

Macao Patois Words in English?

PETER CABREROS*

INTRODUCTION

Macao is a tiny territory with a long and ancient history.¹ Acknowledged as the first permanent settlement governed by Westerners in the land of China,² it also holds the distinction of being the last. When the administration of the Portuguese ended December 20, 1999, the territory's history of foreign rule effectively came to a close.

This stage of Macao's history, however, does not merely refer to the dealings among the Portuguese, the Chinese and their descendants. It represents so much more. Macao, since its establishment as a Portuguese settlement around 1555 to 1557, has served as a prominent site where bonds have been formed and reformed. These exchanges did not only happen between Portugal and China, but also among the other numerous communities of the East with various people from the West, which included Europeans, Africans and other Asians. This is a significant period of more than 400 years of contact among these people that has been a subject of study among researchers from the different fields of the sciences and the humanities.

This study is concerned with the linguistic interaction that occurred among these people that gave rise to a new variety of speech. This speech variety, however, was not actually new but rather a culmination

of a blending among existing trade languages that are to varying degrees based on Portuguese and used by seafarers and traders in large parts of East Asia. Initially, these varieties of trade languages were grouped into one well-known lingua franca called the Portuguese lingua franca of the East. This lingua franca, according to the monogenetic theory, was modelled after a lingua franca in West Africa prevalent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This lingua franca was in turn an offshoot of a recognised lingua franca of the Mediterranean seas during the early part of the second millennium that was also Portuguese-based and goes by the name of Sabir.³ Holm (1989) however points out that recent studies amply contest such a proposition.⁴ Nonetheless, it is a fact that various Portuguese creole⁵ languages have been found all over the world, sharing linguistic similarities in varying degrees. By the time one such variety arrived in Macao, it was already a developed speech variety used by several communities for a notable period of time. This thesis thus focuses its study on this Portuguese creole found in Asia, particularly in Southeast and East Asia, that produced another linguistic base in Macao, got reformulated there, underwent further linguistic development and came to be known as the Macao Creole Portuguese or Macao patois.

Macao, in other words, served as another meeting point for a Portuguese creole, from where it developed further. The people in the region – both the newcomers and the old hands – might have used this speech form in their efforts to communicate, an act further compounded by the introduction of this Portuguese-based creole onto the new and decidedly formidable speech community of the Chinese.

At this point of contact, this particular variety of speech had been christened with many names. They include such names as 'the Portuguese dialect of Macao,' 'the Portuguese creole of Macao' or the Macao creole; *lingua* or *lingu de Macau* (language of Macao);

* The author did his undergraduate studies at the University of the Philippines and holds a Masters degree in English Studies from the University of Macao. He is currently teaching as an English instructor at the University of Macao while working on his Ph.D. studies. The present paper is an abridged version of the study which was awarded a research scholarship from the Cultural Institute (2001). This study is a continuation of the masteral thesis conducted by the author in 1999.

O autor é licenciado pela Universidade das Filipinas e mestre em Estudos Ingleses pela Universidade de Macau. Actualmente lecciona Inglês na Universidade de Macau enquanto prepara a sua tese de doutoramento. O presente artigo é uma versão abreviada do estudo para o qual recebeu uma bolsa de investigação do Instituto Cultural (2001), estudo esse que constitui o prolongamento da tese de mestrado que o autor defendeu em 1999.

dialecto Macaenses (dialect of the Macanese); *lingu Maqista* or *Makista* or *Macaense* (language of the Macanese); *papia Kristão* or *Cristão* (Christian talk or jabber) and *doçi papiamento de Macau* or *doçi papiaçam de Macau* (sweet tongue of Macao), or *doçi lingua de Macau* (the sweet language of Macao) among others. In this paper, it will simply be referred to as the Macao patois.⁶ Despite its array of names, there is limited information available about this particular Portuguese creole.⁷ Its specific speech community will hereafter be referred to as the Macaenses,⁸ which will be described in greater detail in the succeeding chapters.

This study aims to show the likelihood that the Macao patois was the alleged “lingua franca” used by the English-speaking people as they established their presence in the region in the beginning of the early seventeenth century. The proof is based on two observations. The first observation is that some of the words from this speech variety have a striking resemblance to similar words of English. Such a resemblance is admittedly inconclusive.⁹ The second consideration, the more plausible one, is the diversity of the sources of words that Macao patois acquired vis-à-vis Macao’s importance as the site where English traders did business with China and other nations in the Southeast Asian region. This consideration poses a high degree of probability that such words, although originating from other Asian countries or communities, were introduced into English principally through Macao and hence, Macao patois. Stated in another way, the likely proof is based on given historical sources that show a high degree of probability that Macao patois has served either as a direct or intermediary source from which English acquired loan words from Asia such as China and the island nations of Malaysia, Indonesia and Japan.

Based on a number of historical sources used in this study, we can surmise reasonably (but not conclusively) *how* English might have borrowed these words. These are words that may have been, or still are, elements of Macao patois vocabulary, which is perceived as either on its way to extinction,¹⁰ or is

undergoing the process of decreolization.¹¹ Whenever historical records can support this premise, it will be stated *what* words or *which* of these words most probably originated directly from the Macao patois and *when* were they popularly used. In cases when records are not substantial enough to support the premise, it can still be argued that this patois may have acted as the link – the intermediary or linguistic middleman – through which English acquired these words. As one of the recent modification of one or several Portuguese-based speech varieties used in the region, during the period around the early seventeenth century until the late nineteenth century, it is not too far-fetched an idea that the Macao patois should be such a link.

What then are these words? These are words that many people and the majority of etymological dictionaries nowadays would attribute as having their roots in languages – either living or dead – found in countries or regions all over the world. These countries or regions can be further divided into two groups. The first group consists of places visited or even colonised for a period of time by the then vast Portuguese sea-borne empire. Places such as India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the Malay islands, Moluccas or Spice Islands (of the present day Indonesian archipelago), China and Japan belong to this group. The European countries that competed with Portugal for naval and trading supremacy in the East belong to the second group, which include Holland, Spain and Britain.¹² These words were gathered from various English books on etymology¹³ that list and group the origins of English loanwords from a country or from a language. The English words considered in this paper were chosen based on their meanings that denote a close identification with the Asian people’s customs and ways of life, particularly those who had dealings with the people of Macao, such as the Goans of India, the Malays, Japanese and Chinese. Some are also words that refer to things that were traded in and from Macao. These words are found in Table 1. There are all together twenty-two (22) of them.

TABLE 1: INITIAL WORKING LIST OF 22 SUSPECTED MACAO PATOIS-DERIVED ENGLISH LOANWORDS

betel, caddy, catty, copra, ginseng, gram (as chickpea), joss, junk, lacquer, mandarin, miso, mochi, nankeen, pagoda, pidgin, sampan, sapanwood, soy/soya, taipan, tanka and veranda.

Prepared by the author from the sources listed in footnote no. 13.

LINGUÍSTICA

Difficulties abound in the task of sorting out these words and identifying which are the probable ones. These difficulties arise due to three factors. The first factor is the scarcity of words recorded from this speech variety. The oldest known source that recorded such words is *The Monograph of Macao*¹⁴. This work was only published in 1751, written neither by a Macao resident (Portuguese or otherwise) nor in Portuguese, as would have been expected. It was a work in Chinese by Yin Guangren¹⁵ and Zhang Rulin.¹⁶ Both were Mandarin officials of the Qing (Ching) dynasty. The former began the work based on his visit to Macao around 1746 and completed it with the help of the latter. Since various scholars have held that Macao patois had already arisen around the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century, one cannot account *in what form* (orthography) these words were written down and *when* exactly such words came to be used and accepted by the general public. Furthermore, the earliest documented studies done by a Portuguese were published only in the early nineteenth century by Adolfo Coelho and Leite de Vasconcelos.¹⁷ Their studies, however, were not conducted *in loco* (on site, i.e., in Macao). Only in the late nineteenth century was a study on the patois conducted in Macao. Published in *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo – Arquivos e Anais do Extremo Oriente Português (1899-1902) (Archives and Annals of the Portuguese Far East)*, it was written by João Feliciano Marques Pereira.¹⁸ But Pereira admitted that he wrote it more for entertainment than for scholarly pursuit. Hence the data found in it are not deemed very reliable, lacking in authenticity and fidelity to the original forms. The most recent effort to record the vocabulary of the patois was by José dos Santos 'Adé' Ferreira in the last century. He also had his difficulties in recalling and transcribing the vocabulary of the patois; he was even criticised for inventing new patois words to describe things that did not exist two centuries ago.¹⁹ Such a difficulty is understandable and, in a manner, foreseen, considering that Pereira, in the previous century, had already lamented the loss of various works (songs, poems, etc.) written in Macao patois 'due to widespread lack of interest and carelessness'²⁰ of the Macaenses.

The second limiting factor is the different orientation taken by the majority of the previous studies on the patois. Works concerning the Macao

patois cited here are mostly written from a sociological or ethnological viewpoint rather than from a philological or linguistic perspective, which is the concern of this study. The third limiting factor is that most studies compared this speech variety with its superstrate language – metropolitan Portuguese, not English. A large amount of historical data written predominantly in Portuguese still awaits analysis from the linguistic or philological perspective. This study limits its scope to works in English or those translated into English.

Due to these limiting factors, the study was conducted on pertinent historical records based on the following subjects: a) on Macao and Macao trade; b) on the participants of this trade and c) on the language used by this trade. Language genesis, to a certain extent, is dependent on who comprises its speech community, how they used the language and where was it used. The genesis of Macao patois is not in any way different. Macao trading among different cultures and people principally induced the reformulation of this Portuguese creole, combining in varying degrees with the other languages used in Macao, and eventually acquiring its own speech community – the Macaenses. The Macaenses, in turn, preserved this speech form not only making it their ethnic marker but also using it – largely or in part – as their means of livelihood while working as interpreters, clerks and middlemen (compradors) for the various people involved in trade and commerce in Macao. Written works on the history of Macao trade in its different facets are numerous. Records about the Macaenses and their patois, however, are far less abundant. Studies conducted to compare Macao patois with English are scarce.

Given the limitations mentioned, this study intends to provide a preliminary study on Macao patois' role in the acquisition of loan words from Asia by the English language. In this regard, a collection of such works was obtained and annotated with respect to their citations that state or allude to the role played by Macao patois either as an intermediary or a direct source of English loanwords.

This study is admittedly neither exhaustive nor conclusive, so further research is crucial to shed a better light on the role of the Macao patois not only as a source of English loan words but ultimately as a significant linguistic bridge that connected the cultures

of the East and the West. As the saying goes, “*let us give credit where credit is due.*” It is high time that Macao patois receive its just credit.

AN OVERVIEW

A cursory look at the English vocabulary would reveal how English acquired loan words that refer to the travels and dealings of its people all over the world. The forms of these words are oftentimes good indicators of which part of the world they were taken from. A closer look, however, at the sources or origins of some English words can spring surprises. One such case is to refer to some words that would offhand be considered as having “Chinese” origins but actually do not.

Take for example the word *mandarin*, which for all intents and purposes is universally related nowadays to China, the Chinese or at least “something Chinese.” One can speak of a Mandarin, an official of the Chinese Empire of yesteryears, speaking the “mandarin tongue.” One can admire his “mandarin dignity” while garbed in his “mandarin coat” with “mandarin sleeves” while he wears his “mandarin hat” with dignity. One can also refer to his “mandarin porcelain” and vases, tinted “mandarin blue,” which surrounds him while he eats his meal of “mandarin duck” with “mandarin broth.” He later sits in his living room admiring his ‘mandarin jar’ (which is actually Japanese porcelain²¹) while he eats his “mandarin orange” and plays with his “mandarin cat.” With all these descriptions, “mandarin” must surely be of Chinese origin. It is even held that its etymology came from the Chinese words, *man* (Manchu), *da* (big) and *ren* (man), referring to the big and tall Manchurians²² who came to supplant the Ming dynasty and by the seventeenth century had established their own – the Qing dynasty. A word originating from Chinese and a word speaking of things Chinese are however, two different things.

Looking into the foremost etymological dictionary²³ would reveal that the word originated thousands of miles away. In the ancient Sanskrit language of the subcontinent of India, its word for “counsellor” is *mantrin*. It is believed that from this word, the Hindi language acquired its own word for “counsellor,” *mantri*. Several leagues away, the Malays also had their word for ‘counsellor,’ which is *mantri*, exactly like the one from India. The similarity is

probably due to the trading between these people that had existed many years prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. The Portuguese may have, in turn, taken this word to refer to someone who commands. The meaning, however, is slightly different, *mandarim* <*mantrim* [H. Indo-European]> means ‘one who commands,’ taken from the Portuguese, *mandar* <*mandare* [L. Indo-European]>, which means ‘to command.’ But what is interesting is that in the passage of time, the term took on a very specific meaning to refer to high-ranking Chinese officials whose actions aptly fit the distinctive spirit the word conveys. Since Macao, a Portuguese territory, was the place where the British set their base in their initial dealings with the Chinese, various etymological books have attributed to the Portuguese word, *mandarim*, the origin of the English, *mandarin*.

