

Cross-linguistic negation contrasts in co-convergent contact languages

Peter Slomanson
University of Tampere

Sri Lankan contact Malay (SLM) and Portuguese (SLP) share sprachbund-discordant features, including pre-verbal functional markers for TMA and negation. Yet their negation strategies also differ. In SLM, negation morphology is a diagnostic for the finiteness status of verbs. SLP verbs are contrastively negated, based on aspectual (not tense/finiteness) contrasts, and participles in adjunct clauses have distinctive non-finite negation. SLM marks finiteness status on matrix auxiliaries in a biclausal periphrastic construction. In the SLP construction, auxiliary and participle cannot be independently negated and the auxiliary cannot be separated from the verbal complex, arguing against biclausal status. SLM marks negative polarity in quantified nominal constituents, but has no negative concord, whereas SLP has negative concord, but relatively little negative polarity marking.

Keywords: negation, Sri Lankan Malay, Sri Lankan Portuguese, negative concord, negative polarity, finiteness, periphrastic perfect, constituent negation, biclausality, FinP

1. Introduction

Functional features instantiated in contrastive negation morphology can illuminate syntactic differences between two minimally contrasting Dravidian-influenced contact languages, differences that would be more difficult to see without that negation morphology as a reliable diagnostic for the relevant contrast, in this case finiteness contrasts between clauses. The languages in question are the contact varieties of Malay (SLM) and Portuguese (SLP) that developed in Sri Lanka over several centuries, and that continue to be spoken there by small populations.^{1,2}

1. For sociolinguistic and grammatical overviews, see Slomanson (2013b) and Smith (2013). The most extensive descriptive treatment of a variety of SLM, in this case the highland (“upcountry”) variety, is Nordhoff (2009).

2. Much of what I know about Sri Lankan Malay is due to the tremendous kindness, patience, and hospitality of the people of Kirinda, a predominantly Sri Lankan Malay-speaking village in

In some respects, the two contact languages have come to resemble each other (co-convergence) more than they resemble the two major spoken languages of the country, colloquial Sinhala and Tamil. Both of the contact languages (SLM and SLP) have developed bound tense and infinitival morphology, a feature of the Sri Lankan sprachbund, yet this morphology in the contact languages is invariably pre-verbal, in contrast with the distribution found in Sinhala and Tamil. All markers of negation are also pre-verbal (or pre-auxiliary) in the contact languages. Clausal asymmetry is demonstrated not just by the presence of infinitival complement clauses, but also by participial adjunct clauses, whose discourse pragmatics patterns with what we find in the Sri Lankan sprachbund generally, including the framing of sequential event structure. While tense-marking, participles and infinitives are not surprising in a variety of Portuguese, albeit a radical contact variety, they are clearly a contact innovation in SLM, as a variety of Malay. Their pragmatic parallels point to convergence on a common Sri Lankan model. Yet if these are the closest of Sri Lankan languages, at least in terms of their linear instantiation of functional morphology (pre-verbal), and their status as Sri Lankan languages is clear from their complement-head orders elsewhere (unmarked OV orders, PP, and frequent left-embedding of clausal complements), and post-nominal case clitics in DP, their morphosyntax is nevertheless not identical. This is evident both from the shape of negation and from the relationship of negation to the finite and non-finite status of verbs. Functional contrasts between the available negation markers and how they associate with different types of participle differ in the two languages, as does a verb movement contrast, in which the finite SLM verb raises over aspect and functional markers in that language never stack in pre-verbal position.

SLM and SLP, complexified contact languages,³ are spoken by bilinguals, as they have been throughout their existence. The canonical limited access approach

coastal southeastern Sri Lanka. I am particularly grateful and indebted to Mohamed Thawfeek Mohamed Rihaan and to Rimzana Shazin. Much of what I have learned about Sri Lankan Portuguese, I owe to the Portuguese Burgher people of Palayuttu and Trincomalee, and in particular to the late Oliver Johnson. I am extremely grateful to these good friends and am solely responsible for any inadvertent errors in describing their native languages.

3. Under an approach of the kind adopted in this paper to functional morphology, whether or not that morphology can be associated with a phonological word is not actually a well-justified metric for grammatical complexity, since what counts as complexity is an artefact of phonological properties that cannot themselves be evaluated with respect to some concept of complexity. Phonological weakening may yield cliticization and subsequently affixation. Unless the term complexity refers narrowly to the amount of overt morphology in a phonological word, the value of the term is questionable if the same functional contrasts are spelled out with free-standing morphemes that may prevent the lexical verb from raising. Viewed in that way, a contact language such as Haitian is no less “complex” than its lexical source language, French. (As we shall

to radical change in incipient contact languages, based on limited target language exposure and a break in intergenerational transmission, does not apply, given the historical and sociocultural context.⁴ What also cannot be said to apply straightforwardly is the view that frequency of exposure to demographically and socially dominant syntactic and morphosyntactic configurations, by virtue of that frequency of exposure alone, necessarily leads to the adoption of those configurations. It is otherwise not at all clear why these historically young grammars would resist suffixation (as opposed to prefixation or pre-verbal cliticization) of functional morphology. This is particularly striking, given the primary influence of varieties of Tamil on both languages (Slomanson 2011, 2013a), since Tamil agglutinatively suffixes all functional material, including negation, and the type of agglutination found in both languages is highly reminiscent of Tamil (1).

- (1) TAMIL
Miflal paattu elidi-kitt-iru-kk-raan.
 Miflal song write-ASP-AUX-TNS-AGR
 ‘Miflal is (in the process of) writing a song.’

