Distance in Narrative Time and Space:
Aspect Markers and Determiner Choice in Martha Lamont's "Pheasant and Raven"

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Lushootseed aspect morphemes have received minimal attention in the literature on the language; Bates, Hess and Hilbert (1994) gloss the various aspectual morphemes, and Hess (1995) gives some description, but to my knowledge there is no extensive description of the choices between the various aspectual markers in a given narrative context. This paper employs Smith's (1998) framework to describe the aspectual morphemes in the initial portion of Martha Lamont's "Pheasant and Raven", a text recorded by Thom Hess in 1964 (cf. Hess (1999) and analyzed in Langen (1997) and Bates (1997). The paper also examines Mrs. Lamont's choices between proximal and distal determiners for reference to the characters in the story. I employ here a combination of Bates (1997) and Langen's (1997) transcription, episode divisions, and translations.

The literature also leaves open the question of whether Lushootseed temporal morphemes can mark tense as well as aspect; the current paper posits a past tense marker tu- and a future tense marker ɬu-; these categorizations correspond closely to the designations given to these morphemes in Bates, Hess and Hilbert (1994), but less closely to the description in Hess (1995), where they are categorized as aspect markers. Tense marking is not required for Lushootseed morphosyntax.

Smith (1998) distinguishes between situation aspect and aspectual viewpoint. She posits five universal situation aspects (Stative, Accomplishment, Achievement, Activity, and Semelfactive) and three aspectual viewpoints (perfective, imperfective and neutral). The situation aspects are part of the lexical entries for verbs in Smith's analysis, and have no morphemes that correspond to them, as Smith distinguishes between situation aspect and aspectual viewpoint. She posits five universal situation aspects (Stative, Accomplishment, Achievement, Activity, and Semelfactive) and three aspectual viewpoints (perfective, imperfective and neutral). The situation aspects are part of the lexical entries for verbs in Smith's analysis and have no morphemes that correspond to them, although certain morphemes can mark derived situation aspects; aspectual viewpoint is signaled morphologically; overt aspectual morphemes are divided into perfective and imperfective markers, while sentences with no overt aspectual morpheme have the neutral viewpoint. The neutral viewpoint is neither perfective nor imperfective; it gives information about the initial endpoint of a situation only.

The following morphemes mark perfective viewpoint aspect under the present analysis; they are given here with summaries of their descriptions in Bates, Hess and Hilbert (1994).

(1)   Perfective markers
ʔu-   an action is viewed as a whole; an action or state is finite; perfective aspect
-əxʷ   now, at the particular time; aspectual clitic contrasting an action or state with a former condition

Beck (1996) categorizes the prefix ʔu- as punctual. My categorization of -əxʷ as perfective is tentative; it focuses the initial endpoint of a new situation, and seems to contrast it with a prior situation, implying the final endpoint of the prior situation.

The morphemes in (2) signal imperfective viewpoint aspect under the present analysis.

(2)   Imperfective markers
lə-   action is ongoing, non-circumscribed, continuous, developing; acts are performed in a series or performed while moving from one place to another; action happens gradually; progressive aspect
ƛ'u-   habitual action or state
ləs-   condition or state continues through time or space, a state is viewed as contingent upon or intimately involved with some dynamic event

The Lushootseed version of the pan-Salish stative prefix ʔəs- I analyze as deriving a Stative situation aspect from a root denoting a dynamic situation; the derived Stative will denote the resulting state of an action.

Mrs. Lamont's story has three main settings and several main characters. The story begins with an introduction of Pheasant and Raven, who were neighbors in this segment of myth time. The summary of characters and settings in (4) is from Bates (1997).

(4)   Referents in "Pheasant and Raven"
a.   Characters

Pheasant$_p$	Raven$_r$	the hunters$_h$
Pheasant's wife$_{pw}$	Raven's wife$_{rw}$	the elk-pack$_e$
Pheasant's children$_{pc}$	Raven's children$_{rc}$	the dogs$_d$

b.   Settings

| home$_{home}$ | the journey path$_{jp}$ | in the high country$_{hc}$ |

In addition, the present analysis allows reference to Narration$_{narr}$, the location of the storytelling event, and to Mrs. Lamont$_{ml}$, the storyteller. Following Smith (1998), I'll also make reference to SpT (time of speech), RT (reference time), and SitT (situation time). In an extension of her analysis, it may be useful to have spatial correlates of these: SpP (speech place), RPl (reference place), and SitP (situation place).

