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Not-yet expressions in the languages of the world: a special negator or a separate cross-linguistic category?

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Some introductory examples (1)



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(1) Digo (Bantu, Kenya & Tanzania) [Glottocode digo1243],
(Nicolle 2013: 150, 135)

- a. *u-ka-rim-a*
2SG-ANTERIOR-farm-FINAL VOWEL
'You have farmed/you farmed'
- b. *ta-m-ka-fwih-a*
NEG-2PL-ANTERIOR-dance-FINAL VOWEL
'you have not danced'
- c. *ta-ri-dzangbwe-dung-a*
NEG-5-INCEPTIVE-pierce-FINAL VOWEL
'It has not yet pierced'

Some introductory examples (2)

(2) Indonesian (Austronesian, Malayo-Sumbawan) [Glottocode indo1316], (Sneddon 1996: 196, 202)

a. *aku* *tiada* *berkata* *begitu*
I NEG say like that
'I did not say that'

b. *dia* *bukan* *guru*
3SG NEG teacher
'she isn't a teacher'

Some introductory examples (3)

(2) Indonesian (Austronesian, Indonesian) [Glottocode indo1316],
(Sneddon 1996: 196, 202)

c. *mereka* *belum* *berangkat*
they not.yet leave
'They haven't left yet'

d. *dia* *belum* *professor*
3SG not.yet professor
'He isn't a professor yet'

Some introductory examples (4)

(2) Indonesian (Austronesian, Indonesian) [Glottocode indo1316],
(Sneddon 2011: 209)

e. *Pelamar tidak harus sudah menikah*
Applicant NEG MUST PERFECT marry
'Applicants do not need to be married'

f. *Pelamar harus belum menikah*
Applicant MUST NOT.YET marry
'Applicants must not yet be married'

Treatments so far (1)

Bernard Comrie



1985: 54: the *not-yet tense* indicates that "a certain situation did not hold in the past and does not hold in the present, i.e. [...] it is still the case that a certain situation does not hold". Furthermore, there may be an implicature that this situation may come to hold in the future.

The not-yet tense is restricted to the negative domain.

Isaak Š. Kozinskij

1988: 522-3: *antiresultatives* are expressions that encode the non-realization of a state in different ways. Such expressions include '**not-yet**', '**not all all**', '**not sufficiently**', '**no longer**'. Among them, only not-yet expressions are known to be encoded by special grammatical means in the languages of the world

Ellen Contini-Morava



1989: in passim: in Swahili there are different tense-aspect-mood distinctions in the domain of affirmation and in the domain of negation. The not-yet tense is part of the negative domain.

Treatments so far (2)

2000: 303-308: 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** and **terminative**.

Continued negative phase -- > **cunctative**

< Latin *cunctari* 'be slow & unproductive, not decide'

Vladimir Plungian



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. In English these are *still*, *no longer*, *already* and *not yet*. The latter is dubbed **nondum**; it is a negative continuative which refers to a negative state valid at the moment of speech & contrasts with a positive state in a counterfactual scenario or in the future

Recapitulation of current treatments



- In the theoretical literature, not yet markers are treated as either temporal or phasal grams. They are typically illustrated by Bantu languages.
- No general overview of their genealogical and geographic distribution
- No general discussion about what they represent as a gram
- Most probably there is a grammaticalization cline between the negative continuative phasal adverbs and the not-yet grams.

The study presented here

- I check whether not-yet expressions represent a cross-linguistic phenomenon
 - A comparative concept was used to search grammars in a genealogically and geographically stratified sample of 81 languages
 - Text search for translation correspondents for the Indonesian *belum* 'not yet' in a convenience sample of parallel texts from about 1000 languages. The search was designed by Östen Dahl.

Not-yet: the comparative concept (1)

- i. a not-yet gram differs from the standard negator
- ii. A not yet-gram has to be used for the expression of non-realized expectations for either actions or states
- iii. A not-yet gram can be demonstrated to form oppositions with other tense-aspect categories in its language.
- iv. a not-yet gram has an invariant form is part of a more or less fixed construction. If its form changes, it does so according to morpho-phonological rules of the language in question.
- v. a not-yet gram/construction will replace
 - a) the standard negator
 - b) a TA marker
 - c) Both the standard negator and a TA marker.

