

Questionnaire on Tense and Aspect in African Languages

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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); and (iv) 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 latinized 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 wa \exists no \exists la \exists mko \cong ndo \exists
Khuzwayo w-a-nol-a mkondo
Khuzwayo SM.C1-PST-sharpen-fv 3.spear
'Khuzwayo sharpened the spear'
- 1b) Khuzwayo e \exists nze \exists wa \cong no \cong la \exists mko \cong ndo \exists
Khuzwayo \emptyset -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: __Fe'efe'e_____

The Fe'efe'e alphabet follows the prescriptions of the General Alphabet of Cameroonian Languages (GACL) (see Tadadjeu & Sadembouo1984). Therefore, the following correspondences will be considered as represented in the following table.

Phonetic representation	Orthographic representation
ɒɒ	ɑ
ɒ	ɑ
ɛ, e	e
ɣ	gh
tʃ	c
ʃ	sh
ʔ	'

dʒ	j
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The low tone is not marked. Syllabic nasals bear a mid tone.

A1. The event or situation occurred today (P1)

- a) Siānī fh̄mbōō ø-le'.
Siānī fh̄-mbōō ø-le'
Siānī PST1-mould C3-clay pot
“Siāni moulded a clay pot.”
- b) Tũko fh̄ngén ntēē
Tũko fh̄-ngén ø-ntēē
Tũko PST1-go market
Tũko went to the market
- c) Pěnē fh̄ndōk mbā' lá.
Pěnē fh̄-ndōk mbā' lá
Pěnē PST1-insult man ADV
“Pěnē insulted the man.”
- d) Éncō fh̄nzh̄ā' nzhind̄ā
Éncō fh̄-nzh̄ā' ø-nzhind̄ā
Éncō PST1-close C3-door
“Éncō closed the door.”
- e) Gh̄siē fh̄nkō' tū ī.
Gh̄siē fh̄-nkō' tū ī.
Gh̄siē PST1-comb her her.
“Gh̄siē combed her hair.”

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

The morphemes **ka** or **la**, **da** for the first person singular) could be used here to express the same time event.

- a) Siānī ka-póo ø-le'
Siānī kà-póo ø-le'
Siānī PST2-mould C3-clay pot
“Siāni moulded a clay pot.”
- b) Tũko ka-ghén ntē.

Tũko kα-ghén ø-ntēē
Tũko PST2-go market
“Tũko went to the market.”

- c) Pěnē kalók mbā' lá
Pěnē kα-lók mbā' lá
Pěnē PST2-insult man ADV
“Pěnē insulted the man.”
- d) Éncē kαzhūá' nzhindūā
Éncē kα-zhūá' ø-nzhindūā
Éncē PST2-close C-door
“Éncē closed the door.”
- e) Ghǎsiē kαkó' tū ī.
Ghǎsiē kαkó' tū ī.
Ghǎsiē PST2-comb her her.
“Ghǎsiē combed her hair.”

A3. The event or situation occurred two days ago (if the sentences are identical to those in (A2), say ‘same as above’)

Same as above (A2).

The morphemes **kα** or **lα** (dα for the first person singular) could be used here to express the same time event.

a) Siānī kαpóó ø-le'
Siānī kα-póó ø-le'
Siānī PST2-mould C3-clay pot
“Siānī moulded a clay pot.”

b) Tũko kαghén ntēē
Tũko kα-ghén ø-ntēē
Tũko PST2-go market
“Tũko went to the market.”

c) Pěnē kalók mbā' lá
Pěnē kα-lók mbā' lá
Pěnē PST2-insult man FOC

“Pĕnĕ insulted the man.”

d) Éncĕ kαzhūá' nzhindūā
Éncĕ kα-zhūá' ø-nzhindūā
Éncĕ PST2-close C-door
“Éncĕ closed the door.”

e) Ghăsiĕ kαkó' tū ī.
Ghăsiĕ kαkó' tū ī.
Ghăsiĕ PST2-comb her her.
“Ghăsiĕ combed her hair.”

