Directions of language change in a trilingual ecology: adstrate influence in Sri Lankan Malay

Abstract

This paper presents the trilingual ecology of Sri Lankan Malay and analyzes the extent to which Sri Lanka Malay has undergone influence from its adstrates Sinhala and Tamil. A close scrutiny of phonology, morphology, syntax and grammaticalized semantic domains reveals that both adstrates have had about equal influences, disproving earlier claims of predominantly Tamil influence. Strong influence is found especially in areas where Sinhala and Tamil have already converged, doubling the pressure on Sri Lankan Malay to adopt the same features. In areas where Tamil and Sinhala structures differ, we find less structural change in SLM towards either adstrate. This implies that the frequency of a feature value in the several input languages is an important factor for the directions of language change.

1 Introduction

Language change through contact has been a major topic on the diachronic agenda since Thomason & Kaufman (1988). While before, language internal motivations were seen as the principal causes of language change, research has since then accepted influences that one language exerts on another as a major cause of language change. These influences can range from very slight (some loan words, minor adaptations in phonology) to drastic (complete restructuring of grammar). Many bilingual settings have been investigated to see to what extent the dominant language has imposed some of its features on the other one (or, in other words, in how far the non-dominant language has taken over features from the dominant one). This rapprochement can be modeled as in (1).

(1) $\underline{A \qquad B' \leftarrow B}$

We can verbalize this as: Over time, B has become more like A. The distance between B and B' corresponds to the amount of borrowing that has taken place[1].

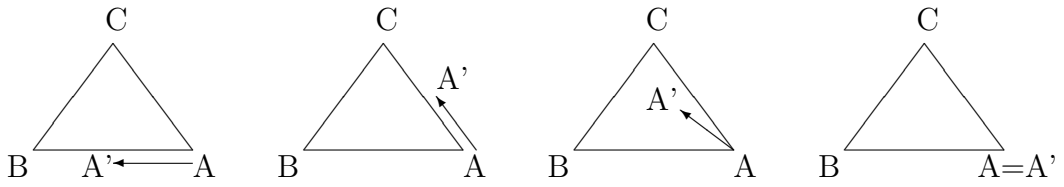
This linear dimension is sufficient to model bilingual settings. But if we try to model settings where more than two languages are involved, it fails. For trilingual settings, we have to add another dimension. We can formulate a research question as follows:

(2) In a trilingual setting involving the languages A, B and C, does A change towards B, towards C, towards both, or towards neither? How can the answer be motivated?

This question is illustrated in figure 1.

One famous case of language change in a trilingual setting is reported in Gumperz & Wilson (1971). In the Indian village of Kupwar, the local varieties of Marathi, Urdu and Kannada have all changed to become more like the other two. We will first take a look at this case study

[1]This could for instance be measured on the borrowing scale in Thomason & Kaufman (1988).



(a) Towards B (b) Towards C (c) Towards B and C (d) Towards neither

Figure 1: Possible directions of language change in trilingual settings

in section 2. We will then turn to another trilingual setting, namely Sri Lanka, and sketch the ecology of Sri Lankan Malay (SLM) in its social and historical dimensions (section 3). There has been some research on SLM, which is discussed in Section 4 before we turn to some methodological questions (section 5), and to investigations of several domains of grammar (sections 6 through 13). The last three sections will sum up the findings, discuss them in the light of an evolutionary approach, and conclude.

2 The study of trilingual settings: Kupwar

In an influential paper, Gumperz & Wilson (1971) describe the linguistic situation in the Indian village of Kupwar, where the three languages spoken there (Urdu (Indo-Aryan), Marathi (also Indo-Aryan) and Kannada (Dravidian)) have all mutually influenced each other and changed to become more like the other ones. Gumperz & Wilson (1971) analyzed a number of morphosyntactic features and found that all three local varieties had identical sets of features (while the standard varieties differ considerably), that all local varieties had changed in some way to become like the other languages (mutual adaptation), but that Urdu had changed towards the other languages in 11 cases, while Marathi and Kannada changed in 6 cases each. We can illustrate this schematically as in Figure 2. Each arrow represents the change from the standard variety to the local variety, and the local varieties (X') are much closer to each other than the standard varieties (X). Gumperz and Wilson explain this creation of parallel structures by the 'pressure for translatability of local codes' [165], resulting from the need to convey the same message without too many grammatical changes when rapidly switching between languages all the time. This thought is formulated more succinctly in Nadkarni (1975), who writes

> In such a situation [of permanent switching of language], the tendency towards lessening the psychological load is quite natural; and this sets processes in motion whose result is a gradual convergence of systems in a speaker's head. Among the factors which determine the direction of this convergence, the frequency with which the two languages are used may be one of the most important.

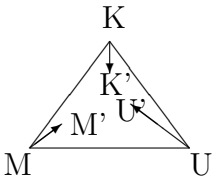


Figure 2: Language change in Kupwar. Marathi (M) and Kannada (K) have changed a bit towards the other two languages, Urdu (U) has changed more.

Nadkarni's comment[2] is about a bilingual setting, but it should be even more valid in a setting involving more than two languages. In Kupwar, while constantly manipulating three languages, the psychological load is even greater, and the convergence more striking.[3] We will now turn to the trilingual Sri Lankan ecology and scrutinize the language change patterns there for frequency effects.

3 The peculiar status of the Sri Lankan contact setting

Sri Lanka Malay has evolved in a very special setting, invaluable for the study of language contact. This variety is the result of contact spanning three centuries between three languages of three different language families, namely Trade Malay (Austronesian), Tamil (Dravidian) and Sinhala (Indo-Aryan). The first peculiarity is the absence of European languages such as English or Spanish in this setting. The second one is of course the triangular nature of the contact, instead of the two-language settings which are commonly discussed. Furthermore, these three languages are not in a clear hierarchical situation. While in many other settings, one language clearly exceeds the other one in power and prestige, this is not the case in the Sri Lankan context. The one language which has power and prestige is English (and earlier Dutch) as the language of the colonial administration. The colonial languages clearly enter the social setting, but have no bearing on the linguistic results in SLM. Sinhala, Tamil and Malay are all subordinate to English, but no clear domination relation holds between the three of them globally. Of course, the three languages are not completely identical in all social domains. For instance, Sinhalese speakers largely outnumber the other groups, Tamil culture was more influential than Sinhalese culture and the Malays were the ones who were associated with military power. As such, they had the closest ties with the colonial administration. They also had the highest literacy rate (Bichsel-Stettler 1989). So, every one of the three languages had some factors conveying power or prestige, but these factors did not gravitate towards one group, they were distributed.[4]

[2]For similar ideas, see Sasse (1985, 1990) and Haase (1992), for an overview see Ross (2007), Ansaldo (2008a).

[3]Frequency effects are of course not limited to multilingual settings, for a general discussion of frequency as an explanatory device, see Bybee (2006), Haspelmath (2006).

[4]There are other languages spoken in Sri Lanka, most notably the aboriginal language of the Vedda. The Vedda have no contact with the Malays and will thus not be discussed here.

The Sri Lankan Malays were brought by the colonial powers of the British and the Dutch between the 17th and the 19th century. Since then, their language has undergone considerable restructuring. While the lexicon has remained quite stable over time, the grammar has been heavily influenced by the adstrates Sinhala and Tamil. The immigrants were mainly soldiers, some exiled princes and very few convicts and slaves. The mercenaries hailed from all over what is today Indonesia and Malaysia, but were recruited in Jakarta and later Penang (Hussainmiya 1990). In the regiment, some variety of Trade Malay local to Jakarta was therefore most probably the dominant linguistic code (Smith 2003, Ansaldo 2005, Paauw 2004). Unfortunately, we have no records of Trade Malay, but there are a number of other languages like Ambon Malay and Cocos Malay which descend from Trade Malay, so that we can extrapolate some of its structure (Adelaar & Prentice 1996, Adelaar 2005).

While the community was quite closely knit until the middle of the 19th century, the dissolution of the Malay regiment in 1873 led to a dispersion of the community. The central point that the Regiment provided, and around which everything evolved, disappeared and the Malays found themselves in new social and professional contexts where the use of Malay could not be upheld. This and the Sinhala nationalist policy following the independence of Ceylon from the UK in 1948 led to attrition and language loss, which we are witnessing today.[5]

Today, the Malays number 0.3% of the islandwide population. They live in several towns in the Southern Sinhala speaking area, where they make up between 1 and 3% of the local population (30% in Hambantota, over 90% in the Southern hamlet of Kirinda)(Bichsel-Stettler 1989, Ansaldo 2005).

All Sri Lankan Malays can understand each other without problems, but there is a lot of idiolectal variation, which does not pattern geographically, but rather according to family lines (which may be present in several places).

4 Former research on SLM

The grammatical structure of SLM is decidedly unlike anything else in the Malayic subgroup. In fact, we find an overwhelming amount of grammatical phenomena typical of the South Asian linguistic area (Emeneau 1956, Masica 1976). Obvious candidates for the origin of these phenomena are the adstrates Sinhala and Tamil. There has been some discussion recently on the amount of the respective influences of these two languages.

Hussainmiya (1986, 1987, 1990) did research on the history of the Sri Lanka Malays and also treats their language in passing, although he admits that he is a historian, not a linguist. In his work, he speaks about adstrate influence at various places, and claims Sri Lanka Muslim Tamil (SLMT) influence in some places, and then again influence from both SLMT and Sinhala. The overall tone of his work seems to favor SLMT influence, though, as the following quotation shows:

> The contact situation between Sri Lankan Moor Tamil and SLM resulted not only

[5]The language is being documented by a Dobes project consisting of Umberto Ansaldo, Lisa Lim, Walter Bisang, Thiru Kandiah and Sebastian Nordhoff.

> in lexical borrowings, but it has pervaded all aspects of the latter's grammatical system (Hussainmiya 1986:22)

The Swiss anthropologist Anne Bichsel-Stettler wrote a master's thesis on SLM phonology (Bichsel-Stettler 1989), which includes some sociolinguistic information about the need for Malays to be proficient in Sinhala and/or Tamil, but she does not make a case for more morphosyntactic influence from one language or the other.

The first trained linguist to treat SLM was Sander Adelaar, who finds "strong syntactic influence from Tamil (and Sinhalese?)."(Adelaar 1991). De Silva Jayasuriya (2002) found a lot of Sinhala influence in her early work, but has since then accepted SLMT influence as a factor as well. Ian Smith and colleagues have written several papers about SLM, whose overall view advocates Tamil influence. This is due, they argue, to extended intermarriage between Sri Lanka Malays and Tamil speaking Moors (Smith et al. 2004:2). However, they hedge their claim by saying "Given the typological similarity of Tamil and Sinhala, it is difficult to discern which of the languages had the major influence on SLM. It would appear that where Tamil and Sinhala differ, innovations in SLM follow Tamil rather than Sinhala" (Smith et al. 2004). In another paper, (Smith 2003) argues "for the lack of Sinhala influence rather than positive Tamil influence".

This rather reconciling view is not upheld in Smith & Paauw (2007:160), where they claim Sri Lanka Muslim Tamil as the only substrate. However, they allow for a "typologically Dravidian" (178) substrate in place of a Tamil substrate. This is clearly a reference to Sinhala, which, while being of clear Indo-Aryan lexical descent, is typologically much closer to the Dravidian languages than to Northern Indian Indo-Aryan languages like Bengali or Gujarati (the languages which are said to be the closest relatives of Sinhala (Geiger 1973:499)). Sinhala would then provide Dravidian influence 'through the backdoor'.

Bakker (2006:142), building on data from Hussainmiya and Adelaar, claims that "[i]t is clear that SLM underwent metatypy under Tamil influence".

In a somewhat dissenting opinion, Slomanson (2007:136,156) argues that while there is adstrate influence in grammar, it has been overstated in the literature. He acknowledges the alleged convergence in the nominal domain, but argues that the verbal domain has undergone a lot less influence.

