



DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY,  
LINGUISTICS AND THEORY OF SCIENCE

# PHASAL POLARITY IN SWAHILI

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## Abstract

This scope of this essay is to investigate and systematically describe a set of linguistic items in Swahili expressing Phasal Polarity (PhP), i.e. the notions of ‘NOT YET’, ‘ALREADY’, ‘STILL’, and ‘NO LONGER’. An extensive background chapter explains the theory behind PhP and how these four concepts encode phasal values, polarity values and speaker expectations. Moreover, it provides a comprehensive framework, adopted from Kramer (2017), on how to systematically map and categorize PhP. To collect the data necessary for the study, a survey was created and conducted with the participation of native Swahili speakers. The data was then analyzed using the provided framework and compared to other Bantu languages, based on existing data provided by Löfgren (2019). This framework and the collected data were used to clarify a common misconception regarding the *ja-* prefix in Swahili: although it has been described as a ‘not-yet tense’, it cannot be considered a PhP expression for NOT YET. Noteworthy findings were made particularly in relation to the concept of ALREADY, where several different PhP items were identified, some of which sensitive to speaker expectations and different categories of tense and aspect. The results further showed indications of Swahili somewhat deviating from what the most common PhP structures look like in other Bantu languages, mainly that Swahili has formally encoded expressions for all four concepts, that the morphological statuses of the expressions mainly were adverbs, borrowed from Arabic, and that the semantic relations between the different concepts were structured through internal negation.

## **Preface**

A special thank you to the people that made this essay possible by participating in the survey, to my supervisor Eva-Marie Bloom Ström, and to my father Mohammed Zahran in his role as linguistic expert / consultant.

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# 1. Introduction

PhP expressions are items in human language, such as affixes, clitics, single words or constructions that express the four concepts NOT YET, ALREADY, STILL and NO LONGER. These four concepts are related to one another both in terms of *phase* and in terms of *polarity values*. The *phasal relation* means that each expression relates to both a current scenario as well as a prior or subsequent one. The expression *no longer* in sentence B) for instance, per definition entails the expression *still* and the preceding scenario described in sentence A) since one cannot ‘*no longer* be waiting’, or ‘stop waiting’, if he or she was in fact not waiting in the first place. In other words, there must have been a time when he or she was still waiting. The *polarity value* has to do with each expression also describing whether the state of a situation applies 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 (+), and negative (-) otherwise.

A) I am *still* waiting for my friend. (+)

B) I am *no longer* waiting for my friend. (-)

Expressions of Phasal Polarity (henceforth referred to as PhP) has not been the target of a lot of linguistic research and is still a relatively uncharted area. The most prominent contributions were made in the late 1900’s by linguists Van Baar, Van Auwera, and Löbner. In several European languages the phenomenon has been covered. In recent years however, the topic has resurfaced with projects such as *Phasal Polarity in African languages* at Hamburg University, led by Raija Kramer, and *Expectations shaping grammar: searching for the link, between tense - aspect and negation* at Stockholm University, led by Ljuba Veselinova. This essay will thus be part of a recent trend of research in the field of linguistics and contribute to the broader work of mapping Phasal Polarity expressions in different languages, by examining the use of said expressions in Swahili. To further ensure this study’s relevance to the ongoing linguistic research I will consider the set of guidelines for a systematic description of PhP expressions provided in Raija Kramer’s Position paper on Phasal Polarity expressions, published in connection to her abovementioned project (Kramer, 2017).

Mapping the usage of a linguistic phenomenon, such as PhP expressions, that has not yet been accounted for in Swahili could contribute to a more extensive description of the language. As an official language in several countries and as a language that is being used in a wide range of social domains, including the educational system, businesses and politics, an extensive description of Swahili would be beneficial on several social levels in addition to its strictly linguistic value. The description of PhP expressions in this essay could contribute to a wider objective of boosting language prestige and strengthening the status of Swahili by mapping language usage and thus providing material that could be considered when establishing sets of formal norms for Swahili. This study also contributes to the general knowledge of PhP in the world's languages, where African languages remain largely under-described.

## 1.1 Aims and research questions

This essay will investigate and systematically describe PhP in Swahili. It will account for how these concepts are expressed in different contexts and it will account for the grammatical features of these expressions. The research questions are specified as follows:

1. Does Swahili have specialized linguistic items for all PhP concepts or are there any gaps?
2. What does the Swahili coding strategy for PhP look like: Can PhP items be involved in expressing more than one PhP concept in Swahili?
3. How does speaker expectations and relatively late/early changes affect the expressions of PhP in Swahili?
4. What is the morphological status of PhP items in Swahili?
5. What is the relation between Swahili PhP expressions and the coding of tense, mood and aspect?
6. How does the PhP system in Swahili compare to that of other Bantu languages?

## 2. Background

In this chapter an overview of Phasal Polarity will be presented. This includes accounting for previous research and describing the nature and functions of PhP, as well as presenting Raija Kramer's framework for a systematic description of PhP, to which I will adhere. This will be followed by a presentation of existing, relevant work on this phenomenon in Swahili, and the lack thereof.

### 2.1 Phasal Polarity expressions

PhP expressions form a distinct category of expressions in human language and are defined by Van Baar (1997. p. 40) as “structured means of expressing polarity in a sequential perspective”. Structure, polarity and sequentially being the key notions. He exemplifies the expressions belonging to this category as follows (p. 1):

- (1) *Peter is **not yet** in London*
- (2) *Peter is **already** in London.*
- (3) *Peter is **still** in London.*
- (4) *Peter is **no longer** in London.*

Each PhP expression refers to two phases: One phase “x” that is referred to by the expression at the time of reference and a second phase that is entailed by the same expression either prior or subsequent to phase “x”. Kramer (2017. p. 10) writes that the phasal features of PhP concepts and how they relate to each other can be understood in terms of a timeline (*figure 1*) commencing with NOT YET, followed by ALREADY, STILL and finally NO LONGER. These concepts are related to each other sequentially based on their ‘phasal meanings’. In other words, phasal meanings occur in a particular order and each concept is placed on the timeline according to some phasal meaning inherent to that particular concept. According to Plungian (1999. p. 315), there are three central meanings of phase: inchoative (P begins), terminative (P ends), and continuative (P continues). When applying these values to the PhP concepts in our metaphorical timeline, NOT YET describes what he calls “the continuation of a non-activity”, which makes this expression continuative. NOT YET is then sequentially related to ALREADY that marks that a state of being has begun and is therefore inchoative (p. 315-316), which is illustrated by the first vertical line in *figure 1*. Kramer (2017. p. 1) writes that each expression involves reference points of both the phase occurring when an utterance is made and a phase either prior or subsequent to that. This means that ALREADY while describing the inchoative phase of the situation it refers to, also entails the previous ‘continuation of a non-activity’ expressed by NOT YET (Plungian, 1999. p. 315). One may think of this in terms of the beginning of something having to be preceded by that same something not having begun. For example: it can only start raining if it was not raining before, it cannot start to rain while it is already raining. ALREADY is then followed by STILL, representing that the same state “keeps on being”, meaning that STILL is continuative. Finally, the last concept in our timeline is NO LONGER that marks the end of said continuous state, making the expression terminative (p. 316). The last change of state is illustrated by the second vertical line in *figure 1*.

Phasal values are thus not particularly concerned with the duration of a situation, but rather focuses on the existence and non-existence of a situation in different moments (Plungian, 1999. p. 315). “Peter is *still* in London” does not say anything about for how long he has been there or for how long he will stay, instead it indicates the continuous existing situation of him being there, as well as entailing the previous inchoative phase of him “beginning” to be there. The sequential relationship between the different concepts in the timeline is thus based on the relations of the phasal meanings inherent to each particular concept.

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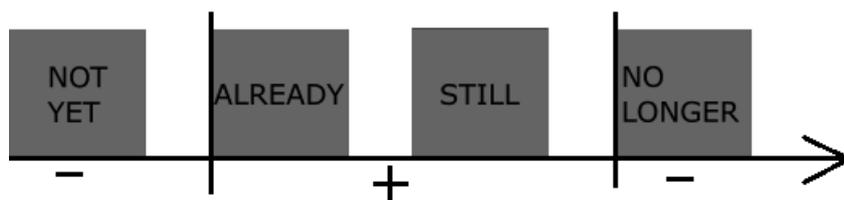


Figure 1: The phasal features of PhP expressions illustrated as a timeline (Kramer, 2017. p. 10).

The concepts in the timeline can intuitively be analysed in terms of polarity in addition to their phasal meanings. Polarity values can be either positive or negative and indicates the state of the proposition of an utterance. Kramer (2017. p. 1) writes that each concept applied to any situation entails whether the state of that situation “is the case” or not. Each concept therefore has either a positive or a negative polarity value where situations that “are the case” are indicated by the positive ‘+’ sign and situations that are not, are indicated by the negative ‘-’ sign. As we can see in *figure 1*, the PhP concepts ALREADY and STILL indicate that the state included in the proposition (here: Peter’s “being” in London) is the case, making these expressions positive (+). On the contrary, NOT YET and NO LONGER both describe situations where the same state is, at the time of reference, not the case, making these two expressions negative (-). In other words: the utterance “Peter is already in London” (+) entails that Peter is in fact currently in London and the utterance “Peter is not yet in London” (-) entails that he is currently not. Putting together the notions of phase and polarity, it becomes clear that PhP concepts contrasts situations with different polarity values and that these situations are sequentially related, for example: “*Peter is already in London*” (+), when uttered, entails a scenario were “*Peter was not yet in London*” (-), and “*Peter is no longer in London*” (-) entails a scenario in which he was *still* there (+) (Van Baar, 1997. p. 1).

Besides describing these polar and phasal relations, PhP expressions can also convey certain attitudes and expectations of a speaker towards a situation. As Van Baar (1997. p. 1-2) points out, sentence (2) might be used by speakers to express a sentiment of surprise or delusion towards the *earliness* of Peter’s being in London, in other words, he is in London sooner than the speaker expected or hoped for. The opposite attitude of the potential one in (2) would be:

(5) *Peter is **finally** in London*

*Finally* expresses a sentiment of surprise or delusion towards the *lateness* of Peter’s being in London, but it still presupposes a prior scenario with an opposing polarity value, i.e. Peter not yet being in London, this makes *finally* part of the PhP concept of ALREADY. The expression *already* can thus both express a preceding change without any speaker expectations as well as emphasizing the “early speaker expectations”, while in English the word *finally* is needed to highlight the “late speaker expectations” of the PhP concept ALREADY.

The many dimensions of PhP concepts and expressions calls for a systematic description. The description model used in this essay will be accounted for in the following chapter.

## 2.2 Kramer’s parameters

The framework that will be used to systematically classify and describe PhP expressions in an individual language is adopted from Kramer (2017). In her Position paper on Phasal Polarity expressions she lists six parameters based on the most important work on PhP. All six parameters will be presented in the following sections. The first three parameters, *Coverage*, *Pragmaticity* and *Telicity* are related to the semantic properties of PhP expressions, while parameters 4 to 6, *Expressability*, *Wordhood*, and *Paradigmaticity*, are concerned with the structural properties.

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### 2.2.1 Coverage and the systematic relations of Polarity.

The parameter *coverage* categorizes whether PhP items are restricted to one PhP concept or if a PhP item is involved in expressing more than one concept in a particular language. If there is one concept per item, the PhP coverage system of that language can be labelled as *rigid*, otherwise the system can be labelled as *flexible*. In order to make this categorization we need to establish what the semantic relations between PhP concepts might look like and in what way a PhP item could be involved in expressing more than one concept. Essentially, flexible PhP systems are possible because of how PhP concepts are related to each other in terms of their Polarity values. These values allow a systematic semantic relation where concepts are interrelated through negation. When concepts are negated, they become logically equivalent to another concept with an opposing polarity value.

This view stems from the Duality Hypothesis presented by Löbner (1989. Referred to by Kramer, 2017), where he assumes a system of external and internal negation between PhP expressions. External negation means that one concept (x) falls within the scope of negation (not x), whereas internal negation means that a concept (x) has negation in its scope (x not). In *figure 2* the external and internal negation relations between the different PhP concepts are depicted. Each concept has two neighbouring concepts with opposing polarity values: horizontally, the concept it is related to through internal negation and vertically the concept it relates to through external negation.

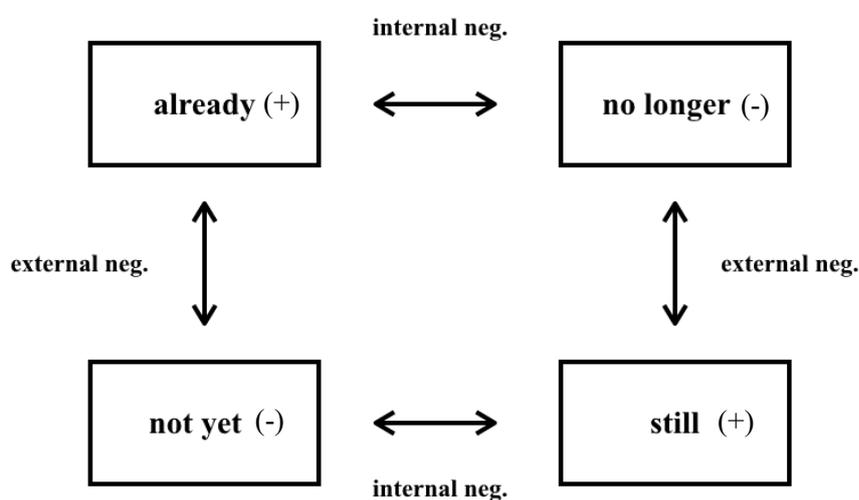


Figure 2: Negation relations between PhP concepts (Van Baar, 1997. p. 20).

