Verb-Verb constructions in the Indo-Portuguese creole of the Malabar

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Vector verbs

- Or ‘explicator (compound) verbs’ (e.g. Abbi & Gopalakrishnan 1991; Abbi 2001) or ‘light verbs’ (Butt 2003; Butt & Lahiri 2013);

- Participate in complex monoclausal V+V constructions, where they modulate the meaning of the main verb;

- Well-established in the long-standing languages of South Asia – seen as an important feature of the South Asian Sprachbund;

- Less well-documented in the ‘newcomers’ to the region (but see Nordhoff 2012 for Sri Lanka Malay).
Indo-Portuguese Creoles
Indo-Portuguese Creoles
Vector verbs in Malayalam

    *aaʃaari* *meeʃakaɭ uƞʈakki talli.*
carpenter table-PL make-PP push-PST
‘The carpenter made the tables (intensively).’

    *ɲaan avaŋŋẽe raŋţe pustakam ayaccukoɭtuttu.*
1s 3s.m-DAT two book send-give-PST
‘I sent him two books (for his benefit).’
Vector verbs in Malayalam

   aaʃaari meʃakaɭ uƞʈakki talli.
carpenter table-PL make-PP push-PST
   ‘The carpenter made the tables (intensively).’

   naan avaŋŋe raŋŋe pustakam ayaccukoʃutu.
1s 3s.m-DAT two book send-give-PST
   ‘I sent him two books (for his benefit).’

V₁  V₂
(non-finite, main verb, contributes core semantics of the predication)  (finite, light verb, modulates core semantics of the predication)
### V₂ in Malayalam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical Meaning</th>
<th>Value(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Put</td>
<td>Perfective/Completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go</td>
<td>Perfective/Completive; Regret/Censurability; Irreversibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throw</td>
<td>Perfective/Completive; Surprise; Regret/Censurability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take</td>
<td>Durative; Permissive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lose</td>
<td>Concessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contain</td>
<td>Humility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Push</td>
<td>Contempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>Respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroy</td>
<td>Anger/Disgust/Exasperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give</td>
<td>Alter-Benefaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep</td>
<td>Anticipatory Action</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V₂ in Malayalam (adapted from Abbi & Gopalakrishnan 1991; Jayaseelan 2004)
Malabar Indo-Portuguese

- Invariant verbs (with few exceptions, e.g. vay ‘go(es)’ vs. foy ‘went’);

- Tense-Aspect-Mood marked by operators that do not implicate the morphology of the verb;

- Despite MIP’s overall SOV basic word order, most operators precede the (main) verb:
MIP: The pre-verbal slot

(2) a.  [Vypeen; elicitation, field data]
\[yo\ \text{minhə}\ \text{irmē-pærtə}\ \text{lo} \ māda.\]
1s 1s.GEN sister-near  FUT  send
‘I will send (it) to my sister.’

b.  [Cannanore; elicitation, field data]
\[didie\ \text{ĭterə poros} \ ũ\ \text{present} \ pə-pidi\ \text{yo} \ tin\ \text{buske}.\]
daytime all 2.OBL one present to-buy 1s IPFV.PST search
‘I was looking for a present for you the whole day.’

c.  [Cannanore; elicitation, field data]
\[yo\ \text{butika} \ kera\ \text{vay} \ \text{peyxi pu-pidi}.\]
1s shop want go fish to-buy
‘I must go to the shop to buy fish.’
The post-verbal slot: GO

(3) [Cannanore; free-flowing speech, field data]

\textit{prēdisə-rophjə-foyorzə,}

\textit{learning-to PST-go.PST when}

\textit{purtəgez jə-iskusew foy.}

\textit{portuguese PST-forget.PST go.PST}

‘When we went for learning [i.e. school], (we unfortunately) forgot Portuguese.’

(4) [Vypeen; free-flowing speech, field data]

\textit{pācho paynter jə-more jə-foya gorə. el no te.}

\textit{p. p. PST-die PST-go.PST now 3s NEG be}

‘Pancho Paynter has (sadly) died. He is no more.’
The post-verbal slot: GIVE

(5) [Vypeen; free-flowing speech, field data]

akọ sister paymi hotel-dětṝə ūga
DEM sister 1s.OBL hotel-LOC one

sirvis ja-oʎa da.

job PST-look give

‘That sister[nun] found a job at a hotel (for me).’

(6) [Cannanore; free-flowing speech, field data]

minhe irma-kə tud kere faze da. [...] 
1s.GEN sister-OBL all want do give 

tə lava da, tud nos kere faze da.

IPFV.PRS wash give all 1p want do give

‘[I] had to do everything for my sister. [...] clean for [her], do everything for [her].’
The post-verbal slot: BE/HAVE

(7) [Cannanore; elicitation, field data]
boz Goa jə-foy tē?
2 Goa PST-go.PST be/have
‘Have you ever been to Goa?’

(8) [Cannanore; elicitation, field data]
bos minhə-pərte je-prũta tini sə, yo poros
p2 1.GEN-LOC PST-ask be/have.PST if 1s 2.OBL
(lo-)tin-asəsti.
IRR-be/have.PST-help
‘If you had asked me, I would have helped you.’
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CF.

didiɐ Ŭterə poros ū present pe-pidi yo tin buske.
daytime all 2.OBL one present to-buy 1s IPFV.PST search
‘I was looking for a present for you the whole day.’
The post-verbal slot: FINISH

(9) [Cannanore; free-flowing speech, field data]
\textit{je-brinka kava}
PST-play finish
‘[They] have already played.’

(10) [Cannanore; elicitation, field data]
\textit{yo unŋ bujankə je-olhe kava}
1s one monkey PST-see finish
‘I have already seen a monkey.’
The post-verbal slot: BEGIN

(11) [Cannanore; free-flowing speech, field data]

\[\text{o}l\text{o}tu\varepsilon \ vini \ \text{o}k\text{o}\text{to}b\text{\c{e}}r \ me\text{\c{e}} \ l\text{o}-faze \ \text{kumsa}. \]

\(3p \ \text{wine} \ \text{october} \ \text{month} \ \text{FUT-make} \ \text{begin}

‘They would start making wine in the month of october.’
The post-verbal slot: KEEP

(12) [Vypeen; free-flowing speech, field data]
    yo poros ū present ja-pidi garda.
1  2.OBL one  present PST-buy keep
    ‘I’ve bought a present for you (in advance).’
The post-verbal slot: SIT

(13) [Vypeen; free-flowing speech, field data]

*el beva, tud dia lo-beva, tud dia lo-beva sãta.*
3s drink all day IRR-drink all day IRR-drink sit

‘He drank, every day he would drink, he kept drinking every day.’
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>PERFECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINISH</td>
<td>COMPLETIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEGIN</td>
<td>INCEPTIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEEP</td>
<td>ANTICIPATORY ACTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIT</td>
<td>DURATIVE (PEJORATIVE?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Tense-Aspect marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$V_1$</th>
<th>$V_1 + V_2$</th>
<th>$V_2$</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GO</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIVE</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE/HAVE</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINISH</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEGIN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEEP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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To determine...

- Different grammatical/functional categories

\[ \text{[V operators]}_1 \quad \text{V} \quad \text{[V operators]}_2 \]

- Different chronologies (proposed VO → OV shift)