SLM and SLP verbs resemble each other in their sprachbund-discordant resistance to the stacking of the phonologically dependent functional markers that we find in pre-verbal position, although this resistance is greater in SLM. This means that in practice, tense, modality, aspect, and negation markers cannot stack pre-verbally in the relatively unconstrained way that they stack post-verbally in Tamil, a fact that Slomanson (2008) attributed to verb movement, minimal in SLM, with the finite verb raising over a bound aspect marker. In this particular respect, the extent of verb movement based on suffixation, SLM is intermediate between Tamil and SLP.

The inventory of negation elements in the contact languages is more functionally diversified than what we find in the co-territorial languages, or in the lexifier languages for SLM and SLP, colloquial Malay varieties and Portuguese. At least in SLM, this can be viewed as a compensatory strategy to resolve an ambiguity. Negation and tense morphology cannot co-occur in Tamil and other major Dravidian languages, and this constraint (not present in the Indo-Aryan Sinhala language of Sri Lanka’s majority population) has been circumvented in various creative ways in Dravidian languages and in Dravidian-based contact languages

see, if “complexity” referred to the extent of syntactic movement, based for example on feature strength, then SLM would be more complex than SLP. If it refers to morphological complexity as it pertains to verbs (rather than nominal constituents), this presupposes the absence of separability in complex verbal constructions, and SLP is then more complex than SLM.

4. For detailed discussion of this context with respect to SLM, and of a controversy in recent literature on these matters, see Slomanson 2013a.

(Slomanson 2009, 2011). In SLM, this circumvention is primarily accomplished through the contrastive marking of finiteness status in the phonological shape of negation markers, using Malay etyma.

Differences between negation markers in the two contact languages permit us to identify the syntactic differences between their semantically perfect constructions. The SLM construction can be shown to be biclausal and the SLP construction monoclausal, since although the relevant construction is periphrastic in both languages, based on the presence of an auxiliary in the perfect construction, the tense and finiteness features are shared across the construction in SLP, whereas this is never the case in the analogous SLM construction. The periphrastic SLP construction consists of a morphologically complex lexical verb and auxiliary that cannot be separated from the verbal complex. In SLM, 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 (2).

- (2) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal Kulumbu-nang a(bi)s-pi ada.
 Miflal Colombo-ALL ASP-go AUX
 ‘Miflal has gone to Colombo.’
- b. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
Miflal Kulumbu-pa j(ə)-andaa teem.
 Miflal Colombo-ALL PST-go AUX
 ‘Miflal has gone to Colombo.’

The focus of Section 2 is the morphosyntactic organization of affirmative and negated non-periphrastic verb forms, including tense-marked and negated finite verbs, as well as non-finite participles and infinitives with and without negation in SLM and SLP. This will show that the cross-linguistic contrasts that we find can be accounted for by a minimal verb movement contrast in which the verb raises over aspect in finite contexts. At the same time, (finite) negation raises independently in SLM, and the SLP verb does not raise at all. The focus of Section 3 is the periphrastic perfect construction, within which negation marks the finiteness contrastively in SLM, but not in SLP. The focus of Section 4 is the role of the finiteness contrast in negation as a strategy for rendering the Lankan clausal asymmetry visible under negation. The asymmetry, involving the use of a sequence of conjunctive participles temporally subordinated to a tense-marked main verb, is an areal device for referring to sequences of related events. The focus of Section 5 is the contrasting patterns of negative polarity, which is productive in SLM, and negative concord, which is characteristic of SLP.

2. The non-periphrastic verb forms and negation

Temporal elements in the original Malay vernaculars brought to Sri Lanka were free-standing, optional, and mark aspect rather than tense (3). This example demonstrates the discontinuity of the aspect markers and the lexical verb, distributional evidence that the aspect marker is free-standing and essentially adverbial.

- (3) AMBONESE MALAY
Miflal ada kurang makang.
 Miflal ASP not enough eat
 ‘Miflal is/was not eating enough.’

In affirmative contexts, tense in SLM is explicitly marked as a three-way contrast (past, present, and future), and occupies a different phonologically-dependent position from aspect in relation to lexical verbs, however the position of aspect obligatorily shifts from pre-verbal to post-verbal in finite clauses. This is a dependable diagnostic for the minimal verb movement consistently found in this language in its current form. In finite contexts in which there is a tense interpretation, tense and negation markers are in complementary distribution in SLM and SLP, as they are in Tamil and other Dravidian languages. So it is worth considering what the language-specific syntax of this system could be for SLM and SLP respectively.

Like infinitival complements, participial adjunct clauses are not finite, and this is reflected in their morphosyntax in SLM, although this is not necessarily reflected by the morphology in affirmative contexts in SLP, which makes use of actual tense markers (past *jə-*).⁵ A finiteness contrast is reflected however in the phonological shape of elements that negate participles in SLP adjunct clauses, since these can be negated by the pre-verbal negator *seem*. In (4) and (5), we can see how the surface relationship of the SLM verb to aspect shifts when the verb is not finite, since the aspect marker in (4) becomes the participial marker in (5), for which the event onset time relative to the event referred to by the main verb is significant. (The interpretation can be “having finished writing a song”.)

- (4) SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal atu=nyanyi su-tulis-abis.
 Miflal INDEF=SONG PST-write-ASP
 ‘Miflal finished writing the song.’

5. Variably we also find the Portuguese participial suffix *-atu*.

- (5) SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal atu=nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis su-nyanyi.
 Miflal INDF=song ASP-write PST-sing
 ‘Miflal sang, having written a song.’