However, the language used by these adventurous sailors and merchants was not European Portuguese. The Portuguese who sailed far into the East had African, Indian and Malay slaves with them on such voyages. In order to communicate, they resorted to speaking a language that could not have been one hundred percent Portuguese, but rather they adopted a variety that was Portuguese-based. This was what several books refer to as Indo-Portuguese, the lingua franca of the East.²⁴ As earlier pointed out, it would be more reasonable to maintain that a Portuguese-based speech variety was used containing a generous amount of Malay words rather than state there was a distinct lingua franca used.²⁵

Portuguese-based speech varieties were continually evolving, taking in words from places the Portuguese visited until such time that such voyages ended, when people began to settle and the language started to stabilise.²⁶ Goa in India was established as the Portuguese headquarters in the East in the fifteenth century; Malacca was annexed in the early sixteenth century and Macao in the middle of the same century. As one Portuguese-based speech form reached one land, depending on the circumstances, it evolved and acquired certain regional characteristics. As for that particular speech variety in Macao, it too acquired a form unique to the place.²⁷ This distinct regional Portuguese-based speech form is the Macao patois.

Macao patois underwent creolization, i.e., it acquired its own speech community, which passed on

LINGÜÍSTICA

Portuguese-based speech varieties were continually evolving, taking in words from places the Portuguese visited until such time that such voyages ended, when people began to settle and the language started to stabilise.

the patois from generation to generation. As time went by, it took in more and more Chinese (largely Cantonese) words and phrases, the speech variety spoken by the majority of the population living in and around Macao. The arrival of the English heralded an opportunity for the patois to grow in influence, but only to be later supplanted by the English language and lose its status as the trade language of the area. But earlier on, the English-speaking traders hired patois speakers to communicate with the other traders, especially with the Chinese, in the first century of their dealings.²⁸ They would have had to borrow some words from this speech variety, which could well be the type of speech referred to by those westerners who chronicled their forays to the Far East as pidgin Portuguese or even pidgin English.²⁹ In time, these words were anglicised to refer to specific things they had encountered in this region. Evidence of this occurrence is the presence of words of Pidgin English that Dalgado recorded which are distinctively of Portuguese origin (see Table 4).

This event could explain how the word 'mandarin' evolved into a term that refers to an official of the then Chinese Empire who 'counsels' and 'commands,' describing likewise his attire and demeanour, and accounting for the other descriptions mentioned earlier. Similarly, the word was later on adopted in English to refer to anything characteristically Chinese or hailing from China.

The question that comes to mind is, "Are there still other such words?" A look into etymological dictionaries would reveal that there are a good deal

more. Following the premise that Macao patois is a latter evolution of the Indo-Portuguese, it is logical to trace the path of the Portuguese voyages and record here not only those words which several English books state are words with Portuguese origins but also words with origins from places which the Portuguese passed through, traded with or even colonised. These words include *chop*, *pagoda* and *palanquin*, which have roots in the communities in India; *joss* and *junk* which have Portuguese-Dutch roots; *sampan*, *taipan* and *typhoon*, which have Cantonese roots; *miso*, *mochi*, *soya*, which have Japanese roots; and *caddy*, *catty* and *betel*, which have Malay roots. These words are found in Table 2.

At the same time, it is opportune to record other English words said to have originated from two other European nations that, aside from Britain, competed with Portugal for trade in the East from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century: Spain and Holland. These words are found in Table 3. Also included in this table are some words derived from Pidgin English and those with unknown³⁰ origins. These measures are useful in the light of the following words from Dalgado (1936):

"Portuguese was spoken in its pure or corrupt form throughout³¹ the whole of India, Malaysia, Pegu, Burma, Siam, Tonkin, Cochin-China, China, in Kamaran in Persia, in Basra of the Turkish villages and in Mecca in Arabia. And it was spoken not only by the Portuguese and their descendants but by Hindus, Mohammedans, Jews, and Malays and by Europeans of other nationalities in their intercourse with one another or with indigenous people. It was employed by the Dutch missionaries in their own dominions and even to this day, English Protestant ministers make use of it in Ceylon. It was therefore for a long time the lingua franca of the East^{32, 33}

Several words belong to more than one group since various sources had grouped them differently. This difference in grouping is indicative of the interaction that existed among the different people trading back then. It also indicates the uncertainty of the origins, which may be due to the scarcity of written records verifying the origin and evolution of these words. Since the focus here is solely on the stage of the linguistic evolution of a Portuguese-based speech variety to Macao patois, the previous lists were further narrowed down. Words that originated in other regions, such as the Americas, where these nations (i.e., Spain,

LINGUISTICS

Portugal, Holland and Britain) were also former colonial powers and from where some of these words originated, are discounted since they have no bearing on this study.

The next step is to check which of these words had a close relationship with the history of Macao, its activities, its people and its linguistic milieu. This was done because explicit records of new terms or phrases that arose in the course of trading between different cultures are rare. The aim here is to infer from given records and obtain fragments of information from them that can provide supporting evidence reasonable enough to surmise that Macao patois was either the progenitor or the initial channel through which these words were eventually borrowed by the English language. In due time, English took them as its very own. This matter will now be discussed in the remainder of this section, which will be divided into three parts, proceeding from the general to the particular.

The first part is an overview of the history of the foundation of Macao and the main activities that happened in or around the territory, paying particular

attention to the linguistic milieu of the place and the role of language in the locality. A study of the Macaenses or the *filhos Macau* (sons of Macao) will comprise the second part. These people are properly referred to as the local and indigenous populace of Macao. The last part of this discussion will look at the language itself, the language that became a defining ethnic marker for these Macaenses. It also served as their linguistic medium to successfully communicate with the Portuguese administrators, the predominantly Chinese populace, the African or Indian slaves and the other people who comprised Macao society. It is in this same vein that this very patois is affirmed as the Portuguese creole of the region from where or through which the English language borrowed some of its vocabulary to describe the indigenous and unique things they had found in the area.

The choice and the verification of the etymology of the suspected English words is based mainly on the data recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Hobson Jobson*³⁴ and articles and books about the Macaenses and Macao patois.

TABLE 2: ENGLISH LOANWORDS FROM PORTUGUESE, CHINESE, & OTHER LANGUAGES FROM REGIONS VISITED BY THE PORTUGUESE³⁵

language	words
Portuguese (36)	<i>albacore, albino, amah, ayah, banana, bandanna, banyan, betel, cash, cashew, comprador, copra, creole, dodo, garoupa, godown, gram, hurricane, joss, junk, lacquer, madeira, mandarin, mango, molasses, mosquito, pagoda, palaver, pickaninny, pidgin, port, tank, tapioca, typhoon, veranda, yam</i>
Hindi (20)	<i>bandanna, bangle, bungalow, cashmere, cheetah, coolie, cowrie, cummerband, gunny, guru, jungle, myna, nabob, palanquin, pundit, sari, seersucker, shampoo, toddy, veranda</i>
Malay/ Javanese (18)	<i>agar-agar, amuck, bamboo, caddy, cassowary, catty, copra, gambier, godown, junk, kapok, mango, orangutan, rattan, sago, sappanwood, soya, teak</i>
Chinese (17)	<i>chop, congee, ginseng, ketchup, kumquat, lychee (litchi), nankeen, pekoe, pidgin, pongee, sampan, soy, shogun, taipan, tank, tea, typhoon</i>
Japan (6)	<i>mikado, miso, mochi, sake, shogun, soy</i>
Sanskrit (5)	<i>cash, mandarin, palanquin, sandal, tank</i>
Arabic, Turkish, Persian (5)	<i>bazaar, benzoin (benjamin), china, kebab, satin</i>
Tamil (5)	<i>catamaran, cheroot, conundrum, curry, pariah</i>
Urdu (4)	<i>coolie, kebab, khaki, nawab</i>
African (2)	<i>okra, yam</i>

Prepared by the author from the sources listed in footnote no. 34.

LINGÜÍSTICA

TABLE 3: ENGLISH LOAN WORDS FROM SPANISH, DUTCH, PIDGIN ENGLISH & AN UNKNOWN SOURCE³⁶

language	words
Spanish (24)	<i>alligator, alpaca, anchovy, apricot, avocado, banana, bonanza, cannibal, canoe, castanet, cigar, chili, cockroach, cork, desperado, embargo, hacienda, maize, mulatto, papaya, potato, puma, sombrero, tobacco</i>
Dutch (3)	<i>bamboo, junk, sappanwood</i>
Pidgin English (4)	<i>amah, joss, pidgin, savvy</i>
Unknown (3)	<i>humbug, jabber, tiffin</i>

Prepared by the author from the sources listed in footnote no. 35.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MACAO VIS-À-VIS THE LANGUAGES USED IN MACAO

It is opportune to begin this section by going over these two passages:

- The influence of Macao on the history of foreign relations with China extends much beyond the sphere of mere commercial interest. For 300 years it was for foreigners the gate of the Chinese empire, and all good and bad influences which came from without were infiltrated through that narrow opening, which also served as the medium through which China was revealed to the Western world.³⁷
- Macao has had its share of ups and downs... reflecting the fortunes of both China and Portugal... As continental Portugal's influence waned with the passage of time, it was perhaps fortunate that her long standing alliance with England stood her in good stead. It was in Portugal's interest to be tied in friendship to rising English sea power and the blossoming of the British Empire.³⁸

In a nutshell, the relationship that existed between the Portuguese, the Chinese and the English determined or shaped Macao history, particularly the Western rule and commerce in the territory. From a geographical viewpoint, Macao history has transoceanic roots, where five continents and their varying cultures converged on this tiny peninsula, which served as the cradle.³⁹ We thus have four principal players that shaped Macao history in the last 400 years: Portugal, China, Britain and the sea. To elaborate on the interaction among the three nations and their respective languages, it is opportune to begin with what brought them all together — the sea.

Macao society ultimately owes its unification and its endurance to the sea. Macao was founded and evolved through the joint actions of simple and hardworking fishermen, adventurous and ambitious navigators, enterprising merchants, opportunistic pirates and zealous missionaries who flocked to this small enclave and its nearby waters. The sea at the same time served as the source of motivation and inspiration that led to the development of the concept of marine insurance and the invention of swift ships called *lorchas*, which were used decisively by the Portuguese in their fight against pirates in the Pearl River delta.⁴⁰ At the same time, the sea also protected Macao from China's enormous centripetal force, allowing it to have a certain degree of tolerance and autonomy.⁴¹

A clear indication of the role of the sea vis-à-vis Macao history is its prominence as a source of the varied names this small area had acquired even prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. Most of the names refer to the peaceful bay that reflects images much like a mirror, and which takes the shape of an oyster. This bay is now known as Praia Grande. The other favourite source from where Macao eventually got its present name is the A-Ma Temple, just a few hundred meters away from the heavily reclaimed area of Praia Grande Bay.

The manner in which this land was named indicates the prime importance given to the bay or the sea by the people who settled around the area. The fact that Macao is considered as a 'gateway' captures the significance of this relatively small area as a haven for various folks who depend a lot on the sea either as a means of livelihood or as a means of transportation. It was by these means that Macao rose to prominence and, by its very dependence, subsequently fell into decline.

Macao was established as the "Portugal in the farthest East,"⁴² the extreme base of the Portuguese in

LINGUISTICS

the East to trade with the surrounding areas. China was the main trading partner. It is no secret that the primary and principal centre of business that the Portuguese and other traders wanted to reach in South China was Canton (Guangzhou). Nonetheless, due to its proximity, Macao was made the city's seaport, with easy access to do business with the other cities or townships nearby such as *Shekki* [Sehk Kèih], *Sun Wui* [Sàn Wúí], *Kwong Hoi* [Gwông Hóí] and *Shiu Hing* [Súu Híng].⁴³

Portuguese trading ships also travelled and traded far beyond the China seas. These vessels indulged in the very lucrative Asian-American-European trade⁴⁴ with Macao as the intermediary – both as the warehouse and the middleman. Manila was also an occasional trading partner, especially during the period of the reign of a united Portugal and Spain under Philip II. Trading vessels called *naus*, big but slow-moving vessels, also did business in the ports of Malacca, Formosa (Taiwan) and Nagasaki, Japan. Such trading gave enormous fortunes to the Portuguese in Macao.⁴⁵

From the middle of the sixteenth century, Macao thus became a melting pot where the varied cultures and people of the East and the West interacted and intermingled. This nondescript territory came to be, in the words of Montalto de Jesus, a Macao historian, the 'emporium of the East... whence the riches of the neighbouring empire found their way to foreign cultures.'⁴⁶ Business and trading thus became the principal concern among the settlers. And whenever there is business, an optimal means of communication has to be arranged, which implies a vital need for interpreters.

