIe Siecles*. Paris. (1978). L'émigration Portugaise (XVeme-XXeme siecles) – Une Constante Structurelle et les Réponses au Changements du Monde. *Revista de Historia Economica e Social*.
- Goonatilleka, M. (1983). *An interview with the Portuguese speaking community in Puttalam, Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- Goonatilleka, M. (1985). A Portuguese Creole in Sri Lanka: A Brief Sociolinguistic Survey. In: *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*. Ed: T de Sousa.
- Goonawardene, K. (1958). *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon 1638–1658*. Djambatan, NV: Netherlands Institute for International Cultural Relations.
- Gumperz, J. and Wilson, R. (1971). Convergence and Creolisation. A Case from the Indo-Aryan/Dravidian Border in India. In: *Pidginisation and Creolisation of Languages*. Ed: D. Hymes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 151–67.
- Hamers, J. and Blanc, H. (1983). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hancock, I. (1975). Malacca Creole Portuguese: Asian, African or European? *Anthropological Linguistics* 17 (5), 211–36.
- Harris, R. (1983). *F de Saussure: Course in General Linguistics*. London: Gerald Duckworth and Company Ltd.
- Hettiaratchi, D. (1969). Linguistics in Ceylon. I. Linguistics in South Asia. *Current Trends in Linguistics* 5, pp. 736–51.
- Holm, J. (1988). *Pidgins and Creoles: Theory and Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1989). *Pidgins and Creoles*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1994). *Pidgins and Creoles: Reference Survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huang, Parker Po-fei (1970). *Cantonese Dictionary: Cantonese–English, English–Cantonese*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hussainmiya, B. A. (1987). *Lost Cousins: The Malays of Sri Lanka*. Bangi: Selangor (Malaysia) Institut Bahasa, Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan Melayu (UKM), 1987.

- Hutt, A. (1988). *Goa*. Essex: Scorpion Publishing Ltd.
- Jaffer, A. and Schwabe, M. (1999). A group of Sixteenth-century Ivory Caskets from Ceylon. Apollo March.
- Kartomi, M. (1984). 'Gambus'. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*. Ed: S Sadie. London: Macmillan.
- Kay, B. (1989). *Babrain Island Heritage*. UAE: Motivate Publishing.
- Kornhauser, B. (1978). 'In Defence of Kroncong.' In *Studies in Indonesian Music*. ed. Kartomi, M. J. Clayton, Vic: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies: Monash University.
- Klein, B. (2006). 'We are not Pirates: Piracy and Navigation in the Lusiads'. In: *Pirates! The Politics of Plunder 1550–1650*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Knapp, G. (1981). Europeans, Mestizos and Slaves: The Population of Colombo at the end of the Seventeenth Century. *Itinerario* V (2), pp. 84–101.
- Knox, R. (1681). *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*. Sri Lanka: Tisara Prakasakayo Ltd.
- Kouwenberg, S. and Lacharité, D. (1998). Iconicity in Caribbean Creole Reduplication: Inflection versus Derivation. In: *Canadian Linguistics Association Annual Conference Proceedings*. Eds: J. Jensen and G. Van Hert. Canada: University of Ottawa.
- Kulatillake, C. de S. (undated). *Musical Instruments in Sri Lanka's History*. Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1963). *Structural Anthropology*. Translated from the French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. UK: Penguin Books.
- Lobato, M. (1995). The Molucca Archipelago and East Indonesia in the Second Half of the sixteenth century in the Light of Portuguese and Spanish Accounts. In: *The Portuguese and the Pacific*, op. cit.
- Malekandethil, P. (2001). *Portuguese Cochín and the Maritime Trade in India 1500–1663*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Maniku, H. (2000). *A Concise Etymological Vocabulary of Dhivehi Language*. Colombo: The Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka.
- Marga, António de (1867). *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan and China at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*. Ed: H Stanley. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Mascarenhas-Keyes, S. (1987). *Migration and the International Goan Community*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London.
- Mathew, K. (1983). *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*. Manohar Publications, New Delhi.
- Matusky, P. and Chopyak, J. (1998). 'Peninsular Malay' In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, eds. T. W. Miller and S. Williams. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc.
- McPherson, K. (1995). Enemies or Friends? The Portuguese, the British and the Survival of Portuguese Commerce in the Bay of Bangal and Southeast Asia from the Late Seventeenth to the Late Nineteenth Century. In: *The Portuguese and the Pacific*, op. cit.

