

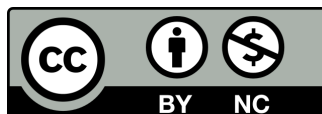
Phasal Polarity Expressions in Kusaal

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Abstract

In studies of African languages, Phasal Polarity (PhP) expressions – ALREADY, STILL, NO LONGER, and NOT YET – have received little attention in the literature on the Mabia (Gur) languages of West Africa. This study aims to address that gap by investigating PhP expressions in Kusaal, a language spoken in Ghana. Previous research has established that while some languages have expressions for encoding all four PhP concepts, other languages have one, two, or three expressions out of the four, while still other languages lack expressions for encoding all four concepts. The major aim of this study is to establish whether Kusaal has expressions for encoding all four concepts like English and Dutch, or lacks some expressions, like Albanian and Chechen, or even has no formal phasal polarity expressions, like Kalmyk. It will be observed that Kusaal has items for expressing all of the four PhP concepts identified in English: *pón* ‘already’, *kpén* ‘still’, *pó lén* ‘no longer’, and *nán pó* ‘not yet’. In fact, Kusaal has five PhP expressions for the four concepts, since the ‘still’ expression is coded with two morphemes. The availability of expressions for encoding PhP concepts in Kusaal makes it possible to add it to the majority of languages, which have all four PhP types; this further confirms the observation of van Baar (1997) that “If a language has a PhP expression which covers the areas of ALREADY and NO LONGER, this language has at least one other PhP expression which covers the area of STILL and NOT YET”. Kusaal has expressions for ALREADY and NO LONGER and goes further in having expressions for STILL and NOT YET. Though PhP expressions in Kusaal are not significantly distinct from general observations of the concept cross-linguistically, this study provides additional information on the topic from the Mabia (Gur) languages to which Kusaal belongs. The observations in this work can enhance the debate on this subject matter both descriptively and typologically.

Keywords: phasal polarity expressions, phasal adverbials, aspectual modifiers, Kusaal, Mabia languages



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1 Introduction

The concept of Phasal Polarity (PhP) expressions has attracted little attention in Kusaal, a Mabia (Gur) language spoken in Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Togo. Kusaal has specialized items for coding all four of the PhP concepts of ALREADY, STILL, NO LONGER, and NOT YET (van Baar 1997; Löbner 1989; van der Auwera 1993, 1998). The expressions under discussion are also referred to as phasal adverbials (van der Auwera 1998), phasal quantifiers (Löbner 1989), and aspectual modifiers (Atintono 2005) among others. These expressions indicate that a state does or does not continue (STILL / NO LONGER), or has or has not come into existence (ALREADY / NOT YET) (van der Auwera 1998). According to van Baar (1997, 40), PhP expressions are “structured means of expressing polarity in a sequential manner.” They are expressions that involve two related phases implying situations which are contrasted as opposites with different polarity values. Thus, they involve the overt signalling of polarity by contrasting a situation with its polar opposite alternative, i.e., “one of the two situations in question holds positive (+) whilst the other does not (–)” (see Kramer 2017).

In this paper, I aim to explore the various items that are used in encoding the four PhP concepts in the language. The questions underlying this discussion include: (i) What are the various phasal polarity expressions in Kusaal? (ii) How do we establish that these expressions qualify as PhP items? and (iii) What lexemes could potentially be the sources of the identified phasal polarity expressions in Kusaal?

The expressions *pún* ‘already’, *kpéŋ* ‘still’, *pú lén* ‘no longer’, and *nán pú* ‘not yet’ can be described as phasal because they involve reference points in two related phases, implying situations which are contrasted as opposites with different polarity values, i.e., one of the two situations in question holds positive (+) whilst the other does not (–) (see Kramer 2017). This is illustrated in the examples below, where it can be noticed that in example (3) *pú*, ‘NEG’+*lén* ‘again’ has developed into a specialized PhP function as NO LONGER (see Section 6.1).

- (1) a. *Àdúk pún b́é dáán lá.*
 Aduk already COP market.LOC DEF
 ‘Aduk is already in the market.’
- b. *Àdúk pún kúl yín.*
 Aduk already go_home home.LOC
 ‘Aduk has already gone home.’
- (2) a. *Àdúk kpéŋ b́é dáán lá.*
 Aduk still COP market.LOC DEF
 ‘Aduk is still in the market.’
- b. *Àdúk kpéŋ níúid dáám.*
 Aduk still drink alcohol
 ‘Aduk still drinks alcohol.’
- (3) *Báá lá pú lpén vú’úsidaá.*
 dog DEF NEG again breathe.IPFV
 ‘The dog no longer breathes.’

- (4) *Bíís lá nán pú díí.*
 child.PL DEF yet NEG eat.PFV
 ‘The children have not yet eaten.’

Pún and *kpén* indicate that a state or event holds true at utterance time, but while *pún* ‘already’ refers to a point prior to the utterance time, *kpén* ‘still’ does not. *Pú lén* ‘no longer’ and *nán pú* ‘not yet’ both indicate the non-occurrence of a state or event at the time of utterance, as can be deduced from (1) and (2). While *pú lén* ‘no longer’ refers to an earlier phase where the state or event was positive, *nán pú* ‘not yet’ refers to the future with a positive connotation of the likelihood of the event taking place or the state holding, as in (3) and (4). The negative morpheme *pú* ‘not’ is replaced by *ká’á* ‘not.be’ in the environment of a copula. Consider the examples below with *lén ká’á* ‘be no longer’ and *nán ká’á* ‘be not yet’, as in (5) and (6), where *ká’á* expresses ‘the state of not-being-there’ and also serves as the main verb of the sentences.

- (5) *Ádúk lén ká’á dáán lá.*
 Aduk again NEG.COP market.LOC DEF
 ‘Aduk is no longer in the market.’

- (6) *Ádúk nán ká’á dáán lá.*
 Aduk yet NEG.COP market.LOC DEF
 ‘Aduk is not yet in the market.’

PhP expressions in Kusaal pattern similarly with general linguistic observations on the concept; it will be shown that Kusaal can be included, along with the majority of languages, in van Baar’s (1997) list of languages with full PhP expressions. One unique feature of PhP expressions in Kusaal is that of coverage; it will be shown that PhP expressions in this language can be described as partly rigid, with different particles being used to encode different PhP concepts, and as partly flexible, where we observe one instance of internal negation between *nán* ‘still’ and *nán pú* ‘not yet’. This study provides the first in-depth analysis of the concept in Kusaal and will contribute to the cross-linguistic debate on this subject matter.

The data used in this study was gathered using both primary and secondary sources. I consulted the *Kusaal (Agolle) Dictionary* (Naden 2015) and other literary materials, mostly folktales, in Kusaal. I also conducted a semi-structured interview with two native speakers of Kusaal from Bawku, in the Upper East Region of Ghana. These are Mr. Sampson Abuosi my language consultant and Mr Michael Awimbilla, who work for the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (G.I.L.L.B.T) of Tamale-Ghana. My native speaker intuition also played a role in the grammaticality judgements on some of the data. After the first draft, Mr Sampson Abuosi crosschecked the data to ensure their accuracy in context and usage.

In the rest of this paper, I will provide basic information on the Kusaal language and its speakers in Section 2. This is followed by an account of previous studies on PhP expressions in Section 3. Next is Section 4, which gives a brief discussion on some temporal and aspectual markings in Kusaal. A discussion of strategies for rendering PhP concepts in the language follows in Section 5. Section 6 tests PhP expressions in Kusaal by examining the lexemes that are included and those that are excluded in the PhP paradigm, and aims to explain why this is the case. After this, the nature and functions of PhP expressions in Kusaal are described in Section 7 and, finally, Section 8 is the conclusion.

2 The Kusaal language and its speakers

Kusaal is a language spoken by the Kusaasis. It belongs to the Central Mabia subgroup of Mabia languages (Bodomo 2020), previously referred to as the Western Oti-Volta subgroup of Gur languages (Westermann and Bryan 1952; Greenberg 1963) of the Niger-Congo language phylum. The term Mabia, which is a compound word, is composed of the two words *ma* ‘mother’ and *bia* ‘child’. The name is argued to be more representative of the languages under this group than the term *Gur*, since these two words can be traced in almost all the languages, whereas *Gur* is derived from the initial syllables of only three out of four of the languages in this group: Gurense, Gurma and Gurenɛ (see Bodomo 2020).

