On the 'go': Exploring auxiliary-hood in ʔayʔaǰuθəm in comparative perspective

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Abstract: We provide a preliminary investigation of the auxiliary word class in ʔayʔaǰuθəm, focusing on the verb *ho/θo* 'go' as a case study. In Watanabe (2003:90), the word 'auxiliary' broadly encompasses a list of predicate-initial words with variable syntactic behaviors (e.g., most can behave as the main predicate, but not all). Existing tests developed for verbs and auxiliaries in closely related languages are applied to *ho/θo* 'go' to document the similarities and differences in the structure. We find that *ho/θo* exhibits distinct auxiliary and main verb functions. Pre-predicative *ho/θo* demonstrates features of the auxiliary-lexical verb grammaticalization cline, while post-predicative *ho/θo* behaves like a verb that is taking on coverb functions, similar to what was found in nearby Hul'q'umi'num' (see Schneider 2024b). This research provides a first step toward creating a unified account of auxiliaries in Central Salish languages.

Keywords: Central Salish, Comox-Sliammon (ʔayʔaǰuθəm), multi-verb constructions, motion verbs, auxiliaries

1 Introduction[1]

This paper provides a description of multi-verb constructions containing the auxiliary verb *ho/θo* 'go' in ʔayʔaǰuθəm [ISO: coo], a Salishan language traditionally spoken in the Tla'amin, K'ómoks, Klahoose, and Homalco communities. Multi-verb constructions of this nature are absent in English and thus may present challenges in translation and language learning (see Schneider 2021). We seek to document these constructions and present a brief account of their distribution, comparing this distribution to the constructions described by Schneider (2022, 2024b).

In Salish, verbs, rather than prepositions, do much of the work of many directional and spatial meanings (Kroeber 1999:44). All languages in the family have inventories of verbs (and verbal(izing) morphology) that encode meanings of direction and location. In fact, the Central Salish languages, with one exception, have only a single multi-purpose oblique marker (see Montler 2008:5). Instead of prepositions that encode directional and spatial meanings, Central Salish languages can express these meanings by stacking verbs together. The label *multi-verb construction* broadly encompasses any monoclausal construction consisting of multiple verbal elements (Aikhenvald 2011:1). This definition includes both serial verb constructions and auxiliary verb constructions and it excludes constructions involving subordinate or coordinated clauses or

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coordinated verbs. Three subtypes of multi-verb construction will be relevant here: serial verb constructions, auxiliary verb constructions, and coverb constructions.

The essential features of a prototypical *serial-verb construction* (SVC) are that the construction is monoclausal, has no subordinating or coordinating element linking the verbs, and that the verb components are independent, lexical verbs (see Aikhenvald 2018; Haspelmath 2016). These criteria separate the SVCs from constructions with dependent verb forms, such as auxiliaries, participles, or gerunds.

An *auxiliary verb construction* (AVC) is a monoclausal structure minimally consisting of a lexical verb and an auxiliary, where an *auxiliary verb* is defined as:

> An item on the lexical verb–functional affix continuum, which tends to be at least somewhat semantically bleached, and grammaticalized to express one or more of a range of salient verbal categories, most typically aspectual and modal categories, but also not infrequently temporal, negative polarity, or voice categories. (Anderson 2006:4–5)

These definitions are (intentionally) vague; clines of grammaticalization and semantic bleaching have 'grey areas', where the element in question has accrued some features generally associated with end-points on the continuum (2005:5). It should be noted that AVCs and SVCs are not mutually exclusive, as a sentence can contain both if an auxiliary introduces two serialized verbs (see the Hul'q'umi'num' Salish example in (1) below).

The third and final type of multi-verb construction relevant here is the *coverb construction*, which consists of a main predicate and another verb that serves a preposition-like function, known as a coverb (Matthews 2006:70–71). Coverbs may occur as standalone verbs outside of coverb constructions, and often take an oblique argument (Schneider 2024b:81, Tao 2009:218–219).

Schneider (2024b:§5) found that the types of multi-verb constructions outlined above were highly frequent in Hul'q'umi'num' narratives, and they are often used to encode motion, as well as to pack in complex actions in moments of high action. This can include different aspects of an event — such as manner and direction of motion — as well as sequential subevents, such as (1).

(1) nem' tsun t'itsum kwunut tthunu shun'tsu.[2] *Hul'q'umi'num'*

nəm̓=cən	t̓icəm	kʷənət	tθə-nə	šəńcə
go.AUX=1SG.SUBJ	swim	take.TR	DET-1POS	catch

'I'll swim and get my catch.' (DL) (Schneider 2024b:4)

[2] Abbreviations used are as follows: 1, 2, 3: person marking, ACT.INTR: active intransitive, AUX: auxiliary, CLD: clausal demonstrative, CN: connective element, CS: causative, CTR: control, CVB: coverb, DEM: demonstrative, DIST: distal, DPRT: discourse particle, EPEN: epenthetic segment, ERG: ergative, F: feminine, FILL.PRT: filler particle, FOC: focus, FUT: future, INCH: inchoative, INFER: inferential, INT: intensifier, INTR: intransitive, LMT: limiting enclitic, LNK: linker, LV: link vowel, MD: middle, MUT: mutative, N: nominalizer, NCTR: non-control transitive, OBL: oblique, PAS: passive, PL: plural, POS: possessive, PROG: progressive, PST: past, RECP: reciprocal, RFL: reflexive, RPT: reportative, SUBJ: subject, SBJV: subjunctive, SG: singular, TR: transitive.

This example has three elements making up the predicate: auxiliary *nem'* 'go', intransitive verb *t'itsum* 'swim', and transitive verb *kwunut* 'take it.' All verbal elements share a subject marked by the second-position clitic *tsun* 'I' and the transitive verb adds an object *thunu shun'tsu* 'my catch' into the argument structure.

Serialization is of interest first because its occurrence is unexpected in more synthetic languages, such as those in the Salish language family (Aikhenvald 2018: 187). It also is of interest because until recently it has gone largely unreported in the Salishan literature. Verb serialization is attested in three Central Salish languages so far: Klallam [ISO 639-3 clm] (Montler 2008); Halkomelem [ISO 639-3 hur] (Schneider 2021; 2024b); and SENĆOŦEN [ISO 639-3 str] (Campbell 2023).

