Phasal polarity in Austronesian languages

Ljuba Veselinova with Leif Asplund
ljuba@ling.su.se    mawonali@gmail.com
Stockholm University

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Introduction (1)

(1) Phasal Polarity (PhP) expressions in English, adapted from 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.*

“PhP expressions function as carriers of the Speaker’s attitude towards the situation described”
van Baar (1997: 1)

“Expressions of Phasal Polarity are structured means of expressing polarity in a sequential perspective”
van Baar (1997: 40)
Previous studies (1)


```
ALREADY (p)  \hline
\hspace{1cm} internal negation \hspace{1cm}
\hspace{1cm} duality \hspace{1cm}
\hspace{1cm}
not ALREADY (p) \hline
\hspace{1cm} internal negation \hspace{1cm}
\hspace{1cm} duality \hspace{1cm}
\hspace{1cm}
STILL (p)
```
Previous studies (2)

Johan van der Auwera

1998: Phasal adverbials in the languages of Europe include expressions that refer to different phases of a situation: it does or does not continue or has or has not come into existence. Questions the Duality Hypothesis as an adequate theoretical model for this domain and proposes his own theory.

Tim van Baar

1997: Offers a detail typology of PhP expressions based on a stratified sample of 40 languages.

Vladimir Plungian

2000: three types of grammatical markers that deal with the encoding of events & states: temporal, aspectual and phasal. The latter encode the beginning, continuation and the end of a situation -> **inchoative**, **continuative**, **cunctative** (< Latin *cunctari* 'not decide') and **terminative**
Raija Kramer, Hamburg University, is leading a project on phasal polarity in African languages. Building on the work of van der Auwera and van Baar, she proposes six parameters for the analysis of PhP markers.

- The Moscow Phasal Polarity scholars: Peter Arkadiev, Evgenija Klyagina, Anastasia Panova, Irina Gorbunova
The current study

• With this paper we combine our interests in
  – Lexicalicalizations of negation
  – Comparative study of Austronesian

Special/lexicalized expressions for ‘not yet’ are cross-linguistically very common but also localized; Austronesian languages appear to use them a lot.

➡ What is the distribution of expressions like Indonesian belum ’not yet’ in the Austronesian family?
➡ How is the domain of Phasal polarity encoded in Austronesian languages
➡ Can we use the collected data to propose paths of diachronic development?
Methodology (1)

• Stratified sample of 99 languages from 43 branches of Austronesian, follow this URL for a map https://arcg.is/141iTe0
• Grammars have been the main data source
• Functional definitions and formal notation follow van Baar (1997) and van der Auwera (1998)
  – ALREADY (expected) change from one situation to another
  – STILL continuation of an existing situation
  – NOT YET continuation of a non-realized situation with possible expectations for its future realization
  – NO LONGER termination of an existing state/phase
Methodology (3)

  - Expressivity > van Baar > van der Auwera
  - Coverage > van der Auwera symmetric vs. asymmetric
  - Wordhood
    - Paradigmaticity → van Baar’s structure → Löbner’s duality
    - Pragmaticity
    - Telicity
Expressibility ->
Which PhP concepts are expressed (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Austronesian</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STILL &gt; NOT-YET/ALREADY &gt; NO LONGER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92 languages</td>
<td>87/86 languages</td>
<td>54 languages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Europe, van der Auwera (1998: 37)
NO LONGER > STILL/NOT-YET > ALREADY

Bantu, Löfgren (2019: 17)
NOT YET > STILL > ALREADY/NO LONGER

World, van Baar (1997: 132-133)
STILL/NOT YET > ALREADY > NO LONGER
Expressibility ->
Which PhP concepts are expressed

Van Baar 1997: 118

**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
   2. both in **STILL** and in **NOT YET**
Number of PhP concepts expressed

Follow this URL for a dynamic version of this map: https://arcg.is/141iTe0
A legend can be displayed by clicking on a small square at the right hand corner of the map.
Wordhood→

