

FIVE SQWXWU7MISH FUTURES<sup>1</sup>  
 Elizabeth Currie  
 University of British Columbia

### 1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to establish that there are five principal ways in which the future can be expressed syntactically in Sqwxwu7mish main clauses:

- i. by the addition of a future temporal adverb to what I will call the basic word order, that is, the auxiliary, inflected with first person agreement, followed by the verb, to create a "tenseless" future;
- ii. by the inversion of this basic order, which is known as Verb Raising, such that the verb precedes the inflected auxiliary;
- iii. by the addition of the future morpheme -eq' to the inflected auxiliary, which may precede or follow the verb;
- iv. by the combination of the predicate nam', "go" with the inflected auxiliary/verb construction, which in some cases gives an inchoative reading; and
- v. by the morpheme 7i, labelled PR (present) as per Jacobs 1992, which alone or with the temporal adverb chiyalh, "soon", expresses an inceptive future sense.

The first three will be discussed in some detail here, while only brief mention of the latter two will be made.

This paper will also show that the aspectual class of the predicate determines which of the strategies above can be employed to express future. Activity verbs, such as ilhen "eat" and ts'its'ap' "work", may use any one of the five, as can achievement verbs such as wi7Xw-em, "fall", and accomplishment verbs like mi-s "bring"; some differences in interpretation arise between aspectual classes in the same construction, however. In contrast, stative verbs, such as lhq'i7-s "know", do not use the verb raising strategy to express future, and probably do not employ the go future construction. Assuming the existence of verbs, noun, and adjectives as separate categories, only verbs will be considered here, primarily in the first person singular with some support from third person singular evidence; in addition, no distinction between affixes and clitics is specified.

### 2. The Tenseless Future

Unmodified by a temporal adverb or clause, the inflected auxiliary followed by the verb gets a present or past interpretation, depending on the speaker and on the

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aspectual class of the verb. Activity verbs may get either, according to the speaker, as in (1); statives show a present reading, as in (2); achievement and accomplishment verbs are given a past reading, as in (3)<sup>2</sup>:

- (1)a. ch-en ilhen  
 AUX-1sg eat  
 I eat YJ 13-3-96  
 I'm eating-in the sense of "these days" DW 20-3-96  
 I ate -to answer "What were you doing this morning?" EL 6-3-96; EL 17-4-96
- b. ch-en ts'its'ap'  
 AUX-1sg work  
 I work (at this moment) YJ 13-3-96  
 I'm working - to answer "What have you been doing?" DW 20-3-96
- (2) ch-en lhq'i7-s  
 AUX-1sg know-caus  
 I know it EL 8-5-96  
 I know it at this very moment YJ 13-3-96  
 I know DW 20-3-96
- (3)a. ch-en wi7Xw-em  
 AUX-1sg drop-intrans  
 I fell YJ 13-3-96; YJ 3-4-96 (somewhat forced)
- b. ch-en mi-s  
 AUX-1sg bring-caus  
 I brought YJ 13-3-96

Modification by an adverbial phrase of time alters the tense of the clause: this form can be interpreted as a past, present, or future action, depending on the time determined by the adverb. Thus, "yesterday" gives a past interpretation, "every day" a habitual/iterative sense, and the future is expressed by the addition of "tomorrow" or even "maybe":

- (4)a. ch-en ilhen kwi chel'aqlh  
 AUX-1sg eat DET yesterday  
 I ate yesterday YJ 13-3-96

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations used: AUX=auxiliary verb; 1sg=first person singular subject; caus=causativizer; intrans=intransitivizer; DET=determiner; IRR=Irrealis; stat=stative marker; 1sgposs= first person singular possessive marker; 3sg=third person singular subject; FUT=future; trans=transitivizer; 3erg=third person singular object; DUR=durative aspect; PR=present tense.

