

## **The Expression of Phasal Polarity in African Languages**

# **Empirical Approaches to Language Typology**



Editors

Georg Bossong

Bernard Comrie

Kristine Hildebrandt

Jean-Christophe Verstraete

## **Volume 63**

# **The Expression of Phasal Polarity in African Languages**

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Edited by  
Raija L. Kramer

**DE GRUYTER**  
MOUTON

ISBN 978-3-11-062751-0

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-064629-0

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-064253-7

**Library of Congress Control Number: 2020952339**

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2021 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston

Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Printing and binding: CPI books, GmbH, Leck

[www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com)

# Acknowledgments

Thanks to Roland Kießling for encouragement, helpful comments, stimulating discussions and pleasant evenings at Roxielloquia.

Thanks to Lennart Fuhse for his formatting and indexing assistance in preparing this publication, for his loyalty and critical remarks, and for repatriating Norbert.

Thanks to Anica Erbstößer for providing technical support during the conference, for establishing and maintaining contacts in the field, and for her friendship.

Thanks to Bernard Comrie for reading carefully through the whole manuscript to offer insightful editorial advice.

Thanks to Birgit Sievert, Kirstin Börgen and Julie Miess from De Gruyter Mouton for their excellent editorial work.



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## I Introduction



Raija L. Kramer

# Introduction: The expression of phasal polarity in African languages

## 1 Introduction

Our civilisation is *still* in a middle stage, scarcely beast, in that is *no longer* wholly guided by instinct; scarcely human, in that is *not yet* wholly guided by reason

(Dreiser [1900] 1981: page)

In this quote, the American novelist Theodore Dreiser provides the picture of our civilization as passing in three phases: a preceding one (“guided by instinct”), an ongoing one (“being in a middle stage”), and a following one (“guided by reason”). His points of reference are two situations: the current state (-guided by instinct, -guided by reason) and the two temporally adjacent states (+guided by instinct, + guided by reason). I.e., he relates the actual state to antecedent and following states with opposite polarity value explicitly expressing that polarity changes of the current state have happened (*no longer*) or (probably) will take place (*still, not yet*). By doubting Dreiser’s civilization line and insisting that ‘scientific woman is *already* guided by reason’, one may add a further perspective on a positive situation (“guided by reason”) preceded by a contrary state.

Dreiser’s civilization concept can be represented as a time line with three phases, and the perspectives taken can be depicted by arrows pointing from one reference point (the “current state”) to the second reference point, a sequential (preceding or following) phase, with different truth value, cf. Figure 1. The experience of alternating and sequentially linked polarity phases of a state-of-affairs seems to be so central to speakers of Standard Average European languages such as English, French, German, or Dutch that in these languages, they are expressed by grammatical means, mostly adverbial operators.

Since the 1970s linguistic studies have started to seriously concentrate on linguistic means to express the notion of temporally sequential positive and negative phases of a state-of-affairs in Standard Average European languages. The research on such expressions has resulted in a bulk of literature and different approaches to their conceptualization. Influential impulses for typological studies of such expression types came especially from Löbner (1989), van der Auwera

"Our civilization" (T. Dreiser)

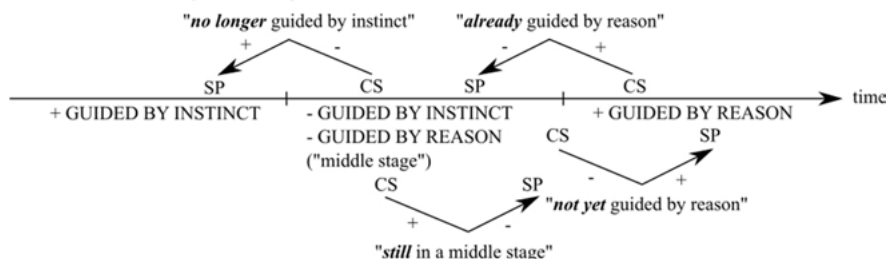


Figure 1: Dreiser's civilization line.

(1993, 1998), and Van Baar (1997). They provide definitions of this domain as well as parameters for describing and comparing expressions of ALREADY, STILL, NOT YET, NO LONGER concepts in individual languages.

Grammatical expressions of the concepts ALREADY, STILL, NOT YET, and NO LONGER are included in a grammatical category that Van Baar terms as phasal polarity and defines as "structured means of expressing polarity in a sequential perspective" (Van Baar 1997: 40). His typological research on phasal polarity expressions was the first that also includes non-European languages. He comparatively analyses phasal polarity expressions in different languages while committing to the consensus found in the literature that the phasal polarity domain consists of the four main categories ALREADY, STILL, NOT YET, NO LONGER. Van Baar does not restrict his research to phasal polarity items of a specific word class, but his restriction criteria are the "specialization" and "generalization" of items in phasal polarity expression, i.e. he considers only grammaticalized elements that properly function as phasal polarity markers ("specialized") and are generally applicable in contexts with different TAM distinctions ("generalized").

A requirement important for typological work in particular, and for linguistic theory in general is cross-linguistic comparability, i.e. one should be able to identify a grammatical phenomenon across different languages. As Croft (2003: 13) states, "[o]ne cannot make generalizations about subjects across languages without some confidence that one has correctly identified the category of subject in each language and compared subjects across languages". Van Baar's inclusion of non-European languages in his cross-linguistic study of phasal polarity expressions was thus an essentially needed first step.

With regard to African languages, it is claimed that phasal polarity expressions are well-attested, at least in the Niger-Congo phylum (Carlson 1994: 345; Comrie 1985: 53). However, available data on African languages suggests that phasal polarity concepts and their encoding strategies differ from what has been found in European languages. I will first address some of the basic

conceptual assumptions concerning the Phasal polarity domain that have been identified (for mainly European languages) in the literature. Data from African languages may question some of these assumptions and point to the important contributions of these languages to typological analyses of phasal polarity. Particularly, I concentrate in the following paragraphs on (a) Van Baar's generalization and specialization criteria, (b) the paradigmaticity of phasal polarity systems, and (c) the perspectivity of phasal polarity concepts.

## 2 The generalization and specialization criteria

One of Van Baar's (1997: 57–61) main criteria to identify a phasal polarity item in an individual language is the possibility of its generalization, i.e. to extend its possible contexts of use (when compared to its original context of use), e.g. its occurrence across different TAM distinctions found in a specific language. Therefore, he decidedly excludes expressions as e.g. *up to present* in English that signal a meaning similar to that marked by *not yet* in negative clauses, cf. (1a)–(1b), but have severe tense restrictions that are not imposed on the latter expressions, cf. (1c)–(1d).

- (1) *Up to present* and *not yet* expressions in English (Van Baar 1997: 58)
  - a. *Up to the present, there haven't been serious problems.*
  - b. *There haven't been serious problems yet.*
  - c. *?\*Up to the present, he wasn't/isn't/won't be here.*
  - d. *He wasn't/isn't/won't be here yet.*

Van Baar does not extend this restriction to all phasal polarity expressions, because, for instance, he includes the Hausa auxiliary *rigaa/rigaayaa* (which originally meant “to precede”) as an ALREADY expression in his sample although he explicitly mentions that it can only be used with the completive aspect (cp. Van Baar 1997: 145). In contrast, the Hausa temporal adverbial (*a*) *yanzu* “(at) now” that can context-dependently be interpreted as a STILL expression is not classified as a phasal polarity item with respect to the generalization criterion as it can only be used with the present tense (Van Baar 1997: 60).

Van Baar's choice is surely led by the fact that the expression of (retrospective) ALREADY (‘have already Ved’) can be ascribed as core meaning to the auxiliary *rigaa/rigaayaa*, while STILL function is just one possible interpretation of the temporal adverbial (*a*) *yanzu* (similar to “up to present” in the English example above). By considering the non-generalizable auxiliary *rigaa/rigaayaa* as

a phasal polarity item, he already extenuates his own generalization criterion. That repealing this criterion is required becomes obvious in the light of phasal polarity expression strategies in African languages. In many of these languages, items dedicated to the encoding of phasal polarity concepts belong to the verbal system as auxiliaries or as verbal affixes. Their use tends to be less generalizable over TAM distinctions because they are often an integral part of this domain. Although it should be pointed out that cross-linguistically, phasal polarity and TAM domains interact in a very intricate way, this interrelation is even more fundamental with elements that decidedly function as TAM markers. Examples of auxiliaries and verbal flectional morphemes signalling phasal polarity meaning are given in the examples in (2) and (3).

- (2) Auxiliaries signalling phasal polarity concepts in Tswana
  - a. ALREADY coding in Tswana  
*bá-sétsì*                      *bá-bù:á*  
 S.CL2-remain:PRF:CJ   S.CL2-speak:CIRC:PRS  
 ‘They are already speaking.’
  - b. STILL coding in Tswana  
*kì-ńtsí*                      *kí-à-bérê:kà*  
 S.1SG-be:PRF:CJ   S.1SG-DJ-work:PRS  
 ‘I am still working.’  
 (Creissels 2017: 18–19)
- (3) Verbal TAM morphemes signalling phasal polarity concepts in the East Bantu languages Kori and Totela
  - a. ALREADY coding in Kori  
*ka-áz-’ó-o-sííl-a*  
 1SG-ALREADY-OBJ-INF-hear-FV  
 ‘I have already heard it (before).’  
 (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000: 147, cited in Löfgren 2018: 22)
  - b. STILL coding in Totela  
*nd`i-chì-hùpúl-à*  
 1SG-PERS-think-FV  
 ‘I’m still thinking.’  
 (Crane 2011: 325, cited in Löfgren 2018: 20)

Creissels (2000: 239) states that many functions (among others phasal polarity), which in Standard Average European languages are covered by adverbials, are coded by auxiliaries in African languages. In Tswana, for instance, the auxiliaries *sétsì* (> *sálá* ‘remain’) and *ńtsé* (> *ńná* ‘be’) used in the perfect and followed



by the semantically relevant verb in the present tense code ALREADY and STILL meaning with a state-of-affairs in the present, cf. (2a)–(2b). In many other African, especially Bantu languages, phasal polarity concepts are expressed by verbal morphology as it is shown by the examples from Koti and Totela (both East Bantu). In Koti, the verbal prefix *áz-* marks ALREADY in a resultative meaning, i.e. a specific state-of-affairs has come into existence and a past polarity change point is made explicit resulting in a specific state at reference time, cf. (3a). The “persistive” prefix *chi-* in Totela signals STILL meaning in the present, cf. (3b). In these languages, phasal polarity items are thus inextricably linked to their function of expressing TAM distinctions.