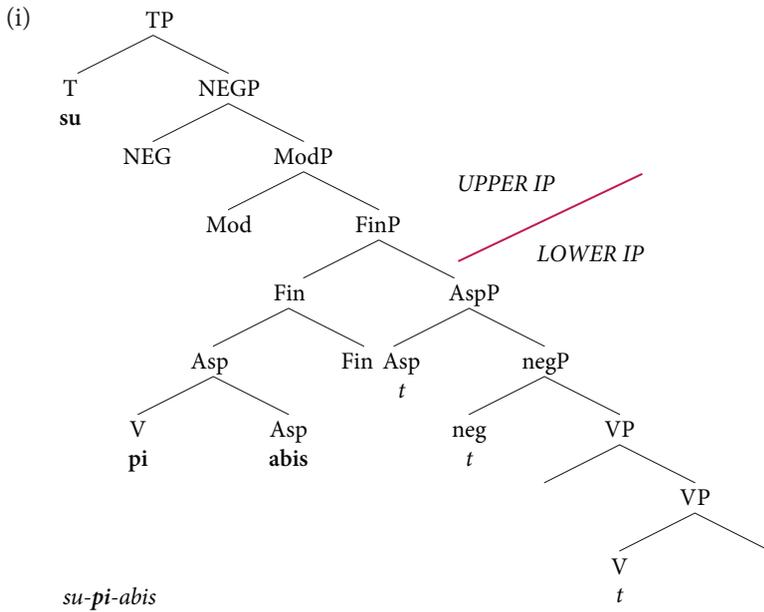
SLM has innovated the allocation of explicit finite status to one negation element, *tara*, from the original Malay varieties and explicit non-finite status to another, *jang*. The original use of *jang* was restricted to negative imperatives. In the modern language, any participle or infinitive can be negated with *jang*, and any finite verb can be negated with *tara*. In (4), *tara* substitutes for *su* when the sentence is negated, since the tense marker and the finite negation marker cannot co-occur. In (5), if the participial adjunct is negated, this is accomplished by substituting *jang*, since the pre-verbal position does not permit bound functional markers to stack in pre-verbal position at all.

The following examples clearly 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 (i.e. feature strength) to raise and (left-)adjoin to an aspectual head, in contrast with what we find in SLM. In (6a), we see the grammatical equivalent of the SLM example in (4). In (6b), we see its SLP translation.

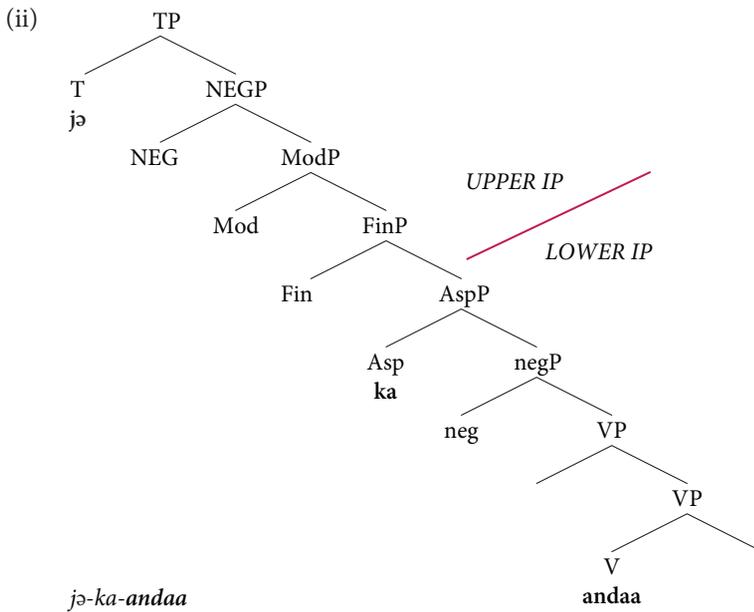
- (6) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal Kulumbu nang su-pi-abis.
 Miflal Colombo ALL PST-go-ASP
 ‘Miflal had finished going (traveling) to Colombo.’
- b. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
*Miflal Kulumbu pa jə-ka-andaa.*⁶
 Miflal Colombo to PST-ASP-go
 ‘Miflal had finished going (traveling) to Colombo.’

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, 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 (6a) is reflected in (i).

6. In my field recordings, the past tense marker is always phonologically weakened, which is why I transcribed it here as *jə-*. In Smith (2013: 114), the transcription is *jaa-* however (i.e. without vowel reduction). This may be due to a dialect difference, since Smith collected his data in Batticaloa.



Assuming the same phrase structure, the analogous construction in SLP is as in (ii), also found in the sentence in (6b).



In (i) and (ii), the negation marker raises from NEG to T in finite contexts. In SLM, this would be *tara* or *tuma*. In SLP, the most frequently occurring negation marker is *nukə-*. The phrase structure posited for the SLP verb in (ii) is the same as for SLM in (i), 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).⁷ Though the SLP verb does not raise for finiteness, as does the SLM verb, given the optional availability of the Portuguese participial suffix (cf. footnote 6), the SLP verb *can* raise minimally for aspect. The negator in the lower neg⁰ position adjoins to aspect and reflects aspectual contrasts that cannot co-occur independently with a negation marker. While the finite negation marker in SLM has a tense feature, visible in part from the fact that it is used to mark past tense contents on lexical verbs in the simplex construction, and the negation marker *tuma* non-past,⁸ the negators used in SLP do not mark contrasts between tenses.

The constraint limiting pre-verbal affixation in both of these prefixing contact languages is compensated for by the semantics and feature composition of the pre-verbal negation markers in both languages. While pre-verbal function morphemes in these agglutinative languages cannot stack in an unconstrained way (which would simply entail the spell-out of the preceding functional heads, as is possible in a number of Atlantic Creoles), the missing features are associated instead with the negation markers. In SLM, this is primarily a matter of distinguishing between finite and non-finite verbs. If a verb is negated, of the potential functional elements in pre-verbal position, only the negation element will be spelled out and modality will not be. Finite negation, which appears to be phonologically dependent on the verb, is actually separate from it and undergoes raising to T.

