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## **The Indo-Portuguese Creoles of the Malabar**

### **Historical Cues and Questions**

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THIS ESSAY PROVIDES a state-of-the-art of current research on the Indo-Portuguese creoles of the Malabar. Having been given up as extinct, these creoles have been off the radar of linguists and historians alike for a long while. Yet, they are particularly important as potential descendants of the earliest forms of contact varieties of Portuguese that formed in Asia in the sixteenth century, and raise questions that interact with a social historiography of the Indo-Portuguese communities of the region. This essay will focus on four aspects of the study of these languages which operate on a linguistic-historical interface: (a) the social conditions required for their formation; (b) their course after the end of Portuguese colonial rule; (c) their putative foundational role in the context of Luso-Asian creoles; and (d) the social and linguistic stratification encapsulated in modern and late nineteenth-century records. This discussion is meant as a step towards the integration of linguistic evidence into the study of Indo-Portuguese social history, and of historical evidence into the study of Indo-Portuguese linguistics.

### **Introduction**

Starting in the early sixteenth century, the colonial involvement of Portugal with Asia introduced the Portuguese language in the region. The major channels for the diffusion of Portuguese across the continent were, according to L.F. Thomaz,<sup>1</sup> political domination,

trade and missionary activities—to which should be added, at a later date, migratory movements of the Luso-Asian communities which were independent of Portuguese colonial and evangelizing agendas. It has been noted before that, because it was the first European colonial language to have a sustained presence in the East, Portuguese (or derivatives of it) gained wide currency in the region and functioned, in certain contexts, as a *lingua franca*.<sup>2</sup>

Five centuries of interaction between Portuguese and several autochthonous languages of Asia left a long-lasting imprint on the continent's linguistic landscape, evident not only in a string of loanwords present to this day in most coastal languages of Asia, but particularly so in the formation of creole languages stretching from India to East Timor, and the establishment of Portuguese-speaking communities which last to this day.<sup>3</sup>

The distinction between Portuguese-lexified creoles and Asian varieties of Portuguese is relevant here, even if the distinction may at some point become blurred. As a matter of fact, not all Luso-Asian communities speak at present a language which can be considered a creole by current scholarly definitions—this is the case, for instance, of the Lusophone Goans. In addition, it seems clear that, over time, (local forms of) Portuguese and Portuguese-based creoles coexisted within a particular location – as well documented for Macau, but true also of other Luso-Asian strongholds (see Schuchardt 1889b: 479). Our analysis here concerns mostly the sections of Luso-Asian communities in which a creole variety became the default form of interaction. This is an appropriate object of study for this particular volume since, seen from the context of creole language formation across the world, the very genesis of the Luso-Asian varieties presupposes particular social circumstances during their formative and developmental stages. Therefore, their study must necessarily interact with that of the social history of their respective communities.

### ***The Social Conditions of Creole Language Formation***

Notions of 'contact', 'fusion' and 'hybridity' are never far from the core of any conception of 'creolization'. At the outset, languages were identified as 'creole' if they

were spoken by communities also identified as ‘creole’, a scholarly concept first theorized with regard to the Caribbean and then extrapolated to other societies with comparable histories.<sup>4</sup> Linguists have attempted a number of definitions to delimit a set of creole languages, but the status of ‘creole’ as a valid linguistic category is currently the object of much debate. In the absence of consensus, a common working definition of ‘creoles’ identifies them with the languages which arose from intense contact between two or more languages, typically (but not only) in the context of European overseas expansion, and which not only bear significant similarities with all of their ancestor languages but often also differ from them in ways that reflect their particular formative process. The Luso-Asian creoles which once dotted the coastline of Asia are only a subset of the creole languages that formed around the world, and a subset which, despite recent developments, remains less studied than their Atlantic counterparts or creoles based on other European languages, chiefly English and French.<sup>5</sup>

Creoles typically develop in relatively constrained geographical and social settings, such as islands or segregated communities, in a well-defined historical period. Given the relative recentness of the phenomenon, they are the most readily observable instances of contact-induced change processes which are expected to have operated in earlier stages of many other languages of the world. Creoles prove sensitive to their formative and developmental ecology, and therefore an account of their formation should ideally rely on a history of linguistic interaction involving knowledge of the exact make-up (demography) and social structures in place at various points of their history. For that reason, many researchers of creole languages call for the integration of carefully researched extra-linguistic data into studies of creolization. While this is an acknowledged necessity, its implementation has been erratic. Jacques Arends, for instance, a well-known researcher of the creoles of Suriname, noted in 2002 that the process of creole formation was still ‘sometimes conceptualized—somewhat paradoxically—as an “a-temporal” process, a process to which the dimension of time is irrelevant’, adding that ‘now that substantial amounts of historical and diachronic evidence have become available it is simply unwarranted to maintain this kind of ahistoricism’.<sup>6</sup>

These considerations remind us that linguistic admixture as evidenced in creolization is in fact a product of cultural admixture in particular circumstances, and that is why the study of the formation and development of creole languages can never be dissociated from the formation and development of their speech communities. The simple fact that a creole language arises makes some predictions about the structure of its founding society, particularly in assuming a degree of social distance between groups of speakers of the various languages involved, and a power asymmetry which favored one of them (the speakers of the so-called *superstrate language*) over the others (the speakers of the so-called *substrate languages*):

Creolization *always* entails inequality, hierarchization, issues of domination and subalternity, mastery and servitude, control and resistance. Questions of *power*, as well as issues of *entanglement*, are always at stake.<sup>7</sup>

Whether this distance is present from the outset or develops over time varies from place to place, as does the motivation for creolization. The formation of creoles is frequently thought to involve the pressing need to find communicational strategies in linguistically heterogeneous communities. While this heterogeneity has been demonstrated, for instance, in colonial plantations (typical of the Atlantic and the Americas) which congregated workers from many different backgrounds, the case of the Asian creoles may raise some doubts (further discussion below).

Some cases of creole language formation have been interpreted as the result of the incapacity of substrate speakers to acquire the superstrate for lack of adequate access to it (either because of a dearth of superstrate speakers, or social segregation), largely limiting the superstrate's influence to the more superficial domain of the lexicon rather than grammar; but other scholars caution that the development of a creole language may also be an intentional process that accompanies the development of a new creole identity.<sup>8</sup>

When the exact socio-demographic conditions of a creole's past are unknown (and much is still obscure in the social history of Luso-Asian interactions), some headway can be made by looking at the language in its modern stage and trying to identify the sources of particular structures or words, or the relative contribution of the ancestor languages, and abstract the necessary conditions. One issue that often makes it difficult to proceed

solely on linguistic evidence is the fact that creoles, like any other language, change continuously in response to developments in their ecology—a process which is all the more dynamic since these languages tend to be rather diffuse in the absence of a normative tradition.<sup>9</sup> Having said that, it has also been proposed that the populations present at the very earliest moment of creole formation provided an especially resilient linguistic input,<sup>10</sup> which means that modern creoles are likely to reflect to some extent the result of that initial contact.