Two neighbouring concepts possess opposing polarity values, but through either external or internal negation they assume the same value as its neighbour: they become logically equivalent (Van Baar, 1997. p. 20). For example: the external negation of STILL (i.e. not STILL) is logically equivalent to NO LONGER, which becomes fairly intuitive when we consider the following hypothetical scenario in which *still* is externally negated:

- (6) - Is Peter *still* in London? (+)
- (7) - No, he is not (*still* in London). (-)  
I.e. Peter is *no longer* in London. (-)

In the case of STILL and internal negation (STILL not), the logical equivalent would be NOT YET. Consider the sentences below and note how the polarity value of the usually positive STILL has been changed into matching the polarity value of NOT YET, and how they both now have the same phasal meaning, i.e. the continuation of a non-activity.

- (8) Peter is *still* not in London. (-)

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(9) *Peter is **not yet** in London. (-)*

The system of internal and external negation entails another relation amongst the PhP concepts, referred to as *duality*. This is a relation between two PhP concepts with the same polarity value, represented as diagonally opposite to each other in *figure 2*, for example ALREADY and STILL. These two concepts are bidirectionally related through the external negation of the internal negation and does hence mean the same thing (ALREADY = not... STILL... not) (Van Baar, 1997. p. 21). As Van Auwera (1993. p. 616-617) defines it: “Peter is *already* in Madrid.  $\Leftrightarrow$  It is *not* the case that it is *still* the case that Peter is *not* in Madrid”. The term “duality” means “the internal negation of the external negation” (p. 616) and the diagonally opposing elements in *figure 2* are thus referred to as each other’s duals (Van Baar, 1997. p. 21). Regarding the example given by Auwera and in the context of English, this is somewhat similar to the notion of double negation in propositional logic being equivalent to a positive statement ( $A \equiv \sim(\sim A)$ ), one might find it helpful to consider a “simplified” example like: “Peter is not not in Madrid” = “Peter is in Madrid”.

These semantic relations highlighted by the duality hypothesis are relevant mainly because of how PhP concepts are expressed in different languages. Returning to the notion of the coverage parameter, we are specifically interested in how many PhP concepts can be covered by the same PhP item. This can vary between languages and while some languages, such as English, (in most cases) have different PhP items for expressing each of the four PhP concepts (thus being a *rigid* language)<sup>1</sup>, other languages make use of negation relations to express one or several concepts. The same PhP item can thus be involved in expressing, or “covering”, more than one PhP concept, making those languages *flexible*. In Spanish for instance, the PhP system is coded based on internal negation with the positive PhP expressions STILL and ALREADY being negated to express NOT YET and NO LONGER respectively (Garrido, 1992. p. 361):

(10) STILL in Spanish

*El niño duerme todavía*

ART child sleep.PRS.3SG STILL

‘The child is still sleeping’

(11) NOT YET in Spanish

*El niño no duerme todavía*

ART child NEG sleep.PRS.3SG STILL

‘The child is not sleeping yet’ (“The child is *still not* sleeping”)

(12) ALREADY in Spanish

*María ya vive aquí*

Maria ALREADY live.PRS.3SG here

‘Maria already lives here’

(13) NO LONGER in Spanish

*María ya no vive aquí*

Maria ALREADY NEG live.PRS.3SG here

‘Maria no longer lives here’ (“Maria *already* does *not* live here”)

The opposite structure can be found in Classical Nahuatl, where a system based entirely on external negation is used. Classical Nahuatl is hence also flexible, but uses constructions involving ALREADY and STILL, (by externally negating them) in expressing PhP concepts NOT YET and NO LONGER

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<sup>1</sup> There are some exceptions to this rule, there are particular situations in which the negation of one PhP expression can be used to express another PhP concept in English. Such an example can be found in 2.2.2.

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respectively (Kramer, 2017. p. 4-5). The following examples of PhP expressions in Classical Nahuatl are taken from Andrews (2003) referred to by Kramer (2017. p. 5).

(14) ALREADY in Classical Nahuatl

*ye iztaya*  
**already** it.is.becoming.white  
“it is already becoming white”

(15) NOT YET in Classical Nahuatl

*aya temo*  
**NEG.already** it.descends  
“it does not yet descend”

(16) STILL in Classical Nahuatl

*oc yōliyah*  
**still** they.were.living  
“they are still alive”

(17) NO LONGER in Classical Nahuatl

*ayoc āc*  
**NEG.still** he/she.is.present  
“he is no longer here”

What structures are being used, or what PhP expressions are involved in expressing/covering what PhP concepts, is thus something that is specific to a particular language and something that can vary a big deal between languages. However, most languages are at least somewhat flexible in this regard, and they rarely, exclusively abide to the rules of either internal or external negation. According to Van Baar (1997. p. 22) most languages rather uses a mixture of the two types of negation. This is also the case for many East Bantu languages; an interesting aspect shown by Löfgren (2019. p. 42) in her study is that NO LONGER being expressed by externally negating STILL seems to be a common trait for several of these languages.

### 2.2.2 Pragmaticity and speaker expectations

As mentioned, situations referred to with PhP expressions are often related in terms subsequent (temporal) phases. These scenarios are known as *neutral* scenarios. Recalling that PhP expressions may convey speaker expectations, the situations with these polarity values may however be simultaneous and rather 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*. 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. This mean that some PhP expressions are limited to exclusively describing scenarios that are either *neutral* or *counterfactual*, whereas others can cover both scenarios. In many languages, some PhP expressions can be used for both scenarios although one use might be more prominent (Kramer, 2017. p. 2).

In an individual language and in the particular context in which it is used, the degree of pragmatic markedness of a particular PhP expression might differ on a scale ranging from *neutral* (temporal sequentially related phases) to *counterfactual* (simultaneous phases) scenarios (Kramer, 2017. p.7). Kramer’s pragmaticity parameter is largely based on the works of Van Auwera and what is sometimes referred to as the Double Alternative Hypothesis. Inspired by examples given by Van Auwera (1993 p. 619-622), Van Baar (1997. p. 27-34) and Kramer (2017. p. 7-9) a description of pragmatically *neutral* and *counterfactual* PhP expressions will be accounted for by giving examples of different hypothetical

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scenarios. All four PhP concepts can be involved in different pragmaticity scenarios. ALREADY and NOT YET will be exemplified more thoroughly here due to their relevance in the context of Swahili, where claims of a potential prominence of *counterfactually* with ALREADY and NOT YET items<sup>2</sup>, have been made (Kramer. 2017. p. 9). All hypothetical scenarios in this section will share the following background information:

- 6 p.m.: Peter and Fatma have set an appointment to meet at the airport in Dar es Salaam
- 8 p.m.: Fatma will fly to Nairobi
- 9 p.m.: Fatma will arrive in Nairobi.

**Scenario 1 (*Neutral scenario of ALREADY*):** Peter oversleeps and is not able to get to the airport in Dar es Salaam until 9 p.m. At this point it is appropriate for him to say:

(18) (Yes, I know) Fatma is **already** in Nairobi.

This scenario is *neutral*. Peter's utterance contrasts the actual positive situation in which Fatma *already* (+) is in Nairobi, with the situation in which he would have arrived in time (6 p.m.) for when Fatma would *not yet* (-) be in Nairobi. The expression *already* does hence entail a contrasting situation with a different polarity value that is located earlier in a chain of events. The fact that it refers to a situation taking place before the current state makes the contrast temporal and thus *neutral* in terms of expectations. Figure 3 depicts the timeline for **scenario 1**, with a vertical line indicating both the change in polarity value and the time for when Peter makes his utterance. As indicated by the arrow, by saying *already*, he refers from a positive current situation, to a negative, preceding one.

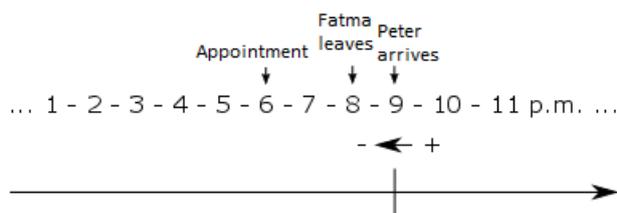


Figure 3: *Neutral scenario of ALREADY*.

**Scenario 2 (*Counterfactual scenario of ALREADY*):** Fatma forgets about her appointment with Peter and makes a last-minute decision to catch an earlier flight to Nairobi, leaving at 5 p.m. Peter then unknowingly arrives to the airport for their appointment at 6 p.m. as agreed. In this scenario it is possible for Peter to make a similar utterance as in the previous scenario at 6 p.m.:

(19) (Oh no!) Fatma is **already** in Nairobi.

Because of the context in which this utterance (19) is made, it is different from the one in (18). Due to the circumstances, Peter here expresses surprise and disappointment to the fact that the actual situation at 6 p.m. is different from what he expected: Fatma was still supposed to be in Dar es Salaam. *Figure 4* depicts the expected scenario with the dotted line, and the actual scenario is represented by the continuous line above it. In both cases a vertical line symbolizes when Fatma leaves and thus the change of polarity value from Fatma *not yet* (-) being in Nairobi to her *already* (+) being there. In *figure 4*, the arrow indicating what Peter refers to is no longer horizontal and referring to a preceding situation as in *figure 3*. The arrow is now vertical and *already* is thus referring to a simultaneous, expected situation

<sup>2</sup> The NOT YET item this refers to is the verb prefix *ja-* which sometimes has been interpreted as “not yet”, but probably is not a PhP item at all. Section 2.4.2.3 will provide the arguments for this view and show that the expectations related to *ja-* is in fact a discussion related to the domain of TMA rather than PhP.

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that surprisingly did not happen. The relation here is thus firstly not temporal but simultaneous and secondly, not *neutral*, but *counterfactual* in terms of speaker expectations, and therefore as Kramer (2017. p. 8) puts it, “highly pragmatically motivated”.

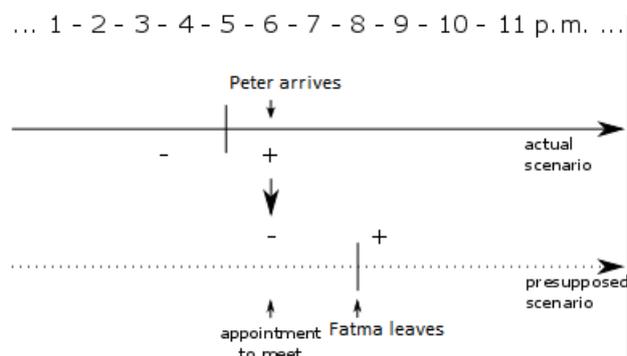


Figure 4: *Counterfactual scenario of ALREADY.*

The positive (+) situation expressed with *already* in (19) is not contrasted to a situation that has happened earlier, but to a hypothetical negative situation expected to take place at the same time. When making the utterance John expected Fatma to *not yet* be in Nairobi. In other words, the actual situation is happening earlier than expected which means that *already* marks an early change as opposed to **scenario 1**, where it is just a marker of change (Van Baar, 1997. p. 28). Regardless if the change is counterfactual and early or if it is neutral, *already* is nonetheless the dual of *still*: in terms of polarity values. both the utterance in **Scenario 1** and **Scenario 2** entail “It is *not* the case that it is *still* the case that Fatma is *not* in Nairobi”.

By replacing *Nairobi* with *Dar es Salaam*, and *already* with *no longer*, we could make use of the exact same scenarios as above to describe the *neutral* and *counterfactual* examples of NO LONGER. STILL and NOT YET however similar, require a few more modifications (Van Baar, 1997. p. 30-34). The *neutral* (20) and the *counterfactual* (21) scenarios of NOT YET will be accounted for below, inspired by the work of Van Auwera (1993. p. 624). Figure 5 and 6 depicting these scenarios could be used to illustrate the different scenarios of STILL as well, with the simple modification of inverting the polarity values.

**The neutral scenario of NOT YET:**

Fatma’s flight is on schedule, but it has not yet arrived in Nairobi. At 7pm Peter can say:

(20) (Yes, I know) Fatma is **not** in Nairobi **yet**.

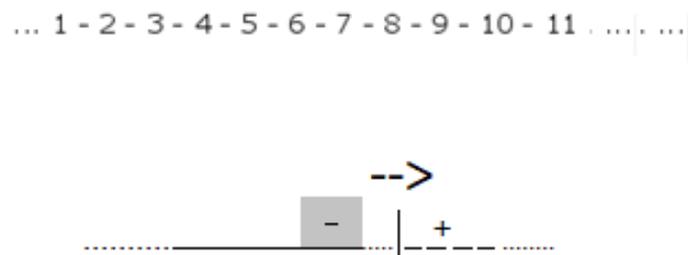


Figure 5: *The neutral scenario of NOT YET.*

In figure 5, the uninterrupted line and the shaded area represents the negative state of NOT YET. The vertical line represents the change of polarity, which is followed by a dashed line that marks the

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following scenario of a positive polarity value as hypothetical rather than factual. Following NOT YET and preceding the vertical line, there is a dotted line representing the uncertainty of the time period before the potential polarity change. The same type of dotted line precedes the uninterrupted line of NOT YET, indicating that there must be a time period of an uncertain length in which the polarity value was negative as well.

