

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES IN SOUTHERN INDO- PORTUGUESE

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VIII
SYNTAX *of the*
WORLD'S
LANGUAGES



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INTRODUCTION: OBJECTIVES

- Provide an overview of the conditional constructions of the Indo-Portuguese creoles of Malabar coast (MIP) and of Modern Sri Lanka Portuguese (SLP), in a comparative perspective;
- Contribute to the discussion on the existence of a Southern Indo-Portuguese cluster, as proposed in Cardoso (2013).



INTRODUCTION: SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE

The so-called Southern Indo-Portuguese (Cardoso 2013) is composed of the Malabar creoles (MIP) and the Sri Lanka Portuguese (SLP).



India:

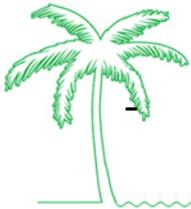
- Kerala state: Cannanore & Cochin

MALAYALAM ADSTRATE

Sri Lanka:

- Eastern Province: Batticaloa & Trincomalee
- North: Jaffna

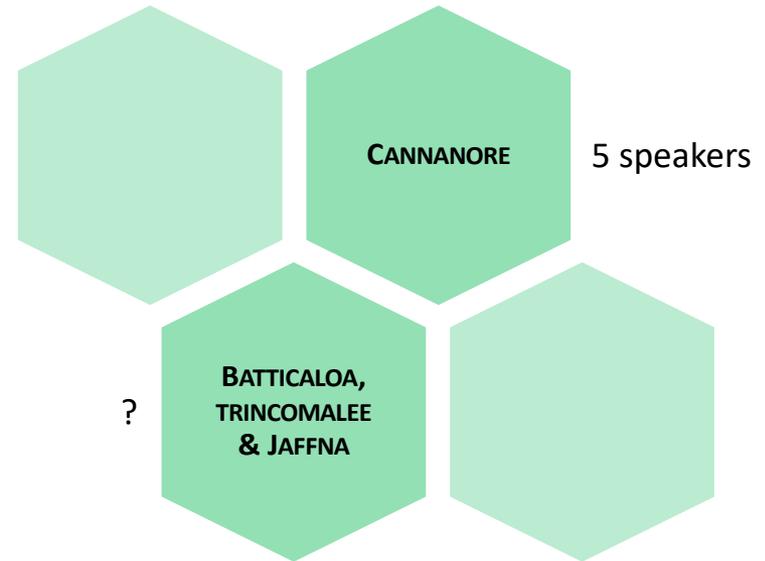
TAMIL ADSTRATE



INTRODUCTION: SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE

Both MIP and SLP are endangered languages, due to their sociolinguistic status (pressure of the national languages, lack of literacy and orthographic development, etc.)

MIP, spoken by only five speakers, is now a moribund language, facing an extinction scenario.

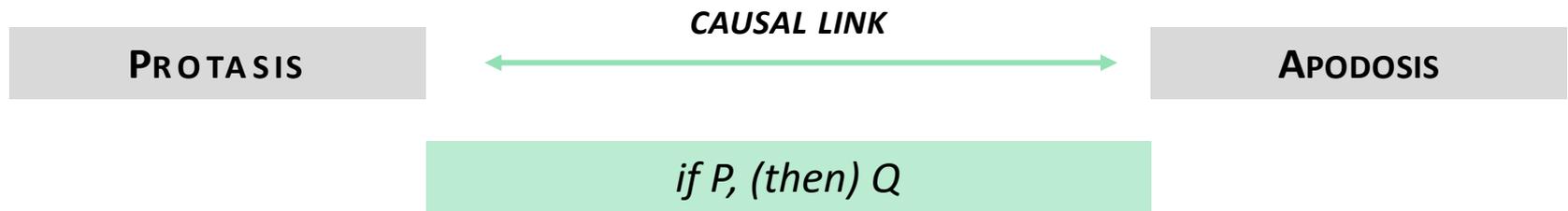


DOCUMENTATION & DESCRIPTION



CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS: OVERVIEW

CONCEPTUAL CRITERIA OF CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS



- The content of the protasis must be interpretable as a logic cause of the content of the apodosis.
- A commitment to the truth of the two propositions is not required, as opposed to causal constructions.