### *The Indo-Portuguese Creoles of the Malabar*

The foregoing considerations are meant to illustrate the closeness of the link between research on creole languages and on the social history of their loci. For the purposes of this essay, special emphasis shall be placed on the Portuguese-lexified creoles of the Malabar (here taken to include the whole of modern-day Kerala, i.e. the Malayalam-speaking region of India). In this area, there are scattered references to such creoles being spoken at least in Cannanore, Tellicherry, Wayanad, Mahé, Calicut, Cranganore, Vypeen, Cochin, Allepey, Kayamkulam, Quilon and Anjengo—a wide stretch of the coastal rim and even extending into the hinterland.<sup>11</sup> Even though these creoles were numerous in the past, information is scarce. The earliest known sources of linguistic and sociolinguistic data for them come from the late nineteenth century, in particular from the work of Hugo Schuchardt.<sup>12</sup> Subsequently, they even came to be given up as extinct as a block,<sup>13</sup> but that was not strictly the case. While the Malabar creoles entered a process of rapid decline in the nineteenth century (see below), scholars have recently contacted those who appear to be the last speakers of these languages.<sup>14</sup> Fieldwork has been conducted, in particular since 2006, in Vypeen (Cochin) and Cannanore, but also briefly in Calicut.<sup>15</sup>

The in-depth study of these languages is particularly important as it may allow us to test some hypotheses and proposals which have been put forward in the field of Luso-Asian creole studies up to now. This essay clarifies the potential of the Malabar creoles to reassess these issues, and advances some tentative observations based on recent (and ongoing) descriptive work. The next section discusses the sociolinguistic conditions which applied in the early days of language contact in the Malabar with the subsequent one exploring the course of the creoles after the end of the Portuguese political and

economic domination in the region. The chapter then considers the links that the Malabar creoles establish with the other Luso-Asian creoles and discusses evidence of these communities' social and linguistic stratification, before closing with some concluding remarks.

### **The Formation of the Creoles of the Malabar: Ideas and Uncertainties**

Portuguese political control was not particularly long-lasting in the Dravidian sphere. Established in the early sixteenth century, the (Indo-)Portuguese settlements of the region came under the domination of other colonial players (chiefly the Dutch and later the British, but in places also the French and the Danes) in the mid seventeenth-century, inaugurating a period which constitutes something of a blind spot in the historiography of the Indo-Portuguese communities. Yet, in many locations, the local Indo-Portuguese creole subsisted well into the twentieth century, and it is still spoken at least in Cannanore and marginally in Calicut.

Accounts of the genesis of the Malabar creoles are at present insufficiently grounded on historical evidence, although whatever little is available does raise a few important hypotheses and just as many questions. As mentioned earlier, the moment of initial contact is particularly relevant for linguistic creolization. Typical social scenarios put forward to explain creole language formation often involve a setting characterized by high linguistic diversity (motivating the urgent need to devise a 'language of interethnic communication') and an element of social distance (accounting for the 'incomplete acquisition' of a superstrate). In the following subsections, I will therefore try to assess how much linguistic diversity there was in the early Portuguese settlements of the Malabar, and which social group(s) could have been responsible for the process of creole formation.

#### ***The Linguistic Ecology of the Malabar Settlements***

Malayalam was the dominant language in sixteenth century Malabar, as it is today. There is also no doubt that Portuguese and Malayalam are the most important sources of grammatical structures recognized in the modern Malabar creoles.<sup>16</sup> In fact, if anything, it would seem that—unlike what has been posited for creoles formed in slave-reliant

plantations—the Malabar creoles developed from a contact equation involving only two languages. However, this would oversimplify the case, given the evidence that the Portuguese overseas expansion was a highly multiethnic (and, therefore, multilingual) enterprise. On the one hand, the Malabar trading ports where the Portuguese first settled were, at the time, already home to a multiethnic population. In addition, Asians speaking various languages were soon employed in sailing, trade and military activities in the service of the Portuguese. This can be gathered, for instance, from preserved accounts of the composition of sixteenth-century fleets sailing for the Portuguese in Asia. As an example, notice the following description João de Barros makes, in his *Quarta Década da Ásia*, of an armada bound to attack Diu in 1530:

Nesta Ilha de Bombaim se fez resenha geral da gente que hia na Armada, e acháram-se tres mil e quinhentos e sessenta e tantos homens de peleja, contando os Capitães, mil e quatrocentos e cincoenta & tantos homens do mar Portuguezes com os Pilotos, e Mestres, dous mil e tantos Malavares, e Canarijs de Goa, oito mil escravos, homens que podiam pelejar, quatro mil marinheiros da terra que remavam, e mais de oitocentos mareantes dos juncos.<sup>17</sup>

[A general survey of the people in the armada was done on this island of Bombay, finding some three thousand five hundred men of arms, including the Captains, some one thousand four hundred Portuguese seamen including the pilots and shipmasters, some two thousand *Malavares* and Goan *Canarijs*, eight thousand male slaves who could fight, four thousand local seamen who rowed, and more than eight hundred seamen of the junks.]

The kind of linguistic diversity encapsulated in these Asian fleets owed in part to the heterogeneity to be found on board Asia-bound ships sailing the Cape Route. This underlies Pissarra's description of yet another armada anchored in Chaul in 1508:

A armada portuguesa é uma babel onde se fala uma trintena de idiomas, com destaque para as línguas ibéricas, para o alemão e para o flamengo. Bem representadas estão também as línguas locais e africanas; e ainda o francês e o inglês. Fora estes grupos maioritários, servem a bordo genoveses, florentinos, gregos e albaneses; uma legião de mercenários e escravos com que D. Manuel preenche a crónica falta de gente.<sup>18</sup>

[The Portuguese armada is a babel in which some thirty languages are spoken, with a prominence of the Iberian languages, German and Flemish. The local and African languages are also well represented; and also French and English. Apart from these majority groups, we find Genoese, Florentines, Greeks and Albanians serving aboard; a legion of mercenaries and slaves with which king D. Manuel attempts to resolve the chronic shortage of manpower.]

With respect to the presence of non-Portuguese Europeans within the Portuguese Indian settlements and fleets in the early sixteenth century, it has been estimated that, when it came to official military ranks, the Portuguese were outnumbered by other Europeans everywhere except for Cochin.<sup>19</sup>

Religious dissemination was also a prominent feature of the Portuguese agenda in Asia.<sup>20</sup> Once again, this was to a large extent carried out by non-Portuguese Europeans. One can assume that those operating under the aegis of Portugal would have had to acquire at least some proficiency in Portuguese, constituting a significant population of non-native, second-language (L2) speakers by the time they arrived in India—to which would then be added the Asians and Africans who came into contact with these Europeans in Asia.

Despite the documented reliance on certain languages of wider communication (such as Arabic) and on translators at the time,<sup>21</sup> it seems unlikely that these resources would have been able to mediate all trade, political negotiation, religious activities and other forms of interethnic interaction. This gives strength to the hypothesis that a Portuguese-based *pidgin* (a simplified, non-nativized linguistic code used for specific and limited purposes) must have developed in the region, as it had in coastal Africa beforehand. The extent to which such a pidgin would constitute a carry-over from Africa is a matter of debate.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, one must concede that the *Portuguese* language providing input to the formation of the Malabar creoles need not have been only native, first-language (L1) sixteenth-century Portuguese, but also a range of L2 variants acquired by adults, including one or more forms of pidginized Portuguese.<sup>23</sup>

### ***Social Diversity and the Creole Speech Community***

A pidgin stage is assumed by some scholars as a precondition for the formation of a creole, which would correspond to the nativized and expanded form of the preceding pidgin—the *pidgin-to-creole cycle*;<sup>24</sup> other authors caution that this need not be the case. The extent to which the pidgin-to-creole cycle model applies to the history of the Malabar creoles therefore begs the question of who appropriated this language as their own and under what circumstances—namely, in terms of their motivations for doing so, their ancestral languages and degree of access to L1 models of the superstrate. This is made particularly difficult by the diversity and complexity of interactions one can expect to have taken place in the early period of Portuguese presence in the Malabar, and a chronic lack of concrete documentary leads.

One issue that underlies the pidgin-to-creole scenario is the idea that the creators of the creole—i.e. those who nativized the pidgin as their L1—should have no or very limited access to the superstrate; otherwise, they would have acquired it wholesale. While this may be a sensible assumption in the case of some plantation creoles (where the degree of segregation between slaves and speakers of the superstrate was extreme) or maroon creoles (where an escapee population became cut off from speakers of the superstrate), it seems less obvious in the case of Portuguese Asia.