Although an effective means of communication – and thus the need for competent interpreters – was highly desired at that time, it is very interesting to note that numerous historical records during this period hardly made any mention of this matter at all.

Nonetheless, snippets of information have been noted. One of the earliest embassies carried out by the Portuguese in its desire to have a formal trading agreement with China was the ill-fated Embassy of Tomé Pires around 1512-1515. It was recorded that he brought with him to Canton not one but five interpreters.⁴⁷ Anders Ljungstedt (1836) cites another case of the absolute necessity for interpreters. In his work considered as the first book written in English that referred prominently to Macao, he recorded that

for foreign ships to be allowed to enter and do business in the port in Canton (Guangzhou), "the consignee or owner of the ship must obtain for her a security merchant, a linguist and a comprador..."⁴⁸ He further added that the linguist, so called, holds the rank of interpreter and procures permits for delivering and taking cargo, transacts all business at the customhouse and keeps account of the duties, etc.⁴⁹ Ljungstedt was referring to businesses held during the early part of the seventeenth century, the practice of which was observed well into the next two centuries.

He also recorded that by 1634, an agreement of 'truce and free trade' was made between the Viceroy of Goa and several English merchants with license to trade in the East Indies. Ljungstedt recorded the account of Sir George Staunton, who, in writing about the first visit of an English ship on June 27, 1637, which was captained by John Weddell and had Peter Mundy as traveller-interpreter, wrote: "...presently J. Mounteny and T. Robinson went on board [sic] the chief Mandarin where were certain negroes fugitives of the Portuguese, that interpreted."⁵⁰

The version of the same incident, recounted by Coates (1988) is even more precise in terms of naming and describing one of the interpreters involved in the negotiations. He introduced himself as Paulo Norette, a Lusitanized Chinese of Macao, the "mandareene" of Peter Mundy from his own chronicles.⁵¹

David Lopes (1969), in his book, *A Expansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente nos Séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*, stated that nearly every European factory found it necessary to hire and employ at least one Luso-Indian Christian professional interpreter and writer of Portuguese.⁵² The role of these *jurubaças*⁵³ was vital to give assistance not only to the Portuguese authorities in communicating or in their diplomatic and para-diplomatic relations with China, but also to other foreigners who would want to establish trade relations with China. Who were these interpreters? Aside from the Paulo Norette that Coates identified, Boxer (1984) mentioned another description of such people from the chronicle of António Bocarro about Macau in 1635, which provides more data:

"In addition to this number of married Portuguese, there are about as many native families, including Chinese Christians, termed *jurubassas* (meaning interpreters), who form the majority, and other nations, all Christians."⁵⁴

LINGÜÍSTICA

These interpreters then, were mostly, if not all, Macao residents, who were, as stated, Chinese Christians, like Paulo Norette, although others would have been of the more respectable kind. They may also have been offspring, sometimes illegitimate, of mixed marriages where one of the parents was Chinese, presumably the mother. Given the stable income and somewhat respectable position such an occupation brought with it, and despite the dangers⁵⁵ it may also pose, the job most probably may have been passed on from generation to generation, within the confines of these Chinese Christian families. Doing so would have ensured the relative sustenance of the family and maintained and even enhanced its legitimacy during the times of declining prosperity in Macao during the seventeenth century.⁵⁶

What then was the trade language used? Was it Portuguese or a Portuguese-based speech variety? Linguistic studies and historical events reveal that whenever two communities with completely different languages interact, they almost always have had to undergo some sort of mutual linguistic accommodation, creating initially a pidgin that poses as the trade language that upon mutual acceptance, would serve as their principal means of verbal communication.⁵⁷ Following this line of thought and given the preceding data, a Portuguese-based speech variety, such as Macao patois, would likely have been chosen as the medium of communication, because of its affinity to Portuguese, the language of the administrators, and with its Malay-based words that would have made it more understandable to the majority of the people.

It is, however, important to note that by the middle of the sixteenth century, many of these Portuguese merchant sailors and their retinue as well as the Chinese merchants and their mandarin officials had already had previous dealings with each other since at least the early part of that century. Records have shown that from the earliest Portuguese voyages to the Malabar coast of India, the Portuguese had already heard of “a mysterious, fair-skinned people called Chin.”⁵⁸ Upon their annexation of Malacca in 1511, they finally had contacts with the people from the fabled ‘Cathay’ of Marco Polo, who were already doing business with their Malayan counterparts even before the arrival of the Portuguese.⁵⁹

This aroused great interest among the Portuguese. As early as 1512, a delegation was organised

by Albuquerque, the acknowledged conqueror of Malacca who was then the Viceroy of Goa. This delegation was headed by Jorge Álvares and was given the task of finding out what he could and of opening trade if circumstances permitted. He reached the island of Tamão (Lintin) in the Pearl River delta in 1514. There he erected a stone *padrão*, a commemorative pillar with the Portuguese coat of arms. Another delegation was sent in the person of Rafael Perestello, who arrived in China either in 1514 or 1516. Both encounters had such encouraging results that an envoy, in the person of Tomé Pires, was sent to try to conclude a trading agreement with the Emperor of China himself.

By 1517, four Portuguese ships with four Malay-type vessels under the command of Fernão Peres de Andrade, were allowed to enter the gulf of China. They set foot on the island of St. John (*San Shan* or *Sanchuan*). Although they were expelled from the island in 1521, by 1522, they were allowed to set up an emporium at Liampo. By 1542, their trading in Liampo also covered trade with Japan. Five years earlier, however, in 1537, they had obtained permission from the local Chinese officials to land and raise a few huts as temporary shelter on a deserted peninsula that is now known as Macao.

These events would imply that prior to the definitive settlement of Portuguese settlers in Macao in or around 1557, there had already been several contacts, although sporadic, with Chinese merchants and sailors for at least three decades. Such contacts had given these Westerners ample time to learn a fairly good deal of this Portuguese-based speech variety that they may have had a hand in unwittingly creating to do business in the East. Similarly, these Chinese merchant-sailors also must have learned to more or less converse with this Portuguese-based speech variety in their trading voyages in the South China seas, voyages that continued despite the policy of isolationism that the Ming dynasty imposed in its realm during this time.

In the course of the years, communication problems surely had arisen. In order to achieve better dealings with the new trading partner, the Chinese, a “new” or “modified” trade language would have gradually developed from a previous one.⁶⁰ The matter had to be also very urgent given the general unwillingness and prejudice of the Chinese authorities

they had to deal with. Aside from the linguistic aspect of this prejudice (i.e., unwillingness to speak any language other than their own), they also have the social bias of considering people who live from the sea to be of the most inferior kind and the least to be considered.⁶¹

Studies made by Graciete N. Batalha (1959), a noted philologist of Macao patois, reveal precisely such an occurrence. She mentioned that by the time this particular Portuguese-based speech variety arrived in Macao, it was already “an idiom matured to a degree, broadened by vocabular contingents and having already reached a certain state of phonetic, morphological and syntactical stability that managed to prevail for 300 years... until it began to wane in the last century.”⁶²

This speech variety is thus not just a product of the trade language created by the people living in or near Macao; it is a developed or enriched version of a Portuguese creole and already used to a considerable extent by many people. This would explain the fact that analyses done on the phonetic, syntactic and grammatical structures of this speech variety reveal a combination and a good number of Portuguese, Malay and Indian language structures and vocabulary.⁶³ Only the more recent studies showed the marked increase of the influence of Chinese as well as English on this speech variety.

Numerous historians attest to the fact that Macao served as the base of the Portuguese in their complete domination of trading between the East and the West during much of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the next, often referred to as the ‘Golden Age of Macao.’⁶⁴ This was due to the enormous benefits Macao reaped from being the main intermediary of the lucrative China-Japan trade. The very same historians also state that the complacency and lack of foresight of the Portuguese leaders, at home and in their Asian colonies, led to Macao’s demise as a major port of call in the East. The expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan in 1639 heralded the end of the reign of the Portuguese in trading in the East. For a time, trade with the Lesser Sunda Islands of Timor and Solor, Macassar in Celebes and Manila, as well as trade in Siam and Indo-China (Cochin China) compensated for this major loss. However, trade with Manila was disrupted partially in 1640 and totally by 1644, and Malacca was lost completely to the Dutch by 1641. All the while, all Portuguese traders had more and more

difficulties plying their other important trading routes due to being bullied by the superior navies of England, Holland and to a lesser extent, Spain.⁶⁵ All these misfortunes led to the diminishing of power and influence of Portugal in subsequent years.

Despite the status still ascribed by the ruling mandarins to Macao as the seaport of Canton that brings with it financial revenues, the decree of Emperor Kangxi in 1685 to open all Chinese ports to foreigners condemned Macao to ignominy. By 1704, under the Methuen Treaty, Portugal began to ask for naval protection from Britain. With the Portuguese navy impotent, Macao’s economy and sovereignty were practically at the mercy of other countries. And as the

The fact that Macao is considered as a ‘gateway’ captures the significance of this relatively small area as a haven for various folks who depend a lot on the sea either as a means of livelihood or as a means of transportation.

Portuguese people could no longer assert their previous dominance, it could be conjectured that the use of their preferred speech variety in trading also began to wane. It could be stated that only by the ingenuity of the leaders of Macao were the Portuguese able to hold on to their power over this small territory.

By the seventeenth century, the English navy reigned supreme in much of Asia, holding on to that distinction until well into the nineteenth century, with the annexation of Hong Kong in 1841 as the high point of their supremacy in the Far East, which solidified their status as the dominant Western country trading in Asia. By then, Macao had ceased to be the principal port of call for the majority of the trading vessels of Europe and the emerging powerful countries of Japan and the U.S. Foreigners, however, still appreciated the value of this small territory as a reliable intermediary

LINGÜÍSTICA

in their dealings with the Chinese authorities based on its more than two centuries of past dealings. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed the establishment of trading offices by several foreign countries in Macao. The most notable among them was the establishment of the office of the British East India Company.⁶⁶ Macao served as the base of activities of this company until they moved to Hong Kong soon after its annexation in 1841.⁶⁷ The move marked the economic decline of Macao.

Foreigners and native merchants, however, still preferred to conduct a portion of their trade, such as tea and silk, in the area since “burdens are light and labour is in abundance.”⁶⁸ This allowed Macao to continue a certain degree of business. In fact, such circumstances led to a new business set up principally by the British in 1845—the coolie trade.⁶⁹ Such trade started in Macao in 1851. It came about as a way to address the problem of labour shortages brought about by the gradual worldwide abolition of slavery during this period. The decline of rule and order under the Qing dynasty, aggravated by the recent Opium Wars, made China very vulnerable and the Chinese people easy victims of such a trade. Although the Chinese government strongly disapproved of the trade and even banned any Chinese from leaving the country, it had little power to enforce this law over all its empire, especially in Macao. Macao thus became the sole service port of this heinous trade, which was essentially no different from forced slavery. The Macao government tried to regulate the trade but was indecisive in banning it, getting from it much needed revenue and employment for its people. Later on, due to pressures within and without, the coolie trade measures became more prohibitive until the trade officially ended in 1874.⁷⁰

Due to this trade, a variety of new professions arose in Macao. Most were connected with the recruitment of Chinese youths for the foreign contractors who anchored in the Inner Harbor (*Porto Interior*), waiting to ship them as soon as possible to the U.S., Cuba or Peru, countries which were sorely in need of labourers during this time.⁷¹ From among these professions, it is likely that speakers of the Macao patois were needed. It can be inferred that the five known contracting companies that were from South America and the U.S. would have hired such interpreters to deal with these coolie traders.⁷² There

is also the cultural factor that could be involved – these creole speakers would have been chosen based on their cultural and racial affinity aside from their language ability.⁷³ In other words, they would have the necessary skills other than linguistic to convince the Chinese that it was worth their while to apply for these jobs.

