

Position paper on Phasal Polarity expressions

Raija Kramer (University of Hamburg)

1 Introduction

The paper deals with a category of expressions that will henceforth be referred to as Phasal Polarity (PhP). PhP expressions are well described in a bulk of well-known European languages such as English, German, Dutch, French or Russian. However, in non-European languages, e.g. in most sub-Saharan African languages, this category has not received much attention.

English examples of PhP expressions are depicted in (1a)-(1d).

- (1) PhP expressions in English (Van Baar 1997:1)
 - (a) *Peter is **already** in London.*
 - (b) *Peter is **still** in London.*
 - (c) *Peter is **no longer** in London.*
 - (d) *Peter is **not yet** in London.*

These expressions are phasal as they involve reference points at two related phases implying situations which are contrasted as opposites with different polarity values, i.e. one of the two situations in question holds (+) whereas the other does not (-). In other words, the expressions *already* and *still* in (1a)-(1b) signal that the state included in the proposition (i.e. Peter's being in London) is the case at reference time implying a further reference point at a prior (*already*) or subsequent (*still*) phase where this state is not the case (i.e. Peter's not being in London). Accordingly, the negative expressions *no longer* and *not yet* in (1c) and (1d) mark the non-occurrence of the state (i.e. Peter's not being in London) at reference time while implying a reference point at a prior (*no longer*) or subsequent (*not yet*) phase where this state holds (i.e. Peter's being in London). Thus, Van Baar (1997:40) defines PhP expressions as "structured means of expressing polarity in a sequential perspective".

The parameters under which PhP expressions will be discussed here are based on a synthetic conceptualization of PhP systems, taking Löbner's *Duality Hypothesis* (Löbner 1989), Van der Auwera's *Double Alternative Hypothesis* and *Continuative Paradigm* (Van der Auwera 1993, 1998) and the *PhP Typology* of Van Baar (1997) into account. In the next sections, the following six parameters will provide a framework and first guideline for classifying PhP expressions in an individual language. Whereas the first three parameters are more concerned with semantic values of PhP expressions, the last three parameters reflect their structural properties.

(1) **COVERAGE:** Specialized PhP items (i.e. affixes, clitics, single words or constructions that achieved PhP meanings via a process of semantic specialization) may be involved in one, or more than one PhP expression. Languages with PhP items that are restricted to the coverage

of just one PhP concept will be assumed as being RIGID concerning their PhP system, whereas languages with PhP items covering more than one PhP concept will be termed as FLEXIBLE.

(2) **PRAGMATIVITY:** PhP expressions imply two referent points of situations with different polarity values that are temporally related in two subsequent phases or pragmatically related in two simultaneous phases, one that is taking place, the other that is being expected. PhP expressions may thus signal exclusively NEUTRAL scenarios (with temporally subsequent phases) or COUNTERFACTUAL scenarios (with simultaneous phases, an actual and an expected one). In many cases, however, they can express PhP meanings referring to both scenarios, although one use (NEUTRAL or COUNTERFACTUAL) may be more prominent in an individual language.

(3) **TELICITY:** The PhP domain is organized based on phasal values. Two concepts of the domain, ALREADY and NO LONGER, are explicitly telic as they imply a point of polarity change. However, the concepts STILL and NOT YET are not telic due to the future status of the moment of polarity change. As for telic PhP concepts, languages may differ on how they relate the point of change to the time axis. Thus, telic PhP expressions may rule out a LATE or an EARLY evaluation of the moment of change, or they may be more GENERAL markers as they are not sensitive to the relation of the transgression of polarity values to an early or late point on the time axis.

(4) **WORDHOOD:** The item(s) involved in a PhP expression may or may not form independent grammatical or phonological words. The status of PhP items may range from AUXILIARIES that show verbal properties and are hosts for grammatical markers (e.g. person or tense/aspect markers), to unbound, uninflected PARTICLES and bound AFFIXES which themselves need host words.

(5) **EXPRESSIBILITY:** The four concepts involved in the PhP system may or may not be expressed by specialized items. The structural gaps or 'holes' in the PhP category may range from ZERO in languages where all PhP concepts are coded to FOUR where none of these concepts is overtly marked by specialized items.

(6) **PARADIGMATIVITY:** A basic distinction between SYMMETRIC and ASYMMETRIC PhP paradigms will be made. Thereby, the PARADIGMATIVITY parameter is observed from an internal perspective asking whether the items signaling PhP concepts form a SYMMETRIC or ASYMMETRIC paradigm, i.e. whether a certain type of (positive or negative) PhP expression has or has not a corresponding alternative with opposite polarity value in an individual language. Whereas, from an external viewpoint, the parameter concerns the question whether or not the correspondences between the members of the paradigms used in PhP expressions and non-PhP expressions are one-to-one (SYMMETRIC) or not (ASYMMETRIC) in an individual language.

The values of the parameters presented here are (in most cases) not to be taken as distinct categories with clear boundaries but as being rather prototypically organized in a continuum with fuzzy transitions. It is also not possible to clearly draw a line between parameters that exclusively are associated with semantic/functional values and formal ones but there is a form-function mapping to be considered as will be explicated in the following sections.

2 Conceptualizations of PhP expressions

This section will be concerned with the parameters 1 to 3, which mainly relate to sets of semantic values bundled in the conceptualization of PhP expressions.

2.1 Internal/external negation relationships between PhP expression and COVERAGE

One approach to define the semantic relationships between PhP expressions stems from Löbner (1989). He formulates in the so called *Duality Hypothesis* that PhP expressions are semantically related in a coherent system of internal and external negation. In Fig. 1., this conceptualization of PhP is partially depicted as it considers the relations of external and internal negation between the horizontally and vertically facing PhP concepts in the figure, but not the dual relationship (i.e. the external negation of an internal negation) between diagonally ordered PhP concepts.

