REDUPLICATION IN MACAO CREOLE PORTUGUESE

REDUPLICAREA ÎN CREOLA PORTUGHEZĂ DIN MACAO

(Rezumat)

Articolul de faţa analizează reduplicarea din creola cu bază portugheză din Macao. Sunt discutate tipurile de

reduplicare atestate, categoriile sintactice care pot face obiectul reduplicării, precum şi sensurile şi funcţiile reduplicării. A fost analizat un corpus de texte ilustrând o varietate de genuri şi registre, din secolul al XIX-lea până în secolul al XXI-lea.

Key-words: reduplication, bases, meanings, functions, Macao Creole Portuguese.
Cuvinte-cheie: reduplicare, baze, sensuri, funcţii, creola portugheză din Macao.

1. Introduction

Macao Creole Portuguese[1] (henceforth MCP) is now a largely extinct variety (Holm 1989: 296, Nogueira Batalha 1990: 55–56, Doanová 2010: 22), apparently still spoken by only a few individuals in Macao, and also in e.g. Hong Kong and Brazil. This is a relatively under researched variety; for instance, a comprehensive grammar of MCP has yet to be written[2].

[1] In the literature in Portuguese it is also known as *dialecto de Macau*, *dialecto macaense*, *dialecto macaísta* or *dialecto maquista*. Names used in the literature in English include "Macanese", "Macao Creole Portuguese", and "Sino-Portuguese". Native speakers call it *língua nhom*, *língua nhônha*, *Maquista*,*Papiaçám*, *Patoá* or *Patuá*.

[2] For descriptions of MCP see de Silva (1915), Arana-Ward (1977), dos Santos Ferreira (1996: 229–251, "Epítome de gramática comparada"), Doanová (2010: 38–60), and Gaião (2010).

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The present paper is an analysis of the types, meanings and functions of reduplication in MCP, based on the examination of a corpus of textual attestations. It also reasesses the findings reported in previous work on reduplication in MCP (de Silva Jayasuriya 2003, Ansaldo and Mattews 2004, Gaião 2007).

The corpus consists of both published and unpublished sources. These include riddles (Marques Pereira 1899c and 1899d, Barreiros 1943–1944), proverbs (Patoá de Macau e proverbios 2010), poems, short stories and drama scripts (Marques Pereira 1899e, 1899f, 1899g, 1899j, 1899k, 1899l, dos Santos Ferreira 1967, 1994, 1996), songs (Marques Pereira 1899a, 1899b), letters (Coelho 1881, Marques Pereira 1899h, 1899i, Bruning 2007), and internet discussion lists (Língu Maquista 2009–2012, Como Tá Vai? 2012). The textual attestations cover the period between 1824 and 2012. Additional data are taken from descriptions of MCP (de Silva 1915, Arana-Ward 1977, Nogueira Batalha 1990, Doanová 2010, Gaião 2010), and from glossaries and dictionaries (Nogueira Batalha 1977, Senna Fernandes and Baxter 2004).

The examples include the date of the first attestation. The sources are mentioned between brackets. All examples appear in the orthography or system of transcription used in the sources. The length of quotations has been kept to a reasonable minimum. Key portions in the quotations are highlighted in boldface. All quotations are accompanied by glosses and by their translation. The following abbreviations are used: 1 = first person; 3 = third person; DEM = demonstrative; INDEF = indefinite; PERF = perfective; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PROG = progressive; RED = reduplicant; SG = singular.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Section 2 discusses partial reduplication, with a focus on the phonological constraints on the bases and on the shape of the reduplicant. Section 4 is concerned with total reduplication. First, the word classes that can serve as bases for total reduplication are identified. Next, instances of word class change triggered by total reduplication are illustrated. The conclusions are summarized in section 4.

2. Partial reduplication

In morphological theory, reduplication is a "formal" or "morphological operation" (Haspelmath 2002: 24, Booij 2005: 35–36). While total reduplication is a sub-type of compounding, partial reduplication can be regarded as "a kind of affixation" (Booij 2005: 36). However, unlike in affixation proper, the phonological content of the reduplicative affix depends on the phonological composition of the base (Booij 2005: 36). Following standard assumptions in morphological analysis, the reduplicant is taken to be an abstract affix RED which triggers the phonological operation of copying, with the copy subsequently attached to the base. As shown below, in MCP the reduplicant (i.e. the copy) always precedes the base to which it is attached, in other words, it is a reduplicative prefix.

