Against expectations – the rise of adverbs in Swahili phasal polarity

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This article provides a first analysis of the expression of phasal polarity in Swahili. Phasal polarity (henceforth PhP) refers to linguistic concepts which express the phase of a given situation in relation to a prior and/or subsequent phase, as well as expressing whether a certain situation holds or not. These concepts, represented here in English as a meta-language with ALREADY, NO LONGER, STILL and NOT YET, are interrelated in interesting ways and form a semantic sub-system. In contrast to many other Eastern Bantu languages, we show that the dedicated expressions for PhP concepts in Swahili are mainly adverbs, with limited use of verbal affixes. It also stands out in the area by not having any gaps in the expressibility of PhP concepts, and by making use of internal negation. In order to target present-day spoken Swahili, the results are based on speaker interviews, through the use of carefully introduced contexts. The main strategy for expressing ALREADY was through the verbal affix *sha-*. There is also an adverb *tayari* 'ready' to express this concept, which occurs not infrequently in our results. We show that there are differences in their distribution, and hypothesize that this could be related to an ongoing change in the use of *(me)sha-* in relation to perfective *me-*. For all other PhP concepts, adverbs are used as the main strategy. There was variability in speaker responses in the use of constructions which we have considered contextual paraphrases rather than dedicated PhP expressions. The current work is inspired by a recent increase in interest in PhP systems in languages of the African continent, previously relatively unexplored (Kramer 2021). The analysis is based on the parameters for cross-linguistic comparison as presented by Kramer (2017).

Keywords: phasal polarity, Swahili, adverbs, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

The interrelatedness of the four phasal concepts ALREADY, NO LONGER, STILL and NOT YET,[1] in a semantic subsystem referred to as phasal polarity (PhP), began to attract attention around the 1990s by the linguists Löbner (1989), van der Auwera (1993, 1998) and van Baar (1997). However, it is still a relatively uncharted area, especially for lesser described languages. In the African context, there is an increasing interest in exploring this category of linguistic expressions (Kramer 2017, Löfgren 2018, 2019, Kramer 2021). The present paper contributes to the field by adding data – based on speaker interviews – from Swahili to the emerging picture.[2]

The four PhP concepts mentioned above are related to one another both in terms of phasal relation and in terms of polarity values. The phasal relation means that each expression relates both to a current scenario and to a prior or subsequent one. The expression no longer in sentence (1b),

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[1] In this paper, we use the English PhP expressions in small caps to denote the four PhP concepts. For certain concepts, gram abbreviations such as NONDUM for NOT YET have been suggested (Veselinova and Devos 2021), but we have not adopted them here.

[2] This paper draws from the bachelor's thesis of the first author, but has been largely re-worked for publication, including the addition of more data.

for instance, by definition entails the expression still and the preceding scenario described in sentence (1a), since one cannot 'no longer be waiting', or 'stop waiting', if one was not in fact waiting in the first place. In other words, there must have been a time when one was 'still waiting'. The polarity *value* has to do with each expression also describing whether the situation holds or not, in this case 'the waiting': if the expression entails that the person is in fact waiting when the utterance is made, the polarity value of that expression is positive (+), while it is negative (–) otherwise.

(1)   a.   I am *still* waiting for my friend (+)
        b.   I am *no longer* waiting for my friend. (–)

Putting together the notions of phase and polarity, it becomes clear that PhP concepts contrast situations with different polarity values and that these situations are sequentially related; for example, *Peter is already in London* (+), when uttered, presumes a scenario where *Peter was not yet in London* (-), while *Peter is no longer in London* (–) entails a possible scenario in which he was still there (+) (van Baar 1997). Besides describing these polar and phasal relations, PhP expressions can also convey certain attitudes and expectations of a speaker towards a situation. A situation such as in (1a) can be expected at a point in time in which the speaker is just early and the friend is not expected to have arrived yet. However, when the speaker has waited beyond the presupposed arrival time of the friend, a simultaneous *counterfactual* scenario emerges. Languages can have different expressions for a certain PhP concept in the *neutral* versus the counterfactual scenario.

The aim of this study is to describe how PhP is expressed in Swahili, in a cross-linguistic perspective and enabled by a framework developed to systematically classify PhP expressions in a comparative perspective (Kramer 2017).

We show that Swahili has overtly formal expressions for all four PhP concepts (2-6), unlike many other Bantu languages (Löfgren 2019). The speakers in our study mainly used adverbs. An exception to this is the verbal prefix *sha-*, as in example (2), which was the most frequent strategy used to express the concept ALREADY. However, this concept is also frequently expressed using the adverb *tayari*, as in (3) (see Section 3.2.1):

ALREADY:
(2)   U-me-**sha**-end-a   sokoni?
        SM2SG-PRF-ALREADY-go-FV   market.LOC
        'Have you already gone to the market?' Q1_ES7[3]

(3)   **Tayari**   wa-na-chez-a   dansi
        ALREADY   SM2-PRS-play-FV   dance
        'They are already dancing.' Q1_HS1[4]

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[3] The codes refer to the questionnaire answers. In this case, Q1_E refers to Part1, sentence E; S7 refers to speaker 7.

[4] In our data, *tayari* is the most common ALREADY expression for progressive readings (like the one in example (3)). A progressive reading can also be achieved with an auxiliary construction involving the verb *-anza* 'to start' in combination with *mesha-*, as in example (18) *Wamesha anza kucheza* 'They are already dancing'. Without *-anza*, a progressive reading is not acceptable. The sentence in example (2) was originally elicited as 'Are you already going to the market?', but was rejected as having any progressive reading by our consultant. See also Section 3.2.

NO LONGER:

(4)   Amina   **ha**-ta-fany-a   kazi   hospitalini   **tena**
        Amina   SM.NEG1-FUT-do- FV   work   hospital.LOC   NO LONGER
        'Amina will not work at the hospital anymore.' Q1_CS2

STILL:

(5)   Tu-li-ku-w-a   **bado**   tu-na-kimbi-a
        SM1PL-PST-INF-be-FV STILL   SM1PL-PRS-run-FV
        'We were still running.' Q1_GS2

NOT YET:

(6)   **Bado**   **si-ja**-zungumz-a   na-ye
        STILL   SM.NEG1SG-NEG.PRF-talk-FV   with-him
        'I haven't talked to him yet.' Q1_LS3

A PhP system in a certain language is characterized as rigid when it has different PhP items for expressing each of the four PhP concepts. English is an example of such a language. Flexible PhP systems, on the other hand, are possible because of how PhP concepts are related to each other in terms of their polarity values. These values allow a systematic semantic relationship where concepts are interrelated through negation. This is further illustrated in Section 4.1.

Two concepts which possess opposing polarity values assume the same value as their neighbours through either external or internal negation: they become logically equivalent (van Baar 1997: 20). For example: the external negation of STILL (i.e. not (STILL)) in (1a) is logically equivalent to NO LONGER (1b); *I am not (still waiting) for my friend* is logically equivalent to *I am no longer waiting for my friend*. Internal negation of STILL (STILL not), on the other hand, is the logical equivalent of NOT YET. *I am (still not) waiting for my friend* and *I am not yet waiting for my friend* both have the same negative polarity value and phasal meaning, i.e. the continuation of a non-activity.

In terms of coverage and negation relations, Swahili belongs to a minority of Bantu languages that use internal negation as a structured means of encoding PhP. A similarity between Swahili and other Bantu languages, however, is that an auxiliary verb has gone through a process of grammaticalization, become an affix, and is frequently used in expressing ALREADY. However, there is also a frequently used adverb, *tayari*, in this function. We show that the two ways of expressing ALREADY differ in their distribution in interesting ways, and argue that there are reasons to assume that the use of *tayari* is on the increase to express this PhP concept.

Furthermore, in terms of speaker expectations, we show that speakers of Swahili can make use of the cross-linguistically unusual strategy of expressing a *late change* scenario of NO LONGER through the internal negation of ALREADY; see Section 4.3.

This study contributes to the knowledge of how phasal polarity is expressed in languages of the world and specifically Bantu, by adding data from a large language of wider communication, spoken by millions as a second language. It is perhaps not surprising that this language stands out by using strategies that are less common in the language family as a whole, as we will show. The paper also contributes to the further description of Swahili. There is, to the best of our knowledge, no previous description of the phenomenon of phasal polarity. However, as will be clear in Section 3, there is information to be found in the literature about certain aspects of the system.

The study is organized as follows. In Section 2, we outline our methodology, including the scenarios which underlie elicitation, and which are needed for the discussion that follows. Section 3 gives the results of the survey in combination with information from published sources, and shows

how phasal polarity is expressed in Swahili, including the possible historical origin of Swahili PhP expressions. These results are analysed in a cross-linguistic perspective, based on typological work including the framework for a systematic description of PhP by Kramer (2017), as well as data from other Bantu languages, in Section 4. Section 5 summarizes our findings. The survey, which included interviews with speakers of Swahili, made use of a questionnaire, included in the Appendix.

2.   Eliciting Phasal Polarity

The main method used in this study was speaker interviews based on a developed set of sentences with contexts. The concept of phasal polarity lends itself quite well to translational elicitation, especially when the speaker is given a scenario as a context to consider. We used a questionnaire – given in the appendix – in order to ensure comparability across speakers. Additionally, certain research questions, such as the frequency of occurrence of the affix *ngali-* (see Section 3.2), were answered by use of the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili (HCS). Since context and expectations on the part of the speaker are so important in the use of phasal expressions, the usefulness of written (corpus) data was considered limited (cf. van Baar 1997: 6, Olsson 2013).[5] Last, but certainly not least, we were greatly aided by asking follow-up questions, testing new sentences and asking for grammaticality judgements from our main consultant, Mohammed Zahran. He also provided us with the examples in this paper which are not coded with questionnaire numbers.

