

Empirical Approaches
to Language Typology



EUROTYP 20-6

Editors

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Tense and Aspect
in the Languages of Europe

edited by
Östen Dahl

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General preface

The present volume is one of a series of nine volumes in which the results of
the European research project “Typology of Languages in Europe” (EURO-
TYP) are published. The initiative for a European project on language typology
came from a proposal jointly submitted to the European Science Foundation
(ESF) by Johannes Bechert (University of Bremen), Claude Buridant (University
of Strasbourg), Martin Harris (University of Salford, now University of Man-
chester) and Paolo Ramat (University of Pavia).

On the basis of this proposal and following consultations with six experts
the Standing Committee for the Humanities of the ESF decided to organize a
workshop (Rome, January 1988), in which this idea was further explored and
developed. The results of this workshop (published by Mouton, 1990) were
sufficiently encouraging for the Standing Committee to appoint a preparatory
committee and entrust it with the tasks of drawing up a preliminary proposal,
of securing interest and participation from a sufficiently large number of schol-
ars and of finding a suitable programme director. The project proposal formu-
lated and sent out by Simon Dik (University of Amsterdam) as chair of this
committee met with very supportive and enthusiastic reactions, so that the
Standing Committee for the Humanities recommended the funding of a plan-
ning stage and the General Assembly of the ESF approved a year zero (1989)
for an ESF Programme in Language Typology.

During this planning phase all major decisions concerning the management
structure and the organisation of the work were taken, i. e., the selection of a
programme director, the selection of nine focal areas around which the research
was to be organized, the selection of a theme coordinator for each theme and
the selection of the advisory committee.

The first task of the programme director was to draw up a definitive project
proposal, which was supplemented with individual proposals for each theme
formulated by the theme coordinators, and this new proposal became the basis
of a decision by the ESF to fund the Programme for a period of five years
(1990–1994).

Language typology is the study of regularities, patterns and limits in cross-
linguistic variation. The major goal of EURO-TYP was to study the patterns
and limits of variation in nine focal areas: pragmatic organization of discourse,
constituent order, subordination and complementation, adverbial construc-
tions, tense and aspect, noun phrase structure, clitics and word prosodic sys-
tems in the languages of Europe. The decision to restrict the investigation to

the languages of Europe was imposed for purely practical and pragmatic reasons. In the course of the project an attempt was made, however, to make as much sense of this restriction as possible, by characterizing the specific features of European languages against the background of non-European languages and by identifying areal phenomena (*Sprachbünde*) within Europe.

More specifically, the goals of the EURO TYP project included the following:

- to contribute to the analysis of the nine domains singled out as focal areas, to assess patterns and limits of cross-linguistic variation and to offer explanations of the patterns observed.
- to bring linguists from various European countries and from different schools or traditions of linguistics together within a major international project on language typology and in doing so create a new basis for future cooperative ventures within the field of linguistics. More than 100 linguists from more than 20 European countries and the United States participated in the project.
- to promote the field of language typology inside and outside of Europe. More specifically, an attempt was made to subject to typological analysis a large number of new aspects and domains of language which were uncharted territory before.
- to provide new insights into the specific properties of European languages and thus contribute to the characterization of Europe as a linguistic area (*Sprachbund*).
- to make a contribution to the methodology and the theoretical foundations of typology by developing new forms of cooperation and by assessing the role of inductive generalization and the role of theory construction in language typology. We had a further, more ambitious goal, namely to make a contribution to linguistic theory by uncovering major patterns of variation across an important subset of languages, by providing a large testing ground for theoretical controversies and by further developing certain theories in connection with a variety of languages.

The results of our work are documented in the nine final volumes:

Pragmatic Organization of Discourse in the Languages of Europe (edited by G. Bernini)

Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe (edited by A. Siewierska)

Subordination and Complementation in the Languages of Europe (edited by N. Vincent)

Actance et Valence dans les langues d'Europe (edited by J. Feuillet)

Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe (edited by J. van der Auwera)

Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe (edited by Ö. Dahl)

Noun Phrase Structure in the Languages of Europe (edited by F. Plank)

Clitics in the Languages of Europe (edited by H. van Riemsdijk)

Word Prosodic Systems in the Languages of Europe (edited by H. van der Hulst)

In addition, the EURO TYP Project led to a large number of related activities and publications, too numerous to be listed here.

At the end of this preface, I would like to express my profound appreciation to all organizations and individuals who made this project possible. First and foremost, I must mention the European Science Foundation, who funded and supported the Programme. More specifically, I would like to express my appreciation to Christoph Mühlberg, Max Sparreboom and Geneviève Schauinger for their constant and efficient support, without which we would not have been able to concentrate on our work. I would, furthermore, like to thank my colleague and assistant, Martin Haspelmath, and indeed all the participants in the Programme for their dedication and hard work. I finally acknowledge with gratitude the crucial role played by Johannes Bechert and Simon Dik in getting this project off the ground. Their illness and untimely deaths deprived us all of two of the project's major instigators.

Berlin, September 1995

Ekkehard König, Programme Director

1 The Future Time Reference Questionnaire

Part 0

[contained mainly practical instructions, omitted here]

Part I

1. (TMAQ:15) Q: What your brother DO if you don't go to see him today, do you think?
A:
He WRITE a letter (to me)
2. (TMAQ:16) Q: What your brother DO when we arrive, do you think? (=What activity will he be engaged in?)
He WRITE letters (=He MANAGE his correspondence)
3. (TMAQ:17) Q: What your brother DO when we arrive, do you think? (=What activity will he be engaged in?)
He WRITE a letter
4. (TMAQ:22) Q: What are you planning to do right now? A:
I WRITE letters (= I MANAGE my correspondence)
5. (TMAQ:23) Q: What are you planning to do right now? A:
I WRITE a letter
6. (TMAQ:24) Neither A nor B can see B's brother. A: What he DO right now, do you think? (=What activity is he engaged in?)
He WRITE letters (I think so because he does that every day at this time)
7. (TMAQ:27) A: My brother has got a new job. He'll start tomorrow. B: What kind of work he DO there?
He WRITE letters
8. (TMAQ:36) It's no use trying to swim in the lake tomorrow
The water BE COLD (then)
9. (TMAQ:79)
If you PUT a stone into this bag, it BREAK
10. (TMAQ:80)
Even if you PUT a stone into this bag, it not BREAK
11. (TMAQ:81) Q: What HAPPEN if I eat this mushroom?
You DIE
12. (TMAQ:82)
(According to the contract) we not WORK tomorrow
13. (TMAQ:103) The boy is expecting a sum of money