Another assumption is that the first L1 speakers of a creole would have been raised in a context in which the native languages of their preceding generation(s) would no longer be viable. The rationale is that the level of linguistic diversity among their peers was too high and no particular L1 achieved dominance, therefore the pidgin which functioned as the means of interethnic communication would have constituted the most practical language to raise one's children in. Again, in the case of the Malabar, this seems untenable. Despite the linguistic diversity that characterized the early Portuguese settlements (discussed in the previous section), and which could have required the use of a pidgin, there was indeed a dominant language in the region: Malayalam.

It is important to remember that, though there were a few large settlements throughout the *Estado da Índia* with a considerable European population, in most cases they 'consisted of a small number of *reinóis* (usually a *feitor* (the commercial agent of the crown) priests, merchants and possibly soldiers), some of these being *casados*, and a

larger number of *mestiços*, native Christians and slaves',<sup>25</sup> normally a relative minority among a majority of speakers of the region's dominant language(s). Why, then, would a Portuguese-lexified creole acquire an L1 speech community in the Malabar, in detriment of Portuguese or Malayalam? This is a lingering question. Out of the various groups mentioned in Baxter's quote above, several of them could hypothetically have constituted the first L1 speakers of the creole: the Eurasians, the slaves or the (descendants of) the native Christians.

The formation of *mestiço* Eurasian communities has been taken to be particularly relevant for the development of Portuguese-based creoles in Asia.<sup>26</sup> This phenomenon is well-attested in the Malabar, as elsewhere in India,<sup>27</sup> and may therefore be an important factor in understanding the formation of a creole-speaking community. However, it is important to consider that the formation of a Eurasian community does not in itself explain the adoption of a creole language in detriment of the L1 of their Asian and European ancestors: conditions of access or motivation still need to apply to account for this outcome.

The possible contribution of Africans is also relevant for the Luso-Asian creoles in general, and those of the Malabar in particular, since there is evidence of the import of a significant number of Africans into the *Estado da Índia* as slaves, especially from southeastern Africa.<sup>28</sup> In principle, displaced Africans could have contributed in two ways: as carriers of an African-formed pidgin/creole (of which other non-African travelers of the Cape Route were equally likely diffusers) or as direct contributors to the formation of a pidgin/creole in Asia. In the latter case, one would expect to find some influence of their L1s in the Luso-Asian creoles. A number of studies have addressed this scenario, with interesting results. A few words presumably of African origin are attested in Indo-Portuguese texts, including *batuque* (a type of drum), *calumba* (a medicinal plant), *machila/machira* 'palanquin' and *muzungo* 'white man'.<sup>29</sup> Some late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century text collections from Goa, Daman and Diu also suggest that, to some extent, people of African descent integrated in the Indo-Portuguese communities spoke a particular register of the local creole—what Dalgado terms 'cafreal' creole<sup>30</sup>—and had peculiar oral traditions such as songs and prayers.<sup>31</sup> It is a fact that the

Luso-Asian creoles do share some features with Portuguese-based creoles of the Atlantic (for further details see the section on ‘The Malabar Creoles in their Luso-Asian Context’), yet no structural characteristics have been found in the Indo-Portuguese creoles that can only be traced back to either an African pidgin/creole or an African language.<sup>32</sup> The evidence of significant African presence in the early *Estado da Índia* therefore contrasts with a relative lack of overt African influence on the Indo-Portuguese creoles. Cardoso’s interpretation of the fact hinges on the notion that African slaves were dispersed in small numbers over numerous households, a setting of some intimacy which allowed for the acquisition of the local variety of (creole) Portuguese and dissolved the potential for this particular population to have a deeper impact.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, the conversion of local inhabitants to Catholicism, promoted by agents of the *Real Padroado Português do Oriente*, is perhaps also relevant for the formation of the creoles. Missionary activities began early on in the course of Portuguese presence in South Asia. Writing in 1550 from Quilon, in the Malabar, the Jesuit missionary Nicolao Lancilotto reported:

And since the inhabitants of these countries are very miserable, poor and cowardly, some were baptized through fear, others through worldly gain, and others for filthy and disgusting reasons which I need not mention. [. . .] Many people come in order to be baptized, and I ask them why they want to become Christians? Some reply because the lord of the land tyrannizes and oppresses them, and others reply that they must become Christians because they have nothing to eat.<sup>34</sup>

Whatever the reasons underlying the conversions, they appear to have been numerous, and probably constituted the backbone of the early Catholic communities in South India. It is not unsafe to assume that this process of Christianization ‘created local populations of “Portuguese” cultural orientation’,<sup>35</sup> i.e. adult populations willing to acquire (some form of) the Portuguese language and impart it to the following generation despite the fact that their own L1 remained viable locally.

Whether the new converts or any other subsection of the population hold the key to the formation of the Malabar creoles, or whether we are faced with a case of multiple

causation, remains a matter of conjecture—a matter that concrete socio-demographic data for the period could throw light on.

### **The Malabar Creoles in the Post-Portuguese Period**

After Portuguese domination of the region ended, one should expect a decline in the vitality of the Malabar creoles. However, that was not exactly the case. In this region, Portuguese strongholds were typically lost to the Dutch in the mid seventeenth century and, for at least some locations, there is evidence that creoles remained vital under the new rule.<sup>36</sup> Apparently, the Dutch Eastern network of influence provided important migratory routes which aided in the dispersal of the Indo-Portuguese communities of the Malabar and elsewhere.<sup>37</sup> A 1708 memorial by the protestant priests Op den Akker and Thornton of the Portuguese church of Batavia is particularly revealing in this respect:

The Portuguese language is used daily and privately by the slaves of the families who come from Ceylon and the [Coromandel] Coast; by all the owners of the slaves and their children in their daily interaction with the slaves and the indigenous Christians; by the families and people who come from Siam, Malacca, Bengal, the Coromandel Coast, the island of Ceylon, *the Malabar* coast, Surat and even Persia; and even the heathens who live in this city and trade with the Christians or their slaves learn to speak Portuguese.<sup>38</sup>

The collection of non-Portuguese documentary sources published by David Lopes from which this quote is taken contains several other attestations of this reality, some of which make explicit reference to the Malabar.

In the late nineteenth century, two studies by Teza and Schuchardt surveyed the Indo-Portuguese creoles and included information on their distribution, while two more of Schuchardt's articles collated linguistic data from Cochin, Cannanore and Mahé.<sup>39</sup> Yule & Burnell's famous *Hobson-Jobson* dictionary<sup>40</sup> also includes a reference to the 'common use' of Portuguese in Calicut. It is therefore obvious that, by the time the Portuguese lost political control of the region, the local creoles were already sufficiently stable to resist immediate contraction, and that the speech communities were solid enough to expand across the territory and carry the creole along. Only then can one understand that, as late as the nineteenth century (and even later, in a few cases), creole-

speaking communities were still found across Kerala, even in places where direct Portuguese involvement was minimal, such as Mahé or Tellicherry.

However, the late nineteenth century sources already describe the Malabar creoles in a process of obsolescence. The period of British domination, starting in the late eighteenth century, appears to have witnessed the beginning of the decline of the Malabar creoles. The Indo-Portuguese were progressively merged into a new category of *Anglo-Indians*, namely by way of marriage but also by administrative category-lumping, and the English language slowly displaced the use of the Portuguese creole. The Catholic Church, which in places upheld the use and teaching of Portuguese after the end of Portuguese domination, also switched either to English or to Malayalam. By the late nineteenth century, the displacement was almost complete. An *Annuario do Arcebisado de Goa e das Missões do Real Padroado Portuguez* quoted by Schuchardt<sup>41</sup> clarifies that, at the time, the church ran twenty schools in South India, most of them offering English and/or a Dravidian medium of instruction; only one (in Allepey) offered Portuguese classes, in combination with English, Latin and Malayalam.