As a basis for the interviews, we used a questionnaire – given in the Appendix – in order to ensure comparability across speakers. First of all, the questionnaire makes use of simple sentences for translational elicitation from English, in Part 1. The second part of the survey also consisted of elicited translation, but this time the sentences were introduced with background information creating imaginary scenarios, to elicit translations with speaker expectations.
The elicitation was introduced with the following background to the scenarios:
- Salma is supposed to arrive in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday
- She will leave from Dar es Salaam for Zanzibar on Saturday.
   In Part 2.1, the speaker is presented with the neutral scenarios. For example, s/he is asked to imagine that s/he and Salma had planned to meet in Dar es Salaam upon Salma's arrival. On the Tuesday, someone asks if Salma is in Dar es Salaam. The speaker can now say:

(7)   Salma is **not** in Dar es Salaam **yet**.

In the subsequent subsections of Part 2, the simultaneous counterfactual scenarios of all PhP concepts are elicited. For that of NOT YET (in Part 2.2), we imagine that there was a problem with Salma's ferry. She is late and does not arrive until Friday. As van Baar (1997: 34-35) points out, in English, the counterfactual scenario of NOT YET is often expressed through the internal negation of STILL (i.e. 'still not'*)* when expressing a feeling of disappointment or surprise that is normally part of this type of scenario. So, when the speaker finds out on Thursday that Salma has still not arrived in Dar es Salaam, s/he could say:

(8)   (Oh!) Salma is **still not** in Dar es Salaam!

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[5] Also, searches were not always successful. For example, it would be interesting to test how the use of the affix *sha-* as compared to *tayari* for ALREADY is conditioned by the actionality of the verb, tense-aspect (TA) or something else (see our discussion in Section 3.2). *Tayari* is not only an adverb used as a PhP item, however, but also an adjective meaning 'ready', and the tags in the corpus are inconsistent in many instances (i.e. tagging *tayari* as an adverb where it is not).

The difference between PhP expressions used in neutral and counterfactual scenarios, as exemplified here with English, relates to the pragmaticity parameter. We explore this possible distinction for Swahili in Section 4.2.

Parts 2.3 and 2.5 of the survey involve the *non-simultaneous identical scenarios* (more in Section 4.3) of the telic PhP expressions ALREADY and NO LONGER, in which the speaker's expectations contrast with a scenario that was expected at some earlier point. In the case of NO LONGER, it is solicited in the survey by us imagining that Salma oversleeps and misses her ferry from Dar es Salaam to Zanzibar. When, on the Sunday, she is finally able to leave Dar es Salaam, someone can utter the following statement, with the switch from her "*still* being there" to "*no longer* being there" occurring later than expected:

(9)   Thank God! Salma is **no longer** in Dar es Salaam.

The third part of the survey contains sentences in Swahili with the negative perfect prefix *ja-*, which the speakers were asked to evaluate with reference to speaker expectations and intentions. The reason for this is that this prefix is sometimes analysed as carrying the connotation of NOT YET, especially in older literature. See further Section 3.2.4.

The survey proved suitable in that the PhP expressions were successfully elicited very consistently. When eliciting different expectations, the background scenarios served their purpose well. One factor that helped might have been that we included interjections in the elicitations such as *Oh!, What?!,* and *Thank god!* to further emphasize sentiments like surprise or relief.

We consulted eight mother tongue speakers of Swahili currently residing in Sweden. Although not currently in a Swahili-speaking environment, all speakers use the language daily in their private lives, and two of the participants are only temporarily in Sweden. Three of the speakers are originally from what is often referred to as the Swahili coast, or "Swahililand" by Mazrui and Noor Shariff (1994); the others are from mainland Tanzania and have other (Bantu) heritage languages, although their first language is Swahili. We are very grateful to all the participants in the study.

3.   How do speakers of Swahili express phasal polarity?

After a short introduction to tense and aspect in Swahili in 3.1, this section gives the results from the speaker interviews in Section 3.2,. We show that the typical exponents of the PhP concepts in Swahili are *bado* STILL; the internally negated *bado* NOT YET; the affix *(me)sha-* or *tayari* for ALREADY; and negated *tena* for NO LONGER.

3.1   Tense-aspect in Swahili. As is typical in Eastern Bantu languages, Swahili has a complex verbal morphology in which tense-aspect-mood distinctions are expressed mainly by inflectional affixes. The verbal root is preceded by a prefix, in combination with a final vowel, which is *-a* in all indicative tense aspect forms (it is *-e* in the subjunctive and *-i* in the present negative). The main distinctions in the verbal paradigm are achieved with the prefixes *me-* (see below) as in (10), *na-* (describing an action or state that is ongoing in the present tense or that takes place regularly) as in (11), *li-* (past) as in (12)*,* and *ta-* (future) as in (13):

(10)   a-**me**-fik-a
         SM1-PRF-arrive-FV
         'He has arrived.' (Ashton 1947: 37)

(11)　　ni-**na**-som-a　　　　Kiswahili
　　　　SM1SG-PRS-read-FV 7.Swahili
　　　　'I am studying Swahili/I study Swahili.' (Mpiranya 2015: 40)

(12)　　m-**li**-on-a
　　　　SM2PL-PST-see-FV
　　　　'You all saw.' (Mpiranya 2015: 40)

(13)　　ni-**ta**-nunu-a　　　　ndizi　　　　　kesho
　　　　SM1SG-FUT-buy-FV　　9.banana　　　tomorrow
　　　　'I will buy bananas tomorrow.' (Hinnebusch and Mirza 2000: 62)

The aspectual-temporal properties of the prefix *me-* are described as perfect or perfective, depending on the author, and vary according to the variety of Swahili (see Furumoto (2019) and references cited therein). Mpiranya (2015), for example, argues that *me-* expresses an event in the recent past with relevance for the present and can therefore be argued to be a perfect aspect. However, Contini-Morava (1989) shows that sentences with *me-* do not necessarily express a completed action or a resultant state. Rather, the event expressed by the predicate is indicated to have started before reference time (Contini-Morava 1989). In a comparison between the varieties Kimakunduchi and Kiunguja (the latter forms the basis for standard Swahili), Furumoto (2019) shows that *me-* shows clear signs of development into a perfective marker. Arguments for this are, for example, that *me-* occurs freely with adverbials indicating past events, and that it does not occur with adverbs of habitual interpretation. Marten (1998) also treats *me-* as a perfective. The results of follow-up elicitation in our project appear to show that there is an overlap between perfect and perfective uses of *me-*. For example, our consultant does accept *me-* in the experiential perfect, which is rejected in the examples in Furumoto (2019: 70). The exact uses of *me-*, in combination with the varying actionality of the verb, continue to be a fascinating topic.

Swahili also has periphrastic constructions to express further distinctions in tense and aspect (see e.g. (Marten 1998, Mpiranya 2015).

3.2　Results from the survey of PhP expressions in Swahili. Several ways of conveying the notions of PhP in Swahili were identified in the survey. When including or excluding these expressions in the PhP paradigm, there are important distinctions to make. One criterion is that of specialization, i.e., whether expressing PhP can be considered the core function of a particular linguistic item, or whether the interpretation of PhP is dependent on specific contexts and perhaps motivated by more general interactional circumstances (van Baar 1997). Another criterion is generalization: "... a PhP item can be used in more and in different contexts than the original expression from which a PhP-expression has been derived. In other words, is (more) generally applicable" (van Baar 1997: 58). Some of the expressions in our results will thus not be considered proper PhP items but rather paraphrases that in a particular case may be interpreted as expressing a similar contextual meaning.

All identified ways of expressing the notions of a PhP concept (including contextual paraphrases, marked with an asterisk*) are presented and ranked according to frequency in Table 1 below. We use percentages to give an indication of the frequency of a certain PhP item. For instance, of all sentences that can be said to express the concept NOT YET, the item *bado* + neg was used in 85.4 % of the cases:

NOT YET	ALREADY	STILL	NO LONGER
bado + NEG (85.4 %)	*sha-* (48.5 %)	*bado* (87.2 %)	neg. + *tena* (92.9 %)
ja-* (6.3 %)	*tayari* (25 %)	*ngali* (7.7 %)	*hatimaye* + NEG (2.4 %)
No marker* (4.2 %)	*tayari* + *sha-* (11.8 %)	*endelea** (5.1 %)	NEG + *kwa sasa zaidi** (2.4 %)
NEG + *wakati huu** (2.1 %)	*hatimaye* (5.9 %)	*zidi** (2.6 %)	*acha** (2.4 %)
NEG + *kwa sasa** (2.1 %)	No marker* (4.4 %)	No marker* (2.6 %)	
	kwisha (1.5 %)		
	mwishoni (1.5 %)		
	mapema* (1.5 %)		

Table 1 Most common PhP expressions in Swahili according to the survey

These four PhP concepts will be discussed in what follows in terms of the results of the survey, and in comparison with existing material on Swahili PhP expressions.

3.3   ALREADY in Swahili. A commonly used expression for ALREADY in our survey is the adverb *tayari*, an Arabic loanword meaning 'already':

(14)   **Tayari**   u-na-kwend-a   sokoni?   Hapana,   bado
        ALREADY   SM2SG-PRS-go-FV market.LOC   no   STILL
        'Are you already going to the market? – No, not yet.' (Q1_ES2)

Tayari also occurs as an adjective to indicate 'ready':

(15)   Ni-ko   **tayari**   ku-m-saidia
        SM1SG-LOC   ready   INF-OM1-help
        'I am ready to help him.' (Mpiranya 2015: 53)

In much of the literature, especially in older sources, *tayari* is not mentioned in this role. Although, as is clear from Table 2, it is not the most frequently used expression for this PhP item, the absence of *tayari* from older sources strikes us as remarkable. We will come back to this further below. Instead, the ALREADY expression is considered to be represented by the *me-* tense prefix followed by the auxiliary verb *kwisha* 'to finish'[6], in turn followed by a main verb in the infinitive (Ashton 1947, Mohammed 2001: 84).

