



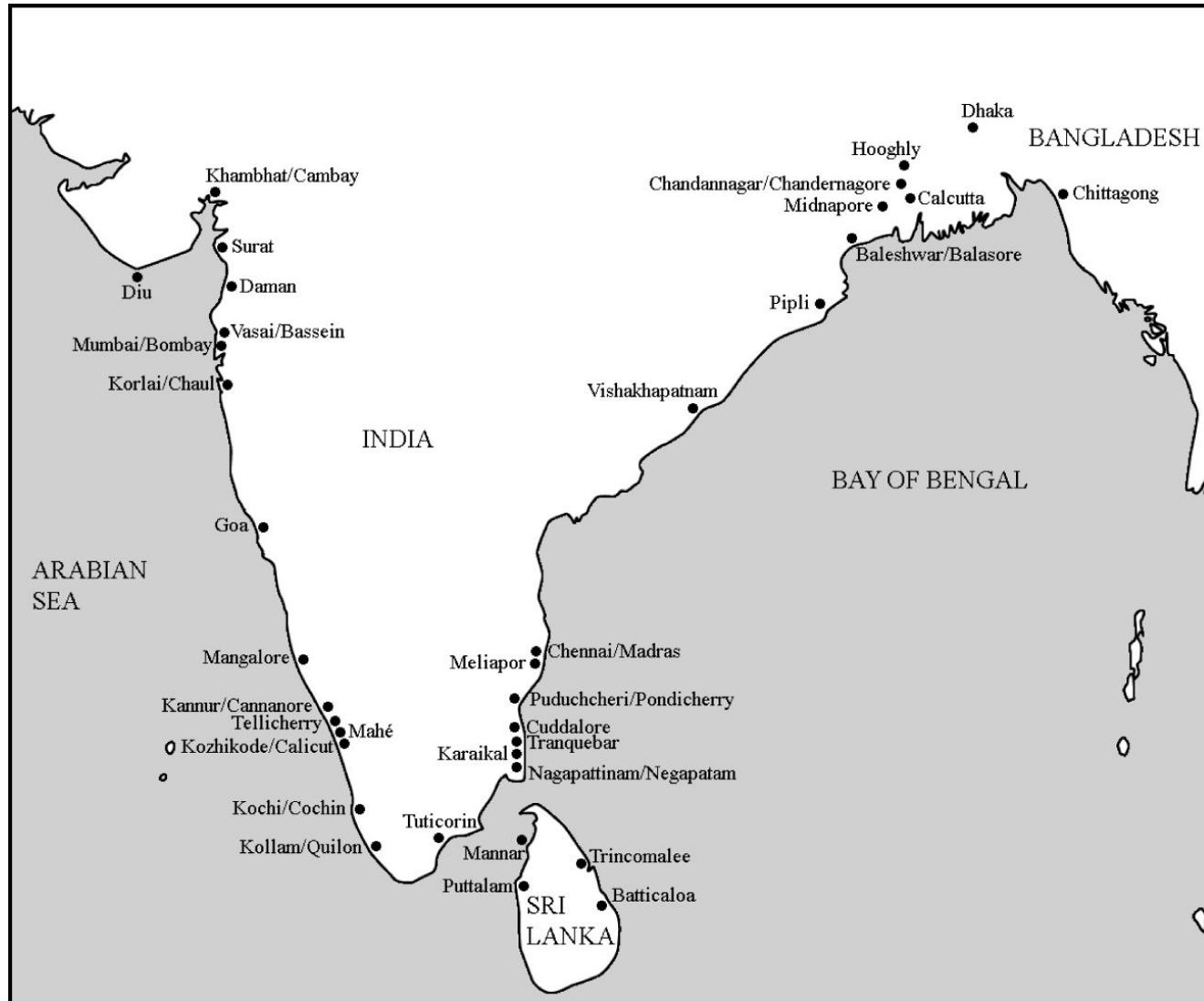
Verb-Verb constructions in the Indo- -Portuguese creole of the Malabar

