

Serial Verb Constructions and Auxiliary Verb Constructions in SENĆOTEN

by

Jessalyn Campbell

BA, Western Washington University, 2021

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Linguistics

© Jessalyn Campbell, 2023
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

We acknowledge and respect the ɫəkʷəŋən peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

Supervisory Committee

Serial Verb Constructions and Auxiliary Verb Constructions in SENĆOŦEN

by

Jessalyn Campbell

BA, Western Washington University, 2021

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Martha McGinnis, Department of Linguistics
Supervisor

Dr. Marianne Huijsmans, University of Alberta
Departmental Member

Abstract

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) and auxiliary verb constructions (AVCs) are understudied phenomena, particularly within the Salish language family. SENĆOŦEN is a dialect of Northern Straits Salish spoken in parts of British Columbia and Washington state. Building off existing SENĆOŦEN documentation, I present and examine a corpus of examples of SVCs in SENĆOŦEN, which is appended to this thesis. This corpus also includes examples of AVCs that contain the verb *yeʔ* ‘go.’ This thesis is divided into two parts: description and analysis. The former is contained in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, which describe relevant SENĆOŦEN grammar and the corpus data. The latter is found in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, in which I analyze the unique verb *yeʔ* ‘go’ and provide a Minimalist analysis of SENĆOŦEN AVCs and SVCs. I argue that, in an SVC, each verbal component can be as large as AspP. Additionally, I argue that some multi-verb constructions containing the verb *yeʔ* ‘go’ are better analyzed as AVCs, in which *yeʔ* ‘go’ is the head of an AuxP located between TP and AspP. The corpus of SENĆOŦEN SVCs and AVCs is appended in an effort to contribute to the overall body of research for the language and to the field of Salish syntax.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Figures.....	vi
Abbreviations.....	vii
Acknowledgments.....	ix
Dedication.....	x
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
1 Overview.....	1
1.1 Language Background.....	2
1.2 Theoretical Assumptions.....	4
1.3 SVCs in Salish and Non-Salish Languages.....	6
1.4 Grammatical Description of SENĆOŦEN.....	11
1.4.1 Simple Clauses.....	14
1.4.2 Auxiliaries and Clitics.....	15
1.4.3 Complex Clauses.....	17
1.4.3.1 Negation.....	17
1.4.3.2 Complementation.....	17
1.4.3.3 Nominalization.....	18
1.4.3.4 Relative Clauses.....	20
1.5 Multi-Verb Constructions (vs SVCs and Auxiliary Verb Constructions).....	21
1.6 Thesis Overview.....	23
1.6.1 Research Questions.....	23
1.6.2 Predictions and Hypotheses.....	25
1.6.3 Methodology.....	26
1.6.4 Limitations.....	28
1.6.5 Structure of the Thesis.....	29
Chapter 2 Description of the Corpus Data.....	30
2 Overview.....	30
2.1 Bare Roots and Their Arguments.....	30
2.2 Verbal Morphology and Argument Structure.....	34
2.2.1 Transitivity.....	34
2.2.1.1 Control Transitivity.....	35
2.2.1.2 Non-Control Transitivity.....	37
2.2.1.3 Causativizer.....	38
2.2.1.4 Applicative Transitivity.....	40
2.2.2 Middle Morphology.....	41

2.2.3 Voice.....	43
2.2.4 Aspect.....	45
2.2.5 Negation.....	48
2.3 Types of SVCs in Salish Languages.....	49
2.4 Summary.....	54
Chapter 3 <i>yeʔ</i> ‘go’.....	55
3 Overview.....	55
3.1 SENĆOTEN Auxiliaries.....	55
3.2 Observations Regarding <i>yeʔ</i> ‘go’.....	62
3.3 <i>yeʔ</i> ‘go’ as a Main Verb.....	65
3.4 <i>yeʔ</i> ‘go’ as an Auxiliary.....	68
3.4.1 Linkers and Cognates.....	68
3.4.2 ‘Come’ and ‘Go’ in Other Languages.....	69
3.4.3 Argument Structure.....	72
3.5 <i>yéʔ</i> ‘go’ AVC Structure.....	76
3.6 Summary.....	78
Chapter 4 The Syntax of SENĆOTEN SVCs.....	79
4 Overview.....	79
4.1 Clause Structure.....	79
4.2 Category of the Verbal Constituents.....	80
4.3 Interim Summary.....	88
4.4 Relationship Between the Verbs.....	89
4.5 Summary.....	96
Chapter 5 Conclusion.....	97
5 Overview.....	97
5.1 Description of the Corpus Data.....	97
5.2 <i>yeʔ</i> ‘go’.....	98
5.3 Size and Structure.....	98
5.4 Limitations Revisited.....	98
5.5 Future Research.....	99
References.....	103
Appendix A.....	110

List of Figures

Figure 1 Map of SENĆOTEN Language Use.....	3
Figure 2 Serial Verb Construction Criteria.....	7
Figure 3 SENĆOTEN Orthography.....	12
Figure 4 Category Predictions.....	26
Figure 5 Object Marking Morphemes.....	35
Figure 6 Semantic Shift in <i>?i?</i> -class/ <i>i</i> -class Auxiliaries.....	58
Figure 7 <i>?u?</i> -class and <i>?i?</i> -class Auxiliaries.....	59
Figure 8 Main Verb and Auxiliary Criteria.....	66
Figure 9 Category Predictions.....	81

Abbreviations

1/2/3	first/second/third person
SG	singular
ABS	absolute
ACCOM	accompanying
ART	article
ASP	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
CMDL	control middle
CN	connective element
CONTEMP	contemporaneous
CAUS	causative
DET	determiner
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	directional
FUT	future
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
N	nominalizer
NEG	negation
OBL	oblique
PST	past
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition

PRO	independent pronoun
PRO.DT	pro-determiner
R	realis
RES	resultative
RL	rhetorical lengthening
NOM	nominalizer
SUB	subordinator

Acknowledgments

I am most grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Martha McGinnis, without whom this thesis would not have been possible. Her assistance, guidance, and willingness to help me succeed have been instrumental in the success of this research. She has been with me every step of the way through this process and I greatly appreciate it.

My committee member, Dr. Marianne Huijsmans, has also had a very influential role in the creation of this thesis. I am forever indebted to her for the time, energy, and encouragement she has given me throughout this challenging process.

Many thanks to my external examiner, Dr. Catherine Léger, whose comments, feedback, and questions have helped shape this thesis.

I am also incredibly grateful to Timothy Montler, who answered many questions for me and generously gave his time for discussion regarding this thesis. Tim's previous and current work with SENCOTEN created the foundation for this research. Most of the data in this thesis is from his fieldwork and is used with permission.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to the Salish Working Group members, who allowed me the opportunity to share preliminary versions of this research and who inspired me with their own research.

My mom deserves a very heartfelt thank you as well. Without her support and encouragement, I would not have moved to Canada or attempted this degree in the first place. Thank you for the countless phone calls, care packages, and times that you went out of your way to come visit me. I should mention that my mom (a writer) is the reason I have always been fascinated with words and language. I owe her my thanks for that as well.

I want to acknowledge and extend my sincere gratitude to Catherine F., who has been my constant supporter and sounding board for these last two years. Not only did she provide support for this thesis, but she also helped with the challenges of being an international student, and surviving in a new country that was still in lockdown from COVID. Without her, I would not have been able to complete this degree.

I also want to thank my friends and cohort, all of whom provided a much needed sense of community and support. Thank you all for your patience, encouragement, and willingness to take a break with me when needed.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to SENĆOŦEN speakers, and the SENĆOŦEN community as a whole.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1 Overview

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a detailed overview and syntactic analysis of serial verb constructions (SVCs) in SENĆOŦEN via corpus work. This chapter provides a brief introduction to the SENĆOŦEN language, to the theoretical assumptions of this thesis, and to serial verb constructions (SVCs) cross-linguistically. Section 1.1 introduces the SENĆOŦEN language and describes current language revitalization efforts. Section 1.2 details the necessary theoretical background and the assumptions made in this thesis. Section 1.3 reviews key sources in the existing SVC literature and Section 1.4 reviews a distinction between SVCs, auxiliary verb constructions (AVCs), multi-verb constructions¹ (MVCs), and verb chain constructions (VCCs, see Schneider, 2021). Section 1.5 provides an overview of this thesis, including general research questions, specific hypotheses, and limitations.

The term serial verb construction (SVC) has a somewhat loose and variable definition within the existing literature. There are a variety of definitions and diagnostics which are described in greater detail in Sections 1.3 and 1.4. For the purposes of this thesis, an SVC is a monoclausal expression which contains multiple verbs and demonstrates no coordination or linking between the verbs. Included below are two example SENĆOŦEN SVCs, which are included to help orient the reader. Each example contains two verbs (serialized verbs are bolded—this convention is continued throughout) and an oblique argument, which is described in more detail in Section 2.1.

¹ Note that Schneider (2021) uses MVC as a ‘catch all’ term for constructions with more than one verbal component, including SVCs, AVCs, verb chain constructions (VCCs), and constructions with more than one verbal component that do not fit into any of these categories. I adopt the same terminology.

- (1) a. **sqíl-əŋ** sən **txón'-əŋ** ʔə tθə sál.
go.out-MDL 1.SG **go.via-MDL** OBL DET door
 'I went out through the door.'

Montler (n.d.) pg. 173 (corpus ex. 11)

- b. suʔ-**tékʷəl-s** **ʔáxʷ** ʔə tθə txʷ-səlínə
 LNK-**go.across-3.POSS** **go.to** OBL DEM belong-Salina
 'It goes across to Salina's.'

Montler (2018) pg. 113 (corpus ex. 56)

These types of constructions are what this thesis seeks to describe and analyze in the context of the related linguistics literature. Further examples will be discussed later on.

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are found in many languages all over the world, including European-based Creole languages, Niger-Congo languages of West Africa, multiple languages of Oceania and New Guinea, Australian Aboriginal languages, colloquial Arabic, Syriac Aramaic, Dravidian languages, Tibeto-Burman languages, and some languages that are no longer spoken, such as Hittite and Classical Armenian (Aikhenvald, 2018). This thesis is an effort to survey, describe, and structurally analyze SVCs in SENĆOŦEN.

1.1 Language Background

SENĆOŦEN is a member of the Salish language family and is spoken in parts of what are now known as British Columbia and Washington state, shown in **Figure 1** in green. SENĆOŦEN is considered one of five dialects of Northern Straits Salish: Malchosen (also Siʔneməš, Samish), Lekwungen (also Ləkʷəŋjínəŋ, Songhees), Semiahmoo (also Semyome), T'Sou-ke (also Sooke), and SENĆOŦEN (also Saanich, sənčáθən, or sənəčqən). In 2022, according to the First Peoples Cultural Council's Report on

the Status of B.C. First Nations Languages, approximately 0.4% of the population² are fluent speakers and approximately 3.7% of the population are semi-fluent speakers. Additionally, there were over 500 learners of these five dialects, which accounts for approximately 11.7% of the total population.

Figure 1 - Map of SENĆOTEN Language Use



Adapted from First Peoples' Cultural Council Language Map

There are significant revitalization efforts in progress for the SENĆOTEN language. The SENĆOTEN orthography and characters are now available on Unicode keyboards, courtesy of J'SINTEN (John Elliot) and other members of the Saanich Native Heritage Society and First Peoples' Cultural Foundation (Fagan, 2021). Additionally, the W̱SÁNEĆ School Board has many ongoing efforts and projects to aid revitalization. The governing Board of Directors for the School Board is composed of elected members of the Chief and Council from the four Saanich Bands of Tsartlip, Tsawout, Pauquachin and Tseyecum (W̱SÁNEĆ School Board, 2023). The W̱SÁNEĆ School Board

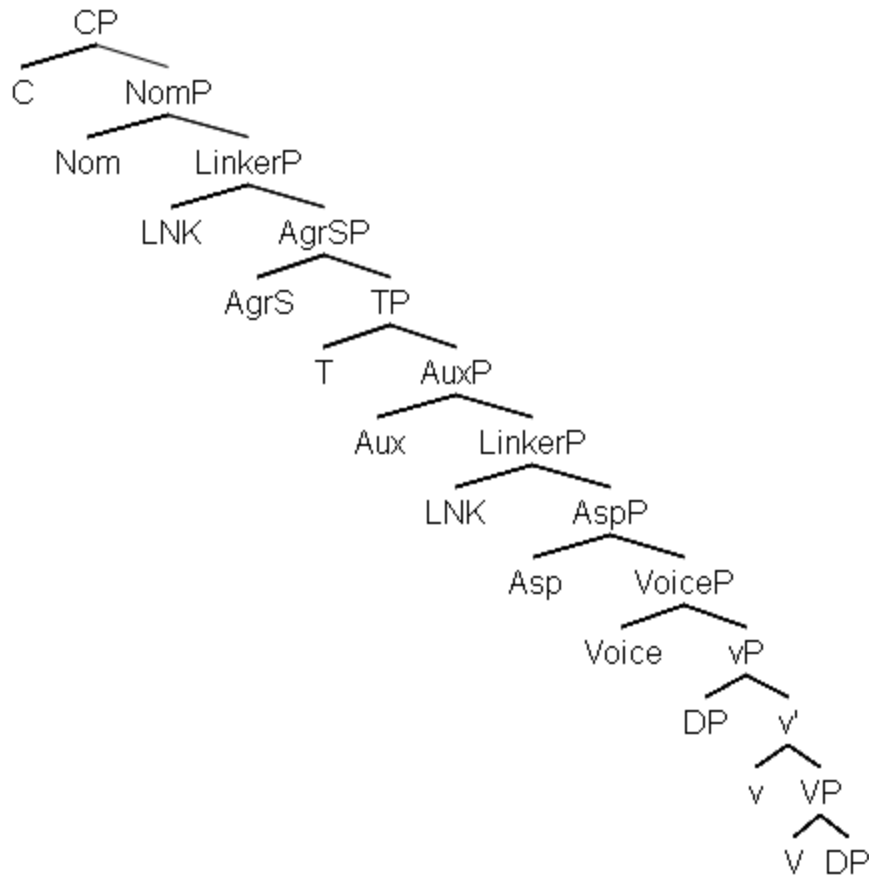
² Population, as used in this section, refers to fluent speakers, semi-fluent speakers, and non-speakers of ten communities that reported to FPCC. These communities are: BOKÉĆEN (Pauquachin), MÁLEXEL (Malahat), Scia'new (Beecher Bay), SEMYOME (Semiahmoo), Songhees Nation, STÁUTW (Tsawout), SXIMEĒĒĒ (Esquimalt), T'Sou-ke Nation, W̱JOLELP (Tsartlip), W̱SIKEM (Tseyecum), and urban areas, especially the Victoria area.

offers SENĆOŦEN immersion schooling and language-learning programs through the SENĆOŦEN LE,NOŦET SCUL,ÁUTW – SENĆOŦEN Survival School. These programs include a preschool language nest, a nature-based kindergarten, and elementary education in Grade 1-5, all of which are language immersion environments. The WŚÁNEĆ School Board also offers a variety of adult language classes and the W,SENĆOŦEN IST Diploma in Indigenous Language Revitalization through the University of Victoria. Recent revitalization projects include the WŚÁNEĆ values project, which seeks to capture and transcribe WŚÁNEĆ Creation stories in order to help reinstate WŚÁNEĆ Natural Laws (WŚÁNEĆ Leadership Council, 2023), and the development of SENĆOŦEN.org, a comprehensive online resource for “all things SENĆOŦEN” (Stark, 2022).

1.2 Theoretical Assumptions

For the purposes of the analysis in this thesis, a generative Minimalist approach is adopted, following Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001). For the purpose of readability, throughout this thesis, phrase levels are represented. Additionally, a Distributed Morphology (DM) approach will broadly be adopted, following Halle & Marantz (1993), Marantz (1997), Pytkänen (2008), and Harley (2013) for assumed functional heads. I do not adopt the DM assumption of category-neutral roots. This is not integral to the questions or conclusions of this thesis, but is consistent with much of the existing literature for Salish languages (e.g. Demirdache & Matthewson, 1995; Davis & Matthewson, 1999; Davis, 2011). Davis (2020) proposes the following syntactic structure for St’át’incets (Lillooet), a closely related language, which I adapt for SENĆOŦEN.

(2)

Adapted from Davis (2020) ex. 45³

Following Davis (2019, 2020), I propose that the VP contains the verb (root) and its internal argument(s), if present. The vP (which may be null) contains any transitivizing/intransitizing morphology, including the middle marker (following Davis 1997), and object agreement⁴. VoiceP concerns morphological markers for passive voice. AspP⁵, if present, is realized by aspectual marking on the verb. Above AspP, I deviate from Davis' analysis in that a SENĆOŦEN AuxP hosts an auxiliary and a

³ Note that this structure has been adapted to show the structure of a transitive main clause rather than a subordinate clause, as well as to include the potential for clausal nominalization, given how commonly it occurs in the corpus. Davis (2020) assumes a finite phrase (FP), which has been left out here to help simplify. Davis (2020) also indicates features such as [+/-finite], which have been excluded here for the same reason.

⁴ Note that Davis (2019) argues that the external argument originates in vP. This is because transitivizers are assumed to introduce the external argument, while bare roots are assumed to be unaccusative (see e.g., Davis 1997 for St'át'imcets).

⁵ Note that Davis (2020) represents an AspP with an asterisk, denoting the possibility for multiple aspectual morphemes or aspectual auxiliaries. This combination of heads is logical for St'át'imcets, but not for SENĆOŦEN. SENĆOŦEN auxiliaries are not inherently aspectual, and thus warrant the use of a separate Aux head.

LinkerP hosts its corresponding linking particle, which is obligatory for most SENĆOTEN auxiliaries⁶. TP can be realized by tense-marking clitics. A Nominalizing Phrase (NomP) is available when clausal nominalization is present and is occupied by a nominalizing morpheme *s-*. Linker Phrase (LinkerP) is occupied by one of a small group of linkers which are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.1. Subject Agreement Phrase (AgrSP)⁷ is occupied by a subject agreement marker, such as the third person possessive subject marker *-s*. Finally, an overarching CP contains the entire clause.

1.3 SVCs in Salish and Non-Salish Languages

There is little existing research regarding SVCs within the Salish language family. Montler (2008) examines SVCs in Klallam with a focus on complex paths, derived motion verbs, and medial and end legs (source and goal). Schneider (2021) distinguishes SVCs from AVCs, VCCs, and mere MVCs in Hul'q'umi'num'. Schneider notes that Hul'q'umi'num' SVCs do not obligatorily match in transitivity value (a point which will be addressed in Sections 2.2.1 and 4.2). Schneider (2022a) examines Hul'q'umi'num' SVCs as a means of expressing associated motion, drawing from Lovstrand and Ross's (2021) definition of the term. Schneider (2022b) examines Hul'q'umi'num' SVCs as a means of expressing path and manner, similar to Montler (2008). Additionally, Schneider (2022b) distinguishes constructions with *huye* 'leave', the Hul'q'umi'num' cognate of SENĆOTEN *ye?* 'go' arguing that *huye* 'leave' is on a path of grammaticalization. Schneider (2023) argues that Hul'q'umi'num' MVCs (not just SVCs) share arguments and exist as a narrative strategy, examining the larger oral paragraph.

The existing literature for SVCs outside the Salish language family is considerably larger, though the SVCs are often identified by language-specific criteria. Aikhenvald (2018) provides perhaps one of

⁶ Note that alternative structures and terminology have been proposed. Hujismans (2015) argues for a Relator Phrase (RP) which hosts an intensifier auxiliary in Spec RP and a linker particle as the head. I do not adopt this analysis, as this thesis is not particularly concerned with structure above TP. For simplicity, I adopt the terms AuxP and LinkerP.

⁷ Thompson (2003) argues for a combination of IP (Inflectional Phrase) and VoiceP to host subject agreement clitics and suffixes in Halkomelem (including both Hulqumínum, the Island dialect, and Halqeméyem, the Upriver dialect). Davis (1999) also argues for two subject positions, inner and outer, which are occupied by either clitics or affixes. In this thesis, the outer subject position is represented by AgrS while the inner subject agreement position (which hosts the ergative suffixes) is in Voice.

the most complete cross-linguistic descriptions of SVCs to date, including criteria for what constitutes an SVC, shown below.

Figure 2 - Serial Verb Construction Criteria

1. A serial verb construction (SVC) consists of two or more verbs, each of which could also function as the sole verb in a clause.
2. There is no mark of dependency—such as coordination, subordination, or dependency of any sort—between the verbs within a serial verb construction.
3. A serial verb construction is monoclausal—it functions as a single predicate.
4. The serial verb construction itself will have its own transitivity value⁸.
5. There is usually at least one core argument shared by all the verbs in a serial verb construction.
6. The serial verb construction is conceived as describing a single event.

Adapted from Aikhenvald §1.2

These criteria, though they may not be entirely borne out in Salish, are useful because they serve as a starting point for identifying SVCs.

Aikhenvald also outlines the ways in which SVCs may vary while still being considered SVCs. The verbs in SVCs may be contiguous or noncontiguous, may or may not be independent words, and may vary dramatically in the marking of categories like person, tense, aspect, or negation depending on the language. This complicates the task of identifying SVCs, particularly in a language family that has very little existing research on the subject.

⁸ This signifies that the SVC as a whole will have a transitivity value that is shared among its verbal components, either with a singular shared transitivity marker or with multiple matching transitivity markers. SENĆOŦEN does not appear to fit this definition. Note that Schneider (2021) argues that SVCs in Hul'q'umi'num' do not obligatorily match in transitivity value.

Aikhenvald describes many types of SVCs, each with its own properties. Of note for this analysis, however, are SVCs which express direction, motion, and orientation (henceforth Directional SVCs). Directional SVCs, as Aikhenvald describes, are the most relevant type of SVC for this discussion, as they appear to be the most commonly occurring in Central Salish languages. Directional SVCs are “extremely common in most productively serializing languages” (Aikhenvald, §3.2.1). These expressions are described as SVCs with a shared subject, a minor verb of motion, and a major verb with no apparent restrictions. The major verb may also be a motion verb, though this does not appear to be common cross-linguistically. An example from Tetun Dili, an Austronesian language from East Timor, is included below.

- (3) **tuda** bola **mai**
throw ball **come**

‘Throw the ball over here’ (lit. throw come)

Aikhenvald (2018) § 1.1

Example (3) uses the minor verb *mai* ‘come’ combined with the major verb *tuda* ‘throw’ to give a single-event reading. Aikhenvald also touches on manner serial verbs, which commonly occur in SENĆOTEN. An example comes from Dyirbal, below.

- (4) **yujarra-ñu** bayi **mulma-ñu** ba-li
swim-PAST there.ABS.I dive.deeply-PAST there-TO.DIRECTION
bayi **yanu** **gulgulba-ñu**
there.ABS.I go.PAST dive.shallowly-PAST

‘He went along in that direction swimming, diving deeply, diving shallowly’

Aikhenvald (2018) §3.3.3 ex 3.82

(6) is an example of a directional SVC. According to Lovstrand and Ross, directional motion SVCs consist of a “path-of-motion” verb and an additional motion verb which often “expresses a manner of motion” (p. 97). In (6), the path-of-motion verb *wáatò* ‘go’ combines with the manner-of-motion verb *tánà* ‘run’. The issue of path and manner verbs will be discussed in more detail later on.

- (6) *tà-yí-ù* **tánà** **wáatò** *mínà* *nín-cákkà*
 FUT-make-FORM.B **run** **go** home SBJ-3M
 ‘He will run home.’

Pero, Chadic
 Lovstrand & Ross (2021) ex. 5

(7-9) are examples of associated motion SVCs. Associated motion is a “verbal grammatical category...whose function is to associate...different kinds of translational motion” with a verbal event (Lovstrand & Ross, p. 89). Here, translational motion is defined as spatial displacement/a change of physical location. (7) is an example of a concurrent motion SVC. Both verbs, ‘laugh’ and ‘go’, are understood to be happening simultaneously. This is similar to a directional SVC; however, concurrent SVCs do not have two motion verbs while directional SVCs do. In some languages, directional SVCs and concurrent SVCs can both occur in a single phrase but further testing is needed to determine whether this is true for SENĆOTEN, as well as whether these two SVCs ‘combine’ or remain two separate constructions.

- (7) *niwan-burri-yarrba* **yathuyii-ja** **warra-ja** *jungarra-ya* *dulk-i*
 3SG-emerge-PRECON **laugh-ACT** **go-ACT** big-LOC place-LOC
 ‘Having come out of [the sea], [Kajurkju] went along laughing...’

Kayardild
 Lovstrand & Ross (2021) ex.7

(8) is an example of a prior motion/purposive associated motion SVC⁹. The combination of ‘go’ and ‘wash’ allows for an interpretation where the motion of ‘go’ is necessary prior to the verbal event of ‘wash’.

- (8) **U-nak** **w-i-chúlokuh**
 3PL.F.SBJ.IRR-go **3PL.F.SBJ.IRR-wash**
 ‘They will go and wash.’

Arapesh, Papuan
 Lovstrand & Ross (2021) ex. 6

Finally, (9) is an example of a subsequent motion SVC. Subsequent motion SVCs are rare and give a reading where the translational motion occurs immediately after the verbal event of the non-motion verb. In (9), the man ‘bought’ the fish and then immediately ‘returned’.

- (9) **n=tua** yan **n=mul**
 3SG=buy fish **3SG=return**
 ‘He’s returned from buying fish.’

