

PERFECT, SEQUENCE, RECAPITULATION:
COMMON CONSTRUAL AND THE SINHALA CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE

CHRIS TAYLOR

Rice University

1. INTRODUCTION. In recent years, the term ‘converb’ has increasingly been used to describe constructions with cross-linguistically comparable forms and functions which include nonfinite verbal affixation, dependency on a finite verb, clause linking, and the sequencing of events (Bickel 1998, Genetti 2005, Hasplemath and König 1995, Masica 1991). Among such constructions, two broad areal categories have been suggested (Bickel 1998), European and Asian converbs, differing primarily with respect to the potential for what Bickel refers to as ‘narrative chaining’: Asian converbs perform a clause chaining function in addition to various types of modification, whereas the European type ‘does not include chaining functions but rather stands in a binary relation to the main verb’. In the sparse typological converb literature, one form potentially instantiative of the former category comes from the Indo-Aryan language Sinhala, namely the conjunctive participle.¹ Examples include the following.

- (1) *bootəle wətıla kəḍuna*
bottle fall-PPL break-PST
‘The bottle fell and broke.’
- (2) *galəkə həpila laməya-i persgeḍi okomə bimə wətuna*
stone-IND hit-PPL child-CONJ pears all ground fall-PST
‘After hitting the stone, the boy and the pears all fell to the ground.’
- (3) *siri wattə-tə gihilla pol kaḍala wətak bæṅḍala gedərə*
Siri estate-DAT go-PPL coconuts break-PPL fence-IND tie-PPL home
giyaa
go- PST
‘Siri went to the estate, picked coconuts, built a fence and went home.’ (Gair and Paolillo 1997:49)

As examples (1)-(3) illustrate, the Sinhala conjunctive participle (which is morphologically marked by the suffix *-la*) performs several of the abovementioned functions characteristic of converbs. For instance, in each example the conjunctive participle expresses temporal sequence, and in (3) we observe narrative chaining, claimed to be characteristic of Asian converbs. Moreover, the verbal form exemplified here does not indicate time reference *per se*, and as such is less finite than the past tense form which occurs clause-finally.

Despite these similarities between the Sinhala conjunctive participle and Asian converbs, the former may also occur as a NONDEPENDENT PREDICATE when expressing perfect aspect, which distributionally appears to violate the converbal criteria of nonfiniteness and dependency (Genetti 2005, Hasplemath 1995; cf. Nedjalkov 1995 concerning the former). This function,

¹* The author would like to thank Nissanka Wickremasinghe for his patience and insights, without which this work would not have been possible. Additional thanks are also in order for Robert Englebretson, as well as my colleagues who participated in the 2004-2005 Field Methods class at Rice University and the 2005 UCSB workshop on Sinhala linguistics.

¹ Hereafter, the terms ‘conjunctive participle’ and ‘participle form’ will be used synonymously.

which Gair (2003) appropriately describes as ‘an unusual if not unique feature among South Asian languages’, is illustrated by (4) and (5) below.

- (4) mahattea gihilla
gentleman go-PPL
‘The gentleman has gone.’ (Gair 1970:153)
- (5) mamə Renu-wə dækka habei dæn æyə gihilla
I R-ACC see-PST but now 3F.SG go-PPL
‘I saw Renu but now she has gone.’

While in many respects the Sinhala conjunctive participle functions as a converb (per the definition put forward by Genetti 2005), utterances such as (1)-(5) illustrate a type of multifunctionality absent in similar South Asian verbal forms, namely, the functions of both nonfinite clause linking and nondependent predication. Faced with this duality of function, we must decide how best to characterize the relationship between the different uses.

One possibility is to analyze the two functions of the conjunctive participle as homonymous. On this view, the observed variation in use is taken to be indicative of two formally-identical morphemes with semantically-unrelated functions, i.e. the converbal functions illustrated by examples (1)-(3), and the expression of perfect aspect in main clause predication. Such an account is flawed, however, in that it fails to capture fundamental similarities in scene construal among the conjunctive participle’s different uses, thus resulting in a missed generalization of descriptive significance.

