Typology, complexity and subordination in Korlai Indo-Portuguese

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Introduction

Focus of the Presentation
Syntactic and semantic issues in two kinds of subordinate clauses in Korlai Indo-
Portuguese (henceforth Korlai):

• finite complement clauses
• finite ‘when’ adverbial clauses
Introduction

Rationale

• The reason for focusing on these two kinds is that they both are marked with *ki*, as well as with other markers (also with zero).

• Other coordinate/subordinate clauses (e.g. relative, purpose, ‘what’ complement clauses, ‘or’ coordinate clauses marked only by *ki*) are not discussed in any detail.
Introduction

The goals of the Presentation

• to describe Korlai finite complement and ‘when’ adverbial clauses from a comparative perspective, and

• to offer an account for why they are marked as they are.
Introduction

Markers to be Discussed

- Korlai subordinators *ki*, in two functions: as a complementizer (COMP) and as a temporal (‘when’) conjunction.

- Korlai subordinators that overlap functionally with COMP *ki*, namely, *purís* ‘COMP’, or that co-occur with *ki*, as in the case *kɔr ki* ‘[irrealis] when’.
Introduction

Complement Clauses in Question

El haló (ki) eló lə vi amya (purís)
3SG said COMP 3PL FUT come tomorrow COMP

‘S/he said (that) they would come tomorrow.’
Introduction

‘when’ Subordinate Clauses in Question

Teru kadz ki jave no ti kumen.
Teru house when came 1PL PST eating
‘When Teru got to the house, we were eating.’

Teru kadz kor-ki lə vi no lə kume.
Teru house when.IRREALIS-SUB FUT come 1PL FUT eat
‘When Teru comes, we will eat.’

*Teru kadz kor jave no ti kumen.
*Teru kadz kor lə vi no lə kume.
*Teru kadz ki lə vi no lə kume.
Introduction

Other Korlai Clauses marked with $ki$

Relative (subordinate) $ki$:

ơm زةnt $ki$ jave nɔ irmāw tɛ
man yesterday REL came our brother be.PRS
‘The man who came yesterday is our brother.’

Complement marker (subordinate) $ki$ ‘what’:

$ki$ lə hika $kē$ sab.
what FUT happen (‘become’) who know
‘Who knows what will happen.’
Introduction

Other Korlai Clauses marked with \textit{ki}

3. Purpose clause (subordinate) \textit{ki}:
\textit{Lwidz jave ūnt \textbf{kader} \textit{ki} \textit{konsárta}.}

`Lwidz came yesterday chair COMP repair`

`‘Lwidz came to repair yesterday.’`

4. Coordinate conjunction \textit{ki} ‘or’:
\textit{use \textit{lə} \textit{vi} \textit{nə} \textit{kosid} \textit{ki} \textit{nāw}?}

`you.FORM FUT come 1PL with or NEG`

`‘Will you come with us or not?’`
Hypothesis 1

• The double-headed COMP SUBORD ‘when’ clauses have developed due to an analogical extension across languages (Marathi to Korlai) in a bilingual situation.

• Analogical extensions are cognitive processes, and depend upon the recognition of similarity between two or more items, classes or constructions (Fischer 2013, Harris and Campbell 1995, ch3).

• It is one mechanism of syntactic change that works across phrases, extending a form from one syntactic environment to another (De Smet, 2009).
Introduction

Hypothesis 1 (cont.)

• The Korlai constructions COMP \([s \_\_]\) COMP and \([s \_\_]\) COMP, and the ‘when’ SUBORD \([s \_\_]\) ‘then’ SUBORD are best accounted for by appealing to the process of analogical extension.

• The Marathi co-relative construction in the ‘when’ and ‘if’ subordinate clauses is extended, with changes, to Korlai’s most commonly used subordination construction (COMP), and to the irrealis ‘when’ clauses (beginning stages).
Introduction

Hypothesis 2

• The realis and irrealis distinction in Korlai ‘when’ subordinate clauses could possibly be the result of disambiguation.
• The details of this process have not been worked out.
• There may be other more compelling hypotheses.
Introduction

Outline of the Talk
1. Typological considerations for complement and temporal adverbiacl clauses
2. Complexity considerations: paradigmatic vs. syntagmatic complexity (Good 2012)
3. Korlai Clauses in question from a comparative perspective
4. Analogical extension and Disambiguation as accounts for Korlai’s innovations in subordinate clause structures.
5. Conclusions
Typology
Typology

Diessel (2001) defines the subordinate clauses types examined in this talk as follows:
## Typology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYNTAX</th>
<th><strong>COMP-clause</strong></th>
<th><strong>ADV-clause</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEMANTICS</td>
<td>complement (argument)</td>
<td>adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marking</td>
<td>modifier of complement-taking predicate (CTP)</td>
<td>modifier of S/VP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marking</td>
<td>zero or complementizer</td>
<td>adverbial subordinator</td>
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Typology