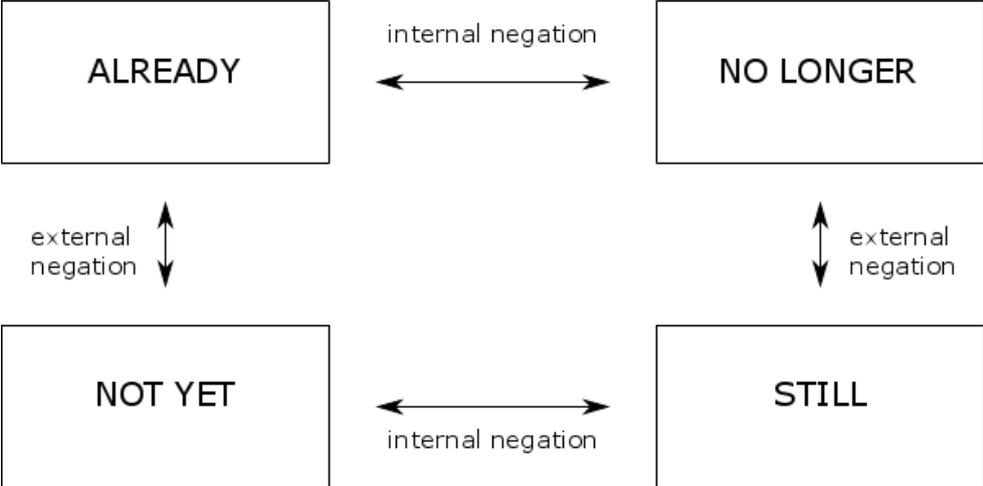


Fig. 1: The system of semantic relations between PhP concepts (cf. Löbner 1989:172)

In this schematization of semantic relations between PhP concepts, external negation means that an element falls within the scope of negation (e.g. NOT (x)), whereas internal negation means that an element has the negation in its scope (e.g. (x NOT)). Thus, Fig. 1 has to be read as follows: The horizontally opposing concepts are related through internal negation, e.g. the concept of NOT YET is defined as the internal negation of STILL (i.e. *still (not do/undergo x) = not yet*). The vertically opposing concepts are related through external negation, e.g. the concept of NOT YET may also be defined as the external negation of ALREADY (i.e. *not (already do/undergo x) = not yet*). The reason for depicting the relations of internal and external

negation, but not that of duality is motivated by the fact that the semantic relations of external and internal negations between PhP concepts are most often, at least partly, realized on the surface of an individual language, whereas the relationship of duality is not.

There are examples of individual languages which express all four PhP concepts by means of different PhP items, as in English *already*, *no longer*, *still*, and *not yet*, cf. examples under (1). But there are also examples of languages in which PhP realizations display the PhP concepts' relationships of internal and external negation. As shown in (2a)-(2d), the Spanish PhP system is totally coded on the basis of internal negations. The items of positive PhP expressions are both involved in negative PhP expressions as internal negations, i.e. the ALREADY item *ya* is part of the NO LONGER expression *ya no* (= *already (not p)*) and the STILL item *todavía* appears in the NOT YET expression *todavía no* (*still (not p)*).

(2) PhP expressions in Spanish (Garrido 1992:358f.,361-362)

(a) ALREADY in Spanish

María ya vive aquí

“Mary already lives here.”

(b) NO LONGER in Spanish

María ya no vive aquí

“Mary no longer lives here.”

(c) STILL in Spanish

El niño duerme todavía

“The child is still sleeping.”

(d) NOT YET in Spanish

El niño no duerme todavía

“The child is not sleeping yet.”

As can be seen in the examples from Classical Nahuatl, (3a)-(3d), a language may also exclusively make use of external negations for signaling NOT YET and NO LONGER expressions. In Classical Nahuatl, the ALREADY item *ye* also codes the NOT YET expression in an external negation construction (*aya* (< *ah-* + *ye* NEG + ‘already’) = *not (already p)*). The same holds for the STILL item *oc* that is involved in an external negation to signal the NO LONGER concept (*ayoc* (< *ah-* + *oc* NEG + ‘still’) = *not (still p)*) (cf. Andrews 2003:35-36).

(3) PhP expressions in Classical Nahuatl (Andrews 2003:76, 92, 175)

(a) ALREADY in Classical Nahuatl

ye *iztaya*
already it.is.becoming.white
“it is already becoming white”

(b) NOT YET in Classical Nahuatl

aya *temo*
NEG.already it.descends
“it does not yet descend”

(c) STILL in Classical Nahuatl

oc *yōliyah*
still they.were.living
“they are still alive”

(d) NO LONGER in Classical Nahuatl

ayoc *āc*
NEG.still he/she.is.present
“he is no longer here”

In most languages, at least one negative PhP expression shares an item with a positive PhP expression as in German where the NOT YET concept is realized as internal negation of the STILL expression but the NO LONGER expression is not formally related to a positive PhP item, cf. examples in (4a)-(4d).

(4) PhP expressions in German (Löbner 1989:171-172)

(a) STILL in German

*das Licht ist **noch** an*
“the light is still on”

(b) NOT YET in German

*das Licht ist **noch nicht** an*
“the light is not on yet”

(c) ALREADY in German

*das Licht ist **schon** an*
“the light is already on”

(d) NOT YET in German

*das Licht ist **nicht mehr** an*

“the light is no longer on”

Further, there are languages, which use one positive PhP expression as basis to express both, NOT YET and NO LONGER concepts by means of internal and external negations. In the examples from Turkana, (5a)-(5c), NO LONGER is coded as external negation and NOT YET as internal negation of the STILL expression. (An example of a language in which an ALREADY item forms part of NO LONGER *and* NOT YET expressions has not yet been attested, as far as I know.)

(5) PhP expressions in Turkana (Dimmendaal 1983:138,458-459)

(a) STILL in Turkana

à-ròkò ayɔŋ a-ye-ì

I-still me I-be-A

“I am still there”

(b) NOT YET (= *still* (NOT p)) in Turkana

è-ròkò apèse ɲ-è-nap-à ewòrù keŋ lɔkiùset

3-still girl **not-3-wear-V** cloth her wedding

“the girl does not wear her wedding dress yet”

(c) NO LONGER (= NOT (*still* p)) in Turkana

ɲ-è-rokò apèse è-nàp-ìt ewòrù keŋ lɔkiùset

not-3-still girl 3-wear-A cloth her wedding

“the girl no longer wears her wedding dress”

A classification of PhP in an individual language along the parameter COVERAGE should then refer to the conceptual areas which are covered by single PhP items. I consider a language with distinct specialized items each expressing a different PhP concept as having a RIGID PhP coverage system, e.g. English. Whereas languages with FLEXIBLE PhP coverage systems comprise PhP items that are involved in expressions of more than one PhP concept. Which conceptual PhP areas are covered by the item(s) in question has to be described language-specifically in detail.