In contrast, I will argue for a polysemy analysis of the Sinhala conjunctive participle. On this view, certain qualities of the construal traditionally accorded to the expression of perfect aspect are shown to crosscut the interpretations of the two aforementioned grammatical functions, nondependent predication and clause linking. Regarding the latter, I will discuss two specific functions—event sequencing and recapitulation—that provide evidence for analyzing the conjunctive participle as one form with related senses. Specifically, the analysis will demonstrate a parallel between a state’s continued relevance to the speech act and the conceptual interrelatedness of certain event sequences.

The paper is structured as follows. After describing the data and methodology used for the study in Section 2, I provide a brief overview of the Sinhala conjunctive participle’s form and functions in Section 3, each of which are subsequently discussed in Section 4. A summary of the findings common to each function follows in Section 5.

2. DATA AND METHODOLOGY. The data used in this study come from three sources, including published literature on Sinhala, structured elicitation, and a small corpus of ten texts. From the latter, which comprises nine narratives and one recipe, only those instances in which the conjunctive participle functions as a clause linker or nondependent predicate were included in the analysis. Such criteria were necessary in order to exclude other uses of the verb form in question which do not fall within the scope of the present study, such as its use in what Genetti (2005) refers to as ‘conventionalized collocations’, as well as the participial form of the verb *kiyannə* ‘tell’—*kiyala*—which functions as a complementizer. In total, 66 target instances of the conjunctive participle were collected from the corpus and coded for the following parameters: (1) the type of interpropositional relation (where relevant), (2) the number of conjunctive

participles in the turn, (3) the presence of a same-turn finite verb form, (4) whether the occurrence constitutes an instance of recapitulation, and (5) the position of the conjunctive participle relative to the subject. These variables were chosen in the interest of identifying the most common functions of the participle in our corpus, which are discussed in Section 4.

3.1. FORM. There are three base forms from which inflected Sinhala verbs are ‘built’ (Gair 1976, Gair 2003, Gair and Paolillo 1997), which include two tensed bases—nonpast and past—and the participial base. Examples of each base form of the verb *balannə* ‘look’ are provided in Table 1 below.

Base	Form
non-past	<i>balə-</i>
past	<i>bælu-</i>
participial	<i>balə-</i>

TABLE 1. Base Forms of *balannə* ‘to look’

As the three forms above illustrate, the non-past and participial base forms are in some cases identical. To form the conjunctive participle, the morpheme *-la* is suffixed to the participial base, yielding *balala*.

3.2. FUNCTIONS. As was illustrated by examples (1)-(3) above, the conjunctive participle expresses the temporal SEQUENCE OF EVENTS, typically in cases of same-subject reference across clauses. This referential quality of utterances containing the participle is only a tendency, though, in contradistinction with many Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991). The utterance in (6) illustrates this point: here, the subject of the first clause, *kocciə* ‘train’, differs from that of the second, *api* ‘we’.

- (6) *kocciə æwillə api jannə giya*
 train come-PPL 1PL go-INF go-PST
 ‘The train came and we left.’

The verb form in question is also often employed successively within a turn to express a sequence of more than two events and/or states (as in example (3)). Such utterances invariably end with a tense-marked verb. In this way, the Sinhala conjunctive participle may be described as a CLAUSE CHAINING strategy (Longacre 1985, Crain 1992, Genetti 2005), similar in function to participle or verbal constructions in other languages (e.g. Genetti (2005) for Dolakha Newar; Terrill (2003) for Lavukaleve, and Tikkanen (1995) for Burushaski).

In a similar yet syntactically-distinct function, the conjunctive participle serves to repeat information expressed by an immediately preceding clause. Genetti (2005:49) terms this use of the participle construction in Dolakhae RECAPITULATION, describing it as ‘a process common in South Asian narrative, where one begins a syntactic sentence by repeating, often in abbreviated form, the substance of the preceding finite clause or sentence.’ As (7a)-(7c) below demonstrate, this function of the conjunctive participle is similar to those discussed above, in that the recapitulated event or state is sequenced with a following event or state.

