Seven ways to say no:  
the negation system in Macau Creole Portuguese

Sete maneiras de dizer não: 
o sistema de negação em Português Crioulo de Macau

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Abstract: The formation of Macau Creole Portuguese (MCP) is attributed to Papia Kristang speakers. However, the contact with Chinese Yue and Min dialects and Indo-Portuguese Creole varieties, and the decreolization towards Standard Portuguese have significantly altered MCP. The negation system in MCP has retained elements from Kristang, but new ones were introduced while others were replaced or eliminated. This study describes different usages of negation in Asian Portuguese-based creole languages and in their respective substrates. The analysis of historical and contemporary written documents allowed us to identify the source of the negative markers in MCP. We have identified seven different negative markers in MCP. Nunca, nom, and nádi are undoubtedly related to Kristang. The Kristang perfective nenâng is not present and the imperative nang was relexified with ne-bom, possibly from Cantonese. The deontic nuncassá was introduced, also a possible relexification from Cantonese. Furthermore, we also identify grammaticalization of modal verbs (the deontic numestê and volitional nonquêro) as negative markers. The interaction between cognitive development and language acquisition appears to be expressed semantically and syntactically in the negation system in MCP, as is seen through the semantic analysis of nuncassá and numestê, which suggests a strong interaction between negation and deontic modality.

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Resumo: A formação do Português Crioulo de Macau (MCP) é atribuída a falantes do Papia Kristang. No entanto, o contato com os dialetos chineses Yue e Min e as variedades crioulas indo-portuguesas e a descreolização sob pressão do português padrão alteraram de maneira significativa a gramática do MCP. O sistema de negação no MCP reteve elementos do Kristang, mas foram introduzidos itens novos enquanto outros foram substituídos ou eliminados. Este estudo descreve os diferentes usos da negação em línguas crioulas de base portuguesa na Ásia e em seus substratos respectivos. A análise de documentos históricos e contemporâneos escritos em MCP nos permite identificar a fonte dos marcadores de negação em MCP. Identificamos sete marcadores negativos no MCP. Nunca, nom e nádi estão indubitavelmente relacionados com o Kristang. O nenâng perfectivo do Kristang não existe e o imperativo nang foi relexificado com ne-bom, possivelmente do cantonês. O nuncassá deôntico foi introduzido, também uma possível relexificação do cantonês. Além disso, também identificamos a gramaticalização de verbos modais (o numestê deôntico e o nonquêro volitivo) como marcadores negativos. A interação entre o desenvolvimento cognitivo e a aquisição de linguagem parece expressar-se semanticamente e sintaticamente no sistema de negação na MCP, como se vê através da análise semântica de nuncassá e numestê, o que sugere uma forte interação entre negação e modalidade deôntica.

Palavras-chave: Macau; crioulo de base lexical portuguesa; negação; modalidade deôntica.

Introduction

The 16th century origin of Macau Creole Portuguese (MCP) is commonly attributed to the presence of Malayo-Portuguese speakers (Holm 1988: 296) in a population that included European Portuguese, people from Southeast and South Asia, and Africa (Ptak 1982: 27), and an initially limited, but growing presence of Chinese. In the last two centuries, under pressure from Portuguese and the growing influence of Cantonese, the creole eventually underwent radical attrition.

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2This study was supported by Fundação Oriente Macau, *Bolsa de Estudo para doutoramento.*
While a number of studies have drawn attention to elements of MCP grammar (Batalha 1974; Morais-Barbosa 1969; Nunes 1994, 2008, 2012) and lexicon (Batalha 1988) that bear the stamp of the Malacca substrate and the diverse adstrates, many points of the typology of MCP are yet to be explored and described. The present study addresses the negation system of MCP, which has hitherto received little attention in the existing research literature. In MCP, we will observe a complex negation system which has introduced, eliminated and replaced several negative markers. Focusing on 19th and 20th century written sources, we investigate synchronic and diachronic variation in the MCP negation system, while considering comparative data from other relevant Asian Portuguese-based creole languages (PCLs).

The first section presents the historical background of MCP. The second section describes our methodology. In the third section of the paper, we consider the historical relation between MCP and the South and Southeast Asian PCLs and their respective substrates, and we will present a cross-linguistic description of the usage of negation in those languages, mainly sentential negation, negative imperatives and tag questions. In the fourth section, we address the syntax of negation in the MCP in order to identify the possible sources of the negation strategies and to observe their evolution. We aim to determine how negation in MCP is related to other Asian PCLs and to Sinitic languages, and how it was affected by the decreolization process. Finally, in the fifth section, we will describe the development of negation in MCP from a semantic perspective.

1 Historical background

Macau was officially established in 1557 from the Portuguese enclave of Malacca, and the origin of MCP is mainly attributed to the presence of speakers of Malacca CP in the foundation population (Holm 1988: 296; Baxter 2009: 284; Ansaldo 2009: 159-181). While the early population also comprised indigenous and Eurasian elements from the Portuguese enclaves in India (Ansaldo 2009: 44), as well as Malays, Timorese and Africans (Ptak 1982: 27), the presence of Chinese within the Macanese community was initially marginal. Subsequently, Chinese from neighboring villages were drawn to Macau, and many converted to Catholicism and adopted the Portuguese culture, especially women, who were integrated as wives, concubines and housemaids (Ptak 1982: 31). By the 19th century, the Chinese constituted a huge majority (Ptak 1982: 28; 3

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3Segregation of foreigners was imposed by Chinese authorities, regulating all contacts between foreigners and the local Chinese population and forbidding Chinese to live within the settlement. This policy was maintained until the aftermath of the Opium Wars, during the 1850s (Ansaldo 2009: 76-77).
Ansaldo 2009: 159). In the same period, with increased socio-economic development of Macau, and notably the establishment of Portuguese-language schools, the early creole was fast decreolizing (Baxter 2009: 284; Nunes 2014: 31-33; 2012: 19). Finally, during the 20th century, pressure from Portuguese and an ever-increasing Chinese influence precipitated a language shift which contributed to the attrition of MCP (Holm 1988: 298; Correia 1999. While Batalha (1978, 1988) was able to work with functional L1 speakers of the language in the 1950-1970s decades, such speakers can no longer be found. Rather, with rare exceptions, there is a population that, in the main, has a passive knowledge of fragments of the language (Nunes 2012: 20; Baxter 2009). The language today is highly endangered (Moseley 2010: 72) and essentially no longer vital as a language of day-to-day communication. Rather, MCP now is mainly confined to an emblematic cultural role, in plays and video clips, and literature (Nunes 2012: 21).

2 Data and method

The data for the present research are mainly from written materials. This naturally imposes a number of constraints on our study, since the earliest documents on Asian PCLs date only from the 19th century and some creoles are now either extinct, decreolized, or have evolved significantly and may no longer preserve certain older grammatical structures. The materials in question are all from published sources, and relate to both MCP and the other Asian PCLs that will provide points of comparison in the study.

Central to our study, we have built a searchable corpus of MCP which includes published documents such as letters, songs, dialogues, poems, diaries, novels and theatre plays. We should note that the authorship of some documents is unknown and it is not clear to what extent the texts were edited for the purpose of publication. Also, when the documents are not dated, we refer to the date of publication, although the original documents are possibly older. Some of the earlier documents were published in Ta-ssi-yang-kuo between 1889 and 1904 (Pereira 1995) and Renascimento (Barreiros 1943-1944). Also, the recent works of José de Santos Ferreira (1921-1993) and Carlos Coelho (1934-2016) are also represented. In total, the corpus

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4 We anticipate a future study based on 20th century audio-recorded materials.
5 A list of the documents included in the corpus is presented in Annex 1. Throughout this study, we use the transcription systems as provided by the references. Also we use the original glosses, if provided by the author, otherwise our glosses follow the Liepzig Glossing conventions.
incorporates approximately 100,000 words. Concordancing and sorting of this corpus was conducted by means of the AntConc Version 3.5.7 (Anthony 2018).

In investigating negation in MCP, we employ both synchronic and diachronic descriptive approaches, as well as incorporating comparisons with other relevant Asian PCLs, and appropriate substrates and adstrates. We address both semantic and syntactic aspects of the negation system. Our cross-linguistic analysis relies on studies of individual Asian PCLs (Batalha 1978; Baxter 1988, 1990; Maurer 2013; Nunes 2010) and comparative studies in the existing research literature (Ferraz 1987; Michaelis et al. 2013). Where syntax is concerned, we will consider negative declarative verbal main clauses (standard negation), negative imperatives (prohibitives), and negative tag (disjunctive) questions. We will describe standard negation in terms of symmetry. Standard negation is said to be symmetrical if the negative and affirmative structures are identical, except for the presence of negative marker(s) (Miestamo 2005: 51). Also, we will establish if prohibitives are different or not from standard negation and require a marker that is not used in declarative construction (Van der Auwera 2005: 25), and we will describe functionally the usage of tag questions, as whether they are declarative statements or formal questions (Kimps 2018: 14-25). From a semantic viewpoint, we will describe the interaction between negation and modality based on the notions of modal suppletion and negation placement strategies (De Haan 1997: 58). Furthermore, our analysis will consider the semantic categories of negation (Dimroth 2010: 43, 60) and the lexical aspect (Andersen and Shirai 1996: 529).