- (4)b. ch-en ilhen i7Xw sqwayl  
 AUX-1sg eat every day  
 I eat every day DW 20-3-96
- (5)a. ch-en ilhen kwayeles  
 AUX-1sg eat tomorrow  
 I'll be eating tomorrow DW 20-3-96
- b. ch-en ts'its'ap' q-kwayeles  
 AUX-1sg work IRR-tomorrow  
 I will work tomorrow YJ 13-3-96
- c. way'ti ch-en ilhen  
 maybe AUX-1sg eat  
 I think I will eat "not sure if you're going to" EL 17-4-96

The aspectual class of the predicate does not affect this behaviour: the temporal reference of statives, achievement and accomplishment verbs varies according to the adverb accompanying it, and all can express future via the addition of a future temporal adverb. This is illustrated in (6).

- (6)a. ch-en e-lhq'i7-s ti taXw sqwayl  
 AUX-1sg stat-know-caus DET noon  
 I'll know at noon EL 8-5-96
- b. ch-en hiy'am kwayeles  
 AUX-1sg arrive tomorrow  
 I will arrive tomorrow YJ 6-6-96
- c. ch-en mi-s kwayeles  
 AUX-1sg come-caus tomorrow  
 I'm going to bring it tomorrow YJ 6-6-96

Thus, the tenseless future construction is not restricted by aspectual class, nor indeed is this construction restricted to the future. Where aspectual class does play a role is in the "default" readings for the bare inflected auxiliary-verb cases: with statives, the default reading is present, with achievement and accomplishment verbs past, and with activity verbs the default reading is past or present depending on the speaker.

### 3. Verb Raising

This asymmetry between stative and eventive predicates is borne out in the case of the Verb Raising future construction, where the verb is moved in front of the auxiliary. The stative predicates in (7) are interpreted in the present tense, not as future, whereas the activity, achievement and accomplishment verbs in (8) and (9) are all interpreted in the future.

- (7) lhq'i7-s ch-en  
 know-caus AUX-1sg  
 I know/I already know EL 6-3-96; EL 8-5-96  
 I know, I should know DW 20-3-96; I know LJ 29-3-96
- (8)a. ilhen ch-en  
 eat AUX-1sg  
 I'm gonna eat DW 1-5-96
- b. ts'its'ap' ch-en  
 work AUX-1sg  
 I will work YJ 13-3-96
- c. ilhen kwa-n men'  
 eat DET-1sgposs child  
 My son is going to eat EL 6-3-96
- (9)a. wi7xw-em ch-en  
 drop-intrans AUX-1sg  
 I will fall YJ 13-3-96  
 I'm gonna fall YJ 3-4-96
- b. mi-s ch-en  
 bring-caus AUX-1sg  
 I'm going to bring it YJ 13-3-96

The interaction of this construction with temporal adverbs maintains this eventive/stative distinction: the future meaning of the eventives is maintained even with adverbs ordinarily construed as past, while the stative case receives its temporal reference from the adverb, exactly as it did when the inflected auxiliary preceded the verb.

- (10)a. lhq'i7-s ch-en kwi siyel'anem  
 know-caus AUX-1sg DET year  
 I knew last year EL 8-5-96

(10)b. lɦq'i7-s ch-en kwi chel'aqlɦ  
 know-caus AUX-1sg DET yesterday  
 I knew yesterday EL 8-5-96

c. lɦq'i7-s ch-en ti natɦ  
 know-caus AUX-1sg DET morning  
 I knew it this morning EL 8-5-96

(11)a. ts'its'ap' ch-en kwi siyel'anem  
 work AUX-1sg DET year  
 I'm gonna work for a year DW 1-5-96  
 I will work next year YJ 6-6-96

b. ts'its'ap' ch-en ti siyel'anem  
 work AUX-1sg DET year  
 I'm gonna work this year DW 1-5-96

c. ts'its'ap' ch-en i7Xw skwayɦ  
 work AUX-1sg every day  
 I'm gonna work every day DW 1-5-96

(12)a. tɦ'ɦq ch-en ti siyel'anem  
 arrive AUX-1sg DET year  
 I'll be here this year EL 7-6-96

b. mi-s ch-en ti siyel'anem  
 come-caus AUX-1sg DET year  
 I'm bringing it this year EL 7-6-96

