Expressing Associated Motion Using Hul'q'umi'num' Salish SVCs*

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Abstract: This paper explores how associated motion (AM) is expressed in serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Hul'q'umi'num', the Island dialect of Halkomelem Salish. While AM has largely been treated as a morphological phenomenon, it can also be expressed using SVCs. AM SVCs typically consist of a motion verb and a verb from another semantic class. I address three types of AM SVCs: one with a simultaneous event order and two with sequential event order. Most often, simultaneous event order is conveyed using imperfective aspect while sequential order exhibits plain perfective aspect. Sequential motion SVCs most frequently have a purposive meaning 'go (in order to) V'. There is also a subsequent motion construction consisting of a verb followed by a motion verb with causative morphology with the meaning 'X did V to Y and then X took Y (somewhere)'. This work is completed using elicited and text corpus data.

Keywords: serial verb, associated motion, Halkomelem Salish, Hul'q'umi'num'

1 Introduction

This paper explores associated motion serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Hul'q'umi'num', the Island dialect of Halkomelem Salish (ISO 639-3: hur). One objective of our research on the language is the in-depth study of aspects of Hul'q'umi'num' that differ significantly from those of English and are thus difficult to translate and are subject to loss through interference. One understudied feature of some Central Salish languages is serial verb constructions (cf. Montler 2008; Schneider 2021). 'Serial verb constructions' (SVCs) consist of two or more verbs that can function as independent lexical verbs, share a subject, have matching aspect, and are not connected by any sort of linking element (Schneider 2021). 'Associated motion' (AM) is defined as a verbal grammatical category whose function is to associate different kinds of translational motion to a verb event (Guillaume & Koch 2021:3). While associated motion has largely been treated as a morphological phenomenon, it can also be expressed using serialized verbs (Lovestrand & Ross 2021). An example of an associated motion serial verb construction (AM SVC) is provided below.[1]

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[1] Abbreviations used in the paper: 1, 2, 3 = person marking, ACT = actual, AUX = auxiliary, CN = connective element, CNJ = conjunction, CS = causative, DIM = diminutive, DIST = distal, DT = determiner, DYN = dynamic, FOC = focus, FUT = future, HS = hearsay, IPFV = imperfective, LCTR = limited control transitive, MID = middle, MIR = mirative, N = nominalizer, NOM = nominative, OBL = oblique, PAS = passive, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, POS = possessive, POT = potential, PRF = perfective, PROX = proximal, PST = past, RDP = reduplication, RL = rhetorical lengthening, SG = singular, SUB = subject, TR = transitive, V_1 = first verb in series, V_2 = second verb in series, < > = non-concatenative morphology.

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(1) ni’ ’utl’qul’ lemutus tthu sqwumey’.

niʔ	**ʔəɬ̓qəl̓**	**lem-ət-əs**	tθə	sqʷəmeẏ̓
AUX.DIST	go.out	look-TR-3SUB	DT	dog

‘He went out to look at the dog.’ (EC 18101)

This example consists of a motion verb *’utl’qul’* ‘go out’ and a non-motion verb *lemutus* ‘look at it’. This paper will demonstrate how Hul’q’umi’num’ utilizes serial verbs to form associated motion constructions. This work is accomplished through examination of data from dictionaries (e.g., Hukari & Peter 1995), elicitation, and a text corpus.[2] The following section (Section 1.1) briefly provides additional background information about the Hul’q’umi’num’ language and Section 1.2 introduces motion SVCs in the language.

1.1 Language and Context

Halkomelem is one of twenty-three Salish languages currently or historically spoken in British Columbia, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Oregon. The Salish language family is divided into five branches: Bella Coola, Central, Salish, Tillamook, Tsamosan, and Interior Salish. Halkomelem is a Central Salish language consisting of three main dialects: Hul’q’umi’num’ (Island: Cowichan, Nanaimo), həṅq̓əmiṅəm̓ (Downriver: Musqueam), and Halq’eméylem (Upriver: Chilliwack). Today, only around forty fluent Hul’q’umi’num’ speakers remain, mostly over the age of 70, but the language is also spoken by over 200 second-language speakers.

All Salish languages are predicate-initial. In Hul’q’umi’num’, VSO (a) is the basic word order, but VOS (b) is also possible (Gerdts & Hukari 2003).

(2) a. ni’ punutus lhu q’e’mi’ kwthu sqewth.

niʔ	pən-ət-əs	łə	q̓eṁiʔ	kʷθə	sqewθ
AUX.DIST	plant-TR-3SUB	DT	girl	DT	potato

‘The girl planted the potatoes.’ (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010:25)

b. ni’ punutus kwthu sqewth lhu q’e’mi’.

niʔ	pən-ət-əs	kʷθə	sqewθ	łə	q̓eṁiʔ
AUX.DIST	plant-TR-3SUB	DT	potato	DT	girl

‘The girl planted the potatoes.’ (Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010:25)

Canonically, as demonstrated here, NPs appear post-verbally (cf. Gerdts 1988). The verb may be preceded by an auxiliary, linking element, adverb, or certain clitics (Gerdts & Werle 2014:263). For example, first- and second-person subject clitics occur in second position after the first available host, such as *tsun* ‘first-person singular subject’ below.

[2] Delores Louie (DL) and the late Dr. Ruby Peter (RP) provided the elicited data. The collection and compilation of texts was completed by Donna Gerdts and funded by SSHRC, SFU, and JRF. My thanks to the many Elders whose recordings make up the 17,000-line text corpus, and thanks to the researchers who recorded these legacy stories: Donna Gerdts, Tom Hukari, Randy Bouchard, Wayne Suttles. The elders referenced in this paper include Cecelia Leo Alphonse (CA), Basil Alphonse (BA), Elsie Canute (EC), Manson George (MG), Arnold Guerin (AG), Sophie Misheal (SM), Wilfred Sampson (WSa), W. Seymour (WSe), Eva Thomas (ET), Samuel Tom (ST), and Ellen White (EW).

(3) ni’ tsun qw’aqwut tthu spe’uth.

niʔ	cən	q̓ʷaqʷ-ət	tᶿə	speʔəθ
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	club-TR	DT	bear

‘I clubbed the bear.’ (Gerdts 2010a:575)

The verb complex in this example is made up of an auxiliary introducer clitic /niʔ/, a second-position subject clitic /cən/, and the transitive main verb.[3] The object NP follows the verb complex.

Throughout this paper, I will distinguish between SVCs, which are monoclausal, and constructions consisting of multiple linked clauses. In order for a construction consisting of multiple verbs to qualify as an SVC, it must not contain any linking elements between the component verbs (cf. Cleary-Kemp 2015; Haspelmath 2016). There can be no relationship of coordination or subordination between the verb components. The table below provides a brief overview of a selection of the linking elements found in Hul’q’umi’num’:

Table 1: Linking elements in Hul’q’umi’num’

Orth.	APA	Gloss
’i’	/ʔiʔ/	‘conjunction’
’uw’	/ʔəẇ/	‘connective’
(suw’	/səẇ/)	‘connective + nominalizer’
kws	/kʷs/	‘determiner + nominalizer’

The linking elements /ʔiʔ/ ‘conjunction’ and /ʔəẇ/ ‘connective’ function as both intraclausal and interclausal linkers (Bätscher 2014). They can link elements within the same clause, e.g., (4) and (5), verbs, e.g., (6) and (7), and separate clauses, e.g., (8) and (9).

