

The Dutch lexical contribution to three Asian
Portuguese Creoles
*Contribuição lexical do holandês para três crioulos de base
portuguesa da Ásia*

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Abstract: The paper looks at the Dutch-derived loanwords attested in three Asian Portuguese-lexifier Creoles: Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, Malacca Portuguese Creole, and Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole. The loanwords of Dutch origin identified in each of the Creoles at issue are first listed, with the proposed etyma. This is followed by an analysis of other etyma suggested, of the phonological adjustment of Dutch-derived words, and of the semantic changes some of these lexical items undergo. Also included are a comparison of the semantic fields in which Dutch loanwords are found and of their proportion in the lexicon of the three Creoles considered, as well as a discussion of the constant decrease in the use of Dutch-derived words in the modern varieties of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole and Malacca Portuguese Creole.

Keywords: Dutch; Loanwords; Sri Lanka; Malacca; Batavia; Tugu.

Resumo: Este trabalho aborda os empréstimos de origem holandesa atestados em três crioulos portugueses da Ásia: o Crioulo do Sri Lanka, o Crioulo de Málaca e o Crioulo de Batavia e Tugu. Os empréstimos de origem holandesa identificados em cada um dos crioulos em questão são primeiramente listados, com os seus respectivos étimos. Em seguida, é apresentada uma análise de outros étimos sugeridos, dos ajustes fonológicos nas palavras derivadas do holandês e das mudanças semânticas que

alguns dos itens lexicais sofreram. Também é apresentada uma comparação dos campos semânticos nos quais podemos encontrar palavras de origem holandesas e sua proporção no léxico dos três crioulos em pauta, bem como uma discussão sobre o declínio do uso de palavras derivadas de holandesas nas variedades do Sri Lanka e de Málaca.

Palavras-chave: Holandês; empréstimos; Sri Lanka; Málaca; Batavia; Tugu.

1 Introduction

As is well known, Dutch has contributed to the vocabulary of several Creoles with a different lexifier language. Previous research has duly analyzed the Dutch loanwords found in Creoles such as Ndyuka (English-lexifier), Saramaccan (English-lexifier), Sranan (English-lexifier), Papiamentu (Portuguese- and/or Spanish-lexifier).

The Dutch lexical contribution to the Asian Portuguese-lexifier Creoles has been little studied so far. To my knowledge, there are only two works specifically addressing this topic: Hesselning (1910) on the Dutch words in Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, and Hancock (1970) on the Dutch-derived lexical items in Malacca Portuguese Creole. The dictionary of borrowings from Dutch by van der Sijs (2006) makes reference to a number of Creoles with a lexifier language other than Dutch, e.g. Papiamentu and Sranan, but does not include any single example from Asian Portuguese-lexifier varieties.

In this paper I identify and analyze the words of Dutch origin in three Asian Portuguese-lexifier Creoles: Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, Malacca Portuguese Creole, Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole. The paper is structured as follows. The corpus and methodology are presented in section 2. Sections 3 to 5 present and analyze the Dutch component of the lexicon of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, Malacca Portuguese Creole and Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole respectively. The findings are discussed in section 6.

2 Corpus and methodology

The corpus consists of both published and unpublished sources and includes dictionaries, glossaries, word-lists, folk poetry, song lyrics, religious texts and grammars. The sources consulted for each Creole are mentioned in the introductory remarks to each corresponding section.

In an attempt to capture the full extent of the Dutch lexical influence, the lists consist of items attested at any time in the history of the three Portuguese-lexifier Creoles at issue. In the case of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole and Malacca Portuguese Creole, which are still spoken, the list includes words which may no longer be in use today, obsolete items or which are currently less frequently used.

The Dutch etyma and their meanings have been established or checked on the basis of the dictionaries by Gerritsen *et al.* (1978), Bogaards (1988), van der Sijs (2002) and *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (2012). This has led to the identification of Dutch-derived lexical items among the words for which no etymon is proposed in the sources consulted or for which an etymon from another language (e.g. Portuguese or English) is suggested by other authors.

Each entry consists of the Creole lexical item or phrase and its variants, the meaning, the Dutch etymon. The meaning of the Dutch etymon is only included where this differs from that of the Creole form. All words (and their variants) appear in the orthography or system of transcription used in the sources. Further specific details are provided in each of the following three sections.

3 Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole

The Portuguese started to occupy Ceylon in 1517, but were driven from the island by the Dutch in 1658. The Dutch rule lasted until 1796 (Holm 1989: 288), when the island was seized by the British. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (henceforth SLPC) is spoken today by “an unknown number of families scattered in groups in towns like Colombo, Kandy, Trincomalee, Galle and Batticaloa” (Holm 1989: 289).

The list of Dutch loanwords in SLPC has been compiled from the following sources: a dictionary of the variety spoken in Colombo¹ (Callaway 1820), an unpublished manuscript (Schuchardt n.d.), the grammar, texts and vocabulary in Dalgado (1900), the texts in Tavares de Mello (1908a, 1908b, 1911, 1912 and 1913), and a glossary of the Batticaloa variety² (Anon .a. n.d.). Several additional Dutch-derived lexical items are from Hesselning (1910), who only examines the vocabulary in Dalgado (1900).

¹With Sinhalese as its substrate language.

²With Tamil as its substrate language.

Since the transcriptions of the SLPC forms below follow various orthographic conventions, such as the Dutch or the Portuguese ones, mention should be made of the following: <â> = [ə]; <ô> = [ɔ]; <oe> = [u]; <y> = [ɛɪ]; <ce> = [se]; <ci> = [si]; <ch> = [tʃ]; <tch> = [tʃ]; the diacritic [ˈ] marks a stressed vowel.