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Partial reduplication is recorded throughout the history of MCP. Consider the following examples:

(1) *nhónha* 'woman' → *nho-nhónha* 'women'
a. *já cavá pra* ***nhonhonha*** 1865 (Coelho 1881)
PERF finish for RED-woman
'finished for the women'
b. ***nhonhonha*** *bixigósa* 1880 (Marques Pereira 1899e: 56)
RED-woman chicken pox marked
'women with chicken pox marks'
c. *tudo* ***nhonhonha*** *sã falá portuguezado* 1899 (Marques Pereira 1899l: 780)
all RED-woman know speak Portuguese-like
'all women speak Portuguese-like [Creole]'
d. *vendê* ***nhonhonha*** 2009 (Língu Maquista 2009)
sell RED woman
'sold to women'

(2) a. *Mas olá minha* ***nhu-nhum*** 1888 (Marques Perreira 1899g: 192)
but look POSS.1SG RED man
'But look, my lords'
b. *nhu-nhum* 1967 (Ferreira 1967, Glossary)
RED man
'men'

The meaning expressed by partial reduplication of nominal bases is that of plurality, which is only optionally marked in MCP. Partially reduplicated nouns and other means of expressing plurality do not usually co-occur. However, cardinal numerals may co-occur, with plurality thus marked twice:

(3) *co dôs* ***nhu-nhum*** 2009 (Língu Maquista 2009)
with two RED man
'with two men'

Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 11) claim that partial reduplication in MCP is "restricted to high frequency [nouns] such as "men" and "women",,. Two remarks are in order here. Firstly, the only nouns which can undergo partial reduplication appear to be *nhonha* 'woman' and *nhum* 'man'; no other noun is ever attested in a partially reduplicated form. Secondly, there is one other form derived via partial reduplication, not from a nominal base, but from an adverb, *cedo* 'early', from which *cecedo* 'very early' obtains:

(4) ***cecedo*** *manhâ* 2009 (Língu maquista 2009–2010)
RED-early morning
'very early in the morning'

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As can be seen, the partially reduplicated adverb acquires an intensifying meaning.

Consider next the issue of the phonological content of the reduplicative prefix. According to Jayasuriya (2003: 186), in MCP "[partial] reduplication [...] targets [...] the first syllable". This is expressed by Jayasuriya (2003: 186) in the formula reproduced below:

(5) $S_1S_2 \rightarrow S_1\text{-}S_1S_2$

Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 10) also state that in "the partial reduplication of nouns [...] only the first syllable is reduplicated". However, the analyses of Jayasuriya (2003) and of Ansaldo and Matthews (2004) are both faulty. The three instances of partially reduplicated forms are repeated below for expository reasons:

(6) a. [ɲo.ʒa] → [**ɲo.**ʒo.ʒa]
[ɲuŋ] → [**ɲu**.ɲuŋ]
[**se**.du] → [**se**.se.du]

The relevant example is the form in (6b). As can be seen, the partially reduplicated form [ɲu.ɲuŋ] preserves only the consonant in the onset and the vowel in the nucleus of the monosyllabic base [ɲuŋ]; the consonant in the coda does not surface in the resulting form. Therefore, the phonological shape of the reduplicant is not that of the first syllable of the base, as claimed by Jayasuriya (2003: 186) and by Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 10), but CV. Partial reduplication is an instance of prereduplication[3].

Summing up, partial reduplication does not appear to have been productive in MCP. It appears to occur only with nominal and adverbial bases. With nouns it marks plurality, while with adverbs it conveys an intensifying meaning. Partial reduplication is subject to constraints on both the base and on the reduplicant: (i) it is limited to consonant-initial disyllabic bases; (ii) the phonological shape of the reduplicant is CV.