The representations in (5) attempt to graphically encode distances in time and space from the Narration setting.

(5)   Narrative Space:
home$_{home}$ the journey path$_{jp}$ in the high country$_{hc}$ Narration$_{narr}$
--> = distance from initial setting (home)

Narrative Time:
t_1------------------------------------t_n------------------------------------t_0----
--> = distance from initial setting

Temporal distance from initial setting (identified as the time when Pheasant and Raven lived as neighbors and abbreviated here t_1). This timeline records events subsequent to this initial event on its right. The time of the narration (t_0) is either outside this timeframe, or it's the rightmost point.

Proximal and distal determiners (tiʔəʔ and tiʔiɬ, respectively) mark relationships between points in narrative space, and aspect and tense markers signal relations between points in narrative time.

With this minimal introduction, I move to a description of the aspect and determiner choice in the first three episodes of the story; this segment comprises about a quarter of the entire text.

Mrs. Lamont introduces Pheasant in line 1 with a distal determiner, situating the narrative at a distance from the place of speech, the storytelling event. The second and subsequent proximal determiners signal that the reference place is now the home setting, the initial setting of the narrative. The entire first episode is in neutral viewpoint aspect; no overt aspect marking appears except the derived stative marker, which denotes a situation aspect of Stative. Further, there is no overt tense morpheme, but stories like these are translated in past time.

Episode 1

1-3   *ML sets scene and introduces discourse referents Pheasant*
          and Raven.

1.   ?əs-ƛ̓aƛ̓-il   ti?iɬ   ?i   sgʷəlubₚ   ?i   ti?ə?   qaw'qsᵣ
       st.asp-/dwell-incep D(dist)   conj   pheasant   conj   D(prx) raven

       'Pheasantₚ and Ravenᵣ dwelled [thereₕₒₘₑ].'

Narrative Space:	homeₕₒₘₑ SitP	the journey pathⱼₚ	in the high countryₕ꜀	Narrationₙₐᵣᵣ SpP,RP

Narrative Time:	t₁——————————————————————————————————t₀—— SitT			SpT,RT

Viewpoint Aspect: neutral
Situation Aspect: derived Stative

     I propose that the Reference Time and Place are set in the narration setting at the beginning of a narrative; Smith notes that in ordinary, face-to-face discourse, the Reference Time is aligned with the time of Speech (SpT). My analysis of line 2, an echo of line 1, reflects this proposal.

2.   ?əs-ƛ̓aƛ̓-il
       st.asp-/dwell-intr

       'Theyₚ,ᵣ dwelled [thereₕₒₘₑ].'

Narrative Space:	homeₕₒₘₑ SitP, RP	the journey pathⱼₚ	in the high countryₕ꜀	Narrationₙₐᵣᵣ SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁——————————————————————————————————t₀—— SitT, RT			SpT

Viewpoint Aspect: neutral
Situation Aspect: derived Stative

3.   ?əs-/q'ʷu?=aχad   ti?ə?   sgʷəlub   ?i   ti?ə?   qaw'qs.#
       st.asp-/together=side   D(prx) pheasant   conj   D(prx) raven

       'Pheasantₚ and Ravenᵣ were neighbors.'

Narrative Space:	homeₕₒₘₑ SitP,RP	the journey pathⱼₚ	in the high countryₕ꜀	Narrationₙₐᵣᵣ SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁——————————————————————————————————t₀—— SitT, RT			SpT

The viewpoint aspect and the situation aspect stay constant for several lines.

The next several lines introduce wives and children of Pheasant and Raven; Mrs. Lamont uses proximal determiners here, even when she gives a first person main clause "I don't know who Pheasant's wife was.". The aspectual situation is unchanged.

4.   qa(h)+qa=hi?ɬ   ti?ə?   sgʷəlub.
       many+red3=infant   D(prx) pheasant

       'Pheasant [had] a lot of children.'

