

***Logo* in Makista: *irrealis* and beyond**

Mário Pinharanda Nunes

Universidade de Macau

Makista is endogenous to Macau and belongs to the Asian group of Portuguese-lexified creoles. Academic works have highlighted several close similarities to the Malacca Portuguese Creole (Kristang), and Batavia and Tugu Portuguese Creole,¹ as well as differences which stem from the effect of a continued co-existence with its European lexifier, as much as with its Cantonese and English adstrates. In this article, we revisit earlier descriptions of the form *logo* in Makista, confronting those descriptions with new evidence from a broader semantic and functional scope, which may be understood as reflecting the specificities of the creole's continuum itself.

Keywords: imperfective, *irrealis*, conditional, *logo*, Makista.

1. Introduction

Makista (henceforth, MAK), the Macau Portuguese Creole, emerged in the mid-16th century. As with all creole languages, its origins imply some degree of continued contact between two or several linguistic communities, resulting in the need for a common linguistic code. The socio-demographic and administrative status of Macau after 1557² was mostly comprised of speakers of South and Southeast Asian Portuguese Creoles (ethnically mixed Luso-Asians), who initially made up the bulk of its so-called Asian Portuguese community, together with an ethnic and linguistic minority European group. Other South and Southeast Asian peoples settled there too, sparking a long-lasting migratory flux from those regions to Macau. Conim & Teixeira (1998: 90) report on records of Indians, Malays and Javanese in Macau as late as the 19th century. Church records account for marriages between Macanese men and women from Malacca and other Portuguese-held settlements in South East Asia

¹ Pinharanda Nunes (2010, 2011, 2012) on the TMA system; Baxter (2009) on morphology, phonology and lexicon; Lebel (2018) on negation, to mention only the most recent studies.

² Flores (1991) indicates this as the year which is consensually held among historians as marking the beginning of a permanent (and not merely seasonal) settlement on the Macau Peninsula by the Portuguese.

up to the same period (Seabra 2006/2007). To this heterogeneous and non-local founding community we have to add the presence of the small existing local community (speakers of Cantonese and Hokkien) and the slow, but gradual, increase of standard Portuguese speakers. It was from the rich feature pool (Mufwene 2001) based on the different levels of interaction between the mentioned communities that the Makista lexicon and grammatical features developed. Such a scenario for the formation and evolution of the MAK continuum implies a high probability of variation at the morphosyntactic and lexical levels, which has been highlighted in previous studies (Arana-Ward 1977; Baxter 2009; Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter 2004; Pinharanda Nunes 2008; 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2014; Lebel 2018).

Logo, classified categorically as the future tense marker in earlier studies,³ is analysed here specifically under the focus of its variable use and possible diverse functions. We will look at evidence from existing corpora of Makista that points to the confirmation of *logo*'s tense-modal value (Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter 2004), contrary to its alleged tense value supported by earlier studies.⁴ The new information on MAK's *logo* in this study, however, regards our proposal of a partial continuation of the adverbial value from the lexifier, an additional aspectual value as a marginal optional marker of the habitual aspect, and the use of *logo* in conditional propositions.

Section 2 reviews the classification of *logo* in previous studies. In section 3, we present the etymological nature of *logo* and its syntactic distribution and functions in standard Portuguese. Section 4 describes the corpora and methodology used. In section 5 and its subsections, we list the different uses of *logo* as identified in our analysis, providing examples and justifying our readings of such uses. Section 6 summarizes our interpretation of the classification of *logo*. The overall aim is to compile a renewed and detailed description of *logo*'s syntactic and semantic features in MAK, contributing to the research pool of this creole's genesis and continuum.

2. *Logo* in MAK – previous assumptions and classifications

Logo has been repeatedly identified in earlier studies as a preverbal marker, on par with the two other verb markers in this creole – *ja* and *ta*. As we are not working from a systematic comparative perspective, we shall not delve into

³ Throughout this article by 'earlier studies' on Makista we refer to those prior to Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004).

⁴ Cf. section 2 for the references to those studies.

detailed comparisons regarding the differences in use and values of *logo* between MAK and the remaining Portuguese creoles (henceforth, PC), but simply highlight specific cases which help clarify the genesis of certain of its traits in MAK, specifically in what regards its ties to the Asian PC group, and especially its close links to the Southeast Asian varieties – Kristang, Batavia and Tugu PCs.⁵

Earlier studies on MAK primarily described *logo* as the marker of the so called ‘future tense’. We shall not enter into considerations on the controversy concerning the classification of ‘future’ as a tense, but simply note that the authors of those studies clearly referred to future tense in a way compatible with Comrie’s (1985 [1976]: 43) definition of future ‘as locating a situation at a time subsequent to the present moment’. In that sense, Coelho (1880- 86 states that prepositioning *logo* to the (<INF) form renders the future marking in MAK. However, he adds that this can equally express a present tense marking, but fails to provide an example and elaborate on any possible aspectual or any other nuances between the two cases.