(16)   A-me-**kwish**-a   kw-enda
        SM1-PRF-finish-FV INF-go
        'He has already gone.' (Ashton 1947: 271)

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[6] In fact, *me-* also originates from a reconstructed form **-mala* meaning 'to finish' (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993).

Indeed, even in our results, a form deriving from this construction is the most frequently used, although not in this full form. It has been observed that, while the auxiliary *kwisha* can still be used as in example (16), it has gone through a process of grammaticalization in Swahili, where *me- + kwisha* has evolved into the TA prefix *(me)sha-*, exemplified in (17). This has been described as a completive aspectual marker (Marten 1998, Nicolle 1998, 2012, Mpiranya 2015, Furumoto 2019). For reasons outlined in the next sub-section, we gloss *me-* and *sha-* separately:

(17)　Oh,　Salma　a-**me-sha**-ondok-a　　　　Dar es Salaam
　　　 Oh　 Salma　SM1-PRF-ALREADY-leave-FV　 Dar es Salaam
　　　 'Oh, Salma is no longer in/has already left Dar es Salaam!' (Q2_4AS2)

The original construction, as in example (16), does not occur in our results. The first step in the grammaticalization process is that the infinitive prefix of the main verb is dropped (Marten 1998). This form does appear once in our sample, with the past tense marker *li-*. The auxiliary has developed into a verbal prefix:

(18)　Si-ku-w-a　　　　　　　na　　kitabu　tena　　ni-li-**kwisha**-m-p-a
　　　 NEG.SM1SG-INF-be-FV　COM　7.book　again　 SM1SG-PST-ALREADY-OM1-give-FV

　　　 kaka　　　 y-angu
　　　 9.brother　9-my
　　　 'I didn't have the book anymore; I had already given it to my brother.' (Q1_DS3)

Although *sha-* on its own is infrequent in our results, it is often possible to optionally drop the *me-* prefix, as in (19), where the same speaker gives the two options. When *sha-* occurs on its own in our data, it is as an alternative to *mesha-* in the same contexts (see also Nicolle 2012).

(19)　Wa-(me)-**sha**-anz-a　　　　　　ku-cheza
　　　 SM2-(PRF)-ALREADY-begin-FV　INF-dance
　　　 'They are already dancing.' (lit. 'they have already begun dancing') (Q1_HS6)

The grammaticalization from *kwisha*, ultimately leaving the possibility of using *sha-* on its own, strikes us as interesting, especially since the TA marker *me-* is reported to have properties of a perfective marker (see Section 3.1). If *me-* is turning into a perfective, will this have consequences for the expression of situations which have been recently completed and/or have a relevance for the present? And what is the role of *tayari* (sometimes in combination with *sha-*) in this? As we will show in the following sub-section, there are differences in distribution between *sha-* and *tayari*. These findings lead us to speculate that *sha-* plays a role in an ongoing reshuffle in the Swahili TA system.

　　　There are also ALREADY expressions in Table 1 which occur exclusively to express a late change, i.e., *finally*. There is *mwishoni, (*lit. 'in the end'), which occurred once, and there is *hatimaye*[7], which occurred a few times, as discussed in Section 4.3.

3.4　Tayari and sha-: part of an ongoing TA shuffle? In this section, we take the liberty of being somewhat speculative. This is based on our observation of the uses of *(me)sha-* versus *tayari*

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[7] A derivation from Arabic *hatima* ('in the end') and Swahili *yake* (its), meaning 'at its end' or 'finally' (Lodhi 2000: 107).

for the expression of ALREADY. The results are tentative, but we find it important to point out how this could be part of an ongoing reorganization of the tense-aspect markers in Swahili. First, we present our findings regarding the use of *mesha-* as compared to *sha-* on its own. Secondly, we show that *(me)sha-* and *tayari* differ in their distribution in terms of morphosyntax, combination with aspectual markers, and actionality of the verb. Indications are that *tayari* is increasingly used in the language for PhP ALREADY. Does this enable *(me)sha-* to redirect its uses?

In the discussion below, we take *(me)sha-* as one form, in free variation between the longer and the shorter form. It is however not unlikely that *sha-* is evolving into an independent prefix. A strong indication of this is the fact that *sha-* is used in combination with different markers (not only *me-*), or by itself, to express ALREADY. The frequent use of *sha-* can also, in our experience, be readily observed in spoken Swahili. The colloquial qualities of *sha-* (Mpiranya 2015, Furumoto 2019) are perhaps the reason that this form is not readily given in elicitation.[8] Mpiranya (2015) gives examples in which *sha-* occurs on its own (20a), with the consecutive marker *ka-* (20b), and with the past tense form *li-* (20c) to express ALREADY (Mpiranya 2015: 45).[9]

(20)   a.   Ni-**sha-**sem-a   "si-tak-i!"
            SM1SG-ALREADY-say-FV   SM.NEG1SG-want-NEG.PRS
            'I have already said that I refuse!'

       b.   A-li-kut-a   dada   y-ake   **ka-sha-**maliz-a   chakula!
            SM1-PST-find-FV 9.sister 9-her   CONS-ALREADY-finish-FV   7.food
            'She found out that her sister has finished the food!'

       c.   U-na-dhani   a-**li-sha-**mw-on-a?
            SM2SG-PRS-think SM1-PST-ALREADY-OM1-see-FV
            'Do you think he has already seen him?' (Mpiranya 2015: 45)

It follows naturally from this grammaticalization hypothesis that *sha-* is used with the past tense prefix *li-* to express ALREADY in the past:

(21)   Kitabu si-ku-w-a   na-cho tena   ni-**li-sha-**m-p-a
       7.book NEG.SM1SG-PST.NEG-be-FV COM-REF again SM1SG-PST-ALREADY-OM1-give-FV

       kaka   y-angu
       9.brother   9-my
       'I didn't have the book anymore; I had already given it to my brother.' (Q1_DS8)

Evidentially, *sha-* on its own has the meaning ALREADY. Its uses seem to overlap completely with *mesha-*, unless combined with another TA marker.[10] For example, it cannot have past reference on

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[8] Unsurprisingly, since the HCS contains literary and news texts as well as parliament speeches, the use of *-sha* is infrequent; 318 hits in the whole corpus. This can be compared with 8098 hits for *-mesha*.

[9] It is interesting to note that Mpiranya claims that *sha-* has emphatic connotations when used either on its own (20a) or with the consecutive marker *ka-* (20b). He refers to *ka-* as an "emphatic marker" (Mpiranya 2015: 45).

[10] We note that an aspectual-temporal grammatical category *iamatives* has been proposed, largely based on more grammaticalized expressions for 'already' in languages of South East Asia. In our understanding, the iamative is similar to perfects in that it has a current relevance effect, although it has a much higher rate of occurrence than the perfect. It applies to a situation following an aspectual boundary, presupposing a prior negative situation, and shares this with the notion of 'already' (Olsson 2013, Dahl and Wälchli 2016).

its own. A sentence with a stative predicate, such as the following, necessarily gives a present reading (cf. Vander Klok and Matthewson 2015):

(22)   A-**sha**-nenep-a
        SM1-ALREADY-become.fat-FV
        'S/he is fat.' /*'S/he was fat'

Sha- in combination with a past reference adverb also indicates that the situation holds since that past reference. In the following, our consultant prefers to explicitly add *tangu* 'since' after the verb:

(23)   Ni-**sha**-fik-a   jana
        SM1SG-ALREADY-arrive-FV   yesterday
        'I've already arrived (since) yesterday.'

We now turn to the uses of the prefix *(me)sha-* and the adverb *tayari*. As noted by Nicolle (1998: 374), and confirmed by our data, both may be used as ALREADY expressions without any difference in meaning.[11] However, our data also shows that there are environments relating to morphosyntax, tense/aspect and actionality that may determine which expression is used. Our results show that *sha-* is the more restricted expression, except when it comes to speaker expectations regarding late turning points (more on this in Section 4.3).

The morphosyntactic restraint on *sha-* has to do with its being a verbal prefix. Naturally, it cannot occur without a verb, which is a restriction that does not apply to *tayari*. The latter may be used even when there is no predicate, such as in the locative copula construction:

(24)   **Tayari**   yu-ko   Dar es Salaam
        ALREADY   SM1-LOC17   Dar es Salaam
        'She is already in Dar es Salaam.' (Q2_1BS3)

When it comes to aspect, *tayari* can be combined with verbs with either perfective or imperfective TA markers. *sha-* does not combine with imperfective marking, which is explained by the development of *sha-* from the auxiliary verb 'to finish', into an aspectual completive marker, a subcategory of the perfective (Velupillai 2012: 213). As pointed out in footnote 3, any use of *sha-* was rejected as having a progressive meaning by our linguistic consultant. *Tayari*, on the other hand, proved to combine easily with the present (imperfective) marker *na-*, which was indeed shown to be the preferred construction for expressing ALREADY in progressive scenarios, as in example (3), repeated here in (25), as well as in example (14).

(25)   **Tayari**   wa-na-chez-a   dansi
        ALREADY   SM2-PRS-play-FV   dance
        'They are already dancing.' (Q1_HS1)

Typically, if there are any aspectual restrictions on an ALREADY item, van Baar (1997: 150) writes that it is first allowed with the perfective aspect, followed by the resultative and finally, if it is unrestricted, it may also combine with the imperfective. When an ALREADY expression is used in

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According to Vander Klok and Matthewson (2015: 186, fn.27) iamatives do not seem to be used to imply a sense of earliness (see also Bernander (2017: 207, fn.155)). Since an earliness effect is possible with *sha-*, we do not opt for an analysis as an iamative marker.