Aside from the coolie trade, Macao also supplied the increased demand for clerks to work in the offices set up by foreign companies trading with China. Among the residents of Macao, the “Portuguese of the Chinese”⁷⁴ were sought after to handle competently this task. The Macaenses answered this need and thereby preserved their position in society by exploiting their gift of inter-ethnic communication.⁷⁵

By this time, Macao patois would have begun to take in more and more of the English vocabulary, while at the same time contributing to the vocabulary enrichment of English, and in part this enrichment may have been due to these interpreters.⁷⁶

English, by then, was gradually and decisively supplanting Portuguese as the dominant language of the region to complement the rise of the British Empire. The rise of the new trade language, Pidgin English, is evidence of this fact. The dominance of English was further strengthened by the rise of a former British colony, the US. Although entering rather belatedly in trading with China with only one vessel around 1784 or 1785, it quickly established itself, and by 1833 it already had 59 vessels doing business in the China ports.⁷⁷ In due time, the U.S. competed with Britain and other countries as the major trading partner of China, a consequence of which was the further strengthening of the status of English as the trading language of the region.

Macao and the Portuguese trade, on the other hand, faded badly. With the fading importance of Macao, Macao patois also gradually lost its relevance. It was relegated more and more to specific and limited occupations losing its importance on the local level to Chinese, specifically Cantonese, and its growing speech community who eventually took over trade and business in Macao. Cantonese, however, did not manage to supplant Portuguese as the language of administration. On the international level, the patois was gradually superseded by English, a growing international language and highly adaptable for its ability of borrowing loan words and making them its own.

LINGUISTICS

Macao patois, however, did not simply fade off immediately into extinction. Its durability is due largely to the significant period of its use, well over 300 years, during which it acquired its own speech community. This speech community also acquired many names: *Macanese*, *Macaenses*, *Macaistas*, *filhos da terra* (sons of the earth) and *filhos de Macau* or *filho Macau* (sons of Macao) and even *Balichãos* (in jest).⁷⁸ In this paper, they will be referred to as the Macaenses.

Prior to proceeding to a discussion of the Macaenses, one may wonder about the role played by the various Catholic missionaries that set foot in Macao. These are people who also figured prominently in building up Macao society. The reason they are not mentioned is because these missionaries were not merely satisfied with learning the Macao patois. Based on historical records, we know that they were more determined to learn the Chinese language.⁷⁹ Their contribution, nonetheless, is very significant because the development of a more systematic approach to the study of the languages in the East is owed in large part to their missionary strategy of learning Chinese by complete immersion.⁸⁰

THE MACAENSES (THE SONS OF MACAO)

Words are motivated by people, following people's trails and marking their presence, even where such presence has long been forgotten.⁸¹

The Macaenses, in the strict sense of the term, are Eurasians – racially mixed people with a decidedly Portuguese strain. They were initially descendants of mixed marriages between Portuguese men and Malaccan (Malay) women; but as soon as the Portuguese set their roots in Macao, Portuguese and Chinese mixed marriages eventually predominated, yielding more and more Luso-Chinese Macaenses. Nonetheless, the blood of the Japanese, the Filipinos, the Siamese (Thai), the Mollucan and even the Burmese (through contact with the people of Arakan, a Burmese province) and much later the English and the French strains, also intermingled and flowed into the veins of these *Filho Macao* or *Filhos Macau*.⁸² Portuguese Eurasians or Portuguese-of-the-East may be proper terms to describe them, but they prefer to be called instead the “Sons of Macao,” their way of indicating their exact place of origin.

Various explanations have been expressed to account for the origins of the Macaenses. It suffices to state here that historical records, especially those found in the archives of the Diocese of Macao, dutifully pointed out by Msgr. Teixeira (1965 & 1975) in his two works about these people, reveal three things:

- a) mixed marriages between Portuguese and Chinese already occurred in Portuguese Macao history much earlier than generally thought;
- b) that mixed marriages occurred at all levels of Macao society; and
- c) that the majority, if not by near unanimity, of such mixed marriages occurred between a Portuguese man and an Asian or Oriental woman.⁸³

Furthermore, a comparative analysis of a sizeable amount of data pertaining to the origin of the Macaenses led Amaro (1994) to conclude that Eurasian women, not Chinese women, were the first mothers of the race of the Macaenses, the offspring of the first stable families based in Macao.⁸⁴ This is one fact cited to explain why there are so many words in the Macao patois of Malay origin.

The previous statements reveal that the Macaenses are then a cultural hybrid, having both European and Oriental or Asian traits that allowed them to act as a bridge to connect the cultures of the West and the East. This trait allowed them to assume the role as the region's undisputed intermediary or ‘middleman.’

By the middle of the nineteenth century, aside from the Portuguese and Chinese influences, a strong influence of English and American ways had also been impressed upon them, especially when a sizeable segment of the community transferred to Hong Kong and Shanghai. These two cities were by then the two major international ports in the region, requiring the skills that the Macaenses had developed in Macao.

Macao society, in the beginning, consisted of Portuguese merchants and sailors with their African or Asian slaves and the Chinese fishermen and manual workers. In time, the basic composition of Macao society changed to consist of Portuguese administrators and Chinese businessmen. The Macaenses found their niche in Macao society by manning the intermediate posts in the administrative structure (as petty bureaucrats, civil servants, policemen, etc.) while also playing the role of intermediaries for Chinese interests

LINGUÍSTICA

and those of other nations before the Portuguese administration (as lawyers, solicitors, secretaries, etc.).⁸⁵ This fact holds true even up to now. When some of them transferred to Hong Kong and Shanghai, most if not all of them also took over the same posts in these places.

These Hong Kong and Shanghai posts generally required them to speak more and more English by virtue of working for large British institutions. They were hired principally because of their facility to communicate in several languages. Linguistic ability was something greatly prized, as is expected, in a business where effective communication is crucial. The British realised the importance of the Macaenses in their lucrative business with China. Thompson (1959) states that “they [the Macaenses] have been a constant influence in Hong Kong working in business houses, government service and banks.”⁸⁶

Silva (1979) further adds that, “many trading and banking houses had long and happy Portuguese connections. Jardine Matheson and the other leading hongs (major British trading companies) employed many Portuguese. However, above all others stood ‘The Bank’ – the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. Since its inception, this bank has served, employed and shared its fortunes with a significant proportion of the Portuguese in Hong Kong. For many years, the entire middle level clerical staff of the bank was Portuguese.”⁸⁷ The situation for the Shanghai Macaenses was the same, with the majority of the Macaenses also working for “the Bank.” They also worked for the trading companies of Jardine Matheson, Butterfield & Swire, Andersen Meyer and Dodwell’s as part of their respective clerical and accounting staff.⁸⁸ Braga (1944) also cites old Hong Kong firms such as Messrs. Gibb, Livingston & Co., the Oriental Bank Corporation, the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China (eventually absorbed by the Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China), Olyphant & Co., Peninsular & Oriental S. N. Company, Lane Crawford & Company as companies that benefited from hiring Hong Kong Portuguese interpreters.⁸⁹

The situation of the Macaenses in Macao, on the other hand, remained as before. Commercial opportunities in Macao, however, became very limited as most of the business and trade transferred to nearby Hong Kong. With a local trade monopolised by the

Chinese, Macao patois was less and less used, superseded by Cantonese both as the everyday or street language and as the trade language. Inter marriages between the Macaenses and the Chinese became more common and contributed to the decreased used of the patois at home.

The Macaenses community however did not settle only in these three cities. The advent of the Second World War led to their dispersion all over the world, the so-called “Macanese Diaspora.” A current estimate of the worldwide population distribution of the Macanese is hard to come by. A 1977 estimate of the population of this community accounted for 1,000 living in Hong Kong, 2,000 in Macao, 2,000 in Northern California, 2,000 in Southern California and 1,000 altogether in Portugal, Canada, Australia and Brazil.⁹⁰

Despite the dispersion of the Macaenses, they were still able to keep their ethnic identity. One way they were able to do so is by preserving, albeit unconsciously for many, the language that has become distinctly their own – the Macao patois. Despite the dominance of the English and Chinese for the Macaenses of Hong Kong and Shanghai, and the dominance of the Portuguese and Chinese for those in Macao, these people managed to keep the patois alive. However, increased inter marriages with non-Macaenses, prolonged separation from Macao and its Macaense culture and a lack of a deep historical interest in their roots among the younger generation does not bode well for the long-term preservation of Macao patois.

Or does it? While it is true that the Macao patois may have acquired a distinct form vis-à-vis the Portuguese-based creoles that were used for centuries in Asia, it is interesting to consider the information provided by Subrahmanyam (1993) about the actions of some subjects of the Portuguese crown. He cites several cases when some of them, metropolitan Portuguese or Eurasians, had forsaken to live in Portuguese colonies and had become “renegades”⁹¹ or had basically ‘gone native’. This sort of people, in intermingling and intermarrying with the various people of Asia, brought with them the enrichment of the Portuguese-based speech varieties used in these regions. Although the Portuguese who settled at Macao were not specifically cited to have gone native, the preponderance of such cases in the other Portuguese colonies and even in places where the ships of the Portuguese crowns did not even visit, can lead one to suppose that a fairly good number

LINGUISTICS

of Eurasians in Macao may have also done the same. In this respect, it is likely that in a good number of these fishing ports where these people stayed, remnants of these speech varieties would still be present. A survey of the various fishing villages that the Portuguese traders have dealt with in China may confirm this fact.⁹² Assuming these same fishing villages were continuously visited by those from Macao who spoke the *macaista cerrado*, there is a possibility that Macao patois may still be alive in a form close to what it was two centuries ago. This assumption is also based on the likelihood that despite the many changes that happened in this part of the world, particularly in China, little has changed in some of these small and relatively isolated coastal Chinese villages. In this respect, it may even be possible that the Chinese boat people, who live in the *tanques (tancás)*, as the Macaenses would refer to their egg-shaped boats, may have also learned this trade language. In this regard, all of the above are mere conjectures as no substantial information could be offered to support such suppositions.

We will now proceed to a more detailed discussion of the speech variety of the Macaenses, who, as we have already seen, have had a lot of exposure to other languages, particularly English, in the last two centuries. And this exposure, coupled with the largely

intermediary role played by the ones who spoke it, could have set the stage for the most convenient way for English to acquire new vocabulary in its forays into Southeast Asia and the Far East.

THE MACAO PATOIS (MACAO CREOLE PORTUGUESE)

And as a Chinaman learns more easily a Romanic language than pure English, it is probable that were it not for the Pidgin jargon, corrupt Portuguese would have formed the popular means of communication between the foreigners and the natives of China – the large number of Portuguese words which at present exist in Pidgin English appears to prove it.⁹³

This striking commentary recorded by Dalgado (1936) can set the tone for a thorough consideration of the contribution of Macao patois to the enrichment of the English language. What was this ‘corrupt Portuguese’ that was the object of his attention? Could it be Macao patois? Did Pidgin English partly develop from a modified version of this regional form of Indo-Portuguese? A comparison of the words in Pidgin English to Portuguese words is listed below in Table 4. However, before answers to these questions are proposed, it is good to first give a historical account of the rise and fall of Macao patois.

TABLE 4: A COMPARISON OF PIDGIN ENGLISH WORDS WITH MACAO PATOIS AND PORTUGUESE

Pidgin English	Macao Patois	Portuguese
<i>amah</i>	<i>amah</i>	<i>ama</i>
<i>bangee</i>	?[i.e., not given]	<i>bangue</i>
<i>cab-tun</i>	?	<i>capitão</i>
? <i>cango</i>	?	<i>canga</i>
? <i>chop</i>	<i>chapa</i>	<i>mudança</i>
<i>compradore, kam-pat-to</i>	<i>comprador</i>	<i>comprador</i>
? <i>consu</i>	?	<i>consul</i>
<i>galanti, ka-lan-ti</i>	<i>galante</i>	<i>esbelto / belo</i>
<i>joss, josh</i>	<i>joss</i>	<i>deus</i>
<i>maskee, mashkee, /ma-sze-ki</i>	<i>mas que</i>	<i>mas que</i>
<i>molo-man</i>	<i>moro</i>	<i>mouro</i>
<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>não</i>
<i>pa-ti-li, pa-te-le</i>	<i>padre</i>	<i>padre</i>
? <i>pidgin</i>	?	<i>ocupação</i>
<i>sabby/savvy/shapi</i>	<i>savi</i>	<i>saber</i>

Prepared by the author from data in S. R. Dalgado's *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages* (reprint, 1988).

LINGUÍSTICA

Generally thought of as a creole that is peculiar to Macao, this patois has actually evolved and has been considered as a culmination of the various Portuguese creoles spoken during this time. A culmination in a geographical sense since Macao is the farthest and most stable Portuguese settlement in the East. It is also a culmination in terms of development by virtue of having been the major trading base when Portuguese trading was at its peak and thus the place where various languages, which contributed to its evolution, interacted.