Taba, Austronesian
 Lovstrand & Ross (2021) ex. 8

1.4 Grammatical Description of SENĆOFEN

The corpus created for this work is appended to this thesis. It contains examples of serial verb constructions in SENĆOFEN that have been extracted from various SENĆOFEN texts, including Montler (1986) and (2018). Examples throughout this work and the attached corpus are written using

⁹ Note that there is a distinction between prior motion SVCs and purposive SVCs based on entailment vs implication. In prior motion SVCs, according to Lovstrand and Ross (2021), the non-initial verbs are entailed. However, in a purposive SVCs, non-initial verbs are merely implied and can be canceled (i.e. one could say ‘They X and Y But Y did not happen.’ It is a difficult distinction to make, even in languages with sufficient data. For the purpose of this analysis, they will be referred to as prior/purposive. This is not to suggest that the SVCs in question fall under both categories, only that there is not enough evidence to make a distinction at this time.

the Standard North American Phonemic Transcription¹⁰, following Montler (1986; 2018; n.d.). Most examples also exist in the SENĆOŦEN orthography, which can be found in Montler's (2018) SENĆOŦEN Dictionary and (n.d.) SENĆOŦEN Grammar (see source column of the corpus).

The SENĆOŦEN alphabet, developed by Dave Elliott, Sr., has a primarily one-to-one ratio between phonemes and graphemes (Montler, 2018). Below, **Figure 3** shows the SENĆOŦEN orthography, how it aligns with the IPA, and a written articulatory description of the sound.

Figure 3 - SENĆOŦEN Orthography¹¹

SENĆOŦEN Letter	Standard North American Phonemic Transcription	Articulatory Description	IPA Symbol
,	ʔ	glottal stop	ʔ
A	e	mid or low front lax vowel	ɛ or æ
Á	e	mid front tense vowel	e
Ā	ey	diphthong: mid front tense vowel with palatal off-glide	ej
B	p'	ejective bilabial plosive	p'
C	k	voiceless velar plosive	k
Ć	č	palato-alveolar affricate	tʃ
Ɔ	k ^w	rounded voiceless velar plosive	k ^w
D	t'	ejective alveolar plosive	t'
E	ə	mid central/back unrounded vowel	ə (ɨ ʊ ʌ)
H	h	voiceless glottal fricative	h
I	i	high front tense unrounded vowel	i
Í	ay / əy	diphthong: low/mid central vowel with palatal off-glide	aj / əj

¹⁰ Note that the Salish field typically uses NAPA, but Montler specifies the Standard North American Phonemic Transcription which does differ slightly. For the purpose of this thesis, I follow Montler (1986, 2018, n.d.) and note symbol adjustments where necessary for readability.

¹¹ Note that both A and Á are represented by the same North American Phonemic Alphabet symbols (Montler, n.d.) but may be represented by differing North American Phonetic Alphabet symbols.

J	č̣	ejective palato-alveolar affricate	tʃ̣
K	q̣	ejective uvular plosive	q̣
Ɔ	q̣ ^w	rounded ejective uvular plosive	q̣ ^w
Ɔ̥	q	voiceless uvular plosive	q
Ɔ̥̣	q̣ ^w	rounded voiceless uvular plosive	q̣ ^w
L	l	voiced alveolar lateral liquid	l
Ḷ	ḷ	laryngealized alveolar lateral liquid	ḷ
ɬ	ɬ	voiceless alveolar lateral fricative	ɬ
M	m	voiced bilabial nasal stop	m
Ṃ	ṃ	laryngealized bilabial nasal stop	ṃ
N	n	voiced alveolar nasal stop	n
Ṇ	ṇ	laryngealized alveolar nasal stop	ṇ
ŋ	ŋ	voiced velar/uvular nasal stop	ŋ / n
ŋ̣	ŋ̣	laryngealized velar/uvular nasal stop	ŋ / ṇ
O	a	low central/back (rounded) vowel	a / ɑ / ɒ
P	p	voiceless bilabial plosive	p
Ɔ	ḳ ^w	rounded ejective velar plosive	ḳ ^w
S	s	voiceless alveolar fricative	s
š	š	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative	ʃ
T	t	voiceless alveolar plosive	t
ʈ	t̪̣	ejective dental affricate	tʈ̣
θ	θ	voiceless dental fricative	θ / θ̥
ʈ̣	ʈ̣	ejective lateral affricate	tʈ̣
U	u	high back rounded tense vowel	u
Ụ	ẉ	laryngealized labiovelar approximant	ẉ
W	w	voiced labiovelar approximant	w
X	x̣	voiceless uvular fricative	χ
X̣	ỵ	rounded voiceless uvular fricative	χ̣ ^w

Y	y'	voiced palatal approximant	j
Y ₁	y'	laryngealized palatal approximant	j̥

Montler (n.d.), Appendix A

SENĆOTEN is predicate-initial, radically head-marking, and demonstrates a complex morphological system of roots, affixes, clitics, and particles. SENĆOTEN has an open class of words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, though not auxiliaries, clitics, or particles) which consist of a root¹², which may surface with a variety of possible affixes and other types of morphology (Davis, 2009; Montler, 2018). Relevant SENĆOTEN morphology, where necessary, is described in detail in the corresponding section of this thesis. SENĆOTEN marks for number, voice, transitivity, control¹³, and person (Czaykowska-Higgins and Leonard, 2015). Additionally, SENĆOTEN marks for aspect, though the “default” perfective is unmarked. The most common non-default aspect is the actual aspect, also called the continuative aspect, which is marked by glottal infixation, reduplication, or metathesis (Montler, 1988).

1.4.1 Simple Clauses

In SENĆOTEN, the word order for single-verb clauses is Verb-Subject-Object, with an optional auxiliary occurring before the verb (Montler, n.d., Part 1, Section 3). Below, (10) shows examples of simple SENĆOTEN clauses without auxiliaries. (10a) contains a subject marking clitic *sən* and an overt DP object, *tθə (čáq / ʔáy) swáyqəʔ* ‘the big/good man’. Note that in (10b), the verb is a stative predicate. (10b) also has a null third person pronoun, which is typical if there is no overt subject in a clause. (10c) demonstrates an overt DP subject and an overt DP object.

¹² Roots are defined primarily morphologically, as clitics and particles cannot host most affixal morphology such as plural marking, aspect marking, voice marking, etc.

¹³ In the context of Salish linguistics, control refers to a grammatical category which “specifies agent volitionality or control” (Czaykowska-Higgins and Leonard, 2015, p. 1730). Control is not particularly relevant here, but the contrast between the two is encoded in certain common verbal morphology, especially the ‘control’ transitivity marker *-t* versus the ‘non-control’ transitivity marker *-nax*. These are addressed in Section 2.2.1.1 and 2.2.1.2.

- (10) a. k^wén-nəx^w sən tθə (čəq / ʔəy) swáyqəʔ
 see-NCTRANS 1.SG DET (big / good) man
 ‘I saw the (big / good) man.’ (EC, VW)

Montler (2018) pg. 583

- b. s-xéʔəs ʔəltélŋəx^w
 STAT-bad person
 ‘He’s a bad person.’ (CP)

Montler (2018) pg. 590

- c. k^wén-n-əs tθə swáyqəʔ tθə spéʔəθ.
 see-NCTRANS-3SUBJ DET man DET bear
 ‘The man saw the bear...’ (IM)

Montler (2018) pg. 23

1.4.2 Auxiliaries and Clitics

SENĆOTEN auxiliaries can be categorized into four main groups and appear to be a closed set.

Almost all auxiliaries require the use of one of three “linker” particles: *ʔuʔ*, *ʔiʔ*, and *s*. Note that, throughout this thesis and attached corpus, auxiliaries are often translated as English adverbs. This is because adverbs are often the closest English equivalent, not because auxiliaries function or behave like adverbs in SENĆOTEN. Below, (11) demonstrates an example of the SENĆOTEN intensifying auxiliary *čʔn* ‘very/way too much’ which precedes the predicate *sxéčəl* and is connected to it by the linker particle *uʔ*. Auxiliaries are described in greater detail in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.

- (11) čěn' uʔ s-x(é)č-əl
 very LNK STAT-dry-DUR
 'It's very dry.' (IM, RS)

Montler (2018) pg. 589

SENĆOTEN also has a complex clitic system. The vast majority of clitics described in Montler (2018) are “situation speech particles” (p. xi) which indicate a variety of things such as evidentiality, tense, person, and emphasis. Many of these clitics fall under the category of “second position clitics” (2PCs). 2PCs are called such due to the position they occur in: directly following the first word of the clause (the host), and therefore in the second available position in the clause. 2PCs are different from auxiliaries, which may host clitics themselves. 2PCs may occur following hosts of different categories, including: a predicate, an intensifying auxiliary, or negation (Huijsmans, 2015). Multiple clitics often occur. An example of this is seen below in (12). (12) demonstrates the auxiliary *łéʔ* ‘also’ which is linked to the predicate *ʔilən* ‘eat’ by the linker particle *ʔəw'*. This clause also contains two clitics: *sən* marks for the first person singular subject and *səʔ* marks for the future tense.

- (12) łéʔ sən səʔ ʔəw' ʔilən
 also 1.SG FUT LNK eat
 'I'm going to eat too.' (EC, VW)

Montler (2018) pg. 468

Following Huijsmans (2015), I assume prosodically motivated linearization and that 2PCs are not ordered syntactically. I assume that, when a 2PC is preceded by a predicate, the predicate originates in VP and undergoes head movement first to *v*, then to Voice, and no higher than Asp. There is no V to C movement. Instead, clitics undergo prosodic/morphological reordering which results in their second position placement.

1.4.3 Complex Clauses

In SENĆOŦEN, there are many types of complex clauses. Complex clauses may have more than one verb—such as the SVCs described in this thesis—and/or multiple modifiers, as seen in Chapter 2.

There are also multiple types of subordinate clauses which are typically headed by negation, complementizers, or nominalization. Additionally, SENĆOŦEN has headless relative clauses that can look like SVCs on the surface, or can contain an SVC within them. I discuss these types below.

1.4.3.1 Negation

Negation in SENĆOŦEN is marked by the negative predicate *ʔáwə* ‘not/no’ and, typically, a particle that precedes the negated verb *s* ‘NEG.s’. An example of this is shown below in (13), which negates the verb *ʔíłən* ‘eat’. Both subject and tense are marked by clitics.

- (13) *ʔáwə* *łtə* *səʔ* *s* *ʔíłən*
 NEG 1.PL FUT NEG.s eat
 ‘We’re planning on not eating.’ (LGC)

Montler (2018) pg. 468

Further research is needed into the status of the *s* particle, and as to whether the negative predicate *ʔáwə* ought to be included as a possible serial verb. It is unclear whether *s* has a linking or subordinating function, similar to the complementizer discussed in the next section. Due to this uncertainty, *ʔáwə* ‘not/no’ is not considered a possible serial verb in this analysis.

1.4.3.2 Complementation

Complementation in SENĆOŦEN is marked by the complementizer *kʷ*. In (14), the main clause verb *ʔéxəŋ* ‘say’ takes the subordinate clause *kʷ nəsýéʔ łəʔ* ‘I went’ as a complement. The subject of the main clause and the tense of the subordinate clause are marked by clitics, as seen in previous examples. The subject of the subordinate clause is marked by the first person singular possessive clitic *nə* which

occurs with the *s* nominalizer, as is typical for nominalized subordinate clauses. This nominalization, marked on the verb *yéʔ* ‘go,’ is addressed in the following section.

- (14) ʔéχ-əŋ sən k^w nə-s-yéʔ ləʔ
 say-MDL 1.SG COMP 1.SG-NOM-go PST
 I said I went. (EC, VW)

Montler (2018) pg. 67

There are multiple types of subordinate clauses, including: question subordination, complementation, comparison clauses, and *if/when* conditional subordination. Often, these are indicated by subordinate subject pronouns.

1.4.3.3 Nominalization

A distinction is drawn between predicate-level nominalization and clause-level nominalization.

Predicate-level nominalization is indicated by the nominalizer *s*¹⁴, which typically attaches to a predicate to turn it into a noun, as shown below in (15a-b). (15a) shows the predicate form of *čéy* ‘work’ while (15b) shows the nominalized form *sčéy* ‘[the] work’.

- (15) a. čéy sən
 work 1.SG
 ‘I work.’ (EC, VW, MPb)

Montler (2018) pg. 28

- b. tx^w-qéyəχ s-čéy
 belong.to-Liar NOM-work
 ‘It was the Liar's (Mink's) work.’ (PP)

Montler (2018) pg. 257

¹⁴ Note that there are other SENCÓFEN nominalizers that are not found in the corpus data. For more information, see Montler (n.d.) Section 55.

This nominalizer is quite common in the corpus data, as well as in the language as a whole (Montler, n.d., Section 55). All possessive-marked verbs must first be nominalized¹⁵. Thompson (2003) argues that predicate nominalization creates a type of relative clause in Hul’q’umi’num’, citing both constituency and extraction tests. This is outside the scope of the current research, but presents an interesting opportunity for future research.

In SENĆOTEN, clause-level nominalization is also indicated by the nominalizer *s-*. This nominalization occurs on the (first) predicate or auxiliary of a clause and nominalizes the entire clause, as opposed to only the predicate it is marked on. This is seen in the corpus data with subordinate and embedded clauses, as shown below. Example (16) illustrates the clausal nominalization (including first person possessive marker *nə-*) of the subordinate clause *k^w nəsyé? lə?* ‘I went’.

(16)	ʔéχ-əŋ	sən	k ^w	nə-s-yé?	lə?
	say-MDL	1.SG	COMP	1.SG-NOM-go	PST
	I said I went. (EC, VW)				

Montler (2018) pg. 67

I propose, following Thompson’s (2003) work with Hul’q’umi’num’, that clause-level nominalization, though often used in SENĆOTEN for embedded clauses as in (16), also occurs as a clause-linking tool. In these instances, the nominalizer *s-* almost always occurs with an additional linker *u?*, which often merges morphologically to surface as *su?* (independent particle) or *su?*- (prefix). In both forms, *su?* functions to link a clause to the one preceding it, and is often found in narrative texts. It is often translated as ‘so’ or ‘and then’ in these contexts, if it is directly translated at all. An example of this clause-linking is included below in (17), which shows four consecutive clauses from a narrative, each

¹⁵ This generalization also helps to account for instances of predicate nominalization in the corpus that do not directly translate into English nouns.

linked by *suʔ*. Note that (17a) is also linked to a previous clause by the conjunction *ʔiʔ*, which serves a similar purpose.

- (17) a. ʔiʔ hiʔəw' čə kʷəčce tθə s-kʷtaʔ kʷ
 CONJ front EVID therefore DET NOM-Raven COMP
 s-kʷɪ-yeʔ-s ʔist tθəwɪnəniʔlyəʔ
 NOM-REAL-go-3POSS paddle 3SUBJ
 ‘Raven was in the bow when they went paddling.’

- b. suʔ yeʔ-s ʔist
 LNK go-3POSS paddle
 ‘So they went off paddling.’

- c. suʔ təs-s yeʔ ʔə tθə λəλečəs
 LNK arrive-3POSS go OBL DET island
 ‘So they got to an island.’

- d. suʔ xən-əŋ-s nił kʷəʔə tíʔe ʔəy' sxʷ-ʔelə ɪtə
 LNK say-MDL-3POSS focus expect DEM good for-here 3.PL
 txʷ-qʷələléŋəxʷ ɪtə
 buy-blackberries 3.PL
 ‘So they said, “This would be a good place to pick our berries.”’

Montler (n.d.) Section 63, Lines 8-11 (corpus ex. 336, 337, 252, n/a)

1.4.3.4 Relative Clauses

Additionally, in the case of complex clauses, relative clauses can appear on the surface to be multi-verb constructions. Below, (18) demonstrates an example of a relative clause from Klallam, a

language closely related to SENĆOTEN. The only possible interpretation of this clause is as a main verb and a relative clause (Montler, 2003), as evidenced by the lack of a third person ergative suffix¹⁶ on the verb *k^w’ánnəx^w* ‘to see’. *ʔənʔá* ‘come’ is the main verb. *cá swáy’qaʔ* ‘the man’ is the head of the relative clause and the predicate, *k^w’ánnəx^w* ‘see (someone)’, restricts the head. Note that tense is assumed from context.

- (18) ʔənʔá cá swáy’qaʔ k^w’ánnəx^w
 come DET man see-NCTRANS
 ‘The man that saw him came.’

Klallam
 Montler (2003) ex. 46

1.5 Multi-Verb Constructions (vs SVCs and Auxiliary Verb Constructions)

While SVCs have been described in the previous section, it is worth distinguishing between them from the more broadly described multi-verb constructions (MVCs) and the complementary category of auxiliary verb constructions (AVCs).

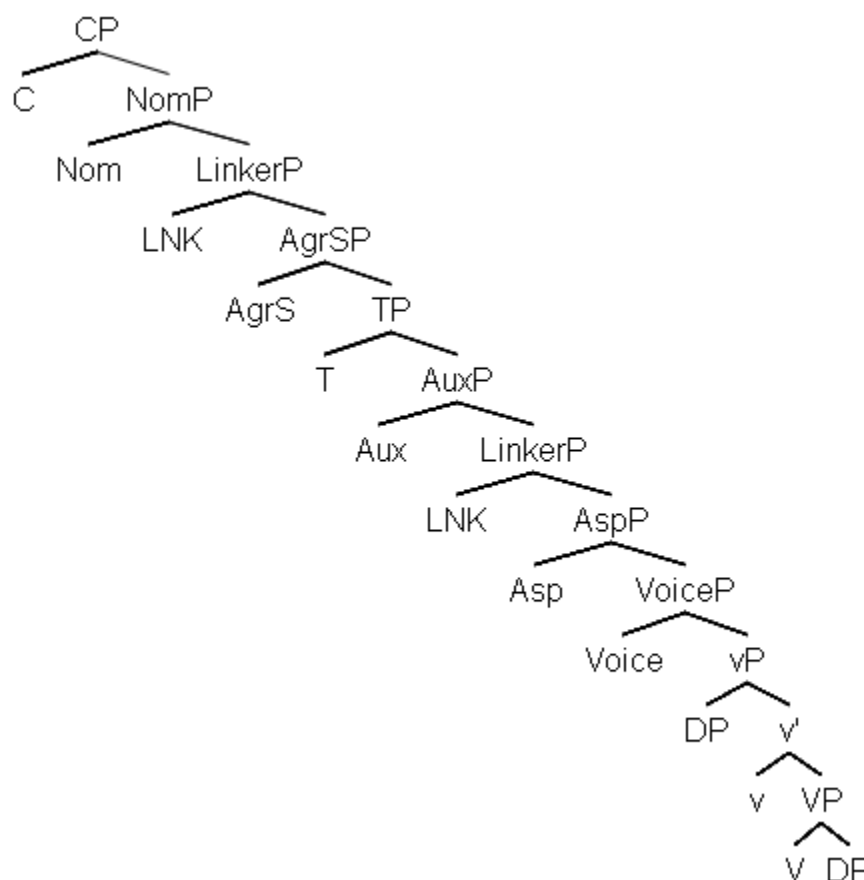
Following Schneider (2021), a multi-verb construction (MVC) is an overarching term which includes both SVCs and AVCs, as well as multi-verb constructions that do not fit the definition of either term. An MVC may be multi- or monoclausal and may include a linking element. An SVC, however, is monoclausal and contains no linking element. An AVC contains an auxiliary verb as well as at least one non-auxiliary verb. This auxiliary verb is proposed to have a greater dependency on the main verb(s). This type of construction is explored in more detail in Chapter 3. AVCs are contrasted from SVCs, as SVCs involve two or more full lexical verbs (Schneider, 2021 p. 396).

In the existing cross-linguistic literature on AVCs, there is a flexibility in what can be called the ‘head’ of an AVC. Following Anderson (2006), I assume the syntactic head of an AVC (in the very

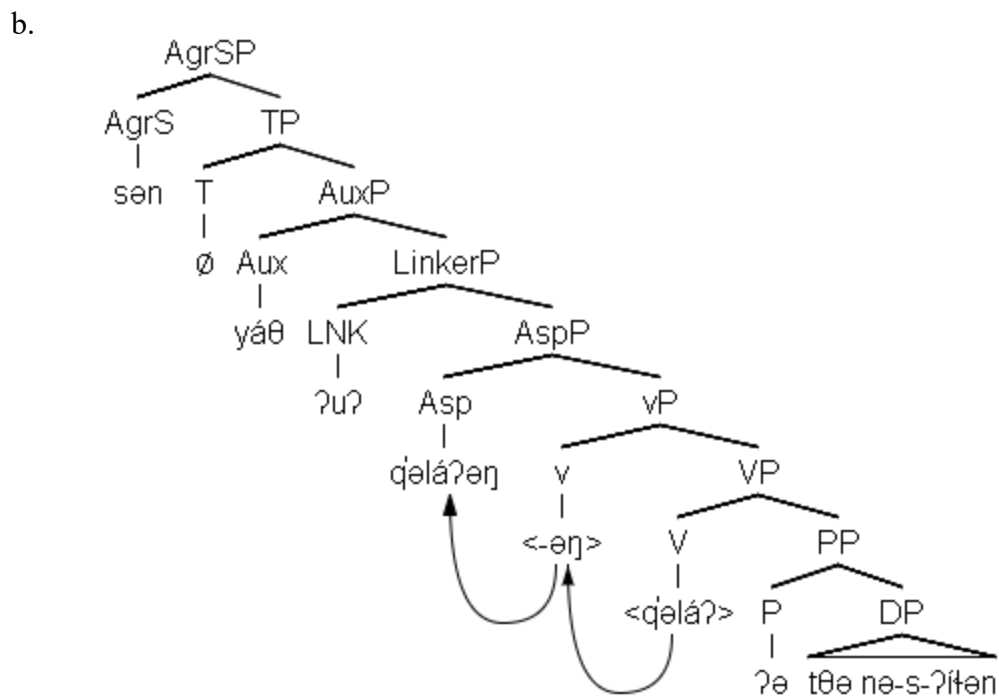
¹⁶ Note that third person ergative agreement is obligatory on main clause transitive verbs with third person subjects; it is also absent on transitive verbs in subject-centered relative clauses (Montler, 1993; Davis, 1999; 2010).

simple, literal definition of an auxiliary and one other non-auxiliary verb) is the auxiliary. This AVC can then be marked for tense and clausal nominalization like any other clause in SENĆOTEN, as illustrated in Section 1.2. Aspect, if overt, is marked on the main predicate(s) but tense clitics encliticize to the auxiliary, if one is present. This further supports the structure that I propose below in (19) which is restated from Section 1.2, example 2. See also example (20), which includes the application of this structure to a SENĆOTEN phrase.

(19)



- (20) a. yáθ sən ʔuʔ qəláʔ-əŋ ʔə təə nə-s-ʔíłən
 always 1.SG LNK preserve-MDL OBL DET 1POSS-NOM-eat
 ‘I’m always preserving my food.’ (AJ)



1.6 Thesis Overview

The overall goals of this thesis are to present a corpus of SVCs from existing literature, to analyze the syntactic structure of SVCs in SENĆOŦEN, and to provide a Minimalist analysis of SVCs in SENĆOŦEN that is grounded in existing literature. This work is an effort to contribute to the overall body of research for the language and to the field of Salish syntax. Very little research currently exists on SVCs in any Salish language, and what does exist does not focus on Northern Straits Salish or SENĆOŦEN specifically (cf. Montler, 2008; Schneider 2021, 2022).

1.6.1 Research Questions

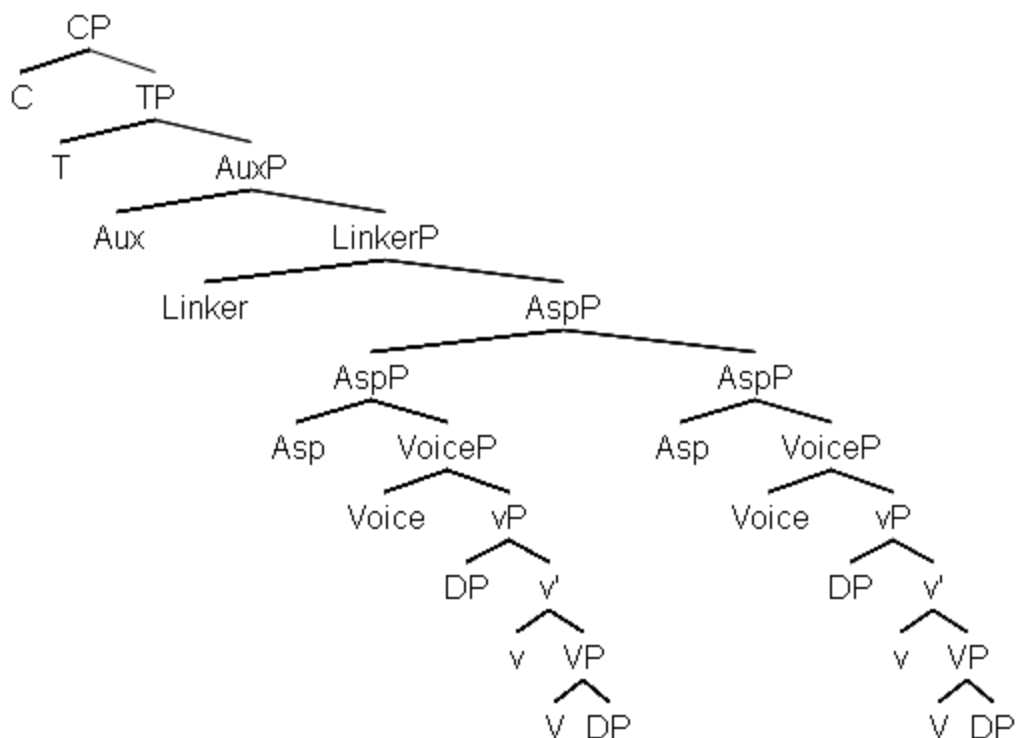
Over the course of this thesis, there are two overarching questions I seek to answer, each with its own subquestions. The first question surrounds the issue of functional structure: at what structural level are the Vs combined in an SVC? Following Baker and Stewart (2002) and their work with Edo, Nupe, and Yoruba, I propose that SVCs in SENĆOŦEN must combine below the Tense node. Further questions, some of which are left for future research, include: is either verb a modifier of the other?

