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Complex aspectivity particles
in some European languages

0. Introduction

This paper offers a survey of the lexical representatives in European languages for the notions rendered by English **already** / **not yet/still/not anymore**, which share the common semantic property of 'aspectivity' (ASP) to be defined below. Following the convention introduced by Välikangas (1982), I will refer to the four items with the Latin labels IAM, ETIAM NON, ETIAM and IAM NON respectively.

Special attention will be paid to the negative clusters of the quartet. There has been convincing evidence in Löbner's work (1985, 1986) that IAM and ETIAM are dual opposites. A peculiar fact about the two predicates is that in a great many languages, negation of one member of the pair is expressed by its dual opposite combined with internal negation. Since these opposing lexemes have quite a different presuppositional status, it seems necessary to allow for some kind of pragmatic shift to have taken place in the definition of the fixed collocations.

1. Aspectivity

1.0. Introductory: alternativity

It is a well-known fact about the semantics of focussing adverbs or scalar particles that they induce the idea of an <u>alternative</u> for the state of affairs (SoA) represented by a proposition p.[1] The alternative may be <u>included</u> or <u>excluded</u>, depending on the lexical nature of the particle in question. For example:

(1) a. **Only** MURIEL voted for Hubert.   = only p

    b. | Someone else than Muriel | voted for Hubert.
       | SARAH, MILDRED, SEAN, ... |

By the assertion of (1a), (1b) is <u>excluded</u>.

(2) **Even** MURIEL voted for Hubert.   = even p

    In asserting (2), the speaker implies (1b) to be <u>included</u>.

In both sentences, alternatives for the focussed constituent are considered, yielding alternative propositions for the one in the scope of the focus particle. Whereas 'only p' asserts the implied alternative(s) to be excluded, in 'even p' the presupposed alternative(s) is (are) implied to be included. When using the term 'presupposition' in its semantic sense (invariance under both question and negation), one can roughly say that "even (like also) asserts what only presupposes and presupposes the negation of what only asserts" (Horn 1969: 106).

1.1. The notion

Aspectivity involves a dynamic view on a state of affairs (SoA) in the sense that this SoA is viewed as embedded in a succession of SoA's, and that it is evaluated with respect to a chosen reference point serving as a parameter. The reference point may be selected from points on the time axis or some other scale with essentially the same properties.

Yet in the focussing use of the same particles, it may be the proposition p itself which serves as a parameter when assessing the position of alternative positions on a (time) scale.[2] In this paper I will only be concerned with the non-focussing use where a perspective is imposed on the SoA in such a way that the relevant alternatives, being the 'actual' and the 'alternative' SoA resp., are seen in immediate succession on a sequence with positive or negative directionality.[3] The intended use is illustrated in the following examples (Dutch examples, with German and English translations):

(3) Hij is a. al   aangekomen.
        b. nog niet

   Ge. Er ist   a. schon / b. noch nicht eingetroffen.

   Eng. a. He has arrived already.
        b. He hasn't arrived yet.

(4) Alice woont hier a. nog. /
                    b. niet meer.

   Ge. Alice wohnt hier a. noch / b. nicht mehr.

   Eng. Alice a. still lives here / b. doesn't live here anymore.

1.2. The lexical paradigm

(a) Basic opposition

Virtually all European languages, and probably most languages in the world, have two basic operators at their disposal, standing to each other in a dual opposition, viz. IAM and ETIAM. If we take the dual opposite of a quantifier Q to be the outer negation of its inner negation, i.e. Q is dual to $\sim Q \sim$[4], then the duality of the pair IAM/ETIAM is shown in the equivalences:

(5) a. IAM ≡ $\sim$ ETIAM$\sim$

   b. ETIAM ≡ $\sim$ IAM$\sim$

Equivalents of IAM across European languages are:
al (Du), schon (Ge)[5], already (Eng), allerede (Dan & Nor), re(da)n (Swe), déjà (Fr), ya (Sp), già (It), já (Port), deja (Rum), uzjè (Russ), już (Pol), veče (Bulg), već (Serb), már (Hung), jo (Fin), (artik) (Turk)[6], kiolas (Nw Gr)[7], dahanik (Basque)

