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PHASAL POLARITY IN ABAZA³

Phasal polarity (PhP) is a cross-linguistic category which includes such values as ALREADY, NOT YET, STILL and NO LONGER. This paper discusses morphologically bound markers of phasal polarity in Abaza, a polysynthetic Northwest Caucasian language. We show that the Abaza PhP affixes *-χ'a* ‘already’, *-s* (+ negation) ‘not yet’, *-rķ^wa* ‘still’ and *-χ* (+ negation) ‘no longer’ are partly incorporated into the TAM system and that for at least some of them it is unclear whether they belong to the domain of phasal polarity or the phasal domain in a narrow sense (i.e. including values BEGIN, CONTINUE, etc.). We also present some preliminary data concerning the obligatoriness of Abaza PhP markers and their frequencies in texts.

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Keywords: phasal polarity, verbal morphology, Abaza, Northwest Caucasian, polysynthesis.

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1. Introduction

According to van Baar (1997), phasal polarity (PhP) is a cross-linguistic category including (at most) four expressions which in English refer to ALREADY, NOT YET, STILL and NO LONGER, cf. (1).

- (1) (adapted from van Baar 1997: 1)
- a. *Peter is **already** in London.*
 - b. *Peter is **not yet** in London.*
 - c. *Peter is **still** in London.*
 - d. *Peter is **no longer** in London.*

The first theoretical study where PhP expressions were considered as organizing a system belongs to Löbner (1989). In his work, German particles *schon* ‘already’, *noch* ‘still’ and their negative counterparts were described as four semantically interconnected elements (Löbner 1989: 172). Later this approach was developed by Krifka (2000), who proposed a different analysis of “aspectual particles” in German. Works on the diversity of PhP systems across languages include van der Auwera (1998) on phasal adverbials in the languages of Europe and van Baar (1997), where PhP expressions are analyzed based on a sample of 40 languages. The most recent publications on phasal polarity are devoted to PhP expressions in African (Löfgren 2016, Kramer 2017, see also the forthcoming volume Kramer 2020) and Austronesian (Veselinova 2019) languages.

As van Baar (1997: 326) concludes, in the majority of languages PhP expressions are lexical items and, indeed, a very small number of languages from his sample (e.g. West Greenlandic) have morphologically bound markers of phasal polarity. In this paper, we focus on an example of a fully morphological and hence cross-linguistically rare type of PhP system from Abaza, a polysynthetic Northwest Caucasian language. We propose a typologically-oriented description of the Abaza suffixes *-χ’a* ‘already’, *-rkʷa* ‘still’, *-χ* (+ negation) ‘no longer’ and *-s* (+ negation) ‘not yet’.

Our study is based on fieldwork data collected in the village Inzhich-Chukun (Abazinsky district, Karachay-Cherkess Republic, Russia) in 2017-2019. Most examples are elicited but data from a small corpus of oral narratives and published texts were also used.

In the following sections, we provide some general information on Abaza (Section 2) and each of the suffixes expressing PhP meanings (Section 3). In Section 4 we discuss the interaction of Abaza PhP expressions with temporal, aspectual and phasal meanings. In Section 6 we address several questions regarding the degree of grammaticality of PhP expressions in Abaza. Section 7 summarizes our findings.

2. Background

2.1. The Abaza language

Abaza belongs to the Abkhaz-Abaza branch of Northwest Caucasian family. It is spoken by approximately 50 thousand people in Abazinsky District of Karachay-Cherkess Republic in Russia and in some regions in Turkey.

Abaza is a consistently head-marking polysynthetic language, it is characterized by agglutinative morphology and ergativity. Basic aspects of Abaza morphology are described in such works as Genko (1955), Tabulova (1976), Lomtadidze et al. (1989), O’Herin (2002), Lomtadidze (2006), and Arkadiev (to appear).

2.2. Verbal morphology in Abaza

The structure of the Abaza verbal wordform is described by the template shown in Table 1 (hereinafter Π and Σ indicate the zone of preverbs and the zone of the stem, respectively).