Pereira (1995 [1889-90]), the editor of *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo*, basically follows Coelho’s (1880-86) description of the MAK TMA system. Thus, he also attributes the function of future marker to *logo*, but likewise states that it can also occur in present tense contexts – once again, not specifying its function in such cases.

In Batalha (1974), *logo* is again associated with the marking of the future. This author is the first to highlight an abridged version of *logo*, *lo* – consistent with Baxter (1988) for Kristang.⁶

Ferreira (1996a)⁷ classifies *logo* and its alternative form *lo* in preposition to the verb, as a future tense marker. Of further relevance to us is that he does not consider it as performing any of its possible adverbial functions from Portuguese. For the lexifier’s value of *logo* as an adverb of time meaning later (in a narrative sequence context), Santos Ferreira (1996a: 246) provides the alternatives *cavá* (> PT *acabar* ‘to finish’) and *más tarde* (> PT [more + late]). He does mention that *logo* can also function as an adverb, but does not elaborate,

⁵ The PCs of Daman and Diu (India) do not use *logo* in future or future in the past contexts. The marker in those creoles is a derived form of the PT ‘há-de’ ≥ 3s of the EXIST ‘haver’ + ‘de’, in variations of *had* and *ha*. (Dalgado 1998; Cardoso 2009; Michaelis *et al.* 2013). The PCs of Korlai, Malabar and Sri Lanka, however, have derived forms of *logo* (Hugo Cardoso, pc).

⁶ In the MAK corpora this form is only used by 4 of the interviewees (oral corpus) with one token each.

⁷ The initial publication in *Papiá Cristám di Macau* (1978), was later included in the reprint of the complete works of this author in the volume entitled *Papiaçam di Macau*, vol. II (1996).

and gives no account of its lexifier-like value bearing the meaning of ‘immediately’.

Among all the earlier descriptions of MAK, Morais-Barbosa (1968) is the only one prior to Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004) to note that the function of *logo* transcends the tense-marking boundary, specifically mentioning an aspectual marking for *logo*, but not elaborating on this. Morais-Barbosa notes that, in MAK, tense and aspectual values overlap and are organized into a past/future opposition, with *ja* marking the former and *logo* the latter, and with both contrasting with the present represented by *ta* (1968: 150).

Arana-Ward (1977), looking at data from elderly acrolectal MAK speakers in Hong Kong at that time, places *logo* as a marker occurring in future tense contexts in variation with \emptyset preverbal marking. She also records its possible use in present tense contexts – once again hinting at a dual aspect/adverbial function. Table 1 summarizes the classification of the tense markings presented for *logo* in these earlier works.

Table 1: Summary of classification of *logo* in earlier descriptions of MAK

Earlier Descriptions of MAK	Tense contexts
Coelho (1880-6)	future and present
Pereira (1889-90)	future and present
Batalha (1974)	Future
Santos Ferreira (1967, 1996a)	Future
Morais-Barbosa (1968)	Future
Arana-Ward (1977)	future and present

Finally, the first of the more recent works on MAK verb-marking (Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter 2004) provides us with a new perspective of the use of this creole’s verbal markers, considering them to be primarily aspectual markers, rather than transversal tense markers, as they had been overwhelmingly considered until then.

Due to the considerably small database, Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004) were not able to verify the occurrence of *logo* in contexts of the present tense. Their analysis of this marker refers to cases of use in contexts of future reference and a smaller number occurring in past tense contexts. Likewise, that study did not find any use of *logo* in the sample of texts analysed for the 20th-century written corpus.

Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004) identify a restriction of *logo* by negation (NEG), similar to what happens in Kristang. As illustrated in 5.2., our current enlarged written and oral corpus confirms this restriction. They also conclude that the TMA system in Makista, in what concerns *logo* and the future contexts, is governed by tense-modal marking, and they classify it as a future *irrealis* marker (Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter 2004: 45). The working definition of *realis* vs *irrealis* for this analysis holds that

realis refers to situations that have actually taken place or are actually taking place, while *irrealis* is used for more hypothetical situations, including situations that represent inductive generalizations, and also predictions, including also predictions about the future (Comrie *op cit*: 45)

Therefore, *irrealis* stands in opposition to *realis*, which refers to situations that have taken place, usually take place or are taking place, i.e., typically situations in the past and in the present. However, *irrealis* is not exclusively for reference to future situations. It encompasses a wide range of grammatical moods which share the expression of the uncertainty that specific situations or actions have happened at the moment of enunciation. Among the various moods included in the *irrealis*, the conditional is the most significant one for our data. The conditional (COND) expresses a proposition dependent on a condition, possibly counterfactual. The counterfactual (*irrealis*) marking of *logo* was already attested for in Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004). Our study confirms this but also adds evidence of such marking in present tense contexts (previously unattested).

