

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of abbreviations	xi
Acknowledgements	xii
<b>0. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1. THE DATA</b>	<b>5</b>
1.0 Introduction	5
1.1 The method of investigation	5
1.1.1 Sources of information	5
1.1.1.1 Different types of sources	5
1.1.1.2 The questionnaire	7
1.1.2 Sampling	8
1.2 The sample	13
<b>2. PHASAL POLARITY</b>	<b>19</b>
2.0 Introduction	19
2.1 Theoretical background	19
2.1.1 The Duality Hypothesis	19
2.1.2 The Double Alternative Hypothesis	27
2.2 An outline of the theory	40
2.2.1 A definition	40
2.2.2 Criteria for inclusion and exclusion	48
2.2.2.1 Specialization	49
2.2.2.1.1 Polarity and meaning	49
2.2.2.1.2 Polarity semantics	50
2.2.2.1.3 Polarity sensitivity	52
2.2.2.2 Generalization	57
2.2.2.3 Paradigmaticity	61
2.2.3 An integrated proposal	63
2.2.4 Descriptive format	64
2.3 Summary	70
<b>3. PHASAL POLARITY IN THE SAMPLE LANGUAGES</b>	<b>73</b>
3.0 Introduction	73
3.1 The sample	73
3.1.1 The coding of <i>ALREADY</i>	73
3.1.2 The coding of <i>STILL</i>	75
3.1.3 The coding of <i>NO LONGER</i>	78
3.1.4 The coding of <i>NOT YET</i>	80
3.2 A diachronic perspective	80
3.2.1 Basic PhP-items	82
3.2.1.1 System-internal relationships	82
3.2.1.2 External origins	86
3.2.1.3 Borrowing	99

3.2.2	Subsidiary PhP-items .....	101
3.2.2.1	System-internal relationships .....	101
3.2.2.2	External origins .....	102
3.2.2.3	Borrowing .....	103
3.3	General observations .....	103
3.3.1	Generalizations .....	103
3.3.2	The expression of <i>STILL</i> .....	107
3.3.3	Iterativity as a PhP-source .....	108
3.3.4	The role of universal quantification .....	109
<b>4.</b>	<b>EXPRESSIBILITY .....</b>	<b>115</b>
4.0	Introduction .....	115
4.1	Expressibility typology .....	115
4.1.1	Expressibility types .....	115
4.1.2	A quantitative comparison .....	119
4.1.2.1	Quantitative expressibility types .....	119
4.1.2.2	Distribution and allolexy .....	123
4.1.2.3	Borrowing .....	126
4.1.3	General observations .....	129
4.1.3.1	A universal PhP-hierarchy .....	129
4.1.3.2	PhP-expressibility and polarity .....	131
4.2	The second scenario .....	132
4.2.1	Second scenario expressibility .....	133
4.2.2	Different coding .....	135
4.2.3	General observations .....	136
4.3	The relationship between PhP and TMA-expressions .....	137
4.3.1	Temporal distinctions .....	137
4.3.2	Modal distinctions .....	142
4.3.3	Aspectual distinctions .....	143
4.3.3.1	The perfective/imperfective distinction .....	143
4.3.3.1.1	<i>ALREADY</i> .....	144
4.3.3.1.2	<i>STILL</i> .....	151
4.3.3.1.3	<i>NOT YET</i> and <i>NO LONGER</i> .....	154
4.3.3.2	Other distinctions .....	156
4.4	Conclusion .....	157
<b>5.</b>	<b>SYSTEM TYPOLOGY .....</b>	<b>159</b>
5.0	Introduction .....	159
5.1	Coverage .....	159
5.2	Variation in coverage types .....	166
5.2.1	Coverage variation .....	167
5.2.2	Scenario variation .....	168
5.2.3	Contextual variation .....	172
5.3	Diachronic perspective .....	176
5.3.0	Introduction .....	176
5.3.1	Scenario variation .....	177
5.3.1.1	The <i>STILL/NOT YET</i> -area .....	179