Table 1. The structure of the Abaza verbal complex (Arkadiev to appear: 20).

		preverbs (Π)							stem (Σ)					endings					
-12	-11	-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
absolute	subordinators, negation	repetitive	potential	applicatives	directional preverbs	locative preverbs	indirect object	ergative	negation	causative	sociative	root	directional suffixes	event operators	plural	aspect, tense	negation	past tense, mood	subordinators, force

The prefixal part of the verb contains, among other things, personal prefixes encoding information about verbal arguments, cf. the marker *d-* 3SG.H.ABS in (2). The suffixal zone includes event operators, e.g. habitual and repetitive (‘again’) markers in (2).

- (2) *d-ʕa-j-χ-la-əw-n*
 3SG.H.ABS-DIR-go-RE-HAB-IPF-PST
 ‘s/he used to often return’

Event operators are followed by temporal and aspectual markers which are different for stative and dynamic verbs (Chkadua 1970: 29, 37, 49, 54, 77; Lomtadidze et al. 1989: 107-112).

Schematic paradigms of finite forms of static and dynamic verbs are presented in Table 2.⁴ Note that there are two groups of tenses in Abaza: basic (see the left part of the table) and retrospectivized (see the right part of the table). The retrospectivized tenses are derived from basic tenses by adding suffixes *-n* in positive forms and *-z-ʈ* in negative forms. The basic semantic function of these suffixes is to shift the interpretation of the verbal form they modify (further) to the past (see more on “retrospective shift” in Plungian & van der Auwera 2006: 344).

Table 2. Finite forms of static and dynamic verbs.

basic			retrospectivized		
	positive	negative		positive	negative
Stative Pres.	<i>-p̣</i>	<i>g'-Π-Σ-m</i>	Stative Past	<i>-n</i>	<i>g'-Π-Σ-mə-z-ʈ</i>
Present	<i>-əj-ʈ</i>	<i>g'-Π-Σ-wa-m</i>	Imperfect	<i>-wa-n</i>	<i>g'-Π-Σ-wa-mə-z-ʈ</i>
Aorist	<i>-ʈ</i>	<i>g'-Π-m-Σ-ʈ</i>	Retroaorist	<i>-n</i>	<i>g'-Π-m-Σ-z-ʈ</i>
Future I	<i>-wa-š-ʈ</i>	<i>g'-Π-m-Σ-s-ʈ</i>	Subjunctive I	<i>-wa-šə-n</i>	<i>g'-Π-m-Σ-wa-šə-z-ʈ</i>
Future II	<i>-p̣</i>	<i>g'-Π-Σ-wa-šə-m</i>	Subjunctive II	<i>-rə-n</i>	<i>g'-Π-m-Σ-rə-z-ʈ</i>

Examples below represent verbal forms in the Present tense: a stative verb in (3) and a dynamic verb in (4). Abaza nominals in the predicative position behave like stative verbs (5).

- (3) *a-č'kʷən* *d-š'ta-p̣*
 DEF-boy 3SG.H.ABS-lie-NPST.DCL
 ‘the boy is lying’

- (4) *a-phʷəspa* *d-ʕa-χʷ-əj-ʈ*
 DEF-girl 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-dance-PRS-DCL
 ‘the girl is dancing’

- (5) (*awəj*) *d-laga-p̣*
 DIST 3SG.H.ABS-fool-NPST
 ‘s/he is a fool’

⁴ For paradigms of non-finite forms, see Lomtadze et al. 1989: 112, Klyagina 2018: 24-26, Klyagina, Arkadiev to appear: 25.

- (9) [When I was going home]
- a. $a-k^w a$ $\zeta a-k^w a-\chi'-\partial w-n$
 DEF-rain CSL-rain-IAM-IPF-PST
 ‘it was already raining.’
- b. $a-k^w a$ $\zeta a-k^w a-rk^w-\partial w-n$
 DEF-rain CSL-rain-STILL-IPF-PST
 ‘it was still raining.’
- c. $a-k^w a$ $g'-\zeta a-m-k^w a-\chi-wa-z-t$
 DEF-rain NEG.EMP-CSL-NEG-rain-RE-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘it was not raining anymore.’
- d. $a-k^w a$ $g'-\zeta a-m-k^w a-s\partial-z-t$
 DEF-rain NEG.EMP-CSL-NEG-rain-NONDUM-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘it was not raining yet.’

