

Causative and facilitative serial verbs in Asian Ibero-romance Creoles – a convergence of substrate and superstrate systems?*

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Abstract

This paper surveys the widespread presence of two types of serial verb – the direct causative and the indirect causative – in Portuguese and Spanish lexically-based creole languages of Asia. The discussion addresses the structural nature of these valency increasing constructions, considering the semantic relations involved in their argument sharing, and contemplates the potential roles of substrate and superstrate languages in their development. It is proposed that the geographic distribution of the serial verbs is owed to a convergence of substrate and superstrates. In the case of the Asian Portuguese lexically-based creoles, the convergence would have begun in India. Subsequently, as the Portuguese progressively established their trade network further east, the serial structures received substrate reinforcement in the different settings where creolization and stabilization occurred. Further reinforcement would have occurred by way of population movements between the communities over a longer period.

1. Introduction

The four Portuguese-based creoles of the Gulf of Guinea (Santome, Ngola, Lungwiya and Fadambu) are well known for their diversity of verb serializations (Hagemeyer, 2000; Maurer, 1995; 2009; Post, 1992). The presence of some serial constructions is also reported in Papiamentu (Maurer, 1998: 170-171) and in Capeverdean Creole and Guinea-Bissau Creole (Holm, et al. 1998; Baptista, Mello & Suzuki 2007: 72-73). However, in the Asian

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context, although reported some time ago in the Spanish-based creole Chabacano (Forman, 1972), far less known is the presence of a wide range of serial verbs in Portuguese-based creoles of south, southeast and east Asia. The first researcher to draw attention to the presence of serialization in an Asian Portuguese-based Creole, Papiá Kristang, was Hancock (1975: 222), who pointed to the potential Malay source of the structure. Later, Baxter (1988, 1990a) showed that Kristang possesses a wide range of serial verbs, some inspired by Malay and Hokkien, some evidently based on Portuguese, and yet others possibly being original internal developments.

The present paper examines aspects of the typology, functions and potential origins of two serial structures in Ibero-romance-based creoles in Asia: the direct causative construction, as in (1), and the facilitative construction, as in (2):¹ Data is discussed from the Portuguese-based creoles of Sri Lanka, India, Malacca, Batavia/Tugu and Macau, and the Spanish-based creoles of the Philippines.

- (1) *e ja fazé drumê per ella*
 and TAM make sleep ACC 3S.fem
 ‘And (she) put her to sleep.’ (Ceylon CP; Dalgado, 1900: 148)

- (2) *ya dale mira ele el retrato connigo*
 PF give see 3S DET portrait. DAT-1S
 ‘He showed me the portrait’ (Caviteño CS; Llamado, 1969: 68)

The nature of this classification will be clarified in the ensuing discussion which considers the complex interaction between superstrate and substrate, both in relatively independent sociolinguistic contexts and in those contexts which appear to have been superimposed possibly through demographic exchanges.

2. Typological framework

Verb serializations are complex predicates that contain a sequence of verbs (minimally two thereof) within the same predicate. From a typological perspective, SVCs do not constitute a unique category and are best viewed as a type of ‘grammatical technique’ that may encompass various functions and meanings (Aikhenvald, 2006: 2). In current typological research, SVCs are identified by way of structural and semantic criteria. The following syntactic criteria are central (Aikhenvald, 2006; Durie, 1997):

¹ The case marking of the undergoer, in (1), and of the beneficiary, in (2), is typical of the Asian Ibero-romance creoles. Its origins are complex. For further discussion, see Baxter, (1988); Clements (1996), Cardoso (2009) and Fernández (2007).

- (i) two (or more) verbs expressing a single event;
- (ii) the verbs of the SVC must also function elsewhere as independent verbs;
- (iii) there are no pauses within the structure and the SVC has the properties of a clause containing a simple verb;
- (iv) the SVC constitutes a single clause;
- (v) SVCs may share internal and external arguments;²
- (vi) the SVC carries a single negation and TMA value, that may be represented by a single or multiple realizations of these items;
- (vii) the SVC does not involve conjunction, subordination, coordination or other syntactic dependencies;
- (viii) the verbs in the SVC may have the same or different valencies;
- (ix) SVCs display strong tendencies of lexicalization and grammaticalization.

On the other hand, typological studies also classify SVCs in terms of the semantics of their verbs and their role in the SVC. Thus, Aikhenvald (2006: 22) establishes two basic classes of SVCs according to the verbs involved: an asymmetrical³ class and a symmetric class. The former comprises a closed-class verb (the *minor verb*) plus an open-class verb and the structure expresses a single event represented by the open-class verb modified by the closed-class verb. In contrast to this, the symmetric SVC, often known as *linking* or *chaining*, comprises two (or more) open-class verbs, expressing a single overall event.

The asymmetrical SVCs represent a wide range of semantic relations, each of which involve an associated set of minor verbs. (Aikhenvald, 2006a: 22-24; Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2006).⁴ Diachronically, the minor verbs in such constructions tend to be grammaticalized, their main functions including the expression of direction/orientation, aspect, modality, complementation, comparison and valency modification (Aikhenvald, 2006: 22-28, 34).⁵ The latter function involves two dimensions, the first of which will be central to this paper:

² In view of the rare existence of SVCs with no shared arguments (Durie 1997), argument sharing is best viewed as an optional characteristic.

³ *Asymmetrical* approximates to the term 'unbalanced' SVCs as used by Durie (1997)

⁴ The serial (i.e. 'modifying') verb is mainly V2 in structures introducing arguments and clauses, whereas it is mainly V1 when it performs an 'auxiliary' function, modifying the semantics of V2 (Muysken & Veenstra, 1995).

⁵ One reviewer of this article correctly pointed out that where languages of South Asia are concerned, the range of semantic functions expressed by asymmetrical serial verbs also includes the category of attitude, showing the speaker's subjective evaluation of the event (Lehman, 1989: 222).