5.3.1.2	The <i>ALREADY/NO LONGER</i> -area	184
5.3.1.2.1	<i>NO LONGER</i> → <i>ALREADY</i>	184
5.3.1.2.2	<i>ALREADY</i> → <i>NO LONGER</i>	188
5.3.1.3	The <i>STILL/NO LONGER</i> -area	189
5.3.1.3.1	<i>STILL</i> → <i>NO LONGER</i>	190
5.3.1.3.2	<i>NO LONGER</i> → <i>STILL</i>	190
5.3.2	Contextual variation	192
5.3.2.1	<i>NOT YET</i> → <i>ALREADY</i>	193
5.3.2.2	<i>NO LONGER</i> → <i>STILL</i>	194
5.3.3	General observations	194
5.3.3.1	Successive diachronic developments	195
5.3.3.2	Simultaneous diachronic developments	200
5.4	Typology and diachrony	202
5.4.1	The emergence of PhP-systems	202
5.4.2	The evolution of coverage types	206
<b>6.</b>	<b>A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS</b>	<b>213</b>
6.0	Introduction	213
6.1	Grammaticalization	214
6.1.1	The decentralization process	215
6.1.2	Relevant aspects of decentralization	218
6.2	Different types of grammaticalization	221
6.2.1	Auxiliaries	221
6.2.2	Particles	224
6.2.2.1	Particles as a word class	225
6.2.2.1.1	Auxiliaries versus particles	225
6.2.2.1.2	Demarcation	229
6.2.2.1.3	Formal characteristics	231
6.2.2.1.3.1	Phonology	231
6.2.2.1.3.2	Cliticization	233
6.2.2.1.3.3	Head of a construction	234
6.2.2.1.3.4	Word formation	235
6.2.2.1.3.5	Isolation	238
6.2.2.1.3.6	Decategorialization	241
6.2.2.1.3.7	Discussion	242
6.2.2.2	Particles versus adverbs	243
6.2.2.2.1	Noun-compatibility	244
6.2.2.2.2	Context dependency	246
6.2.3	Derivational morphology	251
6.3	PhP and grammaticalization	252
6.4	An overview	254
<b>7.</b>	<b>STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE</b>	<b>257</b>
7.0	Introduction	257
7.1	Expressions from verbal sources	258
7.1.1	The syntactic strategy	259
7.1.1.1	An overview	259

7.1.1.2 Verbs .....	260
7.1.1.3 From verbs to auxiliaries .....	261
7.1.1.4 Auxiliaries .....	265
7.1.1.5 From auxiliaries to particles .....	270
7.1.1.6 Particles .....	272
7.1.2 The morphological strategy .....	278
7.1.2.1 An overview .....	278
7.1.2.2 Derivational morphology .....	278
7.1.2.3 Inflectional affixation .....	280
7.2 Expressions from other sources .....	280
7.2.1 The syntactic strategy .....	281
7.2.1.1 Complex expressions .....	281
7.2.1.2 Simplex expressions .....	285
7.2.1.2.1 Introduction .....	285
7.2.1.2.2 Lexical expressions .....	289
7.2.1.2.3 From lexical expressions to particles ..	296
7.2.1.2.4 Particles .....	305
7.2.1.2.5 The combined strategy .....	311
7.2.2 The morphological strategy .....	318
7.3 Summary .....	321
<b>8. COVERAGE AND GRAMMATICALIZATION .....</b>	<b>323</b>
8.0 Introduction .....	323
8.1 Structural aspects of coverage typology .....	324
8.2 Two types of coverage variation .....	326
8.1.1 Contextual variation .....	327
8.1.2 Scenario variation .....	330
8.3 Discussion .....	336
8.3.1 PhP-related aspects of grammaticalization .....	337
8.3.2 PhP and grammaticalization theory .....	341
<b>9. CONCLUSIONS .....</b>	<b>343</b>
Appendix 1: List of informants and linguists .....	347
Appendix 2: PhP-systems in the sample .....	352
Appendix 3: Part-of-speech membership .....	363
References .....	365
Index 1: Names .....	381
Index 2: Languages .....	385
Index 3: Subjects .....	389
Summary (Dutch) .....	395