- advocat* ‘lawyer’ < *advocaat*
admiral ‘admiral’ < *admiraal*
amandel ‘almond’ < *amandel*
ambal / *ambeel* ‘anvil’ < *aanbeeld*
ansel ‘hinge’ < *hengsel*
artaple ‘(Irish) potato’ < *aardappel*
ártei ‘strong, robust’ < *hartig*
baas ‘boss’ < *baas*
bankroot ‘bankrupt’ < *bankroet*
banscro ‘vice’ < *bankschroef* ‘bench-vice’
baquer ‘baker’ < *bakker*
berg ‘hill, mountain’ < *berg*
berger / *burgher* ‘burgher’ < *burger*
blade / *bladé* ‘sheet of paper’ < *blad* ‘leaf’
blas ‘bladder’ < *blaas*
blate ‘tin’ < *blad* ‘(metal) sheet’
bonchi ‘bean’ < *boontje*
bondal ‘brush’ < *boender* ‘scrubbing-brush’
borstok ‘waistcoat’ < *borstrok* ‘(under)vest singlet’
botel ‘bottle’ < *bottel* ‘(obsolete) bottle’
bú / *búa* ‘elder brother’ < *broer* ‘brother’
buco ‘book’ < *boek*
búrdar ‘cake’ < *broedertje*
bybel ‘Bible’ < *bijbel*
bytel ‘chisel’ < *beitel*
calcum / *cachúm* ‘turkey’ < *kalkoen*
calquerlac / *cacarláte* ‘cockroach’ < *kakkerlak*
candelár / *candelér* ‘chandelier’ < *kandelaar* ‘candle-holder’
cansel ‘chapel’ < *kansel* ‘pulpit’

carpuce ‘cap’ < *karpoets* / *karpuits*
caufe ‘coffee’ < *koffie*
clár ‘clear’ < *klaar*
clor ‘colour’ < *kleur*
cope ‘cup’ < *kopje*
conei ‘rabbit’ < *konijn*
cousyn ‘cousin’ < *kozijn*
crél ‘curl’ < *krul*
cuiper ‘cooper’ < *kuiper*
dac ‘roof’ < *dak*
dace / *daci* / *dase* ‘necktie’ < *dasje*
dâin ‘inch’ < *duim*
dèc ‘floor, storey’ < *dek* ‘deck’
dreck / *drek* ‘press’ < *druk*
drecker ‘printer’ < *drukker*
els ‘awl’ < *els*
europeano ‘European’ < *Europeaan*
fallende sic ‘epileptic’³ < *vallende ziekte* ‘epilepsy’
flau ‘faint’ < *flauw*
flec / *flek* ‘blot, stain’ < *vlek*
flenx ‘talkative’ < *fluks* ‘quick’
floit ‘to whistle’ < *fluiten*
floiter ‘fifer’ < *fluiten*
folmac ‘agent’ < *volmacht* ‘full powers, power of attorney’
fore leis ‘reading’ < *voorlees-* (root of *voorlezen*) ‘to read to someone’
fur ‘lining’ < *voer*
gespe ‘buckle’ < *gesp*
giffrau / *jufrau* ‘woman’ < *juffrouw*
glass ‘glass’ < *glas*
gôrgâl ‘throat’ *gorgel*

³Callaway (1820: 5) erroneously glosses it ‘the falling sick’.

grado ‘rank’ < *graad*
griffi ‘slate-pencil’ < *griffel*
handschoen / *hanscoon* ‘glove’ < *handschoen*
hand-scrof ‘vice’ < *handschroef* ‘hand-screw’
hart ‘trunk’ < *gard* ‘rod’
herberg ‘inn’ < *herberg*
hoc ‘poultry pen’ < *hok*
hol ‘hollow’ < *hol*
howerband ‘belt’ < *houwer* ‘broadsword’ + *band* ‘belt’
iscóchi ‘barge’ < *schuitje*
istrica ‘iron-box’ < *strijker* ‘iron for ironing’
istrica ‘to iron’ < *strijk-* (root of *strijken*)
kerchhof ‘cemetery’ < *kerkhof*
koster ‘clerk’ < *koster* ‘sexton, sacristan’
lampo ‘lamp’ < *lamp*
lars ‘boot’ < *laars*
lacho ‘drawer’ < *laatje* ‘(little) drawer’
legher ‘barrel’ < *legger* ‘leaguer’
leis / *lês* / *lez* ‘to read’ < *lees-* (root of *lezen*)
les ‘lesson’ < *les*
lodo ‘sounding lead’ < *lood* ‘lead’
lye ‘slate’ < *lei*
meiter ‘measurer’ < *meter*
mirplat ‘wall-plate’ < *muurplaat*
mooy ‘aunt’ < *moei* ‘(obsolete) aunt’
mutchi ‘aunt’ < *moeitje* ‘(obsolete) auntie’
na ‘in, to’ < *naar*
nagtmaal ‘Holy Communion’ < *nachtmaal*
nacht roc ‘night or morning gown’ < *nachtrok*
neif ‘nephew’ < *neef*
nighi ‘niece’ < *nicht*
notaris ‘notary’ < *notaris*
oester ‘oyster’ < *oester*

omp / *ompi* ‘uncle’ < *oompje*
ónquel ‘uncle’ < *onkel*
orloose-maker ‘watch-maker’ < *horlogemaker*
orlozi / *orlozo* ‘clock’ < *horloge*
ost ‘east’ < *Oost*
patris ‘partridge’ < *patrijs*
pen mez ‘penknife’ < *pennemes*
pillar ‘pillar’ < *pilaar*
pincel ‘pencil’ < *penseel*
pistol ‘pistol’ < *pistool*
plat / *plâte* ‘flat’ < *plat*
ploi ‘pleat’ < *plooi*
pófarchi ‘sweetmeat’ < *poffertje* ‘kind of small pancake’
portrait ‘portrait’ < *portret*
potloot ‘pencil’ < *potlood*
predicasse ‘sermon’ < *predikatie*
prinsipál ‘boss’ < *principal* ‘master, employer’
prop ‘cork’ < *prop* ‘plug’
puir ‘powder’ < *poelier*
pyl ‘arrow’ < *pijl*
rai ‘to mount a horse’ < *rijd-* (root of *rijden*) ‘to ride’
régel ‘rule; line’ < *regel*
rol ‘roll’ < *rol*
ront / *rónste* ‘round’ < *rond*
sadal ‘saddle’ < *zadel*
saper / *sapier* ‘prison warden’ < *cipier*
saus ‘sauce’ < *saus*
schenkle ‘ankle’ < *schenkel* ‘femur’
scherm ‘to fence’ < *scherm-* (root of *schermen*)
schop ‘spade’ < *schop*
schuif ‘latch’ < *schuif* ‘bolt’
scrof ‘screw’ < *schroef*
segel ‘seal’ < *zegel*