### The simultaneous *counterfactual* scenario of NOT YET:

The plane Fatma was supposed to be on has arrived in Nairobi, but she was not aboard. Given the background information it was right to assume that Fatma would be in Nairobi by now, but at this point, if she arrives at all, she will be late. As Van Baar (1997. p. 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 impatience / disappointment or surprise that is normally part of this type of scenario. So, imagine Peter finding out at 9.30 that Fatma has not yet arrived in Nairobi, then we can expect him to make the following utterance:

(21) (Oh!) Fatma is *still not* in Nairobi!

At the time of reference in (21), the NOT YET expression (*still not*) refers to a simultaneous expected situation rather than a potential posterior one as in (20). The counterfactual scenario is depicted below:

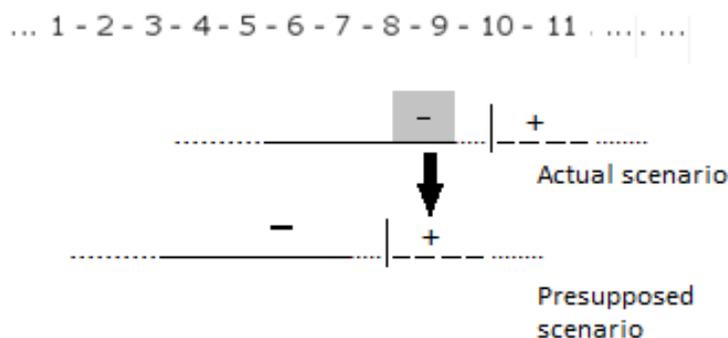


Figure 6: The *counterfactual* scenario of NOT YET.

The fact that *still not* is commonly used to express the counterfactual, but not the neutral, scenario of NOT YET goes to show that pragmaticity and speaker expectations can have a big impact on the usage of PhP expressions. Whether a certain PhP expression is restricted to either describing a *neutral* or *counterfactual* scenario, or at least more associated with one usage, is something that changes between languages. Consequently, the pragmaticity parameter needs to be considered when mapping the PhP system in any language.

### 2.2.3 Telicity and phasal organization

We recall that PhP expressions can be understood and organized in terms of their phasal values as either inchoative, terminative, or continuative. Depending on a specific concept's phasal value it can also be categorized as either telic or atelic. As will be accounted for in this section, ALREADY and NO LONGER are telic concepts that allow for additional types of speaker expectations compared to their atelic counterparts. Telic expressions may not only convey sentiments of surprise or delusion towards the *earliness* of a situation, but they may also express similar sentiments towards the *lateness* of situations. Just like PhP expressions can be sensitive to *general neutral* or *early counterfactual* changes, different languages may have PhP expressions that are sensitive to *late counterfactual* changes as well.

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A situation that is bounded at either the start or the end can be considered telic. If neither the start nor the end of a situation is bounded, the situation is atelic (Lehmann, 1991. p. 199). In addition to being inchoative and terminative respectively (see section 2.1), ALREADY and NO LONGER can also be considered telic: they are bounded to a point of polarity change, as indicated by them being attached to the vertical lines in *figure 7*. Consequently, they are referring to two different moments with opposing polarity values: the point of reference as well as the preceding moment (Kramer, 2017. s. 10). Specifically, what they refer to is the end of one situation (NOT YET / STILL) and the beginning of a second situation (ALREADY / NO LONGER) with an opposing polarity value. In other words, ALREADY marks the end of NOT YET whereas NO LONGER marks the end of STILL. On the contrary, STILL and NOT YET are not considered telic since they are continuous and the point of polarity change has not yet occurred (Kramer, 2017. s. 2). The empty space in between these concepts and any vertical line in *figure 7* indicates their openness at both start and end. As opposed to the telic concepts, they are not inherently tied to a certain starting/finishing point. There is nothing in the expression *not yet* itself that indicates when the starting point of *not yet* was, nor when the situation to which it refers will cease (not) to be. As argued by van der Auwera (1998. p. 25) STILL and NOT YET refer to phases of continuation whereas ALREADY and NO LONGER refer to change, i.e. the lack of continuation.



Figure 7 repeated from figure 1: The phasal features of PhP expressions illustrated as a timeline

An aspect unique to the telic concepts is that they have a third possible scenario called a **non-simultaneous identical scenario** that is used to refer to a late change (Van Baar, 1997. p. 29). These telic PhP concepts do thus have an implied point of polarity change that is either EARLY, LATE, or GENERAL (Kramer, 2017. p. 10). The way speakers relate the point of change to the time, varies between languages. In some languages expressions for ALREADY and NO LONGER might be used for all changes without being sensitive to a relatively early or late point of change, whereas other languages might require a separate expression to refer to a change that is relatively late or early (p. 2).

Exactly what late change and a non-simultaneous identical scenario means will be accounted for here, exemplified with ALREADY and using the same background information as in the scenarios from section 2.2.2. In the case of ALREADY, English is such a language that is sensitive to a relatively late point of change which means that a separate PhP-expressions is required here, namely *finally*. *Already*, in the words of Van Auwera, (1993. p. 618) “excludes that the change has happened relatively late”:

**Scenario 3 (The non-simultaneously identical scenario of ALREADY, i.e. ‘finally’):** In this scenario Fatma is the one that oversleeps, and she misses her flight. Her trip is thus postponed to 10 pm, arriving in Nairobi at 11 pm. In this case Peter could make the following utterance at 11 pm:

(22) *Fatma is finally in Nairobi.*

The dotted line in *Figure 8* is still the expected background scenario and the continuous line represents the actual scenario. In this case the situations are however not *counterfactual* at the moment of reference: note how the polarity values are identical where the vertical arrow is indicating this moment. *Finally* marks the comparative lateness of the actual situation, i.e. the fact that Fatma arrived at 11 p.m. instead of 9 p.m. This is referred to as “the non-simultaneously identical scenario of ALREADY (i.e. ‘finally’)” (Van Baar, 1997. p. 29).

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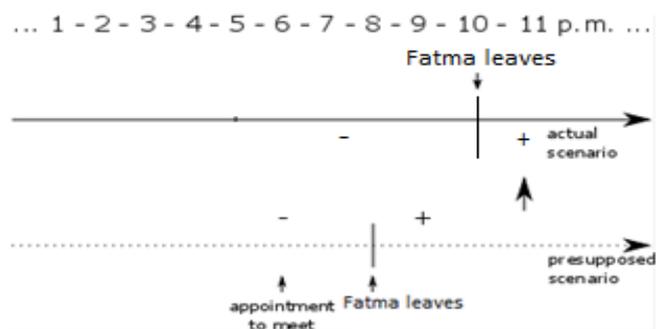


Figure 8: The non-simultaneously identical scenario of ALREADY (i.e. 'finally')

Even though its relatively late, *Fatma is finally in Nairobi* is however still equivalent to “It is not the case that it is still the case that Fatma is not in Nairobi”, which in this context makes *finally* the ‘dual’ (external negation of the internal negation) of *still*. The external negation of the internal negation of STILL is thus, according to Van Auwera (1993. p. 618) entailed by both *already* and *finally*, but at the same time it entails neither. *Already* and *finally* are thus both PhP expressions used to express the PhP concept ALREADY.

In the first two scenarios *already* works fine to express ALREADY, but in English, the third scenario expressing late change, requires the use of *finally*. This goes to show that English ALREADY expressions are sensitive to late turning points, contrary to some other languages such as Spanish where *ya* could be used in all three scenarios. A third option is the Turkish *artık* that can be used in the first and the third scenario but not in the *counterfactual early* situation in **scenario 2**. The different semantic nature of the telic ALREADY expressions in different languages will thus be labelled in accordance to the phasal function of ALREADY (inchoative) together with one of the abovementioned expressions, representing the type of scenarios that particular expression can cover. This gives us *Already-inchoatives*, that rule out LATE points of changes, *Artık-inchoatives* that rule out EARLY points of changes and finally the non-sensitive GENERAL *Ya-inchoatives* that can be used in all scenarios. (Van Baar, 1997. p. 30). PhP expressions like *finally* who’s only function in the PhP domain is to fill the gap left out by *already-inchoatives* have not been previously labelled. Henceforth, they will be referred to as *finally-inchoatives*.

The same setup as in **scenario 3** above could be used to describe the non-simultaneous identical scenario of NO LONGER by just replacing *Nairobi* with *Dar es Salaam*, and *finally* with *no longer*. However, no modifications can be made in order to describe such scenarios including the atelic concepts NOT YET and STILL, since they do not exist. To show that this third scenario is exclusive to the telic PhP concepts, an illustration of the impossible non-simultaneous scenario of NOT YET, inspired by Van Baar, (1997. p. 33-34), is presented below:

The non-simultaneous scenario of NOT YET is inherently contradictory: as shown in *figure 9*, at the point of reference the change of polarity in both the actual situation and the presupposed situation, is in the future. In this case it would entail that the speaker at 5 p.m. expects, according to the background information, that the change will happen at 8 p.m, but at the same time s/he also expects that the change will happen at 7 p.m. This contradiction is thus what makes this scenario impossible for non-telic PhP expressions.

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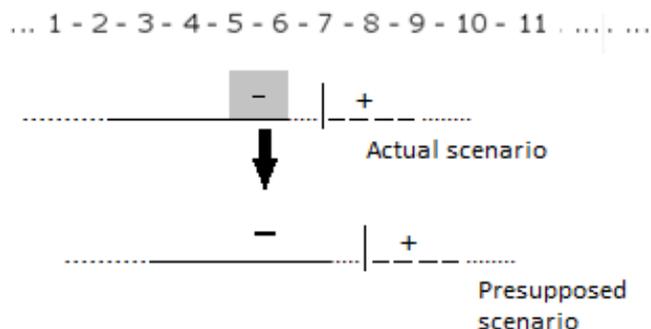


Figure 9: The (impossible) non-simultaneously identical scenario of NOT YET.

A comprehensive description of the PhP system in a language should thus cover the three (1,2,3) **scenarios** of the telic PhP expressions and the ALREADY expressions should be labelled according to the categories described (*already-*, *artik-*, and *ya-inchoatives*). Although a LATE turning point for NO LONGER being overtly marked in a language seems very rare (Van Baar, 1997. p. 70), Kramer (2017. p. 12) highlights the importance of commenting on the possibilities of marking LATE, EARLY, or GENERAL turning points for both telic PhP expressions. This showed especially relevant to this study since the survey proved Swahili to have an overtly marked turning point for NO LONGER.

### 2.2.4 Expressability

This parameter refers to the “possibility of formal coding of PhP expressions” in a language (Kramer, 2017. p. 14). Or in other words, if all four PhP concepts can be expressed explicitly through a proper PhP item.

While both Van Baar (1997. p. 117) and Van Auwera (1998. p. 36-37) claims 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, we considered that language to have a ‘hole’ or ‘gap’ in its PhP system. One example of a language with such a gap is Tigrinya. The two possible interpretations of the sentence in (23) makes it obvious that there is no overtly formal PhP expression for NO LONGER in Tigrinya. There is no distinction made between expressing NOT and expressing NO LONGER:

- (23) NOT/NO LONGER in Tigrinya (Van Baar, 1997. p. 48)  
*Peter ab Lenden yelon*  
 Peter. in London NEG.be\_present  
 1. “Peter is not in London.”  
 2. “Peter is not in London anymore”

In their previous cross-linguistic works on mapping PhP systems in different languages, Van Auwera and Van Baar identified patterns to where these gaps appear in the PhP system. Both have then categorized the likelihood of their occurrence in hierarchies. In European languages, van Auwera’s (1998. p. 37) study showed that ALREADY is the most likely to be missing. The hierarchy he proposed is called ‘The Euroversal Accessibility Hierarchy’, which ranks the accessibility (or existence) of PhP expressions from most- to least likely like this: NO LONGER > STILL/NOT YET > ALREADY.

Van Baar’s (1997. p. 116) work that included 40 languages from around the world, generated the ‘The Universal Expressibility Hierarchy’ with NO LONGER being the most frequently missing expression: STILL/NOT YET > ALREADY > NO LONGER. A recent, and to this study, relevant contribution to these hierarchies is ‘The Bantuversal hierarchy of frequency of PhP expressions’ created by Löfgren (2019).

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p. 17), where NO LONGER and ALREADY were the most common gaps: NOT YET > STILL > ALREADY/NO LONGER.

The Expressibility parameter will thus be considered since a description of a PhP system should contain information about the number of gaps (if any) in language, as well as detailed information about specifically what concepts lack formal coding and how these potential gaps are dealt with.

### **2.2.5 Wordhood and grammaticalization**

Over time, different linguistic components can develop into PhP expressions through semantic change and processes of grammaticalization. The end results are expressions that qualifies as PhP belonging to different grammatical categories, such as adverbs, auxiliaries, infixes, particles etc. Provided that an item fulfils all the relevant criteria for a PhP expression, it can qualify as such regardless of its word class. What grammatical category an expression of PhP 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.