(4) tl’lim’ **’uw’** t’et’iyuq’ tthu swiw’lus.

ƛ̓liṁ	**ʔəẇ**	ṫeṫiyəq̓	tᶿə	swiẇləs
really	CN	angry	DT	boy

‘The young man is really angry.’ (RP) (Bätscher 2014:5)

(5) tsulel **’i’** ni’ tl’hwunuq.

cəlel	**ʔiʔ**	niʔ	ƛ̓xʷ-ənəq
almost	CNJ	AUX.DIST	beat-people

‘He almost won.’ (DL) (Bätscher 2014:5)

In (4) and (5) the linkers /ʔəẇ/ and /ʔiʔ/ are used to link adverbs to the predicate they modify.

Next, both of these linkers can be used to link two verbs. When linking verbs, /ʔiʔ/ is used for simultaneity of events (6), while /səẇ/ (/s-/ ‘nominalizer’ + /ʔəẇ/ ‘connector’) is used for sequences of events (7) (Gerdts 2016).

[3] In this paper in the APA line of the examples, inner clitics (such as the dynamic clitic /yə=/) will be marked with “=” and outer clitics (such as introducer clitics like /niʔ/ ‘distal auxiliary’ and second position clitics like /cən/ ‘first person singular subject’) will be marked as separate words. See Gerdts and Werle (2014) for discussion of inner and outer clitics.

(6) ni’ q’uwutum **’i’** t’ilum kwthu slhunlheni’.

niʔ	q̓əwətəm	**ʔiʔ**	t̓iləm	kʷθə	słənłeniʔ
AUX.DIST	drum	CNJ	sing	DT	women

‘The women drummed and sang.’ (at the same time) (Gerdts 2016:1)

(7) ni’ t’ilum kwthu slhunlheni’ **suw’** qw’uyilush**s**.

niʔ	t̓iləm	kʷθə	słənłeniʔ	**s-əẇ̓**	q̓ʷəyiləš-**s**
AUX.DIST	sing	DT	women	N-CN	dance-3POS

‘The women sang and then danced.’ (Gerdts 2016:1)

Notice that the nominalization of /ʔəẇ̓/ in (7) requires a corresponding enclitic /=s/ (third-person) on the first predicational element of the nominalized clause.

Finally, the linker /ʔiʔ/ serves to coordinate two clauses (8), and /ʔəẇ̓/ subordinates one clause to another (9) (Bätscher 2014):

(8) [xte’um tst tse’ ’u kw’ s’ulhtun] **’i’** [m’i tsun tse’ tl’eshut tthu swaw’lus].

[	x̌teʔ-əm	ct	ceʔ	ʔə	k̓ʷ	s-ʔəłtən]	**ʔiʔ**
	make-MID	1PL.SUB	FUT	OBL	DT	STA-eat	CNJ

[	m̓i	cən	ceʔ	λ̓ešət	tʰə	swaẇ̓ləs]
	come	1SG.SUB	FUT	invite	DT	boy.PL

‘We’re going to make something to eat, and I’ll invite the young men.’ (WSe)
(Bätscher 2014:4)

(9) [ni’ ch tssetham’sh] **’uw’** [nem’un’ nets’uw’t-hwum].

[	niʔ	č	cse-θam̓š	] **ʔəẇ̓**
	AUX.DIST	2SG.SUB	tell-TR.1SG.OBJ	CN

[	nem̓-ən̓	nec̓-əẇ̓txʷ-əm	]
	go-1SG.SUB	different-house-MID	

‘You told me to go visit.’ (RP) (Bätscher 2014:4)

Halkomelem possesses three distinct nominalization constructions: lexical nominalization, predicate nominalization, and clausal nominalization (Thompson 2011:1). Hul’q’umi’num’ uses nominalized clauses for a wide variety of purposes. One of these purposes is negation. Negation in Hul’q’umi’num’ can take the form of two different constructions. The first involves a negator, a determiner/nominalizer, and a nominalized clause, such as in (10), and the second involves a negator, a subject clitic, and a conjunctive clause, such as in (11) (cf. Davis 2005).

(10) ’uwu kws ’ikw’s tthu sqwul’qwul’.

ʔəwə	kʷs	[	ʔik̓ʷ=s	tʰə	sqʷəl̓qʷəl̓]	
NEG	DT.N		lost=3POS	DT	story	

‘And stories never get lost.’ (MG 1374)

(11) ’uwu niis tus ’u tthu stth’am’s.

ʔəwə	[	niʔ=əs	tus	ʔə	t^{θ}ə	st̓^{θ}am̓s]
NEG		AUX=3SUB	arrive	OBL	DT	bone

‘And it didn’t penetrate to the bone.’ (MG 1715)

In (10), /k^{w}s/ introduces a nominalized clause and the corresponding nominalizing enclitic /=s/ (third person) occurs on the first available predicational element of that clause, in this case /ʔik̓^{w} / ‘lost’. In (11), the second-position third-person subject clitic attaches to the first available host in its clause, in this case the distal auxiliary, forming the contraction *niis*.

Examples (6) and (7) demonstrate one of the syntactic means in which Hul’q’umi’num’ encodes sequential and simultaneous event order, respectively. Section 2 addresses the manner in which simultaneous event order can also be encoded using motion serial verbs. Section 3 addresses the manner in which sequential event order is encoded with motion serial verbs. In addition, the discussion of negation is reemerging in Section 3.1. The following section provides an overview of the types of motion SVCs found in Hul’q’umi’num’.

1.2 Motion SVCs in Hul’q’umi’num’

Typologically, motion SVCs can be divided into two overarching types: directional motion and associated motion (Lovestrand & Ross 2021). Directional SVCs consist of two motion verbs, where at least one contributes path information. Hul’q’umi’num’ exhibits three subtypes: (i) SVCs consisting of a manner and a path verb (12), (ii) SVCs consisting of multiple path verbs (13), and (iii) an asymmetrical SVC made up of *huye’* ‘leave’ preceding another motion verb, either manner (14) or path (15) (Schneider in press).

(12) TYPE I: MANNER + PATH

ni’ tsun **’ushul t’akw’**.

niʔ	cən	**ʔəšəl**	**t̓ak̓^{w}**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	paddle	go.home

‘I paddled home.’ (DL 26.04.22)

(13) TYPE II: PATH + PATH

sis m’iw’ **t’ahw ’ewu** ’utl’ *Oakville*.

sis	m̓iw̓	**t̓ax^w**	**ʔewə**	ʔəƛ̓	*Oakville*
N.AUX.3POS	AUX.come.CN	go.downhill	come	OBL.DT	Oakville

‘And they came down to Oakville.’ (ST 8040)

(14) TYPE III: *huye’* + MANNER

’i tsun **huye’ ’imush**.