2.2 Double alternative scenarios and PRAGMATIVITY

The PRAGMATIVITY parameter is based on Van der Auwera’s (1993) assumption that PhP expressions may signal two different scenarios (sometimes termed as *Double Alternative Hypothesis*). As mentioned above, PhP expressions always require two reference points within situations of identical propositional but different polarity values. However, depending on an

individual language and/or used in different discourse contexts, PhP expressions differ in regard to their degree of pragmatic sensitivity. Thus, PhP expressions may be ordered along a pragmatic continuum ranging from low to high degree of pragmatic markedness. Basically, we can differentiate between pragmatically NEUTRAL PhP expressions involving temporally-sequentially related phases and COUNTERFACTUAL PhP expressions with simultaneous phases. This will be illustrated by examples of different uses of ALREADY expressions from English (for more elaborated illustrations of possible scenarios involving all four PhP expressions cp. Van der Auwera (1993:620-622) and Van Baar (1997:27-35)).

The background shared by the presented ALREADY examples should be considered as follows: Two friends, Janet and Fiona, have arranged to meet at Janet’s home to watch their favorite TV serial at 6 p.m. At 8 p.m., Fiona intends to leave Janet’s home because Janet usually goes to sleep at this time. Against this background, Fiona utters *Janet is already sleeping*. Two interpretations are possible depending on alternative uses of *already* in different circumstances. In one type of *already* use, the NEUTRAL scenario use, the positive situation (BE SLEEPING) is contrasted to a prior negative situation (NOT BE SLEEPING): Consider that, due to traffic jam, Fiona is not able to reach Janet’s home in time but arrives at 9 p.m. when Janet has gone to bed. In this scenario, Fiona’s utterance is a means of contrasting the actual situation with a situation in which she would have arrived earlier and Janet would not have been sleeping yet, cf. Fig. 2.

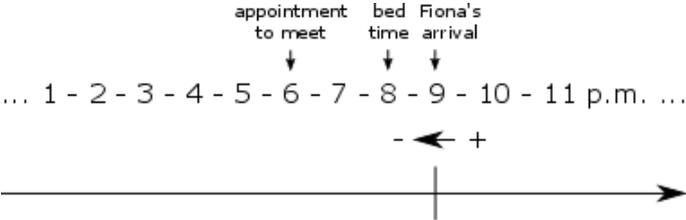


Fig. 2: The NEUTRAL scenario of ALREADY

In the other type of *already* use, the COUNTERFACTUAL scenario use, the positive situation is contrasted to a simultaneously expected negative situation. Consider now that Fiona did arrive in time, and it is Janet who disregards the appointment and has decided to go to bed earlier this day, say at 5 p.m. At Fiona’s arrival at 6 p.m. Janet is sleeping. In this scenario the negative situation referred to by the PhP expression *Janet is already sleeping* is not anterior but simultaneous and counterfactual because Fiona did not expect Janet to sleep against the presupposed background. In Fig. 3, the dotted line represents the presupposed background of

the scenario, the actual scenario is symbolized by a continuous line, a vertical line stands for a change of states in the presupposed as well as in the actual scenario.

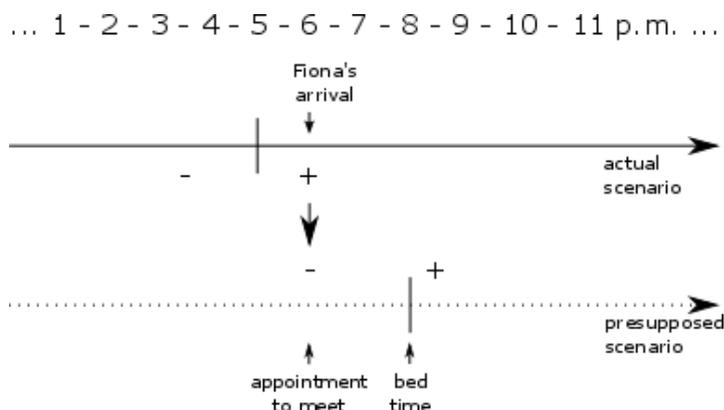


Fig. 3: The COUNTERFACTUAL scenario of ALREADY

The same can be acted out by using STILL, NO LONGER and NOT YET expressions. The reference points relevant to the specific PhP expressions are then either related in a NEUTRAL way as parts of temporally subsequent phases with different polarity values, or they are related in a COUNTERFACTUAL way in simultaneous phases (or phase sequences), one that is expected, and another that is actually taking place. As presupposed background information is explicitly contrasted to an actual state of affairs, the COUNTERFACTUAL meaning of PhP expression is highly pragmatically motivated.

Formally, PhP expressions referring to NEUTRAL or COUNTERFACTUAL scenarios may be coded in a different manner, as it is the case e.g. in French, (6a)-(6b), or in Korean, (7a)-(7b). However, in the sample languages of Van Baar (1997), different scenarios are most often signaled in the same way, while the NEUTRAL or COUNTERFACTUAL interpretation is due to the contextual circumstances.

(6) ALREADY expressions in French (Välikangas 1982:374, cited from Van Baar 1997:75)

(a) NEUTRAL scenario

L'arbre fleurit déjà.

“The tree is blossoming already” (it didn’t bloom before)

(b) COUNTERFACTUAL scenario

L'arbre fleurit DÉJÀ!

“The tree is already blossoming” (now, and NOT later)

(7) ALREADY expressions in Korean (Lee 2008:347)¹

(a) NEUTRAL scenario

John-i imi ca-n-ta

John-NOM already₁ sleep-PRES-DEC

“John is already asleep (there was a preceding negative state)”

(b) COUNTERFACTUAL scenario

John-i pelsse ca-n-ta

John-NOM already₂ sleep-PRES-DEC

“John is already asleep (too early/contrary to expectation)”

Van Baar (1997:65) considers the COUNTERFACTUAL scenario of PhP expressions as more ‘extreme’ than the NEUTRAL one and, consequently, places the latter in a more central position within its conceptualization of the PhP system. However, it has to be questioned whether this assumption of NEUTRAL core scenarios and peripheral COUNTERFACTUAL scenarios really holds. In fact, there are individual languages with PhP expressions that seem to rely more on COUNTERFACTUAL than on NEUTRAL scenarios, e.g. for the Turkana STILL item *-rĩŋa/-ròko*, Dimmendaal (1983:137) identifies the “expression of unexpected state of affairs” as core meaning. And, this may also be the case for the ALREADY and NOT YET items in Swahili *-mesha-* and *-ja-*, which are discussed as members of a grammatical category termed as the “unexpected” (*das Unerwartete*) by Schadeberg (1990).

