Cross-linguistic parallels and contrasts in a contact language perfect construction

Peter Slomanson[1]
Faculty of Information Technology and Communication Sciences
Tampere University, Finland

peter.slomanson@tuni.fi

ABSTRACT

This paper is about semantically and pragmatically comparable perfect constructions in the contact languages Sri Lankan Malay (SLM) and Sri Lankan Portuguese (SLP). The goal of the paper is to show that non-finite participles based on a conjunctive participle model in the Sri Lankan linguistic area convey perfect meaning and also combine with a semantically empty auxiliary to form a periphrastic perfect construction in main clauses. Irrespective of the similarities, the separability of the auxiliary and the negation facts associated with the SLM construction are suggestive of biclausal status, whereas the SLP construction is simply agglutinative and monoclausal.

Keywords

Sri Lankan Malay, Sri Lankan Portuguese, periphrastic perfect, conjunctive participle, event focus, biclausality, contact languages, linguistic areas, morphosyntactic convergence

1. Introduction

The Sri Lankan contact varieties of Malay (SLM) and Portuguese (SLP) share features they do not share with their (common) co-territorial model language(s) (common, hence "co-convergence"), including pre-verbal functional markers for TMA contrasts. Both contact languages also feature morphosyntactic phenomena related to finiteness that are absent from their lexifiers (Malay) or organized differently (Portuguese), with the result that the grammars of SLM and SLP most closely resemble each other. This paper demonstrates similarities and contrasts in the form of conjunctive participles with perfect aspectual interpretation and periphrastic perfect constructions in both languages. These are structures from which an information structure advantage is gained in the way the aspectually-linked events in an event sequence are contrastively focused. This contributes to the debate on paths of grammatical development in contact languages and the ways specific paths are motivated.

In SLM, the affirmative periphrastic perfect construction (1) and its negated counterpart (2) can be analyzed as biclausal, involving a finite auxiliary verb and an adjoining lexical participle. The explicitly finite element (2) negating the auxiliary interrupts its adjacency with the lexical verb. The clause containing the lexical verb, which is non-finite, can be questioned or echoed as an apparent ellipsis, with the finite auxiliary as a potential response. The participle is invariably selected in aspectually perfect contexts in which past events are relevant to the present or past-initiated states are still current. In such a context, the periphrastic construction constitutes the most recent event

predicate. Additional clauses containing conjunctive participles but no auxiliary represent earlier events or processes of relevance to a reference point whose tense is associated with the auxiliary. This type of sequencing is analogous with the "having V-ed, having V-ed..." construction in formal English, which can also be followed by a periphrastic perfect construction or a perfective verb, as it can in SLM.

SLP similarly has periphrastic perfect constructions (4) and (5) and conjunctive participles (6), however any separability supporting a biclausal analysis has thus far been elusive in tests with native speakers of the Trincomalee variety. There are also contrasts in the form taken by participles and in the role played by tense and (non-)finiteness-marking in the two languages. In SLM, the participle in periphrastic constructions is identical in form to the conjunctive participle (3) that appears in temporally-sequenced adjunct clauses, whereas in SLP, the form of the participle can contrast in the two contexts, with the conjunctive participial suffix (6) reflecting the default form in the Portuguese lexifier. In SLM, the periphrastic perfect construction consists of a (non-finite) conjunctive participle plus finite auxiliary, whereas in Trincomalee SLP, the verb and the auxiliary have the same tense/finiteness status. The divergent morphosyntactic outcomes nevertheless effectively converge on a common information (event sequence)-structuring model. Their creativity, the apparently incomplete convergence on the grammar of the model language (replication) may be partly explained by the fact that replication of Tamil morphosyntax as such was not an acquisition goal, but an effect of competition with a lexical source language grammar (already a contact variety, in the case of each of these two languages).

       SRI LANKAN MALAY
(1) *Miflal mulbar nyanyi atu **e-tulis**   **ada**.*
     Miflal Tamil song   IND PTC-write AUX
     'Miflal has written a Tamil song.'

       SRI LANKAN MALAY
(2) *Miflal mulbar nyanyi atu **e-tulis**   **tr-ada**.*
     Miflal Tamil song   IND PTC-write FIN.NEG-AUX
     'Miflal has not written a Tamil song.'

       SRI LANKAN MALAY
(3) *Mulbar **e-belajar**, Miflal mulbar nyanyi atu e-tulis   ada.*
     Tamil PTC-learn Miflal Tamil song   IND PTC-write AUX
     'Having learned Tamil, Miflal has written a Tamil song.'

       SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
(4) *Eev jaa-lembraa isti mee prumeer vees boos **jaa-vii**   **teem** falaa-tu.*[2]
     1SG PST-think   this FOC first   time 2SG PST-come AUX QUO-PTC
     '...I thought that this is the first time you have come.' (Smith 2013)

       SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
(5) *Eev Kulumbu **jaa-andaa tinya**   see,...*
     1SG Colombo PST-go   PST.AUX CND
     'If I had gone to Colombo,...' (Smith 2013)

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[2] The grapheme /j/ in the Roman orthography of Sri Lankan languages has the same value as in English orthography. Doubling of vowels indicates tensing, and the doubling of consonants generally indicates gemination.

SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
(6) *Aka noos aka Usha kampani-pa* **daa-tu**, *aka jaa-faya dreetu.*
 that 1PL that Usha company-DAT give-PTC that PST-make right
 'We gave that to the Usha company and repaired it.' (Smith 2013)
 more literally: 'We, (having) **given** that to the Usha company, repaired it.'