A4. The event or situation occurs on a regular basis (P3)

This morpheme is lǎ' or dá'. Dǎ' is only used for the first person singular.

a) Siānī lǎ'mbōō ø-le'.
Siānī lǎ'mbōō ø-le'
Siānī PST3-mould C3-clay pot
“Siānī moulded a clay pot.”

f) Tŭko lǎ'ngén ntĕē
Tŭko lǎ'ngén ø-ntĕē
Tŭko PST3-go market
“Tŭko went to the market.”

g) Pĕnĕ lǎ'ndōk mbā' lǎ
Pĕnĕ lǎ'ndōk mbā' lǎ
Pĕnĕ PST3-insult man FOC
“Pĕnĕ insulted the man.”

h) Éncĕ lǎ'nzhūā' nzhindūā
Éncĕ lǎ'nzhūā' ø-nzhindūā
Éncĕ PST3-close C-door
“Éncĕ closed the door.”

i) Ghăsiĕ lǎ'nkō' tū ī.
Ghăsiĕ lǎ'nkō' tū ī.
Ghăsiĕ PST3-comb her her.
“Ghăsiĕ combed her hair.”

Another past tense is marked in Fe'efe'e.

(P0) It corresponds to the past of a few hours or minutes. It is marked by the zero (\emptyset) morpheme.

- a) Siānī \emptyset -pōō \emptyset -le'.
Siānī \emptyset -pōō \emptyset -le'
Siānī PST0-mould C3-clay pot
“Siānī moulded a clay pot.”
- b) Tūko \emptyset -ghēn ntēē
Tūko \emptyset -ghén \emptyset -ntēē
Tūko PST0-go market
“Tūko went to the market.”
- c) Pěnē \emptyset -lōk mbā' lá
Pěnē \emptyset -ōk mbā' lá
Pěnē PST0-insult man FOC
“Pěnē insulted the man.”
- d) Éncō \emptyset -zhā' nzhindā
Éncō \emptyset -zhā' \emptyset -nzhindā
Éncō PST0-close C-door
“Éncō closed the door.”
- e) Ghǎsiē \emptyset -kó' tū ī.
Ghǎsiē \emptyset -kó' tū ī.
Ghǎsiē PST0-comb her her.
“Ghǎsiē combed her hair.”

Past of one year (P2). It is marked by the “ $d\alpha$ ” for the first person singular and “ $l\alpha$ ” a morpheme or $k\alpha$.

- a) Siānī $l\alpha$ pōō \emptyset -le'.
Siānī $l\alpha$ pōō \emptyset -le'
Siānī PST2-mould C3-clay pot
“Siānī moulded a clay pot.”
- b) Tūko $l\alpha$ ghén ntēē
Tūko $l\alpha$ -ghén \emptyset -ntēē
Tūko PST2-go market
“Tūko went to the market.”
- c) Pěnē $l\alpha$ lók mbā' lá
Pěnē $l\alpha$ -lók mbā' lá

Pě̃nē PST2-insult man ADV

“Pě̃nē insulted the man.”

- d) É̃ncō lαzhū̃ā' nzhindū̃ā
É̃ncō lα-zhū̃ā' ø-nzhindū̃ā
É̃ncō PST2-close C-door
“É̃ncō closed the door.”

- e) Ghǎsiē lǎ'-n̄kō' tū̃ ī.
Ghǎsiē lǎ'-n̄kō' tū̃ ī.
Ghǎsiē PST2-comb her her.
“Ghǎsiē combed her hair.”

Far Past (P4) This past is marked by lǎlǎ' for the first person singular or lǎlǎ'.

- a) Siānī lǎlǎ' mbōō ø-le'.
Siānī lǎlǎ' mbōō ø-le'
Siānī PST4-mould C3-clay pot
“Siānī moulded a clay pot.”
- b) Tū̃ko lǎlǎ' ngén ntēē
Tū̃ko lǎlǎ'-ngén ø-ntēē
Tū̃ko PST4-go market
“Tū̃ko went to the market.”
- c) Pě̃nē lǎlǎ'-ndōk mbā' lǎ
Pě̃nē lǎlǎ'-ndōk mbā' lǎ
Pě̃nē PST4-insult man FOC
“Pě̃nē insulted the man.”
- d) É̃ncō lǎlǎ'-n̄zhū̃ā' nzhindū̃ā
É̃ncō lǎlǎ'-n̄zhū̃ā' ø-nzhindū̃ā
É̃ncō PST4-close C-door
“É̃ncō closed the door.”
- e) Ghǎsiē lǎlǎ'-n̄kō' tū̃ ī.
Ghǎsiē lǎlǎ'-n̄kō' tū̃ ī.
Ghǎsiē PST4-comb head her.
“Ghǎsiē combed her hair.”

