The polyfunctionality of ‘still’ expressions

A cross-linguistic exploration

Bastian Persohn

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Needless to say, all mistakes remain my own.

Abbreviations and symbols

≡	equivalence
¬	negation
◊	possibility
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACAUS	anticausative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adject(ivis)e(r)
ADV	adverbial(iser)
AFF	affirmative
AGT	agent
ALL	allative
ANAPH	anaphoric
ANIM	animate
AOR	aorist
AP	antipassive
APPL	applicative
ART	article
ATTR	attributive
AUG	augment
AUX	auxiliary
ASSOC	associative
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CF	counterfactual
CLF	classifier
COM	comitative
COMP	complementiser
CMPL	completive aspect
CMPR	comparative
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONN	connective
CONSEC	conesutive
CONT	continuous
COP	copula
CS	construct state
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DM	discourse marker
DIR	directional
DR	direct
DS	different subject
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EGO	egophoric
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
EXIST	existential
FOC	focus

FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
IDEOPH	ideophone
IMM.FUT	immediate future
IMM.PST	immediate past
IMP	imperative
IMPR	impersonal
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INCH	inchoative
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INS	instrument(al)
INTENS	intensifier
INTERJ	interjection
INTERM.PST	intermediate past
INTR	intransitive
INVIS	invisible
IRR	irrealis
IT	itive
ITER	iterative
JUSS	jussive
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
LIM	limitative
LNK	linking morpheme
MID	middle voice
MIR	mirative
MOD	modal
NARR	narrative
NCL	noun class
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative

NON.FIN	non-finite
NUM	numeral
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
ORD	ordinal
OPT	optative
PASS	passive
PAT	patient
PTCP	participle
PST	past
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PRED	predica(tiv)e
PRO	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROPR	proprietive
PROSP	prospective aspect
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
PUNCT	punctual aspect
PURP	purpos(iv)e
PVB	preverb
Q	question marker
RECP	reciprocal
REF	referential
REFL	reflexive
REDUPL	reduplication
REL	relative clause
REM.PST	remote past
RES	resultative
RL	realis
SEQ	sequential
SFP	sentence-final part.

SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SIT	situative
SUBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SUBORD	subordinator
SUP	superlative
SS	same subject
STAT	stative
TH	thematic element
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
U	undergoer
VEN	venitive
VBLZ	verbalisation
VOC	vocative

1 Introduction

> I'm not a real movie star. I've *still* got the same wife I started out with twenty-eight years ago.
>
> Will Rogers

1.1 Introductory remarks

It is a well-known fact that linguistic expressions, especially ones pertaining to the realm of grammar, are often polyfunctional. That is to say, they are characterised by a cluster of meanings that are conceptually related, but which, at the same time, can be differentiated from one another on the basis of structural and/or meaning-based criteria. Examining the cross-linguistic patterns of these different uses and functions allows insights into the question of how human language organises meaning (e.g. Evans 2010).

A semanto-pragmatic domain that tends to be characterised by a high degree of polyfunctionality is that of PHASAL POLARITY, an umbrella term coined by van Baar (1997) for the notions of STILL, ALREADY, NOT YET, and NO LONGER, as well as for the expressions denoting them. Throughout this book, I represent the abstract phasal polarity concepts in small caps. Not only does phasal polarity lie at the intersection of polarity and aspectuality in the broadest sense, but the functions of individual expressions frequently extend into a wide array of other linguistic domains. In this book, which is aimed at semanticists, typological researchers, and descriptive grammarians alike, I survey the polyfunctionality patterns of linguistic items whose meaning includes the concept of STILL in a sample of the world's languages. To give just a little preview of such functional extensions, consider the excerpt in (1), which features German *noch* in three distinct uses.

(1) German

a. *Alle inländischen wohlmeinenden Anträge hat sie ausgeschlagen,* ***noch*** *neulich musste ich den gescheiten und tüchtigen Melchior Böhni heimschicken,*
'She has refused all well-meaning offers by domestic businesses, **just** the other day she made me send home the clever and capable Melchior Böhni,'

b. *der* **noch** *große Geschäfte machen wird,*
‘who will **eventually** run a very successful enterprise.’

c. *und sie hat ihn* **noch** *schrecklich verhöhnt, weil er nur ein rötliches Backenbärtchen trägt und aus einem silbernen Döschen schnupft!*
‘And she **also** dreadfully mocked him, because of his little red beard and because he sniffs his tabacco from a little silver box!’
(Keller, *Kleider machen Leute*)

In (1a) *noch* serves as a scalar focus particle that combines with the temporal adverb *neulich* ‘the other day’ and relates its denotation to alternative, earlier times. The same function is found, for instance, with French *encore* in (2). In (1b), on the other hand, *noch* itself has a function akin to that of a temporal adverb, signalling that some development is on its way that will culminate in the type of event described by *große Geschäfte machen* ‘run a very successful enterprise’. One expression that has the same function is *ɓà* in the Mbumic language Mundang of Cameroon and Chad; see (3).

(2) French
Encore hier*,* *j’-ai* *vu* *le* *film* *La Chute....*
still yesterday 1sg-have.1sg see.ptcp def.sg.m movie(m) Downfall
‘**Just yesterday**, I watched the movie *Downfall...*’
(found online, glosses added)

(3) Mundang
ʔà *fʊ̄ō* ***ɓà****.*
subj.3:ipfv think.pot still
‘Il pensera un jour. [He will think **one day**.]’ (Elders 2000: 382)

Lastly, in (1c) *noch* depicts the act of mocking as an additional event that forms part of the same overarching scene. An expression that shares this function with *noch* is *təmna* in the Samoyedic language Tundra Nenets, as shown in (4).

(4) Tundra Nenets
N’e^o*ka-n’i* *s’it*^{o} *n’ada-wa-h* *t’ax*^{o}*mna mən’*^{o}
elder_brother-gen.1sg 2sg.acc help-ipfv.nmlz-gen beside 1sg
təmna *tedə-mt*^{o} *ta*^{o}*-dəm-c’*^{o}*.*
still reindeer-fut.poss:acc:2sg give-1sg-pst
‘In addition to my brother helping you, I **also** gave you a reindeer.’
(Nikolaeva 2014: 371)

With many of the expressions I discuss in this book, such cross-linguistically recurring functions are paired with more idiosyncratic ones. For instance, in (5) Spanish *todavía* signals that the situation described in the preceding complement clause falls within socially acceptable limits. While this use may appear unrelated to the meanings discussed so far at first sight, in Section 3.2 I discuss how all steps leading from STILL to 'within acceptable limits' remain visible in the present-day language.

(5) Spanish

Que	*un*	*gran*	*artista*	*ten-ga*	*eso-s*	*humo-s,*	***todavía,***	*pero*
COMP	a	great	artist	have-SBJV.3SG	DEM.M-PL	fume(M)-PL	still	but

él	*es*	*un*	*simple*	*aprendiz.*
3SG.M	COP.3SG	INDEF.SG.M	simple	apprentice(M)

'A great artist having such an attitude, **that would be acceptable**, but he's just an apprentice.' (Bosque 2016: 207, glosses added)

The remainder of this introductory chapter is structured as follows: in Section 1.2, I lay out the goals and limitations of this book in more detail. In Section 1.3, I briefly address previous research on STILL expressions. In Section 1.4, I provide my definition of the subject matter. Afterwards, in Section 1.5, I discuss the processes of data collection and analyses. This is followed by a summary of some theoretical preliminaries in Section 1.6. Lastly, Section 1.7 is an overview of the structure of the present volume.

1.2 Goals and limitations

The main aim of this book is to survey and explain the different functions that expressions for the concept of STILL have, based on a sample of the world's languages. I thereby hope to establish a stepping stone for future cross-linguistically minded research on the matter, and to equip descriptive grammarians with a reference work that can hopefully guide them through disentangling some of the intricate patterns of use they may encounter in their languages of study. In order to achieve these goals, I opted for a comparatively small sample of 76 languages, paired with a high-resolution approach that takes into account as broad an array of data sources as feasible within the bounds of a research project (Section 1.5). To increase transparency and to encourage follow-up works, this book features an extensive set of appendices in the form of commented data sheets for each language and each marker included in the sample (see Section 1.7.2 for discussion). Against this backdrop, the more specific questions that I address throughout Chapters 2 to 4 are as follows:

(i) Which functions, especially recurrent ones, can be found?

(ii) What motivates the coexpression of a given function and STILL?

(iii) How do these functions relate to one another?

(iv) Do certain functions correlate with a specific morphosyntactic status?

(v) Are there any observable areal patterns?

To briefly elaborate on these questions, (i) entails the problem of how to draw the line between two functions or uses, which is a point I discuss in Section 1.6.1. As implied in (ii), I take a usage-based approach to linguistic variation, aiming to understand "why it is at least possible and at best natural that this particular form–meaning correspondence should exist in a given language" (Goldberg 2006: 217). I return to this matter in Section 1.6.2. The question of motivation, in turn, is directly tied to (iii), the issue of how different functions of a single item relate to each other. Building on the approach taken in semantic map studies (e.g. Georgakopoulos & Polis 2018; Haspelmath 2003), I looked not only for semantic similarities, but also for implicational relationships. To give a fairly straightforward example, consider Spanish *todavía* as a pro-predicate in (5), repeated below.

(5) Spanish
Que un gran artista ten-ga eso-s humo-s, ***todavía****, pero*
COMP a great artist have-SBJV.3SG DEM.M-PL fume(M)-PL still but
él es un simple aprendiz.
3SG.M COP.3SG INDEF.SG.M simple apprentice(M)
'A great artist having such an attitude, **that would be acceptable**, but he's just an apprentice.' (Bosque 2016: 207, glosses added)

From both the meaning and patterns of usage of cases like (5), it becomes clear that this function is mediated by *todavía* as a marker of marginality (i.e. 'still be in the realm of a given category') plus the ellipsis of an evaluative predicate (Bosque 2016; Deloor 2012). This is also in line with the fact that the only other marker in the sample that has a comparable function, Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian *još*, likewise has the marginality function. Where feasible, I also tested predictions about implicational relationships that are found in the literature, be it as explicit statements, or merely implied. For instance, in his groundbreaking study on phasal polarity, van Baar (1997) observes that STILL expressions in isolation are recurrently used in the function of their internally negated counterpart NOT YET. This is illustrated in the Tashelhyit (Afro-Asiatic > Berber) example (6). Van Baar (1997: 294–295) then goes on to suggest the two-part universal in (7).

(6) Tashelhyit
T-šši-t *yad* *lfḍur-nnek?* – ***Sul.***
2SG-eat.PFV-2SG already lunch-POSS.2SG still
'Did you eat your lunch already? – **Not yet**.' (Fanego 2021: 342)

(7) van Baar's (1997: 295) STILL-as-NOT YET universal
   a. If a STILL expression is used as an isolated expression, it is invariably used for the expression of NOT YET.
   b. Examples are only found in those languages which have an internal negation of the relevant STILL expression.

As I discuss in Section 2.3.1, neither of the components of (7) hold up against data from a larger sample.[1] Counterexamples to (7a) include English *still* and Modern Hebrew *ʕadayin* as concessive interjections. As for (7b), the relevant function is also found with expressions that do not combine with negation to signal NOT YET. These include *kya-* and *syá-* in the Bantu languages Ruuli and Bende, respectively (Abe 2015; Molochieva et al. 2021) and (*y*)*edung* in the Timor-Alor-Pantar language Blagar (e.g. Steinhauer 1995). The former signal NOT YET in combination with an infinitival complement, whereas in the Blagar case polarity is a function of the adverb's position in the clause. What does, however, remain valid as an implicational universal is that the NOT YET use without negation is only found with items that are also involved in the expression of this negative concept in more saturated sentential environments. This use also serves as an illustration of the parameter of morphosyntactic status (iv): unsurprisingly, such holophrastic usages are primarily attested with free morphemes and bound roots, such as Tashelhyit *sul* or Blagar (*y*)*edung*. They are, however, also occasionally attested with prefixal markers, which then require a copula root to fill the lexical slot. This is the case, for instance, with Bende *syá-* and its Ruuli cognate *kya-*. Lastly, to give an example of areal patterns (v), in Section 3.4.2 I discuss the lexical coexpression of STILL and an exclusive function 'only'. Judging from my sample, this type of polysemy is widespread in Australia and Papunesia, but rare to non-existent elsewhere in the world.

Having laid out the questions guiding this study, I now turn to some of its limitations. First and foremost, the survey I develop in Chapters 2 and 3 is confined by bibliographical bias and the overall availability of data. Secondly, this book is intended as a conversation starter, rather than aiming to be the last word on the subject matter. As such, it inevitably leaves many loose ends open, which will hopefully be picked up in future research. In addition, and as I have only implied up to this point, I do not aim to postulate abstract *Gesamtbedeutungen* intended to cover all uses of a given expression. What is more, while my initial aim was to model the attested polyfunctionality with semantic maps, it quickly became apparent that such an approach is severely constrained by the often fragmentary data. In addition, and due to the broad array of attested functions, it would ultimately only lead to a crowded and tightly interconnected, hence uninformative, map. I instead opted to keep some of the key tenets of semantic maps, such as their approach to differentiating between individual uses (Section 1.6.1) and the search for implicational relationships. Where deemed helpful, I address and illustrate partial networks of a given semantic field and/or of a specific expression.

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[1] For more extensive discussion, see Persohn (2024b), on which Section 2.3.1 is based.

1.3 Previous research

The functional extensions of STILL expressions, or of phasal polarity in general, have received little attention from cross-linguistic scholarship. Thus, many typological works explicitly exclude additional functions, or only address them as side notes (e.g. van der Auwera 1998; van Baar 1997; Veselinova et al. forthcoming). While many insightful and detailed descriptions of specific markers and systems exist, they are normally limited to individual languages. Such works include, among others, the descriptions of phasal polarity systems on the African continent found in Kramer (2021c), Bosque (2016) on Spanish *todavía*, Huang (2007) on *nahan* in the Austronesian language Saisiyat, Hansen (2002, 2008) on several French expressions, Kockelman (2020) on Kekchí Maya *toj*, and Shetter (1966) on German *noch*. Another group of works, informed by different theoretical traditions, aims to establish abstract core meanings of individual items. Such approaches include Beck (2020) on German *noch*, Greenberg (2012) on Modern Hebrew *ʕod*, McConvell (1983) on *=rni* in the Pama-Nyungan language Gurindji, and Jing-Schmidt & Gries (2009) on several Mandarin Chinese markers, including the STILL expression *hái*. Those existing cross-linguistic studies that do address the wider functional scope of STILL expressions tend to focus on a small subset of uses and are typically highly constrained in geographic and/or genealogical coverage. For instance, van Baar (1991) and Schultze-Berndt (2002) observe the recurrent coexpression of STILL and exclusive meanings in Australia and Papunesia (Section 3.4.2) and Güldemann (1998) and Veselinova & Devos (2021) discuss a few additional functions of so-called “persistives” in Bantu.

To the best of my knowledge, the two major exceptions to these general tendencies are Zhang (2017) and Panova (2021); the latter only became available at a late stage of preparing this monograph. Zhang (2017) is primarily concerned with expressions of repetition, but his sample includes several STILL expressions. Panova (2021) contains many important insights, but her discussion of polyfunctionality is mostly based on what is found in the descriptive sections of grammars, as opposed to the higher-resolution approach taken in the present work (Section 1.5). What is more, both studies are based on a broader definition of the subject matter, which does not include a prospective component. This definition is the topic of Section 1.4.

1.4 Definition of the subject matter

Throughout this book, I understand a linguistic item to be a STILL expression if and only if it conforms to the definition in (8).[2] This definition, which purposely takes as framework-neutral a stance as possible, is derived from a survey of previous studies on phasal polarity, to which I return shortly. Note that the definition consists of two components, with the formal component relying on the functional one.

(8) Definition of a STILL expression
  a. Functional component:
  The concept of STILL signifies the persistence of an affirmative-polarity situation at topic time. At the same time, it construes the situation's subsequent discontinuation as a valid alternative scenario.
  b. Formal component:
  A STILL expression is a linguistic form that signals the concept of STILL.

In what follows, I offer additional discussion of both components of my definition and then address the question of its practical application. Afterwards, I briefly turn to the issue of more than one STILL expression in a single language.

1.4.1 The functional component: Discussion

It seems appropriate to begin the discussion of the definition in (8) with its functional core. This, in turn, can be broken down into three components: persistence, polarity and prospection.

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[2] I hasten to point out that a strict functional delimitation does not run counter the goal of examining polyfunctionality. Instead, it is necessary to define the criteria for inclusion of a given expression, to then examine which additional functions it exhibits.

1.4.1.1 Persistence

It is safe to say that my understanding of STILL as a signal of persistence is fairly uncontroversial. More precisely, most authors agree that the relevant expressions trigger an existential presupposition that the situation depicted in the clause obtained during an interval that precedes and abuts the time under discussion.[3] In contributing an existential presupposition, STILL expressions thus share a semantic feature with additive focus quantifiers (Section 1.6.4), which is a point that proves to be of relevance in several recurrent functional extensions (Sections 2.4.4, 2.4.5.2 and 3.3.2). The notion of persistence is furthermore intrinsically linked to the domain of aspect in the broadest sense. In the dimension of aspectual operators, expressions for STILL naturally combine with viewpoints that are fully contained within a situation, such as imperfectives and resultatives, as opposed to perfectives and anteriors. Concerning the actional dimension of aspect, STILL is only compatible with situation types that involve some extended state or process (van Baar 1997: 151–153; Dahl 1985: 134; Kratzer 2000; Löbner 1989; Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988; among others). These (in)compatibilities constitute a recurring theme throughout Chapters 2 and 3.

1.4.1.2 Affirmative polarity

My definition restricts the notion of persistence to affirmative polarity. It is well-known that STILL items frequently combine with negation to yield expressions for the two negative phasal polarity concepts NOT YET and NO LONGER (e.g. van der Auwera 1998; van Baar 1997; Löbner 1989). If negation falls within the scope of the STILL expression ("inner negation") this yields NOT YET.[4] Examples include German *noch nicht* or Spanish *todavía/aún no*, both 'still NEG'. Negation taking scope over the STILL expression ("outer negation"), on the other hand, yields NO LONGER, as is the case, for instance, with *oc* in the Uto-Aztecan language Classical Nahuatl and with *sa-/se-* in the Bantu language Xhosa. In the appendices I follow van Baar's (1997) terminology and speak of the parameter of "polarity sensitivity". Crucially, the inclusion of affirmative polarity in my definition allows me to exclude items that form part of expressions for the negative concepts NOT YET or NO LONGER, but which do not serve as independent STILL expressions. A prime example of the latter is English *yet*. Originally a STILL expression, and continuing to share many functional extensions with such items, in present-day standard varieties it meets my definition only in a handful of relic cases, such as in *It is early yet* (König & Traugott 1982).

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[3] See Abraham (1980), van der Auwera (1998: 38–42), Doherty (1973), Horn (1970), Ippolito (2004), König (1977), Löbner (1989: 173–176), Mittwoch (1993), Morrisey (1973), Muller (1975), among others.

[4] I use the terms "inner" and "outer" negation solely in reference to scope. This may or may not be reflected in surface syntax.

1.4.1.3 An alternative course of events

The third ingredient to my functional definition, the invocation of an alternative discontinuation scenario, requires some more explanation. To begin with, it has repeatedly been observed that items like English *still* and its counterparts in other languages do not combine well with situations that are inalterable under normal circumstances.[5] Thus, examples like (9–11) are decisively odd.[6]

(9) German

? *Elisabeth ist noch groß.*
Elisabeth COP.3SG still tall.
'Elisabeth is still tall.' (Doherty 1973: 154)

(10) English

? *Uncle Harry is still dead.* (Michaelis 1993: 202)

(11) French

? *Le Pape est encore célibataire.*
DEF.SG.M pope(M) COP.3SG still unmarried
'The pope is still unmarried.' (Hansen 2008: 118)

Instances like these suggest that the concept of STILL not only involves continuation relative to a prior time span, but also the possibility of discontinuation at an interval following the time under discussion. This subsequent termination is, however, not entailed, as it can be cancelled without contradiction; see (12).

(12) German
König Konstantin leb-t noch i-m Exil ***und das***
king Constantine live-3SG still in-DEF.DAT.SG.N exile(N) and that
wird wohl auch so bleib-en.
FUT.AUX:3SG apparently also thus remain-INF
'King Constantine is still living in exile **and that is the way it will always be**.' (König 1977: 176; glosses added)

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[5] This observation is found in Crane & Persohn (2021), Donazzan (2008: 145), Doherty (1973), Hansen (2008: ch. 4), Jenny (2001), Kockelman (2020), Michaelis (1993), Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988), RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8h–j), Weber (1989: 391), and many other works.

[6] Example (9) is acceptable in a marginality reading 'counts as comparatively tall' (Section 3.2).

Given that the subsequent discontinuation is defeasible, many researchers relegate it to a derived inference (Abraham 1980; Klein 2018; König 1977; Muller 1975, among others) and explain the oddity of cases like (9–11) by assuming that it is pointless to overtly describe a situation as persistent if it cannot change anyway. Authors such as van der Auwera (1991a, 1993, 1998: 38–42), van Baar (1997: ch. 2), Michaelis (1993), or Vandeweghe (1992: ch. 3) take a different stance. In their view, the concept of STILL intrinsically involves a perspective on time that is "retrospectively continuative and prospectively geared towards possible change" (van der Auwera 1998: 40) and where this change "figures in the discourse, and/or in the mind of the Speaker, of the Addressee, or both, as a serious alternative of the factual situation described in the sentence" (van Baar 1997: 41). Approaching the issue from this angle, a speaker who utters *King Constantine is still living in exile* (12) not only signals that the monarch remains overseas. They also communicate that they have considered a possible course of events in which he has returned, or will return, from exile. As Vandeweghe (1992: 1) puts it, by using a phasal expression "the state-of-affairs … is vested with a dynamism".[7] Given that the alternative development is not actually asserted, there is no contradiction in explicitly rejecting it. Note that this notion of an alternative course of event does not necessarily relate to hearer/speaker expectations; I return to this point in Section 1.4.1.4 below.

As I see it, there are several benefits to including the evocation of an alternative scenario in my definition. Firstly, it provides a communicative embedding for the concept of STILL. As a correlate, it allows for a straightforward functional explanation for the anormality of examples like (9–11). Thus, it is strange to say *Uncle Harris is still dead* or *Elizabeth is still tall*, because scenarios in which the subject is *no longer* dead or tall are at odds with everyday experience. It is only in very specific discourse worlds that such statements make sense, for instance in the context of the 1989 Disney movie *Honey, I Shrunk the Kids*. In the same vein, a development in which the pope ceases to be single clashes with cultural expectations (Hansen 2008: 117–118). Secondly, making an alternative course-of-events part of my definition allows me to capture one of the otherwise hard-to-grasp differences between STILL expressions and continuative expressions of the type *continue* Verb-*ing*, Spanish *seguir* plus gerund, and the like. For instance, the Royal Spanish Academy's comprehensive grammar makes the following observation:

> Constructions with *todavía* differ from those formed via "*seguir* ['continue'] + gerund" … in that the former more clearly suggest that the described situation may change in the near future … The presence of *todavía* introduces

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[7] In the original Dutch "de standen van zaken … krijgen een plaats in een dynamiek".

> a stronger expectation that the phase following the one described in the predicate can, or should, come into existence. (RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8i)[8]

Such a distinction is far from a peculiarity of the European context. For instance, in discussing two specific expressions in the Ubangian language Sango, Nassenstein & Pasch (2021: 114) remark that "[u]nlike *de*, which has a clear prospective sense, *ngba* is purely continuative". In a comparable fashion, Connell (2013: 137) states that *degeq* in Austronesian Mateq "implies the consistency of an action or state", but does not involve a possible or expected change. What is more, by having an alternative scenario figure in my definition, I can exclude expressions for concepts that are only broadly related to STILL, such as items or phrases meaning 'until now' or 'even now'.[9] That said, the two key ingredients of my functional definition (persistence and an alternative course of events) need not be equally prominent in all relevant attestation. For instance, in (13a) it is Peter's persistent location that is most salient. In (13b), on the other hand, the component of a subsequent change is given special salience, due to the fronted position of German *noch* (cf. Beck 2020; König 1977, 1991: 140).

(13) Context: Peter is expected to take a plane that leaves London at 4 pm. It is now 3 pm.

a. English
John: (*Yes, I know*). *Peter is* ***still*** *in London.* (van Baar 1997: 32)

b. German
Noch *ist Peter in London.*
still is P. in L.
'(As for now) Peter is still in London (e.g. if you want to talk to him, don't wait any longer).' (personal knowledge)

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[8] In the original Spanish "Se diferencian las construcciones con *todavía* de las formadas con «*seguir* + gerundio» … en que las primeras sugieren más claramente que las segundas que la situación descrita puede alterarse en un futuro próximo … La presencia de *todavía* induce en mayor medida la expectativa de que la fase posterior a la designada por el predicado puede o debe obtenerse."

[9] Expressions of this type can, however, constitute the diachronic precursor for STILL expressions (van der Auwera 1998; van Baar 1997). For instance, German *noch* goes back to a root 'now' plus a suffix 'also' (BBAW n.d. s.v. *noch*) and Spanish *aún* has its origins in Latin *ad huc* 'until here, until now' (van der Auwera 1998; RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. *aún*). Similarly, Wardaman (Yangmanic) *gayawun* can transparently be segmented into *gaya* 'today, now' and *-gun*/*-wun* 'pertaining to' (Merlan 1994: 323), with this original meaning having become bleached; see Appendix C.6.

1.4.1.4 A note on expectations

Before turning to the formal side of my definition, a word on expectations is required. While I do define STILL with reference to an alternative course of events, my comparative concept purposely makes no reference to speaker/hearer expectations. With regard to the latter, two scenarios can be distinguished. In the first scenario, the persistence of the situation described is in line with speaker- and/or hearer expectations; van Baar (1997: ch. 2) terms this the “neutral scenario”. Example (13a) above is such a case. In the second scenario the situation persists at an unexpectedly late point in time; this is illustrated in (14).

(14) Context: In order to solve an urgent business matter, Peter was expected to take a flight departing London at 4 pm. It is now 6 pm and John is surprised to find out that Peter will only leave at 7 pm.
John: (*Damn!*) *Peter is **still** in London.* (van Baar 1997: 33)

The unexpectedly late scenario is often described as evoking an alternative timeline in which events unfold according to expectations (van der Auwera 1998: 38–42; van Baar 1997: ch. 2; Michaelis 1993). That is, it can be understood as involving not only a contrast between two different courses of events, but also between two possible worlds that differ in their reality status. Accordingly, van Baar (1997) speaks of the “simultaneously counterfactual” scenario. Figure 1.1 illustrates this interpretation for (14). Importantly, cross-linguistic research has shown that sensitivity to expectations is an axis of significant variation across STILL expressions. Recent discussion of this issue can be found in van der Auwera (2021) and Kramer (2017, 2021a). A single expression may be compatible with both scenarios, as is the case with English *still.* Alternatively, a language may make use one of the following strategies to specifically signal the unexpectedly late scenario (van Baar 1997: 134):

- a dedicated expression, e.g. Classical Nahuatl *nozan.*
- combinations of STILL expressions, e.g. Georgian *ʒer* + *isev*, or *ʒer* + *k’idev.*
- the use of additional coding, as in German *immer noch* lit. ‘always still’.

In the appendices, I follow Kramer (2017) in coding the compatibility with one and/or the other scenario under the label of “pragmaticity”.

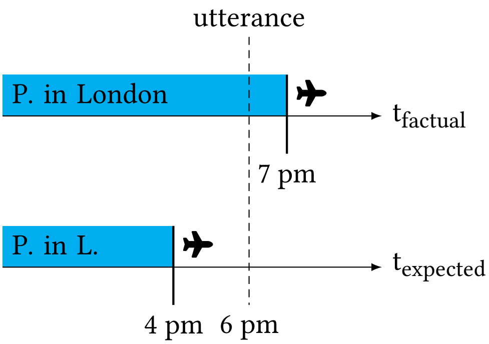

Figure 1.1: Graphic illustration of (14), based on van Baar (1997: 33)

1.4.2 The formal component: Discussion

Having discussed the functional component of my definition, I can briefly turn to its formal component, which is repeated below.

(8b) Formal component:
A still expression is a linguistic form that signals the concept of still.

This formal part of my definition closely follows van Baar (1997), who defines phasal polarity expressions as "specific formal means of referring to the semantics of Phasal Polarity" (van Baar 1997: 48). On a more fine-grained level, the definition purposely makes no reference to morphology or syntax. While in well-studied European languages the functional concept of still is typically expressed by independent small words (van der Auwera 1998), restricting the subject matter to this type of expression would severely impede cross-linguistic comparison; see Kramer (2017, 2021a) for recent discussions. To give just two examples, in the Bantu language Manda, still is expressed by an auxiliary-like element (*a*)*kona*, as shown in (15). In the Sino-Tibetan language Northern Qiang, on the other hand, the concept is expressed by a prefix *tɕ*V- on the predicate; see (16). In my discussion of cross-linguistic variation, as well as in the appendices, I follow Kramer (2017) in speaking of "wordhood" as a shorthand for an expression's morphosyntactic status.

(15) Manda
*W-**akona*** *w-i-henga* *lihengu?*
subj.2sg-still subj.2sg-prs-work ncl5.work
'Are you still working?' (Rasmus Bernander, p.c.)

(16) Northern Qiang
The: ***tɕa**-n.*
3sg still-sleep
'S/he is still sleeping.' (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 228)

1.4.3 Identifying still expressions

As I discuss in Section 1.5.1, I first and foremost chose the sample languages based on where I was able to identify, with reasonable confidence, expressions that i) conform to my definition, and ii) for which there were good indications of other functions. This raises the question of how I applied this definition, which seems the more relevant given the fact that I primarily rely on third-party data. In the most straightforward cases, I had access to dedicated studies on phasal polarity, such as van Baar (1997), van der Auwera (1998), Vandeweghe (1992) or the contributions in Kramer (2021c), whose definitions matched mine. To give an example, Nassenstein & Pasch (2021: 113) describe the Sango verb *de* as "meaning 'continue to have some quality until quality changes'". This is opposed to another Sango marker, *ngba*, for which they remark that "[u]nlike *de*, which has a clear prospective sense, *ngba* is purely continuative" (Nassenstein & Pasch 2021: 114). Thus, I included Sango *de*, but not *ngba* in my sample. Where no such studies were available, my point of departure were descriptive grammars and, to a lesser degree, dictionaries. In some cases, these materials openly addressed all elements of my definition. Guillaume's (2008) description of the Cavineña (Pano-Tacanan) marker *=jari* is such a case:

> In past tense settings, *=jari* means that the state/event has begun before and was still holding at the story time but does not hold at the present time anymore … In present tense setting, *=jari* means that the state/event has begun in the past and will still hold true in the future (although not forever). (Guillaume 2008: 660–661)

In other cases, finding the relevant pieces of information required a bit more detective work. For instance, Trió (Cariban) *=nkërë* is listed by Letschert (1998: 15) under the Portuguese lemma *ainda* 'still' and is termed a "persistive" by Carlin (2004). Meira (1999: 468) states that *=nkërë* "is used to indicate continuation, coming quite close to the English 'still'". That this marker also evokes an alternative scenario becomes particularly evident in its behaviour with nominal predicates: in order for these to combine with persistive *=nkërë*, they must be augmented by a suffix *-me*. This suffix signals a manifest, but not intrinsic quality, typically a transient state (Carlin 2004: 123–124, 130). What is more,

> when the temporary state is seen from the point of view of an extended period rather than as a bounded unit, ... someone who has left that state but is talking about the period when that state existed, the [derived noun] is always followed by ... *nkërë* ‘still’. (Carlin 2004: 130)

These pieces of information, when taken together, give evidence that Trió =*nkërë* conforms to my definition, in that it signals both persistence and evokes a discontinuation scenario. In yet other cases, the available examples, especially if they came with textual embedding, gave good indications as to whether or not certain markers glossed as ‘still’, ‘yet’, ‘persistive’ and the like were to be included in my sample. Thus, as Löbner (1989: 182–183) points out, the alternative scenario evoked by STILL leads to prototypical usage patterns in which the two scenarios are implicitly or explicitly juxtaposed. Applied to a concrete case, consider (17) from the Bolivian isolate Movima.

(17) Movima
Context: recollecting a conversation between the narrator’s mother and grandfather.
N-asko ***dira*** *pawaneɬ-wa=’ne kaj siṅlototo=’ne mere’.*
OBL-PRO still hear-NMLZ=3F NEG deaf.NMLZ=3F big
‘That was when she [narrator’s mother] could still hear, she wasn’t very deaf then.’ (Haude 2021)

In (17), the item *di:ra*(*n*) serves, to all appearances, a dual purpose. On the one hand it links the mother’s existing sense of hearing to the same capacity at an earlier stage in her life; at the same time, it anticipates the onset of deafness that is also hinted at in the next clause. I have taken examples like (17) as an indication that Movima *di:ra*(*n*) conforms to my definition. In the appendices, I discuss the evidence for including a given expression in my sample under the list item “specialisation”, following the term used by van Baar (1997).

1.4.4 Allolexy

Up to this point, I have spoken of the inclusion of a language or expression in my sample somewhat interchangeably. However, it is not uncommon for a single language to possess more than one expression that matches my definition, i.e. several allolexes. To mention just a few instances, Classical Nahuatl has *oc* and *nozan*, in Modern Hebrew one finds *ʕod* and *ʕadayin*, Spanish has *todavía* and *aún*, and Swahili has *bado* and *ngali*. In such cases, the different expressions may contrast with each other along several axes. For instance, in Swahili the Omani Arabic loan *bado* is much more frequent than the inherited *ngali*. In Classical Nahuatl *nozan* is a dedicated expression for the unexpectedly late scenario of STILL (van Baar 1997: 76). What is more, *nozan* appears to only have this function, whereas *oc* is widely polyfunctional. Functional range is also what distinguishes the two pairs of STILL expressions in Modern Hebrew and Spanish: in each case, both have multiple functions, several of which are unique to one member of the pair.

1.5 Data and analysis

1.5.1 The sample

The survey I develop in Chapters 2 and 3 is based on a world-wide convenience sample of 76 languages from 45 distinct phyla.[10] Table 1.1 gives an overview of the number of languages and phyla for each of the six macro-areas; note that Austronesian and Afro-Asiatic are represented in two macro-areas each. The languages themselves are listed in Table 1.2 and their approximate locations are plotted onto a map in Figure 1.2.

Table 1.1: Geographic breakdown of sample

Macro-area	Languages	Phyla
Africa	19	7
Australia	7	6
Eurasia	16	9
North America	9	8
Papunesia	18	10
South America	7	7

I chose the sample languages primarily on the basis of the available resources that allowed me to confidently identify STILL expressions for which there were also good indications of additional functions. As phasal polarity is typically not given much attention in descriptive materials, my sample is heavily restricted by bibliographical bias. I nonetheless aimed for some degree of representativeness.

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[10] Throughout this study, both genetic affiliations and macro-areas are based on glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2022).

As a very rough metric to this aim, I allotted each macro-area a share of the sample that approximates its relative contribution to the world's languages, based on the numbers in the appendix to Hammarström & Donohue (2014). That said, languages from Australia are overrepresented, as I opted to include more languages based on the existing literature on STILL–'only' coexpression (Section 3.4.2). I also kept an eye on genealogical variety and geographic spread within each macro-area. However, several of the larger and often better described phyla are represented with more than one language each; this is especially the case for Atlantic-Congo, Austronesian, and Indo-European.

Table 1.2: The sample languages

Africa	Afro-Asiatic: Tashelhyit, Tunisian Arabic; Austronesian: Plateau Malagasy; Atlantic-Congo: Adamawa Fulfulde, Bende, Chuwabu, Ewe, Manda, Mundang, Nyangbo, Ruuli, Sango, Southern Ndebele, Swahili, Xhosa; Central Sudanic: Kaba; Katla-Tima: Tima; Mande: Bambara; Nilotic: Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga Datooga
Australia	Bunaban: Gooniyandi; Gunwinyguan: Wubuy; Mirndi: Jaminjung-Ngaliwurru; Pama-Nyungan: Gurindji, Martuthunira; Tangkic: Kayardild; Yangmanic: Wardaman
Eurasia	Afro-Asiatic: Hebrew (Modern); Indo-European: English, French, German, Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian, Spanish; Nakh-Dagestanian: Lezgian; Sino-Tibetan: Japhug, Hills Karbi, Mandarin Chinese, Northern Qiang; Tai-Kadai: Thai; Tungusic: Udihe; Uralic: Tundra Nenets; Yeniseian: Ket; Yukaghir: Southern Yukaghir
North America	Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit: Slave; Eskimo-Aleut: Kalaallisut; Cochimi-Yuman: Maricopa; Mayan: Kekchí; Muskogean: Creek; Tsimshian: Gitxsan/Nisga'a; Siouan: Osage; Uto-Aztecan: Classical Nahuatl, Western Shoshoni
Papunesia	Anim: Coastal Marind; Austronesian: Acehnese, Chamorro, Lewotobi, Mateq, Paiwan, Rapanui, Saisiyat; Maybrat-Karon: Maybrat; Ndu: Iatmul; North Halmahera: Ternate-Tidore; Nuclear Torricelli: Bukiyip; Nuclear Trans New Guinea: Kewa, Ma Manda, Western Dani; Timor-Alor-Pantar: Blagar; West Bomberai: Kalamang; Yam: Komnzo
South America	Arawan: Culina; Cariban: Trió; Isolate: Movima; Lengua-Mascoy: Southern Lengua; Pano-Tacanan: Cavineña; Quechuan: Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua; Macro-Je: Xavánte

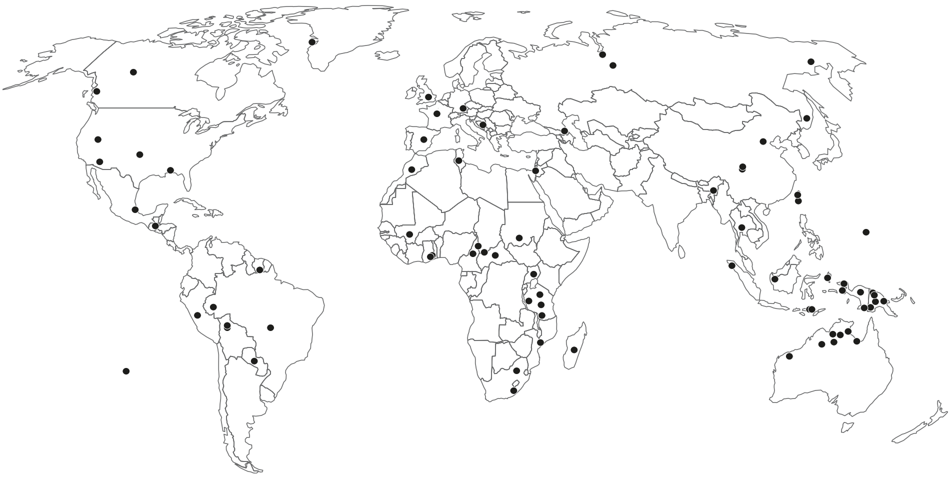

Figure 1.2: Map of the sample languages

1.5.2 Data sources

In Section 1.4.3 I hinted at specialised studies, descriptive grammars, and dictionaries as my primary resource for identifying still expressions. For each sample expression I aimed to mine as many data sources as feasible, so that I could obtain a high-resolution picture. Given the state of documentation of the world's languages, the extent of available materials naturally varied greatly. For well-studied and wide-spread languages such as German, English, French or Spanish, I could rely on an abundance of papers and monographs pertinent to the subject matter and even perform the occasional internet search for specific patterns of usage. For some less described languages, extensive corpora or text collections allowed me to gain many insights. This includes cases like Kalamang, Paiwan, Ruuli, and Movima, to name just a few. In yet other cases, I had to make do with whatever examples I could find in the descriptive materials. Where possible, I also consulted expert linguists, who provided invaluable help with hard-to-interpret examples and difficult glosses. In a few cases, where my contacts included native speaker linguists, I was also able to elicit additional data. An overview of the data sources used is given in each language appendix.

1.5.3 Data analysis

Given the exploratory nature of the present study, I opted for a low-tech and qualitative approach to data analysis. Once I had established a sufficiently large sample, I created preliminary tabulations of the distinct uses I could identify based on both formal and semantic-pragmatic criteria (Section 1.6.1). Subsequently, I performed several recursive cycles of analysis in which I compared the relevant attestations across expressions, while at the same time incorporating additional data sources, until a clearer picture of the sets of recurrent uses, their characteristics and the criteria distinguishing them from each other emerged. To give an illustration of this approach, several sample expressions form part of collocations that denote a near past event (Section 2.4.6.1). This is illustrated in (18) for Tunisian Arabic *māzāl*, here surfacing as *māzil*.

(18) Tunisian Arabic
Kun-t *ānā* ***māzil-t kīf*** ***bdī-t*** *n-umġuḍ* *fī* *ṭaṛf*
cop.pfv-1sg 1sg still-1sg when begin.pfv-1sg 1sg-chew.ipfv in piece
il-lḥam *haḏāya* *u-ẓaṛṣt-i* *ṛā-hi*
def-meat(m) prox.sg.m and-molar(f)-poss.1sg prestt-3sg.f
tnaṭṛ-it *tanṭīṛa* *waḥd-a.*
slip_out.pfv-3sg.f slip_out.nmlz(f) one-sg.f
‘Ich hatte eben erst damit begonnen, auf dem Stück Fleisch herumzubeißen, da flog auch schon mein (Backen-)Zahn im hohen Bogen. [**I had only just begun** chewing on the piece of meat, when all of a sudden my molar tooth came flying out.]’ (Singer 1984: 651, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

A comparison of the available contextualised data points across the relevant languages showed that they consistently form part of the discursive background and, as in (18), they recurrently involve a “past in the past”. From this I could conclude that the relevant constructions do not denote tense in the deictic sense of the term and that they involve a topic time that is fully contained in the situation’s post-time (see Section 1.6.3 on notions of tense and aspect). Both points, in turn, are consistent with the available descriptions of the verbal paradigms involved.

Once the set of distinct uses and their semanto-pragmatic characteristics were established, I moved on to looking for areal patterns and implicational relationships and to developing the functional explanations given throughout Chapters 2 and 3.

1.6 Theoretical preliminaries

Before moving on to an overview of the structure of this book, it is necessary to address a few basic assumptions that guide my survey, as well as to define some key terms and concepts. It is safe to say that my understanding of the vast majority of them is rather uncontroversial in the functionalist realm of the language sciences, which is why I keep the following discussions fairly short.

1.6.1 Polyfunctionality and the notion of "function" or "use"

Throughout this book, I assume that multifaceted linguistic items, like the STILL expressions investigated here, are best understood as forming clusters of distinct functions or uses, which are linked together by a network of family likeness (e.g. Haspelmath 1997: ch. 4; Janda 2015), as opposed to them having a single and highly abstract *Gesamtbedeutung*. With that in mind, the baseline for all questions that guide the present study is that of which distinct uses or functions can be identified in my sample (Section 1.2). This raises the issue of what I understand by the terms USE and FUNCTION in the first place and when to establish a plurality of them. In what follows, I address both of these points.

To begin with, throughout this book I use the terms *function* and *use* interchangeably. Following the approach used in classical semantic maps (see Georgakopoulos & Polis 2018; Haspelmath 2003 for overviews), I furthermore make use of these labels in a wide sense that, to a large degree, conflates the distinction between semanticised meanings and those that arise in specific constructional and/or pragmatic contexts. Also in line with the aforementioned approach, I take two uses or functions to be distinct if a pair of expressions differs with respect to them, be it within a single language or cross-linguistically. To give a fairly straightforward example, several sample expressions, including French *encore* and Classical Nahuatl *oc*, have an iterative use. In both cases, such an 'again' reading can be accompanied by an event quantifier 'one time', as illustrated in (19) for *oc*. In descriptive grammars, the addition of such an item is usually described as stressing the iterative reading and/or as making it explicit vis-à-vis other contextually available interpretations (e.g. Batchelor & Chebli-Saadi 2011: 535; Launey 1986: 1265). That is, iterative uses of *encore* and *oc* with or without a 'one time' element are described as mere variants of a single function.

(19) Classical Nahuatl
Auh quēmman ***oc*** ***cē-ppa*** *ti-tla-cuā-z?*
and when still one-time SUBJ.2SG-OBJ.INDEF:NON.HUMAN-eat-PROSP
'Y a qué hora has de comer otra vez? [And when will you eat **again**?]'
(Carochi 1645: 505, glosses added)

However, comparable collocations are also attested on the basis of expressions such as German *noch* in (20). Crucially, *noch* on its own cannot signal repetition.

This by itself is a strong indicator that the repetition reading of ‘still one time’ phrases is, from a comparative point of view, not to be considered a mere variant of a more general iterative use. What is more, all relevant expressions in my sample have broadly additive uses which motivate the iterative reading with an event quantifier (‘still one time’ > ‘one more time’ > ‘again’). This interpretation, in turn, finds independent evidence in the existence of iterative collocations featuring other markers of additivity, such as English *once more* or Spanish *otra vez* lit. ‘another time’.

(20) German
Opposition gewinn-t Wahl in Istanbul: İmamoğlu
opposition win-3SG election.ACC.SG in I. I.
macht-’s ***noch ein-mal***.
make.3SG-3SG.ACC.N still INDEF-time
‘Opposition wins elections in Istanbul: İmamoğlu does it **again**.’
(found online, glosses added)

That said, it is important to keep in mind that the distinct uses I discuss in this book are, first and foremost, comparative constructs in the form of landmarks in a continuous conceptual space. What is more, the fact that two expressions share a common use does not necessarily mean that they are entirely congruent in this respect. For instance, in Section 3.5.2.2 I discuss the use of STILL expressions as signals of a concessive relationship between two propositions, which is a very common functional extension. Despite the shared common denominator of concessivity, the exact semanto-pragmatic import of the individual expressions differs considerably. To give just one example, though both English *still* and Spanish *todavía* can mark a clause as containing a concession, only the former is felicitous in the context of (21).

(21) Context: Harry beats his dog.
a. English
Still, *he is a nice guy.*
b. Spanish
# ***Todavía*** *es un buen tipo.*
still COP.3SG INDEF.SG.M good.M guy(M)
(Ederly & Curcó 2016: 36, glosses added)

1.6.2 Motivation and semasiological change

As I pointed out in Section 1.2, one of the questions that guide the present study is that of the MOTIVATION underlying the coexpression of a given function and the phasal polarity concept of STILL. With respect to this question, I take a usage-based approach, according to which

> [m]otivation aims to explain why it is at least possible and at best natural that this particular form–meaning correspondence should exist in a given language. Motivation is distinct from prediction: recognizing the motivation for a construction does not entail that the construction *must* exist in that language or in any language. It simply explains why the construction "makes sense" or is natural … Functional and historical generalizations count as explanations (Goldberg 2006: 217, emphasis in the original)

Functional generalisations include processes such as metonymy, whereas historical generalisations include attested usage patterns over time and established directions of functional change. With respect to the latter, I follow Traugott (1989) and subsequent works (e.g. Traugott 1999; Traugott & Dasher 2002) in assuming that there are three overarching tendencies, which are mono-directional and bring about a shift in semiotic status.[11] These tendencies, summarised in Figure 1.3, are internalisation, proceduralisation, and change towards the expressive. A classic example of the first tendency is the internalisation of a perceived external association of 'crude person' with 'farmer' to the core meaning of English *boor*. In the present study, this tendency manifests itself, for instance, in the marginality use of STILL expressions (Section 3.2). An illustration of the tendency for proceduralisation is the development of English *while* to a temporal connective out of its original meaning 'time span'. I discuss similar developments of STILL expressions in Section 2.5.3.1. As for the third and final tendency, the change towards the expressive, a textbook example is found in the extension from deontic modals to epistemic ones. Cases from the present study include the development of STILL expressions to markers of concessive consequent clauses, and from there onward to concessive-expressive interjections (Section 3.5.2.3).

As the preceding discussion implies, at various points in Chapters 2 and 3 I opt for a diachronic perspective, in that I try to trace back the diachronic constellations and processes that lead to individual expressions getting equipped with specific functions. Crucially, "if the internal semantic structure of a lexical category consists in clustered and overlapping readings", as I take these structures to be,

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[11] See Diewald (2011) on functional change and semiotic status.

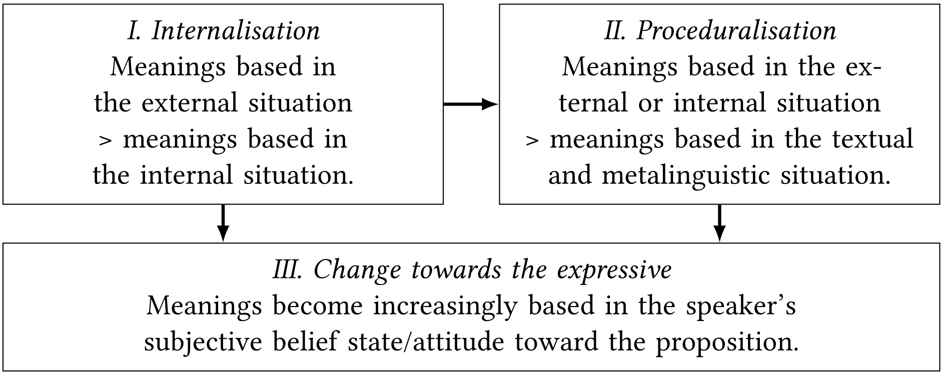

I. Internalisation
Meanings based in the external situation > meanings based in the internal situation.
II. Proceduralisation
Meanings based in the external or internal situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation.
III. Change towards the expressive
Meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition.

Figure 1.3: Tendencies of semantic change based on Traugott (1989: 34–35). Arrows depict possible feeding relationships.

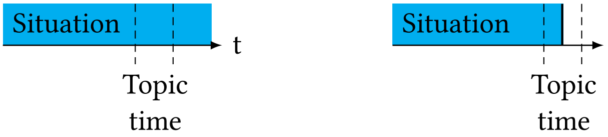
"then meaning changes … are likely to originate in several older meanings simultaneously" (Hansen 2008: 227). This point becomes relevant, for instance, in my discussion of the 'as far removed as' use of still expressions in Section 2.5.2.3.

1.6.3 All things temporal

When it comes to tense, aspect, and related notions, I mostly rely on the time-relational approach of Klein (1994). The key to this framework lies in the assumption of three privileged time spans and a set of possible relationships between them. The three time spans are utterance time, situation time and topic time. With utterance time being a straightforward affair, situation time encompasses various types of actional content, whereas topic time is an elaboration of Reichenbach's (1947) *reference time* and represents "the time span to which the speaker's claim on this occasion is confined" (Klein 1994: 4). In what follows, I sketch out how temporal and aspectual meaning arises in this framework, and I also briefly address the additional notion of temporal regions.

1.6.3.1 Tense and aspect

In Klein's framework, the function of tense lies in relating topic time to utterance time. With the present tense, utterance time is included in topic time, whereas in the past tense topic time precedes utterance time, and the other way around for the future tense. This is in contrast to aspectual operators which establish different kinds of relationships between topic time and situation time. Unless explicitly stated otherwise, I assume that aspectual operators have their "canonical" (Polančec 2021) functions. Thus, with the imperfective viewpoint, the interval of topic time is fully contained within the time of the situation, whereas with the perfective aspect it falls partially in the situation's post-time. Figure 1.4 is a graphic schematisation of these two primary viewpoints. For a more hands-on example, consider (22), which features a verb in the Spanish past perfective inflection. By means of the past tense, topic time is narrowed down to one that precedes utterance time. The perfective aspect, on the other hand, establishes a topic time around the right edge of the 'eating an apple' situation, thus yielding a reading of closure.

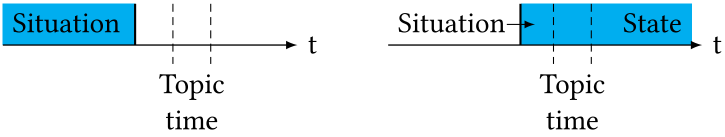


(a) Imperfective (b) Perfective

Figure 1.4: Major aspectual viewpoints, based on Klein (1994)

(22) Spanish
María com-ió una manzana.
M. eat-pst.pfv.3sg indef.sg.f apple(f)
'Maria ate an apple.' (personal knowledge)

A third type of viewpoint that is relevant to the present study is the anterior, also commonly referred to as the perfect. In Klein's understanding, this viewpoint denotes that topic time is fully contained in a situation's post-time. At various points throughout the main body of this book, I make reference to an additional analysis in which the anterior viewpoint denotes a concept of its own, namely an ongoing state brought about by the termination of a situation (e.g. Parsons 1990: 234–235; Smith 1997: 106–109). Figure 1.5 illustrates these two understandings.



(a) Time-relational (b) Stative

Figure 1.5: Two analyses of the anterior viewpoint

Lastly, it is important to keep in mind that what is labelled a "perfect(ive)" or the like in the descriptive tradition of a given language may correspond to more than one actual viewpoint. For instance, from Singer's (1984: 298–300) description of the "Perfektum" in Tunisian Arabic it becomes clear that this verbal paradigm has both perfective and anterior readings. At various points throughout this book I use the term BOUNDED VIEWPOINT as a handy cover term for the perfective and anterior viewpoints, as well as for instances of non-progressive future situations.

1.6.3.2 Actionality

As far as situation time is concerned, I mostly rely on Vendler's (1957) familiar classification of predicates into four classes, based on the three binary parameters [±durative] [±dynamic] and [±telic]. Thus, according to Vendler, STATES like the denotation of English *to know* are durative (they extend in time), stative (they require no energy input) and atelic (they are not directed towards an inherent endpoint). ACTIVITIES, such as *to run*, share [+durative] and [-telic] with states, but differ from states in being dynamic. Vendlerian ACCOMPLISHMENTS such as *to build a house*, in turn, are distinguished from activities in being [+telic]. Lastly, ACHIEVEMENTS like *to die* are considered to lack a significant duration, but to be dynamic and telic. In addition to Vendler's four classes, I follow Smith (1997) in assuming a group of SEMELFACTIVES, which are punctual and dynamic but atelic occurrences such as *to blink*. At certain points, primarily in the discussion of data from Bantu languages, I also adopt the notion of INCHOATIVE VERBS. Simplifying slightly, these are predicates that encode a state plus a point or process of entrance into it; see Crane & Persohn (2019) and references therein for more discussion.

1.6.3.3 Temporal regions

An additional concept from Klein's framework which will be relevant, among other things, in my discussion of degrees of temporal remoteness (Section 2.4.6), is that of a TEMPORAL REGION. In broad strokes, the latter is the characteristic and contextually varying environment surrounding any given time span. For instance, the notion of 'now' can be understood as "in the region of, but not before" utterance time (Klein 1994: 156).

1.6.4 Focus, focus quantifiers, and scales

Throughout various parts of this book, especially in Chapter 3, I discuss uses of STILL expressions as focus-sensitive quantifiers and in functions that involve scales of some sort. In what follows, I briefly lay out my understanding of these concepts.

1.6.4.1 Focus and focus quantifiers

Following established practice, I assume that linguistic FOCUS serves to relate the denotation of a given constituent to alternative meanings of the same type (Gast 2012; Gast & van der Auwera 2011; Hole 2004: ch. 1, 2006; König 1991: ch. 3; Rooth 1958: ch. 1, 1992, 1996; among others). Focus-sensitive operators, in turn, quantify over the resulting set of CONTEXT PROPOSITIONS (Kay 1990), which are those propositions that differ from the given TEXT PROPOSITION in the denotation of the constituent containing the focus. Within this realm, I distinguish between two primary types of operators. ADDITIVE operators denote positive, existential quantification. That is, their use requires that the common ground contain at least one alternative denotation that can yield a true proposition; see (23). Note that in the case of (the perhaps slightly misnomed) scalar additives, to which I turn below, the existential reading is a mere default assumption. As far as STILL expressions are concerned, I discuss a variety of additive functions in Section 3.3.2.

(23) *Tom*$_{\text{FOC}}$ *attended the meeting, **too**.*
→ At least one more person attended the meeting.

In contrast to additives, RESTRICTIVE focus quantifiers denote negated quantification. The most familiar type of these are EXCLUSIVE operators such as English *only*. These denote negated existential quantification, that is to say, none of the context propositions is possibly true. Example (24) is an illustration.

(24) ***Only*** *Oscar*$_{\text{FOC}}$ *attended the meeting.*
→ No one else attended the meeting.

Exclusive operators are not the only type of restrictive focus quantifiers. Items from this larger class may also express negated universal quantification (Gast 2012; Hole 2004, 2006, among others), which is to say, not all context propositions hold true. An example of such an operator is English *at least* in its evaluative and epistemic senses (Gast 2012), the first of which is illustrated in (25). For lack of an established term, I refer to this type of marker by the mnemonic label of at least-type operators. In Sections 2.5.2.1 and 3.4 I discuss various restrictive functions of still expressions. A schematic summary of the typology of focus quantifiers just outlined is given in Figure 1.6.

(25) *He may not always meet all my needs, but* ***at least*** [*he doesn't chase after other women or beat me up*]$_{\text{FOC}}$. (Forst, *Experiencing father's embrace*)
→ He has some, but not the maximal degree of husband qualities.

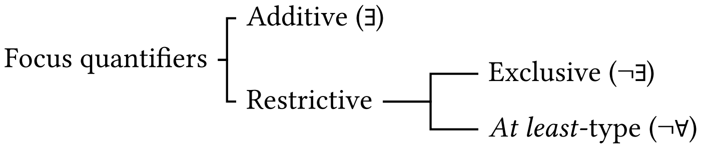


Figure 1.6: Typology of focus quantifiers

1.6.4.2 Scales and scalar operators

Having addressed the core tenets of focus and focus quantification, I now turn to scales. These are, in short, ordered sets of alternative denotations (e.g. Fauconnier 1975; Israel 2001, 2011: ch. 3; Jacobs 1983: 128–138). Their ordering relation may be strictly logical or mediated by "general and contingent pragmatic knowledge about how the world normally seems to work" (Israel 2011: 53). Crucially, such an ordering based on (potentially pragmatically mediated) entailments means that any given scale has a single, unequivocal direction: lower ranking denotations yield fewer entailments and vice versa. However, as Israel (2011: 17) highlights, "for every canonical scale there exists a corresponding inverted scale", such as scales of plausiblity vs. *im*plausibility, scales of centrality vs. *de*centrality, and so on. This point proves to be relevant in my discussion of the still-as-marginality use in Section 3.2.

scalar focus quantifiers provide a ranking of propositions based on scalar models or propositional schemas, which are ordered by the degree of inferences they license in regard to a question under discussion (Gast 2012; Gast & van der Auwera 2011, 2013; Israel 2001; Israel 2011: ch. 3; Kay 1990). Consider example (25). While the three accessible propositions themselves do not contain any scalar elements, they license inferences about different degrees of marital quality, as illustrated in (26).

(26) Question under discussion: How good of a husband is he?

Propositional content		*Inference*	
He meets all my needs.	→	He's the perfect husband.	entails ↓
He doesn't chase after other women.	→	He's an average husband.	
He doesn't beat me up.	→	He has minimal qualities.	

(cf. Gast 2012: 113)

Perhaps the best known scalar focus operators are the so-called scalar additives. These signal that the text proposition ranks higher in a propositional schema, i.e. is more informative, than all other propositions under consideration (Gast & van der Auwera 2011, 2013; Kay 1990). Example (27) is an illustration. As schematised in (28), the text proposition 'he commands the winds and the water' licenses more inferences than all other accessible propositions, hence it outranks them. Importantly, and unlike for additive operators in the stricter sense, an existential reading (i.e. that the less informative propositions hold true as well) is only a default assumption which is derived from the scalar notion and arises under normal conversational conditions (Fauconnier 1975; Gast & van der Auwera 2011; Schwartz 2005). This becomes particularly visible in an example like (29), where one of the text propositions is negated without resulting in contradiction.

(27) English
Who is this? He commands ***even*** *[the winds and the water]*$_{\text{FOC}}$*, and they obey him* (Luke 8:25, *New International Version)*

(28) Question under discussion: How powerful is this man?

Propositional content		*Inference*	
The winds and the water obey him.	→	He is very powerful.	entails ↓
His children obey him.	→	He has normal powers.	
His dogs obey him.	→	He has little power.	

(cf. Gast & van der Auwera 2011: 10)

(29) *Can it be possible that his children do not obey him, given that* ***even*** *[the winds and the water]*$_{\text{FOC}}$ *do?*

Lastly, scalar additives are usually said to come in two primary flavours (Gast & van der Auwera 2011, 2013). With beyond operators like German *sogar* or Italian *perfino*, the degree of some salient property corresponding to the focus denotation correlates positively with the rank of the entire proposition. With beneath operators, such as German *auch nur* or English *so much as*, on the other hand, a high-ranking proposition is aligned with a low focus value. Correspondingly, the two types of scalar additives are felicitous in different environments. Yet a third type, UNIVERSAL scalar additives, can have both readings, depending on the context. English *even* is such a case. Thus, while in (27) above a high degree on a scale of control goes together with a highly informative proposition, under certain conditions, this alignment can be reversed, as illustrated in (30). I address scalar additive uses of STILL expressions in Sections 2.5.2.3 and 3.3.4.

(30) English
I refuse to believe that Bill ***even*** *slapped*$_{\text{FOC}}$ *that man.*
BENEATH reading: '… let alone inflicted more harm on him'
BEYOND reading: '… not only insulted but also …'
(cf. Gast & van der Auwera 2011)

1.7 The structure of this book

1.7.1 The main body

The wide array of functions attested for the sample expressions, many of which are tightly interconnected, proposes a serious challenge for their presentation in a linear format. For the sake of convenience, I have made a rough division in my survey between time-related uses (Chapter 2) and those uses that are primarily non-temporal (Chapter 3). Due to the nature of the subject matter this division is an imperfect one. For instance, in Section 3.4.3 I discuss a use that combines restrictive and temporal notions ('thus far only') and in Section 3.3.3 I address the so-called "further-to" (Klein 2018) use, which involves both additivity and phasal notions ('do in addition to, and before moving on'). Within each of the two main chapters I have grouped together different sets of uses on a primarily semanto-pragmatic basis and lay the focus on those uses attested for at least two sample languages and/or expressions. The discussion of each use, is, for the most part, based on the templatic structure outlined in Figure 1.7. At some points, however, I slightly deviate from this template, primarily by splitting the "closer look" and "discussion" components into several sub-parts each or by merging them into one. Lastly, Chapter 4 contains a brief summary of my findings.

1.7.2 About the appendices

The main body of this book is accompanied by an extensive set of appendices in the form of data sheets with additional comments and discussion. These appendices give an overview of the individual expressions found in each of the sample

Introduction: A brief definition, together with one or more illustrations and a delimitation from superficially similar and/or related functions.

Distribution in the sample: An overview of the expressions that have the relevant use, plus a summary of observable areal patterns and the question of morphosyntactic status. Where applicable, this includes a first glance at relevant collocational patterns or distinguishable subtypes of a use.

A closer look: An in-depth descriptive exposition of the semanto-pragmatic characteristics and of recurrent usage patterns, accompanied by ample illustrations.

Discussion: An examination of the conceptual and implicational relationships of the function under discussion to phasal polarity STILL and to other relevant functions. This may include a diachronic perspective.

Figure 1.7: Templatic structure used in Chapters 2 and 3

languages, in contrast to the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3, which is based on individual sets of uses across expressions and languages. I have opted to include these appendices to not only increase transparency, but also to build a resource that allows an easier access to the often widely dispersed data, thereby hopefully encouraging subsequent research – be it by building on my interpretation of the data or by developing alternative analyses. The appendices are sorted by macro-area, followed by languages and expressions. For each item, they indicate the grounds on which it was classified as an exponent of STILL and give background information, such as questions of formal variation or known etymologies (where applicable). For each function of a given marker, bibliographic references are given and the key findings therein are summarised. Where my own analysis of the data differs from existing descriptions or expands on them, these points are given explicit discussion. The same applies to analyses of the more tentative type. The overview of each function is furthermore accompanied with illustration from a wide array of sources. As I discuss in Section 1.5.3, many of the most valuable examples were found dispersed throughout grammars, or deep within text collections and corpora, and in quite a few cases they lacked segmentation and glosses. To allow for an easier interpretation of the data, I added context information to examples from actual discourse, together with glosses and morpheme-by-morpheme segmentation. For more information about the templatic structure of the appendices, the reader is referred to Appendix A.

2 Temporal and aspectual uses

> La mágica Esperanza anuncia el día
> en que sobre la roca de armonía
> expirará la pérfida sirena.
> ¡Esperad, esperemos *todavía*![1]
>
> Rubén Darío: ¡Torres de Dios! ¡Poetas!

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I survey uses of STILL expressions that are primarily time-related. I start out by reviewing a set of uses that lie on the fringes of phasal polarity STILL in Section 2.2 and then turn to true functional extensions in Sections 2.3 to 2.5. In Section 2.3 I discuss functions that relate to other phasal polarity concepts, and in Section 2.4 I address uses that can be subsumed under a broad label of other time-related "adverbial" functions. These include, among other things, uses pertaining to repetition, the signalling of 'always, all the time', or the marking of degrees of temporal remoteness. Lastly, in Section 2.5 I turn to uses in the realm of temporal connectives and the modification of temporal adverbials.

2.2 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

2.2.1 Introduction

In the following subsections, I discuss several uses that lie on the fringes of STILL. By this I mean patterns of use for which there is not a clear-cut answer as to whether they can be subsumed under the phasal polarity function or constitute genuine extensions into other domains. More specifically, in Section 2.2.2, I examine the use of STILL expressions in the context of monotone changes along some scale. In Section 2.2.3, I discuss German *noch* in an idiomatic collocational pattern with the meaning of 'thus far always, thus far everyone'. In Section 2.2.4, I turn to a use in which STILL expressions signal continued iteration 'yet again'. Lastly, in Section 2.2.5 I address functions that pertain to identity.

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[1] 'Magic Hope foretells the day when on the rock of harmony the perfidious siren shall expire. Wait, let us *still* wait!'

Before moving on to an examination of these fringe uses, a few words on some cases that I do not discuss here. To begin with, for the STILL-as-marginality use ('a penguin still counts as a bird'), I refer the reader to Section 3.2. Secondly, about a handful of expressions in my sample are used as modifiers of a temporal adverbial instead of the main predication ('it is still T, when e occurs', Löbner 1989: 202). I reserve my discussion of these cases for Section 2.5.2.2. Another set of sample expressions can signal a combination of temporal inclusion and a restrictive meaning element ('thus far only'). I discuss those in the context of restrictive operators, in Section 3.4.3. In addition, there are several semi-transparent patterns of use that I address in the context of interactional functions, in Section 3.5. Lastly, for the most part I do not offer a discussion of STILL expressions as phrase-level adverbial modifiers, such as in (1). I take such instances to involve phasal polarity in the context of language-specific, but generalised syntactic configurations or processes.[2]

(1) Spanish
Es ciert-o que exist-e un gran nivel de frustración
COP.3SG certain-M COMP exist-3SG INDEF.SG.M great level(M) of frustration
por [***la*** [***todavía limitad-a***]$_{\text{ADJP}}$ ***participación***]$_{\text{NP}}$ *en el*
for DEF.SG.F still limited-F participation(F) in DEF.SG.M
proceso polític-o.
process(M) political-M
'It is true that there is a high level of frustration over **the still limited participation** in the political process.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

2.2.2 'Still' in contexts of scalar variables

2.2.2.1 Introduction (part 1)

In this subsection I discuss the use of STILL expressions in contexts involving a (possible or factual) development on a scale. By this, I mean contexts that feature an ordered set of alternatives that encompasses more than a polar opposition between persistence and discontinuations. Examples (2, 3) are illustrations. In (2) there is a decrease in fleet size, whereas (3) involves a limited advancement on a scale of age.

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[2] See, for instance, RAE-ASALE (2009: 13.16l) on Spanish, or Zifonun et al. (1997: 2091–2096) on German.

(2) Spanish
La Armada ten-ía 337 vehículo-s y se
def.sg.f navy(f) have-pst.ipfv.3sg 337 vehicle-pl and refl.3
desprend-ió de tan solo nueve. ***Todavía tiene una***
get_rid_off-pst.pfv.3sg of so only nine still have.3sg indef.sg.f
***flota de** 328.*
fleet(f) of 328
'The navy had 337 vehicles and got rid of only nine. **It still has a fleet of 328.**' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(3) Tunisian Arabic
Humma māzāl-u mā-bilġ-ū-š ***māzāl***
3pl.m still-3pl.m neg-reach_puberty.pfv-3pl.m-neg still(.3sg.m)
***ʕumᵊṛ-hum tisʕ ᵊsnīn**.*
age(m)-poss.3pl.m nine year.pl
'Sie sind noch nicht in der Pubertät, sie sind erst ungefähr neun Jahre alt. [They haven't reached puberty yet, they are **still only about nine years old**.]' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011b: 220–221, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

Whereas (2, 3) feature numerical scales, example (4) involves a development on a degree scale, namely a reduction in the intensity of precipitation. Lastly, the variable in question may itself be the extension of a time span. For instance, what is at stake in (5) is the extent of the stretch between time of utterance and the feast.

(4) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua
Manana sinchi tamya-r-pis ***tamya-ga***
no_longer strong rain-adv.ss-also rain-top
***poga-pa-yca-n-rä-mi**.*
drizzle-appl-ipfv-3-still-evid
'Although it is no longer raining hard, **a few drops are still falling**.' (Weber et al. 2008: 420, glosses added)

(5) Tunisian Arabic
***Māzāl yūm-ēn** l-l-ʕīd.*
still day-du to-def-feast
'Il reste encore deux jours avant la fête. [**Two days remain** before the feast.]' (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1736, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

2.2.2.2 Introduction (part 2)

The use of phasal polarity expressions in scalar contexts led to an extensive debate during the first wave of research interest in these items (van der Auwera 1991a, 1993; Garrido 1992; Löbner 1989, 1999; Mittwoch 1993). As this dispute has direct implications for my examination of the sample data, a brief excursion is in order. Much of the just-mentioned controversy centres around peculiarities of German, but is said to have theoretical implications of cross-linguistic validity. The bone of contention lies, for all intents and purposes, in the interpretation of two sets of empirical facts. The first set pertains to issues of compatibility. Thus, in the context of monotone functions, German *noch* only combines with decreases, as in (6) and in (8a) below.

(6) German
Context: I had ten copies of a book.
*Ich hab' **noch fünf** (übrig).*
1sg have.1sg still five left
'I still have five (left).' (personal knowledge)

Unlike an expression such as Tunisian Arabic *māzāl* in (3) above, or English *still* (in collocations like *still only*, *still no more than*), German *noch* is generally infelicitous when a limited increase is at stake and the alternatives are not polar opposites. These contexts are instead covered by an entirely distinct item, the restrictive marker *erst* 'no more than', lit. 'first, erstwhile', as illustrated in (7).

(7) German
*Er ist **erst zwanzig Jahr-e** alt.*
3sg.m cop.3sg first twenty year-nom.pl old
'He is (still) only twenty years old.' (BBAW n.d. s.v. *erst*, glosses added)

Secondly, when a scalar variable is at issue German *noch* displays the characteristic syntactic behaviour of a focus particle, in that it can become a syntactic sister to the constituent containing the focus. For instance, in (8a) *noch* is an adjunct to the noun phrase *wenige Meter* 'a few meters', as is evident from the fact that they occupy the forefield position of a V2 clause together. This behaviour is shared, among the relevant expressions, with *erst* and with the other phasal polarity items, as shown for the already expression *schon* in (8b).

(8) German

a. [***Noch*** [***wenig-e*** ***Meter***]]$_{\text{NP}}$ *war-en es bis*
still few-NOM.PL meter.PL COP.PST-3PL 3SG.N until
zu-r Staffel-übergabe...
to-DEF.DAT.SG.F relay-handover(F)
'**A few meters were left** until the passing of the baton...'

b. [***Schon*** [***acht Mal***]]$_{\text{ADVP}}$ *hat Christoph ... eine*
already eight time have.3SG C. INDEF.ACC.SG.F
Spende-n-aktion zu-m Geburt-s-tag
donation-LNK-campaign(F) to-DEF.DAT.SG.M birth-LNK-day(M)
ge-start-et.
PTCP-start-PTCP
'[It's] **already** [been] **eight times** [that] Christoph ... has initiated a donation campaign on his birthday.' (found online, glosses added)

The interpretation of these characteristics goes hand in hand with the acceptance or rejection of Löbner's (1989, 1999) "duality hypothesis". Without going too deep down the rabbit hole,[3] this hypothesis claims that sets of operators manifest as neatly organised paradigms in the form of Aristotelian squares of oppositions. Given that in contexts of scalar increases and affirmative polarity the ALREADY expression *schon* patterns with restrictive *erst* rather than with the STILL expression *noch*, a distinct scalar paradigm is posited for German. *Noch* in contexts like (8a), on the other hand, is said by Löbner (1999) to form part of yet a third paradigm, together with *nur noch* 'only as little as ... anymore (lit. only still)' occupying the second positive corner. While this point relates, first and foremost, to the question of how systems of operators are conceived of, it is tightly interwoven with a particular semantic analysis. Thus, under the duality hypothesis it is assumed that the separate scalar paradigms also have a distinct meaning structure, namely that their members are operators that i) associate with a lower constituent and ii) vest this constituent with a predetermined temporal dynamic in the form of a presupposition about different values at adjacent times. In other words, in an example like (6), repeated below, *noch* is said to not function as a sentence adverb. Instead, it is said to relate the denotation of *fünf* 'five' to higher values at an earlier time (≈'I have the now reduced number of five').

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[3] See Hansen (2008: ch 3.1.) for a more concise summary.

(6) German
Context: I had ten copies of a book.
Ich hab' ***noch fünf*** (*übrig*).
1sg have.1sg still five left
'I still have five (left).' (personal knowledge)

Opponents of Löbner's hypothesis, on the other hand, understand the contribution of *noch* in the context of scalar variables as the same that it has in binary contexts. Seen from this point of view, example (6) denotes my persistent possession of five books vis-à-vis the possible discontinuation of this state-of-affairs. The reading of a decrease over time then goes back to the combined effects of phasal polarity, scalar semantics and pragmatic calculus.[4] To come straight to the point, below I advocate for the latter stance. Nonetheless, a separate examination of scalar contexts allows for valuable insights into parameters of variation across expressions and languages as well as into derived usage patterns.

To conclude, a cross-linguistic examination of STILL expressions in scalar contexts must consider the parameter of syntactic distinctiveness and whether a given item is compatible with decrease and/or increase contexts. As a derived question, such an examination needs to address the issue of whether there is any reason to assume that the semantic import of STILL expressions in contexts of scalar variables differs in any way from their contribution to run-of-the-mill polar contexts.

2.2.2.3 Distribution in the sample

Against the backdrop of the questions just outlined, Table 2.1 lists the sample expressions for which the data include scalar contexts and it indicates whether the expressions in question show a distinct syntactic behaviour there. Table 2.1 also indicates whether a given expression is attested with decreases and/or increases along some scale. For a numeric breakdown of the latter parameter, see Table 2.2 below. Note that Tables 2.1 and 2.2 do not give information as to whether increase contexts generally require the addition of a restrictive 'only' operator, which is a question I discuss separately further down the line.

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[4] I purposely avoid the terms *focus* and *scope* here, as they are sometimes used in confusing ways in the literature. In line with Löbner (1989), I assume that the relevant expressions have sentential scope in both cases and under both analyses. What is debated is the size of the constituent within the expression's scope and for which alternatives are considered. While it is tempting to portray the latter issue as a question of broad vs. narrow focus, phasal polarity itself is not associated with focus in the same way that operators like *also*, *even*, or *only* are (Beck 2020; Klein 2018), unless we assume that the (propositional content of the) entire sentence may be in focus; the latter stance is taken, for instance, in Krifka (2000).

As a brief summary, in the sample data scalar contexts are attested for 35 expressions from 33 languages (37 expressions and 35 languages if problematic cases are included), covering all six macro-areas. If I were to consider the use in scalar contexts as featuring a distinct function, these numbers would make it both the most frequent and the geographically most widespread function in my sample. However, as I argue below, there is no principled reason for such an assumption, at least on semantic grounds. On a more fine-grained level, the sample data reveal a marked asymmetry in the types of attestations. Thus, decrease contexts are attested for more than twice as many expressions as increase contexts (see Table 2.2). Lastly, a distinct syntactic behaviour is found with only two expressions, namely the case of German *noch* discussed above and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*.

In what follows, I first take another look at the question of syntactic distinctiveness. I then discuss the distribution of decrease vs. increase contexts. Subsequently, I examine each of the two types of contexts in some more depth; this includes a discussion of usage patterns that are derived from and/or border on STILL in scalar contexts. Lastly, I offer a brief summary and conclusion.

2.2.2.4 A closer look: Scalar uses as structurally distinct

As I indicated initially, one of the points that the debate around the status of phasal polarity expressions in scalar contexts is based on is the fact that the relevant German items show a distinct syntactic behaviour there. That is, they act like focus particles, being able to form a single constituent with a phrase containing the focus. This is shown in (8a), where *noch* and the noun phrase 'few meters' together occupy the initial position of a V2 clause.

(8a) German
[***Noch*** [***wenig-e*** ***Meter***]]$_{\text{NP}}$ *war-en* *es* *bis* *zu-r*
still few-NOM.PL meter.PL COP.PST-3PL 3SG.N until to-DEF.DAT.SG.F
Staffel-übergabe...
relay-handover(F)
'Only a few meters were left until the passing of the baton...'
(found online, glosses added)

The only other expression in my sample that displays this type of distinct behaviour is Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*. The examples in (9) illustrate this item as moving through the sentence together with its sister constituent *pet knigja* 'five books'. As a further diagnostic of constituency, note how *još pet knigja* in (9b) precedes the second-position clitic complex *mi je*.

Table 2.1: Scalar contexts. *Notes*: *: Only one clear-cut example in the data. †: Only one example, which may be subsumed under the 'thus far only' use (Section 3.4.3). ‡: Incompatible in their unaugmented forms. §: Borderline case of a STILL expression or tentative inclusion.

M.-area	Language	Expr.	Appx.	Decreases	Increases	Divergent syntax
Africa	Manda	*(a)kona*	B.8.2.3.1	y	y*	n
	Plateau Malagasy	*mbola*	B.11.1.3.1	y	n	n
	Ruuli	*kya-*	B.12.2.3.1	y	(y)†	n
	Southern Ndebele	*sa-*	B.14.2.3.1	y	y	n
	Swahili	*bado*	B.15.2.3.1	y	y	n
	Tashelhyit	*sul*	B.16.1.3.1	y*	y*	n
	Tunisian Arabic	*māzāl*	B.18.2.3.1	y	y	n
	Xhosa	*sa-*	B.19.2.3.1	y	y	n
Australia	Kayardild	*=(i)da*	C.4.2.3.1	y*	n	n
	Wardaman	*gayawun*	C.6.1.3.1	y*	n	n
Eurasia	English	*still*	D.1.1.3.1	y	y	n
	French	*encore*	D.2.2.4.1	y	y	n
	German	*noch*	D.3.1.3.1	y	(incompat.)‡	y
	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕadayin*	D.4.2.3.1	y	y	n
		ʕod	D.4.2.3.1	y	y	n
	Mandarin Chinese	*hái*	D.9.2.3.1	y	incompat.	n
	Serb.-Croat.-Bosn.	*još*	D.11.2.3.1	y	(incompat.)‡	y
	Spanish	*aún*	D.13.2.3.1	y	y	n
		todavía	D.13.3.4.1	y	y	n
	Thai	*yaŋ*	D.14.2.2.1	y	y	n
	Tundra Nenets	*təmna*	D.15.2.3.1	y	n	n
	Udihe	*xai(si)*	D.16.2.3.1	y	n	n
N. America	Classical Nahuatl	*oc*	E.1.2.3.1	y	n	n
	Creek	*(i)monk*§	E.2.2.3.1	y	n	n
	Kekchí	*toj*	E.5.1.2	y	n	n
Papunesia	Acehnese	*mantöng*	F.1.1.3.1	y	n	n
	Chamorro	*ha'*	F.4.2.3.1	y	n	n
	Coastal Marind	*ndom*	F.5.2.3.1	y	n	n
	Kalamang	*tok*	F.7.2.3.1	y	n	n
	Komnzo	*komnzo*	F.9.2.3.1	y	n	n
	Mateq	*bayu*§	F.12.2.2	n	y	n
	Paiwan	*=anan*	F.14.2.3.1	y	y	n
	Saisiyat	*nahan*	F.16.2.2.1	y*	n	n
	Ternate-Tidore	*moju*	F.17.2.3.1	y	y*	n
S. America	Cavineña	*=jari*	G.1.2.3.1	y*	n	n
	H.-H. Quechua	*-raq*	G.3.1.3.1	y	y	n
	Southern Lengua	*makham*	G.5.2.3.1	y	n	n

(9) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Context: I had ten books and I've given away some of them.
a. *Osta-lo mi je* [***još*** [***pet knjiga***]]$_{\text{NP}}$.
remain.PFV.PTCP-SG.N 1SG.DAT COP.3SG still five book.GEN.SG
'I still have five books left.'
b. [***Još*** [***pet knjiga***]]$_{NP}$ *mi je osta-lo.*
still five book.GEN.PL 1SG.DAT COP.3SG remain.PFV.PTCP-SG.N
'What I have still left is five books.' (Stefan Savič, p.c)

On purely structural grounds, one may therefore consider the cases of German *noch* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* as indicators of a distinct scalar use. As I discuss below, there is, however, no need to stipulate a distinct semantics that differs from phasal polarity STILL. Lastly, note that, in several cases in the sample, what appears to be comparable syntactic behaviour at first glance turns out to be a mere superficial similarity upon closer examination. For instance, the Chamorro expression *ha'* is an enclitic (though written separately from its host) that attaches to its focus, which in phasal polarity function is the main predicate. The two attestations of scalar contexts in the data, which include the example in (10), both involve non-verbal predication without an overt copula. That is, any possible distinction in the associated constituent of *ha'* is masked from the outset.

(10) Chamorro
Bu~bula ha' tinanum *ti hu tungu' na manmamakannu'.*
CONT~many STILL plant NEG 1SG.RL know REL PL.edible
'**There are still many plants** I did not know are edible. (lit. they are still many, the plants …)' (Chung 2020: 325)

2.2.2.5 A closer look: Distribution of decrease vs. increase contexts

Moving on to a closer examination of different contexts, Table 2.2 gives a numeric breakdown of the attestations of scalar decreases vs. increases in the sample data. As can be gathered, decrease contexts are attested for roughly over twice as many expressions and languages as contexts involving a limited increase. What is more, the sample data point towards the implicational near-universal in (11), the statistical nature of the latter being due to Mateq *bayu*. In the available data, this item is only attested in increase contexts. That said, its inclusion in the sample is somewhat tentative, in that *bayu* seems to lexicalise a combination of phasal polarity

STILL and restrictive 'only', which would explain its comparatively unusual distribution. I discuss this expression in more depth in Section 3.4.3.

Table 2.2: Quantitative breakdown of scalar contexts. *Note*: Counts in parentheses include borderline cases.

	Expressions		Languages	
Overall	35	(37)	33	(35)
Decrease contexts	35	(36)	33	(34)
Increase contexts	15	(20)	13	(17)

(11) If a STILL expression is compatible with contexts of a scalar increase, it is more likely than not to also be compatible with contexts of a decrease.

Briefly setting aside the cases of German *noch*, Mandarin Chinese *hái* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*, it appears that the marked asymmetry observed in Table 2.2 boils down to two main factors. First, and as I pointed out initially, I only considered those instances that feature a non-binary set of alternatives, given that it is only in these cases that the question of a distinct scalar function arises in the first place. This inherently favours decrease contexts. Consider example (12). Accessible alternatives to the text proposition 'there is much [sugar] at home' are 'there is little at home' and 'there is none at home'. Both would constitute valid rhetorical arguments for purchasing sugar, and the two of them can be subsumed under the evoked discontinuation scenario ('there isn't much anymore').

(12) Acehnese

Hana	*lōn-bloe*	*saka*	*sabab*	***mantöng***	***le***	***di***	***rumoh*.**
NEG	1SG-buy	sugar	because	still	many	in	house

'I am not buying any sugar because there is **still much at home**.'
(Asyik 1987: 175)

In many examples that could be read as involving an increase, on the other hand, the existence of some entity is presupposed, such that a zero value is not even under consideration. Paired with a predicate that forms part of an antonym pair, such as small vs. big in (13), this results in numerous attestations and, due to the often limited data, entire expressions that I had to exclude from the counts.

(13) Ruuli
OBukama, abantu abali omu Bukama abasing[*a*] *obwingi tibasomere.*
'The cultural institution, most of people in the cultural institution are not educated.'
Aka-tundu aka-som-ere ***ka-kya-li*** ***ka-tono***.
NCL12-piece REL.SUBJ.NCL12-read-PFV SUBJ.NCL12-still-COP NCL12-small
'The portion that is educated **is still small**.' (Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2021, glosses added)

A second, related reason for the predominance of decrease contexts lies in discursive considerations. In many instances of a decrease along some scale, what stands in the communicative foreground is persistence as such, rather than the precise value in question. For instance, in (14a) the main message is 'we hadn't spent all our money', which invites the use of *still*. Where the monotonic relationship is positive, on the other hand, it is often a particularly low value that constitutes the key takeaway. In these cases, using a restrictive marker does the job just as well, especially if the variable in question is inherently time-dependent, as it is in (14b). This option may even be preferred for reasons of brevity, namely if the use of a STILL expression would necessarily or preferably go along with using an additional restrictive marker anyway.

(14) English
a. *We **still had a few pounds** in our pockets, so we very quickly decided, why not!* (Cassidy, *Indifferently*)
b. *Harry's parents were **only 21 years old** when they were killed by Voldemort.* (found online)

The last point provides a direct link to the case of German. As I pointed out above, part of the debate about the alleged special status of scalar contexts is due to the general incompatibility of German *noch* with increases, whether it occurs alone or as part of a 'still only' collocation. Increase contexts are instead covered by a separate item, the scalar restrictive marker *erst*. In the sample languages, a parallel situation obtains in Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian, where increase contexts require *tek* 'no more than' instead of the STILL expression *još*. Similarly, in Mandarin Chinese *cái* 'only' is the marker of choice with increase functions. I am aware of no other sample expressions that are subject to a similar restriction. What is more, it is noteworthy that in German and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian this division of labour only affects the unaugmented forms *noch* and *još*. Their emphatic versions (i.e. dedicated to unexpectedly late scenarios) of the form 'always still/still always' are amply attested in increase contexts, where they take scope over a restrictive operator, as in (15, 16). This is likely because there are no evaluative counterparts to *erst* and *tek* in the same fashion that *noch* and *još* have *immer noch*/*noch immer* and *još uv(ij)ek*.

(15) German
2012 ist der Durchbruch der E-Books. Sie
2012 COP.3SG DEF.NOM.SG.M breakthrough(M) DEF.GEN.PL e-books 3PL
mach-en zwar immer noch nur fünf Prozent des
make-3PL though always still only five percent DEF.GEN.SG.M
Umsatz-es *aus, ihr Anteil steig-t aber rapide.*
revenue(M)-GEN out POSS.3PL:SG.M share(M) rise-3SG however rapidly
'2012 will be the breakthrough year for e-books. **Though they still only account for five percent of revenue**, their share is rising rapidly.'
(found online, glosses added)

(16) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Svi će vam reći – naći ćete
everyone will.3SG 2SG.DAT say.PFV.INF find.PFV.INF will.2PL
to na web stranici, ali kod nas ***još uvijek samo***
DEM.NOM.SG.N on web page.LOC.SG but near 1PL.GEN still always only
tri posto stanovništva *ima pristup Internetu.*
three percent population.GEN.SG have.3SG access.ACC.SG internet.DAT.SG
'Everyone will tell you "You'll find it [the information you need] on the website", but where we live, **still only three percent of the population** has access to the internet.' (found online, glosses added)

In what follows, I describe and examine both types of contexts separately and in some more depth. This discussion includes a look at some derived usage patterns.

2.2.2.6 A closer look: Scalar decreases

The Spanish example (2), repeated below, is an illustration of a prototypical decrease context.

(2) Spanish
La Armada ten-ía 337 vehículo-s y se
def.sg.f navy(f) have-pst.ipfv.3sg 337 vehicle-pl and refl.3
desprend-ió de tan solo nueve. ***Todavía tiene una***
get_rid_off-pst.pfv.3sg of so only nine still have.3sg indef.sg.f
flota de *328.*
fleet(f) of 328
‘The navy had 337 vehicles and got rid off only nine. **It still has a fleet of 328.**’ (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

The notion of a decrement is often made explicit, or given extra emphasis, by the use of an additional expression meaning ‘remain, left’, as in (17, 18) and in (20) below.

(17) Kalamang
Context: A giant has been killed.
Mu he din=at uw=i koyet mu he di=sara
3pl already fire=obj kindle=lnk finish 3pl already caus=ascend
karuar keitko na na na na na
smoke_dry above consume consume consume consume consume
na na mindi bo ***tinggal elkin-un=a tok.***
consume consume like_that go remain ballsack-poss.3=foc still
‘After kindling the fire, they put him up the drying rack, ate and ate and ate until **only his ballsack was still** [**there**].’
(Visser 2021b, glosses added)

(18) Tundra Nenets
Təmna n′ax°r yúq n′encawey° xayi *m′inc′°maq*
still three ten stretch_of_river remain.3sg journey:poss.1pl
yax°-naq.
place:dat.sg-poss.1pl
‘Noch sind auf dem Fluss, den wir daherfahren, dreissig Strecken übrig. [There **still remain thirty stretches** of river on our journey.]’
(Lehtisalo 1956: 319, glosses added)

German *noch* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* are frequently found in combination with a restrictive marker to signal a great degree of reduction. In syntactic terms, these collocations, which are illustrated in (19, 20), behave like single, complex focus particles.

(19) German
Heute können ***nur noch 10% all-er Sami*** *von der*
today can.3PL only still 10% all-GEN.PL S. of DEF.DAT.SG.F
Rentier-zucht und vo-m Fisch-fang alleine leb-en.
raindeer-breeding(F) and of-DEF.DAT.SG.M fish-catch(M) alone live-INF
'These days, **no more than 10% of all Sami people** can **still** make a living of reindeer breeding and fishing alone.' (Heyne, *…Nur noch bis dahinten!*, glosses added)

(20) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Njemu ostaje ***samo još jedno****: što pre pobeći*
3SG.DAT.M remain.IPFV.3SG only still one.ACC.SG.N as before flee.PFV.INF
odavde.
from_here
'Für ihn blieb nur noch das eine zu tun: so schnell wie möglich zu fliehen. [There was **only one option left** for him: to get away as soon as possible.]' (Engel & Mrazović 1986: 248, glosses added)

German additionally has the fixed expression *kaum noch* 'hardly anymore', lit. 'hardly still', for a significant reduction in frequency or intensity; see (21).

(21) German
Er trank ***kaum noch****.*
3SG.M drink.PST.3SG hardly still
'He hardly (ever) took a drink anymore.'
(König et al. 1993: 172, glosses added)

Though different in terms of surface structure, a comparable 'only still' combination is found in the Komnzo example (22). In the sample data, similar attestations are found for Udihe *xai*(*si*) and Kalamang *tok*. Other languages, however, make use of the mirror image, so to speak, in the form of 'already only'. Example (23) illustrates this for Spanish.[5]

(22) Komnzo
Context: A girl has been attacked and eaten by a crocodile.
Ebar=nzo komnzo *zwarärm.*
head=just still 3SG.F:PST:DUR:be
'Just her head was still there.' (Döhler 2020)

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[5] Van der Auwera (1993) reports the same for Hungarian (not in my sample).

(23) Spanish
Pedro ***ya tiene solo*** *cien [libro-s].*
P. already have.3sg only hundred book-pl
‘Pedro **already has only** a hundred [books].’ (Garrido 1992: 384)

2.2.2.7 Scalar decreases: Borderline cases and derived uses

Before moving on to a discussion of the semantic underpinnings of still expressions in decrease contexts, it is worthwhile addressing a few usage patterns that build on them. The first case involves Plateau Malagasy *mbola*. While, in the data I consulted, this expression is not attested in combination with scalar predicates, it features in the fixed collocations *mbola aiza* ‘still where’ and *mbola rahoviana* ‘still when’ that refer to large remaining quantities of distance and time, respectively. Example (24) illustrates *mbola aiza*. These collocations bear some resemblance to the idiomatic German expression *noch hin sein* ‘be a long way off’, lit. ‘still be thither’. The latter, illustrated in (25), also implies a large remaining quantity (of time), even if none is explicitly stated.[6]

(24) Plateau Malagasy
Mbola aiza *i<za>ny.*
still where dem.sg<invis>
‘C’est encore loin, il c’en faut encore de beaucoup, il y en a encore pour longtemps (a marcher, a progresser). [**It’s still far away**, it’s still a long way to go, it’s still a long time walking or moving.]’
(Dez 1980: 398, glosses added)

(25) German
Bis Weihnachten ***ist noch hin****, aber wir ess-en Keks-e*
until Christmas cop.3sg still thither but 1pl eat-1pl cookie-pl
i-m Sommer auch gerne.
in-def.dat.sg.m summer(m) also gladly
‘Christmas **is still a long way off**, but we also enjoy cookies during summer time.’ (found online, glosses added)

In fact, usages pertaining to remaining stretches of time constitute a recurring pattern in the data. Thus, Manda *(a)kona* forms part of a conventionalised construction in which it pairs with an adjectival predicate consisting of *chokópi*

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[6] The opposite perspective is also available in German: *Das ist schon her* ‘A long time has passed since (lit. that’s already hither)’.

'little' marked for one of the locative noun classes. This construction signals proximity of a future situation (Appendix B.8.2.3.2), as illustrated in (26). Its meaning obviously builds on a decrease function 'there is little [time] still [left] > soon'. It furthermore finds a partial parallel in Swahili, the local lingua franca; see the fixed phrase in (27). Notwithstanding its semantic transparency, Bernander (2021) points out that the Manda construction shows first signs of grammaticalisation. Thus, it is not only restricted to expletive-like locative subjects, but also invariably follows the foregrounded predicate, occupying what in a monoclausal structure corresponds to the typical adverb position.

(26) Manda
Ya-u-sóv-i ***p-ákóna*** ***pa-chokópi****.*
FUT-SUBJ.NCL14-be_lost-FUT SUBJ.NCL16(LOC)-still NCL16(LOC)-little
'It will **soon** be lost (the flour) (lit. it will be lost, it is still a little).'
(Bernander 2021: 58)

(27) Swahili
Bado kidogo.
still a_little
'Pas de sitôt encore, pas de suite, un peu plus tarde [Not quite yet, not immediately, a little later]' (Sacleux 1939–1941: 85, glosses added)

Outside of East Africa, a case that is comparable in meaning is found in Tundra Nenets; see (28).[7] In syntactic terms, the collocation *təmna-rka* is partially irregular, in that it constitutes one of only two instances in which the STILL expression *təmna* can serve as the main predicate of a sentence.

(28) Tundra Nenets
Təmna*-rka.*
still-CMPR
'Still a bit, not quite yet.' (Lehtisalo 1956: 458; Tereščenko 2008: 624)

The duration of a time span, no matter whether short or long, also lies at the heart of two biclausal structures in Classical Nahuatl (Appendix E.1.2.3.2). The first of these is schematically illustrated in (29a) and exemplified in (29b). An illustration of the second structure, again both in schematised form and with an attested examples, is given in (30).

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[7] See Nikolaeva (2014: 133–134) on comparative *-rka* as a minimiser.

(29) Classical Nahuatl

a. [*oc p*] [*in (ìcuāc) q*]
still *p* DET then/when *q*
'it is still *p* when *q* (i.e. it is still a certain amount of time until *q*)'
(see Launey 1986: 1268)

b. [***In-in ca oc huècauh***] [*in mo-chīhua-tīuh*].
DET-PROX PRED still long_time DET SUBJ.3:REFL.3-do-go.IPFV
'Ceci se produira dans longtemps. [It will happen **in a long time**.]'
(Launey 1986: 1268, glosses added)

(30) Classical Nahuatl

a. [*oc p*] [*(in) q-z/-quiuh*]
still *p* DET *q*-PROSP/-COME.IPFV
'It is still *p* that *q* is going to happen/is approaching (i.e. it is still a certain amount of time with *q* being anticipated).'
(see Launey 1986: 1268)

b. [[***Oc yuh macuil-ilhuitl***] [*àci-quiuh in*
still thus five-day arrive-COME.IPFV DET
to-tlàtò-ca-uh]], *in ō-tech-tlalhuì-quê.*
POSS.1PL-king-LNK-POSS DET AUG-SUBJ.3:OBJ.1PL-warn-PST.PFV:PL
'Cinco días antes que llegara el Virrey nos preuinieron. [**Five days before** the viceroy's arrival they warned us.]' (Carochi 1645: 501, glosses added)

Similar to the Manda case discussed above, the two Classical Nahuatl constructions are fully transparent in their meaning. That they build on a decrease function also becomes evident from the fact that the ALREADY expression *ye* is used in a parallel fashion, namely to signal the time span that has elapsed since a given situation (i.e. an increase of time); see (31). What is more, 'still a certain amount of time' is attested with other sample expressions as well. See, for instance, Tunisian Arabic *māzāl* in (5) above.

(31) Classical Nahuatl
[***Ye onxi-huitl***] [*in àcān ni-quīça*].
already two-year DET nowhere SUBJ.1SG-go_out
'Dos años ha que no salgo a ninguna parte. [**It's been two years** that I haven't gone out at all.]' (Carochi 1645: 503, glosses added)

What is striking, however, is the apparently high degree of conventionalisation of the Classical Nahuatl constructions as two of the default means of indicating the extension of a time span before some situation. What is more, in this, but in no other use, the STILL expression *oc* and the ALREADY item *ye* can modify the same predicate, which yields a double perspective on the temporal separation between two points in time. Example (32) is an illustration. Here, *oc* signals the duration of the span from ancient times forward to utterance time, while *ye* projects backwards, indicating the time that has passed since (Launey 1986: 1269).

(32) Classical Nahuatl
[[*In* ***oc*** ***ye*** *huècauh*], [*in* ***oc*** ***ye*** *nēpa*], [*in* ***oc*** ***ye***
DET still already long_time DET still already there DET still already
nechca], [*in* *oc* *īm-pan* *huehuētquê*] ...]
over_there DET still POSS.3PL-LOC old_person.PL
'**Long ago in the past**, during the time of the ancients [i.e. when it was still a long time from there (to now) and already a long time (ago)]...'
(Launey 2011: 369)

Lastly, note that Modern Hebrew *ʕod* and Northern Qiang *tɕe-* feature in collocational patterns 'still a bit, still a moment' that signal proximity to some development ('almost, at the point of'). While these constructions bear some similarity to the ones discussed up to this point, they appear to involve an additive build-up of intervals 'a little more and ...' rather than a decrease function. I therefore discuss them separately in Section 3.5.4.

2.2.2.8 Discussion: Scalar decreases

As I laid out initially, there has been an extensive debate as to whether phasal polarity expressions make a different semantic contribution in scalar contexts than in "regular" polar contexts. In what follows, I address this question in regard to STILL expressions in decrease contexts. Building on the arguments brought forward by van der Auwera (1991a, 1993), Garrido (1992) and Hansen (2008: ch. 3.1), I reason that there is no principled need for stipulating a distinct scalar function of the items in question, at least not in terms of core meaning.

To begin with, the basic fact that STILL expressions are used in decrease contexts is far from surprising, given the nature of scales. Thus, any item on a given scale entails the values corresponding to all lower ranks and is, by the same token, logically compatible with any and all higher ranks (see Section 1.6.4). For instance, in (14a), repeated below, carrying any greater amount of money entails having a few pounds in the pockets, so that there is no logical contradiction in depicting the latter as a persistent state of affairs.

(14a) English
We ***still had a few pounds*** *in our pockets, so we very quickly decided, why not!* (Cassidy, *Indifferently*)

At the same time, it is well known that, by generalised conversational implicature, the use of a scalar predicate conveys that the value under discussion is the highest one that can be truthfully applied. Importantly, the concept of STILL, as defined in Section 1.4.1, not only involves persistence, but also a prospective component in the form of a conceivable discontinuation scenario. In the absence of a restrictive operator or contextual enrichment to the same effect (to be discussed below), this negation of the text proposition entails the falsity of all propositions containing higher values. Putting the two pieces together, an example like (14a) suggests that the development, if any, can only be a downward movement. In other words, the decrease reading can easily be arrived at through the interplay of phasal polarity, scalar semantics and straightforward pragmatic calculus.

What remains to be accounted for, however, are the peculiarities of German *noch* addressed initially. To briefly recapitulate, this expression is only felicitous in decrease contexts, at least in its unaugmented form. Limited increases, on the other hand, are covered by a dedicated item *erst* lit. 'first, erstwhile'. What is more, like the other German phasal polarity expressions and restrictive *erst*, *noch* shows the characteristic syntactic behaviour of a focus particle when it is used in scalar contexts. In the context of Löbner's (1989, 1999) duality hypothesis, the sum of these properties is taken as an indication for a distinct semantics. Thus, *noch* in an example like (8a), repeated below, is analysed as associating with a lower constituent, the NP *wenige Meter*, and as vesting its denotation with a pre-specified temporal dynamic in the form of a decrease (≈'it was the now reduced distance of a few meters…'). This argument could be extended verbatim to Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian *još*, given the parallels in both syntax and distribution discussed above.

(8a) German
[***Noch*** [***wenig-e*** ***Meter***]]$_{\text{NP}}$ *war-en es bis zu-r*
still few-NOM.PL meter.PL COP.PST-3PL 3SG.N until to-DEF.DAT.SG.F
Staffel-übergabe…
relay-handover(F)
'**A few meters were left** until the passing of the baton…'
(found online, glosses added)

However, even if one accepts the (not unreasonable) assumption that the syntactic behaviour of German *noch* reflects a more narrow semantic operandum, there is still no principled reason to assume a fundamentally different meaning. The same calculus described above can be applied, such that in (8a) a proposition along the lines of 'it was a distance of still a few meters …' suggests 'there was a remaining distance of a few meters …'. Put differently, the semantic import of *noch* itself in (8a) can be understood as fundamentally the same it has as a modifier of a depictive predicate in (33).

(33) German
Noch benommen *erhob sie sich…*
still dazed raise.PST.3SG 3SG.F REFL
'Still dazed, she got up…' (personal knowledge)

Lastly, the fact that German *noch* is only used in decrease contexts need not be attributed to this item itself. As pointed out before me by Garrido (1992), it finds an equally satisfactory explanation in the existence of an item dedicated to depicting limited increases, whose high degree of entrenchment can be said to pre-emptively block *noch* from increase contexts.[8] Intra-systemic support for this interpretation comes from the fact that its evaluative forms *immer noch*/*noch immer* lit. 'still always/always still' can take scope over restrictives and then be used in increase contexts, as in (15) above. Presumably, this is because there is no equally evaluative counterpart to *erst* in the same way that *noch* has *immer noch*/*noch immer*. These points carry over verbatim to Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*; see (16) above for an illustration.

Further support for the interpretation just outlined comes from German's close relative Dutch (not in my sample). Thus, the Dutch STILL expression *nog* is perfectly compatible with a restrictive marker in its scope and increase contexts. In all other respects, this item shares the same functional range as its German cognate, which makes it a questionable move to assign different sets of meanings to the two expressions. Crucially, while Dutch possesses two dedicated scalar restrictives, their use is far less generalised than German *erst*. Thus, in most varieties of Dutch, the cognate form *eerst* is restricted to the written medium (Vandeweghe 1992: 72). The second marker, *pas*, is only beginning to replace the *nog*-plus-restrictive collocations, in that it is mostly interchangeable with the latter, but preferred with inherently time-functional variables such as age (Vandeweghe 1992: 110). Lastly, a case similar to German and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* can be made for Mandarin Chinese, where restrictive *cái* is used instead of the STILL expression *hái* in increase contexts. Though *cái* is not inherently scalar in all of its uses (see Hole 2004: ch. 4.1 for discussion), it is strongly associated with scalar contexts and covers much of the same ground as German *erst* (e.g. Lai 1999).

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[8] See Goldberg (2019: ch. 5) for a usage-based theory of statistical pre-emption.

In a nutshell, I see no principled reason to assume that the semantics of STILL expressions in decrease contexts is any different from that of contexts in which a binary opposition is at stake. Instead, its interpretation can be arrived at compositionally, through the interplay of phasal polarity, scalar semantics and pragmatic considerations. The restriction of German *noch*, Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*, and Mandarin Chinese *hái* to decrease context is best understood as a function of the options available in each system and their respective entrenchment, rather than being due to a distinct meaning.

2.2.2.9 A closer look: Scalar increases

Having discussed STILL expressions in the context of decreases, I now turn to the opposite, namely limited increases along some scale. The Tunisian Arabic example (3), repeated below, is an illustration.

(3) Tunisian Arabic
W-xallā-hū-l-hum *w-humma māzāl-u*
and-leave_behind.PFV.3SG.M-3SG.M-to-3PL.M and-3PL.M still-3PL.M
mā-bilġ-ū-š ***māzāl*** ***ʕumᵊṛ-hum*** ***tisʕ***
NEG-reach_puberty.PFV-3PL.M-NEG still(.3SG.M) age(M)-POSS.3PL.M nine
ᵊsnīn.
year.PL
'Er hinterließ sie ihnen, aber sie sind noch nicht in der Pubertät, sie sind erst ungefähr neun Jahre alt. [He (father) bequeathed it (a wall) to them (the orphans), but they haven't reached puberty yet, they are **still only about nine years old**.]' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011b: 220–221, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

In (3) it is the STILL expression *māzāl* alone that modifies the scalar predicate *tisʕ ᵊsnīn* 'nine years'. A similar case can be seen in the Ternate-Tidore example (34). This is in contrast to French *encore*, which requires the predicate to be modified by *ne … que* 'no more than' in such instances, as illustrated in (35).

(34) Ternate-Tidore
Context: An angelic being and mother of several children wants to return to the heavens. On her first attempt of leaving, the youngest child cried and she returned to comfort it. Now she is attempting to leave for the second time.

Konora ine ***moju*** *ngofa kage reke, yali mina uci*
middle upwards still child be_shocked cry again 3sg.f descend
tora yali.
downwards again
'Half way up again (lit. [when she was] **still** [**only**] **half way up**), the child was frightened [and] cried, she came down again.' (van Staden 2000: 375)

(35) French
Un an après sa promulgation, la loi
indef.sg.m year(m) after poss.3sg.f:sg promulgation(f) def.sg.f law(f)
pour la croissance ***n-'a*** ***encore que*** ***des*** ***effets***
for def.sg.f growth(f) neg-have.3sg still than indef.pl effect(m).pl
limités.
limited.pl.m
'A year after its promulgation the law for [economic] growth **still shows only limited effects**.' (found online, glosses added)

The requirement for an overt restrictive marker constitutes a parameter of significant variation across expressions and, by extension, across languages. Out of a total of 17 expressions (21 if including problematic cases) that are attested in increase contexts, this prerequisite appears to be found with only four items, namely English *still*, French *encore*, as well as German *noch* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* (in their emphatic variants *immer noch*/*noch immer* and *još uvek*~*još uvijek*).[9] With the limitations of my sample data in mind, this suggests that the need to overtly specify 'still only' is far from the norm in the world's languages. What is more, even with those expressions that normally require such an addition, exceptions may be found. Thus, as Ippolito (2004, 2007) points out, some speakers of English allow for bare *still* in the context of a limited progress of time; see (36). Which contexts prefer an overt restrictive marker, or even require one, in the case of each expression is a question to be addressed in future research.

(36) English
A: *Eat?* ***It's still 10 am!***
B: *So what? I deserve a good lunch!*
A: *Lunch is for noon.*
B: *Whatever.* (online example, cited in Ippolito 2007: 2 fn2)

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[9] Outside of my sample, van der Auwera (1993) and Vandeweghe (1992) report 'still only' collocations for Hungarian (*még csak*) and Dutch (*nog maar*, *nog slechts*).

Somewhat comparable to what I discussed above for decrease contexts and additional 'remain' expressions, items that do not require an overt restrictive marker may nonetheless be combined with such an operator to make the direction of change more salient. For instance, Spanish *todavía* follows the French pattern in (37), but can also be used on its own in the relevant contexts, as in (42) below.

(37) Spanish
Pedro ***todavía tiene*** ***solo*** *cien* *libro-s.*
P. still have.3SG only hundred book-PL
'Pedro **still only has** a hundred books.' (Garrido 1992: 383, glosses added)

Against this backdrop, two expressions require a bit of discussion. The first is Mateq *bayu*, illustrated in (38). The inclusion of this item in my sample is tentative. As I lay out in more detail in Section 3.4.3, *bayu* appears to lexicalise phasal polarity STILL together with a restrictive operator, a combination from which its use in scalar increase contexts falls out naturally.

(38) Mateq
Bayu aroq=nq *panèi* *nyidoq.*
still beginning=POSS.3 clever speak
'He'd only just begun to speak well (lit. it is **still only his beginning** ...).' (Connell 2013: 138)

The second item worth discussing is Ruuli *kya-*. The one clear-cut example of an increase with non-exhaustive alternatives in the sample data is (39), which features the perfective inflection. In Ruuli, as in two other Bantu languages in my sample, the STILL-plus-perfective frame itself has developed a 'thus far only' use (Section 3.4.3). Roughly comparable to the case of Mateq *bayu*, this function is compatible with an ordered set of alternatives, but does not require one. That is to say, (39) could be subsumed under the 'thus far only' use of *kya-*.

(39) Ruuli
Eirai *budi* *ni-ba-kya-li* *ku-leeta*
in_the_past previously when-SUBJ.NCL2-still-COP NCL15(INF)-bring
bi-ni *eby-a* *nasare,* *aka-ana*
NCL8-PROX NCL9-ASSOC nursery NCL12-child
ka-kya-zw-ire=mbe ***oku*** ***ma-beere*** *nti*
SUBJ.NCL12-still-abandon-PFV=FOC NCL17(LOC) NCL6-breast COMP

ka-ab-e *ka-tandika* *oku-soma.*
subj.ncl12-go-sbjv subj.ncl12-start ncl15(inf)-read
'Long ago, before they brought these nurseries, [when] a child **has only stopped breastfeeding**, it would go and start studying.'
(Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2021, glosses added)

Example (39) brings me to the last point. In contexts of a potential increase one sometimes encounters attestations with an anterior viewpoint. Example (40) is another illustration.

(40) English
*Harry **has still only fed** the cat* (*he has not performed greater kindness*).
(Michaelis 1993: 203)

Importantly, all comparable instances that I am aware of feature some sort of restrictive operator. The latter may be overt, as in (40), or be built into the expression (or its collocation with a specific inflectional paradigm) itself, as in the Mateq and Bantu cases. Whatever its status, the restrictive operator can be said to conciliate the anterior aspect with the concept of still. If one assumes that the anterior viewpoint denotes a state, then having fed the cat is invariable (e.g. Parsons 1990: 234) and therefore incompatible with still (Section 1.4.1), but having *only fed* it can be subject to change (Michaelis 1993).

2.2.2.10 Discussion: Scalar increases

I now turn to the semantics and pragmatics underlying the use of still expressions in increase contexts. It is opportune to start this discussion by taking another look at those cases involving an additional restrictive marker, as in (41), which is a condensed version of (35) above. Here, the predicate 'have limited effects' lies in the scope of restrictive *ne … que* 'no more than'.

(41) French
La *loi* ***n-'a*** ***encore*** ***que*** *des* *effets*
def.sg.f law(f) neg-have.3sg still than indef.pl effect(m).pl
limités.
limited.pl.m
'The law **still shows only** limited effects.'

The semantics at play in instances like (41) are, of course, fully compositional. By means of the restrictive operator the truth of all propositions containing values higher than the focus denotation are negated. In (41) such alternatives include, for instance 'shows noteworthy effects' or 'changes everything'. Crucially, in the evoked discontinuation scenario, the negative component of the restrictive operator falls under the scope of negation itself. The two negations cancelling each other out, this yields the requirement for a truthfully applicable higher value (Garrido 1992; Vandeweghe 1992: 112). In other words, any possible development must involve an upward movement on the scale. The same logic can be applied to instances like (3, 34) above or (42), which do not feature an overt restrictive marker. Here, the question under discussion, such as the cumulative impact of the Covid19 pandemic in (42), only allows for a maximal reading of the respective scalar value.[10] That is to say, these cases can be understood as involving a contextually enriched semantic representation.

(42) Spanish
En las áreas francófonas, anglófonas y territorios ligados a los Paises Bajos del Caribe es Trinidad y Tobago uno de los países más afectados,
'Within the francophone, anglophone and Dutch territories of the Carribean, Trinidad and Tobago is one of the countries hit the hardest [by the Covid19 pandemic].'

pero con ***todavía unos modest-o-s 51 caso-s*** *y sin*
but with still INDEF.PL.M modest-M-PL 51 case(M)-PL and without
muerte-s.
death-PL
'but with **still only some modest 51 cases** and no casualties.'
(found online, glosses added)

Support for this interpretation comes from the fact that the more straightforward decrease reading seems to be the default interpretation of the relevant items, unless there are contextual indications to the contrary (see Garrido 1992 on Spanish). Whether or not a language allows for such contextual enrichment appears to be an arbitrary, and perhaps gradual, choice. Crucially, however, there is again no need for assuming a fundamentally distinct semantics of the STILL expressions themselves.

2.2.2.11 Discussion: A brief conclusion

Given the extent of the preceding exposition and discussion, a short summary is called for. Based on the sample data, I have argued that scalar contexts do not involve a distinct use, at least in semantic terms. Instead, they can be explained through a combination of phasal polarity, scalar semantics and pragmatic considerations. In some cases, intra-systemic constellations play an additional role in the interpretation and combinatory possibilities. From a purely structural point of view, it could, however, be argued that the cases of German *noch* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* are distinct from the garden-variety of phasal polarity. In addition, my discussion has illustrated several usage patterns that build on phasal polarity plus scalar variables, and I have highlighted parameters of variation across expressions and languages, such as the requirement (or absence thereof) of an additional restrictive ‘only’ marker in contexts of a limited increase.

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[10] Garrido (1992: 385 fn36) speaks of a "cognitive frame … that includes the increase direction of the process."

2.2.3 ‘Thus far always/everyone’

2.2.3.1 Introduction

One item in my sample, German *noch*, forms part of an idiomatic and schematic construction that signals the persistence of a generic rule ‘thus far always’ (Appendix D.3.1.3.2). As far as its formal make-up is concerned, this construction consists of *noch* as a focus particle, the associated constituent of which contains a universal quantifier, and whose host clause features either the periphrastic anterior or the synthetic past tense. Example (43) is an illustration.[11]

(43) German
*Wie **jed-es** **Jahr** **noch** war die Zahl*
as every-NOM.SG.N year(N) still COP.PST.3SG DEF.NOM.SG.F number(F)
der Fremd-en allmählich bis Ostern ge-wachs-en.
DEF.GEN.PL stranger-GEN.PL slowly until Easter PTCP-grow-PTCP
‘As **every year thus far**, the number of visitors had been steadily increasing towards Easter.’ (von Ompleda, *Margret und Ossana*, glosses added)

2.2.3.2 A closer look

As example (44) shows, the universal quantifier may fall under the scope of an ‘almost’ type of expression.

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[11] This construction also features famously in the Cologne dialect saying *Et hätt noch emmer joot jejange* ‘Thus far it has always worked out (i.e. don’t worry, everything will be just fine).’

(44) German
Ich war ***noch beinahe jed-es Jahr*** *an der*
1sg cop.pst.1sg still nearly every-nom.sg.n year(n) at def.dat.sg.f
Fachtagung und ich hab-e immer gross-e Vor-freude.
symposium(f) and 1sg have-1sg always big-acc.sg.f pre-joy(f)
'I have participated in the congress **nearly every year so far** and I always look forward to it.' (found online, glosses added)

Lastly, unlike what (43, 44) may suggest, the focus need not have a temporal meaning. In (45) it is a masculine form of *jeder* as generic 'everyone'.

(45) German
Sterb-en kann nicht so schwer sein. Das hat ***noch***
die-inf(n) can.3sg neg so difficult cop.inf 3sg.acc.n have.3sg still
jed-er *ge-schaff-t.*
every-nom.sg.m ptcp-achieve-ptcp
'Dying can't be that difficult. **So far everyone** has achieved it.'
(found online, glosses added)

2.2.3.3 Discussion

Perhaps the most straightforward explanation for the collocation in (43–45) is that it involves the coercion of an experiential state into a transient property of the subject. This semantic shift, in turn, is aided by focus on the universal quantifier as a signal that the common ground contains less encompassing alternatives. In other words, while the fact that some situation has occurred regularly is normally an invariable state-of-affairs and therefore incompatible with still (Section 1.4.1), it is here portrayed as a state that might come to an end. In more applied terms, it is conceivable that the construction draws on analogy from two sources. The first are 'so far, never ever' statements, as in (46), where *noch* features as a compositional part for the expression of not yet. These are semantically unproblematic and find cross-linguistic parallels, for instance in the Spanish example (47).

(46) German
Das hat ***noch niemand*** *ge-schaff-t.*
3sg.acc.n have.3sg still nobody ptcp-achieve-ptcp
'**As of yet**, **nobody** has ever achieved that.' (personal knowledge)

(47) Spanish
Gan-ar ... donde ***todavía no*** *lo ha conseg-uido* ***nadie***
win-INF where still NEG 3SG.ACC.M have.3SG achieve-PTCP nobody
'To win ... where **nobody has ever yet** ...'
(found online, glosses added)

A second source for analogy involves the ALREADY expression *schon*. This item forms part of a fixed phrase *schon immer* 'since ever', lit. 'already always' (König et al. 1993: 203–204; Métrich & Faucher 2009: 469); see (48a). This complex adverbial phrase is most likely derived from *schon* in the context of a scalar increase, more specifically, an increase in the duration of a time-span, as in (48b).

(48) German
a. *Das ist* ***schon immer*** *so (gewesen).*
3SG.N COP.3SG already always thus COP.PTCP
'It's been like this **since ever**.'
b. *Ich wart-e* ***schon (seit) zwei Stund-en.***
1SG wait-1SG already since two hour-PL
'I've been waiting **for two hours (already)**.' (personal knowledge)

2.2.4 Continued iteration/restitution

2.2.4.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I briefly turn to the use of STILL expressions to signal the continuation of a series of repetitions ('yet again'). Example (49) is an illustration. Here, the Martuthunira adverb *ngartil* marks the recurrence of the people's chasing the boomerang, and the STILL expression *waruul* highlights the persistence of a series of repetions.

(49) Martuthunira
Context: A man has thrown a boomerang several times, and each time a group of people has tried to catch it.
Ngartil thawu-lalha. ***Ngartil waruul****-purtu ngunhu-ngara yanga-lwala.*
again send-PST again still-COMP that.NOM-PL chase-PURP:DS
'Again he sent it, and **yet again** they chased it.' (Dench 1994: 294–295)

Note that instances like (49) differ from the iterative and restitutive uses which I discuss in Section 2.4.2.1, in that in the latter instances it is the STILL expression itself that contributes the repetitive event construal.

2.2.4.2 Distribution in the sample and a closer look

Table 2.3: Continued iteration/restitution. †: Inclusion is tentative.

Macro-Area	Language	Expression	Appendix
Africa	Plateau Malagasy	*mbola*†	B.11.1.3.2
Australia	Gooniyandi	=*nyali*†	C.1.2.3.2
	Martuthunira	*waruu*(*l*)	C.5.2.3.1
Papunesia	Paiwan	=*anan*	F.14.2.4.1
South America	Trió	=*nkërë*	G.6.2.3.1

Table 2.3 lists the five expressions in my sample that have the 'yet again' use. This overview is, however, rather tentative. On the one hand, there might be more relevant cases. Thus, in Section 2.4.2.1 I point out that 'again' uses of STILL expressions are often accompanied by another item indicating repetition, and it is possible that some of those collocations involve the notion of continued iteration/restitution. On the other hand, with two expressions in Table 2.3, their inclusion is far from settled. The first of these is Plateau Malagasy *mbola*, which

> can accompany a predicate modified by the ambimodal marker *indray*, a marker of iteration. Its presence introduces an additional nuance of meaning that is difficult to render in French. (Dez 1980: 537)[12]

I found only a single translated example of *mbola* plus *indray* in the literature, which is given in (50). If I understand Dez's (1980) parenthetical remarks correctly, *mbola* here adds the notion of 'once more' to the iterative meaning contributed by *indray*, i.e. it is raining for at least the third time in a row.

(50) Plateau Malagasy
(***Mbola***) *avy* ***indray*** *ny orana.*
still come again DET rain
'Il pleut encore une fois, la pluie tombe encore (une nouvelle fois).' [It's raining **once again**, it is raining **again** (**once more**).]
(Dez 1980: 537, glosses added)

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[12] In the original French, "peut accompagner un prédicat déterminé par le marqueur ambimodal *indray*, marqueur du renouvellement de l'action. Sa présence introduit une nuance de sens complémentaire malaisée à rendre en français."

The second unclear case involves Gooniyandi =*nyali*. This expression is attested with *ngambiddi* 'again' as its host, but the function of this collocation is not always clear. In some cases, it is related to =*nyali* in another function, namely as 'always', with the two items combining to signal "daily iterative occurrences of processes such as shaving" (McGregor 1990: 464). In other cases, the contribution of this collocation is much harder to determine. For instance, what is at stake in the narrative excerpt in (51) is the third occurrence of people catching a crocodile. This suggests that =*nyali* here serves to indicate that the iteration of successful hunts (signalled by *ngambiddi*) did not come to its conceivable end. However, based on the limited data, it is hard to make any definite conclusions. Schultze-Berndt (2002: 244) reports personal communication from William McGregor that *ngambiddi=nyali* is idiomatic and might be undergoing lexicalisation.

(51) Context: Hunters have pulled in one crocodile and killed it, then pulled in a second one and also killed it.
Yaanya / ***ngambiddi=nyali*** *ridd-widi* / *gard-biddini*
other again=still pull-3pl:catch hit-3pl:hit
'Then they pulled **yet another** in and killed it.' (McGregor 1990: 575)

2.2.4.3 Discussion

On a conceptual level, the combination of still and repetition is straightforward: the notions of persistence and a conceivable discontinuation here apply not to an individual situation, but to an overarching series of recurrences. At the same time, the continued iteration/restitution use is far from universally attested in my sample and it is clearly unavailable with expressions such as Swahili *bado*; see (52). Due to this arbitrary nature, it is best understood as a function of its own, distinct from phasal polarity *sensu stricto*.

(52) Swahili
# *A-li-i-fanya* ***bado tena***.
subj.ncl1-pst-obj.ncl9-do still again
(intended: 'He did it yet again.') (Ponsiano Kanijo, p.c.)

2.2.5 Sameness

2.2.5.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I briefly address uses pertaining to a notion of identity, or 'the same'. Such functions have been described for two sample expressions, Creek (*i*)*monk* and Udihe *xai*(*si*) (Appendices E.2.2.3.2, D.16.2.3.2). Example (53) illustrates (*i*)*monk*. Here, this item signals that the dances remain unchanged across times, and despite the Muskogee Nation's involuntary relocation.

(53) Creek
Context: According to customs they would have fasts and
opánka oːc-ít foll-atí-n oːm-âːt
dance have-SS go_about.PL-HAPPEN-DS COP-REF
imóŋk-os-in *foll-atíː-s.*
still.NMLZ-DIM-NON.SUBJ go_about.PL-DIST.PST-IND
'the **same** dances they used to have (lit. if they happened to have a dance, they would do it in the same way [as before]).'
(Haas & Hill 2014: 57–58, glosses added)

2.2.5.2 A closer look and discussion

In (53), as in all other relevant attestations of (*i*)*monk*, the notion of identity pertains to some quality across times. Admittedly, (*i*)*monk* is a borderline case of a STILL expression and might be understood as a marker of stasis or permanence (see Appendix E.2.2.2). One way or another, there is an obvious close relationship between notions pertaining to persistence and the use I discuss here. A likely link between the two functions can be found in an attestation like (54), where the temporal continuation of a state is paired with zero anaphora.

(54) Creek
Context: Turtle's wife has splattered blood in his eyes.
Itóɬwa ak-ca·t-ak-áti·-t ô·m-it hayyô·m-eys ***imóŋka-t***
3.eye LOC-red-PL-REM.PST-SS COP-SS be_now.RES-even still.NMLZ-SUBJ
ôn-t ô·m-i·-s.
COP-SS COP-DUR-IND
'His eyes turned red, and **they are the same way even now** (lit. … and even now **it still is**).' (Haas & Hill 2014: 442, glosses added)

The case of Udihe differs from the Creek one in two respects. Firstly, it involves a collocational pattern consisting of the STILL expression *xai*(*si*) plus an item from a set of anaphoric pronouns, which are characterised by initial (*u*)*t*-. Secondly, this construction is attested not only as an exponent of persistence over time, such as in (55a), but also in the context of identity with abstract referents, as in (55b).

(55) Udihe

a. *Bi abuga-i ei zulie-ni xuli: bede* ***xaisi ute bede***
1sg father-1sg this before-3sg go:prs.ptcp:ss like still that like
xuli:-ni ba:-za ge-tigi-ni.
go-3sg place-n surface-lat-3sg
'My father still goes hunting **in the same way** as he used to.'
(Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 398–399)

b. Context: A man's wife has run away to escape an evil spirit. Now he has met who appears to be another woman, and she has told him her story of escaping from an evil spirit.
Merge g(une)-ini "Bi mamasa-i ***xai ute*** *bi-s'e."*
hero say-3sg 1sg wife-1sg still that cop-pfv
'The man said, "**The same** happened to my wife."'
(Nikolaeva et al. 2003: 76–77)

Similar to the Creek case, however, many of the Udihe attestations allow for a transparently compositional reading. For instance, the identity of manner in (55a) most likely goes back to the notion of persistence provided by *xai*(*si*), together with *ute* anaphorically pointing to the past way of hunting 'his prior way of going, he still goes like that'. In other cases, a reading of identity can be linked to a combination of anaphora plus additive and/or iterative uses of *xai*(*si*). Thus, example (55b) features the recurrence of an aforementioned situation 'that also happened …'. I assume that cases like (56) can be subsumed here, as well ('also on that day'). Whether mediated by persistence, additivity or iteration, a common denominator lies in the accumulation of sub-parts of one overarching state-of-affairs.

(56) Udihe
Bi-de ***xai utelinie neŋi-ni*** *ŋene:-mi.*
1sg-foc still then day-3sg go.pst-1sg
'I left on **the very same day**.' (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 440–441)

2.3 Uses relating to other phasal polarity concepts

In this section, I discuss uses that pertain to, or infringe on, other phasal polarity concepts. More specifically, in Section 2.3.1 I lay out how still expressions may serve to signal not yet without an overt negator in certain environments. In Section 2.3.2 I take a look at the phenomenon of interrogative 'yet' as a link between still and the second affirmative concept, already.

2.3.1 'Still' as 'not yet'

2.3.1.1 Introduction

Example (57) illustrates how the Swahili STILL expression *bado* may serve to signal the negative concept NOT YET in a response to a polar question without any negator.[13] Cases like this thus constitute a manifestation of "negatives without negators" (Miestamo 2010).

(57) Swahili
A-me-kuja? – ***Bado***.
SUBJ.NCL1-ANT-come still
'Ist er gekommen? – Noch nicht. [Has he come? – Not yet.]' (Schadeberg 1990: 15, glosses added)

While examples like (57) may be striking from a European perspective, one should keep in mind that STILL and NOT YET are, aside from polarity, "exactly the same ... retrospectively continuative and prospectively geared towards possible change" (van der Auwera 1998: 40).

2.3.1.2 Distribution and types

Table 2.4 lists the 22 sample languages and expressions which have a use as markers of NOT YET without negation. As can be gathered, this use is found in all six macro-areas. On a more fine-grained level, the sample data indicate four types of environment in which this use is found. These are:

(i) In the absence of an overt predicate.

(ii) With less-than-finite or dependent predicates.

(iii) With specific actional types.

(iv) In a specific position relative to the predicate.

Of these contexts, NOT YET in the absence of an overt predicate is by far the most common, as it is attested in twenty languages and all six macro-areas. The rarest type appears to be the one in which polarity is a function of the position that the expression occupies within the clause; in my sample, this type is attested only in the Blagar language of eastern Indonesia. Lastly, Table 2.4 also indicates whether each expression participates in the signalling of not yet together with an overt negator, which is a point I return to below. In what follows, I discuss each of the four types of still as not yet separately.

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[13] This subsection is a condensed version of Persohn (2024b).

Table 2.4: ‘still’ as ‘not yet’

					Without neg			
Macro-area	Language	Expression	Appendix	neg	Empty predicate	Less than finite	Actional class	Position
Africa	Adamawa Fulfulde	*tawon*	B.1.1.3.1	y	y	n	n	n
	Bende	*syá-*	B.4.2.3.1	n	y	y	n	n
	Manda	*(a)kona*	B.8.2.4.1	(y)[a]	y	y	n	n
	Ruuli	*kya-*	B.12.2.4.1	n	y	y	n	n
	Nyangbo	*ka-*	B.10.2.3.1	n	n	n	y	n
	Sango	*de*	B.13.2.3.1	y	y	n	n	n
	Swahili	*bado*	B.15.2.4.1	y	y	y	n	n
	Tashelhyit	*sul*	B.16.1.4.1	y	y	n	n	n
	Tima	*bʌʌr*	B.17.2.3.1	y	y	n	n	n
	Tunisian Arabic	*māzāl*	B.18.2.4.1	y	y	n	n	n
Australia	Wardaman	*gayawun*	C.6.1.4.1	y	y	n	n	n
Eurasia	Japhug	*pɤjkʰu*[b]	D.6.2.3.1	y	y	n	n	n
	Thai	*yaŋ*	D.14.2.3.1	y	y	n	n	n
	Tundra Nenets	*təmna*	D.15.2.4	y	y	n	n	n
North America	Kalaallisut	*suli*	E.4.2.3.1	y	y	n	n	n
Papunesia	Blagar	*(y)edung*	F.2.1.3.1	(n)	y	n	n	y
	Bukiyip	*wotak*	F.3.2.3.1	y	y	n	n	n
	Iatmul	*wata*	F.6.2.3.1	y	y	n	n	n
	Kalamang	*tok*	F.7.2.4.1	y	y	n	n	n
	Lewotobi	*morə̃*	F.10.1.3.1	y	n	n	y	n
	Western Dani	*awo*	F.18.2.3.1	y	y	n	n	n
South America	Xavánte	*(za)hadu*	G.7.1.3.1	y	y	n	n	n

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[a] Marginal or described as a rare occurrence; see discussion below.
[b] Only in combination with the attenuating sfp *je*.

2.3.1.3 A closer look and discussion: Absence of an overt predicate

Beginning with the most common type of STILL as NOT YET,[14] namely those instances characterised by the absence of an overt predicate, several recurrent environments stand out.[15] The most common ones are negative answers to polar questions, such as in the Swahili example (57) above, or in the Xavánte one in (58).

(58) Xavánte
E ma tô a-sa? – ***Hadu.***
Q ANT RL 2-eat still
'As-tu mangé? – (Pas) encore. [Have you eaten? – (**Not**) **yet**.]'
(Machado Estevam 2011: 107)

In all cases that I am aware of, the question being answered pertains to whether a certain situation has been attained. In other words, the interrogative opens a choice between affirmative ALREADY (which may be implicit) and negative NOT YET. The only meaningful interpretation of a stand-alone STILL expression here is in relation to a negative proposition, as NOT YET is not only equivalent to the inner negation of STILL (i.e. STILL $\neg p$), but also constitutes the wide-scope negation of ALREADY (i.e. $\neg$ALREADY p); see e.g. Löbner (1989). What is more, all relevant sample expressions also serve as signals of NOT YET in more complete clauses. This allows for an interpretation of the stand-alone items as elliptical versions of such more saturated clause patterns.

Closely related to the negative replies in (57, 58) are polar questions that follow a disjunctive pattern '(already) … or still' in the meaning of '(already) … or not yet'. An example is given in (59). Again, the only possible interpretation here is one in which the STILL expression takes scope over an implied negator. What is more, in four out of the six languages in question (Bukiyip, Kalamang, Thai and Tunisian Arabic), polar questions generally tend to follow a '*p* or neg' pattern, and the constructions in question can be understood to instantiate this pattern.

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[14] This type is also amply attested outside of my sample. Examples on the African continent include cognates of Tunisian Arabic *māzāl* across the Maghreb (Caubet 1993: 196; Pereira 2010: 430; Tapiero 1978: 197–198), *ʕad* in the Berber variety Tarafit (Fanego 2021), and *tùkùna* in the Chadic language Hausa (Newman 2007: 211). Instances from Eurasia include *lɪssa* and *baʕd* in Levantine Arabic (MacNeill Hoyt 2010: 189–192) and the Lao cognate of Thai *yaŋ*, *ñang* (Enfield 2007: 207–208). In Australia, the pattern is attested, *inter alia*, for Pitjantjatjara (Pama-Nyungan) *kuwaripa* (Eckert & Hudson 1988: 186–187).

[15] As far as I am aware of, the earliest observation that these environments are unified by the lack of an overt predicate is found in Marçais & Guìga's (1958–1961) glossary of the Takrouna variety of Tunisian Arabic. In a discussion of the expression *māzāl* they observe that "dans le sens de 'pas encore' le complexe ne peut être suivi ni d'un attribut, ni d'une proposition en asyndète" [With the meaning of 'not yet', the complex cannot be followed by an attribute nor by a proposition in asyndesis] (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1740).

(59) Tunisian Arabic
Flān *ža* ***walla māzāl**?*
so_and_so come.pfv.3sg.m or still
'Ist er schon da? [Has he come **yet** (lit. has he come **or still**)?]'
(Singer 1984: 650, glosses added)

Disjunction is also at play in cases like (60). A variation on this theme is found in (61), where the situation in question and its attainment for some of the addressees, but not for others, can be retrieved from context.

(60) Swahili
Kwa sasa ma-ji ya-me-toka m-to-ni (Malulumo)
for now ncl6-water subj.ncl6-ant-leave ncl3-river-loc M.
na ku-fika Mgera ***lakini vi-jiji v-ingine bado**.*
and ncl15(inf)-arrive M. but ncl8-village ncl8-other still
'As for now, the water has come from the river (Malulumo) and reached Mgera, but **no other villages yet**.' (Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0)

(61) Kalamang
Context: People are taking turns at repairing a roof.
Ma he gerket "naman=a ***tok**?" An* ***tok~tok*** *an=a ming*
3sg already ask who=foc still 1sg still~redupl 1sg=foc oil
yuonin=in.
rub=neg
'He asked "Who **hasn't yet** [taken their turn]?" I **hadn't yet**, I didn't rub oil.' (Visser 2021b, glosses added)

Sango *de*, Tunisian Arabic *māzāl*, and Western Dani *awo* also have a negationless not yet use in a clause pattern consisting of a nominal subject plus still expression. In the case of Tunisian Arabic *māzāl*, this is restricted to *waqt* 'time' and other nominals referring to time spans, such as *ṣēf* 'summer' or *taʕlīm fažᵊr* 'first light of dawn'. The few data points for Sango *de* and Western Dani *awo*, which include (62, 63), suggest that the nominal must be associated with a telic process and/or reaching a certain point in time, such as the rainy season or plantation work. If this interpretation is correct, it links these cases to the telicity-driven alternation with Lewotobi *morə̃* that I discuss below. Thus, no matter whether the hearer assumes a negated predicate to be elided, or an affirmative one like 'the river is still swelling' or 'the river is yet to swell', the situation's characteristic endpoint has not yet been reached at the time under discussion.

(62) Western Dani
Yi ***awo***.
river still
'The river has not yet been swelled (by the rains).' (Barclay 2008: 440)

(63) Sango
*Yaka ti gozo a-**de**.*
plantation of cassava SUBJ-still
'The [work on the] cassava plantation is not yet done / not yet finished.' (original translation: '… will/must be continued/finished')
(Nassenstein & Pasch 2021: 115)

Lastly, STILL as NOT YET without a predicate is recurrently found in exclamations, where it often goes together with pragmatic nuances like 'wait', 'hold on', and the like; see the Wardaman example (64). Similar cases involve the notions of not being ready,[16] as in the Tundra Nenets example (65). Note that this use of Tundra Nenets *təmna* is slightly irregular: this marker is usually invariable, and such exclamations constitute one of only two contexts in which *təmna* can carry person-number indexes and tense marking. As in the patterns discussed before, it is likely the underspecification in polarity brought about by elliptical contexts that allows for negative readings to arise and become conventionalised.

(64) Wardaman
A: *Ngayin.gun-yonga-rri.*
3NON.SG>1DU.INCL-farewell-PST
'They've said good-bye to the two of us.'
B: ***Gayawun*** *ngawun-yongi-we!*
still 1SG>3NON.SG-farewell-FUT
'**Hang on**! I have to say goodbye to them!' (Merlan 1994: 323)

(65) Tundra Nenets
Təmna-*dᵒm-c'ᵒ*
still-1SG-PST
'I wasn't ready yet.' (Nikolaeva 2014: 187)

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[16] The same type of nuances is found with full-fledged NOT YET expressions, e.g. Nungon (Nuclear Trans New Guinea) *awe* (cf. Sarvasy 2017: 308, 449) or *waluu* in the Pama-Nyungan language Yuwaalaraay (Giacon 2014: 259).

Unsurprisingly, there appears to be a correlation between the STILL-as-NOT YET use in the absence of a predicate and the wordhood of the expressions involved. Nearly all cases involve independent grammatical words or bound roots. The only cases of affixes in my sample are Bende *syá-* and Ruuli *kya-*. In these instances, the lexical slot is filled by a copula verb, as illustrated for Ruuli *kya-* in (66).

(66) Ruuli

A: *Ati ga-bba-nga-ku obu-janjabi?*
now SUBJ.NCL6-COP-HAB-NCL17(LOC) NCL14-treatment
'Did the eyes have treatment?'

B: *Ati ba-n-dongos-ere li-nu,* ***li-ni***
now SUBJ.NCL2-OBJ.1SG-operate-PFV NCL5-PROX NCL5-PROX
li-kya-li.
SUBJ.NCL5-still-COP
'They operated me this one, **this one**, **not yet**.'
(Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2021)

Van Baar (1997), the first author to discuss some of the relevant instances from a cross-linguistic angle, postulates the two-part implicational universal in (67).

(67) van Baar's (1997: 295) STILL-as-NOT YET universal

a. If a STILL expression is used as an isolated expression, it is invariably used for the expression of NOT YET.
b. Examples are only found in those languages which have an internal negation of the relevant STILL expression.

As can be gathered; van Baar only concerns himself with STILL expressions as pro-sentences. According to (67a), these invariably yield NOT YET. However, counterexamples are readily found in the sample. For instance, English *still* and Modern Hebrew *ʕadayin* have conventionalised functions as concessive interjections (Section 3.5.2.3).[17] As for the second part of the universal, (67b) predicts that isolated STILL as NOT YET should only be found with markers that are also involved in signalling NOT YET by taking scope over a negator. This is also contradicted by several cases in my sample. In the two Bantu languages Bende and Ruuli NOT YET is expressed via STILL plus infinitive, not negation. With Blagar (*y*)*edung*, the combination with negation is marginal, at best, and it is the position relative to the predicate that determines the item's interpretation as STILL or NOT YET in full clauses. Pending further cross-linguistic work, (67b) may best be understood as a tendency rather than an absolute universal. The strongest absolute implicational universal supported by my sample data is the one in (68).

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[17] To van Baar's credit, possibly he only had phasal uses in mind.

(68) In STILL as NOT YET expressions, the absence of an overt predicate (encompassing "isolated" uses) is only found with expressions that – in one way or another – also participate in the formation of NOT YET with overt predicates.

2.3.1.4 A closer look and discussion: Less than finite predicates

The second type of STILL as NOT YET, the collocation with a less-than-finite complement, is illustrated in (69) for Manda *(a)kona*.

(69) Manda
*N-**ákóna** **ku**-líma ng'ʊ́nda w-ángu.*
SUBJ.1SG-still NCL15(INF)-cultivate NCL3.plot NCL3-POSS.1SG
'I have **not** cultivated my plot **yet**.' (Bernander 2021: 45)

Other sample expressions that occur in such collocations are Swahili *bado*, Bende *sya-*, and Ruuli *kya-*; being prefixes, the latter two require a copula verb in these instances. More generally speaking, STILL plus infinitive is a recurrent NOT YET device in Bantu (Nurse 2008: 148; Veselinova & Devos 2021). As pointed out before me by Güldemann (1996, 1998: 129–130), Nurse (2008: 148) and Veselinova & Devos (2021), the conventionalisation of this function involves only a very short conceptual leap: the persistence of a negative situation is a straightforward inference from a persistently unactualised one like 'still to cultivate my plot'. The same explanation probably applies to variations on this theme outside of my sample. Thus, in another Bantu language, Kagulu, the item *ng'hali~ngh'ati* signals NOT YET with infinitival complements, as well as with verbs in the subjunctive mood inflection (Petzell 2008: 146). Across Bantu, this less-than-finite verbal paradigm comes close to what Timberlake (2007: 326) terms "an all-purpose mood used to express a range of less-than-completely real modality".[18] Similarly, de Angulo & Freeland (1930) report that *nám* in the Palaihnihan language Achumawi signals NOT YET when it is combined with the subordinate form of the verb. These additional data points suggest that STILL as NOT YET with less than finite and/or dependent predicates may be more widespread than what the sample data suggest.

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[18] See Rose et al. (2002: 83–84) for an overview.

2.3.1.5 A closer look and discussion: Actional characteristics

With two items in my sample, polarity is a function of the predicate's actional characteristics (the situation's internal make up; see Section 1.6.3). The first is Lewotobi *morə̃*. This expression signals STILL with atelic predicates, as shown in (70a). With telic predicates, on the other hand, *morə̃* marks NOT YET; see (70b). Predicates that allow for both construals are ambiguous without further context; this is illustrated in (70c).

(70) Lewotobi

a. *Go mahasiswa* ***morə̃*** *di.*
1SG student still DM:excuse
'I am **still** a student (so I am not married).'

b. *Go kriə̃ waha* ***morə̃****.*
1SG work finish still
'I **haven't** finished working **yet**.'

c. *Go kə̃* ***morə̃****.*
1SG eat.1SG still
'I am **still** eating / I **haven't** eaten [a meal] **yet**.'
(Nagaya 2012: 415–416, 434)

The two functions of *morə̃* can be conciliated by assuming that this expression emphasises the prospective component of STILL. With telic predicates, this change corresponds to their defining point of culmination.

In diachronic terms, there are several reasons to assume that *morə̃* started out as signalling STILL. First, *morə̃* also marks NOT YET in conjunction with negated predicates, which can be resolved compositionally as STILL ¬*p*. Secondly, its apparent cognate *muri'* in closely related Lamaholot is an additive and iterative marker (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007; Pampus 2010), two functions that are notionally close to the concept of STILL. What is more, a diachronic shift from STILL to NOT YET in the context of telic predicates is highly motivated from a semantic point of view. This requires some elaboration. Based on Vendler's (1957) famous classification, one can distinguish between two major types of telic predicates. These are the telic processes known as "accomplishments" and near-instantaneous changes or "achievements". With accomplishment predicates, a construal of a persistent process such as 's/he's still building a house' entails that the point of culmination has not yet been reached at the time under discussion. The gap to NOT YET is even narrower with achievements, as these cannot persist in time. Though this clash could be resolved via a construal in which the STILL expression takes wide scope over a prospective or modal operator (something akin to 's/he'll arrive yet'), this would also entail that the telos has not been attained at topic time. In a nutshell, there is an affinity between telic predicates and NOT YET. A conceivable catalyst for this development just outlined can be found in the fact that Lewotobi has neither grammatical tense nor grammaticalised aspect distinctions,[19] thereby allowing for the same bare predicate to be construed with an imperfective viewpoint or with a perfective/anterior one, as in (70c).

The second sample expression that displays a polarity alternation based on the predicate's actional class is Nyangbo *ka-*. With this prefix, the dividing line runs between stative and dynamic predicates. In the default form of the verb, which lacks overt marking of aspect, *ka-* plus stative predicate yields STILL; see (71a). Dynamic predicates, on the other hand, go together with NOT YET and a perfective viewpoint, as in (71b). In order for dynamic predicates to be construed as persistent processes, a progressive marker needs to be added; see (71c).

(71) Nyangbo
a. Context: Three friends had agreed to meet at the roadside to catch a bus. Two of them met, waited for a bit and then one of them called the third friend on his cell phone. He reports:
*A-**ka**-lɛ́ bɔ-pa̋-m.*
SUBJ.3SG-still-be_at NCL-house-inside
'He is **still** at home.'
b. *A-**ka**-tākɛ̄ sika̋.*
SUBJ.3SG-still-pick money.
'He **hasn't** collected the money **yet**.'
c. *A-**ka**-á-tākɛ̄ sika̋.*
SUBJ.3SG-still-PROG-pick money.
'He is **still** collecting the money.'
(Essegbey 2012: 46; James Essegbey, p.c.)

Similar to the case of Lewotobi *morə̃*, the two readings can be conciliated by assuming that *ka-* places special emphasis on the prospective view towards the situation's end. That stative verbs are the odd ones out can be linked to a peculiarity of the language's aspect system. Thus, in Nyangbo, the default form of the verb is what West Africanists term a "factative". Factatives have an ongoing state reading with stative verbs,[20] but signal a situation that has passed with all other predicates (Welmers 1973: 346–347). This split in temporal-aspectual interpretation is preserved when *ka-* is added.

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[19] Lewotobi does have a marker termed "perfective" by Nagaya (2012) but the description and available examples suggest that this is rather a iamative, i.e. a specific type of ALREADY expression (see Olsson 2013). What is more, it occupies the same position in the clause as *morə̃*. Both facts suggest that the two items are in complementary distribution.

2.3.1.6 A closer look and discussion: Linear position

The fourth and last flavour of STILL as NOT YET is found with Blagar (*y*)*edung*. This item marks STILL when it occupies the pre-predicate position of the clause, as in (72a). When it occurs after the predicate, on the other hand, it serves as an expression of NOT YET, as shown in (72b).

(72) Blagar
  a. *Qangu veng qangu na* ***jedung*** *kiki.*
  at_that_time SUBJ.1SG still small
  'At that time I was **still** a little child.'
  (Steinhauer & Gomang 2016: 195, glosses added)
  b. *N-iva guru* ***jeduŋ****.*
  POSS.1SG-mother teacher still
  'My mother **isn't** a teacher **yet**.' (Steinhauer 2014: 165)

To all appearences, this behaviour of (*y*)*edung* is shared by the relevant markers in two of the neighbouring and closely related Alor-Pantar languages, Nedebang and Teiwa. In all likelihood, this is related to the fact that the post-predicate position is the locus of clausal negation in these languages. In diachronic terms, a comparison with the third neighbour, Reta (Willemsen 2020) suggests that this pattern goes back to a pattern of embracing negation [NEG *p* NEG]. This pattern was analogously applied to the signalling of NOT YET via [NEG *p* STILL]. The dropping of the initial negator ultimately led to clause-final (*y*)*edung* as the sole exponent of NOT YET.

2.3.2 'Still' and 'already', or interrogative 'yet'

2.3.2.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I discuss the link between STILL expressions and the second affirmative phasal polarity concept, ALREADY. More specifically, I focus on a phenomenon known as interrogative 'yet' (van der Auwera 1993, 1998: 92–98). The latter consists in using the non-negative component of a polymorphemic NOT

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[20] Or those labelled as "stative"; see Ameka (2008: 140) for a problematisation of this term with reference to Ewe, as well as Crane & Persohn (2019) for a discussion of similar facts across Bantu.

YET expression in indirect and/or direct questions. Illustrations are provided in (73) for the phenomenon's namesake, English *yet*.

(73) English
  a. Indirect question
  *I doubt that Fred has arrived **yet**.*
  b. Direct question
  *Has Fred arrived **yet**?*

While English *yet* has ceased to be a bona fide STILL expression, interrogative 'yet' is also attested for cases that continue to serve as such. Example (74) is an illustration featuring French *encore*.

(74) French
Context: Speaking of a house that is only heated intermittently.

Je	*me*	*demande*	*s'-il*	*fait*	***encore***	***assez***	***chaud***	*dans*
1SG	REFL.1SG	ask.1SG	if-3SG.M	make.3SG	still	sufficient	heat	in

la	*maison.*
DEF.SG.F	house(F)

'I wonder whether the house is **sufficiently warm yet**.'
(Martin 1980: 178, glosses added)

In (73, 74), the meaning of *yet* and *encore* approaches that of 'already'. Unsurprisingly, some language make use of ALREADY expressions in the same contexts, as illustrated in (75) for the German counterpart to (74). What is more, below I discuss how the use of a STILL expression as interrogative 'yet' may ultimately lead to its reanalysis as an ALREADY marker.

(75) German

Ich	*frag-e*	*mich,*	*ob*	*es*	***i-m***	***Haus***	***schon***
1SG	ask-1SG	REFL.1SG	whether	3SG.N	in-DEF.DAT.SG.N	house(N)	already

warm	***genug***	*ist.*
warm	enough	COP.3SG

'I wonder whether the house **is sufficiently warm yet**.'
(personal knowledge)

2.3.2.2 Distribution in the sample (and beyond)

Table 2.5 gives an overview of the known attestations of the phenomenon, based on the sample data and previous studies, with the sample languages highlighted in grey.[21] For each marker, Table 2.5 also indicates whether it synchronically functions as a still expression and whether the interrogative 'yet' function is available in indirect and direct questions. As can be gathered, the phenomenon has primarily been reported for languages from Europe, though not exclusively so. In my sample, cases from outside of Europe involve Thai *yaŋ* and Slave *k'ála*. On a more fine-grained level, it is noteworthy that the use in direct questions entails that in indirect ones, as previously observed for Europe by van der Auwera (1998).

Table 2.5: Interrogative 'yet'. *Notes*: *: Haberland (1991) reports interspeaker differences. †: Listed by van der Auwera (1998) only with reservation. ‡: With limitations; see discussion below.

Macro-area	Language	Expression	Appendix	still	Indirect QNs	Direct QNs
Africa	Ewe	*hade*	n/a	n	y	y
	Hausa	*tùkùn*(*a*)	n/a	n	?	y
Eurasia	Breton	*c'hoazh*	n/a	y	y	n
	Danish	*endnu*	n/a	y	y	(y)*
	Dutch	*nog*	n/a	y	y	n
	English	*yet*	n/a	n	y	y
	Faroese	*enn*	n/a	y	y	n
	Finnish	*vielä*	n/a	y	y	y
	French	*encore*	D.2.2.3.1	y	y	n
	Icelandic	*enn*	n/a	y	y	n
	Irish	*fós*	n/a	y	y	y
		go fóill	n/a	y	y	y
	Karaim	*hanuz*†	n/a	y	(y)	(y)
	Lezgian	*hele*	D.8.2.3.1	(y)‡	y	y
	Norwegian	*ennå*	n/a	y	y	(y)*
	Sami	*vel*	n/a	y	y	y
	Spanish	*aún*	D.13.2.4.1	y	(y)	n
		todavía	D.13.3.3.1	y	(y)	n
	Swedish	*än*	n/a	y	y	y
	Thai	*yaŋ*	D.14.2.3.1	y	y	y
	Welsh	*eto*	n/a	n	y	y
North America	Slave	*k'ála*	E.8.1.3.1	y	y	y
	Navajo	*t'ah*(*-dii*)	n/a	y	y	?
Papunesia	Abun	*tó*	n/a	y	y	y

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[21] For languages outside the sample, see van der Auwera (1993, 1998), van Baar (1997: 193–194), Välikangas (1982), and references therein. Van Baar (1997: 193) additionally lists Hausa *har yànzu*. This marker should not be considered a phasal polarity expression, but is a transparent combination of temporal deixis and inclusion 'up to and including now' (Ziegelmeyer 2021). Note that I did not actively look for interrogative 'yet' with items that do not synchronically serve as a still expression. It is therefore possible that the phenomenon is found in more of my sample languages.

In what follows, I first discuss a diachronic pathway that has been proposed by van der Auwera (1998: 92–96). I then turn to the case of Thai *yaŋ*, the function of which as interrogative 'yet' is closely interwoven with its use as NOT YET without a negator (see Section 2.3.1).

2.3.2.3 A closer look and discussion: The subordination scenario

As I pointed out initially, interrogative 'yet' is a phenomenon that is primarily related to NOT YET. However, the vast majority of known instances involve cases where this negative concept is expressed via a STILL expression taking scope over a negator; this includes English *yet*, which used to be a marker of persistence before it became superseded in this function by *still* (König 1991: 146–148; König & Traugott 1982). Against this backdrop van der Auwera (1998) observes an implicational universal in his sample of European languages, namely that interrogative 'yet' in direct questions unilaterally entails the same function in indirect questions. Based on this observation, he suggests a chain-wise development that starts in marking NOT YET via STILL plus negation, specifically in subordinate contexts. Subsequently, negative raising creates a syntactic separation between the two components of the complex NOT YET expression, which leads to the STILL expression getting associated with non-assertive contexts. This structural pattern is then carried over to indirect questions that are biased towards the negative. The now narrow gap to direct questions finds an additional bridge in indirect inquiries of the type 'I would like to know, whether…'. This scenario is schematically illustrated in Figure 2.1.

In my sample, the two Spanish expressions *aún* and *todavía* have progressed only to the stage of negatively oriented indirect questions. Both items are illustrated in (76).

(76) Spanish

a. ***Dud-o que h-aya nac-ido todavía*** *el*
doubt-1SG SUBORD have-SBJV.3SG be_born-PTCP still DEF.SG.M
que ten-ga los suficiente-s cojon-es para
SUBORD have-SBJV.3SG DEF.PL.M enough-PL testicle(M)-PL for
hac-er-lo.
do-INF-3SG.ACC.M
'**I doubt that** the person with big enough balls to do so **has been born yet**.' (Montaño, *Andanzas*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §80.8m, glosses added)

b. *Cré-an-me, no hay político ... superior ... en*
believe-SBJV.3PL-1SG.OBJ NEG EXIST politician superior in
este siglo, y ***dud-o que h-aya***
PROX.SG.M century(M) and doubt-1SG SUBORD have-SBJV.3SG
nac-ido aún*.*
be_born-PTCP still
'Believe me, there is (currently) no better politician ... in this century ... and **I doubt that one has been born yet**.' (found online, glosses added)

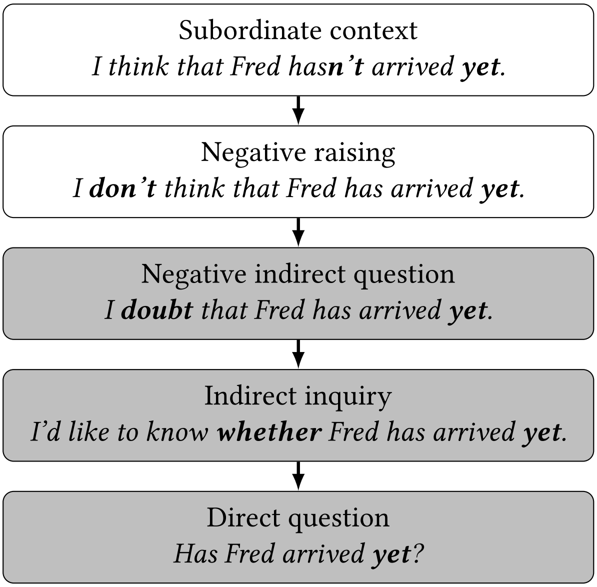
Subordinate context
I think that Fred hasn't arrived yet.
Negative raising
I don't think that Fred has arrived yet.
Negative indirect question
I doubt that Fred has arrived yet.
Indirect inquiry
I'd like to know whether Fred has arrived yet.
Direct question
Has Fred arrived yet?

Figure 2.1: Van der Auwera's (1998) subordination scenario. Arrows depict feeding relationships.

On the other hand of the spectrum, having taken the development even further than the scenario in Figure 2.1, lies Lezgian *hele*. The comparative evidence on this marker strongly points towards STILL as its original function (van der Auwera 1993, 1998: 126–127). In addition, *hele* combines with negation to signal NOT YET, as shown in (77a). Furthermore, it is attested in negative indirect and direct question contexts; see (77b, 77c).

(77) Lezgian

a. *Am naq' nisini-q^h wac'a-l fe-na,* ***hele xta-nwa-č.***
3SG.ABS yesterday noon-at river-to go-AOR still return-ANT-NEG
'He went to the river yesterday at noon, and he **hasn't returned yet**.'

b. *Zun Jusuf Derbentd-aj* ***hele*** *q^{h}fe-nwa-j-da-l*
1SG.ABS J. Derbentl-out_of still leave-ANT-PTCP-NMLZ-on
šaklu že-zwa.
doubting COP-IPFV
'I **doubt whether** Jusuf has left Derbent **yet**.'

c. *Jusuf Derbentd-aj* ***hele*** *q^{h}fe-na-ni?*
J. Derbent-out_of still leave-AOR-Q
'Has Jusuf left Derbent **yet**?' (Haspelmath 1991: 84, 88)

What stands out about *hele* is that its original function as a STILL expression is presently only realised when it reinforces another item, the affix -(C)*ma*, as in (78a). Its primary affirmative function in the present-day language pertains to ALREADY; see (78b). Crucially, the contribution of *hele* to marking NOT YET is compatible with both concepts, in that NOT YET p is tantamount to STILL $\neg p$ and to ¬ALREADY p, with the sole difference lying in the scope of the negator. Given this logical equivalence, as well as the fact hat interrogative 'yet' is notionally very close to ALREADY, the most parsimonious explanation is that the latter use has led to the reanalysis of *hele* as an ALREADY expression (van der Auwera 1998).

(78) Lezgian

a. *Am fadlaj pensijadi-z eq̄eč'-na k'an-zawa-j-di ja,*
3SG.ABS long pension-DAT go_out-AOR must-IPFV-PTCP-NMLZ COP
amma am ***hele k'walaxa-l xü-zma.***
but 3SG.ABS still work-on keep-IPFV.still
'He ought to have retired long ago, but **they're still keeping him at work**.' (Haspelmath 1991: 88)

b. *Jusuf Derbentd-aj* ***hele*** *q^{h}fe-na.*
J. D.-out_of still/already leave-AOR
Jusuf has **already** left Derbent.' (Haspelmath 1993: 210)

Outside of western Eurasia, a development comparable to van der Auwera's (1998) scenario appears to have occurred with Slave *k'ála*. Examples (79a, 79b) illustrate this item as interrogative 'yet' in direct and indirect questions, respectively.

(79) Slave

a. *Sú* ***k'ála*** *shétenį?*
Q still SUBJ.2SG.eat
'Did you eat yet?' (Rice 1989: 346)

b. *Sú* ***k'ála*** *ˀelá ráyéhdí hįsį.*
Q still boat SUBJ.3:bought uncertainty
'I wonder if s/he bought a boat yet.' (Rice 1989: 421)

It is conceivable that the use of *k'ála* as interrogative 'yet' was mediated by a surface scope ambiguity in examples like (80). Here, this item is linearly separated from the negator *yíle* and could potentially be parsed as either a preposed part of the matrix clause, or as belonging to the complement clause. Alternatively, it might be that the relevant instances represent an older 'up to now' meaning.

(80) Slave
K'ála *rídenę́wé gu kodishǫ* ***yíle****.*
still SUBJ.3:arrived whether SUBJ.1SG:know NEG
'I didn't know if it came (by air) yet.' (Rice 1989: 1250)

The last point brings me to the case of French *encore*. In the present-day language, *encore* as interrogative 'yet' is restricted to indirect questions, such as in (74) above. In older lects, however, it was also found in direct questions; see (81).

(81) Old French, mid-12th century
Est, va, ***encore*** *toz mes charroiz entr-ez?*
COP.3SG DM still all.PL POSS.1SG:PL car.PL enter-PTCP.PL
'Say, have all my carts entered yet?' (Hansen 2008: 144, glosses added)

As Hansen (2008: 144) points out, attestations like (81) most likely constituted a relic usage that goes back to the origins of *encore* in a Latin phrase 'until now, thus far'. This begs the question of where the present-day function in indirect questions comes from. Possibly, it constitutes the renovation of a once lost function, thereby conforming to van der Auwera's scenario. However, it is equally conceivable that negative raising, as in (82), did not strictly feed into indirect questions, but instead provided motivation for the retention of a function that already existed as an archaism. Future corpus-driven work will surely shed a light on this issue.

(82) French
Mais je ne vois *pas qu'-il ait* ***encore*** *fait*
but 1SG NEG see.1SG NEG COMP-3SG.M have.SBJV.3SG still make.PTCP

son choix d'-une façon positive et
POSS.3SG:SG.M choice(M) of-INDEF.SG.F manner(F) positive.F and
irrevocable.
irrevocable.F
'**But I don't see** that he has **yet** made his choice in a positive and irrevocable way.' (Martin 1980: 169, glosses added)

2.3.2.4 A closer look and discussion: Thai *yaŋ*

In the preceding discussion I hinted at the fact that there might be more ways in which STILL expressions can start to function as interrogative 'yet', and in Section 2.3.1 I lay out how STILL expressions frequently serve as markers of NOT YET in certain contexts lacking an overt predicate. A common subtype of the latter use is found in polar questions that follow a disjunctive pattern 'already *p* or still'. Here, an implied negator yields '… or not yet'. One marker used in this fashion is Thai *yaŋ*, as shown in (83).

(83) Thai
Thíŋ còtmǎay pai tûu praisanii ***lɛ́ɛw rɯ̌ɯ yaŋ****?*
throw letter go box mail already or still
'Did (you) put the letter into the mail-box **or not yet**?'
(Kölver 1991: 500, glosses added)

In present-day Thai, this disjunctive question tag is undergoing erosion: in the intermediate stages either *lɛ́ɛw* 'already' or *rɯ̌ɯ* 'or' are dropped; see (84a, 84b).

(84) Thai
a. *Lɛ́ɛw* 'already' omitted
khun hâi ʔaahǎan mǎa ***rɯ̌ɯ yaŋ****?*
2 give food dog or still
'Have you fed the dog **yet**?' (Smyth 2002: 80)
b. *Rɯ̌ɯ* 'or' omitted
Rîak rót théksîi ***lɛ́ɛw yaŋ****?*
call car taxi already still
'Did you call the taxi [**yet**]?' (found online)

In the final stage of erosion, both *lɛ́ɛw* and *rɯ̌ɯ* are omitted, leaving *yaŋ* as interrogative 'yet'. This can be seen in (85).

(85) Thai

a. *Hǐw **yaŋ**?*
hungry still
'Are you hungry **yet**?' (found online)

b. *Chán sǒŋsǎi wâa khun kin khâaw **yaŋ**.*
1sg wonder comp 2sg eat rice still
'I wonder whether you have eaten **yet**.' (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.)

Not only are all steps from not yet to interrogative 'yet' directly observable, but there is an additional piece of evidence that *yaŋ* did not follow van der Auwera's (1998) subordination scenario. Thus, Thai does not make use of negative raising with *yaŋ* (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.); recall that this is the first step in Figure 2.1. Instead, when negation is marked on the matrix clause, the already item *lɛ́ɛw* figures in the lower clause, as in (86).

(86) Thai
*Chán mâi khít wâa kháu maa (thʉ̌ŋ) **lɛ́ɛw**.*
1sg neg think comp 3 come arrive already
'I don't think he has arrived yet.' (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.)

2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

2.4.1 Introduction

In this section, I survey time-related function that can be subsumed under a loosely defined label of *adverbial* notions. In Section 2.4.2 I discuss uses pertaining to repetition and in Section 2.4.3 I survey still expressions as markers of 'always' and related notions. In Section 2.4.4 I turn to a future-oriented 'eventually' function. In Section 2.4.5 I address uses pertaining to the broader realm of taxis or the relative ordering between situations. Lastly, in Section 2.4.6 I discuss functions pertaining to degrees of temporal remoteness.

2.4.2 Repetition

In this subsection I discuss uses pertaining to the domain of repetition, which I understand as encompassing two primary types of event construals. The first type, iteration, involves the complete repetition of a prior situation. A restitutive use, on the other hand, involves the restoration of a prior state, thereby implying a preceding process that yielded an opposing state (Fabricius-Hansen 1980, 2001; Kamp & Rossdeutscher 1994; Wälchli 2006; among others). Both are shown in (87), using English *again* for ease of illustration.

(87) English

a. Iterative
*Ines rang the bell once. Then she rang it **again**.*

b. Restitutive
*A sudden gust of wind blew the door shut. Rick opened it **again**.*

Iteration and restitution may be signalled by STILL expressions or by larger collocations containing one. In Section 2.4.2.1 I discuss those cases in which repetition is conveyed by a STILL expression on its own. In Section 2.4.2.2, I turn to those instances where an iterative or restitutive construal involves the collocation with an event quantifier 'still one time > one more time > again'. Note that I discuss cases in which a STILL expression adds the notion of continuation to an existing repetitive construal separately in Section 2.2.4.

2.4.2.1 Repetition (plain 'still' expression)

2.4.2.1.1 Introduction

The Bambara examples in (88) illustrate repetition uses of a STILL expression. In (88a), *túguni* marks iteration in the form of a second occurrence of the fish speaking, whereas in (88b) it signals that letting the chicken free corresponds to the restitution of a prior state.

(88) Bambara

a. Context: A fish spoke and was then cooked.
*Â y' í kánto **túguni**.*
3SG PFV.TR REFL speak still
'The fish spoke **again**.'

b. *Â yé syɛ̀ mìnɛ k' à bìla **túgun**.*
3SG PFV.TR chicken catch INF 3SG let still
'He caught the chicken and let it free **again**.'
(Dombrowsky-Hahn 2020: 118)

2.4.2.1.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 2.6 lists the expressions in my sample that can mark repetition. Note that, in addition to these, Gurindji *=rni* forms part of a complex enclitic *=rningan* with repetition uses (Appendix C.2.2.4.1). Table 2.6 also indicates which of the two major types of uses (iterative vs. restitutive) are attested, as well as grammatical or lexical restrictions, where applicable. As can be gathered, a repetition-related use is attested for seventeen expressions from sixteen distinct languages across all six macro-areas, making it one of the most geographically wide-spread functions in my sample. This impression is also supported by an abundance of candidates not included in my sample.[22] What is more, repetition uses are found with markers of various shapes and forms (free morphemes, affixes, clitics). In what follows, I first take a closer look at the distinction between iteration and restitution, then examine grammatical and/or lexical restrictions, to ultimately discuss the notional similarities and diachronic links between phasal polarity STILL and repetitive event construals.

2.4.2.1.3 A closer look: Iteration vs. restitution

It is convient to start my discussion with a brief look at the distribution of the two primary types of repetition, iteration vs. restitution. As can be gathered from Table 2.6, with seventeen expressions the iterative use is slightly more common than the restitutive one, which is attested for eleven expressions (twelve if counting unclear cases). What is more, there are several expressions in the sample that only have the iterative function (Classical Nahuatl *oc*, French *encore*, Mandarin

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[22] For Africa, these include *nánu* and *lisusu* in the Bantu language Língala (Nassenstein & Pasch 2021), and *həma* in Chadic Lamang (Wolff 2015: 259–260). In Australia, *-anteye* in the Pama-Nyungan language Eastern Arrernte (Wilkins 1989: 351) is among the candidates. In Eurasia, repetition functions are found with *nog* in southern varieties of Dutch (van der Auwera 1993; van Baar 1997: 42 fn3), its cognate *nokh* in Yiddish (van der Auwera 1991b), as well as with the Italian cognate of French *encore*, *ancora* (Tovena & Donazzan 2008). The CLICS^3 database (List et al. 2019) lists, among others, Adyghe (Abkhaz-Adyge) *d͡ʒərəj*, Northern Kurdish (Iranian) *disa*, and *taxʲiăt*, *taxʲiŋ* in Halh Mongolian. Candidates in North America include Central Alaskan Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut) *cali* (Amos & Amos 2003: 55, 66; Miyaoka 2012: 1535), Choctaw (Muskogean) *mo̱ma* (Broadwell 2006: 316–317), Plains Cree (Algic) *kêyâpic* (Wolvengray 2001: s.v. *kêyâpic*), and the “repetitive prefix” in the Iroquian language Seneca (Chafe 2015: 38–39). In Papunesia, examples from Formosan (Austronesian) are *-nʔa* in Tsou and *-aŋ* in Atayal and Bunun (examples throughout Zeitoun et al. 2010). Outside of Formosan, one finds, among others, Ida’an *masong* (Goudswaard 2005). Examples from South America include the cognates of Southern Lengua *makham* across Lengua-Mascoy (e.g. Unruh & Kalisch 1999: 79; Unruh et al. 2003: 317).

Table 2.6: Iterative and restitutive uses

M.-Area	Language	Expr.	Appx.	Iterative	Restitutive	Restriction(s)
Africa	Bambara	*túguni*	B.2.2.3.1	y	y	Perfective aspect plus dynamic predicate
		bìlen	B.2.3.3.1	y	y	Perfective aspect plus dynamic predicate, locative copula
	B.-G. Datooga	*údu-*	B.3.2.3.1	y	?	Telic predicate in future or prohibitives
	Ewe	*ga-*	B.6.1.3.1	y	y	
	Kaba	*bbáy*	B.7.1.3.1	y	y	
	S. Ndebele	*sa-*	B.14.2.4.1	y	n	Perfective aspect plus non-inchoative predicate
Australia	Gooniyandi	=*nyali*	C.1.2.3.2	y	y	
	Wubuy	-*wugij*	C.7.2.3.1	y[a]	y	Punctual aspect
Eurasia	French	*encore*	D.2.2.5.1	y	n	
	Ket	*hāj*	D.7.2.3.1	y	n	
	Mand. Chinese	*hái*	D.9.2.5.1	y	n	Future reference
	S. Yukaghir	*āj*	D.12.2.3.1	y	y	
	Udihe	*xai*(*si*)	D.16.2.4.1	y	y	
N. America	Cl. Nahuatl	*oc*	E.1.2.4.1	y	n	
	Paiwan	=*anan*	F.14.2.4.1	y	y	
	Saisiyat	*nahan*	F.16.2.3.1	y	y	
S. America	S. Lengua	*makham*	G.5.2.4.1	y	y	

[a] Only one example in the data.

Chinese *hái*, and Southern Ndebele *sa*-), but none that exclusively have the restitutive one. The only expression that comes close to representing the latter type is Wubuy -*wugij*, where the restitutive use is common, wheareas the iterative one is rare, with only one attestation in Heath's (1982) extensive text collection. The data thus point to the implicational universal in (89). Note that this contradicts van Baar (1997: 108–109), who stipulates a closer proximity between restitution and STILL.

(89) If a STILL expression has a restitutive use, it also has an iterative use.

On a more fine-grained level, in Gooniyandi the two relevant uses of *=nyali* are typically distinguished via the expression's syntactic host. Thus, iterative *=nyali* normally attaches to the part of the verbal predicate that denotes the repeated act, whereas the host of restitutive *=ngali* is often the constituent depicting the state or location that is restored (McGregor 1990: 460–461). This is illustrated in (90). An essentially parallel situation is found with the complex Gurindji clitic *=rningan*, which includes the STILL expression *=rni* as part of its composition (Appendix C.2.2.4.1). This distinction is furthermore reminiscent of what is found with German *wieder* 'again', where, in certain cases, word order has a disambiguating function (von Stechow 1996).

(90) Gooniyandi
a. Iterative
*Jamoondoo milanggiddinyayi mila=**nyali** yawinggiddinyayi.*
other_day I_saw_you_two see=still I_will_extend_you_two
'I saw you two the other day, and I'll see you again.'
b. Restitutive
*Niyi barnbindi ngiwawoo=**nyali**.*
he he_returned south=still
'He returned south again.' (McGregor 1990: 460)

Lastly, Gooniyandi *=nyali* is also attested in a closely related responsive sense. Thus, in (91) this item highlights that the speaker returns another man's call.