The integration into the Anglo-Indian community, religious and educational policies, and also migration, appear to have sparked the obsolescence of the Portuguese creoles all over South Asia. Interestingly, an ideological valuation of the creoles as corrupted and inferior forms of Portuguese appears to also have played a role in the switch to English. Whereas no such reference is known for the Malabar, the issue is described elsewhere for the Bombay region<sup>42</sup> and for Nagapattinam. With respect to the latter, consider the following observations:

Os indivíduos que praticam em crioulo tem a consciência de que a sua língua está corrupta, e não a querem expor ao ludíbrio dos estranhos. Donde provém a dificuldade de colhêr espécimes dos crioulos exclusivamente coloquiais. [. . .] É óbvio [. . .] que as ocupações predilectas de tal gente lhe não permitiriam fixar-se para sempre no solo do seu berço e manter a sua tal ou qual independência étnica, mas os vaivêns da fortuna de cidades e reinos a traria dispersa e migratória. Acresce que a classe ilustrada ou um grupo módico e isolado substitui, como língua de casa, a portuguesa pela inglesa, à vista das vantagens que daí lhe resultam, e no decurso do tempo não se recorda ou não quiere recordar-se da sua origem portuguesa, e passa por *eurasian* ou eurasiático.<sup>43</sup>

[The individuals who speak the creole are aware that their language is corrupted, and do not wish to expose it to strangers. Hence the difficulty in collecting purely colloquial specimens of the creoles. [. . .] It is clear [. . .] that the preferred occupations of these people would not allow them to stay forever in their place of birth and keep their own ethnic independence, but the ebb and flow of the fortunes of cities and kingdoms would make them diffuse and migratory. In addition, the educated class or a small and isolated group will replace Portuguese with English as the language of the home, because of the advantages that come from it, and with time no longer remember or wish to remember their Portuguese origin, and pass themselves off as *Eurasians*.]

Since 2006, I have visited several Indo-Portuguese communities in South India (Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu) in search not only of speakers of the creole but also of whatever memories there may be of its use. Having interviewed many of the oldest members of the communities, I found that the scattered references and anecdotes are consistent with the scenario of its nineteenth-century demise. Native speakers of the creole were contacted in Cannanore, Vypeen, and Calicut (even though the particular speaker there was originally from Tellicherry and also a sibling of a Cannanore informant), but I was able to collect short sentences and formulae elsewhere (most notably Cochin and Tangasseri near Quilon, but also in Tamil Nadu's Trichy). Several interviewees recounted childhood memories of the creole serving as a vital family language; these references were especially vivid in Kerala and among Tamil Nadu residents of Keralite origin, implying that the vitality of the Malabar creoles lasted longer than that of the Coromandel creoles. These testimonies offer an impressionistic glimpse of when the transmission of the creole to the younger generation must have been discontinued. In the Malabar, transmission of the Indo-Portuguese creoles seems to have lasted:

- a) In Cannanore, at least until the 1950s;
- b) In Wayanad and Vypeen (Cochin), at least until the late 1930s;
- c) In Tangasseri (Quilon) and Kayamkulam at least until the 1920s;
- d) In Allepey, Calicut at least until the early twentieth century.<sup>44</sup>

## The Malabar Creoles in their Luso-Asian Context

Though generically subsumed under the cover term *Indo-Portuguese*, the creoles of the Malabar form part of a subset termed *Dravido-Portuguese* by Schuchardt<sup>45</sup> because they arose in contact with Malayalam, a Dravidian language. In this subcategory, they are joined by the other creoles of South India (namely, those of the Coromandel) and Sri Lanka (at least those, the most numerous and long-lasting, spoken in the Tamil-majority east and north-east). In Schuchardt's typology, the other branch of Indo-Portuguese is called *Gauro-Portuguese*, and it groups the creoles spoken in the Indo-Aryan-majority regions of northern India, represented most notably by the *Norteiro* varieties spoken in the former *Provincia do Norte*, but also those of the Gulf of Bengal. In a wider perspective, both branches of Indo-Portuguese are also part of the set of *Luso-Asian* or *Asian-Portuguese* creoles, along with those developed elsewhere in contact with Austronesian languages (in Malaysia, Indonesia, Timor) and Sinitic languages (in China).

It is by now agreed that the Luso-Asian creoles share enough similarities to conclude that they cannot have formed in total isolation from one another. Grammatical and lexical commonalities are numerous and have been identified by several authors.<sup>46</sup> Ansaldo and Cardoso<sup>47</sup> list some of the most salient ones:

- a) the typical structure of the possessive construction (Possessor + *su/sa* + Possessed)
- b) Noun-Modifier word order
- c) Dative-Accusative case, expressed by an adposition derived either from Portuguese *para* 'for' or *por* 'by', or from Portuguese *com* 'with'
- d) the form of preverbal Tense-Aspect markers, normally derived from Portuguese *já* 'already' (Past/Perfective), *está/estar* 'is/to be' (Non-punctual aspect) and *logo* 'immediately, later' (Future/Irrealis)
- e) identity of form of existential/possessive/copular verbs
- f) a special future negator derived from Portuguese *não há-de* 'shall not'

g) certain unusual lexical items, such as *ada/ade/adi* ‘duck’.

Another revealing lexical commonality is that, unlike in the Atlantic creoles, in most Luso-Asian creoles the question word for ‘how’ is derived from the Portuguese phrase *que laia* ‘what fashion’; this is attested in the Norsteiro creoles, the Malabar creoles, Sri Lanka creole, Malacca’s Papiia Kristang creole and even in Chabacano, i.e. Philippine Creole Spanish.<sup>48</sup>

Ferraz makes a particularly strong point of highlighting such Luso-Asianisms, especially those that separate the Asian creoles from their Atlantic counterparts, with the intention to argue against any form of linguistic carry-over from Africa to Asia in this respect.<sup>49</sup> While his absolute cleavage between Luso-Asian and Luso-African creoles may have been overstated,<sup>50</sup> it is generally true that the Asian creoles reveal a striking degree of unity which calls for historical explanation. In addition to grammatical and lexical commonalities, there is yet another domain in which the Luso-Asian communities reveal commonalities, viz., their oral traditions: many song themes, structures and entire verses surface in corpora collected in various different locations, all the way from Diu to Macau.<sup>51</sup>

Based on such evidence, Dalgado offers the concept of ‘recíproca transfusão parcial’<sup>52</sup> [partial reciprocal transfusion], according to which the various Portuguese creoles of Asia would have had a chance to influence one another throughout their history, as a consequence of sustained and more or less close contact between the various communities. This idea is consistent with Thomaz’s characterization of the Portuguese Asian empire as ‘uma rede, isto é, um sistema de comunicação entre vários espaços’<sup>53</sup> [a network, that is, a system of communication between various spaces], and it begs more research into the patterns of population displacement/contact which applied throughout the history of the *Estado da Índia* and afterwards.

Another hypothesis, put forward by Clancy Clements to explain the relative unity of the Luso-Asian creoles, is that of the local speciation of a Portuguese pidgin used in Asia in the early days of Portuguese exploration:

para além dum pidgin Português geral, que se formou em África [. . .] se formou, a partir do século XVI, outro pidgin português na Ásia. Este pidgin tinha características em comum com o pidgin português geral mas, além destas, adoptou outros traços dos crioulos que se formaram na Ásia na primeira metade do século XVI.<sup>54</sup>

[beside a general Portuguese pidgin formed in Africa [. . .] another Portuguese pidgin was formed in Asia beginning in the sixteenth century. This pidgin had certain characteristics in common with the general Portuguese pidgin but, besides those, adopted other traits from the creoles that formed in Asia in the first half of the sixteenth century.]

This *Asian pidgin* could then have been a medium for the diffusion of linguistic features which ended up in the various Asian creoles.