The finite SLM verb itself raises no higher than the bottom of the upper part of the inflectional domain, which is in effect the finite part. FinP is the interface between the two subdomains. There are separate functional heads for finite negation (NEG⁰: *tara*, *tuma*), which is higher in the inflectional domain, and for non-finite

7. According to Bakker (2000: 33), 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.

8. In affirmative contexts, there is a three-way tense contrast in SLM, but in negated contexts no explicit future marking is possible. *Tara* is the only available negator of the auxiliary, which yields the tonic form *tará*, a contraction of *tara* and *ada*. *Tara* is also frequently used in non-past contexts to negate adjectival predicates that have not yet been conventionalized as adjective to verb converted forms.

negation (neg⁰: *jang*), which is lower in the inflectional domain. This reflects a surface distributional contrast. 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, and subsequently to finiteness. The two forms of negation are not variants of each other, and their phonological shapes are completely dissimilar.⁹ The non-finite negation marker *jang* (neg⁰) is lower than finite *tara* (NEG⁰), because it only takes a non-finite verb as its complement, and such a verb will not raise from its base position. The finite verb will also never take *tara* as a suffix because such a verb will not raise beyond Fin⁰.

In SLP, as in SLM, markers of tense and aspect morphemes can freely co-occur in finite clauses, and negation markers are unable to co-occur with markers not just of tense, but also of modality, on open-class lexical verbs. Abstractly, the order of functional heads can be said to be the same, however SLP aspect markers can occur adjacent to the verb in finite clauses in the otherwise restricted pre-verbal functional domain. This suggests a different relationship to tense and finiteness in the SLP verb, and indicates that the SLP verb does not leave the VP. In fact, the only part of the verbal complex that always appears to the right of the SLP verb is the auxiliary, which is *teem* in its present tense form and *tinda* in its past tense form.

In SLP, *nukə-* is a frequently occurring pre-verbal negation marker that is neutral with respect to temporal reference, although it cannot co-occur with tense markers (the Dravidian constraint), and it also cannot occur in contexts that can be construed as non-finite. It can negate a main verb and it can also negate the lexical participle in the periphrastic perfect construction.

- (7) a. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
Miflal nukə-vi.
 Miflal NEG-come
 ‘Miflal did/does/will not come.’

9. 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 (NEG⁰). Free-standing modals can conversely occur as predicates and then be tense-marked however. In that case, they take infinitival complements. When modality does appear as a pre-verbal prefix in an affirmative context, it has a tense feature, but tense cannot be independently marked.

- Miflal atu nyanyi (*si) bəɾə bilang.*
 Miflal IND song (*PST) MOD sing
 ‘Miflal can/could sing a song today.’
*Miflal pə oi kantiye (*jə) poi kanta.*
 Miflal DAT today song (*PST) MOD sing
 ‘Miflal can/could sing a song today.’

- (7) b. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
Miflal nukə-vi-teem.
 Miflal NEG-COME-AUX
 ‘Miflal has not come.’
- (7) c. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
Miflal vi num-teem.
 Miflal come NEG-AUX
 ‘Miflal has not come.’

Other SLP negation markers include *naa(nda)-*, which marks negative modal features, including volition, *nikara-*, which is aspectual (habitual meaning), and *numis-*, which is a negative imperative marker. While there are certain contexts that require an infinitive in both of the languages, for example subject control contexts, such as ‘Miflal tried to write a song’, there is no grammatical strategy for actually negating infinitives in SLP.¹⁰ The type of clause used to circumvent such a construction is generally future or irrealis, which is not surprising, since that type of meaning is frequently implicit in the interpretation of infinitives cross-linguistically. Participles can be negated with the prefix *seem-* however (from the Portuguese word for ‘without’). In SLM, by contrast, all participles, infinitives, and imperatives, that is, all non-finite verb forms, are negated with *jang*.

We have seen that the finite negation element associated with NEG⁰ raises to T⁰ independently of the (lexical) verb, and that the verb raises no higher than Fin⁰. The verb only raises over aspect in tense-marked contexts, which is why we should assume that the finite negation element is not an auxiliary verb, and the lexical verb is not an infinitive. This happens to contrast with negated verbal complexes in Tamil, in which the lexical verb has infinitival morphology. The Tamil negation element *ille* has for this reason standardly been analyzed as an auxiliary verb. The fact that negation can seemingly strand a lexical verb that it c-commands while picking up (or checking) features in higher functional positions that are associated with the interpretation of the actual (verbal) predicate is cross-linguistically attested. While the finite SLM negator raises to associate with tense, in Finnish, the finite negator raises for phi features and is clearly separable from the verb, since other types of constituent can intervene. In negated Finnish clauses, the lexical verb is either unmarked (in present tense contexts), or depending on its tense interpretation, it can be realized as a (past) participle or as conditional. While in negative sentences, the Finnish verb does raise to tense (as the SLM verb in this analysis does raise to Fin⁰), the Finnish Neg raises independently to Agr⁰, which c-commands it. In neither case

10. This judgement is based on fieldwork that I conducted in the Portuguese Burgher community in Palayuttu, Trincomalee, eastern Sri Lanka in 2012 and 2015.

can the lexical verb be analyzed as an infinitive, and in this respect, SLM is closer to Finnish than to Tamil, in which the lexical verb retains its infinitival suffix in negative contexts. The syntactic relationship of negation to agreement in Finnish coincidentally resembles the syntactic relationship of negation to tense in SLM. Tense in Finnish is lower in the inflectional domain than the negation phrase is, in a position comparable to the independent finiteness projection in SLM.¹¹ In the analysis in Mitchell (1991), the affirmative verb raises through Neg to Agr for its agreement affix. According to Mitchell (1991: 374),

If, however, Neg is filled with the negative auxiliary, the verb cannot move beyond T, and remains there; the negative auxiliary continues head movement to Agr, where it receives the agreement affixes, and under some conditions it may then move from Agr to Comp.