Valency modification SVCs:

- (i)- Valency increasing and identification: causative (*do, give, leave, say, put, undertake*), benefactive (*give, do, seek*), instrumental (*take, secure, hold*), comitative (*be with, join with, accompany*)
- (ii)- Valency reduction: passive (verbs of contact: *touch, strike, receive, give*)

In our discussion of causative constructions in Asian Ibero-romance creoles, we shall adopt Aikhenvald's framework, as it provides a useful matrix for typological classification and comparison. While we employ the term <serial verb> in order to facilitate the discussion, it may be the case that some of the apparent verbs in these constructions may actually no longer be full verbs. We will assume that there are three principal diachronic processes capable of yielding serial constructions. One process is relexification/transfer (Hagemeijer, 2000: 75-91) Lumsden 1999, Lefebvre 1998), whereby a superstrate verb may be incorporated into the creole because of a parallel existing between its semantics and the semantics of a substrate item which may or may not be a verb. In this case, the superstrate verb could presumably enter the creole with weak verbal qualities or with no verbal qualities whatsoever. A second process would be that of internal restructuring (Hagemeijer, 2000) whereby a verb already existing in the creole is extended to functioning as a minor verb in a modifying role. However, yet a third process could involve the incorporation and development of a serial construction existing in the superstrate.

3. Asymmetrical serial constructions: causatives and facilitatives

In this paper, we will be concerned with asymmetrical SVCs that involve valency modification in the sense of increasing the number of arguments of the major verb. Specifically, we discuss the class of SVCs that express the semantic relations of *cause*, as in example (1), above, and also a related class that we will term *facilitative*, exemplified in (2).

In the research literature, these SVCs are referred to as *switch subject* (Crowley, 2002: 40-41) or *switch function* (Aikhenvald, 2006: 14-18) because the serial construction treats as identical two arguments whose functions are different. Thus, at a macro-level, if the complex combines two transitive predications, the undergoer of the transitive minor verb is identical with the actor of the transitive main verb or is identical with the actor or undergoer of the intransitive main verb. These SVCs are termed *valency increasing* because the overall structure displays an extra valency when compared to that of the major verb. Thus, if the major verb is intransitive, the corresponding SVC is transitive, and if the major verb is transitive, the SVC will be bitransitive.

An additional semantic distinction that we propose here concerns a subclass of causative asymmetrical SVCs that was mentioned above: the

facilitative SVC. The distinction is based on a difference in the semantic composition of the class of minor verbs: truly causative verbs contain the semantic component [+control] whereas the facilitative causatives permit a non-causative reading. The control situation imposed by the fully causative SVC implies the realization of the caused situation. However, the facilitative SVC does not entail this implication.

The discussion in the following sections will be developed around data from Kristang, as its SVCs have received a reasonably detailed description in Baxter (1988, 1990a), and will incorporate data from the ‘offshoots’ of Kristang: the varieties of Batavia/Tugu and Macau. Following this, the paper will consider some data from the Portuguese-based creoles of India and Sri Lanka, and finally some data from the Spanish-based creoles of the Philippines. The data are drawn from the various existing publications on the Asian CPs, including the pioneer works of Schuchardt (1881, 1883a, 1883b), Dalgado (1900, 1906, 1922) and Tavares de Mello (1998), and also from some unpublished material obtained directly from speakers of Malacca CP and Ternateño CS.

The central research questions concern the typological description of these structures, their sources in the Asian Portuguese-based creoles and, hence, the relative forces exerted by superstrate, substrate and internal (perhaps universal) (re-)structuring tendencies. At the same time, it is important to consider the sociolinguistic circumstances in which these structures developed: Are they independent developments, engendered in individual speech communities? Are they the result of a monogenetic process within the context of the Portuguese trade network of Asia from the 16th to the 18th centuries, which spread certain creole features in an easterly direction? Or are they the result of a combination of sociolinguistic factors inherent in both these previous scenarios, as discussed by Dalgado (1917)⁶ and Ferraz (1987)?

4. Causative SVCs in East and Southeast Asian Creoles

Of the East and Southeast Asian Creoles, Kristang displays several different types of asymmetrical SVCs (Baxter, 1990a), including valency increasing causative SVCs, the latter also being a characteristic of the Portuguese-based creoles of Batavia/Tugu and Macau.

4.1. Direct causative SVCs

To begin, Kristang displays the ‘classical’ causative structure as shown in (3), that we term the *direct causative*, with V1 *fazé* ‘make, do’, with clear semantic and structural parallels in the superstrate. The structure presents the

⁶ Dalgado (1917) noted that there had been frequent contact between the Portuguese Asian Creoles, to the extent that there had been a “mutual reciprocal transfusion”.

actor of intransitive V2 *impé* ‘stand up’ in the role of undergoer of the serial verb.⁷ If the actor/patient is [+human], it is case-marked,⁸ as in example (4).⁹ Note that the V2 in this case is an intransitive verb, yet the SVC is transitive.¹⁰

- (3) *bos* *fazé* *impé* *aké* *pau*
 2s make stand-up that stick
 ‘You make that/the stick stand up.’ (Baxter 1988: 217)

- (4) *Bos* *já* *fazé* *kai* *ku* *eli*
 2s PF make fall AC 3s
 ‘You made him fall.’¹¹

When discussing examples such as these, informants draw attention to the fact that such instances may be paraphrased with the structure in example (5) (paraphrase of (4)):

- (5) *Bos* *já* *fazé* *ku* *eli* *kai*
 2s PF make AC 3s fall
 ‘You made him fall.’

Here, (4) and (5) contrast in that in (4), the two verbs are adjacent and the undergoer follows both verbs, whereas in (5), the two verbs are separated by the undergoer. As the structure in (5) retains case-marking of the undergoer, and hence shows no evidence of the core arguments of each verbal nucleus being selected independently, and will only admit aspect marking of the minor verb, *fazé*, it is assumed that (5) is a variant of (4).

⁷ We will adopt the approach of Van Valin (2005: 60-67) whereby two generalized semantic roles (macroroles), *actor* and *undergoer*, represent the primary arguments of a transitive verb or, individually, represent the primary argument of an intransitive verb. While each of these macroroles subsumes a range of thematic relations, in some instances it will be necessary to refer to particular thematic relations.