Notice that, while Dalgado's proposal assumes reciprocity of interchange, Clements' scenario admits some degree of unidirectionality, in that the Asian pidgin is said to have been shaped primarily by what happened in the Malabar. This hinges on a recurrent assumption which I will term that of the *primacy of the Malabar*. In fact, in the contact history of Portuguese in Asia, the oldest configuration is that involving Malayalam. Considering that, having witnessed the landing of Vasco da Gama in 1498, it was from the Malabar that Portuguese commercial, political and religious expansion proceeded northwards and eastwards, it is not unlikely that the linguistic encounter which took place here (and perhaps, to be more precise, in Cochin, as suggested by Clements)<sup>55</sup> was pivotal in the development of the Luso-Asian creoles everywhere.<sup>56</sup>

If that is the case, presumably, one should be able to identify features of Malayalam or the Malabar creoles in other creoles further afield. The search for such features is a current endeavor which has already produced some results, and which is likely to be furthered by the ongoing description of the modern Malabar creoles. Part of the evidence is of a lexical nature.<sup>57</sup> Some words attested in creoles outside the Malabar have been traced to a Malayalam source, including:

- a) *mainato* 'washerman': widespread; from Malayalam *maṇṇaṭṭan*<sup>58</sup>
- b) *apa* 'flatbread'; widespread; from Malayalam *appam*<sup>59</sup>
- c) *khadya* 'tiger': attested in the creole of Korlai; from Malayalam *kaduva*<sup>60</sup>
- d) *patá* 'sash': attested in the creole of Diu; from Malayalam *patta*.<sup>61</sup>

Some structural Luso-Asianisms have also been said to show Malayalam (or, more generically, Dravidian) influence. One case concerns the possessive phrase, which in all Luso-Asian creoles but those of Daman and Diu has the structure: Possessor + *su/sa* + Possessed, where *su/sa* (derived from Portuguese *sua* ‘her[s]’) functions as a genitive case marker. The following is an example from Cannanore collected by myself:

- (1) *mijnə grãdi fi.ka-sə*                      *kazəmətə*<sup>62</sup>  
       my   big   daughter-GEN                wedding  
       ‘My elder daughter’s wedding.’

Baxter and Bastos<sup>63</sup> claim Malayalam could have provided the input for the development of this particular structure—though noting that, in the case of South-East and East Asia, Malay could also have been the source—since it has an equivalent possessive phrase structure:

- (2) *siitayute viitə*<sup>64</sup>  
       Sita-GEN house  
       ‘Sita’s house’

Clements has a similar reasoning to explain a particular case syncretism found in Korlai creole, Sri Lanka creole, Malacca’s Papia Kristang, Timor’s Bidau creole and Chabacano, viz., the syncretism between dative and comitative case.<sup>65</sup> Again, though, he admits that Austronesian also provides similar input. The evidence for the linguistic primacy of the Malabar may not yet be as solid as one would expect, but it is promising and will surely be enriched as the linguistic knowledge of the Malabar creoles progresses.

### **Dravido-Portuguese: Metatypy and Stratification**

A linguistic phenomenon often associated with Dravido-Portuguese is that of *metatypy*, a type of *convergence* by which a language comes to resemble another significantly in its basic structures due to sustained bilingualism. This has been studied in much more detail for the creole of Sri Lanka because, while the Malabar creoles remained for a long time ill-documented, it has a long written history,<sup>66</sup> and the variant of Batticaloa was described

in great detail in the 1970s by Ian Smith.<sup>67</sup> The creole of Sri Lanka has been important in the field of creole studies because of its striking grammatical similarities with the autochthonous languages of the island and because, as a result, it displays linguistic features which are unexpected in a creole language—such as a dominant Subject-Object-Verb word order, the use of postpositions, or complex South Asian-like case-marking patterns. On the other hand, Sri Lanka creole's grammar is known to differ in fundamental ways from the Portuguese creoles of the Indo-Aryan sphere, which adds relevance to Schuchardt's taxonomic split between *Dravido-Portuguese* and *Gauro-Portuguese*.

One of the most striking conclusions of recent descriptive work on the creoles of the Malabar is that they coincide with Sri Lanka creole in most of its iconic features. Although the creoles of both regions are not the same, their similarities are so significant that only intense contact or a shared history could account for them. In addition to all of the 'quirky' features identified here for Sri Lanka and several of the Luso-Asianisms already mentioned, they also share many lexical peculiarities, such as a causal subordinator containing the morpheme *vide* (in old Sri Lankan texts *videque X* 'because X' and in modern Sri Lanka creole *X wi:də* 'because X', in modern Malabar creoles *X-su vidə* 'because X'; derived from Ptg. (*por*) *via de* 'by way of') or the temporal subordinator (in Sri Lanka creole *ɔrəs* 'when', in modern Malabar creoles *ɔrzə* 'when'; derived from Ptg. *horas* 'hours').

Another observation made with regard to the Sri Lanka creole is that the language unearthed by fieldwork in recent times is markedly different from the language encapsulated in nineteenth and early twentieth-century written sources, in such a way that, where the former mimics Indic features, the latter approaches Portuguese. This perceived mismatch has motivated the hypothesis that Sri Lanka creole went through an abrupt process of convergence towards its surrounding languages in the past century.<sup>68</sup> Some scholars, however, disagree with this interpretation and propose an alternative explanation, as discussed further in the chapter.

In this respect, we once again identify a parallel between Sri Lanka and the Malabar. When one compares the modern-day data for the Malabar creoles with the late

nineteenth-century texts published by Schuchardt, one also finds a significant and equivalent discrepancy.<sup>69</sup> As an illustration, notice how differently possessive phrases are constructed in Schuchardt's Cannanore corpus (3) and in modern-day recordings made in Cannanore (4):

(3) *Area de praya / Por mim chora.*<sup>70</sup>

sand of beach for me.OBL cry

'The sand of the beach cries for me.'

(4) *Stanley-se kaza.*<sup>71</sup>

Stanley-GEN house

'Stanley's house.'

The word order in the two examples is totally opposite (Possessed + GEN + Possessor in Schuchardt, Possessor + GEN + Possessed in modern data) and, while Schuchardt's sentence uses a standard Portuguese preposition *de* to mark the relationship of possession, the modern creole does so with the typically Luso-Asian postposition *-se*.<sup>72</sup>

The fact that corpora of both Sri Lanka creole and Malabar creole instantiate a similar type of discrepancy calls into question Bakker's interpretation of Sri Lanka creole as having gone through recent and abrupt change under the influence of its surrounding languages. Granted, creoles in both regions could have undergone parallel paths of convergence independently of one another; and the typological similarities between the dominant languages in both places (Tamil in Northeastern Sri Lanka, Malayalam in the Malabar) could have accounted for the similar results. However, the likelihood of such a coincidence is much reduced.

Another alternative is to posit that the register which surfaces in recent fieldwork is not new. In this case, early texts would either represent a fabricated register of the language, or they would represent just one layer of the colloquial speech. The first hypothesis is entertained by Smith,<sup>73</sup> who claims that nineteenth-century texts reveal an acrolectal (i.e. tending towards the superstrate) variant of the language forged by foreign missionaries and 'could not have represented any colloquial variety'.<sup>74</sup> However, in an earlier text, Smith<sup>75</sup> describes that '[t]he data of B[atticaloa] P[ortuguese] is of two types:

normal colloquial speech and formal, consciously archaizing speech which my older consultant could produce under stimulus'. In the case of Sri Lanka creole, even though the written medium may have been an abstract register (much like the standardized form of any language) devised by foreign missionaries, it need not have been the missionaries who introduced the linguistic variation. What I propose is that a degree of stratification, with registers approaching the superstrate and others approaching the substrate, must have characterized the Luso-Asian communities as a whole, including those of the Malabar—and that the latter went unrecorded in nineteenth-century text collections. In this respect, and on the topic of written language, the following testimony written in 1786 by a Frenchman is of particular interest:

En conséquence les Marchands Indous, Maures, Arabes, Persans, Parses, Juifs, Arméniens, qui trafiquent dans les Comptoirs Européens, ainsi que les Noirs qui veulent faire la fonction d'Interprète, sont obligés de parler cette langue; elle sert encore de communication entre les nations Européenne établies dans l'Inde.

