**Introduction**

This questionnaire seeks to establish a number of facts related to the encoding and interpretation of temporal relations in African languages. The specific goals of this exercise are (i) to establish if tense systems have clearly marked temporal boundaries (for example some languages mark hodiernal and hestiernal past/future) and thus determine what ‘remote/distant’ and ‘near/recent’ tenses mean; (ii) to establish if (and the extent to which) the present tense is distinguished from habitual and (present) progressive aspect; (iii) to determine the extent to which the tense/aspect system is intertwined with the encoding of the ‘persistence of the effects’ or lack thereof of a past situation (see example 1 below); to determine the flexibility in the uses of particular tenses in a language.

As you provide sentences based on the model sentence, please provide, for every example, a latinate version of the pronunciation as it might appear in works written in your language (the ‘original text’ line), and if there are no standard representations that make the pronunciation clear, please indicate to us as much as you can (in some prefatory remarks) how your transcriptions should be pronounced. If you find it best to use the phonetic alphabet, please do so, but it is not necessary as long as your instructions are clear enough.

Present each example with a morpheme breakdown as well indicating, as best you can, the distinctions between the morphemes. All morphemes within the same word should be separated by dashes and any morpheme that codes several features in an undecomposable form should distinguish the relevant elements by separation with periods. The following examples from ciNsenga are illustrative.

**Example 1** (ciNsenga, Bantu N41)

1a) Khuzwayo wanola mkondo
Khuzwayo w–a–nol–a mkondo
Khuzwayo SM.C1-PST-sharpen-fv 3.spear

‘Khuzwayo sharpened the spear’

1b) Khuzwayo enze wanola mkondo
Khuzwayo ø-e-nze w–a–nol–a mkondo
SM.C1-PST-be SM.C1-PST-sharpen-fv 3.spear

‘Khuzwayo sharpened the spear’

Both sentences in Example 1 describe an event that occurred on the day of utterance (hodiernal past). The difference is that 1a) implies that the spear in question is still sharp (i.e. the effects of ‘sharpening’ persist) at the time of utterance whereas 1b) implies that the spear is no longer sharp (i.e. the effects of sharpening no longer persist) at utterance time. These interpretive distinctions are exemplary of the sorts of distinctions you will be asked to be sensitive to in answering the questions below. Please be sure to comment whenever you think it will clarify what you take the interpretation to be, and especially if the sentence is acceptable under one interpretation, but not another. If you notice something special, or you want to clarify the morphology or syntax, please comment on that as well (right below the example or set of examples in question. Finally, if a model sentence has
more than one translation, be sure to provide both and please indicate, as best you can, whatever
differences in meaning or conversational usage might distinguish using one translation or the other.

As the last remarks indicate, in many of the tasks that follow, you will be asked not only for a
translation of a model sentence, but for judgments about the scenarios in which the sentence can be
appropriately uttered. Please be sure to indicate as clearly as possible which reading for any given
sentence is the one you find acceptable and if you find that some examples are more acceptable
than others, please use our acceptability scale to give graded judgments, if you feel that such
gradations accurately capture your intuitions. The scale is as follows:

* Unacceptable either at all or at least under the interpretation that you have been asked about.

*? Very marginally possible, perhaps only by comparison with an example or interpretation that
  is clearly *

?? Very odd. You probably would not say this sentence this way or would not say it this way for
  the interpretation you have been asked about.

? Just a little off. Something not quite right about it.

OK This sounds like a natural sentence and is an appropriate sentence to use for the
  interpretation that you have been asked about.

If you have any questions about how to proceed or you would like to check if you are filling in the
questionnaire in the way desired, please contact me at R.Simango@ru.ac.za.

Questionnaire
Translate all the sentences in this questionnaire into the specified Language in accordance with the
context given.