Narrative Space:	homeₕₒₘₑ SitP,RP	the journey pathⱼₚ	in the high countryₕ꜀	Narrationₙₐᵣᵣ SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁——————————————————————————————————t₀—— SitT, RT			SpT

5.   [?əb]s-bi+bəd+/bəda?   ?ə   ti?ə?   qah+a(h)
       poss-red1+red2+/offspring   P   D(prx) many+red3

       ti?ə?   sgʷəlub.#
       D(prx) pheasant

       'Pheasant had children a-plenty.'

Narrative Space:	homeₕₒₘₑ SitP,RP	the journey pathⱼₚ	in the high countryₕ꜀	Narrationₙₐᵣᵣ SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁——————————————————————————————————t₀—— SitT			SpT,RT

6.   gʷəl   xʷi?   kʷi   [gʷə]-d-s-əs-/hay-dxʷ   stab   tsi?ə?   cəgʷas
       conj   neg   D(hyp)   asp-1sg.S-asp-/know-tr   WH   D(prx.f)   wife

       ?ə   ti?ə?   sgʷəlub;
       P   D(prx)   pheasant

       'And I don't know who (lit., what) the wife of Pheasant was;'

Main Clause:

Narrative Space:	homeₕₒₘₑ RP	the journey pathⱼₚ	in the high countryₕ꜀	Narrationₙₐᵣᵣ SpP, SitP

Narrative Time:	t₁——————————————————————————————————t₀—— 			SpT,RT, SitP

Embedded Clause:

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
	SitP, RP			SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁--t₀----
	SitT	SpT,RT

Mrs. Lamont refers to moment of speech in the main clause; this may re-set the reference place to the Narration place. The determiners are proximal here, but she shifts to a distal determiner in the next sentence. Alternatively, the distal determiner in line 7 could be due to the fact that this is the first discourse reference to Pheasant's wife in a clause by herself.

7.   ʔa   tsiʔił   cəgʷas-s.#
       be there   D(dist.f)   wife-3sg.poss.
       'his wife was there' (or, 'he had a wife')

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
	SitP			SpP, RP

Narrative Time:	t₁--t₀----
	SitT	SpT,RT

8.   gʷəl   tiʔəʔ   qaw'qs   gʷəl   ƛ'al'   ʔəbs-bi+bəd/bədaʔ   ʔə   tiʔəʔ   bə-/qa(h).
       conj   D(prx) raven   conj   also   poss-red1+red2+/offspring   P   D(prx) rep-/many

       'And as for Raven, he also had children a-plenty.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
	SitP,RP			SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁--t₀----
	SitT,RT	SpT

The proximal determiner is used for the first discourse reference to Raven's wife, whom Mrs. Lamont names.

9.   gʷəl,   qʷəlqʷəlwič   tsiʔəʔ   cəgʷas-s.#
       conj   name   D(prx.f)   wife-3sg.poss

       'And his wife was qʷəlqʷəlwič.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
	SitP,RP			SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁--t₀----
	SitT, RT	SpT

The episode ends with an echo of line 1 and bears the same analysis.

10.   ʔəs-ƛaƛ-ił.
       st.asp-/dwell-intr

       'They_p+r+pw+pc+r+rw+rc dwelled [there_home].'

The start of the second episode is marked by a change of situation aspect from Stative to Activity and a change of viewpoint aspect from neutral to perfective. The change-of-state clitic is perfective, as suggested above, and narrative time starts to move in this second episode; Mrs. Lamont transitions from background narration to scene narration. Episode breaks are often accompanied by a pause or a change in intonation pattern; the pause comes between lines 11 and 12, however; it could be that the aspectual clues for episodic breaks are more salient than the prosodic cues.

Episode 2

11.   huy,   ʔibəš-əxʷ   tiʔəʔ   sgʷəlub.
       and-so travel.overland-cos   D(prx)   pheasant

       'And so Pheasant traveled.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
	SitP, RP			SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁--t₀----
	SitT, RT	SpT

Viewpoint Aspect:	perfective.
Situation Aspect:	Activity

12.   cuuc-əxʷ   tsiʔəʔ   cəgʷas-s.#
       say-cos   D(prx.f)   wife-3poss

       'He_p said to his wife_pw,'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
	SitP, RP			SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁--t₀----
	SitT, RT	SpT

Viewpoint Aspect:	perfective
Situation Aspect:	Activity

In the introduction to this paper, I described two tense morphemes in Lushootseed, a past and a future tense. One bit of evidence that these are indeed tense morphemes, rather than aspect morphemes, is the fact that in this entire narration, these two morphemes are almost entirely restricted to direct quotes. Since tense morphemes relate the time of a situation to the time of speech, this restriction is consistent with my claim. The story's first direct quote appears in line 13 and contains a future prefix; the reference time shifts to the time of speech. The quote continues in lines 13-15, and the future is used throughout.