- (7) a. itij andərə tikak hitəla daval-ṭə gedərə giya
 then A. a.little think-PPL afternoon-DAT home go-PST
 ‘Then Andare pondered for awhile and went home for the afternoon.’
- b. gedərə gihilla eya-ge putaa-ṭə andegahalla andərə kiwwa
 home go-PPL 3M.SG-GEN son-DAT call-PPL A. say-PST
 ‘After going home and calling his son, Andare said...’
- c. mamə rajəmaaligaavə-ṭə yanəwa
 I palace-DAT go-PRES
 ‘I am going to the palace...’

In (7b), the initial phrase *gedərə gihilla* ‘(after) going home’ repeats information expressed by the last clause in (7a), namely, that Andare ‘went home for the afternoon’, *davalṭə gedərə giya*. Moreover, the repeated event is temporally sequenced with two subsequent events: ‘calling his son’ and a speech event, as we see in (7b). In this way, the conjunctive participle’s recapitulative use performs the same sequencing function we see in examples such as (1)-(3).

The last function of the Sinhala participle construction to be examined here is illustrated by examples (4)-(5) above and (8) below. In these and similar utterances, the form in question cannot be characterized as dependent, as it occurs either as a monoclausal predicate or as the final verb in a complement clause. The conjunctive participle’s use as a nondependent form imposes an aspectual construal of the situation describable in terms of perfect aspect, as indicated by the English translation in (8). Here, the state of having gone, expressed by means of the participle construction, relevantly persists until and bears on the arrival of the speaker’s interlocutor in Texas.

- (8) oya Texas wələṭə enə-koṭə mamə Indiawə-ṭə gihilla
 2SG T. PL.INAN.DAT come-PRES-REL-when 1SG India-DAT go-PPL
 ‘When you came to Texas I had gone to India.’

With the preceding overview in mind, each of these functions is now considered in turn, beginning with event-sequencing and clause chaining.

4.1. EVENT SEQUENCING. As Gair and Paolillo (1997) point out, the conjunctive participle is the most common way of expressing a sequence of actions or events in Sinhala. The corpus data used for the present study indicate that, in the least, such event sequences favor same-subject reference;² that is, when one conjunctive participle co-occurs in a turn with a finite verb, the two predicates share a subject. Consider (9)-(11).

- (9) æyə saṅgi-ṭə ahala æṭuwa
 3F.SG music-DAT hear-PPL dance-PST
 ‘She heard music and danced.’

² Although in the corpus used here no cases of event sequencing by means of the conjunctive participle exhibited a change in subject, such examples are attested in the literature (Gair 2003, Gair and Paolillo 1997, Masica 1991) and my elicitation data.

- (10) wandura palleha-ṭə æwilla ṭoppi goḍə issuwa
 monkey down-DAT come-PPL hat-PL heap steal-PST
 ‘The monkey came down and stole the hats.’
- (11) itinj andare ṭikak hitəla daval-ṭə gedərə giya
 then A. a.little think-PPL afternoon-DAT home go-PST
 ‘Then Andare pondered for awhile and went home for the afternoon.’

In each of these utterances, we observe that one noun phrase serves as subject for both the conjunctive participle and finite verb. For instance, in (9), ‘she’ both hears music and dances. Similarly, in (10), ‘the monkey’ serves as subject for the two clauses, performing both actions depicted by the utterance. This affinity for depicting two consecutive events involving only one non-patient participant functioning as the grammatical subject of both clauses stands in contrast with the subject reference behavior of other strategies for expressing similar instances of event sequencing. To this end, at least two other forms are also available, namely, the *PRIOR TEMPORAL* form and the use of an instrumentalized verb immediately followed by the lexeme *passé* ‘after’. The existence of these potential alternatives to the use of the conjunctive participle makes necessary an explanation of one’s use over another in a particular context and syntactic environment. Although a comprehensive explanation of this sort is beyond the scope of the present analysis, I present a few preliminary observations below.