PhP expressions are always specialized items. These items are according to Van Baar (1997. p. 213), often but not necessarily adverbs or particles. Van Auwera's (1998) work is called 'Phasal adverbials in the languages of Europe' as he, based on the structural properties of most European languages, mainly focuses on adverbials as formal markers of PhP expressions. Löfgrens (2019. p. 21-23) study showed that the morphological status of PhP expressions is varied in Bantu languages with affixes and/or auxiliaries being the most common categories for all PhP concepts except for ALREADY, which mostly consisted of adverbs. In different languages PhP items can thus be anything from verb/auxiliaries, to free particles, adverbs, bound verbal affixes and clitics, which shows that the affiliation of an expression to a particular word class cannot function as a criterion for categorizing the expression as a formal representation of PhP. In other words, one cannot draw the conclusion that an expression is or is not a PhP expression based on it belonging to particular word class category.

Van Baar (1997. p. 252) writes that the specialized items that make PhP expressions have undergone a process of desemanticization where the original semantic content typically is replaced by a very specific content, namely all the semantics aspects that make them PhP expressions. After the process of desemanticization some of these lexicalized items remain the same and can still be considered lexical items, such as *already*, whereas others partly or fully go through a process of grammaticalization which might see them changing word class (p. 253) and losing some phonological and grammatical independence (Kramer, 2017. p. 14). Based on the degree of grammaticalization, ranging from lexical expressions to fully grammaticalized ones, the extent to which PhP expressions are dependent on, and bounded to, other linguistic phenomena may vary (Van Baar. 1997. p. 214). A PhP expression consisting of an adverb for example could remain an independent word, whereas verbs that have evolved into auxiliaries cannot stand on its own but require a main verb with more semantic content. Particles and affixes are considered further grammaticalized items with even bigger losses of independence in them being strictly bounded to different grammatical markers and lexemes (p. 252-256).

The Wordhood parameter then considers the phonological and grammatical dependency of the different PhP expressions while also accounting for the formal description of the expressions in terms of their morphology.

### **2.2.6 Paradigmaticity**

This parameter focuses on the symmetrical properties of the PhP system as a whole. Depending on how it is structured both within the PhP paradigm and outwards in relation to other areas of the language, a PhP system can be either symmetric or assymetric.

Kramer's (2017. p. 16) PARADIGMATICITY parameter is thus divided into an internal and an external viewpoint. Within the PhP system, i.e. internally, each PhP concept entails an alternative scenario with

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an opposing polarity value which creates a structure of opposite PhP concepts (Van Baar, 1997. p. 61). ALREADY stands in opposition to its “logical alternative” NOT YET and the logical alternative of STILL is NO LONGER. These relations can be highlighted by the fact that one of these PhP concept can be “denied into” the other one:

Examples inspired by Van Baar (1997. p. 63):

(24) A: *Is Fatma **already** in Nairobi?*  
B: *No, **not yet**.*

(25) A: *Is she **still** there?*  
B: *No, **not anymore**.*

When one PhP concepts holds, its logical alternative is thus excluded. Van Baar (1997. p. 63) calls this the *paradigmatic complementary feature*.

Languages are considered to have an internal SYMMETRIC paradigm if two criteria are fulfilled: firstly, there needs to be an overtly formal expression for logically alternative PhP concepts, and secondly, both expressions need to be part of the same grammatical category. One of Kramer’s (2017. p. 16) examples of such an internal SYMMETRIC PhP paradigm is the ALREADY-NOT YET paradigm in Swahili with both PhP concepts being marked by the use of verbal prefixes *mesha-* and *ja-* respectively<sup>3</sup>. He has taken this example from Schadeberg (1990. p. 1):

(26) ALREADY in Swahili.  
*wa-mesha-fik-a*  
SM2-ALREADY-come-FV  
“they have already arrived.

(27) NOT YET in Swahili  
*ha-wa-ja-fik-a*  
NEG-SM2-not.yet-come-FV  
“they have not yet arrived.”

If a PhP system contains a ‘gap’ for a logical alternative, or if both alternatives have an overtly marked PhP expressions but they belong to different grammatical categories (say, one is an adverb and the other an affix), the paradigm is labelled ASYMMETRIC (Kramer, 2017. p. 16-17)

The second viewpoint of the PARADIGMATIVITY parameter, the external one, refers to the relation between items in the PhP paradigm and corresponding non-PhP items from the domains Tense, Mood and Aspect (TMA). Relations between PhP and TMA are generally so complex that it makes little sense to talk about completely SYMMETRIC external paradigms since they seem extremely rare: there are almost no cases where all members of a PhP paradigm show one-to-one relations to the members of all corresponding TMA paradigms. Instead, if the external PhP paradigm is at all symmetric, we talk about partially SYMMETRIC external paradigms. In these cases, it needs to be specified what PhP concept shows such a symmetric one-to-one correspondence to what TMA domain (Kramer, 2017. p. 17). One such external SYMMETRIC paradigm is the one of TENSE and NOT YET in English. Van Baar (1997. p. 58) writes that the English expression *not yet* can be used in all the different temporal distinctions found in the language and exemplifies this as follows:

(28) External SYMMETRIC TENSE-NOT YET paradigm in English (Van Baar, 1997. p. 58):

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<sup>3</sup> This example can serve as explanation in this case, but as shown in section 2.4.2.3, calling the *ja-* prefix a PhP item for NOT YET is inaccurate.

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- *He wasn't/isn't/won't be here yet.*

In external ASSYMETRIC paradigms on the other hand these one-to-one relations cannot be found. Specific aspects of TMA may then not be compatible within certain PhP concepts. According to Van Baar (1997. p. 138) it is not uncommon for the PhP concept ALREADY to be incompatible with future tenses, making the external TENSE-ALREADY paradigm ASSYMETRIC in those languages. Irish, as illustrated below (28), is an example of such a language. Kramer (2017. p. 17) describes this as a certain TMA category (in this case TENSE) being *blocked* in combination with a certain PhP expression (in this case ALREADY).

(29) External ASYMMETRIC TENSE-ALREADY paradigm in Irish (Van Baar, 1997. p. 138)  
\*beidh sé anseo cheana  
be.FUT he here already  
“He will be here already”

Different PhP items expressing the same concept might be restricted to a certain MOOD category as well. In Burmese there are two different STILL expressions, one for realis- (*thei/dhè*), and one for irrealis marked (*ouñ*) expressions. Besides blocking certain TMA categories, PhP constructions can thus take different forms in relation to specific TMA categories:

(30) External ASYMMETRIC STILL paradigm in Burmese (Van Baar, 1997. p. 139):  
a) Pita Landan-hma shí-**dhè**-deh  
Peter. London-in be\_located-still-REAL  
“Peter is still in London”  
  
b) htămiñ sà-nei-leiñ-**ouñ**-me  
rice eat-stay-no\_doubt-still-IRR  
“(he) will probably still be having (his) meat”

Kramer (2017. p. 18) has also made claims about a third way in which a TMA category can be affected by the occurrence of a PhP concept, namely that TMA distinctions made in non-PhP expressions may be *neutralized* by a particular PhP concept in some languages. In Burmese, the distinction between Realis and Irrealis (and the distinction between the grammatical person) disappears (is neutralized) by the occurrence of NOT YET<sup>4</sup>:

(31) External ASYMMETRIC NOT YET paradigm in Burmese (Allot 1965:294, cited from Van Baar 1997:140)  
- mǎ-pyo:-thei:-hpu:  
- NEG-tell-yet-NEG  
- ‘I won’t tell (him) yet’ ‘(He) isn’t speaking yet’ ‘(He) still hasn’t told (him)’

The ASPECT category poses some challenges that further motivates the importance of the semantic parameters previously described. The notion of *inochative*, *terminative* and *continuative* phasal values belong to the domain of aspectuality, and because of the complex and to some degree overlapping notions of the PhP category and the ASPECT category it can be tricky to determine what category some markers actually belong to. In Swahili, it seems like the tense prefix *ja-* sometimes has been classified as an expression for NOT YET (Schadeberg 1990. p.1), or as Ashton (1947. p. 72) puts it: a “‘not yet’ tense”<sup>5</sup>, but in other descriptions it is classified as an “indicator of previous activities” (Mohammed,

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<sup>4</sup> Kramer (2017. p. 18) notes that this particular neutralization might not necessarily depend on PhP.

<sup>5</sup> Ashton (1947. p. 72) writes that *ja-* is used when the speaker wants to imply that the action may yet take place and that it is often used in conjunction with *bado*, which she states (p. 272) is added to indicate expectation.

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2001. p. 151), i.e. one of two existing negative particles of the present perfect affirmative marker *-me*. Compare the two translations of *ja-* in 30 and 31 below:

- (32) NOT YET in Swahili (Ashton, 1947. p. 272).  
Ha-**ja**-ja  
NEG-has.not-come  
“He (/she) has **not yet** come”
- (33) Negative perfect in Swahili (Mohammed, 2001. p. 151)  
Ha-**ja**-mw-ona  
NEG-has.not-OM1-see  
“She/he **has not** seen him/her”

Another example of such an ambiguity is the Javanese marker *wes* that could be translated to English both with *already* and with the perfect aspect, as shown by Matthewson (2015. p. 179):

- (34) ALREADY / Perfect in Javanese:  
**Wes** belajar nek Yogya nem ulan.  
already study at Yogya six month  
‘She **has studied** in Yogya for six months.’  
‘She **already** studied in Yogya for six months.’

In order to determine if an expression then belongs to the PhP category one essentially needs to analyse the expression based on the three key factors discussed in Kramer’s semantic parametres: (1) the semantic relations between PhP concepts in terms of internal and external negation, (2) the entailment of two different polarity values that relate to each other temporally as two subsequent phases, and (3) the organization of PhP concepts according to their inherent phasal values of continuation and change (Kramer, 2017. p. 19).

In conclusion, the PARADIGMATICITY parameter is concerned with firstly categorizing the internal PhP paradigm as either SYMMETRIC or ASSYMETRIC depending on the opposite concepts both being overtly marked and part of the same grammatical category. And secondly, categorizing the external PhP paradigm in relation to a specific TMA domain as either SYMMETRIC or ASSYMETRIC based on there being a one-to-one relationship between them or not. An ASSYMETRIC external paradigm may manifest itself by triggering different PhP expressions for different TMA domains, or alternatively by (non-PhP) TMA elements being blocked or neutralized by a PhP concept (Kramer, 2017. p. 20).

## 2.3 PhP in Bantu languages

Previous research specifically targeting PhP in Bantu languages have not been many. Up until now, Löfgren’s two essays (2018 & 2019) are the only studies of the sort, although ‘*The expression of phasal polarity in African languages*’ edited by Kramer (2020) is expected shortly. Löfgren (2019) has made some interesting findings where she identifies patterns that differ from the ones described by Van Auwera (1997) in his study on European languages and Van Baar (1997) in his sample study of languages from all around the world. The patterns identified by Löfgren include the different expressability hierarchy presented in 2.2.4. and the findings regarding wordhood in 2.2.5. Numerous East Bantu languages have been included in both of Löfgrens studies, but none of them include Swahili.

As discussed in section 2.2.4 on expressability, Löfgren’s (2019. p. 17) study showed through ‘The Bantuversal hierarchy of frequency of PhP expressions’ that when Bantu languages have a gap in the PhP system, contrary to other languages investigated, it is most likely NO LONGER or ALREADY that are missing. It was also established that, as opposed to the works of Van Auwera and Van Baar, having overtly formal PhP expressions for all four PhP concepts was not the norm for the Bantu languages

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investigated: 8 languages had expressions for all four concepts, 24 languages had one gap, 20 languages had two gaps, 19 languages had only one PhP expression and 8 languages lacked overtly formal PhP expressions altogether (p. 18). Regarding wordhood, we recall from section 2.2.5 that while the morphological status of PhP expressions is varied in Bantu languages, affixes and auxiliaries are the most common categories for the PhP concepts NOT YET, STILL, and NO LONGER. The only exception was thus ALREADY, this concept was most commonly expressed using adverbs (p. 21-23).

Löfgren's (2019, p. 14) study included 79 languages in its main sample and the data was collected from grammars. As Löfgren herself points out, there are some challenges in using grammars, mainly that the data could be outdated and that the non-focus on PhP specifically as well as lack of glossing could pose some difficulties in making accurate assessments of the examples in the grammars. The high number of languages included, and the method used, means that the aim of the study was not to provide an in depth analysis of a particular language. This could potentially increase the risk of some relevant data being overlooked in a language, but all in all the study functions as an excellent source of identifying patterns and tendencies. Furthermore, in depth analyses of other Bantu languages are emerging, for example that of Persohn (2020), who's in depth analysis of Nyakyusa aligns with some of the tendencies identified by Löfgren: For example, does Persohn's (2020, p. 159) work show that Nyakyusa has a gap in its PhP system, and that gap is also in line with the 'The Bantuuniversal hierarchy' since the concept lacking a formal expression is ALREADY.

Several of the findings made in this study indicated that Swahili deviated from the normative PhP systems of the Bantu languages investigated by Löfgren, including these identified patterns in expressability and wordhood. Swahili has overtly formal expressions for all four concept and exclusively uses adverbs for all PhP concepts except ALREADY. In terms of coverage and negation relations, Swahili belongs to a minority of languages that uses 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 quite commonly used in expressing ALREADY.