However, what should be respected more seriously is Van Baar’s specialization criterion, i.e. the question of whether signalling phasal polarity can be indicated as a core function of a particular grammatical element or just as a possible interpretation in a specific context. It is important to differentiate between pragmatically motivated interpretations that can be retrieved from the broader interactional context on the one hand, and the meaning(s) of an item, on the other.

Ameka (2008: 141–142; 2018) makes this point using the example of Ewe, a Kwa language spoken in Ghana and Togo. He shows that in this language, the item *ga* functions as a marker primarily signalling the repetition or the restitution of a state-of-affairs, cf. (4a)–(4b). A STILL interpretation may also be achieved and reinforced by using an intensifier *ko* or its triplicative derivation *ko-koo-ko*, cf. (4c). Ameka (2008: 142) stresses that this reading is not substantial to the *ga* item but derives from its interaction with a factative verb that has present interpretation. However, in constructions marked for the negative (in clauses with different aspectual distinctions, but not with the negative imperative!), *ga* seems to have specialized to express the NO LONGER meaning (Ameka 2008: 142, 153; 2018), cf. (4d)–(4e).

(4) Readings of the repetitive marker *ga* in Ewe

a. Repetitive reading (+ intensifier *áké* ‘again’)

<i>me-ga-vá</i>	<i>yí</i>	<i>áké</i>
1SG-REP-come	go	again

‘I have passed again.’

b. Restitution reading

<i>ékemá</i>	<i>súbólá-wó</i>	<i>ga-kó-nɛ</i>	<i>yí-a</i>	<i>nú.ɖu.xɔ.me</i>
then	servant-PL	REP-carry-HAB:3SG	go-HAB	dining.room

‘Then the servants carry him back to the dining room.’

## c. STILL (“persistent”) reading

*é-ga-le*                      *aha*      *no-m*              *ko*  
 3SG-REP-be.at:PRS alcohol drink-PROG only  
 ‘He is still drinking alcohol.’

## d. NO LONGER readings

*Mawuli mé-ga-le*                      *sukuu=ɔ*      *dzi*                      *o*  
 Mawuli NEG-REP-be.at:PRES school=DEF upper.surface NEG  
 ‘Mawuli is no longer in school.’

e. *mé-ga-no-na*                      *aha*      *o*  
 3SG:NEG-REP-drink-HAB alcohol NEG  
 ‘He no longer drinks alcohol.’  
 (Ameka 2008: 142; 2018)

According to these examples, the repetitive element *ga* cannot be analysed as a specialized phasal polarity item – at least not on its own and regardless of the construction in which it appears. Hence, polysemy and various functions of possible phasal polarity items as well as different contexts of their appearance must carefully be considered so that core, peripheral meanings and context-induced interpretations are distinguishable.

### 3 The paradigmaticity of phasal polarity

The existence of specialized items for phasal polarity meanings is not sufficient for identifying a phasal polarity category in an individual language. Further, an a priori claim of a possible phasal polarity category with a number of up to four subcategories would be an assumption that may indeed be misleading and provoke critiques of the Eurocentric design of the typological approach. Because, if we attempt to trace a (closed) phasal polarity paradigm in an individual language, it hinders us from properly describing the possible polyfunctionality of items expressing phasal polarity concepts and from specifying their more and less central meanings. Grammatical items used in phasal polarity expressions are often part of a wider paradigm and should thus be studied in relation to other elements of the same category, which share the same word class and syntactic status.

In Hausa, for example, Van Baar (1997: 116) states that there are grammaticalized expressions for the four major phasal polarity concepts ALREADY, NO LONGER, STILL, and NOT YET. Ziegelmeyer (this volume) denies this assumption and argues for the ALREADY element *rig-* as the only element dedicated for expressing phasal

polarity. However, if we accept Van Baar's notion of the Hausa phasal polarity system for the moment, Hausa would be in line with the "Expressibility Hypotheses" stating that "the majority of languages have all four phasal polarity-types" (Van Baar 1997: 118).

Nonetheless, it would be deceptive to determine phasal polarity as a grammatical *category* in Hausa. The Hausa items that Van Baar lists as occurring in phasal polarity expressions with the respective polarity value are *rigā/rigāyā* (ALREADY), *kuma* (NO LONGER), *har yānzu* (STILL), and *tùkùna* (NOT YET). The ALREADY item *rigā* 'to have already done, to have done before' is a verb, the NO LONGER item *kuma*<sup>1</sup> 'also, and' is a coordinating particle, the STILL item *har yānzu* 'until now' is an adverbial phrase, and the NOT YET item *tùkùna* 'first (of all), before' is a temporal-aspectual adverb. Thus, even if we accepted the occurrence of four specialized phasal polarity items in Hausa, they do not constitute a paradigm but share formal properties with other elements that allow us to group them together and indicate their classification as belonging to different grammatical categories instead.<sup>2</sup>

Let us consider as an example the ALREADY marker *rigā*, which is the only element that is agreed upon to be a specialized phasal polarity item. If we look at the wider paradigm to which this item belongs, for formal as well as functional reasons, we find that it is included in a set of aspectual auxiliaries that

---

1 The item *kuma* is possibly related to the auxiliary *kumā* 'repeat V, do V again' (Newman 2000: 65). Van Baar (1997: 276) also discusses a relation between *kuma* 'also' and the verb *kumā* but states that it is opaque.

2 Also from a semantic point of view, it is questionable whether the assumed Hausa phasal polarity expressions are related by the feature of paradigmatic complementarity, which, according to Van Baar (1997: 61), is the "constant factor" a phasal polarity system is based on. This feature presupposes as governing paradigmatic principle that "a certain type of (positive or negative) expression is asserted, whereas the logical alternative of such an expression is presupposed or expected" (Van Baar 1997: 61). This paradigmatic property leads to the *conceptual* oppositions of ALREADY-NOT YET and STILL-NO LONGER. That *rigā/rigāyā* (ALREADY) is the logical alternative to *tùkùna* (NOT YET) and vice versa, or that *kuma* (NO LONGER) evokes a presupposed/expected *har yānzu* (STILL) scenario could not be confirmed (Zoch p.c.; Umma Aliyu Musa p.c.). As for *rigā* (ALREADY), Jaggar (2009: 66) states that it is the "corresponding assertive, positive-oriented [. . .] notion" to *tùkùna* (NOT YET), though this might be a conclusion drawn from the semantic relation between the adverbials *already* and *not yet* in the meta-language English.

appear in coordinate structures (cp. Caron 2015:33). In the following table, Table 1, I present some selected elements of this auxiliary class:

**Table 1:** “Aspectual” auxiliaries in Hausa (Caron 2015: 33; Newman 2000: 64–70).

Aspectual auxiliary	English gloss
<i>kāɽā</i>	‘repeat, increase V’
<i>ɽikā</i>	‘continue to V’
<i>dainā</i>	‘stop V–ing’
<i>kārē</i>	‘finish V–ing’
<i>fāɽā</i>	‘begin to V’
<i>kumā</i>	‘V again’
<i>ɽayē</i>	‘do too much of V’
<i>ragē</i>	‘V less than before’
<i>ɽigā</i>	‘have already Ved, have Ved before’

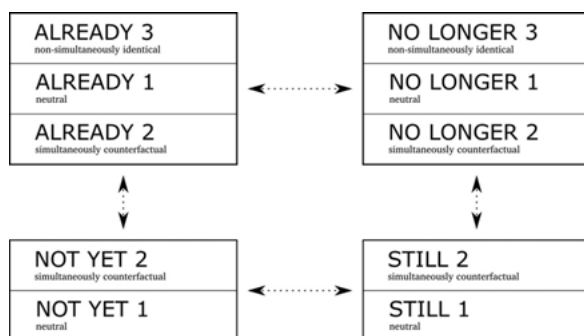
These auxiliaries signal the internal temporal structure and highlight phases of the state-of-affairs expressed by the related verb phrase. This may be one reason why *ɽigā* appears in ALREADY expressions that rather mark “neutral scenarios” of temporally successive phases highlighting the prior occurrence of a state-of-affairs, cf. (5a), while “counterfactual scenarios” are expressed by discourse particles such as *ai* ‘indeed, well’, cf. (5b).

- (5) a. Neutral phasal polarity scenario
- |           |             |           |           |               |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>nā</i> | <i>ɽigā</i> | <i>nā</i> | <i>ci</i> | <i>àbinci</i> |
| 1SG.CPL   | precede     | 1SG.CPL   | eat       | food          |
- ‘I have already eaten’ (no other scenario of following phases is expected);  
(Umma Aliyu Musa p.c.)
- b. Counterfactual phasal polarity scenario
- |               |           |             |             |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Fatima</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>tanā</i> | <i>Kano</i> |
| Fatima        | indeed    | 3SG.CONT    | Kano        |
- ‘Fatima is already/indeed in Kano’ (contrary to the addressee’s expectation that she is not there)  
(Umma Aliyu Musa p.c.)

Since items used for encoding phasal polarity are normally part of one (or different) larger (but closed, since functional) paradigm(s) in an individual language, it may be worthwhile to discuss them in reference to these paradigms in order to identify meaning components which enable us to identify and explain their central function(s).

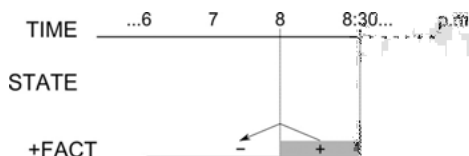
## 4 The perspectivity of phasal polarity

The assumed four main phasal polarity concepts are subcategorized in two to three possible scenarios in Van Baar's study, cf. Figure 2.



**Figure 2:** The representation of phasal polarity-systems (Van Baar 1998: 65).

What is schematized here is that phasal polarity items and constructions are not only claimed to encode two sequential phases with opposite polarity values, but that pragmatics may play a major role, too, i.e. possible presuppositions with regard to the existence or non-existence of an alternative polarity switch point. For instance, the possible three scenarios (“neutral”, “simultaneously counterfactual”, “non-simultaneously identical”) of the *ALREADY* concept, cf. Figures 3–5, differ in the assumption of polarity switch points, but



**Figure 3:** The neutral scenario of *ALREADY*.

share two central features. The phase at actual time is positive in all cases and the combined sequence of phases with different polarity values in the real (continuous line, +FACT) or presupposed (dotted line, -FACT) scenarios is a negative phase followed by a positive one.