First, as was noted above, the expression of an event sequence involving same-subject reference across clauses favors the use of the conjunctive participle. By contrast, all of the utterances taken from the corpus which contain a combination of an instrumentalized verb and *passé* (6/6 total), as well as half of the utterances containing the prior temporal form (2/4 total), express a sequence of events involving a change in subject. Consider (12) below.

- (12) ṭikkə welawak giya-in passe ṭoppi welenda nægiṭṭa
 a.little time-IND go-INST after hat-PL merchant awaken-PST
 ‘After a little time went by, the hat seller woke up.’

The content of the first clause in (12) proves indicative of this form’s use in the corpus and elicitation data. Here, the phrase *ṭikkə welawak giya-in passe* ‘after a little time went by’ renders the temporal relation expressed by the instrumentalized verb-*passé* combination more transparent. In such cases, the use of this construction as a clause linking strategy entails both nonsimultaneity of the events (or states) and an intervening, nonpunctual temporal interval. For example, in (12) a short, nonpunctual duration of time passes before the hat seller awakes. This quality of events depicted by the verbal construction in (12) is suggested not only by the translation, ‘After X, Y...’ but also by elicited minimal pairs varying only in the use of either the conjunctive participle or the combination of an instrumentalized verb and *passé*, illustrated in (13) and (14) below.

- (13) itin ookə dækka-in passe mage yaaluwek kiwwa
 so that see-INST after 1SG-GEN friend-IND say-PST
 ‘So after seeing that, a friend of mine said...’

- (14) itin ookə dəkəla passe mage yaaluwek kiwwa
 so that see-PPL after 1SG-GEN friend-IND say-PST
 ‘So seeing (having seen) that, a friend of mine said...’

According to the language consultant, the utterance in (13) depicts a situation in which the ‘seeing’ event concludes a short time before the speaker’s friend begins to talk; in other words, the first and second event do not overlap. By contrast, the utterance in (14) can be interpreted as involving temporal overlap, the first event preceding the second inceptively, or, alternatively, the two events may be interpreted as noncoextensive. Thus, with respect only to temporal sequencing, the instrumentalized verb strategy appears to specify a more fine-grained circumstantial relation between the linked clauses, whereas we observe a coarser depiction of the event-sequence temporally in the case of the conjunctive participle.

In this respect, then, the two forms differ in regard to the level of circumstantial specificity afforded by each’s use. Moreover, as the corpus data show, the two forms exhibit a degree of complementary specialization with respect to subject reference; the conjunctive participle being used in same-subject sequences, and the instrumentalized form elsewhere. In counterpoint to this complementary distribution, the prior temporal form—which occurs four times in the corpus—sequences events involving two non-patient participants as well as those involving one. Consider (15a)-(15c) and (16).

- (15) a. balla dangələla-dangələla janee-len eliyə-ṭə pænna
 dog fidget-REDUP window-from out-DAT jump-PST
 ‘The dog kept fidgeting about, and jumped out of the window.’
 b. eliyə-ṭə pənəla
 out-DAT jump-PPL
 ‘(He) jumped out.’
 c. wəṭunaamə botəle biñdila laməya balla-wə beerəgattə
 fall-PRTMP bottle break-PPL child dog-ACC rescue-PST
 ‘As (he) fell, the bottle broke and the child rescued the dog.’
- (16) andəree-ṭə meekə əhunamə andəree kiwwa rajjuruwan-ṭə
 A.-DAT this hear-PRTMP A. say-PST king-DAT
 ‘When Andare heard this, he said to the king...’

As the English translations suggest, the events in (15c) and (16) either overlap (as in case of the former) or nearly overlap (as in the latter). For instance, in (15c), the termination of the falling event and the bottle’s breaking coincide. In (16), a period of near punctual duration separates the two events depicted by the utterance. Thus, the prior temporal form contrasts with the instrumentalized verb-*passe* combination, in that they express different temporal relations. The two forms are similar, however, as they both specify a circumstantial relation, in contradistinction with the conjunctive participle, whose use expresses only the gross temporal relation of sequence. In this way, the participle form contrasts with both the instrumentalized verb and prior temporal form, which both express a more specific temporal relation.