[11] Nicolle (2012) treats *tayari* as more formal than *sha-*. We do not have any such indications in our data.

the imperfective, it denotes an ongoing state or situation with an implied transition point that occurred at some earlier point in time (van Baar 1997: 145), just as in (25). ALREADY markers that are restricted to the perfective aspect refer to an earlier completed action, and in the resultative aspect they denote an ongoing state or activity while explicitly mentioning the transition point or completed action it resulted from. Hence, for an ongoing event, *sha-* is required to occur with an auxiliary verb describing a completed action in the past, as in example (19), where the action of "beginning to dance" has already been completed.

   The tense restrictions on *sha-* may very well also be related to aspect. As opposed to *tayari, sha-* may not co-occur with the future tense marker *ta- (*sha-)*. For *sha-* to occur in the future tense, it requires an auxiliary verb, and again, a main verb describing a completed action (e.g., the action of "arriving" in example (26)). This, once again, is in contrast with *tayari*, which easily combines with a main verb with the future tense marker (27). This restriction on *sha-* suggests one of two things: 1) the future tense marker *ta-* also expresses imperfective aspect, which makes **tasha-* impossible; or 2) the grammaticalization of *sha-* has simply not progressed enough to create a future completive marker **tasha-*.

(26)   Tu-ta-kuw-a   tu-me-**sha**-fik-a   wao wa-ki-j-a
        SM1PL-FUT-be-FV   SM1PL-PRF-ALREADY-arrive-FV they SM2-COND-come-FV
        'We will already be there when they come.' (lit. 'we will already have arrived when they come') (Q1_KS3)

(27)   **Tayari**   tu-ta-ku-w-a   pale   wa-taka-po-ku-j-a
        ALREADY   SM1PL-FUT-INF-be-FV   there   SM2-FUT.REL-LOC-INF-come-FV
        'We will already be there when they come.' (Q1_KS4)

   In terms of actionality, there are discernable patterns regarding which ALREADY marker combines with what type of verbs. In our data, all achievement verbs, such as *ondoka* 'leave' or *fika* 'arrive', occur with *sha-* (sometimes in combination with *tayari*; see 4.2). Activity verbs like *cheza* 'dance' or *(kw)enda* 'go' seem to prefer *tayari*, although they sometimes also occur with *sha-*. Stative verbs like *kuwa* 'be' only occurred with *tayari*. It is noteworthy that the types of verbs that seem to prefer *tayari*, activities and statives, share a feature of being unbounded atelic verbs, in contrast with the telic achievement verbs that opt for *sha-*. In order to verify this pattern, we have used a random sample of ALREADY expressions from the HCS and analysed the actionality of the verbs they combine with. While this sample contained a little bit more variation – for example *tayari* occurring with a few achievement verbs without *sha-*, and *sha-* occurring with one stative verb *sikia* 'to hear' – the pattern is still very prevalent: the vast majority of verbs combining with *sha-* were achievement verbs, and most verbs taking *tayari* were activity verbs, followed by statives.

   Our results indicate that *tayari* is a more unrestricted expression of ALREADY. Since it is rarely mentioned in this role in older Swahili sources and is not semantically specialized as expressing only ALREADY (it is also an adjective), we argue that it is a newer PhP item than *sha-*. Tentatively, this leads us to predict that it will become more frequently used as a PhP expression meaning ALREADY in the language. This is supported by the fact that *tayari* and *sha-* differ in their distribution. Interestingly, the prefix *me-* appears to be on the grammaticalization path to becoming a perfective marker; see the discussion in Section 3.1. It could well be that *(me)sha-* is increasingly used in perfect contexts, gradually taking over the role of *me-* here.

In Kisangani Swahili, *me-* and *mesha-* do not exist, but *sha-* in combination with *li-* expresses the perfect:[12]

(28)   Ba-tu   ba-**lisha**-kul-a
       2.person   SM2-PRF-eat-FV
       'People have already eaten.' (Nassenstein 2015: 92)

3.5   NO LONGER in Swahili. The concept of NO LONGER relates to STILL through external negation and to ALREADY through internal negation; (not STILL) and (ALREADY not) are logically equivalent to NO LONGER, as will be further outlined in Section 4.1.

Internal negation of ALREADY does occur in our Swahili data but is not the most frequent strategy. *Hatimaye*, which expresses ALREADY, can be internally negated to express NO LONGER; see example (51). The most frequently occurring strategy for expressing NO LONGER, however, is negation + *tena*[13], as seen in Table 1. An example from our survey is seen in the first part of the sentence in example (18), *sikuwa na kitabu tena* 'I didn't have the book anymore'. Not much attention is given to the PhP concept of NO LONGER in publications on Swahili. Mpiranya (2015: 103) is, in fact, the only source with a (small) section dedicated to this notion. The particle *tena*, he writes, is placed after a verb in the negative form to describe what he calls the negative counterpart of 'still', i.e. 'anymore'/NO LONGER (29a). In contrast, if *tena* is placed after a verb in its affirmative form it means 'again', as shown in (29b).

(29)   a.   Ha-tu-mw-on-i   **tena**
            NEG-SM1PL-OM1-see-NEG.PRS NO LONGER
            'We don't see him anymore.'

       b.   Tu-li-mw-on-a   **tena**
            SM1PL-PST-OM-see-FV again
            'We saw him again.'   (Mpiranya 2015: 103)

From a diachronic perspective, NO LONGER expressions deriving from 'again' or similar elements indicating repeated time are not uncommon and, for example, are also found in Manda (Bernander 2021) and Nyakyusa (Persohn 2021). Cross-linguistically, NO LONGER items can derive from different notions, including iterative, repetitive and/or additive constructions (van Baar 1997: 97).

Interestingly, the Kivu Swahili variety, in addition to *tena* + negation, displays a completely different encoding strategy to express NO LONGER. Although external negation of any PhP expression seems to be completely absent in more standardized varieties of Swahili, in Kivu Swahili the STILL expression *ngali-* may be externally negated as NO LONGER:

(30)   a.   u-ki-**ngali**   na   tumika   [Kivu Swahili]
            SM2SG-COND-STILL   COM   work
            'You are still working.'

---

[12] Nassenstein (2015) describes the use of *lisha-* in Kisangani as a perfect aspect. We therefore assume that it has a wider distribution than an ALREADY expression, although the only example given is with the translation 'already'.

[13] *Tena,* meaning 'again', adds to the list of adverbs borrowed from Arabic (Lodhi 2000: 112).

b.   (h)a-u-**ngali**   na   tumika
      NEG-SM2SG-STILL   COM   work
      'You are no longer working.' (Nassenstein and Bose 2016: 47)

The same kind of negation of *-ngali* for NO LONGER is also available in Kisangani Swahili
(Nassenstein 2015: 96), although other strategies are also used.

3.6   STILL in Swahili. In many Bantu languages, an aspectual persistive affix is used in order to
express the concept of STILL (Nurse 2008), as in Bende:

(31)   tu-**si**-kol-a   mú-limó   [Bende]
       SM1PL-PER-do-FV   3-work
       'We are still working.' (Abe 2014: 24)

The overwhelmingly most frequent way of expressing STILL in Swahili is through the use of
bado[14] (see Table 1), as in the second part of the following example (the first part of the sentence
illustrates NOT YET; see 3.3.4):

(32)   **Bado** watoto   ha-wa-**ja**-lal-a   **bado** wa-po   macho
       STILL 2.children NEG-SM2-NEG.PRF-sleep-FV STILL SM2-LOC 6.eyes
       'The children are not sleeping yet, they are still awake.' (lit. 'they-be eyes') (Q1_BS5)

The use of *bado* for expressing STILL in Swahili, as well as NOT YET in its negated form (see further
Section 3.3.4), is well-known from the literature (Ashton 1947: 175, 272, Mohammed 2001: 151,
Mpiranya 2015: 104).
     The form *-ngali,* a lexicalized verb deriving from the persistive marker *(n)ka* combined with
the copula *-li* (Güldemann 1998), can also express 'still be' (Ashton 1947, Mpiranya 2015). It can
be used as the main verb, but more commonly as an auxiliary (Ashton 1947: 270); see example (33).
The form *-ngali* may also be used together with an additional auxiliary, *kuwa* 'to be', to express
STILL in other tenses, such as the past (34):

(33)   Ni-**ngali**   ni-na-mw-on-a
       SM1SG-STILL   SM1SG-PRS-OM1-see-FV
       'I am still seeing him; I still see him.' (Mpiranya 2015: 103)

(34)   A-li-ku-w-a   a-**ngali**   ku-soma
       SM1-PST-INF-be-FV   SM1-STILL   INF-read
       'He was still reading.' (Ashton 1947: 270)

As can be seen in Table 1, there are only a few instances of this form in our results. One of the
speakers participating in our survey used *-ngali* on three occasions, one of which is illustrated below:

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[14] The adverb *bado* derives from the Arabic loanword *baᶜdun* ('then; still, yet') (Baldi 2012: 47).

(35) Nini? Salma mpaka leo a-**ngali**-ko Dar es Salaam
What? Salma until 9.today SM1-STILL-LOC Dar es Salaam
'What? Salma is still in Dar es Salaam!' (Q2_5AS6)

In order to corroborate these results further, we searched for *-ngali* in the HCS, first in the corpora with old material (11.47M tokens), containing material up to 2003,[15] and subsequently in the new material (13.73M tokens). Although the new material is larger in terms of number of tokens, the occurrence of *-ngali* was much lower (105 hits) compared to the old material (325 hits). This is further evidence that the use of *-ngali* for STILL is decreasing in Swahili. We compared this to the occurrence of *bado* (without negation). In the old material, this resulted in 6374 hits, while in the new material the same search gave 9143 hits.