## 2.4 Literature review of Swahili

No previous works exist on the category of PhP expressions in Swahili. Descriptions of Swahili grammar may however include elements from the PhP domain separately under labels such as "auxiliaries". In the following section, the existing, relevant material on the four different PhP concepts will be accounted for, after a brief introductory section on tense, aspect and mood markers in Swahili. As mapping the PhP system in Swahili includes analysing its expressions in relation to different TMA categories (as discussed in 2.2.6), the following section is necessary in order to give a quick overlook of part of the complex system of TMA markers in Swahili.

### 2.4.1 TMA markers in Swahili

As claimed by Polomé (1967, p. 18), Swahili grammar has a considerably larger amount of aspect categories than indo-european languages. These categories are most of the time expressed by the means of prefixes. A brief outlining of the most important prefixes relevant to this study will be presented here. For more comprehensive descriptions one may refer to the works cited in this section. Swahili is an agglutinative language in which prefixes may be added to the verb stem to express different tenses, moods and aspects, and these prefixes may carry several notions at once. Ashton (1947, p. 36) identifies six primary prefixes, or what she calls tenses, four of which Mpiranya (2015, p. 40) calls "main temporal distinctions". These four main prefixes, *me-*, *li-*, *na-* and *ta-*, will be the ones included in this essay. As we will see below, each one of them formally marks some tense and sometimes also one, or more, specific aspectual notions. Only the verbs in the indicative mood in Swahili formally marks tense in its morphology, all other moods are implicitly in the present tense. This essay will consider only the indicative mood (more in section 3.2).

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These prefixes are often referred to as tenses, not seldom a specific English one, but equating these Swahili prefixes to a particular tense in English should be considered a mistake since TMA categories do not match across the two languages. Ashton (1947. p. 35) writes that some prefixes do not refer to time specifically, but rather to some aspect such as whether the action or state it denotes, occurs before or after another action/state, or whether the action/state it denotes is completed or ongoing. In addition to this, two or several prefixes is often covered by the same English tense or vice versa (Ashton, 1947. p. 35).

### ***The me- prefix***

Even though the most common denotation of the *me-* prefix in Swahili grammar books seems to be “perfect tense” (Mpiranya, 2015, p. 40), (Mohammed, 2001. p. 151) & (Ashton, 1947. p. 37), example sentences containing the prefix shows how several English TA categories can be covered by one Swahili prefix. Ashton (1947. p. 37) writes that depending on context, *me-* can cover a variety of English “tense forms”:

- (35) “He has arrived” – **Amefika**
- (36) “He is tired” – **Amechoka**
- (37) “He is standing” – **Amesimama**

This is due to lexical aspect of these verbs and *me-* expressing the notion of ‘the completion of an action’ and/or ‘the resultant state’ (Ashton, 1947. p. 37). Mpiranya (2015. p. 41) also writes that the *me-* prefix refers to a resultant state and describes another notion of it as expressing something in the recent past that still has an effect in the present. This view is shared by (Lindfors, 2013. p. 32) who argues that *me-* thus is a perfect aspect marker since it can occur together with past and future tense markers as well having as a reference point the actual time of speech or a point previous or subsequent to that time.

***The na- prefix*** describes an action or state that is ongoing in the present tense or that takes place regularly like in (38) (Mpiranya, 2015. p. 41):

- (38) Dada yangu a-**na**-chelewa  
9.sister 9.my SM1-PRS-be.late  
“My sister is running late/My sister is regularly late”

Ashton (1947. p. 37) writes that it is most often used as referring to the present and it may be assumed to do so unless anything in the context indicates past or future time.

***The ta- prefix*** is used to express future tense and the ***li- prefix*** is used to express verbal activity in the past (Ashton, 1947. p. 37)

- (39) **nitaona** - “I will see”
- (40) **niliona** - “I saw”

The temporal distinctions expressed by these four prefixes can thus roughly be summarized as follows (Mpiranya, 2015. p. 40): **Past: li-** | **Perfect: me-** | **Present: na-** | **Future: ta-**

### **2.4.2 STILL and NOT YET in Swahili**

The expressions STILL and NOT YET will be discussed together in this section since there is a close relation between the two in Swahili; namely that the STILL expressions *-ngali* and *bado* can be involved in expressing the notion of NOT YET. Furthermore, even though the verb prefix *ja-* is often translated as *not yet*, arguments as to why this is a misconception will be presented in this section.

The discussion on *-ngali*, *bado* and *ja-* presented below will thus lead us to three different conclusions: 1) the assumed meaning of *bado* as *still* rather than *not yet*, 2) *ja-* not being an expression of NOT YET

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in the PhP domain, and 3) The PhP concept of NOT YET is expressed via the internal negation of STILL, i.e. *bado* or *-ngali* together with negation.

#### 2.4.2.1 The ‘-ngali’ form

According to previous publications, the verb *-ngali* (“still be”) is used in Swahili to express the notion of “still” (Mpiranya, 2015. p. 103). However, it did not appear as a result in the present study. The form derives from the *-li* root meaning *to be* and can be used as the main verb, but more commonly as an auxiliary (Ashton, 1947. p. 270). Mpiranya (ibid) and Ashton (ibid) also highlights that *-ngali* can be used together with an additional auxiliary, *kuwa* (*to be*), to express “still” in past and future tenses:

- (41) *-ngali* in present tense (Mpiranya, 2015. p. 103)

Ni-ngali ni-na-mw-ona  
SM1SG-STILL.BE SM1SG-PRS-OM1-see  
“I am still seeing him; I still see him”

- (42) *-ngali* in past tense (Ashton, 1947. p. 270).

A-li-ku-wa a-ngali ku-soma  
SM1-PST-INF-be SM1-STILL.be INF-read  
“He was still reading”

- (43) *-ngali* in future tense (Ashton, 1947. p. 270).

A-ta-ku-wa a-ngali ku-soma  
SM1-FUT-INF-be SM1-STILL.be INF-read  
“He will still be reading”

Besides being used in affirmative forms like the examples above, *-ngali* can also be negated as well as being used in combination with the perfect marker *ja-* (Mpiranya, 2015. p. 103). The examples below taken from Mpiranya (ibid) have been translated as *still* + negation, which we through the Duality Hypothesis (2.2.1) can determine to be logically equivalent to NOT YET.

- (44) *-ngali* + negation:

Ni-ngali si-mw-oni  
SM1SG-STILL.be NEG-OM1-see  
“I still don’t see him” (Logically equivalent to “I don’t see him yet”.)

- (45) *-ngali* + negation and perfect marker

A-ngali ha-ja-lala  
SM1-STILL.be NEG-has.not-sleep  
“He still is not sleeping” (Logically equivalent to “He is not sleeping yet”)

The STILL expression *-ngali* is thus involved in expressing NOT YET and as we will see in the following section, so is the other STILL expression *bado* that, according to Ashton (1947. p. 270), is often used instead of *-ngali*. In this survey *bado* was used exclusively instead of *-ngali* that did not occur at all.

#### 2.4.2.2 The adverb ‘bado’

The adverb *bado* derives from the Arabic loanword ‘ba<sup>o</sup>dun’ (‘then; still, yet’) (Baldi, 2012. p. 47) Depending on context, *bado* has, in the prominent literature on Swahili grammar, interestingly been translated into expressions with both positive and negative polarity values: the definition ascribed to it has been either *still/yes*, *not yet* or both (Ashton, 1947. p. 175 & 272), (Mohammed, 2001. p. 151), (Wilson, 1985. p. 108), (Mpiranya, 2015). Although all examples of *bado* meaning *not yet*, in the above-mentioned literature, also involve some sort of negation, Mpiranya (2015. p. 104) is the only

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one that explicitly acknowledges this correlation. He states that *bado* used with a verb in the affirmative form expresses the notion of “still”, whereas it being used with a verb in the negative form takes the notion of “not yet”. The following examples are taken from Mpiranya (2015, p. 104) with the addition of hyphens and glossing:

- (46) *Bado* with an affirmative verb:  
Bado ni-na-soma        magazeti  
STILL SM1SG-PRS-read 6.newspapers  
“I am still reading newspapers; I still read newspapers”
- (47) *Bado* + negation:  
Bado si-somi            magazeti  
STILL SM1SG.NEG-read 6.newspapers  
“I am not reading newspapers yet; I don’t read newspapers yet”

In other words, *bado* expresses STILL and *bado* + negation is used to express NOT YET.

#### 2.4.2.3 The ‘ja-’ prefix

As shown in the previous section, the concept of NOT YET in Swahili has to some degree been discussed in terms of the negation of STILL. Most of the discussion on Swahili expressions being translated into *not yet* has been focused on the tense prefix *ja-* in conjunction with the (according to some, optional) adverb *bado*. In this section it will become clear why *ja-* cannot be considered an PhP item expressing NOT YET.

First of all, the discussion on the notion of ‘not yet’ in Swahili being focused on *ja-* means that it has been rather restricted to TA expressed by *me-* (roughly perfect aspect), since *ja-* is the negation of *me-*. Mohammed (2001. p. 151) calls *ja-* the ‘negated form of the present perfect tense prefix *me-*’. Wilson (1985. p. 108) writes that *ja-* always has the sense of *not yet*, but this is likely a misconception: A more accurate description would be that while *ja-* may convey a notion of ‘not yet’, there are numerous occasions in which it does not entail it. According to Moravia (1989. p. 130-150) the negation expressed by *ja-* is limited in time which means that it, much like the PhP concept NOT YET, implies a future change from its current negative polarity value to a future positive one. In other words, the event expressed by the verb is expected to take place at a sooner stage. Although she claims this change is “likely, even imminent” (p. 130), she also writes that *ja-* may be used in situations where the occurrence of such a change is out of the question, leading her to the conclusion that *not yet* cannot be the (invariant) meaning of *ja-* (p. 138-139). As discussed in 2.1 (and illustrated by the timeline in *figure 1*) the PhP concept NOT YET is inherently followed by a situation with an opposing polarity value, which means that a proper NOT YET expression always entails expectations of a change. Moravia (ibid), Ashton (1947. p. 272), Mohammed (ibid), Wilson (ibid), and Mpiranya (2015. p. 44) all refer to *bado* in combination with *ja-* as emphasizing the expectations of change, (i.e. having the sense of *not yet*). However, the importance they put into *bado* being included for the meaning to be *not yet* seems to vary, with Mpiranya and Mohammed seemingly being less inclined to translate sentences without *bado* as *not yet*:

- (48) English translations of *ja-* and *ja-* + *bado*:

Mohammed (2001. p. 151-152):

- a) Ha-**ja**-mw-ona  
SM1.NEG-has.not-OM1-see  
She/he has not seen him/her

Ashton (1947. p. 272):

- b) Ha-**ja**-ja  
SM1.NEG-has.not-come  
He has *not yet* come

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- |                                 |             |                                    |             |
|---------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|-------------|
| c) Si- <b>ja</b> -mw-ona        | <b>bado</b> | d) Si- <b>ja</b> -kula             | <b>bado</b> |
| SM1SG.NEG-has.not-OM1-see STILL |             | SM1SG-has.not-eat STILL            |             |
| I have <i>not yet</i> seen him  |             | I have <i>not</i> eaten <i>yet</i> |             |

Mpiranya (2015. p. 101) also notes that *bado* (+ negation) together with the auxiliary *kuwa* (to be) and *ja-* can form past perfect *not yet*-sentences. Both he and Ashton (1947. p. 271) write that *kuwa* and *ja-* can form sentences in future perfect as well, but they do not state whether *bado* can be added to that construction. Hyphens and glossing have been added to his examples below:

- (49) *Not yet* in past perfect (Mpiranya, 2015. p. 101):  
Ni-li-ku-wa si-ja-ondoka (bado)  
SM1SG-PST-INF-be SM1SG.NEG-has.not-leave (STILL)  
“I had not left (yet)”
- (50) *-ja-* as future perfect (Mpiranya, 2015. p. 101):  
Ni-ta-ku-wa si-ja-ondoka  
SM1SG-FUT-INF-be SM1SG.NEG-has.not-leave  
“I will not have left”

As will be shown in 4.6.1, only 10 % of the sentences with just *ja-*, and no *bado*, were interpreted as having a “not yet sense” in the conducted survey. Whereas *bado* or *-ngali* + negation both in the literature and in the survey always expresses the concept of NOT YET, the discussion above shows that *ja-* does not necessarily entail this notion. Furthermore, the Swahili expressions for STILL + negation are not limited to a particular tense or aspect, whereas *ja-*, being the negated form of a perfect aspect marker, of course is limited to negated perfect aspect expressions. Depending on context and the semantics of specific verbs one can assume that negated perfect markers generally can imply a sense of “not yet” in many languages: if a person were to utter the sentence “I have not arrived”, surely there are scenarios where this could convey some expectation of the person arriving at some point in the future. This does however not make *have not* a PhP item expressing NOT YET. Whether or not *ja-* has stronger connotations of change than other perfect aspect markers is not a discussion on PhP expressions and it will thus not receive any further attention in this essay.