⁸ In Kristang, all pronominal [+human] undergoers are marked with *ku* and non-pronominal [+human] undergoers are marked preferentially, depending on their degree of definiteness (Baxter, 1988).

⁹ In terms of the Role and Reference Grammar framework applied to SVCs by Foley and Olsen (1985), example (4) would be interpreted as constituting a single clausal core containing *fazé* and *kai* selected as a composite nucleus with a single set of arguments. The identity between the undergoer of the causative transitive minor verb and the actor or undergoer of the intransitive main verb is a fundamental condition for the composition.

¹⁰ At present, as we are unable to fully verify the status of the distribution of *fazé* in structures with a transitive V2, the discussion will be restricted to SVCs with intransitive main verbs.

¹¹ All the Kristang examples in this paper were attested by the author as occurring naturally, and subsequently were tested for informant grammaticality judgement.

Kristang has several V1s that enable this SVC, including *mandá* ‘send’, *falá* ‘say’, *chomá* ‘call’, *gitá* ‘yell, call’ permitting the actor/undergoer of an intransitive verb to become the undergoer of the SVC, and also allowing the type of paraphrase shown in (5). The Portuguese-based creoles of Batavia/Tugu (example (6)) and Macau (example (7)) also display this causative SVC with V1 *fazé*:¹²

- (6) *Mas dianti nos machika aka neli fai*
 more before 1PL tread DEM rice make
sai suwa gaba deri suwa pau.
 exit GEN kernel from GEN stalk
 ‘First, we tread the rice [and] make its kernels com out from its stalks.’ (Tugu; Schuchardt, 1891: 48)

- (7) *Aquelle tentação de animal principiá corê ...[...]... de*
 DEM temptation of animal begin run of
sorte que já fazê ri tudo aquela gente
 luck that PERF make laugh all DEM people
na Praia Grande
 LOC Praia Grande
 ‘The cursed animal began to run ...[...]...so that it made all the people on the Praia Grande esplanade laugh.’ (Macau; Barreiros, 1943/44: 33)

Considering the universality of this type of causative in the world’s languages (i.e. with a V1 ‘make’) and its presence in the superstrate, wherein it is the most frequent causative auxiliary, it is not surprising that it should be present in Kristang. However, what does seem novel is the juxtaposition of V1 and V2, because whereas Portuguese does have structures similar to that of example (5) above, as in example (8), the structure with switch function, as in example (9),¹³ although acceptable, is relatively uncommon:¹⁴

- (8) *Fiz o João cair*
 make.PP.1S D John fall.INF
 ‘I made him fall.’

¹² Example (7) does not have a case-marked undergoer, most likely because the undergoer in this instance, although [+HUMAN], does not have definite reference.

¹³ It is important to note that, unlike Kristang, European Portuguese would require an object pronoun if the undergoer is represented pronominally: *fi-lo cair* ((1S) make.1S.PAST-him fall) ‘I made him fall’.

¹⁴ Early varieties of Portuguese could case-mark the undergoer in this structure. This could have reinforced any case-marking tendencies present in substrates. For reasons of space, we will not explore this question further here.

- (9) *Fiz cair o João*
 make.PP.1S fall.INF D John
 'I made fall him.'

The juxtaposition of V1 and V2 also has a source in the substrate. In vernacular varieties of Malay, the verbs *buat* 'make' and *bikin* 'make' commonly function as V1 in a causative serialization structure in a sequence V1+V2 (Adelaar & Prentice, 1996: 674-5; Lihamatuputy, 1994). In Vernacular Malacca Malay, causative transitive V1+V2 complexes involving an intransitive V2 are common, and may be observed with structures resembling the Kristang examples (4) and (5), even including case-marking of the undergoer:¹⁵

- (10) *aku buat jatuh sama dia*
 1S CAUSE fall AC 3S
 'I made him fall over.'

- (11) *aku buat sama dia jatuh*
 1S CAUSE AC 3S fall
 'I made him fall over.'

As in many instances in Vernacular Malay, this feature may have received reinforcement from Chinese, through Lingua Franca Malay because of historical contact between Chinese and Malay traders (Adelaar & Prentice, 1996: 674-675).

4.2. Facilitative causative

In addition to the causative SVC by means of V1 *fazé*, Kristang employs an SVC with V1 *dá* 'give', which serializes with a transitive V2 yielding a bitransitive serial predicate, as in examples (12) and (13):

- (12) *eli ja dá sabé ku yo John teng nakí*
 3s PF dar saber DAT 1s John SER aqui
 'He informed me that John was here.'

- (13) *nu lo dá kumí ku olotu aros*
 1PL F give eat DAT 3P rice
 'We will feed them rice.'

¹⁵ Structures similar to examples (10) and (11) were observed among both Malay speakers and Malacca Baba Malay speakers within the town area. Subsequently, examples (10) and (11), and additional examples, were tested with Malay speakers of Malacca Malay in the town region.

In this case, the actor of the transitive V2 is presented as an oblique core argument of the serial complex, with a semantic role of recipient. While the *dá sabé* structure in (12) is fixed and there are no alternative ways of expressing the notion ‘to inform’, it appears that a source for this type of SVC in (13) could be the structure in (14), wherein V1 has a case-marked oblique core argument with the semantic role of recipient (*ku olotu*) and a clausal complement with the semantic role of theme (*kumí arós*):

- (14) *nu lo dá ku olotu kumí aros*
 1PL F give DAT 3P eat rice
 ‘We will give them rice to eat.’

As well as the SVCs *dá kumí*, and *dá sabe*, we find others of this type: *dá intendé* ‘to explain’, *dá mpustá* ‘to loan’, *dá kazá* ‘let X marry Y’, *dá chapá* ‘matchmake (lit. facilitate an approximation between X and Y)’. The structure is not rare. In all of these cases it is evident that the semantic load of V1 *dá* is bleached, leaving a specialized morphological function: valency increasing with a <facilitative> or <permissive> reading.¹⁶ V1 *dá* is grammaticalized in this role.