3 Cross-linguistic comparison

In this section, we undertake a review of negation constructions in the languages that have potentially contributed to the development of negation in MCP. Thus, we consider the contribution of Middle Portuguese (MP), which provided input to creolization and essentially co-existed with these creoles. However, more importantly, the Malayo-Portuguese Creoles and their respective substrates are of special relevance, since Malacca was for many years the nearest official Portuguese base to Macau and had been the main staging post for the foundation of Macau. Papia Kristang, Batavia and Tugu CP (BTCP), Malay, the principal substrate and wide-ranging lingua franca of Southeast Asia must be considered, as also must Hokkien, present in Malacca before the arrival of the Portuguese. Further afield, since Macau remained connected with South Asian ports via trade and migration routes, locations where PCLs developed (Baxter 2012: 142), it is also necessary to consider the potential contribution of the Indo-Portuguese Creoles and their Indo-Aryan and Dravidian substrates (Holm 1988: 284-285). The creoles in question
are primarily Sri Lanka CP (SLCP) and the Malabar CP varieties; and to a lesser extent, Korlai CP, and Diu and Daman CP.

The Portuguese presence in the Malay peninsula and Indonesian archipelago during the 16th and 17th centuries led to the formation of three documented Portuguese-based creoles: Kristang (Baxter 1988), BTCP (Maurer 2011) and Bidau CP (Baxter 1990). Kristang is still spoken in Malacca and shares structural features with Malay (Baxter 1988: 218). BTCP are extinct creoles once spoken in the present-day Jakarta region that were introduced by Kristang speakers and influenced by Indo-Portuguese varieties (Maurer 2011). Each of these varieties may be classified as a Malayo-Portuguese Creole, as the principal substrate and language in prolonged contact with these varieties is Malay. At the same time, the development of coastal and vehicular varieties of Malay owes much to Hokkien (Ansaldo 2009: 161), a Southern Min dialect, whose influence is particularly significant in Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay during the 15th century (Ansaldo 1999: 39), and indirectly, on the subsequent formation of Kristang. Indeed, Bazaar Malay was the predominant language of the cosmopolitan trade city of Malacca at the time of the Portuguese conquest in 1511 (Baxter 1988: 4). Arcodia (2017: 24) has suggested that Sinitic influence in MCP could be indirectly attributed to Hokkien during the diffusion of Kristang in Southeast Asia.

In Macau itself, both Hokkien and Cantonese are of prime historical significance. Hokkien merchants were actively engaged in Macau during the 16th century (Chin 2010: 171) and Hokkien fishermen could have had an early influence on MCP (Ansaldo 2009: 80). Also, the influence of Yue dialects, especially Cantonese, on MCP have been reported by Ansaldo and Matthews (2004: 13) and Nunes (2008: 19).

Finally, it is relevant to look further afield, to the Malabar Coast and Sri Lanka, which were connected to Macau by commercial networks that could provide channels through which speakers from those regions may have influenced MCP. SLCP shares morphological and syntactic features with Sinhalese and Tamil (Smith 2016: 238), the latter being closely related to Malayalam which has also influenced the formation of the Malabar CP varieties (Krajinović 2015: 79). Of lesser importance, Korlai CP, spoken by a small and isolated population of Indian Christians, was influenced by Marathi-speaking communities (Clements 2015: 15). Also, the formation of Daman CP and Diu CP was influenced by Gujarati (Cardoso 2016: 25; Clements and Koontz-Garboden 2002: 199). A significant part of the MCP lexicon certainly comes from Indo-Portuguese Creole languages (Baxter 2009: 288) and grammatical structures were also inherited through Kristang (Hancock 1975: 217-218). However, it is not clear to what extent the structure of negation may have been affected.
3.1 Negation in Macau Creole Portuguese

Verbal negation in MCP is mainly constructed with nunca, nom and nádi (Baxter 2009: 286; Ferreira 1996: 243). Nom (and its variants non, nu, no, não) and nunca are functionally similar and they serve as a general negative marker for all verb, aspect and tense, except for the future-irrealis which is negated with nádi. In present tense, symmetry is found between the affirmation and negation: the negative structure is identical to the affirmative, except for the presence of the negative marker. On the surface, MCP is using an unin/lected negative particle which systematically precedes the verb following a SNegVO pattern (1).

(1) Vôsso tio nunca dançá.
2S-GEN uncle NEG dance
“So your uncle doesn’t dance.”
(“8 de Novembro, 1869”, in Barreiros 1943: 133)

This SNegVO structure is found in Middle Portuguese (MP), although with negator não, in a period which corresponds with the Portuguese colonial expansion in Africa, India and East Asia (Clements and Koontz-Garboden 2002: 173). Broadly speaking, the grammatical rules of negation found in MP documents from the 16th century and onwards are syntactically similar to those of Modern Standard European Portuguese. For instance, the negation of declaratives and imperatives only requires the particle não “no” (2).

(2) Tu não tens nenhum miolo.
2S NEG have none crumb
“Your intelligence is small.” (Lit. “You have no crumb.”)
(Exhortação da Guerra, Gil Vicente 1513, in Bell 2014: 27)

However, in MCP, the symmetric/asymmetric relation is not found in the past (3) and future tenses (4) where the aspect markers in declarative clauses are suppressed with negation.

(3) a. Vôsso mai já olá diabo!
2S-GEN mother PRF see devil
“So your mother saw the devil!”
(“Estória de Maria co Alferis Juán”, Ferreira 1996: 72)

6In this study we will use the term Portuguese to refer to Middle Portuguese and Modern Portuguese alike.
b. **Iou nunca olá diabo!**
1S  NEG  see  devil
“I did not see the devil!”
(“Estória de Maria co Alferis Juán”, Ferreira 1996: 72)

(4)  a. **Éle onsong vem, e onsong logo vai.**
3S  alone  come  and  alone  FUT-IRR  go
“He comes alone, and alone will he go.”
( *Os Viúvos*, 1928, in Barreiros (1943: 572)

b. **Iou nádi vai Ong công!**
1S  NEG  go  Hong  Kong
“I will not go to Hong Kong!”
(“César co Cleópatra”, Ferreira 1996: 41)

Also, in some cases, the affirmative and its negative counterpart are morphologically different. For instance, the modal *amestê* “must” becomes *nom-mestê* under negation (5) while *quêre* “want” becomes *nomquêro* (6).

(5)  a. **Agora, minha Chencha, amestê tomá muito cuidado.**
now  1S-GEN  Chencha  must  take  much  care
“Now, my dear Chencha, you must take care.”
(“7 de Abril, 1870”, in Barreiros 1943: 241)

b. **Vós non mestê papiá babuséra...**
2S  NEGDEON  talk  nonsense
“You must not talk nonsense…
(“Má-língu co má-língu”, Ferreira 1996: 186)

(6)  a. **Vós querê más chá?**
2S  want  more  tea
“Do you want more tea?”
(“Mui-Mui sua neto”, Ferreira 1996: 48)

b. **Non quêro más.**
NEG  want  more
“I don’t want anymore.”
(“Mui-Mui sua neto”, Ferreira 1996: 48)

Additionally, one type of modality requires a specific negative marker, *nuncassá* (also *num cança* or *nunc aça*), the negation of necessity (7). Finally, *nunca bom* (or *nebom*) is used for imperative negatives (8).
Seven ways to say no...
Sete maneiras de dizer não...

(7) Vos nuncaça medo.
2S NEG_NEED afraid
“No need to be afraid!”
(Lolita, 1937, in Barreiros 1943: 26)

(8) Vos nebom medo.
2S NEG_IMP afraid
“Don’t be afraid.”
(Lolita, 1937, in Barreiros 1943: 25)

Nom is functionally similar to nunca, although it only combines with a certain set of verbs (quêro “want”, pôde “can”, sabe “know”; tem “have” and mestê “must”) as exemplified in (9).

(9) a. Iôu non quêro dóda na casa.
1S NEG want crazy LOC house
“I don’t want a crazy woman in the house.”
(Nora moderna, 1943, in Barreiros 1943: 158)

b. Chico-Chai nom pôde durmí.
Chico-Chai NEG can sleep
“Chico-Chai cannot sleep.”
(“Estória de Maria co Alferis Juán”, Ferreira 1996: 77)

c. Eu nun sabe latim.
1S NEG know Latin
“I don’t know how to speak Latin.”
(“O senhor bem o sabe”, 1888, in Barreiros 1943: 354)

d. Vôs non tem nada di bom.
2SG NEG have nothing CONJ good
“There’s nothing good about you.”
(“Uma descompostura”, 1900, in Barreiros 1943: 591)

e. Vôs nomestê lembrá agora.
2S NEG-must think now
“You shouldn’t think for now.”
(“Macão, 7 de Abril, 1870”, in Barreiros 1943: 243)

Finally, nunca can be used in focus negative constructions (10), tag questions with the copula (11) and reduplicative questions (12).
(10) Eu nunca sam querê ficá cholido.
1S NEG be want become meddlesome
“It is not that I want to be interfering.”
(“Mas um-a disgraça”, 1887, in Barreiros 1943: 254)

(11) Divéra chiste, sã nunca?
really funny be NEG
“It’s really funny, isn’t it?”
(Escritos, Coelho 2012: 29/11)

(12) Vôs pôde, non-pôde ajudá iou?
2S can NEG-can help 1S
“Can you help me?”
(“Padrinho”, Ferreira 1996: 179)

3.2 Negation in Malayo-Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese Creoles

Four negative markers are found in Kristang which shares structural features with Malay: ŋgka, nadi, nenâng and nang (Baxter 1988: 137-142). The grammars of BTCP are treated concurrently by Maurer (2011: 87-90) who describes four negative markers: nungku, non, nada, and nang.

Similar to nunca in MCP, Kristang ŋgka (13) and BTCP nungku (14) are derived from the Portuguese nunca “never” and they are considered the general negative marker for verbs in the past and present, for adjectives, and for nouns.

