

Henry-Rodriguez\_#HE20216FLW

1/12 “A case for perfect aspect in Ventureño Chumash”

Ventureño (VEO) is a Chumashan language previously spoken along the central California coast. It was documented by John Peabody Harrington in the early 1900’s.

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Image 1a: Map of Chumashan languages

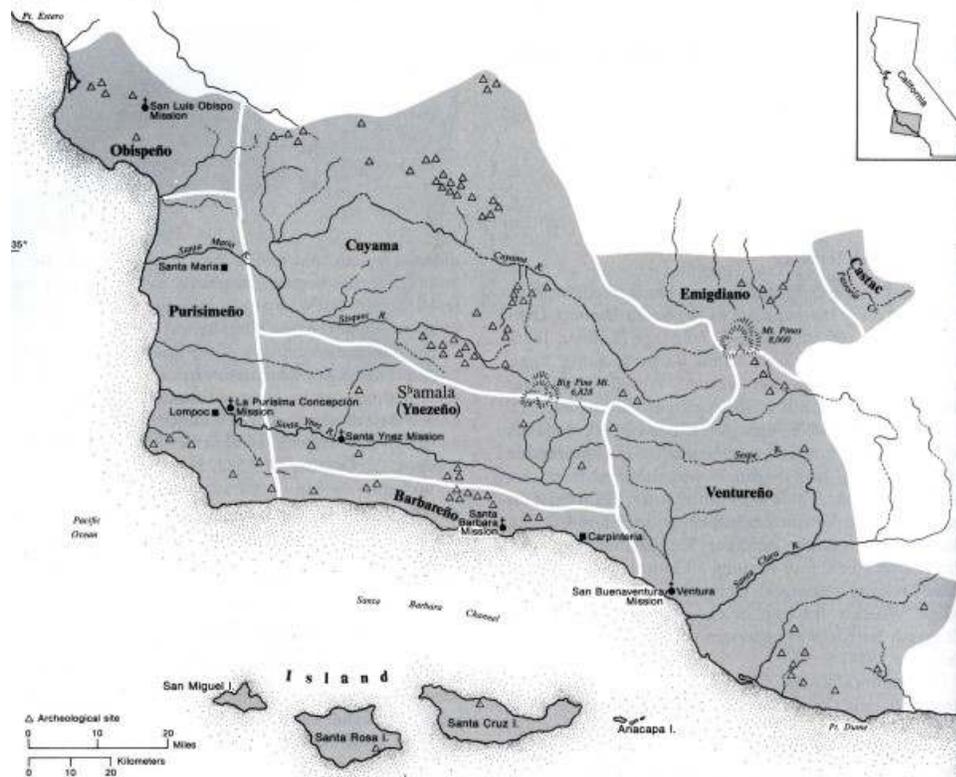
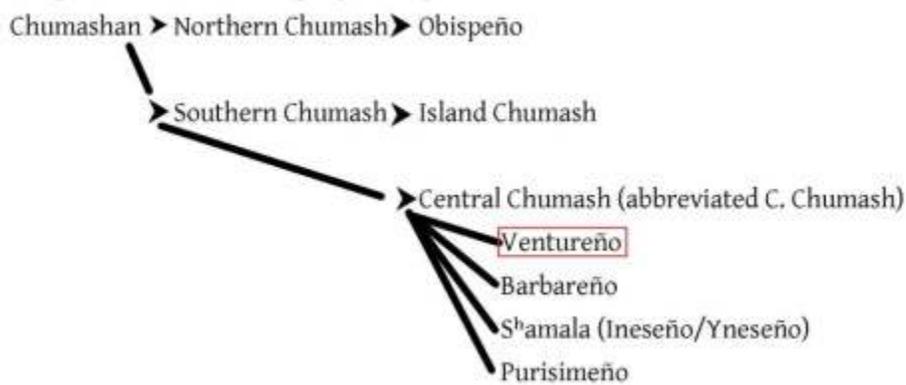


Image 2a: Chumashan language family



2/12 In 1973, Applegate asserted that VEO could convey perfect aspect. He offered little more than one example, however. This paper establishes that the VEO perfect does indeed exist, and the paper expands upon Applegate's initial hypothesis. Textual and elicited data are used.