4.3. What could be the source(s) of this particular serial mechanism?

From a typological perspective, asymmetrical SVCs of a causative type are amply attested in the languages of East Asia and the Pacific (Aikhenvald, 2006: 14-18; Crowley, 2006), as are causative compound verbs in South Asian languages (Abbi & Gopalakrishnan, 1991; Hilpert, 2006; Lehman, 1989). It is not surprising that this characteristic should be found in Kristang.

In Baxter (1990a) it was shown that facilitative causative SVCs have parallels in colloquial vehicular Malay and also in Hokkien (a Chinese language from Fujian province). The current paper throws further light on these issues. Thus, it is now clear that colloquial Vehicular Malay (example (15)) not only displays the facilitative causative with adjacent serialization of V1 and V2 adjacent, but it also has optional case marking of the [+human] recipient.¹⁷ On the other hand, Hokkien (example (16)) displays only the structure with non-adjacent serialization of V1 and V2. In other words, whereas in colloquial vehicular Malay there is a semantic and

¹⁶ One reviewer of this paper queried whether there might be a functional relationship with the Malay suffix *-kan*, which has a valency increasing function and may express direct causation and benefactive functions. While limitations of space prevent a more extensive discussion, it is our opinion that the Vehicular Malay SVCs provide a much clearer functional relationship, both syntactically and semantically.

¹⁷ In Lihamatuputty (1994), examples of *kasi* serialization in Ambon Malay also display optional case marking.

morphosyntactic parallel with Kristang, in Hokkien there is merely a semantic and morphological parallel.

- (15) *dia kasi tahu (sama) aku John ada sini*
 3s give know DAT 1s John be here
 'He informed me that John was here.'¹⁸

- (16) *ī hō guà chaī John nā hit tâu*
 3s give 1s know 1s LOC DAT place
 'He informed me that John was here.'¹⁹

Colloquial vehicular Malay seems to be the more promising candidate as the source of this structure in the context of Malacca. As in the case of the direct causative, vernacular Malay varieties also display widespread use of a facilitative-permissive serial construction with *kasi* 'give' (Adelaar & Prentice, 1996: 675; Litamahuputty, 1994), again possibly influenced by Chinese through Lingua Franca Malay (Yap & Iwasaki, 1998).

On the other hand, when the superstrate is considered, it is evident that there are also certain structures with partially similar semantics that could also serve as potential sources, as in examples (17) and (18). Yet Portuguese imposes restrictions with respect to the verbs available in the V2 role as well as discourse-pragmatic limitations. It seems that this Portuguese structure would be more acceptable in a past-tense context, especially in the past perfective:

- (17) *Ele dá/deu/dava a entender ao Pedro*
 3S.SU.M give.3S.PRS/PP/PI to understand to-D.M.S Pedro
que o João está aqui.
 C DEF.MASC.S João be.PRS.3S here
 'He suggests/suggested (= gives/gave me to understand indirectly)
 that João is here.'

- (18) *João deu a saber (ao Pedro) que*
 João give.PP.3S to know (DAT-D.M.S Pedro) C
ele ia chegar tarde
 3S.M go.PI.3S arrive late
 ?'João gave to understand (to Pedro) that he (= João) would arrive
 late.'²⁰

¹⁸ Attested in Malacca Town Malay by the author and subsequently tested with local Malay informants as acceptable.

¹⁹ Example provided by Dr Ng Bee Chin, Department of Linguistics, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. The example was subsequently evaluated as acceptable by Malacca Hokkien speakers who provided further similar examples with this structure.

²⁰ Proclitic placement of pronominal objects in structures with the verbs of (17) and (18), plausible in earlier varieties of Portuguese would have reinforced the

In this way, in Portuguese, the verb *dar* ‘give’, would be present in constructions involving the verbs *entender* ‘understand’ and *saber* ‘know’. Moreover, in rapid speech, the preposition <a> would be absorbed by the final vowel [a] of certain third person-singular forms of V1 *dar*.²¹ Certainly, for acquirers of Portuguese as a second language in a contact situation, the merging could impede the acquisition of the preposition.²² At the same time, it is important to notice that Portuguese displays another structure that allows V1 *dar* to occur in close proximity to certain V2 separated by the preposition *de* ‘of’:

- (19) *Os pais da noiva deram de*
 D.M.PL parent.3PL of-D.F.S bride give.PP.3PL of
comer aos convidados
 eat.INF DAT.D.M.PL guest.M.PL
 ‘The parents of the bride fed (provided a meal for) the guests.’

In view of the above facts in the substrate and the superstrate, a preliminary conclusion is that the facilitative-causative SVC arose through a convergence of factors:

- (i) A semantic and structural precedent in the superstrate;
- (ii) A semantic and structural precedent in Vehicular Malay;
- (iii) A semantic and morphological precedent in Hokkien;
- (iv) An internal precedent in Kristang in the form of a compositional mechanism creating V1V2 complexes as variants of V1[X]V2.

The facilitative structure is also found in Batavia CP, (20), Tugu CP texts, (21), and in Macau CP (example (22)). The latter case is interesting, because the fact that Cantonese does not have a causative-facilitative SVC with ‘give’ (Matthews, 2006) leads us to assume that this SVC may have been in these varieties for a considerable time. In addition to *dá sabé*, the Batavia texts also have *dá intendé* ‘explain’.

proximity of the two verbs. Modern European Portuguese, however, requires an enclitic pronoun on the finite verb.

²¹ In Modern European Portuguese, this would only occur with the forms that have stressed final “a”. Where the final “a” is unstressed, such as *dava* ‘gave, was giving’, the preposition would merge with the vowel but would result in the opening of the final “a” vowel of the verb.

²² Such causes may lie behind the variable absence of the preposition “a” in varieties of colloquial Portuguese such as that of São Tomé.