Considered nowadays as one of the few remaining Portuguese creoles, Macao patois seems to have been born by the necessity of simplifying the Portuguese language so that it could be more rapidly acquired by other people from widely differing ethnic groups, facilitating in that manner trade relations. By so doing,

*With a local trade
monopolised by the Chinese,
Macao patois was less and less
used, superseded by Cantonese
both as the everyday or street
language and as the trade
language.*

it inevitably enriched the Portuguese language with terms from all those areas through which the Portuguese passed and settled, whether fleetingly or not.

As mentioned in the previous sections, the Portuguese, with their retinue of slaves and mistresses, brought along at least one kind of Portuguese-based speech variety, and this speech form would have also been likely known to some of the more adventurous or, more precisely, enterprising Chinese sailors and merchants who dealt with them. Considering that the Portuguese were based in Goa and Malacca prior to their settling in Macao, it is understandable why Macao patois was largely a conglomeration of the structure and vocabulary of the Portuguese, Indian and Malay languages.⁹⁴ Upon establishing dealings with a new trading partner – the Chinese – its structure might have

evolved to accommodate the Chinese language. It may have begun with a relatively simple Chinese syntax combining with the Portuguese and Malay vocabulary of this lingua franca. In time, as its speakers settled down and raised their families, it was passed on from one generation to another, thereby forming a new language, a creole that became the language spoken by the majority of those people in Macao especially engaged in business.⁹⁵

Mixed marriages between the Portuguese, Chinese, Malays, Indians, Japanese and other Asians could have further contributed to the elaboration and general acceptance of the creole within all sectors of Macao society. The creole somehow became a way for the Portuguese administrators and merchants and their Chinese counterparts to meet halfway in their dealings with each other. The native speakers of the patois soon established themselves as the intermediaries, the interpreters or the *jurubassas*,⁹⁶ who form one of the representative and integral groups in Macao society.

As the ‘interpreters of the land,’ they established their role as Macao’s [linguistic] middlemen or intermediaries. This role enabled them to have a certain degree of power, especially in the area of communication. Within this power is the power of choice, that is, which word coming from which community is chosen as the word to describe a particular thing. Although such a prerogative would not have lent itself all the time, they – based on the circumstances – would, to a certain extent, have been able to choose the various terminologies or ways of saying things that are the most suitable based on its simplicity, clarity and function. Things would likely have hardly changed for three centuries. Only with the arrival of the dominant British fleet, their equally dominant English language and their establishment of Hong Kong did the role of these Macao *jurubassas* gradually diminish in importance. With their gradual disappearance, the same thing happened for the patois that made them valuable.

The supposition that the patois permeated all levels of Macao society is based on the appearance of three patois types. João Feliciano Marques Pereira, in his work in the late nineteenth century, is credited with coining the names of these three distinct forms.⁹⁷ The first type is referred to as the *macaísta cerrado* (closed Macao patois) – the purest form spoken by those belonging to the poorer social classes (slaves, soldiers, sailors etc.). The second form is called the *macaísta modificado pela tendência a aproximar-se do português*

LINGÜÍSTICA

TABLE 5: FINAL LIST OF EIGHT ENGLISH LOANWORDS LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN DERIVED THROUGH OR FROM MACAO PATOIS¹⁰¹

ginseng, joss, miso, mochi, pidgin, soy/soya, taipan & tanka

Prepared by the author.

The following words from Bento da França, from his work, *Macau e os seus Habitantes*, published in 1897, can aptly end this section. His description of what most likely must have been Macao patois can serve as a good way to show how much the patois has developed from a language, which was Indo-Portuguese in content, with hardly any trace of Chinese or English, into what he has in turn described:

“Of all the curious things, which a Macanese can offer a European observer, none is of greater interest than the language they use amongst themselves. It is a kind of dialect based on 15th century Portuguese, a mixture of Chinese expressions and English phrases. One could say of the people who are most adapted to our way of life that they speak a passable Portuguese with us although their pronunciation has been influenced by the changes which most Latin languages undergo in tropical regions. The people, and in particular the women, use a language so curious and capricious that we Europeans can hardly decipher its meaning at all.”¹⁰²

Words purportedly from Macao patois can be found in the work, *The Monograph of Macao (Aomen Jilue)* of Yin Guangren and Zhang Rulin (1751), which were further studied by C. R. Bawden (1955) and R. W. Thompson (1959). Updated translations of these words were obtained, but they are inconclusive as the author was only able to obtain them from two Macaenses, a seventy-two year old male Macaense from Shanghai, and a seventy-seven year old female Macaense from Hong Kong. Both however, have been living in Macao for over 45 years now and thus have been witnesses to the gradual disuse of the patois of Macao. The words they still remember are transcribed and compared with those words noted down in *Aomen Jilue*. The Portuguese translation of L. Gonzaga Gomes, the English translation of C. R. Bawden, R. W. Thompson's recordings of Macao patois in Hong Kong in the 1950s and the modern Cantonese are also included for comparison. The most recent form obtained was a list of some Christmas songs that were transcribed in the patois, and sung by several Macaenses during the 1998 Christmas season at the Church of St. Dominic in Macao.¹⁰³

Substantial research still needs to be done on works focusing on pidgin Portuguese that were not covered in this paper. Such works would mostly be written in Portuguese that may contain valuable information about the Macao patois. Naval documents, ship manifestos, captain's logbooks, diaries of travellers, sailors and missionaries of various countries that visited and stayed in and around Macao are also valuable sources of information.

However, since this study requires further confirmation on Macao patois' link with English, this requires a more focused and thorough research on similar documents by English speakers that were written during the period of the middle of the sixteenth century until the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since this study aims to ascertain whether the vocabulary used by the Macaense interpreters were indeed to belong to Macao patois and that most of these interpreters were hired by the largest English trading company of that time, the British East India Company, it is worth the effort to pore over the copious records (bills of lading, voyage log books, manuscripts, diaries etc.) of the company contained in the Oriental and India Office now housed in the British Library. Specifically the China Factory Records (G/12) collection¹⁰⁴ would probably prove to be an important resource to determine whether Macao patois was acknowledged and used by traders and sailors during this period.

The London School of Oriental and African Studies, which hold important missionary archives, including the London Missionary Society archives, may also prove to be a goldmine of information. Works of missionaries are important for the first scholars of sinology came from their ranks and provided the basis of nineteenth century missionary sinology particularly in the English medium.¹⁰⁵ Among these noted British and American missionaries were the Englishman Robert Morrison (1782-1834), sent by the London Missionary Society and arrived in Canton in 1807 and the Americans Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801-1860) and Samuel Wells Williams (1812-1884). Morrison is acknowledged as the first Westerner who translated the Bible to Chinese while

Bridgman and Williams published hundreds of articles on various aspects of life in China, including its literature and language.¹⁰⁶

Lastly, the National Maritime Museum, which holds a vast collection of naval logbook and various manuscripts of the British fleet may also provide a wealth of information for a number of these documents could very well provide an enlightening glimpse of not only Britain's naval history but also its colonial and imperial policies that would have addressed the problem of communication. Likewise, recorded casual

observations by various traders, travellers and seamen of that time may produce vital information that can clarify and even establish that the pidgin Portuguese or pidgin English used as a trade language in and around Macao was partly or substantially Macao patois. If such was the case, then the answer to the riddle of Macao patois as a source or intermediary of Asian words borrowed and adopted by English would then be solved and thus establish that Macao patois was a major medium and even a possible direct source of English loanwords from Southeast and East Asia. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 The Hakka people of Shantung (Shandong) province of China were known to have settled in Macao during the Sung (Song) dynasty [960-1279 A.D.]. From Wong Shiu Kwan, "Macao Architecture, an Integrate of Chinese & Portuguese Influence," *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões* 2/3 (Oct. 1970), p. 139; but archaeological findings presented at the Macao Museum indicate that there were people who had already settled on the island of Coloane as early as 4,500 B.C.
- 2 Tereza Sena, "Macao: The First Permanent Meeting Point in China," p. 92.
- 3 Robert McCrum, W. Cran & R. McNeil, *The Story of English*, p. 197.
- 4 John Holm, "Portuguese-based varieties," in *Pidgins and Creoles Volume II*, p. 265.
- 5 *Creole* is a term coined in the nineteenth century used to refer to a former pidgin or trade language that has developed into a native or mother tongue of a community. The process wherein this event takes place is referred to as creolization. *Pidgin*, on the other hand, is another nineteenth-century term used to refer to a simplified or altered speech form used by non-indigenous speakers as a means of communication between communities not sharing a common language.
- 6 The orthography, *patoa*, used in Portuguese documents is taken directly from the Portuguese (cf. *Michaelis Illustrated Dictionary, English-Portuguese*, Vol. 2, although a variant orthography also used by the Arquivos Históricos de Macau is 'patuá'. The orthography in English is used here for convenience, which is has its roots in French.
- 7 Aside from the studies by Holm (1989) and Baxter (1996) that are noted here, Prof. Baxter also cited the other works of Wurm & Hobbins (1984), Mühlhäusler et. al. (1996) and Reinecke et. al. that addresses this issue. An internet web page also cites the existence of this Portuguese creole, published in *Ethnologue*, 13th edition, edited by Barbara Grimes. (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dallas, Texas, 1996). See www.sil.org/ethnologue.
- 8 The term, *Macaense*, is used in this paper to avoid the ambiguity of using the term, Macanese, which is nowadays used in a general way to refer to any local resident of Macao regardless of his or her ethnic background. Although it has been pointed out by some Macaenses that *Filhos de Macau* is even more specific, both terms will be considered synonymous in this study.
- 9 See Walter W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, pp. xxviii-xxix.
- 10 Frederic A. Silva, *All Our Yesterdays: The Sons of Macao – Their History and Heritage*, p. 23.
- 11 "Decreolization is the process when a creole is approaching the basic phonetic, grammatic and semantic structure of a recognized language, in this case, modern Portuguese." From Graciete Nogueira Batalha, "Language of Macao: Past and Present," p. 133.
- 12 The exclusion of the French colonial empire is not intended to discount their period of influence and dominance of the East-West trade. However, due to their more substantial contribution of loanwords to English and their minimal dealings in Macao, their linguistic contribution is not studied in this paper.
- 13 These works include John Ayto, *Dictionary of Word Origins*; Albert Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*; David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*; C. M. Millward, *A Biography of the English Language*; and Thomas Pyles and John Algeo, *The Origins & Development of the English Language*.
- 14 Its title in Chinese (Mandarin) is *Aomen Jilue* or *Ao Men Chi Lüeh* and in Cantonese is *Ou Mun Kei Leok*, as noted down by a number of authors. More of this work is mentioned in later sections. It suffices to point out at this stage that this thesis principally relies on this work and the succeeding works done by others on it as a showcase of words from Macao patois.
- 15 His name is also transcribed as Ian-Kuong Lam or Yin Kuang Jen by other authors. The name above will be used in this paper to refer to this man.
- 16 Others also transcribe his name as Tcheöng-U-Lam, Chang Iu Lin or Zhan Rulin. The name above will be used in this paper to refer to this man.
- 17 José Leite de Vasconcelos' work is entitled *Sur le dialecte portugais de Macao* (1892); from Graciete N. Batalha, "Language of Macao: Past and Present," p. 136.
- 18 Cecília Jorge, "The Macanese Récita and the Língu Maquista," p. 63.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 63.
- 21 J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., under the heading 'mandarin'.
- 22 Personal communication from an educated Hong Kong-born Chinese living in Macao.
- 23 *Loc. cit.*
- 24 A. Baxter clarifies that Indo-Portuguese is strictly a term to refer to the Portuguese-based creoles in India. To say that such creoles formed a monolithic lingua franca that was introduced into Southeast Asia is wanting of conclusive evidence.
- 25 Baxter, based on the findings of Thomaz, who noted that most of the crew of the Portuguese ships and the people manning the