ʔi	cən	**həyeʔ**	**ʔiməš**
AUX.PROX	1SG.SUB	leave	walk

‘I’m going for a walk.’ (RP 13.09.19)

(15) TYPE III: *huye'* + PATH
si.i.is 'uw' **huye' shaqwul**.

sis	ʔəẇ	**həyeʔ**	**šaqʷəl**
N.AUX.3POS(RL)	CN	leave	go.across

'And they set out across (the lake).' (CA 19609)

In the first type, illustrated in (12), one of the verbs indicates the direction of motion and the other usually indicates the manner. While certain verbs exhibit more flexibility than others, most often the manner verb occurs first, and the path verb typically occurs second.[4] In the second type, (13), both verbs indicate direction; each of the verbs may encode the starting point, general trajectory, or endpoint. The ordering of these verb components is flexible with a tendency towards a logical ordering such as iconicity and specificity. For example, in (13) above, the trajectory 'downhill' precedes the destination 'come to Oakville'. The final type, (14) and (15), utilizes the verb *huye'* 'leave'. This is both the most frequently serialized verb in the text corpus, occurring over twice as often as the next most frequent, and is also the only verb that exhibits a strong preference for occurring as the first verb component when serialized.[5] Both the frequency and inflexibility of ordering indicates that a process of grammaticalization is ongoing. The verb *huye'* is beginning to take on a more auxiliary-like function.[6]

While directional SVCs consist of two (or more) motion verbs, AM SVCs consist of one motion verb, and another from a different class of verbs. In recent literature, the label 'associated motion' is being used to refer to morphemes which add motion to a (typically) non-motion event (Ross 2021:31). A similar label, 'associative motion', has been used in Hul'q'umi'num' literature and I will digress very briefly to distinguish these two concepts.

Gerdts and Hukari (2006, 2011) refer to 'associative' meaning in their typology of causatives. Hul'q'umi'num' has a large class of motion verbs that form causatives, which can have either a causative meaning (16), or an associative meaning (17), which is more the more common use.

(16) ni' tst **huye'stuhw** kwthu John.

niʔ	ct	**həyeʔ-stəxʷ**	kʷθə	John
AUX.DIST	1PL.SUB	leave-CS	DT	John

'We made John leave.' (Gerdts & Hukari 2006:133)

(17) ni' tsun **huye'stuhw** kwthu sqwumey'.

niʔ	cən	**həyeʔ-stəxʷ**	kʷθə	sqʷəmeẏ
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	leave-CS	DT	dog

'I took the dog along.' (Gerdts & Hukari 2006:134)

Here, the label 'associative motion' refers to when the object of the causative expresses that the person or thing is taken or brought along during the doing of the motion. The effect of the causative morpheme is to indicate that both the causee and the causer move together along the trajectory of

[4] In two-verb MANNER+PATH SVCs in the text corpus, excluding *huye'* 'leave', which behaves differently, the manner verb preceded the path verb approximately 89.4% of the time.

[5] The verb *huye'* 'leave' occurs in 46 two-verb SVCs in the text corpus, the next three most common directional verbs each occur in about 20 two-verb SVCs. In addition, *huye'* occurs as the first of two serialized verbs in 45 of the 46 cases.

[6] The evidence and rationale for the division of directional SVCs into the three categories as well as additional evidence for the current status of the verb *huye'* 'leave' is discussed at length in Schneider (in press).

the motion event and are therefore associated. 'Associated motion' (AM), on the other hand, is defined "as a verbal grammatical category, separate from tense, aspect, mood, and direction, whose function is to associate… different kinds of translational motion to a verb event" (Guillaume & Koch 2021:3). Cavineña (ISO 639-3: cav), for example, has seven suffixes expressing different AM values:

(18) Cavineña (Takanan; Guillaume & Koch 2021:4)

ba-	'see O'
ba-ti-	'go and see O'
ba-na-	'come and see O'
ba-aje-	'see O while going'
ba-be-	'see O while coming'
ba-kena-	'see O and go'
ba-dadi-	'see O while O is moving away'
ba-tsa-	'see O while O is approaching'

While AM has largely been treated as a morphological phenomenon, it can also be expressed by clitics, particles, auxiliaries, or serialized verbs (Guillaume & Koch 2021). There are three types of AM SVCs typologically (Lovestrand & Ross 2021):

(19)
- Concurrent motion
  - MOTION + ACTION (simultaneous, flexible order)
- Prior/purposive motion
  - MOTION → ACTION COMPLETED/INTENDED (sequential, iconic order)
- Subsequent motion
  - ACTION → MOTION (sequential, iconic order)

The following sections are concerned with SVCs consisting of one motion verb and one non-motion verb. From this point on, it should be noted that *motion* refers to translational motion, i.e., motion that involves change of location. This excludes verbs such as *dance*, *wave*, *kneel*, etc. that entail motion but not movement across space. Concurrent motion describes a motion and an action that are being completed simultaneously (Section 2). In Hul'q'umi'num', the verbs in this construction are frequently in imperfective aspect. Purposive motion describes two sequential subevents where a motion event occurs prior to another (intended) event (Section 3.1). The opposite order, where the action occurs first and the motion event second, is rarely expressed using SVCs except in specific contexts involving associative motion, and these data will be discussed in Section 3.2. The next section addresses concurrent motion SVCs, where the motion event is understood to be simultaneous with the non-motion action or event.

2 Simultaneous Subevents

Concurrent motion SVCs consist of a motion verb and a non-motion verb with a simultaneous reading (Lovestrand & Ross 2021:101). One common pattern in Hul'q'umi'num' is that imperfective aspect is used to give SVCs a concurrent reading. Below are two examples in which the motion verb is *sisuxwum'* 'wading out'.

(20) sus ’uw’ nem’ tst ’uw’ **sisuxwum’ lhilhuts’ut**.

səs	ʔəẇ	neṁ	ct	ʔəẇ	**sisəx̌ʷəṁ**	**liləc̓-ət**
N.AUX.3POS	CN	go.AUX	2PL.SUB	CN	wade<IPFV>	cut-TR<IPFV>

‘And we would wade into the water and cut (the bulrushes).’ (ET 28247)

(21) ni’ tsun ’uw’ ni’ ’ul’ ’u tthu tsetsuw’ kwunus **hiiw’a’lum’ sisuxwum’**.

niʔ	cən	ʔəẇ	niʔ	ʔəl̓	ʔə	tθə	cecəẇ
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	CN	AUX.DIST	just	OBL	DT	beach

kʷənəs	**hi:ẇal̓uṁ**	**sisəx̌ʷəṁ**
DT.1POS	play<IPFV>	wade<IPFV>

‘So, I just stayed at the beach and just played, waded in the water.’ (BA 109)

In example (20), *sisuxwum’* ‘wading’ and *lhilhuts’ut* ‘slicing, cutting it’ are happening at the same time. Similarly, in (21), the speaker is in the water while playing.

The dynamic proclitic /yə=/ often co-occurs with imperfective aspect.

