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)

(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 **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 word.

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.
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.

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

Treatments so far (2)

Johan van der Auwera
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. *Ajči kel-be-d-i*
   Hunter come-NEG-PST-3
   ‘The hunter has not come’, (Irina Nevskaya, p.c.)

b. *Ajči kel-gelek*
   Hunter come-not.yet
   ‘The hunter has not come yet’, (Nasilov 2005: 229)

i + ii + iii + iv + v(c)
Less clearly grammaticalized not-yet markers

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

a. \textcolor{blue}{mwn} cambac prua la:n mau:k prap knjom tee: \\
\textcolor{blue}{NEG} need ticket.taker come tell me NEG \\
‘The ticket taker didn’t need to come tell me anything’ (Haiman 2011: 228)

b. \textcolor{red}{mwn toan} ceh nev rwang snee:ha: \\
\textcolor{red}{NEG be.in.time} know OBJ matter love \\
\textcolor{red}{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
Structural characteristics of 'not yet' grams

http://arcg.is/1CJPEs1
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
belum < hê 'still' + bân 'NEG'  

ma-fad  
NEG-?

kutdî  né  VERB  
still/yet  without  VERB  

belum  

et-VERB  qete  
NEG-VERB ' encore/pas encore'
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
(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?’
Semantic distinctions of TAM systems under negation should be a subject of study on their own right.

(François 2003: 37)
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!
References (1)

References (2)


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>belum</th>
<th>nondum</th>
<th>not yet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>total hits</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word total (W)</td>
<td>184098</td>
<td>141797</td>
<td>188029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of not-yet from W</td>
<td>0,07</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Tableau II.11 – Les vingt-six marqueurs TAM du mwotlap

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFIRMATIF</th>
<th>NÉGATIF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accompli \textit{mal ...}</td>
<td><code>pas encore</code> \textit{et-... qete}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accompli distant \textit{mal ... tō}</td>
<td><code>ne plus</code> \textit{et-... si te}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rémansif \textit{... laptō}</td>
<td>Néogatif réais \textit{et-... te}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statif \textit{nE-...}</td>
<td>Prohibitif \textit{nitog ...}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parfait \textit{mE-...}</td>
<td>Néogatif futur \textit{tit-... te}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prétérít \textit{mE-... tō}</td>
<td>Néogatif potentiel \textit{tit-... vēs-te}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aoriste \textit{(ni-)...}</td>
<td>Évitatif négatif \textit{tiple tit-... te}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injonction forte \textit{(ni-)... tō}</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospectif \textit{so (ni-)...}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Futur hodiéral \textit{tE-... qiyig}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Futur \textit{tE-...}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentiel \textit{tE-... vēh}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrefactuel \textit{tE-... tō}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évitatif \textit{tiple ...}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Présentatif statique \textit{... tō}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Présentatif kinétique \textit{... vatag}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus temporel \textit{qoyo ...}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passé immédiat \textit{qoyo ... ēwē tō}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prioritif \textit{(ni-)... bah en}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(François 2003: 37)
• 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