Not-yet: the comparative concept (2)



- Information about speaker's expectations about possible future realization of the action or state in question was recorded if the grammar mentioned it. However, it is not part of the criteria used for the identification of not-yet grams since not all grammars give a reliable information about this parameter.
- More reliable information about this aspect of not-yet grams can be obtained by using a questionnaire, which planned for the next phase of this study

Classification of the stratified sample

- Based on the criteria listed above, the languages of the stratified sample are grouped in 3 broad groups
 - Grammaticalized not-yet markers (28 languages)
 - Unclear status of grammaticalization for not-yet expressions (9 languages)
 - The not-yet sense is encoded by a phasal adverbial/No evidence for a grammaticalized not-yet marker (44 languages)

Grammaticalized not-yet markers (1)

(3) Teop (Austronesian, Western Oceanic) [Glottocode indo1238]

- a. *Meha maa vaan saka haihai vira haa maa-ri*
Other PL village NEG help much NEG DIRECTIONAL-IMPERFECTIVE.3PL
'other villages do not help us much', (Mosel & Spriggs: 51)
- b. *Na mei vakis maa-ri te-a nomaa*
TAM not.yet still DIRIRECTIONAL-IMPERFECTIVE.3PL PREP-ART come
'They have not come yet', (Mosel & Spriggs, 1999: 53)

i + ii + iii + iv + v(a)

Grammaticalized not-yet markers (2)

(4) Shor (Turkic, South Siberian) [Glottocode shor1247]

- a. *Aŋčï kel-be-d-i*
Hunter come-NEG-PST-3
‘The hunter has not come’, (Irina Nevskaya, p.c.)
- b. *Aŋčï kel-gelek*
Hunter come-not.yet
‘The hunter has not come yet’, (Nasilov 2005: 229)

Less clearly grammaticalized not-yet markers

(5) Khmer (Austro-Asiatic, Khmeric) [Glottocode cent1989]

a. *mwn cambac prua la:n mau:k prap knjom tee:*
NEG need ticket.taker come tell me NEG