Kusaal is spoken in Ghana, Burkina Faso and Togo. In Ghana, Kusaal is spoken in the Upper East Region of the country with its main speaking areas including Bawku, Garu-Tempani, Pusiga, Zebilla, and Binduri (see Abubakari 2018; Abubakari et al. 2021, 66). There are two dialects of Kusaal: Agolle and Atoende. The Atoende dialect is spoken in Zebilla and the surrounding areas, while the Agolle dialect is spoken in Bawku Municipal, Garu-Tempane and the adjoining areas. The data used in this study is from the Agolle dialect, although it is possible to find similar expressions in the Atoende dialect.

Abubakari (2018) explains that although there is no official census on the number of speakers of Kusaal, it is estimated that there are over 2 million people who use the language as their native language across the West African sub-regions. Information gathered from the Ghana Statistical Service Department based on the 2010 population and housing census shows that there are 534,681 speakers of Kusaal in the various regions and districts of Ghana. With a total population of 24,658,823 (PHC 2010, 1), Kusaasis make up approximately 2.2% of the population of Ghana as of 2010.

3 Previous studies on PhP expressions

PhP expressions are employed to depict two related situations which are contrasted as having opposite polarity values. Thus, whilst one of the two related situations is expressed using a negative PhP item, its contrastive version is expressed using a positive PhP item. For instance, whilst the pair *STILL / NO LONGER* shows that a state or event does or does not continue, the pair *ALREADY / NOT YET* shows that a state or event has or has not come into existence (van der Auwera 1998).

Studies on PhP expressions in Sub-Saharan African Languages have, until recently, received little attention. Major studies in the field of PhP expressions include the work of van Baar (1997) and van der Auwera (1998), which have concentrated largely on other languages, with minimal inclusion of languages from Africa. A recent project that fills this gap is the edited volume by Kramer (2021). Löfgren (2019) also discusses PhP expressions in East Bantu languages. Atintono (2005), for his part, describes aspectual modifiers in Gurenɛ. Most of the Gurenɛ aspectual modifiers perform similar functions to PhP expressions.

Using data from 45 European languages, van der Auwera (1998) describes PhP expressions as adverbials that show that a state does or does not continue, (*STILL / NO LONGER*), or that it has or has not come into existence (*ALREADY / NOT YET*). In his study, van der Auwera (1998, 35–37) shows that not all European languages have a four-way system of phasal adverbials. He uses the terms ‘inchoative’, ‘continuative’, and ‘discontinuative’ to describe different states of phasal adverbials. The term ‘inchoative’ refers to a positive state having come into existence, e.g. English *already*, whilst ‘continuative’, and ‘discontinuative’ refer to the continuation and

the discontinuation of a positive state, e.g. English *still* and *no longer/more* respectively. The term ‘continuative negative’, on the other hand, refers to the continuation of a negative state, e.g. English *not yet* (van der Auwera 1998, 35). Van der Auwera argues that it is possible for a language to lack all four phasal adverbials and that it is possible for a language to have only a discontinuative. It is further possible for a language to lack the inchoative adverbials and it is possible for a language to have all four adverbials (van der Auwera 1998, 37):

- i. No phasal adverbials (e.g. Kalmyk)
- ii. Only a discontinuative (e.g. Chechen)
- iii. An inchoative missing (e.g. Albanian)
- iv. Four phasal adverbs (e.g. Dutch)

From this observation, the Euroversal accessibility hierarchy, as framed by van der Auwera (1998), is as in (7) below:

- (7) Discontinuative > continuative > inchoative
 continuative negative
 (van der Auwera 1998:37)

This hierarchy shows that inchoative adverbials are the least available whilst discontinuative adverbials are the most commonly available in the Euroversal accessibility of PhP-items. Thus, van der Auwera (1998) argues that if a language has only one PhP expression, then it is most commonly the NO LONGER expression. In contrast, should a language lack or miss one PhP item, then it is most commonly the ALREADY expression. From the most common to the least common, the following hierarchy is proposed in support of (7) above: NO LONGER > STILL / NOT YET > ALREADY.

Van Baar (1997, 40) describes PhP expressions as “structured means of expressing polarity in a sequential manner.” Using data from 40 languages, he provides counter-claims to the observations made by van der Auwera (1993, 1998). Key among these claims is the observation that the number of languages without a NO LONGER expression is greater than the number of languages without an ALREADY expression. In effect, van der Auwera’s (1993, 1998) observation that the ALREADY expression is the most frequently left out expression is predominantly a European feature compared to non-European languages. The following forms the expressibility hypothesis proposed by van Baar (1997, 118):

- (8) Expressibility Hypothesis (van Baar 1997, 118)
- a. The majority of languages have all four PhP types
 - b. There are languages without PhP expressions
 - c. In languages with an incomplete PhP system, the “gap” is found:
 - i. Either in NO LONGER, or in ALREADY, or in both of them
 - ii. Both in STILL and in NOT YET

Concerning coverage, van Baar suggests two universal parameters based on his sample language data. The two coverage universals, as represented below, are taken from van Baar (1997, 166):

Universal 1

If a language has a PhP expression which covers the areas of STILL and NO LONGER, this language has no distinct additional NO LONGER expression (e.g. Ewe and Tongan).

Universal 2

If a language has a PhP expression which covers the areas of ALREADY and NO LONGER, this language has at least one other PhP expression which covers the area of STILL and NOT YET.

It is important to point out that both Universals 1 and 2 will be observed to be applicable to the case in Kusaal. Apart from the PhP expression *pú lén* ‘no longer’, no other distinct expression in Kusaal is, so far, observed to express the same notion of ‘no longer’. Kusaal has expressions for ALREADY and NO LONGER and also has expressions that cover both STILL and NOT YET.

The dearth of literature on PhP expressions in Mabia languages is apparent, since there is no available research on this topic at the time of this study. A closely related study that shares some of the scope of this work is Atintono (2005) on Gureñ, a Mabia language closely related to Kusaal. Atintono (2005) does not focus explicitly on phasal polarity, but identifies nineteen particles – which he refers to as “aspectual modifiers” – some of which have phasal polarity semantics. According to Atintono, these modifiers occur preverbally. They provide information as to whether the event or action of the verb is completed or ongoing or involves some internal complications or otherwise. He classified these modifiers into four groups according to their semantics. Some of the modifiers identified in Atintono (2005, 34–41) which are relevant to this discussion include: (i) aspectual modifiers denoting “absence of internal complication”: *kɔ’om* ‘just’, *pugum* ‘even’, *pilum* ‘already’, *nán* ‘a moment ago’; (ii) continuative aspectuals: *kelum* ‘still’; and (iii) repetitive aspectuals: *le* ‘again’, *maan* ‘once more’, among others. Some of the modifiers described as aspectual modifiers in Gureñ can potentially be likened to PhP expressions, considering their functions and meanings, which justifies the relevance of Atintono (2005) to the current study. Kusaal, just like Gureñ, has several ‘aspectual modifiers’ and the need to identify PhP expressions from this set of modifiers cannot be underestimated.

Kramer (2017) provides a position paper on Phasal Polarity expressions in which she outlines six parameters for discussing PhP expressions in an individual language. The six parameters are grouped into two categories: (i) those that are more concerned with the semantic values of PhP expressions; and (ii) those that reflect the structural properties of these expressions. Subsequent sections will elaborate on some of these parameters with data from Kusaal. Kramer (2017) is based on a synthetic conceptualization of PhP systems, considering the work of Löbner’s Duality Hypothesis (Löbner 1989), van der Auwera’s Double Alternative Hypothesis and Continuative Paradigm (van der Auwera 1993, 1998), and van Baar’s PhP Typology (van Baar 1997). A great accomplishment in the study of PhP expressions in African languages is the recently published volume of Kramer (2021), which provides some perspectives on the systems and strategies employed in African languages in expressing the Phasal Polarity concepts ALREADY, STILL, NOT YET, and NO LONGER. Particular emphasis is attached to the careful examination of the functional spectrum and paradigmatic affiliation of PhP expressions. The book challenges hypotheses and established assumptions in the typological literature (Kramer 2021).