- servet* ‘servet’ < *servet* ‘napkin’
singhanete ‘seal’ < *signet*
slecta ‘bad’ < *slecht*
slenger ‘to swing’ < *slinger-* (root of *slingeren*)
slëngar ‘slant’ < *slinger*
sny ‘to make or mend a pen’ < *snijd-* (root of *snijden*) ‘to cut’
stal ‘stable’ < *stal*
stam ‘stem’ < *stam*
stap ‘step’ < *stap*
starnîl ‘hinge’ < *scharnier*
stonái ‘bridesmaid’ < *schoonheid* ‘beautiful woman’
stoof ‘stew’ < *stoof* ‘stove’
suid ‘south’ < *zuid*
susse ‘sister’ < *zus* / *zusje* ‘(familiar) sister, sis’
svar ‘excessive’ < *zwaar* ‘difficult, hard’
tac / *tak* ‘plant, grass’ < *tak* ‘branch’
taflak ‘table-cloth’ < *tafellaken*
tandstoker ‘tooth-pick’ < *tandestoker*
tánta / *tanti* ‘aunt’ < *tante*
teer ‘tar’ < *teer*
tey ‘tea’ < *thee*
toom ‘muzzle’ < *toom* ‘bridle’
translaat ‘translation’ < (obsolete) *translaat-* (root of *translaten*)
trap ‘step’ < *trap* ‘step; stairs’
vandel ‘tramp’ < *wandel-* (root of *wandelen*) ‘to wander’
wandelaar ‘tramp’ < *wandelaar* ‘walker’
vanz ‘to greet’ < *wens-* (root of *wensen*) ‘to wish’
vein ‘wine’ < *wijn*
vénkal / *vénkel* / *venkel* ‘shop’ < *winkel*
walfis ‘whale’ < *walvis*
west ‘west’ < *west*
wol ‘wool’ < *wol*

Several SLPC forms in the list above require some discussion with respect to other etyma which might be proposed. Two forms may illustrate possible

convergence of Dutch and Portuguese. Thus, archaic Portuguese *color* ‘colour’ may have also contributed to *clor* ‘colour’. Similarly, in the case of *istrica* ‘to iron’ the Dutch loanword may have been reinforced by the Portuguese form *estricar*.

Also, *buco* ‘book’ and *caufe* ‘coffee’ might arguably be traced back to English *book* and *coffee* respectively. However, on historical grounds, it is rather unlikely that the two words at issue only entered SLPC after the first contacts with English⁴. On the other hand, the SLPC form *coffee*, listed by Dalgado (1900: 144), may well be a later variant, influenced by English, as reflected in the spelling.

In still other cases, stress placement is a useful indicator, pointing to a Dutch origin, rather than an English one. Consider *européano* ‘European’, *pillar* ‘pillar’, *pinçel* ‘pencil’ and *pistol* ‘pistol’. In all these SLPC words stress falls on the same syllable as in their Dutch etyma. Compare SLPC [europé'ano], [pi'lar], [pin'sel] and [pis'tol] with Dutch [ørope'ja:n], [pi'la:r], [pen'se:l] and [pis'to:l] respectively. On the contrary, in the corresponding English words stress falls one syllable to the left.

Two Dutch-derived lexical items may have been later reinterpreted as being English loanwords: *clor* ‘colour’ and *stap* ‘step’ occur with the English plural marker *-s* in Tavares de Mello (1908a: 48 and 1908b: 379 respectively).

The Dutch-derived lexical items undergo various types of phonological adjustment. The overall picture that emerges is that the phonological adjustment in SLPC of Dutch-derived lexical items is very similar to their adaptation in Sinhalese⁵ and Tamil.

Dutch /œ/ is rendered by [e], as in *crél* ‘curl’ < *krul* [krœl], *drek* ‘press’ < *druk* [drœk], or by [u] in e.g. *burgher* ‘burgher’ < *burger* [bœrçər].

SLPC [i] corresponds to Dutch [y]: *mirplat* ‘wall-plate’ < *muurplaat* [myrpla:t]

The SLPC reflexes of the Dutch diphthong /ɔy/ are [ai] in *dâin* ‘inch’ < *duim*, [o] in e.g. *iscóchi* ‘barge’ < *schuitje* [sxɔytʃə] or [ui] in e.g. *cuiper* ‘cooper’ < *kuiper* [kɔypər].

SLPC [s] is the reflex of Dutch /z/⁶, as in *sadal* ‘saddle’ < *zadel*, *susse* ‘sister’ < *zus* / *zusje* or *svar* ‘excessive’ < *zwaar*.

⁴Cf. Hancock (1970: 353) on the etymology of the form *búku* in Malacca Portuguese Creole. See also section 4.

⁵Cf. the Sinhalese words of Dutch origin listed in van der Wall (1938).

⁶Hesseling (1910: 31) also mentions “the absence of z”. The <z> in *vanz* ‘to greet’ < *wens* is a transcription error by Dalgado (1900: 181).

There are three reflexes of Dutch /χ/. The most frequent one is [g], as in *berg* ‘hill, mountain’ < *berg* [berχ], *görgâl* ‘throat’ < *gorgel* [χɔrχəl]. A second one is [k]: *slecta* ‘bad’ < *slecht* [sleχt], *folmac* ‘agent’ < *volmacht* [fɔlmaχt]. Finally, in two forms derived from Dutch etyma containing the onset cluster /sχ/, the SLPC reflex of /χ/ is [t]: *starnil* ‘hinge’ < *scharnier* [sχarni:r] and *stonáú* ‘bridesmaid’ < *schoonheid* [sχo:nheit].