Speakers differ as to the grammaticality of the eventive Verb Raising cases with the adverb usually translated as "last year", kwi (indefinite determiner) siyel'anem; while some find it grammatical and interpret the adverb as "for a year" or even "next year" as in (11)a., EL judges such cases to be ungrammatical, along with those using the adverb kwi chel'aqlɦ, "yesterday":

(13)a. \*ts'its'ap' ch-en kwi chel'aqlɦ  
 work AUX-1sg yesterday EL 7-6-96

b. \*tɦ'ɦq ch-en kwi siyel'anem  
 arrive AUX-1sg DET year EL 7-6-96

c. \*mi-s ch-en kwi siyel'anem  
 come-caus AUX-1sg DET year EL 7-6-96

(13)d. \*mi-s ch-en kwi chel'aqlɦ  
 come-caus AUX-1sg yesterday EL 7-6-96

In contrast, DW and YJ find this construction to be possible with kwi chel'aqlɦ, but in this case the past reference of the adverbial overrides the future interpretation attributed to the Verb Raising:

(14)a. ts'its'ap' ch-en kwi chel'aqlɦ  
 work AUX-1sg yesterday  
 I worked yesterday DW 1-5-96

b. Xelq-em ch-en kwi chel'aqlɦ  
 fall-intrans AUX-1sg yesterday  
 I fell yesterday YJ 6-6-96

Therefore, either this construction with past adverbials is ungrammatical, or the adverbial is interpreted in a durative or future sense except for the punctual adverb "yesterday", which results in a past interpretation; for the speaker EL, this characteristic of the Verb Raising construction distinguishes eventives and statives, which have no future interpretation and change temporal reference according to the adverb, as in Section 2; for other speakers (DW, YJ) the aspectual class made no distinction with these "past" adverbials, but reinterpreted the adverbial in the eventive cases.

The predicative adverbial lɦq' "always" is good with the stative in this order but ungrammatical with the activity verb; this is understandable if we interpret lɦq' as stative in meaning and therefore incompatible with an eventive predicate.

(15)a. \*lɦq' ilɦen ch-en  
 "doesn't make sense" DW 1-5-96; YJ 6-6-96

b. lɦq' lɦq'i7-s ch-en  
 always know-caus AUX-1sg  
 I always know YJ 6-6-96

Another predicate position adverb that take scope over the verb and inflected auxiliary is chiyalh "soon", which gives an inceptive sense in conjunction with the future interpretation of the Verb Raising construction. The use of this adverb with the stative in a Verb Raising construction is not preferred however, as illustrated by (16)b., but is "corrected" by the addition of 7ɦ as in (16)c.

- (16)a. chiyalh ilhen ch-en  
I'm gonna eat soon DW 20-3-96  
\*chiyalh ilhen chen EL 6-3-96 ; YJ 6-6-96
- b. ?chiyalh lhq'i7-s ch-en  
I'm gonna know soon YJ 6-6-96
- c. chalh ch-en 7i lhq'i7-s  
soon AUX-1sg know-caus  
I'm gonna know soon YJ 6-6-96

The use of the adverb way'ti "maybe" gives a probable future reading also compatible with this construction.

- (17) way'ti ilhen chen  
maybe eat AUX-1sg  
I'm just about to eat OR (maybe) I'm going to eat, I might eat LJ 29-3-96  
I may/might eat YJ 6-6-96

Finally, the adverb for "tomorrow" has interesting properties with this future construction in the case of the activity verb: some speakers find it good, but YJ corrected it by adding the future morpheme eq' (see the following section).