- When the boy GET the money, he BUY a present for the girl
14. (TMAQ:104) The boy thinks that he will perhaps get a sum of money
If the boy GET the money, he BUY a present for the girl
15. (TMAQ:105) the speaker knows the boy was expecting money, but he doesn't know if he got it
If the boy GET the money (yesterday), he BUY a present for the girl
16. (TMAQ:106) the speaker knows the boy was expecting money and that he did not get it
If the boy GET the money (yesterday), he BUY a present for the girl
17. (TMAQ:107) Talking to someone who is leaving in a while
When you RETURN, I WRITE this letter(=I FINISH it already at that time)
18. (TMAQ:108) Said as an order by a teacher leaving the classroom
When I RETURN, you WRITE this assignment (=You FINISH it by then)
19. (TMAQ:124) Of the water in a lake which is not visible to the speaker and the hearer
My brother HOPE (right now) that the water BE COLD
20. (TMAQ:125) Uttered as a promise
I PROMISE to COME to you tomorrow
21. (TMAQ:131)
You MUST GO to bed before you GET tired (today)
22. (TMAQ:132)
(Yesterday evening) I GO to bed before my brother COME home
23. (TMAQ:145) Traveller to local:
If you SHOW me the way, I GIVE you money
24. (TMAQ:146) Mother to child:
If you not STOP PLAY with that ball, I TAKE it away
25. (TMAQ:152) Said by a young man
When I GROW old, I BUY a big house
26. My brother is late for dinner.
When he ARRIVE, the food BE cold.
27. Mother to children:
We EAT (alt. HAVE dinner) now!
28. Do you intend to stay here?
No, I LIVE in X-place next year.
29. Talking about the speaker's plans for the evening:
I STAY at home.
30. Talking about the speaker's plans for the evening:
I WORK in the garden.
31. Talking about the speaker's plans for the evening:
I WRITE a letter.
32. Talking about the speaker's plans for the evening:

- I GO to town.
33. Talking about the speaker's plans for the evening:
I GO to bed early.
34. Talking about the speaker's immediate plans:
I STAY at home.
35. Talking about the speaker's immediate plans:
I WORK in the garden.
36. Talking about the speaker's immediate plans:
I WRITE a letter.
37. Talking about the speaker's immediate plans:
I GO to town.
38. Talking about the speaker's immediate plans:
I GO to bed.
39. Talking about the speaker's plans for tomorrow:
I STAY at home.
40. Talking about the speaker's plans for tomorrow:
I WORK in the garden.
41. Talking about the speaker's plans for tomorrow:
I WRITE a letter.
42. Talking about the speaker's plans for tomorrow:
I GO to town.
43. Talking about the speaker's plans for tomorrow:
I GO to bed early.
44. My brother is tired.
He WAKE UP late tomorrow.
45. My brother is tired.
He FALL ASLEEP early in the evening.
46. There are black clouds in the sky.
It RAIN in the evening.
47. There are black clouds in the sky.
It RAIN (very soon).
48. There are black clouds in the sky.
It RAIN in a few minutes.
49. The weather is changing.
It RAIN tomorrow.
50. The weather is changing.
Maybe it RAIN tomorrow.
51. The weather is changing.
It be COLD in the evening.
52. The weather is changing.
It be COLD tomorrow.

53. The sun RISE at six o'clock tomorrow.
54. Does your brother intend to stay here?
No, he LIVE in X-place next year.
55. Talking about a third person's plans for the evening:
He STAY at home.
56. Talking about a third person's plans for the evening:
He WORK in the garden.
57. Talking about a third person's plans for the evening:
He WRITE a letter.
58. Talking about a third person's plans for the evening:
He GO to town.
59. Talking about a third person's plans for the evening:
He GO to bed early.
60. Talking about a third person's immediate plans:
He STAY at home.
61. Talking about a third person's immediate plans:
He WORK in the garden.
62. Talking about a third person's immediate plans:
He WRITE a letter.
63. Talking about a third person's immediate plans:
He GO to town.
64. Talking about a third person's immediate plans:
He GO to bed.
65. When I GET home in the evening, my mother BE HAPPY.
66. If it RAIN tomorrow, we STAY at home.
67. If it BE COLD tomorrow, we STAY at home.
68. If I GET the money tomorrow, I BUY a present for you.
69. If I GET the money today, I BUY a present for you.
70. My brother SAY yesterday that he COME here today.
71. My brother HOPE yesterday that you COME here today.
72. My brother SAY yesterday that he COME here next week.
73. My brother SAY yesterday that it RAIN today.
74. My brother SAY yesterday that it BE COLD today.
75. My brother HOPE yesterday that it BE COLD today.
76. My brother WANT (now) to buy a house.
77. This screw does not want to turn.
78. My brother WANT (now) to be a farmer.
79. My brother INTEND to buy a house.
80. I HAVE TO thank my brother for helping me.
81. My brother MUST sell his house now.
82. My brother MUST sell his house soon.

83. My brother CAN lift this stone.
84. My brother CAN read and write.
85. I BE ABOUT TO fall asleep.
86. Yesterday, I BE ON THE VERGE OF being run over by a car.
87. What you DO when you COME home in the evening?
I WRITE a letter, (then) I DRINK some tea and (then) I GO to bed.
88. How I GET to your brother's house?
You TURN left at the crossing.
89. How I GET to your brother's house?
You TURN left at the crossing, (then) WALK for ten minutes and (then) TURN left again.
90. (According to the schedule) the train LEAVE at noon.
91. My brother SAY (now) that he GO to town tomorrow.
92. My brother SAY (now) that it RAIN tomorrow.
93. My brother BELIEVE (now) that it RAIN tomorrow.
94. My brother HOPE (now) that it RAIN tomorrow.
95. What you DO right now?
I WRITE a letter to my brother in order that he KNOW that I COME to see him.
96. What you DO yesterday?
I WRITE a letter to my brother in order that he KNOW that I COME to see him.
97. A: You promised to make some food for me. When it BE ready? B:
It BE READY in five minutes.
98. (TMAQ:73) What kind of sound do cats make?
They MEOW
99. (TMAQ:18) What your brother usually DO after breakfast?
He WRITE letters
100. I heard a funny story the other day.
When you HEAR it, you LAUGH.
101. A: I have a headache. B: Take this medicine.
It MAKE you feel better.
102. I not LIKE this person (now) and I not LIKE him (in the future).
103. I not KNOW where he BE.
104. (an order):
OPEN the door!
105. (let us) OPEN the door!
106. (a prohibition):
(do) not OPEN the door!
107. (a warning):
(Look out, do) not STEP in the mud!

108. (wishing someone good health:)
(may) you always BE HEALTHY!
109. (Uttered at eight o'clock - the speaker's brother left at six and has not returned yet):
He RETURN at seven o'clock
110. (Added in June 1991 version) Yesterday when I woke up in the morning, there were dark clouds in the sky.
I took my umbrella, because it RAIN in a few minutes.
111. (Added in June 1991 version) I met your brother a few days ago.
He was very worried, because he GO to the dentist next day.