Löfgren (2019) shows that the PhP systems of East Bantu languages differ from both European languages and the genetically diverse sample of van Baar (1997). PhP markers in these languages are observed to be morphologically diverse and of varied crosslinguistic frequency. Additionally, Löfgren (2019) explains that the verbal morphotax indicates that the PhP

markers in East Bantu languages are, or are in the process of, being incorporated into the tense-aspect systems of their respective languages.

The discussion on PhP expressions in Kusaal follows the PhP Typology of van Baar (1997) by considering the various criteria for the inclusion and exclusion of items into the PhP paradigm of languages cross-linguistically.

4 Tense and aspectual markings in Kusaal

This section gives some background information on temporal and aspectual markings in Kusaal.

Kusaal is strictly a head-initial language; thus, the head of a given phrase precedes its complements. The sentence-level word order of the language is also SVO. In pragmatically motivated contexts such as focus constructions, it is possible to alter the word order for discourse effect, as in (9a-b). The canonical word order is as illustrated in (9a). The fronting of the object to the left periphery in (9b) is purposely for contrastive focus effect (Abubakari 2018, 2019; Abubakari and Issah 2020).

- (9) a. *Bííg lá dī-∅ múì lá.*
 child DEF eat-PFV rice DEF
 ‘The child ate the rice/the child has eaten the rice.’
- b. *Múì lá kà bííg lá dī-∅.*
 rice DEF FOC child DEF eat-PFV
 ‘It is the rice that the child ate/The child ate THE RICE (not, for instance, the bread).’

In Kusaal, tense is generally expressed using the bare form of the verb. While the past and the future are expressed using particles (see Table 1 below), the present tense, as in example (10), is deduced from context. No particle is so far observed for the present tense as at the time of this work.

- (10) a. *Ò àn Kúsánáàb.*
 3SG COP Kusaasi_chief
 ‘He is a chief of the Kusaasi.’
- b. *Ò m̄r lígídí bédégó.*
 3SG have money plenty
 ‘S/he has a lot of money.’

The imperfective aspectual form, which is often used for habitual, is also used in expressing what may be conceptualized as the present tense, especially when the verbs involved are dynamic verbs. The imperfective form is also used in expressing events that are generally true and unchanging situations.

- (11) a. *Ò mē'ē-d yá.*
 3SG build-IPFV houses
 ‘He builds houses.’

- b. *Bà zāmīs-ìd Kúsáál.*
 3PL learn-IPFV Kusaal
 ‘They are learning to speak Kusaal.’

The past tense and the future are marked using the preverbal particles presented in Table 1 below, with an example in (12).

Table 1: Tense particles in Kusaal

Tense	Preverbal particle	Gloss
Past/perfect	<i>pà'à</i>	immediate/ hodiernal past
	<i>sà</i>	a day ago
	<i>dàà</i>	two days ago/ less than a year
	<i>da</i>	a year and beyond
Future	<i>nà</i>	future positive
	<i>sàà</i>	two days ahead
	<i>kù</i>	future negative
	<i>dá</i>	future negative and imperative

- (12) a. *Bíig lá sà dī mui lá (súòs).*
 child DEF PAST eat.PFV rice DEF (yesterday)
 ‘The child ate the rice yesterday.’
- b. *Bíig lá dī mui*
 child DEF eat.PFV rice
 ‘The child ate rice.’

Though the adverb *súòs* ‘yesterday’ can optionally be used in the example in (12a), the use of the particle *sà* ‘PAST’ indicates that the event took place the previous day. The simple past can also be expressed without the use of any particle. This is when the remoteness of the action, event, or state is not important, as exemplified in (12b).

Aspect, on the other hand, is marked using suffixes. The perfective aspect is marked using the suffix *ya* or a zero-morpheme. The imperfective also comes in two forms: *t/d* is the dedicated habitual marker, as in (13a), and *tne/dne* is the dedicated progressive marker, as illustrated with the example in (13b).

- (13) a. *Mmá kúós-ìd gúúr.*
 1SG.POSS.mother sell-IPFV kola_nuts
 ‘My mother sells kola nuts (for a living).’
- b. *Mmá kúós-ìdné gúúr.*
 1SG.POSS.mother sell-IPFV kola_nuts
 ‘My mother is selling kola nuts.’

With this background on the temporal and aspectual markings in the language, the next section looks at the expressions for PhP concepts in Kusaal.

5 Expressing PhP concepts in Kusaal

This section discusses the expressibility of PhP concepts in Kusaal. Thus, it shows how the speakers of Kusaal express the various concepts that are often covered by PhP expressions. Expressibility has to do with the (un-)availability of formal coding for PhP concepts in languages. As previously indicated, there are languages that have expressions for all four PhP concepts, whereas other languages may have expressions for some of the concepts but not all four. There are also languages that do not have any of these expressions (see van der Auwera 1998, 36–37; van Baar 1997, 117).

Following the expressibility hypothesis of van Baar (1997:118), Kusaal can be classified among the majority of languages, which have coding strategies for all four PhP expressions. There are no ‘holes’ or ‘gaps’ for PhP items in Kusaal. Expressions for all four PhP concepts in Kusaal are represented in Table 2, with examples of contextual usages in (14) to (17).

Table 2: PhP expressions in Kusaal

	PhP expression	Gloss				
	<i>pún</i>	‘already’				
	<i>kpéη/nán</i>	‘still’				
	<i>nán pú</i>	‘not yet’				
	still NEG					
	<i>pú lén</i>	‘no longer’				
	NEG again					
(14)	<i>Dáú lá pún dá-ø búúg lá.</i>					
	man DEF already buy-PFV goat DEF					
	‘The man has already bought the goat.’					
(15)	<i>Dáú lá nán/kpéη dí-t díib lá.</i>					
	man DEF still eat-IPFV food DEF					
	‘The man is still eating the food.’					
(16)	<i>Dáú lá pú lén túbmá.</i>					
	man DEF NEG again work					
	‘The man no longer works.’ s					
(17)	<i>Dáú lá nán pú tvm túbmá lá.</i>					
	man DEF still NEG work work.NOM DEF					
	‘The man has not yet done the work.’					

Unlike the positive PhP expressions *pún* ‘already’ and *kpéη* or *nán* ‘still’, the negative PhP expressions *nán pú* ‘not yet’ and *pú lén* ‘no longer’ are expressed as *nán ká’á* ‘yet be.not’ and *lén ká’á* ‘again be.not’, where the negative interpretation is expressed by the ‘negative copula’ *ká’á* ‘be.not’. This implies that the negative polarity items are expressed differently in the context of a copula. This is illustrated in (18–19) below.

(18) *Dáú lá nán ká'á dǒǒgín lá.*
 man DEF yet NEG.COP room.LOC DEF
 'The man is not yet in the room.'

(19) *Dáú lá lén ká'á dǒǒgín lá.*
 man DEF again NEG.COP room.LOC DEF
 'The man is no longer in the room.'

More importantly, 'not again' has acquired a specialized PhP meaning entirely different from its original meaning, as can be seen in the interpretation of (19). Compare the English examples in (20) with the Kusaal ones in (21):

(20) a. Peter has cried again.
 b. Peter has not cried again (van Baar 1997, 49)

(21) a. *Bííg lá lén káás.*
 child DEF again cry.IPFV
 'The child cried again.'

b. *Bííg lá pú lén káásé.*
 child DEF NEG again cry.IPFV
 'The child was no longer crying.'

Van Baar (1997) argues that despite the presence of the negation, the meaning of *again* in (20b) is exactly the same as in the non-negative example given in (20a). He further adds that, even though the *not again* may come close to the meaning of *no longer* in certain contexts, the example above shows that 'again' is essentially iterative, regardless of the context in which it appears. As shown in the Kusaal examples in (21) above, the positive sentence in (21a) has an interpretation similar to the English equivalent in (20a). In the example in (21b) the meaning excludes possible interpretation(s) of 'again' such as those available in (20b). A similar situation is observed by van Baar (1997, 50) with data from Abun and Usan. The example in (22) is from the Abun language, taken from van Baar (1997, 50).