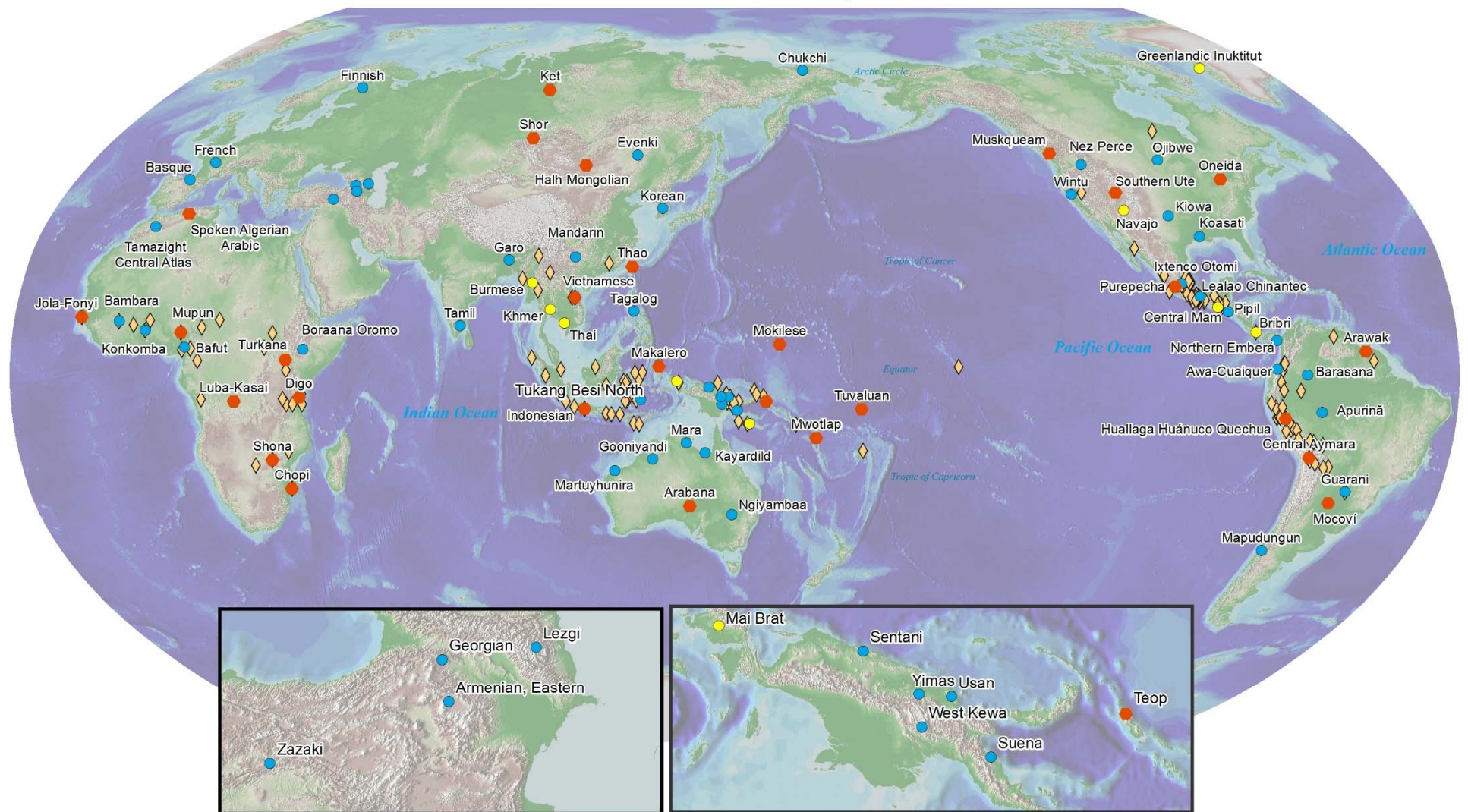
‘The ticket taker didn’t need to come tell me anything’ (Haiman 2011: 228)

b. *mwn toan ceh nev rwang snee:ha:*
NEG be.in.time know OBJ matter love
NEG yet know OBJ matter love

‘I didn’t yet know about love’, (Haiman 2011: 205)

