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Early notices regarding Creole Portuguese in former Portuguese Timor

Alan N. Baxter (Universidade Federal da Bahia) & Hugo C. Cardoso (Universidade de Lisboa)

The area of Bidau, in the East Timorese capital of Dili, was home to the only documented form of Creole Portuguese in Timor. Although Bidau Creole Portuguese is now extinct, by most accounts, a few scattered records allow a glimpse into what it must have been like, and reveal its clear relationship with other Southeast Asian Portuguese-based creoles; Baxter’s (1990a) study of Bidau Creole Portuguese was based mostly on a set of recordings made in the context of the Missão Antropológica de Timor [“Anthropological Mission to Timor”, 1953-1954]. In this article, Baxter (1990a: 3) mentions that “[s]o far, the earliest located reference to Bidau Creole Portuguese, and one which contains some impressionistic examples of conversations and the verse of a song, is Castro (1943: 56, 177)”. However, since the publication of this study, a few earlier references to what can be interpreted as Portuguese-based creole in Timor have been located in unpublished archival sources. These sources are letters sent to two important philologists of the late 19th and early 20th century, Hugo Schuchardt and José Leite de Vasconcelos, who were greatly interested in ascertaining whether a creole was spoken in Timor and what the local Portuguese was like. The present study introduces and contextualises these epistolary sources, discussing the linguistic and sociolinguistic material contained therein, and its relevance for the confirmation of different threads of language contact involving Portuguese.

Keywords: East Timor, Creole Portuguese, early notices, Bidau Creole Portuguese

1. Introduction

The only documented form of Creole Portuguese in Timor was associated with Bidau, a district of Dili, the East Timorese capital. Bidau Creole Portuguese (BCP), as referred to in the literature, has its roots in the Portuguese presence in the Flores-Timor region as of the 16th century, involving missionary activities and the Timor sandalwood trade, connected with both Malacca and Macau. Although BCP is now extinct, by most accounts, a few scattered records allow a glimpse into what it must have been like, and

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1 The authors are greatly indebted to the staff of the Department of Linguistics and the Hugo Schuchardt Archiv of the Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria, for organizing the 2013 workshop on Asian Ibero-Romance Creoles which facilitated our access to documents on 19th-century Timor and kindled our interest in the topic of the current article. The staff at the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (Lisbon) also deserves our gratitude for making available to us the materials in the Leite de Vasconcelos collection. For discussion of Tetun-Dili examples, the authors thank Dr. Catharina Williams van-Klinken, Dr. Adérito Correia, and Prof. Geoffrey Hull, as well as three anonymous reviewers. For similar discussions of Malay examples, gratitude is expressed to Prof Stefanie Pillai, Dr Novi Djenar, and Prof. Alexander Adelaar. Naturally, all responsibility for the views presented in this article rests with its authors. Alan N. Baxter’s research is supported by grant 307947/2013-0 of the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq), Brazil. Hugo C. Cardoso’s research was financed by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT) under the Investigador FCT programme (IF/01009/2012).
reveal its clear relationship with other Southeast Asian Portuguese-based creoles. This point is clearly made in Baxter (1990a), a study of BCP which was based mostly on a set of recordings made by the Portuguese Missão Antropológica de Timor ["Anthropological Mission to Timor", 1953-1954] which highlights a number of important similarities with both Malacca Creole (MalCP) and Macau Creole (MacCP), in both the lexicon (e.g. \textit{atardi} ‘afternoon’; \textit{anoti} ‘night’; \textit{nomas} ‘only’) and morphosyntax (e.g. verb serialisation involving directional verbs \textit{bai} ‘go’ and \textit{beŋ} ‘come’; a possessive construction with the structure Possessor + \textit{salsul/sua} + Possessee; copula-possessive verb syncretism).

In his seminal article, Baxter (1990a: 3) also mentions that “[s]o far, the earliest located reference to BCP, and one which contains some impressionistic examples of conversations and the verse of a song, is Castro (1943: 56, 177)”. This passage refers to the book \textit{A ilha verde e vermelha de Timor},\footnote{In fact, although the book itself only came out in 1943, the text had already been published in installments in various numbers of the Portuguese journal \textit{Seara Nova} between 1928 and 1929. Therefore, the linguistic samples it contains are actually earlier.} written by Alberto Osório de Castro, a Portuguese poet and jurist who worked as a judge in Timor, in which the author transcribes a song in “português de Díli” (‘Dili Portuguese’) strongly reminiscent of Luso-Asian oral traditions documented elsewhere – see section 2.5 below for further details –, and a few short dialogues. In addition, Baxter (1990a) also transcribes and analyses an 1885 letter sent to Hugo Schuchardt by João Gomes Ferreira – see section 2.3 below –, at the time the vicar general and superior of the Catholic missions of Timor;\footnote{Manuscript kept at the University of Graz (Austria), Hugo Schuchardt Archiv, nr. 03853. Available online at <http://schuchardt.uni-graz.at/korrespondenz/briefe/korrespondenzpartner/1705/briefe/01-03853>}. this letter contains some language samples identified as “portuguez corrompido” (‘corrupt Portuguese’) with some features in common with the Asian CPs, but the author attributes this variety to incomplete acquisition of L2 Portuguese and interference from the speakers’ L1.

Since the publication of Baxter’s (1990a) study, however, we have been able to identify a few more early references to the specificities of “Portuguese” in Timor and to the debate of whether or not this should be interpreted as a creole. These notices, which we discuss in this article, provide us with more explicit (though at times contradictory) descriptions of the variation underlying “Portuguese” in late-19\textsuperscript{th}-c./early 20\textsuperscript{th}-c. Timor but also, crucially, with further linguistic snippets of Creole Portuguese (CP), recognizable as such by comparison with the 1950s corpus of BCP. The linguistic data in these early accounts are somewhat variable and contribute to reconstructing a linguistic space in which L2 Portuguese and Portuguese-based creoles coexisted. Despite the difficulty in setting boundaries between all these linguistic variants, we try to make sense of the data contained in the texts by ascertaining whether the linguistic features they record could have resulted from the diffusion of contact varieties of Portuguese across (Southeast) Asia, whether they constitute specifically Timorese developments or bear the hallmarks of L2 acquisition – and, in the light of these findings, we also revisit Osório de Castro’s 1943 data.

2. Early notices

In European academia at large, the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century and early 20\textsuperscript{th} century was a moment of renewed philological interest in the cultural (and, therefore, linguistic) diversity of
the world. The publication of linguistic corpora and descriptions was boosted by the creation of scholarly institutions and periodicals, and was promoted by professional philologists and learned laymen alike.

It was at this time that modern Portuguese dialectology took off, a process which allowed some space to the study of the Portuguese-based creoles (Morais-Barbosa, 1967: XIIIff). In fact, the diffusion of the Portuguese language around the world and its linguistic consequences – from the production of dialectal variation to the formation of creole languages – aroused the interest of Portuguese as well as non-Portuguese philologists at the time. In Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking world, major names of this line of enquiry include Adolfo Coelho, José Leite de Vasconcelos, Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado and António de Paula Brito, among others; elsewhere, Hugo Schuchardt and Emilio Teza are particularly relevant.

Naturally, collecting primary linguistic data on non-European Portuguese dialects and Portuguese-based creoles would have been challenging for most of these scholars – with the exception of those who resided in the field, such as António de Paula Brito (Cape Verde) or Sebastião Dalgado (India and Ceylon). Therefore, they often had to rely on a global network of correspondents who could collect data in various parts of the world and comment on linguistic matters concerning their areas of residence. These epistolary networks comprised not only linguistically-trained correspondents (in short supply) but mostly people with various other functions (priests and missionaries, colonial administrators, military agents, etc.). One of the most active in this type of data-collection methodology, at the time, was the German scholar Hugo Schuchardt, working at the Austrian University of Graz since 1876. In Portugal, at the same time, a wide network of informants was developed by the linguist and archaeologist José Leite de Vasconcelos, the author of one of the earliest treatises of Portuguese dialectology (1901).

These letters often contain crucial linguistic data which cannot be retrieved from any published sources. Luckily, the epistolary archives of Hugo Schuchardt and of Leite de Vasconcelos are still preserved and publicly available at the University of Graz (Austria) and the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (Lisbon, Portugal), respectively. Both of them took an interest in the linguistics of East Timor, and they queried their informants there about the various indigenous languages of the island, the Portuguese language and the possible use of a Portuguese-based creole. Presumably, their interest in ascertaining whether a Portuguese-based creole formed in Timor could have derived simply from their awareness that that had been the case in other Asian locations such as India, Ceylon, Malacca and Macau. However, there was also an earlier reference to a Timorese “crioulo” in the book *As possessões portuguezas na Oceânia*, published in 1867 by Afonso de Castro (governor of Portuguese Timor between 1858 and 1861). We know for a fact that Leite de Vasconcelos was aware of this source because it is explicitly discussed in a letter addressed to him by Rafael das Dores (see section 2.4), and Schuchardt may also have had access to it. In this book, Castro refers to the linguistic situation of Dili in the following terms:

Têem os timores tão grande facilidade para aprender o malaio, quanta dificuldade para o portuguez, que rarissimos fallam correctamente, e que uma grande parte dos chefes e dos habitantes de Dilly estropiam, fazendo um crioulo, que nos custa quasi tanto a comprehender, como os dialectos timores. (Castro, 1867: 328)

[The Timorese have as much ease in learning Malay as they have difficulty in learning Portuguese, which very few speak correctly, and which a majority of the
chiefs and inhabitants of Dili mutilate, producing a creole that is almost as difficult for us to understand as the Timorese languages.]

This passage had a certain impact on scholars concerned with Portuguese and Portuguese-based creoles at the time; Adolfo Coelho, one of the earliest, considered that that “[f]ora do maior interesse reunir alguns espécimes do crioulo de Timor, assim como continuar a obra começada tão bem pelo Sr. Afonso de Castro” [it would be of the utmost interest to collect a few samples of the creole of Timor, as well as to continue the work so well started by Mr. Afonso de Castro] (Coelho, 1882). But, in fact, Castro’s report raises many questions. One of these relates to the depth of the author’s understanding of the linguistic variation he addresses – see also, in this respect, Rafael das Dores’ later criticism of this passage (section 2.4.).

Another question, which also applies, in varying degrees, to other sources to be discussed in this paper, has to do with what exactly is understood by “crioulo”, a word with a complex semantic history (see Baker & Mühlhäusler 2007). In this particular case, the description appears to imply that what was classified as “crioulo” was synchronically produced by a certain difficulty in the acquisition of Portuguese as an L2. Therefore, Castro is probably not referring to a variety that would be used by its speakers as L1 at all. As a matter of fact, it was usually the case that, in any Portuguese establishment in Asia, a range of interacting varieties developed extending from L1 competence in (creole) Portuguese to more or less rudimentary L2. Such developments usually included flow-ons from other establishments, as well as local developments. As such, Castro’s “crioulo” may not have been referring to the L1 creole that we know as BDP or any similar creole, but rather to a set of local interlanguages. This is probably also true of some other scattered and vague references to the Portuguese of Timor, such as that of the D. António de Medeiros, the bishop of Macau and Timor, in a letter included in the prologue of an 1885 catechism in Tetun

4 Tetun, an Austronesian language, exists in East Timor in two main varieties: Tetun Terik, spoken along the border with West Timor and in two southern coastal regions, and Tetun Dili, spoken in the capital and immediate area and also functioning as a lingua franca in much of East Timor (Hull, 1999; Williams-van Klinken, 2002; Williams-van Klinken et al, 2002). In contrast with Tetun Terik, which has few loan words, Tetun Dili is much influenced by Portuguese. According to Williams-van Klinken (2002), early missionary materials in Tetun broadly followed Tutun Terik, but display certain Tetun Dili characteristics such as the absence of Tetun Terik subject marking.
This reference is particularly interesting as it suggests that the Catholic missionaries (who were at this time native speakers of Portuguese) had the habit of preaching in a form of “algaraviado portuguez” (‘gibberish Portuguese’) to native speakers of a Timorese language. Here, again, we have no clear indication of a Portuguese-based creole language being used as L1 but rather to either a form of foreigner talk produced by L1 Portuguese speakers or, to the extent that this ‘gibberish Portuguese’ was established as a Timorese means of interethnic communication, a Portuguese-based pidgin. Nonetheless, for scholars with some knowledge of the Asian CPs such as Schuchardt and Leite de Vasconcelos, these descriptions must have prompted a wish to clarify the linguistic situation in Timor. Most of the sources discussed in this article were located in their respective epistolary archives, with a few additional references retrieved from printed sources. For clarity, we will organize the remainder of this section by author, chronologically on the basis of the earliest of each author’s commentaries.