LINGUÍSTICA

- Portuguese trading posts (*feitores*) were Malays, surmised that the language used in the trade could have been predominantly Malay. See Alan N. Baxter, "Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Pacific and Western Pacific Rim," p. 306.
- 26 The interaction was a two-way street as these various communities also took in or borrowed Indo-Portuguese words and phrases to enrich their own languages. This fact however is not of interest here, so it will not be covered in this paper. See S. R. Dalgado, *Influência do Vocabulário Português em Línguas Asiáticas (abrangendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas) [Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages]*; and David Lopes, *A Expansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente nos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*.
- 27 Graciete N. Batalha, 156 and C. R. Bawden, "An Eighteenth Century Source for the Portuguese Dialect of Macao," p. 114.
- 28 From José Pedro Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China*, Chapters VIII & IX. Although much of what Braga stated occurred in the nineteenth century, it could be construed that such interpreters were already in use much earlier on.
- 29 Refer to the *Memoirs of William Hickey* [1769] edited by Peter Quenell (London: Routledge, 1975) and articles of Samuel Well Williams in the *Chinese Repository*, vols. IV & VI among others that were quoted by Kingsley Bolton, "Language and Hybridization: Pidgin Tales from the China Coast."
- 30 The 'unknown' tag only means that there are no conclusive data to attribute these words from any known language source.
- 31 This word could be qualified and localised to those places that the Portuguese have visited and not necessarily all over the lands mentioned by Dalgado.
- 32 This phrase could be qualified in terms of the function held by the various Portuguese-based speech varieties that flourished during this period.
- 33 S. R. Dalgado, *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*, p. xxxiii.
- 34 J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner eds. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. and Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, ...* OED is selected for its authoritativeness with respect to the origins of English words. Hobson Jobson is chosen in order to address an important point that the alleged words supposedly belonging to Macao patois could only be such if these words are not considered Anglo-Indian. Put in another way, such words should only have been encountered by the British in Macao. Nonetheless, it can also be considered that even if such words are Anglo-Indian in origin, its meaning may have taken on a Far Eastern trait, such as 'mandarin', which could then still qualify as a candidate Macao patois word.
- 35 Taken from John Ayto, *Dictionary of Word Origins*; Albert Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 4th ed.; David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*; S. R. Dalgado, *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*; Robert McCrum, W. Cran & R. McNeil, *The Story of English*; C. M. Millward, *A Biography of the English Language*, pp. 268-7; and Thomas Pyles and John Algeo, *The Origins & Development of the English Language*.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Alexander Michie, *An Englishman in China during the Victorian Era: as Illustrated in the Career of Sir Rutherford Alcock, K. C. B., D. C. L., many years Consul and Minister in China and Japan*. Vol. 1, p. 296.
- 38 Loc. cit., p. 4.
- 39 Jorge Morbey, "Aspects of the 'Ethnic Identity' of the Macanese," p. 209.
- 40 This ability of the Portuguese to ward off pirates was one of the reasons given by various authors why the Chinese allowed them to stay in Macao. On the other hand, other authors state that after the establishment of Hong Kong and the economic decline of Macao, some of the Portuguese became pirates themselves and made use of the same swift *lorchas* for their ignominious profession. See the works of C. R. Boxer (1969), Montalto de Jesus (1926) and A. Coates (1988).
- 41 Montalto de Jesus, p. 210.
- 42 José Maria Braga, *The Western Pioneers & Their Discovery of Macao*, 134.
- 43 Ibid., p. 133.
- 44 This foreign trade in Macao basically consists of four principal commercial shipping routes: a) Macao-Goa-Lisbon; b) Macao-Nagasaki; c) Macao-Manila-Mexico, and d) Macao-Sunda Islands. See Deng Kaisong, "Macao's Changing Role and Status in Maritime Trade Routes during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," pp. 45-58. Another work which this thesis author failed to obtain and is valuable in recording the relevance of trade in Macao is by G. B. Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- 45 Frederic A. Silva, p. 5.
- 46 B. V. Pires, "Origins and Early History of Macau," p. 35.
- 47 *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, vol. 1, p. xxxv.
- 48 Anders Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China & Description of the City of Canton*, p. 226.
- 49 Ibid., p. 226.
- 50 Ibid., p. 221.
- 51 *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, vol. III, parts I and II; edited by Lt. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1919). An account of the writings of Peter Mundy about his sojourn in Macao can be found in C. R. Boxer, *Seventeenth Century Macau*, pp. 39-68. Furthermore, Coates identified Norette for what he really was – a mere charlatan. Norette may have been one of those New Christians referred to by various authors who, although having no Portuguese blood, grew up learning Portuguese and became an intermediary "in a dangerous intercourse between men of the two races" [i.e., Chinese and Europeans]. From Austin Coates, "Macao and the British, 1637-1842: Prelude to Hong Kong," pp. 8-27.
- 52 Selma V. Velho, "Portugal in the East: The Possible Influences of Navigators in the Coastal Societies of the Orient," p. 89.
- 53 Celina Veiga de Oliveira, "Chinese-Language Teaching in the Context of Luso-Chinese Relations," p. 185.
- 54 C. R. Boxer, *Seventeenth Century Macau*, p. 15.
- 55 There have been many accounts of punishments meted out to interpreters who were treated as scapegoats in cases when negotiations between the Chinese and the Europeans deteriorated and entered into conflicts. See Coates, *Macao and the British, 1637-1842*, p. 55.
- 56 Some *Filhos de Macau* mentioned to this author that a good number of the *Filhos de Macau* have worked, at one time or another, as interpreters. This job was invariably passed on to their offspring or next of kin who have either shown a desire to work in such a job or to take such work until they find something more to their liking.
- 57 Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, p. 174. It is also probable that the languages concerned were learned by the communities involved, but records are insufficient to ascertain which event took place.
- 58 Austin Coates, *A Macao Narrative*, pp. 24-40 and R. D. Cremer, ed. *Macao: City of Commerce and Culture*, p. 5.
- 59 Ibid., p. 6.

LINGUISTICS

- 60 Given that Malays, Chinese and some other people from India (Guzerats), and from the islands of Indonesia and even Arabs engaged in trade in this part of the world, it could be conjectured that this previous speech variety would have been influenced in different degrees by the languages spoken by these people with Portuguese added into the mix.
- 61 Coates, *Macao and the British*, pp. 29-31.
- 62 Ana Maria Amaro, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil," p. 14.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 64 C. R. Boxer (1948 & 1969), A. Coates (1987) and J. Maria Braga (1949).
- 65 A. Ljungstedt, p. 220.
- 66 It is interesting to note that the establishment of this company was due to the capture of the Portuguese ships "S. Felipe" and "Madre de Deus" by English pirates, which yielded not only fabulous treasures but also extensive documentation of the trade between Portugal and the East. Such information prompted Queen Elizabeth I to establish the "Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." See S. V. Velho, "Portugal in the East: The Possible Influences of Navigators in the Coastal Societies of the Orient," p. 88. Although Macao was not the only place where this Company engaged in trade in Asia, it doesn't discount the possibility that the British could have borrowed words that were only or principally used in the area and not in other parts of Asia.
- 67 Coates, *Macao and the British*, p. 82.
- 68 A. Michie, p. 294 & J. P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China*, chap. IX.
- 69 João de Andrade Corvo, "Coolie Emigration," p. 47.
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 João Guedes, "Macau, Eça, Corvo and the Coolie Trade," pp. 40 and 46.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- 73 Personal communication from Professor Alan N. Baxter (1999).
- 74 A. Michie, p. 294.
- 75 João de Pina Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, "Ethnic Relations and the Feminine Condition in Macau," p. 93.
- 76 José P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China*, pp. 177-184.
- 77 Ljungstedt, p. 230.
- 78 "Balichão is originally a Malay word for the shrimp sauce which is a common ingredient in the preparation of some of our food and for which, it is commonly believed, we have an abnormal craving." from F. A. Silva, *All our Yesterdays: The Sons of Macao – their History and Heritage*, p. 15.
- 79 One missionary who exemplified this zeal was the Jesuit, Fr. Mateo Ricci. Just two years after his arrival in Macao, he already embarked on a project to write a Portuguese-Chinese syllabary. Beginning work in 1584 with the help of another priest, Fr. Michael Ruggieri, the first Portuguese-Chinese dictionary was finished by 1588. By 1593, he had already translated the Four Books of Confucian Thought and by 1601 had impressed the royal court enough to be invited to become one of the advisers of the Emperor in Beijing. From Ana Paula Laborinho, "The Role of Language in Evangelization Strategy," p. 114. Refer also to Kingsley Bolton's article, "Language and Hybridization: Pidgin Tales from the China Coast," pp. 41-43.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 112. Some of these learned missionaries were the first, and for a long time, the only linguistic scholars of the region. In this regard, they are to be thanked if only for this significant contribution of undertaking such studies yielding invaluable information for later studies done on this field and those other fields of study connected with it. Aside from the scholarly contributions made by the missionaries, their crucial role in acting as intermediaries between the Portuguese administrators and the Chinese mandarins should also be acknowledged. Many historians have given due credit to the influence of the Jesuit priests in the court of the Emperors of China, which gave greater room for East-West relations to flourish. Although cases have been recorded of some clerics having arguments with Macao Portuguese administrators as regards more temporal affairs, their better communication skills and more noble interests helped a lot in making the relationship between the 'brash' Portuguese adventurers and the 'suspicious' Chinese authorities much more amicable.
- 81 Graciete N. Batalha, "Language of Macao: Past and Present," p. 138.
- 82 Frederic A. Silva, p. 12.
- 83 Manuel Teixeira, "The Origin of the Macanese," p. 161 and "The Macanese," pp. 92-98.
- 84 Ana Maria Amaro, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil," p. 14.
- 85 J. P. Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, "Macanese Ethnicity and Family: A Methodological Prologue," p. 94.
- 86 Robert W. Thompson, "Two Synchronic Cross Sections in the Portuguese Dialect of Macao," p. 33.
- 87 Frederic A. Silva, p. 29.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- 89 José P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China, 174-175*.
- 90 Frederic A. Silva, p. 15.
- 91 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, chapters 9 and 10.
- 92 Although the presence of lexicon does not necessarily imply the presence of a stable language and may only imply the use of specific vocabulary, only a more thorough study of this matter would substantiate what the real situation was in this respect.
- 93 S. R. Dalgado, *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*, p. xcvi.
- 94 Ana M. Amaro, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil," p. 39.
- 95 R. D. Cremer, *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture*, p. 127.
- 96 Literally means "interpreter." As stated in Hobson-Jobson (p. 474), "The word is really Malayo-Javanese Jurubahasa, (a language interpreter), from juru, (a master of craft), and the Sanskrit, bhāshā (speech)." From C. R. Boxer, *Seventeenth Century Macau* (Hong Kong: Heinemann (Asia), 1984, 15).
- 97 José dos Santos Ferreira, *Macau Sá Assi*, introduction; and Cecília Jorge, p. 63.
- 98 Cecília Jorge, p. 62.
- 99 A list of his works is found in the article, "Adé, ad Aeternum," in *Macau* (Special 1994), p. 75.
- 100 These criteria are admittedly not very thorough, but given the limited means to procure relevant data, the author decided that for this particular study only these parameters would be established.
- 101 This list is considered final only with respect to this preliminary study. The deleted words, however, will not be categorically discarded given that the means to obtain supporting data are not exhaustive and comprehensive enough to merit carrying out such an action. This final list of words has their origins attributed to places in Southeast Asia. Those words that have their origins in India were deleted on the basis that the British – and thus the English language – would have most likely encountered these words in the Indian continent before coming to Macao and prior to encountering Macao patois.
- 102 Isabel Tomás, "The Life and Death of a Creole," p. 55.
- 103 Those interested in viewing these words may refer to Appendices 2 and 3 of the Masteral Thesis Dissertation of the author on Macao Patois found in the University of Macau International Library.
- 104 Based on recommendation from Mrs. Xiao Wei Bond of India Office Records Section, British Library, E-mail correspondence (17 April 2002).
- 105 Bolton, "Language and Hybridization...", p. 41.
- 106 *Ibid.*