- Meersman, A. (1972). *Annual Reports of the Portuguese Franciscans in India 1713–1883*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos.
- Melder, V. (2004). Personal Communication.
- Morais-Barbosa, J. (ed) (1967). *Estudos linguísticos crioulos*. Lisboa: Academic Internacional da Cultural Portuguesa.
- Moravcsik, E. (1978). Language Contact. In: *Universals of Human Language*. Ed: J. H. Greenberg. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mühlhäusler, P. (1975). Reduplication and Repetition. Kivung special publication no. 1, May. 'Tok Pisin i go we?' Proceedings of a Conference held at the University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, September 18–21, 1973.
- (1986). *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- (1995). Pidgins, Creoles and Linguistic Ecologies. In: *From Contact to Creole and Beyond*. Ed: P. Baker. London: University of Westminster Press.
- Muller, K. (1993). *Dam Fruit Tree*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Nadkarni, M. (1975). Bilingualism and Syntactic Change in Konkani. *Language*, 51, 3.
- Nell, L. (1888). An Explanatory List of Portuguese Words Adopted by the Sinhalese. *Orientalis*. III, pp. 41–56.
- Nelson, W. (1984). *The Dutch Forts of Sri Lanka: The Military Monuments of Ceylon*. Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing Ltd.
- Nevill, H. (1904). A Manuscript of Portuguese Songs, From the Collection of Manuscripts, Chiefly Sinhalese. London: British Library.
- Newitt, M. (ed) (1986). *The First Portuguese Colonial Empire*. Exeter Studies in History, No. 11, University of Exeter.
- Newitt, M. (1995). *A History of Mozambique*. London: C. Hurst & Company Ltd.
- (2004). *A History of Portuguese Expansion 1400–1668*. United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Newstead, R. (1826). *O Novo Testamento de Nosso Senhor e Salvador Jesus Christo*, traduzido em indo-portugueza. Londres: Impressado na Officina de J. Telling.
- O Novo Testamento* (1813). Traduzido na Língua Portuguesa. Monte do Alho: Impresso por Hamblin e Seyfang.
- Ockersz, S. (1996). Personal Communication with the President of the Catholic Burgher Union, Batticaloa, Sri Lanka.
- Odber de Baubeta, P. (1997). *Igreja, Pecado e Sátira Social na Idade Média Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Panikkar, K. (1953). *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History, 1498–1945*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- (1959). *The problems of new states*. Paris: Calmann-Levy.
- (1971). *A Survey of Economic History*. London: Asia Publishing House.
- Pereira, C. (2005). Personal Communication.
- Pereira, J. (2000). *Song of Goa. Mundos of Yearning*. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
- Pereira, J. and Pal, P. (2001). *India and Portugal: Cultural Interactions*. Mumbai: Marg Publications.