Therefore, a categorization of PhP expressions along the parameter PRAGMATICITY has to provide information about same or different coding of COUNTERFACTUAL and NEUTRAL scenarios and to clarify, if necessary, which scenario is more central for a PhP item in an individual language.

2.3 The phasal organization of the PhP domain and TELICITY

The PhP domain is basically organized along phasal values, and as Plungian (1999:313) puts it, the inventory of phasal meanings is basically inchoative (‘p begins’), terminative (‘p stops’), and continuative (‘p continues’). Van der Auwera (1998:25) defines the PhP paradigm as basically continuative as they refer “to phases of continuation [...] or the lack thereof (change)”.

¹ Lee’s (2008) interpretation of ALREADY expressions in Korean contradicts Van Baar’s (1997) one as, according to Lee, it is *pelesse* (or *bølesse*, as Van Baar transcribes it) that „explicitly contrasts the asserted information with an alternative state“ (ibid. 349) and is termed as focus adverb whereas *imi* codes the pragmatically unmarked PhP expression (in Van Baar’s (1997:74) table on ALREADY expressions in the sample languages he puts it the other way round).

The concepts that deal with the continuation of a situation *p* are STILL (+*p*) and NOT YET (- *p*). Van der Auwera (1998:35) terms these concepts as “continuative” (STILL) and “negative continuative” (NOT YET). The concepts which lack continuation but imply a point of change that has no future status, as in the continuative concepts, are ALREADY and NO LONGER. ALREADY and NO LONGER expressions mark (positive and negative) situations that are bound to a point of polarity change. As they both refer to two moments, the point of reference and the preceding situation, they comprehend both, the end of one situation (a negative or positive one) and the beginning of another situation with opposing polarity value. Hence, ALREADY and NO LONGER expressions bound situations to the transgression point at two sides (ending and beginning). These concepts are telic in the sense of Lehmann (1991:199-201) who considers a telic situation as one being bound to (one of) its boundaries subsuming ingressive (inchoative) and terminative states of affairs.

The labeling of phasal concepts proposed here as well as the conceptualization of the whole field deviate from those given by Van der Auwera (1998:43-46). The terms that Van der Auwera (1998:35) introduces for ALREADY and NO LONGER expressions are “inchoative” and “discontinuative”. Van der Auwera (1998:38-39) claims that languages may organize the PhP domain either in a symmetric or in an asymmetric way. In a symmetric system, the field of PhP is organized along four phases that carry equal weight, i.e. STILL and NOT YET are conceptualized as unbound stretches of positive or negative situations at reference time, whereas ALREADY and NO LONGER are conceptualized as stretches of positive or negative situations bound to their beginning, cf. Fig. 4.

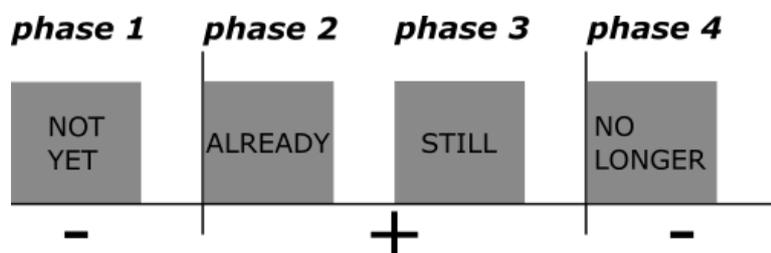


Fig. 4: Organization of a symmetric phasal system along four phases according to van der Auwera (1998:43) (“-” indicates a time span in which a situation does not hold, “+” indicates a time span in which a situation holds)

In contrast, for an asymmetric system three continuative concepts are central filling unbound stretches of negative and positive situations at reference time (implying a further reference point at a preceding or subsequent situation), namely NOT YET (- *p*), STILL (+ *p*), and NO LONGER (- *p*). The asymmetric organization of the phasal system is depicted in Fig. 5. In such systems the ALREADY expression is left unexpressed, or it is a kind of filler insofar that it doesn’t fit the paradigm, i.e. either the negative PhP concepts are expressed as the internal/external negations of the STILL item or its morphological status/morphosyntactic behavior differs from that of the other PhP items.

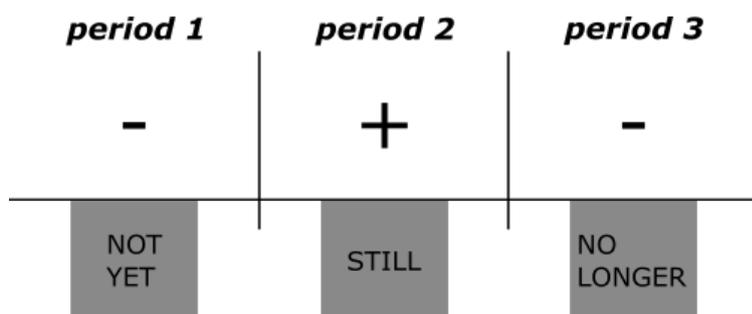


Fig. 5: Organization of an asymmetric phasal system along three periods according to van der Auwera (1998:44-45) (“-” indicates a time span in which a situation does not hold, “+” indicates a time span in which a situation holds)

The assumption of symmetric and asymmetric organizations of the PhP domain serves to explain Van der Auwera’s observation in his sample languages that it is most often the ALREADY concept that lacks an overt expression and that ALREADY items are more frequently borrowed from other languages than items for the other three concepts. On the one hand, Van der Auwera provides a rather convenient solution to explain the formal expression of PhP concepts in cases where ALREADY really is an odd member of the paradigm. But on the other hand, there are proved cases of languages where ALREADY belongs to the PhP paradigm and other concepts are unexpressed, as is the case in Tigrinya and Navajo which have no expression for NO LONGER but formally realize the other concepts (cf. Van Baar 1997:39). Secondly, it is difficult to check in an individual language whether an ALREADY expression as “inchoative” signals the contiguity of a situation to the moment of change whereas a NO LONGER expression really does not.²

But, what is possible to check in an individual language is whether the points of polarity change implied in telic PhP concepts are relatively EARLY, LATE or GENERAL in comparison to the background assumption. Van der Auwera (1998:50) classifies ALREADY expressions into three groups: he differentiates between “*already* inchoatives” which signal an early (or neutral) point of change, “*artik* inchoatives” which signal a late (or neutral) point of change, and “*ya* inchoatives” which signal a general (early, late, or neutral) point of change. His classification is based on the association of the turning point with earliness or lateness in relation to the background assumption in the COUNTERFACTUAL scenario (in the NEUTRAL scenario the turning point is neither early nor late). In English, the item *already* in COUNTERFACTUAL expressions as in example (7) is used to mark the real point of polarity change being early relative to the counterfactual (expected) turning point.