The verbs *endelea* and *zidi* occur in the results of this survey (see Table 1) but will not be considered proper PhP items. Rather, they are rather paraphrases and 'still' is arguably not their most accurate translation. The expressions refer only to the continuation of stated events, but they do not inherently contrast sequentially related situations with different polarity values the way a STILL expression such as *bado* evokes expectations of NO LONGER; see Section 4.4. Moreover, they do not adhere to the negation relations of PhP systems, meaning that they lack one of the key semantic notions of what makes an item an expression of PhP; see Section 4.1.

3.7   NOT YET in Swahili. NOT YET is expressed through the internal negation of *bado* 'still':

(36) Si-ja-onge-a na-ye **bado**
SM.NEG1SG-NEG.PRF-talk-FV COM-PRO3SG STILL
'I haven't talked to him yet.' (Q1_LS4)

This example shows, in comparison with example (6) and the first clause in example (32), that *bado* can precede as well as follow the verb phrase and that it is very flexible in its placement.

As seen in Table 1, the internal negation of *bado* 'still' is used in the overwhelming majority of examples in our survey to express NOT YET. Veselinova and Devos (2021) define NOT YET expressions functionally as including expressions in which there is a non-realized expectation, as well as an expectation that the non-realized action or state will occur in the future.

The negative perfect prefix *ja-* has often been translated in the literature with the meaning NOT YET (Ashton 1947: 272, Wilson 1985: 108, Schadeberg 1992: 25), both on its own and in combination with *bado*, to entail expectations of change. The importance given to *bado* in such constructions differs, with newer sources being less inclined to translate phrases with *-ja*, but without *bado*, as NOT YET (Mohammed 2001, Mpiranya 2015).

It is confirmed in our study that *ja-* on its own does not entail NOT YET, but is the negated form of the perfect aspect and is limited to this aspect, as exemplified in (37). On the other hand, *bado* + NEG, as in (38), is not limited to a particular tense or aspect. In example (38), we illustrate *bado* + NEG in the present negative.

(37) Omari ha-**ja**-safiri kwenda Arusha
Omari SM1.NEG-NEG.PRF-travel INF.go Arusha
'Omari has not travelled to Arusha.' (Q1_FS4)

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[15] The old material of the HCS contains books and news printed before 2003. The new material of the corpus contains parliamentary texts and news from 2004 to 2015. For further information see: http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-201608301.

(38)   Hapana,   **bado**   **ha-**yu-ko   Dar es Salaam
        No   STILL   NEG-1-LOC   Dar es Salaam
        'No, she is not in Dar es Salaam yet.' (Q2_1AS1)

Constructions with only *ja-* (and without *bado*) to express elicited senses of NOT YET did occur, but only on three occasions.

In the last part of the questionnaire, participants were asked to analyse sentences with *ja-* according to speaker expectations. Very few sentences with just *ja-* were interpreted as expressing expectations of the non-realized action or state being realized in the future. All of these also included the verb *kuja* 'to come', which indicates that the semantic content of specific verbs, even without the use of a dedicated NOT YET marker, may trigger a sense of NOT YET.

As pointed out by (Sacleux 1939: 85), *bado* may actually attain a sense of NOT YET without any negation markers at all when found in one particular construction. This is the case when it is followed by an (affirmative) infinitive:

(39)   **Bado**   ku-jua
        STILL/YET   INF-know
        'One does not yet know.' (Sacleux 1939: 85)

Veselinova and Devos (2021: 475) present the following hypothesis on persistive NOT YET markers without any formal negation:

> the affirmative persistive construction expressing 'be still to do X' leads to a negative
> inference 'to not yet have done X'. The [NONDUM [NOT YET] meaning is the result of
> conventionalization of this negative inference [p. 475]

They claim that in Kagulu, such an inference may have become further conventionalized, resulting in a persistive marker starting to being associated with negation and further giving rise to a NOT YET marker that may appear in free variation either without negation (40a) or with it (40b):

(40)   a.   **Ni-ng'hati**   ni-lim-e   [Kagulu]
              SM1SG-NOT.YET   SM1SG-cultivate-FV
              'I have not yet cultivated.'

        b.   **Si-ng'hati**   ni-lim-e
              NEG.SM1SG-NOT.YET   SM1SG-cultivate-FV
              'I have not yet cultivated.' (Petzell 2008: 146)

This inference has not been conventionalized as such in Swahili, but along with the construction in (39), there are some contexts in which the negation of *bado* may be implicitly inferred. One such example is when *bado* is used as a one word answer to a question that carries either contextual or cultural expectations:

(41)   –A: Amerudi? ('Has s/he returned?')
        –B: Bado! ('Not yet!')

Thus, in disjunctive contexts with mutually exclusive possibilities, an affirmative clause may be followed by a contrasting conjunction and the negated predicate in the following clause may be

omitted. In these contexts, the negative predicate is implied, giving rise to instances of *bado* carrying the notion of NOT YET without any overt negation. This is illustrated in the examples below, in which *bado* is preceded by *au* 'or' and *lakini* 'but', which are used to introduce the negative possibilities[16]:

(42)   I-me-rudi   ku-tengenezwa   au   **bado**?
        SM9-PRF-return   INF-fix.PASS   or   NOT.YET
        'Has it (fan) been fixed again or not yet?' (Ashton 1947: 392)

(43)   Kwa   sasa   maji   ya-me-tok-a   mto-ni   (Malulumo)   na
        for   now   6.water SM6-PRF-come.from-FV   3.river-LOC   (Malulumo)   and

        ku-fika   Mgera   lakini   vi-jiji   v-ingine   **bado**
        INF-arrive   Mgera   but   8.village   8.other   NOT.YET
        'For now the water from the river (Malulumo) has reached Mgera, but other villages, not yet.'   (HCS 2.0)

Otherwise *bado* always seem to require formal internal negation to become a NOT YET marker. The other STILL expression, *ngali*, may also be internally negated as NOT YET, although there were no instances of this among our results.

(44)   Ni-**ngali**   si-mw-on-i
        SM1SG-STILL   NEG.SM1SG-OM1-see-NEG.PRS
        'I still don't see him (/I don't see him yet).'(Mpiranya 2015: 103)

4.   Swahili PhP expressions in a cross-linguistic framework

PhP expressions form a distinct category of expressions in human language that are employed as "structured means of expressing polarity in a sequential perspective" (van Baar 1997: 40), structure, polarity, and sequentially being the key notions.

In order to systematically classify and describe PhP expressions in a comparative perspective, we follow Kramer (2017) and consider three parameters related to the semantic properties *coverage, pragmaticity*, and *telicity*, as well as the parameters *wordhood, expressibility*, and *paradigmaticity*, which are concerned with their structural properties. All parameters are summarized in Section 4.7.

4.1   Coverage and the systematic relations of PhP expressions in Swahili. As outlined in the introduction, PhP concepts are interrelated through the internal and external negation of their semantic concepts. Figure 1 shows the Swahili PhP expressions emerging from our survey, in terms of coverage. Each concept has two neighbouring concepts with opposing polarity values, as also explained in the introduction: horizontally, the concept it is related to is expressed through internal negation, and vertically through external negation (Kramer 2017).

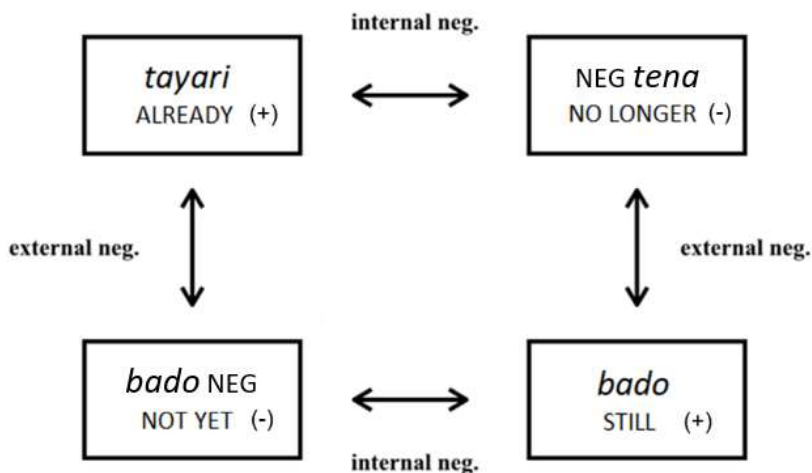[16] We thank an anonymous reviewer for this observation.

Figure 1 Systematic relations among PhP expressions in Swahili, based on (van Baar 1997)

English has different PhP items for expressing each of the four PhP concepts and is therefore considered a *rigid* language. An example of a flexible language is Spanish. The Spanish PhP system is coded based on internal negation with the positive PhP expression *todavía* STILL being negated as *no todavía* to express NOT YET; *ya* ALREADY is negated as *ya no* to express NO LONGER (for examples see Garrido 1992: 361). According to (van Baar 1997: 22), most languages are somewhat flexible in terms of the coverage parameter, and few languages abide by the rules of either internal or external negation exclusively.

The results of this survey made it clear that the PhP system in Swahili is partly structured through negation relations, and specifically through internal negation; Swahili therefore has a certain degree of flexibility when it comes to coverage (see Figure 1). This could not be more evident when looking at the answers expressing NOT YET: all of the proper PhP expressions for NOT YET made use of the internal negation of the STILL expression *bado*. *Bado* was also used in the vast majority of cases expressing STILL. Thus, STILL items in Swahili, including *ngali,* cover two different PhP concepts.

Although infrequent, internal negation is also found in expressions of NO LONGER: the ALREADY item *hatimaye* may be internally negated and thus used in two different PhP concepts as well (see Section 3.2.2). Most commonly, however, the expressions used for ALREADY and NO LONGER were used to cover only one PhP concept. All in all, the most common constellation was that PhP expressions were expressed without involving any negation relation. As can be seen in Table 2, 77% of all PhP items used in the survey were not expressed through any type of negation relation.