In the remainder of this section, I will briefly introduce the relevant languages, the question of their proximity to and divergence from each other, and the problem of the structure of the periphrastic perfect that establishes a reference time for subsequent perfect-marked event predicates. In section 2, I will describe the linear organization of non-periphrastic verbal constructions in SLM. In section 3, I will provide a morphosyntactic analysis of these non-periphrastic constructions in SLM and SLP, including the aspectually perfect conjunctive participles and their negation patterns. In section 4, I will describe the pragmatic function of the non-finite conjunctive participles in the Sri Lankan linguistic area and in the contact varieties. In section 5, I will provide arguments for treating the periphrastic perfect construction as biclausal in SLM. In section 6, I will show how the analogous construction differs in SLP. In section 7, I will summarize the results.

SLM verbs and verbal constructions differ significantly from verbs in vernacular Malay varieties spoken outside Sri Lanka. Those varieties (the original lexical source varieties for SLM) display little or no productive bound inflectional morphology on verbs, whereas SLM has bound verbal morphology associated with no other variety of Malay. Perfect aspect is frequently marked in Malay varieties spoken outside Sri Lanka, albeit with use of free-standing functional markers such as *su*(*dah*). Consequently the relevant structures in SLM represent a morphosyntactic, rather than a semantic innovation. Two functional contrasts ***not*** explicitly marked by Malay varieties spoken elsewhere are, with few lexical exceptions, obligatory in SLM. These include tense and a finiteness opposition with non-finite forms, including participles and infinitives (Slomanson 2018). It is the participles that form the lexical segment of the periphrastic perfect construction, when co-occurring with a semantically empty auxiliary verb.[3]

SLP, also featuring tensed verbs, participles, and infinitives, has Portuguese as its lexical source language. European Portuguese has tense and finiteness contrasts in verb morphology, but also agreement, which is absent from SLP. SLP, nevertheless, in its morphosyntax, as opposed to simply its inventory of contrasts, most closely resembles SLM, and the reasons for this are not yet clear.[4] Still there are differences between the two Sri Lankan contact languages, and these are also intriguing and a rich potential area for further research. For example, as a shared feature, both

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[3] That auxiliary verb, *ada*, is an existential verb in other contexts. This is based on the pattern found in both Tamil and Sinhala. The actual existential marker is differentiated by the animacy of its argument, whereas the auxiliary verb displays no animacy effects.

[4] The relevance of European Portuguese may be limited. It is plausible that spoken varieties of Asian contact Portuguese, already deflected, were brought to Sri Lanka in the Dutch colonial period when Malay was. Although a Portuguese colonial administration preceded the beginning of the Dutch colonial administration in Sri Lanka in the seventeenth century, the transactional lingua franca was an Asian contact Portuguese variety in the Dutch period as well, and such a variety was also the lingua franca of Batavia (modern Jakarta) in the same period. There is no a priori reason to assume that European Portuguese, rather than an Asian contact variety, was used during the Portuguese colonial period in Sri Lanka.

languages have a range of bound pre-verbal functional morphology, whereas functional morphology in their common model language, Tamil, is post-verbal[5]. However SLP is able to stack these markers pre-verbally, whereas SLM cannot.[6]

The periphrastic perfect construction in SLM lends itself to a biclausal analysis, whereas the same evidence for this is not found in SLP. This in that particular respect brings SLP (7a) closer to Tamil (7b). The Tamil construction consists of a morphologically complex lexical verb and auxiliary that cannot be separated from the verbal complex. In SLM (7c), by contrast, the auxiliary is separable and occurs in its own clause, though this will not be obvious to most casual observers, since the construction is most frequently expressed continuously.

(7) a SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
Miflal Kulumbu pa jaa-andaa teem.
Miflal Colombo to ASP-go   PRS.AUX[7]
'Miflal has gone to Colombo.'

(7) b TAMIL
Miflal Kulumb-ukku   pooy-iru-kkir-aan.
Miflal Colombo-ALL go-AUX-PRS-AGR
'Miflal has gone to Colombo.'

(7) c SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal Kulumbu nang as-pi   ada.
Miflal Colombo to   ASP-go PRS.AUX
'Miflal has gone to Colombo.'

2.   Morphological elaboration of the verb in SLM and SLP

Temporal elements in the Malay varieties brought to Sri Lanka were free-standing, optional, and marked aspect rather than tense.[8] Tense and aspect are morphologically differentiated in SLM,

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[5] I am using the term *model language* here to refer to a language spoken by the users of the contact language, whose morphosyntax and pragmatics influenced the course of grammatical change in the contact language.

[6] Data examples and phrase structure tree illustrating this contrast are found in section 3.

[7] The past tense-marked form of this auxiliary is *tinya*. This appears in pluperfect contexts. The corresponding past tense-marked form in Kirinda SLM is *si-ada*, with *si* derived from *su*, a common reduced form of the iamitive marker *suda*(*h*) in Malay dialects. *Jaa* is glossed here as ASP, which should be understood as perfect aspect, however the same form can also have perfective interpretation, depending on the morphosyntactic context.

[8] Here is an example from Ambonese Malay, one of a number of eastern Indonesian varieties that Adelaar (1991) treated, based on phonological criteria, as having plausibly contributed to the divergent Malay varieties in the early (Dutch colonial) period of Malay settlement in Sri Lanka, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

although less clearly so in SLP (see footnote 7). Aspect marking is optional in main clause contexts, whereas tense marking is obligatory for the majority of open class verbs in finite clauses. Tense corelates with finiteness in the SLM and SLP data. In SLM, the tense/aspect contrast, and correspondingly, the finite/non-finite contrast are also clearly distinguished (morpho-)syntactically in the variable position of the verb with respect to aspectual morphology, which suffixes to lexical verbs in finite clauses.