What functional structure exists above these verbalizing functional heads? And in each projection of the verb?

If the Vs must have a shared grammatical aspect, then they are likely combined below any and all AspPs. If they must match in transitivity, then they likely combine below *v*P. If the verbs do not necessarily need to match in transitivity, it is likely that they combine at or above the *v*P (Baker & Stewart, 2002). If it is possible to negate an individual verb in an SVC, then a NegationP (NegP) must be added into the assumed structure of that component of the SVC. If modifiers can attach to one more verbal component in an SVC, this would indicate a need for additional structure as well.

Once the verbal category has been established, how do the verbal components combine with one another? Is one of the verbal phrases an adjunct or complement? Does the semantic relationship between the two predicates reveal anything about the syntactic relationship? I propose the following SVC structure, including an adjunct relationship at the level of AspP and possible clausal nominalization between CP and TP, as motivated by the analysis in Chapter 4.

(21)



1.6.2 Predictions and Hypotheses

In regards to the first research question, surrounding the category of each verbal component, the following empirical predictions can be made. These predictions are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.2. In brief, they are represented below in **Figure 4**. Each column represents a possible structural height of a verbal component of an SVC and each row represents criteria that may or may not be expected of each height. Note that SENĆOTEN roots are assumed to be unaccusative, following the cross-Salish Unaccusativity Hypothesis (Davis and Matthewson, 2009).

Figure 4 - Category Predictions

Criteria	V	VP	vP	VoiceP	AspP
Can take an argument	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Can take an adjunct	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Obligatorily unaccusative	✓	✓	X	X	X
Can take transitivity morphology	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Can take Voice marking morphology	X	X	X	✓	✓
More than one external argument possible	X	X	X	✓	✓
Can take aspect marking morphology	X	X	X	X	✓

1.6.3 Methodology

Both Montler (2008) and Schneider (2021, 2022) have noted a prevalence of serial verb constructions involving motion verbs in both Klallam and Hul'q'umi'num', respectively. This prevalence was also noted for SENĆOŦEN in preliminary observations from existing literature. Therefore, I utilized Montler's (2008) list of Klallam location verbs and motion verbs (examples 7 and 8) and then searched for SENĆOŦEN cognates. For this investigation, I examined multiple sources of previous SENĆOŦEN documentation and extracted examples of sentences containing serial verb constructions (SVCs) for further analysis. I have assembled a corpus of these examples, which is attached as an appendix to this thesis. The examples used in this analysis come from Montler (1986), Montler's (2018) SENĆOŦEN dictionary, and Montler's currently unpublished Saanich Grammar (n.d.). A portion of this material was gathered by Montler through interview and elicitation tasks with Mrs. Elsie Claxton (xətθxátθəlwət) with the help of Mrs. Vi Williams (híqəlwət). These portions were transcribed for Montler (1986). The examples in Montler's (2018) SENĆOŦEN dictionary come from multiple speakers, all of whom are identified and credited in the preface of the dictionary. Their initials are included throughout the dictionary to identify which examples originate from which speaker, and these initials are included in the

attached corpus. For non-SVC examples in this thesis, which are not included in the corpus, these initials are included alongside the translation, where available.

To assemble the corpus, I searched both electronically (when possible) and otherwise read through the texts visually. I identified sentences with more than one verb using existing glosses from Montler (1986), or existing translations from Montler (2018) and Montler (n.d.). All examples without an existing gloss were glossed prior to being included in the corpus. I have glossed and coded the examples to the best of my ability to account for:

- Number of verbs in an SVC
- Transitivity marking
- Passive voice marking
- Manner/Path combinations
- Presence of a shared subject (including null)
- Presence of an overt DP argument
- Type of SVC, where relevant (directional, associated motion, other)
- Presence of inflectional morphological marking on one or more of the verbs
- Presence of *ye?* ‘go’ or *ʔənʔé* ‘come’¹⁷

Below, (22a) shows an example of an SVC from the corpus, while (22b) shows how it is coded. Each column indicates what is being coded for, along with the possible coding. Many are simply (Y/N) for ‘yes/no’. (M/P/O) refers to ‘Manner’, ‘Path’, or ‘Other’, which would correspond to any verb that is not considered either manner or path. The presence of an overt DP is coded with (Y/N/C), with the C representing a subject marking clitic¹⁸. Type of SVC is coded with (D/AM/O) to indicate a directional SVC, an associated motion SVC, or other. (22a) is coded for four total verbs in the serial

¹⁷ Note that these two verbs have been singled out because I argue that *ye?* ‘go’ also has an auxiliary form. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁸ Note that the presence of subject marking affixes is not coded.

construction, no transitive verbs, and no passive verbs. (22a) is coded as having a shared subject, a clitic rather than an overt DP, and as a directional SVC. Additionally, there is no verbal morphological marking on any of the verbs and the clause-initial *yeʔ* ‘go’ may be an auxiliary form of *yeʔ* ‘go,’ which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

(22) a. *yeʔ* le, sən *tékʷəl* *táal* *tákʷ*
go PST 1.SG **go.across** **go.over.water** **go.home**

‘I went across over (water) to go home.’

Montler (n.d.) pg. 58 (corpus ex. 1)

b.

#	Trans (Y/N)	Pass (Y/N)	Manner/ Path (M/P/O)	Share Subject (Y/N)	Overt DP (Y/N/C)	Type (D/AM/O)	Inflectional Marking (Y/N)	Aux? (Y/N)
4	N	N	P-P-P-P	Y	C	D	N	Y

I examine these SVCs in relation to each of the above questions. Chapter 2 provides a detailed description of the corpus data and relevant observations. Chapter 3 describes the special behavior of *yeʔ* ‘go’ and reclassifies at least some constructions with *yeʔ* ‘go’ as AVCs rather than SVCs, with a proposed syntactic structure. Chapter 4 addresses the syntactic structure of the verbal components of SENĆOŦEN SVCs and proposes a structure for SENĆOŦEN SVCs as a whole. Chapter 5 concludes the investigation and lays out possibilities for future research.

1.6.4 Limitations

For this analysis, it is necessary to acknowledge the limitations of corpus work, both in general and as it applies to this thesis. Corpus work does not involve fieldwork with native speakers (though in this case, the existing literature examples are being pulled from does). By nature, corpus work is limited because it does not involve fieldwork, native speaker judgments/intuition, or the opportunity to elicit additional data. Due to this, it is also necessary to acknowledge the constraint of limited data. This research has

also been conducted with a rather small corpus of under 300 examples and no ungrammatical examples were available in the existing literature. It is also necessary to address the issue that some of the data being analyzed here comes primarily from transcribed narration and elicitation rather than natural conversation. It is possible that some differences may be observed that are reflective of the rhetorical style of narration and the overall oral paragraph. More research is needed in this area. Some of the data does come from elicitation, which also creates the possibility of elicitation bias. For instance, some verbs may be more common because they are easy to elicit, not because the data reflects their actual use frequency.

1.6.5 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 has introduced the SENĆOTEN language and the theoretical assumptions of this thesis. Multi-verb constructions have also been introduced, including the distinct categories of SVCs and AVCs. Additionally, I have introduced the syntactic analysis of SVCs that is proposed by this thesis. Chapter 2 provides a description of the corpus data, including relevant patterns and observations. This chapter also introduces and compares existing research on SVCs in other Salish languages. Chapter 3 addresses the unusual patterns of *yeʔ* ‘go’ and compares *yeʔ* ‘go’ with SENĆOTEN auxiliaries. This chapter also proposes a structure for SENĆOTEN AVCs and argues for the reclassification of some constructions containing *yeʔ* ‘go’ as AVCs. Chapter 4 examines evidence for the structural size of each verbal component in an SVC (excluding *yeʔ* ‘go’) and argues that they can be as large as Aspect Phrases (AspPs). This chapter also addresses the relationship between the verbs and proposes that the second verbal component is an adjunct of the first. Finally, Chapter 5 concludes and presents opportunities for future research.

Chapter 2

Description of the Corpus Data

2 Overview

This chapter provides an overarching description of the corpus, the data found in the corpus, and any patterns or generalizations that can be drawn from the data. These generalizations focus primarily on observations from the data, the occurrence and positioning of arguments and modifiers, and the morphology found with serial verbs (which relates to the discussion of structural size in Chapter 4). Section 2.1 discusses bare roots, arguments, and modifiers. Section 2.2 describes the verbal morphology found in SENĆOTEN as well as the argument structure this morphology illustrates. Section 2.3 establishes a brief overview of the types of SVCs that have been observed in other languages. Finally, Section 2.4 provides a summary of this chapter's descriptive findings.

2.1 Bare Roots and Their Arguments

It is common for one or more of the verbs in a SENĆOTEN SVC to appear as a root with no additional morphology or verbal morphological marking. These roots, as in Chapter 1, are referred to as 'bare roots'. Below, (23a-c) demonstrate examples of SVCs with two bare roots. (23a-b) do not have an overt subject. In (23a), the construction consists of two main verbs: *ʔənʔé* 'come' and *θlá* 'go down/go downwards'. Both verbs are intransitive. Third person pronouns in SENĆOTEN are null. Both (23b) and (23c) contain the main verb *yéʔ* 'go', *tákʷ* 'go home', and *ʔáxʷ* 'go to'. None of these examples have any verbal morphological marking or additional affixes. The subject in (23c) is marked by the second-position clitic *sən*.

- (23) a. **ʔənʔé θlá**
come go.down
 ‘They came to the beach.’

Montler (2018) pg. 706 (corpus ex. 85)

- b. **yéʔ tákʷ**
go go.home
 ‘Go home.’

Montler (2018) pg. 132 (corpus ex. 111)

- c. **yéʔ sən ʔáχʷ**
go 1.SG go.to
 ‘I’m going over.’

Montler (2018) pg. 392 (corpus ex. 18)

(24a-b) demonstrate examples of SVCs with more than two bare roots. (24a) does not have an overt subject. This example consists of three verbs that are also seen in (23a-c): *yéʔ* ‘go’, *ʔáχʷ* ‘go to’, and *θlá* ‘go down’. As in (23a-c), none of the verbs have verbal morphological marking or affixes. In (24b), the SVC is made up of four verbs: *yéʔ* ‘go’, *tékʷəl*¹⁹ ‘go across’, *táal* ‘go over water’, and *tákʷ* ‘go home’. The first verb in the clause hosts the second-position clitic subject marker for the first person singular but does not have any affixes marking verbal inflection. Additionally, the clause is marked for tense by the past tense marker *le*.

¹⁹ Note that the root is *tékʷ* and *-il-* is an additional morphological suffix which surfaces here as *-əl*. For clarity, the morpheme boundary is not represented because the relevant morphology is not covered here. For more information, see Montler (2018).

- (24) a. **yéʔ ʔáxʷ θlá.**
go go.to go.down.towards.water
 ‘Go down (towards water).’

Montler (n.d.) pg. 58 (corpus ex. 1)

- b. **yéʔ le, sən tékʷəl táal tákʷ.**
go PST 1.SG go.across go.over.water go.home
 ‘I went across over (water) to go home.’

Montler (n.d.) pg. 58 (corpus ex. 9)

Of the 337 examples in the corpus, 94.95% have either two or three serial verbs²⁰. There are six examples with four serial verbs in the corpus. Five appears to be the upper limit for the number of verbs found in a single SVC in the data, with only one example found, though more may be possible via elicitation.

In terms of arguments, bare roots allow an overt subject and/or an overt oblique argument. Direct objects and object marking for transitive verbs are covered in Section 2.3.1. In simple SVCs (those which lack modifiers or multiple arguments), overt DP subjects typically follow after the last verb and are introduced with a determiner or demonstrative (25).

- (25) **ʔiʔ ʔənʔé št-áŋ tθéʔə qéyəx**
CONJ come walk-MDL DEM liar
 ‘And that Liar came walking.’

Montler (2018) pg. 632 (corpus ex. 15)

In (25), there are two verbs in series: *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ and *štáŋ* ‘walk’. *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ does not have any verbal morphology or affixes, but *štáŋ* ‘walk’ is marked for middle voice by the suffix *-əŋ*,

²⁰ This percentage does not account for the 10 examples which contain more than one SVC in a given sentence.

which is described in more detail in Section 2.3.2. It is of note that the root *št* ‘walk’ does not appear to ever surface as a bare root, or without this middle marker²¹ (Montler, 2018). The subject *tθéʔə qéyax* ‘that Liar’ follows the second verb and includes a determiner. In the translation, ‘that Liar’ is capitalized to show that, in this phrase, *qéyax* refers to the character Mink rather than just a person who lies.

Additionally in (25), *ʔiʔ* surfaces as a conjunction. This conjunction is not connecting the two verbs in the construction. Instead, it is a narrative element which connects the phrase as a whole to the phrase before it, similar to the English story-telling structure of ‘and then ___ happened’. Because this data comes mostly from dictionary entry examples, what phrase preceded it is unclear. However, it is likely part of a larger story. This idea is also supported by the fact that *qéyax* ‘Liar/Mink’ is named explicitly in the phrase and is a recurring character in many SENĆOFEN stories.

Oblique arguments and prepositional adjuncts are introduced by an oblique marker *ʔə* (26a-b). (26a) includes two verbs: *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔáx^w* ‘go to’. These are followed by the oblique marked object *ʔə k^wséʔə ná^tʔəʔ* ‘that one [place]’. *ʔə* is the only oblique marker in SENĆOFEN. It is unclear whether this is a modifier of the second verb (V2) or if it is the shared modifier of both verbs. Similarly, (26b) consists of the same two verbs, *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔáx^w* ‘go to’, followed by *ʔə tʃ sətíʔnəs* ‘to Sidney’. The determiner *tʃ* does not directly translate. ‘To Sidney’ is understood to be Sidney, British Columbia. The subject of (26b) is marked by the second-position clitic *sən* which indicates a singular first person subject. (26b) is also marked for tense by the future marker *səʔ*.

- (26) a. **yéʔ** **ʔáx^w** ʔə k^wséʔə ná^tʔəʔ
go go.to OBL DEM one
 ‘Go over to that other place.’

Montler (2018) pg. 392 (corpus ex. 21)

²¹ This probably indicates that the middle marker has become lexicalized and is no longer separable from the root.

- b. **yéʔ** sən səʔ **ʔáxʷ** ʔə tʃ sətíʔnəs
go 1.SG FUT **go.to** OBL DET Sidney
 ‘I’m going over to Sidney.’

Montler (2018) pg. 392 (corpus ex. 23)

2.2 Verbal Morphology and Argument Structure

2.2.1 Transitivity

There is a range of different inflectional morphemes and affixes which may appear within an SVC in SENĆOTEN. As discussed in Chapter 1, bare roots are intransitive and examples of these can be seen in (25) and (26ab). When present, transitivity is marked overtly by a small set of transitivizers. The four main transitivizers²² (and the four that occur in the corpus) are the control transitivizer, the non-control transitivizer, the causativizer, and the applicative transitivizer. These transitivizers are described in Section 2.2.1.1, 2.2.1.2, 2.2.1.3, and 2.2.1.4 respectively.

Of the 337 examples in the corpus, 51 contain at least one transitive serial verb. Of those 51 examples, 19 also contain passive voice morphology, which requires a transitivizer to attach to the root and is covered in greater detail in Section 2.2.3. Disregarding these 19 passive voice examples for later discussion, we are left with 32 examples that contain at least one transitive serial verb. Of these 32 examples, 13 contain the control transitivizer, 11 contain the causativizer, 4 contain the ‘put’ causativizer, and 3 contain the applicative transitivizer. Only one instance of a non-control transitivizer is found in the corpus. It is also worth noting that, of these 32 examples, which contain at least one transitive serial verb, only two contain more than one.

Often, these transitivizers occur with additional object morphology. Many do not appear in the corpus, and most forms only occur with specific transitivizers or applicative markers, as shown in

²² There is also an object of emotion transitivizer *-taxʷ* which does not occur in the corpus.

Figure 5. Third person objects are not overtly marked. For more information on this, see Montler’s (2018) SENĆOŦEN Dictionary.

Figure 5 - Object Marking Morphemes

1SG Object	1PL Object	2SG/PL Object	Occurs with:
-səŋ/-s	-al’x ^w	-sə	Basic/Control transitivizer
-aŋəs		-aŋə	Causativizer and non-control transitivizer
-ŋaŋəs		-ŋaŋə	Intent transitivizer
-ŋiŋəs		-ŋiŋə	Object of emotion transitivizer
-ŋəs		-ŋə	Relational applicative
-səŋ	-al x ^w əŋ	-sə	Benefactive
	-aŋəł		Only found with one stem
Adapted from Montler (2018), Affix Index			

2.2.1.1 Control Transitivizer

(27a) contains the verb *yé?* ‘go’, and is the first SVC discussed here to contain a non-motion verb: *k^wánət* ‘look at something’. In the corpus, SVCs with non-motion verbs are uncommon but *k^wán* ‘see’ (with various verbal morphological marking attached) appears to be a recurring verb within those few examples. In this example, *k^wán* is marked for transitivity by the suffix *-ət*, which can also surface as *-t* on some roots, like (27b). The clause is marked for tense with the future marker *sə?* and the subject of the phrase is marked by the second-position clitic *łə*, which indicates a plural first person subject. There is no overt direct object or object marking in the phrase, since the third person pronouns and object agreement are null.

(27b) consists of two verbs: *yé?* ‘go’ and *x^wq^tást* ‘go in front of something’, which is marked for transitivity by the suffix *-t*. As in (27a), the subject of the phrase is marked by the second-position

clitic *sen* which indicates a first person singular subject. Also as in (27b), there is no overt direct object or object marking, but the object is entailed.

- (27) a. **yéʔ** **ɦə** **səʔ** **kʷán-ət**
go 1.PL FUT **look-TRANS**
‘We will go look at it.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840 (corpus ex 234)

- b. **yéʔ** **sen** **xʷqʔás-t**
go 1.SG **go.in.front.of.something-TRANS**
‘I’m going by in front of them.’

Montler (2018) pg. 780 (corpus ex 133)

In (28), there are two verbs: *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *θláqʷt* ‘pass something through/make a hole’. Here, the root *θláqʷ* ‘pass through’ is transitivized by the suffix *-t*. There is no overt subject, subject marking, or tense marking. There is an overt direct object following the second verb, *tθə sčǎyǎ* ‘the stick’ and an oblique argument *tθə drainpipe* ‘the drainpipe’.

- (28) **yéʔ** **θláqʷ-t** **tθə** **sčǎyǎ** **ʔə** **tθə** **drainpipe**
go **pass.through-TRANS** DET stick OBL DEM drainpipe
‘Go put the stick through the drainpipe.’

Montler (2018) pg. 705 (corpus ex. 177)

(29) consists of two verbs: *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ and *kʷánasə* ‘look at/see you’. For the latter, the root is *kʷán* ‘see’, followed by the transitivizing suffix *-ət*, followed by the second person object suffix *-sə*.

As described in Montler (2018), this is the form of the second person object suffix that is used with the ‘control transitivizer’²³ which can surface as *-t* or *-ət*. When this object suffix is added to *-ət*, the /t/

²³ Note that Montler (2018) describes the control transitivizer as the *basic transitivizer*, likely due to how frequently it is used in SENCÓFEN. Control transitivizer is used throughout this thesis.

deletes (Montler, 2018, p. 1144). The subject of the phrase is marked by the clitic *sen*, indicating a first person singular subject. There is no tense marking. As previously mentioned, the tense of the translation is likely assumed from context.

- (29) **ʔənʔé** *sen* **kʷán-ə-sə**
come 1.SG **see-TRANS-2OBJ**
 ‘I’ve come to see you.’

Montler (2018) pg. 149 (corpus ex. 216)

2.2.1.2 Non-Control Transitivizer

(30) contains the only documented example of the non-control transitivizer in a SENĆOTEN SVC.

There are three verbs in this phrase, but only two are part of the serial verb construction. The main verb *sʔiʔ* ‘desire/want’ is marked for the first person possessive by the prefix *nə-*. This main verb then takes a subordinate clause, in which the SVC is found. This is indicated by the complementizer *kʷ*. This is the first instance of a subordinate SVC that has been discussed, but this type of structure occurs multiple times in the corpus. Because complementation is a form of subordination (recall that an SVC contains two verbs with no linking, subordination, or coordination), the SVC is contained in the subordinate clause and does not include the verb *sʔiʔ* ‘desire/want’.

- (30) **nə-sʔiʔ** *kʷ* **nə-s-yéʔ** **ʔéʔ** **kʷl-kʷən-n-ájə**
 1POSS-desire COMP 1POSS-NOM-go **again** **REAL-see-NCTRANS-2OBJ**
 ‘I want to go see you again.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840 (corpus ex. 239)

The first verb of the SVC is *yéʔ* ‘go’, which is nominalized by the proclitic *s-*²⁴ and marked for the first person possessive by the prefix *nə-*, which corresponds to the subject of the verb. This

²⁴ Nominalization and the *s-* nominalizer are described in 1.1.2.3.3.

nominalization does not exclude this example as an SVC because it demonstrates clause-level nominalization, as discussed in Chapter 1. The second verb of the SVC is $\lambda'el^{25}$ ‘again’. The third verb of the SVC is the root $k'ən$ ‘see’ with additional verbal morphological marking. $k'w-$ is glossed as ‘realized’ (REAL) following Montler (2018). $k'ən$ ‘see’ is also marked with the non-control transitivity suffix $-nax^w$ which surfaces here as $-n$ due to the presence of additional suffixes. The second person object is marked by the suffix $-aηə$.

2.2.1.3 Causativizer

In SENĆOTEN, the causative is also overtly marked. (30a-b) below demonstrate two examples of the causativizer $-tax^w$ (also called a causative transitivity), which also surfaces as $-tx^w$ or as $-t-$. In the corpus, the causativizer occurs most frequently with the verb $ʔáx^w$ ‘go to’, which can be seen in both (31) and (32).

In (31), there are two verbs: $yéʔ$ ‘go’ and $ʔáx^wtx^w$ ‘take’. The latter is glossed according to the meaning of the bare root $ʔáx^w$ ‘go to’ combined with the causativizing suffix $-tx^w$. When causative, the meaning of $ʔáx^wtx^w$ becomes more similar to ‘take to’ or ‘bring something to’. There is no object or object marking, but a (null) third person subject/causee is implied. Note that the gender of null third person subjects are always determined by context. In this example, it is translated as ‘him’ rather than the gender neutral singular ‘them’.

- (31) $yéʔ$ $sən$ $ʔáx^wtx^w$
 go 1.SG go.to-CAUS
 ‘I took him over.’

Montler (2018) pg. 394 (corpus ex. 43)

²⁵ Note that $\lambda'el$ ‘again’ is a root, but can also surface as an auxiliary $\lambda'el$ ‘also’. The non-auxiliary form of $\lambda'el$ can occur clause initially or non-clause initially, as seen in (29). Auxiliary $\lambda'el$ can only occur clause initially.

In (32), the same two roots appear. ʔáx^w ‘go to’ appears with the causativizer $-tx^w$ which surfaces as $-t-$ due to the presence of an object marking suffix. The suffix $-á\eta\theta$ indicates a second person object. As previously described, this suffix occurs with a causativizer or or non-control transitivizer.

- (32) yéʔ sən $\text{ʔax}^w\text{-t-á}\eta\theta$
 go 1.SG go.to-CAUS-2.OBJ
 ‘I took you over.’

Montler (2018) pg. 394 (corpus ex. 39)

In addition to the causativizer described above, there is also $-es$ which Montler (2018) describes as the ‘*put* causative’, a locative causativizer morpheme which indicates that an event takes place at a particular location, which does not surface overtly when it precedes the passive suffix (p. 1108). An example of the *put* causative suffix occurs only once in the corpus, and is shown below.

In (33), there are two SVCs, both of which are contained in the clausal complement of the main verb sáʔiʔ . This main verb and accompanying nominalization marking are previously described for example (30). Putting aside the clause-level nominalization seen on ʔənʔé ‘come,’ the first SVC consists of an bare root ʔənʔé ‘come’ and $\text{q}^w\text{əʔk}^w\text{iləs}$ ‘go aboard with someone,’ which is marked with the *put* causative suffix $-\text{əx}^w$. This SVC is separated from the subsequent SVC by the clausal nominalization seen on yéʔ ‘go,’ which is the first verb of the second SVC. Interestingly, the second verb in this SVC, čéʔč ‘chase’ is also marked for the *put* causative, as well as actual aspect.

2.2.2 Middle Morphology

In SENĆOŦEN, the middle voice²⁶ marker can occur on a variety of verbs and creates an intransitive stem (Montler, 2018, p. 1111). Additionally, the SENĆOŦEN middle marker generally marks the subject of the verb as the agent²⁷, rather than an internal argument with the agent implied, as in more commonly known examples of middles, such as those in English (Keyser & Roeper, 1984; Fagan, 1988; Stroik, 1992). For a detailed cross-linguistic study of middles, see Kemmer (1993).

Montler (n.d.) also notes a “subtle” semantic difference that speakers identify between examples of non-middle marked active voice and examples of middle marked voice (Section 35). Though these examples have the same translation, the active voice entails a specific event of the main verb, while the middle voice entails a general or habitual reading (Section 35.2).

The SENĆOŦEN middle is marked by the addition of the suffix *-əŋ*. Following Davis (1997), the middle marker is generated in *vP* and introduces an external argument for intransitive verbs.

Below, (35-37) demonstrate examples of middle voice marking in SENĆOŦEN SVCs. As with transitivity, middle voice, when not specified, is assumed to be the control middle, which indicates that the agent has control over the action. There is also a non-control middle voice marker.