Complement Clauses (e.g. *John said that he was tall*)

- In VO languages, complement clauses consistently follow the main-clause predicate and have clause-initial markers.
- In OV languages, although complement clauses occur before and after the main-clause predicate, they are overall more commonly found after the verbal head (Kuno 1974), Hawkins 1988, Dryer 1992 and Diessel 2001), and the complementizer tends to be clause-initial.
Typology

Temporal Subordinate Clauses

e.g. *John arrived when we were eating.*

• In VO languages, temporal subordinate clauses occur before and after the verbal head and have a clause-initial subordinator.

• In OV languages, temporal subordinate clauses tend to precede main clause/predicate and have a clause-final subordinator.
Typology

**Expectation**

- Korlai should place its complement clauses after the main clause and have clause-initial complementizers.

- As a recently evolved OV language, Korlai should tend to favor preplacement of its ‘when’ adverbial clauses relative to the main clause, though both orders should be allowed.
## Typology

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<th>Korlai</th>
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Complexity
Complexity

Good’s (2012) finding: languages that form from a jargon phase display less paradigmatic complexity (e.g. undergo paradigm reduction) relative to the lexifier and substrate languages, but not less syntagmatic complexity.
Complexity

Expectation

Korlai should display no reduction in complexity because in subordination strategies because these occur on the syntagmatic axis, not on the paradigmatic axis.
Complementizers in Korlai

(compared to COMPs in lexifier and sub-/adstrate languages)
COMP in Korlai

- Portuguese: MC *que* [s____ ]

- Marathi  MC *ki* [s____ ]
  MC Ø [s____ ]

- Korlai  MC Ø [s____ ]
  MC *ki* [s____ ]
  MC *ki* [s____ ] *purís*
  MC [s____ ] *purís*
COMP in Korlai

• **Portuguese** had and has clause-initial heads in complementizer clauses, as well as in other subordinate clauses.

\[ [S \text{ Matrix Clause } [\text{CP}\text{COMP } [S \text{ subordinate clause}]]] \]

1. \[ [S \text{ Creio } \ldots [\text{CP que } [S \text{ a principal causa destas cousas nacia do conhecimento que ja deles haviam } \ldots]]] \]

‘I believe that the main cause of these things came from the knowledge that they already had of them.’

(from a chronicle by Zurara [1410-1474])
COMP in Korlai

• **Marathi** had and has only clause-initial heads in complementizer clauses. (NOTE: in other types of subordinate clauses, it has both both clause-initial and clause final heads.

  [Matrix Clause [COMP [subordinate clause]]]

2.  *[Mohan mhəŋala [(ki) [Mədhu Dillila gela. ]]]*

   ‘Mohan said (that) Madhu went to Dehli.’

(adapted from Pandharipande 1997:65)
COMP in Korlai

• **Korlai**, unlike both Portuguese and Marathi, has **three ways** to overtly mark a complement clause, and one headless option.

\[
[S \text{ Matrix Clause} \left[ CP \emptyset \ [S \text{ subordinate clause}] \right]]
\]

\[
[S \text{ Matrix Clause} \left[ CP \textbf{COMP} \ [S \text{ subordinate clause}] \right]]
\]

\[
[S \text{ Matrix Clause} \left[ CP \textbf{COMP} \ [S \text{ subordinate clause}] \textbf{COMP} \right]]
\]

\[
[S \text{ Matrix Clause} \left[ CP \ [S \text{ subordinate clause}] \textbf{COMP} \right]]
\]
COMP in Korlai

Headless COMP clause:

3a. [El halo [Ø [el-o le vi amya.]]]
   3SG    say-PST   3-PL FUT come tomorrow
   ‘S/he said they would come tomorrow.’
COMP in Korlai

Clause-initial COMP:

3b. [El halo [ki [el-o lo vi amya.]]]

3SG say-PST COMP 3-PL FUT come tomorrow

‘S/he said they will/would come tomorrow.’
COMP in Korlai

Clause-initial with clause-final COMPs:

3c. [El halo [ki [el-o lə vi amya] purís]]

3SG say-PST COMP 3-PL FUT come tomorrow COMP

‘S/he said they will/would come tomorrow.’
COMP in Korlai

Clause-final COMP:

3d.[Elhalo [Ø [el-o lə vi amya] purís]]