(91) Gooniyandi
*Yoowarni-ngga baami-ngadda briyandi **baa=nyali** limi-nhi.*
one-ERG he_called-to_me in_return call=still I_did-to_him
'One (man) called to me, and in turn I **called back to** him.'
(McGregor 1990: 461)

2.4.2.1.4 A closer look: Combinatory differences and restrictions

As I discuss below, phasal polarity STILL and 'again' have a common semantic denominator in the continuation or accumulation of time intervals, with the main difference lying in the question of homogeneity. This, in turn, has implications as far as combinatory potentials are concerned. Thus, the intermittent nature of iteration and restitution allows for such uses to combine with aspectual categories that would be incompatible with the notion of STILL. In the dimension of aspectual operators, this includes bounded viewpoints (e.g. perfectives and anteriors), and when it comes to the internal temporal make-up of the predicate, this affects (near-)spontaneous situations, i.e. achievements and semelfactives. Example (92) is an illustration of French *encore* in its iterative use together with the analytical anterior, which doubles as a perfective past in the spoken language. Example (93) shows Southern Yukaghir *āj* together with the perfective aspect and an achievement predicate.

(92) French
Caroline a ***encore*** *téléphoné.*
C. have.3SG still call.PTCP
'Caroline has phoned **again**.'
(Hansen 2008: 148, glosses added)

(93) Southern Yukaghir
Context: A man has brought the master of the earth a barrel full of spirit in exchange for fur. Now he has come a second time.
D'e tude boc'ka-gele ***aj*** *køud-ej-m.*
DM 3SG.GEN barrel-ACC still take_away-PFV-TR.3SG
'He brought his barrel **again**.' (Nikolaeva & Mayer 2004: text 25)

On the flipside of things, the differences in compatibilities just outlined offer a motivated explanation for several of the morphosyntactic and lexical restrictions listed in Table 2.6. While these may appear rather dissimilar at first glance, they turn out to be variations over the common theme in (94).

(94) When 'again' uses of STILL expressions are subject to morphosyntactic and/or lexical restrictions, they are barred from those constellations in which they compete with phasal polarity STILL (setting aside third types of uses).

Thus, in Wubuy, iterative and restitutive -*wugij* are restricted to what Heath (1984) terms the "punctual" aspect. This combination is illustrated in (95). In broad strokes, the Wubuy punctual–continuous distinction is primarily an actional one. The punctual aspect is the paradigm of choice with achievements and semelfactives. When it combines with states or processes, these are converted into achievements; see Heath (1984: 337–341) for more discussion. In essence then, readings of repetition are only found with non-durative situations, which cannot persist in time.

(95) Wubuy
Context: A python has devoured two boys. A magician has killed the python and has taken out her guts containing the boys.
Ni=lhan^{g}a̱dbi-n^{y} ***wani=ya-n^{y}-bugij***
3SG.M=emerge-PST.PUNCT 3SG.M>3PL=give-PST.PUNCT-still
mana-n^{g}udan man-uba-ma-yun^{g}
NCL$_{\text{MANA}}$-guts NCL$_{\text{MANA}}$-ANAPH-NCL$_{\text{MANA}}$-ABS
wan=ya-n^{y} yuːguni, wani=ya-n^{y}.
3SG.M>3PL=give-PST.PUNCT DIST 3SG.M>3PL=give-PST.PUNCT
'He came out. **He gave** those guts (containing the two boys) [**back**] **to them** [people].' (Heath 1980: 23)

In the case of Southern Ndebele *sa-*, illustrated in (96), the iterative use is restricted to the perfective aspect inflection. The same is true, with one minor exception, of the iterative and restitutive uses of Bambara *túguni* and *bìlen*. An additional lexical constraint shared by both languages is that the uses in question are only found with predicates labelled "inchoative" (Southern Ndebele) or "stative" (Bambara) in the respective descriptive traditions. Terminological differences aside, the predicates excluded are those that have an ongoing state reading in the perfective aspect and which would hence allow for a construal of a persistent state.[23]

(96) Southern Ndebele
*Idrayara i-**sa**-rhuny-ez-e irhembe (godu).*
NCL9.dryer SUBJ.NCL9-still-shrink-CAUS-PFV NCL9.shirt (again)
'The dryer shrank a shirt again (it happened another time).'
(Crane & Persohn 2021: 244)

Similar restrictions are found with Udihe *xai*(*si*) and Saisiyat *=nahan*, albeit as strong tendencies rather than as hard-and-fast rules. In a related manner, an iterative reading of French *encore* is disprefered in the constellation of an imperfective viewpoint plus atelic predicate (Hansen 2008: 155 fn19). In Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga Datooga, the STILL expression *údu-* brings with it a neutralisation of most tense-aspect distinctions to one of future vs. non-future tense. Both the aspectual viewpoint and the type of event construal are determined by the telicity of the predicate. Atelic predicates go along with an imperfective viewpoint and yield STILL. Telic predicates, on the other hand, go along with a perfective or anterior viewpoint. In the future tense and with prohibitives, this yields a reading of repetition (Mitchell 2021). Broadly comparable, Mandarin Chinese *hái* only has an iterative use in reference to future states-of-affairs, as in (97).

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[23] See Hewson (2016) and Crane & Persohn (2021) for a more extensive discussion of the interaction between aspect and actionality in these languages.

(97) Mandarin Chinese
Míngtiān ***hái*** *huì xiàyǔ ma?*
Tomorrow still will rain Q
'Will it rain again tomorrow?' (Huang & Shi 2016: 61)

2.4.2.1.5 A closer look: Superficial redundancies

It is noteworthy that several sample expressions in their function as 'again' tend to be accompanied by other items that signal repetition. In the sample, such cases are attested for Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga Datooga *údu-*, Paiwan *=anan*, Southern Ndebele *sa-*, Southern Lengua *makham*, and Udihe *xai*(*si*). Superficial redundancies of this kind are a recurrent theme with functional extensions of STILL expressions, see, for instance Sections 2.4.4 and 3.3.2. In the case of Southern Ndebele *sa-* and Paiwan *=anan* this gives emphasis to the recurrent nature of the event in question; in the case of *=anan*, a reading of a continued series of repetitions is also available (Section 2.2.4).

2.4.2.1.6 Discussion: Conceptual similarities

The widespread coexpression of phasal polarity STILL and iteration/restitution is not surprising if one considers the conceptual similarities between the two notions. In broad strokes, they both involve continuation, or the accumulation of time intervals. Where they differ is primarily in homogeneity: STILL involves uninterrupted continuation, whereas iteration and restitution feature intervening temporal gaps (van der Auwera 1991a, 1993; van Baar 1997: 108–109; Jing-Schmidt & Gries 2009; Hansen 2002, 2008: 155; Tovena & Donazzan 2008; Wilkins 1989: 351; among others). In addition, STILL and 'again' also share the notion of identity, which is relevant for the Australian markers in question.

2.4.2.1.7 Discussion: A diachronic perspective

Against the backdrop of the similarities just outlined, developments from STILL to 'again' as well as the other way around, are attested. In what follows, I briefly summarise what is known about the history of some of the sample expressions.

I sketch out a few bridging contexts and point to intra-systemic constellations that may play a role in the relevant developments, without any claim to comprehensiveness.

The development of an ‘again’ sense out of an originally phasal polarity one is well-established for French *encore*. As Hansen (2008: 156) discusses, a bridging context can be found in instances like (98). This example can be interpreted as involving the possible continuation of an overarching series ‘may still help me’ or as the occurrence of another event of the same type ‘may help me again’. A very similar instance, albeit featuring necessity rather than possibility, is found in the Classical Nahuatl example (99), where the iterative interpretation is furthermore strengthened through the presence of *quēmman* ‘at times’.

(98) Old French, ca. 1176–1184
Dius m’-a bien aidié dusc’a ore, // Si ***me puet***
God 1SG.ACC-have.3SG well help.PTCP until now then 1SG.ACC can.3SG
bien aidier encore*.*
well help.INF still
‘God has helped me so far, so he **may well help me still / again**.’
(*Eracle*, cited in Hansen 2008: 156, glosses added)

(99) Classical Nahuatl
Zā ***oc quēmman mo-cuā-zquê*** *in ī-nāmic.*
only stilll at_times SUBJ.3:REFL-eat-PROSP DET POSS.3SG-spouse
‘Il faut que son mari (et elle) s’accouplent (“se mangent”) encore de temps en temps. [It is necessary that her husband (and her) **mate (lit. eat each other) again from time to time**.]’ (Launey 1986: 1265, glosses added)

Another item that most likely started out as an exponent of STILL and subsequently acquired an ‘again’ function is Southern Ndebele *sa-*. Cognates of this expression are found as phasal polarity expressions across the entire Nguni branch of Southern Bantu, but in most instances without repetition-related functions (e.g. Crane & Persohn 2021; Poulos & Msimang 1998: 338–345; Savić 2020: 192–195). The same overall direction of change could also hold true for Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga-Datooga *údu-*. While the exact pathways of change are unknown, it is noteworthy that *sa-* and *údu-* are both also involved in the expression of NO LONGER, and there is a well-known notional overlap between discontinuation and disrepetition (e.g. van Baar 1997: 92–93). This is particularly salient in irrealis contexts, or the negative mirror image of (98): ‘I won’t do it again’ is not all too different from ‘I won’t do it anymore’. Conceivably, this has played at least some role in the development of these markers. If I am on the right track here, then the restriction of B.-G. Datooga *údu-* as ‘again’ to the future tense and prohibitives could be a reflection of this function’s history.

The inverse direction, from ‘again’ to STILL can be firmly established for at least two markers in the sample, namely Mandarin Chinese *hái* and Ewe *ga-*, both of which have their etymons in motion verbs ‘return, go back’. Similarly, the comparative data on Hebrew *ʕod* are indicative of an original meaning pertaining to repetition or circularity (Brown et al. 2020: s.v. עוֹד), though this sense has become lost in the present-day variety. In terms of actual usage, a plausible link is found in those instances in which a snapshot of the same atelic situation is given across different times. For instance, the Middle Chinese example (100) can be understood as either involving a reiteration of a similar life one generation after another, or as life as such remaining the same, with little to no difference in communicative import. This ambiguity is further enhanced by the presence of *ran* ‘same’.[24]

(100) Middle Chinese, 8th/9th century
Zi sun ri yang chang, ***shi shi hai fu ran.***
son grandchild day and grow generation generation still again same
‘The children are growing day by day; **life is still the same**, **generation by generation**.’ (Yeh 1998: 247)

In a related fashion, Wälchli (2006) observes that iterative markers can acquire a continuative interpretation in the context of “atelic (and therefore not strictly countable) activities where it does not make sense to apply the repetitive concepts ‘for a second/third time’” (Wälchli 2006: 76). He illustrates this with the Vietnamese example (101). Here, the second quote from Moses constitutes a seamless continuation of a speech event that is recollected in two pieces.

(101) Vietnamese
Vì Môise có nói: Hãy tôn-kính cha mẹ ngươi; ***lại***
for Moses have say IMP honour-honour father mother pupil again
nói: *Ai rủa-sả cha mẹ, thì phải bị giết.*
say who curse-charge father mother then shall suffer die
‘For Moses said “Honor your father and mother”, **and** “Anyone who curses their father or mother is to be put to death.”’
(Mark 7: 10, cited in Wälchli 2006: 76)

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[24] The combination of *hái* with *fu* ‘again’ in (100) is common at this stage of the language, and is due to *hái* < *huan* ‘return’ acquiring the iterative reading through the frequent collocation with this marker (Yeh 1998).

Aside from such relatively direct pathways, the expression of the negative phasal polarity concept NO LONGER may once again play a role. Thus, it is conceivable that the logical equivalence between NO LONGER *p* and ¬STILL *p* (Section 1.4.1) can open the doors to the reanalysis of an originally disrepetitive construction as the outer negation of a STILL expression.[25] Van Baar (1997: 92–93) suggests that this is what took place in the case of Ewe *ga-*, and the same process appears to be currently going on with Bambara *túguni* and *bìlen*. The two Bambara items are both involved in the expression of NO LONGER, and, according to Dombrowsky-Hahn (2020, 2021), the 'again' function in affirmative contexts is both older and more frequent.

Last, but far from least, another indirect link may be at play in the case of the two relevant sample expressions from Australia, Wubuy *-wugij* and Gooniyandi *=nyali*. Both markers also function as non-scalar exclusive operators 'only' (Section 3.4.2). The same is true of Gurindji *=rni*, which forms part of the enclitic *=rningan*. As Schultze-Berndt (2002) points out, exclusive and repetitive uses share the notion of identity 'just that (type of) situation, just that original state (not any other)'. At least in principle, it is conceivable that the affirmative phasal polarity function and the one as markers of repetition arise independently out of a prior exclusive function. I leave this question open for further cross-linguistic research.

2.4.2.2 Repetition via increment

2.4.2.2.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I turn to iterative and restitutive uses that involve the collocation of a STILL expression with an event quantifier. The Classical Nahuatl examples in (102) are illustrations. In (102a), *oc* plus *cē-ppa* 'one-time' signal a second eating event. In (102b), the same collocation marks the restoration of a bone's original location.

(102) Classical Nahuatl

a. *Auh quēmman* ***oc cē-ppa***
and when still one-time
ti-tla-cuā-z?
SUBJ.2SG-OBJ.INDEF.NON.HUMAN-eat-PROSP
'Y a qué hora has de comer otra vez? [And when will you eat **again**]?'

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[25] The mirror image, so to speak, of this process is attested for most of Southern Slavic, where 'more' > ALREADY via the reanalysis of NO LONGER *p* as ALREADY ¬*p* (van der Auwera 1998: 60; Buchholz 1991).

b. *In tlā cē chico-petōni huel tēcocô, auh nō huel*
DET if one sideways-dislocate INTENS painful and also INTENS
tecocô ***in ic oc ce-ppa ī-ye-yān***
painful DET thus still one-time POSS.3SG-LOC.COP-customary_place
mo-zalao.
REFL.3-put_together
'Si se desconcierta vno, y se sale a vn lado, duele mucho, como tambien duele mucho, quando se buelue a su lugar. [When one [of our bones] dislocates it hurts a lot, and it also hurts **when it moves back into its place**.]' (Carochi 1645: 498, 505, glosses added)

While the examples in (102) feature a nominal constituent as the second part of the collocation, the same use is also attested with denumeral verbs 'do time(s)', as in the Saisiyat example (103).[26]

(103) Saisiyat
Yao 'am=mari' ka lapwar boay 'a-k<m>ai:, 'okay
1SG.NOM PROG=take ACC guava fruit PROG-hook<AGT.FOC> NEG:LNK
kay-hoero:, 'oka'=ila=o ***mon-ha-l naehan***,
hook-succeed NEG=CMPL=CONJ AGT.FOC:do_times-one-times still
k<om>ay-hoero:=ila mari'=ila ka boay noka lapwar.
hook<AGT.FOC>-succeed=CMPL take=CMPL ACC fruit GEN guava
'I was trying to gather guavas but I could not hook them; I tried **again** and succeeded in catching guavas.' (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 524)

2.4.2.2.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 2.7 lists the expressions in the sample that have repetition uses in combination with an event quantifier. Table 2.7 also indicates whether these phasal polarity items can have a comparable function on their own. As can be gathered, the uses I discuss here are attested for ten expressions. Crucially, only four of these also have similar functions outside the relevant collocations. At least from a cross-linguistic perspective, this means that the two ways of marking repetitions should be kept separate, unlike what is commonly assumed in descriptive grammars of individual languages such as French (e.g. Batchelor & Chebli-Saadi 2011: 535). In terms of geographic distribution, repetition uses involving an event quantifier are attested primarily from Eurasia, which suggests some degree of areality to the phenomenon.[27] Lastly, except for Northern Qiang *tɕe-* all relevant cases involve independent grammatical words, though this may merely be an indirect effect of the geographic distribution.

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[26] For a discussion of the structure of denumeral verbs in Saisiyat, see Zeitoun et al. (2010: 575–577, 2015: 522).

Table 2.7: Repetition via increment. *: Only one example in the data.

				With event quantifier		
M.-Area	Language	Expr.	Alone	Collocate		Appendix
Eurasia	French	*encore*	y	NUM *fois*	‘time(s)’	D.2.2.5.2
	German	*noch*	n	(*ein*)*mal*	‘(one)time’	D.3.1.4.1
				-mal-s	‘-time-ADV’	D.3.1.4.1
	Hebrew (Mod.)	*ʕod*	n	*paʕam*	‘time’	D.4.3.4.2
	Ket	*hāj*	y	*biks’a*	‘different’	D.7.2.3.2
				s’in	‘once’	D.7.2.3.2
	Northern Qiang	*tɕe-*	n	*a-ʂ/thən*	‘one-time’	D.10.2.3.1
	Serb.-Croat.-Bosn.	*još*	n	*jednom*	‘once’	D.11.2.4.1
	Tundra Nenets	*təmna*	n	*ŋopoy*^{o}	‘once’*	D.15.2.5.1
N. America	Class. Nahuatl	*oc*	y	*cē-ppa*	‘one-time’	E.1.2.4.2
	Kalaallisut	*suli*	n	denumeral verb		E.4.2.4.1
Papunesia	Saisiyat	*nahan*	y	denumeral verb		F.16.2.3.2

2.4.2.2.3 A closer look

I have already indicated that a repetitive event construal in combination with an event quantifier does not entail that a STILL expression has a similar function on its own. What is more, there are no indications that the relevant collocations are subject to the same lexical and/or grammatical restrictions that bare ‘again’ uses of STILL expressions are (Section 2.4.2.1). A noteworthy parallel can, however, be observed in terms of the iterative–restitutive distinction. Table 2.8 indicates which of the two construals is available for each collocation. As can be seen upon examination, all collocations in question have an iterative use, whereas the restitutive one is attested for only four collocations and three distinct expressions. This distribution can be stated as the absolute universal in (104), which is fully parallel to the one given in (89) above.

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[27] The same functions are attested for several cognates of my sample expressions, for instance Dutch *nog* (König 1991: 145) and cognates of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* across Slavic (Buzássyová & Jarošová 2006: s.v. *ešte* Havránek 1989: s.v. *ještě*; Kačala et al. 2003: s.v. *ešte*; Mustajoki 1988). They are also found with Hungarian *még* (Bárczi & Országh 1992: s.v. *még*) and Finnish *vielä* (König 1991: 145).

(104) If a STILL expression has a restitutive-via-increment use, it also has an iterative-via-increment use.

Table 2.8: Iterative-via-increment vs. restitutive-via-increment. *: With qualifications; see discussion below.

Macro-area	Language	Expr.	Collocate		Iterative	Restitutive
Eurasia	French	*encore*	NUM *fois*	'time(s)'	y	n
	German	*noch*	(*ein*)*mal*	'(one)time'	y	y*
			-mal-s	'-time-ADV'	y	y*
	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕod*	*paʕam*	'time'	y	n
	Ket	*hāj*	*biks'a*	'different'	y	y
			s'in	'once'	y	n
	Northern Qiang	*tɕe-*	*a-ʂ/a-thən*	'one-time'	y	n
	Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian	*još*	*jednom*	'once'	y	n
	Tundra Nenets	*təmna*	*ŋopoy*^{o}	'once'	y	n
North America	Classical Nahuatl	*oc*	*cē-ppa*	'one-time'	y	y
	Kalaallisut	*suli*	denumeral verb		y	n
Papunesia	Saisiyat	*nahan*	denumeral verb		y	n

Interestingly, though, the sample data suggest that the availability of the less common restitutive function is largely independent of whether the STILL expression in question can also signal the restoration of a state on its own. Thus, Classical Nahuatl *oc cē-ppa* 'still one-time' is unequivocally attested in both readings, as shown in (102) above. Bare *oc*, on the other hand, appears to only have the iterative use. A comparable situation might hold true of Ket *hāj* and the collocation *hāj biks'a* 'still different/again', but the data are much more limited in this case. Lastly, the case of German *noch einmal* and its variants *nochmal*, *nochmals* requires some discussion. Aside from an uncontroversial iterative reading, these forms are occasionally described as having a restitutive use as well (Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *noch einmal*, *nochmal*, *nochmals*; Nederstigt 2003: 105; Shetter 1966). A typical example is given in (105).

(105) German
Sie bestell-ten eine Flasche Gruaud Larose bei ihr,
3PL order-PST.3PL INDEF.ACC.SG.F bottle(F) G. L. at 3SG.DAT.F
die Hans Castorp noch ein-mal fort-schick-te, *um*
REL.ACC.SG.F H. C. still one-time away-send-PST.3SG to
sie besser temperier-en zu lass-en.
3SG.ACC.F better temper-INF to let-INF
'They ordered a bottle of Gruaud Larose from her, **which Hans Castorp sent back** to have it brought to drinking temperature.' (Mann, *Der Zauberberg*; cited in Shetter 1966: 61, glosses added)

In (105) the restoration of the bottle's original location is markedly transitory. As is made explicit in the subsequent clause, the bottle is to be brought to the table once more after it has reached the desired temperature. My personal judgement suggests that the same applies to similar German examples in the literature. This is probably due to other functions of the items involved. Thus, *noch* also has a "further-to" use (Section 3.3.3), which can be paraphrased roughly as 'do one more thing (before moving on)'. The second part of the collocation, (*ein*)*mal*, also serves as an indefinite temporal adverb and as a hedge (e.g. Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *mal*). Putting these two pieces together, example (105) can be read as '… which H. C. then sent away for some time (before ultimately consuming it)'. In other words, such instances of *noch* (*ein*)*mal*/*nochmals* appear to not be purely restitutive, which qualifies the cross-linguistic availability of this type of use even further.

2.4.2.2.4 Discussion

I now turn to the question of what motivates the STILL-plus-event quantifier collocations. As the title of this subsection already suggests, what lies at the heart of them is additivity, in that 'still one time' via 'one more time' yields 'again'. This interpretation is, of course, in line with adverbial phrases such as English *once more* or Spanish *otra vez* lit. '(an)other time'. And, indeed, out of the ten relevant sample expressions, nine have an additive function (Section 3.3.2). The one possible exception is Kalaallisut *suli*, illustrated in (106).

(106) Kalaallisut
Context: Whitey has been told to take a closer look at a mare and her colt. He has circled them once and not noticed anything.
"Aju-quti-qar-nir-su-q taku-sinnaa-nngi-la-ra"
be_bad-cause-have-wonder-PTCP-3SG see-be_able-NEG-IND-1SG>3SG

Whitey uaqr-pu-q ***suli ataasi-iar****-lu-ni* *histi arnaviaq*
W. say-IND-3SG still one-do_times-PTCP-3SG horse female
pi-ara-a=lu kajalla-riar-llu-gut.
do-little-3SG>3SG=and circle-after-PTCP-3PL
'"I can't see anything that's wrong with him", said Whitey, after circling the mare and her colt **one more time**.' (Bittner 2017: Hesti piaraq tappiitsoq)

The available data are not very conclusive when it comes to an additive function of *suli*. However, Fortescue et al. (1994: 90) list 'more' as a sense of Proto-Eskimo **cu*(*na*)*li* and generalised additive functions are found, for instance with the cognate expression *cali* in Central Alaskan Yupik (Miyaoka 2012). All this suggests that the Kalaallisut attestation in (106) also builds on an additive function of *suli*, if perhaps only in diachronic terms.

2.4.3 'Always, all the time'

2.4.3.1 Introduction

In this subsection I address uses involving universal temporal quantification ('always') and closely related notions, such as quantification over the entirety of some specific time span ('the whole time'), or frequentative ('all the time') and distributive ('every time') event construals. Example (107) is an illustration from Chuwabu.

(107) Chuwabu
Context: A certain man's wife constantly falls sick.
sabw' eelá w-aá-kála mu-reddá=ví *ábále,*
because COMP SUBJ.NCL1-PST.IPFV-COP NCL1-sick.PL=still DIST.NCL2
ábáálé éenâ á-á-ni-mu-nyapwaaríya.
NCL2.sister NCL2.other SUBJ.NCL2-PST-IPFV-OBJ.NCL1-despise
'**because she was always sick**, those ones, the other sisters, despised her.' (Guérois 2015: 608)

2.4.3.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 2.9 lists the expressions in my sample that have the 'always, all the time' use. As can be gathered, this function is attested for seven languages and expressions from all macro-areas minus South America. It is unclear whether the absence of examples from the latter continent is a true areal effect or merely an artefact of the data.

Table 2.9: ‘Always, all the time’

M.-Area	Language	Expression	Appendix	Restriction
Africa	Chuwabu	=*vi*	B.5.2.3.1	
Australia	Jaminjung	=(C)*ung*[a]	C.3.2.3.1	With secondary predicates
	Gooniyandi	=*nyali*	C.1.2.3.1	With secondary predicates, with *ngambiddi* ‘again’
	Gurindji	=*rni*	C.2.2.4.2	
Eurasia	French	*toujours*	D.2.3.4.1	Borderline STILL expression
N. America	Osage	*šǫ́*	E.7.1.3.1	Reduplicated forms plus *ðe* ‘PROX’
Papunesia	Rapanui	*nō*	F.15.2.3.1	

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[a] Only one example in the data.

Unfortunately, my sample obscures a well-established tendency in Eurasia. Thus, the case of French *toujours* finds a synchronic parallel in cases like Italian *sèmpre* (Battaglia 1964–2022: 619). What is more, English *still* and Spanish *todavía* both historically had an ‘always’ sense. In addition, many European languages make the the unexpectedly late scenario of STILL explicit by augmenting a STILL expression with an ‘always’ item. In my sample, this is the case for German *noch* > *immer noch*/*noch immer* and for Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* > *još uv*(*ij*)*ek*. These instances, together with similar cases involving a generic universal quantifier (‘all’), cover a contingent area in central, western and eastern Europe (van der Auwera 1998: 85–90). In what follows, I take a closer look at the European context. Afterwards, I turn to the cases from African, Australian, and Papunesia cases and lastly to Osage *šǫ́*.

2.4.3.3 A closer look and discussion: The European cases

To develop a better understanding of the relevant European expressions, it is worthwhile taking a diachronic perspective. In all cases that I am aware of, ‘always’ and related notions historically precede phasal polarity STILL. What is more, such notions entail persistence (Hansen 2008: 149), in that an interval leading up from an earlier time to the speaker’s now (or another salient evaluation time) is a subset of any larger interval centred around it. With this in mind, valuable insights can be gained from the well-documented cases of French *toujours* and Spanish *todavía*. In Hansen’s (2008) diachronic corpus study, the first attestation of *toujours* as a marker of persistence is found in (108). Judging from the surrounding text, a distributive reading might remain latent, namely that the man in question is found with the same strength at each attempt of removing him. Similarly, Bosque (2016) observes that there are instances of *todavía* in Old Spanish that can be understood both ways, as in (109).

(108) Old French, 13th century
Si le troevent de tele force et de tele vistece que il ne cuident mie que il soit hons terriens …Si s'esmaient mout, car il voient que il nel pueent remuer de place,
'Thus, they find him to have such strength and such speed that they do not believe that he is an earthly man … So they become very fearful, for they see that they cannot remove him from his place'
ainz le *troevent* ***tor jorz*** ***d'-autel*** ***force*** ***come***
DEM 3SG.M.ACC find.3PL always/still of-similar.M strength(M) like
a-u ***comencement***.
at-DEF.SG.M start.M
'but find that **he still has as much strength as in the beginning**.'
(*La Queste del Saint Graal*, cited in Hansen 2008: 149, glosses added)

(109) Old Spanish, 13th century
Por ende nos ***d-amos gracias a Dios toda uia***.
for DEM 1PL give-1PL thanks to God always/still
'Therefore, we **always thank God / keep thanking God**.' (*El Nuevo Testamento según el manuscrito escurialense I-j-6*, cited in Bosque 2016: 209, glosses added)

Present-day French *toujours* remains a borderline case of a STILL expression in that it does not necessarily feature a prospective component. No such qualification applies to Spanish *todavía*. For several centuries after developing its persistive function, *todavía* tended to be used together with expressions that defeasibly implicate a point of discontinuation (Bosque 2016; Morera 1999). For instance, in (110) it is accompanied by *fasta que se viene* 'until he comes'. In the same vein, *todavía* often went together with *aún*, which was already established as STILL expression at that stage of the language; see (111). As Bosque (2016) argues, through a strong association with such collocations the evocation of an alternative scenario became a conventionalised component of *todavía*'s own meaning, thereby transforming it into a *bona fide* exponent of STILL.

(110) Middle Spanish, 15th century
Quando el *roque* *oy-e* *la* *boz* *d-el*
when DEF.SG.M roque(M) hear-3SG DEF.SG.F voice(F) of-DEF.SG.M

canto va-se contra alla & el cantador cant-a
song(M) go.3SG-REFL.3 against there DEF.SG.M singer(M) sing-3SG
todavía fasta que se viene el roque.
still until SUBORD REFL.3 come.3SG DEF.SG.M roque(M)
'When the roque [type of mythical beast] hears the voice of the song, he sets off in its direction, and the singer **keeps singing until the roque comes**.' (*Libro de astrología*, cited in Bosque 2016: 211, glosses added)

(111) Spanish, 18th century
Pues ***aun todavia se ven*** *en España much-o-s con esta*
well still still REFL.3 see.3PL in Spain many-M-PL with PROX.SG.F
propiedad.
property(F)
'**You still see** many of that kind in Spain.' (de Ulloa, *Viaje al reino de Perú*, cited in Bosque 2016: 213, glosses added)

In fact, the same development may be currently going on with French *toujours*. This item is often used jointly with the full-fledged STILL expression *encore* (e.g. Hansen 2008: 105), as in (112). This could ultimately lead to *toujours* acquiring a prospective meaning component, as well.

(112) French
Je suis encore et toujours */ après tant et tant*
1SG COP.1SG still and still/always after so_many and so_many
d'-années / cet enfant qui tire sur une ficelle / à la
of-year.PL PROX child REL pull.3SG on DEF.SG.F twine(F) to DEF.SG.F
poursuite d-u vent.
pursuit(F) of-DEF.SG.M wind(M)
'**I am still and ever** / after so many many years / that same child pulling a string / in pursuit of the wind.' (Soupault, *Cerf-volant*, cited in Hansen 2008: 105, glosses added)

2.4.3.4 A closer look: The southern hemisphere cases

While 'always, all the time' entails persistence, this implication does not hold the other way around. Consequently, I am aware of no expression that unequivocally went from STILL to 'always', at least not in a straight path. Guérois (2021) does suggest that such a development might have taken place with =*vi* in the Bantu language Chuwabu, but this requires the stipulation of an "interpretive augmentation … 'I am still walking' may be equivalent to saying 'I am always walking'"

(Guérois 2021: 166) and which I find hard to follow. On the other hand, =*vi* shares a common denominator with the Australian and Papunesian cases in Table 2.9 (Jaminjung-Ngaliwurru (C)=*ung*, Gooniyandi =*nyali*, Gurindji =*rni*, Rapanui *nō*). All five expressions also serve as exclusive operators 'only' (Section 3.4.2) and there is an overlap between 'only' and 'always, all the time' in cases where

> the states envisaged … are mutually exclusive, i.e. they cannot occur simultaneously, if two states were to occur during a period, they would occur at different times, and therefore neither of the states would occur uninterruptedly 'all the time'. (McConvell 1983: 28)

For instance, what is at stake in (113) is the addressee's communicative behaviour vis-à-vis the speakers. If understood as an exclusive operator, Gurindji =*rni* signals that all contextually accessible propositions that differ in the denotation of *pawu* 'ignore [us]' are false. This set encompasses at minimum 'listen (to us)', which is mentioned in the immediate discourse environment. If all the addressee does is to ignore the speakers, then he never engages in any other relevant behaviour, and vice versa.

(113) Gurindji
Kula=n pura nya-ngku; ngu=n=ngantipa ***pawu=rni***
NEG=SUBJ.2SG hear see-FUT AUX=SUBJ.2SG=OBJ.1PL.EXCL ignore=still
pa-nana.
hit-PRS
'You can't listen; you **always just ignore** us.' (McConvell 1983: 20)

With Jamjinjung-Ngaliwarru =(C)*ung* the 'always, all the time' use is limited to secondary predicates, as in (114). With one minor exception, the same restriction applies to Gooniyandi =*nyali*. Both markers have a whole range of meanings when adjoined to a secondary predicate, all of which are compatible with their exclusive function (McGregor 1990: 463–465; Schultze-Berndt 2002).

(114) Jamjinjung-Ngaliwarru
Ngarrgina=malang gujarding digirrij ga-jgany
POSS.1SG=GIVEN mother die 3SG-go.PST
bidimab-nyunga=wung *ngayug=gung nga-ngangarna-nyi*
feed:TR-from=still 1SG=still 1SG>3SG-give.REDUPL-IPFV
mangarra nganja~nganjany.
plant_food REDUPL~what
'My mother passed away (**always**) **having been cared** for (lit. "fed"), me I used to give her food (and) things.' (Schultze-Berndt 2002: 235)

In a nutshell, these data points suggest that the 'always, all the time' use of the African, Australian and Papunesian sample expressions is not directly related to the same items as exponents of STILL. Instead, it seems more plausible that the nexus between these functions lies in their additional function as exclusive operators. This interpretation, in turn, finds external support from *=gon* in the Finisterre-Huon language Nungon, which is a polyfacetic exclusive marker that can also signal 'all the time' (Sarvasy 2017: 417), but which appears to not function as an exponent of phasal polarity.

2.4.3.5 A closer look: The case of Osage *šǫ́*

There is one expression in Table 2.9 that I have not discussed yet, namely Osage *šǫ́*. This item signals 'always' in various complex forms, all of which involve its reduplication plus suffixation of the proximal demonstrative *ðe*; see (115). As in this example, the initial segment of *ðe* is often weakened to a glide.

(115) Osage
Šǫ́ǫ~šǫ́-we *naniǫ́pa ðaašoé hta apa-i.*
REDUPL~still-PROX pipe 3SG.A:smoke FUT 3.CONT-DECL
'He will always smoke.' (Quintero 2004: 328)

Aside from signalling phasal polarity and 'always', Osage *šǫ́* also functions as a marker of simultaneous duration ('while'), which is a cross-linguistic recurrent use of STILL expressions; see Section 2.5.3.1. In fact, this is the only other use in which *šǫ́* can merge with the demonstrative *ðe* and where the latter morpheme's initial segment tends to undergo lenition (Quintero 2004: 444, 2009: 209). What is more, the two functions share a key syntactic feature. Thus, *šǫ́* as a marker of phasal polarity invariably stands between the predicate and the following continuative auxiliaries, as in (116), but the 'always' forms can precede the verb complex and thereby occupy the same position as a temporal clause. These morphological and syntactic characteristics unanimously point to the 'always' use of the reduplicated *šǫ́-we* forms as building on the simultaneity function. Presumably, the underlying semantic pathway is along the lines of 'during that time' > 'during all times', which would be fully in line with the meaning of reduplication in Osage (see Quintero 2004: 87, 444).

(116) Osage
Híi ðáalį́ ***šǫ́*** *ðaašé.*
tooth good still 2SG.CONT
'Your teeth are still good.' (Quintero 2009: 208, glosses added)

2.4.4 Prospective 'eventually'

2.4.4.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I discuss a use in which a STILL expression signals that "there is a certain development under way which (finally) leads to an event of the kind stated" (Löbner 1989: 199–200).[28] Example (117) is an illustration. Here, Plateau Malagasy *mbola* signals that the predicted situation of the type 'he comes' will take place before the end of some contextually salient larger time span.

(117) Plateau Malagasy
Mbola *ho avy.*
still FUT come
'Il doit venir dans un délai plus ou moins long. [He should come sooner or later.]' (Ferrand 1903: 173, glosses added)

2.4.4.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 2.10 lists the languages and expressions for which the prospective 'eventually' function is attested. As can be gathered, fourteen expressions and languages have this use. These stem primarily from Africa and Eurasia, plus one instance each from Papunesia and South America.[29] With the limitations of the sample data in mind, this suggests some degree of areality to the phenomenon.

2.4.4.3 A closer look

It comes as little surprise that the marking of prospective 'eventually' is most commonly attested in combination with future tenses and prospective aspects, as in the initial example (117). However, the same function also occurs with other tense-aspect paradigms that can point forward in time, like the Spanish present-as-future in (118). Similarly, one finds the occasional instance of other non-actualised contexts, such as the imperative in (119), or the purpose clause in (124) below.

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[28] Similar characterisations are given by Ferrand (1903: 173), König (1991: 142), König & Traugott (1982), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 617), Shetter (1966) and Välikangas (1982), among others.

[29] Outside of my sample, the function is found with Hungarian *még* (Bárczi & Országh 1992: s.v. *még*) and Finish *vielä* (König 1991: 141), as well as with cognates of several sample expressions, such as Dutch *nog* (Vandeweghe 1984; König 1991: 142), the congeners of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* across Slavic languages (e.g. Bogacki 1989; König 1991: 142) and the cognates of Kaba *bbáy* in other Sara languages (e.g. Palayer 1989: 244, 1992: 167; examples throughout Keegan 2014; Thayer 1978; Vandame 1963).

Table 2.10: Prospective ‘eventually’

Macro-area	Language	Expression	Appendix
Africa	Kaba	*bbáy*	B.7.1.3.2
	Mundang	*ɓà*	B.9.1.3.1
	Plateau Malagasy	*mbola*	B.11.1.4.1
	Southern Ndebele	*sa-*	B.14.2.4.2
	Tashelhyit	*sul*	B.16.1.5.1
	Tima	*bʌʌr*	B.17.2.4.1
	Xhosa	*sa-*	B.19.2.4.1
Eurasia	French	*encore*	D.2.2.5.3
	German	*noch*	D.3.1.4.2
	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕod*	D.4.3.4.1
	Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian	*još*	D.11.2.4.2
	Spanish	*todavía*	D.13.3.5.1
Papunesia	Saisiyat	*nahan*	F.16.2.3.4
South America	Southern Lengua	*makham*	G.5.2.4.2

(118) Spanish
¿A que ***todavía termin-o****?*
to SUBORD still finish-1SG
‘I bet you that I **will finish** [**yet**].’
(Garrido 1992: 382 fn 30, glosses added)

(119) Saisiyat
Ma’an ka-obaang-an no<m>obaang ’okik lal’oz.
1SG.GEN RL-draw-LOC.FOC INST<AGT.FOC>draw NEG.LNK.STAT enough
Rima’ baeiw naehan!
go.IMP buy.IMP still
‘I do not have enough paper and pens; **go and buy some later**!’
(Zeitoun et al. 2015: 506)

Mundang *ɓà* is somewhat of an outlier in that its ‘eventually’ function has been described as being restricted to the optative and potential mood inflections (Elders 2000: 382); example (120) is an illustration. This is despite Mundang having dedicated future tense and prospective aspect paradigms.

(120) Mundang
ʔà *fʊ̄ō* ***ɓà***.
SUBJ.3:IPFV think.POT still
‘Il pensera un jour. [He will think **one day**.]’ (Elders 2000: 382)

When it comes to the situation’s internal make-up, ‘eventually’ is less selective than phasal polarity STILL, because the situation in question need not actually persist in time. Examples (121, 122) illustrate this use in combination with an achievement predicate.

(121) Plateau Malagasy
Mbola *ho avy.*
still FUT come
‘Il doit venir dans un délai plus ou moins long. [He should come **sooner or later**.]’ (Ferrand 1903: 173, glosses added)

(122) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Context: At a sports event. Our team is lying behind.
Pobedi-ćemo mi ***još***.
win.PFV-FUT.1PL 1PL still
‘We’ll win **yet**.’ (Stefan Savić, p.c.)

The two functions may also differ when it comes to their interaction with negation. Thus, when Modern Hebrew *ʕod* in its phasal polarity function is paired with a negated predicate, this predictably yields NOT YET. In the ‘eventually’ use, on the other hand, this constellation gives rise to a prediction of a negative state (Francez forthcoming). This is shown in (123).

(123) Modern Hebrew
Context: About failures to deal with sexual harassment in organised sport. The writer is being sarcastic.
Im ze yi-mašex kaxa, b-a-sof ***ʕod lo***
if PROX.SG.M 3SG.M-continue.FUT thus at-DEF-end still NEG
ti-hye la-hem brera *ela le-manot iša*
3SG.F-COP.FUT to-3PL.M choice(F) except to-appoint woman
l-a-tafqid.
to-DEF-position
‘If it goes on like this, in the end **they will have no choice** but to appoint a woman to the position.’ (online example, cited in Francez forthcoming)

In (123) negation falls under the scope of *ʕod*. When, on the other hand, negation takes wide scope, this denies any future occurrence of the type described by the predicate (Löbner 1989). This is illustrated in (124, 125).

(124) German
Context: About a rescue exercise.
Damit der Darsteller des
purp def.nom.sg.m impersonator(m) def.gen.sg.n
Unfall-opfer-s bei-m Wart-en … ***nicht noch***
accident-victim(n)-gen at-def.dat.sg.n wait-inf(n) neg still
***krank wird**, bekomm-t er eine Wärme-folie mit*
ill become.3sg get-3sg 3sg.m indef.acc.sg.f warmth-foil(f) with
auf den Weg.
on def.acc.sg.m way(m)
'The actor impersonating the victim is given a thermal foil, so he **doesn't end up sick** while waiting.' (found online, glosses added)

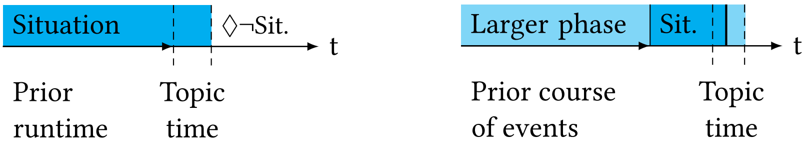
(125) Xhosa
Um-khosi ***a-wu-sa-y-i*** ***k****-oyis-wa.*
ncl3-army neg-subj.ncl3-still-go-neg ncl15(inf)-defeat-pass
'The army **will never** be defeated.' (McLaren 1936: 132, glosses added)

In terms of its larger sentential embedding, it is not uncommon for the use I describe here to be accompanied by another expression with a similar meaning. For instance, in (123) it goes together with *basof* 'in the end'. Closely related, with German *noch* the 'eventually' reading can be enforced through items like *schon* 'no doubt', lit. 'already' in the same clause; see (126).

(126) German
Die Männer sind eben stark verunsichert, aber die
def.nom.pl man.pl cop.3pl just strongly unnerved but 3pl
werd-en-'s ***schon noch*** *lern-en.*
fut.aux-3pl-3sg.acc.n already still learn-inf
'The men are just very unsettled, but **no doubt eventually** they'll learn it.' (Thurmaier 1989: 122, glosses added)

2.4.4.4 Discussion

Having taken a closer look at the prospective 'eventually' use, the question arises what motivates its recurrent co-encoding with phasal polarity still. As pointed out before me by Löbner (1989), König (1991: 142–143) and Francez (forthcoming), the two functions share a core of “antiterminativity” (Vandeweghe 1984). That is to say, just as the phasal polarity concept signals that the conceivable end of a situation has not been reached at the time under discussion, the use I discuss here marks that a situation will take place “before all is over” (Oxford University Press 2022: s.v. *yet*). Figure 2.2 is a graphic comparison, using a perfective viewpoint for ease of illustration.



(a) STILL (b) Prospective ‘eventually’ (with PFV)

Figure 2.2: Schematic illustration of prospective ‘eventually’

As far as a more material nexus between the two functions is concerned, I cannot disregard the possibility that the two functions may be linked together by a common source, similar to how the STILL expression *baʕd* in Levantine Arabic is from a lexeme ‘behind, after’ (Taine-Cheikh 2016). However, for around half of the items in Table 2.10, the known etymologies and/or the comparative evidence strongly point to a primacy of phasal polarity STILL. Where diachronic investigations are available, they indicate that prospective ‘eventually’ can arise very early on. Thus, Hansen (2008: 146–147) observes that relevant attestations of French *encore* are found just a century after the same item as an exponent of STILL. An example is given in (127). Similarly, in the case of English *yet*, which once used to be a full-fledged STILL expression, the ‘eventually’ function is documented since early stages of the Old English period (König & Traugott 1982); see (128). Assuming the two cases are representative, they suggest some readily available contexts or constellations that trigger the development of the prospective function.

(127) Old French, ca. 1150
La vielle dist: “Or entend-ez // et que ce
DEF.SG.F old.F say.PST.PFV.3SG now listen-2PL and COMP PROX.SG.M
est si devinn-ez; // ***encor vous fera touz iriez***”
COP.3SG then guess-2.PL still 2PL.ACC make.FUT.3SG all.PL angry.PL
‘The old woman says “Now listen // and then guess what it is // **it’ll drive you all mad yet!**”’ (*Le roman de Thèbes*, cited in Hansen 2008: 146, glosses added)

(128) Old English (ca. 885)
Giet cymð *se* *micla* *& se*
yet come.3SG DEM.PROX.SG.M much.NOM.SG.M DEM.PROX.SG.M
mæra *& se* *egeslica* *God-es*
famous.NOM.SG.M DEM.PROX.SG.M terrible.NOM.SG.M God-GEN
dæg.
day(M).NOM.SG
'**There will come (lit. still/yet comes)** the great and famous and terrible day of God.' (King Ælfred, *Cura Pastoralis*, cited in Oxford University Press 2022: s.v. *yet*, glosses added)

Against this backdrop, the pertinent literature has three interpretations on offer. In what follows, I briefly summarise each of them and discuss how they hold up against the sample data. I then conclude that the most likely source of the 'eventually' use is found in contexts where a STILL expression takes scope over a modal or prospective operator.

According to the first proposal, most prominently made by König & Traugott (1982), phasal polarity STILL and prospective 'eventually' are connected only indirectly. What supposedly links them together are additive functions of the same expressions, such as the one illustrated for German *noch* in (129). This idea is based on the observation that additive uses of STILL expressions tend to go together with notions of "adding up to a larger whole" (König 1991: 146); see Section 3.3.2 for more discussion of this observation.

(129) German
Context: After having consumed other drinks.
Ich trink-e (auch) ***noch*** *ein Bier.*
1SG drink-1SG also still INDEF.ACC.SG.M beer(N)
'I will have a beer, too.' (König 1991: 143, glosses added)

As far as the sample expressions are concerned, additivity as the key could yield a motivated explanation as to why in Modern Hebrew the 'eventually' use is found with *ʕod*, which has a range of additive functions, but not with its near-synonym *ʕadayin*, which lacks them.[30] What speaks against this interpretation are the cases of Mundang *ɓà* and *sa-* in Southern Ndebele and Xhosa, which are not attested in a general additive function.[31] That is to say, additive functions are not a prerequisite for the 'eventually' use. In König & Traugott's defence though, it is conceivable that they do provide some degree of supplementary motivation in certain cases. For instance, in the Spanish example (130) below, there is a lingering notion of '(if it weren't bad enough as is) on top of that …'.

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[30] This begs the question of relative chronology, though.

[31] Mundang *ɓà* does have a sequencing 'and then' use that involves temporal additivity, but the data suggest that the latter goes back to the use I discuss here, rather than the other way around (Section 2.4.5.2).

The second approach has it that prospective 'eventually' is essentially no different from phasal polarity still. Instead, it just involves a wider scope, such that "T[opic] T[ime] … is … not the unspecified future time … but rather the time of utterance. It is then not the as-yet-unrealised SoA itself that remains in force during an extended interval, but the prediction of its eventual realisation." (Hansen 2008: 147). At first glance, this is an elegant interpretation insofar as it requires only a simple, well-established mechanism and little change in meaning. What is more, it is tempting to understand the case of Mundang *ɓà* as an argument in favour of it. As I laid out above, this item has the relevant use only in combination with the potential and optative mood inflections, which suggests a fully compositional analysis. However, the relevant attestations do not necessarily have any modal meaning components other than those inherent to any future prediction:

> the construction signals an event that is not actualised at the time of speech but that will be actualised at some time in the future. A statement with the tardative [marker *ɓà*] and a verb in the non-actualised forms translates into a future … in Cameroonian French it is often translated as *après* 'later'. (Elders 2000: 382)[32]

What is more, an analysis involving a persistent prediction is hard to conciliate with the discursive embedding of many examples from other languages. For instance, in the context of (130) it is hard to see how a prediction of accusation previously figures in the common ground. Likewise, in (119), repeated below, it would be odd to assume a prior obligation to go and buy pens.

(130) Spanish
Context: There's an unconscious girl with bloodstains on her face and neck.
Tienes que llam-ar a la doctor-a … no puedes carg-ar
have.2sg subord call-inf acc def.sg.f doctor-f neg can.2sg load-inf

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[32] In the original French, "la construction indique un événement qui n'est pas actualisé au moment d'énonciation mais qui sera actualisé dans le futur après une période de temps. Un énoncé avec le Tardatif et un verbe non-actualisé se traduit par un future … se traduit souvent en français camerounais par 'après'".

con la responsabilidad de que se muera. ***Todavía***
with DEF.SG.F responsibility(F) of SUBORD REFL.3 die.SBJV.3SG still
dir-án que eres cómplice.
say.FUT-3PL SUBORD COP.2SG accomplice
'You have to call the doctor … You can't take responsibility for her dying. **They'll end up saying you're an accomplice**.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(119) Saisiyat
Ma'an ka-obaang-an no<m>obaang 'okik lal'oz.
1SG.GEN RL-draw-LOC.FOC INST<AGT.FOC>draw NEG.LNK.STAT enough
Rima' baeiw naehan!
go.IMP buy.IMP still
'I do not have enough paper and pens; **go and buy some later**!'
(Zeitoun et al. 2015: 506)

In the same vein, König (1991: 141–150) discusses several subtle, yet crucial, differences between English *still* and prospective *yet* in the context of modal operators (recall that *yet* started out as a STILL expression). Consider the examples in (131). *Still* in (131a) yields a persistent obligation regarding a specific situation, and therefore allows for a referential reading of the object NP. With *yet* in (131b), on the other hand, the necessity pertains to any event of the type 'meet a generous Scotsman' that may occur in the future. If the 'eventually' reading of *yet* were due to the adverb taking wide scope, one would expect the two sentences to share the same interpretation.

(131) English
a. ***I still have to meet*** *a generous Scotsman* (*namely Bill Stewart*).
b. ***I have yet to meet*** *a generous Scotsman* (*before I believe that such people exist*). (König 1991: 149–150)

In sum, the wide-scope proposal cannot be maintained as a synchronic analysis. It does, however, contain an important pointer as to how prospective 'eventually' can arise in the first place (as suggested before me by Abraham 1977). Thus, a motivated source for this use can be found in contexts in which phasal polarity STILL associates with (i.e. has scope over) a modal or prospective proposition. Not only are such combinations likely to arise in discourse. Crucially, the persistent, though perhaps not ever-lasting, prediction of some situation unilaterally entails that a situation of that type (possibly or necessarily) becomes a historic reality before the end of the same time span. This can easily open the doors to structural ambiguity and ultimately to a reanalysis of the contribution of the phasal polarity expression as one akin to a temporal frame adverbial indicating a time before the end of some salient larger interval (i.e. before it is too late). And, in fact, the historical record of French has the example (132) on offer, which predates the more clear-cut instances of prospective ‘eventually’ by several decades (Hansen 2008: 146 fn 12).

(132) Old French, ca. 1080
Context: About converting to Christianism.
*Charles respunt: “**Uncore purrat guar-ir**.”*
C. reply.3SG still can.FUT.3SG save-INF
‘Charles replies, “**He may yet/still be saved**.”’ (*La chanson de Roland*, cited in Hansen 2008: 146 fn 12, glosses added)

In the same vein, Shetter (1966) points out that similarly ambiguous instances are frequently encountered in present-day German. This is illustrated in (133), featuring the STILL expression *noch* and a periphrastic necessity construction. To all appearances, a comparable case is found in the Kaba example (134). As far as the speaker’s communicative goals are concerned, the difference between the two construals is subtle, at best.

(133) German
Trotz der schön-en selbst-gezogen-en Perinette- und
despite DEF.GEN.PL beautiful-GEN.PL self-grown-PL P. and
*Grand-Richard-Äpfel, **die noch zu prüf-en waren**,*
G.-R.-apple.PL REL.NOM.PL still to check-INF COP.PST.3PL
a-m Nach-mittag war ich davon-geritten.
at-DEF.DAT.SG.M after-noon(M) COP.PST.1SG 1SG off-ride.PTCP
‘Despite the fine home-grown Perinette and Grand Richard apples **that were still to be tasted/to be tasted at some point**, come afternoon I had set off.’ (Storm, *Der Schimmelreiter*, glosses added)

(134) Kaba
*Àkàá kə̀sə nàrɛ̀ làá **nàyn tà kàrə ń-tél né***
but leftover money GEN.3SG stay PURP CAUS SUBJ.3SG-return ANAPH
***d-ár-ɛ́ bbay**.*
SUBJ.3PL-DAT.AUX-OBJ.3SG still
‘But his change **remained to be returned to him yet**.’ (Moser 2004: 356)

While (132, 133) feature auxiliary verb constructions and (134) involves a purpose clause, there is no reason to assume that the same reinterpretation cannot apply to more strongly grammaticalised contexts, and the above-mentioned restrictions of Mundang *ɓà* to certain modal paradigms may simply be a reflection of this function's history.

2.4.5 Uses relating to sequentiality

2.4.5.1 'First, for now'

2.4.5.1.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I discuss a use of STILL expressions that marks precedence. This can be in a strictly sequential sense, with the situation depicted in the clause constituting the initial step in a series; an illustration is given in (135), where Kalamang *tok* depicts the prayer as the first act of the day. Alternatively, the notion of precedence can pertain to a preliminary situation that may be superseded later. This is shown in (136), where Japhug *pɤjk^{h}u* contrasts the time for which the prompt to take a break is valid with a subsequent time span at which work will be resumed.

(135) Kalamang
Context: The protagonists have decided to set out for a trip.
Go yuol=ta me, wa me o, hari sabtu <me tok>,
condition day=NON.FIN TOP PROX TOP EMPH day saturday TOP still,
***mu tok doa salamar=at paruo**, fibir-un.*
3PL still prayer good_wish=OBJ do/make fibre-POSS.3
'The next day, Saturday, they first, **they first did the good wish prayer**, for their fibre boat.' (Visser 2021b)

(136) Japhug
***Nɤʑo pɤjkhu tɯ-rzɯɣ tɤ-nɯna** tɕe tɕetha rɤma-tɕi.*
2SG still one-section IMP-rest LNK later work-1DU
'你暂时休息 一下，等一会我们再工作 [**Take a break for now** and we'll work again later].' (Jacques 2016: 361, glosses added)

The use I discuss here bears some similarity to the "further-to" use I address in Section 3.3.3, and which likewise suggests a contrast between the time under discussion and a subsequent interval. The key difference is that the latter function marks an event as an addition to some larger, ongoing course of events. Thus, in (137) the act of taking a shower is depicted as belonging to the phase of the day defined by soccer practice, while also signalling that it lies just before the transition to dinner time. Lastly, note that I discuss the marking of precedence in subordinate contexts ‘before *p*, *q*’ separately in Section 2.5.3.3.

(137) German
Context: I have just come home from soccer practice. It is fairly late.
Ich dusch’ ***noch***. *Dann gibt-’s Abend-essen.*
1SG take_shower.1SG still then EXIST.3SG-3SG.N evening-meal(N)
‘**I’m just taking a quick shower**. Dinner will be just after.’ (Beck 2019: 16)

2.4.5.1.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 2.11 lists the ten expressions in my sample for which the ‘first, for now’ use is attested.[33] As can be gathered, it is found in all macro-areas minus Australia and with independent grammatical words as well as with clitics and affixes. Note that, in addition to the items listed, Wardaman *gaya-wun* and Western Shoshoni *eki-sen* transparently go back to ‘now/today-pertaining_to’ and ‘now-only’, respectively.

Table 2.11: ‘For now, for a while, first’

Macro-area	Language	Expression	Appendix
Africa	Adamawa Fulfulde	*tawon*	B.1.1.4.1
	Bende	*sya-*	B.4.2.4.1
Eurasia	Japhug	*pɣjkʰu*	D.6.2.4.1
North America	Classical Nahuatl	*oc*	E.1.2.4.3
Papunesia	Kalamang	*tok*	F.7.2.5.1
	Paiwan	*=anan*	F.14.2.4.2
	Saisiyat	*nahan*	F.16.2.3.3
South America	Cavineña	*=jari*	G.1.2.4.1
	Culina	*-kha*	G.2.2.3.1
	Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua	*-raq*	G.3.1.4.1

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[33] Outside of my sample, this use has been described for *nánu* in the Bantu language Língala (Nassenstein & Pasch 2021), as well as for *ci-* in another Bantu language, Luvale (Horton 1949: 130–131), and its Holoholo cognate *ki-* (Coupez 1955: 103–104). In Papunesian, it is attested for *ngabak* in the Austronesian language Dakaka (von Prince 2015: 222–223) and for Yeri (Nuclear Torricelli) *kua* (Wilson 2017: 477–479). A candidate from South America is Tariana (Arawakan) *daka* (examples throughout Aikhenvald 2003).

2.4.5.1.3 A closer look

On closer examination of the 'first, for now' use, there is a noteworthy gray area between this function and phasal polarity STILL, as evidenced by examples like (138). Here, the state in question is obtained before topic time (the time under discussion) and the speaker intends for it to remain the same way, albeit not endlessly so, as becomes evident from the discourse context.

(138) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua
Ama(-raq) aywa-y-raq-chu. ***Ka-ku-yka:-shun-raq.***
NEG-still go-FUT.2-still-NEG COP-REFL-IPFV-FUT:1PL.INCL-still
'Don't go yet. **Let's be yet (awhile here together)**.' (Weber 1989: 388)

In fact, as-yet unactualised states-of-affairs, be it ones that entail the persistence of a pre-existing condition or ones corresponding to an entirely new situation, are a recurrent theme. Thus, with Cavineña *=jari* the relevant use is primarily found in imperative-hortative constructions and with predictions of transient future situations. Both types of contexts are illustrated in (139).

(139) Cavineña
a. ***Pisu-kwe=jari=shana juye=ekatse!*** *Pa-kanajara ekatse!*
untie-IMP.SG=still=PITY ox=DU JUSS-rest 3DU
'**Untie the oxen (DU) for a while**, the poor animals (who are suffering so much pulling the cart)! Let them (DU) rest!' (Guillaume 2008: 655)
b. ***Tasi ju-ya=jari*** *metajudya=ishu.*
drive_taxi:1SG COP-IPFV=still tomorrow=PURP
'**I will drive my (motorcycle) taxi a little bit** for (me to have money) tomorrow.' (Guillaume 2008: 662)

A third type of context in which *=jari* can have the 'first, for now' reading is the turn- or conversation closer in (140). The latter appears to be a cross-linguistically recurring environment, and similar attestations are found with Classical Nahuatl *oc* and with Culina *-kha*.

(140) Cavineña
*Jadya=kamadya=**jari**!*
thus=only=still
'That's all **for now**! (but there will be another meeting or story)' (Guillaume 2008: 662; Antoine Guillaume, p.c.)

In the case of Bende *syá-* the use in question is restricted to the formally unmarked imperfective present. It is noteworthy, however, that this collocation always involves a modal component in the form of an exhortation; see (141). Relatedly, in Paiwan the 'first, for now' use of *=anan* often blends into an announcement of what the speaker is about to do, or that it is someone's turn to perform an act (Appendix F.14.2.4.3). This is illustrated in (142).

(141) Bende
*Tu-**syá**-tehǎ.*
SUBJ.1PL-still-love
'Let us love first.' (Abe 2016)

(142) Paiwan
Context: Crab and Monkey are trying to burn one another. The fire did no harm to Crab.
Sa tisun-ay=anan, *qali-an i ḍai~ḍail.*
and 2SG.NOM-SBJV=STILL friend-NMLZ PREP REDUPL~monkey
[Crab:] '**Now it's your turn**, friend monkey.'
(Early & Whitehorn 2003: 197)

With Kalamang *tok* and Saisiyat *nahan*, on the other hand, 'first, for now' has given rise to a politeness function in directive speech acts; see (143). As I discuss in some more detail in Section 3.5.6.2, this is a clear instance of intersubjectivisation, based on reducing the threat to the addressee's negative face and acknowledging the imposition that is being made.

(143) Saisiyat
*Si'ael **nahaen**.*
eat.IMP still
'Chi gė dongxi (zài zǒu) ba! / Come have a bite (**before you leave**)!'
(Huang 2008: 120).

Given that the situation depicted in the predicate need neither be actualised nor persistent, the 'first, for now' use is less selective than phasal polarity STILL when it comes to aspect and actionality. For instance, in (144), it occurs together with an achievement predicate 'give', signalling that the transfer of possession is only temporary. To give another example, in (146) below this function goes together with a perfective viewpoint.

(144) Culina
O-kha koshiro tia-za ***da o-to-na-kha-ni towi****.*
1sg-poss knife 2-loc give 1sg-it-aux-still-decl.f fut
‘Emprestarei minha faca para você. [**I’ll lend** you my knife.]’
(Tiss 2004: 185)[34]

In terms of its larger sentential embedding, this use, like many functional extensions of still expressions, is recurrently attested with other items that have a similar meaning. For instance, in the Classical Nahuatl example (152) *oc* goes together with *achto* ‘first’. In (146), the predicate modified by Saisiyat *nahan* itself denotes a transitory event ‘pass by’.

(145) Classical Nahuatl
In ìcuāc ti-tla-chpāna-z-nequi, ***oc***
det when subj.2sg-obj.indef.non.human-sweep-prosp-want still
yê achto in ti-tl-àhuachī-z*.*
actually first det subj.2sg-obj.indef.non.human-irrigate-prosp
‘Quando quieras barrer, primero has de regar. [When you want to sweep, **you first have to apply water**.]’ (Carochi 1645: 502, glosses added)

(146) Saisiyat
Yako kal-’aish *kala* ***’okay naehan****, ma-’ngel=ila.*
1sg.nom pass-in_passing loc.pl O. still stat-slow=compl
‘**I stopped by Okay’s home for a while** and was late (for the meeting).’
(Zeitoun et al. 2015: 561)

Lastly, Culina *-kha*, first seen in (144) above, is an interesting case. To all appearances, even in its function as a marker of phasal polarity it tends to evoke a notion of precedence. Thus, Tiss (2004: 183) describes its semantic import in such sentences as “before something else happens, the situation in question still continues for a limited time”.[35] Example (147) is an illustration. As I discuss in Section 3.4.3, in this characteristic Culina *-kha* is very similar to another sample expression, Mateq *bayu*. The main difference is that *bayu* is not attested in a purely relational sense. I return to this point below.

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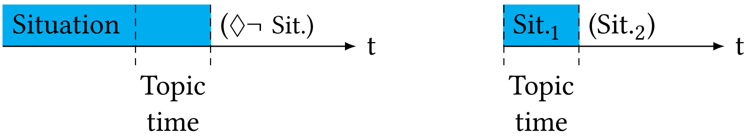
[34] As Tiss (2004: 185) discusses, the translation as *emprestar* ‘lend’ is due to the collocation of *da* ‘give’ and *-kha*. Without this suffix, the predicate would be understood as denoting a permanent transfer of possession.

[35] In the original Portuguese, “antes de algo novo acontecer, a situação em questão ainda continua por um período limitado”.

(147) Culina
Zohe papeo wa wa ***na-kha-wi.***
Z. paper call call 3:aux-still-decl.m
'Zohe ainda está lendo (antes de logo fazer outras coisas). [Zohe **is still** reading (**before later** doing something else).' (Tiss 2004: 184)

2.4.5.1.4 Discussion

I now turn to a discussion of the conceptual and usage-based ties between phasal polarity still and the 'first, for now' use. In general terms, both functions share a sequential component in that they evoke a contrast between a situation (or a state brought about by one) and a subsequent phase at which it may have ceased.[36] Figure 2.3 is a graphic comparison, using an imperfective viewpoint for ease of comparison. Given this similarity plus the lack of etymological or historical data for most of the relevant expressions, a development in either direction seems plausible.



(a) still

(b) First, for now (ipfv)

Figure 2.3: Schematic illustration of 'first, for now' (with an imperfective viewpoint)

The one sample expression for which a primacy of phasal polarity can be firmly established is Bende *syá-*. Thus, cognates of this prefix are widespread across Eastern Bantu as markers of phasal polarity, but usually without an additional precedence function (Abe 2015, 2016). Earlier I pointed out that the Bende case always contributes an exhortative force, as seen in (141) above. Example (148) is another illustration.

(148) Bende
*Tu-**syá**-kola mú-límó.*
subj.1pl-still-do ncl3-work
i. 'We are still working.'
ii. '**Let us work first**.' (Abe 2015: 29)

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[36] A very similar observation is made by Launey (1986: 1264).

This element of necessity suggests that the precedence function of *syá-* goes back to statements about persistent intentions or obligations, together with the conventionalisation of an erstwhile relevance implicature. For instance, in a case like (148) an assertion that there is work to be done could suggest that once this task has been ticked off, the group can turn their attention to whatever the addressee has in mind. Support for this interpretation comes from a comparable configuration in Holoholo (not in my sample) that features the cognate prefix *ki-*. This construction, illustrated in (149) marks a "process that must take place before another one" (Coupez 1955: 104).[37] This scenario is very similar to one of the pathways I suggest in Section 3.3.3 for the "further-to" use of German *noch* and Hills Karbi *-làng*, except that what is profiled here is the contrast with subsequent situations, rather than cohesion with preceding ones.

(149) Holoholo
*Tw-a-**ki**-lólâ.*
SUBJ.1PL-PRS-still-look
'Il faut que nous regardions d'abord. [We **have to** look **first**.]'
(Coupez 1955: 103, glosses added)

The sample data suggest another pathway from phasal polarity STILL to 'first, for now'. As I pointed out initially, the two functions overlap in contexts that feature an exhortation to the effect that an already existing situation be preserved, such as in (138) above, or in (150). Closely related are attestations like (151), where it is the semantics of the predicate 'leave the tips' that includes an element of causation. What is more, this predicate by itself entails the seamless continuation of a prior state. The contribution of the additional STILL expression with its requirement for an alterable situation, can then, via the maxim of quantity, be taken to indicate 'for the time being'.

(150) Cavineña
*E-ra=tu ani-sha-ya=**jari**.*
1SG-ERG=3SG sit-CAUS-IPFV=still
'I will retain him (lit. make him sit) **some more time**.'
(Guillaume 2008: 289)

(151) Kalamang
Context: The narrator was constructing a canoe.
*An se ewun=at kies ah **tim=at an tok mamun**.*
1SG already trunk=OBJ carve INTERJ edge=OBJ 1SG still leave
'I carved (cut off) the base, **I still [for the time being] left the tips**.'
(Visser 2021b)

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[37] In the original French, "procès qui doit se dérouler avant un autre".

From instances like (150, 151) it is only a very narrow gap to an example like (152), where a new preliminary state is established. In other words, there is a continuum running from ‘let/make still be’ to ‘let/make be for now’ and ultimately ‘do/be for now’.

(152) Classical Nahuatl
Oc ni-c-cahua ***in,*** *quin çā-tēpan*
still SUBJ.1SG-OBJ.3SG-leave DET then only-momentarily
ni-c-tzonquīxtī-z *in* *ī-tlàtōllo,* *in* *oncān*
SUBJ.1SG-OBJ.3SG-finish-PROSP DET POSS.3SG-speech DET there
ī-monecyan.
POSS.3SG-proper_place/time
‘Dexolo aqui por agora, después acabaré de tratar dello en su lugar. [**I’ll leave it at this for now**, I’ll finish talking about it afterwards, in due time.]’ (Carochi 1645: 500, glosses added)

Turning to the reverse direction, a development from marking precedence to phasal polarity STILL has been proposed by van Baar (1997: 90-91) for *-raq* and its equivalents across Quechuan. This seems plausible for several reasons. To begin with, it would provide for a motivated and direct link to the temporal restrictive function ‘no earlier than’ of Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua *-raq* and its congeners, illustrated in (153), namely as a separate extension rooted in ‘first *p*, (then) *q*’.

(153) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua
Ñaka-y-ta-raq *tari-sha.*
take_long_time-INF-ADV-still find-ANT.3
‘He found it **only after** he had searched **a good while**.’ (Weber 1993: 132)

Secondly, the transparent origin of Western Shoshoni *ekisen* in ‘right now’ and that of Wardaman *gayawun* in ‘pertaining to now’ point in the same evolutionary direction.[38] Lastly, the data on Culina *-kha* suggest that this expression is currently in the transitional stage. As I discussed earlier, even when marking persistence, *-kha* appears to often evoke notions of restrictive ‘only’ or of relational ‘before …’. This was seen in (147) above; example (154) is another illustration.

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[38] Outside of my sample van der Auwera (1998: 75) lists Lithuanian *dar* < *dabar* ‘now’ and van Baar (1997: 94) indicates that *napy* in the Siberian isolate Nivkh could go back to a deictic element *na* and *by* ‘only’.

(154) Culina
A: *Ami wadani?*
‘A mãe está dormindo? [Is mother sleeping?]’
B: *Nowe ra-ni* ***hapi na-kha-ni****.*
3:not_be aux-decl.f bathe 3:aux-still-decl.f
‘Não (está), ela ainda está tomando banho (antes de logo aparecer).’
[No she isn’t, **she’s still bathing (before showing up after)**.]
(Tiss 2004: 184)

Presumably, in this scenario the acquisition of a persistive meaning component goes back to the recurrent use of an expression in contexts that involve pre-established states or processes together with an imperfective viewpoint. Again, a conceivable bridge can be found in instances where a preliminary continuation of a situation is at stake, such as in (138), repeated below. Another type of context that could have played a role is illustrated in (155). Here, the at-issue content corresponds to the mid-point in a development. This not only allows for a contrast with a later stage at which the process has become completed. Crucially, it also entails a prior process leading from ‘raw’ to ‘half cooked’ (for more discussion of phasal polarity and scalar predicates, see Section 2.2.2).

(138) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua
Ama(-raq) aywa-y-raq-chu. ***Ka-ku-yka:-shun-raq****.*
neg-still go-fut.2-still-neg cop-refl-ipfv-fut:1pl.incl-still
‘Don’t go yet. **Let’s be yet (awhile here together)**.’ (Weber 1989: 388)

(155) *Mute-ga* ***capru-lla-rä-mi****. Mana-mi pata-n-rä-chu.*
mote-top half_cooked-only-still-evid neg-evid burst-3-still-neg
‘El mote está todavía a medio cocinar. Todavía no se revienta / The muti **is still half cooked**. It has not yet cracked open.’ (Weber et al. 2008: 121, glosses added)

Lastly, examples (138, 155) also contain an adjacent, negated clause and thereby illustrate another point. Thus, it is likely that the development from ‘first, for now’ to marking phasal polarity still went together with signalling not yet via ‘not for now, not at first’. This is an independently attested strategy, an example being Bambara *fɔ́lɔ* in (156). Such a configuration can easily be reinterpreted as still ¬*p* and most expressions in Table 2.11 participate in signalling not yet together with a negator (the exceptions being Bende *sya-* and Classical Nahuatl *oc*).

(156) Bambara

a. *Nà yàn* ***fɔ́lɔ!***
come here first
'Viens ici d'abord! [Come here **first**/**for the moment**!]'

b. *Ù* ***má*** *nà* ***fɔ́lɔ.***
3PL NEG.PFV come first
'They have **not** come **yet**.' (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2020: 105)

2.4.5.2 Sequencing 'and then'

2.4.5.2.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I discuss a use in which a STILL expression marks a subsequent event in a series 'and then, afterwards'. The Bukiyip example in (157) is an illustration. Here, *wotak* signals that the situation depicted in its host clause 'look at the betel nut' is intended to occur after, and is tied to, the one depicted in the preceding clause.

(157) Bukiyip
Context: A boy has climbed up a betel nut tree to look for betel nuts. Trying to split one open, he got stuck by a wasp. A bystander shouts.
Kw-autu-i anab ***wotak***
IMP-throw_down-VEN INDEF.NCL1.SG still
i-túl-úb, ***bú-b.***
SUBJ.1SG:IRR-see-OBJ.NCL1.SG betel_nut-NCL1.SG
'Throw down one betel nut **and I'll [then] take a look at it**.'
(Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 233, glosses added)

Note that the sequencing use differs from the additive one I discuss in Section 3.3.2 in the temporal ordering it establishes. For instance, example (158) features Mandarin Chinese *hái* as 'in addition, also', but does not entail that ironing the tablecloth follows the chores described in the preceding clauses. Lastly, the function I address here also differs from the use of STILL expressions as coordinators (Section 3.3.6), in that it does not establish a syntactic relationship between clauses.

(158) Mandarin Chinese
Zhāngsān dǎsǎo le fángzi, zuò le dàngāo ***hái yùn le zhuōbù.***
Z. sweep PFV house do PFV cake still iron PFV tablecloth
'Zhangsan a balayé la pièce, a fait un gâteau et aussi/même repassé la nappe. [Zhangsan swept the room, baked a cake and also ironed the tablecloth.]' (Donazzan 2008: 113)

2.4.5.2.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 2.12 lists the four expressions in my sample that have the sequencing use. As can be gathered, they stem from unrelated languages and three distinct macro-areas. Except for the case of Kekchí, where the sequencing function is marked by a polymorphemic collocation, all instances involve small, grammatical words. Lastly, the inclusion of Kaba *bbây* here is somewhat tentative. Although Moser & Dingatoloum (2007: 310, 407) list *ensuite* 'afterwards' and *puis* 'then' as senses of this expression, there are no clear-cut instances of a sequencing use in the data I consulted. However, the existence of this function has been established beyond doubt for the cognate item *ɓə́y*/*ɓí* in the other two Western Sara languages, Laka and Ngambay (Keegan 2014: 130; Thayer 1978: 108, 114; Vandame 1963: 119, 138). I therefore resort to illustrations from these varieties.[39]

Table 2.12: Event sequencing

Macro-area	Language	Expression	Collocate	Appendix
Africa	Mundang	*ɓà*		B.9.1.3.2
	Kaba	*bbây*[a]		B.7.1.3.3
North America	Kekchí	*toj*	*toja'*~*toje'*~*tojo' naq* 'still.SUBORD SUBORD'	E.5.1.3.2
Papunesia	Bukiyip	*wotak*		F.3.2.4.1

[a] With qualifications; see discussion.

2.4.5.2.3 A closer look

A first illustration of the sequencing use has been given in (157) above. As in that example, this function typically involves the juxtaposition of two clauses, and the situations depicted in the two clauses often form a pair of preparation and culmination. In fact, the Laka and Ngambay cognates of Kaba *bbây* commonly figure in a fixed pattern [[p *ɓá*] [q *ɓə́y*/*ɓí*]] '*p* first, *q* still', i.e. 'first *p* then *q*'. This is illustrated in (159, 160).

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[39] In addition; Huang (2007, 2008: 114–116) suggests that Saisiyat *nahan* possesses a sequencing function. Both his description and the few available examples are, however, compatible with the additive use that the same expression has.

(159) Laka
ɨ́-tɔ́l *bāngàw* ***ɓá*** ***d-ɔ́ bɨ̄*** ***ɓí***.
SUBJ.3PL-peel sweet_potato first SUBJ.3PL-fry still
‘On pèle la patate douce avand de la frire. [One peels the sweet potato **first and then fries it**.]’ (Keegan 2014: 123, glosses added)

(160) Ngambay
K-únd-á *sár~sár* ***ɓá*** ***d-ḭ̰́ā̰-á*** ***ɓə́y***.
SUBJ.3PL-beat-OBJ.3SG REDUPL~long_time first SUBJ.3PL-let-OBJ.3SG still
‘Ils le frappaient pendant longtemps, puis ils l’ont laissé. [They were hitting him for a long time, **then they left him**.]’
(Keegan 2014: 259, glosses added)

While such bi-clausal patterns are certainly a common theme with the event sequencing use, they do not constitute a hard-and-fast rule. For instance, in the Bukiyip example (161) the initial ‘fixing the road’ event is elaborated upon in a sequence of clauses before turning to its culmination.

(161) Bukiyip
Énech *ch-ú-lib* *wichap,*
INDEF.NCL8.PL SUBJ.NCL8.PL-IRR-cut grass
‘Some of them will cut grass,’

énech, chútúk dagubés. Énech chúblo lowas, énech chúlak éménab, inap chúne-stretimu yah étúh.
‘some will take out bamboo roots, some will cut trees, some will smooth out the ground and they will continue until they have fixed up the road.’

Bai wotak *ch-ú-tanomoli* ***gen***.
FUT still SUBJ.NCL8.PL-IRR-return:VEN again
‘And then they will return.’ (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 126, glosses added)

In Kekchí, the sequential use is often understood as marking an immediate or sudden development, as in (162). In structural terms, it is noteworthy that it involves a form *toja’* (or its regional variants *toje’*, *tojo’*), which is an irregular merger of the STILL expression *toj* and the subordinator *naq*, and which also forms an integral part of a near past construction (Section 2.4.6.1). I return to this point below.

(162) Kekchí

Naq	*x-e’-raq-e’*	*chi*	*x-b’anunk-il,*	***toja’***
subord	pfv-3pl-finish-pass	comp	poss.3sg-do-nmlz	still.subord

naq	***x-e’-ok***	***chi***	***x-k’at-b’al.***
subord	pfv-3pl-start	comp	pfv.3sg-burn-nmlz

‘When they finished doing that, **then (immediately) they began to burn it.**’ (Kockelman 2020: 468)

In the case of Mundang *ɓà* all relevant attestations in Elders’s (2000) grammar involve future situations, as in (163). This is another point that I return to below.

(163) Mundang

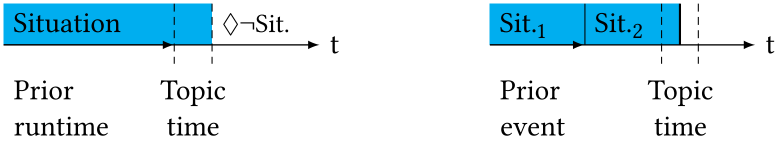
Sóó	*mó*	*cḭ̄ḭ̄*	*ɓè,*	***nà***	***pʊ̀ò-n***	***mə̀ngwáá***	***ɓà.***
millet	sit	germinate	ant	1pl.incl	work-ipfv	first_plowing	still

‘Quand le mil aura germé, nous ferons le premier labour. [Once the millet has germinated, **we will do the first plowing.**]’ (Elders 2000: 383)

Lastly, given that the use I discuss here does not involve persistence of one and the same situation, it does not require a viewpoint that is fully contained in it, nor need the situation necessarily extend in time. On the contrary, this function is commonly found in conjunction with a perfective viewpoint, as well as with achievement predicates, such as in (160–162).

2.4.5.2.4 Discussion

The sequencing function bears an obvious similarity to the concept of still in that it involves the accumulation of temporal intervals. Thus, comparable to how the concept of still involves an advanced runtime of the situation depicted in the clause, the use I discuss here involves the accumulation of sub-parts of one contiguous and overarching situation. This is schematically illustrated in Figure 2.4, using a perfective viewpoint for ease of illustration.



(a) still

(b) Sequencing (with pfv)

Figure 2.4: Graphic illustration of sequencing use

Unfortunately, the history of most items in Table 2.12 remains obscure, except for Kekchí *toj*. Therefore I can only make educated guesses concerning more concrete links to the same expressions as markers of phasal polarity. To begin with, there is the distinct possibility that the two functions constitute separate developments out of a common ancestor, insofar as relevant sources figure in the known etymologies of other still expressions. For instance, Hebrew *ʕadayin* is most likely from Aramaic *ʔedayin* 'then, thereupon' (Tsirkin-Sadan 2019 and references therein) and, outside of my sample, Levantine Arabic *baʕd* has its lexical source in 'behind, after' (Taine-Cheikh 2016). Another conceivable nexus lies in an iterative/restitutive function, as there is a known connection between 'again' and the marking of sequential events (e.g. Moyse-Faurie 2012; Zhang 2017). This repetition function is attested for Kaba *bbáy* and its Laka and Ngambay cognates (Moser 2004: 426; Vandame 1963: 118–119; examples throughout Keegan 2014). In this scenario, an example like (164) could constitute a critical context, in that it involves both a restitution of the subject's location and what can be read as the preparation and culmination stages of one overarching event of cyclical motion.

(164) Ngambay
M-āo *ɓá* *m-ā* ***ɗè*** ***ɓéi*.**
subj.1sg-go first subj.1sg-fut come still
'Je pars et je reviendrai. [I'm going and **I'll come back**.]'
(Vandame 1963: 119, glosses added)

Featuring a future event, example (164) also illustrates yet another possible source for the sequencing use. Thus, the relevant Kaba/Laka/Ngambay expressions, as well as Mundang *ɓà*, also have a prospective 'eventually' function. This use shares a key ingredient with the one I discuss here: it marks the continuity of an overarching course of events that culminates in the situation depicted in the clause. As I discuss in Section 2.4.4, the prospective function finds a motivated source in phasal polarity still plus contexts of a persistent prediction, where scope ambiguity can lead to a reanalysis of 'can/must still …' as 'can/must … eventually'. In other words, there is a conceivable cline running from still via prospective 'eventually' to the sequencing function, and throughout this cline there is stable semantic core of temporal advancement. This would yield a motivated explanation for the fact that all relevant examples of Mundang *ɓà* feature unactualised, pending situations. Although the two functions can be differentiated synchronically on the basis of their inflectional compatibilities (the 'eventually' use, but not the sequencing one requires either the potentialis or the optative mood), there are attestations like (165) which are compatible with both.

(165) Mundang
Mō tə́ráŋ tə̀kíí hʊ̰́ó̰ pīī kō ***mō tíŋ***
SUBJ.2SG dilute.OPT gruel DEM first CONJ SUBJ.2SG.OPT start.OPT
zə̀-n-yā ɓà*.*
drink-INF-POSS.3SG still
'Dilue d'abord cette bouillie, avant que tu commences à la boire.' [Dilute this gruel first, and **then you start drinking it.]** (Elders 2000: 384)

Lastly, a somewhat different pathway appears to be at play in the case of Kekchí *toj*. Earlier I pointed out that the sequencing construction in this language involves *toja'~toje'~tojo'*, an irregular merger of the STILL expression *toj* and the subordinator *naq*. Its second constituent part is another, uneroded instance of *naq*. This was seen in (162), repeated below. Example (166) is another illustration.

(162) Kekchí
Naq x-e'-raq-e' chi x-b'anunk-il, ***toja'***
SUBORD PFV-3PL-finish-PASS COMP POSS.3SG-do-NMLZ still.SUBORD
naq x-e'-ok chi x-k'at-b'al*.*
SUBORD PFV-3PL-start COMP PFV.3SG-burn-NMLZ
'When they finished doing that, **then** (**immediately**) **they began to burn it**.' (Kockelman 2020: 468)

(166) *Xb'eenwa t-oo-wa'aq* ***tojo' naq t-oo-xik****.*
first PROSP-1PL–eat still.SUBORD SUBORD PROSP-1PL-leave
'Primero comeremos y luego nos vamos. [We'll eat first, **then we'll leave**.]' (Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q'eqchi' 2004: 193, glosses added)

Toja' and its dialectal variants also form an integral part of a near past construction, which is illustrated in (167). As I discuss in Section 2.4.6.1, one possible interpretation of the latter construction involves *toj* in yet another function, namely as a temporal restrictive 'no earlier than', i.e. '(it is) not until now/then (when) …'. A sequencing function can easily be derived from the same meaning. In this case, the link to phasal polarity STILL is a fairly indirect one. As Kockelman (2020) points out, across all these uses, however, there is again a stable core in the form of temporal progress leading up to a certain point in time.

(167) Kekchí
Toje' *x-c'ulun arin Cobán.*
still.SUBORD PFV.3SG-arrive here C.
'Hace poco que vino aquí a Cobán. [He **just recently** came here to Cobán.]' (Eachus & Carlson 1980: 202, glosses added)

2.4.6 Degrees of temporal remoteness

In this subsection, I discuss uses of STILL expressions that pertain to the degrees of temporal remoteness of a past or future situation. The examples in (168, 169) are illustrations. In (168), Tunisian Arabic *māzāl* combines with an adverbial clause introduced by *kīf* 'when/how' that features a verb in the perfective aspect paradigm. This collocation signals an immediate past situation. In (169), Western Shoshoni *ekisen* narrows down the future time frame to one in the vicinity of the speaker's now.

(168) Tunisian Arabic
Znīxā uxt-i ***māzāl-t kīf*** ***xḏā-t****.*
Z. sister-POSS.1SG still-3SG.F when/how take_spouse.PFV-3SG.F
'Meine Schwester Zulayxa hat eben erst geheiratet. [My sister Zulayxa **just recently got married**, lit. my sister Zulayxa is still when/how she married.]' (Singer 1984: 651, glosses added)

(169) Western Shoshoni
Ekisen *tahma-to'i-han-****to'i****.*
still spring-emerge-RES-FUT
'**Pretty soon** it's going to be spring.' (Crum & Dayley 1993: 150, glosses by McLaughlin 2012: 68)

As in (168, 169), the relevant readings all arise in specific collocational contexts, which I lay out in more detail below. Note that in I do not consider transparently compositional cases in which a STILL expression has scope over a stative predicate that expresses a degree of temporal distance, as in (170).

(170) English
It is still recent that *the Gators found out they are taking on Arkansas and Texas A&M this season.* (found online)

That said, a borderline case is found in Maybrat. In this language, the combination of the STILL expression *fares* and *tna* 'new, recently' is a transparently compositional way of marking a near past situation; see (171). However, this collocation has become strongly conventionalised and, what is more, the originally bipartite structure appears to have merged to a single clause. Lastly, for a discussion of still expressions as focus-sensitive scalar operators 'as late/early as, as far removed as', see Section 2.5.2.3.

(171) Maybrat
Au ma-ama ***tna fares*** *iye.*
3u 3u-come new still too
'She also came **very recently**. (lit. She came, it is still recent too.)'
(Dol 2007: 164)

In what follows, I first examine the predominant case in the sample, namely the marking of temporal proximity in the past (Section 2.4.6.1). I then move on to a discussion of future-oriented uses (Section 2.4.6.2).

2.4.6.1 Past proximity

2.4.6.1.1 Introduction

The Tunisian Arabic example (168), repeated below, illustrates a past degrees-of-remoteness construction centred around a still expression. Here, *māzāl* combines with an adverbial clause that contains a verb in the perfective aspect paradigm, together signalling that the situation in question took place just recently.

(168) Tunisian Arabic
Znīxā uxt-i ***māzāl-t kīf xḏā-t.***
Z. sister-poss.1sg still-3sg.f when/how take_spouse.pfv-3sg.f
'Meine Schwester Zulayxa hat eben erst geheiratet [My sister Zulayxa **just recently got married**, lit. my sister Zulayxa is still when/how she married].' (Singer 1984: 651, glosses added)

Like the Tunisian *māzāl kī(f)* construction, all relevant instances in the sample data involve a near past. This constitutes a crucial difference to the marking of degrees of temporal remoteness in the future; see Section 2.4.6.2.

2.4.6.1.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 2.13 lists the seven expressions in my sample that are involved in signalling past proximity. As can be gathered, this function is attested in genetically unrelated languages from Africa, North America, and Papunesia. In terms of their composition, two cases (featuring Tunisian Arabic *māzāl* and Kekchí *toj*) involve syntactically complex constructions.

Table 2.13: Near past collocations

Macro-area	Language	Exp.	Collocate	Appx.
Africa	B.-G. Datooga	*údu-*	Non-future tense plus telic predicate	B.3.2.3.2
	Bende	*syá-*	Perfective aspect	B.4.2.4.2
	Tunisian Arabic	*māzāl*	*Kī(f)* ‘when’ plus perfective aspect or participle	B.18.2.5.1
North America	Gitxsan/Nisga’a	*ḵ’ay*	Achievement predicate or *hlis* ‘finish’	E.3.2.3.1
	Maricopa	-*haay*	Perfective aspect or achievement predicate	E.6.2.3.1
	Kekchí	*toj*	*Naq* ‘SUBORD’ plus perfective aspect	E.5.1.3.1
Papunesia	Western Dani	*awo*	Intermediate past or non-finite medial clause	F.18.2.4.1

In the following discussion, I first examine the aspectual and temporal characteristics of the near past use in some more detail, to then address the question of its functional motivation and lastly sketch out conceivable diachronic pathways.

2.4.6.1.3 A closer look: The viewpoint

Like the Tunisian Arabic example (168), all attestations of the near past use appear to involve an anterior viewpoint, that is to say, a topic time which is fully contained in a situation’s aftermath (Section 1.6.3). Against this backdrop, it is worthwhile taking a brief look at the collocates listed in Table 2.13 and their position in the respective tense-aspect systems to lay the ground for the following discussion. As this summary will show, all cases involve verbal paradigms that have an anterior viewpoint as one of their readings. In some cases, the aspectual viewpoint is determined by the predicate’s telicity, or boundedness on the lexical/phrasal level (Section 1.6.3.1).[40]

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[40] Outside of my sample, Ngemba (Bantoid) *wí* constitutes what, at first sight, appears to be a counterexample. This auxiliary-like marker, which often translates as ‘still’ takes (as far as inflected verbs are concerned) only imperfective complements, yet it can have a ‘have just Verb-ed’ reading. However, as Mekamgoum (2021: 220) states, *wí* “is not semantically dedicated to phasal polarity as it originally conceptualises the notion of ‘just’ or ‘venir juste de’ in French; it refers to a non-continuative event that takes place a short time prior to the reference time”. In other words, the relevant readings are not determined by the aspectual inflection of *wí*’s syntactic complement, but by the viewpoint of the larger clause. In broad strokes, an imperfective viewpoint yields persistence, whereas ‘have/had just Verb-ed’ arises in non-imperfective contexts.

Thus, in Bende, Kekchí, Maricopa, and Tunisian Arabic, near past construals mainly involve with what is termed the “perfect(ive)” in the respective descriptive traditions. For Bende, Kekchí, and Tunisian Arabic, the available grammatical descriptions indicate that these inflections have an anterior viewpoint among their functions (Kockelman 2010: 92–95, 2020; Nurse 2019: s.v. *F10 Sí-bhendé, Sí-tóngwé*; Singer 1984: 298–300). Maricopa is harder to judge, but the examples throughout Gordon (1986) do not preclude an anterior viewpoint. In Tunisian Arabic, the near past use is also attested with certain predicative participles, which likewise allow for anterior readings (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014: 293; Singer 1984: 303–308). The case of Gitxsan/Nisga’a *k̲’ay* plus *hlis* ‘finish’ can be subsumed here as well.

In Western Dani, the near past use of *awo* is attested in two contexts. The first of these consists of verbs in the intermediate past inflection, as in (172). The exact range of viewpoints that this verbal paradigm has is unclear, but it stands in opposition to specifically continuous and habitual constructions (Barclay 2008: ch. 5); I address the question of its status as a tense below.

(172) Western Dani
Ndi awo aret k-inom nogo yo-gotak *kenok, roti*
and still INTENS 2PL-with sleep do-INTERM.PST:SUBJ.2PL if bread
noo-rak meek o.
eat-INTENTIVE cannot DM
‘**And if you have just slept with them** (women), you must not eat the bread.’ (Barclay 2008: 175)

The second Western Dani context consists of an uninflected medial clause in a clause chain. There is only one such instance in my data; see (173). This example features a telic predicate with an anterior viewpoint in the past, i.e. a pluperfect reading. Without further data, it is not clear whether *awo* could also yield a near past in the same syntactic environment plus an atelic predicate, or whether this combination would invariably yield phasal polarity STILL. Other examples of medial clauses (without *awo*) throughout Barclay’s (2008) grammar suggest that there is at minimum a correlation between telicity and viewpoint.

(173) Western Dani
It in-eebe awo tawe paga iniklom no-mba-kwi,
3PL POSS.3PL-body still unmarried at enjoyment OBJ.1SG-think-PL
kwe ogonggelo awo imbirak lambun-ggo logonet *ogonggelo*
woman husband still with.DU join-PL SIM.SS husband

kun-ik ee-ke menggi kwak, inik ee'-na-kwi ... eer-eegwaarak
join-adj do-sg hab.3sg like heart do-obj.1sg-subj.pl do-rem.pst
nogo n-iniki aber-ak wona-ge agarik o.
anaph poss.1sg-heart think-adj cop-sg hab.1sg cont
'When they were still unmarried (young) they loved me, **while the woman had just been united to a husband**, like she (a woman) usually unites with a husband, they loved me ... Concerning all those things they did long ago, I am always remembering them.' (Peter Barclay, p.c.)

This brings me to those cases where the aspectual viewpoint is directly linked to the telicity of the predicate. Thus, in Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga Datooga, the still expression *údu-* leads to a neutralisation of most tense-aspect oppositions to future vs. non-future. In this configuration, atelic predicates with affirmative polarity predictably bring about an imperfective viewpoint plus still, whereas telic predicates in the affirmative non-future yield the near past construal (telic predicates in the future yield 'again').[41] Example (174), featuring the adverb *qámnà* 'now', suggests that the viewpoint in this case is anterior.

(174) Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga Datooga
G-á-bày èa míi dá-yíi hà
aff-subj.3-be_early conj neg.cop subj.1sg-hear dm
g-út-tà-yíi qámnà.
aff-still-subj.1sg-hear now
'I've never heard this; **I've just heard it now**.' (Mitchell 2021: 431)

Variations on the same theme can be found in two of the relevant North American languages, Maricopa and Gitxsan/Nisga'a. In Maricopa, the perfective–imperfective opposition in realis mood only applies to durative predicates. With punctual predicates, realis mood without overt aspect inflection invariably yields a bounded viewpoint (Gordon 1986: 102–103), which is one of the contexts in which the near past reading arises. In the same vein, achievement predicates in Gitxsan/Nisga'a per default go along with a non-imperfective viewpoint (Jóhannsdóttir & Matthewson 2007) and nothing precludes the assumption that this includes an anterior perspective.

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[41] As far as can be judged from the examples in Kießling (2000) and Rottland (1982: 177–179), telic predicates without *údu-* can have habitual, progressive and bounded past interpretations, depending on context.

2.4.6.1.4 A closer look: No true past tense

The question of the aspectual viewpoint leads me to another shared characteristic across near past uses. In (173) above, the collocation of Western Dani *awo* plus a medial clause does not relate to utterance time, but involves a past-in-the-past reading '…had just been…'. The past tense itself, in the sense of an anchoring of topic time before utterance time (Section 1.6.3.1), is established by the following verb in the distant past inflection. Similar cases are attested for the relevant constructions in Gitxsan/Nisga'a, Kekchí, and Tunisian Arabic, as shown in (175–177). These examples also illustrate another point, which relates back to the question of an anterior viewpoint: where I have data from narrative discourse, the near-past use is exclusively found in background clauses.

(175) Gitxsan/Nisga'a
K̲'ay hlis bax̲=hl gimxdi-'y *win 'witxw ha'w-i'y*
still finish run=conn sister-poss.1sg subord arrive go_home-1sg
ky'oots.
yesterday
'**My sister had just finished running** when I came home yesterday.' (Aonuki 2021: 69)

(176) Kekchí
Context: About the time frame of a scary event.
Toj maak'a'-q qa-kok'al, ***toja'***
still neg.exist-non.specific poss.1pl-children still.subord
k-oo-sumlaak*.*
pfv.evid-1pl-marry
'We still had no children. **We had just married**.' (Kockelman 2020: 468)

(177) Tunisian Arabic
Kun-t ānā ***māzil-t kīf bdī-t*** *n-umġuḍ fī ṭaṛf*
cop.pfv-1sg 1sg still-1sg when begin.pfv-1sg 1sg-chew.ipfv in piece
il-lḥam hadāya u-ẓaṛṣt-i ṛā-hi
def-meat(m) prox.sg.m and-molar(f)-poss.1sg prestt-3sg.f
tnaṭṛ-it tanṭīṛa waḥd-a.
slip_out.pfv-3sg.f slip_out.nmlz(f) one-sg.f
'Ich hatte eben erst damit begonnen, auf dem Stück Fleisch herumzubeißen, da flog auch schon mein (Backen-)Zahn im hohen Bogen. [**I had only just begun** chewing on the piece of meat, when all of a sudden my molar tooth came flying out.]' (Singer 1984: 651, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

The observations just made are in line with the fact that the relevant verbal paradigms are not inherently tensed. While the case of B.-G. Datooga *údu-* involves the non-future tense, the only contribution of the latter is that topic time is no later than utterance time. The one possible exception to the rule is the Western Dani “intermediate past” inflection illustrated in (172) above. This form primarily stands in opposition to a distant past that appears to be more strongly dissociated, to use a term from Botne & Kershner (2008). It is possible that the Western Dani intermediate past is either purely aspectual (an anterior aspect), or that it establishes an ordering between time of utterance and the time of the situation. The latter is the analysis made by Cable (2013) for certain remoteness inflections in the Bantu language Gikuyu, a language not in my sample.

2.4.6.1.5 Discussion

I now turn to the question of functional motivation and possible diachronic pathways. Speaking in the most general terms, phasal polarity STILL and the near past use share a common denominator in the notion of continuity. Thus, the former highlights the connection between an earlier runtime of an ongoing situation and topic time, while contrasting it with its possible discontinuation (Section 1.4.1). Similarly, the near past use can be understood as depicting a terminated situation as being contiguous with utterance time (or some other salient evaluation time), as opposed to a more detached past occurrence.

As far as diachrony is concerned, it is likely that the use of the relevant expressions as exponents of STILL predates their past function; I address the possible exception of Kekchí *toj* below. The strongest support for this assumption comes from Tunisian Arabic *māzāl* and Bende *syá-*. *Māzāl* transparently goes back to a verbal paraphrase ‘has not ceased’, which is found as a STILL expression across several other varieties of Arabic, but without having the near past function there (Fischer et al. 2024 and references therein). Similarly, cognates of Bende *syá-* serve as phasal expressions across Eastern Bantu, but typically do not have the near past use either (Abe 2015, 2016). Evidence is slightly weaker for Maricopa *-haay*, in that cognates of this marker across River Yuman consistently serve as phasal polarity markers, though Quechan *-xay* also has the the additional near past use (Halpern 1946: 284; Munro 1974: 64; Munro et al. 1992: 312). In the same vein, the cognates of Western Dani *awo* in its closest relatives appear to uniformly function as persistive expressions (Burung 2007: 60; Zöllner et al. 2017: 195; examples throughout Burung 2017 and Fahner 1979). Lastly, evidence of the more indirect type comes from Gitxsan/Nisga’a. In this language, polar questions containing *ḵ’ay* in near past function are only felicitous if the speaker knows that a situation of the type depicted in the clause has indeed taken place. That is, what is at issue is the situation's recency; see (178). As Aonuki (2021) points out, this peculiarity can be understood as a carry-over from the prior time presupposition that forms part of the semantics of STILL. In other words, it mirrors how 'are you still sleeping?' presupposes 'you were sleeping'.

(178) Gitxsan/Nisga'a

✓ Context: Mary's dog had recently run away. You run into her and see that she has her dog, looking excited and happy.

# Context: … You don't know if she found it yet.

Ḵ'ay*=t* ***'wa****=s* *Mary=hl* *us-t=aa?*
still=3 find=CONN M=ASSOC dog-POSS.3=Q
'Did Mary just find her dog?' (Aonuki 2021: 71)

Against this backdrop, there are at least two conceivable pathways leading from STILL to a near past construal. Recall from Section 1.4.1 that the phasal polarity concept requires a pre-existing situation that i) has been going on through to the time under discussion and which ii) can potentially come to an end. The near past use, on the other hand, seems to always involve an anterior viewpoint. That is, topic time is fully contained in the situation's post-time (Section 1.6.3.1), which is, furthermore, normally an invariable state-of-affairs.[42] One way of reconciling these two elements is by projecting the notion of persistence away from the situation itself onto the impermanent length of time subjectively characterised by the situation's prior occurrence, such as the post-wedding phase in (168, 176). In slightly more technical terms, the STILL expression acquires the function of a temporal frame adverb, in that it restricts the time under discussion to one within the situation's temporal region ("the … varying environment which each time span has 'around itself'"; Klein 1994: 122).[43] A schematic illustration of this mapping is given in Figure 2.5. An argument in favour of this scenario comes form Tunisian Arabic, where the near past construction involves the STILL expression *māzāl* as a predicator that takes a temporal clause as its complement 'SUBJ is still when s/he Verb-ed', that is to say '… is still in the time of having Verb-ed'. Assuming continuity of the temporal region would also explain the use of an event time adverbial in (179). Admittedly, however, this is the only example of STILL-as-near past with such an adverbial that I am aware of.

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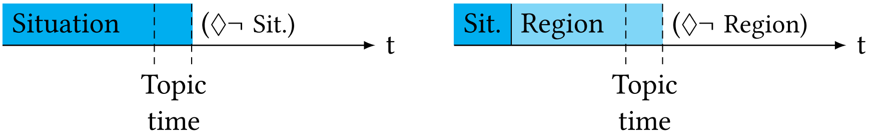
[42] "If Mary eats lunch, then there is a state that holds forever after: the state of Mary's having eaten lunch" (Parsons 1990: 234).

[43] Alternatively, and to the same effect, one could assume that anterior aspect denotes a state brought about by the closure of a situation and that the latter is coerced into a transient property of the S/A argument.



(a) STILL

(b) Near past use

Figure 2.5: Schematic illustration of the near past use based on the situation's temporal region

(179) Tunisian Arabic

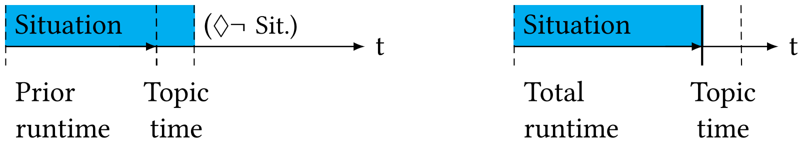
Famma	*āna*	***māzāl***	***kī***	***tʕallam-t***	***il-žimᵊʕtīn***	***it-tāli***	*kilmit*
EXIST	1SG	STILL	when	learn.PFV-1SG	DEF-week.DU	to-back	word(F)

gaḥḥāf.	*Mā-kun-t-š*	*n-aʕṛaf-ha.*
scrounger	NEG-COP.PFV-1SG-NEG	1SG-know.IPFV-3SG.F

'For example, **I only learned** the word *gaḥḥāf* 'scrounger' **two weeks ago**. I didn't know it before.' (TuniCo, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

A different pathway has been proposed by Aonuki (2021) for Gitxsan/Nisga'a. In her scenario, what is shared between the concept of STILL and the near past use is the presupposition that the situation's prior runtime abuts topic time. Given that the anterior viewpoint features a perspective fully contained in the situation's post-time, this means that the entire runtime of the situation immediately precedes topic time. Put differently, the near past use goes back to depicting a situation as (if it had been) unfolding until the time under discussion 'have been Verb-ing until now/then'. This proposal would also be in line with Abe's (2015) translation of several of the relevant Bende examples as 'have just finished'. In slightly more technical terms, this pathway establishes a relationship of adjacency between topic time and the time of the situation; Figure 2.6 is a graphic illustration.

While the two pathways differ in the underlying mechanisms, they both ultimately yield a construal of a subjectively near, terminated situation. What is more, there is significant convergence between the two scenarios: in many contexts a topic time that falls immediately after a situation's runtime will also be fully included in the situation's temporal region. In fact, both scenarios may have played some role in the case of Kekchí *toj*. To briefly recapitulate, in this language



(a) STILL

(b) Near past use

Figure 2.6: Schematic illustration of the near past use based on an abutting runtime

the near past use involves a construction that consists of the STILL expression *toj* in clause-initial position plus a subordinate clause containing a verb in the perfective aspect inflection. This was seen in (176) above, and (180) is another illustration. Note that in this use, the sequence of *toj* and the subordinator *naq* is normally reduced to *toja’*~*toje’*~*tojo’*.

(180) Kekchí
Toje’ ***x-c’ulun*** *arin Cobán.*
still.SUBORD PFV.3SG-arrive here C.
‘Hace poco poco que vino aquí a Cobán. [He **just recently came** here to Cobán.]’ (Eachus & Carlson 1980: 202, glosses added)

In its composition, the Kekchí near past construction thus bears a striking structural similarity to the Tunisian Arabic pattern *māzāl kīf* ‘(is) still when …’. This interpretation finds support in another Mayan language, Tzeltal. Here, the cognate form =*to* participates in a very similar construction, the only major difference being that deranking is achieved through a non-finite form of the verb instead of clausal subordination (Polian 2013: 653–656); see (181a) for illustration. What is more, Tzeltal possesses an analogous construction that is based on the ALREADY expression *ix* and which signals a near future. The latter pattern, illustrated in (181b), could easily go back to ‘S/A is already in the region of Verb-ing’.

(181) Tzeltal

a. *Lok’-el-on=**to**.*
leave-INF-1=still
‘Acabo de salir. [I **just** left.]’

b. *Poxtay-el-on=**ix**.*
cure-INF-1=already
‘Estoy a punto de que me curen. [I’m **about to** be cured.]’
(Polian 2013: 654)

At the same time, Kekchí *toj* differs from the expressions discussed up to this point in that it also has a use as a temporal restrictive marker 'no earlier than'. This function surfaces, *inter alia*, in the context of the perfective aspect inflection (Section 2.5.2.1). Crucially, the restrictive use of *toj* often blends into a positional or sequential reading, such that the situation depicted in its host clause takes place right after the state-of-affairs denoted in its complement has come into existence. This is shown in (182).

(182) Kekchí
Nek-e'-xik sa' li tz'oleb'al ***toj wan r-e waqib' chihab'***.
PRS-3PL-go PREP DET school still EXIST.3SG 3SG-DAT six year
'They go to school **when they are six years old**.' (Kockelman 2020: 466)

As pointed out by Kockelman (2020), the near past function of *toj* could be derived from the restrictive use in conjunction with a contextually retrieved topic time instead of an overt complement '(it is) not until now/then (that) S/A has Verb-ed'. This would align the Kekchí case with Aonuki's proposal: if a given time is the earliest that a situation can be depicted as completely over, then the total runtime of the situation immediately precedes this interval. It also yields a motivated explanation for the occasional attestation of the type illustrated in (183) throughout Sam Juarez et al.'s (2003) dictionary. Here, *toja'* (or one of its variants) goes together with an imperfective present, marking the onset of a new situation.

(183) Kekchí
Toja' *yo chi nume'k in-'oj.*
still.SUBORD do.PRS.3SG COMP pass POSS.1SG-cough
'Hasta ahora se me está quitando el catarro. [**Only now** my cold is passing.]' (Sam Juarez et al. 2003: 231, glosses added)

While deriving the Kekchí near past construction from the restrictive function requires the stipulation of temporal zero anaphora, this would not come out of thin air. Thus, the restrictive use can be traced back to yet another function, namely limitative 'until', which also constitutes the most likely source for *toj* as an exponent of STILL. Crucially, this development requires the same anaphoric mechanism 'until now/then, *p*' > (at topic time) still *p*' and is also tied to a fixed, clause-initial position. In addition, examples similar to the one in (184) may have played a role. Here, *toja'* plus perfective inflection patterns together with the two preceding clauses in depicting the setting of a new narrative scene. It is conceivable that, at an earlier stage, such constellations were compatible with two readings, one as adverbial modifiers based on the restrictive use '(not until) when thirteen days had passed …' and an alternative parsing involving two equally ranked assertions 'thirteen days had just passed (and) …'.

(184) Kekchí
Context: Lord B'alamq'e had announced he will be back in thirteen days. The preceding scene evolved around certain objects at the house.
Kach'inaq ix ch'ool aj eechal kab'l. Naxuwak.
'The owner of the house is timid (her heart is small). She is scared.'
Toja' ki-num-e' ox-kuja kutan *ki-r-il*
still.SUBORD PFV.EVID:3-pass-PASS three-ten day PFV.EVID:3.U-3.A-see
na-nach'ok qaawa' b'alamaq'e.
PRS.3-near HON B.
'**When thirteen days had passed**, she saw Lord B'alamq'e approaching.' (Kockelman 2010: 230)

The relationships and similarities between the various uses of *toj* just outlined are summarised in Figure 2.7. More comparative work on Mayan is necessary to disentangle the mutual influence that each of the functions of this expression and its cognates had on each other throughout their history.

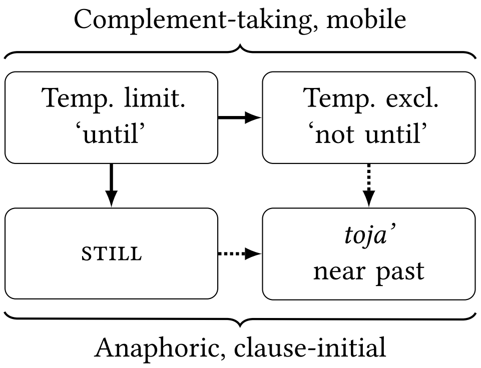


Figure 2.7: Hypothetical, partial diachronic network for Kekchí *toj*

2.4.6.2 Degrees of remoteness in the future

2.4.6.2.1 Introduction

Having discussed STILL expressions as markers of temporal proximity in the past, I now turn to uses that are related to degrees of temporal remoteness in the future. These are found with two sample expressions, Chuwabu =*vi* and Western Shoshoni *ekisen* (Appendices B.5.2.3.2, E.9.2.3.1). In the Chuwabu case, this yields a near future, whereas in the Western Shoshoni case it marks a distant time to come. In what follows, I examine both cases separately.

2.4.6.2.2 A closer look and discussion: Western Shoshoni *ekisen*

In Western Shoshoni, the STILL expression *ekisen* can combine with the future tense to narrow down the time frame to a proximal one. Example (185) is an illustration.

(185) Western Shoshoni
Ekisen tahma-to'i-han-*to'i*.
still spring-emerge-RSLT-FUT
'**Pretty soon** it's going to be spring.'
(Crum & Dayley 1993: 150; glosses by McLaughlin 2012: 68)

This near future reading is not directly related to *ekisen* as an exponent of STILL, but is a relict of the expression's history. Thus, *ekisen* can be segmented into *eki* 'now' and an exclusive marker −*seN*. In other words, its etymological meaning is 'now, to the exclusion of other times'. From this, a reading of proximity falls out in a straightforward manner: *ekisen* functions as a time frame adverbial, restricting the time of the anticipated situation to one in the general vicinity of utterance time. *Ekisen* in (185) is thus no different from the transparent *yaningi=nyali* in the Gooniyandi example (186).

(186) Gooniyandi
Yaningi=nyali *thithiwalimi*
now=still/only I_am_going
'I'm going **right now**.' (McGregor 1990: 466)

This interpretation finds support in the available data on Western Shoshoni's close relative Panamint. In this language, the cognate item *üküsü* serves as a fully compositional, emphatic version of *ükü* 'now', with the expected effect in combination with a future tense verb. Crucially, however, Panamint *üküsü* has not developed into a STILL expression (cf. Dayley 1989a: 369, 1989b: 300).

2.4.6.2.3 A closer look and discussion: Chuwabu =*vi*

The last case to be addressed is that of Chuwabu =*vi*. According to Guérois (2021), when this clitic is combined with a future tense verb, it suggests a later occurrence than the same verb without the enclitic. Consequently, it fares better in combination with distal event time adverbials like ‘next week’, such as in (187), than with more proximal ones like ‘today’ or ‘tomorrow’. Based on the available data, it is not clear what motivates this peculiarity. Possibly, this is actually a case of an ‘eventually’ reading (Section 2.4.4). Alternatively, it might be in some way related to *=vi* in its additional function as an exclusive operator ‘only’ (Section 3.4.2), placing emphasis on the future tense.

(187) *Ddi-**neel**-óó-gulá=**vi*** *má-fúgi* *sumaán’*
subj.1sg-fut.aux-ncl15(inf)-buy=still ncl6-banana ncl9.week
ééjw’ *éé-n̩-d-a=wo*
dem.ncl7/9 subj.ncl7/9-ipfv-come-rel=ncl16(loc)
‘I will buy bananas next week.’ (Guérois 2021: 191)

2.5 Temporal connectives and modifiers

2.5.1 Introduction

In the following subsections I discuss various kinds of uses within the larger domain of temporal connectors and modifiers. I first survey instances in which a still expression serves as a modifier of temporal adverbials (Section 2.5.2). Such uses include, among other things, functions as time-scalar additive operators ‘as early/late as, as far removed as’. Subsequently, I discuss uses pertaining to the modification of temporal clauses (Section 2.5.3), for instance still expressions as markers of simultaneous duration.

2.5.2 Modifications of positional temporal frame expressions

In this subsection, I discuss several uses in which a still expression modifies a positional temporal adverbial. This is typically an adverb in the strict sense, but it can also be another constituent in the same function. While this constituent may be an embedded clause, it need not be, which is a key difference to the clause-modifying uses I discuss in Section 2.5.3. In the first type of function as an adverbial modifier, still expressions serve as time-scalar restrictive operators ‘not until’ (Section 2.5.2.1). In another type (Section 2.5.2.2), the relevant expressions combine with a temporal positional adverbial and signal “that the event in question occurs while the time specification is still valid” (Löbner 1989: 202). In yet a third type, a still item serves as a focus-sensitive scalar operator that relates a time frame to alternative times, (‘as early/late/far removed as’), making it a type of scalar additive operator (Section 2.5.2.3). In addition to these recurring functions, one item, Kekchí *toj*, also serves as limitative ‘until’. I discuss this in the context of the restrictive use, to which it is likely related on the diachronic plane (Section 2.5.2.1).

2.5.2.1 Temporal restrictive (and limitative)

2.5.2.1.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I address a use in which a STILL expression serves as a scalar restrictive operator whose focus is a temporal constituent. In my sample, such a ‘not until’ function is found with two expressions, namely Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua *-raq* and Kekchí *toj* (Appendices G.3.1.5.1, E.5.1.4.2). In what follows, I illustrate and discuss each case separately.

2.5.2.1.2 A closer look and discussion: H.-H. Quechua *-raq*

The examples in (188) illustrate Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua *-raq*. In (188a) this item modifies the temporal clause ‘when the harpist and violinist play for them’ and signals that all alternative times under consideration (all earlier times) would lead to a false proposition. This fact is also pointed out explicitly in the following sentence. The same function can be seen in (188b), but with a nominal complement.

(188) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua

a. *… dansa-n arpista bigulista tuka-pa-pti-n-**raq**. Mana*
dance-3 harpist violinist play-BEN-SUBORD.ADV-3-still NEG
tuka-pti-n-qa mana dansa-n-chu.
play-ADV-POSS.3-TOP NEG dance-3-NEG
‘… they dance **when and not until** the harpist and violinist play for them (and not before). If they do not play, they do not dance.’

b. ***Ishkay killa-raq** haru-shka:.*
two month-still step-ANT.1
‘**It was two months before** I stepped on it (a disjointed ankle).’
(Weber 1989: 387)

The temporal restrictive function of *-raq* forms the basis of several idiomatic phrases. Among these, *chay-raq-shi* ‘that-still-EVID’, i.e. ‘it is only then’ stands out in coming close to ‘finally’ and thereby to a marker of the unexpectedly late scenario of ALREADY.[44] This fixed phrase is illustrated in (189).

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[44] See Kramer (2017) and references therein on the three scenarios of ALREADY.

(189) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua

Context: An old man has been suspecting that his wife cheats on him.

... isha-n qaqa-sha. Awkin-na-shi ollqo-yka-n

two-3 be_parallel-PTCP old_man-already-EVID be_angry-PFV-3

ruru-lla-pa-qa. ***Chay-raq-shi*** *awkin ollqo-yka-n.*

inside-just-GEN-TOP that-still-EVID old_man be_angry-PFV-3

'The two of them are together (the old man's wife and her lover). At that, the old man becomes angry, but just inside. **Finally**, **only then**, did the old man become angry.' (Weber 1989: 379)

The most likely link between *-raq* as a temporal restrictive operator and the same item as a marker of phasal polarity is found in yet a third function of this item, namely as 'first, for now'. I discuss this question in some more detail in Section 3.4.4.

2.5.2.1.3 A closer look and discussion: Kekchí *toj*

Moving on to Kekchí, example (190) illustrates the STILL expression *toj* in its function as a time-scalar restrictive marker; for an example of the same function with a clausal argument, see (191) below.

(190) Kekchí

Toj *ewu t-in-xik.*

still afternoon PROSP-1SG-go

'I'll go [no earlier than] in the afternoon.' (Kockelman 2020: 464)

Often-times, the restrictive use of *toj* is understood as establishing a topic time immediately after the coming-into-existence of the state-of-affairs depicted in its complement. This is shown in (191).

(191) Kekchí

Nek-e'-xik sa' li tz'oleb'al ***toj wan r-e waqib' chihab'.***

PRS-3PL-go PREP DET school still EXIST.3SG 3SG-DAT six year

'They go to school **when they are six years old**.' (Kockelman 2020: 466)

Unlike Huallaga-Huánuco Quechia *-raq*, Kekchí *toj* also functions as a temporal limitative marker 'until' (Appendix E.5.1.4.1). For the most parts, there is a clear division of labour between these two functions.[45] Thus, restrictive *toj* is primarily found in environments of affirmative polarity and a non-continuous viewpoint, as in (190, 191). The limitative function, on the other hand, is found in two types of contexts, comparable to English *until* (see Lakoff 1969). The first are environments of affirmative polarity and in which the duration of a situation is at stake, typically with a continuous viewpoint, as in (192a). The second type are contexts of clause-mate negation; see (192b).

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[45] It is safe to assume that *toj* as temporal 'until' constitutes the source of its function as a phasal polarity expression. Presumably, this involved zero anaphora, which is a recurrent theme across several uses of this marker. Outside of my sample, a similar situation appears to hold true of *gardi* in the Australian language Bardi (Nyulnyulan); see Bowern (2012: 649–651).

(192) Kekchí

a. ***Toj maak'a'-q*** ***chik in-k'as*** *t-in-k'anjelaq.*
still NEG.EXIST-NON.SPECIFIC more POSS.1SG-debt PROSP-1SG-work
'**Until I no longer have debt** I will work.'

b. ***Ink'a'*** *nek-e'-xik sa' li tz'oleb'al* ***toj wan r-e***
NEG PRS-3PL-go PREP DET school still EXIST.3SG 3SG-DAT
waqib' chihab'.
six year
'They **do not** go to school **until they are six years old**.'
(Kockelman 2020: 466, 480)

Crucially, limitative 'until' within the scope of a negator can be understood as equivalent to a restrictive operator; see, for instance, König (1991: 159–162) on English *not until*, as well as de Swart et al. (2022) for a discussion of different compositional analyses of this and comparable items. This fact suggests the temporal restrictive function of *toj* goes back to the association of limitative 'until' with negated predicates, from where it would have spread to affirmative contexts with a non-continuous viewpoint.[46] Functional motivation for this scenario can be found in usage patterns. As Kockelman (2020) points out, in continuous discourse both 'until' and restrictive 'not until' tend to go along with a constellation of two states-of-affairs, one that lasts until the time denoted by *toj*'s complement, and a second situation that takes place no earlier than that. With this overlap in mind, in-between contexts are readily found in the data. The first are elliptical utterances like the one highlighted in (193). In such a context, what would have originally been the elision of a negative predicate 'there is no speaking…' could easily be reinterpreted as featuring an affirmative one 'only tomorrow there is…'.

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[46] A similar case is found in Mesoamerican varieties of Spanish, where *hasta* 'until' with temporal expressions can mean 'not until' (RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. *hasta*). This suggests an areal dimension to the phenomenon.

(193) Kekchí

A: *Maak’a’ li aatinak hoon rik’in laawixaqil?*
‘There is no speaking with your wife today?’

B: *Ink’a’.*
‘No.’

A: ***Toj kab’ej****?*
still tomorrow
‘(**Not**) **until tomorrow**?’

B: *Eq’ela kab’ej.*
‘Early tomorrow.’ (Kockelman 2020: 465)

A similar case, albeit from narrative discourse, is shown in (194). Here, the initial clause again establishes a negative state. In addition, the clause following the one in question depicts a subsequent event that yields a change to the contrary. Crucially, the underlying temporal and causal relationships are the same no matter whether *toj* and its clausal complement are understood as continuations of the first sentence and the situation depicted therein (‘… wasn’t pleased until he placed the rat…’) or if they are read as establishing a new unit (‘only when he placed the rat … it improved’).

(194) Kekchí

Maa-min ki-hu[u]lak chu r-u qaawa’ b’alamq’e,
NEG-EMPH PFV.EVID.3SG-arrive PREP POSS.3SG-face HON B.
toj ki-x-k’e li ch’o chi (***x***)***-sa’ li po****,*
still PFV.EVID:3SG.P-3SG.A-give DET rat PREP POSS.3SG-inside DET moon
ut li ch’o aran ki-chu’uk*, jo’ka’in*
CONJ DET rat there PFV.EVID:3SG-urinate thus
ki-usa.
PFV.EVID:3SG-improve
‘In no way was Lord B’alamq’e pleased, **but when [lit. (not) until] he placed the rat inside the moon**, **and the rat peed there**, then it improved.’ (Kockelman 2010: 236)

Lastly, *toj* as restrictive ‘not until’ might play some role in the Kekchí near past construction (Section 2.4.6.1) and a formally related event sequencing construction (Section 2.4.5.2).

2.5.2.2 Persistent time frame

2.5.2.2.1 Introduction

In this subsection I discuss a use in which a STILL expression syntactically and semantically associates with a temporal frame adverbial and signals "that the event in question occurs while the time specification is still valid: 'it is still T, when e occurs'" (Löbner 1989: 202).[47] Example (195) is an illustration. Here, German *noch* signals that the event of leaving for Boston takes place before the end of the time span described in its sister constituent *am Abend meiner Ankunft* 'on the evening of my arrival'.

(195) German
Context: About a trip to the USA. The speaker did not want to be stuck in New York.
So bin ich ***noch a-m Abend meiner***
thus COP.1SG 1SG still at-DEF.DAT.SG.M evening(M) POSS.1SG:GEN.SG.F
Ankunft *... nach Boston ge-fahr-en.*
arrival(F) to B. PTCP-drive-PTCP
'Thus, **the very evening of my arrival** I went to Boston.' (*Rheinischer Merkur*, cited in Shetter 1966: 57, glosses added)

The meaning of the associated constituent need not be strictly temporal. Example (196) illustrates space-to-time metonymy. Lastly, as far as syntax is concerned, the expression's complement may also be an embedded clause; see (199, 205) below for illustrations.

(196) German
Er wurde ***noch a-m Unfall-ort***
3SG.M become.PST.3SG still at-DEF.DAT.SG.M accident-place(M)
operier-t.
operate-PTCP
'He was operated **right at the scene of the accident**.'
(Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *noch*, glosses added)

2.5.2.2.2 Distribution in the sample (and beyond)

Table 2.14 lists the markers in my sample for which the persistent time frame use is attested. As can be gathered, it is found with four expressions from four distinct languages, all from western Eurasia. Outside of my sample, this use is also attested for Dutch *nog*, many cognates of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*, Danish *endnu*, Finnish *vielä*, and Hungarian *még*.[48] Further research pending, this suggests an areal pattern of Central, Northern and Eastern Europe plus, perhaps, the Caucasus. The case of Hebrew *ʕod* can most likely be explained through influence from West Germanic and Slavic.

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[47] See Vandeweghe (1992: 200) for a similar characterisation.

Table 2.14: Persistent time frame use

Macro-area	Language	Expression	Appendix
Eurasia	German	*noch*	D.3.1.5.1
	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕod*	D.4.3.5.1
	Lezgian	*hele*[a]	D.8.2.4.1
	Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian	*još*	D.11.2.5.1

[a] Only one example in the data.

Note that Table 2.14 does not include the occasional tokens from Australia and Papunesia, such as in the Wubuy example (197), all of which involve the items in question as markers of an emphatic assertion of identity (see Section 3.4.2).

(197) Wubuy
Context: About preparing mangrove fruits. The fruits have been roasted.
N^{g}a aḏaba wirima:di:ni, aḏaba a:guguwuy
and_then then they_took_it_out.CONT then to_water
wirima:ralhalwulhan^{g}i, wirima:ralhalwulhan^{g}i ***yimbaj-bugij***, *aḏaba*
they_soaked_it_all.CONT they_soaked_it_all.CONT today-still then
yimbaj-bugij *wirimadhurma:.*
today-still they_crushed_it.CONT
'Then they (people) took them out of the oven and put them in fresh water to soak. **On the same day** (i.e. a few hours later) they began to grind the fruits.' (Heath 1980: 423)

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[48] See Rombouts (1979) and Vandeweghe (1992: ch. 11.3) on Dutch *nog*. For the Slavic cases, see i.a. Buzássyová & Jarošová (2006: s.v. *ešte*), Doroszewski (1958–1969: s.v. *jeszcze*), Inštitutu za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša (2014: s.v. *šè*), Havránek (1989: s.v. *ješte*), Komárek (1979) and Mustajoki (1988). Information on Danish *endnu* and Hungarian *még* comes from Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab (n.d. s.v. *endnu*) and Bárczi & Országh (1992: s.v. *még*), respectively. Finnish *vielä* is discussed in Mustajoki (1988).

Similarly, Table 2.14 does not include Udihe *xai*(*si*) in attestations like (198). As in this example, all relevant instances involve the collocation with an anaphoric demonstrative of the (*u*)*t*- series. This pattern has developed a more widely productive 'same' function, which I assume to be at play here. For a discussion of this use, see Section 2.2.5.

(198) Udihe
Ni: lä baza gele lali:nzi budei, zeude ei diga ilama neŋini, uti ni:we mene e:tigi mene ŋenezeŋei <mene ŋenezeŋei>
'Many people in the taiga die from hunger. If a human doesn't eat anything for three days, the tiger directs this person to where it has to go.'

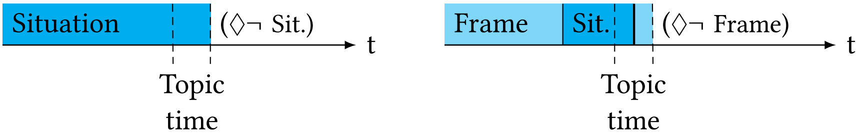
Xai uti dogbo-ni *uti xokto-tigi-ni ŋene-wen'e uti*
still that night-POSS.3SG this road-LAT-POSS.3SG go-CAUS.PFV this

ni:-we xebu-ini.
man-ACC take-3SG

'It will direct him to the road **the very same night** and lead this person.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The tiger for Udihe people)

2.5.2.2.3 A closer look: Meaning and appropriateness conditions

I now turn to a closer examination of the meaning of the persistent time-frame use and the conditions for its felicitous employment. This will help to delineate it further from the superficially similar time-scalar additive uses that I discuss in Section 2.5.2.3 ('as early/late as, as far removed as'). As I hinted above, the use I discuss here signals the continuity of a time frame in essentially the same way that phasal polarity STILL does for the main predication of a clause. This parallel is graphically illustrated in Figure 2.8, using a perfective vantage point for ease of illustration.



(a) STILL (b) Persistent time frame (with PFV)

Figure 2.8: Schematic illustration of persistent time-frame use

Consequently, the persistent time frame use requires a contextually salient topic time for which the persistence of the time span in question can be evaluated (cf. Boguslavsky 1996: 266).[49] For instance, in (199) topic time is narrowed down through the discourse topic of how to behave when having received a termination notice plus world knowledge that dismissals in Germany do not normally have immediate effect. This setting is anaphorically referenced by the associated constituent of *noch*, the clause *während man arbeitet* 'while you're employed' and it is stressed that the affected reader should pay a visit to the job centre before the end of this period.

(199) German
Context: On how an employee should behave when your work contract has been terminated.
Also, ***noch während man arbeit-et*** *und sobald man weiß, wann*
so, still while IMPR work-3SG and once IMPR know.3SG when
der letzt-e Arbeit-s-tag sein soll:
DEF.NOM.SG.M last-NOM.SG.M work-LNK-day(M) COP.INF should.3SG
zu-r Arbeitsargentur geh-en.
to-DEF.DAT.SG.F job_centre(F) go-INF
'So, **while [it is still the time that] you're employed** and as soon as you know when your last day at work is scheduled: visit the job centre.' (found online, glosses added)

To give another example, in (200) the preceding text establishes an interval around the right temporal edge of receiving the good news. It is then highlighted that narrative time does not progress further than this.

(200) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Context: A student with the ardent desire to become a doctor did not get accepted into medical school at the first try. He applied again, and the good news that this time he was accepted in Berlin got to him while he was travelling.
Još sledećeg dana *je otputova-o za Berlin*
still next.GEN.M day(M).GEN COP.3SG leave.PFV.PTCP-SG.M for Berlin
jer je semestar već počinja-o.
because COP.3SG semester(M).NOM.SG already begin.IPFV.PTCP-SG.M
'**The very next day** he set off for Berlin, because the semester was about to begin.' (found online, glosses added)

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[49] Also see Greenberg (2008) for a discussion of STILL and established topic times.

The denotation of *sledećeg dana* 'the next day' in (200) can be said to be included in the interval adjacent to the decisive event, and exchanging it for something more removed like *tri dana kasnije* 'three days later' would render the sentence infelicitous, as shown in (201a). The same holds true for the corresponding German and Modern Hebrew translations in (201b, 201c).

(201) Context: same as (200)

a. Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian

# ***Još tri dana kasnije*** *je otputova-o.*
still three day.GEN.GEN after COP.3SG leave.PFV.PTCP-SG.M

b. German

# ***Noch drei Tag-e danach*** *brach er auf.*
still three day-PL thereafter break.PST.3SG 3SG.M off

c. Modern Hebrew

# ***ʕod le-aħar šlo'ša yamim*** *hu ʕazav.*
still to-after three day.PL 3SG.M leave.PST.3SG.M
(intended: '… before the end of the third day he set off.')
(personal knowledge; Itamar Francez and Stefan Savić, p.c.)

Likewise, the examples in (202) are unusual, "unless it is clear that for independent reasons reference is implicitly to the day after tomorrow" (Löbner 1989: 202; also see Boguslavsky 1996: 266).

(202) a. German

? *Sie komm-t* ***noch übermorgen****.*
3SG.F come-3SG still day_after_tomorrow

b. Modern Hebrew

? *Hi t-agiaʕ* ***ʕod moħratayim****.*
3SG.F 3SG.F-arrive.FUT still day_after_tomorrow

c. Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian

? *Ona će stići* ***još prekosutra****.*
3SG.F AUX.FUT:3SG arrive.PFV.INF still day_after_tomorrow
'She'll arrive the **very day after tomorrow**.' (Löbner 1989: 202; Stefan Savić and Itamar Francez, p.c.)

The requirement for an established and salient topic time constitutes a key difference to the time-scalar additive uses that I discuss in Section 2.5.2.3, where topic time is an open variable. The second critical difference is more subtle. Thus, while the persistent time frame use often gives rise to a scalar notion of earliness (e.g. Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *noch*; Helbig 1994: 185; Löbner 1989), this is best understood as a derived inference, at least on the synchronic plane. Like phasal polarity STILL, this use evokes an alternative course of events at which the interval in question has ceased to be valid, hence later times (Vandeweghe 1992: 200). To give just one example, in (200) the protagonist might have waited a day or two until heading off to Berlin. Such a consideration of later alternatives can be enforced by the temporal constituent receiving focus (Beck 2016, 2020). That relative earliness is not part of the conventional meaning becomes apparent when comparing an example like (200), repeated below, to a version where the STILL expression has been exchanged for an ALREADY expression functioning as a temporal focus particle. As shown in (203) for Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*, this substitution introduces an overtly scalar notion that is not inherent to the original text; see Mustajoki (1988) and Rombouts (1979) for similar observations.

(200) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Još sledećeg dana *je otputova-o za Berlin.*
still next.GEN.M day(M).GEN COP.3SG leave.PFV.PTCP-SG.M for Berlin
'**The very next day** he set off for Berlin.' (found online, glosses added)

(203) ***Več sledećeg dana*** *je otputova-o za Berlin.*
already next.GEN.M day(M).GEN COP.3SG leave.PFV.PTCP-SG.M for Berlin
'**As early as the next day** he left for Berlin.' (Stefan Savić, p.c.)

What is more, and as shown in (204) for German *noch*, a reading of an unexpected early timing is defeasible in just the same way that a reading of unexpected lateness is defeasible with phasal polarity STILL.

(204) German
Noch a-m Vor-mittag *ist Lydia, wie von all-en*
still at-DEF.DAT.SG.M pre-noon(M) COP.3SG L. as from all-DAT.PL
erwart-et, ab-ge-reis-t.
expect-PTCP off-PTCP-travel-PTCP
'Lydia left [**while it was still**] **in the morning**, as everyone expected.'
(Beck 2020: 27 fn10)

Lastly, given that the notion of persistence pertains to the time frame rather than to the situation depicted in the host clause, the persistent time-frame use neither requires a durative situation, nor an aspectual perspective that is fully contained within it. In fact, this function normally goes together with a perfective or anterior viewpoint, as in (195, 196) and in (199–206).

2.5.2.2.4 A closer look: A recurring usage pattern

Shetter (1966) observes that German *noch* in the persistent time frame function is recurrently found together with expressions of precedence.[50] In narrative texts, this is often a temporal clause that depicts a non-occurrence, as in (205). This is, to all appearances, also at play in the Lezgian example (206). This pattern is clearly motivated by the fact that the discontinuation of the time-frame, and hence the eventual actualisation of the event in question, are not entailed, but merely constitute a conceivable alternative scenario (Section 1.4.1). As the free translation 'even before' in (205, 206) indicates, the relevant instances also tend to give rise to the now familiar scalar inference.

(205) German
Aber ***noch ehe*** ***sie*** ***die*** ***Tür*** ***hinter sich*** ***schließ-en***
but still before 3SG.F DEF.ACC.SG.F door(F) behind REFL.3 close-INF
konnte, *hat-te sich jener mit letzt-er*
can.PST.3SG have-PST.3SG REFL.3 DIST:NOM.SG.M with last-DAT.SG.F
Kraft von dem Griff des
force(F) from DEF.DAT.SG.M grip(M) DEF.GEN.SG.M
Brandenburger-s los-gerissen.
inhabitant_of_Brandenburg(M)-GEN loose-tear.PTCP
'But **before she even had the chance to close the door behind herself**, that man had freed himself from the grip of the man from Brandenburg.' (von le Fort, *Die Verfemte*; cited in Shetter 1966: 57, glosses added)

(206) Lezgian
Hele zun akwa-daldi, *am qʰfe-na.*
still 1SG.ABS see-CVB:before 3SG.ABS leave-AOR
'**Even before she saw me**, she left. / **Noch ehe sie mich sah**, ging sie weg.' (Haspelmath 1991: 90)

For Russian *eščë*, which is not included in my sample, Mustajoki (1988) points out that such combinations are not licensed. The same appears to be true of its Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian cognate *još*, as well as of Modern Hebrew *ʕod*. In both cases, this is probably due to pre-emptive blocking by a time-scalar additive use 'as far removed as' of the same markers. These are the subject of Section 2.5.2.3.

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[50] Also see Rombouts (1979) on the Dutch cognate *nog*.

2.5.2.2.5 Discussion

As the preceding exposition has shown, there is a very close resemblance between the persistent time frame use and phasal polarity STILL. The key difference is that the notions of persistence and a subsequent discontinuation do not apply to the situation depicted in the clause, but to the time-frame denoted in the expression's complement. This was schematically illustrated in Figure 2.8 above. The question of the exact conditions leading to the emergence of the persistent time frame use is a task for future diachronic corpus research. The key most likely lies in the type of adverbial modification found in examples like (207). The main difference is that with the use I discuss in this subsection a property of time is at stake, whereas (207) features a secondary predication about the subject.

(207) German
Context: After a longer trip to Africa, the narrator has decided to become a wildlife ranger. Now she has returned to Germany and doubts are creeping in.
Noch in Afrika *erschien mir der Gedanke*
still in Africa appear.PST.3SG 1SG.DAT DEF.NOM.SG.M thought(M)
wenig-er abwegig … ***Zurück in den eigen-en vier***
little-CMPR devious back in DEF.DAT.PL own-DAT.PL four
Wänd-en *kling-t diese Idee jetzt aber verrückt.*
wall-DAT.PL sound-3SG PROX:NOM.SG.F idea(F) now but crazy
'**Still** [**being in**] **Africa** the thought seemed less absurd to me …, [**being**] **back at home**, the idea seems crazy.' (Neitzel, *Frühstück mit Elefanten*, glosses added)

2.5.2.3 Time-scalar additive

2.5.2.3.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I discuss STILL expressions as a type of focus-sensitive scalar operator that relates the denotation of a temporal frame expression to lower-ranking alternatives (see Section 1.6.4 for general discussion). Example (208) illustrates such a time-specific scalar additive function. Here, French *encore* modifies the prepositional phrase *en 2003* and relates its denotation to a set of earlier, alternative topic times.

(208) French
***Encore en** 2003, Vincent aurait vote oui à l'-europe.*
still in 2003 V. have.COND.3SG vote.PTCP yes to DEF.SG-Europe
'**As late as 2003**, Vincent would have voted yes to Europe.' (Hansen 2008: 160–161, glosses added)

While in (208) the alternatives under consideration are earlier times, one can also find the opposite, namely the focus being related to later times. Example (209) is an illustration.

(209) Lezgian
*Jusuf **hele naq'** ata-na.*
Jusuf still yesterday come-AOR
'Jusuf came **as early as yesterday**.' (Haspelmath 1991: 85)

Despite the differences in the relative ordering of times, examples (208) and (209) both involve a scale of time proper, or calendric values. STILL expressions in the relevant function can also operate in a scalar model of temporal distance. These instances consistently feature less distant alternatives 'as far removed as', such as in (210). This example also illustrates another point: the associated constituent need not be a temporal adverbial phrase, but location in time can be mediated by metonymy. Lastly, while (208–210) feature nominal and prepositional phrases as complements, the same function is also attested with an embedded clause as the modificandum; see (236) below for an illustration.

(210) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
*No, iako ih je **još Einstein** najavi-o*
but although 3PL.ACC COP.3SG still E. announce.PFV.PTCP-SG.M
fizičari dosad nisu uspje-li
physicist.NOM.PL thus_far NEG.COP.3PL succeed.PFV.PTCP-PL.M
otkriti postojanje gravitacijskih valova.
uncover.PFV.INF existence.ACC.SG gravitational.GEN.PL wave.GEN.PL
'But even though **(someone as far removed as) Einstein** postulated them, until now physicists have failed to detect the existence of gravitational waves.' (found online, glosses added)

2.5.2.3.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 2.15 lists the six expressions in my sample for which time-scalar additive functions are attested. In terms of their geographic distribution, it is striking that all cases come from western Eurasia.[51] As is to be expected from this part of the world (see van der Auwera 1998), they all involve independent grammatical words. When it comes to the specific semantic types, all relevant expressions except Modern Hebrew *ʕod* have a use that involves a scale of time proper. Of these five cases, four exclusively relate to earlier alternatives, making them a type of BEYOND operator (Section 1.6.4). One item, Lezgian, *hele* can relate the denotation of its focus to earlier as well as to later alternatives. This means that no expression in my sample constitutes a time-scalar BENEATH operator, i.e. one that exclusively refers to earlier alternatives. One item, Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*, can operate both on a scale of calendric values, as well as on one of temporal distance. In either use *još* presupposes lower alternatives (earlier times and less removed times, respectively). Lastly, Modern Hebrew *ʕod* only has the ‘as far removed as’ use.

Table 2.15: Time-scalar additive uses

M.-area	Language	Expr.	Type	Appendix
Eurasia	French	*encore*	‘as late as’	D.2.2.6.1
	German	*noch*	‘as late as’	D.3.1.5.2
	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕod*	‘as far removed as’	D.4.3.5.2
	Lezgian	*hele*[a]	‘as late as’, ‘as early as’	D.8.2.4.2
	Serb.-Croat.-Bosn.	*još*	‘as late as’, ‘as far removed as’	D.11.2.5.2
	Spanish	*todavía*	‘as late as’	D.13.3.6.1

[a] Lezgian *hele* also serves as an ALREADY expression; see discussion below.

To the list in Table 2.15 one could add Spanish *aún*. Example (211) illustrates this expression in an attestation that is both structurally and semantically comparable to my initial examples. As in (211), such instances of *aún* most commonly involve earlier relata, although this expression is also occasionally attested with later alternatives (Appendix D.13.2.5.1). Crucially, however, *aún* has a generalised use as a scalar additive operator ‘even’. Instances like (211) can be understood as instantiation of this function which just so happen to involve time-related foci

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[51] The same functions are also found with several cognates of my sample expressions, such as Dutch *nog* (e.g. Vandeweghe 1992: ch. 11.3) or cognates of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* across Slavic (e.g. Boguslavsky 1996; Doroszewski 1958–1969: s.v. *jeszcze*; Instytút movoznávstva 1970–1980: s.v. *ще*; Komárek 1979; Mustajoki 1988).

(conceivably, though, they receive additional motivation from the pathway that I discuss below).

(211) Context: From a text about the origins of jewellery. The preceding sentences discusses talismans in pre-history.
y ***aún en la Edad Medi-a*** *… a-l uso de*
and still in DEF.SG.F age(F) medium-F to-DEF.SG.M use(M) of
ciert-a-s piedra-s precios-a-s se le
certain-F-PL stone(F)-PL precious-F-PL REFL.3 3SG.DAT.M
otorg-aba divers-a-s propiedade-s.
assign-PST.IPFV.3SG diverse-F-PL property(F)-PL
'**and as late as in medieval times** … the use of certain precious stones was (still) associated with a number of properties.' (found online, glosses added)

Lastly, most of the relevant sample languages also have ALREADY expressions with a time-scalar additive function. These expressions appear to invariably operate on a scale of calendric values, relating the focus to later times ('as early as'). This is illustrated in (212) for French *déjà*. The outlier is found in the more complex case of Lezgian, where the expression *hele* itself has nearly completely transformed from a STILL expression to an ALREADY expression.

(212) French
Déjà à l'-âge de sept an*-s,* *elle lisait le*
already at DEF.SG-age of seven year-PL 3SG.F read.PST.IPFV.3SG DEF.SG.M
latin sans problème-s.
Latin without problem-PL
'**Already at the age of seven**, she read Latin without any problems.' (Hansen 2008: 162, glosses added)

In what follows, I examine each of the time-scalar uses in more detail. I begin with the majority type 'as late as' and then address the 'as early as' use of Lezgian *hele*. After that, I turn to the distance-based use 'as far removed as'.

2.5.2.3.3 A closer look: The 'as late as' use

As I pointed out above, all relevant expressions that have a use involving a scale of times proper allow for an 'as late as' reading. Example (208), repeated below, is an illustration. Here, the focus value of 2003 is set in relation to earlier alternatives from the common ground. Involving past times, these earlier alternatives are further removed from the temporal origo, which allows for a derived reading of a comparatively recent time.

(208) French
__Encore en 2003__, Vincent aurait voté oui à l'-europe.
still in 2003 V. have.COND vote.PTCP yes to DEF.SG-Europe
'**As late as 2003**, Vincent would have voted yes to Europe.' (Hansen 2008: 160–161, glosses added)

In future contexts, on the other hand, it is the earlier alternatives that are more proximal. With future reference, 'as late as' operators can thus be read as referring to a relatively distant time, as in (213). This yields an overlap in interpretation with the 'as far removed' type of use.

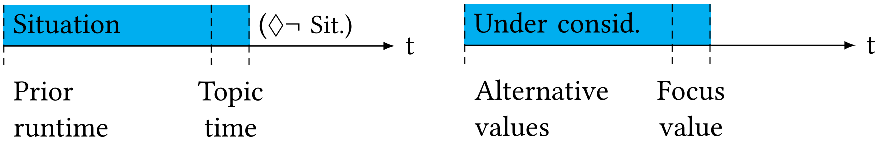
(213) German
__Noch in zehn Jahr-en__ werd-en wir die Früchte
still in ten year-DAT.PL FUT.AUX-1PL 1PL DEF.ACC.PL fruit.PL
dieser Entscheidung genieß-en.
PROX:GEN.SG.F decision(F) enjoy-INF
'**Even in ten years time** we will still be enjoying the fruits of this decision.' (König 1979: 182)

To gain a better understanding of the functional motivation behind this use, it is worthwhile taking a diachronic perspective. As Hansen (2008: 161–162) and Shetter (1966) have pointed out before me, a bridge from phasal polarity STILL to 'as late as' can be found in examples of the type in (214). Here, the temporal adverbial refers to a point in time and the viewpoint is imperfective. In communicative terms, there is little difference between *encore* in (214) serving as an exponent of STILL or as time-scalar additive 'as late as' (with *ex situ* focus). In either case, Vincent's pro-European stance is normally understood as persisting from an earlier time, but not necessarily beyond the year 2003. A similar case can be found in the recurrent attestations of STILL expressions together with adverbs like 'today' or 'now', as in (215).

(214) French
Vincent aurait __encore__ voté oui à l'Europe __en 2003.__
V. have.COND still vote.PTCP yes to DEF.F.SG-Europe in 2003
'Vincent would **still** have voted yes to Europe **in 2003**.'
(Hansen 2008: 160–161, glosses added)

(215) Spanish
Hoy todavía *es bastante popular la noción de que*
today still COP.3SG rather popular DEF.SG.F notion(F) of SUBORD
el dolor es un ingrediente necesari-o para
DEF.SG.M pain(M) COP.3SG INDEF.SG.M ingredient(M) necessary-M for
el desarrollo de un carácter sólid-o en
DEF.SG.M development(M) of INDEF.SG.M character(M) solid-M in
la persona.
INDEF.SG.F person(F)
'**Today** the idea that pain is a necessary ingredient for developing a robust character is **still** rather popular / **Even today** the idea ...' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

In other words, contexts like the ones in (214, 215) allow for a reanalysis of a STILL expression as a time-specific scalar additive operator, thereby instantiating the well-known tendency of linguistic change towards procedural and more subjective meanings (Section 1.6.2). In semantic terms, this reinterpretation involves a reversal of dependencies. Thus, with phasal polarity STILL topic time is given and the question that is addressed pertains to the situation's polarity. In the 'as late as' use, on the other hand, topic time is the open variable (Krifka 2000). What is preserved, however, is the nature of the scale and its orientation. Thus, STILL presupposes the unfolding of a situation from an earlier time through to topic time, but not necessarily any further. In the same vein, with 'as late as' the denotation of focus is the highest among the set of calendric values under consideration (Hansen 2008: 161); Figure 2.9 is a graphic comparison.



(a) STILL (b) 'as late as'

Figure 2.9: Schematic illustration of time-scalar additive use with earlier alternatives

Although contexts like the ones in (214, 215) offer a motivated explanation for the emergence of the 'as late as' use, there are important aspects of meaning in favour of considering it a synchronic function in its own right (*pace* Hansen 2008: 162). To begin with, Beck (2020) observes that German *noch* in 'as late as' function plus imperfective viewpoint does not require a prior runtime of the situation in question. Thus, in (216) the speakers did not live in Danbury before the focus value of 1997, yet the sentence does not give rise to any contradiction. This is because what is entailed through the use of *noch* here is merely that the year 1997 yields a more informative answer to the question under discussion than all earlier alternatives. While this stands in sharp contrast to the prior runtime presupposition triggered by still, it is in line with cross-linguistic findings on scalar additive operators, namely that the truth of the pragmatically weaker context propositions is merely a default assumption (Gast & van der Auwera 2011; Schwartz 2005).

(216) German
Context: We had a Condo in Danbury between March and November 1997.
A: *Wie lange haben wir eigentlich in Mt. Kisco gewohnt?*
'For how long did we live in Mt. Kisco?'
B: *So lang kann das nicht gewesen sein.*
'It can't have been that long.'
***Noch 1997** hab-en wir ja in Danbury ge-wohn-t.*
still 1997 have-1pl 1pl dm in D. ptcp-reside-ptcp
'**As recently as 1997** we lived/were living in Danbury.'
(Beck 2020: 30 fn13)

Another difference is found in the fact that the 'as late as' use is perfectly compatible with a perfective vantage point, whereas still is not. This is illustrated in (217); also see (218) below.

(217) French
***Encore hier**, **j'-ai vu le film La Chute**,*
still yesterday 1sg-have.1sg see.ptcp def.sg.m movie(m) Downfall
sur la mort d'-Hitler, que je n'-avais
about def.sg.f death(f) of-H. subord 1sg neg-have.pst.ipfv.1sg
pas pu voir quand il est sorti.
neg can.ptcp see.inf when 3sg.m cop.3sg leave.ptcp
'**Just yesterday**, **I watched the movie *Downfall***, about the death of Hitler, which I hadn't been able to watch when it came out.'
(found online, glosses added)

These differences in meaning furthermore have syntactic repercussions. As is typical of focus-sensitive operators (e.g. König 1991: ch. 2), all expressions in question can form a single constituent with their focus, with which they move through the clause. For instance, *noch gestern* in (218) occupies the so-called "forefield position" of the German clause, which can only host a single constituent. Being a syntactic sister to the focus, French *encore* is also attested within more complex syntactic configurations, such as presentative *voilà* and its argument in (219).

(218) German
Context: About perpetual conflicts in the Aegean islands.
Noch letzt-e Woche *kam es … zu … heftig-en*
still last-NOM.SG.F week(F) come.PST.3SG 3SG.N to severe-DAT.PL
Auseinandersetzung-en zwischen der Polizei und den
conflict-PL between DEF.DAT.SG.F police(F) and DEF.DAT.PL
Insel-bewohner-n.
island-inhabitant-DAT.PL
'**As late as last week**, altercations between the police and the islanders occurred.' (found online, glosses added)

(219) French
Voilà encore quelques mois, *l'-idée eût*
PRSTT still a_few month.PL DEF.SG-idea have.PST.SBJV.3SG
paru aussi provocatrice qu'-interdire la cigarette.
appear.PTCP as provocative.F as-forbid.INF DEF.SG.F cigarette(F)
'**Only a few months ago** the idea would have been as provocative as banning cigarettes.' (*Puest-France*, cited in Fuchs 1993: 258)

To summarize, the time-scalar additive 'as late as' function is a diachronic extension of phasal polarity STILL in the context of temporal frame adverbials. From there, it inherits the temporal scale and its orientation. In synchronic terms, this use does, however, differ from its precursor in showing the characteristic syntactic and meaningful traits of scalar focus operators.

2.5.2.3.4 A closer look: The 'as early as' use

One expression in the sample, namely Lezgian *hele*, not only has the 'as late as' use just discussed, but also one in which it relates the focus to later alternatives. The examples in (220) are illustrations. In (220a) the calendric value corresponding to *c'erid lahaj* 'seventeenth century' is related to earlier alternatives, whereas in (220b) the denotation of *naq'* 'yesterday' is compared to later times.

(220) Lezgian

a. ***Hele c’erid lahaj asir.d-a*** *fikir-zawa-j x̂i, …*
still seventeen ORD century-INESS think-IPFV-PST DM
‘**As late as/even in the seventeenth** century people (still) believed that …’ (Haspelmath 1991: 90)

b. *Am mus ata-na?* – ***Hele naq’.***
3SG.ABS when come-AOR still yesterday
‘When did she come? – **As early as yesterday.**’ (Haspelmath 1991: 85)

If disambiguation is called for, it appears that Lezgian speakers can resort to using a restrictive operator ‘no earlier than’ to specify a comparatively late topic time, as in (221).

(221) Lezgian
Anžax**/*****tek q’we jiq̄a-n wilik*** *am sağ tir.*
only/only two day-GEN before 3SG.ABS healthy COP.PST
‘**As recently as/only two days ago** she was healthy.’ (Haspelmath 1991: 90)

Unlike the case of Spanish *aún* that I briefly addressed above, the underspecification of *hele* cannot be traced back to a more general scalar additive function. This begs the question of what lies at the heart of this peculiarity. Again, taking a diachronic perspective allows for valuable insights in the form of two possible strains of motivation. First, though *hele* started out as a STILL expression, this function has become highly restricted in the present-day language, where the item primarily serves as a marker of ALREADY; I discuss this pathway of change in Section 2.3.2. It is not hard to see how the uses with earlier vs. later alternatives might be a reflection of these two functions. In other words, the ‘as early as’ use in (220b) could be understood as no different from the time-scalar use of a more canonical ALREADY expression, such as Spanish *ya* in (222).[52]

(222) Spanish
No es nada nuev-o. ***Ya hace año-s*** *… pod-ía-mos*
NEG COP.3SG nothing new-M already ago year-PL can-PST.IPFV-1PL

---

[52] This also seems to be the view taken by Haspelmath (1991, 1993), who discusses the ‘as early as’ use under the heading of ‘already’.

encontr-ar fals-a-s Nintendo de 8 bit-s y consola-s Sega-s
find-INF false-F-PL N. of 8 bit-PL and console(F)-PL S.-PL
fabric-ad-a-s en Taiwan.
fabricate-PTCP-F-PL in T.
'It's nothing new. **Already years ago** … we'd find fake 8 bit Nintendo and Sega consoles built in Taiwan.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

Another source of the 'as early as' use might be the persistent time frame use that I discuss in Section 2.5.2.2. In this function, the expression modifies a temporal frame adverbial and signals the persistence of an established time frame. This often gives rise to a scalar inference of earliness. For instance, in (223) an alternative course of events would have it that the third person argument leaves only after taking notice of the speaker (when it is *no longer* 'before she [possibly] saw me'). It is conceivable that such an erstwhile inference be conventionalised, thereby giving rise to an 'as early as' use; I discuss a partially overlapping scenario below. Quite possibly though, the shift of *hele* from STILL to ALREADY and the earliness inference of the persistent time frame use conspired towards one and the same outcome.

(223) Lezgian
Hele zun akwa-daldi, *am q^hfe-na.*
still 1SG.ABS see-CVB:before 3SG.ABS leave-AOR
'**Even before she saw me**, she left. / **Noch ehe sie mich sah**, ging sie weg.' (Haspelmath 1991: 90)

2.5.2.3.5 A closer look: The 'as far removed as' use

As I indicated initially, STILL expressions as time-scalar additives do not always operate on a scale of calendric values. Instead, they can also involve degrees of distance from the temporal origo. In my sample, this use is found with Modern Hebrew *ʕod* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*. Example (224) illustrates *još*. Here, the denotation of *prije 15 hodina* '15 years prior' is related to less removed times, thereby emphasising the culprit driver's refractoriness.

(224) Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian
Obavljenim nadzorom
carry_out.PASS.INST.SG.M supervision(M).INS.SG
utvrđen-o je da vozač
strengthen.PFV:PASS.PTCP-SG.N COP.3SG COMP driver.NOM.SG

upravlja *automobilom* *iako* *mu* *je*
drive.ipfv.3sg car.inst.sg although 3sg.dat.m cop.3sg
vozačka dozvola *oduzet-a* ***još prije 15***
driver's_licence(f).nom.sg take_away.pfv:pass.ptcp-sg.f still before 15
godina*.*
year.gen.pl
'Through the investigation it was established that the driver was steering the car although his driver's licence had been revoked **as far back as 15 years ago**.' (found online, glosses added)

Još is, to a certain extent, ambiguous, as it allows for 'as late as' construals, as well. With Modern Hebrew *ʕod*, on the other hand, 'as far removed as' is the only possible relevant interpretation. This is shown in (225).

(225) Modern Hebrew
a. # ***ʕod ke-adam zaken*** *hu* *išen* *harbe.*
still as-man old 3sg.m smoke.pst.3sg.m a_lot
(intended: 'Even/as late as as an old man he (still) smoked a lot.')
b. ***ʕod ke-adam tsaʕir*** *hu* *išen* *harbe.*
still as-man young.m 3sg.m smoke.pst.3sg.m a_lot
'All the way back as a young man he (already) smoked a lot.' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

On the basis of (224, 225), one may be tempted to suspect that the use in question is actually an 'as early as' one, similar to what I discussed above for Lezgian *hele* and for already expressions. That this is not the case becomes clear once more data are taken into account.[53] To begin with, there is a marked difference in meaning between the two types of operators, as illustrated in the pairs of examples in (226, 227). While in both cases the situation in question manifests itself at a comparatively early time, the still expressions in (226) contribute a notion of temporal dissociation that is not found with the already expressions in (227).

(226) a. Modern Hebrew
ʕod be-gel šeš yadʕ-a *li-qroʕ* *latinit.*
still at-age six know.pst-3sg.f to-read Latin

---

[53] This following discussion owes much to Boguslavsky's (1996) and Mustajoki's (1988) exposition of the parallel facts found with Russian *ešče*, a cognate of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*.

b. Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
__Još sa šest godina__ zna-la je čitati
still at six year.GEN.PL know.IPFV.PTCP-SG.F COP.3SG read.IPFV.INF
latinski.
Latin.ACC.SG
'**All the way back at the age of six** she could (already) read Latin.'
(Jurica Polančec and Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(227) a. Modern Hebrew
__Kvar be-gel šeš yadʕ-a__ li-qroʕ latinit.
already at-age six can.PST-3**sg**.F to-read Latin

b. Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
__Več sa šest godina__ zna-la je čitati
still at six year.GEN.PL know.IPFV.PTCP-SG.F COP.3SG read.IPFV.INF
latinski.
Latin.ACC.SG
'**As early as at the age of six** she could (already) read Latin.'
(Jurica Polančec and Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

These differences become even more pronounced in contextualised attestations where the two sets of expressions cannot be freely swapped, such as in (228, 229). What is at stake in these examples is a forward leap on the temporal axis, and by means of the ALREADY expressions *kvar* and *već* the amount of time elapsed is related to greater alternatives. This, in turn, clashes with the 'all the way back' notion that the STILL expressions *ʕod* and *još* would provide.

(228) Modern Hebrew
Context: About a fast-acting biochemical agent.
__Kvar (#ʕod) axarey 10 daq-ot mi-hosafa-t ha-ħomer__
already still after 10 minute-PL from-addition-CS DEF-substance
hay-u garʕin-im me-ħuts l-a-ta'-im.
COP.PST-3PL nucleus-PL from-outside to-DEF-cell-PL
'**Already ten minutes after the addition of the chemical**, some nuclei are found outside the cells.' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(229) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Context: About a Croatian politician that graduated in 2011.
Međutim, __već (#još) 2012. godine__ se naša-o u
however already still 2012 year.GEN.SG REFL find.PFV.PTCP-SG.M at

skupini *od* *18 policijskih* *dužnosnika* *koje*
group.LOC.SG from 18 constabulary.GEN.PL official.GEN.PL REL.ACC.PL.N
se *sumnjiči-lo* *za* *plagir-anje* *diplom-sk-og.*
REFL suspect.IPFV.PTCP-PL.N for plagiarise-NMLZ diploma-ADJ-GEN.SG
‘However, **already in 2012**, he found himself in a group of 18 police officials who were suspected of plagiarising their diploma.’ (found online and Jurica Polančec, p.c.)

The examples I have discussed up to this point all feature past tense contexts. Consistent with the observations there, in the future topic time is construed as more remote than the alternatives under consideration; see (230, 231). This leads to an overlap in interpretation with the ‘as late as’ type of use discussed above.

(230) Modern Hebrew
ʕod ha-nin-im ***šel-i*** *ye-šalm-u* *et*
still DEF-great_grandchild-PL POSS-1SG 3-pay.FUT-PL ACC
ha-ħovot *ha-’ele.*
DEF-obligation.PL DEF-PROX.PL
‘**Even (someone as far removed as) my grandchildren** will (still) be paying off these debts.’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(231) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Još za sto ***godina*** *ljudi* *će* *govoriti* *o*
still at hundred year.GEN.PL people will.3SG speak.IPFV.INF on
ovome.
PROX.LOC.SG.M
‘**Even (as far removed as) in a hundred years** people will (still) speak about this.’ (Stefan Savić, p.c.)

To make sense of STILL expressions signalling ‘as far removed as’, it is worthwhile once again taking a diachronic perspective. With a few augmentations, Mustajoki’s (1988) insightful observations on Russian *eščë* can be easily translated into a motivated historical scenario. Thus, Mustajoki remarks that different contextual manifestations of the ‘as far removed as’ use show varying degrees of conceptual similarity to the persistent time frame use (Section 2.5.2.2). To briefly recapitulate, in this use, which is attested for both relevant items, a STILL expression combines with a constituent referring to an established time span and signals “that the event in question occurs while the time specification is still valid: ‘it is still T, when e occurs’” (Löbner 1989: 202). Example (232) is an illustration.

(232) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Context: There was an accident involving a lorry and a cyclist.
Žrtva je umr-la ***još na licu mesta****.*
victim(f) cop.3sg die.ptcp-sg.f still at face.loc.sg place.gen.sg
'The victim died **right at (lit. still at) the scene of the accident**.'
(Stefan Savič, p.c.)

Taking this function as a point of departure, one may assume a gradual process of context expansion, accompanied by a relaxation of appropriateness conditions and instantiating the tendency for meaning to become more subjective (Section 1.6.2). In a first step, cases like (232) would have provided a model for the use of the relevant items together with foci referring to stages in life, phases in a process, and the like, such as in (225b), repeated below, and in (233). Quite possibly, this was facilitated by cases in which the original requirement for an established, salient topic time was satisfied via accomodation.[54]

(225b) Modern Hebrew
ʕod ke-adam tsaʕir *hu išen harbe.*
still as-man young.m 3sg.m smoke.pst.3sg.m a_lot
'All the way **back as a young man** he (already) smoked a lot.'
(Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(233) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Jezik se uči ***još u maternici****, pokaza-la*
language refl learn.ipfv.3sg still at womb.loc show.ptcp-sg.f
je studija finskog Sveučilišta Helsinki.
cop.3sg study(f) Finnish university.gen.sg H.
'Language is (already) learned **(as far back as) in the womb**, according to a Finnish study at the University of Helsinki.'
(found online, glosses added).

A similar transfer would have taken cases like the one illustrated in (234) for German *noch*, which pairs the persistence of an established time frame with the relational notion of precedence, as its model (this seems not be possible in present-day Modern Hebrew and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian). The outcome would have been purely scalar instances like (235, 236), which establish a new topic time.

---

[54] See Schwenter & Waltereit (2010) on presupposition accommodation in functional change.

(234) German
Die *Maske-n-pflicht* *... könnte* *...* ***noch vor***
def.nom.sg.f mask-pl-requirement(f) can.cond.3sg still before
Ostern *ge-locker-t* *oder ganz* *abgeschafft* *werd-en.*
Easter ptcp-loosen-ptcp or completely abandon.ptcp become-inf
The requirement to wear a [face] mask ... might be loosened or abandoned altogether ... **even** [lit. while it is still] **before Easter**.’ (found online, glosses added)

(235) Modern Hebrew
Context: Commenting on a blog post stating that the first gas-powered buses entered operation in 2019.
Aval nir’a l-i še-otobus-im še-mufʕal-im ʕal
but seems to-1sg subord-autobus(m)-pl subord-operate.pass-pl.m by
gaz nixnes-u be-Beitar Ilit ***ʕod lifney 2019.***
gas enter.pst-3pl at-B. I. still before 2019
‘But it seems to me that gas-powered buses entered operation in Beitar Ilit **even before 2019**.’ (found online, glosses added)

(236) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Bog nas je, ***još prije nego što je stvori-o***
God 1pl.acc cop.3sg still before than as cop.3sg create.ipfv.ptcp-sg.m
svijet, *izabra-o da u Kristu budemo*
world.acc.sg choose.pfv.ptcp-sg.m comp at Christ cop.1pl
sveti i bez nedostatka u njegovim
holy.nom.pl.m and without shortage.gen.sg at poss.3sg.m:loc.pl
očima.
eye.loc.pl
‘For he chose us in him **(even) before the creation of the world** to be holy and blameless in his sight.’ (Eph. 1:4, *Knjiga o Kristu*, glosses added)

Before moving on to the last stages of this scenario, it is worthwhile to take a brief pause and to highlight a few key components. First, the persistent time frame use, which I assume to be the starting point, often gives rise to a scalar inference of earliness. For instance, in the accident example (232) above, it could be imagined that the victim only dies at a later stage, such as after being loaded into an ambulance, or after being brought to hospital. Secondly, the illustrations up to this point all retain what is arguably the essence of phasal polarity, namely the segmentation of a time line into two sequential intervals of contrasting polarity. The first phase includes topic time (< ‘while it was still ...’) and the second phase includes utterance time or some other salient evaluation time. In other words, an example like (236) can be read as invoking a contrast between the 'then' before the creation of the world and the 'now' at which it exists, hence a subjective element of temporal distance. The same holds true, *mutatis mutandis*, of (225b, 233, 235). A schematic illustration is given in Figure 2.10.

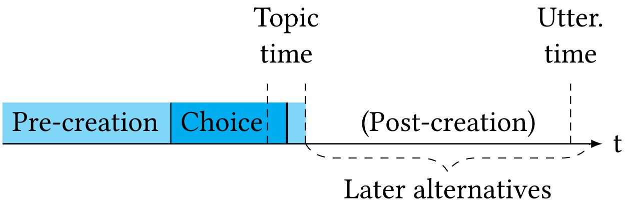


Figure 2.10: Schematic illustration of (236)

Support for the interpretation just outlined comes from German. Though the German STILL expression *noch* does not generally have the 'as far removed as' use, it can acquire a strikingly similar reading in a very specific set of contexts, namely when the temporal origins of a persistent state-of-affair are at stake (Appendix D.3.1.5.3).[55] This is illustrated in (237), which features the perhaps prototypical case, the verb–particle collocation *stammen…aus* 'stem from'. In an example like this, *noch* arguably fulfils a twofold function (Shetter 1966). On the one hand it does its usual job of providing the main proposition with phasal polarity ('I had and continue to have a shyness…'). At the same time, it can be read as associating with the temporal predication about the source of the state ('…from when I was still in the army'). The union of these two interpretations yields a reading of a remnant object from a bygone era.

(237) German
Ich habe eine natürliche Scheu vor Polizisten und Stabsoffizieren.
'I have a natural shyness of policemen and staff officers.'

Das	***stamm-t***	***noch***	***aus***	***meiner***	***Militär-zeit.***
3SG.N	stem-3SG	still	from	POSS.1SG:DAT.SG.F	military-time(F)

'**Goes back** (all the way) **to my army days**.' (Remarque, *Drei Kameraden*, cited in Shetter 1966: 466, glosses added)

Returning to the overarching development, after the initial analogical acquisition of new contexts, the 'as far removed as' reading would eventually be applied to other time specifications, such as in (238), and to cases where the associated constituent refers to people, as in (210) above. As Mustajoki (1988) points out, in such cases an interpretation as ‘when it is/was still …’ requires quite a stretch of the imagination and the corresponding periphrases are hardly adequate.

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[55] According to Mustajoki (1988), the same usage is attested for Finnish *vielä* (not in my sample).

(238) Modern Hebrew

Lemaʕase	*gam*	*‘Le-šaħrer*	*et*	*Guy’*	*haya*	*amur*
actually	also	to-free	ACC	guy	COP.PST.3SG.M	say:PTCP.PASS.SG.M

la-tset	*šana*	*še-ʕavr-a*	*ke-še-ha-treyler*
to-come_out	year(F)	SUBORD-pass.PST-SG.F	as-SUBORD-DEF-trailer

ha-rišon	*yatsa*	***ʕod***	***be-2019(!)***
DEF-first	come_out.PST.3SG.M	still	at-2019

‘Actually, [the movie] *Free Guy*, was also supposed to be released last year, whereas the first trailer came out **all the way back in 2019**(!)’ (found online, glosses added)

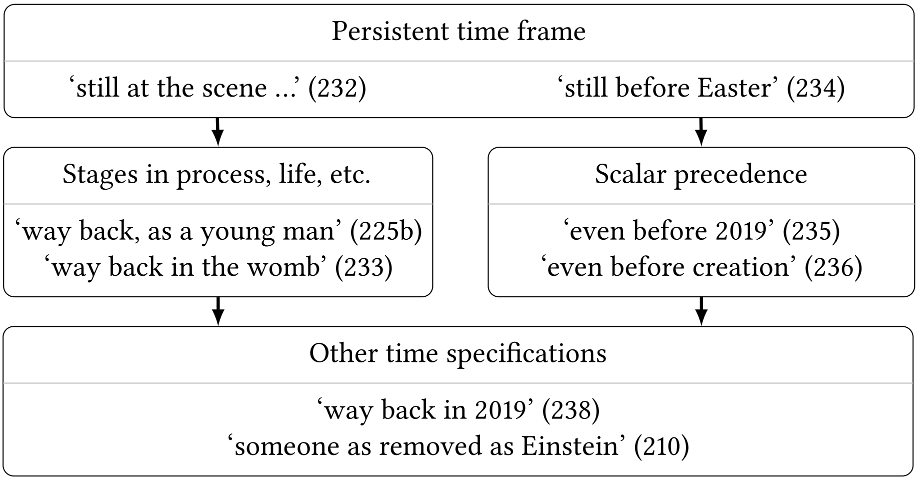
Persistent time frame
‘still at the scene …’ (232)
‘still before Easter’ (234)
Stages in process, life, etc.
‘way back, as a young man’ (225b)
‘way back in the womb’ (233)
Scalar precedence
‘even before 2019’ (235)
‘even before creation’ (236)
Other time specifications
‘way back in 2019’ (238)
‘someone as removed as Einstein’ (210)

Figure 2.11: Hypothesised development of the ‘as far removed as’ use

In a nutshell, the use of STILL expressions as scalar ‘as far removed as’ operators can be understood as a functional extension that does not directly build on phasal polarity. Instead, it is mediated by the persistent time frame use and involves a gradual and schematic context expansion, accompanied by the conventionalisation of subjective inferences and the relaxation of appropriateness conditions. Testing the empirical validity of this scenario, schematically outlined in Figure 2.11, is an open task for future diachronic corpus studies.

2.5.3 Modifications of temporal clauses

In this subsection, I discuss a set of uses that involve the modification of a temporal clause. I understand *temporal clause* in a loose sense here, as covering subordination in the strictest sense, embedding through nominalisation, as well as frame-setting medial clauses of a clause chain and constructions that *prima facie* involve the mere juxtaposition of two independent clauses ("asyndetic hypotaxis" in the terms of Güldemann 1998). This set of uses encompasses STILL expressions as markers of simultaneous duration (Section 2.5.3.1) and as parts of constructions that signal coextensive duration 'as long as' (Section 2.5.3.2). Lastly, I briefly address the use of STILL expressions to signal precedence, which, strictly speaking, relates to NOT YET, rather than to STILL (Section 2.5.3.3).

2.5.3.1 Simultaneous duration

2.5.3.1.1 Introduction

Several sample expressions have a use as markers of simultaneous duration, understood here as a signal that the situation expressed in the matrix clause partially or fully overlaps with the one depicted in the temporal clause (cf. Kortmann 1997: 84). Example (239) is an illustration from Classical Nahuatl. Here, the STILL expression *oc* figures in a temporal clause introduced by the determiner *in* and specifies the temporal overlap between the two situations at hand. As in this instance, the Classical Nahuatl case often, but not always, features an additional level of embedding through *ic* 'when', i.e. lit. 'when it is still the time that …'.

(239) Classical Nahuatl
Mācamo xi-còcoch-ti-ye-cān ***in oc ic***
PROH SBJV-doze-LNK-stay-PL DET still when
n-on-tē-machtia.
SUBJ.1SG-IT-OBJ.INDEF.HUMAN-teach
'Don't be dozing off **while I'm teaching**.'
(Launey 2011: 366, glosses added)

Note that I discuss the related, but semantically more specific, notion of coextensive duration separately in Section 2.5.3.2.

2.5.3.1.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 2.16 lists the four sample expressions that can serve as markers of simultaneous duration use, be it in conjunction with other embedding strategies or in a *prima facie* paratactic construction. As can be gathered, this function is found in four sample languages from North America. However, I rush to point out that this use is far from restricted to this continent. Outside of my sample, Güldemann (1998) reports several relevant cases from the Bantu languages of Africa. In what follows, I first summarise Güldemann's observations, as they allow for insights into the North American cases as well. I then return to the sample expressions.