(BASED ON COMRIE 2009)



CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS: OVERVIEW

CLAUSE ORDER & MARKERS OF CONDITIONALITY

- Protasis is generally followed by the apodosis. Apodosis-protasis is also attested, as well as both orders (e.g. European Portuguese, the lexifier of MIP and SLP).
- Overt markers of conditionality can occur in the protasis or in the apodosis, or even in both, by means of:
 - Conjunctions
 - Verb forms
 - Subject-verb inversion



CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS: TRADITIONAL TYPOLOGY

FACTUAL

The proposition expressed in the protasis is assumed to be true at utterance time (e.g. scientific facts, habitual actions in the present or past, implications).

(1) *If you heat water up to 100.°C, it boils.*

HYPOTHETICAL

The proposition expressed in the protasis may or may not be true.

(2) *If John were sick, his mother would call him everyday.*

COUNTERFACTUAL

The proposition expressed in the protasis is assumed to be false.

(3) *If the weather had been nice, we would have gone to the beach.*



CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE, THE LEXIFIER

- Typical clause order: protasis – apodosis
- Conditionality markers (e.g. *se* ‘if’) occur in the protasis and optionally in the apodosis (e.g. *então* ‘then’).
- The degree of hypotheticality (Comrie 2009) of EP conditional clauses is interpretable through the relation between the tense and mode of the protasis and the tense and mode of the apodosis (Marques 2000, Lobo 2013).



CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE, THE LEXIFIER

		PROTASIS (EMBEDDED CLAUSE)	APODOSIS (MAIN CLAUSE)
- HYPOTHETICAL	FACTUAL	Indicative	Indicative
		Future of conjunctive	Indicative
		Future II of conjunctive	Indicative
		Imperfect of conjunctive	Conditional/imperfect
+ HYPOTHETICAL	COUNTERFACTUAL	Past perfect of conjunctive	Conditional/imperfect



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: CONDITIONALS IN MAIN ADSTRATES

MALAYALAM & TAMIL, THE ADSTRATES

Conditional marker: **suffix -aa(l)** added to the **past tense verb stem**, independently of whether the situation is located in the past (Asher & Kumari 1997; Schiffman 1999; Krishnamurti 2003). Only PQ order.

(4) TAMIL (COSTA: FIELD NOTES)

nuuru “degrees” vare taṇṇi suḍa veccaa, kodikkum.
hundred degrees until water heat keep.COND 3SG-N.FUT.boil
'If you heat water until 100°C, it boils.'

(5) MALAYALAM (ASHER & KUMARI 1997: 88)

nii nallavannṇam paṭhiccaal tiirccayaayum passaakum.
2SG well study-COND surely pass-FUT
'If you study well, you will surely pass.'



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: CONDITIONALS IN MAIN ADSTRATES

MALAYALAM (AND OLD TAMIL), THE

ADSTRATES

Conditional marker: **suffix -enki(l) (and -aal)** added to a **finite verb form** of any tense (Aiyar 1938, Asher & Kumari 1997, Krishnamurti 2003).

(6) **MALAYALAM** (ASHER & KUMARI 1997: 89)

ava| nallavaṇṇam paṭhiccirunnenkil jayikkumaayirunnu.

she well study-PRF-PST-COND pass-FUT-PST

'If she had studied well, she would have passed.'

(7) **MALAYALAM** (ASHER & KUMARI 1997: 88)

nii atə ceyyumenkil ṇaan varaam.

you it do-FUT-COND I come-FUT-MOD

'If you will do it, I will come.'



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: MALABAR INDO-PORTUGUESE



- Attested clause order: PQ
- Obligatory marking of P (right periphery of the embedded clause)
- Conditional marker: *sæ/sana*

(8) CARDOSO 2006-2015

bos pærmí iskra tæn sæ, yo na læmbra bos pærmí ja skusa.
2SG.NOM 1SG.DAT write PRF.PRS COND 1SG.NOM NEG think 2SG.NOM 1SG.DAT PST forget
'If you write me, I will not think you have forgotten me'.

HYPOTHETICAL



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: MALABAR INDO-PORTUGUESE

(9) CARDOSO 2006-2015 (CANNANOR)

boz nu ta sana, noz isti na fazæ.

2.NOM NEG be.PRS COND 1PL this NEG do

'If you are not [here], we don't do it.'