The lexemes representing ETIAM are:
nog (Du), noch (Ge), still - yet[8] (Eng), endnu (Dan), ennå (Nor), än(nu) (Swe), encore (Fr), todavía/aún (Sp), ancora (It), ainda (Port), înca/mai (Rum), jestsjo (Russ), jeszcze (Pol), ôste (Bulg), još (Serb), még (Hung), vielä (Fin), dahá (Turk), akómi (Nw Gr), edhe (Alb), ohono (Basque)

(b) Negation

In all languages under consideration, IAM is a positive polarity item (PPI), in the sense that the combination with external negation results in ungrammaticality in unmarked cases.[9] The same is true of ETIAM, at least in the large majority of cases.[10] Not supporting external negation, IAM and ETIAM are replaced by a variant, in one of two ways:

1. The ASP lexeme is replaced by its dual counterpart, and scope relations are inverted, yielding a combination of the opposite ASP particle with internal negation:

   (6) a. $\sim$ IAM $\longrightarrow$ ETIAM $\sim$

      b. $\sim$ ETIAM $\longrightarrow$ IAM $\sim$

2. The ASP lexeme is replaced by an item with opposite polarity:
   PPI $\longrightarrow$ NPI

2. Pragmatic shift in Dutch (and other languages)

2.1. Pragmatic meaning components

In tracing the meaning contribution of all members of the aspectivity quartet, I will take Dutch as a prototype, as it is the language I am most familiar with. As far as I can judge, much of what will be said can be extended to the equivalents in other (Western) European languages, but some of these languages may of course show subtle differences that may elude the non-native speaker.
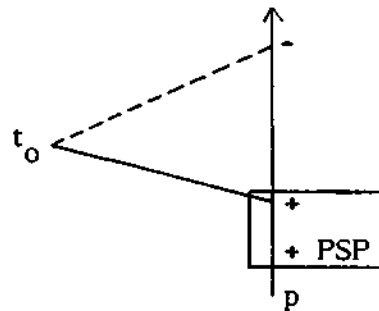
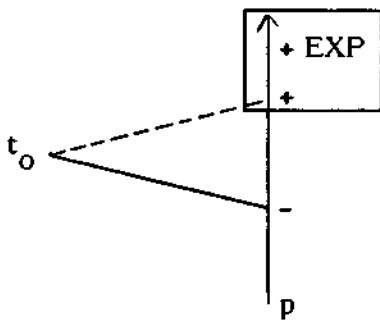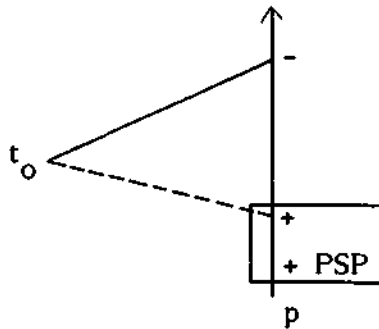The meaning contribution is rendered by the following graphs:
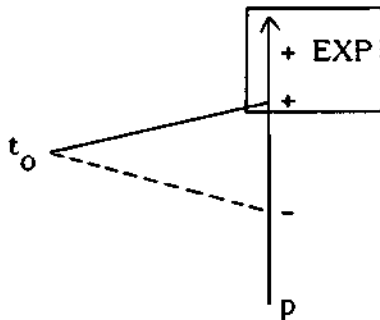
In the graphs , the sequence is rendered by an oriented line, defined for p and containing the values '+' and '-' for p in the order imposed by the choice of the ASP-particle. The full line linking up the observation point t_o with the asserted (or questioned) value, is called the 'actualiza-tion_ line' (ACT), as opposed to the dashed line relating t_o to the alternative value, or the 'alternative line' (ALT). The choice of a specific par-

ticle (cluster) is dependent on

- the value for ACT and the value for ALT
- the position of this value in the ordered sequence

The discourse status of the sequential line / p-line for AL (and its negation) is slightly different from that for NOG (and its negation):

- the AL/NOG NIET-line is rooted in some EXPECTANCY for p to occur: this is presented by Sp as part of the speaker/hearer Communicative Universe of Interpretation (CUI: I borrow this term from De Schutter / Nuyts 1983). It is to be interpreted as follows: the probability of p is given (anticipatory presupposition), and as time goes by, the probability of $ACT(p)$ grows.[11]

- the NOG/NIET MEER-line is based on the PRESUPPOSITION (PSP) of p having been the case at a moment prior to p. Note that 'presupposition' can be understood here in its semantic sense (invariance under negation) as well as in its pragmatic sense (presented by speaker as part of CUI).