LINGÜÍSTICA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abreu, António Graça de. "The Chinese, Gunpowder and the Portuguese." Translated from the Portuguese by José Vieira. *Review of Culture* no. 6 (July/August/September 1988): 32-39.
- Amaro, Ana Maria. "Macanese: A Changing Society (Preliminary Results of an Inquiry)." Translated from the Portuguese by Rui Cascais Parada. *Review of Culture* no. 20 (July/September 1994): 213-228.
- _____. "Sons and Daughters of the Soil." Translated from the Portuguese by Zoe Copeland. *Review of Culture* no. 20 (July/September 1994): 12-67.
- Arana-Ward, Marie. "A Synchronic and Diachronic Investigation of Macanese: the Portuguese-based creole of Macau." Masteral thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1977.
- Arrimar, Jorge. "Sources of Macanese History." Translated from the Portuguese by Zoe Copeland. Revised by Ana Pinto de Almeida. *Review of Culture* no. 19 (April/June 1994): 132-142.
- Ayto, John. *Dictionary of Word Origins*. New York: Arcade Publishing, Inc., 1990.
- Batalha, Graciete Nogueira. "Language of Macao: Past and Present." Translated from the Portuguese by Rui Pinheiro. *Review of Culture* no. 20 (July/September 1994): 130-156.
- Baxter, Alan N. "Portuguese and Creole Portuguese in the Pacific and Western Pacific Rim." In *Trends in Linguistics Documentation 13: Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas*. Edited by Stephen A. Wurm, Peter Mühlhäusler and Darrell T. Tryon, pp. 299-338. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1996.
- _____. "The Linguistic Reflexes of the Historical Connections between the Malay and Portuguese Language in the Malay World." TMs [photocopy].
- Baugh, Albert C. and Thomas Cable. *A History of the English Language*. 4th ed. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall International, Inc., 1993.
- Bawden, C.R. "An Eighteenth Century Chinese Source for the Portuguese Dialect of Macao." *Review of Culture* no. 29 (October/December 1996): 111-135.
- Bolton, Kingsley. "Language and Hybridization: Pidgin Tales from the China Coast." *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*. (Vol. 2 no. 1, 2000): 35-52.
- Boxer, C. R. *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770: Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao*. Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948; reprint, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- _____. *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey*. USA: Witwatersrand University Press, 1961.
- _____. *Seventeenth Century Macau*. Hong Kong: Heinemann Books Educational (Asia) Ltd., 1984.
- _____. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*. London: Hutchinson & Co Ltd., 1969.
- Braga, José Maria. "The Western Pioneers and Their Discovery of Macao." Macao. Imprensa Nacional, 1949 (Instituto Português de Hong Kong. Secção História): 102-151.
- Braga, José Pedro. *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China*. Macao: Fundação Macau: 1986.
- Brown, Lesley. ed. *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Cabral, João de Pina. "The Ethnic Composition of Macao." *Review of Culture* no. 20 (July/September 1994): 229-239.
- _____. and Nelson Lourenço. "Macanese Ethnicity and Family: A Methodological Prologue." *Review of Culture* no. 11/12 (September 1990/February 1991): 94-100.
- Campbell, George L. *Concise Compendium of the World's Languages*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Cheong Kai Fok. "The Importance of the Hong Kong Archives for the Study of the History of Macao: A Brief Introduction." Translated from the Chinese by Sheilah Cardno. *Review of Culture* no. 19 (April/June 1994): 143-146.
- Coates, Austin. *A Macao Narrative*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- _____. *Macao and the British, 1637-1842: Prelude to Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Comrie, Bernard. ed. *The Major Languages of East and Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge, 1987.
- Corvo, João de Andrade. "Coolie Emigration." Translated from the Portuguese by Marie Imelda Macleod. *Review of Culture* no. 7/8 (October 1988/March 1989): 47-52.
- Coutinho, Paulo. "Dóci Papiacám: The Art of Survival." *Macau* (Special 1994): 68-72.
- Cremer, R. D. ed. *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture*. Hong Kong: UEA Press Ltd., 1987.
- Crystal David. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Dalgado, Sebastião Rodolfo. *Influência do Vocabulário Português em Línguas Asiáticas (abrangendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas) [Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages]*. First published in Lisbon: Academy of Sciences, 1913. Translated from the Portuguese by Anthony Xavier Soares. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988.
- Deng Kaisong. "Macao's Changing Role and Status in Maritime Trade Routes during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Translated from the Chinese by Justin Watkins. *Review of Culture* no. 31 (April/June 1997): 45-58.
- Dias, Jorge. "Macao in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." Translated from the Portuguese by Marie Imelda Macleod. *Review of Culture* no. 7/8 (October 1988/March 1989): 27-32.
- Ferreira, José dos Santos. *Macau Sã Assi*. Macao: Composto e impresso na Tipografia da Missão do Padroado, 1967.
- _____. *Papiá Cristâm di Macau: Epítome de Gramática Comparada e Vocabulário*. Macao: Tipografia da Missão, 1978.
- Gomes, Luís Gonzaga. *Bibliografia Macaense*. Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1987.
- Guedes, João. "Macao, Eça, Corvo and the Coolie Trade." Translated from the Portuguese by Marie Imelda Macleod. *Review of Culture* no. 7/8 (October 1988/March 1989): 39-46.
- Guthrie, William Bruce. "Macanese Words in English." Macao: University of Macao, 1997.
- Holm, John. "Portuguese-based varieties." Chapter 6 in *Pidgins and Creoles: Volume II Reference Survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

- Huang Hongzhao. "Portuguese Settlement in Macao and Cultural Exchange between China and the Outside World." Translated from the Chinese by Justin Watkins. *Review of Culture* no. 29 (October/December 1996): 67-84.
- Huang Qichen and Deng Kaisang. "The Development of Macau's Foreign Trade in the Ming Dynasty." Translated from the Portuguese by Marie Imelda Macleod. *Review of Culture* no. 6 (July/August/September 1988): 224-231.
- Jesus, C.A. Montalto de. *Historic Macao*. 2nd ed. Macao: Salesian Press, 1926; reprint, Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1984.
- Jorge, Cecília. "The Macanese Récita and the Língu Maquista." *Macau* (Special 1994): 61-66.
- Laborinho, Ana Paula. "The Role of Language in Evangelization Strategy." *Macau* (Special 1994): 108-114.
- Lopes, David, *A Expansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente nos Séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*. Reedição atualizada com notas e prefácio de Luís de Matos. 2.^a Edição. First published in 1936. Porto: Tipografia Nunes, 1969.
- Ljungstedt, Anders. *A(n) Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China & Description of the City of Canton*. Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1832; reprint, Hong Kong: The Standard Press Viking HK Publications, 1992.
- Lume, J.M.R. "Centre of Portuguese Language and Culture." *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture*. R.D. Cremer, ed. Hong Kong: UEA Press Ltd., 1987, 115-124.
- McCrum, Robert, W. Cran & R. McNeil, *The Story of English*. London: Faber & Faber, 1996.
- Michaelis Dicionário Ilustrado, Português-Ingês, English-Portuguese*. 2 vols. São Paulo: Cia. Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1961.
- Michie, Alexander. *An Englishman in China during the Victorian Era: as illustrated in the Career of Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., D.C.L., many years Consul and Minister in China and Japan*. Vol.1. First published in Edinburgh & London, 1890; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Co., 1966.
- Millward, C.M. *A Biography of the English Language*. 2nd ed. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1996.
- Morbey, Jorge. "Aspects of the 'Ethnic Identity' of the Macanese." Translated from the Portuguese by Paula Sousa. *Review of Culture* no. 20 (July/September 1994): 202-212.
- Morse, Hosea Ballou. *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834*. Three volumes. First published in Oxford, 1925; reprint, Taiwan: Ch'engwen Publishing Co., 1966.
- Oliveira, Celina Veiga de. "Chinese-Language Teaching in the Context of Luso-Chinese Relations." *Review of Culture* no. 18 (January/March 1994): 184-186.
- Onions, Charles T. ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.
- Peres, Damião. *A History of the Portuguese Discoveries*. Lisbon: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do Quinto Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960.
- Pinto, Fernão Mendes. *The Peregrination of Fernão Mendes Pinto*. Abridged edition. Translated to English by Michael Lowery. Manchester: Carcanet Press Ltd., 1992.
- Pires, Benjamim Videira. "Mutual Influences between Portugal and China." Translated from the Portuguese by Marie Imelda Macleod. *Review of Culture* no. 6 (July/August/September 1988): 76-83.
- _____. "Origins and Early History of Macau." in *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture*. R.D. Cremer, ed. Hong Kong: UEA Press Ltd., 1987, 7-22.
- _____. "The Chinese Quarter One Hundred Years Ago." Translated from the Portuguese by Marie Imelda Macleod. *Review of Culture* no. 7/8 (1989): 53-60.
- Pyles, Thomas and John Algeo. *The Origins & Development of the English Language*. 4th ed. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1993.
- Santos, Isaiú. "Sino-Portuguese Relations via Macau in the 16th and 17th Centuries." Translated from the Portuguese by José Vieira. *Review of Culture* no. 7/8 (October 1988/March 1989): 3-11.
- Sena, Tereza. "Macau: The First Permanent Meeting Point in China." *Review of Culture* no. 15/16 (September 1991/March 1992): 92-101.
- Silva, António M. Pacheco Jorge da. *The Portuguese: An Outline of Their Origin and Voyages of Discovery*. San Rafael, California: António M. Pacheco Jorge da Silva, 1996.
- Silva, Daya de. *The Portuguese in Asia: An Annotated Bibliography of Studies on Portuguese Colonial History in Asia (1498-1800)*. Switzerland: IDC, 1987.
- Silva, Frederic A. *All Our Yesterdays: The Sons of Macao - Their History and Heritage*. California: UMA Inc. of California, 1979.
- Simpson, J.A. and E.S.C. Weiner. eds. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Skeat, Walter William. *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*. London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1993.
- Teixeira, Manuel. "Commodore Perry's Impressions of Macau." Translated from the Portuguese by Marie Imelda Macleod. *Review of Culture* no. 7/8 (October 1988/March 1989): 15-26.
- _____. "The Macanese." Translated from the Portuguese by Maria Kerr. *Review of Culture* no. 20 (July/September 1994): 84-129.
- _____. "The Origin of the Macanese." Translated from the Portuguese by Ana Pinto de Almeida. *Review of Culture* no. 20 (July/September 1994): 157-161.
- _____. *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore (1511-1958)*. 3 vols. 2nd ed. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1961-1963; reprint, Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1987.
- The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*. 2 volumes. Reprint with Portuguese originals and English translation, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1990.
- Thomason, Sarah G. and Terrence Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

LINGÜÍSTICA

Thompson, Robert Wallace. "On the Portuguese dialect of Hong Kong." *Proceedings of the symposium on historical, archeological & linguistic studies on Southern China, South East Asia and the Hong Kong Region*, 129-155. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1961.

_____. "Two Synchronic Cross Sections in the Portuguese Dialect of Macao." *Orbis: Bulletin International de Documentation Linguistique*. Tome VIII, 1 (1959): 33-56.

Tomás, Isabel. "Makista Creole." *Review of Culture* no. 5 (April/May/June 1988): 33-46.

_____. "The Life and Death of a Creole." *Review of Culture* no. 9 (February/April 1990): 55-66.

Vale, Maria Manuela. "A Meeting Place: How Macao is portrayed in Portuguese Literature." Translated from the Portuguese by Paula Sousa. *Review of Culture* no. 29 (October/December 1996): 51-66.

Velho, Selma Vieira. "Portugal in the East: The Possible Influences of Navigators in the Coastal Societies of the Orient." *Review of Culture* no. 3 (1987): 84-93.

Welsh, Frank. *A History of Hong Kong*. First published in London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994; revised edition, 1997.

Yule, Henry and A.C. Burnell. *Hobson-Jobson: a glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive*. 2nd ed. edited by William Cooke with a new foreword by Anthony Burgess. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985.

Zepp, R.A. "Interface of Chinese and Portuguese Cultures." *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture*. R.D. Cremer, ed. Hong Kong: UEA Press Ltd., 1987, 125-136.

Zhao Chun Chen. "Monograph of Macao and its Annotations." Translated from the Chinese by Zoe Copeland. *Review of Culture* no. 19 (April/June 1994): 102-109.

APPENDIX: ETYMOLOGY OF ENGLISH LOANWORDS SUSPECTED TO HAVE BEEN DERIVED FROM OR THROUGH MACAO PATOIS¹

ENGLISH WORD	MEANING	ETYMOLOGY	FIRST RECORDED USAGE IN ENGLISH TEXTS OR [OTHERS] ²	KNOWN MACAO PATOIS EQUIVALENT ³
1. betel	plant that grows in South-east Asia which has leaves and red nuts that act as a drug when chewed	Pg., <i>betel</i> ; Malayalam, <i>vettila/vervila</i> ; Tamil, <i>verrilai</i> ; Sanskrit, <i>viti</i> • from Malayal, <i>vettila</i> , i.e., <i>veru</i> + <i>tila</i>	[1510, Varthema] 1585, Lloyd, <i>Treasury of Health</i>, IV, iii • Earliest recorded sources [e.r.s.]: - 1298 – as <i>tembal</i> in Marco Polo, ii. 358 - 1510 – as <i>betel</i> in Varthema, 144	<i>betel</i> /be'təl/
2. caddy / caddie	a corruption of catty, a small box for holding tea	Malay, <i>kati</i> , equivalent to 1&1/3 lbs. Avoirdupois • possibly derived from <i>catty</i> , a small box containing a <i>catty</i> or two of tea	1792: <i>Madras Courier</i>, 2nd of Dec. • e.r.s.: - 1792 – as <i>caddy</i> in <i>Madras Courier</i> , Dec. 2 issue	<i>cadi</i> /ka'di/
3. catty	a weight used in China & the Eastern archipelago equal to 16 taels (625 gm)	Malay, <i>kati</i> • from the Chinese, 'kin' or 'chin' • taken from Malayo-Javanese, <i>kati</i>	1555: Eden, <i>Decades West Indies</i>, 259 • e.r.s.: - 1554; <i>cate</i> in <i>A. Nunes</i> , 41 - 1598; <i>catty</i> in <i>Linschoten</i> , 34 in Hakluyt Society, 1113.	<i>cate</i> /ka'ti/
4. copra	dried coconut kernel prepared and exported for coconut oil expression	Malayalam, <i>kappara</i> ; Hindi, <i>khopra</i> • probably from Malayal, <i>koppara</i> , borrowed from the Hindi, <i>khopra</i>	[1563: Garcia da Orta] 1584: Barret, <i>Hakluyt Voyages II</i>, 413 • e.r.s.: - 1563; Garcia de Orta, <i>Colloquios</i> , 686	<i>copra</i> /kɔ:p'ra:/
5. ginseng	a plant of either two species of genus, <i>Aralia</i> or <i>Panax</i> found in N. China, Korea and Nepal; a root of a plant	Chinese, <i>jèn</i> (man) & <i>shèn</i> (obscure meaning) • from Chinese, <i>jenshen</i>	1654, translation (tr.) of Martini's <i>Conq. China</i>, 9 • e.r.s.: - 1642; Alv. Semedo (Madrid)	<i>jinseng</i> /dʒɪn'sen/