(22) a. *Petrus ken mo London ó*
 Peter live in London again
 'Peter is living in London again.'

b. *Petrus yo ken mo London ó nde.*
 Peter NEG live in London again NEG
 'Peter is no longer living in London.' (van Baar 1997, 50)

This observation leads to the suggestion that NEG+ again, thus *pú + lén*, acquires a specialized PhP meaning in Kusaal.

It is important to point out the distributional variances between the occurrences of the negative particle *pú* 'not' in the *nán pú* 'not yet' expression, and the form *pú lén* 'no longer'. This is to draw attention to the fact that whilst the negative morpheme is the second item in the former, it is the first item in the latter. It is infelicitous to change this order. The negative

copula *ká'á*, on the other hand, is always the second in the order of occurrence. The situation is summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Linear order of PhP Morphemes in Kusaal

PhP expressions	Gloss	Ill-formed expressions
<i>nán pú</i>	'not yet'	* <i>pú nán</i>
<i>pú lén</i>	'no longer'	* <i>lén pú</i>
<i>nán ká'á</i>	'not yet' (in context of copula)	* <i>ká'á nán</i>
<i>lén ká'á</i>	'no longer' (in context of copula)	* <i>ká'á lén</i>

To further exhibit PhP expressions in Kusaal as a distinct group based on their semantics, I explain the four expressions identified above using the definition of van Baar (1997): "Expressions of Phasal Polarity are structured means of expressing polarity in a sequential manner." (van Baar 1997, 40)

PhP expressions in Kusaal can be said to be 'structured', since they can be easily distinguished from other expressions in the language and they form a small group of expressions. PhP expressions can be said to clearly express "polarity in a sequential manner" in that any time they are used, the speaker relates a situation (or the absence thereof) to a presupposed opposite situation at an earlier or latter stage, or to a presupposed opposite situation at the same time which has somehow been evoked in the discourse. Consider the minimal pairs (23a/b) and (23c/d) below:

- (23) a. *Dáú lá kpén/nán tóm.*
man DEF still work
'The man still works.'
- b. *Dáú lá pú lén tóvmá.*
man DEF NEG again work.NOM
'The man no longer works.'
- c. *Dáú lá pún tóm tóvmá láà.*
man DEF already work work.NOM DEF
'The man has already done the work.'
- d. *Dáú lá nán pú tóm tóvmá láà.*
man DEF yet NEG work work.NOM DEF
'The man has not yet done the work.'

The examples in (23b) and (23d) express negative polarity and are related to their positive counterparts in (23a) and (23c) respectively. The examples in (23b, d) denote the notion of temporal sequentiality or ordering and imply that the positive states precede the asserted negative states at the moment of utterance. Similarly, the examples in (23a, c) would imply that the negative state preceded the positive state at the time of utterance. This shows that the notion of sequentiality can apply in both directions.

After identifying the various expressions for the four PhP concepts, the next section answers the question: why these selected five: *pún* 'already', *kpén* and *nán* 'still', *nán pú* 'not yet'

and *pú lén* ‘no longer’? The section discusses tests that validate the true statuses of these five expressions as true PhP expressions in Kusaal. This is carried out using the criteria for inclusion and exclusion of PhP items in van Baar (1997).

6 Tests for phasal polarity items in Kusaal

The literature on Mabia languages describes several particles that perform different kinds of grammatical functions such as time, aspect, contrast, negation, etc. (Bodomo 1997; Atintono 2004, 2005, 2011, 2013; Bodomo and Abubakari 2017). There is a need to differentiate phasal polarity markers from other particles in Kusaal, since the former are specialized items and behave in unique ways compared to the latter. In this section, van Baar’s (1997, 48–63) criteria for inclusion and exclusion of items that could potentially pass as PhP markers are used. Van Baar argues that individual languages are observed to possess large numbers of constructions which have the tendency to qualify as expressions of phasal polarity in one way or another, which makes it necessary to specify delimitations. PhP items must meet the prescribed criteria in order to qualify for inclusion. In all, PhP expressions are considered as forms of a distinct paradigm with specific features and expressions. They are semantically related and also behave as a specific kind of polarity expressions (see van Baar 1997, 48). The proposed criteria, as will be discussed below, exclude several particles in Kusaal and narrow what are identified as PhP items down to the selected five.

The primary condition for a language to be identified as having PhP items is when the said language has overt marking or coding for these expressions. For instance, with data from Tigrinya, van Baar shows that this language lacks an overt encoding for the NO LONGER expression.

- (24) Tigrinya (van Baar 1997, 48)
- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Peter ab</i> | <i>Lenden</i> | <i>yelon.</i> |
| Peter in | London | NEG.be_present |
- i. ‘Peter is not in London.’
ii. ‘Peter is not in London anymore.’

From the example in (24), Tigrinya makes no distinction between the expression NOT on the one hand, and of NO LONGER on the other, since these two are both expressed by the use of an ordinary negative marker. Tigrinya, is, therefore, said to lack an expression of NO LONGER.

Kusaal, as indicated early on and as will be further discussed throughout this paper, has five expressions for the four PhP concepts: *pún* ‘already’, *kpén* and *nán* ‘still’, *nán pú* ‘not yet’ and *pú lén* ‘no longer’ (five because there are two expressions for ‘still’).

According to van Baar, one further assumption is that there is a diachronic aspect involved, in that languages have the tendencies of developing these expressions by means of a process of semantic adaptation. A well explained scenario of adaption or semantic ‘bleaching’ of items into PhP expressions is given by van Baar as follows:

Consider, for example, the language specific expression *X*, which has the semantic properties *A* and *B* (cf. Heine 1993). Semantic change may involve several things: *X* may either lose property *A* or property *B*, which is usually referred to as (semantic) “bleaching”; it may acquire a new property *C*, which can be regarded as semantic enrichment; or a combination of these two is found, i.e. it may lose property *A* and

acquire a new property *C*, which can be regarded as semantic enrichment; or a combination of these two is found, i.e. it may lose property *A* and acquire property *C* instead, which is regarded as the “lose-and-gain” principle. (van Baar 1997, 48).

The PhP item *nán* ‘still’, in Kusaal, shows a clear instance of having undergone some form of semantic adaptation. *Nán* ‘still’ has lost two syllables from its source word *nànnánná* ‘now’. Both the initial and final syllables are lost. In addition to this, there is some kind of ‘bleaching’ in its semantics as well as functions, such that the meaning of the PhP item *nán* ‘still’ has shifted entirely from having any denotations of the meaning of *nànnánná* ‘now’ (see Section 6.1).

Van Baar (1997, 49) further indicates that the lose-and-gain principle is perhaps the most relevant here, stating that the semantic properties of a PhP expression, that is to say sequential polarity, have to be acquired on the one hand, and the relevant expression needs some kind of abstraction away from its original meaning, in order to properly function as a PhP expression, on the other. These properties are referred to as ‘specialization’ and ‘generalization’ respectively. To further distinguish these two, van Baar argues that specialization and generalization should not be confused with grammaticalization. Whereas the former two are related to the semantic or functional development of a certain expression, the latter is also related to the formal characteristics of diachronic development (van Baar 1997, 49). These two distinctive features, specialization and adaptation, will be applied to the five identified phasal polarity expressions in Kusaal to ascertain whether indeed they qualify to be considered as such. Under specialization, the parameters to be used include: polarity and meaning, polarity semantics, and polarity sensitivity.

6.1 Specialization

6.1.1 Polarity and meaning

As polarity expressions, “PhP items require a specific behaviour of the relevant expressions” (van Baar 1997, 49). Thus, in Kusaal for instance, the combination of NEG + *lén* ‘again’ functions as ‘no longer’, which does not have a compositional reading but, rather, has acquired a *specialized* PhP one. This is further illustrated by juxtaposing the item *lén* ‘again’, a constituent from the PhP expression *lén pú* ‘no longer’, against the non-PhP item *yáásé* ‘again’, in an attempt to find out why *lén* ‘again’ qualifies as a constituent of a PhP expression but *yáásé* ‘again’ is excluded from the list of PhP items in Kusaal.