- (17)a. ilhen ch-en kwayeles  
eat AUX-1sg tomorrow  
I'm going to eat tomorrow EL 17-4-96; EL 7-6-96  
I'm gonna eat tomorrow DW 1-5-96
- b. ilhen ch-en  
eat AUX-1sg  
I will eat YJ 6-6-96
- c. \*ilhen ch-en kwayeles YJ 6-6-96
- d. ilhen-0 q-kwayeles  
eat-3sg IRR-tomorrow  
somebody, ie. he or she, is eating tomorrow EL 6-3-96

Further elicitation is required to see the effect with stative, achievement, and accomplishment verbs, to see if the other eventives are also ungrammatical for some speakers.

In summary, the Verb Raising construction provides a strategy for expressing the future of eventive predicates: for certain speakers it is incompatible with a future

adverb, but for others it is not; past time adverbs may be reinterpreted when used with this construction, or may override its future interpretation; and predicative adverbs vary widely, with lhq' selecting for a stative verb, chiyalh selecting for the marker 7i (see Section 5) and way'iti giving a probable sense compatible with the construction's future interpretation.

#### 4. Morphological Future

The morpheme eq' also gives a future interpretation in SqwXwu7mish. It attaches to the first person marking on the auxiliary, which itself may come before or after the verb (depending on the speaker); there is no restriction on the aspectual class of the verb:

- (18)a. ch-en-eq' ilhen  
AUX-1sg-FUT eat  
I'm going to eat YJ 6-6-96
- b. ch-en-eq' lhq'i7s  
AUX-1sg- FUT know  
I will know it YJ 13-3-96
- c. haw q'-uqw' ti cham ch-en -eq' wi7xw-em  
NEG IRR-?? DET do AUX-1sg-FUT drop-intrans  
Don't do that, I'll fall! YJ 3-4-96
- (19) ilhen chen-eq'  
eat AUX-1sg-FUT  
I'm gonna eat EL 7-6-96

This construction can be employed only with adverbials that specify a future time; therefore the examples in (20), (21)a., (21)b. and (22) are grammatical, but (21)c. is not.

- (20) ch-en-eq' ilhen (q) kwayeles  
AUX-1sg-FUT eat IRR tomorrow  
I'm going to eat tomorrow EL 6-3-96, EL 17-4-96  
I'm going to eat tomorrow YJ 6-6-96  
\*chen-eq' ilhen q kwayeles LJ 29-3-96 - verb must come first
- (21)a. ilhen ch-en-eq' kwayeles  
eat AUX-1sg-FUT tomorrow  
I'm gonna eat tomorrow EL 6-3-96; LJ 29-3-96; YJ 6-6-96

(21)b. ilhen ch-en-eq' taXw sqwayl  
eat AUX-1sg-FUT noon  
I'm going to eat this afternoon LJ 29-3-96

c. \*ilhen ch-en-eq' kwi chel'aqlh  
eat AUX-1sg-FUT DET yesterday EL 7-6-96

(22)a. hiy'am ch-en-eq' kwayeles  
arrive AUX-1sg-FUT tomorrw  
I will arrive tomorrow YJ 6-6-96

b. mi-s ch-en-eq' ti taXw sqwayl  
come-caus AUX-1sg-FUT DET noon  
I will bring it at noon YJ 6-6-96

In the third person, the morpheme attaches to the non-overt third person subject marking, but it never occurs before the verb:

(23)a.\*eq' ilhen-0 DW 20-3-96  
b.\*eq' wi7xw-em-0 YJ 3-4-96

(24)a. ilhen-0-eq'  
eat-3sg-FUT  
gonna eat DW 20-3-96

b. haw q'-uqw' ti cham wi7xw-em-0-eq'  
NEG IRR-?? DET do drop-intrans-3sg-FUT  
Don't do that, he'll fall! YJ 3-4-96

As with first person, the morpheme can cooccur only with time adverbials that can have a future interpretation.

(25)a. ilhen-eq' q-kwayeles  
eat-FUT IRR tomorrow  
he or she is gonna eat tomorrow EL 6-3-96

b. ilhen-eq' kwa -n men' q-kwayeles  
eat-FUT DET-1sgposs child IRR-tomorrow  
My child's gonna eat tomorrow EL 6-3-96

Example (26) shows that there does not appear to be a stative/ eventive distinction in this expression of future, although further data is needed to confirm this.