- AL: it signals the evaluation from t_o with respect to a double phase (cf. Löbner 1985, 1986) of which the positive end phase is rooted in an expectancy presupposition (EXP); in order for an asserted (or questioned) state to correspond to an expected one, it is also required that previously NEG-p has been the case; the latter presupposition is more or less backgrounded, but corresponds to the implicated alternative for the state p obtaining at the observation point t_o; the particle is thus retrospective.

- NOG NIET: the same expectancy presupposition holds, but the implicated alternative at t_o is in line with the expected SoA, so the particle cluster is prospective.

- NOG: the asserted continuance of p ($\leftarrow$ ACT + PSP) gives rise to an implicature of p being inherently finite; the ALT functions as a (weak) implicature of counter-expectation[12]; the particle is prospective.

- NIET MEER: the ALT is in line with the strong PSP; the contrast between ACT and ALT/PSP yields an implicature of discontinuity; the particle cluster is retrospective.

2.2. NOG : NIET → NOG NIET: pragmatic shift

By adding the positive ASP-marker to the NEG-modifier NIET the meaning of the negative cluster NOG NIET can be arrived at when taking the following inferential steps:

1) NOG : NIET p

A negative SoA on t_o can be presented as corresponding to an earlier, identical one; this is signalled by NOG (Eng. **still**), which indicates continuance[13]; it is represented in graph 5 below. NOG : NIET p can be paraphrased as:

(7) It is STILL the case that: not p.

E.g.

(8) Hij is nog (steeds) niet thuis.

> Ge. Er ist noch (immer) nicht zu Hause.

> Eng. He is still not at home.

In this view, NEG ranges over the central proposition p, whereas ASP ranges over NEG-p (the negated proposition q).

2) NOG NIET p

As was shown before (cf. graph 2), the implicated alternative brought into play by NOG is a prospective one: the speaker alludes to the possible ending of the asserted (or questioned) phase and its being replaced by the opposite one. If the asserted phase is negative, as discussed in 1), that opposite phase is of course positive. So if, as is often the case in normal discourse, p and not NEG-p is the proposition which is prominent in the CUI, i.e. at the center of speaker/hearer's interest, then NEG-p will automatically be viewed as the situation p r e c e-d i n g the situation described by p. In that case, the combination of NOG + NIET naturally turns the weak counter-expectation carried by NOG, into a strong expectation implicature concerning p. In semantic terms, the actual SoA does <u>not</u> correspond with a later SoA, i.e. an opposite one. Pragmatically speaking, attention shifts from ACT (not-p) to FUT (p). On the syntactic level, NOG NIET-p is reanalyzed as NOG-NIET p.

The graphic representation could be made as follows:
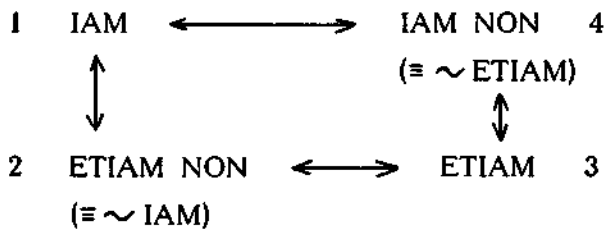
NOG : NIET p ⟹ NOG NIET
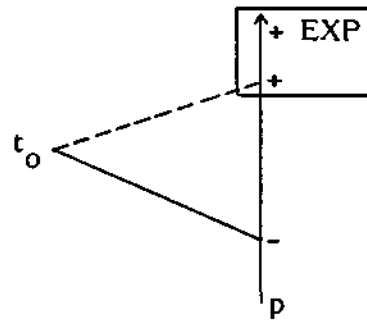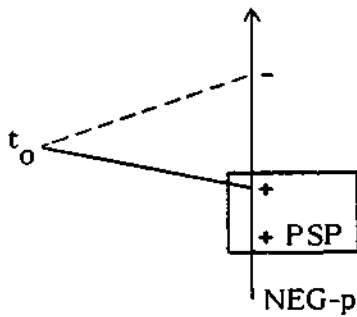
— 5 — + (NEG-p) = -p — 6 —