The latter verb forms also differ distributionally from the conjunctive participle in that they do not form chains. At least two factors bear on this disparity, the first of which being the

explicit marking of interpropositional relations. As Genetti (2005:43) demonstrates in her discussion of participial and adverbial clauses in Dolokhae, such marking limits the latter's 'freedom of occurrence, and makes them suitable for their discourse function of expressing rhetorical relations.' Genetti continues by arguing that because of this discourse function, adverbial clauses 'do not easily combine into long chains.' Such an analysis accords well with the data and observations of the present study.

For example, the first alternative to the conjunctive participle considered above—namely, the instrumentalized verb form—co-occurs with the independent lexeme *passe* 'after', signaling that the event has come to an end and that another event follows. Similarly, as Gair (2003:811) points out, the prior temporal suffix "is historically derived from a lexical form *hamə*", which means 'when'. This degree of temporal specificity, which is absent in the conjunctive participle, prohibitively reduces the ease with which these adverbial forms could combine into chains.

The second factor potentially contributing to this inability to form chains bears directly on the remainder of the analysis. In addition to the differences between the conjunctive participle and the two temporal alternatives discussed above, the data indicate that the former and latter contrast conceptually in the construal imposed by their use on the relation between the two sequenced events. To illustrate this dissimilarity, first consider (17a)-(17c) below.

- (17) a. wandura kehelgediya kəæwa-in passe mæruna
 monkey banana eat-INST after die-PST
 'After the monkey ate a banana he died.'
- b. wandura kehelgediya kəæwaamə mæruna
 monkey banana eat-PRTMP die-PST
 'When the monkey ate a banana he died.'
- c. wandura kehelgediya kaala mæruna
 monkey banana eat-PPL die-PST
 'The monkey ate a banana and died.'

In (17a), the combination of instrumentalized verb and *passe* profiles the nonoverlapping temporal relation between the two events, namely, the monkey eating a banana and the event of its death. I use the term PROFILE here in the sense of Langacker (1987, 1991), in which a form-meaning pair, such as the verbal construction in (17a), brings into focus 'a particular substructure' of the conceptual content evoked by the construction's use (Langacker 1987:183). This substructure, which may be either a thing or relationship, constitutes one element of the form-meaning pair's 'scope of predication' or 'base.' Together, the base and profiled element evoked by a construction form a relationship which imposes a particular construal on a situation, such as the consecution of two events, as in (17a).

In this example, the base involves two events sequenced temporally, one preceding the other, with a nonpunctual duration of time interposed. It is this nonoverlapping temporal relation that is profiled by the instrumentalized verb-*passe* combination. Similarly, the utterance in (17b) profiles a specific temporal relation, namely one of near-simultaneity, with the first event minimally-preceding the second. Moreover, in (17c), the use of the conjunctive participle also profiles a temporal relation between the events expressed by each clause, but in this case, the relation is less fleshed-out, indicating only consecution. In this way, the three forms appear to be reasonably similar in function, differing only minimally with respect to the

nature and degree of the temporal relation specified by each. Furthermore, a correlational interpretation of the event sequence in each utterance above is possible; that is, one may infer a relation between the two events beyond that of temporality. The possibility of such an interpretation of each utterance raises a descriptive question, namely, whether such a construal of the events results from the conventional profile imposed by each verb form or is arrived at primarily through an interaction of world knowledge and discourse context. One source of possible explanation comes from elicited utterances, such as (18a)-(18b).

- (18) a. kurula sindukiwwa-in passe mage amma aawa
 bird sing-PST-INST after 1SG-GEN mother come-PST
 ‘After the bird sang, my mother arrived.’
- b. kurula sindukiwwaamə mage amma aawa
 bird sing-PRTMP 1SG-GEN mother come-PST
 ‘When the bird sang, my mother arrived.’