(26) lhqi7-s-t-0-as-eq'  
know-caus-trans-3sg-3erg-FUT  
he will know LJ 29-3-96

Finally, (27) is a volunteered form that shows that eq' does not always give a future reading, but can express a sense of negation:

(27) eq' wa lhqi7-s-t-as  
FUT DUR know-caus-trans-3erg  
s/he doesn't know (anything) LJ 29-3-96

Therefore, the morphological future is strictly future and has no effect on the interpretation of accompanying adverbials; the aspectual class of the verb does not restrict this morpheme's use as a future marker; further investigation of its behaviour is needed to understand its appearance in at least one context where no future interpretation is available.

### 5. Other Future Constructions

The two strategies that remain in the main clause expression of future are the go-futures as shown in (28) and (29), and the 7i inceptive future as in (30). When the verb nam' appears before the inflected auxiliary and verb, in the main predicate position, eventive verbs show a future interpretation that involves motion. When nam' occurs between the inflected auxiliary and the verb, an inchoative reading is obtained, at least in the case of the achievement verb "fall":

(28)a. nam' ch-en ilhen sq'u7 t-lhe-n si7e1  
go AUX-1sg eat with oblique-DET-1sgposs grandparent  
I'm going to eat with my grandmother EL 17-4-96

b. nam' ch-en wi7xw-em  
go AUX-1sg drop-intrans  
I'm gonna fall YJ 3-4-96

(29) ch-en nam' wi7xw-em  
AUX-1sg go drop-intrans  
I'm falling YJ 13-3-96

When 7i has scope over the inflected auxiliary and verb in their basic order, it expresses an immediate future sense:

(30) 7i ch-en ilhen  
PR AUX-1sg eat  
I'm gonna eat right now DW 20-3-96

This is intriguing as only the 7i can be giving this sentence its future interpretation, as shown in Section 2, despite its characterization in the grammar (Kuipers 1967) as a deictic temporal clitic meaning "here, now" and in Jacobs (1992) as both a present tense clitic and a verb meaning "be here". Furthermore, this clitic appears to be optionally selected by the adverb *chiyalh/chalh* "soon" to express the near future.

(31)a. *chiyálh* 7i ch-en ilhen  
soon PR AUX-1sg eat  
soon I'm gonna eat DW 20-3-96

b. *chiyálh* ch-en 7i ilhen  
pretty soon AUX-1sg PR eat  
pretty soon I'm going to eat EL 6-3-96

When the adverb and 7i take scope over the Verb Raising construction, the sentence is ungrammatical:

(32) \**chiyalh* 7i ilhen ch-en  
DW 20-3-96;EL 6-3-96

The examples in third person show that the selection relation between this adverbial and 7i is obligatory in the third person, in contrast to the example in (30).

(33)a. *chiyalh* 7i ilhen-0  
soon PR eat-3sg  
he is going to eat soon EL 6-3-96; EL 17-4-96

b. \*7i ilhen-0 EL 6-3-96

With insufficient data to compare the effects of 7i with different aspectual classes of predicate, more research is needed.

## 6. Conclusions

Differences in the constructions available to predicates to express future have been shown to distinguish between stative and eventive aspectual classes; the behaviour of noun and adjective predicates may further articulate this claim.

Furthermore, this cursory discussion raises the question as to the contexts in which each strategy is deployed: although it seems clear that 7i expresses the inceptive future and *nam'* may have an inchoative meaning, the distinctions between the tenseless future, the Verb Raising future and the morphological future are not apparent. Jacobs (1992) claims that the Verb Raising cases refer "to an intention for the near future" while "(m)ere statements of future events use the future marker"; these intuitions needed to be refined, and the place of the tenseless future determined.

Finally, the syntactic status of the future and present tense markers needs to be identified: what position must they occupy in the syntax to explain their behaviour, and how can they give readings that are in no way future or present in temporal reference?

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