Mais il s'en faut bien que ce soit le Portugais pur, appelé dans l'Inde le *Portugais Reinol*. Celui qui s'écrit en approche d'avantage, surtout à la Côte Malabare, où cette Nation a eu de nombreux Etablissements: le Portugais parlé n'est proprement qu'un jargon, consistant en 150 ou 200 mots, presque sans construction.<sup>76</sup>

[As a result, the Indian, Moor, Arab, Persian, Parsi, Jewish, and Armenian merchants who deal in the European trading posts, as well as the Blacks who wish to serve as Interpreters, are forced to speak this language [i.e., Portuguese]; it also serves as means of communication between the European nations established in India.

But this language is far from being the pure Portuguese, called in India *Reinol Portuguese*. The one that is written down comes closest to it, especially in the Malabar Coast, where that nation had numerous settlements: spoken Portuguese is in effect no more than a jargon of 150 or 200 words, with almost no structure.]

What is being described here is a classical case of diglossia, in which the linguistic production of a community responds to a hierarchy of languages or language registers. One relevant observation to be made here is that linguistic stratification often correlates with social stratification. At the height of their vitality, then, the Indo-Portuguese communities must have been somewhat stratified.<sup>77</sup> A 1725 report sent by the protestant missionary Nikolaus Dal from Tranquebar to his order's headquarters in Germany is especially insightful and revealing in this respect:

Denn gleichwie man die Portugiesen in drey Classen getheilet hat, so kann man auch drey Arten von der Sprache setzen, nemlich 1) *die rechte*, 2) *die halbverdorbene*, und 3) *die gantz verdorbene*. 1. Die rechte Portugiesische Sprache reden hauptsächlich die Europäischen Portugiesen, und dann auch, die von ihnen herkommen. 2. Die halb-verdorbene reden insgemein, die von vermischter Abkunft sind. *Schwartze aber bedienen sich auch derselben in ihren Briefen*. Diese Art von Sprache bestehet hauptsächlich darin, daß sie *die verba nicht recht nach ihren Coniugationibus zu gebrauchen wissen*. 3. Die gantz verdorbene höret man, im gemeinen reden, zwar auch von Portugiesen vermischter Abkunft, doch vornemlich von denen, die gantz schwarz sind. Diese Art von Sprache unterscheidet sich von der vorhergehenden hauptsächlich darin, daß die Leute *gar keine Coniugation gebrauchen, sondern nur die künftige Zeit durch die particulam lo, und die vergangene durch ja aussprechen, und sich dabey des Infinitivi mit Auslassung des R bedienen. Zu Briefen wird diese Sprache für läppisch und ridicul gehalten*. Man sollte auch dencken, daß sie zum Sprechen auch nicht sonderlich geschickt sey; welches von einer an einander hängenden Rede auch allerdings wahr ist. Wie denn aus solcher Ursache auch die schwarzen Portugiesen sich *der halb-verdorbenen Sprache bedienen, wenn sie aus ihrem Herten ein Gebet zu Gott thun*.<sup>78</sup>

[For as you have the Portuguese divided into three classes, you can also distinguish three types of the language, namely, 1) the *proper*, 2) the *semi-corrupt*, and 3) the *entirely corrupt*. 1. The proper Portuguese is mainly spoken by the European Portuguese and also by those who descend from them. 2. The semi-corrupt speech is generally spoken by those of mixed parentage. *But the blacks also make use of it in their letters*. This type of language is characterized mainly by the fact that they are *unable to use verb conjugations correctly*. 3. The entirely corrupt is generally heard from the Portuguese of mixed descent, but especially from those who are completely black. This kind of language is different from the previous one mainly in that people *do not use conjugation at all, instead expressing future tense with the particle lo, and past tense with ja, and construct the infinitive by omitting R*. *This language is considered silly and ridiculous in letters*. One should think that it is not very appropriate for speaking; which is especially true of coherent speech. This is why the black Portuguese *use the half-corrupted language when they pray to God from their hearts*.]

This description, though brief, is clear about the interplay between different linguistic registers and different social strata. It is also clear about the social value attached to each register: the ones closest to Portuguese were deemed suitable for formal use (such as

when writing, praying or making speeches), those most distant from it were not. As noted also by Iken,<sup>79</sup> the grammatical considerations made about the ‘completely corrupted’ language (no conjugation, preverbal markers to indicate tense and aspect) are consistent with what we know of the Dravido-Portuguese creoles; therefore, the other two registers (‘proper’ and ‘semi-corrupt’) must have differed markedly from the creole, i.e., they must have been ‘non-creole’ in some salient ways.

It seems unlikely that a register approaching standard Portuguese would have survived for long (at least until the collection of the late nineteenth-century corpora) without any access to standard Portuguese. This poses an interesting question, which goes for many other locations: what sources of L1 Portuguese remained in place after the end of Portuguese political and economic domination? Religious agents stand out as likely sources of standard Portuguese but, in the case of Sri Lanka for instance, this contradicts the thesis that Portuguese-speaking ministers were denied any access after the Dutch take-over; if so, the missionaries responsible for the diffusion of Portuguese there in the period were L2 speakers themselves. In addition, there may also have been further channels for the maintenance of standard Portuguese, such as schooling or trade. With respect to the former, we have already mentioned that the Catholic Church ran schools in South India in which Portuguese was taught, and Iken<sup>80</sup> also clarifies that, in the early 1700s, the protestant mission at Tranquebar also ran a Portuguese school. Despite these scattered indications, however, we cannot be sure of the exact dimension of Portuguese-language schooling in the Malabar (and the Dravidian sphere as a whole), in terms of the number of schools, enrolment, level of education, the register(s) employed, or the actual impact onto the local populations. This is an issue and a period lacking accurate accounts, and for which historical research is much needed.

## **Conclusion**

This essay has addressed several ways in which a study of the Indo-Portuguese creoles of the Malabar (and the Luso-Asian creoles in general) can contribute to a social history of Indo-Portuguese relations, and many lingering questions for which researchers of these creoles need to rely on the work of historians. The fact that social history and linguistic

history go hand in hand creates the potential—and the absolute need—for historians and linguists to collaborate.

I have proposed that, when we combine a linguistic analysis of the Indo-Portuguese creoles with basic historical data, we begin to discern that the Indo-Portuguese societies have always been characterized by considerable complexity: complexity in terms of their origins and ancestry, social stratification, and patterns of interaction with one another. The linguistic evidence is consistent with a view of the Portuguese Asian empire as a network permitting the circulation of people and their cultural and linguistic features; a network in which, despite the asymmetry of the various Portuguese strongholds in terms of their influence, a degree of multilateralism is needed. Sources of information on the creoles also highlight the resilience of these languages and their speech communities after the end of Portuguese rule, even if one still does not understand the exact reasons and mechanisms that allowed it.

It is also made clear that there are many blind spots in the history of the Indo-Portuguese communities which should ideally be filled in for a proper understanding of their constitution and of their linguistic practice. Lingering questions concern, for instance, the exact social dynamics that produced and upheld the use of a creole, the reason why Portuguese or Malayalam were unable to displace it, or the precise degree of social segregation and/or proximity which obtained in the early Indo-Portuguese communities. It is also not entirely clear what particular links the Malabar ports established with other locations, during and after the Portuguese period. Another relevant interrogation, with respect to the Malabar but also other areas such as the Coromandel or Sri Lanka, is that of which sources of L1 Portuguese may have been available to creole speakers in the post-Portuguese period, for how long, and how influential they really were.

