Using Hul'q'umi'num' directional SVCs to express path and manner

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Path is considered an obligatory element of a motion event and languages vary in how path is expressed in motion constructions (Slobin, 2004). Hul'q'umi'num', the Island dialect of Halkomelem Salish, makes use of an equipollently-framed system in which path and manner are expressed by equivalent forms using serial verb constructions (SVCs). The language exhibits directional SVCs consisting of a manner and a path verb as well as consisting of multiple path verbs. Furthermore, there is an emerging pattern of grammaticalization involving the verb *huye'* 'leave', which occurs more frequently and exhibits less flexibility in ordering than other motion verbs in SVCs. These patterns indicate that the verb *huye'* functions as the minor component in an asymmetrical SVC.
Keywords: motion; serial verb; Halkomelem Salish; path

1 Introduction

This paper explores directional motion serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Hul'q'umi'num', the Island dialect of Halkomelem Salish (ISO 639-3 hur). One objective of 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. This work is accomplished through examination of data from dictionaries (e.g., Hukari & Peter, 1995), elicitation, and a text corpus.[1] One understudied feature of some Central Salish languages is directional serial verb constructions. Serial verb constructions (SVCs) consist of two or more verbs that can function as independent lexical verbs,

[1] Acknowledgments: My fieldwork was completed with funding from Jacobs Research Fund and American Philosophical Society (Phillips Fund). 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), Arnold Guerin (AG), Mrs. Jimmy Joe (Ellen Rice) (MJJ), Andrew Misheal (AM), Sophie Misheal (SM), Wilfred Sampson (WS), Samuel Tom (ST), and Ellen White (EW). I thank Dr. Donna Gerdts for her support and advice on this project.

share a subject, have matching aspect, and are not connected by any linking element (Schneider, 2021). Directional SVCs are those which consist of a motion verb and a directional verb which contributes the path of motion. An example of a directional SVC has been provided in (1).

(1) ’i tsun **huye’ ’imush**.

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

‘I’m going for a walk.’ (leave+walk) (RP 13.09.19)

In this example both are translational motion verbs and *huye’* ‘leave’ encodes path of motion. Section 2 explores these directional SVCs, which can be divided into three types: MANNER + PATH (§2.1), PATH + PATH (§2.2), and *huye’* (PATH) + motion verb. The verb *huye’* ‘leave’ behaves differently than other path verbs and thus warrants dedicated discussion in §2.3. The following section (§1.1), briefly provides relevant background information about the Hul’q’umi’num’ language and §1.2 discusses how motion events are categorized cross-linguistically.

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), hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ (Downriver: Musqueam), and Halq’eméylem (Upriver: Chilliwack).

All Salish languages are predicate-initial. In Hul’q’umi’num’ VSO (a) is the most common word order, but VOS (b) is also possible.[2]

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

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

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

[2] Abbreviations used in the paper: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, AUX = auxiliary, CN = connective element, CNJ = conjunction, CS = causative, DIM = diminutive, DIR = directional, DIST = distal, DT = determiner, DYN = dynamic, FUT = future, IPFV = imperfective, N = nominalizer, OBL = oblique, PERF = perfect, PRO.DT = pro-determiner, PROX = proximal, PST = past, PL = plural, POS = possessive, RL = rhetorical lengthening, SG = singular, SUB = subject, TR = transitive, V_1 = first verb, V_2 = second verb, VBL = verbalizing prefix

b. ni’ punutus kwthu sqewth lhu q’emi’.

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

‘The girl planted the potatoes.’ (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, 2010, p. 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, p. 263). For example, first- and second-person subject clitics occur in second position after the first available host, such as /=cən/ ‘first-person singular subject’ in (3).

(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, p. 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. The object NP follows the verb complex.

In Salish languages, NPs that are core participants are preceded by determiners, while non-core participants often take prepositions (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, 2010, p. 25). In many of these languages, obliques contrast with subject and object NPs with respect to nominal marking. In Hul’q’umi’num’, oblique NPs—such as instruments (4) and endpoints of motion (5)—must be preceded by the oblique marker.

(4) ni’ tsun qw’aqwut **’u** kwthu ’un’ shapululh.

niʔ	cən	q̓ʷaqʷ-ət	**ʔə**	kʷθə	ʔən̓-šapəl-əł
AUX.DIST	*1SG.SUB*	*club-TR*	*OBL*	*DT*	*2SG.POS-shovel-PST*

‘I hit him with your shovel.’ (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, 2010, p. 27)

(5) ni’ yu ’ewu tthu John **’u** tthu nu lelum’.

niʔ	yə=ʔewə	tθə	John	**ʔə**	tθə
AUX.DIST	*DYN=come.here*	*DT*	*John*	*OBL*	*DT*

nə-leləm̓
1SG.POS-house

‘John is coming to my house.’ (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, 2010, p. 27)

Hul’q’umi’num’ has only this single preposition and so meanings often expressed by prepositions in English are expressed by verbs in Hul’q’umi’num’; a handful of examples has been provided in Table 1 to illustrate this.