- Perera, L. (1949). The Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions from 3rd century BC to 10th century AD. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ceylon.
- (2001). *The Institutes of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions: From the 3rd century BC to AD 830*. Kandy: The International Centre for Ethnic Studies.
- (2003). *The Institutes of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions: From AD 830 to AD 1016*. Kandy: The International Centre for Ethnic Studies.
- (2003). Personal Communication.
- Perera, S. (1916). Articles on 'Jesuits in Ceylon in the XVIth and XVIIth cc', 1916–1920 (I–VI), 1942 (VII, VIII).
- (1922). Portuguese Influence on Sinhalese Speech. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* VIII (1), July 45–60 and (2), October, 124–44.
- (1925). *The 'Conquista' of Queyroz: The Only History of the Portuguese in Ceylon*. The Ceylon Historical Association. Sri Lanka: Tisara Prakasakayo.
- (1932). *A History of Ceylon for Schools*. Colombo: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd.
- Perlas, C. (1996). *The Bugis*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.
- Perniola, V. (1989). *The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka: The Portuguese Period*. Sri Lanka: Tisara Prakasakayo.
- Peterson, J. (2007). *Historical Muscat: An Illustrated Guide and Gazetteer*. Leiden: Brill.
- Pieris, P. (1909). *Ribeiro's History of Ceilão*. Colombo: Apothecaries Company Ltd Printers.
- Pinto, Fernão Mendes (1725). *Peregrinação*. Lisboa.
- Pires, T. (1944). The Suma oriental of Thomé Pires: An account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512–15. The Book of Francisco Rodrigues, rutter of a voyage in the Red Sea, nautical rules, almanack and maps, written and drawn in the East before 1515. Translated from the Portuguese manuscript in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Paris, and edied by Armando Cortesão.
- Poduval, J. K. (2001). *Beginning of European Architecture in India*. In: *India and Portugal: Cultural Interactions*. Bombay: Marg Publications. pp.12–23. Eds. J Pereira and P Pal.
- Pope, E. (1937). *India in Portuguese Literature*. Portuguese India: Tipografia Rangel Bastora.
- Prakasah, O. (1993). The Asian Maritime Trading Network of the Portuguese and the Dutch: A Comparative Analysis. In: *As Relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do sueste e o Extremo Oriente*. Eds. A. T. de Mates and L. F. Reis Thomaz. Macau.
- Pyrard, F. (1888). The Voyages of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil. Trans: A. Gray. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Queyroz, F. De (1688). *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceilão*. Trans: S. G. Perera. Colombo: A. C. Richards (1929).
- Reinecke, J. (1975). *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Ribas, T. (1982). *Danças Populares Portuguesas*. Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa Divisão de Publicações.

- Ribeiro, L. (1961). Uma Geografia Quinhentista. *Studia* 7, pp. 181–9.
- Romaine, S (1988). *Pidgin and Creole Languages*. London: Longman.
- Russell-Wood, A. (1992). *A world on the move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia and America, 1415–1808*. Manchester: Carcanet Press.
- Ryan, J. (ed.), 1911, Robert Knox 1640–1720: An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon. Glasgow: James MacLehose.
- Sadie, S. (1984). *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
- Saldin, B. (1996). *The Sri Lankan Malays and their Language: Orang Melayu dan Bahasanya*. Sri Lanka: Sridevi Printers.
- (2001). *The Sri Lankan Malays and their Language: Orang Melayu dan Bahasanya*. Sri Lanka: Nihon Printers.
- Sannasgala, P. (1976). *A Study of Sinhala Vocables of Dutch Origin with Appendices of Portuguese and Malay/Javanese Borrowings*. Colombo: The Netherlands Alumni Association of Sri Lanka.
- Santos Ferreira, J. Dos (1978). *Papia Cristám di Macau*. Macau: Edição do Autor.
- Sapir, E. (1921). *Language*. New York: Harvest Books.
- Sarachchandra, E. (1966). *Folk Drama in Ceylon*. Sri Lanka: Government Press.
- Sardo, S. (2005). Personal Communication.
- Saunders, A. (1982). *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441–1555*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schuchardt, H. (1882). *Kreolische Studien II. Ueber das Indoportugiesische von Cochim Sitzungberichte* 102, 799–816.
- (1883a). *Kreolische Studien III. Ueber das Indoportugiesische von Mangalore, Sitzungberichte*, 105, 882–904.
- (1883b). *Kreolische Studien III. Ueber das Indoportugiesische von Diu, Sitzungberichte* 103, 3–18.
- (1890). *Beitrage zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanische VI. Zum Indoportugiesischen von Mahé and Cannanore*. 13, 516–24.
- Sengupta, G. (2001). *The Portuguese in Bengal*. In: *India and Portugal: Cultural Interactions*. Eds: J. Pereira and P. Pal. Bombay: Marg Publications.
- Sheeran, A. (2002). *Baila Music: European Modernity and Afro-Iberian Popular Music in Sri Lanka*. London: Zed Books.
- Silva, E. (2005). Personal Communication.
- Silva, Revd M. M. A. da (1905). *Dicionario Portuguez-Galóli*. Macau.
- Singh, I. (2000). *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*. London: Arnold.
- Smith, I. R. (1977). *Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole Phonology*. Ph.D. Dissertation, USA: Cornell University.
- Smith, I. R. (1978a). *Realignment and Other Convergence Phenomena. University of Melbourne Working Papers in Linguistics* Vol. 4, pp. 67–76.
- (1978b). *Sri Lanka Creole Portuguese Phonology. International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 248–406.
- (1979). *Convergence in South Asia: A Creole Example. Lingua* Vol. 48, pp. 193–222.
- (1984). *The Development of Morphosyntax in Sri Lanka Portuguese. York Linguistics Series*. Eds: Todd, L. and Sebba, M.