Part II

1. FTR devices in the questionnaire sentences

Which grammatical devices are involved in expressing future time reference in the sentences in Part I?

For each device D, give the following information:

- Does D have bound (morphological) or free (periphrastic, syntactic) expression or is it unmarked?
- If the answer to a) is "bound", then specify the kind of morphological processes involved and list the morphemes (or their main variants) used as markers
- If the answer to b) is "free", describe the syntactic and lexical make-up of the construction
- What is the historical source (etymology) of D (if known)?
- If D has developed out of a known historical source, are there uses of D (or homonymous expressions) that reflect that source? (Explanatory example: if a future has developed out of a verb meaning 'to want', can it still be used to express volition without any implication of the desired state-of-affairs coming true?)
- Is the use of D restricted to future time reference? If not, what are the other main uses?
- Is the use of D in any way dependent on style or register?
Among the 'FTR devices', it may be practical to include also 'lack of marking', as when a present tense or a bare verb stem is used for FTR.

2. Additional FTR devices

Are there any grammatical devices that do not occur in the translations of Part I but which you know are regularly used for future time reference?

If the answer is yes,

- describe them in the same way as the devices under 1)
- try to characterize the main uses with illustrative examples

3. Intention vs. prediction

Background:

References to future time differ in many ways, one of the most important being whether they involve an element of INTENTION or PLANNING by a conscious being.

A proposition that describes an intention or a plan does not by itself necessarily imply anything about the future; "John intends to fly to the moon" may be true even if we know that he'll never go there. Thus, for a sentence to ~ as a case of future time reference, we also require it to contain an element of PREDICMON, that is, a claim that the state-of-affairs described will come true at some point in the future.

A major distinction will thus be between intentional and pure-prediction FTR sentences.

Typical examples in Part I of the two kinds are:

intentional: 4, 5, 29-43

pure prediction: 8, 11, 26, 44-52

Question:

What are the major grammatical devices that characterize

- intentional FTR?
- pure-prediction FTR?

4. Scheduling

Background:

The ontological status of the future has been a controversial issue since Aristotle - is the future determined in the same way as the present or the past or does it only exist as a potentiality? One might argue that natural language leaves the question open in that speakers may choose between different ways of viewing future states-of-affairs, either as determined or as undetermined. This may be difficult to distinguish from the question of certainty: do we know or do we just make guesses about the future? In any case, it has been observed that languages may refrain from marking FTR grammatically (i.e., use forms that normally refer to the present) for future states-of-affairs that are somehow regarded as predetermined, e.g., *Tomorrow is Sunday*, and also for things that are 'scheduled' in a more or less direct sense, e.g., *The train leaves at 6*. Examples of such sentences in Part I are 12, 90.

Question:

- (a) Do sentences expressing 'predetermined' or 'scheduled' future differ in any way from other FTR sentences?
- (b) Does 'degree of certainty' influence the choice of FTR devices?

5. Differences between grammatical persons

Are there, for any of the devices treated above, systematic differences between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person?

Note: this does not refer to ordinary inflectional differences also found in other forms but rather patterns like the alternation between *shall* for 1st person and *will* for 2nd and 3rd person in English.

6. FTR and aspect

Are there any grammaticalized aspectual distinctions in FTR sentences?

- (a) Is there any systematic difference between imperfective and perfective sentences (e.g. between the following groups in Part I: 2, 3, 7, 8, 12 (imperfective) vs. 1, 4, 5, 11, 13 (perfective)? If the answer is yes, what is the relation to the expression of the distinction imperfectivity/perfectivity in other contexts?
- (b) Is progressivity marked – optionally or obligatorily – in FTR sentences (cf. sentences 2–3 in Part I)? In other words, are progressive constructions used in FTR sentences and do they combine with any of the devices listed above? (Note the difference between this question and No. 8)
- (c) Is habituality marked – optionally or obligatorily – in FTR sentences (cf. sentence 7 in Part I)? Is there interaction with other markers?

7. Progressives as FTR devices

To what extent are constructions that normally have progressive meaning used in FTR sentences without that meaning? What are the restrictions, if any?

8. FTR in subordinate clauses

How is FTR normally marked in the following kinds of subordinate clauses when the matrix clause has non-past time reference?

- (a) temporal clauses (ex. 17, 18, 25, 26, 65)
- (b) conditional clauses (ex. 14, 15, 16, 23, 24, 66–69)
- (c) complements of verbs of saying, believing etc. (91–93)

- (d) complements of verbs of wishing, hoping etc. (94)
- (e) purpose clauses (95)
- (f) 'before'-clauses (21)

9. "Future in the past"

How is "future in the past", i.e. reference to points in time that are future relative to some point of reference in the past, marked in the following kinds of clauses?

- (a) complements of verbs of saying, believing etc. (70, 72–74)
- (b) complements of verbs of wishing, hoping etc. (71, 75)
- (c) purpose clauses (96)
- (d) 'before'-clauses (22)
- (e) in main clauses in contexts like (109)

10. FTR in marked speech act types

Are there any peculiarities in the expression of FTR in the following kinds of speech acts?

- (a) promises with first person subjects (17,20)
- (b) promises with non-first person subjects (97)
- (c) threats (24)

11. Additional uses of FTR devices

Which of the devices used to express FTR may also be used (alone or in combination with others) for non-future time reference with the following kinds of interpretation?

- (a) guesses, suppositions etc. (24)
- (b) generic and habitual statements (98, 99)
- (c) counterfactual conditions (16)
- (d) complements of negated cognitive verbs such as 'know' (103)
- (e) to express 'politeness', e.g., in requests

12. Imperatives/optatives

Which of the following may be expressed with devices that are otherwise used for 'normal' FTR?

- (a) 2nd person imperatives (104)
- (b) 1st person imperatives (105) (cf. also 11e)
- (c) optatives (108)

- (d) prohibitions (106)
- (e) warnings (107)

13. Prospectivity

Background:

One factor that may influence expression of FTR is what (following Bernard Comrie) can be labelled 'prospectivity', that is, the question whether a future event is related directly to a present state, as when something 'is about' to happen or seen as necessary by the way things are at present. Examples in Part I would be 46, 47. The distinction in English between be going to and will has been claimed to related to prospectivity.

Question:

Is prospectivity as defined here relevant for the choice between different ways of expressing FTP,?

14. Remoteness distinctions in the future

Background:

In many languages, different devices are used for expressing FTR depending on the distance between the point of speech and the time to which reference is being made. When such distinctions are made systematically, the cut-off point is often between what will happen today and what will happen tomorrow or later, but other distinctions are also possible. Even in languages where no such grammaticalized cut-off points are found, it happens relatively often that some FTR devices are claimed to be more commonly used, e.g., for events that are close in time. Sometimes this seems to be related to notions such as 'intention' and 'prospectivity'.