The three ALREADY scenarios in Figures 3–5 illustrated by concrete examples are adapted and slightly modified from Van Baar (1997: 27–29) and van der Auwera (1998: 46–47). The background shared by the presented ALREADY examples should be considered as follows: Fiona is partaking in a talent show and has a solo singing performance from 8:00 to 8:30 p.m. She asks her friend Jane to come before her performance and wish her good luck. Against this background, Jane’s utterance *Fiona is already singing* allows for two interpretations depending on the existence of an alternative polarity switch point.

In the “neutral” scenario (Figure 3), Jane just comes too late (between 8:00 and 8:30 p.m.), and her utterance contrasts two phases (the actual positive one and the preceding negative one) that are different in time as well as in polarity value. An alternative polarity switch point is not involved.

In the “simultaneously counterfactual” scenario (Figure 4), Jane comes on time (before 8:00), but finds that Fiona’s singing performance has been rescheduled to an earlier point in time. Here, the actual positive phase is contrasted with a phase that is different in polarity value but not in time. There is the presupposition of an alternative polarity switch point relative to which the actual turning point is early.

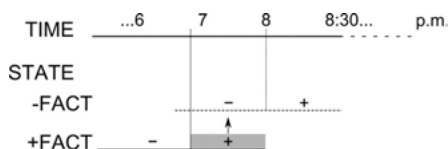


Figure 4: The simultaneously counterfactual scenario of ALREADY.

The third scenario included in the ALREADY concept is “non-simultaneously identical”: The current phase is contrasted with a phase that is not different in polarity value but in time: the actual polarity switch point is late with regard to the expected one. In English, the non-simultaneously identical scenario is signalled by the adverbial items *finally*, *at last*. Jane’s utterance *Fiona is finally singing* would refer to this scenario (Figure 5): Fiona’s performance has been delayed to a point after 8:30 p.m. and thus, the polarity switch point occurs later than expected.

If we discuss, for instance, constructions in Swahili containing a verb form inflected by the TAM morpheme *-mesha-*, which are commonly translated as ‘X has already Ved’, we may ask for the status of *-mesha-* as an ALREADY item. The example in (6a) is taken from a Swahili version of the “Story of Sidi-Nouman”

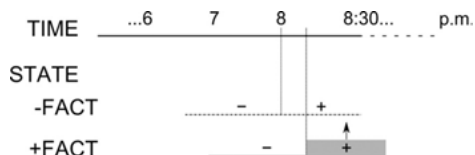


Figure 5: The non-simultaneously identical scenario of ALREADY.

reflecting the husband's explanation for his spouse's lack of appetite during a meal. At reference time, she does not eat and by the utterance *nikafikiri labda ameshakula kifunguakinywa* 'I thought that maybe, she has already eaten breakfast', this phase (-eating) is contrasted with a preceding phase with opposite polarity value (+eating).

In (6b), the *mesha*-construction<sup>3</sup> is shifted to future time by using a future form of the auxiliary *kuwa* 'to be'. Here again, the phase at reference time (here, at a future point in time) is negative (-eating) and relates to a preceding positive phase (+eating).

(6) a. *Mesha* constructions in Swahili

[. . .] *Ni-ka-fikiri labda a-mesha-kula kifunguakinywa*

[. . .] 1SG-CONS-think maybe 1-*mesha*-eat KI:breakfast

*na kwamba ha-na njaa*

and COMPL 1.NEG-have N:hunger

'[I was very annoyed about her stubborn behaviour, but I thought that maybe, she is not used yet to eat together with men.] I thought that maybe, she has already eaten breakfast and that she is not hungry, [or maybe, she wants to eat alone].'

(Adam 2006: 198)

b. *u-sipo-kwenda kwa haraka wa-ta-kuwa*

2SG-NEG.SITU-go PREP N:hurry 2-FUT-be

*wa-me-kwisha kula kabla hu-ja-fika*

2-PERF-*kwisha* eat before *hu-ja-fika*

'If you don't hurry, they will already have eaten before you arrive'

(Polomé 1967: 149)

<sup>3</sup> The constructions *sc-me-kwisha* V, *sc-me-kwisha ku-V* are commonly interpreted as intermediate steps of a grammaticalization process leading to the expression type *sc-mesha-V* (Marten 1998). Nicolle (1998: 11) states that these intermediate forms fundamentally encode the same grammatical (aspectual) meaning as the *mesha*-construction.

c. *wa-mesha-imba*2-*mesha*-sing

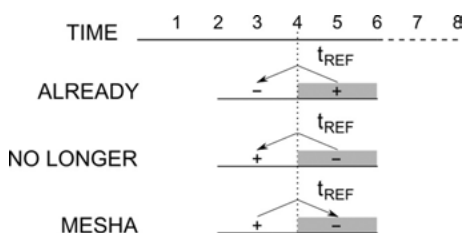
‘(i) They have already sung.’

‘(ii) They do not sing anymore.’

(Schadeberg 1990: 11)

In all examples in (6), the phase at reference time is negative, while denoting a preceding positive phase. The actual situation at reference time (-) is referred to from the perspective of the past state (+). This is the reason why Schadeberg (1990:11) notes that the construction in (6c) “neben ihrer Haupt-Lesung (i) auch zum Ausdruck von Lesung (ii) dienen kann [. . . :] (i) ‘sie haben schon gesungen’ (ii) ‘sie singen nicht mehr’” (beside its main interpretation (i), may be used to express (ii) . . . (i) ‘they have already sung’, (ii) ‘they no longer sing’, transl. R.K.).

The two translations *schon* ‘already’ and *nicht mehr* ‘no longer’, which Schadeberg sees the necessity to provide, may be due to the fact that the semantics of the *mesha*-construction overlap with features of both ALREADY and NO LONGER concepts. The item *-mesha-* is a means to express that sequentially conceptualized polarity but (current) reference time and the perspective taken do not match: the reference time is at the negative phase of the state-of-affairs while the perspective taken is retrospectively from its positive phase. Thus, the *-mesha-* construction shares with NO LONGER the reference time at a negative phase with a preceding positive phase, and with ALREADY the view point (perspective) from a positive phase, cf. Figure 6.



**Figure 6:** The neutral scenario of ALREADY, NO LONGER, and MESHA.

In languages such as English, French or German, a *mesha* interpretation can be achieved in a construction combining the ALREADY item with a perfect verb form, e.g., in English, *she has already eaten*. Here, the perspective is shifted to a point before reference time where the state is -eating, i.e. the polarity sequence is presented from the viewpoint of the preceding state +eating and its completion (end point). Likewise, in Swahili, an ALREADY interpretation results



from the combination of *-mesha-* with a verbal predicate that semantically includes a coming-to-be phase, e.g. *wa-mesha-lala* (2-*mesha*-fall.asleep) ‘they already sleep/they are already sleeping’ (Schadeberg 1990: 10). In this case, the perspective is shifted to reference time where +sleeping is actual.

What I would like to emphasize here is the importance to include perspectivity in the description of the semantics of a phasal polarity expression and to recognize that the identicalness of reference time and perspective is not necessarily given.<sup>4</sup> Further, aspectuality, grammatical aspect, as well as predicate semantics (i.e. *Aktionsart* properties) play an important role in perspectivizing the sequential polarity phases. The perspectivity parameter extends the four-fold phasal polarity domain and allows for the inclusion of expressions that emphasize different instances (positive/negative state, polarity change point) of the combined phasal sequence.

## 5 The structure of the book

The book at hand is the outcome of the international conference on “The Expression of Phasal Polarity in sub-Saharan African languages” held in February 2018 at the University of Hamburg. The editor widened the book’s perspective to include articles on phasal polarity in languages of the whole African continent as well as authors who did not participate in the Hamburg conference.

The phasal polarity category is mentioned as “well attested at least in Niger-Congo” (Carlson 1994: 345), especially in Bantu languages (Comrie 1985: 53). Nevertheless, the expression of phasal polarity concepts has not received major attention in African languages. In most descriptive works on these languages, phasal polarity expressions are not identified, are inadequately delineated, or are analysed in a rather unsystematic way. Typological approaches to the phasal polarity category are also scarce and mainly based on European languages (van der Auwera 1998), even though Van Baar (1997) also considers non-European languages, among others six African languages, namely Bari, Nama, Ewe, Hausa, Krongu, and Tigrinya. The necessity of this volume thus results from the tremendous research gap on this issue.

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<sup>4</sup> Smessaert (2007: 28) also stresses ACTUAL POLARITY, POLARITY TRANSITION, and PERSPECTIVE as the main parameters for defining the meaning of the Dutch phasal polarity elements *nog niet* (NOT YET), *al* (ALREADY), *nog* (STILL), and *niet meer* (NO LONGER).

To allow for the description of phasal polarity expressions in African languages in a consistent and comparable format, the editor provided a “Position paper on Phasal Polarity expressions” to the authors of the volume (Kramer 2017). This paper was provided as a standardized *grille d’enquête* by taking up former typological descriptive approaches to phasal polarity. By integrating these approaches, it proposes six functional-structural parameters (coverage, pragmaticity, telicity, wordhood, expressibility, paradigmaticity) for describing and analysing phasal polarity expressions.

Alongside the present introduction to this volume, the introductory chapter also contains van der Auwera’s concise overview of typological approaches to phasal polarity expressions. In his summary, van der Auwera reminds us to distinguish carefully between the possible “neutral” and “counterexpectational” uses of phasal polarity markers and warns against an oversimplification of languages’ phasal polarity systems, which is often displayed in approaches that offer excessively symmetrical accounts. Further, he insists upon the use of subtle methodology and the invention of tools that are required for appropriately describing an intricate matter such as phasal polarity expressions.

The second section of the book comprises descriptions of phasal polarity expressions in individual African languages and language groups from Niger-Congo, Mande, Afro-Asiatic, Khoe-Kwadi (formerly classified as “Central Khoisan”), Nilotic, and Omotic. The authors’ focus is on different facets of this subtle subject or they provide general formal and functional delineations of phasal polarity expressions in a certain language (group). The chosen approaches owe much to specific research interests (e.g. language contact, grammaticalization, pragmatics) as well as to the fact that the current papers generally present first approaches to phasal polarity in these languages. In most cases, linguistic data is not or just partly collected with the aim to specifically trigger phasal polarity expressions but is based on larger corpora captured in contexts of natural discourse.