Ansaldo (Ansaldo 2005, 2008b, Aboh & Ansaldo 2007) argues that the case system of SLM is a case of trilingual admixture involving significant Sinhala influence and that the reason for restructuring can be found in the congruence between the two Lankan adstrates (typological 'gang-up'). Moreover, he suggests that there has been a certain 'Tamil bias' in the history of SLM linguistics due to a claim of frequent intermarriage between SLM and Tamil Moors, a claim that historical records and oral history do not support.

How could these researchers come to such different results in inspecting one and the same language and the same two adstrates? The answer is that a) Sinhala and Tamil are very similar in their grammatical structure to begin with, b) the researcher tried to prove influence of language A and did not consider influence of language B (Bakker, Jayasuriya) and c) that only limited areas of SLM grammar have been scrutinized for adstrate influence, namely the nominal domain in the case of the proponents of Tamil. The aim of this paper is to provide a

full account of the relevant grammatical phenomena in all three languages, Sinhala, Tamil and SLM, in line with the trilingual approach to SLM genesis pursued in Ansaldo (2005, 2008b), and to highlight parallels that can be found in the grammatical systems, as well as differences.

5 This study

As is evident from the dissenting opinions in the literature, a non-biased selection of the features to be investigated is paramount.[6] If one looks only for Sinhala features in SLM, one will definitely fail to find Tamil features, and vice versa. Furthermore, in either case one will miss important independent developments. A more systematic approach is required.

It is clear that neither Sinhala nor Tamil have undergone major changes under Malay influence, mainly because of the sheer numerical superiority of their speakers, many of whom are not even aware of the existence of Sri Lankan Malays. While Gumperz and Wilson analyzed all three Kupwar languages and their changes, we will only trace the changes occurring in the language of the Malays and disregard Sinhala and Tamil. Furthermore, Gumperz and Wilson compare their languages to the standard varieties of Urdu, Marathi and Kannada. This would not be fruitful for Sri Lankan Malay, since the population has been removed from the original variety for several centuries and the new standard varieties of Malaysia and Indonesia are not descendants of Trade Malay but of other Malay varieties. Trade Malay was a typical trade language with a lot of internal variation and permissiveness, so that the total non-existence of a certain feature in all varieties of Trade Malay is difficult to prove. We therefore focus on features which are typical of South Asia[7] and completely atypical of descendants of Trade Malay varieties as described in Adelaar (2005).

This study takes 104 linguistic features (like permitted codas, expression of aspect, word order, evidential marking) and checks for the values of these features in all three languages. The selection of the features tries to avoid bias as much as possible by either relying on general linguistic theory (e.g. phoneme inventory), or, where this is not possible, by granting all languages equal rights (i.e. all TAM-values reported for at least one language in the available literature constitute a feature to be checked). The rationale for the inclusion or exclusion of certain features is stated in the individual sections below.

The features chosen stem from the following domains: Phonology (e.g. retroflexes, Section 6), Word classes (e.g. closed or open class of adjectives, Section 7), Postverbal particles (e.g. debitive, Section 8), Verbal morphology (e.g. tense, Section 9), Nominal and adjectival morphology (e.g. case, Section 10), Grammaticalized semantic domains (e.g. evidentiality, Section 11), Syntax (e.g. word order, Section 12) and Constructions (e.g. periphrasis of obligation, Section 13).

To pre-empt the main conclusions, Sinhalese influence is mainly found in phonology, whereas Tamil influence is mainly found in the domain of nominal morphology. The most important

[6] Cf. also (Ross 2007):'the study of contact-induced morphosyntactic change has been adversely affected by the use of anecdotal examples which do not tell us about the effects of contact on the grammar of a language as a whole.'

[7] For instance those discussed in Emeneau (1956), Masica (1976).

result, however, is that a feature present in both adstrates has a 50% greater chance of being adopted by SLM than a feature present in only one adstrate. This suggests that the number of languages sharing the same feature in the ecological setting has a bearing on the outcome.

6 Phonology

SLM phonology has been discussed by Bichsel-Stettler (1989) and Tapovanaye (1995), but neither makes claims about adstrate influence. Smith et al. (2004) claim important Tamil influence, but the data do not support this analysis, as we will see below.

6.1 Criteria

The criteria constituting a phonological feature to be investigated are the following. These criteria are based on basic phonological theory and can be established without drawing on descriptions of the individual languages. The individual values these features have in the different languages stem from Gair & Paolillo (1997), Karunatillake (2004) for Sinhala, Schiffman (1999), Asher & Annamalai (2002), Silva (2003) for Tamil and personal research for SLM.

- segmental phonology: all sounds that are phonemic in at least one language are checked for occurrence in the other two languages. Quantity of vowels and consonants both constitute a feature.
- syllable structure: complexity of onset, nucleus and coda each constitute a feature. Extrasyllabicity constitutes a feature.
- word boundary constraints: the possibility of the following sounds to occur at the initial and final word boundaries constitute a feature each:
  - vowels
  - sonorants
  - voiced stops
  - voiceless stops
- stress placement constitutes a feature

6.2 Segmental

On comparing the segmental inventories of the three languages, we find that SLM and Sinhala have nearly congruent inventories, while Tamil lacks the series of voiced and prenasalized stops.[8],

[8]Smith et al. (2004) explain away the difference between SLM and Tamil phonologies by stating that Tamil has voiced consonants phonetically. While this is true, it cannot betray the fact that these only occur intervocally and after nasals, while the voiced consonants in Sinhala and SLM can appear at other positions and are phonemic. Care must be taken not to mix phonological relevance and phonetic detail. Sinhala and SLM both

but sports more retroflex sounds than the other two languages.[9] Sinhala on the other hand differs from the other two languages by the phonemic status of /æ/. SLM is special in making regular use of /^{n}ʤ/, which is not found in the other two languages.[10]

Bichsel-Stettler (1989) and Smith et al. (2004) do not list the prenasalized consonants as phonemes of SLM, but Tapovanaye (1995) (which Smith et al. (2004) do not refer to) cites minimal pairs and shows on grounds of syllable structure that prenasalized consonants are to be treated as one segment, whereas combinations of nasal+stop are to be treated as two segments. A similar analysis is found in Nordhoff (2007b).

Bichsel-Stettler (1989) argues that vowel length is phonemic in SLM, and consonant gemination is triggered by short vowels (This analysis is taken over by Smith et al. (2004)). Tapovanaye (1995) debunks this and shows that vowel length in SLM is a function of syllable structure. Open syllables are consistently lengthened in penultimate position (also see Nordhoff (2007b)). Since other varieties of Malay have no quantity contrast in consonants or vowels, and Sinhala and Tamil have contrast in both, we see Lankan influence in the consonantal domain, where SLM has quantity contrast, and absence of Lankan influence in the vocalic domain.

6.3 Syllable structure

SLM syllables consist of an optional onset, which may be complex, a nucleus, which may be long, and an optional coda, which must not be complex (Bichsel-Stettler 1989, Tapovanaye 1995). Examples are *aanak* 'child', *kreetha* 'car' and *miskin* 'poor'. Long vowel and coda cannot co-occur. If a coda meets a complex onset, clusters of three consonants may occur(*lanthran* 'reason'). At the left edge of a word, extrasyllabic /s/ may occur (*sbiilan* 'nine'). At the beginning of a word, syllabic nasals may also be found (*m̩path* 'four').

Sinhala syllables are very similar to SLM syllables in the form of onset and coda, but they do not allow extrasyllabic segments or syllabic nasals. A variety of syllable types can be found in the string *mee.ka pras.na.yak* 'This is a problem'. Also, in Sinhala, a long vowel and a coda may co-occur (*haal* 'raw.rice').

Tamil syllables do not allow a complex onset. An epenthetic /i/ is inserted to break a complex onset as is evident from *kiraɳaa* 'eclipse'< Skrt. *grahaɳaa* (compare Sinhala *grahanaya* and SLM *graana*). Tamil has more restrictions on coda consonants than the other two languages, only liquids and nasals being allowed. Just like Sinhala, Tamil has no extrasyllabic segments, and no syllabic nasals. Tamil also allows co-occurrence of a long vowel and a coda, like *naan* 'I'.

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have allophonic retroflex ɳ, but this cannot be compared to the phonemic /ɳ/ we find in Tamil. The level of analysis is simply different.

[9]All data were checked in Sri Lanka with native speakers of the respective languages. Additionally, the examples retrieved were checked against the following works: Karunatillake (2004) and Gair & Paolillo (1997) for Sinhala, and Schiffman (1999) andAsher & Annamalai (2002) for general Tamil, Silva (2003) for Sri Lankan Tamil. No description of Sri Lanka Muslim Tamil is available. SLM data were checked against a number of articles indicated individually.

[10]Written Sinhala makes use of a grapheme < ^{n}j>, but this does not correspond to any phoneme of the spoken language.

(a) Tamil

	bilabial	dental	alveolar/retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p	t̪	ʈ		k	
affricates				ʧ, ʤ		
fricatives	(f)		s	(ʃ)		h
nasals	m	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
liquids			r l (r̲) ɭ (l̲)			
approximants	ʋ			j		

(b) Sinhala

	bilabial	dental	alveolar/retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
stops						
voiceless	p	t̪	ʈ		k	
voiced	b	d̪	ɖ		g	
prenasalized	ᵐb	ⁿd	ⁿɖ		ᵑg	
affricates				ʧ, ʤ		
fricatives	(f)		s	(ʃ)		h
nasals	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
liquids			r l			
approximants	ʋ			j		

(c) SLM

	bilabial	dental	alveolar/retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
stops						
voiceless	p	t̪	ʈ		k	
voiced	b	d̪	ɖ		g	
prenasalized	ᵐb	ⁿd	ⁿɖ	ⁿʤ	ᵑg	
affricates				ʧ, ʤ		
fricatives	(f)		s (z)	(ʃ)		h
nasals	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
liquids			r l			
approximants	ʋ			j		

Table 1: Consonant inventories. Parentheses indicate phonemes only used in loanwords. The two Tamil liquids are phonemic in some dialects, not in others.

(a) Sinhala

i									u
		e		(ə)		o			
				æ					
					a				

(b) Tamil

i					u
	e			o	
			a		

(c) SLM

i									u
		e		(ə)		o			
					a				

Table 2: Vowel inventories. Sinhala has a phonemic schwa, but only one stem uses it. Some SLM speakers have a phonemic schwa, others lack it.

	SLM + S	SLM + T	SLM only	SLM + S + T
retroflex stops				+
longvowels			–	
geminate consonants				+
voiced stops	+			
prenasalized consonants	+			
ɳ̥, ɭ̥, r̲, l̲	–			
æ		–		
ə	+			
^{n}ʤ̥			+	
complex onset	+			
differentiated coda	+			
CVVC syllables			–	
extrasyllabicity			+	
initial stress		(+)		
weight determined stress		–		
TALLY	6	3	4	2

Table 3: Summary phonology

We find that SLM shows parallels to Sinhala syllable structure in what concerns the permitted forms of onset and coda. A difference between SLM and Sinhala is the possibility of long vowels to occur in closed syllables. The parallels to Tamil are slim, and there is virtually none of the characteristic features of Tamil syllable structure that can be found in SLM. A summary of these facts can be found in Table 3.

6.4 Stress

Stress falls on the first syllable in Tamil words[11] and on the first heavy syllable in Sinhala words (the first syllable if no syllable is heavy). It is not clear whether stress is present in SLM at all. Speakers have been found to perceive the first syllable as most prominent, but instrumental verification of this has not yet been completed. On the other hand, it is the penultimate syllable of a word that undergoes lengthening if it has no coda, regardless of whether it is the initial syllable or not (Tapovanaye 1995).[12] One thing that is clear is that the heaviness of a syllable does not correlate to stress as in Sinhala. We thus summarize that a weak case for Tamil influence in the stress pattern can be made.

[11] Although the phonetic cues for this are weak, cf. Keane (2001).

[12] Also note that if we assume stress in SLM, the relation between stress and weight is inverse in Sinhala and SLM. Sinhala heavy syllables attract stress (weight-to-stress), while SLM 'stressed' syllables are lengthened and therefore gain weight (stress-to-weight).