Perfect aspect as such is not an innovation in SLM, since it is a feature of Malay varieties generally. Grangé (2010:252) includes discussion of the perfect temporal semantics of *sudah* in Indonesian, with the goal of demonstrating how it differs from similar aspectual markers in that Malay variety (particularly *telah*). Grangé also shows that the fact that *sudah* is sometimes characterized as a perfective marker is inaccurate. He states that

"As opposed to *telah*, the marker *sudah* emphasises the resulting state (the consequences of the process) rather than the event itself. *Sudah* indicates a process of change or an event, followed by a resulting state..."

(i) INDONESIAN MALAY
 Iwan sudah membeli mobil.
 Iwan *sudah* buy   car
 'Iwan has bought a car.'

Although perfect aspect has been a feature of Malay varieties spoken in Indonesia and Malaysia, in SLM, both the morphosyntax and certain discourse-pragmatic functions have shifted. The current pattern involves temporal chaining of a sequence of related events in which the rightmost event is most recent. Otherwise the right-most event is either focused as new information, or else is in some other way most salient in the event sequence. We see the shift in morphosyntactic organization clearly in the fact that the SLM equivalent of (i) is (ii).

(ii) SRI LANKAN MALAY
 Iwan car-atu as-bili   ada.
 Iwan car-IND PFV-buy AUX
 'Iwan has bought a car.'

Tense in SLM occupies a different phonologically-dependent position from aspect in relation to lexical verbs, however the position of aspect shifts from pre-verbal to post-verbal in finite clauses. Slomanson (2008) interpreted this as evidence of obligatory verb movement in those clauses, with the lexical verb raising overtly, over aspect, in response to the functional feature of finiteness in

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(i) AMBONESE MALAY
 Miflal ada kurang   makang.
 Miflal ASP not enough eat
 'Miflal is/was not eating enough.'

In this example, an adverb interrupts the adjacency of the (progressive) aspect marker and the lexical verb, a linear order that would be ungrammatical in SLM.

SLM. This alternation is visible in the contrast between (8) and (9). In (8) the aspect marker *abis* is bound to a finite verb, whereas in (9) it is bound to a participle.[9] The aspect marker is post-verbal in finite contexts in which there is no auxiliary, but pre-verbal in non-finite participial clauses (the conjunctive participle clauses). Auxiliary verbs are finite, but have no independent aspect marking that would reveal this verb movement pattern, whereas participles in adjunct clauses are non-finite. In (8) and (9), we can see that the surface relationship of the verb to aspect shifts when the verb is not finite, since the aspect marker in (8) becomes the participial marker in (9), for which the event onset time relative to the onset of the event referred to by the main verb (the reference time) is significant.[10]

(8)　SRI LANKAN MALAY
　　　*Miflal atu-nyanyi su-tulis-**abis**.*
　　　Miflal IND-song　PST-write-ASP
　　　'Miflal finished singing a song.'

(9)　SRI LANKAN MALAY
　　　*Miflal atu　nyanyi **abis**-tulis　su-nyanyi.*
　　　Miflal IND song　ASP-write PST-sing
　　　'Miflal, having written a song, sang (it).'

3.　Morphosyntactic analysis of the derivation of verbs and negation

The finite class of verb forms includes lexical verbs and auxiliaries that are or can be tense-marked. The non-finite class includes lexical conjunctive participles, infinitives, and imperatives. What follows is a phrase structure analysis of finite and non-finite verbs, and of their negation. The matched examples demonstrate the verb movement contrast referred to earlier, in which SLP allows two bound pre-verbal functional markers with finite main verbs, demonstrating the absence of a syntactic motivation (presumably feature strength) to raise and (left-)adjoin to an aspectual head, in contrast with what we find in SLM, which allows only one. In (10a), we see the equivalent of the SLM example in (11a). In (10b), we see its SLP translation.

(10) a SRI LANKAN MALAY
　　　Miflal Kulumbu nang su-pi-abis.
　　　Miflal Colombo to　PST-go-ASP
　　　'Miflal has finished going (traveling) to Colombo.'

(10) b SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
　　　Miflal Kulumbu pa jaa-kaa-andaa.
　　　Miflal Colombo to PST-ASP-go
　　　'Miflal had finished going (traveling) to Colombo.'

In both of these sentences containing a single inflected finite verb, there is a (past) tense marker and a (completive) aspect marker, however the distribution of the finite verb with respect to the bound functional markers differs. In the SLP construction, the functional markers can stack pre-verbally,

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[9] The pre-verbal form of *abis* is usually reduced to *as-*, *asa-*, or *e-*, depending on the dialect.

[10] The interpretation can either be 'having written a song' or 'having been writing a song'.