Table 2.16: Simultaneous duration

Macro-area	Language	Expr.	Appx	Additional notes
N. America	Classical Nahuatl	*oc*	E.1.2.5.1	Often as *oc ic* lit. '(is) still when'
	Creek	*(i)mônk*[a]	E.2.2.4.1	In medial clauses
	Maricopa	*-haay*	E.6.2.4.1	With inessive *-ly*
	Osage	*šǫ́*	E.7.1.4.1	

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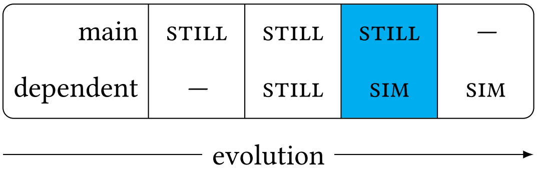
[a] Borderline case of a STILL expression.

2.5.3.1.3 Interlude: Güldemann's observations on Bantu

In comparing the reflexes of Proto-Bantu **ki-* and **ka-* across the eastern branch of the family, Güldemann (1998) observes a grammaticalisation cline: the expressions in question start out as "persistives" in main clauses and then spread to dependent clauses. Here, they first keep their original meaning and then undergo a shift to markers of simultaneity, often-times ending up as the only overt indicator of the dependency relation. Subsequently, the expressions may lose its productivity in main clauses, thereby ceasing to be phasal polarity items altogether. This chain of developments is schematised in Figure 2.12, and two aspects are worth elaborating upon. For one, the use of the relevant expressions as markers of STILL (or a closely related notion) is diachronically prior. What is more, a semantic change occurs between the second and third stage, which leads to a functional mismatch between main and temporal clauses. This situation, which closely resembles the North American cases in my sample, is illustrated for Shona *ci-* in (240). In (240a) this prefix forms part of the main clause predicate and serves as a phasal polarity expression. In (240b), on the other hand, *ci-* occurs on the dependent predicate and signals simultaneous duration.



main	still	still	still	–
dependent	–	still	sim	sim

Figure 2.12: Schematic illustration of Güldemann (1998)’s observations on Bantu persistives

(240) Shona

a. *Ndi-**ci**-ri ku-tora.*
subj.1sg-still-cop ncl15(inf)-talk
‘I am **still** taking.’

b. *A-ka-reva so-mu-nhu **a-ci-rw-ira***
subj.1sg-rem.pst-speak like-ncl1-person subj.ncl1-still-fight-appl
***ru-penyu rw-ake**.*
ncl11-life ncl11-poss.ncl1
‘He spoke like a person **fighting for his life**.’
(Fortune 1955: 259, 297, glosses added)

Güldemann (1998) traces this functional change back to the frequent use of the relevant expressions as part of the discursive background. This leads to semantic bleaching and their reinterpretation as markers of the dependency relationship itself, especially in those cases lacking any other overt signal of subordination, as in (240b). The assumed directionality is, of course, in line with the well-established tendency for meaning change towards the procedural (Section 1.6.2). Conceivably, bridging contexts are found in cases like (241). Here, the persistent nature of the fleeting state is only of indirect relevance, in that it provides the bounds for what is primarily a relationship of simultaneous duration.

(241) Osage
Wakˀó ðáalį šoo ðaįše *wáščuye ðáalį.*
woman good still 2sg.cont 2sg:get_married(f) good
‘You ought to get married **while you’re (still) a pretty woman**.’
(Quintero 2009: 208, glosses added)

In the same vein, where the sample data includes material from narrative discourse, there is a recurrent pattern ‘*p* … when still *p*, *q*’.[56] Example (242) is an illustration. Arguably, in such cases the main contribution of the STILL expression lies in fostering textual cohesion, which could open the doors to a functional reanalysis.

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[56] As observed before me, for instance, by Kieviet (2017: 344) for Rapanui *nō* and by Barclay (2008: 575, 619) for Western Dani *awo*.

(242) Rapanui
Context: Two people have fled from the rain and are sitting in a cave.
I nonoho era, he papaŋaha’a ’i te ha’uru. E ***ha’uru nō***
PFV stay.PL DIST NEUTRAL heavy.PL at ART sleep IPFV sleep still
’ā, *he tu’u atu hoko rua haka’ou nu’u mai te*
CONT NEUTRAL arrive away NUM:human two again people from ART
puhi iŋa mo te evinio.
fish_at_night NMLZ for ART lent
‘While they stayed there, they fell asleep. **While they were [still] sleeping**, two other people arrived, who had been fishing at night for Lent.’ (Kieviet 2017: 588–589)

2.5.3.1.4 A closer look: The sample expressions

I now return to a closer examination of the relevant sample expressions. To begin with, Maricopa -*haay* has the simultaneity function in collocation with inessive -*ly*. This is illustrated in (243a). It is noteworthy that the same construction yields an ordering of precedence when it is paired with clausemate negation; see (243b). This doubtlessly goes back to ‘while still ¬*p*, *q* ≡ while not yet *p*, *q*’ (Section 2.5.3.3). In other words, there is a clear trace of an original phasal polarity function, and Güldemann (1998) observes a similar case in the Bantu language Bemba.

(243) Maricopa
a. ***M-nak-k m-uuvaa-haay-ly*** *dany nym-k-ev-k.*
2-sit-SS 2-LOC.COP-still-in DEM DEM.ASSOC-IMP-work-RL
‘**While you are sitting there**, work on this.’
b. ***Aly-m-yem-m-haay-ly*** *ny-yuu-ksh.*
NEG-2-go-NEG-still-in 1>2-see-PFV.1
‘**Before you left**, I saw you.’ (Gordon 1986: 270–271)

Osage *šǫ* can serve as a simultaneity marker in a pattern that, on the surface, consists of the juxtaposition of two main clauses; see (244). Crucially, adverbial subordination in Osage is consistently marked at the right edge of the clause (Quintero 2004: 444), except for these *šǫ* clauses. That is, Osage displays a striking similarity to the Shona case in (240) above, albeit with the structural parallels being found in syntax rather than on the word-internal level.

(244) Osage
Áwa-hkik-ie ***šǫ́*** *akxa-i* *wihtáežį ə̨kxa mą́zeíe*
PVB:1SG.A-RECP-speak still 3.CONT-DECL sister SUBJ phone_call
hí-ð-ap-e.
PREV:arrive_there-CAUS-PL-DECL
'I was talking [to someone] when my younger sister called (lit. **While I was having a conversation** …).' (Quintero 2004: 445)

Creek (*i*)*mônk* has been described as signalling simultaneous duration in certain parts of a clause chain (Martin 2011: 404; Martin & McKane Mauldin 2000: 25).[57] In the materials I consulted, all relevant attestations of affirmative polarity are compatible with a reading of a persistence. For instance, in (245) the background situation modified by (*i*)*mônk* already holds true before the occurrence of the foregrounded one. It is perhaps a question of how prominent one or the other reading is in Creek. Like the Maricopa case discussed above, clausemate negation yields a precedence reading.

(245) Creek
Context: A boy has been turned into a snake. A man is watching him.
A:y-ít ma óywa atĭ:^{n}*k-os-a:n iɫ-hôyɫ-in …*
go.SG-SS that water up_to.EMPH-DIM-REF.DS go_and-stand.SG:RES-DS
ak-somêyk-in ***hóyɫ-i:*** ***mônk-in.***
LOC:water-disappear.SG:PFV-DS stand.SG-DUR STILL-DS
'He went to the water's edge and stood [and saw] … **and as he stood there** watching [the snake] went under again.'
(Haas & Hill 2014: 138, glosses added)

Lastly, with Classical Nahuatl, illustrated in (239) above, the development has gone one step further and has given rise to the signalling of causal relations; see (246). As Launey (1986: 1269) points out, this is clearly a case of the well-known extension from time to causality (e.g. Kuteva et al. 2019: 425).

(246) Classical Nahuatl
In oc ic ti-tēpil-tzin *… xi-m-ìmat-cā-nemi.*
DET still when SUBJ.2SG-offspring-HON SBJV-REFL-be_wise-LNK-live
'Pues que eres bien nacido … viue con cordura. [**Since you are noble**, live wisely.]' (Carochi 1645: 503, glosses added)

---

[57] (*i*)*mônk* is a borderline case of a STILL expression and might be considered a marker of stasis or permanence. This does, however, not affect the simultaneity function.

2.5.3.2 Coextensiveness

2.5.3.2.1 Introduction

Two expressions in my sample, Modern Hebrew *ʕod* and Plateau Malagasy *mbola* (Appendices D.4.3.5.3, B.11.1.5.1), occur in collocations that signal simultaneous coextension, or that the matrix clause proposition holds true during the entire duration of the situation depicted in the background clause (cf. Kortmann 1997: 84). With Modern Hebrew *ʕod*, this use is found in clauses introduced by the universal quantifier *kol*, as shown in (247). In Plateau Malagasy, the 'as long as' reading occurs in clauses governed by the temporal and conditional subordinator *raha* 'if/when'; see (248).

(247) Modern Hebrew
__Kol ʕod__ (ti-hye) qayem-et ha-šiṭa ha-zot,
all still 3sg.f-cop.fut exist-3sg.f def-system(f) def-prox.sg.f
ze yi-mašex.
prox.sg.m 3sg.m-continue.fut
'**As long as** this system exists, it'll go on.'
(Glinert 1989: 548, glosses added)

(248) Plateau Malagasy
Ma-toki-a __raha__ __mbola__ velona aina.
agt.foc-confident-imp if/when still alive breath
'Tant qu'il y a de la vie, il y a de l'espoir. [**As long as** there's life, there's hope.]' (Raharinirina-Rabaovololona 1991: 157, glosses added)

Note that these instances differ from ones like the German example (249), where the notion of coextension is due to a separate marker, *solange*, and the still expression *noch* does its usual job of relating two phases to each other.

(249) German
Eröffne-t wurde der Tanz, __solange__
open-ptcp become.pst.3sg def.sg.m dance(m) as_long_as
__meine Mutter noch leb-te__ …
poss.1sg:nom.sg.f mother(f) still live-pst.3sg
'The dance would be opened, **for as long as my mother was still alive**…'
(Métrich & Faucher 2009: 621, glosses added)

2.5.3.2.2 Discussion

The semantics at play in the Hebrew and Malagasy cases is straightforward: at all times and, by metonymy, in all possible worlds, in which the subordinate proposition remains true, the same applies to the matrix clause one.

2.5.3.3 A note on precedence

2.5.3.3.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I briefly discuss cases in which a STILL expression forms part of a common or default strategy to form temporal clauses of precedence ('before *p*, *q*'). Example (250) is an example from Ruuli, featuring *kya-* in collocation with the copula *li* and an infinitival complement. Note that I do not discuss constructions of the type '(it is still) a certain amount of time, then *q*' here; for a discussion of these, see Section 2.2.2.

(250) Ruuli

Nga ebi-dima bi-kya-li kw-iza
CONJ NCL8-hoe SUBJ.NCL8-still-COP NCL15(INF)-come
tu-a-lum-isya-nga bu-sika bu-ni.
SUBJ.1PL-PST-dig-CAUS-HAB NCL14-small_hoe NCL14-PROX
'**Before the hoes arrived** (lit. when hoes did not yet arrive), we dug with these small hoes.' (Molochieva et al. 2021: 81)

2.5.3.3.2 Distribution in the sample

The twelve expressions in my sample which have the precedence use, in one collocation or another, are listed in Table 2.17. As can be observed, this function is attested in unrelated languages from all macro-areas minus Australia, and with expressions of different morphological or syntactic statuses.

2.5.3.3.3 A closer look and discussion

As can be gathered from the literal translation of the Ruuli example (250), the precedence reading here arises compositionally, through the adverbial subordinator *nga* 'when, while' plus the negative concept NOT YET. The latter concept is, in this case, signalled through the combination of *kya-* with the copula and an infinitive; I discuss such uses of STILL as NOT YET without a negator in Section 2.3.1. In fact, all relevant instances in the sample can be traced back to the items in

Table 2.17: ‘Before’

Macro-Area	Language	Expression	Collocate
Africa	Manda	*(a)kóna*	INF
	Plateau Malagasy	*mbola*	NEG
	Ruuli	*kya-*	COP (+INF)
	Tima	*bʌ̀ʌ̀r*	NEG
Eurasia	Northern Qiang	*tɕe-*	NEG
North America	Creek	*(i)mônk*[a]	NEG
	Kalaallisut	*suli*	NEG
	Maricopa	*-haay*	NEG
Papunesia	Western Dani	*awo*	NEG
South America	Cavineña	*=jari*	NEG
	Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua	*-raq*	NEG
	Trió	*=nkërë*	NEG

[a] Borderline case of a STILL expression.

question forming part of a NOT YET expression of varying shapes and forms,[58] together with a semantically unspecific clause combining device.[59] Where the majority of them differ from the Ruuli one is that they are built around clause-mate negation. Examples (251, 252) illustrate this more transparent pattern for a nominalised temporal clause in Northern Qiang and a medial clause in Creek.

(251) Northern Qiang
Nəs qa ***ma-tɕi-kə-tç****, theː qa səimi de-l.*
yesterday 1SG NEG-still-go-GEN 3SG 1SG fruit DIR-give.
‘Yesterday **before I left**, s/he gave me (a package of) fruit.’
(LaPolla & Huang 2003: 241)

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[58] A possible counterexample from outside the sample is found in Turkana (Nilotic) *ròkò*, see Dimmendaal (1983: 360). Judging from the other examples of this expression throughout Dimmendaal’s grammar, I would expect *ròkò* to go together with a copula if it were to serve as a marker of STILL in the relevant cases. That is, the instances in question appear to be based on a pattern in which a STILL expression serves as a marker of NOT YET in the absence of an overt complement; see Section 2.3.1 on the latter.

[59] That is, we are not dealing with “expletive negation” (Jin & Koenig 2021), as in German *Bevor du nicht aufgeräumt hast, darfst du nicht spielen* ‘You aren’t allowed to play before tidying up (lit. … before you haven’t tidied up).’

(252) Creek

Lítk-iko-ː ***mônk-in*** *is-ás.*

run.SG-NEG-DUR still-DS catch-IMP

'Catch it **before it runs** (lit. while it has not [yet] run, catch it).'

(Martin 2011: 404)

The use of NOT YET constructions as signals of precedence is a strategy attested beyond the confines of my sample (Olguín Martínez 2022: 336–340; Veselinova & Devos 2021) and the underlying temporal relations are straightforward. When topic time is narrowed down to a time at which the subordinate situation does not yet hold true, it is restricted to a time before the possible manifestation of said situation; the same observation has been made before me by Gordon (1986: 271) and Weber (1989: 388), among others. In a nutshell, what appears to be a STILL-as-'before' use at first glance turns out to be an artefact of the expressions in question also being involved in marking the negative concept NOT YET.

3 Non-temporal uses

> *Noch* der armseligste Mensch ist fähig, die Schwächen des bedeutendsten, *noch* der dümmste, die Denkfehler des klügsten zu erkennen.[1]
>
> Theodor Adorno: Minima Moralia

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss uses that are primarily non-temporal. More specifically, in Section 3.2 I address STILL expressions in marginality function (e.g. ‘a penguin still counts as a bird’). This is followed by an overview of uses pertaining to, or closely related to, the realm of additive focus quantification in Section 3.3. In Section 3.4 I survey uses of STILL expressions as restrictive focus quantifiers. Lastly, in Section 3.5 I discuss uses that are modal (in the widest sense of the term) and/or interactional.

3.2 Marginality

3.2.1 Introduction

In this section, I discuss a use that has come to be known under the label of “marginality” (Ippolito 2007; König 1977; Michaelis 1993, among others). In this function, a STILL expression combines with a scalar predicate or an expression for a graded category and, as the label *marginality* suggests, it signals a rank that lies in proximity to a threshold. The examples in (1, 2) are illustrations. In (1) Juan is portrayed as borderline bearable. People ranking even lower in the speaker’s esteem, such as Pedro, fall outside the relevant region on a scale of sympathy. In (2) *noch* highlights that Aachen lies within German territory, albeit in proximity to the border. Not much further West, one crosses into Belgium. Such comparisons between applicable and non-applicable arguments (i.e. contrastive topics) are a recurrent theme with the marginality use.[2]

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[1] ‘Even the basest of humans is *still* capable of detecting the weaknesses of those most eminent, even the most stupid person can *still* recognise the fallacies committed by the smartest.’

[2] Hansen (2008: ch. 7.2), in dealing with data from French, makes a distinction between two types of marginality uses. In the first type, which she terms “scalar”, two scales are aligned

(1) Spanish
A Juan todavía lo aguant-o, *pero a Pedro no.*
ACC J. still 3SG.ACC.M tolerate-1SG but ACC P. NEG
‘**I still stand Juan**, but not Pedro.’ (Ederly & Curcó 2016: 3, glosses added)

(2) German
Aachen lieg-t noch in Deutschland, *Lüttich ist schon Belgien.*
A. lie-3SG still in Germany, Liège COP.3SG already Belgium
‘**Aachen is still in Germany**, Liège is in Belgium already.’
(personal knowledge)

Note that marginality is not conventionally associated with focus (Grosz 2012: 276; König 1991: 151–152), which distinguishes it from the additive and restrictive operator uses that I discuss in Sections 3.3.2 and 3.4, but aligns it with phasal polarity.

3.2.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.1 lists the expressions for which the marginality use is found in the sample data. As can be gathered, it is attested for 21 expressions from 19 distinct languages, and for all macro-areas except Australia.[3] They are, however, relatively rare in Papunesia compared to the number of sample languages. I cannot disregard the possibility that this scarcity of attestations is simply a function of the available data. At the same time, many STILL expressions in Australia and Papunesia also serve as non-scalar exclusive operators ‘just, only’ (Section 3.4.2). It is conceivable that this restrictive function blocks the development of marginality readings.

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with each other. This is found in (1), where the a ranking of subjects is aligned with different degrees of sympathy. In the second type, which she terms “categorizing”, a binary question of inclusion vs. exclusion in a given category is at stake, typically in a copula clause. This second type is instantiated in (2). As Hansen (2008: 181) points out herself “[o]ne may legitimately wonder whether there is any reason to distinguish the scalar and the categorizing use at the semantic level”. Against this background, and given my often limited third-party data, I do not follow this distinction in my discussion.

[3] The marginality use is also attested for several cognates of expressions in my sample, e.g. Dutch *nog* (Rombouts 1979; Vandeweghe 1984), Catalan *encara* (Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern 1995), or the various cognates of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* across Slavic (Bogacki 1993; Buzássyová & Jarošová 2006: s.v. *ešte*; Doroszewski 1958–1969: s.v. *jeszcze*; Havránek 1989: s.v. *ješte*; Instytút movoznávstva 1970–1980: s.v. *ще*; Kačala et al. 2003: s.v. *ešte*; Komárek 1979; Mustajoki 1988). In addition, it is found with Hungarian *még* (Csirmaz & Slade 2020).

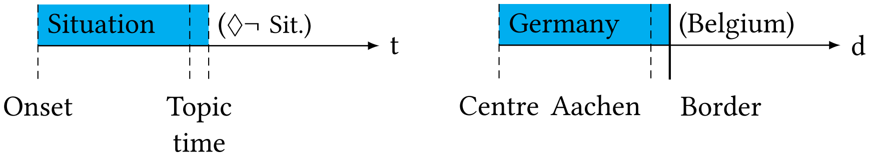
Table 3.1: STILL Marginality use. *Notes*: *: Only one example in the data. †: With reservations; see discussion below. ‡: Borderline case of a STILL expression.

Macro-Area	Language	Expression	Appendix
Africa	Manda	*(a)kona*	B.8.2.5
	Plateau Malagasy	*mbola**	B.11.1.6
	Southern Ndebele	*sa-*	B.14.2.5
	Swahili	*bado*	B.15.2.5
	Tashelhyit	*sul*	B.16.1.6
	Xhosa	*sa-*	B.19.2.5
Eurasia	English	*still*	D.1.1.6
	French	*encore*	D.2.2.7
	German	*noch*	D.3.1.6
	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕadayin*	D.4.2.5
		ʕod†	D.4.3.6
	Mandarin Chinese	*hái*	D.9.2.6
	Northern Qiang	*tɕe-*	D.10.2.4
	Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian	*još*	D.11.2.6
	Spanish	*aún*	D.13.2.6
		todavía	D.13.3.7
	Thai	*yaŋ*	D.14.2.4
North America	Creek	*(i)monk*‡	E.2.2.5
Papunesia	Kalamang	*tok*	F.7.2.6
	Saisiyat	*nahan**	F.16.2.4
South America	Trió	*=nkërë*	G.6.2.4

3.2.3 A closer look: Similarities and differences to phasal polarity

I now turn to a closer look at the marginality use. In what follows, I first focus on the similarities to, and differences from, its phasal polarity cousin. Afterwards I discuss some more specific usage patterns and functions derived from marginality. To begin with, there is an obvious conceptual relationship between marginality and phasal polarity. Thus, just as through STILL a situation is depicted as extending through to topic time and towards its possible end, the marginality construal involves the continuation of a scale (or a specific region thereon) through to the value or entity under discussion and towards its end (Hansen 2002, 2008: ch. 7; König 1977, 1991: ch. 7.4; Liu 2000; Löbner 1989; Michaelis 1993;

Yeh 1998; among others). Correspondingly, marginality "*still* establishes a perspective where the P scale has been under discussion", whereas its counterpart "*already* P establishes a perspective where the ¬P to P transition is salient" (Ippolito 2007: 25). For instance, an example like (2) above is felicitous in a context where locations within Germany have been established as the topic of discussion. Figure 3.1 is a graphic illustration.



(a) STILL

(b) Marginality (ex. 2)

Figure 3.1: Illustration of the marginality use

Despite this striking similarity, there are distinctive differences between the two uses. The first and obvious one pertains to the temporal vs. non-temporal nature of the scales in question. The second, and more subtle, point of divergence is the reality status of the threshold, which is indicated by the dashed vs. solid rightmost vertical line in Figure 3.1. Whereas the appropriateness conditions of STILL only require that a discontinuation scenario be entertainable, marginality

> can be said to conventionalize … the presupposition of expected transition: the speaker's assertion that an entity bears some scalar property is informative only in so far as the entity's location … is subject to debate. The equivocal nature of the entity's membership … arises from it being situated at or near a transition point (Michaelis 1993: 238)

Consequently, the marginality use is not available with clear-cut cases, such as central members of a category (Deloor 2012; Hansen 2008: 181; Muller 1991; Rombouts 1979; among others). Thus, (3) is markedly odd, given that Göttingen lies slap bang in the centre of Germany.

(3) German

? *Göttingen lieg-t* ***noch*** *in Deutschland.*
G. lie-3SG still in Germany
'Göttingen is still in Germany.' (personal knowledge)

The third difference between marginality and phasal polarity STILL lies in the orientation of the scale. Recall that STILL presupposes an earlier runtime of the same situation and addresses the question of whether it has ceased at topic time (the time under discussion). Both the earlier temporal relatum and topic time can be understood as positive calendric values. Scales such as the geographic regions, however, end at their most decentral members (those furthest removed, most unrepresentative, etc.). In other words, the city of Aachen in (2) is an applicable argument for the predicate 'be in Germany', but a location-wise highly atypical one. Correspondingly, Umbach (2009: 9) posits an ordering of "inverse prototypicality" and Hansen (2008: 175) speaks of the addressee being "instructed to scan the relevant scale of values counter-directionally." This is illustrated in Figure 3.2.

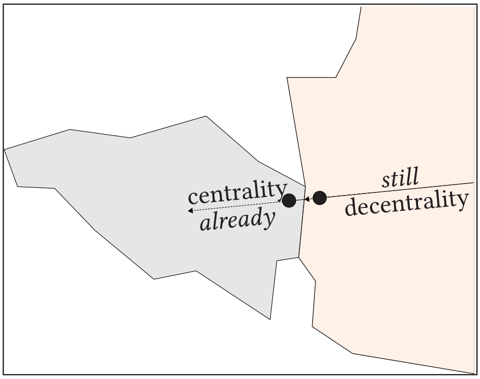


Figure 3.2: Graphic illustration of (2)

These differences in meaning, in turn, can have grammatical correlates. For instance, though the marginality use, just like its phasal polarity ancestor, naturally combines with an imperfective viewpoint, it is occasionally attested with a perfective one; see (4). In line with the above observations on (1–3), what is at issue in such instances is not the event depicted in the main predicate, but a degree variable and the question of its location inside or outside the bounds of some salient scale.

(4) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Ti si ***još*** *jeftino proša-o.*
2SG COP.2SG still cheaply pass.PFV.PTCP-SG.M
'You still got off cheaply.' (Prajnković 2018: 72, glosses added)

When it comes to syntactic placement, English *still* in clause-final position can only have a phasal polarity interpretation, not the marginality one (Michaelis 1993). Similary, German *noch* in the forefield position of a V2 clause is always a phasal polarity item, and cannot have a marginality reading, as shown in (5a). The same holds true for isolated *noch*; see (5b). In the same vein, French *encore* does not have a marginality reading when used in elliptical utterance (Hansen 2008: 173).

(5) German
a. ***Noch*** *ist Paul gemäßigt.*
still cop.3sg P. moderate
'So far Paul is still moderate.'
not: 'Paul is still within the range of people counting as moderate.'
(König 1991: 55, glosses added)
b. *Paul ist gemäßigt. –* ***Noch.***
P. cop.3sg moderate Still
'Paul is moderate. – For now [he still] is.'
not: 'Paul is moderate. – Barely so.' (personal knowledge)

3.2.4 A closer look: Some more usage patterns

Having established the key similarities and differences between phasal polarity still and its marginality counterpart, I now turn to some more specific usage patterns. In the case of German *noch*, the borderline status of the topical argument is often made explicit by additional expressions like *eben* 'just, precisely' or (*so*) *gerade* '(just) barely', as in (6).

(6) German
*Osnabrück liegt (**gerade**) **noch** in Niedersachsen.*
O. lie.3sg just still in Lower_Saxony
'Osnabrück is still Lower Saxony (i.e. it is a marginal case of being in the Lower Saxony territory).' (Umbach 2012: 1843, glosses added)

For French *encore* it has been observed that its marginality use is exclusively (or nearly so) found with predicates that involve a positive evaluation (Hansen 2008: 176). For instance, in (7) *encore une somme* 'still a decent sum' indicates that the inheritance is not the fortune expected by speaker A, but falls within that portion of the scale that they should be happy about. A similar finding has been reported for Mandarin Chinese *hái* (Yeh 1998; Lu 2019; and references therein).

(7) French

A: *Je suis bien embêté. Ma tante a légué la plus grande partie de sa fortune à un refuge animalier, et je n'aurai que 10.000 euros...*
'I'm really annoyed. My aunt has left the better part of her fortune to an animal shelter, and only 10,000 euros to me...'

B: *Ben, 10.000 euros, c'-est* ***encore une*** ***somme****.*
well, 10,000 euros prox.sg.m-cop.3sg still indef.sg.f sum(f)
'Well, 10,000 euros is **still a decent sum**.'
(Hansen 2008: 172, glosses added)

Given that better exemplars need to be conceivable, the marginality use of still expressions lends itself to downgrading and can even yield downright derogatory overtones. These are particularly salient in the context of direct comparisons, even when the property in question is, in itself, desirable (Hansen 2002; König 1977). This is illustrated in (8, 9) for German *noch* and Mandarin Chinese *hái*. In (8), Paul is depicted as a marginal case of an intelligent person. The invocation of a specific standard through *von der Familie* 'of the family' suggests that under normal circumstances he would fall below the threshold value. The conclusion is that he is outright dumb. His family, which, as a function of the superlative, ranks below him, fares even worse. A similar conclusion is brought about in (9), where the dish under discussion is explicitly described as unappetising in the immediate discourse context.

(8) German

Paul ist noch der intelligent-est-e *von der Familie.*
P. cop.3sg still def.nom.sg.m intelligent-sup-nom.sg.m from def.gen.sg.f family(f)
'(They are all pretty stupid. But) **Paul is still the most intelligent** of the family.' (König 1977: 190, glosses added)

(9) Mandarin Chinese

Zhè-dào dòufu bù zěnme hǎochī, zhè ***hái shì zhè-jiā diàn zuì hǎo de cài le****.*
prox-clf tofu neg that tasty prox still cop prox-clf store most good assoc dish sfp.
'This tofu dish is not that tasty, **and this is already the best dish of the restaurant**.' (Liu 2000: 60)

In the sample data, examples comparable to (8, 9) are attested for French *encore* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*. Attestations involving comparisons, but not necessarily with derrogatory overtones, are found for Kalamang *tok* and Trió *=nkërë*. Cases like (9) probably also motivates the optional use of Mandarin Chinese *hái* in make-do contexts like (10a) and in a disjunctive clause pattern *yǔqi* … (*hái*) *bù rú* 'rather than … would (still) be better' that is illustrated in (10b). Both types involve an implicit or explicit comparison and the proposition in the scope of *hái* is evaluated as somewhat better than the comparee, at least in the context of the specific local standard.[4]

(10) Mandarin Chinese

a. *Bié shuō le, **hái-shì kuài zǒu ba**.*
PROH talk PFV still-COP quickly leave SFP
'Don't talk anymore; **we had better leave quickly**. [i.e. leaving quickly does not solve things, but it's the best we can do right now]' (Liu 2000: 48)

b. ***Yǔqí** zài jiē shàng xiánguàng, **hái bù rú** qù dǎ lánqiú.*
rather_than COP.LOC street at wander still NEG as_if go play basketball
'**It is** [**still**] **better** to play basketball than to wander aimlessly on the street.' (Huang & Shi 2016: 28)

Evaluation and indirect comparison are also at play in the use of Spanish *todavía* as a pro-predicate signalling that a state-of-affairs is barely within social norms (Appendix D.13.3.7.1). This is illustrated in (11a). Like this attestation, all examples in the literature feature hypothetical states-of-affairs and serve as a comment on a factual, but unacceptable situation. As pointed out before me by Bosque (2016) and Deloor (2012), this function of *todavía* doubtlessly goes back to a marginality use plus ellipsis of an evaluative predicate. That is, example (11a) is modelled after cases like (11b).

(11) Spanish

a. *En el coche, en la mesa, en la cama, **todavía**…*
in DEF.SG.M car(M) in DEF.SG.F table(F) in DEF.SG.F bed(F) still
pero tienes 5 minuto-s para sac-ar ese televisor
but have.2SG 5 minute-PL for remove-INF DEM.SG.M television(M)

---

[4] A similar suggestion, albeit only for make-do contexts, has been made by Paris (1988).

d-el *baño.*
of-DEF.SG.M bathroom(M)
'In the car, on the table, in bed, [**that would**] **still** [**be acceptable**]... but you have five minutes to move that TV out of the bathroom.' (Deloor 2012, glosses added)

b. ***Todavía*** *que* *eso* *ocurr-ies-e* *en público*
still SUBORD DEM.SG.N happen-PST.SBJV-3SG in public
pod-ría ***pas-ar,*** *¡pero en privado!*
can-COND.3SG happen-INF but in private
'Such a thing occurring in public, **that could happen**, but in private!?' (Goméz de la Serna, *Automoribundia*, cited in Bosque 2016: 222, glosses added)

A broadly comparable pattern is found in Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian and involves the reduplicated form *jošjoš* (Appendix D.11.2.6.1). Typically, the anaphoric neuter demonstrative *to* stands in as the subject, as in (12). This usage signals that a state-of-affair is somewhat acceptable in a given circumstance, but not in another one. Not all native-speaker linguists consulted by me knew of this specific function, so it might be a regionalism. Interestingly, however, outside of my sample it finds a parallel in the Slovak cognate *ešteešte*, as shown in (13).

(12) Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian
Platiti *tolike* *novce,* *to* ***još~još*** *(ali*
pay.PFV.INF so_much.GEN.SG.F money(F).ACC.SG DEM.N.SG still~still but
za *lošu* *stvar* *nikada).*
for bad.ACC.SG.F thing(F).ACC.SG never
'To spend so much money, **well ok** (but [I'd] never [spend it] on [such] a bad thing).' (Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*, glosses added)

(13) Slovak
V *lete* *bolo* ***ešte~ešte****, ale* *v* *zime!*
at summer.LOC COP.PTCP.N.SG still~still but at winter.LOC
'In summer it was **so-so**, but in winter!' (Buzássyová & Jarošová 2006: s.v. *ešte*, glosses added)

The marginality use of French *encore* and Spanish *todavía* has led them to serve as *at least*-type operators in counterfactual conditionals. Example (14) is an illustration; for more discussion see Section 3.4.4.

(14) Spanish
¿Para qué ahorr-as?; ***todavía si tuvier-as hijo-s***
for what save_money-2SG still if have.PST.SBJV-2SG child-PL
esta-ría justificado.
COP-COND.3SG justified
'What are you saving money for? **If you at least had kids**, then it would make sense.' (RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. *todavía*, glosses added)

Lastly, in Persohn (2024a) I argue that marginality also feeds into German *noch* as a peculiar type of scalar additive 'even' in cases like (15); also see Section 3.3.4.

(15) German
Context: There are no more innocent things.
***Noch** [**der Baum der blüh-t**]$_{\text{FOC}}$ lüg-t,*
still DEF.NOM.SG.M tree(M) REL:NOM.SG.M blossom-3SG lie-3SG
'Even the blossoming tree lies'

in dem Augenblick, in welchem man sein Blühen ohne den Schatten des Entsetzens wahrnimmt.
'the moment its bloom is perceived without the shadow of terror.'
(Adorno, *Minima Moralia*, glosses added)

3.2.5 Discussion

As I pointed out above, there is a noteworthy conceptual similarity between phasal polarity STILL on the one hand and its marginality counterpart on the other. In fact, the latter can be understood as metonymically derived from the former (Hansen 2008; Krifka 2000; Löbner 1989; among others), at least in diachronic terms. This direction of change is, of course, in line with the well-known tendency of the subjectivisation of meaning (Section 1.6.2) and a projection from times to other scales corresponds to Himmelmann's (2004) "semanto-pragmatic context expansion" that is characteristic of grammaticalisation/pragmaticisation processes. As far as actual usage is concerned, bridging contexts can be readily found in examples like (16, 17).

(16) Old French, 13th/14th century
Context: After having being caught in a brothel, a knight had to give up his horse and armor and leave camp. The king has been asked if the horse could be given to a poor nobleman.

Et le roy me respondi que ceste
and def.sg.m king(m) 1sg.obj answer.pst.pfv.3sg subord prox.sg.f
priere n'-estoit pas resonnable, que le
request(f) neg-cop.pst.ipfv.3sg neg reasonable subord def.sg.m
cheval valoit ***encore IIIIxx livre****-s.*
horse(m) be_worth.pst.ipfv.3sg still eigthy pound-pl
'And the King answered that this request was unreasonable, for **the horse was worth 80 pounds**, **after all** / **was still worth 80 pounds**.' (de Joinville, *La vie de Saint Louis*, cited in Hansen 2008: 177–178, glosses added)

(17) Kalamang
Context: A boat trip around an island.
Mindi warkin laur warkin kararak=tauna o get me tiri
like_that tide rising tide dry=so emph if not sail
osew=ar=a pareir=et. Wa me ***tok bisa****.*
beach=obj=foc follow=irr prox top still can
'Like that the tide is low, if not we'd sail following the beaches. This **is still OK** (lit: this, [we] **still can**).' (Visser 2021b)

For (16), Hansen (2008: 177) points out that a phasal polarity reading is possible, but less salient, because nowhere in the preceding texts has the persistent or remaining value of the horse, let alone that of any other item, been discussed. In the Kalamang example (17), a marginality reading and the phasal polarity one are intertwined, in that the sea levels are a function of the tide, hence of time. A similar case is found in the one relevant example I have from Plateau Malagasy, given in (18). The context and Dez's (1980) parenthetical remarks suggest that a reading of marginality is at least latent, though this is also a function of decay over time.

(18) Plateau Malagasy
Context: About a house with a ruined roof.
Mbola *trano io.*
still house dem.sg
'Ceci sert encore de maison (parce que, par exemple, le toit, quoique endommagé, peut encore servir d'abri). [This still serves as a house (because, for example, the roof, although damaged, can still serve as a shelter).]' (Dez 1980: 128, glosses added)

As observed before me by Rombouts (1979) and Victtori & Fuchs (1996: 77), an overlap between the two functions is also found in some instances where, to quote Löbner (1989: 203), "the time scale and the reference point thereon are replaced by a scale of objects which are located in time and hence (indirectly) temporally ordered". For instance, what is at stake in (19) Goethe's style during the production of various successive works. At the same time, the character of the first entity under discussion, *Jägers Abendlied*, is depicted as a borderline case that can be categorised as part of the earlier period, but whose tone leans towards the later one.

(19) German
Context: About different poems by Goethe.
Wenn "Jägers Abendlied" ***noch zwischen Trotz und Ergebung***
when/if J. A. still between defiance and submission
***schwank**-t, ist hier der neu-e mild-e*
fluctuate-3SG COP.3SG here DEF.NOM.SG.M new-NOM.SG.M mild-NOM.SG.M
Ton entschieden.
tone(M) decide.PTCP
'While Jägers Abendlied **still fluctuates between defiance and submission**, in this poem the new mild tone has been settled upon.'
(Staiger, *Goethe*, cited in Shetter 1966: 52, glosses added)

On a more abstract level, when membership in a graded category is at stake, the "mental category scan" that the hearer is instructed to perform "can be assumed to occupy a certain (if small) amount of time" (Hansen 2008: 181). Taking (2), repeated below, as an example, by the time someone scanning their mental map of Germany from centre to periphery has localised Aachen, their virtual self may be felt to have spent an advanced amount of time in the process. In the same vein, the hard-wired threshold that goes along with marginality, and which I discussed above, can be understood as the conventionalisation of an erstwhile implicature (Michaelis 1993).

(2) German
***Aachen lieg-t noch in Deutschland**, Lüttich ist schon Belgien.*
A. lie-3SG still in Germany, Liège COP.3SG already Belgium
'**Aachen is still in Germany**, Liège is in Belgium already.'
(personal knowledge)

Further support for the assumed direction of change comes from diachronic data. First of all, for about half of the expressions in Table 3.1 a primacy of phasal polarity can be deduced from the known etymologies. What is more, diachronic studies of French *encore* and Mandarin Chinese *hái* have shown that unequivocal instances of the marginality use only show up centuries after phasal polarity functions of the same items (Hansen 2008: 177, 181; Yeh 1998). Lastly, for three expressions in my sample the data indicate that the marginality use is unavailable. These are Japhug *pɤjkʰu*, Tima *bʌʌr*, and Tunisian Arabic *māzāl* (Appendices D.6.2.5, B.17.2.5, B.18.2.6). The examples in (20) illustrate this for Japhug *pɤjkhu*.

(20) Japhug

a. Context: Talking about skills in a sport.

Pɤjkʰu *pjɯ-ɕɯ-nŋam-a cʰa-a.*
still IPFV-CAUS-be_defeated-1SG can-1SG
‘Currently (but not necessarily later), I can still beat him.’
not: ‘He still falls within the range of those I can beat.’
(Guillaume Jacques, p.c.)

b. *Maoxian nɯ kɯrɯ sɤtɕha maʁ ri, Lixian nɯ* ***pjɤkʰu*** *kɯrɯ*
M. DEM Tibetan area NEG.COP but L. DEM still Tibetan
sɤtɕha kɤ-rtsi ŋu.
area INF-count COP
‘Maoxian is not a Tibetan area, but Lixian still counts as a Tibetan area (that might change in the future).’
not: ‘… Lixian is still [i.e. classifies as a marginal member] of a Tibetan area.’ (Guillaume Jacques, p.c.)

In addition, Modern Hebrew *ʕod* appears to allow for the marginality use, but fares less well in these contexts than its near-synonym *ʕadayin*. This is likely due to *ʕod* being strongly associated with event-based additivity. French *toujours* does not have a marginality use either, but gives a reading of ‘always, invariably’ in these contexts; see (21). Admittedly, *toujours* is a borderline case of a STILL expression in the first place and is probably best considered a marker of stasis (Appendix D.2.3.2).

(21) French

A: *On a fait une collecte parmi les parents afin de pouvoir rénover l’aire de jeux de l’école, et on n’a eu que 1.000 euros.*
‘We took up a collection among the parents in order to renovate the school’s playground, and we only got 1,000 euros.’

B: *Hm! Enfin, c’-est* ***toujours de l’-argent****.*
INTERJ anyway PROX.SG.M-COP.3SG still of DEF.SG-money
‘Hm! Well, **it’s always money**.’ (Hansen 2008: 172, glosses added)

3.3 Additive and related functions

3.3.1 Introduction

In this section, I turn to the use of STILL expressions as additive markers, as well as to several functions which Forker (2016) observes to be common extensions of such operators. In Section 3.3.2 I discuss additive uses in the stricter sense ‘also, in addition, another’. Subsequently, in Section 3.3.3 I discuss the “further-to” (Klein 2018) use, which combines additivity and phasal notions. In Section 3.3.4 I turn to scalar additive ‘even’. In Section 3.3.5 I then examine uses as degree modifiers in comparisons of inequality, before turning to uses as coordinators ‘and, or’ in Section 3.3.6. In Section 3.3.7 I discuss STILL expressions as conjunctional adverbs. This is followed by a brief reflection on some of Forker’s (2016) observations on other additive operators as compared to STILL-as-additive expressions in Section 3.3.8. Lastly, in Section 3.3.9 I discuss a few language specific remnant uses that have some loose conceptual similarity to additivity.

3.3.2 (Plain) additive

3.3.2.1 Introduction

As laid out in Section 1.6.4, I understand additive focus quantification in the stricter sense of the term as a signal that the communicative common ground contains at least one alternative to the focus denotation that may yield a true proposition. Against this backdrop, the Tundra Nenets examples in (22) are illustrations. In (22a) the STILL expression *təmna* marks the transfer of a reindeer as an addition to the brother’s act of giving help. In (22b) *təmna* sets the denotation of the object noun phrase *ngob yah xoram* ‘a mammoth’ in relation to an additional entity of the same kind.

(22) Tundra Nenets

a. *N’e°ka-n’i s’it° n’ada-wa-h t’ax°mna mən’°*
elder_brother-GEN.1SG 2SG.ACC help-IPFV.NMLZ-GEN beside 1SG
təmna tedə-mt° ta°-dəm-c’°.
still reindeer-FUT.POSS:ACC:2SG give-1SG-PST
‘In addition to my brother helping you, **I also gave you a reindeer**.’
(Nikolaeva 2014: 371)

b. ***Təmna ngob*** *ya-h xora-m xadaᵒ*
still one place-GEN bull-ACC kill
'He killed **another** mammoth.' (Labanauskas 1995: 18, cited in Nikolaeva 2014: 186)

3.3.2.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.2 lists the expressions in my sample that have an additive function. As can be gathered, such uses are attested for 29 expressions from 28 distinct languages, which makes them the single-most common functional extensions in my sample. To these instances one could add Gurindji *=rni*, which forms part of the complex clitic *=rningan* with additive functions (Appendix C.2.2.5.1). In geographic terms, all six macro-areas are covered, though there is a noticeable distributional bias towards Eurasia and, to a lesser degree, Africa. In terms of the wordhood parameter, the additive use is found with expressions of all types.[5]

In what follows, I first take a glance at a few examples that are ambiguous between a phasal polarity sense and an additive interpretation. I then turn to some characteristic usage patterns, focussing primarily on a comparison to other additive markers. I then briefly touch on usages involving a STILL expression in additive function together with other additive markers. Afterwards, I turn to some similarities between additivity and event repetitions, to finally address the question of functional motivation and possible diachronic pathways.

3.3.2.3 Additivity and phasal polarity

Whereas in cases like the initial examples (22a, 22b) an additive use can be clearly differentiated from a phasal polarity one,[6] this distinction is not always that clear-cut. As has been repeatedly observed in the literature, it is not uncommon to encounter attestations that can be read both ways.[7] For instance, example (23)

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[5] Outside of my sample, an additive use is found with several cognates of sample expressions, such as Dutch *nog* (Vandeweghe 1984), Italian *ancora* (e.g. Tovena 1994; Vegnaduzzo 2000), or cognates of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* across Slavic (e.g. Bogacki 1989; Buzássyová & Jarošová 2006: s.v. *ešte*; Havránek 1989: s.v. *ještě*; Kačala et al. 2003: s.v. *ešte*; Mustajoki 1988). It is also found, for example, with Albanian *akoma* and Modern Greek *akome* (Buchholz 1991), Danish *endnu* (Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab n.d. s.v. *endnu*) and Hungarian *még* (e.g. Csirmaz & Slade 2020; Zhang & Ling 2016).

[6] Note, for instance, that both examples feature a perfective viewpoint plus achievement predicate, which would be incompatible with the concept of STILL (Section 1.4.1), as well as the additional clue through *t'axᵒmna* 'besides' in (22a).

[7] See Borillo (1984), Bosque (2016), Doherty (1973), Hansen (2008: 162–164), Nederstigt (2003: 104–105), RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8k), Shetter (1966), Victtori & Fuchs (1992), among others.

Table 3.2: Additive uses. *Notes*: *: Weak indications, but clearly attested for the Ngambay cognate form. †: Only one example in the data. ‡: Only in list continuations.

Macro-area	Language	Expression	Appendix
Africa	Ewe	_ga-_	B.6.1.4.1
	Kaba	_bbáy_*	B.7.1.4.1
	Plateau Malagasy	_mbola_†	B.11.1.7.1
	Swahili	_bado_	B.15.2.6.1
	Tashelhyit	_sul_	B.16.1.7.1
	Tunisian Arabic	_māzāl_	B.18.2.7.1
Australia‡	Gooniyandi	_=nyali_	C.1.2.5.1
Eurasia	English	_still_‡	D.1.1.5.1
	French	_encore_	D.2.2.8.1
	German	_noch_	D.3.1.7.1
	Hebrew (Modern)	_ʕod_	D.4.3.7.1
	Hills Karbi	_-làng_	D.5.2.4.1
	Ket	_hāj_	D.7.2.4.1
	Mandarin Chinese	_hái_	D.9.2.7.1
	Northern Qiang	_tɕe-_	D.10.2.5.1
	Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian	_još_	D.11.2.7.1
	Southern Yukaghir	_ajī/āj_	D.12.2.4.1
	Spanish	_aún_	D.13.2.7.1
		todavía	D.13.3.8.1
	Thai	_yaŋ_	D.14.2.5.1
	Tundra Nenets	_təmna_	D.15.2.6.1
	Udihe	_xai(si)_	D.16.2.5.1
North America	Classical Nahuatl	_oc_	E.1.2.6.1
Papunesia	Coastal Marind	_ndom_	F.5.2.4.1
	Paiwan	_=anan_	F.14.2.5.1
	Saisiyat	_nahan_	F.16.2.5.1
	Ternate-Tidore	_moju_	F.17.2.4.1
South America	Southern Lengua	_makham_	G.5.2.5.1
	Trió	_=nkërë_	G.6.2.5.1

can be understood as either depicting the need for a missing piece, or as involving an addition to the growing list of parts being used.

(23) German
Context: The speaker is assembling a wooden toy plane.
Also und ach so, und dann brauch-e ich ***noch eine***
well and INTERJ and then need-1SG 1SG still INDEF.ACC.SG.F
Siebener-leiste.
seven_piece-bracket(F)
'Well and oh yes, and then I **also need/still need a 7-hole piece**.'
(Nederstigt 2003: 104, glosses added)

This "glass half empty/ glass half full" situation is particularly pronounced when the persistent duration of a situation itself is at stake. Thus, the question in (24) is either about the amount of time left to a state-of-affairs, or an inquiry about its supplementary duration. Both, of course, ultimately amount to the same thing.

(24) German
Wie lange wird denn das ***noch*** *dauer-n?*
how long FUT.AUX:3SG DM 3SG.N still last-INF
'For how long is this still going to take? / How much longer will this take?' (Schnitzler, *Leutnant Gustl*, cited in Shetter 1966: 60, glosses added)

I examine some more examples of this type below. Before that, it is worthwhile addressing a few of the semanto-pragmatic characteristics of STILL expressions in additive function.

3.3.2.4 A closer look: STILL expressions as additives and incremental discourse

It has repeatedly been observed that the additive use of expressions such as French *encore*, *noch*, Mandarin Chinese *hái* or, outside of my sample, Dutch *nog* and Hungarian *még*, is strongly associated with an incremental progress in discourse and a cumulative notion of "adding up to a larger whole" (König 1991: 146).[8] This characteristic is commonly understood as the textual counterpart to how phasal polarity STILL portraits a situation as progressing from an earlier time through to topic time and towards its conceivable end. It manifests itself in a preference for contexts of stepwise elaborations on an established topic, sequential events, and the like. For instance, German *noch* is the default marker in questions that request further elaboration on a topic, as in (25). The other common additive marker, *auch* 'also', on the other hand, is odd here, and would only be acceptable in a type of rhetorical question (Umbach 2012).

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[8] Also see Borillo (1984), Eckardt (2006), Grubic (2018), Hansen (2008: 156–158), Nederstigt (2003: 100–107), Nølke (1983: 141), Umbach (2012), Vandeweghe (1984), Zhang & Ling (2016), among others.

(25) German

A: *Gestern auf der Party habe ich Otto getroffen.*
'Yesterday at the party I met Otto.'

B: *Wer war* ***noch*** *(?****auch****) da?*
who cop.3sg.pst still also there
'Who else was there?' (Umbach 2012: 1857, glosses added)

Conversely, *noch* is infelicitous in (26), which draws up a parallelism between two subjects and thereby a switch in discourse topic.

(26) German
Context: Speaker A dominates the conversation with reports about himself.

A: *…und letztes Jahr war ich in Paris.*
'…and last year, I was in Paris.'

B: *Mein-e Tante Agathe war* ***auch*** *(#****noch****) in Paris!*
poss.1sg-nom.sg.f aunt(f) A. cop.pst.3sg also still in P.
'My aunt Agathe was also in Paris!' (Eckardt 2006: 82, glosses added)

In a related fashion, the additive use of Mandarin Chinese *hái* has been described as requiring events to fall into a single time span (Jing-Schmidt & Gries 2009). Thus, example (27) is infelicitous, unless the discourse topic provides for a single, overarching setting (e.g. 'in recent years he has been busy travelling').

(27) Mandarin Chinese

# *Tā qùnián qù le Yīngguó, jīnnián* ***hái qù le Fàgúo****.*
3sg last_year go pfv England this_year still go pfv France
(intended: 'He went to England last year, **and this year he went to France**.') (Jing-Schmidt & Gries 2009: 39)

Where the additive use is associated with such incremental discourse management, its focus is often the last item in a list, as in (28). In French this has become conventionalised in the form of the disjunctive connective *ou encore* 'or still' which marks the last-mentioned element in a series of non-exclusive alternatives; see (29).

(28) German
Sie reich-te dem Händler glänz-end-e
3sg.f pass-pst.3sg def.dat.sg.m merchant(m) shine-ptcp-acc.pl
schwarz-e Vanille-stang-en, Zimt-rind-en, eine
black-acc.pl vanilla-stick-pl cinnamon-bark-pl indef.acc.sg.f
Handvoll Muskatnüsse, Lakritzen-gebild-e ***… und was***
handful(f) nutmeg.acc.pl liquorice-formation-acc.pl and what
weiß ich noch.
know.1sg 1sg still
'She handed the merchant shiny black vanilla sticks, cinnamon barks, a handful of nutmegs, liquorice **and what-have-you else**.'
(Métrich & Faucher 2009: 627, glosses added)

(29) French
Appelle, Pierre, Jean ***ou encore*** *Paul.*
call.imp P. J. or still P.
'Call Pierre, Jean, **or (even)** Paul.' (Borillo 1984: 40, glosses added)

Containing alternatives to be considered at the same time, example (29) illustrates another important point: an expression's preference for an incrementally progressing discourse is not to be equated with the marking of temporal advancement. To give another example, the use of *noch* in (30) does not commit the speaker to any order in which Otto consumed his drinks. Instead, the anaphoric relatum of *dann* 'then' can equally well be the order of mentioning (Umbach 2012; also see Hansen 2008: 158 for a very similar case).

(30) German
Otto hat ein Bier getrunken. Dann hat er
O. have.3sg indef.acc.sg.n beer(n) drink.ptcp then have.3sg 3sg.m
noch einen Schnaps *getrunken.*
still indef.acc.sg.m schnaps(m) drink.ptcp
'Otto had a beer. Then he **had a schnaps in addition**.'
(Umbach 2012: 1850, glosses added)

In narrative discourse, where the order of discourse time and that of events is normally aligned, the counterpart to a final list item consists in a recurring pattern by which "an 'in-between act' or 'in-between happening' is slid in before the concluding event" (Vandeweghe 1984: 130).[9] This is illustrated in (31), where Spanish *todavía* goes together with the last event in the former athlete's series of personal and professional victories. This brings an example like (31) markedly close to the "further-to" use I discuss in Section 3.3.3. The key difference is that the latter use requires much less of a textual embedding (it allows for easy accommodation).

(31) Spanish
Context: About a former professional athlete. He got married to a member of the royal family, and the wedding is described a "success".

Todavía	***le***	***dio***	***tiempo***	*a*	*gan-ar*	*una*
still	3sg.acc.m	give.pst.pfv.3sg	time	to	win-inf	indef.sg.f

medalla	*de*	*bronce*	*en*	*Sydney*	*2000...*
medal(f)	if	bronce	en	S.	2000

'**He still found time** to win a bronze medal at the Sidney 2000 olympics.'

Esa medalla precipitó su retirada a los 32 años.
'This medal precipitated his retirement at 32 years of age.'
(CORPES XXI, glosses added)

3.3.2.5 A closer look: Some correlates of incremental discourse

The incremental or cumulative notions found on the level of discourse organisation can give rise to various expressive flavours of meaning. To begin with, in the context of longer lists they can invite in a scalar additive inference 'even', as in (32).

(32) Mandarin Chinese

Zhāngsān	*dǎsǎo*	*le*	*fángzi,*	*zuò*	*le*	*dàngāo*	***hái***	***yùn***	***le***	***zhuōbù.***
Z.	sweep	pfv	house	do	pfv	cake	still	iron	pfv	tablecloth

'Zhangsan a balayé la pièce, a fait un gâteau et aussi/même repassé la nappe. [Zhangsan swept the room, baked a cake and **also/even ironed the tablecloth**.]' (Donazzan 2008: 113)

A scalar reading can also arise in examples like (33), where the preceding clause suggests an already noteworthy degree of consumption. In the case of Spanish *todavía*, this furthermore tends to shade over into concessive reading 'despite all that' (see Section 3.5.2.2).

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[9] In the original Dutch "...wordt vóór die 'afsluitende' handeling nog een 'tussenhandeling' of 'tussengebeuren' ingeschoven".

(33) Spanish
Después de todo lo que hab-ía com-ido ***todavía***
after of everything 3sg.n rel have-pst.ipfv.3sg eat-ptcp still
pid-ió postre*.*
order-pst.pfv.3sg desert
'After everything s/he had eaten, **s/he also/even ordered desert**.'
(Garrido 1993: 26, glosses added)

Concessive overtones are also found with Modern Hebrew *ʕod* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*. More specifically, they arise in a pattern by which the two expressions mark the introduction of an additional argument to a conclusion that runs counter to shared assumptions. This is illustrated in (34, 35). A similar notion of '(not only that), but what is more…', albeit without concessive flavours, also lies at the heart of *ʕod* and *još* as parts of 'and how!' formulae (Section 3.5.6.1).

(34) Modern Hebrew
Context: He did something terribly immoral.
Aval ha-ben'adam dati ***ʕod****.*
but def-guy(m) religious.sg.m still
'But the fellow's religious, **what's more**!' (Glinert 1989: 537 and Itamar Francez, p.c.)

(35) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
A: *Slabo ti on poznaje propise.*
'He hardly knows the rules.'
B: ***Još*** *je pravnik!*
still cop.3sg lawyer.nom.sg
'**And** he's a lawyer [i.e. he of all people should know]!'
(Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*, glosses added)

Another variation on the expressive theme is found with Swahili *bado*, the additive function of which, illustrated in (36), tends to contribute more emphasis than the common additive marker *pia* (Ponsiano Kanijo, p.c.). Lastly, comparable notions lie at the heart of the fixed Tunisian Arabic exclamation in (37a). As evidenced by the presence of the bound interrogative marker *-ši*, this idiomatic expression goes back to rhetorical questions of the type in (37b), which feature the still expression *māzāl* in an additive function.

(36) Swahili
Fulani ni mw-ongo ***na bado ni mw-izi**.*
so_and_so(ncl1) cop ncl1-liar and still cop ncl1-thief
‘Un tel est menteur, et de plus il est voleur. [So-and-so is a liar, **and on top of that s/he’s a thief**].’ (Sacleux 1939–1941: 85, glosses added)

(37) Tunisian Arabic
a. ***Māzāl**-ši tawwa!*
still-q now
‘That’s enough!’ (Fischer et al. 2024)
b. *Āš **māzāl** ṭṛah?*
what still hort
‘Na, was denn noch! [What else do you want!]’
(Singer 1984: 650, glosses added)

3.3.2.6 A closer look: Non-incremental discourse

While an association between an additive use of still expressions and incremental or cumulative notions is certainly cross-linguistically recurrent, it is important to point out that this is far from a universal pattern. For instance, Southern Yukaghir *āj* in (38) is clearly used to draw a parallel between two different topical arguments. In other words, it is found in the exact type of context that was shown to be infelicitous for the use of German *noch* in (26) above.

(38) Southern Yukaghir
Context: People have gone gathering berries.
Met emd’e juk-ō-j, lebejdī-le ***āj šaqal’e-š-nu-m**.*
1sg sibling small-stat-3 berries-acc still gather-caus-ipfv-tr.3
‘Even though my younger brother was small, **he was gathering berries, too**.’ (Maslova 2001: 146, 160)

The notion of a similitude is even more salient in (39), where *āj* furthermore occurs across two adjacent clauses, in a pattern broadly reminiscent of bisyndetic coordination.

(39) Southern Yukaghir
*Tude-l **āj** met-ke-t joule-d’ā-j **met āj joule**-s’.*
3sg-nom still 1sg-loc-abl ask-mid-intr.3sg 1sg still ask-tr.1sg
‘He asked questions of me, **and I of him**.’ (Maslova 2001: 142, 159)

Apart from Southern Yukaghir *āj*, clear-cut attestations of such analogous additions feature in the data on Coastal Marind *ndom*, Gooniyandi *=nyali*, Ket *hāj*, and Udihe *xai*(*si*). With Ket *hāj* and Udihe *xai*(*si*) this extends to equative comparisons. This is shown in (40) for the former of the two. In the case of Udihe, such comparisons furthermore play a role in a recurring collocation pattern that consists of *xai*(*si*) plus a set of anaphoric pronouns and which signals identity 'that, too > the same' (Section 2.2.5). Lastly, analogies marked by *xai*(*si*) also appear to lie at the root of its recurrent attestation in the apodoses of alternative concessive conditionals 'no matter whether …'. This is illustrated in (41) and discussed in more detail in Section 3.5.2.2.

(40) Ket
Bilʲa d-iː-n-bεsʲ, *tɔʔn* ***hāj du-γ-a-daq***.
like subj.3sg-here-pst-move thus still subj.3m-lnk-th-live
'как приехал, так и [тоже] живёт. [He lives the way he came, lit. the way he came, that way **he also lived**.]' (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015: 177, glosses added)

(41) Udihe
Context: Once upon a time there was a Chinese tsar. He buried people alive.
Ñuŋu-za se: i:ne-wene-mie bude-isi:-ni, buge-ini, e-si:-ni,
six-ten year come-caus-inf die-pfv.cvb-3sg bury-3sg neg-pst-3sg
bude, ***xai buge-ini***.
die still bury-3sg
'When a person became sixty years old, he buried him, no matter whether he was dead or not. (lit. … he died, he buried him, he did not die, **he still/also buried him**.)' (Nikolaeva et al. 2003: 18–20)

Lastly, a very different case is found in Costal Marind, where the additive use of *ndom* is strongly associated with motion contexts. In these environments, it comes close to a comitative marker, in that it signals that some entity goes along or is brought along. This is shown in (42).

(42) Coastal Marind
Namagha nok mend-am-b-euma<n>ah, ***Iwoni ndom***, *patul*
now 1 1.a-a-appl-go<1.u> I. still boy
d-a-ola, imimil-patul menda-b w-in.
dur-3sg.a-cop:3sg.u grown_up-boy ant:3sg.a-be 3sg.u-become
'Now we already left, **Iwoni too**, he was a boy, a big boy already.' (Olsson 2015, glosses added)

3.3.2.7 A closer look: Additions of the same kind

Issues of discourse structure are not the only possible area of divergence between STILL expressions in additive function and the garden-variety of additive markers. Another difference can be found in the fact (e.g. König 1991: 146) that many of the relevant expressions allow for the focus denotation and the contextual alternatives to be of the same kind. This was shown in (22b), repeated below. Example (43) is another illustration.

(22b) Tundra Nenets
Təmna ngob *ya-h xora-m xada*^{o}
still one place-GEN bull-ACC kill
'He killed **another** mammoth.' (Labanauskas 1995: 18, cited in Nikolaeva 2014: 186)

(43) French
Marie a lu ***encore un livre****.*
M. have.3SG read.PTCP still INDEF.SG.M book(M)
'Mary read **one more book**.' (Tovena & Donazzan 2008: 9, glosses added)

In some cases, the 'in addition, also' and 'another, more' readings are distinguished formally. With German *noch*, this distinction is primarily prosodic. When more of the same kind is added, this particle normally receives focal stress, as in (44a), whereas stress otherwise tends to fall on the constituent denoting the additional item; see (44b).

(44) German
a. *Ich trink-e* ***ˈnoch*** *ein Bier.*
1SG drink-1SG still INDEF.ACC.SG.N beer(N)
'I will have **another** beer.'
b. *Ich trink-e* ***noch*** *ein ˈBier.*
1SG drink-1SG still INDEF.ACC.SG.N beer(N)
'I will have a beer (**in addition to whatever** I had before).'
(König 1991: 143, personal knowledge)

In other cases, the distinction is marked purely structurally. Thus, Tundra Nenets *təmna* is a phrasal adjunct to the constituent containing the focus only when signalling 'another', but not as 'in addition, also'. The same appears to be the case with Classical Nahuatl *oc*, Modern Hebrew *ʕod*, and, as a strong tendency rather than a hard-and-fast rule, with French *encore*. With Southern Yukaghir *āj*/*ajī* the two readings are distinguished in syntactic terms as well as in the morphological domain. Thus, the variant *āj* marks 'in addition' and normally occurs in the pre-verbal position, as shown in (45a). The variant *ajī*, on the other hand, is used when identity of kind is at stake. It can only take the P-argument of transitive verbs as its focus and is a syntactic sister to the latter; see (45b).

(45) Southern Yukaghir

a. *Ōžī el-jūke l'e-t-i kind'e pod'erqo* ***āj***
water NEG-far COP-FUT-INTR.3SG moon light still
l'e-t-i.
COP-FUT-INTR.3SG
'The water will not be far, and there will be moonlight, **too**.'

b. *Met āj čumuč-ie-je,* [***ajī ningō***]$_{\text{NP}}$ *ī-de-j.*
1SG still fish-INCH-INTR.1SG still many get_caught-CAUS-1PL.TR
'I began to fish, too, we have caught **much more**.'
(Maslova 2003: 530, 532)

With several sample expressions, such an 'another, more' reading has given rise to a repetitive event construal when paired with an event quantifier ('another time > again'). Example (46) is an illustration. I discuss this pattern in more detail in Section 2.4.2.2.

(46) German
Opposition gewinn-t Wahl in Istanbul: İmamoğlu
opposition win-3SG election.ACC.SG in Istanbul İmamoğlu
macht-'s ***noch ein-mal***
make.3SG-3SG.ACC.N still INDEF-time
'Opposition wins elections in Istanbul: İmamoğlu does it **again**.'
(found online, glosses added)

With Classical Nahuatl *oc*, the notion of 'another' has brought about a function in which it marks the existence of a distinct entity of the same kind 'other, different'. This is shown in (47a) and discussed in Section 3.3.9. Closely related to both senses, *oc* also commonly participates in marking the comparative degree of a predicate (Appendix E.1.2.6.2), as in (47b).

(47) Classical Nahuatl

a. *Nicān câ ce tepētl: cān câ in* ***oc-cē****?*
here LOC.COP one mountain where LOC.COP DET still-one
'One mountain's here. Where's the **other one**?'
(Launey 2011: 66, glosses added)

b. ***Oc achi*** *ni-chicāhuac in àmo mach yuhqui tèhuātl.*
still rather/a_bit subj.1sg-strong det neg indeed thus 2sg
‘Mas fuerte soy que tu. [I’m stronger than you, lit. I have **another/different bit** of strength that you don’t.]’
(Carochi 1645: 491, glosses added)

Also closely related to additivity plus identity of kind, Modern Hebrew *ʕod* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* can serve as indefinite quantifiers ‘some more’; see (48, 49).

(48) Modern Hebrew
Etmol axal-ti 3 tapuz-im. Ha-yom axal-ti ***ʕod***
yesterday eat.pst-1sg 3 orange-pl.m def-day eat.pst-1sg still
(*tapuz-im*).
orange-pl.m
‘Yesterday I ate 3 oranges. Today I ate **some more** (oranges).
(Greenberg 2012: 127)

(49) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Kad su prodali svoje čudesne ljekarije bolje nego što su mislili
‘When their miracle potion sold better than they had thought,’

otišl-i su kući ***po još.***
leave.ptcp-pl.m cop.3pl home.dat.sg for still
‘they went home **for more**.’ (Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*, glosses added)

Modern Hebrew *ʕod* in post-predicate position can also quantify over an intransitive verbal predicate, yielding ‘do some more’, as shown in (50). The same is found with Northern Qiang *tɕe-*, where this specific usage is restricted to the prospective aspect inflection; see (51).

(50) Modern Hebrew
Ba-boqer Rina rats-a ktsat. B-a-tsoharayim hi rats-a
at-morning Rina run.pst-3sg.f a_bit at-def-noon 3sg.f run.pst-3sg.f
ʕod.
still
‘In the morning Rina ran a bit. At noon she ran **some more**.’
(Greenberg 2012: 127)

(51) Northern Qiang
Qa ***tɕa**-na:.*
1SG still-sleep.PROSP
'I'm still going to sleep (I want to sleep **some more**).'
(LaPolla & Huang 2003: 169)

Lastly, the case of English *still* is related to both additions of the same kind and the incremental discourse strategies discusses above, in that this expression only has an additive use in list continuations of the type '… another, still another', as in (52).

(52) English
Context: After having discussed two creative periods of the same writer.
***Still a third type** of fiction appeared in the 1950s with Mrs. Miller's successful stories of Christmas at the homes of famous men.* (found online)

3.3.2.8 A closer look: Together with other additive markers

My discussion up to this point has focussed primarily on differences to other additive expressions. However, and as with many functional extensions of STILL expressions, the use I discuss here is repeatedly attested together with other linguistic items carrying a similar meaning. For instance, in (53) Ewe *ga-* goes together with additive *hã̂*, the two expressions sharing the same focus. Example (54) from Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian is another illustration.

(53) Ewe
É-nye hatí-nyè, ***ga-nyé xɔ̃̌-nyè hã̂.***
3SG-COP colleague-1SG still-COP friend-1SG also
'Il est mon camarade mais aussi mon ami. [He's my colleague, **and also my friend**.]' (Westermann 1905–1906: 153, glosses added)

(54) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian
Pametna je devojka, a sad je ***još i***
smart.NOM.SG.F COP.3SG girl(F).NOM.SG and now COP.3SG still also
***ljuta**.*
angry.NOM.SG.F
'She's a smart girl, and now **an angry one**, **too**.'
(found online, glosses added)

Trió *=nkërë* in additive function is sometimes encountered with the clausal connective *se*(*h*)*ke*(*n*) 'also, likewise' as its host. Judging from the available examples, this usage stresses the notions of continuity and parallelism, and it straddles the boundary to constituent coordination.

(55) Trió
Kure menu=tao=ken t-ee-se nërë, Waruku,
pretty paint=LOC=CONT REM.PST-COP-REM.PST 3.ANAPH.ANIM W.
i-nmuku-pisi ***seke=nkërë*** *t-ee-see.*
3-son.POSS-DIM also=still REM.PST-COP-REM.PST
'Waruku was beautifully painted, **and so** was her little son.'
(Meira 1999: 451)

The same superficial redundancy is also attested with the 'another, more' reading of STILL expressions. For example, in (56) Southern Lengua *makham* goes together with *pók* 'another'. More research on usage patterns is needed to disentangle the individual and joint contribution of each item in such instances.

(56) Southern Lengua
Ap-tép-ekx-eyk=axta ***makham pók*** *wesse' neptámen=axta.*
M-emerge-ITER-DECL=PST still other.M leader(M) after.M=PST
'**Another** leader rose up after him.' (Elliott 2021: 462)

3.3.2.9 A closer look: Additivity and repetitions

Earlier I pointed out that an additive use of a STILL expression, together with an event quantifier 'time(s)', can give rise to a repetitive event construal 'again'. This is not the only similarity between the two domains, as has been repeatedly observed in the pertinent literature, both in regards to STILL expressions and to items which do not have this phasal polarity function.[10] In broad strokes, additivity often goes along with the recurrence of a similar situation across different times and/or sets of participants, similar to how 'again' involves the iteration or restoration of a previous state-of-affairs.[11] To give an example, in (57) an identical act is performed by the same participants on two different days, thus making an additive and iterative interpretation virtually indistinguishable.

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[10] See, for instance, Donazzan (2008), Evans (1995b), Hansen (2008: 162–163), Huang (2008: 108–113), Lichtenberk (1991), Liu (2000), Maslova (2003: 528–532), McGregor (1990: 461), Tovena & Donazzan (2008), Yeh (1998) and Zhang (2017).

[11] Out of the twenty-nine expressions in Table 3.2, ten have an iterative and/or restitutive use. These are Classical Nahuatl *oc*, Ewe *ga-*, French *encore*, Gooniyandi *=nyali*, Kaba *bbáy*, Ket *hāj*, Mandarin Chinese *hái*, Paiwan *=anan*, Saisiyat *nahan*, and Southern Lengua *makham*.

(57) Southern Yukaghir
D'e taŋ jeklie āj ekr-īl'i ***sobenn'i āj ejr-īl'i****.*
DM that behind still walk-INTR.1PL today still walk-INTR.1PL
'Well, we walked beforehand, too, and **we walked again today**.'
(Maslova 2003: 529)

In Gurindji, the notional link between the two functions is reflected in morphology. Thus, the STILL expression *=rni* forms part of a complex clitic *=rningan*, the source of the second syllable of which is obscure. Importantly, *=rningan* is specialised for marking repetitions and additivity. This is illustrated in (58).

(58) Gurindji
a. *Karu-ngku wumara=ma jakarr ma-ni=****rni-ngan****.*
child-ERG money=TOP cover get-PST=still-?
'A child covered up the money **again**.'
b. Context: Someone else has fallen.
*Karu=ma ngaja wani-nyana=****rni-ngan****.*
child=TOP ADMONITIVE fall-PRS=still-?
'The child might fall **too**.' (McConvell 1983: 6, 9)

While examples (39, 58b) feature 'in addition, also' readings, the same conceptual overlap can be observed between iterative event construals and the 'another, more' type of additivity. For instance, the Saisiyat example (59) can be read as iterative 'see some boy coming again', or as involving the addition of an entity of the same kind 'see another boy coming', with little to no difference in communicative import (Huang 2008: 108–109).

(59) Saisiyat
Context: From a rendition of the pear story. A boy with a goat has passed by. Now a boy on a bicycle is passing by the same location.
O: rima' ila hiza / kita'-en m-wa:i' ila ***naehan*** */*
DM AGT.FOC:go CMPL there see-PAT.FOC AGT.FOC-come CMPL still
'aehae' ka:: */* ***kamo'alay*** */* ***kamamanra:an*** */ 'ima papama' ray:: /*
one NOM young_man man PROG AGT.FOC:ride LOC
kapapama'an::
vehicle
'Tamėn zǒu lė. Yòu kàndào lìngyigė nánháizi lái lė. Ta qízhė jǐaotàche. / (Off) they went. (Then I) see **another boy** coming; he was riding a bike.'
(Huang 2008: 108–109)

A very similar case can be made for Southern Lengua *makham* in (60). Here, the predicate *apchaqha* can be interpreted as intransitive, with the STILL expression contributing iterativity ‘he killed again’. Alternatively, it can be read as involving an implied indefinite patient argument of the same kind ‘he killed another one’ (John Elliot, p.c.). I discuss more examples of this kind below.

(60) Southern Lengua
Context: A boy has fought off a demon. Another demon has appeared.
Natámen ***apch-aqh-a*** ***makham*** *w-okm-ek=axta*
then M-kill-NMLZ.IPFV still F.arrive-TERMINATIVE-DECL=PST
a-anet *apk-ennap-ma* *tén.*
F.STAT-two M-kill_many-NMLZ.PFV then
‘Then he killed it [**again**], coming to two of them he had battled, and…’
(Elliott 2021: 757)

Lastly, in the case of Hills Karbi -*làng* the connection between additivity and repetition is reflected in co-occurrence patterns. Thus, the STILL expression -*làng* as ‘another, more’ often goes together with the repetitive suffix -*thū*, as in (61).

(61) Hills Karbi
Isī *a-lám* *dō-**thū-làng**.*
one POSS-matter exist-again-still
‘There is still one **other** thing.’ (Konnerth 2014: 336)

3.3.2.10 Discussion

I now turn to a discussion of the motivation underlying the coexpression of additivity and STILL. In the most abstract terms, both functions share a common denominator in the inclusion of entities, or existential quantification (van der Auwera 1993; Doherty 1973; Liu 2000; König 1977; Maslova 2003: 531; Nølke 1983: 141; among others). In other words, using an additive operator requires that the common ground contain at least one valid alternative to the focus denotation, similar to how the phasal polarity concept contributes the presupposition that its propositional argument held true during an interval immediately preceding topic time. As I hinted above, a very similar parallel holds between additive and ‘again’ uses of the same expressions. With that in mind, several links are conceivable and/or attested. In what follows, I briefly sketch out some of them and how they apply to the sample languages, without any claim to comprehensiveness.

A direct nexus between phasal polarity STILL and the additive use can be assumed, based on etymological and/or diachronic data, for French *encore*, German *noch*, Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*, Tundra Nenets *təmna*, Tunisian Arabic *māzāl*, and, albeit more tentatively so, Thai *yaŋ*. As I pointed out above, there are recurrent contexts in which the two functions overlap, which suggests that similar instances may have served as diachronic bridges. For instance, example (23), repeated below, can be read as signalling the persistent need for a certain piece, or as involving an addition to the list of parts used. A very similar case is found in the Spanish example (62).

(23) German
Context: The speaker is assembling a wooden toy plane.
Also und ach so, und dann ***brauch-e ich noch*** *eine*
well and INTERJ and then need-1SG 1SG still INDEF.ACC.SG.F
Siebener-leiste.
seven_piece-bracket(F)
'Well and oh yes, and then I **also need/still need** a 7-hole piece.'
(Nederstigt 2003: 104, glosses added)

(62) Spanish
Todavía *ten-go que entreg-ar dos informe-s.*
still have-1SG SUBORD hand_in-INF two report-PL
'I **still** have to hand in two reports / I still have to hand in two **more** reports.' (Bosque 2016: 214, glosses added)

As I also indicated earlier, such ambiguities are particularly pronounced when the persistent duration of a situation is at stake, such as in (24), repeated below. A comparable instance is found in the Old French example (63), except that time is here mediated by stretches of a path.

(24) German
Wie lange *wird denn das* ***noch*** *dauer-n?*
how long FUT.AUX:3SG DM 3SG.N still last-INF
'For **how long** is this **still** going to last? / **How much longer** will this take?' (Schnitzler, *Leutnant Gustl*, cited in Shetter 1966: 60, glosses added)

(63) Old French, 13th century
Et se vous baés orendroit a cevauchier vers la Petite Bretaingne, ceste autre voie vous i menra tout droit.
'And if you wish now to ride to Brittany, this other road will take you straight there.'

Et se vous volés ***encore une piece cevauchier*** *pour veoir*
and if 2pl want.2pl still indef.sg.f bit(f) ride.inf for see.inf
les merveilleuses aventures d-u roiaume de
indef.pl.f marvellous.pl.f adventure(f).pl of-def.sg.m realm(m) of
Logres, avoec moi poés cevauchier...
L. with 1sg.obj can.2pl ride.inf

‘And if you **still want to ride a bit** with me/if you **want to ride another bit** with me to see the marvelous adventures of the kingdom of Logres, you can ride with me...’ (*Tristan en prose*, cited in Hansen 2008: 163, glosses added)

While examples (23, 24) and (62, 63) involve contextual ambiguity, a more direct, metonymical transfer from the propositional to the textual domain is also attested. Thus, in the oldest clear-cut attestation of French *encore* as ‘in addition, also’, given in (64), the notions of persistence and a possible discontinuation are applied to a succession of related events instead of a single situation. Or, as Hansen (2008: 158) puts it, “in spite of the telicity of the verb *ocire* [‘kill’]”, this example “may be loosely understood as meaning that … the subject … remains in a ‘killing-mode’”. Lastly, against the background of these examples, the preference for markers such as *noch* or *encore* for an incremental discourse organisation is surely a synchronic reflection of the origins of their additive function.

(64) Old French, ca. 1080
Aprof li ad sa bronie desclose, // El cors li met tute l’enseigne bloie, // Que mort l’abat en une halte roche. //
‘Afterwards, he tears open his coat of mail, He drives the entire blue ensign into his body, Killing him on a tall rock.’

Sun cumpaignun Gerers ***ocit uncore****, // E Berenger e*
poss.3sg.m:sg companion G. kill.3sg still and B. and
guiun de Seint Antonie.
G. of S.-A.

‘He **also kills** his companion Gérier, and Berenger and Gui de Saint-Antoine.’ (*La chanson de Roland*, cited in Hansen 2008: 158, glosses added)

As just hinted at, an extension from phasal polarity to marking additivity involves the well-known tendency for meaning to become increasingly based in the textual domain (Section 1.6.2). The same is true of an extension from an iterative/restitutive function to additivity. The primacy of repetition can be firmly established for Mandarin Chinese *hái*, which has its lexical source in a motion verb *huan* 'go back'. As laid out by Yeh (1998), this item first developed into a restitutive marker, then acquired an iterative sense, and only centuries later came to signal STILL. Crucially, the additive sense arose before the phasal polarity one. The same is likely true for Ewe *ga-* which has a similar lexical source. Against this backdrop, Yeh (1998) points to cases like the Middle Chinese example (65) as historical bridges from iterativity to additivity. Under a more conservative reading, this example would have been understood as involving two similar and sequentially ordered events, but with a different topical argument. At the same time, the host clause of *hái* can be understood as introducing an additional reason for the same conclusion as the first clause, namely the difficulty of the trip, and the presence of *ji* 'as well as' likewise yields a bias towards an additive interpretation.

(65) Middle Chinese 6th/7th century
Ji *shang* *qian* *li* *mu,* ***hai*** *jing* *jiu* *zhe* *hun.*
as_well_as hurt thousand mile eye still frighten nine turn soul
'Not just the view of the long trail makes you sad, the winding turns **also** frighten you.' (Yeh 1998: 245)

Whereas (65) involves a pathway from 'again' to 'also, in addition', a similar convergence in meaning can be found for additivity plus identity of kind. For instance, in the context of (59), repeated below, an iterative interpretation 'again I see a boy coming' and an additive reading 'I see another boy' overlap considerably, with little to no difference in communicative terms.

(59) Saisiyat
Context: From a rendition of the pear story. A boy with a goat has passed by. Now a boy on a bicycle is passing by the same location.
O: *rima'* *ila* *hiza* / *kita'-en* *m-wa:i'* *ila* ***naehan*** /
DM AGT.FOC:go CMPL there see-PAT.FOC AGT.FOC-come CMPL still
'aehae' ***ka::*** / ***kamo'alay*** / ***kamamanra:an*** / *'ima* *papama'* *ray::* /
one NOM young_man man PROG AGT.FOC:ride LOC
kapapama'an::
vehicle
'Tamėn zǒu lė. Yòu kàndào lìngyigė nánháizi lái lė. Ta qízhė jǐaotàche. / (Off) they went. (Then I) see **another boy** coming; he was riding a bike.' (Huang 2008: 108–109)

The Old French example (66) is another illustration. At the time of this attestation, the expression *encore* had already acquired an iterative use, whereas the ‘another, more’ function was yet to be established. As Hansen (2008: 163) points out, attestations like (66) figure prominently among the critical contexts in that development.

(66) Old French, early 13th century
Context: The barons have given the emperor a respite. Now the date has passed.
Et li empereres ***redemanda*** ***encore un***
and DEF.SG.M emperor(M) ask_again.PST.PFV.3SG still INDEF.SG.M
respit*, et on li donna.*
respite(M) and IMPR 3SG.DAT give.PST.PFV.3SG
‘And the emperor **asked for a respite again/asked for another respite**, and it was given him.’ (de Clari, *La conqueste de Constantinople*, cited in Hansen 2008: 163–164, glosses added)

Lastly, it is conceivable that the function of a given expression as an exponent of STILL may go back to an element with an incremental meaning, via ‘Verb more > still’. Thus, Northern Qiang *tɕe-* is suspiciously similar to the superlative marker *tɕi-*, both in its segmental make-up and in the linear position it occupies on the predicate, except that the superlative marker does not undergo vowel harmony. This is shown in (67). In the same vein, Heine & Reh (1984: 88) indicate that in certain varieties of Southern Kikongo (Bantu, not in my sample) a verb with the meaning of ‘add, put more’ has grammaticalised into a STILL expression.

(67) Northern Qiang
a. *Nə-dʐə-m theː* ***tɕa****-n.*
sleep-able-NOM 3SG still-sleep
‘S/he who likes to sleep late is still sleeping.’
b. ***tɕi****-χtʂa*
most-small
‘smallest’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 214, 228)

3.3.3 Further-to

3.3.3.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I discuss what Klein (2018) calls the "further-to" use.[12] In this function a still expression marks a combination of additive and phasal notions. This is illustrated in (68), where German *noch* depicts taking a shower as an additional act within the current frame of experience, which is defined by the preceding soccer practice. At the same time, using *noch* hints at the subsequent transition to a new section of the day, which is made explicit in the following clause.

(68) German
Context: I have just come home from soccer practice. It is fairly late.
Ich dusch' ***noch****. Dann gibt-'s Abend-essen.*
1sg take_shower.1sg still then exist.3sg-3sg.n evening-meal(n)
'**I'm just taking a quick shower**. Dinner will be just after.' (Beck 2019: 16)

The further-to use differs from the more general additive one I discuss in Section 3.3.2 in that the relevant statements "can be uttered out of the blue and allow for accommodation of the additional item" (Umbach 2012: 1846; also see Klein 2018; Nederstigt 2003: 101–102; Vandeweghe 1984). Thus, example (68) could be produced right upon walking through the door and being met by hungry faces, without the need for any further discursive embedding. Example (69) from Hills Karbi displays a parallel case.

(69) Hills Karbi
Context: There is a plan to go to the market.
*Rí chersām-dām-**làng**.*
hand wash-go-still
'I'm **just** gonna go wash my hands real quick (**and then** we can go).'
(Konnerth 2014: 299–300)

3.3.3.2 Distribution in the sample

The further-to use is attested for the two sample languages and expressions illustrated in (68, 69), German *noch* and Hills Karbi *-làng* (Appendices D.3.1.7.2,

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[12] Nederstigt (2003) speaks of "additive before a turning point" and Vandeweghe (1984) subsumes this use under "antiterminativeit … met externe relevantiecriterium" [antiterminativity with an external criterium of relevance].

D.5.2.4.2).[13] That said, in Section 2.4.5.1 I discuss a use of STILL expressions as markers of precedence ‘first, for now’. And as has been seen in (68, 69), the further-to use also tends to invite a contrast with subsequent times. With this in mind, upon examination of more data some of the items discussed in Section 2.4.5.1 may turn out to have the further-to use rather than a purely relational one.

3.3.3.3 A closer look and discussion

I now turn to a closer look at the further-to use and a discussion of its motivation. While examples (68) and (69) both feature prospective statements, this use is also found in other temporal-aspectual configurations. Example (70) is an illustration featuring the present tense in a generic reading. For an example in the past, see (73) below. In the case of German *noch*, one could subsume the future ‘eventually’ use I discuss in Section 2.4.4 here, as well.

(70) German
Früher ist’s mir immer sonderbar vorgekommen, dass die Leut’, die verurteilt sind,
‘I used to find it strange that people that have been sentenced [to death]’

in der	*Früh*	***noch***	***ihren***	***Kaffee***	***trink-en***
in DEF.DAT.SG.F	morning(F)	still	POSS.3PL:ACC.SG.M	coffee(M)	drink-3PL

und	***ihr***	***Zigarr-l***	***rauch-en.***
and	POSS.3PL:ACC.SG.N	cigarre-DIM(N)	smoke-3PL

‘**would have coffee and a cigar in the morning** [before getting executed].’
(Schnitzler, *Leutnant Gustl*, cited in Shetter 1966: 58, glosses added)

As has been repeatedly been observed in the literature on German and Dutch (e.g. Klein 2018; Nederstigt 2003; Shetter 1966; Vandeweghe 1984), there is a noteworthy similarity between the further-to use and phasal polarity STILL, in that both functions involve a segmentation of the time-line based on persistence vs. a possible discontinuation. The main difference is that in the case of STILL this perspective is directly based on the situation described in its propositional argument, whereas in the further-to use the ‘it’s not over yet’ meaning applies to a larger frame of experience, or a series of contiguous events. Figure 3.3 is a graphic illustration, based on (68).

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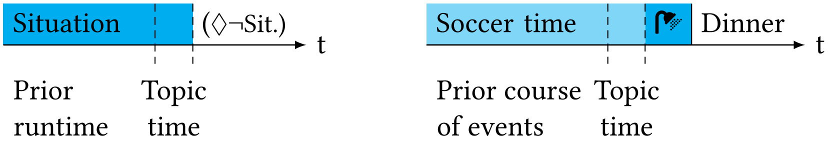
[13] Outside of the sample, the further-to use has been described for Dutch *nog* (Vandeweghe 1984) and for Hungarian *még* (Csirmaz & Slade 2020).



(a) STILL

(b) Example (68)

Figure 3.3: Schematic illustration of the further-to use

In more applied terms, there are at least two functions and usage patterns that likely motivate the further-to use. First, both German *noch* and Hills Karbi *-làng* have a general additive use. As I discuss in Section 3.3.2, there is a cross-linguistic tendency for this functional extension to preserve the "antiterminative" (Vandeweghe 1984) core of phasal polarity STILL. In the narrative genre of texts, this tendency often manifests itself as the insertion of one last event before a contextually given turning point. An illustration of German *noch* in such an embedding is given in (71), where the slamming shut of the door forestalls the end of the narrative episode.

(71) German

Da gab ihm der Vater von hinten einen jetzt wahrhaftig erlösenden starken Stoß, und er flog, heftig blutend, weit in sein Zimmer hinein.

'Then his father gave him a strong and liberating push from behind, and he scurried, bleeding heavily, far into his room.'

Die	***Tür***	***wurde***	***noch***	***mit***	***dem***	***Stock***
DEF.NOM.SG.F	door(F)	become.PST.3SG	still	with	DEF.DAT.SG.M	cane(M)

zugeschlagen,	*dann*	*wurde*	*es*	*endlich*	*still.*
slam_shut.PTCP	then	become.3SG	3SG.N	finally	quiet

'**The door was slammed shut with the cane**, and finally all was quiet.'

Erst in der Abenddämmerung erwachte Gregor aus seinem schweren ohnmachtähnlichen Schlaf.

'It was not until the dawn of evening that Gregor awoke from a deep and swoon-like sleep.' (Kafka, *Die Verwandlung*, glosses added)

A similar case is shown in (72) for Hills Karbi. Here, *-làng* marks the quick tea stop as one last step in the initial stage of the trip, after which the speaker and company set out for the main part of their journey.

(72) Hills Karbi
Context: From the beginning of the recollection of a trip.
…là elilitūm ajirpò alànglì Yu'éspensi kevàng Kavòn Kavòn aphāntā chepōnlò
'… this friend of ours, he who has come from the US, Kavon, Kavon we also took along with us.'

sì ladāk=pen dàm-lò Dimápúr vùr-pōn ***sá***
therefore here=from go-RL D. drop_in-in_passing tea
jùn-pōn-làng*.*
drink-in_passing-still
'And then, from here we went, we stopped by in Dimapur [about a quarter of the way in] **and just had tea**.'

lasì bají sirkē-bāk apòrpe=si puthōt dàmthūlò Kohìmàán továr kēkò.
'At nine o'clock, from about that time, we again went, up to Kohima, the road is winding a lot.' (Konnerth & Tisso 2018: 361–362)

There is a fluent transition between the pattern in (71, 72) and the further-to use in (73). Here, the preceding clause depicts the lack of any relevant occurrence and the subsequent addition of an eventive predicate therefore requires accommodation as the proverbial "one last thing".

(73) German
Die erste Halbzeit verlief torlos,
'the first half-time passed by without any goals,'
Aber in der 2. Halb-zeit ***schoss*** ***Bayern München***
but in DEF.DAT.SG.F 2nd half-time(F) shoot.PST.3SG Bayern Munich
noch zwei Tor-e*.*
still two goal-PL
'but in the second half-time **Bayern Munich** (**eventually**) **did score twice**.' (Hoepelman & Rohrer 1980: 127, glosses added)

As I hinted earlier, German *noch*, but not Hills Karbi *-làng*, has an 'eventually' function in future-oriented contexts like (74). This latter use shares a common denominator with the use I discuss here in the element of "before all is over" (Oxford University Press 2022: s.v. *yet*). As I argue in Section 2.4.4, the most likely source for the 'will eventually' function lies in contexts in which a STILL expression associates with a modal proposition 'can/must still …', giving rise to a reanalysis as 'can/must … yet (before it's over)'. A similar case can be made for the further-to use. In other words, it is conceivable that an instance like (75) is ambiguous between a reading of a persistent necessity and an interpretation involving the need to perform one more task before transitioning into a new phase of life.

(74) German
Wir mach-en ***noch*** *einen gut-en Kricket-spieler aus*
1PL make-1PL still INDEF.ACC.SG.M good-ACC.SG.M cricket-player(M) of
ihm.
3SG.DAT.M
'We'll make a good cricketer of him **yet**.' (König 1977: 197, glosses added)

(75) Hills Karbi
Context: Two children, adopted by tigers, want to live with their biological father, a king.
Nè ne-pēi ne-pō aphān
1EXCL POSS.1EXCL-mother POSS.1EXCL-father NON.SUBJ
che-arjū-dām-làng*.*
REFL/RECP-ask-go-still
'**We still need to ask** our mother and father (for permission to stay with the king).' (Konnerth & Tisso 2018: 154)

It is probably a combination of the patterns just outlined that led to the emergence of the further-to use in the history of German *noch*, Hills Karbi *-làng* and other items with this function.

3.3.4 Scalar additive

3.3.4.1 Introduction

In this section, I discuss scalar additive uses of STILL expressions. As I lay out in more detail in Section 1.6.4.2, scalar additive operators signal that the focus denotation yields a more informative proposition than all alternatives under consideration. Example (76) is an illustration. Here, Spanish *aún* indicates that the denotation of the focus 'the winds and the water' yields a stronger statement about the subject's powers than all accessible alternatives.

(76) Spanish
¿Quién es éste, que mand-a ***aun*** [***a los***
who COP.3SG PROX.SG.M SUBORD command-3SG still ACC DEF.PL.M

viento-s y a-l agua]$_{\text{FOC}}$ *y le obedec-en?*
wind(M)-PL and ACC-DEF.SG water and 3SG.DAT.M obey-3PL
'Who is this? He commands **even the winds and the water**, and they obey him.' (Luke 8:25, *La biblia al día*, cited in Gast & van der Auwera 2011: 3)

In (76) there is a positive correlation between a scale of difficulty and the strength of the overall proposition. In (77), on the other hand, this relationship is inversed. Thus, merely mentioning the disobendient's secret acts is less involved than observing or performing them. Yet it yields a more informative answer to the question of how despicable these acts are.

(77) Spanish
… d-a vergüenza ***aun*** [***mencion-ar***]$_{\text{FOC}}$ *lo que los*
give-3SG shame still mention-INF 3SG.N SUBORD DEF.PL.M
desobediente-s hac-en en secreto.
disobedient-PL do-3PL in secret
'It is shameful **to even mention** what the disobedient do in secret.'
(Eph. 5:12, *La biblia al día*, cited in Gast & van der Auwera 2011: 2)

Scalar additives can be sensitive to the direction that inferences run. Following Gast & van der Auwera (2011, 2013), I refer to markers that are only used in contexts like (76) as BEYOND operators, and to those that require contexts like (77) as BENEATH operators. Items like Spanish *aún* or English *even*, which are compatible with both types of context, are termed UNIVERSAL scalar additives. Note that I discuss scalar additive uses that are specialised for temporal foci ('as early/ late as, as far removed as') separately in Section 2.5.2.3. Lastly, for a discussion of 'even more' in comparisons of inequality, see Section 3.3.5.

3.3.4.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.3 lists the expressions in the sample that are attested as scalar additive operators. On examination, several things stand out. First, with only four expressions this use is strikingly rare, given the high number of expressions attested in a plain additive use (Section 3.3.2). Secondly, all instances stem from Eurasia and, as this geographic distribution already suggests, they involve invariant small words. One item, Spanish *aún*, not only serves as a scalar additive by itself, but also forms part of a fixed polymorphemic collocation. The latter is not only a structural outlier, but also the only BENEATH operator in Table 3.3, whereas all other instances involve either BEYOND operators or a UNIVERSAL scalar additive sense.

Table 3.3: Scalar additive uses

Macro-area	Language	Expression	Collocation	Type	Appendix
Eurasia	German	*noch*	n/a	beyond	D.3.1.7.3
	Ket	*hāj*[a]	n/a	beyond(?)	D.7.2.4.2
	Spanish	*aún*	n/a	universal	D.13.2.7.2
		aún	*aunque sea* ‘even if it were’	beneath	D.13.2.7.3
	Thai	*yaŋ*	n/a	beyond	D.14.2.5.2

[a] Inclusion is tentative: only one example in the data.

3.3.4.3 A closer look

I now turn to a closer look at the scalar additive use. To begin with, the inclusion of Ket *hāj* as a scalar additive is somewhat tentative. There is only one relevant example in the data, given in (78), and it is possible that the scalar reading is a contextual inference of what is essentially an ‘also’ use.

(78) Ket
Bu-ŋ-s-ɔʁɔ-dāsʲ, *bū* ***kɛˀt*** ***hāj du-ɣa-jɛj****.*
subj.3-th-prs-search_for-when 3sg person still subj.3-obj.3m-kill
‘When he looks, he can **even kill a man**.’ (Nefedov 2015: 173)

Spanish *aún* as ‘even’, which was seen in (76, 77), underlies a multitude of concessive constructions, which I examine in more detail in Section 3.5.2. For instance, in (79) *aún* occurs in collocation with the subordinator *que* and the subjunctive mood, together marking the apodosis of a concessive conditional sentence ‘even if’. Below I discuss how such concessive conditionals, in turn, lie at the heart of the second Spanish item in Table 3.3, the morphologically complex beneath operator *aunque sea* ‘so much as’, lit. ‘even if it were’, which is illustrated in (80).

(79) Spanish
Aun-que *te* *qued-es* *sin* *dorm-ir,* *h-as* *de*
still-subord refl.2sg remain-sbjv.2sg without sleep-inf have-2sg of
prepar-ar *bien* *este* *examen.*
prepare-inf well prox.sg.m exam(m)
‘**Even if** [it means that] you don’t get any sleep you have to prepare well for this exam.’ (RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12e, glosses added)

(80) Spanish

A: *Demasiadas preguntas... demasiadas preguntas...*
'Too many questions… too many questions…'

B: *Contesta* ***aun-que*** ***sea*** *un-a.*
answer.IMP still-SUBORD COP.SBJV.3SG one-F
'Answer **at least** one of them.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

German *noch* as a scalar additive is illustrated in (81). As I discuss in more detail in Persohn (2024a), *noch* constitutes a BEYOND operator that evokes a scalar model of degrees of sufficiency. As an additional twist, it requires a negatively defined scale. For instance, *noch* in (81) highlights that something as far removed from the standards of reason as the most stupid social media post (i.e. a high degree of *in*credibility) is judged to be plausible enough by the former president's supporters.

(81) German
Die einen feiern schließlich die dreiste Selbstermächtigung von Trump und Co. und reden sich beharrlich ein,
'Lastly, some celebrate Trump and company's bold self-authorisation and talk themselves into believing'
dass ***noch*** *[**der*** ***dümmst-e*** ***Tweet**]*$_{\text{FOC}}$
COMP still DEF.NOM.SG.M stupid.SUP-NOM.SG.M tweet(M)
die Wahrheit sp[r]ech-e.
DEF.NOM.SG.M truth(F) speak-SBJV.3SG
'that **even the most stupid tweet** speaks the truth.'
(found online, glosses added)

This stylistically somewhat marked use of *noch* finds its mirror image in the the much more common case of the ALREADY expression *schon* as a BENEATH operator. This is illustrated in (82), where the focus denotation 'one cup per day' is related to a possibly higher intake of coffee.

(82) German
Schon *[**ein-e*** ***Tasse*** ***a-m*** ***Tag**]*$_{\text{FOC}}$ *senk-t*
already one-NOM.SG.F cup(F) at-DEF.DAT.SG.M day(M) lower-3SG
dauerhaft den Blut-druck.
permanently DEF.ACC.SG.M blood-pressure(M)
'**So much as one cup** [of coffee] **per day** results in a permanently lower blood pressure.' (found online, glosses added)

Lastly, most of the expressions in Table 3.3 tend to sister the constituent containing the focus, as is common of focus-sensitive operators. The exception is Thai *yaŋ*, illustrated in (83), which invariably follows the subject NPs and precedes all elements belonging to the predicate.

(83) Thai
Fǎafɛ̀ɛt khûu nîi mɯ̌an kan píap. Baaŋkhráŋ ***phɔ̂ɔ mɛ̂ɛ yaŋ***
twin pair PROX alike RECP IDEOPH sometimes father mother still
yɛ̂ɛk mâi ʔɔ̀ɔk.
seperate NEG out
'The two twins look exactly alike; sometimes **even their parents** can't tell them apart.' (found online)

3.3.4.4 Discussion

To make sense of why STILL expressions may serve as scalar additive operators, it is worthwhile approaching the topic from a diachronic angle. To anticipate some of the following discussion, in all instances the link to phasal polarity appears to be a fairly indirect one that is mediated by other functions.

Earlier I suggested that an 'even' reading of Ket *hāj* may be a contextual inference, and in Section 3.3.2 I discuss how STILL expressions used as plain additives can, given the right context, trigger a scalar inference. According to Trujillo (1990), the conventionalisation of such an erstwhile pragmatic interpretation is what lead to the scalar additive function of Spanish *aún*. With this in mind, an example like (84) constitutes a likely diachronic bridge from 'in addition' to 'even'. Here, the discourse context evokes a scale of affectedness on which the focus denotation 'his body and soul' ranks higher than the alternative 'his possessions and eyes' mentioned in the preceding clause. Most likely, a similar scenario can be posited for Thai *yaŋ*, seen in (83) above.

(84) Old Spanish, 11th/12th century
Aquel que gela diesse sopiesse una palabra // Que perderie los aueres e mas los oios de la cara //
'Let anyone who might give it to him know, that he would lose his possessions and the eyes of his head'
E ***aun*** *demas los cuerpo-s e las alma-s.*
and still other DEF.PL.M body(M)-PL and DEF.PL.F soul(F)-PL
'And, furthermore, **also/even** his body and soul.' (*Cantar de mio Cid*, cited in Trujillo 1990: 79, glosses added)

Importantly, in (84) the focus denotation corresponds to a high degree on the relevant scale, whereas in the present-day variety *aún* is also compatible with particularly low-ranking foci. This was seen in (77), repeated below. This distribution suggests that, once the scalar additive use had become established, it underwent context expansion and a concomitant generalisation of meaning.

(77) Spanish
… d-a vergüenza ***aun*** [***mencion-ar***]$_{\text{FOC}}$ *lo que los*
give-3SG shame still mention-INF 3SG.N SUBORD DEF.PL.M
desobediente-s hac-en en secreto.
disobedient-PL do-3PL in secret
'It is shameful **to even mention** what the disobedient do in secret.'
(Eph. 5:12, *La biblia al día*, cited in Gast & van der Auwera 2011: 2)

Presumably, an intermediate stage in this process involved the use of the expression in environments of clause-mate negation; see Gast & van der Auwera (2011) for general discussion. An example of such an instance is given in (85).[14] Subsequently, *aún* would have expanded to non-negative scale reversal contexts like (77). Validating this scenario is an open task for diachronic corpus work.

(85) Spanish
No ten-go yo tanto, ***ni aun*** *la mitad.*
NEG have-1SG 1SG that_much nor still DEF.SG.F half(F)
'I don't have that much, **not even** half as much.'
(RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. *aun*, glosses added)

Scalar inferences are not the only conceivable source of a scalar additive function. In Section 2.5.2.3 I discuss a use of STILL expressions that closely resembles a scalar additive operator, except for being restricted to scales of time. This is illustrated in (86), where German *noch* highlights that the common ground contains earlier (i.e. lower) alternatives.

(86) German
Context: About perpetual conflicts in the Aegean islands.
Noch [***letzt-e Woche***]$_{\text{FOC}}$ *kam es … zu …*
still last-NOM.SG.F week(F) come.PST.3SG 3SG.N to
heftig-en Auseinandersetzung-en zwischen der Polizei
severe-DAT.PL conflict-PL between DEF.DAT.SG.F police(F)

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[14] Note how *aún* as a scalar additive is negated via *ni* 'nor', whereas the outer negation of STILL, i.e. the expression of NO LONGER, is *ya no* 'already NEG'. Asides from the clear differences in meaning, this gives further evidence for the separation of the two functions.

und den Insel-bewohner-n.
and DEF.DAT.PL island-inhabitant-DAT.PL
'**As late as last week**, altercations between the police and the islanders occurred.' (found online, glosses added)

While the focus in (86) is strictly temporal, the conceptual gap to a more general scalar additive operator is narrowed considerably in examples like (87), where time is mediated by metonymy.

(87) German
Context: Hope accompanies man through life.
***Noch* [*a-m Grab-e*]$_{\text{FOC}}$** *pflanz-t er die*
still at-DEF.DAT.SG.N grave(N)-DAT plant-3SG 3SG.M DEF.ACC.SG.F
Hoffnung auf.
hope(F) up
'**Even/as late as** at his grave, he plants hope.'
(Schiller, *Hoffnung*, glosses added)

In Persohn (2024a) I argue that instances like (87) constitute the source for *noch* as a BEYOND operator in cases like (81), repeated in condensed form in (88). The additional peculiarities of *noch* as a scalar additive that I described above (a scalar model of sufficiency and the requirement for a negatively defined scale) find a motivated explanation in the simultaneous evocation of the marginality use of *noch*. To briefly recapitulate from Section 3.2, the marginality functions addresses the question of whether a specific entity is included within the bounds of some scale or category (hence the model of sufficiency) and brings along an antonymic ordering relationship (degrees of *im*plausiblity, *de*centrality, etc.).

(88) German
Context: They talk themselves into believing
dass ***noch* [*der dümmst-e Tweet*]$_{\text{FOC}}$**
COMP still DEF.NOM.SG.M stupid.SUP-NOM.SG.M tweet(M)
die Wahrheit sprech-e.
DEF.NOM.SG.M truth(F) speak-SBJV.3SG
'that **even the most stupid tweet** speaks the truth.'

Lastly, an even more indirect relationship to phasal polarity STILL can be established for the one BENEATH operator in Table 3.3, the complex Spanish item *aunque sea*. This collocation was seen in (80) above. Example (89) is another illustration.

(89) Spanish
Da-me ***una galleta, aun-que sea,*** *que*
give.imp-obj.1sg indef.sg.f cookie(f) still-subord cop.sbjv.3sg subord
ten-go hambre.
have-1sg hunger
'Give me **so much as a cookie**, I'm hungry.'
(RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12q, glosses added)

The composition of *aunque sea* instantiates a productive pattern of marking the protasis of concessive conditionals 'even if'. This pattern, in turn, builds on *aún* in its scalar additive use. With that in mind, Gast & van der Auwera (2011) suggests that *aunque sea* started out as a parenthetically inserted protasis with the literal meaning of 'even if it were', followed by the deletion of a first pronominal occurrence of the focus. This scenario is illustrated in (90). It finds support in the fact that, at least in European Spanish, *aunque sea* often follows its focus and is prosodically set of from it (RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12q), as is the case in (89).

(90) Spanish
Si dices ***~~algo~~, aun-que sea una palabra,***
if say.2sg something still-subord cop.sbjv.3sg indef.sg.f word(f)
v-as a ten-er problema-s.
go-2sg to have-inf problem-pl
'If you say ~~something~~, **even if it were a word**, you'll get into trouble.'
(Gast & van der Auwera 2011: 356)

3.3.5 Comparisons of inequality

3.3.5.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I address uses pertaining to the modification of comparisons of inequality. The example in (91) is an illustration. Here German *noch* contributes the scalar additive notion of 'even' to the comparison, the latter being signalled by the comparative form of the adjective *größer* 'bigger'.

(91) German
Adam ist größer als Chris. Aber Berta ist ***noch größer***
A. cop.3sg big.cmpr than C. but B. cop.3sg still big.cmpr

(als Adam).
than A.
'Adam is taller than Chris. But Berta is **even taller** (than Adam).'
(Umbach 2009: 9, glosses added)

In (91) the still expression serves to relate the comparison in its host clause to the one expressed in the preceding clause. In (92), on the other hand, Northern Qiang *tɕe-* serves as an intensifier, marking a particularly high degree of difference between the third person standard and the first person comparee.

(92) Northern Qiang
Qa theː-s ***tɕe-fia****.*
1sg 3sg-than still-white:1sg
'I am lighter (in color) than him (**a lot lighter**).'
(LaPolla & Huang 2003: 88)

3.3.5.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.4 lists the expressions in my sample that have uses related to the modification of comparisons of inequality. In addition, Table 3.4 indicates the type of contribution each expression makes in these constructions.[15] As can be gathered, the relevant functions are attested for 17 items from 15 languages, and the distribution is strikingly biased towards the Eurasian macro-area. What is more, such uses are attested for 13 out of 16 Eurasian sample languages.[16] Even with the limitations of the sample data in mind, this strongly points to a primarily areal phenomenon. In line with this geographic distribution, comparative functions are primarily found with independent grammatical words. As for the type of contribution, the scalar additive 'even more' type clearly predominates, with the intensifying 'much more' type being found with only one sample expression, which is Northern Qiang *tɕe-*. In what follows, I examine the two types of uses separately.

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[15] In addition, Classical Nahuatl *oc* is commonly found in collocations like *oc achi* 'still a bit > another bit' to overtly mark the comparative degree (Appendix E.1.2.6.2).

[16] This use is also found with several cognates of my sample expressions, such as Dutch *nog* (e.g. Vandeweghe 1984: 124), Italian *ancora* (e.g. Tovena 1994; Vegnaduzzo 2000), or cognates of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* across Slavic (e.g. Doroszewski 1958–1969: s.v. *jeszcze*; Havránek 1989: s.v. *ještě*; Instytút movoznávstva 1970–1980: s.v. *ще*; Inštitutu za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša 2014: s.v. *šè*; Kačala et al. 2003: s.v. *ešte*). It is also found, among other markers, with Hungarian *még* (Csirmaz & Slade 2020).

Table 3.4: Functions pertaining to comparisons of inequality

Macro-Area	Language	Expr.	Type	Appendix
Eurasia	English	*still*	‘even more’	D.1.1.5.3
	French	*encore*	‘even more’	D.2.2.8.2
		toujours[a]	‘even more’	D.2.3.6.1
	German	*noch*	‘even more’	D.3.1.7.4
	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕod*	‘even more’	D.4.3.7.3
	Ket	*hāj*	‘even more’	D.7.2.4.3
	Mandarin Chinese	*hái*	‘even more’	D.9.2.7.2
	Northern Qiang	*tɕe-*	‘even more’(?), ‘much more’	D.10.2.5.2
	Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian	*još*	‘even more’	D.11.2.7.2
	Southern Yukaghir	*ajī/āj*	‘even more’	D.12.2.4.2
	Spanish	*aún*	‘even more’	D.13.2.7.4
		todavía	‘even more’	D.13.3.8.2
	Thai	*yaŋ*	‘even more’	D.14.2.5.3
	Tundra Nenets	*təmna*	‘even more’	D.15.2.6.2
	Udihe	*xai(si)*	‘even more’	D.16.2.5.2
N. America	Kalaallisut	*suli*	‘even more’	E.4.2.5.1
Papunesia	Paiwan	*=anan*	‘even more’	F.14.2.5.2

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[a] Borderline case of a STILL expression.

3.3.5.3 A closer look: ‘even more’

I now turn to a closer look at STILL as ‘even more’. This type is illustrated in (91), repeated below. Here, German *noch* serves to relate the comparison made in its host clause to the one expressed in the preceding clause, and it signals that the former yields a more informative proposition (that the comparee has a higher degree of the property in question).

(91) German
Adam ist größer als Chris. Aber Berta ist ***noch größer***
A. COP.3SG big.CMPR than C. but B. COP.3SG still big.CMPR
(als Adam).
than A.
‘Adam is taller than Chris. But Berta is **even taller** (than Adam).’
(Umbach 2009: 9, glosses added)

Whereas in (91) the second comparison is overtly manifest in the immediate discourse context, it is often left implied, as in (93, 94). Example (94) also illustrates another point: the use in question is not restricted to comparative construction *sensu stricto*, but is recurrently commonly attested with verbal predicates that express a change in degree (a.k.a. "degree achievements").

(93) Southern Yukaghir
Tudel mit-ket ***āj omos'*** *modo-j.*
3sg 1pl-abl still well sit-intr.3sg
'He lives **even better** than we do.' (Maslova 2003: 364)

(94) German
Context: About a TV production. The first episode discussed was watched by 9.4 percent of the target audience.
Eine alt-e Folge … ***verbesser-te das***
indef.nom.sg.f old-nom.sg.f episode(f) improve-pst.3sg def.acc.sg.n
Ergebnis noch *auf fantastisch-e 9,9 Prozent.*
result(n) still up fantastic-acc.pl 9.9 percent
'An old episode … **improved the result even further**, to a fantastic 9.9 percent.' (found online, glosses added)

On a more fine-grained level, several of the items in Table 3.4 are worth a brief discussion. Thus, English *still* in comparisons of inequality is far less frequent than *even*. According to Ranger (2018: 198–201), *still* is primarily found in discourse contexts that feature an incremental build-up and an implied standard, a prototypical instance being (95). This is reminiscent of how additive *still* is restricted to list environments (Appendix D.1.1.5.1).

(95) English
For example, we would expect to find a very high proportion of cognate words in British and American English but a much lower percentage if we compare English and German and ***still lower*** *if we compare English and Russian.* (BCN, cited in Ranger 2018: 200)

In a related fashion, in the case of French *toujours* (which is a borderline case of a still expression and perhaps best treated as a marker of stasis), temporal notions persist. Thus, as Hansen (2008: 166–167) observes, the felicitous use of *toujours* in comparisons requires that at least one prior change along the scale in question has been observed. In other words, the implied standard of comparison in an example like (96) cannot be a different entity at the same point in time.

(96) French
*Elle me regardait avec **toujours plus d'-inquiétude**.*
3SG.F 1SG.OBJ look.PST.IPFV.3SG with still more of-concern
'She looked at me with **ever more disquiet**.'
(Hansen 2008: 164, glosses added)

With Thai *yaŋ*, there appears to be a preference for predicates denoting the lower end of a scale (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.). This is reflected by the relevant examples in the literature featuring items like *cha* 'slow' in (97), or *naaw* 'cold'.

(97) Thai
*Phǒm wîŋ cháa lɛ́ɛw (tɛ̀ɛ) kháu **yaŋ cháa kwàa phǒm ìik**.*
1SG run slow already but 3 still slow exceed 1SG more
'I run slowly, but he runs even more slowly than I do.' (Higbie & Thinsan 2002: 240, glosses added)

Lastly, with German *noch* and Spanish *aún* and *todavía*, the use in comparisons of inequality, together with a 'more' expression, has given rise to a discourse connective 'what is more' (Section 3.3.7.2). This is illustrated in (98) for Spanish *todavía* plus *más*.

(98) Spanish
Según Pessoa, lo que caracteriza al genio literario es la inadaptación a su medio.
'According to Pessoa, what characterises literary genius is its nonconformity with its medium.'

***Más todavía**: la fama literari-a de hoy excluy-e el*
more still DEF.SG.F fame(F) literary-F of today exclude-3SG DEF.SG.M
éxito en el porvenir ...
success(M) in DEF.SG.M future(M)...
'**What is more**: today's literary fame impedes future success.'
(CORPES XXI, glosses added)

In syntactic terms, many of the expressions in Table 3.4 are phrasal sisters to the degree predicate, as is characteristic of focus-sensitive operators. For instance, in (99) it can be observed that English *still* intervenes between the indefinite article and the following noun phrase. Simiarly, in (100) French *encore* immediately precedes *mieux* 'better', rather than occurring in its usual post-auxiliary position. Similar cases are attested for German *noch*, French *toujours*, Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*, Spanish *aún* and *todavía*, and Southern Yukaghir *ajī*/*āj*. It is conceivable that upon examination of more data this list becomes even longer.

(99) English
***A still greater offer** came from the Dean.* (Ippolito 2007: 23 fn37)

(100) French
Le premier roman de Duschnock a eu beaucoup
def.sg.m first.sg.m novel(m) of D. have.3sg have.ptcp much
de succès. Le deuxième s'-est vendu ***encore***
of success def.sg.m second.m refl.3-cop.3sg sell.ptcp.sg.m still
***mieux**.*
better
'Duschnock's first novel was a great success. The second one sold **even better**.' (Hansen 2008: 164, glosses added)

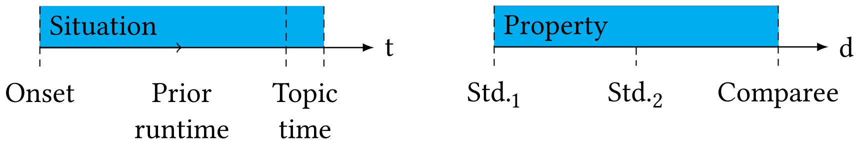
Modern Hebrew differs slightly, in that it is the degree modifier that forms a constituent with the still expression *ʕod*, as can be seen in (101), where they move through the clause together.

(101) Modern Hebrew
Ze ***ʕod yoter*** *meguħax. / Ze meguħax* ***ʕod yoter**.*
prox.sg.m still more ridicoulous prox.sg.m ridicoulous still more
'This is **even more** ridiculous.' (Glinert 1976: 251–252)

3.3.5.4 Discussion: 'even more'

There is an obvious metonymic relationship between phasal polarity still and the 'even more' use in comparisons of inequality, as observed before me by Hansen (2008: 165), Jing-Schmidt & Gries (2009), Ranger (2018: 200) and Shetter (1966), among others. Thus, still presupposes that a situation not only obtains at topic time, but has progressed beyond its onset. Similarly, the 'even more' use triggers the presupposition that the comparee has some degree of the property in question (as compared to the relevant norm or a contextually retrievable standard of comparison) and that, as a function of the comparison, this degree exceeds that of another entity. Figure 3.4 is a schematic illustration of these parallels.

In terms of the function's emergence, the vast majority of expressions in Table 3.4 have other additive uses that can be said to motivate their use in comparisons of inequality. However, this is not universally the case, the clearest exception being French *toujours*. What is more, additive functions are far from necessary for the 'even more' use to arise. To begin with, phasal polarity still and the use in question are virtually indistinguishable in cases like (102, 103), as observed



(a) STILL

(b) ‘Even more’

Figure 3.4: Schematic comparison of STILL and comparative ‘even more’

by authors such as Bosque (2016), Hansen (2008: 165) and Victtori & Fuchs (1996: 76), among others. Thus, in (102, 103), the STILL expressions *encore* and *todavía* take scope over a verbal predicate that denotes a gradual change along a scale. As the phasal polarity use presupposes a prior runtime of the same situation, and therefore a previous advancement on the relevant scale, this unavoidably yields a dual comparison. In other words, such combinations make for a perfect bridge from STILL to ‘even more’.

(102) French
Avec la mondialisation, on peut craindre que
with DEF.SG.F globalisation.INF(F) IMPR/1PL can.3SG fear.INF SUBORD
les différences entre les ethnie-s
DEF.PL difference.PL between DEF.PL ethnic_group-PL
s’-accentue encore *dans les années à venir.*
REFL.3-intensify.3PL still at DEF.PL year.PL to come.INF
‘With globalisation, we may fear that the differences between ethnic groups **will still increase** in the years to come.’ (Hansen 2008: 165, glosses added)

(103) Spanish
Está muy alt-a, pero ***todavía crec-erá.***
COP.3SG very tall-F but still grow-FUT.3SG
i. ‘She’s very tall, but **she’ll grow even more**.’
ii. ‘She’s very tall, but **she’ll still be growing**.’
(Bosque 2016: 214, glosses added)

Another, and somewhat related, bridging context can be found in an instance like (104). Under an etymologically more conservative reading, this example features a persistent intent do advance a process. As a function of the comparative adjective *plus* ‘more’, the latter is depicted as having already yielded an advanced degree on some scale. As in (102, 103), the sum of these elements entails the notion of ‘even more’.

(104) Old French, 13th century
Sire, dist il, vostre merci. // A ceste damoisele ci // Vous pri c’ox pardounés vostre ire; //
‘Sire, he says, Your Grace. I ask you that you will renounce on your anger against this maiden;’

Et si vous veul ***encor plus dire****,*
and indeed 2PL.OBJ want.1SG still more say.INF
‘And, indeed, I **still want to say something more/want to say even more**.’ (*L’ Atre périlleux*, cited in Hansen 2008: 167, glosses added)

Lastly, a link of the more indirect kind can be established for French *toujours* and English *still. Toujours*, asides from being a marker of persistence, also has a diachronically earlier ‘always’ use. As Hansen (2008: 167) discusses, the ‘even more’ use can be traced back to the ‘always’ function. Thus, some of the earliest relevant attestations, like the one in (105) are compatible with both readings. The same case can be made for English *still*, which also once possessed an ‘always’ sense. According to Lewis (2019), the example in (106), which features both distributivity (i.e. the recurrence of a similar situation across multiple times) and the comparative degree of an adjective, constitutes the first relevant attestation.

(105) Middle French, 17th century
Mais si l’ esperance est esteinte, // pourquoy desir , t’ efforces-tu // de faire une plus grande atteinte? // C’est que tu nays de la vertu, //
‘But if hope is extinguished, // why, desire, do you endeavor // to reach higher? // It is because you are born of virtue //’

et comme elle ***est toujours plus forte****, // et sans*
and as 3SG.F COP.3SG still more strong and without
faveur-s et sans appas, // quoy que l’-esperance
favour-PL and without attraction.PL what REL DEF.SG-hope
soit morte, // desir, pourtant tu ne meurs pas.
COP.SBJV.3SG dead desire.IMP nontheless 2SG NEG die.2SG NEG
‘and as it [**is always stronger / grows ever stronger**], // both without favors and without attractions, // even though hope is dead, // desire, nevertheless you do not die.’ (d’Urfé, *L’astrée*, cited in Hansen 2008: 167, glosses added)

(106) Early Modern English, 16th century
spoonefull by spoonefull: ***bitterer and bitterer still*** (Lewis 2019: 135)

3.3.5.5 A closer look and discussion: 'much more'

Unlike the majority of expressions in Table 3.4, Northern Qiang *tɕe-* can signal a high degree of difference between the comparee and the standard of comparison. Example (92), repeated below, is an illustration.

(92) Northern Qiang
Qa theː-s ***tɕe-fia.***
1SG 3SG-than still-white:1SG
'I am lighter (in color) than him (**a lot lighter**).'
(LaPolla & Huang 2003: 88)

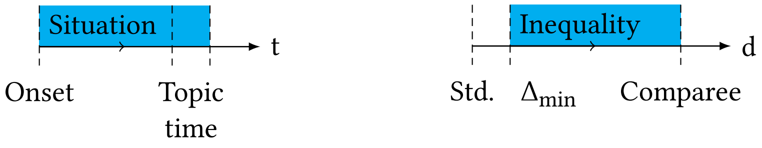
Whether *tɕe-* can also have the 'even more' use is less clear. It is possible that in (107) such a reading is a contextual inference, due to the property in question being predicated of the standard of comparison in the preceding clause.

(107) Northern Qiang
Pəs məpa wa, təp-ɲi tsə-s ***tɕa-məpaː lu.***
today cold very tomorrow-ADV this-than still-cold.PROSP will
'Today is very cold; tomorrow **is going to be even colder** than this.'
(LaPolla & Huang 2003: 161)

In addition, *tɕe-* is strinkingly similar to the superlative marker *tɕi-*, which furthermore occupies the same position in the predicate. This suggest some etymological relationship between the two items. The one synchronic formal difference is that the superlative prefix, illustrated in (108), does not undergo vowel harmony.

(108) Northern Qiang
tɕi*-χtʂa*
most-small
'smallest' (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 214)

Whereas the 'even more' use examined above involves a metonymic projection from temporal intervals to degrees, in the use I discuss here the parallels to phasal polarity pertain to the differential function. In other words, the 'much more' use signals that the difference between the comparee and the standard goes beyond the minimum necessary for faithfully using the comparative construction, similar to how phasal polarity STILL contributes the presupposition that the situation depicted in the clause has progressed beyond its onset. These similarities are schematised in Figure 3.5.



(a) STILL

(b) 'Much more'

Figure 3.5: Schematic comparison of STILL and comparative 'much more'

3.3.6 Constituent coordination

3.3.6.1 Introduction

Two expressions in my sample have uses as constituent coordinators. These are Ket *hāj* and Mandarin Chinese *hái* (Appendices D.7.2.4.4, D.9.2.7.4). In what follows, I briefly illustrate and discuss each of the two items separately.

3.3.6.2 A closer look and discussion: Ket *hāj*

The Ket expression *hāj* serves as a conjunctive coordinator and is attested as linking constituents of various types. This is illustrated for a pair of attributive adjectives in (109a), and for two clauses in (109b). As pointed out by Nefedov (2015: 96), the coordinative function of *hāj* is clearly a diachronic extension of *hāj* in additive function, following the well-known path from 'also' to 'and' (see e.g. Mithun 1988).

(109) Ket

a. ***Hʌna haj qē-ŋ*** *dɨlʲgat škɔla-di-ŋa ɔŋ-ɔ-tn*
small still big-PL children school-N-DAT SUBJ.3PL-PRS-go
'Kleine und große Kinder gehen in die Schule. [**Small and big** children go to school.]' (Werner 1997: 321, glosses by Nefedov 2015: 97)

b. Context: Two brothers are being served fatty meat by a witch.
Éɾȕla ánùntuɾu bū òn īs bə̄n dbīl[a].
'Erula was smart and didn't eat much of the meat.'
A Tútà-da-ŋa ánùn bənsàŋ ***bū ísqàl-s óvɨ̏lde haj***
but T.-M-DAT mind not.be.PRS 3SG.M greedy-NOM was still
bɨ̏ldè ba d-b-īl-[a].
everything customarily SUBJ.3M-OBJ.3N-PST-eat
'But Tuta was stupid. **He was greedy and would always eat it all up**.'
(Vajda 2004: 93)

3.3.6.3 A closer look and discussion: Mandarin Chinese *hái-shì*

Unlike Ket *hāj*, Mandarin Chinese *hái* signals disjunctive coordination, normally in collocation with copula *shì*. Example (110) is an illustration. As in this example, this function is predominantly found in interrogatives.

(110) Mandarin Chinese
Nǐ zuì xǐhuān lüchá ***hái-shi huāchá****?*
2SG most like green_tea still-COP jasmine_tea
'Tu préfères le thé vert ou bien le thé au jasmin? [Do you prefer green tea **or Jasmine tea**?]' (Donazzan 2008: 112)

Lu (2019) suggests that the disjunctive function of *hái-shì* goes back to the additive function of *hái* and a sentence pattern [[p] [*hái* [*shì* q]]]. In this pattern, copula *shì* originally served as a predicator, and the disjunctive reading started out as a contextual inference from '*p*, in addition *q*'. The conventionalisation of this inference was accompanied by a structural reanalysis to [[p] [*háishì* q]]. According to Wiedenhof (2015: 339), in very informal registers *shì* can get dropped; see (111). Given its limited diastratic distribution, this likely constitutes a subsequent innovation.

(111) Mandarin Chinese
Nǐ de ***hái*** *wǒ de?*
1SG ASSOC still 2SG ASSOC
'Mine or yours?' (Wiedenhof 2015: 339, glosses added)

3.3.7 Conjunctional adverb

In this subsection I turn to uses of STILL expressions and collocations containing them as conjunctional adverbs. I first turn to a more general type of conjunctional use (Section 3.3.7.1) and then address the more specific case of argumentative 'what is more' collocations (Section 3.3.7.2). Note that I discuss the somewhat related type of 'And how!' collocations separately in the context of exclamative functions (Section 3.5.6.1).

3.3.7.1 General conjunctional adverb

3.3.7.1.1 Introduction

Example (112) illustrates the use of Udihe *xai*(*si*) as a conjunctional adverb 'and (then)'.

(112) Udihe
Si [*si*] *jeu=de* *jai-ni* *ede-ili* *tuŋči:,* ***xai geje***
2SG 2SG what=FOC noise-3SG start-3SG jump_on.IMP still together
dieli-zeŋe-fi [*geje* *dieli-zeŋe-fi*].
fly-FUT-1PL together fly-FUT-1PL
'If some noise starts, jump on me **and we'll fly together**.'
(Nikolaeva et al. 2019: Yegdige in a silk gown)

This conjunctional use differs from coordinative function with clausal scope that I discuss in Section 3.3.6, in that "it does not establish a syntactic relationship of clauses as equal parts of another constituent, the complex sentence." (Forker 2016: 81).

3.3.7.1.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.5 lists the four expressions in my sample that have a general conjunctional function. As can be gathered, this use is primarily found in Eurasia. Two of the four cases involve fixed collocation, and in one of these two instances the collocate itself is a connective 'then, after'.

3.3.7.1.3 A closer look

I now turn to a closer look at the use of STILL expressions as conjunctional adverbs. In Modern Hebrew, this use of *ʕod*, illustrated in (113), has been described as being characteristic of more formal registers.

Table 3.5: Conjunctional adverb use

Macro-area	Language	Expression	Collocate	Appendix
Eurasia	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕod*	n/a	D.4.3.7.4
	Mandarin Chinese	*hái*	*yǒu* 'EXIST'	D.9.2.7.3
	Udihe	*xai*(*si*)	n/a	D.16.2.5.4
South America	Southern Lengua	*makham*	*natamén* 'then'	G.5.2.5.2

(113) Modern Hebrew
ʕod *moser katav-enu ki…*
still report.3SG.M reporter-POSS.1PL COMP
'Our reporter **further** reports that…' (Glinert 1989: 537, glosses added)

Udihe *xai*(*si*), illustrated as a conjunctional adverb in (112) above, is also repeatedly attested in what appears to be the notionally very close function of a specificational marker 'that is to say, namely' (Appendix D.16.2.5.5). This is illustrated in (114).

(114) Udihe
Context: A hero has shot at an iron bird.
Tada-ni=dele piktige ŋen'e, ***xai zokpo-ni culi=de.***
arrow-POSS.3SG=FOC right go.PFV still throat-POSS.3SG directly=FOC
'The arrow had struck it exactly, [**that is**] **straight into the throat**.'
(Nikolaeva et al. 2019: Sisam Zauli and the hero)

Turning to the cases that involve fixed collocations, Mandarin Chinese *hái* has the conjunctional function in collocation with existential *yǒu*; see (115a). This collocation is also very common with *hái* in plain additive use, as illustrated in (115b).

(115) Mandarin Chinese
a. *Rùzhù qián yào fù yājīn.* ***Hái yǒu,*** *bù néng dài*
check_in before should pay deposit still EXIST NEG able carry
chǒngwù.
pet
'You need to pay the deposit before using the room. **Also**, you're not allowed to have pets here.' (found online, glosses added)

b. *Qù Lúndūn, Bālí,* ***hái yǒu Luómǎ****.*
go London Bali still EXIST Rome
'We are going to London, Bali, **and Rome as well**.'
(Wiedenhof 2015: 312, glosses added)

Lastly, with Southern Lengua *makham*, the relevant function is found in combination with *natamén* 'then, after'. John Elliot (p.c.) reports that this is particularly common if the following clauses also contains *makham*, as in (116).

(116) Southern Lengua
Natamén makham *ap-tamh-aha makham Kennaqte*
then still M-work-go_around.DECL still K.
Appeywa Tásek Amya'a.
A. good story
'**Then later**, Kennaqte Appeywa spoke again from the Bible.'
(John Elliot, p.c.)

3.3.7.1.4 Discussion

The conjunctional function just described clearly goes back to additive uses of the same expressions, rather than being directly related to phasal polarity STILL. Not only is an additive function attested for all expressions in Table 3.5, but such an extension is common of additive markers in general (Forker 2016). Example (117) is an illustration featuring Turkish (not in my sample) =*de*.

(117) Turkish
Context: We will buy armchairs.
*On-lar-a çiçek-li basma örtü-ler dik-er-im ben. Bir=***de**
3-PL-DAT flower-ADJ print cover-PL sew-AOR-1SG 1SG one=also
kabul gün-ümüz ol-ur.
admission day-POSS.1PL be(come)-AOR
'I will make covers for them in floral print. **And** we will have an "at home day".' (Kerslake 1996)

Additional support for this interpretation comes from the fact that in Mandarin Chinese the conjunctional use occurs in the collocation *hái yǒu*, which is a common occurrence with *hái* as 'also'. In semasiological terms, this development constitutes a fairly straightforward instantiation of the tendency for meanings to become increasingly procedural (Section 1.6.2).

3.3.7.2 'What is more'

3.3.7.2.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I briefly turn to collocations that involve still expressions and which serve as clause-initial, argumentative connectives 'what is more'. Examples (118, 119) are illustrations.

(118) Spanish

En	*La*	*Habana*	*hay*	*también*	*gente*	*pobre.*	***Más***	***aún,***	*hay*	*esclavo-s.*
en	def.sg.f	H.(f)	exist	also	people	poor	more	still	exist	slave-pl

'There are also poor people in Havana. **What is more**, there are slaves.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(119) Modern Hebrew

Hay-ta	*te'una,*	***ma***	***ʕod***	*še-ha-nehag-im*	*šavt-u.*
cop.pst-3sg.f	accident(f)	what	still	subord-def-driver-pl.m	strike.pst-3pl

'There was an accident, **what's more**, the drivers were striking.' (Glinert 1989: 267, glosses added)

3.3.7.2.2 Distribution and types

Table 3.6 lists the attested 'what is more' collocations in my sample. As can be gathered, they are attested for four expressions from three languages, all stemming from western Eurasia. In Spanish and German, these collocations involve still expressions together with a quantifier 'more', as in (118). The Modern Hebrew case, on the other hand, features a WH-element 'what'; see (119) above.

3.3.7.2.3 Discussion

In terms of their motivation and origins, all collocations in Table 3.6 are fairly transparent. The German and Spanish cases, which involve a comparative 'more' marker are clearly based on the respective collocations in comparison of inequality 'even more' (Section 3.3.5). In the case of Hebrew *ma ʕod*, on the other hand, it is the still expression *ʕod* itself that contributes the quantificational notion

Table 3.6: Connective collocations ‘what is more’

Macro-Area	Language	Expression	Collocation	Appendix
Eurasia	German	*noch*	*mehr noch* ‘still more’	D.3.1.7.5
	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕod*	*ma ʕod* ‘what still’	D.4.3.7.5
	Spanish	*aún*	*aún más* / *más aún* ‘still more / more still’	D.13.2.7.5
		todavía	*todavía más* / *más todavía* ‘still more / more still’	D.13.3.8.3

(Section 3.3.2). That is, despite superficial differences, *ma ʕod* is no different from English *what is more*. What both types have in common is that they involve additivity of some sort and a straightforward transfer from the propositional to the textual domain.

3.3.8 A brief reflection on additive and related uses

In a ground-laying typological study, Forker (2016) examines the functional range of additive markers and the implicational relationships between their individual uses. Comparing her findings to those from my sample reveals some striking areas of divergence, even with the limitations of the data in mind. Thus, whereas around four out of five additive markers examined by Forker can also serve as scalar additives, in my sample this is the case for only roughly one out of seven items. A similar discrepancy obtains for the constituent coordination function. Likewise, the use of an additive expression as a conjunctional adverb use is about twice as frequent in Forker’s sample as compared to mine; see Table 3.7.

Table 3.7: Relative frequency of additive-related functions compared to Forker’s (2016) findings

Function	Forker	My sample
Scalar additive	81%	14%
Constituent coordination	60%	7%
Conjunctional adverb[a]	29%	14%

---

[a] Excluding ‘what is more’

What is more, nearly two thirds of the additive expressions in Forker's (2016) are also used as switch topic markers, This function is illustrated in (120), where Ale-Gawwada (Afro-Asiatic > Cushitic) =*kka* marks the reintroduction of Lion as the story's protagonist.

(120) Ale-Gawwada
Context: Lion had summoned all animals.
Ye=okaay-ú=ppa / [***karma-o***]$_{\text{FOC}}$***=kka*** *saˤa-k-o* *kat-a*
NEG.3=come-PFV.NEG.3=LNK lion-M=also heart-SG-M down-out
ˀɨ=ˀˀassap-aɗ-i....
DEF=think-MID-PFV.3.M
'(The Monkey only) did not come; therefore, **the Lion** thought in his heart…' (Tosco 2010: 332)

The only marker in my sample for which there are some indications of a topic-related use is Udihe *xai*(*si*) (Appendix D.16.2.5.3). Example (121) is an illustration. Here, *xai*(*si*) appears to emphasise the switch from the tiger's role in culture to a description of its outward appearance. That said, *xai*(*si*) is a very frequent item in texts, and its individual contribution in each attestation is far from fully understood. Furthermore, according to Forker (2016), there is an implicational relationship between the switch topic function and the use of the same items as conjunctional adverbs, in that all expressions that have the latter use also have the former. This is clearly not the case in my sample.

(121) Udihe
Context: About tigers. They are considered to be God's animal.
Ute bi:, ***iŋakta-na-ni*** ***xaisi*** *oño-ni,*
this COP:PRS.PTCP fur-DESIGNATIVE-POSS.3SG still draw.PST-3SG
kegdeje-ni iŋakta-na-ni bagdi:-ni zülie-li.
striped-3SG fur-DESIGNATIVE-POSS.3SG grow-3SG striped-ADJ
'That's how it is. **Its fur** all grows motley and stripy.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The tiger for the Udihe people)[17]

All these points suggest that STILL expressions as additive markers develop along very different lines from run-of-the-mill additives. I can only speculate at this point, but it seems plausible that, at least to some extent, these differences are a function of the differences in discourse patterns that I discuss in Section 3.3.2.

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[17] See Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001: 126–127) on the "designative" or "destinative" case marker *-na*.

3.3.9 Other functions adjacent to additivity

In this subsection, I briefly turn to two uses that are loosely related to additivity in that they involve the inclusion of other entities. More specifically, I address Classical Nahuatl *oc* as 'other, different one' and Kekchí *toj* as spatial 'until'.

3.3.9.1 Classical Nahuatl *oc* as 'other, different'

Example (122) illustrates Classical Nahuatl *oc* in combination with a quantifier, together referring to a different entity of the same type as a contextually given one (Appendix E.1.2.6.3).

(122) Classical Nahuatl
Huel ***oc*** ***cen-tlamantli*** *in* *ic* *ni-c-mati-ya*
INTENS still one-thing DET thus SUBJ.1SG-OBJ.3SG-know-PST.IPFV
in *mo-tēnyo.*
DET POSS.2SG-fame.POSS
'Tout autre est l'opinion que j'avais de ta renommée. [Quite **a different one** is the opinion I had of your reputation.]'
(Launey 1986: 1266, glosses added)

Oc also has a use as an additive marker, and in this function it can combine with a quantifier phrase to signal the addition of a different entity of the same kind, as illustrated in (123).

(123) *Is-ka'* *iwaan* ***ok*** ***sen****-tlamantli.*
here-PRED and still one-thing
'And here is **yet another** thing.' (Langacker 1977: 41)

As observed before me by Launey (1986: 1266), there is an obvious similarity between *oc* in examples like (123) and the use I discuss here, a proximity that is also reflected in items like English *another* or Spanish *otro*. The two functions are especially close in cases like (124), which involves additivity as well as choice from an established set in the form of commonly agreed-upon mortal sins. Such examples likely constitute a bridging context from additivity to alterativity, the link to phasal polarity thus being an indirect one.

(124) Classical Nahuatl
Monequi anquìtōzquè in quēzquipa ōantlāhuānquè, in quēzqui-pa ō anquìtlacòquê in īmissàtzin Totēcuiyo
'Que digais quantas vezes os aueis emborrachado, quantas aueis dexado

de oyr Missa, [You must say how many times you got drunk, how many times you failed to go to mass]'

çācè quēcīzqui-pa in ō ī-pan
finally how_many_each-time DET AUG POSS.3SG-top
an-huetz-quê in ***oc-cequi tē-mictiā-ni***
SUBJ.2PL-fall-PST.PFV.PL DET still-some OBJ.INDEF.HUMAN-kill-AGT.NMLZ
tlàtlacōlli.
sin
'y finalmente quantas vezes aueis caido en otroc pecados mortales. [and how many times you have fallen into **other mortal sins**.]'
(Carochi 1645: 117, glosses added)

3.3.9.2 Kekchí *toj* as spatial 'until'

Example (125) illustrates Kekchí *toj* as 'until' together with a spatial complement (Appendix E.5.1.5.1).

(125) Kekchí
A: *B'ar naxik li manguera?*
'Where does the hose go?'
B: *Ay ink'a' n-in-naw, mare arin* ***toj najt***
INTERJ NEG PRS.3SG.P-1SG.A-know perhaps here still far
chi-r-ix li tzuul.
PREP-POSS.3SG-back DET mountain
'Ay, I don't know, perhaps (from) here **until far over the hill**.'
(Kockelman 2020: 464)

The same 'until' reading of *toj* is also available with temporal complements (Section 2.5.2.1), as illustrated in (126). It is safe to assume that this latter use, in conjunction with temporal zero anaphora, also constitutes the source of *toj* as an exponent of STILL and thereby the link between the spatial limiative use and phasal polarity STILL.

(126) Kekchí
Chalen sa' x-kach'inal ***toj anaqwan*** *maa-jun-wa*
from PREP POSS.3-youth until today NEG-one-time
x-kala.
PFV-3.get_drunk
'From his youth **until today**, not once has he gotten drunk.'
(Eachus & Carlson 1980: 197, glosses by Kockelman 2020: 463)

3.4 Restrictive

3.4.1 Introduction

In this section, I discuss restrictive uses of STILL expressions. As laid out in Section 1.6.4, I understand restrictive operators as denoting negative quantification over a set of context propositions that differ from the text proposition in the denotation of the focus. Their quantificational force may be existential, in which case I speak of *exclusive* operators. If they denote universal quantification, on the other hand, I speak of *at least*-type restrictives. As a second parameter of variation, restrictive operators may or may not require the alternative denotations to form an ordered set (a scale).

In what follows, I first discuss cases in which a STILL expression serves as a non-scalar exclusive operator, which is a coexpression pattern primarily found in the Australian and Papunesian macro-areas (Section 3.4.2). I then turn to a use that combines temporal inclusion with the exclusion of context propositions 'thus far only', again without the requirement of scalar alternatives. Lastly, in Section 3.4.4, I discuss scalar restrictive uses. Note that I do not discuss a specifically temporal restrictive function 'no earlier than' here. For examinations of the latter use, see Section 2.5.2.1.

3.4.2 Non-scalar exclusive

3.4.2.1 Introduction

The examples in (127) illustrate the colexification of phasal polarity STILL and a non-scalar exclusive function for Kewa *pa*. Thus, in (127a) this expression signals the persistence of the boy being breastfed, whereas in (127b) it serves to exclude all alternatives to the proposition 'I stay'.

(127) Kewa

a. *Go naaki-ri* ***adu pa na la-aya.***
DEM boy-TOP breast still eat stand-PRS:3SG
'That boy **is still breastfed** (lit. still eats breast).'
(Franklin 2007: 7, glosses added)

b. ***Pa piru aa-lua*** *koe le sa pi.*
still stay stand.DUR-FUT:1SG bad thing put sit.PRS:1SG
'(If) **I** don't say something (lit. **just stay**) I have put something valueless.' (Yarapea 2006: 311–312)

3.4.2.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.8 lists the markers in my sample that function as non-scalar exclusives. The sample data suggest that STILL–exclusive coexpression is a widespread phenomenon in Australia and Papunesia.[18] As can be gathered from Table 3.8, outside of these two Macro-areas, it appears to be rare; the only exception in my sample is =*vi* in the Bantu language Chuwabu. That said, it is possible that sampling bias plays some role. Thus, several of the sample languages were included due to them being mentioned in van Baar (1991, 1997) and Schultze-Berndt (2002), whose discussions focus on Australia and Papunesia. In terms of their wordhood, markers serving as both STILL and non-scalar exclusives are attested as bound morphemes (clitics or suffixes) and as independent grammatical words, suggesting no correlation between morphosyntactic status and function. Lastly, note that other STILL expressions may go together with an exclusive marker. Thus, Ewe *ga-* is often combined with exclusive *ko* or its reduplicate *kookooko*. Similarly, Wardaman *gayawun* frequently goes together with *-bi*, a marker that can be analysed as exclusive (see Schultze-Berndt 2002).

3.4.2.3 A closer look

I now turn to a closer examination of the coexpression of STILL and 'only'. To begin with, the operators under discussion here do not require a ranking of the alternatives under consideration. This, however, does not prevent them from combining with scalar expressions and/or contexts evoking a scale. For instance, in (128) the asserted event 'she fainted' can be understood as lying lower on a contextually evoked scale of affectedness than the negated proposition 'she died/ is dead' contained in the immediately preceding clause.

(128) Rapa Nui
'Ina a Tiare kai mate; ***ko rerehu nō 'ā.***
NEG ART T. NEG.PFV die ANT faint still/only CONT
'Tiare was not dead; she **had just fainted**.' (Kieviet 2017: 343)

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[18] An additional Australian candidate from outside the sample is Jaru/Wanyjirra (Pama-Nyungan) =*lu* (Senge 2015: 506–512; Tsunoda 1981: 210). In another Pama-Nyungan language, Eastern Arrernte, *anteye* 'still' is formally related to restrictive *ante* (Wilkins 1989: 350–351). Some further candidates in Papunesia include *kəp* in the Ndu language Manambu (Aikhenvald 2008: 100, 567), and *nawe* in the Sepik language Mehek (Hatfield 2016: 479). Austronesian candidates from Papunesia include *nanga* in Nalik (Volker 1994: 201–202), =*te* in Pohnpeian (Rehg 1981: 301–302), and *boko* in Tolai (examples throughout Mosel 1984).

Table 3.8: Coexpression of exclusive ‘only’

Macro-Area	Language	Expression	Appendix
Africa	Chuwabu	=*vi*	B.5.2.4.1
Australia	Gooniyandi	=*nyali*	C.1.2.4.1
	Gurindji	=*rni*	C.2.2.6.1
	Kayardild	=(*i*)*da*	C.4.2.4.1
	Martuthunira	*waruu*(*l*)	C.5.2.4.1
	Wubuy	-*wugij*	C.7.2.4.1
Papunesia	Acehnese	*mantöng*	F.1.1.4.1
	Chamorro	*ha’*	F.4.2.4.1
	Kewa	*pa*	F.8.2.3.1
	Komnzo	*komnzo*	F.9.2.4.1
	Ma Manda	-*gût*	F.11.1.3.1
	Rapanui	*nō*	F.15.2.4.1

Although I discuss all expressions in Table 3.8 under a single heading, in many instances the exclusive function can be understood as forming a cluster of conceptually related uses. For instance, Kewa *pa* in (129) serves to depict the pig’s eating of a sweet potato as requiring no effort, and Rapanui *nō* in (130) signals that an act is performed “[w]ithout further ado, without thinking, without taking other considerations into account” (Kieviet 2017: 343). With hosts other than a verbal predicate, a recurrent function is that of intensification or amplification, as in (131). For an extensive discussion of the various functions of the relevant Australian expressions, I refer the reader to Schultze-Berndt (2002).

(129) Kewa
Sapi adaa-ai ***pa maa ne-a*** *robo-re ora adaa-ai*
sweet_potato big-NOM still take eat-PRS:3SG when-TOP really big-NOM
popa a-ya.
come stand-PRS:3SG
‘When it [pig] takes a sweet potato which is a big one and **eats it** (**without much effort**), it really becomes a big one.’ (Yarapea 2006: 286)

(130) Rapanui
¿Kai ha’amā koe ***i to’o nō koe i te mauka*** *mo ta’o i*
NEG.PFV ashamed 2SG PFV take still 2SG ACC ART grass for cook ACC

ta'a *'umu?*
POSS:2SG earth_oven
'Weren't you ashamed, that **you just took the grass** (as fuel) to cook your earth oven (without asking, even though the grass was mine)?' (Kieviet 2017: 343)

(131) Gurindji
*kaput=**parni***
morning=still
'early in the morning' (McConvell 1983: 19)

In some instances, the contribution of a specific expressions is ambiguous, being compatible with both, a reading of phasal polarity STILL and the exclusive function. For instance, in (132) Gooniyandi *=nyali* occurs on the locative predicate *ngirnda marlaya* 'in this hand' and, as McGregor (1990: 465–466) points out, the exact interpretation is dependent on the discourse context. An exclusive reading arises if the question under discussion pertains to the 'where' of the object being held, whereas a phasal polarity reading answers the question of whether its location has changed. A similar instance is found in the Jaminjung-Ngaliwurru example (133), where the difference between the two interpretations is subtle, at best. I return to this issue below.

(132) Gooniyandi
*Mangaddi yoodgoowali ngirnda **marla-ya=nyali** goorijgila.*
NEG I:was:putting:it:down this hand-LOC=still I:hold:it
'It haven't put it down; it's **right here in my hand/still in my hand**.' (McGregor 1990: 465–466)

(133) Jaminjung-Ngaliwurru
Context: From a bush trip narrative.
*Tongue hanging gugu-wu, gugu **yagbali-g=gung***
tongue hanging(<Kriol) water-DAT water place-LOC=still
ga-gba=yirrag.
3SG-COP=1PL.EXCL.DAT
'(His) tongue hanging out for water, (since) our **water was still (back) in the camp/right in the camp**.' (Eva Schultze-Berndt, p.c.)

Gurindji has morphological means of disambiguating the two functions. A reduplicated form *=rnirni* can only serve as an exclusive operator, never as a phasal polarity expression. This is shown in (134). With Acehnese *mantöng*, on the other hand, the distinction between the two functions is reflected in syntax. While *mantöng* as ‘only’ always stands to the right of its focus, *mantöng* in phasal polarity function can either precede or follow the predicate; see (135).

(134) Gurindji
Ngu=rna ***karrap=parnirni*** *nya-ya kurti=rni ngu=rna*
AUX=SUBJ.1SG look=still.REDUPL see-PST later=still AUX=SUBJ.1SG
pirrkap=ma ma-nku.
make=TOP get-FUT
‘I have **only looked** at it (the car); I’ll do the repairs later.’
(McConvell 1983: 23)

(135) Acehnese
Jih sakêt ***mantöng*** / *Jih* ***mantöng*** *sakêt.*
3 sick still 3 still sick
‘She is still sick.’ (Durie 1985: 224)

3.4.2.4 Discussion

At first sight, it may appear strange that an exclusive function and phasal polarity STILL are recurrently expressed by one and the same item. After all, in the familiar European languages, the functional extensions of STILL expressions typically lie in the realm of additivity. However, recall from Section 1.4.1 that my definition of STILL includes the evocation of a discontinuation scenario that “figures in the discourse, and/or in the mind of the Speaker, of the Addressee, or both, as a serious alternative of the factual situation described in the sentence” (van Baar 1997: 41). Similarly, non-scalar exclusive operators serve to exclude alternative propositions from the common ground that differ in the value of the marker’s associated constituent. When the expression’s focus is a durative situation that is depicted as ongoing and the alternative(s) under consideration amount(s) to the discontinuation of said situation, the two functions coincide. Similar observations, albeit in slightly different terms, have been made before me by Döhler (2018: 336), McConvell (1983) and Schultze-Berndt (2002). This overlap becomes particularly salient in examples like (132), repeated below, or in (136). As I pointed out above, in (132) the salience of one reading over the other depends on the exact question under discussion, with both being mutually compatible. In (136) the denotation of the predicate *rä* ‘she is (alive)’ constitutes the obvious continuation of a prior state and the explicitly mentioned alternative *z kwarsis mnin* ‘she burned in the fire’ amounts to its discontinuation.

(132) Gooniyandi
Mangaddi yoodgoowali *ngirnda* ***marla-ya=nyali*** *goorijgila.*
NEG I:was:putting:it:down this hand-LOC=still I:hold:it
'It haven't put it down; it's **right here in my hand / still in my hand**.' (McGregor 1990: 465–466)

(136) Komnzo
Context: As a punishment for a murder, a woman has been sentenced to being burned alive.
Wati nagawa ŋabrigwa *si=r.* ***Komnzo***
then N. 2|3:PST.IPFV:return eye=PURP still
rä *o z* *kwa-rsir* *mni=n.*
3SG.F:NON.PST.IPFV:COP or already 2|3SG:REC.PST.IPFV-burn fire=LOC
'Then Nagawa [the woman's husband] returned to check: was she **still alive** or did she burn in the fire?' (Döhler 2018: 126; Döhler 2020)

A similar argument can be made for an example like (137), where the meaning of the predicate *giraddiri* 's/he crawls' constitutes an intermediate step in an overarching sequence, which is contrasted with a denied subsequent stage.

(137) Gooniyandi
Jiginya biddangi mangaddi wardgiri ***giraddiri wamba=nyali.***
child their not he:walks he:crawls later=still
'Their child doesn't walk; he still crawls.' (McGregor 1990: 464)

The associated constituent of *=nyali* and *komnzo* in (132, 136, 137) is the main predicate. Unsurprisingly, all relevant sample expressions can modify a predicate. That said, the same functional convergence can also arise in cases where the expression's focus is a lower constituent, as long as the resulting context propositions can be construed as yielding a new situation. For instance, in (138) Gooniyandi *=nyali* occurs on the 1SG pronoun *nganyi*, which is the patient argument of *milaana* 'he sees me'. The sentence can nonetheless be interpreted both ways, because "in order to assert that someone is looking just at one person and not another, the event of 'looking' must have continued for some time" (Schultze-Berndt 2002: 254).

(138) Gooniyandi
*Nganyi=**nyali** milaana* *mangaddi ngooddoo milaa.*
1SG=still he:sees:me NEG that he:sees:him
'He's still looking at me, not at him.' (McGregor 1990: 464)

Sarvasy (2017: 412–421) gives one of the most detailed descriptions of an exclusive marker in Papunesia, namely of *=gon* in the Nuclear Trans New Guinea language Nungon. Interestingly, she observes that the exclusive function often goes along with a broadly temporal one: "*=gon* has exclusive/restrictive and/or durative semantics: it can be translated as 'only, just,' and also tends to indicate that the exclusivity lasts for some time." (Sarvasy 2017: 412). While phasal polarity STILL does not appear to form part of the denotata of Nungon *=gon*, if a similar durative notion were found with other non-scalar exclusives of the area, it would narrow the conceptual gap between the two functions even further. This last point brings me to the question of diachronicity. In her discussion of several Australian languages, Schultze-Berndt (2002) convincingly argues that the non-scalar exclusive function is older than the same markers serving as expressions for STILL. The exclusive function, in turn, in all likelihood goes back to the "emphatic assertion of identity" (König 1991: 120). A clear case in point is Kayardild *=(i)da* < *niida* 'same' (Evans 1995a: 389–390). The fact that a reduplicated form in Gurindji only has the exclusive function likewise points to its primacy, and it is conceivable that a similar development from non-scalar exclusive to STILL also accounts for at least some of the Papunesian cases. Chuwabu *=vi*, on the other hand, could be a reduced form of the additive marker *viina* 'also, as well' (Guérois 2021), which is also involved in the formation of NO LONGER. Possibly then, the diachronic direction for this expression runs (NO LONGER >) STILL > 'only'.

3.4.3 Thus far only

3.4.3.1 Introduction

In this subsection, I discuss a use in which a STILL expression signals a combination of temporal inclusion 'thus far' and negated existential quantification 'only'. The Xhosa example (139) is an illustration. Here, the collocation of the STILL expression *sa-* and the perfective aspect inflection signals that the speaker remains in a transitory state of having eaten nothing but mango.

(139) Xhosa
*Ndi-**sa**-ty-**e*** *imengo.*
SUBJ.1SG-still-eat-PFV NCL9.mango
'(So far) I've only eaten mango (e.g. out of more foods that are on offer).'
(my field notes)

The use I discuss here differs from the STILL-exclusive coexpression addressed in Section 3.4.2 in that temporal notions are always present. It is also distinct from the use of STILL expressions in scalar contexts (Section 2.2.2) in that it does not require the set of alternatives to be ordered. For instance, example (139) presupposes no ranking of food items nor any particular order in which they would be consumed.

3.4.3.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.9 lists the five expressions in my sample that have the 'thus far only' use. As can be gathered, these expressions stem from three macro-areas and come in two primary flavours. In the first type, which is found with three Bantu languages in the sample, the relevant reading arises only in collocation with the perfective aspect inflection. No such collocational restriction is found, on the other hand, with Mateq *bayu* and Culina *-kha*. In what follows, I first address the last two items and then turn to the Bantu cases.

Table 3.9: 'Thus far only' use

Macro-Area	Language	Expression	Collocation	Appendix
Africa	Ruuli	*kya-*	With PFV	B.12.2.5.1
	Southern Ndebele	*sa-*	With PFV	B.14.2.6.1
	Xhosa	*sa-*	With PFV	B.19.2.6.1
Papunesia	Mateq	*bayu*[a]	n/a	F.12.2.2, F.12.2.3.1
S. America	Culina	*-kha*	n/a	G.2.2.2

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[a] Inclusion in the sample is tentative.

3.4.3.3 A closer look: Mateq *bayu* and Culina *-kha*

The examples in (140, 141) illustrate Mateq *bayu* and Culina *-kha*. In both cases, the expressions signal not only the persistence of one situation, but also evoke a discontinuation in the form of a follow-up event.

(140) Mateq

Bayu	*kurak~kurak*	*tubiq.*
still	bubble~REDUPL	rice

'The rice was [still] bubbling (implies an expectation that once the rice has bubbled it will be scooped out and eaten).' (Connell 2013: 137–138)

(141) Culina

A: *Ami wadani?*
'A mãe está dormindo? [Is mother sleeping?]'

B: *Nowe ra-ni* ***hapi na-kha-ni.***
3:not_be AUX-DECL.F bathe 3:AUX-still-DECL.F
'Não (está), ela ainda está tomando banho (antes de logo aparecer). [No she isn't, **she's still bathing** (**before showing up after**.)]' (Tiss 2004: 184)

As for Culina *-kha*, Tiss (2004: 183) describes its function in examples like (141) as "before something else happens, the situation in question still continues for a limited time".[19] While the descriptions by Boyer (2020) and Dienst (2014: 126) make no reference to a subsequent event, they both translate the marker as 'still'. When taken together, these descriptions give a relatively solid indication that persistence forms part of the relevant sense of *-kha*. The inclusion of Mateq *bayu* in the sample is more tentative. According to Connell (2013: 137), this expression "indicates a type of imperfective aspect. More specifically, … an action which temporally precedes another anticipated action or event." Connell (2013) also applies the label "imperfective" to *mege* 'still' and *degeq* 'constantly, keep doing'. I take this as an indication that he uses it as a synonym for persistence, an interpretation that is supported by his gloss 'still.only'. This would also explain why there are two attestations in Connell's grammar that feature *bayu* together with the event quantifier *sidah* 'once' and an anterior viewpoint; one of these examples is given in (142). As I discuss in Section 2.2.2, in a language like English this type of usage can be arrived at compositionally by a STILL expression taking scope over a restrictive operator; see (143).

(142) Mateq
Okoq ***bayu sidah*** *téq.*
1SG still once this
'I've never done this before (lit. I've only done this once (i.e. now)).' (Connell 2013: 150)

(143) English
The Seasiders have ***still only had one*** *game televised this season.*
(found online)

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[19] In the original Portuguese: "antes de algo novo acontecer, a situação em questão ainda continua por um período limitado".

Assuming that the above interpretations of the two markers are adequate, Mateq *bayu* and Culina -*kha* constitute enriched still expressions which require a discontinuation scenario that corresponds to a follow-up situation.

3.4.3.4 A closer look: The Bantu cases

I now turn to Ruuli *kya-* and Southern Ndebele and Xhosa *sa-*. With these expressions a 'thus far only' reading requires the perfective aspect inflection. This is shown in the Xhosa illustration in (139) above and in the Ruuli example (144). In (144), the addition of restrictive *ereere* appears to emphasise the restrictive reading.

(144) Ruuli
*Yee n-**kya**-byal-**ire*** *ba-ala* *ba-ereere*
yes subj.1sg-still-give_birth_to-pfv ncl2-girl ncl2-only
'Yes, I have so far given birth only to girls.' (Molochieva et al. 2021: 87)

In light of the inflectional restriction, a brief excursion about the interplay between grammatical aspect and the lexical make-up of situations in Bantu is in order. A characteristic feature shared by most languages from this family is that many ongoing states are depicted via the combination of so-called "inchoative" verbs together with what is commonly referred to as the "perfective" or "perfect" inflection; see Crane & Persohn (2019) for an overview. Example (145a) illustrates this with the Xhosa verb *dana* 'be(come) disappointed'. Crucially, in the stative reading the perfective aspect inflection is compatible with the still expression *sa-*, as shown in (145b).

(145) Xhosa
a. *U-Sipho* *u-dan-ile.*
ncl1a-S. subj.ncl1-be(come)_disappointed-pfv
'Sipho is disappointed.'
b. *U-Sipho* *u-**sa**-dan-**ile***
ncl1a-S. subj.ncl1-still-be(come)_disappointed-pfv
'Sipho is still disappointed.' (my field notes)

Given the central role the perfective aspect paradigms play in the depiction of stative situations, it comes as no surprise that such a construal can sometimes be coerced and/or has become idiomatic with verbs that do not *per se* lexicalise a resultant state. For instance, Southern Ndebele *akha* 'build' allows for a stative construal as 'live, inhabit' in the perfective aspect, a collocation that is compatible with the still expression *sa-*; see (146).

(146) Southern Ndebele
*U-s-**akh-e*** *phambi kw-esi-tolo.*
subj.ncl1-still-build-pfv front loc-of.ncl9-store
'S/he is **still living** in front of the store (lit. ... has still built ...).'
cf. #*Usakhe indlu.* (intended: 'S/he has still built a house.')
(Crane & Persohn 2021: 275)

3.4.3.5 Discussion: The Bantu cases

Against the backdrop of the facts just laid out, Crane & Persohn (2021) suggest that the 'thus far only' reading in Bantu also has its root in coercion. A class of predicates that readily offer themselves to this process are those that describe telic situations which form one among several steps in a series, such as laying eggs ⇒ brooding ⇒ raising chicks in (147). With these predicates, once the situation depicted in the clause culminates, the subject argument can easily be construed as being in an interim state brought about by one event and preceding a second one.

(147) Southern Ndebele
Ikukhu ***i-sa-bekele.***
ncl9.chicken subj.ncl9-still-lay_eggs.pfv
'The chicken has (**only**) **laid these eggs** (i.e. it has not yet started brooding).' (Crane & Persohn 2021: 275)

While Crane & Persohn (2021) only deal with Southern Ndebele and Xhosa, the Ruuli example (148) suggests a convergent evolution. Here, the weaning of a child is an intermediate stage in a natural development sequence.[20]

(148) Ruuli
Eirai budi ni-ba-kya-li ku-leeta
in_the_past previously when-subj.ncl2-still-cop ncl15(inf)-bring
bi-ni eby-a nasare, aka-ana
ncl8-prox ncl9-assoc nursery ncl12-child

---

[20] The first instance of *kya-* in (148) forms part of a not yet construction ('were still to bring > hadn't yet brought'); see Section 2.3.1. In subordinate contexts this construction serves to mark precedence ('when they hadn't brought yet > before they brought'); see Section 2.5.3.3.

ka-kya-zw-ire=mbe ***oku*** ***ma-beere*** *nti*
SUBJ.NCL12-still-abandon-PFV=FOC NCL17(LOC) NCL6-breast COMP
ka-ab-e *ka-tandika* *oku-soma.*
SUBJ.NCL12-go-SBJV SUBJ.NCL12-start NCL15(INF)-read
'Long ago, before they brought these nurseries, [when] a child **has only stopped breastfeeding**, it would go and start studying.'
(Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2021, glosses added)

Crucially though, as examples like (139, 144) above show, in the Bantu languages this meaning has become more general to the extent that an inherent ranking or fixed sequence (other than the mere possibility of events occurring after one another) is no longer a prerequisite, similar to the cases of Culina *-kha* and Mateq *bayu.*

3.4.4 Scalar restrictive

3.4.4.1 Introduction

In this section, I discuss the use of STILL expressions as scalar restrictive operators. Example (149) is an illustration. Here, Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua *-raq* serves the function of "indicat[ing] that the action/event of the clause was an extreme measure, i.e., not carried out to an ordinary degree or applied to the ordinary objects." (Weber 1989: 389).

(149) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua
Sasa-ta-raq*-shi* *hichqa-yku-n* *awkin-qa.*
difficult-OBJ-still-EVID strike-PFV-3 old_man-TOP
'With difficulty, the old man strikes the match (*sasataraqshi* implies that it was **only with considerable difficulty** that the old man was able to manage striking a match).' (Weber 1989: 389)

3.4.4.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.10 lists the four expressions in my sample which have a scalar restrictive use. As can be gathered, these are found in two geographically adjacent Romance languages, and in two unrelated languages from central/western South America. One out of the four expressions, Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua *-raq*, is an exclusive operator, i.e. it signals that none of the context propositions possibly holds true. The other three are *at least*-type restrictives. In the French and Spanish cases, this function is restricted to the protases of counterfactual conditionals.

Table 3.10: Scalar restrictive functions

M.-area	Language	Expr.	Constraint	Type	Appx.
Eurasia	French	*encore*	Counterfact. cond.	*At least* type	D.2.2.9.1
	Spanish	*todavía*	Counterfact. cond.	*At least* type	D.13.3.9.1
S. America	H.-H. Quechua	*-raq*	n/a	Exclusive	G.3.1.6.1
	Movima	*di:ra*(*n*)	n/a	*At least* type	G.4.2.3.1

In what follows, I first take a closer look at the case of *-raq* and then move on to Movima *di:ra*(*n*). Lastly, I discuss the case of French *encore* and Spanish *todavía* in conjunction with counterfactual protases.

3.4.4.3 A closer look and discussion: H.-H. Quechua *-raq*

The one scalar exclusive expression in my sample, Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua, was illustrated in (149) above. Another example is given in (150).

(150) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua
Context: A husband has been informed that his wife is having an affair with another man.
Lulla-ku-nki-chari ***kiki:-raq-mi*** *warmi-:-ta* *watqa-yku-shaq.*
lie-REFL-2-surely self:POSS.1-still-EVID wife-POSS.1-OBJ spy-PFV-FUT.1
Rika-yku-shaq.
see-PFV-FUT.1
'You must be lying! **I myself** will spy on my wife. I will see. (implies that **nothing** will determine the truth **short of** the speaker's spying on his wife)' (Weber 1989: 132, 389)

As can be seen in (149, 150), with *-raq* as a scalar restrictive, the focus denotation ranks higher on some salient scale than the alternatives under consideration. Thus, in (149) contextual alternatives include 'with ease' and 'with an average effort', and in (150) the discourse environment suggests second-hand information as a value ranking lower on an epistemic scale. The scalar restrictive function of *-raq* appears to also underlie several idiomatic uses, such as the construction illustrated in (151a), where it is conceivable that 'it sure is hot' goes back to 'nothing less than this is truly hot!'. Cases like (150) might motivate the dubitative collocation *-chu-raq* 'Q-still', illustrated in (151b).

(151) Huallaga-Húanuco Quechua

a. ***Chay-raq*** *aka-y-lla-q.*
that-still be_hot-INF-only-TOP
'It sure is hot!'

b. *Kanan hunaq tamya-nqa-**chu-raq**?*
now day rain-FUT.3-Q-still
'Will it perhaps rain today?'
(Weber 1989: 327, 446)

In addition, *-raq* also serves as a scalar exclusive operator with temporal frame expressions (Section 2.5.2.1). Like the cases in (149, 150), time-scalar restrictive *-raq* requires lower alternatives in the form of earlier times. What is more, some examples in Weber's grammar are compatible with both readings. For instance, example (152) involves an earliest time (once a decision has been made, possibly preceded by consulting with other authorities) as well as a specific degree (the highest authority).

(152) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua
Hatun awturidaa-chaw-raq*-mi musya-ka:-shun*
big authority-LOC-still-EVID know-PASS-FUT:1PL.INCL
*kapital-chaw-**raq**-mi.*
capital-LOC-still-EVID
'We will find out **only at the higher authority**, **in the capital** (and we will not find out any sooner).' (Weber 1989: 389)

The shared requirement that the common ground contain lower alternatives sets the time-scalar and general scalar restrictive functions of *-raq* apart from a third use, namely as 'for now, first' (Section 2.4.5.1). The latter is illustrated in (153), where the act of forming a skein is related to more advanced steps in a series.

(153) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua
Ese nuwal-wan tiñi-rku-r ***atapa-nchi:-raq****.*
that walnut-COM dye-then-ADV form_skein-1PL.INCL-still
'Dying it with that walnut, **we first form a skein**.' (Weber 1989: 388)

On the diachronic plane, van Baar (1997: 90–91) reports an examination of several Quechuan languages and suggests that the 'for now, first' use constitutes the historically original function of *-raq* and its cognates. In this scenario, the time-scalar restrictive 'not until' function of the same items could easily go back to a reanalysis of ‘first *p*, *q*’ as ‘not until *p*, *q*’. The more general restrictive function I discuss here, which shares the scale reversal with the temporal restrictive one, would then have been brought about by bridging contexts like (152). Assuming that van Baar is on the right track, then *-raq* as an exponent of STILL would be a separate offspring. As I discuss in some more detail in Section 2.4.5.1, it is likely that the development from ‘first, for now’ to marking persistence was preceded, or catalysed, by the expression of NOT YET *p* via ‘¬*p* for now’, which allows for an alternative parsing as STILL ¬*p*. Figure 3.6 is a graphic illustration of this assumed chain of developments. More comparative work on Quechuan is needed to see whether it holds up against further scrutiny.

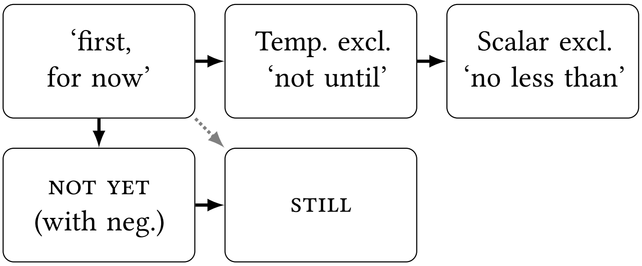


Figure 3.6: Hypothetical, partial diachronic network for H.-H. Quechua *-raq*

3.4.4.4 A closer look and discussion: Movima *di:ra*(*n*)

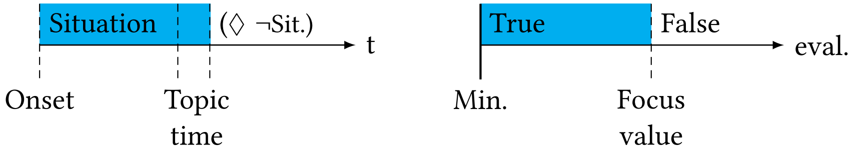
Moving over to the *at least*-type restrictives in my sample, example (154) illustrates Movima *di:ra*(*n*). Like the evaluative use of English *at least* (Kay 1992; Gast 2012), *di:ra*(*n*) invokes a bouletic scale. Thus, in (154) seeing a path is subjectively evaluated as a positive development, though it does not yield the maximum degree of contentment.

(154) Movima
Context: About how a place has changed over the course of the years.
Jayna ney ***di:ra, di:ra*** *ay jayna de:deye, jayna ay dede:ye*
already here still still PROX.N already see.IMPR already here see.IMPR
is to:wa neyru jema’a.
PL path here also
‘Ya aquí siquiera, siquiera ya se ve esto, ya siquiera se ve un camino aquí.’ [Now here you can **at least** see … now you can **at least** see a path.]’ (Haude 2021)

Example (155) is another illustration. Again, the common ground provides for propositions with higher-ranking contextual implications, corresponding to a less gruesome death, but also a lower ranking one in which the late witch receives no dignity whatsoever. The lower-ranking propositions are implied, for all rhetoric purposes, whereas the higher-ranking ones are false (cf. Gast 2012).

(155) Movima
Context: A woman who had the magic power of transforming into a jaguar has been caught and her jaguar hide has been burned, leading to her gruesome death.
Jayna ***diran*** *oso' wulako='is.*
already still DEM.N.PST bury=3PL
'Ya siquiera la enterraron (le dieron una sepultura cristiana porque era humana). [They **at least** buried her (they had a Christian funeral for her, because she was human).]' (Haude 2021)

There is a striking conceptual similarity between *di:ra(n)* as an exponent of STILL and its 'at least' function. Thus, the phasal polarity function involves a situation that has progressed beyond its onset, but which has not reached its conceivable end. Likewise, *di:ra(n)* as a scalar restrictive marker involves a degree of evaluation that lies above the minimum, but below the conceivable maximum. The main differences lie in the nature of the scales and the status of the cut-off point. Figure 3.7 is a graphic illustration of these parallels. There is also a striking similarity to the STILL-as-marginality use (Section 3.2), except for the inverse ordering relation that goes along with the latter.



(a) STILL (b) *at least*-type restrictive

Figure 3.7: Graphic illustration of Movima *di:ra(n)*

3.4.4.5 A closer look and discussion: French *encore* and Spanish *todavía*

The topic of marginality brings me to the remaining two expressions in Table 3.10, French *encore* and Spanish *todavía*. These serve as *at least*-type restrictives whose focus is the protasis of a counterfactual conditional construction, where they signal a minimal requirement. This is illustrated in (156) for Spanish *todavía*, where having children is depicted as (close to) the lowest conceivable degree of responsibilities that would justify saving up money. French *encore* is shown in (157), where it is signalled that standing straight is the least one has to do to have so much as a chance of not being pointed out; note the two possible orders *encore si*/*si encore*.

(156) Spanish
¿Para qué ahorr-as?; ***todavía si tuvier-as*** ***hijo-s***
for what save_money-2SG still if have.PST.SBJV-2SG child-PL
esta-ría justificado.
COP-COND.3SG justified
'What are you saving money for? **If you at least had kids**, then it would make sense.' (RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. *todavía*, glosses added)

(157) French
Si encore* / *encore si tu te ten-ais droit, *tu*
if still still if 2SG REFL.2SG keep-PST.IPFV.2SG straight 2SG
aurais quelque chance de ne pas te faire montrer
have.COND.2SG some chance of NEG NEG OBJ.2SG make.INF show.INF
du doigt.
of:DEF.SG.M finger(M)
'**If you at least stood straight**, you'd have some chance of not being pointed out.' (Victtori & Fuchs 1996: 83, glosses added)

Both cases can be traced back to *encore* and *todavía* as markers of marginality. To briefly summarise from Section 3.2, the marginality use of STILL expressions addresses the question of whether or not a given entity falls within the bounds of a specific scale, such as the Spanish territory in (158a, 158b). As in these examples, marginality often invites a contrast between the topical argument and entities that fall outside the relevant scale.