A5. The event or situation is currently ongoing

- a) Siānī m̄nsōh nkā' mǐ .
Siānī m̄-nsōh nka' mǐ
Siānī PROG-wash dish her
“Siānī is ashing her own dishes.”
- b) Tūko m̄ngén ntēē
Tūko m̄-ngén ø-ntēē
Tūko PROG-go market
“Tūko is going to the market.”
- c) Pěnē m̄ngō nǔ mbí mbā' lǎ.
Pěnē m̄-ngō nǔ mbí mbā' lǎ
Pěnē PROG-insult man ADV
“Pěnē speaking to the man.”
- d) Éncō m̄mfák kwā'.
Éncō m̄-mfák kwā'
Éncō PROG-ride bicycle
“Éncō is riding the bicycle.”
- e) Ghǎsiē m̄ndáh nini.
Ghǎsiē m̄-ndáh nini
Ghǎsiē PROG-draw picture.
“Ghǎsiē is drawing pictures.”

A6. The event or situation will occur later today

- a) Siānī īnsóh kwǎ' nkā' mǐ.
Siānī i-nsóh kwǎ' ø-nkā' mǐ.
Siānī FUT0-washown C4-dish her
“Siānī will wash her own dishes.”
- b) Tūko ingén ntē.
Tūko i-ngén ø-ntēē
Tūko FUT0-go market
“Tūko will go to the market.”
- c) Pěnē īndōk mbā' lǎ

Pěně i-ndōk mbā' ló
Pěně FUT0-insult man ADV
“Pěně will insult the man.”

- d) Éncō iṁfák kwā'.
Éncō i-ṁfák kwā'
Éncō FUT0-ride bicycle
“Éncō will ride a bicycle.”
- e) Ghěsiē iṁdáh nini.
Ghěsiē i-ṁdáh nini
Ghěsiē FUT0-drawpictures
“Ghěsiē will draw pictures.”

A7. The event or situation will occur tomorrow (if the sentences are identical to those in (A6), say ‘same as above’).

Same as above (A6)

- a) Siānī iṁsóh kwα' nkā' mǐ.
Siānī i-ṁsóh kwα' ø-nkā' mǐ.
Siānī FUT0-washown C4-dish her
“Siānī will wash her own dishes.”
- f) Tǔko ingén ntē.
Tǔko i-ngén ø-ntēē
Tǔko FUT0-go market
“Tǔko will go to the market.”
- g) Pěně iṁdōk mbā' ló
Pěně i-ṁdōk mbā' ló
Pěně FUT0-insult man ADV
“Pěně will insult the man.”
- h) Éncō iṁfák kwā'.
Éncō i-ṁfák kwā'
Éncō FUT0-ride bicycle
“Éncō will ride a bicycle.”
- i) Ghěsiē iṁdáh nini.
Ghěsiē i-ṁdáh nini
Ghěsiē FUT0-drawpictures

“Ghǎsiē will draw pictures.”

A8. The event or situation will occur the day after tomorrow (if the sentences are identical to those in (A7),

Same as above

A8”. The event or situation will occur far in the future (one year and above)

This tense is either marked by the *indǎ’ or kǎlǎ’*

a) Siānī indǎ’ kwǎ’ yi nkā’.

Siānī indǎ’-n̄sōh kwǎ’ yi ø-nkā’

Siānī FUT0-wash own his C4-dish

“Siānī his own dishes.”

b) Tǔko indǎ’ngén ntēe.

Tǔko indǎ’-ngén ø-ntēe

Tǔko FUT1-go market

“Tǔko went to the market.”

c) Pěnē indǎ’ndōk mbā’ lǎ

Pěnē indǎ’-ndōk mbā’ lǎ

Pěnē FUT1-insult man FOC

“Pěnē insulted the man.”

d) Éncǎ indǎ’mfák kwā’

Éncǎ indǎ’mfák kwā’

Éncǎ FUT1-close C-door

“Éncǎ closed the door.”

e) Ghǎsiē indǎ’ndáh nini.

Ghǎsiē indǎ’-ndáh nini

Ghǎsiē FUT1-comb her her.

“Ghǎsiē combed her hair.”