Cross-linguistic distribution of 'not yet' expressions

<http://arcg.is/1CJPESi>



Legend

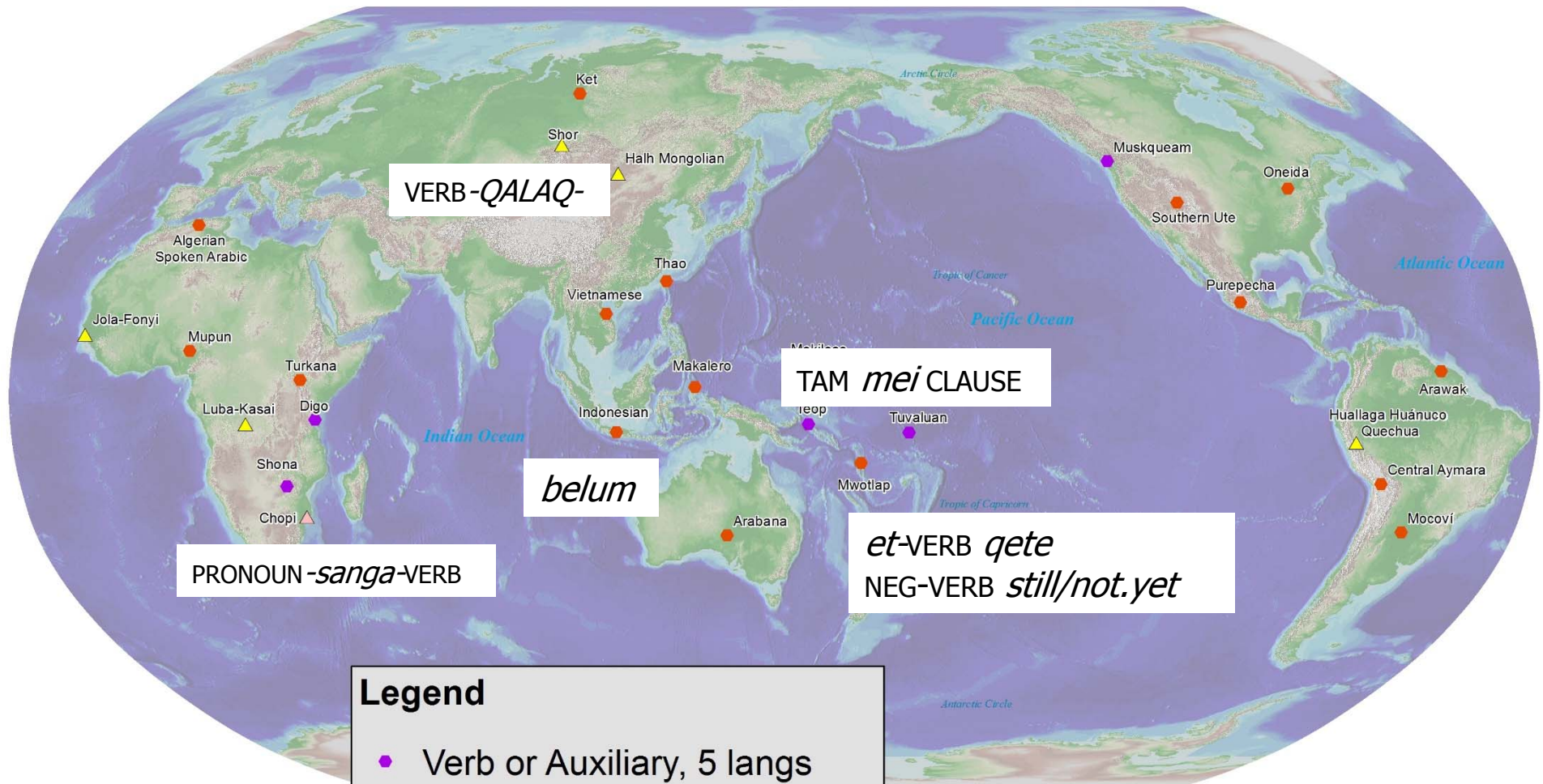
Genealogically and geographically stratified sample (81 languages)	Translation correspondents of Indonesian belum 'not yet' (148 langs)
● Grammaticalized not-yet expressions (28 langs)	◇
● Unclear status of grammaticalization for not-yet expressions (9 langs)	
● 'Not-yet' is encoded by a phasal adverbial (44 langs)	



