

# Towards a typology of continuative expressions

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# Introduction: continuative expressions

(1) Spanish (Indo-European; van der Auwera 1998: 30)

Juan      duerme                      **todavía.**

Juan      sleeps                        **still**

‘Juan is still asleep.’

(2) Balanta-Ganja (North-Central Atlantic; Creissels and Biaye 2016: 201)

**bá-n-tígtà-nà**                      yâaθ.

INCL-INACP-AUX<sub>CONT</sub>-INCL work

‘Nous (incl.) continuons de travailler.’ (‘We keep working.’)

# Introduction: continuative expressions

(3) Yine (Arawakan; Hanson 2010: 245; glosses adapted)

r-halna-wa

3-fly-IPF

‘He is still flying.’ / ‘He continues flying.’

(4) Nanga (Dogon; Heath 2016: 226, glosses adapted)

[níŋèy<sup>n</sup>                      yŋà]            [ò:<sup>L</sup>            gó]            bù-∅

[now                              INST]            [field<sup>L</sup>    LOC]            be-3SG.S

‘He/She is still in the fields.’

# Introduction: previous cross-linguistic studies

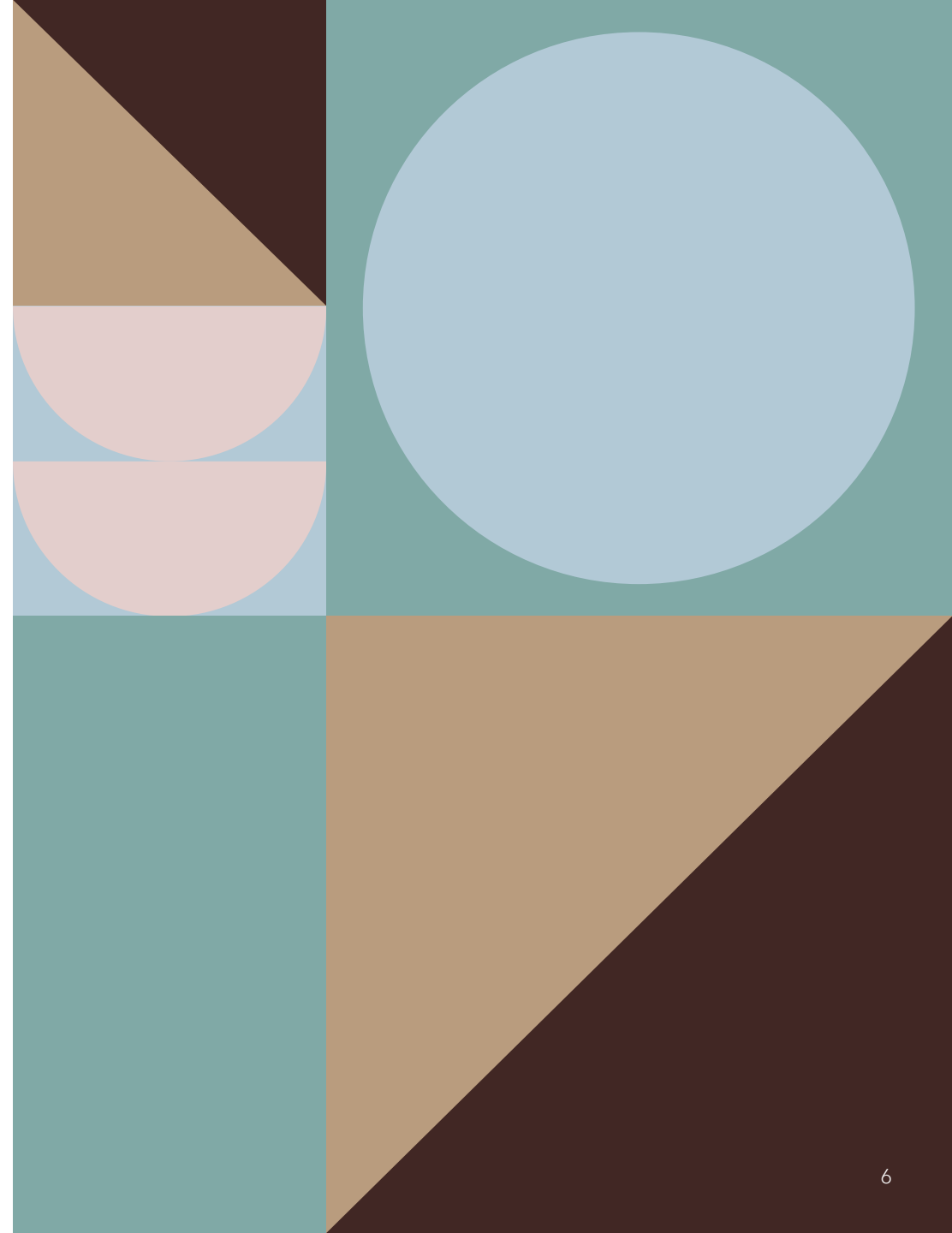
- several papers dedicated to a broader semantic domain — **phasality** or **phasal polarity** (van Baar 1997; van der Auwera 1998; Plungian 1999)
- phasal expressions in **a specific area or a specific family** (Löfgren 2019; Kramer (ed.) 2021; Veselinova et al. to appear a. o.)
- papers on specific phasal meanings: **nondum** ‘not yet’ (Veselinova 2017), **iamitive** ‘already’ (Dahl & Wälchli 2016)

The continuative meaning has never been a topic of a separate large-sample typological study.

# Introduction: research questions

- Ways whereby the continuative meaning can be encoded in the languages of the world,
- What natural classes of continuative expressions can be distinguished cross-linguistically in terms of their synchronic properties.

# **The definition of the continuative meaning**



# What is beyond the present study

- continuative ~ coordination (e.g., Göksel and Kerslake 2005)
- continuative ~ incompletive (progressive + resultative) (Watanabe 2003)
- continuous ~ durative (progressives not restricted to dynamic predicates) (Comrie 1976)

# Previous definitions of the continuative meaning

Papers on phasal values (van der Auwera 1998, van Baar 1997, Plungian 1999 a.o.):

$t_i$ (preceding moment)	$t_0$ (point of reference)	van der Auwera 1998	Plungian 1999	van Baar 1997
-	+	inchoative	inchoative	ALREADY
<b>+</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>continuative</b>	<b>continuative</b>	<b>STILL</b>
-	-	continuative negative	cunctative	NO LONGER
+	-	discontinuative	terminative	NOT YET

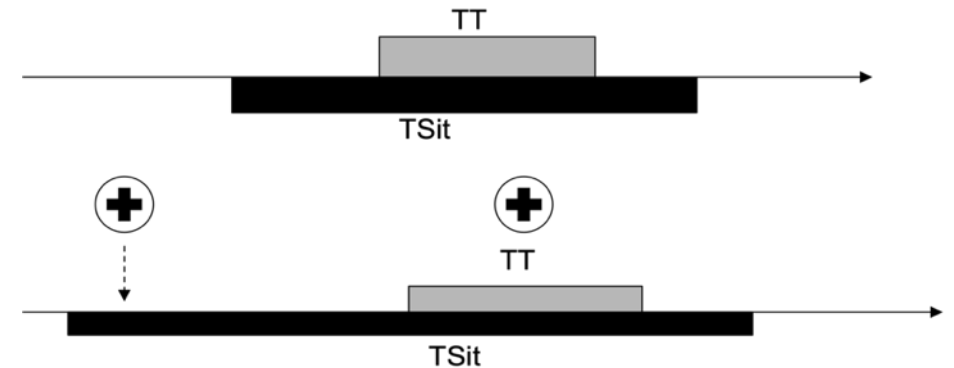


# Problems of the phasal domain (1): phasal polarity vs. aspect

- Does phasal polarity constitute a part of aspect (in Klein's (1994) understanding)? No, the relation between the topic time (TT, = point of reference) and the situation time (TSit) does not change:

(1) *When I came into the room, John was sleeping .*

(2) *When I came into the room, John was **still** sleeping .*



- Phasal polarity is a distinct category, but it can be combined with aspectual values.