(22) yu ’i-i-imush ts’u tthu xeel’s, ’uw’ yath ’uw’ **yu** ’i’mush **yu** le’lum’utus tthu mustimuhw ni’ulh **yu** lhelhuq’utus…

yə=ʔiməš	c̓ə	tθə	x̌e:l̓s
DYN=walk	HS	DT	Xeel’s

ʔəẇ	yaθ	ʔəẇ	**yə**=ʔiṁəš	**yə**=leł̓əṁ-ət-əs
CN	always	CN	DYN=walk	DYN=look-TR-3SUB< IPFV>
tθə	məstiməxʷ	niʔ=ʔəł	**yə**=łełəq̓-ət-əs	
DT	people	AUX=PST	DYN=lay.down-TR-3SUB<IPFV>	

‘Xeel’s was walking along, always walking and looking at the people that he had put down on earth…’

(EW 10290)

In this example, the creator *Xeel’s* is doing the walking and looking, and these actions are continuously happening at the same time.

To see how the meaning was impacted, I changed the verbs in the corpus examples in (20) to perfective in (23) below.[7]

(23) nem’ tst **sixwum lhits’ut** tthu stth’e’qun.

neṁ	ct	**six̌ʷəm**	**łic̓-ət**	tθə	st̓θeʔqən
go.AUX	2PL.SUB	wade(PFV)	cut-TR(PFV)	DT	bulrush

‘We go into the water and cut the bulrushes.’ (DL 06.12.21)

When these verbs are used in the perfective, the default reading is sequential. The sequential versus simultaneous reading when the verbs are perfective seems to be flexible based on the semantics of the verb and the discourse context of the sentence. In discussing (23) with DL (21.10.21), a simultaneous reading is possible if the action of cutting the bulrushes is conceptualized as taking place while you are standing in the water. The following example provides another case where the

[7] Perfective aspect is encoded by the plain form of the verb and thus is unmarked. It has been made explicit in (23) using ‘(PFV)’ for clarity but elsewhere in the paper it should be assumed that the verb is perfective unless otherwise indicated by the gloss.

sequential versus simultaneous reading is context dependent. In the example below, a man has shot a seal and swims out to get it. When he reaches the seal, there is a lot of splashing and struggling and the man disappears from view, getting taken away:

(24) nem' **huya'stum tl'uyq'ustum** sus 'uw' thuhw.

nem̓	**həyaʔ-st-əm**	**ƛ̓əyq̓-əst-əm**	səs	ʔəẇ	θəxʷ
go.AUX	leave-CS-PAS	pin.down-CS-PAS	N.AUX.3POS	CN	disappear

'He (the man) was taken away, pinned down, and he disappeared.' (WSa 410)

In context, these verbs are understood as simultaneous; V_2 describes the manner in which the man was taken away. Outside of the specific context where the subject argument is struggling to get free, this perfective verb combination defaults to a sequential reading (DL 01.10.21).

The three-verb example in (25a) below has a sequential reading: the subjects left (V_1), walked (V_2), and then searched for food (V_3).

(25) a. sus 'uw' **huye' 'imush suwq'** 'u kw' s'ulhtuns tse'…

səs	ʔəẇ	**həyeʔ**	**ʔiməš**	**səẇq̓**	ʔə	k̓ʷ	sʔəɬtəns	ceʔ
N.AUX.3POS	CN	leave	walk	search	OBL	DT	food	FUT

'and they started out to hunt for their food…' (WSa 21054)

b. sus 'uw' **yu hu.u.u.y'u yu 'i'mush yu sew'q'** 'u kw' s'ulhtuns tse'…

səs	ʔəẇ	**yə=həyeʔ**	**yə=ʔim̓əš**	**yə=seẇq̓**
N.AUX.3POS	CN	DYN=leave.IPFV	DYN=walk.IPFV	DYN=search.IPFV

ʔə	k̓ʷ	sʔəɬtəns	ceʔ
OBL	DT	food	FUT

'and they were leaving, walking and hunting for their food,' (DL 07.10.21)

c. sus 'uw' **huye' yu 'i'mush yu sew'q'** 'u kw' s'ulhtuns tse'…

səs	ʔəẇ	**həyeʔ**	**yə=ʔim̓əš**	**yə=seẇq̓**
N.AUX.3POS	CN	leave	DYN=walk.IPFV	DYN=search.IPFV

ʔə	k̓ʷ	sʔəɬtəns	ceʔ
OBL	DT	food	FUT

'and they started out walking and hunting for their food…' (DL 07.10.21)

In (25a) there are three actions in a row. In (25b), all three actions are simultaneous. DL described this as an exaggerated, story-telling manner, saying "you can almost see them leaving, walking, and looking". Finally, in (25c) there are two events: first, they leave, and second, they are walking and looking around for where the food might be. Both (25a) and (25b) can be described as SVCs consisting of three verbs. In contrast, perfective *huye'* forms a verb chain[8] with the imperfective SVC *yu 'i'mush yu sew'q'*. Component verbs of an SVC are expected to share clausal categories, such as aspect, and so *huye'* is not part of the SVC in (25).[9]

[8] A multi-verb construction exhibiting mismatched clausal categories, such as aspect, across the verb components (see Schneider 2021).

[9] Due to the fact that SVCs are monoclausal (Aikhenvald 2018; Cleary-Kemp 2015; Haspelmath 2016), the component verbs of an SVC are expected to share clausal categories.

This section dealt with concurrent AM SVCs, where the motion event is understood to be simultaneous with the non-motion action or event. There are two means of accomplishing a concurrent reading:

(i) imperfective aspect (optionally with the dynamic clitic /yə=/), and
(ii) the discourse context, where the setting may influence the interpretation (e.g., (24).

The function of the dynamic clitic /yə=/ has not been given any dedicated attention in the literature and so presents an opportunity for further work. The next section goes into greater detail about SVCs where the order of events is not simultaneous but are instead considered sequential subevents.

3 Sequential subevents

Typologically, when an SVC expresses a sequential event, then the order of the two verbs is expected to be temporally iconic. The action, event or state named by the first verb typically precedes that of the second verb (Lord 1993:237).

(26) sis ’uw’ **qw’im ’aalhstum** ’u tthu snuhwulh kwis wulh p’ukw.

sis	ʔəẇ	**q̓ʷim**	**ʔaːɬ-st-əm**	ʔə	tʰə	snəxʷəɬ
N.AUX.3POS	CN	go.from.water	get.aboard-CS-PAS	OBL	DT	canoe
kʷis	wəɬ	p̓əkʷ				
DT	PRF	surface				

‘And they took him from the water and put him on the canoe when he surfaced.’ (MG 1346)

In this example, the verbs occur in the order the events occurred: the verb *qw’im* ‘get out of water’ precedes *’aalhstum* ‘be put aboard’. Certain verb orders are considered infelicitous because doing the actions in that order does not make sense, such as (27b) below.

(27) a. ni’ **’aalh huye’** tthu swiw’lus.

niʔ	**ʔaːɬ**	**həyeʔ**	tʰə	swiẇləs
AUX.DIST	get.on	leave	DT	boy

‘The boy got aboard, left.’

b. #niʔ **həyeʔ** **ʔaːɬ** tʰə swiẇləs

AUX.DIST leave get.on DT boy (RP 20.06.19)

The word order given in (25b) above is unacceptable because “you can’t get on after you already left” (RP).

But there are exceptions to iconic verb order, and it seems that in the context of a narrative, it is not always required that the order be iconic, such as the text corpus examples below.

(28) ’uw’ hay tsun tse’ nem’ **nuw’ilum tsam**.