(13) Eli ŋgka bai mar.
3S NEG go sea
“He doesn’t go fishing.”
(Baxter 1988: 139)

(14) Asílay sorti eo nungku buska.
such sort 1SG NEG look for
“This kind I am not looking for.”
(Maurer 2011: 87)

In SLCP, Dalgado (1900: 41) suggested that não negates the verb for the present and the imperative, whereas nunca (or nunclo) is used for the perfect. However, Smith (2011: 269) argues that the modern nuku is used in both present and past negative constructions, which supports Berrenger (1811) and Callaway (1820: 38) who also did not make any distinction between past and present tenses involving noque or noco (15).
Seven ways to say no...
Sete maneiras de dizer não...

(15) a. Eu noco intinde aquel
1S NEG understand DEM
“I do not understand it.”
(Callaway 1820: 38)

b. Vosse noco intinde par mi?
2S NEG understand PREP 1S-ACC
“Did you not understand me?”
(Callaway 1820: 38)

Nevertheless, in Malabar CP varieties, a temporal distinction between nu/no and nuka is also reported by Krajinović (2015: 53) (16).

(16) Olivia Francis sə pərtə nuka kəmbərsa ənti.
Olivia Francis GEN SOC NEG.PST conversar ontem
“A Olivia não falou com o Francis ontem.”
(Krajinović 2015: 53)

The distinction between nom and nunca in MCP is discussed further in section 4.

On the other hand, a negative marker morphologically equivalent to nunca is absent in Diu CP and Korlai CP. The main negative particle in Diu CP (nã) (Cardoso 2016: 209), and Korlai CP (nu) (Clements 1996: 175) is functionally identical to standard Portuguese where it is used in all negative sentential constructions, including prohibitives.

Kristang ģka and BTCP nungku can also be used with stative verbs and nonverbal predication without the use of a copula, while in Malay, tidak is mostly used for verbs and adjectives (17a) and bukan applies to nominal predications (17b) (Marsden 1812: 84; Shellabear 1912: 23-24; Mintz 2002: 277-284).

(17) a. Encik Ali tidak belajar di Australia.
Sir Ali NEG study LOC Australia
“Mr Ali doesn’t study in Australia.”
(Mintz 2002: 279)

b. Encik Ali belajar bukan di Australia, tetapi di Amerika.
Sir Ali study NEG LOC Australia but LOC America
“Mr Ali studies not in Australia, but in America.”
(Mintz 2002: 278)
In general, the usage of ſíŋka or nungku follow a symmetrical pattern for present tense constructions. However, the particles ja or logu which mark the perfective aspect and the future-irrealis mood are suppressed under negation in both Kristang and BTCP, and also in SLCP and Malabar CP varieties. In fact, the negation of the future-irrealis mood is performed with nadi in Kristang (18), or nada in BTCP (Maurer 2011: 59), but it has no parallel in Malay. The future negative marker nad/nada is also found in SLCP (Smith 2011: 264), Malabar CP varieties (Krajinović 2015: 53-54) and in Diu and Daman CP.

(18) **Eli nadi kantá.**

3s NEG-FI sing

“He won’t sing.”

(Baxter 1988: 141)

In Indo-Aryan languages such as Sinhalese (Gunasekara 1891: 317; Gair and Paolillo 1997: 44-46; Chandralal 2010: 265-267), Marathi (Wali 2005: 31-34; Dhoṅgaḍe and Wali 2009: 249-262) and Guajarati (Tisdall 1892: 59-60; Doctor 2004: 60-62), sentential negation is performed with a simple particle that negates the predicate by preceding or following it. On the other hand, in agglutinative languages from the Dravidian family such as Tamil (Rhenius 1836: 97-101; Arden 1969: 228-234; Schiffman 1999: 142-149) and Malayalam (Drummond 1799: 84-85; Peet 1841: 89-93; Asher and Kumari 2012: 151-156; Nair 2012: 69-74), the negative is expressed in the verb by adding a specific suffix to the root so that every verb has two distinctive paradigms: a declarative and a corresponding negative. However, some distinctions for tense, mood, and aspect, or person, number and gender between the affirmative and negative sentences are not equivalent, such as in Tamil (Schiffman 1999: 142). Moreover, the positive and negative form are not always morphologically related one to another, such as in Malayalam (Asher and Kumari 2012: 153).

The Kristang nenáng (19) is similar to Malay belum (20) (Baxter 1988: 139) which expresses the perfective aspect and may be translated as “not yet”. It evokes the probability or the intention that the statement will eventually become a positive affirmation. It indicates perfective aspect and it may occur in past, present of future contexts.

(19) **Eli nenáng bai kaza.**

3s NEG-PF go house

“He hasn’t gone home yet.”

(Baxter 1988: 140)

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7In Diu and Daman CP nad or n’had is reported in Ta-ssi-yang-kuo (Pereira 1900: 517), but it is absent from Cardoso’s description of Diu CP.
Seven ways to say no...
Sete maneiras de dizer não...

(20) **Mariam belum balik.**
Mariam NEG-PF back

“Mariam hasn’t returned yet.”
(Mintz 2002: 70)

This aspectual distinction is not found in MCP nor in BTCP. Instead, the construction of the negated continuative, “not yet”, is formed with the expression *inda nun* in MCP, *inda na* in BTCP (Maurer 2011: 90). Similarly, in Diu CP, *ain* is placed after the negated verb (Cardoso 2016: 115).

The Kristang (21) and BTCP (22) *nang* is the negative particle for prohibitives and, as with *jangan* in Malay (23), it occurs with directive speech, indirect commands and implied purposes.

(21) **(Bos) nang bebé sura! !**
you NEG-IMP drink toddy IMP

“Don’t drink toddy!”
(Baxter 1988: 186)

(22) **Kaladu, nang da sabe.**
quiet PROH give know

“Be quiet, don’t tell to anybody.”
(Maurer 2011: 89)

(23) **Jangan taruh di situ.**
NEG-IMP put LOC there

“Don’t put it there.”
(Mintz 2002: 289)

In modern SLCP, the negative deontic *numistê* became *numis*, the negative marker for imperatives (24).

(24) **Numis-kaa-largaa.**
NEG.IMP-PFV-leave

“Don’t leave [it].”
(Smith 2016: 265)

Similarly, in Malabar CP varieties, the negative imperative uses the modal *podî* “can” (25).
(25) Bos minha pærtə asi nu pɔ kɔmbɔrsə.
2.NOM 1SG.GEN SOC assim NEG poder conversar
“Não fales assim comigo.”
(Krajinović 2015: 51)

In Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, the negation of imperative and declarative sentences also requires negative constructions different from declarative sentences. For example, in Sinhalese, the negative particle eppa is added to the imperative verb instead of nææ, the general negative marker (26).

(26) a. Ranjit wiiduruə binde nææ.
Ranjit glass break.NPT.FOC NEG
“Ranjit didn’t break the glass.”
(Chandralal 2010: 223)

b. Hinaawennə eppa.
laugh.IMP NEG
“Don’t laugh.”
(Chandralal 2010: 255)

Similarly, in Tamil, the particles -aade and -aadenga (more polite) are used in negative imperatives instead of the particle –lle (27).

(27) a. Avan poduvaα padattuκku pooradulle.
he generally picture-DAT going-NEG
“He doesn’t usually go to the movies.”
(Schiffman 1999: 143)

b. Poohaadenga.
go.NEG.IMP
“Please don’t go.”
(Schiffman 1999: 46)

In Marathi, the prohibitive requires the volitional nəko (“not want”, the negation of pahije “want”) instead of nahi (28).

(28) a. Lili wedi nahi.
Lili mad not
“Lili is not mad.”
(Dhoṅgade and Wali 2009: 251)
Seven ways to say no...

Sete maneiras de dizer não...

b. Ghori jau nako-s.
   home go NEG.2SG-IMP
   “Don’t go home.”
   (Wali 2005: 33)

In Gujarati, na (mān or mā according to Tisdall 1892) is used instead of no’ī (29).

(29) a. Ravi a[lo dukhī hōto ke tāmhe puchśo nāhi.
   Ravi so-much unhappy be+past result you ask+fut. not
   “Ravi was so unhappy that you need not ask.”
   (Doctor 2004: 70)

   b. Sāpne mar na, jawa de.
   snake+Dat. kill not, go+gerund give+IMP
   “Do not kill the snake, let him go.”
   (Doctor 2004: 56)

As in MCP, the negation of certain verbs in Kristang implies the fusion between a short negator and the verb such as ňgka: ntē (NEG-have), nggere (NEG-want), mpodi (NEG-can), nsē (NEG-know), numisti (NEG-must) (Baxter 1988: 139). Such contracted forms are also found in BTCP: nonteng (NEG-have or NEG-be), nungkere (NEG-want), nompodi (NEG-can), nungsabe (NEG-know), numisti (NEG-must) (Maurer 2011: 88-89); in SLCP: nomtem/nuntinha (NEG-have), nompodē/nompodia (NEG-can), ninquerē/ninqueria (NEG-want), nemistē (NEG-must), nuvē (NEG-be) (Dalgado 1900; Smith 2011); and in Malabar CP varieties (Krajinović 2015): nika (NEG-want), nu po (NEG + “can).

A fusion is also observed in Korlai CP between the negative particle nu and the auxiliary kē “is” which is analogous to Marathi nahi, and nutē and becomes the general negative marker (30) (Clements 1996: 176).

(30) Elo nutē katad.
   3PL NEG-be sing
   “They have not sung.”
   (Clements 1996: 195)

Similarly, nu can combine differently and becomes the future nupa and conditional nupri, which are derived from Portuguese não pode “not able” and não poderia “would not be able” (Clements 1996: 176-177).