Specify the language into which you are translating here: Lubukusu

A1. The event or situation occurred today
   a) Jack moulded a clay pot
      Jack abumbile ényungu
      Jack a-bumb-il-e e-nyungu
      Jack SM.c1-mould-PST-fv c9-pot

   b) Mavuto went to the Market
      Mavuto achile khusoko
      Mavuto a-ch-il-e khu-soko
      Mavuto SM.c1-go-PST-fv c17-market

   c) Timothy insulted the man
      Timothy akhomile ómundu
      Timothy a-khom-il-e o-mu-ndu
      Timothy SM.c1-insult-PST-fv c1-c1-person

   d) Maureen closed the door
      Maureen ekaale kumulyango
      Maureen a-kaal-e ku-mu-lyango
      Maureen SM.c1-close-PST.fv c3-c3-door
e) Jennifer combed her hair
Jennifer a-chanuh-e li-chuune li-ewe
Jennifer SM.c1-comb-PST.fv c5-hair c5-her

A2. The event or situation occurred yesterday (if the sentences are same those in (A1), say ‘same as above’)

a) Jack moulded a clay pot
   Jack ábumbilé enyungu
   Jack a-bumb-il-e e-nyungu
   Jack SM.c1-mould-PST-fv c9-pot

b) Mavuto went to the Market
   Mavuto áchílé khúsoko
   Mavuto a-ch-il-e khu-soko
   Mavuto SM.c1-go-PST-fv c17-market

c) Timothy insulted the man
   Timothy ákhomílé omundu
   Timothy a-khom-il-e o-mu-ndu
   Timothy SM.c1-insult-PST-fv c1-c1-person

d) Maureen closed the door
   Maureen ékáalé kumulyango
   Maureen a-ikaal-e ku-mu-lyango
   Maureen SM.c1-close-PST.fv c3-c3-door

e) Jennifer combed her hair
   Jennifer áchánuhé lichúune lyéwe
   Jennifer a-chanuh-e li-chuune li-ewe
   Jennifer SM.c1-comb-PST.fv c5-hair c5-her

A3. The event or situation occurred two days ago (if the sentences are same those in (A1/A2), say ‘same as above’) This could be the same as yesterday’s past, but can also be expressed as simple past depending on whether the speaker perceives the events as being more recent or further away (a kind of half-empty or half-full glass scenario).

a) Jack moulded a clay pot
   Jack áhúmba ényungu
   Jack a-a-bumb-a e-nyungu
   Jack SM.c1-PST-mould-fv c9-pot

b) Mavuto went to the Market
   Mavuto áchá khúsoko
   Mavuto a-a-ch-a khu-soko
   Mavuto SM.c1-PST-go-fv c17-market

c) Timothy insulted the man
   Timothy ákhóma ómusaa
   Timothy a-a-khom-a o-mu-saani
d) Maureen closed the door
Maureen ékála kumulyango
Maureen a-a-ikaal-a ku-mu-lyango
Maureen SM.c1-PST-close-fv c3-c3-door

e) Jennifer combed her hair
Jennifer áchánuha lichuune lyewe
Jennifer a-chanuh-a li-chuune li-ewe
Jennifer SM.c1-PST-comb-fv c5-hair c5-her

A4. The event or situation occurs on a regular basis

a) Jack washes his own dishes/pots
Jack asiinganga chínyungu chyewe ómweene
Jack a-sing-ang-a chi-nyungu chi-ewe o-mu-eene
Jack SM.c1-wash-HAB-fv c10-pot c10-his c1-c1-own

b) Mavuto goes to the Market
Mavuto achichanga khú soko
Mavuto a-ch-ich-ang-a khu-soko
Mavuto SM.c1-go-RED-HAB-fv c17-market

c) Timothy likes the man
Timothy asiimanga ómusaani
Timothy a-khom-ang-a o-mu-saani
Timothy SM.c1-insult-HAB-fv c1-c1-man

d) Maureen rides a bicycle
Maureen atimyangá éndiká
Maureen a-tim-y-ang-a e-ndika
Maureen SM.c1-ride-CAUS-HAB-fv c9-bicycle

e) Jennifer draws pictures
Jennifer achoranga chipícha
Jennifer a-chor-ang-a chi-pícha
Jennifer SM.c1-draw-HAB-fv c10-pictures