The historical cues and questions addressed in this essay make it clear that there is ample room for the integration of evidence unearthed by linguists and historians interested in the Indo-Portuguese societies and their characteristics—just as there is room for input from other disciplines such as anthropology and genetics. It is to be hoped that

scholars with diverse skills and sets of data may continue to collaborate in order to advance the knowledge of these societies, their past and also their present.

## Notes

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4. R. Cohen and P. Toninato, 'Introduction', in *The Creolization Reader; Studies in Mixed Identities and Cultures*, ed. R. Cohen and P. Toninato, Oxon: Routledge, 2010, pp. 1–21.
5. M. Parkvall, 'Cutting off the Branch', in *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics in the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Glenn Gilbert, New York: Peter Lang, 2002, pp. 355–68.
6. Jacques Arends, 'The Historical Study of Creoles and the Future of Creole Studies', in *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics in the Twenty-first Century*, ed. G. Gilbert, New York: Peter Lang, 2002, p. 58.
7. S. Hall, 'Créolité and the process of creolization', in *The Creolization Reader; Studies in Mixed Identities and Cultures*, ed. R. Cohen and P. Toninato, Oxon: Routledge, 2010, p. 29. Emphasis in the original.
8. For example, P. Baker, 'Off-target?', *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, vol. 5, 1990, pp. 107–19.
9. In fact, as shown particularly effectively for the Luso-Asian varieties, creoles that coexist for a protracted period with the superstrate and other locally dominant languages (whether or not the original substrate) develop in constant tension with both, and any change in the local currency or prestige of one of the sides may have a significant linguistic impact on the creole itself. See contributions to H.C. Cardoso, A.N. Baxter and M. Pinharanda Nunes, editors, *Ibero-Asian Creoles: Comparative Perspectives*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012.
10. The 'founder principle' defended in S.S. Mufwene, *The Ecology of Language Evolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
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- 13, 1889, pp. 476–516; N. Smith, ‘An Annotated List of Creoles, Pidgins, and Mixed Languages’, in *Pidgins and Creoles; An Introduction*, ed. J. Arends, P. Muysken and N. Smith, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995, pp. 331–74.
12. H. Schuchardt, ‘Kreolische Studien II: Über das Indoportugiesische von Cochim’, *Sitzungsherichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien (Philosophischhistorische Klasse)*, vol. 102, 1882, pp. 799–816; Schuchardt, ‘Beiträge zur Kenntnis des creolischen Romanisch V: Allgemeineres über das Indoportugiesische (Asiportugiesische)’; H. Schuchardt, ‘Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch VI: Zum Indoportugiesischen von Mahé und Cannanore’, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, vol. 13, 1889, pp. 516–524. For further information on sources, see M.I. Tomás, *Os Crioulos Portugueses do Oriente: Uma Bibliografia*, Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992, pp. 93–4; J. Ladhams, ‘The Formation of the Portuguese-based Creoles: Gradual or Abrupt?’ in *Gradual Creolization; Studies Celebrating Jacques Arends*, ed. R. Selbach, H.C. Cardoso and M. van den Berg, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009, pp. 279–303.
13. Smith, ‘An Annotated List of Creoles, Pidgins, and Mixed Languages,’ pp. 331–74.
14. See K.D. Jackson, *Sing Without Shame: Oral Traditions in Indo-Portuguese Creole Verse*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990; Tomás, *Os Crioulos Portugueses do Oriente: Uma Bibliografia*; Cardoso, ‘Challenges to Indo-Portuguese across India’.
15. H.C. Cardoso, *Corpus of Cannanore Indo-Portuguese speech*, unpublished, Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa, 2006–2015; H.C. Cardoso, *Corpus of Vypeen [Cochin] Indo-Portuguese speech*, unpublished, Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa, 2007–2010; H.C. Cardoso, *Corpus of Calicut Indo-Portuguese speech* unpublished, Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa, 2015.
16. See H.C. Cardoso, ‘Luso-Asian Comparatives in Comparison’, in *Ibero-Asian Creoles: Comparative perspectives*, ed. H.C. Cardoso, A.N. Baxter and M. Pinharanda Nunes, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012, 81–123.
17. J. de Barros, *Quarta década da Ásia—Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento, e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente*, 1615, book 4, chapter XII.
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19. A.M.P. Ferreira, ‘Estrangeiros na Índia no tempo de Afonso de Albuquerque: os anónimos’, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. 1, 2000, pp. 54–5.
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21. See, for example, Thomaz, L.F, ‘De l’autre côté du monde; Langues véhiculaires et communication interethnique dans l’océan Indien à l’époque de la découverte portugaise’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, Nouvelle Série*, vol. 45(1), 2015, pp. 113–131; M.A.M. Guedes, ‘Intérpretes de português na Birmânia’, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. 3, 2002, pp. 333–51.
22. See the following section and the one on ‘The Malabar Creoles in their Luso-Asian Context’.
23. See also A.N. Baxter, ‘Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Pacific and Western Pacific Rim’, in *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas*, vol. II.1, ed. S.A. Wurm, P. Mühlhäusler and D.T. Tryon, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996, p. 301.
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26. See, for example, J.C. Clements, *The Genesis of a Language. The formation and development of Korlai Portuguese*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996.
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31. H. Schuchardt, 'Kreolische Studien III. Über das Indoportugiesische von Diu', *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien (philosophischhistorische Klasse)*, vol. 103, 1883, pp. 3–18; A.M. Moniz, 'The Negroes and St. Benedict's Feast', in *The mission field. The diocese of Damaun*, Bombay: published by S. R. Santos, 1925, pp. 570–572.
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33. Cardoso, 'African slave population of Portuguese India'.
34. Quoted and translated in Boxer, *Race relations in the Portuguese colonial empire, 1415–1825*, pp. 59–60.
35. Baxter, 'Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Pacific and Western Pacific Rim', p. 300.
36. D. Lopes, *A Expansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente nos Séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*. Barcelos: Portucalense Editora, 1936; A. Singh, *Fort Cochin in Kerala 1750–1830. The Social Condition of a Dutch Community in an Indian Milieu*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010; J. Teles e Cunha, Review of Singh, *Fort Cochin in Kerala 1750–1830*, pp. 385–410.
37. Thomaz, *Babel Loro Sa'e. O Problema Linguístico de Timor-Leste*; M. Vink, "'The World's Oldest Trade": Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century', *Journal of World History*, vol. 14(2), 2003, pp. 131–177; M.I. Tomás, 'The role of women in the cross-pollination process in the Asian-Portuguese varieties', in *Accounting for commonalities among the Portuguese-lexified creoles of Asia*, guest ed. H.C. Cardoso and U. Ansaldo. Special issue of *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, vol. 8(2), 2009, pp. 49–64.
38. Quoted in Lopes, *A Expansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente nos Séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*, pp. 67–68. My translation, my emphasis.