Most, namely five, of the section’s papers dedicate themselves to phasal polarity expressions in individual Narrow Bantu languages. This is not surprising because it is a widely recognised fact that in many of these languages, phasal polarity relates to tense and aspect encoded by verbal inflection, tone or the use of multiple verb (i.e. auxiliaries or serial verb) constructions (Nurse 2003: 92). The concepts of STILL, NOT YET, and retrospective ALREADY, are widely expressed by grammatical means and inextricably linked with a certain tense in Narrow Bantu. It is thus not accidental that the first Africanistic paper concentrating on grammatical phasal polarity expressions (cf. Schadeberg 1990) deals with Swahili, the probably most studied and best understood Narrow Bantu language.

Bernander's paper on Manda (Bantu N11) shows that the phasal polarity marker *-(a)kona* is specialized to express STILL and NOT YET concepts. Although STILL and NOT YET expressions were once related by internal negation, in the modern Manda variety, the negator in the NOT YET expression has been lost and there are just constructional differences left to distinguish the two continuative phasal polarity meanings. Bernander discusses the origin and historical background of *-(a)kona* in detail and establishes as its plausible source a copulative item borrowed from Old Nguni in a number of N10 Bantu languages. This peculiar development of the STILL/NOT YET marker in Manda may be an explanation for its unusual morpho-syntactic behaviour in this language.

Molochieva, Namyalo and Witzlack-Makarevich discuss the phasal polarity system in Ruuli (Bantu JE10). They show that the verbal prefix *kya-* is involved in STILL, NOT YET, and NO LONGER constructions that express neutral scenarios more frequently than counterfactual meanings. A specialized ALREADY item is not evident in this language. While NO LONGER is encoded as external negation of STILL in Ruuli, NOT YET expressions are not marked by a negative morpheme. Just like in Manda, STILL and NOT YET expressions show constructional differences but are not related by internal negation.

Nassenstein delineates the phasal polarity system of Lingala (C36, reclassified as C30B) with two STILL items *lisúsu* and *nánu* that both are involved in the formation of negative phasal polarity expressions: NOT YET is related to *nánu* (STILL1) by internal negation, NO LONGER is related to *lisúsu* (STILL2) by external negation. The ALREADY concept can be expressed by the French borrowing *déjà* 'already' or, with a retrospective reading, by the auxiliary *-sí* whose origin is the finish-verb *kosíla*. Lingala's phasal polarity expressions are discussed in a paper together with another Central African riverine contact language, Sango that belongs to the Ubangian group (Pasch, see below).

Guérois (Cuwabo, Bantu P34) and Persohn (Nyakyusa, Bantu M31) provide in-depth descriptions of phasal polarity expressions. Guérois shows that Cuwabo has no specialized constructions for expressing ALREADY, but that this concept is one context-induced interpretative possibility of perfective constructions or expressed by the Portuguese loan *já* 'already'. In Nyakyusa, a dedicated ALREADY marker is attested only for the non-simultaneously identical ("finally") scenario. In both languages, specialized markers for expressing STILL, NOT YET, and NO LONGER exist. Guérois describes the Cuwabo phasal polarity items as formally different (enclitic, prefix, adverb) and not belonging to the same grammatical paradigm. She shows two strategies for NOT YET expressions that differ in frequency and pragmatic sensitivity: the more often used prefixal *ná-* construction is stated as inherently counterexpectational, the less frequent enclitic *=vi* construction allows for 'neutral' and 'counterfactual' interpretations. For Nyakyusa, Persohn

notices the relation of internal negation between STILL and NOT YET expressions in which an auxiliary-like element is involved, whereas NO LONGER constructions with the adverb *kangi* ‘again’ stand outside this paradigm. He further shows that NOT YET and NO LONGER constructions are suitable context-dependently for expressing both neutral and counterfactual scenarios, and that STILL expressions are more sensitive in terms of pragmaticity because one construction type (STILL + negative present perfective) is clearly preferred in counterfactual scenarios.

Two papers concentrate on phasal polarity in (non-Narrow Bantu) Bantoid Grassfields languages. Kießling gives an overview about strategies for encoding phasal polarity in Isu (West Ring, Grassfields) and shows that just one item can be counted as a specialized phasal polarity marker, i.e. the “hybrid adverbs” *nám(á)*. The other concepts are expressed by polysemous items, most of which belong to the same category of hybrid adverbs. Looking beyond Isu at related Ring languages, Kießling notices that encoding strategies of phasal polarity concepts vary considerably across the area, though most West-Ring languages have in common that they operate on a system with a single dedicated STILL item, i.e. cognates of Isu *nám(á)* ‘still’. However, phasal polarity items in the considered Ring languages have in common that they involve adverbials for which a verbal origin can be attested. Mekamgoum offers an in-depth description and analysis of encoding strategies of phasal polarity in Ngemba (Ngâmbà). As an insider of the language community, she delineates very knowledgeably the function of phasal polarity expressions. Like Kießling, she shows that in Ngemba, too, phasal polarity adverbials originate from verbs or still are full-fledged verbs.

Two papers deal with phasal polarity in non-Bantu Niger-Congo languages of the Atlantic and Ubangi branches. Pasch discusses strategies for encoding phasal polarity in Sango (Ubangi) that make use of adverbs for expressing ALREADY (*awe/déjà*) and NO LONGER (*mbeni/encore* + NEG) and the verb *de* ‘continue’ for rendering STILL and NOT YET. The encodings of the two latter concepts are formally related in Sango, i.e. NOT YET is expressed as internal negation of *de* ‘STILL’. Like in Lingala (cf. Nassenstein) that is discussed in the same paper, Sango’s phasal polarity system is influenced by the contact language French from which ALREADY and NO LONGER items *déjà* and *encore* have been borrowed.

Kramer analyses phasal polarity encoding strategies in Fula varieties (Atlantic) of Northern Cameroon and puts an emphasis on differences between them. She states that in the non-standardized, commonly spoken variety (AFC, “Adamawa Ful Communis”) paradigmaticity tendencies can be observed that the (more) standardized, mainly written variety (SAF, “Standardized Adamawa Fula”) lacks. This tendency, although carefully regarded as just one possible variant of a phasal polarity paradigm variable of the flexible AFC continuum, is

interpreted as a factor of grammaticalization whose increase may lead to the reduction of paradigms' sizes.

One paper focuses on a Mande language. Dombrowsky-Hahn shows that the Bambara phasal polarity system is highly sensitive to pragmaticity values distinguishing neutral and counterfactual scenarios by lexical substitution (ALREADY) or co-occurrence of phasal polarity items (STILL, NOT YET). She also reveals different origins of phasal polarity items in Bambara that she subdivides into system-internal, language-internal and system-internal, language-external sources (real language-external sources, i.e. borrowed phasal polarity items are not attested for Bambara). Beside cross-linguistically attested language-internal but system-external origins, e.g. items referring to COMPLETION as sources for ALREADY markers or repetitive morphemes as sources for STILL items, she uncovers a source that seems to be idiosyncratic to Bambara, namely a numeral ONE that has developed into an element signalling an ALREADY expression.

As for the Afro-Asiatic phylum, we find contributions to phasal polarity expressions in languages of the Chadic, Cushitic, and Berber branches. In the Chadic language Hausa, Ziegelmeyer shows that phasal polarity meanings may be achieved via verbal, periphrastic, and adverbial strategies. However, the respective constructions and items involved are not specialized for encoding phasal polarity but allow for phasal interpretations in certain contexts. Ziegelmeyer considers the verb *rig* 'precede, have already done' as the only possible candidate for a real phasal polarity item in Hausa and notes that in other Chadic languages, 'precede'-verbs have been semantically extended for expressing (retrospective) ALREADY meaning. Ziegelmeyer notes that phasal polarity does not play a crucial role in Hausa and that in a protolanguage, phasal polarity expressions possibly did not exist at all.

As in Hausa, Treis convincingly asserts that the Cushitic language Kambaata entirely lacks dedicated phasal polarity expressions (with the only possible exception of the NOT YET construction). However, there is a range of constructions that may be used to express phasal polarity in Kambaata. These non-specialized means are formally heterogeneous and their phasal interpretation arises from the context only.

Fleisch discusses phasal polarity expressions in the Amazigh varieties of Tashelhiyt and Tarifit (Berber). He provides an overview of their formal encoding strategies which show a great degree of similarity but also significant variation on a micro-level. In Amazigh varieties, ALREADY expressions appear to be neither conceptually nor formally closely related to the other three phasal polarity notions, which show a systematic interplay of their formal exponents. Fleisch notes that the Amazigh phasal polarity expressions should be analysed

in terms of a “continuative account” that closely relates to the domains of aspectuality/actionality.

Köhler focuses on a comparative discussion of phasal polarity strategies in Ometo varieties (Omotic, formerly classified as Afro-Asiatic) and states that morphologically complex items are involved in expressions that may be interpreted as signalling STILL, NOT YET and NO LONGER meaning. Constructions rendering the NO LONGER concept are not attested in these varieties.

Fehn provides a first dedicated study on phasal polarity expressions in Khoe languages (formerly classified as “Central Khoisan”) focusing on Khwe and Ts’ixa. Although these languages are closely related, they display rather diverse strategies to signal phasal polarity meaning. Despite the variation in phasal polarity expressions, some items exist that allow for a historical discussion and possibly support reconstructions at different proto levels.

Mitchell examines strategies for rendering phasal polarity meanings in varieties of the Southern Nilotic language Datooga. Based on data of natural discourse, she briefly describes possible realizations of phasal polarity concepts in Datooga and concludes that there are no items or constructions for which phasal polarity can be attributed as core meaning. In the main part of the article, she concentrates on the semantics of the verbal prefix *údú-* that appears with continuative, iterative, immediate past, and avertive-like functions. The prefix *údú-* intricately interacts with tense and aspect and may context-dependently give rise to STILL and NO LONGER interpretations.