The fusion between the negative marker and the verb is inherent to the agglutinative structure of the Dravidian languages, but it is also found in Indo-Aryan.
languages. For instance, in Marathi, the negative particle ṇa combines with different auxiliaries which can also work as independent negative verbs, such as “nahi (ṇa + ahe “is”) which negates all finite clauses, nesne (ṇa + œsne “exist”), nōse (ṇa + œse “used to be”), nōsel (ṇa + asel “may”), and nōhōta (ṇa + hōta “was”) (Wali 2005: 31; Dhoṅgade and Wali 2009: 261).

Also, in Gujarati, 2 compound forms are present: nōthi (ṇa + thēvū “becoming”) and nhōto (ṇa + the past participle of hēvū “to happen”) (Doctor 2004: 61). However, in Diu CP, negation remains essentially identical to standard Portuguese and no fusion is observed. Although, the formation of Diu CP was influenced by Gujarati, Standard Portuguese was still used in school, government offices, and churches until the end of the colony (Clements and Koontz-Garboden 2002: 203).

Finally, the use of negative markers for tag questions or to emphasize a word that precedes the tag is commonly observed in most of the Asian PCLs: the usage of ṅka in Kristang (Baxter 1988: 187) for tag questions can be compared to tidak and bukan in Malay (Mintz 2002: 284-289). Also, tag question in Kristang can use the question particle kā (31).

(31) Eli bebé sura ṅka kā.
   3s drink toddy NEG QP
   “He drinks toddy, doesn’t he?”
   (Baxter 1988: 187)

This tag form is also found in BTCP (Maurer 2011: 89) but it is not present in MCP.

In Diu CP, the usage of the requestative negative particle ṇa (32) comes from Gujarati (Cardoso 2016: 269-270), where na is used in imperatives and in the formation of polar and tag questions, to ascertain unknown information, and to establish clarity (Cardoso 2016: 136).

(32) Yo nā te kaz nā te nā?
   1S NEGcl have.NPST house NEGcl have.NPST REQ
   “I do not have a house, you see?”
   (Cardoso 2016: 200)

Interestingly, the Diu CP particle ṇa is similar to the MCP na, also used for imperatives, as described in section 4.

In Korlai CP, the negative particles ne and nāw are used for tag question (33) (Clements 1996), similarly to Marathi where both nahi and ṇa can be used in tag question (Dhoṅgade and Wali 2009: 250-251).
Seven ways to say no...
Sete maneiras de dizer não...

(33) Mi irmã ti vid aki, naw?
my sister had come here, TAG
“My sister had come here, right?”
(Clements 1996: 182)

In this section, we have observed similarities between MCP, Kristang, BTCP, SLCP and Malabar CP varieties which possess a negative marker morphologically similar to nunca which is used for standard negation. However, symmetrical constructions are only found in present tense, while the perfective and future-irrealis markers are suppressed under negation. Also, the fusion between a short negative marker (nom) and a specific set of verbs as observed in those creoles is inherent to agglutinative Dravidian languages and it is common Marathi and Gujarati. Concerning negative imperatives, we saw that a different marker is used in all languages, with the exception of Diu CP and Korlai CP which are similar to Portuguese as the same marker is used for standard negation and prohibitives. However, the prohibitive ne-bom and the deontic nuncassá in MCP were not found in other creoles, and the aspectual nenâng from Kristang was not found in MCP. Finally, the usage of negative markers for tag question seems to be common in Asian PCLs. However, the structure and function of disjunctive questions as found in MCP are not identical.

3.3 Negation in Sinitic languages

In section 3.1, we have established similarities between MCP, Kristang, BTCP, SLCP and Malabar CP which corroborate the historical relations between those languages. However, some features of the MCP negation system, such as the negation of necessity (nuncassá) and the usage of reduplicative questions, were not found in other Asian PCLs. Therefore, we should consider the possible influence of Sinitic languages, mainly Cantonese, which is the predominant language in the region, and possibly Hokkien, which was significantly present in Macau during the earliest stage of the settlement.

In Sinitic languages, semantically distinct negative particles and adverbs can express modality and aspect (Chappell and Peyraube 2016: 484). Such negation systems include specific markers for standard negation, negative existential, copular and possessive verbs, and negative imperatives.

In Hokkien (Chappell 2018: 24), bo5, m7 are the main negative markers. The negative imperative is generally achieved with mai3 but different markers are used in nuanced constructions expressing the negation of ability or possibility (boe5), the negation of necessity (m7 bier2) or the negation of permission (boe-sai). In Cantonese (Matthews and Yip 1994: 248-260), mh is the main negative marker for present tense while the existential móuh and the imminent meih are used to negate the past tense and perfective aspect. Three markers are used for negative imperatives (34): the general imperative maih, the more usual and polite injunctive mhóu and the deontic msái which indicates the lack necessity.
The Hokkien \textit{bo} and \textit{m} can also occur at the end of a declarative statement for formulating Yes-No polar questions (Chappell 2018: 29). In Cantonese, the general negative marker \textit{mh} is used to form polar Yes-No questions following a Verb-NEG-Verb structure (35).

\begin{equation}
\text{Léih sik-\textit{mh}-sik ngóh sailóu a?}
\end{equation}

\begin{equation}
\text{you know-not-know my brother PRT}
\end{equation}

“Do you know my brother?”

(Mathmetics and Yip 1994: 311)

Similar to both Hokkien and Cantonese, \textit{nuncassá} MCP, as seen in (7), is marker that expresses the lack of necessity. Moreover, the structure of reduplicative questions in Cantonese is also found in MCP, as seen above in (12). The introduction of \textit{nuncassá} and the usage of reduplicative questions, possibly attributable to Sinitic languages, will be discussed further in the following section.

\section{Diachronic and synchronous analysis}

In section 3, we identified 7 morphologically and semantically different negative markers in MCP verbal constructions: \textit{nom}, \textit{nunca}, \textit{nádi}, \textit{nonquêro}, \textit{nomestê}, \textit{nuncassá}, and \textit{ne-bom}. This system contrasts with the Portuguese \textit{não}, the single negative marker for all verbal constructions, but it is also different from the 4 markers of Kristang (\textit{ńgka}, \textit{nenáng}, \textit{nadi}, \textit{nang}). We have found that the prohibitive \textit{nang} was replaced by \textit{ne-bom}, and the perfective \textit{nenáng} is not found in MCP.

In this section, we will clarify the source and the usage of each marker in order to assess the synchronous and diachronic variation of the negation system. In particular, we will investigate the Sinitic influence on negation on MCP and the decreolization process towards Standard Portuguese.
4.1 Nom, nunca and nádi

*Nom* is present in MCP, Kristang, BTCP, SLCP, and Malabar CP varieties but it is not found, or at least it is not dominant, in Diu CP nor in Korlai CP. However, the grammaticalization of Portuguese *nunca* “never” as a negative marker is observed in *Língua de Preto* “Language of the Negro” which was spoken by African slaves in Portugal in the 16th century and is related to West African PCLs (Kihm 2013: 41). For example, in Atlantic PCLs such as Kriyol, the Portuguese-based creole of Guinea-Bissau (Kihm 2004: 41-47), and Cape Verdean Creole (Baptista 2003: 116-119), the negative particle *ka* is possibly derived from *nunca* (Kihm 2004: 47). This suggests that *nunca* was present in Portuguese pidgins in Africa and could have been present in pidgin Portuguese used as Lingua Franca in Asia, and it may have been then introduced into Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia by sailors, merchants and slaves. For instance, Holm (2009: 19) interprets the common usage of *nunca* as evidence of partial reciprocal diffusion between different varieties of Portuguese-based creoles.

*Nádi* is derived from *não há de* “not have to” (Delgado 1900: 42; Baxter 2009: 286). It is the negative equivalent of the future-irrealis marker *logo* “will/would” which is replaced in negation. Similar to *nunca*, *nádi* is present in Kristang, BTCP, SLCP, and Malabar CP varieties, but not it is not found in Korlai CP where *nupa* (NEG-can) is used and it is not commonly used in Diu and Daman CP.

In MCP, *nom* possibly derives from Portuguese *não* and mainly combines with a specific set of verbs: the modals *pôde* “can” and *mestê* “must”, and the stative verbs *querê* “want”, *sabe* “know”, and *tem* “have” (9). However, in Kriyol (36a), Cape Verdean (36b) and in *Língua de Preto* (36c), *ka* occurs normally with that set of verbs.

(36) a. Kila ningin ka pudi tuji n el.
   that nobody NEG can forbid me it
   “Nobody can forbid me that.”
   (Kihm 1994: 54)

b. Ma ami, nada N ka ten.
   but NONCL nothing CL NEG have
   “But, as for me, I don’t have anything.”
   (Baptista 2003: 118)

c. N ka pudi mas.
   I NEG can more
   “I can’t go on/ I’m exhausted.”
   (Kihm 1994: 27)
Tab. 1: Combinations of *nom*, *nunca*, or *nádi* and modal or stative verbs in Macau Creole Portuguese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Nunca</th>
<th>Nádi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pôde</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Querê</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabe</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tem</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mestê</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sã</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other verbs</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In MCP, although *nom* and *nunca* are functionally similar, they don’t appear to be interchangeable as the occurrence of *nunca* with the set of verbs as previously listed is rare. In our corpus, we have found a grand total of 736 occurrences for *nom* (and its variants *não*, *num*, *nu*, *non*), 783 for *nunca*, and 389 for *nádi*. However, when the distribution of *nunca* and *nom* is considered relative to particular verbs, there is a marked difference. The combinations of *nom*, *nunca*, or *nádi* are listed in Table 1. The sentential combination with the copula *sã* “be” is also presented separately.