Continuative:

- imperfective  (progressive, habitual)
- perfective

# Problems of the phasal domain (2): phasal verbs

- Do phasal adverbs (e.g., *already*, *still*) and so-called **phasal verbs** (e.g., *begin*, *continue*) express values belonging to the same category? As shown in Gorbunova (2014), these are different categories, cf.:

(3) At 8 a.m. he was signing.

(4) At 8 a.m. he was **already** signing.

(5) At 8 a.m. he **started** signing. (the change of the situation happened exactly at 8 a.m )

*Already* only evaluates the situation from the point of view of its existence at some temporal points (Gorbunova 2014: 36) while the verb *start* derives a new predicate with different semantics.

- The same “deriving new predicate” function is typical for inchoative affixes, cf. Russian *za-*, see also discussion of the inchoative suffix in Nenets (Tatevosov 2016: 108):

«Операция, которую производят такие показатели, — это именно изменение означаемого исходного событийного предиката, создаваемого на уровне vP»

# Problems of the phasal domain (2): phasal verbs

- The case of the adverb *still* and the verb *continue* is a bit trickier because the English verb *continue* is ambiguous:

(13)a. After dinner we **continued** to fiddle around with tackle and were joined by Mr. Ferguson and his son, Paul, who were also booked in for the same week. [BNC] ✗

(perfective interpretation, ‘continue after a break’ (Стойнова 2013: 128-129))

b. The sudsy water **continues** working while it is slippery and you can still make bubbles by agitating it. [BNC] ✓

(imperfective interpretation, ~ ‘still’)

The continuative meaning is present only in (13b).

# Problems of the phasal domain (3): counter-expectations

- Is expectation of the contrary an obligatory semantic component of phasal markers (see Plungian 1999, Boguslavsky 1996 on *already*)?
- van der Auwera 1991, 1998, 2021: no, the semantics of counter-expectations is a parameter of variability.

An example of a "neutral scenario" (i.e., without counter-expectations) for *still*:

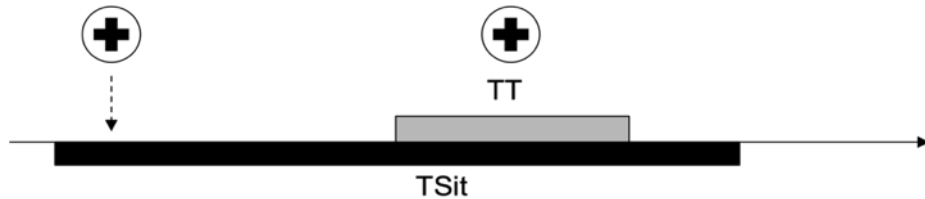
[Peter is going to fly from London to Amsterdam at 4 p.m. John and Peter meet at the airport at 3 p.m. At 3 p.m. it is possible for John to say:]

- (*Yes, I know.*) *Peter is still in London.*

# Working definition of the continuative meaning

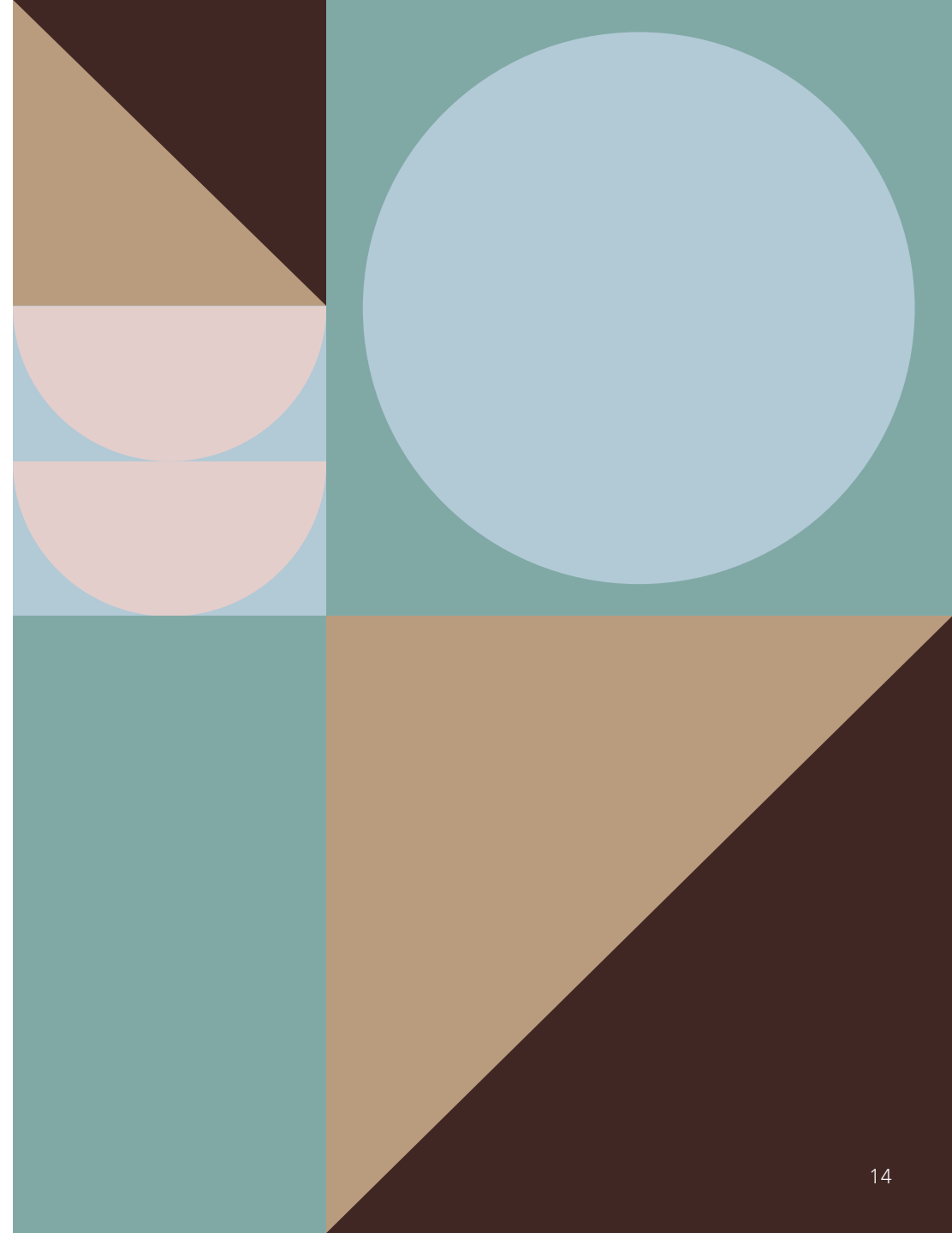
Continuative is a phasal value which indicates that

- a) the situation  $\Phi$  holds at TT (topic time),
- b) the situation  $\Phi$  was true at the moment  $t_i$  preceding TT;
- c) the situation  $\Phi$  has not been interrupted between  $t_i$  and TT.