2.1. Tancredo Caldeira do Casal Ribeiro

The first letter in Hugo Schuchardt’s epistolary archive to address the issue at hand was sent to him in 1882 by Tancredo do Casal Ribeiro, a Portuguese agronomist who was at the time working in Timor – see appendix A for a full transcription of the letter.

Casal Ribeiro admits in his letter that, since he did not find himself to be competent in linguistic matters, he enlisted the help of a missionary and, therefore, his report is likely to have relied heavily on this missionary’s opinion and observations. He insists that no particular “dialect” of Portuguese (by which he appears to be thinking of an L1 variety) formed in Timor but that the small Timorese population of Dili spoke a “corrupted” form of L2 Portuguese highly influenced by their L1 and that, in the hinterland, only a few members of the local nobility spoke Portuguese at all. This form of Portuguese spoken in Dili was known locally as “lingua da praça”, the word praça referring not only to a marketplace but also, in the Luso-Asian context, to an important town. Casal Ribeiro includes a few sentences to exemplify this variety:

(1) a. \( Eu \ já \ fala \)
\[ \text{1s PST speak 'I spoke'} \]

b. \( Eu \ ha \ de \ fala \)
\[ \text{1s FUT speak 'I will speak'} \]

c. \( Eu \ ja \ compra \)
\[ \text{1s PST buy 'I bought'} \]

\(^5\) ‘Como eu estou aqui há apenas um anno, não tendo portanto a practica necessária, pedi a um dos missionarios que me coadjuvasse, e espero poder enviar a V. E.ª alguma cousa do que deseja.’[‘Since I have only been here for a year, therefore lacking the necessary experience, I have asked one of the missionaries to help me, and I hope to be able to send Your Excellency some of what you desire.’] The missionary is not named but, presumably, he was one of the small group of Catholic missionaries trained at the Real Colégio das Missões Ultramarinas of Cernache do Bonjardim (Portugal) to whom the Timorese mission had been entrusted in 1877.
The sentences in (1), as Casal Ribeiro himself notes, are meant to illustrate that, in this variety, verb forms are invariable (based on either Portuguese 3s present tense forms or infinitives) and rely on the preverbal forms já (based on Ptg. adverb já ‘already’) and há de (from the Ptg. complex auxiliary há-de ‘will’) to indicate past and future tense, respectively. With respect to the verb fala in (1a,b), Casal Ribeiro also notes that this form (from the Ptg. verb falar ‘to speak’) is preferred to the Ptg. verb dizer ‘to say’, and that it occurs in a construction with indefinite reference as follows:

\[(2) \quad \text{gente já fala} \quad \text{people PST say} \quad \text{‘They say [X].’}\]

Casal Ribeiro also refers to the occasional replacement of the Portuguese stage-level and locative copula estar ‘to be (at)’ with the Portuguese possessive verb ter ‘to have’. The only example provided is of a locative context:

\[(3) \quad \text{Fulano tem em casa?} \quad \text{so-and-so be LOC house} \quad \text{‘Is such-and-such at home?’}\]

Further examples show that the Portuguese comitative/instrumental preposition com ‘with’ occurs to mark the source with verbs of transfer, a context in which Portuguese would have the preposition a:

\[(4) \quad \text{a. Eu compra com F.} \quad \text{1s buy from so-and-so} \quad \text{‘I buy [something] from so-and-so.’}\]

\[\text{b. Elles já compra com F.} \quad \text{1s PST buy from so-and-so} \quad \text{‘They bought [something] from so-and-so.’}\]

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6 While Casal Ribeiro states that the verb is formed “usando dos verbos ou no infinito ou na terceira pessoa do singular do tempo presente” [using the verb either in the infinitive or in the third person singular of the present tense], he does not provide examples showing a clear infinitive source. An indication of the word’s stress would have helped to disambiguate, as the two forms differ in this respect in Portuguese, but that is not made clear in the transcription of the sentences. In addition, an imperative source could also be posited, since the imperatives of these verbs in Portuguese are equal to 3s forms.

7 In the letter, Casal Ribeiro describes this with the sentence “A particula a é empregada algumas vezes em vez de com” [The particle a is sometimes employed instead of com], but he clearly means the opposite since, in the examples, it is the standard Portuguese translations that contain a and the non-standard sentences collected in Timor that use com.

8 In these examples, “F” appears to stand for the word Fulano ‘so-and-so’, written in full in the immediately preceding example sentence, transcribed in (3).
Casal Ribeiro also notes that pronouns “vary”, which presumably refers to the person and number distinctions observed (the corpus does not clarify whether there were also gender distinctions), but verbs are invariable; that articles are mostly absent and there is no agreement. Another interesting observation is that, in this variety, the generic negator can have the form *nunca*, which in Portuguese is a negative adverb of frequency meaning ‘never’:

(5) a. *Nunca Sabe*
   NEG Know
   ‘I don’t know.’

b. *Eu nunca Tem*
   1s NEG Have
   ‘I don’t have.’

This short corpus makes some important contributions to the question of the presence of a creole language in Timor. Despite the fact that the author explicitly denies its existence, the examples provided show certain parallels with Asian CPs elsewhere, although they are perhaps not clear enough indication that the variety described is a descendant of this group. Let us briefly reflect on some relevant features and, so as not to push the creole connection too far, discuss whether alternative sources can be considered.

Absence of verbal inflection does typify various Asian CPs but an independent Timorese development can equally well be posited. Since Malay⁹ and Tetun, the other languages most relevant to the context of 19th-c. Dili, do not inflect for tense-aspect-mood or subject agreement, it would be natural for contact acquirers of Portuguese to not readily notice inflection. 3s present forms and infinitive forms are especially salient in spoken Portuguese input, widely observed in L1 acquisition (Simões & Stoel-Gammon, 1979; Rubino & Pine, 1998; Davidson & Goldrick, 2003) and L2 acquisition (McCarthy, 2007; Clements, 2009; Ao, 2013) and, of course, constitute common bases in Ibero-Romance creoles (Holm, 1989: 268; Clements, 2009: 48).

Similarly, regarding the use of *já* ‘already’ as an aspect marker, Malay and Tetun have a perfective aspect marker, so it would be natural for contact acquirers of Portuguese to seek out something similar. As for the recorded use of *há de* as a future tense marker, it is relevant that future is also expressed with an element external to the verb in both Malay and Tetun. In Malay, perfective aspect, via *sudah* ‘already’, and future marking, via *akan* ‘presently, will’, are both pre-verbal (Crawfurdo, 1852: 48-49; Marsden, 1812: 68), as in examples (6) and (7):

(6) *saya sudah pergi*
   1s PFV go
   ‘I went’ (Shellabear, 1904: 17)

(7) *kami akan makan nanti*
   1p FUT eat soon
   ‘We will eat soon’ (Sneddon, 1996: 199)

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⁹ Throughout this article, we use “Malay” to make reference to the varieties of Malaysia and of Indonesia.
In Tetun, however, perfective aspect is usually post-verbal, as in (8), yet can also be expressed pre-verbally by means of the marker *foin* ‘just’ seen in example (9). The future is indicated pre-verbally, as in (10):

(8) *Hau lés tiha hau nia ropa*  
1s tear PFV 1s POS clothes  
‘I tore my clothes.’ (adapted from Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002: 36)

(9) *Ami foin hán*  
1p just eat  
‘We have just eaten’ (or ‘We are just in the process of eating.’) (Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002: 37)

(10) *Nia sei sosa hahán*  
3s FUT buy food  
‘He will buy food.’ (Hull, 1996: 29)

The motivation for the use of pre-verbal tense and aspect markers in Timorese L2 Portuguese could therefore come from similar constructions in Tetun and Malay. Nevertheless, when we consider the actual forms used, it is interesting to note that tense (-aspect) markers based on *já* and *há-de* are also found in Asian CPs elsewhere (Ferraz, 1987: 350ff). Perfective *já* or a derivation of it is widespread in the group. As for a form of *há-de* to mark the future, this is restricted to the northern Indo-Portuguese creoles of Daman and Diu (Clements & Koontz-Garboden, 2002: 220; Cardoso, 2009: 148ff), with other Asian CPs using a future marker derived from Ptg. *logo* ‘later, immediately, then’; however, the past currency of *há-de* in Asian contexts is revealed in the fact that even creoles that do not use a cognate of *há-de* to mark future (such as those of Sri Lanka and Malacca) have a special future negator derived from its negated version, *não há-de* (see section 3).

The preference for the verb *falar* over *dizer* to express the meaning of ‘to say/tell’ is equally interesting, as this is also the case in most Asian CPs. In those of Korlai, Cochin, Cannanore, Sri Lanka, Malacca, Tugu and Macau, this is also expressed by a verb derived from Ptg. *falar*.10 This fact could be a further point in favour of Asian CP influence in Timor but, in fairness, there are also plausible alternative explanations for the prevalence of *falar* over *dizer*. To begin with, from an L2 learner’s viewpoint, Portuguese *falar* offers salience advantages over *dizer* because of its higher paradigmatic regularity. In addition, the use of *falar* for ‘to say/tell’ can be surprising if seen in the light of modern standard European Portuguese, but *falar* may have been a dominant form in the Portuguese that spread throughout Asia (and elsewhere, cf. a similar use in modern Brazilian Portuguese) from the 16th c. onwards.

The syncretism of *ter* ‘have’ and *estar* ‘be, be located’ also has a broad parallel in the Asian CPs (Ferraz, 1987: 353-354). Yet, it must be said that both Malay and Tetun express these functions through a single verb, so a speaker of these languages

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10 In these creoles, the verb *dizer* is often retained only in markers of evidentiality derived from Ptg. *diz(-se)* que ‘it is said/appears that’, such as e.g. MalCP impersonal quotative verb *diski* or Sri Lanka Portuguese reportative clitic *ski* (Smith 1979: 208).
acquiring Portuguese as L2 in a contact situation would have some predisposition for such a conflation.\textsuperscript{11}

The absence of articles and of agreement mentioned by Casal Ribeiro are also phenomena observed in L2 acquisition of Portuguese, and acquisition of L1 Portuguese on the basis of contact L2 Portuguese (Baxter, 2002), and are common in Asian CPs. In the context of Dili, these features could also just be interpreted as products of L2 acquisition involving transfer from the L1, plus the fact that low phonological saliency of the Portuguese definite article would not favour its ready acquisition in an informal setting. Neither Malay nor Tetun have agreement morphology or dedicated articles.

There remain two items mentioned by Casal Ribeiro that may be more promising in support of a creole connection. The first is the use of the preposition \textit{com} with source (verbs of transfer). As a marker of benefactive arguments, a form derived from Ptg. \textit{com} ‘with’ is common to the creoles of Malacca and Tugu (Baxter, 1995; Maurer, 2011) and can be seen with the same function in 19th-c. texts of MacCP. It displays multifunctionality in these varieties, representing ‘to, with, and’ and, in MalCP, it even occurs as a marker of human goal (Baxter, 1995). Whereas Tetun does not have a similar item, in colloquial varieties of Malay, the use of \textit{sama} ‘with’ as an object marker is widespread, and in Riau Malay (Gil, 2004: 10) and Malacca vernacular Malay \textit{sama} can mark an animate source. So, the use of \textit{com} noticed by Casal Ribeiro could very well be an extension of Southeast Asian CP use, under the influence of Malay.

The final item mentioned is the negator \textit{nunca}, which is cognate with the main clause negator in the creoles of Malacca, Tugu and Macau (Baxter, 1990a), also present in the South Asian varieties of Sri Lanka (Smith, 1979), and in Cochin and Cannanore as a dedicated past tense negator (Krajinović, 2015: 53). The phonological salience of Portuguese \textit{nunca} would make it a good candidate for inclusion in a contact-acquired L2, as happened in the so-called \textit{Língua de Preto} ‘Black Language’ of the 16\textsuperscript{th} c., which Kihm & Rougé (2013) consider an L2 Basic Variety of Portuguese developed by Africans in Portugal. Although, theoretically, it could have been developed locally, this coincidence appears to point to the influence of a migrant creole. There is no motive in the substrates for this particular feature, whether in a formally similar negator or in any syncretism between a generic negation (with \textit{la} or \textit{lae} in Tetun Dili) and temporal negation (for which Tetun Dili has borrowed the term \textit{nunka} from Ptg \textit{nunca} ‘never’).

While we have indicated the possibility of local formation of several of the features identified by Casal Ribeiro, with potential substrate influence, it is important to stress that creole and L2 contact varieties of Portuguese did develop in the string of Portuguese ‘bases’ or staging posts around Timor (Baxter, 1996). So, in the pool of models available in Timor, crystalized pidgin or genuine L1 creole verb forms, TMA markers derived from \textit{já} and \textit{há-de}, and a negator from \textit{nunca} are likely to have been present.