3. The periphrastic perfect construction and negation

The periphrastic perfect construction in (8) features both a lexical participle and an auxiliary matrix verb which takes tense and negation prefixes.¹² The participial clause is an IP adjunct and the auxiliary is the matrix verb.¹³

- (8) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal atu=nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis su-ada.
 Miflal INDF=song ASP-write TNS-AUX
 'Miflal has written a song.'
- (8) b. SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal atu=nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis tr-ada.
 Miflal INDF=song ASP-write NEG.FIN-AUX
 'Miflal has not written a song.'

11. This analysis of Finnish verb syntax is found in Mitchell (1991) and (2006).

12. See also Slomanson (2008).

13. Negation of the lexical verb in periphrastic perfect constructions is not cross-linguistically unattested, being found also in languages as diverse as Lithuanian and Japanese (Arkadiev 2015), as well as in Finnic languages (Slomanson 2016b), in which the lexical verb can be realized either as an independent participle or as a participle associated with a finite matrix auxiliary and the participle independently negated with abessive case. It follows from the status of the abessive case-marked lexical verb as nominal that it is not actually clausal however, unlike the structure containing the lexical participle in SLM. The significance of the phenomenon in this paper is that this is one of the few morphosyntactic contrasts between SLM and SLP, all of which are associated with the expression of negation.

Crucially for diagnosing biclausality, the negation prefix used is explicitly marked as finite, by virtue of its contrast in shape with the non-finite negation marker *jang*. 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 plus 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 is not possible in SLP. A participle can be negated with a non-finite negation marker, as in *seem-vi* ('without having come'), but that form will not become the lexical component in the periphrastic perfect construction.

Non-Sri Lankan varieties of Portuguese feature periphrastic verb constructions of roughly analogous type, however no non-Sri Lankan varieties of Malay at all do. Furthermore there is no obvious semantic accretion or advantage in the development of this construction, in a variety or varieties of Malay, since it does not replace a contrast that was previously unavailable in the original Malay varieties. It does compensate for the reanalysis of *su*, the Malay iative marker (meaning roughly 'already'), as a perfective marker in SLM. However it also follows from the need to observe sequential event ordering and then to displace a participle in order 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. The pattern of a co-occurring with a matrix auxiliary, in just such a construction, is a sprachbund pattern. The resulting morphosyntax is not identical however.

To reiterate, the auxiliary *ada* in the perfect construction is negated with the finite element *tara* (or variants thereof), and never with the non-finite negation element *jang* (or variants thereof). We know that *tara* negates the auxiliary, rather than the lexical verb, because:

- (a) *tara* negates perfective lexical verbs, it is phonologically weak and invariably cliticizes to the left of the head that it negates. These facts yield frequent fused forms of the negated auxiliary in the periphrastic perfect construction:
tara ada → *tarada* → *tará*
- (b) In that sense, *tara* interrupts the adjacency of the participle and the auxiliary, whereas negation appears at the end of the complex in Tamil, and the complex itself is not separable in that language.
- (c) In a context that would otherwise require the periphrastic construction, the non-finite participle can be focused in such a way that the participle is separated from the finite tense-marked negated auxiliary by a clause-final complementizer and comma intonation, as in (9).

(9) SLM

*Miflal atu=nyanyi abis-tulis kulung, tara-ada.*¹⁴

Miflal INDF=song ASP-write if FIN.NEG-AUX

'As for Miflal having written a song, he hasn't.'

The periphrastic perfect construction is not semantically additive, but rather an elaboration of participial syntax that developed in order to accommodate the interaction of event hierarchization and focus. Identifying a semantic origin for the initial development of SLM infinitives, involving purposive and irrealis meanings, is relatively straightforward.

(10) INFINITIVAL VP COMPLEMENT

Musba waghanam-yang mǝ-dapat na(ng) si-liyat.

Musba vehicle-ACC INF-get INF PST-try

'Musba tried to get the vehicle.'

The infinitival construction in SLM which takes the allative/dative marker *na(ng)* may have begun as a purposive adjunct, a function it has retained. The construction has been generalized to clausal complement contexts. A pre-verbal infinitival marker, of the form *mǝ-V*, also developed from the phonological weakening and (re) grammaticalization of the volitive/irrealis element *mau/mo*. I take this construction to have appeared subsequent to the instantiation of non-finite participial adjuncts, of the type we saw in (8) (*abis-tulis*). While the finiteness contrast arose as a way to displace and focus temporally non-primary clauses, the development of infinitival morphology and its corresponding negation with *jang* follows in part from the development of contrastive tense morphology. This enabled tensed verbs in SLM to take VP complements (i.e. INF-V TNS-try, meaning 'try to V'), which although they lack the possibility of independent tense specification, are still amenable to irrealis interpretation.

The grammatical outcomes of language modeling and language restructuring, even in complexified contact languages, are in some respects a reduced set with respect to the model language. This follows from generalization based on a subset of model language configurations. In Tamil, there are actually different types of infinitival adjunct, with dative-marked verbs in adjunct clauses most likely to be purposive, whereas other types of infinitival adjunct, as well as infinitival complements have specifically (i.e. non-dative) infinitival morphology, as in (11).

14. In rapid speech in the SLM-speaking village of Kirinda, with phonological reduction, this sentence would be *Miflal atu nyanyi e-tulis kulung, tará*.

(11) EMBEDDED INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENT (TAMIL)

Miflal-ukku [viTT-ukku poo-k-] *oonum*.

Miflal-DAT house-to go-INF want

‘Miflal wants to go home.’