Robinson Projection
Central Meridian 147

Structural characteristics of 'not yet' grams

<http://arcg.is/1CJPESl>
 The last letter of the URL is a capital I as in Ivory



Legend

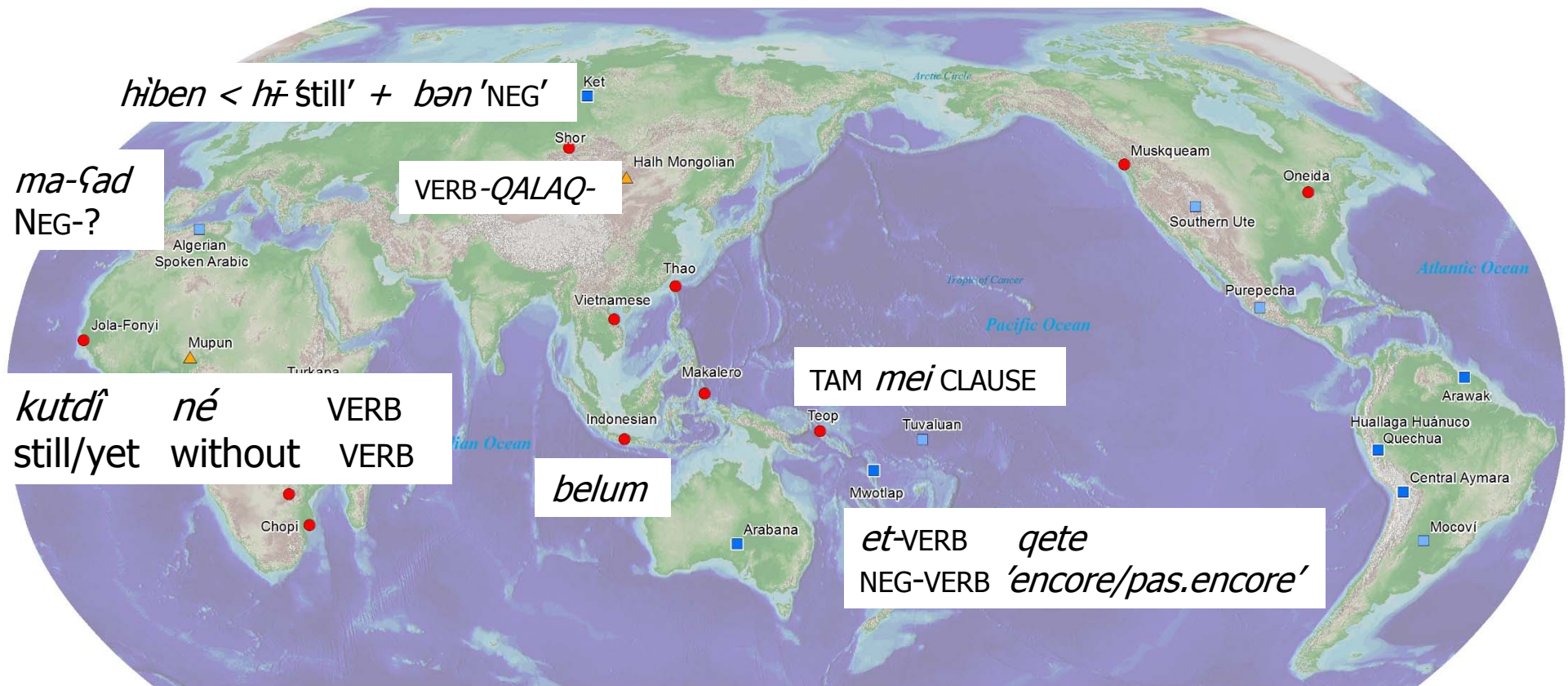
- Verb or Auxiliary, 5 langs
- Free invariant form, 17 langs
- ▲ Suffix, 5 langs
- ▲ Prefix, 1 lang

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Morphemic composition of 'not yet' grams

<http://arcg.is/1CJPesI>
 The last letter of the URL is a capital I as in Ivory



Legend

- Single morpheme, further analysis is impossible, 15 langs
- Transparent univertation or bi-partite construction that consists of NEG + 'still', 6 langs
- Univertation or construction where NEG is clearly involved; the sense of the other element is unclear, 5 langs
- ▲ Other combinations, 2 langs

Not-yet markers as special negators for the perfect and/or related categories



- In grammars, not-yet markers are often described as a special negator for the anterior or the perfect
- Olsson (2013) relates them to a category related to the perfect: the *iamitive* < Latin *iam* 'already'. It differs from the perfect in several respects
 - When applied to stative predicates, it indicates that the state still holds; this is not true of the perfect, cf. *I have been sick all week*
 - A iamitive may indicate ongoing or completed action
 - A iamitive may have a future reading, given a proper context
 - A iamitive builds on cultural or situational expectations and typically indicates the realization of an expected change
 - A iamitive is often negated by a special not-yet marker