3. The etymological nature of *logo*

Logo derives from the word ‘logo’ in Portuguese.⁸ In the lexifier, it belongs to the semantic class of adverbs, specifically to the group of ‘time adverbs’ (Costa & Costa 2001: 21). Time adverbs and adverbials are “[...] capazes de fornecer as coordenadas temporais que permitem situar a eventualidade descrita numa frase [...]”⁹ (Mateus *et al.* 2003: 168). As an adverb, in the lexifier it can encompass both an action and an event in the future, i.e., happening after the moment of enunciation: (1) and (2). It can also refer to an immediate realization

⁸ To distinguish between reference to the MAK form and the standard Portuguese adverb we write the former in italics (*logo*) and the latter as ‘logo’.

⁹ Our translation of the quotation: ‘[...] able to provide the time coordinates which allow us to situate the event described in a sentence [...]’.

with respect to the moment of reference: in the past (3) or the future (4). The adjacent post-verbal position of ‘logo’ is what gives it, preferably, the reading of /immediacy/, rather than that of /later/. For the latter, ‘logo’ would instead be placed in sentence-initial (as in (1)), or sentence-final position (as in (2)):

- (1) *Logo, vou a casa deles.*
 ‘Later I will go to their house.’
- (2) *Vou a casa deles logo.*
 ‘I will go to their house later.’
- (3) *Fui logo a casa deles.*
 ‘I immediately went to their house.’
- (4) *Vou / irei¹⁰ logo a casa deles.*
 ‘I will immediately go to their house.’

The examples above illustrate some degree of syntactic flexibility. However, such flexibility implies a change of meaning and pragmatic function.

3.1. Distinguishing between TMA and adverbial uses of *logo* in MAK

As *logo* in MAK only occurs preverbally (adjacent or not adjacent to the verb), contrary to what we saw for the lexifier, the syntactic position cannot be held as a criterion for distinguishing its non-adverbial values from possible instances of the preservation of the etymological adverbial use. The tokens we identified as adverbial *logo* were instances where *logo* carries the semantic value of immediacy – cf. (3) and (4) for examples in the lexifier. It is possible to ascertain that reading from the context of the discourse excerpts those tokens occur in.¹¹ The corpora analysed did not reveal general adverbial uses of *logo* similar to (1) and (2) for Portuguese, with the meaning of later. This was only observed in a few specific cases where *logo* is used in a farewell bidding context: ‘até logo’ (until + later). In other cases, this expression is abbreviated to merely *logo*, as

¹⁰ *irei* > standard synthetic future form of the verb “ir” for the 1s. We have included this form to more clearly evidence the possibility of this position and function of *logo* with future reference.

¹¹ Reconfirmed, in some cases by consultation with MAK speakers.

in: ‘*Logo, Marta*’.¹² Contrary to what could be expected, tense and grammatical aspect contexts revealed not to be identifying criteria for the possible adverbial value of *logo*, as will be illustrated when we discuss its use in the various tense and aspect contexts (cf. 5.4.).

4. Methodology

The current study is based on written corpora as well as an oral corpus. The former is comprised of a 19th century corpus – letters, short plays, dialogues, lyrics and anecdotes published in *Ta-Ssi Yang-Kuo* (Pereira 1889-1890), most of which were republished in *Renascimento* (Barreiros 1943-1944). It also includes 20th-century texts by Ferreira (1988, 1996a, 1996a) – short stories, poems and lyrics –, and a recent source by Coelho (2018) – facebook posts. The oral corpus consists of discourse gathered through semi-guided labovian sociolinguistic interviews to 18 elderly L1 MAK speakers in 1984,¹³ 1999 and 2007.¹⁴ The interviewees were aged between 75 and 95 at the respective data collection dates. This corpus is the same as in Pinharanda Nunes (2011, 2012a). In all examples transcribed throughout this article, we have maintained the original orthography of the sources. Examples are identified according to the publication or speaker they refer to.