6.5 Summary

To sum up, we find Lankan influence in the retroflex series and in the quantity distinctions in consonants, Sinhala influence in the series of prenasalized stops, absence of Sinhala influence in /æ/ and absence of Tamil influence in the neutralization of voicing and the retroflex lateral and nasal as well as r̲ and l̲. Tamil influence is completely absent in syllable structure, but weak parallels between SLM and Tamil can be found in the domain of stress.

7 Word classes

Detailed research on word classes is missing for all three languages. We take Gair & Paolillo (1997) and Karunatillake (2004) for Sinhala, Asher & Annamalai (2002) and Schiffman (1999) for Tamil, complemented by Hengeveld et al. (2004). For SLM, we base our claims on Nordhoff (2007a). As of today, no author has made particular claims about adstrate influence in the domain of word classes in the Sri Lankan setting.

7.1 Criteria

In the domain of word classes, criteria can be selected on the basis of basic linguistic theory alone. We define as a feature the existence of a dedicated class of nouns, verbs, adjectives and manner adverbs each, and as an additional feature whether these classes are open or closed. Furthermore, overt or covert derivation between the classes counts as a feature. An additional feature was included after the inspection of the three languages, namely the existence of relator nouns, which are a highly salient feature of all three languages.

7.2 Lexical word classes

SLM, Sinhala and Tamil all have open classes of nouns and verbs. Tamil has a small closed class of adjectives(Hengeveld et al. 2004), while Sinhala and SLM have an open class of adjectives (Nordhoff 2007a).

7.2.1 Relator nouns

Instead of postpositions, all three languages use relator nouns to indicate (mostly spatial) relations between two referents (3). In Sinhala and SLM, these are combined with the genitive, in Tamil with the dative.[13]

[13]Following the Leipzig Glossing Rules, unnecessary detail in glossing is avoided if it is not important for the topic under discussion. Nominal morphology is glossed in less detail in the section on verb inflection and *vice versa*. Words which are in principle segmentable, but not segmented due to expository reasons are indicated with a period between the glosses, such as PRES.eat. The linear order of the items in the gloss does not necessarily correspond to the linear order of the items in the source languages. Where the linear order is observed, this is indicated by hyphenation (PRES-eat).

	SLM + S	SLM + T	SLM only	SLM + S + T
N, V ADJ				+
RELN				+
open adjective class	+			
conversion ADJ →V			+	
ADV derived with dative	+			
TALLY	2	0	1	2

Table 4: Summary word classes

(3) *gee* ∅ ***issaraha***[14] SINHALA
viiḍu *=kku* ***mun*** TAMIL
ruuma *=pe* ***duppang*** SLM
house POSS DAT front
'In front of the house'

7.3 Derivation

The patterns of derivation differ between the three languages. SLM adjectives can undergo zero-derivation to become nouns or verbs (Nordhoff 2007a). All other derivation is overt. Sinhala or Tamil on the other hand mark all derivation overtly. As far as adverbialization is concerned, Tamil has a special adverbializer, while Sinhala and SLM derive adverbs by means of the dative marker, which is attached to the adjective or noun that is to be used as an adverb (4).

(4) *Mama* *hoňda* ***-ṭa*** *naṭanavaa* SINHALA
Naan *naḷḷ* ***-aa*** *aaluv* *-een* TAMIL
Se *bae* ***=nang*** *arathaandak* SLM
1S good -ADVBLZR =DAT dance.HABIT 1S
'I dance well.'

8 Postverbal particles

All three languages make use of a special set of particles to indicate modal meanings. These are variously called 'modal adjectives', 'modal-particles', 'quasi-verbs', 'clitics' or 'affixes' by different scholars for the different languages (Gair & Paolillo 1997, Karunatillake 2004). Whatever their precise phonological status may be, there are no arguments about their position and

[14]Sinhala and Tamil examples are in a phonemic transliteration, but allophonic voicing is represented in Tamil examples. SLM examples are in a practical orthography based on Malaysian orthography. The following special conventions apply: <t>=/ṭ/, <d>=/ḍ/, <th>=/t̪/, <dh>=/d̪/, <c>=/ʧ/, <j>=/ʤ/, <ny>=/ɲ/, <ng>=/ŋ/. Geminate consonants only double the first letter in orthography, thus <tth> and not <thth>.

function: They can occur after the verb and they are mainly used to encode modality, and to a lesser extent some other related domains, such as aspect. These particles have been identified by a number of scholars as result of language contact, with Smith & Paauw (2007) presenting the most thorough analysis and claiming that these markers are parallel to the ones used in Tamil, but without taking Sinhala into consideration.

8.1 Criteria

For this domain, feature selection could not be based on basic linguistic theory alone, but rather on an informed choice among the features listed in the individual grammars. Features selected were

- preverbal or postverbal position
- conflation of semantics (e.g. want=must)
- suppletion of negative forms
- occurrence with dative or with nominative 'subjects'[15]
- occurrence with the infinitive or the bare verb stem.

The values for these features were retrieved from the grammatical descriptions available and tested with native speakers on constructed parallel sentences.[16] All the sentences were presented in English, and the speakers were asked to translate the sentence into their mother tongue. The presentation in English as a neutral language was chosen to minimize priming effects. The selection of the semantic domains the sentences should cover is based on the author's knowledge of the three languages, as well as on the relevant grammatical descriptions.

8.2 Volitive

The volitive expresses desire. All three languages use a post-verbal particle here, which takes the infinitive and a dative subject (Ansaldo 2005, Smith & Paauw 2007) as exemplified by (5).

(5) *Maṭa ya -nḍa oonæ* SINHALA
Enakku poo -ha veeɳum TAMIL
Sedang ma- pi mau/kamauwan SLM
1S.DAT INF go INF want
'I want to go now.'

[15] See Bhaskararao & Subbarao (2004) for a discussion of this areal feature.

[16] I would like to thank HMWD Steven and his household for assistance on Sinhala, Izvan Salim and Imran Salim for assistance on SLM, and Mohamed Riyas for assistance on Muslim Tamil. All those are residents of Kandy and native speakers of the language they provided assistance on. Furthermore, all of them have knowledge of Sinhala and English.
Additionally, I would like to thank TK Samath for helping me with the first steps in Muslim Tamil.

The negation of the volitive assigns dative and infinitive as well. Sinhala and SLM both have an additional suppletive morpheme for the negation of the volitive, namely *epaa* and *thussa*.

(6) *Maṭa* *ya -nḍa* ***oonæ.næ/epaa*** SINHALA
Enakku *po -ha* ***veeṇḍam*** TAMIL
Sedang ma- pi ***thərkamauwan/thussa*** SLM
1S.DAT INF go INF want.NEG
'I do not have to go.'

The morphemes used for negation of volition are also used in prohibitive contexts.

(7) *Ya -nḍa epaa* SINHALA
Poo- -ha veeṇḍaam/poohaadai TAMIL
Ma- pi thussa SLM
INF go INF NEG.IMP
'Don't go!'

8.3 Debitive

The debitive expresses obligation. In Sinhala and Tamil, the form used for volitive is the same as the one used for debitive. Some grammatical descriptions state that the volitive is construed with the dative and the debitive with the nominative, but this interpretation was not shared by my informants, for whom the use of the nominative or dative did not cause a difference in meaning. To highlight that obligation, and not volition, is intended, they prefer to use a focus clitic (see (8)).

In SLM, it is possible to use the volitive form *mau* also in some debitive contexts (Smith & Paauw 2007), but this is marginal. The preferred construction involves a prefix *masthi-* attached to a bare verb stem (8).

(8) *Mama(=ma)* *ya -nḍa oonæ* SINHALA
Naan(=daan) *po -ha veeṇum* TAMIL
Se(=jo) ***masthi*** *pi* SLM
1S.NOM(=EMPH) must go INF must
'I must go now.'

Smith & Paauw (2007) note that *masthi* and *mau* can co-occur. This is considered odd by my informants. What can co-occur is the infinitive marker *mə-* and the postverbal particle *mau*. It is probable that Smith et al. misanalyzed an infinitive *mə-* as *mas-*, a reduced form of *masthi*.

The negation of the debitive is transparent in Sinhala and semi-transparent in Tamil and SLM (9), where the affirmative counterpart is still discernible (*veeṇ* and *kamauwan*) but the negation is idiosyncratic.

This minor difference in transparency is disregarded in this study,

(9) *Maṭa* *ya* *-nḍa* ***oonæ nææ*** SINHALA
Enakku *po-* *ha* ***veeṇḍam*** TAMIL
Sedang *ma-* *pi* ***thərkamauwan*** SLM
1S.DAT neg.want go INF want NEG want.NEG
'I do not have to go.'

8.4 Habilitative

The habilitative describes the general physical or mental ability to perform an action. All three languages use the dative and the infinitive for this construction. Tamil has a distinction between ability, expressed by *muḍiyum* and permission, expressed by *laam*. This distinction is not made by the other two languages.

(10) *Oyaa=ṭa* *pota* *-k* *ga* *-nḍa* ***puluvaŋ*** SINHALA
Uŋgaḷukka *oru* *pustaham* *eduŋg* *-a* ***=llaam/muḍiyum*** TAMIL
Lorang=nang *buku* *atthu* *mə-* *ambel* ***boole*** SLM
2S.DAT one book INDEF INF take INF can
'You can take a book.'

This failure to take over the two-way Tamil construction constitutes a lack of Tamil influence in SLM.

The negated habilitative is suppletive in Sinhala, where it bears no resemblance to the affirmative counterpart, semi-transparent in Tamil, where parts of the affirmative counterpart are repeated in the negative, and transparent in SLM, where it is clearly segmentable in a negative morpheme and the affirmative habilitative. Subcategorization is the same in all three languages for the affirmative and the negated habilitative, i.e. dative and infinitive. Just like with its positive counterpart, Tamil has a distinction between lack of permission and genuine lack of capabilities.

(11) *Ma=ṭa* *e* *-nḍa* ***bææ*** SINHALA
Enakku *var* *-a* *eel**laa**/muḍiya**adu*** TAMIL
Se=dang *ma-* *daathang* ***ther**boole*** SLM
1S.DAT INF -come -INF cannot
'I cannot come.'

8.5 Non-existence

While technically not modal, it is convenient to discuss predication of non-existence in this section as well, given the similarities to the other particles. Non-existence is expressed in all

three languages by a particle (and not by the negated existential verb). This particle is the same one which is used for giving a negative answer to a question.[17]

(12) *Arehee ge -val* ***nææ*** SINHALA
Aŋge viiḍu -haḷ ***illai*** TAMIL
Siithuka ruuma pada ***thraa*** SLM
there house PL NEXIST
'There are no houses over there'

8.6 Sufficientive

To indicate that a sufficient quantity of some matter is available, all three language have a specialized postverbal particle. The person for whom the quantity is sufficient is marked with the dative.

(13) *Apiṭa bat* ***ææti*** SINHALA
Eŋgaḷakku soo̲ru ***poodum*** TAMIL
Kitthannang naasi ***suudha*** SLM
1p.DAT rice enough
'We have enough rice.'

8.7 Insufficientive

While all three languages have a sufficientive, only Sinhala and Tamil have an insufficientive. SLM resorts to a verbal strategy, namely the negation of the full verb *sampe* 'reach'. In this domain, we thus find a notable lack of influence from the two Lankan languages. The person for whom the quantity does not suffice is still in the dative in all three languages.

(14) *Apiṭa bat* ***madi*** SINHALA
Eŋgaḷakku soo̲ru ***podaadu*** TAMIL
Kitthannang naasi thera- sampe SLM
1p.DAT raw.rice not.enough NEG- reach
'We do not have enough rice.'

8.8 Summary

We find that in the domain of postverbal particles, parallels to both Sinhala and Tamil can be found, as well as parallels among all the three languages. Some SLM constructions are not found in any of the adstrates.

[17]Expression of other types of negation will be treated in the section on verbal morphology below.