2.2. José dos Santos Vaquinhas

Hugo Schuchardt’s correspondence also includes several letters from José dos Santos Vaquinhas, a Portuguese military man and colonial administrator who spent long periods of time in Timor and served as interim governor of the colony in 1881-1882 (see Cardoso & Sousa, 2015). His interest in philological matters is clear from his contributions (from 1883 onwards) to the journal of the scholarly \textit{Sociedade de...
Geografia de Lisboa, of which he was a correspondent. In addition to his correspondence with Hugo Schuchardt, Vaquinhas was also responsible for providing another important philologist of the time, Adolfo Coelho, with linguistic data collected in Macau. Vaquinhas had an interest in the indigenous languages of Timor – specifically Tetun – which we gather from the fact that Rafael das Dores, the author of one of the earliest dictionaries of Tetun (see section 2.4), acknowledges his assistance in the form of linguistic notes.

Schuchardt’s archive contains 7 letters from Vaquinhas (one of which unsigned, see below), addressing not only the issue of CP in Timor but also in Macau (which he was very familiar with, having resided there), Flores and Malacca. The letters which make relevant contributions to our study are transcribed in full in Appendix B. The first of these is classified as anonymous in the archive’s catalogue (nr. B0022) and lacks date and place, but it is clear that Vaquinhas was the author and it most probably accompanied a manuscript of the Epistle to the Corinthians claimed to be in the Portuguese-based creole of Malacca: this manuscript (nr. 2614), kept separately, lacks an introductory text but is indeed signed by Vaquinhas and dated: Macau, November 3rd, 1884. Not only is there a certain consistency in the handwriting of the two documents to support Vaquinhas’ authorship, the anonymous letter also gives some biographical information (his impending return to Timor and the near-publication of a particular article) which can be verified elsewhere and are consistent with this date.

This is an important letter because, in it, Vaquinhas not only confirms the existence of a creole language in Timor, but also in Batavia as well as on Flores and surrounding islands:

[…]

This extract of the letter is significant, first and foremost, for validating the vitality of CP in the Batavia region (confirmed, among other indications, by the long study of this variety that Schuchardt published in 1890) and in the Lesser Sunda islands. But it also reveals that the identification of a particular linguistic variant as a “creole”12 was

12 For Vaquinhas, “corrupted Portuguese” is equivalent to his use of “creole”, as becomes clear from the interchangeable use of the two expressions in letter nr. 2615.
controversial and highly polarized, and also that obtaining the relevant information was challenging:

Se o viajante não entender algum dialecto ou deixar de ter bom interprete e não visitar o interior das ilhas como já disse, obterão sempre informações erradas e inexactas do primeiro pantomineiro ou cicerone que se faz compreender ao viajante para lhe apanhar algumas moedas de prata – Das más informações resulta que muitas pessoas negam a existência do que não investigam ou não entenderam e ainda mais atrevem-se depois a pôr em dúvida o testemunho ocular de quem as investigou fielmente.

[If a traveller does not understand any of the dialects or fails to enlist a good interpreter and does not visit the hinterland of the islands, as I have already mentioned, he will always obtain wrong and inexact information from the first charlatan or cicerone who makes himself understood to get a few silver coins from him – Such bad information results in many people denying the existence of what they did not research or understand and, what is more, daring to question the eyewitness evidence of those who researched it faithfully.]

This may begin to explain some of the diversity of opinions among the various authors studied here with respect to the presence or absence of CP in Timor. Recall that Casal Ribeiro (who spent much less time in Timor than Vaquinhas) denied the development of any specifically Timorese L1 form of Portuguese or CP; and another of Schuchardt’s correspondents, the Dutch Austronesianist George Karel Niemann, wrote in 1883 (letter nr. 7845):

Herr Humme, der mehrere Jahre resident auf Timor war, hat mir bestimmt gesagt dass weder auf dem holländisches Timor noch bei den schwarzen Portugiesen auf Flores ein portugiesisches Jargon gesprochen wird; nur finden sich in dem auf Timor & Flores gesprochenes Malaiischen mehrere Portugiesische Wörter und Ausdrücke.

[Mister Humme, who resided in Timor for several years, has assured me that neither in Dutch Timor nor among the black Portuguese of Flores is a Portuguese jargon spoken; one only finds in the Malay spoken in Timor and Flores several Portuguese words and expressions.]

Vaquinhas, on the other hand, takes an absolutely contrary position when he writes:

Eu devo voltar para Timor em maio ou junho de 1885 e logo que ali chegue enviarei os esclarecimentos que puder obter e que me são pedidos por V Ex.ª com relação aos dialectos de Timor e da língua creoula fallada na praça de Dilly-Timor.

[I shall return to Timor in May or June 1885 and, as soon as I get there, I will send you any clarifications I am able to obtain and which Your Excellency requests of me concerning the dialects of Timor and the creole language spoken in the town of Dili-Timor.]
Vaquinhas did keep his promise. In a letter (nr. 2615) sent from Dili in November 1885 (dispatched along with João Gomes Ferreira’s letter studied in 2.3 below), he wrote:

Eu envio incluso uns apontamentos do portuguez crioulo fallado em Dilly

[I have enclosed some notes of the creole Portuguese spoken in Dili]

These notes, unfortunately, are no longer to be found in Schuchardt’s archive. However, some of the data is repeated in Vaquinhas’ following letter (nr. 2616), sent from Macau in 1886, in which he answers some of Schuchardt’s queries based on the original notes:

(11)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pidi</th>
<th>bença,</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>bença</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ask</td>
<td>blessing</td>
<td>give</td>
<td>blessing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Ask for the blessing’, ‘Give the blessing’

(12)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manda</th>
<th>bem</th>
<th>da</th>
<th>recados</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>order</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>give</td>
<td>message/greeting.PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Made (me) come give messages/greetings.’

(13)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manda</th>
<th>bem</th>
<th>pidi</th>
<th>bença</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>order</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>ask</td>
<td>blessing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Made (me) come ask for the blessing.’

These examples show the presence of verbs based on the 3s or imperative forms of the Portuguese verb (or perhaps the infinitive, in all cases except for bem, see footnote 5), reminiscent of Casal Ribeiro’s comments on the form of Portuguese spoken in Dili. Here too, the examples match the reality of other varieties of Creole Portuguese in Asia (Baxter, 1996). Additionally, the word bença ‘blessing’ is common to Macau CP (Senna Fernandes & Baxter, 2001: 58), as is the greeting pidi bença ‘ask for the blessing’ (Mário Nunes, p.c.).

However, at the same time, the forms of the verbs also correspond to recurrent solutions in stages of L1 and L2 acquisition. Research on the acquisition of Portuguese and Spanish provides evidence of a phase in which non-agreeing verbs derived from 3s play a significant role in L1 acquisition (Simões & Stoel-Gammon, 1979; Slobin, 1985; Radford & Ploennig-Pacheco, 1995; Bedore & Leonard, 2001; Pratt & Grinstead, 2007; among others) and in L2 acquisition (Bybee, 1995; Garavito, 2003; Montrul, 2004; McCarthy, 2006; Mory, 2008; among others). The presence of non-agreeing verbs derived from infinitives is also attested in both L1 and L2 acquisition research on Portuguese and Spanish (Liceras, Valenzuela & Díaz, 1999; Ezeizabarrena, 2002; Montrul, 2004; Kupisch & Rinke, 2008). Such verb forms, especially non-agreeing...
generalized 3s verbs, but also infinitive bases, may also be observed in the verb systems of diverse contact varieties with present or past situations of L2 acquisition. Some examples are the contact Portuguese of the Xingu indigenous reserve in Brazil (Emmerich, 1984; Mattos e Silva et al., 1988), the Portuguese of the Tongas of São Tomé (Baxter, 2002); Spanish in contact with indigenous languages in Mexico (Garavito & Atoche, 2006), and Afro-Bolivian and Afro-Peruvian Spanish (Lipsky, 2008; Sessarego, 2015).

The following examples, however, provide direct evidence of CP presence, or of input originating from CP, with the word *iloutro*:

(14)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Criança iloutro</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(15)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pidi bença, dá bença na criança iloutro</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(I) ask for the blessing and (I) give the blessing to the children.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Criança iloutro, pidi bença na Nona</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The children ask the Lady for the blessing’

(16)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>senhor</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nai iloutro bai falla</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘That/those gentleman/gentlemen are going to speak.’ or ‘That/those gentleman/gentlemen said.’

The form *iloutro*, from Ptg. *ele(s) + outro(s)* ‘3m(p) + other’, establishes a clear link with Asian CPs elsewhere. Cognates of *iloutro* are widespread in Asian CP and are present in Bidau CP data from the 1950s (Baxter, 1990a), but only as a third person plural pronoun. However, the constructions *criança iloutro* in (14) and (15), and *nai iloutro* in (16), show *iloutro* functioning as a post-nominal pluralizer (in competition with the Portuguese-like pluralizing suffix -s in (12)) but also, judging from Vaquinhas’ alternative translations, possibly interpreted as a distal (singular or plural) demonstrative. This combination of functions is partly paralleled in Tetun, where the definite plural marker *sira* is post-nominal and also conveys a notion of definiteness (Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002: 30); of particular interest, however, is that *sira* also functions as the third person plural pronoun (Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002: 20). Clearly, for *iloutro* to be used as a plural marker, it must first have been used in a pronominal function and, although Vaquinhas’ corpus is too short to reflect this, it is likely that it was also used as such at the time.

At the same time, the use of preposition *na* in (15) is curious, as it has no exact parallel in the languages relevant for Timor nor the Asian CPs. In addition, one will notice the selection of *na* in these contexts appears to contradict the data provided by Casal Ribeiro, in which human objects occur with the preposition *com* (see example (4)).

---

13

approach explains the presence of particular verb forms in contact acquired Spanish and Portuguese and in creoles. For a discussion of the effects of salience and frequency in language contact, see Siegel (1997).

16 Vaquinhas’ letter offers *dá bença* ‘give the blessing’ as an alternative to *pidi bença* ‘ask for the blessing’ in this sentence (see Appendix B); however, we have omitted it from the example because his translation only refers to the second option.
In fact, as mentioned earlier, most Asian CP varieties – including, in Southeast Asia, those of Malacca, Batavia/Tugu and Macau – mark human objects with a preposition derived from Ptg. *com* ‘with’ (Baxter, 1995; Clements, 2009; Maurer, 2011). In these creoles, *na* is usually a generalized locative preposition meaning ‘to, in, at’ (Hancock, 1975).

Turning to the substrates, both Malay and Tetun mark human oblique arguments. Although colloquial varieties of Malay employ the preposition *sama* ‘with’ (Gil, 2004), in Tetun Dili, the use of preposition *ba*\(^\text{17}\) could possibly underlie the use of *na* in example (15), as it introduces human obliques and directed locations, as in examples (17) and (18):

(17) *Ita husa bensa Ba Padre*
1p ask blessing OBL priest
‘We ask the blessing of the priest (We ask Father’s blessing)’ (Catharina Williams-van Klinken, p.c.)

(18) *Nia haruka surat ida ba Dili*
3s send letter there to Dili
‘He sends/sent a letter (there) to Dili’ (Hull, 1996: 28)\(^\text{18}\)

The overlap of these two functions in Tetun *ba* may have induced an overextension of the Portuguese locative *na* to indicate human indirect objects, perhaps aided by the fact that the Portuguese preposition that marks indirect objects, *a*, is also a locative preposition (*ir a Timor* ‘go to Timor’). This interpretation predicts the locative use of *na* in this variety of Portuguese, which could be upset by the fact that the only instance of a locative preposition in Vaquinhas’ corpus occurs with the form *no* in Vaquinhas’ corpus:

(19) *No baixo de carteira*
LOC(+ART.m) under of desk
‘Beneath the desk.’

The word *no* in this example could be simply a contextual/idiolectal variant of *na* or, less likely, reflect the contraction of a masculine definite article as in Portuguese *no* ‘in the’, corresponding to *em* ‘in’ + *o* ‘ART.m’. In any case, locative *na* is amply attested in references to restructured Portuguese in Timor elsewhere – see the song transcribed in 2.5 below, and the 1950s Bidau data in Baxter (1990a: 23-24).

The locative compound *no baixo* ‘beneath’ in (19), while paralleled in structure in Malay *di bawah* and Tetun *iha okos* and even Portuguese *em baixo*, respectively LOC + ‘under’, also resembles Malacca, Tugu and Macau CP use; cf. Malacca *na basu*. The locative function of *na* is shown in several examples in the Bidau CP from the 1950s reported in Baxter (1990a).

Another structure exemplified in Vaquinhas’ list is the adjectival predicate, without a copula and modified by *já*:

(20) *Cebolla já contente*
onion PFV happy

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\(^{17}\) Williams-van Klinken et al. (2002: 28) point out that *ba* is the unstressed equivalent of the verb *bá* ‘go’.