In SLM, the construction with *na* (a variant of *nang*) in (10), variably with and without the prefix *mə-*, is the only infinitival complementation strategy in SLM, and is negatable, as we have seen with *jang*. The trajectory from purposive to infinitive has been treated as a universal tendency, for example in Haspelmath (1989). The trajectory stands apart from but ultimately complements the scenario in which temporally subordinate adjunct clauses with the meaning “having done x” were responsible for the introduction of the finiteness contrast into the grammar of SLM (so that those same clauses could be dislocated and focused).

The fact that the SLM perfect construction consists of a non-finite participle and a finite auxiliary follows from the status of the participle as primary in the development of the contact language grammar. The contrast between tense-marked and participial forms enables temporally non-primary adjunct (i.e. participial) clauses to be focused by reordering event clauses. (Event clauses can be reordered the way nominal arguments can, in order to mark focus.) The participle can be adjoined to a finite auxiliary to yield the new perfect construction. The sequence of auxiliary and participle is characteristic of Portuguese generally, however in Sri Lankan Portuguese, although Portuguese-style participles are also still used (*daatu* in 12), the iimitive marker seems to be what is marking tense in the apparently periphrastic SLP perfect construction. The auxiliary is also explicitly tense-marked, at least in pluperfect constructions, as in (14), in which the lexical part of the complex verb and the auxiliary share their tense specification. In certain contexts, the present tense form of the verb (with *ta-*) can also function as a participle in this construction. The generalization is that the participle and the auxiliary always share a finiteness feature, whereas this is not at all the case in SLM.

(12) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

Aka noos aka uusha kampani-pa daa-tu, aka jaa-faya dreetu.

that 1PL that Usha company-DAT give-PTP 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.’

(13) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

Eev jaa-lembraa isti mee prumeer vees boos jaa-vii

1SG PST-think this FOC first time 2SG PST-come

teem falaa-tu.

AUX QUT-PTP

‘I thought that this is the first time you have come.’

(Smith 2013)

(14) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

Ev 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. When the periphrastic perfect construction is negated in SLP, the speaker similarly can negate either the auxiliary or the participle, but unlike in SLM, there is no way to identify finiteness status based on the phonological shape of the negator, which will generally be *nukə*.

4. The finiteness contrast in negation increases the visibility of event structure contrasts

SLM went from being a language without a finiteness contrast to having explicitly non-finite participial clauses. What function could this and the finiteness contrast in general have that was not addressed in the same way in the development of SLP? SLP has tense and infinitival marking, but the tense morphology, as well as the infinitival marker *pa* (from Portuguese *para*) may pre-date any of the structural changes that Asian Portuguese varieties underwent in Sri Lanka.¹⁵

15. The Dutch colonial administrators who replaced their Portuguese counterparts in the mid-seventeenth century also generally had an Asian contact variety of Portuguese as their native vernacular, coming as they did from Batavia (Jakarta), which was then Portuguese-speaking. This may account for the language's relative grammatical conservatism in spite of the development of case morphology. The conservatism is found in the lack of verb movement, with participles not explicitly marked as non-finite, and it is conservatism, not with respect to European Portuguese, which was not likely to have been the target language, but with respect to an Asian Portuguese Creole variety or varieties. See den Besten (2000) for discussion of the fact that *pa* can mark indirect object status in a number of eastern Indonesian Malay varieties. It is now an object marker in SLP as well, in addition to being an infinitival marker. Looking at the dative-like origins of infinitives cross-linguistically, this path is not surprising.

Given that Portuguese was once a lingua franca of coastal Sri Lankan and coastal Java and other Indonesian islands, it is not unlikely that the two contact languages came in contact with each other in Sri Lanka and in Indonesia (and Malaysia). Aside from the syntactic parallels, there are other minor points of convergence, including a construction in which a verb (not a clause) takes as its prefix the complementizer *kama*, meaning 'if' or sometimes 'when'. This is apparently not borrowed, and is surprising in languages that otherwise have left-branching complementizers. (The more frequent words for 'if', *kulung* in Kirinda Malay and *see* in Trincomalee Portuguese, respectively, are always clause-final.)

As we have seen, the SLM finiteness contrast is reflected both in morphology and in syntax. Finiteness itself contributes little semantically to the SLM sentence. The function of the contrast is primarily pragmatic, contributing to the organizing of events into explicit temporal hierarchies that can be overridden in order to focus a temporally secondary event. This is demonstrated in (5).

- (15) SRI LANKAN MALAY
 skul *na(ng) a(bi)s-pi*, *mulbar a(bi)s-blajar*, *Miflal*
 school ALL ASP-go Tamil ASP-learn Miflal
atu=nyanyi su-tulis.
 INDF=song PST-write
 ‘Having gone to school, and (then) learned Tamil, Miflal (subsequently) wrote a song (in it).’

A pragmatic motivation for the development of a finiteness/non-finiteness contrast in SLM can be identified in the fact that the discourse culture associated with the Sri Lankan sprachbund, 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 (Slomanson 2016a, 2016b).

Returning to the example in (15), as (16a), note that the first two events are not literally in a temporal sequence (they overlap), although we should understand that going to school preceded Miflal’s learning Tamil.

- (16) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY
iskul=na(ng) a(bi)s-pi, *mulbar a(bi)s-blajar*, *Miflal*
 school=ALL ASP-go Tamil ASP-learn Miflal
atu=nyanyi su-tulis.
 INDF = song PST-write
 ‘Having gone to school, (and then) having learned Tamil, Miflal wrote a song (in it).’

The pragmatically-reordered sentence is in (16b):

- (16) b. SRI LANKAN MALAY
iskul=na(ng) a(bi)s-pi, *Miflal atu=nyanyi su-tulis*,
 school=ALL ASP-go Miflal INDF=song PST-write
mulbar a(bi)s-blajar.
 Tamil ASP-learn
 ‘Having gone to school, Miflal wrote a song, having learned Tamil.’

Notice that in negated contexts (17a), *abis-* is replaced by *jang-*, and *su-* is replaced by *tara-*.¹⁶ Miflal's going to school was not completed prior to his learning Tamil.