In section three, phasal polarity markers and expressions are described and analysed from a historical perspective. Veselinova & Devos focus on NOT YET expressions in Narrow Bantu languages. They give an overview about formal properties and the distribution of specialized NOT YET markers in 141 languages throughout the Bantu area. Their hypothesis is that these markers are innovations and were absent in Proto-Bantu, and they provide grammaticalization mechanisms (conventionalization and reanalysis) that have led to the development of NOT YET expressions in Bantu.

Idiatov notes that phasal polarity markers tend to occupy the same constructional slot as clause-final negation markers in a very wide range of languages of Sub-Saharan Africa. He discusses semantic and formal links between these elements and shows that in some Mande languages, there are traceable historical relations between negation and phasal polarity markers, namely the grammaticalization of a phasal polarity element into a default negator. He acknowledges that this grammaticalization path is rather rare from a cross-linguistic perspective and concedes that a negation marker evolved from a phasal polarity item usually maintains phasal semantics or is restricted to certain TAM constructions.

The last paper in this volume goes beyond African linguistics and creates a link between phasal polarity expression strategies in African and Asian languages by focusing on English varieties of Asia and Africa. Based on large corpora, Li and Siemund present contact-induced developments of the phasal polarity item *already* into an aspectual marker. They concentrate on the functional change of *already* in Colloquial Singapore English and show that similar processes can be observed in other Asian but also African varieties of English (namely Cameroon English, Nigerian English, Ghanaian Pidgin, Sierra Leone Creole, and Cape Flats English).

The papers of the volume shed new light on a domain whose conceptualization has so far been dominantly shaped by linguistic features of Standard Average European languages. They should be regarded as a starting point for a serious discussion on the appropriateness of imposing (solely) Standard Average European shaped concepts such as ALREADY, NOT YET, STILL and NO LONGER and their linguistic reflexes on non-European languages. They hopefully show the necessity of and give rise to further investigation of other alternative conceptualizations of phasal polarity in non-Standard Average European, here African languages.

## Abbreviations

CIRC	circumstantial	NEG	negative
CJ	conjoint	OBJ	object index
CL	noun class	PERS	persistive
CONT	continuative	PL	plural
CPL	completive	PRF	perfect
DEF	definite	PROG	progressive
DJ	disjoint	PRS	present
FV	final vowel	REP	repetitive
HAB	habitual	S	subject index
INF	infinitive	SG	singular

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Johan van der Auwera

# Phasal polarity – warnings from earlier research

For Tim Van Baar (1961–2012)

## 1 Introduction

“Phasal polarity” is the term devised by Van Baar (1997: 1) for the semantic domain served by the English adverbs *already* and *still* and the adverbial phrases *not yet* and *no longer*.

- (1) a. *Paul is in Paris already.*  
b. *Paul was still in Paris.*  
c. *Paul won't be in Paris yet.*  
d. *Paul is no longer in Paris.*

A rough description would say that (1a) and (1d) express the beginning of a phase, a positive one in (1a) and a negative one in (1d), and equally also the end or the completion of a phase, a negative one in (1a) and a positive one in (1d). As for (1b) and (1c) they concern the continuation of a phase, a positive one in (1b) and a negative one in (1c). With paraphrases using the notions of completion and continuation, one can understand that phasal polarity is generally considered to be a dimension of aspect (Hirtle 1977; König 1991: 141; Plungian 1999: 314) or at least to belong “to the periphery of the aspectual domain” (Plungian 1999: 313). Of course, studies of aspect usually focus on verbs and those of phasal polarity have so far mostly focused on particles, adverbs or particle/adverb combinations and phrases, but phasal polarity can be expressed by both (Van Baar 1997: 213–322).

Phasal polarity also relates to tense. Thus Comrie's (1985: 54) NOT YET tense in Luganda does not merely express a NOT YET meaning, it is a NOT YET in the present.

- (2) Luganda  
*te-tu-mma-genda.*  
NEG-1PL-not.yet-go  
'We have not gone yet.'

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Johan van der Auwera, University of Antwerp

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110646290-002>

Such deictic anchoring is not found in English. As the examples in (1a-c) show, the time stretches in which Paul has just arrived in Paris, continues to be in Paris or isn't there yet can be in the present, past or future. This makes *already* etc. different from *up to now* or *henceforth*, even though in sentences like (3a) and (3b) the meanings of the two construals come very close.

- (3) a. *I have not been in Paris yet.*  
 b. *Up to now I have not been in Paris.*

Both van der Auwera (1993, 1998) and Van Baar (1997: 57–61, 137–142) focused on tense neutral expressions like *not yet* and excluded *up to now not*. By the same token (2) would have to be excluded. With the wisdom of hindsight, however, it is clear that this conclusion is too severe. The Luganda case is not an isolated case and it may well be typical for Bantu languages, in general (see Comrie 1985: 53; Nurse 2008: 194; Löfgren 2018). And in Europe, where phasal polarity tends to be expressed by tense neutral adverbials, there seem to be restrictions, too. Thus, the Irish ‘already’ word *cheana*, for instance, is claimed to be incompatible with a future tense (Van Baar 1997: 138). The relation between phasal polarity and tense – as well as mood and other aspects of “aspect”, for that matter – is thus best considered as a parameter of variation (as in Kramer 2017).

## 2 Two warnings from European and world-wide typology

The eighties and nineties saw a lot of work on phasal polarity for the languages of Europe, most elaborately for German and English, and there was a consensus that phasal polarity items make up a symmetrical system. Arguably the ‘tidiest’ systematization was due to Löbner (1989),<sup>1</sup> whose analysis (the “Duality Hypothesis”) involved a geometry superficially similar to the Aristotelian Square and called the “Duality Square”. The basic idea was widely accepted (e.g. Garrido 1992; König 1991; Vandeweghe 1992; Krifka 2000) and it is still relevant today (see 3 below).

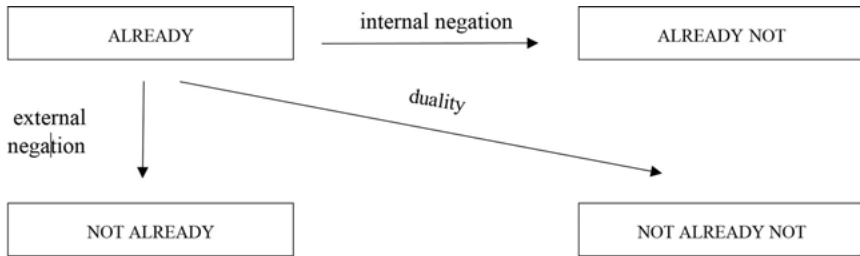
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<sup>1</sup> The ideas surfaced in Löbner’s earlier work. For references see Löbner (1989) and the later Löbner (1990).

It is the Löbner (1989) account that I criticized in (1993) and I will do it again, in a different way, in this paper.

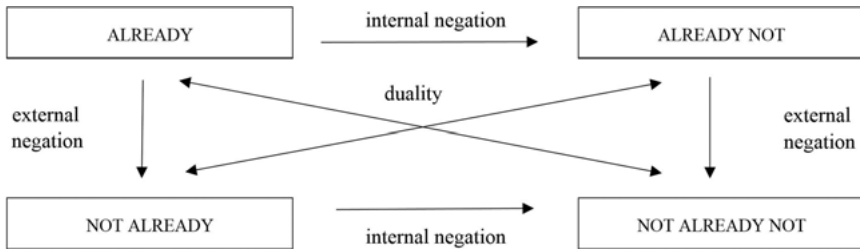
## 2.1 “Already”

For the Duality Square one only needs two concepts, say *ALREADY* and *NOT*, and these can be related in three ways. Importantly, *ALREADY* and *NOT* are not the English lexemes here. The latter will be represented in *italics*. But since English serves as the metalanguage, the concepts and the lexemes are related: thus *ALREADY* is the meaning of *already*. As to the three relations, first *ALREADY* can be negated, yielding *NOT ALREADY*: this is the external negation of *ALREADY*. Second, *ALREADY* can scope over *NOT*, yielding *ALREADY NOT*, yielding the internal negation of *ALREADY*. Third, *ALREADY* can be negated internally as well as externally, yielding *NOT ALREADY NOT*. This was called a “duality” relation. By putting *ALREADY* in a corner, the combinations with negation in the three other corners and the application of the three negations as arrows, one arrives at the square in Figure 1.



**Figure 1:** A phasal polarity square.

This constellation can be fleshed out with four additions, all of them already implied in the simple square in Figure 1. First, just like the external negation of *ALREADY* yields *NOT ALREADY*, so the external negation of *ALREADY NOT* yields *NOT ALREADY NOT*. Second, just like the internal negation of *ALREADY* gives *ALREADY NOT*, so the internal negation of *NOT ALREADY* gives *NOT ALREADY NOT*. Third, just like the dual of *ALREADY* is *NOT ALREADY NOT*, the dual of *ALREADY NOT* is *NOT ALREADY NOT NOT*, which, given that adjacent negations cancel each other, is the same as *NOT ALREADY*. Fourth, duality is a symmetrical relation: when  $\alpha$  is the dual of  $\beta$ , then  $\beta$  is the dual of  $\alpha$ . With these additions we arrive at Figure 2.



**Figure 2:** A phasal polarity square.

This representation is not immediately enlightening for a language like English. For *ALREADY* the insight is minimal: English has a lexeme *already* and the square hypothesis says that *already* means *ALREADY*, which is a trivial claim. For the *ALREADY NOT* corner the square says that whatever a language uses there means *ALREADY NOT*, but English does not normally use *already not*, but instead *no longer*, *no more*, *not any longer* and *not any more*. Mutatis mutandis, the same goes for the *NOT ALREADY* corner: to express *NOT ALREADY*, English does not normally use *not already* but *not yet*. It is true that *not already* is not impossible. It is acceptable in an echoic (metalinguistic) context.

- (4) *You say that he is in Paris already. No, he is not in Paris already. He has not even left Marseille yet.*

In questions and conditionals *already not* is fine too.

- (5) *If you haven't already, check out our February e-newsletter.*  
(<https://www.sylviagroup.com/blog/if-you-havent-already-check-out-our-february-e-newsletter/>, accessed on 22-8-2018)
- (6) *Why hasn't he asked you already?*  
(<https://www.quibblo.com/quiz/8YzN7pn/Why-hasnt-he-asked-you-already>, accessed on 22-8-2018)

But *not already* is not exactly the same as *not yet*, as can be seen when comparing (5) and (6) with (7) and (8).