We began our analysis by identifying all tokens of *logo* in the corpora through a concordance search with AntConc, Version 3.5.7. (Anthony 2018). This gave us the total count of tokens of the marker for the combined corpora (623), as well the contextualized tokens themselves. The searches on ANTCONC and analysis aimed at finding answers to the following research questions:

- 1) Does our data confirm the tense-modal function of *logo* for future reference proposed in Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004)?
- 2) In what instances does *logo* have an adverbial value, and with what semantic scope?

¹² This token is found in Ferreira (1996: 188).

¹³ Two sociolinguistic interviews to two speakers born in the 1890s, recorded in Hong Kong in 1984 by Jean-Louis Charpentier.

¹⁴ Interviews to elderly speakers born between the 1920s and 1930s in Macau, Hong Kong and Shanghai, recorded in Macau (1999) and in Vancouver and San Francisco (2007) by the author. Both sets of interviews make up the oral corpus in Pinharanda Nunes (2011).

3) Does *logo* have any other function besides tense-modal and adverbial?

Pinharanda Nunes (2011; 2012a) presented a diachronic reading of verb forms and the general TMA paradigm as it appears to have been used between the initial stages of decreolization, around the transition between the 19th and the 20th century, and the final break in generational transmission, around the first quarter of the 20th-century. According to that reading, a more ‘conservative’ TMA-marking paradigm (i.e. a conventionalized representation of an earlier stage of the creole) is to be found in the 19th century corpus (mostly replicated in the 20th century texts) than in the oral corpus from elderly L1 speakers of MAK. The study assumed that the written corpora represent a basilectal¹⁵ stage of MAK’s continuum, in line with the creole continuum model developed by DeCamp (1971). Conversely, the oral data were considered to represent an advanced intermediate stage of that continuum (Pinharanda Nunes 2011: 88).

Although not in disagreement with that diachronic reading of the decreolization process of MAK, based on TMA markings and especially on the verb form paradigm, our current analysis of *logo* will be strictly descriptive in nature, assessing its overall syntactic distribution patterns and its semantic role irrespective of the source corpus.

5. Data description and analysis

In this section, each subsection will concentrate on the description and illustration of a particular distributional feature of *logo* in MAK, in an attempt to answer the research questions.

5.1. The syntactic position of *logo* in the VP

The MAK corpora reveal tokens of *logo* only in preverbal position, and overwhelmingly adjacent to the verb, which confirms previous descriptions. Example (5) clarifies that *logo* can be separated by adverbs from the subject of the sentence (cf. 5.3. for details on the distribution of *logo* with Adv).

¹⁵ Basilect refers to the variant, in a creole continuum, furthest removed from the standard variety, which occupies the opposite end of the continuum (Patrick 1999: 6).

(5) *Vos inda logo uvi.* [SFm.1]

2s Adv FI hear/listen

‘You will still hear (about it).’

Besides the post-adverbial cases mentioned, *logo* can also be preceded by the verb form *sã*,¹⁶ as illustrated in (6). Such cases of [*sã* + *logo*] appear almost exclusively in subordinate phrases.¹⁷

(6) *Não somente logo perdê nome, como sã logo ficá tia.* [REN.1]

NEG Adv FI lose name as sã FI stay aunt

‘Not only will (you) lose your name, as well as (you) will remain an aunt (will not marry).’

In instances where the VP is composed of an AUX + V, *logo* precedes the VP, as in (7):

(7) *Euça cunhado certo logo pode aranjá unga*

1s + G brother-in-law right FI can find one

serviço pa ele. [REN.2]

work for 3s

‘My brother-in-law certainly would be able to find him a job.’

Even though the majority of tokens illustrate *logo* in the adjacent preverbal position, the marginal cases of non-adjacency also deserve to be noted also as a possible syntactic treatment of *logo* in Makista, as illustrated in (6) above and in (8) below. Example (8) includes an adverbial expression of time placed to the right of *logo* (separating it from the verb).

(8) *Lita logo mas quanta mes casá cu seo capitam* [REN.3]

Lita FI more Qnt month marry R G captain

‘Lita will marry her captain in a few months.’

¹⁶ Fossilized verb form > PT ‘são’, 3p form of ‘ser’ (to be).

¹⁷ Nevertheless, we shall not elaborate on this in the current study, as the use and value of *sã* in MAK merits a separate study of its own.

Lastly, *logo* occurs marginally in phrases with no verb, namely preceding adjectives (10). This is no surprise since, as with many other creoles, MAK does not use auxiliary verbs to link a subject and a predicative AdjP.