Questions:

- (a) Can any systematic differences be found in the use of FTR devices that can be related to remoteness distinctions? (cf., e.g., 46 vs. 47 vs. 48)
- (b) If the answer to (a) is 'yes', are there identifiable cut-off points, e.g., 'today : tomorrow and later', 'this year : next year' etc.?

15. Sequences of events

Are there any peculiarities in the expression of sequences of events in the future (as compared to isolated events, cf. 87 and 89 vs. 88)?

If the answer is yes, how do these peculiarities relate to the expression of sequential events in the past (e.g., in narratives)?

16. Perfectivity/telicity/inchoativity as markers of FTR

Background:

Certain types of verb phrases tend not to be interpreted as referring to the moment of speech. This concerns generally verb phrases denoting punctual events (such as 'die') and in certain languages, verbs grammatically marked as being perfective aspect. As a consequence, verbs not marked as having past time reference will easily be understood as referring to the future, something which may or may not be exploited systematically in the language.

Question:

Is grammatical aspect (or similar devices) exploited to mark FTR?

17. Inchoativity and FTR

Background:

To the verb phrases mentioned in 17 which tend to have FTR belong those denoting changes of state. In addition, a future change of state event implies a future state – if I become rich in the future, I will be rich. This opens up the possibility for secondary stative interpretations of such verb phrases.

Question:

Do inchoative verb phrases (verb phrases denoting changes of state) have stative interpretations with FTR (e.g., would one say 'I become rich' meaning 'I will be rich')?

2 The Perfect Questionnaire

Instructions

The aim of this questionnaire is to investigate the form, meaning and use of the perfect and similar or related grammatical categories – whether inflectional, periphrastic or otherwise marked – in various languages. It can also be applied to a language in which there is no category resembling to the perfect.

For a successful completion of the questionnaire, two persons are usually needed: a professional linguist who is at least superficially acquainted with the structure of the language under investigation (referred to as “L”), and an informant who is a native speaker of L (meaning ‘a person who used L actively and daily while growing up’). Several native speakers may be used so as to enhance the reliability of the results. Linguists who are native speakers themselves may do without an informant, but they should check their intuition with “non-professionals” to avoid obtaining results they are predisposed to obtain.

There are two parts in this questionnaire:

Part I (“Examples”) consists of sentences-with-contexts which are to be translated into L. It is essential to translate each example as a whole, not the individual words, aiming at a maximally natural rendering in L. Individual words (such as temporal adverbs or culturally biased lexical items) can be deleted, changed or added, if this makes the examples more natural. Also pay attention to the position of temporal adverbials, for instance: the most natural position is not always the same in other languages as it is in English. In order not to influence the translation, the finite verb of each English sentence is usually left uninflected (and written in CAPS); the meaning intended should be clear from the context. *Each translated example should also be provided with word-by-word glosses, showing not only the lexical meanings but also the inflectional categories.*

Part II (“Description”) contains questions about a perfect-like grammatical category which is referred to as “P”, and identified with the help of the first examples. In order to answer them, the investigator usually has to elicit more sentence examples than there are in this questionnaire, or perhaps consult reference grammars (if available) or survey some printed texts. Use separate sheet(s) to answer the theoretical questions; make reference to the translated sentences when necessary.

In the sentences to be translated, the investigator must strictly avoid causing P to be used more than is natural. However, it is sometimes asked in Part II whether P would have been possible in the examples of Part I where it was not used, and if so, how it would have changed the meaning or other properties of those sentences. These alternative translations must not be presented to the informant before all of Part I has been translated lest the subsequent responses become biased.

Part I: EXAMPLES

1. [A: I want to give your sister a book to read, but I don’t know which one. Are there any of these books that she READ already?
B: Yes, she READ this book.]
2. [A: It seems that your sister never finishes books.
B: (That is not quite true.) She READ this book (= all of it).]
3. [Question: Is the king still alive?
No, he DIE.]
4. Question: You MEET my sister (at any time in your life up to now)?
5. [A child asks: Can I go now?
Mother: You DO your homework?]
6. [Question: Do you know my sister?
Answer: Yes, I MEET her (so I know her).]
7. [Question: Can you swim in this lake? (=Is it possible for anybody to swim in this lake?)]
Answer: Yes, at least I SWIM in it several times.]
8. [Do you know what happened to me just an hour ago?
I WALK in the forest. Suddenly I STEP on a snake. It BITE me in the leg. I TAKE a stone and THROW (it) at the snake. It DIE.]
9. [Do you know what happened to me yesterday?
I WALK in the forest. Suddenly I STEP on a snake. It BITE me in the leg. I TAKE a stone and THROW (it) at the snake. It DIE.]
10. [Do you know what happened to my brother yesterday? I saw it myself.]
We WALK in the forest. Suddenly he STEP on a snake. It BITE him in the leg. He TAKE a stone and THROW (it) at the snake. It DIE.]
11. [Do you know what happened to me once when I was a child? (Note: The speaker was, however, old enough to remember the incident.)]
I WALK in the forest. Suddenly I STEP on a snake. It BITE me in the leg. I TAKE a stone and THROW (it) at the snake. It DIE.]
12. [This happened to me just an hour ago.]
I SIT under a tree, when an apple FALL on my head. (Or, if more natural: While I SIT under a tree, an apple FALL on my head.)]
13. [Do you know what happened to me once when I was a child? (Note: The speaker was, however, old enough to remember the incident.)]
I SIT under a tree, when an apple FALL on my head. (Or, if more natural: When I SIT under a tree, an apple FALL on my head.)]
14. [It is morning. A wakes up, looks out of the window and sees that the courtyard (or the street) is wet.]
A: It RAIN during the night.]
15. [Question: You MEET my sister (at any time in your life up to now)?]