3. Total reduplication

3.1 Nouns

Total reduplication of nominal bases is richly attested throughout the history of MCP:

[3] In the sense of Haspelmath (2002: 24): in prereduplication the reduplicant precedes the base.

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(7) a. *dá bença pra* ***criança criança*** 1865 (Coelho 1881)
give blessing for child child
'give blessings to the children'
b. *nos ôtro* ***mulér- mulér*** 1885 (Marques Pereira 1899e: 59)
1PL woman woman
'we, women'
c. *tudu* ***portuguez portuguez*** *[...] fazê guéra co* ***môro môro*** 1898 (Bruning 2007)
all Portuguese Portuguese make war with Muslim Muslim
'in those times all the Portuguese [...] were fighting the Muslims'
d. *pędra-pędra* 'stones' 1959 (Thompson 1961: 293)
stone stone
e. *subí tanto* ***escada-escada*** 1967 (Ferreira 1967, texts: 85)
go up much stair stair
'went up many stairs'
f. *tem quanto* ***ano-ano*** *fóra* 2009 (Língu maquista)
have how much year year more than
'was how many years ago'
g. ***ovo-ovo*** *pa comê* 2010 (Língu maquista)
egg egg for eat
'eggs to eat'
h. *ilotro-sua* ***filo-filo*** 2012 (Como Tá Vai)
3PL POSS son son
'their sons'

As shown by, among others, de Silva (1915: 163), Arana-Ward (1977: 28 and 46), Jayasuriya (2003: 187), and Gaião (2010: 22), total reduplication serves to optionally mark plurality. Given that plural marking is anyway not compulsory, totally reduplicated forms and other means of expressing plurality, such as cardinal numerals, quantifiers, etc. do not normally co-occur. Occasionally, however, the co-occurrence of totally reduplicated nouns and cardinal numerals is attested, as in the following example:

(8) *com* ***três*** *outro* ***nhonha nhonha*** 2009 (Língu maquista)
with three other woman woman
'with three other women'

Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 11) write that, rather than plurality, total reduplication expresses the sense of 'various'. In support of this conclusion they adduce the following example

(9) *pintad* ***laia- laia*** *côr* (Fereira 1996: 291)
painted various various colour
'painted in various colours'

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However, on closer inspection, it is not total reduplication, but the meaning of *laia* ‘kind, category, type’ (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 97), which triggers the sense of ‘various’.

Note, finally, that none of the previous works on MCP mentions the occurrence of distributive reduplication of nouns, which is exemplified below:

(10) a. *Espinho chuchú pê* / *Sangui* ***góta góta*** (Marques Pereira 1899b: 706)
thorn prickle leg / blood drop drop
‘The thorn pricked my leg / Blood flew out drop by drop’
b. *core* ***casa- casa*** *vendê merenda* 1967 (Ferreira 1967, texts: 85)
run house house sell food
‘[he] ran from house to ouse to sell food’

In MCP, then, total reduplication of nominal bases has a pluralizing or a distributive meaning. Pluralizing total reduplication appears to be a still frequent pattern, contra Arana (1977: 46–47 and 68) and Batalha (1990: 57).

3.2 Adjectives

Total reduplication of adjectives is well documented in MCP:

(11) a. *pra fazê palacio* ***grande grande*** *pra official* 1869 (Coelho 1881)
for make palace big big for official
‘to build a very big palace for the officials’
b. *gente* ***curto-curto*** 1899 (Marques Pereira 1899a: 241)
people short short
‘very short people’
c. *assi* ***vêlo-vêlo*** 1967 (Ferreira 1967, texts: 85)
so old old
‘so very old’
d. *abraços* ***forti- forti*** 2009 (Língu maquista)
hug strong strong
‘very strong hugs’

The meaning conveyed by adjectival reduplication is emphasis (Jayasuriya 2003: 187) or that of intensifying effect (Ansaldo and Matthews 2004: 11), similar to that of a superlative. To this, Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 11) add a pluralizing meaning, since, on their view, “reduplicated adjectives are also found with plural noun phrases”. This claim is illustrated with the following two examples ((25) and (26) in Ansaldo and Matthews 2004: 11–12):

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(12) a. *Maior parte são gente* ***grande-grande***. 1869 (Coelho 1881)
greater part are people big big
'It's mostly important people.'
b. *Pa tudo nôsso amigo* ***china- china*** 1996 (Ferreira 1996: 213)
for all our friend Chinese Chinese
'for all our Chinese friends'

However, in (11a) *grande-grande* actually means 'very big', and the translation of (11b) should read 'for all our friends, the Chinese'.