This paper sets out to compare multi-verb constructions in ʔayʔaǰuθəm with the verb *ho/θo* 'go' with the patterns found in Hul'q'umi'num' by Schneider (2024b:§3.2) and SENĆOŦEN by Campbell (2023:§3). Cross-linguistically, directional motion verbs like 'come' and 'go' are the most frequently serialized (Aikhenvald 2018:157). In all three of these languages, the 'go' verbs are much more frequent than the 'come' verbs, so the distribution and behaviour of 'go' will be the focus of this paper. To provide a more cohesive description, we will touch upon larger concepts of verbhood in ʔayʔaǰuθəm to investigate the differences between verbs and auxiliaries in the language.

Data for ʔayʔaǰuθəm data is drawn from published narratives and stories and a forthcoming publication by Elsie Paul on a collection of traditional *Qayx̣* (Mink) stories. This will be the first discussion of constructions consisting of multiple stacked verbs in ʔayʔaǰuθəm and this paper will lay the groundwork for in-depth analysis of this feature of the language. Section 2 provides a brief background section on the three main languages included in this paper. Section 3 outlines the tests that exist for differentiating between auxiliaries and verbs in Central Salish languages, and §4 analyzes auxiliary 'go' in ʔayʔaǰuθəm in light of these tests. And finally, §5 discusses the use of 'go' verbs to introduce oblique phrases to encode various directional meanings.

2 Languages

There are twenty-three Salish languages currently or historically spoken in what is now known as British Columbia, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington. The Salish language family is divided into five branches: Bella Coola, Central Salish, Tillamook, Tsamosan, and Interior Salish. Figure 1 provides a map of the languages in the Central Salish branch; the three languages discussed at length in this paper come from this branch and have been highlighted in blue.

Figure 1: Central Salish languages (adapted from Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010:10)

Halkomelem is a Central Salish language, which consists of three main dialects: Hul'q'umi'num' (Island: Cowichan, Nanaimo), hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ (Downriver: Musqueam), and Halq'eméylem (Upriver: Chilliwack). Schneider (2024b) researched serial verbs in Hul'q'umi'num', the Vancouver Island dialect of the language. The territory of the Hul'q'umi'num' people extends along the Salish Sea from Nanoose to Malahat on Vancouver Island in British Columbia. Today around thirty fluent first-language speakers of this dialect remain, mostly over the age of seventy (Donna Gerdts, p.c. 2024). However, amongst the population of over six thousand Hul'q'umi'num', there are many people who desire to learn the language or to improve their fluency. For example, the Hul'q'umi'num' Language & Culture Society runs language programs for adults through Simon Fraser University and organizes language nests.

SENĆOŦEN (aka Saanich) is considered one of the dialects of Northern Straits Salish; the other dialects include four more in B.C. — Malchosen (Samish), Lekwungen (Lək̓ʷəŋín̓əŋ, Songhees), Semiahmoo (Semyome), T'Sou-ke (Sooke) — and one in Washington State, Xwlemi'chosen (Lummi). There are estimated to be about sixteen fluent speakers of B.C. Northern Straits languages and over 500 learners (Gessner et al. 2023: 16,54). There are revitalization efforts in progress for the SENĆOŦEN language. For example, the W̱SÁNEĆ School Board offers SENĆOŦEN immersion schooling and language-learning programs (Campbell 2023:4).

ʔayʔaǰuθəm is a Central Salish language historically spoken in the northern Georgia Strait

region of B.C. in the Tla'amin, K'ómoks, Klahoose, and Homalco Nations. The ʔayʔaǰuθəm language is considered endangered, with approximately seventy-eight fluent speakers and over 200 learners (Gessner et al. 2023:25,49). Efforts are underway for second-language speakers to improve their fluency, such as master-apprentice programs, a K-G1 immersion program in Tla'amin, and a language nest in Homalco.

Verb serialization has been documented in languages of the Salish Sea region. These include the Central Salish languages Klallam, Northern Straits, and Halkomelem. To our knowledge, multi-verb constructions have not been systematically investigated in other Salish languages.

3 Tests for auxiliaries and verbs in Central Salish

There are no language-independent diagnostics to differentiate auxiliary verbs from main predicates — i.e., there is no test that works for every language (Anderson 2006:5). Even within Salish, this distinction is quite fuzzy, with different labels (*verb*, *predicate*, *auxiliary*, and *adverb*) being used for words that appear to have similar grammatical functions as well as the same label being used for words with dissimilar functions (see Montler 2003:108).

Auxiliaries in Central Salish languages are almost always bare roots, and they take inflected verbs as complements, which means that Central Salish AVCs are considered LEX-headed (Montler 2003:113; Schneider 2024b:39).[3] This classification is obscured somewhat by the prolific use of second-position clitics in these languages. Person and number marking as well as various TAM and discourse-marking categories are frequently marked using second-position clitics, which attach to the first available host in their clause (Gerdts & Werle 2014:250; Huijsmans 2023:3). Salish languages are predicate initial, so the second position clitic follows the first predicative element in the clause, which may be a preverbal auxiliary or the main predicate (Gerdts & Werle 2014:251). The following example includes four second-position clitics.[4]

(2) "nɛ::::**ʔč̓ c̓ɛ sa ga** [ʔə] taʔa šɛʔt." *ʔayʔaǰuθəm*

niʔ=**č=č̓a=səm+ga**	[ʔə=]taʔa	šəʔt	
be.there=1SG.SUBJ=INFER=FUT+DPRT	[OBL=]DEM	high	

"And I'll be way up there." *(Mink and Eagle*:line 8) (Paul *to appear*:88)

ʔayʔaǰuθəm also appears to follow the LEX-headed pattern, like the other Central Salish languages:

[3] Anderson (2006) devised this classifcation system. For comparison, English AVCs are considered AUX-headed; this means that the auxiliary takes the obligatory morphosyntactic inflection and then takes a non-finite verb form as its complement (Anderson 2006: 25; Krug 2011: 551).

[4] In ʔayʔaǰuθəm examples, square brackets [ ] represent words that are unpronounced in fast speech but which are included when repeating the lines more slowly during translation (Paul *to appear*: xix).