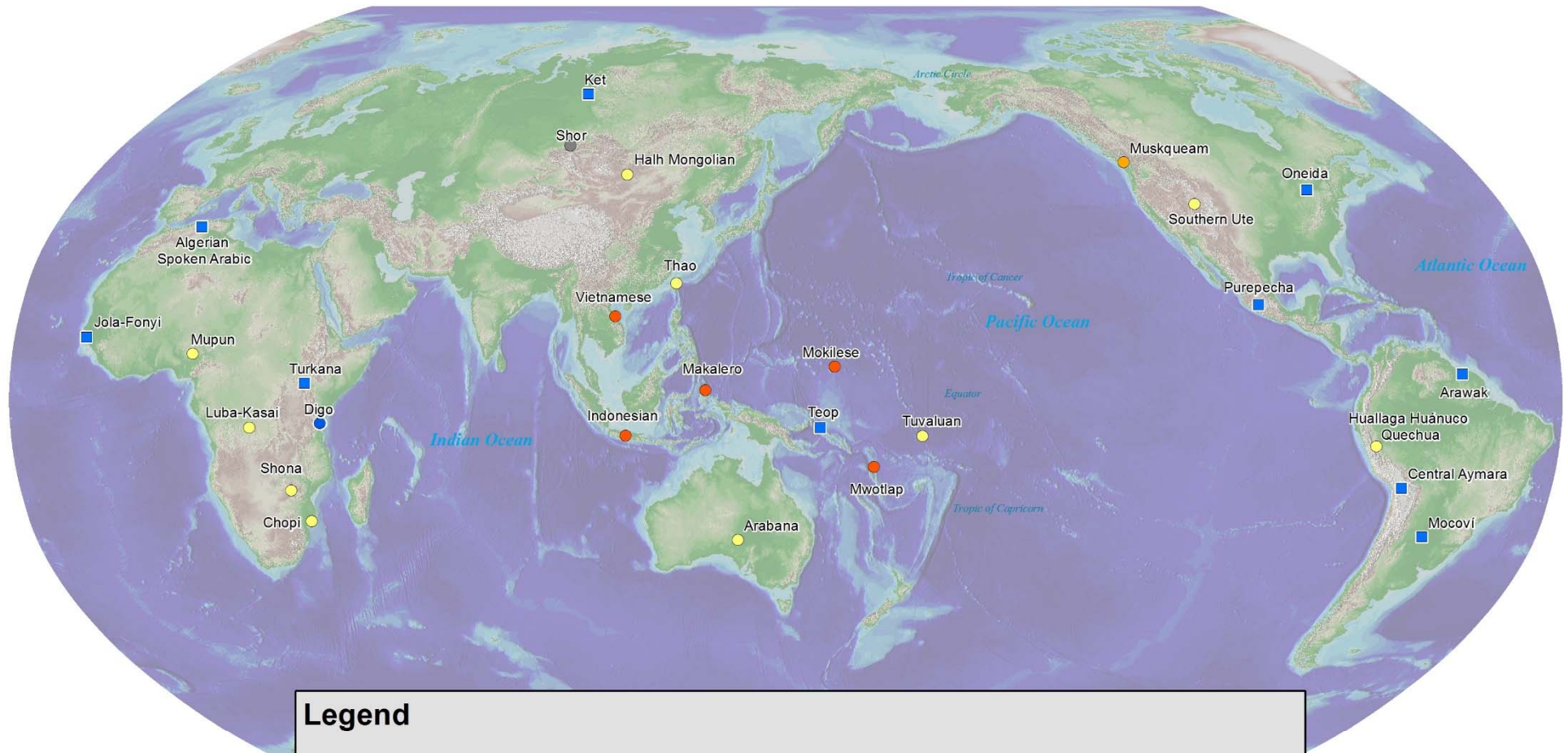
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(6) Mwotlap (Austronesian, North-Central Vanuatu) [Glottocode
motl1237], (François 2003: 201)

Kê may leg, si kê et-leg qete?
3SG IAMITIVE married or 3SG NEG-married not.yet
'Is she married already or isn't she married yet?'

Correlation of 'not yet' grams with the negation of perfects and related categories

<http://arcg.is/1CJPesI>
 The last letter of the URL is a capital I as in Ivory



Legend

- Perfect, 10 langs
- lamitive, 5 langs
- Resultative, 1 lang
- The perfect /anterior is negated by SN, 1 lang
- No perfect or iamitive, 10 langs
- Unclear, 1 lang

Robinson Projection
 Central Meridian 147



II.11, inventaire complet du paradigme TAM du mwotlap.

