Fifth International Conference on Salish Languages

Gonzaga University- Spokane, Washington.

August 17-18, 1970.

SONGISH ASPECTUAL SYSTEM.

Yolanda Adela Raffo

University of Kansas.
Songish aspectual system is characterized mainly by a contrast between actual and non-actual forms. Other aspectual forms do occur, though less frequently, expressing aspectual, referential, stative and temporal notions, signalled by particles or affixes attached to the verb root.

In the actual vs. non-actual opposition, the actual is the marked category and refers to actions or situations taking place at a particular time and being still in process or unfinished. The non-actual form is the unmarked category and refers to actions or situations which are not yet begun, or are merely conceptualized, or which have already taken place and are, therefore, completed. The non-actual is represented by the use of the root itself, optionally followed by expressions of past time such as /i?leqeq/ 'yesterday', a particle /i2/ a past tense marker, or both. Suffixes other than aspectual ones may follow the root for a variety of purposes, i.e. transitivity, affected, etc.

- actual /ye? ite ?ax/ 'we are going there'
- non-actual /ye?i?ite ?ax calieqai/ 'we went there yesterday'
  (c.f. /s?ini/ 'wife, woman' vs. /s?ini? 1a/ 'deceased wife'

Just as the non-actual is expressed, the future actions or situations may also be expressed optionally by temporal expressions such as /k'a k'ạcelas/ 'tomorrow', or a particle /se?/ a future tense marker.

- /o? k'àoaxw ite se? to?hi/ 'we'll see him'
- /k'àoâa? se? k'a k'acakas / 'I will see (you) tomorrow'
A series of processes, namely, infixation, ablaut, suffixation, metathesis and reduplication take place at the root level for the actual form.

I. Aspectual contrast by infixation.

The following monosyllabic roots infix /-?-/ for the actual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-actual</th>
<th>actual</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sák'w'-</td>
<td>sák'w-</td>
<td>'to bathe'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hés-</td>
<td>hés-</td>
<td>'to sneeze'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'ly'k'-</td>
<td>h'ly'k-</td>
<td>'to freeze'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čsélq-</td>
<td>čsélq-</td>
<td>'to follow'?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also some disyllabic roots, which undergo the same process:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-actual</th>
<th>actual</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?sk'wás-</td>
<td>?sk'wás-</td>
<td>'to teach'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'aym-</td>
<td>t'aym-</td>
<td>'to wear'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yasás-</td>
<td>yasás-</td>
<td>'to say'?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Aspectual contrast by ablaut and infixation:

This is in fact an extension of type I, where roots in /í/ infix /-?-/ for the actual and ablaut, changing /í/ for /í/. Roots in /í/ may be either monosyllabic or disyllabic too.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-actual</th>
<th>actual</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čís-</td>
<td>čís-</td>
<td>'to grow'?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. Aspectual contrast by reduplication: A few verb roots which reduplicate remain unchanged while others combine with infixation of the types mentioned above and still others undergo some, still unanalyzed, changes or expansions.

Non-actual

Actual

q'.af'qa? -
q'.af'qa? -
"to go to shore"
"to drink"

x'.y'm-
q'.e'1-
"to sell"
"to talk"

"to sing"
"to stand"

"to laugh"
"to bark, dog"
Some roots reduplicate the root vowel, infixing /-a/- between the
vowels. A shift in stress and additional changes may also occur.

Non-actual                      actual
xʷág-                      xʷaʔág-  'to cry'
λesən-                   ʔesən-    'to feast'
 tánə-               tánəʔan-  'to swim'
tékʷas-       təʔeʔwas-  'to buy'

If there is no stress shift in monosyllabic roots, the reduplicated
vowel appears as /ə/.

xəc-                     xəʔəc-  'to weigh'
hekʷ-                      heʔəkʷ-  'to remember'
se-                      seʔə-    'to lift'

The process of reduplication is also used to express the **Intensive**
or the **Iterative** aspectual form:

sexʷ  'lazy'               sexʷəxʷ  'be very lazy'
qʷel  'to talk'             qʷelqʷel  'be very talkative'
qən?  'to rob'              qənʔən?  'robbing continuously'

IV. **Aspectual contrast by metathesis.**

This seems to be the most common process to mark aspectual opposition.