Table 1. *Sample of directional verbs (Hukari & Peter, 1995)*

Orth.	APA	Gloss
shaqwul	šaqʷəl	‘go across’
taal	ta:l	‘go out to sea, to the middle’
t’ahw	t̓aǎʷ	‘go downhill’
tsam	cam	‘go uphill’

These examples illustrate how, in lieu of a large inventory of prepositions, many directional meanings are instead encoded into the verbs themselves. The next section will discuss directional verbs in greater detail. Furthermore, it will briefly address how motion events are encoded in the world’s languages and situate Hul’q’umi’num’ within that context.

1.2 Encoding motion events

According to Slobin (2004, p. 5), *path* is a definitional, obligatory feature of a motion event. In contrast, languages vary in whether and how *manner* is expressed in motion events. Building off of Talmy (2000), Slobin (2004) proposes three typological profiles for motion events in the world’s languages.

(6) Typological profile of motion events (Slobin, 2004)
- ***Verb-framed language***: The preferred means of expressing path is a verb, with subordinate expression of manner (if included) (PATH VERB + SUBORDINATE MANNER VERB).
- ***Satellite framed-language***: The preferred means of expressing path is a nonverbal element associated with a verb (MANNER VERB + PATH SATELLITE)
- ***Equipollently-framed language***: Path and manner are expressed by equivalent grammatical forms.
  - MANNER VERB + PATH VERB: serial verb languages
  - [MANNER + PATH]VERB: bipartite verb languages
  - MANNER PREVERB + PATH PREVERB + VERB

In sum, V-framed languages express path using a verb, S-framed languages express path using a nonverbal element, and E-framed languages utilize equivalent verbal elements for both path and manner. In (7), a few examples have been provided of V-framed and S-framed languages in order to illustrate the differences in expression of manner.

(7) a. V-framed
Spanish ***Sale** un búho*
'**Exits** an owl'
Turkish *Oradan bir baykus **çıkıyor**.*
'From there an owl **exits**'

b. S-framed
Russian *Tam **vy-skočila** sova.*
'There **out-jumped** owl.
Dutch *...omdat er een uil **uit-vliegt**.*
'because there an owl **out-flies**.'
English *An owl **popped out**.* (Slobin, 2004, p. 6)

In the V-framed languages, the motion event of the owl leaving a hole in the tree is almost always described using a single path verb meaning *exit*, while in S-framed languages, speakers used some kind of manner verb together with a path satellite, such as the English preposition *out* (Slobin, 2004, p. 6).

Hul'q'umi'num' has a large inventory of motion verbs encoding manner and path (cf. Gerdts & Hukari 2011). The language makes use of two different systems for encoding path. The first is a V-framed system, where manner is encoded by a verb, in this case *ts'tem* 'crawl' and path is encoded by the directional applicative suffix *-nus*.

(8) nem' **ts'temnus** tthuṅ men, qeq!

neṁ	**c̓tem-nəs**	tθəṅ	men	qeq
go.AUX	*crawl-DIR*	*DT.2POS*	*father*	*baby*

'Go crawl to your dad, baby!' (Gerdts, 2010b, p. 4)

The second involves directional motion SVCs in an E-framed system in which both path and manner are expressed by equivalent grammatical forms: MANNER VERB + PATH VERB.

(9) nem' **ts'tem nem'** 'u tthuṅ men, qeq!

neṁ	**c̓tem**	**neṁ**	ʔə	tθəṅ	men	qeq
go.AUX	*crawl*	*go*	*OBL*	*DT.2POS*	*father*	*baby*

'Go crawl to your dad, baby!' (Gerdts, 2010b, p. 4)

Halkomelem has a small, closed set of adverbs expressing meanings such as frequency and duration but makes limited use of manner adverbs (cf. Suttles, 2004, p. 422). In Salish languages, modification of non-nominal heads is largely accomplished by means of higher predicates, as well as a variety of clitics expressing the speaker's viewpoint (Gerdts & Schneider, *in press*). Manner, when

encoded in a motion event, is often encoded by a verb; Table 2 provides a selection of manner verbs.