A5. The event or situation will occur later today

a) Jack will wash his own dishes/pots
Jack alásiinga chínyungu chyewe ómweene
Jack a-la-sing-a chi-nyungu chi-ewe o-mu-eene
Jack SM.c1-FUT-wash-fv c10-pot c10-his c1-c1-own

b) Mavuto will go to the Market
Mavuto alácha khusóko
Mavuto a-la-ch-a khu-soko
Mavuto SM.c1-FUT-go-fv c17-market

c) Timothy will insult the man
A6. The event or situation will occur tomorrow

a) Jack will wash his own dishes/pots
   Jack ákhásíinge chínyungu chyewe ómweene
   Jack a-kha-sing-e chi-nyungu chi-ewe o-mu-ene
   Jack SM.c1-FUT-wash-fv c10-pot c10-his c1-c1-own

b) Mavuto will go to the Market
   Mavuto ákháche khusóko
   Mavuto a-kha-ch-e khu-soko
   Mavuto SM.c1-FUT-go-fv c17-market

c) Timothy will insult the man
   Timothy ákhákhoma ómusaaeni
   Timothy a-kha-khom-e o-mu-saani
   Timothy SM.c1-FUT-insult-fv c1-c1-man

d) Maureen will ride a bicycle
   Maureen alákhoma ómusaaeni
   Maureen a-la-khom-a o-mu-saani
   Maureen SM.c1-FUT-insult-fv c1-c1-man

e) Jennifer will draw pictures
   Jennifer aláchora chipicha
   Jennifer a-la-chor-a chi-picha
   Jennifer SM.c1-FUT-draw-fv c10-pictures

A7. The event or situation will occur the day after tomorrow. Same as A6

a) Jack will wash his own dishes
b) Mavuto will go to the Market
c) Timothy will insult the man
d) Maureen will ride a bicycle
e) Jennifer will draw pictures

A8. The event or situation is currently ongoing
a) Jack is washing his own dishes
Jack ali khasiinga chinyungu chyewe ómweene
Jack a-li a-kha-sing-a chi-nyungu chi-ewe o-mu-eene
Jack SM.c1-be SM.c1-FUT-wash-fv c10-pot c10-his c1-c1-own

b) Mavuto is going to the Market
Mavuto ali khacha khusoko
Mavuto a-li a-kha-ch-a khu-soko
Mavuto SM.c1-be SM.c1-FUT-go-fv c17-market

c) Timothy is speaking to the man
Timothy ali khaloma noómusaani
Timothy a-li a-kha-khom-a o-mu-saani
Timothy SM.c1-be SM.c1-FUT-insult-fv c1-c1-man

d) Maureen is riding a bicycle
Maureen ali khatimya endika
Maureen a-li a-kha-ikaal-a ku-mu-lyango
Maureen SM.c1-be SM.c1-FUT-close-fv c3-c3-door

e) Jennifer is drawing pictures
Jennifer ali khachora chipicha
Jennifer a-li a-kha-chor-a chi-picha
Jennifer SM.c1-be SM.c1-FUT-draw-fv c10-pictures

* If your language has other forms of marking future time over and above those indicated in A6 – A8, please indicate and provide examples following the pattern above.

a) Jack will wash his own dishes
Jack áli siinga chinyungu chyewe ómwéene
Jack a-li-siing-a chi-nyungu chi-ewe o-mu-eene
Jack SM.c1-FUT-wash c10-pot c10-his c1-c1-own

b) Mavuto will go to the Market
Mavuto áli ch-a khu-soko
Mavuto a-li-ch-a khu-soko
Mavuto SM.c1-FUT-go-fv c17-market

c) Timothy will speak to the man
Timothy álìloma noómusaani
Timothy a-li-khom-a o-mu-saani
Timothy SM.c1-FUT-insult-fv c1-c1-man

d) Maureen will ride a bicycle
Maureen álìtimya endika
Maureen a-li-tim-y-a e-ndika
Maureen SM.c1-FUT-ride-CAUS-fv c9-bicycle

e) Jennifer will draw pictures
Jennifer a-li-chora chipicha
Jennifer a-li-chora a-chi-picha
Jennifer SM.c1-FUT-draw-fv c10-picture