- (1993). Review of K. D. Jackson's 'Sing Without Shame, 1990', *Journal of Pidgins and Creole Languages* Vol. 8, No.2, pp. 291–6.
- (2001). Creolisation and Convergence in Morphosyntax: Sri Lanka Portuguese and Saurashtra Nominal Marking Typology. In: *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*. Eds: R. Singh, P. Bhaskararao and K. V. Subbarao. New Delhi: Sage Publications. pp. 391–409.
- Somadasa, K. (1987–95). Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library. 7 Vols. London: Pāli Text Society and the British Library.
- Sousa Pinto, P. J. De (1997). Portugueses e Malaio: Malaca e os sultanatos de Johor e Achém 1575–1619. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses.
- Souza, G. B. (1986). *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630–1754*. Cambridge.
- (1993). Commerce and Capital: Portuguese Maritime Losses in the South China Sea, 1600–1754. In: *As Relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do sueste e o Extremo Oriente*. Eds. A. T. de Mates and L. F. Reis Thomaz. Macau. pp. 321–39.
- Subrahmanyam, S. (1987). Cochin in Decline, 1600–1650: Myth and Manipulation in the Estado da Índia. In: *Portuguese Asia*. Ed R. Ptak. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH.
- (1993). The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History. London: Longman.
- Surya Sena, D. (1978). *Of Sri Lanka I Sing*.
- Tennent, Sir J. E. (1850). *Christianity in Ceylon*. London: Murray.
- Texeira, M. (1961–63). *Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore (1511–1958)*. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar.
- Teza, E. (1872). *Indoportoghese. II Propugnatore* (Bologna) Vol. 5, pp. 1–10 (separata). Pisa: Italy.
- Thananjayarajasingham, S. and Goonatilleka, M. H. (1976). A Portuguese Creole of the Burgher Community in Sri Lanka. *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society* Vol. 11, No. 33, pp. 225–36.
- Theban, L. (1985). Situação e perspectivas do português e dos crioulos de origem portuguesa na Índia e no Sri Lanka. *Actas do Congresso Sobre a Situação Actual da Língua Portuguesa no Mundo*. Ed: L. F. Cintra, pp. 269–86. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.
- Thomason, S. G. and Kaufman, T. (1992). *Language Contact, Creolisation and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thomaz, L. (1985). Estura política e administrativa do Estado da Índia no século XVI, II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa. Actas, Lisbon.
- Tinhorão, J. R. (1972). *Música Popular de Índios, Negros e Mestiços*. Metrópolis Editoria Vozea Ltda. Brasil: Estado do Rio de Janeiro. Tomás, F. (1879). *Boletim de Bibliographia Portuguesa*, no. 10.
- Tomás, M. I. (1992). *Os Crioulos Portugueses do Oriente*. Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau.