Table 2. *Sample of Hul'q'umi'num' manner of motion verbs (Hukari & Peter, 1995)*

Orth.	APA	Gloss
tstl'um	cƛ̓əm	'jump'
q'it'a'	q̓it̓aʔ	'swing'
si'lum'	sil̓əm'	'rolling'
huw'qw'	həẇq̓ʷ	'drift'
xwchenum	x̌ʷčenəm	'run'
'imush	ʔiməš	'walk, hunt'
'ushul	ʔəšəl	'paddle'
lhakw'	łak̓ʷ	'fly'
ts'tem	c̓tem	'crawl'
t'itsum	t̓icəm	'swim (on the surface)'
shtem	štem	'swim (underwater)'

As expected in an E-framed system, path is also encoded by a verb in Hul'q'umi'num'; the next table provides a selection of path verbs.

Table 3. *Sample of Hul'q'umi'num' path verbs (Hukari & Peter, 1995)*

Orth.	APA	Gloss
nem'	nem̓	'go'
xwte'	x̌ʷteʔ	'go toward'
(hu)m'i	həm̓i	'come'
'ewu	ʔewə	'come here'
huye'	həyeʔ	'leave, depart'
hwu'alum'	xʷəʔaləm̓	'return, go back'
tus	təs	'arrive, get near'
tetsul	tecəl	'arrive, reach'
shaqwul	šaqʷəl	'go across'
tsam	cam	'go uphill'
t'ahw	t̓ax̌ʷ	'go downhill'
tsetsuw'	cecəẇ	'coming down'
kw'i'	k̓ʷiʔ	'rise, climb'
t'akw'	t̓ak̓ʷ	'go home'
lheel	łe:l	'go to shore, from the middle to the side'
taal	ta:l	'go out to sea, to the middle'

Gerdts and Hukari (1998) point out that the middle suffix /-(ə)m/ is used on verbs from many different classes, including motion verbs. There are numerous examples of this in Table 2 and Table 3 (e.g., *ts'tem* 'crawl' and *hwu'alum'* 'return, go back', respectively).[3]

Example (10) illustrates how the manner and path verbs shown in Tables 2 and 3 are combined in serial verb languages.

(10) …'i' tl'e' wulh **'ushul taal**.

ʔiʔ	**ƛ̓eʔ**	**wəɬ**	**ʔəšəl**	**ta:l**
CNJ	*again*	*PERF*	*paddle*	*go.out.to.sea*

'… and they started paddling out to sea again.' (SM 4701)

In this example, *'ushul* 'paddle' provides the manner of motion while *taal* 'go out to sea, into the middle' provides the path. This type of construction is the topic of §2.

2 Directional SVCs

In their cross-linguistic survey of serializing languages, Lovestrand and Ross (2021, p. 97) found that the most common type of motion SVCs are directional, which consist of a motion verb and a directional verb which contributes the path of motion. In Hul'q'umi'num', there are at least three types of directional motion constructions:

(11) Types of directional motion SVCs
- MANNER + PATH
- PATH + PATH
- *huye'* (PATH) + motion verb

In the first type, there is a manner verb and a path verb, such as (10). This type fits nicely into Slobin's typology outlined previously and is discussed in §2.1. The second type are directional motion constructions consisting of two or more path verbs (§2.2). In addition, SVCs consisting of more than two verbs may include a combination of manner and path verbs. Finally, a third type of construction is in

[3] The motion verbs in Table 2 and Table 3 can no longer be parsed into a free morpheme base and a suffix. The middle suffix can be used to derive motion verbs from nouns. Cases where the base is attested as a freestanding noun are not frequent but a handful of examples of denominal (translational) motion verbs have been provided below (Gerdts & Hukari, 1998, p. 197):

(i)				
	wekən	'wagon'	wekən-əm	'go by wagon'
	patən	'sail (n.)'	patən-əm	'sail (v.)'
	q̓ɬan	'bow'	q̓ɬan-əm	'go to the bow'
	ʔileʔəq	'stern'	ʔileʔəq-əm	'go to the stern'

the process of forming through the grammaticalization of the path verb *huye'* 'leave' (§2.3).

2.1 Manner + Path

Examples (12) and (13) demonstrate a frequently occurring type of SVC found in Hul'q'umi'num': a verb meaning 'leave' plus a manner verb.

(12) 'i tsun **huye' 'imush**.

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

'I'm going for a walk.' (RP 13.09.19)

(13) suw' **huye'** thu t'i't'ut'um' **lhakw'**

səẇ	**həyeʔ**	θə	tiʔtət̓əm̓	**ɬak̓ʷ**
N.CN	*leave*	*DT*	*wren<DIM>*	*fly*

'And away went the little wren, flying' (CA 19109)

In (12), the verb complex consists of two independent verbs: *huye'* 'leave' and *'imush* 'walk'. In this example, *huye'* provides the path of motion, while *'imush* provides the manner. Similarly, in (13), *huye'* is again the path of motion and *lhakw'* 'fly' provides the manner of motion. These examples also illustrate subject placement. As was mentioned previously, pronominal subjects occur as second-position clitics. As illustrated by (12) and (13), shared NP subjects may occur either between V_1 and V_2 or after both verbs (cf. Schneider, 2021).