Image 2a: Ventureño consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	Plain	p	t		k	q	'
	Ejective	p̰	t̰		k'	q̰	
	Aspirated	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup>	
Fricatives	Plain		s	š		x	h
	Ejective					x̰	
	Aspirated		s <sup>h</sup>	š <sup>h</sup>			
Affricates	Plain		ts	tš			
	Ejective		t̰s̰	t̰š̰			
	Aspirated		ts <sup>h</sup>	tš <sup>h</sup>			
Nasals	Plain	m (m <sup>b</sup> )	n				
	Glottalized	m̰	n̰				
Approximants	Plain	w			y		
	Glottalized	w̰			y̰		
Lateral	Approximant		l				
	Fricative		ɬ				

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Image 2c: Data are from Henry-Rodriguez (2019) unless otherwise noted.

3/12 The perfect is considered a type of aspect, but distinct from the (im)perfective distinction. The perfect can consider all parts of a situation as a whole, like the perfective, but the perfect deals with the status of one situation and its relevance to some prior situation.

4/12 The verbal prefix of interest here is ne'e-, w/ the form na- that is used with a negative affix. ne'e- has several dialectal forms. In the following tweets, I will show how ne'e- fulfills multiple typological expectations for a perfect construction.

5/12 Perfect as a result: the so-called 'classic perfect.' Indicates the continued relevance of a past situation, and these semantics are present in other uses of the perfect. This general use of the perfect is illustrated in Images 3-6.

Image 3a: Perfect as a result

*kiwə munašištiyepušwaš haltskumi lokaʰanwa*

kəwə      mu-na-ts-iš-tiyepus-waš      hal-ts-kumi      lo'ka-ʰanwa  
because    NEG-PRF.NEG-3.SBJ-DU-inform-PST    NZ.IRR-3.SBJ-arrive    NPROX.DEF-WOMAN  
'for they had not told him [the brother] of the arrival of the woman'

Image 3b: Explanation of 3a

In Image 3a, there is an example of the perfect from The Gluttonous Woman (a historical myth). It is, in the story, currently relevant that the brother has not been informed of the arrival of the woman, who had been bathing daily in the brother's very pool. This is of continuing relevance to the story line, however, as the woman's actions are found out, and this moves the story forward.

6/12 Experiential perfect indicates a situation has held at least once some time in the past leading up to the present (where it no longer holds). Aka ‘existential perfect’ and ‘indefinite perfect.’ Bill has been to America (ex prf) vs. Bill has gone to America (prf of a result).

Image 4a: Experiential perfect

*ne'ek<sup>h</sup>qisənwəš sihaw ša'altonowš kisits'ots'oho'oy 'an tšišuš'utš*

ne'e-k-qisə-n-wəš      si-haw-'

PRF-1.SBJ-see-VZ.II-PST    INDEF-fox-FG

si='al-tonowš              ki=si-ts'ots'oho'oy    'an      ts-i-šuš'utš

REL=NZ-have.mange      SBO=INDEF-others    REL      3.SBJ-PL-have.much.hair

‘I have seen some foxes with their hair out and others with lots of hair.’

Image 4b: Explanation of 4a

In Image 4a, there is an example from a short stream of speech where the speaker talks about having seen foxes with and without mange. The event of seeing this happened several times in the past, but no longer seems to be something the speaker experiences.

7/12 Third type of perfect is the perfect of a persistent situation. Marks a situation that started in the past and persists or continues into the present, as in the English we've lived here for 10 years (and still do). Past situation has current on-going relevance.