- Answer: Yes, I MEET her several times.
16. [A question asked at 9 o'clock A.M.: Why do you look so tired?]
Answer: I WAKE UP at 4 o'clock this morning (or: today).
17. [A question asked at 3 o'clock P.M.: Why do you look so tired?]
Answer: I WAKE UP at 4 o'clock today.
18. [A question asked at 9 o'clock A.M.: Why do you look so tired?]
Answer: I NOT SLEEP well during the night.
19. [A question asked at 3 o'clock P.M.: Why do you look so tired?]
Answer: I NOT SLEEP well during the night.
20. [A has got his wages and says:]
I GET my wages today, so I can now BUY you a beer.
21.
I GET my wages yesterday, so I can now BUY you a beer.
22. [Note: These sentences do not necessarily imply the passive voice though BE BORN happens to be formally a passive in English. Treat it as a single lexical unit.]
A: When you BE BORN? – B: I BE BORN on the first of June 1950.
23. [A guide presenting his home town to tourists. Note: This sentence does not necessarily imply the passive voice, unless it really is the most natural way of expressing this sentence in L.]
Our town BE FOUNDED in 1550.
24. [Question: Do you know what remarkable event TAKE PLACE in 1550?
Note: as in 23.]
Answer: In that year, our town BE FOUNDED.
25. [Question: When Columbus ARRIVE at America for the first time?]
Answer: He ARRIVE at America in 1492.
26. [Question: What do you know about this novel? Note: This sentence does not necessarily imply the active voice or the word order given here if it is not natural in L.]
Answer: Graham Greene WRITE it.
27. [Question: Your sister still BE at home?]
Answer: No, she already GO AWAY.
28. [B's sister is known to have gone to another town. Question: A: Your sister COME BACK? (Note: a free translation may be needed for B's answer.)]
B: No, she still GO AWAY.
29. [As in 28. Question: Your sister COME BACK?]
Answer: No, she NOT COME BACK yet.
30. [A: Don't talk so loud! You'll wake the baby.]
B: He WAKE UP already.
31. [The baby wakes up one hour earlier than expected and starts screaming.
Mother (in another room):]

- Oh no! He WAKE UP already!
32. [Note: use BE or VISIT, or some other predicate, according to what sounds the most natural in L.]
You BE to (VISIT) Australia (ever in your life)?
33. [These are alternative answers to 32. They should all be translated.]
No, I never BE (VISIT) there. – Yes, I BE (VISIT) there. – Yes, I BE (VISIT) there several times. – Yes, I BE (VISIT) there in January 1987.
34. [A has been talking about the way of life in Australia. Note: the sentence construction may have to be changed – even in English.]
B: You BE to (VISIT) Australia as you know all that? – A: Yes, I BE (VISIT) there, so I know.
35. [Question: You MEET my sister (at any time in your life up to now)? Note: All these alternative answers should be translated.]
No, I never MEET her. – Yes, I MEET her once. – Yes, I MEET her in January 1987.
36. [A has been talking to B about C's personal tastes. Note: the sentence construction may have to be changed – even in English.]
B: You MEET her (sometime) as you know all that? – A: Yes, I MEET her, so I know.
37. [It is cold in the room. The window is closed.]
Question: You OPEN the window (and closed it again)?
38. [This is an answer to 37.]
Yes, I OPEN it.
39. [This is an answer to 37.]
No, I NOT OPEN it.
40. [The window is open but A has not noticed that. A asks B: why is it so cold in the room?]
B: I OPEN the window.
41. [Question: Is your sister still abroad?]
Answer: No, she COME BACK and is now staying with us.
42. [Question: I was told you are writing a book. How many pages you WRITE by now?]
Answer: I WRITE fifty pages.
43. [Question: I was told you collect dolls. You COLLECT many of them?]
Answer: I COLLECT some two hundred dolls by now.
44. [Question: I was told you intend to collect 300 different dolls. How many you already COLLECT?]
Answer: I COLLECT some two hundred dolls by now.
45. [Question: I was told you always forget your umbrella somewhere. Is it true?]
Answer: Yes, this year I LOSE five umbrellas.
46. [A is setting out on a long journey in an old car. B asks: What if something

- goes wrong with your car on the way?]
A: I BUY spare parts and tools in case something happens (= I have got them now).
47. [Question: Why do you look so tired? (Note: you may replace "three days" by "three nights" or whatever seems most natural.)]
Answer: I NOT SLEEP for three days.
48. [She is still watching television! How long she DO that?]
Answer: She WATCH (it) for three hours.
49. [A is still living in this town.]
A: I LIVE here for seven years.
50. [A is still living in this town. As in 49, the intended meaning of LIVE is 'to dwell somewhere', not 'to spend one's life'.]
A: I LIVE here all my life.
51. [A is visiting a town she used to live in several years ago; now she lives somewhere else.]
A: I LIVE here, so I know every street here.
52. [As in 51. A now lives somewhere else!]
A: I LIVE here for seven years, so I know every street here.
53. [As in 51 and 52.]
A: I LIVE here for seven years, but then I had to move away.
54. [The speaker meets his friend about once a week; "the film" refers to a different film each time:]
Every time I MEET him, he TELL me about the film he (just) SEE.
55. [A has just seen the king arrive and reports it to B, who knows that the king has been expected to visit their town but does not know that he has now actually arrived.]
A: The king ARRIVE!
56. [A has just seen the king arrive. The event is totally unexpected.]
A: The king ARRIVE!
57. [Telling what a baby just DO. "N" should be replaced with a girl's name.]
N just SAY her first word!
58. [A comes from the kitchen very agitated and tells B what he has just seen happen:]
A: The dog EAT our cake!
59. [A comes from the kitchen where he has just seen the sad remains of the cake. He tells B what he assumes to have happened:]
A: The dog EAT our cake!
60. [Do you know what happened to my brother yesterday? I did not see it, but he told me.]
He WALK in the forest. Suddenly he STEP on a snake. It BITE him in the leg. He TAKE a stone and THROW (it) at the snake. It DIE.

61. [This is the beginning of a story (tale). "Once upon a time" should be replaced with the formula stories typically begin with in L.]
Once upon a time there was a man. He WALK in the forest. Suddenly he STEP on a snake. It BITE him in the leg. He TAKE a stone and THROW (it) at the snake. It DIE.
62. [A tells what she has heard from her father. Nothing shows that she would not believe it.]
A: When my father BE a child, schools BE better than nowadays.
63. [A tells what she has heard from her father. Nothing shows that she would not believe it.]
A: My father TELL me that when he BE a child, schools BE better than nowadays.
64. [A tells what she has heard people saying. Nothing shows that she would not believe it, but she does not present this as her own opinion. Add words if needed!]
A: Sixty years ago schools BE better than nowadays.
65. [A doubts what her father has told her.]
My father CLAIM that when he BE a child, schools BE better than nowadays.
66. [A does not believe what she has heard from her father; she only reports what he has told her.]
A: When my father BE a child, schools BE better than nowadays.
67. [Said by a person who has just heard about the event but has not seen it.]
The king ARRIVE!
68. [As in 67.]
My sister just TELL me that the king ARRIVE.
69. [Investigating a burglary, seeing footprints beneath a window:]
The thief ENTER the house by this window.
70. [A and B are not in the room in which B's son has been doing his homework.
Question: A: Is your son still doing his homework?
B: No, (I think) he FINISH (it) by now (or: already).
71. [An archaeologist, having investigated an excavation site, says:]
This BE a huge city.
72. [An archaeologist, having investigated an excavation site, says:]
This city BE DESTROYED about three thousands years ago.
73. [A guide, showing ruins to tourists:]
This BE a huge city.
74. [A guide, showing ruins to tourists:]
This city BE DESTROYED about three thousands years ago.
75. [A's sister finished writing two letters just before A came home. A tells:]
When I COME home yesterday, my sister WRITE two letters.
76. [A's sister was not at home when A arrived. Question: Did you find your sister