Each of these examples depicts a situation involving two events occurring in succession. However, given our knowledge of bird songs and the coming and going of people, the two events are not interpreted as standing in a correlational relation, only one of temporal sequence. Thus, the two verb forms in (18a) and (18b) do not appear to encode a correlation between events beyond that of temporality. With this in mind, we would expect that if the conjunctive participle encoded only temporal consecution, it could felicitously substitute for either verb form in the examples above. This, however, is not the case, as the language consultant rejected the participle’s replacement of either the instrumentalized verb or prior temporal form in this and similar utterances, as is illustrated in (18c) below.

- c. kurula sindukiyəla passe mage amma aawa
 bird sing-PPL after 1SG-GEN mother come-PST
 *‘The bird sang and my mother arrived.’

This disparity in usage provides evidence that the Sinhala conjunctive participle does conventionally profile a correlational relation between the two events in addition to a relation of temporal sequence.

One potential counterargument to such a proposal relies on distributional evidence, namely, the fact that the conjunctive participle overwhelmingly favors event sequences involving same-subject reference. However, as was discussed in Section 3.2, the participle construction can depict event sequences with distinct subjects, as illustrated by example (6), repeated here as (19).

- (19) koccia əwilla api jannə giya
 train come-PPL 1PL go-INF go-PST
 ‘The train came and we left.’

The significance of such utterances lies in the nature of the relation between the two events. In (19), they are not only sequenced, but also exhibit a correlation beyond that of succession. This relationship can be expressed by the English translation Masica (1991:400)

refers to as ‘the most literal’ rendering of the conjunctive participle, namely, ‘Having done Y, X...’ Thus, applying this translation, (19) would read ‘The train having come, we left.’ The use of the PERFECT in this translation captures the continued relevance of the train’s arrival to the event of departure expressed by the second clause. Such a sequentially-interrelated relevance of events is not evidenced by utterances such as (18a) and (18b) above. Instead, in these and similar utterances, the events are construed as standing only in a temporal relation.

4.2. CLAUSE CHAINING. In a related function, the conjunctive participle can occur several times in one utterance expressing a sequence of events. This capacity to form CLAUSE CHAINS (Crane 1992, Genetti 2005, Longacre 1985, Myhill and Hibiya 1988, Terrill 2003) is illustrated by (20) and (21) below.

- (20) æyə nægitala koopi hadəla pattəre kiyəwəla giya
 3F.SG awaken-PPL coffee boil-PPL paper read-PPL go-PST
 ‘She woke up, made coffee, read the paper and left.’
- (21) miniha gallak ussəla wandura-ṭə gahalla duwəla henguna
 man rock-IND lift-PPL monkey-DAT throw-PPL run-PPL hide-PST
 ‘The man picked up a rock, threw it at the monkey, ran away, and hid.’

In both of these utterances, we observe a series of events, temporally-sequenced, involving one subject shared by each clause. Moreover, the sequence of events in each example exhibits a type of correlational coherence absent in utterances such as (18a)-(18b) above. For instance, the events in (20) taken together constitute a larger ‘macro-event,’ namely, what may be termed a prework morning ritual. Each clause thus describes one subevent, the completion of which brings the utterance’s subject one step closer to the culmination of the event chain: departure for work. In this way, the completion of each act—waking up, making coffee, and reading the paper—bears relevantly on the subsequent event in the chain.

Similarly, in (21), the use of the conjunctive participle to express the sequence of actions carried out reflects a ‘correlational curve’ with an inception (picking up a rock) and completion (hiding). As in the preceding example, what may be described here as a monkey attack comprises several subevents, culminating in the event depicted by the tense-marked verb *henguna* ‘hide’.

Thus, the two preceding functions of the conjunctive participle—(simple) event sequencing and clause chaining—correspond conceptually in their construal of event sequences. Specifically, as demonstrated by the discussion of examples illustrative of both functions, the state resulting from an anterior action, such as making the coffee or picking up a rock, persists relevantly until the inception of a subsequent event. In this way, each use of the conjunctive participle profiles both a correlational relation between events and a coarse temporal relation.