Type	Occurrences
PhP expressions without negation	77 %
PhP expressions with internal negation	23 %
PhP expressions with external negation	0 %

Table 2 PhP coverage in Swahili

Swahili differs from many other Bantu languages in this respect. According to Löfgren (2019: 42), it is common for NO LONGER to be expressed by externally negating STILL; this is even the case in the Congolese Swahili varieties Kisangani and Kivu Swahili (30). However, it is not the case in standard Swahili, which is not found to make use of external negation at all. STILL is internally negated to express NOT YET, a feature which standard Swahili shares with only three of the 53 Bantu languages examined by (Löfgren 2019: 29-30): Nyanja, Swati, and Tswa. Having negation relations as a structured means of expressing PhP was not the norm in Löfgren's study, and amongst those languages that did have them, external negation was shown to be 125 % more common than internal negation (Löfgren 2019).

4.2   Pragmaticity and speaker expectations. Situations referred to with PhP expressions are often related in terms of subsequent (temporal) phases with opposing polarity values. These scenarios are known as neutral scenarios. PhP expressions may also convey speaker expectations, in which case the opposing situations may be simultaneous and tend to be pragmatically related in terms of an actual phase that is occurring and an another one that is expected by the speaker. These scenarios are known as counterfactual (van der Auwera 1993). In some languages one PhP expression might be used for temporally related phases and a completely different expression might be used when speaker expectations are involved. A case in point is English *not yet*, compared to the internally negated *still not*, as explained in Section 2.

In many languages, the same PhP expression can be used for both scenarios, although one use might be more prominent (Kramer 2017: 2). In fact, rather than being binary, the degree of pragmatic markedness of a particular PhP expression can be seen to vary on a scale ranging from neutral (temporal sequentially related phases) to counterfactual (simultaneous phases) scenarios (Kramer 2017).

In order to establish whether Swahili makes a distinction in the use of PhP expressions between neutral and counterfactual scenarios, we made use of the scenario outlined in Section 2, example (8). As shown in Table 3, all PhP items that were used in neutral scenarios (row 1), except for *kwisha*, were also used in counterfactual scenarios (row 2). The best explanation for this is probably that *kwisha* is considered somewhat archaic and is thus rarely used. A neutral scenario for NOT YET is given in (45), and a counterfactual counterpart of the same PhP is given in (46), in which the speaker expresses their surprise at Salma's tardiness:

(45)   Hapana   **bado**   ha-yu-ko   Dar-es-Salaam
         No   STILL   NEG-1-LOC   Dar es Salaam
        'No, she is not in Dar es Salaam yet.' (Q2_1AS1)

(46)   Salma   **bado**   ha-yu-ko   Dar-es-Salaam!
        Salma   STILL   NEG-1-LOC   Dar es Salaam!
        'Salma is still not in Dar es Salaam!' (Q2_3AS1)

No indications of any PhP expressions being restricted to one usage were identified. However, there is an indication that some constructions or words, such as the combination of the two ALREADY expressions *sha-* and *tayari*, may be used to emphasize counterfactual expectations. Some of the ALREADY examples consist of *sha-* in combination with *tayari*, as in the following example:

(47) Ah!   Salma   a-me-**sha**-kuj-a   Dar es Salaam   **tayari**
      INTERJ Salma   SM1-PRF-ALREADY-come-FV   Dar es Salaam   ALREADY
      'Oh! Salma is already in Dar es Salaam!' (Q2_2AS7)

If we only consider the explicitly counterfactual scenarios of ALREADY in our survey, the frequency of the *sha-* + *tayari* combination is more than three times as common as in non-counterfactual scenarios, which indicates that this construction reinforces the expectations of counterfactuality or earliness. This hypothesis was also strengthened by native speakers' claims.

In terms of speaker expectations there was one construction that occurred exclusively in the counterfactual scenarios of NOT YET, which was the addition of the word *tu*, usually translated as 'only' or 'just':

(48) Oh,   Salma   **bado**   ha-ja-fik-a   **tu**   Dar es Salaam!
      INTERJ Salma   STILL   NEG.SM1-NEG.PRF-arrive-FV   just   Dar es Salaam
      'What? Salma is still not in Dar es Salaam!' (Q2_3AS7)

As mentioned earlier, the placement of *bado* is quite free, and so is that of *tu*. Other possible arrangements would be "*bado tu hajafika...*" and "*hajafika tu bado...*". Upon asking follow-up questions and consulting native speakers, *tu* was said to enforce the counterfactual expectations and potentially to add some emotional element such as annoyance, worry or desperation to the fact that she has *still* not arrived, as exemplified in (49). As pointed out in Section 2, similar emotions are closely associated with the counterfactual scenario of NOT YET.

(49) **Bado**   a-na-som-a   **tu**,   ijapokuwa   tu-me-mw-ambi-a
      STILL   SM1-PRS-read-FV   just   even.though   SM1PL-PRF-OM1-tell-FV

      a-j-e   ku-la
      SM1-come-SUBJ   INF-eat
      'S/he is still just (sitting there) reading, even though we told him/her to come and eat'

The third row of the table will be explained in the next section.

	Type of scenario	NOT YET	ALREADY	STILL	NO LONGER
1.	Neutral	*bado* + NEG	*tayari* *sha-* *tayari* + *sha-* *kwisha*	*bado* *-ngali*	NEG + *tena*
2.	Counterfactual	*bado* + NEG	*tayari* *sha-* *tayari* + *sha-*	*bado* *-ngali*	NEG + *tena*
3.	Non-simultaneously identical		*hatimaye* *sha-* *mwishoni*		*hatimaye* + NEG; NEG + *tena*

Table 3 Swahili PhP expressions for neutral, counterfactual, and non-simultaneously identical scenarios

4.3   Telicity and phasal organization. Another characteristic of phasal polarity items is that they essentially express three different phasal meanings: *inchoative* (P begins), *continuative* (P continues), and *terminative* (P ends) (Plungian 1999: 315). The continuative PhP concepts NOT YET and STILL are not bounded at either their starting or finishing point, as illustrated in Figure 2, where they are preceded and followed by an empty space. They are therefore atelic. NOT YET describes "the continuation of a non-activity" (–), while STILL represents an already commenced situation as having a positive polarity value (+) "keeps on being" (Plungian 1999: 316). Inchoative and terminative PhP concepts, on the other hand, are bounded to a point of polarity change, which means that they are telic. ALREADY and NO LONGER are inchoative and terminative respectively. They refer to "the lack of continuation" i.e., "change", which means that they are bounded to a point of either positive (ALREADY) or negative (NO LONGER) polarity change (van der Auwera 1998). This is indicated by them being attached to a vertical line in the figure:
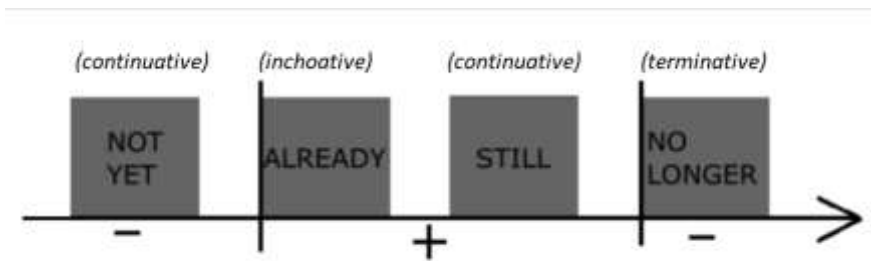

Figure 2 The phasal features of PhP expressions illustrated as a timeline

An aspect unique to the telic PhP concepts is that they have a third possible scenario – alongside the neutral and the counterfactual scenarios – called *a non-simultaneous identical scenario*. This refers to the *late change* in the telic PhP concepts (van Baar 1997: 29). These telic PhP concepts thus have an implied point of polarity change that is either EARLY, LATE, or GENERAL (Kramer 2017).

For instance, say you expect Salma to arrive in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday, but she ends up being late and not arriving until the next day. On the Thursday, when Salma goes from *not yet* being in Dar es Salaam to then being there, you can say:

(50)   Salma is *finally* in Dar es Salaam

At the point of reference, Salma is in Dar es Salaam (+) and you'd also expect it to be the case that she is there (+). This scenario is thus called a *non-simultaneous identical scenario* because the actual state and the expected one are not counterfactual at the point of reference; rather, this refers to the change in polarity occurring later than expected by the speaker. In English, rather than *already*, which is restricted to neutral general and counterfactual early changes, this scenario calls for the use of *finally* (van der Auwera 1993: 618).

The way speakers relate the point of change to the time varies between languages. As shown in example (50), English is sensitive to a relatively late point of change for ALREADY, which means that a separate PhP expression is required here, namely *finally*. ALREADY expressions that rule out LATE changing points are referred to as *already-inchoatives*. The Turkish PhP item *artık*, for example, is only viable in neutral and non-simultaneous identical scenarios, but not in *counterfactual early* situations. *Artık-inchoatives* are therefore those that rule out EARLY points of change. In Spanish, the ALREADY expression *ya* can be used in all three scenarios, and is referred to

as a non-sensitive GENERAL *ya-inchoatives* (van Baar 1997: 30). PhP expressions like *finally*, whose only function in the PhP domain is to fill the gap left by already-inchoatives, have not been previously labelled. Henceforth, we will refer to them as *finally-inchoatives.*

The possibility of overtly marking a late polarity change of the other telic PhP concept NO LONGER is interesting for our discussion of Swahili; see below.