- (25) a. *Dáú lá lén mór lígìdì.*
 man DEF again have money
 ‘The man has money again.’
- b. *Dáú lá pú lén mór lígìdì.*
 man DEF NEG again have money
 ‘The man no longer has money.’ / ‘The man is now poor.’
- (26) a. *Dáú lá mór lígìdì yáásé.*
 man DEF have money again
 ‘The man has money again.’

- b. *Dáú lá pú mór lígìdì yáásé.*
 man DEF NEG have money again
 ‘The man does not have money again.’
- c. **Dáú lá pú yáásé mór lígìdì.*
 man DEF NEG again have money
 Intended: ‘The man does not have money again.’

The meaning of *lén* ‘again’ in the presence of the negative morpheme in (25b) changes to NO LONGER, whereas the same cannot be said for the meaning of *yáásé* ‘again’ in (26b), where, in spite of the negative morpheme, *yáásé* retains its original iterative meaning. My informant argues that (26b) does not necessarily mean ‘The man is now poor’, it could mean that the current status of the man is a temporary one, as perhaps referring to someone who had exhausted all the money on him at the time the utterance was made. In addition, it is ungrammatical to have *yáásé* immediately preceded by the negative morpheme as in (26c). This explains why *yáásé*, and more specifically *yáásé* and negation, are excluded from the list of PhP expressions in Kusaal, since while the former lacks any evidence of abstraction from its semantics, the latter is ungrammatical in the grammar of Kusaal. See van Baar (1997, 49–50) for more illustrations from English, Abun, and Usan.

6.1.2 Polarity semantics

The negative coding of PhP items is one important feature that distinguishes them from non-PhP expressions. Thus, this excludes the expressions *kpén/nán* ‘still’ and *pón* ‘already’. The crucial role of polarity is seen in the marking of the negative expressions of PhP items. The examples in (27) use the positive non-PhP expression *bas* ‘stop’ in (27a) and the negative PhP expression *pú lén* ‘no longer’ in (27b).

- (27) a. *Ò bas dáám núúd.*
 3SG stop alcohol drink.NOM
 ‘He has given up drinking alcohol.’
- b. *Ò pú lén núúd dáámi.*
 3SG NEG again drink alcohol
 ‘He no longer drinks alcohol.’

Unlike *bas* ‘stop’, which lacks any negative coding, *pú lén* ‘no longer’ bears a negative morpheme which impacts on its interpretation. The non-PhP expression *bas* ‘stop’ refers to (the ending of) a positive state X, whereas the specialized PhP expression shows that X is not the case, thereby presupposing that X was the case at an earlier stage (see van Baar 1997, 50). The contrast in the interpretations of (27a) and (27b) is represented in Figures 1 and 2 respectively, following van Baar (1997, 53).

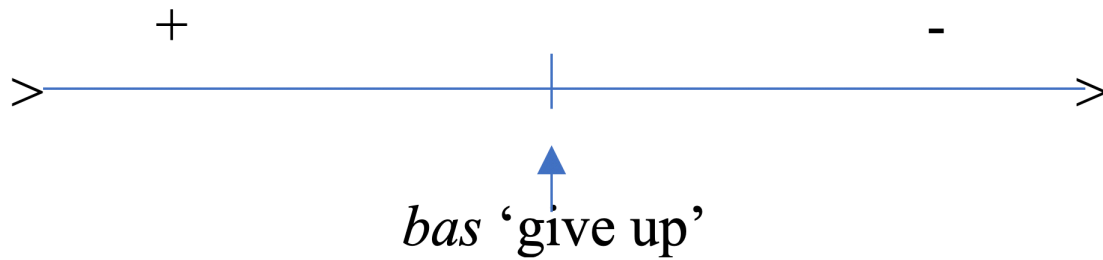


Figure 1: The semantics of *bas* ‘give up’

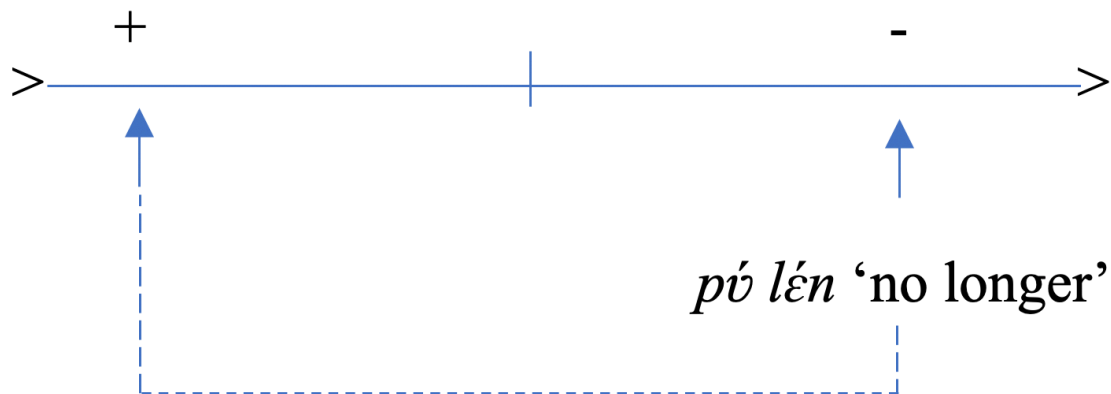


Figure 2. The semantics of *pú lén* ‘no longer’

Following van Baar’s explanation, Figure 2 points out that *pú lén* ‘no longer’ is found in the negative area and shares this feature with the negative particle *pú*. Added to this is its relationship with a preceding positive phase. On the contrary, the expression *bas* ‘give up’, in Figure 1, refers only to the termination of this positive phase and as such is restricted only to this area and function. Consequently, van Baar concludes that NOT YET and NO LONGER expressions are only valid as PhP items if the sentences in which they are used are semantically negative. Similarly, expressions that are equivalent to English *already* and *still* are only PhP expressions if they are semantically positive. Comparatively, *pú lén* ‘no longer’ and *nán pú* ‘not yet’ are always semantically negative, whilst *pún* ‘already’ and *kpén/nán* ‘still’, on the other hand, are always semantically positive in Kusaal. In short, the PhP expressions in Kusaal, tested against the polarity semantics checks of PhP expressions, can be confirmed as having satisfied this criterion.

6.1.3 Polarity sensitivity

The polarity marking strategies of Kusaal can be said to follow a regular pattern where negative expressions always occur with the negative particle or negative copula, in contrast with their positive counterparts. Van Baar (1997, 57) indicates that a good understanding of the interplay

that exists between PhP expressions and polarity is important for any description of the PhP paradigm. He adds that all PhP expressions are highly polarity sensitive expressions in a number of respects: the meaning of elements that are only used in negative but not in positive PhP expressions has changed under the influence of negation. A typical example of this involves the NO LONGER expression *pú lén*, where the iterative meaning of ‘again’ in the word *lén* is lost by the introduction of the negation (see examples (25a, b)). Additionally, van Baar shows that the combination of positive PhP expressions and negation invariably leads to two possible results: ungrammaticality or a negative PhP expression. The situation in Kusaal is not entirely different, as illustrated in Table 4 below. The asterisk (*) means ungrammatical and incomprehensible. However, the ALREADY expression in Kusaal, i.e. *pún*, when negated, takes a different meaning, i.e. *pún pú* ‘not even’ which falls outside the PhP domain. On the contrary, the negative PhP expression *nán pú* ‘not yet’, when used in a positive context, becomes the PhP expression *nán* ‘still’. Again, the positive PhP expression *kpén* ‘still’, when negated as *kpén pú*, generates a compositional meaning as ‘still not’. Thus, its meaning does not change under the influence of negation compared to the *nán pú* ‘not yet’ expression.

- (28) a. \dot{O} *kpén* *pú* *dí* *díib* *lá.*
 3SG still NEG eat food DEF
 ‘S/he has still not eaten the food.’
- b. \dot{O} *kpén* *pú* *núúd* *dáám.*
 3SG still NEG drink alcohol
 ‘He still does not take alcohol.’
 *‘He does not yet take alcohol.’