LINGUISTICS

ENGLISH WORD	MEANING	ETYMOLOGY	FIRST RECORDED USAGE IN ENGLISH TEXTS OR [OTHERS] ²	KNOWN MACAO PATOIS EQUIVALENT ³
6. gram	chick-pea or kind of vetch; <i>Cicier anetinum</i>	Pg., <i>grão</i> ; Bengal, <i>gram</i> • from Portuguese, <i>grão</i>	1702: J.T. Wheeler, <i>Madras Old Time</i> • e.r.s.: - 1513; Albuquerque, <i>Carta</i> , p. 200, Letter of Dec. 4)	<i>grau</i> /grauŋ/
7. joss	a Chinese figure of a deity; an idol; joss-house (a Chinese temple for worship); joss-pidgin (a religious ceremony); joss pidgin man (a minister of religion); joss-man (a priest of a Chinese religion); joss-sticks (small red sticks burned before idols)	Pg., <i>deus</i> ; Dutch (Du.) <i>joosje</i> (diminutive, <i>joos</i>) • corruption of the Portuguese, <i>deus</i> (God) taken up in pidgin language of Chinese ports from the Portuguese and then adapted from that jargon by Europeans as if it was a Chinese word	1711: Lockyer, <i>Accounts Trade India, 181</i> • e.r.s.: - 1659; as <i>joosje</i> , Walter Schulz, 17 - 1711, as <i>joss</i> ; Lockyer, 181. - as <i>joss-house</i> (an idol temple) 1750-52; Olof, Toreen; 232 - as <i>joss house man</i> (priest, missionary); as <i>joss stick</i> , 1876; Leland, <i>Pidgin English Sing Song</i> , p. 43	<i>joss</i> /dʒɔ:s/
8. junk	a word of Oriental origin now adopted in most European languages to refer to Chinese ships	Pg. <i>junco</i> ; Du, <i>jonk</i> ; Javanese, <i>djong</i> ; Malay, <i>adjong</i> Some scholars attribute it to the Chinese ships called <i>ch'wan</i> but Pg. and Dutch have been using this term even before meeting such Chinese ships (cf. OED, vol VIII, 316) • said to be one of the oldest words in the Europeo-Indian vocabulary • from the Chinese, <i>tchouen</i> (<i>chwen</i>) or Malay-Javanese (<i>jong/agong</i>)	1555: Eden, <i>Decades, 215</i> • e.r.s.: - 1331 as <i>junk</i> in Friar Odoric's records; - 1300; as <i>junks</i> ; <i>Rashiduddin</i> in Elliot, I, 69	<i>junco</i> /dʒu:ŋ'kɔ:/
9. lacquer	varnishing agent	Pg., <i>alacre, laquar, lacca</i> • from Hindi <i>lakh</i> ; from Sanskrit <i>laksha</i> , for <i>raksha</i>	1579: Hakluyt <i>Voyages I, 432</i> • earliest recorded source: - as early as 80-90 A.D.; as <i>lac</i> ; Periplus, par. 6 - 250; as <i>lac</i> ; Aelian, <i>de nat. Am.</i> - 1516; <i>laquar</i> ; Barbosa, Lisbon Acad., 366 - 1644, <i>lacre</i> , Bocarro, MS	<i>laquer</i> /la:'ker/
10. mandarin	a generic name for high-ranking Chinese officials	Pg., <i>mandarim</i> ; Malay, <i>mantri</i> ; Hindi, <i>mantri</i> ; Sanskrit, <i>mantrin</i> (counselor), <i>mantra</i> (to counsel), <i>man</i> (to think) • not really from Portuguese, <i>mandar/mandarim</i> but more likely from the Hindi (Sanskrit), <i>mantri</i>	1589: Parke's tr. of Mendoza's <i>Hist. China II, ii, iii, 252</i> • e.r.s.: - 400; as <i>mandarim</i> , <i>Manu-script</i> , viii, 1 - 1522; <i>mandarins</i> ; India Office MSS in an agreement made by the Portuguese with the "Rey da Sunda", this Sunda being that of the Straits.	<i>mandarim</i> /ma:n'də'reŋ/

LINGÜÍSTICA

ENGLISH WORD	MEANING	ETYMOLOGY	FIRST RECORDED USAGE IN ENGLISH TEXTS OR [OTHERS] ²	KNOWN MACAO PATOIS EQUIVALENT ³
11. mango	tropical fruit	Pg., <i>manga</i> ; Malay, <i>manga</i> ; Tamil, <i>man-kay</i> • from Tamil, <i>mankay/man gay</i> & Portuguese, <i>manga</i>	1582: N. Lichefield's tr. of Castanheda's <i>Conquest of E. Indies 1</i>, xvi, 42 • e.r.s.: - 1328, as <i>aniba</i> ; Fr. Jordamus in <i>Rec. de Voyages</i> , &c. iv., 42. - 1510; as <i>manga</i> ; Varthema, 160-161	<i>manga</i> /ma:ŋ'gʌ/
12. miso ⁴	bean paste from soya, barley, rice, malt used by the Japanese to prepare various foods	Japanese (Jap.) <i>miso</i> • no citation	1727: J.G. Scheuchzer's tr. of Kaemfers's <i>Hist. Japan I</i>, i, ix, 121 • no citation	<i>miso</i> /mi'su:/
13. mochi	a cake made from pounded, glutinous rice (rice-cake)	Jap., <i>musho mochi</i> • no citation	1616: R. Cock's <i>Diary</i> (10 Feb 1883), 109 • no citation	<i>much</i> /mu:'tʃi/
14. nankeen	a kind of cotton cloth from Nanjing made from a yellow variety of cotton	unknown	1755: Percy Society, <i>Songs & Poems on Costume</i>, 239 • e.r.s.: - 1793-94; <i>nankeens</i> ; <i>Narr. Of Lady McCartney's Embassy</i> , ii, 45.	<i>nanquim</i> /na:ŋ'kɪŋ/
15. pagoda	a temple or sacred building in India, China and adjacent countries esp. a sacred tower built over relics of a buddha or saint	native form imitated by the Pg. <i>pagode</i> is disputed but Pg. appears to have a very imperfect echo of it; Persian, <i>but</i> (idol) + <i>kadah</i> (temple); Sanskrit, <i>bhagavat</i> (holy, divine)	1634: Sir T. Herbert, <i>Travels</i>, 190 • earliest recorded sources: - 1516; as <i>pagodes</i> ; Ramusio, i., f., 308v. - 1543; as <i>pagode</i> ; Correa, iv., 325 - 1638; as <i>pogodo</i> /pogod; W. Bruton, in Hakl. V. 49 - 1689; as <i>pagoda</i> ; Ovington, 159.	<i>pagoda</i> /pə'gɔ:'də/
16. pidgin	a Chinese corruption of English, 'business' used widely for any action, occupation or affair (early 19 th C); only later did it acquire the meaning of a simplified speech form used for trading (late 19 th C)	from Cantonese, <i>béi chín</i> (pay money?); S.R. Dalgado identifies it as from Pg. <i>Occupação</i> taken by pidgin English	• no citation • not recorded	<i>pitchin</i> /pɪ'tʃɪn/
17. sampan	a Chinese word meaning, 'boat', applied by Europeans in the China seas to any small boat of Chinese pattern	Chinese, <i>sàam</i> (three) + <i>bàan</i> (boards); Annamite, <i>tam-ban</i> ; Sp., <i>cempan</i> ; Pg, <i>champana</i> • appears to be from Javanese or Malay and adopted on the Indian shores, as picked up by the Portuguese and now current all throughout the East • also thought to come from Chinese <i>sampan</i> (three boards)	1620: R. Cocks, <i>Diary</i> (Hakluyt Society) 11, 122 • e.r.s.: - 1510; as <i>chiampana</i> , Vartana, 24 - 1516; as <i>champana</i> ; Barbosa, 172 - 1648; as <i>champane/champaigne</i> ; <i>Van Spilbergen's Voyage</i> - 1702; sampans, <i>M.S. Correspondence in 1. Office from China Factory</i> (at Chusan), Jan. 8	<i>sampan</i> /sa:m'pʌn/

LINGUISTICS

ENGLISH WORD	MEANING	ETYMOLOGY	FIRST RECORDED USAGE IN ENGLISH TEXTS OR [OTHERS] ²	KNOWN MACAO PATOIS EQUIVALENT ³
18. sapan-wood	a dye wood yielding a red dye from trees belonging to genus <i>Cæsalpinia</i> , found in tropical Asia & Indian archipelago, <i>C. sappan</i>	Malay, <i>sapang</i> of S. Indian origin; Tamil, <i>shappangam</i> ; Malayalam, <i>chappannam</i> ; Dutch, <i>sapan(hout)</i> ; Pg., <i>sapão</i> ; Fr., <i>sapan</i>	1598: W. Philip's tr. <i>Linchten's Voyages I</i>, xxii, 36	<i>sapão</i> /sə'paʊŋ/
19. taipan	a foreign merchant or businessman in China esp. in Hong Kong	variant of Chinese, <i>daaih bàn</i>	1834: Canton Register, 28th Oct., 170/172 • no citation	<i>taipan</i> /tai'pa:n/
20. tanka	the Canton boat people, descendants of some aboriginal tribe of which 'Tan' is the surname	Cantonese, <i>daán</i> [Tan] (egg / Pg. <i>ovo</i>) + <i>gà</i> (family) = "egg family" / South Mandarin, <i>kai</i> (family) / North Mandarin, <i>chia</i> (family)	No citation • no citation	<i>tanka</i> /ta:ŋ'kə/
21. soy/soya	dark brown liquid from fermented soya beans	Japanese, <i>soi</i> • from the Japanese <i>sih-yau</i> or <i>sho yu</i>	1696: J. Ovington, <i>Voyages Surat</i>, 397 • e.r.s: - 1679; as <i>saio</i> ; I of J. Locke in <i>Ld. King's Life of L</i> , I, 249 - 1690; as <i>souy</i> ; Ovington, 397 - 1776; as <i>soy</i> ; Thunberg, <i>Travels E.T.</i> iv. 121-122	<i>soi</i> /sɔi/
22. veranda	balcony/balustrade/railing	Hindi, <i>varanda</i> ; Bengoli, <i>baranda</i> ; modern Sanskrit, <i>baranda</i> appears to be merely an adaptation of Pg. and old Spanish, <i>varanda/baranda</i> • could be from Persian, <i>baramada</i> (coming forward or projecting) or the Sanskrit, <i>varanda</i> (a portico) or Spanish, <i>vara</i> (a rod or rail)	1711: C. Lockyer, <i>Acc. Trade India</i> • e.r.s: - 1598, Correa by Stanley, 193, compares with original <i>Lendas</i> , I, i., 98 - 1631; <i>baranda</i> ; Malay-Latin Vocabulary in Hex - 711; <i>verandas</i> ; Lockyer, 20. - <i>Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco de Gama</i> , 2 nd ed., 1861	<i>verandah</i> /və'ran'də/

- 1 The bulk of the information given here is taken from *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), edited by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) and *Hobson Jobson* of Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell (London: RUPA, 1986). OED citations will be in **bold-face** while Hobson Jobson citations will use Helvetica Condensed fonts.
- 2 The recorded usage of the words is based on meaning and not on their orthography as some of the earliest recordings have forms different from the current forms.
- 3 Although most of the patois words are derived from written sources, some of them have orthographies made by this author based on interviews with Macao patois speakers. Their phonetic representations, using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), are also presented approximating how these words are spoken in Macao patois.
- 4 The words *miso* and *mochi* are still considered not officially part of the English vocabulary, according to OED. Both words are nonetheless found in OED but not in Hobson Jobson.