A9. The event or situation was ongoing at the said time

a) Siānī fhǎ mbā m̄nsōh nkā’ ntiē’ pǎh fhǎnkwēn lǎ.

Siānī fhǎ-mbā m̄-n̄sōh nkā’ ntiē’ pǎh fhǎ-nkwēn lǎ

Siānī PST1 be PROG-wash plate time we PST1-arrive ADV

“Siānī was washing dishes when we arrived.”

b) Tũko fhũ mbã mængén mǎ ntē ntié' pǎh fhũ njĩ nĩ lǎ
 Tũko fhũ-mbã mǎ-ngén mǎ ntēē ntié' pǎh fhũ-njĩ nĩ lǎ
 Tũko PST1- be PROG-go that market time we PST1-see him ADV
 "Tũko was going to the market when we met him."

c) Pěně fhũ mbã mængǎ nũ mbĩ mbã' lǎ ntié' ntié' Lónĩ fhũ-lǎ
 Pěně fhũ mbã mǎ-ngǎ nũ mbĩ mbã' lǎ ntié' Lónĩ fhũ-shúǎ lǎ
 Pěně PST1- be PROG-speak thing to man ADV time Lónĩ PST1-go ADV
 "Pěně was speaking to the man when Sam left."

d) Éncǎ fhũ mbã mǎmfák kwǎ' ntié' pǎh fhũ-njĩ nĩ lǎ
 Éncǎ fhũ-mbã mǎ-mfák kwǎ' ntié' pǎh fhũ-njĩ nĩ lǎ
 Éncǎ PST1-be PROG-door bicycle time we PST1-see him ADV
 "Éncǎ was riding a bicycle when we saw her."

e) Ghǎsiē kǎ bǎ mǎndáh nini ntǎ pǎh sǎ'.
 Ghǎsiē kǎ bǎ mǎ-ndáh nini ntǎ pǎh sǎ'.
 Ghǎsiē PST2-be PROG-take picture before we come
 "Ghǎsiē was drawing pictures before we arrived."

A10. The event or situation had just come to pass at the said time

a) Siǎnĩ fhũ njǎt tǎ mbã mǎnsoh nkǎ' ntié' pǎh fhũ-ñkwēn lǎ.
 Siǎnĩ fhũ-njǎt tǎ mbã mǎ-nsoh ø-nkǎ' ntié' pǎh fhũ-ñkwēn lǎ
 Siǎnĩ PST1-remain just be PROG-wash C4-dish time we P0-arrive ADV
 "Siǎnĩ had just washed the dishes when we arrived."

b) Tũko fhũ njǎt tǎ mbã mængén ntē ntié' pǎh fhũ-ñdō lǎ
 Tũko fhũ-njǎt tǎ mbã mǎ-ngén ntēē ntié' pǎh fhũ-ñdō lǎ
 Tũko PST1- just just be PROG-go market time we PST1-leave ADV
 "Tũko had gone to the market when we left."

c) Pěně lǎlǎ'-ngǎ nũ mbĩ mbã' lǎ mfǎhznǎ lǎ.
 Pěně lǎlǎ'-ngǎ nũ mbĩ mbã' lǎ mfǎhznǎ lǎ
 Pěně PST1-speak think to man ADV morning that
 "Pěně had spoken to the man that morning."

d) Éncǎ lǎlǎ' mfák kwǎ' ŋũ tǎǎ
 Éncǎ lǎlǎ' mfák kwǎ' month three
 Éncǎ PST4-close drive bicycle month three

“Éncē had ridden a bicycle for three months.”

e) Ghěsiē kəláh nini ntā pəh sǎʔ.

Ghěsiē kə-láh nini ntā pəh sǎʔ.

Ghěsiē PST2-take picture before we come

“Ghěsiē had drawn pictures before we arrive.”

A11. The event or situation will be ongoing at the said time

a) Siānī ìmbā mənsoh ndhī zǐ ntiēʔ pǎh ìnkwēn lá.

Siānī ì-mbā mən-soh ø-ndhī zǐ ntiēʔ pǎh ì-ñkwēn lá

Siānī FUT0-be PROG-wash C6-clothes his time we FUT0-arrive ADV

“Siānī will be washing his clothes when we arrive home.”

b) Tǔko ìmbā mǎngén mǎ ntē mfǎhnzǎ.