- Valkhoff, M. F. (1966). *Studies in Portuguese and Creole*. Johannesburg: Witwaterstrand University Press.
- Van der Gref, J. (2004). Personal communication.
- Vasconcellos, J. Leite De (1901). *Esquisse d'une Dialectologie Portugaise*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Paris France.
- Villiers, J. (1987). Portuguese Malacca and Spanish Manila: Two Concepts of Empire. In: *Portuguese Asia*. Ed. R. Ptak. Stuttgart: Springer Verlag.
- Wallace, S. (1978). 'What is a creole? The example of the Portuguese language of Tugu, Jakarta, Indonesia'. In: M. Suñer (ed). *Contemporary Studies in Romance Linguistics* pp. 340–77.
- Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in Contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Whinnom, K. (1956). *Spanish Contact Vernaculars in the Philippine Islands*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Wickramasinghe, M. (1948). *Sinhalese Literature*. Trans: Sarachchandra, E. R. Colombo: M. D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd.
- Wijetunge, W. P. (1944). *The Sinhalese Drama in Modern Times*. The Ceylon Observer, 9 and 16 July.
- Wild, A. (2000). *East India Company Trade and Conquest from 1600*. London: Harper Collins.
- Willis, R. C. (1965). *An Essential Course in Modern Portuguese*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.
- (1972). *Os Lusíadas* and its Neoclassical Critics. *Separata da Revista Ocidente* LXXXI, Lisbon.
- (1999). *The Portuguese in the Orient*. University of Bristol Occasional Paper Series, No. 26, Department of Hispanic, Portuguese and Latin American Studies. Bristol: University of Bristol.
- (2002). *China and Macau*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Winius, G. D. (1971). *The Fatal History of Portuguese Ceylon*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- (1995). Embassies from Malacca and the 'Shadow Empire'. In: *The Portuguese and the Pacific*, op. cit.
- Wong, D. and Lysloff, R. (1998). 'Popular Music and Cultural Politics'. In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, eds T. E. Miller and S. Williams. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc.
- Yule, H. and Burnell, A. C. (1886). *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*. London: John Murray.



# Glossary

|                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| <i>Baila</i>              | A genre of music, dance and song in Sri Lanka  |
| Burghers                  | Descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch in Sri Lanka                                   |
| <i>Cafrê/ Kaffir</i>      | An (East) African and also an ethnonym in Sri Lanka                                    |
| <i>Cancioneiros</i>       | Song books   |
| <i>Cantiga de Ceilão</i>  | Song of Ceylon   |
| <i>Cantigas</i>           | Songs  |
| <i>Cartaz</i>             | a paper/document   |
| <i>Carreira da Índia</i>  | Ships that sailed from Lisbon to India   |
| <i>Casado</i>             | A married Portuguese   |
| <i>Chatins</i>            | Traders in Malacca   |
| <i>Creole</i>             | A contact language which is the mother-tongue of a speech community                    |
| <i>Estado da Índia</i>    | The State of India which sprawled from the Cape of Good Hope to China                  |
| <i>Feitoria</i>           | Trading Post   |
| <i>Fidalgo</i>            | Portuguese Aristocrat  |
| <i>Fortaleza</i>          | Fortress   |
| <i>Joget</i>              | A Malaysian form of dance associated with the Portuguese                               |
| <i>Kaffrinha</i>          | Afro-Portuguese Music, Dance and Song  |
| <i>Kroncong</i>           | Indonesian music associated with the Portuguese  |
| <i>Lascar</i>             | An Asian soldier/sailor  |
| <i>Língua franca</i>      | Language of external communication and trade   |
| <i>Mando</i>              | A Goan folk song, dance and music  |
| <i>Mestiços/ Mestiças</i> | Portuguese descendants of mixed parentage  |
| <i>Moors</i>              | People of Arab descent in Sri Lanka  |
| <i>Pantun</i>             | A form of Malaysian song associated with the Portuguese                                |
| <i>Parangi/ Ferang</i>    | Franks but generally used for the Portuguese but is sometimes synonymous with European |
| <i>Pidgin</i>             | A contact language that is not the mother-tongue of a speech community                 |