- (20) *Isti belu dá sabé kung ile ki [...].*
 DEM old give know OBJ 3SM COMP
 ‘The man told/informed him that [...].’ (Batavia; Schuchardt, 1891: 98)
- (21) *Iste pesua mas dá sabé kilei sua*
 DEM person more give know how POSS
intromentu palabi.
 meaning word
 ‘This person will tell/inform, the nature of the meanings of the words.’ (Tugu; Schuchardt, 1891: 48)
- (22) *mestê dá come pâ unga casa intêro*
 must give eat AC one house entire
 ‘must feed an entire household.’ (Macau; Barreiros, 1943/44: 454)

The next section will briefly consider the presence of these serializations in the Portuguese-based creoles of south Asia.

5. Asymmetrical causative SVCs in Portuguese-based creoles of India and Sri Lanka

It comes as no surprise that this wide-spread group of creoles displays evidence of asymmetrical SVCs. The source of these structures may be attributed partially to the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian substrates, both of which have verb compounding (Bhattacharyya *et alii*, 2007; Kachru & Pandharipande, 1980; Krishnamurti, 2003; Masica, 1993). At the same time, Portuguese models also seem pertinent.

5.1. India

In the limited data available, some of the Portuguese-based creoles of the Indian subcontinent also display evidence of asymmetrical valency increasing SVCs, both *causative* and *causative-facilitative*.

5.1.1. Causative SVCs

Both Daman and Diu CP display the asymmetrical causative SVC with *fazé* ‘make, do’, similar to that seen in the Kristang data above.²³ Thus, in example (23), the [+animate] actor or undergoer of an intransitive V2 is

²³ This type of causative serial occurs also in Mangalore CP:

Faze cordar amanhã seis horas
 make wake tomorrow six hours
 ‘Wake me at six o’clock tomorrow (morning).’ (Schuchardt, 1883b: 897)

presented as the case-marked undergoer of the serial verb. On the other hand, in example (24), the [+human] actor of a transitive V2 is presented as a case-marked oblique argument with the semantic role of recipient:

- (23) *yo* *fez* *fuj-i* *pə* *peacock*
 1S make.PST flee-INF DAT peacock
 ‘He made the peacock flee.’ (Diu; adapted from Cardoso, 2009: 237)

- (24) *Óss* *mem’* *tê* *culp* *de* *fazê* *levá* *pancad*
 2S same have blame of make receive blow
par *mim*
 DAT 1sOBJ
 ‘It is certainly your fault for causing me to be beaten.’ (Daman; Dalgado, 1922: 17)

These causative structures are more directly modeled on Portuguese than on the Indo-Aryan substrate which employs causative affixes conveying direct causation (Masica, 1993: 318-320).

In addition to the direct causative with V1 *fazê*, both these creoles have another causative SVC with V1 *mandá* ‘order’ accompanying a transitive V2, as in example (25) (see Cardoso, 2009: 237 for Diu):

- (25) *rainh* *mandô* *chamá* *par* *hortelão*
 queen order.PST call AC gardiner
 ‘The queen had the gardiner summoned.’ (Daman; Dalgado, 1917: 20)

In the limited examples of this structure available in the literature, the agent of V2 is mostly non-specific. While this may simply be a fiction of the limited data, it is interesting to note a functional resemblance to the ‘indirect’ causative in Indo-Aryan which, although largely employing affixing (Masica, 1993: 318-319), may also be conveyed through compounding (Shibatani & Pardeshi, 2001):

- (26) *Ram-ne* *tyaa-laa* *bhaat* *khaa-ylaa* *laaw-l-aa*
 Ram-ERG he-DAT rice.M eat-PTCP make-PERF-M
 ‘Ram made him eat rice.’ (Marathi; Shibatani & Pardeshi, 2002: 95)

In Portuguese there are no restrictions in structures with V1 ‘order’, for both specific and impersonal readings are possible, as can be seen in the following example:

- (27) *O rei mandou (ao soldado)*
 D.M.S king order.PP.3S (DAT-D.M.S. soldier)
devolver o dinheiro ao rapaz
 return.INF D.M.S money DAT-D.M.S boy
 ‘The king ordered the money returned to the boy / The king ordered the soldier to return the money to the boy.’

5.1.2. Facilitative SVCs

Both the Portuguese-based creoles of Diu and Daman, examples (28) and (29) have the causative-facilitative SVC with the verb ‘give’:²⁴

- (28) *Tirá de press su melhor róp e dá*
 take.out quickly G best clothes and give
vesti par ell
 wear ACC 3S
 ‘Take out your best clothing and dress him (lit. give wear him)’ (Diu; Schuchardt 1883a: 7)
- (29) *Log su pai deu vesti fat ric*
 then his father gave wear clothes rich
 ‘Then his father gave (him) fine clothes to wear (lit. gave to wear fine clothes).’ (Daman; Dalgado, 1906: 194)

Considering the above discussion of the possible origins of this type of structure in the Portuguese-based creoles of South East and East Asia, where there are precedents both in the superstrate and in the local regional linguistic typology, it is important to reflect on the potential sources in the Indian context. We have already seen in section 4, in relation to examples (17) and (18), how Portuguese structures with V1 *dar* ‘give’ and a V2 connected by the preposition *a* ‘to’ could be (re-)interpreted as conveying <permission> or <facilitation>. Here too, example (29) above is closely paralleled by the superstrate:

- (30) *João dá / deu / dava a vestir*
 John give.PR.3S / give.PP.3S/ give.PI.3S to wear
a roupa ao rapaz
 D.M.S clothing DAT.D.M.S young man
 ‘João allows/ had allowed / allowed the young man (to) dress.’

However, in Indo-Aryan, relevant to the contexts of Daman and Diu, there are very strong precedents for this type of SVC. Compound structures with <permissive> causatives built around V1 ‘give’ are common, for example in

²⁴ Cardoso (2009: 237), example (294), registers a similar structure.