It is worth noting that Abaza expresses all four PhP meanings with different items. The typologically opposite systems (van Baar 1997: 19-26) consist of just two items (ALREADY and STILL) and the remaining PhP values are derived by negation, cf. *eščě* ‘still’ — *eščě ne* ‘not yet’ in Russian, *noch* ‘still’ — *noch nicht* ‘no longer’ in German. For a more detailed discussion of the role of negation in PhP systems, see Löbner (1989).

In this section, we provide some basic information about morphology and the semantics of Abaza PhP suffixes, including their corresponding positive or negative non-PhP uses.

3.1. ALREADY $-\chi'a$

In most works on Abaza (Chkadua 1970: 140-146; Tabulova 1976: 151; Lomtadze 2006: 159-160) $-\chi'a$ is described as a marker of distant past. In contrast, Genko (1955: 139) considers $-\chi'a$ together with event operators $-\chi$ (repetitive) and $-la$ (habitual) and claims that it is a marker of perfective aspect.

Our fieldwork data show that $-\chi'a$ is used in a range of contexts, most of which are typical for a representative of the cross-linguistic gram-type “Perfect” (Dahl 1985: 129-139). Examples (10a)-(10b) illustrate the use of $-\chi'a$ in the contexts of the perfect of result and of the experiential perfect, respectively. However, when $-\chi'a$ is combined with a stative verb (10c), it derives a meaning normally inaccessible to a perfect. Instead of the expected “The room has been clean”, the translation of the sentence is “The room is already clean”, and thus the resultant state is preserved at the moment of speech (cf. Dahl, Wälchli 2016: 327). Such behavior of the suffix $-\chi'a$ makes it similar to the iamtive, a gram-type introduced in Olsson (2013) for markers with

3.2. NOT YET -s (+ negation)

In the literature (Chkadua 1970: 140-146; Tabulova 1976: 154; Lomtadze 2006: 159-160) the suffix *-s* is introduced as a negative counterpart of *-χ'a* and is not provided with its own description. Genko (1955) does not mention this suffix at all.

Our fieldwork data show that the most natural context for *-s* is the (negative) perfect of result, cf. (13).

- (13) *namaz j-g'-na-m-za-s-t*
namaz 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-TRL-NEG-reach-NONDUM(AOR)-DCL
[You're running to the mosque. Someone: Don't worry!] 'Namaz has not begun yet!'

However, in the contexts of the negative experiential perfect the suffix *-s* is considered by our consultants to be possible as well (14).

- (14) *limon g'-sə-m-fa-s-t*
lemon NEG.EMP-1SG.ERG-NEG-eat-NONDUM(AOR)-DCL
'I have never eaten lemons.'

The meaning of the suffix with stative verbs cannot be checked due to incompatibility of *-s* with statives (see Section 4). The suffix *-s* is a negative polarity item: in positive contexts it is not allowed (15).

- (15) a. *sara macaw-ra s-g'-a-la-m-ga-s-t*
1SG cook-MSD 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.N.IO-LOC-NEG-start-NONDUM(AOR)-DCL
'I haven't started cooking yet.'
- b. **sara macaw-ra s-a-la-ga-s-t*
1SG cook-MSD 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-start-NONDUM(AOR)-DCL

3.3. STILL -rk^wa

In contrast to *-χ'a* and *-s*, the suffix *-rk^wa* is traditionally treated as belonging to the set of markers we call "event operators" and not as a tense marker. According to previous studies, its meaning is related to "continuity" (Genko 1955: 140; Tabulova 1976: 206), "durativity" (Lomtadze 2006: 152) or "still" (Avidzba 2017: 141-143). In our field data, *-rk^wa* is sometimes translated as 'continue' and sometimes as 'still', cf. (16)-(17).

- (16) *fatima a-maĉa-k^{wa} l-žž^a-rk^w-əw-n*
 Fatima DEF-dish-PL 3SG.F.ERG-wash-**STILL**-IPF-DCL
 [When I came into the kitchen] ‘Fatima was still washing the dishes.’