At the level of syllable structure, two repair strategies are occasionally employed. Prothetic [i] is used for the resolution of illegitimate /s/-initial onset clusters: *iscóchi* ‘barge’ < *schuitje*. Illicit codas are resolved via paragoge: *blate* ‘tin’ < *blad* [blat], *lampo* ‘lamp’ < *lamp*, *nighi* ‘niece’ < *nicht*, *slecta* ‘bad’ < *slecht*.

A number of Dutch archaisms survive in SLPC. These are *botel* ‘bottle’ < *bottel* ‘(obsolete) bottle’, *mooy* ‘aunt’ < *moei* ‘(obsolete) aunt’, and *mutchi* ‘aunt’ < *moeitje* ‘(obsolete) auntie’.

The Dutch-derived items *fallende* and *sic* have not been listed separately since they only occur in a phrase, *fallende sic* ‘epileptic’, and are not attested separately. Similarly, *fore leis* appears in the phrase *onde te fore leis*,⁷ glossed ‘a Reading desk’ by Callaway (1820: 8).

The polysemy of the Dutch word *blad* ‘leaf; (metal) sheet’ accounts for *blade* / *bladé* ‘sheet of paper’ and *blate* ‘tin’ < *blad* ‘(metal) sheet’. The meaning of several SLPC lexical items differs from that of their Dutch etyma. Thus, *sny* ‘to make or mend a pen’ < *snijd-* (root of *snijden*) ‘to cut’, and *svar* ‘excessive’ < *zwaar* ‘difficult, hard’ are instances of specialization/narrowing of meaning. Pejoration is illustrated by *vandel* ‘tramp’ < *wandel-* (root of *wandelen*) ‘to wander’ and *vandelaar* ‘tramp’ < *wandelaar* ‘walker’.

The total number of Dutch loanwords identified in SLPC amounts to 158. By far the largest number of these is recorded in Callaway (1820), which is believed to reflect the spoken language at the time⁸: out of some 2100 words 112 lexical items are from Dutch. The number of Dutch loanwords is significantly lower in Dalgado (1900), which is typical of a high style variety⁹, influenced by standard Portuguese¹⁰. Not surprisingly, then, the vocabulary in Dalgado (1900: 135-183) only includes 45 Dutch loanwords¹¹. The recent glossary (Anon. a. n.d.) of the Batticaloa variety of SLPC, containing 864 words, includes 24 Dutch-derived lexical items.

⁷Where *onde* ‘where’ and *te* is the Dutch infinitive marker.

⁸See also Grant (2012: 352).

⁹Except for several samples of folk poetry and proverbs, most of the texts in Dalgado (1900) are religious, such as sermons and songs.

¹⁰See e.g. Holm 1989: 289). The language of the texts in Dalgado (1900) is an illustration of what Grant (2012: 352) calls “a lusitanized idealization” of SLPC.

¹¹Hesseling (1910) only identifies 38 words of Dutch origin in Dalgado (1900).

4 Malacca Portuguese Creole

Malacca was occupied by the Portuguese in 1511, but between 1640 and 1795 and between 1818 and 1824 Malacca was under Dutch rule (Holm 1989: 291-292; Hancock 2009: 296). Malacca Portuguese Creole¹² (henceforth MPC) is spoken by members of the Eurasian community in Malaysia, in Malacca, and, possibly, in Kuala Lumpur as well as in Singapore (Holm 1989: 291, Pereira 2006: 59, Hancock 2009: 295). Estimates of the number of speakers vary: Holm (1989: 292) writes that “the creole-speaking community consists of some 1500 people in Malacca”, whereas more recently, Hancock (2009: 295) puts the figure to “several hundred people, including children”.

The main sources for MPC are two dictionaries (Baxter and de Silva 2004 and Anon.b. n.d.), a glossary (Sta Maria n.d.), a phrasebook (Marbeck 2004) which includes a glossary¹³, a grammar (Baxter 1988), and an online corpus consisting of poems, song lyrics, religious texts, proverbs (Biblioteca Malaca n.d.). Data have also been taken from Hancock (1970), Kaur (1999), Mohideen and Mohideen (2008) and Hancock (2009).

In the spelling used in some of the sources <ã> = for [ə], <ci> = [si], <ch> = [tʃ], <ng> = [ŋ] and the diacritic [ˈ] marks a stressed vowel. Note also that <e> stands for either [e] or [ɛ], while <o> represents either [o] or [ɔ]. The occurrence of <e> and <i> and respectively of <o> and <u> in variants on the MPC lexical items listed below reflects inter-speaker variation¹⁴.

andóku ‘towel’ < *handoeck*
artápel / *atápal* / *atapel* ‘(Irish) potato’ < *aardappel*
ascu / *askúng* ‘glove’ < *handschoen*
báskong ‘wash-basin’ < *waskom*
berger ‘burgher’ < *burger*
blau ‘blue, indigo’ < *blauw*
bolsá / *bolsac* ‘bolster’ < *bultzak*
buco / *búku* ‘book’ < *boek*
búnchis ‘bean’ < *boontjies* ‘beans’
cacus / *kakus* / *kakús* ‘latrine’ < *kakhuis*

¹²Also known as *Kreol Kristang*, *Kristang*, *Papía Cristang* and *Papia Kristang*.

¹³See Marbeck (2004: 85-160).

¹⁴According to Hancock (2009: 298), “for some speakers there is a certain amount of free variation between /i/ and /e/ and /o/ and /u/”.