### 2.4.3 ALREADY in Swahili

Just like with *not yet*, the literature describing Swahili items translated as *already* has traditionally been restricted to the *me-* tense (roughly perfect tense). The ALREADY expression discussed by Ashton (1947. p. 271) and Mohammed (2001. p. 84) (among others) is the *me-* prefix followed by the auxiliary verb *kwisha* (to finish), followed by a main verb (51). Just like in the cases with *-ngali* and *ja-*, this construction can appear together with, *kuwa*, as to express perfect forms of ALREADY in different tenses, exemplified in (52) and (53). The examples are from Ashton (1947. p. 271):

- (51) *Amekwisha* kwenda = *He has already gone*
- (52) *Atakuwa amekwisha* kwenda = *He will already have gone*
- (53) *Alikuwa amekwisha* kwenda = *He had already gone*

In more recent work, such as Nicolle (1998), Marten (1998) and Mpiranya (2015), it has been observed that, while it can still be used the same way, the auxiliary *kwisha* has gone through a process of grammaticalization in Swahili where *me-* + *kwisha* has evolved and changed wordclass category into the TMA prefix *mesh-* or even *sha-*, as shown in the examples (54a) and (54b). According to Marten (1998. p. 22-23), *me-* and *sha-* both individually express present tense but the former expresses perfective aspect and the latter, completive aspect. The completive aspect he argues is more immediately

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relevant. In some very specific cases he argues thus that *mesha-* and *sha-* can have slightly different aspectual meanings, as in (55a) and (55b), where (55b) highlights that the state of knowing has just been entered upon (or completed) rather than, (55a) which emphasizes the resulting state of knowing. However, both *mesha-* and *sha-* mostly seem to have the sense of “have already” ascribed to them, as claimed by Nicolle (1998. p. 11).

(54) *mesha-* and *sha-* from Marten (1998. p. 18):

a) Ni-me-sha-fahamu  
SM1.SG-PERF-sha-understand  
'I have already understood'

b) Ni-sha-fahamu  
SM1.SG-sha-understand  
'I have already understood'

(55) Aspectual meanings of *mesha-* and *ja-*: from Marten (1998. p. 23)

a) Tu-me-sha-jua (zamani)  
SM1.PL-PERF-sha-know (then)  
'We have known/know already (then)'

b) Tu-sha-jua (sasa hivi)  
SM1.PL-sha-know (now about)  
'We have known/know already (right now)'

In the work of Mpiranya (2015. p. 45) further examples are brought up of the *sha-* prefix shifting away from exclusively being restrained to the perfective aspect. Mpiranya describes *mesha-* as the most commonly used constellation involving *sha-*, but goes on to describe other ways in which it can be used. He describes the meaning of *sha-* as having emphatic connotations when used either on its own (56) or with the emphatic, third person, marker *ka-* (57). The *kasha-*, or sometimes *kesha-*, forms also derive from the verb stem *-isha*: “*ka-isha* → *kesha-* vs. *ka-sha* → *kasha*”. In colloquial use, *sha-* may also be used with the past tense form *li-* to express already (58).

(56) Ni-**sha**-sema “si-taki!”  
SM1SG-ALREADY-say SM1SG.NEG-want”  
“I have already said that I refuse!”

(57) A-li-kuta dada yake **ka-sha**-maliza chakula!  
SM1-PST-find sister her CONS-ALREADY-finish food  
“She found out that her sister has finished the food!”

(58) U-na-dhani a-**li-sha**-mw-ona?  
SM2SG-PRS-think SM1-PST-ALREADY-OM1-see  
“Do you think he has already seen him?”

Recalling the theme of wordhood and grammaticalization, this discussion on ALREADY in Swahili seems to be a perfect example of a linguistic component developing into a PhP expression through a process of grammaticalization and semantic change. Van Baar (1997. p. 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”. Completive ALREADY-types usually derive from elements originally conveying notions such as *complete* or *ready*. According to the survey in this study, the most

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common ALREADY expression was *tayari*, an Arabic loanword meaning ‘ready’. Mpiranya (2015. p. 156) writes that some adjectives of foreign origin may be used as adverbs and lists *tayari* as one of the most common ones:

<i>Adjective</i>	<i>Adverbial use</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
<i>tayari</i> “ready”	<b>Tayari</b> nimelipa	<i>I have paid already</i>

Another occurring ALREADY expression, *hatimaye*, meaning ‘finally’ also derives from Arabic: A contraction of *hatima* (in the end) and *yake* (its), meaning ‘at its end’ or ‘finally’ (Lodhi, 2000. p. 107).

#### 2.4.4 NO LONGER in Swahili

NO LONGER seems to be the PhP concept in Swahili that has received the least attention. Mpiranya (2015. p. 103) is the only one having 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” (59). On the contrary, if *tena* is placed after a verb in its affirmative form it means “again”, as shown in (60).

(59) Ha-tu-mw-oni      **tena**  
NEG-SM1PL-OM1-see again  
“We don’t see him anymore”

(60) Tu-li-mw-ona      **tena**  
SM1PL-PST-OM1-see again  
“We saw him again”

From a diachronic perspective, NO LONGER expressions deriving from “again” or similar elements indicating repeated time is not uncommon. Van Baar (1997. p. 97) describes this as belonging to a category of NO LONGER items consisting of iterative, repetitive and/or additive constructions. The most common category in his sample was derivations from comparatives such as *(any)more* (p. 96), but the derivation from “again” that Swahili shows in the use of negation + *tena* has been found in several other languages, including the Tanzanian Bantu language Nyakyusa (Persohn, 2020. p. 166). *Tena* also adds to the list of adverbs borrowed from Arabic (Lodhi, 2000. p. 112).

### 3. Method

Since phasal polarity expressions historically have received limited attention in linguistic studies and no previous work has been made on the phenomenon in Swahili, collecting new data was a requirement for the realization of this study.

In accordance with previous studies, I have chosen the same method as Van Baar (1998, p. 8). He identifies the three essential parts of such a study and describes them as follows:

- A. "Consultation of reference works and dictionaries."
- B. "Consultation of three different native speakers".
- C. "Consultation of a linguistic expert"

#### 3.1 Reference work and dictionaries

In the case of Phasal Polarity and Swahili, the existing reference literature pays no attention to the phenomenon at all, instead PhP expressions occur in contexts describing something else. As Van Baar (1998, p. 7-8) mentions, this makes it difficult to study PhP expressions using the reference literature, but it can still provide the researcher with valuable insights into the PhP domain since one could argue that the occurrences of PhP expressions are likely to be "natural" and not forced into existence in the context. Regardless of what name it goes under, the literature can also be helpful in providing historical context and information regarding the processes of grammaticalization.

#### 3.2 Consultation of native speakers: The survey

The method used to consult the native speakers and to collect the new data was by conducting a survey. Three native speakers of Swahili from Tanzania took the survey consisting of three parts. For confidentiality reasons and to prevent biases, the identity of all participants is known only by the author. The first part involved English sentences with traits from different grammatical categories such as tense and aspect that the participants were asked to translate into Swahili. Using elicited translation, it was thus possible to obtain results of commonly used PhP expressions in Swahili in different situations. The second part of the survey also consisted of elicited translation, but this time the sentences included background information creating imaginary scenarios where translations with speaker expectations were elicited. Finally, the third part of the survey had sentences in Swahili that the participants were asked to analyse.

##### 3.2.1 Methodological limitations

Using translation as a method is efficient but has its limitations since it requires the participants to have adequate language skills in a secondary language which in turn is related to a certain level of education. Only including people with a certain level of education could mean that the results might reflect the language of a certain demography. The selection of participants was made through convenient sampling in Sweden, none of the participants is currently living in Tanzania and two of them have been living in Sweden for a long time. Gaining a great understanding of recent developments in colloquial Swahili will likely not be achieved through this study, but as the results will show, the study may identify and highlight consolidated, key PhP items, patterns and structures regarding the PhP system in Swahili. Some of the findings made in this study could be considered convincing enough as to provide some truths about the Swahili PhP system, for example the fact that 100 % of all NOT YET items were expressed using the internal negation of STILL, regardless of the speaker and their backgrounds. Other findings could be considered indications of existing ambiguities and nuances related to a particular concept, expression or situation. To properly account for these ambiguities, further studies would be required.

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### 3.2.2 Size limitations

A larger study would allow for more participants and thus more data to analyse, preferably more data from people of different socioeconomic backgrounds, genders, ages and geographical areas. A few deliberate limitations were made to the survey, mainly that different grammatical moods related to PhP was not investigated since that would require a more extensive study. In order to make an extensive mapping of the Swahili PhP system, the external paradigmaticity parameter should be considered, i.e. if the use of PhP items is affected by different TMA elements. The survey involves all four PhP concepts together with the four main Swahili TMA markers described in section 2.4.1. These main markers are the ones that occurred naturally when including past, present, perfect and future English tenses in the survey. Due to the complexity of the Swahili TMA system and the size limitations of this study, it made sense to narrow it down to the main four TMA markers. Using translation as a method together with the size limitations of this essay, the result is a somewhat anglo-centric investigation method. The inclusion of other Swahili TMA markers such as the habitual aspect category *-hu*, did not occur naturally but would have required targeted elicitation that would have made this paper too extensive. The results, however, will be presented in terms of the four main TMA markers and not in accordance to English verb tenses. Apart from just moving away from Anglo-centricity, this will also allow us to see in what areas more data is required. As described by Polomé (1967. p. 18), Swahili grammar has a considerably larger amount of aspect categories than indo-european languages, investigating PhP in relation to all these different TA categories is thus something that has been left out to future studies in order to stay within the extension of this essay. For the same reason, indicative mood is the only mood category that has been considered in this essay, an extensive mapping of the PhP system's relationship to all TMA categories would likely require a study of this size with that sole purpose.

Moreover, a larger study would allow for a combination of different research approaches for collecting data but considering the size limitations of this essay additional methods, such as the use of a language corpus, have been disregarded. Using a corpus and including literature, documents and other texts would be a nice complement to the translated sentences in this survey.

### 3.3 Linguistic consultant

There are considerable advantages to being able to consult a native-speaker linguistic expert; being able to ask whatever seems important and relevant, as well as the possibility of running hypothesis and theories by them is key. Since the survey was designed before knowing exactly where the most ambiguities would occur, the linguistic expert and the possibility of going back to the participants for clarity and additional translations proved to be beneficial in cases where unforeseen doubts arose.

## 4. Result

In this section, the results of the survey will be presented systematically in correspondence to Kramer’s parameters since the parameters constitutes the framework of the entire mapping and analysis of the PhP system. The parameters may roughly correspond to one or several of the research questions (1-5), provided in 1.1. For the sake of simplicity, the relevant research question(s) will be presented again in the beginning of each section. Question 6, “*How does the PhP system in Swahili compare to that of other Bantu languages?*”, will be accounted for continuously throughout this chapter when discussing the relevant areas of the PhP coding system since as much of the data as possible will be analysed in comparison to existing relevant data from other Bantu languages.

### 4.1 PhP expressions in the survey

#### 1. Does Swahili have specialized linguistic items for all PhP concepts or are there any gaps?

A total of 11 different ways of translating the PhP expressions from English to Swahili were identified in the survey, 9 of these will be considered proper PhP items and there is at least one for each concept. These are presented and ranked according frequency in *table 1* below. The percentage indicates how often each item was used to express the relevant concept, for instance: of all sentences that can be said to express the concept NOT YET, the item *bado* + neg was used in 100 % of the cases:

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

NOT YET	ALREADY	STILL	NO LONGER
<i>Bado</i> + neg. (100%)	<i>Tayari</i> (52 %)	<i>Bado</i> (87 %)	neg. + <i>tena</i> (94 %)
	<i>mesha-</i> (26 %)	<i>Endelea</i> * (6,5 %)	<i>Hatimaye</i> + neg. (6 %)
	<i>Tayari</i> + <i>mesha-</i> (9 %)	<i>Zidi</i> * (6,5 %)	
	<i>Hatimaye</i> (9 %)		
	<i>kwisha-</i> (4 %)		

The items *endelea* and *zidi* will not be considered proper PhP items. Although they convey a similar meaning to STILL when used in the survey, they are paraphrases and *still* is arguably not their most accurate translation. The expressions refer only to the continuation of stated events, but they do not contrast sequentially related situations with different polarity values the way a STILL-expression such as *bado* evokes expectations of NO LONGER. 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.

*Endelea* is best translated to ‘continue’ / ‘progress’ / ‘keep doing’ (Mpiranya, 2015. p. 234). The way it was used in the survey is shown in sentence 61. Although expressing a similar notion, a more literal translation would be the one showed in 62(a). When *endelea* is negated as in 62 (b), the meaning of the item remains the same, as opposed to what happens when an actual PhP expression is negated; it still only refers to a continuative element. When compared to a translation using *bado*, as in 62c) and the negated version of that sentence, 62(d), it becomes clear that *endelea* does not possess all the attributes necessary to be called a PhP expression.

(61) “We were still running” → “Tu-li-ku-wa tu-na-**endelea** ku-kimbia”.  
SMIPL-PST-INF-be SMIPL-PRS-continue INF-run

(62) (a) Tulikuwa tuna**endelea** kukimbia → “We were continuing to run”  
 (b) Tulikuwa hatu**endelei** kukimbia → “We were not continuing to run”.  
 (c) “Tulikuwa *bado* tunakimbia” → “We were still running”  
 (d) “Tulikuwa *bado* hatukimbii” → “We were *still not (not yet)* running”.

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Mpiranya (2015, p. 108) describes the meaning of *zidi* as “exceeding”, and in Johnson’s (1939) Swahili-English dictionary it states that when *zidi* (found under *zaidi*) is followed by an infinitive it is often best translated as ‘more’ or some comparative adverb, which is exactly how it was used in the survey (63).