13. "ɬu-/čubəʔ   čəd   [čəda]   ɬu-/ʔibəš.
     fut-/travel.inland   1sgS_p   1sgS_p   fut-/travel.overland

     'I'm_p going travelling up from shore.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
	SpP, RP	SitP		

Narrative Time:	t₁--------------------------------------t₀--------------------------------t-------
	SpT,RT		SitT

Narrative Time: t₁-----------------------------------t₀-----------------------------t-------
                                         SpT,RT   SitT

Viewpoint Aspect:	neutral
Situation Aspect:	Activity
Tense:	future

14. p'aλ'aλ'   čəd   tuχʷ   ɬu-/ʔibəš.#
     unimportant   3sgS_p   adv   fut-/travel

     'I'm going on a journey of no consequence.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
	SpP, RP	SitP		

Narrative Time: t₁-----------------------------------t₀-----------------------------t-------
                                         SpT,RT   SitT

Viewpoint Aspect:	neutral
Situation Aspect:	Activity
Tense:	future

15. ɬu-/ʔibəš   čəd   [čəda]   ɬu-/ʔuχʷ   dxʷ-/t'aq't."#
     fut-/travel   3sgS_p   3sgS_p   fut-/go   loc-/mountainward

     I'm going traveling and I will go up into the high country.'

The direct quote ends, and the scene shifts in line 16, an echo of the first line in the episode.

16. huy,   ʔibəš-əxʷ   tiʔəʔ   sgʷəlub.
     and-so travel.overland-cos   D(prx)   pheasant

     'And so Pheasant traveled.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
		SitP, RP		SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁---t₀----
	SitT, RT		SpT

Viewpoint Aspect:	perfective
Situation Aspect:	Activity

The next sentence repeats the main predicate of the previous line; narrative time moves forward through the use of the perfective change-of-state clitic.

17. ʔi·,   ʔibəš-əxʷ   dxʷ-/čad.
     yes   travel-cos   dir-/where

     'Indeed, he_p traveled everywhere.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
		SitP, RP		SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁-------- t₂---t₀----
	SitT, RT		SpT

Viewpoint Aspect:	
Situation Aspect:	Activity

The next line contains an out-of-control reduplication, which has imperfective force, combined with a perfective morpheme Beck (1997) analyses as punctual. Mrs. Lamont wraps up this episode with a few imperfective, background narration comments which repeat earlier themes.

18. paλ'aλ'   ʔu-/ʔib+ib+əš.#
     unimportant   pnt-/travel-OC

     'He_p wandered about.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
		SitP, RP		SpP

Narrative Time	t₁-------- t₂--t₀----			
	SitT, RT			SpT

Viewpoint Aspect:	imperfective
Situation Aspect:	Activity

Mrs. Lamont finishes this episode with the viewpoint aspect morpheme λ'u-, which signals a habitual action or state (BHH:155), and a derived stative. The situation place shifts back to home, but the narrative perspective is still with Pheasant.

19. χəɬ   ti   λ'(u)-as-/tagʷəxʷ   əlgʷəʔ.#
     maybe   hab-st-/hungry   3

'[Because] they_pc would be hungry, it seems.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
	SitP	RP		SpP

Narrative Time	t₁--------- t₂--t₀----		
	SitT, RT		SpT

Viewpoint Aspect:	imperfective, habitual
Situation Aspect:	Derived Stative

The next episode starts with an accomplishment in the perfective   viewpoint. Since Accomplishments are not durative, the state focused by –axʷ is the resultant state. Narrative time moves forward.

Episode 3

20-23   Pheasant comes upon two people, later identified as hunters, with dogs.