(3) **ho**:: k̓ʷa qəǰi **χaχpi**, ʔaʔaqʷɪš k̓ʷa qəǰi θo χaχpi.
hu=k̓ʷa qəǰi **x̌ə~x̌pəǰ**
go=RPT again PROG~return
ʔa~ʔaqʷ-iš=k̓ʷa qəǰi θu x̌ə~x̌pəǰ
PROG~go.downriver-INTR=RPT again go PROG~return
'Now he's going downstream again.' (*Mink and Greybird*:line 10) (Paul *to appear*:8)

In (3), *ho* 'go' is not inflected for progressive while *χaχpi* 'returning' is inflected. If ʔayʔaǰuθəm is indeed LEX-headed, we would not expect auxiliary 'go' in examples like (3) to have aspect inflection when the clause is inflected for progressive aspect, since auxiliaries are expected to appear as bare roots. Thus, for the purposes of typological classification of AVCs in this paper, second-position clitics are considered clause-level inflection.[5] When comparing the inflectional properties of particular verbal elements within the clause, we will be primarily concerned with inflection encoded by morphological processes applied directly to the verb stem (i.e., affixation, metathesis, reduplication, etc.).

Schneider (2021) found that subject NPs cannot occur immediately after an auxiliary in Hul'q'umi'num'. This language has four auxiliary verbs: *ʔi* 'here (and now)', *niʔ* 'there (and then)', *m'i* 'come', and *nem'* 'go' (Gerdts 1988:22). A subject NP can follow a verb functioning as part of the main predicate, as in (4a) and (b), but not after an auxiliary, as in (c).

(4) a. ni' huye' 'imush **tthu swiw'lus**. *Hul'q'umi'num'*
niʔ həyeʔ ʔiməš **tθə** **swiẇləs**
DIST.AUX leave walk DET boy
'The boy left, walked.' (RP)

b. ni' huye' **tthu swiw'lus** 'imush.
niʔ həyeʔ **tθə** **swiẇləs** ʔiməš
DIST.AUX leave DET boy walk
'The boy left, walked.' (RP)

c. *ni' **tthu swiw'lus** huye' 'imush.
*niʔ **tθə** **swiẇləs** həyeʔ ʔiməš
DIST.AUX DET boy leave walk (Schneider 2024b:45)

In (4), the NP subject, *tthu swiw'lus* 'the boy' can follow the verbs *huye'* 'leave', *'imush* 'walk', but cannot follow the auxiliary *ni'* 'there/then'.

In the case of what looks like two stacked auxiliaries, we can see that when *nem'* follows *ni'* it behaves like a verb:

[5] For a detailed analysis of the morphosyntax of second-position clitics, please see Huijsmans 2023: (§2)

(5) a. ni’ nem’ huye’ **tthu swiw’lus** ’imush. *Hul’q’umi’num’*

niʔ	neḿ	həyeʔ	**t$^{\theta}$ə**	**swiẃləs**	ʔiməš
DIST.AUX	go	leave	DET	boy	walk

‘The boy went, left, walked.’ (RP)

b. ni’ nem’ **tthu swiw’lus** huye’ ’imush.

niʔ	neḿ	**t$^{\theta}$ə**	**swiẃləs**	həyeʔ	ʔiməš
DIST.AUX	go	DET	boy	leave	walk

‘The boy went, left, walked.’ (RP)

c. *ni’ **tthu swiw’lus** nem’ huye’ ’imush.

niʔ	**t$^{\theta}$ə**	**swiẃləs**	neḿ	həyeʔ	ʔiməš	
DIST.AUX	DET	boy	go	leave	walk	(Schneider 2024b:46)

In (5b), when following another auxiliary, *nem’* behaves as a main predicate, allowing the subject argument to occur immediately after it.

Montler (2003) used auxiliaries as a test for verbhood. Klallam has four auxiliary verbs *hiyáʔ* ‘go’, *ʔənʔá* ‘come’, *ƛ̓áy* ‘again’, and *húy* ‘finish’ (Montler 2003:114).[6] Montler demonstrates that if a word can follow one of these auxiliaries, it can be considered a verb in Klallam (2003:114–117).

(6) hiyáʔ=caʔn ƛ’ácu. *Klallam*

go=1SUBJ.FUT	fishing

‘I’ll go fishing.’ (Montler 2003:114)

(7) hiyáʔ=cn ʔúx̣^{w} ʔaʔ=cə=súł

go=1SUBJ	go.there	OBL=DET=door

‘I went over to the door.’ (Montler 2003:114)

(8) a. *hiyáʔ=cn šaʔšúʔł.

go=1SUBJ	happy

b. *hiyáʔ=cn ʔə́y’.

go=1SUBJ	good

c. *hiyáʔ=cn nəʔáʔiŋ.

go=1SUBJ	my.house

(Montler 2003:115)

These examples show that *ƛ̓’ácu* ‘fishing’ in (6) and *ʔúx̣^{w}* ‘go there’ in (7) can be considered verbs in Klallam, while (a–c) in (8) *šaʔšúʔł* ‘happy’, *ʔə́y’* ‘good’, and *nəʔáʔiŋ* ‘my house’ cannot. These auxiliaries are bare roots and take verbs as complements.

[6] For this paper, the other categories of “auxiliaries” described by Montler (2003) — adverbial intensifiers (§5.2), adverbs (§5.3), negative adverbs (§5.5), and the conjoined conditional (§5.6) — have been excluded because Montler convincingly argues for distinct grammatical categories.

Auxiliary functions may develop and coexist with a homonymous main verb, such as English HAVE (Krug 2011:549). For example, in (9), *nem'* 'go' is the only verb and functions as the main predicate, and in (10), *nem'* precedes the main predicate.

(9) **nem'** tsun 'u kwthu tl'al'qwul's. *Hul'q'umi'num'*
nem̓=cən ʔə kʷθə ƛ̓al̓qʷəl̓s
go=1SG.SUBJ OBL DET dabbing
'I'm going to bingo.' (Gerdts 2010:3)

(10) **nem'** 'imush.
nem̓ ʔiməš
go.AUX walk
'He went and walked.' (Gerdts 1988:23)

Examples such as (10) could also be translated 'S/he goes for a walk' or 'S/he goes hunting/traveling'.

A semantic test for auxiliary status is to look for bleaching in the auxiliary position. Evidence of bleaching can be found when the auxiliary in question frequently co-occurs with its coexisting verb homonym without any sense of redundancy, such as the examples in (11) and (12).