# Index

- Acehnese, 71–2  
 African, 4, 10, 11, 33, 53, 55,  
     56–8, 60–5, 71, 80, 91, 104,  
     107, 126, 139, 169, 173, 182,  
     191–2, 196, 198–201, 208  
 Anglo-Indian, 71, 80, 86, 92–3,  
     168, 180  
 Annamite/Annamese/  
     Tonkinese/Vietnamese, 71,  
     79–81, 190  
 Arabic, 24, 33, 49, 61, 66, 71,  
     87, 95–8, 107, 112, 136, 139,  
     156–7, 174, 178  
 Assamese, 71, 85  
  
 Baila, 8, 22, 29, 33, 46–50, 53,  
     55–6, 60, 68, 70, 110, 183,  
     195, 199, 205, 208  
 Balinese, 71–3  
 Ballad, 8, 12–13, 19, 22–4,  
     26–33, 35, 45–7, 49, 54,  
     183, 191  
 Bassein, 6, 153, 175, 181  
 Batavia/Jakarta, 4, 65, 71, 73,  
     77, 131, 132, 190, 199, 207  
 Batavian, 71, 73  
 Batta/Batak, 71, 73–4  
 Bengali, 52, 66–7, 71, 81, 85–7,  
     93, 97, 185  
 Bombay, 6, 52, 87, 153, 204–5  
  
 British, 6–7, 10, 19, 22, 28–9, 36,  
     40–1, 45, 47, 56–8, 62, 66, 70,  
     84, 86, 88, 92, 97, 107, 112,  
     114, 125, 136, 139, 141, 156,  
     168, 169, 175, 177–8, 180–1,  
     187–9, 191–2, 199, 202–3, 206  
 Bugui, 71, 74  
 Burmese, 71, 80–1, 181, 190  
  
 Cambodian/Kambojan/  
     Khmer, 71, 79, 190  
 Cantonese, 71, 83–4, 169  
 China, 1–5, 11, 41, 77, 80–2,  
     84, 90, 98, 152, 160, 163, 165,  
     170, 172, 176–7, 179, 180–1,  
     202, 206–8  
 Chinese Pidgin English, 84, 99  
 Cochin, 2, 6, 7, 91, 139, 152–3,  
     155–8, 168, 174–5, 180–1,  
     192, 202, 206  
 Creole, 4, 6–10, 12, 23, 26,  
     28–33, 35–6, 45–6, 50,  
     57, 62–4, 73, 78, 83, 101,  
     111–15, 118–24, 126–30,  
     132–6, 139–43, 146–53,  
     156–63, 165–9, 191–3,  
     195–7, 199–208  
  