(7) ALREADY expression in English (Van der Auwera 1993:621)

*I’ve met a girl who is only 13 years old but she is **already** married.*

² For a more extensive discussion on Van der Auwera’s continuativity paradigm of the PhP field see Van Baar (1997:35-40).

The ALREADY expression *artık* in Turkish signals in counterfactual scenarios that the turning point is later than expected, as shown in example (8).

(8) ALREADY expressions in Turkish (Göksel/Kerslake 2005:134)

ev bu yıl artık sat-ıl-acak
house this year already sell-PASS-FUT
“The house will finally be sold this year.”

Finally, there are languages with an ALREADY item which may signal early as well as late turning points in COUNTERFACTUAL expressions, as Spanish *ya* in the examples (9a)-(9b).

(9) ALREADY expressions in Spanish (Koike 1996:271, 273)

(a) ... *pero ya el sol se estaba poniendo*
“but already the sun was going down”

(b) *ya se enojó Olivia conmigo*
“Olivia finally got angry with me”

Thus, ALREADY expressions are classified according to whether they express the real turning point as EARLY (like *already* in English), LATE (like *artık* in Turkish) or GENERAL (like *ya* in Spanish) in relation to the turning point of the alternatively assumed background scenario. Van Baar (1997:30-31) extends this ALREADY classification to the other telic PhP concept NO LONGER where one could expect that turning points (from a positive to a negative situation) could be marked as EARLY, LATE or GENERAL in relation to the expected background scenario. However, he concedes that a LATE turning point in NO LONGER expressions is not overtly marked in most of the languages he considers (Van Baar 1997:70). Nonetheless, a description of the PhP system in an individual language should comment on the (possibility of) marking LATE, EARLY, or GENERAL turning points of both telic PhP expressions, i.e. ALREADY and NO LONGER.

3 Formalizations of PhP expressions

After the brief discussion on mainly functional/semantic aspects of PhP expression in the previous section, I turn to structural properties of PhP elements/paradigms because the question cannot be neglected what items should be concentrated on from a formal perspective.

3.1 Grammaticalization degrees of PhP items and WORDHOOD

Van Baar (1997:213) states that “PhP-expressions are always specialized items” and although they often appear as adverbials or particles they do not necessarily do so. In fact, also verbs/auxiliaries and (verbal) affixes may be means to express PhP concepts. And, even if Van der Auwera (1998:29-33) focusses in his study on adverbials as formal representations of PhP

items, he notes that, in individual languages, auxiliaries and affixes may serve this function. Illustrations of particles/adverbials, auxiliaries, and verbal affixes which express PhP concepts are shown in the examples (10)-(12).

(10) Particle as STILL item in Mundang (Elders 2000:380)

mè dòn yéḅ b̂à
 1SG do.VN work still
 “I am still working”

(11) Auxiliary as ALREADY item in Hausa (Jaggar 2001:597)

sun rìgá sun gamà?
 3PL.PF already 3PL.PF finish
 “have they already finished?”

(12) STILL item as part of verbal inflectional morphology in Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993:210)

Jusuf.a k'walax-zama
 Jusuf(ERG) work-IMPF.CONT
 “Jusuf is still working”

In Mundang, cf. (10), the STILL particle *b̂à* is an independent word appearing clause-finally in a fixed syntactic position. The Hausa example in (11) has to be analyzed as one construction consisting of two verbal components with the literal meaning “they have already done, they have finished”. The element *rìgá* shares properties with main verbs as it must be preceded by a marker which combines pronominal and aspectual information. However, it differs from an ordinary main verb as it cannot stand alone, but has to be followed by another verb which carries the semantic load and is obligatorily marked identically with respect to the preceding pronominal/aspectual element. The PhP item *rìgá* is thus to be interpreted as an auxiliary. The verbal PhP suffix *-zama* in Lezgian, cf. (12), developed from the combination of an imperfective auxiliary, a local copula and a phasal particle *mad* ‘yet’ (Haspelmath 1993:130, 322-323). As shown in the examples above, the PhP category need not to be expressed by means of one specific form. The items in (10)-(12) have different categorial status and are more or less dependent on other lexemes or grammatical markers. However, they all have in common that they are specialized elements to express PhP concepts.

Because PhP items formally differ a lot from each other, it is not possible to claim one formal representation with the same word class status as criteria for the assignment of elements to the category of PhP expressions. The last example in (12) further demonstrates that PhP items may undergo processes of grammaticalization and may change the word class category over time. Consequently, Van der Auwera (1998:30) and Van Baar (1997:214) argue that the categorial

status of PhP items as particles/adverbials, verbs, auxiliaries or verbal morphology reflects different positions along a grammaticalization scale. These scales may imply rather different developments depending on the input as well as on the grammaticalization mechanisms involved. Van Baar (1997:256) states that verbs form the source for auxiliaries, elements of nearly any word class may be involved in the development of particles, and auxiliaries, particles, or derivational elements participate in the grammaticalization of affixes. Thus, the criteria for the inclusion of an element to the PhP category is not its affiliation to a specific word class but a certain degree of grammaticalization. This is accompanied by the semantic specialization of a PhP expression, its generalization, i.e. broadening of the context in which these items may be used, and its tendency to form close-knit paradigms with the other PhP expressions manifesting certain regularities (cp. Van Baar 1997:70-71).