To conclude, total reduplication of adjectival bases is productive in MCP. The meaning expressed by adjectival reduplication is that of emphasis, intensification or augmentation.

3.3 Adverbs

According to Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 12), "reduplication of an adverb" occurs "to serve as a preverbal adverbial". Indeed, reduplicated adverbs are frequently found in preverbal position, throughout the history of MCP:

(13) a. ***cêdo, cêdo*** *já tem na rua* 1865 (Coelho 1881)
early early already have in street
'[they] went out in the streets very early'
b. *sentado* ***omsong-omsong*** *na minha tope* 1899 (Marques Pereira 1899l: 780)
seated alone alone in POSS.3SG room
'sitting all alone in my room'
c. ***vagar-vagar*** *andá* 1967 (Ferreira 1967, Glossary)
slowly slowly walk
'walk very slowly'
d. ***azinha-azinha*** *sai di loja* 2009 (Língu maquista)
quicky quickly go out of shop
'[he] left the shop very quicky'
e. ***mánso-mánso*** *ta encurtâ unga vestido* 2009 (Língu maquista)
quietly quietly PROG shorten INDEF dress
'[she] was very quietly shortening a dress'

However, reduplicated adverbs are also attested in postverbal position, as demonstrated by the following examples, dating from various periods in the history of MCP:

(14) a. *olá* ***azinha-azinha*** *pra tudo este ancúsa* 1887 (Marques Pereira 1899h: 261)
look quickly quickly for all DEM thing
'take a very quick look at all these things'

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b. *andá* ***manso, manso*** 1887 (Marques Pereira 1899b: 704)
walk quietly quietly
'go very quietly'
c. *fuzí tudo* ***azinha-azinha*** *pra Hongkong* 1888 (Marques Pereira 1899g: 193)
run all quicly quickly for Hong Kong
'[they] all ran very quickly to Hong Kong'
d. *falá* ***manso-manso*** 1888 (Marques Pereira 1899g: 193)
speak quietly quietly
'speak in a very soft voice'
e. *falâ* ***mánso-mánso*** 2004 (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 69)
speak quietly quietly
'to speak in a soft voice'
f. *tempo ta voâ* ***azinha-azinha*** 2009 (Língu maquista)
time PROG fly quickly quickly
'time flies very quickly'
g. *gritá* ***forti- forti*** 2009 (Língu maquista)
shout loudly loudly
'shout very loudly'

Note, first, that one and the same reduplicated adverb may occur either in preverbal or in postverbal position: compare the position of *azinha-azinha* in (13d) with (14a), (14c) and (14f), and the position of *manso-manso* in (13e) with (14b), (14d) and (14e) respectively. Moreover, that reduplicated adverbs is allowed in either position is also demonstrated by the occurrence of intra-speaker variation:

(15) a. ***Cedo-cedo*** *sai di casa* (Ferreira 1996: 313)[4]
early early go out of house
'leave home very early'
b. *Vai Portugal* ***cedo-cedo*** (Ferreira 1994: 58)
go Portugal early early
'Leave very early for Portugal'

In light of the above, it can be concluded that total reduplication of adverbs is productive in MCP. Reduplicated adverbs actually occur both in preverbal and postverbal position, contra Ansaldo and Matthews (2004). Finally, as with adjectives, total reduplication of adverbs expresses an intensifying meaning

3.4 Verbs

De Silva Jayasuriya (2003: 186) claims that "verb reduplication is not atested in the [...] MAC [= Macao Creole Portuguese] sources". Total reduplication of verbs is not mentioned by Gaião (2007) either. On the other hand, it is illustrated and discussed by Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 14–15).