In the text corpus, the directional verb *huye'* most often occurs as V_1 when it is serialized with a manner verb. In contrast, in other verb combinations the manner verb tends to occur first, and the path verb typically occurs second. This is demonstrated by examples (14)–(17).

(14) 'a.a.alhstuhwus suw' **'ushul t'akw'** thuw'nilh.

ʔaːɬ-stəxʷ-əs	səẇ	**ʔəšəl**	**t̓ak̓ʷ**	θəẇnił
get.aboard-CS-3SUB<RL>	*N.CN*	*paddle*	*go.home*	*PRO.DT*

'She put it on board, and she paddled home.' (WS 430)

(15) ne.e.em' **t'itsum taal** tthuw'nilh swiw'lus.

neṁ	**t̓icəm**	**taːl**	tθəẇnił	swiẇləs
go.AUX	*swim*	*go.out.to.sea*	*PRO.DT*	*boy*

'He went swimming far out in the waters.' (WS 404)

(16) kwis 'uw' wulh **'imush t'ahw**.

kʷis	ʔəẇ	wəɬ	**ʔiməš**	**t̓axʷ**
DT	*N.CN*	*PERF*	*walk*	*go.downhill*

'He went down to the beach.' (AG 32026)

(17) nem' tsun **'imush tl'tawun**.
nəm̓ cən **ʔiməš** **ƛ̓-tawən**
go.AUX *1SG.SUB* *walk* *VBL-town*
'I going to walk to town.' (DL 06.12.21)

In (14)–(17), V_1 encodes the manner (*'ushul* 'paddle', *t'itsum* 'swim', *'imush* 'walk'), and V_2 encodes the path (*t'akw'* 'go home', *taal* 'go out to sea, out in the middle', *t'ahw* 'go downhill, go down to the beach', *tl'tawun* 'go to town').[4] While some of these path verbs always occur second in the text corpus, some verbs, such as *tsam* 'go uphill' exhibit some flexibility of ordering:

(18) siis 'uw' **xwchenum** tthu tth'amuqw'us **tsam**.
si:s ʔəw̓ **x̌ʷčenəm** tθə tθ̓aməq̓ʷəs **cam**
and *CN* *run* *DT* *sasquatch* *go.uphill*
'and the Sasquatch ran up the hill.' (ST 6017)

(19) sis 'uw' wulh **tsam xwchenum**.
sis ʔəw̓ wəɬ **cam** **x̌ʷčenəm**
and *CN* *PERF* *go.uphill* *run*
'And now she went uphill and ran.' (ST 6364)

In (18), V_1 encodes manner followed by V_2 which encodes path, and in (19), V_1 encodes path then V_2 encodes manner. A pattern of ordering preference emerges when these verbs are counted up and compared with one another. Table 4 provides a corpus count of path verbs serialized with manner of motion verbs. The first column contains the path verb, the second column provides the count of how many times it occurs as the first verb in the series, and the third column provides the count of how many times it occurs as the second verb.

[4] Directional verbs can be derived by verbalizing prefix / ƛ̓-/ affixed to a destination noun (Gerdts & Hukari, 2008, p. 490).
(ii) nem' tsun tl'shhwiṁelu 'utl' Wal-Mart.
nəm̓ cən ƛ̓-šxʷimələ ʔə-ƛ̓ Wal-Mart
go.AUX *1SG.SUB* *VBL-store* *OBL-DT* *Wal-Mart*
'I'm going shopping at Wal-Mart.' (Gerdts & Hukari 2008: 498)

Table 4. *Directional verb ordering when serialized with a manner verb (corpus count)*

Path Verb		V_1	V_2
huye’	‘leave’	10	0
tsam	‘go uphill’	2	9
kw’i’	‘climb, rise’	3	3
’ewu	‘come here’	1	2
shaqwul	‘cross over’	1	1
tus	‘arrive, get near’	0	9
t’akw’	‘go home’	0	8
qw’im	‘get off, disembark’	0	5
taal	‘go out to sea’	0	5
t’ahw	‘go downhill’	0	4
qwsuthut	‘go into water’	0	4
’aalh	‘get aboard’	0	3
lheel	‘come to shore’	0	2
tetsul	‘arrive, reach’	0	2
xwte’	‘go towards’	0	2
		17	59