(35) contains three verbs: *yé?* ‘go’, *ʔáx^w* ‘go to’, and *šáləŋ* ‘climb/go up’. The last verb consists of the root *šəl* ‘climb’ and the middle voice marking suffix *-əŋ*. In this example, it is the only verb marked for voice. There is no overt subject, subject marking, or tense marking.

²⁶ Note that the term *middle voice* is not a claim that middle morphology is generated in Voice.

²⁷ The middle marking suffix can also occur on predicates with adjective-like translations. In these cases, the middle voice marking suffix does not mark the subject of the predicate as an agent. See Montler (n.d.) Section 35.3 for more information.

- (35) **yéʔ ʔáχʷ šál-əŋ.**
go go.to climb-MDL
 ‘Go upward.’

Montler (n.d.) pg. 58 (corpus ex. 8)

In (36), there are two serialized verbs: *sqiləŋ* ‘go out/go outside/exit’ and *tχənəŋ* ‘go in a particular way/go via’. Both verbs, *sqil*²⁸ and *tχən*²⁹, are marked for middle voice by the suffix *-əŋ*. The subject of the phrase is indicated by the first person singular subject marking clitic *sən* and there is no tense marking. The oblique argument that the motion occurs in relation to (*tθə sál* ‘the door’) is indicated by the oblique marker *ʔə*.

- (36) **sqíl-əŋ sən tχənʹ-əŋ ʔə tθə sál.**
go.out-MDL 1.SG go.via-MDL OBL DET door
 ‘I went out through the door.’

Montler (n.d.) pg. 173 (corpus ex. 11)

(37) includes of three serialized verbs: *yéʔ* ‘go’, *štəŋ* ‘walk’, and *λλéʔəŋ* ‘search’. As seen previously, *yéʔ* ‘go’ does not necessarily match in verbal morphological marking even when all other verbs in the series do. Here, *yéʔ* ‘go’ has no verbal morphological marking while both *št* ‘walk’ and *λλéʔ* ‘search’ are marked for middle voice by the suffix *-əŋ*. There is no subject marking or tense marking³⁰. The oblique argument of *λλéʔəŋ* ‘search’ is indicated by the oblique marker and subsequent NP *kʷs λéqt* ‘the long [thing]/something long’. Note that *kʷs* is a demonstrative determiner that specifies something which is not visible to the speaker.

²⁸ Note that *-il-* is an additional morphological suffix which Montler (2018) terms “developer suffix”. It is included as part of the stem for clarity because the relevant morphology is not covered here. For more information, see Montler (2018).

²⁹ Note that *t-* is a directional prefix. It is included as part of the stem for clarity because the relevant morphology is not covered here. For more information, see Montler (2018).

³⁰ Recall that when tense is not overtly marked, it is determined by context.

(37) **yéʔ** **št-óŋ** **łléʔ-əŋ** ʔə k^ws łéqt
go **walk-MDL** **search-MDL** OBL DEM long

‘He went walking, looking for something long.’

Montler (2018) pg. 632 (corpus ex. 16)

(38) has two serial verbs and is one of the very few examples from the corpus which demonstrates the non-control middle voice marker. *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ does not have any verbal morphological marking or affixes. *θləq^wnánəʔət* ‘finally manage to get/pass through’ consists of the root *θləq^w* ‘pass through’ and the suffix *-nánəʔət* which indicates the non-control middle voice. In SENĆOTEN, the non-control middle voice is similar to middle voice in that it marks the subject of the clause as the agent, but indicates the agent has little to no control over the action. It is often translated as ‘finally’, ‘accidentally’, or in the case of (38) as ‘managed to’ (Montler, 2018, various middle marked entries). The oblique argument of *θləq^wnánəʔət* ‘finally manage to get/pass through’ is indicated by the oblique-marked DP *tθə spólχən* ‘the field’.

(38) **ʔənʔé** sən **θləq^w-nánəʔət** ʔə tθə spólχən
come 1.SG **pass.through-NCMDL** OBL DET field

‘I managed to come through the field.’

Montler (2018) pg. 705 (corpus ex. 175)

2.2.3 Voice

In SENĆOTEN, the active voice is marked in main clauses only in third person by the third person ergative suffix. Note that, in relative clauses where the target of relativization is the object of a transitive, ergative suffixes occur with all persons. Passive voice is marked by the addition of the suffix *-əŋ*, which

indicates passive voice when attached to a transitive stem³¹ (see Montler 2018, p. 1116; Montler n.d., Sections 30 and 35). Below, (39-41) demonstrate passive marking on at least one verb in an SVC.

(35) consists of two verbs: *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *kʷánətəŋ* ‘be looked at by something’. The latter’s bare root form is *kʷán* ‘see’, which is then marked for transitivity by the suffix *-ət* and marked for passive voice by the suffix *-əŋ*. Because SENĆOTEN has a promotional passive structure, the theme (and subject) of the phrase is indicated by the first person singular subject clitic *sən* in this example.

- (39) *yéʔ* *sən* *kʷán-ət-əŋ*.
 go 1.SG **look-TRANS-PASS**
 ‘He/she/it went to look at me.’

Montler (n.d.) pg. 60 (corpus ex. 10)

(40) contains four verbs, but only three verbs are serialized: *tčətəŋ* ‘be poked (by someone/something)’, *yéʔ* ‘go’, and *wəlétəŋ* ‘be chased away (by someone/something)’. In this example, the third verb *tč* ‘poke/stab’ is marked for transitivity by the suffix *-ət* and for passive voice by the suffix *-əŋ*. *yéʔ* ‘go’ is not marked for transitivity or passive voice. The third root *wəl* ‘chase away’ is marked identically to the first with the transitive suffix *-ét* and the passive voice marking suffix *-əŋ*. Note that the conjunction *ʔiʔ* is used to conjoin the first verb of the phrase with the serialized verbs, which is why this verb is not included in the SVC. It is also interesting that this verb *kʷánétəŋ* ‘be held/taken by someone/something’ appears to match in both transitivity and voice with the following serialized verbs, but *yéʔ* ‘go’ does not. This suggests that the verbs of an SVC do not have to match in transitivity and voice, though the verb *yéʔ* ‘go’ will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.

³¹ Note that the passive voice marking suffix *-əŋ* has the same morphological form as the middle marking suffix *-əŋ*, but the two are analyzed as distinct suffixes due to their complementary distribution.

- (40) suʔ-kʷə-nét-əŋ-s ʔiʔ tč-ét-əŋ yéʔ
 LNK-get-TRANS-PASS-3POSS CONJ poke-TRANS-PASS go
 wəl-ét-əŋ
 chase-TRANS-PASS

‘So they get them and stab them chasing them away.’

Montler (2018) pg. 753 (corpus ex 208)

2.2.4 Aspect

Aspect can be marked in SENĆOŦEN, though overt marking of it appears infrequently in the corpus. The majority of verbs in the corpus have perfective aspect, which is unmarked. The most common overtly marked aspect that is seen in the corpus is the actual, also called the continuative, seen below in (41-43). Though other marked aspects occur very rarely in the corpus, some (such as resultative and durative) do appear, as shown in (44).

(41) contains two verbs: *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *téʔyəlʔ* ‘be going upstream/going into a bay’. *yéʔ* ‘go’ does not have any verbal morphological marking or affixes. When not marked for aspect, *téʔyəlʔ* ‘be going upstream/going into a bay’ surfaces as *táyəlʔ³²* ‘go upstream’. The actual aspect is marked in this example by a glottal stop and glottalization, as shown in angle brackets. Tense is indicated by the past marker *ləʔ*.

- (41) yéʔ ləʔ sən t<éʔ>yəl<ʔ>
 go PST 1.SG go.upstream<ACTL><ACTL>
 ‘I went upstream.’

Montler (2018) pg. 653 (corpus ex. 192)

³² Note that the root is *təy* and *-il-* is an additional morphological suffix which surfaces here as *-əl*. For clarity, the morpheme boundary is not represented here because the relevant morphology is not covered here. For more information, see Montler (2018).

In (42), there are the same two verbs as in (41): *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *téʔyəlʔ* ‘be going upstream/going into a bay’. *yéʔ* ‘go’ is not marked for aspect and *téʔyəlʔ* ‘be going upstream/going into a bay’ is marked for actual aspect. This example is interesting because it shows a combination of the prefix *ʔiʔ-* which indicates an in-process or in-progress action and actual aspect marking, which indicates a continuative action. This happens rarely in the corpus, but does occur more than once, as evidenced by (43). This example also contrasts with (41), in which the same verb is marked for actual aspect but without the in-process prefix *ʔiʔ-*. It is unclear if it is necessary to draw a semantic distinction between the in-process prefix *ʔiʔ-* and the actual aspect. Further research is necessary.

- (42) **yéʔ ʔiʔ-t<éʔ>yəlʔʔ**
go PROC-go.upstream<ACTL><ACTL>
 ‘They were going upstream.’

Montler (2018) pg. 653 (corpus ex. 193)

(43) contains three verbs but only two of them are part of the serial verb construction: *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ and *tátəkʷ* ‘be going home’. *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ has no verbal morphological marking or affixes. When not marked for aspect, *tátəkʷ* ‘be going home’ surfaces as the bare root *tákʷ* ‘go home’. Here, the actual aspect is marked by the reduplication of *tá*³³. The subject is marked by the first personal singular subject marking clitic *sən*. As in (42), the verb in the series that is marked for actual aspect is also marked by the prefix *ʔiʔ-* which indicates an in-process action. It appears that both *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ have a tendency to not match in aspect with the rest of the SVC. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

³³ Note that, due to phonological processes, the quality of the root vowel shifts and surfaces as [ə].

- (43) **ʔənʔé** sən **ʔiʔ-<tá>təkʷ** ʔiʔ ʔuʔ-ʔá<ʔ>əm̩ət
come 1.SG **PROC-<ACTL>go.home** CONJ CONTR-sit<ACTL>
tθə léʔə tθə sál
DEM there DEM door

‘I was coming home and they were sitting there at the door.’

Montler (2018) pg. 132 (corpus ex. 129)

In (43), there is also a third verb in the phrase, though it is not serialized because it is combined with the SVC by means of a conjunction. This verb is *ʔáʔəm̩ət* ‘be sitting/be at home’. There are two DP arguments: *tθə léʔə* ‘the [place/location] there’ and *tθə sál* ‘the door’. Both arguments are associated with the verb *ʔáʔəm̩ət* ‘be sitting/be at home’, not either of the verbs in the SVC.

(44) is one of the few cases found with aspect marking for an aspect other than actual. In (44), there are three verbs in the SVC: *sáxʷət* ‘come out of the bushes’, *yéʔ* ‘go’, and *ʔáčqénəŋ* ‘go down (a hill)’. *sáxʷət* ‘come out of the bushes’ comes from the root *sxʷ* ‘exit bush’ and is marked for the resultative aspect by *-á-* as shown in angle brackets, which denotes a change of state for the subject (having left the bush). This creates the verb *sáxʷ* ‘emerge/to come out’ which is then marked for the durative aspect by the suffix *-ət*, which indicates a continuative aspect to the resultative state of the verb. As seen in other examples, *yéʔ* ‘go’ does not have any verbal morphological marking or affixes. *ʔáčqénəŋ* ‘go down a hill’ comes from the root *ʔč* ‘under’ and the lexical suffix *qen* ‘hill’. *ʔčqen* ‘under hill’ is then marked for middle voice by the suffix *-əŋ* to create *ʔáčqénəŋ* ‘go down (a hill)’.

- (44) **s<á>xʷ-ət** **yéʔ** **ʔáčqén-əŋ**
come.out<RSLT>-DUR **go** **go.down.a.hill-MDL**

‘She came out of the bushes and went down.’

Montler (2018) pg. 735 (corpus ex. 97)

It does not appear to be the case that verbs within an SVC in SENĆOŦEN are required to match in aspect. The majority of examples of aspect mismatch involve the verbs *yé?* ‘go’ or *ʔənʔé* ‘come’, but a small number of examples involving different verbs have been found. Additional examples are described in detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

2.2.5 Negation

In SENĆOŦEN, SVCs as a whole can also be negated, but there is no evidence currently that individual verbs within an SVC can be negated. Phrases are generally negated by a negative predicate and the particle *s* which Montler (2018) describes as a negative clitic—or as a linker particle (Montler, 2003). This clitic is optional in some contexts but otherwise precedes what is being negated (Montler, 2018 p. 436). For the purposes of this corpus and analysis, it is glossed as ‘NEG.s’. It is unclear at this time whether the negative predicate would be considered part of the negated SVC, or if some kind of subordination is occurring. For the sake of clarity, only examples with an existing SVC regardless of the negative predicate have been included in both the corpus and this thesis. Below, (45) show examples of negated SVCs in SENĆOŦEN.

(45) includes two serialized verbs: *yé?* ‘go’ and *ʔáx^wtəŋ* ‘be taken/put somewhere’. The negative predicate *ʔəwə* ‘no/NEG’ can be inflected, but appears here in its bare root form. As described above, *s* ‘NEG.s’ is a clitic which precedes what is being negated. In this example, it precedes the first verb of the SVC and appears to have scope over both verbs. Negation takes scope over an entire SVC that follows it in the same clause.

(45) ʔəwə lə? s yé? ʔáx^w-t-əŋ DEM white.man's.way
 NEG PST NEG.S go go.to-CAUS-PASS təə sx^wənítəməl

They weren't taken over in the white man's way.

Montler (2018) pg. 394 (corpus ex. 34)

2.3 Types of SVCs in Salish Languages

For the purpose of this investigation, it is important to establish what types of SVCs likely exist in SENĆOTEN, and which are actually found. Types can be primarily divided on either a syntactic or semantic basis. I leave the former for further discussion in Chapter 4 and focus on the latter here.

This investigation focuses on motion SVCs, both for reasons of scope and because they are the most commonly found type of SVC in other Salish languages. The category of motion SVCs can be further broken down into associated motion (AM) SVCs and directional SVCs. In the terminology of Lovstrand and Ross (2021), associated motion SVCs consist of a motion verb and another non-motion verb, while directional SVCs consist of two or more motion verbs. The vast majority of the corpus demonstrates examples of directional SVCs, but there are a few examples of associated motion SVCs which warrant description.

Lovstrand and Ross further divide the category of associated motion into three (or four) subtypes of motion: prior/purposive, concurrent, and subsequent. Prior and purposive are two distinct subtypes but are intentionally conflated by Lovstrand and Ross due to the difficulty distinguishing the two. They are conflated here as well due to the inability to perform additional testing, though Schneider (2022a) distinguishes them for Hul'q'umi'num' SVCs and this is an opportunity for future research. Both prior motion SVCs and purposive motion SVCs consist of a motion verb (typically 'go' or 'come') which combines with a non-motion verb. Prior motion SVCs result in an interpretation of 'go and then X', while purposive SVCs result in an interpretation of 'go (in order to) X' (p. 99).

Below, (46a-e) demonstrate examples of associated motion SVCs found in the corpus. These are some of the only clear examples of associated motion found, though other SVCs can be 'mixed' with multiple motion verbs and non-motion verbs. Note that all five examples contain the verb *yé?* 'go' and are marked for a first person singular subject by the clitic *sən*. (46a) contains the verb *yé?* 'go' and

the bare root *ʔilən* ‘eat’. Combined, this results in the meaning ‘I am going to go eat’ and it is important to note that the ‘going to’ in the translation does not indicate a future tense. Instead, it indicates a literal translational motion and could also be translated as ‘I am leaving to eat’. The same argument can be made for (46b-e).

(46) a. **yéʔ** sən **ʔilən**

go 1.SG **eat**

‘I’m going to go eat.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840 (corpus ex. 219)

b. **yéʔ** sən **sk^wé-sət**

go 1.SG **lay.down-REFL**

‘I’m going to lie down.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840 (corpus ex 220)

c. **yéʔ** sən **č-táləs**

go 1.SG **have-spouse**

‘I’m going to marry.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840 (corpus ex. 222)

d. **yéʔ** sən **xéləx**

go 1.SG **war**

‘I’m going to war.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840 (corpus ex. 223)

- e. **yéʔ** sən **qékʷ-əŋ**
go 1.SG **rest-MDL**
 ‘I’m going to take a rest.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840 (ex 224)

An area for future research would be regarding the aspect of associated motion SVCs. In addition to prior/purposive motion SVCs in Hul’q’umi’num’, Schneider (2022a) found that matching imperfective aspect marking or dynamic proclitics indicated a concurrent motion SVC. It is unclear if this is possible in SENĆOTEN, but the matter warrants further investigation.

Moving away from associated motion, the vast majority of the examples found in the corpus fall under the category of directional SVCs. Directional SVCs are also the most common type of SVC found by Lovstrand and Ross (2021). As previously stated, a directional SVC consists of two or more motion verbs. These two (or more) verbs “describe a unitary motion event” and obligatorily combine a path-of-motion (henceforth path) verb with another motion verb (Lovstrand & Ross, 2021, p. 97). The additional motion verbs in a directional SVC may contribute additional path information or manner-of-motion (henceforth manner). This suggests two main constructions that would be expected in SENĆOTEN : path+path and path+manner.

In Hul’q’umi’num’, the verb *huye* ‘go/leave/depart’ is a cognate of the SENĆOTEN *yéʔ* ‘go’. It is worth noting that Schneider (2022a) sets constructions with *huye* ‘go’ aside into their own category when discussing types of directional SVCs. Schneider (2022b) argues for an emerging pattern of grammaticalization of *huye* ‘go’. While the majority of examples with *yéʔ* ‘go’ are ambiguous, constructions that show unique behavior or that can be distinguished clearly as an auxiliary form of *yéʔ* ‘go’ have been left for analysis in Chapter 3.

Below, (47)-(52) demonstrate examples of directional SVCs in SENĆOTEN. Though many of the examples previously presented in this chapter are also examples of path+path directional SVCs, (47) is of note because it is one of the few that does not include the verb *yéʔ* ‘go’. This example consists of two path verbs: *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ and *llál* ‘go by canoe’.

- (47) **ʔənʔé** **l̥tə** **iʔ-llál**
come 1.PL **PROC-go.by.canoe**
‘We came by canoe.’

Montler (2018) pg. 328 (corpus ex. 81)

Example (23b), repeated below as (48a) for convenience, and example (48b) both show directional SVCs with a manner of motion verb. (48a) consists of the path verb *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ and the manner verb *štáŋ* ‘walk’. In the corpus, there does appear to be a tendency for the path verb to come first in a construction (297 out of 337 examples have an initial path verb), but it is possible that this is merely more common in narration or storytelling. In contrast to this pattern, (48b) consists of the same manner verb *štáŋ* ‘walk’ and the path verb *yéʔ* ‘go’. Here, the manner verb occurs first. The subject is indicated by the determiner *tθəw̥n̥il̥*.

- (48) a. **ʔiʔ** **ʔənʔé** **št-áŋ** **tθéʔə** **qéyəx**
CONJ **come** **walk-MDL** **DEM** **liar**
‘And that Liar came walking.’

Montler (2018) pg. 632 (corpus ex. 15)

- b. suʔ-št-əŋ-s yéʔ tθəwɪ́ɪ
- LNK-walk-3.POSS go DEM
- ‘So he went walking.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840 (corpus ex. 233)

(49a) and (49b) are examples of more complex constructions. Both include a path verb, which is consistent with Lovstrand and Ross (2021). (49a) is made up of three path verbs: *yéʔ* ‘go’, *ʔáχʷ* ‘go to’, and *θáŋ* ‘go up (away from water)’.

(49b) is interesting because it contains two SVCs, one directional and one associated motion. In the first SVC, the verb *təŋáʔ* ‘swim’ expresses the manner of motion and is marked for middle voice by the suffix *-əŋ*. The path verb *yéʔ* ‘go’ occurs second. An additional path verb *tékʷəl³⁴* ‘go across’ contributes to the path of motion. The subjects of both SVCs is interpreted as the individual denoted by the overt DP *tθə swíwɪləs* ‘the young man’. The second SVC consists of three verbs: the path verb *yéʔ* ‘go’, the non-motion verb *léʔəʂən* ‘invite (to eat)’, and the path verb *ʔáχʷ* ‘go to’. This appears to be an example of a purposive associated motion SVC with the resulting meaning of ‘go (in order to) X’, as previously described. This is one of the only instances found of associated motion with more than one motion verb in the SVC.

- (49) a. **yéʔ ʔáχʷ θáŋ.**
- go go.to go.up.away.from.water**
- ‘Go up (away from water).’

Montler (n.d.) pg. 58 (corpus ex. 2)

³⁴ Note that the root is *tékʷ* and *-il-* is an additional morphological suffix which surfaces here as *-əl*. For clarity, the morpheme boundary is not represented here because the relevant morphology is not covered here. For more information, see Montler (2018).

b.	suʔ-təŋáʔəŋ-s	yéʔ	tθə	swíwɫəs	tékʷəl	yéʔ
	LNK-swim-MDL-3POSS	go	DEM	young.man	go.across	go
	ʔéʔəšən	ʔáχʷ	ʔə	tɬ	xʷənéʔnəč	
	invite(to eat)	go.to	OBL	DET	Salt.Spring.Island	

‘The young man went swimming across to invite over to Salt Spring Island.’

Montler (2018) pg. 841 (corpus ex. 178)

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, a variety of properties have been described for SVCs in SENĆOTEN. These constructions can be as simple as two bare roots, or they can have one or more arguments/modifiers. They can be marked for transitivity, though the majority of the data in the corpus contains intransitive verbs. They may be marked for either passive or middle voice as well as aspect. Entire SVCs can also be negated, though there are no cases of individual verb negation occurring within an SVC. Note that four examples also contain more than one SVC in the same sentence, which may or may not be conjoined. Due to the limited number of examples, further research is needed. The verb *yéʔ* ‘go’ will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3. Finally, semantic types of SVCs have been described as they occur in SENĆOTEN, in particular associated motion SVCs (including prior and purposive motion) and directional SVCs. For a syntactic description of types, including the size of the verbal structure for each verb and a brief discussion of the syntactic relationship between the verbs, see Chapter 4.

Chapter 3

yeʔ ‘go’

3 Overview

In this chapter, I argue that *yeʔ* ‘go’ functions both as a full main verb and in a grammaticalized, auxiliary form. Section 3.1 provides a brief description of auxiliaries in both SENĆOTEN and the closely related language of Klallam. Section 3.2 motivates the investigation of *yeʔ* ‘go’ by examining unique behaviors and proposes the existence of an auxiliary use of *yeʔ* ‘go’. Section 3.3 demonstrates how *yeʔ* ‘go’ often functions as a main verb. Section 3.4 lays out the arguments for classifying *yeʔ* ‘go’ as an auxiliary, in some instances. Section 3.5 proposes an AVC structure for *yeʔ* ‘go’ and, finally, Section 3.6 summarizes this chapter’s arguments and findings.

Note that, due to the scarcity of *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ in the corpus, this chapter focuses primarily on *yeʔ* ‘go’. Based on similar research in other Salish languages (Montler, 2003; Schneider 2021, 2022), it is possible that *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ behaves very similarly to *yeʔ* ‘go’, but further research is needed to confirm this.

3.1 SENĆOTEN Auxiliaries

A typical SENĆOTEN clause, as described in Chapter 1, consists of a verb with its modifiers and auxiliary³⁵, if present. Montler (2003) describes auxiliaries in Straits Salish, which includes both Klallam and SENĆOTEN, but focuses mainly on Klallam data. Montler notes that auxiliaries in Klallam (and SENĆOTEN) are always bare roots and have no inflectional, plural, or aspectual morphology.

³⁵ It is unclear from the corpus data whether SENĆOTEN allows for more than one auxiliary in a clause. Further research is necessary.

Montler describes four basic categories of auxiliaries in Straits Salish: zero-class, *ʔuʔ*-class/u-class, *ʔiʔ*-class/i-class, and c-class (s-class in SENĆOŦEN). Zero-class auxiliaries are discussed later in Section 3.4.1. *ʔuʔ*-class/u-class, *ʔiʔ*-class/i-class, and c-class auxiliaries are distinguished by Montler primarily by which ‘linker’ is required to connect them to the verb they modify.

ʔuʔ-class/u-class auxiliaries are also called *ʔuʔ* adverbial intensifiers by Montler (2003). There are eleven attested *ʔuʔ*-class/u-class auxiliaries in Klallam, some of which are shown below in (50).

- (50) a. *lə_cn* *ʔuʔ_swóy'qaʔ*.
 just like_1SUBJ *ʔuʔ_man*
 ‘I’m just a man’.

Montler (2003) ex. 24c

- b. *sələ_cn* *ʔuʔ_qʷáqʷi*.
 continuously_1SUBJ *ʔuʔ_talking*
 ‘I’m talking continuously’.

Montler (2003) ex. 24d

- c. *túʔxʷ_cxʷ* *ʔuʔ_ʔsʔ'úʔʔ'm*.
 exactly_2SUBJ *ʔuʔ_correct*
 ‘You’re exactly right’.

Montler (2003) ex. 24h

The vast majority of these auxiliaries can function as a main verb when used without a linker, and often undergo a meaning change, as shown in (51). (51a) shows the main verb function of *húy*, while (51b) shows the auxiliary function of *húy*, as evidenced by the linker particle *ʔuʔ*-.

- (51) a. húy_cn t'íym
 finish_1SUBJ sing
 'I finished singing'.

Montler (2003) ex. 26a

- b. húy_cn ʔuʔ_t'íym.
 only_1SUBJ ʔuʔ_sing
 'Only I sang'.

Montler (2003) ex. 26b

ʔiʔ-class/*i*-class auxiliaries are also called *ʔiʔ* adverbs by Montler (2003). There are four attested *ʔiʔ*-class/*i*-class auxiliaries in Klallam, some of which are shown below.