- (17) *raš'id j-ləmha a-h^wssa*
 Rasheed 3SG.M.IO-ear DEF-woman.PL
r-bəž'-k^{wa} tə-ŋ^w-wa-rk^w-əw-n
 3PL.IO-chatter-PL LOC.ELAT-run-IPF-**STILL**-IPF-PST
 ‘Women’s chatter continued to sound in Rasheed’s ears.’ (Tabulova 1976: 207)

This raises the problem of distinguishing between the phasal meaning of continuity (Plungian 1999) and the meaning ‘still’, which belongs to the domain of phasal polarity (van Baar 1997). To date, we have not come up with any tests distinguishing these meanings properly, see discussion in Section 4.2. For the purposes of this paper, we use the label **STILL** to refer to the suffix *-rk^wa*.

The negated **STILL**-form is marginal and without context can be interpreted as both **NO LONGER** and **NOT YET** (18).

- (18) *ʔhara h-g'ə-n-χa-rk^w-əw-m*
 1PL 1PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-LOC-work-**STILL**-IPF-NEG
 ‘We are no longer working.’ / ‘We are not working yet.’

3.4. **NO LONGER** -χ (+ negation)

In positive contexts, the suffix *-χ* has various meanings connected to repetition (19), see the list of possible meanings of *-χ* in Avidzba (1968). The choice of the particular meaning depends on the lexical semantics of the verb and the semantic scope of the suffix *-χ*, see the analysis in Panova (in press).

- (19) *a-š j-p-čə-χ-t*
 DEF-door 3SG.N.ABS-LOC-break-**RE**(AOR)-DCL
 ‘The door broke again.’

As mentioned in Tabulova (1976: 205), under negation the suffix *-χ* means ‘no longer’ (20).

- (20) *a-mš jə-g'-pχa-χə-m*
 DEF-day 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-warm-RE-NEG(PRS)
 'The weather is no longer warm.'

Though such behavior of 'again'-markers in negative contexts might appear semantically non-compositional, it is widespread cross-linguistically (Stoynova 2013: 222).

4. Interaction with tense, aspect and phasal meanings

One of the main problems related to identifying the category of phasal polarity is distinguishing it from other TAM categories, especially, from aspect. In this section, we discuss morphological (4.1) and semantic (4.2) features of Abaza PhP expressions which illustrate quite non-trivial interaction of phasal polarity with related categories of tense, aspect and phasal meanings in Abaza.

4.1. (In)compatibility with tenses

"Ideal" PhP expressions do not constitute a part of the TAM paradigm and allow one-to-one correspondence to each of the available TAM forms (van Baar 1997: 137), cf. *not yet* in English.

- (21) *He wasn't/isn't/won't be here yet.* (Kramer 2017: 17)

Nevertheless, as Kramer (2017) and van Baar (1997) note, in almost all cases PhP expressions show restrictions on combinations with TAM.

In Abaza, PhP expressions also demonstrate a rather intricate system of compatibility with tenses, cf. Table 4.

Table 4. Compatibility of PhP suffixes with tenses in Abaza.

	ALREADY <i>-χ'a</i>	NO LONGER <i>-χ + negation</i>	STILL <i>-rk^wa</i>	NOT YET <i>-s + negation</i>
Stative Present	+	+	+	*
Stative Past	+	+	+	*
Present	*	+	+	*
Aorist	+	in specific contexts	*	+
Retroaorist	+	in specific contexts	*	+
Imperfect	variability	+	+	*
Future I	*	+	+	*
Future II	*	+	+	*

The Abaza *STILL* expression appears in all available TAM forms except the Aorist and the Retroaorist forms of dynamic verbs, cf. (22) showing that *STILL* is allowed in the Present (22a), but is impossible in the Aorist (22b).