- at home? A answers:]
No, I did not (find her). She LEAVE.
77. [A meets B's sister. Later A moves to the town where B and B's sister live. Still later, B asks A: When you came to this town a year ago, did you know my sister? A answers:]
Yes, I MEET her.
78. [Question: Why did you believe what she told you about Paris? Note: use BE or VISIT or whatever is most natural in L.]
Answer: I BELIEVE her, because she BE to (VISIT) Paris.
79. [The speaker used to meet his friend once a week, but nowadays he does not see him at all. "The film" refers to a different film each time:]
Every time I MEET him in those years, he TELL me about the film he just SEE.
80. [Looking at a house.]
Who BUILD this house?
81. [Looking at a picture of a house which has been torn down.]
Who BUILD this house?
82. [Question: Can I get my wages now?]
Answer: I NOT PAY you your wages before you FINISH the entire job.
83. [As in 82 above.]
I PAY you your wages after you FINISH the entire job.
84. [B is setting out on a journey. A intends to sell her own house while B is away. A tells B about this:]
A: When you COME BACK next year, I SELL my house.
85. [A began working here in June for almost thirty years ago. It is April and A tells that the anniversary is approaching:]
A: In June this year I WORK here for thirty years.
86. If I GET my wages tomorrow, I BUY you a beer.
87. [The speaker has not received his wages yet:]
The day I GET my wages I BUY you a beer.
88. Those who GET their wages tomorrow certainly GO to have beer.

Part II: DESCRIPTION

Tentative identification of P

P is that gram (grammatical category) of L which is common to most of sentences (E01)–(E07) and has something to do with the relationship, temporal or not, between the present state of affairs and the past event referred to. This is a working definition which does not presuppose P is actually a perfect. If several grams co-occur in the

sentences, choose the one which seems to indicate more than mere "pastness" – things such as "result", "relevance" or "completion" (provided that there exists such a gram). If there is no unique P identifiable – if there are alternative translations of single sentences, or if no gram has a clear majority among those used in (E01)–(E07) – you may choose more than one gram P_1, P_2, \dots . The questions about P then apply to all of these separately.

Since P is a *grammatical category*, it must be marked either inflectionally or with a free morpheme, such as an auxiliary or an adverb-like element devoid of (full) lexical meaning. Semantic categories without a formal marking do not qualify! If you cannot find a P in L at all, you can merely translate the remaining example sentences and leave those theoretical questions that do not apply unanswered.

(Q01) Did you find a P (or P_1, P_2, \dots)? What is it (or what are they) called in reference grammars of L? How is its meaning (are their meanings) traditionally described?

Note: all subsequent questions about P will also apply to P_1, P_2, \dots !

(Q02) Describe how P is marked in L. Pay attention to the possible differences between different persons, or between main and subordinate clauses.

(Q03) Describe the historical origin of P (if known).

(Q04) Is there regional or social variation in the use of P, or variation between different styles and registers? If yes, what variety of L do the examples in Part I represent?

Narratives

(Q05) In those sentences of texts (E08)–(E11) where P was not used, would it have been grammatically possible? How would it have changed the meaning or other properties of those sentences? (For a warning about questions like this, refer to the Instructions section on page 2!)

(Q06) In those sentences of texts (E08)–(E11) where P was used, could it have been replaced with a different grammatical category?

(Q07) Is P used in connected narratives in contemporary fiction written in L? Has the situation changed in this respect during the last hundred years or so?

If the gram tentatively labelled P was used in all or most of the sentences of texts (E08)–(E11) and could not have been replaced with another gram without making the texts less typical as narratives, P may possibly not be a perfect at all but, say, a general past tense. In this case, *part* of the remaining questions may not be applicable.

Boundedness tests

- (Q08) In connected texts (E08)–(E11) above, was there any difference in the grammaticality of P in the first sentences (with the verb WALK), as opposed to the remaining sentences of each text?
- (Q09) If P was not used in (E12)–(E13), could it have been used? If it was used, would it have had alternatives? Are there any differences between the SIT sentence and the FALL sentence in either example?

Temporal adverbials

- (Q10) If P was not used in (E14)–(E26), could it have been used? How would it have changed the meaning or other properties of the sentences?
- (Q11) If P was used in (E27), was it obligatory? What could it have been replaced with?

Possessive & resultative

- (Q12) Is there in L any construction, *as distinct from P*, that combines a possessive construction with a transitive verb, such as the English “I have fifty pages written (by now)”, i.e. ‘I have got fifty pages which I have written’? If it was not used in (E42)–(E46), could it have been used in any of them?

Past & present

- (Q13) The “temporal frame” of (E48)–(E50) combines the past and the present: I lived in this town, and still do. Are there different translations of these sentences that would differently emphasize the “past” and the “present” aspect? If yes, are they equally natural? How would the temporal “mirror image” of (E50) be translated, i.e.: I LIVE here till the end of my life.
- (Q14) If P was used in (E47) or in the SEE clause of (E54), was it obligatory?

Evidentiality

- (Q15) Examples (E59)–(E74) express various kinds of *evidentially indirect* information, i.e., events which the speakers have not seen themselves but only know them from other people’s accounts or from the results these events have left. Describe how such indirect evidentially is grammatically marked

in L – if it is. Are there some grammatical means for this that are not covered by the examples mentioned?

- (Q16) Are there special grammatical categories or rules in L that obligatorily apply to reported speech (*oratio obliqua*), such as non-indicative moods or rules for *consecutio temporum*? Are they main-clause or subordinate-clause phenomena?
- (Q17) Is P used in newspapers reports? If yes, would it be used in a news story reporting on (i) a major event in the capital of the country, with lots of participants and eye-witnesses, (ii) a minor incident in a small village, with only few eye-witnesses?

P in the past

- (Q18) Do (E75)–(E79) and (E81), *or some of them*, contain any gram that could be considered a past counterpart of P – at least semantically or functionally, if not formally? If yes, apply questions (Q01)–(Q04) to this gram as well!

P in the future

- (Q19) Do (E82)–(E88), *or some of them*, contain any gram that could be considered a future counterpart of P – at least semantically functionally, if not formally? If yes, apply questions (Q01)–(Q04) to this gram as well!