3SG say-PST COMP 3-PL FUT come tomorrow COMP

‘S/he said they would come tomorrow.’
COMP in Korlai

**Section Summary**

- Portuguese and Marathi main-subordinate clause orders, and complementizer order within the subordinate clause, are in line with what is typologically expected.
- While the order of MC-SC in Korlai is typologically expected, the manner in which complement clauses are marked (clause-initially and clause-finally) represents a complexity in the subordination system.
To understand where this double marking may come from, we need to look at Marathi ‘when’ subordinate clauses, as well as other subordinate clause types.
‘when’ Adverbial Clauses in Korlai
(compared to comparable structures in lexifier and sub-/adstrate languages)
‘when’ Clauses in Korlai

- Portuguese: \( quando \) \([S___]\) MC
  \( MC \) \( quando \) \([S___]\)

- Marathi: \( d\text{\&}m\text{\&}ha \) \([S___]\) \( t\text{\&}m\text{\&}ha \) MC
  \( MC \) \( d\text{\&}m\text{\&}ha \) \([S___]\)
  \([S___]\) \( t\text{\&}m\text{\&}ha \) MC

- Korlai \([CP \) \( XP \) \( ki \) \([VP___]\)] MC (realis)
  \([CP \) \( XP \) \( kor \) \( ki \) \([VP___]\)] MC (irrealis)
‘when’ Clauses in Korlai

• **Portuguese** had and has clause-initial heads in ‘when’ adverbial clauses. The ‘when’ clause can appear before or after the matrix clause.

\[
\begin{align*}
[S \text{ Matrix Clause} & [CP \text{ ‘when’ } [S \text{ ____ } ]]] \\
[S [CP \text{ ‘when’ } [S \text{ ____ } ] \text{ Matrix Clause}]]
\end{align*}
\]

4a. \( [S [CP \text{ quando } [S \text{ os das caravelas viram palmeiras y árvores altas} \text{ bem conheceram que eram perto do rio do Nilo}]].] \)

4b. \( [S \text{ Bem conheceram que eram perto do rio do Nilo} \]
\( [CP \text{ quando } [S \text{ os das caravelas viram palmeiras y árvores altas}] \)

‘When the ones from the ships saw palm trees and other tall trees, they knew well that they were near the Nile River.’

taken and adapted from a chronicle by Zurara [1410-1474])
‘when’ Clauses in Korlai

- **Marathi** places ‘when’ adverbial clauses before (5a) and after (5b) the matrix clause. Moreover, it has a co-relative construction (5a), both elements of which can appear alone.

5a. **džēmwha ti anəndi aste (tēmwha) ti gate.**
   ‘when she happy is then she sings

5b. **Ti gate džēmwha ti anəndi aste.**
   she sings when she happy is

5c. **Ti anəndi aste, tēmwha gate.**
   she happy is then sings
   ‘When she’s happy, she sings.’ (with relevant permutations)

(adapted from Pandharipande 1997:104-105)
‘when’ Clauses in Korlai

Korlai, unlike Marathi and Portuguese, displays three innovations:

1. It only allows subordinate clause-matrix clause order.

2. Its subordinators must occur in immediate pre-VP position.

3. It has two subordinators: one used in realis contexts, the other used in irrealis contexts.
‘when’ Clauses in Korlai

Realis context:

6a. [[Teru kadz [ki jave]] [nɔ ti kumen.]]

Teru house ‘when’ came 1PL PST eating

‘When Teru came, we were eating.’
‘when’ Clauses in Korlai

Irrealis context:

6b. [[[Teru kadz [kɔr ki [lə vi ]]]]]

Teru house ‘when-IRR SUB FUT come

[[ (atodz) no lə kume.]]
then 1PL FUT eat

‘When Teru comes, we will eat.’
‘when’ Clauses in Korlai

Section Summary

Typologically:

• the flexibility of Portuguese clause order (MC-SC and SC-MC) is expected.

• Marathi’s clause order flexibility (both MC-SC and SC-MC) runs counter to the default expectation for OV languages to allow only SC-MC order.

• Korlai’s sole ordering (SC-MC) option matches the default expectation of OV languages. However, the immediate pre-VP subordinator slot and the realis-irrealis distinction coded in the subordinators represent innovations that complexify ‘when’ clause subordination and are unexpected. Also unexpected is the optional double SUBORD structure, only found in irrealis contexts.
‘when’ Clauses in Korlai

Section Summary (continued)

• Although the Marathi co-relative construction is typologically not expected or predicted, it is nevertheless found as a major subordination construction in Marathi and in other Indo-Aryan languages.

• It may be the model for the double COMP and SUBORD constructions found in Korlai.
A (Brief) Analogical Account of Korlai’s Double COMP and Double SUBORD Constructions
Analogical Extension

Hypothesis 1

• The double-headed COMP and SUBOR ‘when’ clauses have developed due to an analogical extension across languages (Marathi to Korlai) in a bilingual situation.