FACTUAL

(10) CARDOSO 2006-2015 (CANNANOR)

æla maz arsõ ja da sæ, æla-kæ bõ "punishment" lo da.

3SG.FEM more trouble PST give COND 3SG.FEM-DAT good punishment FUT give

'If she continues to make trouble, I will give her a good punishment.'

HYPOTHETICAL

(11) CARDOSO 2006-2015 (CANNANOR)

boz minha pærtæ ja prunta tini sæ, yo poroz tin asistya.

2.NOM 1SG.GEN LOC PST ask PRF.PST COND 1SG.NOM 2.DAT IPFV.PST help

'If you had asked me, I would have helped you.'

COUNTERFACTUAL



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: MALABAR INDO-PORTUGUESE

TMA MARKING	PROTASIS	APODOSIS
FACTUAL	Tenseless \emptyset PRS <i>ta</i> PST <i>ja</i>	FUT <i>lo</i> PST <i>ja</i>
HYPOTHETICAL	Tenseless \emptyset PRS <i>ta</i> PST <i>ja</i> (without PAST interpretation)	Imperative \emptyset FUT <i>lo</i>
COUNTERFACTUAL	PST <i>ja</i> PST.PERF <i>tinha</i>	FUT <i>lo</i> IPFV.PST <i>tinhi</i>



SUMMARY OF TMA MARKING IN CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: SRI LANKA PORTUGUESE



(12) CARDOSO 2017: 086_4

áka pooku viinhu teráá see, sudu kantiinha lovii.

that little wine take COND all song FUT.come

'If we {drink/drank} some wine, we {will/would} sing all songs.'



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: SRI LANKA PORTUGUESE

- RIGID CLAUSE ORDER PQ;
- RIGID OVERT MARKING OF P (RIGHT PERIPHERY);
- *SEE* (OR ITS PHONETIC VARIANTS *SARA* AND *SAAN*), *LOOV* AND, LESS FREQUENTLY, *KAM(DA)*- ATTACHED TO THE VERB STEM;
- EMPHATIC CONDITIONALS USE THE CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLE *TAAM* (SMITH 2013).

(13) CARDOSO 2017: 018_3

“priest” faláá see, etus loovii.

priest speak COND they FUT.listen

‘If the priest speaks, they listen’.

[FACTUAL, HABITUAL]



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: SRI LANKA PORTUGUESE

(14) CARDOSO 2017: 049_5

áka pooku viinhu teráá see, sudu kantiinha lovii.
that little wine take COND all song FUT.come
'If we {drink/drank} some wine, we {will/would} sing all songs.'

[HYPOTHETIC]

(15) COSTA: FIELD NOTES

minha mááy áki impa tinha see, mááy lofaláá isti káástiv óóras.
1SG.GEN mother here stay PST.be COND mother FUT.say this trouble time.PL
'If my mother were here, she would say these are hard times.'

[COUNTERFACTUAL, IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION IN THE PRESENT]

(16) CARDOSO 2017: 073_5

diiya gráándi vii kamfaláá, isi 'Palayuthu'ntu boom "happy"ley loteem.
day big come COND.QUOT this Palayuthu.LOC good happy=like FUT.be
'If it's the case that there is a holiday, it's such a happiness in Palayuthu.'

[FACTUAL, HABITUAL ACTIONS
IN PRS]



Strategy also attested in Tamil (Schiffman 1999:161), in which the quotative verb may be conditionalized.

SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: SRI LANKA PORTUGUESE

TMA MARKING	PROTASIS	APODOSIS
FACTUAL	Tenseless \emptyset PRS <i>ta-</i> PST <i>ja-</i> PST.PERF <i>tinha</i>	FUT, HAB/GEN <i>lo-</i> PRS <i>ta-</i>
FUTURE/HYPOTHETICAL	Tenseless \emptyset PST <i>ja-</i>	FUT <i>lo-</i> FUT.PFV <i>loka-</i>
COUNTERFACTUAL	PST <i>ja-</i> PST.PERF <i>tinha</i>	FUT <i>lo-</i> FUT.PFV <i>loka-</i> IRR <i>lodiiya(m)-</i> NEG.IRR <i>naandiyam-</i>

SUMMARY OF TMA MARKING IN THE CONDITIONAL STRUCTURE INVOLVING POSTVERBAL MARKERS (SEE, LOOV).