As shown in Table 3, the expressions used in Swahili for both telic PhP concepts ALREADY and NO LONGER may be used regardless of whether the change is neutral or counterfactual. When it comes to the non-simultaneously identical scenarios, i.e., the late change of the telic concepts, the study showed some noteworthy differences between forms. The most important difference was identified in the late changes of ALREADY (*finally*): as can be seen in Table 3 (row 3) above, the otherwise common PhP item *tayari*, was not used at all in these scenarios, and the one most commonly used was *sha-*, followed by *hatimaye* and *mwishoni*. The fact that *tayari* was completely left out in these scenarios is an indication of it being an *already* inchoative, meaning that, like the English *already*, it can be used exclusively for *early* and *general* changes.[17] (*me)sha-*, on the other hand, was used in all three scenarios and can therefore be considered a *ya* inchoative, which, much like the Spanish ALREADY *ya*, is not sensitive to speaker expectations. *Hatimaye*, and the less frequently occurring *mwishoni*, were used exclusively as markers of late change and are therefore considered *finally* inchoatives.

The structure of *internal* negation relations in the Swahili PhP system became evident once more in the non-simultaneously identical scenario of NO LONGER, where the internal negation of the late change ALREADY expression *hatimaye* may be used to express a late change of NO LONGER, as in the example below:

(51)   Tu-m-shukuru   Mungu,   **hatimaye**   Salma   **ha**-yu-ko   Dar es Salaam
        SM1PL-OM1-thank   God   finally   Salma   NEG-SM1-LOC   Dar es Salaam
        'Thank God! Salma is *no longer* in Dar es Salaam.' (Q2_5BS3)

Expressing NO LONGER through the internal negation of ALREADY was exclusive to these scenarios in the survey, in which it made up half of all the answers. The other half consisted of NEG + *tena*, which is evidently used to express *general*, *early*, and *late* turning points of NO LONGER. Due to its unusualness, NO LONGER items overtly marking these late changes have not been noted in the literature in the way different types of ALREADY expressions have; therefore, the label "negative *hatimaye* terminatives" is suggested as a term for expressions that exclusively express late turning points of NO LONGER, in accordance with the function of the said expression in Swahili, and with the phasal function of the PhP concept NO LONGER.

4.4   Wordhood and grammaticalization. Over time, different linguistic components can develop into PhP expressions through semantic change and processes of grammaticalization. What grammatical category a PhP expression is part of, as well as the grammaticalization process that made it part of that category, are both interesting factors to consider when mapping the PhP system of a language.

Earlier work on PhP expressions have concluded that specialized PhP items are often adverbs or particles (van Baar 1997, van der Auwera 1998). However, the morphological status of PhP expressions is varied and they can belong to different grammatical categories, such as adverbs, auxiliaries, affixes, and particles (van Baar 1997). This is also the case in Bantu languages, with

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[17] This could perhaps be due to the fact that *tayari* as an adjective is also used to mean 'ready'. The same would apply to English, where *already* and *ready* are closely related.

affixes and/or auxiliaries being the most common categories for all PhP concepts except for ALREADY, which consists mainly of adverbs (Löfgren 2019).

A certain degree of grammaticalization is one criterion to consider when analysing an element as a specialized item that expresses PhP. However, the extent to which PhP expressions are dependent on and bounded to other linguistic phenomena may vary and a PhP expression consisting of an adverb remains an independent word (van Baar 1997: 214). Swahili mainly makes use of adverbs as PhP expressions. An exception to this is the somewhat archaic form of *kwisha* as an auxiliary, which can be shown to have developed into the verbal prefix *sha-* (see Section 3.2.1). The *wordhood* of the PhP item *sha-* is thus an affix. It has gone through a high enough degree of grammaticalization to lose some of its phonological and grammatical independence and is now part of the verbal morphology of Swahili.

van Baar (1997: 87) describes the derivation of ALREADY expressions from the notion of 'to finish' (like *kwisha)* as very common in his sample and describes this as a "completive ALREADY-type". A similar construction to Swahili *sha-* is found in Manda, with an auxiliary meaning 'finish, complete' in combination with a perfective affix (Bernander 2021).

Most PhP items in Swahili, *bado*, *tayari*, *hatimaye*, and negated *tena*, are adverbs. Here, Swahili differs from other Bantu languages. Only around 10 % of items expressing NOT YET, STILL, and NO LONGER in Löfgren's (2019) sample were adverbs. At least some of these adverbial PhP items in Swahili can be shown to be semantically specialized; see below. *Bado* is a case in point. Interestingly, *bado* occurs as an auxiliary (Schicho 1992) or as a grammaticalized affix in varieties of Swahili spoken in the Katanga province of the Democratic Republic of Congo:

(52)   Mpishi   ha-ya-**bado**-ku-pik-a   chakula
        1.cook   SM.NEG1-NEG.PRF-STILL-INF-cook-FV   7.food
        'The cook has not yet prepared the meal.' (Schicho 1988: 82-83)

As pointed out by Abe (2014), this could be due to the language being surrounded by other Bantu languages, which use a persistive affix to express STILL, *bado* thus being grammaticalized into an affix in the same slot as the persistive in those other languages. In the Kivu regions, north of Katanga, the other STILL expression, *ngali*, similarly takes a different morphosyntactic form, as seen in (30). This change may also suggest an ongoing grammaticalization process that has led Nassenstein and Bose (2016) to categorize *ngali* as a persistive marker rather than as an auxiliary.

In our results, more than 75% of all specialized PhP items (excluding contextual paraphrasings) are adverbs. Interestingly, ALREADY was the concept that was most frequently expressed by other syntactic categories; just over half were affixes, the rare auxiliary construction occurred only once, a construction with both an affix and an adverb occurred a few times, and the rest, roughly one third, were just adverbs. This is interesting because it contrasts with Löfgren (2019) sample, where the most common way of expressing ALREADY was through adverbs (38% of the languages). The only other item expressed by something other than an adverb is another auxiliary, the STILL expression -*ngali,* which occurs a few times in our data.

A second criterion to consider in the analysis of PhP items is the semantic specialization of the expression (Kramer 2017). The specialized items that make up PhP expressions have undergone a process of desemanticization, where the original semantic content is typically replaced by a very specific content, namely all the semantic aspects that make them PhP expressions (van Baar 1997: 252). To illustrate this, we take the example of *bado*, which was used in the majority of examples in the survey to express STILL (see Table 1). It is possible to translate these sentences in the survey by using verbs such as *endelea* 'continue, keep doing' or *zidi* 'exceed', which two of our respondents did. Consider the example in (53a) with *endelea*. Its difference from a PhP item can be demonstrated

if *endelea* is negated by our consultant, as in (53b); it cannot be negated into another PhP concept. Compare this to what happens when the dedicated PhP expression *bado*, in (54a), is negated in (54b). When *bado* is internally negated, it receives the interpretation of NOT YET.

(53)   a.   Tu-li-ku-wa   tu-na-**endele-a**   ku-kimbia
            SM1PL-PST-INF-be SM1PL-PRS-continue-FV   INF-run
            'We were still running.' (lit. 'We were continuing to run.') (Q1_GS3)

       b.   Tu-li-ku-w-a   **ha**-tu-**endele-i**   ku-kimbia
            SM1PL-PST-INF-be-FV   NEG-SM1PL-continue-NEG.PRS   INF-run
            'We were not continuing to run.' (i.e., 'We stopped running')

(54)   a.   Tu-li-ku-w-a   **bado**   tu-na-kimbi-a
            SM1PL-PST-INF-be-FV   STILL   SM1PL-PRS-run-FV
            'We were still running.' (Q1_GS4)

       b.   Tu-li-ku-w-a   **bado**   ha-tu-kimbi-i
            SM1PL-PST-INF-be-FV   STILL   NEG-SM1PL-run-NEG.PRS
            'We were *still not* (*not yet*) running.'

This illustrates how *bado* is part of the PhP paradigm and *endelea* is not.

Although it is frequently and unambiguously used as a PhP expression, *tayari* may not have reached the same degree of semantic specialization as the other adverbs, as it may also have a non-PhP meaning, 'ready'.

4.5   Expressibility. While both van Baar (1997: 117) and van der Auwera (1998: 36-37) claim that most languages have expressions for all four PhP concepts, it is possible for a language to lack any number of PhP expressions. Whenever a language lacks both an overtly formal PhP expression and a coding strategy, it is considered to have a "gap" in its PhP system. An example is Tigrinya, in which there is no overtly formal PhP expression for NO LONGER. There is therefore no distinction between expressing NOT and expressing NO LONGER:

(55)   Peter   ab   Lenden   yelon   [Tigrinya]
       Peter   in   London   NEG.be_present
       1. 'Peter is not in London.'
       2. 'Peter is not in London anymore.' (van Baar 1997: 48)

Attempts have been made to establish which PhP concepts are more frequently expressed cross-linguistically. For European languages, van der Auwera (1998) showed that ALREADY is the most likely to be missing, resulting in a hierarchy which ranks the accessibility (or existence) of PhP expressions from most to least likely in the following way: NO LONGER > STILL/NOT YET > ALREADY. In a larger sample of 40 languages from across the world, a different picture emerges, with NO LONGER being the most frequently missing expression: STILL/NOT YET > ALREADY > NO LONGER (van Baar 1997). For Bantu languages, it has been shown that NOT YET is the most commonly occurring PhP expression (Löfgren 2019, Veselinova and Devos 2021). Löfgren (2019) also shows that NO LONGER and ALREADY are the most common gaps in Bantu languages, giving the following hierarchy: NOT YET > STILL > ALREADY/ NO LONGER.

Turning to Swahili, we have seen that there are overtly formal PhP expressions and formal coding strategies (internal negation) through which all four PhP concepts can be explicitly expressed. In other words, there are no gaps in the PhP system in Swahili. This is also the case in Manda (Bernander 2021), but is not the norm among the Bantu languages investigated by Löfgren (2019). Only about 10 % of the languages in her survey had overtly formal PhP expressions for all four concepts.