- (7) *If you haven't yet, check out our February e-newsletter.*
- (8) *Why hasn't he asked you yet?*

The version with *not already* involve the expectation that the state of affairs already obtains. (9) and (10) paraphrases (5) and (6).

(9) *There is a good chance that you have already checked out our February e-newsletter, but in case you haven't, do it.*

(10) *He should have asked you already, but in case he hasn't, why hasn't he?*

(7) and (8) do not convey this additional meaning.<sup>2</sup>

The important points are that *not already* and *not yet* are not synonymous and that the Duality Hypothesis has nothing to say about this.<sup>3</sup> The latter also does not say anything about the difference between *no longer*, *no more*, *not . . . any longer* and *not anymore*. As (11) and (12) illustrate, these four items are subtly different.

(11) a. *He is no longer in Paris.*  
 b. *He is not in Paris any longer.*  
 c. *?He is no more in Paris.*  
 d. *He is not in Paris anymore.*

(12) a. *\*He will no longer come.*  
 b. *\*He won't come any longer.*  
 c. *\*He will come no more.*<sup>4</sup>  
 d. *He won't come anymore.*

A preliminary conclusion is that even just the facts of English show that the validity of the square hypothesis is questionable: (i) it does not explain why English resists expressing ALREADY NOT as *already not* and NOT ALREADY as *not already*, (ii) it does not explain why when *not already* does occur, it does not

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<sup>2</sup> The difference between *not already* and *not yet* is exactly the same as that between interrogative *already* and *yet*.

(a) *Has she arrived yet?*

(b) *Has he arrived already?*

<sup>3</sup> Note that the very fact that *not already* is possible makes it impossible to maintain that *yet* is “really” *already* too, but just a suppletive form. For if it is “just” a suppletive, why doesn't it supplete for *already* in (4) to (6)? It is interesting to see that Traugott and Waterhouse's (1969), who support the suppletion claim, are forced to claim that whereas *yet* in *not yet* is really *already*, the *already* in *not already* is a different *already*.

<sup>4</sup> The starred examples are grammatical with the sense that he will come on no further occasion.

mean the same as *not yet*, (iii) it does not explain the differences between *no longer*, *no more*, *not any longer* and *not anymore*. It remains true, of course, that one can validly investigate to what extent languages employ their ALREADY markers for the expression of NOT YET and NO LONGER or a meaning related to these, though subtly different – this is the parameter of variation that Kramer (2017: 3–6) calls “coverage”. In Spanish, for instance, *ya* is ‘already’ and *ya no*, literally ‘already not’, is the Spanish rendering of *no longer*.

(13) Spanish

- a. *Ya está aquí*  
already is here  
‘He is here already.’
- b. *Ya no está aquí*  
already is not here  
‘He is no longer here.’

In Classical Nahuatl *ye* is ‘already’, and ‘not yet’ is the univerbation *aya* of *ye* and the negator *a*.

(14) Classical Nahuatl

- a. *ye iztaya.*  
already it.is.becoming.white  
‘It is becoming white.’  
(Andrews 2003: 174)
- b. *Aya temo.*  
not.already it.descends  
‘It does not yet descend.’  
(Andrews 2003: 76)

So the duality hypothesis offers at least a partial explanation why the Spanish and Classical Nahuatl systems are possible. But note that it remains mysterious why there are many languages like Spanish and why the Classical Nahuatl system is “very rare” (Van Baar 1997: 22).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> It is indeed always Classical Nahuatl that is referred to ((König 1991: 144; van der Auwera 1993: 631; Van Baar 1997: 22; Kramer 2017: 5). Van der Auwera (1993: 631) hesitantly mentions Fon – without data. The only other language known for which a combination of ALREADY and NOT is said to yield NOT YET is Latin (Schadeberg 1990: 13). However, in Latin *iam* ‘already’ and *non* ‘not’ usually yield ‘no longer’. The one example in Schadeberg (1990: 13) is a conditional. It may well be that the ‘not yet’ meaning of *non iam* is of the same nature as that of *not already* illustrated in (5).



## 2.2 “Still”

As far as we know, no language ever puts the equivalent *not already not* in the NOT ALREADY NOT corner. Instead, they use another primitive. In English this is *still* and the claim is that its meaning, i.e., STILL, is the same as NOT ALREADY NOT. Figure 3 adds STILL, not just in the corner where it occurs as a primitive, but also in the other corners.

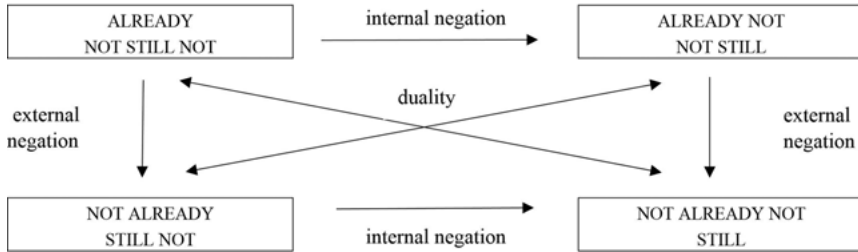


Figure 3: A phasal polarity square.

Enriched this way, some of the worries expressed about the usefulness of the duality hypothesis for English might be alleviated. There is actually no need to expect a language to always express ALREADY NOT as *already not*. It may just as well express it as *not still*. But this is not what happens in English. The corner which is now understood to house not only ALREADY NOT but also NOT STILL is not normally expressed with *not still*. Once again *not still* has echoic uses and fares better in questions and conditionals.

- (15) *You say that he is still in Paris. No, he is not still in Paris. He left for Marseille 5 days ago.*
- (16) *Why don't' you go have a nice day with Dad? That is, if he isn't still hiding from you.*  
[https://www.google.be/search?hl=en&tbm=bks&ei=mE-KW7SrA8adkgX404yQDg&q=%22if+he+isn%27t+still%22&oq=%22if+he+isn%27t+still%22&gs\\_l=psy-ab.12..17187.17549.0.20569.3.3.0.0.0.0.56.151.3.3.0..0..1c.1.64.psy-ab..0.0.0..0.0.PLmxm3sDPmY](https://www.google.be/search?hl=en&tbm=bks&ei=mE-KW7SrA8adkgX404yQDg&q=%22if+he+isn%27t+still%22&oq=%22if+he+isn%27t+still%22&gs_l=psy-ab.12..17187.17549.0.20569.3.3.0.0.0.0.56.151.3.3.0..0..1c.1.64.psy-ab..0.0.0..0.0.PLmxm3sDPmY), accessed on 1-9-2018)
- (17) *If we had made love, why isn't he still in bed with me?*  
[https://books.google.be/books?id=8eBRAAAQBAJ&pg=PA194&lpg=PA194&dq=%22why+isn%27t+he+still%22&source=bl&ots=EOPZk\\_](https://books.google.be/books?id=8eBRAAAQBAJ&pg=PA194&lpg=PA194&dq=%22why+isn%27t+he+still%22&source=bl&ots=EOPZk_)

r9gz&sig=C-Ka4\_2BMBX\_-\_uBIacB5\_ADrI&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiLjdD8sZndAhURPFAKHwUCvEQ6AEwBXoECAUQAQ#v=onepage&q=%22why%20isn't%20he%20still%22&f=false, accessed on 1-9-2018)

The fact of the matter is that a declarative non-echoic sentence does not use *not still*.

The situation is a little different for the NOT ALREADY – STILL NOT corner. Different from *not still* the phrase *still not* is perfectly fine in non-echoic declaratives.

(18) *John is still not in London.*

But *still not* is more emphatic than *not yet*. There is an expectation that John is in London at the time referred in (18). In van der Auwera (1993, 1998) I accounted for the difference with a “Double Alternative Hypothesis”. Imagine that John is on the train to London. The speaker thinks that the train is to arrive at 6 PM, it is now 5 PM, there is no expectation that John should be in London at 5 PM. There is an expectation that he will arrive at 6 PM and the use of *not yet* contrasts the negative *not yet* at 5 PM with the later positive stage at 6 PM. This the scenario represented in Figure 4: the horizontal arrow is the timeline and it is divided in a negative and positive phrase. The doubly pointed arrow represents the contrast invoked by *not yet*.

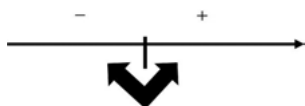


Figure 4: One reading of *not yet*.

But here is a different scenario. The speaker again thinks that the train is to arrive at 6PM, but it is 6.15 PM now and John is still on the train. This is unexpected and the current state of affairs of John being on the train is not contrasted with a later one in which he arrived, but a simultaneous though counterfactual one in which he should have arrived. With respect to this expected arrival the real arrival will be late. This counterexpectational scenario is represented in Figure 5. The dashed line is the expected counterfactual timeline. The negative state of affairs is compared with a simultaneous though unreal positive one.

An important point is that *not yet* also allows the counterexpectational reading, but it does not force it. *not yet* simply allows both readings, and

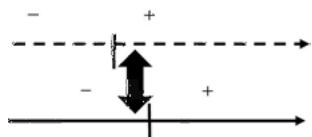


Figure 5: Still not.

the choice is context-dependent. In (19) the context of the *when* clause rules out *still not*.

- (19) a. *When a child is born, she has not yet experienced anything.*  
 b. ??*When a child is born, she still has not experienced anything.*

Interestingly, (19) is still called “expectational” by Veselinova (201b),<sup>6</sup> following Plungian (1999: 318). The latter considers the category of “phasal polarity” to be the same as that of “counterexpectation”. This is not correct: there really is not any expectation that the child has already experienced something before birth. Plungian’s position is itself inspired by the approach of Heine et al (1991: 193), who call *not yet* – as well as *already*, *still* and *no longer* – “counterexpectation markers”. They only look at *not yet* – not at *still not*, nor at similar variations for the other phasal items (see below). And they also do not get alarmed by examples such as (20) (Heine et al 1991: 193).

- (20) *As usual, he was not yet up at noon.*

In their view, the counterexpectation only relates to *he was not yet up at noon*. Just how *as usual* undoes the counterexpectation is not made clear and I propose that it is better to claim that the counterexpectational reading of *not yet*, different from that of *still not*, is possible but not necessary.

Counterexpectational phasal markers, I argued in van der Auwera (1993, 1998), can appear in each corner. (21) shows a counterexpectational “already”.