- (17) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY
iskul=na(ng) jang-pi, mulbar jang-blajar, Miflal
 school=ALL NEG.ASP.NFN-go Tamil NEG.ASP.NFN-learn Miflal
atu=nyanyi tara-tulis.
 INDF=SONG PST-write
 'Not having gone to school, not having learned Tamil, Miflal did not write
 a song (in it).'

The pragmatically-reordered sentence is in (17b):

- (17) b. SRI LANKAN MALAY
iskul=na(ng) jang-pi, Miflal atu=nyanyi tara-tulis
 school=ALL NEG.ASP.NFN-go Miflal INDF=SONG NEG.PST-write
mulbar jang-blajar
 Tamil NEG.ASP.NFN-learn
 'Not having gone to school, Miflal did not write a song, not having learned
 Tamil.'

The sequence matters with respect to the onset of each event, 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 are likely to have been 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 on the linear ordering of clauses, which would prevent their reordering for focus. This is in effect the situation in SLP, since there is no dependable way to distinguish between a tense-marked adjunct clause in SLP and a tense-marked main clause, since the structures (TNS-V) are syntactically ambiguous. This however does not hold for negated participles marked with *seem*. Ellipsis tests of the type that we saw demonstrated in (18), fail in SLP, as they do in Tamil.

- (18) SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal atu=nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis kulung, tara-ada.
 Miflal INDF=SONG ASP-write if FIN.NEG-AUX
 'As for Miflal having written a song, he hasn't.'

16. For some speakers, the negated participle requires = *na*, in order to distinguish it from the homophonous negative imperative form.

In Tamil, the periphrastic construction is simply a complex verb and can be analyzed as monoclausal in the way that serial verbs can, although with actual fusion of the constituent morphemes. This inseparability is described in Mohanan & Mohanan (2009: 360) with respect to the morphosyntax of similar complex verbal constructions in Malayalam as yielding “morphological periphrasis as opposed to syntactic periphrasis”. This characterization cannot be applied to the superficially analogous construction in SLM. Looking at the SLP and Tamil data, we find contrasts that can be attributed to the presence of absence of verb movement, however the complex itself is realized as a phonological word. In SLP, given pre-verbal tense and aspect, we do not find the robust verb movement within this complex that we find in Tamil, yet the functional morphology and the lexical verb spelled out in situ form a single functional complex in which tense features are shared as in Tamil and other Dravidian languages. Since only finite negation morphology (*n*-forms such as *nukə-* and *naa-*) can appear within the periphrastic complex, we know that tense features are shared. In SLM, by contrast, the lexical verb can be negated by the non-finite negation marker *jang-*, and this finiteness contrast with the auxiliary is the best diagnostic for the biclausality of the construction.

The origin of the pre-verbal infinitival marker *mə-* in SLM is both etymologically and functionally distinguished from its SLP counterpart *pa-* (Slomanson 2018).¹⁷ Diachronically, SLM *mə-* is a type of modal marker, like Old English *to* in the corpus-based work in Los (2005). From that perspective, purposive meaning is a subset of irrealis meaning, marked in this way. The use both of *mə-* in SLM and of the *to-* infinitive in English appears, at this stage in the case of both languages, to be most strongly associated with complements of matrix verbs that lend themselves best to irrealis interpretation (Slomanson 2018). These infinitives are negated by replacing *mə-* with *jang-*, and *pa-* with *seem-*, respectively.

5. Negative polarity and negative concord

SLM marks negative polarity productively and obligatorily in quantified nominal constituents, but has no negative concord, whereas SLP has negative concord, but negative polarity is only found with a small number of items. This brings SLP, with its apparent lack of syntactic verb movement in finite negation contexts, as well as its use of negative concord and relative lack of negative polarity marking, closer to the profile commonly associated with Creoles, and renders SLM in this respect intermediate in type between Tamil and somewhat more conventional contact languages such as SLP.

17. The functional meaning of SLP *pa-* is the meaning associated with the SLM enclitic = *na(ng)*, derived from the homophonous dative/allative clitic that optionally co-occurs with preverbal *mə-* (i.e. *mə-V-na(ng)*).

Negative polarity in SLM is marked with an enclitic that attaches to a quantified NP. The enclitic is *=le*, which as described in Nordhoff (2009: 359–369), is also a coordinating clitic. The most frequent realization of this is DP *=le* DP *=le*. Where there is only one *le*-marked DP, the other one will be recoverable from discourse. Nordhoff refers to this as “a device on the level of information structure” and also describes a concessive function for *=le* in certain adverbial phrases. He also describes the enclitic *=ke* which has a similative function, with DP *=ke* meaning ‘like DP’. Both of these forms also function as negative polarity items, however Nordhoff treats similative *=ke* and negative polarity *=ke* as the same, presumably due to their homophony. Negative polarity *=ke* is a reduced form of *=beke*, with which it is interchangeable. This is one of a small number of closed class items in SLM that is borrowed, directly or indirectly, from varieties of Javanese, the other being the allative adposition cum dative case marker *=na(ng)*. Nordhoff also treats *=be* and *=ke* as interchangeable in negative polarity contexts, however *=be(ke)* has the additional feature of focus, the semantic contrast between the two being captured by ‘(i.e. not) any x’ and ‘(i.e. not) any x at all’.¹⁸

Each of the English sentences ‘I saw no one’, ‘I did not see anyone’, and non-standard ‘I did not see no one’ is translatable as in (19).

- (19) SRI LANKAN MALAY
Go atu=orang=ya=le tara-kutumung.
 1S INDF=PERSON=ACC=NPI FIN.NEG-see

In negated contexts such as this, *=le* has the sole function of marking negative polarity on indefinite DPs. This marking is obligatory, as is the negation of the predicate. The scope of negation is the entire clause, and any *le*-marked nominal constituent is interpreted as a negative polarity item. There is no quantitative or partitive interpretation, which is the function of obligatory *atu* in (19).