Metathesis may be 'progressive' or 'regressive'.

non-actual                      actual
xʷat-                     xʷət-    'to drop'.
V. Aspe ctual contrast by suffixation.

Some monosyllabic roots have suffixed /-?-/ as an actual marker. The roots may occur with other suffixes but these are not of aspectual nature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-actual</th>
<th>actual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hay-</td>
<td>hay?-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw?-n-</td>
<td>kw?-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čán-</td>
<td>čán?-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čéw-</td>
<td>čéw?-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Stative Aspect.

Another aspectual distinction is that which is signalled by the use of the prefix /?as-/ in front of the verb root to express the state of a thing.

| ?as-łá?x?-  | 'it's all frozen' |
| ?as-?as-| 'it's all cut up' |
| ?as-q?á?-a- | 'it's broiled' |
The Resultive Aspect.

Certain verb roots undergo ablaut to express what has been called the
resultive aspect. Resultive forms are never followed by the direct transitive
suffix /-t/, which occurs with the so-called 'developmental' forms discussed
above. This second type of ablaut occurs as either /-á/- or /-ó/-.

χé- 'to be sick'
čé- 'burn it!'
χé- 'put it out!
χéy- 'to stick'
χé- 'sick'
čé- 'burnt, burning'
χéy- 'extinguished'
χéy- 'it's sticky'

The Durative Aspect.

Some verb stems can also be expanded to give the idea that an action
or situation has been going on for a period of time by using the durative
suffix /-at/ after the verb root. The durative suffix always co-occurs
with the preceding two aspectual forms but not vice versa.

x̩-k̩w̩q̩- 'to open'
x̩-w̩y̩?- 'to be awake'
l̩c̩- 'to fill'
x̩-t̩̩q̩- 'to close'
č̩s̩- 'to break'

?x̩-k̩w̩q̩- 'opened'
?x̩-w̩y̩?- 'quite awake'
?x̩-l̩c̩- 'full'
?x̩-t̩̩q̩- 'closed'
?x̩-č̩s̩- 'broken'

The Emphatic Aspect.

Emphasis is optionally expressed mainly in imperative forms. It is
signalled by the use of the emphatic particle /ča/, which occurs after all
other suffixes have been added to the verb stem.
The Causative Aspect.

Some verb roots suffix /-tx/ to express that the action or situation has been caused to be,

* שלפ? ’tx ‘to freeze’  שלפ? ’tx ‘caused to be frozen’
* קราม? ’tx ‘to milk’  קราม? ’tx ‘to nurse’
* ק’ס? ’tx ‘to see’  ק’ס? ’tx ‘to show, cause to see’

The causative suffix may co-occur with another aspectual particle /-tx/ which signals that the action is becoming to be, or developing.

/סוי? סן ’tx שאל? ’tx ‘I’m causing it to be frozen’
/סוי? סן ’tx קרא? ’tx ‘It’s becoming ripe/cooked’

Closely related to the aspectual forms is the use of the suffix /-max/ which expresses that the action is taking place without control or intension on the part of the person who performs it.

* הסל הסל ‘I hit him’
* הסל הסל ‘I hit him accidentally’
* ק’ס ‘to swallow’
* ק’ס הסל ‘I swallowed it unintentionally’
Laurence C. and M.Jerry Thompson, *Chaligraph: a preview*, in press, University of Hawai'i.

I want to thank Drs. Larry Thompson, Barbara Efrat and Dale Hinkade for their valuable suggestions on the subject in a preliminary draft of this study.

Yolanda Adelina Baffo