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SONGISH ASPECTUAL SYSTEM.

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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 /čəiʔéqəʔ/ 'yesterday', a particle /ləʔ/ 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 /yəʔ itə ʔax^W/ 'we are going there'

non-actual /yəʔlʔitə ʔax^W čəiʔéqəʔ/ 'we went there yesterday'

(c.f. /siniʔ/ 'wife, woman' vs. /siniʔ ləʔ/ 'deceased wife')

Just as the non-actual is expressed, the future actions or situations may also be expressed optionally by temporal expressions such as /kə^W k^Wéčəlas/ 'tomorrow' or a particle /səʔ/ a future tense marker.

/oʔ k^Wánax^W itə səʔ toʔniʔ/ 'we'll see him'

/k^Wánəŋə sən kə^W k^Wéčəlas / '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 /-ʔ-/ for the actual:

Non-actual	actual	
sak ^ʔ w-	sáʔk ^w -	'to bathe'
hes-	héʔs-	'to sneeze'
ɬɬlɰ ^w -	ɬɬlʔɰ ^w -	'to freeze'
čsé!q-	čséʔ!q-	'to follow'

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

Non-actual	actual	
ʔək ^w ás-	ʔək ^w áʔs-	'to teach'
táyəm-	táyʔəm-	'to wear'
yəsás-	yəsáʔs-	'to say'

II. Aspectual contrast by ablaut and infixation:

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

non-actual	actual	
čís-	čéʔs-	'to grow'

w'iq-	wə'iq-	'to yawn'
k'w'ic-	^W k'e'ic- or ^W k'e'iwac	'to butcher'
x ^W ix ^W -	x ^W e'ix ^W -	'to leak'

Disyllabic roots in /i/;

ʔiʔan-	ʔəʔiʔan-	'to eat'
k ^W iyəx-	k ^W e'iyəx-	'to move, shake int.'
təsfɪ-	təseʔɪ-	'to push aside'
ʔəx ^W is-	ʔəx ^W e'is-	'to sweep'
xətɪ-	xətəʔ-	'to do tr.'

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	
tén-	tətén-	'to go to shore'
q ^W a'iq ^W a? -	q ^W a'iq ^W a'iq ^W a? -	'to drink'
x ^W yə ^m -	x ^W x ^W yə ^m -	'to sell'
q ^W el-	q ^W ə q ^W e'el?	'to talk'
t'ɪləm-	tətə'ɪləm-	'to sing'
sɪi-	sasə'ɪi-	'to stand'
náč-	nəʔnáy-	'to laugh'
wəsa'la? -	wəʔwəʔəs-	'to bark, dog'

Some roots reduplicate the root vowel, infixing /-ʔ-/ between the vowels. A shift in stress and additional changes may also occur.

Non-actual	actual	'
x ^w áŋ-	x ^w aʔáŋ-	'to cry'
léšən-	ke.éšən-	'to feast'
táŋá-	táŋáʔáŋ-	'to swim'
ték ^w s-	təʔéʔwəs-	'to buy'

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

xéc-	xéʔəc-	'to weigh'
hék ^w -	héʔək ^w -	'to remember'
sé-	séʔə-	'to lift'

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

séx ^w	'lazy'	séx ^w səx ^w	'be very lazy'
q ^w él	'to talk'	q ^w élq ^w əl	'be very talkative'
qénʔ	'to rob'	qénʔqənʔ	'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	
x ^w át-	x ^w tá-	'to drop'

xíč-	xčí-	'to scratch'
čáx ^w -	čx ^w á-	'to add.tr.'
tá:k ^w -	tk ^w á-	'to break'
k ^w oyo:k ^w -	k ^w o?oy:k ^w -	'to fish'
čtá-	čát-	'to crawl'
k ^w sá-	k ^w s-	'to count'
čsá-	čs-	'to hit'
štá-	šát-	'to walk'

V. Aspectual 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.

non-actual	actual	
háy-	háy?-	'to finish'
k ^w n-	k ^w n?-	'to see'
čán-	čán?-	'to bury'
čéw-	čéw?-	'to admire'

The Stative Aspect.

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

lál?x ^w -	'to freeze'	ʔəs-lál?x ^w -	'It's all frozen'
líc-	'to cut'	ʔəs-líc-	'it's all cut up'
q ^w á-	'to barbecue'	ʔəs-q ^w á-	'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 /-é-/.

xíá-	'to be sick'	xéá-áá	'sick'
óq ^w á-t-	'burn it!'	óáq ^w -áá	'burnt, burning'
áá ^w á-t	'put it out!'	áá ^w -áá	'extinguished'
áá ^w á-	'to stick'	ááq ^w	'it's sticky'

The Durative Aspect.

Songish 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 /-áá/ after the verb root. The durative suffix always co-occurs with the preceding two aspectual forms but not viceversa.

x ^w -k ^w ááq-	'to open'	?áá-s-k ^w éq-áá	'opened'
x ^w ááy?-	'to be awake'	?áá-s-x ^w ááy?-áá	'quite awake'
léá-	'to fill'	?áá-s-léá-áá	'full'
x ^w -tááq-	'to close'	?áá-s-tááq-áá	'closed'
táá-	'to break'	?áá-s-táá-áá	'broken'

The Emphatic Aspect.

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

k'ans ɔ̃ə 'look at me!
 s'ən ɔ̃ə 'walk!
 k'ənəpət ɔ̃ə 'run!
 ɔ̃ə'ət ɔ̃ə 'burn it!'

The Causative Aspect.

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

k'əl? x ^W -	'to freeze'	s'əl?x ^W -tx ^W	'caused to be frozen'
q'ənə?	'to milk'	q'ənə?-tx ^W	'to nurse'
k'ən- k'ən	'to see'	k'ən -tx ^W	'to show, cause to see'

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

/é'et sən tx^Wa s'əl?x^W tx^W / 'I'm causing it to be frozen'
 / ?ən ?ən ɔ̃ə tx^Wa q'á'itə? / 'It's becoming ripe/cooked'
 / to? k'ə ɔ̃ə tx^Wa ɔ̃ə'et? i? tx^Wa :ɔ̃ə / 'It's getting to be dark'

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

ɔ̃ə'st sən 'I hit him'
 ɔ̃ə-nax^W sən 'I hit him accidentally'
 n'əq- 'to swallow'
 n'əq-nax^W sən 'I swallowed it unintentionally'

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