ʔəẇ	hay	cən	ceʔ	neṁ	**nəẇiləm**	**cam**
CN	3FOC	1SG.SUB	FUT	go.AUX	enter	go.uphill

‘I will go up by myself and go inside.’ (SM 4464)

(29) sus hwi' **kw'lhetum ne'mustum** 'u tthey' smunmeent kw'uluqun ts'uy'hwtum.

səs	xʷiʔ	**kʷɬ-et-əm**	**neʔm-əst-əm**	ʔə	tθeyˀ	smənme:nt
N.AUX.3POS	MIR	pour-TR-PAS	go-CS-PAS	OBL	DT	mountain<PL>
	kʷələqən	cəyˀxʷ-t-əm				
	bluff	dry-TR-PAS				

'And then they would bring it up to the bluffs and pour it on there to dry.'

(EW 25535)

Example (28) above consists of two verbs, *nuw'ilum* 'enter, go inside' and *tsam* 'go up from water, go uphill'. The context is that the warrior Tzouhalem has traveled by canoe and is now going up from the water to go into a longhouse. Even though the verbs occur in the order ENTER+GO UPHILL, the event order is clearly GO UPHILL>ENTER. Similarly, in (29), the action *kw'lhetum* 'was poured' was completed after the motion event *ne'mustum* 'was brought', but the action verb precedes the motion verb. The context for this example is that sacks of seaweed are being brought up the bluffs and poured out to dry. In both of these examples, the motion event must occur first in order to make sense. These examples are interesting because the verbs appear to occur in the opposite order of the events, and they do not generate an ACTION>MOTION reading as one might expect if iconicity was a firm rule.

Example (29) also demonstrates how the syntactic context influences the order of the verbs. Here, the directional verb *ne'mustum* 'was brought' precedes an oblique endpoint *tthey' smunmeent kw'uluqun* 'the mountain bluffs'. In order to express the endpoint as a directional phrase the endpoint must be preceded by a directional element, such as *ne'mustum* (Gerdts 2010b).[10]

The following sections will demonstrate how Hul'q'umi'num' has a productive purposive motion SVC (Section 3.1) and makes limited use of a subsequent motion SVC in a particular associative motion construction (Section 3.2).

3.1 Purposive Motion

In Lovestrand and Ross's (2021) typological study, prior motion and purposive motion are intentionally conflated but this section will demonstrate which occurs in Hul'q'umi'num'. In prior motion SVCs, the construction has a sequential reading such as 'go and then V'. In purposive motion, the activity or event predicated by the non-motion verb is only intended, not asserted; a purposive motion SVC could be translated "go (in order) to V" (Lovestrand & Ross 2021:99). Below are examples of MOTION>ACTION constructions in Hul'q'umi'num'.

(30) ni' tsun **huye'stuhw hwayum** 'u tthu luxwtun.

niʔ	cən	**həyeʔ-stəxʷ**	**xʷayəm**	ʔə	tθə	ləx̌ʷtən
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	leave-CS	sell	OBL	DT	blanket

'I took the blanket to sell it.' (DL 30.05.22)

[10] In order to express the endpoint as a directional phrase, the endpoint must be preceded either by a directional verb or the directional applicative suffix *-nus* (Gerdts 2010b).

(31) nem’ hwi’ **ne’mustuhw** hwi’ **t’etth’ut** ’u tthu s’ul’eluhw tst.

nem̓	xʷiʔ	**nem̓-əstəxʷ**	xʷiʔ	**t̓et̓ᶿ-ət**	ʔə	tᶿə	sʔəl̓eləxʷ	
go.AUX	MIR	go-CS	MIR	scatter-TR	OBL	DT	elder<PL>	
ct								
1PL.SUB								

‘We brought it and scattered it before our elders.’ (EW 25005)

(32) ni’ **’utl’qul’ lemutus** tthu sqwumey’.

niʔ	**ʔəƛ̓qəl̓**	**lem-ət-əs**	tᶿə	sqʷəmey̓
AUX.DIST	go.out	look-TR-3SUB	DT	dog

‘He went out to look at the dog.’ (DL 06.06.22)

In each of these examples, the motion verb precedes the non-motion verb, and the motion event occurs before the non-motion event.

According to Lovestrand and Ross (2021:100), a test of the cancelability of the action encoded by the non-motion verb can distinguish between prior and purposive motion. If it is possible to conjoin another clause stating that the event predicated by the non-motion verb did not take place, the construction encodes purposive motion. If conjoining a clause that cancels out the completion of the event predicated by the non-motion verb creates a contradiction, then the SVC encodes prior motion. In the next set of examples, (33a) represents the prior/purposive motion SVC while (33b) and (33c) contain conjoined clauses that predicate that the second verb (V_2) in the SVC did not take place.

(33) a. nem’ tsun **t’itsum kwunut** tthunu shun’tsu.

nem̓	cən	**t̓icəm**	**kʷən-ət**	tᶿənə	šəṅcə
go.AUX	1SG.SUB	swim	take-TR	DT.POS	catch

‘I’ll swim and get my catch.’ (DL 20.04.22)

b. nem’ tsun **t’itsum kwunut** tthunu shun’tsu ’i’ skw’ey.

nem̓	cən	**t̓icəm**	**kʷən-ət**	tᶿənə	šəṅcə	ʔiʔ	skʷey
go.AUX	1SG.SUB	swim	take-TR	DT.POS	catch	CNJ	impossible

‘I’m going to swim to get my catch, but I couldn’t.’ (DL 20.04.22)

c. nem’ tsun **t’itsum kwunut** tthunu shun’tsu ’i’ ’uwu te’.

nem̓	cən	**t̓icəm**	**kʷən-ət**	tᶿənə	šəṅcə	ʔiʔ	ʔəwə	teʔ
go.AUX	1SG.SUB	swim	take-TR	DT.POS	catch	CNJ	NEG	DT

‘I’m going swim to get my catch, but it’s gone.’ (DL 20.04.22)

Because the conjoined clauses in (33b) and (33c) do not produce contradictions, this constitutes a purposive motion SVC. According to DL, the negative conjoined clause *’i’ skw’ey* blocks whatever the subject was wanting to do. In (33), something happened or got in the way so that the subject was prevented from getting the catch. DL confirmed that the subject was able to swim out to where the catch was, but they were not able to take it. In (33c), the negative element refers to the object *tthunu shun’tsu* ‘my catch’, but the effect on the meaning is similar: the swimmer was unable to take hold of their catch.

Lovestrand and Ross' inclusion of these purposive motion constructions under the umbrella of SVC conflicts with other authors who would use the cancelability test as a reason to exclude this sort of construction from consideration. According to Aikhenvald (2018:4), negation is expected to take scope over both verbs in an SVC, meaning that each verb component should not be able to be independently negated. But "sharing polarity value in serial verb constructions is… an overwhelming tendency, rather than a foolproof feature of serial verbs across languages" (2018:33). In contrast, Haspelmath (2016:299) takes a stronger stance of "single negatability", arguing that by definition an SVC is monoclausal and therefore there should be only one way to negate it and this negation usually takes scope over all the verbs. This analysis results in the exclusion of constructions that allow negation in different places with different meanings. In order to delve into this, I will further explore the scope of these negative constructions in Hul'q'umi'num'.