- (9) *Sium Juan, também logo triste* [F.DP.1.]
 Mr Juan also CONT Adj
 ‘Mr Juan was also feeling sad.’

5.2. Co-occurrence restrictions with TMA particles and negation

No case of the co-occurrence of *logo* with other pre- or postverbal TMA markers was observed in our data, in accordance with Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004).

The restriction on the co-occurrence of *logo* with NEG noted in that study was confirmed by the enlarged corpus in this study. Such a constraint occurs in all tense contexts, and therefore applies to the different values we identify in this study. When the VP is in a future-*irrealis* (FI) context, this restriction is reinforced by the specific N form *nadi* (10) and the variant form *nada* (11).

Nadi derives from the Portuguese ‘*não há de*’ (not + have + to). These two variants are also found in KRIS (*nadi*; see Baxter 2009: 286), and Tugu Creole (henceforth, TC) (*nada*; see Maurer 2011: 87). In Sri Lanka Portuguese (SLP), the form of NEG in FI references is *na:-*, as in *na:-prende* ‘will not learn’ (Smith 1979: 201). In Korlai, the generic NEG for FI, which for other contexts is *nu*, becomes *nu pa (d)*, as in ‘*nu pa (d) kata* ‘you/he/she/we will not sing’ (Clements 1996: 175-176).

Thus, as noted in Clements (2000: 190-191) and Ferraz (1987: 350), the presence of negators that incorporate modal information (specifically FI) is common to several Asian PCs. Such modal information is however not restricted to the FI in Malayo-Portuguese Creoles, but may also include a conditional value, as well as the NEG of the straightforward future tense, as pointed out in Lebel (2018: 178), based on Baxter (1988: 151) and Maurer (2011: 59). For MAK, example (11) exemplifies the FI marking by *nadi* of a foreseeable (but not entirely definite) future result, in clear contrast with *nunca*, used in the present conditional proposition of the main or if-clause.

- (10) *Mamã, se io nunca casá cô seo capitam io*
 mama COND 1s NEG marry R G captain 1s
nadi casá cô ninguém [REN.4]
 NEG marry R no one

‘Mama, if I don’t marry the Captain, I will not marry anyone.’

- (11) *Quando vem tufão esse tancarera nada vai pesca,*
 when come typhoon Dem tankar.woman NEG go fishing
esse nam pode vai trabalhá [SFf2.1]
 Dem NEG can go work

‘When a typhoon came, those fisherwomen would not go fishing. They could not go work.’

The shared restriction among these Asian PCs (including MAK) on *logo* with NEG in contexts of FI reference, resulting in specific NEG markers, suggests a transfer chain of the feature from the earlier creoles to MAK, specifically from the Southeast Asian group. Example (11) constitutes an interesting case, as it reveals the form *nada* in MAK, only also registered in Schuchardt (1890) for TC. Further searches and elicitation from existing elderly speakers are still required before we can conclude that MAK may have had both forms (*nadi* and *nada*) previously.

5.3. The co-occurrence of *logo* and adverbs

Contrary to the restriction of *logo* by NEG, it can occur with adverbs and adverbial expressions of time and narrative sequence, according to the corpora analysed. In the cases identified, all the adverbs of time referred to future contexts. For the particular case of *cava*, in (14), *logo* is marking a future past tense reference. Cases of post-adverbial and pre-adverbial position were both observed.

- (12) *Amanhã, logo teng mais história* [SFf3.1]
 Adv FI have more story

‘Tomorrow there will be more stories.’

- (13) *Nhonha Lita logo mas quanta mes casá cu*
 miss Lita FI more Qnt month marry with
seo capitam [REN.5.]
 G captain
 ‘Miss Lita will marry the Captain in a few months’ time.’
- (14) *Cava, passado quanto ano sã logo vem* [HKf.1.]
 Adv after Qnt year sã FI come
 ‘Then, many years later he would come back.’
- (15) *Querê olá, eu amanhã logo mostrá. Agora nonpode (...).* [REN.6.]
 want look 1s tomorrow FI show now NEG + can
 ‘Do you want to see? Tomorrow I will (surely / definitely) show (you).
 Now (I) can’t.’