>> the continuative semantic operator can only be applied to statives (including resultatives) and to the dynamic verbs in the imperfective aspect.

# Methodology



# Methodology: a large-scale typological study

## Parameters of comparison:

- a) the morphosyntactic type,
- b) the degree of grammaticalization,
- c) temporal, aspectual and actional restrictions on the predicate,
- d) uses outside the continuative domain,
- e) semantics effects when combined with negation.

## Data:

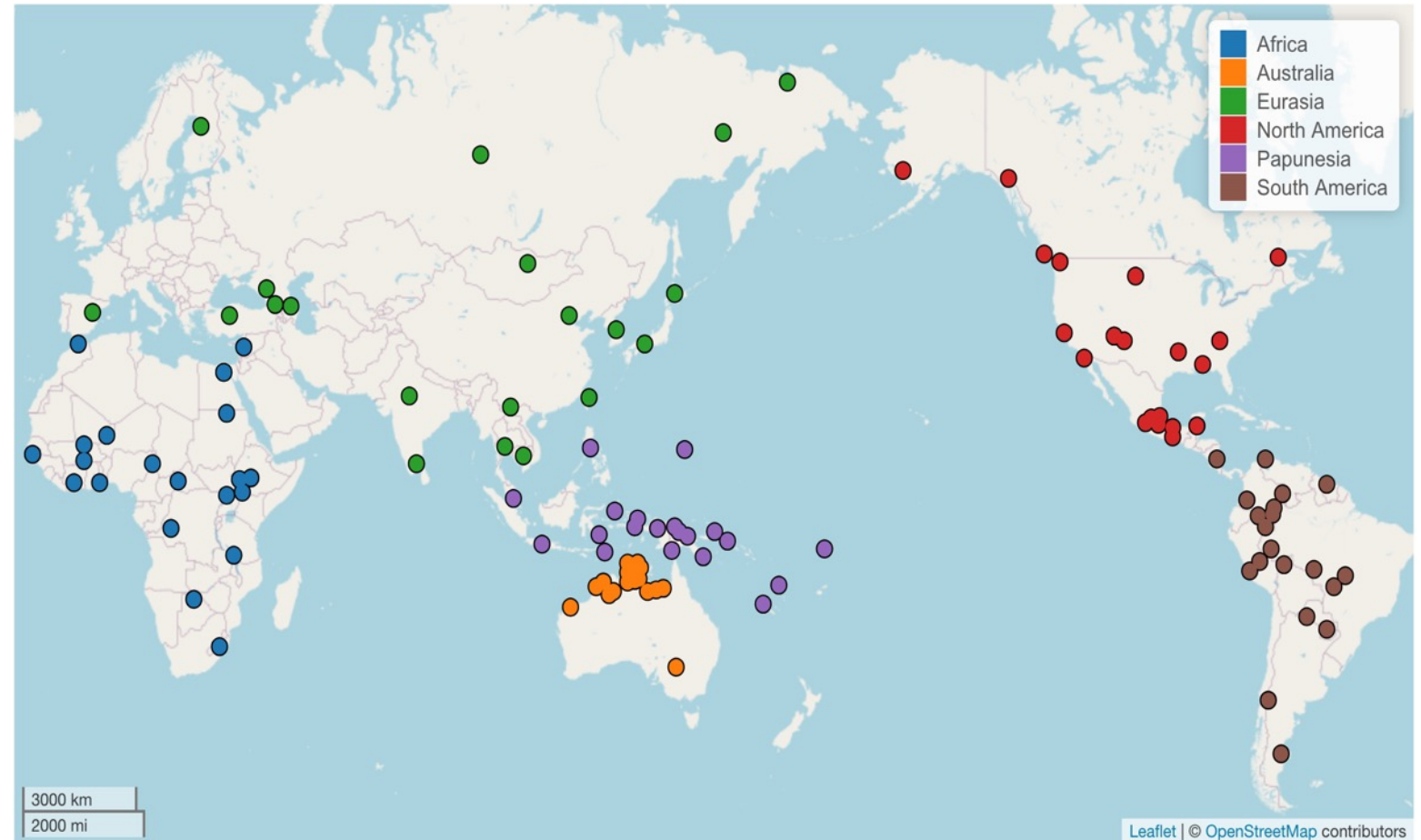
- |  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| • grammatical descriptions, dictionaries | parameters (a)-(e) |
| • parallel texts                         | mainly (b)         |

# Methodology: sampling

A large-scale typological study :

- 120 languages
- 20 languages per macro-area
- Macro-areas:
  - Eurasia,
  - Africa,
  - North America,
  - South America,
  - Australia,
  - Papunesia.

(Hammarström & Donohue 2014)





## Working materials on typology of continuative

This site contains materials for my MA thesis.

### Sample



Show 10 entries

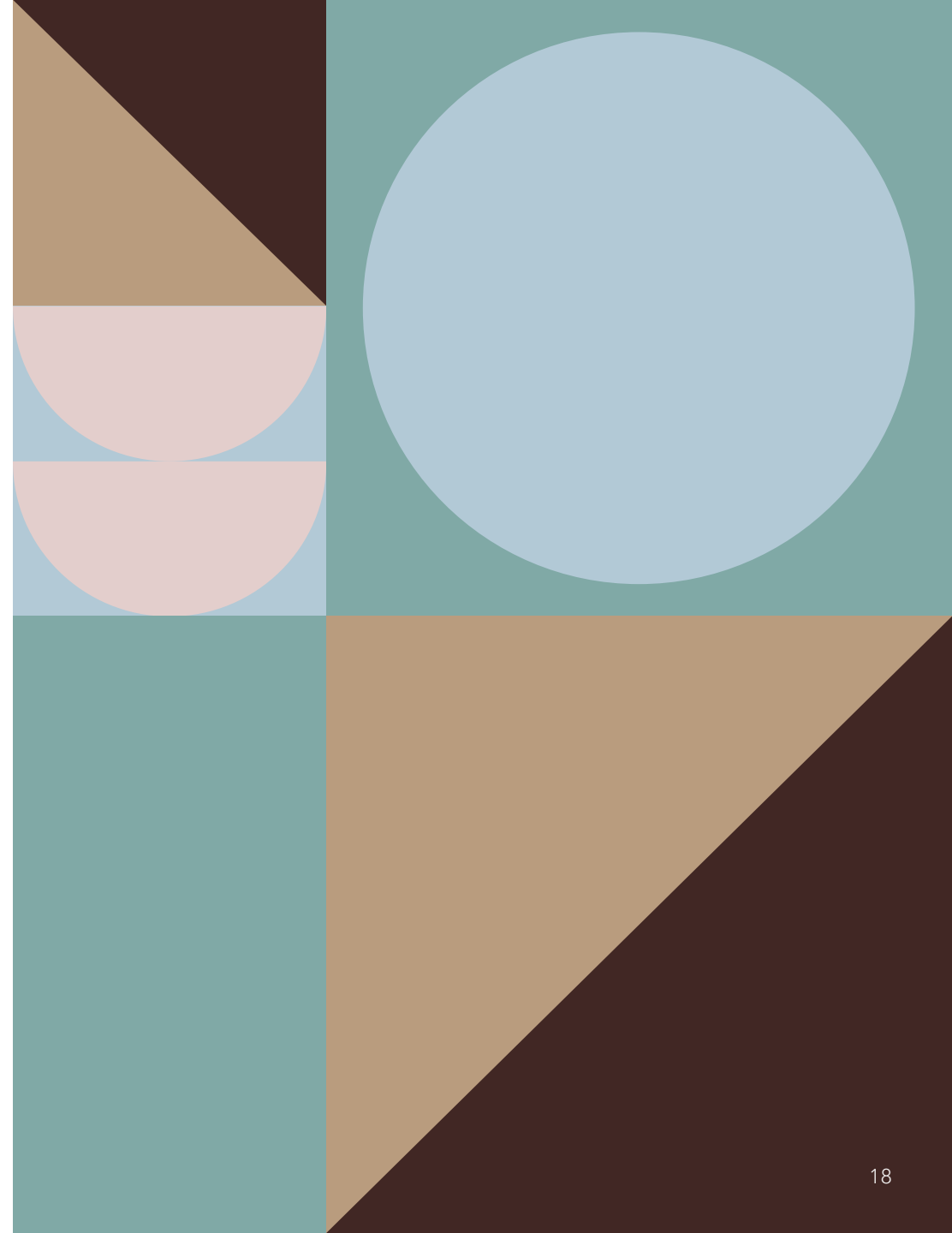
Search:

	macroarea	family	iso	language
	All	All	All	All
1	Eurasia	Indo-European (> Italic)	spa	Spanish
2	Eurasia	Indo-European (> Indo-Iranian)	hin	Hindi

# Methodology: a database

<https://anapanifica.github.io/continuative/>

# Parameters of comparison



# Morphosyntactic type

morphologically bound	morphologically free (including clitics)	
	marking typical for verbs in the given language (e.g., agreement)	no verb-like marking
<b>affixes</b>	<b>auxiliaries</b>	<b>adverbial phrases</b>

- (9) Central Alaskan Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut; Miyaoka 2012: 1232, glosses added)  
 tai-**gur**-tuq  
 come-CONT-IND.3SG  
 ‘he is still coming, keeps coming’
- (10) Balanta-Ganja (North-Central Atlantic; Creissels and Biaye 2016: 201)  
 Bá-**n-tígtà-nà** yâaθ.  
 INCL-INACP-AUX<sub>CONT</sub>-INCL work  
 ‘Nous (incl.) continuons de travailler.’ (‘We keep working.’)

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- (11) Montagnais (Algic; Oxford 2007: 209)  
Tâpue **eshk<sup>u</sup>** mishta-minuâteu.  
truly **still** really-love.3 > 3'  
'He truly still loves her.'

# Morphosyntactic type: areal distribution



# Morphosyntactic type: areal distribution

Adverbial phrases:

- the most widespread (or even default) morphosyntactic type

Affixes and auxiliaries:

- Eurasia: the Caucasus, East and South-East Asia
- Africa: Central and South Africa
- South America (affixes)

The continuative affix/auxiliary can be easily developed only in a language with **the relevant morphosyntactic profile**.

Important linguistic characteristics:

- multiple verb (i.e., auxiliary or serial verb) constructions,
- polysynthetic morphology.







# Restrictions on the predicate

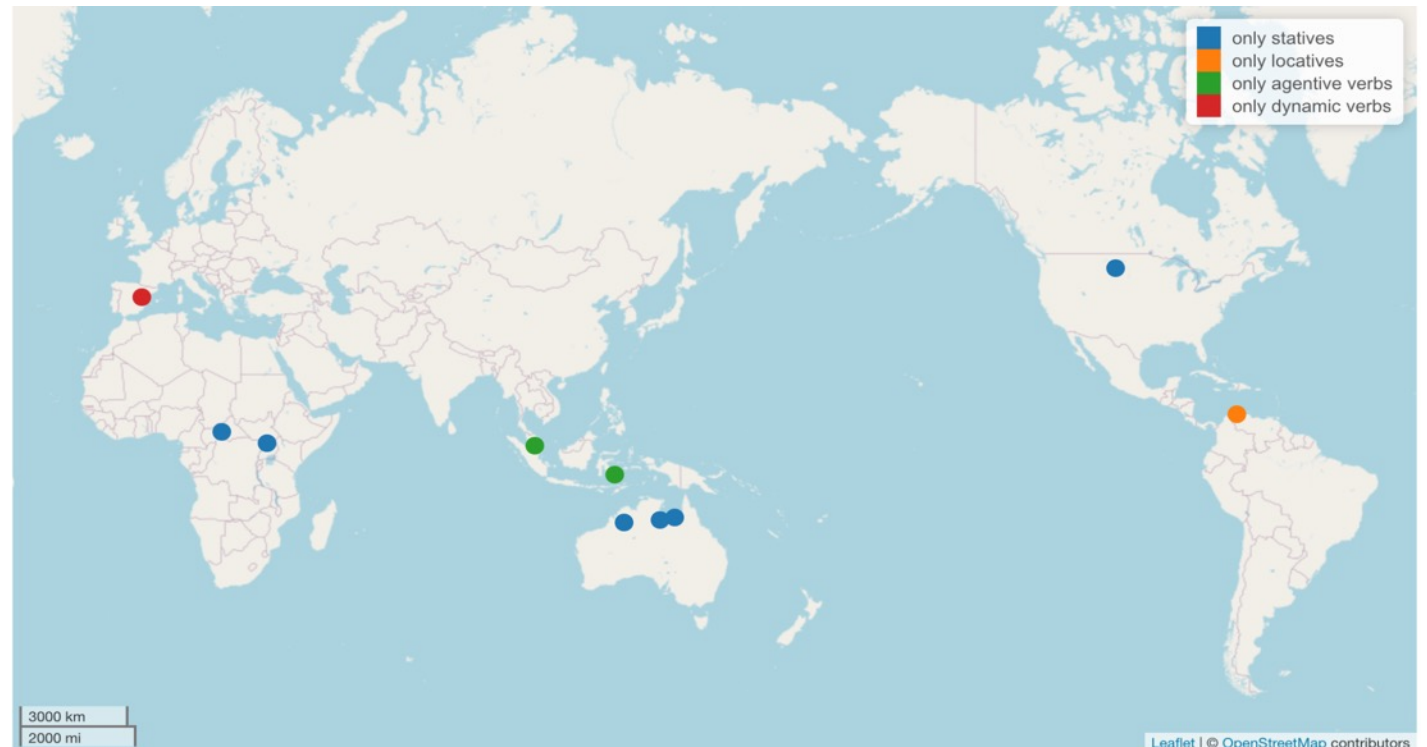
By definition:

- only statives (including resultatives) and the dynamic verbs in the imperfective aspect

Further restrictions:

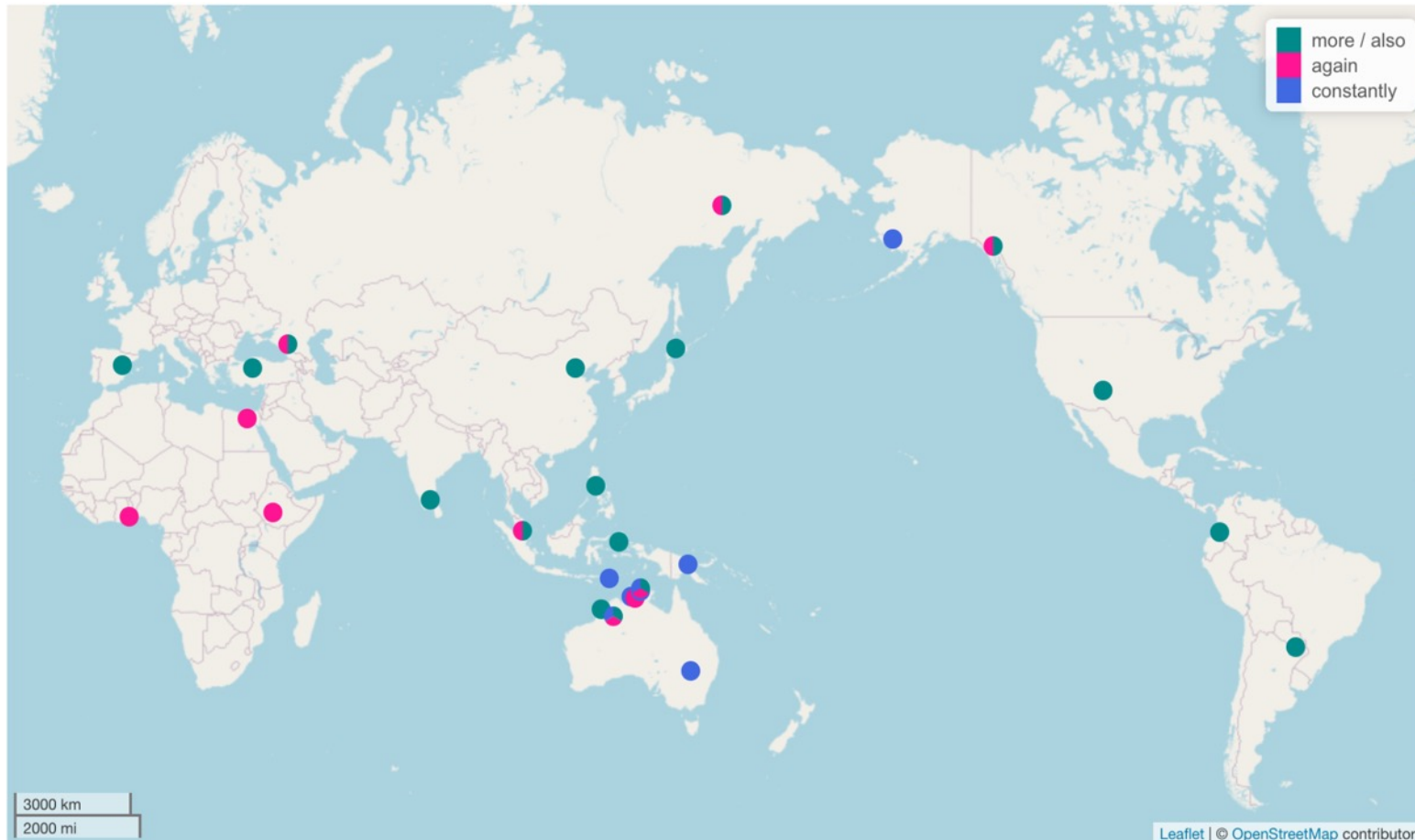
- **actionality**
  - only stative predicates or their specific types
  - only dynamic predicates

(little data but all macro-areas)



# Non-continuative uses of continuative expressions

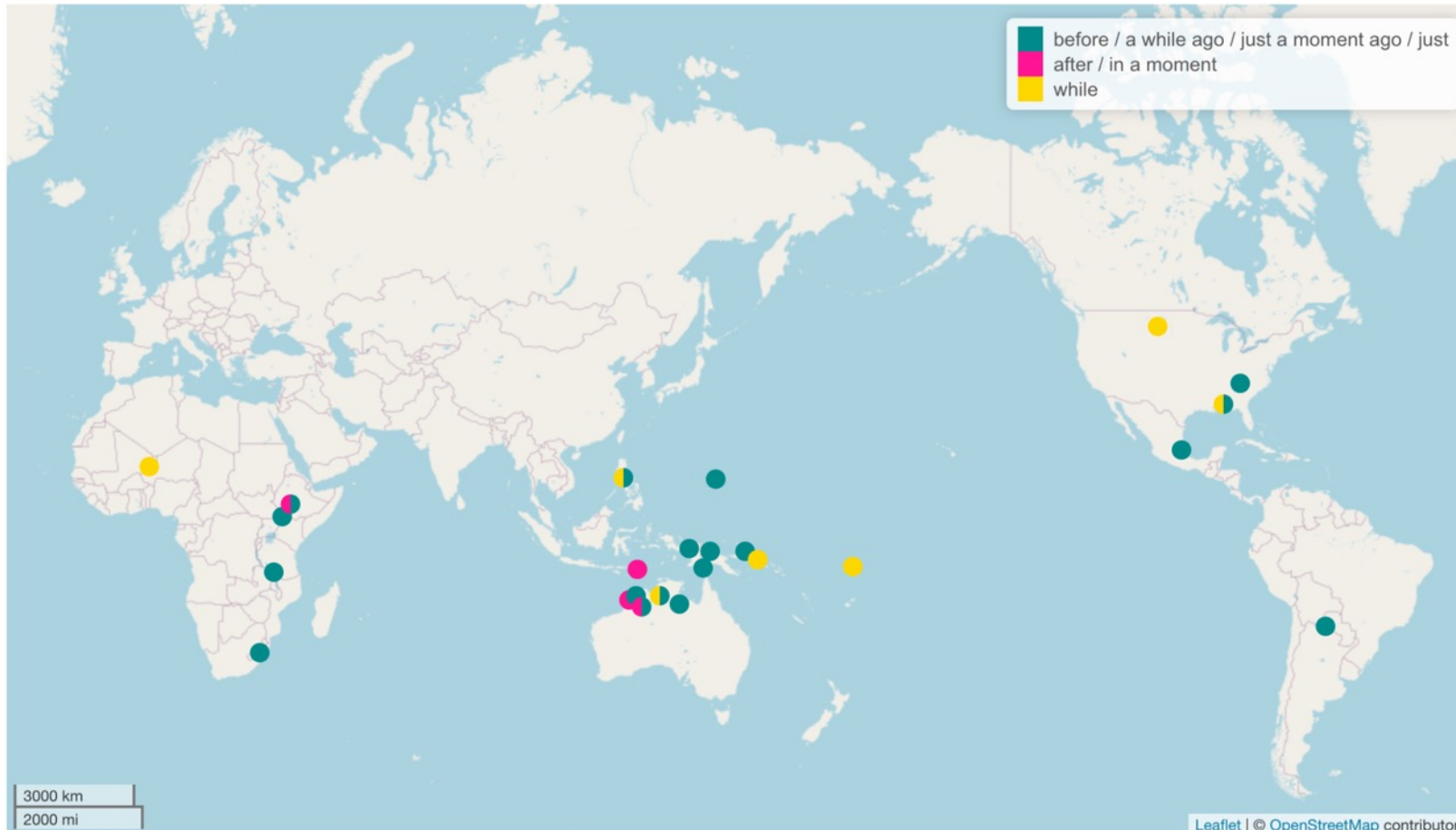
Pluractionality ('constantly, repeatedly, always', 'again', 'more, also')



- (17) Paraguayan Guaraní  
(Tupian; Gerasimov 2020: 2)  
*o-ho-se-ve*  
3A-go-DES-CMPR  
'He still wants to go.' /  
'He wants to go on.'

# Non-continuative uses of continuative expressions

Temporal (non-)simultaneity ('while', 'before', 'after', etc.)