Gujarati (Cardona, 1965: 121), Hindi-Urdu (Butt, 1995; Bhatt, 2005) and Marathi (Shibatani and Pardeshi, 2002). Examples (31) and (32), of Gujarati and Marathi, respectively, demonstrate permissive causative compound structures with V1 ‘give’ and switch reference: the agents of V2 ‘come’ and ‘sit’, which are the recipients of the verb ‘give’, are presented as case-marked dative recipients of the V2+V1 complex:²⁵

(31) *chokra-ne əhmahri sathe aʷ-wa d-O*
 boy-DAT 1p.GEN together come-INF give-IMP
 ‘Let the boy come with us.’ (Gujarati; Cardona, 1965: 121)

(32) *mi Raam-laa bas-u di-l-a*
 1s Ram-DAT sit-PTCPL give-PF-N
 ‘I let Ram sit.’ (Marathi; Shibatani & Pardeshi, 2002: 92)

A discussion of the relevance of this substrate for SVCs in the Portuguese-based creoles of Asia is beyond the scope of the present paper.

5.2. Sri Lanka

Evidence of the causative and the facilitative causative SVCs is also to be found in the nineteenth century texts of the Portuguese-based creole of Sri Lanka.

5.2.1. Direct causative SVCs

As in the Indian Portuguese-based creoles, there are asymmetric causative SVCs with V1 *fazê/fazé* ‘make, do’:

(33) *Este criancè te fazê lembrá per mi de*
 this child Asp make remember AC me of
minha nocente
 my innocent
 ‘This child is reminding me of my innocent (child).’ (Sri Lanka; Dalgado, 1900: 112)

Here too, the superstrate provides a clear morpho-syntactic model for this structure, as direct causation in the Tamil and Sinhala substrates is rendered through a suffix (Masica, 1993: 218-220; Lehman, 1998; Annamalai & Steever, 1998: 75, 112). In Portuguese, however, *fazer* ‘make’ and *lembrar*

²⁵ It is important to stress that the structures in the Gujarati example (31) and the Marathi example (32) are not SVCs, as they contain, respectively, suffixes for infinitive and participle. This is not problematic for the discussion here, since the structures could be incorporated into the creole devoid of the affixes in question.

‘remember’ occur frequently in strict sequence, as in example (34), with a proclitic indirect object pronoun, common in pre-18th century Portuguese:

- (34) *Isto me faz lembrar o meu irmão*
 this 1S.O make.PR.3S remember.INF D.M.S POSS.M.S
 sibling.M.S
 ‘This reminds me of my brother.’

When V2 is an intransitive verb, its sole actor or undergoer argument appears in the role of undergoer of the V1+V2 complex, case-marked when [+human]:

- (35) *e ja fazê drumê per ella*
 and PST make sleep AC she
 ‘And (she) put her to sleep.’ (Sri Lanka; Dalgado, 1900: 109)

In addition to the structures with V1 *fazê* ‘make, do’, another two V1s are found in this type of causative SVC: *mandá* ‘send, order’ *dessá* ‘leave, allow’ that accompany a V2 with a non-specific actor in instances of indirect ‘indirect’ causation:

- (36) *Per senhor grande mandá fallá / Nonha tem com*
 DAT man big send say lady BE with
dôr de olho
 pain of eye
 ‘Have the squire informed (that) the young lady has eye pain / sore eyes.’ (Sri Lanka; Mello, 1998: 207-208)

- (37) *Dessá trizê filha ne casa*
 allow bring girl LOC house
 ‘Have the girl brought to the house.’ (Sri Lanka; Mello, 1998: 208)

This type of SVC involving ‘indirect’ causation, with a clear superstrate model, recalls the apparent tendency mentioned above in relation to the Portuguese-based creoles of India. Once again, for lack of space, this topic will not be further explored here.

5.2.1. Facilitative causative SVCs

Similar to the facilitative SVC found in the South East Asian Portuguese-based creoles, and in those of India, nineteenth century texts of the Portuguese-based creole of Sri Lanka display the facilitative causative SVC with V1 *dá* ‘give’ and V2 *sabê* ‘know’:

- (38) *Alice nonca confía, quando cambrados ja*
 Alice NEG believe when friends Asp
dá sabê ansque ella ja cazá
 give know before she Asp marry
 ‘Alice didn’t believe it when friends told her before she married.’
 (Sri Lanka; Dalgado, 1900: 108)

Here, *dá sabê* ‘tell, inform’ is interpretable as a predicate with an implicit theme argument, ‘the alcoholism of her husband’ and an implicit recipient argument, ‘Alice’. Although the direct causatives and the facilitative causatives have precedents in the superstrate, there are potential influences originating in the immediate substrate, similar to those influences that were hinted at in the case of the Indian varieties of Portuguese-based creole. Sinhala (an Indo-Aryan language) has analytic causatives by way of verb compounds (Mathieu-Reeves, 2006). These include structures referred to as *permissives*, which rely on the verb ‘give’ as an anchor. Furthermore, Hilpert (2006: 231, 237-238) considers the Sinhala verb *dennə* ‘give’²⁶ to be fully grammaticalized as a permissive auxiliary in example (39):

- (39) *eyaa ma-tə a-bə geḍi-yak kannə dunna*
 3S 1S.DAT mango CLF-IDF eat.INF PERM.PST
 ‘He let me eat a mango / He gave me a mango to eat.’ (Sinhala;
 Hilpert, 2006: 237)

On the other hand, Tamil (a Dravidian language) also displays a substantial repertoire of verb compounds that include causative structures with minor verb ‘do’ (Lehman, 1989: 219-221) and “alterbenefaction” with minor verb ‘give’ indicating that “an action is performed by the subject for the sake of another person, realized as indirect object (marked with dative case)” (Lehman, 1989: 227). Both benefactive and permissive causatives are also found in Malayalam (Jayaseelan, 2004). Hence, the functions of direct causation and facilitative causation in the CPs would have some potential basis in Dravidian languages.

6. Philippine Creole Spanish

To begin with, the inclusion of the Philippine CS varieties does not imply any alignment with respect to the hypotheses regarding possible genetic connections with the Asian CPs. Rather, the Asian CS varieties offer us an opportunity to observe how the expression of the notion of causation has

²⁶ Contrary to the tradition in Sinhala linguistics, which uses the present tense as the citation form, which would be *denəvaa* in this case, Hilpert cites the infinitive in this role.

developed in an Iberian creole that has a different Austronesian substrate to those of Malacca and its extensions.