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As seen in the examples below, verbal reduplication is recorded, but less frequently, throughout the history of MCP:

(16) a. ***Capí- capí*** *aza* 1887 (Marques Pereira 1899b: 704)
squeeze squeeze wing
'opening and closing its wings'
b. *pingá-pingá* 1967 (Ferreira 1967, Glossary)
drip drip
'to drip'
c. *ronça- ronça*[5] 1967 (Ferreira 1967, Glossary)
walk slowly walk slowly
'to wander, to stroll'
d. ***torcê-torcê*** *su corpo* 2009 (Língu maquista)
twist twist POSS body
'twists his body'
e. *pê mâm* ***tremê- tremê*** 2009 (Língu maquista)
leg hand tremble tremble
'[his] legs and hands were trembling'

According to Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 15), verb reduplication is associated with the meaning of "repeated action". However, example (16c) shows that total reduplication of a verb can also express continuity. It appears, then, that the meaning conveyed by total reduplication depends on the aspectual class to which the verb belongs.

In sum, verb reduplication is less frequent compared to that of nouns, adjectives and adverbs (see also Ansaldo and Matthews 2004: 14). The meanings expressed by verbal reduplication are repeated action and continuity.

3.5 Numerals

Total reduplication of numerals is only mentioned by Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 15–14). It is relatively rare, but examples can be found in texts dating from various periods:

(17) a. *pra comprá* ***unga unga*** *ancusa* 1888 (Marques Pereira 1899f: 125)
for buy one one
'to buy things one by one'
b. ***Unga-unga*** *ta falá* 1996 (Ferreira 1996: 72)
one one PROG speak

[4] Also in Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 13), their example (32).

[5] Fernandes and Baxter (2004: 145) also list the variant *aronça-aronça* 'to wander, to stroll'.

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'[They] are speaking one by one.'

However, I take issue with Ansaldo and Matthews's (2004: 16) conclusion regarding the "preverbal placement of the reduplicated phrase". Both (17a) and one of Ansaldo and Matthews's (2004: 16) own examples[6] demonstrate that the reduplicated numeral may occur in postverbal position as well:

(18) *Êle largá pê pulá* ***dôs-dôs*** *degrau*. 1996 (dos Santos Ferreira 1996: 86)
3SG leave leg jump two two step
'He left jumping two steps at a time.'

Finally, as already shown by Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 15), "reduplicated numerals have a distributive sense".

Summarizing, numeral reduplication appears to be less productive. The totally reduplicated form of the numeral may occur either in preverbal or in postverbal position, and is associated with a distributive meaning.

3.6 Quantifiers

None of the previous studies of reduplication in MCP mentions the occurrence of total reduplication of quantifiers. This is not attested in any 19th century and early 20th century texts.

One quantifier which can serve as a base for total reduplication is *tánto* 'an indeterminate quantity'. Its totally reduplicated counterpart *tánto-tánto* means 'so much, so many' (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 159). Consider the following examples:

(19) a. *têm* ***tánto-tánto*** *ancuza* 1967 (Ferreira 1967, texts: 85)
have much much thing
'have so many things'
b. ***tanto-tanto*** *felicidad* 2009 (Língu maquista)
much much happiness
'so much happiness'
c. *já olá* ***tanto-tanto*** *lindo fotografias* 2009 (Língu maquista)
'[I] saw so many nice pictures'

Another quantifier which can undergo total reduplications is *unchinho* 'very little'. The form obtaining via total reduplication, *unchinho-unchinho*, means 'very little, very few':

[6] Their example (50).

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(20) ***unchinho-unchinho*** *ora* 2004 (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 165)
very little very little time
'from time to time'

Quantifier reduplication is not productive, and, as shown above, it expresses an intensifying meaning.

3.7 Interjections

Total reduplication may also target interjections, another fact that has gone unnoticed in previous work on reduplication in MCP. Reduplication of interjections is not attested in 19th century and early 20th century texts, and it appears to be confined to just one interjection, *amen* 'yes':

(21) *amen-amen* 2004 (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 7)
yes yes
'yes-man'

3.8 Change of word class

Previous work on reduplication in MCP has also failed to notice that total reduplication can be a word class changing operation, i.e. the totally reduplicated form belongs to a different syntactic category than its base. This use of total reduplication is not widespread, but it applies to several types of bases.