(11) **nem'** tsun tse' **nem'** 'utl' shwut. *Hul'q'umi'num'*
nem̓=cən=ceʔ **nem̓** ʔəƛ̓ šwət
go.AUX=1SG.SUBJ=FUT go OBL.DET sparrow
'I am going to go visit Sparrow.' (AM) (Schneider 2024b:74)

(12) 'a, **nem'** ch **nemustuhw** 'u kwu'i s'e'tl'q.
ʔa, **nem̓**=č **nem-əstəxʷ** ʔə kwu'i s̓eʔƛ̓q
Ah go.AUX=2SG.SUBJ go-CS OBL DET outside
'Ah, take it outside.' (AM) (Schneider 2024b:74)

This type of construction resembles a similar English construction such as *going to go*. *Go* has lost some of its semantic weight in these contexts and taken on a grammatical function. To investigate the degree of grammaticalization, Schneider (2022:§2.3) tested the Hul'q'umi'num' verb *huye'* 'leave' in the same type of construction:

(13) ?'aa, **huye'** ch **huye'stuhw** tthu sqwumey'. *Hul'q'umi'num'*
ʔa: **həyeʔ**=č **həyeʔ-stəxʷ** tᶿə sqʷəmeẏ
Ah leave=2SG.SUBJ leave-CS DET dog
Intended: 'Ah, you take the dog away.' (DL) (Schneider 2024b:74)

The consultant said that she would prefer ***nem'*** *huye'stuhw* '**go** take it away' instead of repeating *huye'* 'leave', as in (13). Doubling *huye'* in this way is a bit awkward because it has not been semantically bleached like auxiliary *nem'*. Furthermore, there are no cases of *huye'* doubled naturally occurring in the Hul'q'umi'num' text corpus, while there are numerous cases of *nem'* being doubled (Schneider 2024b:75).

Campbell (2023:§3) performed a similar investigation into a cognate of *huye'* /həyeʔ/ in SENĆOŦEN.[7] Hul'q'umi'num' example (13) above illustrated that 'depart, leave' does not demonstrate significant semantic bleaching, but in SENĆOŦEN, *YÁ,* /yéʔ/ 'go, depart' appears to be more bleached:

(14) **YÁ**, SEN SE, YÁ,TW̲. *SENĆOŦEN*
yéʔ=sən=səʔ **yéʔ**-tx^{w}
go=1SG.SUBJ=FUT go-CS
'I'll go take one.' (Montler 2018:840)

(15) **YÁ**, SEN YÁ, OX̲
yéʔ=sən **yéʔ** ʔáx^{w}
go=1SG.SUBJ go go.to
'I left to go over (there).' (Campbell 2023:64)

Hul'q'umi'num' examples (4) and (5) above demonstrated that auxiliaries cannot immediately precede subject argument NPs, which cannot occur until after the first lexical verb making up the predicate. There is evidence from SENĆOŦEN that *YÁ,* 'go' can be immediately followed by a non-clitic subject argument:

(16) … I, YÁ, LE, **TŦEU,NENI,ŁEYE**, W̲ QOSTEN̲ YÁ, E TŦE EŚÁS. *SENĆOŦEN*
ʔiʔ **yéʔ**=ləʔ **tθəwn̓əníʔłəyəʔ** x^{w}k^{w}ást-əŋ yéʔ
CNJ go=PST 3SUBJ drag.TR-PAS go
ʔə tθə ʔəšés
OBL DEM sea.lion
'... when they were pulled away by the sea lion.' (ErC) (Montler 2018:65)

(17) SU, YÁ,S **TŦEU,NIŁ** OOŁ E TŦE ḰŁA̓,.
suʔ yéʔ-s **tθəwn̓íł** ʔáał ʔə tθə q^{w}łéy̓
LNK go-3POS 3DEM go.aboard OBL DEM log
'So he went aboard the log.' (EC,VW) (Montler 2018:390)

Examples (16) and (17) illustrate that non-clitic subject markers may immediately follow *YÁ,* 'go'. Whether or not NP subjects can fill this position is still under investigation.

In this test, SENĆOŦEN *YÁ,* 'go' behaves more like Hul'q'umi'num' *həyeʔ* 'leave' than it does like *nem'* 'go'. On a cline of grammaticalization from lexical to functional item, *YÁ,* exhibits some bleaching, as in (14) and (15), yet may exhibit the ability to precede non-clitic subject arguments, as in (16) and (17).

While no cross-linguistic tests exist for distinguishing auxiliaries from lexical verbs, we find a few tendencies in these Central Salish languages. In Klallam, only verbs may follow auxiliaries, and in Hul'q'umi'num' NP subject arguments may not follow auxiliaries. When these tests are

[7] Cognates: Hul'q'umi'num' /həyeʔ/ 'leave, depart'; SENĆOŦEN /yéʔ/ 'go, depart'; and Klallam /hiyáʔ/ 'go away' (Campbell 2023: 62).

applied to the verb (*hə)yeʔ* 'depart' in two different Central Salish languages, we see a cline of grammaticalization, where the verbs in question exhibit features generally associated with each end of the lexical item–functional affix continuum.

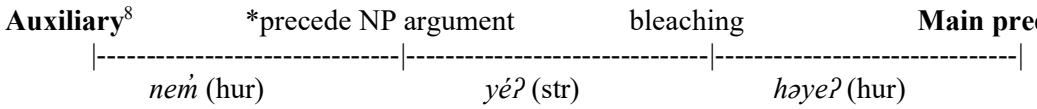

Figure 2: Representation of the lexical verb-auxiliary continuum

As demonstrated by Table 1 below, Watanabe (2003:90) grouped a relatively long list of words under the label 'auxiliary'. Montler (2003) demonstrated that a similarly long list of "auxiliaries" listed by Thompson and Thompson (1971) could be divided into distinct groups. An exploration of the entire list of Watanabe's auxiliaries is beyond the scope of this short paper — which seeks to begin with *ho/θo* 'go' — but we hope this is a starting point for deeper exploration of these grammatical categories in ʔayʔaǰuθəm and the rest of Central Salish.

4 Auxiliary 'go' in ʔayʔaǰuθəm

Watanabe (2003:§12.2) details complex verbal predicates, which primarily focuses on auxiliary verb constructions. Some auxiliaries may behave either as a main predicate or as an auxiliary, with at least one, *taʔat*, described as also surfacing as a demonstrative (Watanabe 2003:90). Table 1 provides a list of "auxiliaries":

[8] May coexist with a homonymous main verb.