In Forman's (1972) study of Zamboagueño, among the items that he lists as cases of <<verb chaining >> there are some asymmetrical serializations which are quite central to the grammar of Chabacano and which are rather similar to the SVC that we listed for the Asian varieties of CP, in the previous sections.

6.1. Direct causatives

In Zamboanga Chabacano (Forman, *ibid.*) the V1 *ase* 'make, do' participates in asymmetrical causative SVCs, as in example (40). In this example, the actor of V2 *akordá* 'remember' is presented as undergoer of the verbal complex *asé + akordá* and is case-marked by means of the word *kon-* (< SP. *con* 'with'):²⁷

- (40) *ya ase akordá el máystra konel*
 TAM do remember DET teacher ACC-DET
maga estujante ke necesita banyá todo-l díya
 PL student COMP need bathe all-DET day
 'The teacher reminded (made remember) the students that it was necessary to bathe every day.' (Zamboanga; Forman, 1972: 210)

Although the structure has a parallel in the superstrate, as in example (41), in Chabacano, unlike Spanish, there appears to be no other way of formulating the notion <remember>.²⁸

- (41) *hizo recordar a los alumnos que*
 make.PP.3S remember.INF DAT D.M.PL student.M.PL C
era necesario bañarse todos los días
 be.PI.3S necessary bathe.INF.REF all.M.PL D.M.PL day.PL
 '(s)he reminded the students that it was necessary to bathe every day.'

It is in this sense that there exists a parallel with Philippine languages, for example Tagalog, which use preverbal prefixes to express the notion of *cause* (Ramos, 1975: 147-160). The following example demonstrates the combination of the causative actor focus affix, *nag-* with the verbal causative affix *pa-*:

²⁷ While the presence of this case-marking has sometimes been interpreted as evidence of a genetic connection with the Asian CPs, Fernández (2007) presents a convincing argument for an internal derivation thereof.

²⁸ In Kristang too, the only means of expressing 'remind' is through a causative V1 'make'+ V2 'remember': *fazé lembrá*.

- (42) *nagpaluto* *ako ng pansit sa kusinera*
 AFCAUSE.VCAUSE.cook 1S NFP noodle the cook
 ‘I made the cook prepare some noodles’ (Tagalog; adapted from Ramos (1971: 148), in consultation with Tagalog informant)

Indeed, Forman (1972: 208) underlines the role of the Austronesian substrate in these direct causatives. Owing to limitations of space, we will not develop this topic further in the present paper.

In Caviteño, Llamado (1969: 64-65) reports the same causative function for V1 *haci* ‘cause someone to do something’. Unfortunately, she does not provide examples of this structure in sentences.²⁹ For example, *haci bira* is simply glossed as ‘to cause to turn’. Ternateño has the same type of serialization with *hasi*.

Other causative serializations reported by Forman (1972: 211), employing V1 *deha* ‘leave, allow’, *lyiba* ‘carry’ and *mandá* ‘order, send’:

- (43) *no kanila deha hugá na kamino*
 NEG ACC-3PL leave play LOC road
 ‘Don’t let them play on the street.’

- (44) *ya lyiba le kaminá konel péhro*
 PF carry 3S walk ACC-DET dog
 ‘He walked the dog, took the dog for a walk.’

In asymmetric serializations, *mandá* modifies a V2 that has a non-specific agent, as in example (45), or a specific experiencer.

- (45) *kyére éra kame manda kusí kamisa*
 want FI 1PL order sew shirt
 ‘We would like to have a shirt made.’ (Zamboanga; Forman, 1972: 212)

This SVC is also found in an Ermitaño text:

- (46) *Quién el que ya mandá llorá contigo?*
 who 3S CONJ PF order cry ACC-2S Q
 ‘Who made you cry?’ (Ermitaño; Whinnom, 1956: 24)

²⁹ Llamado (ibid: 64-65) also notes that Caviteño has double causatives involving *haci* + *dale* + V2, as in *haci dale kumí* glossed as ‘to feed someone for someone else’ but probably meaning ‘to have someone feed someone’. This structure appears to be modeled on Tagalog double causatives which repeat the causative verbal prefix *pa-* in sentences where a primary causative actor causes a secondary causative actor to cause a third party to carry out an action (Ramos, 1975: 157).

These three SVCs have very clear structural and semantic precedents in the superstrate, where V1 *dejar* ‘leave, allow’, *llevar* ‘carry’ and *mandar* ‘send’ may occur in adjacent V1+V2 compounds. Examples (45) and (46) have a clear Spanish model, both structurally and semantically. This can be seen in example (47), which is similar to structures found in all the Asian groups of CP.

- (47) *Queríamos mandar hacer una camisa*
 want.PI.1PL send.INF make.INF IN.F.S shirt.S
 ‘We wanted to have a shirt made’.

However, example (48) involves the combination of *mandá* with a type of V2 that is not possible in Spanish:

- (48) *ya-manda hrabyá konéé*
 ASP-order be.angry ACC/DAT+3S
 ‘(Someone) made him angry.’ (Zamboanga; Forman, 1972: 212)

Whereas *mandá* in example (45) might possibly be interpreted as containing an element of the original meaning of its superstrate source, this is certainly not the case in example (48), where the V1 appears to be fully grammaticalized in the function of causative marker.