- (18) Turkana  
(Nilotic; Dimmendaal 1983: 360)  
*tò-boŋ-ù*  
IM P-return-VEN  
*è-ròkò*      *mòyi*  
still            tomorrow  
'return before tomorrow'

# Non-continuative uses of continuative expressions

Other phasal meanings:

- nondum ('not yet')

(15) Kalamang (West Bomberai; Visser 2020: 388)

a. A: *ka tok sekola*  
2SG still go.to.school  
'Do you still go to school?'

B: *tok*  
still  
'Yes [I still go to school].'

b. A: *ka tok sekola=nin*  
2SG yet go.to.school=NEG  
'Don't you go to school yet?'

B: *tok*  
not.yet  
'Not yet.'

# Non-continuative uses of continuative expressions

## Other meanings:

concessive ('despite, nevertheless')

'throughout'

restrictive ('just, only')

'together'

delimitative ('for some time')

'even'

progressive

'same'

'wait!', 'hang on!'

'forever'

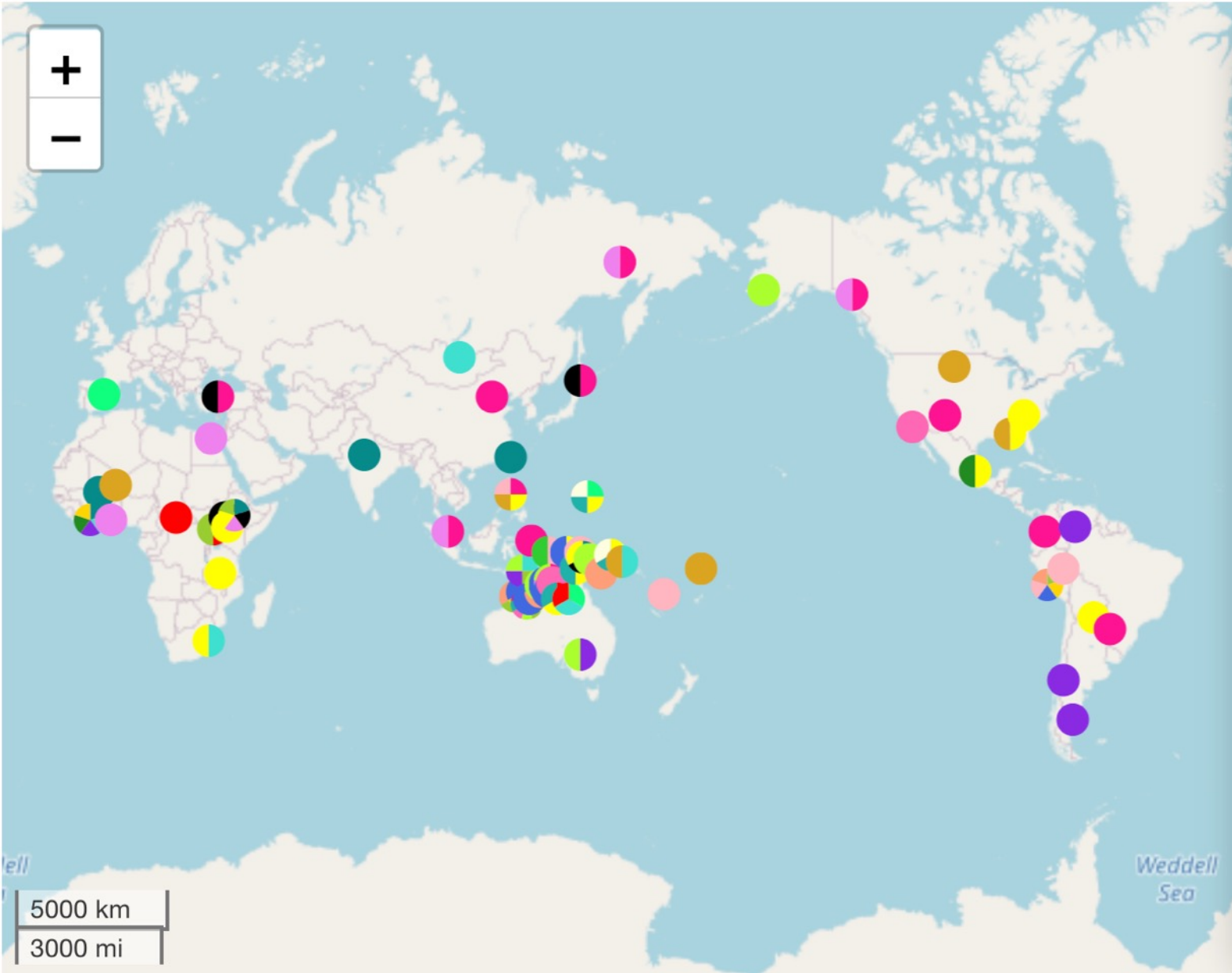
'first'

'barely'

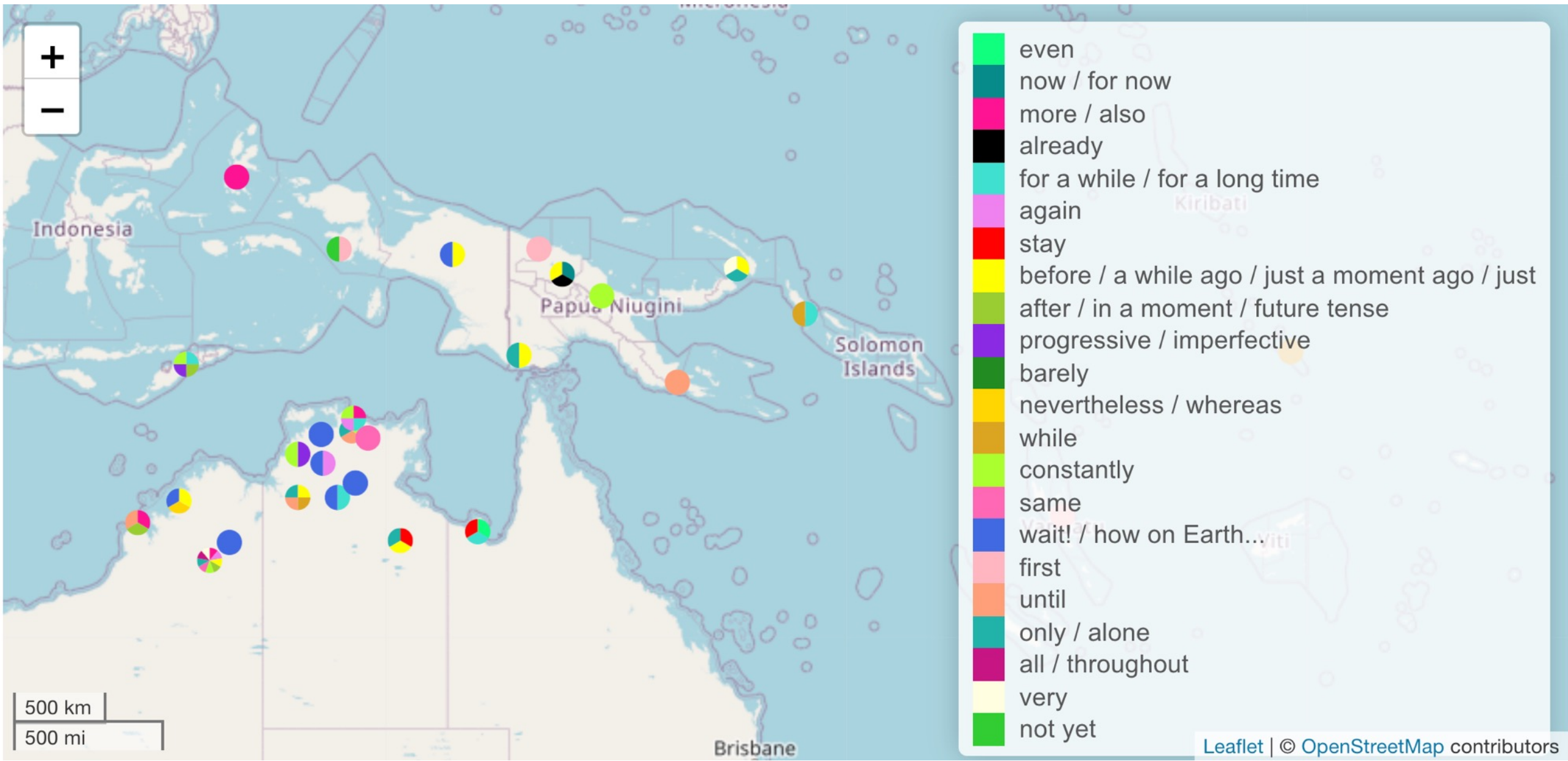
'later'