The available data for adverbs of time and of narrative sequence show a variation in terms of co-occurrence and non-co-occurrence with *logo*. This suggests that there is no apparent restriction placed by such adverbs on the use of *logo*. It should also be noted that the instances in (12) and (13) are grammatically acceptable in equivalent sentences in the lexifier. In such cases, ‘logo’ is completely optional for the marking of posteriority. In such a case, in the lexifier, it would have a modal function expressing the speaker’s position towards the enunciation: in (12) expressing the speaker’s assurance of the posterior continuation of an event,¹⁸ and in (13) emphasizing the certainty of the posterior realization of a foreseeable event. In MAK, the sequence [time Adv + *logo*] takes on a dual reading: i) the same as noted for the lexifier; ii) the simple co-marking of posteriority in combination with the Adv.¹⁹ What could look like a redundancy in this co-occurrence of future markings may be the result of transfer of the Cantonese aspectual system and the simultaneous retention of the MAK FI marking. This Chinese language does not have a verbal

¹⁸ Translatable to English as: ‘Tomorrow, there will (surely) be more stories’.

¹⁹ I thank Professor Armando de Silva (L1 speaker of MAK) for sharing with me his reading of this use of *logo*.

particle to mark future events and situations. In Cantonese, in ‘the absence of tense, adverbs of time take on a particular importance in specifying the time to which a sentence refers’ (Mathews & Yip 1994: 189). What Baxter (2009: 279) notes for the Macau society in general is particularly valid for the MAK heritage community, in that they are polyglossic with various degrees of bilingualism and multilingualism. Co-occurrences of this type (i.e. a Cantonese functional item and a MAK or PT equivalent) are to be expected, and have been noted for the TMA paradigm in Pinharanda Nunes (2011, 2014).

5.4. *Logo* in conditional sentences

The variable use of *logo* in conditional sentences follows from its marking of events, states and actions with no truth value, or an uncertain truth. In such sentences, *logo* is used in the main clause.²⁰ In (16), it marks a result dependant on a possible or foreseeable future occurrence and in (17) a characteristic end result:

- (16) *Se teng gente veng, igual ôcê assim veng, nós*
 COND has people come same 2s like this come 1p
logo encontra [SFf.3.1.]
 FI meet
 ‘If someone like you comes,²¹ we will meet (him/her).’

- (17) *Você chapa cô criada você lo conversa como olôtro* [SFf.1.1.]
 2s sit with servant 2s FI talk like 3p
 ‘(If) you socialize with the servants you will speak like them.’

5.5. The distribution of *logo* across the various aspectual contexts

As mentioned, in the corpora used for this study, *logo* is found in contexts of

²⁰ Only in one single token, from the oral corpus, was *logo* also found in the conditional or if-clause. Thus, we simply considered it an occasional idiolectal use in that specific speaker’s discourse.

²¹ The speaker was referring to the possibility of another researcher on Makista wanting to record her, in the future.

past, present, future, and future in the past reference. In terms of grammatical aspect, Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004) attested the use of *logo* with the perfective, continuous, and habitual in past tense contexts, and also with the future. Pinharanda Nunes (2011) adds to that the use of *logo* with the continuous and the habitual in present tense reference contexts. Our enlarged database confirms the former, as well the addition of the use of *logo* in the present tense with the continuous and the habitual aspects.

Since *logo* derives from the adverb ‘logo’ in PT, its use in past and present tense contexts immediately suggest an adverbial use, similar to what we observed in examples (1–4) for the lexifier. However, as the examples and our analysis will highlight, the use of *logo* in such aspectual and tense contexts reaches beyond the adverbial function. Considering that the optional marker of the HAB and CONT in MAK is *ta* (Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter 2004; Pinharanda Nunes 2011), the use of *logo* with these two grammatical aspects merits a renewed analysis.

Below, we present some examples of the use of *logo* in the context of HAB and CONT aspects, separately for the present and the past, and also with the perfective aspect.

Habitual aspect – present

(18) *Eu m’pode comê, mas eu logo reza unga Hail Mary* [SFf.1.2.]

1s NEG+can eat but 1s HAB pray one Hail Mary

‘I can’t eat (that), but I’ll say a Hail Mary.’

Habitual aspect – past

(19) *Ele antis tem unga motorbike. Nos logo vai senta*

3s Adv has one motorbike 1p H go sit

motorbike, vai New Territories. [Vf.1.1]

motorbike go New Territories

‘Previously, he had a motorbike. We would sit on the motorbike, go to the New Territories.’

Continuous – present

- (20) *ta sai fumo na quanto tirina botado na mésa, sã*
H exit smoke LOC Qnt bowl placed LOC table sã
logo senti más fome [F.MTA.1]
Adv feel more hunger

‘As vapor came up from all the soup bowls placed on the table, (we) would immediately feel / immediately felt hungrier.’

Continuous – past

- (21) *Céu logo ficá qui claro cô tudo fogo-fogo artifício*
sky CONT become REL clear with all fire-fire artifice
qui rabentá [CC.2.]
REL burst

‘The sky would become so bright / would light up brightly with all the fire-works that went off.’