Replacing *kpén pú* with *nán pú* in the examples in (28) will yield the interpretation of ‘not yet’ without a compositional interpretation of ‘still not/not still’. Moreover, the interpretation of *kpén pú* as ‘still not’ is more emphatic and it expresses a countefactual expectation where the speaker expects the activity to have been completed at the time of utterance. It could be hypothesized that *kpén pú* ‘still not’ is yet to be grammaticalized or specialized into the PhP item ‘not yet’. In addition, the elision of the negative particle from the specialized negative PhP expression *pú lén* ‘no longer’ results in a non-PhP expression *lén* ‘again’. These observations confirm the assertion of van Baar (1997, 57) that “negative PhP expressions used in positive contexts may be either PhP expressions or non-PhP expressions.”

Table 4: PhP expressions and negation in Kusaal

Positive items		Negative items	
PhP morphemes	Gloss	PhP morphemes and others	Gloss
<i>pún</i>	‘already’	<i>pún pú</i>	‘not even’
<i>kpén</i>	‘still’	<i>kpén pú</i>	‘still not’
		<i>kpén ká 'á</i>	‘is/are still not’
		* <i>ká 'á kpén</i>	**
		* <i>pú kpén</i>	**
<i>nán</i>	‘still’	<i>nán pú</i>	‘not yet’
		<i>nán ká 'á</i>	‘is/are not yet’
		* <i>pú nán</i>	**
Non-PhP morpheme			
<i>lén</i>	‘again’	<i>pú lén</i>	‘no longer’

The polarity sensitive criterion has been a defining factor in excluding and including expressions in the PhP paradigm in languages. It is claimed that other particles in Kusaal that do not satisfy this criterion cannot be included in the list of PhP items (see van Baar 1997).

6.2 Generalization

Semantic adaption involves two areas: specialization and generalization. In the case of the characterization of the latter, it should be possible for a PhP expression to be used in more diverse contexts than the original expression from which the PhP item is derived (see van Baar 1997, 58). Generalization, therefore, involves the use of PhP expressions in contexts that are incompatible with the original or literal meaning of the item(s) in question. The PhP expressions for NOT YET and STILL in Kusaal follow cross-linguistic observations where these items are argued to have originated from the word or word groups in which expressions meaning ‘now’ play significant role (see van Baar 1997). The word *nànnánná* ‘now’ is here assumed to be the source word for the PhP expression *nán* ‘still’. The PhP item degenerated in both form and meaning from its original source by losing both the first and last syllables of the source word. The negative PhP item *nán pú* ‘not yet’ does not show any traces to imply that it could mean anything close to ‘not now’, which is expressed as *ka 'a nànnánná*. The expressions **pú nànnánná* / **nànnánná pú* to mean ‘not now’ are ungrammatical and meaningless. The examples in (29) are used as illustrations.

- (29) a. *nànnánná wá'e sá*
 now go then
 ‘from now on’
- b. **nán wá'e sá*
 still go then
 Intended: ‘from now on’

However, there is a clipped or truncated form of *nànnánná* ‘now’ as *nàn*, which retains the low tone of the first syllable and the denotative meaning of the full form.

- (30) *Ò nàn dítné*
 3SG now eat.IPFV
 ‘He is now eating’

Nàn ‘now’ and *nànnánná* ‘now’ have different distributions, hence the ungrammaticality of the construction in (31a) compared to (30) and (31b) compared to (29b).

- (31) a. **Ò nànnánná dítné*
 3SG now eat.IPFV
 Intended: ‘He is now eating.’
- b. **nàn wá’e sá*
 now go then
 Intended: ‘from now on’

A grammatical rendition of (31a) is given in (32a).

- (32) a. *Ò dítné nànnánná.*
 3SG eat. IPFV now
 ‘He eats now (compared to a time when he used not to eat).’
- b. **Ò dítné nàn*
 3SG eat.IPFV now
 ‘He eats now (compared to a time when he used not to eat).’

Similarly, *nànnánná* ‘now’ cannot combine with the negative morpheme *pú* in similar ways to *nán* ‘still’, to mean anything grammatical: *nán pú* ‘not yet’, **pú nànnánná*, **nànnánná pú*. It is important to indicate that there is another particle *yu’un* ‘now/then’ which is used in other instances to mean ‘now’, as in (33).

- (33) *Dáú lá yú’un (béni) dítné.*
 man DEF now COP.LOC eat.IPFV
 ‘The man is now eating.’

The discussion in this section leads to the assertion that the PhP expressions *nán* ‘still’ *nán pú* ‘not yet’ are true PhP lexemes that have undergone total bleaching and become incompatible with the original and literal meaning of *nànnánná* ‘now’.

Additionally, the generalization of PhP expressions leads them to be compatible with most *TA(M)* categories as the context in which they can be used broadens and they also “form close-knit paradigms with the other PhP expressions manifesting certain regularities” (van Baar 1997, 70–71; see also Kramer 2017, 14, 20). Most, if not all, members of PhP expressions show direct correspondence relations with *TAM* in Kusaal. The language exhibits, to a large degree, a complete external symmetric paradigm between PhP members and *TAM* members, as there appears to be a one-to-one correspondence relationship in almost all the situations. An exception to this

is the co-occurrence of the future particle *nà* ‘will’ and the PhP expression *nán pú*. Below is a demonstration of the correspondence between TAM and the various PhP items, with the only ungrammatical expression occurring between the future particle *nà* ‘will’ and the PhP expression *nán pú* in (34h).

- (34) a. *Ò (sà) pún ní'údné.*
3SG (PAST) already drink.IPFV
‘He was already drinking.’
- b. *Ò dà pú lén ní'úd.*
3SG PAST NEG again drink.IPFV
‘He was no longer drinking.’
- c. *Ò sà kpén bé dǒǒgín lá.*
3SG PAST still COP.be room.LOC DEF
‘He was still in the room.’
- d. *Ò sà nán pú pā'ná.*
3SG PAST yet NEG arrive.LOC
‘He had not yet arrived as of yesterday.’
- e. *Ò nà pún ní.*
3SG FUT already drink
‘He will (already) drink (no matter what you do).’
- f. *Ò kù lén níúí.*
3SG FUT.NEG again drink
‘He will no longer drink.’
- g. *Ò nà kpén bé dǒǒgín lá.*
3SG FUT still COP.be room.LOC DEF
‘He will still be in the room.’
- h. **Ò nà nán pú pá'ná.*
3SG FUT yet NEG arrive.LOC
Intended: ‘He will not be here yet.’

6.3 Paradigmaticity

Throughout the discussion so far, what has constantly been shown to be a major factor in PhP systems is that “a certain type of (positive or negative) expression is asserted, whereas the logical alternative of such an expression is presupposed or expected” (van Baar 1997, 61). PhP expressions involve “the explicit denotation of polarity together with contrasting a situation with an alternative one that has the opposite value”. The contrary expectation comes in two forms: “ALREADY is in opposition to NOT YET, and STILL is in opposition to NO LONGER, and the assertion of each of these values is impossible without presupposing its opposite value as an

alternative for the asserted State of Affairs” (van Baar 1997, 61). The interrogative sentences below are used as an illustration to show that there is some kind of paradigmatic complementarity between the interrogative sentences and their corresponding answer pairs. This means that the presence of one PhP item in a way triggers either the presupposition or actual presence of its complementary item (van Baar 1997, 63). The PhP item *pún* ‘already’ in (35a) automatically triggers the presence of its complementary item *nán pú* ‘not yet’ in (35b). Similarly, the use of *nán/kpén* ‘still’ in (36a) requires the use of *pú lén* ‘no longer’ in the negative response in (36b).

- (35) a. *Bííg lá pún dí né bée?*
 child DEF already eat FOC Q
 ‘Is the child still eating?’
- b. *Áyéì, bííg lá nán pú díí.*
 no, child DEF yet NEG eat
 ‘The child is not yet eating.’
- (36) a. *Dáú lá nán kpén díètè bée?*
 man DEF still still eat.IPFVQ
 ‘Is the man still eating?’
- b. *Áyéì, dáú lá pú lén díètè.*
 no, man DEF NEG again eat.IPFV
 ‘No, the man is no longer eating.’

The paradigmatic complementarity that exists between the PhP expressions, as illustrated in the examples above, limits the scope of items that qualify as PhP expressions in Kusaal to *pún* ‘already’, *kpén/nán* ‘still’, *nán pú* ‘not yet’, and *pú lén* ‘no longer’. The next section discusses the nature and functions of PhP expressions in Kusaal by looking at coverage, wordhood, and grammaticalization of PhP expressions in Kusaal.