- (22) a. *a-paχ'* *k^wa* *ʕa-k^wa-rk^w-əj-t*
 DEF-yard rain CSL-rain-*STILL*-PRS-DCL
 ‘It is still raining outside.’
- b. **a-paχ'* *k^wa* *ʕa-k^wa-rk^wa-t*
 DEF-yard rain CSL-rain-*STILL*(AOR)-DCL

The *NO LONGER* expression has similar restrictions. In the Aorist and the Retroaorist *NO LONGER* is allowed only in specific contexts where it acquires a different meaning — ‘not to have enough time to do smth’.⁶

- (23) *č-g'ə-sə-m-sa-χ-t*
 RFL.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.ERG-NEG-shave-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I was not going to shave already.’ (I was late and didn’t have time for shaving)

⁶ This change of the meaning in perfective contexts is not unique for Abaza, cf. in Russian *ya uže ne pobril-sya* 1SG already NEG shave.PST.PFV.SG.M-RFL is possible only with a meaning ‘I was too late to shave’.

Indeed, it is not obvious what compositional interpretation *STILL* and *NO LONGER* should get in combination with perfective aspect, and not surprisingly, almost all languages in van Baar's sample have the same restrictions on availability of *STILL* and *NO LONGER* in perfective contexts (van Baar 1997: 151-157).

The use of *ALREADY* and *NOT YET* expressions is even more limited. According to works (Genko 1955: 164; Chkadua 1970: 140-146; Tabulova 1976: 151; Lomtadze 1989: 112), the suffix *-χ'a* is compatible only with markers of the Aorist and Retroaorist in dynamic verbs. Our fieldwork data show that *-χ'a* is also allowed with stative verbs (including nouns in the predicative position), cf. (24).

- (24) *arəj a-daskə wax'ça j-ck'a-χ'a-p*
 PROX DEF-blackboard today 3SG.N.ABS-clean-IAM-NPST
 'This blackboard is already clean today.'

There are two strategies to express the meaning *ALREADY* in imperfective contexts. Some speakers do not allow the suffix *-χ'a* in the Imperfect and accept imperfective interpretation of *ALREADY* in the Retroaorist (in addition to the expected perfective interpretation), see (25).

- (25) *ruslan d-an-ɬa-j*
 Ruslan 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-CSL-come
darina sahat-k d-ɬa-h^w-χ'a-n
 Darina hour-INDEF 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-sing-IAM-PST
 'When Ruslan came, Darina had already been singing for an hour / had sung for an hour.'

Other speakers do not agree with the imperfective interpretation of *-χ'a* in the Retroaorist forms but allow *-χ'a* in the Imperfect (26).

- (26) *ruslan d-an-ɬa-j*
 Ruslan 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-CSL-come
jakov d-ɬa-h^w-χ'-əw-n
 Yakov 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-sing-IAM-IPF-PST
 'When Ruslan came, Yakov had already been singing.'

Finally, according to both (Tabulova 1976: 153-154) and our field data, the suffix *-s* is used only in the Aorist and the Retroaorist. Here we observe the almost total absence of one-to-one correspondence between the PhP expression and tenses, and this makes the case of NOT YET the most difficult in terms of the identification of phasal polarity as a separate category.

Another issue that needs to be discussed here is the linear position of PhP suffixes in the wordform. The Abaza verb has separate slots for event operators (+2) and for tense and aspect markers (+4) (see Table 1 above). Between these two positions there is a slot (+3) for the plural marker, available only in non-finite forms. The PhP markers are expected to occur in the slot for event operators; however, this turned out not to be the case for the suffix *-s* NOT YET, see Table 5.

Table 5. The linear position of PhP expressions in the suffixal part of Abaza wordform.

root	directional suffixes	event operators	plural	aspect, tense	finite negation	past tense, mood	subordination, force
		<i>-χ'a, -χ, -rk^wa</i>		<i>-s</i>			

Examples (27)-(28) illustrate the positions of the markers of ALREADY and NOT YET. In (27) the suffix *-χ'a* is located to the left of the plural marker *-k^wa* in non-finite forms, while in (28) the suffix *-s* appears to the right of the plural marker.