Perfective

- (22) *Acunga dia, unga sodado tamêm já segui-a. Logo panhá*
Adv day one soldier also PF follow Adv catch
subissalto [Vf.2.1.]
fright

‘On that day, a soldier followed him. He caught a fright.’

The concentration of the use of *logo* (not in the contexts of the future) with the habitual aspect could suggest it is exercising an adverbial function (of immediacy or with the meaning of later) – both with the present as well as the past. However, not all cases necessarily correspond to contexts where such adverbial meanings are inferable or logic. *Logo* performs a second function, non-adverbial, when in habitual contexts – cf. examples (18-19). It is also found

in clauses with continuous aspect. They reveal a plausible adverbial marking, as illustrated in (20). In example (21), an identical adverbial value (of immediacy) is not so apparent, but rather the marking of the inchoative.

In perfective contexts, as would be expected, *logo* presents an adverbial marking illustrated in (22).

As the examples show, the adverbial function performed by *logo* in present and past contexts does not match the temporal value with the meaning of ‘later’ that the PT adverbial ‘logo’ may have (cf. (5) and (6)). Our data indicates that the adverbial function is instead the expression of the notion of immediacy of the action, or event in reference.

Thus, excluding the modal marking of *irrealis* in VP predicates in past and non-past referential contexts, the data suggests that, in the oral corpus, *logo* can also perform either an adverbial function of immediacy or that of an aspectual (HAB and CONT) marker in present and past contexts. The dual function of *irrealis* and habitual marking (in non-past contexts) by the same marker is not an unknown feature among creole languages, and in specific Portuguese-based creoles. Among the Asian PCs, besides KRIS, the use of *logo* for habitual and *irrealis* is also found in the Malabar Indo-Portuguese Creoles (MIPC) (Krajinović 2015, 2017) and in Batavia Creole (henceforth, BC) (Maurer 2011: 59), where they mark habitual, progressive and current state – a broader marking range compared to MAK and to KRIS (Baxter 1988: 126-128)

Interestingly, in MIPC, *logo* also partially overlaps its *irrealis* marking value with that of the HAB *ta*, namely for the habitual, generic truth, and potential aspects (Krajinović 2015: 45). But it is not a complete reciprocal overlap of values. *Logo* cannot mark the progressive (PRG) and *ta* does not mark the potential aspect. Krajinović (2015: 44) holds that the use of the *irrealis logo* for some values of the HAB and PRG marker is based on the shared imperfective aspectual value inherent to both aspectual classes.

Some Atlantic PCs have an identical dual marking of HAB and *irrealis* with the same marker – not the *irrealis* marker *logo*, but the HAB marker *ta*, and *sta*, and also for a broader combination of aspectual markings: i) habitual, current state and future, in the Cape Verdean Creole of Brava and Santiago, in São Tomé, Angolar and Principense; ii) habitual, progressive, current state and future, in the creole of São Vicente and in Papiamento (Silva 1985: 171; Baptista 2002: 80).

As an explanation for the use of the same marker in two contexts of a different nature, we draw on Comrie (1998: 30):

Since any situation that can be protracted sufficiently in time, or that can be iterated a sufficient number of times over a long enough period (...) can be expressed as habitual, it follows that habituality is in principle combinable with various other semantic aspectual values, namely those appropriate to the kind of situation that is prolonged or iterated.

In line with this particular link between HAB and certain iterated situations, in MAK, the use of *logo* appears to confirm the possibility of the confluence of values between habitual and *irrealis*.

Still regarding the genesis of the HAB marking value of *logo*, we should also consider the close contact between MAK and English, specifically from the 19th century onwards, and especially in the Hong Kong and Shanghai diasporic communities (but also in Macau), and later (from the mid 1950s onwards) in the migrated nuclei in North America. In English, an adstrate of MAK, the verb ‘will’, which is one of the forms used to contextualize events and actions in the absolute future, can also mark habitual/regular actions and events in the present, as well as be used to contextualize a future proposition in the past, through the form ‘would’.

Given the above observations and considerations – the overlap of the *irrealis* values of *logo* with those of *ta* for the CONT, and especially the HAB –, we postulate that this feature may be evidence of the transfer of a similar instance from one or more Asian PCs to MAK, later reinforced by congruence with the English ‘will/would’ for similar values. This reinforcement by congruence with English ‘will/would’ appears even more plausible if we consider that the use of *logo* as a marker of habitual and characteristic/generic actions is mostly found in the oral corpus (mainly produced by speakers with a high degree of contact with English).