 Dance, 7, 22–3, 29, 33, 39–41,  
     45, 47–52, 56–7, 60–4, 66,

- 68, 70, 76, 93, 110, 142, 166,  
182, 183, 199, 200, 208
- Dayak, 71, 75
- Divēhi, 71–2, 95, 141
- Dondang sayang, 64
- Dutch, 4–7, 10, 13, 26, 29, 33,  
36, 40, 45–6, 54, 58–60, 62,  
65–6, 72–7, 88, 91, 107, 112,  
114, 125, 127, 131–2, 136,  
139–43, 147, 150–1, 177–8,  
180–1, 187–92
- Estado da India, 2, 10, 35, 71,  
88, 130, 152–3, 160, 170,  
172
- French, 6, 42, 71, 79, 81, 86,  
93, 116, 127, 130, 178,  
187–92
- Galoli, 71, 79
- Garo, 71, 85
- Goa, 2–4, 6, 8, 11, 17–19, 22,  
30, 34, 36, 39–43, 45, 52–3,  
58, 74, 86, 88–91, 104–5,  
130, 139, 142, 152–3, 169,  
173–5, 177–8, 180–1, 189,  
192
- Gujarati, 6, 71, 87, 90
- Hindi, 71, 80, 87–8, 93–4, 99,  
113, 184
- Identity, 7, 9, 11, 39, 41,  
55–6, 61–4, 70, 74, 114,  
126, 131, 141–2, 151, 170,  
183, 192
- India, 1–4, 6, 8–10, 13, 41,  
45, 51–2, 58, 71, 77, 80,  
85, 87–95, 97, 103, 105,  
109, 136, 139, 141, 152–3,  
155–61, 163, 168, 170–3,  
175, 177–82, 184, 187–93
- Indian Ocean, 1–3, 6, 9–11,  
41, 58, 61, 74, 91, 97–9, 112,  
126, 136, 150, 159, 172,  
174–9, 181–2, 186–8, 190–2
- Indo-French, 71, 93
- Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon,  
(see Sri Lanka Portuguese  
Creole)
- Indo-Portuguese of Cochin,  
139, 158
- Indo-Portuguese of Daman, 87
- Indo-Portuguese of Korlai, 89
- Indo-Portuguese of Norte, 33
- Indonesia, 3, 8, 41, 64–7, 71–8,  
98, 108, 131–2, 159, 191–2
- Indonesian, 8, 64–5, 67, 72–3,  
76–9, 131–2, 159
- Japan, 3, 72, 84, 85, 98, 125,  
179–81, 187
- Japanese, 71, 179–80, 187
- Javanese, 65–6, 71, 75–6, 132
- Joget, 8, 41, 64, 66, 70, 183
- Kaffrinha, 8, 33, 49, 55–8, 60,  
70
- Kanarese/Kannada, 71, 90–2

- Kashmiri, 71, 94  
 Khassi, 71, 93  
 Konkani, 71, 88–90, 155–6  
 Korlai, 6–7, 9, 89, 160–1, 167  
 Kroncong, 4, 8, 41, 64–6, 70  
  
 Language, 2–11, 19, 22, 24, 26,  
     28, 31, 35–6, 40–3, 45, 50–1,  
     55, 61–4, 69, 71–7, 79, 80–5,  
     87–102, 105, 111–15, 120–3,  
     126–33, 137–8, 140–2,  
     149–53, 155, 158–60, 167–9,  
     178, 182–4, 186–7, 190–3  
 Lashkhari-Hindustani, 71, 88  
  
 Macanese, 83, 169  
 Macassar, 71, 74–6, 82, 132,  
     182, 187  
 Macau, 2–4, 6, 9, 11, 82–3, 125,  
     152, 159–60, 163, 165–9,  
     180–1, 188, 192  
 Macau Portuguese Creole, 160  
 Madurese, 71, 75–6  
 Malacca, 2– 6, 9, 41, 65, 73, 74,  
     75, 77, 90, 91, 122, 125, 126,  
     129–35, 150–3, 155–61,  
     163–8, 169, 175–7, 179–82,  
     187, 189, 195, 197, 201, 204,  
     206–8  
 Malacca Creole Portuguese, 4,  
     126, 135, 160, 166  
 Malay, 5, 6, 41, 50, 64, 65, 67,  
     73–6, 82, 99, 111, 113, 130–3,  
     135, 150, 153, 156–7, 159,  
     167–9, 172, 178, 192  
 Malayālam, 7, 23, 29, 71, 91,  
     113, 156, 158, 184  
 Malaysia, 4, 8–9, 65–7, 71–2,  
     77, 91, 108, 128, 132, 135,  
     159, 183  
 Maldives, 94–5  
 Manha, 61–2  
 Mando, 8, 40–5, 70  
 Mangalore, 6–7, 9, 13, 35, 88,  
     160–1, 163, 168  
 Marathi, 71, 89, 155–6,  
     167  
 Mardijkers, 65, 73, 131  
 Moluccan, 4, 71, 78, 175  
 Moluccas, 2–5, 65, 77, 125,  
     130, 175–6, 187  
 Mozambique, 4, 11, 160, 177,  
     192  
 Music, 4, 7–8, 10–11, 22–3,  
     28–30, 33–4, 39–41, 43,  
     45, 47, 49–57, 60–6, 70,  
     97, 110, 142, 182–4  
  