- (52) a. čəyáy_cn ʔiʔ_t'áŋən.
 almost_1SUBJ ʔiʔ_miss
 'I almost missed (the target)'.

- b. híc_cn ʔiʔ_ʔíŋ.
 long since_1SUBJ ʔiʔ_eat
 'It's a long time since I ate'.

- c. x^wé_cn ʔiʔ_hiyáʔ.
 possibly_1SUBJ ʔiʔ_go
 'I might go/I can go/It's possible for me to go'.

Montler (2003) ex. 30a-c

These *ʔiʔ*-class/*i*-class auxiliaries also undergo a semantic shift when used in a non-auxiliary context, as shown in **Figure 6**.

Figure 6 - Semantic Shift in *ʔiʔ*-class/*i*-class Auxiliaries

	In <i>ʔiʔ</i> Constructions	In Other Constructions
<i>čəyáy</i>	‘almost’	‘barely’
<i>híc</i>	‘long since’	‘long duration’
<i>x^wəŋ</i>	‘possibly, might, can’	‘quick, fast’

Montler (2003) Figure 31

Finally, *c*-class auxiliaries are also called negative adverbs by Montler (2003). This is a limited set in Klallam, containing only *ʔáwə* ‘not’ and *ʔúʔaʔ* ‘not yet’. These auxiliaries are linked to a main predicate with what Montler describes as a proclitic *c*, which is a proclitic *s* in SENĆOTEN. This is found in the SENĆOTEN data as well, glossed as NEG.s in order to distinguish from both the nominalizing *s*- and stative *s*-. Examples from both languages are included below in (53-54).

- (53) a. *ʔáwə c_həwíyŋ.*
not c_return
‘She didn’t return’.
- b. *ʔáwə_cn c_x^wənítəm.*
not_1SUBJ c_white person
‘I’m not a white man.’

Klallam
Montler (2003) ex 37ab

Auxiliaries in SENĆOTEN are quite similar to those found in Klallam, though only two classes are included in the SENĆOTEN dictionary: *ʔuʔ*-class/*u*-class and *ʔiʔ*-class/*i*-class (Montler, 2018). The equivalent of *c*-class auxiliaries also exist, as evidenced by (54), but are described as full verbs in the SENĆOTEN Dictionary (Montler, 2018). The apparent optionality of the NEG.s linker supports

this analysis, but its lingering presence also suggests a distinction between these negation predicates and other main verbs, which do not ever surface with a linker.

- (54) ʔəwə ləʔ s yéʔ ʔáx^w-t-əŋ tθə sx^wənítəməʔ
 NEG PST NEG.S go go.to-CAUS-PASS DEM white.man's.way
 They weren't taken over in the white man's way.

SENĆOTEN

Montler (2018) pg. 394 (corpus ex. 34)

There are eleven attested *SENĆOTEN* auxiliaries in Montler's (2018) dictionary, which are listed below.

Figure 7 - ʔuʔ-class and ʔiʔ-class Auxiliaries

<i>ʔuʔ-class/u-class</i>		<i>ʔiʔ-class/i-class</i>	
<i>ʔén'</i>	'very [weak]'	<i>čəlél</i>	'soon'
<i>ʔənʔén'</i>	'very [moderate]'	<i>x^wéləq</i>	'almost'
<i>čén'</i>	'very [strong]'	<i>x^wəŋ</i>	'might/can'
<i>sčén'</i>	'very [strong]/completely'	<i>tuwəʔéxəŋ</i>	'suddenly'
<i>χ'éʔ</i>	'also/again'		
<i>yáθ</i>	'always'		
<i>táx^w</i>	'exactly'		

These auxiliaries follow the pattern established for Klallam, requiring a 'linker' to connect them to the main verb of the clause. In *SENĆOTEN*, this linker is often written and glossed as an independent word, as shown in (55), rather than attached to the verb it modifies as shown for Klallam in (50-53).

- (55) a. yáθ sən ʔuʔ qəláʔ-əŋ
 always 1.SG LNK preserve-MDL
 ‘I’m always preserving.’

Montler (2018) pg. 851

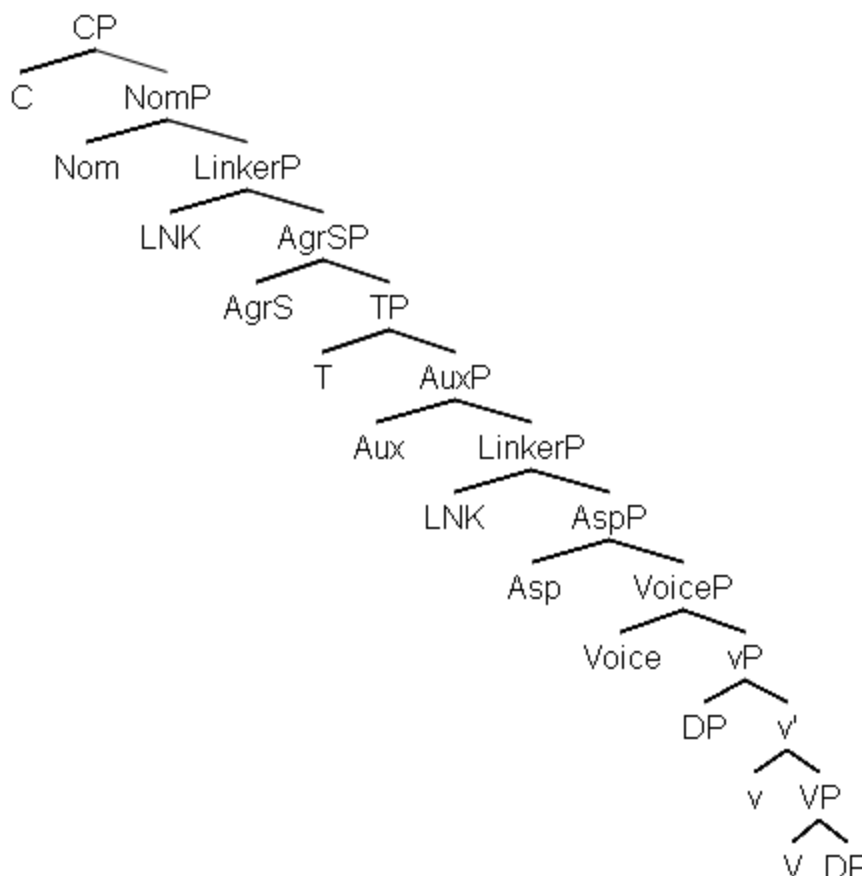
- b. xʷéləq sən ʔiʔ yéʔ
 almost 1.SG LNK go
 ‘I pretty near left.’

Montler (2018) pg. 758

Note that not all Central Salish language auxiliaries require linkers. Some Hul’q’umi’num’ auxiliaries do not require a linking particle (Schneider, 2021) while some do, though they are analyzed as adverbs for which a linker signifies complementation (Schneider, 2022; Batscher, 2014). Montler (2018, n.d.) also describes SENĆOŦEN auxiliaries both as auxiliaries and as adverbs and/or adverbial intensifiers. Further research is needed in this area. For the purpose of this thesis, I use the term auxiliary, following Montler (n.d.).

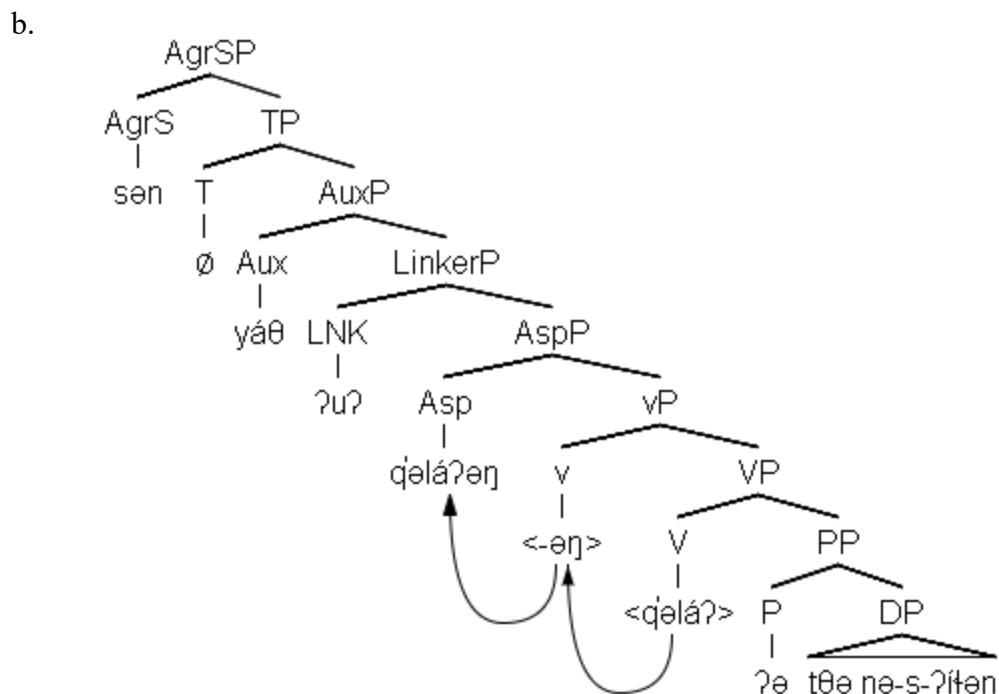
Recall the following structure from Section 1.2 for single-verb clauses with an auxiliary in SENĆOŦEN.

(56)



An example of this structure is illustrated below in (57b) by the clause glossed in (57a). This example is included to demonstrate the standard SENĆOTEN AVC structure before examining *yeʔ* ‘go’ and its proposed structure as an auxiliary. Note that the first person singular subject clitic originates above TP in Spec AgrS, but is a second position clitic (2PC). 2PCs, as discussed in Section 1.4.2, are ordered post-syntactically according to prosody, following Huijsmans (2015).

- (57) a. yáθ sən ʔuʔ qəláʔ-əŋ ʔə tθə nə-s-ʔiʔən
 always 1.SG LNK preserve-MDL OBL DET 1POSS-NOM-eat
 ‘I’m always preserving my food.’ (AJ)



3.2 Observations Regarding *ye?* ‘go’

In this section, I demonstrate that the auxiliary form of *ye?* ‘go’ behaves differently from other main verbs in the corpus, thus motivating the hypothesis that *ye?* ‘go’ is an auxiliary in some of its uses. In Section 3.4, I argue for an auxiliary analysis of *ye?* ‘go’.

Throughout the corpus, there is an observed tendency of *ye?* ‘go’ to appear first in a series of verbs, and to appear without verbal morphology³⁶. The former point is also observed by Montler (2015) in respect to the Klallam cognate of *ye?* ‘go,’ *hiyá?* ‘go’. The combined prevalence of these patterns could be indicative of a special status for *ye?* ‘go’ (possibly a path of grammaticalization) but is not conclusive on its own. Many verbs in the corpus occur without additional verbal morphology and there may be alternate explanations for *ye?* ‘go’ occurring phrase-initially, such as temporal ordering.

³⁶ The term *verbal morphology*, as used throughout this thesis, refers to morphological marking (both affixes and infixes) that would be expected of a verbal component in SENĆOŦEN. This is in contrast to morphological marking which may appear on non-verbal components such as auxiliaries.

Additionally, there is evidence which suggests that *yéʔ* is not always a main verb. For instance, *yéʔ* is the only verb found in the corpus to occur more than once in an SVC³⁷. These ‘double’ *yéʔ* constructions come in two forms. The first, shown below in (58), occurs when one *yéʔ* has verbal morphology and one does not. This occurs most often with *yéʔ* marked for transitivity by the causative suffix *-txʷ*, which yields a translation more similar to ‘take’ or ‘bring along’ than ‘go’ or ‘leave’.

- (58) *yéʔ* sən səʔ *yéʔ-txʷ*
 go 1.SG FUT go-CAUS
 ‘I’ll go take one.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840 (corpus ex. 214)

The other form of double *yéʔ* construction involves instances of *yeʔ* ‘go’ which both lack verbal morphological marking. In (59), both instances of *yéʔ* occur before the verb *ʔáxʷ* ‘go to’, which is a main verb. The status of each *yéʔ* here is ambiguous, but this example suggests the existence of two forms of *yéʔ*—one main verb, and one not. If one instance is a main verb and one is an auxiliary, each instance would contribute a similar but unique meaning. From the translation, it is clear that the ‘going’ movement is intended to be moving away from the speaker. This patterns very similarly to the deictic functions of ‘come’ and ‘go’ described later on in Section 3.4.2. Because auxiliaries in SENĆOTEN occur clause initially and precede the verb they modify, the first instance of *yéʔ* in (59) is likely the auxiliary rather than a repetition of main verb *yéʔ*.

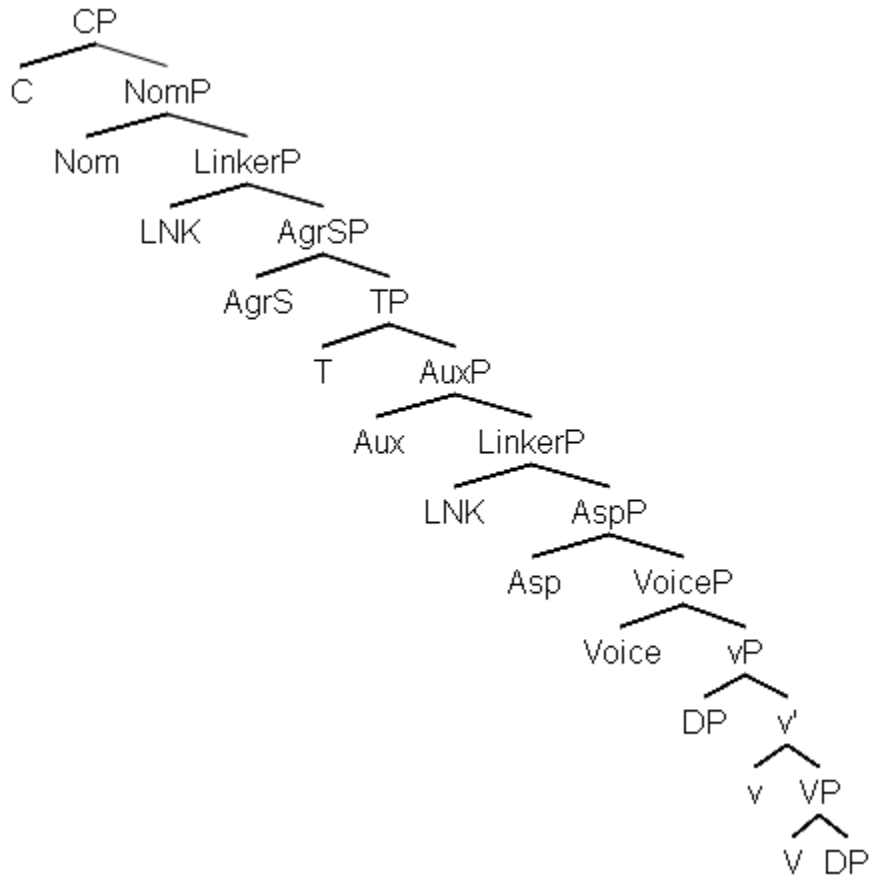
³⁷ There is one example in the corpus (ex. 268) which is ambiguous but may be analyzed as a double *ʔenʔá* ‘come’ construction. Further research is necessary.

- (59) **yéʔ** sən **yéʔ** ʔáχ^w
go 1.SG **go** **go.to**
 ‘I left to go over (there).’

Montler (n.d.) pg 59 (corpus ex. 12)

In (61), each instance of *yéʔ* precedes a main verb. This lends itself well to an auxiliary-like analysis because, taking the assumed structure described in Chapter 1 (restated below), auxiliaries are lower in the clause than complementizers or negation and higher in the clause than main verbs.

(60)



As in (59), at least one of the two instances of *yéʔ* is likely an auxiliary form. It is unlikely that both instances are the auxiliary form due to the phrase-initial positionality of auxiliaries³⁸. Additionally, SENĆOŦEN does not appear to favor constructions with more than one auxiliary (and may not allow them at all). An absence of evidence is not conclusive, however, and future research is needed in this area.

- (61) *yéʔ nǎq-əŋ yéʔ nuʔil-əŋ ʔə tθə sɣʷáləʔ*
go dive-MDL go go.inside-MDL OBL DEM reef.net

They go dive going into the reef net.

Montler (2018) pg. 359 (corpus ex. 94)

Finally, in (62), two instances of *yéʔ* occur on either side of a main verb. The first instance of *yéʔ* is marked for plurality of the subject, which distinguishes it as a main verb. The second instance of *yéʔ* is plausibly an auxiliary form of *yéʔ*. Though it does not occur often, examples where the auxiliary *yéʔ* occurs following a main verb (and often phrase-finally) are both interesting and unexpected. This ordering is very unusual for an auxiliary and is addressed in greater detail in Section 3.4.3.

- (62) *suʔ-yéʔ<1ə>ʔ-s ʔíst yéʔ*
 LNK-go<PL>-3POSS paddle go

So they went paddling away.

Montler (2018) pg. 841 (corpus ex. 211)

3.3 *yeʔ* ‘go’ as a Main Verb

It is clear that, in some cases, *yéʔ* ‘go’ is a main verb. SENĆOŦEN auxiliaries are described in more detail in Section 3.1. Below, **Figure 8** shows the criteria that would be expected of a SENĆOŦEN

³⁸ It is possible that more than one AVC could combine within the same SENĆOŦEN phrase, thus potentially allowing a non-clause initial auxiliary. However, since no instances of a non-clause initial auxiliary aside from *yéʔ* ‘go’ are found in the corpus, this matter is left for future research.

main verb in contrast to a SENĆOTEN auxiliary. These criteria are based on standard linguistic assumptions (that a main verb can function as the sole verb in a clause and an auxiliary cannot) as well as SENĆOTEN-specific generalizations described in Section 3.1.

Figure 8 - Main Verb and Auxiliary Criteria

Criteria	Main Verb	Auxiliary
Can function as the sole verb in a clause	✓	X
Obligatory bare stem/root	X	✓
Obligatory clause-initial position	X	✓
Obligatory ‘linker’ particle	X	✓

As a main verb, *yéʔ* would be expected to be able to stand alone and function as the sole main verb in a clause. This is indeed the case, as shown below in the non-SVC constructions in (63ab).

- (63) a. *yéʔ sən*
 go 1.SG
 ‘I’m going.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840

- b. *yéʔ łtə səʔ*
 go 1.PL FUT
 ‘We’ll go.’

Montler (2018) pg. 840

As a main verb, *yéʔ* would also be expected to exhibit additional morphology, in contrast to the obligatorily bare stem of an auxiliary. Though not as common as the unmarked variety, instances of *yéʔ* with verbal morphological marking do occur in the corpus. Below, (64) shows an example of *yéʔ* with verbal morphological marking for both transitivity (causative) and passive voice.

- (64) suʔ-yéʔ-t-əŋ-s tθəwɪf ʔə tθə qǝləŋiʔ
 LNK-go-CAUS-PASS-3POSS DET OBL DET girl.PL
 ʔáχʷ-t-əŋ ʔə tθə mén-s
 go.to-CAUS-PASS OBL DET father-3POSS

‘So he was taken by the girls over to their father.’

Montler 2018 p. 394 (corpus ex. 36)

The issue of clause position is a bit more complex. As a main verb, *yéʔ* would be expected to have free word order (relative to other verbs in an SVC) comparable to any other main verb. That is to say, a main verb form of *yéʔ* should be able to occur clause-initially, or as V2, V3, etc. While this is the case, *yéʔ* does exhibit a strong preference for occurring clause-initially, as would be expected of an auxiliary. The reason for this may be semantic, as verbs in an SVC tend to be ordered correspondingly to the chronological order of events/subevents (Lord 1973; Schneider, 2022b; 2023). Many motion events tend to begin with leaving the current location before traveling to another. However, *yéʔ* is not restricted to the clause-initial position. The minimal pair in (65ab) demonstrates that this tendency is not universal, nor does the alternating position change the meaning of the overall clause.

- (65) a. suʔ-yéʔ-s kʷəl-əŋ
 LNK-go-3POSS fly-MDL

‘So he flew away.’

Montler (2018) pg. 83 (corpus ex. 227)

- b. **suʔ-kʷóləŋ-s** **yéʔ**
 LNK-fly-3POSS go
 ‘So he flew away.’

Montler (2018) pg. 83 (corpus ex. 228)

Finally, *yéʔ* does not occur with a ‘linker’ as would be expected of a SENĆOFEN auxiliary (Montler, 2003), as described in Section 3.1. This is discussed in greater detail in Section 3.4.1. With the preliminary criteria for main verbhood met, it is clear that *yéʔ* can function as a main verb, both on its own and in a serial verb construction.

3.4 *yeʔ* ‘go’ as an Auxiliary

Having established how typical SENĆOFEN auxiliaries behave (3.1), we can examine the case of *yéʔ* ‘go’ as an auxiliary. Additionally, having established that *yéʔ* ‘go’ can behave as expected for a main verb (3.3), it becomes necessary to examine the instances where this is not the case. Some examples of this were presented in Section 3.2.

3.4.1 Linkers and Cognates

As described briefly in Chapter 2, there is a tendency for *yéʔ* ‘go’ to exhibit a lack of verbal morphological marking and to occur clause-initially. This general description matches the auxiliaries described above in Section 3.1, with one crucial difference: all previously discussed auxiliaries require a ‘linker’ particle.

As mentioned in Section 3.1, Montler (2003) describes four categories of auxiliaries in Klallam, one of which is termed ‘zero-class auxiliaries’³⁹. Unlike the other three classes, which all require a linker, zero-class auxiliaries do not. Of the four zero-class auxiliaries Montler describes in Klallam, two occur

³⁹ Note that Montler’s later (2015) Klallam Grammar does not describe zero-class auxiliaries and classifies both *hiyáʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔenʔá* ‘come’ only as main verbs. I include Montler’s (2003) analysis on the assumption that both analyses are, in some ways, applicable to SENĆOFEN.

only as zero-class auxiliaries. Two more also occur with a linker that appears to be optional but, because *yéʔ* does not surface with a linker in the data⁴⁰, I focus on the former.

In Klallam, the two verbs that Montler describes as only zero-class auxiliaries are: *hiyáʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔenʔá* ‘come’, which are cognates of SENĆOŦEN’s *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔənʔé* ‘come’. This would suggest that *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ may also be able to take on a zero-class auxiliary label.

3.4.2 ‘Come’ and ‘Go’ in Other Languages

Cross-linguistically, it has often been observed that serial verb constructions involving the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ behave differently from their counterparts. The reasons for this vary by language. Constructions involving these verbs include: deictic SVCs, directional SVCs, and asymmetrical SVCs.

‘Deictic serials’ or deictic SVCs are described in brief by Pullum (1990) and Schiller (1990), citing the fact that ‘come’ or ‘go’ constructions are extremely common and are found in many languages, even those that do not exhibit other types of SVCs. This is corroborated by Foley and Olsen (1985), who describe multiple languages with this phenomenon. Both the Australian Aboriginal language Kaititj (also: Kaytetye) and the English-based creole Tok Pisin (spoken in Papua New Guinea), only allow SVCs with ‘come’ or ‘go’ in the V1 position. Aikhenvald (2018) describes a similar pattern for English-based creoles as a whole, noting their tendency towards SVCs with ‘come’ or ‘go’ without restricting position or ordering. An example from Krio, an English-based creole spoken in Gambia and Sierra Leone, is included below. Semantically, ‘come’ signifies movement/direction towards the speaker. Though not shown here, ‘go’ typically indicates movement/direction away from the speaker.

⁴⁰ Note that there are a small number of examples, primarily from a single speaker, in which *yéʔ* ‘go’ does appear to possibly surface with the *ʔuʔ/uʔ* linker but this morpheme is identical to the contrastive prefix *ʔuʔ*. Further testing is needed before this can be established as evidence.

(66) d3n **bring** d3n **kam**
 3pl **bring** 3p **come**

‘They brought them back’ (bring come)

Krio
 Yillah and Corcoran (2007) pg. 188

hiyáʔ ‘go’ and *ʔenʔá* ‘come’, the Klallam cognates of *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ shown in Section 3.4.1, are described as adding ‘focus to the motion and its direction’ (Montler 2003 pg. 115), as would be expected from a deictic modifier/auxiliary.

However, the restricted nature of these ‘come’ and ‘go’ constructions is often argued to be evidence that they are not true SVCs at all. Pullum (1990) describes ‘come’ and ‘go’ constructions in English as ‘quasi-serial verb constructions’, given their highly restricted nature. Aikhenvald similarly dismisses some ‘come’ and ‘go’ constructions, citing restrictions on mood, polarity, tense, and aspect. In English, ‘come’ and ‘go’ constructions can only exist when ‘neither verb is inflected for person or tense’ (§5.2). For instance, *come visit* is allowed while *come visited*⁴¹ or *came visited* are not (Pullum, 1990; Bjorkman, 2016). Aikhenvald dismisses constructs like this and, in some languages, reanalyzes them as either AVCs or a non-serial, multi-verb construction with a grammaticalized component. The presence or lack of these types of restrictions within SENĆOTEN SVCs can act as a diagnostic between ‘quasi-serial verb constructions’ and true SVCs. As briefly described in Chapter 2, there is a prevalence of examples demonstrating *yéʔ* ‘go’ (and *ʔənʔé* ‘come’, though less common overall) with no verbal morphology, plurality, or aspect marking. As described in Section 4.2, however, *yéʔ* ‘go’ is not restricted to this pattern. This same ‘bare’ appearance with no additional marking is also common for the majority of other motion verbs. Therefore, SENĆOTEN SVCs including *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ cannot outright be dismissed as non-SVCs.