Tǔko ì-mbā mǎ-ngén mǎ ntē mfǎhnzǎ

Tǔko FUT0- be PROG-go that market morning

“Tǔko will be going to the market in the morning.”

c) Pěné ì-mbā-mǎ-ñgǎ nǔ mbí mbāʔ lá lah ntōʔ wáha.

Pěné ì-mbā mǎ-ñgǎ nǔ mbí mbāʔ lá lah ntōʔ wáha.

Pěné FUT0-be PROG-speak thing to man ADV for begin tomorrow

“Pěné will be speaking to the man starting tomorrow.”

d) Éncē ìmbā mǎmfák tǎʔ kwāʔ lah ntōʔ ngǎǎ lǐʔ.

Éncē ì-mbā mǎ-mfák tǎʔ kwāʔ lah ntōʔ ngǎǎ lǐʔ

Éncē FUT0-close PROG-door a bicycle to begin week next

“Éncē will be riding a bicycle from next week.”

e) Ghěsiē ì-mbá mǎndáh nini tǎ o pǎtnjam.

Ghěsiē ì-mbá mǎ-ndáh nini tǎ o pǎtnjam.

Ghěsiē F0-be PROG-take picture until you return

“Ghěsiē will be drawing pictures until you return.”

B1. The event or situation occurred today (assume the information in brackets to be true at the time of speaking).

a) Siānī fhǎ-mbōō ø-leʔ

Siānī fhǎ-mbōō ø-leʔ

Siānī PST1-mould C3-clay pot

“Siānī moulded a clay pot (*The pot still exists*).”

b) Tũko fhũngén mα ntē.
Tũko fhũ-ŋgén mα ø-ntēē
Tũko PST1-go to market

“Tũko went to the market (*Mavuto is at the market*).”

c) Pěně fhũndōk mbā' ló
Pěně fhũ-ndōk mbā' ló
Pěně PST1-insult man FOC
“Pěně insulted the man (*The man is angry*)”

d) Éncō fhũ-ŋzhũā' nzhindũā
Éncō fhũ-ŋzhũā' ø-nzhindũā
Éncō PST1-close C3-door
“Éncō closed the door (*The door is closed*)”

e) Ghǎsiē fhũkó' tũ ī.
Ghǎsiē fhũ-kó' tũ ī.
Ghǎsiē PST1-comb her her.
“Ghǎsiē combed her hair (*The hair looks kempt*).”

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

Sentences identical to those in (B1).

- a) Jack moulded a clay pot (*the pot is broken*)
- b) Mavuto went to the market (*Mavuto has since returned from the market or gone to another place*)
- c) Timothy insulted the man (*Timothy has since apologized and the man has forgiven him*)
- d) Maureen closed the door (*The door is open*)
- e) Jennifer combed her hair (*The hair is dishevelled*)

B3. The event or situation occurred yesterday (assume the information in brackets is true at the time of speaking. Note: if the sentences are identical to those in (B1/B2), say ‘same as above’).

a) Siānī kαpóo ø-le'
Siānī kà-póo ø-le'
Siānī PST1-mould C3-clay pot

“Siāni moulded a clay pot (*The pot still exists*).”

b) Tũko kαghén ntē.

Tũko kα-ghén ø-ntēē

Tũko PST1-go market

“Tũko went to the market (*Mavuto is at the market*).”

c) Pěnē kalók mbā' lǎ.

Pěnē kα-lók mbā' lǎ

Pěnē PST1-insult man ADV

“Pěnē insulted the man (*The man is angry*).”

d) Éncē kαzhūá' nzhindūā

Éncē kα-zhūá' ø-nzhindūā

Éncē P1-close C3-door

“Éncē closed the door (*The door is closed*).”

e) Ghǎsiē kαkó' tū ī.

Ghǎsiē kα-kó' tū ī.

Ghǎsiē PST1-comb her her.

“Ghǎsiē 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’)

Same as in (B3)

a) Jack moulded a clay pot (*the pot is broken*)

b) Mavuto went to the market (*Mavuto has returned from the market or gone to another place*).

c) Timothy insulted the man (*Timothy has since apologized and the man has forgiven him*)

d) Maureen closed the door (*The door is open*).

e) Jennifer combed her hair (*The hair is dishevelled*).

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 identical to those in B3/B4, say ‘same as above’).

Same as (B4)

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*)

B6. 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 identical to those in B3/B4, say ‘same as above’).