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE: COMPARISON OF TMA MARKING

	PROTASIS		APODOSIS	
	MIP	SLP	MIP	SLP
FACTUAL	Tenseless \emptyset PRS <i>ta</i> PST <i>ja</i>	Tenseless \emptyset PRS <i>ta</i> - PST <i>ja</i> - PST.PERF <i>tinha</i>	FUT/IRR <i>lo</i> PRS <i>ta</i> -	FUT, HAB/GEN <i>lo</i> - PRS <i>ta</i> -
HYPOTHETICAL	Tenseless \emptyset PRS <i>ta</i> PST <i>ja</i>	Tenseless \emptyset PST <i>ja</i> -	FUT/IRR <i>lo</i> Imperative \emptyset	FUT <i>lo</i> - FUT.PFV <i>loka</i> -
COUNTERFACTUAL	PST <i>ja</i> PST.PERF <i>tinha</i>	PST <i>ja</i> - PST.PERF <i>tinha</i>	FUT/IRR <i>lo</i> IPFV.PST <i>tinhi</i>	FUT <i>lo</i> - FUT.PFV <i>loka</i> - (IRR <i>lodiiya(m)</i> -) (NEG.IRR <i>naandiyam</i> -)



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE CLUSTER: EVIDENCE FROM LEXICAL SIMILARITIES

	MIP	MSLP	KORLAI IP (CLEMENTS 1996)	DAMAN IP (CLEMENTS 2001)	DIU IP (CARDOSO 2009)
‘AFTER’	<i>(d)espoz</i>	<i>dispoos</i>	<i>dəpəy</i>	<i>dəpoy</i>	<i>dəpəy</i>
‘WHEN’	<i>kāda</i>	<i>kiyóóras/óóras</i>	<i>kər</i>	<i>kwan</i>	<i>kwɔn</i>
‘BECAUSE OF’	<i>-suydə</i>	<i>viida</i>	<i>rhəpəd</i>	<i>pur kawz</i>	<i>pu(kawz)</i>
PROX DEM	<i>isti</i>	<i>isti</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>es</i>
NEG	<i>nu/na</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>nu/nə(n)</i>	<i>nə</i>
‘ANOTHER ONE’	<i>inda uŋ</i>	<i>indung</i>	<i>mayzũ</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>ot</i>
‘DOG’	<i>kachor</i>	<i>káchoor</i>	<i>kāw</i>	<i>káw</i>	<i>káw</i>
‘FRIEND’	<i>kamrad</i>	<i>kambráádu</i>	<i>amig</i>	<i>amig</i>	<i>amig</i>
‘THINK’	<i>lembra</i>	<i>lembráá</i>	<i>wichar</i>	<i>pensa</i>	<i>pěsa</i>



(ADAPTED FROM CARDOSO 2013)

SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE CLUSTER: EVIDENCE FROM SYNTACTICAL SIMILARITIES

	MIP	MSLP	KORLAI IP (CLEMENTS 1996)	DAMAN IP (CLEMENTS 2001)	DIU IP (CARDOSO 2009)
WORD ORDER		O – V		V – O	
ADPOSITIONS		Postpositions		Prepositions	
POSSESSION		POSSESSOR-GEN POSSESSED		POSSESSED – P – POSSESSOR	
COMPLEMENTIZER		XP – C		C – XP	
RELATIVE CLAUSES		R – NP		NP – R	

(ADAPTED FROM CARDOSO 2013)



SOUTHERN INDO-PORTUGUESE CLUSTER: EVIDENCE FROM CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

	MODERN SLP	MIP	EARLY SLP (DALGADO 1900)	KORLAI IP (CLEMENTS 1996)	DIU IP (CARDOSO 2009)
MARKER 'IF'	<i>see/sara/saan</i>	<i>sana/sæ</i>	<i>si/se</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>si</i>
POSTVERBAL	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗
SPECIFIC COUNTERFACTUAL MARKERS	(✓)	✓	✓	✓	✓



PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

- Great variety of TMA markers both in the protasis and apodosis;
- No overlap with the European Portuguese conditional system;
- PAST marker can refer to non-PAST situations in the protasis (as in the adstrates);
- Richer TMA system than in the adstrates.

- Overlap in the TMA marking of the protasis in the two creoles under study;
- Additional evidence for the Southern Indo-Portuguese cluster (as proposed in Cardoso 2013).



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