	SLM + S	SLM + T	SLM only	SLM + S + T
modal adjectives				+
volitive +INF + DAT				+
negation of volitive=prohibitive				+
separation of volitive and debitive			+	
habilitative + INF + DAT				+
Habilitative= permisive	+			
suppletive cannot		–		
non-existence=no				+
sufficientive				+
insufficientive			–	
TALLY	1	1	2	6

Table 5: Summary modals

9 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology has been described by Slomanson (2007) and Smith & Paauw (2007). Both argue that SLM and Tamil are congruent in their semantic categories, but not in the morphosyntactic expression thereof. Smith & Paauw do not discuss Sinhala influence, while Slomanson discards Sinhala influence because of future marking, which is present in SLM but not in Sinhala.

9.1 Criteria

There are two types of features which enter into consideration in the field of verbal morphology, namely morphological status and semantics. Morphological status feature values can be arrived at on grounds of basic linguistic theory. It evaluates whether the language makes use of prefixes, suffixes, preclitics, enclitics, ablaut or other stem alternation in verbal morphology. Semantic features on the other hand have to be arrived at by looking at the individual grammatical descriptions and select relevant morphemes. These morphemes can then be compared in their semantics, e.g. existence of a specialized future tense, the conflation of future and irrealis in one morpheme, neutralization of tense contrasts in negation etc. To arrive at a non-arbitrary selection of features, the focal meaning of every verbal morphological item and process in each language was taken as semantic feature, whose expression was surveyed in all three languages. A congruent mapping of the same semantic feature(s) on a morpheme in two different languages then constitutes a shared feature value. For instance, a morpheme expressing both present tense and future tense in language A and a different morpheme expressing the same two semantic values in language B represent a congruent mapping of future tense and present tense on one morpheme. These languages would then share the feature 'conflation of future tense and present tense'.

The collection of relevant semantic features is based on the description of verbal morphology in Slomanson (2007), Smith & Paauw (2007) for SLM, Gair & Paolillo (1997), Karunatillake

	Tamil	Sinhala	SLM
1s	-een		
2s	-e		
3sm	-aar	∅	
3sf	-aaḷ		
3sn	-du		
1p	-oom		
2p	-iingaḷ		
3pm	-arhaḷ	∅	
3pf	-angaḷ		
3pn	-du		

Table 6: Verb agreement

(2004) for Sinhala and Schiffman (1999), Asher & Annamalai (2002) for Tamil. The latter two books are mainly concerned with Indian Tamil and are complemented where necessary by Silva (2003), which has some information about spoken Sri Lankan Tamil (Jaffna Tamil). Silva (2003) also lists a plethora of more arcane Tamil verb morphology. This is excluded from the survey since the sheer mass of additional verb morphology in Tamil easily outnumbers all other features surveyed in this study and would obscure interesting things which could be said about other domains. This is a conscious choice by the author of this survey, but it is not difficult to see what would happen if one chose to include those features nevertheless: Tamil influence in SLM would drop dramatically, since only a minority of the then higher number of features would have made its way into SLM. Faced with this problem, it was considered better to just state that these parts of Tamil verb morphology have not been adapted by SLM, without letting this absence of Tamil influence in verbal morphology obscure the fact that there is indeed clear Tamil influence in other domains.

The semantic features finally selected are: 1) expression of person, number and gender on the verb 2) present tense, 3) past tense, 4) future tense, 5) infinitive, 6) imperative, 7) conjunctive participle, 8) relative participle, 9) valency augmenting and decreasing operations, 10) knowledge, 11) emphasis

9.2 Agreement in person, gender and number

Tamil shows agreement, which the other two languages don't (Table 6).

9.3 Present tense

All three languages have a morpheme to express present tense. This morpheme can also be used for future reference.[18]

[18]This might be a difference between Sri Lankan varieties of Tamil and Indian varieties.

	Sinhala	Tamil	SLM
past	ablaut	I-XIII	su-/ana-
present	-nava	-r-/-kk-/-kkir-	ara-
future		-v-/-pp-	anthi

Table 7: Distribution of morphemes on tenses in Sinhala, Tamil and SLM.

(15) *Eyaalaa* *ya* ***-navaa*** SINHALA
Avaŋga *poo* ***-r*** *-aŋga* TAMIL
Derampada ***ara-*** *pi* SLM
They PRES go pres 3PL
'They are leaving'

9.4 Past tense

SLM indicates past tense by means of a prefix, while Sinhala and Tamil use the past stem. This is formed by ablaut for Sinhala, and by changing the final consonant(s) of the present tense stem for Tamil according to one of 13 conjugation classes the verb is in. SLM has two past tenses, with unclear semantic differences, while the other languages only have one.

(16) *Eyaalaa* *iiyee* ***giyaa*** SINHALA
Avaŋga *neette* ***poitt*** *-aŋga* TAMIL
Derampada *kumaareng* ***su-/ana-*** *pi* SLM
They yesterday PAST1/PAST2 go go.PAST 3PL
'They left yesterday'

9.5 Future

Tamil and SLM have a specialized future form, which Sinhala lacks in all but the first person. Table 7 gives an overview over the distribution of the different tense morphemes in Sinhala, Tamil and SLM.

(17) *Eyaalaa* *heta* *ya* *navaa* SINHALA
Avarhaḷ *naalekku* *poo* ***-v*** *-arhaḷ* TAMIL
Derampada *beesona* ***anthi*** *pi* SLM
they tomorrow FUT go -FUT -3PL PRES
'They will leave tomorrow'

9.6 Infinitive

All three languages sport an infinitive, which can be used in argument clauses (18), purposive clauses (19), and as a complement of modal expressions. (20)

(18)
	Ya ***-nɖa***	*amaaru*	*-yi*	Sinhala
	Po ***-ha***	*kaʃʈam*		Tamil
Ma-	*pi*	*mlaarath*		Slm
INF	go INF	difficult	PRED	

'Going is difficult.'

(19)
Api		*ya* ***-nɖa***	*oonæ*		Sinhala
Naaŋgaʅ/eŋgaʅ	*=ukku*	*po* ***-ha***	*veɳɖum*		Tamil
Kithan	*=nang* ***ma-***	*pi*	*mau*		Slm
We	DAT INF	go INF	want		

'We want to go.'

(20)
Mama	*eyaa=ʈa*	*ya* ***-nɖa***	*kiyalaa*	*kivvaa*		Sinhala
Naan	*avar=ukku*	*po* ***-ha***	*solli*	*sonn*	*-een*	Tamil
Se	*incian=nang* ***ma-***	*pi*	*katha*	*subiilang*		Slm
1S	3S=DAT INF	go INF	QUOT	say.PAST	1S	

'I told him to leave.'

9.7 Imperative

All languages have an imperative verb form, but the forms pattern differently in the three languages. Sinhala has conflated the infinitive and the imperative. Tamil has a dedicated imperative, which is the bare verb stem. SLM uses a suffix to indicate imperative, but this can be left out.

(21)
Eya=ʈa	*ya*	*-nɖa*	*kiyalaa*	*kiya-*	***nɖa***		Sinhala
Avar=ukku	*poo*	*-ha*	*solli*	***sollu***			Tamil
Incian=nang	*ma-*	*pi*	*katha*	***biilang***		*(**-la**)*	Slm
3S=DAT	INF	go INF	QUOT	say	INF/IMP	IMP	

'Tell him to leave.'

Tamil and SLM have a specialized construction for negative imperatives, which they can use in addition to the negated volitive discussed above

(22) *n/a* SINHALA
Poo -ha ***-dai*** TAMIL
Jang- *pi* SLM
NEG.IMP go -INF -NEG.IMP
'Don't go!'

9.8 Conjunctive participle, perfect

All three languages have a *conjunctive participle*, a verb form used in subordinate clauses to indicate anteriority. The perfect conjunctive participle can roughly be translated as English *After having done X, ...* This form is formed by stem alternation in Sinhala, adding a suffix to the past stem in Tamil, and by adding a prefix to the bare verb in SLM.

(23) *Salli* ***arang*** *giyaa* SINHALA
*Panaṭṭ =ai eḍutt-**u*** *pooitt -aar* TAMIL
Duwith ***as-****ambel supi* SLM
Money ACC take.CP go.PAST -3SM
'He took away the money [lit. he took the money and went away]'

9.9 Conjunctive participle, present

The present conjunctive participle is formed by the very same process of reduplication in all three languages. It indicates simultaneity of the actions in the main clause and the subordinate clause.

(24) *Haavaa* ***pæna*** ***pæna*** *duvanavaa* SINHALA
Muyaal ***paanji*** ***paanji*** *ooḍ -um* TAMIL
Kancil ***lompath*** ***lompath*** *aralaari* SLM
rabbit jump jump run.PRES 3N
'The rabbit runs away jumping.'

9.10 Relative participles

Relative participle, present All three languages have a special participle form, which is used in relative clauses. The SLM form can additionally be used in any main clause with past reference. This is not possible with the Sinhala and Tamil forms. Not all speakers of SLM have the use of *ana-* as a relative participle with present reference.

(25)

	E	***-na***	*kennek*	*ʈooni*	SINHALA
	Va	***-ra***	*var*	*ʈooni*	TAMIL
*%**Ana-**/Ara-*	*daathang*		*orang*	*tooni*	SLM
RELPTL/PRES-	come	PRESPTL	person	T	

'The man who is coming is Tony.'

Relative participle, perfect Sinhala and Tamil have a special relative participle in the perfect tense. This is not the case for SLM, which uses a finite relative clause instead.

(26)

Hada ***-pu***			*meesaya*	*bohoma*	*hoňda*	*-yi*	SINHALA
Senj ***-a***			*meeseyi*	*miccum*	*nallum*		TAMIL
Kijja	*aada*		*meeja*	*banyak*	*bae*		SLM
make -RELPTL.PERF	EXIST.INANIM		table	very	good	PRED	

'The table (I) made is very good.'

9.11 Valency

All three languages have one valency augmenting operation, namely causative. Other valency augmenting operations like applicatives do not exist. Sinhala has a valency decreasing operation involving ablaut, which changes the class of a verb from 1st or 2nd class to 3rd. Example (27) shows an unergative verb, which has the involitive ablaut derivation in Sinhala (a→ æ), but is unmarked in Tamil and SLM. (28) shows the transitive verb, which has the underived form in Sinhala, a causative of the unergative form in (27) for SLM. For Tamil, the change of the conjugation class (*-kkir-* instead of *-hir-*) makes the difference in meaning. The causative of the transitive verb ('I made someone break the window') is given in (29). Sinhala uses a morphological causative *-va*, which permits to leave the agent of the breaking unexpressed. Tamil and SLM on the other hand have to use a periphrastic construction where the agent of the breaking must be specified.

(27)

Janeelee		*kæḍe*	*-navaa*		SINHALA
Jannal		*uḍai*	***-hir***	*-adu*	TAMIL
Jleena	*ara-*	*picca*			SLM
window	PROG	break(/INVOL/)	PRES	3SN	

'The window breaks.'

(28) *Ara lamayaa janeelee kaɖa -navaa* SINHALA
Andu siruvan jannal -ai uɖai ***-kk****ir* *-raan* TAMIL
Itthu aanak jleena =yang ara- picca ***-king*** SLM
that child window ACC PROG break PRES CAUS 3SN
'That child is breaking the window.'

(29) *Mama janeelee kaɖa-****va****-navaa* SINHALA
n/a TAMIL
n/a SLM
1s window break-CAUS-pres
'I am having the window broken.'

However, all three languages can use a periphrastic construction with 'take' to reduce valency:

(30) *Mama kapaa ga -ttaa* SINHALA
Naan veṭṭi ko -ɳɖ -een TAMIL
Se se- poothong ambel SLM
1S PAST cut take PAST 1S
'I cut myself.'

9.12 Knowing

Knowledge is marked by a suffix in Tamil, and by a defective verb in Sinhala and SLM. In none of the languages can the the semantic concept of KNOWING be marked for TAM in the normal way.

Not knowing is expressed by a semi-transparent negative suffix in Tamil, and in a transparent way in Sinhala and SLM.