- calcum* / *kalkún* / *kalkun* ‘turkey’ < *kalkoen*
clôr / *color* / *klor* ‘colour’ < *kleur*
copi / *kopi* ‘cup’ < *kopje*
côs / *kus* ‘stockings’ < *kous*
daci / *dási* ‘necktie’ < *dasje*
doi / *duit* ‘money’ < *duit* ‘a farthing’
fles ‘bottle’ < *fles*
floi ‘flute’ < *fluit*
frai ‘nice’ < *fraai*
frikadel ‘sausage’ < *frikadel*
glas ‘glass’ < *glas*
kalbás ‘gourd’ < *kalabas* / *kalebas*
kǎnóp / *quenop* ‘knot’ < *knoop* ‘button’
klómpu / *klompu* ‘clogs’ < *klomp*
kofi ‘coffee’ < *koffie*
kukís ‘cake’ < *koekjes*
lachi ‘drawer’ < *latje*
lámpu ‘lamp’ < *lamp*
leis / *les* ‘to read’ < *lees-* (root of *lezen*)
loi ‘lazy’ < *lui*
na ‘in, to’ < *naar* ‘to’
niches ‘pretty’ < *netjes*
olozi / *orlózi* ‘clock’ < *horloge*
papom ‘old man’ < *papa* ‘father’ + *oom* ‘uncle’
ploi ‘pleats’ < *plooi*
póchi ‘pot’ < *potje*
quelder / *kelda* ‘tombstone’ < *kelder* ‘cellar’
rétu ‘right’ < *recht*
ropiano / *ropiánu* / *ropianu* ‘European’ < *Europeaan*
saldreh ‘celery’ < *selderie*
stal ‘stable’ < *stal*
striká / *strika* / *strikah* / *striki* / *striqui* ‘to iron’ < *strijk-* (root of *strijken* ‘to iron’)

stroi ‘confetti’ < *strooi-* (root of *strooien*) ‘to strew’
susi ‘elder sister’ < *zus* / *zusje* ‘(familiar) sister, sis’
taflac / *tafla(k)* ‘table cloth’ < *tafellaken*
tanta / *tánta* ‘auntie’ < *tante*
tat ‘cake’ < *tart*
tatom ‘uncle’ < *tata* ‘father’ + *oom* ‘uncle’
úmpi ‘uncle’ < *oompje*

A few remarks are in order regarding the origin of some of the MPC items in the above list. Thus, as already shown by Hancock (1970: 353) in his comments on the MPC form *búku* ‘book’, this is “historically probably Du rather than Eng-derived”¹⁵. Accordingly, *buco* / *búku* is here considered to have been borrowed from Dutch.

Regarding the MPC form *klor* ‘colour’, Hancock (1970: 354) writes “cf. archaic Ptg *color*”. Convergence of the latter with Dutch *kleur* [klør] may account for *clôr* / *color* / *klor* ‘colour’.

MPC *lámpu* ‘lamp’ is derived from Dutch *lamp*, although Hancock (1970: 354) adds “possibly Eng *lamp*”. However, should English *lamp* be the etymon the MPC form would be expected to be **lemp*, with [e] as a reflex of English [æ].

For *olozi* / *orlózi* / *orlozi* ‘clock’, a Dutch etymon is more likely than the archaic Portuguese form *horloge*, mentioned by Hancock (1970: 355), but not by any other authors.

According to Hancock (1970: 355), in the case of *ropiano* / *ropianu* / *ropiánu* ‘European’ “the stress-bearing syllable [...] suggests a Dutch, rather than an English derivation”.

The possibility of multiple etymologies has been suggested for several MPC words. MPC *na* ‘in, to’ may be traced back not only to Dutch *naar*, but also to Portuguese *na*, in confirmation of Hancock’s (1970: 354-355) conclusion that “the likelihood of [...] Ptg-Du convergence should not however be discounted”¹⁶.

According to Hancock (1970: 355), *rétu* ‘right’ may derive etymologically from Dutch *recht* and also from Portuguese *correcto*, via aphaeresis, i.e. [kɔretu] > [retu].

¹⁵Where Du = Dutch, and Eng = English.

¹⁶Ptg = Portuguese.

Hancock (1970: 355) states that *striká* is “probably Ptg-derived, [its] use having been reinforced by the very similar Du form”. However, *striká* / *strika* / *strikah* / *striki* / *striqui* is more plausibly derived from Dutch.

The phonological adjustment of the Dutch-derived lexical items reflects the influence of Malay, the substrate language of MPC.

Dutch /œ/ is rendered by [e]: *berger* ‘burgher’ < *burger* [bœrxər].

There are three MPC reflexes of Dutch /ɔy/. One is [u], as in *kakus* ‘latrine’ < *kakhuis* [kakɔys]. A second one is [oi], in *doi* ‘money’ < *duit* [dɔyt], *loi* ‘lazy’ < *lui* [lɔy]. The third one is [ui], as in *duit* ‘money’ < *duit* [dɔyt].

Dutch /χ/ is replaced with [k], in *ascu* / *askúng* ‘glove’ < *handschoen* [hantsχu:n] [g], in *berger* ‘burgher’ < *burger* [bœrxər], *glas* ‘glass’ < *glas* [χlas]¹⁷.

Several MPC forms illustrate the fate of illicit onsets and codas. An ill-formed onset cluster is broken up by an epenthetic vowel: *kǎnop* / *quenop* ‘knot’ < *knoop*. Paragogic vowels are used for the resolution of complex codas, in e.g. *buco* ‘book’ < *boek*, *klompu* ‘clogs’ < *klomp*, *lampu* ‘lamp’ < *lamp*¹⁸.

MPC *doi* / *duit* ‘money’ is a lexical item which is obsolete in Dutch.

Included in the list are several cases of reanalysis of morphemic boundaries. Three of them include the Dutch plural maker: *búnchis* ‘bean’ < *boontjie* ‘bean’ + plural marker *-s* ‘beans’; *kukís* ‘cake’ < *koekje* ‘cake’ + plural marker *-s*; *niches* ‘pretty’ < *netje* ‘pretty’ + plural marker *-s*.

Semantic shift occurs in two MPC forms. As indicated above, *kǎnóp* / *quenop* ‘knot’ is derived from Dutch *knoop* which means ‘button’, and Dutch *kelder* ‘cellar’ has yielded *quelder* / *kelda* with the meaning of ‘tombstone’.