...

'always'



- even
- now / for now
- more / also
- already
- for a while / for a long time
- again
- stay
- before / a while ago / just a moment ago / just
- after / in a moment / future tense
- progressive / imperfective
- barely
- nevertheless / whereas
- while
- constantly
- same
- wait! / how on Earth...
- first
- until
- only / alone
- all / throughout
- very
- not yet



# Semantic effects when combined with negation

‘still (not)’ = ‘not yet’ (expected for adverbial phrases)

(19) Kalamang (West Bomberai; Visser 2020: 391)

a. ma tok nawanggar  
3SG still wait

‘He still waits.’

b. Nyong esun tok bo-t=nin  
N. father.3POSS yet go-t=NEG

‘Nyong’s father doesn’t go yet.’

‘not (still)’ = ‘no longer’ (expected for affixes/auxiliaries)

(20) Lezgian (Nakh-Daghestanian; Haspelmath 1993: 210; glosses adapted)

Jusuf.a k’walax-zama-č  
Jusuf(ERG) work-IPF.CONT-NEG

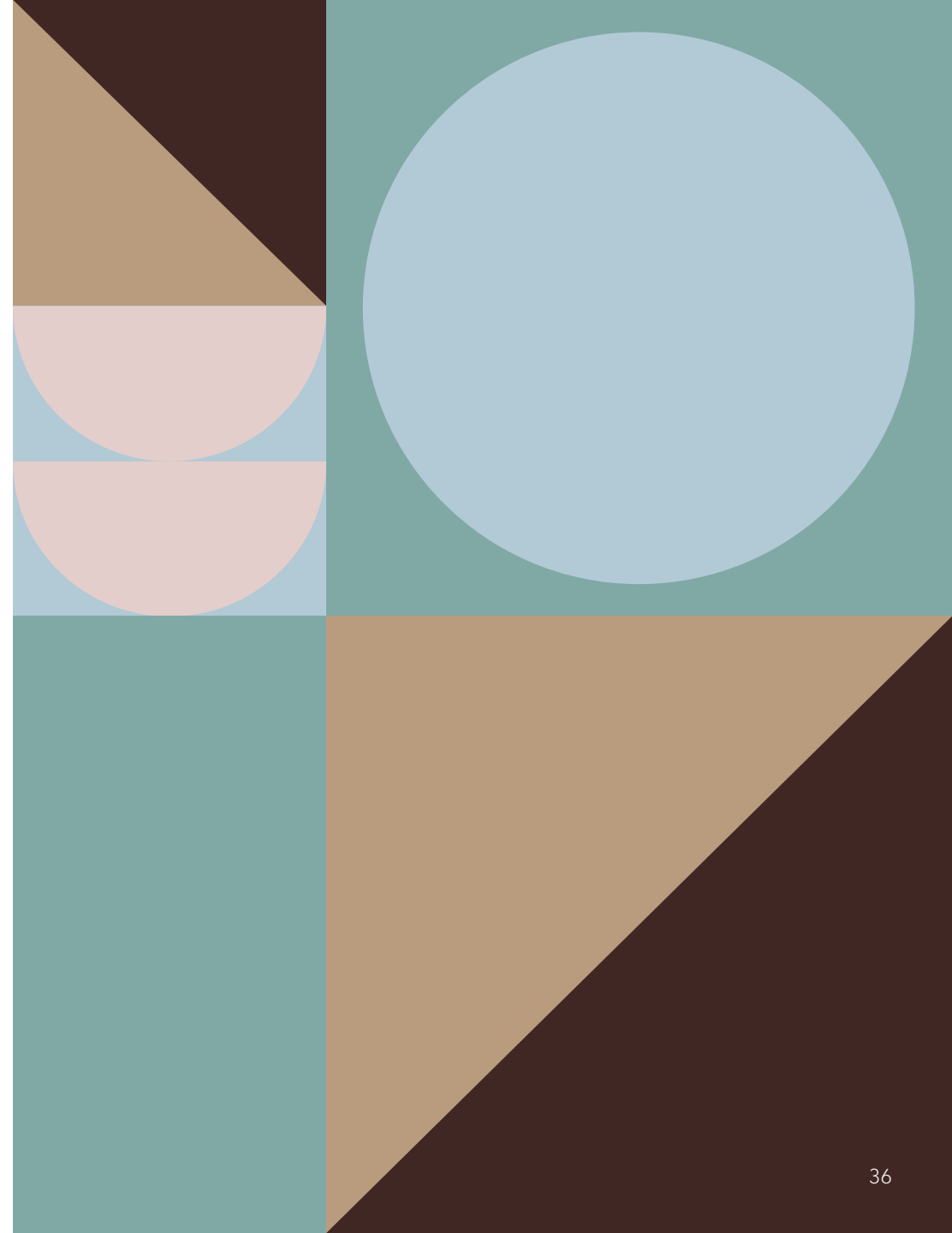
‘Jusuf is no longer working.’



# Semantic effects when combined with negation



# Discussion



# Discussion

Two major classes of continuative expressions: **predicative** and **adverbial**.

## A prototypical predicative continuative expression

- a complement-taking verb >>> a verbal affix
- morphologization is preceded or accompanied by obligatorification and increasing frequency
- may have actional restrictions on the dependent predicate
- can also function as an aspectual marker
- in combination with negation means ‘no longer’