(31) *Mama eyaa dan -navaa* SINHALA
Enakku avar -ai teriyum TAMIL
Se incian (=yang) thau SLM
1S 1S.DAT him ACC know PRES
'I know/knew that gentleman'

	SLM + S	SLM + T	SLM only	SLM + S + T
Person gender number	–			
past				+
present				+
future		+		
present=future				+
infinitive in argument clauses				+
infinitive in purposive clauses				+
infinitive with modals				+
imperative = bare verb		+		
prohibitive		+		
CP perf				+
CP pres				+
rel p pres				+
rel p perf			–	
three way valency contrast		–		
defective KNOW				+
emphatic form		–		
18 other verb forms	18x–			
TALLY	1(19)	5	1	10

Table 8: Summary verbal morphology

(32) *Mama* *eyaa* *dann-ee* *næ* SINHALA
Enakku *avar* *-ai* *teriyaadu* TAMIL
Se *incian* *-yang* *therathau* SLM
1S 1S.DAT man ACC know.EMPH not.know NEG
'I do/did not know that gentleman'

9.13 Emphatic form

Sinhala uses a special verb form for sentences with argument focus. This is not found in either SLM or Tamil.

9.14 Summary

The domain of verbal morphology is characterized by important joint influence of Sinhala and Tamil and at the same time a high number of absence of influence from Sinhala and Tamil. Only few SLM constructions in this domain have only parallels in Sinhala *or* Tamil. The more advanced parts of Tamil verb morphology are not found in either Sinhala or Tamil. This is summarised in Table 8.

	Sinhala	Tamil	SLM
Direct case	∅	∅	∅
Accusative	*-va*	*-ai*	*=yang*
Dative	*=ʈa*	*-ukku*	*=nang*
Genitive	*-ee*	*-ooɖa*	*=pe*
Locative	*laňga*	*-le*	*=ka*
Ablative	*iňdalaa*	*irundu*	*asduuduk*
Instrumental	*-geŋ*	*-aale*	*=dheri*
Sociative	*=t ekka*	*-ooɖa*	*=(se)saama*

Table 9: Case in SLM, Sinhala and Tamil

10 Nominal and adjectival morphology

Nominal morphology is less developed than verbal morphology in all three languages. Smith (2003) claims that there is more Tamil influence in nominal morphology, while Ansaldo (2005) claims that Sinhala influence is more important. A closer scrutiny is thus necessary.

10.1 Criteria

Just like with verbal morphology, all morphemes and processes relating to nominal morphology in all three languages were listed and the surveyed for their focal meanings. The expression of this meaning was then investigated in all three languages. Existence of a bound form for a certain meaning constitutes a feature, as well as conflation of some meanings onto one morpheme. The list of semantic domains expressed by bound morphology in at least one language yielded is as follows: 1) Nominative, 2) Accusative, 3) Dative, 4) Genitive, 5) Instrumental, 6) Sociative, 7) Locative, 8) Ablative, 9) Animacy distinctions in local cases, 10) Definiteness, 11) Number.

10.2 Case clitics

All three languages make use of postnominal morphemes to mark grammatical and semantic roles. All languages have comparable markers for dative, genitive, locative, instrumental and sociative (Table 9).

Accusative The accusative is quite different in distribution in the three languages. In Sinhala, the accusative is never used with inanimate referents, and optional with animate referents. It is obligatory with pronouns. In Tamil, the accusative is obligatory with animate referents and with topical referents and impossible with referents which are neither. The SLM accusative shows a great deal of variation between idiolects, but is more likely to occur when a referent is animate, singular, definite, affected and topical, or a pronoun. The more of these criteria are met, the more likely is accusative marking, which is why it could be analyzed as a 'definite object marker', rather than a genuine accusative marker (Ansaldo 2005). All in all, the languages

show considerable difference, but the SLM system is closer to the Tamil system than to the Sinhala system (Smith et al. 2004, Slomanson 2007).

Dative, genitive, locative, instrumental, sociative These cases are found in all three languages in comparable distribution (Ansaldo 2005, Slomanson 2007).

Conflation of genitive and locative Sinhala conflates genitive and locative for inanimate nouns. This is not done by Sinhala and Tamil.

Animacy split in local cases For a human referent with a local semantic role, none of the languages allows the use of the dative marker as such. Instead, an intervening relator noun has to be used.

(33) *Ma =gee laŋga =ʈa enda* SINHALA
Enek =kiʈʈei =kki vaa TAMIL
Se =ppe dikkath =nang mari SLM
1S POSS 1S.OBL side DAT come.IMP
'Come to me.'

10.3 (In)Definiteness

Sinhala and SLM have a grammaticalized marker for indefiniteness, which is normally not assumed in Tamil. None of the languages has a marker for definiteness. Smith (2003) argues that SLM does not express 'definiticy'. This is at least not the case at all for the upcountry data, where indefiniteness is consistently marked, and patterns exactly like in Sinhala.

(34) *Mama ball* ***-ek*** *dækka* SINHALA
Naan nay -ai kanɖ -een TAMIL
Se anjing ***hatthu*** *sukutthumung* SLM
1S INDEF dog INDEF ACC see.PAST 1S
'I saw a dog.'

(35) *Mama obagee ball* ***-aa*** *dækkaa* SINHALA
Naan unnuɖaya nay -ai kanɖ -een TAMIL
Se lorangpe anjing sukutthumung SLM
1S 2S .POSS dog DEF.ANIM ACC see.PAST -1S
'I saw your dog.'

	SLM + S	SLM + T	SLM only	SLM + S + T
NOM, DAT, GEN, LOC, INST				+
frequent ACC		+		
GEN=LOC		–		
animacy local cases				+
ABL = aux.cp				+
INDEF	–			
number		–		
ADJ pred		–		
TALLY	1	4	0	3

Table 10: Summary nominal morphology

10.4 Number

In Sinhala, number must be expressed on the noun, while in Tamil and SLM its use is optional (36), most often found with animates (cf. Smith 2003). SLM and Tamil express number post-nominally, while Sinhala makes use of subtractive morphology (Nitz & Nordhoff forthcoming), the plural of *mala* 'flower' is *mal* with the final segment stripped.

(36)

Vatt	*-ee*	*mal*	***∅(*a)***	*tiyenavaa*	Sinhala
*Too*ʈʈ*att*	*-il*	*puu*	***(hal)***	*irukkadu*	Tamil
Kubbong	*=ka*	*kumbang*	***(pada)***	*ada*	Slm
Garden	loc	flower	pl	exist.inanim	

'There are flowers in the garden.'

10.5 Predicative adjective

Sinhala makes use of a specialized morpheme to indicate an adjective being used in predicative function *ussa-**yi*** 'high-pred'. This is not the case in Tamil or SLM.

10.6 Summary

There are many parallels between Tamil and SLM, and few between Sinhala and SLM. An exception to this is the marking of indefiniteness.

11 Grammaticalized semantic domains

A very interesting domain of investigation is the question of what semantic domains have grammaticalized in a language and can or must be expressed via bound morphology.

11.1 Criteria

The features to be surveyed were selected in a similar way to the morphological features: All available grammatical descriptions were surveyed for grammaticalized semantic domains, and the semantic domains thus obtained were then checked for their expression in the three languages. The following six domains were retained: 1) evidentiality, 2) clusivity, 3) animacy, 4) politeness, 5) gender, 6) volitionality. Parallels can be found in semantic congruence and in identical syntactic distribution of the respective morphemes.

11.2 Evidential

All three languages have a grammaticalized marker for evidentiality (Smith & Paauw 2007). The SLM evidential marker seems to be a particle, while Sinhala and Tamil make use of a clitic. Sinhala is the most liberal in the placement of the clitic, which can be attached to any constituent. If the constituent is not the predicate, the verb must be in the emphatic form. SLM speakers prefer the evidential marker to be clause final, but some also accept placement at other positions in the clause. Tamil finally does not allow to attach the evidential marker on other constituents than the predicate

(37)

Haturaa		*balahatkaarayen*	*lamun*			*baňdavaaganavaa*	***=lu***
Koobakkaara	*-haḷ*	*vaṭpuramaha*	*siruvarhaḷ*	*-ai*		*aḷeikkindraarhal*	***=aam***
Satthuru		*paksa*	*aanakpada*		*ara-*	*kumpulkang*	***kiyang***
enemy	PL	force	children	ACC	PROG	recruit	=EVID

SINHALA
TAMIL
SLM

'The enemy recruits children, it seems.'

(38)

Haturaa	***=lu***	*balahatkaarayen*	*lamun*			*baňdavaaga*	*-nnee*
n/a							
Satthuru	***kiyang***	*paksa*	*aanakpada*		*ara-*	*kumpulkang*	
enemy	=EVID	force	children		PROG-	recruit	EMPH

SINHALA
TAMIL
SLM

'The enemy, it seems, is recruiting children.'

(39)

Haturaa	*balahatkaarayen*	*lamun*	***=lu***			*baňdavaaga*	*-nnee*
n/a							
Satthuru	*paksa*	*aanakpada*	***kiyang***		*ara-*	*kumpulkang*	
enemy	force	children	=EVID		PROG-	recruit	=EMPH

SINHALA
TAMIL
SLM

'The enemy is recruiting CHILDREN, it seems.'

11.3 Clusivity

Tamil distinguishes inclusive (*nangaḷ*) and exclusive (*naam*) forms of first person plural pronouns. This is not done in the other two languages.

11.4 Animacy

All three languages distinguish animacy. While Sinhala and Tamil distinguish animacy on pronouns, this is not the case in SLM. On a more detailed analysis, Sinhala distinguishes animacy in 2nd person pronouns, while Tamil distinguishes it in 3rd person. Tamil verb agreement is also sensitive to animacy, which is not the case in the other two languages, simply because they lack verb agreement. Finally, Sinhala and SLM mark animacy in the choice of an animate verb or an inanimate verb, a choice which is not available in Tamil.

11.4.1 Expression of animacy in the choice of the verb

Different existential verbs exist for animate/inanimate referents in Sinhala (*innavaa/tiyenavaa*) and SLM (*duuduk/aada*), as shown in the examples below. In Tamil, only one verb, *iru* exists for existential predications. However, Tamil verb agreement on *iru* shows whether the referent is animate or not.

(40)
	Balloo dennek	***innavaa***		SINHALA
Reṇḍu	*nayhal*	*iṟukku*		TAMIL
Dua	*anjing*	***a̲raduuduk***		SLM
two	dog	two.ANIM	exist.ANIM.PRES	

'There are two dogs'

(41)
	Gal	*Ø dekak*	***tiyenavaa***		SINHALA
Reṇḍu	*kalla*		*irukku*		TAMIL
Dua	*baatu pada*		***aada***		SLM
two	stone	PL two.INANIM	EXIST.INANIM.PRES		

'There are two stones'

11.4.2 Expression of animacy on nouns

Besides the verb, Sinhala also shows animacy on indefinite referents. Animate indefinite nouns are marked with *-ek*, inanimate indefinite nouns are marked with *-ak*. This possibility does not exist in the other two languages. Ansaldo (2005) reports that 1st and 2nd person singular dative marking is different between 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns (*=dang*) and other pronouns (which take *=nang*) in Kirinda. He sees this as an animacy distinction. In the upcountry, this is not the case. Some speakers use *=dang* with all referents, so that this feature is not counted here.

	Sinhala	Tamil	SLM
1s	1	1	2
2s	many	2	2
3s	1	many	3
1p	1	1INCL+1EXCL	1
2p	many	1	1
3p	1	many	3

Table 11: Levels of politeness on pronouns.

11.5 Politeness

All three languages have different degrees of politeness (and agreeing verb forms in the case of Tamil). The number of distinctions made differs, though. Table 11 gives an overview over the politeness levels distinguished for different persons.

11.6 Gender

Tamil has a distinction in gender in pronouns and agreement, which SLM and Colloquial Sinhala lack (cf. Table 6).

11.7 Volition

All three languages mark lack of volition of a referent by the dative. This is mainly the case for experiencer verbs and modals. In SLM and Tamil, (lack of) volition is dealt with in the lexicon, with verbs carrying the information of whether or not they can take a 'dative subject'. In Sinhala, lack of volition is dealt with in the syntax, by deriving a class III verb if one wants to use a 'dative subject'.

(42) ***Mama*** *kataava* *æhuvaa* SINHALA
Naan *kadei* *keeṯṯ* *-een* TAMIL
Se *criitha* *sudinngar* SLM
1S.NOM story hear.PAST -1S
'I listened to a story.'