4.3. RECAPITULATION. In addition to the preceding functions, the conjunctive participle is also used in cases of recapitulation, as described in Section 3.2. In this capacity, the form in question not only performs the discourse function of repetition, but also serves to sequence two events; one expressed by the repeated information and another predicated by a following clause. Furthermore, the observed correlational relation between successive events is also in evidence, as illustrated by (22a)-(22b).

- (22) a. *baisikəle galəkə həpuna*
 bicycle stone-IND hit-PST
 ‘The bicycle hit a stone.’
- b. *galəkə həpila laməya-i persgeḍi okomə bimə wəṭun*
 stone-IND hit-PPL child-CONJ pears all ground fall-PST
 a
 ‘After hitting the stone, the boy and the pears all fell to the ground.’

In this case, as a result of the first event, the boy riding the bicycle loses his balance and consequently falls to the ground. Thus, the state of imbalance relevantly bears on the boy’s fall. Again, the correlation between these two events can be captured in English by translating the second utterance as ‘Having hit the stone, the boy and his pears all fell to the ground’.

4.4. NON-DEPENDENT PREDICATION. AS was noted in Section 3.2, the Sinhala conjunctive participle is unique among Indo-Aryan languages in its capacity to function as a non-dependent predicate, either monoclausally or as the final verb in the clause. Moreover, in such cases, the participle expresses perfect aspect, as illustrated by the following example.

- (23) *oya heṭə enə-koṭə mamə California wəṭəṭə gihilla*
 2SG tomorrow come-PRES-REL-when 1SG C. PL.INAN.DAT GO-PPL
 ‘When you come tomorrow, I will have left for California.’

Following Comrie (1976:52), I take perfect aspect to indicate ‘the continuing... relevance of a past situation’. We observe this sense precisely in (23) above, in which the continued relevance of ‘having gone’ persists until the interlocutor’s expected arrival. Similarly, in (24a)-(24b), we see that the resulting state of the theft relevantly bears on the man’s observation that his food has been taken, depicted by the participial form of the verb *kəṛəla* ‘do’ in the expression *horəkam kəṛəla*.

- (24) a. *ohuge baharyawə hoyənə-gaman*
 3M.SG-GEN wife look-PRES-REL-when
 ‘While looking for his wife...’
- b. *horek tamange kəæmə horəkam kəṛəla kiyəla ohu dəæka*
 robber self-GEN food theft do-PPL COMP 3M.SG see-PST
 ‘he saw that a robber had stolen his food.’

As examples (23) and (24a)-(24b) show, the Sinhala conjunctive participle can function as a nondependent predicate, occurring as either the main clause verb or embedded in a complement clause. In such cases, we observe a meaning consistent with the interpretation traditionally attributed to the expression of perfect aspect, as the English glosses suggest.

5. COMMON CONSTRUAL. To summarize the findings common to each function considered above (event sequencing, clause chaining, recapitulation, and nondependent predication), we observed first, in cases of two-event sequences, that the conjunctive participle profiles a

correlational relation between the events in addition to a rough temporal relation, as we see in example (25) below.

- (25) maŋ gihilla ee kaaryaləyin əhua mage bææg ekə kohedə kiyəla
 I go- PPL that office ask- PST I-GEN bag one where COMP
 ‘I went to that office and asked, “Where is my bag?”’

Here, the conjunctive participle not only sequences the events of going and asking, but also profiles the correlational coherence between the two events. This correlation, which was shown to be in evidence for the related functions of clause chaining and recapitulation, involves the continued relevance of a resultant state bearing on the event expressed by the following clause. In example (25) above, the resultant state of the speaker going to ‘that office’ relevantly bears on the inquiry made once there. This relationship among events has been observed in Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages by Lindholm (1975) and Masica (1991:400), respectively, the latter noting that, in regard to the conjunctive participle’s use as a clause linkage strategy, ‘not just any two clauses may be so linked: they must have what [Lindholm] calls “natural relevance”—an elusive concept when one tries to define it, but independently cited by other investigators.’

With respect to the construal imposed by the conjunctive participle’s use as a nondependent predicate, we observe a similar relationship in the expression of perfect aspect. In such cases, the participle profiles the continued relevance of a resultant state to the speech act, as well as the moment of a past or future event, as illustrated in (26) below.