(158) a. French
Irun, c'-est encore *l'-Espagne (et Hendaye,*
I. PROX.SG.M-COP.3SG still DEF.SG-Spain and H.
c'-est déjà la France).
PROX.SG.M-COP.3SG already DEF.SG.F France(F)

b. Spanish
Irún todavía es ***España*** *(y Hendaya ya es*
I. still COP.3SG Spain and H. already COP.3SG
Francia).
France
both: '**Irún is still in Spain** (and Hendaya is in France already).'
(Garrido 1991: 58, personal knowledge)

With this in mind, Victtori & Fuchs (1996: 83–84) point out that the initial French example (157) can be paraphrased with *encore* as a marker of marginality inside the apodosis clause; see (159). It then anaphorically refers to the proposition expressed in the antecedent clause, ranking it on a scale of efforts and evoking a contrast with alternative propositions. The same holds true for the Spanish example (156), as shown in (160).

(159) French
Si tu te ten-ais droit, ***tu aurais encore***
if 2SG REFL.2SG keep-PST.IPFV.2SG straight 2SG have.COND.2SG still
quelque chance *de ne pas te faire montrer du*
some chance of NEG NEG OBJ.2SG make.INF show of:DEF.SG.M
doigt.
finger(M)
'If you stood straight, **then you'd still have some chance** of not being pointed out.' (Victtori & Fuchs 1996: 83, glosses added)

(160) Spanish
¿Para qué ahorr-as?; si tuvier-as hijo-s ***todavía***
for what save_money-2SG if have.PST.SBJV-2SG child-PL still
est-aría justificado*.*
COP-COND.3SG justified
'What are you saving money for? If you had kids **it would still make sense**.' (personal knowledge)

What is more, French *encore* is sometimes prosodically set off from *si* 'if'. This is likely to have syntactic correlates, such that (161) can be parsed with *encore* inside the apodosis clause, while the protasis constitutes a parenthetical insertion. In the same vein, the Spanish example (156), repeated below, could also receive a reading in which *todavía* forms part of the apodosis clause 'it would still make sense', from which it is separated by a parenthetical protasis 'if you had kids'.

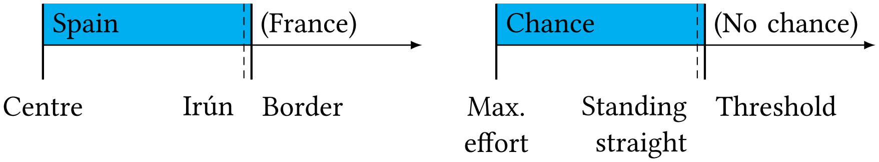
(161) French
Encore**, si c'-était six heure-s et demie,* ***vous
still if prox.sg.m-cop.pst.ipfv.3sg six hour-pl and half(f) 2pl
***pourriez décider de vous lever**.*
can.cond.2pl decide.inf of refl.2pl get_up.inf
'If it was half past six, then you'd still decide to get up.'
(Victtori & Fuchs 1996: 83, glosses added)

(156) Spanish
¿Para qué ahorr-as?; ***todavía*** *si tuvier-as hijo-s*
for what save_money-2sg still if have.pst.sbjv-2sg child-pl
***esta-ría justificado**.*
cop-cond.3sg justified
'What are you saving money for? If you at least had kids, then it would make sense.' (RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. *todavía*, glosses added)

In other words, and as far as their syntax is concerned, Spanish *todavía si* and French *encore si*/*si encore* 'if at least' can be understood as a result of rebracketing, as illustrated in (162). In this scenario, the alternative order *si encore* in French constitutes a subsequent development, which is in line with what is found with other uses of *encore* as a focus-sensitive operator (see e.g. Section 2.5.2.3).

(162) [*encore*/*todavía* [*si* p] q] > [*encore*/*todavía si* p] [q]

In semanto-pragmatic terms, the development just outlined involves just a minor conceptual leap, namely the conventionalisation of meaning components whose seeds are already planted in the marginality use. Thus, in the geographic examples (158a, 158b) the town of Irún is compared both to less marginal exemplars and to locations that fall entirely outside of the Spanish territory. In the same vein, in the counterfactual conditionals the possible world depicted in the protasis is compared to other hypothetical cases that are more likely to yield a true conditional relationship (e.g. making a greater effort, having greater responsibilites, etc.) as well as to the actual world, which does not. What is more, the marginality use goes along with an inverted scale, such as degrees of geographic *de*centrality in (158a, 158b). Similarly, conditional protases are a well-known scale-reversal context (e.g. Haspelmath 1997: 33–37), which makes the two a perfect match. A graphic comparison is given in Figure 3.8. Note that Figure 3.8 differs from the Movima illustration in Figure 3.7b above in that with Movima *di:ra*(*n*) the excluded values lie higher on a positively defined scale than the focus value.



(a) Illustration of (158)　(b) Illustration of (159)

Figure 3.8: Graphic illustration of (158) and (159)

Lastly, the examples I have discussed so far all featured an overt apodosis. However, the latter can be left implied, thereby giving way to counterfactual wishes and exclamations like the ones in (163, 164).

(163) French
Si encore *il faisait un effort!*
if still 3sg.m make.pst.ipfv.3sg indef.sg.m effort(m)
'**If at least** he made an effort!' (Victtori & Fuchs 1996: 83, glosses added)

(164) Spanish
… ***todavía si te pag-as-en,*** *pero, ya ve-s, veinte duros por artículo, una miseria.*
still if 2sg.obj pay-pst.sbjv-3pl but already see-2sg twenty nickles for article, indef.sg.f pittance(f)
'**If at least they paid you**, but you can see, twenty nickles for an article, a mere pittance.' (Delibes, *Cinco horas con Mario*, cited in Bosque 2016: 222, glosses added)

3.5 Broadly modal and interactional uses

3.5.1 Introduction

In this section, I address different uses that are either modal (in the widest possible sense of the term) or which are predominantly pragmatic and associated with specific types of speech acts. In Section 3.5.2 I discuss different functions pertaining to, or related to, concessivity. I then briefly turn to some other, more idiosyncratic connective functions in Section 3.5.3. Afterwards, I turn to uses in the realm of non-actualisation of a predicted event in Section 3.5.4. Lastly, in Sections 3.5.5 and 3.5.6 I address functions pertaining to specific types of questions and exclamations, respectively.

3.5.2 Concessive and related functions

In this subsection I survey the uses that STILL expressions have in concessive constructions and in notionally related functions. I understand the term CONCESSIVE as an umbrella for complex clause patterns that involve two propositions which are evaluated against a background assumption that they are generally incompatible (e.g. König 2006). It is well-known that STILL expressions are a common device in such constructions; see (165).

(165) English
*Peter studied hard for the exam. He **still** failed.*

In (165), *still* forms part of the second half of the concessive construction, namely the clause depicting a situation that holds true despite opposing circumstances. The relevant expressions may also figure in the clause that depicts this circumstance itself, as shown in in (166) for the collocation of Spanish *aún* plus the subordinator *que*.

(166) Spanish
Aun-que *Pedro estud-ió mucho, fall-ó el*
still-SUBORD P. study-PST.PFV.3SG much fail-PST.PFV.3SG DEF.SG.M
examen.
exam(M)
'**Although** Pedro studied hard, he failed the exam.'
(personal knowledge)

I follow Croft (2022: ch. 17) in referring to the clause depicting the unfavourable circumstance as the PROTASIS and to the clause that describes the unexpected outcome as the APODOSIS. This terminology has the advantage of readily covering not only concessives proper, but also CONCESSIVE CONDITIONALS. As the name suggests, the latter are constructions that combine the characteristics of concessive and conditional ones (e.g. Bossuyt 2023; Haspelmath & König 1998). Example (167) is an illustration, featuring a concessive conditional of the scalar kind; I address the various subtypes of concessive conditionals at the appropriate places below.

(167) Spanish
Aun-que *te qued-es sin dorm-ir, h-as de*
still-SUBORD REFL.2SG remain-SBJV.2SG without sleep-INF have-2SG of

prepar-ar bien este examen.
prepare-INF well PROX.SG.M exam(M)
‘**Even if** [it means that] you don’t get any sleep, you have to prepare well for this exam.’ (RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12e, glosses added)

Lastly, my choice of designations does not imply that the two clauses are always found in the order protasis–apodosis. Thus, in (168) the protasis follows the apodosis.

(168) Spanish
Despert-ó d-el coma … con un
wake_up-PST.PFV.3SG of-DEF.SG.M coma(M) with INDEF.SG.M
marcad-o acento australian-o, ***aun-que jamás ha***
marked-M accent(M) australian-M still-SUBORD never have.3SG
est-ado en ese continente
COP-PTCP in DEM.SG.M continent(M)
‘He woke up from the coma … with a marked Australian accent, **although he has never been to that continent**.’ (*Semana*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: 47.12t, glosses added)

In what follows, I first survey the use of STILL expressions within the protases of concessive constructions (Section 3.5.2.1) and then turn to the marking of apodoses (Section 3.5.2.2). Afterwards, I discuss derived, stand-alone uses as concessive interjections (Section 3.5.2.3) and a likely related counter-expectation function of Mandarin Chinese *hái* (Section 3.5.2.4).

3.5.2.1 Concessive protases

3.5.2.1.1 Introduction

Example (169) illustrates a STILL expression as a marker of a concessive protasis. Here Spanish *aún*, in combination with a gerund, signals that a declaration of love is an unusual embedding for the state-of-affairs depicted in the following apodosis, the absence of the word *love*. As in this case, all relevant instances in the sample involve multi-morphemic collocations.

(169) Spanish
Lo que más impresion-a de esas página-s es
3SG.N SUBORD more/most impress-3SG of DEM.PL.F page(F)-PL COP.3SG

que, ***aun trat-ándo-se de una declaración de***
SUBORD still constitute-PTCP-REFL.3 of INDEF.SG.F declaration(F) of
amor*, la palabra amor no aparec-e nunca.*
love DEF.SG.F word(F) love NEG appear-3SG never

'What's most impressive about those pages is that, **despite being a declaration of love**, the word *love* never appears.' (Martínez, *Santa Evita*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §27.5i, glosses added)

3.5.2.1.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.11 lists the expressions and collocations in my sample that mark concessive protases. On examination, several patterns emerge. In terms of areal distribution, the data suggest that STILL expressions serving as (part of) markers of concessive protases are predominantly a western Eurasian phenomenon, the sole exception in my sample being Rapanui. In syntactic terms, the majority of collocations in question feature some kind of deranking, at least *prima facie*, be it subordination (French *encore que*, Spanish *aun cuando*, *aunque*, *aun si*, *todavía que*) or the nominalisation of a predicate (Rapanui *nōatu te* and the Spanish *aún*-plus-gerund construction). Lastly, nearly all STILL expressions involved can also participate in marking concessive apodoses. The exception to both generalisations is German *noch so*. This collocation is also an outlier in that it is semantically much more specific, featuring only in universal concessive conditionals 'no matter how much'. In what follows, I first examine deranked protases in some more depth and then briefly turn to the case of German *noch so*.

Table 3.11: Concessive protases marking

M.-area	Language	Expression	Collocation		Appendix
Eurasia	French	*encore*	*encore que*	'still SUBORD'	D.2.2.10.2
	German	*noch*	*noch so*	'still so (much)'	D.3.1.8.1
	Spanish	*aún*	with gerund		D.13.2.8.1
		aún	*aun cuando*	'still when'	D.13.2.8.2
		aún	*aun-que*	'still-SUBORD'	D.13.2.8.3
		aún	*aun si*	'still if'	D.13.2.8.4
		todavía	*todavía que*	'still SUBORD'	D.13.3.10.1
Papunesia	Rapanui	*nō*	*nōatu te*	'still-away(?)ART'	F.15.2.5.1

3.5.2.1.3 A closer look: Deranked protases

It is well known that concessive constructions can convey a variety of pragmatic nuances (e.g. König 2006), being able to operate in different conceptual domains and to express various degrees of concession (see Bell 2010 on the latter). That is to say, despite the common denominator of marking an obstructing circumstance, the exact meaning contributions and usage patterns of the collocations in Table 3.11 are not necessarily congruent. What is more, some expressions and collocations are attested only in concessives proper, while others are restricted to concessive conditionals, mostly of the scalar kind 'even if'. Yet a third group can mark both.

The protases clauses governed by French *encore que* typically express concession on the speech-act level, signalling that the speaker may not have been justified in making a preceding statement (Hansen 2008: 194–195; Morel 1996: 10–12). As is normal for such rectificational concessives (König 2006), they follow the apodosis. Both points are illustrated in in (170). Here, the speaker restricts their previous statement, signalling that, despite their initial answer 'hard to say', there is indeed something definite to be stated about the subject matter. Marking a type of afterthought, *encore que* is often prosodically set off from the preceding clause and from the one it introduces. This, in turn, has given rise to a holophrastic, stand-alone use (Section 3.5.2.3).

(170) French

A: *Cette solidarité, est-ce une tendance montante ou déjà une survivance en crise?*
'Is this show of solidarity a growing trend or already an unstable relic from the past?'

B: [*Difficile de le savoir.*]$_{\text{APODOSIS}}$ [***Encore que***
difficult of 3sg.acc.m know still comp
l'-exemple américain … doit nous inciter à
def.sg-example(m) American.m must.3sg 1pl.acc incite.inf to
la prudence sur les bons sentiments.]$_{\text{PROTASIS}}$
def.sg.f caution(f) about def.pl good.pl.m feeling(m).pl
'Difficult to say. **Still**, the example of the United States should encourage us to be sceptical about finer feelings.' (*Nouvel Observateur*, cited in Hansen 2008: 192, glosses added)

The Spanish collocation *todavía que*, which in the present-day language is restricted to American varieties, has been described as typically contributing an additive nuance. Thus, according to Morera (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8o), it can often be paraphrased as *encima de que* p 'on top of *p*'. This fully mirrors how *todavía* as a marker of a concessive apodosis clause tends to feature a notion of '*p*, on top of that *q*'. Example (171) is an illustration.

(171) Spanish
Context: She shouldn't be ungrateful.
¡Todavía que *la dej-amos entr-ar, contest-a con*
still SUBORD 3SG.ACC.F let-1PL enter-INF reply-3SG with
sarcasmo-s!
sarcasm-PL
'**Even though/as if it weren't sufficient that** we let her in, she responds with ridicule.' (Gotbeter, *La prudencia*; cited in Bosque 2016: 206, glosses added)

As far as the discourse status of the proposition is concerned, with French *encore que* and Spanish *aun cuando*, *aunque* this is tied to the choice of mood. The indicative marks an assertion, as in (170) above, whereas the subjunctive signals given information that is commented upon. In Spanish, the latter configuration can also yield a scalar concessive conditional; see (172). Both types of readings are also available with the Spanish *aún*-plus-gerund construction (which does not feature mood inflection), whereas the collocation *aun si* appears to always mark scalar concessive conditionals.[21]

(172) Spanish
Aun-que llueva *sal-go.*
still-SUBORD rain.SBJV.3SG go_out-1SG
i. 'Even if it is raining, I am going out.'
ii. 'Even though it's raining [given information], I am going out.'
(personal knowledge)

Scalar concessive protases governed by *aunque* lie at the heart of the complex particle *aunque sea* 'so much as', lit. 'even if it were' (Section 3.3.4). Example (173) is an illustration of this expression.

(173) Spanish
Si dices ***aun-que sea*** *una* ***palabra****, v-as a*
if say.2SG still-SUBORD COP.SBJV.3SG INDEF.SG.F word(F) go-2SG to

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[21] The question of mood selection is slightly more complex in the case of *aun si*, as *si* 'if' brings with it a constraint against the present subjunctive (RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.8d).

ten-er *problema-s.*
have-INF problem-PL
'If you say **even one word** (lit. if you say [something], even if it were a word), you'll get into trouble.' (Gast & van der Auwera 2011: 356)

Lastly, Spanish *aunque* can combine with *más* 'more, most' to mark universal concessive conditionals 'no matter how much' (Appendix D.13.2.8.5). This is illustrated in (174). The semantics at play is fairly straightforward: from the assertion that the conditional relationship holds under the most adverse circumstance (the contribution of *más*), it normally follows that it holds across the entire set of conceivable circumstances.

(174) Spanish
A vec-es *lo* *mejor* *es* *alej-ar-se* ***aun-que***
at time-PL DEF.SG.N best COP.3SG withdraw-INF-REFL.3 still-SUBORD
más ***te*** ***duela.***
more/most OBJ.2SG hurt.SBJV.3SG
'Sometimes the best thing to do is to distance yourself, **no matter how much it might hurt**.' (found online, glosses added).

3.5.2.1.4 Discussion: Deranked protases

I now turn to the question of what motivates the recruitment of STILL expressions in deranked concessive protases, and this issue is best approached from a diachronic angle. To anticipate some of the following discussion, in all cases the link to phasal polarity appears to be an indirect one, mediated by other functions of the same items, primarily ones pertaining to additivity. This is, of course, a manifestation of a more far-reaching tendency for additives to be employed in the marking of concessive protases (Forker 2016; König 1985).

Thus, Spanish *aún* is not only a phasal polarity expression, but also serves as a scalar additive marker 'even' (Section 3.3.4). As has been repeatedly observed in the literature, this function lies without doubt at the heart of the relevant collocations (e.g. Elvira 2005; Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern 2014; RAE-ASALE 2009).[22] This is most obvious in the case of scalar concessive conditionals like the one in (175). Here *aún* as 'even' signals that its focus denotation, the proposition contained in the subordinate clause, yields a particularly informative statement 'even *p* being the case, *q*'. This licenses the inference that the conditional relationship also holds true under less antagonistic circumstances (cf. König 1991: 80).

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[22] In the case of *aún* plus gerund, additional motivation is found in the fact that gerunds in peripheral position by themselves allow for a concessive reading (RAE-ASALE 2009: §27.5g).

(175) Spanish
Aun-que te qued-es sin dorm-ir, *h-as de*
still-SUBORD REFL.2SG remain-SBJV.2SG without sleep-INF have-2SG of
prepar-ar bien este examen.
prepare-INF well PROX.SG.M exam(M)
'**Even if** [it means that] **you don't get any sleep**, you have to prepare well for this exam.' (RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12e, glosses added)

Such concessive conditionals based on *aún* as 'even' not only allow for a compositional analysis, but they also correspond to the earliest respective attestations (Elvira 2005; Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern 2014). From there, one can assume a gradual extension to marking ordinary concessives. This is a cross-linguistically common development (König 1991: 82, 2006) and motivated by the fact that the boundary between the two types is fluid, as was seen for *aunque* in (172) above:

> In many, and perhaps all, languages, concessive conditionals with focus particles can be used in a factual sense, i.e., in exactly the same way as genuine concessive clauses e.g., English *Even if he IS my brother, I am not going to give him any more money.* (König 2006: 822)

By and large, the case of the Spanish collocations with *aún* is reflected in French *encore que*. While Hansen (2008) takes this collocation to be directly related to STILL, several points speak against this assumption, at least as far as its ultimate origins are concerned. First, if persistence were to lie at the heart of *encore que*, one would expect it to have an anaphoric function and hence to mark an apodosis, in the same way that STILL involves an anaphorically retrieved topic time (i.e. '*p*, [at that time] still *q* > '*p*, nonetheless *q*'). But *encore que* clauses are semantically protases, as they depict an opposing circumstance, notwithstanding their present-day preference for introducing afterthoughts. Secondly, a precursor of this construction, albeit without the subordinator *que*, is attested in early documents (Hansen 2008: 197). Crucially, these attestations feature the subjunctive mood and mark scalar concessive conditionals, as in (176).

(176) Old French, ca. 12th century

encore	***ait***	***ele***	***en***	***son***	***tresor //***	***mil***	***mars***
still	have.SBJV.3SG	3SG.F	in	POSS.3SG:SG	vault	thousand	mark.PL

d'-argent	***et***	***mil***	***mars***	***d'-or****,*	*// si*	*est*	*povre*	*n'-i a*
of-silver	and	thousand	mark.PL	of-gold	if	COP.3SG	poor	NEG-EXIST

celi //	*por*	*qu'-ele*	*ait*	*avarisse*	*en*	*li*
REL	for	SUBORD-3SG.F	have.SBJV.3SG	avarice	in	3SG

'**and even if she has a fortune** // **of a thousand marks of silver and a thousand marks of gold**, // she is poor there is no-one [who isn't] // provided she has avarice within her.' (Gautier d'Arras, *Eracle*, cited in Hansen 2008: 197, glosses added)

While French *encore* does not function as a full-fledged scalar additive in the way that Spanish *aún* does, it has a comparable additive function 'as late as' in collocation with temporal foci (Section 2.5.2.3). The latter use is attested from roughly the same historical period as the construction in (176), and it takes only a short conceptual leap from 'as late as' to 'even if', namely a mapping from times to possible worlds. What is more, an origin in scalar concessive conditionals would also be in line with the history of its Catalan (not in my sample) cognate *encara que* (see Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern 1995). In a nutshell, then, all these points suggest that French *encore que* started out as marking the protases of scalar concessive conditionals, from where it spread to the protases of concessives proper. These would then ultimately become increasingly used in a postponed manner. To Hansen's credit, it is possible that the very last step of the scenario just outlined was motivated by the presence of the STILL expression *encore*, in the sense that

> with "encore que *p*" the speaker retrospectively ... suggest[s] that she is not sure that the border between a negative conclusion ~r (which would be the expected ...) and the positive conclusion r ... has actually been crossed after all. (Hansen 2008: 212)

Additivity also seems to play a role in the case of Spanish *todavía que* 'still SUBORD', which was illustrated in (171) above. As discussed in the context of that example, *todavía que* has been described as often bringing about a notion of 'on top of *p*, as if it weren't enough that *p*'. In this contribution, it fully mirrors *todavía* as a marker of concessive apodoses, the main difference being one of cataphora in the case of *todavía que* protases, as opposed to the anaphoric *todavía* apodoses (Bosque 2016).

Lastly, the one exception to additivity as playing a major role is the Rapanui *nōatu*-plus-nominalisation construction. The composition of this collocation, illustrated in (177a), is not fully understood. It might involve the still expression *nō*, which also serves as an exclusive marker ‘just, only’ (Section 3.4.2), together with directional *-atu* ‘away’. The directional morpheme also forms part of another concessive construction *ka atu* ‘even if’ (Kieviet 2017: 569–570) and it is possible that *nōatu* is based on a meaning along the lines of ‘just move away from *p*’ >‘never mind *p*’. Alternatively, *nōatu* might be a non-compositional loan from Tahitian (Kieviet 2017: 570 fn34). No matter what its history may be, it is clear that the concessive use is just a special case of a much broader adnominal ‘never mind’ function; see (177b).

(177) Rapanui

a. *Pura oho au ki a ia mo u’i pauró te tapati,* ***noatu te***
hab go 1sg to cont 3sg ben see every art week nevermind art
roa o te kona hare
long of art place house
‘I visit him regularly every week **even though he lives far away**.’
(Du Feu 1996: 59)

b. ***Nōatu*** *tō’ona ture mai.*
never_mind poss.3sg scold hither
‘**Don’t mind** his scolding.’ (Kieviet 2017: 305)

3.5.2.1.5 A closer look and discussion: German *noch so*

Up to this point, I have set aside the German collocation *noch so*. In its concessive function, this complex item is restricted to universal concessive conditionals ‘no matter how much’, as illustrated in (178).

(178) German
Du kann-st noch so *(****sehr****)* ***bitt-en****, es wird dir nichts*
2sg can-2sg still so very ask-inf 3sg.n will.3sg 2sg.dat nothing
nütz-en.
be_of_use-inf
‘**You can beg as much as you like**, it won’t help.’
(Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *noch*, glosses added)

Noch so is clearly based on *noch* in additive function (Haspelmath & König 1998; Métrich & Faucher 2009: 634; Shetter 1966). This is reflected in the fact that it receives focal stress here, in the same way it does when used as an additive with entities of the same kind ‘another’ (Section 3.3.2). According to the DWDS (BBAW n.d. s.v. *noch*), the collocation started out as *noch ein-mal so* ‘still one-time so, i.e. by another identical degree’. In the present-day language, the item *so* also serves to signal a particularly high degree of some property (e.g. BBAW n.d. s.v. *so*), such that the *noch so* can be understood along the lines of ‘with any additional degree conceivable’ (Métrich & Faucher 2009: 634; Shetter 1966). Outside of my sample, a rough parallel can be found in the Turkish construction illustrated in (179).

(179) Turkish
Bu *konu-da* ***ne*** ***kadar*** ***iyi*** ***bir*** ***kitap*** *yaz-sa-n=**da***
PROX subject-LOC what much good one book write-COND-2SG=also
meşhur ol-a-ma-yacak-sın.
famous become-can-NEG-FUT-2SG
‘**However good a book** you write on this subject, you won’t become famous.’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 435, glosses added)

Lastly, concessive *noch so* is also found as a focus quantifier outside of concessive constructions in the stricter sense, as in (180).

(180) German
Sie bekam nur strahlende, glückliche Aug-en, und damit
3SG.F got.3SG only shining.ACC.PL happy.ACC.PL eye-PL and thereby
sag-te sie mehr als ***mit*** ***noch*** ***so*** ***vielen*** ***Wort-en****.*
say-PST.3SG 3SG.F more than with still so many.DAT.PL word-DAT.PL
‘Her eyes became only radiant and happy, and thereby she said more than **any amount of words** [could possibly tell].’ (Remarque, *Drei Kameraden*, cited in Shetter 1966: 62, glosses added)

3.5.2.2 Concessive apodoses

3.5.2.2.1 Introduction

In this subsection I discuss STILL expressions as markers of concessive apodoses. Example (181) is an illustration from Mandarin Chinese. Here, *hái* highlights the presumed incompatibility between the two propositions ‘(it is) such a special occasion’ and ‘you forgot about it’.

(181) Mandarin Chinese
Zhème hǎo de shèr, ***nǐ hái gěi wàng le****!*
such good ASSOC event 2SG still give forget PFV
'Such a special occasion, **and still you forgot about it**!'
(Wiedenhof 2015: 149)

3.5.2.2.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.12 lists the expressions and collocations in my sample that occur as markers of concessive apodoses. As can be gathered, STILL expressions in this function are a common occurrence. Including borderline and tentative cases, the marking of concessive apodoses is attested for 19 expressions in 17 languages. In addition one could list the case of German *dennoch* 'nonetheless', which historically goes back to *denn-noch* 'then-still'.[23] In geographic terms, the marking of concessive apodoses is attested for all macro-areas minus Australia,[24] which makes this one of the geographically most widespread coexpression patterns in my sample. It is noteworthy that the vast majority of cases involve independent grammatical words or bound roots, rather than affixes or clitics. In some cases from western Eurasia, the marking of concessive apodoses clauses plus ellipsis has also given rise to concessive-evaluative interjections; I discuss those instances separately in Section 3.5.2.3.

In what follows, I first take a closer look at some nuanced differences in meaning and use between the various expressions and collocations in question. I then address some structural differences to phasal polarity functions of the same items. Lastly, I turn to the question of the motivation underlying this coexpression pattern.

3.5.2.2.3 A closer look: Flavours of concession

As I pointed out in Section 3.5.2.1, concession comes in many flavours and strengths, which means that the expressions and collocations in Table 3.12 are not necessarily congruent in their meaning and use. Thus, for the French *encore*-plus-inversion construction,[25] Hansen (2008: 196) remarks that it signals that

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[23] Marking concessive apodoses is also attested for cognates of my sample expressions, including the Catalan cognate of French *encore*, *encara* (Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern 1995) and Lao *ñang*, cognate with Thai *yaŋ* (Enfield 2007: 208–209).

[24] For an Australian candidate from outside my sample, see Bowern (2012: 649–651) on Bardi (Nyulnyulan) *gardi*.

[25] *Inversion* here refers to a diachronically older order of pronominal clitics that is found in formal registers and is triggered by certain conjunctional adverbials; see Hansen (2016: 336–337).

Table 3.12: Marking concessive apodoses. *Notes*: *: Only one example in the data. †: Borderline cases of STILL expressions. ‡: On the borderline between STILL and concession; see discussion below. §: Only attested in elicited data, not in the extensive text collections.

M.-area	Language	Expr.	Collocation	Appx.
Africa	Chuwabu	*=vi**	w/ future tense	B.5.2.5.1
	Swahili	*bado*		B.15.2.7.1
	Tashelhyit	*sul*		B.16.1.8.1
	Tunisian Arabic	*bāqi*†		B.18.3.3.1
Eurasia	English	*still*		D.1.1.7.1
		still	*but still*	D.1.1.7.2
	French	*encore*	w/ clitic inversion	D.2.2.10.3
		encore	*et encore* ‘and still’	D.2.2.10.4
		toujours†	*toujours est-il que* ‘it’s still SUBORD’	D.2.3.7.1
	Hebrew (Modern)	*ʕadayin*		D.4.2.6.1
	Mandarin Chinese	*hái*		D.9.2.8.1
	Spanish	*aún*		D.13.2.8.6
		aún	*aun así* ‘even so’	D.13.2.8.7
		todavía		D.13.3.10.2
	Thai	*yaŋ*		D.14.2.6.1
	Udihe	*xai*(*si*)		D.16.2.6.1
North America	Classical Nahuatl	*oc*	*ic oc*/*oc ic*‡ ‘thereby still’	E.1.2.7.1
	Creek	(*i*)*monk*§		E.2.2.6.1
	Kekchí	*toj*		E.5.1.6.1
Papunesia	Chamorro	*ha’*		F.4.2.5.1
	Rapanui	*nō*		F.15.2.5.2
		nō	*te me’e nō* ‘ART thing still’	F.15.2.5.3
South America	H.-H. Quechua	*-raq*‡	1SG plus FUT	G.3.1.7.1

"the preceding discourse has not exhausted the topic" and that "the matter under discussion is not as simple as it appears". This is illustrated in (182).

(182) French
"Une enquête menée par une psychologue auprès de ces familles montre que les enfants ont tout à y gagner", préciset-il.
'"Research carried out by a female psychologist on these families shows that the children have everything to gain from it", he specifies.'

Mais ***encore faut-il*** ***pouvoir s'-entendre***
but still be_necessary.3SG-3SG.M can.INF REFL.3-understand.INF
entre parent-s*, sans craindre que l'-autre ne*
between parent-PL without be_afraid.INF COMP DEF-other NEG
mette fin, sans crier gare, à l'-accord officieux.
put.SBJV.3SG end without warning to DEF.SG-agreement(M) unofficial.M
'**Still, the parents do have to be able to get along**, without being afraid that the other will suddenly put an unexpected stop to their unofficial agreement.' (*Marie-Claire*, cited in Hansen 2008: 193–194, glosses added)

The French collocation *et encore* 'and still', on the other hand, serves to cancel potential inferences (Hansen 2008: 195). This is shown in (183). Here, the first sentence might lead the addressee to conclude that Max is liked by his teacher, given that he is apparently a good student. This conclusion is ruled out in the second sentence.

(183) French
Max aura une très bonne note. ***Et encore***
M. have.FUT.3SG INDEF.SG.F very good.F grade(F) and still
son prof ne l'-aime guère.
POSS.3SG:SG.M teacher(M) NEG 3SG.ACC-love.3SG much
'Max will get a very good grade. **Even so**, his teacher doesn't like him very much.' (Hansen 2008: 195, glosses added)

The third French marker in Table 3.12, the fixed expression *toujours est-il que* 'still it's the case that', marks a weak form of concession, in which the speaker only states the facts, without taking a stance (Hansen 2008: 199–201); see (184). Note that *toujours* is a borderline case of a STILL expression though, perhaps better considered a marker of stasis.

(184) French

A: *Ton ami Fernand ne me plaît pas du tout: il est trop arrogant.*
‘I don’t care for your friend Fernand at all: he’s too arrogant.’

B: *Comme tu veux.* ***Toujours est-il*** *qu-’il*
as 2sg want.2sg still cop.3sg-3sg.m subord-3sg.m
est beau mec.
cop.3sg attractive.sg.m guy(m)
‘Fine. He’s good-looking, **though**.’ (Hansen 2008: 199, glosses added)

Tunisian Arabic *bāqi*, likewise a borderline case of a still expression, is only attested in the apodoses of certain concessive conditionals. This is illustrated in (185) for an alternative concessive conditional.

(185) Tunisian Arabic
T-ikbir wulla t-usġur ***il-lifʕa***
3sg.f-be_big.ipfv or 3sg.f-be_small.ipfv def-viper(f)
muxwf-a bāqi.
dangerous-sg.f still
‘Qu’elle se trouvé à être grande ou petite, la vipère est toujours dangereuse. [Big or small, **a viper is dangerous no matter what**.]’
(Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 366, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

English *still* in concessive use is commonly described as stressing coherence, whereas competing markers like *yet* and *nonetheless* invoke a more strongly contrastive notion (Bell 2010; König & Traugott 1982; Ranger 2018: ch. 5; among others). This is shown in (186).

(186) English

a. Context: Universality has been the topic of discussion.
The death of man is unique. ***Still*** *it is universal.*

b. Context: Universality is a new, contrasting fact.
The death of man is unique. ***Yet*** *it is universal.*
(König & Traugott 1982: 175)

In the collocation *but still*, this expression can occur at the right periphery of the sentence, without governing a second clause. In structural terms, this brings this fixed phrase close to the concessive interjections I discuss in Section 3.5.2.3. As far as its discourse function is concerned, Lewis (2019: 130) describes *but still* as providing “a retrospective speaker comment signalling that the unfavourable situation just expressed is bearable or can be disregarded”. Example (187) is an illustration.

(187) English
I don't know what they've done to it to make it spread ***but still****.*
(BNC, cited in Lewis 2019: 129)

Spanish *todavía* as a concessive marker, on the other hand, often goes along with an additive notion along the lines of 'on top of that' (RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8ñ); see (188a). This nuance probably lies at the heart of the oddity that Ederly & Curcó (2016) observe for cases like (188b), where the two propositions are in conflict with each other and hence do not readily allow for an additive interpretation. The additive element of concessive *todavía* is furthermore mirrored in its cataphoric, protasis-introducing counterpart *todavía que* (Section 3.5.2.1).

(188) Spanish

a. *Los obrer-o-s solo sab-en hac-er huelga-s y pon-er*
DEF.PL.M worker-M-PL only know-3PL do-INF strike-PL and put-INF
petardo-s, ¡y ***todavía*** *pretend-en que se les*
firecracker-PL and still pretend-3PL SUBORD REFL.3 3PL.DAT
d-é la razón!
give-SBJV.3SG DEF.SG.F reason(F)
The workers only know how to go on strike and light up firecrackers, and **yet/on top of that** they want people to agree with them!' (Mendoza, *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta*; cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8ñ, glosses added)

b. # *Sí, Harry golpe-a a su perro.* ***Todavía*** *es*
yes H. beat-3SG ACC POSS.3SG dog still COP.3SG
un buen tipo..
INDEF.SG.M good.M guy(M)
(intended: 'Yes, Harry beats his dog. **Still**, he is a nice guy.')
(Ederly & Curcó 2016: 36, glosses added)

Other than the specimen discussed so far, two cases in my sample appear to lie on the intersection between marking persistence and concession. The first one involves Classical Nahuatl *oc*, more specifically, clauses introduced by *ic oc*/*oc ic* 'thereby still/still thereby' plus a verb in the prospective aspect inflection or a verb in the generic present; the latter case is illustrated in (189). Judging from Launey's (1986: 1264) description, this clause pattern expresses a persistent possibility despite unfavourable circumstances. The second fringe case involves

Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua *-raq* plus a future tense verb with a first person subject; see (190). This collocation is commonly used to signal that the speaker maintains a certain plan, despite what the addressee might assume (thus bordering on the prospective 'eventually' use I discuss in Section 2.4.4).

(189) Classical Nahuatl
Ic ***oc*** *palēhuī-lo in pil-huâ.*
thereby still help-PASS DET child-POSS.NMLZ
'Par ce procédé la mère est encore soulagée. [By this procedure the mother is still relieved.]' (Launey 1986: 1265, glosses added)

(190) Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua
*Ura-shaq-**raq**.*
do-FUT.1-still
'I will yet do it / I still intend to do it (despite your thinking that I won't).' (Weber 1989: 389)

3.5.2.2.4 A closer look: Structural and combinatory characteristics

Having discussed some nuances in meaning, I now turn to a few more abstract characteristics that set the use in concessive apodoses apart from its phasal polarity ancestor. The first difference pertains to aspectual compatibilities. Given that the situation in question need not persist in time, the use in the focus of this section is perfectly compatible with a perfective viewpoint and/or achievement predicates. For Mandarin Chinese, this was seen in (181) above. Example (191) is another illustration, featuring Tashelhyit *sul*.

(191) Tashelhyit
Context: Fox has tricked a man into giving him food and then rushed off. The man, however, was holding Fox's tail, which has torn off.
T-frḥ-t nit ***sul t-fl-t d abakku***
2SG-be_happy.PFV-2SG indeed still 2SG-leave.PFV-2SG VEN tail
***nnk ɣ ufus inu**!*
POSS.2SG at hand POSS.1SG
'You may be happy now, **but you left your tail in my hand**!'
(Stroomer 2001: 82, glosses added)

Relatedly, Kekchí *toj* in phasal polarity function does not normally combine with a negated predicate, whereas it does when it is used as a concessive marker; see (192).

(192) Context: Moon’s father has asked Thunder to kill Moon and Sun.
Toj *a’an* ***ink’a’*** *ki-r-aj.*
still 3SG NEG PFV.EVID:3SG.P-3SG.A-desire
‘He **still didn’t** want to kill them (despite his brother’s wishes).’
(Kockelman 2020: 462–463)

Distinctive differences may also be found on the syntactic level. Thus, the French *encore*-plus-inversion construction features a marked order of pronominal elements that is not available in the phasal polarity function. In English, clause-initial *still* can only serve as a concessive marker, and a parallel situation obtains with Modern Hebrew *ʔadayin*, illustrated in (193). Presumably, in both cases this is a syntactic reflection of the wider scope of the concessive use.

(193) Modern Hebrew
Im at rotsa ħofeš al tevi’i yeladim ... Agav, gam ba-hanaqa yordim be-miškal aval ha-ħaze mištane.
‘If you want freedom, don’t have children ... By the way, you’ll also lose weight when breastfeeding, but your breasts change.’
ʕadayin*, lo keday le-vater al ha-ħavaya*
still NEG worthwhile to-give_up on DEF-experience(F)
ha-zo.
DEF-PROX.SG.F
‘**Still**, you shouldn’t give up on this experience.’
(found online, glosses added)

3.5.2.2.5 Discussion: From STILL to marking concessive apodoses

In diachronic terms, it is safe to assume that the concessive functions of all expressions and collocations in Table 3.12 are secondary, given the well-established tendencies for meanings to become increasingly textual and expressive (Section 1.6.2). In most cases the concessive uses can be linked directly to phasal notions. Not only is the broader domain of expressions for continuity or coexistence is a well-known source of concessive markers (König 1985, 2006), but the historic primacy of STILL is perceivable in many etymologies and diachronic corpus studies. All of this raises the question of what motivates a development from signalling phasal polarity STILL to marking concessive apodoses. In broad strokes, it can be said that “[p]ersistence of a given state of affairs is continuity. Persistence of a given state of affairs in a context containing adverse factors that would normally render such persistence unlikely amounts to concession" (Ederly & Curcó 2016: 13).[26]

In slightly more hands-on terms, authors such as Deloor (2012), Ederly & Curcó (2016), König & Traugott (1982), Lewis (2019), and Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern (1995) point to cases like (194) as bridging contexts. Here, the preceding clause depicts a time that is so advanced that the situation's persistence can be reasonably questioned.[27] This allows for a concessive inference about the simultaneous incompatibility of the two states-of-affairs.

(194) English
*It is midnight and he is **still** working.* (König 1985: 276)

Works such as Ippolito (2004), König (1977), Michaelis (1993), on the other hand, stress the similarity between concession and the marginality use of STILL expressions. To briefly recapitulate from Section 3.2, the marginality use involves a metonymical transfer from times onto other scales and addresses the question of whether a given entity is included within the bounds of that scale. Example (195) is an illustration. By using *todavía* here, the speaker signals that Juan does not receive the greatest degree of sympathy from them, but unlike Pedro, he is somewhat likeable. The marginality use can thus lead to concessive overtones (cf. Hansen 2008: 174–175) along the lines of 'far from the best case, but it does count'.[28]

(195) Spanish
*A Juan **todavía** lo aguant-o, pero a Pedro no.*
ACC J. still 3SG.M.ACC tolerate-1SG but ACC P. NEG
'I still stand Juan, but not Pedro.' (Ederly & Curcó 2016: 3, glosses added)

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[26] For very similar statements see Jing-Schmidt & Gries (2009), Michaelis (1993), Kockelman (2020) and Yeh (1998), among others. For Modern Hebrew *ʕadayin*, Tsirkin-Sadan (2019) additionally stipulates influence from English. In light of the widespread attestation of STILL expressions as markers of a concessive relationship, this seems superfluous.

[27] Often, this is linked to the unexpectedly late scenario of STILL. My sample data is inconclusive here: as far as can be judged, most expressions in Table 3.12 are, in principle, compatible with the unexpectedly late scenario of STILL. The major exception seems to be Classical Nahuatl *oc*. The issue is further complicated by the question of relative chronology: a marker's compatibility at the time that the concessive functions arose need not be identical to those found on the synchronic plane.

[28] The marginality uses is attested for seven of the expressions in Table 3.12, namely English *still*, French *encore*, Mandarin Chinese *hái*, Modern Hebrew *ʔadayin*, Swahili *bado*, Tashelhyit *sul*, and Thai *yaŋ*.

Though the two approaches differ in their details, they ultimately agree that the recruitment of STILL expressions as markers of concessive apodoses involves the conventionalisation of an erstwhile inference rooted in aligning possible worlds with some scale: "worlds are arrayed with respect to the degree to which they favor the outcome in question; the least adverse (or most favorable) world is nearest the origin" (Michaelis 1993: 219).

In addition to these general bridging contexts, König (1985) points out two specific constellations that may catalyse the emergence and conventionalisation of a concessive inference. The first environment is clausemate negation, given that its felicitous use requires the corresponding affirmative (i.e. the more expected outcome) to be contained in the communicative common ground (e.g. Givón 1978). The second context are conditionals, which by themselves involve a mapping of propositions onto possible worlds. Both are at play in (196).

(196) English
Even if Bill pays me £200, I'm ***still not*** *going to do it.* (König 1977: 194)

Coincidentally, (196) also features the future tense. According to van Baar (1991: 141), this is another common environment in which STILL expressions come to serve as concessive markers, presumably because of the modal element inherent to predictions. As I have discussed above, it is the future tense inflection to which concessive readings of Huallaga-Huánuco Quechua *-raq* are restricted. The same is true of Chuwabu *=vi* (but see below). Relatedly, with Classical Nahuatl *oc*, a concessive interpretation is found in the prospective aspect, and in certain generic contexts, apparently always in conjunction with modal nuances about persistent possibilities.

3.5.2.2.6 Discussion: Other strands of motivation

Up to this point I have focussed on direct links between concessive apodoses and phasal polarity STILL (or its close marginality cousin). In some instances, motivation for the concessive function can be found in other functions of the same items. Thus, based on a diachronic corpus study, Hansen (2008: 197–199) discusses how the two relevant French constructions find additional motivation in the additive function of *encore* (Section 3.3.2). She specifically points to examples like (197). Here, the negated additive can be re-interpreted as a form of concession, countering a possible inference that someone who does not act as a judge may instead act as a counsel.

(197) Old French, 13th century

Car nus ne doit estre en nule querele juges et avocas, et, se li ples n'estoit pas devant li mes devant autre seigneur, mes toutes voies li ples pourroit venir par devant li por reson de ressort,

'For no man may be both judge and counsel in any dispute, and, if the case is not tried before him, but before some other lord, but might nevertheless come before him later in the event of an appeal,'

encore	***ne***	***doit***	***il***	***pas***	***estre***	***avocas.***
still	NEG	must.3SG	3SG.M	NEG	COP.INF	counsel

'**he cannot act as counsel**, **either/he still cannot act as counsel**.'

(de Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, cited in Hansen 2008: 197–198, glosses added)

As I hinted above, additivity appears to also play a role in the use of Spanish *todavía* as a concessive apodosis marker.[29] The two notions are, of course, intimately connected, in that they both invoke a sense of 'it doesn't end here'. Additivity likewise seems to be involved in some attestations of Udihe *xai*(*si*). Thus, in the texts I consulted, this expression not only figures in concessives proper, but it is also repeatedly attested as part of the apodoses of alternative concessive conditionals. These are a type of concessive conditionals that feature a disjunctive set of protases propositions (see Haspelmath & König 1998). Example (198) is an illustration.

(198) Udihe

Context: A man has eaten from a tiger's kill, but left two legs. He says to the tiger:

Ei	*zu:be*	*bugdi-we*	*sin-du*	*ne-gi-e-mi,*	*ali=de*	*go:=ko*
this	two	leg-ACC	2SG-DAT	put-ITER-PST-1SG	when=FOC	far=INDEF

da:=ka	*bi-mi*	***xai***	***o-lo***	***eme-gi:,***	***a-wa***	***dig'a***	***si.***
near=INDEF	COP-INF	still	here-LOC	come-ITER.IMP	that-ACC	eat.IMP	2SG

'I put these two legs aside for you. Whether you walk far away or close to here, **[just the same] come here and eat them**.'

(Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The tiger for Udihe people)

Example (199), which can be read as additive or as marking concession, suggests that additive functions of *xai*(*si*) at least partially motivate its use in alternative concessive conditionals.

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[29] Bosque (2016) speculates that further motivation might be found in the fact that *todavía* involves the universal quantifier *todo*/*toda*, which also figures in concessive expressions such as *con todo* lit. 'with everything'.

(199) Udihe
Context: Once upon a time there was a Chinese tsar. He buried people alive.
Ñuŋu-za se: i:ne-wene-mie bude-isi:-ni, buge-ini, e-si:-ni,
six-ten year come-CAUS-INF die-PFV.CVB-3SG bury-3SG NEG-PST-3SG
bude, ***xai buge-ini****.*
die still bury-3SG
When a person became sixty years old, he buried him, no matter whether he was dead or not. (lit. … he died, he buried him, he did not die, **he still/also buried him**).’ (Nikolaeva et al. 2003: 18–20)

Additivity, but of the scalar kind, doubtlessly lies at the heart of the Spanish collocation *aun así*. Example (200) is an illustration; see Section 3.3.4 on *aún* as scalar additive ‘even’. That is, despite superficial differences, this collocation is fully parallel to English *even so*.

(200) Spanish
El fácil acceso a este recurso tecnológic-o
DEF.SG.M easy access(M) to PROX.SG.M resource(M) tecnological-M
facili-ta su uso en las práctica-s pedagógic-a-s.
facilitate-3SG POSS.3 use in DEF.F.PL practice(F)-PL pedagogical-F-PL
Aun así, no es suficiente*.*
still SO NEG COP.3SG sufficient
Easy access to this technological resource facilitates its use in pedagogical practices. **Nonetheless, it is not sufficient**.’
(CORPES XXI, glosses added)

Not only additive functions can play into the development of STILL expressions as markers of concession. Thus, three of the relevant items lexicalise an exclusive sense ‘only’ (Section 3.4.2). These are Chamorro *ha’*, Chuwabu =*vi*, and Rapanui *nō*. Example (201) illustrates Chamorro *ha’*.

(201) Chamorro
Maseha un fa’håhafa håo, ***ya~ya-hu*** ***håo ha’****.*
although 2SG make_into_what.CONT 2SG CONT~like-1SG.RL 2SG still
‘Even though you’re making yourself into something else, **I’ll still like you**.’ (Chung 2020: 335)

It is conceivable that a concessive reading can be derived from the exclusive function, namely by rendering alternative propositions which are more in line with the assumed incompatibilities false. Put differently, in examples like (201) there is one and only one outcome, no matter the circumstances. In lieu of data on the relative chronology of the three expressions' individual functions, it might be that their restrictive and phasal polarity functions conspired towards the same outcome. Lastly, an exclusive function lies without doubt at the heart of the Rapanui concessive phrase *te me'e nō* 'ART thing still/only', which is illustrated in (202a). This complex marker instantiates a productive construction *te* N *nō* 'ART N still/only' that signals an exception to some circumstance (Kieviet 2017: 266–268, 570); see (202b) for an illustration.

(202) Rapanui

a. Context: His boat was like the other ones.
Te me'e nō*, 'i ruŋa i tū vaka era ō'ona e ai rō*
ART thing still at above at DEM boat DIST POSS.3SG IPFV exist EMPH
'ā e tahi pē'ue, e rua miro 'i te kaokao o te
CONT NUM one mat NUM two wood at ART side.REDUPL of ART
vaka.
boat
'**However**, in his boat there was a rug, and two poles on the sides of the boat.' (Kieviet 2017: 268)

b. Context: He used to drink.
Te riva nō*, e ta'ero era, 'ina he tiŋa'i i tā'ana*
ART good still IPFV drunk DIST NEG NEUTRAL strike ACC POSS.3SG
hua'ai.
family
'**Fortunately** (=the good thing was), when he was drunk, he did not beat his family.' (Kieviet 2017: 268)

3.5.2.3 Concessive interjections

3.5.2.3.1 Introduction

In Sections 3.5.2.1 and 3.5.2.2 I discuss concessive functions that involve complete clauses. In addition, STILL expressions, or collocations involving these, are also attested as concessive holophrases, as in the English example (203).

(203) English
A: *D'ya think she'll go back to work Kevin?*

B: *No .. I don't think she will to be honest with you.*
A: <sigh>
B: ***Still.***
A: *I don't blame her.* (BNC KBC, cited in Lewis 2019: 129)

Of course, such elliptical concessives are by no means limited to STILL expressions. To give just one example, the very same use is found with German *trotzdem* 'regardless', illustrated in (204).

(204) German
A: *Deine Schrift ist schwer zu lesen.*
'Your handwriting is difficult to read.'
B: *Was? Ich habe mir die allergrößte Mühe gegeben!*
'What? I made the greatest effort possible!'
A: ***Trotzdem.***
regardless
'Regardless.' (Funke, *Tintenherz*)

3.5.2.3.2 Distribution in the sample

Table 3.13 lists the four expressions in my sample that are involved in a holophrastic concessive use. It is noteworthy that all attested cases stem from western Eurasia.[30] Unsurprisingly, each of the expressions or phrases in question also has concessive functions in more saturated environments. From these, the interjective usages are clearly derived, at least in diachronic terms (see e.g. Lewis 2019 on English *still*). With the exception of French *encore que*, all cases go back to the marking of the apodosis in a concessive construction. In what follows, I examine this predominant type first, and then turn to *encore que*.

Table 3.13: Concessive interjections

M.-Area	Language	Expr.	Collocation		Appendix
Eurasia	English	*still*			D.1.1.7.3
	French	*encore*	*encore que*	'still SUBORD > although'	D.2.2.10.5
			et encore	'and still'	D.2.2.10.5
	Hebrew (Mod.)	*ʕadayin*			D.4.2.6.2
	Spanish	*aún*	*aun así*	'still so > even so'	D.13.2.8.8

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[30] Outside of my sample, a parallel case is found in Catalan *i encara*, a cognate of French *et encore*; see Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern (1995).

3.5.2.3.3 A closer look and discussion: Interjections from concessive apodoses

As I have just pointed out, the predominant case in my sample is an interjective use that derived from the marking of concessive apodoses. More specifically, this use can be traced back to the truncation of a pattern in which the expressions (or collocations) in question occupy the clause-initial position and are prosodically separated from the preceding clause as well as from the rest of their host clause.[31] This pattern is illustrated in (205) for English *still.* A comparable example involving Modern Hebrew *ʕadayin* is found in (193) above.

(205) English
… It is always the dregs of the population who show their patriotism by this sort of behaviour. ***Still****, it is refreshing to see someone taking some sort of action.* (Lewis 2019: 139)

In the case of Spanish *aun así*, the use in question involves *aún* as a scalar additive operator (Section 3.3.4), i.e. 'still so > even so'. For an illustration of this collocation in a full-fledged concessive construction, see (200) above. Example (206) shows *aun así* as a holophrase.

(206) Spanish
A: *Si fuese tan amable de ayudarme a ubicar.*
'If you could be so friendly and help me know where I am.'
B: *¿El lugar? No le asigne ninguna importancia.*
'The location? Don't give it any importance.'
A: ***Aun*** ***así****.*
still/even so
'**Still**!' (CORPES XXI)

3.5.2.3.4 A closer look and discussion: An interjection from a postponed protasis

Other than the cases I have discussed up to this point, the stand-alone use of French *encore que* goes back to ellipsis within a concessive apodosis, rather than within a protasis. However, although the relevant *encore que* clauses are semantically protases (i.e. they express an unfavourable condition), they are of the rectificational type and thus follow their apodoses. What is more, *encore que* tends to form a prosodic phrase of its own (Hansen 2008: 193; Morel 1996: 10–11; Victtori & Fuchs 1996: 85). That is, we find the same syntactic and prosodic conditions that facilitate truncation. Example (207) illustrates the interjective usage of *encore que.*

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[31] For the relevant facts, see Briz et al. (2018: s.v. *aun así*), Hansen (2008: 193), Lewis (2019), Ranger (2018: 205–206), Tsirkin-Sadan (2019) and Victtori & Fuchs (1996: 86–87).

(207) French
La fébrilité qui régnait en fin de semaine dernière rue des Italiens pourrait laisser croire à un proche dénouement de l'affaire.
'The feverishness reigning at the end of last week at the court house in rue des Italiens might lead one to expect that a solution to the matter was imminent.'

***Encore que**! Car depuis l'-origine règne dans ce*
still COMP because after DEF.SG-origin reign.3SG in PROX.M
dossier un climat de manipulation et de désinformation.
case(M) INDEF.SG.M climate(M) of manipulation and of desinformation
'**Not necessarily**! For this case has from the very beginning been characterised by a climate of manipulation and misinformation.' (*Nouvel Observateur*, cited in Hansen 2008: 192–193, glosses added)

3.5.2.4 Counter-expectation

3.5.2.4.1 Introduction

One expression in the sample, Mandarin Chinese *hái* (Appendix D.9.2.8.2), has a use in which it signals "the speaker's incredulousness" and that "there is a gap between the situation described in the clause and the assumption or expectation held by him or other people." (Biq & Huang 2016: 345). This is illustrated in (208).

(208) Mandarin Chinese
Context: Speaker A is speaking about his diet in the Netherlands.
A: *... xiànzài wǒ fēicháng xǐhuān chī qìsi.*
'... now I am extremly fond of cheese.'
B: *Nà nǐ **hái** xíguàn de zhēn kuài a!*
that 2SG still habit ASSOC really real SFP
'Well, in that case, you did get used to it really fast!'
(Wiedenhof 2015: 110)

3.5.2.4.2 A closer look and discussion

The counter-expectational use of *hái* often goes together with other evaluative material. Thus, example (208) also features *zhēn* 'really', which is a common occurrence in this use, and the sentence-final particle *a* has been described as often contributing notions of surprise, as well (Huang & Shi 2016). Example (209) is another illustration featuring *zhēn*, plus *kě* 'indeed' for additional emphasis.

(209) *Zhēn ké yóu qián,* ***hái*** *bù zǎo jiāo le?*
really indeed EXIST money still NEG early hand_over PFV
'Si vraiment nous avions de l'argent, comment n'aurions-nous pas payé plus tôt? [If we really had the money, **don't you think** we'd have paid earlier?]' (Alleton 1972: 16, glosses added)

Example (209) illustrates another point: according to Alleton (1972: ch. 2.3), this use of *hái* is often presented as a rhetorical question and can therefore be paraphrased via *nándào* 'by any chance, isn't it possible that?'. While the exact pathway leading to the emergence of the counter-expectational function is unclear and deserving of a dedicated diachronic corpus study, its meaning contribution strongly points to *hái* in concessive apodoses (Section 3.5.2.2) as its origin.[32] The well-known tendencies for semasiological change (Section 1.6.2) suggest that this development involved the strengthening of the expressive contribution, i.e. the conflict between the situation depicted in the clause and the assumptions held by the speaker and/or hearer, to the detriment of the inter-propositional meaning element defining of the concessive use.

3.5.3 Other connective functions

In this subsection, I briefly turn to two other connective functions attested in my sample, namely Kekchí *toj* as a marker of exceptive protases 'unless' (Appendix E.5.1.6.2) and Classical Nahuatl *oc* as a causal connective (Appendix E.1.2.7.2).

3.5.3.1 Kekchí *toj* and protases of exceptive conditionals

Example (210) illustrates the use of Kekchí *toj* as a marker of the protasis of an exceptive conditional 'unless'.

(210) Kekchí
Context: A hummingbird explaining why he does not want to give away his feathers.
T-in-kaamq rah (x)-b'aan ke ***toj t-in-b'at-e'q sa'***
PROSP-1SG-die CF POSS.3-because cold still PROSP-1SG-wrap-PASS PREP
x-noq'al inup.
POSS.3-thread ceiba
'I will die of the cold **unless I am wrapped in the bark of a ceiba tree**.' (Kockelman 2020: 467)

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[32] This also seems to be the implicit assumption held by Alleton (1972), who subsumes the concessive function under the counter-expectational one.

This ‘unless’ function doubtlessly goes back to *toj* as a temporal delimiter ‘until’, illustrated in (211), with a mapping from times to possible worlds. In other words, the situation described in the apodosis obtains until the preventing condition is met, and defeasibly no longer after (Kockelman 2020). The relationship to *toj* as a phasal polarity expression is thus an indirect one.

(211) ***Toj maak’a’-q chik in-k’as*** *t-in-k’anjelaq.*
still NEG.EXIST-NON.SPECIFIC more POSS.1SG-debt FUT-1SG-work
‘**Until I no longer have debt** I will work.’ (Kockelman 2020: 480)

3.5.3.2 Causal connective

Classical Nahuatl *oc* forms part of a causal connective. This function is found in conjunction with the determiner *in* as a signal of subordination plus the expression *ic* ‘when’. Example (212) is an illustration.

(212) Classical Nahuatl
In oc ic ti-tēpiltzin *… xi-m-ìmat-cā-nemi.*
DET still when SUBJ.2SG-offspring SBJV-REFL-be_wise-LNK-live
‘Pues que eres bien nacido … viue con cordura. [**Since you are noble**, live wisely.]’ (Carochi 1645: 503, glosses added)

As Launey (1986: 1269) points out, the causal function is clearly based on *oc* as a marker of simultaneous duration, a function illustrated in (213) and discussed in Section 2.5.3.1. It is therefore only indirectly related to *oc* as a phasal polarity expression. The development of the causal function clearly involves the well-established pathway from time to causality (e.g. Kuteva et al. 2019: 425). Nonetheless, it is remarkable, given that causal functions appear to be more commonly associated with ALREADY expressions, such as Spanish *ya* in (214).

(213) Classical Nahuatl
Mācamo xi-còcoch-ti-ye-cān ***in oc ic***
PROH SBJV-doze-LNK-stay-PL DET still when
n-on-tē-machtia.
SUBJ.1SG-IT-OBJ.INDEF.HUMAN-teach
‘Don’t be dozing off **while I’m teaching**.’
(Launey 2011: 366, glosses added)

(214) Spanish

Pod-emos dar por conclu-id-a la reunión, ***ya***
can-1PL give.INF for conclude-PTCP-F INDEF.SG.F meeting(F) already
que *no hay más cuestion-es pendient-es.*
SUBORD NEG EXIST more issue-PL pending-PL
'We can close the meeting, **given that** there are no more issues to be discussed.' (RAE-ASALE 2009: §46.3a, glosses added)

3.5.4 Uses pertaining to non-realisations

3.5.4.1 Introduction

Two sample expressions, Northern Qiang *tɕe-* and Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga Datooga *údu-*, have uses that pertain to the broader domain of non-realisation (Appendices D.10.2.6.1, B.3.2.4.1). In what follows, I discuss each case separately.

3.5.4.2 A closer look and discussion: Northern Qiang *tɕe-* and 'almost'

The Northern Qiang expression *tɕe-* forms part of a collocational pattern that signals the near-attainment of some state-of-affairs 'almost'. This bi-clausal construction is illustrated in (215).

(215) Northern Qiang

a-zə tɕa-ŋuaː*-ʂ̥ə, qa i-pə-l ma-lə-jya.*
one-CLF still-COP.PROSP-LNK.CF 1SG DIR-arrive-come NEG-able-ASP:1SG
'I **almost** couldn't return.' (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 219)

As discussed by LaPolla & Huang (2003: 220), the pattern in (215) is transparent to the largest degree. Thus, the linker *-ʂ̥ə* contributes the counterfactual meaning, whereas the contribution of *tɕe-* lies in its additive function (Section 3.3.2). In other words, the 'almost' reading goes back to 'had it been a little more (like that)'. In this, the Northern Qiang construction is somewhat similar to the Modern Hebrew collocation *ʕod meʕat* 'still a little' illustrated in (216), which also signals temporal proximity, albeit without the modal component, and where the phrase-internal position gives evidence that it goes back to the additive use of *ʕod*.

(216) Modern Hebrew
ɦašáv-ti ki ***ʕod meʕat*** *ta-ʕazov et ha-ħéder, kol-kax*
think.PST-1SG COMP still a_little 2SG.F-leave.FUT ACC DEF-room all-thus
hayu pane-ha mabi'ot tsaar u-ke'ev.
EXIST.PST.PL face-POSS.3SG.F express.PL.F anguish and-pain
'I thought that **soon** she would leave the room, so much did her face express her anguish and pain.' (Glinert 1989: 550, glosses added)

3.5.4.3 A closer look and discussion: Datooga *údu-* as 'not actually'

The prefix *údu-* in Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga Datooga can mark the non-actualisation of an anticipated past event when combined with negation. This is illustrated in (217).

(217) Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga Datooga
[N-ì-]néek-íid àbà híji áa ***m-údú-qwáa-hììdu***
ANT-3-close-INCH LOC here CONJ NEG-still-SUBJ.3-arrive.CAUS.VEN
'He approached here **but he didn't bring it**.' (Mitchell 2021: 431)

This non-happening use is restricted to telic predicates in the formally unmarked non-future tense. With atelic predicates, the combination of *údu-* and negation predictably yields the negative phasal polarity concept NO LONGER.[33] The most perspicuous explanation for the use I discuss here is hence a conventionalised mapping from times to possible worlds, in that the factual world no longer aligns with that in which the situation in question was envisaged.

3.5.5 Interrogative functions

In this subsection, I survey a few pragmaticised and mostly language-specific uses that relate to interrogatives. In Section 3.5.5.1 I discuss French *encore* and Ket *hāj* as markers of follow-up inquiries. In Section 3.5.5.2 I turn to the case of certain rhetorical questions featuring Mundang *ɓà*, as well as to German *noch* in 'remind me again' utterances.

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[33] Telic predicates and affirmative polarity yield a near past, see Section 2.4.6.1.

3.5.5.1 Follow-up questions

3.5.5.1.1 Introduction

Two expressions in the sample, French *encore* and Ket *hāj*, are used in questions to mark a request for more information (Appendices D.2.2.10, D.7.2.5.1). Example (218) illustrates French *encore*. As in this example, *encore* is always dislocated to the right and often conveys a notion of annoyance at the need to ask again.

(218) French

A: *Seigneur Aristote, peut-on savoir ce qui vous met si fort en colère?*
'My Lord Aristote, may one know what makes you so angry?'

B: *Un sujet le plus juste au monde.*
'A subject that is as reasonable as can be.'

A: *Et quoi, **encore**?*
and what still
'And what IS that?' (Molière, *Le mariage forcé*, cited in Hansen 2008: 214, glosses added)

3.5.5.1.2 A closer look and discussion

As Hansen (2002, 2008: 214) and Välikangas (1982) point out, right-dislocated *encore* is based on the same item in iterative function (Section 2.4.2.1) and involves a straightforward transfer from the propositional to the speech-act domain: "it suggests that the question ought to be unnecessary … [and] focuses attention on the fact that a similar type of question has been asked at least once before" (Hansen 2008: 214). In other words, this is a textbook example of the tendency for meaning to become increasingly expressive (Section 1.6.2).

The case of Ket *hāj* appears to be mostly parallel to the French one, except that this expression maintains its usual pre-predicate position. While there are no in-depth descriptions of *hāj*'s contribution to interrogatives, the item also has an iterative use, and Werner (1997) consistently translates the relevant examples into German using *denn*, a marker commonly described as highlighting a follow-up question (e.g. Wegener 2001). This interpretation is in line with the fact that the one contextualised example in the data marks a repetition of nearly the same question after an unsatisfactory first answer; see (219).

(219) Ket

A: *Bil'aŋsän' di·mbes'in? Dɨ l'gat u škɔladiŋal' di·mbes'in?*
'Wer ist gekommen? Ob es Kinder sind, die aus der Schule gekommen sind? [Who has come? Will it be children, coming from school?]'

B: *Bəŋ.*
'Nein. [No.]'

A: *Anɛt* ***haj*** *d-i·-m-bes'?*
who still subj.3-here-pst-move
'Wer ist denn gekommen? [Who is it **then**, who just came?]'

A: *Kaˀt hi·ɣ i·mbes'.*
'Ein alter Mann ist gekommen. [An old man came.]'
(Werner 1997: 366–367, glosses added)

3.5.5.2 Other interrogative functions

In this subsection, I briefly discuss certain rhetorical questions in Mundang as well as the conventionalised use of German *noch* in 'remind me again' questions.

3.5.5.2.1 Rhetorical 'still' questions or Mundang *ɓàā*

Mundang *ɓà* can be used in conjunction with the interrogative marker *nè* in a type of rhetorical question that signals that the addressee should not continue with whatever they are doing (Appendix B.9.1.4.1). In this function, the two items can merge into a portmanteau morpheme *ɓàā*, as shown in (220).

(220) Mundang

Mò dɔ̀ŋ yɛ́ɓ ***ɓàā****?*
subj.2sg do.ipfv work still.q
'Travailles-tu encore? ([Are you **still** working?] le locuteur sait que l'interlocuteur est en train de travailler et il lui demande s'il continuera avec le travail [speaker knows that the addressee is working and **asks whether he will continue**])' (Elders 2000: 485)

Of course, the meaning of Mundang *ɓàā* is mostly compositional, and it involves an obvious intersubjective inference. The reasons I follow Elders (2000: 484–285) in considering it a separate use are the formal irregularity and the apparent high degree of conventionalisation of the deontic component.

3.5.5.2.2 ‘Remind me again’ questions and German *noch*

The German STILL expression *noch* frequently marks inquiries about information that was once known, but which the speaker has since forgotten or which is at least no longer immediately accessible to their mind (Appendix D.3.1.8.2). In such questions, *noch* can figure in the iterative collocation *noch* (*ein*)*mal* (Section 2.4.2.2), as in (221a). Alternatively, it surfaces in its bare form, which is particularly common in monological questions like (221b).

(221) German

a. Context: A waiter has forgotten the orders of each person.

Was	*hat*	***noch-mal***	*jeder*	*bestell-t?*
what	have.3SG	still-time	everyone	order-PTCP

‘**Remind me again**, what did each of you order?’ (Sauerland 2009: 63)

b. *...dann pflegte der Onkel das Lied von den heimatlosen Matrosen durchs Haus zu schmettern. Er hatte es einst auf seinen Seereisen gelernt.*

‘... the uncle then used to belt out the song of the homeless seafarers. He had learned it a long time ago during his sea voyages.’

Wie	*hieß*	***noch***	*die*	*zweit-e*	*Strofe?*
how	be_called.PST.3SG	still	DEF.NOM.SG.F	second-NOM.SG.F	verse(F)

‘[Asking himself:] How did the second verse go **again**?’ (von der Vring, *Spur im Hafen*, cited in Iwasaki 1977: 63, glosses added)

The use of a collocation with an iterative meaning in (221a) is fairly unproblematic, and it is well-known to occur with other iterative markers such as Swedish *igen* in (222). What does, however, appear to be cross-linguistically uncommon is the use of bare *noch* in cases like (221b), given that this expression does not generally have a repetition-related function. As Iwasaki (1977) discusses, the contribution of *noch* in such instances intuitively shows traces of phasal polarity, albeit in regard to the speaker’s belief state rather than the proposition itself. In other words, *noch* can be understood as signalling the speaker’s conviction that they should continue to be able to recall the information in question, although they no longer do. In fact, as Iwasaki also points out, this is a manifestation of a common theme with temporal-aspectual adverbs in German. For instance, *gleich* ‘immediately’ has a very similar use of signalling impatience or frustration at not being immediately able to recollect a piece of information; see (223).

(222) Swedish
Vat hette han ***igen****?*
what be_called.pst 3sg.m again
'What was his name, **again**?' (Välikangas 1982: 399, glosses added)

(223) German
Was hat er ***gleich*** *ge-sag-t?*
what have.3sg 3sg.m immediately ptcp-say-ptcp
'**Remind me quickly**, what was it he said?' (Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *gleich*, glosses added)

3.5.6 Exclamatory and directive functions

In this subsection, I survey a set of functions that relate to exclamations and commands. Similar to what can be seen for interrogative uses in Section 3.5.5, all of these are either highly language-specific or found with no more than two sample expressions each. In Section 3.5.6.1 I discuss Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* and Modern Hebrew *ʕod* as integral parts of 'and how!' formulae. In Section 3.5.6.2 I turn to the use of Kalamang *tok* and Saisiyat *nahan* as markers of polite commands. In Section 3.5.6.3, I discuss a set of remnant uses, which involve German *noch* in lamenting exclamations, the same item in certain collocations that serve as boosters, as well as the case of Ewe *ga-*, which is a compulsory ingredient of negative commands. A common theme with all these cases, except for the German lamenting exclamations, is that they are only indirectly related to the same items as exponents of phasal polarity still.

Lastly, note that there are related uses that I address in more specific places. Thus, in Section 3.5.2.3 I discuss uses as concessive interjections, and for a discussion of Spanish *todavía* and French *encore* in counterfactual wishes and exclamations the reader is directed to Section 3.4.4.

3.5.6.1 'And how!'

3.5.6.1.1 Introduction

Two expressions in the sample, Modern Hebrew *ʕod* and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*, are attested in fixed or semi-fixed collocations that serve as affirmative, reinforcing responses 'and how!, very much so!' (Appendices D.4.3.8.1, D.11.2.8.1). Example (224) is an illustration featuring Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još*.

(224) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian

A: *Ne spominji je već.*
NEG mention.IPFV.IMP 3SG.ACC.F already
'Don't mention her anymore!'

B: ***Još kako*** *ću je spominjati.*
still how will.1SG 3SG.ACC.F mention.IPFV.INF
'**And how** I will mention her!' (HrWac 2.2, glosses added)

3.5.6.1.2 A closer look and discussion

While in (224) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* goes together with *kako* 'how', the second constituent of the construction may also be the quantificational wh word *kaliko* 'how much', as shown in (225). This example illustrates another point: these collocations are commonly found in holophrastic or elliptical utterances.

(225) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian

A: *Ja sam njih upozorava-o.*
1SG COP.1SG 3PL.ACC warn.PTCP-SG.M
'I warned them.'

B: ***Još kaliko****.*
still how_much
'**Very much so!**' (Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*, glosses added)

A very similar instance is found in Modern Hebrew, in form of the collocation shown in (226) and listed by Glinert (1976, 1989: 282), unfortunately without much additional description. In terms of their origins, these collocations clearly build on *još* and *ʕod* in additive function (Section 3.3.2) and involve a transfer from the textual onto the intersubjective dimension of meaning. This interpretation finds support in the fact that Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian possesses synonymous forms *i te kako*/*i te koliko* lit. 'and also how (much)'.

(226) Modern Hebrew
*Ve-**ʕod** ex!*
and-still how
'And how!' (Glinert 1989: 282))

3.5.6.2 Polite commands

3.5.6.2.1 Introduction

Two expressions in the sample, Kalamang *tok* and Saisiyat *nahan* (Appendices F.7.2.7.1, F.16.2.6.1), have a function of mitigating commands. The examples in (227, 228) are illustrations.

(227) Kalamang
Ma he min ma he mat nawarar ka ***tok parar=te***.
3SG already sleep 3SG already 3SG.OBJ wake_up 3SG still get_up=NON.FIN
'He slept, [I] woke him up, "**You get up!** (before you do anything else)"'
(Visser 2021a; Eline Visser, p.c.)

(228) Saisiyat
Si'ael ***nahaen***.
eat.IMP still
'Chi gė dongxi (zài zŏu) ba! / Come have a bite (before you leave)!'
(Huang 2008: 120)

3.5.6.2.2 A closer look and discussion

As hinted at in the free translations of (227, 228), this use can be traced back to the 'first, for now' function of both items (Huang 2008: 119–120; Eline Visser, p.c.), which I discuss in Section 2.4.5.1. Like the uses addressed in the preceding subsections, it clearly instantiates the tendency of meaning to become more intersubjective, in this instance functioning in the realm of negative politeness (see Brown & Levinson 1987). More specifically, it can be explained by recourse to two mutually compatible pathways and politeness strategies. In the first of these, the demand on the addressee and the threat to their negative face are reduced by asking for an action that takes place only for a limited amount of time. The second scenario, suggested by Huang (2008: 119–120) for Saisiyat *nahan*, stresses the sequential component of the 'first, for now' use. By placing the demand in a succession of events, the speaker acknowledges that the addressee has other things to do and thereby effectively plays a variation on Brown & Levinson's (1987) strategy to "admit the impingement".

3.5.6.3 Other exclamatory/directive functions

In this subsection I briefly turn to some item-specific exclamatory and directive functions. I first discuss the use of German *noch* in lamenting exclamations. Afterwards I turn to the same item in certain collocations that serve as pragmatic boosters. Lastly I address the compulsory use of Ewe *ga-* in prohibitives.

3.5.6.3.1 Lamenting exclamations with German *noch*

German *noch* has a strongly conventionalised use in exclamations of the type illustrated in (229). As in this example, these exclamations invariable feature the verb-second order characteristic of declarative clauses (Appendix D.3.1.8.3). On the meaning side of things, they feature contrastive topics and convey emotive notions such as lament or woefulness (e.g. that the good times are over). At the same time, they serve to invite agreement from the hearer (Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *noch*).

(229) German
Das *war-en* ***noch*** *Zeit-en!*
3SG.N COP.PST-3PL still time-PL
'Those were the days!' (Métrich & Faucher 2009: 633, glosses added)

Expressive notions notwithstanding, the contrast between persistence of an earlier state and its subsequent discontinuation remains visible in (229). In cases like (230), on the other hand, the (inter-)subjective meaning dominates (Métrich & Faucher 2009: 633). However, such instances do provide hints of the marginality sense (Section 3.2), such as 'him' being the last outpost of reliability.

(230) German
Auf *ihn* *kann* *man* *sich* ***noch*** *verlass-en!*
on 3SG.ACC.M can.3SG IMPR REFL.3 still rely-INF
'At least *he* is reliable (if no one else)!' (Métrich & Faucher 2009: 633, glosses added)

3.5.6.3.2 German *nochmal*: From repetition to booster

German *noch*, in the iterative collocations *nochmal* (and variants; Section 2.4.2.2), can serve as a booster in directive speech acts, exclamations of frustration, and the like (Appendix D.3.1.8.4). Example (231) is an illustration.

(231) German
Jed-er *Mensch* ... *überhaupt:* *jed-e* *Kreatur* ...
every-nom.sg.m human(m) generally every-nom.sg.f creature(f)
man *muß* *doch* *an* *etwas* *glaub-en* *in* *der* *Welt,*
impr must.3sg dm at something believe-inf in def.dat.sg.f world(f)
verdammt noch-mal!
damnit still-time
'Every person, more generally, every creature ... you need something to believe in, **Goddammit**!' (Sparschuh, *der Zimmerspringbrunnen*, glosses added)

In all likelihood, this function is mediated by an application of the collocation's iterative meaning to the speech-act level, as in (232). The latter usage pattern is also attested for the equivalent French collocation *encore une fois*, as in (233), where it, however, does not appear to have generalised to the same degree as in German.

(232) German
Noch-mal: *du* *soll-st* *deinen* *Müll* *nicht* *einfach* *in*
still-time 2sg should-2sg poss.2sg:acc.sg.m trash(m) neg simply in
die *Landschaft* *werf-en!*
def.acc.sg.f landscape(f) throw-inf
'[**I'm telling you**] **again**: don't just throw your trash into nature!' (personal knowledge)

(233) French
Encore une fois, *rest-ez* *calm-es.*
still indef.sg.f time(f) stay-imp.pl quiet-pl
(I'm saying it) again, be quiet! (Borillo 1984: 51 fn11)

3.5.6.3.3 Ewe *ga-* and prohibitives

The Ewe still expression *ga-* is compulsory in negative commands (Appendix B.6.1.5.1). This is illustrated in (234).

(234) Ewe
*Me-**ga**-dzró* *nú* *o.*
neg.2sg-still-desire thing neg
'Do not crave for things.' (Ameka 1991: 358)

As pointed out before me by Ameka (1991: 53) and Westermann (1907: 67 fn1), the prohibitive use is clearly motivated by *ga-* as iterative ‘again’ (Section 2.4.2.1), as well as by the same item forming part of the expression for NO LONGER (which ultimately goes back to marking disrepetition). It is safe to assume that its employment in prohibitives started out with control predicates and commands to either not repeat an action, or to stop one, and that a high type frequency ultimately led to semantic bleaching.

4 Conclusions and outlook

In the preceding chapters, I have surveyed the different functions that expressions for the phasal polarity concept STILL have in the languages of the world. I defined this concept as combining the notion of persistence with the evocation of an alternative discontinuation (Section 1.4), and based my survey on a global sample of 76 languages from 45 distinct phyla (Section 1.5.1).

In Chapter 2 I cast the spotlight on uses with a time-related core of meaning. I started with an examination of a set of uses that lie on the borderline between the concept of STILL and functional extensions (Section 2.2). This included an in-depth discussion of the use of STILL expressions in contexts of scalar variables (e.g. 'still … left', 'still only …'), the alleged status of which as a distinct function had been the subject of a heated debate during the first wave of research on phasal polarity; see below. I then turned to uses of STILL expressions that infringe on the territory of other phasal polarity concepts (Section 2.3), namely the signalling of NOT YET without a negator and the phenomenon of interrogative 'yet'. Afterwards I surveyed functions that lie outside the realm of phasal polarity altogether. These encompass various kinds of adverbial modifications (Section 2.4), such as future-oriented 'eventually', iterative/restitutive 'again', or the construal of a situation as precedential or preliminary 'first, for now', to give just a few examples. Lastly, I examined several functions of STILL expressions in which they modify a temporal frame setter (Section 2.5), for instance scalar additive uses specialised for temporal foci (i.e. 'as late as', 'as early as', 'as far removed as') or the marking of simultaneous duration 'while'.

As can be gathered, STILL expressions cover a broad spectrum of time-related functions. Several of these may even appear contrary at first glance, such as 'first, for now' vs. 'eventually'. In some instances, this fact can be traced back to each function in a pair sharing a common denominator with one rather than the other meaning component of STILL. Thus, the 'first, for now' use and the phasal polarity concept both evoke a contrast between the time under discussion and a possible subsequent change (Section 2.4.5.1). The 'eventually' use, on the other hand, profiles the notion of continuity with preceding developments (Section 2.4.4; also see below). In other cases, such seemingly opposite functions

Table 4.1: Most common temporal and aspectual uses

Function	Macro-areas	Languages	Expressions	Discussed in
NOT YET without negation	6	22	22	Section 2.3.1
Repetition	6	16	17	Section 2.4.2.1
Prospective 'eventually'	4	14	14	Section 2.4.4

have their roots in different domains of operation. For instance, STILL expressions marking 'as late as' go back to equating the time under discussion with an advanced runtime of the situation depicted in the clause (Section 2.5.2.3). A structurally similar function, on the other hand, often suggests earliness by stressing the persistence of the temporal frame itself and hence the non-attainment of later times (Section 2.5.2.2).

In terms of frequency and distribution, some time-related functions are limited to individual sample expressions and languages, such as Kekchí *toj* as temporal 'until' (Section 2.5.2.1). Many others are found across linguistic and/or geographic boundaries, although their recurrent nature has often gone unnoticed. For instance, the recruitment of STILL expressions in near past 'have just Verb-ed' constructions is attested for unrelated languages from distant parts of the world (Section 2.4.6.1), but has only received scant attention thus far, always limited to descriptions of individual cases. Which functions are the most common is somewhat dependent on where to draw the line. As alluded to above, the first wave of research on phasal polarity saw an intense debate about whether the use of the relevant expressions in the contexts of scalar variables (e.g. 'still … left', 'still only …') is to be understood as an instantiation of a distinct scalar function. If the question is answered positively, then this would constitute the singlemost common functional extension in my sample. However, based on my examination of the sample data, and elaborating on arguments brought forward by van der Auwera (1991a, 1993), Garrido (1992), and Hansen (2008: ch. 3.1), I reasoned that there is no principled need to stipulate a distinct scalar function (Section 2.2.2). Against this backdrop, Table 4.1 lists the three most common temporal-aspectual uses in my sample. Given their prominent status, it is worthwhile briefly summarising a few key points as they relate to each of them.

The first use in Table 4.1, the marking NOT YET in the absence of a negator, is doubtlessly motivated by the fact that STILL and NOT YET are "exactly the same … retrospectively continuative and prospectively geared towards possible change" (van der Auwera 1998: 40), the sole difference lying in polarity. On a more fine-grained level, this use comes in several overarching types (also see Persohn 2024b). The first type is characterised by contexts lacking an overt predicate. This often involves disjunction, for example in polar questions that follow an '(already) or still > (already) or not yet' pattern. Here, the only meaningful interpretation of the STILL expression is in relation to the negative member of a pair of propositions. In other cases, context can be said to strongly favour a negative reading. In a second type of STILL as NOT YET, an expression goes together with a less-than-finite and/or dependent predicate. This finds a straightforward explanation in a conventionalised inference from a persistently pending situation to a continuing negative state (as suggested before me by Güldemann 1996, 1998: 129–130; Nurse 2008: 148; Veselinova & Devos 2021). In yet a third type, polarity depends on the situation's internal temporal structure. Here, a motivated explanation can be found in the combinatory possibilities and/or possible readings of different actional classes with the notion of persistence, in conjunction with particularities of the respective tense-aspect systems. In a fourth type, an expression's function as affirmative STILL or negative NOT YET is determined by its position in the clause. This pattern is rare and only attested in Alor-Pantar, where comparative evidence points towards the erosion of an embracing pattern of negation as its source. Lastly, STILL as NOT YET without a negator was shown to play a role in the history of Thai *yaŋ* as interrogative 'yet' (Section 2.3.2), and it was also observed in temporal clauses of precedence (Section 2.5.3.3).

Moving on to repetition-related uses, these share an obvious common denominator with phasal polarity STILL in the notions of continuity and identity, the main difference here lying in the presence vs. absence of temporal gaps (van Baar 1997: 108–109; Schultze-Berndt 2002; Tovena & Donazzan 2008; among many others). Given these similarities, it comes as no surprise that diachronic links in either direction are attested. Furthermore, the combination with wide-scope negation, yielding NO LONGER, is likely to have played a role in the diachrony of at least some of the relevant expressions. On a more fine-grained level the sample data point to a greater affinity between phasal polarity STILL and iteration (e.g. 'call again') than restitution (e.g. 'close the door again'), counter to what is claimed in van Baar's (1997: 108–109) seminal study of phasal polarity.

The thirdmost frequent time-related function is that of future-oriented 'eventually', as in German *Ich mach' das noch* 'I'll do it yet'. I argued that a motivated explanation for this use is best sought in diachrony. Elaborating on a proposal first made by Abraham (1977), I suggested that it goes back to phasal polarity STILL in contexts of prospective or modal propositions. These 'can/must still do' combinations entail that a situation of the relevant type possibly/necessarily comes into existence before the end of the time under discussion, thereby opening the gates to a reanalysis of the STILL expression's contribution as 'eventually, before it's too late'. Speaking of pathways of change, several of the historical scenarios put forward throughout Chapter 2 remain to be tested against diachronic data, where available. One such proposal, which owes much to Mustajoki's (1988) synchronic discussion of Russian *ešcë*, is that the 'as far removed as' function in Slavic and Modern Hebrew is rooted in a series of analogical context expansions that have their starting point in the marking of a persistent time frame (Section 2.5.2.3).

In Chapter 3 I turned to non-temporal uses, which display a functional coverage no less diverse than that of their time-related counterparts. I began my examination with a discussion of STILL expressions as markers of an entity's marginal position on a scale or within a graded category (Section 3.2; also see below). I then turned to functions pertaining to focus quantification, first as markers of additivity and related notions (Section 3.3) and then as restrictive 'only', 'at least' operators (Section 3.4). One key finding here is the observation that the coexpression of phasal polarity STILL and exclusive 'only' is widespread across the macro-areas of Australia and Papunesia, more so than has been observed previously (Section 3.4.2). Other functions discussed in Chapter 3 include a host of modal and strongly pragmaticised meanings (Section 3.5), such as uses pertaining to concessivity ('although', 'nonetheless') or ones relating to specific types of speech acts, to give a few examples. Just as in the realm of tempo-aspectuality, the various non-temporal functions are sometimes near-mirror images of one another, as in the case of additive vs. restrictive focus quantification. Also in line with a theme observed in Chapter 2, several of the non-temporal uses are highly idiosyncratic or attested for pairs of only two sample expressions. This is particularly true of speech-act specific functions, such as German *noch* in 'remind me again' questions (Section 3.5.5.2). Many others uses, though, are common, with the three most frequent being listed in Table 4.2. Again, a brief discussion of each of them is in order.

The secondmost common non-temporal function is that of marking marginal membership on a scale or within a graded category (e.g. 'a penguin is still a bird'). While this use involves a fairly simple metonymical transfer from times to other scales, it cannot be fully equated with phasal polarity. Thus, the two functions differ in important semantic characteristics, namely the orientation of the scale and the reality status of the subsequent discontinuation; these points of divergence are also sometimes reflected in grammar. What is more, the marginality function is not universal, as negative evidence from three sample expressions shows. Lastly, marginality lies at the heart of several other functions, for instance

Table 4.2: Most common non-temporal uses. *Note*: Values in parenthesis exclude borderline cases of STILL expressions and tentative categorisations.

Function	Macro-areas	Languages		Expressions		Discussed in
Additive	6	28		29		Section 3.3.2
Marginality	5	19	(18)	21	(20)	Section 3.2
Concessive apodoses	5	19	(15)	17	(13)	Section 2.4.4

French *encore* and Spanish *todavía* as 'at least' type markers in counterfactual conditional constructions (Section 3.4.4).

The third use in Table 4.2 is that of marking the apodosis clause in a concessive construction, as in *He studied hard and still he failed the exam.* This function instantiates a well-known trend for the wider field of expressions for continuity or coexistence to be co-opted as markers of concessive relationships (König 1985, 2006). More specifically, it is safe to assume that the recruitment of STILL expressions to this function is rooted in the alignment of a position on a scale that is far removed from the origo (e.g. an advanced runtime, a marginal position) with less accessible possible worlds (Ederly & Curcó 2016; Michaelis 1993; and many others). This process may be aided by factors such as the presence of negation, and it can receive additional motivation from focus-related functions of the same expressions. Lastly, with several sample expressions the marking of concessive apodoses has given rise to a holophrastic interjective use (Section 3.5.2.3), and it may also lie at the heart of Mandarin Chinese *hái* as a counter-expectational marker (Section 3.5.2.4).

To bring this book to a conclusion, by examining the different functions attested in my sample of STILL expressions, I hope to have laid the cornerstone for more cross-linguistic work on an area that is characterised by intriguing degrees of both convergence and diversity, and which had previously been approached predominantly from a language-specific angle.

Appendix A: Introduction

The following appendices contain a large part of the data that Chapters 2 and 3 are based on, and their inclusion is meant to increase transparency as well as to establish a reference resource for subsequent research on the subject matter (see Section 1.7.2 for more discussion). Unlike the main body of the book, the appendices are sorted by macro-area > language > individual expressions > attested functions.

Many of the individual language sections contain short introductory remarks that list out data sources other than descriptive materials (e.g. corpora or text collections), give background information on language structure that I deemed helpful for the interpretation of the examples, and/or acknowledge the help of individual scholars who provided personal communication, provided glosses, etc. For each individual expression, the appendices start of with a "General information" subsection, which addresses the expression's woordhood (morphosyntactic status) and, in many instances, also contains notes on formal variation, syntactic behaviour, and/or etymology. Subsequently, the expression's categorisation as an exponent of phasal polarity is summarised. This discussion follows the templatic structure given in Figure A.1.

References

Specialisation: the evidence that the expression conforms to my definition (Section 1.4). Where the data are less than conclusive, an expression's tentative inclusion is made explicit.

Polarity sensitivity: whether the expression also participates in signalling NOT YET and/or NO LONGER

Pragmaticity: the expression's compatibility with the neutral and unexpectedly late scenarios of STILL.

(Syntax): notes on the expression's linear position and/or constituency.

(Further notes): possible usage restrictions, (in)compatibilities with certain inflections, the possibility to occur in elliptical utterances, etc.

Figure A.1: Templatic structure of initial overviews. List items in parenthesis are optional.

These background expositions are followed by (sub)sections for each of the attested functions, in order of their discussion in Chapters 2 and 3. In each instance, bibliographic references are given and the key findings therein are summarised. Where my own analyses of the data differ from existing descriptions, expand on them, or where analyses are of the tentative kind, this is again made explicit. The overviews are furthermore accompanied with illustrations from a wide array of sources. To allow for an easier interpretation of the data, I added context information to examples from actual discourse, together with glosses and, in the vast majority of instances, morpheme-by-morpheme segmentation.

Appendix B: Africa

B.1 Adama Fulfulde (adam1253, fub)

B.1.1 tawon

B.1.1.1 General information

- Form: there is a free variant *tawan*; in spoken registers, often reduced to *taw*.
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: fixed, clause-final position.
- Etymology: in all likelihood < Kanuri (Saharan) *dùwonyì* ‘first, before, still’.

B.1.1.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Klingenheben (1963: 54, 387, 435), Kramer (2021b) and de Wolf (1995: s.v. *yet*).
- Specialisation: described in line with my definition by Kramer (2021b).
- Pragmaticity: dependent on the specific variety; in the spoken variety that Kramer terms “Adamawa Fula Communis”, it is restricted to the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.

(B.1) Context: A young man was asked whether he is the owner of a shop.
Kay mi derkeejo ***tawon****.*
no 1SG young_man still
‘No, I am still a young man.’ (Kramer 2021b: 250)

(B.2) *Min mbiiɓe ma yaake en ɗonno haa Misra* ***tawon****.*
1PL.EXCL tell.PL OBJ.2SG CONJ 1PL.INCL LOC.ANT at Egypt still
‘We told you (this), when we were still in Egypt.’
(Genesis 29: 9, cited in Kramer 2021b: 250)

(B.3) *O yiɗi yah-go booko, ammaa o peeto* ***tawon****.*
NCL1 want.PFV go-INF school but NCL1 small still
‘He wants to go to school but he is still (too) small.’ (Kramer 2021b: 250)

B.1.1.3 Uses related toother phasal polarity concepts

B.1.1.3.1 Not yet

- In the data, this is only attested as a negative reply to polar questions.

(B.4) *On ’don yaha ngesa hande naa? – A’a,* ***tawon****. Sey jango.*
NCL24 LOC go field today Q no still until tomorrow
‘Are you (pl.) going to the field today? – No, [not] until tomorrow.’
(Pelletier & Skinner 1981: 122, glosses added)

(B.5) *A danyi yaa-de? –* ***Tawon!***
2SG succeed.PFV go-INF still
‘Did you manage to leave? – Not yet!’ (de Wolf 1995: s.v. *yet*, glosses added)

B.1.1.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.1.1.4.1 First, for now

- Klingenheben (1963: 54, 387, 435, 452), Kramer (2021b), Taylor (1953: 63), Labatut (1982: 177) and de Wolf (1995: s.v. *first*).

(B.6) Context: Jacob has prepared a meal. Esau has returned hungry from his field and has asked for some of the food. Jacob answers:
Soorranam daraja afaaku ma hannde nden
sell.DAT:OBJ.1SG privilege firstbornness POSS.2SG today DEM
tawon*.*
still
‘Sell me your birthright today first (i.e. then I will give you food).’
(Genesis 25: 31; cited in Kramer 2021b: 250)

(B.7) *Sey to o wari* ***tawan****.*
until when/if NCL1 come.PFV still
‘He must come first.’[1] (de Wolf 1995: s.v. *first*, glosses added)

(B.8) Context: A response to a greeting.
Jam ni ***tawon****.*
fine thus still
‘Fine for the moment.’ (Pelletier & Skinner 1981: 187–188, glosses added)

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[1] *Sey to* is a collocation meaning ‘only if, under the condition that’, see de Wolf (1995: s.v. *condition*).

B.2 Bambara (bam, bamb1269)

B.2.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn for discussing Bambara data with me, and for helping with tricky glosses. According to Dombrowsky-Hahn (2020, 2021), Bambara has four expressions for the concept of STILL. Only two of them, *túguni* and *bìlen*, appear to have additional functions. Lastly, note that Bambara has a typical West African "factative" (Welmers 1973: 346–347) system, i.e. those verbs typically labelled as being "stative" have an ongoing state reading in the perfective aspect as opposed to the reading of a bygone situation found with dynamic verbs (see Hewson 2016).

B.2.2 túgúni

B.2.2.1 General information

- Form: there is free variation *túguni~túgun~tún.*
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: fixed, clause-final position.
- Etymology: originally an iterative expression.

B.2.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Dumestre (2003: 327, 2011: 1003) and Dombrowsky-Hahn (2020, 2021).
- Specialisation: Dombrowsky-Hahn (2021) identifies this marker as one that is in line with my definition.
- Pragmaticity: restriced to the neutral scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: outer negation yields NO LONGER.
- Further note: rarely used as a STILL expression.

(B.9) *Nkà ń t' à dɔ́n l' à fɔ́ à bɛ́ bálo lá* ***tún****.*
but 1SG NEG.IPFV 3SG know INF 3SG say 3SG COP life at still
'But I don't know if she is still alive.' (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2021: 14)

(B.10) *Ò tɛ́ bìlen hábada kà né Silimakan Ardo tó bálo lá*
DEM IPFV.NEG still never INF 1SG S. A. remain life at
túgun*.*
still
'Cela ne se fera plus tant que moi Silamakan je serai vivan. [It will not ever happen again for as long as I, Silimakan, remain alive.]' (Dumestre 2003: 327, glosses added)

B.2.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.2.2.3.1 Iterative and restitutive

- Dumestre (2003: 327, 2011: 1003) and Dombrowsky-Hahn (2020).
- This function is restricted to the perfective aspect with dynamic predicates.
- Both iterative (B.11–B.13) and restitutive uses (B.14, B.15) are available.
- Examples (B.12, B.15) illustrates that the iterative and restitutive readings survive under negation.
- In (B.13) *túgun* is translated as 'aussi [also]' by Dumestre (2011). However, *túguni* does not appear to have an additive function outside this context, and a more literal translation would be 'You spoke again, saying' (Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn, p.c.). Note that *kó* is a defective verb, hence the absence of a perfective marker.

(B.11) Context: A fish spoke and was then cooked.
*À y' í kánto **túguni**.*
3sg pfv.tr refl speak still
'The fish spoke again.' (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2020: 118)

(B.12) Context: A jinn came to a village each rainy season, but then…
Jínɛ-kɛ túnun-na. Kàbini ó kɛ́-ra, mɔ̀gɔ
jinn-man get_lost-pfv.intr since anaph happen-pfv.intr person
*sí má jínɛ yé **túgun**.*
no neg.pfv jinn see still
'It disappeared. Since this happened, nobody saw the jinn again.' (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2020: 118)

(B.13) *I kó **túgun** kó.*
2sg say/quot still say/quot
'Tu dis aussi que … [You also said …]' (Dumestre 2011: 1003, glosses added)

(B.14) *À yé syɛ̀ mìnɛ k' à bìla **túgun**.*
3sg pfv.tr chicken catch inf 3sg let still
'He caught the chicken and let it free again.' (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2020: 118)

(B.15) Context: One person is about to smash a cane on another one's head. A third person has appeared and prevents this from happening.
Í bílo fila kɔ́rɔtàlen bɛ́ cógo mín à ní bére tɛ́ jìgin
2sg arm two raise.part cop way rel 3sg and stick neg.ipfv lower

túgun *dɛ́.*
still INTENS
'The way you hold your two arms, you will not lower the one holding the cane again.' (Dumestre 1979: 100, cited in Dombrowsky-Hahn 2020: 118)

B.2.3 bìlen

B.2.3.1 General information

- Form: there is free variation *bìlen~blèn.*
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: either in post-subject or clause-final position.
- Etymology: originally an iterative expression.

B.2.3.2 As a 'still' expression

- Dumestre (2003: 311), Dombrowsky-Hahn (2020, 2021) and Vydrine (2015: 123).
- Specialisation: described in line with my definition by Dombrowsky-Hahn (2021).
- Pragmaticity: *bìlen* on its own is only compatible with the neutral scenario; for the unexpectedly late scenario it needs to be combined with another STILL expression, *háli bì.*
- Polarity sensitivity: outer negation yields NO LONGER.
- Further notes: as a STILL expression, *bìlen* appears to be restricted to the dialect of Segu. Furthermore, this seems to be an infrequent use. Dumestre (2003: 311) notes "l'usage comme interjection … avec le sense de 'à cette heure-ci', 'encore maintenant' (avec une nuance de surprise et de reproche) [the usage as an interjection … with the sense of 'at this time, even now' (with a surprised and reproachful nuance)]".

(B.16) *Ń bɛ́ ò báara lá* ***bìlen*.**
1SG COP ANAPH work at still
'I am still doing that work.' (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2020: 120)

B.2.3.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.2.3.3.1 Iterative and restitutive

- Dombrowsky-Hahn (2020) and Vydrine (2015: 123).
- Both iterative (B.17) and restitutive uses (B.19) are available; without further discourse context, ex. (B.18) is ambiguous between the two.

- According to Dombrowsky-Hahn (2020), iterative and restitutive readings are restricted to the perfective aspect with dynamic predicates. Example (B.18) suggests that they are also available with the locative copula.
- Like the use of *bìlen* as still, the repetition function is described as infrequent.

(B.17) *À* ***bìlén*** *bòli-lá kà n' à fɔ́ à bámusò yé.*
3sg still run-pfv.intr inf come 3sg say 3sg mother to
'She ran again to tell her mother about this.' (Vydrine 2015: 123, glosses added)

(B.18) *Í bɛ́ yǎn* ***bìlén****.*
2sg cop here still
'Here you are again.' (Vydrine 2015: 123, glosses added)

(B.19) Context: Elephant said a forbidden word and immediately fell to the ground.
Sàma má wúli ***bìlen****.*
elephant neg.pfv get_up still
'Elephant did not get up again.' (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2020: 121)

B.2.3.4 Other functions

B.2.3.4.1 Emphatic negation

- Vydrine (2015: 123).
- There is only one example of this use in the data consulted.
- It is unclear if this is a homophonous marker, and if not, how this function relates to the other functions of *bìlen*.

(B.20) *Ù má sɔ̌n kà dòn sánsarà kɔ́nɔ* ***bìlén****.*
3pl neg.pfv agree inf enter cage inside still(?)
'They definitely refused to enter the cage.' (Vydrine 2015: 123, glosses added)

B.2.3.4.2 Negative hypotheticals

- Dumestre (2003: 311) and Vydrine (2015: 123).
- In this function, which is described as archaic, *bìlen* marks negative hypothetical conditionals ('if not'). It is unclear whether this is the same marker as phasal polarity *bìlen* 'still', and if so, how it relates to the other functions of this item.
- Syntax: invariably in post-subject position.

(B.21) *Í* ***bìlén*** *máà dòn fána, í bɛ́ tèrejuguya*
2sg still(?) neg.pfv enter also 2sg ipfv fate_of_sb_attracting_evil
sáyà kɛ́.
death do
'If you don't enter there, you will die ignominiously.' (Vydrine 2015: 123, glosses added)

(B.22) *Í bìlén bámanankaǹ mɛ́n…*
2sg still(?) Bamana_language understand
'If you don't understand the Bamana language…' (Vydrine 2015: 123, glosses added)

B.3 Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga Datooga (tcc, dato1239)

B.3.1 Introductory remarks

The data encompass the Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga varieties of North-Central Datooga (glottolog: nort3277).

B.3.2 údu-

B.3.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme (prefix).
- Form: There is a free variant *dúú-*.
- Etymology: unclear, but in all likelihood derived from a former biverbal construction (cf. Mitchell 2021: 428).
- Further note: in the context of *údu-*, tense-aspect inflection is reduced to a simple opposition of future vs. non-future, the latter being formally unmarked.

B.3.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Rottland (1982: 174, 179; 1983: 226) and Mitchell (2021).
- Specialisation: the description by Mitchell (2021: 426) meets my definition.
- Polarity sensitivity: outer negation yields no longer.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios.
- Further note: *údu-* as still is restricted to atelic predicates.

(B.23) Context: About in-law avoidance. Women of child-bearing age strictly obey linguistic taboos, but their importance diminishes with age.

*Gídá g-**ùdù**-gw-á-jíil-êan íi-lási*
thing aff-still-aff-subj.3-reproduce-ven cond:subj.2sg-cut.appl
qêawùn-gá gwéargwèe-da éa mùy
name-pl elder-sg cop bad.sg
'For someone who is still having children, if you say the name of your father-in-law, it's bad.' (Mitchell 2015: 132)

(B.24) A: *Géaléabu qwêenga íiyá níihíidí gáwíischòoda?*
'I'm back from firewood, dear; Have you finished milking?'
B: *G-**út**-tá-gáw-ìi-s-chì.*
aff-still-subj.1sg-milk-plur-appl-ap
'I'm still milking' (Mitchell 2021: 436)

B.3.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.3.2.3.1 Iterative (and restitutive?)

- Mitchell (2021).
- This function is restricted to telic predicates in the future tense (both affirmative and negated; ex. B.25, B.26) and to prohibitives (B.27).
- Mitchell describes (B.25) as iterative: "there will be a repeated instance of a prior fire-lighting event" (2021: 429). Similarly, she paraphrases the negative future example (B.26) as "will not repeat/occur again" (Mitchell 2021: 429). In absence of further discourse context I cannot exclude a restitutive reading, i.e. 'relight the fire', 'come back'.

(B.25) *G-ày-g-**úd**-êe-gwèarsíina gìchá?*
aff-fut-aff-still-subj.1pl-light_fire.appl again
'Shall we light the fire again?' (Mitchell 2021: 429)[2]

(B.26) *M-ày-g-**údú**-gá-bíigu.*
neg-fut-aff-still-subj.3-return.ven
'They [things of the past] won't return again.' (Mitchell 2021: 429)

(B.27) Context: Scolding a child.
*Ádá g-**ùt**-tá-yíi ... Ádá g-**ùd**-óo-sínyì níi*
proh aff-still-subj.1sg-hear proh aff-still-subj.2pl-do prox
n-ì-hít.
ant-subj.3-come.ven
'Don't let me hear this again; don't do this again; it's done.' (Mitchell 2021: 429–430)

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[2] *gìchá* 'again' seems to emphasize the repetition.

B.3.2.3.2 Near past

- Mitchell (2021).
- This function is restricted to telic predicates in affirmative non-future forms. With predicates that can be construed as either telic or atelic, such as ‘eat’ in (B.30), both the immediate past interpretation as well as the phasal polarity one are available.

(B.28) *G-**út**-tá-hídù.*
aff-still-subj.1sg-arrive.ven
‘I’ve just arrived.’ (Mitchell 2021: 430)

(B.29) *G-á-bày èa míi dá-yíi hà*
aff-subj.3-be_early conj neg.cop subj.1sg-hear dm
*g-**út**-tà-yíi qámnà.*
aff-still-subj.1sg-hear now
‘I’ve never heard this; I’ve just heard it now.’ (Mitchell 2021: 431)

(B.30) *G-**út**-téa-ág-ìi-s-chì.*
aff-still-subj.1sg-eat-plur-appl-antip
i. ‘I’ve just eaten [something].’
ii. ‘I’m still eating.’ (Mitchell 2021: 430)

B.3.2.4 Broadly modal and interactional uses

B.3.2.4.1 Non-happening

- Mitchell (2021).
- This function is restricted to telic predicates in negated non-future forms.
- This likely goes back to no longer, via a mapping from times to possible worlds (a predicted course of events ceases to be true).

(B.31) *[N-ì-]néek-íid àbà híji áa m-**údú**-qwáa-hìidu*
ant-3-close-inch loc here conj neg-still-subj.3-arrive.caus.ven
‘He approached here but he didn’t bring it.’ (Mitchell 2021: 431)

(B.32) *M-**údú**-qà-m*
neg-still-subj.3-die
‘S/he didn’t actually die.’ (Mitchell 2021: 432)

B.4 Bende (bdp, bend1258)

B.4.1 Introductory remarks

Bende has a fairly typical Narrow Bantu noun class system. I have glossed the individual classes as ncl 'noun class' plus Arabic numeral, following the common Bleek-Meinhof system.

B.4.2 syá-

B.4.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme (verb prefix).
- Form: there is a free variant *sí-* in some functions.

B.4.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Abe (2015, 2016).
- Form: also in the variant *sí-*.
- Specialisation: the description by Abe meets my definition.
- Polarity sensitivity: does not appear to combine with negation.
- Pragmaticity: no conclusions possible, based on the available data.
- Further notes: *syá-* as an exponent of still frequently occurs with copula *lɪ* plus an inflected predicate (B.34). With inchoative lexical verbs, *syá-* is compatible with the perfective aspect inflection, yielding a persistent state (B.35).

(B.33) *Li-**syá**-lí=ko*
subj.ncl5-still-cop=ncl17(loc)
'(The sun) is still there. (a greeting in daytime)' (Abe 2015: 31)

(B.34) *Tu-**syá**-lí tu-líkú-lyǎ.*
subj.1pl-still-cop subj.1pl-prs-eat
'We are still eating.' (Abe 2015: 29)

(B.35) *Tu-**syá**-nyúnk-ílé*
subj.1pl-still-stink-pfv
'We still stink.' (Abe 2016)

B.4.2.3 Usages relating toother phasal polarity concepts

B.4.2.3.1 Not yet

- Abe (2015, 2016).

- This function obtains in combination with copula *lɪ*, either together with an infinitival complement (B.36, B.37), or no complement at all. The latter cases include negative one-word responses to polar questions, as in the second token in (B.38) as well as polar questions biased towards a negative response; see the first token in (B.38).

(B.36) *Tu-**syá**-lí kú-ɣúla.*
subj.1pl-still-cop ncl15(inf)-buy
‘We haven’t bought yet.’ (Abe 2015: 26)

(B.37) *Tu-**syá**-lí kú-kolá mú-límo.*
subj.1pl-still-cop ncl15(inf)-do ncl3-work
‘We haven’t worked yet.’ (Abe 2015: 26)

(B.38) *U-**syá**-lí? – N-**syá**-lí.*
subj.2sg-still-cop subj.1sg-still-cop
‘Haven’t you (cooked) yet? – Not yet.’ (Abe 2015: 26)

B.4.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.4.2.4.1 First

- Abe (2015, 2016).
- This function obtains only in the (formally unmarked) imperfective present. It is noteworthy, however, that it has a directive force.
- Abe (2016) points out that this function is compatible with all actional classes, including inchoative verbs (which would require the perfective aspect inflection to be compatible with still).

(B.39) *Tu-**sí**-kola / tu-**syá**-kola mú-límó*
subj.1pl-still-do subj.1pl-still-do ncl3-work
i. ‘We are still working’
ii. ‘Let us work first.’ (Abe 2015: 29)

(B.40) *Tu-**syá**-tehǎ.*
subj.1pl-still-love
‘Let us love first.’ (Abe 2016)

B.4.2.4.2 Near past

- Abe (2015, 2016).
- Form: also in the variant *sí-*. This use is restricted to the perfective aspect/ anterior inflection.

(B.41) *Tu-**syá**-kos-ílé* / *tu-**sí**-kos-ílé* *mú-límo.*
subj.1pl-still-do-pfv subj.1pl-still-do-pfv ncl3-work
'We have finished working just now.' (Abe 2015: 25)

(B.42) *Tu-**syá**-teék-ílé*
subj.1pl-still-cook-pfv
'We have just cooked' (Abe 2016)

(B.43) *Tu-**syá**-lí* *tu-nyaágh-ílé*
subj.1pl-still-cop subj.1pl-bathe-pfv
'We have just bathed.' (Abe 2016)

B.5 Chuwabu (chw, chuw1238)

B.5.1 Introductory remarks

Chuwabu has a fairly typical Narrow Bantu noun class system. I have glossed the individual classes as ncl 'noun class' plus Arabic numeral, following the common Bleek-Meinhof system.

B.5.2 =vi

B.5.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme (enclitic).
- Syntax: attaches to its focus; as a still expression, the host is the predicate.
- Etymology: unknown, but similar to *viina* 'also', which is involved in the expression of no longer.

B.5.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Guérois (2015: 310–311, 2021).
- Specialisation: the discussion by Guérois (2021) gives a decent indication that this marker conforms to my definition. Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from the robustly attested still–restrictive polysemy (Section 3.4.2).
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.

(B.44) Context: Ddoolrinddo has been killed by her sister. She has turned into a singing flower. People hear her singing. Some time later:
*Ddóólríndd' óó-now-ííbá=**vi**.*
D. subj.ncl1-ipfv-sing=still
'Ddoolrinddo is still singing.' (Guérois 2015: 588)

(B.45) *Vátî* *vaa-rîbá* *(na vánó)*
NCL16.ground SUBJ.NCL16:PFV-be_dark until now
*mu-nó-lába=**vi**?*
subj.2SG-IPFV-work=still
'The night has come and you are still working?' (Guérois 2021: 168)

B.5.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.5.2.3.1 Always, all the time

- Guérois (2021).
- =*vi* is attested with a range of 'always, all the time, constantly' uses.

(B.46) *Mu-kwél-e* *bábááni*
NCL18(LOC)-die-APPL-PFV.REL my_father(NCL1)
dd-a-gon-ágá *ddi-ǹ-kál'*
SUBJ.NCL1-SUBORD-sleep-HAB SUBJ.NCL1-IPFV-COP
*óó-mu-rohá=**vi**.*
NCL15(INF)-OBJ.NCL1-dream=still
'Since my father died, while sleeping, I keep dreaming of him.'
(Guérois 2015: 218)

(B.47) Context: A certain man's wife constantly falls sick.
eǹtãwu vēléval' *aápale*
then DIST.NCL16(LOC) DIST.NCL16(LOC)
m-oon-él-iiyé *wíî* *íyééne*
SUBJ.NCL18(LOC)-see-APPL-PFV.REL:3SG COMP 3SG
ó-n-óbúléla *vaddíddí ka-á-vódh'*
SUBJ.NCL1-IPFV-get_sick much NEG.SUBJ.NCL1-PST.IPFV-be_able
oottidda *mabas'* *aápále* *va-tákúlú*
NCL15(INF).hold.PL NCL6.work DIST.NCL6 NCL16(LOC)-house(NCL9)
sabw' *eelá* *w-aá-kála* *mu-reddá=**ví*** *ábále,*
because COMP SUBJ.NCL1-PST.IPFV-COP NCL1-sick.PL=still DIST.NCL2
ábáálé *éenâ* *á-á-ni-mu-nyapwaaríya.*
NCL2.sister NCL2.other SUBJ.NCL2-PST-IPFV-OBJ.NCL1-despise
'Then, when she saw that she was always getting ill, (that) she was not able to clean the house she was always sick, those ones, the other sisters, despised her.' (Guérois 2015: 608)

B.5.2.3.2 Distant future

- Guérois (2021).
- According to Guérois (2021) the use of =*vi* in the future tense can suggest a later occurrence than the use of the “bare” future. Thus, if =*vi* were to be removed in (B.48), time frame adverbials such as ‘today’ or ‘tomorrow’ would be more suitable than *sumaán’ ééjw’ ééṇdhawo* ‘next week’

(B.48) *Ddi-neel-óó-gulá=**vi** má-fúgi sumaán’*
SUBJ.1SG-FUT.AUX-NCL15(INF)-buy NCL6-banana NCL9.week
ééjw’ éé-ṇ-d-a=wo
DEM.NCL7/9 SUBJ.NCL7/9-IPFV-come-REL=NCL16(LOC)
‘I will buy bananas next week.’ (Guérois 2021: 191)

B.5.2.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

B.5.2.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Guérois (2015: 310–312, 2021).
- In this function, =*vi* can take verbs (B.49), nominals (B.50), and adverbials (B.49) as its host.

(B.49) *Mw-aap-él-íiyé, kurúmáanj’*
SUBJ.NCL18(LOC)-APPL-PFV.REL:3SG bee.sp(NCL1)
*oó-n-ósógóra ó-n-ódhówá=**vi**, íyéené*
SUBJ.NCL1-IPFV-go_on SUBJ.NCL1-IPFV-go=still 3SG
*oó-n-ó-ḿ-fwará=**vi***
SUBJ.NCL1-IPFV-OBJ.NCL1-follow=still
‘Now she plucked it, the bee.sp is going on, he going, she following him.’ (Guérois 2015: 311)

(B.50) *Nikúrábedha o-fíy’ óó-fíy-iléé=ye*
Dugong NCL15(INF)-arrive NCL15(INF)-arrive-PFV.REL=3SG
*o-ṃ-fwany-ilé baáŕku=**vi**.*
SUBJ.NCL1-OBJ.NCL1-meet-PFV boat(NCL1)=still
Mr. Dugong, hardly had he arrived, found only the boat.’ (Guérois 2021: 167)

(B.51) *Ddi-ṃ́-fúná ddi-tagîh-é vañgónó=**vi** ésíle*
SUBJ.1SG-IPFV-want SUBJ.1SG-repeat-SBJV a_little=still DIST.NCL8/10
dhi-íw-il=îîmi.
SUBJ.NCL8/10-hear-PFV.REL=1SG
‘I want to talk just a little bit about what I heard.’ (Guérois 2021: 167–168)

B.5.2.5 Broadly modal and interactional functions

B.5.2.5.1 Concessive apodoses

- Guérois (2021).
- This function only obtains in the future tense. There is only one example in the available data, which involves the apodosis of an alternative concessive conditional. The concessive reading might go back to *=vi* as STILL, but could also be motivated by its restrictive function (Appendix B.5.2.4.1), i.e. by emphasising the identity of outcome in both possible scenarios.

(B.52) *Oo-kálá* *vénévá*
SUBJ.2SG.PFV-COP DEM.NCL16(LOC)
ku-kál-lé=vo *íyéén'* *ó-neel'*
NEG.SUBJ.2SG-COP-PFV=NCL16(LOC) 2SG SUBJ.NCL1-FUT.AUX
*óó-kwa=**vi**.*
NCL15(INF)-die=still
'Whether or not you are here (lit. you are here, you are not here), he is still going to die.' (Guérois 2021: 190)

B.6 Ewe (ewe, ewee1241)

B.6.1 ga-

B.6.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme (prefix).
- Etymology <*gbɔ~gba* 'come back, return'.

B.6.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Ameka (2008), Rongier (2015: 468) and Westermann (1905–1906: 152); further discussion throughout van Baar (1997).
- Specialisation: identified as a STILL expression by van Baar (1997)
- Polarity sensitivity: outer negation yields NOT YET.
- Pragmaticity and further note: *ga-* as STILL often co-occurs with *ko* 'just' (B.53). According to van Baar (1997: 76) *ko*, or its reduplicate *kokooko* (B.55, B.56), is compulsory in the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Further note: all examples of *ga-* as STILL in the literature involve a copula.

(B.53) *É-**ga**-le aha no-m ko.*
3SG-still-LOC.COP alcohol drink-PROG only
‘He is still drinking alcohol.’ (Ameka 2018, cited in Kramer 2021a: 8)

(B.54) *Peter **ga**-le London.*
P. still-LOC.COP L.
‘Peter is still in London.’ (van Baar 1997: 24)

(B.55) *Égbe lá, é-fé ŋ́kɔ́ **ga**-li kokoo~ko.*
today DEF 3SG-POSS name still-LOC.COP.3SG REDUPL~just
‘Today, his name still exists.’ (Ameka 2008: 142)

(B.56) *Fo, è-**ga**-le dɔme-dzo-e dó-ḿ ɖé*
elder_brother 2SG-still-LOC.COP stomach-fire-DIM wear-PROG at
ŋú-nye kokoo~ko a?
side-1SG REDUPL~just Q
‘Dear, are you still annoyed with me?’ (Ameka 1991: 582)

B.6.1.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.6.1.3.1 Iterative and restitutive

- Ameka (1991: 49, 2008), Rongier (2015: 468) and Westermann (1905–1906: 152, 1907: 73).
- Both an iterative (B.57-B.59) and a restitutive (B.60, B.61) use are available.
- This function can optionally be reinforced through *áké* ‘again’, as in (B.57).

(B.57) *Me-**ga**-vá yi (áké).*
SG-still-come go (again)
‘I have passed again.’ (Ameka 2008: 142)

(B.58) *Kofi **ga**-le avi fa-ḿ.*
K. still-LOC.COP cry cry-PROG
‘Kofi is crying again.’ (Ameka 1991: 49)

(B.59) *Dzilá-wó á-**ga**-ɸo nu ná wó vi lá kpɔ́.*
parent-PL IRR-still-strike mouth to 3PL child DEF PFV
‘The parents will (try to) speak again to their child.’
(Ameka 1991: 146)

(B.60) *Ékemá súbɔ́lá-wó **ga**-kɔ́-nɛ yi-a núɖuxɔme*
then servant-PL still-carry-HAB.3SG go-HAB dining_room
‘Then the servants carry him back to the dining room.’ (Ameka 2008: 142)

(B.61) *Hé ɗe nè-**ga**-trɔ́ gbɔ-na loo?*
INTERJ Q 2SG-still-turn come-HAB Q
‘Hey! Are you coming back or what?’ (Ameka 1991: 483)

B.6.1.4 Additive and related functions

B.6.1.4.1 Additive

- Rongier (2015: 468) and Westermann (1905–1906: 153).
- As with many expressions in my sample, several examples involve other additive markers (B.63,B.64)

(B.62) *É-**ga**-fiá abé dɔsrɔ́ví la xɔxɔ ḍé aɸetɔ́-wó ɸé*
3SG-still-show as_if apprentice DEF receive into master-PL POSS
hame ené
group as
‘It also shows as if the apprentice has been accepted into the group of masters.’ (Ameka 1991: 63)

(B.63) *Wó-**ga**-ḍe kúkú ná máwú bé wò-a ná bé śemanú*
3PL-still-take_off hat to God COMP 3SG-IRR cause COMP S.
ná-xɔ ɗaseɗi-gbalē lá hã.
SBJV-get certificate DEF too
‘They also begged God to grant that Semanu should receive a certificate.’ (Ameka 1991: 612)

(B.64) *É-nye hatí-nyè, **ga**-nyé xɔ̃́-nyè hã̂.*
3SG-COP colleague-1SG still-COP friend-1SG also
‘Il est mon camarade mais aussi mon ami. [He’s my colleague, and also my friend.]’ (Westermann 1905–1906: 153, glosses added)

B.6.1.5 Broadly modal and interactional functions

B.6.1.5.1 Prohibitives

- Ameka (1991: 53) and Westermann (1907: 67).
- *Ga-* is a requisite part of prohibities.
- As both Ameka and Westermann 1907 point out, this is motivated by *ga-* in its iterative function (Appendix B.6.1.3.1) and the marking of NO LONGER, which builds on the latter.

(B.65) *Me-**ga**-dzró nú o.*
NEG.2SG-still-desire thing NEG
‘Do not crave for things.’ (Ameka 1991: 358)

(B.66) *Me-**ga**-yi o!*
neg.2sg-go neg
‘N’y va pas! [Don’t go!]’ (Rongier 2015: 468, glosses added)

B.7 Kaba (sbz, sara1319)

B.7.1 bbáy

B.7.1.1 General information

- Form: also transcribed as *ɓə́y*.
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: fixed, clause-final position.

B.7.1.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Keegan (2014: 41), Moser (2004: 423–425) and Moser & Dingatoloum (2007: 10).
- Specialisation: examples (B.67–B.70) give a good indication that *bbáy* conforms to my definition. For instance, in (B.67) it not only triggers the presupposition that Enjamgotoje was at home before, but also introduces a dynamic perspective towards his return (i.e. him no longer being at home). Similarly, in (B.68) *bbáy* evokes an alternative scenario: if the drum were no longer with the corpse, there would be no reason to complain.
- Pragmaticity: the available data allow no conclusions.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.
- Further note: ex. (B.70) illustrates *bbáy* under a verb of manipulation.

(B.67) Context: The opening lines of a narrative.
Esú dé kə̀ Enjàmgòtóje d-îya kùla, ngà kùla lè
E. 3pl com E. subj.3pl-hide trap then trap of
Enjàmgòtóje lé ùbba éngɔru. Ngà kàké Enjàmgòtóje nàyn
E. that catch pigeon then when E. stay
bbè-é ***bbáy*** *à Esúje ddèe ke ngɔru ɔ̀ru éngɔrú*
village-loc still then E. come adv quickly take_away pigeon
lé kúla lè Enjàmgòtóje lé ùlà kùlà té là-á.
that trap of E. that place trap loc of-3sg
‘Esu and Enjamgotoje made traps and Enjamgotoje’s trap caught a pigeon and when he [Enjamgotoje’s] was still at home, Esu came quickly and removed the bird from Enjamgotoje’s trap and put it

into his trap.' (Ejamgoteje then returns to the traps, and the two start quarreling about the bird) (Moser 2004: 435)

(B.68) Context: The protagonist has borrowed a group of girls his drum so that they could use it in a funeral ceremony. When he comes to take it back, he finds the skin of the drum perforated. He complains of his hardship.
Dàlé-m nàyn tà ndúm yò té ***bbáy****.*
drum-poss.1sg stay mouth rotten corpse loc still
'My drum is still in the mouth of the rotten corpse.' (Moser 2004: 446)

(B.69) *Bbó náyn tò pòr-ó* ***bbáy*** *à n-únga wa bìr-í.*
if sauce cop fire-loc still then subj.3sg-pour millet mortar-loc
'If the sauce is still on the fire, she pours the millet into the mortar.' (Moser 2004: 296)

(B.70) *E-ndìkí tà kàre ǹ-tɔ́n tam* ***bbay****?*
2sg-want comp 1pl-chew talk still
'Do you want that we talk still?' (Moser 2004: 381)

B.7.1.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.7.1.3.1 Iterative and restitutive

- Moser (2004: 426).
- Iterative readings are illustrated in (B.71, B.72). Examples (B.73, B.74), both of which describe the same situation, are clear cases of a restitutive reading. Example (B.75) also appears to be restitutive. Note that it includes a verb *tél* 'return', which might be (partially) responsible for this interpretation.
- The iterative use is also apparent in the reduplicated ideophone *bbáybbáy* 'repeated action' (Moser & Dingatoloum 2007: 10, 314, 357).

(B.71) *J-à kòo nàa* ***bbáy*** *á ma!*
subj.1pl-fut see recp still fut dm:wish
'We shall see each other again (I hope).' (Moser & Dingatoloum 2007: 126, glosses added)

(B.72) Context: On a previous occasion, Esu has sung a terrifying song to his child. His wife is hiding and spying on him.
Esú ùnn kùtù tà kɔ̀sù pa là-á ke kára bààn lé ***bbay****.*
E. seize buttock purp sing song gen-3sg adv one like det still
'Esu began again to to sing his unique song.' (Moser 2004: 450)

(B.73) Context: The story's protagonist has met a woman who was collecting salt and has given her a bird.
Dèné lé tàa yèel lé íla pòr-ó à àw tà mbɔ́n kàte
woman that take bird that throw fire-LOC and go PURP collect salt
bbáy.
still
'The woman took Esu's bird and placed it on the fire and went to collect salt again.' (i.e. she leaves the scene to resume collecting salt) (Moser 2004: 436)

(B.74) Context: The bird that Esu has given the woman appears to have burned in the fire. The woman is speaking.
Bɔ̀i lé ay! Yèel lá m-il-ɛ́ pòr-ó à
father that DM bird FOC SUBJ.1SG-place-OBJ.3SG fire-LOC and
m-aw tà mbɔ́n kàte lèé-m ***bbáy*** *à yèel lé ngàá nòto*
SUBJ.1SG-go PURP collect salt GEN-1SG still and bird that now burn
nèénn sé ma!
here see that
'My god. Look! The bird that I put into the fire and I went to gather my salt again, this bird is now completely reduced to charcoal, as you see.' (Moser 2004: 437)

(B.75) *Babe kàrə tà dodo tél in* ***bbáy***.
SEQ CAUS PURP fight return rise still
'Before it will also cause the fight to start again.' (Moser 2004: 425)

B.7.1.3.2 Prospective 'eventually'

- In (B.76–B.78) *bbáy* refers to eventualities that are yet to happen.
- While (B.76, B.77) both involve proverbs, ex. (B.78) and the available data on cognates of *bbáy* in other Sara languages indicate that this use is more productive. See, for instance, the examples throughout Keegan (2014), Thayer (1978) and Vandame (1963) on *ɓə́y~ɓí* in Kaba's closest relatives Ngambay and Laka, as well as Palayer (1989: 244, 1992: 167) on Sar *báy*.

(B.76) *M-á dda* ***bbáy*** *á étɛ̀n ùnda né káre*
SUBJ.1SG-FUT do still FOC t.o._insect SUBJ.2SG.place ANAPH stalk
té.
LOC
'"I will do it later" causes the insect to live on a millet stalk (proverb: to be a boaster is to create problems).' Moser & Dingatoloum 2007: 50, glosses added)

(B.77) *M-á dda* ***bbáy*** *á ùjà wàlà.*
SUBJ.1SG-FUT do still FOC SUBJ.2SG.harvest weed
'He who says "I'll do it" will harvest weeds (proverb: he who puts things off for tomorrow will find troubles on the way).' (Moser & Dingatoloum 2007: 10, glosses added)

(B.78) *Àkàá kə̀sə nàrὲ làá nàyn tà kàrə ń-tél*
but leftover money GEN.3SG stay PURP CAUS SUBJ.3SG-return
né d-ár-έ ***bbay****.*
ANAPH SUBJ.3PL-DAT-OBJ.3SG still
'But his change remained to be returned to him yet.' (Moser 2004: 356)

B.7.1.3.3 Sequencing 'and then, afterwards' (?)

- Moser & Dingatoloum (2007: 310, 407).
- Moser & Dingatoloum (2007) list *ensuite* 'afterwards' and *puis* 'then' as senses of this item. This could refer to the prospective 'eventually' use of *bbáy* (Section 2.4.4, Appendix B.7.1.3.2), but may also be indicative of a sequencing function. While there are no clear-cut instances of the latter in the data consulted, such a use is undoubtedly found with the cognate cognate expression *ɓə́y~ɓí* in Kaba's very close relatives Ngambay and Laka (B.79–B.81). An example like (B.81), featuring the future tense, could be read as both 'and then' or'eventually'.

(B.79) Ngambay
K-únd-á sár~sár ɓá d-ḭā̰-á
SUBJ.3PL-beat-OBJ.3SG REDUPL~long_time first SUBJ.3PL-let-OBJ.3SG
ɓə́y*.*
still
'Ils le frappaient pendant longtemps, puis ils l'ont laissé. [They were hitting him for a long time, then they left him.]' (Keegan 2014: 259, glosses added)

(B.80) Laka
ɨ́-tɔ́l bāngàw ɓá d-ɔ́ bɨ̄ ***ɓí****.*
SUBJ.3PL-peel sweet_potato first SUBJ.3PL-fry still
'On pèle la patate douce avand de la frire. [One peels the sweet potato first and then fries it.]' (Keegan 2014: 123, glosses added)

(B.81) Laka
Iyā̰-m̄ ā-m̄ m-ə́jī njḛ́ ɓá m-á pà
let-OBJ.1SG give-OBJ.1SG SUBJ.1SG-think little first SUBJ.1SG-FUT say
kàr̄-ī ***ɓí****.*
give-OBJ.1PL still
'Laisse-moi réfléchir un peu d'abord et après je te dirai. [Let me think a bit first and then I'll tell you.]' (Keegan 2014: 142, glosses added)

B.7.1.4 Additive and related functions

B.7.1.4.1 Additive

- Moser (2004: 425).
- Moser (2004: 425) lists 'more' as one of the senses of *bbáy*. The only clear-cut example of this is (B.82), which is hard to delineate from an iterative reading ('give us water again, please'). However, additive uses are clearly attested for the cognate expression *ɓə́y~ɓí* in Kaba's very close relative Ngambay (B.83).

(B.82) *Ar-i-je-jé màann* ***bbáy****.*
SUBJ.2.give-MOD-PL-OBJ.1PL water still
'Give us some more water please.' (Moser & Dingatoloum 2007: 60, glosses added)

(B.83) Ngambay
Mbáiuàlá á kào sə-ḿ – Mā ***ɓéi.***
M. FUT.3 go with-1SG 1SG still
'Mbaywala ira avec moi. – Moi aussi! [Mbaywala will go with you – Me, too!]' (Vandame 1963: 119, glosses added)

B.8 Manda (mgs, mand1423)

B.8.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Rasmus Bernander for discussing Manda data with me, and for eliciting additional examples. Note that Manda has a typical Narrow Bantu noun class system. Noun class prefixes in the examples are glossed as NCL for 'noun class', together with an Arabic numeral that follows the common Bleek-Meinhof system of referring to Bantu noun classes.

B.8.2 (a)kona

B.8.2.1 General information

- Form: there is variation (partially morphophonemic, partially free) between forms with and without the initial vowel segment.
- Wordhood: intermediate, an auxiliary-like element that requires subject marking.

B.8.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Bernander (2017: 259–265, 2021)
- Specialisation: described in line with my definition; see especially Bernander (2021: 51).
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET, but this is uncommon, the normal choice being (*a*)*kona* plus infinitive (Appendix B.8.2.4.1). NO LONGER is expressed via negation plus *kávílɪ* ‘again’.
- Further note: compatible with the perfective aspect in a stative reading (B.85).

(B.84) *N-**ákóna** ku-Songéa, kóma ni-páng-í’*
SUBJ.1SG-still NCL17(LOC)-S. but SUBJ.1SG-plan-PFV
ku-séléla lu-kúmbi lu-chókópi.
NCL15(INF)-descend NCL11-time NCL11-soon
‘I’m still in Songea, but I have planned to descend (to the lake litoral) in soon time.’ (Bernander 2017: 261)

(B.85) Context: My God, I have waited for Michael for half an hour now.
*Á-**kóna** á-v-íli ku-ndɪndíma.*
SUBJ.NCL1-still SUBJ.NCL1-be(come)-PFV NCL17(LOC)-NCL9.toilet
‘He is still (sitting) on the toilet?!’ (Bernander 2021: 54)

(B.86) *W-**akona** w-i-henga lihengu? – Ena, n-**akona**.*
SUBJ.2SG-still SUBJ.2SG-PRS-work NCL5.work yes SUBJ.1SG-still
‘Are you still working? – Yes, I still am.’ (Rasmus Bernander, p.c.)

B.8.2.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

B.8.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- (*A*)*kona* is attested in scalar contexts, both of a decrease (B.87, B.88) and a limited increase (B.89). Note how (B.89) features no overt ‘only’ marker.
- Also see Appendix B.8.2.3.2 for a use that is clearly based on a scalar decrease.

(B.87) Context: We're at a bar. I suggest we get another round, but you've run out of money.
*Kotokai ku-holalela n-**akona** nina*
proh ncl15(inf)-think_about subj.1sg-still subj.1sg-com
sende/silingi elufu kumi ya-ni-ku-hemel-il-ayi.
money/shillings thousand ten fut-subj.1sg-obj.2sg-buy-appl-fut
Don't worry, I still got ten thousand shillings, I'll invite you.'
(Rasmus Bernander, p.c.)

(B.88) *Y-**akona** my-ese yi-debe ku-hika li-gono*
subj.ncl4-still ncl4-month ncl4-few ncl15(inf)-arrive ncl5-day
l-angu l-a ku-hogol-eka.
ncl5-poss.1sg ncl5-assoc ncl15-give_birth-acaus
'There's still a few months (left) until my birthday.'
(Rasmus Bernander, p.c.)

(B.89) Context: We're supposed to be sent a total of five books.

A: *Nipatili ncheche.*
'I've gotten four so far.'

B: *Nene nani nivili nafu ncheche.*
'Me too, I've got four.'

C: *Nene n-**akona** ni-v-ili na-fu*
1sg subj.1sg-still subj.1sg-be(come)-pfv with-dem.ncl8
fi-datu.
ncl8-three
'Me, I've still only got three.' (Rasmus Bernander, p.c.)

B.8.2.3.2 Scalar contexts, soon: (*a*)*kona* loc-*chokópi*

- Bernander (2021)).
- This function occurs in collocation with *chokópi* 'little' marked for a locative class (usually ncl 16) plus the corresponding subject agreement.
- This is clearly an extension of a scalar use (i.e. 'little [time] still [left] > 'soon'); also cf. Swahili *bado kidogo* 'still a bit, not quite yet [lit. still a little]'.
- Syntax: always follows the foregrounded verb, thus occupying (what in a single clause would be) the typical adverbial position. As Bernander (2021) points out, together with the restriction to locative marking, this can be taken as an indication for the construction's petrification and reanalysis as an adverbial.

(B.90) *Ya-u-sóv-i* ***p-ákóna*** ***pa-chokópi*.**
fut-subj.ncl14-be_lost-fut subj.ncl16(loc)-still ncl16(loc)-little
'It will **soon** be lost (the flour) (lit. it will be lost, it is still a little').'
(Bernander 2021: 58)

B.8.2.4 Uses related toother phasal polarity-concepts

B.8.2.4.1 Not yet

- Bernander (2017: 262–265, 2021)
- This function occurs in the following contexts:
  - With an infinitival complement, as in (B.91, B.92); this not yet construction can also mark a temporal clause of precedence ('not yet *p*, *q*' ≡ 'before *p*, *q*').
  - In the absence of an overt predicate. This encompasses questions following an 'already or still' > 'already or not yet' pattern (B.93) and negative one-word replies (B.94). Note that (*a*)*kona* can also serve as an elliptical affirmative answer, as in (B.86) above. Closely related to disjunctive questions is the use as a pro-predicate in contexts suggesting a polarity contrast; see (B.95).

(B.91) Context: My God, I have waited for Michael for half an hour now.
*Á-**kóna*** ***ku**-píta* *ku-ndɪndíma.*
subj.ncl1-still ncl15(inf)-leave ncl17(loc)-ncl9.toilet
'Has he not yet left the toilet?!' (Bernander 2021: 54)

(B.92) *N-**ákóna*** ***ku**-líma* *ng'ʊ́nda* *w-ángu.*
subj.1sg-still ncl15(inf)-cultivate ncl3.plot ncl3-poss.1sg
'I have not cultivated my plot yet.' (Bernander 2021: 45)

(B.93) *W-i-hótó'* *ku-gésa* *ku-wóna* *kítá'* *ng'-káti*
subj.2sg-prs-can ncl15(inf)-try ncl15(inf)-see comp ncl3-bread
gú-p-ílí *au w-**ákóna**.*
subj.ncl3-be_baked-pfv or subj.ncl3-still
'You can try to see whether the bread has been baked or not yet.'
(Bernander 2017: 265)

(B.94) Context: Can I take the phone?
*Y-**ákóna**.*
subj.ncl9-still
'Not yet (it is still charging).' (Bernander 2017: 265)

(B.95) *Kwa hɪnu u-meme u-hiki pa-Nkomang'ombi*
for now ncl14-electricity subj.ncl14-arrive.pfv ncl16(loc)-N.
*ni ku-Lwɪlu koma fi-jiji f-ɪngɪ fy-**akona**.*
com ncl.17(loc)-L. but ncl8-village ncl8-other subj.ncl8-still
'So far electricity has come to (the villages of) Nkomgang'ombi and Lwilu, but to other villages, not yet.' (Rasmus Bernander, p.c.)

B.8.2.5 Marginality

- *(A)kona* is compatible with a range of marginality readings.

(B.96) Context: About a swimming contest.
*Rehema n-**akona** ni-ku-m-pɪta, kangi Pili*
R. subj.1sg-still subj.1sg-prs-obj.ncl1-pass but P.
a-nya ma-kakala ku-pɪta nene.
subj.ncl1-have ncl6-strength ncl15(inf)-pass 1sg
'Rehema I can still beat, but Pili is too strong for me.'
(Rasmus Bernander, p.c.)

(B.97) *Ludeva y-**akona** ku-Pangwa, Nkomang'ombi*
L. subj.ncl9-still ncl17(loc)-P. N.
yi-mali ku-vya ku-Manda.
subj.ncl9-already ncl15(inf)-be(come) ncl17(loc)-M.
'Ludeva [village] is still in Pangwa territory, Nkokmang'ombi is already Manda land.' (Rasmus Bernander, p.c.)

B.9 Mundang (mua, mund1325)

B.9.1 ɓà

B.9.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Form: can merge with interrogative *nè* yielding *ɓàā* (Appendix B.9.1.4.1).
- Syntax: invariably in clause-final position.

B.9.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Elders (2000: 332, 379–381, 457).
- Specialisation: Elders's description meets my definition.

- Pragmaticity: According to Elders (2000: 379), *ɓà* invariably construes a situation as unexpectedly late (hence his label "tardatif"). It is, however, not entirely clear whether this is supported by the data, or rather a theory-driven conclusion. Elders references Schadeberg (1990), who considers counter-expectation to be an inherent component of STILL – see van der Auwera 2021 for a recent criticism. Most French translations of examples feature both *encore* and *toujours*. This fact and examples like (B.99) suggest that *bà* is compatible with the neutral scenario, as well.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Further note: *ɓà* is compatible with the anterior aspect when the latter is combined with the so-called "convictif" *ròò*, a type of modal marker with an intersubjective component (see Elders 2000: 434–436). This collocation gives a reading of a persistent result state, as in (B.100).

(B.98) *Bwàm tə̀-n* ***ɓà.***
rain fall_from_sky-IPFV still
'Il pleut toujours/Il pleut encore. [It is still raining.]' (Elders 2000: 380)

(B.99) *Mò yɛ́l* ***ɓà.***
SUBJ.2SG child still
'Tu es encore enfant. [You are still a child.]' (Elders 2000: 380)

(B.100) *Kàl ɓè ròò* ***ɓà.***
leave ANT MOD still
'Il est parti pour l'instant./Il est toujours absent. [He is still gone.] (Son retour immédiat proche est attendu. [His immediate return is expected.])' (Elders 2000: 380)

B.9.1.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.9.1.3.1 Prospective 'eventually'

- Elders (2000: 382).
- This function obtains with the optative and potential mood inflections of the verb, but apparently not with the dedicated future forms (which denote more certain intentions or predictions; see Elders 2000: 371–373). However, judging from Elders's description, these collocations do not yield necessarily yield modal notions (e.g. of a persistent possibility).

(B.101) *Mè kó-mō kə̀ píl* ***ɓà.***
SUBJ.1SG see-OBJ.2SG:POT PREP ahead still
'Je te verrai plus tard! [I will see you later!]' (Elders 2000: 382)

(B.102) *ʔà fʊ̄ō* ***ɓà****.*
subj.3:ipfv think.pot still
‘Il pensera un jour. [He will think one day.]’ (Elders 2000: 382)

(B.103) *Mō dán gì* ***ɓà****.*
subj.2sg:opt enter.opt come.ipfv still
‘Tu entreras plus tard... (on te dis d’attendre et après tu as le droit d’entrer)’ [You will enter later (we tell you to wait and then you have the right to enter).]’ (Elders 2000: 382)

B.9.1.3.2 Sequencing ‘and then’

- Elders (2000: 382–383).
- This function obtains in a bi-clausal pattern. The first clause, which may be a subordinate clause (B.104, B.105) or a coordinate clause (B.106), describes a prerequisite for another situation to obtain. The latter is depicted in the second clause, which features *ɓà*. The second clause (or a clause it governs) often additionally includes a form of *tìŋ* ‘start’, as in (B.105).
- All examples in Elders’s grammar feature non-actualised situations (future events or commands). This fact, and the notion of a pending event suggest a link to the prospective ‘eventually’ function (Appendix B.9.1.3.1).

(B.104) *Sóó mó cḭ̄ḭ̄ ɓè, nà pʊ̀ò-n mə̀ngwáá* ***ɓà****.*
millet sit germinate ant, 1pl.incl work-ipfv first_plowing still
‘Quand le mil aura germé, nous ferons le premier labour. [Once the millet has germinated, we will do the first plowing.]’ (Elders 2000: 383)

(B.105) *Líl mō dɔ̀ŋ ɓè, ʔà gā ʔḭ̀ḛ̀-rā súl*
evening sit do ant subj.3.ipfv fut look.ipfv-pl termite_mound
má nə́ nə̄nī, ká tìŋ hì-n-yā ***ɓà****.*
only with eyes for start.ipfv clear-nmlz-poss.3sg still
‘Quand il fera soir, ils iront voir la termitière en vie pour commencer à débroussailler les alentours. [When it is evening they will go to see the living termite mound to start clearing the surrounding area.]’ (Elders 2000: 383)

(B.106) *Mō tə́ráŋ tə̀kíí hʊ̰́ó̰ pɪ̄ɪ̄ kō mō tìŋ*
subj.2sg dilute.opt gruel dem first conj subj.2sg.opt start.opt
zə̀-n-yā ***ɓà****.*
drink-inf-poss.3sg still
‘Dilue d’abord cette bouillie, avant que tu commences à la boire.’ [Dilute this gruel first, before you start drinking it.] (Elders 2000: 384)

B.9.1.4 Broadly modal and interactional functions

B.9.1.4.1 Interrogatives with *nè*

- Elders (2000: 484–485).
- This function obtains in combination with interrogative *nè*. The two markers can optionally merge into a portmanteau-morpheme *ɓàā*, as in (B.107).
- This is a fairly transparent use, an indirect way of signalling that the addressee should not continue with whatever they are doing.
- Only one example (B.107) is given in Elders's grammar.

(B.107) *Mò* *dɔ̀ŋ* *yɛ́ɓ* ***ɓàā****?*
SUBJ.2SG do.IPFV work still.Q
'Travailles-tu encore? [Are you still working?] (Le locuteur sait que l'interlocuteur est en train de travailler et il lui demande s'il continuera avec le travail. [The speaker knows that the addressee is working and asks whether he will continue.])' (Elders 2000: 485)

B.10 Nyangbo (nyb, nyan1302)

B.10.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to James Essegbey for sharing and discussing unpublished Nyangbo data with me, as well as for helping with several glosses. Note that Nyangbo has a so-called "factative" system typical of West African languages, in which the formally unmarked paradigm of the verb has a reading of a past event with dynamic verbs and a present state reading with those verbs commonly deemed to be stative.

B.10.2 ka-

B.10.2.1 General information

- Form: subject to vowel harmony.
- Wordhood: bound morpheme (verb prefix).

B.10.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Essegbey (2012, 2019: 159–161).

- Specialisation: examples like (B.108–B.110) give a fairly good indication that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, in (B.108) the third's friend persistent state of being at home is framed against the assumed alternative, namely that he is on his way to meeting the other friends (i.e. no longer at home). Further, albeit indirect, evidence for the specialisation of *ka-* come from its uses as NOT YET (Appendix B.10.2.3.1).
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios (tentative conclusion).
- Polarity sensitivity: outer negation yields NO LONGER.
- Restriction: in the absence of overt aspect marking, *ka-* only serves as STILL with stative verbs, whereas the combination with dynamic verbs yields NOT YET. In order to get an affirmative reading with dynamic verbs, *ka-* needs to be combined with the progressive aspect; thus compare (B.110) to (B.113) below.

(B.108) Context: Three friends had agreed to meet at the roadside to catch a bus. Two of them met, waited for a bit and then one of them called the third friend on his cell phone. He reports:
*A-**ka**-lɛ́ bɔ-pắ-m.*
SUBJ.3SG-still-be_at NCL-house-inside
'He is still at home.' (Essegbey 2012: 46)

(B.109) Context: A man had been waiting for his girlfriend for a long time and got angry. When she eventually showed up, her intents of mollifying him showed no effect.
*Yē-nú sɛ ɔ-mɔpɔɛ nɔ́ lɔ-**kɔ**-kpasɛ yɛ shú*
SUBJ.3SG-be that NCL-anger DEF SUBJ-still-be_contained 3SG skin
mɛ kokoko sɛe-be-po-é.
inside by_all_means that-SUBJ.3SG-VEN-wait_for-OBJ.3SG
'That is to say he was still very angry that he had come and waited for her.' (Essegbey 2012: 46)

(B.110) *A-**ka**-á-t̅a̅k̅ɛ̅ sikắ.*
SUBJ.3SG-still-PROG-pick money.
'He is still collecting the money.' (James Essegbey, p.c.)

B.10.2.3 Uses related toother phasal polarity-concepts

B.10.2.3.1 Not yet

- Essegbey (2012, 2019: 159–161).
- This function obtains with dynamic verbs in the absence of overt aspectual marking; thus compare (B.113) to (B.110) above.

- All available examples of this reading have a past or perfective interpretation (as indicated by the use of the English anterior, as well as by Essegbey 2019 referring to it as the "negative perfect").

(B.111) *ε-**ka**-ŋa bɔ-dɔ.*
SUBJ.1SG-still-eat NCL-thing
'I have not yet eaten.' (Essegbey 2019: 160)

(B.112) Context: About making palm wine. When no more wine comes out of the tapping hole, the palm tree is dead.
*So otsíέ tsyɔ̃ɔ̃ gε be-**ke**-tsí sɔɔ*
therefore now right_away REL SUBJ.3PL-still-die therefore
i-í-bó.
SUBJ.1SG-PROG-tap_palm_wine
'So now that they are not yet dead, I am tapping.' (James Essegbey, p.c.)

(B.113) *A-**ka**-tākε̄ sikã́.*
SUBJ.3SG-still-pick money.
'He hasn't collected the money yet.' (James Essegbey, p.c.)

B.11 Plateau Malagasy (plt, plat1254)

B.11.1 mbola

B.11.1.1 General information

- Form: transcribed as *b̃ula* in Garvey (1964).
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: fixed, preceding the predicate.

B.11.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Dez (1980: 536–537), Garvey (1964: 71), Malzac (1960: 80, 151), Rackowski (1998), Rajaonarimanana (2001: 12, 69) and Raharinirina-Rabaovololona (1991).
- Specialisation: Dez's description addresses the components of my definition.
- Pragmaticitiy: the data do not allow for any conclusion.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET; in temporal clauses introduced by *dieny* 'while' this also serves to signal precedence (see Dez 1980: 460; Hallanger & Loterana 1969: 12).

(B.114) *Raha ho* ***mbola*** *velona izy dia ho n-aha-soa*
if FUT still alive 3SG TOP FUT PST:AGT.FOC-CAUS-good
olona maro tokoa.
person many INTENS
'S'il était encore en vie, il aurait fait du bien à beaucoup de personnes. [If he were still alive, he would have done good for many people.]' (Dez 1980: 90)

(B.115) ***Mbola*** *antoandro ny andro.*
still broad_daylight DET day
'Il fait encore grand jour. [It's still broad daylight.]' (Malzac 1960: 151, glosses added)

(B.116) *Zazavavy* ***mbola*** *tanora io ka efa dimy anaka sahady.*
girl still young DEM.SG and already five child already
'C'est une femme encore jeune et elle a déjà cinq enfants. [She is still a young woman and she already has five children.]' (Dez 1980: 151, glosses added)

B.11.1.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

B.11.1.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Dez (1980: 398–400) and Malzac (1960: 153).
- While in the data consulted *mbola* is not attested with scalar items strictly speaking, there are fixed collocations with two wh-words, *aiza* 'where' (B.117) and *rahoviana* 'when' (B.118). These collocations refer to large remaining quantities (of distance and time).

(B.117) ***Mbola*** *aiza i<za>ny.*
still where DEM.SG<INVIS>
'C'est encore loin, il c'en faut encore de beaucoup, il y en a encore pour longtemps (a marcher, a progresser). [It's still far away, it's still a long way to go, it's still a long time walking or moving.]' (Dez 1980: 398, glosses added)

(B.118) ***Mbola*** *rahoviana no tonga izy.*
still when FOC arrive 3SG
'Il viendra dans longtemps. [He'll arrive some long time in the future.]' (Dez 1980: 400, glosses added)

B.11.1.3.2 Continued iteration (?)

- Dez (1980: 537).
- According to Dez (1980: 537) “[m]bola peut accompagner un prédicat déterminé par le marqueur ambimodal indray, marqueur du renouvellement de l’action. Sa présence introduit une nuance de sens complémentaire malaisée à rendre en français.” [*Mbola* can accompany a predicate modified by the ambimodal marker *indray*, a marker of iteration. Its presence introduces an additional nuance of meaning that is difficult to render in French]. Judging from the free translation of the sole example (B.119), this nuance of meaning is one of continued iteration (‘yet again’).

(B.119) *(**Mbola**) avy indray ny orana.*
still come again DET rain
‘Il pleut encore une fois, la pluie tombe encore (une nouvelle fois). [It’s raining once again, it is raining again (one more time).]’ (Dez 1980: 537, glosses added)

B.11.1.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.11.1.4.1 Prospective ‘eventually’

- Dez (1980: 537) and Ferrand (1903: 173)
- This function occurs in combination with the future tense. Ferrand (1903: 173) describes it as signalling que “l’action exprimée par le verbe s’accomplira dans un temps indéterminé” [that the action described in the verb will be accomplished at some indefinite time].

(B.120) ***Mbola** ha-nao i<za>ny izy.*
still FUT:AGT.FOC-do DEM.SG<INVIS> 3SG
‘Il a encore cela à faire, il fera encore cela, il lui reste encore cela à faire. [He still has to do that, he will do that yet, it still remains for him to do.]’ (Dez 1980: 537, glosses added)

(B.121) ***Mbola** ho avy.*
still FUT come
‘Il doit venir dans un délai plus ou moins long. [He should come sooner or later.]’ (Ferrand 1903: 173, glosses added)

(B.122) *Any ho any **mbola** h-i-vidy omby aho.*
later still FUT:AGT.FOC-buy ox 1SG
‘J’espère acheter des bœufs plus tard. [I hope to buy oxen later.]’ (Malzac 1960: 79, glosses added)

B.11.1.5 Temporal connectives and frame setters

B.11.1.5.1 Coexistensiveness: *raha mbola* 'as long as'

- Dez (1980: 457).
- This function obtains in combination with *raha* 'if, when'.
- This is a semi-transparent use, which signals that the situation described in the matrix clause predicate holds true in all circumstances where the condition in the subordinate clause continues to be met.

(B.123) ***Raha mbola*** *mi-asa ianao dia ma-hazo vola ary*
if/when still AGT.FOC-work 2SG TOP AGT.FOC-get silver and
raha mbola hi-asa ihany ianao dia ato no tsara.
if/when still FUT:AGT.FOC-work only 2SG TOP here FOC good
'Tant que tu travailles, tu gagnes de l'argent, et si tu veux encore travaillair, c'est ici que c'est bien. [As long as you work, you earn money, and if you still want to work, this is the place to do it.]' (Dez 1980: 457, glosses added)

(B.124) *Ma-toki-a* ***raha mbola*** *velona aina.*
AGT.FOC-confident-IMP if/when still alive breath
'Tant qu'il y a de la vie, il y a de l'espoir. [As long as there's life, there's hope.]' (Raharinirina-Rabaovololona 1991: 157, glosses added)

B.11.1.6 Marginality

- Judging from the context and explanation by Dez, ex. (B.125) indicates that the subject constitutes a marginal member of the category 'house', although a PhP reading cannot be excluded.

(B.125) Context: About a house with a ruined roof.
Mbola *trano io.*
still house DEM.SG
'Ceci sert encore de maison (parce que, par exemple, le toit, quoique endommagé, peut encore servir d'abri). [This still serves as a house (because, for example, the roof, although damaged, can still serve as a shelter).]' (Dez 1980: 128, glosses added)

B.11.1.7 Additive and related functions

B.11.1.7.1 Additive

- There is only one instance of this function (B.126) in the references consulted.

(B.126) *Efa mbola tsy mahay lesona Rakoto no* ***mbola*** *mitabataba.*
already still NEG know lesson Rakoto FOC still talkative
'Not only does he [Rakoto] not know his lessons, but he is talkative also.' (Rackowski 1998: 16)

B.12 Ruuli (ruc, ruul1235)

B.12.1 Introductory remarks

Aside from descriptive materials, I consulted an unpublished Ruuli corpus (Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2021). I am indebted to Alena Witzlack-Makarevich for sharing the latter with me, as well as for helping with some tricky glosses. Note that Ruuli has a typical Narrow Bantu noun class system. Noun class prefixes in the examples are glossed as NCL for 'noun class', together with an Arabic numeral that follows the common Bleek-Meinhof system of referring to Bantu noun classes.

B.12.2 kya-

B.12.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme (verb prefix).

B.12.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Molochieva et al. (2021) and Namyalo et al. (2021: 63–66).
- Specialisation: the description by Molochieva et al. meets my definition.
- Polarity sensitivity: external negation yields NO LONGER.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios.
- Further note: *kya-* as STILL is compatible with the perfective aspect in case of inchoative verbs, as in (B.129)

(B.127) *N-a-som-ere nga n-**kya**-li mu-to.*
SUBJ.1SG-PST-study-PFV while SUBJ.1SG-still-COP NCL1-young
'I studied while I was still young.' (Molochieva et al. 2021: 75)

(B.128) *Aba-ntu ba-ingi ba-**kya**-kolesya emole*
NCL2-person NCL2-many SUBJ.NCL2-still-use reed.NCL10
oko-umboka ennyumba za-abwe.
NCL15(INF)-build house.NCL10 NCL10-POSS.NCL2
'Many people still use reeds to construct their houses.' (Molochieva et al. 2021: 75)

(B.129) *Oitaamu n'-ommaawo ma-ka*
father:poss.2pl com-mother:poss.2pl ncl6-home
*ga-**kya**-ikaire.*
subj.ncl6-still-be(come)_calm.pfv
'Your father and mother's marriage is still stable.'
(Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2021)

B.12.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

B.12.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Kya-* is attested in contexts of decreases over time, as in (B.130).
- There is only clear-cut example of a limited increase in the data (B.131). Given that this example features the perfective aspect inflection, it might well be subsumed under the 'thus far only' use (Appendix B.12.2.5.1).

(B.130) *Yete ate awo lizi w-a-mw-iyaku,*
how_about but dem.ncl16(loc) lease subj.2sg-pst-obj.ncl1-remove
w-a-mu-wa-ire emyaka enai na itaanu.
subj.2sg-pst-obj.ncl1-give-pfv ncl4.year ncl4.four with ncl4.five
Ki-ni ki-ri-wo nga
ncl7-prox subj.ncl7-cop-ncl16(loc) when
wa-kya-li-wo amyaka asatu
subj.ncl16(loc)-still-cop-ncl16(loc) ncl6(?).year thirty
'The lease you gave out was for 4-5 years. And this happened when we still have thirty years [left].' (Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2021, glosses added)

(B.131) *Eirai budi ni-ba-kya-li ku-leeta*
in_the_past previously when-subj.ncl2-still-cop ncl15(inf)-bring
bi-ni eby-a nasare, aka-ana
ncl8-prox ncl9-assoc nursery ncl12-child
*ka-**kya**-zw-**ire**=mbe oku ma-beere nti*
subj.ncl12-still-abandon-pfv=foc ncl17(loc) ncl6-breast comp
ka-ab-e ka-tandika oku-soma.
subj.ncl12-go-sbjv subj.ncl12-start ncl15(inf)-read
'Long ago, before they brought these nurseries, [when] a child has only stopped breastfeeding, it would go and start studying.'
(Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2021, glosses added)

B.12.2.4 Uses related toother phasal polarity-concepts

B.12.2.4.1 Not yet

- Molochieva et al. (2021) and Namyalo et al. (2021: 63–66).
- This function occurs in two context:
  - In combination with copula *li* plus an infinitival complement (B.132, B.133).
  - In combination with copula *li*, without any overt predicate (B.134, B.135)
- In temporal clauses, these collocations also serve as a signal of precedence (‘when not yet *p*, *q*’ ≡‘before *p*, *q*’), as shown in (B.134).
- This function might also underlie the adverb *bukyali* ‘early’, which can be segmented as *bu-kya-li* ‘SUBJ.NCL14-still-COP’.

(B.132) *Aba-sigazi ba-ni ba-**kya-li** **ku**-eteja*
NCL2-boy NCL2-PROX SUBJ.NCL2-still-COP NCL15(INF)-understand
kusai ki-ntu ki-ni.
well NCL7-thing NCL7-PROX
‘These boys do not yet understand well this thing.’ (Molochieva et al. 2021: 76)

(B.133) *Tu-**kya-li** **ku**-ika ku n-zala*
SUBJ.1PL-still-COP NCL15(INF)-arrive NCL17(LOC) NCL9-famine
y-a maani.
NCL9-ASSOC strength.NCL9
‘We have not yet reached terrible famine.’ (Molochieva et al. 2021: 81)

(B.134) *Naye eirai ni tu-**kya**-li aba-ana*
but in_the_past CONJ SUBJ.1PL-still-COP NCL2-child
ti-tu-a-ba-bala-nga.
NEG-SUBJ.1PL-PST-OBJ.NCL2-count-HAB
‘But in the past, before we became (born again Christians) we used not to count children.’ (lit. But in the past, when we were not yet (born-again Christians,) we used not to count children.’ (Molochieva et al. 2021: 76)

(B.135) Context: B has troubles with their eyes.

A: *Ati gabbangaku ob-janjabi?*
‘Did the eyes have treatment?’

B: *Ati ba-n-dongos-ere li-nu, li-ni*
now SUBJ.NCL2-OBJ.1SG-operate-PFV NCL5-PROX NCL5-PROX
*li-**kya-li**.*
SUBJ.NCL5-still-COP
‘They operated me this one, this one, not yet.’
(Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2021, glosses added)

B.12.2.5 Restrictive (non-temporal)

B.12.2.5.1 Thus far only

- Molochieva et al. (2021).
- According to Molochieva et al. (2021: 87) this is the only reading available when *kya-* is combined with the perfective aspect; this is, however, contradicted by examples such as (B.129) above.
- The addition of restrictives in (B.136, B.137) seems to stress this reading.

(B.136) *N-**kya**-li-**ire*** *matooke* *go-nkai.*
subj.1sg-still-eat-pfv ncl6.matooke ncl6-only
'So far I have only eaten matoke (and nothing else).' (Molochieva et al. 2021: 87)

(B.137) *Yee n-**kya**-byal-**ire*** *ba-ala* *ba-ereere.*
yes subj.1sg-still-give_birth_to-pfv ncl2-girl ncl2-only
'Yes, I have so far given birth only to girls.' (Molochieva et al. 2021: 87)

B.13 Sango (sag, sang1328)

B.13.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Helma Pasch for discussing Sango data with me.

B.13.2 de

B.13.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: intermediate (auxiliary-like element), but also occurs in a fixed impersonal form *áde*.

B.13.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Tisserant (1950: 53) and Nassenstein & Pasch (2021); also see Lekens (1955: 104–105) on *dɛ* in Ngbandi, the main lexifier of modern Sango.
- Specialisation: the description by Nassenstein & Pasch meets my definition.
- Pragmaticity: the available data do not allow any conclusions.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Additional note: *de* can be combined with the French loan *encore* for emphasis, as in (B.139).

(B.138) *Lo* ***de*** *na gangu ti lo*
3SG still PREP strength of 3SG
'S/he is still at the peak of his/her strength.' (Nassenstein & Pasch 2021: 114)

(B.139) *Lo* ***de*** *(encore) na Bangui*
3SG still still PREP B.
'S/he is still in Bangui.' (Nassenstein & Pasch 2021: 114)

(B.140) *Na l'heure só mbi* ***de*** *kété~kété, babá tí mbi a-goe na*
PREP time DEM 1SG still REDUPL~small father of 1SG SUBJ-go PREP
Fort Archambault
F. A.
'When I was still very small, my father went to Fort Archambault.' (Samarin 1963: 238, glosses added)

B.13.2.3 Uses related toother phasal polarity concepts

B.13.2.3.1 Not yet

- Nassenstein & Pasch (2021); also see Lekens (1955: 104–105).
- All cases feature the absence of an overt predicate. This includes negative responses to polar questions (B.141, B.142), which involve the impersonal form *áde*. It also subsumes a clause pattern consisting of a nominal subject plus *de* and for which the available examples suggest that the nominal must be associated with a telic process, such as in (B.143, B.144); note that Nassenstein & Pasch (2021: 115) describe this use as featuring affirmative polarity: "It indicates the STILL phase, but with regard to a situation which is not given but expected … [t]he expectation that the given situation is going to change alludes to the NOT YET phase".

(B.141) ***Áde****, (lo gwe ape).*
still 3SG go NEG
'Not yet (she has not gone yet).' (Nassenstein & Pasch 2021: 117)

(B.142) A: *Ballon ni a-hunzi awe?*
football_match DEF SUBJ-finish already
'Is the football match over?'

B: ***Áde****, (a-hunzi ape).*
still SUBJ-finish NEG
'Not yet.' (Nassenstein & Pasch 2021: 116)

(B.143) *Yaka ti gozo a-**de**.*
plantation of cassava SUBJ-still
The [work on the] cassava plantation is not yet done / not yet finished.’ (original translation: ‘… will/must be continued/finished.’) (Nassenstein & Pasch 2021: 115)

(B.144) *(Ngoyi ti) ngu a-**de**.*
season of cassava SUBJ-still
‘The rainy season has not yet come / not yet finished.’ (original translation: ‘… is awaiting, has not yet begun / ended.’)’ (Nassenstein & Pasch 2021: 115)

B.14 Southern Ndebele (nbl, sout3270)

B.14.1 Introductory remarks

The variety discussed here is listed as “South Transvaal Ndebele” in glottolog, and is not to be confused with Zimbabwean Ndebele (nde, nort2795) or the other South African Ndbele variety, Sumayela Ndebele (no ISO code, sout2808). I am indebted to Petrus Mabena for discussing Southern Ndebele data with me and for providing additional examples. Note that Southern Ndebele has a fairly typical Narrow Bantu noun class system. I gloss the individual classes as NCL ‘noun class’ plus a subscript number that follows the common Bleek-Meinhof system.

B.14.2 sa-

B.14.2.1 General information

- Form: *se-* /*sese-* with copulatives.
- Wordhood: bound morpheme (prefix).

B.14.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Crane & Persohn (2021).
- Specialisation: Crane & Persohn (2021) describe this expression as one that is in line with my definition, and also point out its incompatibility with inalterable states.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: outer negation yields NO LONGER.

(B.145) *Ba-**sa**-funda.*
SUBJ.NCL2-still-read
‘They are still reading / still read.’ (Crane & Persohn 2021: 237)

(B.146) *U-Sipho u-**sa**-gula.*
NCL1a-S. SUBJ.NCL1-still-be_ill
‘Sipho is still sick.’ (Crane & Persohn 2021: 237)

B.14.2.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

B.14.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Sa-* is compatible with scalar contexts, both involving a direction of decrease (B.147, B.148) and increase (B.149–(B.151). The latter cases also encompass ‘no later than’ readings (B.151). Note the non-obligatoriness of a restrictive operator in increase contexts (B.149, B.150).
- Example (B.151), which features the perfective aspect inflection, could also be subsumed under the ‘thus far only’ use (B.14.2.6.1), which is the context in which Crane & Persohn (2021) discuss it.

(B.147) Context: We’re at a concert in a pub. I suggest go get another drink, but my friend says he has run out of money. I offer to invite him.
*Yewize, ngi-**sese**-ne-khulu*
come.IMP SUBJ.1SG-still.COP-with.NCL5-hundred
l-ama-randa .
NCL5-ASSOC.NCL6-rand
‘Come, I still have 100 Rand.’ (Peter Mabena, p.c.)

(B.148) Context: We have an apple tree in our garden and we’ve harvested a lot, but there’s no end in sight. So we tell our friend:
*Na-wu-funa ama-habhula a-**sese**-ma-nengi*
if-SUBJ.2SG-want NCL6-apple SUBJ.NCL6-still.COP-NCL6-many
a-sele e-m-thini.
SUBJ.NCL6.SUBORD-remain.PFV LOC-NCL3-tree
‘If you want apples, there are still a lot left in the tree.’
(Peter Mabena, p.c.)

(B.149) Context: You are expected to be sent eight books. You have gotten six so far, and your friend tells you she already got all eight. You reply:
*Ngi-**sese**-nesi-thandathu (kwaphela).*
SUBJ.1SG-still.COP-with.NCL10-six merely
‘I still have (only) six.’ (Peter Mabena, p.c.)

(B.150) Context: We are planning to go to an event in the evening. I want to leave already. You reply:
*Ku-**sese**-yi-simbi y-esi-thandathu.*
subj.loc-still.cop-cop.ncl9-bell ncl9-ncl7-six
‘It’s still six o’ clock.’ (Peter Mabena, p.c.)

(B.151) *Um-ngami u-John, ngi-**sa**-m-bon-e kabili.*
ncl1-friend:poss.1sg ncl1a-J. subj.1sg-still-obj.ncl1-see-pfv twice
‘My friend John, up to now I’ve (only) seen him twice.’ (Crane & Persohn 2021: 243)

B.14.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

B.14.2.4.1 Iterative

- Crane & Persohn (2021).
- This function is only available in combination with the perfective aspect and with verbs that are not inchoative (do not denote a resultant state). It commonly conveys an additional notion of irritation by the recurring situation.
- The iterative adverb *godu* is optional in (B.152, B.153); it gives emphasis to the iterative reading.

(B.152) *U-Sipho u-**sa**-buy-ile (godu).*
ncl1a-S. subj.ncl1-still-return-pfv (again)
‘Sipho is back (yet) again.’ (Crane & Persohn 2021: 244)

(B.153) *Idrayara i-**sa**-rhuny-ez-e irhembe (godu).*
ncl9.dryer subj.ncl9-still-shrink-caus-pfv ncl9.shirt (again)
‘The dryer shrank a shirt again (it happened another time).’ (Crane & Persohn 2021: 244)

B.14.2.4.2 Prospective ‘eventually’

- Like its Xhosa cognate (Appendix B.19.2.4.1), *sa-* has a prospective ‘eventually’ reading when combined with forms of *ya* ‘go’ and *za* ‘come’, including their grammaticalised forms (see Crane & Mabena 2019 for extensive discussion of the latter).

(B.154) *Se-khe w-a-ya e-si-tolo na? – Awa*
already-do_once subj.2sg-subsec-go loc-ncl7-store q neg
*ngi-**sa**-zoku-ya.*
subj.1sg-still-fut-go
‘Have you been to the store? – No, I‘ll go yet/later.’
(Peter Mabena, p.c.)

(B.155) Context: After a heated discussion.
*U-**sa**-zaku-bona bonyana ngubani kithi so-ba-bili*
subj.2sg-still-fut-see comp cop.who to.1pl 1pl-ncl2-two
o-nemb-ile-ko.
rel.subj.ncl1-hit-pfv-rel
'You'll see yet who of us two is right.' (Peter Mabena, p.c.)

(B.156) Context: About someone who works way to hard.
*(E-ku-gcineni) u-**sa**-zi-balulal-isa*
loc-ncl15(inf)-finish.loc subj.ncl1-still-refl-kill-caus
ngom-sebenzi.
cop.ncl3-work
'S/he'll work himself/herself to death.' (Peter Mabena, p.c.)

B.14.2.5 Marginality

- *Sa-* is compatible with readings of marginality.

(B.157) A: I'm really annoyed my aunt has left most of her fortune to an animal shelter, and only 100,000 Rand to me.
B: *i-100,000 nokho i-**sese**-si-samba*
ncl9-100,00 however subj.ncl9-still.cop-cop.ncl7-lump_sum
es-amukeleka-ko.
rel.subj.ncl.7-be_alright-rel
'100,00 is still a decent sum.' (Peter Mabena, p.c.)

(B.158) Context: Talking about tennis skills.
*Ngi-**se**-nga-m-hlula yena u-Paul, kodwana*
subj.1sg-still-pot-obj.ncl1-beat dem.ncl1 ncl1a-P. but
u-Mark u-ngcono ku-na-mi.
ncl1a-M. subj.ncl1-better loc-with-1sg
'I can still beat Paul, but Peter is better than me.' (Peter Mabena, p.c.)

(B.159) Context: Talking about political views.
*U-Bongani u-**sese**-nobu-ngcono.*
ncl1a-B. subj.ncl1-still.cop-with.ncl14-moderation
'Bongani is still moderate (as opposed to others, who have more radical views).' (Peter Mabena, p.c.)

(B.160) *I-Thohoyandou i-**sese**-nga-phasi kwe-Limpopo*
ncl9-T. subj.ncl9-still.cop-in-land loc.assoc.ncl9-L.
'Thoyandou is still within Limpopo province.' (Peter Mabena, p.c.)

B.14.2.6 Restrictive (non-temporal)

B.14.2.6.1 ‘Thus far only’

- Crane & Persohn (2021).
- This reading obtains with the perfective aspect and non-inchoative verbs.
- Crane & Persohn (2021) suggest that this use goes back to aspectual coercion, originating with predicates that form part of a natural sequence of events, as in (B.162).

(B.161) *Ngi-**sa**-dl-e kancani nje.*
subj.1sg-still-eat-pfv a_little now
‘I’ve just eaten a little portion for now.’ (Crane & Persohn 2021: 243)

(B.162) *Ikukhu i-**sa**-bekele.*
ncl9.chicken subj.ncl9-still-lay_eggs.pfv
‘The chicken has (only) laid these eggs (i.e. it has not yet started brooding).’ (Crane & Persohn 2021: 275)

B.15 Swahili (swh, swah1253)

B.15.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from the descriptive materials below, I searched the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0 (http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-201608301). I am furthermore indebted to Ponsiano Kanijo, Maude Devos, and Rasmus Bernander for discussing Swahili data with me. Swahili has two still expressions: *bado* and the much less frequent *ngali*. Only for *bado* do I have clear indications of additional functions. Also note that Swahili has a fairly typical Narrow Bantu noun class system. I have glossed the individual classes as ncl ‘noun class’ plus a subscript number that follows the common Bleek-Meinhof system.

B.15.2 bado

B.15.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: either preceding the predicate or in clause-final position.
- Etymology: from Omani Arabic *baʕd-u* ‘still’.

B.15.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Ashton (1947: 270–271), Mpiranya (2015: 44–45, 104) Sacleux (1939–1941: 85), Schadeberg (1990) and TUKI (2014).
- Specialisation: the various descriptions of this marker, when taken together, give a fairly good indication that this marker conforms to my definition. This is corroborated by the fact that its use is odd in contexts that lack continuity (e.g. ex. B.166) and with inalterable states (e.g. ex. B.167). Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from its use as NOT YET (Appendix B.15.2.4.1).
- Pragmaticity: Schadeberg (1990) describes this marker as implying an unexpectedly late continuation. This is, however, a theory-driven conclusion; see van der Auwera (2021) for a recent criticism. My data shows that *bado* is compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET
- Further note: *bado* can serve as an elliptical affirmative answer, as in (B.165). It is also compatible with anterior *me-* in a stative reading (B.164).