(43) ***Maṭa*** *saddi* *æhunaa* SINHALA
Enneku *sattam* *keṯṯ* *-adu* TAMIL
Sedang *swaara* *sudinngar* SLM
1S.DAT noise listen.PAST -3N
'I heard a noise.'

	SLM + S	SLM + T	SLM only	SLM + S + T
evidential				+
clusivity	–			
animacy				+
-animacy on verb	+			
animacy on noun		–		
animacy on 2 pronoun		–		
politeness in 2				+
politeness in 3		+		
gender	–			
volition on verb		–		
volition on noun				+
TALLY	3	4	0	4

Table 12: Summary grammaticalized semantic domains

11.7.1 Summary

We find that SLM has not asserted its own way of doing things in this domain. There are parallels to Sinhala, to Tamil, and to both.

12 Syntax

The most striking feature of SLM is its rigidly left-branching syntax, which has been observed by virtually all authors and analyzed as language contact. The order of the adjective is an exception to this, which is also a standard observation in the literature. But there are some other syntactic features which deserve consideration.

12.1 Criteria

For the domain of syntax, we can again define some criteria without making reference to the grammars of the individual languages, just based on basic linguistic theory. These criteria include 1) Greenbergian word order and 2) marking of subordinate clauses. A survey of other syntactic phenomena in the three languages adds to this 3) Negation patterns 4) Coordination and related phenomena 5) Focus marking and 6) phrase inflection.

12.2 Word order

Greenberg (1963) analyzed the order of the N and ADJ, N and POSS, N and NUMERAL and RELC and N in the NP, the order of subject, verb and object in the clause, and the order of the constituents of a comparison. Additionally, we will take a look at the order of verb and modal.

12.2.1 POSS N

All three languages have the possessor preceding the noun.

(44) *Apee* *vatta* SINHALA
Eŋgaɭ *tooʈʈam* TAMIL
Kithampe *kubbong* SLM
our garden
'Our garden'

12.2.2 ADJ N

All three languages can have the adjective precede the noun. In SLM, the adjective may also follow.

(45) *Mama* ***lassana*** *mala* *-k* *gattaa* SINHALA
Naan *oru* ***aɭagaana*** *pu* *vaaŋgin* *-een* TAMIL
Se ***panthas*** *kumbang* *atthu* *subilli* SLM
1S one beautiful flower INDEF PAST.buy 1S
'I bought a beautiful flower.'

12.2.3 NUM N

Tamil and SLM can have the numeral follow or precede the noun, while Sinhala has a cross-linguistically rare pattern of treating the numeral as the head and the counted noun as modifier. In approximate translational equivalents, Sinhala does not say *three flowers*, but rather a *floral trio*. This pattern is not found exactly like that in Tamil or SLM, but both can also have postposed numerals.

(46) *Ma=ʈa* *kan* ***dekak*** *tiyenavaa* SINHALA
Ena=kku ***(rendu)*** *kaadukaɭ* ***(rendu)*** *irikku* TAMIL
Se=dang ***(dua)*** *kuuping* ***(dua)*** *aada* SLM
1S=DAT two ear two EXIST
'I have two ears.'

12.2.4 RELC N

The relative clause precedes the head noun in all three languages.

(47) *[A -pu] kennek ʈooni* SINHALA
[Va -nda] var ʈooni TAMIL
[Ana- daathang] oorang tooni SLM
RELPTL come RELPTL person T
'The man who came is Tony.'

12.2.5 SOV

All three languages are verb-final, as shown in (48). Right dislocation of constituents is possible in all three languages (Gair 1998 [1985]).

(48) *Ammaa lamayaa=ʈa salli denavaa* SINHALA
Amma pillai=kku paɳam kudukkirr -aaɭ TAMIL
Mma aanak=nang duwith arakaasi SLM
Mother child=DAT money PRES.give 3SF
'The mother gives money to her child'

12.2.6 Comparison

All three languages mark the standard of comparison with the dative.[19] The two comparees are followed by the word for 'more' and the adjective.

(49) *Me gaha ara palliya=ʈa vædiya ussa -yi* SINHALA
Inda maram anda palli=kku paaka uyaram [20] TAMIL
Inni pohong itthu siigith=nang libbi thiingi SLM
This tree that mosque DAT more high PRED
'This tree is higher than that mosque.'

12.2.7 ModV

In Sinhala and Tamil, the modal must follow the verb, whereas in SLM, it may follow or precede.

[19]This seems to be a difference between Indian Tamil and SLMT, Indian Tamil uses accusative instead of dative here (Schiffman 1999).

[20]A construction with the accusative is also possible. In that case, *palliyai viɖa* has to be used.

(50) *Maɽa ya -nɖa oonæ* SINHALA
Enakku poo -ha veeɳum TAMIL
Sedang ma- pi mau/kamauwan SLM
1S.DAT INF go INF want
'I want to go now.'

(51) *Yanɖa puluvaŋ* SINHALA
Poha muɖiyum TAMIL
Mapi boole / boole pi SLM
go.INF can can go
'(We) can leave.'

12.3 Negation

In the domain of negation we can distinguish differentiated strategies for verbal and non-verbal negation. Verbal negation can further be scrutinized for the negation strategies for different tenses, aspects and moods.

All three languages make a distinction between verbal and non-verbal negation. Sinhala uses *nemeyi* and *næ*, Tamil *illai* and *alla*[21], and SLM *thera-* (and other prefixes, see below) and *bukkang*. Examples (52) and (53) show the use of the non-verbal and the verbal negators.

(52) *Eyaa dostara.kennek* ***nemeyi*** SINHALA
Avan oru veittiyar ***illai*** TAMIL
Incian dokter ***bukkang*** SLM
he one doctor NEG.NONV
'He is/was not a doctor.'

(53) *Mama kolaṁba inn -ee* ***næ*** SINHALA
Naan Koɭumb -il iruppid ***-illai*** TAMIL
Se Kluumbu =ka ***thama-*** *duuduk* SLM
I Colombo LOC NEG.NONPAST stay EMPH NEG
'I am not staying in Colombo.'

Sinhala and Tamil mark negation postverbally, while SLM marks negation preverbally.[22] Tamil has a special form for negation of the future tense, while SLM has a special form for negation of the past tense. Sinhala uses the same morpheme regardless of the tense of the verb. This is summarised in Table 13.

[21] Gair (1998) notes this, but in Kandy, *alla* and *illai* seem to be interchangeable.
[22] With the exception of the perfect.

		Sinhala	Tamil	SLM
nonverbal		nemeyi	illei	bukkang
verbal	past	nææ		thera-
	present			thama-
	irr		maaṭṭ	

Table 13: Negation patterns

Negated adjectival predicates do not carry tense in any of the languages, the same is true of negated nominal predicates.[23]

(54) *Kolaṁba loku* ***nææ*** SINHALA
Koḷumbu perisii ***illai*** TAMIL
Kluumbu bissar ***thraa*** SLM
Colombo big NEG
'Colombo is/was not big.'

12.4 Subordinate clauses

All three languages make use of relative clauses and conjunctive participle clauses. These have already been discussed in the section on verbal morphology, and this will not be repeated here to avoid double-counting them. The two remaining types of subordinate clauses, argument clauses and reported speech, will be investigated in this section.

12.4.1 Argument clause

In order to use a clause as an argument, it has to be nominalized in all three languages. There are three different strategies: Deverbal nouns, infinitival constructions, or adclausal nominalization. All languages can use the first two, but differ in the way they use adclausal nominalization. Sinhala puts the verb in the relative participle form and adds the adclausal nominalizer *eka*, homophonous with the word for 'one'. Tamil does adclausal nominalization with *adu* 'it', while SLM uses the accusative marker *=yang*.

(55) *Mama* *kææma* *-ṭa* *kæmatiyi* SINHALA
Naan *saappaṭṭ* *=ikku* *viruppam* TAMIL
Se *maakang* *=nang* *suuka* SLM
1S eat eat.NMLZR DAT like
'I like eating'

[23] Although when refering to the future, a periphrastic expression involving the verb for 'become' is preferred.

(56) *Mama* *kan* *-ɖa* *aavaa* SINHALA
Naan *saappaaɖr* *-ikku* *andeen* TAMIL
Se *mə-* *maakang* *=nang* *sudaathang* SLM
1S INF eat DAT came
'I came to eat.'

(57) *Mama* *kana* ***eka*** *oyaa=ʈa* *prasnaya* *-k* *=da?*
Naan *saappiu̯* ***-vadu*** *uŋaɭ=ukku* *oru* *piraccinei* *=yaa?*
Se *ara-* *maakang* ***=yang*** *lorang=nang* *atthu* *percayahan* *=si?*
1s PROG- eat one it ACC 2S=DAT one problem INDEF INTERR
SINHALA
TAMIL
SLM

'Do you have a problem with the fact that I am eating?'

12.4.2 Reported speech

All three languages make use of a quotative to introduce direct speech. The unit introduced is an utterance and not a clause in all three languages. In (58), the utterance introduced by the quotative is a sentence, whereas in (59), it is an interjection. Both sentence and interjection are invariably indicated by the quotative.

(58) *Eyaa* *[janaaɖipati* *avaa* ***kiyalaa]*** *kivvaa* SINHALA
Avar *[janaadibadi* *vanddar* ***endru]*** *sollaar* TAMIL
Incian *[bissar* *anadaathang* ***katha]*** *subiilang* SLM
3S president come.PAST QUOT PAST.SAY
'He said that the president had come [lit: He said:"The president has come"]'

(59) *Eyaa* *[ayyoo!* ***kiyalaa]*** *kivvaa* SINHALA
Avar *[ayyoo!* ***endru]*** *sonnaan* TAMIL
Incian *[ayyoo!* ***katha]*** *subiilang* SLM
3S ayyoo QUOT say.PAST
'He said "Oh my god!"'

12.5 Clitics

All three languages make use of clitics to mark sentence type, coordination and information structure. These clitics have a number of other uses as well, which can differ between languages. Parallels can be found in semantic congruence and in identical syntactic distribution.

12.5.1 AND

The clitic used for conjunctive coordination is attached to all coordinated elements in all three languages. If it attaches only to one referent, the meaning is 'also'.

(60)

Mama	*haal*	***=ut***	*luunu*	***=t***	*vikunanavaa*		SINHALA
Naan	*arisi*	***=yum***	*veŋgayam*	***=um***	*vikkir*	*-een*	TAMIL
Se	*bras*	***=le***	*baawam*	***=le***	*arajuuwal*		SLM
1S	raw.rice	=ASSOC	onion	=ASSOC	sell.PRES	-1S	

'I sell rice and onions'

(61)

Mama	*haal*	***=ut***	*vikunanavaa*		SINHALA
Naan	*arisi*	***=yum***	*vikkir*	*-een*	TAMIL
Se	*bras*	***=le***	*arajuuwal*		SLM
1S	raw.rice	=ASSOC	sell.PRES	-1S	

'I also sell rice'

In Sinhala, there is a second clitic, which can replace *=(u)t*, this is *=yi*.

12.5.2 OR

There are two strategies for disjunctive coordination in all three languages. Both involve a clitic attached to all relevant coordinands, but in the first case, it is the clitic which is also used in interrogatives (62)(63), while in the second case it is not (64).

(62)

Eyaa	*haal*	***=da***	*luunu*	***=da***	*vikunan*	*-nee*	*?*	SINHALA
Avan	*arisi*	***=yaa***	*veŋgayam*	***=aa***	*vikkir*		*-een?*	TAMIL
Incian	*bras*	***=si***	*baawam*	***=si***	*arajuuwal*		*?*	SLM
3S	raw.rice	=DISJ	onion	=DISJ	sell.PRES	EMPH	1S	

'Does he sell rice or onions'

(63)

Oba	*haal*	*vikunanavaa*		***=da****?*	SINHALA
Niŋgaḷ	*arisi*	*vikkir*	*-iŋgaḷ*	***=aa****?*	TAMIL
Lorang	*bras*	*arajuuwal*		***=si****?*	SLM
you	raw.rice	sell.PRS	-2PL	=INTERR	

'Do you sell rice?'