The loss of phonological (and grammatical) independence is one of the processes that may be observed in grammaticalization processes (e.g. Heine/Reh 1984:32-35). The parameter of WORDHOOD could then also be assumed as an indicator for the progression of grammaticalization. A formal description of PhP expressions should thus pay attention to the degree of phonological and grammatical dependency of the PhP items in question informing about their status as AUXILIARIES, uninflected independent forms (PARTICLES), or AFFIXES being part of the verbal morphology of an individual language.

3.2 Overtly formal marking of PhP items and EXPRESSIBILITY

The parameter EXPRESSIBILITY concerns the possibility of formal coding of PhP expressions. The parameter has to be seriously taken into account as, cross-linguistically, it can be observed that it is not all languages that have expressions for each of the four PhP concepts. This is illustrated in the Tigrinya example in (13), where a formal distinction between a neutral negative construction on the one hand, and a NO LONGER construction on the other is lacking. If a language has no overtly formal PhP marker or coding strategy, it will be considered as having a gap in the PhP expression category.

(13) NOT/NO LONGER expression in Tigrinya (Van Baar 1997:48)

Peter ab Lenden yelon

P. in L. NEG.be_present

1. "Peter is not in London."
2. "Peter is not in London anymore"

However, languages seem not to lack formal coding of PhP concepts in an arbitrary way but there are patterns where formal "holes" in the PhP system appear. For European languages, Van der Auwera (1997:36-37) states that it is always the ALREADY concept which lacks an (adverbial!) coding strategy if just one formal hole occurs in an individual language, and gives

Albanian, Ossetic, Assyrian, Dargwa, Kabardian, and Mansi as examples for languages with an ALREADY gap in their PhP system. However, Van Baar (1997:117) who also considers PhP systems of some non-European languages adds Tamil and Tigrinya as examples of languages with a sole lexical gap in the position of NO LONGER, not ALREADY. Languages having two gaps in their PhP system in Van Baar's (1997:116-117) sample do not code ALREADY and NO LONGER, as e.g. in Navajo and Pitjantjatjara, or they (rarely) lack formal strategies to express STILL and NOT YET, as e.g. in Usan. Further, Van Baar (1997:117) and Van der Auwera (1998:36-37) cite examples, e.g. Kalmyk and Laz, for the extreme case of languages without any PhP coding at all. Languages that formally mark just one PhP expression but lack strategies to express the remaining three PhP concepts have not been found yet. However, Van Baar (1997:116) as well as Van der Auwera (1998:36) notice that most of their sample languages have coding strategies for all four PhP concepts.

Taking the observed patterns of the distribution of PhP gaps into account, Van Baar (1997:118) formulates an expressibility hypothesis, cited under (14), leading to a classification of different PhP-expressibility types which remain to be critically proven.

(14) Expressibility hypothesis

- a. the majority of languages have all four PhP-types
- b. there are languages without PhP-expressions
- c. in languages with an incomplete PhP-system, the "hole" is found:
 1. either in NO LONGER, or in ALREADY, or in both of them or
 2. both in STILL and in NOT YET

A description of the PhP system in an individual language should therefore provide information about the amount of lexical gaps, possibly ranging from FOUR to ZERO and describe in detail for what concepts formal coding is lacking. If there is no specialized item for a particular PhP concept, it should further be mentioned whether it is a functionally vague construction providing also PhP meaning, as in the Tigrinya example (13) above, or whether paraphrases are used to express PhP, as in the Hausa example in (15) using a verb *bar* 'to leave' in order to express the NO LONGER concept. However, in the latter case, even though *bar* may come close to the meaning of *no longer* in certain contexts, this item only makes reference to (the ending of) a positive state of affairs. On the contrary, a specialized *no longer* construction expresses that some state of affairs is not taking place, thereby presupposing that it has taken place at an earlier stage.

(15) NO LONGER paraphrase in Hausa (Umma Aliyu Musa, pc)

naa bar shân taba

1SG.CPL leave drink tobacco

“I no longer smoke”

3.3 Internal and external distribution patterns of PhP expressions and PARADIGMATIVITY

Concerning the parameter PARADIGMATIVITY, it has to be differentiated between an internal and an external viewpoint. Internal PARADIGMATIVITY has to do with an individual language’s PhP paradigm itself, assuming that a certain type of (positive or negative) PhP expression has an expected or presupposed equivalent with an opposite polarity value. Thus, it is assumed that PhP expressions evoke the expectation of a contrary alternative scenario, and Van Baar (1997:61) suggests that this expectation of alternative scenarios is realized in two ways, namely that ALREADY is the logical alternative of NOT YET, and STILL is in opposition to NO LONGER. Languages may have an internal SYMMETRIC paradigm where some sort of complementarity may be attested because the paradigm contains elements that express logically alternative PhP concepts and can be ascribed the same status of grammatical category, e.g. the particle expressions *noch (nicht), schon, nicht mehr* in German or the verbal prefixes *-ja-* and *-mesha-* in the Swahili paradigm, cf. (16) and (17).

(16) Internal SYMMETRIC PhP paradigm ALREADY-NOT YET, STILL-NO LONGER in German (personal knowledge)

(a) A: *Ist er schon zu Hause?*

B: *Nein, noch nicht.*

“A: Is he home already? – B: No, not yet.”

(b) A: *Ist er noch zu Hause?*

B: *Nein, nicht mehr.*

“A: Is he still home? – B: No, not anymore.”

(17) Internal SYMMETRIC PhP paradigm ALREADY-NOT YET in Swahili (Schadeberg 1990:1)

wa-mesha-fik-a - *ha-wa-ja-fik-a*

CL2-already-come-FV - NEG-CL2-not.yet-come-FV

“they have already arrived. – they have not yet arrived.”

Otherwise, there are languages with an internal ASYMMETRIC PhP paradigm because they lack a formal expression of the expected opposite PhP expression, as in the Tigrinya example in (13) above. Or, the specialized PhP items of the alternative scenarios do not belong to the same word class category or can syntactically not be parallelized. E.g. in the Fulfulde examples (18a), ALREADY is expressed by a Completive form of the phasal verb *timm-* ‘to finish’ in clause-final

position, whereas NOT YET is expressed by the auxiliary *siwaa* (with an original meaning ‘not to be ready’, Boutché, pc) followed by an infinite complement structure, cf. (18b).