Morphosyntactic category/status of PhP items

• NO LONGER is overwhelmingly encoded by periphrastic constructions
• ALREADY and STILL are encoded by single expressions, typically single morphemes. They can be placed on a lexico-grammatical cline.
• NOT YET can be encoded by
  – Periphrastic constructions
  – Univerbations with various degrees of transparency
  – Morphemes that cannot be further segmented

These different strategies show also clear geographical patterns
NO LONGER expressions
Internal negation of ALREADY for NO LONGER

Indonesian [ind], Sneddon (2010: 209-10, 360)

Karena asap menara pengendali sudah tidak terlihat lagi.
Because smoke tower controller IAM NEG seen again
‘Because of the smoke the control tower could no longer be seen’

Dia sudah bukan pembantu lagi.
3SG IAM NEG.NOM servant again
‘She is no longer a servant’.

Dia demikian lelah, sampai tidak dapat berjalan lagi.
3SG thus tired to NEG can walk again
She was so tired that she couldn’t walk any further.

To see the geographic distribution of this property in the data, follow this URL https://arcg.is/141iTe0
Encoding of ALREADY (1)

- Single lexical items (predominant strategy)

Indonesian [ind], Sneddon (2010: 204-5)

Ali sudah sembuh.
Ali IAM recover
‘Ali has recovered.’

Dia sudah tidur.
3SG IAM sleep
‘He has gone to bed/He is asleep/ He has slept (and is now ready for work)’. 

3SG IAM sleep
Encoding of ALREADY

- Periphrastic expressions (seldom)

Samoan [smo]: phrase

‘Ua ‘uma le lotu
PERF be finished ART service
‘The service is finished’

‘Ua ‘uma ona ‘ai le teine
PERF be finished CONJ eat ART girl
‘The girl has already eaten’ [lit. That the girl has eaten is finished]

(Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1993: 587)
ALREADY in Austronesian
Issues related to ALREADY

- Morpho-syntactic status
  - Free or bound expression
  - Expressions bound to a specific construction
- Lexico-grammatical status: gram or adverb?
- Functions
  - Completion/Realization of an expected change
  - Change of state/situation
    - Earlier than expected
    - Later than expected
  - IAMITIVE vs. Perfect
  - Negation of ALREADY by special means, e.g. NOT-YET expressions/Nondums
Distinction between adverb and gram (1)

Vurës [msn]

No \([tē=siag\ ti\ vitia]\) oko.
1SG PROG=sit EVENT already here
‘I am already sitting here.’ [DNS.043]

(Malau 2016: 543)

\(\ldots ni\ rōŋteg\ o\ qon\ [ta=tatörör\ vitia]\)
3SG.DEF hear COM.ART pigeon PROG=coo already
\(\ldots\)
EVENT
‘...he heard that the pigeon was already cooing’ [DHN.033]

(Malau 2016: 544)
Distinction between adverb and gram (2)

Mwotlap (North-Central Vanuatu) [mlv]

Têté  〈ME-mtiy〉.
bébé  PFT-dormir

[parfait] ‘Bébé dort.’
  = après s'être endormi (j), on se situe dans l'état de sommeil (k)

François (2003: 111)

Têté  〈MAL  mtiy〉.
bébé  ACP  dormir

‘Ça y est, le bébé dort.’

François (2003: 118)
STILL in Austronesian

Legend
STILL: bound vs non-bound
- enclitic of suffix, 17 langs
- auxiliary, 4 langs
- free gram, 28 langs
- adverb or particle, 43 langs
- n/a, no info, 7 langs
Indicates the persistence of a process or the continuation of an already existing/ongoing situation

Gayo [gay] Eades (2005: 246)

*Banan kucak ilen, kècos-kècos ilen.*

female small still RED-speak.imperfectly still

‘The girl is still young, she still speaks imperfectly.’
Issues related to STILL

- Morpho-syntactic status: gram or adverb?
- Relation and distinction from other markers of durability/imperfectivity/incompletion
STILL & NOT YET \(\rightarrow\) NONDUM (1)

- STILL indicates incompleteness.
- Expressions of STILL are frequently internally negated and render NOT YET.
  - For geographic distribution in the data, follow this URL [https://arcg.is/141iTe0](https://arcg.is/141iTe0)
- There are languages where STILL is reported to be more frequent in negative contexts than in positive ones.
STILL & NOT YET \(\Rightarrow\) NONDUM (3)


**Activity verb + morõ:**

na hēbo morõ.  
3SG take.bath IPFV

‘S/he is still taking a bath.’