- (27) *s-an* *jə-l-žž'a-χ'a-k^wa-z /*
 1SG.IO-mother REL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-wash-IAM-PL-PST.NFIN /
 **jə-l-žž'a-k^wa-χ'a-z* *a-č'ŋ^wəč'a-k^wa*
 REL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-wash-PL-IAM-PST.NFIN DEF-laundry-PL
 'clothes which have already been washed by my mother'

- (28) *s-an* *j-lə-m-žž'a-k^wa-s /*
 1SG.IO-mother REL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-NEG-wash-PL-NONDUM /
 **j-lə-m-žž'a-s-k^wa* *a-č'ŋ^wəč'a-k^wa*
 REL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-NEG-wash-NONDUM-PL DEF-laundry-PL
 'clothes which have not been washed by my mother yet'

Thus, both compatibility with tenses and the linear position in the wordform indicate that the suffix *-s* is very similar to (if not is) a temporal (negative Perfect) marker. The suffix *-χ'a* 'already' has some similarities with a perfect marker as well: it is not allowed in the Present and Future tenses (which are available for ALREADY in most languages (van Baar 1997: 137-138)).

The connection of $-\chi'a$ with the perfect domain is supported by the data from modern Abkhaz, where the suffix $-\chi'a$ is a perfect marker (Hewitt 1979: 172-190; Klyagina 2018: 56-60). Finally, the suffixes $-rk^wa$ and $-\chi$ show some restrictions in perfective tenses expected for STILL and NO LONGER values.

4.2. Phasal meanings and the problem of expectations

In the literature the semantic distinction between phasal polarity and phasal meanings has been interpreted in many different ways. According to Plungian (1999), phasal meanings (inchoative, continuative, terminative, cunctative) belong to the periphery of the aspectual domain and denote the “fact of the existence or non-existence, respectively, of the situation in question at the point of reference as compared to an earlier moment” (Plungian 1999: 317). Phasal polarity, in turn, implies that “the given situation comes about or does not come about, contra speaker’s expectations” (Plungian 1999: 317). To illustrate phasal polarity, Plungian gives an example with the Russian adverb *uže* ‘already’ which is described as “the inchoative with the additional meaning ‘the speaker did not expect the situation to come about to the present moment’”. However, van der Auwera shows for Russian *uže* and English *already* that the expectation of the contrary is not obligatory for these PhP expressions (van der Auwera 1998: 50), cf. (29) where the speaker expects Peter to be in Amsterdam.

(29) [John knew that Peter would fly to Amsterdam at 4 p.m. and arrive in Amsterdam at 5 p.m. John wanted to meet Peter at the airport at 3 p.m. but due to a traffic jam he was not able to reach the airport until 6 p.m. At 6 p.m. it is possible for John to say:]

(*Yes, I know.*) *Peter is already in Amsterdam.* (adapted from van Baar 1997: 27)

Therefore, we must admit that either PhP markers (e.g. Russian *uže*) always express both phasal polarity and phasal meanings or counter-expectations are not a feature distinguishing PhP and phasal meanings. In principle, one can suggest that the semantic component which distinguishes phasal polarity from phasal values is just the presence of some expectation (this approach is similar to van der Auwera 1998). However, Krifka (2000: 5-6)⁷ shows that expectations are only an implicature and do not constitute a part of the PhP meaning, which means they are also not obligatory. Terminological inconsistency becomes even more apparent in Gorbunova (2014). In this paper, Plungian’s definition of phasal values is claimed to be more appropriate for phasal polarity, while the key semantic component of phasal meanings is argued to be the shift of topic time (Gorbunova 2014: 36).

⁷ Cf. also Volkov 2017: 48 for ALREADY.

For the NOT YET expression van der Auwera proposes only two possible scenarios: the neutral (33) and the counterfactual with delayed change (34).⁸ The Abaza suffix *-s* can be used in both contexts.

- (33) *abar waχ'ça-g'əj a-sahat 11:55 avtobus wəzə-g'əj*
 so today-ADD DEF-hour 11:55 bus now-ADD
j-g'-ʕa-mə-j-sə-z-ʔ
 3SG.N.ABS-CSL-NEG-come-**NONDUM**-PST.NFIN-DCL

[We know that the bus always arrives at 12:00 and leaves at 12:10. And, as expected,]
 ‘today at 11:55 it has not arrived yet.’

- (34) *awasa waχ'ça a-sahat 12:30 daqəjqa-k avtobus*
 but today DEF-hour 12:30 minute-UNIT bus
wəzə-g'əj j-g'-zə-k^wə-mə-χ-sə-z-ʔ
 now-ADD 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-LOC-LOC-NEG-come-**NONDUM**-PST.NFIN-DCL

[We know that the bus always arrives at 12:00 and leaves at 12:10.] ‘But today at 12:30
 the bus has not left yet.’