\(^{18}\) The gloss and translation are ours.
‘The onion is has become happy’.19

This construction is common to East/Southeast Asian CPs, yet it is also a feature of Malay (21):

(21) *dia sudah bahagia*
3s PFV happy
‘(s)he is happy now’  (S. Pillai, p.c. 27.1.2015)

In Tetun Dili the proximate perfective marker, *foin* ‘just, only just’ may occur preceding a change-of-state predication where a strong contrast of states is involved:

(21) *Nia simu tiha osan, nia foin kontente*
3s receive PFV money 3s PROX.PFV Happy
‘After receiving the money, s/he is now/finally happy.’ (A. Correia, p.c. 9.4.2015)

Finally, example (23) displays two interesting features:

(23) *Anda tudo terra Dilly mais Cidade*
wander all land Dili even Town
‘Wander everywhere and even in the town of Dili.’

Similarly to this example, in various Asian CPs, such as those of Diu or Sri Lanka, complements of verbs of motion do not necessarily take a locative marker (e.g. an adposition). In Southeast Asian CPs, the verb *bai* introduces directional locations without a preposition, and *anda* takes a preposition if the location referred to is non-goal (e.g. *andá na rua* ‘walk in the street’). Otherwise, *anda* frequently takes a following serial ‘go’ or ‘come’ according to the direction of the motion, as described for MalCP (Baxter 1990b: 176) and also recorded in BCP (Baxter (1990a: 22). However, the structure in (23) is also an option in MalCP if the goal is indefinite.20 While colloquial varieties of Malay permit absence of a preposition following the verb *pergi* ‘go’, generally they do not permit the verb *jalan* ‘walk, go’ without a preposition (Novi Djenar, p.c. 25.3.2015). In contrast, some sociolects of Tetun Dili do permit absence of a preposition with indefinite goals (24), so the occurrence of this feature in Vaquinhas’ Timor corpus is hardly surprising.

(24) *João la’o lemo - ne’e-duni ami la hetan nia lemo,*
João walk everywhere therefore 1p(EXCL) NEG find him
‘John walked everywhere, so we can’t find him.’ (A. Correia, p.c. 9.4.2015)

The second feature of interest here is the use of *mais*. Vaquinhas’ interpretation is that this should be derived from Ptg. *mais* ‘more’ but used here as an adverb meaning ‘even’. Another possible interpretation is that this should be an (incorrectly transcribed) instance of Tetun *mai* ‘come, to, in, for’ (Dores, 1907: 161; Hull, 1996: 28), in which

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19 Vaquinhas explains that this expression is used when onions dried up because of the heat of the sun are revived when thunderstorms brought rain.

20 The authors thank MalCP speakers Diego de Silva and Sara Santa Maria for assistance with this particular construction.
case it would be providing the directional element to a typical serial verb construction (with *anda*). In either case, its position is unexpected if, accepting the translation provided by Vaquinhas, we consider that *Díli* and *cidade* constitute a single NP meaning ‘the city of Dili’ which is, this way, made discontinuous by the interposition of *mais*. Other interpretations are possible, however, that would not see these two items as constituting a single NP.

Among Vaquinhas’ short reports published in the journal of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, only one provides an item of linguistic data for our study:

Diz-se no patois timorense *sol-sube* e *sol-cáe*, correspondendo aquella designação ao lado que o sol nasce e esta ao lado que o sol se põe; por exemplo: nascente chamam *sol-sube*, poente *sol-cáe*. (Vaquinhas, 1885: 63)

[In the Timorese *patois* one says *sol-sube* and *sol-cáe*, the former term corresponding to the side from which the sun rises and the latter to the side in which the sun sets; for example: they call east *sol-sube* and west *sol-cáe*.]

What is at play here is the lexicalization of two predicates literally meaning ‘sun rises’ (*sol* ‘sun’ + *sube* ‘rise’) and ‘sun falls’ (*sol* + *cae* ‘fall’). This is, in fact, a calque from Tetun, in which *lorosae* ‘east’ literally signifies ‘sun’ + ‘rise’ and *loromonu* ‘west’ literally signifies ‘sun’ + ‘fall’.

### 2.3. João Gomes Ferreira

In a letter (Schuchardt Archive, #3853) from Dili sent on November 3rd 1885, the *Vigário Geral* ‘Vicar General’, Fr. João Gomes Ferreira, provided Hugo Schuchardt with valuable comments on the use of Portuguese by the Timorese in Dili. As this source was discussed in Baxter (1990a), we will merely draw attention to certain key details which are significant for the purposes of the present paper. For a full transcription of the letter and some introductory remarks, see Sousa (2013).

The *Vigário Geral*’s letter refers to the L2 Portuguese of indigenous Timorese. He notes that Tetun is spoken in Dili, yet most Timorese there understand Portuguese and speak it in a broken manner (“estropeadamente”), some better, some worse (“uns melhor, outros peór”). He observes that this corrupted Portuguese (“portuguez corrompido”) is typified by influence from the structure of the indigenous language (i.e. Tetun), to which he attributes its poor number and gender agreement. The letter contains a list of sentences in Portuguese with their parallel translations in Tetun and *Portuguez corrompido*, following which the *Vigário Geral* asserts that the latter is more or less a direct translation of Tetun. He claims that the *Portuguez corrompido* is not a language (i.e. an L1), as the Timorese do not speak it among themselves:

[... comparando o portuguez corrompido com o *tetum*, vê-se claramente que esse modo de fallar é mais ou menos a traducção á letra do mesmo *tetum*. E em todo caso não constitue uma língua – Em Macau dá-se uma cousa inteiramente diferente: os Macaístas fallam o portuguez corrompido, mas é essa a língua d'elles. Não têm outra.

[[[...] upon comparing the corrupted Portuguese with Tetun, one sees clearly that that way of speaking is more or less a literal translation of Tetun. And, in any cas,
it does not constitute a language – In Macau something entirely different happens: the Macanese speak corrupted Portuguese, but that is their language. They have no other.]

Nevertheless, the examples in the letter contain certain items found in varieties of CP in East and Southeast Asia, and some in South Asian CPs as well, which we list here:  

(i) Post-nominal genitive: *Antonio sua bufalo* ‘Antonio’s buffalo’; and, notably, *mim sua* ‘mine’;

(ii) Invariant verbs generally derived from 3s present indicative Portuguese forms: e.g. *bailvai* ‘go’, *bemvem* ‘come’, *visita* ‘visit’: *eu quer vai Lahane visita vosso reverendíssimo* ‘I want to go to Lahane to visit your grace’;

(iii) Directed motion serial verb: *Anda bem aqui* ‘come here’;

(iv) Copula *tem*: *pôrco tem gordo* ‘the pig is fat’; but also copula *são*: *De quem são este cavallo?* ‘Whose horse is this?’;

(v) Copula-less adjectival predicate: *Minha sombreilo nunca bom* ‘my hat is no good’;

(vi) Negator *nunca*, as in the previous example.

While, once again, for many items on the list, the potential for local contact L2 derivation must be recognized, the possibility of CP input cannot be ignored. Indeed, the example *mim sua* in item (i), which consists of an oblique personal pronoun *mim* plus a genitive marker *sua*, resembles one of the 1s genitives common to earlier Southeast Asian CP. Thus, 19th century materials register *minha su(a)* in MalCP, 22 and *me sua* in Tugu CP; whereas 18th century materials register *mienja soea* in Batavia CP (Baxter & Bastos, 2012: 56-59; Maurer, 2011: 28-29).

For a discussion of how the texts provided by Gomes Ferreira compare with the other sources discussed here, see section 3 below.

2.4. Rafael das Dores

Some 15 years after Schuchardt, Leite de Vasconcelos also exchanged letters with informants familiar with Portuguese Timor, regarding the linguistic landscape of the colony. One of the correspondents was Rafael das Dores, who wrote a Tetun-Portuguese dictionary and, encouraged by Leite de Vasconcelos himself, began publishing it in the journal of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* in 1904. A full transcription of his letters to Leite de Vasconcelos is given in Appendix C.

Dores was a military man who served a long time in Macau and Timor. He visited Timor four times: in 1871-1873, 1878-1879, 1886 and 1891-1892 (Dores, 1903: 7-8). His correspondence with Leite de Vasconcelos, however, happened a little later, in 1901, when he was back in Portugal. He also resided in Macau, where, evidently, he became acquainted with MacCP. In his first letter (nr. 7026), nonetheless, he claims in strong terms that no such variety was spoken in Timor:

Em Timor os indígenas que fallam portuguez, fallam-o exactamente como nós, não havendo patuá, como em Macau e nas outras colónias. […] Em vista do que

21 The examples retain the spelling of the original document.

22 Modern MalCP employs yo-sa (1s-GEN) ‘my’.
expus atrás já V. Exª vê que sobre Timor, nada lhe posso proporcionar com relação à língua portugueza alli fallada; quanto porém a Macau, estou prompto a verter-lhe no patuá, os textos que me indicar, assim como na língua portugueza fallada pelos chinas que é coisa perfeitamente distinta da língua de Macau como creio que V. Exª já sabe.

[In Timor, the natives who speak Portuguese speak it exactly like us, there not being any patois, as in Macau and in the other colonies. […] Given what I have explained before, Your Excellency will understand that, concerning Timor I cannot provide you with anything about the Portuguese language spoken there; however, with respect to Macau, I am ready to translate the texts you send me into patois, as well as into the Portuguese language spoken by the Chinese, which is a very different thing from the language of Macau, as I believe Your Excellency already knows.]

Considering the linguistic data that we have already analyzed above, it seems strange that a man so familiar with MacCP and Macau L2 Portuguese varieties should be so adamant about the absence of any such variation in Timor. Aware of Afonso de Castro’s description, Leite de Vasconcelos must have pointed out that this position contradicted other sources because, in his second letter (nr. 7027), Dores continues:

Quanto ao que me diz sobre o crioulo em Timor, conheço e posso o livro d’Afonso de Castro. Este na curta demora que teve em Timor e sem sahir de Lahane, não teve tempo d’estudar praticamente tudo que tratou no seu livro, que mais parece coordenado d’escritos anteriores. […] Eu estive 4 vezes em Timor, e pela 1ª vez demorei-me perto de 3 annos, e percorrendo o litoral, e a maior parte do interior, não encontrei o tal crioulo de que elle falla […]

[As for what you say about the creole of Timor, I do know and own Afonso de Castro’s book. In his short stay in Timor, and without leaving Lahane, he did not have the time to study practically everything that he addresses in his book, which seems to be collated from previous writings. […] I was in Timor 4 times and the first time stayed for nearly 3 years, and, having travelled the coast and most of the hinterland, I did not find that creole he talks about […]]

Dores does concede, however, that a creole was present in Timor, but that it was the creole of Macau, brought over by Macanese who settled in Timor:

De facto algumas raparigas vindas do interior para creadas, e servindo em casa de pessoas de Macau residentes em Timor, aprendem palavras de crioulo macaísta, mas tanto estas raparigas como as próprias pessoas de Macau, com o tempo chegam a fallar o portuguez como nós, o que eu observei, e mesmo se nota em Macau, nas senhoras que regressam de Timor. […] Em vista do exposto, apesar da minha manifesta incompetencia em philologia, continuo com a convicção de que não existe em Timor um crioulo proprio.23

[In fact, some girls who come from the hinterland as servants and work in the homes of people from Macau residing in Timor learn some words in Macanese

23 Part of this passage is transcribed in Leite de Vasconcelos’ Esquisse d’une dialectologie portugaise (1901: 151) in connection with Dores’ claim that there was no particularly Timorese creole language.
creole, but both these girls and the Macanese themselves in time come to speak Portuguese like us, which I have observed and can even be seen in Macau, in the ladies who return from Timor. […] In view of the above, despite my manifest incompetence in philology, I am still convinced that there is no specific creole in Timor.]

It is not unlikely that, given his acquaintance with Macau Creole, Dores simply assumed that any similar variety was either Macau Creole or a derivation of it, thereby failing to identify the specifically Timorese creole for which we have evidence in the form of BCP and the data provided by other coeval sources (see 2.5. below). Naturally, his letters to Leite de Vasconcelos do not contain any linguistic samples for our study, but they add complexity to the linguistic ecology of turn-of-the-century Timor. Specifically, his comments bring to the fore the importance of the Macanese community in Timor at the time; and they also suggest that, among a particular section of the colonial community at least, Portuguese exerted a strong influence, to the point of replacing the creole within traditional Macanese families.