- (26) gəhəni kukula-wə marəla dən həmotəmə kaanə puluwan
 woman chicken - ACC kill- PPL now everyone eat- INF can
 ‘The woman has killed the chicken and now everyone can eat.’

In this example, the resultant state of the first event, namely that of killing a chicken, relevantly bears on the speaker’s immediate situation at the time of the utterance. Specifically, the state expressed by the second clause follows as a consequence of killing the chicken. Thus, the construal evoked by the participle’s use in utterances such as (26) parallels the construal imposed by its use as a clause linkage strategy, exemplified in (25). In both cases, a correlational coherence obtains between two situations which involves the resultant state of a prior event relevantly persisting until and directly bearing on a succeeding event. In this way, the scene construal characteristic of perfect aspect conceptually unites the syntactically-disparate functions.

6. CONCLUSION. The significance of the findings presented here are twofold. First, I have presented evidence in favor of a polysemy analysis of the Sinhala conjunctive participle. Specifically, I have argued that a ‘common construal’ is in evidence for each of the participle’s distinct syntactic functions. This construal, which involves a correlational relationship between a prior event and a subsequent situation, crosscuts each of the conjunctive participle’s functions discussed above.

Second, I have shown that the form in question performs a number of the functions typical of converbal constructions, despite its capability to serve as a nondependent predicate. These observations contribute to the ongoing typological dialogue interested in establishing a

crosslinguistic prototype of such forms. Moreover, the data discussed above underscore the disadvantages of emphasizing definitional criteria, such as nonfiniteness and nondependency, at the expense of a prototype model. By narrowing their scope to a neatly delimitable set of forms, such approaches potentially exclude candidates for analysis which would deepen our understanding of how converbal functions are formally-instantiated crosslinguistically.

REFERENCES

- BICKEL, BALTHASAR. 1998. Review of *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, by Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König, eds. *Linguistic Typology* 2.381-397.
- CRANE, LAURA DIANE. 1992. *Clause Chaining in Nepali Discourse*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA dissertation.
- GAIR, JAMES W. 1970. *Colloquial Sinhalese Clause Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- GAIR, JAMES W. 1976. The verb in Sinhala, with some preliminary remarks on Dravidianization. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 5.2.259-273.
- GAIR, JAMES W. 2003. Sinhala. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, ed. by George Cardona and Dhanesh Jain, 766-817. London: Routledge.
- GAIR, JAMES W. and John Paolillo. 1997. *Sinhala*. München: Lincom Europa.
- GENETTI, CAROL. 2005. The Participle Construction of Dolokha Newar: Syntactic Implications of an Asian Converb. *Studies in Language* 29.1.35-87.
- HASPELMATH, MARTIN. 1995. The Converb as a Cross-Linguistically Valid Category. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König, 1-55. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- HASPELMATH, MARTIN. and EKKEHARD KÖNIG. 1995. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- LANGACKER, RONALD. 1987. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. 1*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- LANGACKER, RONALD. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. 2*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- LINDHOLM, JAMES. 1975. *The Conceptual Basis of the Tamil Adverbial Participle*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago dissertation.
- LONGACRE, ROBERT. 1985. Sentences as combinations of clauses. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description 2: Complex Constructions*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, 235-286. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MASICA, COLIN. 1976. *Defining a Linguistic Area*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MASICA, COLIN. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MYHILL, JOHN and JUNKO HIBIYA. 1988. The Discourse Function of Clause Chaining. *Clause Combining in Grammar and Discourse*, ed. by John Haiman and Sandra A. Thompson, 361-398. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- NEDJALKOV, IGOR'. 1995. Converbs in Evenki. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König, 441-463. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- TERRILL, ANGELA. 2003. *A Grammar of Lavukaleve*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- TIKKANEN, BERTIL. 1995. Burushaski Converbs in their South and Central Asian Context. *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König, 487-528. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rice University
Department of Linguistics, MS 23
6100 Main Street
Houston, TX 77005-1892
sastre@rice.edu