7 Nature and functions of PhP expressions in Kusaal

Though PhP expressions in Kusaal pattern similarly to general linguistic observations on the concept, there remain some unique features to this language which makes an individual language study necessary. Areas considered below include coverage, wordhood, and grammaticalization of PhP expressions in Kusaal (see Löbner 1989; van der Auwera 1998; van Baar 1997; Kramer 2017).

7.1 Coverage

Kusaal demonstrates a system of PhP expressions which is identical to that found in English, and also similar to languages like German, where NOT YET is expressed as an internal negation of STILL, whereas the NO LONGER concept is not realized in any way similar to other PhP expressions (Löbner 1989, 171–172). None of the four PhP expressions in English shares any item in common: *still*, *not yet*, *already*, and *no longer* are compared to German, where the ‘not yet’ expression *noch nicht* is the internal negation of the expression for ‘still’, *noch*. The data below is taken from Löbner 1989, 171–172; cf. Kramer 2017, 5–6).

PhP expressions in German (Löbner 1989, 171–172)

- (37) a. STILL in German
*das Licht ist **noch** an*
 ‘the light is still on’
- b. NOT YET in German
*das Licht ist **noch nicht** an*
 ‘the light is not yet on’
- c. ALREADY in German
*das Licht ist **schon** an*
 ‘the light is already on’
- d. NO LONGER in German
*das Licht ist **nicht mehr** an*
 ‘the light is no longer on’

It has been shown that Kusaal has two expressions for the item STILL: *nán* ‘still’ and *kpéŋ* ‘still’. All five PhP items in Kusaal could be realized as different morphemes, similar to those in English, when *kpéŋ* ‘still’ is used instead of *nán* ‘still’: *pún* ‘already’, *nán pú* ‘not yet’, *kpéŋ* ‘still’, and *pú lén* ‘no longer’.

- (38) *Dáú lá nán/kpéŋ bé dǒgín lá.*
 man DEF still COP room.LOC. DEF
 ‘The man is still in the room.’

To further emphasize a point, both *nán* and *kpén* can be used together in a single utterance. In such instances *nán* always precedes *kpén*. However, neither of these items can be reduplicated for the same effect.

- (39) a. *Dáú lá nán kpéŋ bé dǒgín lá.*
 man DEF still still COP room.LOC. DEF
 ‘The man is still in is the room.’
- b. **Dáú lá kpéŋ nán bé dǒgín lá.*
 man DEF still still COP room.LOC. DEF
- c. **Dáú lá nán nán bé dǒgín lá.*
 man DEF still still COP room.LOC. DEF
- d. **Dáú lá kpéŋ kpéŋ bé dǒgín lá.*
 man DEF still still COP room.LOC. DEF

It has so far been demonstrated that both *nán* and *kpén* are PhP expressions in Kusaal for STILL. The NOT YET expression, *nán pú*, is an internal negation of the expression for STILL – *nán*. In all these, the NO LONGER expression does not take any morpheme identical to other PhP expressions

in the language. The examples in (40), below, are used as further illustrations. This situation is similar to what is found in German, as in (37a-d) above.

- (40) a. *Bà nán kúós búús.*
 3PL still/now sell goats
 ‘They still sell goats/they now sell goats.’
- b. *Bà nán pú kúós búúsé.*
 3PL yet NEG sell goat
 ‘It is not yet time for selling goats.’
 ‘They do not yet sell goats.’
- c. *Bà pún kúós búús.*
 3PL already sell.PFV goats
 ‘They have already sold goats/goats have been sold already.’
- d. *Bà pv lén kúós búús.*
 3PL NEG again sell goats
 ‘They no longer sell goats.’

Unlike *nán* ‘still’, which takes the negative particle to derive the negative PhP item *nán pú* ‘not yet’, *kpén* ‘still’ does not have a non-compositional pragmatic effect when the negative particle is added to it. To express the concept NOT STILL/ NO LONGER, speakers use the *pú lén* ‘no longer’ expression. *kpén pú* is used to express NOT STILL notions without a future indication of the likelihood of the event or action taking place, although the possibility of a future occurrence cannot be entirely ruled out.

- (41) a. *Bà kpén pú nū ūdá.*
 3PL still NEG drink.IPFV
 ‘They still do not drink.’
 *‘They do not drink yet’ (unacceptable interpretation)
- b. *Bà pú lén nū ūdá.*
 3PL NEG again drink.IPFV
 ‘They no longer drink / They still do not drink.’

Nán pú ‘not yet’ gives an indication that the act has not taken place in the past but rather will happen in the near future. Thus, generally, the use of *nán pú* ‘not yet’ often has a positive connotation of the expected event taking place in the future, though there is equally some possibility of failure.

- (42) *Bà nán pú nu dáám lá.*
 3PL still NEG drink alcohol DEF
 ‘They have not yet drunk the alcohol.’

Though *nán* and *kpén* both mean ‘still’, the two have different interpretations when used with the negative particle *pú*. Whilst *nán pú* ‘not yet’ is acceptable, *kpén pú* is instead interpreted as ‘not still’.

Based on the discussion on coverage, Kusaal expresses what can be described as having a partly rigid PhP system, where different particles are used in coding different PhP concepts, and as having a partly flexible system of PhP expression, where we observe one instance of internal negation involving *nán* ‘still’ and *nán pú* ‘not yet’.

Van der Auwera (1998, 50) also classifies the ALREADY expression into three different groups: “*already* inchoatives”, which imply an early (or neutral) point of change, “*artik* inchoatives”, which imply a late (or neutral) point of change, and “*ya* inchoatives”, which also imply a general (early, late, or neutral) point of change.

Kusaal, in this classification, patterns with languages like English where the use of *pún* ‘already’ signals ‘earliness’ (43a). It can also be used in neutral scenarios, as in (43b), where the intention is to lay bare facts that cannot be challenged by others who maybe witnesses to the event, action, or situation as it happened.

- (43) a. *M̄ mī̄ t̄ bíg sɔ' né m̄r yúúm píig ká*
 1SG know child REL.PR COMP have year ten. CONJ
pún kúl síd.
 already go_home husband
 ‘I know a child of 10 years who is already married.’
- b. *Pú'á lá pún kúl síd.*
 woman DEF already go_home husband
 ‘The woman is already married.’

The other telic PhP item, *lén pú* ‘no longer’, usually implies a neutral or general point of view. For instance, assuming a context where a woman has had three children through Caesarian section, the midwife reports the woman’s situation in the sentence in (44).

- (44) *Pú'á lá m̄r bíis àtá'an ká pú lén*
 woman DEF has children three CONJ NEG again
dú'àda.
 give_birth
 ‘The woman has three children and no longer gives birth.’

This is a neutral situation, since no one expects a woman in that condition to be able to deliver, especially on her own, again.

Additionally, a counterfactual interpretation of unexpectedly early scenerios can be deduced from the ‘no longer’ expression in Kusaal. Assuming a context where a woman, 25 years old, has ‘only’ three children in a society where families pride themselves on the number of kids they have, the sentence in (45) is a demonstration of a counterfactual (unexpectedly early) situation, since the discontinuation of giving birth is counter to the expectations of a society where families pride themselves on the number of children they have. The woman in this scenario can rescind her decision and give birth again.

- (45) *Pú'á lá m̄r bíís àtá'an ká p̄v lén*
 woman DEF has children three CONJ NEG again

bōd dú'àm.

want child_birth

‘The woman has three kids and no longer wants to give birth.’

For further illustration, consider the examples in (46) below, where both a neutral and a counterfactual (unexpectedly early) interpretation of the scenario is possible.

- (46) *Tiig la εenti p̄vdne amaa o p̄v len p̄vda*
 tree DEF usually flower.IPFV but 3SG NEG again flower
 ‘The tree usually flowers but it no longer flowers.’

The neutral interpretation for the example in (46) could be adduced from a context where the tree is dry and dead and therefore not expected to blossom. A counterfactual (unexpectedly early) scenario can also be adduced if the tree is young and perhaps attacked by some ailment, causing it not to blossom any longer.