Table 1: Auxiliaries in ʔayʔaǰuθəm (Watanabe 2003:90)

ʔayʔaǰuθəm	English gloss
ʔaẇθ	suddenly
ʔut	if
ʔuwk̓ʷ	all
čaʔat	now
hahays	slowly
hihiw	really
hiya	quickly
hu/θu	go
ǰaqaʔ	might; exclamative marker[9]
kʷən	interrogative (yes-no question)
ƛ̓iʔ	fast
namał	a little, short time, small amount
niš	be there, stay there
payaʔ	always
qəǰi	still
qʷəl̓	come
taʔat	used to, demonstrative
χʷit	really
χʷuχʷ	long time

As with the other Central Salish 'go' auxiliaries, ʔayʔaǰuθəm *ho/θo* 'go' can function alone as the main predicate, as demonstrated by (18) and (19). It should also be noted that it may surface as either *ho* or *θo*, with no apparent predictors for each variant, and we will refer to them interchangeably or to the variant present in a specific example.

(18) **θo**:: k̓ʷa ga [łə] tanʔos ƛ̓aʔłʔom.
θu=k̓ʷa=ga [łə=]tan-ʔuł+s ƛ̓aʔłʔum
go=RPT=DPRT [F.DET=]mother-PST+3POS wolf
'Wolf's mother left.' (*Mink and Wolf*:line 64) (Paul *to appear*:53)

(19) **ho** k̓ʷa [ʔə] kʷaʔa č̓ɛʔ.
hu=k̓ʷa [ʔə=]kʷaʔa č̓aʔ
go=RPT [OBL=]DEM far.out.to.sea
'He went way out in the water.' (*Mink and Whale*:line 2) (Paul *to appear*:134)

In (18), *θo* 'go' acts as the sole predicate and is translated as 'left', and in (19), *ho* 'go' is the sole predicate and is translated as 'went'.

In (20) and (21), *ho/θo* 'go' occurs as the first element of the predicate, preceding another verb. Auxiliaries preceding the predicate proper host the clause's second-position clitics.

[9] For more information on *ǰaqaʔ*, please refer to Reisinger & Huijsmans (2020).

(20) **hu**=č čag-a-t-uɬ
go=1SG.SUBJ help-LV-CTR-PST
'I went and helped him.' (Watanabe 2003:91)

(21) **θo** kʷa kʷa **ǰɯƛ̓** məlχʷ, **ho** kʷa kʷa **poqʷs** [ʔə] taʔa qay̓ɛ, **θo** kʷa na **ʔaqʷɪš**.
θu=kʷa=kʷa **ǰəƛ̓** məlχʷ,
go=RPT=CLD run greybird
hu=kʷa=kʷa **pəqʷs** [ʔə=]taʔa qay̓a
go=RPT =CLD fall.in.water [OBL=]DEM water
θu=kʷa na **ʔaqʷ-iš**
go=PRT FILL.PRT go.downriver-INTR
'Məlχʷ went running down into the river and went downstream.'
(*Mink and Greybird*:line 46) (Paul *to appear*:24)

In (20) and (21), each instance of *ho/θo* 'go' hosts one or more second-position clitics. These clitics are realized following the first word of a phrase, regardless if the word behaves as a full verb or as an auxiliary (Huijsmans 2023:2). Their presence can be used as one method of determining where clause boundaries are present (Bätscher 2014:51). In the following example, the clause boundaries signaled by the second-position clitics (red) have been maked by vertcal lines (also red).

(22) | čaʔat=kʷa=ga **θu** qayχ | **łəq̓ʷ-θut**=kʷa=ga **θu**
now=RPT=DPRT go Mink put.under-CTR+RFL=RPT=DPRT go
'Then, Mink went and crawled under the log.' (EP 146) (Watanabe 2003:575)

In (22), we can tell that the first *θo* 'go' is in a separate clause from the second verb /łəq̓ʷθut/ 'put himself under' because that verb is followed by second position clitics (see Huijsmans 2023 for a detailed analysis of ʔayʔaǰuθəm second-position clitics).

Auxiliary *ho* 'go' often hosts the second-position clitics for person and future marking, but it does not attract verbal morphology, such as causative marking:[10]

(23) "ho**tθəm** səp̓**ʔəmsxʷ**, səp̓**ʔəmsxʷtθəm**. yɛłattθəm [ga] qʷas łayiš."
hu=**tθ+səm** səp̓-**ʔəm-sxʷ** səp̓-**ʔəm-sxʷ=tθ+səm**
go=1SG.SUBJ+FUT get.hit-ACT.INTR-CS get.hit-ACT.INTR-CS=1SG.SUBJ+FUT
yał-at=tθ+səm [ga=]qʷəl̓+as łay-iš
call-CTR=1SG.SUBJ+FUT [if=]come+3SBJV come.ashore-INTR
"I'm going to invite him to come to shore, and I'm going to smack him around."
(*Mink and Greybird*:line 21) (Paul *to appear*:13)

[10] Note that *hu* can take causative morphology when it behaves as a main verb, see below:
(i) hɛhɛw tihmot šɛ kʷaxʷa θohosxʷasoł.
hihiw tih-mut šə=kʷaxʷa θu~hu-sxʷ-as-uł.
really big-INT DET=box PROG~go-CAUS-3ERG-PST
'He was bringing a really big box.' (vf | EP 2021/09/04, from Huijsmans 2023: 17)

In (23), the full verb *səp̓* ‘get hit’ may take both verbal morphology and second position clitics if no auxiliary is present within a clause.

Comparing ʔayʔaǰuθəm ‘go’ with Hul’q’umi’num’ *nem’*, we find that *ho/θo* does not exhibit the same restrictions on NP subject placement. In (24)–(25), the NP subject occurs immediately after ‘go’ and before the next verb in the predicate.

(24) **θu**:::=k̓ʷa qayx̣ **kʷum**. *ʔayʔaǰuθəm*
go=RPT Mink go.up
‘Mink kept on going up.’ (EP 119) (Watanabe 2003:570)

(25) **hu**=k̓ʷa=qǰi x̌awgas **ʔiɬtən**.
go=RPT=again grizzly.bear eat
‘Grizzly went back to eat.’ (EP 223) (Watanabe 2003:587)

In (24), *θo* ‘go’ is combined with a verb expressing the path of motion, and in (25), *ho* ‘go’ is combined with a non-motion verb which produces a purposive motion meaning (see Lovestrand & Ross 2021). In (26) and (27) below, ‘go’ is combined with a manner of motion verb.