Image 5a: Perfect of a persistent situation

*ne'es'əhə 'išup sikilike 'iti 'išup, k'uwe kayukaqša. (3.89.71.3)*

ne'e-ts-'əhə      si-šup      si=k-ilike      'iti      si-šup

PRF-3.SBJ-be.many    PART-year    REL=3.SBJ-sit    here    PART-world

k'uwe      kayu-k-aqša

CONCESS    IMM-1.SBJ-die

'I have lived many years in the world, but now I am going to die.'

Image 5b: Explanation of 5a

The time lived on earth is relevant right up to the current situation where the speaker will soon die.

8/12 Aka the ‘hot news’ perfect. Used when the present relevance of a past situation is one of temporal closeness. The hot news perfect is commonly used with a reduplicated verb, and this is perhaps an unexpected use of reduplication in the lg.

Image 6a: Perfect of a recent past (Gluttonous Woman: line 15)

*laswaywayina’at’ išayuqšnə’əp xa’ax išhiliyəwyəw*  
‘she went slowly, sad at heart’

*ne’esaxikəhənus lokaš’ap<sup>h</sup>anəšmu lokaskoko*

*ne’e-ts-axikəhən-us lo’ka-ts-’ap<sup>h</sup>anəšmu lo’ka-ts-koko*  
PRF-3.SBJ-be.near-APL NPROX.DEF-3.POSS-village NPROX.DEF-3.POSS-father  
‘and now she had already drawn hear to the rancheria of her father’

Image 6b: Perfect of a recent past (Harrington 1986: 3.89.330.2-3)

*lokasapiyi ’an ne’esxa’a’ax*

*lo’ka-ts-apiyi ’an ne’e-ts-xa’ax*  
NPROX.DEF-3.SBJ-conflagration REL PRF-3.SBJ-big.TRI

‘the conflagration is getting bigger’

(or, perhaps, ‘the conflagration has already grown big (and continues to grow)’)

Image 6c: Explanation of Images 6a and 6b

In 6a, a woman was travelling and suddenly comes upon her father’s village. In story, the discovery had just happened. In 6b, the size to which the mountain fire has grown is immediately relevant to the ongoing development of the fire.

9/12 While many languages with perfect morphosyntax have only one use of the construction (e.g., perfect as a result), Ventureño, conveys all types of perfect semantics discussed in Comrie 1976. We can indeed establish this grammatical category for the language.

10/12 VEO has 3 tenses: past, future, immediate future (tense is only marked if it differs from the tense of the speech act). The perfect cannot be used with the future *hu-*, but it is possible to combine it on the same verb with the immediate *kayu-* to convey prospective aspect.

11/12 Prospective aspect is used when the relevancy of a future event is tied to a current situation, and this explains the uses of *ne'e-* and *kayu-* in Images 7a,b. This co-opting of the perfect for its current relevance semantics seems to be a newer development in the language.

#### Image 7a: Prospective aspect

*ne'ekayuskumli lokayusyət kamunašəš* (Henry: 2012b: line 9)

*ne'e-kayu-ts-ku'um-li lo'ka-hu-ts-yət ka-nunašəš*

PRF-IMM-3.SBJ-COME-DIR NPROX.DEF-FUT-3.SBJ-arrive DEF-devil

'the time is approaching for the devil to come'

#### Image 7b: Prospective aspect (w/ perfect of a recent past)

*ne'ekayusaxsəw he'išolop, ne'eštšeqtšeq.* (3.91.301.3)

*ne'e-kayu-ts-axsəw he'si-šolop ne'e-ts-tšeq~tšeq*

PRF-IMM-3.SBJ-be.dry PROX.INDEF-mud PRF-3.SBJ-crack.REDUP

Original translation: 'the mud is drying, it is cracking in every direction'

Suggested more accurate translation: 'the mud will soon be dry, it has (already) begun cracking'

12/12 Data from Henry(-Rodriguez) 2012a, b; 2012, 2019, and Harrington 1986. Aspect Bybee et al. 1994, Comrie 1976, Declerck 1997, Declerck & Reed 2000, and Michaelis 1998.

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