4.6   Paradigmaticity. The internal PhP system of a language is symmetrical if each PhP concept entails an alternative scenario with an opposing polarity value, creating a structure of opposite PhP concepts (van Baar 1997). One of the PhP concepts can then be "denied into" the other one: A: *Is Salma **already** in Dar es Salaam?* B: *No, **not yet**.*

Moreover, in order to be considered a symmetrical system, both expressions need to belong to the same grammatical category (Kramer 2017). Kramer (2017: 16), citing an example from (Schadeberg 1990), gives Swahili as an example of an internally symmetrical paradigm of ALREADY - NOT YET:

(56)   wa-**mesha**-fik-a   -   ha-wa-**ja**-fik-a
         SM2-ALREADY-come-FV   _   NEG-SM2-NOT.YET-come-FV
         'They have already arrived.'   -   'They have not yet arrived.'

As we have seen in Section 3.2.4, however, NOT YET is expressed by the internal negation of *bado*, sometimes in combination with the negative perfect prefix *-ja*. This prefix on its own does not have a dedicated NOT YET sense. From our survey results in Table 1, we see that *sha-* and *tayari* are both used to express ALREADY. As *sha-* is the only PhP item in Swahili that is affixal, the system cannot be considered symmetrical in the case of ALREADY - NOT YET. However, the Swahili paradigm can be considered symmetrical for all four PhP concepts if we consider the adverbial PhP items:
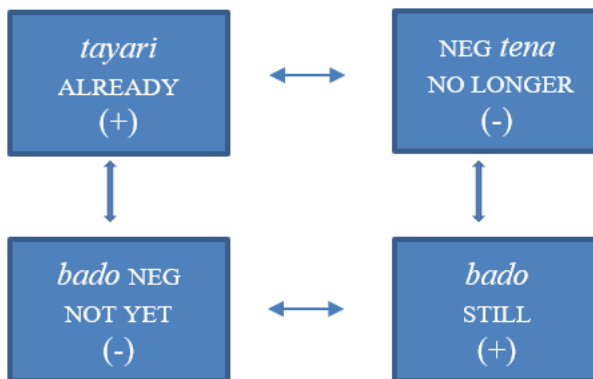

Figure 3 Symmetrical adverbial PhP items

Taking only the adverbial PhP items into account shows that the items with opposing polarity values are of the same grammatical category. This is interesting to note, because this would mean that the Swahili PhP paradigm becomes more symmetrical if only adverbials are used. Recall from Section 3.2.1 that *tayari* is rarely mentioned in the literature as a PhP item for ALREADY; whether this is due to it being overlooked by mistake or whether it is a newer PhP item is hard to say. An

indication for the latter, however, is that *tayari* is not semantically specialized, as is the case with the other adverbial PhP items. Furthermore, one could speculate that the use of *tayari* reflects a tendency to increase symmetricity in the PhP paradigm.

4.7   Summary of the characteristics of the Swahili PhP system. To sum up this section, we note that Swahili has a PhP system which is characterized by high coverage; all PhP concepts are expressed by specialized items. As will be shown in Table 4, there is more than one dedicated way to express a certain PhP concept in our results, for all concepts except NOT YET. There are also further possible contextual paraphrases, as was shown in Table 1. It could well be that this variability follows from the sociolinguistic situation of Swahili, as a language used for wider communication and spoken by many L2 speakers. It is a language that is constantly under influence of those L2 languages, as well as from other languages, such as English in Tanzania. However, major PhP items that are used in a majority of cases do emerge.

The coverage system is partly flexible, in that internal negation of *bado* STILL is used to express NOT YET. We also found internal negation of the ALREADY item *hatimaye* in expressing NO LONGER. This is unusual from a Bantu perspective, as coverage in Bantu languages is rarely expressed through negation relations, and if it is, this tends to be through external negation. Standard Swahili doesn't exhibit external negation, but it is found in some Congolese varieties.

All the dedicated PhP expressions occurring in the neutral scenarios (with the exception of *kwisha*) also occur in counterfactual scenarios, when the situation expressed is not the situation that is expected by the speaker at the point of utterance. There are strategies to emphasize counterfactual expectations through a combination of PhP items or through the addition of other adverbs, as outlined in Section 4.2.

When the situation expressed is expected at the moment of utterance, but it has occurred later than expected, separate PhP items are sometimes used, such as *finally* in English. This item in English relates to *already*, as outlined in Section 4.3. For Swahili, we find that there is also a specific *finally* inchoative, used in the case of a late change: *hatimaye*. Interestingly, this PhP item can again be internally negated to form a separate item which is used for the late turning point of NO LONGER. We have not found examples of this in other languages in the literature and we propose to label such items "negative *hatimaye* terminatives".

PhP items are often grammaticalized to some extent. This is certainly the case with *sha-*, in the case of ALREADY. For the other PhP items, Swahili makes use of adverbs, which are semantically specified to differing degrees.

As seen in the section on expressibility, there are no gaps in the PhP system of Swahili, which is rather unusual in the Bantu context.

Lastly, we argue that Swahili does not exhibit a PhP system in which the affixes *mesha-* and *ja-* form an internally symmetrical paradigm, as has been previously claimed. However, if we consider the use of the adverbial PhP items only, the relationships between PhP concepts with opposing polarity values can be considered symmetrical.

5.   Conclusions and directions for further research

Below is a table with all the dedicated Swahili PhP expressions found in our results in order of frequency, excluding all paraphrases and non-specialized items. Two of the expressions are system-internally derived from other PhP expressions through internal negation: *bado* + NEG and *hatimaye* + NEG. Three of the expressions, *hatimaye, hatimaye* + NEG, and *mwishoni* are restricted to the non-simultaneously identical scenarios of ALREADY and NO LONGER. The two ALREADY expressions *sha-* and *tayari* may be combined to enforce counterfactual expectations. Syntactically, *ngali* is an

auxiliary, and so is *kwisha* in the first stage of its grammaticalization process into an ALREADY marker. The more grammaticalized forms of *kwisha*, like *sha*, are affixes. All the remaining PhP expressions are adverbs.

	NOT YET	ALREADY	STILL	NO LONGER
	bado + NEG	*sha-*	*bado*	NEG + *tena*
		tayari	*-ngali*	
		-kwisha		
Late change		*hatimaye*		*hatimaye* + NEG
		mwishoni		

Table 4 Dedicated PhP expressions in Swahili

The Swahili phasal polarity system distinguishes itself from that of surrounding Bantu languages, as we have shown.

First of all, there are no gaps in the system and all PhP concepts can be expressed. This has been shown not to be the norm in Bantu languages, as discussed in Section 4.5. Secondly, Swahili has a flexible system when it comes to coverage, as the PhP items for STILL and, in a few cases, NO LONGER are derived through internal negation. This is also a rare feature in the Bantu languages of the region, in which negation relations are rare; if they do exist, they are usually formed through external negation. Thirdly, Swahili mainly makes use of adverbs, rather than affixes, in the PhP system. These adverbs are mostly loans from Arabic. The only PhP concept that is expressed through the use of an affix is ALREADY, but this concept is also quite often expressed with an adverb. This brings us to our fourth point, and our discussion of the relationship between the different ALREADY expressions. We raise the question of whether the adverb *tayari* could be newer in its role as a PhP, and that its use is currently on the increase, based on the following factors: 1) it is not semantically specialized as a PhP item, in contrast to the other adverbs, 2) being an adverb, an increased use of *tayari* could reflect a tendency to make the PhP paradigm more symmetrical, and 3) older sources fail to mention *tayari* as a means of expressing ALREADY in Swahili. Moreover, we have found that *sha-* and *tayari* fill slightly different functions in relation to actionality, and that *sha-* is more restricted to certain environments relating to morphosyntax and tense/aspect. In terms of speaker expectations, *tayari* is an *already* inchoative restricted to early and late changes, whereas *sha* is a *ya* inchoative that is allowed even with late changes.

Considering the typical tendency of completive markers, as described by Heine (2003: 594), to be derived from verbs meaning 'to finish' and then to further develop into perfect markers, it would be interesting to further investigate whether *sha-* could be moving in the same direction, as has been suggested for Kiunguja by Furumoto (2019). The fact that *mesha-* and *sha-* were used interchangeably in our results could be an indication of such a development. As described by Bernander (2021: 48) for Manda, regarding the completive marker and ALREADY expression *mal-*, derived from the same verb *-mad-* 'to finish' as the Swahili *me-*, there might be indications that the pragmatic effects and semantic components essential to an ALREADY expression are being lost, and *mal-* could be becoming more of a perfect marker. This is speculative at this point, but if a similar development is happening with *sha-,* it could constitute a further motivation for the increase of *tayari* as a PhP item.

We think that this study – although limited in its empirical data – gives a good picture of how speakers of modern Swahili express phasal polarity. This picture could be further refined with the inclusion of more participants, preferably people of different socioeconomic backgrounds, genders, ages, and geographical areas. Also, in order to limit the scope of the present study, we deliberately

focused on the four main Swahili TA markers described in Section 3.1. In the future, the external paradigmaticity parameter (Kramer 2017) could be considered by including different grammatical moods related to PhP.

Abbreviations

1,2,3… - Noun class 1,2,3…
1PL – 1st person plural
1SG – 1st person singular
2PL – 2nd person plural
2SG – 2nd person singular
COND - Conditional
CONS – Consecutive
COM – Comitative
FUT – Future tense
FV – Final vowel
INF – Infinitive
LOC – Locative
NEG – Negation
OM – Object marker
PASS – Passive
PER – Persistive
PRF – Perfect aspect
PRS – Present tense
PST – Past tense
REF – Referential demonstrative
REL – Relative marker
SM – Subject marker
SUBJ – Subjunctive

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