(26) **ho** k̓ʷa ga qayχ **ʔəmʔɛmaš**. *ʔayʔaǰuθəm*
hu=k̓ʷa=ga qayx̌ **ʔəm~ʔɛmaš**
go=RPT=DPRT Mink PL~walk
‘Qayχ was just walking about.’ (*Mink and Greybird*:line 6) (Paul *to appear*:7)

(27) **ho** k̓ʷa ga qayχ **hɛhɛwčɪsma**.
hu=k̓ʷa=ga qayx̌ **hi~hig-čis-ma**
go=RPT=DPRT Mink PROG~go.forward-hand-go.by
‘Mink is paddling, he’s travelling.’ (*Mink and Wolf*:line 35) (Paul *to appear*:45)

To summarize so far, *ho/θo* shows overlap with Hul’q’umi’num’ *nem’* in that they both attract second position clitics, but diverges in the placement of non-clitic subjects. There are three potential analyses of *ho/θo* in predicate-initial position preceding another predicational element given the tests in the previous section:

A. Pre-predicate *ho/θo* is not an auxiliary but a verb,
B. Pre-predicate *ho/θo* is an auxiliary, but ʔayʔaǰuθəm auxiliaries are syntactically different from those in other Central Salish languages, and
C. There exist two distinct forms of *ho/θo* that occur in this position.

Under Analysis A *ho/θo* has not fully grammaticalized into an auxiliary. Analysis B requires an expansion of this class of auxiliaries in ʔayʔaǰuθəm to allow for the introduction of non-clitic subjects, while Analysis A and C do not require changing the nature of the auxiliary class and remain consistent with other Central Salish languages. In Analysis C there are two forms of *ho/θo* that occur in this syntactic position, an auxiliary immediately preceding another verb, and a coexisting homonymous lexical verb that introduces non-clitic subjects.

The presence of a 'going to go'-like construction would provide evidence that there are separate lexical categories for the full verb and an auxiliary reading with semantic bleaching. So far, the 'going to go' type doubling construction is not evident in ʔayʔaǰuθəm texts.[11]

The following table sums up our findings so far.

Table 2: Comparing pre-predicate 'go' verbs in three Central Salish languages

'go' verb	***precede NP argument**	**bleaching**
Hul'q'umi'num' *nem'*	no	yes
SENĆOŦEN *YÁ,*	yes[!]	yes[!]
ʔayʔaǰuθəm *ho/θo*	yes	no[!]

[!]Based on observations from texts; negative data needed.

In addition to preceding the main predicate, Watanabe notes that "auxiliaries can follow the predicate proper, although this order is less frequently recorded" (2003:94).

(28) ʔa~ʔaqʷ-ag-iš=ḵʷa **θu** *ʔayʔaǰuθəm*
PROG~go.downriver-PL-INTR=RPT go
'They were going down the river.' (Watanabe 2003:94)

Watanabe also includes the following examples of a non-motion verb followed by *θo* 'go'. These have a 'go and do V' interpretation but with non-iconic verb order — i.e., the verb order does not match the sequential order of events in the translation.

(29) taw-t-əm=ḵʷa **θu** *ʔayʔaǰuθəm*
tell-CTR-PAS=RPT go
'They went and told him.' (Watanabe 2003:94)

(30) x̣ʷət'$^{\theta}$-ʔəm=čxʷ **θu**
break.off-ACT.INTR=2SG.SUBJ go
'You go and break (e.g., branches).' (Watanabe 2003:94)

Typologically, examples (29) and (30) are unusual for two reasons: (i) auxiliaries (grammaticalized elements) do not tend to have as flexible order as their main verb counterparts, and (ii) non-iconic order is less common when verbs describe sequential subevents (Lord 1993:237). If we are going to call this an auxiliary, we must broaden our auxiliary category to be even more flexible. Alternatively, we can treat these post-predicate elements as the second verb (V_2) in a serial verb construction, and assume there is a coexisting auxiliary which is limited to pre-predicate position. In the next section, we will look at another construction where the 'go' verb follows the main predicate and introduces an oblique phrase.

[11] This generalization is based on the following narrative texts: Watanabe (2003:§4, 2020, 2022a, 2022b, 2023, 2025) and Paul (*to appear*).

5 Coverb ‘go’ constructions

Recall that a *coverb construction* consists of a main predicate and another verb that serves a preposition-like function (see Matthews 2006:70–71). Kroeber (1999:44) notes that no Salish language has a very large inventory of prepositions and that notions of location and direction tend to be coded in the clause predicates. Central Salish languages, with the exception of Lushootseed, have only a multipurpose oblique marker.

Central Salish languages tend to have small inventories of prefixes, and ʔayʔaǰuθəm has entirely lost non-reduplicative prefixes (Davis & Mellesmoen 2019:32). This language even has a strong tendency to omit proclitics, including — but not limited to — determiners and the oblique marker (Reisinger et. al 2021:752). Davis and Mellesmoen note that “the overall result is that ʔayʔaǰuθəm often *looks* superficially distinct from other Salish languages, even when its underlying syntax is largely identical” (2019:32). An example of a sentence with elided proclitics is given in (31), where the oblique marker and determiner in brackets are unrealized in speech but recoverable.

(31) ho ḵ̓ʷa ḵ̓ʷʊtəm **[ʔə tə]** čuy̓. *ʔayʔaǰuθəm*
hu=ḵ̓ʷa ḵ̓ʷə{n}-t-əm **[ʔə=tə=]**čuy̓
go=RPT see-CTR-PAS [OBL=DET=]child
‘That little one went back to see him. (*Mink and Wolf*:line 82) (Paul *to appear*:60)

Schneider (2024b) found that, in addition to its auxiliary and main predicate functions, the verb *nem’* ‘go’ in Hul’q’umi’num’ can also function as a coverb, as in (32) and (33).