Total reduplication of a nominal base yields an adverb, as in (22a, b), or a verb, in (23):

(22) a. ***sópa-sópa*** *de* mulado 1885 (Marques Pereira 1899e: 59)
soup soup of wet
'drenched'
b. ***sópa-sópa*** *mulado* 2004 (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 154)
soup soup wet
'drenched'

(23) *andâ* ***coté- coté*** 2004 (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 53)
walk sprain sprain
'to limp, to hobble'

A totally reduplicated adjective turns into an adverb:

(24) *calado-calado* 1967 (Ferreira 1967, Glossary)
quiet quiet
'stealthily'

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Verbs can also undergo change of word class via total reduplication. The resulting form is a noun, in (25), or an adverb, as in (26a, b):

(25) *corta-corta* 2004 (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 52)
cut cut
'kite competition to try to cut an opponent's string'

(26) a. *Tem tantu dinheiro pra* ***sentá sentá*** *vai faze quatru dia di festa?* 1898 (Bruning 2007)
have much money for sit sit go make four day of holiday
'Do you have that much money to have no more, no less a four-day celebration?'
b. ***virâ-virâ*** *vêm* (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 170)
turn turn come
'to come in sometime'

Finally, an interjection changes into a noun:

(27) *amen-amen* 2004 (Fernandes and Baxter 2004: 7)
yes yes
'yes-man'

4. Conclusions

Reduplication in MCP has been shown to apply to more bases than hitherto mentioned in the literature (de Silva Jayasuriya 2003, Ansaldo and Matthews 2004, Gaião 2007). As seen in section 2, partial reduplication also applies to adverbs, and total reduplication also targets quantifiers and interjections, as shown in section 3. Furthermore, the data analyzed in section 3 demonstrate that total reduplication is associated with more meanings and functions: distributive with nouns; continuity with verbs; change of word class with nouns, adjectives, verbs and interjections.

In addition to identifying a wider range of bases for reduplication, as well as of meanings and functions associated with it, the analysis has also disconfirmed previous claims (Ansaldo and Matthews 2004) regarding constraints on the placement of totally reduplicated forms of adverbs and of numerals. This has been made possible by the methodology used in the present paper. Previous studies of reduplication in MCP have considered an extremely limited set of data. For instance, all MCP data in de Silva Jayasuriya (2003) and in Ansaldo and Matthews (2004) are from a single source (dos Santos Ferreira 1996)[7]. José dos Santos Ferreira was one of the last fluent speakers of MCP, and also a writer. In other words, the MCP data analyzed by de Silva Jayasuriya (2003) and by Ansaldo and Matthews (2004) reflect the usage of

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a single speaker, one register, and are illustrative of just one historical period, the second half of the 20th century. On the contrary, as specified in section 1, this paper has examined a large body of texts, illustrating a variety of genres and registers, produced by different users of MCP, and covering a period of almost two centuries.

The main findings regarding reduplication in MCP, in light of the data analyzed in sections 2 and 3, are set out in the table below:

Table 1

To conclude, reduplication in MCP produces both semantic and categorial changes. In the former case, reduplication is iconic, i.e. it is functional in nature: it expresses meanings such as plurality in nouns, intensification or augmentation in adjectives and adverbs, iteration or continuity in verbs. In the latter case, reduplication is non-iconic, and, since it triggers change of word class, it is derivational.

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[7] De Silva Jayasuriya (2003) uses the 1978 edition of dos Santos Ferreira (1996).

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Base	**Type of reduplication**	**Output**	**Meaning/Function**
Noun	Partial Total Total Total	Noun Noun Adverb Verb	Pluralizing Pluralizing Change of word class Change of word class
Adjective	Total Total	Adjective Adverb	Intensifying Change of word class
Adverb	Partial Total	Adverb Adverb	Intensifying Intensifying
Verb	Total Total Total	Verb Noun Adverb	Iterative, continuity Change of word class Change of word class
Numeral	Total	Numeral	Distributive
Quantifiers	Total	Quantifier	Pluralizing
Interjections	Total	Noun	Change of word class

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