For the sake of space, we do not give analogous examples for STILL and NO LONGER. The results for all PhP expressions are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Abaza PhP expressions in different scenarios.

	ALREADY	NOT YET	STILL	NO LONGER
neutral	<i>-χ'a</i>	<i>-s + negation</i>	<i>-rk^wa</i>	<i>-χ + negation</i>
counterfactual (early change)	<i>-χ'a</i>	<i>-s + negation</i>	<i>-rk^wa</i>	<i>-χ + negation</i>
counterfactual (late change)	<i>-χ</i>			<i>-χ + negation/ negation</i>

⁸ The third scenario is impossible for STILL and NOT YET, see van Baar 1997: 27-40.

Note that all Abaza PhP markers can be used in both neutral and counterfactual types of scenarios. This means that the semantic component of counter-expectations cannot be used to distinguish phasal polarity and phasal meanings in Abaza.

5. The grammaticality of phasal polarity in Abaza

In this section, we would like to discuss the grammatical vs. lexical status of Abaza PhP expressions. Van Baar (1997) does not make a clear distinction between the grammaticality of PhP markers and their degree of morphologization. Moreover, he apparently presupposes that morphological PhP expressions always have grammatical status.

However, in this paper we will try to treat these two parameters separately. On the one hand, phasal polarity is known as a lexico-grammatical category, and that means that PhP expressions can belong either to the lexicon or to the grammar. On the other hand, PhP expressions may differ in the degree of morphological boundness. These two parameters do not necessarily correlate.

We understand the term “grammatical” following Dahl & Wälchli (2016) for the ALREADY concept. They argue that the lexical item ALREADY differs from the iimitive gram (roughly, a grammatical version of ALREADY) in two respects:

- a) the grammatical marker’s high frequency in texts,
- b) and its systematic or even obligatory use in the so called natural development contexts, cf. (35).

(35) Indonesian (Ollson 2013: 18, cited by Dahl, Wälchli 2016: 328)

Kamu tidak bisa memakan-nya. Itu sudah busuk.
You not can eat-it that IAM rotten.
‘You cannot eat it. It is rotten.’

Example (35) shows that the Indonesian iimitive marker *sudah* appears in the context where English *already* does not normally occur. This “obligatoriness” property makes Indonesian *sudah* similar to a grammatical marker.

The same approach was used in Gorbunova’s (2014) paper on the phasal polarity system in Atayal. In order to prove that Atayal PhP particles *la* ‘already’ and *na* ‘still’ are not just lexical items but constitute a grammatical category, Gorbunova appeals to the obligatoriness of *la* and *na* and their high frequency in texts.

Turning to Abaza, we can provide some evidence in favor of the obligatoriness of ALREADY and NOT YET. The suffixes *-χ'a* and especially *-s* regularly appear in natural development contexts (36)-(37). Note that there are no direct stimuli of ALREADY and NOT YET in the original sentences.

(36) [A: Your brother is very nice.]

B: *mamaw, awəj d-b-q-r-aštəl.*
 no DIST 3SG.H.ABS-2SG.F.IO-LOC-CAUS-forget(IMP)
awəj d-ʕa-j-g-χ'a(AOR)-t.
 DIST 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-3SG.M.ERG-marry-IAM-DCL
 'No, forget about him. He is married.'

(37) [A: Is he married?]

B: *mamaw, awəj ph^wəs*
 no DIST woman
d-g'-ʕa-jə-m-g-s-t.
 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-CSL-3SG.M.ERG-NEG-marry-NONDUM(AOR)-DCL
 'No, he is not married.'

Unfortunately, we have no data regarding the obligatoriness of Abaza STILL and NO LONGER in analogous contexts.

Concerning the issue of frequency, we tried to adapt a parallel corpora approach introduced in Veselinova (2015) for the NOT YET concept. She cites data from Dahl's work where frequencies of NOT YET expressions are counted in parallel texts. For example, Indonesian *belum* has 123 occurrences, Latin *nondum* has 29 occurrences and English *not yet* has 26 occurrences in the parallel texts of the New Testament. On the basis of these calculations, one can conclude that the Indonesian *belum* is more grammatical than the corresponding expressions in Latin and English.