Constituent negation, which uses distinctive negators in the SLM and SLP, is unusually flexible in SLM, in that it can be used freely with negative polarity items

18. According to Nordhoff (2009),

“Like *=le*, *=ke* can be used in negative contexts when combined with indefinite expressions or an interrogative pronoun. The use of *hatthuke* (this is *atu=ke* in my notation, PS) ‘none’ is shown in examples (385)–(386).”

- (385) *Gaathal su-kuurang kalu, suda hatthu=ke thraa.*
 itching PST-few if thus IND-SIM NEG
 ‘When the itching has diminished, none will be left.’
- (386) *Snow White=nang=le Rose-Red=nang=le ini hatthu=ke thàrà-mirthi.*
 Snow.white=DAT=ADD Rose.Red=DAT=ADD PRX IND-SIM NEG.PST-understand
 ‘Snow White and Rose Red did not understand a thing.’

(20). In SLP, negative polarity is restricted to a limited number of items and is not freely and productively marked.

- (20) SRI LANKAN MALAY
Miflal si-kasi buk=atu bukang sapa=nang=beke kumbang gang
 Miflal PST-give book=IND CNG who=DAT=NPI.FOC flower PTL
 *‘Miflal gave, not a book to anyone at all, but flowers.’

If the flowers were not there, the predicate would nevertheless not be negated, in keeping with the lack of negative concord in SLM. The constituent negation suffices and there is no set of lexically negative items to participate in negative concord. The phrase *lai tará* (‘not yet’) appears to function as a lexical item that could in principle co-occur with the finite negator *tara*, however ordinarily *tará* cliticizes to the lexical verb in clauses containing *lai tará*, and there is no doubling of *tará*.

The phrase *un=dia=tan* in (21) is one example of a lexicalized negative polarity item (phrase) in SLP, however the sentence can also be expressed as in (22), in which we find a temporal negation marker where the default and negation marker *nukə-* would otherwise appear.¹⁹

- (21) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
Mary un=dia=tan brimai aros nukə-kummə.
 Mary NPI red rice NEG-eat
 ‘Mary did/does/will not ever eat red rice.’
- (22) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
Tewi tæmpu Mary brimai aros na-kummə.
 in future Mary red rice never-eat
 ‘Mary will never eat red rice.’

In (23), we see negative concord with constituent negation of the subject and the same negative polarity item as in (21), similarly within the scope of the negator of the predicate.

- (23) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE
Mary kum un=dia=tan brima aros nukə-kummə.
 Mary CNG NPI red rice NEG-eat
 ‘Not (even) Mary did/does/will not ever eat red rice.’

19. Smith (1979:210–211), writing on Batticaloa Portuguese, the other major dialect of SLP, includes an example sentence in which *tan* (as *ta:m*) appear to function productively as a marker of negative polarity (= any) however this requires the quantified constituent to be countable, as *dia* is, in the lexicalized negative polarity phrase in (21). According to Smith, *ta:m* is a straightforward calque of Tamil *um*, and the entire construction is modeled on its Batticaloa Tamil analogue, which also contains an obligatory indefinite determiner. There is no countability requirement for negative polarity items in SLM.

6. Conclusion

Considering the shared tendency of the two languages to favor the pre-verbal distribution of functional markers generally, the fact that tense and aspect markers can co-occur in pre-verbal position in SLP is a striking contrast with SLM, although in keeping with the influence of Tamil on the grammars of both contact languages, tense and negation can never co-occur as independent morphemes in either language. Given the ability of pre-verbal tense and aspect markers to stack in SLP, and given the global ban on pre-verbal functional stacking in SLM, attributable to verb movement, in at least this respect, SLP is more reminiscent of the canonical Creoles, as opposed to the minority of Creoles that also feature minimal verb movement. Consideration of the way negation works in the two languages, the focus of this paper, shows us an additional cluster of contrasts between the two languages.

The SLM perfect construction lends itself to a biclausal analysis, the strongest evidence for which is a finiteness contrast in the distribution and phonological shape of negation morphology. The morphosyntax of SLP more closely resembles that of Tamil in the lack of biclausality we find in the construction containing, as in SLM, a lexical verb and a semantically empty auxiliary. The anomalous biclausality of SLM is at least in part a function of the way the perfect construction is generated. That is via the adjunction of an explicitly non-finite participial clause to an explicitly finite auxiliary. The adjunct clause containing the lexical verb can only be negated by non-finite *jang*, independently of the (matrix) auxiliary clause that can only be negated by finite *tara* or *tuma*. In SLP, negation morphology does not highlight a hierarchical contrast between the two parts of the inseparable periphrastic construction. Although the participles that we find in adjunct clauses are non-finite in form (the traditional Portuguese participle), neither the participle in the periphrastic construction nor its negated form is explicitly marked as non-finite, a fact which corresponds with the lack of separability, yielding a monoclausal construction.

The picture with respect to negative polarity and negative concord also shows us that in these respects the languages are dissimilar.

To summarize, this example of parallel convergence robustly affecting properties of contact language grammars, including properties of their negation systems, confirms that, contrary to a common conception of the outcomes of creolization and areal convergence, the resulting grammars are not replicas of each other, regardless of how dramatically they may resemble each other in certain respects.

Abbreviations

ADD	additive
AGR	agreement
ALL	allative
ASP	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
DAT	dative
FIN	finite
FOC	focus
IND	indefinite
INF	infinitive
MOD	modality
NEG	negation
NFN	non-finite
PRX	proximate
PST	past
PTL	particle
PTP	participle
SIM	simultaneous
TNS	tense

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