3 Questionnaire on the Progressive Aspect

Part I

Tentative definition

- S01- /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Ann; the answer is: – Ann is near me ... / ... She WORK [right now]
 S02- A: What does Ann do every Saturday morning?
 B: She CLEAN THE HOUSE / READ
 S03- [Last night at 8 o' clock,] when John came, Ann still WORK
 S04- Last year we [usually] CLEAN THE HOUSE on Saturdays [now we do it on Thursdays]
 S05- Last summer, John VISIT us three times

Transitive verbs and valency

- === /Somebody on the phone wants to know about John; the answer is: – John is near me ... /
 S06- ... He CLEAN a gun
 S07- ... He READ a newspaper
 S08- ... He BUILD a shelter [for the sheep]
 S09- ... He SING a song
 S10- ... He GIVE a present to his sister
 S11- ... He TELL a story to his sister

Object incorporation

- === /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Ann; the answer is: – Ann is near me ... /
 S12- ... She PEEL potatoes
 S13- ... She PEEL the potatoes
 S13- ... She PEEL 3 kilos of potatoes
 S14- ... She PEEL all the potatoes
 S16- ... She CHASE chickens [out of the house]
 S17- ... She CHASE two chickens [out of the house]
 S18- ... She WRITE her thesis [I think she will never finish]

Causative verbs

- === /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Ted; the answer is:/
 S19- She HAVE his hair CUT [right now]
 S20- He MAKE the child EAT the porridge [right now]

Motion verbs

- === /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Julie; the answer is/
 S21- She GO OUT [right now; do you want me to hold her back?]
 S22- Well, [right now] she FLY to New York / Moscow [you can call her tomorrow at her hotel]

Phasal verbs

- === /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Fred; the answer is: – Fred is near me, ... /
 S23- ... he BEGIN to peel the potatoes [right now]
 S24- ... he FINISH repairing the lamp [right now]
 S25- ... he BEGIN a language drill [right now]
 S26- ... he FINISH a language drill [right now]
 S27- ... he CONTINUE his story-telling [right now]

Postural verbs

- S28- /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Mary; the answer is/
 [Right now] She SIT in the kitchen/yard
 S29- A: I need my blue shirt right now; where is it?
 B: It HANG on the nail

Non-durative verbs

- S30- I took the photo exactly while John THROW the stone against the window
 S31- [Right now] The climber REACH the top of the mountain
 S32- The pardon arrived just while the captain GIVE the sign to the firing squad

Non-intentional verbs

- S33- [Look, there he goes again!] George inadvertently **INSULT** his neighbour with his silly questions. [He really cannot understand the situation].
 S34- [Incredible! Listen to him now! With his words] Philip unconsciously **ADMITS** the guilt

Non-agentive, intransitive processes

- S35- [Look at John, on the sofa!] He **DREAM** of his girlfriend
 S36- [Look out of the window now!] The sun **SHINE**
 S37- The water **BOIL** [shall I make tea?]
 S38- [Look, what a shame!] The apples **ROT** on the tree

Stative verbs

- S39- [Now, unexpectedly,] Peter **KNOW** the answer
 S40- [Now, unexpectedly,] Tess **LIKE** the music
 S41- The mountain **SURROUND** the plain

Copular verbs

- S42- [What a wonderful present!] You **BE** very **KIND**, now!
 S43- /John has made a negative comment on Ann's hair-style; Ann says with a tone of surprise/ You **BE RUDE** this evening

Remoteness/invisibility

- === /on the phone/ A: Is Ann with you right now?
 S44- B: No, she **DANCE** [in the next room]
 S45- B: No, she **PLAY CARDS** [in the next room]
 === /on the phone/ A: Is Ann at home right now? – B: No, ...
 S46- ... she **SHOP**. She left one hour ago
 S47- ... she **PLAY CARDS** in the club [as usual]

Durative adverbials

- S48- [Yesterday, during my sleep] Ann **PLAY** for 2 hours all by herself

- S49- [During the whole time of the class/prayer] Ann **TALK** to her neighbour [in fact, she carried on even afterwards]
 S50- [During the whole time of the class/prayer] Ann **TALK** to her neighbour [but as soon as that was over, she suddenly became very silent]
 S51- [Moment by moment] The policeman **TAKE NOTES** of what the speaker said
 S52- He continually **FORGET** people's names

Graduality adverbs

- S53- The level of the water **INCREASE** slightly since yesterday
 S54- [When I arrived] the situation already **IMPROVE** little by little
 S55- [When I arrived] the snow **COVER** gradually the land

Imminential meaning

- S56- [Hurry up!] The train **LEAVE**
 S57- The old man **DIE** [but finally they found the right medicine]

Temporariness

- S58- Ann **STAND** in the doorway, [right now]
 S59- The statue **STAND** in the garden [for the summer]
 S60- [Think! While we are here talking about our matters] the earth **TURN** around the sun
 S61- The boss **TYPE** his own letters, while the secretary is ill

Backgrounding

- S62- It was a bright summer day. The bees **HUM**, the birds **SING**, the cows **GRAZE** in the greenfield. Suddenly, the earth opened and the devil came out

Habitual (and quasi-habitual)

- S63- At that time, he **GO** to dance every Saturday.
 S64- If you insist on calling me Fred, you **INTRUDE** in my private life.
 S65- As soon as you start asking what is the use of education, you **ABANDON** the basic assumptions of any true culture

Futurate meaning

- S66- Ann LEAVE tomorrow
 S67- Ann LEAVE in a minute
 S68- John GET MARRIED tomorrow. Who BE his witness at the wedding?
 S69- Who BE captain of the team tomorrow?

Sequence and coordination of events

- S70- Yesterday, while Ann READ in her room, Martin PLAY in the courtyard
 == /What did Martin do yesterday evening?/
 S71- He STUDY, he READ the paper, he EAT, and then he GO to bed
 S72- He STUDY from 2 to 6, he READ the paper from 6 to 7, he EAT from 7 to 8,
 and then he GO to bed

Imperative

- S73- [For goodness sake,] WORK when the boss comes back!
 S74- /Mother to daughter, whom she wants to punish/ You NOT GO to that party!

Passive

- S75- [Come in, please!] The meal BE SERVED [right now]

Negation

- S76- The boss was angry, because John not WORK when he came in
 S77- [Let's go out,] it not RAIN now
 S78- [This is disgusting,] it is 8.30 and the train not yet LEAVE

Modal verbs

- S79- Tom must FEED the animals [I guess]
 S80- Ann should TEACH now [I guess]

Temporal location of the event

- S81- [I am so tired:] I BAKE all day since I got up this morning

- S82- When John came home yesterday, he was very tired because he WORK hard all week
 S83- If you come at 8 o' clock, I still COOK [Come a little later, please]

Part II

This part contains purely theoretical questions. They should be answered after completing the first part.

Please remember that when the notion Progressive is mentioned, this refers specifically to the verb form(s) which is/are used in sentences 01 and 03.