2.5. Alberto Osório de Castro

As we saw before, Alberto Osório de Castro – who resided in Timor at the very start of the 20th century following a period in India – was the author of A ilha verde e vermelha de Timor (Castro, 1943), in which he includes a song in ‘Dili Portuguese’ analysed in Baxter (1990a). However, we now know he had reported on this variety much earlier and, contrary to Rafael das Dores, made a strong point about the presence of a creole in Timor. Flores de Coral (Castro, 1908) was published while Osório de Castro was still residing in Timor. This is essentially a book of poems written during his stay in Asia and the Pacific; but, in addition, it also contains a rather substantial glossary with many facts about the East (especially the areas which had some contact with the Portuguese) that the author observed or gathered from various sources. In this glossary, under the entry for “Pantume” (a Southeast Asian poetic form, cf. *pantun*), Osório de Castro transcribes a few verses “em português de Díli” (*in the Portuguese of Dili*) (Castro, 1908: 144-145):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pasterinho verde</th>
<th>Green bird</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senta na catapa.</td>
<td>Sitting on the <em>catapa</em> tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velho olha velha,</td>
<td>The old man sees the old woman,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He furthermore mentions the names of other local residents who had apparently also collected oral traditions in “the Portuguese of Dili”:

"Prometem-me mais cantigas portuguesas de Díli os Srs. G. de Araújo e Barreto. Reúne outros materiaes do inexplorado Folklore de Timor o meu amigo Sr. Alfredo de Pratt, funcionario da Repartição superior de Fazenda, antigo jornalista, e poeta muito correcto." (Castro, 1908: 145)

[I am promised some more Portuguese songs from Dili by the gentlemen G. de Araújo and Barreto. My friend Mr. Alfredo de Pratt, employee of the Treasury Department, former journalist and a very correct poet, has collected further material from the unexplored Folklore of Timor.]

These materials have not been identified.

25 *Terminalia catappa*. 
This song is the one also transcribed in his 1943 book *A ilha verde e vermelha de Timor*. Its particular significance is that it points to the mobility of creole elements within the network of the Portuguese outposts in Asia. Variants of this song, referring to a green bird (usually a parrot) are found widespread in Luso-Asian communities (Jackson, 2012). Thus, just who introduced it to Timor is impossible to say, but the song does belong to Asian CP culture (Cardoso, 2012).

Linguistically, the song is quite a mixture. On the one hand, we find some Tetun items, such as lamuca (Tet. lamukallamukan) ‘emerald dove [*Chalcophaps indica*]’; mata-ôi (possibly Tet. mata ‘eye’ and oin ‘face’26), a kind of fish; manére (possibly Tet. ‘agentive affix + nêre ‘net’); and coilão (Tet. kolan). Some structures are closely modelled on Portuguese, e.g. *Culpa não foi minha* ‘It wasn’t my fault (lit. fault wasn’t mine)’, with an inflected form of the Portuguese copula *foi*. Other features are recognizable from the Asian CPs, such as the form of the 2s pronoun, derived from archaic Portuguese *vós*, or the word *pástero* ‘bird’ (rather than Ptg. *pássaro*). The song also contains reduplication (*tapa-tapa* ‘(lit. hide~hide ‘hidden away’; *tanto fala fala* ‘(lit. talk~talk ‘continual talking’), common to Asian CP varieties, but also Malay and Tetun. Whether the absence of definite articles on the noun phrases is significant is impossible to say, yet it was noticed earlier, in the letter from Casal Ribeiro, that this absence was considered typical of Dili Portuguese as spoken by locals, and Tetun has no dedicated articles.

Coincidentally, Osório de Castro was Leite de Vasconcelos’ relative and, as a result, numerous letters from Castro are kept in Vasconcelos’ epistolar archive. These cover many topics, but from the year 1910 onwards they often mention Timorese linguistic matters. The two letters which are relevant for our discussion are transcribed in full in Appendix D. In the first of these (nr. 4215), he makes a reference to the creole data he published in *Flores de Coral* and, apparently for the first time, identifies it explicitly with the Bidau neighbourhood of Dili:

> Teria V Exª recebido o meu livro *Flores de Coral*? Foi um dos primeiros exemplares que remetti. Lá encontra uma parte sobre linguas timoresas, e sobre um dialecto crioulo que ninguém ainda descobrira, creio, o português de Bidau.

> [Has Your Excellency received my book *Flores de Coral*? It was one of the first copies I dispatched. In it, you will find a section about the Timorese languages, and about a creole dialect which, I believe, no one had found before, the Portuguese of Bidau.]

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26 Other possibilities are *mota-ain* ‘place where river and sea water meet’ or ‘river bank’ (A. Correia p.c. 11.4.2015).
In another letter (nr. 24255), which is not dated but was sent from Portugal (probably in the 1920s), Osório de Castro transcribes the short creole text in (24), which he describes as something midwives said to a woman in labour.

(24) *Fija, pàciencia, aguenta. Nósse guéra ant’èstè.*

child patience withstand 1p-POS war thus+this

‘Child, patience, hold on (= withstand (the pain)). Our (= a woman’s) battle is this.

*Homem à L’outro pega na arma, vai peleja,*

man to the+other take LOC Weapon go fight

*Her battle is this.*

*mata um com outro. Pèga zagaia, finca*

kill one OBL other take spear finca

kill one another. (They) take (the/a) spear, stab/pierce

*um com outro, pega tâmén pedra, ponta*

one OBL other take also stone throw

one another, (they) also grab stones, throw/shoot at

*um com outro. Nósse guéra ant’èstè!*

one OBL other 1p-POS war thus+this

each other (lit. one at the other). Our battle is this!’

Here, two particular linguistic items merit comment as they are typical of Asian CPs at large. The first is the sequence *Homem à L’outro*, where à L’outro may in fact represent iloutro ‘they’ acting as plural marker – cf. examples (14)-(16) above and related discussion. The second item is the presence of *com* where Portuguese would use the preposition *a* ‘to’: *mata um com outro* (Ptg. *mata um ao outro*). The use of *com* in connection with [+human] object NPs is very much reminiscent of (South)East Asian CP uses (see also section 2.2. above), and specifically in such contexts of reciprocity, as for example in the following Tugu CP sentence (Maurer, 2011: 98):

(25) *unga abursa kung otru e chura*

one hug OBL other and cry

‘They hugged each other and cried.’

The complex ant’èstè is not entirely easy to interpret, but there are several possibilities. On the one hand, the orthography, which indicates a word boundary with the apostrophe (or, in the later-published version, a space, see Footnote 25), suggests that this is made up of two words: ant(e)+ está. Most likely, the first one represents the Portuguese adverb antes and the second for the proximate demonstrative este ‘this’. In addition to being a time adverb meaning ‘before’, antes also has an adversative meaning of ‘rather, instead’; this use could be reflected here, in which case the sentence would mean ‘This is our war, rather [than that of men]’. On the other hand, the transcription of this sentence appears to be rather tentative at times – recall the orthographic break-up of à L’outro discussed above – and so, the real boundary may be elsewhere. One other possibility is that ant’èstè consists of antes + te, standing for the copula described in 2.1
and 2.3 above. In this case, the meaning of the sentence would be ‘Our war is before/prior’, meaning that women’s labour precedes anything in men’s lives.

This text is repeated in Osório de Castro’s 1943 book, along with three short dialogues that the author describes as “fragmentos de conversa ouvidas [sic] ao acaso”, ‘fragments of conversations overheard by chance’ (Castro, 1943: 56). These comprise exchanges between mother and daughter (25), between neighbours (26) and between mother, daughter and daughter’s husband (27):

(25)  
\[\text{Ai! mamài, mamài, eu bate meu perna na pedra grande àquêlè} \]

\[\text{INTJ mother mother 1s hit POS leg LOC stone big DEM} \]

‘Oh, mother, mother, I hit my leg on that big stone’

\[\text{Ai! filha, vòsse pôde ande cá ou nunca?} \]

\[\text{INTJ daughter 2s can walk here or NEG} \]

‘Oh, daughter, can you come here or not?’

\[\text{Sê num pôdi vên, en côlo, vên? Nósse anda bai.} \]

\[\text{if NEG can come LOC lap come 1p walk go} \]

‘If you can’t come, (can I) carry (you)? We are walking there’.

(26)  
\[\text{Vósse bai na õndi?} \]

\[\text{2s go LOC where} \]

‘Where are you going?’

\[\text{Eu bai na riba.} \]

\[\text{1s go LOC above} \]

‘I am going up there.’

\[\text{Vósse bai faze cuza, bê?} \]

\[\text{2s go do thing DIS} \]

‘What are you going to do?’

\[\text{Eu leva êsté cânico, vai sólè águ} \]

\[\text{1s carry this jar go fetch water} \]

‘I am taking this jar to fetch water’

\[\text{Vosse tira águ, faze cuza, bê?} \]

\[\text{2s fetch water, do thing DIS} \]

‘What are you fetching water for?’

\[\text{Eu tira águ, bai cozinha arroze,} \]

\[\text{1s fetch water go cook rice} \]

‘I am fetching water in order to cook rice’

---

27 The 1943 version has a few minor alterations:

\[\text{Fijá, pàciência, aguenta. Nosse guèra ante êstè. Homem à l’outro péga na arma, vai peleja; mata um com outro. Péga zagaia, finca um com outro, Péga tâmèn pedra punta um com outro. Nósse guèra ante êstè!...} \]

22
anteis meu marido ben, cómi
before 1s.POSS husband come eat
before my husband comes to eat’

(27)  Cuza bê, mamài?
thing come mother
‘What is happening, mother?’

Ôi, mônôi, seu marido já vên láquêlê!
INTJ girl 2s.POSS husband PST come DEM
‘Hey girl, your husband has come!’

Hou, mônôi, bê, senta bê, cómè,
INTJ sir come sit DIS eat
‘Oh, sir, come sit and eat!’

Ó mônôi, tira depressa arrôze,
INTJ girl fetch quickly rice
‘Oh, girl, fetch some rice quickly,

eu anta cómi (OR: eu quérè comê)
1s then Eat ( 1s want eat )
(and) I will eat’

In addition to these dialogues, Castro (1943) also records two isolated sentences (28) and (29), the last of which may have been heard in court in connection with his judicial functions:

(28)  Nós bai na ribeira, bê, toma banho.
1p go LOC riverside DIS take bath
‘We are going to the stream to bathe.’

(29)  Sim. Vossincelencia, antá minhas afilhades fuchiu.
yes your.excellency then 1s.POSS.PL godchild.PL flee.PST
‘Yes. Your Excellency, then my godchild28 fled.’

These short texts contain further items that establish a connection with Asian CPs. The first of these concerns negation of the verb podi by a short negator num, in (25), reminiscent of the reduced negator required with podi in Malaca, Tugu and Macau, as noted by (Baxter, 1990a: 19), but also found in the South Asian CP varieties. The second item is the presence in (25) of the negator nunca in a tag interrogative, which is a feature common to MalCP (Baxter, 1988: 187).

28 We translate ‘my godchild’ in the singular despite the use of what looks like Portuguese plural marker -s because Castro himself declares his surprise at hearing a plural NP referring to a singular entity.
As in a wide set of Asian CPs, the verb is invariable and derived from the Portuguese third person singular present tense form (e.g. bai from Ptg. vai ‘goes’), or infinitive (comê in eu quér comê), and a past reference verb may be preceded by já, as in Vósse bai na ôndi? in (26). While zero-marked verbs in past contexts are found in Malacca (Baxter, 1988: 135-135), Tugu (Maurer, 2011: 60-61) and Macau (Ferraz, 1987: 351), in progressive aspect contexts, they have only been noted in Tugu CP (Maurer, 2011: 60). However, in Tetun (Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002: 35) and Malay (Crawfurd, 1852: 48), the interpretation of the tense-aspect values of zero-marked verbs by means of utterance context is common. Still further items suggestive of a link with Asian CPs are found in (26), in the use of the locative na with locative adverbs in na ôndi and na riba, and the items águ ‘water’ and cuza ‘what (thing)’. Whereas the former three items are widespread in (S)(E)ACP and occur in the creoles of Malacca, Tugu and Macau, cuza is common to MacCP (Ferreira, 1996: 273) and has the form kudja in Batavia CP (Maurer, 2011: 325).

At the same time, there is evidence of substrate influence in (26), in the use of sólè >Malay colek ‘dig out, draw out’, and the Tetun discourse marker bé, also present in (27) – along with Tetun exclamations òi and ó, and interjection hou and the terms of address nónó and nôinôi – and in (28). Syntactic influence is also evident in (25), in the phrase na pedra grande àquêlè , where the demonstrative àquêlè is placed after the noun and its modifying adjective, as in Tetun (Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002: 23) and Malay (Crawfurd, 1852: 28; Sneddon, 1996: 129-130). In (27), sentence-final bai ‘go’, coming after a pause, appears to function as sentence-final Tetun bá, indicating an invitation for the addressee to perform an action independent of the speaker (Williams-van Klinken et al., 2002: 48).