- (63) “I will still be waiting when the sun sets.” (*original sentence*)  
 Ni-ta-**zidi** ku-ngojea jua li-taka-po-tua  
 SM1SG-FUT-more INF-wait 5.sun SM5-FUT.REL-16REL-set  
 “I will wait for more time / longer than when the sun sets” / “I will continue to wait when the sun sets”

If this sentence containing *zidi* were to be negated into (64), it would first of all sound unnatural, and secondly, *zidi* could just like *endelea* also be considered to keep the same meaning in its negated form, rather than gaining the notion of NOT YET:

- (64) \*Si-ta-zidi ku-ngojea jua li-taka-po-tua  
 SM1SG.NEG-FUT-more INF-wait 5.sun SM5-FUT.REL-16REL-set  
 “I will not wait for more time / longer than when the sun sets” / “I will not continue to wait when the sun sets”

## 4.2 Coverage and the systematic relations of Polarity in Swahili

2. *What does the Swahili coding strategy for PhP look like: Can PhP items be involved in expressing more than one PhP concept in Swahili?*

Recall from 2.2.1, that most languages are at least somewhat *flexible* when it comes to *coverage*, and the survey showed that Swahili is no different. The results made clear that the PhP system in Swahili is partly structured through relations of negation, specifically through internal negation. This could not be more evident when looking at the answers expressing NOT YET: 100 % of the expressions for NOT YET was through the internal negation of the STILL-expression *bado*. *Bado* was also used in the vast majority of cases expressing STILL. The other STILL-expression *-ngali* was not used in any form, but as discussed in the literature review in section 2.4.2.1, *-ngali* may also be internally negated to express NOT YET. This is both an indication that *bado* is the most commonly used expression for STILL, as well as proof that STILL-items in Swahili cover two different PhP concepts. One more, although much less common, construction using internal negation can be found in expressing NO LONGER: the ALREADY item *hatimaye* may be internally negated and thus used in two different PhP concepts as well (more on this in section 4.4). In nearly all cases the expressions used for ALREADY and NO LONGER were used to cover one PhP concept only. All in all, the most common constellation was that PhP expressions were expressed without involving any negation relation, as can be seen in the table below, 73 % of all PhP items used in the survey were not expressed through any type of negation relation.

Table 2: PhP coverage in Swahili

Type	Occurrences
PhP expressions without negation	73 %
PhP expressions with internal negation	27 %
PhP expressions with external negation	0 %

### 4.2.1 Coverage in Swahili and other Bantu languages

The internal negation relations found in Swahili are not to be found in the majority of other East Bantu languages: 3 of the 53 languages examined by Löfgren (2019, p. 29-30), Nyanja, Swati and Tswa, share the common feature with Swahili of internally negating STILL to express NOT YET. Swati also happens to be one of the two languages (together with Chuwabu) that can involve the item for ALREADY in expressing NO LONGER. A total of 4 languages making use of internal negation relations indicates that

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the way the Swahili PhP system is structured somewhat deviates from the norm. Having any negation relations as a structured means of expressing PhP was not the norm in Löfgren’s study, and amongst those languages that did, internal negation was not the most common negation structure: external negation showed to be 125 % more common. No results from the Swahili survey included any external negation structures, which means that the most common external negation trait identified for other East Bantu languages, namely that NO LONGER often is expressed by externally negating STILL, does not seem to apply to Swahili.

### 4.3 Pragmaticity and speaker expectations

#### 3. How does speaker expectations and relatively late/early changes affect the expressions of PhP in Swahili?

As shown in table 3, all PhP items used in *neutral* scenarios (row 1) were also used in *counterfactual* scenarios (row 2). No indications of certain PhP expressions being restricted to one usage were identified. In the case of ALREADY, *tayari*, *mesha-* and a combination of the two were used to express the concept in both types of scenarios. While both expressions occur and *mesha-* on its own is interpreted as ALREADY, one might interpret the combination of *mesha-* and *tayari* as having a slightly more emphatic “already-sense”. One theory could be that *-mesha-* is more associated with *neutral* scenarios, and *tayari + mesha-* is preferred with counterfactual ones. Consultation and follow up questions in fact provided more indications of such a hypothesis with claims that *tayari + mesha-* emphasises the sense of “earlier than expected or despite discussed circumstances”. Context and personal preference could also play a role here. The third row of the table will be explained in the next section.

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

	Type of scenario	NOT YET items	ALREADY items	STILL items	NO LONGER items
1.	Neutral ( <i>general</i> )	bado + neg	tayari, mesha-, tayari + mesha-	bado	neg. + tena
2.	Counterfactual ( <i>early change</i> )	bado + neg	tayari, mesha-, tayari + mesha-	bado	neg. + tena
3.	Non-simultaneously identical ( <i>late change</i> )		hatimaye, mesha-		hatimaye + neg., neg. + tena

### 4.4 Telicity and phasal organization

2. What does the Swahili coding strategy for PhP look like: Can PhP items be involved in expressing more than one PhP concept in Swahili?
3. How does speaker expectations and relatively late/early changes affect the expressions of PhP in Swahili?

As shown in the previous section, the expressions used in Swahili for both telic PhP concepts ALREADY and NO LONGER may be used regardless of whether the change is *general* or *early*. When it comes to the non-simultaneously identical scenarios, i.e. the *late* change, of the telic concepts, the study showed some noteworthy differences. The most important difference was identified in the translations of *late* changes of ALREADY (*finally*): As can be seen in table 3 (row 3) above, the (otherwise most common (52 %)) PhP item *tayari*, was not used at all in these scenarios, and the most commonly used one was *hatimaye* (75 %), followed by *mesha-* (25 %)⁶. The fact that *tayari* was completely left out in these scenarios is an indication of it being an *already-inchoative*, meaning that it, like the English *already*, can be used exclusively for *early* and *general* changes. *Mesha-* on the other hand was used in all three scenarios and can therefore be considered a *ya-inchoative*, that much like the Spanish ALREADY *ya* is not sensitive to

⁶ Percentages can be seen in table 1

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speaker expectations. Although *hatimaye* was used in the perfect tense together with just *me-* and not *mesha-*, a combination of the two is possible. *Hatimaye* was used exclusively as a marker of late change and is therefore considered a *finally-inchoative*.

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:

- (65) 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”

Expressing NO LONGER through the internal negation of ALREADY was exclusive to the *late* change scenarios in the survey, where it made up 50 % of the answers. The other half consisted of neg. + *tena* that consequently is used to express *general, early* and *late* turning points of NO LONGER. More data would be needed to see if these two expressions actually occur equally frequent, but as discussed in section 2.2.3, Swahili seemingly having a late turning point for NO LONGER overtly marked is an unusual and interesting feature in itself. Due to its unusualness, items overtly marking this late changes has not been denoted the way different types of ALREADY expressions have, therefore the label ‘*negative hatimaye-terminatives*’ is suggested as a term for expressions that are exclusive to expressing late turning points of NO LONGER, in accordance with the function of said expression in Swahili, and with the phasal function of the PhP concept NO LONGER.

## 4.5 Expressability

1. Does Swahili have specialized linguistic items for all PhP concepts or are there any gaps?

As shown earlier in this chapter, Swahili has 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. As mentioned in 2.3, this is not the norm for the Bantu languages investigated by Löfgren (2019. p. 18), only about 10 % of the languages had overtly formal PhP expressions for all four concepts. In her sample, this was as uncommon as not having any overtly formal PhP expressions whatsoever. The numbers in brackets “(..)” represents the data if Swahili was added to the table:

Table 4: Expressability in East Bantu languages investigated by Löfgren (2019. p. 18).

PhPs per language	Number of languages	Percentage
Four	8 (9)	10 % (11 %)
Three	24	30 %
Two	20	25 %
One	19	25 % (24 %)
None	8	10 %
	<b>Total: 79 (80)</b>	

## 4.6 Wordhood and grammaticalization

4. What is the morphological status of PhP items in Swahili?

As discussed in section 2.4.3, the auxiliary *kwisha* has undergone a process of grammaticalization and turned into the verb prefix *-mesha*. The results of the survey indicated that the usage of *kwisha* might be somewhat outdated though it was only used in 4 % of cases and exclusively by the most senior participant. The *wordhood* of the PhP item *mesha-* is thus an affix, it is an example of such an item that

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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. Interestingly, *kwisha* occurred in the *li-* tense, not as it predicted in the literature with the auxiliary *kuwa*, but on its own (66).

- (66) Si-ku-wa na kitabu tena; ni-li-kwisha-m-pa kaka yangu  
 SM1SG.NEG-be with book NO LONGER SM1SG.PST-ALREADY-OM1-give 9.brother 9.my  
 “I didn’t have the book anymore; I had already given it to my brother.”

The other PhP items in Swahili, *bado*, *tayari*, *hatimaye*, and neg. *tena*, have all gone through lesser degrees of grammaticalization: they remain lexical items and belong to the word class of adverbs.

#### 4.6.1 Wordhood in Swahili and other Bantu languages

To examine the wordhood categories of Swahili in relation to other Bantu languages, a comparison of the occurring word classes in Swahili and the frequency of their occurrence in other Bantu languages is presented below in accordance to each PhP concept. The frequency of a certain PhP item having a certain morphological status differs quite a lot between Swahili and other East Bantu languages. Only around 10 % of items expressing NOT YET, STILL and NO LONGER in the other languages were adverbs, in Swahili that number would be 100 % according to the survey. However, in the case of ALREADY some of the numbers were much closer: 27 % of ALREADY expressions in East Bantu were affixes, and that same number for Swahili was 26 %. The table also states whether an expression is an independent lexicalized item or whether it is grammatically bounded; Most expressions showed to be independent, lexicalized items, meaning that they are not dependent on a specific morphological or grammatical structure. In the case of ALREADY there were some exceptions however: constructions involving *mesha-* are bounded to sentences in the *me-* tense and *kwisha* in being an auxiliary is always bounded to a main verb.

Table 5: Morphological status of Swahili PhP items.

NOT YET	Independent / Bounded	Morphological status	Relative frequency in Swahili (survey)	Relative frequency in East Bantu languages (Löfgren, 2019. p. 21).
<i>Bado</i> + (neg.)	independent	adverb	100 %	10 %

ALREADY	Independent / Bounded	Morphological status	Relative frequency in Swahili (survey)	Relative frequency in East Bantu languages (Löfgren, 2019. p. 22).
<i>Tayari</i> , <i>hatimaye</i>	independent	adverb	61 %	38 %
<i>mesha-</i>	bounded	affix	26 %	27 %
<i>Tayari</i> + <i>mesha-</i>	bounded	adverb + affix	9 %	–
<i>Kwisha</i>	bounded	auxiliary	4 %	24 %

STILL	Independent / Bounded	Morphological status	Relative frequency in Swahili (survey)	Relative frequency in East Bantu languages (Löfgren, 2019. P. 22)
<i>Bado</i>	independent	adverb	100 %	13 %

NO LONGER	Independent / Bounded	Morphological status	Relative frequency in Swahili (survey)	Relative frequency in East Bantu languages (Löfgren, 2019. p. 23).
(neg.) + <i>tena</i>	independent	adverb	100 %	8 % <sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Löfgren counts the negation of a PhP expression as its own morphological status, regardless of the grammatical category the original PhP expression belongs to. In the case of NO LONGER, 41 % of the expressions have the morphological status Neg.STILL. It does not say what word class these original STILL expressions belong to.

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## 4.7 Paradigmaticity

### 4.7.1 Internal symmetry

#### 4. What is the morphological status of PhP items in Swahili?

In section 2.2.6 the internal ALREADY-NOT YET paradigm was described as SYMMETRIC in Swahili with reference to *mesha-* and *ja-* belonging to the same grammatical category, but as argued in section 2.4.2.3, *ja-* does not qualify as a PhP expression. In the last part of the survey where the participants were asked to analyze sentences with *ja-* according to speaker expectations, only 10 % of the sentences with just *ja-* were interpreted as having a “not yet sense”. Moreover, these expectations may well be associated to the verb included in that sentence, *kuja* (to come), rather than the *ja-* prefix itself. However, since there are a few options for expressing ALREADY in Swahili, the internal PhP paradigm of ALREADY-NOT YET can still be considered somewhat SYMMETRIC depending on what ALREADY item we consider. The first condition for a SYMMETRIC internal paradigm requires the languages to have overtly formal expressions for both concepts, and as shown in the section on expressability, Swahili has all four concepts encoded. The second condition for a SYMMETRIC internal paradigm is concerned with the items belonging to the same grammatical category, here is where the symmetry of the Swahili ALREADY-NOT YET paradigm differs depending on what item we consider: In regards to *tayari* or *hatimaye* as ALREADY expressions, the second condition is fulfilled since both expressions are adverbs and belong to the same grammatical category as the NOT YET expression *bado* (+ neg.). Contrarily, the second condition fails to be met in the case of *mesha-* since this expression is an affix and NOT YET is still expressed using an adverb. The ALREADY-NOT YET paradigm considering *mesha-* is thus ASYMMETRIC, which leads us to the conclusion that the internal ALREADY-NOT YET paradigm in Swahili is not entirely SYMMETRIC.