The first thing that stands out about these data is that *huye’* is the only verb with a preference for occurring as V_1. Second, as illustrated by (18) and (19), a handful of verbs exhibit flexibility with respect to their ordering with manner verbs. Finally, a larger number of path verbs tend to occur as the second verb in the text corpus following the manner verb with which they are serialized. The ordering with the directional verb second is more expected typologically because Lovestrand and Ross (2021, p. 109) found that in 90% of the languages that have directional SVCs, the directional verb is the second verb in the series.[5]

What emerges in Hul’q’umi’num’ is that there are at least three distinct patterns: (i) constructions with *huye’* ‘leave’ strictly preceding the manner verb [10/76], and constructions with either (ii) flexible ordering [22/76], or (iii) a preference for path occurring after the manner verb [44/76]. In order to investigate

[5] For example, the MANNER VERB + PATH VERB construction is also attested in Klallam, another Central Salish language (Montler, 2008).

(iii) Klallam (p. 10)
kʷanəŋət=cn sqiyŋ.
run=1SUB *go.out*
‘I ran outside.’

Montler does not comment on the ordering of manner and path verbs but all of the examples he provides (four) have the manner verb first and the path verb second.

this further, I examine another type of directional SVC, those made up of multiple path verbs.

2.2 Path + Path

In addition to occurring with manner of motion verbs, directional verbs can also freely combine with one another, for example:

(20) nem’ tsun **huye’ tl’mutouliye’**.
nem̓ cən **həyeʔ** **ƛ̓-mətuliyeʔ**
go.AUX *1SG.SUB* *leave* *VBL-Victoria*
‘I’m going to leave to go to Victoria.’ (DL 06.12.21)

(21) si.i.is ’uw’ **huye’ shaqwul**.
sis ʔəw̓ **həyeʔ** **šaqʷəl**
and<RL> *CN* *leave* *go.across*
‘And they set out across (the lake).’ (CA 19609)

(22) sis ’uw’ nem’ **taal shaqwul** ’utl’ Rosario Strait.
sis ʔəw̓ nem̓ **ta:l** **šaqʷəl**
and *CN* *go.AUX* *go.out.to.sea* *go.across*
ʔəƛ̓ Rosario Strait
OBL.DT Rosario Strait
‘and they went out to sea to cross Rosario Strait.’ (AG 31887-9)

(23) sis m’iw’ **t’ahw ’ewu** ’utl’ Oakville.
sis m̓iw̓ **t̓axʷ** **ʔewə** ʔəƛ̓ Oakville
and *AUX.come.CN* *go.downhill* *come* *OBL.DT* *Oakville*
‘And they came down to Oakville.’ (ST 8040)

In (20), *huye’* indicates that they are leaving their current location and *tl’mutouliye’* ‘go to Victoria’ indicates motion towards a specific destination. Similarly, in (21), *huye’* again indicates the starting point and *shaqwul* ‘cross over water’ indicates that their trajectory is over some body of water. In (22), both *shaqwul* and *taal* ‘go far out on the water’ work together to describe the trajectory of motion. Finally, in (23), *t’ahw* indicates that their trajectory is downhill and *’ewu* ‘come’ indicates their movement is toward the location of the main viewpoint.

Table 5 provides additional directional verbs and their frequency as either V_1 or V_2 in two-verb SVCs when serialized with other verbs denoting path.

Table 5. *Path verb order when serialized with each other (corpus count)*

Path V	V_1	V_2	Total[6]
huye' 'leave'	35	1	36
t'akw' 'go home'	5	9	14
hwu'alum' 'return'	5	8	13
tus 'arrive, get near'	2	9	11
tsam 'go uphill'	2	8	10
kw'i' 'climb, rise'	4	4	8
t'ahw 'go downhill'	3	4	7
shaqwul 'cross over'	2	6	8
'ewu 'come here'	1	6	7
taal 'go out to sea'	4	2	6
qwsuthut 'go into water'	4	1	5
'aalh 'get aboard'	1	3	4
qw'im 'go out of water, disembark'	2	1	3
xwte' 'go towards'	0	5	5

From this table it is clear that, with the exception of *huye'*, the path verbs exhibit flexibility in their ordering when they occur with one another. The order of these path verbs does have a tendency towards iconicity or a cline from general to specific. For example, *xwte'* 'go towards' and *'ewu* 'come here' usually indicate a destination and so often occur as V_2. In addition, when both verbs indicate the destination, such as in (24), the preferred verb order is from general to specific.

(24) nem' tsun **t'akw' tl'pestun**.

nəm̓	cən	**t̓ak̓ʷ**	**ƛ̓-pestən**
go.AUX	*1SG.SUB*	*go.home*	*VBL-United.States*

'I'm going home to the United States.' (DL 06.12.21)

The flexibility in verb ordering is illustrated well by examples with more than two verbs. The Hul'q'umi'num' examples presented so far consist of two verbs, but motion SVCs in this language may also consist of more, such as the next example.