- (21) *Some infections are already no longer treatable with current drugs.*

<sup>6</sup> The example is due to Östen Dahl (personal communication to Ljuba Veselinova) and it is supposed to show that *not yet* need not involve a contrast with two points of time. I propose that was in fact an earlier point of time or, better, a stretch of time, viz., the time stretch of the unborn child, which contrasts with the time stretch of the “born child”. Note this is an analysis of a sentence, not a position in the debate about the extent to which unborn children experience anything.

(<http://theconversation.com/yes-we-must-prescribe-fewer-antibiotics-but-were-ignoring-the-consequences-89266>, accessed on 22-08-2018)

In van der Auwera (1998: 83) I estimated that *already no longer* is not idiomatic, different from what we find in e.g. German. Only a comparative corpus study will show to what extent the idiomaticity and frequency of such constructions differ crosslinguistically.

- (22) *Wöber bei Ajax schon nicht mehr zu ersetzen*  
 Wöber at Ajax already no longer to replace  
 ‘It is already the case that Wöber can no longer be replaced in the Ajax.’  
 (<https://peterlinden.live/woeber-bei-ajax-schon-nicht-mehr-zu-ersetzen-kommt-huetter-ins-sraucheln/>)

The interesting thing here is that this strategy has the negator flanked by two phasal particles.<sup>7</sup> English does not have a counterexpectational STILL marker, but it is not hard to find one in the other languages of Europe, e.g. in Dutch or French.

- (23) a. *Hij is nog ziek*  
           he is still sick  
           ‘He is still sick.’  
       b. *Hij is nog altijd ziek*  
           he is still always sick  
           ‘He is still sick.’ (counter to one’s expectation)
- (24) a. *Il est encore malade*  
           he is still sick  
           ‘He is still sick.’  
       b. *Il est toujours malade*  
           he is always sick  
           ‘He is still sick.’ (counter to one’s expectation)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Kramer (2017) mentions the *schon nicht mehr* phenomenon as a pragmatic phenomenon not (directly) related to the Double Alternative hypothesis, different from the proposals in van der Auwera (1993, 1998) and van Baar (1997). It is, of course, true that the strategy yielding counterexpectation in the ALREADY corner is different from that in the STILL corner. But even in just the STILL corner there are different strategies (see (23) and (24) below).

<sup>8</sup> The sentence is vague: it can also mean that the subject is always sick.

In fact, for the world at large, Van Baar (1997: 77) claims that “hardly any language [. . .] makes no formal distinction” between the neutral and the counterexpectational STILL use. For ALREADY languages seem to be less disposed to have two such markers.<sup>9</sup> Van Baar has a 25 language sample, and he only reports a special counterexpectational ALREADY marker, in addition to a neutral marker, for 4 languages, viz. Burmese, Irish, Korean and Classical Nahuatl. Note that this does not mean that one should not attribute the two readings to *already*. This is shown by the “famous” dialogue brought into the literature by Mittwoch (1993: 73–75).

- (25) A: *I've applied for American citizenship.*  
 B: *Is your husband also applying?*  
 A: *He is already American, for he was born the America.*

The relevant reading here is the counterexpectational one: the husband's being American contrasts with the counterfactual scenario in which he is not American yet and still has to be apply for citizenship.<sup>10</sup>

Two more comments on the subject of ALREADY. First, in Van Baar's sample languages it would seem that most languages have a neutral ALREADY. It is by no means excluded that there are languages whose only ALREADY marker would be the counterexpectational one (Kramer 2017: 9). Second, if we are going to take expectations seriously, one will have to study more readings and markers than commonly studied in phasal polarity work. It is true that *already* in (26) can be taken to mean that Mary has arrived earlier than expected, but the opposite, an arrival that is later than expected, can be expressed too.

- (26) a. *Mary has already arrived.*  
 b. *Mary has finally arrived.*

Except for van der Auwera (1993, 1998) and Van Baar (1997) markers such as *finally* have not been included in phasal polarity studies.

The lesson of this section is the same as that of the preceding. The duality hypothesis is too simple. It does not tell us (i) why *still* is not regularly used for

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<sup>9</sup> Languages may well have more than one marker but with a different division of labor. Thus German has two ‘already’ words, *schon* and *bereits*, both of which are vague between the neutral and the counterexpectational readings.

<sup>10</sup> This use is also similar to the one sketched in (19): in the real world the stretch of time in which the husband was not American is one in which he was not born yet.

“not still”, (ii) how to account for the counterexpectational uses, and (iii) that there is more to expectation than what can be expressed by markers like *already*, *still*, *not yet* and *no longer*.

### 3 These warnings are relevant for Sub-Saharan Africa

The general warnings about symmetry and counterexpectation, espoused by Van Baar (1997) and myself, are heeded by Van Baar’s analyses of Bari, Ewe, Hausa, Nam and Tigrinya. In this section I briefly discuss Plungian (1999); Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer (1991), then Schadeberg (1990), Nurse (2008), and Löfgren (2018).

Plungian and Heine are both Africanists-turned-typologists and for phasal polarity their ideas are at least partially formed on the basis of Bantu languages. I have already issued a warning about their notion of counterexpectation. A second warning concerns their embracing symmetry. This is most clearly visible when Plungian (1999: 315) characterizes the four phasal notions as shown in (27).

(27)		$t_i$	$t_o$	
	a. already	–	+	‘begin’
	b. no longer	+	–	‘stop’, ‘not continue’, ‘begin not’
	c. still	+	+	‘continue’, ‘not stop’, ‘not begin not’
	d. not yet	–	–	‘not begin’

This set-up is basically equivalent to Löbner (1989).

Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer (1991: 193) also offer a symmetry account, but one that brings in counterexpectation as well.

(28)	a. already	=	beginning earlier than expected
	b. no longer	=	end earlier than expected
	c. still	=	end later than expected
	d. not yet	=	beginning later than expected

This account is in complete correspondence harmony with Schadeberg (1990), who Heine et al refer to and support. Schadeberg’s analysis, prompted by three Bantu languages, German, Greek and Latin – in the format of Heine et al (1991) is shown in (29).

- (29) a. already = unexpectedly early beginning and duration of a situation  
 b. no longer = unexpectedly early end of a situation  
 c. still = unexpectedly delayed end of a situation  
 d. not yet = unexpectedly delayed beginning and duration of a situation

The Heine and Schadeberg accounts are suspicious because they embrace both symmetry and counterexpectation. This is not to say that there couldn't be any languages, to wit African languages, that do have the simple systems sketched in (27)–(29). However, the worldwide observations should put us on our guard. Van Baar (1997: 77), it will be remembered, found that most languages do distinguish between neutral and counterexpectational “still”. This includes four of the African languages he studied, i.e., Bari, Ewe, Hausa, Nama – only Tigrinya does not. This contrasts with the findings in Löfgren (2018). She studied 46 East Bantu languages and she didn't find a single language with dedicated markers for the two *still* meanings. The reason for the difference is likely to be the methodology. Though Löfgren (2018) is an excellent exploratory study, it is based on existing grammatical descriptions and there phasal polarity is typically not given a solid account. Van Baar (1997) combines grammatical descriptions and a questionnaire specifically made for phasal polarity. This brings us to what is perhaps the most important warning of all, subsuming the ones geared to being careful about symmetry and expectations. Despite appearances phasal polarity is a semantically subtle subject matter, demanding subtle tools.

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## **II Phasal polarity expressions in African languages**



Rasmus Bernander

# The phasal polarity marker *-(a)kona* in Manda and its history

## 1 Introduction

Manda (iso 639–3: mgs) is a Bantu language – coded as N11 in Guthrie’s (1948) referential classification – spoken by approximately 30 000 speakers along the eastern shores of Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) in southern Tanzania.<sup>1</sup> In Manda, the marker *-(a)kona*, inflected for subject indexation, is employed to express the phasal polarity concepts of STILL and NOT YET. This study sets out to describe the formal and functional properties of this marker in Manda. In addition, it will offer an account of its contact-induced origin and current development. It is shown that despite its auxiliary verb-like appearance, *-(a)kona* does not share the properties of an auxiliary nor does it originate from a lexical verb. Instead, this study argues that it stems from a “copulative”, i.e. an element of non-verbal origin which acquired copula-like features through the addition of a subject marker and eventually became specialized as a phasal polarity marker. What is more, this study shows that the phasal polarity marker *-(a)kona* in Manda is the result of a recent innovation triggered by language contact with a

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<sup>1</sup> The vast bulk of the data presented in this article has been collected during field work conducted in the Manda speaking area on various occasions throughout the years 2014–2017 for the purposes of my doctoral dissertation (Bernander 2017). The reader is referred to this work for more general information about the Manda language and the Manda speaking community. Some of the results presented in this paper have also been presented there, although many aspects of the analysis have been reinterpreted and strengthened in light of the study by Kramer (2017), as well as by the work of Van Baar (1997) and van der Auwera (1993, 1998). I would like to direct special thanks to my Manda speaking consultants (plus my additional Mpoto and Matengo informants) as well as to Raija Kramer and an anonymous reviewer for their helpful remarks on a previous draft. Thanks are also due to the audience for their comments on presentations about *-(a)kona* given at SOAS (in October 2016), at the 14th International Conference of Africanists, in Moscow, Russia (in October 2017) and at the 9th World Congress of African Linguistics in Rabat, Morocco (in August 2018). This work has partially been supported by Kone Foundation, here gratefully acknowledged. The usual disclaimer applies.

South African Nguni variety, spoken by the invaders and rulers of parts of southern Tanzania in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This study is organized in the following manner. After this introduction follows section 2, where a general overview of the complete phasal polarity paradigm in Manda is offered, including a brief presentation of the strategies employed in expressing the related concepts of *ALREADY* and *NO LONGER*. The remainder of the paper is devoted to the marker *-(a)kona* and its use in the continuative phasal polarity expressions of *STILL* and *NOT YET*. In section 3, the formal and functional characteristics of *-(a)kona* are described. Section 4 addresses the fact that *-(a)kona* is a rare marker from a comparative perspective and has an ambiguous categorical status. Section 5 offers an account of the history of *-(a)kona* and the constructions of which it is a part, tracing its peculiar etymology and disentangling the processes behind its recruitment and further development as a phasal polarity marker. Section 6 contains a brief summary and some concluding remarks.