The number of Dutch loanwords in MPC amounts to 49. It is instructive to compare the current findings with those reported by other researchers. According to Hancock (1970: 352), “an examination of the vocabulary of Papia Kristang [...] indicates the presence of some thirty five items traceable, or possibly traceable, to Dutch”. More recently, Hancock (2009: 5) writes that “the Dutch contribution to the lexicon amounts to about 30 words”. The glossary of MPC (Anon. n.d.) includes 27 lexical items of Dutch origin out of 1413 words. Surprisingly, the dictionary of MPC by Baxter and de Silva (2004), of 2429 words, includes only 13 of Dutch origin¹⁹. To conclude, the 49 lexical items of Dutch origin attested in MPC identified in this paper constitute a significantly higher number than previously reported.

¹⁷Cf. the Malay forms *burger* (Ling *et al.* 2007: 628) and *gelas* (Ling *et al.* 2007: 691).

¹⁸Cf. Malay *lampu* (Ling *et al.* 2007: 821).

¹⁹See also Grant (2012: 352).

5 Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole

When the Dutch conquered Batavia – today’s Jakarta – in 1610, a variety of Portuguese-lexifier Creole was already in use (Holm 1989: 293). Another variety emerged after some 150 speakers of Portuguese Creole speakers were moved from Batavia to Tugu (Holm 1989: 293-294). Both varieties are extinct. For the purposes of this paper I treat the two varieties as a single entity²⁰, Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole (henceforth BTPC).

There is very little available documentation on BTPC. For the variety of Batavia the corpus consists of a grammar and a dictionary (Anon. 1780)²¹, the dialogues and stories collected in the 1880s (Schuchardt 1891). One of these dialogues is analyzed in detail by Teensma (1986). As for the Tugu variety, the corpus includes a word-list, poems, stories and songs dating from 1884, 1885 and 1888 (see Schuchardt 1891), and a word-list collected in 2004 (Suratminto 2005 and 2011). The entire corpus of sources documenting the Portuguese Creole once spoken in Batavia and Tugu has been edited by Maurer (2011). However, the Dutch loanwords are mentioned in an extremely short chapter (Maurer 2011: 117-126) which discusses the lexical items from languages other than Portuguese.

Listed below are the Dutch lexical items recorded in the BTPC corpus. Note that the spelling in the sources follows the Dutch orthographic conventions: <ie> = [i]; <oe> = [u]; <tj> = [tʃ]; <v> = [f].

aanspeekr / *anspéker* / *anspreeker* ‘undertaker’s man’ < *aanspreker*
ambassador ‘ambassador’ < *ambassadeur*
bèbel ‘Bible’ < *bijbel*
beschuit ‘biscuit’ < *beschuit*
bier ‘beer’ < *bier*
blaauw / *blauw* ‘blue’ < *blauw*
boekoe ‘book’ < *boek*
bolsak / *bolsakh* ‘bolster’ < *bultzak*
boontjes ‘bean’ < *boontjies*
borstrok ‘waistcoat’ < *borstrok*

²⁰See also Maurer (2011).

²¹A second edition, without the Batavia Portuguese Creole part, appeared in 1815, entitled *Nieuwe Nederlansche en Maleidsche woordenschat en spraakkunst van gebruike van nederlander die naar de Indiën gaan*, Amsterdam, W. Holtrop (Groeneboer 1993: 57, f.n. 39).

boteel / *botteel* / *bottel* ‘bottle’ < *bottel* ‘bottle’
brillo ‘spectacles’ < *bril*
brood / *brot* ‘bread’ < *brood*
cachette ‘seal’ < *cachet*
kalkoen / *kalkoem* / *kalkom* ‘turkey’ < *kalkoen*
cantor / *kantor* ‘office; desk’
cloor / *coloor* ‘colour’ < *kleur*
coffie / *kovi* ‘coffee’ < *koffie*
commandoor ‘commander’ < *commandeur*
convoor ‘spirit-stove’ < *komfoor*
daak ‘day’ < *dag*
dangki ‘thanks’ < *dank U* ‘thank you (polite)’
dansi ‘to dance’ < *dans-* (root of *dansen*)
dasie ‘necktie’ < *dasje*
diekton ‘ducatoon’ < *dukatoon*
djongdjivrouw ‘young woman’ < *jonge jufvrouw*
doecat ‘ducat’ < *dukaat*
doie / *doij* / *dooi* / *dooit* ‘money’ < *duit* ‘farthing’
donder ‘thunder’ < *donder*
dozint ‘dozen’ < *dozijn*
drai ‘shift (of the wind)’ < *draai-* (root of *draaien*)
dublo ‘double’ < *dubbel*
ëlla ‘(Dutch) ell’ < *el*
emmer ‘bucket’ < *emmer*
flessoe ‘bottle’ < *fles*
fluit ‘flute’ < *fluit*
fricadelle ‘sausage’ < *frikadel*
gaae / *gaoe* / *gaoew* / *gau* ‘quick’ < *gauw*
gas ‘quick, speedy’ < *haast* ‘haste’
gesper ‘buckle’ < plural form of *gesp*
glaas ‘glass’ < *glas*
griffie ‘office of the clerk’ < *griffie*
hās ‘hare’ < *haas*

horlogie ‘clock’ < *horloge*
iskotji / *scotje* ‘barge’ < *schuitje*
ispring ‘to sprinkle water’ < *spreng-* (root of *sprengen*)
istrika ‘iron for ironing clothes’ < *strijker*
jaco fēbri ‘fish species’ < *jacob-evers*
jērraal ‘general’ < *generaal*
kaan / *kan* ‘jug’ < *kan*
kaas ‘dubbeltje (coin); money’ < *kas*
kakerlak / *kakkarlac* ‘cockroach’ < *kakkerlak*
kakoes ‘latrine’ < *kakhuis*
kandlaar / *kandelaar* ‘candle-holder’ < *kandelaar*
kanibel ‘moustache’ < *knevel*
karapoes ‘cap’ < *karpoets* / *karpuits*
kelder ‘cellar’ < *kelder*
klaar ‘clear’ < *klaar*
kleentje / *klentji* ‘rabbit’ < *konijntje*
knoop ‘button’ < *knoop*
koekis ‘cake’ < *koekjes*
koesier / *koesir* / *kusir* ‘driver’ < *koetsier*
kokkie ‘cook’ < *kok*
koos / *kous* ‘stockings’ < *kous*
lampu ‘lamp’ < *lamp*
leervis ‘fish species’ < *leervis*
lees ‘to read’ < *lees-* (root of *lezen*)
lem ‘gum’ < *lijm*
lesnaar ‘desk’ < *lessenaar*
ley ‘slate’ < *lei*
lobbetje ‘lobe’ < *lobbetje*
looidade / *luidadi* ‘lazy’ < *lui* ‘lazy’ + Portuguese *-dade*
maar / *mer* ‘but’ < *maar*
mama ‘mother’ < *mama*
meester ‘master’ < *meester*
messel ‘to lay bricks’ < *metsele-* (root of *metsele*)