1. General characterization

- a- Which devices are used to express the Progressive, as typically defined in examples 01 and 03? Are there synthetic devices besides periphrastic ones?
 b- If there is more than one device, describe them morphologically, and point to the possible differences (e.g.: Italian has "stare a + Infinitive" and "andare/venire + Gerund", besides "stare + Gerund", which is the most typical Progressive periphrasis).
 c- Do the 'auxiliary' verbs used in the various periphrastic expressions retain their usual meaning, or are they fully grammaticalized?
 d- If postural verbs are used to express the Progressive, are they all possible? Do they keep some of their original meaning? (e.g., SIT in 07, STAND in 37, LIE in 35, HANG in 38).
 e- Is there a special 'motion' Progressive? i.e., is a verb like GO or MOVE possible or necessary if the action is carried out while moving around? (e.g., in 44). Is the 'motion' Progressive possible with goal-oriented motion, or only in the sense of "moving around"?
 f- Do the alternative devices cover the same meanings? Are they used with the same type of verbs? (see also below, point 2,b)
 g- To which extent is an explicit marking of progressivity obligatory? Is it always obligatory, or only in certain contexts? (e.g., the 'incidental' scheme, cf. 03, 30, 32, 76, 82)
 h- Are there relevant differences with respect to style and register?
 i- How frequent is the construction in actual usage (written and spoken)?
 j- Is there an overlap between Perfect and Progressive markers? E.g., has the form used with atelic verbs in 01 a perfect interpretation with telic verbs, as in 02? Has a perfect been used in any of the sentences? If so, is this due to a special character of those verbs in your language (e.g., 28, 59)?

2. Aspectual and actional (i.e., Aktionsart) properties

- a- How do the various devices integrate in the grammar, from the point of view of the basic aspectual oppositions? (obviously, perfective vs. imperfective; but make explicit whatever system of oppositions you think is at work here. Cf. again sentences 01–05).
- b- Is it possible to combine the Progressive with a habitual (or quasi-habitual) meaning? (cf. 63–65)
- b- How do these devices integrate in the grammar, from the point of view of the basic meaning of the predicate? Specifically, is the Progressive possible with:
 - intransitive activities? (cf. 01; consider also verbs such as *boil, blossom, walk, cry* etc.)
 - transitive verbs? (cf. 06–11); does the definite / indefinite nature of the object matter? Is object incorporation possible or necessary, and under what conditions? (cf. 12–18)
 - causative verbs? (cf. 19–20)
 - motion verbs? (cf. 21–22)
 - phasal verbs? (cf. 23–27)
 - ‘postural verbs’? (cf. 28–29)
 - non-durative verbs? (cf. 21, 30–32); do they imply imminentiality?
 - non-intentional verbs? (cf. 33–34)
 - non-agentive, intransitive processes? (cf. 35–38)
 - stative verbs? (cf. 39–43).
- c- ‘Locomotive’ meaning, and related matters. In some languages, like German, it is likely that specific periphrases are used in the following contexts. Needless to say, the situations presented here are not Progressive in the strict sense; it is interesting to see what happens in your language:
 - i– He is a terrible person: he BRAG all the time (about his merits) [herumlaufen und angeben]
 - ii– Ann INTERVIEW people (from house to house), now

3. Morphological properties

- a- Is the system of oppositions the same in all tenses? (cf. Present vs. Past in English. For instance, is there an opposition in the Present between a Progressive and a (basically) generic interpretation, depending on the morphology used?)
- b- Do all finite tenses combine with the specific devices that you have specified under 1 above?
- c- Do all non-finite tenses combine with the Progressive? (cf. the Infinitive in 79–80) (Incidentally: can the Infinitive in these sentence have other meanings than the epistemic one?).

- d- Is the imperative allowed with the Progressive? (cf. sentence 73–74)
- e- Is the passive allowed with the Progressive? (cf. sentence 75; if the answer is yes, to what extent is this possible? can you say something like: *How long has this bridge been being built?*)
- f- Is the copula allowed with the Progressive? If the answer is yes, what do such constructions mean? (cf. 42–43)
- g- Are all persons of the verb possible with the Progressive? Try to use them with sentence 01 and 03, or any other sentence that you consider prototypical, and point out any peculiarity that you note.
- h- Do you know of any other relevant morphological property?

4. Syntactic properties

- a- May the elements of the Progressive (periphrastic) constructions be separated, and by what sort of materials? (e.g.: *he is already working*; consider also *still / presently / precisely / at this moment* etc.)
- b- May a portion of the construction be marginalized in a parenthetical clause? (e.g.: *Jean, en train de se préparer pour le voyage, en fut beaucoup surpris*)
- c- Is it possible to build constructions which may be interpreted as the coordination of a locative expression and a Progressive, in which the copula and/or the coordinative conjunction are deleted? (e.g.: *Ann is inside, (and) working hard; John is in bed, (and) sleeping soundly*)
- d- Can Progressive and non-Progressive be coordinated? (as in the following sentence, where only one verb must be in the Progressive form):
 - i– John WRITE and Ann PAINT the windows.
 Are there different ways to coordinate Progressive and non-Progressive forms?

5. Temporal reference

- a- Are the Progressive devices possible with any location of the event with respect to speech time? (cf. 03, 81–83)
- b- May durative adverbials be used with the Progressive? (cf. 48–52)
- c- Does the Progressive imply a ‘temporariness’ meaning? (cf. 58–61)
- d- Is any of the Progressive forms restricted to ‘unbroken’ activity? i.e. is the actor necessarily engaged in the activity at the moment referred to? Consider the following sentence:
 - i– John is playing tennis very often, this summer.
- e- Is there a merely ‘interpretative’ use of the Progressive? (e.g.: *Those on the roll who do not vote will in fact be voting ‘no’*)
- f- Can the Progressive express a futurate meaning? (cf. 66–69)

- g- Can the Progressive be used to express a strictly coordinated sequence of events? (cf. 70–72)
6. Any **additional remark** is welcome. Please add your comments, using as much paper as you wish.

4 List of abbreviations used in interlinear glosses

Abbreviation	Explanation
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
A.GER	in Karaim: gerund formed with the suffix <i>-a</i>
A.NONPST	in Karaim: finite nonpast category based on the gerund formed by the suffix <i>-a</i>
ABL	ablative
ABS	absentive
ACC	accusative
ADOGON.PART	in Karaim: participle formed with the suffix <i>-adoŋon</i>
AL.POT	in Karaim: potentiality category formed with the auxiliary verb <i>al</i>
ALL	allative
AND	andative
ANT	anterior
AOR	aorist
AP	active participle
AT	preposition with meaning 'at'
AUX	auxiliary
BD	bounded
BOLAL	in Karaim: potentiality category formed with the auxiliary verb <i>bolal</i>
CMPR	comparative
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
CONV	converb
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIPST	in Turkish: past category formed with the suffix <i>-di</i>
DIPST	in Karaim: past category formed with the suffix <i>-di</i>
DIM	in Karaim: diminutive
DU	dual
ELAT	elative
F	feminine