⁴¹ Pullum (1990) and Bjorkman (2016) both note that a small percentage of speakers do accept this construction, suggesting that some speakers only subject the first verb in a construction to this inflectional restriction.

Lovestrand (2018) focuses on the syntax and semantics of serial verb constructions in Barayin, an East Chadic language, and describes deictic SVCs in addition to many other types. Of particular note is Lovestrand's observation that deictic SVCs in Barayin are used narratively to mark the location and track the movement of participants. Three consecutive lines of a story, interpreted as 'chronological list of the founding of Barayin villages,' are included below in (67a-c).

(67) a. Wore na, ni **kol-eyi** **jel-eyi** Bose
 Wore BG SBJ.3PL **go-IPFV** **put-IPFV** Bose
 'From Wore, they went [and] put someone at Bose.'

b. Bose na, ni **kol-eyi** **jel-eyi** Bela
 Bose BG SBJ.3PL **go-IPFV** **put-IPFV** Bela
 'From Bose, they went [and] put someone at Bela.'

c. η Bela na, ni **s-eyi** **jel-eyi** Mebra
 OBL Bela BG SBJ.3PL **come-IPFV** **put-IPFV** Mebra
 'From Bela, they came [and] put someone at Mebra.'

Barayin
 Lovestrand (2018) ex. 11e-g pg. 118

The alternation seen between *kol-eyi* 'go' and *s-eyi* 'come' indicates whether each event is closer or farther in location (relative to the speaker) than the one before it. If an event is farther, the deictic *kol-eyi* 'go' is used and, if it is closer, the deictic *s-eyi* 'come' is used.

Lovestrand (2018) also addresses the issue of semantic bleaching and grammaticalization, particularly with 'come' and 'go' verbs. In many languages, 'come' and 'go' take on an aspectual meaning when grammaticalized. Some linguists (see Foley & Van Valin 1984, Cleary-Kemp 2015, Haspelmath 2016) classify these grammaticalized constructions as aspectual constructions, not SVCs.

(68) below demonstrates an example from Ewe, a Niger-Congo language spoken primarily in Ghana, Togo, and Benin. In cases like (68), both the grammaticalized reading and non-grammaticalized reading of the same construction are available. It is possible that this is true for SENĆOTEN as well. Further research (particularly semantic) is needed.

(68) Kofi **va** **kpɔ** nɔvi-a
 Kofi **come** **see** sibling-DEF

‘Kofi came and saw his sibling.’ *or* ‘Kofi eventually saw his sibling.’

Ewe
 Essegbey (2004) pg. 474

Bar-el (2005) describes the Skwxwú7mesh auxiliary *mi* ‘come’ as having two available readings: inceptive and directional (though both readings were only available to one speaker). Notably, *mi* ‘come’ can function as either a main predicate or as an auxiliary in Skwxwú7mesh (p. 149), which mirrors my proposed analysis for *yé?* ‘go’. Chen (2016) analyzes directional SVCs in Mandarin, but focuses primarily on event structure and language-specific ordering. Chen analyzes ‘come’ and ‘go’ using a deictic phrase (DeicP). This resembles the proposed analysis of *yé?* ‘go’ as an auxiliary.

3.4.3 Argument Structure

Evidence in favor of an auxiliary analysis includes argument structure. While verbal components in an SVC may each project their own argument structure (see Chapter 4), auxiliary verbs cannot. This section demonstrates a type of *yé?* ‘go’ construction in which *yé?* ‘go’ appears to share the argument structure of a main verb in a way that another main verb would not be able to.

Typically, verbs in SENĆOTEN SVCs are ordered temporally and oblique modifiers occur directly following the verb they modify, as described in Chapter 2. An exception to this occurs with *yé?* ‘go’. *yé?* ‘go’ very rarely, if ever, takes an oblique argument. This is due to the fact that *yé?* ‘go/leave/depart’ denotes an event of leaving. *yé?* ‘go’ contrasts with the verb *ʔáxʷ* ‘go to’ which

denotes an event of movement towards X and often occurs with an oblique argument specifying the goal. Oblique phrases typically describe a goal argument (though may also specify a point of origin, as in (69a)). The contrast between these two verbs is shown below in (69ab).

- (69) a. **yéʔ** ʔə tθə snáx^wəl-s
 go OBL DET canoe-3POSS
 ‘They went from their canoe.’ (ErC)

Montler (2018) pg. 539

- b. ʔáx^w ʔə léʔə
 go.to OBL here
 ‘They went over to here’ (BJ)

Montler (2018) pg. 306

While *yéʔ* ‘go’ can stand alone as a main verb, when an oblique argument is present, a combination of *yéʔ* ‘go’ and *ʔáx^w* ‘go to’ most often appears⁴². Below, (70a-c) demonstrate examples of this pattern.

- (70) a. **yéʔ** sən **ʔáx^w** ʔə tθə pukéwt^w
 go 1.SG go.to OBL DET library
 ‘I’m going over to the library.’

Montler (2018) pg. 407 (corpus ex. 297)

- b. **yéʔ** sən **ʔáx^w** ʔə ʔ́ sáʔək^w
 go 1.SG go.to OBL DET Sooke
 ‘I’m going to Sooke.’

Montler (2018) pg. 544 (corpus ex. 305)

⁴² This pattern also appears with *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ (see corpus ex. 287). Due to the low frequency of *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ occurring in the corpus, further research is necessary to establish whether this pattern occurs to the same extent.

- c. **yéʔ** **ʔáχ^w** ʔə k^wséʔə nət^həʔ
go **go.to** OBL DEM one
‘Go over to that other place.’

Montler (2018) pg. 392 (corpus ex. 21)

Having established the semantic contribution of *yéʔ* ‘go’ and its relation to accompanying oblique phrases, I turn to cases which indicate that *yéʔ* ‘go’ shares an argument structure with another main verb, rather than projecting its own. These cases involve an oblique phrase following *yéʔ* ‘go’ which is not an oblique argument of *yéʔ* ‘go’ but rather of a main verb accompanying *yéʔ* ‘go’. In examples (71-73), *yéʔ* ‘go’ intervenes between the main verb and its oblique argument in a way that a main verb could not. No other verbs in the corpus follow this pattern. This suggests that *yéʔ* ‘go’ may be sharing an argument structure with the main verb in these constructions, merely adding directional information to the action described by the main verb. It is important to note prior to examples (71) and (72) that verbs marked for middle voice in SENĆOFEN are intransitive, but can take an oblique argument introduced by *ʔə*, as described in Chapter 2.

In SENĆOFEN, *yéʔ* ‘go’ describes a departing movement rather than an arriving one, as seen in (69a). In (71), *yéʔ* ‘go’ appears to be adding directional information which the addressee needs to follow in order to accomplish the action of climbing. The oblique phrase *ʔə tθə st^həʔsənəŋ* ‘the ladder’ is the oblique argument of *šələŋ* ‘climb,’ describing what the addressee is meant to climb.

- (71) **šəl-əŋ** sx^w **yéʔ** ʔə tθə st^həʔsənəŋ
climb-MDL 2.SG **go** OBL DET ladder
‘Climb up the ladder.’

Montler (2018) pg. 575 (corpus ex. 275)

In (72), *náqəŋ* ‘dive’ takes the oblique argument *ʔə tθə θáʔtx* ‘for [the] halibut’. *yéʔ* ‘go’ seems to add directional information such that the two individuals departed from some location in order to dive for halibut. In both (71) and (72), the translation does not indicate a ‘leave from X’ meaning where X is the oblique argument, as would be expected if *yéʔ* ‘go’ were itself taking an oblique argument, as described previously.

(72)	suʔ-tx ^{wə} -háy-s	ʔal'	tθéʔə	čéʔsəʔ	náq-əŋ	yéʔ	ʔə
	LNK-MUT-alone-3.POSS	LMT	DET	two.person	dive-MDL	go	OBL
	tθə	θáʔtx					
	DEM	halibut					

‘So there were only the two left who went diving for halibut.’

Montler (2018) pg. 359 (corpus ex. 95)

These observations suggest that the instances of *yéʔ* ‘go’ in these examples do not have their own larger structure (AspP, VoiceP, modifiers, etc) but rather accompany the argument structure of a main verb and do not project their own argument structure or take any syntactic arguments. Crucially, if *yéʔ* ‘go’ did have its own independent argument structure in these constructions, it would take the subsequent oblique argument, as would be expected of any other main verb. The semantics of the translation suggest that this is not the case, which is consistent with an auxiliary analysis.

Below, example (73) demonstrates the same phenomenon. (73) is particularly notable because the temporal ordering observed for SENĆOŦEN verbs (both in the data, and in the available texts) would be inverted if this instance of *yéʔ* ‘go’ was a main verb. The subject could not go aboard the canoe and then go to the canoe. This example also does not encode the expected ‘depart from’ reading that would be expected from *yéʔ* ‘go’ taking an oblique argument. The subject remains on the canoe, hiding aboard it.

- (73) **ʔáaʔ** **yéʔ** ʔə tθə snəx^wəʔ tθə mén-s suʔ-k^wéy1-s
go.aboard **go** OBL DET canoe DET father-3.POSS LNK-hide-3.POSS
ʔə tθə k^wəčíʔ
OBL DET morning
‘He got on the canoe and hid early in the morning.’

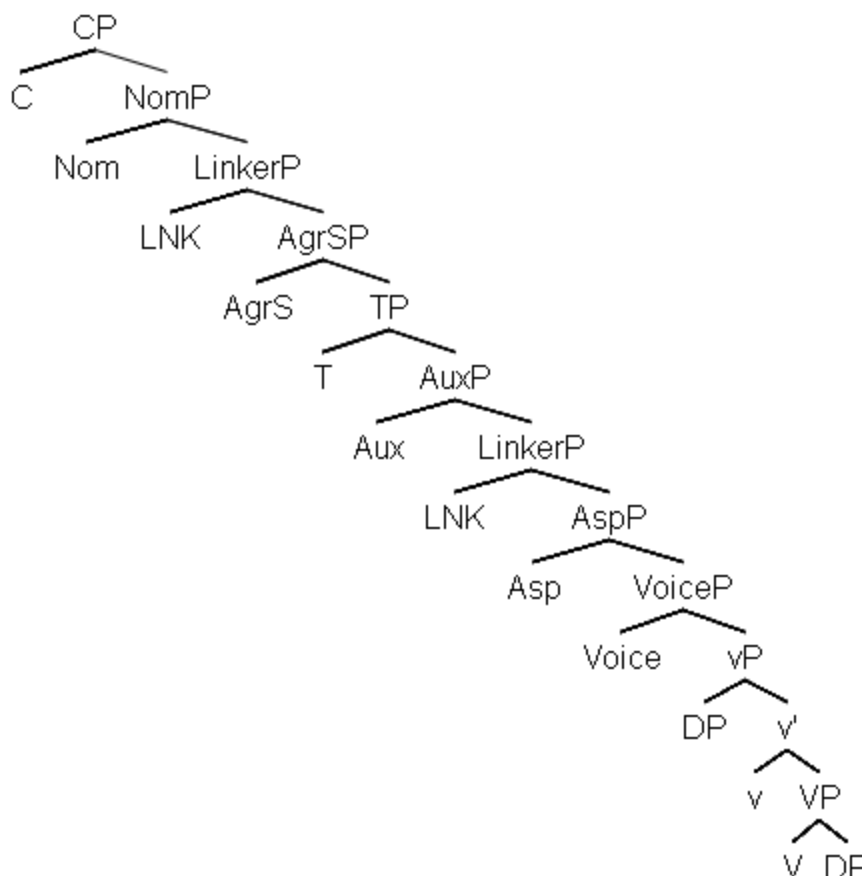
Montler (2018) pg. 390 (corpus ex. 49)

3.5 *yéʔ* ‘go’ AVC Structure

Having argued that *yéʔ* ‘go’ can function as an auxiliary in at least some of the examples found in the corpus, I turn to the structural representation of auxiliaries. In Section 1.5.1, I proposed the following structure for AVCs⁴³ in SENĆOTEN.

⁴³ Note that the LinkerP does not appear to be required for an auxiliary *yéʔ* ‘go.’

(74)



This structure works well to represent constructions with *yeʔ* ‘go’ and a main verb⁴⁴. This structure would predict a default clause-initial position for *yeʔ*, like the auxiliaries described in Section 3.1, but does not straightforwardly account for the ordering seen in Section 3.4.3. One possible explanation for why *yeʔ* occurs between a main verb and its modifier in Section 3.4.3, even while functioning as an auxiliary, lies with prosody. It is quite possible that, over the course of becoming grammaticalized, the auxiliary-like *yeʔ* becomes prosodically reduced. Its position following a main predicate would then follow from the Strong Start markedness constraint proposed by Selkirk (2011), which is violated when prosodically weak elements precede prosodically stronger elements within the same prosodic

⁴⁴ I do not include an example here due to the ambiguity of many of the examples involving a clause-initial instance of *yeʔ* ‘go’. Without additional testing, I cannot accurately represent an example of clause-initial *yeʔ* ‘go’ as either an auxiliary or a main verb.

constituent. In order to avoid violating the Strong Start constraint, the auxiliary *yeʔ* ‘go’ may sometimes invert with the following main predicate, producing the order observed in (71-73).

A similarly possible explanation is that these instances of *yeʔ*—having already been shown to behave differently from other auxiliaries—actually occupy a unique functional head that can attach between AuxP and VoiceP. This would create a unique phrase which either *yeʔ* ‘go’ or possibly *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ would head, which would then again be ordered prosodically as described above. Further research is needed. If this is the case, it would be expected that auxiliary *yeʔ* would be able to co-occur with another auxiliary in AuxP, both of which would take scope over the same verb.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have argued that *yeʔ* ‘go’ functions both as a full main verb and in a grammaticalized, auxiliary form that may contribute deictic information to the main verb. This argument is made on the basis of several patterns and observations, including: double *yeʔ* constructions, clause position, argument structure, and comparison to work done with Klallam auxiliaries. This chapter also included a brief cross-linguistic look at ‘come’ and ‘go’ constructions and a brief description of auxiliaries in SENĆOTEN and Klallam. Again, note that, due to the scarcity of *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ in the corpus, this chapter focused primarily on *yeʔ* ‘go’. For additional fieldwork suggestions and future research questions, see Section 5.5.

Chapter 4

The Syntax of SENĆOTEN SVCs

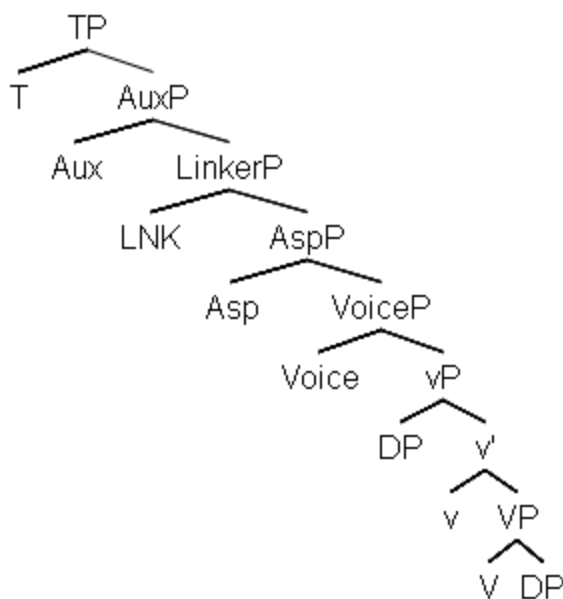
4 Overview

In this section, I demonstrate that the verbs in SENĆOTEN SVCs are AspPs, using the presence of verbal morphology to argue that each verbal component in an SVC can be accompanied by functional head projections up to Aspect. This proposed structure accounts for the cases of aspect mismatch found in the corpus, as well as various other observations, including: transitivity mismatch, the ability of each verb to take arguments, and the ability of each verb to be marked for transitivity or passive voice, indicating the presence of *v* and Voice heads. I take the position that, given the information currently available, adjunction best describes the relationship between the verbs in a SENĆOTEN SVC. Future research suggestions are summarized in Section 5.5

4.1 Clause Structure

Recall from Section 1.2 the proposed underlying structure of a simple, single-verb SENĆOTEN clause, adapted from Davis's (2020) structure for St'at'imcets and shown below in (75). This example shows a transitive clause. For an explanation of clausal nominalization and the structure above TP, see Section 1.2.

(75)



Adapted from Davis (2020) ex. 45

Following Davis (2019, 2020), I propose that the VP contains the verb (root) and its internal argument(s), if present. The vP ⁴⁵ (which may be null) contains any transitivity/intransitivity morphology and object agreement. VoiceP contains morphological passive voice marking and ergative subject suffixes. AspP⁴⁶, if overt, is realized by aspectual marking on the verb. Above AspP, a combination of an AuxP and a LinkerP hosts an auxiliary and its coordinating linking particle. TP concerns tense-marking clitics.

4.2 Category of the Verbal Constituents

When examining the potential structural size of either V1 or V2⁴⁷, a few predictions can be made. These predictions can then be either confirmed or disconfirmed by the data. **Figure 4** (repeated

⁴⁵ Note that Davis (2019) argues that the external argument originates in vP , which I adopt for SENĆOFEN as well.

⁴⁶ Note that Davis (2020) represents an AspP with an asterisk, indicating the possibility for multiple aspectual morphemes or aspectual auxiliaries. This combination of heads is representative for St'at'imcets, but not for SENĆOFEN. SENĆOFEN auxiliaries are not inherently aspectual, and thus warrant the use of a separate Aux head.

⁴⁷ As we've seen, SENĆOFEN SVCs are not limited to two verbs. The structure of any additional verbs is assumed to mirror that of the second verbal component, which I call V2, as seen in Section 4.4.

below as **Figure 9**) shows various predictions that can be made by assuming various categories of the constituent which adjoins to the other verb(s) in an SVC.

Figure 9 - Category Predictions

Criteria	V	VP	vP	VoiceP	AspP
Can take an argument	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Can take an adjunct	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
Obligatorily unaccusative	✓	✓	X	X	X
Can take transitivity morphology	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Can take Voice marking morphology	X	X	X	✓	✓
More than one external argument possible	X	X	X	✓	✓
Can take aspect marking morphology	X	X	X	X	✓

Beginning with the smallest possible structure, if one or more of the verbal components were no bigger than bare, intransitive verb roots (Vs)⁴⁸ as a whole, it would be predicted that those verb roots would not individually take arguments or adjuncts. This structure would resemble root-root/verbal compounds found in other non-Salish languages (Lovestrand, 2021) and would be disqualified from the category of SVC. However, this is not the case. Below, (76) demonstrates an example with an overt subject, *tθəw'nił* 'he/she/they/it', and two oblique modifiers. Here, V1 (and perhaps V2) take the oblique agent *ʔə tθə q'ələŋiʔ* 'by the girls'. Additionally, V2 takes the oblique modifier *ʔə tθə méns* 'to their father'.

⁴⁸ I use the term V(s) as opposed to √(s) and here briefly distinguish between the two. Montler (2018) provides a root (√) index and, notably, not all √s can function alone as a verb. For example, the root *št* 'walk' does not ever surface without the middle marking affix *-əŋ*. In contrast, Vs are full verbs (such as *štəŋ* 'walk') and can function as such.

- (76) suʔ-yéʔ-t-əŋ-s tθəwníʃ ʔə tθə qǝləŋiʔ
 LNK-go-CAUS-PASS-3POSS DET OBL DET girl.PL
 ʔáχʷ-t-əŋ ʔə tθə mén-s
 go.to-CAUS-PASS OBL DET father-3POSS

So he was taken by the girls over to their father.

Montler 2018 p. 394 (corpus ex. 36)

(77)⁴⁹ does not concern the size of V1, but rather of V3. In this example, V2 takes the oblique object ʔə kʷsə s-táləs ‘for a wife/spouse’ and V3 takes the oblique modifier ʔə tʃ smákʷəč ‘over at Smákʷəč/Point Roberts’. This example illustrates that V3 (and, I hypothesize, also V4, V5, etc.) is also larger than V.

- (77) suʔ se-t-əŋ-s yéʔ-əs ʔléʔ-əŋ ʔə kʷsə
 LNK order-TRANS-PASS-3POSS go-3SUBJ search-MDL OBL DEM
 s-táləs ʔáχʷ ʔə tʃ smákʷəč
 spouse go.to OBL DEM smákʷəč

‘He told him to go look for a wife over at Smákʷəč.’

Montler 1986 line 74 (corpus ex. 250)

Moving up in size, the next possibility is that V1 and/or V2 are VPs. If this were the case, it would be predicted that the verb in question cannot have any passive voice marking or transitivity morphology, as both of these would require more structure, but could have an internal argument. By contrast, if V1 and/or V2⁺ are vPs, then transitive morphology would be expected. Recall from Section 2.3.1 that it is possible to have matching or non-matching transitive morphology on serialized verbs.

⁴⁹ Note that the first verb in this phrase is not included in the SVC. There is no overt subordinator in this clause, but V1 of the clause takes a subjunctive subordinate clause (the SVC). This is shown by the subjunctive subject marking on yéʔ ‘go,’ which would be a null third person subject if it were not subjunctive. Additionally, verbs like *setəŋ* ‘order’ typically take a subjunctive subordinate clause, as they describe events that are not yet realized.

Below, (78-80) demonstrate this.

In (78), V3 is marked for transitivity by the transitivity suffix *-et*, which surfaces here as *-t*. This example is also found in Section 2.3.1, along with others which parallel this structure. Clearly, V3 must be larger than a VP, and at least as large as a *vP*.

- (78) ʔisté yéʔ xʷyélqən čté-t
 let's go return ask-TRANS
 'Let's go back and ask him.' (MP; EC,VW)

Montler (2018) pg. 794 (corpus ex. 242)

As before, finding evidence for the size of V1 is more difficult. There are no examples in the data of V1 being marked for transitivity without V2 or V3 also being marked. While at first glance this observation would seem to support the proposal that transitivity must 'match' (be marked on all verbs in an SVC), this only appears to be the case when V1 is transitive. When V2 is transitive, V1 may still be intransitive. This may be significant, as Montler (2008) argues that the ordering of serialized verbs in Klallam only affects subject sharing when one or more verbs are transitive. When all verbs are intransitive, the subject is shared throughout the phrase. However, when one verb is transitive, the subject of verbs preceding the transitive may be different from those following it. The subject of the following verbs is also the object of the preceding transitive. No clear examples of this are found in the corpus, but this presents an opportunity for future research.

In (79), there are two SVCs, each with its own subject, but the first is the one of interest here. It consists of two verbs *kʷáyəxt* 'move (something)' and *xʷkʷət* 'drag (something)', each with a null object. Both are marked for transitivity by the transitivity suffix *-ət*, which surfaces as either *-t* or *-ət* respectively. This suggests that V1 must also be larger than VP in (79), and can be at least as large as *vP* in SENĆOTEN SVCs. Because both verbs in this example are marked for transitivity, this also

shows that both verbs can simultaneously be as large as *vP*.

- (79) háʔ səʔ sx^w k^wáyǎǎ-t x^wk^w-ǎt suʔ-léw²-s
 if FUT 2.SG **move-TRANS** **drag-TRANS** LNK-escape-3.POSS
 tθə sčéénəx^w sqíl-əŋ ʔənʔé
 DET salmon go.outside-MDL come
 ‘If you move it, pull it, the salmon will escape and come out.’

Montler (2018) pg. 516 (corpus ex. 167)

Additionally, in support of the claim that V2 can be at least as large as a *vP*, overt subjects can occur between V1 and V2. In order for the external argument to have an attachment site available between the verbs, V1 must be as large as a *vP* to introduce it. An example of this is shown below in (80). The subject *tθəw^híł* intervenes between the verb *x^wíʔtəŋʔ* ‘jump,’ which is marked for middle voice and actual aspect, and the verb *ʔáx^w* ‘go to,’ which is unmarked.

- (80) suʔ x^wí<ʔ>t-əŋ<ʔ>-s tθəw^híł ʔáx^w ʔə tsə
 LNK **jump<ACTL>-mdl<ACTL>-3POSS** DEM **go.to** OBL DEM
 s-léʔə-s tsə mén-s q^wól-əŋ
 NOM-place-3POSS DEM father-3POSS cook-MDL
 ‘He jumped up where his father was barbecuing.’

Montler (1986) line 26 (corpus ex. 25)

To move beyond *vP*, if V1 and/or V2 are as large as a *VoiceP*, it should be possible to have passive voice marking for a passive verb. (81a-b) demonstrate examples of eventive passive verbs in SENĆOŦEN SVCs. In (81a), V2 is marked for passive voice by the suffix *-əŋ*. Note that the agent of this phrase is a null third person singular (taken from the translation). The clitic *sən* marks for a first person singular subject (patient/theme in passive constructions) due to the promotional nature of

SENĆOTEN passive constructions. (81b) contains three serialized verbs, two of which are marked for passive voice. Interestingly, it is V1 and V3 that are marked. In both (81a) and (b) the verb that is unmarked for passive voice is *yéʔ* ‘go’ which, as previously established, does not behave identically to other verbs. (81a) and (b) demonstrate that both V1 and V2 can be as large as a VoiceP⁵⁰.

- (81) a. *yéʔ* sən *ʔáχ^w-t-əŋ*
go 1.SG **go.to-CAUS-PASS**

‘He took me over.’

Montler (2018) pg. 394 (corpus ex. 33)

- b. *suʔ-k^{wə}-nét-əŋ-s* *ʔiʔ* *tč-át-əŋ* *yéʔ*
 LNK-get-TRANS-PASS-3.POSS CONJ **poke-TRANS-PASS** **go**
wəl-ét-əŋ
chase-TRANS-PASS

‘So they get them and stab them chasing them away.’