6. Final considerations

Throughout the current article, based on the MAK corpora used, we observed *logo* functioning as an optional marker of mood and aspect, as well as an adverb. In terms of its modal function, it marks actions and states not yet realized, both as far as absolute time and relative time are concerned. This confirms such a marking with FI noted in Pinharanda Nunes & Baxter (2004). Thus, as with KRIS, BC, and TC, with regard to this feature, it is a posteriority marker,²² rather than a future tense marker.

²² Term used in Maurer (2011: 59) with regard to *logo* in BC and TC.

In future, present and past contexts, when marking stative verbs, *logo* assumes specifically an inchoative value which we have interpreted as resulting in an overlap between its aspectual marking and its adverbial value for ‘immediacy’. The inchoative value of *logo* is also part of its FI marking with adjectives – though, once again, it is not the only option. As in KRIS (Baxter 1988: 127), [*logo* + Adj] may also be expressed by the verb [*ficá*²³ + Adj].²⁴

The FI marking of MAK’s *logo* is also variably used in the apodosis of conditional clauses. The data analyzed revealed instances where the use of *logo* emulates with what (Baxter 1988: 126) notes for Kristang, namely, that it refers to propositions “dependent on a modality of probability with future reference”. Our data did not cover instances of *logo* with COND in clauses which have no truth value given their reference to a counterfactual proposition. Further searches and elicitation from elderly speakers is needed to clarify if this use is also possible, as it is in KRIS.

We also found that *logo* may function as an aspectual particle for the HAB, i.e. the marking of actions, events and situations of a habitual/generic or repeated nature, in non-future contexts, both past and present. Its possible use with HAB in present tense contexts is yet another shared trait with KRIS (and with MIPC), contrary to the closely related BC and TC, in which only derived forms of the lexifier ‘estar’ (to be) can mark this aspect.²⁵ The optional marking of HAB by *logo* was said to be explainable by a certain overlap of semantic values between that aspect and the *irrealis*, specifically the shared imperfective value. This reading is reinforced by the equal use of the HAB/PRG marker *ta/sta* in some African Portuguese creoles, and very significantly the HAB *logo* in the MIPC and KRIS, in FI contexts.

In view of all that was presented and discussed, the previously proposed optional tense-modal marking value of *logo* should, appropriately, be extended so as to include the optional marking of: (i) HAB; (ii) CONT (mostly for the inchoative); (iii) adverbial for ‘immediacy’; (iv) posterity marker of a possible outcome in the result clause of conditional sentences. Simultaneously, our current reanalysis of *logo* has reinforced the closeness of the genetic link between MAK, KRIS, BC and TC (as suggested previously regarding other linguistic features), but also MIPC.

²³ *Ficá* < PT ‘ficar’ (to stay/become).

²⁴ Baxter (1988: 127) notes that [*fiká* + Adj] is the more frequent of the two options.

²⁵ BC and TC mark the habitual/generic reference with *ste* and *sa*, both forms deriving from the PT auxiliary ‘estar’, rendered in KRIS and MAK as *ta* (Maurer 2011: 54).

Abbreviations

Adj=Adjective; **AdjP**=Adjectival frase; **Adv**=Adverb/Adverbial; **AUX**=Auxiliary; **BC**=Batavia Portuguese creole; **CONT**=Continuous aspect; **F.MTA**=Ferreira (1996a); **FI**=Future-irrealis; **G**=Genitive; **HAB**=Habitual aspect; **HKf**=1984 recording. Woman, Hong Kong; **<INF**=Mak verb forms derived from standard lexifier infinitive verb forms; **KRIS**=Kristang; **LOC**=Locative; **L1**=First language/mother tongue; **MAK**=Makista; **MIPC**=Malabar Indo-Portuguese Creoles; **NEG**=Negation; **PCs**=Portuguese-lexified creoles; **PF**=Past Perfective Preterit; **PRG**=Progressive; **PT**=Portuguese; **REL**=Relative pronoun; **REN**=Renascimento (Barreiros 1943/44); **Qnt**=Quantifier; **SFm**=2007 recording. Man, San Francisco; **SFf**=2007 recording. Woman, San Francisco; **SLP**=Sri Lankan Portuguese; **TC**=Tugu Portuguese Creole; **TMA**=Tense, Mood and Aspect; **Vf**=1999 recording. Woman. Vancouver; **VP**=Verb phrase; **1p**=First person plural; **1s**=First person singular; **2s**=Second person singular; **3s**=Third person singular

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