20. di·ʔɬ-əxʷ   kʷi   s-/ʔadʷq-dxʷ-s   tiʔəʔ
     suddenly-cos   D(irr)   nom- meet-tr-3S_p   D(prx)

     [s-]əs-/gʷ+aa+d-il | ʔə]   tiʔacəc   ʔacitalbixʷ
     nom-asp-/sit+red7-sf   P   D(prx. ?)   people

'Suddenly he_p met some people_h, who_h were sitting [there].'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
		SitP, RP		SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁--- t₂----t₃--t₀----		
	SitT, RT		SpT

Viewpoint Aspect:	perfective

The situation aspect is Achievement.

The proximal determiner introduces an embedded clause; the hunters, a new discourse referent, are introduced by an infrequent determiner that (to my knowledge) lacks a proximal/distal feature.

Three neutral statements (lines 21-23) conclude this short episode.

21. s[ə]+/saliʔ   tiʔəʔ   ʔacitalbixʷ.
     red4+/two   D(prx)   people

'There were two people_h.'

Narrative Space:	home_home	the journey path_jp	in the high country_hc	Narration_narr
		SitP, RP		SpP

Narrative Time:	t₁--- t₂----t₃--t₀----		
	SitT, RT		SpT

Viewpoint Aspect:	imperfective
Situation Aspect:	Stative

22. huy   dxʷ-ləgʷ+/ləgʷəb.#
     'They_h were youths.'

23. gʷəl   ʔəb(s)-s-qʷəb+/qʷəbayʔ   əlgʷəʔ?   ʔə   tə   bə-/saliʔ.#
     'And they_h have two dogs, too.'

The next episode is marked in its first sentence with a perfective prefix and the perfective clitic on an adverbial element.

Episode 4

24. tiləb-əxʷ   ʔu-dxʷs-/χʷuλ'u-t-əb-əb   tiʔəʔ   sgʷəlub.
     right.away-cos   pnt-desid-/chew-tr-pass-desid D(prx)   pheasant

'Suddenly, they_dogs wanted to chew Pheasant up.'

The next line contains the progressive prefix and contrasts Pheasants attempts to keep walking as he is interrupted by the threatening dogs.

25. lə-ʔuχʷ.
    prog-/go

'He would be going along (and they would threaten him).'

Due to time constraints, I must close this presentation here, with Pheasant in a predicament; I hope to expand this presentation at the conference. This introductory treatment should illustrate the applicability of Smith's (1998) framework to Lushootseed aspect.

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Toward an Analysis of Schwa in Sliammon*

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Stressed schwa "tends to occur only in closed syllables in Salish languages."

Kinkade (1997: 206)

1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to present a preliminary analysis of the representation and distribution of schwa (ə) in Sliammon, and to show how a surface constraint (or constraints) which bans schwa in stressed open syllables (informally abbreviated as, *Cə́) plays a central role in the organization of the grammar of the language[1]. This phonological constraint when combined with other constraints within the grammar has far-reaching implications for the phonological and morphological structure of the language. The examples of the role of (*Cə́) discussed in this paper are (1) the surface realization of glottalized resonants, (2) Onset Formation, as outlined in (3) and discussed in detail in §4. The constraint *Cə́ also plays a role in determining Control Transitive allomorphy §5.1, and helps to provide an explanation for the lack of non-reduplicative consonantal (C-) prefixes in the language §5.2.

In Blake (1992: 43-45), I observe that schwa in Sliammon tends to occur in the following two contexts: (a) in an unstressed closed syllable (i.e. CəC syllable) or (b) in an open syllable which bears primary stress (Cə́), as illustrated by the data in (1-2).

(1) Schwa in closed syllables: CəC

Input	ə-epenthesis	Output	Gloss	Source
pq-pq	pəqpəq	[pʌ́qʰpʌqʰ]	all white	MG 1988: 129
ɬin-ʔm	ɬinʔəm	[ɬénʔəm]	to barbecue (fish)	MG 1988: 434
čituxʷn	čituxʷən	[čituxʷən]	blackberry	MG 1988: 61

[1]In the discussion which follows I will be referring to surface structure constraints of the kind used within Optimality Theory (OT); however, the reader is referred to my dissertation (Blake in prep) for the formal theoretical analysis. The goal in this paper is to present the data with discussion of the kinds of constraints which drive the analysis.