In (34)–(36) below, the (a) examples illustrate clausal negation (introduced in Section 1.1), and the (b) examples illustrate the conjoining of another clause stating that the event predicated by V_2 did not take place, as discussed above.

(34) a. **sḵw'ey kws** nem's huye' pi'atulh tthu swiw'lus.

sḵʷey	**kʷs**	nemˈ=s	həyeʔ	piʔatəɬ	tᶿə	swiẇləs
NEG	DT.N	go.AUX=3POS	leave	duck.hunt	DT	boy

'The boy couldn't leave to go duck-hunting. (DL 22.04.22)

b. nem' huye' pi'atulh tthu swiw'lus 'i' **skw'ey**.

nemˈ	həyeʔ	piʔatəɬ	tᶿə	swiẇləs	ʔiʔ	**sḵʷey**
go.AUX	leave	duck.hunt	DT	boy	CNJ	impossible

'The boy (tried to) leave to go duck hunting, but he couldn't.' (DL 22.04.22)

(35) a. **sḵw'ey kwunus** huye'stuhw hwayum 'u tthu luxwtun.

sḵʷey	**kʷənəs**	həyeʔ-stəxʷ	xʷayəm	ʔə	tᶿə	ləx̌ʷtən
NEG	DT.1POS	leave-CS	sell	OBL	DT	blanket

'I couldn't take the take the blanket to sell it.' (DL 30.05.22)

b. ni' tsun huye'stuhw hwayum 'u tthu luxwtun 'i' **skw'ey**.

niʔ	cən	həyeʔ-stəxʷ	xʷayəm	ʔə	tᶿə	ləx̌ʷtən
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	leave-CS	sell	OBL	DT	blanket

ʔiʔ	**sḵʷey**
CNJ	impossible

'I took the blanket to sell, but then I couldn't.' (DL 30.05.22)

(36) a. **'uwu ni'us** 'utl'qul' lemutus tthu sqwumey'.

ʔəwə	**niʔ=əs**	ʔəƛ̓qəl̓	lem-ət-əs	tᶿə	sqʷəmeẏ̓
NEG	AUX=3SUB	go.out	look-TR-3SUB	DT	dog

'He never came out to look at the dog.' (DL 06.06.22)

b. ni’ ’utl’qul’ lemutus tthu sqwumey’ ’i’ **’uwu te**’.

niʔ	ʔəƛ̓qəl̓	lem-ət-əs	tθə	sqʷəmey̓	ʔiʔ	**ʔəwə**	**teʔ**
AUX.DIST	go.out	look-TR-3SUB	DT	dog	CNJ	NEG	DT

‘He went out to look at the dog, but it wasn’t there.’ (DL 06.06.22)

In each case, meanings of (a) and (b) above are often very similar. The (a) examples are considered basic negative statements while the (b) examples change the meaning of the phrase retroactively by canceling out the stated event. The question is whether or not the cancelation construction takes scope over both verb components of the SVCs. For example, in (36), the event ‘go out (in order) to look’ was completed but since the dog was not there, the subevent ‘look at the dog’ could not have happened.

For additional comparison, I ran the test with a directional SVC (see Section 1.2 above) in order to see if it behaved similarly.

(37) a. **skw’ey kws** tstl’ums kw’i’ ’u tthu thqet tthu wuxus.

sk̓ʷey	**kʷs**	cƛ̓əm=s	k̓ʷiʔ	ʔə	tθə	θqet	tθə	wəx̌əs
NEG	DT.N	jump=3POS	climb.rise	OBL	DT	tree	DT	tree.frog

‘The frog couldn’t jump climb up the tree.’ (DL 23.05.22)

b. ni’ tstl’um kw’i’ ’u tthu thqet tthu wuxus ’i’ **skw’ey**.

niʔ	cƛ̓əm	k̓ʷiʔ	tθə	wəx̌əs	ʔə	tθə	θqet
AUX.DIST	jump	climb.rise	DT	tree.frog	OBL	DT	tree

ʔiʔ	**sk̓ʷey**
CNJ	impossible

‘The frog (tried to) jump climb up the tree, but couldn’t.’ (DL 23.05.22)

According to DL, in example (37), the frog could not jump at all. In contrast, in (37b) the frog tries to jump but he does not make any progress. It says that he jumped but he is stuck at the bottom of the tree. She added that he must have been injured or very chubby. In this case, the motion event has begun but the completion of the path component is interrupted. In both, purposive and directional motion SVCs, clausal negation takes scope over both verbs. The (a) examples in (34)–(37) indicate that the event encoded by the entire SVC did not take place. The (b) examples, on the other hand, do seem to indicate that the event was initiated. The motion subevent encoded by V_1 does begin, but the intended action (34)–(36) or path (37) encoded by V_2 is not completed.

Finally, there is no way to independently negate V_1 while also maintaining the integrity of the SVC. When asked about this for an example like (33) above, DL would propose a construction with a single verb, such as the example below.

(38) skw’ey kws **t’itsums**.

sk̓ʷey	kʷs	**t̓icəm-s**
NEG	DT.N	swim-3POS

‘He couldn’t swim.’ (DL 06.06.22)

There is no way to indicate that the subject could not swim but did take hold of his catch using an SVC. This would require the negative clause above followed by a linked clause indicating that he then got his catch. I will follow Lovestrand and Ross (2021) and continue to analyze both

directional and purposive motion constructions as SVCs. Additional exploration of the syntax of these constructions is warranted and is a topic of future work.

This section addressed SVCs where the motion event precedes the non-motion event. It follows that a similar construction exists in the language where the non-motion event occurs first and the motion event second. While purposive motion is clearly a productive construction in Hul'q'umi'num', subsequent motion is more limited. I will demonstrate that the contexts in which this sort of construction is allowable is significantly more restricted.

3.2 Subsequent Motion

Another type of AM SVC in the world's languages is subsequent motion, where the motion verb indicates a change of location by at least one of the arguments immediately following the activity or event; below is an example provided by Lovestrand and Ross (2021:103):

(39) Kayardild (Non-Pama-Nyungan; Evans 1995:310)

danda-da	jardi	kurulu-tha	mutha-ya	yakuri-y,	diya-a-nangku,
this-NOM	mob	kill-ACT	many-LOC	fish-LOC	eat-M-NEG.POT
dathin-a	**narrkiri-ju**	**dana-thu**.			
that-NOM	bury-POT	leave-POT			

'These people killed lots of fish, more than could be eaten, they'll bury them there before leaving.'

This type of AM SVC is the least common type in the world's languages (Lovestrand & Ross 2021:90).

When tested in elicitation, serial verbs are not typically used to express this type of *eat and run* meaning, as is demonstrated by the examples below. In (40) and (41), the SVC in (a) is ungrammatical and the grammatical construction in (b) involves a subordinate clause.

(40) a. *ni' tsun **xlhas huye'**.

*niʔ	cən	**x̌ɬas**	**həyeʔ**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	eat	leave

b. ni' tsun **xlhas** nu suw' **huye'**.

niʔ	cən	**x̌ɬas**	nə=səẇ	**həyeʔ**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	eat	1POS=N.CN	leave

'I ate and then left.' (DL 23.05.22)

(41) a. *ni' tsun **xlhas t'akw'**.