(64)

Mama	*haal*	***hari***	*luunu*	***hari***	*vikunanavaa*		SINHALA
Naan	*arisi*	***=yoo***	*veŋgayam*	***=oo***	*vikkir*	*-een*	TAMIL
Se	*bras*	***=ke***	*baawam*	***=ke***	*arajuuwal*		SLM
I	raw.rice	=DISJ	onion	=DISJ	sell.PRES	1S	

'I sell rice or onions'

12.5.3 XOR

Disjunctive coordination is also marked by a clitic in all three languages.

(65) *Mahayaŋgana* ***hari*** *Haputale* ***hari*** *yanɖa puluvaŋ* SINHALA
Mahayaŋgana ***=ki*** *Haputale* ***=ki*** *pooha eelum* TAMIL
Mahanyanggana ***=ke*** *Haputale* ***=ke*** *boole pi* SLM
Mahanyangana =SIMIL Haputale SIMIL go.INF can go
'You can take the Mahayangana road or the Hatton Road'

12.5.4 NOR

Negative conjunction is expressed just like positive conjunction in Sinhala and Tamil, the burden of negation being carried by the verb. In SLM, a special clitic is used, *=pon*.

(66) *Haal* ***=ut*** *miriss* ***=ut*** *næ* SINHALA
Arisi ***=yum*** *koccika* ***=yum*** *illai* TAMIL
Bras ***=pon*** *caabe* ***=pon*** *thraa* SLM
raw.rice AND NOR chilies AND NOR NEG
'There was neither rice nor chillies.'

12.5.5 Subordinate ignorance

SLM and Tamil have a special form to express lack of knowledge in subordinate clauses. Sinhala uses the same form which is used in matrix interrogatives.

(67) *Oyalaa* *kævaa* ***=da*** *noo* *kæva* ***=da*** *kiyalaa maŋ*
Niŋgaɭ *saappiṯṯa* ***=doo*** *illai* ***=yo*** *endru ene =kku*
Lorang.pada *anamaakang* ***=so*** *thraa* ***=so*** *se*
2PL eat.PAST INTERR DUBIT NEG eat INTERR DUBIT QUOT 1S DAT
dannee.næ SINHALA
teriyaadu TAMIL
therathau SLM
NEG.know
'I do not know whether or not you have eaten.'

12.5.6 Topic and focus

All three languages have a clitic which is used to indicate constituents in argument focus. Sinhala is special in having a topic marker which the other languages lack.

(68) *Haal=**ma*** *tamayi* *vikunanavaa* SINHALA
*Arisi=**daan*** *vitt* *-een* TAMIL
*Bras=**jo*** *arajuuwal* SLM
raw.rice=EMPH TOPIC sell.PRES -1S
'As for RICE, that's what I sell.'

12.6 Phrase inflection

Sinhala and SLM can mark case on inflected verbs. Tamil has to nominalize them before attaching a case marker

(69) *[Aavaa]* *=ṭa* *bohoma* *istutiyi* SINHALA
[Vand -adu] *=kku* *miccum* *nanr̲i* TAMIL
[Anadaathang] *=nang* *bannyak* *thrim̲a.kaasi* SLM
PAST.come NMLZR DAT thank.you
'Thanks for coming.'

12.7 Summary

We find an strong parallelism between all three languages in the syntactic domain, but each language has some individual syntactic features.

13 Constructions

Besides the bound morphology, there is a vast number of grammaticalized periphrastic constructions which can be found across the languages under discussion. Usually, they are built from material available in all three languages, and the pattern can then easily be copied and applied to another language.

13.1 Criteria

This section takes salient constructions listed in Karunatillake (2004) and Schiffman (1999) and checks for their existence in the other two languages. There is a methodological bias here in that no description of SLM exists from which some constructions to be compared could be taken.

13.2 N-DAT V EXIST

This construction conveys light obligation and is similar to the English *have to*.

	SLM + S	SLM + T	SLM only	SLM + S + T
POSS N				+
ADJ N				+
N ADJ			+	
NUM N		+		
N NUM				+
REL N				+
SOV				+
SO MOD V			+	
COMP				+
QUOT				+
Sentential nominalization				
= one		–		
= it	–			
= ACC			+	
verbal ≠ nonverbal negation				+
NEG.PAST ≠ NEGNON.PAST			+	
NEG.FUT ≠ NEG.NONFUT	–			
NEG.PAST=NEG.PRES=NEG.FUT		–		
INTERR =OR				+
2x OR				+
XOR		+		
ALSO = AND				+
NOR			+	
whether		+		
Focus				+
phrase inflection	+			
TALLY	3	5	5	12

Table 14: Summary Syntax

(70) *Api=**ʈa*** *ɖuppat mini -ssu -nʈa salli deɳɖa* ***tiyenavaa*** SINHALA
*Eŋgaɭ=**ukku*** *eɭeiy -haɭ =ukku panam kudu =kku* ***irukku*** TAMIL
*Kithan=**nang*** *miskin =pada =nang duwith makaasi* ***aada*** SLM
1P=DAT poor man PL DAT money INF.give DAT EXIST.INANIM
'We should give money to the poor.'

13.3 N-DAT V BECOME

This construction is similar to the previous one, but the obligation is stronger and can generally not be circumvented.

(71) *Api=**ʈa*** *ɖuppat mini -ssu -nʈa salli deɳɖa* ***venavaa*** SINHALA
*Eŋgaɭ=**ukku*** *eɭeiy -haɭ =ukku panam kudu =kku* ***aagum*** TAMIL
*Kithan=**nang*** *miskin =pada =nang duwith makaasi* ***arajaadi*** SLM
1p=DAT poor man =pl =DAT money INF.give DAT BECOME
'We should give money to the poor.'

13.4 N V EXIST (PERF)

In all three languages is the perfect formed by a combination of the conjunctive participle and the existential (Smith & Paauw 2007).

(72) *Mama liyuma -k* ***liyalaa*** ***tiyenavaa*** SINHALA
Naan oru kadinam ***eɭidu*** *(y)**irukkir** -een* TAMIL
Se suurath atthu ***asthuulis*** ***aada*** SLM
1S one letter INDEF write.CP exist.pres -1S
'I have written a letter.'

13.5 V finish

All three languages have similar construction to indicate that a certain event has terminated (Smith & Paauw 2007, Slomanson 2007).

(73) *Mama* ***kaalaa*** ***ivarayi*** SINHALA
Naan ***saappittu*** ***muɖicci*** TAMIL
Se ***as-maakang*** ***abis*** SLM
1S eat.CP finish
'I have finished eating.'

13.6 N-DAT/LOC N EXIST

All three languages can distinguish between permanent and temporary possession. The former is indicated by the dative and the latter by the locative.

(74) *Ma**=ʈa*** *kaana* *dekak* *tiyenavaa* SINHALA
*Ena**=kku*** *rendu* *kaaduka*ɭ *irikku* TAMIL
*Se**=dang*** *dua* *kuuping* *aada* SLM
1S=DAT two ear two EXIST.INANIM
'I have two ears.'

(75) *Magee* ***laŋga*** *kar.eka* *-k* *tiyenavaa* SINHALA
Eŋge ***kiʈʈe*** *oru* *kaar* *irikku* TAMIL
Se ***=ka*** *kar* *atthu* *aada* SLM
1S LOC one car INDEF EXIST.INANIM
'I have a car.'

13.7 WH N-ASSOC

All three languages can express the universal quantifier by means of an interrogative pronoun combined with the associative clitic.

(76) ***Koyi*** *gedara*[24] *∅* *∅* ***=t*** *kusiya* *-k* *tiyenavaa* SINHALA
Ellaa *uuɖu* *-ha* *=ll* ***=um*** *kusini* *iṟukku* TAMIL
Mana *ruuma* *=ka* ***=le*** *kusiini* *aada* SLM
which house PL LOC ASSOC kitchen INDEF EXIST.INANIM
'Every house has a kitchen.'

13.8 WH WH V

All three languages make use of the well-known Indian echo question. When an interrogative pronoun is reduplicated in a question, this means that a list of all items has to be given. This exhaustive answer is not required for questions with no reduplicated interrogative pronoun.

(77) ***Mona˜mona****vada* *gatt* *-ee* *?* SINHALA
Enn˜enne *eɖutt* *-adu?* TAMIL
Apa˜aapa *embilli* *?* SLM
which˜which buy.PAST EMPH NMLZR
'What all did you buy?'

[24] Accidentally, Sinhala *gedara* is a *singulare tantum*(possibly because it 'house+door' etymologically). The gentive/locative for this noun is also ∅.

	SLM + S	SLM + T	SLM only	SLM + S + T
N-DAT V exist				+
N-DAT V BECOME				+
N V exist = perf				+
V FINISH				+
N-DAT N EXIST				+
N-LOC N EXIST				+
X=CLT Y=CLT				+
WH N-ASSOC				+
WH WH V				+
WH=clt V				+
WH=clt				+
WH=interr				+
TAKE = REFL				+
TALLY	0	0	0	13

Table 15: Summary Constructions

13.9 Indefinite pronouns

All three languages combine interrogative pronouns and a disjunctive clitic to form indefinite pronouns.

(78) ***Kauru =dhoo*** *avvaa* SINHALA
Yaar =oo *vandirikki* TAMIL
Saapa =so *sudaathang.* SLM
who =DISJ come.PAST
'Someone came.'

13.10 Summary

Virtually all of the constructions discussed in this section can be found in all three languages. This might very well be an artefact of the selection of constructions to be compared though.

14 Summary of the findings

We have investigated a variety of linguistic domains ranging from phonology to pragmatics. The result of these investigations of the individual domains are repeated for convenience in Table 16.

On a global perspective, we see that 50% of the investigated phenomena are shared by all three languages, 16% are shared between Sinhala and SLM (but not Tamil), and 21% are shared between Tamil and SLM (but not Sinhala). Finally, roughly another 13% constitute

	SLM + S	SLM + T	SLM only	SLM + S + T
phonology	**6**	3	4	2
word classes	2	0	1	2
modals	1	1	2	6
verbal morphology	1(19)	5	1	**10**
nominal morphology	1	**4**	0	3
gsd	3	4	0	4
syntax	3	5	5	**12**
constructions	0	0	0	**13**
grand total	17	22	13	52

Table 16: Summary of all 104 investigated features.

phenomena where SLM shows structures different from both Sinhala and Tamil. These are either retentions of old Malay features (like the order of modals) or independent innovation (like /ⁿʤ/). We can visualize this as in Figure 3.

First we note that there are slightly more unique Tamil features (22) than unique Sinhala features (17) in SLM, but the difference is quite small. It is safe to say that Tamil and Sinhala have had about equal influence. 52 features shared between Sinhala and Tamil have made their way into SLM.

Let us now compare the influence of features found in only one adstrate with features found in both adstrates. There are 39 feature values which are found in Tamil and not in Sinhala, and, because of the binarity of the features, this means that there are as well 39 feature values found in Sinhala and not in Tamil. These features have competed individually as it were for inclusion in the repertoire of the SLM speakers, and have succeeded in about half of the cases for each language (17/39 and 22/39).[25] But the features present in both Sinhala and Tamil (65) have succeeded much better in making headways into SLM grammar. 52 of those are found in SLM, which corresponds to 80%. While there is a 50% chance of a feature found in only one adstrate to make its way into SLM, the chance of a feature found in both adstrates is 1.6 times higher.

This quantitative result nicely confirms the qualitative observations first formulated by Ansaldo (2005), who terms this state of affairs 'ganging up'.[26] When the two adstrates join forces and agree on which feature value to adopt, they are considerably more successful than if either one of them tried alone (Ansaldo 2008a). This anthropomorphic image should be taken as a metaphor: languages have no will, no intent and no strategies. The agents of language change are not languages, but speakers (Weinreich 1953). But the result of this study is not surprising either if one takes the speaker as the point of departure. Speakers of SLM are traditionally the most polyglot ethnic group of Sri Lanka, and had very good command of (Sri Lankan) English, Sinhala and Tamil (with the latter one decreasing after independence due to language

[25]The mean percentage is actually exactly 50%. Since this follows mathematically from the setup of the study, it should not be mistaken as a result.