morgen ‘morning’ < *morgen*
naam ‘name’ < *naam*
nier ‘kidney’ < *nier*
noot ‘nut’ < *noot*
oester ‘oyster’ < *oester*
offician ‘clerk’ < *officiant*
papa ‘father’ < *papa*
pasment ‘lace’ < *passement*
pengster ‘Whitsuntide’ < *Pinkster*
pentji ‘pint’ < *pintje*
permissie ‘permission’ < *permissie*
plooi ‘pleat’ < *plooi*
polls ‘pulse’ < *pols*
pond ‘pound’ < *pond*
potlood ‘pencil’ < *potlood*
praefecto ‘senior official’ < *prefect*
prinsoe ‘prince’ < *prins*
raamglas ‘window-frame’ < *glasraam*
radies ‘raddish’ < *radijs*
rèbastik ‘rib’ < *ribbenstuk* ‘rib of beef, of pork’
reken ‘to amount to’ < *reken-* (root of *rekenen*) ‘to count’
rokkie ‘dress’ < *rokje*
ron / *rond* ‘round’ < *rond*
sinette ‘seal’ < *signet*
slooysoe ‘sluice’ < *sluis*
smit ‘smith’ < *smid*
snip / *snippies* ‘snipe’ < *snip* / *snipjes*
solder / *sòldèr* ‘attic’ < *zolder*
spansmat ‘piastre’ < *Spaanse mat* ‘(Spanish) coin’
spiegeloe / *spiglo* ‘mirror’ < *spiegel*
spiering ‘smelt’ < *spiering*
sücker ‘sugar’ < *suiker*
stropdassie ‘necktie’

taflak ‘table-cloth’ < *tafellaken*
takoe ‘branch’ < *tak*
thesoureir ‘treasurer’ < *thesaurier*
tjelië ‘chili’ < *chili*
vat ‘barrel’ < *vat*
visch ‘fish’ < *vis*
weikmeester ‘village chief’ < *wachtmeester* ‘sergeant’
zeida ‘silk’ < *zijde*

Given the many inconsistencies in the transcription used in the sources, only a few remarks can be safely made with respect to the phonological adjustment of Dutch loanwords.

The reflex of the Dutch diphthong /ɔy/ is [o], [oi], [u] or [ui], as in *scotji* ‘barge’ < *schuifje* [sɔɣɔyə], *dooi* ‘money’ < *duit* [dɔyt], *kakoes* ‘latrine’ < *kakhuis* [kakhɔys] and *fluit* ‘flute’ < *fluit* [flɔyt] respectively.

Dutch /χ/ is consistently replaced with [g], as in *glaas* ‘glass’ < *glas* [χlas].

In the resolution of illicit onsets or codas BTPC resorts to repair strategies generally typical of Malay. Thus, epenthesis into an onset cluster is illustrated by *kanibel* ‘moustache’ < *knevel*. A number of forms exhibit a paragogic vowel, e.g. *dansi* ‘to dance’ < *dans*, *lampu* ‘lamp’ < *lamp*, *takoe* ‘branch’ < *tak*. A word-final [t] part of a cluster in the Dutch etymon is deleted: *offician* ‘clerk’ < *officiant*, *ron* < *rond* [rɔnt]²².

Quite interestingly, illegitimate /s/-initial onset clusters are resolved via addition of a prothetic vowel, as in Portuguese. Consider the following examples: *ispring* ‘to sprinkle water’ < *spreng*, *istrika* ‘iron for ironing clothes’ < *strijker*, *iskotji* ‘barge’ < *schuifje*²³.

Not surprisingly, the list includes several lexical items which are now obsolete in Dutch: e.g. *boteel* / *botteel* / *bottel* ‘bottle’ < *bottel* ‘bottle’; terms designating previously used units of measurement: *dublo* ‘double’ < *dubbel*, *ëlla* (‘Dutch’) ell’ < *el*; the names of former monetary units, such as *diekton* ‘ducaton’ < *dukatoon*, *doecat* ‘ducat’ < *dukaat*, *doie* / *doij* / *dooi* / *dooit* ‘money’ < *duit* ‘farthing’, *spansmat* ‘piastre’ < *Spaanse mat* ‘(Spanish) coin’.

²²Cf. e.g. Indonesian *koran* ‘newspaper’ (Adiwimarta *et al.* 1997: 81) < *courant*.

²³In Indonesian, Dutch loanwords with /s/-initial onset clusters exhibit epenthesis: *setrika* (Adiwimarta *et al.* 1997: 140), *sekoci* (Adiwimarta *et al.* 1997: 134).

Some of the BTPC lexical items of Dutch origin only occur in set phrases: *daak* ‘day’ in *vaaij daak*²⁴ and *morgen* in *vaaij morgen*, both ‘to greet’; *naam* ‘name’ in *vaaij naam*²⁵ ‘to introduce one self’; *permissie*²⁶ which actually translates as ‘excuse me/us’.