[6] This total reflects the total number of times the given verb occurs in an SVC with another path verb. Many verbs in the table co-occur with one another. The sample represents 89 unique SVCs.

(25) suw' **huye.e.e' 'imush tsam**, tsam 'u tthu smunmeent…
sə̓w̓ **həye?** **ʔiməš** **cam**
N.CN *leave<RL>* *walk* *go.uphill*
cam ʔə t$^{\theta}$ə smənme:nt
go.uphill *OBL* *DT* *mountain.PL*
'So he departed walking uphill, uphill into the mountains…'
(WS 21810)

In (25), there are three verbs in the SVC. All three are intransitive motion verbs with an unmarked third person singular subject. First, V_1 establishes the starting direction; it indicates that the subject is leaving his current location. Next, V_2 describes the manner of motion: *walk*; and finally, V_3 provides the trajectory of motion: *uphill*. Also, V_3 is repeated along with a destination in an oblique phrase. This kind of repetition, used as a means to include additional details, is common in the Hul'q'umi'num' text corpus (cf. Gerdts 2018). The same three verbs are used in the next example, but the order is different.

(26) nem' **huye' tsam 'imush**, mukw' 'ul' 'untsu.
nem̓ **həye?** **cam** **ʔiməš** mək̓^{w} ʔəl̓ ʔəncə
go.AUX *leave* *go.uphill* *walk* *all* *just* *where*
'That was when he left to go up into the hills, just walking everywhere.'
(WS 21822)

As expected, based on its behavior thus far, *huye'* remains in the front, but in this example *tsam* precedes *'imush*. This order allows for *'imush* to be modified by *mukw' 'ul' 'untsu* 'just everywhere, all over the place.' The ordering of SVCs consisting of three or more verb components appears to be discourse dependent in the text corpus with a preference for logical ordering such as iconicity and specificity where relevant. In the Klallam (ISO 639-3 clm) example below, there are five directional verbs in series.

(27) Klallam (Montler, 2008, p. 10)
hiyáʔ=yaʔ=cn **waʔ** **ʔúx̣^{w}** **t̓ák^{w}i** **t̓úk̓^{w}**.
go.away=PST=1SUB *go.along* *go.to* *go.across* *go.home*
'I went along (with someone) across (the strait) over to home.'

Montler (2008, p. 10) notes that, in Klallam, two or three verbs in a series is quite common and five verbs seems to be the upper limit of acceptability. I did not have success reproducing this in elicitation and found that longer strings of verbs were more likely when they involved a mix of manner and path verbs, such as (25) and (26).

Revisiting the emerging patterns, there is clearly a strong tendency for *huye'* to occur first. Approximately 27% of the collected two-verb directional SVCs involve *huye'* preceding another motion verb (the single exception where *huye'* occurs second will be discussed in the following section). The remaining

directional verbs surveyed tend to exhibit more flexible ordering and prefer to occur second when serialized with a manner verb. The next and final subsection discusses the difference between these groups of verbs.

2.3 The grammaticalization of *huye'*

In order to sum up these patterns, five different exemplar verbs are compiled in Table 6.

Table 6. *Order and frequency of five path verbs*[7]

			V_1	V_2	Total
a.	*huye'* +	Manner V	10	0	10
		Path V	35	1	36
			45	**1**	**46**
b.	*tsam* +	Manner V	2	9	11
		Path V	2	8	10
			5	**17**	**21**
c.	*t'akw'* +	Manner V	0	8	8
		Path V	5	7	12
			5	**15**	**20**
d.	*tus* +	Manner V	0	9	9
		Path V	2	9	11
			2	**18**	**20**
e.	*xwte'* +	Manner V	0	2	2
		Path V	0	5	5
			0	**7**	**7**

The first observation of note is that *huye'* in (a) occurs over twice as often in directional motion SVCs in the corpus as the next most common in (b)–(d). These exhibit some variation. The verb *tsam* displays flexibility with manner verbs, while *t'akw'* and *tus* do not. This is likely due to the fact that while *tsam* 'uphill' encodes a trajectory, *t'akw'* 'go home' and *tus* 'arrive, get there' indicate the destination. The first example of *tsam* occurring first is given in (19), the second is given in (28).

(28) "'i.i.ilhe, nem' tst **tsam 'imush**."

ʔiɬe	neṁ	ct	**cam**	**ʔiməš**
let's<RL>	*go.AUX*	*1PL.SUB*	*go.uphill*	*walk*

"Let's go, we shall walk up the mountain." (WS 21020)

In this particular example, *tsam* indicates the path but not necessarily any sort of endpoint. In contrast, *t'akw'* (see (14)) and *tus* (29) do indicate a destination.