[26]The first general formulation of this phenomenon, yet not applied to SLM, is probably found in Siegel (1997), a short remark pointing in the same direction is already found in Thomason & Kaufman (1988:96).

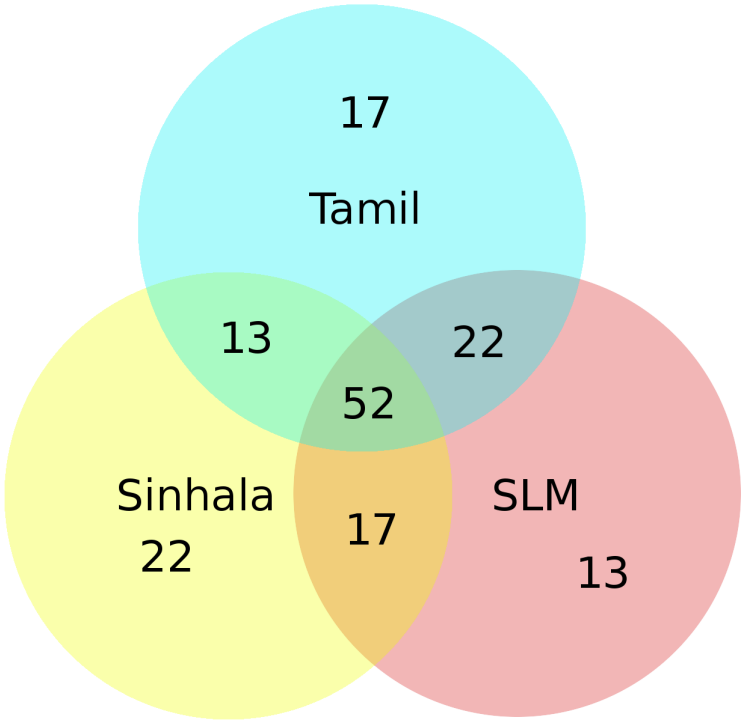

Figure 3: Number of features shared between the three languages

policies favouring Sinhala) (Lim & Ansaldo 2006, 2007). When constantly switching between three languages, common constructions tend to become entrenched in the speaker's mind and are also used in languages where they were not found in the first place. The more often a construction is used, the higher the chance that it will become entrenched, which reflects the frequency effects postulated by Nadkarni, albeit on a construction level and not on the level of language.

Constructions occurring either only in Sinhala or only in Tamil already stand a certain chance of being carried over into the speakers' SLM *répertoire* (Nicolai 2005), but if a construction is used in the two adstrates, it is heard and used on more occasions and consequently stands a higher chance of entrenchment and imposition. We can reformulate this in an evolutionary framework along the lines of Mufwene (2001) and Croft (2001): constructions in the linguistic pool the speaker is exposed to are more likely to be replicated by the speaker if they are found in more than one of the input codes which contribute to the pool. This is discussed in more detail in Section 15.

14.1 (Absence of) parallels

After this bird's-eye view, let's look a little closer at the areas where the adstrates have or have not had influence.

14.1.1 Areas of parallels to both Sinhala and Tamil

Parallels between all three languages can be found in some of the phonemic inventory, the modals, verbal morphology, grammaticalized semantic domains, and most prominently in syntax and constructions. It appears that segmental phonology is quite easy to influence. Also, a somewhat looser cohesion seems to favor borrowing, as evidenced by constituent order and phrasal constructions. This aligns well with Ross (2007), who writes: '[I]t appears that the clause is restructured first, then the phrase and finally the word.'[27] More tightly-knit morphological phenomena are absent from this list, like agreement, ablaut or affixation.

14.1.2 Areas of absence of influence from both Sinhala and Tamil or independent SLM development

The following domains have either not converged to Sinhala and/or Tamil, or are independent developments of SLM: extrasyllabic consonants, politeness distinction in 1s, conversion of adjectives into nouns and verbs, separation of 'want' and 'must', preverbal position of modals.

Analysis: syllable structure seems to be quite resistant to adstrate influence in SLM. This might be due to the fact that Sinhala and Tamil syllable structure are quite different (XXX fc) and that therefore less entrenchment took place. The fact that the SLM word class system is less rigid than Sinhala and Tamil, allowing for conversion of adjectives into verbs and nouns can be explained by the fact that SLM started off from an extremely flexible system. The Malay languages are known for their high flexibility, and more than one case has been made about one

[27] also cf. Sasse (1985, 1990).

or another Malay variety lacking word class distinctions altogether (e.g. Riau Indonesian, Gil (1994)). The joint influence of Sinhala and Tamil could then pull the emerging language a bit more towards the rigid end of the scale, differentiating [+TIME-STABLE] concepts as nouns and [−TIME-STABLE] concepts as verbs (Givón 1984), which is already a big feat as far as Malay varieties go. The combined force of Sinhala and Tamil was however not enough to force a rigid classification of the concepts which were not clearly gravitating towards one edge of the time stability scale, i.e. property words. These are still as flexible as they had been before.

The lexical separation of the debitive and the volitive was present in varieties of Malay, and is still found in SLM, but it is beginning to erode, with some interchangeability of the forms becoming more common. It is to be expected that SLM will converge more towards Sinhala and Tamil in this regard in the future. One striking feature of SLM resisting joint influence from Sinhala and Tamil is the position of TAM-marking, which is preverbal, a typological oddity given that overall preference for right-headedness. However, this becomes less surprising if we see that Sinhala marks tense mainly by ablaut, while Tamil uses suffixes, or changes the last consonant(s) of the stem. If Tamil does something at the end of the stem, and Sinhala does something to the middle of the stem, the languages do not really converge in this regard. SLM keeping its prefixation strategy is therefore not at odds with the overall principle, since Sinhala and Tamil do not 'team up'. What remains striking though is that modals are still preverbal, although Sinhala and Tamil both have clear postverbal marking of modality. This resilience is remarkable, but it is beginning to fade with some modals now allowing postverbal position. In the south, this seems already to be the only possibility in some dialects (Peter Slomanson p.c.).

14.1.3 Areas of parallels with Sinhala

Parallels with Sinhala are particularly striking in the domain of phonemic inventory, but also in syllable structure. Furthermore, the use of the indefinite article is parallel.

SLM has acquired a typologically uncommon series of prenasalized stops from Sinhala, which Tamil lacks. This shows that the final word in language contact is not spoken yet, and that, while type frequency does have a statistic influence, a mechanistic application of the 'gang theory' is not at the order of the day. Ganging up can be used to explain tendencies, but not individual developments, just like polls can show tendencies in the populations, but not explain the behavior of an individual.

14.1.4 Areas of absence of Sinhala influence

SLM has not copied the Sinhala phonemic /æ/, some animacy distinctions and the encoding of (lack of) volition and the predicative marking of adjectives. These features all have in common that they are not very salient and do not bear a high functional load. /æ/ is the least common of the Sinhala vocalic phonemes. Non-volitional verbs are derived by ablaut in Sinhala, a phonological process which is extremely difficult to borrow. The marking of predicative adjective is finally only done on adjectives ending in an open syllable and is therefore restricted in its occurrence.

14.1.5 Areas of parallels with Tamil

Parallels with Tamil are mainly found in the nominal domain, e.g. the accusative and the number marking strategies.

Number marking was optional in the varieties of Malay the immigrants spoke, so we can see the development of a mildly obligatory number system based on animacy like in Tamil as a compromise between the complete freedom found in the Malay world and the rigidity of the Sinhala system. The emergence of an accusative case on the other hand is a very neat case of Tamil influence against the laxness of accusative marking in Sinhala.

14.1.6 Areas of absence of Tamil influence

Tamil influence is remarkably absent from the verbal domain. Also, many of the semantic domains which are grammaticalized in Tamil are not in SLM. This might be due to the fact that Tamil is much more of a 'morphological' language than Sinhala or Malay varieties. We have seen above that constituent order and phrasal constructions were easily borrowed, but morphology less so. Since much of the grammaticalized domains in Tamil are at the morphological level, borrowing into SLM was more difficult and consequently took place less often.

14.1.7 Areas of independent development

Verbal morphology is the domain with the most retentions/independent developments going on, while independent developments are very weak for grammaticalized semantic domains. This is the complement of what was stated in the previous paragraph: borrowing is easy at the phrasal level, but much more difficult at the morphological level.

15 Discussion

We see that SLM changes now in direction of Sinhala, now in direction of Tamil, but most often in direction of both, because the two other languages had already converged beforehand. While bilingual mixed languages are already difficult to model in stammbaumtheory, trilingual admixture makes matters worse. Furthermore, claims that we are dealing with 'abnormal transmission' and that stammbaumtheory would not apply in that case (e.g Thomason & Kaufman 1988), are unfounded for Sri Lanka. There is no evidence of a chaotic socio-ethnic situation like in slavery conditions. Quite on the contrary, the Malays formed a quite coherent group until the middle of the 19th century, with own schools, mosques and libraries attached to their own regiment (Hussainmiya 1990). There is no doubt that the children learning Sri Lankan Malay had exposure to fluent speakers of Malay, more often than not both parents. Smith & Paauw (2007) argue that the structure for SLM can be explained by Tamil wives' imperfect learning of Malay. Their variety would then be passed on to the next generations. There are good reasons to believe that this was not the case: 1) lack of historical evidence for heavy intermarriage Ansaldo (2008b) 2) the general implausibility of children acquiring precisely the idiolect which would have been the least fluent in their environment 3) the then unexplainable

influences from Sinhala in for instance phonology and definiteness. But even if we accept that Tamil wives had had a major impact, we would not deal with abnormal transmission, since the children would have had contact to fluent speakers, namely their fathers and other male members of the extended families typical for Malay society.

The patterns of language change we find in Sri Lanka force us to give up the idea of a well-structured language system which is passed on *in toto* to the next generations, some modifications notwithstanding. Instead of the system, it is rather particular constructions which are passed on. In SLM, we find neither complete replication of Sinhala, nor Tamil, nor Malay, but rather a recombination of features of all three languages.

This aligns well with recent modelings in the study of language change (Croft 2001), language contact (Nicolai 2005) and creole studies (Mufwene 2001, Ansaldo fc). All these models have in common that the speaker is exposed to a pool of constructions he hears (linguemes, features), from which he selects the ones which best fit his communicative needs for a certain utterance, thereby replicating them. Sometimes, the replication is unfaithful, which leads to innovation. The factors which govern the selection of constructions over others are of various types: cognitive factors such as ease of articulation or salience, social factors such as networks or prestige, and numerical factors, to the study of which this paper contributes.

These evolutionary approaches to language change based on constructions are able to model the Sri Lankan situation very nicely, but they can also be applied to language change patterns in monolingual settings, so that their explanatory power is greater than models which assume that languages are passed on as systems. The theoretical side of this is treated in more detail in XXX (fc).

16 Conclusion

The first part of the question motivating this study read 'In a trilingual setting involving the languages A, B and C, does A change towards B, towards C, towards both, or towards neither?' For Sri Lankan Malay in its ecological contact situation with Sinhala and Tamil, the answer is: Sri Lankan Malay changes towards Sinhala and towards Tamil, but especially numerous are instances of change in the areas where there had already been convergence between Sinhala and Tamil beforehand, validating the frequency based approach in Ansaldo (2005, 2008b). In these cases, SLM will join the sprachbund with overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, whereas in areas where Sinhala and Tamil do not agree, change is less likely to take place.

The second part of the research question as to the motivation of this kind of change can be answered in an evolutionary model along the lines of Croft (2001), Mufwene (2001), Nicolai (2005) or Ansaldo (fc). In a feature pool with input from three languages, the construction types contributed by more languages are more likely to be selected, and thereby replicated and passed on, than construction types occurring in fewer languages. These constructions have a higher type frequency, which gives them an 'evolutionary edge' over competitor constructions. This evolutionary edge of type frequency is in turn motivated cognitively by a) the desire to reduce total number of constructions to store in memory and b) entrenchment of constructions frequently used.

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