whereas this is ungrammatical in SLM. The abstract order is nevertheless the same, reflecting the fact that aspect is closer to the verb than tense. The phrase structure of the SLM verb in (10a) is reflected in (11a).
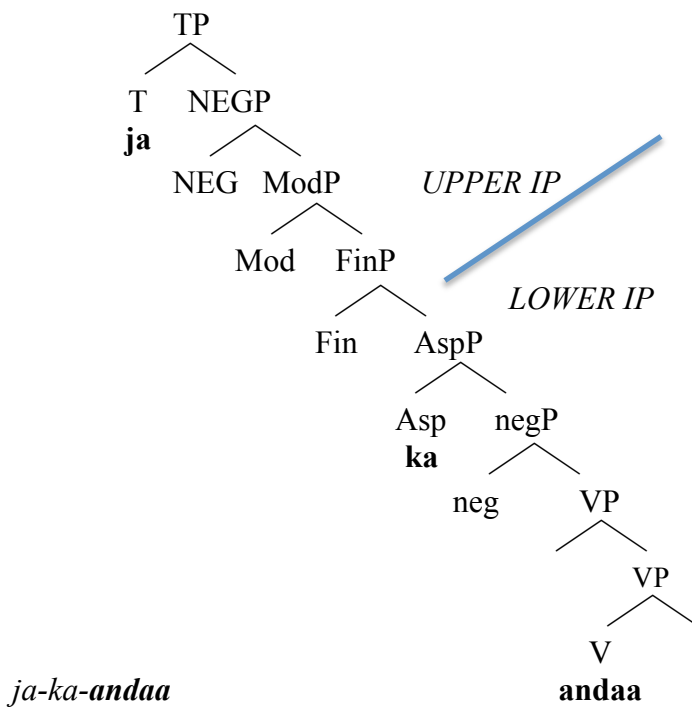
(11a) SRI LANKAN MALAY

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                    TP
                   /  \
                  T    NEGP
                  su   /  \
                     NEG   ModP
                          /    \
                        Mod    FinP          UPPER IP
                              /   \
                            Fin    AspP        LOWER IP
                           /  \    /   \
                         Asp  Fin Asp  negP
                        /  \       t   /  \
                       V   Asp        neg   VP
                       pi  abis        t    / \
                                           VP
                                          /  \
                                         V
                                         t
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*su-**pi**-abis*

(11b) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

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                   TP
                  /  \
                 T    NEGP
                 ja   /  \
                    NEG   ModP
                         /    \
                       Mod    FinP         UPPER IP
                              /  \
                            Fin   AspP       LOWER IP
                                 /   \
                               Asp   negP
                               ka    /  \
                                   neg   VP
                                         / \
                                        VP
                                       /  \
                                      V
                                      andaa
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*ja-ka-**andaa***
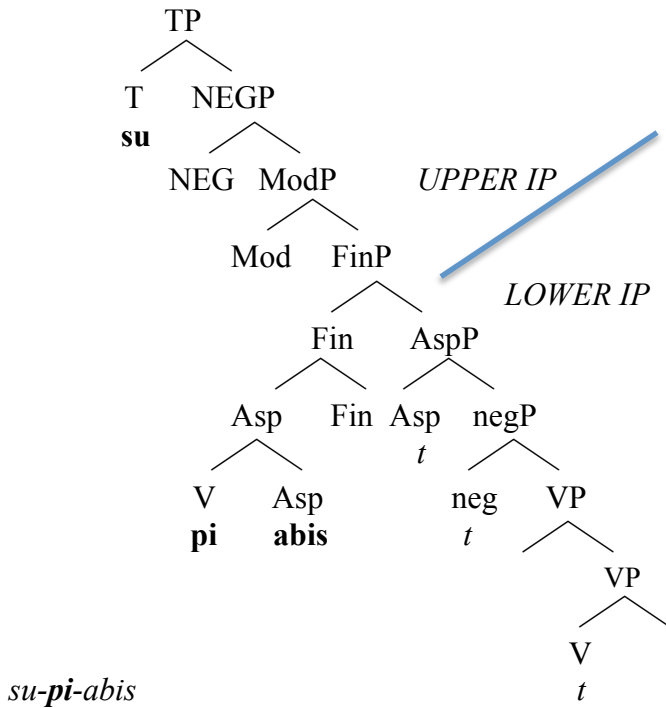
The phrase structure posited for the SLP verb in (11b) is the same as for the SLM verb in (11a), however the contrasting distribution of aspectual morphology in tense-marked contexts suggests that the finite tense-marked verb remains within the VP in SLP. This is a conservative option in a large number of creoles, and SLP has been described as a creole in Smith (1979) and a former creole in Bakker (2006).[11]

One of the more creative grammatical innovations in SLM has been to allocate explicit finite status to one negation element, *tara*, from the original Malay varieties and explicit non-finite status to another negation element, *jang* (from *jangan*). The use of *jang* in Southeast Asian Malay varieties is restricted to what are invariably described as negative imperatives. However the detail that is overlooked in descriptive accounts is the fact that a (Southeast Asian) Malay verb negated with *jang* features negative irrealis or negative subjunctive semantics that permit non-second person-directed uses. This is clearly seen in sentences of the type 'The teacher hopes the students *jang* fail the exam'. (*Jang* has no actual equivalent in English.) In present-day SLM, any participle or infinitive can be negated with *jang*, and any finite verb can be negated with *tara*. The fact that *jang* is the sole negator of conjunctive participles is significant for the analysis of the periphrastic perfect construction as biclausal. This will be discussed in section 5.

The finite SLM verb does not raise past the bottom of the upper region within the inflectional domain, which is in effect the finite region. FinP can be regarded as the interface between the two subdomains. There are separate functional heads for finite negation (NEG^o: *tara*), which is higher in the inflectional domain, and for non-finite negation (neg^o: *jang*), which is lower in the inflectional domain. This reflects a surface distributional contrast.[12] Finite negation always appears to the left of the verb when aspect appears to the right of the verb. The verb left-adjoins to aspect in finite contexts. The two forms of negation are not allomorphs or otherwise variants of each other, and their phonological shapes are completely dissimilar. I will return to the significance of this contrast as it relates to the SLM perfect construction in section four.