The combinations of *nunca* and *sã* “be” represent almost 50% of all occurrences of *nunca*. The frequent usage of *sã* is mainly related to the usage of copula and focus constructions such as in (10). On the other hand, the combination of *nunca* with the 5 other modal verbs only occurs 22 times, compared to 684 times with *nom*. In fact, 21 of those cases were found in the recent work of Carlos Coelho. This suggests the instability of the declining MCP which resulted in simplification and confluence in ongoing language contact, as observed in other dying languages (Dorian 1978: 608).

In contrast, where *nunca* occurs 377 times with other types of verbs (i.e. non-stative and non-modal) and 384 times with *sã*, *nom* only combines 22 times with other verb types, and only 30 times with *sã*. Thus, *nom* is found in expressions such as *numpresta* “not worth”, *nun gosta* “don’t like”, *nom basta* “not enough”, *non vem non vae* “not coming not going”. Some of these occurrences, as in (37), are possibly instances of the decreolization process.

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8 The combination of *nunca* and *sã* should not be confused with *nuncassã* “not necessary”.

PAPIA, 28(2), e-ISSN 2316-2767
Seven ways to say no...
Sete maneiras de dizer não...

(37) São divéra. Não é imaginação...
be true. NEG be imagination
“It’s true. It’s not imagination...”
(“Úngha Sônho”, 1926, in Barreiros 1943: 93)

It is sometimes suggested that nom is associated with the present tense while nunca corresponds to past tense and nádi is used with future tense (Ferreira 1996: 243). However, since nom occurs with one of the 5 modals (pôde, querê, sabe, tem, and mestê) more than 90% of the time while nunca almost never combines, it is unlikely that the choice between nom and nunca is directly motivated by the verb tense. In fact, MCP is similar to Malay and Sinitic languages, which are considered as “grammatically tenseless” languages, in the sense that the verb is mostly defined by aspectual distinctions and in particular, the perfective is considered to be the “default tense reading” (De Caen 1995: 45). In MCP, the particles já, logo and tá mark, respectively, the perfective, the future-irrealis, and progressive in affirmative sentences. Although these particles can mark relative tense, they should mainly be interpreted in terms of completeness or incompleteness of action, and as indefinite potentiality. Já is suppressed in negative past constructions which supports the claim that the perfective aspect tends to be less compatible with negation (Miestamo and Van der Auwera 2011: 81). Also, the negation of the future-irrealis is formed by replacing logo with nádi.

Also, we have observed that some constructions use nunca in the scope of temporal adverbs that indicate present time (38).

(38) Agora nunca vivo onsong.
now NEG live alone
“We do not live alone now.”
(Lolita, 1937, in Barreiros 1943: 26)

On the other hand, nom may occur in constructions using a temporal adverb referring to the past or indefinite tense as in (39).

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9 We have observed 40 negative constructions where já is present (já + NEG). On the other hand, NEG + já never occurs. In all the 40 cases found throughout our corpus, já + NEG doesn’t have the perfective aspect value and can be interpreted as a discontinuative construction with the meaning of “not + Verb + any longer”. This type of construction is commonly found in Portuguese and is possibly attributable to decreolization.
“Last night, I prepared nausea medication, I drank it, I bathed and applied three suction cups, but it couldn’t pass.”

( Os Viúvos, 1928, in Barreiros 1943: 572)

As was noted in section 3.1, Dalgado (1900: 41) and Krajinović (2015: 53) suggested that the choice of the negative markers differentiates the present and perfectin SLCP and Malabar CP varieties. However, the examples provided by Krajinović (2015: 17, 53, 64) do not show that *nuka* can occur with every verb or that *nu* can occur with different verbs than the set presented in Table 1 (Krajinović 2015: 41, 45, 50-52, 55, 56, 119, 121). Also, we saw that Callaway (1820: 38) used *noco* in both present and past tenses, as in (15). Nevertheless, it was demonstrated that SLCP was subject to significant convergent development during the 19th and 20th century (Smith 2016: 238; Cardoso 2014: 108). Thus, it does not seem impossible that a tense distinction between *non* and *nunca* may have actually been in place at some point in the past, but on the basis of the data we have considered, we can assume that the general difference between *nom* and *nunca* in MCP is not related to verb tense. On the other hand, *nádi* (and its equivalent in other Malayo-Portuguese creoles) is generally considered to have a conditional value or to express the irrealis mood, and it can also be interpreted as the negation of the future tense (Baxter 1988: 151; Maurer 2011: 59).

The fusion between *nom* and modal verbs in MCP generally occurs with the same verbs: *pôde*, *querê*, *sabe*, *tem*, and *mestê*. In Table 2, we compare the fusion in MCP, Kristang, BTCP, SLCP and Malabar CP varieties. Also, we have included a comparison with Korlai CP, where *nunca* is not present, but where the fusion between the negative marker and the verb became an aspectual marker (*nete* for the present, *nupa* for the future, *nupri* for the conditional). Such degree of fusion and of grammatical function in Korlai CP is certainly influenced by Marathi (Clements 1996: 180). Also, we should note that the negative marker occurs after deontic *masi* in Korlai CP and *non miste* became the imperative *numis* in SLCP. In a survey covering 240 languages, Dahl (1979: 92) has observed that syntactically, the negative marker tends to be as close as possible to the finite element. This proximity certainly favours the fusion between the negative marker and verbs of high frequency, as we have observed in Asian PCLs and Indo-Aryan languages. However, the striking similarities confirm the close linguistic and historical relationship between MCP, Kristang, BTCP, SLCP and the Malabar CP varieties.

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10*Savang* is more accurately described as an ailment caused by foul air or bad smell. Cupping therapy has been traditionally used in China for various conditions such as pain, herpes zoster, cough or asthma, acne, common cold, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Macau CP</th>
<th>Kristang¹</th>
<th>BTCP²</th>
<th>Korlai CP³</th>
<th>Malabar CP⁴</th>
<th>Sri Lanka CP⁵</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nompôde</td>
<td>Mpodí</td>
<td>Nompodi</td>
<td>Nupa</td>
<td>Nu po</td>
<td>Nompodi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomquêro</td>
<td>Nggere</td>
<td>Nungkere</td>
<td>Nike</td>
<td>Nike</td>
<td>Ninquere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomtem</td>
<td>Ntê</td>
<td>Nonteng</td>
<td>Nute</td>
<td>Nu tæ</td>
<td>Nomtem, non tinhé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomestê</td>
<td>Numisti</td>
<td>Numisti</td>
<td>Masi nu</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Non miste Numis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonsabe</td>
<td>Nsé</td>
<td>Nungsabe</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Nonquêro, amestê, nuncassá and ne-bom

In Korlai CP, the fusion between the negative marker and modals has produced morphologically distinct aspectual markers (Clements 1996: 175-176). In MCP, the fusion has not developed to the same extent as in Korlai CP, but it has also created distinct expressions which were eventually grammaticalized: nonquêro, amestê, nuncassá and ne-bom.

Firstly, nonquêro “NEG-want” is the negative form of querê “want”. This constitutes a special case in MCP where a verb has an affirmative and negative form. In MCP, most verbs with Portuguese etymology are derived from the third person form, but nonquêro appears to be derived from the first person, the Portuguese quero. In our corpus, we have found 147 occurrences of querê and 53 occurrences of its negative counterpart: 47 nonquêro, 2 non querê, 1 nunca querê, and 3 nádi querê. “Quêro” appears alone in a positive form only once in Coelho (2012) and the only occurrence of nunca querê is found, also in Coelho (2012). The two occurrences of non querê were found in Nora Moderna (Barreiros 1943: 156), and in Ferreira (1996: 190). The form nonquêro is not found in Kristang. This could be the result of decreolization, yet equally could also be an earlier independent development of the MCP (11 occurrences of “nonquêro” were found in documents dated between 1887 and 1900) that was caused by the effect of frequency, that is the tendency to retain irregular but more frequent forms (conservation effect), and to weaken frequently used forms (reduction effect) (Bybee and Thompson 1997: 378-380; Hopper and Traugott 2003: 127-128). For instance, we might assume that volition is a frequent category that it is likely to be negated in the first person during conversation and the higher frequency could contribute to preserving the irregularity of the negative variant nonquêro.

Secondly, the negation of the modal verb amestê “must” is nonmestê. This pair of variants is similar to that of querê and nonquêro, but it is morphologically different,
and amestê can also occur alone, with or without the prefix a-. In fact, the origin of the prefix a- with mestê is uncertain as it is not found in other Asian PCLs. Mestê comes from the Portuguese mister “essential, fundamental” and the prefix “a-” in the formation of certain verbs in Portuguese is common, such as in abaular “to bulge” from baul “trunk” or alargar “enlarge” from largo “large” (Kehdi 2003: 21). It could also be derived from the expression há mester “it is necessary”. This case is also special because, in our corpus, the affirmative construction with mestê was eventually replaced by the expression têm qui or têm que (40) which has the same meaning as Portuguese ter que “have to”.

(40) Seara tem que buscá outro gente pra trabalhá.
    Madam have REL find other people PREP work
   “Madam has to find other people to work.”
   (Cava Tufang de 74, 1925, in Barreiros 1934: 473)

In the corpus, we found the following distribution: 3 mestê, 13 amestê, 48 nonmestê, 179 tem qui, and 4 NEG + tem qui. Amestê appears to be more common than mestê, although both forms only occur 16 times, mostly in documents from the 19th century, except for one instance in 1901 and another in 1986, the latter in a text of traditional religious expression. Tem qui is mostly present during the 20th century, and there are only 7 occurrences during the 19th century. Also, tem qui is only negated 4 times while nonmestê remains the negative deontic auxiliary. The results are presented in Table 3.