*niʔ	cən	**x̌ɬas**	**ʔtakʷ**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	eat	go.home

b. ni’ tsun **xlhas** nu suw’ **t’akw’**.

niʔ	cən	**x̌łas**	nə=səẇ	**t̓ak̓ʷ**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	eat	1POS=N.CN	go.home

‘I ate and then went home.’ (DL 23.05.22)

In examples (40) and (41), the non-motion event precedes the motion event. In each of these examples, the serialized verb version is ungrammatical, and it is corrected using a subordinate clause. In addition, constructions like those in the (a) examples do not occur in the text corpus.

In contrast with the above data, when V_2 is causative, subsequent motion seems to be allowed. In (42) and (43) causative morphology is present on V_2.[11]

(42) ni’ tsun **ts’uy’hwt** tthu stseelhtun **t’ukw’stuhw**.

niʔ	cən	**c̓əy̓xʷ-t**	tᶿə	sceːɬtən	**t̓ək̓ʷ-stəxʷ**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	dry-TR	DT	salmon	go.home-CS

‘I dried the salmon and brought it home.’ (DL 22.04.22)

(43) ni’ tsun **lhumts’t** tthu stth’oom **huye’stuhw**.

niʔ	cən	**ɬəmc̓-t**	tᶿə	st̓ᶿuːm	**həyeʔ-stəxʷ**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	pick-TR	DT	berry	leave-CS

‘I picked the berries and took them away.’ (DL 23.05.22)

In these examples, both V_1 and V_2 are transitive; they share the same subject (1SG) and the same object (*the salmon* and *the berries*, respectively). The preferred location for the shared object is between the two verbs, but it may also occur after both verbs, such as in (44).

(44) ni’ tsun **lhumts’t huye’stuhw** tthu stth’oom.

niʔ	cən	**ɬəmc̓-t**	**həyeʔ-stəxʷ**	tᶿə	st̓ᶿuːm
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	pick-TR	leave-CS	DT	berry

‘I picked the berries and took them away.’ (DL 23.05.22)

Examples such as these are also found occurring in the text corpus.

(45) ni.i.i’ ch nem’ **muqw’muqw’ut ne’mustuhw** ’u tthun’ s’ulhtun.

niʔ	č	nem̓	**məq̓ʷməq̓ʷ-ət**	**nem̓-əstəxʷ**
AUX(RL)	2SG.SUB	go.AUX	squish<RDP>-TR	go-CS
	ʔə	tᶿən̓	sʔəɬtən	
	OBL	DT.POS	food	

‘You can squish it (repeatedly) and put it on your food.’ (EW 25673)

[11] See the *associative motion* construction discussed in Section 1.2.

(46) suw' **q'uynuhwus** tthey' smuyuth **tsum'utus t'ukw'stuhwus**.

səẇ	**q̓əy-nəxʷ**	teẏ	sməyəθ	**cəm̓-ət-əs**	**t̓əkʷ̓-stəxʷ-əs**
N.CN	kill-LCTR	DT	deer	pack.on.back-TR-3SUB	go.home-CS-3SUB

'He killed that deer, put it on his back and took it home.' (WSa 21656)

In (45), the two verbs are transitive, and they share the same subject and same object. In this example, the verb *muqw'muqw'ut* 'squish it up' precedes the motion verb *ne'mustuhw* 'bring it'. The context for this line is that the speaker is discussing how they would eat grape kelp. The combination of the two verbs results in the meaning to 'squish it up and put it on the food', where the non-motion event precedes the motion event. Similarly, in (46), all three transitive verbs — *q'uynuhw* 'manage to kill it', *tsum'ut* 'pack it on one's back', and *t'ukw'stuhw* 'take it home' — share the same subject and the same object. Like the previous example, their order is temporally iconic.

The examples in (40) and (41) show that a subsequent motion SVC cannot be made up of two intransitive verbs. But the allowability of subsequent motion does not seem to be simply a matter of transitivity. If V_2 is transitive using the transitivizer *-t*, the construction is also ungrammatical, such as the (a) examples in (47)–(49) below.[12]

(47) a. *ni' tsun **kwe't** tthu stseelhtun **tstl'umut**.

*niʔ	cən	**kʷeʔ-t**	tʰəθə	sce:ɬtən	**cx̓əm-ət**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	let.go-TR	DT	salmon	jump-TR

b. ni' tsun **kwe't** tthu stseelhtun nu suw' **tstl'umut**.

niʔ	cən	**kʷeʔ-t**	tʰəθə	sce:ɬtən	nə=səẇ	**cx̓əm-ət**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	let.go-TR	DT	salmon	1POS=N.CN	jump-TR

'I let go of the salmon and then jumped after it.' (DL 30.05.22)

(48) a. *ni' tsun **'ukw'nuhw** tthunu sqwumey' **suwq't**.

*niʔ	cən	**ʔəkʷ̓-nəxʷ**	tʰəθənə	sqʷəmeẏ	**səwq̓-t**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	lose-LCTR	DT.1POS	dog	search-TR

b. ni' tsun 'ukw'nuhw tthunu sqwumey' nu suw' suwq't.

niʔ	cən	**ʔəkʷ̓-nəxʷ**	tʰəθənə	sqʷəmeẏ
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	lose-LCTR	DT.1POS	dog

nə=səẇ	**səwq̓-t**
1POS=N.CN	search-TR

'I lost my dog and so I looked (went looking) for it.' (DL 30.05.22)

[12] Gerdts & Hukari (2011) demonstrate that certain classes of verbs can only take certain valence-changing suffixes. For example, a motion unergative like /łakʷ/ 'fly' can take the causative /łakʷ-stəxʷ/ 'make it fly/send it by air' but not transitive /*łakʷ-ət/; a motion unaccusative like /seʔ/ 'rise' can take transitive /seʔ-t/ 'raise it' but not causative /*seʔ-stəxʷ/.

(49) a. *ni’ tsun **wensh** tthu smem’nut **xwchenumut**.

*niʔ	cən	**wenš**	t$^{\theta}$ə	smeḿnət	**x̌^{w}čenəm-ət**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	throw.it	DT	rock<DIM>	run-TR

b. ni’ tsun **wensh** tthu smem’nut nu suw’ **xwchenumut.**

niʔ	cən	**wenš**	t$^{\theta}$ə	smeḿnət	nə=səẃ	**x̌^{w}čenəm-ət**
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	throw.it	DT	rock<DIM>	1POS=N.CN	run-TR

‘I threw the little rock and ran after it.’ (DL 06.06.22)

Finally, (50) demonstrates an intransitive V_1 and a causative V_2.

(50) a. ?ni’ tsun **xlhas t’ukw’stuhw** tthu ’ukw’mun.