B1. The event or situation occurred today (assume the information in brackets is true at the time of speaking. The bracketed reading is available, but is not the only one. It is also possible that the effect of the action has ended at the time of the utterance.

a) Jack moulded a clay pot (The pot still exists)
   Jack abumbile enyungu
   Jack a-bumb-il-e e-nyungu
   Jack SM.c1-mould-PST-fv c9-pot

b) Mavuto went to the Market (Mavuto is at the market)
   Mavuto achile khusoko
   Mavuto a-ch-il-e khu-soko
   Mavuto SM.c1-go-PST-fv c17-market

c) Timothy insulted the man (The man is angry)
   Timothy akhomile ómusaaní
   Timothy a-khom-il-e o-mu-ndu
   Timothy SM.c1-insult-PST-fv c1-c1-person

d) Maureen closed the door (The door is closed)
   Maureen ekaale kumulyango
   Maureen a-ikaal-e ku-mu-lyango
   Maureen SM.c1-close-PST-fv c3-c3-door

e) Jennifer combed her hair (The hair looks kempt)
   Jennifer achanuhé li-chuune li-ewe
   Jennifer SM.c1-comb-PST.fv c5-hair c5-her

B2. The event or situation occurred today (assume the information in brackets is true at the time of speaking. Note: if the sentences are same those in (B1), say ‘same as above’)

a) Jack moulded a clay pot (the pot is broken)
   Jack abele abumbile enyungu
   Jack a-b-el-e a-bumb-il-e e-nyungu
   Jack M.c1-be-PST-fv SSM.c1-mould-PST-fv c9-pot

b) Mavuto went to the Market (Mavuto has returned from the market or gone to another place)
   Mavuto abele achile khusoko
   Mavuto a-b-el-e a-ch-il-e khu-soko
   Mavuto SM.c1-be-PST-fv SM.c1-go-PST-fv c17-market
c) Timothy insulted the man (*Timothy has since apologized and the man has forgiven him*)
   Timothy abele akholile omusaani
   Timothy a-b-el-e a-khom-il-e o-mu-ndu
   Timothy SM.c1-be-PST-fv SM.c1-insult-PST-fv c1-c1-person

d) Maureen closed the door (*The door is open*)
   Maureen abele ekale kumuliango
   Maureen a-b-el-e a-ikaal-e ku-mu-lyango
   Maureen SM.c1-be-PST-fv SM.c1-close-PST.fv c3-c3-door

e) Jennifer combed her hair (*The hair is dishevelled*)
   Jennifer abele achanuhe lichune
   Jennifer a-b-el-e a-chanuh-e li-chuune li-ewe
   Jennifer SM.c1-be-PST-fv SM.c1-comb-PST.fv c5-hair c5-her

B3. The event or situation occurred yesterday (assume the information in brackets is true at the time of speaking. *Same as A1.*

a) Jack moulded a clay pot (*The pot still exists*)
b) Mavuto went to the Market (*Mavuto is at the market*)
c) Timothy insulted the man (*The man is angry*)
d) Maureen closed the door (*The door is closed*)
e) Jennifer combed her hair (*The hair looks kempt*)

B4. The event or situation occurred yesterday (assume the information in brackets is true at the time of speaking. Note: if the sentences are same those in (B3), say ‘same as above’)

a) Jack moulded a clay pot (*the pot is broken*)
   Jack ábéle ábumbile enyungu
   Jack a-b-el-e a-bumb-il-e e-nyungu
   Jack M.c1-be-PST-fv SSM.c1-mould-PST-fv c9-pot

b) Mavuto went to the Market (*Mavuto has returned from the market or gone to another place*)
   Mavuto ábéle áchile khusoko
   Mavuto a-b-el-e a-ch-il-e khu-soko
   Mavuto SM.c1-be-PST-fv SM.c1-go-PST-fv c17-market

c) Timothy insulted the man (*Timothy has since apologized and the man has forgiven him*)
   Timothy abele akholile omusaani
   Timothy a-b-el-e a-khom-il-e o-mu-ndu
   Timothy SM.c1-be-PST-fv SM.c1-insult-PST-fv c1-c1-person

d) Maureen closed the door (*The door is open*)
   Maureen abele ékale kumuliango
   Maureen a-b-el-e a-ikaal-e ku-mu-lyango
   Maureen SM.c1-be-PST-fv SM.c1-close-PST.fv c3-c3-door
e) Jennifer combed her hair  *(The hair is dishevelled)*  
   Jennifer ábále áchánuha lichune  
   Jennifer a-b-el-e a-chanuh-e li-chuune li-ewe  
   Jennifer SM.c1-be-PST-fv SM.c1-comb-PST.fv c5-hair c5-her  