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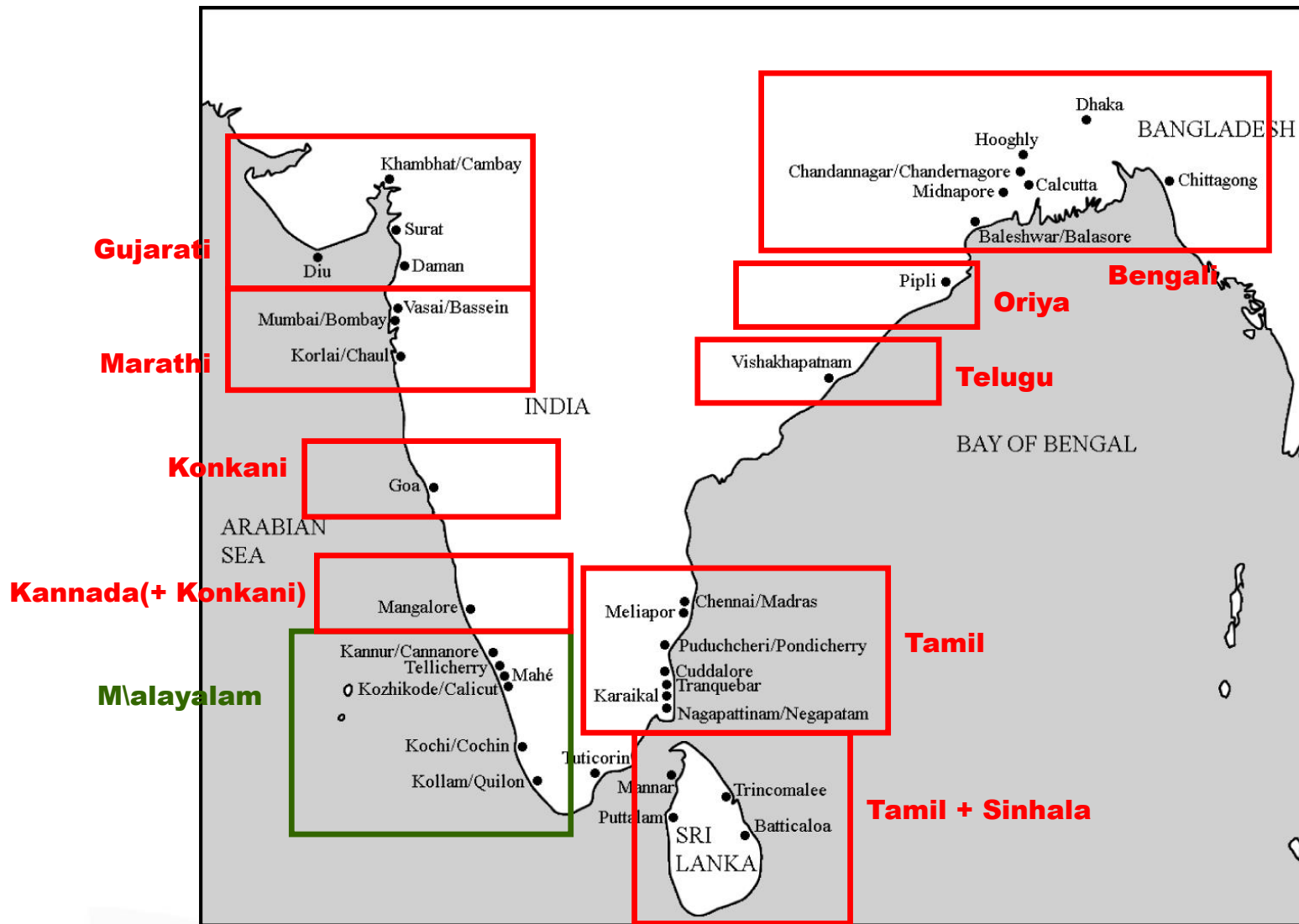
Vector verbs

- 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



The Creoles



Vector verbs in Malayalam

(1) a. Malayalam [Asher & Kumari 1997:347]

aafaari meefakaḷ unṭakki taḷḷi.

carpenter table-PL make-PP push-PST

‘The carpenter made the tables (intensively).’

b. Malayalam [Asher & Kumari 1997:348]

ṇaan avaṇṇə raṇṭə pustakam ayaccukoṭuttu.

1s 3s.m-DAT two book send-give-PST

‘I sent him two books (for his benefit).’

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V₁

(non-finite, main verb,
contributes core
semantics of the
predication)

V₂

(finite, light verb, modulates
core semantics of the
predication)

V₂ in Malayalam

LEXICAL MEANING	VALUE(S)
PUT	PERFECTIVE/COMPLETIVE
GO	PERFECTIVE/COMPLETIVE; REGRET/CENSURABILITY; IRREVERSIBILITY
THROW	PERFECTIVE/COMPLETIVE; SURPRISE; REGRET/CENSURABILITY
TAKE	DURATIVE; PERMISSIVE
LOSE	CONCESSIVE
CONTAIN	HUMILITY
PUSH	CONTEMPT
GRACE	RESPECT
DESTROY	ANGER/DISGUST/EXASPERATION
GIVE	ALTER-BENEFACTION
KEEP	ANTICIPATORY ACTION

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 minhə irmē-pærtə lo māda.

1s 1s.GEN sister-near FUT send

‘I will send (it) to my sister.’

b. [Cannanore; elicitation, field data]

didie ĩterə poros ũ present pə-pidi yo tin buskə.

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 butika kera vay 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]

prēdisə-pə *jə-foy* *ɔrzə,*

learning-to PST-go.PST when

purtəgez *jə-iskusew* *foy.*

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]

pãcho *paynter* *jə-more* *jə-foy* *agorə. el no te.*

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]

akə sister *paymi* *hotel-dētrə* *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]

minhə *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 tẽ?
2 Goa PST-go.PST be/have
'Have you ever been to Goa?'
- (8) [Cannanore; elicitation, field data]
bos minhə-pærtə je-prūta 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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The post-verbal slot: FINISH

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

je-brinka kava

PST-play finish

‘[They] have already played.’

(10) [Cannanore; elicitation, field data]

yo un bujanke 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]
olotə vini okotobər mezə lo-faze kumsa.
3p wine october month FUT-make 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 ũ 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 **sāta**.*
3s drink all day IRR-drink all day IRR-drink sit
'He drank, every day he would drink, he kept drinking every day.'

V₂ in MIP

LEXICAL MEANING	VALUE
GO	REGRET/CENSURABILITY; IRREVERSIBILITY
GIVE	ALTER-BENEFACTIVE
BE/HAVE	PERFECT
FINISH	COMPLETIVE
BEGIN	INCEPTIVE
KEEP	ANTICIPATORY ACTION
SIT	DURATIVE (PEJORATIVE?)

Tense-Aspect marking

	V_1	$V_1 + V_2$	V_2	TOTAL
GO	-	4	8	12
GIVE	9	4	-	13
BE/HAVE	15	2	-	17
FINISH	6	-	-	6
BEGIN	1	-	-	1
KEEP	3	-	-	3
SIT	1	-	-	1

To determine...

[V operators]₁ V [V operators]₂

- Different grammatical/functional categories

and/or

- Different chronologies (proposed VO → OV shift)