Because of their relative representation in our corpus, the stated periods cannot be compared directly one with another. However, we can see that during the 19th century, mestê/amestê is competing with tem qui, but it is almost completely eliminated during the 20th century, possibly because of decreolization. This suggests that tem qui is semantically equivalent to mestê/amestê and that nonmestê was preserved as an archaic and irregular form, possibly because of the effect of frequency.

Thirdly, while we may assume that amestê and tem-qui are equivalent and that both express a strong obligation, two other expressions in the corpus, sã preciso or precisa, from the Portuguese é preciso “is necessary” and precisa “to need” are modal constructions, and their presence is possibly also attributable to the decreolization process (41).

(41) Nun sã preciso primeiro tirá escama.
    NEG be necessary first pull scale
   “There is no need to remove the scales first.”
   (“Pode crê que sã verdade”, 1888, in Barreiros 1943: 352)
Interestingly, in MCP, the negative marker *nuncassá* expresses the lack of necessity or need. It is possibly derived from “*nunca cansado*”, “not tired”, or *nunca cansá*, lit. “don’t tire (yourself)”. *Nuncassá* is not present in other Asian PCLs and it should not be confused with *nunca sā*, “is not”. Throughout our corpus, the grammaticalization of *nuncassá* as a form expressing lack of necessity or need appeared to be complete. *Nuncassá* is semantically similar to the Cantonese *msái*, which also indicates the lack of necessity, and it is more frequent than the affirmative *sā preciso* or *precisa*. We have found imbalance between the respective positive and negative constructions of necessity and between the choice of negative markers within the different periods (Table 3). *Sā preciso* occurs 18 times throughout our corpus, but is only negated once. Also, *nuncassá* becomes as frequent as *nonmestê* during the 20th century. This suggests that MCP is similar to Cantonese, as the negation of deontic modality involves different markers representing different degrees of illocutionary force which may not be exactly equivalent to the affirmative counterpart, *amestê* or *tem-qui*. This interaction between negation and modality is detailed in section 5.

Tab. 3: Deontic modality auxiliaries in Macau Creole Portuguese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal</th>
<th>19th century</th>
<th>20th century (first half)</th>
<th>20th-21st centuries</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Mestê</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Amestê</em></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nonmestê</em></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tem qui</em></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>NEG + tem qui</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sā preciso</em></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>NEG + sā preciso</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nuncassá</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, in MCP, commands and requests are expressed syntactically with or without the presence of any marker. These markers include, the use of adverbs such as *azinha* “quick” or the emphatic particles *-me* or *-na* (42).

(42) a. **Ajudá iou, Chico!**
   help 1S,  Chico
   “Help me, Chico!”
   (“Estória de Maria co Alferis Juan”, Ferreira 1996: 78)

b. **Vai azinha!**
   go  quick
   “Go!”
   (“Ajuste de casamento”, 1886, in Barreiros 1943: 453)
c. **Vai-na, quiança.**
   *go PRT, child*
   “Go away, kid.”
   (“Mui-Mui sua neto” Ferreira 1996: 50)

d. **Bebé me.**
   *drink PRT*
   “Drink!”
   *(Notas 2e, in Pereira 1899: 61)*

Imperatives in MCP are negated with a special marker, *ne-bom* or *nunca-bom*. However, it appears that a negative imperative marker similar to the Kristang *nang* may have been present at some point in MCP: *nam* is the negative marker used in canonical prayers and biblical documents such as the *Ten Commandments* (43).

(43) **Nam matá.**
   *NEG IMP kill*
   “Thou shalt not kill.”
   *(“10 Mandamentos”, in Barreiros 1943: 251)*

MCP *nam* can be compared to *mám* “hand” or *onçôm* “alone” where the final consonant is a velar nasal [ŋ] (Fernandes and Baxter 2004), and it has the same pronunciation as that of *nang* in Kristang (21).

Also, the usage of the particle *-na* for the formation of imperative in MCP is very similar to the Diu CP requestative particle *nə*, as seen in (32). The addition of *nə* to the imperative can be interpreted as a firm but respectful command but under negation, it enhances the vehemence of the prohibition (Cardoso 2016: 204-205). However, *-na* is not used for prohibitives in MCP and Diu CP doesn’t have a specific marker for prohibitives. Therefore, it is unlikely that imperatives and the particle *nə* in Diu CP is the source of the MCP *ne-bom*.

Although *ne-bom* may be derived from the Portuguese *não é bom* “it is not good”, it could also be a relexification of the Cantonese *mhóu* (NEG + good). In fact, the form of imperatives in Cantonese is very similar to that of MCP. In Cantonese, the imperative is also expressed with emphatic use of an adverbial construction (adjective + *dī*) such as *faaidī* “faster”, and particles such as *ä and lā* (44).

(44) a. **(Léih) faai dī jāp yěh jáu!**
   *(you) fast -ish pack thing leave*
   “Hurry up and get ready to leave.”
   *(Matthews and Yip 1994: 359)*
Seven ways to say no...
Sete maneiras de dizer não...

b. **Héi-sán lá!**  
   rise-body  PRT  
   “Get up!”  
   (Matthews and Yip 1994: 359)

c. **Léih ló fahn boují làih á!**  
   you  bring  CL  newspaper  come  PRT  
   “Bring the paper over, will you?”  
   (Matthews and Yip 1994: 359)

Cantonese does have a negative imperative particle, *máih*, but it is less common than *mhóu*. Both *máih* and *mhóu* mean “don’t”, but *máih* is mostly used for short and direct commands, and it is considered a less polite form, mostly used among peers (Matthews and Yip 1994: 256). Perhaps, this interpretation has motivated the elimination of Kristang *nang* or MCP *nam* as the Cantonese influence on MCP was increasing.

### 4.3 Nunca sã, Yes-No polar question and tag question

Firstly, contrastive focus suggests an opposition between the information conveyed by the speaker and the assumed expectation state of the hearer, especially if the hearer could be surprised by the assertion (Zimmerman 2008: 354). This type of contrastive focus construction, which put emphasis on the contrast between the hearer and the speaker, is common in Sinitic languages (Li 2008: 259-260) such as in Cantonese (Matthews and Yip 1994: 307), as in (45).

(45) **Mhaih hóu syufuhk.**  
   not-be  very  comfortable  
   “It’s not very comfortable.”  
   (Matthews and Yip 1994: 250)

This type of construction is found in MCP, but not in Kristang. In MCP, the verb *sã “be”* is often used to mark contrastive focus as in (46a), which could be translated as a cleft sentence with the meaning of “it is... who/that...”. However, in MCP, contrastive focus constructions do not necessarily contain a surface relative clause. In fact, *sã* or *nunca sã* can also mark directly an adjectival (46b) or verbal predicate (46c).
In some cases, the usage of *sã* or *nunca sã* in cleft sentences could be interpreted as a copula instead of a contrastive focus construction, thus providing another example of the decreolization process. However, the transition from focus marker to copula has been observed in other languages such as in Swahili (McWhorter 1994: 60-61).

Secondly, we have seen that the use of negation markers in tag question is common in Indo/Malayo PCLs and in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. Tag questions can be used for requesting information, confirmation or for approbation. However, a formal response is not systematically expected. In MCP, *sã nunca* “is not” is added at the end of the sentence (47), regardless of the polarity of the proposition, in the sense of Portuguese *não e assim “isn’t it?”*. In Kristang, the negative marker can be used for tag questions, but Kristang has no copula (48).

(47) *Vôs vêm pa matriculá, sã nunca?*

2S come PREP register, be NEG

“You’ve come to register, haven’t you?”

(“Chico vai escola”, Ferreira 1996: 16)

(48) *Eli bebé sura ńgka.*

3S drink toddy NEG

“He drinks toddy, doesn’t he?”

(Baxter 1988: 187)
Finally, we have observed that the negative marker in Macau is used in the formation of Yes-No polar question, as in (12). This is a clear example of the Sinitic influence on MCP and it is only observed in the most recent documents in our corpus. This type of construction is found in Cantonese where the Yes-No polar questions are formed with the affirmation and negation of the verb, as in (35). Reduplicative questions in Mandarin are treated by Huang (1991) and McCawley (1994) as a special form of disjunctive (tag) questions. However, unlike Portuguese where tags are mostly used to indicate the attitude of the speaker (Cruz-Ferreira 1981: 351), in Sinitic languages and MCP, reduplicative questions are formal questions and do not imply any knowledge over the statement.

5 Interaction between negation, modality, and aspect

The formal comparison between the substrate/adstrate languages and the lexifier language reveals syntactic principles, such as placement rules, but it does not contribute much to an explanation of how new markers are introduced while others are eliminated, such as we have seen in MCP. Therefore, we propose to analyze negation as a polysemic modality, taking into consideration semantic and cognitive categories. Such an analysis suggests that grammatical structures incorporate concepts and symbols and they articulate a semantic description that is psychologically plausible (Langacker 2013: 14). While processing negative sentences, the representation of the positive argument is involved, through verification, memory, and logical reasoning, but also, pragmatic information can facilitate sentence processing (Tian and Breheny 2016: 41). The ability to negate a statement requires the reconstruction of presuppositions from situational and contextual cues and it has to be learnt during first-language acquisition (Cuccio 2011: 48). In fact, longitudinal studies on first language acquisition show that negation is gradually assimilated by children under 4 years old, from the rejection of something existing in a present context, to the nonexistence of an abstract representation, and to the denial of a predicate (Choi 1988: 522; Tam and Stoke 2001: 378-379). In particular, Tam and Stoke (1988: 389) observed the ability of children to differentiate the negative markers in Cantonese and they concluded that the progressive emergence of lexical negation matched the acquisition of semantic categories. Also, Choi (1988: 521) argues that some of the functions of negation precede the acquisition of language and subsequently, cognitive and language development interact with each other. Therefore, syntactic negation is intrinsically related to the capacity to represent abstract concepts, to make assumptions, and to understand other people’s mental state (Cuccio 2011: 49) and we can postulate a relation between cognitive development, semantic categories of negation and grammatical elements. This type of interaction could explain the evolution in the MCP negation system.