B5. The event or situation occurred the day before yesterday (assume the information in brackets is true at the time of speaking. Note: if the sentences are same those in B3/B4, say ‘same as above’). **Same as A3**  
a) Jack moulded a clay pot *(the pot still exists)*  
   Jack ábá ábúmba enyungu  
   Jack a-b-a a-bumb-a e-nyungu  
   Jack SM.c1-be-fv SM.c1-PST-mould-fv c9-pot  

b) Mavuto went to the Market *(Mavuto is at the market)*  
   Mavuto ábá áchá khusoko  
   Mavuto a-b-a a-a-ch-a khu-soko  
   Mavuto SM.c1-be-fv SM.c1-PST-go-fv c17-market  

c) Timothy insulted the man *(The man is angry)*  
   Timothy ábá ákhóma ómusani  
   Timothy a-b-a a-a-khom-a o-mu-saani  
   Timothy SM.c1-be-fv SM.c1-PST-insult-fv c1-c1-man  

d) Maureen closed the door *(The door is closed)*  
   Maureen ábá ékála kumulyango  
   Maureen a-b-a a-a-ikaal-a ku-mu-lyango  
   Maureen SM.c1-be-fv SM.c1-PST-close-fv c3-c3-door  

e) Jennifer combed her hair *(The hair looks kempt)*  
   Jennifer ábále áchánuha lichune lyewé  
   Jennifer a-b-el-e a-chanuh-e li-chuune li-ewe  
   Jennifer SM.c1-be-fv SM.c1-PST-comb-fv c5-hair c5-her  

* If your language has other forms of marking past situations over and above those indicated in B1 – B6, please indicate and provide examples following the pattern above. **Not there.**  

C1. Using the same verb forms you chose for A1 state if it is possible to say that the event took place yesterday or the day before yesterday.  
a) Jack moulded a clay pot yesterday/the day before yesterday  
   Jack ahumbile enyungu ?ilikoloba/*lichonekha
Jack moulded a clay pot yesterday/the day before yesterday

b) Mavuto went to the Market
Mavuto achile khusoko ?!likoloba/*lichonekha
Mavuto SM.c1-go-PST-fv c17-market yesterday/the day before yesterday

c) Timothy insulted the man yesterday/the day before yesterday
Timothy akhomile omundu ?!likoloba/*lichonekha
Timothy SM.c1-insult-PST-fv c1-c1-person yesterday/the day before yesterday

d) Maureen closed the door yesterday/the day before yesterday
Maureen ekaale kumulyango ?!likoloba/*lichonekha
Maureen SM.c1-close-PST-fv c3-c3-door yesterday/the day before yesterday

e) Jennifer combed her hair yesterday/the day before yesterday
Jennifer achanuhe lichuune lyewe ?!likoloba/*lichonekha
Jennifer SM.c1-comb-PST-fv c5-hair c5-her yesterday/the day before yesterday

C2. Using the same verb forms you chose for A2 and A3 state if it is possible to say that the event took place today.