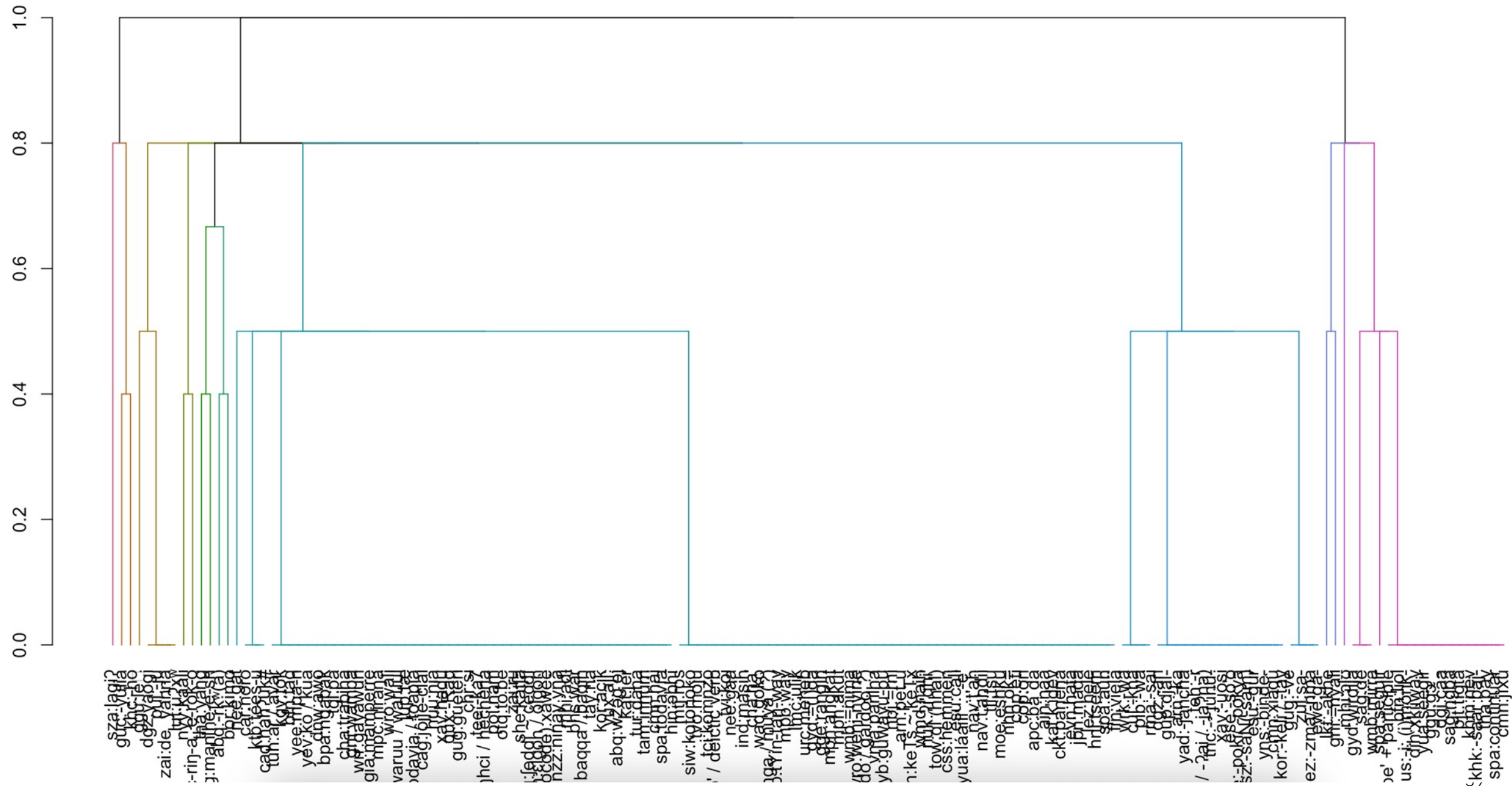
# Discussion

Two major classes of continuative expressions: **predicative** and **adverbial**.

## A prototypical adverbial continuative expression

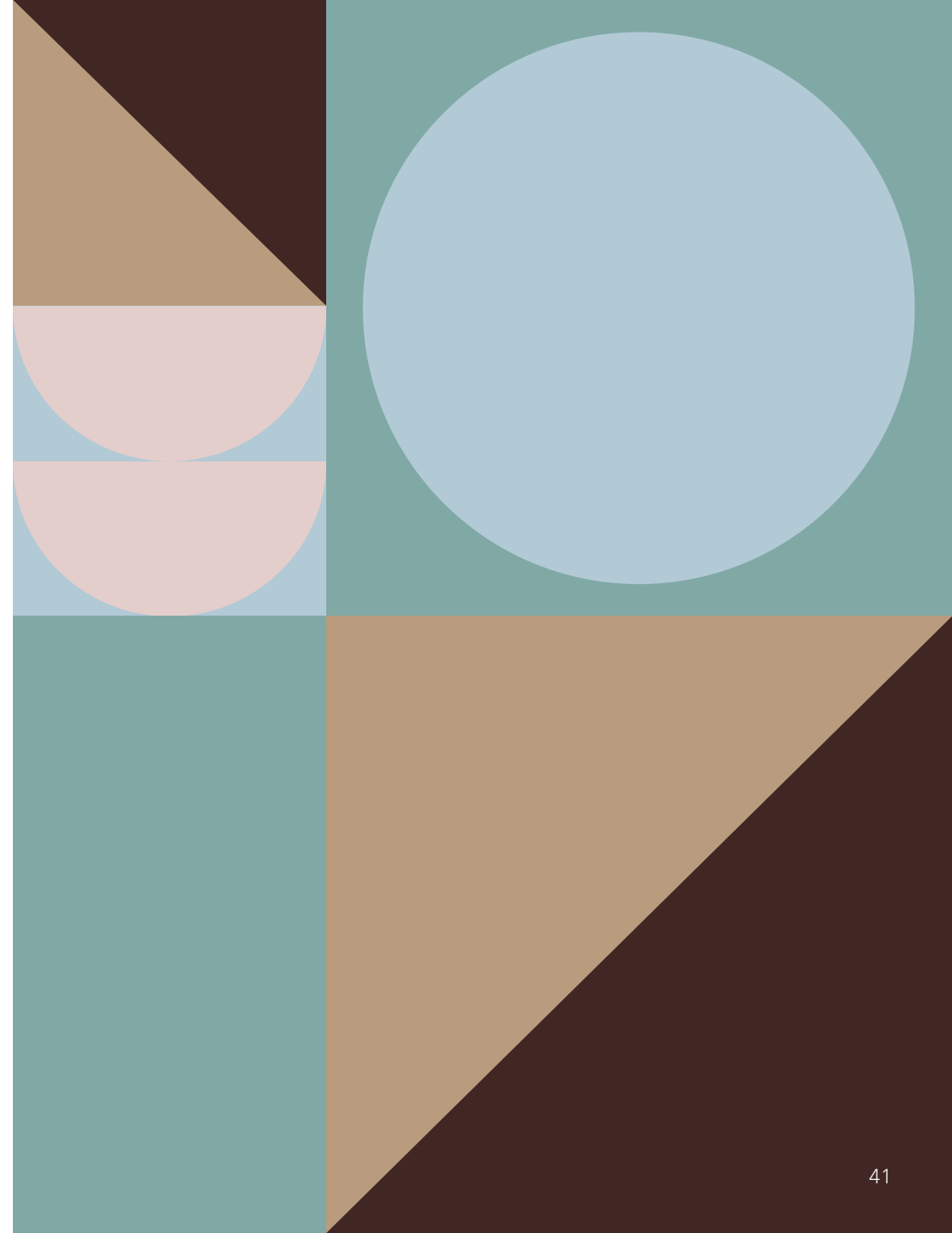
- a multi-word adverbial/prepositional phrase >>> a particle/clitic
- during the last stage of this development they may show a high degree of grammaticalization
- rarely have restrictions on the predicate type
- rich polysemy (most often, 'more' and 'again')
- in combination with negation means 'not yet'

But can it be proved statistically?





# Conclusion



# Conclusion

In this study, I

- formulated the definition of the continuative meaning,
- found the data on continuative expressions in 120 languages,
- analyzed it according to 5 parameters,
- described the diversity of continuative expressions,
- concluded that it is possible to distinguish two “types” of typological profiles of the continuative expressions: predicative and adverbial.



**Thank you!**