4.   The pragmatic function of non-finite participial clauses

I have referred to the way in which the conjunctive participle is used to convey sequences of events and processes whose onset precedes a later temporal reference point. The reference point can be anywhere in the present, past, or future, whether this is specified or implicated by the speaker. A past reference point yields pluperfect interpretation. It is also possible to sequence past events in the

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[11] According to Bakker, the language, now exclusively spoken in Tamil-majority areas on the east coast of the island, has undergone progressive "Tamilization". We should note that this Tamilization, if that is the correct way to characterize the oral language's diachronic development, has not gone so far as to confer the head movement processes found in Tamil, in which bound morphology is exclusively suffixing.

[12] A modality that is not an independent predicate cannot co-occur with negation in this functional complex. This suggests in this type of analysis that negation is higher than modality in the upper IP region, and that it adjoins to tense first, leaving a trace. Modality therefore cannot cyclically adjoin to tense in the presence of negation, without incurring a minimality violation, due to the presence of the trace of finite negation (NEG^0).

future relative to a reference point that is later in the future. The meaning of this can be seen in the example "By tomorrow, having finished the book I am reading, having decided whether the ending was a good one, I am going to buy a new book." Whereas this is robustly grammatical in English, it is stylistically elevated and awkward for many speakers. The conjunctive participle makes the equivalent of such a statement possible and at the same time ordinary. The conjunctive participle is perfect in that its interpretation is necessarily relative to a later reference point. This is one of the most salient and ubiquitous discourse-structuring pragmatic devices in the Sri Lankan linguistic area. The relational criterion in the interpretation of this structure is also clear from the discussion of the conjunctive participle in Nordhoff (2009:529-531), a detailed grammatical description of the highland dialect of SLM.[13] The author also claims that no aspectual interpretation is implied by use of the periphrastic construction, though he does not provide examples of the construction that are unambiguously interpretable as perfective. Perfect readings of the periphrastic construction in SLM are not obligatory in the same way as they are for the English periphrastic perfect, and there is cross-dialectal variation as well as intergenerational variation. In the latter, younger speakers in some areas are using the periphrastic construction in preference to the simplex past construction (*su/si* + lexical verb) for all past time reference in main clauses.

A pragmatic motivation for the development of a finiteness/non-finiteness contrast in the morphosyntax of SLM, as is apparent from the contrast between participles and tense-marked main verbs, can be identified in the fact that the discourse culture associated with the Sri Lankan linguistic area, as interpreted by speakers of SLM (some of whom were second language speakers), associates the sentential periphery with constituent focus, not just of nominal constituents, but of clauses.

The existence of the perfect (conjunctive) participle and the periphrastic perfect construction compensates to some extent for the reanalysis of *su*, the Malay iamitive marker (meaning roughly 'already'[14]), as a perfective marker in SLM, providing a new device with which to encode perfect aspect. However it also follows from the need to observe sequential event ordering and then to displace a participle to focus it. The participle remains non-finite so that its non-primary status in the temporal hierarchy may be identified when it is in focus. The periphrastic construction adds a tense-markable and therefore finite matrix auxiliary.

In (12a), the first two events are not temporally disjoint, the onset of Miflal's going to school preceded his learning of Tamil, and most importantly, his writing a song in it.

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[13] Nordhoff (2009:277-278) provides one example that is particularly interesting because it is, as he acknowledges, highly exceptional ("rare") as an instance in which the conjunctive participle (marked by the form *asà-* in his orthography) "does not carry a meaning of anteriority or subsequence", but instead marks a relationship of simultaneity.

[*Banthuan   asà-mintha arà-naangis svaara*] *hatthu derang=nang su-dìnngar*.
 assistance ASP-beg   SIM-cry   sound   IND 3PL=DAT   PST-hear
 'They heard a sound of crying and begging for help.'

It was a dwarf in an informant's story who was heard crying and begging for help, and the understanding is that these were not to be understood as having occurred in sequence.

[14] This term, based on Latin *iam* 'already', was introduced in Olsson (2013).

(12a) SRI LANKAN MALAY
    iskuul na a(*bis*)*-pi,   mulbar a*(*bis*)*-belajar,   Miflal atu nyanyi su-tulis.*
    school P ASP.NFN-go Tamil   ASP.NFN-learn Miflal IND song PST-write
    'Having gone to school, (and then) having learned Tamil, Miflal wrote a song (in it).'

The pragmatically-reordered sentence is in (6b):

(12b) SRI LANKAN MALAY
    iskuul na a(*bi*)*s-pi,   Miflal atu nyanyi su-tulis,   mulbar a*(*bi*)*s-belajar*
    school P ASP.NFN-go Miflal IND song PST-write Tamil   ASP.NFN-learn
    'Having gone to school, Miflal wrote a song, having learned Tamil.'

In negated contexts, *a*(*bi*)*s-* is replaced by *jang*, and *su-* is replaced by *tara-*. The (pragmatically unlikely) negated version of (12a) is in (12c).

(12c) SRI LANKAN MALAY
    iskuul na jang-pi,   mulbar jang-belajar,   Miflal atu nyanyi si-tulis.[15]
    school P ASP.NFN-go Tamil   ASP.NFN-learn Miflal IND song   PST-write
    'Not having gone to school, (and then) not having learned Tamil, Miflal did not write a song (in it).'

Miflal's going to school was not completed prior to his learning Tamil. The sequence matters with respect to the onset of each activity, but not its completion. It is the non-primary temporal status of the non-finite adjunct clauses that is most salient to speaker and listener, more so than their sequence with respect to each other. In the varieties of Malay originally brought to Sri Lanka, all the verbs in this sequence could have remained temporally unmarked. This means that an L1 Malay speaker in Sri Lanka in the process of accommodating Sri Lankan discourse conventions would have been forced to depend on prosody and the linear ordering of clauses, which would prevent their reordering for focus. The development of this conjunctive participle in SLM and SLP for the purpose of focusing temporally secondary events in sequences of event clauses can be hypothesized to have provided the material for the periphrastic construction that frequently encodes perfect meaning. Aside from the fact that the conjunctive participle is a component in the perfect construction, the use of participial adjunct clauses to mark non-primary events in a sequence of related events is more frequent than is the use of the finite periphrastic perfect, since a main clause may equally be perfective. In an event chain, the relationship of earlier events to later events is salient, whereas the temporal status of the highest event is not similarly relative, and need not necessarily link the past to the present nor the past to the past.