• Analogical extension, a cognitive process, is based on the recognition of similarity between two or more items, classes or constructions (Fischer 2013, Harris and Campbell 1995, ch3).

• It is one mechanism of syntactic change that works across phrases, extending a form from one syntactic environment to another (De Smet, 2009).
Analogical Extension

In the corpora consulted French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, looking at 3 subordinate constructions, the ordering from the most common to least common are:

COMP [S____ ]
‘when’ [S____ ]
‘if’ [S____ ]
Analogical Extension

In Marathi, the 4 most frequently occurring subordinate constructions seem to be:

COMP [s____ ]
[s____ ] QUOT
‘when’ [s____ ] (‘then’)
‘if’ [s____ ] (‘so’)
Analogical Extension

In the Korlai corpus, the 4 most frequently occurring subordinate constructions, in order, are:

COMP \([S ____ ]\)

\([S ____ ] \text{ QUOT}\)

\([CP \, XP \, 'when' \, [VP ____ ]] \text{ (atodz 'then')}\)

\([CP \, XP \, 'if' \, [VP ____ ]] \text{ 'so' (M tər)}\)
Analogical Extension

• the Marathi co-relative construction is found in frequently used subordinate clauses, most notably the ‘when’ (ʤẽmwha-tẽmwha) and ‘if’ (ʤər-tər) subordinate clauses.

• It is reasonable to speculate that the most frequently occurring subordinate construction (the COMP construction) in Korlai is modeled on the Marathi co-relative constructions, using the grammaticalized purís (< Ptg. por isso ‘because of that’).
Analogical Extension

• It is reasonable to speculate that the Korlai double SUBORD ‘when’ clauses are also modeled on the Marathi co-relative clause construction found in the same type of temporal subordinate clause.

• Of note, however, is that atodz is not grammaticalized to the extent that it is only a subordinator. It is still productively used as a temporal adverb.
Disambiguation

‘when’-irrealis (subordinate) *kɔr-ki*:

\[\text{om amya kɔr-ki lə vi nɔ lə ti kume.}\]

man tomorr. ‘when’ FUT come 1PL FUT eating

‘When the man comes tomorrow, we were eating.’

Relative (subordinate) *ki*:

\[\text{om amya ki lə vi nɔ irmāw tɛ}\]

man tomorr. REL FUT come 1PL brother be.PRS

‘The man who’ll come tomorrow is our brother.’
Disambiguation

‘when’-realis (subordinate) *ki*:

\[ \text{om  ŋnt } \quad \underline{ki} \quad \text{jave} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{kumen.} \]

man yesterday ‘when’ came 1PL PST eating

‘When the man came yesterday, we were eating.’

Relative (subordinate) *ki*:

\[ \text{om  ŋnt } \quad \underline{ki} \quad \text{jave} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{irmãw} \quad \text{te} \]

man yesterday REL came our brother be.PRS

‘The man who came yesterday is our brother.’
Disambiguation

‘when’-irrealis (subordinate) \(kɔr-ki\):
\[om\ amya \ kɔr-ki \ lə \ vi \ nɔ \ lə \ ti \ kume.\]
man tomorr. ‘when’ FUT come 1PL FUT eating
‘When the man comes tomorrow, we were eating.’

Interrogative (matrix clause) \(kɔr\):
\[om\ amya \ kɔr \ lə \ vi?\]
man tomorrow when FUT come
‘When will the man come tomorrow?’
Some Conclusions
Conclusions

• Typologically, Korlai displays structures and orders not expected but are not counterexamples to typological predictions.

• In terms of complexity, if we follow Good’s generalization that creoles should not display a decrease in syntagmatic complexity, this is borne out.

• Good’s generalization does not predict anything about why Korlai displays an increase in syntagmatic complexity.
Conclusions

• The developments seem to be contact induced (subordination markers) or language internal (subordinate clause structures and double subordinators).

• The details of why double subordination in Korlai exists seems clear (analogical extension) though some of the detail still needs to be worked out.
Conclusions

• The details regarding the development of the subordinate ‘when’ realis-irrealis distinction are far from clear.

• Appealing to disambiguity does not account for much, if anything

• In future research, there is a pressing need to include the many non-finite clause options for expressing ‘when’ subordinate clauses in order to see how these may shed light on the development of the ‘realis-irrealis’ distinction.
Conclusions

• Example: in present habitual contexts, finite ‘when’ clauses are rare or non-existent, or expressed with ‘if’.
  ‘when it rains, I stay at home’

  chu shi kaiu, yo kadz me t’hika.
  rain when fell I house EMPH PRS stay

  chu kain, yo kadz t’ hika
  rain falling I house PRS stay
Conclusions

Final comment: there is still a lot of work to be done on this topic!
Мәтә, Вом !

Thank you !