Finally, variation is evident. Thus, in addition to the two forms of the verb vai/bai ‘go’ in (26), the first person pronoun occurs as nósse in (25), but also as nós in (26), the latter form being common to other South East Asian CP varieties. The phonological interpretation of nósse is difficult, as it is also in the case of the second person subject pronoun vosse. With respect to the latter form, it is interesting that the form bos of the pronoun, registered in the BCP materials from the MAT (Baxter 1990a: 11), does not occur. Nor is there evidence of the post-nominal genitive marker found in the MAT materials, as in eli su búfara [3s+GEN+buffalo] ‘his buffalo’ (Baxter, 1990a: 12-13), as possession in the dialogues is indicated by the Portuguese possessive determiners meu (in 25) and seu (in 26). So, while these forms look similar to possessive pronoun forms found in e.g. (24), in these short texts they do not seem to be so. We could see here the mere addition of a paragogic vowel after what would be etymologically a word-final sibilant, which finds support in the apparent addition of a vocalic segment, in a comparable phonetic context, in the word arroze (from Ptg. arroz ‘rice’) in (27).

The observed variation and absences may represent the effects of ongoing contact with Metropolitan Portuguese. In fact, the role of Portuguese in colonial Timor could very well have motivated the type of variation one finds in these texts and the development of different registers and idiolects. We may have evidence of this in

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29 Hull (1999: 280) observes that noĩnonoi ‘miss’ is a polite term of address for teenage girls, and (traditionally) for Chinese and Indonesian women, whereas nó ‘master’ is a polite term of address for younger men and teenage boys, as well as for Chinese merchants. Evidently both terms were traditionally used for higher status addressees, as Dores (1907: 177) mentions that noï is used for addressing the daughters of kings, princes and Europeans; he translates nônô as equivalent to the Portuguese fidalgo ‘nobleman’.
sentence (29), which we hypothesise was used in the context of a court hearing, i.e. a formal context. This sentence uses a few standard Portuguese morphemes which are rare elsewhere in the corpus, including plural suffix -s in *minhas afilhades* and 3s past tense morphology in the verb *fuchiu* (cf. Ptg. *fugiu*). Yet, at least in the case of the plural markers, this is perhaps a case of hypercorrection, since Osório de Castro clarifies that the intended reference was singular.

3. Discussion

As we have seen, the relevance of the early archival and published sources under study derives either from the linguistic snippets they contain or from the authors’ explicit remarks concerning the linguistic make-up of colonial Timor. In this section, we will address these two types of evidence in turn. In section 3.1., we will discuss the authors’ claims about the “types” of Portuguese and related language varieties, and in 3.2. we analyse the linguistic data they provide.

3.1. Portuguese and creole(s) in Timor

Summarizing the opinions of these five correspondents regarding the presence or absence of a creole in Timor, they express three points of view:

(i) There was a creole spoken by locals, according to Vaquinhas and Castro, the latter referring to the language as *crioulo de Bidau*;

(ii) There was no local creole, but rather L2 Portuguese influenced by Tetun, according to Casal Ribeiro and Gomes Ferreira;

(iii) There was no local creole, but MacCP was present and exerted an influence on local speech, according to Dores.

This panorama suggests that the contact situation in late 19th-c. Dili involved a range of L2 contact Portuguese and what the some authors identified as creole languages. However, interpreting these remarks is not easy, as we cannot be certain of what the definitions of “creole” were for the various correspondents. To make a call in this matter, some observers appear to have proceeded by comparison with better-known creole languages spoken elsewhere. Macau was an important reference in this context. It is interesting to notice that, even though Gomes Ferreira, Dores and Vaquinhas (at least) were well-acquainted with MacCP, they reached different conclusions regarding the existence of a Timorese creole variety. To make matters more complicated, we also learn from these sources that MacCP was also part of the Timorese linguistic landscape; and yet, significantly, Vaquinhas identifies a Timorese variety which he does not associate with MacCP. Osório de Castro followed suit and explicitly identified this Timorese creole variety with the Dili *bairro* ‘district’ of Bidau, which is an important reference to begin to reconstruct the language’s development.

Bidau and the community that came to speak BCP have always been described as something of a melting pot. In the first published reference to Bidau Portuguese, Osório de Castro (1943: 56) writes that the population of the neighbourhood must have consisted of

[...] o resto dos cristãos, foragidos da nossa primeira e abandonada capital de Lifau, no encrave de Oêkussi, mixto de portugueses, goeses, moluqueses,
malaqueses e de conversos de Larentuca.

[the remainder of the Christians, fugitives from our first and abandoned capital of Lifau, in the Oekussi enclave, a mix of Portuguese, Goans, Moluccans, Malaccans and converts from Larantuka.]

Indeed, the historical connections between Timor and other parts of Southeast Asia are crucial to understanding the nature of the Portuguese linguistic presence in the Timor region in the earlier period. Boxer (1947) refers to the 1566 establishment of a Portuguese fort on the island of Solor, adjacent to Flores, and the growth of a community of native Christians, Portuguese missionaries, soldiers, sailors, and sandalwood traders from Malacca and Macau, and their local descendants. The initial base for the founding of this community was Malacca.

Portuguese interests subsequently shifted to Larantuka, where a similar community grew up, dominated by powerful clans of mestiços, referred to as ‘Black Portuguese’ (cf. Niemann’s reference to the schwarzen Portugiesen in 2.2), Topazes or Larantuqueiros. It may be assumed that in these establishments, Portuguese, CP and L2 contact Portuguese were current, alongside Malay and other local languages. The influx of refugees from the Dutch conquest of Makassar, in 1660, introduced further elements from a Portuguese community that had a similar racial and linguistic composition, and most certainly (re)introduced a CP which had its ultimate source in Malacca. Conflicts with the Larantuqueiros led to the removal of the Portuguese administrative base first to Lifau, in 1701, and subsequently to Dili, in 1769 (Boxer, 1947). Thomaz (1985) attributed BCP to the descendants of militiamen originating from the Flores region, the moradores de Bidau. Gunn (1999: 111) states that these groups were Christianized mestiço elements, originating from the Solor-Flores region.

In 1859, a treaty consigned Eastern Flores, Adonara and Solor to the Dutch, with the provision that the inhabitants would be free to continue practicing their religion (Castro, 1867: 173). Until that date, a Portuguese commercial and official presence was maintained. Subsequently, Portuguese influence continued in the Eastern tip of Flores, at several locations, including Maumere, Sikka, Konga and Larantuka. As Portuguese cultural inheritance is still quite visible in Eastern Flores (cf. Viola, 2013), it is plausible that the Dutch takeover of Larantuka might be compared with those of other former Portuguese establishments, where the impact on local societies containing Asian-Portuguese groups was not able to displace them. Already, in section 2.2, José dos Santos Vaquinhas’ reference to the presence of contact Portuguese on Flores, akin to that of Batavia, was noted. Further correspondence from Vaquinhas to Hugo Schuchardt, in 1885 and 1886, lends additional support to such a view. His 1885 letter (nr. 2615) reads:

[…] oportuguez [sic] corrompido que se falla em Larantuka (Flores) é o mesmo que se falla em Dilly.

[the corrupted Portuguese spoken in Larantuka (Flores) is the same one that is spoken in Dili.]

And, the following year, Vaquinhas (letter nr. 2616) adds:

Muito filhos dos regulos e principaes de Larantuka foram educados nas escolas portuguezas em Okusse (Lifaú) e da hi veem elles fallar o portuguez criolo em
Larantuka. Actualmente estão estudando com os missionários portuguezes na escola de Lahane (em Dilly) alguns rapazes de Larantuka; não perdem estes nunca o ensejo de aprender oportuguez [sic] de que com o andar dos annos se esquecem e dá hi vem o fallarem o portuguez corrupto ou portuguez criolo.

[Many children (sons) of the régulos (local rulers) and princes of Larantuka were educated in the Portuguese schools in Oe-kusse (Lifau) and because of this come to speak creole Portuguese in Larantuka. Currently, some boys from Larantuka are studying with the Portuguese missionaries in the school at Lahane (Dili); they never lose the interest to learn Portuguese, which they forget as years go by and thus begin to speak broken Portuguese or creole Portuguese.]

This report is important because it points at a little documented connection between Larantuka and Portuguese Timor as late as the 19th century. Indeed, Dutch missionaries reported in the mid-19th century that Portuguese had to be used in religious ceremonies, and noted that, in Larantuka, “a number of children of the elite had had one or even several years of instruction in Dili”, part of a tradition of schooling with the Dominicans at Larantuka and in Dili (Steenbrink, 2002: 74, 109). From Vaquinhas’ letter of 1886, it is clear that a link with Lifau was still in place in the late-19th century, as it was also with Dili.

While the historical link to Larantuka with its diaspora connections to Malacca constitutes an important part of the earlier background to contact Portuguese in Dili, the Macau connection which is amply referred to in our sources is also significant, as the sandalwood trade mostly exported to Macau, and after the Dutch conquests of Malacca (1642) and Makassar (1660), Macau became the nearest official Portuguese administrative centre. Indeed, even after Timor became a direct colonial dependency of Portugal, in 1896, Macau remained significant to Timor as a forward base until Portugal’s withdrawal from Dili in 1974 (Jolliffe, 1978).

The presence of Chinese from Macau, in particular, and of Macanese (Luso-Chinese mestiços) is noted for the 18th and 19th centuries (Dores, 1901; Matos, 1974; Gunn, 1999). In fact, in one of his publications, Rafael das Dores (1903: 20) observes that the bairro of Bidau in Dili, aside from housing the majority of the militiamen of the former Bidau battalion, was also home to the majority of the Chinese shop-owners. We assume that these Chinese would have had knowledge of L2 Portuguese and, quite possibly, some knowledge of MacCP. For their part, the Macanese were of various sources, including convicts, traders and, principally, minor government officials and military personnel (Dores, 1901: 2; Thomaz, 1974: 281). Another important factor concerning the Macau connection is that Timor long served as a destination for Chinese and Macanese deportees (Gunn, 1999: 114). The fact that the presence of MacCP in Dili came to the notice of Portuguese observers, and, according to Rafael das Dores, even influenced Tetun Dili, suggests that its number of speakers may not have been insignificant. Indeed, Dores (1907: 19, 185) attributes the use of a copula san in Tetun to the influence of MacCP. Given all of this, it is a strong possibility that MacCP could have contributed to an already existing BCP; and yet, as noted above, some observers were able to tease the two apart.

3.2. The linguistic evidence in context

30 In 1861, even at other locations, such as Maumere, where Portuguese speaking-priests had not been for nearly 25 years, some people still spoke Portuguese (Steenbrink, 2002:131).
At this stage, it is valid to reflect on how the linguistic features of our late 19th- and early 20th-c. sources compare with those discussed in Baxter (1990a) for BCP and originally recorded by the MAT in 1953-1954, and also which of these are found in the creoles of (South)East Asia of which there are descriptions (Malacca, Macau and Batavia/Tugu). Table 1 lists and compares the morphosyntactic features covered in the 1990 study, the matches in the 19th c. and early 20th c. correspondence and their matches in the (South)East Asian CP varieties. The table is divided into 3 sections, to facilitate the interpretation of the data: the first section lists the features found in at least one of the early sources, in the MAT corpus of BCP, and in (South)East Asian CPs; the second section contains features in the early sources which occur in (South)East Asian CPs but are not attested in the MAT corpus; the last section has features attested in the early sources but not in either the MAT corpus of BCP nor in the other (South)East Asian CPs. In each of these sections, the features are ordered in decreasing order of the number of early sources that attest them. Brackets indicate values that offer some degree of doubt, most of which were duly explained above. Pluses indicate the definite presence of a feature, while a dot means that the corpus does not attest it even though it may have been present in the variety recorded.

Table 1 Comparison of the features observed in the various sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Baxter 1990 (MAT 1953-4)</th>
<th>Casal Ribeiro 1882</th>
<th>Vaquinhas 1884, 1886</th>
<th>Gomes Ferreira 1885</th>
<th>Castro 1908/1943</th>
<th>(South)/East Asian CP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb &lt; Ptg. 3s forms</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Locative Prep. na</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negator nunca/nunka</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO + GEN</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p PRO &lt; Ptg. ele + outro</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s PRO &lt; Ptg. vós</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ø NP number concord</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>(-)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ø NP Gender concord</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjectival predicate</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Existential/copula &lt; Ptg. tem</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past/perfective &lt; Ptg. já</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31 For a full motivation of the values, in the case of Gomes Ferreira’s corpus, refer to Baxter (1990a).
32 The verb could also be derived from infinitives, in most cases.
33 Occurs only with the form no.
34 Based on the form Nósse, see 2.5.
35 The form iloutro occurs only in the function of a pluralizer, but it is likely that it was also the 3p pronoun. In Vaquinha’s letter of 1884, the translation of examples with iloutro as singular NPs – criança iloutro and Nai iloutro, which are given alternative translations in Portuguese as aquela criança ‘that child’ and aquele senhor ‘that gentleman’, respectively – suggest that iloutro also had a demonstrative function.
36 With the form à L’outro, see 2.5.
37 There is no evidence for this in the corpus because there are no uniquely plural NPs displaying a mismatch in number-marking morphology. However, there may be variation regarding number marking. Thus, in example (12), the NP recados ‘messages’ carries number-marking, whereas in examples (14) and (16), where iloutro is interpreted as a demonstrative, its NP may be either singular or plural without the requirement of any overt number-marking on other NP components.
In addition to the fact that the list of features in Table 1 is necessarily not exhaustive, the various corpora under analysis also differ greatly in terms of size and detail. Therefore, it is not possible to make a very meaningful quantitative analysis of the data, but a few interesting observations can be made.