6.1. Facilitative SVCs

In Zamboanga Chabacano, there are also asymmetric causative serializations with V1 *dale* ‘give’ (<SP. *dale* / *darle* ‘give to 3S’) (Forman, 1972: 210), as in example (49) and (50), in which a facilitative function is evident. The actor/undergoer of V2 is the object of the SVC and is case-marked via *kon-*:

- (49) *el dale silá mirá el libro kontigo*
 3S/PL give FUT see D book DAT.3S
 ‘They will show (=cause to see) you the book.’ (Zamboanga; Forman, 1972: 210)
- (50) *ya-dále kedá el byého konel maga*
 Asp-give stay D old man ACC PL
estranhéro na su kása
 foreigner L POSS house
 ‘The old man had let the strangers stay in his house.’ (Zamboanga; Forman, 1972: 210)

Caviteño (Llamado, 1969: 64-66, 68), in example (51) and Ternateño, example (52) also display this asymmetric serialization with V1 *dale* ‘give’, expressing a facilitative causative, or perhaps permissive function:

(51) *ya dale mira ele el retrato conmigo*
 PF give see he the picture DAT-me
 ‘He showed me the picture.’ (Cavite; adapted from Llamado, 1969: 68)

(52) *Pedro ya dale mira kom boh kel peskao*
 Pedro PF dar olhar DAT 2S DEM peixe
 ‘Pedro showed me the fish.’ (Ternate; informant: Neri Rodríguez)

In all these varieties of CS, the serialization via *dale* is quite productive.³⁰ What could be the sources of the *dale* construction? Evidently there has been a reinterpretation of the function or Spanish forms such as *dale* (give.IMP.2s+PRO.DAT) ‘give to him/her’ and perhaps *darle* (give.INF + PRO.DAT) as a causative marker. This may have resulted from the influence of prefixal causatives from the Philippine substrate. However, as this topic would require a substantial investigation of the morphologies of the substrates it is beyond the scope of the present paper.

A further issue of relevance here is the partial role of analogical structures more closely based on the superstrate. So, for example, the serializations employing *dale*, could have an analogical model in the frequent periphrastic structures in Spanish that employ a V1 *dejar* ‘to allow, leave’.

7. Conclusion

This brief preliminary study focused on certain aspects of asymmetrical serial verb constructions expressing *causation* in the Asian varieties of CP. With the exception of Kristang, there was no previous notice in the research literature regarding this serialization in the Asian CPs. However, the present study has detected in all of the groups of Asian CP two types of causative serializations: the *direct causative* and the *facilitative causative*. In the Asian CPs, both these causatives display the quality of switch reference, a feature which is quite

³⁰ In ZAM, items with *dale* listed by Forman (1972: 210-211) include: *dale sintá* (‘give’ + ‘sit’) ‘to seat’, *dale kasá* (‘give’ + ‘marry’) ‘marry someone to someone, to arrange a marriage’, *dale komé* (‘give’ + ‘eat’) ‘feed’, *dale labá* (‘give’ + ‘laundry’) ‘to have something laundered’, *dale kwidá* (‘give’ + ‘be careful’) ‘to have something cared for’ and *dale prestá* (‘give’ + ‘borrow’) ‘lend’. In Caviteño, Llamado (ibid) registers the following items: *dale mira* (‘give’ + ‘see’) ‘to show’, *dale prista* (‘give’ + ‘borrow’) ‘to lend’, *dale cumí* (‘give’ + ‘eat’) ‘to feed’, *dale baña* (‘give’ + ‘take a bath’) ‘to bathe someone’, *dale muda* (‘give’ + ‘to dress’) ‘to dress someone’, *dale conoci* (‘give’ + ‘to know, to recognize’) ‘to introduce’. Most of these have equivalents in the V1-*dá* + V2 SVCs of Kristang.

general in the languages of the region. At the same time, the presence of case-marking of the objects of direct and facilitative serializations might implicate the influence of South Asian areal features.³¹ Table I displays the results of the survey:

Table I: Causative verb serialization in Asian CP (and Philippine CS)

Serial V	Diu	Daman	Ceylon	Malacca	Batavia	Tugu	Macau	Cavite, Ternate	Zamboanga
Causative	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Facilitative	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

There are ample substrate and superstrate motives for the development of both types of causative SVCs in all the Asian CPs, and also in the Asian CS varieties. Nevertheless, for the Asian CPs, the presence of the facilitative causative in the CPs of India and Sri Lanka, and the presence of dative/accusative case marking of [+HUMAN] ‘objects’ in both causation SVC types in all Asian CPs, could have important genetic implications for the eastern Asian CPs. Here, Siegel’s (1998) hypothesis of substrate reinforcement of particular features already present in the contact environment is of special relevance. We posit that the notable structural parallels in the SVCs in Asian CPs would have been present as variants present in the contact environments in earlier stages in these communities on the Portuguese Asian trade networks, originating in the interaction of superstrate, foreigner-talk and early contact varieties based on Portuguese that functioned in the Indo-Portuguese context. Subsequently, with the development of the Portuguese trade network in an easterly direction, and with creolization and stabilization of these contact varieties in different multilingual settings, the SVCs that had parallels in the various local substrates, received reinforcement. Further reinforcement would have come from the partial reciprocal transfusion between Portuguese creole communities on the trade network, as Dalgado (1917) proposed.

In this respect, it is important to bear in mind the constant communication between the Portuguese outposts within the complex trade and administrative network of Portuguese Asia, connections that certainly involved a degree of movement of elements of the local indigenous, Asian-born Portuguese and

³¹ The topic of case-marking in the Asian CPs is complex. While earlier varieties of Portuguese employed dative/accusative marking of [+HUMAN] objects, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages also display this feature. Space limitations do not permit further discussion of this topic in the present paper.

Portuguese Eurasian populations of each Portuguese trading port. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Portuguese use of indigenous labour in military and trade endeavours is well known (Baxter, 1988, 1996). Furthermore, the creole linguistic contacts between the Asian Portuguese communities have long been evident in the form of oral traditions (Baxter, 1990b; Jackson, 1979). However, recent historical research on ‘Portuguese’ trade networks operating as late as the 18th century throw new light on this issue. The trade connections operated by ‘Portuguese’ between Dutch Malacca and India alone the 18th century constitute a very interesting example of this. They involved commerce that depended on very close relations between Malacca and specific Indian ports, such as Porto Novo or Meliapor (Baxter, 2010; Fernando, 2006). Such arrangements evidently required a duplicity of trade personnel, who alternated between living in Malacca and living in India, and a cyclic movement of auxiliaries and appendages.

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