Our preliminary investigation of the frequencies of Abaza PhP markers showed quite unexpected results. We took the Gospel of Luke, which is, to our knowledge, the only gospel translated into Abaza, and counted all occurrences of suffixes *-χ'a* 'already' and *-rk^wa* 'still' there. Then we compared it to the frequencies of the corresponding PhP adverbs in the Russian and English translations of the Gospel of Luke, see Table 7.

Table 7. Frequencies of ALREADY and STILL expressions in the Gospel of Luke.

	ALREADY	STILL ⁹
Abaza (2013 edition)	12	7
English (NIV)	5	10
Russian (Synodal)	21	12

As can be seen from Table 7, there is no striking difference between frequencies of PhP suffixes in Abaza and PhP adverbs in English and Russian. Moreover, the number of occurrences of PhP expressions in Abaza is definitely not the highest in both cases but, given very small numbers, we cannot say much about the statistical significance of the figures. Thus, despite morphological boundness, in terms of frequency Abaza PhP suffixes are not more grammatical than PhP adverbs in English and Russian.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have described a fully morphological system of phasal polarity expressions in Abaza. We have shown that the suffixes *-χ'a* 'already', *-rk^wa* 'still', *-χ* (+ negation) 'no longer' and *-s* (+ negation) 'not yet' represent four different PhP items while their corresponding positive or negative counterparts are disallowed, marginal or have meanings not related to phasal polarity. Abaza PhP suffixes differ in respect to compatibility with TAM categories: while *-rk^wa* 'still', *-χ* (+ negation) 'no longer' are allowed in almost all temporal forms, *-χ'a* 'already' is forbidden in the Future and Present of dynamic verbs, and *-s* (+ negation) 'not yet' is forbidden in all forms except the Aorist and Retroaorist. Given the above and additional evidence from the suffixes' position in the wordform, we have argued that *-s* (+ negation) is close to a (negative Perfect) temporal marker while other PhP suffixes belong to the broader category of event operators. We also showed that Abaza PhP items are hardly distinguishable from phasal markers, since they can be used both in contexts where presupposed expectations are fulfilled and in contexts where they are not fulfilled. Finally, we have checked whether Abaza morphological PhP expressions have grammatical status. On the one hand, our data showed that at least *-χ'a* 'already' and *-s* (+ negation) 'not yet' are obligatory in the natural development contexts (where lexical PhP items are usually not used). On the other hand, the textual frequencies of *-χ'a* 'already' and *-rk^wa* 'still' do not differ strikingly from frequencies of corresponding lexical PhP items in English and Russian.

⁹ We excluded examples with English *still* and Russian *ещё* when they are used in the meaning '(one) more'.

Thus, the Abaza data allows us to make the following observations concerning the typology of phasal polarity. First, morphological boundness of PhP expressions leads to difficulties in separating PhP markers from TAM affixes. Second, morphological boundness of PhP expressions does not necessarily imply that they have full grammatical status.

Abbreviations

1 – 1st person; 2 – 2rd person; 3 – 3rd person; ABS – absolutive; ADD – additive; AOR – aorist; CAUS – causative; COORD – coordination; CSL – cislocative; COP – copula; DCL – declarative; DEF – definite article; DIST – distal demonstrative; ELAT – elative; EMP – emphatic; ERG – ergative; F – feminine; FUT – future; H – human; HAB – habitual; IAM – iamitive; INDEF – indefinite article; IO – indirect object; IPF – imperfective; LOC – locative; M – masculine; MNR – manner; MSD – masdar; N – non-human; NEG – negation; NFIN – non-finite; NONDUM – ‘not yet’ marker; NPST – nonpast; PFV – perfective; PL – plural; PROX – proximate demonstrative; PRS – present; PST – past; Q – interrogative; RE – repetitive; REL – relativization; RES – resultative; RFL – reflexive; SG – singular; STILL – ‘still’ marker; TMP – temporal relativization; TRL – translocative.

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