Montler (2018) pg. 753 (corpus ex 208)

Interestingly, there is evidence that the size of each verb may be even larger than VoiceP. The majority of aspectual information in SENĆOTEN is marked on the verb. Perfective aspect is unmarked, but all other aspects are marked, as discussed in Section 2.3.3. If the constituents of an SVC are proposed to be VoicePs (but no larger), then both verbal components would occur under a single Aspect head and obligatory aspect matching would be expected. However, if the constituents can be as large as AspPs, then aspect mismatch would be expected.

(82) demonstrates examples of aspect mismatch found in SENĆOTEN SVCs. In (82a), both

⁵⁰ There are not any clear examples of a voice mismatch that do not involve *yéʔ* ‘go’. It could be suggested that a single syntactic head may be morphologically realized on more than one verb. However, the question of a shared VoiceP does not need to be addressed, as it turns out, because each verbal component can be even larger, as shown by the multiple AspPs described in this section.

V1 and V2 have perfective aspect, which is unmarked. V3 is marked for actual/continuative aspect. This demonstrates that V3 (and presumably V2, as well as V4⁺) can be as large as an AspP. (82b) demonstrates an instance of a V1 which is marked for actual/continuative aspect and a V2 which is perfective. This demonstrates that V1 can also be as large as an AspP.

- (82) a. **tx^w-háy** tsə ɲónəʔ-s **x^wələq^w-t-əŋ** <ʔəl>ʔaləl
MUT-alone DEM child-3POSS **drift-TRANS-PASS** <ACTL>go.aboard
ʔə tsə q^wléy.
OBL DEM log
‘Only his son floating on the log.’

Montler (1986) line 54 (corpus ex. 100)

- b. suʔ **x^wí<ʔ>t-əŋ<ʔ>-s** tθəwɲíɪl **ʔáx^w** ʔə tsə
LNK **jump<ACTL>-mdl<ACTL>** DEM **go.to** OBL DEM
s-léʔə-s tsə mén-s q^wəl-əŋ
NOM-place-3POSS DEM father-3POSS cook-MDL
‘He jumped up where his father was barbecuing.’

Montler (1986) line 26 (corpus ex. 255)

Because there is still discussion around the function and structure of *yéʔ* ‘go’ or *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ in some cases, examples of aspect mismatch with no aspect marking on these two verbs would not necessarily indicate that aspect mismatch is allowed for SVCs in SENĆOTEN as a whole. However, the two examples above illustrate that this is the case⁵¹.

⁵¹ Note that, following this structure, the SVC has the potential to ‘double’ or attach additional verbs at the AspP level, which is structurally higher than where the external argument is proposed to attach. This suggests that an argument made for an obligatory shared external argument would require additional motivation, such as the arguments put forth by Collins (1997) in favor of internal argument sharing (Dechaine, 1986; Foley and Olson, 1985; and Baker, 1989). Alternatively, this suggests that there is no inherent requirement for a shared subject in SENĆOTEN SVCs, which warrants further investigation (see corpus ex. 268, though ambiguous).

It is worth noting that other scholars and linguists have analyzed SVCs with aspectual mismatch as not being true SVCs. In Hul’q’umi’num’, Schneider (2021) investigates aspect in SVCs and finds very similar examples of perfective/imperfective mismatch, like those shown above in (82a) and (b), but regards them as verb chain construction or as multi-verb constructions⁵² (MVCs) rather than SVCs because SVCs are monoclausal and are expected to share clausal categories such as tense, aspect, mood, and modality, as proposed by Aikhenvald (2018). While the same analysis could be proposed for SENĆOŦEN, I include these examples under the umbrella of SENĆOŦEN SVCs given that aspect matching is a cross-linguistic generalization (Aikhenvald, 2018)—not a requirement. I argue that the SENĆOŦEN SVCs which exhibit aspect mismatch are still monoclausal because they share all higher clausal heads such as complementizers, clausal nominalization, and tense. In SENĆOŦEN, there is also no independent way to distinguish these cases, which include aspect mismatch, from instances that do not. Further semantic and grammaticality testing could shift this. If speakers accept cases of aspect mismatch for a variety of SVCs, are there any restrictions? If so, it may be possible to reclassify examples with mismatched aspect as either verb chains, following Schneider, or as multi-verb constructions (but not SVCs).

For Baker and Stewart’s (2002) analysis of Edo, SVCs contain a head that is doubled within the structure, which is similar to the relation I propose between SENĆOŦEN verbal components. This doubling can occur at various levels. Baker and Stewart describe four types of multi-verb constructions, each of which doubles at a different structural level—notably not at the V level, as originally proposed by Baker (1989). Baker and Stewart distinguish these types semantically as resultative SVCs, consequential SVCs, purposive SVCs, and covert coordinations—which Baker and Stewart do not analyze as SVCs (described in detail by Baker 1989; Collins 1997). This analysis is due, in part, to

⁵² Note that Schneider (2021) uses MVC as a ‘catch all’ term for constructions with more than one verbal component that do not fit into the stricter definitions of SVC, AVC, or verb chain construction (VCC). I adopt the same terminology.

Baker and Stewart's criteria for defining an SVC (namely, an obligatorily shared subject) and language-specific observations described by Baker (1998), addressed below. For Baker and Stewart, AspP is generated below VoiceP and the external argument is generated in VoiceP. Therefore, AspP-AspP constructions share an external argument and VoiceP-VoiceP do not. In regards to the first criteria, the structure adopted in this thesis for SENĆOTEN generates the external argument in vP. While this does create the possibility of a non-shared subject SVC in SENĆOTEN, all examples of SVCs with verbal components as large as Voice do have a shared subject⁵³.

Stewart (1998) notes that 'covert coordinations' have the potential to have more than one subject, due to the doubling of VoiceP (assuming an external argument generated in VoiceP). However, in Edo, these constructions are marked by a prosodic pause between verbs and the semantic judgment that the two verbs constitute separate events. While this is an opportunity for future research, there is no *prima facie* reasoning to exclude any non-shared subject constructions from the pool of SVCs in SENĆOTEN.

Baker (1989) (like Dechaine 1986 and Foley & Olson 1985; cf. Collins 1997) assumes that internal argument sharing is a base requirement for SVCs, primarily due to object behavior in double-transitive constructions. While this appears to be the case in Ewe and related languages, this analysis does not appear to hold for SENĆOTEN and does not address intransitive SVCs. As the vast majority of data found for SENĆOTEN SVCs consists of intransitive SVCs, this is less relevant.

4.3 Interim Summary

So far, SENĆOTEN serial verbs have been shown to surface at every possible categorical height/size from a bare root V to an aspectually-marked verb. I propose that, underlyingly, each serial verb component can be as large as an AspP. SENĆOTEN SVCs appear to allow a larger size of verbal component than is cross-linguistically typical, given available descriptions.

⁵³ Note that one example of a non-shared subject does exist in the corpus, but consists only of bare root verbs.

4.4 Relationship Between the Verbs

While it may not be possible to definitively say what the relationship between the verbs in a SENĆOŦEN SVC is without further fieldwork and testing, it is worth exploring nevertheless. There have been several efforts—both recent and otherwise—to categorize and describe the relationship between serialized verbs in various languages (for example, see Cleary-Kemp, 2015). However, as it will soon become clear, SENĆOŦEN does not fit easily into any of these frameworks.

There are two commonly proposed relationships between SVC verbal components: complementation and adjunction. While Baker and Stewart argue for a complementation relationship only between the two smallest possible SVC components (two VPs), the reasoning for this is very language-specific and involves diagnostics that would not apply to intransitive constructions like those found in SENĆOŦEN. By contrast, the structure of purposive SVCs that Baker and Stewart describe more similarly align with the proposed analysis of SENĆOŦEN. Baker and Stewart assume an adjunction relationship between the two AspPs in a purposive SVC, which could theoretically be extended to SENĆOŦEN SVCs.

I argue for an adjunction relationship between the verbs (with the potential exception of some cases of *yé?* ‘go,’ as discussed in Chapter 3). The first argument in favor of an adjunction relationship is the apparent optionality of each verb and flexibility in clause position in the SVC. If a complement relationship were assumed, then we would expect constraints on word order, verbal morphology, or the placement of arguments. These constraints do not seem to be found, however, and in cases where such a constraint may be argued to exist (such as the preference of *yé?* ‘go’ to appear initially in an SVC) there is still a significant amount of data to the contrary. There does not seem to be any (syntactic) selectional relationship between the verbs, as would be expected in a Head-Complement relationship. There does not appear to be any restrictions on which verbs occur first or second and there are no

apparent morphological selectional restrictions (i.e. a particular V1 selects a V2 of a particular morphological size or complexity).

Additionally, in a complementation relationship it would be unlikely that a transitive V1 would be able to take a DP argument, as V2 would take the complement position that a DP argument would typically occupy⁵⁴. Because transitive V1s that take a DP argument are found, this points to an adjunct relationship as well.

It is worth noting that SENĆOŦEN does not have any prepositions aside from the oblique marker *?ə*. Because many of the possible verbs in SVCs appear to add prepositional information—such as *tékʷəl* ‘go across’, *sqiləŋ* ‘go out’, or *tʰənəŋ* ‘go via’—it is not unreasonable to posit that these verbs may have a PP-like relationship with other verbs. While complement PPs do exist in SENĆOŦEN, only adjunct PPs are cross-linguistically considered optional the way additional verbs in a SENĆOŦEN SVC appear to be.

Contrastingly, the only apparent evidence⁵⁵ in favor of a complementation analysis is that it is often the assumed default relationship. Potential future research could change this but, currently, there is a stronger claim to be made in favor of adjunction.

I will assume an adjunction analysis from this point forward. The only issue with this is the observation that SVCs in SENĆOŦEN appear to occur nearly exclusively with motion verbs. While this could be argued to be a syntactic selectional constraint, this may alternatively be a semantic restriction.

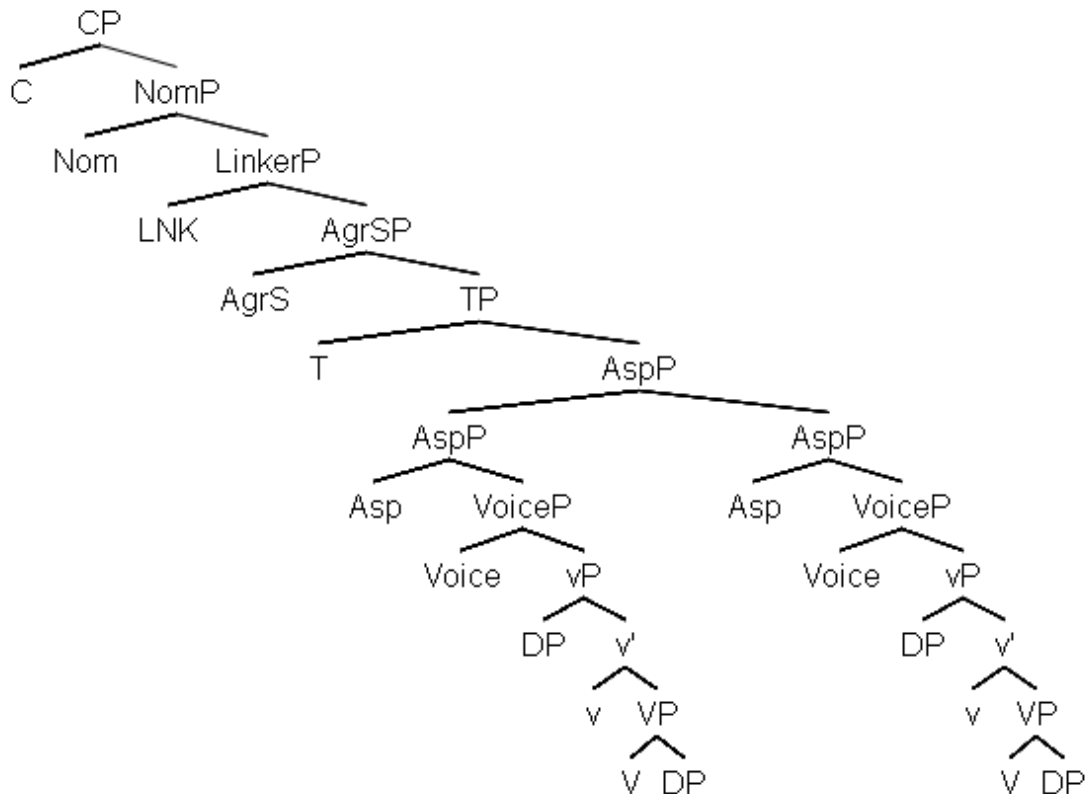
Assuming an adjunct relationship between the verbs in an SVC, and assuming that the verbal components can be as large as AspP, it becomes possible to represent these constructions. For the sake

⁵⁴ This analysis does not address ditransitives, which, in the context of an SVC, may take a VP as one of their two arguments. Further research is necessary.

⁵⁵ In Koro, Cleary-Kemp (2015) describes associated motion constructions that are quite similar in some ways to those found in SENĆOŦEN, but does not address directional SVCs or constructions with multiple path/motion verbs. However, Cleary-Kemp argues that constructions with an adjunct relationship between the verbs are not SVCs. This is due to extensive semantic testing and expected entailments, neither of which can be tested with the current available data for SENĆOŦEN. Instead, Cleary-Kemp argues for a complementation relationship in Koro SVCs.

of this analysis, I show the maximum structure possible in (83). Note that for simplicity null heads are not represented throughout the thesis, though the nodes are assumed to be present.

(83)



For example, the structure of the example in (84a) is shown in (84b)⁵⁶. Note that this example involves clausal nominalization. The nominalizer *s-* combines morphologically with the linker *uʔ*. Both of these procliticize to the verb *tékʷəl* ‘go across,’ as does the subject marking suffix *-s*, which originates in AgrS. Neither verb in this example has any verbal morphology, but V2 takes an oblique argument⁵⁷ *ʔə*

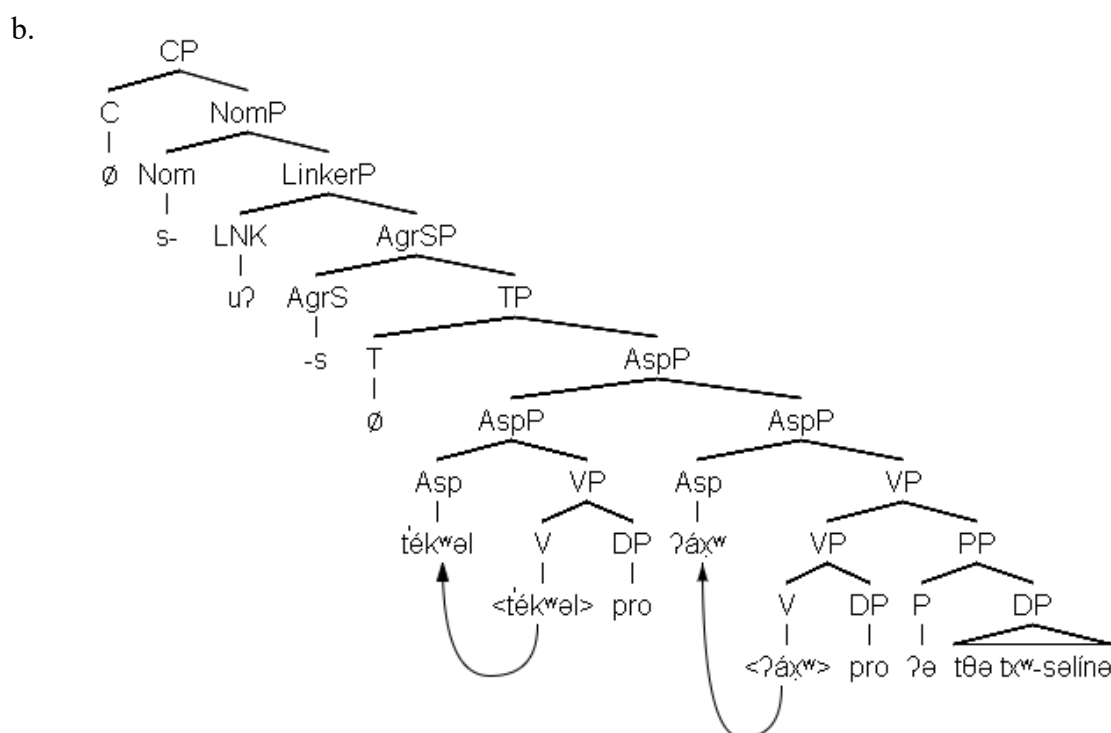
⁵⁶ Note that I have represented *ʔáχʷ* ‘go to’ as unaccusative in order to be consistent throughout this chapter. However, further semantic research could reveal that some instances of *ʔáχʷ*, including the instance in this example, are better analyzed as unergatives. Davis (1997) argues that some unergatives are derived via a null middle marker, which would result in an identical surface form.

⁵⁷ I represent *ʔə tθə txʷsəlínə* ‘across to Salina’s’ as an oblique adjunct here but further research is necessary to establish whether it is best analyzed as an oblique argument or as an oblique adjunct.

tθə tx^wsəlínə ‘across to Salina’s’. As previously described, SENĆOTEN third person pronouns are null and I represent the null third person pronoun here as *pro*⁵⁸⁵⁹.

- (84) a. *suʔ-ték^wəl-s* *ʔáχ^w* *ʔə* *tθə* *tx^w-səlínə*
 LNK-go.across-3POSS go.to OBL DET belong-Salina
 ‘It goes across to Salina’s.’

Montler (2018) pg. 113 (corpus ex. 56)



Though no such example is found in the data, there is no reason to rule out the possibility of a phrase in which every head is occupied. This structure also predicts the possibility for both a subject

⁵⁸ Note that *pro* is generated as an internal argument. For unaccusative verbs, *pro* remains here. For unergative verbs, *pro* is introduced by a null middle marker in vP, following Davis (1997). Note that the majority of these roots are ambiguously unaccusative/unergative. I have differentiated the two where possible, but further research is necessary to concretely distinguish each verb in each particular usage.

⁵⁹ Given the *pro* arguments in (85)-(87), it appears that there would be no way for these arguments to check Case. A possible solution for this issue would be to assume that this is an across-the-board (ATB) phenomenon, and that the subject moves to spec-TP via sideward movement (Nunes, 2001), leaving a copy (trace) of the subject in each VP.

and oblique argument to intervene between the verbs, as seen below in (85). (85b)⁶⁰ demonstrates the structure of the clause glossed in (85a). V1 undergoes clausal nominalization, the structure of which is identical to (84b) and therefore not included here. Both verbs have verbal morphological marking for causative transitivity and passive voice. Both verbs also take oblique adjuncts, *ʔə tθə qǽləŋiʔ* ‘by the girls’ and *ʔə tθə mén-s* ‘over to their father⁶¹’ respectively. The subject is overtly indicated by *tθəwñíł*, a demonstrative typically translated as ‘him’, which is merged as sister to V as the theme argument and then promoted to the subject of the passive.

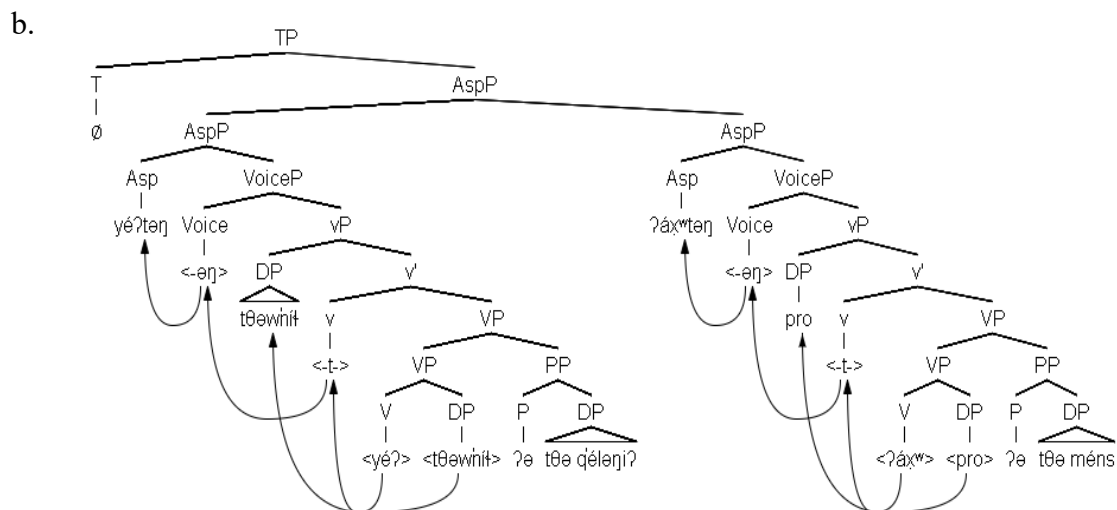
(85)	a.	<i>suʔ-yéʔ-t-əŋ-s</i>		<i>tθəwñíł</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>tθə</i>	<i>qǽləŋiʔ</i>
		LNK-go-CAUS-PASS-3POSS	DET	OBL	DET	girl.PL	
		<i>ʔáxʷ-t-əŋ</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>tθə</i>	<i>mén-s</i>		
		go.to-CAUS-PASS	OBL	DET	father-3POSS		

So he was taken by the girls over to their father.

Montler 2018 pg. 394, also Montler 1986 line 88 (corpus ex. 36)

⁶⁰ Note that I analyze the PP *ʔə tθə mén-s* ‘over to their father’ as an adjunct of *ʔáxʷ* ‘go to’ for two main reasons. Semantically, *ʔáxʷ* ‘go to’ appears to require an argument/goal but the optionality of this argument (as observed both in the corpus and in Montler’s (2018) dictionary entry for the verb) suggest it takes on an adjunct status. This is not concrete evidence and future research is necessary, particularly relating to constituency and c-command relationships. However, because this issue is not integral to the analysis proposed in this thesis, I leave it for future investigation.

⁶¹ I represent *ʔə tθə mén-s* ‘over to their father’ as an oblique adjunct here but further research is necessary to establish whether this is the best analysis.



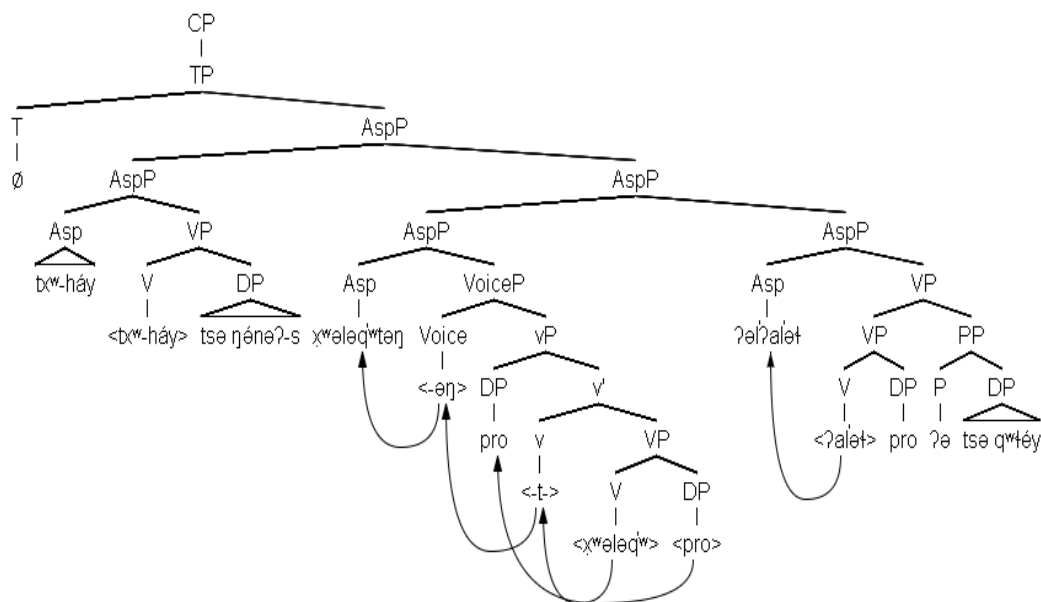
Cases of aspect mismatch can also be represented by this structure, as in (86). (86b) illustrates the structure of the example in (86a). There are three verbs in the SVC, only the last of which is marked for aspect. Both V1 and V2 are unmarked and therefore have the perfective aspect. V3, however, is marked by the reduplicated morpheme *ʔəl'* to indicate the actual/continuative aspect. The overt subject of V1 *tsə ɣánəʔs* 'his child' is coindexed with the *pro* arguments for V2 and V3 (see Davis, 1997). However, the subject of these three verbs is not shared syntactically. It appears to be the case that the subject of each verbal component in a SENĆOTEN SVC must share a referent⁶², but it is possible that this is a semantic requirement for SENĆOTEN SVCs rather than a syntactic one, as instances of multiple verbs without a shared or coindexed subject may not be able to be interpreted as a single event.

⁶² Note that instances of non-shared subject SVCs may be allowed but, due to the limitations of corpus work, could not be reliably distinguished from non-SVCs in the existing literature.

- (86) a. **tx^w-háy** tsə ɲənéʔ-s **ʃ^wələq^w-t-əŋ** <ʔəl^ʔʔaləʔ<
MUT-alone DEM child-3POSS **drift-TRANS-PASS** <ACTL>go.aboard
 ʔə tsə q^wléy'
 OBL DEM log
 ‘Only his son floating on the log.’