(32) sis ’uw’ huye’stum **nem̓’** ’u thu skwthe’. *Hul’q’umi’num’*

sis=ʔəẇ	həyeʔ-stəm	**nem̓**	ʔə	θə	skʷθeʔ
N.AUX.3POS=CN	leave-CS.PAS	go.CVB	OBL	DET	island

‘She was taken away to the island.’ (DL) (Schneider 2024b:84)

(33) nem’ ts’tem **nem̓’** ’u tthun’ men, qeq!

nem̓	c̓tem	**nem̓**	ʔə	tθən̓	men	qeq
go.AUX	crawl	go	OBL	DET.2POS	father	baby

‘Go crawl to your dad, baby!’ (Gerdts 2010:4)

In both examples, *nem’* follows the main predicate, encodes a general directional meaning and introduces an oblique phrase encoding the destination. Additionally, examples like (33) are ungrammatical if *nem’* is removed (Gerdts 2010:4). In Hul’q’umi’num’, a manner of motion verb like *ts’tem* ‘crawl’ cannot express the endpoint of motion without a directional element.[12]

Similar to its auxiliary function, coverb *nem’* also exhibits semantic bleaching. The evidence of this bleaching is threefold: (i) *nem’* is used to encode a broader variety of semantic relations than any other directional verb in this syntactic position (Schneider 2024b:82–83); (ii) it occurs much more frequently in this syntactic position than any other directional verb (Schneider

[12] An alternative to the use of a coverb construction is the use of the directional applicative /-nəs/ suffixed to the manner of motion verb — e.g., /c̓tem-nəs/ ‘crawl to’ — which provides an argument slot for the endpoint of motion (Gerdts 2010:4).

2024b:82); and (iii) this structure can also be used in comparative and benefactive constructions to indicate the standard of comparison or the beneficiary, respectively (Schneider 2024b:§4.6; Kiyosawa & Gerdts 2010:55). We discuss (i) and (ii) in §5.1 and (iii) will be dealt with in §5.2.

5.1 Directional constructions

Similar to Hul'q'umi'num' *nem'* SENĆOŦEN *YÁ,* 'go' appears frequently in the coverb position, following another verb and introducing an oblique phrase. Like ʔayʔaǰuθəm, the oblique marker can sometimes be left out, as in (34).[13]

(34) OOŁ **YÁ, [E]** TŦE SNEW̱ EŁ ȻȺL E TŦE ȻEĆIL,. *SENĆOŦEN*

ʔáaɬ	**yéʔ**	**[ʔə]**	tθə	snáxʷəɬ	kʷéyl	ʔə	tθə	kʷəčíl̓
go.aboard	go	OBL	DET	canoe	hide	OBL	DET	morning

'He got **on** the canoe and hid early in the morning.' (EC,VWb) (Montler 2018:390)

Similar to Hul'q'umi'num', the 'go'+OBL construction is used with a wide variety of "prepositional" relations and the specific relation is often selected by the semantics of the preceding verb:

(35) SU, TESS **YÁ, E** TŦE T̓ET̓ÁĆES. *SENĆOŦEN*

suʔ-tə́s-s	**yéʔ**	**ʔə**	tθə	ƛ̓əƛ̓éčəs
LNK-arrive-3POS	go	OBL	DET	island

'So they got **to** an island.' (ErC) (Montler 2018:666)

(36) ŚELEN̓ SW̱ **YÁ, E** TŦE SƮE,SENEN̓.

šə́ləŋ=sxʷ	**yéʔ**	**ʔə**	tθə	stʰəʔsə́nəŋ
climb.MD=2SG	go	OBL	DET	ladder

'Climb **up** the ladder.' (LGC) (Montler 2018:573)

In (34) above, the relation is 'on' because of the verb meaning 'go aboard', here in (35) it is 'to' because of the verb meaning 'arrive', and finally in (36), it is 'up' because of the verb meaning 'climb'.

Above in (34)–(36), the oblique NP encodes a location or direction, here in (37) and (38) it encodes a purpose or goal.

(37) SU, TW̱E HÍS OL, TŦÁ,E ĆÁ,SE, NEK̓EN̓ **YÁ, E** TŦE ŦO,TX. *SENĆOŦEN*

suʔ-txʷə-háy-s	ʔal̓	tθéʔə	čéʔsəʔ	nə́qəŋ	**yéʔ**
LNK-MUT-alone-3POS	LMT	DET	two.person	dive.MD	go
ʔə	tθə	θáʔtx̣			
OBL	DET	halibut			

'So there were only the two left who went diving **for** halibut.' (ErC) (Montler 2018:359)

[13] This dictionary example is listed both with and without the oblique marker (two separate, nearly identical examples); brackets have been added to indicate that it can be left out.

(38) ŚKEL̓JSET SW̱ **YÁ̓ E** TŦE SŁEMEW̱.
šqə̓lč̓sət=sxʷ **yéʔ** **ʔə** tθə słə́məxʷ
shelter=2SG go OBL DET rain
'Go get a shelter **from** the rain.' (LGC) (Montler 2018:622)

In (37), the subjects are diving in order to obtain 'the halibut', and in (38), the subject is sheltering to get protection 'from the rain'. As with the previous examples, *YÁ̓* 'go' provides a bleached directional function and the specific interpretation is dependent on the context.

So far, the coverb 'go'+OBL construction appears to be somewhat less frequent in ʔayʔaǰuθəm narratives.[14] Examples (39)–(41) demonstrate the directional function where the interpretation is determined by the preceding verb.

(39) ƛ̓əc̓̓-t-as **θu** ʔə=tə=qayʔa *ʔayʔaǰuθəm*
push-TR-3SUBJ go OBL=DET=water
'He pushed it **into** the water.' (Kroeber 1999:46)

(40) təłq̓ʷ-a-θut = k̓ʷa **θu** ʔə=taʔa
bounce-LV-CTR+RFL=RPT go OBL=DEM
'He jumped **to** over there.' (EP 144) (Watanabe 2003:574)

(41) łəq̓ʷ-θut **θu** ʔə=tə=ǰaj̓a
put.under-CTR.REFL go OBL=DET=tree
'He put himself **under** the tree.' (EP 147) (Watanabe 2003:575)

There is evidence of bleaching of *ho/θo* in this position, for example, in (42) there is no literal motion.

(42) ʔaǰ-am-a-t-as **θu** ʔə=kʷ=naʔa nənqəm.
change-MD-LV-CTR-3ERG go OBL=DET=FILL.PRT blackfish
'They would change him into a blackfish.' (MG016) (Watanabe 2022a:319)

In this example, *θo* 'go' represents metaphorical movement from one shape to another. Additionally, the *ho/θo*+OBL construction also has a grammaticalized function in comparative constructions, which are the topic of the next section.

5.2 Comparative constructions

Davis and Mellesmoen (2019:32) found that ʔayʔaǰuθəm *ho/θo* 'go' is used in comparative constructions to mark the standard of comparison:

(43) kʷihit ǩaǩał Tony **hu** Gloria *ʔayʔaǰuθəm*
more tall Tony go Gloria

[14] This generalization is based on the following narrative texts: Watanabe (2003:§4, 2020, 2022a, 2022b, 2023, 2025) and Paul (*to appear*).