(18) Internal ASYMMETRIC PhP paradigm ALREADY-NOT YET in Adamawa Fulfulde (Jean-Pierre Boutché, pc)

(a) A: *Piyer ummaake London timmi naa?*
P. leave.CPL L. finish.CPL Q

B: *siwaa*
not.yet

“A: Has Peter left London already? B: Not yet.”

(b) *Piyer siwaa yottaago London*
P. not.yet arrive.INF L.

“Peter has not come to London yet.”

From an external viewpoint, the PARADIGMATIVITY parameter is a matter of the relation between members of the PhP paradigms and members of the corresponding non-PhP paradigms, here restricted to paradigms of the domains of Tense, Mood and Aspect (TMA) in an individual language. In a complete external SYMMETRIC paradigm the members of all PhP paradigms would show a one-to-one relation to the members of all corresponding non-PhP TMA paradigms. However, in almost all cases the relations between PhP and the fields of TMA are rather delicate and extremely intricate. Thus, external paradigms are, if at all, only partially SYMMETRIC. If an external paradigm can be described as partially SYMMETRIC, it has then to be specified what PhP concept paradigm shows one-to-one correspondences to the paradigm of which TMA field. E.g. in English, the external NOT YET paradigm can be described as SYMMETRIC concerning the tense paradigm as all temporal distinctions may occur in corresponding NOT YET constructions, cf. (19).

(19) External SYMMETRIC tense-NOT YET paradigm in English (Van Baar 1997:58)

He wasn't/isn't/won't be here yet.

In contrast to external SYMMETRIC paradigms, external ASYMMETRIC paradigms do not show one-to-one correspondences between a specific TMA paradigm and the paradigm of one PhP concept. In PhP paradigms specific TMA types may completely be blocked. E.g. in Irish, the Future tense may not occur in ALREADY expressions, as shown in example (20).

(20) External ASYMMETRIC ALREADY paradigm in Irish (Van Baar 1997:138)

**beidh sé anseo cheana*
be.FUT he here already

“He will be here already”

In some languages, there are different items signaling the same PhP concept which has to be used according to the TMA marking of the expression in which they occur. E.g. in Burmese, there are two STILL elements, the verbal affix *-thei* (*-dhè*) on the one hand, that is restricted to Realis marked expressions, and the verbal affix *-oũñ* on the other hand, which is used in combination with Irrealis marked expressions, cf. (21a)-(21b).

(21) External ASYMMETRIC STILL paradigm in Burmese (Van Baar 1997:139)

(a) *Pita Landan-hma shí-dhè-deh*

P. London-in be_located-still-REAL

“Peter is still in London”

(b) *htǎmĩñ sà-nei-leĩñ-oũñ-me*

rice eat-stay-no_doubt-still-IRR

“(he) will probably still having (his) meat”

Moreover, the TMA distinctions made in non-PhP expressions may become neutralized in the PhP paradigm of certain languages. E.g. in Burmese, the NOT YET expression blurs the distinction between Realis and Irrealis (but also distinctions within the category of person), cf. (22).

(22) External ASYMMETRIC NOT YET paradigm in Burmese³ (Allot 1965:294, cited from Van Baar 1997:140)

mǎ-pyo:-**thei**:-hpu:

NEG-tell-yet-NEG

“I won’t tell (him) yet./ (He) isn’t speaking yet./ (He) still hasn’t told (him).”

With regard especially to the Aspect category, further problems may occur as to define whether a specialized marker belongs to the category of Aspect or PhP. This is due to the ample interactions of Aspect and PhP (cf. König 1991:141-147; Van Baar 1997:143-157). Phasal values, i.e. according to Plungian’s (1999:313) typological approach to phasal meanings *inchoative*, *terminative*, and *continuative* (cf. above 2.3), intrinsically belong to the domain of aspectuality. As for Aspect, most scholars agree that it is a matter of situations’ boundaries (i.e. end and starting points involved in a certain state of affairs). Thus, Sasse (2002:201) states that the basic aspectual distinction

³ However, it has to be critically asked whether the neutralization of distinctions in the TMA and person category is really triggered by PhP marking because Burmese shows the same neutralization patterns in standard negation too (cf. Miestamo 2005:168). Thus, it could be claimed that the irregularities described arise from intrinsic asymmetries between affirmative and negative paradigms, i.e. the TMA and person systems show dependencies from polarity, but not necessarily from phasal polarity phenomena.

[...] is that between unbounded and bounded situations: situations may be conceived of as including their starting points or endpoints or both, or may be conceived of as persistent situations with no boundaries implied. Common concepts such as ‘phases’, ‘intervals’, ‘telic vs. atelic situations’, etc. derive from the metaphor of boundaries (cf. Lyons 1977: 710-711). The basic component of **any theory of aspect is thus concerned with the modeling of the linguistic encoding of situations with respect to their boundaries** [emphasis added; R.K.]”

A case in question where problems arise with regard to the Aspect-PhP distinction is, e.g., the Javanese auxiliary *wis/wes*. This auxiliary is classified as a perfect/perfective marker in some descriptions, and as a PhP item signaling the ALREADY concept (“Iamative”) in others (Vander Klok/Matthewson 2015:172-173), cf. (23).

(23) ALREADY or perfect expressions in Javanese (Vander Klok/Matthewson 2015:180)

wes belajar nek Jogja nem ulan
already study at J. six month

“She **has studied** in Jogja for six months.”

“She **already** studied in Jogja for six months.”

As for the Javanese *wis/wes* expressions, Vander Klok/Matthewson (2015:179-182) give an insightful analysis of the overlapping value sets of Perfect and ALREADY as well as on the shortcomings and disadvantages of eliciting questionnaires on TMA leading to faulty interpretations and classifications of those grammatical elements. Most notably, Vander Klok/Matthewson (2015:183) come to the conclusion that the *wes/wis* marker can only be interpreted as an ALREADY item and present a catalogue of functional criteria for identifying and distinguishing ALREADY from aspectual/temporal expressions. Whereas Vander Klok/Matthewson’s list of diagnostics is geared towards the identification of “Iamatives” (ALREADY expressions), here, the semantic-functional values listed under the parameters (1)-(3) should be considered to define whether a specified (and generalized, in the sense of Van Baar 1997:49-60) expression belongs to the PhP category or not: I.e. (1) the semantic interrelatedness of PhP concepts by internal and external negation, (2) the requirement of two reference points within sequentially related phases including situations of identical propositional but different polarity values, and (3) the organization of PhP concepts along phasal values (continuation and change).