With the development of the conjunctive participle, a type of structural transfer, each sub-event in a chain of events is aspectually perfect in relation to the main event that is marked as finite, since it is their relevance to the main event that is significant in the resulting sentence. One of these sub-events can be displaced in order to shift the focus within the sentence.[16] In this sense, event clauses

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[15] The negated non-finite participle is sometimes followed by the dative clitic *na*(*ng*).

[16] By focus, I mean in the sense of new information, as opposed to contrastive focus.

relate to each other the way nominal arguments typically do in a single clause, though this relationship is not predetermined by the syntactic properties of a verb or other constituent. The development of the conjunctive participle, a universal feature of the Sri Lankan linguistic area (and a feature of the South Asian linguistic area generally), is likely to have preceded the development of the periphrastic perfect construction, since the periphrastic perfect construction, in all the Sri Lankan languages, including the Sinhala of the demographic majority, is composed of conjunctive participle plus auxiliary, though the morphosyntactic details vary cross-linguistically. It is also the case that earlier stages in the development of the contact languages already had the option of marking perfect aspect, using the free-standing markers that have since been reanalyzed as perfective markers of past tense. What was "missing", with respect to the discourse pragmatics of the languages in the Sri Lankan linguistic area, was a robust way of distinguishing older events in a chain of event clauses from a more recent (temporally) primary event in way that marks a non-primary event as different in temporal status from the primary event .

5.   The SLM perfect construction as biclausal

The periphrastic perfect construction consists of a lexical participle and an auxiliary verb which takes tense markers (13a) and negation markers (13b).[17]

(13a) SRI LANKAN MALAY
  *Miflal atu   nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis **su**-ada.*
  Miflal IND song   ASP-write **PST**-AUX
  'Miflal has written a song.'

(13b) SRI LANKAN MALAY
  *Miflal atu   nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis **tr**-ada[18].*
  Miflal IND song   ASP-write **NEG.FIN**-AUX
  'Miflal has not written a song.'

The only way to convey perfect meaning within a main clause is by means of this periphrastic construction. The auxiliary is a place holder for tense and finiteness when the highest lexical predicate in a chain of perfect participles is also perfect (and also a participle).

The negation prefix used (13b) is explicitly finite. It is normally the auxiliary that is marked in this way, so the negation marker is the same as the one prefixed to simplex lexical verbs, i.e. finite negator + lexical verb. It is nevertheless possible in SLM, although unusual, to prefix a non-finite negation element to the lexical verb in the periphrastic perfect construction, in keeping with the status of the lexical verb as a participle within that construction. This option has nothing to do with constituent negation, in which part of the clause would be negated, as opposed to the entire predication. This is demonstrated by the fact that constituent negation involves a distinctive negator, as do finite and non-finite negation. The marker of constituent negation is *bukang*, which generally follows the negated constituent, as in (14).

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[17] See also Slomanson (2008).

[18] In Kirinda Malay, (13a) would be '*Miflal atu nyanyi (e-)tulis si-ada*', and (13b) would be '*Miflal atu nyanyi e-tulis tara*'.

SRI LANKAN MALAY

(14) *Miflal buk-yang   as-baca   ada, tulis   bukang, nyanyi-atu bukang.*
Miflal book-ACC ASP-read AUX write CTN   song-IND CTN
'Miflal has read the book, not written, not a song.'

As stated previously, the auxiliary *ada* in the perfect construction is negated with the finite element (or variants thereof), and never with the non-finite negation element *jang* (or variants thereof). We know that it is *tara* that is negating the auxiliary rather than the lexical verb in a construction such as *as-baca tara* (the negation of the periphrastic perfect in the preceding example), because:

(a) *tara* negates perfective lexical verbs, it is phonologically weak and invariably cliticizes to the left of the head that it negates. This phonological behavior frequently leads to fused forms of the negated auxiliary in the periphrastic perfect construction:

tara ada ➔ *tarada* ➔ *tara*

(b) In that sense, *tara* interrupts the adjacency of the participle and the auxiliary.

(c) The non-finite participial clause can be focused without the auxiliary, as in (15).

(15)   SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal atu   nyanyi abis-tulis   kulung, tar(a)-ada.[19] [20]

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[19] In rapid speech in Kirinda, *Miflal atu nyanyi e-tulis kulung, tará.*

[20] Slomanson (2011:394-395) discusses another aspect marker in SLM, *ambe*, whose position does not shift in finite contexts as does *abis*. *Ambe* is modelled on Muslim Tamil *kiṭṭe*, which similarly marks progressive aspect. The claim is that this is a complementizer, analogous with English *while*, with the while-clause adjoining to the finite auxiliary. The etymon is *sambil* ('while') in right-branching Malay varieties. This element was subject to s-apheresis, as other closed class items in Jakarta Malay varieties and SLM have been. A homophonous *ambe* has been grammaticalized based on *ambil* ('take'), but the form also has other functions in serial verb constructions. Complementizers in these SOV varieties are clause-final. The empirical (distributional) evidence presented is interesting from the perspective of the periphrastic perfect construction, since it shows use that the progressive construction is also amenable to a biclausal analysis based on the syntactic independence of the auxiliary.