(B.163) ***Bado*** *ni-na-soma ma-gazeti.*
still SUBJ.1SG-read NCL6-newspaper.
‘I am still reading newspapers / I still read newspapers.’ (Mpiranya 2015: 104, glosses added)

(B.164) ***Bado*** *a-me-lala.*
still SUBJ.NCL1-ANT-(fall)_asleep
‘S/he is still sleeping.’ (Ashton 1947: 270, glosses added)

(B.165) *Wewe* ***bado*** *ni mw-anafunzi? –* ***Bado****.*
2SG still COP NCL1-student still
‘Are you still a student? – Yes [I still am].’ (Ponsiano Kanijo, p.c.)

(B.166) # *Leo asubuhi, Amani h-a-ku-wepo sokoni*
today morning A. NEG-SUBJ.NCL1-NEG.PST-LOC.COP market
na sasa ***bado*** *yu-po sokoni.*
and now still SUBJ.NCL1-LOC.COP market
(intended meaning: ‘This morning Amani was not at the market and now he still is at the market’) (Ponsiano Kanijo, p.c.)

(B.167) # *Bibi y-angu* ***bado*** *ni m-kongwe.*
grandmother NCL9-POSS.1SG still COP NCL1-ancient
(intended meaning: ‘My grandmother is still very old’)
(Ponsiano Kanijo, p.c.)

B.15.2.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

B.15.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Bado* is compatible with scalar contexts, such as the decrement uses in (B.168, B.169) and restricted increase in (B.170, B.171); note the absence of a restrictive operator in the latter examples.
- A scalar function also underlies the common expression *bado kidogo* ‘soon, not quite yet’, lit. ‘still a bit’.

(B.168) *“**Bado** maiti kama 42 zi-ko shimo-ni na*
still corpse.ncl10 like 42 ncl10-loc.cop hole-loc com
ha-tu-ju-i kama kweli tu-ta-fanikiwa
neg-subj.1pl-know-neg like really subj.1pl-fut-succeed
ku-zi-toa,” mu-opoaji mw-ingine
ncl15(inf)-obj.ncl10-pull ncl1-rescuer ncl1-other
a-ka-sema.
subj.ncl1-narr-say
‘“There are still about 42 corpses in the ditch and we don’t really know if we will be able to get them out”, another rescuer said.’ (Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0)

(B.169) *Simba i-me-sajili wa-chezaji 29 m-simu*
S.(ncl9) subj.ncl9-ant-register ncl2-player 29 ncl3-season
*huu, hivyo **bado** i-na nafasi moja*
prox.ncl9 so still subj.ncl9-com space(ncl9) one.ncl9
y-a ku-jaza.
ncl9-assoc ncl15(inf)-fill
‘Simba [football team] has registered 29 players this season, so they still have one spot to fill.’ (Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0, glosses added)

(B.170) Context: Over the course of the next weeks, the university was supposed to send us five books.

A: I have gotten four so far.

B: Me, too, I have four.

C: *Mimi **bado** ni na-vyo vi-tatu.*
1sg still cop com-dem.ncl8 ncl8-three
‘I (still) have only three.’ (Ponsiano Kanijo, p.c.)

(B.171) *Thomas a-li-sikia k-itanda ki-na-lia:*
T. subj.ncl1-pst-hear ncl7-bed subj.ncl7-prs-cry
A-li-ona kwamba zi-liku-wa bado saa
subj.ncl1-pst-see comp subj.ncl10-pst-cop still hour(ncl10)
tano.
five
'Thomas heard the bed creak. He saw that it was still (only) eleven o'clock.' (Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0, glosses added)[3]

B.15.2.4 Uses related toother phasal polarity concepts

B.15.2.4.1 Not yet

- Sacleux (1939–1941: 85), TUKI (2014) and Veselinova & Devos (2021).
- This function obtains in the following context:
  - In the absence of an overt predicate. This includes questions following a pattern '*p* or still' > '*p* or not yet' (B.172, B.173), negative replies to polar questions (B.174), and uses as a pro-predicate in contrastive contexts (B.175).
  - With an infinitival complement; see (B.176).

(B.172) *I-me-rudi ku-tengenez-wa au* ***bado****?*
subj.ncl9-ant-return ncl15(inf)-repair-pass or still
'Has it (fan) be fixed again or not yet?' (Ashton 1947: 392, glosses added)

(B.173) *Je, Serikali i-me-u-acha m-radi*
q government.ncl9 subj.ncl9-ant-obj.ncl3-leave ncl3-project
huo au ***bado****?*
dem.ncl9 or still
'Has the government abandoned the project or not yet?'
(Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0)

(B.174) *A-me-kuja? –* ***Bado****.*
subj.ncl1-ant-come still
'Ist er gekommen? – Noch nicht. [Has he come? – Not yet.]'
(Schadeberg 1990: 15, glosses added)

(B.175) *Kwa sasa ma-ji ya-me-toka m-to-ni*
for now ncl6-water subj.ncl6-ant-leave ncl3-river-loc
(Malulumo) na ku-fika Mgera lakini vi-jiji
M. and ncl15(inf)-arrive M. but ncl8-village

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[3] *saa tano* is literally 'five hours', which equals 11 o'clock Swahili time.

v-ingine ***bado**.*
ncl8-other still
'As for now, the water has come from the river (Malulumo) and reached Mgera, but no other villages yet.'
(Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0)

(B.176) *Bwana* ***bado*** *ku-ja.*
master still ncl15(inf)-come
'Le maître n'est pas encore venu. [The master hasn't come yet.]'
(Sacleux 1939–1941: 85, glosses added)

B.15.2.5 Marginality

- *Bado* has marginality readings.

(B.177) Context: Talking about tennis skills.
Paul, ***bado*** *na-weza ku-m-piga (lakini Mark*
P. still subj.1sg.prs-can ncl15(inf)-obj.ncl1-beat but M.
ni m-zuri sana kw-angu).
cop ncl1-good very loc-poss.1sg
'Paul I can still beat (but Mark is too good for me).'
(Ponsiano Kanijo, p.c.)

(B.178) Context: I'm really annoyed. My aunt has left the biggest part of her wealth to a welfare organisation and only 100,000 tsh to me.
100,000 ***bado*** *ni ki-asi ki-kubwa.*
100,000 still cop ncl7-ammount ncl7-big
'100,000 tsh is still a huge sum.' (Ponsiano Kanijo, p.c.)

(B.179) Context: Discussing plans by the ruling party CCM to use the gas produced in the southern border town of Mtwara in a power plant in more central Bagamoyo.
Sasa ni kwa nini gesi hi-i
now cop for what gas.ncl9 prox-ncl9
i-si-tumik-e ku-u-tekeleza
subj.ncl9-neg-be_used-sbjv ncl15(inf)-obj.ncl3-abandon
m-pango huo w-a CCM kwa
ncl3-plan dem.ncl3 ncl3-assoc CCM for
ku-i-acha gesi hiyo huko~huko
ncl15(inf)-obj.ncl9-leave gas.ncl9 dem.ncl9 redupl~dem.loc
Mtwara na ya-le ya-na-yo-kusid-iwa
M. com ncl6-dist subj.ncl6-prs-rel.ncl6-plan-pass

ku-fany-ika *huko* *Bagamoyo* *ya-fany-ik-e*
ncl15-do-acaus dem.loc B. subj.ncl6-do-acaus-sbjv
huko *Mtwara* *kwa* *vi-le* *hata* *Mtwara* ***bado*** *ni* *Tanzania!?*
dem.loc M. kwa dist-ncl8 even M. still cop T.
'Now, why should this gas not be used abandoning the CCM's plan and leaving it in Mtwara, so that what is planned to be done in Bagamoyo would be done in Mtwara, because even Mtwara is still Tanzania!?' (found online, glosses added)[4]

B.15.2.6 Additive and related functions

B.15.2.6.1 Additive

- Sacleux (1939–1941: 85) and Schadeberg (1990)
- This appears to be more emphatic than *na pia* 'and also' (B.180, B.181), and to combinations with the root *ingine* '(an)other', where it also provides emphasis ('yet another, yet more'), as in (B.182).

(B.180) *Fulani* *ni* *mw-ongo* ***na*** ***bado*** *ni* *mw-izi.*
so_and_so.ncl1 cop ncl1-liar and still cop ncl1-thief
'Un tel est menteur, et de plus il est voleur. [So-and-so is a liar, and on top of that s/he's a thief.]' (Sacleux 1939–1941: 85, glosses added)

(B.181) *Ni-li-nunua* *ma-chungwa,* *ndizi,* *ma-embe,* ***na***
subj.1sg-pst-buy ncl6-orange banana.ncl10 ncl6-mango com
bado *nyama* *kidogo.*
still meat.ncl9 a_little
'I bought oranges, bananas, mangos, and even some meat.' (Ponsiano Kanijo, p.c.)

(B.182) *A-me-kuja* *m-tu* *mw-ingine* ***bado****.*
subj.ncl1-ant-come ncl1-person ncl1-other still
'Il est venu une autre personne encore. [Yet another person has come.]' (Sacleux 1939–1941: 85, glosses added)

B.15.2.7 Broadly modal and interactional functions

B.15.2.7.1 Concessive apodoses

- *Bado* has concessive uses, a function that typically obtains together with commitative *na*, i.e. 'and still', as in (B.183, B.184)

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[4] https://noordinjella.livejournal.com/38982.html (27 February 2021).

- That this function is not a mere contextual inference of the phasal poalrity function is especially clear in cases like (B.185), in which *bado* is combined with a "narrative" or "consecutive" form of a telic predicate, giving a perfective and sequential reading.
- Impressionistically, this use is more common in formal language, where calquing from English might play a role.

(B.183) *Ni n-zuri na tamu kuliko u-na-vyo-weza*
COP NCL9-good COM tasty than SUBJ.2SG-PRS-REL.NCL8-can
ku-fikiria na ***bado*** *bei y-ake ni nafuu*
NCL15(INF)-think COM still price.NCL9 NCL9-POSS.SG COP cheap
sana.
very
'It is better and tastier than what you can imagine and yet the price is very cheap.' (Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0)

(B.184) *Jadili hoja isemayo kuwa vina na mizani siyo uti wala roho ya ushairi wa Kiswahili kwani katika Kichomi kanuni hizi hazikufuatwa*
'Discuss the argument that rhymes and metres are not the backbone nor the soul of Kiswahili poetry, because in the Kichomi [a book of poetry] these conventions were not followed'

na ***bado*** *ma-shairi y-a diwani hi-i ni*
COM still NCL6-poem NCL6-ASSOC anthology.NCL9 PROX-NCL9 COP
ma-zuri sana.
NCL6-good very
'and yet the poems in this anthology are very good.'
(Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0)

(B.185) *M-heshimiwa Naibu Spika, mnamo mw-ezi*
NCL-honourable representative speaker approximately NCL3-month
w-a saba, Serikali i-li-ni-jibu
NCL3-ASSOC seven government.NCL9 SUBJ.NCL9-PST-OBJ.1SG-reply
ku-pit-ia hoja hi-i lakini ***bado***
NCL15(INF)-pass-APPL affair.NCL9 PROX-NCL9 but still
i-ka-elekeza kwa Mw-anasheria M-kuu w-a
SUBJ.NCL9-NARR-direct for NCL1-attorney NCL1-big NCL1-ASSOC
Serikali amba-ye ndi-ye a-li-tak-iwa
government.NCL9 COMP-NCL1 FOC-NCL1 SUBJ.NCL1-PST-want-PASS

ku-jibu.
NCL15(INF)-reply
‘Honourable deputy speaker, around July the government replied to me about this affair but still directed it to the Attorney General, who was required to respond.’ (Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0)

B.16 Tashelhyit (shi, tach1250)

Apart from descriptive materials referenced below, I searched Stroomer’s (2001, 2002) text collections. I am furthermore indebted to Rachid Ridouane for discussing Tashelhyit data with me and for providing additional examples, as well as to Axel Fanego for helping with some tricky glosses.

B.16.1 sul

B.16.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: fixed, pre-predicate position.

B.16.1.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Fanego (2021).
- Specialisation: Fanego’s description meets my definition. Further, albeit indirect, evidence for its specialisation comes from its use as NOT YET (Appendix B.16.1.4.1).
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios (tentative conclusion).
- Polarity sensitivity: combination with negation yields the corresponding negative concepts. With imperfective aspect, both NOT YET and NO LONGER are possible outcomes, with the respective scope of the negation being determined by word order. With perfective verbs, only NOT YET is available; the latter also be expressed by negation plus *ta* ‘yet’, or all three items (NEG *ta sul*) combined.
- Further notes: the perfective inflection has an ongoing state reading with many verbs, allowing for a reading of a persistent state, as in (B.188).

(B.186) Context: The opening of a tale.
Ikkattinn yat twal, lliɣ a ***sul*** *i-sawal ddunit,*
there_once_was one time when IRR still 3SG.M-speak.AOR world

munn kra n lawḥaš:
be_together.PFV-3PL.M three of animals
'Once upon a time, when (all creatures in) the world (were [still] able to) speak, some animals came together:' (Stroomer 2002: 244–245, glosses added)

(B.187) Context: A man has found a speaking tortoise. He has brought it to the king as a present, but the tortoise did not speak again. The king says:
Awi-yat t; bbi-yat ixf nns; an
take_away.IMP-2PL.M 3SG.ACC.M cut.IMP-2PL.M head POSS.3SG COMP
nit ***sul*** *ili-γ, ar gig-i i-ṭṭnaẓ!*
indeed still EXIST.AOR-1SG IRR in-1SG 3SG.M-mock.IPFV
'Take him away; cut off his head; he wants to mock me, while I am still alive!' (Stroomer 2002: 226–227, glosses added)

(B.188) Context: Times are desperate. One friend hopes to find a job that puts food on his plate, no matter what the salary is. The other friend:
Max ***sul*** *n-uḥl γ tγrad?*
why still 1PL-bother.PFV at salaries
'Why [still] bother about salaries?' (Stroomer 2001: 164–165, glosses added)

(B.189) Context: A man is flying high above the world on the back of a jinnee.
Fk yyi ***sul*** *tifiyyi, ran n-zayd.*
give.IMP 1SG.ACC still meat FUT 1PL-leave.AOR
'Give me (a piece of meat), so that we can continue flying.' (Stroomer 2002: 116, glosses added).

B.16.1.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

B.16.1.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Fanego (2021).
- *Sul* is compatible with scalar contexts, both in the form of (potential) decreases (B.190) and limited increases (B.191). Note that (B.191) does not feature an additional 'only' marker.

(B.190) *Llant* ***sul*** *dar-s sddis n-tfunays, ur i-žli*
COP.PFV:3PL.F still at-3SG six of-cow NEG 3SG.M-lose:NEG.PFV
ḥtta yat.
even one
'He still has six cows; he didn't lose any.' (Fanego 2021: 342)

(B.191) *Llan* ***sul*** *dar-s sddis n-lktub; ur ta y-ufi*
cop.pfv:3sg.m still at-3sg six of-book neg yet 3sg.m-find:neg.pfv
ḥtta yan.
even one
'He still has six books (only); he didn't get any others.' (Fanego 2021: 343)

B.16.1.4 Uses related toother phasal polarity-concepts

B.16.1.4.1 Not yet

- Fanego (2021).
- This function obtains as a single-word response to a polar question. It also appears to be possible in disjunctive questions (B.193), but *ur ta* is preferred here (Rachid Ridouane, p.c.).

(B.192) *T-ššit-t yad lfḍur-nnek? –* ***Sul.***
2sg-eat.pfv-2sg already lunch-poss.2sg still
'Did you eat your lunch already? – Not yet.' (Fanego 2021: 342)

(B.193) *Is-d y-uška Mark, nɣdd* ***sul*** */ ur ta?*
q-ven 3sg.m-arrive.pfv M. or still neg yet
'Has Mark arrived yet?' (Rachid, Ridouane, p.c.)

B.16.1.5 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

B.16.1.5.1 Prospective 'eventually'

- Two tokens in the data in refer to situations that are yet to happen. While (B.194) features the future tense construction, (B.195) features the irrealis/subjunctive 'that he be useful'.

(B.194) Context: A horseman has encountered a greyhound, who is asking him for food.
Hati ras ***sul*** *fll-i t-lkm-t!*
prestt fut still on-1sg 2sg-arrive.aor-2sg
'Look, you will need me [yet].'[5] (Stroomer 2002: 66–67, glosses added)

(B.195) Context: A king wants to kill several people. His vizir begs him to spare them, mentioning that killing them might provoke God's wrath.

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[5] 'Arrive on' is figurative for 'need' (Rachid Ridouane, p.c.)

Ajj tn, hati-nn i-ra ak k ***sul***
let 3PL.ACC.M PRESTT-IT 3SG.M-want.PFV IRR 2SG.DAT still
i-nfɛa!
3SG.M-be_useful.AOR
Original translation: ‘Release them, it is more useful to you!’
More precise translation: ‘Release them, it’ll be useful later.’
(Stroomer 2002: 214–215, glosses added)

B.16.1.6 Marginality

- *Sul* allows for readings marginality.

(B.196) Context: Talking about skills in a sport.
Brahim ufi-gh ad-t ***sul*** *nru-gh.*
B. be_sufficient.PFV-1SG COMP-3SG.M still beat.AOR-1SG
‘Brahim I can still beat.’ (Rachid Ridouane, p.c.)

(B.197) Context: Talking about political views.
Brahim i-ga ***sul*** *muɛtadil.*
B. 3SG.M-do.PFV still moderate
‘Brahim is still moderate (e.g. as opposed to Mark, who is a radical).’ (Rachid Ridouane, p.c.)

(B.198) Context: Viewed from the perspective of Marrakesh.
Rrachidiya, lmghrib ***sul*** *a i-ga.*
Errachidia Morocco still COMP 3SG.M-do.PFV
‘Errachidia is still Morrocco. (as opposed to e.g. Bechar, which is across the Algerian border)’ (Rachid Ridouane, p.c.)

B.16.1.7 Additive and related functions

B.16.1.7.1 Additive

- *Sul* is attested in an additive function.

(B.199) *T-ṣṣifḍ a-s smmus idmya n ismg d smmus*
3SG.F-send.PFV to-3SG five hundreds of slave and five
idmya n talyajurt, n wurɣ d smmus idmya n talyajurt n
hundreds of brick of gold and five hundreds of brick of
nnqwrt, t-ṣṣifḍ a-s ***sul*** *smmus idmya n*
silver 3SG.F-send.PFV to-3SG still five hundreds of

twayya.
female_slaves
'She sent five hundred slaves to him and five hundred gold bricks, five hundreds silver bricks and five hundreds female slaves.' (Stroomer 2001: 130, glosses added)

(B.200) Context: The king has heard of a most beautiful girl.
Iɣ tt-id t-iwi-t, rad ak fk-ɣ
if 3SG.ACC.F-VEN 2SG-bring.AOR-2SG FUT 2SG.DAT.M give.AOR-1SG
lmal n ddunit, ***sul*** *g-eɣ-k d luzir.*
money of world still make.AOR-1SG-2SG.ACC.M as vizir
'If you bring her, I give you all the money in the world and appoint you vizir too.' (Stroomer 2002: 137, glosses added)

(B.201) Context: Two siblings have met a mythical, speaking bird. The bird has offered to help them.
Ṣafi rak kwn ɛawn-ɣ, ***sul*** *zdm-ɣ*
all_right FUT 2PL.ACC.M help.AOR-1SG still collect_wood.AOR-1SG
did-un ikššuḍn.
with-2PL.M wood.PL
'All right, I will help you, I will fetch firewood for you (as well).' (Stroomer 2001: 200, glosses added)

(B.202) Context: A man is flying high above the world on the back of a jinnee.
Fk yyi ***sul*** *tifiyyi, ran n-zayd.*
give.IMP 1SG.ACC still meat FUT 1PL-leave
'Give me (a[nother] piece) of meat, so that we can continue flying.' (Stroomer 2002: 116, glosses added)

B.16.1.8 Broadly modal and interactional functions

B.16.1.8.1 Concessive apodoses

- *Sul* can mark the apodoses of concessive constructions. That this is not merely a contextual inference becomes evident by the combination with the telic predicate plus bounded viewpoint in (B.204).

(B.203) *Lɛuṭla ayad macc i-xṣṣa ad* ***sul*** *i-xdm.*
holiday this_is but 3SG.M-need.PFV IRR still 3SG.M-work.AOR
'It's a holiday and he still has to work.' (Rachid Ridouane, p.c.)

(B.204) Context: Fox has tricked a man into giving him food and then rushed off. The man, however, was holding Fox's tail, which has torn off.
T-frḥ-t *nit* ***sul*** *t-fl-t* *d* *abakku*
2sg-be_happy.pfv-2sg indeed still 2sg-leave.pfv-2sg ven tail
nnk *γ* *ufus* *inu!*
poss.2sg at hand poss.1sg
'You may be happy now, but you left your tail in my hand!'
(Stroomer 2001: 82, glosses added)

B.17 Tima (tms, tima1241)

B.17.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Gertrud Schneider-Blum for discussing Tima data with me, for supplying glosses, and for eliciting additional examples.

B.17.2 bʌʌr

B.17.2.1 General information

- Form: there is a free variant *bʌr*.
- Wordhood: intermediate: takes a singular/plural person index.

B.17.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Schneider-Blum (2013).
- Specialisation: in absence of more contextualised examples, case like (B.205–B.208) give a fairly good indication that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, (B.205) *bʌʌr* not only signals that, at topic time, Jiddu continued to be small, but also alludes to the discontinuation of this state at utterance time. Similarly, in (B.206) *bʌʌr* signals that the plant is eaten before it looses its green colour. Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from its use as not yet in the absence of negation (B.17.2.3.1).
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet. In subordinate contexts this yields precedence ('when not yet *p*, *q*' ≡ 'before *p*, *q*'). Outer negation yields no longer.
- Pragmaticity: the available data allow no conclusion.
- Further note: *bʌʌr* can be used as an elliptical, affirmative one-word answer, as in (B.208).

(B.205) *A=yu=weeŋ i-di-yʌŋ-aa tɛtɛk, Jiddu a-**bʌʌr***
source=pl=dem pl-walk-ven-inst first J. stat.sg-still
a-tɛʔɛŋ.
stat.sg-small
'When we came here for the first time, Jiddu was still small.'
(Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.)

(B.206) Context: About using a certain plant.
*ɘ-kʌluk ɲɪ=hwaa ŋ=kɨ-**bʌʌr** ŋ=kɪ-hɛh.*
pst-chew.caus erg=people inst-sg-still inst=sg.stat-light
'People ate it when it is still green.' (Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.)

(B.207) *Amɛɛ mɔɔk-aa ŋ=wɔrt̪ɘmaadɘh=na ɪ-yɛmpɛrɛ, a-**bʌʌr** meye*
if drink-inst erg=man=prox pl-medicine stat.sg-still opt
a-bayʊk.
stat.sg-alive
'If this man had taken his medicine, he would still be alive.'
(Schneider-Blum 2013: 33, glosses added)

(B.208) *Wɛɛn=na ɘ=kaaka=yɪ, caa c-idʌ ŋ=kɨ-**bʌʌr***
mother=prox dir=K.=foc part sg-body inst=sg-still
*ŋ=kɪ-yaah=ya? – A-**bʌʌr**.*
inst=sg-unripe=loc.3.q stat.sg-still
'The mother of Kaaka, is she still sick? – (Yes), she still is.' (Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.)

B.17.2.3 Uses related toother phasal polarity-concepts

B.17.2.3.1 Not yet

- *Bʌʌr* is attested as a negative one-word answer 'not yet'.
- Note that, depending on context, this item can also serve as an elliptical positive one-word answer; see (B.208) above.

(B.209) *Wɛɛn=na ɘ=kaaka=yɪ, c-idʌ*
mother=prox dir=K.=selective sg-body
*an-caak=t̪aŋ a-mal? – A-**bʌʌr**.*
3pl.ant-become=loc.3pl.q stat.sg-good=loc.3.q stat.sg-still
'Has Kaaka's mother recovered? – Not yet.'[6] (Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.)

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[6] See Becker & Schneider-Blum (2020) on the selective marker in Tima.

(B.210) *Caa-kʌlʌʌk=a=t̪aŋ=ŋa?* – *A-**bʌʌr**.*
2sg.ant-eat.ap=source=2sg.q stat.sg-still
‘Have you eaten yet? – Not yet.’ (Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.)

B.17.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.17.2.4.1 Prospective ‘eventually’

- *Bʌʌr* seems to allow a prospective ‘eventually’-reading.
- All examples I have include additional markers like *anakɔɔ* ‘later’.

(B.211) Context: About restoring a house.
A-bʌʌr kʊ=dʊŋ-kɔyɔɔ=dɔ ŋʊɲaŋ bʌttin.
stat.sg-still pot=fut.1sg-do=1sg work a_little_later
‘I will do the work yet, a little later.’ (Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.)

(B.212) Context: The addressee doesn’t believe that the speaker’s claim about their pending success.
*A-**bʌʌr** kaa=daa-mɪnɛnɛ=ŋaŋ anakɔɔ.*
stat.sg-still pot.2sg=fut.2sg-find:plur=2sg later
‘You will see yet/later.’ (Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.)

B.17.2.5 # Marginality

- *Bʌʌr* appears not to be compatible with readings of marginality. Thus in (B.17.2.5), *bʌʌr* can only have a phasal polarity interpretation, not a “categorizing” one. Similarly, speakers would not use *bʌʌr* to translate ‘I can still beat Musa’ in (B.214).

(B.213) *Bant̪uyu a-twaarɪ=na u-sudaan=ɪ-ya,*
Banthuyu source=outside=prox dir=Sudan=selective=foc
*kʌwudʌ a-**bʌʌr** a=nt̪ʌ-tiin=nʌ u=sudaan=ɪ.*
Kawda stat.sg-still source=inside=prox dir=Sudan=selective
‘Banthuyu is outside of Sudan, Kawda is still inside Sudan (but they want to be separated).’
not: ‘Banthuyu is still (within the borders of) Sudan.’ (Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.)

(B.214) Context: About football skills. Musa falls within the range of players I can beat, but Ali is better than me.

Cen-taak=da *musa,* *ədaala* *kɪ=rɛɛy=da* *mak*
1sg.ipfv-surrpass.ap=1sg M. play pot.1sg=equal=1sg then
na *l-alɪ=yaŋ.*
with loc-Ali=neg
‘I surpass Musa when playing, but I don’t equal Ali.’ (Gertrud Schneider-Blum, p.c.)

B.18 Tunisian Arabic (aeb, tuni1259)

B.18.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I consulted the text collections by Ritt-Benmimoun (2005a, 2005b, 2006–2010, 2007, 2011a, 2011b), as well as the TuniCo (Dallaji et al. 2013–2016). Note that Tunisian Arabic makes use of the non-concatenative “root-and-pattern’ morphology that is characteristic of Semitic (Pat-El 2019), hence the mentioning of discontinuous roots at several points throughout this appendix. Tunisian Arabic has two candidates for still expressions: *māzāl* and *bāqi*. While *māzāl* clearly conforms to my definition, *bāqi* (which is only found in northern sedentary varieties) is a borderline case, perhaps better understood as a marker of stasis.

B.18.2 māzāl

B.18.2.1 General information

- Form: subject to certain changes in vowel quality and length, primarily determined by the affixes attached.
- Wordhood: intermediate, a bound root taking person, number, and gender (where applicable) indexes. In some varieties it is also attested, though less commonly so, as an invariable word (formally 3sg.m).
- Etymology: < *mā-zāl* ‘neg-cease.pfv’ ‘.
- Syntax: either in pre-predicate or in clause-final position.

B.18.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Amor (1990: 221–222), Boris (1958: 259), Fischer et al. (2024), Marçais & Guìga (1958–1961: 1735–1742) and Mion (2013: 63); passing mentions in Jemni (2011: 113–114), Talmoudi (1980: 160–161).

- Specialisation: the description by Fischer et al. meets my definition and addresses both the prior time presupposition and the incompatibility with inalterable situations.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet; in the Takrouna variety of Marçais & Guìga (1958–1961) the external negation to no longer is also attested.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios. To give prominence to the unexpectedly late scenario, *māzāl* can receive nuclear stress.
- Further note: example (B.218) illustrates this item with a dynamic verb in an imperative. This is attested only in older doculects; modern varieties would make use of the verb *z-y-d* ‘continue’.

(B.215) Context: About professional politicians who know how to play the system.
T-aṛqā-hum milli ***māzāl****-u f-il-maktib*
2sg-find.ipfv-3pl since still-3pl in-def-primary_school
y-aʕṛf-u d-dustūṛ faṣᵊl faṣᵊl.
3pl-know.ipfv-3pl def-constitution segment segment.
‘Starting from when they are still in primary school, they know the constitution by heart, paragraph by paragraph.’ (TuniCo, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.216) Context: Complaining about low quality bread.
T-ākul tlāṯa kaʕb-āt … <f-iṣ-…> fī-fṭūṛ iṣ-ṣbāḥ
2sg-eat.ipfv three piece-pl in-meal.cs def-morning
*w-****māzil****-t žīʕān-a.*
and-still-2sg hungry-sg.f
‘You eat three pieces…for breakfast and you’re still hungry.’ (TuniCo, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.217) A: *Āhayya, nimshīw.*
‘Shall we go?’
B: ***Māzāl*** *bikri.*
still early
‘It’s still early.’ (Amor 1990: 221, glosses added)

(B.218) ***Māzāl*** *imši ṭūl ḥatta l-il-bīr.*
still go.imp straight until to-def-well
‘Continue, marche tout droit jusqu’au puits. [Continue, walk straight to the well.]’ (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1737, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

B.18.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

B.18.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Fischer et al. (2024).
- *Māzāl* is attested in scalar contexts. These include decreases over time, as in (B.219, B.220), as well as limited increases, as in (B.221). Note how the increase context in (B.221) does not involve an overt 'only' marker.

(B.219) ***Māzāl*** *yūm-ēn l-l-ʕīd.*
still day-DU to-DEF-feast
'Il reste encore deux jours avant la fête. [Two days remain before the feast.]' (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1736, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.220) ***Māzāl****-l-i nṣayyib niʕma.*
still-to-1SG share.DIM.CS food/cereal
'Il me reste encore un peu de céréales. [I still have a bit of cereal left.]' (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1736, glosses added)

(B.221) Context: The late father of two orphans has bequeathed a wall to them, under which there is a hidden treasure.
W-xallā-hū-l-hum w-humma māzāl-u
and-leave_behind.PFV.3SG.M-3SG.M-to-3PL.M and-3PL.M still-3PL.M
mā-bilġ-ū-š ***māzāl*** *ʕumᵊṛ-hum tisʕ*
NEG-reach_puberty.PFV-3PL.M-NEG still age-POSS.3PL.M nine
ᵊsnīn.
year.PL
'Er hinterließ sie ihnen, aber sie sind noch nicht in der Pubertät, sie sind erst ungefähr neun Jahre alt. [He (father) bequeathed it (the wall) to them (the orphans), but they haven't reached puberty yet, they are still only about nine years old.]' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011b: 220–221, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

B.18.2.4 Uses relating toother phasal polarity concepts

B.18.2.4.1 Not yet

- Fischer et al. (2024), Marçais & Guìga (1958–1961: 1736), Ritt-Benmimoun (2014: 203) and Singer (1984: 650–651).
- This function obtains in the absence of an overt predicate (as first observed by Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1740). More precisely, it is found
  - As a negative response to a polar question (B.222).

- In disjunctive (B.223) and contrastive (B.224) contexts.
- With nominal subjects either denoting time spans, or *waqt* ‘time’ itself. A further complication here pertains to word order and definiteness. With a preceding subject NP, the resulting sentence is ambiguous (B.225). If the NP follows *māzāl*, then an affirmative (B.226) or negative (B.227) reading is a function of definiteness.

(B.222) *Flān žā walla māzāl? – Lā,* ***māzāl****.*
so_and_so come.PFV.3SG.M or still no still
‘Ist er schon da? Nein, (er ist) noch nicht (gekommen). [Has he come yet? No, not yet.]’ (Singer 1984: 650, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.223) *Il-ʕalālīš əḏ-ḏabbiḥ-an walla* ***māzāl****-an?*
DEF-lamb.PL PASS-slaughter.PFV-3PL.F or still-3PL.F
‘Have the lambs been slaughtered or not yet?’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011b: 110–111, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.224) *Minna šhaṛ y-ṭīb iš-šʕīṛ*
from.here month 3SG.M-ripen/be_ripe.IPFV DEF-barley
ām-il-qamḥ ***māzāl****.*
but-DEF-wheat still
‘D’ici un mois l’orge deviendra mûr, mais le blé ne le sera pas encore. [Within a month, the barley will be ripe, but the wheat won’t yet.]’ (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1740, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.225) *Iṣ-ṣēf* ***māzāl****.*
DEF-summer still
i. ‘L’ été dure encore. [It’s still summer.]’
ii. ‘L’été n’est pas encore venu. [Summer hasn’t arrived yet.]’
(Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1741, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.226) ***Māzāl****-t aʕšīya.*
still-3SG.F afternoon/evening(F)
‘C’est encore le temps de après-midi. [It is still afternoon.]’ (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1741, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.227) ***Māzāl****-t* ***il****-aʕšīya.*
still-3SG.F afternoon/evening(F)
‘Ce n’est pas encore le temps de après-midi. [It’s not afternoon yet.]’ (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1741, glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

B.18.2.5 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

B.18.2.5.1 Near past

- Boris (1958: 259), Fischer et al. (2024), Marçais & Guìga (1958–1961: 1736), Ritt-Benmimoun (2014: 203) and Singer (1984: 650–651).
- Form: in collocation with a clause introduced by *kī(f)* ‘like, when’ that contains either a verb in the perfective aspect (B.228, B.229) or an active participle (B.230).
- As (B.229) shows, this is not a true past tense, but can also serve as a past-in-the-past.

(B.228) *Znīxā uxt-i* ***māzāl-t kīf xḏā-t.***
Z. sister-POSS.1SG still-3SG.F when/how take_spouse.PFV-3SG.F
‘Meine Schwester Zulayxa hat eben erst geheiratet. [My sister Zulayxa just recently got married.]’ (Singer 1984: 651, glosses added)

(B.229) *Kun-t ānā* ***māzil-t kīf bdī-t*** *n-umġuḍ fī ṭaṛf*
COP.PFV-1SG 1SG still-1SG when begin.PFV-1SG 1SG-chew.IPFV in piece
il-lḥam haḏāya u-ẓaṛṣt-i ṛā-hi
DEF-meat(M) PROX.SG.M and-molar(F)-POSS.SG PRESTT-3SG.F
tnaṭṛ-it tanṭīṛa waḥda.
slip_out.PFV-3SG.F slip_out.NMLZ one.3SG.F
‘Ich hatte eben erst damit begonnen, auf dem Stück Fleisch herumzubeißen, da flog auch schon mein (Backen-)Zahn im hohen Bogen. [I had only just begun chewing on the piece of meat, when all of a sudden my molar tooth came flying out.]’ (Singer 1984: 651; cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.230) Context: A man has seen a mysterious woman out in the desert. He is informed that she is a ghost.
Magtōla b-əslāḥ maṛā ṣiġēra maʕnāha
kill:PTCP.PASS:SG.F at-weapon woman(F) little.SG.F DM
šābba maʕnāha ***māzāl-at kīf əmʕarrsa*** *maʕnāha.*
young.SG.F DM still-3SG.F when marry.PTCP.SG.F DM
‘Eine junge Frau war mit einer Waffe getötet worden, eine junge Frau, die gerade erst geheiratet hatte. [A young woman had been killed with a gun,a young woman who had only recently got married.]’ (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011b: 408–409, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

B.18.2.6 # Marginality

- Fischer et al. (2024).
- *Māzāl* does not allow for readings of marginality.

(B.231) Context: Speaking about tennis skills.
# *Bṛāhīm {**māzāl**/māzil-t} ᵊn-nažžim n-iġᵊlb-u. (amma*
Ibrahim still/still-1SG 1SG-can.IPFV 1SG-beat.IPFV-3SG.M but
ʕAlī bāhi baṛša)
Ali good a_lot
(intended: ‘ Ibrahim, I can still beat him [i.e. his skills are close to mine], but Ali is better than me’) (Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.232) \# *Bin Gardān **māzāl**-it fī-Tūnis, amma Zwāra ṛā-hi*
B. G. still-3SG.F in-Tunisia but Z. PRESTT-SG.F
fī-Lībya
in-Libya
(intended: ’ Ben Gardane is still in Tunisia [i.e. a marginal member of the Tunisian territory], but Zuwara is already in Libya.’) (Fischer et al. 2024)

B.18.2.7 Additive and related functions

B.18.2.7.1 Additive

- Fischer et al. (2024).
- *Māzāl* is attested in additive function; note the perfective aspect in (B.234), which would be incompatible with the notion of STILL.
- Rhetorical questions with *māzāl* in additive function, such as (B.235), clearly underlie the idiomatic exclamation in (B.236).

(B.233) Context: About saints and the miracles they performed.
A: *Hāḏīy ʕād min...baṛša, il-kaṛāmāt mawžūda yāsir əmtāʕ iṣ-ṣāḷiḥīn. Ayh. Yā wid-i yāsir ʕalay-y... Ayh mā-ni g̣utt-la ʕād.*
‘Das ist also von... viele, es gibt viele Wunder der Heiligen. Ja. Mein Lieber, das ist zuviel für mich. Ja, das habe ich ihm doch schon gesagt. [So that is ... many, there are many miracles performed by the saints. Yes. My dear, that’s too much for me. Yes, I told him that already.]’

B: (interrupting A)
Māzāl *Sīdi Ṯāmir*
still S. T.
'Es gibt noch Sīdi Ṯāmir. [There's also Sidi Thamir.]'
(Ritt-Benmimoun 2011b: 434–435, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.234) ***Māzāl*** *wuld-it baʕd-u ṯlāṯa krūš.*
still give_birth.PFV-3SG.F after-3SG.M three belly.PL
'Elle a encore mis au monde trois enfants après lui. [She gave birth to three more children after him.]' (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 1737, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.235) *Āš* ***māzāl*** *ṭṛah?*
what still HORT
'Na, was denn noch! [What else do you want!]' (Singer 1984: 650, glosses added)

(B.236) ***Māzāl****-ši tawwa!*
still-Q now
'That's enough!' (Fischer et al. 2024)

B.18.3 bāqi

B.18.3.1 General information

- Woordhood: free morpheme.
- Etymology: formally the SG.M form of the active participle of the root *b-q-y* 'remain'.

B.18.3.2 As a (borderline) STILL expression

- Jemni (2011: 130–131), Fischer et al. (2024), Marçais & Guìga (1958–1961: 365–366) and Singer (1984: 650).
- Specialisation: Fischer et al. (2024) observe that *bāqi* presupposes a left-abutting runtime of situation depicted in the clause and that it is infelicitous when combined with inalterable states. However, none of the data points feature clear-cut contexts that would be indicative of evoking an alternative scenario, and the translations given by Marçais & Guìga (1958–1961) are more indicative of a purely stative meaning, similar to what is found with French *toujours* (see Appendix D.2.3.2); note for instance 'sans qu'on en voit la fin [without an end in sight]' in (B.238). *Bāqi* thus constitutes a borderline case of a STILL expression.

- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.
- Pragmaticity: if taken to be a bona fide still expression, then *bāqi* would be specialised for the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Syntax: relatively mobile.
- Further note: example (B.239) illustrates *bāqi* with a dynamic verb in an imperative. This is attested only in older doculects; modern varieties would make use of the verb *z-y-d* ‘continue’.

(B.237) *Billi ʕand-u baṛša milli mšā aʕlī-na* ***bāqi***
although at-3sg.m much since go.pfv.3sg.m away_from-1pl still
y-ibʕaṯ-il-na žwāb fi-l-ʕaīd.
3sg.m-send.ipfv-to-1pl letter in-def-feast
‘Obwohl er uns schon lange verlassen hat, schreibt er uns doch immer noch zum Fest. [Although he left us a long time ago, he still regularly writes (a letter) to us on the Eid holiday.]’ (Singer 1984: 703; glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.238) ***Bāqi*** *ġaṛḏ̣-ik fi-r-rqād.*
still aim-poss.2sg in-def-sleep.nmlz
‘Tu continues à avoir envie de dormir, tu as encore (sans qu’on en voit la fin) envie de dormir. [You keep being sleepy, you are still sleepy (without any end in sight).]’ (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 365; glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.239) ***Bāqi*** *mīḥ l-ill-imīn.*
still tilt.imp to-def-right
‘Continue d’incliner toujours à droite. [Keep tilting to the right].’ (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 365; glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

B.18.3.3 Broadly modal and interactional functions

B.18.3.3.1 Concessive apodoses

- *Bāqi* is repeatedly attested in the apodoses of alternative concessive conditionals, as in (B.240), and of universal concessive conditionals, as in (B.241).
- Fischer et al. (2024) point out the conceptual similarity to a purely persistive temporal reading: across all alternatives under discussion, the outcome remains unchanged.

(B.240) *T-ikbir wulla t-usġur il-lifʕa*
3sg.f-be_big.ipfv or 3sg.f-be_small.ipfv def-viper(f)
muxwf-a ***bāqi****.*
dangerous-sg.f still
‘Qu’elle se trouvé à être grande ou petite, la vipère est toujours dangereuse. [Big or small, a viper is dangerous no matter what.]’ (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 366; glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.241) Context: The speaker is talking about his travels and the addressee keeps asking for more details.
Qadd-ma n-qul-l-ik barša ***bāqi*** *šwayya.*
measure-subord 1sg-say.ipfv-to-2sg a_lot still little
‘No matter how much I tell you, you won’t be satisfied (lit. it remains little)’ (TuniCo, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

B.18.3.4 Other functions

B.18.3.4.1 ‘Other than that, apart from that’

- Fischer et al. (2024) and Marçais & Guìga (1958–1961).
- *Bāqi* is repeatedly attested in uses along the lines of ‘other than that’ or‘apart from that’. As pointed out by Fischer et al. (2024), this is best understood as directly related to the lexical source ‘remainder’ rather than being mediated by *bāqi* as a marker of persistence.

(B.242) Context: About the design of a pearl necklace.
ʕmal-t hakka žū̆st əkġošē b-il-akḥal hakka bȭnd.
make.pfv-1sg thus just crochet with-def-black thus band
*W-****bāqi*** *kull dē pēġl.*
and-remainder every pearls
‘I just crocheted a black band like that. Other than that, it’s all pearls.’ (TuniCo, cited in Fischer et al. 2024)

(B.243) *Il-ʕawaž illi xallā-ni tkallam-t wulla*
def-crookedness(m) rel let.pfv.3sg.m-1sg speak.pfv-1sg or
bāqi *iš-šay mā-y-aʕnī-nī-š.*
remainder def-thing neg-3sg.m-concern.ipfv-1sg-neg
‘Ce qui a fait que j’ai parlé, c’est (que j’ai vu) la laideur de procédés; car, pour le reste, la chose ne me regarde pas. [What made me speak was (that I saw) the ugliness of the process; other than that, I’m not concerned by the issue.]’ (Marçais & Guìga 1958–1961: 366; glosses by Fischer et al. 2024)

B.19 Xhosa (xho, xhos1239)

B.19.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Onelisa Slater and Phumelele Lovisa for discussing Xhosa data with me and for providing additional examples. Xhosa has a typical Bantu noun class system. I have glossed the individual classes as ncl ‘noun class’ plus a subscript number that follows the common Bleek-Meinhof system.

B.19.2 sa-

B.19.2.1 General information

- Form: *se-* with copulatives.
- Wordhood: bound morpheme (verb prefix).

B.19.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Bennie (1939: 126–127), Crane & Persohn (2021), McLaren (1936: 131–132, 210, 225), Tshabe (1989: 149), Oosthuysen (2016: 315, 337) and Savić (2020: 192–195).
- Specialisation: the description by Crane & Persohn meets my definition and explicitly mentions the incompatibility with inalterable states.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: outer negation yields no longer. not yet is expressed by a dedicated marker *ka-*.
- Further note: compatible with the perfective aspect plus inchoative verb (B.245).

(B.244) *I-hashe eli-**se**-li-tsha*
ncl5-horse rel.subj.ncl5-still-cop.ncl5-young
ku-funeka li-qhel-is-w-e.
subj.loc-be_necessary subj.ncl5-get_used-caus-pass-sbjv
‘A horse that is still young has to be trained.’ (Oosthuysen 2016: 167, glosses added)

(B.245) *L-amkel-e i-thuba eli-**sa**-vulek-ile-yo*
obj.ncl5-accept-sbjv ncl5-chance rel.subj.ncl5-still-open-pfv-rel
o-noku-li-sebenz-isa
rel.subj.2sg-with.ncl15(inf)-obj.ncl5-work-caus
e-ku-phemez-eni oku-ninzi.
loc-ncl15(inf)-achieve-loc ncl15(inf)-many
‘Accept the opportunity that is still open and which you can use for many achievements.’ (AST Text Corpus, cited in Crane & Persohn 2021: 243)

(B.246) *Isi-vatho si-**se**-bomvu krwe*
ncl7-clothing subj.ncl7-still-red ideoph:intensly_red
yimbola
cop.ncl9.red_clay
'The clothing is still very red because of the red clay.' (Plessis & Visser 1992: 130, glosses added)

B.19.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

B.19.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Sa-* is compatible with scalar contexts, including the decremental uses in (B.247, B.248) and the 'still no more than' ones in (B.249, B.250). Examples (B.249, B.250) indicate that a restrictive 'only' operator is not compulsory in contexts of a limited increase.

(B.247) Context: We're at a concert in a pub. I suggest to get another drink, but my friend says he ran out of money. I invite him.
*Yiza, ndi-**se**-n-e-hundred Rand.*
come.imp subj.1sg-with-ncl9-hundred Rand
'Come, I still have a hundred Rand.' (Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

(B.248) Context: We have an apple tree in our garden and we've harvested a huge load, and there's not end in sight. So we tell our friend:
*Ukuba u-funa ama-apile, a-**se**-ma-nintsi*
if subj.2sg-want ncl6-apple subj.ncl6-still-cop.ncl6-many
awa-shiyek-ile-yo e-m-thi-ni.
rel.subj.ncl6-be_left-pfv-rel loc-ncl3-tree-loc
'If you want apples, there are still a lot left in the tree.'
(Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

(B.249) Context: You are expected to be sent eight books. You have gotten six so far, and your friend tells you she already got all eight. So you reply:
*Ndi-**se**-n-ezin-tandathu (qha).*
subj.1sg-still-with-ncl10-six (only)
'I still have (only) six.' (Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

(B.250) Context: We're planning to go to an event in the evening. I've got ants in my pants and want to leave already. You reply:
*I-**se**-yin-tsimbi y-esi-thandatu*
subj.ncl9-cop.ncl9-bell ncl9-of.ncl7-six
'It's still six o' clock.' (Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

B.19.2.4 Broadly temporal-aspectual adverbial uses

B.19.2.4.1 Prospective ‘eventually’

- McLaren (1936: 132) and Tshabe (1989: 149).
- According to Tshabe (1989: 149), this function is restricted to verbs of directed motion, as in (B.251). This, however, includes grammaticalised forms of *ya* ‘go’ and *za* ‘come’. These serve as future markers without necessarily contributing a sense of motion, as in (B.252, B.253). For an in-depth discussion of these grammaticalised forms in closely related Southern Ndebele, see Crane & Mabena (2019).
- Negation of this use denies the future existence of any situation of the type described by the predicate (B.254).

(B.251) A: *Sewukhe waya evenkileni?*
‘Have you been to the store?’

B *Hayi, ndi-**sa**-ya.*
no subj.1sg-still-go
‘Have you been to the store? – No, I am still going to go.’ (Tshabe 1989: 149, glosses added)

(B.252) Context: After a heated discussion.
*U-**sa**-zo-bona ukuba ngom-phi ku-thi*
subj.2sg-still-come.inf/fut-see comp cop.ncl1-q ncl15(inf)-say
so-ba-bini o-chanek-ile-yo
1pl-ncl2-two rel.subj.ncl1-be_correct-pfv-rel
‘You’ll see yet who of us two is right.’ (Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

(B.253) *U-nga-yek-i uku-zama!*
subj.2sg-neg.sbjv-stop-neg ncl15(inf)-try
*E-ku-gqib-el-eni u-(**sa**)-zo-nd-ogqitha*
loc-ncl15(inf)-finish-appl-loc subj.ncl2-still-fut-obj.1sg-outdo
‘Don’t stop practising! Eventually, you’ll beat me.’
(Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

(B.254) *Um-khosi a-wu-**sa**-y-i k-oyis-wa.*
ncl3-army neg-subj.ncl3-still-go-neg ncl15(inf)-defeat-pass
‘The army will never be defeated.’ (McLaren 1936: 132, glosses added)

B.19.2.5 Marginality

- *Sa-* is compatible with a range of readings of marginality.

A: I'm really annoyed. My aunt has left the better part of her fortune to an animal shelter, and only 100,000 Rand to me…

B: *i-100,000 Rand i-**se**-sisi-xa*
NCL9-100,000 R. SUBJ.NCL9-COP.NCL7-portion
esi-fanelek-ile-yo
REL.SUBJ.NCL7-be_suitable-PFV-REL
'100,000 Rand is still a decent sum.' (Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

(B.255) Context: Talking about tennis skills.
*Ndi-**se**-n-oku-m-oyisa u-Paul, kodwa*
SUBJ.1SG-still-with-NCL15(INF)-OBJ.NCL1-beat NCL1a-P. but
u-Mark yena u-ngcono ku-na-m.
NCL1a-M. DEM.NCL1 SUBJ.NCL1-better LOC-with-1SG
'I can still beat Paul, but Mark is better than me.' (Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

(B.256) Context: Speaking about political views.
*U-Bongani u-**se**-n-obu-gncathu*
NCL1a-B. SUBJ.NCL1-still-with-NCL14-moderation
'Bongani is still moderate (as opposed to others who have more radical views).' (Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

(B.257) *i-Tohoyandou i-**se**-se-Mzantsi Afrika /*
NCL9-T. SUBJ.NCL9-still-LOC-South Africa
*ku-**se**-se-Mzantsi Afrika*
SUBJ.LOC-still-LOC-South Africa
'Tohoyandou is still (in) South Africa (as opposed to other places across the border).' (Onelisa Slater, p.c.)

B.19.2.6 Restrictive (non-temporal)

B.19.2.6.1 'Thus far only'

- Crane & Persohn (2021).
- This reading is only available in combination with the perfective aspect and non-inchoative verbs.
- As examples like (B.258, B.259) show, this use does not require a scale.
- Crane & Persohn (2021) suggest that this use goes back to aspectual coercion, originating with predicates that form part of a natural sequence of events.

(B.258) *Ndi-**sa**-ty-**e** imengo.*
SUBJ.1SG-still-eat-PFV NCL9.mango
'(So far) I've only eaten mango (e.g. out of more food that is on offer).' (my field notes)

(B.259) *Aba-ntwana ba-**sa**-dlal-ile.*
ncl2-child subj.ncl2-still-play-pfv
"'So far the kids have played [well] (but let's not get our hopes too high).' (Crane & Persohn 2021: 243)

(B.260) *Ndi-**s**-akh-e le ndlu.*
subj.1sg-still-build-pfv prox.ncl9 ncl9.house
'I have for now/only built this house. (but might built at least one more)' (Crane & Persohn 2021: 243)

Appendix C: Australia

C.1 Gooniyandi (gni, goon1238)

C.1.1 Introductory remarks

A note on the structure of the Gooniyandi verb phrase: in broad strokes, verbal predicates in Gooniyandi typically consist of an uninflected element belonging to the open class of lexical (co)verbs, followed by an inflected element from the small and closed class of "classifier" verbs; see McGregor (1990: 190–227) for more information. Note that slashes within Gooniyandi examples indicate the boundaries of intonational units, as marked by McGregor (1990).

C.1.2 =nyali

C.1.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme; an enclitic that can attach to various parts of speech.
- Syntax: typically attaches to its associate (but see below on host restrictions). The marker never attaches to the inflected part of the verb phrase.

C.1.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- McGregor (1990: 463–464); additional discussion in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- Specialisation: =*nyali* is primarily a multifaceted restrictive marker. There are few contextualised examples of =*nyali* as STILL in McGregor's (1990) grammar. Cases like (C.1–C.4), however, give quite a solid indication that this item conforms to my definition. Further, albeit indirect, evidence, comes from the robust STILL–restrictive polysemy (see Section 3.4.2) and the semantic parallels between the two functions.
- Pragmaticity: the available data do not allow for any conclusions.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.

- Further note: the host of *=nyali* as STILL is never a verbal constituent. Often *wamba* 'later, after that point' (essentially a marker of persistence; see McGregor 1990: 511–512) serves as the host. In (C.2) the marker is cliticised to a nominal predicate. In (C.4) *=nyali* has scope over a secondary predicate.

(C.1) *Wamba-**nyali** marla-ya goorijga yaningi=nyali balayawi.*
later=still hand-LOC he_holds_it now=still he_will_send_it
'He's still got (the letter) in his hand, (but) he'll send it directly.' (McGregor 1990: 509–510)

(C.2) *Yoowarni boolga / marlami boolga / yanoonggoo=**nyali***
One old_man not old_man young=still
yoowooloo.
man
'There was an old man, not really an old man, he was still young.' (McGregor 1990: 315)

(C.3) *Jiginya biddangi mangaddi wardgiri **giraddiri wamba-nyali**.*
child their not he:walks he:crawls later-still
'Their child doesn't walk; he still crawls.' (McGregor 1990: 464)

(C.4) *Boolba-ngaddi=**nyali** mooyoo bagiri.*
things-COM=still sleep he_lies
'He sleeps still dressed.' (McGregor 1990: 355)

C.1.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

C.1.2.3.1 Always

- McGregor (1990: 464); additional discussion is found in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- This function is primarily found with *=nyali* operating on a secondary predicate, as in (C.5, C.6). Sometimes, albeit rarely, *=nyali* as 'always' takes *ngambiddi* 'again' as its host, together "indicating daily iterative occurrences of processes such as shaving" (McGregor 1990: 464); see (C.7).

(C.5) *Mangaddi gilbawayingi marlami=**nyali** barnbidi.*
NEG he_was_finding_it without=still he_returned
'He would never find (anything); he'd always return empty handed.' (McGregor 1990: 464)

(C.6) *Jimandi=**nyali** bariwindi mangaddi dagooddawani.*
good=still he_climbed NEG he_fell_in
'He climbed well all the way; he didn't fall.' (McGregor 1990: 465)

(C.7) ***Ngambiddi=nyali*** *thiddajga.*
again=still he_defecates
'He defecates daily.' (McGregor 1990: 464)

C.1.2.3.2 Iterative and restitutive

- McGregor (1990: 460–462); additional discussion in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- Iterative (C.8–C.9) and restitutive uses (C.11) are available. Examples (C.12, C.13) illustrate responsive uses, which are notionally closely related to the restitutive ones.
- In iterative function, *=nyali* typically attaches to the lexical (i.e. uninflected) verb, thus preceding the classifying verb, as in (C.8).
- Iterative *=nyali* is also found in a collocation with *ngambiddi* 'again, next time' (C.9, C.10). While the data do not allow for any conclusions, (C.10) suggests that we might be dealing with continued iteration ('yet again') and/or list continuation ('yet another'). Schultze-Berndt (2002: 244) reports personal communication from William McGregor that this collocation is idiomatic and might be undergoing lexicalisation.
- In its restitutive function *=ngali* often cliticises to the constituent denoting the former state or location, as in (C.11).

(C.8) *Jamoondoo milanggiddinyayi mila=**nyali** yawinggiddinyayi.*
other_day I_saw_you_two see=still I_will_extend_you_two
'I saw you two the other day, and I'll see you again later.' (McGregor 1990: 460)

(C.9) *Nganyi nyagginboowoo **ngambiddi=nyali**.*
I he_will_spear_me again=still
'I might be speared again (not necessarily by the same person).' (McGregor 1990: 462)

(C.10) Context: Hunters have pulled in one crocodile and killed it, then pulled in a second one and also killed it.
*Yaanya / **ngambiddi=nyali** ridd-widi / gard-biddini*
other again=still pull-3PL:catch hit-3PL:hit
'Then they pulled yet another in and killed it.' (McGregor 1990: 575)

(C.11) *Niyi barnbindi ngiwawoo=**nyali**.*
he he_returned south=still
'He returned south again.' (McGregor 1990: 460)

(C.12) *Yoowarni-ngga baami-ngadda briyandi baa=**nyali** limi-nhi.*
one-ERG he_called-to_me in_return call=still I_did-to_him
'One (man) called to me, and in turn I called back to him.' (McGregor 1990: 461)

(C.13) *Gardjayooni briyandi gard=**nyali***
he_might_have_hit_him in_turn hit=still
yoonirni.
he_might_have_hit_him
'Had he$_1$ hit him$_2$, he$_2$ would have hit him$_1$ back in revenge.' (McGregor 1990: 461)

C.1.2.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

C.1.2.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- McGregor (1990: 462–467); additional discussion in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- As is typically of restrictives, this is rather a cluster of functions. These include restricting the reference of nominals and pronouns ('just N'), as in (C.14, C.15), signalling identity of place (C.16), and intensification (C.17).

(C.14) *Ngarloodoo-ngga birrangi=**nyali** riddwiddarniddi*
three-ERG them=still they_pulled_themselves
thaanoonggoo.
up
'The three pulled themselves up by themselves.' (McGregor 1990: 172–173)

(C.15) *Nganyi=**nyali** milaana mangaddi ngooddoo milaa*
me=still he_sees_me NEG that he_sees_him
'He's still looking at me [or: only looking at me], not at him.' (McGregor 1990: 464; also see Schultze-Berndt 2002: 254)

(C.16) *Mangaddi yoodgoowali ngirnda marla-ya=**nyali***
NEG I_was_putting_it_down this hand-LOC=still
goorijgila
I_hold_it
'It haven't put it down; it's right here in my hand / still in my hand.' (McGregor 1990: 465)

(C.17) *Moongaya=**nyali** gijloondi.*
morning=still I_got_up
'I got up early in the morning.' (McGregor 1990: 466)

C.1.2.5 Additive and related functions

C.1.2.5.1 Additive

- McGregor (1990: 460–462); additional discussion in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- Some of the examples grouped here, including (C.20), are discussed by McGregor (1990) under the heading of iteration, as these involve the addition of an identical act, but with switched participants.
- =*nyali* is also repeatedly attested in conjunction with *yaanya* 'other' (C.21).

(C.18) *Moongayayoo bala=**nyali** ya-wili*
morning call=still sbjv-I_will_catch_it
'Tomorrow I'll send a letter also.' (McGregor 1990: 461)

(C.19) Context: Dogs sleep in holes.
*Thiddoo gooddgoo-ya=**nyali** bagiri.*
kangaroo hole-loc=still he_lives
'Kangaroos live in holes too.' (McGregor 1990: 462)

(C.20) *Birdi dijga yaanya birdi dij=**nyali**-a.*
leg he_breaks_it other leg break=still-he_extends_to_it
'He breaks one leg (of a frog), then the other [as well].' (McGregor 1990: 461)

(C.21) *Yaanya gamba-ngarna=**nyali** giwili.*
other water-dweller=still water_goanna
'Another water creature is the water goanna.' (McGregor 1990: 232)

C.2 Gurindji (gue, guri1247)

C.2.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Felicity Meakins for making the Gurindji dictionary (Meakins et al. 2013) available to me. Similar to the other languages of northern Australia (e.g. Bowern 2014), verbal predicates in Gurindji often consist of an uninflected lexical (co)verb, combined with an inflected element from the small, closed class of inflecting verbs; see Meakins & McConvell (2021: 442–481) for extensive discussion.

C.2.2 =rni

C.2.2.1 General information

- Form: following consonants, an epenthetic syllable *pa*/*wa* is added, yielding *=parni*/*=warni*. In addition, there is reduplicated *=rnirni* and a complex form *=rningan*.
- Wordhood: bound morpheme, an enclitic that attaches to various parts of speech, but not to the inflected part of the verbal predicate (but see Appendix C.2.2.4.1–C.2.2.5.1 on *=rningan*).

C.2.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- McConvell (1983) and Meakins & McConvell (2021: 594–595); additional discussion in van Baar (1991, 1997: 112–113) and Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- Specialisation: *=rni* is primarily a multi-faceted restrictive marker. The discussion by McConvell (1983) gives a fairly good indication that it also encodes the function of STILL. Further, albeit indirect, evidence, comes from the robust still–restrictive polysemy (Section 3.4.2) and the semantic parallels between the two functions.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusion.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Further note: in (C.24) *=rni* has scope over a secondary predicate. Ex. (C.25, C.26) illustrate the use in an imperative and jussive, respectively. McConvell (1983: 17) points out that (C.26) could be read as also invoking the restrictive use of *=rni* (Appendix C.2.2.6.1).

(C.22) *Lawara=rni marlumarlu=**rni***
nothing=still crippled=still
‘No (improvement) yet, (he is) still crippled.’ (McConvell 1983: 20)

(C.23) *Jakiliny tampang=**parni** karri-nyana.*
moon dead=still be-PRS
‘The moon is still dead (i.e. it is new moon).’ (McConvell 1983: 20)

(C.24) *Ngu=rna=rla kurrurij-ja jalngak waninya rarraj-ja=**rni**.*
AUX=SUBJ.1.EXCL=3.OBL truck-LOC mount fall.PST run-LOC=still
‘I got on the truck while it was still moving.’ (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 595)

(C.25) Context: The addressee is climbing up a tree.
*Partaj ya-nta kankula=**rni**!*
climb go-IMP up=still
'"Climb further up!" [he said].' (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 691)

(C.26) Context: After a car breakdown.
*Ya-nan-ku=li jamana=**rni** warrij.*
go-PROG-FUT=SUBJ.1DU.INCL foot=still away
'Let's keep going (just) on foot.' (McConvell 1983: 17)

C.2.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

C.2.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

C.2.2.4.1 Iterative and restitutive =*rningan*

- McConvell (1983), Meakins & McConvell (2021: 597–598) and Meakins et al. (2013: s.v. *rningan*); additional discussion ii Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- Form: in this function, as well as the related functions below, we find a complex enclitic =*rningan*; it is unclear what the source of the /*ngan*/ part is. As with =*rni*, following consonants.
- Iterative (C.27–C.29) and restitutive (C.30, C.31) uses are attested.
- Iterative =*rningan* can take the inflected verbs as its host, as in (C.27), whereas restitutive =*rningan* always attaches to the uninflected lexical verb.

(C.27) *Karu-ngku wumara=ma jakarr ma-ni=**rningan**.*
child-ERG money=TOP cover get-PST=rningan
'A child covered up the money again.' (the act of covering up is repeated) (McConvell 1983: 6)

(C.28) *Ngu=rla rarrarraj ya-ni nyila=ma ngu=rla*
AUX=3.OBL run.REDUPL go-PST that=TOP AUX=3.OBL
*wartpaj=**parningan** ma-ni lanti-kari-la, ngu=rla pu-nya*
throw_spear=rningan do-PST hip-other-LOC AUX=3.OBL pierce-PST
kaa-rni-yin-tu.
east-up-ABL-ERG
'He went running over to him, threw again and got him bang in the eastern hip from the towards the river.' (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 299)

(C.29) *Limpal=**warningan** ngu=rnalu ma-rni.*
mens_business=STILL AUX=SUBJ.1PL.INCL talk-PST
'We talked about important men's business again.' (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 597)

(C.30) *Karu-ngku wumara=ma jakarr=**warningan** ma-ni.*
child-ERG money=TOP cover=rningan get-PST
'A child covered up the money again.' (the state of being covered is restored) (McConvell 1983: 7)

(C.31) *Ngu=rna jutuk=parningan yuwa-ni.*
AUX=SUBJ.1SG straighten=**rningan** put-PST
'I got on the right track again.' (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 597)

C.2.2.4.2 Always, all the time

- McConvell (1983), Meakins & McConvell (2021: 594–595) and Meakins et al. (2013: s.v. *rni*); additional discussion in van Baar (1991, 1997: 112–113) and Schultze-Berndt (2002).

(C.32) *Lawarrkap=**parni** wanyja-ni ngu=yina.*
dodge=still leave-PST AUX=3PL
'He continually dodged them.' (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 594)

(C.33) *Kula=n pura nya-ngku; ngu=n=ngantipa*
NEG=SUBJ.2SG hear see-FUT AUX=SUBJ.2SG=OBJ.1PL.EXCL
*pawu=**rni** pa-nana.*
ignore=still hit-PRS
'You can't listen; you always just ignore us.' (McConvell 1983: 20)

(C.34) *Yamak=**parni** ka-ngka.*
slow=still take-IMP
'Drive slowly (all the time).' (McConvell 1983: 21)

C.2.2.5 Additive and related functions

C.2.2.5.1 Additive =*rningan*

- McConvell (1983), Meakins & McConvell (2021: 597–598) and Meakins et al. (2013: s.v. *rningan*); additional discussion is found in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- Form: see C.2.2.4.1 above.
- Syntax: in this use, =*rningan* can attach to the inflected verb, but also to constituents below the predicate, depending on focus (and disambiguation).

(C.35) *Parntawurru=wayin ngu=rna pa-ni=**rningan**.*
back=including AUX=SUBJ.1SG hit-PST=rningan
'I hit it on the back, too.' (McConvell 1983: 8)

(C.36) Context: Someone else has fallen.
*Karu=ma ngaja wani-nyana=**rningan**.*
child=TOP ADMONITIVE fall-PRS=rningan
'The child might fall too.' (McConvell 1983: 8)

(C.37) *Ngamayi-lu=ma=ngantipa=wula ka-nya*
mother-ERG=TOP=NON.SUBJ:1PL.EXCL=SUBJ.3DU take-PST
*kuya-ny-ja=**rningan**, juluj-juluj.*
thus-NMLZ-LOC=rningan carry_under_arm.REDUPL
'Our mothers used to carry us in this sort of coolamon too.' (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 597)

(C.38) *Karu-ngku=**rningan** wumara=ma jakarr ma-ni.*
child-ERG=rningan money=TOP cover get-PST
'A child, too, covered up the money.' (McConvell 1983: 7)

C.2.2.6 Restrictive (non-temporal)

C.2.2.6.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- McConvell (1983), Meakins & McConvell (2021: 587–596) and Meakins et al. (2013: s.v. *rni*); additional discussion in van Baar (1991, 1997: 112–113) and Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- As is typical of restrictive markers, this is a cluster of functions. These include the defining 'only' use with nominals (C.39) as well as with the main predicate as the associate of the marker (C.40, C.41). It is also used, among other things, to indicate that an act is performed all by oneself (C.42), for emphasis on identity of location (C.43), and for intensification (C.44).
- Restrictive *=rni* can be reduplicated, as in (C.41). The reduplicated form exclusively has the 'only' function, thus allowing disambiguation from the competing phasal polarity use.

(C.39) *Ngayi-ny=**parni** ngu=yi nyila=ma kujingka=ma.*
1SG-DAT=still AUX=OBJ.1SG DEM=TOP song_cycle=TOP
'That song cycle belongs to me only.' (McConvell 1983: 17)

(C.40) *Juurl~jurrl=**warni** ma-nyja=wula=nyunu.*
apologise~REDUPL=still talk-IMP=SUBJ.3DU=REFL/RECP
'You two just apologise to each other!' (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 588)

(C.41) *Ngu=rna karrap=**parnirni** nya-nya kurti=rni ngu=rna*
AUX=SUBJ.1SG look=still.REDUPL see-PST later=still AUX=SUBJ.1SG
pirrkap=ma ma-nku.
make=TOP get-FUT
'I have only looked at it (the car); I'll do the repairs later.' (McConvell 1983: 23)

(C.42) *Jartaj ma-ni ngu=rla=nyanta nyanuny-ja=**rni***
hit_with_boomerang do-PST AUX=3OBL=3OBL 3SG.DAT-LOC=still
kuya.
thus
'He aimed at him all by himself.' (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 592)

(C.43) *Murrkun-kari=ma nyawa=ma karrinya, karnti-ka=**rni**.*
three-other=TOP this=TOP COP.PST tree-LOC=still
'Another three were right there in the tree.' (Meakins & McConvell 2021: 593)

(C.44) *kaput=**parni***
morning=still
'early in the morning' (McConvell 1983: 20)

C.3 Jaminjung-Ngaliwurru (djd, djam1255)

C.3.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Eva-Schultze Berndt for discussing Jaminjung-Ngaliwurru data with me, and for providing additional examples. A note on the structure of the verb phrase: simplifying slightly, verbal predicates in Jaminjung-Ngaliwurru typically consist of an uninflected element belonging to a large open class of uninflecting "coverbs" plus an inflected member of the small and closed class of verbs proper. See Schultze-Berndt (2000: ch. 3) for more information.

C.3.2 =(C)ung

C.3.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme, an enclitic.
- Syntax: in the case of complex predicates, the uninflected (co)verb, but not the inflected verb can serve as the host.

C.3.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Schultze-Berndt (2000: 140, 2002).
- Specialisation: =(*C*)*ung* is primarily a multifaceted restrictive marker. That phasal polarity STILL is amongst its denotata becomes evident in examples like (C.45–C.48). For instance, in (C.45) the fact that the rock remains covered with water is in contrast with the assumption that, at this particular point in time, this state should no longer hold. Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from the robustly attested restrictive–STILL polysemy and the semantic overlap between the two functions (see Section 3.4.2).
- Pragmaticity: examples like (C.45, C.46) suggest that =(*C*)*ung* is compatible not only with the neutral scenario, but also with the unexpectedly late one.
- Polarity sensitivity: =(*C*)*ung* as STILL is not attested in combination with negation (Eva Schultze-Berndt, p.c.).
- Syntax: the host of phasal polarity =(*C*)*ung* is relatively free, but subject to the general restriction against inflected verbs.

(C.45) Context: Watching a video of a dreaming site which was partially submitted in water. This would be expected in the wet season, but not necessarily at the time of the recording.
*Bad~bad=**ung** ga-yu=di wagurra?*
REDUPL~cover=still 3SG-COP.PRS=FOC rock
‘The rock is still covered?’ (Schultze-Berndt 2002: 234)

(C.46) Context: Speaking about a particular person who is expected to arrive.
*Gurrany bul ga-ruma-ny, yina ga-yu=**wung**=yunyag.*
NEG appear 3SG-come-PST DIST 3SG-COP.PRS=still=OBL.1PL.INCL
‘She hasn’t appeared, she is still over there on us three.’
(Eva Schultze-Berndt, p.c.)[1]

(C.47) Context: Retelling of a video showing a family member who is fishing. She has caught a fish and is trying to pull out the hook.
*Gara=biya, ngayin-ni=**wung** wilb gan-ardgiya-ny.*
no=now meat/animal-ERG=still buck 3SG>3SG-throw-PST
‘But no (she didn’t succeed), the animal still jumped.’
(Eva Schultze-Berndt, p.c.)

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[1] Technically, =*yunyag* is the “unit augmented” form (speaker and addressee, plus one more person), hence ‘us three’.

(C.48) Context: From a bush trip narrative.
*Tongue hanging gugu-wu, gugu yagbali-g=**gung***
tongue hanging(<Kriol) water-DAT water place-LOC=still/only
ga-gba=yirrag.
3SG-COP=1PL.EXCL.DAT
'(His) tongue hanging out for water, (since) our water was still (back) in the camp / right in the camp.' (Eva Schultze-Berndt, p.c.)

C.3.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

C.3.2.3.1 Always, all the time

- Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- This function obtains with secondary predicates as the host constituent.

(C.49) *Ngarrgina=malang gujarding digirrij ga-jgany*
POSS.1SG=GIVEN mother die 3SG-go.PST
*bidimab-nyunga=**wung** ngayug=gung nga-ngangarna-nyi*
feed:TR-from=still 1SG=still 1SG>3SG-give.REDUPL-IPFV
mangarra nganja~nganjany.
plant_food REDUPL~what
'My mother passed away (always) having been cared for (lit. "fed"), me I used to give her food (and) things' (Schultze-Berndt 2002: 235)

C.3.2.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

C.3.2.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Cleverly (1968: 76–78) and Schultze-Berndt (2000: 104, 2002).
- As is typical of restrictive markers, this is rather a cluster of related functions. These include emphasis on the identity of the referent of pronouns (C.50) and of manner expressions (C.51). It is also frequent with expressions of location and time, as in (C.52–C.53).

(C.50) *Ngayug=**gung** nga-ruma-ny, wurlug.*
1SG=still 1SG-come-PST alone
'I came just (by) myself, alone.' (Schultze-Berndt 2002: 236)

(C.51) Context: About a person affected by alcoholism.
*Maja gan-unggu-m darlarlab=**bung** ga-ngga*
do_like_that 3SG>3SG-say/do-PRS shiver=still 3SG-go.PRS
warlnginy.
walk
'He goes like that, shakingly [i.e. in no other way] he walks.' (Schultze-Berndt 2002: 235)

(C.52) Context: About water during wet season floodings.
*Gurrany=biyang walg ga-jga-ny, ga-gba nginyju-ni=**wung***
NEG=now open 3SG-go-PST 3SG-COP.PST DEM-LOC=still
*danggad-gi=**wung**.*
junction-LOC=still
'It didn't go out, it stayed right here, right at the junction.'
(Schultze-Berndt 2002: 238)

(C.53) *Na-ruma-ny jaru, larrman-gi=**wung** na-ram.*
2SG-come-PST in_same_way dry-LOC=still 2SG-come.PRS
'You came in the same way (i.e. at the same time), right in the dry (season) you come.' (Schultze-Berndt 2002: 238)

C.4 Kayardild (gyd, kaya1319)

C.4.1 Introductory remarks

Most of the Kayardild examples below feature verbs in the "actual" form. This is, in essence, the default inflection for past, present, and immediate future situations and which contrasts with forms that carry more specific temporal-aspectual and modal meanings; see Evans (1995a: 256–257) for discussion.

C.4.2 =(i)da

C.4.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme, an enclitic that takes words of various syntactic classes as its host.
- Etymology: < *niida* 'same'.

C.4.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Evans (1995a: 389–392) and Round (2009: 181–183); additional discussion in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- Specialisation: originally a multifaceted restrictive marker, this item also serves as a STILL expression when attached to the main predicate or a secondary predicate. Its function as a STILL expression becomes evident in examples like (C.54–C.56). For instance, in (C.55), the protagonist continues to be alive, against his assailants' assumption to the contrary.

- Pragmaticity: the available data do not allow for any conclusions. Evans (1995a: 392) notes that "persistence may be emphasized" by the verb *wirdi-ja* 'stay, remain' as the host of =(*i*)*da* (also see Evans 1995a: 32); this could be an indication that the unexpectedly late scenario receives additional marking.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET. However, few examples with negation (including semantically negative items like 'nothing') are attested in the data consulted (e.g Round 2009: 183 ex. 3.66, 720 ex. A.27f).
- Further notes: in (C.56) =(*i*)*da* marks a secondary predicate. Examples (C.57, C.58) illustrate a jussive and prospective context, respectively.

(C.54) *Ngada warirr, marndi-i-n=**id**.*
1SG.NOM nothing.NOM cadge-MOD-NMLZ=still
'I've got nothing, I'm still cadged out.' (Evans 1995a: 391)

(C.55) Context: After fighting his way across Bentinck Island through a shower of spears, Kajurku disappears into the sea. Some time later, his assailants sight a campfire on Sweers Island.
*(Kajurku) birjin=**ida** kinaa-j.*
Kajurku alive=still declare-ACTUAL
'Kajurku was showing he was still alive.' (Evans 1995a: 327)

(C.56) *Kala-a-n-marri=**da** mardala-a-j.*
cut-MOD-NMLZ-without=still paint-MOD-ACTUAL
'(The initiates) were painted while still uncircumcised (before being circumcised).' (Evans 1995a: 391)

(C.57) *Wirdi-jinja=**da** dathin-a dukurduku bintha.*
stay-HORT=still that-NOM moist.NOM foreskin.NOM
'Let those moist foreskins wait a while yet (before burying them).' (Evans 1995a: 264)

(C.58) *Ngada ngaka-thuu=**d**.*
1SG.NOM wait-POT=still
'I'll have to wait a long time yet.' (Evans 1995a: 392)

C.4.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

C.4.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- One example in the data features a scalar decrease context.

(C.59) *Barri kuliya~kuliya-n mutha-yarrath=**id**.*
just fill~REDUPL-PROH many-other=still
'Just don't give me too much food, there's plenty yet to feed.' (Evans 1995a: 384)

C.4.2.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

C.4.2.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Evans (1995a: 389–392) and Round (2009: 173–174, 181–183, 202–203); additional discussion in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- As is typical of non-scalar exclusive markers, this is rather a cluster of functions that include signalling sameness/identity (C.60), restriction and/or emphasis with expressions of time and space (C.61, C.62).

(C.60) *Dathin-a kiyarrng-ka dangka-a bi-rr=**ida** dankga-a*
that-nom two-nom person-nom 3-du=still person-nom
*barruntha-ri nga-ku-lu-wan-jir kamburi-jir? – Bi-rr=**ida***
yesterday-all 1-incl-pl-poss-all speak-all 3-du=still
dangka-a.
person-nom
'Are they the two same men who came to talk to us yesterday? – The same two men.' (Evans 1995a: 390)

(C.61) *Ngarii-ja=**da** narra-nguni-ya kala-th.*
before-actual=still shell_knife-ins-loc cut-actual
'Way back in the old days we used to cut things with shell knives.' (Evans 1995a: 392)

(C.62) *Walmathi=**da** walmathi bath-in-d, burldi~burldi-ja*
high=still high west-from-nom roll~redupl-actual
warra-j, burldi-ja birrk-i.
go-actual roll-actual string-loc
'High up, moving from the west, she (Kaarku, the Seagull Being) came along, rolling string as she went.' (Evans 1995a: 309)

C.5 Martuthunira (vma, mart1255)

C.5.1 Introductory remarks

Martuthunira has two candidates for still expressions: *waruu*(*l*) and *parilha*; the latter seems to be related to a verb 'keep doing, keep trying'. It is only for *waruu*(*l*) that there is clear evidence of additional functions. Note that several of the examples feature the marker *-rru* 'now' (sometimes preceded by an epenthetic element -*wa*). This is a very frequent item in Martuthunira texts and

> is used to foreground the item to which it is attached … [a]t the same time, the clitic serves to define a kind of narrative present, a statement that what has already been said can be now taken as established, and that the narrative will build from this point. (Dench 1994: 184).

C.5.2 waruu(l)

C.5.2.1 General information

- Form: free variants differ in the presence or absence of final /l/; see Dench (1994: 130–131) for discussion.
- Wordhood: free morpheme.

C.5.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Dench (1994: 130–131); additional discussion is found in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- Specialisation: the phasal polarity function becomes evident in examples like (C.63–C.65). For instance, in (C.63) the cloth continues to have powder on it, while at the same time it is suggested that at some later point, the powder would no longer be there.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios (tentative conclusion). Example (C.64) looks like a good candidate for the unexpectedly late scenario, with the uninterrupted flight of the boomerang continuing to the astonishment of its chasers.
- Polarity sensitivity: combination with negation yields NOT YET.
- Further note: *waruu*(*l*) also forms part of a derived verb *waruulwa* 'continue to be unable to do'. Ex. (C.66) illustrates the use in an elliptical imperative.

(C.63) *Ngunhaa kanyja-rnu nhawani-ma-lwayara,*
that.NOM keep-PASS.PFV thing-CAUS-HAB
thurlwa-nnguli-wayara, parrapari-marnu. Ngunhu wanti-nguru
pull-PASS-HAB rifle-ASSOC that.NOM lie-PRS
powder-marta ***waruul****, wanti-lha kuwarri thurlwa-rnu.*
powder-PROPRIETIVE still lie-PST now pull–PASS.PFV
Wanthala parrapari?
where rifle
'That one was being kept, [the thing that] makes it what's-its-name, the one that gets pulled through, for a rifle. That cloth still has powder on it as if it had just been pulled through. But where's the rifle?' (Dench 1994: 147)[2]

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[2] See Dench (1994: 84–87) on "proprietive" -*marta*.

(C.64) Context: People are trying to catch a boomerang, chasing and hitting it.
Piyuwa ngunhu, puni-nyila ngunhu ***waruul****. Thampa-rru jirli*
finish that.NOM go-PRS:REL that.NOM still almost-now arm
wurnta-nngu-rra yartapalyu. Yanga-lalha ngurnaa. Ngunhaa
cut-PASS-SIM others chase-PST that.ACC that.NOM
puni-nyila nyingkurlu ***waruu****, ngulangu pungka-lu. Karti-ngka*
go-PRS:REL in_front still there fall-PURP:SS side-LOC
manku-ngu-layi-warnu.
grab-PASS-FUT-EMPH
'But there's no chance, it's still travelling. Some others almost get their arms cut off. They chased it and that boomerang is still in front and falls right there, and is picked up once more.' (Dench 1994: 293–294)

(C.65) *Nhiyu warnan parnta-rnuru-rru warnu ngaliwa-a.*
this.NOM rain rain-PRS-now ASS 1PL.INCL-ACC
Muthu-npa-layi-rru. Nhiyu ngapala-ma-rnu-rru warnan-tu.
cold-INCH-FUT-now this.NOM mud-CAUS-PASS.PFV-now rain-INST
Nhiyu parnta-rnuru ***waruu****. Wantharni-npa-layi-lwa*
this.NOM rain-PRS still how-INCH-FUT-IDENTIFICATION
parnta-rninyji, wayil waya-a yirla?
rain-FUT maybe night-ACC only
'It's raining on us now. Now it's getting cold. It's getting muddy now from the rain. It's still raining. What's the rain going to do, it might go until tonight?'[3] (Dench 1994: 184)

(C.66) Context: You have found a hole with a goanna in it, and dug the hole open.
Wanthanha-rru kana murla-a kanangkalwa-lalha? ***Waruul****-warru,*
which-now Q meat-ACC make_clear-PST still-now
murla-a manku-rrawaara ngurnaa.
meat-ACC grab-SEQ that.ACC
'What now that you've uncovered the meat? Keep going, grab hold of that meat.' (Dench 1994: 268)

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[3] See Dench (1994: 182–183) on the Martuthunira "identification" clitic

C.5.2.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

C.5.2.3.1 Continued iteration

- Several istances of *waruu*(*l*) in Dench’s (1994) grammar feature the sequence *ngartil waruu* ‘still again’. In one instance (C.71) the order is reversed.
- The data indicate that this collocation signals continued repetition (‘yet again’), perhaps emphasizing the recurrence:
  - Out of a total of eight tokens, in five cases context and/or translation clearly indicate continued repetition of the same type of event; see (C.67, C.68).
  - In (C.69) the sub-events are not completely identical: the act of throwing occurs for a third time, albeit only for the second time with this specific boomerang. Similarly, in (C.70) *ngartil waruul* refers to a series of events (bringing home goods for others), with the roles of the participants switching between the individual occurrences.
  - Without further context, ex. (C.71) is unclear: I can only assume that the addressee has been dissatisfied more than once before.

(C.67) *Wiruwanti yirla karlwa-marri-layi,* ***ngartil waruul***
morning only get_up-COLLECTIVE-FUT again still
mungka-yarri-layi ngurnu tharnta-a.
eat-COLLECTIVE-FUT that.ACC euro-ACC
‘In the morning we’ll get up together, and we’ll still have another feed of that euro [a type of kangaroo].’ (Dench 1994: 153)

(C.68) Context: A man has thrown a boomerang several times, and each time a group of people has tried to catch it.
Ngartil thawu-lalha. ***Ngartil waruul****-purtu ngunhu-ngara*
again send-PST again still-COMP that.NOM-PL
yanga-lwala.
chase-PURP:DS
‘Again he send it, and yet again they chased it.’ (Dench 1994: 294–295)

(C.69) Context: A man has chiselled two boomerangs. He has tried out both, and both work fine, to the astonishment of observers.
Patha-rralha ngurnaa ***ngartil waruu****, ngunhu-ngara nhawu-rra.*
throw-PST that.ACC again still that.NOM-PL see-SIM
‘So he threw it again and they watched.’ (Dench 1994: 292)

(C.70) Context: The addressee has gone to town and brought with him goods for others. They have done the same for him on a different occasion.

Ngartil wii nhuwana puni-rra thawun-mulyarra, ***ngartil waruul***
again if 2PL.NOM go-SIM town-ALL again still
ngayu yungku-layi nhuwana-a warnmalyi-i.
1SG.NOM give-FUT 2PL-ACC money-ACC
'If you go to town again, I'll give you money (yet again).' (Dench 1994: 247, 275)

(C.71) *Ngayu wangka-layi mir.ta-rru yinka-rninyji wirra-a*
1SG.NOM say-FUT not-now chisel-FUT boomerang-ACC
ngartil yarna-rniyangu. Ngayu kuntirri-nguru-rru.
again dissatisfied-PASS.lest 1SG.NOM give_up-PRS-now
Nhartu-npa-lha kuntirri-nguru? ***Waruul****-warru* ***ngartil***
what-INCH-PST give_up-PRS still-now again
yarna-nnguli-yirri kartungku.
dissatisfied-PASS-lest 2SG.INST
'I'll say that I won't chisel a boomerang again in case [he's] dissatisfied with me. I'm giving up now. Why am I giving up? Lest you be dissatisfied with me again.' (Dench 1994: 249)

C.5.2.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

C.5.2.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Dench (1994: 130–131); additional discussion is found in Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- As is typical of restrictive markers, this is rather a cluster of related functions. These include restricting the reference of the predicate (C.72), marking an emphatic assertion (C.73), and signalling identity of location (C.74). It is also frequently attested with manner expressions (C.75) and often occurs together with *wuraal* 'all right' and *purrkuru* 'true', as in (C.64) above.

(C.72) *Jalya* ***waruul****. Kartu wartirra-a wiru kanyara yirla.*
rubbish still 2SG.NOM woman-ACC liking man only.
'You're good for nothing. The only thing you're interested in is women (lit. you're [just] rubbish ...).' (Dench 1994: 286)

(C.73) *Ngawu! Panyu* ***waruul****-warru yimpala. Punyjarti warnu pala*
yes good still-now like_that generous ASSERT PRESTT
kartu.
2SG.NOM
'Yes! That's very good. You're certainly generous to do that.' (Dench 1994: 275)

(C.74) *Yawarru* ***waruu****, Kawuyu-wini pularna-lwa, wanthala*
west still K.-near 3PL-IDENTIFICATION somewhere
Jinpingayinu-wini.
J.-near
'Still [right there] in the west, they were near Kawuyu (Mount Nicholson), somewhere near Jinpingayinu (Peter Creek).'
(Dench 1994: 81)

(C.75) *Ngunhaa malumalu-npa-waarru jarruru-u* ***waruul****.*
that.NOM dark-INCH-PURP:SS-now slow still
'That will make everything go dark slowly.' (Dench 1994: 254)

C.6 Wardaman (wrr, ward1246)

C.6.1 gayawun

C.6.1.1 General information

- Form: often occurs with the "article suffix" (Merlan 1994) *-bi*, an element that is best understood as a non-scalar restrictive marker (Schultze-Berndt 2002).
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Etymology: transparently < *gaya* 'today, now' plus *-wun*/*-gun* 'pertaining to'.

C.6.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Merlan (1994: 164, 323).
- Specialisation: examples like (C.76–C.78), as well as (C.79) strongly suggest that *gayawun* conforms to my definition. For instance, in (C.78) the subject's continuous sleep is contrasted with the expected polar opposite (having gotten up). Despite its transparent composition 'relating to today, now', *gayawun* is compatible with past tense contexts, as in (C.78), which indicates that its original meaning has become bleached. Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from its use as NOT YET (Appendix C.6.1.4.1).
- Pragmaticity: *gayawun* seems to be compatible with both scenarios of STILL.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.

(C.76) ***Gayawun****-bi yibi wongo ngegba-rri yum-nyi yibam deb*
still-ART live.ABS NEG die.3SG-PST stick-INST head.ABS hit
nu-bu.
2NON.SG-AUX
'He's still alive, he hasn't died, hit him on the head with a stick.'
(Merlan 1994: 164)

(C.77) *Yirr-ya* ***gayawun*** *ngo-yongi-we.*
1NON.SG.INCL-go.PRS still 1SG>3SG-farewell-FUT
'Let's go, I still want to say good-bye to him.' (Merlan 1994: 164)

(C.78) *Nga-gaju-rri ngayugu nurrug-bulu nurr-gurrgba-rri nganunya* ***gayawun****-bi.*
1SG-rise-PST 1SG.ABS 2NON.SG-PL-ABS 2NON.SG-sleep-PST 1SG.from still-ART
'Me, I'd [already] gotten up, as for you, you were still sleeping on me.' (Merlan 1994: 323)

C.6.1.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

C.6.1.3.1 Scalar contexts

- One item in the data involves a context of a decrease over time.

(C.79) Context: White settlers have shot many of the Wardaman.
Wunggun-bu-ndi lege~lege ***gayawun*** *na.*
3SG>3NON.SG-hit-PST REDUPL~one.ABS still now
'He shot them, [there were] just a few now (lit. a few still [left] now).' (Merlan 1994: 398)

C.6.1.4 Uses pertaining to other phasal polarity concepts

C.6.1.4.1 Not yet

- Merlan (1994: 164, 323).
- In this function, *gayawun*(*bi*) serves as a pro-sentence/interjection and typically features notions like "'wait!, hang on!', or the like" (Merlan 1994: 323).

(C.80) A: *Ngayin.gun-yonga-rri.*
3NON.SG>1DU.INCL-farewell-PST
'They've said good-bye to the two of us.'

B: ***Gayawun*** *ngawun-yongi-we!*
still 1SG>3NON.SG-farewell-FUT
'Hang on! I have to say goodbye to them!' (Merlan 1994: 323)

(C.81) Context: Pregnant Wardaman women are afraid of visual penetration.
Maybe nana wurren ye-we-yen yigle warda-gan ***gayawun****-bi.*
might_be that.ABS child.ABS 3-3SG-POT rotten Q.EMPH-INDEF still-ART
'Might be the child will be born dead [because of men looking at the mother], I don't know, wait and see.' (Merlan 1994: 431)

C.7 Wubuy (nuy, nung1290)

C.7.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I searched Heath's (1980) text collection. A note on the Wubuy aspect system: simplifying slightly, in the past and future Wubuy distinguishes between what Heath (1984) terms "punctual" and "continuous" aspects (glossed as and PUNCT and CONT in the examples below). This is not an opposition of aspectual operators, but functions in the actional dimension ("lexical aspect"): The punctual aspect naturally combines with achievement and semelfactive predicates, whereas continuous is the aspect of choice for states and processes. The latter, can, however, also be construed in the punctual aspect, thereby converting them into achievements that denote either a near-spontaneous event or the entrance into a state/process. The interested reader is directed to Heath (1984: 337–341) for further discussion. Lastly, Wubuy has an elaborate noun-class system. I gloss the relevant forms as NCL for 'noun class', together with a subscript of the labels used in Heath (1984). That is, NCL$_{\text{ANA}}$ stands for 'noun class referred to by the shorthand ANA'.

C.7.2 -wugij

C.7.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: a bound morpheme that straddles the boundary between suffix and enclitic and which combines with hosts of various syntactic classes. Heath (1984) terms this type of marker "postposition".
- Syntax: *-wugij* generally attaches to its focus; with the main predicate as its host, it can be interpreted as a sentence adverb.

C.7.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Heath (1982: 238, 303; 1984: 217, 320, 335, 447–448); additional discussion in van Baar (1991, 1997: 111) and Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- Specialisation: *-wugij* is primarily a multifaceted restrictive marker. When attached to (parts of) the main predicate or a secondary predicate, STILL is among one of its functions. This becomes evident in examples like (C.82–C.84). For instance, in (C.82), the woman continues to see the protagonist, a situation that no longer holds soon after. Further, albeit indirect evidence comes from the robustness of the STILL-restrictive polysemy and the semantic parallels between these functions (Section 3.4.2).

- Polarity sensitivity: uncommon in negative contexts (Heath 1984: 448); where attested, this yields NOT YET.
- Pragmaticity: judging from Heath's (1980) text collection, *-wugij* appears to be compatible with both scenarios.
- Further note: There is a strong tendency for *-wugij* as STILL to occur with demonstratives, verbs, and predicate nominals as the host constituent, whereas the restrictive function (Appendix C.7.2.4.1) occurs mainly with nominals in non-predicative use (Heath 1984: 217, 447). Other than suggested by van Baar (1991, 1997: 111), the association between function and syntactic class/function of the host is a probabilistic one rather than an absolute rule. Counterexamples include (C.91). Ex. (C.85) illustrates the use in an imperative.

(C.82) Context: The protagonist is performing for a woman.
Niga:jbajmiri ni:baḏi:ni, o:bani
he_himself he_tapped_sticks_for_himself.CONT that.NCL$_{\text{ANA}}$
daji niwann^{g}awann^{g}a: daji, waiṟi an^{g}unani,
there he_danced.CONT there not he_saw_her
*n^{g}ununani-**wugij** niyaman^y, jaḻg!*
she_saw_him.CONT-still he_did_that.PUNCT go_past
niyaḻdhin^y.
he_went_past.PUNCT
'He was tapping the sticks together by himself. He danced there. He could not see her, but she could still see him. Then he went past (out of sight).' (Heath 1980: 173–174)

(C.83) Context: King Brown snake and Water Python have both set out from the land of their respective moiety.
Aḏaba niyan^{g}i, yin^{g}ga muga nan^{g}udalhardharg
then he_went.CONT nearly indeed King_Brown
ni:njaman^y, wulhalmandha:yun^g anubani
he_thought.PUNCT it_was_Mandha:yun^g_country that
*nigawi-**wugij** analha:l ... n^{g}iga:yun^g anuwaga:la aḏaba*
it_was_his-still country as_for_her from_there then
*n^{g}iyan^{g}i arwiyaj, ya:ji yin^{g}a wulhalyirija-**wugij***
she_went.CONT upward here nearly it_was_Yirija_country-still
anubani n^{g}iyaman^y.
that she_did_that.PUNCT
'Then King Brown [snake] went along. He thought that he was still in the territory of the Mandha:yun^g moiety, that it was still his

(country) … As for her, she came up (toward the inland hillls). She was still in Yirija moiety territory.’ (Heath 1980: 150–151)

(C.84) Context: Tortoise has been collecting mussels for a long time. Bandicoot has gone up towards tortoise.
Nan^{g}a: aḏaba wuguru a:gamba:
it_burned_it.CONT then it it_cooked_it_in_oven.CONT
aḏaba, manawaṉgurag wuguru, wuguru wa:ḏalma:ran^g wuguwuni,
then bandicoot it it tortoise permanent
*bagu n^{g}a wu:buburi a:guguruj-**bugij***
there and_then it.NCL$_{WARA}$_sat.CONT in_water-still
wini-man^{g}aman^{g}i wurugu wurugurij
it.NCL$_{WARA}$_got_it.NCL$_{WARA}$ later slow
‘It (bandicoot) cooked them (mussel), it cooked them in a stone oven then, bandicoot. On the other hand, tortoise was still there in the water (collecting mussels). It was slowly getting them.’ (Heath 1980: 202)

(C.85) Context: The narrator and his companions have encountered a buffalo.
*N^{g}ayardin^y, “numbura:ran^{g}gana-**wugij**”*
I_started_it(motor).PUNCT you(pl)_look.CONT-still
‘I started the engine (of the vehicle). “You all keep looking,”(I shouted to the others).’ (Heath 1980: 512)

C.7.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

C.7.2.3.1 (Iterative and) restitutive

- Heath (1984: 447–448).
- Heath (1984) only discusses the restitutive use, which is illustrated in (C.87, C.88), and is restricted to the “punctual” aspect. There is only one good candidate for an iterative reading in the data consulted (C.86). This example borders on the restitutive (i.e. ‘threw the spear back at it’), but the discourse context suggests that what is salient is the repeated act of throwing. Like the restitutive uses of -*wugij*, (C.86) features the “punctual” aspect.

(C.86) Context: A boy has been throwing a spear at a bush.
n^{g}i-ga bagu n^{g}i=julubi-’-n^y
PRO.F.SG there 3SG.F=put_in-REFL-PST.PUNCT

a-n^{g}a:ḻi-duj *a-n^{g}a:ḻi*
ncl$_{ANA}$-bush_with_berries-loc ncl$_{ANA}$-bush
*niwu-walwara=ṟa-m-**bugij*** *bagu*
3sg.m>ncl$_{ANA}$-shrub=spear-pst.punct-still there
'She (Emu) jumped in and hid right there in (that same) bush. He threw the spear at it again.' (Heath 1980: 30)

(C.87) Context: A python has devoured two boys. A magician has killed the python and has taken out her guts containing the boys.

Ni=lhan^{g}aḏbi-n^y *wani=ya-n^y-**bugij***
3sg.m=emerge-pst.punct 3sg.m>3pl=give-pst.punct-still
mana-n^{g}udan *man-uba-ma-yun^g*
ncl$_{MANA}$-guts ncl$_{MANA}$-anaph-ncl$_{MANA}$-abs
wani=ya-n^y *yu:guni,* *wani=ya-n^y.*
3sg.m>3pl=give-pst.punct dist 3sg.m>3pl=give-pst.punct
'He came out. He gave those guts (containing the two boys) [back] to them [people].' (Heath 1980: 23)

(C.88) Context: Frilled Lizard had been hiding in a clump of trees. A swarm of flies has flushed him.

Niyaran^{g}gan^y *dagi* *nimaṉburdi,*
he_looked.punct he_is_there he_crouched.cont
*niḻaḻagin^y-**bugij*** *mari,* *dhan^{g}giḏ!* *ya:ji*
he_got_up.punct-still and ideoph:chop here
nuyuḏurdhin^y.
he_chopped_his_nose.punct
'He (man) looked, and there he (Frilled Lizard) was crouching. He had gotten [back] up (after being disturbed by the flies), and he (Wyriyambi) chopped at him (with an axe) across the nose.' (Heath 1980: 113)

C.7.2.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

C.7.2.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Heath (1982: 238, 298; 1984: 170, 217, 335, 447–448); additional discussion in van Baar (1991, 1997: 111) and Schultze-Berndt (2002).
- As is common with restrictive markers, this is really a cluster of related functions. These include (but are not limited to) restricting the reference ('just, nothing but') of noun phrases (C.89, C.90) and predicates (C.91), and emphasis on

the identity of place or time frame, as in (C.92, C.93). The latter two examples could alternatively be interpreted as involving a persistent time frame use (‘while it is still’; see Section 2.5.2.2).

- There is a strong tendency for the restrictive function to occur with nominals in non-predicative use (Heath 1984: 447).

(C.89) *Mari ya:ji:li n^{g}unulhumuwuldhan^{g}i*
and from_here she_severed_him_at_the_waist.CONT
n^{g}unubalhun^{y} aḏaba, aḏaba n^{g}unun^{g}uni
she_cut_him_up.PUNCT then then she_ate_him.CONT
*n^{g}unun^{g}unun^{g}uni aḏaba wulam-**bugij** ma:ramun^{y}mulhi,*
she_ate_him.CONT then blood-still it_lay.CONT
*wulam-**bugij** wulam-**bugij***
blood-still blood-still
‘Then she cut through him at the waist, along here. She cut him up (with her long bill) and ate him. There was nothing but blood lying there.’ (Heath 1980: 70)

(C.90) Context: How people used to prepare cycads.
*Ma:waḏawaḏanma: bagaraag man^{g}ubagaḻan^{g}-**bugij**,*
cycads_became_strong.CONT cycad_nut eyes-still
manamamuwaj bagaraag, wirimawaḻga: aṉugawuy
named.NCL$_{MANA}$ cycad_nut they_pounded_it.PUNCT to_stone
wirimabuḏdhan^{g}i.
they_cooked_it.CONT
‘The cycads became firm. Cycad nuts, just the ‘eyes’ (nuts), named *bagaraag*. They pounded them on a stone and cooked them in ashes.’ (Heath 1980: 416)

(C.91) Context: from an expository text on how tree bark was used to wrap and bury the dead in.
Anajan^{g}awili, wugura:yun^{g} wa:ṟi anuḏan^{g}ag,
large_tree_sp as_for_it.NCL$_{ANA}$ not wood.NCL$_{ANA}$
*wi:ḻaḻa:dijga:-**wugij**, awumurn^{y}ji:, wi:ḻaḻa:di-jga::::.*
they_skinned_it.CONT-still like_humpy they_skinned_it.CONT
‘Jangawili tree. Not the wood part. They just took the bark (‘skin’) off, like a humpy (bark shelter, from bark of stringybark tree).’ (Heath 1980: 265)

(C.92) Context: About preparing mangrove fruits. The fruits have been roasted.

N^{g}a aḏaba wirima:di:ni, aḏaba a:guguwuy
and_then then they_took_it_out.CONT then to_water
*wirima:ralhalwulhan^{g}i, wirima:ralhalwulhan^{g}i yimbaj-**bugij**,*
they_soaked_it_all.CONT they_soaked_it_all.CONT today-still
*aḏaba yimbaj-**bugij** wirimadhurma:.*
then today-still they_crushed_it.CONT
'Then they (people) took them out of the oven and put them in fresh water to soak. On the same day (i.e. a few hours later) they began to grind the fruits.' (Heath 1980: 423)

(C.93) Context: About a circumcision ritual. After performing the circumcision dance, one boy after the other would get circumcised.
Wu:yamayama:, wuruwan^{g}irimira:dhu
they_did_that.CONT from_them_staying_up_at_night.CONT
wurumaḻmaḻan^{g}imira:dhu, wurugu wuruyay
from_them_dancing_circumsision_dance later they_slept.CONT
*bagu bagu-**wugij**.*
there there-still
'They did that after staying up all night dancing the circumcision dance. Then they finally went to sleep and slept [right] there (at the circumcision ground).' (Heath 1980: 273)

Appendix D: Eurasia

D.1 English (eng, stan1293)

D.1.1 still

D.1.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Etymology: < Middle English *stille* 'without motion, without sound', via 'always, ever, etc.'

D.1.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Van der Auwera (1991a, 1993, 1998), van Baar (1997), Ippolito (2004, 2007), König (1977, 1991: ch. 7), König & Traugott (1982), Krifka (2000), Lewis (2019), Michaelis (1993) and Mittwoch (1993), among many others.
- Specialisation: both the requirement for an abutting runtime and the incompatibility with inalterable states have been pointed out repeatedly in the literature (e.g. Beck 2020; Ippolito 2007; König 1991; Michaelis 1993).
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET (unexpectedly late scenario).
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios.

(D.1) *When I first came to London, Piccadilly **still** had its goat.*
(Lucas, *Wanderer in London*, cited in Oxford University Press 2022: s.v. *still*)

(D.2) *The night guards had already arrived, but a few clerks were **still** hanging around…* (Pratchett, *Making money*)

(D.3) *Here is a summary of today's changes as we move into Phase 3 of the routemap out of lockdown in Scotland. **Please still be cautious** and follow the guidelines to allow us all to progress through the dates and phases.* (found online)[1]

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[1] https://twitter.com/jasonleitch/status/1281218133748047882 (25 March, 2023).

D.1.1.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

D.1.1.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Ippolito (2004, 2007) and Michaelis (1993).
- *Still* is encountered with monotone changes along a scale. This encompasses both decreases (D.4, D.5) and limited increases (D.6, D.7). In the latter case, an additional restrictive operator, such as *only* in (D.6) or *no more than* in (D.7), is required. The exception is a 'no later than' use of bare *still* (D.8); Ippolito (2004, 2007) reports that this is not acceptable to all speakers.
- Note the compatibility of *still* plus restrictive with the anterior aspect in examples like (D.7). As Michaelis (1993) points out, if we assume that such experiential uses denote a state, then scalar *only* converts the latter into a transient one (with future increases as an open possibility), thereby reconciliating it with the concept of STILL.

(D.4) *We* ***still*** *had a few pounds in our pockets, so we very quickly decided, why not!* (Cassidy, *Indifferently*)

(D.5) *Milwaukee well into the 1970s* ***still*** *had many homes that were not connected to city waters and sewer lines.* (Guenther, *The orphan that danced at the white house*)

(D.6) *Harry has* ***still*** *only fed the cat.* (He has not performed greater kindness.) (Michaelis 1993: 203)

(D.7) *Heathrow said its own resources are sufficient to cope with about 85% of the traffic seen in 2019, which is roughly in line with current demand. About 1,300 people have been hired in the past six months and the number of security personnel is about the same as it was pre-pandemic. Airline ground handlers, by contrast,* ***still*** *have no more than 70% of pre-Covid resources available, Holland-Kaye said.* (found online)[2]

(D.8) A: *Eat? It's* ***still*** *10 am!*
B: *So what? I deserve a good lunch!*
A: *Lunch is for noon.*
B: *Whatever.* (Online example, cited in Ippolito 2007: 2 fn2)

D.1.1.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.1.1.4.1 # Prospective 'eventually'

- König (1991: ch. 7) discusses how *still* does not allow for an 'eventually' use.

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[2] https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-07-26/heathrow-says-passenger-cap-to-stay-until-airlines-boost-hiring (15 March, 2023).

D.1.1.5 Additive and related functions

D.1.1.5.1 Additive

- König (1991: 145), Ranger (2018: 198–201) and Oxford University Press (2022: s.v. *still*).
- This use appears to be restricted to listing environments plus additions of the same kind. Thus, the OED defines it as "[i]n addition; after the apparent ending of a series; yet" (Oxford University Press 2022: s.v. still).

(D.9) *Some say ... others say ... **still** others say ...* (König 1991: 145)

(D.10) Context: After having discussed two creative periods of the same writer.
***Still** a third type of fiction appeared in the 1950s with Mrs. Miller's successful stories of Christmas at the homes of famous men.* (found online)[3]

D.1.1.5.2 #Further-to

- Beck (2020) explicitly points out that *still* does not have the further-to use.

D.1.1.5.3 Comparisons of inequality

- Ippolito (2007) König (1991: 145), Lewis (2019), Ranger (2018: 198–201) and Oxford University Press (2022: s.v. *still*).
- This use is rather restricted vis-à-vis scalar additive *even* in the same function. Ranger (2018) points out that it is primarily found in an incrementally organised discourse, ex. (D.13) being a prototypical case.
- According to Lewis (2019), this function developed out of a now obsolete distributive 'always, ever' sense, ex. (D.14) being the earliest attestation.
- Syntax: forms a constituent with its focus; note how it intervenes between the article and its complement in (D.11).

(D.11) *A **still** greater offer came from the Dean.* (Ippolito 2007: 23 fn37)

(D.12) *A university novel is a tricky thing; an Oxford novel **still** trickier.* (*The Guardian*, cited in Lewis 2019: 129)

(D.13) *For example, we would expect to find a very high proportion of cognate words in British and American English but a much lower percentage if we compare English and German and **still** lower if we compare English and Russian.* (BCN, cited in Ranger 2018: 200)

(D.14) Early Modern English, 16th century
*spoonefull by spoonefull: bitterer and bitterer **still*** (Lewis 2019: 135)

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[3] https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/miller-helen (22 May, 2023).

D.1.1.6 Marginality

- Beck (2020), König (1977, 1991: 151–155), Ippolito (2007), Michaelis (1993) and Ranger (2018: 201–203).
- *Still* is compatible with readings of marginality.
- Syntax: other than phasal polarity *still*, its marginality cousin cannot occur in clause-final position.

(D.15) *I can **still** beat Paul. Peter is too good for me.* (König 1977: 185)

(D.16) Context: Commenting on a murder sentence.
In a very real sense, they [*culprits*] *got what they deserved even though friends of the victims might argue they **still** got off lightly.* (found online)[4]

(D.17) *I think South East Asia **still** counts as Asia.* (*The Guardian*, cited in Lewis 2019: 129.)

D.1.1.7 Broadly modal and interactional functions

D.1.1.7.1 Concessive apodoses

- Bell (2010), Ippolito (2007). König & Traugott (1982), Lewis (2019), Michaelis (1993), Oxford University Press (2022: s.v. still) and Ranger (2018), among others.
- It has repeatedly been pointed out that, broadly speaking, concessive *still* underlines continued discourse cohesiveness (vis-à-vis concessive markers like *yet* or *nevertheless*).
- According to König & Traugott (1982) and Oxford University Press (2022: s.v. still) the concessive function arose several centuries later than the phasal polarity function.
- Syntax: unlike phasal polarity *still*, concessive *still* can occupy the clause-initial position (D.20), where it is prosodically detached; Ranger (2018) terms this "conclusive *still*".

(D.18) *We told Bill not to come, but he **still** showed up.* (Michaelis 1993: 193).

(D.19) *Even though he studied all night, Larry **still** failed the test.*' (Michaelis 1993: 209).

(D.20) *… It is always the dregs of the population who show their patriotism by this sort of behaviour. **Still**, it is refreshing to see someone taking some sort of action.* (Lewis 2019: 139)

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[4] https://lcnme.com/opinion/letters/a-palatable-sadness/ (14 February, 2023).

D.1.1.7.2 Concessive-evaluative *but still*

- Lewis (2019) and Ranger (2018: 215–218).
- Form: in the collocation *but still*.
- Syntax: at the right periphery.
- In this use, *but still* serves as a comment on an unfavourable situation just expressed, signalling that its effect can be disregarded.

(D.21) *I don't know what they've done to it to make it spread* ***but still****.*
(BNC, cited in Lewis 2019: 129)

D.1.1.7.3 Concessive interjection

- Lewis (2019) and Ranger (2018: 218–220).
- Form: as a stand-alone fragment/holophrase.
- Through this use, the speaker expresses their evaluation of a previously mentioned unfavourable situation as less serious than it might appear at first glance.
- As Lewis (2019) shows, this use is a recent development and is rooted in the truncation of a specific discourse pattern involving concessive *still* (Appendix D.1.1.7.1) in initial position. In this pattern, illustrated in (D.20) above,

> an undesirable, negatively-evaluated event is conceded and a less adverse mitigating event is then put forward, often containing an explicit speaker stance. Initial-position concessive still constructions become correlated with positive affect on the part of the speaker. (Lewis 2019: 138)

(D.22) A: *D'ya think she'll go back to work Kevin?*
B: *No .. I don't think she will to be honest with you.*
A: <sigh>
B: ***Still****.*
A: *I don't blame her.* (BNC KBC, cited in Lewis 2019: 129)

(D.23) A: *What a shame they've missed their walk together.*
B: *Yes ...* ***still*** *.... you just going back now are you?*
(BNC, cited in Lewis 2019: 129)

D.2 French (fra, stan1290)

D.2.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Maj-Britt Hansen for discussing French data with me, and to Guillaume Jacques for providing additional examples.

D.2.2 encore

D.2.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Etymology: from a Latin adverbial ‘until now, thus far.’

D.2.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Van der Auwera (1991a, 1998), Borillo (1984), Fuchs (1988, 1993), Hansen (2002; 2008: 135, 144–148), Hoepelman & Rohrer (1980), König (1977), Martin (1980), Muller (1975, 1991), Nef (1981) and Victtori & Fuchs (1992, 1996), among others.
- Specialisation: the abundant descriptions, especially van der Auwera (1998), Muller (1975, 1991) and Hansen (2008), are in line with my definition. Hansen (2002, 2008: 145), Hoepelman & Rohrer (1980), Martin (1980) and Muller (1975, 1991) point out the incompatibility with inalterable states. It is also repeatedly stated that *encore* much more strongly suggests a future discontinuation (cf. ex. D.24) than *toujours* (Fuchs 1988; Hansen 2008: 149–150; Muller 1991; among others).
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios; however, for the unexpectedly late scenario, *toujours* is typically used.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.

(D.24) Context: From a French translation of *Snow White*. Snow White has grown up and is turning into a rival to the queen’s beauty. When the queen asks her mirror who the most beautiful of all women is, it replies:
Reine, tu es ***encore*** *la plus belle.*
queen 2sg cop.2sg still def.sg.f most beautiful.f
‘My queen, you are [still] as yet the fairest of them all.’ (Hansen 2008: 149–150, glosses added)

(D.25) *Mon frère est marié, ma*
poss.1sg:sg.m brother(m) cop.3sg marry.ptcp.m poss.1sg:sg.f
sœur est divorcée et moi, je suis ***encore***
sister(f) cop.3sg divorce.ptcp.f and 1sg 1sg cop.1sg still
célibataire.
unmarried
‘My brother’s married, my sister’s divorced, and I’m still single.’ (Lang & Perez 2004: 162, glosses added)

(D.26) *Si en 1977 il était* ***encore*** *ministre,*
if in 1977 3SG.M COP.PST.IPFV.3SG still ministre
c'-est qu'-il l'-était déjà
PROX.SG.M-COP.3SG COMP-3SG.M 3SG.ACC.M-COP.PST.IPFV.3SG already
avant 1977.
before 1977
'If in 1977 he was still ministre, then he also was before 1977.'
(Martin 1980: 167, glosses added)

D.2.2.3 Uses related to other phasal concepts

D.2.2.3.1 Interrogative 'yet'

- Van der Auwera (1998), Hansen (2008: 144), Martin (1980), Muller (1991) and Välikangas (1982).
- Hansen (2008: 144) points out that in Old French, *encore* as interrogative 'yet' is found in direct questions (D.29). As she indicates, this is a relict of the item's etymological meaning 'thus far.'
- In the present-day language, this use is marginal and is limited to indirect questions, as in (D.27, D.28). Ex. (D.30) illustrates NOT YET plus negative raising.

(D.27) Context: Speaking of a house that is only heated intermittently.
Je me demande s'-il fait ***encore*** *assez chaud*
1SG REFL.1SG ask.1SG if-3SG.M make.3SG still sufficient heat
dans la maison.
in DEF.SG.F house(F)
'I wonder whether the house is sufficiently warm yet.'
(Martin 1980: 178, glosses added)

(D.28) *Je ne sais pas si elle est* ***encore*** *sortie*
1SG NEG know.1SG NEG if 3SG.F COP.3SG still leave.PTCP.F
(=*déjà sortie*).
already leave.PTCP.F
'I don't know if she has left yet (=already left).' (Muller 1991: 224, glosses added)

(D.29) Old French, mid-12th century
Est, va, ***encore*** *toz mes charroiz entr-ez?*
COP.3SG DM still all.PL POSS.1SG:PL car.PL enter-PTCP.PL
'Say, have all my carts entered yet?' (Hansen 2008: 144, glosses added)

(D.30) *Mais je ne vois pas qu-'il ait* ***encore***
but 1sg neg see.1sg neg comp-3sg.m have.sbjv.3sg still
fait son choix d'-une façon
make.ptcp poss.3sg:sg.m choice(m) of-indef.sg.f manner(f)
positive et irrevocable.
positive.f and irrecovable.f
'But I don't see that he has yet made his choice in a positive and irrevocable way.' (Martin 1980: 169, glosses added)

D.2.2.4 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

D.2.2.4.1 Scalar contexts

- Fuchs (1988), Hansen (2008: 106–108), Välikangas (1982) and Victtori & Fuchs (1996: 78).
- Examples (D.31, D.32) illustrate decreases. For a limited increase French resorts to the collocation with restrictive *ne ... que* 'only', as in (D.33, D.34); note that the latter is not the internal negation of *encore* (which would be *ne ... pas encore*).

(D.31) *Il reste* ***encore*** *dix million-s de billet-s disponible-s*
3sg.m remain.3sg still ten million-pl of ticket-pl available-pl
pour cet été.
for prox.sg.m summer(m)
'There are still ten million tickets available for this summer.' (found online, glosses added)[5]

(D.32) *Au cours de l'-interview, Lowenthal révèle qu-'il*
at:def run of def-interview L. reveal.3sg comp-3sg.m
a ***encore*** *un peu de travail à faire sur*
have.3sg still indef.sg.m little(m) of work to do.inf on
la suite.
def.sg.f sequel(f)
'During the interview, Lowenthal revealed that he still has a little work to do on the sequel.' (found online, glosses added)[6]

(D.33) *Pierre n'-a* ***encore*** *que cinq livres.*
P. neg-have.3sg still than five book.pl
'Pierre still only has five books.' (Hansen 2008: 108, glosses added)

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[5] https://www.lechorepublicain.fr/dreux-28100/actualites/il-reste-encore-cinq-places-au-centre-de-loisirs_1152634/ (23 February, 2023).

[6] https://testeurjoe.fr/yuri-lowenthal-a-encore-un-peu-de-travail-a-faire-sur-spider-man-2/ (25 January, 2023).

(D.34) *Un an après sa promulgation, la*
INDEF.SG.M year(M) after POSS.3SG.F:SG promulgation DEF.SG.F
loi pour la croissance n-'a ***encore*** *que des*
law(F) for DEF.SG.F growth(F) NEG-have.3SG still than INDEF.PL
effets limités.
effect(M).PL limited.PL.M
'A year after its promulgation the law for [economic] growth still shows only limited results.' (found online, glosses added)[7]

D.2.2.5 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.2.2.5.1 Iterative

- Borillo (1984), Fuchs (1988, 1993), Hansen (2002; 2008: 155–156), Hoepelman & Rohrer (1980), Martin (1980), Muller (1975, 1991), Nef (1981), Tovena & Donazzan (2008) and Victtori & Fuchs (1992, 1996), among others.
- There are no restrictions regarding aspectual operators and/or actional classes; Hansen (2008: 155 fn19), however, points out that with atelic predicates (plus those aspectual inflections that are compatible with STILL) a phasal polarity reading is preferred, unless context suggests otherwise.
- Iterative *encore* is also attested in the absence of an overt predicative (D.37).
- Hansen (2008: 155–156) shows that the iterative function is attested from the earliest attestations on, albeit infrequently and rarely unambiguously. As she discusses, a case like (D.38) constitutes a likely bridging context from STILL to iteration: this example can be interpreted as either depicting a persistent series of situations, or as evoking an (expected) repetition.

(D.35) *Marie a* ***encore*** *déclamé le poème.*
M. have.3SG still declaim.PTCP DEF.SG.M poem(M)
'Marie declaimed the poem again.' (Tovena & Donazzan 2008: 9, glosses added)

(D.36) *Tiens, Anne a* ***encore*** *les cheveux roux.*
INTERJ A. have.3SG still DEF.PL hair(M).PL ginger.PL.M
Hier, elle était blonde.
yesterday 3SG.F COP.PST.IPFV.3SG blond.SG.F
'Oh, Anne is a redhead again. Yesterday, she was blonde.' (Hansen 2008: 155, glosses added)

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[7] https://www.lesechos.fr/2016/08/la-loi-macron-un-symbole-plus-quune-revolution-234679 (02 March, 2023).

(D.37) *Merci,* ***encore****.*
thanks still
'Thanks, again.' (Lang & Perez 2004: 226)

(D.38) Old French, ca. 1176–1184
Dius m'-a bien aidié dusc'a ore, // Si me
God 1sg.acc-have.3sg well help.ptcp until now then 1sg.acc
puet bien aidier ***encore****.*
can.3sg well help.inf still
'God has helped me so far, so he may well help me still/again.'
(*Eracle*, cited in Hansen 2008: 156, glosses added)

D.2.2.5.2 Iterative via increment

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *encore*), Borillo (1984), Batchelor & Chebli-Saadi (2011: 535), König (1977, 1991: 145), Muller (1991), Nef (1981) and Price (2013: 487–488).
- Form: in conjunction with an NP consisting of a numeral and the event quantifier *fois* 'time(s)'.

(D.39) *La petite Canadienne a battu le record*
def.sg.f small.f Canadian.f have.3sg beat.ptcp def.sg.m record(m)
encore une fois*.*
still one.f time(f)
'The little Canadian girl/woman has broken the record again.'
(Batchelor & Chebli-Saadi 2011: 535, glosses added)

(D.40) *Marie est* ***encore*** *allée* ***trois fois*** *au cinema.*
M. cop.3sg still go.ptcp.f three time.pl to:def.sg.m cinema(m)
'Marie has gone to the cinema three more times.' (Donazzan 2008: 43, glosses added)

D.2.2.5.3 Prospective 'eventually'

- Hansen (2008: 146–147), Hoepelman & Rohrer (1980), König (1991: 142) and Välikangas (1982).
- Hansen (2008: 146–147) points out that this use is attested from relatively early on, roughly one century after the first clear-cut cases of *encore* as a phasal polarity marker (D.43). Ambiguous instances involving modals are attested even earlier (D.44).
- Välikangas (1982) reports that (D.42) was not accepted by his language assistants, so there might be some variation.

(D.41) Context: At a sports match; the opposite team is in the lead.
*On va **encore** gagner.*
IMPR/1PL go.3SG still win.INF
'We'll win yet!' (König 1991: 142)

(D.42) *Jean viendra **encore**.*
J. come.FUT.3SG still
'Jean will come yet.' (Hoepelman & Rohrer 1980: 128, glosses added)

(D.43) Old French, ca. 1150
La vielle dist: "Or entend-ez // et que
DEF.SG.F old.F say.PST.PFV.3SG now listen-2PL and COMP
*ce est si devinn-ez; // **encor** vous fera*
PROX.SG.M COP.3SG then guess-2.PL still 2PL.ACC make.FUT.3SG
touz iriez"
all.PL angry.PL
'The old woman says "Now listen // and then guess what it is // it'll drive you all mad yet!" (*Le roman de Thèbes*, cited in Hansen 2008: 146, glosses added)

(D.44) Old French, ca. 1080
"...Enz en voz bainz que Deus pur vos i fist, // La vuldrat il chrestïens devenir."
'"... There, in the baths that God made for you, // He will become a Christian."'

*Charles respunt: "**Uncore** purrat guarir."*
C. reply.3SG still can.FUT.3SG save.INF
'Charles replies, "He may yet/still be saved."' (*La chanson de Roland*, cited in Hansen 2008: 146 fn 12, glosses added)

D.2.2.6 Temporal connectives and frame setters

D.2.2.6.1 Time-scalar additive ('as late as')

- Borillo (1984), Fuchs (1993), Hansen (2008: 161–162) , Nef (1981) and Victtori & Fuchs (1992, 1996).
- Time-scalar additive *encore* invariably relates the focus to earlier alternatives on a scale of time proper ('as late as').
- As Hansen (2008: 162) points out, in cases where the adverbial denotes a point in time and the viewpoint is imperfective, such as in (D.45), the time-scalar additive use and the phasal polarity function often overlap.

- The earliest attestation of time-scalar additive *encore* shows up approx. 150 years later than phasal polarity *encore*.
- Ex. (D.48) illustrates ‘as late as’ with a perfective viewpoint
- Syntax: *encore* plus temporal expression can form a single constituent (see Fuchs 1993 for an extensive discussion). Apart from bare ADV *encore* / *encore* ADV, this function is found intervening between presentative *voilá* and its argument (D.47).

(D.45) ***Encore** en 2003 / En 2003 **encore**, Vincent aurait vot&eacute;*
still in 2003 in 2003 still, V. have.COND3.SG vote.PTCP
oui à l’-europe.
yes to DEF.SG-Europe
‘As late as 2003, Vincent would have voted yes to Europe.’ (Hansen 2008: 160–161, glosses added)

(D.46) ***Encore** à midi, je parlais de ta mère*
still at noon 1SG speak.PST.IPFV.1SG of POSS.2SG:SG.F mother(F)
avec Émile.
with E.
‘As recently as this noon, I was talking about your mother with Émile.’ (M. Aymé, *Uranus*, cited in Fuchs 1993: 259, glosses added)

(D.47) *Voila **encore** quelques mois, l’-idée eût*
PRSTT still a_few month.PL DEF.SG-idea(F) have.PST.SBJV.3SG
paru aussi provocatrice qu’-interdire la cigarette.
appear.PTCP as provocative.F as-forbid.INF DEF.SG.F cigarette(F)
‘Only a few months ago the idea would have been as provocative as banning cigarettes.’ (*Puest-France*, cited in Fuchs 1993: 258)

(D.48) ***Encore hier**, j’-ai vu le film*
still yesterday 1SG-have.1SG see.PTCP DEF.SG.M movie(M)
La Chute, sur la mort d’-Hitler, que je
Downfall about DEF.SG.F death(F) of-H. SUBORD 1SG
n’-avais pas pu voir quand il est
NEG-have.PST.IPFV.1SG NEG can.PTCP see.INF when 3SG.M COP.3SG
sorti.
leave.PTCP.SG.M
‘Just yesterday, I watched the movie *Downfall*, about the death of Hitler, which I hadn’t been able to watch when it came out.’ (found online, glosses added)[8]

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[8] https://www.saintbrice95.fr/a-la-une/actualites/actualites-2019/lacteur-michel-bouquet-

D.2.2.7 Marginality

- Deloor (2012), Hansen (2002, 2008: 175–181), König (1977), Muller (1991), Nef (1981) and Victtori & Fuchs (1992, 1996).
- This includes derogatory uses in comparisons like (D.51). Hansen (2008: 175) describes (D.49, D.50) as evoking a concessive nuance, namely that things are better than they might appear. In line with this observation, she observes that marginality *encore* is (near-)exclusively found with predicates that are evaluated positively.
- Hansen (2008: 180) and Muller (1991) point out that the marginality use is incompatible with prototypical members of a category (#*Un moineau, c'est encore un oiseau* 'A sparrow is still a bird') and geographically central members of a territory (#*Paris, c'est encore la France* 'Paris is still France').
- Hansen (2008: 173) notes that isolated (elliptical) *encore* cannot have a marginality reading.

(D.49) A: *Je suis bien embêté. Ma tante a légué la plus grande partie de sa fortune à un refuge animalier, et je n'aurai que 10.000 euros…*
'I'm really annoyed. My aunt has left the better part of her fortune to an animal shelter, and only 10,000 euros to me…'

B: *Ben, 10.000 euros, c'-est* ***encore*** *une somme.*
well, 10,000 euros PROX.SG.M-COP.3SG still INDEF.SG.F sum(F)
'Well, 10,000 euros is still a decent sum.' (Hansen 2008: 172, glosses added)

(D.50) A: *A vingt ans, Solange a eu le prix Molière; à trente ans, elle a été virée de la Comédie-Française; et à quarante ans, elle ne joue plus que dans des théâtres de province.*
'At twenty, Solange received the Molière award; at thirty, she was fired from the Comédie-Française; and now that she's forty, she only appears in small-town playhouses.'

B: *Enfin, vu qu-il y a 80% de chômage parmi les*
finally see.PTCP COMP-EXIST 80% of unemployment under DEF.PL
comédiens, c'-est ***encore*** *fabuleux!*
actor.PL PROX.SG.M-COP.3SG still fabulous.M
'Well, given that there's 80% unemployment among actors, that's still fantastic!' (Hansen 2008: 176, glosses added)

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sous-la-direction-du-saint-bricien-ulysse-di-gregorio-1113.html (02 May, 2022).

(D.51) *De tous tes copains, c'-est* ***encore*** *Benjamin*
of all.PL.M POSS.2SG:PL friend(M).PL 3SG.M-COP.3SG still B.
le plus beau. (*Mais franchement, ils sont tous*
DEF.SG.M most pretty.SG.M but frankly, 3PL.M COP.3PL all.PL.M
plutôt moche-s. / ?Et ils resemblement tous à des
rather ugly-PL and 3PL.M resemble.3PL all.PL.M to of.PL
mannequin-s).
model-PL
'Of all your friends, Benjamin is still the best looking. (But frankly, they are all rather ugly /? And they all lool like models.)' (Hansen 2008: 37, glosses added)

(D.52) *Menton, c'-est* ***encore*** *la France.*
M. PROX.SG.M-COP.3SG still DEF.SG.F F.
'Menton [a nondescript border town] is still in France.' (Hansen 2008: 180, glosses added)

(D.53) *Un pingouin, c'-est* ***encore*** *un*
INDEF.SG.M penguin(M) PROX.SG.M-COP.3SG still INDEF.SG.M
oiseau.
bird(M)
'A penguin is still some kind of bird.' (Hansen 2008: 180, glosses added)

D.2.2.8 Additive and related functions

D.2.2.8.1 Additive

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *encore*), Borillo (1984), Hansen (2002; 2008: 156–158, 162–168), Nølke (1983: 104–105, 140–142) and Victtori & Fuchs (1992, 1996), among others.
- This includes the collocations *non seulement … mais* (*encore*) 'not only … but also' and the disjunctive connective *ou encore*, which marks the last element in a series of non-exclusive alternatives (D.55).
- In diachronic terms, Hansen (2008: 158) observes that *encore* as additive 'in addition' shows up from very early on, even before iterative uses. The first attestation is given in (D.57). As Hansen (2008: 158) discusses,

  > it is likely to be motivated directly by the cumulative element of meaning that inheres in phasal encore, such that – in spite of the telicity of the verb *ocire*– [it] may be loosely understood as meaning that the Saracen … remains in a 'killing-mode'.

Encore as an additive with alternatives of the same kind ‘another’, shows up considerably later, ex. (D.58) featuring a likely bridging context. Another bridge may be found in examples ambiguous between ‘another’ and an iterative reading (D.59).

- As repeatedly observed in the literature, there is a strong association between additive *encore* and an incrementally unfolding discourse. However, as Hansen (2008: 158) highlights, this does not equal a sequential ordering of events. Thus *puis* ‘then’ in (D.54) can be understood in reference to the order of mentioning.
- Syntax: when additivity pertains to another entity/quantity of the same type, *encore* is usually a syntactic sister to the focus.

(D.54) *Aline a acheté deux pull-s, une mini-jupe*
A. have.3sg buy.ptcp two sweater-pl indef.sg.f mini-skirt(f)
et un caleçon. Et puis, elle a ***encore*** *acheté*
and indef.sg.m leggins(m) and then 3sg.f have.3sg still buy.ptcp
un t-shirt.
indef.sg.m t-shirt(m)
‘Aline bought two sweaters, a mini-skirt, and a pair of leggings. And then, she also bought a t-shirt.’ (Hansen 2008: 157, glosses added)

(D.55) *Appelle, Pierre, Jean* ***ou encore*** *Paul.*
call.imp P. J. or still P.
‘Call Pierre, Jean, or (even) Paul.’ (Borillo 1984: 40, glosses added)

(D.56) *Marie a lu* ***encore*** *un livre.*
M. have.3sg read.ptcp still indef.sg.m book(m)
‘Mary read one more book.’ (Tovena & Donazzan 2008: 9, glosses added)

(D.57) Old French, ca. 1080
Aprof li ad sa bronie desclose, // El cors li met tute l’enseigne bloie, //
Que mort l’abat en une halte roche. //
‘Afterwards, he tears open his coat of mail, he drives the entire blue ensign into his body, killing him on a tall rock.’

Sun cumpaignun Gerers ocit ***uncore,*** *// E Berenger*
poss.3sg.m:sg companion G. kill.3sg still and B.
e guiun de Seint Antonie.
and G. of S.-A.
‘He also kills his companion Gérier, and Berenger and Gui de Saint-Antoine.’ (*La chanson de Roland*, cited in Hansen 2008: 158, glosses added)

(D.58) Old French, 13th century
Et se vous baés orendroit a cevauchier vers la Petite Bretaingne, ceste autre voie vous i menra tout droit.
'And if you wish now to ride to Brittany, this other road will take you straight there.'

Et se vous volés ***encore*** *une piece cevauchier pour*
and if 2PL want.2PL still INDEF.SG.F bit(F) ride.INF for
veoir les merveilleuses aventures d-u
see.INF INDEF.PL.F marvellous.PL.F adventure(F).PL of-DEF.SG.M
roiaume de Logres, avoec moi poés cevauchier...
realm(M) of L. with 1SG.OBJ can.2PL ride.INF
'And if you **still want to ride a bit** with me/if you **want to ride another bit** with me to see the marvelous adventures of the kingdom of Logres, you can ride with me...' (*Tristan en prose*, cited in Hansen 2008: 163, glosses added)

(D.59) Old French, early 13th century
Context: The barons have given the emperor a respite. Now the date has passed.
Et li empereres redemanda ***encore*** *un*
and DEF.SG.M emperor(M) ask_again.PST.PFV.3SG still INDEF.SG.M
respit, et on li donna.
respite(M) and IMPR 3SG.DAT give.PST.PFV.3SG
'And the emperor **asked for a respite again**/**asked for another respite**, and it was given him.' (de Clari, *La conqueste de Constantinople*, cited in Hansen 2008: 163–164, glosses added)

D.2.2.8.2 Comparisons of inequality

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *encore*), Borillo (1984), Hansen (2002, 2008: 164–168), Muller (1991), Price (2013: 487–488) and Victtori & Fuchs (1992, 1996).
- Comparisons of inequality in French are expressed via *plus* 'more' (except for certain suppletive comparative forms), and the standard of comparison, if overtly mentioned, is introduced by *que* 'than'. Addition of *encore* yields 'even more'.
- *Encore* modifies not only comparisons *sensu stricto*, but also combines with degree achievements (D.62) and other verbs that express a comparison of degrees, such as *preferer* 'prefer' in (D.63).
- Hansen (2008: 166–167) points out several differences between *encore* in this use vis-à-vis *toujours* in the same contexts. First, *encore*, but not *toujours*, sug-

gests that the degree held by the comparee is far on the upper end of the relevant scale. Secondly, *encore* can be used to compare the same entity across two points in time, as in (D.61), whereas *toujours* implies that an increase in degree has been observed at least once before.

- Syntax: forms a constituent with the degree expression. For instance, in (D.60) it occurs not in its usual post-auxiliary position, but immediately precedes *mieux* 'better.'.

(D.60)
Le premier roman de Duschnock a eu
def.sg.m first.sg.m novel(m) of D. have.3sg have.ptcp
beaucoup de succès. Le deuxième s'-est
much of success def.sg.m second.m refl.3-cop.3sg
vendu ***encore*** *mieux.*
sell.ptcp.sg.m still better
'Duschnock's first novel was a great success. The second one sold even better.' (Hansen 2008: 164, glosses added)

(D.61)
Je n'-apprécie pas la nouvelle copine de Hugues:
1sg neg-appreciate.1sg neg def.sg.f new.f girlfriend of H.
elle m'-a semblé ***encore*** *plus bête hier*
3sg.f 1sg.dat-have.3sg seem.ptcp still more stupid yesterday
soir que la première fois que je
evening than def.sg.f first.f time rel 1sg
l'-avais vue.
3sg.obj.f-have.pst.ipfv.1sg see.ptcp.sg.f
'I don't like Hugues' new girlfriend. She seemed even more stupid to me last night than the first time I met her.' (Hansen 2008: 164, glosses added)

(D.62)
Cet accident ralentit ***encore*** *la circulation.*
prox.sg.m accident(m) slow_down.3sg still def.sg.f traffic(f)
'This accident slows down traffic even further.' (Borillo 1984: 40, glosses added)

(D.63)
Je lui préfère ***encore*** *son frère.*
1sg 3sg.dat prefer.1sg still poss.3sg.m:sg brother(m)
i. 'I still prefer his brother.'
ii. 'I like his brother even more (than him).' (Victtori & Fuchs 1992: 145–146, glosses added)

D.2.2.9 Restrictive (non)-temporal

D.2.2.9.1 Scalar restrictive ‘if at least’: *encore si*/*si encore*

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *encore*), Deloor (2012) and Victtori & Fuchs (1992, 1996).
- Form: in the collocations *encore si* and *si encore*, introducing a counterfactual protasis.
- Victtori & Fuchs (1996: 83–84) point out that this use can be paraphrased with *encore* in its marginality use (Appendix D.2.2.7) in the apodosis, e.g. (D.64) as (D.68). In line with this observation, they note that *encore* and *si* are sometimes separated (D.66).
- The apodosis is often ellided, as in (D.67)

(D.64) ***Si encore / encore si*** *tu te ten-ais droit, tu*
if still still if 2SG REFL.2SG keep-PST.IPFV.2SG straight 2SG
aurais quelque chance de ne pas te faire
have.COND.2SG some chance of NEG NEG OBJ.2SG make.INF
montrer du doigt.
show of:DEF.SG.M finger(M)
‘If you at least stood straight, you’d have some chance of not being pointed out.’ (Victtori & Fuchs 1996: 83, glosses added)

(D.65) ***Si encore*** *il était beau, je pourrais*
if still 3SG.M COP.PST.IPFV.3SG attractive.M 1SG can.COND.1SG
sortir avec lui.
go_out.INF with 3SG.DAT
‘If he were at least good looking, then I could go out with him.’ (Deloor 2012, glosses added)

(D.66) ***Encore****, si c’-était six heure-s et demie,* ***vous***
still if PROX.SG.M-COP.PST.IPFV.3SG six hour-PL and half (F)
pourriez décider de vous lever*.*
2PL can.COND.2PL decide.INF of REFL.2PL get_up.INF
‘If it was half past six, at least then you would decide to get up.’ (Victtori & Fuchs 1996: 83, glosses added)

(D.67) ***Si encore*** *il faisait un effort!*
if still 3SG.M make.PST.IPFV.3SG INDEF.SG.M effort(M)
‘If at least he made an effort!’ (Victtori & Fuchs 1996: 83, glosses added)

(D.68) *Si tu te ten-ais droit,* ***tu aurais***
if 2sg refl.2sg keep-pst.ipfv.2sg straight 2sg have.cond.2sg
encore quelque chance *de ne pas te faire montrer*
still some chance of neg neg obj.2sg make.inf show
du doigt.
of:def.sg.m finger(m)
'If you stood straight, **you'd still have some chance** of not being pointed out.' (Victtori & Fuchs 1996: 83, glosses added)

D.2.2.10 Broadly modal and interactional functions

D.2.2.10.1 Follow-up questions

- Hansen (2002, 2008: 213–214), Nølke (1983: 105) and Välikangas (1982).
- In this function, which is an extension of the iterative use, *encore* operates on the speech-act level by highlighting that a similar question has been asked before and it signals that ideally it would not be necessary to ask again. This can yield an attenuating reading, as in (D.69). Frequently, however, this use conveys annoyance, as in (D.70).
- Syntax: in questions, dislocated to the right.

(D.69) *Quel est votre nom,* ***encore****?*
which cop poss.2pl:sg name, still
'What was your name, again?' (Hansen 2002: 46, glosses added)

(D.70) A: *Seigneur Aristote, peut-on savoir ce qui vous met si fort en colère?*
'My Lord Aristote, may one know what makes you so angry?'
B: *Un sujet le plus juste au monde.*
'A subject that is as reasonable as can be.'
A: *Et quoi,* ***encore****?*
and what still
'And what IS that?' (Molière, *Le mariage forcé*, cited in Hansen 2008: 214, glosses added)

D.2.2.10.2 Concessive protases: *encore que*

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *encore*), Hansen (2002, 2008: 192–197), Morel (1996), and Victtori & Fuchs (1992, 1996).
- Form: in collocation with the subordinator *que*. The clause it introduces may take either the indicative or the subjunctive mood, depending on the givenness of the situation. Typically, the *encore que* protasis follows the apodosis. While it can also precede, Morel (1996: 24) and Hansen (2008: 195) point out that this is rare in contemporary French and has an archaic feel to it.

- These (postposed) *encore que* concessives are rectificational and work on the speech-act level: the speaker indicates that another assertion may not have been justified, because it could be invalidated by the condition introduced by *encore que.*
- In prosodic terms, *encore que* tends to be set off, both from the preceding clause, and from the clause it governs.
- Hansen (2002, 2008: 193–197) traces this collocation back to the 16th century.

(D.71) *Max aura une très bonne note,* ***encore que***
M. have.FUT.3SG INDEF.SG.F very good.F grade(F) still SUBORD
son prof ne l'-aime guère.
POSS.3SG:SG.M teacher(M) NEG 3SG.ACC-love.3SG much
'Max will get a very good grade. Even so, his teacher doesn't like him very much.' (Hansen 2008: 195)

(D.72) A: *Cette solidarité, est-ce une tendance montante ou déjà une survivance en crise?*
'Is this show of solidarity a growing trend or already an unstable relic from the past?

B: *Difficile de le savoir.* ***Encore que*** *l'-exemple*
difficult of 3SG.ACC.M know still COMP DEF.SG-example(M)
américain […] doit nous inciter à la
American.M must.3SG 1PL.ACC incite.INF to DEF.SG.F
prudence sur les bons sentiments.
caution(F) about DEF.PL good.PL.M feeling(M).PL
'Difficult to say. Still, the example of the United States should encourage us to be sceptical about finer feelings.' (*Nouvel Observateur*, cited in Hansen 2008: 192, glosses added)

D.2.2.10.3 Concessive apodoses (i): *encore* plus "clitic inversion"

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *encore*) and Hansen (2002, 2008: 193–197, 2016: 336–337).
- Form/syntax: in clause-initial position, with subject clitics surfacing in an "inverted" (diachronically older, but preserved in formal registers and with certain conjunctional adverbials) order. In the vast majority of cases, the verb is *falloir* 'be necessary', and *encore faut-il* 'nonetheless it is necessary' (D.73) comes close to a frozen collocation (Hansen 2002, 2008: 193).
- In terms of its pragmatic contribution, Hansen (2008: 196) describes this structure as

an essentially additive marker, which indicates that the preceding discourse has not exhausted the topic, and that there are thus still things to be said before the first sub-maxim of Quantity ("Say as much as is required") can be considered to have been observed.

(D.73) *"Une enquête menée par une psychologue auprès de ces familles montre que les enfants ont tout à y gagner", préciset-il.*
'"Research carried out by a female psychologist on these families shows that the children have everything to gain from it", he specifies.'

Mais ***encore*** *faut-il pouvoir*
but still be_necessary.3SG-3SG.M can.INF
s'-entendre entre parents, sans craindre
REFL.3-understand.INF between parent-PL without be_afraid.INF
que l'-autre ne mette fin, sans crier
COMP DEF-other NEG put.SBJV.3SG end without shout.INF
gare, à l'-accord officieux.
warning to DEF.SG-agreement(M) unofficial.M
'Still, the parents do have to be able to get along, without being afraid that the other will suddenly put an unexpected stop to their unofficial agreement.' (*Marie-Claire*, cited in Hansen 2008: 193–194, glosses added)

(D.74) *…[I]l n'est pas un seul pays important pour les intérêts américains où la CIA – ou l'une des douze autres agences de renseignements … n'ait mené récemment une opération d'envergure.*
'…There is not a single country of importance to American interests where the CIA – or one of the twelve other intelligence agencies […] hasn't recently carried out a large-scale operation.'

Encore *ne connaît-on que celles, fiascos ou*
still NEG know.3SG-IMPR/1SG COMP DIST.PL.F fiasco.PL or
succès, que les officiels ont bien voulu
success.PL REL DEF.PL official.PL have.3PL well want.PTCP
divulguer à la presse américaine.
divulge.INF to DEF.SG.F press(F) American.F
'And even then we only know of those, failures or successes, which officials have been willing to divulge to the American press.' (*Nouvel Observateur*, cited in Hansen 2008: 194, glosses added)

D.2.2.10.4 Concessive apodoses (ii): *et encore*

- Hansen (2002, 2008: 193–197) and Victtori & Fuchs (1996).
- Form/syntax: in collocation with connective *et* ‘and’. These collocations stand in clause-initial position and tend to be set prosodically separated from both the preceding protasis, and the rest of its host clause.
- Hansen (2008: 195) describes the contribution of this function as an “‘indirect’ form of concession, signaling that one or more inferences that might have been drawn on the basis of the preceding discourse are invalidated”. A by and large similar characterisation is given by Victtori & Fuchs (1996).

(D.75) *Max aura une très bonne note.* ***Et encore***
M. have.fut.3sg indef.sg.f very good.f grade(f) and still
son prof ne l’-aime guère.
poss.3sg:sg.m teacher(m) neg 3sg.acc-love.3sg much
‘Max will get a very good grade. Even so, his teacher doesn’t like him very much.’ (Hansen 2008: 195, glosses added)

(D.76) ...[*L*]*es responsables de la stratégie des grands opérateurs nous annoncent 19 à 20 millions d’abonnés pour décembre de cette année. Et 60% des Français, en comptant les nourrissons, équipés en 2002.*
‘...The marketing directors of the large telecommunications services tell us they are expecting 19 to 20 million subscribers by December of this year. And that 60% of the inhabitants of France, including infants, will be equipped by 2002.’

Et encore*, assure Yves Goblet, responsable de*
and still assure.3sg Y. G., person_in_charge(m) of
la stratégie et du développement chez Bouygues
def.sg.f strategy(f) and of:def.sg.m development(m) at B.
Télécom, notre rythme de croissance, certes soutenu, reste
T. poss.1pl:sg rythm of growth(f) certainly stable.f rest.3sg
modeste par rapport à d’-autres pays européens,
modest for relation to of-other.pl country(m).pl European.pl.m
comme l’-Italie ou l’-Espagne.
like def.sg-Italy or def.sg-Spain
‘Even so, Yves Goblet, head of marketing and development at Bouygues Télécom, assures us, our growth rate, while certainly stable, is modest in comparison to that of other European countries, such as Italy or Spain.’ (*Nouvel Observateur*, cited in Hansen 2008: 193, glosses added)

D.2.2.10.5 Concessive interjections: *encore que*, *et encore*

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *encore*), Deloor (2012), Hansen (2008: 192–193) and Victtori & Fuchs (1996).
- These are holophrastic uses of the concessive collocations *encore que* (Appendix D.2.2.10.2; ex. D.77) and *et encore* (Appendix D.2.2.10.4; ex. D.78). Like their full-fledged counterparts, they serve the pragmatic functions of indicating that the speaker might not have been justified in making the preceding statement (*encore que*) and of countering possible inferences (*et encore*).
- Without doubt, this is (partially) motivated by the fact that the *encore que* and *et encore* occur in clause-initial position and tend to set off in prosodic terms.

(D.77) A: *Le bush, le désert australien, tu aimes?*
‘The bush, the Australian desert, you like it?’

B: *Connais pas.*
‘Don’t know it.’

A: *Alors, documente-toi très vite. Seul le bush*
INTERJ inform.2SG-REFL.2SG very quick only DEF.SG.M bush
australien est assez profond pour fuir
Australian.M COP.3SG sufficiently deep.M for escape.INF
une femme qui veut un enfant de toi. ***Et***
INDEF.SG.F woman(F) REL want INDEF.SG.M child(M) of 2SG and
encore *…*
still
‘Well, find out about it as fast as you can. Only the Australian bush is a deep enough hiding-place from a woman who wants a child by you. And even so…’ (Pennac, *Monsieur Malaussène*, cited in Hansen 2008: 193, glosses added)

(D.78) *La fébrilité qui régnait en fin de semaine dernière rue des Italiens pourrait laisser croire à un proche dénouement de l’affaire.*
‘The feverishness reigning at the end of last week at the court house in rue des Italiens might lead one to expect that a solution to the matter was imminent.’

Encore *que! Car depuis l’-origine règne dans*
still COMP because after DEF.SG-origin reign.3SG in
ce dossier un climat de manipulation et de
PROX.SG.M case(M) INDEF.SG.M climate(M) of manipulation and of
désinformation.
desinformation

‘Not necessarily! For this case has from the very beginning been characterised by a climate of manipulation and misinformation.’ (*Nouvel Observateur*, cited in Hansen 2008: 192–193, glosses added)

D.2.2.10.6 Performative *encore une fois*

- Borillo (1984).
- The iterative collocation *encore une fois* (D.2.2.5.2) can be used as a booster in directive speech acts.

(D.79) ***Encore une fois,*** *rest-ez calm-es.*
still INDEF.SG.F time(F) stay-IMP.PL quiet-PL
‘(I’m saying it) again, be quiet!’ (Borillo 1984: 51 fn11)

D.2.3 toujours

D.2.3.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word.
- Etymology: < ‘every day’

D.2.3.2 As a (borderline) STILL EXPRESSION

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *toujours*), van der Auwera (1998), Fuchs (1988), Hansen (2002, 2008: 148–150), Muller (1975, 1991) and Välikangas (1982), among many others.
- Specialisation: while some authors (e.g. van der Auwera 1998) treat *toujours* as a full-fledged STILL expression that is dedicated to the unexpectedly late scenarios, others (e.g. Hansen 2008: 148–150; Fuchs 1988) argue that it does not evoke a subsequent discontinuation scenario. I therefore treat *toujours* as a borderline case of a STILL expression.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields (a notion close to) NOT YET.
- Pragmaticity: if taken to be a STILL expression, *toujours* would be specialised for the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Further note: Hansen (2008: 149) points out that *toujours* as a marker of persistence is first attested from the 13th century on. It is likely that her first attestation, given in (D.81), still involves a frequentative notion ‘at each attempt…’.

(D.80) *Max et Sylvie ont divorcé il y a dix an-s, mais ils*
M. and S. have.3PL divorce.PTCP EXIST ten year-PL but 3PL
se détestent ***touiours*** *autant.*
REFL.3 hate.3PL still so_much
'Max and Sylvie divorced ten years ago, but they still hate each other as much as ever.' (Hansen 2002: 24, glosses added)

(D.81) Old French, 13th century
Si le troevent de tele force et de tele vistece que il ne cuident mie que il soit hons terriens: car il n'a home ou monde qui la moitié poïst soffrir que il a soffert. Si s'esmaient mout, car il voient que il nel pueent remuer de place,
'Thus, they find him to have such strength and such speed that they do not believe that he is an earthly man: for there is no man in the world who could endure half of what he has endured. So they become very fearful, for they see that they cannot remove him from his place'

ainz le troevent ***tor jorz*** *d'-autel force come*
DEM 3SG.ACC.M find.3PL always/still of-similar.M strength(M) like
a-u comencement.
at-DEF.SG.M start(M)
'but find that he still has as much strength as in the beginning.' (*La Queste del Saint Graal*, cited in Hansen 2008: 149, glosses added)

D.2.3.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

D.2.3.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Muller (1991)
- In contexts involving a scale, *toujours* is usually understood as marking the absence of any conceivable change.

(D.82) *Il lance* ***toujours*** *le javelot à 60 mètre-s.*
3SG.M throw.3SG still DEF.SG.M spear(M) to 60 metre-PL
'He still (as ever) throws the spear 60 metres.' (Muller 1991: 230, glosses added)

D.2.3.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.2.3.4.1 Always

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *toujours*), Fuchs (1988), Hansen (2008: 136–139) and Muller (1975, 1991).
- A distributive reading (D.84) can be subsumed under this use.
- *Toujours* as a marker of persistence and as 'always' differ in their negation patterns. Thus, the inner negation of the persistive sense is expressed in an embracing fashion, whereas that of the 'always' use involves lexical suppletion through *jamais* '(n)ever'.

(D.83) *A l-'époque où Hugo était en thèse, il*
at DEF-epoch when H. COP.PST.IPFV.3SG in thesis 3SG.M
était ***toujours*** *déprimé.*
COP.PST.IPFV.3SG always depressed
'Back when Hugo was doing his Ph.D., he was always depressed.'
(Hansen 2008: 138, glosses added)

(D.84) *Les Hollandais sont* ***toujours*** *très grand-s.*
DEF.PL.M Dutch.PL COP.3PL always very big-PL.M
'The Dutch are always very tall.' (Hansen 2008: 138, glosses added)

D.2.3.5 # Marginality / 'one way or another, in any case'

- Académie française (2022: s.v. *toujours*); Fuchs (1988), Hansen (2002), 2002: 178–183) and Muller (1991).
- *Toujours* does not have a marginality use. Instead, and in line with its etymology, it only has a use that is argumentatively neutral, adding a notion of 'one way or another, either way'.
- Hansen (2008: 178) points out that, with scalar predicates, this use is only compatible with items ranking low, hence the oddity of (D.88).
- According to Hansen (2008: 179), this use only shows up around four centuries after the persistive use of *toujours*.

(D.85) A: *Où est-elle, cette preuve?*
'Where is this proof?'
B: *Pas dans ma poche,* ***toujours!***
NEG at POSS.1SG:SG.F bag(F) still
'Not right here, in any case.' (Hansen 2002: 25, glosses added)

(D.86) A: *On a fait une collecte parmi les parents afin de pouvoir rénover l'aire de jeux de l'école, et on n'a eu que 1.000 euros.*
'We took up a collection among the parents in order to renovate the school's playground, and we only got 1,000 euros.'

B: *Hm! Enfin, c'-est* ***toujours*** *de l'-argent.*
INTERJ anyway PROX.SG.M-COP.3SG still of DEF.SG-money
'Hm! Well, it's always money.' (Hansen 2008: 172, glosses added)

(D.87) *Un pingouin, c'-est* ***toujours*** *un oiseau.*
DEF.SG.M penguin(M) PROX-COP.3SG always INDEF.SG.M bird(M)
'A penguin is always some kind of a bird.' (Hansen 2008: 180, glosses added)

(D.88) A: *Solange n'aura peut-être pas le prix Molière, mais elle a quand même joué dans une vraie pièce, dans un vrai théâtre.*
'Solange may not get the Molière prize, but she did after all act in a real play, in a real theater.'

B: ? *Oui, c'-est* ***toujours*** *beaucoup!*
yes PROX.SG-COP.3SG always much
(intended: 'Yes, it's always a big thing!') (Hansen 2008: 178, glosses added)

D.2.3.6 Additive and related uses

D.2.3.6.1 Comparisons of inequality

- Hansen (2008: 164–168).
- Concerning the structure of comparative constructions in French, see Appendix D.2.2.8.2. Addition of *toujours* yields 'even more'. This includes the use with degree verbs, as in (D.90).
- Hansen (2008: 166–167) points out that, unlike *encore* (Appendix D.2.2.8.2), *toujours* cannot be used in comparisons of inequality that lack a temporal development.
- According to Hansen (2008: 167) unambiguous instances of *toujours* in comparisons of inequality are attested about four centuries after the development of the persistive function. She points to examples like (D.91) as possible bridging contexts.
- Syntax: forms a constituent with the degree phrase; for instance, in (D.89) it occurs between the preposition *avec* 'with' and its complement.

(D.89) *Elle me regardait avec* ***toujours*** *plus d'-inquiétude.*
3SG.F 1SG.OBJ look.PST.IPFV.3SG with still more of-concern
'She looked at me with ever more disquiet.' (Hansen 2008: 164, glosses added)

(D.90) *Avec la mondialisation, on peut craindre que*
with DEF.SG.F globalisation(F) IMPR/1PL can.3SG fear.INF SUBORD
les différences entre les ethnie-s
DEF.PL difference.PL between DEF.PL ethnic_group-PL
s'-accentue ***toujours*** *dans les années à venir.*
REFL.3-intensify.3PL still at DEF.PL year.PL to come.INF
'With globalisation, we may fear that the differences between ethnic groups will still increase in the years to come.' (Hansen 2008: 165, glosses added)

(D.91) Middle French, 17th century
Mais si l' esperance est esteinte, // pourquoy desir , t' efforces-tu // de faire une plus grande atteinte? // C'est que tu nays de la vertu, //
'But if hope is extinguished, // why, desire, do you endeavor // to reach higher? // It is because you are born of virtue //'

et comme elle est ***toujours*** *plus forte, // et sans*
and as 3SG.F COP.3SG still more strong and without
faveur-s et sans appas, // quoy que l'-esperance
favour-PL and without attraction.PL what REL DEF.SG-hope
soit morte, // desir, pourtant tu ne meurs pas.
COP.SBJV.3SG dead desire.IMP nontheless 2SG NEG die.2SG NEG
'and as it [is always stronger / grows ever stronger], // both without favors and without attractions, // even though hope is dead, // desire, nevertheless you do not die.' (d'Urfé, *L'astrée*, cited in Hansen 2008: 167, glosses added)

D.2.3.7 Broadly modal and interactional uses

D.2.3.7.1 Concessive apodoses: *toujour est-il que*

- Fuchs (1988), Hansen (2008: 199–201) and Morel (1996).
- Form: in the fixed expression *toujours est-il que* 'still COP.3SG-3SG.M SUBORD' 'still it's the case that'. That this phrase is petrified in the present-day language becomes evident in the fact that the predicate in the clause it governs can only surface in the present indicative and can neither be negated, nor can the clause form a question.

- This fixed expression can either mark a return from a digression, as in (D.92), or a weak form of concession in which the speaker remits to only stating the facts, without taking a stance; see (D.93).

(D.92) *Il est possible que Jean réusisse brillamment à son examen.*
'It's possible that Jean will pass his exam with flying colors.'

Toujours est-il ***que*** *son* *prof* *ne*
still cop.3sg-3sg.m subord poss.3sg:sg.m teacher(m) neg
l'aime *guère.*
3sg.acc-love.3sg much
'It's possible that Jean will pass his exam with flying colors. Be that as it may, his teacher doesn't like him very much.' (Hansen 2008: 199, glosses added)

(D.93) A: *Ton ami Fernand ne me plaît pas du tout: il est trop arrogant.*
'I don't care for your friend Fernand at all: he's too arrogant.'

B: *Comme tu veux.* ***Toujours est-il*** ***qu****-'il*
as 2sg want.2sg still cop.3sg-3sg.m subord-3sg.m
est *beau* *mec.*
cop.3sg attractive.sg.m guy(m)
'Fine. He's good-looking, though.' (Hansen 2008: 200, glosses added)

D.2.3.7.2 Speech-act 'in any case'

- Hansen (2008: 201–203).
- In this function, *toujours* has an 'in any case' reading similar to the one discussed in Appendix D.2.3.5, but functioning on the speech-act level.
- According to Hansen (2008: 201–202), this use is first attested around five centuries after the persistive function. She points out that it "probably arose as a type of afterthought, whereby the speaker could comment on the status of her own speech act as valid independently of the contents of previous discourse."
- Syntax and prosody: always right-detached.

(D.94) *Raboliot reconnut Sarcelotte à son parler; il fut heureux d'entendre, après longtemps, son nasillement cordial et gai. – Il y a une pièce que je t'attends, dit Sarcelotte. On peut causer? Rien qu' à l' accent du camarade, Raboliot devina tout de suite. Un tressaillement le parcourut, le chauffa de la nuque aux talons. Il demanda, un peu anxieux:*
'Raboliot recognised Sarcelotte by the way he talked; he was happy

to hear his hearty and cheerful nasal twang after so long "I've been waiting for you for quite a while", said Sarcelotte. "Can we talk?" Just by the tone of his friend's voice, Raboliot guessed it immediately. He shuddered, became hot from head to toe. A bit anxiously, he asked,'

Tu	*n'-es*	*pas*	*allé*	*chez*	*moi,*	***toujours**?*
2sg	neg-cop.2sg	neg	go.ptcp.sg.m	place_of	1sg.obj	still

'"You didn't go to my house, now, did you?"' (Genevoix, *Raboliot*, cited in Hansen 2008: 202, glosses added)

D.3 German (deu, stan1295)

D.3.1 noch

D.3.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Etymology: < Proto-Indo-European **nŭ-ku̯e* 'now-also'.
- Further note: not to be confused with disjunctive *noch* 'nor', which has a different etymology.

D.3.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Abraham (1977, 1980), van der Auwera (1991a, 1993, 1998), Beck (2016, 2019 2020), Doherty (1973), Helbig (1994: 185–187), Hoepelman & Rohrer (1981) and Löbner (1989), among many others.
- Specialisation: several descriptions, such as those by Abraham (1977), Beck (2016, 2019, 2020), Doherty (1973) and Klein (2018), explicitly address the two components of my definition.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.
- Pragmaticity: usually augmented by *immer* > *immer noch*/*noch immer* for the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Syntax: only phasal polarity *noch* can (on its own) occur in the forefield of the sentence. There it strongly suggests an imminent change (D.97).
- Further note: can be used as an elliptical single-word utterance. Like *noch* in forefield position, this is only available for the phasal polarity function and emphasises the possibility of an imminent discontinuation (D.98). Ex (D.99) illustrates the use in an imperative.

(D.95) *Nachmittag-s war* ***noch*** *alles gut und schön, und*
afternoon-ADV COP.3SG still everything good and beautiful and
jetzt bin ich ein verloren-er Mensch und
now COP.1SG 1SG INDEF.NOM.SG.M lost-NOM.SG.M human(M) and
muss mich tot-schieß-en.
must.1SG REFL.1SG dead-shoot-INF
'In the afternoon everything was still fine, and now I'm a lost person and have to shoot myself.' (Schnitzler, *Leutnant Gustl*, cited in Shetter 1966: 45, glosses added)

(D.96) *Hier schein-t* ***noch*** *die Sonne und dort regne-t es*
here shine-3SG still DEF.NOM.SG.F sun(F) and there rain-3SG 3SG.N
schon.
already
'Here the sun is still shining and over there it's raining already.' (Doherty 1973: 169, glosses added)

(D.97) ***Noch*** *ist Peter in London*
still COP.3SG P. in L.
'As for now, Peter is still in London (e.g. if you want to talk to him, don't wait any longer).' (personal knowledge)

(D.98) *Markus ist der best-e deutsch-e*
M. COP.3SG DEF.NOM.SG.M best-NOM.SG.M German-NOM.SG.M
Tennis-spieler. – ***Noch.***
tennis-player(M) still
'Markus is the best German tennis player. – Still.' (Strongly suggests: this may soon no longer be the case). (Klein 2018: 287, glosses added)

(D.99) *Wenn ihr das Geld nicht sofort brauch-t,*
if/when 2PL DEF.ACC.SG.N money(N) NEG immediately need-2PL
dann ***lass-t es noch lieg-en.***
then let.IMP-PL 3SG.ACC.N still lay-INF
'If you don't need the money right away, then leave it untouched.' (found online, glosses added)[9]

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[9] https://www.finanzfrage.net/g/frage/bargeld-ungueltig-zum-umtausch-nach-schweden-verschicken (30 March, 2023).

D.3.1.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

D.3.1.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Van der Auwera (1991a, 1993), Beck (2020), BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*), König et al. (1993: 176–177) Löbner (1989, 1999), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 620, 630), Shetter (1966) and Välikangas (1982).
- The question of whether *noch* in scalar contexts is to be separated from its phasal polarity function has sparked intense discussion in the literature, especially van der Auwera (1991a, 1993) vs. Löbner (1989, 1999). A crucial element to this debate is that, with narrow focus on a scalar change, *noch* can only have a reading of a decrease (D.100, D.101). It does not allow for a restrictive 'still only, no more than' reading (be it on its own or in combination with an 'only' marker) which is conveyed by a separate lexical item *erst* 'no more than', lit. 'first, erstwhile'. However, this restriction applies only to "bare" *noch*. Its augmented, emphatic (unexpectedly late) variants *immer noch*/*noch immer* are amply attested with scope over a restrictive marker in increase contexts; see (D.102, D.103).
- The fixed expression *noch … hin sein* 'still be … off' is sometimes encountered with the scalar predicate left implied, as in (D.102).
- The collocation (complex particle) *nur noch* 'only still' conveys the idea of 'as little as … left', as in (D.105). Similarly *kaum noch* 'hardly still' conveys a high degree of reduction of intensity or frequency (D.106).
- Syntax: scalar *noch* can form a single constituent with the focus. Note, for instance, *noch* and *wenige Meter* 'a few meters' together occupying the initial position of a V2 clause in (D.101)

(D.100) Context: I had ten copies of a book, but I gave away five.
Ich hab' ***noch*** *fünf* (*übrig*).
1sg have.1sg still five left
'I still have five (left).' (personal knowledge)

(D.101) ***Noch*** *wenig-e Meter war-en es bis zu-r*
still few-nom.pl meter.pl cop.pst-3pl 3sg.n until to-def.dat.sg.f
Staffel-übergabe.
relay-handover(f)
'A few meters were left until the passing of the baton.' (found online, glosses added)[10]

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[10] https://www.wz.de/nrw/kreis-viersen/viersen/ein-schueler-staffellauf-fuer-mehr-miteinander_aid-30775241 (24 January, 2023).

(D.102) *Bis Weihnachten* ***ist noch hin****, aber wir ess-en Keks-e*
until christmas cop.3sg still thither but 1pl eat-1pl cookie-pl
i-m Sommer auch gerne.
in-def.dat.sg.m summer(m) also gladly
‘Christmas is still a long way off, but we also enjoy cookies during summer time.’ (found online, glosses added)[11]

(D.103) *Helge Malchow, Verlagschef von Kiepenheuer und Witsch, glaubt:*
‘Helge Malchow, publishing director at Kiepenheuer und Witsch, believes:’

2012 ist der Durchbruch der E-Books.
2012 cop.3sg def.nom.sg.m breakthrough(m) def.gen.pl e-books
Sie mach-en zwar ***immer noch*** *nur fünf Prozent des*
3pl make-3pl though always still only five percent def.gen.sg.m
Umsatz-es aus, ihr Anteil steig-t aber
revenue(m)-gen out poss.3pl:nom.sg.m share(m) rise-3sg however
rapide.
rapidly
2012 will be the breakthrough year for e-books. Though they still only account for five percent of revenue, their share is rising rapidly.’ (found online, glosses added)[12]

(D.104) Context: About a freely available software for contact tracking.
Trotzdem nutz-t ***immer noch*** *gerade mal ein Drittel der*
nonetheless use-3sg always still merely one third def.gen.pl
deutsch-en Gesundheitsämter die Software.
german-gen.pl health_department.pl def.acc.sg.f software(f)
Der Rest greif-t auf Excel-Tabelle-n oder eigen-e
def.nom.sg.m rest(m) grasp-3sg on Excel-table-pl or own-acc.pl
Lösung-en zurück.
solution-pl back
‘Nonetheless so far no more than a third of all German health departments employ the software. The remainder resorts to Excel sheets or to proprietary solutions.’ (found online, glosses added)[13]

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[11] https://www.chefkoch.de/rezepte/2289401365066405/Haselnussplaetzchen.html (13 February, 2023).

[12] https://www.abendblatt.de/kultur-live/article109757622/Schwarzenegger-auf-Buchmesse-Ein-totaler-Auftritt.html (08 March, 2023).

[13] https://netzpolitik.org/2021/kontaktverfolgung-in-den-semesterferien/ (08 March, 2023).

(D.105) *Heute können* ***nur noch*** *10% all-er Sami von der*
today can.3pl only still 10% all-gen.pl S. of def.dat.sg.f
Rentier-zucht und vo-m Fisch-fang alleine
raindeer-breeding(f) and of-def.dat.sg.m fish-catch(m) alone
leb-en.
live-inf
'These days, no more than 10% of all Sami people can still make a living of reindeer breeding and fishing alone.' (Heyne, *...Nur noch bis dahinten!*, glosses added)

(D.106) *Er trank kaum* ***noch****.*
3sg.m drink.pst.3sg hardly still
'He hardly (ever) took a drink anymore.' (König et al. 1993: 172, glosses added)

D.3.1.3.2 'Thus far always/every(one)'

- König et al. (1993: 172–173) and Métrich & Faucher (2009: 628).
- Form: in collocation with a focus that includes or consists of a universal quantifier (incl. *immer* 'always') and a predicate in the analytical anterior or the past tense.
- This collocation expresses a generic rule that has been true until utterance time (or another evaluation time) 'thus far always, thus far everyone'.
- The meaning of this collocation can be explained through coercion of a generic or experiential state into an alterable one, which, in turn, is facilitated by focus on the universal quantifier. In terms of usage, it most likely goes back to analogy with 'not ever (yet)' statements, in which *noch* forms part of the expression for not yet (D.110), as well as with the collocation *schon immer* 'since always', lit. 'already always'). The latter, in turn, builds on the already expression *schon* in scalar contexts.
- Syntax: forms a constituent with its focus, either preceding or following it.

(D.107) *Wie* ***jed-es Jahr noch*** *war die*
as every-nom.sg.n year(n) still cop.pst.3sg def.nom.sg.f
Zahl der Fremd-en allmählich bis Ostern
number(f) def.gen.pl stranger-gen.pl slowly until Easter
ge-wachs-en.
ptcp-grow-ptcp
'As every year thus far, the number of visitors had been steadily increasing towards Easter.' (von Ompleda, *Margret und Ossana*, glosses added)

(D.108) *Ich war* **noch** *beinahe jedes Jahr an*
1SG COP.PST.1SG still nearly every-NOM.SG.N year(N) at
der Fachtagung und ich hab-e immer gross-e
DEF.DAT.SG.F symposium(F) and 1SG have-1SG always big-ACC.SG.F
Vor-freude.
pre-joy(F)
'I have participated in the congress nearly every year so far and I always look forward to it.' (found online, glosses added)[14]

(D.109) *Sterb-en kann nicht so schwer sein. Das hat* **noch**
die-INF can.3SG NEG so difficult COP.INF 3SG.ACC.N have still
jeder *ge-schaff-t.*
every-NOM.SG.M PTCP-achieve-PTCP
'Dying can't be that difficult. So far everyone has achieved it.' (found online, glosses added)[15]

(D.110) *Das hat* **noch niemand** *ge-schaff-t.*
3SG.ACC.N have.3SG still nobody PTCP-achieve-PTCP
'As of yet, nobody has ever achieved that.' (personal knowledge)

(D.111) *Das ist* **schon immer** *so* (*gewesen*).
3SG.N COP.3SG already always thus COP.PTCP
'It's been like this since ever.' (personal knowledge)

D.3.1.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.3.1.4.1 Iterative (and restitutive) via increment

- Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch einmal*, *nochmal*, *nochmals*), BBAW (n.d. s.v. *nochmals*), König et al. (1993: 176), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 627), Nederstigt (2003: 27, 105), Umbach (2012), Sauerland (2009) and Shetter (1966).
- Form: in collocation with the event quantifier *mal* 'time(s)'; stylistic variants with and without the indefinite article. Additionally, there is a form *nochmals*, featuring the adverbial derivation -*s* (D.114, D.115). Lastly, this collocation also underlies the compound adjective *noch-mal-ig* 'still-time-ADJ' 'repeated'.
- Aside from iteration (D.112– D.114), this use also has been described as having restitutive readings in examples like (D.115, D.116). My own judgement suggests that these and similar examples evoke a transitory restitution of a state. This is particularly salient in (D.116), which could be continued *bevor sie ihn*

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[14] https://www.furrerevents.ch/fachtagung-muetter-und-vaeterberatung (24 February, 2023).

[15] https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2018-03/sterben-thomas-macho-philosoph-gesellschaft-tod (22 February, 2023).

dann tranken ‘before eventually drinking it’. Similarly, (D.115) could be continued *bevor sie dann losfuhr* ‘before she set off’. This suggests that the restitutive readings simultaneously evoke the “further-to” use of *noch* (Appendix D.3.1.7.2), in which case (*ein*)*mal* serves not as an event quantifier but as ‘for a moment, just briefly’.

(D.112) *Lass uns* ***noch mal*** *klingel-n.*
let 1pl.acc still time ring-inf
‘Let’s ring the bell again.’ (Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *nochmal*, glosses added)

(D.113) Context: A newspaper headline about the 2019 Istanbul municipal elections.
Opposition gewinn-t Wahl in Istanbul: İmamoğlu
opposition win-3sg election.acc.sg in Istanbul İmamoğlu
macht-’s ***noch ein-mal***
make.3sg-3sg.acc.n still indef-time
‘Opposition wins elections in Istanbul: İmamoğlu does it again.’ (found online, glosses added)[16]

(D.114) Context: The subject has intended standing up, but his legs failed him.
Und er versuch-te ***noch-mal-s****, auf die Bein-e zu*
and 3sg.m try-pst.3sg still-time-adv on def.acc.pl leg-acc.pl to
komm-en, und da er sich gehörig zusammen-nahm,
come-inf and because 3sg.m refl.3 properly together-take.pst.3sg
so ging es.
so go.pst.3sg 3sg.n
‘And he tried once more to get up, and as he pulled himself together, he managed to.’ (Mann, *Der Zauberberg*, glosses added)

(D.115) *Sie hatte den Motor schon angelassen,*
3sg.f have.pst.3sg def.acc.sg.m motor(m) already start_up.ptcp
da stieg sie ***noch-mal-s*** *aus.*
there climb.pst.3sg 3sg.f still-time-adv out
‘She had already started the engine, when she climbed out of the car again.’ (Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *nochmals*, glosses added)

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[16] https://taz.de/Opposition-gewinnt-Wahl-in-Istanbul/!5605032/; (07 April, 2022).