3. The situation in other European languages

3.0. Introductory

A perfectly "economical" system would be the one with only two ASP-lexemes, the dual opponents IAM and ETIAM, only making use of the NEG particle in internal position:


This system is actually to be found in European languages like Russian[14], Bulgarian, Polish[15], Hungarian, Spanish[16]; outside Europe, it occurs e.g. in Japanese (1 mō, 2 mada V Neg, 3 mada, 4 mō V Neg).

It should be pointed out, however, that left-to-right-ordering is not the unequivocal reflection of operator-scope-relationship: apart from scope, other factors play a role as well, such as the position of NEG with respect to the verb (V) — there is a universal tendency to place NEG immediately next to V[17], but it can be placed before or after V; in its turn it is not unrelated to the typological status of the language in question (SVO vs. SOV or VSO)[18]. Most probably, the factors referred to underlie the mirroring relationship between French ne V pas encore and Dutch/German nog niet V / noch nicht V:

(9) a. Du/Ge [ASP [NEG [V]]]

    b. Fr [[[V] NEG] ASP]

As little is known about the relation between scope relationships and word order from a typological point of view, I will refrain from going into this matter here.

There is only one language with different lexical items in every corner of the scheme, i.e. English[19]:

1   **already**   ⟵⟶   NEG **anymore**   4

      ⇕   ⇕

2   NEG ... **yet**   ⟵⟶   **still**   3
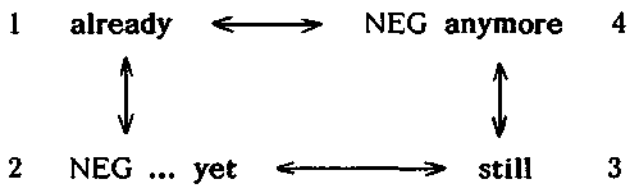
It is also the only language where the inner NEG-solution is not adopted: there is only external NEG with replacement of the positive polarity ASP-items by negative polarity ones. The lexical split-up between **still** and **yet** with respect to polarity has produced a straightforward and very simple system for the lexical expression of ASP.

3.1. Negation of IAM

All languages I have investigated, realize negation of IAM as a particle cluster of the type ETIAM NON, with the proviso for English that the former PPI has been reinterpreted as an NPI, thus causing the scope relationship between NEG and ASP to be inverted. It seems plausible that the same pragmatic shift as suggested for Dutch, has to be hypothesized for these languages as well.

3.2. Negation of ETIAM

a. A minority of European languages opt on IAM NON to negate ETIAM. As we saw in 3.0., they are the Slavonic languages Russian, Bulgarian and Polish, alongside Hungarian and Spanish, the latter standing out in isolation within the Romance languages.

The pragmatic shift seems to be reversed here: the weight of the (anticipatory) expectancy PSP in IAM has decreased, but on the other hand, what is kept prominent is the perspectivity idea of trespassing a certain transition point from a given phase (in this case p) to its complement. In a discourse where p belongs to the CUI, the directionality

of the change is from p to not-p.

b. By far the most frequent type of lexicalization used for the negation of ETIAM is a third item based on a comparative for adjectives denoting quantity (the PLUS-type), often materialized on dimensions such as length ('longer' is found in the Scandinavian languages, and also as a variant for PLUS in Dutch and English), height (Serbian više, lit. = 'higher'), tallness (Rum. mai < Lat. magis, 'bigger'; Russ. bolsje, lit. = 'bigger'). I am not certain whether Finnish enää is etymologically related to enemmän, meaning 'more'.