In this section we will analyze the interaction between modality and negation and between lexical aspect and negation. Precisely, we want to understand what could motivate MCP speakers to incorporate the deontic nuncassá and to eliminate the aspectual nenâng, as observed in Kristang.
5.1 Interaction between negation and deontic modality

Modality and negation are two categories that can change the meaning of a sentence and when both are used in the same proposition, different strategies are necessary to define the scope of the modality and the scope of the negation (De Haan 2003: 55). For establishing the scope of the interpretation, strategies include modal suppletion which is the choice of different modal verbs, and negation placement which is the location of the negative marker in the sentence (De Haan 2003: 58-112).

Deontic modality conveys a necessity or an obligation to perform an action. In MCP, it is expressed by *amestê* or *tem qui* which appear to be equivalent. However, in a negative construction, a distinction is required to indicate whether it is a deontic obligation (prohibition) or a lack of necessity (exemption) (Radden 2014: 529; Sparvoli 2015: 168-170). In MCP, because the negative marker always precedes the verb, negation placement is not a possible strategy for modifying the interpretation of the proposition. Therefore, modal suppletion, or the use of a negated modal grammaticalized as a negative marker, dictates the modality of the proposition. In the following example (49), the negative marker has scope over the modality or the whole proposition.

(49)  

a. Nuncassá *pinchá sodado-sodado pa liám!*
   *NEG* _need_ throw soldiers-PL *PREP_ lions
   “There’s no need to throw the soldiers to the lions.”
   ("César co Cleópatra", Ferreira 1996: 33)

b. *Nomestê esquecê di mandá nova.*
   *NEG-must* forget *PREP_ send news*
   “You must not forget to send news.”
   ("3 de janero", 1865, in Barreiros 1943: 31)

In the first sentence, the action is not proscribed nor denied, and there is simply no obligation to perform the action: the negative marker modifies the obligation. In the second sentence, the negative marker affects the whole proposition, and there is still a strong obligation that is not to perform the action: the negative marker does not negate the obligation. Therefore, the illocution force of the negation in the first sentence is the weakest and the second one is the strongest.

The interaction between negation and deontic modality produces a semantic distinction indicating whether the normative source represents the attitude of the speaker (exemption) or if it considers a specific situation (obligation) (Sparvoli 2015: 172). The scope of the deontic modality exhibits polarity properties, and the negation requires a lexical split or a syntactic interpretation (Iatridou and Zeijlstra 2010: 320). Therefore, the lexical distinction between prohibition (*numestê*) and
exemption (*nuncassá*) serves a semantic or pragmatic purpose where syntactic rules may have no means to express. The introduction of *nuncassá* in MCP may have been motivated by the strong interaction between deontic modality and negation. Modal suppletion is also present in Cantonese: *nuncassá* is semantically very similar to Cantonese *msái*, and it can be attributed to relexification by Cantonese L1 speakers learning MCP. Based on the analysis of 75 languages, De Haan (1997: 220) argues that the choice of strategy is attributable to a difference in word order and processing principles. On the other hand, one could argue that the cognitive capacity for scope negation and modality is a parameter of Universal Grammar which pushes the child to either adopt modal suppletion or to interpret negation placement.

Radden (2014: 523-526) defines negated modals through a theoretical matrix of modal concepts, where distinctions combine with each other to create logical expressions. For example, negation can apply to deontic or epistemic modality, express a possibility or necessity, have scope over a modal or a proposition, or assess a subjective or objective source, but since it would seem rather uneconomical for a language to provide a specific marker for each possible relation, instead, logical equivalences are established between some propositions and preferred patterns are selected (Radden 2014: 523). Such an approach has the benefit of revealing the asymmetry and irregularities of a negation system such as in MCP. It also confirms the difficulties inherent in describing syntactically negative constructions: conceptual negative categories can merge and the negative proposition may or may not correspond exactly to its positive counterpart. For example, the expression of possibility or probability in MCP is not syntactically different whether it is oriented towards the speaker or the situation: *pôde* (and *non pôde*) can either indicate a deontic (in)ability or (im)possibility, and no distinction similar to that expressed by English *may* and *can* is made. The semantic distinction is thus expressed using paraphrases such as *pôde sã qui* “maybe”. However, unlike *numestê* and *nuncassá*, in *non pôde*, the illocutionary force always remains neutral, in the sense that no polarity properties are inherent to the lexical choice (or lack thereof). Therefore, in *non pôde*, the negative marker always has scope over the modal, and in MCP, as in other languages such as Mandarin (Sparvoli 2015: 187), no other specific modal is necessary to dissipate any ambiguity. Nevertheless, the arbitrary nature of such logical equivalences can explain why an equivalent form to *nuncassá* was not found in other creoles investigated in this study.

The relexification hypothesis (Lefebvre 2000: 11) can explain how negative markers are added or replaced in MCP, but the semantic distinctions themselves can also be associated with cognitive patterns observed during first or second language acquisition. Various studies of the acquisition of negation in young children have defined semantic categories to follow the development stages of negation (Bloom 1991: 715; Choi 1988: 522; Tam and Stoke 2001: 378-379). These categories include: non-existence of an object, state or quality, nonrecurrence of an
object or even failure (non-occurrence) of an event, negative volition, prohibition, denial of an object identity of function, denial of an event, inability, epistemic negation, normative negation, and inferential negation. The number of categories may fluctuate according to one author or another, but they can be regrouped into broader ones (Dimroth 2010: 44). The semantic classification of children’s utterances reveals that negation is learnt following a specific sequence (nonexistence, rejection, denial), although the order of acquisition is still disputable, as mentioned by Tam and Stokes (2001: 374).

MCP does not have a distinct marker for nonexistence, such as the Cantonese móuh (50). In MCP, the locative and possessive existential predicate (tem) is negated under standard negation with nontém (51), as in Kristang.

(50) **Go dòi yahpbinh móuh saai chin.**

CL bag inside not-have all money

“There’s no money in the bag.”

(Matthews and Yip 1994: 119)

(51) **Nontem gente vem.**

NEG-have people come

“There is nobody coming.”

(Cavá Tufang de 74, 1925, in Barreiros 1943: 484)

Croft’s (1991: 13) syntactic typology of negation of existential clauses suggests that a cyclical development occurs where the standard negative marker is replaced by a specific one, which becomes itself the existential predicate and eventually, the new marker for standard negation. In MCP, nontém is morphologically different from the set of verbs which only occur with nunca, the general negator. As the standard nunca was replaced by nom, one can speculate that nontém eroded over time, thus producing a morpheme functionally similar to Cantonese móuh. However, this syntactic development itself does not explain why the negation of existential clauses would give rise to a specific marker.

The cognitive approach defines the existential category as a specific stage during acquisition of syntactic negation in children. In fact, this interaction between semantic and syntactic negative categories is not limited to existentials. In MCP, the contracted forms nom-Verb are possibly attributed to the effect of frequency, but they also correspond to semantic categories. After nonexistence, rejection and denial are considered to be the two other main stages during the acquisition of syntactic negation in children. Rejection is the refusal of an external object or action, and the refusal to comply with a request (Tam and Stokes 2001: 378). The speaker may assume that an object or action is being imposed and it implies the child’s own
perception of the situation. In MCP, rejection can be achieved semantically with specific negative markers, such as the negative volitional nonquêro or the prohibitive nebom. Finally, the denial of an object identity or function, or of an ability, or of an event is used to negate the truth of a statement. Denial assumes the child’s ability to represent the true state of the world and its false counterpart. Also, in MCP, this mental reconstruction involves specific negative markers: the negation of a physical ability or a state of event (nonpôde) and the epistemic negation (nonsabe).

In this view, semantic categories would have an indirect influence: non-thematic verbs (copula, auxiliaries, and modal verbs) which are semantically associated to categories of negation are likely to be expressed more frequently than other verbs and may have a stronger interaction with syntactic structures.

5.2 Interaction between negation and aspect

Studies on L2 acquisition have demonstrated that adult learners also follow specific cognitive stages during the acquisition of sentence negation (Dimroth 2010: 60-61). According to Dimroth, during the first stage, negation mostly precedes nominal items; secondly, verbs are negated, but they are not marked for finiteness; thirdly, the negation of non-thematic verbs occurs; finally, verbs are negated in their finite forms. Dimroth (2010: 61) concludes that the slower acquisition of finite verb morphology influences the expression of negation. MCP has no verbal morphology to differentiate finite and nonfinite clauses. However, the fact that L2 learners generally struggle with the acquisition of finite verb morphology can be compared to the primacy of aspect in L1 and L2 acquisition (Andersen and Shirai 1996: 529).

The aspect hypothesis suggests that the correct or incorrect use of inflectional morphology in L1 and L2 speakers is strongly associated with lexical categories (states, activities, accomplishment, achievement). In particular, Andersen and Shirai (1996: 533) claim that consistent marking is gradually applied to verbs with an inherent end point, and it later extends to activity and state verbs.