In summary, the PARADIGMATIVITY parameter should first be discussed from an internal perspective stating whether the PhP paradigm is internally organized in a SYMMETRIC way, i.e. the two logically opposite PhP concepts are overtly marked by elements sharing same word class/syntactic status, or in an ASYMMETRIC way, i.e. the two logically opposite PhP concepts

are not overtly marked or they are marked by elements not sharing same word class/syntactic status. Accordingly, the PARADIGMATIVITY parameter has to be presented from an external perspective shedding light on the organization of PhP paradigms in relation to TMA domains. External SYMMETRIC paradigmaticity is then to be specified as a one-to-one correspondence relationship between the expression of a certain PhP concept and a specific TMA field, whereas an external ASYMMETRIC paradigm has to be identified as a non-correspondence relationship between the expression of a certain PhP concept and a specific TMA field. The ASYMMETRIC paradigm may then concern the following interactions between PhP and TMA, namely (a) the blocking of a certain TMA category in combination with a PhP expression, (b) the occurrence of different PhP constructions according to TMA values, and (c) the neutralization of certain TMA distinctions in PhP expressions.

4 Conclusion and further discussions on the category of PhP expressions

In this position paper, I propose parameters that may serve as a guideline and first approach to a comparable description and classification of PhP expressions. In order to appropriately describe PhP expressions in an individual language, they firstly have to be identified, formally as well as functionally. For this reason, semantic-functional and formal diagnostics are presented in the classification parameters (1) to (6). The first more semantically anchored parameters (1) to (3) are based on the assumption that PhP concepts stand in a relation of mutual (internal or external) negation (COVERAGE), signal different scenarios depending on the expectational background (PRAGMATIVITY), and imply notions of lateness/earliness in regard to the transgression point (TELICITY). The formal parameters (4) to (6) account for the facts that the degree of (phonological/grammatical) dependency of PhP items on other (free) linguistic elements displays their degree of grammaticalization (WORDHOOD), that PhP concepts may lack overt coding or be paraphrased (EXPRESSIBILITY), that the complementary logic relation of PhP concepts may be reflected in a consistent paradigm of elements sharing the same word class/syntactic status (internal PARADIGMATIVITY), and that there are restrictions on the occurrence of certain PhP expressions in TMA paradigms (external PARADIGMATIVITY).

Surely, other phenomena occurring in relation to PhP expressions are worth describing, which are not (or just peripherally) subsumed under the parameters presented. This is due to an intended reduction to the (agreed) most salient features of PhP that should be firstly considered when describing PhP expressions as the studies should not get out of hand and allow a straightforward comparison. Nonetheless, a few further features should be at least mentioned here, which may be included or briefly be discussed in the studies insofar as they are obviously relevant to the PhP system of an individual language.

One point in question is the fact that PhP items are strikingly frequent subjects to borrowing. Van der Auwera (1993:628-629; 1997:67-73) as well as Van Baar (1998:126-129) witness many cases of borrowed PhP items in their studies and notice that it is most often elements signaling the ALREADY concept that has been borrowed in an individual language. However, it is difficult to get information on PhP expressions in most of the less described non-European languages. Thus, although it would be interesting to provide data on PhP items of neighboring contact languages, a parameter BORROWING will not be included because it is hardly possible to prove borrowing origins of individual PhP items. Nonetheless, some information on the etymology of PhP items, if known, should be provided under the parameter WORDHOOD either way, as in this part possible grammaticalization chains are to be considered.

In some studies, PhP items are claimed to be pragmatic means to express focus, e.g. Krifka (2000:404) states that all uses of PhP particles are focus sensitive in terms of “indicat[ing] a certain restriction for the set of alternatives to the focus”. König (1991:11, 157-158) assumes that the focus function of ALREADY and STILL items (which he grasps at the “partitioning of [a] sentence into a focused or highlighted part and a backgrounded part”) is derived from their aspectual function in many languages. König (1991:15-16) mentions as a formal property for PhP items with focus function the possibility of their iteration, among others their combination with further focus particles or “intensifiers”, such as German *sogar* ‘even’, *ausgerechnet* ‘just, of all things’ *auch* ‘also’ in the possible combinations *sogar schon* ‘lit. *even already’, *ausgerechnet noch* ‘lit. *just still’, *auch noch* ‘lit. *also still’). Even the combination of two different PhP items (or “focus particles”, as König (1991) terms them) in one utterance can be observed, especially an ALREADY-NO LONGER combination is possible in many languages, as shown in the Dutch example (24).

(24) ALREADY-NO LONGER expression in Dutch (Van Baar 1998:37)

hij gaat al niet_meer naar school
 he goes already no_longer to school
 “he has already quit school”

Thus, beside the indication of NEUTRAL or COUNTERFACTUAL scenarios, other pragmatic values of PhP expressions (e.g. focus marking) could possibly be discussed under the parameter PRAGMATIVITY. Further, it could be mentioned in this section whether or not intensifiers/focus particles may occur with specific PhP items, or whether two different PhP items can be combined.

Under the scope of external PARADIGMATIVITY, it can be further studied what kind of interactions, dependencies or restrictions exist between the PhP system and other grammatical categories (e.g. person, number, gender, evidentiality). A matter of special interest, of course, is the question of how PhP marking may influence the choices made in lexical verb classes of

individual languages. Van Baar (1998:143) does not differentiate between grammatical aspect and lexical aspect ('aktionsart') in his brief outline on the interdependence of PhP and Aspect, stating that this distinction is not necessary for his study. However, a different treatment of grammatical and lexical aspect may be useful, especially since restrictions on the combination of PhP items with verbs designating a state of affairs with a specific internal structure may also provide further evidence to determine different verb classes in an individual language.

5 Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person	NEG	Negative
A	Aspect marker	NOM	Nominative marker
CL	noun class	PASS	Passive
CONT	Continuative	PF	Perfective
CPL	Completive	PHP	Phasal Polarity
DEC	Declarative sentence type marker	PL	Plural
ERG	Ergative	PRES	Present tense
FUT	Future	Q	Question marker
FV	Final vowel	REAL	Realis
IMPF	Imperfective	SG	Singular
IRR	Irrealis	V	Verb
		VN	Verbal noun

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