**Adjectival verb + morõ:**

wai? platē morõ.  
water hot.NMZ IPFV

‘The water is still hot’

**Noun + morõ:**

go mahasiswa morõ.  
1SG student IPFV

‘I am still a student.’

STILL with atelic predicates

go  kriõ  waha  morã.
1SG  work  finish  IPFV

‘I haven’t finished working yet.’

go  k-oi  =ro?  morã.
1SG  1SG-know  =3SG  IPFV

‘I don’t know it yet.’

Ale  haka  oto  morã.
Ale  stop  car  IPFV

‘Ale hasn’t stopped the car yet.’
Lewotobi [lwt] Nagaya (2012: 416)

**go kā morā.**

1SG eat.1SG IPFV  
Progressive: ‘I am still eating.’  
Incomplete: ‘I haven’t eaten yet.’

**go kwukā morā.**

1SG drunk IPFV  
Progressive: ‘I am still drunk.’ (The speaker has a hangover.)  
Incomplete: ‘I am not drunk yet.’ (The speaker wants to drink more.)

Malnen i=ta ta mram wi mau, a.a.
then 3sgRS=DUR NEG light good NEG2 INJ
Back then it still wasn’t light (i.e., Christianity wasn’t established).
(98010az, 1158.1399, 1167.5400)

Nasumñ ru=ta ta őpelgat-i-ʊ mau.
house 3p.RS=DUR NEG open-TS-3sgO NEG2
The house, they still haven’t opened it yet. (98002az, 1107.9600, 1111.5)

Follow this URL for a dynamic version of this map: https://arcg.is/141iTe0
A legend can be displayed by clicking on a small square at the right hand corner of the map

\[ a \quad lalak=mi=driya \]
\[ \text{ID.NOM child=1P.ECL.NOM=IMPF} \]
\[ \text{‘We were still children.’} \]

\[ an \quad adri=driya \text{ ma-ladram i, sagar m-ekan drata} \]
\[ \text{when NEG=IMPF ITR-know TOP like ITR-eat ID.OBL/1P.PSR} \]
\[ b<\text{in}>eray \text{ dra akan-an i, m-ekan} \]
\[ \langle\text{PERF}\rangle \text{give ID.OBL eat-NMZ TOP ITR-eat} \]
\[ \text{‘When they still hadn’t realised, and because they liked to eat what we gave them to eat, they ate.’} \]

=\text{driya occurs more often in negative contexts than in positive ones}
Follow this URL for a dynamic version of this map: https://arcg.is/141iTe0
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`fwâ kio i mago gat`
`encore NEG 3SG dormir CONT`
`”il n’est pas encore endormi”`

‘He is not sleeping yet’

`kio i fwâ uya (ou) fwâ kio i uya`
`NEG 3SG ASP arriver ASP NEG 3SG arriver`
`”il n’est pas encore arrivé”`

STILL becomes a negative polarity item and ultimately a NONDUM is created
Hypotheses for the evolution of NONDUMs

• Conventionalization of inference
  → Reanalysis of lexical items that indicate incompleteness
  That process may or may not attract the addition of an explicit negation marker

• Frequency of use of continuative STILL in the negative domain
  → STILL becomes a negative polarity item and loses connection to the positive domain
  → In some cases merging of NEG
Conclusions

- The PhP concepts expressed in Austronesian conform to the world-wide distribution outlined by van Baar (1997).

- Terminative expressions, e.g. NO LONGER, do not appear as important in Austronesian grammolects as other PhP categories.

- Continuous STILL is almost omnipresent. Thus continuity appears to be very important for the domain.

- It very common to use internal negation to form the negative concepts in the PhP domain. Such languages also form some coherent geographical areas.

- Single morpheme NOT YET expressions form coherent geographical areas.
Thank you for your attention!