Observations on the lexical aspect in L2 acquisition in Chinese (Yang 2014: 305), Japanese (Shirai and Kuruno 1998: 264-265), Spanish and English (Andersen 1991: 314, 318) support the aspect hypothesis as L2 speakers gradually assimilate aspectual markers, especially in relation to past events. However, for our purpose, the only specific study on the interaction between negation and lexical aspect was conducted by Zhou et al. (2014) with Mandarin L1 children speakers. Their study classifies verbs according to their inherent temporal aspect: state verbs such as xihuān “like” or zhīdào “know” have no obvious duration nor endpoint and oppositely, activity verbs such as wán “play” have a duration and an endpoint. In Mandarin, the negative particle méi is used to negate the completion of an event, and it occurs with activity verbs, but not state verbs. It was found that although

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children may have separate knowledge of negation and aspect, they have difficulties how to interpret the interaction between the two (Zhou et al. 2014: 155).

The Cantonese meih is similar to Mandarin méi, as it also carries a temporal meaning, the perfective aspect translated as “not yet”, and to some extent, it is functionally similar to Kristang nenâng. Meih was found to being acquired later by children compared to other negative markers as they would need to understand the temporal concept before they could correctly use the marker (Tam and Stokes 2001: 389).

As seen in the first section, MCP originated from Kristang, with possible influence from Indo-Portuguese Creoles, and it became eventually spoken by Chinese, mostly Cantonese L1 speakers, who integrated the Macanese society from the second half of the 19th century. Interestingly, in MCP, the negative marker for the perfective aspect was not retained, although it is present in Cantonese. Instead, the negative perfective is realized with the continuative negative construction inda + NEG “not yet” (52). This construction is similar to BTCP ainda na, where nenâng is also absent.

(52) **Ung-a ome assim vêlo inda nun sabe falá!**
   ART man so old yet NEG know talk

   “Such an old man doesn’t yet know how to talk!”

   (“José e Pancha”, 1887, in Barreiros 1943: 590)

The absence of nenâng in BTCP suggests the possibility that it was never a prominent feature of MCP. Also, no negative perfective marker was found in other Asian PCLs, as presented in this study. Therefore, nenâng, if present, was possibly competing with other strategies for negating the perfective aspect, and if the aspect hypothesis is valid, the difficulty to assimilate correctly the negative marker for perfective could have incited the Indo-Portuguese speakers to preserve the general negative marker with the addition of an adverb. On the other hand, considering that Cantonese speakers were familiar with a negative marker such as Kristang nenâng, we may wonder if L2 speakers would struggle to assimilate the negative perfective marker when such marker is present in L1. Unfortunately, reports on the acquisition of aspectual negative markers are scarce, at least in European languages where such markers are absent.

Finally, we have noted that the negative future-irrealis nádi was retained in MCP. However, the function of nádi is not limited to relative tense marking. The semantic opposition between the realis and irrealis category expresses a deontic or volitional modality, it refers to necessities and desires (Sparvoli 2015: 167). Therefore, the function of nádi can be pragmatically similar to a negative imperative that does not incorporate a temporal concept and it can be interpreted without ambiguity.
6 Conclusion

We have described seven negative markers in the MCP negation system, a system originally derived from Kristang, but influenced by both Cantonese, through language contact, and by Portuguese, under a decreolization process. Three negators, *nunca*, *nom*, and *nádi* are undoubtedly related to other Asian PCLs, especially Kristang as the main possible source. However, assuming that the perfective *nenâng* was present in early Kristang, it was eliminated in MCP and the imperative *nang* was relexified with *ne-bom*, possibly imposed from Cantonese. The deontic *nuncassá* was introduced, also as a possible relexification from Cantonese. Finally, the deontic *numestê* and volitional *nonquêro* were incorporated as negative variants.

It was seen that syntactic typologies were not sufficient for describing the diachronic changes in negation strategies in MCP. Consequently, we have identified semantic elements of negation in MCP that could relate to cognitive mechanisms during first and second language acquisition. We have argued that negative constructions corresponding to specific semantic categories are likely to occur more frequently, and therefore, to display a stronger interaction with syntactic structures. The effect of frequency may have caused the grammaticalization of the volitional modal *nonquêro* into a specific negative marker and has contributed to preservation of *nonmestê* as an archaic irregular form.

Semantic categories do not necessarily produce grammatical elements, but they allow the mapping of cognitive concepts into formal syntactic constructions. For example, the expression of the deontic modality in MCP shows that conceptual distinctions are reflected in the lexical inventory of negative markers. Therefore, the negative markers in MCP are not only adverb-like particles as in Portuguese, but they are functionally similar to auxiliary verbs. This incites us to consider negation in MCP as a polysemic modality instead of a logic operator.

Abbreviations

1S, 1SG; 1P, 1PL: First person singular; first person plural; 2S, 2SG; 2P, 2PL: Second person singular, second person plural; 3S, 3SG; 3P, 3PL: Third person singular; third person plural; ACC: accusative; ART: Article; Asian PCLs: Asian Portuguese-based Creole Languages; cl: Clausal (in Cardoso 2016); CL: Clitic (in Baptista 2003); CL: Classifier (in Matthews and Yip 1994); CONJ: Conjunction; CP: Creole Portuguese (as in Daman CP, Korlai CP, etc.); Dat: dative; DEON: Deontic; FOC: Focal; Fut: future; FUT-IRR, FI: Future irrealis; GEN: Genitive; IMP: Imperative; L1: First language; L2: Second language; LOC: Locative; MP: Middle Portuguese; NEED: Necessity; NEG: Negation; NOM: Nominative; NPST, NPT: Non past; O: Object; PastPart: past participle; PFV: Perfective; PL: Plural; PREP: Preposition; PRF, PF: Perfective; PROG: Progressive; PROH: Prohibitive; PRT: Particle; PST: Past; QP: Interrogative particle; REL: Relative marker; REQ: Requestative; S: Subject; SOC: Sociative; TAG: Tag; V: Verb.
Annex

List of documents included in the written corpus when the date is unknown, the year of publication is marked by a (*). For the writings of José dos Santos Ferreira, the date refers to the original publication: the analysis presented in this study were based on Adé, Obras Completas, vol. II: Papiaçâm di Macau (1996) and vol. IV: Poéma di Macau (1996), a compilation of Ferreira’s work, Natal, Amor - Paz -Alegria (1986), and Poéma di Macau (1983).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<td>Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: 779</td>
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<td>Renascimento I: 131-133</td>
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<td>1870</td>
<td>Renascimento I: 247-249</td>
</tr>
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<td>3 de Maio 1870</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Renascimento I: 246-247</td>
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<td>7 de Abril 1870</td>
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<td>Renascimento I: 241-243</td>
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<td>Carta de Nhy Roza para Nhy Chencha</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Renascimento II: 241-242</td>
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<td>28 de dezembro 1883</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Renascimento II: 251</td>
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<td>Séramão di pe. Viéra</td>
<td>1883</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Ajuste de casamento de Nhi Pancha có Nhun Vicente</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: 57-60</td>
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<td>O casamento de Joanarinho</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Renascimento II: 338-339</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pasquim</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Renascimento II: 339-341</td>
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<td>Dialogo entre José Fagote e Pancha Gudum</td>
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<td>Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: 517-518</td>
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<td>Mas um-a disgraça</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: 259-261</td>
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<td>Pranto ou lamentação de Anna Santa</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: 519</td>
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<td>1888</td>
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<td>1888</td>
<td>Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: 124-125</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1895</td>
<td>Renascimento III: 88-92</td>
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### Seven ways to say no...
*Sete maneiras de dizer não...*

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<td>Adivinhas</td>
<td>1900*</td>
<td>Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: 319-321, 515-516</td>
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<td>Cantilenas - Quadras Populares</td>
<td>1900*</td>
<td>Renascimento III: 508-509</td>
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<td>Lenga-lengas</td>
<td>1900*</td>
<td>Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: 63, 262, 784</td>
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<td>1900*</td>
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<td>Uma descompostura</td>
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<td>Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: 518-519</td>
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<td>Macau, Março 1915</td>
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<td>Cava tufang de 74</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Renascimento I: 473-484</td>
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<td>Úngha Sônho</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Renascimento I: 92-93</td>
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<td>Os Viúvos</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Renascimento I: 571-575</td>
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<td>Lolita</td>
<td>1937</td>
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<td>Aviso</td>
<td>1943*</td>
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<td>Nora-Moderna</td>
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<td>Padre Nosso - Ave Maria - Mandamentos</td>
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<td>Cabo tamém sã gente</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Papiaçâm di Macau: 53-61</td>
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<td>Má-língu co má-língu</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Papiaçâm di Macau: 185-188</td>
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<td>Maná-Chai na Portugal</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Papiaçâm di Macau: 185-192</td>
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<td>Mui-Mui sua neto</td>
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<td>Papiaçâm di Macau: 45-52</td>
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<td>Apresentação</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Papiaçâm di Macau: 11-13</td>
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<td>César co Cleópatra</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Papiaçâm di Macau: 27-42</td>
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<td>Chico vai escola</td>
<td>1974</td>
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<td>Padrinho</td>
<td>1974</td>
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<td>Estória de Maria co Alferis Juán</td>
<td>1985</td>
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<td>Papiaçâm di Macau: 199-208</td>
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*PAPIA, 28(2), e-ISSN 2316-2767*
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<td><em>Papiaçâm di Macau</em>: 213-216</td>
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<td>Luís Vaz di Camões</td>
<td>1996</td>
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<td>1996</td>
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Seven ways to say no...

Sete maneiras de dizer não...


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