39. E. Teza, 'Indoportoghese', *Studi Filologici*, vol. 5, 1872; Schuchardt, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des creolischen Romanisch V. Allgemeineres über das Indoportugiesische (Asiopugiesische)'; Schuchardt, 'Kreolische Studien II: Über das Indoportugiesische von Cochim'; Schuchardt, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch VI. Zum Indoportugiesischen von Mahé und Cannanore'.
40. H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson; A glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms; Etymological, historical, geographical, and discursive*, London: Murray, 1886.
41. Schuchardt, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des creolischen Romanisch. V. Allgemeineres über das Indoportugiesische (Asiopugiesische)', p. 488.
42. S.R. Dalgado, 'Dialecto indo-português do Norte', *Revista Lusitana*, vol. 9, 1906, pp. 142–166, 193–228.
43. S.R. Dalgado, 'Dialecto Indo-Português de Negapatão', *Revista Lusitana*, vol. 20, 1917, p. 42; 44.
44. It should be borne in mind that the end of intergenerational transmission marks the apex of the process of language loss, not its beginning. Also, it must be clarified that these dates are only approximate, for want of the exact birthdates of the people involved. The situation in other locations (e.g. Anjengo) remains unknown for the time being.
45. Schuchardt, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des creolischen Romanisch' V. Allgemeineres über das Indoportugiesische (Asiopugiesische)'.
46. For example, L.I. Ferraz, 'Portuguese creoles of West Africa and Asia', in *Pidgin and Creole Languages*, ed. Glenn Gilbert, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987; J.A. Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; Baxter, 'Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Pacific and Western Pacific Rim'.
47. U. Ansaldo and H.C. Cardoso, 'Introduction', in *Accounting for commonalities among the Portuguese-lexified creoles of Asia*, guest ed. H.C. Cardoso and U. Ansaldo, Special issue of *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, vol. 8(2), 2009, p.4.
48. J.C. Clements, *The linguistic legacy of Spanish and Portuguese; Colonial expansion and language change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 60.
49. Ferraz, 'Portuguese Creoles of West Africa and Asia'.
50. Cf. I.R. Smith, 'The development of morphosyntax in Sri Lanka Portuguese, in *York papers in Linguistics*, ed. M. Sebba and L. Todd, York: University of York, 1984; Tomás, 'A presença africana nos crioulos portugueses do Oriente: o crioulo de Damão'; J.C. Clements, 'Evidência para a existência de um pidgin português asiático', in *Crioulos de base lexical portuguesa*, ed. E. d'Andrade, D. Pereira and M.A. Mota, Braga: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística, 2000; J.A. Holm, 'Atlantic features in Asian varieties of Creole Portuguese'.
51. Dalgado, 'Dialecto Indo-Português de Negapatão'; Jackson, *Sing Without Shame: Oral Traditions in Indo-Portuguese Creole Verse*; K.D. Jackson, 'Flying with the Papagaio Verde (Green Parrot): An Indo-Portuguese Folkloric Motif in South and Southeast Asia', in *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies, 1511–2011*, vol. 1, ed. Laura Jarnagin, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011, pp. 178–203; H.C. Cardoso, 'Oral traditions of the Luso-Asian communities: local, regional and continental', in *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies, 1511–2011*, vol. 2, ed. Laura Jarnagin, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012, pp. 143–66.

52. Dalgado, 'Dialecto Indo-Português de Negapatão', p. 41.
53. L.F. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisbon: Difel, 1994, p. 208; See also Tomás, 'The role of women in the cross-pollination process in the Asian-Portuguese varieties', pp. 49–64.
54. Clements, 'Evidência para a existência de um pidgin português asiático', pp. 185–86.
55. Clements, *The linguistic legacy of Spanish and Portuguese; Colonial expansion and language change*.
56. See also U. Ansaldo and H.C. Cardoso, 'Introduction', pp. 3–10; A.N. Baxter and A. Bastos, 'A closer look at the post-nominal genitive in Asian Creole Portuguese', in *Ibero-Asian Creoles: Comparative perspectives*, ed. H.C. Cardoso, A.N. Baxter and M. Pinharanda Nunes, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012, pp. 48–49.
57. J.C. Clements, 'Notes on the phonology and lexicon of some Indo-Portuguese creoles', in *Ibero-Asian Creoles: Comparative perspectives*, ed. H.C. Cardoso, A.N. Baxter and M. Pinharanda Nunes, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012, pp. 29–30.
58. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*; See also Cardoso, 'O português em contacto na Ásia e no Pacífico', pp. 80–81..
59. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*; Clements, *The linguistic legacy of Spanish and Portuguese; Colonial expansion and language change*, p. 60.
60. Clements, *The Genesis of a Language. The formation and development of Korlai Portuguese*.
61. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*; Cardoso, 'Oral traditions of the Luso-Asian communities: local, regional and continental'.
62. Cardoso, *Corpus of Cannanore Indo-Portuguese speech*, 2006–2015.
63. Baxter and Bastos, 'A closer look at the post-nominal genitive in Asian Creole Portuguese'.
64. R.E. Asher and T.C. Kumari, *Malayalam*, London: Routledge, 1997, p. 173.
65. Clements, *The linguistic legacy of Spanish and Portuguese; Colonial expansion and language change*, pp. 60–63.
66. See, for example, Jackson, *Sing Without Shame: Oral Traditions in Indo-Portuguese Creole Verse*; Ladhams, 'The Formation of the Portuguese-based Creoles: Gradual or Abrupt?'.
67. I.R. Smith, 'Sri Lanka Creole Portuguese Phonology', PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1977; I.R. Smith, 'Substrata vs. universals in the formation of Sri Lanka Portuguese' in *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*, vol. 2, ed. P. Mühlhäusler, Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 1979, pp. 183–200.
68. P. Bakker, 'The Sri Lanka *Sprachbund*: The newcomers Portuguese and Malay', in *Linguistic Areas. Convergence in Historical and Typological Perspective*, ed. Y. Matras, A. McMahon and N. Vincent, New York: Palgrave, 2006, pp. 135–159.
69. In fairness, this type of discrepancy between old written corpora and modern-day data is applicable to other Luso-Asian creoles too—see Ladhams, 'The Formation of the Portuguese-based Creoles: Gradual or abrupt?', pp. 279–303; H.C. Cardoso, 'Factoring sociolinguistic variation into the history of Indo-Portuguese'. *Revista de Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* 5, 2014, pp. 87–115. However, nowhere are the differences so marked and fundamental as in the cases of Sri Lanka and the Malabar.

70. Schuchardt, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des creolischen Romanisich V. Allgemeineres über das Indoportugiesische (Asioportugiesische)', pp. 476–516.
71. Cardoso, *Corpus of Cannanore Indo-Portuguese speech*, 2006–2015.
72. For a further example of this discrepancy, concerning comparative constructions, see Cardoso, 'Luso-Asian comparatives in comparison', pp. 95–96.
73. Smith, 'Substrata vs. universals in the formation of Sri Lanka Portuguese', p. 193.
74. See also J. Flores, *A Taprobana e a Ponte de Rama. Estudos sobre os Portugueses em Ceilão e na Índia do Sul*, Macau: Instituto Português do Oriente, 2004.
75. Smith, 'Sri Lanka Creole Portuguese Phonology', p. 352.
76. A.H. Anquetil-Duperron, 'Des recherches historiques et géographiques sur l'Inde' in *Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*, vol. II, ed. Jean Bernoulli, Berlin: Imprimerie de Pierre Bourdeaux, 1786, p. XI; translated in Cardoso, 'Factoring sociolinguistic variation into the history of Indo-Portuguese', p. 93. My emphasis.
77. For a more complete discussion, see Cardoso, 'Factoring sociolinguistic variation into the history of Indo-Portuguese'.
78. N. Dal, 'Nachricht von den Portugiesen in Indien' in *Drey und dreyßigste CONTINUATION Des Berichts Der Königlichen Dänischen Mißionarien in Ost-Indien / Worin eine Ausfuehrliche Nachricht Von der gantzen Verfassung der Mißion, Wie auch Die Fortsetzung des Tage-Registers vom Jahr 1731. und einige Briefe der Herren Mißionarien enthalten, Nebst einem Anhang Von der Evangelischen Mission zu Madras*, publ. G.A. Francken, Halle, 1733, pp. 919–920; translated in H.C. Cardoso, 'Factoring sociolinguistic variation into the history of Indo-Portuguese', pp. 90–92. My emphasis.
79. S. Iken, 'O português "por uso das malabaricas e portuguesas escolas" da missão protestante alemã de Tranquebar do século XVIII: Contribuição para o estudo diacrónico da sintaxe do português na Ásia', in *Portugal, Indien und Deutschland / Portugal, Índia e Alemanha*, ed. Helmut Siepmann, Cologne: Universität zu Köln; Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2000, p. 310.
80. Idem, pp. 313–314.