(D.116) *Sie bestell-ten eine Flasche Gruaud Larose bei*
3PL order-PST.3PL INDEF.ACC.SG.F bottle(F) G. L. at
ihr, die Hans Castorp ***noch ein-mal***
3SG.DAT.F REL.ACC.SG.F H. C. still one-time
fort-schick-te. um sie besser temperier-en zu lass-en.
away-send-PST.3SG to 3SG.ACC.F better temper-INF to let-INF
'They ordered a bottle of Gruaud Larose from her, which Hans Castorp sent back to have it brought to drinking temperature.' (Mann, *Der Zauberberg*; cited in Shetter 1966: 61, glosses added)

D.3.1.4.2 Prospective 'eventually'

- Abraham, (1977, 1980, van der Auwera (1993), BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Doherty (1973), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Helbig (1994: 187), Hoepelman & Rohrer (1981), König (1977, 1991: 140–143), König et al. (1993: 173), Löbner (1989), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 621–622), Shetter (1966) and Välikangas (1982); also see Vandeweghe (1984) on the Dutch cognate *nog*.
- This reading is forced when *noch* combines with emphatic *schon* ('no doubt', lit. 'already') and adverbials like *schließlich* 'eventually' or *eines Tages* 'one day'.
- This reading is available with telic (D.117, D.118) and atelic predicates (D.119).
- As Shetter (1966) points out, in combination with modals (D.120) and the copula-plus-infinitive constructions (D.121) there is often ambiguity between a persistent possibility/necessity and prospective 'eventually'.
- Ex. (D.122) illustrates the combination with a negated predicate.

(D.117) *Er wird sich* ***noch*** *zu Tod-e arbeit-en.*
3SG.M FUT.AUX:3SG REFL.3 still to death-DAT work-INF
'He will end up working himself to death.' (König 1991: 141, glosses added)

(D.118) *Wir mach-en* ***noch*** *einen gut-en*
1PL make-1PL still INDEF.ACC.SG.M good-ACC.SG.M
Kricket-spieler aus ihm.
cricket-player(M) of 3SG.DAT.M
'We'll make a good cricketer of him yet.' (König 1977: 197, glosses added)

(D.119) *Carlo berührte ihn am Arm. "Still, komm jetzt hinunter!" Geronimo schwieg und gehorchte dem Bruder.*
'Carlo touched his arm. "That's enough, come downstairs already!" Geronimo kept quiet and obeyed his brother.'

Aber auf den Stufe-n sag-te er: “Wir red-en ***noch,***
but on def.dat.pl stair-pl say-pst.3sg 3sg.m 1pl talk-1pl still
wir red-en ***noch****!”*
1pl talk-1pl still!”
‘But on the stairs he said “We’ll talk yet, we’ll talk yet!” (i.e. this is not over)’ (Schnitzler, *Der blinde Geronimo*, cited in Shetter 1966: 48–49, glosses added)

(D.120) *Du mein-st, dass er durch-s Moor*
2sg think-2sg comp 3sg.m through-def.acc.sg.n moor(n)
die Seinen ***noch*** *erreich-en kann?*
def.acc.pl poss.3sg.m:acc.pl still reach-inf can.3sg
‘You think that going via the moor he can still get to his people / … he can get to his people eventually?’ (von le Fort, *Anna Elisabeth von Golzow*, cited in Shetter 1966: 49, glosses added)

(D.121) *Trotz der schön-en selbst-gezogen-en Perinette- und*
despite def.gen.pl beautiful-gen.pl self-grown-pl P. and
Grand-Richard-Äpfel, die ***noch*** *zu prüf-en war-en,*
G.-R.-apple.pl rel.nom.pl still to check-inf cop.pst-3pl
a-m Nach-mittag war ich davon-geritten.
at-def.dat.sg.m after-noon(m) cop.pst.1sg 1sg off-ride.ptcp
‘Despite the fine home-grown Perinette and Grand Richard apples that were still to be tasted / to be tasted at some point, come afternoon I had set off.’ (Storm, *Der Schimmelreiter*, glosses added)

(D.122) Context: About a rescue exercise.
Damit der Darsteller des
purp def.nom.sg.m impersonator(m) def.gen.sg.n
Unfall-opfer-s bei-m Wart-en … ***nicht noch***
accident-victim(n)-gen at-def.dat.sg.n wait-inf(n) neg still
krank wird*, bekomm-t er eine Wärme-folie*
ill become.3sg get-3sg 3sg.m indef.acc.sg.f warmth-foil(f)
mit auf den Weg.
with on def.acc.sg.m way(m)
‘The actor impersonating the victim is given a thermal foil, so he doesn’t end up sick while waiting.’ (found online, glosses added)[17]

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[17] https://www.donaukurier.de/archiv/alle-sechs-unfallopfer-bestens-versorgt-4210654 (22 March, 2023).

D.3.1.5 Temporal connectives and frame setters

D.3.1.5.1 Persistent time frame

- BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Beck (2016, 2019, 2020), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Helbig (1994: 185–186), König (1977), König et al. (1993: 177), Löbner (1989), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 623–624), Shetter (1966) and Välikangas (1982).
- As Löbner (1989) points out, this use can be paraphrased as 'it is still ... when the situation occurs', and is restricted to time specifications that include an established or salient topic time. The latter can be mediated by place-to-time metonymy (D.126).
- This use often gives the impression of relative earliness. Accordingly, the *Duden* dictionary (Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *noch*) describes it as "... den Umständen nach früh [early for the circumstances given]". A similar description is given by Helbig (1994: 185). As Beck (2020) shows, this meaning component is defeasible. This is illustrated in (D.128).
- This use is also frequent in combination with expressions of precedence, as in (D.127). This can be explained by the fact that *noch* in this function generally evokes an idea of precedence, e.g. 'before the end of the negotiations' in (D.123), 'before the end of the day' in (D.124), or 'before death' in (D.125). As Shetter (1966) points out, in this case *bevor*/*vor*/*ehe* is stressed, which clearly differentiates *noch vor Ostern* 'before Easter' in (D.127) from *noch vor hundert Jahren* 'as recently as a hundred years ago' in (D.130).
- Syntax: forms a constituent with the temporal expression, either preceding or following it; note, for instance, their co-occurrence in the forefield position of a V2 clause in (D.128).

(D.123) Context: A 1989 article newspaper headline and a subsequent paraphrase.

SPD befürcht-et, daß der Bundestag ***noch***
SPD fear-3SG COMP DEF.NOM.SG.M German_parliament(M) still
während der Gespräch-e der Stationierung
during DEF.GEN.PL talk-GEN.PL DEF.DAT.SG.F deployment(F)
zustim-en soll.
agree_on-INF should.3SG
'The SPD fears that the German parliament will vote in favour of deployment while the talks are still going on.'

Kohl nehme damit eilfertig die ihm zugeschobene Rolle an, die Nachrüstung einzuleiten, ***während die Großmächte noch am***

Verhandlungsstisch säßen, *erklärte der stellvertretende SPD-Fraktions-vorsitzende Horst Ehmke.*
'The representative of the SPD parliament group, Horst Ehmke, declared that, in so doing, Kohl had too hastily accepted the role he was forced into, launching rearmament while the super powers were still having negotiations.' (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, cited in Löbner 1989: 211, fn 12)

(D.124) *Deshalb hab-e ich damals den Stossseufzer*
that_is_why have-1SG 1SG back_then DEF.ACC.SG.M deep_sigh(M)
ausgestossen, ich woll-e gern nach Amerika, aber nicht
eject.PTCP 1SG want-SBJV.1SG gladly to America but NEG
nach New York. So bin ich ***noch*** *a-m Abend*
to N. Y. thus COP.1SG 1SG still at-DEF.DAT.SG.M evening(M)
meiner Ankunft wenigstens nach Boston ge-fahr-en.
POSS.1SG:GEN.SG.F arrival(F) at_least to B. PTCP-drive-PTCP
'That is why back then I complained that, while I did want to go to America, I didn't want to be stuck in New York. Thus, the very day of my arrival I went to Boston, at least.' (*Rheinischer Merkur*, cited in Shetter 1966: 57, glosses added)

(D.125) Context: On how an employee should behave when your work contract has been terminated.
Also, ***noch*** *während man arbeitet und sobald man weiß, wann*
so, still while IMPR work-3SG and once IMPR know.3SG when
der letzt-e Arbeit-s-tag sein soll:
DEF.NOM.SG.M last-NOM.SG.M work-LNK-day(M) COP.INF should.3SG
zu-r Arbeitsargentur geh-en.
to-DEF.DAT.SG.F job_centre(F) go-INF
'So, while [it is still the time that] you're employed and as soon as you know when your last day at work is scheduled: visit the job centre.' (found online, glosses added)[18]

(D.126) *Er wurde* ***noch*** *a-m Unfall-ort*
3SG.M become.PST.3SG still at-DEF.DAT.SG.M accident-place(M)
operier-t.
operate-PTCP
'He was operated right at (before leaving) the scene of the accident.' (Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *noch*, glosses added)

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[18] https://www.verdi.de/service/fragen-antworten/++co++3f41ec44-a247-11e0-42ae-00093d114afd (26 April, 2022).

(D.127) *Die* *Maske-n-pflicht* *... könnte* *...* ***noch***
def.nom.sg.f mask-pl-requirement(f) can.cond.3sg still
vor *Ostern* *ge-locker-t* *oder* *ganz* *abgeschafft*
before Easter ptcp-loosen-ptcp or completely abandon.ptcp
werd-en.
become-inf
The requirement to wear a [face] mask be loosened or abandoned altogether before Easter.’ (found online, glosses added)[19]

(D.128) ***Noch*** *a-m* *Vor-mittag* *ist* *Lydia,* *wie* *von* *allen*
still at-def.dat.sg.m pre-noon(m) cop.3sg L. as from all.dat
erwarte-t, *abgereist.*
expect-ptcp leave.ptcp
‘Lydia left when it was still morning, as had been expected by everyone.’ (Beck 2020: 27 fn10)

D.3.1.5.2 Time-scalar additive (‘as late as’)

- Van der Auwera (1993), Beck (2016, 2019, 2020), BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Hoepelman & Rohrer (1981), Klein (2018), König (1977, 1979, 1991: ch. 7), König et al. (1993: 177), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 623–624) and Shetter (1966).
- In this function, *noch* consistently relates the focus to lower alternatives on a scale of time proper (‘as late as’). Times may be mediated by metonymy (D.132, D.133). Shetter (1966) and König (1979) point out that with reference to the past and present, this normally gives rise to a reading of recency. As König (1979) points out, with future reference the opposite occurs, as in (D.134).
- Similar to Hansen (2008) on French *encore* (Appendix D.2.2.6.1), Shetter (1966) observes a functional overlap between this use and still when the adverbial in question denotes a point in time. However, as Beck (2020) points out, even with an imperfective vantage point, time-scalar additive *noch* does not require that the situation held before; see (D.131). What is more, time-scalar additive *noch* is perfectly compatible with a perfective viewpoint (D.129).
- Syntax: can form constituent with its focus. Note, for instance, them occupying the forefield of V2 clauses together in (D.129–D.134).

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[19] https://www.mallorcazeitung.es/gesundheit/2022/04/04/maskenpflicht-innenraumen-spanien-ostern-64628568.html (06 April 2022).

(D.129) Context: About perpetual conflicts in the Aegean islands.
Noch *letzt-e Woche kam es … zu …*
still last-NOM.SG.F week(F) come.PST.3SG 3SG.N to
heftig-en Auseinandersetzung-en zwischen der
severe-DAT.PL conflict-PL between DEF.DAT.SG.F
Polizei und den Insel-bewohner-n.
police(F) and DEF.DAT.PL island-inhabitant-DAT.PL
'As late as last week, altercations between the police and the islanders occurred.' (found online, glosses added)[20]

(D.130) ***Noch*** *vor hundert Jahr-en leb-ten annähernd drei*
still before hundred year-DAT.PL live-PST.3PL nearly three
Viertel der Bevökerung in der Land-wirtschaft.
quarter DEF.GEN.SG.F population(F) in DEF.DAT.SG.F land-economy(F)
'As recently as a hundred years ago, nearly three quarters of the population lived on farms.' (*Rheinischer Merkur*, cited in Shetter 1966: 51, glosses added)

(D.131) Context: we had a Condo in Danbury between March and November 1997.

A: *Wie lange haben wir eigentlich in Mt. Kisco gewohnt?*
'For how long did we live in Mt. Kisco?'

B: *So lang kann das nicht gewesen sein.*
'It can't have been that long.'

Noch *1997 hab-en wir ja in Danbury ge-wohn-t.*
still 1997 have-1PL 1PL DM in D. PTCP-reside-PTCP
'As recently as 1997 we lived/were living in Danbury.' (Beck 2020: 30 fn13)

(D.132) ***Noch*** *in Köln lief der Motor einwand-frei.*
still in Cologne run.PST.3SG DEF.NOM.SG.M Motor(M) objection-free
'As recently as [when we were] in Cologne the Motor was running without any problems.' (Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *noch*, glosses added)

(D.133) ***Noch*** *Lessing und Adelung schreib-en hamtückisch.*
still L. and A. write-3PL hamtückisch
'(Authors as recent as) Lessing and Adelung use the spelling *hamtückisch*.' (Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, cited in Shetter 1966: 52, glosses added)

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[20] https://www.nzz.ch/international/die-harte-linie-an-der-grenze-ist-in-griechenland-populaer-ld.1544107 (28 November, 2022).

(D.134) ***Noch*** *in zehn Jahr-en werd-en wir die Früchte*
still in ten year-DAT.PL FUT.AUX-1PL 1PL DEF.ACC.PL fruit.PL
dieser Entscheidung genieß-en.
PROX:GEN.SG.F decision(F) enjoy-INF
'Even in ten years time we will still be enjoying the fruits of this decision.' (König 1979: 182)

D.3.1.5.3 *Noch* and the source of persistent states

- Mustajoki (1988) and Shetter (1966).
- There is a recurrent usage pattern that consists of *noch* in combination with an expression indicating the source of some state, as in (D.135– D.137). As observed by Shetter (1966), *noch* can be said to serve a dual function here. On the one hand, it signals the persistence of the state in question, while at the same time it associates with the temporal predication about its source ('from while … still …'). Together this yields a reading strikingly similar to the 'as far removed as' type of time-scalar additive (Section 2.5.2.3).
- Occasionally, in this pattern *noch* is attested as a syntactic sister to the adpositional phrase, as in (D.137). This type of adverbial modification on the phrase level is, however, not restricted to *noch*, nor to the larger set of phasal polarity expressions (see Zifonun et al. 1997: 2091–2096).

(D.135) *Ich habe eine natürliche Scheu vor Polizisten und Staabsoffizieren.*
'I have a natural shyness of policemen and staff officers.'

Das stamm-t ***noch*** *aus meiner Militärzeit.*
3SG.N stem-3SG still from POSS.1SG:DAT.SG.F military-time(F)
'Goes back (all the way) to my army days.' (Remarque, *Drei Kameraden*, cited in Shetter 1966: 466, glosses added)

(D.136) *Er wusste ja* ***noch*** *vo-m erst-en*
3SG.M know.PST.3SG yes still from-DEF.DAT.SG.M first-DAT.SG.SG.M
Tag-e seines neu-en Leben-s her,
day(M)-DAT POSS.3SG.M:GEN.SG.N new-GEN.SG.N life(N)-GEN hither
dass der Vater ihm gegenüber nur
COMP DEF.NOM.SG.M father(M) 3SG.DAT.M in_front_of only
die grösst-e Strenge für angebracht
DEF.ACC.SG.F great.SUP-ACC.SG.F strictness(F) for appropriate
hielt.
consider.PST.3SG
'For he still knew from the first day of his new life that, as far as he was concerned, his father believed only the strictest measures to be appropriate.' (Kafka, *Die Verwandlung*, cited in Shetter 1966: 47, glosses added)

(D.137) Context: From the review of a Dutch harbour-cum-campsite.
In erster Linie ist es ein kleiner Hafen, für kleinere Segel- und Motorschiffe.
'It's primarily a small harbour for smaller sailing and motor boats.'

***Noch** aus meiner Kind-heit kenn-e ich*
still from poss.1sg:dat.sg.f child-hood(f) know-1sg 1sg
den Hafen, wir hab-en in den Jahr-en
def.acc.sg.n harbour(n) 1pl have-1pl in def.dat.pl year-dat.pl
1980 – 1984 viel Zeit mit meinen Elter-n hier
1980 1984 much time with poss.1sg:dat.pl parent-pl here
verbracht.
spend.ptcp
'Since way back in my childhood I've known this harbour, my parents and me spent a lot of time here between 1980 and 1984.' (found online, glosses added)[21]

D.3.1.6 Marginality

- Beck (2016, 2020), BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Eckardt (2006), Hoepelman & Rohrer (1981), Klein (2018), König (1977, 1991: 151–155), König et al. (1993: 178–179) Löbner (1989, 1999), Shetter (1966) and Umbach (2009).
- In comparisons, such as in (D.141), this can lead to derogative readings.
- Marginal *noch* often combines with expressions like *eben* 'just, precisely', (*so*) *gerade* 'just barely', as in (D.142).
- Syntax: cannot stand in forefield position together with the entity in question, indicating they do not form one constituent (cf. König 1991: 151).

(D.138) Context: About working at a certain employer.
Die Raum-situation ist nicht ideal, ich find-e
def.nom.sg.f space-situation(f) cop.3sg neg ideal 1sg find-1sg
Groß-raum-büro-s nicht so gut wie klein-ere Büro-s;
big-space-office-pl neg so good like small-cmpr.acc.pl office-pl
*es ist aber **noch** in Ordnung.*
3sg.n cop.3sg however still in order
'The working situation is not ideal, I don't like open-plan office spaces as much as smaller offices; but it's still OK.' (found online, glosses added)[22]

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[21] https://happycamping.info/camping-de-koevoet-bekommt-besuch/ (08 January, 2023).

[22] https://www.kununu.com/de/smartray/bewertung/9cdecae8-9a66-476f-8d5e-7ea1b05f2b43 (06 April 2022).

(D.139) Context: About removing furniture from the room.
Nun, den Kasten konnte Gregor
now def.acc.sg.m chest_of_drawers(m) can.pst.3sg G.
i-m Not-fall ***noch*** *entbehr-en, aber*
in-def.dat.sg.m emergency-case(m) still do_without-inf but
schon der Schreib-tisch muss-te bleib-en.
already def.nom.sg.m write-table(m) must-pst.3sg stay-inf
'Now, Gregor could still do without the chest of drawers, if necessary, but the writing desk had to stay.' (Kafka, *Die Verwandlung*, cited in Shetter 1966: 546, glosses added)

(D.140) Context: About the effects of a torrential rainfall.
I-m Vergleich zu den Bild-ern aus
in-def-dat.sg.m comparison(m) to def.dat.pl image-dat.pl from
ander-en Teil-en der Republik hat es
other-dat.pl part-dat.pl def.gen.sg.f republic(f) have 3sg.n
Kamen ***noch*** *glimpflich getroffen.*
K. still mildly strike.ptcp
'In comparison to what you can see in images from other parts of the country, [the town of] Kamen was hit relatively mildly (lit. … still mildly).' (found online, glosses added)[23]

(D.141) *Paul ist* ***noch*** *der intelligent-est-e* (*von*
P. cop.3sg still def.nom.sg.m intelligent-sup-nom.sg.m from
der Familie).
def.gen.sg.f family(f)
'(They are all pretty stupid. But) Paul is still the most intelligent of the family.' König 1977: 190, glosses added)

(D.142) *Osnabrück liegt* (*gerade*) ***noch*** *in Niedersachsen.*
O. lie.3sg just still in Lower_Saxony
'Osnabrück is still Lower Saxony (i.e. it is a marginal case of being in the Lower Saxony territory).' (Umbach 2012: 1843, glosses added)

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[23] https://www.stadt-kamen.de/leben-und-mehr/aktuelles/aktuelle-themen/3067-unwetter-beschaeftigt-kamener-feuerwehr-bis-in-den-fruehen-morgen (13 February 2023).

D.3.1.7 Additive and related functions

D.3.1.7.1 Additive

- Beck (2016, 2020), BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Doherty (1973), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Eckardt (2006), Helbig (1994: 186), Hoepelman & Rohrer (1981), Klein (2018), König (1977, 1991: 140–146), König et al. (1993: 174–176, 177), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 626–630), Nederstigt (2003: ch. 2.2), Umbach (2009, 2012) and Shetter (1966).
- Stressed *noch* indicates addition of an entity of the same kind (D.143).
- It has been repeatedly pointed out (Eckardt 2006; Grubic 2018; König 1991; Nederstigt 2003; Umbach 2012) that additive *noch* is associated with incremental discourse (sequential events, shifts in topic situations, and the like) vis-à-vis the parallelisms invoked by additive *auch*, and that the two items are consequently not always freely exchangeable. However, they can co-occur (*auch noch*); see (D.146). What is more, *noch* does not mark temporal sequentiality, as highlighted by Umbach (2012). For instance, *dann* 'then' in (D.144) can either refer to the order of consumption or the order of mentioning.
- In narrative discourse, the incremental pattern often goes together with the last in a series of events. For instance, in (D.147) *noch* anticipates the subsequent closure of the relevant section of the novel. This brings such instances markedly close to the further-to use (Appendix D.3.1.7.2).
- Nederstigt (2003) and Shetter (1966) point out that examples like (D.145) are ambiguous between a phasal polarity and additive interpretation.

(D.143) *Ich trink-e* ˈ***noch*** *ein Bier.*
1SG drink-1SG still INDEF.ACC.SG.N beer(N)
'I will have another beer.' (König 1991: 143, glosses added)

(D.144) *Otto hat ein Bier getrunken. Dann hat*
O. have.3SG INDEF.ACC.SG.N beer(N) drink.PTCP then have.3SG
er ***noch*** *einen Schnaps getrunken.*
3SG.M still INDEF.ACC.SG.M schnaps drink.PTCP
'Otto had a beer. Then he had a schnaps in addition.' (Umbach 2012: 1850, glosses added)

(D.145) Context: The speaker is assembling a wooden toy plane.
Also und ach so, und dann brauch-e ich noch eine
well and INTERJ and then need-1SG 1SG still INDEF.ACC.SG.F
Siebener-leiste.
seven_piece-bracket(F)
'Well and oh yes, and then I also need/still need a 7-hole piece.'
(Nederstigt 2003: 104, glosses added)

(D.146) Context: In 2014, Max visited his parents for Christmas.
Das *Jahr* *danach* *hat* *er* *auch* ***noch*** *die*
def.acc.sg year(n) thereafter have.3sg 3sg.m also still def.pl.acc
Eltern *seiner* *Freundin* *besuch-t.*
parents poss.3sg.m:gen.sg.f girlfriend(f) visit-ptcp
'The next year, in addition, he visited the parents of his girlfriend.'
(Grubic 2018: 528)

(D.147) *Da gab ihm der Vater von hinten einen jetzt wahrhaftig erlösenden starken Stoß, und er flog, heftig blutend, weit in sein Zimmer hinein.*
'Then his father gave him a strong and liberating push from behind, and he scurried, bleeding heavily, far into his room.'

Die *Tür* *wurde* ***noch*** *mit* *dem*
def.nom.sg.f door(f) become.pst.3sg still with def.dat.sg.m
Stock *zugeschlagen,* *dann* *wurde* *es* *endlich* *still.*
cane(m) slam_shut.ptcp then become.3sg 3sg.n finally quiet
'The door was slammed shut with the cane, and finally all was quiet.'

Erst in der Abend-dämmerung erwachte Gregor aus seinem schweren ohnmachtähnlichen Schlaf.
'It was not until the dawn of evening that Gregor awoke from a deep and swoon-like sleep.' (Kafka, *Die Verwandlung*, glosses added)

D.3.1.7.2 Further-to

- Beck (2019), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Klein (2018), König et al. (1993: 176), Nederstigt (2003), Shetter (1966), Umbach (2012) and Välikangas (1982); also see Vandeweghe (1984) on the Dutch cognate *nog*.
- Further-to readings of *noch* differ from purely additive ones in that they allow for an easy accommodation in out-of-the-blue utterances. However, many authors do not make this distinction.
- This reading can be enforced through items like *doch*, a discourse marker that indicates a revision of previous information or assumptions (see Rojas-Esponda 2014 and references therein), as in (D.151).

(D.148) *Früher* *ist-'s* *mir* *immer* *sonderbar* *vorgekommen,*
in_the_past cop.3sg-3sg.n 1sg.dat always strange appear.ptcp
dass *die* *Leut',* *die* *verurteil-t* *sind,* *in*
comp def.nom.pl people rel.nom.pl condemn-ptcp cop.3pl in

der Früh ***noch*** *ihren Kaffee*
def.dat.sg.f morning(f) still poss.3pl:acc.sg.m coffee(m)
trink-en und ihr Zigarr-l rauch-en.
drink-3pl and poss.3pl:acc.sg.n cigarre-dim(n) smoke-3pl
'I used to find it strange that people sentenced [to death] would have coffee and a cigar in the morning [before getting executed].'
(Schnitzler, *Leutnant Gustl*; cited in Shetter 1966: 58, glosses added)

(D.149) Context: I have just come home from soccer practice.
Ich dusch' ***noch****. Dann gibt-'s Abend-essen.*
1sg take_shower.1sg still then exist.3sg-3sg.n evening-meal(n)
'I'm just taking a quick shower. Dinner will be just after.' (Beck 2019: 16)

(D.150) *Die erste Halbzeit verlief torlos,*
' the first half-time passed by without any goals,'
Aber in der 2. Halb-zeit schoss Bayern München
but in def.dat.sg.f 2. half-time(f) shoot.pst.3sg Bayern Munich
noch *zwei Tor-e.*
still two goal-pl
'but in the second half-time Bayern Munich (eventually) did score twice.' (Hoepelman & Rohrer 1980: 127, glosses added)

(D.151) *Mein Buch ist doch* ***noch*** *an-ge-komm-en.*
poss.1sg:nom.sg.n book(n) cop.3sg dm still at-ptcp-come-ptcp
Heute war der Post-bote wohl extra spät.
today cop.pst.3sg postman apparently extra late
'My book did finally arrive. Seems the postman was just particularly late today.' (found online, glosses added)[24]

D.3.1.7.3 Scalar additive

- BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), König (1991: ch. 7) and Persohn (2024a).
- As I discuss in Persohn (2024a), *noch* as a scalar additive works on a scalar model of sufficiency. It requires a high focus value, i.e. it constitutes a beyond operator in Gast & van der Auwera's (2011) typology. However, this value has to be rung on a negatively defined scale, such as the degrees of *in*credulity in (D.154).
- The denotation of the associated constituent is often undesirable (D.153, D.154).
- Syntax: forms a constituent with its focus.

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[24] https://www.lovelybooks.de/autor/Teresa-Kirchengast/Schwarze-Schafe-2412244804-w/leserunde/2617636226/2617642413/ (26 June, 2023).

(D.152) Context: There are no more innocent things.
***Noch** [**der Baum der blüh-t**]*$_{\text{foc}}$ *lüg-t,*
still def.nom.sg.m tree(m) rel:nom.sg.m blossom-3sg lie-3sg
'Even the blossoming tree lies'

in dem Augenblick, in welchem man sein Blühen ohne den Schatten des Entsetzens wahrnimmt.
'the moment its bloom is perceived without the shadow of terror.'
(Adorno, *Minima Moralia*, glosses added)

(D.153) *...einem Vater gleich, der* ***noch*** *den*
indef.dat.sg.m father(m) like rel:nom.sg.m still def.acc.sg.m
Sohn, der ihn mißhandel-t hat, an
son(m) rel:nom.sg.m 3sg.acc.m abuse-ptcp have.3sg at
sein Herz zieht...
poss.3sg.m:acc.sg.n heart(n) pull.3sg
'...like a father that embraces even the son who has abused him...'
(von le Fort, *Der Papst aus dem Ghetto*, cited in BBAW n.d. s.v. *noch*, glosses added)

(D.154) *Die einen feier-n schließlich die*
def.nom.pl indef.nom.pl celebrate-pl finally def.acc.sg.f
dreist-e Selbst-ermächtigung von Trump und Co. und
bold-acc.sg.f self-empowerment(f) of T. and company and
red-en sich beharrlich ein, dass ***noch*** *der*
talk-3pl refl.3 persistently in comp still def.nom.sg.m
dümmste Tweet die Wahrheit
stupid.sup:nom.sg.m tweet(m) def.nom.sg.m truth(f)
sp[r]ech-e.
speak-sbjv.3sg
'Lastly, some celebrate Trump and company's bold self-authorisation and talk themselves into believing that even the most stupid tweet speaks the truth.' (found online, glosses added)[25]

D.3.1.7.4 Comparisons of inequality

- BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Helbig (1994: 187), Klein (2018), König (1977, 1991: 145), König et al. (1993: 174), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 631–633), Umbach (2009, 2012) and Shetter (1966).
- *Noch* adds the scalar additive notion of 'even' to comparisons of inequality.

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[25] https://taz.de/Zeitalter-der-Desinformation/!5693636&SuchRahmen=Print/ (20 June, 2022).

- Umbach (2009) points out that stress may either fall on *noch* or on the property-denoting predicate, thus linking *noch* in comparisons to its additive function (Appendix D.3.1.7.1); a similar observation is found in Métrich & Faucher (2009: 631).
- This use extends to predicates with the meaning of ‘surpass’ (D.157, D.158) and degree achievements derived from comparative adjectives (D.159).
- Syntax: forms a constituent with its focus.

(D.155) *Der Betätigung-s-bereich für Physiotherapeut-en*
def.nom.sg.m activity-lnk-range(m) for physical_therapist-pl
ist i-m letzt-en Jahrzehnt größer
cop.3sg in-def.dat.sg.n last-dat.sg.n decade(n) bigger
geworden; er könnte aber durchaus ***noch*** *größer*
become.ptcp 3sg.m can.cond.3sg but definitely still bigger
sein.
cop.inf
‘The range of activities of physiotherapists increased in the last decade, but it could be still larger.’ (online example, cited in Umbach 2009: 544)

(D.156) *Konsumenten bekommen derzeit richtig Druck: Die hohe Inflation frisst ihr Erspartes auf. Und die Lieferketten-Probleme führen zu Lieferstaus.*
‘Consumers are under pressure: the high inflation rates eat up their savings. And supply chain problems lead to limited supplies.’

Das mach-t War-en ***noch*** *teurer.*
3sg.n make-3sg good-pl still expensive.cmpr
‘This leads to prices becoming even higher.’ (found online, glosses added)[26]

(D.157) *Die römisch-e Kunst geht in der*
def.nom.sg.f roman-nom.sg.f art(f) go.3sg in def.dat.sg.n
Personifikation der Natur-erscheinung-en ***noch*** *über*
personification(n) def.gen.pl nature-appearence-pl still over
die griechisch-e hinaus.
def.acc.sg.f Greek-acc.sg.f beyond
‘In its personification of natural phenomena, Roman art even goes beyond its Greek counterpart.’ (Struck, *Bedeutungslehre*, cited in Shetter 1966: 62, glosses added)

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[26] https://www.focus.de/finanzen/news/nicht-nur-elektroartikel-inflation-schlaegt-zu-diese-waren-werden-jetzt-schnell-teurer_id_48057964.html (24 March, 2023).

(D.158) *Das Englisch-e weist ein Reichtum*
DEF.NOM.SG.N English-NOM.SG.N show.3SG INDEF.ACC.SG.M wealth(M)
an kurz-en, … einsilbig-en Wörtern auf,
at short-DAT.PL monosyllabic-DAT.PL word.ACC.PL out
der wohl nur i-m Chinesisch-en ***noch***
REL.ACC.SG.M perhaps only in-DEF.DAT.SG.N Chinese-DAT.SG.N still
übertroffen wird.
surpass.PTCP become.3SG
'The English language possesses a wealth of short, monosylabic words, that is surpassed perhaps only in Chinese.' (Leisei, *Das heutige Englisch*, cited in Shetter 1966: 62, glosses added)

(D.159) *RTL II setzte auf eine neue Folge von «Armes Deutschland», die diesmal nicht vom ursprünglichen Produzenten Good Times, sondern von Odeon kam. 1,64 Millionen Menschen ab drei Jahren schauten zu, das entsprach sehr guten 9,4 Prozent bei den Umworbenen.*
'[The TV channel] RTL II opted for new episodes of the show "Armes Deutschland", created not by the original production company Good Times, but by [the company] Odeon. 1.64 million viewers above the age of three years watched, yielding a very good 9.4 percent of the target audience.'

Eine alt-e Folge der Reihe ab
INDEF.NOM.SG.F old-NOM.SG.F episode(F) DEF.GEN.SG.F series(F) from
22.15 Uhr verbesser-te das Ergebnis ***noch*** *auf*
22.15 o'clock improve-PST.3SG DEF.ACC.SG.N result(N) still up
fantastisch-e 9,9 Prozent.
fantastic-ACC.PL 9.9 percent
'An old episode of the show aired at 10:15 p.m. improved the result even further, to a fantastic 9.9 percent.' (found online, glosses added)[27]

D.3.1.7.5 Non-temporal connective 'what is more': *mehr noch*

- Métrich & Faucher (2009: 631–632).
- Form: in the fixed collocation *mehr noch*.
- In this function, *mehr noch* serves as an argumentative connective 'what is more'. This use is obviously derived from *noch* in comparisons of inequality

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[27] https://www.fernsehserien.de/armes-deutschland-stempeln-oder-abrackern/folgen/9x01-folge-48-1440341, (11 April, 2022).

(Appendix D.3.1.7.4), with a straightforward mapping from the propositional to the textual domain.

(D.160) *Europa hat nicht die Macht, selbständige Weltpolitik zu treiben, weder Frankreich noch England und auch nicht ein Bund aller europäischen Staaten.*
'Europe does not have the necessary power to autonomously persue global politics, neither France nor England nor a union of all European states.'

***Mehr noch**: das Fort-besteh-en Europa-s ist*
more still DEF.NOM.SG.N further-exist-INF Europe-GEN COP.3SG
nur dank Amerika möglich.
only thanks_to America possible
'What is more: the continued existence of Europe is only possible thanks to America.' (Métrich & Faucher 2009: 631, glosses added)

(D.161) *Zehntausend, hunderttausend spezifische Eigengerüche hatte er gesammelt und hielt sie zu seiner Verfügung, so deutlich, so beliebig, daß er sich nicht nur ihrer erinnerte, wenn er sie wiederroch, sondern daß er sie tatsächlich roch, wenn er sich ihrer wiedererinnerte*;
'He had collected tens of thousand, hundreds of thousand smells and kept them available to himself, so clearly, so vividly, that he not only remembered them when he smelled them for a second time, but actually smelled them when he merely remembered them.'

*Ja, **mehr noch**, daß er sie sogar in seiner*
yes more still COMP 3SG.M 3PL.ACC even in POSS.3SG.M:DAT.SG.F
bloß-en Phantasie untereinander neu zu
mere-DAT.SG.F imagination(F) among_each_other new to
kombinier-en verstand.
combine-INF know.PST.3SG
'What is more, he was even capable of combining them together into new smells using his mere imagination.' (Süskind, *Das Perfum*, glosses added)

D.3.1.8 Broadly modal and interactional functions

D.3.1.8.1 Universal concessive conditionals: *noch so*

- BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Haspelmath & König (1998), Helbig (1994: 186–187), König et al. (1993: 174), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 634–636) and Shetter (1966).

- Form: in collocation with *so* ‘so, thus, that much.’
- In this function *noch* is stressed, which links it to the additive use with increments of the same kind (Appendix D.3.1.7.1). A link to additivity has also been proposed by Haspelmath & König (1998), Métrich & Faucher (2009) and Shetter (1966). The second item of the collocation, *so* has among its functions that of signalling a high, potentially infinite degree of some property (e.g. BBAW n.d. s.v. *so*). That is, the universal quantification effect can be understood as going back to ‘with any additional degree conceivable’. In diachronic terms, according to BBAW (n.d.), this collocation started out as *noch einmal so* ‘by an additional same degree’.

(D.162) *Du kann-st* ***noch so*** *(sehr) bitt-en, es wird dir*
2sg can-2sg still so very ask-inf 3sg.n fut.aux:3sg 2sg.dat
nichts nütz-en.
nothing be_of_use-inf
‘You can beg as much as you like, it won’t help.’ (Dudenredaktion n.d. s.v. *noch*, glosses added)

(D.163) *Er nutz-te jeden* ***noch so*** *klein-en*
3sg use-pst.3sg every.acc.sg.m still so small-acc.sg.m
Vorteil aus.
advantage(m) out
‘He took advantage of every opportunity, no matter how small.’ (BBAW n.d. s.v. *noch*, glosses added)

(D.164) *Sie bekam nur strahlend-e, glücklich-e Aug-en, und*
3sg.f got.3sg only shining-acc.pl happy-acc.pl eye-pl and
damit sag-te sie mehr als mit ***noch so*** *viel-en*
thereby say-pst.3sg 3sg.f more than with still so many-dat.pl
Wort-en.
word-dat.pl
‘Her eyes became only radiant and happy, and thereby she said more than any amount of words could tell.’ (Remarque, *Drei Kameraden*, cited in Shetter 1966: 62, glosses added)

D.3.1.8.2 ‘Remind me again’ questions: noch/noch (ein)mal

- BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Iwasaki (1977), König et al. (1993: 176), Métrich & Faucher (2009: 634) and Sauerland (2009).

- Form: both in the iterative-via-addition (Appendix D.3.1.4.1) collocation *noch* (*ein*)*mal* (D.166) and as plain *noch* (D.165). The latter is particularly common in monological question.
- For plain *noch*, Iwasaki (1977) discusses how this use shows traces of phasal polarity in that it signals the speaker's belief that they should still be able to recall the information in question, although they no longer do.

(D.165) Context: A waiter has forgotten the orders of each person.
Was hat ***noch-mal*** *jeder bestell-t?*
what have.3SG still-time everyone order-PTCP
'Remind me again, what did each of you order?' (Sauerland 2009: 63)

(D.166) *…dann pflegte der Onkel das Lied von den heimatlosen Matrosen durchs Haus zu schmettern. Er hatte es einst auf seinen Seereisen gelernt.*
'… the uncle then used to belt out the song of the homeless seafarers. He had learned it a long time ago during his sea voyages.'
Wie hieß noch die zweit-e Strofe?
how be_called.PST.3SG still DEF.NOM.SG.F second-NOM.SG.F verse(F)
'[Asking himself:] How did the second verse go?' (von der Vring, *Spur im Hafen*, cited in Iwasaki 1977: 63, glosses added)

D.3.1.8.3 Lamenting exclamations

- Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*) and Métrich & Faucher (2009: 633–634).
- Form: in exclamations with (declarative) V2 order and a contrastive (i.e. focussed) topic.
- In this use, *noch* adds emphasis and emotive notions such as melancholy or regret about the perceived loss of some quality. Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *noch*) points out that this use also invites agreement on side of the hearer. As observed by Métrich & Faucher (2009), the phasal polarity origins of this use are clearly observable in some cases, e.g. in (D.167), whereas a shift towards emotive functions dominates in others, such as in (D.168, D.169). However, even such instances latently evoke the marginality use of *noch* (e.g. a last outpost of reliability of quality in ex. D.168).

(D.167) *Das war-en* ***noch*** *Zeit-en!*
3SG.N COP.PST-3PL still time-PL
'Those were the days!' (Métrich & Faucher 2009: 633, glosses added)

(D.168) *Auf ihn kann man sich* ***noch*** *verlass-en!*
on 3SG.ACC.M can.3SG IMPR REFL.3 still rely-INF
'At least he is reliable (if no one else)!' (Métrich & Faucher 2009: 633, glosses added)

(D.169) *Das nenn-e ich* ***noch*** *Qualität!*
3SG.N call-1SG 1SG still quality
'See, that's (still) real quality!' (Métrich & Faucher 2009: 633, glosses added)

D.3.1.8.4 Booster: *noch* (*ein*)*mal*, *nochmals*

- BBAW (n.d. s.v. *noch*), Dudenredaktion (n.d. s.v. *nochmal*, *nochmals*, *noch einmal*) and Métrich & Faucher (2009: 627–628).
- The iterative collocation *noch* (*ein*)*mal* and its variant *nochmals* (Appendix D.3.1.4.1) are used as boosters in directive speech acts, exclamations and curses.
- A bridging context can be found in cases like (D.172), where the notion of repetition is transferred to the speech-act level, thereby reinforcing the command.

(D.170) *Zieh-en Sie doch den Bauch ein, Hergott* ***noch***
pull-3PL 3PL(HON) DM DEF.ACC.SG.M belly(M) in Dear_Lord still
mal*!*
time
'For God's sake, pull your belly in.' (Métrich & Faucher 2009: 627, glosses added)

(D.171) *Jed-er Mensch … überhaupt: jed-e Kreatur*
every-NOM.SG.M human(M) generally every-NOM.SG.F creature(F)
… man muß doch an etwas glaub-en in der
IMPR must.3SG DM at something believe-INF in DEF.DAT.SG.F
Welt, verdammt ***noch-mal****!*
world(F) damnit still-time
'Every person, more generally, every creature … you need something to believe in, Goddammit!' (Sparschuh, *der Zimmerspringbrunnen*, glosses added)

(D.172) ***Noch-mal****: du soll-st deinen Müll nicht einfach*
still-time 2SG should-2SG POSS.2SG:ACC.SG.M trash(M) NEG simply
in die Landschaft werf-en!
in DEF.ACC.SG.F landscape(F) throw-INF
'[I'm telling you] again: don't just throw your trash into nature!' (personal knowledge)

D.4 Hebrew (Modern) (heb, hebr1245)

D.4.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Jael Greenberg and Itamar Francez for long discussions of Hebrew data and for providing numerous examples, and to Jens G. Fischer for helping with glosses and transliteration.

D.4.2 ʕadayin

D.4.2.1 General information

- Form: variously transcribed as *ʕadayin*, *'adayin*, *adayin*; עדין/עדיין in Hebrew script.
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Etymology: likely < Aramaic *ʔedayin* 'then, thereupon'

D.4.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Tobin (1985) and Tsirkin-Sadan (2019).
- Specialisation: the descriptions by Tobin and Tsirkin-Sadan meet my definition.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusions.
- Syntax: typically preceding the predicate.

(D.173) *Izevel nahag-a ke'ilu hi* ***ʕadayin*** *paħad-a.*
I. act.PST-3SG.F as_if 3SG.F still afraid.PST-3SG.F
'Jezebel acted as if she were still afraid.' (Glinert 1989: 136, glosses added)

(D.174) *Hu yošev* ***ʕadayin*** *b-a-kele.*
3SG.M sit.SG.M still at-DEF-prison
'He is still sitting in prison.' (Berman 1978: 358, glosses added)

D.4.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

D.4.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *ʕadayin* is attested in scalar contexts. These encompass decreases, as in (D.175, D.176) and limited increases, as in (D.177–D.179). Note that in the presence of an unequivocally scalar item, as in (D.179), an 'only' marker is not required.

(D.175) *Šney sug-ey ha-par-ot* ***ʕadayin*** *nimtsa'-ot kan.*
two kind-CS.PL DEF-cow(F)-PL still find.PASS-PL.F here
'Two types of cows still exist here.' (Glinert 1989: 95)

(D.176) *Lo yitaxen še-be-2015 yeš* ***ʕadayin*** *100 elef iš*
NEG possible SUBORD-at-2015 EXIST still 100 thousand person(M)
ha-ħay-im llo taštit ħašmal ve-mayim.
REL-live-PL.M without infrastructure.CS electricity and-water.
'It can't be that in 2015 there are still 100,00 people living without electricity and water supplies.' (found online, glosses added)[28]

(D.177) Context: About the challenges of quitting alcohol.
ʕadayin *yeš l-i raq kama ħodš-ey pikaħon.*
still EXIST to-1SG only few month-CS.PL sobriety
'I still only have a few months of sobriety.'

Aval lamadeti harbe al hitroʕaʕut be-fikaħon be-mahalax ha-ħodašim ha-axaronim, hine kama tipim še-asuyim la'azor.
'But I've learned a lot about socializing sober during the past few months, so here are some pieces of advice that might help.'
(found online, glosses added)[29]

(D.178) Context: About technological advances.
Ani ħošev še-anaħnu ***ʕadayin*** *ro'-im raq et ktse*
1SG think.SG.M SUBORD-1PL still see-PL.M only ACC tip.CS
ha-qarħon b-a-txum ha-ze.
DEF-iceberg at-DEF-area(M) DEF-PROX.SG.M
'I think we are still only seeing the tip of the iceberg in this domain.'
(found online, glosses added)[30]

(D.179) Context: We need to see at least two lines on the screen.
ʕadayin *ro'-im qav eħad.*
still see-PL.M line one
'We're still seeing just one line.' (Itamar Francez, p.c.)

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[28] https://13news.co.il/item/news/politics/ntr-1118164/ (01 March, 2023).

[29] https://www.cobylapidot.co.il/post/%D7%90%D7%99%D7%9A-%D7%94%D7%97%D7%99%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%94%D7%97%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%A9%D7%9C%D7%9A-%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%AA%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%90%D7%9D-%D7%90%D7%AA%D7%94-%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%95%D7%AA%D7%A8-%D7%A2%D7%9C-%D7%94%D7%A9%D7%AA%D7%99%D7%99%D7%94 (01 March, 2023).

[30] https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4727971,00.html (01 March, 2023).

D.4.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.4.2.4.1 # ‘eventually’, prospective

- König (1991: 141) discusses that *od* (D.4.3.4.1), but not *ʕadayin* has the prospective ‘eventually’ function.

(D.180) Context: You have to catch a flight.
Te-maher! #Ata ***ʕadayin*** *te-axer.*
2sg.m-hurry_up.fut 2sg.m still 2sg.m-be_late.fut
intended: ‘Hurry up, you’ll end up late.’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.181) Context: Uttering a threat.
# *Ata* ***ʕadayin*** *ti-r’e ma yi-qre le-xa.*
2sg.m still 2sg.m-see.fut what 3sg.m-happen.fut to-2sg.m
intended: ‘You’ll see yet what you get out of it.’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

D.4.2.5 Marginality

- Tsirkin-Sadan (2019).

(D.182) A: I am annoyed because my rich aunt has left the better part of her fortune to an animal shelter, and only 10.000€ of inheritance go to me.
B: *10.000 Euros* ***ʕadayin*** *sxum yafe.*
10.000 Euros still sum(m) good.m
‘10.000 Euro is still a good sum.’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.183) Context: Talking about tennis skills.
Et Paul ani ***ʕadayin*** *yaxol le-natseaħ.*
acc P. 1sg still can.sg.m to-beat
‘Paul I can still beat (but other players might be too good for me).’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.184) *Ha’im ha-rama ha-nemux-a be-yoter ha-muter-et hi*
q def-level(f) def-low-sg.f at-more def-allowed-sg.f 3sg.f
ʕadayin *betox mirvaħ ha-tkina ha-eyropit*
still inside space.cs def-standardisation def-European
li-vtiħut?
for-safety?
‘Is the lowest level allowed still within the European standard for safety?’ (Knesset protocol, cited in Tsirkin-Sadan 2019: 104 fn 21)

(D.185) Context: Viewed from Tel Aviv.
Heifa hi ***ʕadayin*** *be-Yisrael, aval Tsur hi kvar be-Levanon.*
H. 3SG.F still at-Israel but Tyros 3SG.F already at-Lebanon
'Haifa is still in Israel, but Tyros is already in Lebanon.' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

D.4.2.6 Broadly modal and interactional functions

D.4.2.6.1 Concessive apodoses

- Tsirkin-Sadan (2019).
- Note the perfective viewpoint in (D.188), which would be incompatible with the notion of STILL, as well as the negation within the scope of *ʕadayin.*
- Syntax and prosody: can occur in clause-initial position, as in (D.186), together with comma-intonation.

(D.186) *Laqaħ-ta šir ve-tirgam-ta – beʕetsem*
take.PST-2SG.M poem and-translate.PST-2SG.M in_fact
ʕasi-ta yetsira ħadaš-a. Kazo še-nišʕen-et ʕal
make.PST-2SG.M creation(F) new-F like_this SUBORD-lean-SG.F on
yetsira aħer-et, aval ***ʕadayin*** *– sug šel yetsira ħadaš-a.*
creation(F) other-F but still sort of creation(F) new-F
'You took a poem and you translated it – in fact you've created a new poem. One that leans on another poem, but still – a sort of a new poem.' (Tsirkin-Sadan 2019: 100)

(D.187) *Im at rotsa ħofeš al tevi'i yeladim ... Agav, gam ba-hanaqa yordim be-miškal aval ha-ħaze mištane.*
'If you want freedom, don't have children ... By the way, you'll also lose weight when breastfeeding, but your breasts change.'
ʕadayin*, lo keday le-vater al ha-ħavaya*
still NEG worthwhile to-give_up on DEF-experience(F)
ha-zo.
DEF-PROX.SG.F
'Still, you shouldn't give up on this experience.' (found online, glosses added)[31]

(D.188) *Šm-a šel Livni ʕazar le-mifleget*
name(M)-POSS.3SG.F SUBORD L. help.PST.3SG.M to-party(F)
ha-ʕavoda le-matsev et ʕatsm-a b-a-toda'a
DEF-Labour to-present ACC itself-F in-DEF-consciousness

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[31] https://www.facebook.com/LaishaMagazine/photos/10154667930505836 (02 March, 2023).

ke-alternativa. Ze **ʕadayin** *lo hafax*
as-alternative PROX.SG.M still NEG turn_over.PST.3SG.M
ot-a le-alternativa.
ACC-3SG.F to-alternative
'(Tzipi) Livni's name helped the Labor Party to present itself in the public opinion as an alternative. It still did not turn it into one.' (*Yedi ot Aħoronot*, cited in Tsirkin-Sadan 2019: 100)

D.4.2.6.2 Concessive interjection

- *ʕadayin* can be used in isolation, as a concessive interjection.
- The fact that *ʕadayin* as a concessive conjunction typically occurs in initial position and is prosodically seperated from the rest of the clause (Appendix D.4.2.6.1) indicates a development parallel to that of English *still* (Appendix D.1.1.7.3).

(D.189) A: *Rina lo neħmada elay.*
'Rina is not nice to me.'
B: *Aval hi omeret lexa šalom kol boqer.*
'But she greets you "Hello" every morning.'
A: ***ʕadayin**...*
'Still...' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.190) A: *Anaħnu holxim le-aħer la-hofaʕa!*
'We are going to be late to the show.'
B: *Lo batuaħ. ʕaxšav ha-ramzor hofex le-yaroq.*
'That's not certain. The traffic light is turning green now.'
A: ***ʕadayin**...*
still
'Still...' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

D.4.3 ʕod

D.4.3.1 General information

- Form: also transcribed as *od*, *'od*; עוֹד in Hebrew script.
- Wordhood: free morpheme. Usually invariable, but in formal registers it can take subject suffixes in the affirmative present tense, as in (D.192).
- Etymology: attested in essentially the same functions in Biblical Hebrew. Cognates in other Semitic varieties have iterative and restitutive functions, as well as meanings pertaining to circular motion and being accustomed (Brown et al. 2020: s.v. עוֹד).

D.4.3.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Glinert (1976, 1989: 239, 532), Greenberg (2012), Schwarzwald (2001: 45), Thomas (2018), Tobin (1985) and Tsirkin-Sadan (2019).
- Specialisation: the various descriptions, when taken together, indicate that this marker is comparable to English *still* or German *noch*.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET, outer negation yields NO LONGER.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusions.
- Syntax: fixed, preceding the predicate.

(D.191) *Be-šeš va-ħetsi Dani* ***ʕod*** *yašan.*
at-six and-half Danny still sleep.PST.3SG.M
‘At half past six Danny was still asleep.’ (Greenberg 2012: 151)

(D.192) *Sara* ***ʕod****-ena zoxer-et.*
S. still-3SG.F rember-3SG.F
‘Sara still remembers.’ (Glinert 1989: 532, glosse added)

D.4.3.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

D.4.3.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *ʕod* is attested in scalar contexts, encompassing both decreases (D.193, D.194) and limited increases (D.195–D.197). Note the lack of need for an ‘only’ marker in (D.196, D.197).

(D.193) Context: From a mountain biking guide.
Im kvar ktsat laħuts lanu ve rotsim limšox la-rexev az mumlats limšox ʕim ha-simun švilim ha-yaroq ve-ha-mitpatel…
‘If we are already a bit exhausted and want to return to the car, then it is recommended to take the green and winding trail …’

Im ***ʕod*** *yeš la-nu ktsat koaħ ve-lo*
if still EXIST to-1PL a_little energy and-NEG
sevaʕ-nu me-ha-nuf-im
become_satisfied.PST-1PL from-DEF-landscape-PL.M
ha-adir-im kabir-im en sofiy-im
DEF-mighty-PL.M tremendous-PL.M NEG.EXIST ending-PL.M
še-mi-saviv la-nu … mumlats be-yoter
SUBORD-from-surrounding to-1PL recommended at-more

la-ʕalot l-a-rexes ...
to-go_up to-DEF-ridge
‘If we still have a little energy [left], and we haven’t had enough of the tremendous, endless views around us, then it’s highly recommended to ride up the ridge ...’ (found online, glosses added)[32]

(D.194) *Le-mazali aħarey šney hamburger-im ha-yom,* ***ʕod*** *niš’ar*
to-luck after two burger-PL.M DEF-day, still remain.SG.M
harbe basar medamem b-a-sakit meħake le-šemen
much meat(M) bleed.SG.M at-DEF-bag await.SG.M to-grease
ve-maħavat.
and-frying_pan
‘Luckily, after two burgers today, there’s still a lot of bloody meat left in the package, awaiting oil and a pan.’ (found online, glosses added)[33]

(D.195) *ʕadayin muqdam la-daʕat et ha-tšuv-ot*
still early to-know ACC DEF-answer(F)-PL
l-a-še’el-ot ha-mitbaqš-ot, šeken karegaʕ anaħnu
to-DEF-question(F)-PL DEF-asked-PL.F because right_now 1PL
ʕod *ro’-im raq et netun-ey ha-rivʕon ha-revi’i šel*
still see-PL.M only ACC data-CS.PL DEF-quarter DEF-fourth of
ha-šana še-ʕavr-a.
DEF-year(F) SUBORD-pass.PST-3SG.F
‘It’s still early to know the answers to the questions asked, since currently we are only seeing the data for the fourth quarter of last year.’ (found online, glosses added)[34]

(D.196) A: *Ba-ha-tħala ro’im al ha-masax qav eħad, aval atem amurim kvar lir’ot šney qavim.*
‘In the begging you see one line on the screen, but you are supposed to already see two lines.’

B: *Anaħnu* ***ʕod*** *ro’-im eħad.*
1PL still see-PL.M one
‘We still see (only) one.’ (Itamar Francez, p.c.)

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[32] https://bike.co.il/%D7%A7%D7%A8%D7%9F-%D7%90%D7%9C-%D7%97%D7%92%D7%A8-%D7%9E%D7%A1%D7%9C%D7%95%D7%9C-%D7%98%D7%99%D7%95%D7%9C-%D7%91%D7%A6%D7%A4%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%91%D7%A8-%D7%99%D7%94%D7%95%D7%93%D7%94/ (01 March, 2023).

[33] https://www.facebook.com/groups/619669744790558/posts/1234771469947046/ (01 March, 2023).

[34] https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000301071 (20 March, 2023).

(D.197) A: *Ha-bat šelxa kvar bat 15 naxon?*
'Your daughter is 15 already?'
B: *Lo, hi* ***ʕod*** *bat 12.*
NEG 3SG.F still of_age(F) 12
'No, she's (still) only 15.' (Itamar Francez, p.c.)

D.4.3.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.4.3.4.1 Prospective 'eventually'

- Francez (forthcoming), König (1991: 142) and Tobin (1985).
- As Francez (forthcoming) points out, in this function, *ʕod* can modify a negated predicate without yielding NOT YET, as in (D.200).
- Francez (forthcoming) observes that this use is already found in Biblical Hebrew, as in (D.201).
- Syntax: in pre-predicate position.

(D.198) *Al tafsiq le-hitamen! B-a-sof* ***ʕod*** *te-natseaħ*
PROH 2SG.M.stop.FUT to-practice.INF at-DEF-end still 2SG.M-beat.FUT
ot-i.
ACC-1SG
'Don't stop practising! In the end, you'll yet beat me.' (Francez forthcoming)

(D.199) Context: About failures to deal with sexual harassment in organised sport. The writer is being sarcastic.
Im ze yi-mašex kaxa, b-a-sof ***ʕod*** *lo*
if PROX.SG.M 3SG.M-continue.FUT thus at-DEF-end still NEG
ti-hye la-hem brera ela le-manot iša
3SG.F-COP.FUT to-3PL.M choice(F) except to-appoint woman
l-a-tafqid.
to-DEF-position
'If it goes on like this, in the end they will have no choice but to appoint a woman to the position.' (online example, cited in Francez forthcoming)

(D.200) *Amar-ti l-o lihyot be-šeqeṭ, hu* ***ʕod*** *haya*
say.PST-1SG to-3SG.M COP.INF in-quiet 3SG.M still COP.PST.3SG.M
meʕir et ha-banot.
wake.SG.M ACC DEF-girl.PL
'I told him to be quiet, he would have woken up the girls.' (Francez forthcoming)

(D.201) Biblical Hebrew
ʕod *evne-x ve-nivne-t betula-t Yisrael.*
still build.ipfv.1sg-2sg.f and-build.pass-2sg.f maiden-cs Israel
'**Yet will I rebuild you** and you will be built, O Virgin Israel.'
(Jeremiah 31: 3, cited in Francez forthcoming)

D.4.3.4.2 Iterative via increment

- Form: in combination with the event quantifier *paʕam.*
- This function extends to "remind me again" questions (D.204).
- Yael Greenberg (p.c.) informs me that *ʕod paʕam* does not have a restitutive reading.

(D.202) *Fisfas-ti et ha-rakevet* ***ʕod paʕam****.*
miss.pst-1sg acc def-train still time
'I've missed the train again.' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.203) *Bo'-u ne-nagen et ha-šir* ***ʕod paʕam****.*
come.imp-pl 1pl-play.fut acc def-song still time
'Let's play the song again.' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.204) *Ma haya* ***ʕod paʕam*** *ha-šem šel-o?*
what cop.pst.3sg.m still time def-name poss-3sg.m
'What was his name, again?' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

D.4.3.5 Temporal connectives and frame setters

D.4.3.5.1 Persistent time frame

- *ʕod* has the persistent time frame use ('still *t* when').
- Syntax: forms a constituent with the temporal expression, preceding it.

(D.205) *ʕerev eħad šamaʕti ʕal Dr. Gil Šaxar Yosef me-ħavera še-sipra še-šamaʕ hartsa'a šelo ve ha-hexela laʕaqov aħarav.*
'One evening I heard about Dr. Gil Shahar Yosef from a friend who said that she heard a lecture of his and had started following him.'
ʕod *be-ot-o ʕerev ħipas-ti ʕala-v ħomer*
still at-same-sg.m evening(m) look_for.pst-1sg on-3sg.m material
u-lemoħorat kvar ra'i-ti et ha-hartsa'a
and-next_day already see.pst-1sg acc def-lecture(f)
še-šin-ta et ħaya-y.
subord-change.pst-3sg.f acc life-poss.1sg

‘The very same evening I looked for material about him and the next day I already saw the lecture that changed my life.’ (found online, glosses added)[35]

(D.206) Context: I am worried that a certain parcel will arrive too late.
Customer service reassures me:
Ze ya-giaʕ ***ʕod*** *ha-yom.*
PROX.SG.M 3SG.M-arrive.FUT still DEF-day
‘It’ll arrive this very day / before the end of the day.’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.207) ***ʕod*** *lemoħorat lexida-t-o šel Adolf Eichmann*
still next_day capture-CS-POSS.3SG.M of A. E.
heħliṭ ha-ʕolam ha-Ze la-tet ʕadifut
decide.PST.3SG.M DEF-world(M) DEF-PROX.SG.M to-give priority(F)
ʕelyon-a le-kisuy ha-mišpaṭ.
upper-F to-coverage.CS DEF-trial
‘The very next day after Eichmann was captured, [the newspaper] *This World* decided to give top priority to covering the trial.’ (found online, glosses added)[36]

(D.208) Context: A student with the ardent desire to become a doctor did not get accepted into medical school at the first try. He applied again, and the good news that this time he was accepted for admission in Berlin got to him while he was travelling. (see ex. D.351)

ʕod *lemoħorat hu ʕazav le-Berlin.*
still next_day 3SG.M leave.PST.3SG.M to-B.
The very next day, he set off for Berlin.’ (Itamar Francez, p.c.)

D.4.3.5.2 Time-scalar additive ‘as far removed as’

- *ʕod* has a time-scalar additive use, in which it relates the focus to lower alternatives on a scale of temporal distance (‘as far removed as’).
- Unlike markers such as Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još* (D.11.2.5.2), *ʕod* does not have an additional reading in which it operates on a time scale proper, relating the focus to earlier alternatives (‘as late as’); see esp. (D.209).
- That we are not dealing with a reading of ‘as early as’ becomes clearest in examples like (D.213, D.214), where developments in time are at stake and the ALREADY expression *kvar* in the maning of ‘as early as’ is felicitous, but *ʕod* is not.

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[35] https://talifinkelshtein.co.il/about/ (02 March, 2023).

[36] https://thisworld.online/1961/1244 (20 March, 2023).

(D.209) a. # ***ʕod*** *ke-adam zaken hu iš̌en harbe.*
still as-man old 3sg.m smoke.pst.3sg.m a_lot
(intended: ‘Even as an old man he (still) smoked a lot’)

b. ***ʕod*** *ke-adam tsaʕir hu išen harbe.*
still as-man young.m 3sg.m smoke.pst.3sg.m a_lot
‘All the way back as a young man he (already) smoked a lot.’
(Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.210) Context: Commenting on a blog post stating that the first gas-powered buses entered operation in 2019.
Aval nir’a l-i še-otobus-im še-mufʕal-im
but seems to-1sg subord-autobus(m)-pl subord-operate.pass-pl.m
ʕal gaz nixnes-u be-Beitar Ilit ***ʕod*** *lifney 2019.*
by gas enter.pst-3pl at-B. I. still before 2019
‘But it seems to me that gas-powered buses entered operation in Beitar Ilit even before 2019.’ (found online, glosses added)[37]

(D.211) *Lemaʕase gam ‘Le-šaħrer et Guy’ haya amur*
actually also to-free acc guy cop.pst.3sg.m say:ptcp.pass.sg.m
la-tset šana še-ʕavr-a ke-še-ha-treyler
to-come_out year(f) subord-pass.pst-sg.f as-subord-def-trailer
ha-rišon yatsa ***ʕod*** *be-2019(!)*
def-first come_out.pst.3sg.m still at-2019
‘Actually, [the movie] *Free Guy* was also supposed to be released last year, whereas the first trailer came out way back in 2019(!)’ (found online, glosses added)[38]

(D.212) ***ʕod*** *Ben Guryon heħliṭ ... še-hu rotse*
still B. G. decide.pst.3sg.m subord-3sg.m want.sg.m
li-grom le-kax še-kol ha-yehud-im še-magiʕ-im
to-cause to-thus subord-all def-jew-pl.m subord-arrive-pl.m
le-medina-t Yisrael y-uxl-u li-ħyot yaħad b-a-medina.
to-state-cs I. 3-be_able.fut-pl to-live together at-def-state
‘Already Ben Guryon decided that he wanted to create a situation where all Jews arriving in the state of Israel could live together in this state.’ (found online, glosses added)[39]

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[37] http://israelbikebus.blogspot.com/2019/12/blog-post.html (03 November, 2022).

[38] https://www.geekster.co.il/entertainment/freeguy (03 November, 2022).

[39] https://mishmar.org.il/%D7%A1%D7%92%D7%9F-%D7%94%D7%A9%D7%A8-%D7%90%D7%9C%D7%99-%D7%91%D7%9F-%D7%93%D7%94%D7%9F-%D7%9C%D7%A8%D7%A4%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%91%D7%90%D7%A8%D7%94%D7%91-%D7%A8%D7%A6%D7%99%D7%AA/ (03 November, 2022).

(D.213) Context: About a fast-acting biochemical agent.
Kvar *(#**ʕod**) aħarey 10 daq-ot mi-hosafa-t ha-ħomer*
already still after 10 minute-pl from-addition-cs def-substance
hay-u garʕin-im me-ħuts l-a-ta'-im.
cop.pst-3pl nucleus-pl from-outside to-def-cell-pl
'Already ten minutes after the addition of the chemical, some nuclei are found outside the cells.' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.214) *Kvar (#**ʕod**) be-gil 18 hi qibl-a ʕavoda b-a-universiṭa.*
already still at-age 18 3sg.f get.pst-3sg.f job at-def-university
'Already at the age of 18 she got a job at university.' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

D.4.3.5.3 Coextensiveness: *kol ʕod* 'as long as'

- Glinert (1989: 548) and Schwarzwald (2001: 37).
- Form: in collocation with the universal quantifier *kol*.
- This collocation introduces a temporal clause of extensiveness ('as long as').

(D.215) ***Kol ʕod (ti-hye)*** *qayem-et ha-šiṭa ha-zot,*
all still 3sg.f-cop.fut exist-3sg.f def-system(f) def-prox.sg.f
ze yi-mašex.
prox.sg.m 3sg.m-continue.fut
'As long as this system exists, it'll go on.' (Glinert 1989: 548, glosses added)

(D.216) Context: About medical companies profiting from the Covid-19 pandemic.
Kol ʕod *ha-Qorona kan hen y-amšix-u li-dpoq qupa.*
all still def-Corona here 3pl.f 3-continue.fut-pl to-beat till
'As long as Corona is here, they'll keep knocking the box office.' (found online, glosses added)[40]

D.4.3.6 Marginality

- *ʕod* is, in principle, compatible with readings of marginality.
- However, *ʕadayin* (D.4.2.5) appears to fare better here; thus the oddness of (D.218, D.220). This might be due the strong association of *ʕod* with additivity.

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[40] https://www.themarker.com/markets/.premium-1.10489466 (17 May, 2022).

(D.217) Context: Talking about tennis skills.
*Et Paul ani **ʕod** yaxol le-natseaħ.*
acc P. 1sg still can.sg.m to-beat
‘Paul I can still beat (i.e. other players are too good, but Paul is beatable).’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.218) Context: I am annoyed because my rich aunt has left the better part of her fortune to an animal shelter, and only 10,000€ of inheritance go to me.

? *10,000 Euros ze **ʕod** sxum yafe.*
10,000 Euro prox.sg.m still amount(m) beautiful.m
‘10,00 Euros is still a decent sum.’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)
NB: Possible if *ʕod* is strongly destressed.

(D.219) Context: Viewed from Tel Aviv.
*Heifa hi **ʕod** be-Yisrael, aval Tsur hi kvar be-Levanon.*
Haifa 3sg.f still at-Israel but Tyros 3sg.f already at-Lebanon
‘Haifa is still in Israel, but Tyros is already in Lebanon.’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.220) Context: Talking about political view.

? *Paul hu **ʕod** matun, leʕumat Mark, še-hu qitsoni.*
P. 3sg.m still moderate.m but M. rel-3sg.m radical.m
‘Paul is still moderate, but Mark is radical.’ (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

D.4.3.7 Additive and related functions

D.4.3.7.1 Additive

- Glinert (1976; 1989: 78, 87, 226), Greenberg (2012), Thomas (2018) and Tobin (1985).
- When addition involves more of the same type, *ʕod* is NP-internal (D.222, D.223), and can even stand in for a quantified indefinite NP ‘more’ (D.224). The syntactic rules governing the position (preposed or postposed) of *ʕod* as a phrasal adjunct are complex; see Glinert (1976). Relatedly, *ʕod* in post-predicative position can mark that an event develops further ‘Verb some more’ (D.225).
- Postponed *ʕod* can also mark an additional, particularly strong argument, typically with concessive overtones (D.226).

(D.221) Context: I recently arrived in Israel. I report a conversation I had with a local.
Ve-hu ***ʕod*** *amar še-ani medaber ʕivrit ṭov*
and-3sg.m still say.pst.3sg.m subord-1sg speak.sg.m Hebrew good
me'od.
very
'He also said that I speak Hebrew very well.' (Yael Greenberg, p.c.)

(D.222) *Ha-mesiba ha-zo hay-ta ason! Hayi-ti*
def-party(f) def-prox.sg.f cop.pst-3sg.f desaster cop.pst-1sg
*tsarix le-tapel be-oto zman be-6 yelad-im box-im ve-**ʕod** 4*
must to-deal_with in-same time in-6 kid-pl.m cry-pl.m and-still 4
rav-im ve-tsorħ-im!
fight-pl.m and-scream-pl.m
'That party was a disaster! I had to deal at the same time with 6 children crying and 4 more fighting and screaming!' (Greenberg 2012: 132)

(D.223) *Ma ata ta-ʕase ʕim **ʕod** neyar?*
what 2sg.m 2sg.m-do.fut with still paper
'What will you do with more paper?' (Glinert 1976: 249)

(D.224) *Etmol axal-ti 3 tapuz-im. Ha-yom axal-ti* ***ʕod***
yesterday eat.pst-1sg 3 orange-pl.m def-day eat.pst-1sg still
(tapuz-im)
orange-pl.m
'Yesterday I ate 3 oranges. Today I ate some more (oranges). '
(Greenberg 2012: 127)

(D.225) *Ba-boqer Rina rats-a ktsat. B-a-tsoharayim hi*
at-morning Rina run.pst-3sg.f a_bit at-def-noon 3sg.f
*rats-a **ʕod**.*
run.pst-3sg.f still
'In the morning Rina ran a bit. At noon she ran some more.'
(Greenberg 2012: 127)

(D.226) Context: He did something terriby immoral.
*Aval ha-ben'adam dati **ʕod**.*
but def-guy(m) religious.sg.m still
'But the fellow's religious, what's more!' (Glinert 1989: 537 and Itamar Francez, p.c.)

D.4.3.7.2 # Further-to

- *ʕod* does not have "further-to" readings (Yael Greenberg, p.c.).

D.4.3.7.3 Comparisons of inequality

- Glinert (1976, 1989: 220) and Miashkur & Greenberg (2019).
- Note that comparisons of inequality in Modern Hebrew are formed via *yoter* 'more'/*paħot* 'less'. The standard of comparison, if present, is introduced by *mi* or *me'asher* 'from' (Glinert 1989: 216–217). *ʕod* contributes scalar additive 'even' to the comparison.
- Syntax: precedes and forms a constituent with *yoter*; note their moving through the clause together in (D.228).

(D.227) *Bil* ***ʕod*** *yoter gavoah mi-Jon.*
Bill still more tall from-John
'Bill is even taller than John.' (Miashkur & Greenberg 2019: 1)

(D.228) *Ze* ***ʕod*** *yoter meguħax.* / *Ze meguħax* ***ʕod*** *yoter.*
PROX.SG.M still more ridicoulous PROX.SG.M ridicoulous still more
'This is even more ridiculous' (Glinert 1976: 251–252)

(D.229) *Qibl-u me'a mig-im ve-**ʕod** yoter mi-kax*
receive.PST-3PL hundred mig-PL.M and-still more from-thus
tank-im.
tank-PL.M
'They received one hundres Migs, and even more than that number of tanks.' (Glinert 1989: 59, glosses added)

(D.230) *Ze* ***ʕod*** *yoter madhim ot-i.*
DEM.M still more amaze.SG.M ACC-1SG
'It appals me still more.' (Glinert 1989: 220, glosses added)

D.4.3.7.4 Conjunctional adverb

- Glinert (1989: 537).
- Syntax: clause-initially.
- In this function, *ʕod* can occur alone, as in (D.231), a use that Glinert (1989: 537) describes as belonging to a formal register. It also occurs in the collocation *ma od* 'what still', i.e. what is more' (Appendix D.4.3.7.5).

(D.231) ***ʕod*** *moser katav-enu ki…*
still report.3SG.M reporter-POSS.1PL COMP
'Our reporter further reports that…' (Glinert 1989: 537, glosses added)

D.4.3.7.5 Conjunctional adverbial: ***ma od*** ‘what is more’

- Glinert (1989: 537).
- Form: in the collocation *ma od* ‘what is more’, lit. ‘what still’.
- This collocation is clearly based on *ʕod* in general additive function (Appendix D.4.3.7.1), i.e. it is entirely parallel to English *what is more.*
- Syntax: clause-initially.

(D.232) *Hay-ta* *te’una,* ***ma*** ***ʕod*** *še-ha-nehag-im*
COP.PST-3SG.F accident(F) what still SUBORD-DEF-driver-PL.M
šavt-u.
strike.PST-3PL
‘There was an accident, and what’s more, the drivers were striking.’
(Glinert 1989: 267, glosses added)

D.4.3.8 Broadly modal and interactional uses

D.4.3.8.1 Exclamation ***ve-ʕod ex***! ‘And how!’

- Glinert (1976, 1989: 282).
- Form: in the fixed exclamation *Ve-ʕod ex!* ‘and-still how’ ‘and how’.
- This is most likely based on additive *ʕod* (Appendix D.4.3.7.1) and is strikingly similar to Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian *još kako*, *još koliko*, both ‘and how’, lit. ‘still how, still how much’ (Appendix D.11.2.8.1).

D.5 Hills Karbi (mjw, karb1241)

D.5.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I searched Konnerth & Tisso’s (2018) text collection. My understanding of Hills Karbi has furthermore profited from discussions with Linda Konnerth.

D.5.2 -làng

D.5.2.1 General information

- Form: mid-toned -*lāng* when following irrealis -*jí*.
- Wordhood: bound morpheme (verb suffix).

D.5.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Grüßner (1978: 103), Konnerth (2014: 222–223, 299) and Taro (2010: 424).
- Specialisation: attestations like (D.233–D.235) give evidence that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, in (D.233) *-làng* evokes an alternative scenario in which the father’s children are no longer small, and he could therefore leave them home alone.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusions.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.

(D.233) Context: The mother of two children has died. The father is worried that he cannot go work in the field and leave them home alone.
*E ne-oso-màr=tā bī-hek~hāk-**làng**.*
dm 1.excl-child-pl=also be_small-small~pl-still
‘O, my children are still so small.’ (Konnerth & Tisso 2018: 159)

(D.234) *A-hotón a-béléng mamát-**làng**=ma, ma*
poss-bamboo_basket poss-strainer self-still=q q
a-ki-mī cho-lóng-lo=ma?
poss-nmlz-be_new auto.ben-get-rl=q
‘Hast du noch die Körbe und Siebe, oder hast du neue bekommen? [Do you still have those [same] baskets and strainers, or did you buy yourself new ones?]’ (Grüßner 1978: 129; glosses by Konnerth 2014: 528)

(D.235) *Nè-li wàng-wē-té nàng mék*
1excl-hon come-neg-cond 2 eye
*jáng-dàk-bōm-ji-**làng** a-pót-ló.*
fall-spread_out-cont-irr-still should
‘Wenn ich nicht gekommen wäre, würdest du noch weiter schlafen. [If I hadn’t come here, you’d still be asleep.]’ (Grüßner 1978: 138, glosses added)

D.5.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.5.2.3.1 # Prospective ‘eventually’

- *-làng* does not have the prospective ‘eventually’ use (Linda Konnerth, p.c.).

D.5.2.4 Additive and related functions

D.5.2.4.1 Additive

- Konnerth (2014: 335–336)
- This function is attested with *-làng* alone, as in (D.236), as well as in combination with additive *=tā*, where it gives emphasis to the notion of inclusion (D.237). Note how the additive function in (D.237) also becomes clear from the fact that despite negation *-làng* is not interpreted as NOT YET. Also note the two occurences of *-làng* in this example, in line with a common pattern in the usage of *=tā* (see Konnerth 2014: 344 on the latter).
- To express addition of an entity of the same type ('another'), *-làng* is used in combination with a numeral (D.238) and – optionally – *nón* 'now' (D.239) and/or iterative *-thū* (D.240).

(D.236) Context: A father whose wife has died is desperate.
Sì a-oso-màr a-phān che-arjū-lò ò
therefore POSS-child-PL POSS-NON.SUBJ REFL/RECP-ask-RL VOC
*pēi a-tūm tē ko-pù-jí-**lāng**=ma.*
mother POSS-PL if what-like_this-IRR-still-Q
'Therefore, he asked his children, "O mothers, so then, what else could we do?"' (Konnerth & Tisso 2018: 159–169)

(D.237) *Nang-phì aphān theklōng-lē án=tā kalī-**làng***
2-grandmother NON.SUBJ see-NEG all=also NEG.COP-still
akò nàng=tā
on_the_other_hand 2=also
*ningjé-thù-sèr-**làng***
speak-again-unexpectedly(uttering)-still
'Not only will you not see your grandmother, but also you speak like this, though you shouldn't.' (Konnerth & Tisso 2018: 232)

(D.238) Context: A tiger is collecting people as sacrifices. He has caught several already, locked them in a cage and put them in the house of the village head tiger.
*Bí-dàm-lò te e-jōn náng-jí-**lāng**.*
keep-go-RL and_then one-CLF:animal need-IRR-still
'He had gone and put them there, and then, one more is needed.' (Konnerth 2014: 637)

(D.239) Context: A boy has encountered a tiger. Using a container with a mirror, he outsmarts the tiger, making it think he has already caught one tiger.
Húladāk ingtòng ke-bèng=tā dō-lò mm. Nòn
there big_bamboo_basket NMLZ-lock=also exist-RL AFF now
*e-jōn náng-jí-**lāng** nè=tā mm.*
one-CLF:animal need-IRR-still 1.EXCL=also AFF
'There in the bamboo basket, I have (a tiger). I also need one more.'
(Konnerth & Tisso 2018: 195)

(D.240) *Isī a-lám dō-thū-**làng**.*
one POSS-matter exist-again-still
'There is still one other thing.' (Konnerth 2014: 336)

D.5.2.4.2 Further-to

- Konnerth (2014: 299–300).
- Ex. (D.243) is perhaps best considered a pure additive use, but comes close to a further-to one. Similarly, ex. (D.244) is likely to be ambiguous between a phasal polarity reading 'still need to' and a further-to one 'need to (before moving on)'.

(D.241) Context: There is a plan to go to the market.
*Rí chersām-dām-**làng**.*
hand wash-go-still
'I'm just gonna go wash my hands real quick (and then we can go).'
(Konnerth 2014: 299–300)

(D.242) Context: Two children who have been raised by tigers want to live with their biological parents.
Mh ne-pei ne-po hadak do apot
INTERJ POSS.1EXCL-mother POSS.1EXCL-father there stay because
ne-pei ne-po ch-arju-dam-lang pu
POSS.1EXCL-mother POSS.1EXCL-father REFL/RECP-ask-go-still QUOT
amatsi halaso a-teke along ako che-dam-lo .
because that POSS-tiger LOC again REFL/RECP-go-RL
'Because my mother and father [i.e. the tiger parents] are there, let's still go and ask our parents, and then they went to the tigers.'
(Konnerth & Tisso 2018: 154–155)

(D.243) Context: From the beginning of the recollection of a trip.
...là elilitūm ajirpò alànglì Yu'éspensi kevàng Kavòn Kavòn aphāntā chepōnlò
'... this friend of ours, he who has come from the US, Kavon, Kavon we also took along with us.'

sì ladāk=pen dàm-lò Dimápúr vùr-pōn sá
therefore here=from go-RL D. drop_in-in_passing tea
*jùn-pōn-**làng**.*
drink-in_passing-still
'And then, from here we went, we stopped by in Dimapur [about a quarter of the way in] and just had tea.'

lasì bají sirkē-bāk apòrpe=si puthōt dàmthūlò Kohìmàán továr kēkò.
'At nine o'clock, from about that time, we again went, up to Kohima, the road is winding a lot.' (Konnerth & Tisso 2018: 361–362)

(D.244) Context: Two children, adopted by tigers, want to live with their biological father, a king.
Nè ne-pēi ne-pō aphān
1EXCL POSS.1EXCL-mother POSS.1EXCL-father NON.SUBJ
*che-arjū-dām-**làng**.*
REFL/RECP-ask-go-still
'We still need to ask our mother and father.' (Konnerth & Tisso 2018: 154)

D.6 Japhug (jya, japh1234)

D.6.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Guillaumes Jacques for discussing Japhug data with me and for eliciting additional data.

D.6.2 pɤjkʰu

D.6.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word.
- Syntax: relatively fixed (pre-verbal position, may be preceded or followed by arguments).

D.6.2.2 As a STILL expression

- Jacques (2016: 219, 2021: 1200–1201).
- Specialisation: the discussion by Jacques (2016: 219, 2021: 1201), together with examples like (D.245, D.246) give evidence that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, in (D.245) *pɤjkʰu* not only signals the continuation of a prior state, but also alludes to its future discontinuation. Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from its use as NOT YET without negation (Appendix D.6.2.3.1).
- Pragmaticity: ex. (D.246) suggests that *pɤjkʰu* is not only compatible with the neutral scenario, but also the unexpectedly late one.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.

(D.245)

Cʰa-a	*ɕi*	*mɤ-cʰa-a*	*mɤ-xsi,*	***pɤjkʰu***	*xtɕi-a*	*ɕti.*
can-1SG	Q	NEG-can-1SG	NEG-IMPR.know	still	be_small-1SG	COP.AFF

‘I don’t know whether I will be able to do it, I am still young.’ (Jacques 2021: 1172)

(D.246)

Iʑo	*a-mu*	*nɯ*	*tʰamtʰam*	*kɯrcɤsqaptɯɣ*	*tʰɯ-azɣɯt*	*ŋu.*	***pɤjkʰu***	*ji-paʁ*	*pjɯ-nge*	*cʰa.*
1PL	POSS.1SG-mother	DEM	now	eighty_one	AOR-arrive	COP	still	POSS.1PL-pig	IPFV-feed	can

‘Our mother is now eighty-one years old, she can still feed our pigs.’ (Jacques 2021: 1200)

D.6.2.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

D.6.2.3.1 Not yet / wait a bit

- Jacques (2016: 219, 2021: 1200–1201).
- Form: in combination with the sentence-final particle *je*. The latter is otherwise used to attenuate commands and prohibitives, as well as with phatic expressions such as ‘goodbye’, ‘good night’ or ‘take care’ (see Jacques 2021: 458–459). The two usually fuse to phonologically irregular *pɤkʰije*.
- This signals a notion of ‘Wait!’.

(D.247)

Pɤkʰije!
still.SFP:attenuation

‘Wait!’ (Jacques 2021: 453)

(D.248) ***Pɤkʰije*** *tɕe <guan> ma-kɤ-tɯ-βze je!*
still.SFP:attenuation LNK turn_off NEG-IMP-2-make SFP:attenuation
‘Wait, don’t hang up [your phone].’ (Jacques 2021: 458)

D.6.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.6.2.4.1 First, for now

- *Pɤjkʰu* is repeatedly attested with a meaning along the lines of ‘first, for now’.
- In (D.252) *pɤjkʰu* in this function combines with a verb *mɤku* ‘be first’.

(D.249) ***Pɤjkhu*** *nɤʑo thɯ-ɣi ra.*
still 2SG downstream-come be_needed
‘暂时先要你一个人 下来. [For now, I want you to come down alone.]’ (Jacques 2016: 219, glosses added)

(D.250) *Nɤʑo* ***pɤjkhu*** *tɯ-rzɯɣ tɤ-nɯna tɕe tɕetha rɤma-tɕi.*
2SG still one-section IMP-rest LNK later work-1DU
‘你暂时休息 一下，等一会我们再工作. [Take a break for now and we’ll work again later.]’ (Jacques 2016: 361, glosses added)

(D.251) Context: A father suspects his son to have drunk alcohol and is waiting for him at the door of the house.
Jɤ-ɣi tɕe, ***pɤjkʰu*** *tu-ta-nɤ-mnɤm.*
IMP-come LNK still IPFV:up-1>2-TROPATIVE-have_a_smell
‘Come (here), I will smell you [first] (to see if you have had alcohol).’[41] (Jacques 2021: 872; Guillaumes Jacques, p.c.)

(D.252) Context: About an animal that is not to be executed for the next months.
Iʑo kɯ-mɤku ***pɤjkʰu,*** *ɯ-ɕɣa kɯ-mtɕoʁ nɯ ci*
1PL PTCP-be_first still POSS.3SG-tooth PTCP-be_sharp DEM a_little
ɲɯ́-wɣ-pʰɯt.
IPFV-INV-take_out
‘[For now] let us first take out its sharp teeth [so as to prevent it from biting].’ (Jacques 2021: 602; Guillaumes Jacques, p.c.)

D.6.2.5 # Marginality

- *Pɤjkhu* seems not to allow for a marginality construal; see (D.253, D.254).

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[41] The Japhug “tropative” is a transitivizing device, with a meaning along the lines of ‘find/consider to be …’, see Jacques (2021: 868–870).

(D.253) Context: Talking about skills in a sport
Pɤjkʰu *pjɯ-ɕɯ-nŋam-a cʰa-a.*
still IPFV-CAUS-be_defeated-1SG can-1SG
'Currently (but not necessarily later), I can still beat him.'
not: 'He still falls within the range of those I can beat.' (Guillaume Jacques, p.c.)

(D.254) *Maoxian nɯ kɯrɯ sɤtɕha maʁ ri, Lixian nɯ* ***pjɤkʰu***
M. DEM Tibetan area NEG.COP but L. DEM still
kɯrɯ sɤtɕha kɤ-rtsi ŋu.
Tibetan area INF-count COP
'Maoxian is not a Tibetan area, but Lixian still counts as a Tibetan area (that might change in the future).'
not: 'Maoxian is not a Tibetan area, but Lixian is still (i.e. qualifies as a marginal member) of a Tibetan area.' (Guillaume Jacques, p.c.)

D.7 Ket (ket, ket1243)

D.7.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Andrey Nefedov, Stefan Georg, and Heinrich Werner for discussing Ket data with me and for helping with glosses.

D.7.2 hāj

D.7.2.1 General information

- Form: often reduced to *āj* or *hī*; there is also a variant *hās*(*ja*).
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word.
- Syntax: judging from the available data, *hāj* generally precedes its focus, which in the phasal polarity function is the main predicate.

D.7.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Donner & Joki (1955: 45), Georg (2007: 144), Kotorova & Nefedov (2015: 177), Vajda (2004: 41), and Werner (1997: 71, 145, 2002: 292); additional discussion throughout van Baar (1997).
- Specialisation: van Baar (1997) identifies this marker as one that is in line with my definition.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios (van Baar 1997: 76–77).

- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.

(D.255) *Ít-iŋ* ***hɨ*** *ad-a-den-qaka áàŋ ūl*
tooth-pl still hurt:subj.3.n-prs-go-when hot water
d-a-b-dob.
subj.1-prs-obj.3.n-drink
'When the teeth still hurt, I'm drinking hot water.' (Grišina 1979: 90, cited in Nefedov 2015: 193)

(D.256) *Bu* ***haj*** *kis'ɛŋ.*
3sg still is_here
'He is still here.' (van Baar 1997: 306)

D.7.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.7.2.3.1 Iterative

- Donner & Joki (1955: 45), Georg (2007: 311), Kotorova & Nefedov (2015: 177), Nefedov (2015: 96) and Werner (2002: 292).
- There appear to be no restrictions concerning aspectual viewpoints.
- No clear-cut cases of restitution are attested in the data.

(D.257) *Ād énqoŋ kəˀj d-il-aq,* ***hāj*** *di-sel-q-ej.*
1sg today hunt subj.1-pst-go still subj.1-raindeer-pst-kill
'Today I went hunting, again I killed a reindeer.' (Krejnovič 1969: 113, cited in Georg 2007: 230).

(D.258) ***Haj*** *d-iˑ-m-bɛsʲ.*
still subj.3-here-pst-move
'(He) came again.' (Werner 2002: 292; glosses by Nefedov 2015: 96)

D.7.2.3.2 Iterative and restitutive via increment

- Kotorova & Nefedov (2015: 177) and Werner (1997: 145, 381; 2002: 292); additional discussion in van Baar (1997: 306).
- This function occurs in two collocations. The first is *haj* plus *biks'a* 'different, again' (D.259, D.260). Ex. (D.260) is clearly restitutive. The second collocation is *haj* plus *s'in'* 'once' (D.261).

(D.259) ***Haj bíks'a*** *aˑn'iŋ-aŋ-g-ɔ́Rɔn.*
still different/again play-subj.3pl-det-pst-become
'Sie begannen wieder zu spielen. [They began playing again.]'
(Werner 2002: 292)

(D.260) Context: One brother has broken the other one (Tuta) into pieces.
Bū ít-ò-l-am tútà ***haj bíksà*** *sēn*
3sg sense-subj.3m-pst-take T. still different/again one
d-éèt-a
subj.3m-alive-dur.event_extends
'He knew Tuta would come back to life once again.' (Vajda 2004: 94)

(D.261) ***Haj s'in'*** *t-á-n'gi!*
still once det-th-imp-say
'Sag (es) noch einmal! [Say it again!]' (Werner 2002: 292, glosses added)

D.7.2.4 Additive and related functions

D.7.2.4.1 Additive

- Georg (2007: 311), Kotorova & Nefedov (2015: 177), Nefedov (2015: 96) and Werner (2002: 292); additional discussion is found in van Baar (1997: 306–307).
- This function extends into equative comparisons (D.263).

(D.262) *Āt* ***haj*** *kʌnɛsʲ-ket.*
1sg still light-person
'Ich bin auch ein Mensch dieser Welt. [I am also a man of this world.]' (Werner 2002: 292; glosses by Nefedov 2015: 96)

(D.263) *Bilʲa d-iː-n-bɛsʲ, tɔʔn* ***hāj*** *du-ɣ-a-daq.*
like subj.3sg-here-pst-move thus still subj.3m-lnk-th-live
'как приехал, так и [тоже] живёт. [He lives the way he came, lit. the way he came, that way he also lived.]' (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015: 177, glosses added)

D.7.2.4.2 Scalar additive(?)

- There is only one candidate for this function in the data consulted. Andrey Nefedov (p.c.) indicates that this could be a calque on Russian *i.*

(D.264) *Bu-ŋ-s-ɔʁɔ-dāsʲ, bū kɛˀt* ***hāj*** *du-ɣa-jɛj.*
subj.3-th-prs-search_for-when 3sg person still subj.3-obj.3m-kill
'When he looks, he can even kill a man.' (Nefedov 2015: 173)

D.7.2.4.3 Comparisons of inequality

- Georg (2007: 138), Kotorova & Nefedov (2015: 177) and Werner (1997: 124). *Hāj* (or a variant form) adds the notion of ‘even’ to comparisons of inequality.

(D.265) ***Ha˙s’*** *s’ul’em-s’.*
still red-nmlz
‘Noch röter [even more red].’ (Werner 1997: 124, glosses added)

(D.266) ***Hāj*** *qà da-éjs-a-ʙɔt ba:t-daŋa .*
still big/very subj.3sg.f-up-th-root old_man-dat
‘ещё сильнее ругается на старика [She scolded the old man even more].’[42] (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015: 177, glosses added)

D.7.2.4.4 Constituent coordination

- Georg (2007: 311), Nefedov (2015: 96–100, 108), Vajda (2004: 85) and Werner (1997: 318–323, 2002: 292); additional discussion in van Baar (1997: 306).
- In this function, *hāj* can coordinate nouns (D.267), adjectives (D.268), adverbs (D.269), verbs (D.270), and parallel clauses (D.271).
- Nefedov (2015: 96) suggests that this is, diachronically speaking, an extension of the additive function. This is in line with typological findings on the sources of coordinators (see Forker 2016; Kuteva et al. 2019: 58–59, and references therein).

(D.267) *ə̄tn, assanɔ dɛˀŋ* ***haj*** *isqɔ dɛˀŋ, haj kiˀ dʌˀq*
1pl hunt.nmlz people still fish.nmlz people still new live.nmlz
di-b-bɛt-in
subj.1-obj.3n-make-pl
‘We, hunters and fishermen, also build a new life.’ (Nefedov 2015: 97)

(D.268) *Hʌna* ***haj*** *qē-ŋ dɨlʲgat škɔla-di-ŋa ɔŋ-ɔ-tn*
small still big-pl children school-n-dat subj.3pl-prs-go
‘Kleine und große Kinder gehen in die Schule. [Small and big children go to school.]’ (Werner 1997: 321; glosses by Nefedov 2015: 97)

(D.269) *Būŋ aqta* ***haj*** *dʌqtɛ t-lʲɔvɛr-a-vɛt-in*
3pl good still fast subj.3-work-prs-iter-pl
‘Sie arbeiten gut und schnell. [They work well and fast.]’ (Werner 1997: 321; glosses by Nefedov 2015: 97)

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[42] *-ʙɔt* is a semantically near-empty root.

(D.270) *Dɨlʲ duɣ-a-ɣ-ɔ-ʁɔn* ***hāj***
child shout.NMLZ-SUBJ.3M-TH-PST-become still
qɔʁ-a-ʁ-ɔ-n
cry.NMLZ-SUBJ.3M-PST-become
'The child began shouting and (began) crying.' (Nefedov 2015: 97)

(D.271) Context: Two brothers are being served fatty meat by a witch.
Éɾȕla ánùn-tu-ɾu bū òn īs bə̄n
E. mind-ADJ-PRED.M 3SG.M much meat NEG
d-b-īl-[a]. A Tútà-da-ŋa ánùn bənsàŋ bū
SUBJ.3M-OBJ.3N-PST-eat but T.-M-DAT mind not.be.PRS 3SG.M
ísqàl-s óvɨlde ***haj*** *bɨ́ldè ba*
greedy-NOM was still everything customarily
d-b-īl-[a].
SUBJ.3M-OBJ.3N-PST-eat
'Erula was smart and didn't eat much of the meat. But Tuta was stupid. He was greedy and would always eat it all up.' (Vajda 2004: 93)

D.7.2.5 Broadly modal and interactional uses

D.7.2.5.1 Discourse marker in questions

- Belimov (1976) and Werner (1997: 317).
- This function is restricted to wh-questions. Belimov (1976) describes this (and other markers) as supplying an emotive character to interrogatives. Similarly, Werner (1997) translates it into German as *denn*, a marker commonly described as highlighting a follow-up question (e.g. Wegener 2001). This is in line with the one contextualised example in the data (D.272) being a follow-up question after an unsatisfactory initial response.
- In all examples, *hāj* precede the predicate as with, among other things, the iterative use (Appendix D.7.2.3.1). An extension of the latter function to the speech-act level would be in line with what has been described for French *encore* (Appendix D.2.2.10).

(D.272) A: *Bil'aŋsän' di·mbes'in? Dɨ l'gat u škɔladiŋal' di·mbes'in?*
'Wer ist gekommen? Ob es Kinder sind, die aus der Schule gekommen sind? [Who has come? Will it be children, coming from school?]'

B: *Bəŋ.*
'Nein. [No.]'

A: *Anεt* ***haj*** *d-i·-m-bes'?*
who still SUBJ.3-here-PST-move
'Wer ist denn gekommen? [Who is it then, who just came?]'

A: *Kaˀt hi·ɣ di·mbes'*.
'Ein alter Mann ist gekommen [An old man came.]' (Werner 1997: 366–367, glosses added)

(D.273) *Baːm* *dativij:* *"Baːt* ***haj*** *birɔ?"*
old_woman she_asked old_man still where
'старуха спрашивает: а где же старый? [The old woman asked: "But where's the old man?"]' (Belimov 1976: 25; Werner 1997: 319, glosses added)

D.8 Lezgian (lezg1247, lez)

D.8.1 Introductory remarks

Lezgian has two (sets of) STILL expressions: the first group is constituted by *ama* 'still:LOC.COP' and the verb suffix -C(*a*)*ma*, which goes back to periphrastic constructions involving *ama*. In the data consulted, there are no indications of additional functions for *ama* and -C(*a*)*ma*. Both forms ultimately go back to *mad*, which forms part of the expression of NO LONGER, and has a range of additional functions, including iterative and additive ones. In the data consulted, *mad* is not attested as an affirmative phasal polarity expression. Lastly, there is *hele*(-*lig*). The latter is primarily an ALREADY expression in the present-day language, and only serves as an exponent of STILL in combination with -C*ma*.

D.8.2 hele(lig)

D.8.2.1 General information

- Form: transcribed as гьеле in Cyrillic. There is a free variant with the Turkic suffix -*lig*.
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Etymology: ultimately from Arabic *hāl*, in all likelihood mediated via Turkic.
- Further note: as discussed below, this item only marginally serves to mark STILL in the present-day language; it is primarily an ALREADY expression (the latter function, however, seems not to be attested for the long form *helelig*). As discussed by van der Auwera (1993, 1998) it is safe to assume that the concept

of STILL was once the primary denotatum of *hele*(*lig*); see Section 2.3.2 for a general discussion of the diachronic chain between STILL, NOT YET > ALREADY.

D.8.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Haspelmath (1991, 1993: 145, 210) and Talibov & Gadžiev (1966: 102); further discussion in van der Auwera (1993, 1998) and van Baar (1997: 195–197).
- Specialisation: that this marker once functioned as an expression of STILL is only indirectly retrievable, namely from its extension into ALREADY via (NOT YET >) interrogative 'yet' (Appendix D.8.2.3.1), and by comparison with cognates across neighbouring languages.
- Pragmaticity: Haspelmath (1991, 1993: 210) describes *hele*(*lig*) as giving emphasis to -C*ma*; this might indicate that this combination serves to indicate the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET; the vast majority of examples involve bare *hele*, without -*lig*.
- Further note: as noted above, this expression does not (anymore) serve as STILL in its own right.

D.8.2.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

D.8.2.3.1 Interrogative 'yet' (and ALREADY)

- Haspelmath (1991); further discussion in van der Auwera (1993, 1998) and van Baar (1997: 195–197).
- Form: in this function, the suffix -*lig* appears to not occur.
- This function is found with indirect (D.274) and direct (D.275) questions.
- Ex. (D.276) illsutrates *hele* as an ALREADY expression.

(D.274) *Zun* *Jusuf* *Derbentd-aj* ***hele*** *q*^{h}*fe-nwa-j-da-l*
1SG.ABS J. Derbentl-out_of still leave-ANT-PTCP-NMLZ-on
šaklu *že-zwa.*
doubting COP-IPFV
'I doubt whether Jusuf has left Derbent yet.' (Haspelmath 1991: 84)

(D.275) *Jusuf* *Derbentd-aj* ***hele*** *q*^{h}*fe-na-ni?*
J. Derbent-out_of still leave-AOR-Q
'Has Jusuf left Derbent yet?' (Haspelmath 1991: 84)

(D.276) *Jusuf* *Derbentd-aj* ***hele*** *q*^{h}*fe-na.*
J. Derbendt-out_of still leave-AOR
'Jusuf has already left Derbent.' (Haspelmath 1993: 210)

D.8.2.4 Temporal connectives and frame setters

D.8.2.4.1 Persistent time frame

- Haspelmath (1991).
- There is only one clear example in the data.

(D.277) ***Hele*** *zun akwa-daldi, am q^{h}fe-na.*
still 1SG.ABS see-CVB:before 3SG.ABS leave-AOR
‘Even before she saw me, she left. / Noch ehe sie mich sah, ging sie weg.’ (Haspelmath 1991: 90)

D.8.2.4.2 Time-scalar (‘as early/late as’)

- Haspelmath (1991, 1993: 240).
- *Hele* functions as a time-scalar additive marker that operates on a scale of time proper and is compatible both with earlier alternatives (D.278) and later ones (D.279-D.281). That is, it can be understood as underspecified for a relative rank on the time scale.
- In all likelihood, the availability of the ‘as early as’ use is at least partially due to the fact that this item has developed from a STILL expression into an ALREADY expression. At the same time, scalar inferences from the persistent time frame use (Appendix D.8.2.4.1) might also have played a role; thus compare (D.277) above to (D.281).
- Syntax: Haspelmath (1991) points out that *hele* in this use behaves like a typical Lezgian focus particle, occurring together with the focus in (D.280), where it stands in opposition to *anžax*/*tek* ‘only’.

(D.278) ***Hele*** *c’erid lahaj asir.d-a fikir-zawa-j x̂i, …*
still seventeen ORD century-INESS think-IPFV-PST DM
‘As late as/even in the seventeenth century people (still) believed that … / Noch im siebzehnten Jahrhundert hat man gedacht dass…’ (Haspelmath 1991: 90)

(D.279) *Jusuf* ***hele*** *naq’ ata-na.*
Jusuf already yesterday come-AOR
‘Jusuf came as early as yesterday / Jusuf ist schon gestern gekommen.’ (Haspelmath 1991: 85)

(D.280) *Am mus ata-na? –* ***hele*** *naq’*
3SG.ABS when come-AOR still yesterday
‘When did she come? – As early as yesterday / Schon gestern.’ (Haspelmath 1991: 85)

(D.281) ***Hele*** *Oktjabrdi-n inq̄ilab že-daldi St'al Sulejman wič*
still october-GEN revolution COP-CVB:before S. S. self
ustad satirik jaz q̄alur-na-j.
master satirist as show-AOR-PST
'Even before the October Revolution (happened) Sulejman St'al had shown himself as a master satirist. / Schon bevor die Oktoberrevolution geschah, hatte Sulejman St'al sich als Meistersatiriker gezeigt.' (Haspelmath 1991: 86)

D.9 Mandarin Chinese (cmn, mand1245)

D.9.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Zhuang Chen for long discussions of Mandarin data with me, and for providing additional examples. Further thanks go to Dan Ke for helping standardize tone annotations. Note that several functions of *hái* involve the combination with copula *shì*. This type of "compounds" involving *shì* (originally introducing an embedded predicate) occurs with several adverbials in Mandarin; see Wiedenhof (2015: 311–312).

D.9.2 hái

D.9.2.1 General information

- Form: 还 in Chinese characters.
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word.
- Syntax: fixed position, immediately preceding the predicate.
- Etymology: < *huan* 'go/come back'.

D.9.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Alleton (1972: ch. 2.3), Chu (1998: 106–117), Donazzan (2008: 122–127, 142–147), Jing-Schmidt & Gries (2009), Li & Thompson (1981: 334, 345), Liu (2000), Lu (2019), Paris (1988), Yang (2017), Yeh (1998), and Zhang & Ling (2016), among many others.
- Form: may combine with copula *shì*, yielding *háishì*, as in (D.284).
- Specialisation: the numerous descriptions, when taken together, clearly show that this marker conforms to my definition; Donazzan (2008: 145) and Yeh (1998: 265) explicitly discuss the incompatibility of *hái* with inalterable states.

- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios. According to Paris (1988), the unexpectedly late scenario is marked by sentence-final particle *ne*. Chu (1998) and Liu (2000), on the other hand, state that it is made salient by stress on *hái*.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.

(D.282) *Qùnián fēijī chūshì zài qǐfēi de bàn ge*
last_year airplane have_accident at take_off ASSOC half CLF
*zhōngtóu yǐnèi **hái** yǒu diànhuà, yǐhòu jìu méi liánluò le.*
hour within still EXIST telephone after then NEG contact SFP
'In last year's plane accident, for an half hour after takeoff there was still telephone contact, then (the changed situation was that) there was no more contact.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 259)

(D.283) *Nǐ dōu èrshí háojǐ de rén le, zěnme **hái** zài chī*
2SG all twenty several ASSOC person PFV how still PROG eat
fùmǔ?
parents
'You are over twenty now. How can you still live off your parents?' (Li 2016: 84)

(D.284) *Nǐ **hái-shi** zhēn de tài xiǎo le.*
2SG still-COP real ASSOC too young SFP
'You are really much too young still.' (Wiedenhof 2015: 339, glosses added)

D.9.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

D.9.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Alleton (1972: ch. 3.2), Lai (1999), Wiedenhof (2015: 312).
- *Hái* is compatible with contexts of decreases over time (D.285, D.286). On the other hand, *hái* appears to be odd in contexts of increase functions, where another item, *cái* is used instead (D.287, D.288). The latter is a restrictive 'only' marker which, though not inherently scalar in all of its uses (see Hole 2004: ch 4.1 for discussion), is strongly associated with scalar contexts (e.g. Lai 1999).

(D.285) *Nǐ **hái** shèng duōshǎo qián?*
2SG still remain how_much money
'How much money is left with you?' (Shi 2016: 219)

(D.286) *Xiànzài* ***hái*** *yǒu duōshao rén, hái yǒu liǎng sān wàn*
now still exist how_much person still exist pair three 10,000
zài lǐmian?
in inside
‘How many people are there still, some twenty or thirty thousand are still in prison?’ (Wiedenhof 2015: 279)

(D.287) Context: We are supposed to be sent a total of 5 books each.
A: I’ve received four.
B: I’ve received four, too.
C: *Wǒ* ***cái*** *shōu-dào sān běn.*
1sg only receive-arrive three clf
‘I’ve only received three so far.’ (Zhuang Chen, p.c.)

(D.288) *Zhè gè sài-jì, wǒmén duì* ***cái*** *wán le yì chǎng bǐsài.*
prox clf match-season 1pl team only play pfv one clf match
‘So far, our team has only played one game this season.’ (Zhuang Chen, p.c.)

D.9.2.4 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

D.9.2.4.1 # Interrogative ‘yet’

- *Hái* does not have uses as interrogative yet, neither in direct, nor in indirect questions (Zhuang Chen, p.c.).

D.9.2.5 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.9.2.5.1 Iterative

- Alleton (1972: ch. 3.2), Donazzan (2008: 122–127), Jing-Schmidt & Gries (2009), Liu (2000), Paris (1988), Yeh (1998) and Zhang (2017).
- This function is restricted to future time reference. As a correlate, it often cooccurs with modals such as *yao* ‘want’ or *hui* ‘will’, as in (D.289, D.290).

(D.289) *Míngtiān* ***hái*** *huì xiàyǔ ma?*
Tomorrow still will rain q
‘Will it rain again tomorrow?’ (Huang & Shi 2016: 61)

(D.290) *Lǎowáng zuótiān qù yóuyǒng, jīntián* ***hái*** *yào qù.*
Laowang yesterday go swim today still want go
‘Laowang went swimming yesterday, and he will go again today.’ (Liu 2000: 55)

(D.291) *Míngtiān **hái** chī miàotiáo, wǒ kě shòubùliǎo le.*
tomorrow still eat noodles 1SG but stand SFP
'If (we) eat noodles again tomorrow, I won't stand it.' (Ma 2000: 210, cited in Jing-Schmidt & Gries 2009: 34)

D.9.2.6 Marginality

- Alleton (1972: ch. 3.2), Biq & Huang (2016: 345), Donazzan (2008: 124, 206–207), Jing-Schmidt & Gries (2009), Li & Thompson (1981: 335), Lu (2019), Yang (2017), Yeh (1998), Zhang (2017) and Zhang & Ling (2016).
- This includes derogatory comparisons like (D.295).
- Readings of marginality are often accompanied by *suan* 'consider', i.e. 'can still be considered to be', as in (D.294).
- Several authors point out that marginal readings of *hái* are incompatible with situations that are usually evaluated negatively: *hai gan-jing* 'still clean', but *#hai zang* 'still dirty' (Yeh 1998: 264; Lu 2019: 56, and references therein).
- According to Yeh (1998), the marginality use shows up eight centuries later than *hái* as STILL.
- As pointed out by Paris (1988), marginality readings also appear to be responsible for *hái* in "make-do" contexts such as (D.296). Similarly, the marginality use is likely to motivate the optional employment of *hái* in the collocation *yǔqí … bù rú* 'rather than A … would (still) be better B', which signals that B is the less bad of the two options, as in (D.297).

(D.292) A: *Nǐ huì bú huì pà lái bù jí?*
'Are you afraid that we won't be there on time?'
B: *Huì a.*
'Yeah, I am.'
…
A: *Huh. Méi guānxī la. Wǒ júede dào nà biān, yīnggāi **hái** hǎo a*
INTERJ neg relation SFP 1SG think arrive that place should still ok SFP
'It's ok. I think when we arrive there, we should get there on time (lit. … it should still be OK).' (Lu 2019: 54–56)

(D.293) Context: Talking about tennis skills.
*Paul, wǒ **hái** dǎ de guò.*
P. 1SG still beat ASSOC pass
'Paul I can still beat (but other players are too good for me).' (Zhuang Chen, p.c.)

(D.294) *Jīntiān* ***hái*** *suàn liángkuài.*
today still consider cool
‘Today can [still] be considered to be relatively cool.’ (Liu 2000: 67)

(D.295) *Zhèdào dòufu bù zěnme hǎochī, zhè* ***hái*** *shì zhèjiā diàn*
PROX-CLF tofu NEG that tasty PROX still COP PROX-CLF store
zuì hǎo de cài le.
most good ASSOC dish SFP.
‘This tofu dish is not that tasty, and this is already the best dish of the restaurant.’ (Liu 2000: 60)

(D.296) *Bié shuō le,* ***hái****-shì kuài zǒu ba.*
PROH talk PFV still-COP quickly leave SFP
‘Don’t talk anymore; we had better leave quickly. [i.e. leaving quickly does not solve things, but it’s the best we can do right now]’ (Liu 2000: 48)

(D.297) *Yǔqí zài jiē shàng xiánguàng,* ***hái*** *bù rú qù dǎ*
rather_than COP.LOC street at wander still NEG as_if go play
lánqiú.
basketball
‘It is [still] better to play basketball than to wander aimlessly on the street.’ (Huang & Shi 2016: 28)

D.9.2.7 Additive and related functions

D.9.2.7.1 Additive

- Alleton (1972: ch. 2.3), Biq & Huang (2016: 344), Chen (2018), Chu (1998: 106–117), Donazzan (2008: 111–113), Huang & Shi (2016: 344), Li & Thompson (1981: 334–335), Liu (2000), Lu (2019), Paris (1988), Ross & Sheng Ma (2014: 88–89), Yeh (1998) and Zhang & Ling (2016), among others.
- The focus is the predicate, excluding the subject. That is, additive *hái* cannot be used in contexts of the type ‘A Verb-ed and B, too, Verb-ed’.
- Zhang & Ling (2016) point out that *hái* as an additive marker is associated with an incremental build-up of discourse, similar to German *noch* (Appendix D.3.1.7.1). Relatedly, Jing-Schmidt & Gries (2009), based on Ma (2000), point out that additive *hái* requires the relevant situations to fall within the same time span: additive *hái* is infelicitous in contexts like ‘last year s/he did this and this year s/he additionally did that’, unless there is a single overarching time span (e.g. ‘in recent years years s/he has been busy…’).

- A scalar additive reading ('even') only arises with longer enumerations, i.e. it is a contextual inference (D.301).
- In additive function, *hái* often co-occurs with existential *yǒu*, yielding *hái yǒu* (D.300). This is, in fact, a common collocation; according to Lu (2019: 60) it accounts for more than twenty percent of all tokens of *hái* in the Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Mandarin.
- According to Yeh (1998), this function developed shortly after the iterative one (Appendix D.9.2.5.1) and about a century before *hái* as a phasal polarity expression.

(D.298) *Tā chúle jiāshū, **hái** zuò yánjiū.*
3SG apart_from teach still do research
'En dehors de l'enseignement, il fait de la recherche. [Apart from teaching, he also does research.]' (Paris 1988: 273)

(D.299) *(Shěnme? Chàng lě yí gè) **hái** chàng yí gè?*
what sing PFV one CLF still sing one CLF
'(What, I sang a song and) I should sing one more?' (Shen 2006: 127, cited by Jing-Schmidt & Gries 2009: 56)

(D.300) *Qù Lúndūn, Bālí, **hái** yǒu Luómǎ.*
go London Bali still EXIST Rome
'We are going to London, Bali, and Rome as well.' (Wiedenhof 2015: 312, glosses added)

(D.301) *Zhāngsān dǎsǎo le fángzi, zuò le dàngāo **hái** yùn le zhuōbù.*
Z. sweep PFV house do PFV cake still iron PFV tablecloth
'Zhangsan a balayé la pièce, a fait un gâteau et aussi/même repassé la nappe. [Zhangsan swept the room, baked a cake and also/even ironed the tablecloth.]' (Donazzan 2008: 113)

D.9.2.7.2 Comparisons of inequality

- Alleton (1972: ch. 2.3), Chen (2018), Donazzan (2008: 193–206), Jing-Schmidt & Gries (2009), Liu (2000), Lu (2019), Paris (1988), Paris & Shi (2016), Wiedenhof (2015: 187, 335), Yang (2017), Yeh (1998), Zhang (2017), and Zhang & Ling (2016).
- Form: in this function *hái* does not combine with copula *shì* (see below on a different collocation, *hái yào*). While examples of *háishì* in comparatives are found (e.g. Biq & Huang 2016: 326; Wiedenhof 2015: 335), in these cases *háishì* does not contribute to the comparative construction, but provides a counter-expectational and/or concessive reading (Zhuang Chen, p.c.).
- *Hái* in comparisons of inequality occurs in two contexts:

- In comparisons of inequality with an overt standard (D.302–D.303). Note that Mandarin Chinese makes use of an exceed-comparative (Stassen 2013) featuring the comparative marker *bǐ*. *Hái* surfaces in the clause featuring the predicate that is compared and adds the notion of 'even'.
- In the absence of an overtly expressed standard of comparison introduced by *bǐ*, *hái* combines with *yào* 'will' to give a reading of 'even more' (D.304).
- There are several examples of *hái* of the type in (D.305) that are discussed under the heading of comparisons, but which are best interpreted as involving a combination of the marginality reading of *hái* (D.9.2.6) in combination with an implied comparison. This interpretation is supported by the fact that these cases are compatible with expressions for low degrees such as *yīdǐan* 'a little' but not with *hěn duō* / *dé duō* 'very much' (see Liu 2000: 66).

(D.302) *Yīngbàng bǐ méijīn* ***hái*** *dà ma.*
pound than dollar still big SFP
'Pounds have an even higher value than dollars.' (Lu 2019: 62)

(D.303) *Nǐ jí a? Wǒ bí nǐ* ***hái*** *jí.*
2SG anxious SFP 1SG than 2SG still anxious
'You are anxious? I'm even more anxious than you.' (Liu et al. 2001, cited by Jing-Schmidt & Gries 2009: 53)

(D.304) *John* ***hái*** *yào gāo.*
J. still will big
'John is even taller (than some other person retrievable from context).' (Zhuang Chen, p.c.)

(D.305) *Zhè fángjiān* ***hái*** *gānjìng yìdiǎn.*
this room still clean a_little
'This room is a little cleaner.' (Liu 2000: 66)
More literal translation: '(Comparatively speaking), this room is still clean.'

D.9.2.7.3 Conjunctional adverb

- Ross & Sheng Ma (2014: 89).
- In this function, *hái* appears in the collocation *hái yǒu* (see Appendix D.9.2.7.1 on the latter), giving evidence that this is an extension of the additive function.
- Syntax: sentence-initial position.

(D.306) *Tā de nán péngyou hěn héqi.* ***Hái yǒu****, tā hěn shuài!*
3SG ASSOC man partner very friendly still EXIST 3SG very attractive
'Her boyfriend is very friendly. In addition, he is really cute!' (Ross & Sheng Ma 2014: 89, glosses added)

(D.307) *Rùzhù qián yào fù yājīn.* ***Hái yǒu,*** *bù néng dài*
check_in before should pay deposit still EXIST NEG able carry
chǒngwù.
pet
'You need to pay the deposit before using the room. Also, you're not allowed to have pets here.' (found online, glosses added)[43]

D.9.2.7.4 Disjunctive constituent coordination

- Donazzan (2008: 11–1121), Huang & Shi (2016: 27), Lu (2019), Wiedenhof (2015: 339) and Zhan & Bai (2016: 433–434).
- Form: normally occurs in combination with copula *shì*, hence *háishì*. Only in very informal speech does *hái* alone serve this function (Wiedenhof 2015: 39); see (D.311).
- This function typically occurs in interrogatives (including indirect questions). However, it is also attested within alternative concessive conditionals (D.310).
- Lu (2019) proposes that this function goes back to a pattern [[(*shì*) p *hái*] [*shì* q]], with additive *hái* linking two propositions, copula *shì* serving as a subordinator ('it is the case that *q*') and the disjunctive reading arising as a contextual inference. This pattern then underwent structural reanalysis to [p *háishì* q]. Building on Lu's proposal, it can be assumed that the structural reanalysis was accompanied by a conventionalisation of the disjunctive function.

(D.308) Context: From an interview on a radio show. A listener has called in and asked the artists whether further productions from her are to be expected.
Nǐ shì zhǐ wútáijù, ***hái-shì*** *zhǐ chàngpiān?*
2SG COP refer stage_play still-COP refer album
'Are you referring to (participation in) stage plays or [referring to] (releasing) albums?' (Lu 2019: 63–64)

(D.309) *Nǐ zuì xǐhuān lüchá* ***hái-shi*** *huāchá?*
2SG most like green_tea still-COP jasmine_tea
'Tu préfères le thé vert ou bien le thé au jasmin? [Do you prefer green tea or Jasmine tea?]' (Donazzan 2008: 112)

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[43] https://resources.allsetlearning.com/chinese/grammar/Expressing_%22in_addition%22_with_%22haiyou%22 (18 October, 2021).

(D.310) *Wúlùn shì zài ménzhěn, zài diàntī,* ***hái*****-*****shì*** *zài*
no_matter cop at outpatient_service at elevator still-cop at
bìngfáng, dōu méiyǒu rén yīn tā de guàibìng ér
ward all neg people because 3sg assoc strange_illness thus
qíshì tā.
discriminate 3sg
'No matter if it was in the outpatient services, elevators, or wards, no one discriminated against him because of his rare disease.' (Lin & Sun 2016: 399)

(D.311) *Nǐ de* ***hái*** *wǒ de?*
1sg assoc still 2sg assoc
'Mine or yours?' (Wiedenhof 2015: 339, glosses added)

D.9.2.8 Broadly modal and interactional functions

D.9.2.8.1 Concessive apodoses

- Donazzan (2008: 111), Huang (2007), Jing-Schmidt & Gries (2009), Li & Thompson (1981: 637–638), Lu (2019), Paris (1988), Yeh (1998) and Wiedenhof (2015: 338).
- Form: in this function, *hái* often combines with copula *shì*, yielding *háishì*, as in (D.313)

(D.312) *Zhème hǎo de shèr, nǐ* ***hái*** *gěi wàng le!*
such good assoc event 2sg still give forget pfv
'Such a special occasion, and still you forgot about it!' (Wiedenhof 2015: 149)

(D.313) *Suīrán zìjǐ de érzi jiéhūn le, tā* ***hái*****-*****shi*** *bu guǎn.*
although own assoc son marry pfv 3sg still-cop neg interest
'Bien que son propre fils se marie„ca ne l'intéresse (quand mˆeme) pas.' [Although her own son got married, it doesn't interest her].' (Donazzan 2008: 112)

(D.314) *Jíshǐ tā gēn wǒ shuō le, wǒ* ***hái*****-*****shì*** *bú dà xiāngxìn tā*
even_if 3sg with 1sg say pfv 1sg still-cop neg big believe 3sg
de huà.
assoc word
'Même si'il en parlait avec moi, jes ne le croirais quand même pas beaucomp. [Even if he talked to me about it, I still wouldn't believe him much.]' (Paris 1988: 275)

D.9.2.8.2 Counter-expectation

- Alleton (1972: ch. 2.3), Biq & Huang (2016), Liu (2000) and Yeh (1998).
- In this function *hái* "indicate[s] the speaker's incredulousness … there is a gap between the situation described in the clause and the assumption or expectation held by him or other people." (Biq & Huang 2016: 345). Its meaning thus strongly points towards *hái* in concessive apodoses (Appendix D.9.2.8.1) as the source of this use.
- All examples in the data consulted feature "bare" *hái* without *shì*. Alleton (1972) describes this use as usually being presented with the intonation of a (rhetorical) question and that it can be paraphrased faithfully by using *nándào* 'by any chance, isn't it possible that?'.
- Many examples feature additional evaluative material: *zhēn* 'really' in (D.315, D.316, D.317), *chū wǒ yìliào* 'beyond my expectation' in (D.316). Similarly, sentence-final *a* in (D.317) has been described as often conveying a notion of surprise (Huang & Shi 2016)

(D.315) *Zhēn kě yóu qián, **hái** bù zǎo jiāo le?*
really indeed EXIST money still NEG early hand_over PFV
'Si vraiment nous avions de l'argent, comment n'aurions-nous pas payé plus tôt? [If we really had the money, don't you think we'd have paid earlier?]' (Alleton 1972: 16, glosses added)

(D.316) *Wǒ lǎogōng de hóngshāo yú **hái** zhēn chū wǒ yìliào zhīwài de hǎo.*
1SG husband ASSOC braise_in_soy_sauce fish still really beyond 1SG expectation out_of ASSOC good
'To my surprise, the braised fish cooked by my husband was exceptionally good!' (Biq & Huang 2016: 345)

(D.317) Context: A is speaking about his diet when living in the Netherlands.

A: *… xiànzài wǒ fēicháng xǐhuān chī qìsi.*
'… now I am extremly fond of cheese.'

B: *Nà nǐ **hái** xíguàn de zhēn kuài a!*
that 2SG still habit ASSOC really real SFP:surprise
'Well, in that case, you did get used to it really fast!' (Wiedenhof 2015: 110)[44]

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[44] Initial *na* contributes a notion along the lines of 'in that case, if that is so …' (Wiedenhof 2015: 110)

D.10 Northern Qiang (cng, nort2722)

D.10.1 Introductory remarks

In addition to the autochthonous Northern Qiang STILL expression *tɕe-*, the texts in LaPolla & Huang (2003) feature several tokens of *χaiʂə* ‘still is’ < Mandarin Chinese *háishì*. Judging from a remark in LaPolla & Huang (2003: 222), this item primarily serves as a filler. I have thus not included it in my sample.

D.10.2 tɕe-

D.10.2.1 General information

- Form: the vowel segment is subject to regressive vowel harmony.
- Wordhood: bound morpheme (a prefix that normally occurs on the verb, although in certain contexts it can attach to adjectives).

D.10.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- LaPolla & Huang (2003: 169) and Huang (2005).
- Specialisation: examples like (D.318–D.320) give a fairly good indication that this marker conforms to my definition.
- Pragmaticity: appears to be compatible with both scenarios (tentative conclusion). (D.318, D.319) are prime candidates for the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET. With negated nominalisation, this serves to construe temporal clauses of precedence (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 241).

(D.318) Context: An orangutan wants to eat an orphaned boy.
Dʑy-leː-ta dzeke i-ɕtɕi-kəi-tɕu, dʑy-leː
door-DEF.CLF-LOC IDEOPH DIR-push-NARR-SFP door-DEF.CLF
i-ɕtɕi χa-la-ha tha ʑi-kui-ɲiau,
DIR-push needle-DEF.one-PL there exist-NARR-SFP
χa-la-ha japə-leː-ta ə-tʂə-ŋiaufu
needle-DEF.one-PL hand-DEF.CLF-LOC DIR-stab-LNK
saq-phi-keː ə-ʂə-kui-tɕu, tu χaiʂə
blood-flow-INDEF.CLF DIR-put-NARR-SFP result still_is(<Chinese)
tɕəu-la ə-ʁə ɕtɕaq ***tɕo****-lu-kui-ʂə.*
home-LOC DIR-go heart still-come-NARR-LNK
‘When he pushed the door with a creak, the needle was there, and as soon as the needle pricked his hand, his hand was all covered with

blood but he still wanted to go in the room.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 264, 268)

(D.319) *Fa-tsa-qəi ba-haŋu̥ə̥lu, ə-lə* ***tɕa**-na-wa.*
clothes-this:one-CLF old-although DIR-look still-good-very
‘Although this piece of clothing is old, it still looks very good.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 245)

(D.320) *Nə-dʐə-m the:* ***tɕa**-n.*
sleep-able-NOM 3SG still-sleep
‘S/he who likes to sleep late is still sleeping.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 228)

D.10.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.10.2.3.1 Iterative via increment

- LaPolla & Huang (2003: 170).
- There appear to be two different expressions, *a-ʂ* and *a-thən*, both glossed as ‘one-time’ by LaPolla & Huang (2003), that yield this function in combination with *tɕe-*.

(D.321) Context: Trying on shoes.
Tse-si xsusu-ɲaʐguə-χau-ɲa-pan, ʔũ ***a-ʂ***
this-pair thirty-COM-nine-size-COM-half 2SG one-time
*i-**tɕi**-tsi-n.*
DIR-still-see-2SG
‘This pair (is a) size 39 ½, you try once again.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 170)

(D.322) Context: Two thirsty men have encountered water. They have drunk a little and encountered a stone slab cover.
ɦala ɕa-laː-ji tə-me-qe-kəi, ha,
INTERJ small-DEF.CL-EXCEPT DIR-NEG-lift-NARR EXPERIENTIAL
a-thən *sə-**tɕi**-tɕ-ʂam* ***a-thən*** *sə-**tɕi**-tɕ-kəi,*
one-time DIR-still-drink-LNK one-time DIR-still-drink-NARR
ɦa-la-χui-tu, sə-tɕ, ʂəpan tə-qe-ɲiaufu
INTENS-DEF.one-time-LNK DIR-drink stone_slab DIR-turn_over-LNK
‘They could still only lift it [stone slab] a little. The two drank mouthful of water again and they turned over the stone slab.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 311–312, 327)

D.10.2.3.2 First (?)

- LaPolla & Huang (2003: 194).
- In this function, *tɕe-* occurs with the copula *ŋuə* and a nominalised verb, which is a collocation denoting obligation (see LaPolla & Huang 2003: 190–194).
- LaPolla & Huang (2003: 194) state that without the still expression, “the form would express an action that had been agreed upon or set beforehand”. Based on the available examples, it is hard to interpret the function of this construction. Possibly, it indicates what remains to be done prior to some other action, thus straddling the boundary between precedence (Section 2.4.5.1) and a “further-to” use (Section 3.3.3). Both are attested in the wider vicinity (Appendices D.6.2.4.1, D.5.2.4.2).
- Example (D.325) shows that this reading is also available under negation.

(D.323) *Qa kə-s* ***tɕa****-ŋu̥ə̥.*
1sg go-nmlz still-cop
‘I (still) must go.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 194)

(D.324) *The: ləɣz zdə-s* ***tɕa****-ŋuə.*
3sg book read/study-nmlz still-cop
‘I (still) must study.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 194)

(D.325) *The: ləɣz zdə-s ma-****tɕa****-ŋuə.*
3sg book read/study-nmlz neg-still-cop
‘I (still) don’t need to study.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 194)

D.10.2.4 Marginality

- LaPolla & Huang (2003: 213–214).
- Judging from the few available examples, this gives a reading along the lines of ‘relatively’, as is also often found with Mandarin Chinese *hái* (D.9.2.6).
- Note that marginality survives under negation, as in (D.328).

(D.326) ***Tɕa****-wa.*
still-big
‘Relatively big.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 214)

(D.327) ***Tɕa****-basta.*
still-slow/late
‘Relatively slow/late.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 214)

(D.328) *Ma-****tɕa****-χtʂ̩a.*
neg-still-small
‘Not so small.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 214)

D.10.2.5 Additive and related functions

D.10.2.5.1 Additive

- Huang (2005) and LaPolla & Huang (2003: 169–170).
- This use encompasses a 'do some more' reading in the prospective aspect inflection (D.333).

(D.329) *ʁzə-pies a-fə$^{\text{ɪ}}$ ha-**tɕi**-ŋu̥ə̥*
fish-meat one-portion DIR-still-COP
'Also bring (give me) a portion of fish.' (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 170)

(D.330) *Theː ʐdʐytaː ɦa-qa me-tɕhi, peitɕin-la da-**tɕə**-qa-kəi.*
3SG Chengdu.LOC DIR-go NEG-want Beijing-LOC DIR-still-go-EVID
'It seems he not only went to Chengdu, he also went to Beijing.' (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 209)

(D.331) *A-zə ə-**tɕi**-z.*
one-CLF DIR-still-eat
'Eat some more!' (Huang 2005)

(D.332) *ʔile a-za a-**tɕi**-tɕə-i.*
2PL one-CLF DIR-still-wait-2PL
'Don't go now (lit. Wait a while longer).' (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 170)

(D.333) *Qa **tɕa**-naː.*
1SG still-sleep.PROSP
'I'm still going to sleep (I want to sleep some more).' (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 169)

D.10.2.5.2 Comparisons of inequality

- LaPolla & Huang (2003: 213).
- Comparisons of inequality in Northern Qiang follow a pattern [NP$_{\text{comparee}}$ NP$_{\text{standard}}$-*s* PRED]. Addition of *tɕe-* yields a great difference in degree ('much more'). It seems that an 'even more' reading is a contextual inference in contexts like (D.335), where the standard is explicitly described as having the property in question.
- As with Mandarin Chinese *hái* (Appendix D.9.2.7.2), there is also a reading of a relative degree of comparisons, which likely involves the marginality use (Appendix D.10.2.4) plus comparison, i.e. 'compared to … still counts as'.

(D.334) *Qa theː-s **tɕe**-ɦa.*
1SG 3SG-than still-white:1SG
'I am lighter (in color) than him (a lot lighter).' (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 88)

(D.335)

Pəs	*məpa*	*wa,*	*təp-ɲi*	*tsə-s*	***tɕa**-məpaː*	*lu.*
today	cold	very	tomorrow-ADV	this-than	still-cold.PROSP	will

‘Today is very cold; tomorrow is going to be even colder than this.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 161)

D.10.2.6 Broadly modal and interactional uses

D.10.2.6.1 Almost

- LaPolla & Huang (2003: 219–220).
- This function obtains in a combination of two clauses, the first of which contains a construction *a-zə tɕa-ŋuə-ʂə* ‘one-CLF still-COP-LNK.CF’.
- This use signals that an event or state nearly came about. As pointed out by LaPolla & Huang (2003: 220), in this construction the clause linker *-ʂə* contributes a counterfactual meaning, whereas *tɕe-* in all likelihood serves as an additive (‘had it been a little more’). That is, we find the same function as in (D.331, D.332) above.
- Only one example is found in LaPolla & Huang’s (2003) grammar.

(D.336)

a-zə	***tɕa-ŋuaː-ʂə,***	*qa*	*i-pə-l*	*ma-lə-jya.*
one-CLF	still-COP.PROSP-LNK	1SG	DIR-arrive-come	NEG-able-ASP:1SG

‘I almost couldn’t return.’ (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 219)

D.11 Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian (hbs, sout 1528)

D.11.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Jurica Polančec, Marijana Kresić Vukosav, and Stefan Savić for discussing Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian data with me and for providing many additional examples.

D.11.2 još

D.11.2.1 General information

- Form: *још* in Cyrillic script.
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Etymology: < Proto-Slavic **ěšče* ‘still, yet’ with the initial segment going back to **i* ‘and’ (Derksen 2008: 146).

D.11.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Alexander (2006: 161), Buchholz (1991), Engel & Mrazović (1986: 739), Hammond (2005: 69–70), Prajnković (2018), Tekavčić (1989) and Znanje & SRC (2006: s.v. *još*).
- Specialisation: identified as a marker that is in line with my definition by van der Auwera (1998).
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Pragmaticity: augmented by *uvek*/*uvijek* 'always' for the unexpectedly late scenario.

(D.337) ***Još*** *si mlad-a.*
still COP.2SG young-NOM.SG.F
'Du bist noch jung. [You are still young.]' (Buchholz 1991: 26, glosses added)

(D.338) *Ujutro* ***još*** *mogu raditi ali uveče nikako.*
in_the_morning still can.IPFV.1SG work.IPFV.INF but in_the_evening by_no_means
'Am Morgen kann ich noch arbeiten, aber am Abend überhaupt nicht. [In the morning I'm still capable of working, but in early evening, not at all.]' (Engel & Mrazović 1986: 889, glosses added)

D.11.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

D.11.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Prajnković (2018).
- *Još* itself is only used for decreases, whereas for limited increases ('still only') scalar restrictive *tek* is used (D.341). However, its emphatic (unexpectedly late) counterpart *još uv*(*ij*)*ek* can combine with a restrictive marker to signal 'still only' (D.343).
- Also note the complex focus particle *samo još* 'only still' for 'only as little as … left' in (D.340).
- Syntax: can form a single constituent with the focus. As shown in (D.339) they move through the clause together and can appear before second-position clitics.

(D.339) Context: I had ten books and I've given away some of them.
Osta-lo mi (ih) je ***još*** *pet*
remain.pfv.ptcp-sg.n 1sg.dat 3pl.gen cop.3sg still five
*knjiga. / [**Još** pet knjiga] mi je*
book.gen.sg still five book.gen.pl 1sg.dat cop.3sg
osta-lo.
remain.pfv.ptcp-sg.n
'I still have five books left. / What I have left are still five books.'
(Stefan Savič, p.c)

(D.340) *Njemu ostaje samo* ***još*** *jedno: što pre*
3sg.dat.m remain.ipfv.3sg only still one.acc.sg.n as before
pobeći odavde.
flee.pfv.inf from_here
'Für ihn blieb nur noch das eine zu tun: so schnell wie möglich zu fliehen. [There was only one option left for him: to get away as soon as possible.]' (Engel & Mrazović 1986: 248, glosses added)

(D.341) Context: We are supposed to be sent several books.

A: I have got five.

B: Me, too.

C: *A ja sam dobi-o sam* ***tek*** *(#**još**) tri.*
but 1sg cop.1sg receive.ptcp-sg.m cop.1sg only still three
'I have (still) only received three.' (Stefan Savič, p.c)

(D.342) *Svi će vam reći – naći ćete*
everyone will.3sg 2sg.dat say.pfv.inf find.pfv.inf will.2pl
to na web stranici, ali kod nas ***još uvijek***
dem.nom.sg.n on web page.loc.sg but near 1pl.gen still always
samo tri posto stanovništva *ima pristup*
only three percent population.gen.sg have.3sg access.acc.sg
Internetu.
internet.dat.sg
'Everyone will tell you "You'll find it [the information you need] on the website", but where we live, still only three percent of the population has access to the internet.' (found online, glosses added)[45]

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[45] https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/823402.html (08 March, 2023).

(D.343) Context: About increased funding for kindergartens.
Tu su ***još uvijek samo*** *četiri grad-a koj-a su*
here COP.3SG still always only four city-PL REL-PL COP.3SG
roditelje u potpunosti oslobodil-a plaća-nja -
parent.ACC.PL at completion.LOC.SG liberate.PFV.PTCP-PL pay-NMLZ
Belišće, Umag, Vrlika i Obrovac.
B. U. V. and O.
'**There are still only four cities** that have completely exempted parents from paying - Belišće, Umag, Vrlika and Obrovac.' (found online, glosses added)[46]

D.11.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.11.2.4.1 Iterative via increment

- Form: in collocation with the event quantifier *jednom* 'once, one time'.
- Ex. (D.346) shows that a restitutive use is not available.

(D.344) ***Još jednom*** *da te vidim // još ti jednu*
still once COMP 2SG.ACC see.IPFV.1SG still 2SG.ACC one.ACC.SG.F
boru stvorim // ***još*** *ti* ***jednom***
wrinkle(F).ACC.SG create.PFV.1SG still 2SG.DAT once
slomim srce // pa ti kažem da te
break.PFV.1SG heart.ACC,SG then 2SG.DAT say.PFV.1SG COMP 2SG.ACC
volim
love.IPFV.1SG
'If only I could see you one more time // lf only I could create one more wrinkle [on your face] // If only I could break your heart once more // and then tell you I love you.' (from the song *Još jednom* by the Croatian rock band *Silente*)

(D.345) Context: We're in a band and practicing for a concert.
Ajmo odsvirati ***još jednom****.*
HORT play.INF still once
'Let's play it one more time.' (Jurica Polančec, p.c.)

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[46] https://grad-vinkovci.hr/hr/objave/default/za-vrtice-najvise-izdvajaju-mali-gradovi-rekorder-2018-su-vinkovci (08 March, 2023).

(D.346) Context: I opened the door but a gust of wind has closed it. I ask you:
*Je l' možeš opet/ponovo/#**još jednom** da otvoriš*
2SG Q can.2SG again/again/still once COMP open.PFV.2SG
vrata?
door.ACC.SG
'Could you close the door again?' (Stefan Savič, p.c.)

D.11.2.4.2 Prospective 'eventually'

- König (1991: 142) and Prajnković (2018).
- Negation denies the existence of any future situation of the type depicted in the predicate; see (D.350).

(D.347) ***Još** ćeš ti videti ko je od nas dvojice upravu.*
still will.2SG 2SG see.INF who COP.3SG of 1PL.GEN at right
'Du wirst noch sehen, wer von uns beiden Recht hat. [You'll see yet which one of us two is right.]' (Dahl 1988: 244)

(D.348) Context: At a sports event. Our team is lying behind.
*Pobedi-ćemo mi **još**.*
win.PFV-FUT.1PL 1PL still
'We'll win yet.' (Stefan Savić, p.c.)

(D.349) Context: I've told you about a party I'll be hosting.
*Javiću ti **još**.*
inform.PFV.FUT.1SG 1SG.DAT still
'I'll follow up with more information.' (Stefan Savič, p.c)

(D.350) *…da se **ne bi** **još** i razboleo.*
COMP REFL NEG COP.2SG still and fall_ill.PFV.2SG
'… so that you won't end up ill.' (Stefan Savić, p.c.)

D.11.2.5 Temporal connectives and frame setters

D.11.2.5.1 Persistent time frame

- Buchholz (1991).
- In this function, *još* associates with a temporal frame adverbial (D.351– D.353) or a related expression (D.354), giving a reading of 'while (it is) still …'.
- Syntax: forms a constituent with the expression it associates with; note how *još danas* in (D.353) precedes the second-position future auxiliary.

(D.351) Context: A student with the ardent desire to become a doctor did not get accepted into medical school at the first try. He applied again,

and the good news that this time he was accepted for admission in Berlin got to him while he was travelling.
Još *sledećeg dana je otputova-o za Berlin*
still next.gen.m day(m).gen cop.3sg leave.pfv.ptcp-sg.m for Berlin
jer je semestar već počinja-o.
because cop.3sg semester(m).nom.sg already begin.ipfv.ptcp-sg.m
'The very next day he set off for Berlin, because the semester was about to begin.' (found online, glosses added)[47]

(D.352) *Austrijsko Ministarstvo zdravlja*
Austrian.nom.sg.n ministery(n).nom.sg health.gen.sg
izradi-lo je zakon … i on će
make.pfv:ptcp-sg.n cop.3sg law(m).acc.sg and 3sg.m will.3sg
još *ove nedelje biti upućen na*
still prox.gen.sg.f week(f).gen.sg cop.inf send:ptcp.pass:sg.m to
razmatranje.
consider.nmlz
'The Austrian Ministry of Health has drafted a law … and it will be sent for consideration this very week.' (found online, glosses added)[48]

(D.353) ***Još*** *danas ću otići kod njega.*
still today will.1sg leave.pfv.inf at 3sg.acc.m
'Noch heute werde ich zu ihm gehen. [This very day / before the end of the day, I'll go to his place.]' (Buchholz 1991: 31, glosses added)

(D.354) Context: There was an accident involving a lorry and a cyclist.
Žrtva je umr-la ***još*** *na licu mesta.*
victim(f) cop.3sg die.ptcp-sg.f still at face.loc.sg place.gen.sg
'The victim died right at the scene of the accident.' (Stefan Savič, p.c.)

D.11.2.5.2 Time-scalar ('as late as/as far removed as')

- Buchholz (1991), Znanje & SRC (2006: s.v. *još*) and Prajnković (2018).
- Time-scalar additive *još* is attested both with a scale of time proper 'as late as' (D.355, D.356) and with one of temporal distance 'as far removed as' (D.358–D.361). The common denominator lies in the fact that the alternatives are con-

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[47] https://arhiva.vesti-online.com/Vesti/Zanimljivosti/63714/Pozarevljanin-buduci-vrhunski-berlinski-lekar (08 February, 2023).

[48] https://24sedam.rs/svet/vesti/96437/izraden-nacrt-zakona-o-obaveznoj-vakcinaciji-odredena-i-visina-kazni/vest (24 March, 2022).

stistently lower values (earlier times/less removed times). The two functions overlap in future contexts like (D.357).

- The data suggest that readings of 'as far removed as, as early as' arise in the same contexts described by Mustajoki (1988) for the Russian cognate *ešče*. These are, in broad strokes:
  - With specifications of a point in time (D.357).
  - With reference to steps in a process, stages in life, etc. (D.358, D.359).
  - With specifications 'even before' (D.360).
  - With designations for people and personal names, typically deceased or otherwise inaccessible (D.361).
- That the 'as far removed as' reading is not one of earliness ('as early as') becomes visible by a direct comparison with the already expression *več* in examples like (D.363) and, even more prominently, in (D.364), where a comparatively minor forward leap on the temporal axis is at stake and *još* is infelicitous.
- Syntax: forms a constituent with its associated expression.

(D.355) ***Još*** *1967, su se na Novom Zelandu pabovi*
still 1967 cop.3sg refl at New Zealand.loc pub(m).nom.pl
zatvara-li u 18:00.
close:ptcp-pl.m at 6pm
'As late as 1967, the pubs in New Zealand would close at 6pm.'
(Stefan Savič, p.c.)

(D.356) *Ko bi* ***još*** *pre godinu dana*
who.nom would still before year.acc.sg day.gen.sg
pomisl-io da ćemo danas imati
think.pfv:ptcp-sg.m comp will.1pl today have.ipfv.inf
efikasne vakcine protiv virusa korona i da
efficient.gen.sg.f vaccine(f).gen.sg against corona virus and comp
ćemo toliko napredovati sa vakcinacijom?!
will.1pl so_much progress.inf with vaccination.dat.sg
'Who would have thought, just a year ago, that today we would have effective vaccinations against the corona virus and make so much progress with vaccination?' (found online, glosses added)[49]

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[49] https://belgrad.diplo.de/rs-sr/aktuelles/-/2473212 (24 March, 2022).

(D.357) ***Još za sto godina*** *ljudi će govoriti o*
still at hundred year.gen.pl people will.3sg speak.ipfv.inf on
ovome.
prox.loc.sg.m
‘Even in a hundred years people will (still) speak about this.’ (Stefan Savić, p.c.)

(D.358) *Obavljenim nadzorom*
carry_out.pass.ins.sg.m supervision(m).ins.sg
utvrđen-o je da vozač
strengthen:pfv.pass.ptcp-sg.n cop.3sg comp driver.nom.sg
upravlja automobilom iako mu je
drive.ipfv.3sg car.ins.sg although 3sg.dat.m cop.3sg
vozačka dozvola oduzet-a ***još*** *prije*
driver’s_licence(f).nom.sg take_away.pfv:pass.ptcp-sg.f still before
15 godina.
15 year.gen.pl
‘Through the investigation it was established that the driver was steering the car although his driver’s licence had been revoked as far back as 15 years ago.’ (found online, glosses added)[50]

(D.359) ***Još*** *u mladosti bio je ozbiljan.*
still at youth.loc cop.ptcp.sg.m cop.3sg serious.nom.sg.m
‘He has been serious since (as far back as) in his youth.’ (Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*, glosses added)

(D.360) *Jezik se uči* ***još*** *u maternici, pokaza-la*
language refl learn.ipfv.3sg still at womb.loc show.ptcp-sg.f
je studija finskog Sveučilišta Helsinki.
cop.3sg study(f) finnish university.gen.sg H.
‘Language is (already) learned as far back as in the womb, according to a Finnish study at the University of Helsinki.’ (found online, glosses added)[51]

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[50] http://www.radio-maestral.hr/pula/vozio-pijan-a-vozacka-mu-je-oduzeta-jos-prije-15-godina/ (09 Februrary, 2023).

[51] https://www.24sata.hr/lifestyle/pazite-sto-pricate-bebe-slusaju-i-pamte-rijeci-jos-u-maternici-329923 (27 April, 2022).

(D.361) *Bog nas je,* ***još prije nego što je***
God 1PL.ACC COP.3SG still before than as COP.3SG
***stvori-o svijet**, izabra-o da u*
create.IPFV.PTCP-SG.M world.ACC.SG choose.PFV.PTCP-SG.M COMP at
Kristu budemo sveti i bez nedostatka u
Christ COP.1PL holy.NOM.PL.M and without shortage.GEN.SG at
njegovim očima.
POSS.3SG.M:LOC.PL eye.LOC.PL
'For he chose us in him **(already) before the creation of the world** to be holy and blameless in his sight.' (Eph.1:4, *Knijga o Kristu*, glosses added)

(D.362) *No, iako ih je* ***još*** *Einstein najavi-o*
but although 3PL.ACC COP.3SG still E. announce.PFV.PTCP-SG.M
fizičari dosad nisu uspje-li
physicist.NOM.PL thus_far NEG.COP.3PL succeed.PFV.PTCP-PL.M
otkriti postojanje gravitacijskih valova.
uncover.PFV.INF existence.ACC.SG gravitational.GEN.PL wave.GEN.PL
'But even though someone as early as/as far removed as Einstein postulated them, until now physicists have failed to detect the existence of gravitational waves.' (found online, glosses added)[52]

(D.363)
a. ***Još*** *sa šest godina zna-la je*
still at six year.GEN.PL know.IPFV.PTCP-SG.F COP.3SG
čitati latinski.
read.IPFV.INF Latin.ACC.SG
'All the way back at the age of six she could (already) read Latin.'

b. ***Več*** *sa šest godina zna-la je*
already at six year.GEN.PL know.IPFV.PTCP-SG.F COP.3SG
čitati latinski.
read.IPFV.INF Latin.ACC.SG
'As early as at the age of six she could (already) read Latin.' (Jurica Polančec, p.c.)

(D.364) Context: About a politician who graduaded in 2011.
Međutim, ***već*** *(#****još****)* ***2012. godine*** *se naša-o*
however already still 2012 year.GEN.SG REFL find.PFV.PTCP-SG.M

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[52] https://www.24sata.hr/tech/otkrili-su-gravitacijske-valove-konacni-dokaz-za-einsteina-460394 (27 April 2022).

u skupini od 18 policijskih dužnosnika
at group.LOC.SG from 18 constabulary.GEN.PL official.GEN.PL
koje se sumnjiči-lo za plagir-anje
REL.ACC.PL.N REFL suspect.IPFV.PTCP-PL.N for plagiarize-NMLZ
diplom-sk-og…
diploma-ADJ-GEN.SG
'However, already in 2012, he found himself in a group of 18 police officials who were suspected of plagiarizing their diploma….' (found online and Jurica Polnačec, p.c.)[53]

D.11.2.6 Marginality

- Znanje & SRC (2006: s.v. *još*) and Prajnković (2018).
- *Još* is compatible with readings of marginality. This includes derogatory comparisons like (D.367).

(D.365) Context: Talking about tennis skills.
Mark-a ***još*** *(i) mogu da pobedim, ali Tom je*
M.-ACC still (also) can.IPFV.1SG COMP beat.PFV.1SG but T. COP
bolji od mene.
better than 1SG.ACC
'Mark I can still beat, but Tom is better than me.' (Stefan Savič, p.c.)

(D.366) Context: we're in Croatia, taking a roadtrip East and discussing which country Osijek belongs to.
Osijek je ***još*** *Hrvatska.*
O. COP.3SG still Croatia
'Osijek is still in Croatia.' (Jurica Polančec, p.c.)

(D.367) *Ivo je* ***još*** *(i) najpametniji u porodici (da*
I. COP.3SG still (also) smartest.ACC.SG.M at family.LOC.SG COMP
vidiš kakvi se tek osta-li).
see.2SG what_kind_of REFL first/only remain.IPFV.PTCP-M.PL
'Ivo is still the smartest of his family (just look at the rest of the bunch).' (Stefan Savič, p.c.)

(D.368) *Ti si* ***još*** *jeftino proša-o.*
2SG COP.2SG still cheaply pass.PFV.PTCP-SG.M
'You still got off cheaply.' (Prajnković 2018: 72, glosses added)

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[53] https://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/barisic-nije-jedini-pogledajte-i-ostale-poznate-hrvatske-plagijatore/943153.aspx (24 November, 2022).

D.11.2.6.1 Marginality, ‘within limits’: *još-još*

- Znanje & SRC (2006: s.v. *još*).
- Form: in the reduplicated form *jošjoš*, typically together with the neuter anaphoric demonstrative *to* as the subject.
- This use signals

> … da se dopušta kao mogućnost, da se na što može pristati ili da je pod nekim okolnostima prihvatljivo (slijedi ili se podrazumijeva nešto drugačije ili suprotno) […what is permissible, can be agreed to, or is acceptable in a given circumstance (following or implying something else or to the contrary)]. (Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*)

- This use was not known to all native-speaker linguists consulted by me, and might be a regionalism. The same use is, however, described for the cognate form *ešteešte* in Slovak (Buzássyová & Jarošová 2006: s.v. *ešte*; Kačala et al. 2003: s.v. *ešte*).

(D.369) *Platiti tolike novce, to* ***još~još*** *(ali*
pay.pfv.inf so_much.gen.sg.f money(f).acc.sg dem.n still~still but
za lošu stvar nikada).
for bad.acc.sg.f thing(f).acc.sg never
‘To spend so much money, **well ok** (but [I’d] never [spend it] on [such] a bad thing).’ (Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*, glosses added)

D.11.2.7 Additive and related functions

D.11.2.7.1 Additive

- Buchholz (1991), Engel & Mrazović (1986: 755), Prajnković (2018), Tekavčić (1989) and Znanje & SRC (2006: s.v. *još*).
- When an increment of the same type is added, *još* itself can “stand in” for an indefinite quantifier ‘more’ (D.373).
- Additive *još* may co-occur with other additive markers, such as *i* in (D.371).
- In the pattern illustrated in (D.374), the additive use can yield intersubjective and concessive overtones.
- Syntax: can form a constituent with its focus.

(D.370) *Pored toga što piše pjesme, čime se* ***još***
besides write.ipfv.3sg poem.acc.pl what refl still
bavi?
engage_in.ipfv.3sg
‘What else does she do beside writing poems?’ (Alexander 2006: 246, glosses added)

(D.371) *Pametna je devojka, a sad je* ***još*** *i*
smart.NOM.SG.F COP.3SG girl(F).NOM.SG and now COP.3SG still also
ljuta.
angry.NOM.SG.F
‘She’s a smart girl, and now an angry one, too.’ (found online, glosses added)[54]

(D.372) *Popi-o je* ***još*** *jednu čašu*
drink.PTCP-SG.M COP.3SG still one.ACC.SG.F glass(F).ACC.SG
vina.
wine.GEN.SG
‘Er hat noch ein Glas Wein (aus)getrunken [He drank another glass of wine].’ (Buchholz 1991: 32)

(D.373) *Kad su prodali svoje čudesne ljekarije bolje nego što su mislili*
‘When their miracle potion sold better than they had thought,’
otišl-i su kući po ***još.***
leave.PTCP-PL.M COP.3PL home.DAT.SG for still
‘they went home for more.’ (Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*, glosses added)

(D.374) A: *Slabo ti on poznaje propise.*
‘He hardly knows the rules.’

B: ***Još*** *je pravnik!*
still COP.3SG lawyer.NOM.SG
‘**And** he’s a lawyer (i.e. he of all people should know)!’ (Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*, glosses added)

D.11.2.7.2 Comparisons of inequality

- Alexander (2006: 180), Buchholz (1991), Prajnković (2018) and Znanje & SRC (2006: s.v. *još*)
- Note that comparatives in Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian involve a derived or suppletive comparative form of the predicate, and the standard NP is introduced by either *od* or *nego* ‘than’ (see Alexander 2006: 173–180). The use of *još* adds the notion of ‘even’.
- Syntax: can form a constituent with its focus.

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[54] https://glosbe.com/hr/sr/pametan (24 March, 2022).

(D.375) *Jučer ih je bilo mal-o, a danas*
yesterday 3PL.GEN COP.3SG COP:PTCP.SG.N few-SG.N and today
ih ima ***još*** *manje.*
3PL.GEN EXIST.IPFV.3SG still less
'Yesterday there were not many, and today there are even fewer.' (Alexander 2006: 181, glosses added)

(D.376) *Želim* ***još*** *više dobrog života.*
want.IPFV.1SG still more good.GEN.SG.M.DEF life(M).GEN.SG
'I want even more of the good life.' (Alexander 2006: 56, glosses added)

(D.377) *Taj mu je roman* ***još***
PROX.NOM.SG.M 3SG.DAT.M COP.3SG novel(M).NOM.SG still
zanimljiviji od prethodnoga.
interesting.CMPR:NOM.SG.M than previous.GEN.SG.M.DEF
'This novel is even more interesting for him than the previous one.' (Prajnković 2018: 72, glosses added)

D.11.2.8 Broadly modal and interactional uses

D.11.2.8.1 Exclamation *još kako*, *još koliko* 'And how'

- Dahl (1988: 262), Prajnković (2018), and Znanje & SRC (2006: s.v. *još*).
- Form: this function obtains in collocation with *kako* 'how' (D.378, D.379) and *kaliko* 'how much'.
- This collocation is used in conversational dialogue. It has an affirmative, reinforcing and anaphoric function 'and how (much)' that is a straightforward extension of the additive use of *još* (Appendix D.11.2.7.1) in collaboration with the cumulative component of STILL; note the variant forms *i te kako*, *i te kaliko* 'and also how (much)'.

(D.378) A: *Jesi li dobro naspava-o?*
COP.2SG Q well sleep.PFV.PTCP-SG.M
'Did you sleep well?'

B: ***Još kako.***
still how
'And how I did!' (Prajnković 2018: 72, glosses added)

(D.379) A: *Ne spominji je već.*
NEG mention.IPFV.IMP 3SG.ACC.F already
'Don't mention her anymore!'

B: ***Još kako*** *ću je spominjati.*
still how will.1SG 3SG.ACC.F mention.IPFV.INF
'And how I will mention her!' (HrWac 2.2, glosses added)

(D.380) A: *Ja sam njih upozorava-o.*
1SG COP.1SG 3PL.ACC warn.PTCP-SG.M
'I warned them.'

B: ***Još kaliko***.
still how_much
'Very much so.' (Znanje & SRC 2006: s.v. *još*, glosses added)

D.12 Southern Yukaghir (yux, sout2750)

D.12.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I searched Maslova's (2001) text collection and the Southern Yukaghir online documentation (Nikolaeva & Mayer 2004). I adapted examples from the latter to the practical orthography used in Maslova (2003).

D.12.2 ajī / āj

D.12.2.1 General information

- Form: two variants, *ajī* and *āj*. Both forms can serve as phasal polarity expressions, but differ slightly in their additional functions.
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word.

D.12.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Maslova (2003: 531–532).
- Form: both as *ajī* and *āj*.
- Specialisation: textual attestations like (D.381–D.383) give evidence that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, in (D.381) *ajī* not only indicates the persistence of a prior state in which there were few Russians and Yakut on Yukaghir land, but it also evokes a contrast with the time of speech, where the situation has changed.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios (tentative conclusion). Example (D.383) is a prime candidate for the unexpectedly late scenario. It is yet unclear, if additional marking, such as the intensifier in (D.383), is compulsory for indicating the unexpectedly late scenario.

- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Syntax: preverbal position.

(D.381) Context: The Yukaghir and Even understood each other and would exchange goods.
Lučī-pe jaqa-pe tiŋ lebie-ge ***ajī*** *ča-pe-de*
Russian-PL Yakut-PL this earth-LOC still be_few-PL-POSS:ATTR
parā-ge…
time-LOC
'At the time when there were still few Russians and Yakuts here…' (Maslova 2001: 138, 157; 2003: 425)

(D.382) Context: About the days of the speaker's great grandfather.
Irki-d'e qojl numø uj-ā-ge parā-pe-de-ge ta-ŋ
one-FREQ God house do-INCH-DS time-PL-POSS.3-LOC that-ATTR
pulut ***aj*** *ō-ŋō-l'el-te-j.*
old_man still child-VBLZ-EVID-FUT-3SG
'Once when the old man was still young, they started building a church.' (Nikolaeva & Mayer 2004: Text 36)

(D.383) Context: About a well-regarded old man.
Bosj'e lig-mu-lle sto n'emolhil-ŋōt gude-din
at_all old-INCH-SS.PFV hundred year-TRANSFORMATIVE become-PTCP
l'e-de-ge ***āji*** *eg-užu-j-bed-ek tud-id'ie.*
COP-3-DS still walk-ITER-ATTR-REL.NMLZ-PRED 3SG-INTENS
'As a very old man, a hundred years old, he still walked alone unaided (lit. … is one that still walks around …).'[55] (Maslova 2001: 141, 158)

D.12.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.12.2.3.1 Iterative and restitutive

- Maslova (2003: 528–529).
- Form: in this function, the marker invariably occurs as *āj*.
- Both iterative (D.384, D.385) and restitutive uses (D.387, D.388) are attested.
- An example like (D.386) can be read as either iterative or additive.
- Syntax: preverbal position.

(D.384) *Pulut, pulut,* ***āj*** *kimdan'e-jek.*
old_man old_man still lie-INTR:2SG
'Old man, old man, you are cheating again.' (Maslova 2003: 529)

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[55] See Maslova (2003: 126–128) on the Southern Yukaghir "transformative" *-ŋōt*.

(D.385) Context: A man has brought the master of the earth a barrel full of spirit in exchange for fur. Now he has come a second time.

D'e tude boc'ka-gele ***aj*** *køud-ej-m.*
DM 3SG.GEN barrel-ACC still take_away-PFV-TR.3SG
'He brought his barrel again.' (Nikolaeva & Mayer 2004: text 25)

(D.386) *D'e taŋ jeklie* ***āj*** *ekr-īl'i sobenn'i* ***āj*** *ejr-īl'i.*
DM that behind still walk-INTR.1PL today still walk-INTR.1PL
'Well, we walked beforehand, too, and we walked again today.' (Maslova 2003: 529)

(D.387) Context: The narrator and his companions have gone to look after an old woman who lives alone.

Jaqa-īli, jaqa-j-lu-ke los'il n'imē-l'el, los'il ***aj***
reach-1PL reach-PFV-1|2-DS fire be_extinguished-EVID fire still
pēde-t-i.
burn-TR-TR.1PL
'We arrived. When we arrived, we saw that the fire had gone down, so we lit the fire again.' (Nikolaeva & Mayer 2004: Text 31)

(D.388) Context: The narrator has woken up on the floor.

Tāt mo-d'e joŋžō-d'e-n'e-t urun-get met
then say-1SG blanket-PROPR-SS.IPFV bed-ABL 1SG
c'irc'e-g-ej-l'el-d'e. ***Aj*** *abud-ā-je.*
jump-ITER-PFV-EVID-1SG still lie-INCH-1SG
'I thought that I had jumped down from the bed in my sleep. I lay down again.' (Nikolaeva & Mayer 2004: Text 42)

D.12.2.4 Additive and related uses

D.12.2.4.1 Additive

- Maslova (2003: 528–535).
- Form and syntax: dependent on the focus of the expression.
  - The variant *āj* marks additive 'too, also' (D.389-D.391). It normally occurs in the preverbal position, but, under certain conditions, it may follow an NP that constitutes its focus, without preceding the verb. It may be used across two adjacent clauses in a pattern reminiscent of bisyndetic coordination (D.391); also see (D.386) above.

- The variant *ajī* occurs with transitive predicates, the P-argument being the focus and the alternative denotations belonging to the same type, i.e. 'another, more' (D.392, D.393). It is a phrasal adjunct to the constituent containing the focus.

(D.389) Context: People have gone gathering berries.
*Met emd'e juk-ō-j, lebejdī-le **āj** šaqal'e-š-nu-m.*
1SG sibling small-STAT-3 berries-ACC still gather-CAUS-IPFV-TR.3
'Even though my younger brother was small, he was gathering berries, too.' (Maslova 2001: 146, 160)

(D.390) *Ōžī el-jūke l'e-t-i kind'e pod'erqo **āj***
water NEG-far COP-FUT-INTR.3SG moon light still
l'e-t-i.
COP-FUT-INTR-3SG
'The water will not be far, and there will be moonlight, too.' (Maslova 2003: 530)

(D.391) *Tude-l **āj** met-ke-t joule-d'ā-j met **āj** joule-s'.*
3SG-NOM still 1SG-LOC-ABL ask-MID-INTR.3SG 1SG still ask-TR.1SG
'He asked questions of me, and I of him.' (Maslova 2001: 142, 159)

(D.392) *Met āj čumuč-ie-je, **ajī** ningō ī-de-j.*
1SG still fish-INCH-INTR.1SG still many get_caught-CAUS-1PL.TR
'I began to fish, too, we have caught much more.' (Maslova 2003: 532)

(D.393) ***Ajī** lebejdī-k šaqal'e-šu-l.*
still berries-PRED gather-CAUS-1PL
'(Then) we gathered more berries.' (Maslova 2003: 532)

D.12.2.4.2 Comparisons of inequality

- Maslova (2003: 364).
- Form: both *āj* and *ajī* occur in this function.
- Southern Yukaghir uses a from-comparative (Stassen 2013), in which the standard of comparison – if it is made explicit – is marked with the ablative case, as in D.394. There is no overt marking of comparison on the predicate (Maslova 2003: 364). The use of *āj*/*ajī* adds the scalar additive notion of 'even'.
- Syntax: appears to be a syntactic sister to the focus.

(D.394) *Tudel mit-ket **āj** omos' modo-j.*
3SG 1PL-ABL still well sit-INTR.3SG
'He lives even better than we do.' (Maslova 2003: 364)

(D.395) Context: The narrator and his companions have heard that the moon is full of candies and are eager to get there. After hearing another story about the nice things to find there, their desire has increased further.
Mit ***ajī*** *c'om-ō-ʁete er'dē-īli c'ugō-n, tamun kind'e-ge jaqa-īli*
1pl still big-vblz-adv wish-1pl fast-adv that moon-loc reach-1pl
monu-t.
say-ss.ipfv
'We wanted even more to go quickly to the moon.' (Nikolaeva & Mayer 2004: Text 50)

(D.396) Context: In order to prepare Perch for a dangerous trip, other fish have provided him with an iron coat. That has proven not enough armour.
Ajī *omos' adi ā-gi nado.*
still well strongly make-poss.3 necessary
'It is necessary to strengthen him even more!' (Maslova 2003: 565, 573)

D.13 Spanish (spa, stan1288)

D.13.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I consulted the *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (CORPES XXI) (https://www.rae.es/banco-de-datos/corpes-xxi). I am furthermore indebted to Kristian Roncero for discussing Spanish data with me.

D.13.2 aún

D.13.2.1 General information

- Form: usually written as *aun* when unstressed.
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable; some authors (e.g. Trujillo 1990) treat the unstressed form as a proclitic.
- Etymology: from a Latin phrase 'until today.'

D.13.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Van der Auwera (1998), Garrido (1993), Olivares Pardo & Sopeña Balordi (2001), RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8r, 2021: s.v. *aun*) and Trujillo (1990), among others.

- Specialisation: identified as a marker that is in line with my definition by van der Auwera (1998); the description by RAE-ASALE (2009) directly addresses both meaning components.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios.
- Further note: *aún* is attested as an elliptical one-word answer (D.399).

(D.397) *Aquí empieza la verdader-a historia d-el Ojo. En aquel*
here begin.3sg def.sg.f true-f story(f) of-El Ojo in dist.sg.m
*tiempo **aún** viv-ía en París y su-s foto-s*
time(m) still live-pst.ipfv.3sg in Paris and poss.3-pl foto-pl
iba-n a ilustr-ar un texto de un
go.pst.ipfv-3pl to illustrate-inf indef.sg.m text(m) of indef.sg.m
conoc-id-o escritor francés que se hab-ía
know-ptcp-m writer(m) french subord refl.3 have-pst.ipfv.3sg
especializ-ado en el sub-mundo de la
specialize-ptcp en def.sg.m under-world(m) of def.sg.f
prostitución.
prostitution(m)
'Here the true story of El Ojo begins. In those days he still lived in Paris and his photos would illustrate a text by a well-known French author that had specialised in the underworld of prostitution.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.398) *Cálma-te ahora. Deja que el tiempo*
calm_down.imp-refl.2sg now let.imp subord def.sg.m time(m)
*pas-e, **aún** es muy pronto.*
pass-sbjv.3sg still cop.3sg very early
'Calm down. Let time pass, it's still very early.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.399) *-Y aún estás esperando, ¿no? -dijo Jordi.*
'"And you are still waiting, no?" Jordi said.

Abdul dio un manotazo en la mesa.
'Abdul smacked his hand on the table.'

*-**Aún** -grit-ó riendo-. **Aún**.*
still shout-pst.pfv.3sg laugh.ptcp still
'"[I] Still [am]" he cried, laughing. "[I] Still [am]."' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.2.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

D.13.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Aún* is compatible with scalar contexts, both involving decreases (D.400, D.401) and limited increases (D.402, D.403). To disambiguate between the two directions of change, additional expressions can be used, such as *quedar* ‘remain’ in (D.401), or *sólo* ‘only’ in (D.402). Note, however, the absence of an ‘only’ marker in (D.403, D.404).
- In this use, *aún* also combines with time expressions, yielding ‘no later than’, as in (D.404).

(D.400) *En América Latin-a -inclu-id-a Venezuela-* ***aún*** *exist-e*
in America(F) latin-F include-PTCP-F V. still exist-3SG
un alt-o porcentaje de persona-s que cocin-an con
DEF.SG.M high-M percentage(M) of person-PL SUBORD cook-3PL with
leña.
firewood
In Latin America, including Venezuela, there is still a large percentage of people that cook with firewood.’ (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.401) ***Aun*** *qued-an, sin embargo, dos mes-es de campaña y*
still remain-3PL nonetheless two month-PL of campaign and
cualquier cosa puede suced-er.
any thing can.3SG happen-INF
‘There are, however, two months still left to the campaign, and anything can happen.’ (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.402) Context: From the announcement of a book about Soviet Gulags.
...la primer-a historia pormenoriz-ad-a y
DEF.SG.F first-F history(F) describe_in_detail-PTCP-F and
solvente de un mundo ***aún*** *sólo parcialmente*
dependable of INDEF.SG.M world(M) still only partially
conoc-id-o en tod-o su horror.
know-PTCP-M in all-M POSS.3 horror(M)
‘...the first detailed and reliable history of a world that is still only partially known in all its horror.’ (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.403) *En 1992 una bebé con **aún** unos poc-o-s*
in 1992 indef.sg.f baby with still indef.pl.m few-m-pl
mes-es de vida fue llev-ad-a desde Paraguay
month(m)-pl of life cop.pst.pfv.3sg carry-ptcp-f from P.
a los Estado-s Unid-o-s.
to def.pl.m state(m)-pl united-m-pl
'In 1992, a (female) baby that was still only a few years old was taken from Paraguay to the United States.' (found online, glosses added)[56]

(D.404) Context: The negatives from a hotel review.
*Que **aun** era-n las 8:30am y la persona*
comp still cop.pst.ipfv-3pl def.pl.f 8:30am and def.sg.f person(f)
encarg-ad-a d-el desayuno dij-o que
assign-ptcp-f of-def.sg.m breakfast(m) say.pst.pfv-3sg comp
ya no saca-ría más huevo.
already neg take_out-cond.3sg more egg
'(That) it was only 8:30am and the person in charge of breakfast said they wouldn't bring out egg (dishes) anymore.' (found online, glosses added)[57]

D.13.2.4 Uses relating to other phasal polarity concepts

D.13.2.4.1 Interrogative 'yet'

- Like *todavía* (D.13.3.3.1), *aún* is attested as not yet with negative raising (D.405) and, closely related, in complement clauses of attitude verbs with an inherently negative component (D.406).

(D.405) *No cre-o que el tren h-aya*
neg believe-1sg subord def.sg.m train(m) have-sbjv.3sg
*lleg-ado **aún**.*
arrive-ptcp still
'I don't think the train has arrived yet.' (Kristian Roncero, p.c.)

(D.406) *Cré-an-me, no hay político en la Argentina*
believe-sbjv.3pl-1sg.obj neg exist politician in def.sg.f A.
superior a CFK en este siglo, y dud-o que
superior to CFK in prox.sg.m century(m) and doubt-1sg subord

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[56] https://www.abc.com.py/tag/mariana-grala/ (23 January, 2023).

[57] https://planetofhotels.com/es/estados-unidos/phoenix/la-quinta-wyndham-phoenix-chandler (23 January, 2023).

haya *nac-ido* ***aún.***
have.sbjv.3sg be_born-ptcp still
'Believe me, there is (currently) no better politician in this century's Argentina than CFK, and I doubt that one has been born yet.' (found online, glosses added)[58]

D.13.2.5 Temporal connectives and frame setters

D.13.2.5.1 Time-scalar additive ('as late as, as early as')

- Trujillo (1990),
- In this function, *aún* combines with a time frame adverbial and operates on a scale of time proper. More commonly, the alternatives are lower times ('as late as'), as in (D.407, D.408). But there is also the occasional case in which the alternatives rank higher ('as early as'), such as in (D.409).
- This function could be subsumed under the more general scalar additive function of *aún* (Appendix D.13.2.7.2), which allows for both lower and higher alternatives. The 'as late as' use, however, finds additional motivation in the development described in Section 2.5.2.3.
- Syntax: can form a single constituent with its focus.

(D.407) Context: From a text about the origins of jewellery. The preceding sentences discusses talismans in pre-history.
y ***aún en la*** ***Edad Medi-a,*** *dentro de la* *Europa*
and still in def.sg.f age(f) medium-f inside of def.sg.f Europe(f)
cristianiz-ad-a, *a-l* *uso* *de ciert-a-s* *piedra-s*
christianize-ptcp-f to-def.sg.m use(m) of certain-f-pl stone(f)-pl
precios-a-s *se* *le* *otorg-aba* *divers-a-s*
precious-f-pl refl.3 3sg.dat.m assign-pst.ipfv.3sg diverse-f-pl
propiedade-s:
property(f)-pl
'**and as late as in medieval times**, within christianised Europe, the use of certain precious stones was (still) associated with a number of properties.' (found online, glosses added)[59]

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[58] https://www.facebook.com/profile/100063285907281/search/?q=nacidoaun (28 February, 2023).

[59] https://vestuarioescenico.wordpress.com/2014/01/31/historia-del-boton/ (16 February, 2023).

(D.408) Context: About the erruption of a volcano several days ago. Researchers have confirmed that ...
aún *ayer se present-aba descenso de materiale-s*
still yesterday refl.3 present-pst.ipfv.3sg decent of material-pl
y una nube de polvo y ceniza que se
and indef.sg.f cloud(f) of dust and ash subord refl.3
mov-ió con el viento hasta uno-s cuatro
move-pst.pfv.3sg with def.sg.m wind(m) until indef.m-pl four
kilómetro-s d-el cráter.
kilometre(m)-pl of-def.sg.m crater(m)
'even yesterday there was (still) matter descending and a cloud of dust and ashes that moved with the wind until around four kilometres from the crater.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.409) Context: From the description of a medical trial. If three attempts of a procedure failed...
... o se juzg-ó peligroso realiz-ar-lo
or refl.3 judge-pst.pfv.3sg dangerous carry_out-inf-3sg.acc.m
aun *en el primer intento, se decid-ió*
still in def.sg.m first attempt refl.3 decide-pst.pfv.3sg
suspend-er el procedimiento.
cancel-inf def.sg.m procedure(m)
'... or if even/as early as at the first attempt this was judged to be dangerous, the procedure was abandoned.' (found online, glosses added)[60]

D.13.2.6 Marginality

- *Aún* is compatible with construals of marginality.

(D.410) *Con Juan* ***aún*** *me atrev-o (pero con Pedro ya no).*
with J. still refl.1sg dare-1sg but wih P. already neg
'I can still argue with John (but not with Peter).' (Kristian Roncero, p.c.)

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[60] http://www.scielo.org.ar/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2250-639X2015000400003 (20 February, 2023).

(D.411) Context: Complaining about overly worried parents-in-law.
Y que lo hag-an mi-s padr-es ***aún*** *lo*
and SUBORD 3SG.N do.SBJV-3PL POSS.1SG-PL parent-PL still 3SG.M.ACC
aguant-o pero me jod-e que unos señor-es
bear-1SG but 1SG.OBJ fuck-3SG SUBORD INDEF.PL.M mister-PL
que no son nada mio-s a-l final, se
SUBORD NEG COP.3PL nothing POSS.1SG-PL at-DEF.SG.M end(M) REFL.3
tom-en esa preocupación como si fuera su
take-SBJV.3PL DEM.SG.F worry(F) like if COP.PST.SBJV.1SG POSS.3
hij-a.
child-F
'I can still stand my parents doing that, but it fucks me up when some people who aren't related to me at all worry about me as if I were their daughter.' (found online, glosses added)[61]

(D.412) *Los coche-s compact-o-s* ***aún*** *son segur-o-s en la*
DEF.PL.M car(M)-PL compact-M-PL still COP.3PL safe-M-PL in DEF.SG.F
autopista; los utilitario-s ya no lo
highway(F) DEF.PL.M subcompact_car(M)-PL already NEG 3SG.N
son tanto.
COP.3SG that_much
'Compact cars are still safe on the highway; subcompact cars, not that much.' (Kristian Roncero, p.c.)