## 2 Expressions of phasal polarity in Manda: A general introduction

Before embarking on an elaborate presentation and analysis of the specific formal and functional features of *-(a)kona*, this section sets out to offer some background information on the language typology of Manda followed by a more general overview of the entire paradigm of phasal polarity expressions found in the language.

### 2.1 Some introductory remarks on the language structure of Manda

In order to facilitate the following description and analysis, this section presents background information on some typological traits of the Manda language, particularly its verbal structure and its strategy of negation, which both are notions closely linked to that of phasal polarity. Regarding the verbal structure, Manda adheres to the typical traits of an (Eastern) Bantu language with complex verbal morphology (see e.g. Nurse 2008: 28–78), consisting of several affixes marking concepts related to that of phasal polarity – such as tense, aspect and taxis – directly on the verb stem. The concatenative verb template in Manda, consisting of various morphological slots

dedicated to affixes of certain functional categories can be represented in the following manner (where brackets indicate optionality):<sup>2</sup>

(Pre-SM-) (SM-) (-TAM1-) (-OM-) -ROOT (-EXT) -TAM2

**Figure 1:** The Manda verbal template.

See Bernander (2017: 145) for an inventory of the various TAM constructions found in Manda that results from different combinations of affixes in these various slots. It is important to point out that some of these constructions in Manda fluctuate between a realization with the subject marker only and a realization where the vowel of the subject marker coalesces with an /a/ in the TAM1 slot, without there being any semantic differences. This is still a phenomenon in need of further exploration and explanation. It is attested in other languages of this Bantu speaking area as well (e.g. Mpoto N14; Botne 2019). As will be further described in §3.1, *-(a)kona* is also affected by this morphophonological fluctuation (hence the <a> in brackets).

Manda is a tonal language, but with a highly restricted and predictable tone system consisting of an obligatory high tone on either the stem-initial position or the antepenult and/or penult. Although the assignment of tone may have a contrastive effect, this is only so to a limited extent. As tone plays no important role with regard to the phasal polarity expressions (or their development) in Manda, this feature is not further discussed here (readers are instead referred to Bernander 2017: 54–56).

Of more importance for this specific study is the formation of periphrastic (or complex) verb constructions in Manda. Periphrastic verb constructions are formed in two ways: either as auxiliary + infinitive verb (~deverbal noun), as in (1), or as a serial construction, as in (2), where both verbs are finite and inflected for the same subject. It should be noticed that in the latter case, the first verb is always a copula in (present day) Manda (in this example the verb *-y-* ‘be(come)’).

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<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations used in this template as well as in the glosses of this article are the following: 1, 2, 3 . . . (nominal or pronominal) noun class prefix / degree of temporal remoteness; 1, 2, 3 sg / pl person; APPL applicative; COMPL completive; CONS consecutive; DEM demonstrative; EXT Extension (= derivational suffix); FUT future; FV final vowel; INF infinitive; LOC locative noun class; NEG negative; NOND nondum (= ‘not yet’); OM object marker; PER persistent (= ‘still’); PFV perfect(ive); POSS possessive pronoun; PROSP prospective; PST past; SM subject marker; TAM tense, aspect, mood. Notice that Manda marks some TAM functions (like future tense) with morphemes in the Pre-SM slot.

- (1) *ni-bít-a ku-kíláwók-a ku-Dár*  
 SM1SG-PROSP-FV INF-return-FV LOC17-Dar-es-Salaam  
 ‘I am going to return to Dar-es-Salaam.’
- (2) *kiláwu ya-ní-y-i ni-jéng-íti*  
 tomorrow FUT-SM1SG-be(come)-FUT SM1SG-build-PFV  
 ‘(By) tomorrow I will have built (it).’

This section will be closed with a brief note on the negation system in Manda. Unlike the common Bantu strategy (but in accordance with many other languages in the area), negation is never marked directly on the verb in the present-day version of Manda. Standard negation is marked merely with a free-standing post-verbal particle, either *he* or *lepa~lepe* (or even *lepi*).

- (3) *pícha y-áki i-ka-wók-a hé*  
 9.picture SM9-POSS3SG SM9-CONS-depart-FV NEG  
 ‘Her picture didn’t go away,  
*i-tám-a mú-mú-tu i-ka-wók-a lépa*  
 SM9-SIT-FV LOC18-3-HEAD SM9-CONS-depart-FV NEG  
 it is stuck in my head, it didn’t go away.’

As illustrated in (3) above, these negative particles may be used more or less interchangeably. However, *lepa~lepe* is used more frequently (see Bernander 2017: 314–315). Other, non-standard, negators in Manda are also unbound. They include the negative auxiliary *-kotok-*, used as a prohibitive and for related functions (see Bernander 2017: 322–333, 2018), and the negative existential *kwawaka* (see Bernander 2017: 334–340).

## 2.2 The Manda phasal polarity paradigm

Following Van Baar (1997: 2; see also Kramer 2017; Löbner 1989; Krifka 2000; van der Auwera 1993, 1998; Schadeberg 1990; Heine et al. 1991), the concept of phasal polarity is defined in this paper as the combined notions of contrast in polarity, i.e. the existence or non-existence of a situation (in contrast to some other situation), with phasal values, i.e. the relative sequencing of these two contrasting situations. In other words, phasal polarity markers are “structured means of expressing polarity in a sequential perspective” (Van Baar 1997: 40). Additionally, phasal polarity expressions are typically associated with the notion of counter-factuality or counter-expectation – i.e. that the contrasting situation

runs counter to some presupposition – a characteristic specifically put forward as a defining factor in studies on Bantu languages as well as African languages more generally (see e.g. Schadeberg 1990; Heine et al. 1991; Nichols 2011: 131; Kramer 2017).

The set of expressions of phasal polarity found in Manda, hence constituting the exhaustive phasal polarity paradigm in the language, is introduced in (4).<sup>3</sup>

- (4) (a) *n-ákóna ni-lím-a ng'ónda w-ángu*  
 SM1SG-PER SM1SG-cultivate-FV 3.plot 3-POSS1SG  
 'I am **still** cultivating my plot.'
- (b) *n-ákóna ku-lím-a ng'ónda w-ángu*  
 SM1SG-NOND INF-cultivate-FV 3.plot 3-POSS1SG  
 'I have not cultivated my plot yet.'
- (c) *ni-máli' ku-lím-a ng'ónda w-ángu*  
 SM1SG-COMPL(<'finish'-PFV) SM1SG-cultivate-FV 3.plot 3-POSS1SG  
 'I have **already** cultivated my plot.'
- (d) *ni-lím-a hé ng'ónda w-ángu kávíli*  
 SM1SG-cultivate-FV NEG 3.plot 3-POSS1SG **anymore** (<'again')  
 'I am **no longer** cultivating my plot.'

As seen from these examples (more substantially explained with regard to both form and function in the following sections of this article), *-(a)kona* functions as the substantive element in the semi-schematic constructions expressing both STILL (4a) and NOT YET (4b). From a comparative-conceptual point of view and with regard to the issue of terminology, these constructions with *-(a)kona* may be associated with two functional categories and subsequently labelled after them. Firstly, the construction in (4a) will be referred to as a “persistent” – a term used by e.g. Nurse (2008) for markers of STILL or constructions that “affirm that a situation has held continuously since an implicit or explicit point in the past up to the time of speaking” (Nurse 2008: 165).<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the construction in (4b) will be referred to as a “nondum” – a term used by Veselinova (2015; Veselinova & Devos, *this volume*) for

<sup>3</sup> Notice that the “underlying” subject marker in example (4a) and (4b) is the standard *ni-* and that the alternative form of the SM1SG in this case stems from a regular type of coalescence with the initial /a/ of *-(a)kona*, where *ni-* + *a* > *na-a* > *n-a*.

<sup>4</sup> Although markers labelled as “persistent” and “completive” (used to refer to the expression of ALREADY in this article), are typically treated as aspectual in the (Bantu) literature (rather than explicitly categorized as markers of phasal polarity), I make use of these terms (also in the interlinearization of examples) as they encompass closely interrelated concepts and are thus useful for comparative reasons.

NOT YET markers or constructions “used for the encoding of non-realized expectations for either actions or states” (Veselinova & Devos, *this volume*: 443).<sup>5</sup> These two expressions may, in turn, be treated together as forming a sub-paradigm of non-telic or continuative phasal polarity expressions related through internal negation, i.e. STILL [NEG [p]] => NOT YET (cf. Kramer 2017). These continuative phasal polarity expressions are the focus of this study and will be further described and analyzed in the remaining sections of this article. The rest of this section offers a brief presentation of the two remaining (telic) phasal polarity expressions found in Manda. The first one, illustrated in (4c) and discussed in §2.3.1, makes use of the auxiliary verb *-mal-* to express the notion of ALREADY. The second one, NO LONGER, illustrated in (4d) and further discussed in §2.3.2, is expressed by the adverbial *kavĩlĩ* plus sentence negation.

## 2.3 Additional phasal polarity expressions in Manda – a brief description

### 2.3.1 The expression of ALREADY

The concept of ALREADY is expressed in Manda with the auxiliary *-mal-*, referred to (and glossed) as a *completive* marker in Bernander (2017), following Nicolle (2012). The completive in Manda is an auxiliary, transparently derived from the lexical verb *-mal-* meaning ‘finish, complete’ (originating from the Proto-Bantu root *\*-mad-*, with reflexes with a similar meaning attested in all Bantu subgroups; cf. Bastin et al. 2002). When functioning as a completive, the auxiliary *-mal-* is inflected with the perfect(ive) suffix *-ili ~ -iti* (often truncated to *-i*) due to the tendency of final syllable deletion in Manda; cf. Bernander 2017: 53), occurring with and operating on a second, infinitive verb which conveys the main situation of the proposition. Example (5) illustrates the use of *-mal-* to express the concept of ALREADY in Manda as a positive, inchoative phasal polarity expression, with a retrospective focus on the completion of a situation which holds at the time of reference, but which is not anticipated to continue to hold (cf. van der Auwera 1998; Nicolle 2012; Kramer 2017).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Bernander (2017: 262) and Veselinova & Devos (*this volume*) for several alternative terms used for NOT YET constructions in the literature.

<sup>6</sup> These semantic components of retrospective focus and discontinuation overlap with those of NO LONGER (discussed in §2.3.2). Indeed, according to Schadeberg (1990), a similar completive