The scenarios cited above amplify the neutral context for the use of the ‘no longer’ expression and the counterfactual (unexpectedly early) scenario or context. Creating an ‘unexpected late’ scenario around the same situations appears impractical in Kusaal. Thinking of other contexts for lateness using the ‘no longer’ expressions has been quite unsuccessful. The observations so far point to the fact that the ‘no longer’ expression is predominantly used in neutral situations or contexts; it is also possible to find it in counterfactual (unexpectedly early) scenarios. More needs to be done to establish whether it can or can not be used in ‘unexpectedly late’ counterfactual scenarios in Kusaal.

7.2 Wordhood and grammaticalization of PhP concepts in Kusaal

Although PhP concepts are generally agreed to involve specialized items, they pattern with adverbials in most European languages (van Baar 1997; van der Auwera 1998). However, PhP expressions in Kusaal are here described as independent preverbal items/words with positions after the subject and before the verb.

- (47) *Ò p̄vn díyá.*
 3SG already eat.PFV
 ‘He has eaten already’

They do not inflect for tense, aspect, or person. In situations where temporal particles are used, PhP expressions usually occur after the time depth particle but before the verb. It is ungrammatical to have the PhP item occur before the temporal particles, as in (48b). Equally unacceptable is for it to occur after the verb or clause finally (48c). It is also illicit to have it in a clause initial position (48d).

- (48) a. *Ò dà kpéŋ nū'ūd.*
 3SG PAST still drink.IPFV
 ‘He was still drinking.’

- b. *Ò *kpéŋ* dà nū 'ūd
 c. *Ò dà nū 'ūd *kpéŋ*
 d. **kpéŋ*, Ò dà nū 'ūd

PhP items in Kusaal form an independent set of particles that deviate from the functions of the source words from which they are traced. Following the work of earlier linguists in this field (Löbner 1989; van der Auwera 1998; van Baar 1997; Kramer 2017), it is argued that PhP expressions in Kusaal should be considered as forming a distinctive set of particles in the language. Importantly, these expressions in the language behave differently from adverbials. In Kusaal, adverbials are fixed in sentence final or sentence initial positions but never before the verb. This is demonstrated in the ungrammaticality of the examples in (49c) and (49e), where the adverbials are used in slots usually occupied by PhP items.

- (49) a. *Dáú lá pú dī súòs.*
 man DEF NEG eat.PFV yesterday
 'The man did not eat yesterday.'
- b. *Súòs, dáú lá pú dī.*
 yesterday man DEF NEG eat.PFV
 'Yesterday, the man did not eat.'
- c. **Dáú lá súòs pú dī.*
 man DEF yesterday NEG eat.PFV
- d. *Dáú lá pú dī yáásé.*
 man DEF NEG eat.PFV again
 'The man did not eat again.'
- e. **Dáú lá yáásé pú dī.*
 man DEF again NEG eat.PFV

The morpheme *yáásé*, as mentioned previously, means 'again' in Kusaal (50d–e). It functions as a typical adverb, in contrast to *lén*. *Yáásé*, unlike *lén*, only occurs clause finally. *Lén* and *yáásé* can be used simultaneously in a clause.

- (50) a. *Dáú lá lén dī díib lá yáásé.*
 man DEF again eat.PFV food DEF again
 'The man ate the food again/it is the man who ate the food again.'
- b. *Dáú lá lén dī díib lá.*
 man DEF again eat.PFV food DEF
 'The man ate the food again/it is the man who ate the food again.'

- c. *Dáú lá dī díib lá yáásé.*
 man DEF eat.PFV food DEF again
 ‘The man ate the food again.’

The two possible interpretations of examples (50a) and (50b) mean that *lén* has an additional focus/emphatic interpretation other than just the adverbial meaning ‘again’ compared to *yáásé* which means only ‘again’. This further suggests that the position of *lén* is not tied to its function as an adverbial alone but also as performing other discourse related functions.

PhP expressions in Kusaal often deviate from the meanings of their source words, as well as from the categorial functions of the words from which they have mostly been grammaticalized from. The PhP item *kpén* ‘still’ under no circumstance functions as a verb in Kusaal, though it has its source in the verb *kpēlīm* ‘to remain/ to stay’.

Lén pú ‘no longer’ is composed of two morphemes. It combines an iterative adverb *lén* ‘again’ and the negative morpheme *pú*. This phenomenon is not unique to Kusaal as it has been observed in several other languages (van Baar 1997, 50). The combination of *lén* and *pú* for the PhP item *lén pú* ‘no longer’ maintains the strict PhP preverbal position not as adverb but as an independently different expression with a different function.

The word *nán* ‘still’, on the other hand, can be argued to have been reconstructed from the word *nànnáná* ‘now’, as indicated in previous sections of this work. However, *nán* ‘still’ and *nànnáná* ‘now’ diachronically have different semantic and distributional properties, to the extent that the two can be used simultaneously in a single clause.

- (51) a. *Àdúk nán bé dá'án lá nànnáná.*
 Aduk still COP market.LOC DEF now
 ‘Aduk is still in the market at the moment.’
- b. **Àdúk nànnáná bé dá'án lá nán*
 Aduk now COP market.LOC DEF still

Another plausible explanation for this is to assume that *nán*, a temporal particle for expressing ‘just/very recent/immediate past’, is the original item which has specialized to become ‘still’ (see Heine and Kuteva 2002, 323). *Nànnáná* ‘now’ is a reduplicated form of *nán* ‘now’, and is an emphatic form of its base word.

Finally, there is an apparent relationship between the item *pún* ‘already’ and the verb *pùn'óe* ‘to be rotten’ / ‘to be old’, where the latter interpretation is often used metaphorically. A similar trend is observed in Dagbani, a sister Mabia language, where ALREADY is *pún* and ‘to be rotten’ is *pɔŋ*. In Akan, a Kwa language, the word for ALREADY is *dàdà* and the expression for ‘to be old’ is *dádá*. The target words in all three languages have potentially undergone some form of reanalysis: morphological, tonal, or both. The semantic relationships between these items can be ascribed to the fact that the interpretation of ‘already’ connotes ‘past, old, gone, forgotten, rotten’, and vice-versa. However, it is not entirely clear which items are the sources and which are the target items. It is important to add that these are preliminary observations and more needs to be done to uncover the full nature of these items.

8 Conclusion

This paper set out to investigate the various expressions used in coding PhP concepts in Kusaal. It has been shown that Kusaal has various particles that are used for expressing all four PhP concepts found in English: *pún* ‘already’, *kpén/nán* ‘still’, *nán pú* ‘not yet’, *pú lén* ‘no longer’. Kusaal has five items for expressing the four PhP concepts. This is because the ‘still’ expression is encoded with two items.

It has further been demonstrated that these particles are independent lexical items as they deviate from both the semantic and grammatical functions of their source lexical items.

Additionally, the paper discussed possibilities of combining some PhP morphemes with the negative marker in Kusaal, while it is ungrammatical to do so with other morphemes (Section 6.1.3). The expression *pún* can be negated but the resultant expression is a non-PhP expression. For the morphemes used in encoding the concept of STILL, i.e. *kpén/nán*, again, only one can combine with the negative morpheme to form the negative expression: *nán pú* ‘not yet’. Unlike all other negative PhP expressions, where the negative morpheme is the second item in order of occurrence, *pú lén* ‘no longer’ instead has the negative morpheme occurring first. It is ungrammatical to have it as the second item.

Considering the close relatedness of Kusaal and the neighbouring Mabilia languages, Dagaare, Dagbani, Gurene, and Mampruli, among others, this study could potentially serve as a pointer revealing the possibility of these languages having morphemes that code all four PhP concepts.

It is hoped that this work will contribute to discussions on this topic since little is known on PhP expressions in Kusaal and in Mabilia languages in general; however, more needs to be done to uncover the full nature of the concept in the related languages.

Abbreviations

COMP	complementizer	NOM	cominalized
CONJ	conjunction	PAST	past
COP	copula	PFV	perfective
DEF	definite	PL	plural
FAC	factive marker	POSS	possessive
FOC	focus	PR	pronoun
FUT	future	Q	question marker
IPFV	imperfective	REL	relative
LOC	locative	SG	singular
NEG	negative	TAM	tense, aspect, mood

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