The remaining two logically alternative PhP concepts STILL and NO LONGER form a SYMMETRIC internal paradigm. Both concepts are overtly marked, and both are expressed using adverbs.

### 4.7.2 External symmetry

#### 5. What is the relation between Swahili PhP expressions and the coding of tense, mood and aspect?

As discussed in chapter 3, the extent of this paper is not broad enough to cover all areas of the TMA domain. The survey included PhP items in combination with the four main TMA categories and the results and analysis presented here is based on limited data. The complex, intertwined relations between tense, mood, aspect and the semantic connotations of specific verbs calls for further research before drawing certain conclusions. When referring to a PhP-to-TMA-paradigm in this section, it only refers to the TMA categories included in the research, for example: the “STILL-TMA paradigm” refers to the TMA elements included in the main four TMA markers, not all TMA elements that can be expressed in Swahili. At this point, the results should therefore be considered provisional and could be used to identify patterns for further investigation.

The table below shows the occurrence of specific PhP items in relation to the main four TMA categories, a green tick indicates that a relevant item occurred with the corresponding marker in the survey (constructions with an auxiliary such as *kuwa* included). Some of the results, for example that the ALREADY expression *tayari* was used together with *na-*, *ta-*, and *me-*, is evidence of these combinations being possible to make, but the lack of a *tayari* + *li-* combination does not necessarily mean that the *li-* tense is blocked with *tayari* and that the combination is impossible, it could be merely an indication of other ALREADY items being more commonly used with that specific TMA marker. Another factor could be lack of data in one category due to the fact that the participants might prefer translating English sentences containing a particular PhP concepts and verb tenses to a Swahili sentence with a different PhP concepts and TMA marker. One reoccurring example of this was the

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inclination of changing NO LONGER to ALREADY, changing the verb, and adding a sense of perfective aspect to sentences indicating the location of a subject like (67):

- (67) Oh, Salma a-mesha-ondoka Dar es Salaam!  
 Oh, Salma SM1-ALREADY-leave Dar es Salaam  
 “Oh, Salma is no longer in Dar es Salaam!” (original sentence)

PhP concept	PhP item	TMA markers			
		<i>li-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>me-</i>
NOT YET	(neg) + <i>bado</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
ALREADY	<i>tayari</i>	✗	✓	✓	✓
	<i>mesha-</i>	✓	✗	✗	✓
	<i>hatimaye</i>	✗	✓	✗	✓
	<i>kwisha</i>	✓	✗	✗	✗
STILL	<i>bado</i>	✓	✓	✓	✗
NO LONGER	(neg) + <i>tena</i>	✓	✓	✓	✗
	(neg) + <i>hatimaye</i>	✗	✓	✗	✗

Table 6: PhP items in relation to the four main TMA categories in Swahili.

The NOT YET to TMA paradigm and the ALREADY (however using different expressions) to TMA paradigm proved to be symmetrical. The table shows that *mesha-* was used together with the *li-* marker; this was exclusively in combination with the auxiliary verb *kuwa* (to be) as in (68a). In terms of *sha-* as an ALREADY item, discussed in 2.4.3, it only occurred in the survey together with the TMA marker *me-*, which indicates that it is *blocked* and cannot move freely between tenses and aspect categories. As mentioned by Mpiranya (2015. p. 51) the form *lisha-* has made its way into spoken Swahili, but in the survey, most participants preferred using the auxiliary *kuwa* with the past tense marker *li-* together with *mesha-* (68a), rather than the auxiliary *kwisha* + *li-* (68b), that was used by one participant, or the simple *lisha-* form that was not used at all (but illustrated in 68c).

- (68) “I didn’t have the book anymore; I had already given it to my brother.”:
- a) *Sikuwa na kitabu tena; Nilikuwa nimeshampa kaka yangu*
- b) *Sikuwa na kitabu tena; nilikwishampa kaka yangu*
- c) *(Sikuwa na kitabu tena; nilishampa kaka yangu)*

According to the survey, the ALREADY to TMA paradigm seems to be asymmetric however when it comes to *sha-*, maybe as a consequence of the nature of the grammaticalization process. The *bado* to TMA paradigm was the only expression that showed to be entirely symmetric in the survey, even though this should not be taken as hard evidence that all other PhP expression-to-TMA paradigms are asymmetric. All in all, the paradigmaticity parameter requires a lot of research to entirely cover the complex TMA system of Swahili since the number of elements to consider is so high.

## 5. Summary

The most important findings regarding Kramer's semantic parameters were the following:

In terms of coverage, Swahili is flexible. Findings of other Bantu languages with structures of internal negation has been rather rare, but Swahili have expressions making use of such a structure and even one concept being expressed entirely by using such a negation structure. This concept, NOT YET, was expressed exclusively by internally negating STILL expressions (mainly *bado*). Moreover, the 'late change' ALREADY expression *hatimaye* (*finally*) may be internally negated to overtly mark the late change of NO LONGER.

This last point leads us to the telicity parameter, how speaker expectations of late turning points, affected some of the items expressing the telic concepts of ALREADY and NO LONGER. The possibility of overtly marking 'late change scenarios' of NO LONGER has showed to be rare in all previous studies of PhP in the world's languages. The occurrence of this in Swahili inspired the suggested denotation '*negative hatimaye-terminatives*' for PhP expressions reserved for this usage exclusively. The study further showed that the ALREADY expression *Tayari* showed indications of being an *already-inchoative*, that can be used in situations with early changes and neutral ones, while *mesha-* can be considered a *ya-inchoative*, or a general marker that does not rule out any of the three scenarios with *early*, *neutral* or *late* changes. The ALREADY item *hatimaye* rules out *early* and *general* changes, just like the English 'finally', it can only be used for *late* changes. *Hatimaye* can therefore be considered a *finally-inchoative*.

Pragmaticity wise, speaker expectations of *early* changes compared to *neutral* expectations had no apparent effects on the PhP items. No items used in *neutral* scenarios ruled out *early* changes or vice versa although some usages, such as the combination of *tayari* and *mesha*, may have some emphatic connotations.

Noteworthy findings regarding the structural parameters included the following:

In terms of expressability, Swahili has formally encoded expressions for all four concepts and does thus belong to a minority of Bantu languages that do not have any gaps in its PhP system.

By analyzing the auxiliary verb *kwisha*, and the prefixes *mesha-* and *sha-* using the theoretical framework of the wordhood parameter, indications of the grammaticalization process from a verb with the meaning "to finish", to the PhP expression ALREADY, became evident. Further studies including data from spoken colloquial Swahili as well as written sources would be beneficial to assess the possibilities and limitations of *sha-* as a PhP expression. ALREADY expressions deriving from the original meanings of *kwisha*, *tayari*, are called 'completive ALREADY-types' and NO LONGER expressions deriving from negated items with the notion of 'again', such as *tena* are called iterative, repetitive and/or additive constructions. In terms of the morphological statuses of the Swahili PhP items, they were most commonly adverbs, which is quite an uncommon trait for other Bantu languages. Moreover, all these adverbs used in the survey to express PhP concepts (*bado*, *hatimaye*, *tayari*, and *tena*) are Arabic loanwords.

Since most PhP items are adverbs, several of the internal paradigms showed to be symmetric. The exception to this rule were the almost 40 % of ALREADY expressions that belonged to different word classes. Due to the highly complex TMA system in Swahili, along with other Bantu languages, more

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research is needed to map the external symmetry dimension of the paradigmaticity parameter, i.e. the how PhP expressions and different elements from the TMA domain affect each other. The survey provided an overview of the different PhP expressions in combination with the prefixes *li-*, *na-*, *ta-*, and *me-*. The results provided a base in proving several of the most common TMA markers being able to fit in combinations with different PhP expressions. The PhP-TMA combinations that did not occur should not be regarded impossible combinations, but rather areas that need further research. The PhP to TMA relation should be investigated further. A similar survey focusing on the verbforms not considered here would be a suitable way of proceeding with this research in order to produce a complete mapping of Phasal Polarity in Swahili.

In conclusion, the study was successful in mapping the most common PhP expressions for each concept, as well as mapping several key features of the Swahili PhP system, identifying patterns, and highlighting several areas in which Swahili deviates from the norm of numerous other Bantu languages. The most common expressions were: *bado* + (*neg*) for NOT YET, *tayari* and *mesha-* for ALREADY, *bado* for STILL, and (*neg*) + *tena* for NO LONGER. The survey also discredited *ja-* as a PhP expression since viewing it as such showed to be inconsistent with its associated expectations. The findings in this study can contribute to the existing work on PhP in the world's languages. The study as a whole may contribute to the ongoing research projects discussed in chapter 1. And finally, it may be considered when establishing sets of formal norms for Swahili as well as functioning as reference material for in-depth studies on PhP in Swahili.

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## Appendices

### *Appendix 1: The survey questions:*

#### **Part 1**

Please translate the following questions:

a) I will still be waiting when the sun sets.

b) \_\_\_\_\_  
The children are not sleeping yet, they are still awake.

c) \_\_\_\_\_  
Amina will not work at the hospital anymore.

d) \_\_\_\_\_  
I didn't have the book anymore; I had already given it to my brother.

e) \_\_\_\_\_  
Are you already going to the market? – No, not yet.

f) \_\_\_\_\_  
Omari has not travelled to Arusha.

g) \_\_\_\_\_  
We were still running.

h) \_\_\_\_\_  
They are already dancing.

i) \_\_\_\_\_  
I do not sing anymore.

j) \_\_\_\_\_  
They will not be finished building the house yet.

k) \_\_\_\_\_  
We will already be there when they come.

l) \_\_\_\_\_  
I haven't talked to him yet.

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## Part 2

Please consider the background information and translate only the sentences in *cursive letters*.

1. **Salma is supposed to arrive in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday, and she will leave for Zanzibar on Saturday.**

**(Tuesday)**

- Is Salma in Dar es Salaam?

- a) *No, she is not in Dar es Salaam yet.*
- 

**(Thursday)**

- When will Salma be in Dar es Salaam?

- b) *She is already in Dar es Salaam.*
- 

**(Friday)**

- Is Salma in Zanzibar?

- c) *No, she is still in Dar es Salaam.*
- 

**(Sunday)**

- Is Salma still in Dar es Salaam?

- d) *- No, she is no longer in Dar es Salaam*
- 

2. **Salma was supposed to arrive in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday, but she arrives early, on the Monday.**

**(Monday)** You are surprised to know that Salma is in Dar es Salaam this early:

- a) *- Oh, Salma is already in Dar es Salaam!*
- 

3. **Salma was supposed to arrive in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday. She is late and does not arrive until Friday.**

**(Thursday)** You are surprised that she is not in Dar es Salaam by now:

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a) *What? Salma is still not in Dar es Salaam!*

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**(Friday)** You are glad she is finally in Dar es Salaam:

b) *Great! Salma is finally in Dar es Salaam!*

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**4. Salma was supposed to leave Dar es Salaam on Saturday, but she leaves early, on Thursday.**

**(Friday)** You are surprised that Salma is not in Dar es Salaam anymore:

a) *Oh, Salma is no longer in Dar es Salaam!*

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**5. Salma was supposed to leave for Zanzibar on Saturday morning, but she oversleeps and misses the ferry.**

**(Saturday evening)** You are surprised to find out that Salma is in Dar es Salaam at this time:

a) *What? Salma is still in Dar es Salaam!*

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**(Sunday)** Salma takes a ferry to Zanzibar on the Sunday, and you are relieved that she is finally able to leave Dar es Salaam.

b) *Thank God! Salma is no longer in Dar es Salaam*

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## Part 3

In this part, I will ask you to interpret the speaker's intention in some Swahili sentences. Please read the following sentences in Swahili and answer the questions according to your intuition.

If someone says:

a) *Omari hajajifunza Kiswahili, amejifunza Kiingereza na Kifaransa*

- Is the speaker necessarily expecting Omari to study Swahili in the future?

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b) *Wanafunzi hawajaja*

- Is the speaker necessarily expecting the students to come later?

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c) *Salma bado hajaenda Dodoma, amekwenda Arusha na Dar es Salaam.*

- Is the person necessarily expecting Salma to go to Dodoma in the future?
- 

d) *Sijaiona filamu mpya ya Will Smith*

- Is the speaker necessarily implying that he/she has the intention to watch Will Smith's new movie?
- 

e) *Bado sijakisoma kitabu cha Chinua Achebe*

- Is the speaker necessarily implying that he/she has the intention to read Chinua Achebe's book?
- 

**Appendix 2: The translation of PhP expressions and their frequency in the survey**

Translations of NOT YET	Occurrences	Percentage	Translations of ALREADY	Occurrences	Percentage
<i>bado + hapana (neg)</i>	3	16,67%	<i>hatimaye</i>	2	8,70%
<i>bado + neg.</i>	7	38,89%	<i>kwisha</i>	1	4,35%
<i>bado + neg. + ja-</i>	8	44,44%	<i>mesha-</i>	6	26,09%
			<i>tayari</i>	12	52,17%
			<i>tayari + mesha-</i>	2	8,70%
Translations of STILL	Occurrences	Percentage	Translations of NO LONGER	Occurrences	Percentage
<i>Bado</i>	14	87,50%	<i>hatimaye + neg.</i>	1	5,88%
<i>endelea</i>	1	6,25%	<i>neg. + tena</i>	16	94,12%
<i>zidi</i>	1	6,25%			

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