a) Jack moulded a clay pot today
Jack ábumbilé enyungu *luno
Jack SM.c1-mould-PST-fv c9-pot today

b) Mavuto went to the Market today
Mavuto áchilé khúsoko *luno
Mavuto SM.c1-go-PST-fv c17-market today

c) Timothy insulted the man today
Timothy ákhomilé omundu *luno
Timothy SM.c1-insult-PST-fv c1-c1-person today

d) Maureen closed the door today
Maureen ékáalé kumúlyango *luno
Maureen SM.c1-close-PST-fv c3-c3-door today

e) Jennifer combed her hair today
Jennifer áchanuhé lichúune lyéwe *luno
Jennifer SM.c1-comb-PST-fv c5-hair c5-her today
a) Jack moulded a clay pot today
   Jack ābūmba ēnyungu *luno
   Jack a-a-bumb-a ē-nyungu luno
   Jack SM.c1-PST-mould-fv c9-pot today

b) Mavuto went to the Market today
   Mavuto áchá khúsoko *luno
   Mavuto a-a-ch-a khu-soko luno
   Mavuto SM.c1-PST-go-fv c17-market today

c) Timothy insulted the man today
   Timothy ákhóma omusááni *luno
   Timothy a-khom-a o-mu-saani luno
   Timothy SM.c1-PST-insult-fv c1-c1-person today

d) Maureen closed the door today
   Maureen ēkāla kumulyango *luno
   Maureen a-a-ikaal-a ku-mu-lyango luno
   Maureen SM.c1-PST-close-fv c3-c3-door today

e) Jennifer combed her hair today
   Jennifer áchánuha lichuune *luno
   Jennifer a-a-chanuh-a li-chuune li-ewe luno
   Jennifer SM.c1-PST-comb-fv c5-hair c5-her today

C3. Using the same verb forms you chose for A5 state if it is possible to say that the event occurred tomorrow/the day after/next week.

a) Jack will wash his own dishes/pots
   Jack alásíinga chínyungu chyewe ómweene ?muchuli/?*busyayo/?*lichuma licha
   Jack a-la-siing-a chi-nyungu chi-ewe o-mu-eene muchuli/ busyayo/lichuma licha
   Jack SM.c1-FUT-wash-fv c10-pot c10-his c1-c1-own tomorrow/day aft. tomor/nxt wk

b) Mavuto will go to the Market
   Mavuto alácha khusóko ?muchuli/?*busyayo/?*lichuma licha
   Mavuto a-la-ch-a khu-soko muchuli/ busyayo/lichuma licha
   Mavuto SM.c1-FUT-go-fv c17-market tomorrow/the day after tomorrow/next week

c) Timothy will insult the man
   Timothy alákhome omusaani ?muchuli/?*busyayo/?*lichuma licha
   Timothy a-la-khom-a o-mu-saani muchuli/ busyayo/lichuma licha
   Timothy SM.c1-FUT-insult-fv c1-c1-man tomorrow/the day after tomorrow/next week

d) Maureen will ride a bicycle
   Maureen alátimyá ēndiká ?muchuli/?*busyayo/?*lichuma licha
   Maureen a-la-tim-y-a e-ndika muchuli/ busyayo/lichuma licha
   Maureen SM.c1-FUT-ride-CAUS-fv c9-bicycle tomorrow/the day after tomorrow/next week

e) Jennifer will draw pictures
C4. Using the same verb forms you chose for A6 and A7 state if it is possible to say that the event took place today.

a) Jack will wash his own dishes/pots
   Jack ákhásíinge chinyungu chyewe ómweene *luno
   Jack a-kha-siing-e chi-nyungu chi-ewe o-mu-eene luno
   Jack SM.c1-FUT-wash-fv c10-pot c10-his c1-c1-own today

b) Mavuto will go to the Market
   Mavuto ákháche khusóko *luno
   Mavuto a-kha-ch-e khu-soko luno
   Mavuto SM.c1-FUT-go-fv c17-market today

c) Timothy will insult the man
   Timothy ákhákhome ómusaani *luno
   Timothy a-kha-khom-e o-mu-saani
   Timothy SM.c1-FUT-insult-fv c1-c1-man today

d) Maureen will ride a bicycle
   Maureen ákhátimye éndíká *luno
   Maureen a-kha-tim-y-e e-ndika luno
   Maureen SM.c1-FUT-ride-CAUS-fv c9-bicycle today

e) Jennifer will draw pictures
   Jennifer ákháchore chípicha *luno
   Jennifer a-kha-chor-e chi-picha luno
   Jennifer SM.c1-FUT-draw-fv c10-picture today