Same as above

- a) Jack moulded a clay pot (*the pot is broken*)
- b) Mavuto went to the market (*Mavuto has returned from the market or gone to another place*)
- c) Timothy insulted the man (*Timothy has since apologized and the man has forgiven him*)
- d) Maureen closed the door (*The door is open*)
- e) Jennifer combed her hair (*The hair is dishevelled*)

* 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.

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) Siānī kαpóó lḗ wáha/ njamnzǎ wáha
Siānī kα-póó ø-lḗ wáha/ njamnzǎ wáh
Siānī PST1-mould C5-clay pot yesterday the day before yesterday
“Siāni moulded a clay pot yesterday/the day before yesterday.”
- b) Tũko kαghén ntē wáha /njamnzǎ wáha.
Tũko kα-ghén ø-ntēē wáha /njamnzǎ wáha
Tũko PST1-go market yesterday / the day before yesterday
“Tũko went to the market yesterday/the day before yesterday.”
- c) Pěně kαlók mbā́ lǎ wáha/njamnzǎ wáha
Pěně kα-lók mbā́ lǎ wáha / njamnzǎ wáha
Pěně PST1-insult man ADV yesterday /the day before yesterday
“Pěně insulted the man yesterday/the day before yesterday.”
- d) Éncē kαzhūá’ nzhindūā́ wáha/ njamnzǎ wáha
Éncē kα-zhūá’ ø-nzhindūā́ wáha / njamnzǎ wáha
Éncē PST1-close C-door

“Éncē closed the door yesterday/the day before yesterday closed.”

- e) Ghěsiē kαkó' tū ī wáha / njamnzā wáha.
Ghěsiē kα-kó' tū ī wáha / njamnzā wáha.
Ghěsiē PST1-comb her her yesterday /the day before yesterday.
“Ghěsiē combed her hair 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) Siānī pōō le' ze'e
Siānī ø-pōō ø-le' ze'e
Siānī P0-mould C3-clay pot today
“Siānī moulded a clay pot today.”

- b) Tūko ghěn ntē ze'e
Tūko ø-ghěn ø-ntēē ze'e
Tūko PST0-go market today
“Tūko went to the market today.”

- c) Pěnē lōk mbā' lá ze'e
Pěnē ø-lōk mbā' lá ze'e
Pěnē PST0-insult man ADV today
“Pěnē insulted the man today.”

- d) Éncē zhūā' nzhindūā ze'e
Éncē ø-zhūā' ø-nzhindūā ze'e
Éncē PST0-close C-door
“Éncē closed the door today.”

- e) Ghěsiē kō' tū ī.
Ghěsiē ø-kō' tū ī ze'e.
Ghěsiē PST0-comb head her today.
“Ghěsiē combed her hair today.”

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

*a) Siānī mēnsōh kwā' yi nkā' wáha / njamnzā wáha/ ngā lí'.

Siānī mēnsōh kwā' ji nkā' wáha / njamnzā wáha/ ngā lí'.

Siānī PROG-wash own his dishes tomorrow / the day after tomorrow / next week

Note: This sole example is to show that this is ungrammatical in Fe'efe'e. The set of examples falling within (C3) behave alike.

C4. Using the same verb forms you chose for A7 state if it is possible to say that the events will take place today and translate each sentence with the intended meaning in mind.

a) Siānī iñsōh kwɑ' yi nkā' ze'ē.
Siānī i-ñsōh kwɑ' yi nkā' ze'ē
Siānī FUT0-wash own his dishes today
“Siānī will wash his own dishes today.”

b) Tūko ingén ntēē ze'e
Tūko i-ngén ø-ntēē ze'e
Tūko FUT0-go market
“Tūko will go to the market today.”

c) Pěnē iñdōk mbā' lá ze'e
Pěnē i-ñdōk mbā' lá ze'e
Pěnē FUT0-insult man ADV today
“Pěnē will insult the man today.”

d) Éncō iñkō' kwā' ze'e
Éncō i-ñkō' kwā' ze'e
Éncō FUT0-ride bicycle today
“Éncō ride the bicycle today.”

e) Ghěsiē iñdāh ninī ze'e.
Ghěsiē i-ñdāh ninī ze'e.
Ghěsiē FUT0-take pictures today.
“Ghěsiē will draw pictures today.”

Note: **ADV**: read adverbial reinforcer