(D.413) *Irún* ***aún*** *es España y Hendaya ya es Francia.*
I. still COP.3SG Spain and H. already COP.3SG France
'Irún is still in Spain and Hendaya is in France already.' (Kristian Roncero, p.c.)

D.13.2.7 Additive and related functions

D.13.2.7.1 Additive

- Garrido (1993) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §§30.8r, 40.8b).

(D.414) *El español* ***aún*** *permanec-ió unos*
DEF.SG.M spaniard(M) still remain-PST.PFV.3SG INDEF.PL.M
instante-s muy quiet-o-s.
moment(M)-PL very quiet-M-PL
'The Spaniard remained very quiet for a few more moments.' (Vázquez-Figueroa, *Caribes*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8r, glosses added).

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[61] https://weloversize.com/topic/situacion-rara-con-mis-suegros/ (30 March, 2022).

(D.415) *«¿Indecente?», preguntó ella. «No veo por qué iba a ser indecente desnudarse delante de un hombre para servirle de modelo», añadió.*
'"Indecent?" she asked. "I don't see how it would be indecent to undress in front of a man to serve him as a model", she added.'

Y a continuación, ***aún*** *dij-o: «Por supuesto, si Indalecio*
and to continuation still say.pst.pfv-3sg of course, if I.
me lo pidiese, yo no ten-dría
1sg.obj 3sg.acc.m ask_for.pst.sbjv.3sg 1sg neg have-cond.1sg
inconveniente. En el arte, como él sab-e muy bien,
inconvenience in def.sg.m art(m) like 3sg.m know-3sg very well
no hay pecado»
neg exist sin
'And then she also said "Of course, if Indalecio asked me for it, I wouldn't have a problem. In art, as he knows very well, there is no sin."' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.2.7.2 Scalar additive

- Elvira (2005), Fuentes Rodríguez (2018: 54–55), Garrido (1993), Gast & van der Auwera (2011), Martín Cid (1999), RAE-ASALE (2009: §§30.8r, 40.8b; 2021: s.v. *aun*) and Trujillo (1990).
- Form: negated via *ni* 'neither, nor' (D.419).
- As Gast & van der Auwera (2011) show, *aun* serves as a "universal" scalar additive, i.e. both particularly high focus values (D.416) and particularly low ones (D.418, D.419) can be vested with a high degree of pragmatic strength.
- According to Trujillo (1990), this use goes back to the conventionalisation of an erstwhile scalar inference in examples like (D.419).
- Syntax: can form a constituent with its focus.

(D.416) *¿Quién es éste, que mand-a* ***aun*** *a los*
who cop.3sg prox.sg.m subord command-3sg still acc def.pl.m
viento-s y a-l agua, y le obedec-en?
wind(m)-pl and acc-def.sg.m water and 3sg.dat.m obey-3pl
'Who is this? He commands even the winds and the water, and they obey him.' (Luke 8:25, *La biblia al día*, cited in Gast & van der Auwera 2011: 3)

(D.417) *... d-a vergüenza* ***aun*** *mencion-ar lo que los*
give-3sg shame still mention-inf 3sg.n subord def.pl.m

desobediente-s hac-en en secreto.
disobedient-PL do-3PL in secret
'It is shameful to even mention what the disobedient do in secret.'
(Eph. 5:12, *La biblia al día*, cited in Gast & van der Auwera 2011: 2)

(D.418) *No ten-go yo tanto, ni* ***aun*** *la mitad.*
NEG have-1SG 1SG that_much nor still DEF.SG.F half(F)
'I don't have that much, not even half as much.' (RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. *aun*, glosses added)

(D.419) Old Spanish, 11th/12th century
Aquel que gela diesse sopiesse una palabra // Que perderie los aueres e mas los oios de la cara //
'Let anyone who might give it to him know, that he would lose his possessions and the eyes of his head'
E ***aun*** *demas los cuerpo-s e las alma-s.*
and still other DEF.PL.M body(M)-PL and DEF.PL.F soul(F)-PL
'And, furthermore, also/even his body and soul.' (*Cantar de mio Cid*, cited in Trujillo 1990: 79, glosses added)

D.13.2.7.3 Scalar additive 'so much as': *aunque sea*

- Gast & van der Auwera (2011) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §47.12q).
- Form: in the collocation *aun-que sea* 'still-SUBORD COP.SBJV.3SG', i.e. lit. 'even if it were'.
- In Gast & van der Auwera's (2011) terminology, this is a BENEATH operator ('so much as') that is restricted to non-negative contexts.
- As Gast & van der Auwera (2011) point out, this collocation probably goes back to a parenthetical scalar concessive conditional involving *aunque* plus subjunctive mood (Appendix D.13.2.8.3) and the elision of the first occurence of the focus; that is, ex. (D.420) goes back to *Si dices ~~algo~~, aunque sea una palabra…* 'if you say something, even if it's just one word…'. RAE-ASALE (2009: §47.12q) point out that in European Spanish *aunque sea* is often used in a postposed, prosodically set-off manner, as in (D.421). This supports Gast & van der Auwera's interpretation.

(D.420) *Si dices* ***aun-que sea*** *una palabra, v-as a*
if say.2SG still-SUBORD COP.SBJV.3SG INDEF.SG.F word(F) go-2SG to
ten-er problema-s.
have-INF problem-PL
'If you say even one word, you'll get into trouble.' (Gast & van der Auwera 2011: 356)

(D.421) A: *Demasiadas preguntas... demasiadas preguntas...*
'Too many questions… too many questions'

B: *Contesta* ***aun-que sea*** *un-a.*
answer.IMP still-SUBORD COP.SBJV.3SG one-F
'Answer so much as one of them.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.422) *Da-me una galleta,* ***aun-que sea****,*
give.IMP-OBJ.1SG INDEF.SG.F cookie(F) still-SUBORD COP.SBJV.3SG
que ten-go hambre.
SUBORD have-1SG hunger
'Give me so much as a cookie, I'm hungry.' (RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12q, glosses added)

D.13.2.7.4 Comparisons of inequality

- Fuentes Rodríguez (2018: 565), Martín Cid (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8r, 2021: s.v. *aun*).
- Note that comparisons of inequality in Spanish are formed via *más* 'more' / *menos* 'less' (with the exception of some adjectives that have suppletive comparative forms). The standard of comparison, if overtly mentioned, is introduced by subordinator *que* (RAE-ASALE 2009: ch. 45)
- *Aún* in comparisons of inequality yields the scalar additive notion 'even more'. This extends to the modification of degree achievements (D.425).
- Syntax: forms a constituent with its focus.

(D.423) *Me dol-ía su belleza. Era* ***aún*** *más*
1SG-OBJ hurt-PST.IPFV.1SG POSS.3 beauty COP.PST.IPFV.1SG still more
guap-a de lo que la hab-ía
attractive-F of 3SG.N SUBORD 3SG.ACC.F have-PST.IPFV.1SG
imagin-ado.
imagine-PTCP
'Her beauty hurt me. She was even prettier than what I imagined her to be.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.424) *El virus está en constante mutación, y éste podría acumular suficientes cambios genéticos como para volverse contagioso de persona a persona. Hasta ahora, los casos humanos han derivado de aves.*
'The virus is constantly mutating, and this could lead to the accumulation of so many genetic changes that it becomes transmissible between people. As of yet, the cases of human infection have come from birds.'

*La otr-a posibilidad, **aún** peor, sería un*
DEF.SG.F other-F possibility(F) still worse COP.COND.3SG INDEF.SG.M
cambio repentin-o caus-ad-o por la combinación
change(M) sudden-M cause-PTCP-M for DEF.SG.F combination(F)
d-el virus con el de influenza human-a en el
of-DEF.SG.M virus(M) with 3SG.M of flue(F) human-F in DEF.SG.M
cuerpo de una persona.
body(M) of INDEF.SG.F person(F)
'The other possibility, even worse, would be a sudden change caused by the merging of the virus with the human influenza virus in a person's body.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.425) *Aunque simplista y exagerada, la tesis del conflicto de las generaciones multiplicado por el poder "apalancador" de Internet, brinda nuevos bríos y encarnaciones a las hipótesis de Margaret Mead (1980)...*
'Despite being simplistic and exaggerated, the thesis of a generational conflict that is multiplied by the "leveraging" power of the internet reaches a new level in the hypothesis of Margaret Mead (1980)...' *Para complejiz-ar **aún** más este ya de por*
for complicate-INF still more PROX.SG.M already of for
sí confus-o panorama, vé-an-se los
yes confuse-M panorama(M) see-SBJV.3PL-REFL.3 DEF.PL.M
aporte-s de Régis Debray (2001) ...
contribution(M)-PL of R. D.
'To complicate this in and by itself confusing panorama even more, see the contributions by Regis Debray (2001)...' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.2.7.5 Conjunctional adverbial: *más aún*/*aún más* 'what is more'

- Briz et al. (2018: s.v. más aún) and Fuentes Rodríguez (2018: 346).
- Form: in collocation with *más* 'more'.
- This is a straightforward extension of the use in comparatives (D.13.2.7.4) to the textual domain and parallel to *todavía más*/*todavía más* in the same function (D.13.3.8.3).
- Syntax: clause-initial position.

(D.426) *En La Habana hay también gente pobre. **Más aún**, hay*
en DEF.SG.F H. EXIST also people poor more still EXIST
esclavo-s.
slave-PL
'There are also poor people in Havana. What is more, there are slaves.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.427) *Para ser imparciales con el Dictador hay que añadir que Correa no sólo no le dio ninguna satisfacción con respecto a sus reclamos...*
'To be impartial towards the dictator, it has to be added that Correa not only did not satisfy his demands...'

***Aún más**: Pretend-ió engañ-ar-le con respecto*
still more pretend-PST.PFV.3SG deceive-INF-3SG.DAT.M with respect
a las arma-s promet-id-a-s.
to DEF.PL.F weapon(F)-PL promise-PTCP-F-PL
'What is more, he tried to deceive him in regard to the arms that had been promised.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.2.8 Broadly modal and interactional uses

D.13.2.8.1 Concessive protases (i): *aun* + gerund

- Fernández Lagunilla (1999), Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern (2014), RAE-ASALE (2009: §27.5i) and Trujillo (1990).
- Form: in combination with gerunds.
- This collocation serves to introduce the protasis of ordinary concessives (D.428, D.429), as well as of scalar concessive conditionals (D.430, D.431).
- As pointed out by RAE-ASALE (2009: §27.5i), this use is motivated by *aún* as a scalar additive (Appendix D.13.2.7.2) as well as by the fact that gerunds in peripheral position of the clause by themselves often allow for a concessive reading (cf. RAE-ASALE 2009: §27.5g).

(D.428) *Lo que más impresion-a de esas página-s*
3SG.N SUBORD more/most impress-3SG of DEM.PL.F page(F)-PL
*es que, **aun trat-ándo-se** de una*
COP.3SG SUBORD still constitute-PTCP-REFL.3 of INDEF.SG.F
declaración de amor, la palabra amor no aparec-e
declaration(F) of love DEF.SG.F word love NEG appear-3SG
nunca.
never
'What's most impressive about those pages is that, despite being a declaration of love, the word love never appears.' (Martínez, *Santa Evita*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §27.5i, glosses added)

(D.429) *El doctor Amoedo no hab-ía gan-ado*
DEF.SG.M doctor(M) A. NEG have-PST.IPFV.3SG win-PTCP
*un real en su vida, **aun siendo** un gran*
INDEF.SG.M Real in POSS.3 life still COP.PTCP INDEF.SG.M great

médico.
doctor(M)
'Doctor Amoedo hadn't earned a single real in his life, despite being a great physician.' (Torrente Ballester, *La saga/fuga de J.B.* cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §27.5i, glosses added)

(D.430) ***Aun pag-ando*** *una fortuna no te la*
still pay-PTCP INDEF.SG.F fortune(F) NEG 2SG.OBJ 3SG.ACC.F
vend-er-án.
sell-FUT-3PL
'Even if you paid them a fortune, they won't sell it to you.' (Ferrari et al. 2011: 40, glosses added)

(D.431) *Edmundo admit-ía para su-s adentro-s que,*
E. admit-PST.IPFV.3SG for POSS.3SG-PL inside-PL SUBORD
aun cont-ando *con lo tópico y lo cursi,*
still count-PTCP with DEF.SG.N stereotypical and DEF.SG.N corny
la tarde hab-ía sido agradable.
DEF.SG.F afternoon(F) have-PST.IPFV.3SG COP.PTCP pleasent
'Edmundo admitted to himself that, even taking into consideration the commonplaces and corniness, the afternoon had been pleasant.' (Gopegui, *Lo real* cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §27.5i, glosses added)

D.13.2.8.2 Concessive protases (ii): *aun cuando*

- Elvira (2005), Flamenco García (1999), RAE-ASALE (2009: §47.12g, 2021: s.v. *aun*) and Trujillo (1990).
- Form: in combination with a subordinate clause introduced by *cuando* 'when' (a collocation that can also retain a strictly temporal meaning).
- This construction governs the same systematic alternations in mood as *aunque* (Appendix D.13.2.8.3). Thus, the subjunctive mood can result in protasis of a scalar concessive conditional, as in (D.434, D.435). According to RAE-ASALE (2009: §47.12.g), this is the more frequent case.
- This use belongs to a high/formal register.
- This use is transparently derived from *aún* as a scalar additive operator (Appendix D.13.2.7.2), i.e. 'even when/if'.
- According to Elvira (2005), this construction started out as marking scalar concessive conditionals.

(D.432) ***Aun cuando*** *las orientacion-es polític-a-s de promoción*
still when def.pl.f orientation(f)-pl political-f-sg of promotion
d-el diálogo social se origin-an en 1990, lo
of-def.sg.m dialogue(m) social refl.3 originate-3pl in 1999 3sg.n
que se puede observ-ar a-l efectu-ar
subord refl.3 can.3sg observe-inf at-def.sg.m carry_out-inf
un diagnóstico preliminar de su deven-ir es
indef.sg.m diagnostic(m) preliminary of poss.3 become-inf cop.3sg
que éste ha sido un proceso
subord prox.sg.m have.3sg cop.ptcp indef.sg.m process(m)
marc-ado por la escas-a sistematicidad de los
mark-ptcp.sg.m for def.sg.f scarce-f systematicity(f) of def.m.pl
esfuerzo-s.
effort-pl
'Even though the political ideas of promoting social dialogue go back to 1990, what can be observed when carrying out a preliminary study of their development is that it has been a process characterised by a lack of systematic efforts.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.433) ***Aun cuando*** *me lo recomend-aron, no*
still when 1sg.obj 3sg.acc.m recommend-pst.pfv.3sg neg
le-í el prospecto.
read-pst.pfv.1sg def.sg.m leaflet(m)
'Although they recommended it to me, I didn't read the leaflet.' (RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12.g, glosses added)

(D.434) *Va a seg-uir adelante,* ***aun cuando*** *ten-ga que*
go.3sg to continue-inf forward still when have-sbjv.3sg subord
lleg-ar él solo con tod-o-s los tripulant-es
arrive-inf 3sg.m only with all-m-pl def.pl.m sailor-pl
colg-ad-o-s de los palo-s.
hang-ptcp-m-pl of def.pl.m mast-pl
'He'll move forward, even if he has to arrive alone, with all the sailors hanged on the masts.' (Roa Bastos, *Vigilia del Almirante*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12g, glosses added)

(D.435) *Por otr-a parte, el incremento de nuevo en los*
for other-f side(f) def.sg.m increase(m) of new in def.pl.m
últim-o-s año-s, ***aun cuando*** *no sea a-l*
last-m-pl year(m)-pl still when neg cop.sbjv.3sg to-def.sg.m

nivel de los año-s 90, oblig-a a reflexion-ar y
level(M) of DEF.PL.M year-PL 90 oblige-3SG to reflect-INF and
produc-ir cambio-s en las estrategia-s de intervención
produce-INF change-PL in DEF.PL.F strategy(F)-PL of intervention
actual-es.
current-PL
‘On the other hand, the returning increase during the last years, even if not to the level of the 90s, obliges us to reflect and make changes to the current intervention strategies.’ (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.2.8.3 Concessive protases (iii): *aunque*

- Martín Cid (1999), Elvira (2005), Flamenco García (1999), Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern (2014), RAE-ASALE (2009: §§47.2, 47.12–47.13; 2021: s.v. *aunque*) and Trujillo (1990).
- Form: in collocation with the subordinator *que* > *aunque.*
- With indicative verbs, the *aunque* clause serves as the protasis of an ordinary concessive construction (D.436–D.438). With verbs in the subjunctive mood, two interpretations are possible. First, the clause can serve as the protasis of a scalar concessive conditional, as in (D.440– D.441) and the first interpretation of (D.439). Alternatively, the clause can be interpreted as the protasis of an ordinary concessive, with the proposition contained in it constituting given information that is commented upon; this is the second interpretation of (D.439).
- As pointed out repeatedly in the literature, this function can be traced back to *aún* as a scalar additive (Appendix D.13.2.7.2), with *que* introducing a clausal complement. As Elvira (2005) and Pérez Saldanya & Salvador Liern (2014) show, its function in scalar concessive conditionals is older than its non-conditional counterpart.

(D.436) ***Aun-que*** *llueve salg-o.*
still-SUBORD rain.3SG go_out-1SG
‘Although it is raining, I’m going out.’ (Haspelmath & König 1998: 589)

(D.437) ***Aun-que*** *viv-e en esta ciudad desde hace treinta año-s,*
still-SUBORD live-3SG in PROX.SG.F city(F) since thirty year-PL
mantiene el mism-o apartamento que alquil-ó
keep.3SG DEF.SG.M same-M apartment(M) SUBORD rent-3SG
a-l lleg-ar.
at-DEF.SG.M arrive-INF
‘Although s/he has been living in this city for thirty years, s/he still

lives in the same apartment s/he rented when s/he arrived.'
(RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12a, glosses added)

(D.438) ***Aun-que*** *est-aba* *muy cansad-a por el viaje,*
still-SUBORD COP-PST.IPFV.3SG very tired-F for DEF.SG.M trip(M)
impart-ió una conferencia magnífic-a.
confer-PST.PFV.3SG INDEF.SG.F talk(F) magnificent-F
'Although she was very tired from the journey, she gave a magnificient talk.' (RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12c, glosses added)

(D.439) ***Aun-que*** *llueva* *sal-go.*
still-SUBORD rain.SBJV.3SG go_out-1SG
i. 'Even if it is raining, I am going out.' (concessive conditional)
ii. 'Even though it's raining [given information], I am going out.' (ordinary concessive) (personal knowledge)

(D.440) ***Aun-que*** *te qued-es sin dorm-ir, h-as*
still-SUBORD REFL.2SG remain-SBJV.2SG without sleep-INF have-2SG
de prepar-ar bien este examen.
of prepare-INF well PROX.SG.M exam(M)
'Even if [it means that] you don't get any sleep, you have to prepare well for this exam.' RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12e, glosses added)

(D.441) *Lo invit-ar-é,* ***aun-que*** *solo sea por*
3SG.ACC.M invite-FUT-1SG still-SUBORD only COP.SBJV.3SG for
cortesía.
courtesy
'I'll invite him, even if it's only out of courtesy.' (RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.12p, glosses added)

D.13.2.8.4 Concessive protases (iv): *aun si*

- Elvira (2005) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §47.2o).
- Form: in collocation with *si* 'if'.
- This is another transparent use involving the scalar additive function of *aún* (Appendix D.13.2.7.2), i.e. 'even if'. Judging from the description, this collocation always introduces scalar concessive conditionals; the latter are, according to Elvira (2005), also what is found in the earliest attestations. Consequently, past tense predicates (which also feature in counterfactual conditionals) take the subjunctive mood, as in (D.443). Present tense predicates, however, surface in the indicative mood, due to collocational restrictions of *si* 'if' (D.443).

(D.442) ***Aun si*** *no me otorg-an el crédito, ampliar-é*
still if NEG 1SG.OBJ grant-3PL DEF.SG.M credit(M) enlarge.FUT-1SG
la casa.
DEF.SG.F house(F)
'Even if they don't grant me the credit, I will enlarge the house.'
(RAE-ASALE 2009: §47.2o, glosses added)

(D.443) ***Aun si*** *result-ara cierto que Tadeo fue*
still if result-PST.SBJV.3SG true SUBORD T. COP.PST.PFV.3SG
un fanático de la masturbación … sería
INDEF.SG.M fan(M) of DEF.SG.F masturbation(F) COP.COND.3SG
una arbitrariedad hac-er analogía-s entre su
INDEF.SG.F arbitrariness(F) make-INF analogy-PL between POSS.3
vida y su obra a la luz de un mer-o
life and POSS.3 work at DEF.SG.F light of INDEF.SG.M mere-M
accidente biográfic-o.
accident(M) biographic-M
'Even if it turned out to be that Tadeo was a fan of masturbation … it would be arbitrary to draw analogies between his life and his works based on a mere biographical coincidence.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.2.8.5 Universal concessive conditional protases: *aunque más*

- RAE-ASALE (2021: s.v. *aunque*).
- Form: in collocation with the subordinator *que* and *más* 'more, most'.
- This use is clearly derived from *aunque* governing the protases of concessives and concessive conditionals (Appendix D.13.2.8.3): 'even if it is/were the most …' > 'no matter how much'. What is at play here is that the conditional relationship is asserted to hold under the most adverse circumstance, thus (all things equal) across the entire set of conceivable circumstances.

(D.444) *Pero* ***aun-que más*** *tend-imos la vista, ni*
but still-SUBORD more extend-PST.PFV.1PL DEF.SG.F view(F) nor
poblado, ni persona, ni senda, ni camino descubr-imos.
settlement nor persona nor path nor way discover-PST.PFV.1SG
'But no matter how far we looked, we could find neither a settlement, nor a person, path, or way.' (RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. *aunque*, glosses added)

(D.445) *A vec-es lo mejor es alej-ar-se* ***aun-que***
at time-pl def.sg.n best cop.3sg withdraw-inf-refl.3 still-subord
más *te duela.*
more/most obj.2sg hurt.sbjv.3sg
'Sometimes the best thing to do is to distance yourself, no matter how much it might hurt.' (found online, glosses added)[62]

D.13.2.8.6 Concessive apodoses (i)

- Martín Cid (1999), Olivares Pardo & Sopeña Balordi (2001) and RAE-ASALE (2021: s.v. *aun*).
- *Aún* can be used to mark a concessive apodosis.

(D.446) *Tiene cuanto quiere, y,* ***aún****, se quej-a.*
have.3sg how_much want.3sg and still refl complain-3sg
'S/he has all s/he wants, and still s/he complains.' (Martín Cid 1999: 103, glosses added)

(D.447) *Era quien más espacio ten-ía y* ***aún***
cop.pst.ipfv.3sg who most space have-pst.ipfv.3sg and still
protest-ó.
protest-pst.pfv.3sg
'S/he was the one who had the most space, and yet s/he complained.' (RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. *aun*, glosses added)

D.13.2.8.7 Concessive apodoses (ii): *aun así*

- Briz et al. (2018: s.v. *aun así*), Fuentes Rodríguez (2018: 55) and RAE-ASALE (2009: 47.16q).
- Form: in collocation with *así* 'so'. Briz et al. (2018: s.v. *aun así*) point out the prosodic separation from the rest of the clause, indicated by a comma in (D.449).
- This collocation is clearly motivated by *aún* as a scalar additive (Appendix D.13.2.7.2), transparently yielding 'even so.'

(D.448) *Los muchacho-s se mir-aron entre ellos,*
def.pl.m boy(m)-pl refl.3 look-pst.pfv.3pl between 3pl.m
los not-é escasamente atra-íd-o-s por
3pl.acc.m note-pst.pfv.1sg hardly atract-ptcp-m-sg for
el ofrecimiento, ***aun así*** *se levant-aron de su*
def.sg.m offering(m) still so refl-3 get_up-pst.pfv.3pl of poss.3

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[62] https://twitter.com/Xavi30856894/status/1137061141375606784 (10 November, 2022).

lugar y se acerc-aron hacia mí.
place and REFL.3 approach-PST.PFV.3PL towards 1SG
'The boys looked at each other, I saw them being hardly attracted by the offering, even so, they got up and moved closer towards me.'
(CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.449) *El fácil acceso a este recurso tecnológic-o*
DEF.SG.M easy access(M) to PROX.SG.M resource(M) tecnological-M
facili-ta su uso en las práctica-s pedagógic-a-s.
facilitate-3SG POSS.3 use in DEF.PL.F practice(F)-PL pedagogical-F-PL
***Aun así**, no es suficiente.*
still so NEG COP.3SG sufficient
'Easy access to this technological resource facilitates its use in pedagogical practices. Nonetheless, it is not sufficient.'
(CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.2.8.8 Concessive interjection: *aun así*

- The collocation 'aun así' 'still so' > 'even so' (Appendix D.13.2.8.7) is attested as a holophrase. Doubtlessly, this is facilitated by the collocation's initial position and prosodic separation.

(D.450) A: *Si fuese tan amable de ayudarme a ubicar.*
'If you could be so friendly and help me know where I am.'
B: *¿El lugar? No le asigne ninguna importancia.*
'The location? Don't give it any importance.'
A: ***Aun así.***
still so
'Still!' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.451) *—Oiga, ¿el aprendiz no es un poco joven para este oficio? Las verdades de la vida no conocen edad, hermana —ofreció Fermín. La monja me sonrió dulcemente, asintiendo. No había desconfianza en aquella mirada, sólo tristeza.*
'Listen, isn't the apprentice a little young for this kind of work? [The nun asked] "The truths of life know no age, sister" said Fermín. The nun nodded and smiled at me sweetly. There was no suspicion in that look, only sadness.'

*—**Aun así**. —murmur-ó.*
still so mumble-PST.PFV.3SG
'"Even so", she mumbled.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.3 todavía

D.13.3.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Etymology: from a late Latin phrase ‘all (the) way’, via ‘one way or another’ and ‘always’.

D.13.3.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Van der Auwera (1998), Bosque (2016), Ederly & Curcó (2016), Garrido (1991, 1992, 1993), Morera (1999), RAE-ASALE (2009: §§24.4.m, 30.8f–m) and Trujillo (1990), among many others.
- Specialisation: several descriptions (e.g. Bosque 2016; Ederly & Curcó 2016; Garrido 1991; RAE-ASALE 2009) explicitly address the two components of my definition.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios.
- Further note: *todavía* can be used as an elliptical utterance (D.454).

(D.452) ***Todavía*** *record-aba a Carax bes-ando a Penélope*
still remember-PST.IPFV.3SG ACC C. kiss-PTCP ACC P.
Aldaya en el caserón de la avenida d-el
A. in DEF.SG.M shanty(M) of DEF.SG.F avenue(F) of-DEF.SG.M
Tibidabo.
T.
‘He still remembers Caraxos kissing Penélope Aldaya in the shanty at Tibidabo Avenue.’ (Ruíz Zafón, *La sombra del viento*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8.f, glosses added)

(D.453) *¿Y ella te quiere* ***todavía****? —pregunt-ó con*
and 3SG.F 2SG.OBJ love.3SG still ask-PST.PFV.3SG with
la picardía de un juez de instrucción.
DEF.SG.F malice(F) of INDEF.SG.M judge(M) of instruction
“And she still loves you?” s/he asked with roughishness of an investigative judge.’ (Peréz Galdos, *Fortunata y Jacinta*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8.f, glosses added)

(D.454) A: *Este será el regalo de Juan para cuando se case con María.*
‘This will be Juan’s present for his marriage with Maria.’
B: *Pero si Juan está enamorado de Ana.*
‘But he is in love with Ana.’

A: ***Todavía.***
still
'[For now he] still [is].' (Ederly & Curcó 2016: 10)

D.13.3.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

D.13.3.3.1 Interrogative 'yet'

- RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8m).
- This function only obtains in complement clauses of attitude verbs with an inherent negative component. Ex. (D.455) illustrates this for *dudar* 'doubt'.
- Ex. (D.456) illustrates the expression of not yet in the context of negative raising.

(D.455) *Dud-o que h-aya nac-ido* ***todavía*** *el*
doubt-1sg comp have-sbjv.3sg be_born-ptcp still def.sg.m
que ten-ga los suficiente-s cojon-es para
comp have-sbjv.3sg def.pl.m enough-pl testicle(m)-pl for
hac-er-lo.
do-inf-3sg.acc.m
'I doubt that the person with big enough balls to do so has been born yet.' (Montaño, Andanzas, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §80.8m, glosses added).

(D.456) *No ten-go noticias de que lo ha-yan*
neg have-1sg news of subord 3sg.acc.m have-sbjv.3sg
logr-ado ***todavía.***
achieve-ptcp still
'I don't have any news that they have achieved it yet.'
(RAE-ASALE 2009: 30.8m; glossed)

D.13.3.4 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

D.13.3.4.1 Scalar contexts

- Garrido (1992, 1993).
- *Todavía* is compatible with scalar contexts, both in the form of decreases (D.457, D.458) and increases (D.459– D.461). To disambiguate, *todavía* can be combined with expressions like *quedar* 'be left' or *sólo* 'only', as in (D.458, D.459). Note, however, that a restrictive marker is not categorically necessary in contexts of a limited increase, as evidenced by examples like (D.460, D.461).

(D.457) *La Armada ten-ía 337 vehículo-s y se*
def.sg.f navy(f) have-pst.ipfv.3sg 337 vehicle-pl and refl.3
desprendió de tan solo nueve. ***Todavía*** *tiene*
get_rid_off.pst.pfv.3sg of so only nine still have.3sg
una flota de 328.
indef.sg.f fleet(f) of 328
'The navy had 337 vehicles and got rid of only nine. It still has a fleet of 328.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.458) *No me preocup-a, porque* ***todavía*** *me qued-an dos*
neg 1sg.obj worry-3sg because still 1sg.obj remain-3pl two
año-s de contrato.
year-pl of contract
'I'm not worried about it, because I still have two years to my contract.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.459) *Pedro* ***todavía*** *tiene solo cien libro-s.*
P. still have.3sg only hundred book-pl
'Pedro still only has a hundred books.' (Garrido 1992: 383, glosses added)

(D.460) *En las áreas francófonas, anglófonasy territorios ligados a los Paises Bajos del Caribe es Trinidad y Tobago uno de los países más afectados,*
'Within the francophone, anglophone and Dutch territories of the Caribbean, Trinidad and Tobago is one of the countries hit the hardest [by the Covid19 pandemic]'

pero con ***todavía*** *unos modest-o-s 51 caso-s y*
but with still indef.pl.m modest-m-pl 51 case(m)-pl and
sin muerte-s.
without death-pl
'but with still only some modest 51 cases and no casualties.' (found online, glosses added)[63]

(D.461) *No hay que d-ar-se tant-a prisa.* ***Todavía***
neg exist subord give-inf-refl.3 that_much-f rush(f) still
son las cuatro.
cop.3pl def.sg.f four
'No need to rush. It's only four o'clock.' (Bosque 2016: 220, glosses added)

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[63] https://es-us.noticias.yahoo.com/estrictas-medidas-puerto-rico-covid-182536565.html (23 January, 2023).

D.13.3.5 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.13.3.5.1 Prospective ‘eventually’

- Bosque (2016), Garrido (1991, 1992, 1993), Urdiales Campos (1973) and Martínez Sánchez (1996).

(D.462) *¿A que* ***todavía*** *termin-o?*
to SUBORD still finish-1SG
‘I bet you that I will finish [yet].’ (Garrido 1992: 382 fn 30, glosses added)

(D.463) Context: There’s an unconscious girl with bloodstains on her face and neck.
Tienes que llam-ar a la doctor-a … no puedes
have.2SG SUBORD call-INF ACC DEF.SG.F doctor-F NEG can.2SG
carg-ar con la responsabilidad de que se
load-INF with DEF.SG.F responsibility(F) of SUBORD REFL.3
muera. ***Todavía*** *dir-án que eres cómplice.*
die.SBJV.3SG still say.FUT-3PL SUBORD COP.2SG accomplice
‘You have to call the doctor … You can’t take responsibility for her dying. They’ll end up saying you’re an accomplice.’ (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.464) *No le habl-es, que* ***todavía*** *pens-ar-á que*
NEG 3SG.DAT talk-SBJV.2SG SUBORD still think-FUT-3SG SUBORD
le gust-as.
3SG.DAT please-2SG
‘Don’t talk to him, he’ll end up thinking you like him.’ (Kristian Roncero, p.c.)

(D.465) ***Todavía*** *vamos a gan-ar.*
still go.1PL to win-INF
‘We’re still going to win.’ (Garrido 1992: 370 fn18, glosses added)

D.13.3.6 Temporal connectives and frame setters

D.13.3.6.1 Time-scalar (‘as late as’)

- Bosque (2016), Ederly & Curcó (2016), Garrido (1993), Martínez Sánchez (1996) and Trujillo (1990).
- In this function, *todavía* combines with a time frame adverbial, giving a reading along the lines of ‘as late as’.

- Syntax: can form a constituent with its focus.

(D.466) Context: About the Trinidad neighbourhood in Asunción. The neighbourhood has been described as the city's port of entry.
*Sin embargo, **todavía** en la primer-a mitad d-el*
nonetheless still in def.sg.f first-f half(f) of-def.sg.m
siglo XX ir a Trinidad era para el
century(m) 20 go.inf to T. cop.pst.ipfv.3sg for def.sg.m
asunceno como viaj-ar a-l interior, y
person_from_Asunción like travel-inf to-def.sg.m interior(m) and
ningún medio de transporte era más
none.m medium(m) of transport cop.pst.ipfv.3sg more
apropiad-o que el tren.
appropriate-m subord def.sg.m train(m)
'Nonetheless, even during the first half of the 20th century, for a denizen of Asunción travelling to Trinidad was like a trip to the interior, and no means of transport was more appropriate than the train.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.467) Context: About a certain graphic novel.
*¡Me muero por le-er-lo! **Todavía** ayer*
refl.1sg die.1sg for read-inf-3sg.acc.m still yesterday
lo v-i en la biblio y me
3sg.acc.m see-pst.pfv.1sg in def.sg.f library(f) and refl.1sg
dij-e, para la próxim-a te vienes con-migo!
say.pst.pfv-1sg for def.sg.f next-f refl.2sg come.2sg with-1sg
'I'm dying to read it! Just yesterday I saw it in the library and I said to myself "Next time, you're coming with me!"' (found online, glosses added)[64]

D.13.3.7 Marginality

- Bosque (2016), Deloor (2012), Ederly & Curcó (2016), Garrido (1991, 1992, 1993), RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8ñ) and Trujillo (1990).
- Deloor (2012) points out that *todavía* as a signal of marginality is infelicitous with central members of a conceptual category: #*Paris todavía es Francia* 'Paris is still in France'.

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[64] https://cafelou.wordpress.com/2017/09/26/pyongyang-la-novela-grafica-de-guy-delisle-con-la-que-viajamos-a-corea-del-norte/ (29 March, 2022).

(D.468) *A Juan* ***todavía*** *lo aguant-o, pero a Pedro no.*
acc J. still 3sg.acc.m tolerate-1sg but acc P. neg
'I still stand Juan, but not Pedro.' (Ederly & Curcó 2016: 3, glosses added)

(D.469) Context: Commenting on a person getting seriously injured.
Nadie lo mand-a a meter-se en propiedad privad-a.
nobody 3sg.acc.m force-3sg to stick-refl.3 in property(f) private-f
Todavía *la sac-ó barat-a, un par*
still 3sg.acc.f take_out-pst.pfv.3sg cheap-f indef.sg.m couple
de tiro-s hubies-en hecho falta también.
of gunshot-pl have.pst.sbjv-3pl make.ptcp miss also
'Nobody forces him to get onto private property. He still got off cheaply, a couple of gunshots would have been well deserved.'
(found online, glosses added)[65]

(D.470) *Los coche-s compact-o-s* ***todavía*** *son segur-o-s en*
def.pl.m car(m)-pl compact-m-pl still cop.3pl safe-m-pl in
la autopista; los utilitario-s ya no
def.sg.f highway(f) def.pl.m subcompact_car(m)-pl already neg
lo son tanto.
3sg.n cop.3sg that_much
'Compact cars are still safe on the highway; subcompact cars, not that much.' (Bosque 2016: 221, glosses added)

(D.471) *Irún* ***todavía*** *es España y Hendaya ya es Francia.*
I. still cop.3sg Spain and H. already cop.3sg France
'Irún is still in Spain and Hendaya is in France already.'
(Garrido 1991: 58, glosses added)

D.13.3.7.1 Marginality, 'with acceptable limits'

- Bosque (2016) and Deloor (2012)
- In this function, illustrated in (D.472, D.473), *todavía* depicts a state-of-affairs as a borderline case of what is socially acceptable. All examples in the literature feature the juxtaposition between a factual, unacceptable state-of-affairs and a hypothetical, marginally acceptable one.
- As pointed out by Bosque (2016) and Deloor (2012), this is an extension of the marginality function of *todavía* (Appendix D.13.3.7). In all likelihood, this goes back to the elipsis of an evaluative predicate. Cases like (D.474), where a clausal

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[65] https://twitter.com/gerodutto/status/1621103017750851586 (14 February, 2023).

complement separates *todavía* from the predicate, could have facilitated this deletion.

(D.472) *En el coche, en la mesa, en la cama,* ***todavía****...*
in DEF.SG.M car(M) in DEF.SG.F table(F) in DEF.SG.F bed(F) still
pero tienes 5 minuto-s para sac-ar ese televisor
but have.2SG 5 minute-PL for remove-INF DEM.SG.M television(M)
d-el baño.
of-DEF.SG.M bathroom(M)
'In the car, on the table, in bed, [that would] still [be acceptable]... but you have five minutes to move that TV out of the bathroom.' (Deloor 2012, glosses added)

(D.473) *Que un gran artista ten-ga eso-s*
SUBORD INDEF.SG.M great artist(M) have-SBJV.3SG DEM.M-PL
humo-s, ***todavía****, pero él es un simple*
fume(M)-PL still but 3SG.M COP.3SG INDEF.SG.M simple
aprendiz.
apprentice(M)
'A great artist having such an attitude, that would be acceptable, but he's just an apprentice.' (Bosque 2016: 207, glosses added)

(D.474) ***Todavía*** *[que eso ocurr-ies-e en público]*
still SUBORD DEM.SG.N happen-PST.SBJV-3SG in public
pod-ría pas-ar*, ¡pero en privado!*
can-COND.3SG happen-INF but in private
'Such a thing occurring in public, that could happen, but in private?!' (Goméz de la Serna, *Automoribundia*, cited in Bosque 2016: 222, glosses added)

D.13.3.8 Additive and related functions

D.13.3.8.1 Additive

- Bosque (2016), Garrido (1993), RAE-ASALE (2009: §§30.8k–p, 40.8l–m) and Trujillo (1990).
- A scalar inference may arise in certain contexts (D.477); in fact, in some American varieties of Spanish *todavía* serves as a scalar additive.
- In narrative contexts, this often involves a last event in a series, particularly with predicates of the 'manage to, find time to' kind (D.479).
- Bosque (2016) and RAE-ASALE (2009) point out that examples like (D.478) are ambiguous between a phasal polarity reading and an additive one.

(D.475) ***Todavía*** *ca-yó un-o de los seis, llam-ad-o*
still fall-pst.pfv.3sg one-m of def.pl.m six call-ptcp-m
Francisco Herrán;
F. H.
'Another one of the six, called Francisco Herrán, fell;'

y los demás, todos muy heridos, volviéronse a su pueblo.
'and the others, all of them severely injured, returned to their village.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.476) *Tuvo la deferencia de acompañarme hasta la puerta, y mientras bajaba yo las escaleras,*
'He had the politeness of accompanying me to the door, and while I was climbing down the stairs'
me recomend-ó ***todavía*** *que le*
1sg.obj recommend-pst.pfv.3sg still subord 3sg.m.dat
dijera si de veras nos gust-aba ese
say.pst.sbjv.1sg if actually 1pl.obj like-pst.ipfv.3sg dem.sg.m
jerez.
sherry(m)
'he also recommended that I tell him if we really liked that sherry.' (Ayala, *El fondo del vaso*; cited in Bosque 2016: 215, glosses added)

(D.477) *Después de todo lo que hab-ía com-ido*
after of everything 3sg.n rel have-pst.ipfv.3sg eat-ptcp
todavía *pid-ió postre.*
still order-pst.pfv.3sg dessert
'After everything s/he had eaten, s/he also/even ordered dessert.' (Garrido 1993: 26, glosses added)

(D.478) *Vamos a casa —dij-o—.* ***Todavía*** *quiero cont-ar-te*
go.1pl to home say.pst.pfv-3sg still want.1sg tell-inf-2sg.obj
una cosa.
indef.sg.f thing(f)
'"Let's go home" s/he said. – "I want to tell you one more thing / I still want to tell you something."' (Grandes, *Malena es un nombre tango*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8k, glosses added)

(D.479) Context: About a former professional athlete.
La boda fue un éxito ... se quedaron a vivir en Barcelona...
'The wedding was a success ... they settled in Barcelona....'

Todavía *le dio tiempo a gan-ar una*
still 3sg.acc.m give.pst.pfv.3sg time to win-inf indef.sg.f
medalla de bronce en Sydney 2000,
medal(f) if bronce en S. 2000
'He still found time to win a bronze medal at the Sidney 2000 olympics.'

… Esa medalla precipitó su retirada a los 32 años.
'This medal precipitated his retirement at 32 years of age.'
(CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.3.8.2 Comparisons of inequality

- Bosque (2016), Martín Cid (1999), Ederly & Curcó (2016), Garrido (1993), Martínez Sánchez (1996), Morera (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8q–r).
- Note that comparisons of inequality in Spanish are formed via *más* 'more'/ *menos* 'less' (with the exception of some adjectives with a suppletive comparative form). The standard of comparison, if overtly mentioned, is introduced by subordinator *que* (RAE-ASALE 2009: ch. 45). *Todavía* contributes the notion of 'even more'.
- Bosque (2016) notes the functional overlap between *todavía* as still and the comparative usage function in the context of degree achievements (D.483).

(D.480) *De día Marketa era* ***todavía*** *más guap-a.*
of day M. cop.pst.ipfv.3sg still more attractive-f
'By day Marketa was even more attractive.' (CORPES XXI)

(D.481) *El servicio de autobus-es es* ***todavía*** *peor que*
def.sg.m service(m) of bus-pl cop.3sg still worse subord
el d-el metro.
3sg.m of-def.sg.m metro(m)
'The bus service is even worse than the metro's.' (Ederly & Curcó 2016: 36, glosses added)

(D.482) *Está muy alt-a, pero* ***todavía*** *crec-erá.*
cop.3sg very tall-f but still grow-fut.3sg
i. 'She's very tall, but she'll grow even more.'
ii. 'She's very tall but she'll still be growing.' (Bosque 2016: 214, glosses added)

(D.483) *El placer aument-ó* ***todavía*** *más.*
def.sg.m pleasure(m) increase-pst.pfv.3sg still more
'Pleasure increased even more.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.3.8.3 Conjunctional adverbial: *todavía más*/*más todavía* 'what is more'

- Fuentes Rodríguez (2018: 346).
- Form: in collocation with *más* 'more'.
- This is a straightforward extension of the use in comparisons of inequality (Appendix D.13.3.8.2) to the textual domain.
- Syntax: clause-initial position.

(D.484) *Se ha descrito que para desarrolar adicción, las mujeres requieren de beber, fumar o de utilizar drogas legales por menos tiempo y en menor cantidad.*
'It has been described that, in order to develop an addiction, women need to drink, smoke or use legal drugs for a shorter time and and in a lower quanty.'

Todavía más *cuando las persona-s que sufr-en*
still more when DEF.PL.F person(F)-PL SUBORD suffer-3PL
dependencia a-l alcohol y otr-a-s droga-s
addiction to-DEF.SG.M alcohol(M) and other-F-PL drug(F)-PL
recurr-en a ayuda profesional o de grupo-s de autoayuda,
resort_to-3PL to help professional or of group-PL of self_help
la severidad de adicción … es generalmente mayor
DEF.SG.F severity(F) of addiction COP.3SG generaly bigger
entre las mujer-es.
between DEF.PL.F woman(F)-PL
'What is more, when people suffering from addiction to alcohol or other drugs make use of professional help or self-help groups, the addiction is usually more severe in women.' (Fuentes Rodríguez 2018: 346, glosses added)

(D.485) *Según Pessoa, lo que caracteriz al genio literario es la inadaptación a su medio.*
'According to Pessoa, what characterises literary genius is its nonconformity with its medium.'

Más todavía: *la fama literari-a de hoy excluy-e*
more still DEF.SG.F fame(F) literary-F of today exclude-3SG
el éxito en el porvenir …
DEF.SG.M success(M) in DEF.SG.M future(M)…
'What is more: today's literary fame impedes future success.' (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

D.13.3.9 Restrictive (non-temporal)

D.13.3.9.1 Scalar restrictive *todavía si* ‘if at least’

- Bosque (2016), Deloor (2012) and RAE-ASALE (2021: s.v. *todavía*).
- Form: in combination with *si* ‘if’ introducing the protasis of a counterfactual conditional.
- In this function, *todavía* indicates that the condition depicted in the protasis constitutes a minimal requirement. This reading is very close to the ‘within acceptable limits’ use (Appendix D.13.3.7.1). Like the latter, it can be considered an extension of a construal of marginality (Appendix D.13.3.7).
- Ellipsis of the apodosis is common (D.488).

(D.486) *¿Para qué ahorra-s?;* ***todavía*** [***si*** *tuvier-as hijo-s*]
for what save_money-2SG still if have.PST.SBJV-2SG child-PL
est-aría justificado.
COP-COND.3SG justified
‘What are you saving money for? If you at least had kids, then it would make sense.’ (RAE-ASALE 2021: s.v. todavía, glosses added)

(D.487) *Toda la eternidad de Dios quemándoos en el infierno, con el calor, el fuego, y sin poder beber agua ni nada... por pensar en ese calvo.*
‘God’s whole eternity burning in hell, with all the heat, fire, and without being able to drink water or anything… (all that) for thinking about that bold guy.’

Todavía si *fuera el padre Felipe, lo*
still if COP.PST.SBJV.3SG DEF.SG.M father(M) F. 3SG.ACC.M
comprend-ería. Pero anda que el huertero...
understand-COND.1SG but DM SUBORD DEF.SG.M gardener(M)
‘If it at least were father Felipe, I’d understand. But the gardener…’ (CORPES XXI, glosses added)

(D.488) *...* ***todavía si*** *te pag-as-en, pero, ya ve-s, veinte*
still if 2SG.OBJ pay-PST.SBJV-3PL but already see-2SG twenty
duros por artículo, una miseria.
nickles for article, INDEF.SG.F pittance(F)
‘If at least they paid you, but you can see, twenty nickles for an article, a mere pittance.’ (Delibes, *Cinco horas con Mario*, cited in Bosque 2016: 222, glosses added)

D.13.3.10 Broadly modal and interactional uses

D.13.3.10.1 Concessive protases: *todavía que*

- Bosque (2016), Martín Cid (1999), Morera (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8o).
- Form: together with a clause introduced by the subordinator *que*.
- In present-day Spanish, this use is restricted to the Americas.
- According to Morera (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8o), *todavía que* can often be paraphrased as *encima de que* p 'on top of *p*', which suggests an additive component and parallels what is found with *todavía* as a marker of concessive apodoses (Appendix D.13.3.10.2).
- Bosque (2016) sees an additional link between this use and the scalar element of the time-scalar additive 'as late as' function (Appendix D.13.3.6.1).

(D.489) *Mi herman-o es un entrometid-o, bien infantil,*
POSS.1SG sibling-M COP.3SG INDEF.SG.M nosey-M well childish
todavía que *le prest-é mi computadora,*
still SUBORD 3SG.DAT.M lend-PST.PFV.1SG POSS.1SG computer
sac-ó unas foto-s de una fiesta
remove-PST.PFV.3SG INDEF.PL.F photo(F)-PL of INDEF.SG.F party(F)
con mi-s amig-o-s y and-a de chismoso con
with POSS.1SG-PL friend-M-PL and walk-3SG of gossip with
mi-s papá-s.
POSS.1SG-PL parent-PL
'My brother is so nosey and immature, even when I [was so kind and] lent him my computer [instead of being grateful] he dug up some photos from a party with my friends and goes around gossiping with my parents.' (Internet example, cited in Bosque 2016: 206, glosses added)

(D.490) *¡No sea desagradecid-a!* ***¡Todavía que*** *la*
NEG COP.SBJV.3SG ungrateful-F still SUBORD 3SG.ACC.F
dej-amos entrar, contest-a con sarcasmo-s!
let-1PL enter.INF reply-3SG with sarcasm-PL
'She shouldn't be ungrateful! Even though we let her in / As if it weren't sufficient that we let her in, she responds with ridicule.' (Gotbeter, *La prudencia*; cited in Bosque 2016: 206, glosses added)

D.13.3.10.2 Concessive apodoses

- Bosque (2016), Martín Cid (1999), Deloor (2012), Ederly & Curcó (2016), Garrido (1993), Morera (1999) and RAE-ASALE (2009: §30.8ñ).
- This concessive function has been described as often involving an additive notion (RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8ñ), which is particularly salient in cases like (D.491, D.492) and which corresponds to what is found with its protasis marking counterpart *todavía que* (Appendix D.13.3.10.1). As a correlate, Ederly & Curcó (2016) point out that concessive *todavía* is not congruent with concessive *still*, i.e. #*Trataron de ayudarle, pero todavía murió* ‘They tried to help him, but he still died.’
- Bosque (2016) speculates that the presence of the universal quantifier *toda* provides additional motivation for its use, given its presence in concessive expressions like *con todo* lit. ‘with all’, *de todas formas*, *de todas maneras* ‘anyway’.

(D.491) *Y* ***todavía*** *tuv-iste el descaro de*
and still have.pst.pfv-2sg def.sg.m impudence(m) of
enviar-me una tarjeta en la que me
send.inf-1sg.obj indef.sg.f card(f) en def.sg.f subord 1sg.obj
dec-ías “Compañer-a: Cuba es extraordinari-a”.
say-pst.ipfv.2sg companion-f Cuba cop.3sg extraordinary-f
‘And yet/on top of that you were so imprudent as to send me a card telling me “Comrade: Cuba is extraordinario!”’ (Espinosa, *Testigos de Jesús*, cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8ñ, glosses added)

(D.492) *Los obrer-o-s solo sab-en hac-er huelga-s y pon-er*
def.pl.m worker-m-pl only know-3pl do-inf strike-pl and put-inf
petardo-s, ¡y ***todavía*** *pretend-en que se les*
firecracker-pl and still pretend-3pl subord refl.3 3pl.dat
d-é la razón!
give-sbjv.3sg def.sg.f reason(f)
The workers only know how to go on strike and light up firecrackers, and yet/on top of that they want people to agree with them!’ (Mendoza, *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta*; cited in RAE-ASALE 2009: §30.8ñ, glosses added)

(D.493) *Lo ayud-é ayer y* ***todavía*** *me*
3sg.acc.m help-pst.pfv.3sg yesterday and still 1sg.obj
reclam-a.
claim-3sg
‘I helped him yesterday and nevertheless he complains.’ (Ederly & Curcó 2016: 36, glosses added)

D.14 Thai (tha, thai1261)

D.14.1 Introductory remarks

My understanding of the Thai data has greatly profited from discussion with Chingduang Yurayong, who also provided additional examples, helped with glosses, and aided in standardizing the transliteration. The Thai STILL expression *yaŋ* often co-occurs with the post-predicate auxiliary *yúu*, for simplicity here glossed as CONT 'continuous', as in (D.495). This marker, originally a locative copula, has a general function of signalling that a situation is transient (see Jenny 2001). In many of its extended functions, *yaŋ* combines with a morpheme *kɔ̂ɔ*, for present purposes glossed as DM 'discourse marker'. This is a notoriously versatile item which covers many functions broadly related to linkage, such as additive 'also', clause linkage ('so, and then'), or hesitation ('well…'); see Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom (2005: 170–177) . In addition, *kɔ̂ɔ* also serves as a main clause marker conveying a notion of relevance or evaluation (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 253–254). For an attempt at unveiling its etymology see Burusphat (2004).

D.14.2 yaŋ

D.14.2.1 General information

- Form: found in various transliterations (*yaŋ*, *yang*, *ya:ng*, *yung*, and *jaŋ*).
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: fixed position, immediately after the subject and before all elements belonging to the predicate.
- Etymology: originally a locative copula.

D.14.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Van Baar (1997), Campbell & Shaweevongs (1982: 100), Higbie & Thinsan (2002: 95–97, 105–106), Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom (2005: 153, 156), Jenny (2001), Noss (1964: 81, 182) and Smyth (2002: 103, 139–140).
- Specialisation: the descriptive materials show that this marker conforms to my definition; see especially Jenny (2001: 118), who explicitly mentions the imcompatibility of *yaŋ* with inalterable states. The expression is also identified by van Baar (1997) as one that is in line with my definition.
- Pragmaticity: according to van Baar (1997: 76) *yaŋ* by itself is restricted to the neutral scenario, whereas in the unexpectedly late scenario *yaŋ* is combined with *talɔ̀ɔt* 'throughout, completely'. The data considered for the present study,

however, suggest that *yaŋ* by itself is compatible with both scenarios. For instance, (D.496) looks like a prototypical case of the late scenario, albeit bordering on a concessive reading.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Further note: according to Jenny (2001), *yaŋ* is incompatible with imperatives and prohibitives.

(D.494) *Rau yáay maa yùu kruŋthêep tâŋtɛ̀ɛ chán* ***yaŋ*** *dèk.*
1PL move come live Bangkok since 1SG still child
'We moved (here) to Bangkok when I was still a child.' (Smyth 2002: 62, glosses added)

(D.495) *Tháŋ bâan tɛ̀ɛláʔ lǎŋ* ***yaŋ*** *plùuksâaŋ yùu hàaŋ kan mâi ʔɛɛʔàt*
all house every CLF still build CONT far RECP NEG crowded
yátyîat mʉ̌ʉan pàtcubanníi.
tightly alike at_present
'Each and every home was [still] built separate from its neighbour, not crowded together like [they are] today.' (found online)[66]

(D.496) *Nâaplɛ̀ɛk thîi tháŋ nɛɛn lɛ́ʔ kháu lɤ̂ɤk kan lɛ́ɛw tɛ̀ɛ* ***yaŋ***
strange COMP all N. and 3 separate RECP already but still
pen phʉ̂ʉan nai féesbúk.
COP friend in Facebook
'It is strange that Naen and her ex had divorced, but they were still "friends" on Facebook.' (found online)[67]

D.14.2.2.1 Scalar contexts

- Zhang (2017)
- *Yaŋ* is attested in scalar contexts of decreases over time (D.497, D.498) and limited increases (D.499, D.500). Note the absence of an overt 'only' marker in (D.500).

(D.497) ***Yaŋ*** *mii phǒnlamái lʉ̌ʉa yùu bon tôn sák lûuk sɔ̌ɔŋ lûuk.*
still exist fruit remain CONT on tree just CLF two CLF
'There are still about one or two pieces of fruit left on the tree.' (Zhang 2017: 21)

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[66] http://www.thai-language.com/id/225350 (09 June, 2021).

[67] http://www.thai-language.com/id/244919 (10 June, 2021).

(D.498) *Khun khruu wian klàaw chomchɤɤy wâa dii mâak lɛ́ɛw bɔ̀ɔk*
HON teacher W. speak praise COMP godo very already tell
wâa ***yaŋ*** *lɯ̌ɯa thífaam pen khon sùttháay hâi ʔɔ̀ɔk maa ʔàan*
COMP still remain T. COP person last CAUS out come read
riaŋkhwaam.
essay
'Teacher Wien praised her saying that she did a very good job and said that there was only one student remaining, Tifam, to give his presentation.' (found online)[68]

(D.499) Context: We're supposed to be sent 5 books.
A: I've got four.
B: Me, too.
C: *Phǒm* ***yaŋ*** *dâi khɛ̂ɛ sǎam lêm tɛ̀ɛ ʔìik sɔ̌ɔŋ lêm khoŋ kamlaŋ*
1SG still get only three CLF but more two CLF maybe PROG
maa.
come
'I still got only three, but the other two are probably coming.' (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.)

(D.500) A: *Lûuk khun ʔaayúʔ sìphâa pii châi mái?*
child 2SG age fifteen year yes NEG
'Your child is fifteen years old, right?'
B: *Mâi châi,* ***yaŋ*** *ʔaayúʔ sìpsìi pii jùu.*
NEG yes, still age fourteen year CONT
'No, she's still only fourteen years old.' (Chinduang Yurayong, p.c.)

D.14.2.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

D.14.2.3.1 Not yet (and interrogative 'yet')

- Van Baar (1997: 62), Campbell & Shaweevongs (1982: 97–100), Higbie & Thinsan (2002: 60, 93, 98), Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom (2005: 284–286), Jenny (2001), Noss (1964: 81, 84, 182–183), and Smyth (2002: 113, 150, 153, 157–159).
- *Yaŋ* as NOT YET without negation is attested in the following two contexts, both (originally) characterised by the absence of an overt predicate:
  - In polar questions that follow a pattern *lɛ́ɛw rɯ̌ɯ yaŋ* 'already or still > 'already or not yet' (D.501). This can be understood as an instantiation of a

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[68] http://www.thai-language.com/id/246826 (27 February, 2023).

broader ‘or NEG’ pattern of question formation (e.g. Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 283–284; Higbie & Thinsan 2002: 59–60). This question tag is undergoing erosion: *lɛ́ɛw* ‘already’ or *rɯ̆ɯ* ‘or’ can be dropped (D.502, D.503). What is more, omission of both is attested as well, leaving *yaŋ* as interrogative ‘yet’ in direct (D.504) and indirect questions (D.505). Note that Thai does not make use of negative raising with *yaŋ* (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.); instead *lɛ́ɛw* ‘already’ is used in the subordinate clause (D.506).

- As a negative response (D.503).

(D.501) *Thíŋ còtmăay pai tûu praisanii lɛ́ɛw rɯ̆ɯ **yaŋ**?*
throw letter go box mail already or still
‘Did (you) put the letter into the mail-box or not yet?’ (Kölver 1991: 500, glosses added)

(D.502) *Khun hâi ʔaahăan măa **rɯ̆ɯ yaŋ**?*
2 give food dog or still
‘Have you fed the dog yet?’ (Smyth 2002: 80)

(D.503) A: *Rîak rót thɛ́ksîi **lɛ́ɛw yaŋ**?*
call car taxi already still
‘Did you call the taxi [yet]?

B: ***Yaŋ** khà.*
still DM:politeness.F
‘No, not yet.’ (found online)[69]

(D.504) *Hĭw **yaŋ**?*
hungry still
‘Are you hungry yet?’ (found online)[70]

(D.505) *Chán sŏŋsăi wâa khun kin khâaw (lɛ́ɛw rɯ̆ɯ) **yaŋ**.*
1SG wonder COMP 2 eat rice already or still
‘I wonder whether you have eaten yet.’ (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.)

(D.506) *Chán mâi khít wâa kháu maa (thŭŋ) lɛ́ɛw.*
1SG NEG think COMP 3 come arrive already
‘I don’t think he has arrived yet.’ (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.)

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[69] http://www.thai-language.com/id/590018 (11 March, 2021).

[70] http://www.thai-language.com/id/246231 (10 June, 2021).

D.14.2.4 Marginality

- *Yaŋ* is compatible with a marginality use.
- As with many functions of *yaŋ*, in this use it tends to be accompanied by *kɔ̂ɔ*, as in (D.507, D.509). Example (D.508) shows that this appears not to be compulsory.

(D.507) Context: Talking about tennis skills.
*Thɔm chán **yaŋ** chaná dâi. / Chán **yaŋ** chaná thɔm dâi.*
Tom 1SG still win can 1SG still win Tom can
'Tom I can still beat / I can still beat Tom (but other players are too good for me).' (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.)

(D.508) *Mɛ́kdonɔ̂l thîinân phɛɛŋ kwàa tɛ̀ɛ kɔ̂ɔ **yaŋ** thùuk yùu.*
McDonald's there expensive exceed but DN still cheap CONT
'McDonald's is more expensive over there, but it's still cheap.'
(Higbie & Thinsan 2002: 106, glosses added)

(D.509) *Chiaŋraay kɔ̂ɔ yaŋ pen praʔthêet thai yùu.*
Chiang Rai DM **still** be country Thai CONT
'Chiang Rai [city in the north] is still Thailand (as opposed to other places across the border).' (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.)

D.14.2.5 Additive and related functions

D.14.2.5.1 Additive

- Smyth (2002: 122) and Higbie & Thinsan (2002: 147).

(D.510) *Mâi phiaŋ tɛ̀ɛ tɔ̂ŋ pàʔtisèet ʔaamítsǐncâaŋ rɯ̌ɯ sǐnbon thúk*
NEG only but must deny bribery or bribe every
*chanít hàak tɛ̀ɛ **yaŋ** mâi klua thîi càʔ phíphâaksǎa tàtsǐn*
type if but still NEG fear COMP IRR deliver_judgement judge
phûu lamɤ̂ɤt ʔamnâat sǎan.
NMLZ break_law authority court
'Not only must (we) refuse bribery, graft, or payoffs of any kind, but (we) must [also] not be afraid of judging those who are contemptuous of (our) courts.' (found online)[71]

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[71] http://www.thai-language.com/id/216487 (01 March, 2021).

(D.511) ***Yaŋ*** *mii bùkkhon nai prawàtsàat thai sûɯŋ dâi thùuk banthɯ́k ʔau*
still exist person in history Thai REL get pass record take
wái…
keep
‘There are also individuals in Thai history who are noteworthy …’ (found online)[72]

D.14.2.5.2 Scalar additive

- Higbie & Thinsan (2002: 240) and Noss (1964: 182).
- It appears that addition of *kɔ̂ɔ*, as in (D.514) gives a strong emphasis to the scalar reading (Chingdong Yurayong, p.c.)
- Several examples, including (D.512) feature an additional additive marker *dûay.*

(D.512) *Phǒm chûay kháu talɔ̀ɔt. baaŋkhráŋ* ***yaŋ*** *hâi ŋɤn kháu*
1SG help 3 all_the_time sometimes still give money 3
dûay.
also
‘I help him all the time. Sometimes I even give him money.’ (Higbie & Thinsan 2002: 240, glosses added)

(D.513) *Fǎafɛ̀ɛt khûu nîi mɯ̌an kan píap. Baaŋkhráŋ phɔ̂ɔ mɛ̂ɛ*
twin pair PROX alike RECP IDEOPH sometimes father mother
yaŋ *yɛ̂ɛk mâi ʔɔ̀ɔk.*
still seperate NEG out
‘The two twins look exactly alike; sometimes even their parents can’t tell them apart.’ (found online)[73]

(D.514) *Mâi ʔàʔ. mâi khɔ̂y sabaay tɔɔn níi yàawâatɛ̀ɛ kin lɤɤy*
NEG SFP NEG little fine moment PROX not_only eat at_all
mɛ́ɛ dɤɤn kɔ̂ɔ ***yaŋ*** *mâi wǎi.*
though walk DM still NEG manage
‘No (thanks). I’m not feeling very well. Not only can’t I eat, but I can’t even walk.’ (found online)[74]

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[72] http://www.thai-language.com/id/214624 (27 February, 2021).

[73] http://www.thai-language.com/id/247337 (11 March, 2021).

[74] http://www.thai-language.com/id/230604 (10 June, 2021).

D.14.2.5.3 Comparisons of inequality

- Higbie & Thinsan (2002: 240) and Zhang (2017: 21).
- Note that Thai makes use of an exceed-comparative construction (Stassen 2013), where the marker *kwàa* follows the predicate and precedes the standard of comparison.
- Addition of *yaŋ* indicates ‘even more’.
- There appears to be a preference for *yaŋ* to be used with predicates denoting the lower end of a scale (Chingduang Yurayong, p.c.), which is reflected in the examples found in the literature: *cháa* ‘slow’ in (D.515, D.516) and *nǎaw* ‘cold’ in (D.517).

(D.515) *Kháu **yaŋ** phûut cháa kwàa.*
3 still speak slow exceed
‘He speaks even more slowly (than someone else).’ (Noss 1964: 190, glosses added)

(D.516) *Phǒm wîŋ cháa lɛ́ɛw (tɛ̀ɛ) kháu **yaŋ** cháa kwàa phǒm ìik.*
1sg run slow already but 3 still slow exceed 1sg more
‘I run slowly, but he runs even more slowly than I do.’ (Higbie & Thinsan 2002: 240, glosses added)

(D.517) *Thaaŋ tawanʔɔ̀ɔk kɔ̂ɔ yaŋ nǎaw kwa..*
way east dm still cold exceed
‘It is still colder on the east side’. (Zhang 2017: 21)

D.14.2.6 Broadly modal and interactional functions

D.14.2.6.1 Concessive apodoses

- Higbie & Thinsan (2002: 107–108), Jenny (2001), and Noss (1964: 182).
- In this function, *yaŋ* is often preceded by the discourse marker *dûay*, as in (D.519) and – optionally – in (D.520).

(D.518) *Mɛ́ɛtɛ̀ɛ yâatphîinɔ́ɔŋ khɔ̌ɔŋ kháu kháu **yaŋ** mâi chûay lɤɤy*
even relatives of 3 3 still neg help at_all
nápprasǎaʔarai kàp phɯ̂an thîi mâi khɤɤy sanìt
what_can_you_expect with friend rel neg ever close_together
yàaŋ khun..
type 2
‘He won’t even help his flesh and blood, let alone someone like you who is not even his close friend (lit. even though they are his kin he still does not help them...).’ (found online)[75]

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[75] http://www.thai-language.com/id/216252 (01 March, 2021).

(D.519) *Kháu mâi mii ŋɤn mâak tɛ̀ɛ kháu kɔ̂ɔ* ***yaŋ*** *hâi phŏm..*
3 NEG have money much but 3 DM still give 1SG
‘She didn’t have much money, but she gave me some anyway.’
(Higbie & Thinsan 2002: 107, glosses added)

(D.520) *Tháŋtháŋthîi fŏn tòk tɛ̀ɛ rau* (*kɔ̂ɔ*) ***yaŋ*** *pai..*
even_though rain heavy but 1PL DM still go
‘Although it’s raining, we’re still going.’ (Smyth 2002: 121, glosses added)

D.15 Tundra Nenets (yrk, nene1249)

D.15.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I searched Nikolaeva et al.’s (2019) online text collection. I am furtheremore indebted to Irina Nikolaeva and Tapani Salminen for discussing Tundra Nenets data with me and for helping with glosses.

D.15.2 təmna

D.15.2.1 General information

- Form: also transcribed as *ta̯mnɒ* and, in Cyrillic, *тамна.*
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word; mostly invariable, but takes person-number and tense marking in its ‘not ready yet’ function (Appendix D.15.2.4).
- Etymology: related to the pronominal stem *tə*, which also has a temporal meaning ‘then’, plus prolative *-mna*, i.e. ‘through then’ (Janhunen 1977: 144; Salminen 1998: 199).

D.15.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Janhunen (1977: 144), Lehtisalo (1956: 458), Nikolaeva (2014: 186) and Tereščenko (2008: 623).
- Specialisation: the descriptions and dictionary entries, when taken together, give a good indication that this item corresponds to English *still*, German *noch* and Russian *eščë*. This also becomes evident in examples like (D.521–D.523). For instance, in (D.521) *təmna* restricts the time frame to one in which the speaker and companions continue to be children, as opposed to being grown up.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusions.

- Syntax: in phasal polarity function, *təmna* typically precedes the predicate and object, but follows the subject NP.

(D.521) Context: From the opening paragraph of an autobiographical account.
Tí pæ°rt′a° ***təmna*** *n′ada-ŋko-s′°ti-waq*
reindeer:ACC.PL do:NMLZ.IPFV:DAT.PL still help-INTR-HAB-1PL
əc′ekewaq æ-b°q-naqa.
child:POSS.1PL COP-COND-1PL.EMPH
'We used to give help to reindeer herders when we were still children.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: Life story)

(D.522) Context: A boy has been killed.
Lobeku-h n'eb'a ma: "Ŋyamc'ida ***təmna*** *səwa-q. Xad°r'ih*
L-GEN mother say flesh.PL.3SG still good-3PL of_course.only
yil'e-bt'e-° xorta-nakew°."
live-CAUS-MOD.CVB try-EVID.1SG>SG
'Lobeku's mother said "His muscles are still good. I might try and revive him."' (Nikolaeva 2014: 453)

(D.523) *Pid°kəyeda* ***təmna*** *pəx°nc'ə-yə°.*
3SG:PEJORATIVE:DIM still be_without_root-PEJORATIVE
'Poor thing, he is still small (lit. without roots).' (Nikolaeva 2014: 138; Irina Nikolaeva, p.c.)

D.15.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

D.15.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- At least the tokens in (D.524, D.525) involve scalar contexts in the form of decreases over time.
- Note that both examples stem from Lehtisalo (1956), who uses a phonetic transcription. These have been adopted to the phonological transcription used in Nikolaeva (2014) with the help of Tapani Salminen.
- Also see Appendix D.15.2.4 and (D.528) on 'still-CMPR' 'not quite yet'.

(D.524) *Yiqm′aq xor°koəd° təmna s′əy°nə°,* ***təmna***
water/alcohol:POSS.1PL keg.ABL still flow_freely.3SG still
oka, ***təmna*** *s′id′a yal′a yamp°h tæw°ŋkuq.*
much still two day.GEN long.GEN reach.REFL.3SG
'Der Branntwein fliesst noch stark aus dem Fass, es ist noch viel da, es genügt noch für zwei Tage. [The brandy is still flowing strong, there is still a lot, it's still enough for two days.]' (Lehtisalo 1956: 435, glosses added)

(D.525) ***Təmna*** *n´ax°r yúq n´encawey° xayi m´inc´°maq*
still three ten stretch_of_river remain.3SG journey:POSS.1PL
yax°-naq.
place:DAT.SG-POSS.1PL
‘Noch sind auf dem Fluss, den wir daherfahren, dreissig Strecken übrig. [There still remain thirty stretches of river on our journey.]’ (Lehtisalo 1956: 319, glosses added)

D.15.2.4 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

D.15.2.4.1 Not (ready) yet

- Lehtisalo (1956: 458), Nikolaeva (2014: 187) and Tereščenko (2008: 624).
- This function occurs in the absence of a propositional complement and conveys the notion of ‘not ready yet’ (D.526, D.527). In this use, *təmna* can take tense and person-number marking (D.526).
- There is also a collocation *təmna-rka* ‘still-CMPR’ ‘not quite yet’, see (D.528). This is probably best understood as scalar, with comparative *-rka* contributing a notion of ‘a bit’ (see Nikolaeva 2014: 133–134 on this function of the comparative suffix); that is, ‘still a bit’, which is also the translation given by Lehtisalo (1956: 458). In structural terms, however, this is the only other case in which *təmna* can serve as a main predicate.

(D.526) ***Təmna****-dᵒm-c’ᵒ.*
still-1SG-PST
‘I wasn’t ready yet.’ (Nikolaeva 2014: 187)

(D.527) ***Təmna*** *ŋǣ-wiᵒ.*
still COP-EVID
‘He wasn’t ready, apparently.’ (Nikolaeva 2014: 187)

(D.528) Context: Lobeku’s mather has revived a dead man.
*Lobeku-h n’eb’a ma: “**Təmna-rka**. Ŋarka tu-h yad’o-xəna*
L.-GEN mother say still-CMPR big fire-GEN heat-LOC
yūs’idaᵒ-ya. Pūna xərᵒ-ta ŋamt’o-ᵒ xaqmᵒ-cu-q.”
lie-JUSS after REFL-3SG sit-MOD.CVB fall-MOD-REFL.3SG
‘Lobeku’s mother said “It’s not over yet. Let him lie in the heat of the big fire. Later he will sit up himself.”’ (Nikolaeva 2014: 453–454)

D.15.2.5 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.15.2.5.1 Iterative via increment

- There is only one example of this use in the data.

(D.529) *Xərwa-b°-ta* ***təmna ŋo-poy°*** *me-wa-h*
want-COND-3SG still one-MODERATIVE COP-IPFV.NMLZ-GEN
tū-t°-naked°m.
come-FUT-MOD.1SG
‘Perhaps I will come again if he wants.’ (Nikolaeva 2014: 100)[76]

D.15.2.6 Additive and related functions

D.15.2.6.1 Additive

- Nikolaeva (2014: 186) and Tereščenko (2008: 623).
- In (D.532) *təmna* is optional, as the focus suffix *-xərt* by itself contributes an additive meaning (see Nikolaeva 2014: 128–129).
- Syntax: as ‘another’ (i.e. additions of the same kind), *təmna* stands NP-internally.

(D.530) ***Təmna*** *ŋoka yabto-m xada-wen°.*
still many goose-ACC kill-EVID.2SG
‘In addition, you have apparently killed many geese.’ (Labanauskas 1995: 44, cited in Nikolaeva 2014: 186)

(D.531) *N’e°ka-n’i s’it° n’ada-wa-h t’ax°mna mən’°*
elder_brother-GEN.1SG 2SG.ACC help-IPFV.NMLZ beside 1SG
təmna *tedə-mt° ta°-dəm-c’°.*
still reindeer-FUT.POSS:ACC:2SG give-1SG-PST
‘In addition to my brother helping you, I also gave you a reindeer.’ (Nikolaeva 2014: 371)

(D.532) *T’on’a-m n’əqma°, pūna* **(*təmna*)** *noxa-xərt°-m n’əqma°.*
fox-ACC catch then still polar_fox-FOC-ACC catch
‘He caught a fox and then a polar fox, too.’ (Nikolaeva 2014: 129)

(D.533) *T′iki° s′edar° S′ay°tan° s′edam n′ub′eqŋa.*
it mountain:POSS.2SG Shaytan mountain.ACC call:2SG
Ŋaw°nanta n′eney° wadaw°na Xæb′id′a s′edas′°. …
long_ago:3SG true language.PROL holy mountain:PST:3SG

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[76] See Nikolaeva (2014: 135) on the “moderative” suffix. Suffice it to say that *ŋopoy°* here serves as an event quantifier similar to Russian *raz* (Irina Nikolaeva, p.c.).

Təmna *ŋob xæb′id′a s′eda tən′a°.*
still one holy mountain exist:3SG
‘This mountain is called Shaytan. In the past it was called Holy Mountain in the Nenets language. There is another holy mountain.’ (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The holy mountains)

(D.534) ***Təmna*** *ngob ya-h xora-m xadaᵒ*
still one place-GEN bull-ACC kill
‘He killed another mammoth.’ (Labanauskas 1995: 18, cited in Nikolaeva 2014: 186)

D.15.2.6.2 Comparisons of inequality

- Lehtisalo (1956: 458) and Tereščenko (2008: 623).
- Tundra Nenets uses a from-comparative in which the standard of comparison is marked in the ablative case. Comparative marking on the predicate itself is optional (Nikolaeva 2014: 174–175).
- Addition of *təmna* yields ‘even more’. This is attested with comparisons in the strict sense (D.535). It is also found with “degree achievements” (Dowty 1979), as in the combination of motion verb and adverbial in (D.536).

(D.535) ***Тамна*** *саваркавна*
təmna səwa-mpoyᵒh
still good-MODERATIVE
‘Ещё лу́чше [Even better]’ (Tereščenko 2008: 623, glosses added)

(D.536) Context: A man is following his brother’s tracks.
Xurka-r’i yil’ebc’əye xada-bə-s’ᵒtə-wiᵒ yaxᵒ-s’ətᵒ-wiᵒ
which-only wild_reindeer:ACC.PL kill-IPFV-HAB-EVID skin-HAB-EVID
təmna *n’erᵒn’ah xǣ-s’ᵒtə-wiᵒ.*
still forth go-HAB-EVID
‘It seemed the older brother had been killing and skinning all sorts of wild reindeer, and then moving on even further.’ (Nikolaeva 2014: 440)

D.16 Udihe (ude, udih1248)

D.16.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from the grammars listed below, I consulted Nikolaeva et al.'s (2002, 2003, 2019) text collections. Note that the relevant Udihe marker, *xai*(*si*), is a very frequent item in texts, with the exact contribution of many instances remaining unclear. My categorisation of those uses not discussed in the descriptive materials is therefore but a first approximation.

D.16.2 xai(si)

D.16.2.1 General information

- Form: two freely exchangeable variants, *xai* and *xaisi.*
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Etymology: from Mandarin Chinese *hái*(-*shì*).

D.16.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001: 20, 438–440) and Schneider (1936: 78).
- Specialisation: textual attestations like (D.537–D.539) give evidence that this expression conforms to my definition. For instance, in (D.537) *xaisi* not only indicates that the dog continued to be young, but it also evokes an alternative scenario in which she is no longer young and would consequently be harnessed.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios; (D.539) is a prime candidate for an unexpectedly late continuation.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.

(D.537) Context: The narrator, together with her family and dog, is preparing to end a hunting trip and go home.

In'ei-we e-u alu, pal'ma, mene beje-zi uŋkäla-u,
dog-ACC NEG-1PL.EXCL harness P. REFL self-INS fetch-1PL.EXCL
pal'ma ic'a bi-se bueni ***xaisi****.*
P. small COP-PFV 3SG still
'We didn't harness our dog Palma, who was still young.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: A tame roe cub named Wasya)

(D.538) Context: An old humpback has ordered a fairy to cook and serve him food in a silver bowl. She refused, and he has conjured a torrential rain. *“Wadi-wene-je ele, ñaŋmu-gi-wene-je!”*
stop-CAUS-IMP enough clear-ITER-CAUS-IMP
“Ñaŋmu,” guŋ-ki-ni eitene, ñaŋmu-gi-e-ni. Ña ña
clear.IMP say-PST-3SG now clear-ITER-PST-3SG again again
eme-gi-e-ni boxo-s’o zugdi-tigi-ni.
come-ITER-PST-3SG humpback-DIM house-LAT-POSS.3SG
E-si-ni-de olokto, mene nixe-zeŋe-i ***xai*** *nixe-ini eitene.*
NEG-PST-3SG cook REFL make-FUT.PTCP-REFL still make-3SG now
‘[The fairy said:] “Stop it, enough, make (the sky) clear up again!” “Let it be clear!” he said, and it cleared up. The humpback entered the house again. (The fairy) was not cooking, she kept doing her work.’ (Nikolaeva et al. 2002: 35, 37)

(D.539) Context: About a hunting trip. Ilya was told to stay behind while his wife and son set out to hunt.
Ili-enti neŋi ilä ***xaisi*** *ŋua-ini, ila-ma ili-enti neŋi zube*
three-ORD day I. still sleep-3SG three-ACC three-ORD day two
neŋi t’ei ŋua-ini, bu ili-enti neŋi “si ono ŋua-i?”.
day whole sleep-3SG we three-ORD day 2SG how sleep-2SG
‘On the third day Ilya was still sleeping, he had slept for two days. On the third day we came back and asked: “Why are you sleeping?”’ (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: A hunting trip)

D.16.2.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

D.16.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- At minimum the tokens in (D.540, D.541) involve scalar contexts in the form of decreases over time.

(D.540) Context: A couple had stored some dried meat, wrapped with birch tree bark.
Uta-digi uti=de ***xai*** *wac’a esi-gi-e-ni, tuŋa=as*
this-ABL this=FOC still little become-ITER-PST-3SG five=or
adi=es xeke, teu uti talu-zi kapta-si-e-ni.
how_many=or bundle all this birch_bark-INS wrap-IPFV-PST-3SG
‘Only a little was left, five wraps or so, she had wrapped it all.’ (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: An old woman and her tiger cub)

(D.541) Context: A girl has found a dog’s head.
*In’ei **xai** omo dili=mei xai inixi.*
dog still one head=only still alive
‘Although there was only a head left from the dog, it was nevertheless alive.’ (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The fairy and the ten bald spirits)

D.16.2.3.2 Sameness

- Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001: 440–441).
- This function occurs in combination with distal anaphoric pronouns of the shape (*u*)*t*- and expresses identity of the referent.
- In many textual attestations, the referent of the anaphoric pronoun is a situation, which, in turn, either continues or is repeated with different participants, thereby providing a link to the phasal polarity, additive, and iterative functions of *xai*(*si*). For instance, a more literal translation of (D.543) is ‘the way he used to walk, he still walks that way’ and (D.544) could be paraphrased as ‘… that also happened to my wife’.

(D.542) *Ni: lä bazagele lali:nzi budei, zeude ei diga ilama neŋini, uti ni:we mene e:tigi mene ŋenezeŋei <mene ŋenezeŋei>*
‘Many people in the taiga die from hunger. If a human doesn’t eat anything for three days, the tiger directs this person to where it has to go.’

***xai uti** dogbo-ni uti xokto-tigi-ni ŋene-wen’e uti*
still that night-POSS.3SG this road-LAT-POSS.3SG go-CAUS.PFV this
ni:-we xebu-ini.
man-ACC take-3SG
‘It will direct him to the road the very same night and lead this person.’ (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The tiger for Udihe people)

(D.543) *Bi abuga-i ei zulie-ni xuli: bede **xaisi** ute bede*
1SG father-1SG this before-3SG go:PRS.PTCP:SS like still that like
xuli:-ni ba:-za ge-tigi-ni.
go-3SG place-N surface-LAT-3SG
‘My father still goes hunting in the same way as he used to.’ (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 398–399)

(D.544) Context: A man’s wife had run away to escape an evil spirit. Now he has met what appears to be another woman, and she has told him her story of escaping from an evil spirit.

Merge (g)une-ini, "Bi mamasa-i ***xai ute*** *bi-s'e."*
hero say-3sg 1sg wife-poss.1sg still that cop-pfv
'The man said "The same happened to my wife."' (Nikolaeva et al. 2003: 76–77)

D.16.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

D.16.2.4.1 Iterative and restitutive

- Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001: 439, 444–445) and Schneider (1936: 78).
- Iterative *xai*(*si*) often occurs in conjunction with the additive/iterative marker *ña* and/or the iterative verb suffix *-gi*, as in (D.547).
- According to Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001: 439), iterative *xai*(*si*) has "the whole sentence in its scope" and involves "the complete repetition of a situation". There are, however, several instances in which an event is repeated, but with a different object, as in (D.549). In these cases, the line between the iterative use and the additive function (Appendix D.16.2.5.1) becomes blurred.
- Several instances in the data, including (D.550, D.551), involve a restitutive reading. It is noteworthy that the majority of them additionally feature the iterative suffix *-gi*, which by itself can mark restitution; see (D.551).
- According to Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001: 439), iterative/restitutive *xai*(*si*) always goes along with a bounded viewpoint. Ex. (D.548) indicates that this is a strong tendency rather than a fixed rule.
- Syntax: mobile, but typically close to the predicate, often preceding it.

(D.545) Context: A hero has been killed once, and nearly died on another occasion. A shaman warns him.
Merge ogoko si ogoko ŋene-mi ŋene-mi ogoko jeu=de
hero refrain 2sg refrain go-inf go-inf refrain what=foc
maŋga-wa-ni ***xai*** *b'a-zaŋa-i.*
trouble-acc-poss.3sg still find-fut-2sg
'Hero, when you walk you will have troubles again.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: Sisam Zauli and the hero)

(D.546) Context: One sister from a group of seven has stopped talking and laughing. The other sisters have attempted several times to get her to speak, to no avail. Now they've made a big fire in order to play and laugh.
To: ila:-ti neŋu-ne-ni, ute
fire kindle.pst-3pl younger_sibling-pl-poss.3sg that

dian'e-isi:-ni=de *exi-ni=de* ***xai*** *jeu=de*
say.PFV-PFV.CVB-3SG=FOC older_sister-3SG=FOC still what=FOC
e-i *diana, tu:tu:* *bi:.*
NEG-PRS.PTCP say silent.ITER COP:PRS.PTCP
'The younger sisters made fire but the elder sister didn't say anything again, she was silent.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The seven sisters)

(D.547) *Ge,* ***ña*** *bi:-mie,* ***xai*** *ge:nzi* *e:-**gi**:-li.*
INTERJ again COP-INF still pregnant become-ITER-3SG
'Some time later she got pregnant again.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2003: 106–107)

(D.548) Context: A hero has knocked on a girl's door. He has sung, urging her to open, but she didn't respond. So he sat down. Now he has tried a second time.

Opjat' teu-teu, teu-teu bi-si-ni, ***xai*** *te:-ni:,* *alasi-e-ni*
again all-all all-all COP-PST-3SG still sit.PST-3SG wait-PST-3SG
ñentile-i-we-ni.
open-PRS.PTCP-ACC-3SG
'She didn't answer again, she kept quiet, so he was sitting again and waiting for her to open.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: When Yegdige ate an evil spirit)

(D.549) Context: A tame tiger has previously brought an old woman a dead roe.
Ñä *bi-mie* *ei* *ba:-ixi* *ŋen'e* ***xai*** *nakta-wa*
again COP-INF EVID outside-LAT go.PFV still boar-ACC
w'a:-si: *gazi-e-ni,* *imo: xai* *cu:-ñieñie=de.*
kill.PFV-PST.PTCP.SS bring-PST-3SG fat still IDEOPH:through=FOC
'After some time she went out again: and again the tiger had brought a boar, a very fat one.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: An old woman and her tiger cub)

(D.550) Context: A girl is married to a crow. He leaves the house in the morning and comes back late in the evening.
Ŋua-gi-xi-ni, *neme-gi-si:-ni,* ***xai*** *anči-gde*
sleep-ITER-CVB.PFV-3SG cover-ITER-PFV.CVB-3SG still no-FOC
ŋene:-ni.
go.PST-3SG
'When he fell asleep, she covered him, then he went away again.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2003: 169, 171)

(D.551) Context: A boy and a girl were up a tree. They have climbed down to steal some food.
Mo:-mo uniŋa-zi e:xi ai-le-ni
tree-ADJ spoon-ACC frog butt-LOC-POSS.3SG
tulo-ndo:-ti gampa-wa ***xaisi***
smear-SEMELFACTIVE-PST-3PL thick_porridge-ACC still
tukti-gi-e-ti mo:-tigi.
climb-ITER-PST-3PL tree-LAT
'They smeared porridge on the frog's behind with a wooden spoon and climbed the tree again.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2002: 169, 171)

D.16.2.5 Additive and related functions

D.16.2.5.1 Additive

- Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001: 438) and Schneider (1936: 78).
- This function extends to equative comparisons, as in (D.555).

(D.552) Context: The opening of a narrative.
Bi-mie omo ... bi-mie, Kanda mafa bi-si-ni.
COP-INF one COP-INF K. old_man COP-PST-3SG
Mamaka-ŋi ... s(i)te-n(i)-de ***xai*** *bi-si-ni*
old_woman-POSS child-POSS.3SG-FOC still COP-PST-3SG
'(Once upon a time) there lived an old man, Kanda. He had a wife, and they also had a son.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2002: 58, 63)

(D.553) Context: Three brothers have promised a fairy that one of them will marry her. Now they try to decide which one.
Sagdi aga-ti gune:-ni "Bi e-zeŋe-i zawa, bi
old brother-POSS.3PL say.PST-3SG 1SG NEG-FUT-1SG take 1SG
sagdin-dima bi-mi." Uti gagda-ni xegi-le bi:
old-ADJ COP-1SG this second-3SG under-LOC COP:PRS.HAB
neŋu-ni ***xaisi*** *e-ini ča:la.*
younger_sibling-POSS.3SG still NEG-3SG want
'The second brother didn't want her either.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The alder tree girl)

(D.554) Context: About the events from a certain story.
Uta-la armija nemica wali-ŋie-ni, uteli maŋmu-ziga-tigi
that-LOC army German fight-IPFV.CVB-3SG then Nanai-PL-LAT
xauntasi-e-mi ute. Mafasa maŋmu-ziga ***xai*** *sa:-du, teu*
ask-PST-1SG that old_man Nanai-PL still know:PST.PTCP-3PL all

sa-iti uta-wa ceze bi-si-ni, ceze, ***xai*** *sa-i.*
know-3sg that-acc true cop-pst-3sg true still know-prs.ptcp
maŋmu mafasa staryj utempi-utempi teluŋu sa-i-we
Nanai old_man old such.redupl tale know-2sg-acc
je-i-we, ***xai*** *bueti sa-iti, ceze-we govorit, ceze*
do_what-2sg-acc still they know-3pl true-acc says true
bi-si-ni.
cop-pst-3sg
'During the war time I asked the Nanai people about that. The old Nanais also know that, everybody knows that it's true, they know too. An old Nanai knew exactly the same story, they also know it and say that it is true.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: An old woman and her tiger cub)

(D.555) *Ei mo:* ***xaisi*** *gugda-laŋki-ni tauxi mo:-digi.*
this tree still high-adj-poss.3sg that tree-abl
'This tree is as high as that one.' (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 187)

D.16.2.5.2 Comparisons of inequality

- The two attestations in (D.556, D.557) indicate that *xai*(*si*) can be used in comparisons of inequality. Note that Udihe makes use of a locational comparative structure (Stassen 2013): the standard of comparison, if explicitly mentioned, is marked with the ablative case, and there is no overt marking of the comparison on the predicate (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 398–399).
- The use of *xai*(*si*) appears to add the scalar additive notion of 'even'.

(D.556) *Ñ'ädiga wa:-la bi nuan-digi* ***xai*** *wa:-la bi-mi.*
N. kill-nmlz 1sg 3sg-abl still kill-nmlz cop-1sg
'Nadiga is lucky (in hunting) and I am more lucky than him.'
(Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 440)

(D.557) Context: Moose and Frog are competing in a race. They have been running and Moose, unaware of Frog outwitting him, thinks that Frog is ahead of him.
Xaisi *beje-zi bele tukä-li-nie, je: sokco-mie, bugdi*
still fast-ins fast run-inch-3sg antlers sticking_out? legs
kölomie=de tukä-nie.
?=foc run-3sg
'The Moose ran [even] faster, his antlers and legs stick out.'
(Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The moose and the frog)[77]

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[77] The glosses for *sokcomie* and *kölomie* are marked as uncertain, as their exact meaning is unclear. As Nikolaeva et al. (2019) explain, they serve to mock the Moose.

D.16.2.5.3 Switch/contrastive topic

- A few tokens of *xai*(*si*) in texts appear to involve a switch in topic/contrastive topics. For instance, in (D.558), *xaisi* appears to indicate a switch in topic from the tiger’s role in culture to a description of its physical appearance.
- While this function is not described in Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001), cross-linguistically this is a common functional extension of markers with additive functions (Forker 2016)

(D.558) Context: About tigers. They are considered to be God’s animal.
Ute bi:, iŋakta-na-ni ***xaisi*** *oño-ni,*
this cop:prs.ptcp fur-designative-poss.3sg still draw.pst-3sg
kegdeje-ni iŋakta-na-ni bagdi:-ni zülie-li.
striped-3sg fur-designative-poss.3sg grow-3sg striped-adj
‘That’s how it is. Its fur all grows motley and stripy.’[78] (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The tiger for the Udihe people)

(D.559) Context: A fairy has been given a task by an old woman. She has completed it and is coming back.
Läta tukäma-gi: gune, ***xai*** *mamaka isi:*
fast run-iter:ptcp.nmlz say still old_woman look:prs.ptcp
je-we=ke nixe-mi.
what-acc=indef do-inf
‘The girl ran back quickly, and the old woman was watching what she was doing.’ (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The fairy and the ten bald spirits)

D.16.2.5.4 Conjunctional adverb

- There are several textual tokens of *xai*(*si*) that appear to involve a conjunctional uses, an interpretation that is supported by their clause-initial position; see Forker (2016) on conjunctional extensions of markers with additive functions.

(D.560) Context: A man has gotten hold of a horse that defecates bread.
Uta gazi-e-k, ba:-la xeke:-k, ***xai*** *mamasa-ti(gi)*
that bring-pst-intens place-loc tie.pst-intens still wife-lat
diaŋ-ki-ni, “Ge, mamasa, si uti mui xegie-le soktu-je
say-pst-3sg interj wife 2sg that horse under-loc spread-imp
c’aligi mei seudine-we sagdi-zie-de mui xegie-le-n(i).
white only kerchief-acc big-ins-foc horse under-loc-poss.3sg
‘He brought it, tethered it outside, and [then] said to his wife, “Hey,

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[78] See Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001: 126–127) on the “designative” or “destinative” case marker *-na*.

wife, spread out a large white kerchief under the horse."' (Nikolaeva et al. 2003: 92–93, 99)

(D.561) *Adi-me=ke aŋa-ni bi:,* ***xai*** *mamaka*
how_many-ACC=INDEF year-3SG COP.PTCP still old_woman
bele ele bude-li'e, ele maŋga.
even_more soon die-INCH.PFV soon hard
Several years passed and the old woman was about to die, she felt very ill.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: An old woman and her tiger cub)

(D.562) *Si* [*si*] *jeu=de jai-ni ede-ili tuŋči:,* ***xai*** *geje*
2SG 2SG what=FOC noise-3SG start-3SG jump_on.IMP still together
dieli-zeŋe-fi [*geje dieli-zeŋe-fi*].
fly-FUT-1PL together fly-FUT-1PL
'If some noise starts, jump on me and we'll fly together.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: Yegdige in a silk gown)

D.16.2.5.5 Specificational adverb

- Closely related to the conjunctional uses, there are a few instances of clause-initial *xai*(*si*), where the marker has wide scope and introduces additional, specifying information similar to German *und zwar* (see Onea & Volodina 2011 on this and related markers).

(D.563) *Omo gugda gugda we: xo:-lo-ni, uti we:-tigi go:,* ***xai*** *zube*
one high high hill top-LOC-POSS.3SG that hill-LAT far still two
ila neŋi-ni i:ne-zeŋe-i, site-i meŋde eme-i,
three day-POSS.3SG reach-FUT-IMP child-REF with come-IMP
utala-da aŋi xu:lu bagdi:-ni.
that-LOC-FOC INDEF gourd live-3SG
'… a very high mountain, which is far away, [namely] two or three days of walking. A gourd grows there.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2003: 84, 89)

(D.564) Context: A hero has shot at an iron bird.
Tada-ni=dele piktige ŋen'e, ***xai*** *zokpo-ni*
arrow-POSS.3SG=FOC right go.PFV still throat-POSS.3SG
culi=de.
directly=FOC
'The arrow had struck it exactly, [that is] straight into the throat.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: Sisam Zauli and the hero)

D.16.2.6 Broadly modal and interactional functions

D.16.2.6.1 Concessive apodoses

- Nikolaeva & Tolskaya (2001: 440).
- Note the bounded viewpoint in (D.565) and the negated predicate in (D.566).
- Several tokens of the concessive function, including (D.568), involve alternative concessive conditionals. Example (D.569) suggests that this might be additionally motivated by the additive function of *xai*(*si*).

(D.565) *Nua-ni e-zeŋe ŋene bi-si-ni* ***xai(si)*** *ŋene:-ni.*
he-3SG NEG-FUT.PTCP go COP-PST.PTCP-3SG still go.PST-3SG
'Although he didn't have to go, he still went.' (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 440)

(D.566) Context: A man has encountered a tiger. It has bitten him.
Iteme-l'e, bueni ***xai*** *e-si-ni tiŋme, ili-me bi:,*
bite-PFV 3SG still NEG-PST-3SG fall stand-INF COP.PRS.PTCP
mäusa-ni=de anči, i:-ni=de anči, kusige-i
gun-POSS.3SG=FOC no what-POSS.3SG=FOC no knife-REFL
ga:-gi-mie, kusige-le:-ni tig(ra) aŋi uti kuti-we.
take-ITER-INF knife-PST-3SG tiger INDEF this tiger-ACC
'It bit him, but [nonetheless] the old man didn't fall, he was standing like that, he didn't have a gun, nothing, but he took out a knife and stabbed the tiger with it.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: An old woman and her tiger cub)

(D.567) Context: A snake has moved in with an old couple. It demands they find a human wife for it.
Mafasa gun'e "I-du gele-i si mamasa-na-i?
old_man say.PFV what-DAT ask-2SG 2SG wife-DESIGNATIVE-REFL
Kuliga, si kuliga, ni: ono ŋene-ze sin-tigi kuliga-tigi? Ni
snake 2SG snake human how go-SBJV 2SG-LAT snake-LAT who
*mafala-za sin-tigi?" – "****Xaisi*** *ŋene, e-li: ge:-ne*
marry-SBJV 2SG-LAT still go.IMP NEG-COND.2SG bring-DIR
sina-wa wa-zaŋa-i."
2SG-ACC kill-FUT-1SG
'The old man said: "Why are you asking for a wife for yourself? You are a snake, how can a human marry you, a snake? Who will marry you?" – "All the same, go, if you don't bring me a wife, I'll kill you."' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: Zabdala, an extraordinary snake)

(D.568) Context: A man has eaten from tiger's kill, but left two legs. He says to the tiger:
Ei zu:be bugdi-we sin-du ne-gi-e-mi, ali=de go:=ko
this two leg-ACC 2SG-DAT put-ITER-PST-1SG when=FOC far=INDEF
da:=ka bi-mi ***xai*** *o-lo eme-gi:, a-wa dig'a*
near=INDEF COP-INF still here-LOC come-ITER.IMP that-ACC eat.IMP
si.
2SG
'I put these two legs aside for you. Whether you walk far away or close to here, [it doesn't matter, BP] come here and eat them.' (Nikolaeva et al. 2019: The tiger for Udihe people)

(D.569) Context: Once upon a time there was a Chinese tsar. He buried people alive.
Ñuŋu-za se: i:ne-wene-mie bude-isi:-ni, buge-ini,
six-ten year come-CAUS-INF die-PFV.CVB-3SG bury-3SG
e-si:-ni, bude, ***xai*** *buge-ini.*
NEG-PST-3SG die still bury-3SG
'When a person became sixty years old, he buried him, no matter whether he was dead or not. (lit: ... he died, he buried him, he did not die, he still=also buried him).' (Nikolaeva et al. 2003: 18–20)

Appendix E: North America

E.1 Classical Nahuatl (nci, clas120)

E.1.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Michel Launey for discussing Nahuatl data with me and for helping with some difficult glosses. Classical Nahuatl has two STILL expressions: *nozan* and *oc*. Only for the latter do I have clear indications of additional functions.

E.1.2 oc

E.1.2.1 General information

- Form: also transcribed as *ok*, and as *oqu-* in certain compounds.
- Wordhood: free morpheme, but can cliticize.
- Etymology: Karttunen (1992: 92) suggests that this marker is related to the numeral *ōme* 'two'. Van Baar (1997: 92) reports personal communication from Michel Launey that this proposal is implausible for several morphophonological reasons. Van Baar (1997) instead suggests a tentative link to the verb *onoc* 'be lying, be stretched out'.

E.1.2.2 As a STILL expression

- Andrews (2003: 41), Bierhorst (1985: 246), Carochi (1645: 501), Karttunen (1992: 175) and Launey (1986: 1261–1622, 2011: 64–65); further discussion throughout van Baar (1997).
- Specialisation: van Baar (1997) identifies this marker as a STILL expression. This is supported by examples such as (E.1–E.3). For instance, in (E.1) *oc* not only involves the continuation of a prior habit, but also strongly suggests a contrast with people's behaviour at the time of speech.
- Pragmaticity: according to van Baar (1997: 76) this expression is used for the neutral scenario; for the simultaneously counterfactual scenario it is augmented by an item *nohmah*, as in (E.3), or a different STILL expression altogether, *nozan*, is used.

- Polarity sensitivity: outer negation yields NO LONGER.
- Further note: ex. (E.4) illustrates the use in an imperative.

(E.1) *In ye nēpa* ***oc*** *tlatlācamati-ya in mācēhual-tin.*
DET already there still obey-PST.IPFV DET commoner-PL
'Autrefois, les gens du peuple êtaient encore obeissants. [In the olden days, the commoners were still obedient.]' (Launey 1986: 1262, glosses added)

(E.2) *Câ* ***oc*** *pil-tōn-tli, ayamo mozcalia.*
3SG still child-DIM-N not_yet be_sensible
'Todavía es muchacho, aun no tiene juyzio. [He's still a child, he's not reasonable yet].' (Carochi 1645: 501, glosses added)

(E.3) ***Oc-nòmà*** *an-cochì? Cuix* ***oc*** *an-qu-ichià in*
still-still SUBJ.2PL-sleep.PL Q still SUBJ.2PL-OBJ.3SG-await.PL DET
tōnatiuh amo-tzontlan mo-quetza-quiuh? Cuix
sun POSS.2PL-at_head_of_bed REFL-get_up-INCH.IPFV Q
inmanin ***oc-nòmà*** *cochī-hua?*
this_very_time still-still sleep-IMPR
'Todavía dormis? Por ventura aguardais a que el Sol venga a dar en vuestras cabeceras? Es ésta hora de dormir? [Are you still asleep? Are you waiting for the sun to shine on your headboard? Is this the time to sleep?]' (Carochi 1645: 501, glosses added)

(E.4) *Mā* ***oc*** *xi-quim-om-mo-nōchi-lī-cān, mā* ***oc***
HORT still SBJV-OBJ.3PL-IT-REFL-call.-APPL-PL HORT still
xi-quim-om-mo-tzàtzī-lī-lī-cān.
SBJV-OBJ.3PL-IT-REFL-shout-APPL-APPL-PL
'Continuez à les appeler, continuez à crier vers eux. [Keep calling them, keep shouting at them.]' (Launey 1986: 1262, glosses added)[1]

E.1.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

E.1.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Oc* is attested in contexts of scalar decreases.
- Also see Appendix E.1.2.3.2 for a function that clearly involves scalar decreases.

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[1] The combination of the reflexive and applicative here serves a politeness function; see Launey (2011: ch. 21).

(E.5) *Auh in ye on-calaqui-z tōnatiuh, in* **oc** *achihtōn*
and DET already SUBJ.3:IT-enter-PROSP sun DET still a_bit
tōnatiuh, niman ye īc huāl-tzahtzi in
sun right_away already when SUBJ.3:VEN-cry_out:PST.PFV DET
Ītzcuāuhtzin.
I.
'And when the sun was about to set, when there was still a little sun, thereupon Itzcuauhtzin cried out.' (Andrews 2003: 609, glosses added)

E.1.2.3.2 Scalar contexts: preceding time span

- Carochi (1645: 501) and Launey (1986: 1268–1269, 2011: 369); additional discussion in van Baar (1997: 308–310).
- This is a complex clause pattern that signals a time span before a situation '(it is) *t* before *q*'. It surfaces in two types of constructions:
  - A clause pattern [[*in* (*ìcuāc*) q] [*oc* p]] 'DET (when/then) *q*, still *p*', i.e. 'when *p*, it is still a certain amount of time' (E.6, E.7). In this case, *oc* can be accompanied by the ALREADY expression *ye* to introduce a dual perspective, both from the situation forward to utterance time or another evaluation time (*oc*) and from there backwards (*ye*); see (E.8).
  - A clause pattern [[*oc* p] [(*in*) q]] 'still *p*, (DET) *q*' where the subordinate clause features either the prospective inflection or an imperfective venitive form. That is, 'it is still a certain amount of time, *q* is going to happen/is approaching'. This is illustrated in (E.9, E.10).
- This function is undoubtedly an extension of a scalar use of *oc*, i.e. '(it is still) a certain amount of time (then)'. Note how the inverse perspective ('[it is] already … [ago]') is expressed using the ALREADY expression *ye* (Launey 1986: 1258).

(E.6) *[In-in ca* **oc** *huècauh] [in mo-chīhua-tīuh]*
DET-PROX PRED still long_time DEF SUBJ.3:REFL.3-do-go.IPFV
'Ceci se produira dans longtemps [It will happen in a long time].' (Launey 1986: 1268, glosses added)

(E.7) *[In ìcuāc mo-chīuh in], [***oc*** *iuh*
DET when/then SUBJ.3:REFL.3-do-PST.PFV DET still thus
chicōn-xihuitl polihui-z in āltepētl chālcayōtl].
seven-year perish-PROSP DET town Chalco.POSS
'Quand cela se produisit, (c'etait) sept ans avant la chute de la cité de Chalco ("encore comme sept ans périra"). [When it happened, (it was) seven years before the fall of the city of Chalco ("still seven years it will fall").]' (Launey 1986: 400, glosses added)

(E.8) *In* **oc** *ye huècauh, in* **oc** *ye nēpa, in* **oc** *ye*
DEC still already long_time DET still already there DET still already
nechca, in **oc** *īm-pan huehuētquê,*
over_there DET still POSS.3PL-LOC old_person.PL
'Long ago in the past, during the time of the ancients [i.e. still a long time from there (to now) and already a long time (ago) …]'

cualli ic tla-mani-ya in
good when/thereby OBJ.INDEF:NON.HUMAN-spread-PST.IPFV DET
ī-pan t-āltepē-uh
POSS.3SG-LOC POSS.1PL-town-POSS
'Things went (spread out) well in our city.' (Launey 2011: 369)

(E.9) ***Oc*** *yuh* ***macuil-ilhuitl*** *àci-quiuh in*
still thus five-day arrive-COME.IPFV DET
to-tlàtò-ca-uh, in ō-tech-tlalhuì-quê.
POSS.1PL-king-LNK-POSS DET AUG-SUBJ.3:OBJ.1PL-warn-PST.PFV:PL
'Cinco dias antes que llegara el Virrey nos preuinieron. [Five days before the viceroy's arrival they warned us.]' (Carochi 1645: 501, glosses added)

(E.10) ***Oc*** *īmōztlayōc t-àci-zquê in Pasquà, nicān*
still next_day SUBJ.1PL-arrive-PROSP.PL DET Easter here
ō-n-àci-co.
AUG-SUBJ.1SG-arrive-PST.PFV
'Vn dia antes de Pasqua llegué aqui. [One day before Easter I arrived here, lit. Still one day left until we were going to arrive at Easter, I arrived.]' (Carochi 1645: 501, glosses added)

E.1.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

E.1.2.4.1 Iterative

- Bierhorst (1985: 246) and (Launey 1986: 1265) (1986: 1265).
- Iterative uses are illustrated in (E.11, E.12).
- Unlike with the interative/restitutive-via-addition collocation *oc cēppa* (Appendix E.1.2.4.2), there are no clear restitutive uses in the data consulted.
- There are no tense-aspect or modal restrictions on this function.

(E.11) *In āxcān* **oc** *ni-mitz-tla-pòpolhuia.*
DET now/today still SUBJ.1SG-OBJ.2SG-OBJ.INDEF:NON.HUMAN-forgive
'Pour aujourd'hui je te pardonne encore. [For today I will forgive you once more.]' (Launey 1986: 1265, glosses added)

(E.12) *Zā* ***oc*** *quēmman mo-cuā-zquê in ī-nāmic.*
only stilll at_times subj.3:refl-eat-prosp det poss.3sg-spouse
'Il faut que son mari (et elle) s'accouplent ("se mangent") encore de temps en temps. [It is necessary that her husband (and her) mate (lit. eat each other) again from time to time.]' (Launey 1986: 1265, glosses added)

E.1.2.4.2 Iterative and restitutive via increment

- Andrews (2003: 473), Bierhorst (1985: 247), Karttunen (1992: 175) and Launey (1986: 1265).
- Form: this function occurs in collocation with *cē-ppa* 'one-time'.
- Both iterative (E.13, E.14) and restitutive uses (E.15–E.17) are attested.

(E.13) *Auh quēmman* ***oc*** ***cē****-ppa*
and when still one-time
ti-tla-cuā-z?
subj.2sg-obj.indef:non.human-eat-prosp
'Y a qué hora has de comer otra vez? [And when will you eat again]?' (Carochi 1645: 505, glosses added)

(E.14) ***Oc*** ***cē****-ppa qu-ìtò-quê in tē~teô:*
still one-time obj.3sg-say-pst.pfv:pl det pl~god.pl
'De nouveau, les dieux dirent: ... [Again the gods said: ...]' (Launey 1986: 1265, glosses added)

(E.15) *In tlā cē chico-petōni huel tēcocô, auh nō huel*
det if one sideways-dislocate intens painful and intens painful
tecocô in ic ***oc*** ***ce-ppa*** *ī-ye-yān*
det thus when still one-time poss.3sg-loc.cop-customary_place
mo-zalao.
refl.3-put_together
'Si se desconcierta vno, y se sale a vn lado, duele mucho, como tambien duele mucho, quando se buelue a su lugar. [When one [of our bones] dislocates it hurts a lot, and it also hurts when it moves back into its place.]' (Carochi 1645: 498, glosses added)

(E.16) ***Oc*** ***cē****-ppa ti-pil-tōn-tli ti-mo-chīhua-z.*
still one-time subj.2sg-child-dim-n subj.2sg-refl-make-prosp
'You will become a child again.' (Andrews 2003: 537, glosses added)

(E.17) *In iuh ō-c-on-ìtô in, niman ic oc*
det thus aug-obj.3sg-it-say.pst.pfv det right_away then still
cē-ppa ō-coch-tlamelāuh.
one-time aug-sleep-obj.indef:non.human-straighten.pst.pfv
'Ayant dit cela, il se remit à dormir [Having said this, he went back to sleep].' (Launey 1986: 604, glosses added)

E.1.2.4.3 First, for now

- Carochi (1645: 502) and Launey (1986: 1264).
- This function is typically found in explanations of what the speaker is doing or announcements of what they are about to do, as in (E.18–E.20).
- The notion of precedence can be made explicit by using *achto* 'first' (or one of its variants), as in (E.19).

(E.18) *Mā* ***oc*** *ni-tla-qua, ca ye huellàcà,*
hort still subj.1sg-obj.indef:non.human pred already late_in_day
quin teōtlac
momentarily/then afternoon
ni-mitz-yōl-cuītī-z.
subj.1sg-obj.2sg-heart-acknowledge_failings-prosp
'Comeré primero, que ya es tarde; después te confessaré a la tarde. [I'll first eat, it's late already; then in the afternoon I'll confess to you.]' (Carochi 1645: 502, glosses added)

(E.19) *In ìcuāc ti-tla-chpāna-z-nequi,* ***oc***
det when subj.2sg-obj.indef:non.human-sweep-prosp-want still
yê achto in ti-tl-àhuachī-z.
actually first det subj.2sg-obj.indef:non.human-irrigate-prosp
'Quando quieras barrer, primero has de regar. [When you want to sweep, you first have to apply water.]' (Carochi 1645: 502, glosses added)

(E.20) ***Oc*** *ni-c-cahua in, quin çā-tēpan*
still subj.1sg-obj.3sg-leave det then only-momentarily
ni-c-tzonquīxtī-z in ī-tlàtōllo, in oncān
subj.1sg-obj.3sg-finish-prosp det poss.3sg-speech det there
ī-monecyan.
poss.3sg-proper_place/time
'Dexolo aqui por agora, después acabaré de tratar dello en su lugar. [I'll leave it at this for now, I'll finish talking about it afterwards, in due time.]' (Carochi 1645: 500, glosses added)

(E.21) *Câ zan **oc** īxquich.*
3sg only still that_much
'C'est tout pour l'instante. [That's all for now.]' (Launey 1986: 1263, glosses added)

E.1.2.5 Temporal connectives and frame setters

E.1.2.5.1 Simultaneous duration

- Andrews (2003: 452, 516, 525), Carochi (1645: 503), Karttunen (1992: 180), Launey (1986: 1268–1269; 2011: 64–65, 365–366); additional discussion in van Baar (1997: 309).
- Form: this function obtains in subordinate clauses introduced by the determiner *in*, and *oc* often occurs in combination with *ic* 'when', i.e. lit. 'when it is still the time when …'.

(E.22) *Mācamo xi-còcoch-ti-ye-cān in **oc** ic*
proh sbjv-doze-lnk-stay-pl det still when
n-on-tē-machtia.
subj.1sg-it-obj.indef:human-teach
'Don't be dozing off while I'm teaching.' (Launey 2011: 366, glosses added)

(E.23) *Mā niman āxcāmpa xi-mo-nemiliz-cuepa-cān, in*
hort right_away thereupon sbjv-refl-way_of_life-turn-pl det
oc am-pāc-ti-nemî, in oc
still subj.2sg-lead_happy_life-lnk-move.pl det still
an-chicāhua-ti-nemî.
subj.2sg-be_strong-lnk-move.pl
'Conuertiros, y haced penitencia desde luego, mientras teneis tiempo, mientras estais sanos, y fuertes. [Convert and do penance right now, while you have time, while you are healthy and strong.]' (Carochi 1645: 503, glosses added)

(E.24) *Xo-c-on-ìcuilo, in **oc** ic n-on-yāuh tēōpan*
sbjv-obj.3sg-write det still when subj.1sg-it-go church
n-on-no-teō-chīhua-z.
subj.1sg-it-refl-God-make-prosp
'Escriue aqui esto, mientras voy a reçar a la Iglesia. [Write this down here, while I go to church to pray.]' (Carochi 1645: 503, glosses added)

E.1.2.6 Additive and related functions

E.1.2.6.1 Additive

- Andrews (2003: 43–44, 318, 548–549), Bierhorst (1985: 247), Carochi (1645: 502), Karttunen (1992: 175–176) and Launey (1986: 1265–1267, 1425, 2011: 66); additional discussion in van Baar (1997: 308–309).
- *Oc* as additive ‘also’ sometimes co-occurs with other additive markers, such as *nō* in the last token of (E.25).
- Syntax: as ‘another’ (i.e. additive with type identity), *oc* is a syntactic sister to the focus.

(E.25) *Ca quēmàca, ca oc miyac no-tlàtlacōl*
PRED AFF PRED still many POSS.1SG-sin
ni-qu-ilnāmiqui: ***oc*** *ōme-ntin cuācuahuè-quê*
SUBJ.1SG-OBJ.3SG-remember still two-PL cow-PL
ō-ni-quimichtec, īhuān ***oc*** *nāuhpa*
AUG-SUBJ.1SG-steal:PST.PFV and still four_times
ō-ni-tlāhuān, ***oc*** *nō īzquipa*
AUG-SUBJ.1SG-get_drunk:PST.PFV still also many_times
ō-ni-naca-cuâ viernez-tica
AUG-SUBJ.1SG-meat-eat:PST.PFV friday-INS
‘Oui, je me souviens encore de beaucoup de mes péchés: j’ai encore volé deux vaches, et je me suis encore enviré quatre fois, et j’ai encore autant de fois mangé de la viande le vendredi. [Yes, I still remember a lot of my sins: I also stole two cows, and I also got drunk four times, and I also repeatedly ate meat on Fridays.]’ (Launey 1986: 1266, glosses added)

(E.26) *Is-ka’ iwaan* ***ok*** *sen-tlamantli.*
here-PRED and still one-thing
‘And here is yet another thing.’ (Langacker 1977: 41)

(E.27) ***Oc*** *ōme.*
still two
‘They are another two / they are two more.’ (Andrews 2003: 318, glosses added)

E.1.2.6.2 Comparisons of inequality

- Andrews (2003: 563–565), Carochi (1645: 490–492) and Launey (1986: 1267, 2011: 340).

- Classical Nahuatl makes use of several comparative strategies (see Stassen 2013 for typological discussion of these). These are conjoined comparatives, predominantly in the form of an affirmative and a negative statement ('X has property, when Y does not'), exceed-type comparatives, and combinations of both.
- *Oc* commonly features in comparative constructions, particularly as part of the collocation *oc achi* 'still a bit, still rather', which is used in conjoined comparatives (E.28). It seems that its contribution here is to mark the comparative degree itself 'an additional/another somewhat (that the standard does not possess)'. This usage extends to other degree marking expressions, such as *cencà* 'much', *tāchcāuh* 'superior thing', *tlapanahuia* 'it exceeds' and, often, combinations of these (E.29). In other words, this is an instantiation of the additive (Appendix E.1.2.6.1) and/or alterative (Appendix E.1.2.6.3) senses of *oc.*
- It is not entirely clear whether *oc* can also have a 'even more' reading. Though such a translation is attested (E.30), it could be a contextual inference going back to the standard of comparison possessing the quality in question.

(E.28) ***Oc*** *achi ni-chicāhuac in àmo mach yuhqui tèhuātl.*
still rather/a_bit subj.1sg-strong det neg indeed thus 2sg
'Mas fuerte soy que tu. [I'm stronger than you.]' (Carochi 1645: 491, glosses added)

(E.29) ***Oc*** *cencà tāchcāuh / cencà* ***oc*** *tlapanahuia / cencà* ***oc***
still much subj.3:superior much still subj.3:exceed much still
hualcà inic tlaçòtli inic mahuiztic in coztic
more with subj.3:precious with subj.3:be_esteemed det golden
teōcuitlatl, in àmo yê tepoztli.
precious_metal det neg indeed workable_metal
'Mucho más precioso, y de estima es el oro, que el hierro. [Gold is much more precious and esteemed than iron.]' (Carochi 1645: 491, glosses added)

(E.30) *In ye tetzāhuac tōnacāyōtl,* ***oc***
det already subj.3:hardened_thing produce still
tla-panahuia qui-namacâ.
3:obj.indef:non.human-exceed subj.3:obj.3sg-sell.pl
'Quand les produits agricoles sont déjà, fermes, ils en vendent encore plus. [When produce is ripe, it sells even more.]' (Launey 1986: 1267, glosses added)

E.1.2.6.3 ‘other, different’

- Andrews (2003: 318), Bierhorst (1985: 247), Karttunen (1992: 175–176) and Launey (1986: 1266–1267, 2011: 66).
- Form: in this function, *oc* combines with a quantifier, usually a form of *cē/cen* ‘one’.
- In this function, *oc* plus its associated constituent refer to other entities of the same type, be it other members within an established set, as in (E.31), or merely a different entity of the same type, as in (E.32, E.33).
- This is clearly related to the additive function of *oc*, as observed before me by Launey (1986: 1266); also note similar colexification in items like English *another*, Spanish *otro*, etc.
- Examples like (E.34), which involves both additivity and a pre-established set, possibly constitute bridging contexts.

(E.31) *Nicān câ ce tepētl: cān câ in* ***oc****-cē?*
here loc.cop one mountain where loc.cop det still-one
‘One mountain’s here. Where’s the other one?’ (Launey 2011: 66, glosses added)

(E.32) *Huel* ***oc*** *cen-tlamantli in ic ni-c-mati-ya*
intens still one-thing det thus subj.1sg-obj.3sg-know-pst.ipfv
in mo-tēnyo.
det poss.2sg-fame.poss
‘Tout autre est l’opinion que j’avais de ta renommée. [Quite a different one is the opinion I had of your reputation.]’ (Launey 1986: 1266, glosses added)

(E.33) ***Oc*** *ce-cni m-itō-tiuh.*
still one-place refl-say-prog
‘On va en parler (“ça va se dire”) ailleurs (“encore dans un endroit”). [We are going to talk about it (it will be said) elsewhere.]’ (Launey 1986: 1267)

(E.34) *Mo-nequi an-qu-ìtō-z-què in quēzqui-pa*
refl.3-want subj.2pl-obj.3sg-say-prosp-pl det how_many-time
ō-an-tlāhuān-què, in quēzqui-pa
aug-subj.2pl-get_drunk-pst.pfv.pl det how_many-time
ō-an-quìtlacò-quê in ī-missà-tzin
aug-subj.2pl-obj.3sg-do_wrong-pst.pfv.pl det poss.3sg-mess-hon
To-tēcu-iyo, çācè quēcīzqui-pa in ō
poss.1pl-God-ness finally how_many_each-time det aug
īpan an-huetz-quê in ***oc-cequi***
poss.3sg-top subj.2pl-fall-pst.pfv.pl det still-some

tē-mictiā-ni tlàtlacōlli.
OBJ.INDEF:HUMAN-kill-A.NMLZ sin
'Que digais quantas vezes os aueis emborrachado, quantas aueis dexado de oyr Missa, y finalmente quantas vezes aueis caido en otros pecados mortales. [You must say how many times you got drunk, how many times you failed to go to mass and how many times you have fallen into other mortal sins.]' (Carochi 1645: 117, glosses added)

E.1.2.7 Broadly modal and interactional functions

E.1.2.7.1 Concessive apodoses: *ic oc* / *oc ic*

- Launey (1986: 1264); also see van Baar (1997: 307).
- Form: in this function, *oc* combines with *ic* 'thereby' (yielding *ic oc* or *oc ic*) and either the present tense in a generic reading (E.35) or the prospective aspect (E.36, E.37).
- This usage of *oc* lies on the intersection of STILL proper, concession and modality, in that it expresses a persistent possibility of success despite unfavourable circumstances.

(E.35) ***Ic*** ***oc*** *palēhuī-lo in pil-huâ.*
thereby still help-PASS DET child-POSS.NMLZ
'Par ce procédé la mère est encore soulagée. [By this procedure the mother is still relieved.]' (Launey 1986: 1265, glosses added)

(E.36) *In tlā iuh ti-qu-ìtō-z in, cuix* ***oc***
DET if_only thus SUBJ.2SG-OBJ.3SG-speak-PROSP DET Q still
ic *t-om-pàti-z?*
thereby 2SG-IT-cure-PROSP
'Si tu parles ainsi, apporteras-tu encore quelque amélioration? [If you say so, will you still get better?]' (Launey 1986: 1265, glosses added)

(E.37) *Âço çānēn* ***oq****-uic nēci-z acà qualli*
perhaps doubt still-thereby SUBJ.3SG.appear-PROSP someone good
tlācatl tēlpoca-tzin.
person person-HON
'Quiçà querrà Dios, que de aqui allà se ofresca ocasion de algun moço virtuoso. [Maybe if God wills (nonetheless), a good and virtuous young man will appear (to marry my daughter).]' (Carochi 1645: 517, glosses added)[2]

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[2] See Launey (1986: 1245) on *àzo zā nēn* (rendered here as *àço çānēn*) on marking a highly unlikely state-of-affairs.

E.1.2.7.2 Causal connective

- Carochi (1645: 503) and Launey (1986: 1269),
- Form: this function obtains in subordinate clauses introduced by the determiner *in* and in combination with *ic* ‘when’.
- As suggested by Launey (1986: 1269), there is little doubt that this function is an extension of the framing function discussed in E.1.2.5.1 above.

(E.38) *Elnantlòtze tlā zā yê ti-calaqui-cān,* ***oc ic***
Hernando if_only only indeed SUBJ.1PL-enter-PL still when
qui-tlapōuh-ticāuh in quilchīuhqui.
OBJ.3SG-open-LNK-leave DET gardener
‘Hernando, entremos en la huerta, pues la dexó abierta el hortelano. [Hernando, let’s go in the vegetable garden, since the gardener left (the door) open.]’ (Carochi 1645: 503, glosses added)

(E.39) *In* ***oc ic*** *ti-tēpil-tzin …*
DET still when SUBJ.2SG-offspring-HON
xi-m-ìmat-cā-nemi.
SBJV-REFL-be_wise-LNK-live
‘Pues que eres bien nacido … viue con cordura. [Since you are noble, live wisely.]’ (Carochi 1645: 503, glosses added)

E.2 Creek (mus, cree1270)

E.2.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials I consulted the text collections by Gouge (2004) and Haas & Hill (2014). My understanding of Creek data has furthermore greatly profited from discussion with Jack Martin, who also helped with many glosses and elicited additional examples.

E.2.2 (i)monk

E.2.2.1 General information

- Form: this expression comes in two forms. The most frequent is a verb/auxiliary (*i*)*mônk* that nearly always goes together with the durative aspect suffix *-i* on the preceding lexical verb. Much less frequently, a nominalised form *imónka* occurs, typically together with a copula, as in (E.41, E.46) below.
- Wordhood: intermediate (verb/auxiliary).

- Etymology: in all likelihood, this item is cognate with the Choctaw expression *mo̱ma* 'still, be all' (Jack Martin, p.c.). In addition, Creek has an item *(i)m-mônka* with the meaning 'nature or habit (of smth.), smth. permanent or natural' (Martin 2011: 307 fn4; Martin & McKane Mauldin 2000: 25). All this suggests that the origins of *(i)mônk* lie in denoting the permanence and/or extended duration of a state-of-affairs.

E.2.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Martin (2011: 306–307) and Martin & McKane Mauldin (2000: 25).
- Specialisation: this is a borderline case of a STILL expression. On the one hand, there are examples like (E.40–E.42) that point towards both main components of my definition. For instance, the discourse context of (E.40) suggests that the auxiliary serves a dual purpose of indicating the persistence of an earlier tradition, as well as establishing a contrast with the time of speech, where the square ground no longer exists; also see (E.51, E.53) below. On the other hand, there are also instances of it with a more general 'keep doing, do persistently meaning' (see Appendix E.2.2.3.3). Given that its origins may lie in a marker of permanence or stability, it is conceivable that *(i)monk* is currently developing into a full-fledged phasal polarity expression. This process appears to have been completed with its Choctaw cognate *mo̱ma* (see Broadwell 2006: 316–317; Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma 2016: 120).
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios. It is not entirely clear if the unexpectedly late scenario requires additional marking. Creek frequently makes use of the copula *om* or of positional verbs to emphasize an assertion (see Martin 2011: ch. 32) – it is perceivable that this strategy might also come into play in signalling the unexpectedly late scenario of STILL.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET (or a closely related notion).

(E.40) Context: From the opening paragraph of an expository text about the last game of stickball at the village square ground.
*Kawíta im-pa:skó:fa lêyk-**i:** **móŋk**-o:f,*
Coweta DAT-square_ground sit.SG.RES-DUR still-when
kasihtafíksiko in-hilís-ha:y-atí-:s.
Cussetah_Fixico APPL-medicine-make-DIST.PST-IND
'When [the town of] Coweta still had their square ground Cussetah Fixico made the medicine.' (Haas & Hill 2014: 671, glosses added)

(E.41) Context: About the arrival of alcohol.
*Ohłolopí: pa:li-cahkí:p-ank-í: má:h-i wíski má:k-a:k-**i:***
year ten-five-REC.PST-DUR about-DUR whisky say-PL-DUR
***imónka**-t o:m-atí:-t ô:^{n}-s. mo:mêys hayyô:mat*
still.NMLZ-SUBJ COP.DIST.PST-SS COP-IND however now
oyhomí: kéyho:c-í: ô:n-s
u. call.PASS-DUR COP-IND
'They still used to call it "whisky" about fifty years ago. Now, however, they call it uehomē [bitter water].' (Haas & Hill 2014: 36, glosses added)

(E.42) *Ist-ocí lowǎ·nkos-i· **môŋk**-i· i-ŋkososowá*
person-DIM limber.EMPH-DUR still-DUR POSS.3-fingernail
in-wá·łho·y-atí· hołkóp-ka-n tǎ·ny-i·
APPL-slice.IMPR-REM.PST steal-NMLZ-NON.SUBJ much-DUR
ha·k-í·s má·ho·k-ánc.
become-DUR-IND say.IMPR-PST.IND
'If you cut the fingernails of a newborn baby [lit. a baby that is still limber], it will grow up and steal things, they used to say.' (Haas & Hill 2014: 297, hlosses added)

E.2.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

E.2.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- The two clear-cut examples of scalar contexts both involve a decrease over time.

(E.43) Context: Two towns agreed to play four games against each other. Three games have been played.
*A:fack-itá hámk-it ahô:sk-**i:** **mónk**-ati:-s.*
happy-INF one-SUBJ left_over.RES-DUR still-REM.PST-IND
'One game still remained.' (Haas & Hill 2014: 692; Martin 2011: 306)

(E.44) Context: Opposum is explaining to Rabbit how to make persimmon fruit fall off the tree.
Asá a·hálwosa·n onápan ła·ohhoyêyłit istimomǎlnkosit li·tkí·t
'You stand up there on top of that little hill and run with all your might back downhill'

ła·-ák-ta·skít *ahopay-ós-i·* ***môŋk**-i·-ta·n*
go_and-LOC-jump.SG.SS measure-DIM-DUR still-DUR-SS:COP.REF.DS
ta·sêykit.
jump.SG.PFV-SS
'and jump; while you're still a short distance away, jump.'[3]
(Haas & Hill 2014: 482; glosses added)

E.2.2.3.2 Same

- Martin & McKane Mauldin (2000: 25).
- The meaning is one of permanence over time, i.e. closely related to both STILL and to the likely etymology of (*i*)*monk*. For instance, in (E.45), the dances have not changed over time.
- Addition of diminutive -*os* is common and seems to strengthen the notion identity, along the lines of 'just the same' (Jack Martin, p.c); this is in line with with the functions of this suffix (see Martin 2011: 234–236).
- A case like (E.46), which pairs persistence with zero anaphora may feature a bridging context. Example (E.47) is similarly close in that it could be read as '… and you will persist'.

(E.45) Context: According to customs they would have fasts and
opánka o:c-ít *foll-atí-n* *o:m-â:t*
dance have-SS go_about.PL-HAPPEN-DS COP-REF
***imóŋk**-os-in* *foll-atí:-s*
still.NMLZ-DIM-NON.SUBJ go_about.PL-DIST.PST-IND
'the same dances they used to have (lit. if they happened to have a dance, they would do it in the same way [as before]).' (Haas & Hill 2014: 57–58, glosses added)

(E.46) Context: Turtle's wife has splattered blood in his eyes.
Itółwa ak-ca:t-ak-áti:-t *ô:m-it* *hayyô:m-eys*
3.eye LOC-red-PL-REM.PST-SS COP-SS be_now.RES-even
***imóŋka**-t* *ôn-t* *ô:m-i:-s.*
still.NMLZ-SUBJ COP-SS COP-DUR-IND
'His eyes turned red, and they are the same way even now (lit. … and even now they still are).' (Haas & Hill 2014: 442, glosses added)

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[3] The segmentation of -*ta·n* as a contraction of -*t o:m-a:n* '-SS COP-REF.DS' is tentative.

(E.47) Context: The heavens and earth will perish.
momis ceme-t ***emunk**-us-et lik-etsk-en*
but you-SUBJ still-DIM-SS sit.SG.RES-2SG.A-DS
'But you remain the same.' (Hebrews 1:12; Jack Martin, p.c.)

E.2.2.3.3 Keep Verb-ing

- Martin (2011: 306–307).
- There are several instances of *(i)monk* in the data that contribute a notion of 'keep doing, do persistently'. Often, but not always, this involves a notion of iterativity (E.48, E.49).

(E.48) Context: A hunter has crept towards a doe and her fawns. They haven't taken notice of him.
Ani-ó ayo:pk-éy-t o:m-éy-ka ani-ó a:y-ay-í:
1SG-also creep-1SG.A-SS COP-1SG-NMLZ 1SG-also go.SG-1SG.A-DUR
***mônk**-it*
still-SS
'And I kept on creeping closer and closer.' (Gouge 2004: 106, glosses added)

(E.49) Context: Mother skunk is angry at Tortoise for telling slander about her. She has confronted him, but he has denied it.
Máhk-ey-s má:k-as keyc-í: ***imôŋk**-it o:m-ín …*
say.PFV-1SG.A-IND say-IMP tell-DUR still-SS COP-DS
'"Admit you said it", she kept saying [telling him] …' (Haas & Hill 2014: 374, glosses added)

E.2.2.4 Temporal connectives and frame setters

E.2.2.4.1 Simultaneous duration

- Martin (2011: 404) and Martin & McKane Mauldin (2000: 25).
- Of the relevant tokens in the data that feature affirmative polarity, all are compatible with a reading of 'while still', and it might rather be a matter of how prominent the latter is vis-à-vis a reading of purely simultaneous duration.
  - Several instances feature cohesive clauses restating a situation that has been described earlier (E.50). In one instance, it is the inception of the situation that has been introduced before (E.51).
  - In other cases the situation in question can be retrieved from context, in that they all involve advice given to adolescents, as in (E.52).
  - In yet other instances, *(i)monk* appears to narrow down the temporal frame. For instance, in (E.53) it is a hunter's habit to set out at night, the implicit alternative being that he leaves later.

- In combination with internal negation this yields precedence, i.e. 'when NOT YET *p*' > 'before *p*', as in the second instance in (E.51). This is a common extension of NOT YET constructions; see Section 2.5.3.3.

(E.50) Context: A boy has been turned into a snake. A man is watching him.
A:y-ít ma óywa atĭ:ⁿk-os-a:n ił-hôył-in
go.SG-SS that water up_to.EMPH-DIM-REF.DS go_and-stand.SG:RES-DS
*... ak-somêyk-in hóyɬ-**i:** **mônk**-in*
LOC:water-disappear.SG:PFV-DS stand.SG-DUR STILL-DS
'He went to the water's edge and stood [and saw] ... and as he stood there watching [the snake] went under again.' (Haas & Hill 2014: 138, glosses added)

(E.51) *Hółłi is-ín-ci:y-atí:-t ô:m-i:-s ci. Mo:m-ín itípo:y-ít*
war INS-APPL-enter-REM.PST-SS COP-DUR-IND DM be_so-DS fight-SS
*sihô:k-**i** **mônk**-it hółłi ʼm-iyóks-ikoː mônk-in hopoyłyahóla*
stand.RES-DUR still-SS war APPL-end-NEG still-DS H.
il-iːp-atíː-t ôm-iː-s ci.
die.SG-MID-REM.PST-SS COP-DUR DM
'They entered the war. And while they were still fighting, before the end of the war, Hopuethlyahola died.' (Haas & Hill 2014: 706, glosses added)

(E.52) Context: Advising young men not to smoke tobacco.
*Ci-manítt-**i:** **imônk**-i: ísti acŏ:ⁿl-os-i: ó:m-i:*
2-young-DUR still-DUR person old.EMPH-DIM-DUR be_like-DUR
ci-háhk-i:-s
2-become.PFV-DUR-IND
'Though you are young, you'll become like an old man. (lit. You are (still) young / while you are (still) young…)' (Haas & Hill 2014: 297, glosses added)

(E.53) Context: A hunter would always be prepared to set out.
*Hayaːtk-âːt yomóck-**iː** **mônk**-in aːyí-t ɬafó-tot miskíː-toː*
dawn-REF dark-DUR still-DS go.SG-SS winter-FOC summer-FOC
istôːm-eys
do_any.RES-even
'He goes at dawn while still dark in winter, summer, whichever.' (Martin 2011: 321; Haas & Hill 2014: 254)

E.2.2.5 Marginality

- (*i*)*monk* can be used in a marginality function.

(E.54) Context: I am really annoyed. My aunt has left the better part of her fortune to an animal shelter and only 10,000 bucks to me. My friend replies.
10,000 matî:k-a:t hǐ:ⁿɬ-it ***imónka****-t ô:-s.*
10,000 be_up_to.RES-REF good.EMPH-SS still.NMLZ-SUBJ COP-IND
‘10,000 is still a good amount.’ (Jack Martin, p.c.)

(E.55) Context: Talking about skills in some sport.
Mark-ta:t im-ákosl-éy-t ***imónka****-t ô:-s. Mô:weys*
M.-ATTENTION APPL-beat-1SG.A-SS still.NMLZ-SUBJ COP-IND but
Tom ’s-an-hiɬ-í:-n ákkopa:n-í:-t ó:-s.
T. INS-APPL.1SG-good-DUR-DS play-DUR-SS COP-IND
‘I can still beat Mark, but Tom plays better than me.’ (Jack Martin, p.c.)

(E.56) Context: We’re taking a trip north and are talking about the US-Canadian border.
*Seattle ma-t wacína ó:fa-n leyk-****í:*** ***imónk****a-t*
S. that-SUBJ USA in-NON.SUBJ sit.SG-DUR still.NMLZ-SUBJ
ô:-s. Mô:weys Vancouver Canada ó:fa-n leyk-ip-í:-t
COP-IND but V. C. in-NON.SUBJ sit.SG-MID-DUR-SS
ô:-s.
COP-IND
‘Seattle is still in the U.S., but Vancouver is in Canada.’ (Jack Martin, p.c.)

E.2.2.6 Broadly modal and interactional functions

E.2.2.6.1 Concessive apodoses

- The inclusion of this function is tentative, as I only have few (elicited) examples, and influence from the contact language English cannot be excluded.

(E.57) *Ó:skima:h-ít o:w-êysin, lítk-aha:n-****í:*** ***imónka****-t ô:-s.*
rain.really-SS COP-but run-PROSP-DUR still.NMLZ-SUBJ COP-IND
‘It’s raining heavily but he’s still going for a run.’ (Jack Martin, p.c.)

(E.58) *Alí:kca-t litêyk-ícc-as keyc-ít o:w-â:n, mô:weys Jack*
doctor-subj run.sg.pfv-2sg.a-imp say-ss cop-ref but J.
’timałka-litkitá li:tk-ít ***imônk****-it ó:-s.*
race run.sg-ss still.nmlz-subj cop-ind
‘The doctor said to him “Don’t run”, but Jack still ran in the race.’
(Jack Martin, p.c.)

E.3 Gitxsan/Nisga’a (git, gitx1241/ncg, nisg1240)

E.3.1 Introductory remarks

The data include both Gitxsan (git, gitx1241) and Nisga’a (ncg, nisg1240), both of which are closely related and mutually intelligible (e.g. Rigsby 1986: 21–22), and the relevant expression, *k̲’ay*, encompasses the same functions.

E.3.2 k̲’ay

E.3.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: fixed, in preverbal position.

E.3.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Aonuki (2021), Tarpent (1987: 445–447) and Rigsby (1986: 363–364).
- Specialisation: Aonuki (2021) addresses the presupposition of a previously ongoing situation, and Tarpent’s (1987) discussion suggests the invocation of an alternative discontinuation scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: not attested in combination with negation; not yet is expressed by a seperate item *haw’en*.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusion.

(E.59) ***K̲’ay*** *hli~hlgutk’ihlkw-t.*
still dur~child-3
‘S/he is still a child.’ (Tarpent 1987: 446)

(E.60) ***K̲’ay*** *gu~gwineegamks, kii huxw k’atsgwiy̓.*
still dur~cool and again land-1sg
‘I come back (from fishing) when it is still cool.’ (Tarpent 1987: 446)

(E.61) Context: Ten years ago Mary was in love with her husband John.
K̲’ay*=t siip’in=s John gyuu’n=aa?*
still=3 like=CONN.PN J. now=Q
‘Does she still love John now?’ (Aonuki 2021: 71)

E.3.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

E.3.2.3.1 Near past

- Aonuki (2021), Hunt (1993: 140–141), and Tarpent (1987: 445–447).
- This function occurs in two related contexts:
  - With Vendlerian achievements (which have a bounded viewpoint by default, see Jóhannsdóttir & Matthewson 2007). This is illustrated in (E.62).
  - With Vendlerian activities and accomplishments, when these are combined with *hlis* ‘finish’. This is shown in (E.63, E.64).
- As discussed by Aonuki (2021), and illustrated in (E.65), this reading does not involve a construal of an ongoing state.
- Aonuki (2021) points out that the near past is only felicitous if the context entails that the situation has been obtained; this is shown in (E.66). She links this to the prior runtime presupposition of STILL.

(E.62) ***K̲’ay*** *gyuksxw-s t=Martin.*
still awake.3=CONN CONN.PN=Martin
‘Martin just woke up.’ (Hunt 1993: 140)

(E.63) ***K̲’ay*** *hlis bax´=hl gimxdi-’y win ’witxw ha’w-i’y*
still finish run=CONN sister-POSS.1SG SUBORD arrive go_home-1SG
ky’oots.
yesterday
‘My sister had just finished running when I came home yesterday.’ (Aonuki 2021: 69)

(E.64) ***K̲’ay*** *hlis=t jap=s Mary=hl gwila.*
still finish=3 make=CONN.PN Mary=CONN blanket
‘Mary just made a blanket.’ (Aonuki 2021: 69)

(E.65) ***K̲’ay****=t ’wa=s Mary=hl us-t ii ap hoo*
still=3 find=CONN.PN M.=CONN dog-POSS.3 but DECL again
k’eek̲xw-t.
run_away-3
‘Mary just found her dog, but it ran away again.’ (Aonuki 2021: 69)

(E.66) ***K̲’ay***=*t ’wa=s Mary=hl us-t=aa?*
still=3 find=conn.pn M=conn dog-poss.3=q
‘Did Mary just find her dog? (felicitous if the speaker knows she has found her lost dog, not as an inquiry whether she found it or not)’
(Aonuki 2021: 71)

E.4 Kalaallisut (kal, kala1399)

E.4.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I consulted Bittner’s (2017) online text collection.

E.4.2 suli

E.4.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: relatively free, although virtually all attestations in the data consulted precede the predicate, either immediately, or with one or more nominal arguments intervening; the only exception is (E.69) below.
- Etymology: from Proto-Eskimo **cu*(*na*)*li* ‘still (more)’, where *cu*(*na*) is an interrogative root ‘do what’ and *li* is probably a third person optative marker.

E.4.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Bergsland (1955: 84), Bjørnum (2012: 128), Fortescue (1984: 23) and Fortescue et al. (1994: 90); additional discussion throughout van Baar (1997).
- Specialisation: van Baar (1997) identifies this marker as one that is in line with my definition; additional, albeit indirect, evidence comes from its use as not yet (Appendix E.4.2.3.1).
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet. This also serves as a signal of precedence in temporal clauses (‘while not yet *p*’ > ‘before *p*’); see the numerous attestations throughout Bittner’s (2017) text collection.
- Pragmaticity: according to van Baar (1997: 76, 103), in the unexpectedly late scenario *suli* is augmented by marking the verb with the suffix *-juar* ‘keep doing’ (see Fortescue 1984: 281–282 on the latter).
- Further notes: ex. (E.70) suggests that *suli* is compatible with the anterior aspect *-sima* under a resultative interpretation.

(E.67) *Ilianniartitsisur=mi* **suli** *atuarvim-miik-kallar-pa?*
teacher=what_about still school–LOC.COP-for_time_being-3SG.Q
'But is the teacher still in school?' (Fortescue 1984: 10)

(E.68) Context: A father has run away with his baby son. He is teaching him how to dive.
Ulla-kut *itir-lu-ni=lu* *irn-i* ***suli***
morning-PROLAT wake_up-PTCP-3SG=and son-POSS.3SG still
sinit-tu-q *annit-tar-paa* *sissa-mu=innaq.*
sleep-PTCP-3SG take_out-HAB-IND:3SG>3SG shore-DAT=only
'Every morning when he woke up, while his son was still asleep, he would take him out, always [down] to the shore.' (Bittner 2017: Aataarsuup irnikasia)

(E.69) *Ataata-ma=mi=una* *niu-qqu-ga-anga;*
father-POSS.1SG=what_about=this get_off_boat-want-PTCP-3SG>1SG
Nukappiara-u-ga-ma=lu **suli** *tassa.*
boy-COP-FACTUAL.3SG.A-1SG.P=and still that's_it
'It's because papa wanted me to get off [your] boat. And being a boy still, that's it.' (From a translation of Hemingway's *The old man and the sea*, cited in Bittner 2005: 370)

(E.70) Context: A group of bears has shut their eyes.
Kinguni-ngaatsia-a-gut **suli** *siqunngir-sima-llu-tik*
after-a_fair_bit-3SG-PROL still shut_eyes-ANT-PTCP-3PL
tusa-qa-qar-pu-t *siqqu-alla-tuu-mik* …
hear-RELATIONAL.N-have-IND-3PL bang-suddenly-NMLZ-SG.MOD
'Some time later, while they were still (sitting) with their eyes shut they heard a sudden bang.' (Bittner 2017: Silliarnamik uqaluttuaq)

E.4.2.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

E.4.2.3.1 Not yet

- Fortescue (1984: 23–24); additional discussion is found in van Baar (1997: 294).
- This function is only attested as a negative answer to a polar question.

(E.71) *Sinippa?* – ***Suli*** *(naamik).*
sleep-3SG.Q still NEG
'Is he sleeping? – Not yet.' (Fortescue 1984: 24)

E.4.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

E.4.2.4.1 Iterative via increment

- One token in the data consulted (E.72) appears to be a case of an iteration going back to additivity 'still one time' > 'again'.
- It is noteworthy that no clear-cut cases of additive uses are attested in the data, except for comparisons of inequality (Appendix E.4.2.5.1). However, Fortescue et al. (1994: 90) list 'more' as a sense of Proto-Eskimo **cu*(*na*)*li*, and such an additive-incremental function is attested, for instance, with Central Alaskan Yupik *cali* (Miyaoka 2012). That is, the use in (E.72) might be a reflex of an older function that has become lost/superseded by other markers.

(E.72) Context: Whitey has been told to take a closer look at a mare and her colt. He has circled them once and not noticed anything.
"Aju-quti-qar-nir-su-q *taku-sinnaa-nngi-la-ra"*
be_bad-cause-have-wonder-ptcp-3sg see-be_able-neg-ind-1sg>3sg
Whitey uaqr-pu-q ***suli ataasi-iar****-lu-ni* *histi arnaviaq*
W. say-ind-3sg still one-do_times-ptcp-3sg horse female
pi-ara-a=lu *kajalla-riar-llu-gut.*
do-little-3sg>3sg=and circle-after-ptcp-3pl
"'I can't see anything that's wrong with him", said Whitey, after circling the mare and her colt one more time.' (Bittner 2017: Hesti piaraq tappiitsoq)

E.4.2.5 Additive and related functions

E.4.2.5.1 Comparisons of inequality

- *Suli* is attested with comparisons of inequality, where it adds the notion of 'even'.
- Note that comparisons of inequality in Kalaallisut are construed via one of several comparative markers on the predicate plus, optionally, a case-marked nominal representing the standard of comparison; see Fortescue (1984: 167–170).

(E.73) Context: When a man is overwhelmed by thoughts…
Taama pisoq-ar-aang-at *uagut*
thus event-have-hab-3sg 1pl
ajukkuk-uttu-reer-su-gut ***suli***
feel_small-exceedingly-already-ptcp-1pl still

ajukku-nniru-ler-sar-pu-gut.
feel_small-more-begin-HAB-IND-1PL
‘When that happens, we, who already feel exceedingly small, feel smaller still.’ (Bittner 2017: A shaman’s definition of poetry)

(E.74) Context: Travelling (as a captive) through the prairie, an Indian girl is astounded by the vastness of the land.
Qaqqar-sui-t *kiisa* *anngar-paat.* *Naarsar-suaq*
mountain-big-PL finally lose_sight_of-IND:3PL>3PL plain-big.SG
suurlu=mi ***suli*** *al-li-artur-tu-q.*
as_if=what_about still be_big-more-more_and_more-PTCP-3SG
‘In the end, they could no longer see mountains. It was as if the great prairie were growing even larger.’[4] (Bittner 2017: Naya Nuki: Niviarsiaraq qimaasuq)

E.5 Kekchí (kek, kekc1242)

E.5.1 toj

E.5.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Etymology: its functional range suggest an spatial limitative ‘until’ as the diachronically original meaning.

E.5.1.1.1 As a STILL expression

- Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q’eqchi’ (2004: 171, 303), Kockelman, (2010: 105–106, 2020) and Sam Juarez et al. (2003: 360).
- Specialisation: Kockelman (2020) explicitly addresses the two components of my definition, showing that *toj* involves persistence, defeasibly implies a later discontinuation and is incompatible with inalterable states.
- Polarity sensitivity: according to Kockelman (2020) *toj* does not form part of a negative phasal polarity expression, although it can augment the NOT YET item *maaji’*, in which case it stresses the absence of change and often appears to signal the unexpectedly late scenario. There are, however, a few scattered attestations of *toj* plus negation in Kockelman (2010, 2020) and Sam Juarez et al.

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[4] The marker (*j*)*artur* marks a continuous, stepwise increase (Fortescue 1984: 282). Also see van Geenhoven (2005), among others, for a more general discussion of such expressions.

(2003) that are translated as 'todavía no' / 'still … not'. All of these feature the negative existential *maak'a'*. This suggests that, in this specific environment, *toj* is involved in the expression of NOT YET.

- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios (tentative conclusion). Example (E.77) is a prime candidate for the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Syntax: clause-initial position, can be preceded only by conjunctions and question markers.
- Further note: cannot be used as a one-word answer (Kockelman 2020: 459).

(E.75) Context: About a dog waiting at the entrance of a small restaurant.
*Ma xkoo? – Maaji' na-xik, **toj** wan.*
Q 3SG.go.PFV not_yet PRS.3SG-go still EXIST.3SG
'Has it gone? – It has not yet gone. It is still there.' (Kockelman 2020: 450)

(E.76) ***Toj** yoo chi wa'ak naq x-in-k'ulun.*
still PRS.do.3SG SUBORD eat COMP PFV-1SG-arrive
'He was still eating when I arrived.' (Kockelman 2020: 461)

(E.77) *Nim chik li al ut **toj** na-tu'uk.*
big more DET boy CONJ still PRS.3SG-suckle
'El niño ya está grande y todavía mama. [The boy is big already and he still suckles.]' (Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q'eqchi' 2004: 172, glosses added)

E.5.1.2 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

- *Toj* is attested in contexts of (potential) scalar decreases.

(E.78) ***Toj** naab'al li w-aq'im wank.*
still much DET POSS.1SG-clean EXIST.3SG
'Todavía tengo mucho que limpiar. [I still have a lot of cleaning to do.]' (Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q'eqchi' 2004: 30, glosses added)

(E.79) ***Toj** wan nab'al-eb' inloq'onel ink'a' n-in-ru*
still EXIST.3SG much-3PL POSS.1SG-buyer NEG PRS-1SG-able
x-kanab'-ank-il in-k'ay.
POSS.3SG-leave-MID-NMLZ POSS.1SG-sale
'Todavía tengo muchos compradores, no puedo abandonar mi venta. [I still have many customers, I can't leave my shop.]' (Sam Juarez et al. 2003: 196, glosses added)

E.5.1.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

E.5.1.3.1 Near past

- Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q'eqchi' (2004: 171, 303), Eachus & Carlson (1980: 202), Kockelman (2020) and Sam Juarez et al. (2003: 360).
- In this function *toj* combines with the subordinator *naq*. This collocation is typically reduced to *toja'*~*tojo'*~*toje'* and tied to the clause-initial position. The verb in the subordinate clause stands in the perfective aspect inflection.
- This use signals an immediate past, often translated into Spanish using the *acabar de*-INF 'have just V-ed' construction. Note the clearly anterior viewpoint and past-in-the-past semantics in (E.80).
- Kockelman (2020) links this to the temporal restrictive function of *toj* (Appendix E.5.1.4.2) with an anaphoric topic time, i.e. 'it is not until now/then when ...', in a similar fashion to how *toj* as an exponent of STILL likely goes back to its 'until' function (Appendix E.5.1.4.1) plus zero anaphora 'until now/then'. This interpretation would be in line with the occasional token of *toja'* and its variants together with the imperfective present, always with an ingressive meaning (E.82)

(E.80) Context: Describing the time frame of a scary event narrated moments earlier.
*Toj maak'a'-q qa-kok'al, **toja'***
still NEG.EXIST-NON.SPECIFIC POSS.1PL-children still.SUBORD
k-oo-sumlaak.
PFV.EVID-1PL-marry
'We still had no children. We had just married.' (Kockelman 2020: 468)

(E.81) ***Toje'** x-c'ulun arin Cobán.*
still.SUBORD PFV.3SG-arrive here C.
'Hace poco que vino aquí a Cobán. [He just recently came here to Cobán.]' (Eachus & Carlson 1980: 202, glosses added)

(E.82) ***Toja'** yo chi nume'k in-'oj.*
still.SUBORD do.PRS.3SG COMP pass POSS.1SG-cough
'Hasta ahora se me está quitando el catarro. [**Only now** my cold is passing.]' (Sam Juarez et al. 2003: 231, glosses added)

E.5.1.3.2 Event sequencing: *toja’/tojo’/toje’ naq*

- Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q’eqchi’ (2004: 171), Eachus & Carlson (1980: 202), Kockelman (2020) and Sam Juarez et al. (2003: 360).
- Form: in a clause headed by *toja’~tojo’~toje’ naq*, where the first item is the reduced form of *toj naq* ‘still SUBORD’ that is also found in the immediate past use (Appendix E.5.1.3.1). The seemingly redundant second instance of the subordinator *naq* is likely to be facilitated by *toja’~tojo’~toje’* no longer being perceived as compositional, in conjunction with a structural parallelism to a preceding temporal clause introduced by *naq*, as in (E.85).
- This use occurs in sequential contexts, where it depicts an event occurring as right at (or closely after) the time established by a preceding event. Often this brings about notions of a sudden or immediate development, as in (E.84–E.86).
- As Kockelman (2020) discusses, this can be linked to the temporal restrictive function of *toj* (Appendix E.5.1.4.2) together with an anaphorically retrieved topic time, i.e. ‘(not until) then (is when)’.

(E.83) *Tacuokxi li ha’ o’laju minutos.*
‘Hierva el agua qunice minutos. [Boil the water for fifteen minutes.]’
Toj’o ***nak*** *t-a-canab* *chi* *quehoc’.*
still.SUBORD SUBORD PROSP-2SG-leave COMP cool_down
‘Después déjala enfriar. [Then let it cool down.]’ (Eachus & Carlson 1980: 122, glosses added)

(E.84) *Xb’eenwa t-oo-wa’aq* ***tojo’*** ***naq*** *t-oo-xik.*
first PROSP-1PL–eat still.SUBORD SUBORD PROSP-1PL-leave
‘Primero comeremos y luego nos vamos. [We’ll eat first, then we’ll leave.]’ (Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q’eqchi’ 2004: 193, glosses added)

(E.85) *Naq* *x-e’-raq-e’* *chi* *x-b’anunk-il,* ***toja’***
SUBORD PFV-3PL-finish-PASS COMP POSS.3SG-do-NMLZ still.SUBORD
naq *x-e’-ok* *chi* *x-k’at-b’al.*
SUBORD PFV-3PL-start COMP PFV.3SG-burn-NMLZ
‘When they finished doing that, then (immediately) they began to burn it.’ (Kockelman 2020: 468)

(E.86) *X-c’ulun* *ut* ***tojo’*** ***nak*** *x-oc* *chi* *cua’ac.*
PFV-3SG.arrive CONJ still.SUBORD SUBORD PFV-3SG.start COMP eat
‘Vino, entonces empezó a comer. [S/he came, then s/he started to eat.]’ (Eachus & Carlson 1980: 202, glosses added)

E.5.1.4 Temporal connectives and frame setters

E.5.1.4.1 Temporal limitative

- Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q'eqchi' (2004: 171) and Kockelman (2020).
- This function obtains with imperatives (E.87), continuous and negated predicates (E.88) and, generally, contexts in which *toj* takes scope over a clause featuring other phasal polarity expressions (E.89). In all other cases involving affirmative polarity, *toj* is understood as 'not until, when (after)'; see Appendix E.5.1.4.2. Elliptical examples like (E.90) can be read both ways, ultimately resulting in the same interpretation. A similar case holds in (E.93) below.
- Also see Appendix E.5.1.5.1 for the same 'until' reading with spatial complements.

(E.87) *B'eeni chaq li k'ayiil* ***toj*** *r-eetal naq t-aa-taw*
travel.IMP LOC DET market still POSS.3-sign SUBORD PROSP-2SG-find
chaq li pix.
LOC DET tomato
'Recorre todo el mercado hasta que encuentres tomate. [Browse the entire market until you find tomatoes.]' (Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q'eqchi' 2004: 46, glosses added)

(E.88) *Ink'a' nek-e'-xik sa' li tz'oleb'al* ***toj*** *wan r-e waqib'*
NEG PRS-3PL-go PREP DET school still EXIST.3SG 3SG-DAT six
chihab'.
year
'They do not go to school until they are six years old.' (Kockelman 2020: 466)

(E.89) ***Toj*** *maak'a'-q chik in-k'as t-in-k'anjelaq.*
still NEG.EXIST-NON.SPECIFIC more POSS.1SG-debt PROSP-1SG-work
'Until I no longer have debt I will work.' (Kockelman 2020: 480)

(E.90) A: *Maak'a' li aatinak hoon rik'in laawixaqil?*
'There is no speaking with your wife today?'
B: *Ink'a'.*
'No.'
A: ***Toj*** *kab'ej?*
still tomorrow
'(Not) until tomorrow?'
B: *Eq'ela kab'ej.*
'Early tomorrow.' (Kockelman 2020: 465)

E.5.1.4.2 Temporal restrictive

- Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q'eqchi' (2004: 171) and Kockelman (2020).
- This function obtains with affirmative polarity and, usually, a non-continuous viewpoint; other combinations yield limitative 'until' (Appendix E.5.1.4.1). In actual discourse, this often bleeds into a purely positional sense 'when, after'.
- As Kockelman (2020) discusses, there is a noticeable overlap in usage patterns between *toj* as 'until' (Appendix E.5.1.4.1) plus negated predicates and the 'not until' function, in that both both cases often involve some situation that lasts until the time denoted by the complement of *toj*, and a second situation that takes place no earlier than that. Both, the latter and the positional 'when' reading, can be observed in (E.93). Thus, Lord B'alamq'e's discontentment lasts until placing the rat inside the moon and it peeing there, the latter event being the trigger for a change to the better and anaphorically referenced by *o'ka'in* 'then, thus'. Seen this way, the readings of *toj* as limitative 'until' and restrictive/positional 'not until, when' only differ in the (inter-)clausal relationships (i.e. whether *toj* plus complement are understood as a continuation of the first sentence, or as establishing a new unit), with the temporal and causal relationships remaining stable across the two readings.

(E.91) ***Toj*** *ewu* *t-in-xik.*
still afternoon PROSP-1SG-go
'I'll go [no earlier than] in the afternoon.'
Speaker's Spanish gloss: 'Iré por la tarde.' (Kockelman 2020: 464)

(E.92) *Nek-e'-xik sa' li tz'oleb'al* ***toj*** *wan r-e waqib' chihab'.*
PRS-3PL-go PREP DET school still EXIST.3SG 3SG-DAT six year
'They go to school [not until] when they are six years old.'
(Kockelman 2020: 466)

(E.93) *Maa-min ki-hu[u]lak chu r-u qaawa' b'alamq'e,*
NEG-EMPH PFV.EVID.3SG-arrive PREP POSS.3SG-face HON B.
toj *ki-x-k'e li ch'o chi (x)-sa' li*
still PFV.EVID:3SG.P-3SG.A-give DET rat PREP POSS.3SG-inside DET
po, ut li ch'o aran ki-chu'uk, jo'ka'in
moon CONJ DET rat there PFV.EVID:3SG-urinate thus
ki-usa.
PFV.EVID:3SG-improve
'In no way was Lord B'alamq'e pleased, but when (lit. not until) he placed the rat inside the moon, and the rat peed there, then it improved.' (Kockelman 2010: 236)

E.5.1.5 Additive and related uses

E.5.1.5.1 Spatial limitative (‘until’)

- Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q’eqchi’ (2004: 171), Eachus & Carlson (1980: 189) and Kockelman (2020).
- In this function, *toj* takes a phrase denoting a point or region in space, up to which a spatial trajectory extends, as its complement.
- Given the well-known extension from spatial language into the temporal domain, this function may constitute the diachronic source for all other functions of *toj*.

(E.94) A: *B’ar naxik li manguera?*
‘Where does the hose go?’
B: *Ay ink’a’ n-in-naw, mare arin* ***toj*** *najt*
interj neg prs.3sg.p-1sg.a-know perhaps here still far
chi-r-ix li tzuul.
prep-poss.3sg-back det mountain
‘Ay, I don’t know, perhaps (from) here until far over the hill.’
(Kockelman 2020: 464)

(E.95) *X-oo-hulak chaq* ***toj*** *sa’ r-u’uj li k’u.*
pfv-1pl-reach loc still prep poss.3sg-top det volcano
‘Hasta la cima del volcán llegamos. [We got until the top of the volcano.]’ (Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala & Comunidad Lingüística Q’eqchi’ 2004: 115, glosses added)

E.5.1.6 Broadly modal and interactional functions

E.5.1.6.1 Concessive apodoses

- Kockelman (2010: 106, 2020).
- This use is described as being rather infrequent.
- That this is not merely a contextual inference of a still use becomes clear from the fact that this reading primarily obtains with perfective predicates, as in (E.96). Also note the negation within the scope of *toj* in (E.97).

(E.96) *M–at–xik, m–at–xik x–in–ye, ab’anan* ***toj***
proh-2sg-go proh-2sg-go pfv:3sg.p-1sg.a-say conj still
x-’el chaq.
pfv.3sg-leave loc
‘“Don’t go, don’t go”, I said. But he still went / But he went anyway.’
(Kockelman 2020: 461)

(E.97) Context: Moon's father has asked Thunder to kill Moon and Sun.
Toj *a'an ink'a' ki-r-aj.*
still 3SG NEG PFV.EVID:3SG.P-3SG.A-desire
'He still didn't want to kill them (despite his brother's wishes).'
(Kockelman 2020: 462–463)

E.5.1.6.2 Exceptive conditionals ('unless')

- Kockelman (2010: 106, 2020: 467).
- As suggested by Kockelman (2020), this is best considered an extension of temporal 'until' (Appendix E.5.1.4.1), with a mapping from times to possible worlds: the situation described in the foregrounded clause holds true until (and defeasibly no longer after) the preventing condition is met.

(E.98) Context: A hummingbird explaining why he does not want to give away its feathers.
T-in-kaamq rah (x)-b'aan ke ***toj*** *t-in-b'at-e'q*
PROSP-1SG-die CF POSS.3SG-because cold still PROSP-1SG-wrap-PASS
sa' x-noq'al inup.
PREP POSS.3-thread ceiba
'I will die of the cold unless I am wrapped in the bark of a ceiba tree.'
(Kockelman 2020: 467)

E.6 Maricopa (mrc, mari1440)

E.6.1 Introductory remarks

Maricopa has two candidates for STILL expressions: *-skiit* and *-haay*. Only for the latter are there examples of additional functions in the data consulted.

E.6.2 -haay

E.6.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme (verb suffix).

E.6.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Gordon (1986: 142–145).

- Specialisation: examples like (E.99, E.100) give a fairly good indication that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, (E.99) evokes an alternative scenario in which J.P. is no longer small and can therefore take care of himself.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET, outer negation yields NO LONGER.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusions.

(E.99) *J.P.-sh nnooq-**haay**-m aany-m wi-m ntay-sh*
J.P.-SUBJ small-still-DS DEM-ASSOC do-RL mother-SUBJ
'Because J.P. is still young, his mother takes care of him.' (Gordon 1986: 281)

(E.100) *Shmaa-**haay**-k v-ny-dik-m '-nchen-sh*
sleep-STILL-SS DEM-when.1SG-lie-DS POSS.1-older_sibling-SUBJ
'ayuu-m uuiiv-k.
something-ASSOC work.PL-RL
'While I was still asleep, my brothers were working.' (Gordon 1986: 269)

E.6.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

E.6.2.3.1 Near past

- Gordon (1986: 142–143).
- This is often accompanied by a form of *mpis* 'now' in the clause, as in (E.102). However, this is by no means compulsory, as shown in (E.101).
- Of the two examples in Gordon (1986), one features a Vendlerian accomplishment plus the perfective aspect (E.101). In Maricopa, verbs other than Vendlerian achievements (and, possibly, semelfactives) distinguish between a perfective and imperfective paradigm in the realis mood. With achievements, such as in the other relevant example (E.102), the realis mood alone yields a bounded viewpoint (cf. Gordon 1986: 102–103).
- For the Quechuan cognate *-xay* Halpern (1946: 284) lists "no sooner than" as one of its meanings. This likely refers to the same function.

(E.101) *'ayuu '-maa-**haay**-ksh.*
something 1-eat-still-PFV.1
'I just ate.' (Gordon 1986: 143)

(E.102) *Mpis-han puu-**haay**-ksh.*
now-RL die-still-RL
'He just now died.' (Gordon 1986: 143)

E.6.2.4 Temporal connectives and frame setters

E.6.2.4.1 Simultaneous duration

- Gordon (1986: 131–132, 270–271).
- Form: only in collocation with inessive *-ly*.
- Negation of the predicate transparently yields precedence ('while not yet *p*, *q*' > 'before *p*, *q*').

(E.103) *'-ashvar-**haay-ly** '-nchen-sh iima-k.*
1-sing-still-in poss.1-older_sibling-subj dance-rl
'While I sang, my older sibling danced.' (Gordon 1986: 132)

(E.104) *Nyaa ny-yuu-k '-uvaa-**haay-ly** m-kwnyminy-k.*
1sg 1>2-see-ss 1-loc.cop-still-in 2-different-rl
'As I was looking at you, you changed.' (Gordon 1986: 270)

(E.105) *M-nak-k m-uuvaa-**haay-ly** dany nym-k-ev-k.*
2-sit-ss 2-loc.cop-still-in dem dem.assoc-imp-work-rl
'While you are sitting there, work on this.' (Gordon 1986: 270)

E.7 Osage (osa, osag1243)

E.7.1 šǫ

E.7.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, but can take suffixes.
- Syntax: invariably following the predicate and preceding the positional/continuative auxiliaries. The only other two markers occurring in the same slot of the verbal template are habitual *ną* and frequentative *štą*.

E.7.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Quintero (1997: 305, 2004: 307–308, 410, 446, 2009: 208).
- Specialisation: inclusion of this marker is more tentative than that of most expressions in my sample. It is based on examples like (E.106–E.108), where (E.106) appears to suggests a possible discontinuation scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: not attested in combination with negation.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusions; example (E.106) might be taken as involving an unexpectedly late continuation.

(E.106) *ðįįhǫ́ kše wažáže íe wakǫ́ze* ***šǫ́*** *ðįkše?*
your_mother lie Osage language teach still lie
‘Is your [bedridden] mother still teaching Osage?’ (Quintero 2004: 357)

(E.107) *Wawépahǫ a-ní* ***šǫ́*** *ąhé.*
witness PVB:1SG.A-live still 1SG.CONT
‘I am a witness and I’m still living / As a witness I live still.’ (Quintero 2004: 410)

(E.108) *Híi ðáalį́* ***šǫ́*** *ðaašé.*
tooth good still 2SG.CONT
‘Your teeth are still good.’ (Quintero 2009: 208, glosses added)

E.7.1.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

E.7.1.3.1 Always, forever, the entire time: *š(ǫ́)ǫ́šǫ́we*, *š(ǫ́)ǫ́ðšéðe*

- Quintero (1997: 305, 362–363, 2004: 87, 444, 2009: 209).
- Form, syntax: in reduplicated forms *šǫ́ǫ́šǫ́we~šǫǫ́šǫ́we*, *šǫ́ǫ́ðéðe~šǫǫ́ðéðe*, all of which are based based on *šǫ́*-ðe ‘still-PROX’ (see Appendix E.7.1.4.1 on the latter). This composition can be taken as an indication that this use is derived from the marking of simultaneous duration (Appendix E.7.1.4.1) via ‘during that time’ > ‘during all times’, which is in line with the semantics of reduplication in Osage (cf. Quintero 2004: 87). What is more, unlike *šǫ́* in phasal polarity function, the items in question can precede the VP, as in (E.109, E.110), thereby occupying the same position as a temporal clause.

(E.109) *Šǫ́ǫ́šǫ́we naniǫ́pa ðaašoé hta apa-i.*
always pipe 3SG.A.smoke FUT 3CONT-DECL
‘He will always smoke.’ (Quintero 2004: 328)

(E.110) ***Šǫ́ðéðe*** *brée hta mįkšé*
always 1SG.go POT 1SG.CONT
‘I’m going and I’m not coming back.’ (Quintero 2009: 209, glosses added)

(E.111) *ðààcháâi, wažaže íe šǫ́ǫ́šǫ́we mą-ðį ðée*
against_all_odds Osage language always PVB-go PROX
hkǫ́-bra.
1SG.A:PVB-want
‘I want this Osage language to go on forever [against all odds].’ (Quintero 2009: 32, glosses added)

E.7.1.4 Temporal connectives and frame setters

E.7.1.4.1 Simultaneous duration

- Quintero (1997: 305, 362–363, 2004: 307–308, 444–446, 2009: 208).
- This function can occur together with an overt subordinator that occupies the corresponding clause-final position, as in (E.114). However, judging from the examples throughout Quintero (1997, 2004), this is not particularly common; instead, *šǫ́* is usually the only exponent of the clause's subordinate status.
- Form: there are variants *šǫ́de~šǫ́we~šǫ́e* < *šǫ́-ðe* 'still-PROX'; this is shown in (E.113). It is not clear what differentiates these forms from plain *šǫ́* as 'while'.
- Assuming that STILL (or a closely related notion) is the prior function of *šǫ́*, cases like (E.115) might constitute a bridging context.

(E.112) *Á-wa-hkik-ie* ***šǫ́*** *akxa-i* *wihtáežį ǫkxa mą́zeíe*
PVB:1SG.A-RECP-speak still 3.CONT-DECL sister SUBJ phone_call
hí-ð-ap-e.
PVB:arrive_there-CAUS-PL-DECL
'I was talking [to someone] when my younger sister called (lit. While I was having a conversation, younger sister made a phone call arrive there).' (Quintero 2004: 445)

(E.113) *Ó-wí-hką́* ***šǫ́we*** *a-chí-p-e.*
PVB-1SG>2SG-help still PVB:3SG.A-arrive_here-PL-DECL
'I was helping you when he came in (lit. While I was helping you, he arrived here).' (Quintero 2004: 444)

(E.114) *Taaké* ***šǫǫ*** *apaa,* *ąną́-ð-api-i-áha*
3PL.A:fight still 3.CONT PVB:1SG.U:3PL.A:see-PL-IMM-when
ðíišt-ąp-e
3PL.A:finish-PL-DECL
'They were fighting but they stopped when they saw me (lit. While they were fighting no sooner did they see me than they stopped).' (Quintero 2004: 444–445)

(E.115) *Wakˀó ðáalį* ***šoo*** *ðaįše* *wášču*ɣ*e* *ðáalį.*
woman good still 2SG.CONT 2SG:get_married(F) good
'You ought to get married while you're still a pretty woman.' (Quintero 2009: 208, glosses added)

E.8 Slave (den, slav1253)

E.8.1 k’ála

E.8.1.1 General information

- Form: there is a free variant *k’ahla.*
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: either in clause-initial position (but following question markers) or preceding the verbal predicate.

E.8.1.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Kaulback et al. (2009: 167) and Rice (1978: 561, 1989: 158).
- Specialisation: examples like (E.116–E.119) give a good indication that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, in (E.116) the husband’s absence is construed as persistent, while at the same time evoking an alternative scenario in which he has returned (i.e. NO LONGER is absent), and which would have led to a different course of action.
- Pragmaticity: appears to be compatible with both scenarios. Examples like (E.119) suggest that the unexpectedly late scenario can be made explicit by expressions of the ‘even now’ type.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.

(E.116) Context: A girl has left home all on her own. She has come across a white settlement and a woman has signalled her to come in.
Hįt’a ˀekáa bedenelį́ ***k’ála*** *while*
now accomplished POSS.3:husband still SUBJ.3:IPFV:be_gone
t’á asį́i yeghá ˀedįdí. ˀekáa whaa
because thing SUBJ.3:PFV:give:OBJ.3.OBV accomplished long
goįˀá le sį́a bedenelį́
area.PFV:LOC.COP NEG conjecture POSS.3:husband
goyánadéhtla hįt’a nákinehˀį
SUBJ.3SG:PFV:come_back_in now SUBJ.3PL:IPFV:hide:OBJ.3.OBV
dedi.
SUBJ.3:IPFV:say
‘Since her (the white woman’s husband) was still away, the woman gave the girl something to eat. After a short time her husband came back in and they hid her (the girl).’ (Rice 1989: 1341, 1350)

(E.117) ***K’ála*** *deyee t’e k’ínaúto’ó.*
still subj.3:be_calm while 1pl:opt:go_around_by_boat
‘While it is still calm, let’s go out in the boat.’ (Rice 1989: 1058)

(E.118) *ˀeku ˀala sǫ́ba náya ˀekú* ***k’ála*** *ts’ǫdani hehłį.*
then first treaty then still child subj.1sg:was
‘At the time of the treaty, I was still a child.’ (Rice 1989: 345)

(E.119) *Hįdu dúyhee gahkw’e* ***k’ála*** *mǫ́la ło north dágǫ́t’e*
now this_time during still white_people many north
keokedįhshǫ íle.
how_area_is 3pl.know neg
‘Even today, many whites don’t know about the north.’ (Rice 1989: 346)

E.8.1.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

E.8.1.3.1 Interrogative ‘yet’

- Rice (1978: 561).
- This function is attested in indirect (E.120) and direct (E.121, E.122) questions.
- If not constituting a relic (an earlier ‘up to now’ meaning), it is conceivable that this phenomenon was mediated by cases like (E.123). Here *k’ála* is separated lineally from the negative marker, potentially leading to scope ambiguity (it being parsed either as part of the complement clause or as a pre-posed part of the higher clause).
- I assume that *k’ála* as ‘ever’ in (E.124) can be subsumed here, as well (‘as of yet, do you tend to go to Yellokwnife/have you gone to Yellowknife?’).