Tableau II.11 – Les vingt-six marqueurs TAM du mwotlap

AFFIRMATIF	NÉGATIF
Accompli <i>mal ...</i>	'pas encore' <i>et-... qete</i>
Accompli distant <i>mal ... tō</i>	'ne plus' <i>et-... si te</i>
Rémansif <i>... laptō</i>	
Statif <i>nE-...</i>	
Parfait <i>mE-...</i>	Négatif realis <i>et-... te</i>
Prétérit <i>mE-... tō</i>	
Aoriste <i>(ni-)...</i>	
Injonction forte <i>(ni-)... tō</i>	Prohibitif <i>nitog ...</i>
Prospectif <i>so (ni-)...</i>	
Futur hodiernal <i>tE-... qiyig</i>	Négatif futur <i>tit-... te</i>
Futur <i>tE-...</i>	
Potentiel <i>tE-... vēh</i>	Négatif potentiel <i>tit-... vēs-te</i>
Contrefactuel <i>tE-... tō</i>	
Évitatif <i>tiple ...</i>	Évitatif négatif <i>tiple tit-... te</i>
Présentatif statique <i>... tō</i>	
Présentatif kinétique <i>... vatag</i>	
Focus temporel <i>qoyo ...</i>	∅
Passé immédiat <i>qoyo ... ēwē tō</i>	
Prioritif <i>(ni-)... bah en</i>	

Semantic distinctions of TAM systems under negation should be a subject of study on their own right.

Conclusions

- Grammaticalized not-yet markers appear to be a stable cross-linguistic phenomenon given
 - Their genealogical and areal distribution
 - Their form
 - Very similar functions in the languages where they are observed
- They are symptomatic of the asymmetries between semantic distinctions in TAM systems in the affirmative and the in the negative domain, an area that is yet to be explored.
- They also represent a prima facie example of the importance of pragmatics for the creation of grammatical distinctions

Thank you for your attention!

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Abbreviations

NEG	negative
OBJ	object
PL	plural
PST	past
SG	singular

Analysis of not-yet marked predications in the corpus of parallel texts (New Testament) (1)



- There are about 40 verses where the not-yet marker appears to be recurrent for the greater part of the languages identified by Dahl's search
- The verbs marked by not-yet can be grouped into several broad semantic domains
 - Position verbs 'lie', 'sit', 'stand'
 - 'be born'
 - 'be of a certain age'
 - Motion:
 - physical and abstract
 - Intransitive
 - Transitive – transfer
 - Communication

Analysis of not-yet marked predications in the corpus of parallel texts (New Testament) (2)



- Different kinds of expectations about the possible future realization of the action or event in question
 - Expectations based on some general/cultural or universal knowledge
 - Expectations based on a more specific situation. They may carry belief/anticipation (or disbelief) about the future realization of the action or state

Analysis of not-yet marked predications in the corpus of parallel texts (New Testament) (3)



- Expectations based on some general/cultural or universal knowledge

42023053 *And he took it down, and wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid him in a tomb that was hewn in stone, where never man had yet lain.*

43008057 *The Jews therefore said unto him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?*

43007006 *Jesus therefore saith unto them, My time is not yet come; but your time is*

Analysis of not-yet marked predications in the corpus of parallel texts (New Testament) (4)



- Expectations based on a more specific situation. They may carry belief/anticipation (or disbelief) about the future realization of the action or state

41008021 *And he said unto them, Do ye not yet understand?*

40016009 *Do ye not yet perceive, neither remember the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many baskets ye took up?*

Frequencies of *belum*, *nondum* and *not yet* in corresponding version of the New Testament

	belum	nondum	not yet
total hits	123	29	26
word total (W)	184098	141797	188029
% of not-yet from W	0,07	0,02	0,01

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Prétérit	<i>mE-... tō</i>		
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Injonction forte	<i>(ni-)... tō</i>		
Prospectif	<i>so (ni-)...</i>	Négatif futur	<i>tit-... te</i>
Futur hodiernal	<i>tE-... qiyig</i>		
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Présentatif statique	<i>... tō</i>	∅	
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Prioritif	<i>(ni-)... bah en</i>		

- Markers such as *-dzanbwe-* from Digo and *belum* from Indonesian are the focus of this study
- They are typically mentioned in grammars as
 - special negators
 - occasionally as a special tense restricted to the negative domain

However, no comparative overview exists yet

- In the literature on tense-aspect and also on negation, not-yet expressions are mentioned in a rather cursory manner