‘Tony is taller than Gloria.’ (Davis & Mellesmoen 2019:32)

(44) kʷihit tih tə kʷakʷaǰu **θu** tə qʷisqʷis
more big DET squirrel go DET Steller's.jay
‘The squirrel is bigger than the Steller’s jay.’ (L&R:121)
(Davis & Mellesmoen 2019:32)

Schneider (2024b) found that a similar construction exists in Hul’q’umi’num:

(45) hay ’al’ qul’et thi ḥwu **nem’** ’u tthu qwunus. *Hul’q’umi’num’*
hay ʔal̓ qəl̓et θi xʷə=**nem̓** ʔə tθə qʷənəs
3FOC just again big INCH=go OBL DET whale
‘He is much larger than a whale.’ (EW) (Schneider 2024b:203)

The main differences between these two languages is that the ʔayʔaǰuθəm uses the predicate adverb *kʷihit* ‘more’ and Hul’q’umi’num uses *qəl̓et* ‘again’, and the fact that the ʔayʔaǰuθəm construction need not contain an overt oblique marker, while Hul’q’umi’num’ obligatorily must.

Based on the data available in Montler (2018) and Campbell (2023), it does not appear that SENĆOŦEN *YÁ¸* ‘go’ — or any other directional verb — is used in comparative constructions. The most common comparative construction in Montler’s (2018) dictionary has been exemplified here in (46).

(46) NIŁ TŦE SWÍ¸K̲E¸ **ĆEK̲** ***E*** ŦE SŁÁNI¸. *SENĆOŦEN*
níł tθə swə́yq̓əʔ **čə́q** ***ʔə*** θə słéniʔ
FOC DET man big OBL DET woman
‘The man is bigger than the woman.’ (EC,VW) (Montler 2018:136)

The standard of comparison ‘the woman’ is marked with an oblique phrase and no motion verb is required. The second comparative construction appears to involve two clauses; in (47), the first clause establishes that the subject of comparison ‘the cat’ is very big and then the second clause states that it exceeds the standard of comparison ‘the dog’.

(47) ÁN¸ U¸ **ĆEK̲** TŦE PUS; ***ĆEL¸ÁU¸NEN̲*** TŦE SK̲AXE¸. *SENĆOŦEN*
ʔén̓ uʔ **čə́q** tθə pús; ***čəlé́ẃnəŋ*** tθə sqéx̣əʔ
very LNK big DET cat exceed DET dog
‘The cat is bigger than the dog.’ (LAC) (Montler 2018:41)

The construction in (47) is of interest because it appears very similar to the structure of comparative SVCs. A comparative SVC typically contains a verb expressing the parameter of comparison and another verb with a meaning such as *exceed*, *surpass*, *win*, *pass*, or *defeat* expressing the index of comparison (Aikhenvald 2018:42), as in (48).

(48) Nyam **swit** **pas** rays. *Nigerian Pidgin*
yam be.tasty pass rice
‘Yam is more delicious than rice.’ (Faraclas 1996:11)

The SENĆOŦEN examples that mirror this structure are punctuated as if they contain two clauses, but an exploration of the clause boundaries may prove interesting.

In summary, *ho/θo* 'go' exhibits behaviours previously documented for coverb constructions, where it may introduce oblique arguments and encode both physical and metaphorical motion, as presented in §5.1. It also functions as a marker in comparative constructions, as described in §5.2, similar to Hul'q'umi'num. These patterns suggest that *ho/θo* 'go' in this syntactic position is undergoing semantic bleaching, given its wider range of possible functions.

6 Conclusion

We present a description of constructions with *ho/θo* 'go', highlighting its wide range of applications separate from encoding physical motion. Similar to Hul'q'umi'num' *nem'*, ʔayʔaǰuθəm *ho/θo* 'go' may exist as both an auxiliary and as a homonymous main verb, which accounts for the flexibility of its syntactic position. The use of the 'go' coverb construction appears less pervasive in ʔayʔaǰuθəm than in Hul'q'umi'num' and SENĆOŦEN, but it has grammaticalized enough to lose sufficient motion semantics to be used in comparative constructions.

In future work, we intend to explore other motion-associated auxiliaries and predicates (see Montler 2008) such as *tawusaman* 'go along beach,' *yik*^{w} 'go around', *ʔaq*^{w} 'go downriver,', *k*^{w}*um* 'go up (away from beach or towards the mountains), *ɬayiš* 'go ashore', *ƛ̓iʔigən* 'go into bush', and *q*^{w}*o*$\dot{l}$ 'come,' to see whether the distribution of *ho/θo* 'go' is linked to a certain semantic class of predicates, a syntactic group of either auxiliaries or verbs, or is unique to just this verb.

Ultimately, we aim to create a set of valid diagnostics that can be more widely applied to Salishan languages to identify when verbs behave as predicates versus as auxiliaries. Future studies will also encompass investigations into the role of adverbs in verb phrases. Namely, words like *payaʔ* 'always', *ʔaẇθ* 'suddenly', and *hihiw* 'really' (Watanabe 2003:90) may behave as auxiliaries with an adverbial meaning or as a main predicate (Huijsmans 2023:15). A detailed description of adverbs in ʔayʔaǰuθəm is beneficial for learners of the language, as English-speaking learners of morphologically rich languages tend to rely more on adverbs than morphology during early stages of learning (Sagarra & Ellis 2013:263).

There is also comparative work to be done in neighboring dialects and languages (see Schneider 2024a). We hope to look at mainland Halkomelem dialects to see if the patterns found in Schneider (2024b) are also attested, and if so, whether motion-associated predicates exhibit similar trajectories of semantic bleaching, coverb status, and compatibility with NP subjects. We may also consider seeing whether Squamish — neighbour to mainland Halkomelem dialects — and other Island languages, such as those belonging to the Wakashan language family, contain these constructions to see whether serialization may be an areal feature (see Inman 2019).

Few studies have been made of Central Salish multi-verb constructions to date, and data from these languages have not been included in most cross-linguistic studies (e.g., Aikhenvald 2018; Lovestrand 2018; Lovestrand & Ross 2021). Expanding the typology of documented languages with multi-verb constructions away from Indo-European languages benefits both modern theoretical models of linguistics and language pedagogy. Through this investigation, we presented a description of the verb, *ho/θo* 'go,' in order to better understand how the ʔayʔaǰuθəm-speaking

people conceptualize and express complex motion events when moving about the Central Salish world.

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