It is noticeable that the short turn-of-the-century corpora repeat several of the already attested BCP features which have been invoked to place it within the family of Southeast Asian CPs. Interestingly, this is true not only of the data provided by those authors who recognized the development of a Timorese creole (Vaquinhas and Castro) but even of those who claimed to have been representing L2 Portuguese (Casal Ribeiro and Gomes Ferreira). In fact, Gomes Ferreira’s data has a particularly high incidence of these features: 13 out of 15 in the first section of Table 1, against 9 in Castro’s data, 4 in Vaquinhas’ and 4 in Casal Ribeiro. This fact can partly be explained by the fact that Gomes Ferreira’s corpus is the largest of the four, but it is significant that, among these features, are several which are difficult to explain solely on the basis of L2 acquisition of Portuguese by speakers of Tetun or Malay (e.g. the negator nunca, or the postnominal genitive).

Thus, it seems reasonable to confirm that data stemming from CP was present, and the dichotomy between CP (in whatever of the varieties present) and L2 Portuguese was not absolute. Of course, as already noted, such data could originate from different sources: through general Asian Portuguese which would have inevitably had contact with creolized varieties, or directly from creole speakers, or from L2 creole or L2 Portuguese in contact with creole. Also, while certain items (e.g. the form of the verb, the use of existential tem, or reduplication) could be due to the spread of a (South)East Asian CP, there may well be a case for independent development under influence from Tetun or Malay. Nevertheless, we do have the testimonies of Vaquinhas, Osório de Castro and Dores, confirming the presence of at least two varieties of CP: that of Bidau and that of Timor (and see 3.1. above for a discussion concerning that of Flores).

While the MAT corpus from the 1950s remains the largest and most solid corpus of BCP, the turn-of-the-century data adds a few new items to the discussion. Some of

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38 Occurs only in MacCP.
39 This is an alternative in MalCP, though not the norm.
40 With the form à L’outro, see 2.5.
41 Even though this future marker is not found in (South)East Asian CPs, it does occur in Diu CP and Daman CP, with the form a or ad.
42 In fact, it has been proposed (e.g. Carvalho, 2001) that the presence of CP in Timor accounts for particular features found in Timorese L1/L2 Portuguese to this day, which remains an open question.
these, the ones noted in section 2 of Table 1, have at least the potential to strengthen the
case for the influence of (South)East Asian CP speech forms on the island, in particular
the use of a human object marker derived from Ptg. com, or the copula são; again, all
correspondents with the exception of Vaquinhas report on at least one of these,
including Gomes Ferreira and Casal Ribeiro.

Although Table 1 does not indicate features of Asian CP from outside the (South)
East Asian region, it is worth mentioning that the South Asian CP varieties do not
provide as good a pool for explaining the potential introduction of CP elements into
Timor. Many of the (South)East Asian CP features analysed can also be found in South
Asia (e.g. the locative preposition na, the negator derived from nunca and existential
from tem, absence of gender concord, the postnominal genitive,…), but some (such as
the copula derived from sōo, or serialization with bai and beng) cannot. The only
feature recorded in the turn-of-the-century Timor corpora which might at first glance
require a reference to South Asian CP is the presence of a future tense marker derived
from Ptg. há-de ‘shall’, which is not the case in the (South)East Asian CPs but can be
found in those of Daman and Diu, in India. But, in fact, this need not be the case. As
previously discussed, it is not difficult to conceive of an independent development of
this form in Timor from normal spoken Portuguese input. In addition, there are some
indications that, even though derivations of Ptg. logo came to dominate as markers of
future tense in Asian CPs, há-de must have played a role too from very early on; in fact,
even creoles that do not have a cognate of há-de to mark future tense, such as those of
Malacca, Tugu or Macau, have a special future negator derived from Ptg. não há-de,
which has become nadi or nada (see Baxter 1996: 302).

4. Conclusion

The set of testimonies reviewed here represent different perspectives on the use of
“Portuguese” by different sections of non-Europeans in the sociolinguistic setting of
19th- and early 20th-c. colonial Dili, and Portuguese Timor at large. These perspectives
capture the use of L2 Portuguese, displaying evidence of both independent contact L2
solutions under the influence of Malay and Tetun, and of the presence of genuine Asian
CP items widely attested elsewhere. This suggests that some L2 Portuguese may have
been an L2 dimension of a creole or, in the least, had significant exposure to creole
features. Certainly, some such features could have been present in general Asian
Portuguese usage, having originated from contact between Portuguese speakers and
creoles or pidgins in the various other locations where such language varieties are
known to have existed, given maritime contacts between the ports under Portuguese
control or influence. However, it is also reasonable to assume that items among those
listed in Table 1 may well have stemmed directly from CP use in Timor, from the CP of
groups originally foreign to Timor.

The testimonies do confirm the presence of two creole-speaking groups: the
residents of Bidau, and the Macanese, the latter having exerted influence on the speech
of locals, as mentioned by João Gomes Ferreira and reported elsewhere by Dores (1907).
That Osório de Castro does not associate the Bidau community with the Macanese
seems significant, in the sense that other sources (for example Gunn (1999)), stress the
historical link between the Bidau community and the Eastern Flores region. In Bidau,
this creole may have come into contact with MacCP or Chinese L2 varieties of
Portuguese or MacCP but, in the end, Thomaz’s (1985) view that the two groups are not
connected still holds.
Our study also reveals that, at the time these early reports were produced, there must have been a fair degree of variation in the understanding of what constituted a creole language. As a result, even authors whose linguistic contributions contain many features which are recognizable in a later corpus of BCP and in (South)East Asian CPs may fail to classify these varieties as creoles. Therefore, in order to interpret the significance of these sources for the issue of the development of a Timorese CP or of Timorese varieties of L2 Portuguese, it becomes essential to do a wide comparative study of the linguistic features they record.

List of abbreviations:

1p – first person plural  
1s – first person singular  
2s – second person singular  
3s – third person singular  
ART – article  
BCP – Bidau Creole Portuguese  
CP – Creole Portuguese (i.e. Portuguese-lexified)  
DEM – demonstrative  
DIS – discourse marker  
EXCL – exclusive  
FUT – future  
INTJ – interjection  
L1 – first language  
L2 – second language  
LOC – locative  
m – masculine  
MacCP – Macau Creole Portuguese  
MalCP – Malacca Creole Portuguese  
MAT – Missão Antropológica de Timor  
NEG – negator  
NP – noun phrase  
OBL – oblique  
PFV – perfective  
PL – plural  
POS – possessive  
PROX – proximate  
PST – past  
Ptg – Portuguese  
Tet – Tetun
References


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Montrul, Silvina A. 2004. The Acquisition of Spanish: Morphosyntactic Development in Monolingual and Bilingual L1 Acquisition and Adult L2 Acquisition. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.


APPENDIX A

Letter of Tancredo Caldeira do Casal Ribeiro to Hugo Schuchardt
Dili, June 30th 1882

Hugo Schuchardt Archiv (University of Graz), nr. 01553

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Ex.mo Sr.

Dilly 30 de Junho
1882

Recebi a amavel carta de V. E.ª, e longe de pedir indulgencia como V. E.ª diz, era de meu stricto dever procurar dar o meu auxilio, ainda que insignificantissimo, para um estudo tão valioso, sendo de mais a mais um estrangeiro que a elle se dedicava. Infelizmente o Sr. Meyrelles de Távora, confiando e com boa razão na minha boa vontade, enganou-se bastante quanto á minha capacidade para estudos linguisticos, aos quaes nem de longe me dediquei. Tenho o curso de agronomo e é nesse cargo que me acho em Timor e V. E.ª bem vê que nenhuma paridade existe entre a sciencia agronomica e os estudos linguisticos. Portanto limitar-me-hei a assentar os factos, e se alguma vez colocando-me debaixo de um ponto de vista falso apresentar alguma reflexão menos exacta V. E.ª a corrigirá. Como eu estou aqui há apenas um anno, não tendo portanto a practica necessária, pedi a um dos missionarios que me coadjuvasse, e espero poder enviar a V. E.ª alguma cousa do que deseja.

Em Timor não se formou nenhum dialecto especial, mas sim uma corrupção do portuguez empregada em Dilly entre a pequena populacao indigena que não sóbe a mais de 4,000 almas. No interior da ilha são raros os indigenas que falam o portuguez, a não ser os regulos e seus principaes (especie de nobreza).

N'este portuguez corrupto que aqui chamam lingua da praça, não fazem mais que dar ao portuguez a construcção da lingua indigena, usando dos verbos ou no infinito ou na terceira pessoa do singular do tempo presente, acrescentando o adverbio já para indicar o preterito, e ha de para o futuro. Explo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Português</th>
<th>Timorenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eu já fala – Eu falei</td>
<td>Eu já compra – Eu comprei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eu ha de fala – Eu falarei</td>
<td>Nós há de compra – Nos comparemos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Convem notar que raras vezes empregam o verbo dizer, substituindo-o pelo verbo falar. Sobre o verbo dizer ocorre-me outra singularidade, e é que traduzem o nosso dizem, (que corresponde ao francez on dit), por gente já fala.

O verbo estar é algumas vezes substituido pelo verbo ter, ex.º:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Português</th>
<th>Timorenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fulano tem em casa? – F. está em casa?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A particula a é empregada algumas vezes em vez de com, ex.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Português</th>
<th>Timorenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eu compra com F. – Eu compre a F.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elles já compra com F. – Elles compraram a F.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Como se vê n'estes exemplos, o pronomne varia, mas o verbo não é conjugado, o que exactamente acontece nas linguas indigenas.

Na maioria das locuções os artigos são suprimidos, e as regras de concordancia não são respeitadas.
Há algumas palavras portuguesas que os Timores empregam na sua língua, porque não tem n’ellas expressão correspondente, e se pela língua se pode conhecer o caráter dos povos chegamos a conclusões engraçadas embora verdadeiras.

As phrases – é preciso – e – obrigado – não tem correspondente nas línguas de Timor, e portanto tomaram as palavras portuguesas. Na realidade elles não tem uma ideia nitida de necessidade e precisão, e quanto a sentimentos de gratidão desconhecem-os completamente. Lembro-me agora de uma phrase, na qual o não é substituído por nunca, e que fere desagradávelmente os ouvidos portugueses

Nunca sabe – Não sei
Eu nunca tem – Eu não tenho

O malaio não é a língua de Timor, e é um facto curioso como em uma ilha tão pequena se formaram mais de 25 linguas, das quais se algumas não passam de dialectos, outras são perfeitamente dissemolhantes, e mesmo entre as que se assemelham há variações notaveis. Eu vivo habitualmente no interior, e para leste de Dilly, e portanto tomo para exemplo as três linguas que se falam nas proximidades do local que habito, e que são o této, o uáimá e o macassai.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Této</th>
<th>Uáimá</th>
<th>Macassai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Água</td>
<td>vé</td>
<td>uai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faca</td>
<td>turri</td>
<td>turri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fogo</td>
<td>áhi</td>
<td>dhâhá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavallo</td>
<td>cuda</td>
<td>cuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Búfalo</td>
<td>carau</td>
<td>carabau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Convem notar que o h é bastante aspirado.

Com respeito ás canções que V. E.ª me pede não as posso enviar agora, porque não tenho tempo para as ascolher. Incluso remmetto a V. E.ª uma carta que me enviou o regulo de Laleia, desculpando-se de não ter vindo encontrar-se conzero em Dilly, e prommetendo vir.

Desculpe-me V. E.ª estas reflexões ao correr da penne, porque a mala está a partir, e nós aqui só uma vez por mez é que temos vapor.

Dentro em poucos dias parto para fazer a exploração completa da ilha, o que levará 5 a 6 meses, e depois disso é que poderei colher alguns dados uteis para V. E.ª, pedindo desde já que não extranhe a demora em mandar os escclarecimentos que deseja. Sou com a maior consideração

De V. E.ª
Attº ven’or e creado obg

Tancredo C. do Casal Ribeiro

P. S. Desculpe V. E.ª as raspaduras porque não tenho tempo de copiar a limpo esta carta.
APPENDIX B

Letter of José dos Santos Vaquinhas to Hugo Schuchardt
Macau, November 3rd 1884 (?)