A number of BTPC forms are instances of reanalysis of morphemic boundaries. Consider the following examples: *boontjes* ‘bean’ < *boontjie* ‘bean’ + plural marker *-s*; *dangki* ‘thanks’ < *dank* ‘thank’ + *U* ‘you (polite)’; *koekis* ‘cake’ < *koekje* ‘cake’ + plural marker *-s*; *snippies* ‘snipe’ < *snipje* ‘snipe’ + plural marker *-s*. An interesting case is *jaco-febri* ‘fish species’ < *jacob-evers*, where the proper name Jacob Evers is reinterpreted, probably with a folk-etymological connection with *febri* ‘fever’²⁷.

As shown above, *luidadi* / *luidade* ‘lazy’ is etymologically derived from the Dutch adjective < *lui* ‘lazy’ and the Portuguese suffix *-dade*. However, while the suffix *-dade* serves to form abstract nouns in Portuguese, *luidade* / *luidadi* is an adjective in BTPC.

Another word worth discussing is *raamglas* ‘window-frame’ which follows the Indonesian word order²⁸, not that of its Dutch etymon, *glasraam*.

Consider finally the share of the Dutch-derived lexical items in the vocabulary of BTPC. The total number of words listed in the dictionary of the Batavia variety (Anon. 1780) amounts to 1221, of which 117 from Dutch.

6 Conclusions

The comparison of the Dutch loanwords identified in SLPC, MPC and BTPC shows that these generally tend to be concentrated in a number of semantic fields. Hancock (1970: 355), for instance, concludes with respect to MPC that “the greatest sphere of Dutch influence [...] was undoubtedly in the home”. Dutch-derived lexical items pertaining to semantic fields such as household articles, food, clothing are attested in all the three Creoles under discussion. Consider the following examples:

²⁴Cf. Portuguese *dar os bons dias*.

²⁵Cf. Portuguese *dar o seu nome*.

²⁶Cf. Indonesian *permisi* ‘excuse me’ (Adiwimarta *et al.* 1997: 114).

²⁷See also Schuchardt (1891: 135, f.n. 243).

²⁸Cf. earlier Indonesian *ramkatja* ‘window-frame’ (Schuchardt 1891: 82).

| SLPC | MPC | BTPC | gloss |
|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>bonchi</i> | <i>búnchis</i> | <i>boontjies</i> | 'bean' |
| <i>caufe</i> | <i>kofi</i> | <i>coffie/kovi</i> | 'coffee' |
| <i>dace/daci/dase</i> | <i>daci/dási</i> | <i>dasie</i> | 'necktie' |
| <i>glass</i> | <i>glas</i> | <i>glaas</i> | 'glass' |
| <i>lampo</i> | <i>lámpu</i> | <i>lampu</i> | 'lamp' |
| <i>orlozi/orlozo</i> | <i>olozi/orlózi</i> | <i>horlogie</i> | 'clock' |
| <i>taflak</i> | <i>taflac/tafla(k)</i> | <i>taflak</i> | 'tablecloth' |

In SLPC and BTPC Dutch loanwords are also found in domains such as administration, the military, Christian religion, education, tools. In SLPC, with the largest number of Dutch loanwords, these include three terms designating body parts, *blas* 'bladder', *gôrgâl* 'throat' and *schénkle* 'ankle', and even the name of a basic degree of kinship, *susse* 'sister'.

In terms of the distribution of Dutch loanwords in the three Creoles under discussion, their number is considerably higher in SLPC and BTPC than in MPC. The absolute numbers are repeated here: 158 in SLPC, 117 in BTPC, but only 49 in MPC. Given this considerable discrepancy between the number of Dutch loanwords recorded in SLPC and BTPC, on the one hand, and in MPC, on the other, it is rather surprising that 12 Dutch-derived lexical items are only attested in MPC. These are: *andóku* 'towel'; *báskong* 'wash-basin'; *frai* 'nice'; *kalbás* 'gourd'; *klómpu* / *klompu* 'clogs'; *niches* 'pretty'; *papom* 'old man'; *póchi* 'pot'; *rétu* 'right'; *stroi* 'confetti'; *tat* 'tart'; *tatom* 'uncle'.

The proportion of Dutch loanwords recorded in SLPC amounts to some 6.5% in (against only 2.7% in Anon.a. n.d.). After Portuguese, Dutch is the second most important contributor to the lexicon of SLPC. The proportion of Dutch-derived lexical items is 2.8% in MPC (less than 2% according to Hancock 1970, 1.9% in Anon.b. n.d., 0.7% in Baxter and de Silva 2004), and 9.5% in the Batavia variety of BTPC. Both in the case of MPC and in the case of BTPC Dutch is the third most important source of their vocabulary, after Portuguese and Malay.

Neither the absolute number nor the proportion of Dutch-derived lexical items correlates directly and neatly with the duration of the Dutch rule over Ceylon, Malacca and Indonesia. Rather, other factors need to be taken into account as well. These include at least the following. The ethnic origin of the speakers may account for the higher absolute number of Dutch loanwords in

SLPC: a significant part of the Burgher community was made up of descendants of the Dutch. More Dutch loanwords may have been used in earlier stages of MPC, which are extremely poorly documented. The high proportion of Dutch-derived lexical items in the Batavia variety of BTPC may be due to the low total number of words recorded.

The examination of earlier sources has made it possible to correctly assess the extent of the Dutch lexical influence on SLPC. There has been a constant and noticeable decrease in the use of Dutch-derived lexical items. The texts published by Tavares de Mello (1908a, 1908b, 1911, 1912 and 1913) already attest to an increasing use of English loanwords in SLPC, some of which replace formerly used Dutch-derived lexical items. A similar situation is reported in the case of MPC, for which early sources are unfortunately not available. Thus, Hancock (1970: 356) writes that “the frequency of Dutch-derived words seems to be declining”. More recently, Hancock (2009: 299) notes that “Malay words are constantly being adopted into the language” and that “the use of English-derived words in Papia Kristang is increasing”.

The findings of the present paper shed light on the Dutch component of SLPC, MPC and BTPC, a hitherto neglected topic. They are also a contribution to the assessment of the diffusion of Dutch-derived lexical items to Creoles with various lexifier languages.

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Recebido em: 13/04/2013

Aceito em: 01/05/2013