 Nagasaki, 3, 85  
 Negapatnam, 6–7, 9, 160–1,  
     163, 168, 175  
 Nepali, 71, 94  
 Nicobarese, 71, 93  
  
 Oriya, 71, 89–90  
  
 Pantun, 8, 41, 64, 66–8, 70  
 Persian/Farsi, 2, 6, 54, 66, 71,  
     81, 87–8, 94, 96–8, 100, 112,  
     156, 170, 175, 177

- Pidgin, 4, 71, 84, 99, 113,  
     126, 129, 133, 139, 168,  
     191  
 Pidgin English, 71, 84, 99  
 Portugal, 9, 22, 24, 29–30, 32,  
     42, 45, 47–9, 54–5, 57, 97,  
     136, 138, 142, 171, 173, 177,  
     185, 188, 191–3  
 Punjabi, 71, 80, 90, 94  
  
 Religion, 7, 40, 61, 64, 106–7,  
     110, 114, 117, 131, 170,  
     186–7  
 Ronggang, 64  
  
 Siamese/Thai, 71, 82, 179, 181,  
     189–90  
 Sindhi, 71, 90  
 Sinhala, 7–10, 13, 23, 29, 35,  
     40, 47, 50–5, 63, 71, 94–5,  
     100–11, 113–15, 117–22,  
     137–9, 141–3, 147–8, 150,  
     155, 159, 178  
 Song, 8, 12–14, 19, 22–4,  
     28–30, 33–6, 40–7, 50–2,  
     54–67, 69, 110, 115, 119,  
     121, 141, 183  
 Sri Lanka, 2–10, 12–13, 22–3,  
     26, 28–30, 32–6, 39–40,  
     45–58, 60–4, 66, 68–70,  
     77, 91–2, 94, 98, 100–1,  
     103–15, 118–19, 121–3,  
     125, 128–30, 136–43,  
     146–51, 153, 155–63,  
     167–8, 170, 178, 181–7,  
     189–90  
 Sri Lanka Portuguese  
     Creole/Indo-Portuguese of  
     Ceylon, 6–10, 12–14, 19,  
     22, 26–30, 35–6, 45–6, 50,  
     54, 57, 62, 64, 101, 111–15,  
     118–19, 121–4, 136, 139,  
     141–3, 146–50, 156, 167–8  
 Sri Lankan Malay, 66, 68–9,  
     159  
 Sundanese, 71, 75–6  
  
 Tamil, 7, 10, 23–4, 29, 40,  
     50, 71, 91–2, 111, 113–15,  
     118–19, 121–2, 137–9,  
     141–3, 147, 156, 159,  
     167, 178  
 Telugu, 71, 92, 156  
 Teto/Tetun/Tetum, 71,  
     78  
 Tibetan, 71, 80, 85  
 Timor, 11, 78–9, 125, 132,  
     168–9, 172, 182, 187, 192  
 Tulu, 71, 92  
 Turkish, 3, 71, 98  
  
 Urdu, 72, 87–8