_Hugo Schuchardt Archiv_ (University of Graz), nr. B0022

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Ilmo e Exmo Snr. Dr. Hugo Schuchardt
Professor na Universidade de Graz
_Austria_

Exmo. Snr.

Recebi a carta de V Ex.ª datada de 24 de Maio do corrente anno, e permitta-me V Ex.ª que antes de tudo eu apreze e algumas considerações que o conteudo da sua carta me sugeri.

Diz-me V Ex.ª que o fallecido D. Burnell lhe asseverou que em Batavia se fallava o portuguez corrupto. O D. Burnell tem razão e creia V Ex.ª que elle não se enganou; eu mesmo ouvi fallar em Batavia o portuguez corrupto e é por isso que assim o asseverei tambem nas minhas cartas, dirigidas á Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, citadas por V Ex.ª para confirmar a opiniao do D. Burnell que investigou tudo com aquella minuciosidade de um verdadeiro inglez – e as pessoas que negam que em Batavia se falla o portuguez por aquella fórma, desconhecem por certo a lingua portugueza e sobre tudo o que seja o portuguez corrupto; pois de contrario não posso explicar como haja quem negue a existencia de um tal facto.

Eu tambem posso assegurar a V Ex.ª que n’alguns pontos da ilha Flores e n’outras proximas se falla ainda o mesmo portuguez corrupto, o que tive occasião de observar durante 16 annos que vivi na Oceania, onde aprendi a fallar alguns dialectos d’aquelles insulares e fiz muitas viagens por aquellas ilhas.

O viajante ou curioso ainda que tenha muita vontade de investigar e de averiguar a verdade com relaçao aos povos da Oceania que são muito desconfiados não o póde fazer sem se internarem no interior das ilhas para obterem informaçoes exactas e positivas e é isto justamente que poucos viajantes praticam. Se o viajante não entender algum dialecto ou deixar de ter bom interprete e não visitar o interior das ilhas como já disse, obterão sempre informaçoes erradas e inexactas do primeiro pantomineiro ou cicerone que se faz comprehender ao viajante para lhe apanhar algumas moedas de prata – Das más informaçoes resulta que muitas pessoas negam a existencia do que não investigam ou não entenderam e ainda mais atrevem-se depois a pôr em duvida o testemunho occular de quem as investigou fielmente.

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43 Here, he is referring to his letters published in 1883 in the _Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa_ (see Vaquinhas, 1883), in one of which he reports on the _portuguez […] estropiado_ ‘broken Portuguese’ spoken in Batavia.
Eu devo voltar para Timor em maio ou junho de 1885 e logo que ali chegue enviarei os esclarecimentos que puder obter e que me são pedidos por V Exª com relação aos dialectos de Timor e da língua creoula fallada na praça de Dilly-Timor.

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Letter of José dos Santos Vaquinhas to Hugo Schuchardt
Dili, November 30th 1885

Hugo Schuchardt Archiv (University of Graz), nr. 02615

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Timor, Dilly 30 de Novº de 1885
Ex.ª Sm.º Dº Hugo Schuchardt Graz
Estimado Sm.º
Recebi as cartas de V.ª Exª sendo a ultima de 5 de Setembro do presente anno e por motivo de doença não me foi possivel responder logo.
O Sn.º padre Gomes escreveu a V.ª Exª por esta mala, satisfasendo um porte ao seu pedido.
Eu envio incluso uns apontamentos do portuguez crioulo fallado em Dilly; oportuguez [sic] corrompido que se falla em Larantuka (Flores) é o mesmo que se falla em Dilly. Eide estimar m.º que esses apontamentos possão servir para o fim q V.ª Exª tem em vista.
Sou de Vª Exª
Com a maxima consideração seu afieçoado e admirado amigo
José dos Santos Vaquinhas

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Letter of José dos Santos Vaquinhas to Hugo Schuchardt
Macau, July 14th 1886

Hugo Schuchardt Archiv (University of Graz), nr. 02616

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Macao 14 de julho de 1886
Ex.º Sm.º Dº Hugo Schuchardt Graz
Ex.ª Sm.º
Ha poucos dias recebi a carta de V.ª Exª de 26 de janeiro do presente anno a qual passo a responder sem satisfação ao seu pedido. Pergunta V.ª Exª o que significa:
1º Pidi bença, da bença, significa: Peça benção e dé benção. É um comprimento uzado entre os timorenses e ignoro se isso imitado do malaio. 2º Manda bem da recados,

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Transcribed from the original manuscript by Silvio Moreira de Sousa, with slight stylistic changes by the authors.
significa que: **mandou** [ou mandou-me] **vir** e **dar recados** ou lembrações. 3º **Manda bem**
**pidi bença**, isto é que: **mandou que viesse pedir a benção**. 4º **Criança iloutro**, - quer dizer:
**as crianças**, ou **aquella outra criança**, ou **aquellas crianças [sic]**. 5º **Pidi bença, dá bença na criança iloutro**. – quer dizer: **Peca (ou peço) benção e dê (ou dou) benção às crianças**. **Criança iloutro pidi bença (ou dá bença) na Nona**, - **significa que as crianças pedem benção a Senhora**, - aquem é dirigido o comprimento. 6º **Nai iloutro bai falla quer dizer:** **aquelle (ou aquelles) Senhor (ou Senhores) vae (ou vão) fallar**, ou alias aquelle disse ou aqueles desiam. 7º **No baixo de carteira**, - isto significa: **De baixo da carteira, Carteira é a mesa ou secretaria sobre a qual se escreve**. 8º **Cebolla já contente**, - **significa a referencia que se faz a cebolla quando murcha por effeto do calor do Sol e recupera o vigor com a chuva da trovoada**. 9º **Anda tudo terra Dilly mais cidade,**- que dizer: **anda por toda a (parte) terra e mais (ou ate) na cidade de Dilly**. Dilly é a cidade.
Muitos filhos dos regulos e principaes de Larantuka foram educados nas escolas portuguezas em Okusse (Lifaú) e da hi veem elles fallar o portuguez criolo em Larantuka. Actualmente estão estudando com os missionarios portuguezes na escola de Lahane (em Dilly) alguns rapazes de Larantuka; não perdem estes nunca o ensejo de aprender oportugues [sic] de que com o andar dos annos se esquecem e dá hi vem o fallarem o portuguez corrupto ou portuguez criolo. De Timor enviei a Vª Exª um cathecismo de doutrina christa, escripto no dialecto tetu ou tetum que se falla em Dilly e que foi escripto por um missionario portuguez. Em o mez de agosto proximo vou para Lisboa com licença por um anno onde offereco o meu limitado prestimo a VªExª. 
Subscrevo-me de V.ªExª 
Atª Vendº Obrigado 
José dos Santos Vaquinhas
APPENDIX C

Letter of Rafael das Dores to José Leite de Vasconcelos
Cascais, February 23rd 1901

Epistolário de José Leite de Vasconcelos (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon), nr. 7026

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Cascais 23 2º/901

Meu Ex.mo Am.º e Sr.

Respondo imediatamente à sua apreciável cartinha. Vae V. Ex.ª ficar admirado com o que vou dizer-lhe, mas por mais estranho que pareça é a verdade.

Em Timor os indígenas que falam português, falam-o exactamente como nós, não havendo patuá, como em Macau e nas outras colónias.

No litural da ilha falla-se em geral a língua malaia, no commercio, e as línguas indígenas tétum, e galolo; no interior fallam-se estas duas ultimas que eu julgo modificações do Malaio, e uma infinidade de dialectos, mas todos com as características d’esta.

Eu tenho em apontamentos os materiaes para coordenar um vocabulário da língua tétum, mas não me sinto com disposição nem com saúde, nem mesmo tenho competencia para elle.

Em vista do que expus atrás já V. Ex.ª vê que sobre Timor, nada lhe posso proporcionar com relação à língua portugueza alli fallada; quanto porém a Macau, estou prompto a verter-lhe no patuá, os textos que me indicar, assim como na língua portugueza fallada pelos chinas que é coisa perfeitamente distinta da língua de Macau como creio que V. Ex.ª já sabe.

Fico pois esperando as suas ordens, que serão executadas até onde as minhas deveis forças o permitam, e sou com toda a consideração

De V. Exª
Raphael das Dores

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Letter of Rafael das Dores to José Leite de Vasconcelos
Cascais, March 13th 1901

Epistolário de José Leite de Vasconcelos (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon), nr. 7027

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Cascais 13 Março 1901

Ex.ª mo Am.º e Sr.
Respondo à cartinha de V. Ex." enviando-lhe a parábola que pede, e para a qual peço toda a sua atenção e indulgência. Não estará perfeita, mas parece-me que será aproximada.

Quanto ao que me diz sobre o crioulo em Timor, conheço e possuo o livro d’Affonso de Castro. Este na curta demora que teve em Timor e sem sahir de Lahane, não teve tempo d’estudar praticamente tudo que tratou no seu livro, que mais parece coordenado d’escritos anteriores.

Diz elle que as línguas indígenas são ásperas, e nada parecidas com a malaia, o que me parece uma acção[?] gratuita de quem não conhece uma nem outras.

Eu estive 4 vezes em Timor, e pela 1ª vez demorei-me perto de 3 annos, e percorrendo o litoral, e a maior parte do interior, não encontrei o tal crioulo de que elle falla, nem as asperezas das línguas ou dialectos.

Conheço a língua malaia practicam.te e aprendi o que poute da língua teto, e vejo por exemplo, que a palavra «lima» que significa 5 ou mão, é commum em ambas as línguas; não será isto uma aproximação?

De facto algumas raparigas vindas do interior para creadas, e servindo em casa de pessoas de Macau residentes em Timor, aprendem palavras de crioulo macaísta, mas tanto estas raparigas como as próprias pessoas de Macau, com o tempo chegam a fallar o portuguez como nós, o que eu observei, e mesmo se nota em Macau, nas senhoras que regressam de Timor.

A phrase que V. Ex." foi encontrar na Áustria é muito minha conhecida; e é usada exactamente nas condições q. venho d’expor, mas já está modificada: ahi usa-se lá «Nai… fó meado, fó bom dia, fó boa noite etc».


A palavra fó em teto, corresponde ao verbo dar em portuguez, e é a unica forma conhecida do verbo.

Todas as outras palavras são portuguezas e pronunciadas claramente, ou macaístas e pronunciadas com o acento proprio.

Em vista do exposto, apesar da minha manifesta incompetencia em philologia, continuo com a convicção de que não existe em Timor um crioulo proprio.

Desculpe-me estes dizeres, conte com o dialogo, logo que eu o possa engendrar, e disponha do que é com toda a consideração

De V Exº
Raphael das Dores
APPENDIX D

Letter of Alberto Osório de Castro to José Leite de Vasconcelos
Dili, August 3rd 1910

Epistolário de José Leite de Vasconcelos (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon), nr. 4215

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Timor - Dili, Agosto 3, 1910

Meu querido Mestre e Exmo Primo

Teria V Exº recebido o meu livro Flores de Coral? Foi um dos primeiros exemplares que remetti. Lá encontra uma parte sobre línguas timoresas, e sobre um dialecto crioulo que ninguém ainda descobriira, creio, o português de Bidau. Estou publicando aqui oficialmente um carnis[?] – Plantas uteis de Timor – Lá meterei o que puder de ethnographia, mas verdadeiramente é á ethnographia que virei a fixar toda a atenção. Estou em relações[?] seguidas com Arndt van Germep[?]. Viu na revista ethnographica allemã Globus uma noticia sobre o meu livro? Dê-me os seus conselhos, as suas indicações de metodo. Sabe que fiz aqui um questionario sobre usos e costumes, e estão publicadas cento e tantas paginas das respostas? Mas [??] agora tudo! Se podesse [??] isto com a sua palavra! De todo o coração […]

Alberto Osório de Castro

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Letter of Alberto Osório de Castro to José Leite de Vasconcelos
undated

Epistolário de José Leite de Vasconcelos (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon), nr. 24255 (?)

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Exº mo e querido Primo e Mestre


Ouvi isto em Singapura:

Creio que fui eu quem primeiro falou no português de Bidau, certamente o crioulo da destruida Lifau, e de Larantuca, na ilha de Flores.
Em Java ouvi uma palavra portuguesa não indicada ainda: tutrúgu, a casca ou carapaça da tartaruga que se exporta. Em Ternate chama-se à noz moscada – Nócha que deve vir de noz. De todos nós para V. V. Exãºs apertados cumprimentos.

Primo e discípulo e mt.º admirador e dedicado

Alberto Osório de Castro