[7] The totals reflect the total number of times the given verb occurs in an SVC. Verbs in the table co-occur with one another.

(29) ni’ tsun tl’uw’ **wekunum tus** ’utl’ tl’ulpalus.

niʔ	cən	ƛ̓əẇ	**wekənəm**	**təs**
AUX.DIST	*1SG.SUB*	*also*	*go.by.wagon*	*arrive*
ʔəƛ̓	ƛ̓əlpaləs			
OBL.DT	*Cowichan.Bay*			

‘I also went by wagon to Cowichan Bay.’ (BA 20880)

The endpoint is pointed to by *tus* ‘get there’ and encoded in the oblique phrase. Similarly, the verb *xwte’* ‘go towards’ always occurs second in the text corpus and it is always followed by an oblique phrase.

(30) susuw’ huye’ **xwte’** ’u tnanulh **xwte’** ’u tthu sqelukwshun.

səsəẇ	həyeʔ	**x̌ʷteʔ**	ʔə	tnanəɬ
and.CN	*leave*	*go.towards*	*OBL*	*that.way*
x̌ʷteʔ	ʔə	tᶿə	sqeləkʷšən	
go.towards	*OBL*	*DT*	*Sqelukwshun*	

‘and she swam swiftly that way, toward Sqelukwshun.’ (MJJ 3098)

Here, in a similar repetition pattern to (25), *xwte’* occurs twice. It occurs first as part of an SVC and again in a construction that provides more specific information about the endpoint.

As shown in Table 6, the verb *huye’* is by far the most frequently occurring directional verb in both PATH + MANNER and PATH + PATH constructions. It is also the most consistent in terms of placement; it has a strong preference for V_1 position. The more fixed word order indicates that *huye’* makes up an asymmetrical SVC, which involve two or more verbs of different status (cf. Aikhenvald, 2018). The *minor* component of an asymmetrical SVC is chosen from a limited and closed subclass of verbs of a certain semantic set, which in this case is just *huye’* as no other motion verbs occur as frequently or exhibit as consistent behavior. The minor verb in an SVC is usually in the process of developing grammatical function indicating motion, direction, causation, and event tense or aspect, but it is recognizable as a full verb (Aikhenvald, 2011, p. 17). The *major* component is selected from a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class. So far, *huye’* has been demonstrated only with other motion verbs, but it does occur with verbs of other types, such as the following:

(31) **huye’ pun’uthut** tthu hewt.

həyeʔ	**pən̓əθət**	tᶿə	hewt
leave	*bury.RFL*	*DT*	*rat*

‘Rat went and buried himself.’ (EC 18101)

This type of construction exhibits a sequential reading, rather than directional motion, and is a topic of future research.

It is clear that *huye'* is behaving as a full verb first because Hul'q'umi'num' auxiliaries are not inflected for aspect (cf. Schneider, 2021). In (32), the construction is made up of an auxiliary *nem'* 'go' and two imperfective verbs.

(32) wulh nem' **yu huy'u xwut'e** 'u tnanulh tuywut.

wəɬ	nəm̓	**yə=həy̓ə**	**x̌ʷət̓e**	ʔə	tnanuɬ
PERF	*go.AUX*	*DYN=leave.IPFV*	*go.toward.IPFV*	*OBL*	*that.way*

təywət
upstream.north
'They were on their way up north.' (WS 784)

Here, the serialized verbs are imperfective, including *huye'*, providing evidence of its status as a full verb. For comparison, the directional auxiliary *nem'* occurs in the language as both an auxiliary and a full verb. The contrast between the auxiliary and full verb functions of *nem'* can be seen when they co-occur:

(33) "**nem'** tsun tse' **nem'** 'utl' shwut."

nəm̓	cən	ceʔ	**nəm̓**	ʔəƛ̓	šwət
AUX	*1SG.SUB*	*FUT*	*go*	*OBL.DT*	*sparrow*

"I am going to go visit sparrow." (AM 4143)

(34) 'a **nem'** ch **nemustuhw** 'u kwu'i s'e'tl'q.

ʔa	**nəm̓**	č	**nəməstəxʷ**	ʔə	kwu'i	ṡeʔƛ̓q
Ah	*go.AUX*	*2SG.SUB*	*go.CS*	*OBL*	*DT*	*outside*

'Ah, take it outside.' (AM 4159)

This type of construction resembles a similar English construction such as *going to go. Go* in both languages has lost some of its semantic weight in these contexts and taken on a grammatical function. To see how it compared, I tested *huye'* in the same type of construction:

(35) ? 'aa, **huye'** ch **huye'stuhw** tthu sqwumey'.