SRI LANKAN MALAY
(i) *Miflal nasi makan ambe   jo / duduk.*
Miflal rice eat   PRG.CMP FOC AUX
'It's in the process of eating rice that Miflal was.'

SRI LANKAN MALAY
(ii) *Miflal nasi makan ambe /   tara-duduk.*
Miflal rice eat   PRG.CMP NEG.FIN-AUX
'Miflal was not (in the process of) eating rice.'

Miflal IND song   ASP-write if   FIN.NEG-AUX
'As for Miflal having written a song, he hasn't.'

The fact that the lexical participle and the auxiliary cannot have their own arguments is not an impediment to a biclausal analysis. If the auxiliary were a functional element in the extended projection of the lexical verb, then in that sense it would share the argument structure of the lexical verb and that would obvious in contexts similar to (15) in which the lexical verb is elided. We can see in (15) that the finite auxiliary is completely separable from the lexical participle. Yet although it is separable, it can never occur in such a context with the argument(s) of the lexical verb.Compare those facts with English.

(16)   Has Miflal written a song? He has.

(17)   SRI LANKAN MALAY
       Miflal atu   nyanyi abis-tulis ada   sin? (*Inche) tar(a)-ada.
       Miflal IND song   ASP-write AUX ITG   3S   NEG.FIN-AUX
       'Has Miflal written a song? He has not.'

Raising verbs take clausal complements and have no nominal arguments (18a) (18b). The contrasts with periphrastic constructions that are arguably monoclausal (19a) (19b) are shown here.

(18) a Did the students seem to like the assignment?

(18) b * (That) the students/they seem.

(19) a Has the instructor distributed the assignment?

(19) b (That) the instructor/he has.

The examples show that a raising verb that takes an ordinary clausal complement is ungrammatical with the VP pronominalized or elided and its (raised) subject visible, although eliding a participle and retaining its subject with the auxiliary intact is fine. This effect suggests a parallel with the syntax of the SLM auxiliary. The SLM auxiliary, in addition to not having its own arguments, like a raising verb, similarly cannot actually "share" the arguments of a lexical verb in another clause when that clause is elided. In this particular respect, the SLM auxiliary is more like an English raising verb which takes a clausal complement, and less like an English auxiliary that takes a bare VP complement. These facts impinge upon the claim of biclausality, since independent argument

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       SRI LANKAN MALAY
(iii) *Miflal nasi jang   makan ambe /   si-duduk.*
       Miflal rice NEG.NFN eat   PRG.CMP PST-AUX
       'Miflal was not (in the process of) eating rice.'

       SRI LANKAN MALAY
(iv)   *Miflal nasi makan ambe /   tara-duduk   sin? O, (* ince) tara-duduk.*
       Miflal rice eat   PRG.CMP NEG.FIN-AUX ITG oh   3S   NEG.FIN-AUX
       'Was Miflal (in the process of) eating rice? Well he wasn't.'

structure of the main and embedded verbs is a potential criterion for biclausality. In this case (17), the auxiliary not only has no arguments of its own, which is predictable, but it cannot share the arguments of the lexical verb when the VP containing it is elided. This parallel with English raising verbs suggests that these Sri Lankan auxiliaries are not T elements or V elements taking VP complements in a monoclausal periphrastic construction.

6.   Contrasts in the SLP data

In SLM, the perfect construction consists of a non-finite participle and a finite auxiliary. This seems to follow from the status of the participle as developmentally primary. We start with the development of the participle for information-structuring reasons (Slomanson 2016). The same participle is then adjoined to a finite auxiliary to yield the finite main clause (i.e. periphrastic) perfect construction. Ironically, the sequence of auxiliary and participle is characteristic of Portuguese, but in Sri Lankan Portuguese, although we still have Portuguese-style participles (*daatu* in 20),

(20) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
    Aka noos aka uusha kampani-pa **daa-tu***, aka jaa-faya dreetu.*
    that 1PL   that Usha   company-DAT give-PTC that PST-make right
    'We gave that to the Usha company and repaired it.' (2013)

    more literally: 'We, (having) **given** that to the Usha company, repaired it.'

the iamitive marker seems to be the marker of tense in the apparently periphrastic SLP perfect construction, whereas the auxiliary is not tense-marked, except in pluperfect constructions, as in (22), in which the lexical part of the complex verb and the auxiliary **share** their tense specification.

(21) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
    Eev jaa-lembraa isti   mee   prumeer vees boos **jaa-vii**   ***teem*** *falaa-tu.*
    1SG PST-think   this FOC first   time 2SG PST-come AUX QUO-PTC
    '...I thought that this is the first time you have come.' (Smith 2013)[21]

(22) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
    Eev Kulumbu **jaa-andaa tinya**   *see,...*
    1SG Colombo PST-go   PST.AUX CND
    'If I had gone to Colombo,...' (Smith 2013)

So unlike in SLM, in SLP, there is no finiteness contrast between the two subparts of the perfect verbal complex, and there is also no separability, so that the two parts cannot be expressed in isolation. It is significant however that examples (20) through (22) are drawn from the work of Ian Smith, all of

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[21] Note also that according to one author, the construction with *teem* is also pluperfect, and the pre-verbal concatenation of the tense marker and an aspect marker (*cá*) can yield a (non-periphrastic) perfect construction.

(i)   *Eu   ja-cá   prendè.*
    1SG PST-ASP study
    'I have studied.' (Batticaloa su Português*)*

which is from the Batticaloa dialect, raising for us the issue of dialect variation. In fact, SLM-style biclausality may actually be present in the morphosyntax of the Batticaloa dialect and not the Trincomalee dialect. Strong evidence for such a contrast is found in example (13) in Smith (2013:114), included below as (23).

SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
(23) *Aka jaa-daa see,   A, oy   uŋ sadam-pa seem-vala   lo-kaa-teem.*
     that PST-give CND A, today one cent-DAT NEG.PTC-be.worth FUT-PFV-be
     'If we gave (him that), A [personal name], today (it) would not have been worth a cent.'

I have retained Smith's interlinear gloss.[22] The significance of this example is the fact that the auxiliary is unambiguously inflected for tense, with the future marker *lo*, rendering it morphologically finite (and also inflected for aspect with the completive marker *kaa*), whereas the lexical verb occurs as a participle, marked by an explicitly non-finite negation element, *seem*. The latter part of this sentence is uninterpretable to my Trincomalee informants, although the two communities are located only 132 kilometers from each other, and there is generally no lack of mutual intelligibility between the two varieties.[23] The observation of this contrast is strengthened by the fact that these same informants do not and cannot negate the auxiliary in the perfect construction. Instead, the complex of lexical verb + auxiliary is negated, without the use of the non-finite negation element. The negation element that is used is the finite negation element, *nuku*[24], yielding the sequence *nuku*-lexical verb-auxiliary. Based on this evidence, it is the distribution of negation morphology and the finiteness features of the relevant markers that suggest that the morphosyntax of the perfect construction in the Batticaloa variety is closer to SLM in yielding biclausal structures, whereas the analogous construction in Trincomalee is monoclausal.

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[22] Smith's own translation is 'If we had given [him] that, A [pers. name], today it would have become not worth a cent', which is less idiomatic. In Smith (2013), as in Smith (1979), he uses the term *perfective* for forms that are used in perfect and completive contexts. By *perfect*, I myself am referring to a context in which the speaker intends past reference to have explicit bearing on later events and states. Although the periphrastic construction is sometimes used in ways that could be characterized as perfective (referring to a past event without reference to a later time), this usage is typically reserved for simple past forms, i.e. *ja*-verb in SLP and *su-* or *si-* in SLM. This corresponds with a dichotomy found in Tamil, as well as in Sinhala. Ironically, the perfective markers in both of the contact languages are etymologically derived from free-standing perfect markers that have been reanalyzed by contact language speakers.

[23] Smith (1979) states that contact between the two communities is infrequent and uses this fact to underline the surprising degree of similarity between the varieties. He himself points to structural differences between the two varieties however, and I would concur that the differences that there are are few, yet they are nevertheless striking and potentially illuminating for those interested in reconstructing the diachrony of morphosyntactic change and the ways in which responses to discourse-pragmatic conventions and grammatical reflexes of those conventions in the larger co-territorial languages were (i.e. differentially) accommodated in the developing contact language grammars.

[24] This item is derived from the Portuguese word adverb *nunca*, meaning 'never'.

7.   Conclusion

The SLM perfect construction lends itself to a biclausal analysis based on a finiteness contrast in the position and the shape of negation and of tense marking in unnegated main clauses. The contrast with the Trincomalee dialect of SLP with its inseparable agglutinative perfect construction is striking, given other as yet unexplained parallels, including the tendency to favor the pre-verbal distribution of functional markers and the information-structuring use of (conjunctive) participial clauses. Given the ability of the pre-verbal markers to stack in SLP however, and given the corresponding ban on pre-verbal functional stacking in SLM, attributable to verb movement, in at least this respect, SLP is more reminiscent of canonical creole languages, as opposed to the small minority of creoles that also feature this type of minimal verb movement. It does not necessarily follow in this respect that SLP has somehow modeled the morphosyntax of Tamil more faithfully, given that the verb movement over an aspect phrase in SLM is simply a relatively marked development that SLP did not select. If we continue to expect relatively unmarked options in contact language development, then SLM is the outlier in this analysis.

The closer resemblance of SLP to Tamil in the contact language's verb morphosyntax can be seen from the lack of biclausality in the perfect construction containing a lexical verb and a semantically empty auxiliary. The biclausality of SLM is at least in part a function of the way the construction is generated. That is via the adjunction of a non-finite participial clause to a finite auxiliary.

The way in which contact languages such as these develop structures that appear to closely model comparable structures in dominant co-territorial languages such as Tamil and Sinhala in Sri Lanka is of interest for precisely the types of microsyntactic variation that we find in this data from the perfect construction. It would be easy to view the range of languages spoken in Sri Lanka and mistakenly conclude that the younger languages such as Sri Lankan Malay and Sri Lankan Portuguese straightforwardly replicate the grammars of the dominant languages, as we might expect within an obvious linguistic area. In practice, however, what is replicated are the functional contrasts, tense and finiteness, associated with the relevant constructions, whereas the fine-grained morphosyntactic details, including how perfect aspect is expressed, continue to vary in interesting ways across otherwise highly similar varieties, including varieties of the 'same' language. In that respect, radical contact languages do not differ from the dialects of so-called historical languages whose historical time depth have given them greater opportunities to diverge in ways that are not necessarily obvious to casual observers.

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List of abbreviations

1SG	first person singular
ALL	allative
ASP	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
CMP	complementizer
CND	conditional
CTN	constituent negation
DAT	dative
EMP	emphatic
FIN	finite
FOC	focus
IND	indefinite
INF	infinitive (marker)
ITG	interrogative
NEG	negative

NFN	non-finite
PFV	perfective
PRG	progressive
PST	past/perfective
PTC	participle
SIM	simultaneity
TMA	tense, modality, aspect
TOP	topic