(E.120) *Sú* ***k’ála*** *ˀelaá ráyéhdí hįsį́.*
q still boat subj.3:bought uncertainty
‘I wonder wonder if s/he bought a boat yet.’ (Rice 1989: 421)

(E.121) *Sú* ***k’ála*** *yú k’aŕaˀenįhsi nį goghǫ ˀaranet’e?*
q still clothes subj.2sg:wash comp area_of subj.2sg:finish
‘Did you finish washing the clothes yet?’ (Rice 1989: 1245)

(E.122) *Sú* ***k’ála*** *shéneti?*
q still subj.2sg:eat
‘Did you eat yet?’ (Rice 1989: 1989)

(E.123) ***K’ála*** *rídenę́wé gu kodishǫ yíle.*
still subj.3:arrived comp/whether subj.1sg:know neg
‘I didn’t know if it came (by air) yet.’ (Rice 1989: 1250)

(E.124) *Sú* ***k’ála*** *sǫ́bakǫ́é gots’ę́ ˀanet’į́?*
Q still Yellowknife area_to SUBJ.2SG:go
‘Do you sg. ever go to Yellowknife?’ (Rice 1989: 1133)

E.9 Western Shoshoni (shh, west2622)

E.9.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to John McLaughlin for helping tease apart examples from Crum & Dayley (1993) and for discussing cognates of *ekisen* across Central Numic with me.

E.9.2 ekisen

E.9.2.1 General information

- Form: Crum & Dayley (1993) have three forms that appear to be in free variation: *ekise*~*ekisen*~*ekisem*. McLaughlin (2012) transcribes this marker as *ɨkisɨn.*
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: in all examples, *ekisen* precedes the predicate, typically following the subject.
- Etymology: < *eki* ‘now’ plus a suffix -*seN*. Cognates of this marker are found across Numic languages, and are often described as adverbial, emphatic, intensifying, etc; the item’s functional range suggests it is best considered a nonscalar restrictive ‘just’.

E.9.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Crum & Dayley (1993: 149) and McLaughlin (2012: 21).
- Specialisation: ex. (E.125–E.127) give evidence that this marker has specialised as a STILL expression. For instance, in (E.125) *ekise* not only signals the continuation of a mythical scenario in which animals behaved like people, but also evokes a contrast with the opposite situation at the time of speech.
- Pragmaticity: the available data allow no conclusion.
- Polarity sensitivity: not attested in combination with negation. NOT YET is expressed via another expression, *kaisen.*

(E.125) Context: The opening of a tale.
Himpaise ***ekise*** *utihi newe niwene-ku, Itsappe ma'ai*
long_ago still DEM.DU.ACC person speak.PL-DS coyote and
Po'naih nawaka nanaahka.
mouse with_each_other lived
'A long time ago, when animals [still] talked ... Coyote and Mouse lived together.' (Crum & Dayley 1993: 200, 202, 204)

(E.126) Context: From a text about harvesting pine nuts.
September ma sutee ***ekisem*** *puikaite. October-ha eke*
September in DEM.PL still be_green October-POSS new
katehki-kka sutee akekkwanto'i, atee u himpeh
start_to_be-DS DEM.PL would_open_up DEM.PL its thing
hannihkwanto'i, aikkihte sokkattu sotee yummahkwanto'i.
would_do here_to ground_towards they would_fall
'During the month of September the pine cones are still green. Around the first part of October, the cones open up and the nuts start falling to the ground.' (Crum & Dayley 1993: 209, 211, 214)

(E.127) *Charley* ***ekisen*** *nemi-kkanten soon-ti sennapin-nii*
C. still living-SUBORD.SS many-OBJ aspen-PL.ACC
ma-sea-nk-annu.
INS-grow-CAUS-COMPL
'When Charley was still alive, he planted many aspen trees.' (Crum & Dayley 1993: 41; glosses by McLaughlin 2012: 66)

E.9.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

E.9.2.3.1 Near future

- Crum & Dayley (1993: 149) and McLaughlin (2012: 21).
- This function obtains in combination with the future tense.
- The source for this use lies in the original composition of *eki-sen*, namely 'now-RESTRICTIVE', i.e. 'right now'. This interpretation is supported by the fact that in closely related Panamint (par, pana1305) *üküsü* has this near future function and serves as an emphatic version of *ükü* 'now', but does not serve as a STILL expression (cf. Dayley 1989a: 369, 1989b: 300).

(E.128) *Sote* ***ekisen*** *pite-pite-to'i.*
DEM.SG still arrive-finish-FUT
'She is arriving soon.' (Crum & Dayley 1993: 103; glosses by McLaughlin 2012: 52)

(E.129) ***Ekisen*** *tahma-to'i-han-to'i.*
still spring-emerge-RES-FUT
'Pretty soon it's going to be spring.'
(Crum & Dayley 1993: 150; glosses by McLaughlin 2012: 68)

(E.130) *Ne* ***ekisen*** *mi'a-kwan-to'i.*
1SG still go-IT-FUT
'I'm leaving pretty soon.' (Crum & Dayley 1993: 95)

Appendix F: Papunesia

F.1 Acehnese (ace, achi1257)

F.1.1 mantöng

F.1.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Form: also transcribed as *mantong* and *mantòng*.

F.1.1.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Daud & Durie (1985: 112, 150), Djajadiningrat (1934a: 30), Durie (1985: 224), and Kreemer (1931: 175); additional discussion in van Baar (1991, 1997: 110–111).
- Specialisation: the entries/translations in the literature, as well as examples like (F.1–F.3), give evidence that *mantöng* meets my definition. Note for instance the prototypical contrast between two phases in (F.1). Further, albeit indirect, evidence for the specialisation of this marker comes from the robustly attested restrictive–still polysemy (Section 3.4.2).
- Pragmaticity: seems to be compatible with both scenarios. Ex. (F.2) is a prime candidate for the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: no examples featuring negation in the data. There are several distinct NOT YET expressions and NO LONGER is expressed via NEG *lê* ‘more’.
- Syntax: in phasal polarity function, *mantöng* can either precede or follow the predicate.
- Further note: *mantöng* can serve as an (elliptical) pro-sentence, see (F.3).

(F.1)	*Dilèë*	***mantòng***	*lè-lò,*	*djinòë*	*ka*	*teutab*	*akaj.*
	earlier	still	restless	now	already	stationary	reason

‘Vroeger was hij nog ongedurig, nu is hij rustig geworden. [Back in the days he still used to be restless, now he has become settled.]’
(Djajadiningrat 1934a: 1046, glosses added)

(F.2) *Gòb njan landjoet that oemoe, ka sireutōïh thōn* ***mantòng***
3 long very lifetime already hundred year still
teuga.
strong
‘Wat een lang leven heeft die man, hij is al honderd jaar en is nog krachtig. [What a long life that man has, he is a hundred years old already and he is still strong.]’ (Djajadiningrat 1934b: 882, glosses added)

(F.3) *Mantòng teukoe di kantō jōh dròë=neu wòë boenòë?* –
still T. at office when self=2 return earlier_today
Mantòng*.*
still
‘Was de teukoe nog op het kantoor, toen u zooeven naar huis ging? – (ja hij was er) nog.’ [Was the Teukoe still in his office when you just left? – (Yes he) still (was).]’ (Djajadiningrat 1934a: 30, glosses added)

F.1.1.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

F.1.1.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Mantöng* is attested in scalar contexts involving a decrease over time.
- That this use relates to STILL (rather than to the exclusive function) becomes visible in (F.5), where *mantöng* precedes the predicate.

(F.4) *Le that ceuneurōh* ***mantöng***
many very frying still
‘There is still a large quantity of things to be fried.’ (Asyik 1987: 57)

(F.5) *Hana lōn-bloe saka sabab* ***mantöng*** *le di rumoh*
NEG 1SG-buy sugar because still many in house
‘I am not buying any sugar because there is still much at home.’ (Asyik 1987: 175)

F.1.1.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

F.1.1.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Durie (1985: 223–225), Djajadiningrat (1934a: 30), Kreemer (1931: 175) and Snouck Hurgronje (1900: 32, 63); additional discussion in van Baar (1991, 1997: 110–111).
- As is typical of exclusive markers, this is best considered a cluster of functions. These include restricting the reference of a nominal or noun phrase to a single entity (F.6, F.7) and yielding ‘alone’ in combination with *droe* ‘self’ (F.8).

- Van Baar (1991), based on the two relevant tokens in Durie (1985), tentatively suggests that the restrictive function only occurs with associates lower than the main predicate, hence the pseudo-cleft construction in (F.6). This is contradicted by examples like (F.9, F.10), where restrictive *mantöng* associates with the predicate.
- Syntax: *mantöng* always follows the focus.

(F.6) *Lôn* ***mantöng*** *nyang=sakêt.*
1sg still rel=sick
'There's only me who is sick.' (i.e. only I am sick) (Durie 1985: 229)

(F.7) *Ta-peu-loempang séb meung malam njòë* ***mantòng.***
2-caus-shelter enough only night prox still
'Geef mij enkel en alleen maar voor dezen nacht een onderkomen. [Give me shelter for just this night.]' (Kreemer 1931: 280, glosses added)

(F.8) *Lōn keumeung djaˀ keu-dròë* ***mantòng****.*
1sg want go by-self still
'Ik zal alleen gaan. [I will go alone.]' (Kreemer 1931: 175, glosses added)

(F.9) *Pakòn ta-tagoeën boe meuntah~meuntah? – Lōn klakla*
why 2-cook rice raw~redupl 1sg prepare_in_hurry
mantòng*, areuta dròë=neu meu-kla that boenòë.*
still possession self=2 mid-starving very earlier_today
'Waarom heb je de rijst niet (goed) gaar gekookt? – Ik heb het in de haast gedaan, omdat u zoeven zoo'n honger had. [Why didn't you cook the rice until it's completely done? – I [just] prepared it in a hurry, because you were so hungry a moment ago.]' (Djajadiningrat 1934b: 764–765, glosses added)

(F.10) *Han lōn blòë njòë, lōn meu-teumeung* ***mantòng****.*
neg 1sg buy prox 1sg mid-find still
'Ik heb dit niet gekocht, ik heb het zoo maar verkregen (b.v. gevonden, cadeau gekregen). [I didn't buy this, I just got it (e.g. found it, received it as a gift).]' (Djajadiningrat 1934a: 30, glosses added)

F.2 Blagar (beu, blag1240)

F.2.1 yedung

F.2.1.1 General information

- Form: also transcribed as *(j)edung*, *jeduŋ*. Presence vs. absence of the initial segment is a matter of dialect variation.
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: fixed, but dependent on polarity. Preceding the predicate as STILL, following it as NOT YET.

F.2.1.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Steinhauer (1995: 281, 2020: 153) and Steinhauer & Gomang (2016: 195, 295).
- Specialisation: examples like (F.11–F.13) give a good indication for the specialisation of this marker. Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from its function as NOT YET (Appendix F.2.1.3.1).
- Pragmaticity: the available data allow no conclusion.
- Polarity sensitivity: not attested with negation; NOT YET is expressed via *yedung* in post-predicate position (Appendix F.2.1.3.1). In the related neighbouring language Teiwa *yed*, which appears to share the same pattern, the relevant marker is in complementary distribution with the standard negator, but does combine with the prohibitive and inherently negative verbs (judging from examples throughout Klamer 2010), i.e. a highly restricted form of inner negation.
- Syntax: precedes the predicate.

(F.11) *Lokoe lahatala* ***jedung*** *ping veng ani.*
INTERJ God still OBJ.1PL.INCL about remember
‘Thank God, God still remembers us (idiom, said when God’s flag, the rainbow appears).’ (Steinhauer & Gomang 2016: 207, glosses added)

(F.12) *Qangu veng qangu na* ***jedung*** *kiki.*
at_that_time SUBJ.1SG still small
‘At that time I was still a little child.’ (Steinhauer & Gomang 2016: 195, glosses added)

(F.13) *Sa ge eda* ***edung*** *gi xarani weng nang gu mulal.*
person POSS.3SG PST still POSS.3PL nut about PL DEM play
‘Those who just now still had their kenari nuts, they play.’ (Steinhauer 2020: 185)

F.2.1.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

F.2.1.3.1 Not yet

- Steinhauer (1995: 281, 2014: 174, 2020: 153) and Steinhauer & Gomang (2016: 175, 285).
- This function is attested in two contexts:
  - As a negative reply to a polar question; this is shown in (F.14).
  - When occupying the post-predicate position, as in (F.15, F.16). The same complementary distribution is found in two of the three neighbouring Alor-Pantar languages: with Nedebang *yadda* (Schapper 2020: 84–85) and Teiwa *yed*; the latter can also embrace the predicate (judging from the examples throughout Klamer 2010). This pattern is closely related to the fact that the post-predicate position is the locus for clausal negation (see Steinhauer 2014: 165; Klamer 2010: 273–275; Schapper 2020: 83–84). In Blagar's third neighbour Reta, *doo* also serves as still in the pre-predicate position. not yet is expressed via embracing negation, involving a clause-initial negator and *doo* in post-predicate position. The clause-initial negator is, however, often dropped (Willemsen 2020: 212). In diachronic terms, this most likely constitutes an intermediate stage.
- (*y*)*edung* as not yet also combines with additive =*di*, yielding 'not ever' (F.17).

(F.14) *Ana na nat ʔila? –* ***Jeduŋ***.
subj.2sg thing eat go still
'Have you eaten already? – Not yet.' (Steinhauer 2014: 215)

(F.15) *N-iva guru* ***jeduŋ***.
poss.1sg-mother teacher still
'My mother isn't a teacher yet.' (Steinhauer 2014: 165)

(F.16) *Ning lamar* ***edung****, ning nag na gi.*
subj.1pl.excl walk still subj.1pl.excl something eat first
'We did not go yet, we ate first.' (Steinhauer 2020: 154)

(F.17) *Qana pura por tang hoqa=****di*** ***jedung***.
subj.3sg P. land on come=also still
'He has never yet come to Pura.' (Steinhauer & Gomang 2016: 175, glosses added)

F.3 Bukiyip (ape, buki1249)

F.3.1 Introductory remarks

Bukiyip has an extensive gender/noun class system that is indexed on various parts of speech. In the examples, I gloss the corresponding markers as NCL 'noun class' plus Arabic numeral, following the numbering employed in Conrad & Wogiga (1991).

F.3.2 wotak

F.3.2.1 General information

- Form: Conrad & Simatab (1998) and Conrad & Wogiga (1991) have *wotak*, Gerstner (1963) has *wota*(*g*).
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: fixed position, following the subject NP and preceding the predicate.

F.3.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Conrad & Wogiga (1991: 41) and Gerstner (1963: 28, 31, 33).
- Specialisation: evident in examples like (F.18–F.20). For instance, in (F.18) *wotak* construes the background situation as one in which Joseph and Mary continue to be in Bethlehem and also evokes a perspective towards their future return to Nazareth. Additional, albeit indirect evidence comes from its use as NOT YET without negation (Appendix F.3.2.3.1).
- Pragmaticity: appears to be compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET. Outer negation via *kob*(*w*)*i* 'NEG.IRR' yields NO LONGER.

(F.18) Context: Luke 2:6. Joseph and Mary have travelled from their home in Nazareth to Bethlehem for a census. They were not planning to stay there.

Douk	***wotak***	*sh-a-pe*	*Bethlehem*	*aria*	*nyiato-b*
now	still	SUBJ.NCL8.PL-RL-COP	B.	and	time-NCL1.SG

b-a-tagur	*um*	*Maria*	*um*	*k-u-banuh.*
SUBJ.NCL1.SG-RL-arrive	for	M.	for	SUBJ.NCL4.SG-IRR-give_birth

'Now when they were still at Bethlehem then the time came for Mary to give birth (lit:…were still at Bethlehem and then …).' (Conrad & Simatab 1998: 63)[1]

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[1] Conrad & Simatab gloss *p*(*w*)*e* as 'remain' here, but mostly as 'be' elsewhere. Conrad & Wogiga (1991: 33) and the examples throughout their grammar show that this verb is in fact a locative and existential copula.

(F.19) Context: People have worked away for several years and want to return to the village.
Wotak *m-a-kli* *m-u-nak* *umu* *m-u-ne*
still SUBJ.1PL-RL-say/want SUBJ.1PL-IRR-go for SUBJ.1PL-IRR-do
senis *ume* *yohleguh* *ch-a-húl* *jah.*
change for years SUBJ.NCL8.PL-RL-take cargo
Ch-a-lhwas *apak-i-ch* *tuag-omi.*
SUBJ.NCL8.PL-RL-run_away 1PL-POSS-NCL8.PL European-those
'When we had not yet changed work crews to replace those who had finished their yearly contract (lit. when we were still wanting to go and change) the Europeans took their cargo and ran away.' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 205, glosses added)

(F.20) *Oli* *wo* *m-u-gabwe-yegas* *e.* ***Wotak*** *ny-a-pwe.*
and NEG SUBJ.1PL-IRR-fix-OBJ NEG still SUBJ.NCL8.SG-RL-COP
'And we haven't made peace yet – the trouble is still with us.' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 186)

F.3.2.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

F.3.2.3.1 Not yet

- Conrad & Simatab (1998: 28) and Conrad & Wogiga (1991: 41, 43, 98–99, 167).
- This function is attested in the absence of an overt predicate. More specifically,
  - In disjunctive questions following a pattern '*p* or still > *p* or not yet' (F.21). These can be understood as instantiating a more general pattern of question formation '*p* or NEG' (see Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 4).
  - As a negative one-word reply to a polar question (F.22).
  - As a pro-sentence, adding to a negative proposition (F.23).
- There are two other attestations of *wotak* in Conrad & Wogiga's (1991) grammar that are translated as 'not yet', but where the negative appears to be an artefact of translation. The first case is (F.19) above. The second case, involves *anapu wotak malhwasia*, translated as 'some of us still hadn't come' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 205, ex. 737). Composition and context both suggest that this is literally 'some of us were still running hither.'

(F.21) *Núgawikw* *yopu-kw* *o* ***wotak**?*
daughter:NCL4.SG healed-NCL4.SG or still
'Is the daughter healed, or not yet?' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 99)

(F.22) Context: Someone has asked if the food is done.
Wotak.
still
'Not yet.' (Fortune 1942: 146–147)

(F.23) *M-a-túlúgún. Wak.* ***Wotak***.
SUBJ.1PL-RL-look_for no still
'We looked for (the cows), but couldn't find them, not yet.' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 167)

F.3.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual uses

F.3.2.4.1 Event sequencing 'and then'

- There are several instances of *wotak* in Conrad & Wogiga (1991: 167) that involve event sequencing ('and then').
- With many tokens in question, there is an element of culmination involved, in the form of a condition or preparatory event that facilitates the situation introduced by *wotak*.

(F.24) *Y-é-nak y-a-bih y-a-pwe, wak,*
SUBJ.1SG-RL-go SUBJ.1SG-RL-go_down SUBJ.1SG-RL-COP no
ulku-m m-o-lú m-o-lali,
heart-NCL5.SG SUBJ.NCL5.SG-RL-think SUBJ.NCL5.SG-RL-think.VEN
wotak *y-a-ltow-i. Y-a-kih-i.*
still SUBJ.1SG-RL-go_up-VEN SUBJ.1SG-RL-arrive-VEN
'I went, went down, and stayed there, and was not satisfied. I thought about returning and waited and then I came back up.'
(Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 168, glosses added)

(F.25) Context: A boy has climbed up a betel nut tree to look for betel nuts. Trying to split one open, he got stuck by a wasp. A bystander shouts.
Kw-autu-i anab ***wotak***
IMP-throw_down-VEN INDEF.NCL1.SG still
i-túl-úb, bú-b.
SUBJ.1SG:IRR-see-OBJ.NCL1.SG betel_nut-NCL1.SG
'Throw down one betel nut and I'll [then] take a look at it.'
(Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 233, glosses added)

(F.26) *Énech* *ch-ú-lib* *wichap, énech,*
INDEF.NCL8.PL SUBJ.NCL8.PL-IRR-cut grass INDEF.NCL8.PL
ch-ú-túk *dagubés.* *Énech*
SUBJ.NCL8.PL-IRR-take_out bamboo_roots INDEF.NCL8.PL
ch-ú-blo *lowas, énech* *ch-ú-lak*
SUBJ.NCL8.PL-IRR-cut trees INDEF.NCL8.PL SUBJ.NCL8.PL-IRR-build
éménab, inap *ch-ú-ne-stretimu* *yah*
ground until SUBJ.NCL8.PL-IRR-do-fix_up.APPL road:NCL13.SG
étúh. *Bai* ***wotak*** *ch-ú-tanomoli* *gen.*
only:NCL13.SG FUT still SUBJ.NCL8.PL-IRR-return:VEN again
'Some of them will cut grass, some will take out bamboo roots, some will cut trees, some will smooth out the ground and they will continue until they have fixed up the road, and then they will return.' (Conrad & Wogiga 1991: 126, glosses added)

F.4 Chamorro (cha, cham1213)

F.4.1 Introductory remarks

Chamorro has two candidates for STILL expressions: *trabiha* and *ha'*. Only for the latter there are indications for additional functions. Note that I gloss what Chung (2020) terms the "progressive" aspect form as CONT for 'continuative', as it is compatible with stative predicates.

F.4.2 ha'

F.4.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme, enclitic (but separated from its host in spelling).
- Syntax: follows (i.e. hosted by) its focus.

F.4.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Chung (2020: 513).
- Specialisation: in absence of contextualised data, examples like (F.27–F.29) give a fairly good indication that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, (F.27) appears to not only evoke the continuation of speakers' being alive, but also contrast it with others who are deceased. Further, albeit indirect,

evidence comes from the robustly attested restrictive-STILL polysemy and the semantic parallels between these functions (see Section 3.4.2).

- Polarity sensitivity: in the data, there is only one example of *ha'* as STILL in combination with negation, yielding NOT YET (Chung 2020: 603). NOT YET seems to be more commonly expressed via the inner negation of *trabiha*.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusions.

(F.27) *Hita ni manlåla'la'* ***ha'*** *para ta abiba.*
1PL.INCL REL.DEF PL.RL:alive.CONT still FUT 1PL.INCL encourage
'We (incl.) who are still living are going to encourage them.' (Chung 2020: 167–168)

(F.28) *Mungnga hit manburuka mientras ki ma~maigu'* ***ha'*** *i neni.*
PROH 1PL.INCL PL.make_noise while PREP CONT~sleep still DEF baby
'Let's (incl.) not make noise while the baby is still sleeping.' (Chung 2020: 344)

(F.29) *Hu ha~hassu* ***ha'*** *atyu na tiempu anai påpatgun yu'.*
1SG.RL CONT~remember still DIST LNK time SUBORD child.CONT 1SG
'I still remember the time when I was a child.' (Chung 2020: 18)

F.4.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

F.4.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- There are a few examples of *ha'* translated as 'still' in Chung (2020)'s grammar that involve scalar contexts of decreases over time.
- In all cases, *ha'* follows (i.e. is attached to) the quantifier, which is also the main predicate (see Chung 2020: 324–328 on quantifiers as predicates).

(F.30) *Bu~bula* ***ha'*** *tinanum ti hu tungu' na manmamakannu'.*
CONT~many STILL plant NEG 1SG.RL know REL PL.edible
'There are still many plants I did not know are edible.' (Chung 2020: 325)

(F.31) *Bu~bula* ***ha'*** *tetehnan tano'-hu ti hu bebendi.*
CONT~many STILL remaining.LNK land-1SG NEG 1SG sell.CONT
'There's still much of my remaining land that I'm not selling.' (Chung 2020: 382)

F.4.2.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

F.4.2.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Chung (2020: 513–516) and Topping (1973: 216–217).
- As is typical of exclusive markers, this is a cluster of functions. These include restricting the reference of the predicate (F.32, F.33), noun phrases (F.34), prepositional phrases (F.35), or subordinators (F.36).

(F.32) *Siña u ma~maigu’ **ha’**.*
can 3SG.IRR CONT~sleep still
‘She can just be sleeping.’ (Chung 2020: 39)

(F.33) *Na’galilik **ha’** håfa i listu para na’-ta.*
make_roll still any DEF ready for food-1PL.INCL
‘Just stir over whatever is ready for our (incl.) food.’ (Chung 2020: 201)

(F.34) *Fåtta un puntu **ha’** para u gånna i tes.*
absent one point still FUT 3SG.IRR win DEF test
‘He needed only one point (lit. only one point was missing) to pass the test.’ (Chung 2020: 514)

(F.35) *Para hami **ha’** esti na inetnun.*
for 1PL.EXCL still PROX LNK group
‘This gathering is only for us (excl.)’ (Chung 2020: 514)

(F.36) *Pues gigun **ha’** måttu atyu gi hinasson-ña malågu.*
then as_soon_as still arrive DIST LCL thought-3SG run
‘Then just as soon as that thought came to his mind, he ran away.’ (Chung 2020: 516)

F.4.2.5 Broadly modal and interactional uses

F.4.2.5.1 Concessive apodoses

- *Ha’* is repeatedly attested in the apodoses of concessive constructions.
- Syntax: in all relevant examples, *ha’* attaches to the predicate and its arguments.

(F.37) *Ni taimanu chinago’-mu, bai hu hanågui håo **ha’**.*
not any_degree far-2SG 1SG.RL go_to 2SG still
‘No matter how far you are, I will still come to you.’ (Chung 2020: 204)

(F.38) *Maseha un fa'håhafa håo, ya~ya-hu håo* ***ha'****.*
although 2sg make_into_what.cont 2sg cont~like-1sg.rl 2sg still
'Even though you're making yourself into something else, I'll still like you.' (Chung 2020: 335)

(F.39) *Si Julie para u guput* ***ha'*** *gi Sabalu maseha malålangu.*
unmarked J. fut 3sg.irr party still lcl Saturday even_though sg.sick.cont
'Julie will still have her party on Saturday even though she's sick.' (Chung 2020: 398)

F.5 Coastal Marind (mrz, hali1245)

F.5.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I also consulted the text collections by Olsson (2021a, 2021b). My understanding of the data has furthermore greatly profited from discussions with Bruno Olsson, who also helped with several glosses.

Note that Roman numerals in the glosses indicate gender, following the conventions in Olsson (2017). In addition, Coastal Marind has a complex system of verb orientation marking. In broad strokes, this is a focus/actor marking system reminiscent of the Austronesian type (see Olsson 2017: ch. 10). Lastly, several examples feature the "contessive" prefix *ap-*. This is a marker that is common with posture and motion verbs, often "expresses[ing] placement or movement on a surface off the ground" (Olsson 2017: 480). It is, however, also lexicalised with other verbs, and its exact contribution is often hard to pin down; see Olsson (2017: 480–485).

F.5.2 ndom

F.5.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: invariably in pre-verbal position.
- Further note: *ndom* requires the "neutral" orientation of the verb. Since this can be considered the unmarked case, I do not indicate it in the glosses.
- Etymology: there is a homophonous adjective *ndom* 'bad', but it is unclear whether this is a chance resemblance or not.

F.5.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Olsson (2017: 302, 525–526).
- Specialisation: that *ndom* conforms to my definition is evident in examples like (F.40–F.42). For instance, in (F.40), the women continue to be busy fishing, which is contrasted with the discontinuation of that activity at the boy’s next visit.
- Pragmaticity: seems compatible with both scenarios. Ex. (F.42) features the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: there are no attestations of *ndom* with negation. This is in line with Olsson’s (2017: 525) observation that there are no expressions for any other phasal polarity concepts.

(F.40) Context: A boy in disguise has gone to look at women who are fishing.
Mahai a-d-ind-het epe ***ndom***
first subord-pst.dur:3sg.a-dir-be_moving dist still
da-n-sanak-at. Tanama
pst.dur-3pl.a-search_for_fish-stat again
a-d-ind-i-het epe oso
subord-pst.dur:3sg.a-dir-iter-be_moving dist beginning
m-a-p-y-avasig.
obj-3sg.a-contessive-2|3pl.u-go_up_from_water
‘The first time he went, they were still fishing. When he went there again, they began to go up from the beach.’ (Olsson 2021a: 20)

(F.41) Context: About the olden days.
Imimil nahe ***ndom*** *d-a-ya-hwala.*
grown_up grandparents still pst.dur-3sg.a-2|3pl.u-be
‘When I was growing up the old-timers were still alive.’
(Olsson 2015, glosses added)

(F.42) Context: The speaker is complaining. He has worked his way up in life and made a career in town. His younger siblings, however, remain in the village and continue to need financial support.
Nok a mandin menda-gheghay yogh, papes-patul
1sg top long_ago ant:1sg.a-look_after 2pl small-boy
nd-ak-ap-hyadih. namagha ***ndom***
loc-1.a-contessive-2|3pl.u.see now still
k-a, sekolah sa-d-n-a,
prs-3sg.a:cop:non.pst school only-pst.dur-3sg.a:1.u-aux

kuliah-la *sa-d-n-a* *na-hwala.*
(go_to)university-STAT only-PST.DUR-3SG.A:1.U-AUX 1.U-be
Namagha pegawai menda-b-n-in, ***ndom***
now official ANT-EMPH:3SG.A-1.U-become still
k-ak-e-hwaghib.
PRS-1.A-2|3PL.DAT-put_away:III.U
'I've been caring for you a long time, I was look after you as a small boy. Now I still do, I went to school, I went to university. Now I'm a civil servant, I'm still taking care of things for you.' (Olsson 2015, glosses added)

F.5.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

F.5.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Ndom* is attested with decreases over time.

(F.43) *Bensin sam* ***ndom*** *k-a-nam.*
gasoline big still PRS-3SG.A-1.GEN
'I still have a lot of gasoline.' (Olsson 2017: 172)

(F.44) Context: Before the arrival of the Dutch, there used to be many small hamlets.
Epe tendanap-ghahway ehe milah ehe.
'They gathered the small hamlets into villages.'
Isi ***ndom*** *d-a-ya-hwala* *hyakod ti.* *hyakod ti*
other still PST.DUR-3SG.A-2|3.PL.U-be one with one with
ndom *d-a-ya-hwala.*
still PST.DUR-3SG.A-2|3.PL.U-be
'There were a few still left. A few were still left.' (Olsson 2015, glosses added)

F.5.2.4 Additive and related uses

F.5.2.4.1 Additive

- Olsson (2017: 115, 525–526).
- This use predominantly occurs in motion contexts (going along or bringing along), where it bleeds into the comitative domain (F.45, F.46). Note that in these uses, *ndom* is a common one-word answer (F.46).
- Other than suggested by Olsson (2017: 525), additive *ndom* is not completely restricted to motion contexts; this is shown in (F.47).

(F.45) *Namagha nok mend-am-b-euma<n>ah, Iwoni* ***ndom****, patul*
now 1 1.A-A-APPL-go<1.U> I. still boy
d-a-ola, imimil-patul menda-b w-in.
DUR-3SG.A-COP:3SG.U grown_up-boy ANT:3SG.A-be 3SG.U-become
'Now we already left, Iwoni too, he was a boy, a big boy already.'
(Olsson 2015, glosses added)

(F.46) A: *E, epe anem epe* ***ndom*** *d-a-ghet ay?*
INTERJ DIST man DIST still PST.DUR-3SG.A-be_moving Q
'Oh, so he also went?'

B: ***Ndom.***
still
'He too!' (Olsson 2015, glosses added; also see Olsson 2017: 115)

(F.47) Context: The previous day, people set up troughs and prepared sago.
Kwemek ipe tanama ipe, ***ndom*** *na-kahahib ipe.*
morning DIST again DIST still 3PL.A-fasten:IV.U DIST
'The day after, they also prepared the troughs.' (Olsson 2015, glosses added)

F.5.2.4.2 The collocation *inah ndom*

- There are five attestations of a collocation *inah ndom* 'still two' in Olsson's (2015) corpus that cannot be explained by the phasal polarity or additive functions. Two of these are given in (F.48, F.49).
- The contribution of this collocation is not entirely clear. Three of the attestations, including (F.48), involve information given in an afterthought-like manner.
- Bruno Olsson (p.c.) suggests a conceptual link to additive uses as in (F.45, F.46) above. Under this interpretation, in (F.48) the speaker adds *inah ndom* to stress '[in fact], two of them [not just one]'. Similarly, the addition of *Iwoni ndom* in (F.45) emphasises '[not just them, in fact], Iwoni also [went]'.

(F.48) Context: Preparing gifts for the children's teachers.
Ihe guru nanggo ma-n-de-og epe sep epe, ***inah***
PROX teacher for OBJ-1.A-1PL-give DIST leaf_oven DIST two
ndom*.*
still
'We made the sep [leaf ovens] for the teachers, two of them.'
(Olsson 2015, glosses added)

(F.49) Context: The speaker has been very hungry.
Onggat ***inah ndom*** *ma-n-od-ghi hyahyak-onggat, epe*
coconut two still obj-1.a-dur-eat split-coconut dist
t-e-nakap-isik.
1.dat-before-contessive-become_full
'I ate two coconuts, ripe ones, until I was full.' (Olsson 2015, glosses added)

F.6 Iatmul (ian, iatm1242)

F.6.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I consulted Jandraschek's (2008) text collection. My understanding of the data was furthermore greatly aided by discussions with Gerd Jandraschek, who also helped with glosses.

F.6.2 wata

F.6.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: invariably precedes the predicate.

F.6.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Jandraschek (2007: 24; 2012: 218, 550).
- Specialisation: textual examples give evidence that *wata* conforms to my definition. For instance, in (F.52) the first instance of *wata* serves to frame the situational background as a continuation of the ongoing fight. At the same time, it anticipates the soon-to-occur end of the battle. Likewise, the second token in (F.52) can be interpreted as evoking an (expectable) alternative scenario in which the grandfather took notice of the ongoing battle and stopped working. Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from its uses as not yet in the absence of negation (Appendix F.6.2.3.1).
- Pragmaticity: appears to be compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.

(F.50) Context: Recollecting the arrival of the German colonisers. The Iatmul tried to fight them off with spears.
Wata *yi-li'-di yi-ka li'-ka yi-ka agiyabak*
still go-ipfv-3pl go-dep stay-non.fin go-non.fin that's_all
kan walaga-kak bun-kak Kabadi'mali-kak di'
prox.sg.m grand_grand_father-dat ???-dat K.-dat 3sg.m
wan waliya-li'-j-a-vaak ana vi'-di' di'
dem.anaph:sg.m fight-ipfv-3pl-subord-nmlz neg see-3sg.m 3sg.m
wata *vaala viya-li'-ka-di'.*
still canoe hit-ipfv-prs-3sg.m
'They continued to throw spears, my grand-grand-father Kabadumali, he did not see them fighting, he was still working on a canoe.' (He would then be hit by a bullet, leading the Iatmul people to abandon their resistance.) (Jandraschek 2008: 54, glosses added)

(F.51) ***Wata*** *ki'-li'-ka-li'.*
still eat-ipfv-prs-3sg.f
'She is still eating.' (Jandraschek 2012: 218)

(F.52) *Ki'ki'da* ***wata*** *alaku yi-li'-ka-di'.*
food still hot go-ipfv-prs-3sg.m
'The food is still hot.' (Jandraschek 2012: 295)

F.6.2.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

F.6.2.3.1 Not yet

- Jandraschek (2007: 24; 2012: 218, 550).
- In this function *wata* serves as a pro-sentence or interjection.
- This use covers a broad spectrum of nuances: 'not yet', 'wait one moment', 'it doesn't end here', etc. (Jandraschek 2012: 550; Gerd Jandraschek, p.c.)

(F.53) ***Wata!***
still
'Wait a second!' (Jandraschek 2012: 218)

(F.54) *Wa-di'* ***wata wata*** *wa-laa valaya-di' nya'ik wupmâ*
say-3sg.m still still say-consec exit-3sg.m father dem.anaph.adv
a-li' valaya-di' wan di'n-a nyaan taba.
imp-stay exit-3sg.m dem.anaph:sg.m 3sg.m-gen child already
'His son said, "Wait, wait, father, stay there!", and he went out.' (Jandraschek 2008: 54, glosses added)

(F.55) Context: About a rite of passage. Long spears were thrown at a target.
Sukku-a *nyaan-kak* ***wata*** *kan* *nyaan* *wata* *ana*
miss-subord child-dat still prox.sg.m child still neg
yi-kiya-di', *wa-a* *li'-di.*
go-irr-3sg.m say-dem.fin stay-3sg.m
'About someone who missed they would say that he will not go yet.' (lit. …about someone who missed [they would say] not yet …)'
(Jandraschek 2008: 31, glosses added)

F.7 Kalamang (kgv, kara1499)

F.7.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I consulted Visser's (2021b) corpus. My understanding of the data has furtheremore greatly profited from discussion with Eline Visser, who also helped with some tricky glosses.

F.7.2 tok

F.7.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: fixed position, following the subject NP, preceding object NPs and the predicate. There are a few instances in Visser's (2021b) corpus in which *tok* embraces the subject, as in (F.56) below. In all likelihood, these are false starts (Eline Visser, p.c.).

F.7.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Visser (2020, 2022: 354–358).
- Specialisation: examples like (F.56–F.58) clearly identify *tok* as a still expression. For instance, in (F.56) the logging company not only continued to exist at topic time but this state is also contrasted with its discontinuation at the time of speech. Further, albeit indirect evidence comes from *tok*'s use as not yet without a negator (Appendix F.7.2.4.1).
- Pragmaticity: appears to be compatible with both scenarios. The vast majority of tokens in Visser (2021a, 2021b) belong to the neutral scenario. If (and which) additional marking is used to make the unexpectedly late scenario explicit is an open question.

- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Further notes: a token like (F.59) might also be considered an instance of the ‘first, for now’ use (Appendix F.7.2.5.1). *Tok* can serve as an elliptical pro-sentence; see (F.60).

(F.56) Context: The narrator and his friends have speared a fish. There used to be a logging company (now defunct) in the village.
Kan waktu ma me <tok-> perusahan ***tok*** *metko mambon. Mu sor*
INTERJ time 3SG TOP still company still there exist 3PL fish
opa kon=a mu toni tabai-nggi kosalir=et
DEM.ANAPH one=FOC 3PL say tobacco-INST change=IRR
‘At that time, the company was still there. They saw the fish, they said they wanted to exchange (it) with tobacco.’ (Visser 2021b, glosses added)

(F.57) Context: The opening line of an expository text about times past.
An-dain, waktu an ***tok*** *cicaun, an me an kanggeir-an hanya.*
1SG-alone time 1SG still be_small 1SG TOP 1SG play-1SG only
‘As for me, when I was [still] young, I played like this.’ (Visser 2021b, glosses added)

(F.58) Context: Planning a trip to the city to attend a training program. For the program to take place, funds have to be secured first.
An pitis=at gerket=ta ba mu toni pitis tok~tok
1SG money=OBJ ask=NON.FIN but 3PL say money still~REDUPL
saerak mu toni mu ***tok*** *pitis=at komer=et.*
NEG.EXIST 3PL say 3PL still money=OBJ see=IRR
‘I ask for money but they say there is no money yet, they’re still looking for money.’ (Visser 2021b, glosses added)

(F.59) Context: The narrator was constructing a canoe.
An se ewun=at kies ah ***tim=at an tok mamun****.*
1SG already trunk=OBJ carve INTERJ edge=OBJ 1SG still leave
‘I carved (cut off) the base, I still [for the time being] left the tips.’ (Visser 2021b)

(F.60) *Ka tok sekola? –* ***Tok****.*
2SG still go_to_school still
‘Do you still go to school? – Yes [I still go to school].’ (Visser 2022: 355)

F.7.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

F.7.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Several tokens in the data, including (F.61, F.62) involve scalar contexts, more precisely monotone decreases.
- Note that (F.61) involves *kodak* 'just one' < *kon-tak* 'one-just' and in (F.62) what is left of the giant is marked by the focus clitic *=a*. That is, in both cases the remaining value clearly constitutes the sentence focus.

(F.61) Context: Several pouches of tobacco have been smoked.
Pas kosom bo koyet pas kodak ***tok****.*
exactly smoke go finish exactly just_one still
'When they finished smoking [there was] still one [pouch].' (Visser 2021a: 9)

(F.62) Context: A giant has been killed.
Mu he din=at uw=i koyet mu he di=sara
3pl already fire=obj kindle=lnk finish 3pl already caus=ascend
karuar keitko na na na na na
smoke_dry above consume consume consume consume consume
na na mindi bo tinggal elkin-un=a ***tok****.*
consume consume like_that go remain ballsack-poss.3=foc still
'After kindling the fire, they put him up the drying rack, ate and ate and ate until only his ballsack was still [there].' (Visser 2021b, glosses added)

F.7.2.4 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

F.7.2.4.1 Not yet

- Visser (2020, 2022: 355–356).
- This function occurs in the absence of an overt predicate, namely
  - In polar questions following a pattern 'already *p* or still > already *p* or not yet', as in (F.63). This can be understood as a specific instantiation of a broader pattern of question formation '*p* or neg' (see Visser 2022: 301–302).
  - In replies to questions and statements featuring *se*/*he* 'already', where *tok* is the only possible negative answer. This is illustrated in (F.64, F.65). Note that if the question contains *tok* as still, *tok* as a one-word answer is also interpreted as still; see (F.59) above.
  - As holophrase. In these cases, *tok* is often reduplicated; see (F.66).

- In contexts involving contrastive sets; this is illustrated in (F.67). In this use, *tok* is also often reduplicated, as in the second instance in (F.67).

(F.63) *Se koluk ye* ***tok****?*
already find or still
'Did you find it yet or not?' (Visser 2021b)

(F.64) *Ka he namgon? –* ***Tok****.*
2SG already married(F) still
'Are you married? – Not yet.' (Visser 2022: 356)

(F.65) Context: A black-haired monkey is trapped in a cage and waiting for his body to turn white.
An=at kahatmei eran-an se iren. – O kusukusu
1SG=OBJ open.IMP body-POSS.1SG already white EMPH cuscus
toni ***tok*** *nakal-ca tok kuskap=ta ime.*
say still head-POSS.2SG still black=NON.FIN DIST
'[Monkey:] "Release me, my body is white [already]." – The cuscus said "Not yet, your head is still black."' (Visser 2021a: 222, 2022: 356)

(F.66) Context: The addressee wants to start weaving a basket.
Tok~tok ***tok*** *pi tok masarur=et.*
REDUPL~still still 1PL.INCL still tear=IRR
'Not yet, we're still ripping (the pandanus leaves, to prepare the material with which we will weave the basket).' (Visser 2021b)

(F.67) Context: People are taking turns in repairing a roof.
Ma he gerket "naman=a ***tok****?" An* ***tok~tok*** *an=a ming*
3SG already ask who=FOC still 1SG still~REDUPL 1SG=FOC oil
yuonin=in.
rub=NEG
'He asked "Who hasn't yet [taken their turn]?" I hadn't yet, I didn't rub oil.' (Visser 2021b, glosses added)

F.7.2.5 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

F.7.2.5.1 First, for now

- Visser (2020, 2022: 354).
- In some instances of this function, *tok* combines with other expressions for 'first'. For instance in (F.70) it is followed by a verb 'be first, be in front', and in (F.71) it is preceded by the adverb *perama* 'first' (a loan from Malay).

(F.68) Context: Nyong's mother has gone landwards.
Kan Nyong emun ***tok*** *bo=ta opa me …*
INTERJ N. mother:POSS.3SG still go=NON.FIN DEM.ANAPH TOP
Nyong esun tok bot=nin
N. father:POSS.3SG still go=NEG
'Right, Nyong's mother went first, Nyong's father didn't yet go.' (i.e. for now only Nyong's mother went, but if circumstances change, his father might join her) (Visser 2022: 220; Eline Visser, p.c.)

(F.69) Context: The protagonists have decided to set out for a trip.
Go yuol=ta me, wa me o, hari sabtu me ***tok,***
condition day=NON.FIN TOP PROX TOP EMPH day saturday TOP still,
mu ***tok*** *doa salamar=at paruo, fibir-un.*
3PL still prayer good_wish=OBJ do/make fibre-POSS.3
'The next day, Saturday, they first, they first did the good wish prayer, for their fibre boat.' (Visser 2021b)

(F.70) Context: About nutmeg.
Bunga-un me harga-un main me tang-un=at lebe.
flower-POSS.3 TOP price-POSS.3 POSS.3SG TOP seed-POSS.3=OBJ exceed
Jadi kalo bisa pi ***tok boran=i*** *bunga-un=at parein*
so if can 1PL.INCL still be_first=LNK flower-POSS.3SG=OBJ sell
'As for its flowers, its price is higher than [that for] its seeds. So if [we] can, we sell the flowers first.' (Visser 2021a: 34–35)

(F.71) Context: The opening line of an expository text about cultivating nutmeg.
Sayang ***pertama tok*** *go=at masir=et*
nutmeg first still place=OBJ weed=IRR
'Nutmeg: first, weed a place.' (Visser 2021a: 31)

F.7.2.6 Marginality

- There are only two clear-cut example in the data. In ex. (F.72) it overlaps with a phasal polarity reading (the tide/sea level being a function of time).

(F.72) Context: A boat trip around an island.
Mindi warkin laur warkin kararak=tauna o get me tiri
like_that tide rising tide dry=so EMPH if not sail
osew=ar=a pareir=et. Wa me ***tok*** *bisa.*
beach=OBJ=FOC follow=IRR PROX TOP still can
'Like that the tide is low, if not we'd sail following the beaches. This is still OK (lit: this, [we] still can).' (Visser 2021b)

(F.73) Context: About small sinkers on a fishing net.
Kacan panjang=barak ***tok*** *temun weinun.*
long_bean=too/even still big too
'Long beans are even big (compared to the sinkers).' (i.e. even long beans still qualify as big when compared to these sinkers)
(Visser 2021b, glosses added)

F.7.2.7 Broadly modal and interactional uses

F.7.2.7.1 Polite commands

- In directive speech acts, *tok* can serve as a hedge (Eline Visser, p.c.), which clearly goes back to its 'first, for now' use (Appendix F.7.2.5.1).

(F.74) *Ma he min ma he mat nawarar ka* ***tok***
3sg already sleep 3sg already 3sg.obj wake_up 3sg still
parar=te.
get_up=non.fin
'He slept, [I] woke him up, "You get up! (before you do anything else)"' (Visser 2021a; Eline Visser, p.c.)

F.8 Kewa (kjs/kew, east2516/west2599)

F.8.1 Introductory remarks

The data encompass East Kewa (kjs, east2516) and West Kewa (kew, west2599). According to Franklin (1968) these are mutually intelligible varieties of one language.

F.8.2 pa

F.8.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: unclear. Either a free morpheme or a proclitic.
- Syntax: the data suggest that *pa* precedes the associated constituent.
- Etymology: Kewa also has two verbs *pa* 'go', 'do' as well as a "completive" aspect marker *pa*, and a disjunctive coordinator *pa* 'or'. From the available data, it is not clear if i) they are true homphones and ii) they are related to each other.

F.8.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Specialisation: *pa* is primarily a restrictive marker (Appendix F.8.2.3.1). Its use as a STILL expression is not explicitly discussed in the literature, although examples with the translation ‘still’ abound. I haven taken cases like (F.75–F.77) as evidence that the phasal polarity concept is among the denotata of *pa*. For instance, in (F.75), the continuation of Kodopea being alive is contrasted with the death (hence, alternative scenario) of other relatives of the speaker. Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from the cross-linguistically robust restrictive–STILL polysemy and the clear semantic parallels between the two functions (see Section 3.4.2).
- Pragmaticity: the available data does not allow any definite conclusions. (F.76) suggests that the unexpectedly late scenario can be made explicit by additional material such as *abi pege* ‘even now’.
- Polarity sensitivity: no negated examples of phasal polarity *pa* as STILL in the data.

(F.75) Context: About clan history.
Paga Waimi-lopo-re koma-pe. Kodopea-re ***pa*** *pi-a. Ee,*
P. W.-DU-TOP die-IMM.PST:3DU K.-TOP still sit-PRS:3SG Yes,
Oge-re komi-sa-yaa.
O.-TOP die-DIST.PST:3SG-EVID
‘Paga and Waimi died. Kodopea is still alive. Yes, Oge was reported to have died.’ (Yarapea 2006: 345)

(F.76) Context: About a debt from long ago.
Lobe Kabisimi-lopo-na mena gawa abi pege ***pa*** *a-ya*
L. K.-DU-GEN pig cow now even still stand-PRS:3SG
‘Even now Lobe and Kabisimi’s cow debt is still there.’ (Yarapea 2006: 336)

(F.77) *Go naaki-ri adu* ***pa*** *na la-aya*
DEM boy-TOP breast still eat stand-PRS:3SG
‘That boy is still breast-fed (lit. still eats breast).’ (Franklin 2007: 7, glosses added)[2]

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[2] Kewa “continuative” aspect describes intermittently recurrent situations; see Yarapea (2006: 243–244).

F.8.2.3 Restrictive (non-temporal)

F.8.2.3.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Franklin (1971: 69, 2007: 42) and Yarapea (2006: 82).
- This is an umbrella term for a range of conceptually related functions, in all of which *pa*'s focus is the main predicate of the clause. These functions include narrowing down the reference of the predicate ('do nothing but'), as in (F.78, F.79), depicting an act as effortless (F.80), or doing something without reason (F.81). With many attestations, the exact contribution of *pa* is hard to determine.

(F.78) ***Pa*** *piru aa-lua koe le sa pi*
still stay stand.dur-fut:1sg bad thing put sit.prs:1sg
'(If) I don't say something (lit: just stay) I have put something valueless.' (Yarapea 2006: 311–312)

(F.79) *Oro kóko na-re-a pare* ***pa*** *ogépú kegaapú pe-a*
really cold neg-emit-prs:3sg but still little hot do-prs:3sg
'It is not really cold but (rather) just a little bit hot.' (Franklin 1971: 116)

(F.80) Context: About raising pigs.
Sapi adaa-ai ***pa*** *maa ne-a robo-re ora*
sweet_potato big-nom still take eat-prs:3sg when-top really
adaa-ai popa a-ya
big-nom come stand-prs:3sg
'When it takes a sweet potato which is a big one and eats it (without much effort), it really becomes a big one.' (Yarapea 2006: 286)

(F.81) *Nipú kíri* ***pa****-rupa ta*
he laugh still-like prog:3sg
'He is just laughing (without reason).' (Franklin 1971: 34)

F.9 Komnzo (tci, wara1294)

F.9.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I searched Döhler's (2020) corpus. In addition, my understanding of the data has greatly profited from discussion with Christian Döhler. Note that the still expression in this language is identical to the term used to refer to the language itself. This is due to the latter being shortened from *komnzo zokwasi* 'just speech' (Döhler 2018: 1).

F.9.2 komnzo

F.9.2.1 General information

- Form: there is also a reduced, enclitic form *=nzo* (Döhler 2018: 169–170). Only one attestation of this enclitic form translates as 'still' in the Komnzo text corpus (Döhler 2020). I therefore do not treat it as a separate STILL expression.
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word.
- Syntax: relatively movile, but typically in preverbal position.

F.9.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Döhler (2018: 125–126).
- Specialisation: *komnzo* is primarily a multi-faceted restrictive marker. Evidence for the phasal polarity concept of STILL as one of its denotata comes from examples like (F.82–F.84). The signalling of persistence in unison with the evocation of an alternative scenario becomes particularly clear in cases like (F.82, F.83). Additional, indirect evidence comes from the robustly attested restrictive–STILL polysemy (Section 3.4.2) and the semantic parallels between the two functions.
- Pragmaticity: judging from the Komnzo text corpus (Döhler 2020), *komnzo* is compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: no attestations with scope over a negator.

(F.82) *Fi* *z* *zebnaf* *o* ***komnzo*** *y-rugr?*
3.ABS already 3SG:wake_up or still 3SG.M-sleep
'Did he wake up already or is he still sleeping?' (Döhler 2018: 7)

(F.83) Context: As a punishment for murder, a woman has been sentenced to being burned alive.
Wati nagawa ŋabrigwa si=r. ***Komnzo***
then N. 2|3:PST:IPFV:return eye=PURP still
rä o z kwarsir mni=n.
3SG.F:NON.PST:IPFV:be or already 2|3SG:REC.PST:IPFV:burn fire=LOC
'Then Nagawa [the woman's husband] returned to check: was she still alive or did she burn in the fire?' (Döhler 2018: 126, 2020)

(F.84) *Emoth fäth nima ämnzr ote=n.* ***Komnzo*** *zena*
girl DIM like_this 2|3PL:NON.PST:IPFV:sit O.=LOC still today
bobo rä ane kar we nä fof
DEM 3SG.F:NON.PST:IPFV:be DEM village also INDEF EMPH

rä *trikasi kar* *fof.*
3SG.F:NON.PST:IPFV:be story place EMPH
'There were the girls staying in Ote. It is still there now. Another place with another story of its own.' (Döhler 2020)

F.9.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

F.9.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- Some examples in the corpus can be read involving as STILL plus scalar contexts.
- While cases like (F.85) are relatively clear and involve a decrease over time, others are harder to judge. Thus, (F.86) could also be read as *komnzo* contributing contrastive focus ('there are plenty all right').

(F.85) Context: A girl has been attacked and eaten by a crocodile.
Ebar=nzo ***komnzo*** *zwarärm* *fäsi=nzo*
head=just still 3SG.F:PST:DUR:be shame=just
wänatha
SG>3SG.F:PST:IPFV:eat
'[Just] her head was still there, it ate her private parts.' (Döhler 2020)

(F.86) *"Eh* *ngthé* *bana!* *sgeru* *komnzo* *e-mi-thgr?"*
INTERJ brother poor palm_wine still 2|3NON.SG-hang-STAT
"Ah, *segeru* ***komnzo*** *y-rn"*
INTERJ palm_wine still 3SG.M-COP.DU
'"Hey brother, are the palm wine (containers) still hanging?" "Yes, there are still plenty."' (Döhler 2018: 220)[3]

F.9.2.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

F.9.2.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Döhler (2018: 125–126).
- As is common with such markers, this is a cluster of uses or functions, with the associated constituent being the predicate. For lower constituents a reduced and enclitic form =*nzo* is used (see Döhler 2018: 169–170). The common denominator is the exclusion of (mostly implicit) alternatives; see (F.87–F.90).
- The restrictive use is by far the most frequent use in the text corpus.

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[3] The notion of 'plenty' arises from the combination of dual and singular number; see Döhler (2018: 219).

(F.87) Context: Headhunters are raiding a village. A woman is hiding.
Watik, zan wogan=é ***komnzo*** *zfnagwrmth.*
then fight man=ERG:NON.SG still 2|PL>3SG.F:PST:DUR:miss
'The headhunters just passed by without taking notice.' (Döhler 2020)

(F.88) *Mni kwarsirm mni* ***komnzo*** *zöfthé zethkäfa.*
fire SG:PST:DUR:burn fire still before SG:PST:PFV:start
'It was the fire burning. The fire which has just started to burn.' (Döhler 2018: 372)

(F.89) Context: About a dance. Some lead the dance, others follow.
Eso fi ***komnzo*** *enmithagra wath=r.*
thanks 3.ABS still 2|3PL:PST:STAT:VEN:hang dance=PURP
'That's right, they were just tagging along.' (Döhler 2020)

(F.90) Context: About a certain moaning ritual.
Keke mane fthé kwanafrmth, fthé ausi fäth
NEG which when 2|3PL:PST:DUR:talk when old_woman DIM
thwän-thor, ŋarey-é. ***Komnzo*** *nima*
2|3PL:ITER:VEN-arrive woman-ABS:NON.SG still like_this
tbraw.
INTERJ:quiet
'Nobody talks at this time, until the women returned, many women. Just like this! Dead silent. Just like this! Dead silent.' (Döhler 2020)

F.10 Lewotobi (lwt, lewo1244)

F.10.1 morə̃

F.10.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: fixed position, following the predicate (and negation).
- Etymology: unknown; in closely related Lamaholot, the cognate *muri'* is an additive and iterative marker (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007; Pampus 2010).

F.10.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Nagaya (2012: 414–416).

- Specialisation: in absence of textual attestations, examples like (F.91–F.93) give a reasonably solid indication that this marker confines my definition. For instance, in (F.91) *morə̃* not only signals that the speaker continues to be a student, but also hints at the future discontinuation, which is when the question about marital status will become relevant. In (F.92), to all appearances, the addressee's persistent presence is in contrast to the speaker's expectation of the opposite. Note that *morə̃* only serves as STILL with atelic predicates, whereas the combination with telic predicates yields NOT YET (Appendix F.10.1.3.1).
- Pragmaticity: appears to be compatible with both scenarios (tentative conclusion). Ex. (F.92) is a prime candidate for the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: *morə̃* itself serves as NOT YET with telic predicates. There are also a few examples of *morə̃* with scope over negation in Nagaya's (2012) grammar.

(F.91) Context: Used as an answer to an inquiry about marital status.
Students are not supposed to marry yet.
Go mahasiswa ***morə̃*** *di.*
1SG student still DM:excuse
'I am still a student (so I am not married).' (Nagaya 2012: 434)

(F.92) *Ona=e mo pi* ***morə̃*** *ta?*
wow=hey 2SG PROX still Q
'Wow, hey, are you still here!?' (Nagaya 2012: 206)

(F.93) *Neku go səga pi, ra kriə̃* ***morə̃****.*
ago 1SG arrive PROX 3PL work still
'When I arrived here a while ago, they were still working.' (Nagaya 2012: 450)

F.10.1.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

F.10.1.3.1 Not yet

- Nagaya (2012: 415–416).
- This function occurs with telic predicates (F.94, F.95), as opposed to atelic ones, with which *morə̃* serves as STILL. With predicates that allow for both a telic and an atelic construal, this results in ambiguity (F.96, F.97).

(F.94) *Ale həkə oto* ***morə̃****.*
A. stop car still
'Ale hasn't stopped the car yet.' (Nagaya 2012: 415)

(F.95) *Go kriə̃ waha* ***morə̃.***
1SG work finish still
'I haven't finished working yet.' (Nagaya 2012: 415)

(F.96) *Go kə̃* ***morə̃.***
1SG eat.1SG still
'I am still eating / I haven't eaten yet.' (Nagaya 2012: 416)

(F.97) *Go kwukə̃* ***morə̃.***
1SG drunk still
'I am still drunk (the speaker has a hangover) / I am not drunk yet (the speaker wants to drink more).' (Nagaya 2012: 416)

F.11 Ma Manda (skc, sauk1252)

F.11.1 -gût

F.11.1.1 General information

- Wordhood: a bound morpheme that attaches to roots of several syntactic classes. Pennington (2016) describes it as a suffix; its low host sensitivity could be taken as an argument to consider it an enclitic.
- Syntax: attaches to its focus. With a predicate as the host, it functions as a sentence adverb.

F.11.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Pennington (2016: 125–126, 166–167, 202).
- Specialisation: *-gût* is primarily a versatile restrictive marker. My assessment that the marker also serves as a specialised STILL expression is based on a combination of the discussion in Pennington (2016) and examples like (F.98, F.99). For instance, in (F.98) the ascending slope is construed as continuing, as opposed to the protagonist's initial assumption that the mountain would plateau at cloud level. Further, indirect, evidence comes from the cross-linguistic robustness of restrictive-STILL polysemy and the semantic parallels between the two functions (Section 3.4.2).
- Pragmaticity: seems to be compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: combination with negation yields NOT YET; *-gût* also forms part of the fixed expression *kogût* 'not yet'.

- Further note: Ex. (F.100, F.101) superficially resemble the persistent time frame use (Section 2.5.2.2). However, in structural terms, these are most likely adverbial clauses (see Pennington 2016: 445–450 on non-verbal predication in Ma Manda). Ex. (F.102) illustrates the use in a hortative.

(F.98) Context: The subject is going up a mountain. He thought that the peak coincided with the clouds and now he is moving beyond that point.
I *kame* *mun* *kun* *aatûku-go-k-**gût***
this.ANAPH ground partial up.DIST remain-REM.PST-SUBJ.3SG-still
kunt.
DIST
'This part of the land still kept going up (lit. still remained partially up) [where clouds had previously blocked].' (Pennington 2016: 578)

(F.99) Context: A girl is thirsty and has been told that there is no water nearby.
Ta-ng idi *welû* *udu* *mi* *na=la*
do-DS this.ANAPH daughter:POSS.3SG that.ANAPH water eat=BEN
*n-e-la-k-**gût*** *taa-ka maangût-ta*
OBJ.1SG-bite-PRS-SUBJ.3SG-still say-SS sit-SS
a-go-k.
COP-REM.PST-SUBJ.3SG
'And, his daughter, kept thinking about being thirsty (lit. said "consuming water still bites me") and was sitting up.' (Pennington 2016: 596)

(F.100) Context: At night, one man has set out to steal a pineapple and is followed by another man.
*Tandon=ta-**gût*** *nolû* *ban* *wa=lû* *bulûnap*
night=BEN-still brother:POSS.3SG INDEF that=NOM pineapple
sako-be-k=ka *ta-ka kosaan*
hold:OBJ.3SG-IRR.SG-SUBJ.3SG=BEN do-SS side
kesuwang-go-k.
reach_for-REM.PST-SUBJ.3SG
'Still in the night, the other brother reached out on the side to grab the pineapple.' (Pennington 2016: 566)

(F.101) Context: The narrator and her companions have been moving around.
Ba-ka mo, kagang ba-ngkadopm-ûnggû-m,
come-ss already village come-arrive-rem.pst-subj.1pl
*tafala-**gût**.*
afternoon-still
'I came, and then we arrived at the village, while it was still afternoon.' (Pennington 2016: 549)

(F.102) *Ku-de-m ku-de-m-**gût** wa nûng-ka=ta*
go-irr.du-1non.sg go-irr.du-subj.1non.sg-still that tell-ss=do
ba-gû-mok.
come-rem.pst-subj2|3du
'Keep telling (her) "Let's go! Let's keep going!" they came.' (Pennington 2016: 166)

F.11.1.3 Restrictive (non-temporal)

F.11.1.3.1 (Non-scalar exclusive)

- Pennington (2016: 151–157, 164–167)
- As with many exclusive markers, this is a cluster of functions. These include restricting ('only') the reference of nominals and demonstrative constituents (F.103, F.104) as well as the reference of the predicate (F.105). It is also used for emphasis on identity of place (F.106) or time (ex. F.107; also see exx F.100, F.101 above) and to derive adverbs from stems of other syntactic classes (F.108).

(F.103) *Nak Yase ba-ka mani wa-**nggût** naa-mû-la-k-ngang.*
1sg Y. come-ss money that-still obj.1sg-give-prs-subj.3sg-hab
'Yase comes and gives me that very money.' (Pennington 2016: 165)

(F.104) *Taawaa-**gût** wa=lû bûsenang ku-ngkadopm-ûngka...*
ridge-still that=nom jungle go-arrive-ss
'Just along the ridge they went into the jungle...' (Pennington 2016: 165)

(F.105) *Elang-**gût** met ku-taa-t.*
lie-still later go-fut-subj.1sg
'Just kidding I'll go later.' (Pennington 2016: 165)

(F.106) *Nûnûng ya-**nggût** taa-waa-m.*
1pl.emph here-still say-prs-subj.1pl
'Just us are speaking right here.' (Pennington 2016: 152)

(F.107) *Wa=long-**ngût** tritoin=tû kekng taa-go-k...*
that=ALL-still T=NOM call say-REM.PST-SUBJ.3SG
'At that [very] moment, Tritoin called out, ...' (Pennington 2016: 165)

(F.108) *Wa-sû=lû mumung kaalin-**gût** dom gaai-go-k.*
that-LNK=NOM loincloth good-still NEG fasten-REM.PST-SUBJ.3SG
'He didn't fast his loincloth well.' (Pennington 2016: 164)

F.12 Mateq (xem, kemb1249)

F.12.1 Introductory remarks

Mateq has two markers that qualify as candidates for STILL expressions: *mege* and *buyu*. For *mege*, only two tokens are found in Connell's (2013) grammar. I therefore did not include it in my sample.

F.12.2 bayu

F.12.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: fixed position, immediately before the predicate.

F.12.2.2 As a STILL expression (plus restrictive notions)

- Connell (2013: 137–138)
- Specialisation: inclusion is somewhat more tentative than that of most other expressions in the sample. Connell (2013: 137) describes *bayu* marker as denoting "a type of imperfective aspect". Connell applies the same label to *mege* 'still' and *degeq* 'constantly, keep Verb-ing', which indicates that he uses *imperfective* as a synonym for continuity/persistence. As for the invocation of an alternative scenario, *bayu* not only implies discontinuation, but also a subsequent contingent development. This is particularly salient in (F.109, F.110) and distinguishes *bayu* from *mege*.
- Pragmaticity: the available data allow no conclusion.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.

(F.109) ***Bayu** kurak~kurak tubiq.*
still bubble~REDUPL rice
‘The rice was [still] bubbling (implies an expectation that once the rice has bubbled it will be scooped out and eaten).’ (Connell 2013: 137–138)

(F.110) *Mateq tuet=n, okoq **bayu** man.*
soon first=ADV 1SG still eat
‘Just a moment, I’m still eating.’ (Connell 2013: 148)

(F.111) *Oya babu téq matéqéh **bayu** oji.*
mother mouse PROX just_before still go_to_forest
‘Mother Mouse was still out in the forest.’ (Connell 2013: 138)

F.12.2.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

F.12.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Bayu* is compatible with scalar predicates. All attestations in the data feature limited increases. This includes two attestations involving an anterior viewpoint in combination with *sidah* ‘once’ (F.113, F.114). Note that Connell translates (F.112) with the English present perfect, but the Mateq sentence features a nominal predicate.
- Assuming that my general interpretation of *bayu* as a ‘still only’ expression is correct, these can be subsumed under the latter, more general function.

(F.112) ***Bayu** aroq=nq panèi nyidoq.*
still beginning=POSS.3 clever speak
‘He’d only just begun to speak well (lit. it is still only his beginning …).’ (Connell 2013: 138)

(F.113) *Okoq **bayu** sidah=ng koq mamuh.*
1SG still once=ADV 1SG bathe
‘I’ve only bathed once.’ (Connell 2013: 150)

(F.114) *Okoq **bayu** sidah téq.*
1SG only once this
‘I’ve never done this before (lit. I’ve only done this once, i.e. now).’ (Connell 2013: 150)

F.13 Maybrat (ayz, maib1239)

F.13.1 Introductory remarks

My understanding of the Maybrat data has greatly profited from discussion with Philomena Dol. Maybrat seems to have two STILL expressions: *fares* 'still' and *etu* 'still be'. Only *fares* is (close to) polyfunctional.

F.13.2 fares

F.13.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: invariably in clause-final position.

F.13.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Dol (2007: 160–161, 173); additional discussion in van Baar (1997: 55).
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Specialisation: examples like (F.115–F.117), when taken together, give a reasonably good indication that *fares* conforms to my definition. For instance, in (F.115), the process of studying is construed as extending over time, and contrasted with its later discontinuation. *Fares* is also taken to be a genuine STILL expression by van Baar (1997).
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusion.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET, outer negation NO LONGER.
- Further note: *fares* often combines with *etu* 'still be', as in (F.117).

(F.115) *Tuo sia t-ao iwai farkor* ***fares****.*
1SG with 1SG-sibling:SS earlier study still
'I with my brother, formerly we still studied.' (Dol 2007: 160)

(F.116) *Ku ro m-ait po-iit kiyam* ***fares****.*
child REL 3.U-eat thing-eat.PL ill still
'The child that eats food is still ill.' (Dol 2007: 150)

(F.117) *Paulince m-haf m-etu* ***fares****.*
P. 3.U-pregnant 3.U-still_be still
'Paulince is still pregnant.' (Dol 2007: 160)

F.13.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

F.13.2.3.1 Near past

- Dol (2007: 161, 184).
- This function obtains in the fixed, and common, sequence *tna* ‘new, recently’ plus *fares*. That is, we are dealing with a transparent construction ‘[it is] still recent [that]’. This interpretation is in line with the fact that Maybrat does not make use of an overt copula (see Dol 2007: 147–148). To all appearances, this originally biclausal structure (‘*p*, it is still recent’) has undergone clause union.
- Note that Maybrat has neither grammatical tense nor aspect (see Dahl 2001 for discussion). All three examples of *tna fares* in Dol’s grammar feature telic predicates (or telic construals) and a bounded viewpoint.

(F.118) *M-ros* ***tna*** ***fares***.
3.U-stand recently still
‘She got up only recently.’ (Dol 2007: 161)

(F.119) *M-ape* *m-aku* ***tna*** ***fares***.
3.U-give_birth 3.U-small recently still
‘She gave birth to small ones only recently.’ (Dol 2007: 161)

F.14 Paiwan (pwn, paiw1248)

F.14.1 Introductory remarks

Apart from descriptive materials, I consulted Early & Whitehorn’s (2003) text collection. I am furthermore indebted to Wei-chen Huang and Drungdrung a Tjakivusung for discussing Paiwan data with me.

F.14.2 =anan

F.14.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme (enclitic).
- Syntax: attaches to the predicate.

F.14.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Chang (2006: 228), Early & Whitehorn (2003: 574), Egli (1990: 164; 2002: 29–30, 573), Ferrell (1982: 13, 58, 98, 445, 478), Huang (2012: 15) and Wu (2006).

- Specialisation: textual examples like (F.120–F.122) give evidence that this item conforms to my definition. For instance, in (F.120) *=anan* signals that young deer continue to be considered "sprouts" (i.e. not game) for a certain amount of time, while at the same time evoking a prospective view towards the point at which this status is no longer upheld.
- Pragmaticity: judging from the texts in Early & Whitehorn (2003), *=anan* appears to be compatible with both scenarios; ex. (F.122) is a good candidate for the unexpectedly late scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Further note: ex. (F.123) illustrates the use in an imperative.

(F.120) Context: About young deer.
*A-zua m-amaw tua udjudju=**anan**; sa-ka ini-ka*
NOM-that AGT.FOC-same OBL sprout=still and-after NEG-after
tj-en a dj<em>ameq nu k<em>uang
there-PAT.FOC LNK catch<AGT.FOC> when firearm<AGT.FOC>
itjen. A-zua ini=anan a san satsemel-i.
1PL.INCL.NOM NOM-that NEG=still LNK make wild_game-PAT.FOC
'They were still like soft sprouts; and we didn't catch them when we were shooting. We didn't then consider them as wild game [yet].'

Nu tsuatsuay anga saka namasan venan anga sa puquvał anga sa putsuarqułqułan anga tsałeqił anga a kula vaik anga sema gadu a djemavats. Avan anga zazua tja qałuen anga, sa tja kuangi anga.
'After a long time when they had become deer, with hair and hooves and hard feet, they walked up to the mountains. After that we hunted and shot them.' (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 170–171)

(F.121) Context: From the opening lines of a personal narrative.
*Ka i gaku=**anan** aken m-atsay ti kama. Qau*
when LOC school=still 1SG.NOM AGT.FOC-die NOM.SG father so
ti kaka i-tua kuaping. Qau ti kina i-zua ałak
NOM.SG sibling LOC-OBL soldier so NOM.SG mother LOC-that child
*a lumamad. I-zua ku kaka ka~keḍi-an=**anan***
LNK infant LOC-that 1SG.GEN sibling REDUPL~small-NMLZ=still
a ma-ḍusa, ini=anan ka ma-kaya ma-sengseng.
LNK NUM-two NEG=still when ACAUS-able ACAUS-work
'When I was still at school my father died. My elder brother was in the army. My mother had very young children. My two siblings were still children, not yet able to work.' (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 365–366)

(F.122) Context: A mother thought that her son had died in battle.
M-angtjez i umaq. Q<em>au~qaung a kina.
AGT.FOC-come LOC house REDUPL<AGT.FOC>~cry NOM mother
*"Maya q<em>aung kina; i-zua=**anan** aken.*
PROH cry<AGT.FOC> mother LOC-that=still 1SG.NOM
Ma-kuda ɬa uqaɬay."
ACAUS-do_what really male
'When he got home, his mother was crying. "Don't cry, mother, I'm still alive. It's nothing to a male like me."' (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 206)

(F.123) *Kan-u=**anan**.*
eat-IMP=still
'Continue to eat!' (Chang 2006: 229)

F.14.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

F.14.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *=anan* is attested in scalar contexts.
- These encompass decreases, as in (F.124, F.125) and contexts involving increases or the absence thereof, as in (F.126, F.127). Note that the latter do not require an additional 'only' marker.
- Example (F.128), which at first sight appears to involve (the absence of) an increase is more likely to have a binary reading (the presence or absence of the moon).

(F.124) *Amin=anga=men a mateɬu a mareka*
be_only=CMPL=1PL.EXCL.NOM NOM three(HUMAN) LNK PL
*kaka a i-zua=**anan**.*
sibling LNK LOC-that=still
'We are only three siblings who are still (in this world).' (Chang 2006: 190)

(F.125) *Na=tapuluq=angata a ku=laqulj. tucu, alu=**anan** a*
PST=ten=true NOM 1SG.GEN=book now eight=still NOM
ku=laqulj.
1SG.GEN=book
'I had ten books, now I still have eight (left).' (Wei-chen Huang, p.c.)

(F.126) *Matjelu a ku=aljak tucu. ljaku ka kaicavilj,*
three(HUMAN) NOM 1SG.GEN=child now but when last.year
*macidilj=**anan** a ku=aljak.*
one(HUMAN)=still NOM 1SG.GEN=child
'I have three children now, but last year I still had only one.'
(Wei-chen Huang, p.c.)

(F.127) *Kaicavilj, i ka na=ma-lje-nguaq; a*
last_year NEG ka PST=ACAUS-go_toward-good NOM
p<in>a-veli-an, na=kudraw a
CAUS<PAT.FOC:PFV>-buy-NMLZ PST=ten_thousand NOM
ku=paisu a sinipazulju. Tucu a cavilj,
1SG.GEN=money LNK bonus now LNK year
ma-lje-nguaq a p<in>a-veli-an. ljaku
ACAUS-go_toward-good NOM CAUS<PAT.FOC:PFV>-buy-NMLZ but
*kudraw=**anan** a sinipazulju.*
ten_thousand=still NOM bonus
'Our business was bad last year, and we had a $10,000 bonus share. This year, our business is good, but our bonus share is still only $10,000.' (Wei-chen Huang, p.c.)

(F.128) Context: From a mythical story about a time in which there were two suns but no moon in the sky (Wen-chei Huang, p.c.)
*Amin=**anan** a qadau.*
be_only=still LNK sun
'Damals gab es noch bloss die Sonnen. (Mythenthema) [Back then there were still only the suns. (topic of a myth)]' (Egli 2002: 29, glosses added)

F.14.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

F.14.2.4.1 Iterative (and continued iteration) and restitutive

- Chang (2006: 228, 295) and Egli (2002: 29, 613).
- Iterativity is illustrated in (F.129–F.131), restitution in (F.133, F.134).
- In these functions, =*anan* is repeatedly attested in combination with the additive/iterative marker *uta*. This collocation can indicate a continued iteration. Thus, in (F.131), it marks the third occurrence of the same situation. It can also give emphasis to the iteration or restored state (F.132).

(F.129) Context: A child’s grandmother has told him to go look at what they sowed, but nothing had sprouted yet. She has told him to be patient.
Tsua~tsuay anga a uta pa-gaɬu “sa-u
REDUPL~long_time CMPL LNK also CAUS-slow go-IMP
*ki-qenetj-i=**anan**,” aya-in ni sa Vuluvulung.*
do-see-IMP=still say-PAT.FOC GEN.SG HON V.
‘After quite a time more the child was told by Vuluvulung [grandmother]: “Go and have another look.”’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 145)

(F.130) Context: A thief and another man are hiding under the sleeping platform of a house. Moving about, they have bumped heads once.
Manu i-zu-anga tsaḍ a na-ki-qiɬa
then LOC-that-CMPL bandit LNK PST-do-hide
*ma-tsa~tsagtsag=**anan** a qulu.*
ACAUS-REDUPL~bump=still NOM head
‘The thief was hidden there, and they bumped heads again.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 91)

(F.131) *Qau nu q<em>a~qivu ti sa Kidadaw, “aa,”*
so when REDUPL~<AGT.FOC>-speak NOM.SG HON K. ah
aya a-zua tsaqi. Nu qa~qivu-in uta, “aa,” aya
say NOM-that dung when REDUPL~speak-PAT.FOC also ah say
*a-zua tsaqi. Qa~qivu-en=**anan** **uta**.*
NOM-that dung REDUPL~speak-PAT.FOC=still also
‘When Kidadaw called, the faeces said “Ah”. When he called again, it said “Ah”. He called once more.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 70)

(F.132) Context: From a farewell message to John Whitehorn.
Qau a-i-tsu nu tja-viliɬ anga ki-tjen a
So be_thus-LOC-this when more-behind CMPL will-1PL.INCL LNK
*me-tsevu~tsevung=**anan** **uta**.*
AGT.FOC-REDUPL~meet=still also
‘And in the future we will [surely] all meet again.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 482)

(F.133) *Me-v’alut=**anan***
AGT.FOC-live=still
‘Er ist wieder aufgelebt. [He came back to life.]’ (Egli 2002: 29, glosses added)

(F.134) Context: From a farewell message to John Whitehorn.
Uła tjen a laḍuq=anan a tja nasi,
so_that 1PL.INCL.NOM LNK long=STILL LNK 1PL.INCL.GEN breath
uła tjen a na-se-tsevung=anan tjai
so_that 1PL.INCL.NOM LNK PST-happen_suddenly-meet=still OBL
*sinsi, uła tjen a na-ki-dja~djalan=**anan** a*
teacher so_that 1PL.INCL.NOM LNK PST-do-REDUPL~road=still LNK
ki-samuła tua pa-tjara Tsemas, ay~aya men uta
do-urgent OBL CAUS-surely God REDUPL~say 1PL.EXCL.NOM also
a ki-qau~qaung tua Tsemas.
LNK do-REDUPL~cry OBL God
‘May our lives [still] be long, so that we’ll meet the teacher again, so that we can join in [again] working for God, is what we say in prayer to God.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 482–483)

F.14.2.4.2 First, for now

- Chang (2006: 228, 295) and Egli (1990: 164).
- This reading might also be involved in the collocation *gaɫu=anan* ‘wait a bit!’.
- For *nahan* in close-by Saisiyat, which has a very similar functional range to Paiwan =*anan* (Appendix F.16) Huang (2008) stipulates that the ‘first’-function goes back to the additive usage in a discursive pattern similar to omnisyndetic coordination (i.e. both the clause describing an initial event and those describing subsequent events feature the marker in question). No such discourse pattern is, however, attested for Paiwan =*anan* in Early & Whitehorn’s (2003) collection of one hundred texts. Also note that Huang’s (2008: 116) example includes a verb glossed as ‘do first’.

(F.135) Context: From the opening of a narrative. Once upon a time there were some girls and men weeding. They took it in turns to weed.
*Ki-ɫavar-an a mare-qali: “ti-mun-ay=**anan** a*
do-speak-LOC.FOC LNK pair-friend NOM-2PL-will=still NOM
mare-ḍava a m-asik,” aya-in.
pair-female_friend LNK AGT.FOC-weed say-PAT.FOC
‘The men said: “You girls weed first.”’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 108)

(F.136) Context: Monkey and ant-eater have decided to try who can stay under water the longest.
*“Nu maitazua tiaken-ay=**anan**”, aya a ḍail.*
when like_that 1SG.NOM-will=still say NOM monkey
‘“All right; I’ll go first”, said the monkey.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 250)

(F.137) Context: A group of mice has set out to kill a cat.
*Ka tjału q<in>ałiv-an tiamadju, se<m>kez=**anan***
when reach roof<pat.foc:pfv>-nmlz 3pl.nom rest<agt.foc>=still
a pa-kełang tua uri pa-ka-zu-an-an. “ari,”
lnk caus-know obl will caus-in_passing-that-nmlz-nmlz go_on
ka aya-in na-zua kama~kama niamadju vaik a
when say-pat.foc gen-that redupl~father 3pl.gen leave lnk
s<em>a teku a mapułat a ki-pa-gału.
go<agt.foc> down lnk all lnk do-caus-slow
‘When they got to the roof, they [first] paused for instructions about the route. When their leader said: “Let’s go,” they all went below slowly.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 386–387)

F.14.2.4.3 Announcements

- There are numerous instances of =*anan* in Early & Whitehorn’s (2003) text collection that involve the subject announcing what they are about to do (F.138) or that it is another participant’s turn to do something (F.139).
- This cannot always be separated from the ‘first, for now use’ (Appendix F.14.2.4.2) that it is most likely based on. For instance, ex. (F.140) can be read both as an announcement of the speaker’s plan, as well as a statement of what needs to be done before confronting the enemies.

(F.138) Context: Parents to one of their children.
*“Ka i-umaq-an su kaka. Vaik=**anan** amen*
when loc-house-loc.foc 2sg.gen sibling leave=still 1pl.excl.nom
a s<em>a va~vua. Kim-an anga tua
lnk go<agt.foc> redupl~field search-loc.foc cmpl obl
tja vaqu sa tsugtsug-an anga”, aya-in ti
1pl.incl.gen millet and bump-loc.foc cmpl say-pat.foc nom.sg
Kułełułełu.
K.
“‘Stay at home with your sibling. We are just going to the fields. Find some of our millet and pound it,” they said to Kulelulelu.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 210)

(F.139) Context: Crab and Monkey are trying to burn one another. The fire did no harm to Crab.
*Sa tisun-ay=**anan**, qali-an i ḍai~ḍail.*
and 2sg.nom-sbjv=still friend-nmlz prep redupl~monkey
[Crab:] ‘Now it’s your turn, friend monkey.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 197)

(F.140) Context: The speaker sees people from another village approaching.
Ai anga tsa vuluq sa kuang, a ma-tu
INTERJ CMPL this spear this firearm LNK ACAUS-alike
ka-ɬa-ɬudjeɬudj-an a ma-tu ngudju~ngudjuɬ-an.
main-class-thorn_plant-NMLZ LNK ACAUS-alike REDUPL~stump-NMLZ
*Gaɬu=**anan**; ku si-kes-an=**anan** tua puk sa*
slow=still 1SG.GEN INST.FOC-food-LOC.FOC=still OBL bean_sp and
ku qaɬi<djela>djelav-i.
1SG.GEN undercooked<REDUPL>-PAT.FOC
‘Oh dear! Their spears and guns are like thorn-grass and high tree stumps. Wait a bit, I’ll cook some tree-beans for them, and leave them undercooked.’ (He then proceeds to eat the undercooked beans and defeats the enemies by breaking a wind so strong that it blasts them away.)’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 229)

F.14.2.5 Additive and related uses

F.14.2.5.1 Additive

- Egli (1990: 164)
- In this function, =*anan* recurrently combines with another additive marker *uta*, as in (F.142).

(F.141) Context: A boy’s father had been killed in a fight. The boy is asking about his whereabouts.
ɬakua ma-rekutj a kina a tj<em>umaɬ tu
but ACAUS-fear LNK mother LNK discuss<AGT.FOC> COMP
q<in>tsi nua se Tjuavudas; ma-rekutj tu
fight<PAT.FOC:PFV> by person_of T. ACAUS-fear OBL
*vaik=**anan** a ki-kuang tua se Tjuavudas.*
leave=still LNK do-firearm OBL person_of T.
‘But his mother was afraid to tell him that his father had been killed by the Tjuavudas people; she was afraid that he too would go and fight the Tjuavudas people.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 55)

(F.142) Context: About wedding traditions.
A-i-tsu a si-pu-tseke~tsekeɬ nua
be_thus-LOC-this LNK INST.FOC-have-REDUPL~spouse of
ma-ma-zangiɬ-an ka-djunang-an pana
ACAUS-ACAUS-chief-NMLZ main-earth-NMLZ river

qału~qałup-an djilung a ka-ułay-an qata kuang
REDUPL~hunt-NMLZ jar LNK main-piece-NMLZ bead firearm
*tjakit, i-zua=**anan** uta a zuma vadis.*
knife LOC-that=still also NOM other chief’s_meat
‘The bride-prices among chieftains include land, rivers, hunting grounds, precious pots, beads, guns and swords; and there is [also] other tribute to be paid as well.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 416)

(F.143) *Kan-u=**anan** pagaƚu.*
eat-IMP=still few
‘Eat a little more.’ (Ferrell 1982: 115, glosses added)

F.14.2.5.2 Comparisons of inequality

- Egli (1990: 164).
- Comparisons of inequality in Paiwan are formed via the prefix *tja-* ‘more’ on the predicate, with the standard of comparison –if present– marked for oblique case (see Egli 1990: 149, 167; Ferrell 1982: 26; Huang 2012: 219).
- Addition of =*anan* yields ‘even more’.

(F.144) *tja-pu-pitsur=**anan***
more-have-strength=still
‘Noch stärker. [Even stronger.]’ (Egli 1990: 164, glosses added)

(F.145) Context: At a wedding dinner, a man has been eating a lot. His wife was ashamed of him and tied a string around his arm, telling him that he can only eat some more, once she tugs the string.
Nu tsuay anga ini tsiḍtsiḍ-i. “Aku ini anga su
when long_time CMPL NEG tug-PAT.FOC why NEG CMPL 2SG.NOM
tsiḍ~tsiḍtsiḍ-i?” aya a uqaƚay. Manu tjemala tideq sa
REDUPL~tug-PAT.FOC say NOM male then enter space and
pa-qa~quƚuts a vatu. Qau ma-tsiḍtsiḍ a lima.
CAUS-REDUPL~tussle NOM dog so ACAUS-tug NOM hand
*Tja-djaƚaw=**anan** a dj<em>amay.*
more-quickly=still LNK side_dish<AGT.FOC>
‘For a long time there was no tug. “Why haven’t you tugged yet?” said the man. Then some dogs came into the space between them and started a tussle; and so his arm got tugged. He went at the side dishes even more crazily.’ (Early & Whitehorn 2003: 46–47)

F.15 Rapanui (rap, rapa1244)

F.15.1 Introductory remarks

My understanding of Rapanui is based mostly on Kieviet's (2017) grammar, which is corpus-based and also incorporates findings from many preceding descriptions. Several of the examples below feature the "neutral aspect" marker *he*; see Kieviet (2017: 316–320) for a discussion of this item.

F.15.2 nō

F.15.2.1 General information

- Form: also transcribed as *no*.
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: mobile, typically following its associated constituent.

F.15.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Du Feu (1996: 160), Fuentes (1960: 132,272) and Kieviet (2017: 115, 343–344, 347).
- Specialisation: the descriptions of *nō* clearly identify the concept of STILL as one of its functions; see especially Kieviet (2017: 115). Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from the robustly attested restrictive-STILL polysemy and the semantic parallels between these functions (Section 3.4.2).
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios (Kieviet 2017: 344, 347).
- Polarity sensitvity: not attested as a phasal polarity expression plus negation. This is in line with NOT YET being expressed by negation plus (*h*)*ia* 'yet' (Kieviet 2017: 509), and NO LONGER by negation plus *haka'ou* 'again' (Kieviet 2017: 183).
- Further note: Kieviet (2017: 322, 344) observes that *nō* often features in texts as a cohesive device, indicating the continuity of a situation described earlier, and which serves as the background for an event; see (F.148).

(F.146) *E mata **nō** 'ana ho'i te miro era i hore mai era.*
IPFV unripe still CONT indeed ART wood DIST PFV cut hither DIST
'The wood that has been cut is still green.' (Kieviet 2017: 326)

(F.147) *E 'iti'iti **nō** 'ā a koe; kai 'ite 'ana e tahi*
IPFV small.REDUPL still CONT ART 2SG NEG.PFV know CONT NUM one
me'e o te via taŋata.
thing of ART life person
'You are (still) little; you don't know anything about human life (yet).' (Kieviet 2017: 501)

(F.148) Context: Two people have fled from the rain and are sitting in a cave.
I nonoho era, he papaŋaha'a 'i te ha'uru. E ha'uru
PFV stay.PL DIST NEUTRAL heavy.PL at ART sleep IPFV sleep
nō *'ā, he tu'u atu hoko rua haka'ou nu'u*
still CONT NEUTRAL arrive away NUM:human two again people
mai te puhi iŋa mo te evinio.
from ART fish_at_night NMLZ for ART lent
'While they stayed there, they fell asleep. While they were [still] sleeping, two other people arrived, who had been fishing at night for Lent.' (Kieviet 2017: 588–589)

F.15.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

F.15.2.3.1 Always

- Fuentes (1960: 132, 272).
- This use seems common with, but not entirely restricted to, a periphrastic habitual aspect construction, as in (F.150, F.151).

(F.149) *É manáu* ***no*** *mai.*
IPFV mind still hither
'Me acordaré siempre. [I will always remember.]' (Fuentes 1960: 103, glosses added)

(F.150) *'I rā noho iŋa he tu'u* ***nō*** *mai te aŋa o te nu'u*
at DIST stay NMLZ PRED arrive still hither ART do of ART people
pa'ari ki tō'oku koro u'i.
adult to POSS.1SG Dad look
'At that time the old people always came to see my father.' (Kieviet 2017: 91)

(F.151) *He kai toke* ***nō*** *mai o te taŋata te aŋa.*
PRED food steal still hither of ART man ART do
'Stealing the people's food was what she did all the time.' (Kieviet 2017: 263)

F.15.2.4 Restrictive (non-temporal)

F.15.2.4.1 (Non-scalar) exclusive

- Du Feu (1996: 37, 78, 123–124), Fuentes (1960: 134, 272) and Kieviet (2017: 174, 266–268, 343–345).
- As with many exclusive markers, this is a cluster of related functions. These include restricting the reference of nominal constituents (F.152) and excluding

alternative denotations for the predicate (F.153). Clearly derived is the use of *nō* to mark an act as performed “[w]ithout further ado, without thinking, without taking other considerations into account” (Kieviet 2017: 343); see (F.154).

- Restrictive *nō* also forms part of a construction *te* Noun *nō* ‘ART Noun only’ that invariably stands in sentence-initial position and introduces an exception to an (implicit or explicit) generalisation; this is illustrated in (F.155). This construction, in turn, instantiates a pattern, by which

> in initial subject NPs, *nō* indicates that the set referred to by the noun phrase has only one entity, viz. the one described in the rest of the sentence. The sentence can be paraphrased as: ‘There is only one [NP], and that is [rest of sentence]’ (Kieviet 2017: 266)

(F.152) *’I te pō **nō** te ika nei ana hī.*
at ART night still ART fish PROX IRR fish
‘Only at night this fish can be fished.’ (Kieviet 2017: 267)

(F.153) *’Ina a Tiare kai mate; ko rerehu **nō** ’ā.*
NEG ART T. NEG.PFV die ANT faint still CONT
‘Tiare was not dead; she had just fainted.’ (Kieviet 2017: 343)

(F.154) *¿Kai ha’amā koe i to’o **nō** koe i te mauka mo ta’o*
NEG.PFV ashamed 2SG PFV take still 2SG ACC ART grass for cook
i ta’a ’umu?
ACC POSS:2SG earth_oven
‘Weren’t you ashamed, that you just took the grass (as fuel) to cook your earth oven (without asking, even though the grass was mine)?’ (Kieviet 2017: 343)

(F.155) Context: He used to drink.
*Te riva **nō**, e ta’ero era, ’ina he tiŋa’i i tā’ana*
ART good still IPFV drunk DIST NEG NEUTRAL strike ACC POSS.3SG
hua’ai.
family
‘Fortunately (=the good thing was), when he was drunk, he did not beat his family.’ (Kieviet 2017: 268)

F.15.2.5 Broadly modal and interactional uses

F.15.2.5.1 Concessive protases

- Du Feu (1996: 59), and Kieviet (2017: 570).
- This function obtains in the fixed expression *nōatu*, which could either be segmented as *nō* plus *atu* ‘away’ or be a loan from Tahitian (see Kieviet 2017: 570 fn34), plus nominalised verb.

- As (F.158) shows, this construction is not restricted to concessives.

(F.156) ***Nōatu*** *te paŋaha'a, te mahana te mahane e hāpī*
never_mind ART heavy ART day ART day IPFV teach
ena 'i ira.
DEM at ANAPH
'Even though it's heavy, they teach there day after day.' (Kieviet 2017: 570)

(F.157) *Pura oho au ki a ia mo u'i pauró te tapati,* ***noatu*** *te*
HAB go 1SG to CONT 3SG BEN see every ART week never_mind ART
roa o te kona hare.
long of ART place house
'I visit him regularly every week even though he lives far away.' (Du Feu 1996: 59)

(F.158) ***Nōatu*** *tō'ona ture mai.*
never_mind POSS.3SG scold hither
'Don't mind his scolding.' (Kieviet 2017: 305)

F.15.2.5.2 Concessive apodoses (i)

- Kieviet (2017: 343).
- *Nō* can mark the apodoses of concessive constructions.

(F.159) Context: Nowadays there are all kinds of things to take care of children.
… e māuiui ***nō*** *'ana te ŋā poki.*
IPFV sick still CONT ART PL child
'But even so, children get sick.' (Kieviet 2017: 343)

(F.160) *Ka rahi atu tā'aku poki, e hāpa'o* ***nō*** *e au*
CONTIGUOUS many away POSS.1SG child IPFV care_for still AGT 1SG
'ā.
self
'Even if I have many children, I will still take care of them myself.' (Kieviet 2017: 344)[4]

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[4] The concessive conditional 'even if' arises through the combination of "contiguous" *ka* and directional *atu*; see Kieviet (2017: 569–570).

F.15.2.5.3 Concessive apodoses (ii)

- Kieviet (2017: 570).
- This function obtains with the clause-initial collocation *te me'e nō* 'ART thing only', which is an instantiation of the contrastive *te Noun nō* construction discussed in F.15.2.4.1.

(F.161) *'Apa te toe a au he mate;* ***te me'e nō*** *ī'*
half ART remain ART 1SG NEUTRAL die ART thing still here/now
a au e ora nō 'ā.
ART 1SG IPFV live still CONT
'I almost died; even so, I am [still] alive.' (Kieviet 2017: 570).

(F.162) Context: His boat was like the other ones.
Te me'e nō, *'i ruŋa i tū vaka era ō'ona e ai rō*
ART thing still at above at DEM boat DIST POSS.3SG IPFV exist EMPH
'ā e tahi pē'ue, e rua miro 'i te kaokao o te
CONT NUM one mat NUM two wood at ART side.REDUPL of ART
vaka.
boat
'However, in his boat there was a rug, and two poles on the sides of the boat.' (Kieviet 2017: 268)

F.16 Saisiyat (sais1237, xsy)

F.16.1 Introductory remarks

My understanding of the Saisiyat data has greatly profited from discussion with Elizabeth Zeitoun and Lalo a tahesh kaybabaw. Saisiyat has two (candidates for) STILL expressions: *haisiya* and *nahan.* Only the latter displays polyfunctionality. Note that forward slashes in examples from Huang (2007, 2008) indicate intonation units.

F.16.2 nahan

F.16.2.0.1 General information

- Form: also transcribed as *naehan*, *naehaen.*
- Wordhood: independent grammatical word.
- Syntax: relatively mobile, but never occurs to the left of the predicate.

F.16.2.1 As a 'still' expression

- Huang (2007, 2008: 109–110) and Zeitoun et al. (2015: 154–155).
- Specialisation: there are few contextualised attestations of *nahan* as STILL in the references. However, examples like (F.163–F.165) and (F.166) below, when taken together, give a fairly strong indication that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, in (F.163) *nahan* not only indicates that the child continues to be small, but it also evokes a prospective perspective towards a time when that is no longer the case and the child can be made swim.
- Pragmaticity: the data do not allow for conclusions.
- Polarity sensitivity: there are very few examples of phasal polarity *nahan* together with negation. The available examples (e.g. Huang 2008: 118; Zeitoun et al. 2015: 529) indicate that this combination yields NOT YET. The latter concept is more commonly expressed by a separate item 'i'ini'. NO LONGER is marked by negation plus completive *=ila*.

(F.163) *Hini korkoring 'ol'ol'an* ***naehan****, 'izip pa-p-lalangoy!*
this child small still NEG.LNK CAUS-DYNAMIC-swim
'This child is still small, so don't make him swim!' (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 265)

(F.164) *Hini malat ka-sh-p<in>asha-ha-l ka somay,*
this knife REAL-PAT.FOC-pierce<PFV>one-times ACC bear
kayzaeh ***naehan*** *kay='in-'otoeh.*
good still NEG.LNK=STAT-break
'This knife was used to kill a bear once but it is still good and not yet broken.' (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 574)

(F.165) Context: From a rendition of the Pear Story. A man is up in a tree, while boys steal some of the fruit he has harvested.
Isaza tatini' rima' r<om>okrok ***nahan*** *babaw ka boway.*
that old_man AGT.FOC:go pick<AGT.FOC> still above ACC fruit
'Lǎorén hái zài shùshàng zhai shŭigŭo / The old man was still up in the tree to pick fruits.' (Huang 2007: 589, 2008: 110)

F.16.2.2 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

F.16.2.2.1 Scalar contexts

- At minimum the attestation in (F.166) involves a scalar context, in the form of a decrease over time.

(F.166) *Yako pash-raya' ka raromaeh, kita'-en 'akoy* ***naehan****.*
1SG.NOM chop-above ACC bamboo see-PAT.FOC many still
Rima' pas-'izaeh-en naehan la'oz=ila kin-'oehoep
go make-again-PAT.FOC still enough=CMPL INTENS=dense
'I chopped bamboo, but there was still a lot. I went to do it again, and it did not look so dense.' (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 586)

F.16.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

F.16.2.3.1 Iterative and Restitutive

- Huang (2007, 2008: 106–107, 101–110) and Zeitoun et al. (2015: 155).
- According to Huang (2007, 2008) this use typically, but not exclusively, obtains with telic predicates and/or in combination with the completive marker *=ila*.
- Examples (F.167, F.168) illustrate iterative uses.
- Concerning restitutive uses, with most examples in question it is not entirely clear whether they have an iterative and/or restitutive reading. Huang (2007: 586) considers (F.169) to be iterative rather than restitutive, on the ground that "there is a felt discontinuous phase between the men's twice of being youth". However, this example features the restoration of an initial state (being young) that has been undone by a process to the opposite (growing old). The clearest case of restitution is found in (F.170).

(F.167) *Yako ma-ngoip r<om>a'oe: ka 'io'* ***naehan****.*
1SG.NOM AGT.FOC-forget drink<AGT.FOC> ACC medicine still
'I forgot to take my medicine again.' (Wang 2018: 206)

(F.168) *Yako hayza' ila min-osa' raroemoe'an ko'hael 'am*
1SG.NOM EXIST CMPL AGT.FOC-go Xiangtian_lake next_year FUT
rima' ***nahaen****.*
go:AGT.FOC still
'Wǒ yǐqían qù-gùo Xìangtianhú, míngnían hái yào qù / I have been to Xiantian Lake before. I am going there again next year.' (Huang 2008: 101)

(F.169) Context: It is Saisiyat believe that their ancestors, when grown old, would molt and then turn young again.
So: m-olaw kita'-en ma' 'al'alak ila ***nahan****.*
if AGT.FOC-molt see-PAT.FOC also young CMPL still
'They molted and looked young again.' (Huang 2007: 587, 2008: 106–107)

(F.170) Context: About preserved bamboo shoots.
So: ’a-s<m>i’ael ila / senge-en ***nahan*** *ray ralom*
if FUT-eat<AGT.FOC> CMPL soak-PAT.FOC still LOC water
‘If (one) feels like eating (it) [bamboo shoots], soak them again [i.e. rehydrate them] in water.’ (Huang 2007: 588)

F.16.2.3.2 Iterative via increment

- This function obtains in combination with complex de-numeral verbs; see Zeitoun et al. (2010: 575–577, 2015: 522) on the latter.

(F.171) *Yako k<om>oe’ha-l nanaw*
1SG.NOM pound<AGT.FOC>one-do_times only
t<om>awbon=o ’okik hoepay.
pound<AGT.FOC>=CONJ NEG:LNK:STAT tired
*’Am=***mon-ha-l*** ***naehan***
PROG=AGT.FOC:do_times-one-times still
‘I pound glutinous cake once but I was not tired. I did it once more.’ (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 530)

(F.172) *Yao ’am=mari’ ka lapwar boay ’a-k<m>ai:, ’okay*
1SG.NOM PROG=take ACC guava fruit PROG-hook<AGT.FOC> NEG:LNK
kay-hoero:, ’oka’=ila=o ***mon-ha-l***
hook-succeed NEG=CMPL=CONJ AGT.FOC:do_times-one-times
naehan*, k<om>ay-hoero:=ila mari’=ila ka boay noka*
still hook<AGT.FOC>succeed=CMPL take=CMPL ACC fruit GEN
lapwar.
guava
‘I was trying to gather guavas but I could not hook them; I tried again and succeeded in catching guavas.’ (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 524)

(F.173) A: *Nimon tinawbon kinopilazan ila?*
‘How many times did you pound the glutinous cake?’

B: *mita’ k<in>o-too-l-an=ila ’am*
1PL.GEN pound<PFV>-three-do_times-LOC.FOC=CMPL FUT
k<in>o-posha-l-an naehan
pound<PFV>-two-do_times-PAT.FOC still
’am=s<om>I’ael=ila, saboeh
IRR=eat<AGT.FOC>=CMPL all

k<in>o-aseb-an
pound<PFV>five-do_times-LOC.FOC
‘We pounded it three times. We have to pound it two more times, and then we will eat it. In all (we need to) pound it five times.’ (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 530)

F.16.2.3.3 First, for now, for a while

- Huang (2007, 2008: 116–120) and Zeitoun et al. (2015: 154).
- Huang (2008) stipulates that a reading of precedence goes back the additive (Appendix F.16.2.5.1) use of *nahan* (Appendix F.16.2.5.1) and a pattern akin to omnisyndetic coordination, as in (F.175). Note that this example also includes a verb ‘do first’; furthermore, no such discourse pattern is attested in Early & Whitehorn’s (2003) extensive collections of texts in nearby Paiwan (F.14), where the same coexpression is found.

(F.174) *Yako ’a-s<m>i’ael ka bori: pas’i’is-in* ***naehan****=o*
1SG.NOM PROG-eat<AGT.FOC ACC meat chew-PAT.FOC still=CONJ
shae’en-en=ila
swallow-AGT.FOC=CMPL
‘When I am eating meat, I (first) chew it and then I swallow it.’ (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 546)

(F.175) *Yao minSala’ baiw ka taumo’* ***naehan***
1SG.NOM AGT.FOC:do_first AGT.FOC:buy ACC banana still
baiw ila ka lapuwar ***naehan*** *baiw ila ka*
AGT.FOC:buy CMPL ACC guava still AGT.FOC:buy CMPL ACC
zozo’ ***naehan****.*
plum still
‘I first bought bananas, and then bought guavas, and then bought plums.’ (Huang 2008: 116)

(F.176) *Ma’an pa-tishko-’aish-in hi baki’ parain*
1SG.NOM CAUS-say-in_passing-PAT.FOC ACC grandfather P.
kosha: “Yami ’am=’oka’=ila=’i wai’, ’am=ma-shangay=ila
say 1PL.EXCL IRR=NEG=CMPL=LNK come IRR=AGT.FOC-rest=CMPL
naehan*.”*
still
‘I asked (him/her) to tell Grandfather Parain that we would not be coming (as) we want to rest [for a while].’ (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 262; Elisabeth Zeitoun, p.c.)

(F.177) *’Obay ki kizaw lasiwazay* ***nahaen****.*
O. COM K. separate still
‘Obay and Kizaw separate on a temporary basis.’ (Huang 2008: 231)

(F.178) *Yako kal-’aish kala ’okay* ***naehan****, ma-’ngel=ila.*
1SG.NOM pass-in_passing LOC.PL O. still STAT-slow=CMPL
‘I stopped by Okay’s home for a while and was late (for the meeting).’ (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 561)

F.16.2.3.4 Prospective ‘eventually’

- Zeitoun et al. (2015: 154).

(F.179) *Ma’an noe-h<m>iwa’ ’oka’=ila=’i-k somaom*
1SG.GEN INST.NMLZ-saw<AGT.FOC> NEG=CMPL=LNK-STAT sharpened
shi-hiwa’. ’okay paloso=ila, ka-hirhir-in
INST.FOC-saw NEG.LNK cut_in_pieces=CMPL IRR-whet-PAT.FOC
naehan*, kayzaeh paloso:.*
still can cut_in_pieces
‘My saw is not sharpened, so when I use it to saw, I can’t cut (things) in pieces (properly). I will whet it later so that it (can be used) to cut (things) in pieces.’ (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 506)

(F.180) *Ma’an ka-obaang-an no<m>obaang ‘okik*
1SG.GEN RL-draw-LOC.FOC INST<AGT.FOC>draw NEG.LNK.STAT
lal’oz. Rima’ baeiw ***naehan****!.*
enough go.IMP buy.IMP still
‘I do not have enough paper and pens; go and buy some later!’ (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 506).

(F.181) *Yako m-ia-ralom=a=tomal, ’am=rima’*
1SG.NOM AGT.FOC-want-water=LNK=very IRR=go
mil-ralom ***naehan****.*
AGT.FOC-drink_water still
‘I am very thirsty and I will go and drink water in a while.’ (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 504)

F.16.2.4 Marginality

- Huang (2008: 110).
- Only one example of a marginality use is found in the data.

(F.182) *'ima hasa' h<om>ayap kabkabahae' koSa'-en kabkabahae'*
PROG unable fly<AGT.FOC> bird say-PAT.FOC bird
***nahaen*.**
still
'Búhùi fei dė nĭao háishì jìaozùo nĭao. / Birds that cannot fly are still called birds.' (Huang 2008: 110)

F.16.2.5 Additive and related uses

F.16.2.5.1 Additive

- Huang (2007, 2008: 108–113).
- Also see (F.175) above.
- In cases like (F.186) there is an overlap with the iterative function: 'I see another boy coming ~ again I see a boy coming'.

(F.183) *Sia sh<om>bet ka ma'iaeh=o '<om>angang* ***naehan***
3SG.NOM beat<AGT.FOC> ACC person=CONJ scold<AGT.FOC> still
ka ma'iaeh.
ACC person
'He beat and [also] scolded people.' (Wang 2018: 16)

(F.184) Context: Speaking about different types of deer.
KoSa'-en ... kasakiray bangol ka=wa'ae' ... 'aehae' ***nahan*** *sinkano'on.*
say-PFV field forest NOM=deer one still what
'(There is one kind) called field deer ... There is one more watchamacalit.' (Huang 2007: 590)

(F.185) *Moyo kaysa'an m-wai' 'oka'=ila=o*
2PL.NOM today AGT.FOC-come NEG=CMPL=CONJ
kari'ael hayza: ***naehan*** *'a-m-wai' rini,*
day_after_tomorrow have still IRR-AGT.FOC-come here
'am=k<om>iim 'iakin.
IRR=look_for<AGT.FOC 1SG.ACC
'You are coming today and the day after tomorrow, someone else will come here to look for me (lit. ... the day after tomorrow not, there is someone else [there is still] ...).' (Zeitoun et al. 2015: 174)

(F.186) Context: From a rendition of the pear story. A boy with a goat has passed by. Now a boy on a bicycle is passing by the same location.
O: rima' ila hiza / kita'-en m-wa:i' ila
DM AGT.FOC:go CMPL there see-PAT.FOC AGT.FOC-come CMPL
naehan */ 'aehae' ka:: / kamo'alay / kamamanra:an / 'ima*
still one NOM young_man man PROG
papama' ray:: / kapapama'an::
AGT.FOC:ride LOC vehicle
'Tamėn zǒu lė. Yòu kàndào lìngyigė nánháizi lái lė. Ta qízhė jǐaotàche. / (Off) they went. (Then I) see another boy coming; he was riding a bike.' (Huang 2008: 108–109)

F.16.2.6 Broadly modal and interactional uses

F.16.2.6.1 Polite commands

- Huang (2008: 119–120).
- In directive speech acts, *nahan* can serve to contribute politeness.
- This can clearly be traced back to the 'first, for now' use (Appendix F.16.2.3.3). Huang (2008) suggests that it relies on explicitly depicting the invitation or command as a prelude, thereby acknowledging that the addressee has other things to do.

(F.187) *Si'ael* ***nahaen****.*
eat.IMP still
'Chi gė dongxi (zài zǒu) ba! / Come have a bite (before you leave)!' (Huang 2008: 120)

F.17 Ternate-Tidore (tft/tvo, tern1247/tido1248)

F.17.1 Introductory remarks

The data encompass Ternate (tft, tern1247) and Tidore (tvo, tido1248). These two are mutually intelligible and can arguably be considered as two dialects of one language (Voorhoeve 1987, 1988). Judging from the data, the relevant expression (*moju*) has a similar, if not even identical, set of functions in the two varieties. Ternate-Tidore's second STILL expression *masi*, a loan from Malay, is attested with only five tokens in the data consulted. Therefore I did not include it in my sample. Last, but far from least, I am indebted to Miriam van Staden for discussing some of the Ternate-Tidore data with me.

F.17.2 moju

F.17.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: fixed position, following the predicate and its arguments.

F.17.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Hayami-Allen (2001: 92–93), Pikkert et al. (1994: 32) and van Staden (2000: 145, 228, 242–243).
- Specialisation: the descriptions, especially Hayami-Allen (2001: 92), clearly indicate that this item conforms to my definition. This also becomes evident in examples like (F.188–F.191). For instance, in (F.188), *moju* not only construes the husband's absence as continuing, but also anticipates his later return.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusion.
- Polarity sensitivity: no attestations of *moju* plus negation in the data. not yet is expressed by a dedicated item, *hang*. no longer is marked by *re(w)a*. *Moju* is, however, attested in combination with *hang* 'not yet'.
- Further notes: *moju* is commonly used in questions that follow a 'still or no longer' pattern, where it is also the only possible affirmative reply (F.191). *Moju* is furthermore occasionally attested in combination with the Malay loan *masi* 'still'.

(F.188) Context: A man's wife, an angelic creature, is returning to the heavens while her husband is at sea. When he returns, she is gone.
Ge~ge ma-raa Jafar Sadik=tai toma ngolo=tai
redupl~there poss.3-husband J. S.=seaward loc sea=seaward
***moju**, yau nyao=tai **moju**. Wako isa yang.*
still fish fish=seaward still return landwards not_yet.
'Thus, her husband Jafar Sadik was still at sea, still fishing for fish at sea. He had not yet returned.' (van Staden 2000: 375)

(F.189) Context: About circumcision and children's sense of shame.
Gata sema ona=kann lamo ena rasa mae ua? Ona lamo
Like be 3pl=emph large 3non.human feel shame neg 3pl large
lau ua rasa mae ua, tege. Kalau ona kini
very neg feel ashamed neg manner.there if 3pl small
***moju**=kan, ona maha-waro ua waje.*
still=emph 3pl wait-know neg say
'Like when they are big, they will feel ashamed, right? They who are

not big do not feel ashamed, like that. When they are still young, they don't know, so they say.' (van Staden 2000: 478)

(F.190) Context: About nutmeg. The base of a young fruit is white, that of a ripe one is dark.
Gee po-isa gee mai himo hang gee rata~rata
That next_to-landward that but old not_yet that REDUPL~align
isa gee fere hang si-moi. Barang ena
landward that climb not_yet CAUS-finish because 3NON.HUMAN
ma-koa ma-, ma-tano budo ***moju*** *si.*
POSS.3-what POSS.3 POSS.3-base_of_fruit white still first
'The one landward side is not yet old, those aligned landward ones are all not yet harvested. Because their, what was that, the base of fruit is still white.' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 257)

(F.191) *Sema nyao* ***moju*** *bolo rewa?* – ***Moju****.*
COP fish still or no_longer still
'Is there [still] any fish left? – [Yes, there] still [is].' (van Staden 2000: 243)

F.17.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

F.17.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- A few instances of *moju* in the data consulted involve scalar context. These include the decrement use in (F.192) and the 'still only' use in (F.193); note how the latter features no overt 'only' operator.

(F.192) *Ma-nyiha dofu* ***moju*** *gee.*
POSS.3-leftover much still that
'There is still a lot left.' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 93)

(F.193) Context: An angelic being and mother of several children wants to return to the heavens. On her first attempt of leaving, the youngest child cried and she returned to comfort it. Now she is attempting to leave for the second time.
Konora ine ***moju*** *ngofa kage reke, yali mina uci*
middle upwards still child be_shocked cry again 3SG.F descend
tora yali.
downwards again
'Half way up again (lit. [when she was] still [only] half way up), the child was frightened [and] cried, she came down again.' (van Staden 2000: 375)

F.17.2.4 Additive and related uses

F.17.2.4.1 Additive

- Several attestations of *moju* involve an additive use.

(F.194) *Kai fo=tike ri-ngofa. Sema ngofa*
marry 1PL.INCL=look_for POSS.1SG-child own child
*rai=m fo=tike koa **moju**?*
already=ATTENTION 1PL.INCL-look_for what still?
'We marry and expect children. We already have children and what more do we want?' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 92)

(F.195) Context: Discussing who is seen on a particular photograph.

A: *Min sulo foto mina Dahlan se ngofangofa ifa.*
'She mustn't order a picture to be made of her Dahlan and other children.'

B: *E?*
'Hey?'

A: *Ma oe, Si **moju** gua.*
but yeah S. still there.NEG
'But yeah Si also, no?'

C: *Oe foto keluarga.*
'Yeah a picture of the whole family.' (van Staden 2000: 503–504)

(F.196) Context: A man is attempting to win his wife back. Her father (a heavenly king) has set up a near-impossible task for him proof his worthiness.
Jou kolano=re wahe "Ah, ngona=ge aku yali tapi duga rimoi
lord king=here say INTERJ 2SG=there may again but only one
*nde ua, rimoi **moju**. Ngoto so-g-uci*
3NON.HUMAN:there NEG one still 1SG CAUS-NMLZ-descend
*ngana rimoi **moju**."*
2SG one still
'The king said: "Ah, you managed this one [task], but this is not the only one, there is another one. I give you one more".' (van Staden 2000: 390)

F.18 Western Dani (dnw, west2594)

F.18.1 Introductory remarks

My understanding of Western Dani has greatly profited from discussion with Peter Barclay.

F.18.2 awo

F.18.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: independent grammatical word, invariable.
- Syntax: fixed, immediately preedecing the predicate.

F.18.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Barclay (2008: 304, 440–441).
- Specialisation: that *awo* conforms to my definition is supported by examples like (F.197–F.199). For instance, (F.197) not only involves a seamless continuation of David's looks, but also evokes an alternative scenario, as Goliath expects to be confronted by an opponent of more mature appearance. Further, albeit indirect, evidence comes from *awo*'s uses as not yet in the absence of negation (Appendix F.18.2.3.1).
- Pragmaticity: hard to judge; most examples seem to involve the neutral scenario.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation (often via the negative "intentive mood") yields not yet. This is also used as a signal of precedence.
- Further note: *awo* often features in cohesive clauses of the type 'while still V-ing…', as in (F.198, F.199); also see Barclay (2008: 575, 619).

(F.197) Context: David faces the Philistine Goliath (1 Samuel 17)
Aap Pilitin mendek nogo nen ena koon-ogo Ndawut
man Philistine kind anaph from focussed-and David
pek-ka-ge nagagerik at ***awo*** *tawe*
checked-obj.3sg-subj.sg consec:dist.pst:3sg 3sg still young
etenggen teretak eebe abu kigirikwe
face thin poss.3sg:body intens handsome
ka-ge nagagerik, meek
saw:obj.3sg-subj.sg consec:dist.pst:3sg despised
o-mbar-eegarek
obj.3sg-think-dist.pst:subj.3sg
'The Philistine looked David over and saw that he was still young, thin and very handsome and he despised him.' (Barclay 2008: 94)

(F.198) ***Awo*** *yo-ge* *kagak* *enegen* *ogut*
still talking-subj.sg 3sg.sim:ds poss.3sg:eyes blind
a-gagerak *nogo* *lek* *a-ge*
become-dist.pst:subj.3sg anaph neg become-subj.sg
nagagirik *enegen* *pagak* *yer-eegerak*
consec:dist.pst:3sg poss.3sg:eyes open.pass-dist.pst:subj.3sg
'While he was still speaking his eyes which had become blind were healed and he could see.' (Barclay 2008: 148)

(F.199) *Nin-ombo* *Abarakam* *o* *Karan* *na-ga'lek* *logonet,* ***awo***
poss.1pl-ancestor Abraham loc Canaan went-neg sim:ss still
o *Metopotamiya* *wona-ge* *me* *at* *Ala* *mondok* *tiyan-ak*
loc Mesopotamia was-subj.sg while 3sg God intens high-adj
menggerak *nogo* *kaa-wak* *nduk*
prs.hab:subj.3sg anaph see.obj.3sg-intentive.fut:subj.3sg purp
wa-gagerak.
come-dist.pst:subj.3sg
'Before our ancestor Abraham went to Canaan and while he was still in Mesopotamia, the God of glory came in visible form.' (Barclay 2008: 619)

F.18.2.3 Uses related to other phasal polarity concepts

F.18.2.3.1 Not yet

- Barclay (2008: 192, 440–441).
- This function is found in two types of contexts, both lacking an overt predicate.
  - In a clause pattern featuring a nominal subject plus *awo*. This is rare, and only three examples are found in Barclay's (2008) grammar: one with a plain noun in (F.200) and two with a complex noun phrase in (F.201, F.202). The latter instances both include the affirmative form of the "intentive mood", a verbal paradigm "often used in contexts where the action has not yet occurred ... and when the course of action to be followed in certain circumstances is outlined" (Barclay 2008: 236) and which can be used in the formation of complex noun phrases (Barclay 2008: 238). The lack of an overt predicate is visible in the fact that *awo* in all other instances invariably precedes the predicate (i.e. in the case of atransitive predicates such as 'it is still a river' we would expect the inverse order *awo yi*). The examples suggest that the noun phrase must be associated with a characteristic periodic development (river > 'swell', harvest season > 'come', time > 'come').

  - As an interjection. This use carries additional pragmatic flavours: ‘wait’, ‘not now, maybe later’ (Peter Barclay, p.c.), as in (F.202).

(F.200) *Yi* ***awo**.*
river still
‘The river has not yet been swelled (by the rains).’ (Barclay 2008: 440)

(F.201) *Anggen mban-iyak e-yom **awo** me imbirak lagan-gge*
fruit pick-INTENTIVE POSS.3SG-time still while both grow-SG
lago-wak nduk tep-p-inip o.
CONT-IMP.FUT:SUBJ.3SG PURP let-OBJ.3SG-IMP.PL DM
‘While the harvest has not yet come (lit. while the harvest time, still), let them both grow together.’ (Barclay 2008: 441)

(F.202) *Nin-oor-iyak eyom **awo** kagak, aa’nduk*
OBJ.1PL-hit-INTENTIVE time still 3SG.SIM.DS preceding
nin-oor-i wa-gandak ya?
OBJ.1PL-kill-PURP come-INTERM.PST.3SG Q
‘Have you come to attack us before the right time? (lit. Have you come early, when the time to hit us, still)’[5] (Barclay 2008: 475)

(F.203) *Nin-ogoba **awo**!*
POSS.1PL-father still
‘Our father, no!’ (Barclay 2008: 441)

F.18.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

F.18.2.4.1 Near past

- Barclay (2008: 440).
- This function is found in combination with a past tense verb. The two examples in Barclay’s (2008) grammar both feature the intermediate past (F.204, F.205) and a perfective or anterior viewpoint.

  Judging from Barclay (2008: 253–263), the intermediate past is the least semantically specific of Western Dani’s three degrees of remoteness in the past. As pointed out by Barclay (2008: 440) the immediate past and the near past use of *awo* overlap to some degree. The remote past is probably not compatible with a near past construal due to its “dissociated” (Botne & Kershner 2008) nature. It is not entirely clear whether the intermediate past is inherently perfective;

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[5] *Aa’nduk*, here glossed as ‘preceding’ is glossed varyingly as ‘first, before, ahead’ throughout Barclay’s (2008) grammar. Judging from the examples, it has a general meaning of precedence.

in any case, it stands in paradigmatic opposition to specifically continuous and habitual constructions.

- The third example (F.206) features a minimally inflected medial clause in a clause chain, which receives its past interpretation from the final clause (cf. Barclay 2008: 615–617). The resulting reading is a near past-in-the-past. Judging from similar medial clauses throughout Barclay's, it appears that the bounded viewpoint is an effect of the telic predicate (cf. the occurence of *awo* with the atelic nominal predicate *tawe* 'unmarried', yielding STILL, one clause earlier).
- According to Barclay (2008: 440), this function is also found with deverbal adjectives, which often have resultative readings (see Barclay 2008: 101–105). The only example I am aware of (F.207) can be interpreted as "plain" STILL with a nominal predicate modified by *ngget* 'new', i.e 'still of the newborn kind'; cf. *nggweendo ngget mendek ogobakkigir-ik* 'cart new kind made-ADJ' 'newly made cart' (Barclay 2008: 369).

(F.204) *At* ***awo*** *wa-gaarak*
3SG still come-INTERM.PST:SUBJ.3SG
'He has just come.' (Barclay 2008: 440)

(F.205) *Ndi* ***awo*** *aret k-inom nogo yo-gotak kenok,*
and, still INTENS 2PL-with sleep do-INTERM.PST:SUBJ.2PL if
roti noo-rak meek o.
bread eat-INTENTIVE cannot DM
'And if you have just slept with them (women), you must not eat the bread.' (Barclay 2008: 175)

(F.206) *It in-eebe awo tawe paga iniklom no-mba-kwi,*
3PL POSS.3PL-body still unmarried at enjoyment OBJ.1SG-think-PL
{kwe ogonggelo ***awo*** *imbirak lambun-ggo logonet} ogonggelo*
woman husband still with.DU join-PL SIM.SS husband
kun-ik ee-ke menggi kwak, inik ee'-na-kwi …
join-ADJ do-SG HAB.3SG like heart do-OBJ.1SG-SUBJ.PL
eer-eegwaarak nogo n-iniki aber-ak wona-ge agarik
do-REM.PST ANAPH POSS.1SG-heart think-ADJ COP-SG HAB.1SG
o.
CONT
'When they were still unmarried (young) they loved me, while the woman had just been united to a husband, like she (a woman) usually unites with a husband, they loved me … Concerning all those things they did long ago, I am always remembering them.' (Peter Barclay, p.c.)

(F.207) *Elege ndar-ak iigak tahun mbere eer-eegwaarak*
child born-ADJ SIM:3PL:DS years two COP-DIST.PST:SUBJ.3PL
mendek inom, ando weyonggwe tahun ambiret
kind and some under year one
eer-eegwaarak ***awo ngget ndar-ak*** *mendek inom, abok*
COP-DIST.PST:SUBJ.3PL still new born-ADJ kind and all
aret in-oor-eegwarek.
INTENS OBJ.3PL-kill-DIST.PST:SUBJ.3PL
'They killed all children two years old and those younger than one year who were just born.' (Barclay 2008: 440)

Appendix G: South America

G.1 Cavineña (cav, cavi1250)

G.1.1 Introductory remarks

My understanding of the Cavineña data has profited greatly from discussion with Antoine Guillaume, who also helped with several glosses. Apart from descriptive materials, I consulted the text collections by Camp & Liccardi (1973, 1989) and Tabo Mayo (1977, 1978).

G.1.2 =jari

G.1.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: bound morpheme (enclitic).
- Syntax: attaches to verbal predicates, copula complements and secondary predicates.
- Etymology: unknown, but strikingly similar to *jara* 'lie (intr)'.

G.1.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Camp & Liccardi (1989: 67, 246) and Guillaume (2008: 660–662).
- Specialisation: the description by Guillaume meets my definition.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios (tentative conclusion). Ex. (G.2) is a good candidate for the unexpectedly late scenario. It is unclear if the late scenario requires additional marking, e.g. emphatic *=di* and/or focus *=dya*.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet. This can be used in temporal clauses to signal precedence (Camp & Liccardi 1989: 278).
- Further note: ex. (G.4) illustrates the use in a jussive context, which may alternatively be subsumed under the 'first, for now' use (Appendix G.1.2.4.1).

(G.1) *Tumepatya=tuna-ja=tu ani-kware=**jari** ududu ewikani=ju.*
at_that_time=3pl=dat=3sg sit-rem.pst=still feather nose=loc
'At that time (when I visited the Pacahuara people) they were still wearing feathers in their noses. (but they don't anymore)'.
(Guillaume 2008: 590)

(G.2) *Masa=dya=di nei mara=**jari**.*
seemingly=FOC=EMPH rain time=still
'(How come there is still so much water on the paths!) It is as if it were still the rainy season.' (Guillaume 2008: 636)

(G.3) Context: Victor has been hit by a horse. The wound has healed.
*Victor=ja ani-ya=**jari** baji-da=que cahuayu=cuana=tsehue.*
V.=DAT|GEN sit-IPFV=still scared-ADJ=REL horse=PL=ASSOC
'[P]ero Victor todavía tiene miedo a los caballos. [But Victor is still afraid of horses].' (Camp & Liccardi 1973: 6, 9; glosses added)

(G.4) *E-ra=tu ani-sha-ya=**jari**.*
1SG-ERG=3SG sit-CAUS-IPFV=still
'I will retain him (lit. make him sit) some more time.' (Guillaume 2008: 289)

G.1.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

G.1.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- One attestation in the data can be counted as involving a scalar context (a decrease on a scale of aliveness)

(G.5) *Chacha~chacha=piji=**jari** ju-kware tume=ke ura.*
alive~REDUPL=DIM=still COP-REM.PST there=LNK hour
'It (the deer that I had shot) was still a little bit alive at that time (so I had to shoot at it again).' (Guillaume 2008: 388)

G.1.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

G.1.2.4.1 First, for now, for a while

- Guillaume (2008: 662–663).
- A 'for while, for now' reading obtains in directive speech acts (G.6, G.7) and with future time settings, as in (G.8). It also obtains in performative 'that's all' (G.9).

(G.6) *Pisu-kwe=**jari**=shana juye=ekatse! Pa-kanajara ekatse!*
untie-IMP.SG=still=PITY ox=DU JUSS-rest 3DU
'Untie the oxen (DU) for a while, the poor animals (who are suffering so much pulling the cart)! Let them (DU) rest!' (Guillaume 2008: 655)

(G.7) *Aama! Radio=ju pa-kwa=**jari**!*
neg.exist radio=loc hort.sg-go=still
'No (I can't come right now)! I'm going to the radio (house) for a while! (but don't worry, I'll come back later.)' (Guillaume 2008: 662)

(G.8) *Tasi ju-ya=**jari** metajudya=ishu.*
drive_taxi:1sg cop-ipfv=still tomorrow=purp
'I will drive my (motorcycle) taxi a little bit for (me to have money) tomorrow.' (Guillaume 2008: 662)

(G.9) *Jadya=kamadya=**jari**!*
thus=only=still
'That's all for now! (but there will be another meeting or story)' (Guillaume 2008: 662; Antoine Guillaume, p.c.)

G.2 Culina (cul, culi1244)

G.2.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Jim and Cindy Boyer for discussing Culina data with me, and to Stefan Dienst for helping with glosses. Apart from descriptive materials, I searched Boyer's (1990a, 1990b) and Boyer & Boyer (1990)'s text collections. Culina appears to have two still expressions: *paha*/*pahi* (only in the Juruá variety?) and -*kha*. Only for the latter do the data indicate additional functions. Lastly, note that Tiss (2004) describes the verb suffixes -*i*/-*ni* as imperfective, whereas Dienst (2014) treats them as declarative markers. In the glosses, I follow Dienst's (2014) analysis.

G.2.2 -kha

G.2.2.1 General information

- Form: also transcribed as -*kka* and -*cca*.
- Wordhood: bound morpheme (verb suffix).

G.2.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Boyer (2020), Dienst (2014: 126) and Tiss (2004: 183).
- Specialisation: the descriptions of this marker, especially Tiss (2004: 183), show that it conforms to my definition (see Appendix G.2.2.3.1 below for further discussion). This is reflected in examples like (G.10–G.12). For instance, in (G.10)

-kha (transcribed as *-cca*), to all apparences, not only construes the use of earthen pots and shells as a continuation of a prior habit, but also points to its later discontinuation. According to Tiss (2004), *-kha* not only marks persistance and evokes a possible discontinuation scenario, but the latter tends to be represented by a follow-up situation "antes de algo novo acontecer, a situação em questão ainda continua por um período limitado" [before something else happens, the situation in question still continues for a limited time] (Tiss 2004: 183). This is reminiscent of the 'still only' meaning of Mate *bayu* (Appendix F.12.2.2)

- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusions.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet
- Further note: *-kha* can be combined with another still expression *paha/pahi.*

(G.10) Context: The opening of a short expository text about food preparation.
Maittaccadsama madija idi-deni=pa po-cca-deni
formerly Kulina ancestor-non.sg=top.m 3m-assoc-non.sg
bani ppeppe=pi dsipa=dsa ppe ppe
game pot=top.f earthen_pot=loc cook cook
*qui-na-**cca**-hi na-de. Idi-deni=pa*
non.sg-aux-still-decl.m aux-pst ancestor-non.sg=top.m
po-cca-deni coidse=pi daro=dsa dse dse
3m-assoc-non.sg spoon=top.f shellfish=ins drink drink
*qui-na-**cca**-hi na-de.*
non.sg-aux-still-decl.m aux-pst
'Hace muchos años nuestros antepasados cocinaban su carne en ollas de cerámica. Ellos todavía usaban conchas en vez de cucharas. [A long time ago, our ancestors [still] used to cook their meat in earthen pots. They still used shells as spoons.]' (Boyer & Boyer 1990: 49, glosses added)

(G.11) A: *Ami wadani?*
'A mãe está dormindo? [Is mother sleeping?]'
B: *Nowe ra-ni hapi na-**kha**-ni.*
3:not_be aux-decl.f bathe 3:aux-still-decl.f
'Não (está), ela ainda está tomando banho (antes de logo aparecer). [Is mother sleeping? – No she isn't, she's still bathing (before showing up after).]' (Tiss 2004: 184)

(G.12) *Zohe papeo wa wa na-**kha**-wi.*
Z. paper call call 3:aux-still-decl.m
'Zohe ainda está lendo (anted de logo fazer outras coisas). [Zohe is still reading (before later doing something else).]' (Tiss 2004: 184)

G.2.2.3 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

G.2.2.3.1 First, for now, for a while

- Tiss (2004: 183–184) and Monserrat & Silva (1986: 34).
- As Tiss (2004: 184) discusses, without *-kha* (G.14) would be understood as involving a permanent transfer of possession.
- A token like (G.16) is hard to judge: Neither are there contextual indications that persistence plays a role, nor is there an established past topic time. It thus seems that *-kha* (i.e. <*cca*>) serves to highlight the polarity contrast and mark precedence ('we used to live here back then/for a while then, but no longer do').

(G.13) Context: After a hunting trip, a father and his child have reached their home estate.
*Nadsa=pi: majonana passa o-ca-na-**cca**-na—*
then=top.f sugar_cane chew subj.1sg-obj-aux-still-imm.fut
o-na-jaro. Tahide ti-cca-ni-po-na—
subj.1sg-say-narr.f ahead subj.2-go–back-first-imm.fut
o-na-jaro.
subj.1sg-say-narr.f
[The child said] 'Voy a chupar caña de azucar todavia – le dije. – Tu puedes ir de frente a la casa.' [I said to him "I'll first (lit. still) chew some sugar cane, you can go straight home."]' (Boyer 1990a: 92–93; glosses added)

(G.14) *O-kha koshiro tia-za da o-to-na-**kha**-ni towi.*
1sg-poss knife 2-loc give 1sg-it-aux-still-decl.f fut
'Emprestarei minha faca para você. [I'll lend you my knife.]' (Tiss 2004: 185)

(G.15) Context: The ending of a story.
*Najaro huapima. Epeji-**cca**-ni.*
that.f all end-still-decl.f
'Esto es todo por ahora. He terminado. [That's all for now. I'm done.]' (Agnew & Adams 1992: 67; glosses added)

(G.16) Context: The story's protagonists have come by a certain location.
*Nadsa=pi: Aji=dsa i-que-je-na-**cca**-de.*
then=TOP.F DEM.F=LOC SUBJ:1NON.SG-NON.SG-COP-NON.SG-still-PST
'Yo dije: aquí es donde vivíamos antes. [I said: this is where we used to live.]' (Boyer 1990a: 88–89; glosses added)

G.3 Huallaga Huánuco Quechua (qub, hual1241)

G.3.1 -raq

G.3.1.1 General information

- Form: also transcribed as *-raj* and as *-rä* (with the diaeresis signalling vowel length), the latter occuring in contexts that trigger ellision of the coda segment. In addition, there is a free variant *-ran*, usually via assimilation from a preceding suffix ending in /n/ .
- Wordhood: a bound morpheme that can occur on various parts of speech.
- Syntax: *-raq* attaches to its associate; in its function as a phasal polarity marker the host is typically the main predicate.
- Etymology: unclear, but van Baar (1997) suggests 'for now, first' (Appendix G.3.1.4.1) as the original function.

G.3.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Weber (1989: 75–76, 343, 386–392) and Weber et al. (2008: 640).
- Specialisation: Weber's description, especially (1989: 391) meets my definition. Weber furthermore notes the incompatibility with inalterable states. Its specialisation also becomes evident in prototypical contexts like (G.17, G.18).
- Pragmaticity: appears to be compatible with both scenarios.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET. In temporal clauses, this commonly serves as a signal of precedence.
- Further note: ex. (G.20) illustrates the use in a hortative; this could alternatively be subsumed under the 'first, for now' use (Appendix G.3.1.4.1).

(G.17) *Gam-pa wamra-yque-ga tacsha-lla-**rä**-mi. Noga-pa-ga*
2SG-GEN child-POSS.2-TOP small-only-still-EVID 1SG-GEN-TOP
jatu-n-na.
big-3-already
'Tu hijo todavía es pequeño. El mío ya es grande / Your child is still small. Mine is now big.' (Weber et al. 2008: 522, glosses added)

(G.18) *Mana-mi wañu-n-rä-chu. Cawa-yca-n-**rä**-mi.*
NEG-EVID die-3-still-NEG live-IPFV-3-still-EVID
'Todavía no muere. Todavía está vivo. / He has not died yet. He is still alive.' (Weber et al. 2008: 131, glosses added)

(G.19) *Waquin wamra-ga quimsa wata-yoj ca-shpa-n-pis*
others child-TOP three year-have COP-SUBORD.SS-3-also
"Chichi-na-ycä mama" ni-n-rä-mi.
breast-want-IPFV.1SG mother say-3-still-EVID
'Otros niños, aunque ya tienen tres años dicen todavía: "Querio teta, mamá." / Some children, even though they are three years old, are still saying "Mother, I want to nurse."' (Weber et al. 2008: 148, glosses added)

(G.20) *Ama(-raq) aywa-y-raq-chu. Ka-ku-yka:-shun-**raq**.*
NEG-still go-FUT.2-still-NEG COP-REFL-IPFV-FUT:1PL.INCL-still
'Don't go yet. Let's be yet (awhile here together).' (Weber 1989: 388)

G.3.1.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

G.3.1.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *-raq* is attested in scalar contexts. These include decreases along some scale (G.21, G.22), as well as limited limited increases, as in (G.23).

(G.21) *Inca uysha-pa ishcay wagra-n-ta roguri-ptë*
inca sheep-GEN two horn-POSS.3-OBJ cut_through-ADV.DS:1>3
*ishcay-**rä**-mi wagra-n quëra-sha.*
two-still-EVID horn-POSS.3 remain-ANT.3
'Cuando le corté dos de los cuernos del carnero inca, todavía le quedaron dos. / When I cut off two of the inca ram's horns there were still two.' (Weber et al. 2008: 252, glosses added)

(G.22) *Manana sinchi tamya-r-pis tamya-ga*
no_longer strong rain-ADV.SS-also rain-TOP
*poga-pa-yca-n-**rä**-mi.*
drizzle-APPL-IPFV-3-still-EVID
'Aunque ya no llueve fuerte todaviá están cayendo gotas. / Although it is no longer raining hard, a few drops are still falling.'
(Weber et al. 2008: 420, glosses added)

(G.23) *Iti wamra mana-rä-mi puri-n-rä-chu.*
suckling child neg-still-evid walk-3-still-neg
*Läta-cu-yca-n-lla-**rä**-mi.*
crawl-refl-ipfv-3-only-still-evid
'El niño todavía no camina. Todavía está gateando. The infant does not yet walk. It is still [only] crawling.' (Weber et al. 2008: 298, glosses added)

G.3.1.4 Broadly adverbial temporal-aspectual functions

G.3.1.4.1 First, for now

- Weber (1989: 388).
- Van Baar (1997: 90–91), based on descriptions of several Quechuan languages, suggests that this is the diachronically original meaning of *-raq*. This would also provide a direct bridge to the temporal restrictive function (Appendix G.3.1.5.1).

(G.24) *Ese nuwal-wan tiñi-rku-r atapa-nchi:-**raq**.*
that walnut-com dye-then-adv form_skein-1pl.incl-still
'Dying it with that walnut, we first form a skein.' (Weber 1989: 388)

(G.25) *Ma: pay-ta-**raq** tapu-y.*
hort 3-obj-still ask-fut.2
'Ask him first (before you ask me/do it).' (Weber 1989: 390)

(G.26) *Hina ka-shun-**ran** ishkay kimsa killa-kama.*
like_that cop-fut:1pl.incl-still two three month-lim
'Let's be like that until two or three months have passed (and then we can go back to doing it).' (Weber 1989: 388)

G.3.1.5 Temporal connectives and frame setters

G.3.1.5.1 Temporal restrictive

- Weber (1989: 386–387).
- In this function, the focus of *-raq* can be an adverbial (G.27, G.28) or a temporal clause in the same function (G.29, G.30) .
- This uses also underlies several fixed expressions, including (Weber 1989: 65–66, 390):
  - *Qepa-n-ta-raq* 'back-poss.3-adv-still' > 'later on'
  - *Naka-y-raq* 'take_long_time-inf-adv-still' > 'yet a while later'
  - *Chay-chaw-raq* 'that-loc-still' > 'not until that point in time'

  - *Chay-raq-shi* ‘that-still-EVID’ > ‘right then, it was not until then’
  - *Chay-lla-raq* ‘that-only-still’ > ‘momentarily, very recently’
- Note that *chay-raq-shi* ‘that-still-EVID’ ‘right then, it was not until then’ in (G.31) can be understood as ‘finally’, thus bleeding into ALREADY-territory.

(G.27) *Ishkay killa-**raq** haru-shka:.*
two month-still step-ANT.1
‘It was two months before I stepped on it (a disjointed ankle).’ (Weber 1989: 387)

(G.28) *Allcha-ka-sha killa-ta-**raq**.*
fix-PASS-ANT.3 month-OBJ-still
‘He got well after a month (and not before).’[1] (Weber 1989: 387)

(G.29) *Ñaka-y-ta-**raq** tari-sha.*
take_long_time-INF-ADV-still find-ANT.3
‘He found it only after he had searched a good while.’ (Weber 1993: 132)

(G.30) *… dansa-n arpista bigulista tuka-pa-pti-n-**raq**. Mana*
dance-3 harpist violinist play-BEN-SUBORD.ADV-POSS.3-still NEG
tuka-pti-n-qa mana dansa-n-chu.
play-ADV-3-TOP NEG dance-3-NEG
‘… they dance when (and not until) the harpist and violinist play for them (and not before). If they do not play, they do not dance.’ (Weber 1989: 387)

(G.31) Context: An old man has been suspecting that his wife cheats on him.
…ishka-n qaqa-sha. Awkin-na-shi ollqo-yka-n
two-3 be_parallel-PTCP old_man-already-EVID be_angry-PFV-3
*ruru-lla-pa-qa. Chay-**raq**-shi awkin ollqo-yka-n.*
inside-just-GEN-TOP that-still-EVID old_man be_angry-PFV-3
‘The two of them are together (the old man’s wife and her lover). At that, the old man becomes angry, but just inside. Finally, only then, did the old man become angry.’ (Weber 1989: 379)

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[1] See Weber (1989: 183) on the object suffix *-ta* as a marker of time elapsing.

G.3.1.6 Restrictive (non-temporal)

G.3.1.6.1 Scalar restrictive

- Weber (1989: 389).
- In this function *-raq* indicates that situation in question "was an extreme measure, i.e., not carried out to an ordinary degree or applied to the ordinary objects" (Weber 1989: 389). That is, the negated context propositions are all lower-ranking (lower degrees, etc.).
- Cases like (G.34, G.35) appear to constitute a bridge between this function and the 'not until' function (Appendix G.3.1.5.1): they involve both time spans (waiting for the decision, possibly preceded by consulting with lower authorities / working for a considerable amount of time) as well as degrees (the highest authority, working to such a degree that it induces suffering).

(G.32) *Sasa-ta-**raq**-shi hichqa-yku-n awkin-qa.*
difficult-OBJ-still-EVID strike-impact-3 old_man-TOP
'With difficulty, the old man strikes the match (*sasataraqshi* implies that it was only with considerable difficulty that the old man was able to manage striking a match).' (Weber 1989: 389)

(G.33) Context: A husband has been informed that his wife is having an affair with another man.
*Lulla-ku-nki-chari **kiki:-raq-mi** warmi-:-ta*
lie-REFL-2-surely self:POSS.1-still-EVID wife-POSS.1-OBJ
watqa-yku-shaq. Rika-yku-shaq.
spy-PFV-FUT.1 see-PFV-FUT.1
'You must be lying! I myself will spy on my wife. I will see. (implies that nothing will determine the truth short of the speaker's spying on his wife)' (Weber 1989: 132, 389)

(G.34) *Hatun awturidaa-chaw-**raq**-mi musya-ka:-shun*
big authority-LOC-still-EVID know-PASS-FUT:1PL.INCL
*kapital-chaw-**raq**-mi.*
capital-LOC-still-EVID
'We will find out only at the higher authority, in the capital (and we will not find out any sooner).' (Weber 1989: 389)

(G.35) *... wayu-chi-na-yki-paq ñaka-r-**raq**-mi*
produce-CAUS-SUBORD.NMLZ-POSS.2-PURP suffer-ADV-still-EVID
aru-nki.
work-2
'... in order to cause it to produce you will have to work even to the point of suffering (i.e. you will not be able to make it produce without working to the point of suffering).' (Weber 1989: 389)

G.3.1.7 Broadly modal and interactional uses

G.3.1.7.1 Concessive(-like) apodoses

- Weber (1989: 389–390).
- With first person subjects plus the future tense *-raq* serves to indicate that the speaker maintains a certain plan. This often goes together with a concessive notion that the plan persists in spite of what the addressee may assume.

(G.36) *Ura-shaq-**raq**.*
do-FUT.1-still
'I will yet do it / I still intend to do it (despite your thinking that I won't).' (Weber 1989: 389)

(G.37) *Ichan-qa yapya:-ta-**raq** usha-ku-ri-shaq.*
perhaps-TOP field:POSS.1-OBJ-still finish-REFL-FUT.1
'Perhaps I will finish (plowing) my field (before you take one of my oxen).' (Weber 1989: 389)

G.3.1.7.2 Dubitative: *-chu-raq*

- Weber (1989: 326–327).
- Form: this function obtains in combination with the question marker *-chu*.
- In this use, *-chu-raq* serves to express doubt about the host constituent.
- The relation to other uses of *-raq* remains unclear; it might be motivated by cases like (G.33) above.

(G.38) *Qam-pa surti-ki noqa-pa surti:-naw-chu-raq o mas*
2-GEN fate-POSS.2 1-GEN fate:POSS.1-like-Q-still or more
*piyur-**chu-raq**.*
worse-Q-still
'Is your fate perhaps like mine, or perhaps worse?' (Weber 1989: 327)

(G.39) *Kanan hunaq tamya-nqa-**chu-raq**?*
now day rain-FUT.3-Q-still
'Will it perhaps rain today?' (Weber 1989: 327)

G.3.1.7.3 Rhetorical question, despair: *kanan-raq-chi kannan-lla-qa*

- Weber (1989: 446–447).
- Form: this function obtains in a fixed construction *kanan-raq-chi kanan-lla-qa* 'now-still-EVID now-only-TOP 'Oh dear, what now!'.
- This use might be related to the scalar restrictive function (G.3.1.6.1).

(G.40) *Kanan-raq-chi kanan-lla-qa ima-ta-raq ni-man-qa duyñu-n?*
now-still-EVID now-only-TOP what-OBJ-Q say-1>3-TOP owner-3
'Oh dear! What now! What will its owner say to me?' (Weber 1989: 447)

G.3.1.7.4 ***chay-raq*** **N-*lla-qa*: 'it sure is N!'**

- Discused by Weber (1989: 446).
- Form: this function obtains in an construction *chay-raq* N-*lla-qa* 'that-still N-only-TOP' where N may be a nominalised verb.
- Weber (1989: 446) translates this as 'it sure is … !'.
- This use is probably be related to the scalar restrictive function (Appendix G.3.1.6.1).

(G.41) *Chay-**raq** aka-y-lla-q.*
that-still be_hot-INF-only-TOP
'It sure is hot!' (Weber 1989: 446)

G.4 Movima (mzp, movi1243)

G.4.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to Katharina Haude, for sharing unpublished Movima data with me, for lengthy discussions of them, and for helping with many tricky glosses. In addition to descriptive materials, I consulted Haude's unpublished corpus (Haude 2021).

G.4.2 di:ra(n)

G.4.2.1 General information

- Form: free variation between *di:ran* and *di:ra.*
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: relatively mobile, but typically occurring before the predicate.

G.4.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Haude (2006: 520–521) and Judy & Judy (1962: 31, 82).

- Specialisation: examples like (G.42–G.44) give evidence that this adverb conforms to my definition. For instance in (G.42) the mother's hearing abilities are both linked to a prior state and contrasted with the opposite situation at a later time.
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios. Whether the unexpectedly late scenario requires additional marking is to be determined in future research.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.

(G.42) Context: Recollecting a conversation between the narrator's mother and grandfather.
N-asko ***dira*** *pawaneƚ-wa='ne kaj siṅlototo='ne mere'.*
OBL-PRO still hear-NMLZ=3F NEG deaf.NMLZ=3F big
'That was when she [narrator's mother] could still hear, she wasn't very deaf then.' (Haude 2021)

(G.43) Context: From an autobiographical account.
Choń inła la' n-os ***di:ra*** *tenapanłe:-wa os iloni:-wa joy-cheł*
HAB 1SG before OBL-N still be_able-NMZL N walk-NMLZ go-REFL
nosde:, ban jayna ney jayna kał joy-wa, tenapanłe:-wa as
there but already here already NEG:1 go-NMLZ be_able-NMLZ N
iloni:-wa
walk-NMLZ
'Y yo, cuando todavía podía andar, iba ahí. Pero ya no voy. No puedo caminar. [And I, when I could still walk, I used to go there. But I don't go anymore. I can't walk (anymore).]' (Haude 2021)

(G.44) *Di꞉ra ay mo꞉ to:ro:-ƚe,* ***di꞉ra*** *ay tochi'.*
still PROX.N NEG bull-NMLZ.N still PROX.N small
'This one isn't a bull yet, it's still small.' (Haude 2006: 473)

G.4.2.3 Restrictive (non-temporal)

G.4.2.3.1 Scalar restrictive 'at least'

- Haude (2006: 521).
- In this function *dira:*(*n*) signals a non-maximal value on a scale of subjective evaluation, i.e. it it involves negated universal quantification, comparable to English evaluative *at least* (see Kay 1992; Gast 2012). For example, in (G.45) it conveys a positive evaluation of the fact that the deceased received a Christian funeral. While more desirable alternatives are available in the common ground (e.g. a less gruesome death), there is a also a less preferable one (no dignified burial). Ex. (G.48) shows that this reading survives under negation.

- In (G.49) the context plus the combination with the ALREADY-marker *jayna* gives rise to a temporal restrictive reading (‘no earlier then that, then at least/ at last’).

(G.45) Context: A woman who had the magic power of transforming into a jaguar has been caught and her jaguar hide has been burned, leading to her gruesome death.
Jayna ***diran*** *oso’ wulako=’is.*
already still DEM.N.PST bury=3PL
‘Ya siquiera la enterraron (le dieron una sepultura cristiana porque era humana). [They at least buried her (they had a Christian funeral for her, because she was human).]’ (Haude 2021)

(G.46) Context: About how a place has changed over the course of the years.
Jayna ney ***di:ra, di:ra*** *ay jayna de:deye, jayna ay*
already here still still PROX.N already see.IMPR already here
dede:ye is to:wa neyru jema’a.
see.IMPR PL path here also
‘Ya aquí siquiera, siquiera ya se ve esto, ya siquiera se ve un camino aquí. [Now here you can at least see … now you can at least see a path.]’ (Haude 2021)

(G.47) *Bo a’ko* ***di:ra*** *jey-na koi ka:na.*
because N still depart-DR N eat.DR
‘Because that is where my food comes from [if not from anywhere else].’ (Haude 2006: 521)

(G.48) Context: The speaker’s sister put yuca flour into a broken container, and it has gone bad.
Kas ***di:ran*** *rey ja’ chok-a-kwanƚe-wa=sne n-os di’*
NEG still again just cover-DR-mouth-NMLZ=F OBL-N perhaps
lora-nkwa … kabo rey di’ n-is mari:ko di’ plastiko.
leaf-N or again perhaps OBL-PL bag REL plastic
‘She did not even cover it at least with a leaf or a plastic bag.’ (Haude 2006: 530)

(G.49) Context: The speaker has been bothered by ants. She has smeared kerosine on a tree trunk
Di:ra *jayna jay’asłe … jayłe jayna* ***di:ra*** *iso’o.*
still already flee then already still DEM.PST.PL
‘Un poco se fueron … ya por lo menos. [They fled … then eventually, at least.]’ (Haude 2021)

G.5 Southern Lengua (enx, sout2989)

G.5.1 Introductory remarks

I am indebted to John Elliot for sharing and discussing Southern Lengua (a.k.a Enxet Sur) data with me, and for helping with tricky glosses.

G.5.2 makham

G.5.2.1 General information

- Wordhood: free morpheme.

G.5.2.2 As a 'still' expression

- Elliott (2021: 483–486).
- Specialisation: examples like (G.50–G.52) give a fairly good indication that this marker conforms to my definition. For instance, in (G.50) *makham* not only signals that the men were young, but it also highlights that they were not yet grown-up (i.e. no longer youth).
- Pragmaticity: compatible with both scenarios (tentative conclusion); it is unclear if the unexpectedly late scenario receives additional marking.
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET.
- Syntax: fixed position, following the predicate, preceding dependent nominals.
- Further note: ex. (G.53) illustrates an instance that borders on a 'same' use.

(G.50) Context: About Enxet youths taken during war to do labour for the Paraguayan military.
Eyke apk-el-mak-po ***makham*** *joven,*
ASS M-DIST-have.M.MID-NMLZ.IPFV still youth
kel-an-e ámay, kel-m-agkya'a pala.
DIST-make-NMLZ.PFV road DIST-have-go_around:NMLZ.IPFV shovel
'The young men were taken, to prepare the roads, to carry the shovels.' (Elliott 2021: 525)

(G.51) Context: From a text about the founding of a new settlement. Time has gone by.
Pero tás-ek=eyke ***makham*** *neg-h-eykha.*
but good-DECL-ASS still 1PL-sit-go_around:NMLZ.PFV
'But our lives are still good.' (Elliott 2021: 771)

(G.52) Context: A boy has fought off several demon-like monsters. He has only briefly caught his breath, then another one emerged.
Eyke apk-ennap-ekp-o ***makham****=ma'a.*
ASS M-kill_many-M-NMLZ.IPFV still=DEM
'But he fought still.' (Elliott 2021: 759)

(G.53) *Wa' keso nelán-tepak-xa, keso ámay', ámay* ***makham****.*
look PROX 1PL.PTCP.DIST-emerge-NMLZ.OBL PROX road road still
'Look, this is where we came out earlier, this road, this is the same road (lit. …this is still the road).' (Elliott 2021: 266)

G.5.2.3 Uses on the fringes of 'still'

G.5.2.3.1 Scalar contexts

- *Makham* is attested in contexts of decreases along a scale.

(G.54) Context: While taking honey combs out of a tree trunk, speaker sees more inside.
Wa' k-emexch-e'=nak ***makham****.*
SO F-lack-DECL=EVID still
'Look, there's still more.' (Elliott 2021: 325)

(G.55) Context: About a larger pond that has mostly dried up.
Neg-wet'-ak ***makham*** *k-etsék yegmen=se'e.*
1PL-see-DECL still F-few water=PROX
'We still see a little water here.' (Elliott 2021: 562 and John Elliot, p.c.)

G.5.2.4 Broadly adverbial temporal and aspectual functions

G.5.2.4.1 Iterative and restitutive

- Elliott (2021: 484).
- Examples (G.56–G.58) illustrate iterative uses. Restitutive ones are illustrated in (G.60–G.62).
- Both uses are often, but not always, accompanied by the iterative/restitutive verb suffix *-akx* (termed "duplicative" in Elliott 2021), e.g. in (G.58, G.62).
- An example like (G.59) can be understood as lying at the intersection of iterativity and additivity: as there is no indexation of the p-argument, *apchaqha* kill can be intepreted as either intransitive ('he killed again') or as involving an implied indefinite patient argument ('he killed another one') (John Elliot, p.c.).

- Syntax: fixed, post-predicate position.

(G.56) Context: A preacher speaking, at the beginning of a sermon.
Bueno, keso axto'o=naj=se'e nél-wet-axk-o
good this morning=EVID=PROX 1PL:DIST-see-MID-NMLZ.IPFV
makham *como siempre.*
still as always
'Well, this morning, we see each other again as always.' (John Elliot, p.c.)

(G.57) Context: A boy has fought off several demon-like creatures. Another one has come.
Apk-ennáp-eykpek=axta ***makham***
M-kill_many-MID.M:DECL=PST still
ek-w-om-oho apch-aqh-a.
F-arrive-on_arrival-INTENS:NMLZ.IPFV M-kill-NMLZ.PFV
'He fought again until he killed it.' (Elliott 2021: 758)

(G.58) *Exchek ka-m-háp-awo keleyke aktek*
REC.PST F.IRR-VBLZ-soft-INS.DECL beans POSS.F
sek-han-ma=exchek,
1SG-cook-NMLZ.PFV=REC.PST
né-m-hápey-ás-eyk-ekx-oho=sa ***makham****.*
1PL-VBLZ-soft-CAUS-TEMP.INDEF-INTENS=FUT still
'The beans that I have cooked were not soft, they have to be softened again.'[2] (Elliott 2021: 447)

(G.59) Context: A boy has fought off a demon. Another demon has appeared.
Natámen apch-aqh-a ***makham***
then M-kill-NMLZ.IPFV still
w-okm-ek=axta a-anet apk-ennap-ma
F.arrive-TERMINATIVE-DECL=PST F.STAT-two M-kill_many-NMLZ.PFV
tén.
then
'Then he killed it [again], coming to two of them he had battled, and…' (Elliott 2021: 757)

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[2] See Elliott (2021: 169–175) on the "temporal indefinite" marker.

(G.60) *Wa-haxyegk-egk-es-ekx-ak=sa'*
1sg-circle-complexive-caus/appl-iter-nmlz.pot=fut
sey-ánt-e nápakha escuela, tén=sa'
1sg-mount-nmlz.pfv side.m school then=fut
e-yxy-ok ***makham****.*
1sg.irr-return-intens:nmlz.pot still
'I'm going to do donuts around the school in my car, then I'll come back again.'[3] (Elliott 2021: 734)

(G.61) *E-s-an-tag-kas-ek* ***makham****=ma'a*
m.irr-carry-complexive-ven-caus-pot.nom still=dem
ap-t-eyak.
m.ptcp–eat-complexive.nom.pfv
'They would bring the bread back.' (Elliott 2021: 180)

(G.62) *Mass-eg-ke'=axta=eykhe*
f:diminish-complexive-decl=pst=frust
sek-m-o-wán-a
1sg-temp.indef-vblz-able-nmlz.pfv
a-pawak-s-ek piano,
1sg.irr-noise-caus/appl-nmlz.pot piano
ey-e-wagk-ekx-eyk=eyke ***makham***
1sg-vblz-able-iter-decl=asrt still
sek-páw-áss-o.
1sg-noise-caus/appl-nmlz.pfv
'I lost my ability to play piano, but I have regained it.' (Elliott 2021: 346–347)

G.5.2.4.2 Prospective 'eventually'

- At minimum the two tokens in (G.63, G.64), both from the same text, feature a prospective 'eventually' use.

(G.63) Context: About the prophecies made by a pastor when the speaker was young.
Chaxa, chaxa ap-xeyen-ma=axta, pastor enles=xa,
that that m-show-nmlz.pfv=pst pastor English=dem
é-t-ak=sa' ***makham*** *énxet'ák keso*
m.irr-see-pot=fut still man.pl this

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[3] See Elliott (2021: 500–506) on the "complexive" suffix *-ey*.

eg-mogye'=nak=se'e.
POSS.1PL-before=EVID=PROX
'That, that's what he told us, that English pastor, The Enxet will see these things [yet] in the future before us.' (John Elliot, p.c.)

(G.64) Context: About the prophecies made by a pastor when the speaker was young.
Natamén makham, ap-xén-chek=axta anhan=ma'a, yaqsa,
then still M-show-DECL=PST and=DEM what
ap-xeyen-ma=axta, bueno ap-xén-chek e-tneh-ek,
M-show-NMLZ.PFV=PST so M-show-DECL M.IRR-be/say-POT
kelwesse'e énxet'ák enles,
rich_person.PL man.PL English
ek-wok-moho ***makham*** *sónegwanxa.*
F-arrive-TERMINATIVE.INTENS:NMLZ.PFV still nowadays
'So then, he told us that... what did he tell us? well, the English man said the Enxet would become rich people, when we arrived in the present time.' (John Elliot, p.c.)

G.5.2.5 Additive and related uses

G.5.2.5.1 Additive

- Elliott (2021: 570).
- This use is repeatedly found in conjunction with *pók/mók* 'other' (G.67).

(G.65) Context: The speaker is finding medicinal plants in the forest.
Pánaqte keso, pánaqte ***makham****=se'e.*
medicine this medicine still=PROX
'This is a kind of medicine, this is another kind of medicine.' (John Elliot, p.c.)

(G.66) Context: About the many English missionaries at a certain mission.
Ekeso e-etche'=axta, Pwege=axta e-etche natámen makham,
this POSS.F-child=PST P.=PST POSS.F-child after.F still
ekeso Pegwe enles ***makham****.*
this P. English still
'This one, he was her son, he was Pegwe's son, then still, this Pegwe, she was another English person.' (Elliott 2021: 267–268)

(G.67) Context: A group of Enxet sneak up on a group of Sanapaná and ambush them, shooting with arrows.
Pelakkasek=hek=ñat ap-makt-ákp-o xama,
suddenly=EVID=REM.PST M-shoot-MID.M-NMLZ.IPFV one
ap-makt-ákpek=hek=ñat nahan pók, pók
M-shoot-MID.M.DECL=EVID=REM.PST and M.other M.other
makham *lap-makt-ak énxet.*
still M-shoot-DECL Enxet
'All of a sudden one was shot, and another one was shot, the Enxet shot yet another.' (López Ramírez 1996; John Elliot, p.c.)

G.5.2.5.2 Conjunctional adverb

- *Makham* recurrently occurs following the connective *natámen* 'then', particularly if the subsequent clauses contain the marker.

(G.68) ***Natamén makham*** *ap-tamh-aha makham Kennaqte*
then still M-work-go_around.DECL still K.
Appeywa Tásek Amya'a.
A. good story
'Then later, Kennaqte Appeywa spoke again from the Bible.' (John Elliot, p.c.)

(G.69) Context: The speaker is listing out names.
Yetneyk axta anhan apkelwányam, apwesey axta Monte,
'And here was an old man, this name was Monte,'
natámen makham *may-'á-segk-ok*
then still NEG-1SG.IRR-know-COMPLEXIVE-DECL
apwesey, wánxa.
PTCP.M-called only
'And then, I forgot their names, that's it.' (John Elliot, p.c.)

G.6 Trió (tri, trio1238)

G.6.1 Introductory remarks

My understanding of Trió has greatly profited from discussion with Sérgio Meira, who also shared unpublished data with me.

G.6.2 =nkërë

G.6.2.1 General information

- Form: transcribed as *nkörö* in Letschert (1998).
- Wordhood: bound morpheme, an enclitic that takes constituents of various syntactic classes as its host.
- Syntax: *=nkërë* attaches to its focus; with the main predicate as its host, it serves as a sentence adverb.

G.6.2.2 As a ‘still’ expression

- Carlin (2004: 130, 453–454, 504), Letschert (1998: 15) and Meira (1999: 468–469).
- Specialisation: the descriptions by Carlin (2004) and Meira (1999), when taken together, clearly identify this marker as STILL expression. The description by Carlin (2004: 453–454) includes the notion of an alternative scenario (but see below on the question of pragmaticity). This is corroborated by the fact that in order for nouns to host phasal polarity *=nkërë*, they need to first be augmented by the “attributivizer” (Meira 1999) or “facsimile” (Carlin 2004) suffix *-me*, which denotes a manifest, but not intrinsic quality, typically a transient state (Carlin 2004: 123–124, 130). What is more, when a state construed via Noun-*me* is described from the perspective of a later point in time, where the state no longer holds, use of *=nkërë* is compulsory (Carlin 2004: 130).
- Pragmaticity: Carlin (2004: 450) describes *=nkërë* as counter-expectational. This is, however, hard to conciliate with examples like (G.70) and, more generally, the obligatoriness of *=nkërë* with past transient states like childhood. Example (G.72) suggests that an unexpected late scenario is construed by additional use of a counter-expectational clitic (see Meira 1999: 461–462 and Carlin 2004: 451–452 on the latter).
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields NOT YET. In temporal clauses, this is the default way of signalling precedence (Carlin 2004: 504).
- Syntax: as a STILL expression, *=nkërë* attaches to the main predicate.

(G.70) Context: From the opening of an autobiographical narrative.
*Pena pijukuku=me=**nkërë** ahtao, susu=pë, manko*
long_ago baby-ATTR=still while breast-with POSS.1:mother
akëërë. Këpëewa, irëe-n-ai ji-wame,
with but 3.ANAPH-3A-COP 1-don’t_know
*pijukuku=me=**nkërë** ji-w-eh-topo-npë=n-ai*
baby-ATTR=still 1-A-COP-CIRCUMSTANCE.NMLZ-PST=3A-COP
ji-wame.
1-don’t_know
‘Long ago, when I was still a baby, at the breast, with my mother. But that I do not know. I do not know what I was like when I was [still] a baby.’ (Meira 1999: 606)

(G.71) *Pëera w-ah-këne=**nkërë**.*
stupid 1>3-COP-REM.PST=still
‘I still used to be stupid (unknowledgeable).’ (Carlin 2004: 295)

(G.72) Context: A mother has been told that her son died. Much to her surprise, he is alive and has come to visit her.
Waa=w-eh-to w-ekanïpï,
NEG.EXIST=A-COP-NMLZ.CIRCUMSTANCE 1>3-think:IMM.PST
*tëërë=**nkërë**=hkaarë manan, tïí-ka-e.*
EXIST=still=COUNTER_EXPECTATION 2:COP:PRS REM.PST-say-REM.PST
‘“I thought you were dead (lit. I thought your not being), but you turn out to be still there (= alive)!” (she) said.’ (Sérgio Meira, p.c.)

G.6.2.3 Uses on the fringes of ‘still’

G.6.2.3.1 Continued iteration (and continued restitutive)

- Meira (1999: 468–469)
- This function obtains in combination with the “repetition” (Meira 1999) or “cyclical” (Carlin 2004) marker *=pa*. Often, these two clitics occur on the same host, hence *=nkërë=pa*, as in (G.73). This is, however, not always the case, as *=pa* gravitates toward sentence-initial elements (Meira 1999: 453; Carlin 2004: 430), as in (G.74, G.75) .
- This function covers both continued iteration sensu stricto (G.73, G.74), as well as continued restitutions (G.75).

(G.73) *Eeke mi-ponopïï-je=**nkërë**=**pa**?*
how 2A-tell-MOD=still=ITER
'How could you tell this again?' (Meira 1999: 317)[4]

(G.74) *Tëin=ken=**pa** kaikui t-ëpoo-se wïtoto=ja=**nkërë**.*
once=CONT=ITER jaguar REM.PST-meet-REM.PST person=AGT=still
'The person met Jaguar still once more (i.e. after several previous meetings).' (Meira 1999: 469)

(G.75) *Irë=mao=**pa** tï-w-ëe-se=**nkërë** irënehka*
3.ANAPH=then=ITER REM.PST-SUBJ-come-REM.PST=still at_last
wïi t-ënee-se ii-ja.
cassava REM.PST-bring-REM.PST 3-AGT
'Then he came back [once again]; at last, he had brought cassava.' (Meira 1999: 448; Sérgio Meira, p.c.)

G.6.2.4 Marginality

- I have only two examples of this use.
- Syntax: as with *=nkërë* as STILL, in this function it attaches to the predicate.

(G.76) *Kure=**nkërë**.*
good=still
'Good enough i.e. could be better, but is still good)' (Sérgio Meira, p.c.)

(G.77) Context: About a fish the protagonist of the story has caught.
Akï=hpe eka, eka, nërë, pejo-pisi
what=INDEF POSS.3:name POSS.3:name 3.ANAPH fish_sp-DIM
*apo=pohpa mono=**nkërë**, arawe apo.*
like=EMPH big_one=still cockroach_sp like
'What's-it-called, its name, its name, that one just like a little *pejo* fish, a little big, like a (big) cockroach.' (i.e. it still counts as big, despite being similar to a small pejo fish) (Sérgio Meira, p.c.)

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[4] *-je*, here for the sake of simplicity glosses as MOD 'modal' is a type of mirative marker, indicating surprise and disbelief (Carlin 2004: 298; Meira 1999: 316–317). In this instance, it serves to contribute a negative evaluation of the addressee's repeated retelling (Sérgio Meira, p.c.).

G.6.2.5 Additive and related uses

G.6.2.5.1 Additive

- Carlin (2004: 237, 242) and Meira (1999: 450–451).
- Sometimes the host of *=nkërë* as ‘also, too’ is the clausal connective *se*(*h*)*ke*(*n*) ‘also, likewise’. This collocation seems to stress the notions of continuity and parallelism (G.82).

(G.78) Context: At a store.
*Tëërë=***nkërë** *...?*
EXIST=still
‘Do you also have ... (i.e. in addition to what I’ve already bought)?’ (Sérgio Meira, p.c.)

(G.79) *A-tï=***nkërë***-hpe m-ene?*
Q-INANIMATE=still=INDEF 2>3-see:IMM.PST
‘What on earth else did you see?’ (Carlin 2004: 233)

(G.80) Context: Giving a list of family members present on a specific occasion.
Eemi-rï, i-mama-rï
POSS.3:daughter-POSS POSS.3-mother-POSS
*eemi-rï=***nkërë** *tëri-me, pirë-me, i-papa*
POSS.3:daughter-POSS=still three-ATTR four-ATTR POSS.3-father
marë.
also
‘(They were) his daughter, his mother, another daughter (lit: still [a] daughter), three of them, four of them, his father too.’ (Carlin 2004: 454)

(G.81) Context: From a picture elicitation task.
*Ma akoron=n-ai tëërë=***nkërë***=n-ai, atï=rë=***nkërë***, ...*
TOP other=3-COP exist=still=3-COP something=EMPH=still
kahku.
wheelbarrow
‘Well, another thing is there, there’s still one (more), still something else, ... a wheelbarrow.’ (Sérgio Meira, p.c.)

(G.82) *Kure menu=tao=ken t-ee-se nërë,*
pretty paint=LOC=CONT REM.PST-COP-REM.PST 3.ANAPH.ANIM
Waruku, i-nmuku-pisi ***seke****=***nkërë** *t-ee-see.*
W. 3-son.POSS-DIM also=still REM.PST-COP-REM.PST
‘Waruku was beautifully painted, and so was her little son.’ (Meira 1999: 451)

G.7 Xavánte (xav, xava1240)

G.7.1 (za)hadu

G.7.1.1 General information

- Form: free variation *zahadu* ~ *hadu.*
- Wordhood: free morpheme.
- Syntax: fixed, preceding the predicate.

G.7.1.2 As a 'still' expression

- Lachnitt (1987: 7, 1988: 167), Machado Estevam (2011: 107) and McLeod et al. (2004: 123, 134).
- Specialisation: examples like (G.83, G.84), which involve a contrast with a later point in time, give a fairly good indication that the marker conforms to my definition; additional, albeit indirect evidence, comes from its function as not yet (Appendix G.7.1.3.1).
- Polarity sensitivity: inner negation yields not yet.
- Pragmaticity: the data allow no conclusions.

(G.83) *Ãhã wede hã awaʔawi* ***zahadu*** *te za, taza hã*
dem tree emph today still nom 3.stand conj emph
awẽmhã wa za wa-siwi me ni.
tomorrow ego prosp 1-coll 3.cut_down indef
'Cet arbre est encore debout aujourd'hui, mais demain nous allons l'abattre. [This tree is still standing today, but tomorrow we're going to cut it down.]' (Machado Estevam 2011: 107)

(G.84) Context: From an autobiographic text.
Awaʔawi na hã wa oto ĩĩhöjbaprédub na wa ĩĩhöjmana. Tamémhã azarutu wamhã wa oto dame ĩĩmro,
'Aujourd'hui je suis vielle. Alors quand j'étais jeune fille je me suis mariée [Today I am old. So, when I was a young girl I got married.]'

ĩĩ-ãma ĩ-wahu hã ***hadu*** *suru re di.*
1sg-pvb nmlz-pass_year emph still 3.be_small dm:respect impr
'je n'avais pas encore l'âge (lit. les années écoulées par rapport à moi étaient encore petites) [I wasn't of age yet (lit. the years that had passed by me were still little).]' (Machado Estevam 2011: 503)

G.7.1.3 Uses relating to other phasal polarity concepts

G.7.1.3.1 Not yet

- Lachnitt (1987: 47, 1988: 167), Machado Estevam (2011: 107) and McLeod et al. (2004: 123, 209).
- This usage is attested as a a stand-alone negative response to a polar question (G.85) and as an interjection ‘Wait!’ (G.86).

(G.85) *E ma tô a-sa? –* ***Hadu****.*
Q ANT RL 2-eat still
‘As-tu mangé? – (Pas) encore. [Have you eaten? – (Not) yet.]’(Machado Estevam 2011: 107)

(G.86) A: *We ĩ̱-ma a na.*
VEN 1SG-DAT give SBJV
‘Me dá. [Give me.]’

B: ***Zahadu!*** *Wa za ai-ma ti’-a tô.*
still EGO PROSP 2-DAT 3-give RL
‘Pacência! Vou te dar certamente. [Just wait. I’ll definitely give (it to) you.]’ (McLeod et al. 2004: 123, glosses added)

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The polyfunctionality of ‘still’ expressions

Expressions from the semasiological domain of phasal polarity (‘still’, ‘already’, etc.) tend to be highly polyfunctional, with their various uses often extending into a wide range of other linguistic domains, both time-related and non-temporal. Yet these patterns have hitherto been investigated mostly for individual languages or smaller groups. This volume presents the first ever larger-scale survey of the numerous functions of expressions whose meanings include the notion of ‘still’, making use of a global sample of 76 varieties from 45 distinct phyla. It is aimed at semanticists, typologists and descriptive grammarians alike.