ʔa:	**həyeʔ**	č	**həyeʔstəxʷ**	tθə	sqʷəmey̓
Ah	*leave*	*2SG*	*leave.CS*	*DT*	*dog*

'Ah, you take the dog away.' (DL.21.10.21)

DL said that some people might talk like that but that she would prefer *nem' huye'stuhw* 'go take it away' to (35) *huye' huye'stuhw* 'leave take it away'. So, *huye'* can be doubled this way but it is a bit awkward, having not been semantically bleached like auxiliary *nem'*. Furthermore, there are no cases of *huye'* doubled naturally occurring in the text corpus, while there are numerous cases (over 40) of *nem'* being doubled.

Additional evidence that *huye'* still functions as a full verb is that it can occur as V_2 in a more symmetrical construction. There is a single case in the text corpus where *huye'* occurs second.

(36) shus ne.e.em 'uw' **taal huye'** 'i' muw' p'up'ukw…

šəs	nem̓	ʔəẇ	**ta:l**	**həyeʔ**	ʔiʔ
and.so	*go.AUX*	*MIT*	*go.out.on.water*	*leave*	*CNJ*

m̓-əẇ	p̓əp̓əkʷ
AUX.come-CN	*surface.IPFV*

'And so she just went to sea, away, and kept coming to the surface…'
(EW 15403)

In elicitation, *huye'* also occurred second when the events were sequential in the speaker's mind, such as (37).

(37) ni' **'aalh huye'** tthu swiw'lus.

niʔ	**ʔa:ɬ**	**həyeʔ**	t$^{\theta}$ə	swiẇləs
AUX.DIST	*get.on*	*leave*	*DT*	*boy*

'The boy got aboard, left.' (RP 20.06.19)

In directional SVCs, the direction and manner of motion verbs both describe different aspects of the same event. Since, like (31), the example in (37) has a sequential reading, it will be set aside for now.[8]

3 Conclusion

Directional SVCs are the most common type of motion SVC in Hul'q'umi'num' as well as the most frequently occurring in the world's languages (Lovestrand & Ross, 2021, p. 97). Path is considered an obligatory element of a motion event and languages vary in how it is expressed in motion constructions. Hul'q'umi'num' has two methods of encoding path (§1.2), and one of these is an equipollently-framed system in which path and manner are expressed by equivalent forms using SVCs. The language exhibits directional SVCs consisting of a manner and a path verb (§2.1) as well as consisting of multiple path verbs (§2.2). Furthermore, there is an emerging pattern of grammaticalization involving the verb *huye'* 'leave' preceding another translational motion verb into an asymmetrical SVC (§2.3).

The three types of directional SVCs in Hul'q'umi'num' have been summed up in (38)–(40).

[8] As a final note, the Klallam example in (27) contains a cognate of the verb *huye'*. An interesting future study would be to examine the behavior /hiyáʔ/ 'go away' as well as cognates in any other languages with SVCs in order to determine whether they are following a similar path of grammaticalization. Comparative work could be completed via elicitation or corpus study, or a combination of the two as I have done here.

(38) MANNER + PATH
ni' tsun **'ushul t'akw'**.

niʔ	cən	**ʔəšəl**	**ƛ̓ak̓ʷ**
AUX.DIST	*1SG.SUB*	*paddle*	*go.home*

'I paddled home.' (DL 26.04.22)

(39) PATH + PATH
nem' tsun **hwu'alum' tl'pestun**.

nəm̓	cən	**xʷəʔaləm̓**	**ƛ̓-pestən**
go.AUX	*1SG.SUB*	*return*	*VBL-United.States*

'I'm going back to the United States.' (DL 06.12.21)

(40) *huye'* (PATH) + motion verb
'i tsun **huye' 'imush**.

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

'I'm going for a walk.' (RP 13.09.19)

In the first type, one of the verbs indicates the direction of motion and the other usually indicates the manner. In the second type, both verbs indicate direction; each of the verbs may encode the starting point, general trajectory, or endpoint. The ordering of the verb components is flexible with a tendency towards a logical ordering such as iconicity and specificity. Hul'q'umi'num' *huye'* 'leave,' is the both the most frequently serialized verb in the text corpus and also exhibits a strong preference for occurring as the first verb component when serialized. These two facts point to the development of an asymmetrical SVC and a path for future grammaticalization.

The next area of investigation in Hul'q'umi'num' is other types of motion constructions. All of the SVCs explored in this paper consisted of two (or more) motion verbs. Future research will address constructions in which one verb is a motion verb, but the other comes from another class of verbs (such as example (31)). These are known associated motion SVCs, because they function to add translational motion to a non-motion event (Lovestrand & Ross, 2021).

4 About the Author

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