?niʔ	cən	**x̌łas**	**t̓ək̓^{w}-stəx^{w}**	t$^{\theta}$ə	ʔək̓^{w}mən
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	eat	go.home-CS	DT	leftovers.trash

‘I ate and took home the leftovers.’ (DL 22.04.22)

b. ni’ tsun **xlhas t’ukw’stuhw** nu suw’ tthu ’ukw’mun.

niʔ	cən	**x̌łas**	nə=səẃ	**t̓ək̓^{w}-stəx^{w}**	t$^{\theta}$ə	ʔək̓^{w}mən
AUX.DIST	1SG.SUB	eat	1POS=N.CN	go.home-CS	DT	leftovers.trash

‘I ate and then took home the leftovers.’ (DL 22.04.22)

DL said that she would understand what was intended if (50a) above was said to her but that she prefers (50b). There are no examples of this naturally occurring in the text corpus.

What the data above show is that subsequent motion SVCs are only allowed when both verbs are transitive and more specifically, when V_2 expresses an associative causative.

3.3 Summary

Hul’q’umi’num’ makes use of a productive purposive motion SVC and a restricted subsequent motion SVC. The findings have been summed up in the table below.

Table 2: Summary of sequential SVCs

Type	Verb order		Event order	Context
Purposive	$V_{MOT} + V_{ACT}$	=	MOTION > ACTION	
	$V_{ACT} + V_{MOT}$	=	MOTION > ACTION	certain discourse contexts
Subsequent	$V_{ACT} + V_{CS.MOT}$	=	ACTION > MOTION	V_2 is causative
	$*V_{INT} + V_{INT.MOT}$	=	ACTION > MOTION	both verbs intransitive
	$*V_{ACT} + V_{TR.MOT}$	=	ACTION > MOTION	V_2 is transitive /-(ə)t/
	$*V_{MOT} + V_{ACT}$	=	ACTION > MOTION	

Isolated elicited examples are expected to be temporally iconic (e.g., (27), and this is most often the case within narrative texts as well. Certain discourse contexts allow for non-iconic verb order (e.g., (28) and (29)) in purposive motion SVCs. Subsequent motion SVCs require a causative V_2, which has an associative motion reading. The arguments are shared by both verbs and the resulting meaning is that ‘X did something to Y and then X took Y somewhere’. This construction entails

that both X and Y moved in some direction together after the non-motion event took place. Intransitive, e.g., (40) and (41), subsequent motion SVCs are disallowed. Finally, there are no cases where a motion verb (with causative morphology or otherwise) preceding a non-motion verb is interpreted as subsequent motion.

4 Conclusion

This paper outlined three types of motion SVCs in Hul'q'umi'num', which have been summed up in the table below.

Table 3: Hul'q'umi'num' associated motion SVCs[13]

Type	Verb order	Event order
Concurrent motion	$V_{MOT} + V_{ACT}$ (IPFV) $V_{ACT} + V_{MOT}$ (IPFV) (PFV certain discourse contexts)	simultaneous
Purposive motion	$V_{MOT} + V_{ACT}$ ($V_{ACT} + V_{MOT}$ certain discourse contexts)	MOTION > ACTION
Subsequent motion	$V_{ACT} + V_{MOT.CAUS}$	ACTION > ASSOCIATIVE MOTION

Imperfective aspect on both verb components (optionally with the dynamic clitic /yə=/) indicates that the motion and non-motion actions occur concurrently.

(51) sus 'uw' nem' tst 'uw' **sisuxwum' lhilhuts'ut**.

səs	ʔəẇ	neṁ	ct	ʔəẇ	**sisəx̌ʷəm̓**	**liɬəc̓-ət**
N.AUX.3POS	CN	go.AUX	2PL.SUB	CN	wade<IPFV>	cut-TR<IPFV>

'And we would wade into the water and cut (the bulrushes).' (ET 28247)

In addition, certain discourse contexts can set the stage for serialized perfective verbs to have a simultaneous reading, such as the example below.

(52) nem' **huya'stum tl'uyq'ustum** sus 'uw' thuhw.

neṁ	**həyaʔ-st-əm**	**ƛ̓əyq̓-əst-əm**	səs	ʔəẇ	θəxʷ
go.AUX	leave-CS-PAS	pin.down-CS-PAS	N.AUX.3POS	CN	disappear

'He (the man) was taken away, pinned down, and he disappeared.' (WSa 410)

Outside of the specific context where the subject argument is struggling to get free, this perfective verb combination defaults to a sequential reading (DL 01.10.21).

The first type of sequential AM SVCs are purposive motion SVCs where a motion event precedes an intended non-motion event.

[13] Types following Lovestrand and Ross (2021).

(53) nem’ tsun **t’itsum kwunut** tthunu shun’tsu.

nem̓	cən	**t̓icəm**	**kʷən-ət**	tʰənə	šən̓cə
go.AUX	1SG.SUB	swim	take-TR	DT.POS	catch

‘I’ll swim and get my catch.’ (DL 20.04.22)

We know this is an intended action because the completion of the event can be cancelled using a conjoined clause.

(54) nem’ tsun **t’itsum kwunut** tthunu shun’tsu ’i’ ’uwu te’.

nem̓	cən	**t̓icəm**	**kʷən-ət**	tʰənə	šən̓cə	ʔiʔ	ʔəwə	teʔ
go.AUX	1SG.SUB	swim	take-TR	DT.POS	catch	CNJ	NEG	DT

‘I’m going swim to get my catch, but it’s gone.’ (DL 20.04.22)

When an SVC expresses a sequential event, then the order of the two verbs is expected to be temporally iconic. As mentioned above, the default reading of a serialized perfective verb is a sequential, temporally iconic one. Out-of-context examples are treated this way automatically, which exposes a limitation of isolated elicitation. Certain discourse contexts allow for non-iconic verb order in purposive motion SVCs.

(55) ’uw’ hay tsun tse’ nem’ **nuw’ilum tsam**.

ʔəẇ	hay	cən	ceʔ	nem̓	**nəẇ̓iləm**	**cam**
CN	3FOC	1SG.SUB	FUT	go.AUX	enter	go.uphill

‘I will go up by myself and go inside.’ (SM 4464)

Use of the text corpus to guide the understanding of these constructions is essential. Certain verb orders only occur because of the context around them.

The second type of AM SVC found in Hul’q’umi’num’ is a subsequent motion SVC made up of a non-motion verb and a causative motion verb.

(56) ni’ tsun **lhumts’t** tthu stth’oom **huye’stuhw**.

niʔ	cən	**ləmc̓-t**	tʰə	st̓ʰu:m	**həyeʔ-stəxʷ**
AUX	1SG.SUB	pick-TR	DT	berry	leave-CS

‘I picked the berries and took them away.’ (DL 23.05.22)

The arguments are shared by both verbs and the resulting meaning is that ‘X did V to Y and then X took Y (somewhere)’. In this case, the first-person subject picks *the berries* and both the subject and *the berries* left their current location. This construction entails that both the subject and object moved in some direction together after the non-motion event took place.

In sum, this paper addressed three types of motion constructions: one SVC with a simultaneous event order and two with sequential event order. Most often simultaneous event order is conveyed using imperfective aspect while sequential order exhibits plain perfective aspect. Sequential motion SVCs most frequently have a purposive meaning ‘go (in order to) V’. There is also a construction that has the meaning ‘do V to Y and take Y’, where the motion event happens after the non-motion event. Having addressed associated motion SVCs, I look forward to pursing other future avenues such as constructions consisting of multiple non-(translational)-motion verbs.

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