The comparative semantically operates much like an existential quantifier[20], in that it quantifies over moments for which p holds, but its comparative morphology indicates that they are to be seen in relation to comparable moments which have preceded the observation point t_o. The normal expectation with an existential quantifier is that its being in the scope of NEG is reflected in a strict left-to-right ordering, but this prediction is not borne out for the Slavonic languages (Serbian has either order, Russian only has the PLUS NEG order and Greek both). In logical terms, of course, there is little difference between:

  10. a. For MORE moments (= moments in the FUT): NOT-p is the case
      b. NOT for MORE moments it is the case that p

The (a)-option would imply that the PLUS-lexeme is experienced more or less as a time adverbial, meaning something like German 'nunmehr': 'from now on', 'in the future, including the present moment'[21]. This suggestion is even more plausible when we see that in some languages it clearly carries the adverb meaning 'from now on', which is combined with NEG to lexicalize the negative counterpart of ETIAM, such as Turkish (artik)[22] and e.g. Armenian (aylyevs) or Thai ('not ... further on' next to NON ... IAM).

4. Concluding remarks

The duality relationship among ASP lexemes is neatly reflected in the lexicalization choices of a great many European languages. It is interesting to observe the interaction of aspectivity with negation, and it would certainly be worth-while extending research concerning these and related aspectivic phenomena to non-European languages as well[23], in

order to see what lexical options they resort to. The formation of fixed collocations should also be dealt with more extensively from the point of view of word order and the coding of scope relationships in a universalistic perspective.

NOTES

1 Cf. König (1981). For more details: see Vandeweghe (1986).

2 See Löbner (this volume).

3 The particles under discussion were described as 'perspectivity operators' in Vandeweghe (1979).

4 Duality is a notion from model theory (cf. Barwise / Cooper 1981: 197). '$\sim$' symbolizes negation.

5 Both Dutch and German have a formal variant in resp. **reeds** and **bereits.**

6 Languages like Turkish and Albanian seem to lack a real equivalent for IAM (cf. Reiter 1981: 231).

7 The formal/archaic variant is **idi.**

8 **Yet** is only diachronically an ETIAM-lexeme, cf. Cl.Traugott / Waterhouse (1969), Ladusaw (1977). For the development of **yet** and **still**, see also: König / Cl.Traugott (1982).

9 Among the marked cases are the so-called echo-reading (Seuren 1976), NEG in conducive questions, and the like.

10 English is an exception only in diachronic terms (cf. note 8), modern Rumanian is an exception insofar as **mai** is possible in positive as well as negative environment.

11 For *Il est déjà fatigué / Il n'est pas encore f.*, Ducrot (1974: 129) says: "on s'attend à ce qu'il se fatigue" and "plus le temps passe, plus il a des chances d'être fatigué".

12 See Abraham (1980: 7) on **noch**$_1$. "Expectations of this type may be those of the speaker, or those supposed by him to hold for the addressee of his utterance, or even rest with one of the persons mentioned in the utterance".

13 Muller (1975: 32) states: "**Encore** apparaît donc chaque fois que le procès, affirmatif ou négatif, se prolonge".

14 Russian has, for IAM NON (**uzjè njè**), also the rivalling possibility of COMPARATIVE + Neg (**bolsjè njè**): cf. infra.

15 Bulgarian and Polish display a certain degree of freedom in word order: next to ETIAM NON also NON ETIAM.

16 Spanish: next to IAM NON also NON IAM.

17 This is shown in Dryer (1985), who investigated the position of NEG

in a sample of 297 languages. In a few exceptional cases, however, like the one of **nu mai** in Rumanian, the ASP-particle is among the only elements to be inserted between NEG and V.

18   The only "hard" fact to be drawn from my data on some 20 languages is that the order NON (V) ETIAM is only to be found in SVO-languages, with the possible exception of Basque (which is basically SOV, but has no strictly regulated word order, according to Mallinson/ Blake 1981: 138).

19   Cp. Välikangas (1982: 376).

20   In English this is signalled even more explicitly by the addition of **any**.

21   The Middle Dutch predecessor of Du. **voortaan** 'from now on' was also a PLUS-word, viz. **voertMERE**.

22   In some cases, Tu. **artik** is also used for IAM (cf. Reiter 1981: 231).

23   Most of the data on European languages were collected with the kind and patient help of many informants, among whom I want to specially thank prof. N.Reiter (Berlin), for his extensive and expert information on Balkan languages.

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