Montler (1986) line 54 (corpus ex. 100)

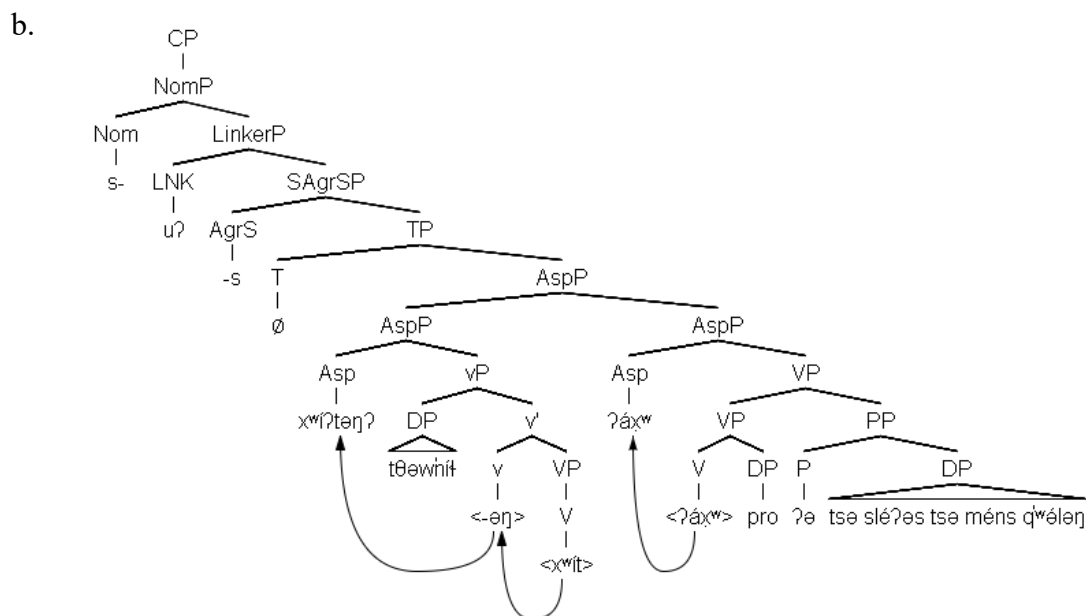
b.



(87b) illustrates the structure of the example in (87a), which contains only two verbs. V1 is marked for actual/continuative aspect by glottalization and undergoes clausal nominalization. V2 is unmarked for aspect and thus takes the perfective. V2 also lacks any additional verbal morphological marking. The oblique argument of V2 does contain a verb, but this DP is part of a relative clause modifying the place where the cooking is happening. Thus, the verb *q^wələŋ* ‘cook’ is not included in the SVC.

- (87) a. suʔ xʷí<ʔ>t-əŋ<ʔ>-s tθəwɨɪt ʔáχʷ ʔə tsə
 LNK jump<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL>-3POSS DEM go.to OBL DEM
 s-léʔə-s tsə mén-s qʷəl-əŋ
 NOM-place-3POSS DEM father-3POSS cook-MDL
 ‘He jumped up where his father was barbecuing.’

Montler 1986 line 26 (corpus ex. 255)



4.5 Summary

In this section, I have argued that the verbs in SENĆOTEN SVCs are AspPs, using the presence of verbal morphology to argue that each verbal element in an SVC can be at least as high in the structure as an AspP. This is necessary to account for cases of aspect mismatch, as well as transitivity mismatch, the ability of each verb to take arguments, and the ability of each verb to be marked for transitivity or passive voice, indicating the presence of *v* and Voice heads. I have also taken the position that, given the information currently available, adjunction best describes the relationship between the verbs in a SENĆOTEN SVC.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5 Overview

This thesis sought to identify, describe, and syntactically analyze serial verb constructions (SVCs) and some auxiliary verb constructions (AVCs) in SENĆOTEN. Chapter 1 introduced the SENĆOTEN language and gave a review of existing SVC research. Chapter 2 served to describe the data found in the corpus created for this thesis. In Chapter 3, I argue that some SENĆOTEN constructions with the verb *ye?* ‘go’ are AVCs rather than SVCs. Chapter 4 established the size of SENĆOTEN SVC components and proposes a structural representation for SVCs. Finally, this chapter summarizes and concludes the work with a section devoted to future research directions.

One of the key contributions of this thesis to the field is, to my knowledge, the first generative account of SVCs in a Salish language. This thesis also provides a point of comparison for other Salish linguists, particularly in regards to SVCs, and suggests possible future fieldwork and corpus studies that would also contribute to the understanding of SVCs and AVCs, both in Salish languages, and in language more generally.

5.1 Description of the Corpus Data

Chapter 2 described a variety of properties, observations, and generalizations for the SENĆOTEN SVCs in the corpus. These constructions can be as simple as two bare VPs, or they can have one or more arguments. They can be marked for transitivity, though the majority of the examples in the corpus contain intransitive verbs. They may be marked for either passive or middle voice as well as aspect. The entire SVC can also be negated. Finally, different semantic types of SVCs have been described as they occur, in particular associated motion SVCs (including prior and purposive motion) and directional SVCs.

5.2 *yeʔ* ‘go’

In Chapter 3, I argued that *yeʔ* ‘go’ (and possibly *ʔənʔé* ‘come’) functions both as a full main verb and as a grammaticalized auxiliary that possibly contributes deictic information to the clause. This argument is made on the basis of several patterns and observations, including: double *yeʔ* constructions, clause position, argument structure, and comparison to work done on Klallam auxiliaries. This chapter also included a brief cross-linguistic look at ‘come’ and ‘go’ constructions and a brief description of other auxiliaries in SENĆOŦEN.

5.3 Size and Structure

In Chapter 4, I argued that the verbs in SENĆOŦEN SVCs can be as big as AspPs, using the presence of various verbal morphology to provide evidence for functional projections as high in the structure as AspP. The analysis of SVCs as being as big as AspPs accounts for cases of aspect mismatch found in the corpus, as well as various other observations such as transitivity mismatch, the ability of each verb to take arguments, and the ability of each verb to be marked for transitivity or passive voice, indicating that *v* and Voice can be present on each verbal component of an SVC. I have also taken the position that, given the information currently available, adjunction of each (non-initial) verbal component to the immediately preceding verbal component best accounts for the relationship between the verbs in a SENĆOŦEN SVC.

5.4 Limitations Revisited

For this analysis, it is necessary to acknowledge the constraint of limited data. Moreover, the data being analyzed here comes from narrative texts and elicitation rather than natural speech or conversation. It is possible that some differences may be observed that are reflective of the rhetorical style of narration and the overall oral paragraph or of elicitation bias. More research is needed in this area.

As this analysis is based on corpus work rather than fieldwork, there are many questions, predictions, and hypotheses that could not be tested. These are laid out in some detail in Section 5.5.

5.5 Future Research

A variety of future research directions have been suggested throughout this thesis. One hypothesis that could be tested is that *ʔənʔé* ‘come’ behaves in a very similar pattern to *yeʔ* ‘go’ in functioning both as a main verb and an auxiliary. If this is the case, this predicts that all of the observations reviewed above for Chapter 3 regarding *yeʔ* ‘go’ will also hold for *ʔənʔé* ‘come’.

Extensions of Schneider’s (2021, 2022a, 2022b) work with Hul’q’umi’num’ SVCs, including investigating a distinction between prior and purposive motion SVCs, SVC event sequencing, and aspect marking, have the potential to be applied to SENĆOTEN research. Schneider (2022a) observes that matching imperfective aspect marking or dynamic proclitics indicate a concurrent motion SVC. One research direction would be to explore whether the same semantic judgments (as concurrent motion SVCs) could be elicited in SENĆOTEN, and if cases of aspect mismatch cannot be judged to be concurrent motion SVCs. In regards to aspect matching, it is also possible that there are restrictions on aspect (mis)matching that speaker judgments may reveal. Additionally, some categories of motion SVCs described by Lovstrand and Ross (2021) are not found in the corpus. Exploration into whether these can be identified in SENĆOTEN would expand the currently limited amount of available data.

Prosodic testing could provide evidence in the question of whether constructions with mismatched aspect are indeed SVCs (as proposed in this analysis) or whether, as in Stewart’s (1998) analysis of covert coordinations, a prosodic pause indicates a greater degree of separation. If this is the case, instances of aspect mismatch would be better analyzed as verb chain constructions (following Schneider, 2022) or as a type of coordination.

Further semantic testing into the nature of the auxiliary *yeʔ* ‘go’ (especially in contrast with the non-auxiliary *yeʔ* ‘go’) would be another possible research direction. It would be expected, following the analysis proposed in Chapter 3, that the use of *yeʔ* ‘go’ (or *yeʔ* ‘go’ in combination with *ʔáx* ‘go to’) would entail movement/departure towards a goal, but not entail arrival, as suggested by the semantics of *yeʔ* ‘go’ when it takes an oblique argument (Section 3.4.3). This is also supported by the existence of the verb *tás* ‘arrive,’ which presumably would entail successful arrival. There is no specific verb meaning ‘depart’ other than *yeʔ* ‘go’. These tests could include speaker judgments of whether *yeʔ* ‘go’ can be used grammatically in contexts where an individual departs with a goal in mind but does not arrive, and also in contexts where *yeʔ* ‘go’ takes an oblique phrase that specifies a destination.

Further work on negation as well as event cancellation would also help establish the size of the two verbal components of an SVC. What parts of an SVC (if any) can be individually negated⁶³? Can either the auxiliary or main verb use of *yeʔ* ‘go’ be negated in an SVC context?

Additionally, investigation into the scope of SENĆOTEN auxiliaries and into the scope of the auxiliary *yeʔ* ‘go’ would more accurately place the auxiliary *yeʔ* ‘go’ along the spectrum of grammaticalization. A more grammaticalized form of *yeʔ* ‘go’ would be expected to have a higher scope in the clause than what would be expected of a main verb, or perhaps even of a typical SENĆOTEN auxiliary. Tests regarding the scope and licensing of auxiliaries could show whether a clause is interpreted as involving one event or two, which is particularly relevant for tests regarding a co-occurrence of auxiliary *yeʔ* ‘go’ and another auxiliary. If multiple auxiliaries can ‘stack’ in SENĆOTEN, then it can be tested whether the auxiliary *yeʔ* ‘go’ can also, which would help establish *yeʔ* ‘go’ as either a typical auxiliary or as its own unique functional projection. If auxiliaries in SENĆOTEN can take scope over multiple verbs in an SVC, can auxiliary *yeʔ* ‘go’ as well? This also

⁶³ Note that investigation into this question depends on the status of the linker *s* particle, as discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3.1.

raises the more general question of whether auxiliaries can be ‘split’ (i.e. if two distinct auxiliaries can be used in a single clause, each pertaining only to a single verb in an SVC).

These tests would also reveal more information about the clause structure of SENĆOTEN. If auxiliary *yeʔ* ‘go’ can co-occur with another auxiliary, the word order would likely reflect which is closer to the verb syntactically. If each verbal component in a SENĆOTEN SVC may have a distinct external argument (as is proposed in this thesis) then what conditions exist for subject marking and interpretation? For example, can two verbs share a subject and combine with a third verb that has its own unique subject?

Montler (2008) notes that SVCs in Klallam show an additional pattern. For Klallam, all intransitive SVC verbal components share a subject but, when a transitive verbal component occurs in an SVC, all subsequent verbs take the object of the transitive as their subject (Montler, 2008, p. 12). Another possible research direction is to test whether the same pattern holds for SENĆOTEN, though it does not appear to at first glance from the corpus. One possible test regarding the shared subject of intransitive SVC verbal components is to insert overt mismatch subjects between them. If speakers reject these sentences or add an overt conjunction, then it is likely that SENĆOTEN SVCs do not allow two distinct subjects.

Finally, there are a small number of examples in the corpus in which *yeʔ* ‘go’ may appear to occur with the *ʔuʔ* linker particle. This cannot be used as evidence in this analysis, as the *ʔuʔ* linker is identical to the contrastive prefix *ʔuʔ-*, but further testing (particularly with semantic context, which would provide evidence for or against the presence of the contrastive prefix *ʔuʔ-*) could determine the acceptability of *yeʔ* ‘go’ with the *ʔuʔ* linker particle.

This thesis has sought to provide both a description and syntactic analysis of the available SENĆOTEN data as it pertains to motion SVCs. I hope that this linguistic description and investigation

can help shed light on an understudied phenomenon in an understudied language and contribute to the syntactic field's understanding of SVCs. I have proposed many future research directions in the hopes that they will be adopted and explored by linguists, including myself.

Most notably, I hope that this thesis is of value to the SENĆOŦEN community. While it is not structured as a teaching tool, detailed descriptions such as this contribute to overall understanding and may be used to create such tools. The revitalization efforts discussed in Section 1.1 are strong and ever-growing, alongside an increasing number of SENĆOŦEN language learners. It is my hope that this thesis, along with all other work in Salish linguistics, can contribute to the revitalization of SENĆOŦEN.

References

- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2006b). Serial verb constructions in typological perspective. In A. Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon (Eds.), *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology* (pp. 1–68). Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2018). *Serial verbs*. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, G. D. S. (2006). *Auxiliary verb constructions*. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford University Press.
- Baker, C., & Stewart, O. (2002). Serial verb construction without constructions. Ms, Rutgers University.
- Bätscher, K. (2014). *Interclausal and intraclausal linking elements in Hul'q'umi'num' Salish*. [Master's thesis, Simon Fraser University]. Summit.
- Bar-el, L. A. (2005). *Aspectual distinctions in Skwxwú7mesh*. [PhD thesis, University of British Columbia]. Retrieved from <https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0092760>
- Bjorkman, B. M. (2016). Go get, come see: Motion verbs, morphological restrictions, and syncretism. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 34(1), 53-91. Springer.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The minimalist program*. MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka, Eds., *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik* (pp 89-155). MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language* (pp. 1-52). MIT Press.

- Cleary-Kemp, J. (2015). *Serial verb constructions revisited: A case study from Koro*. [PhD thesis, University of California Berkeley]. escholarship.
- Czaykowska-Higgins, E., & Leonard, J. (2015). Northern Straits Salish. In *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science* (pp. 1726–1764). De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110363685-0>
- Davis, H. (1997). Deep unaccusativity and zero syntax in St'át'imcets. *Theoretical Issues at the Morphology-Syntax Interface* (Supplements of the International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology), ed. A. Mendikoetxea and M. Uribe-Etxebarria, 55–96. Universidad del País Vasco.
- Davis, H. (1999). Subject inflection in Salish. *UBC Working Papers in Linguistics* 1:181-240. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
- Davis, H. (2010). A unified analysis of relative clauses in st'át'imcets. *Northwest Journal of Linguistics*, 4 (1), 1–43. Simon Fraser University.
- Davis, H. (2011). Stalking the adjective in St'át'imcets. *Northwest Journal of Linguistics*, 5, 1–60. Simon Fraser University.
- Davis, H. (2019). St'át'imcets and the non-existence of T-S-V-O languages. Ms, University of British Columbia.
- Davis, H. (2020). Infinitives and Raising in St'át'imcets. *International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages*, 55, 41-61. UBCWPL.
- Davis, H., & Matthewson, L. (1999). On the functional determination of lexical categories. *Revue Québécoise de Linguistique*, 27(2), 29–69. <https://doi.org/10.7202/603175ar>
- Davis, H. and Matthewson, L. (2009). Issues in Salish syntax and semantics. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 3, 1097-1166. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-818X.2009.00145.x>

- Demirdache, H., & Matthewson, L. (1995). On the universality of syntactic categories. *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society*, 25, 79–93. GLSA Publications.
- Essegbey, J. (2004). Auxiliaries in serialising languages: On come and go verbs in Sranan and Ewe. *Lingua*, 114, 473-494.
- Fagan, E. (2021). *More than 50 years in the making, SENĆOTEN language revitalization efforts have touched generations*. Capital Daily. <https://www.capitaldaily.ca/news/SENĆOTEN-language-revitalization-efforts>
- Fagan S. (1988). The English Middle. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 19(2), 181–203. MIT Press.
- Foley, W. A. & Olson, M. (1985). Clausehood and verb serialization. In J. Nichols (Ed.), *Grammar inside and outside the clause*, 17-60. Cambridge University Press.
- Gerdt, D. B. (2010). Ditransitive constructions in Halkomelem Salish: A direct object/oblique object language. *Studies in ditransitive constructions: A comparative handbook* (pp. 563-610). De Gruyter.
- Gessner, S., Herbert, T., & Parker, A. (2022). *Report on the Status of B.C. First Nations Languages* (4th ed.). First Peoples' Cultural Council.
- Guillaume, A., & Koch, H. (2021). Introduction: Associated motion as a grammatical category in linguistic typology. In A. Guillaume & H. Koch (Eds.), *Associated motion* (pp. 1-3). De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110692099-toc>
- Halle, M., & Marantz, A. (1993). Chapter 3: Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In K. Hale & J. Keyser (Eds.), *The View from Building 20* (pp. 111-176). MIT Press.
- Harley, H. (2013). External arguments and the mirror principle: On the distinctness of voice and v. *Lingua* (pp. 34-57). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2012.09.010>

- Huijsmans, M. (2015). *Linearization and prosodic phrasing: The case of SENĆOŦEN second-position clitics*. [Master's thesis, University of Victoria]. Dspace.
- Kemmer, S. (1993). *The middle voice*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Keyser, S. J., & Roeper, T. (1984). On the Middle and Ergative Constructions in English. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 15(3), 381–416. MIT Press.
- Kiyota, M. (2008). *Situation aspect and viewpoint aspect: From Salish to Japanese*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia]. Dspace.
- Lord, Carol. 1973. Serial verbs in transition. *Studies in African Linguistics* 4(3), 269–296.
- Lovestrand, J. (2018). *Serial verb constructions in Barayin: Typology, Description and Lexical-Functional Grammar*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford]. Oxford University Research Archive.
- Lovestrand, J. (2021). Serial verb constructions. *Annual Review of Linguistics*, 7(1), 109–130.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-linguistics-031920-115317>
- Lovestrand, J., & Ross, D. (2021). Serial verb constructions and motion semantics. In A. Guillaume & H. Koch (Eds.), *Associated motion* (pp. 87-128). De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/htxr>
- Marantz, A. (1997). No escape from syntax: Don't try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon. In A. Dimitriadis, L. Siegel, & al (Eds.), *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 4(2), 201-225.
<https://repository.upenn.edu/handle/20.500.14332/45440>
- Montler, T. (1986). An outline of the morphology and phonology of Saanich, North Straits Salish. *University of Montana Linguistics Laboratory Occasional Papers in Linguistics*, (4), 23–28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv16qb1.6>

- Montler, T. (1989). Infixation, reduplication, and metathesis in the Saanich actual aspect. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 9, 92-107. UBCPWL, Kinkade Collection.
- Montler, T. (1993). Relative clauses and other attributive constructions in Saanich. In A. Mattina and T. Montler (Eds.), *American Indian Linguistics and Ethnography in Honor of Laurence C. Thompson*. University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics, 10, 241-264. Missoula: Linguistics Laboratory, University of Montana.
- Montler, T. (2003). Auxiliaries and other categories in Straits Salishan. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 69(2), 103-134.
- Montler, T. (2008). Serial verbs and complex paths in Klallam. *Northwest Journal of Linguistics*, 2(2), 1–26.
- Montler, T. (2015). *Klallam grammar*. University of Washington Press.
- Montler, T. (2018). *SENĆOFEN : A dictionary of the Saanich language*. University of Washington Press.
- Montler, T. (n.d.). *SENĆOFEN : A grammar of the Saanich language*. [Manuscript in preparation].
- Nunes, J. (2001). *Linearization of Chains and Sideward Movement*. MIT Press.
- Pylkkänen, L. (2008). *Introducing arguments*. MIT Press.
- Pullum, G. (1990). Constraints on intransitive quasi-serial verb constructions in modern colloquial English. *Ohio State University Working Papers of Linguistics*, 39, 218-239. OSUWPL.
- Schiller, E. (1990). On the Definition and Distribution of Serial Verb Constructions. *Ohio State University Working Papers of Linguistics*, 39, 34-64. OSUWPL.
- Schneider, L. (2021). Classifying multi-verb constructions in Hul'q'umi'num' Salish. *Papers for the International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages*, 56. UBCWPL.

- Schneider, L. (2022a). Expressing Associated Motion Using Hul'q'umi'num' Salish SVCs. *Papers for the International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages*, 57. UBCWPL.
- Schneider, L. (2022b). Using Hul'q'umi'num' directional SVCs to express path and manner. *Working Papers of the Linguistics Circle of the University of Victoria*, 32(1), 1–20. WPLC.
- Schneider, L. (2023). Elasticity and Cohesion: Multi-Verb Constructions as a Narrative Strategy. *Papers for the International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages*, 58. UBCWPL.
- Selkirk, E. (2011). In J. Goldsmith, J. Riggle, & A. C. L. Yu (Eds.), *The Handbook of Phonological Theory* (2nd ed., pp. 435–484). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Slobin, D. I. (2004). The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events. In S. Strömquist & L. Verhoeven, (Eds.), *Relating events in narrative: Vol. 2. Typological and contextual perspectives*, (pp. 219-257). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
<https://doi.org/htxs>
- Stark, L. A. (2022). *NIĒ TU, O funds two major SENĆOŦEN language revitalization projects*. WSÁNEĆ School Board.
<https://wsanecschoolboard.ca/ni%C6%9A-tuo-funds-two-major-SENĆOŦEN-language-revitalization-projects/>
- Stewart, O. (1998). *The serial verb construction parameter*. [PhD thesis, McGill University].
escholarship.
- Stroik, T. (1992). Middles and Movement. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 23(1), 127–137. MIT Press.
- Talmy, L. (2003). *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*. MIT Press.
- Thompson, J. (2003). *Syntactic nominalization in Halkomelem Salish*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia]. Open Collections. <https://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0105184>

WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council. (2023). *Four stories of how things came to be*.

<https://wsanec.com/four-stories-of-how-things-came-to-be/>

WSÁNEĆ School Board. (2023). <https://wsanecschoolboard.ca/>

Yillah, S. M., & Corcoran, C. (2007). Krio (Creole English). In J. Holm & P. L. Patrick (Eds.),

Comparative Creole syntax: Parallel outlines of 18 creole grammars (pp. 175–196).

essay, Battlebridge Publications.

Appendix A - Corpus of SENCOTEN SVCs and AVCs

	Source	Text	# of SVs	Transitive (Y/N)	Passive (Y/N)	Shared subject? (Y/N)	Manner/ Path (M/P/O)	Overt DP Argument (Y/N/C)	Type of SVC (D/AM/O)	Inflectional Marking (Y/N)	Possible Auxiliary (Y/N)	Aspect Match (Y/N)
1.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	yé? ʔáxʷ θlá.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
1.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	go go.to go.down.towards.water	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
1.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	Go down (towards water).	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
2.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	yé? ʔáxʷ θáj.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
2.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	go go.to go.up.away.from.water	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
2.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	Go up (away from water).	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
3.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	yé? ʔáxʷ xʷíl-əŋ.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
3.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	go go.to go.downward-MDL	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
3.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	Go downward.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
4.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	yé? ʔáxʷ həqíləŋ	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
4.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	go go.to go.underneath-MDL	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
4.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	Go underneath.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
5.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	yé? ʔáxʷ təkʷəl.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
5.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	go go.to go.across	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
5.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	Go across.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
6.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	yé? ʔáxʷ nəwíl-əŋ.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
6.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	go go.to go.in-MDL	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
6.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	Go in.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
7.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	yé? ʔáxʷ sqíl-əŋ.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
7.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	go go.to go.out-MDL	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
7.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	Go out.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
8.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	yé? ʔáxʷ šál-əŋ.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
8.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	go go.to climb-MDL	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
8.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	Go upward.	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
9.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	yé? lə? sən təkʷəl táal tākʷ.	4	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
9.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	go PST 1.SG go.across go.over.water go.home	4	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
9.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 58	I went across over (water) to go home.	4	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
10.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 60	yé? sən kʷán-ət-əŋ.	2	Y	Y	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
10.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 60	go 1.SG look-TRANS-PASS	2	Y	Y	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
10.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 60	He/she/it went to look at me.	2	Y	Y	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
11.1	Montler (n.d.) pg. 173	sqíl-əŋ sən tʰənʷ-əŋ ʔə tθə sál.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	N	Y

11.2	Montler (n.d.) pg. 173	go.out-MDL 1.SG go.via-MDL OBL DET door	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	N	Y
11.3	Montler (n.d.) pg. 173	I went out through the door.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	N	Y
12.1	Montler (n.d.) pg 59	yé? sən yé? ʔáxʷ	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
12.2	Montler (n.d.) pg 59	go 1.SG go go.to	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
12.3	Montler (n.d.) pg 59	I left to go over (there).	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
13.1	Montler (2018) pg. 632	ʔisté yé? ʂt-ǎŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
13.2	Montler (2018) pg. 632	let's go walk-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
13.3	Montler (2018) pg. 632	Let's go for a walk. (IM)	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
14.1	Montler (2018) pg. 632	suʔ- ʂt-ǎŋ-s yé? ʂt-ǎŋ	3	N	N	Y	M-P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
14.2	Montler (2018) pg. 632	LNK-walk-MDL-3POSS go walk-MDL	3	N	N	Y	M-P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
14.3	Montler (2018) pg. 632	So he walked and went and walked. (GB)	3	N	N	Y	M-P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
15.1	Montler (2018) pg. 632	ʔiʔ ʔənʔé ʂt-ǎŋ tʰéʔə qéyəx	2	N	N	Y	P-M	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
15.2	Montler (2018) pg. 632	CONJ come walk-MDL DET liar	2	N	N	Y	P-M	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
15.3	Montler (2018) pg. 632	And that Liar came walking. (PP)	2	N	N	Y	P-M	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
16.1	Montler (2018) pg. 632	yé? ʂt-ǎŋ ʕléʔ-ǎŋ ʔə kʷs ʕéqt	3	N	N	Y	P-M-O	N	B	Y	Y	Y
16.2	Montler (2018) pg. 632	go walk-MDL search-MDL OBL DEM long	3	N	N	Y	P-M-O	N	B	Y	Y	Y
16.3	Montler (2018) pg. 632	He went walking, looking for something long. (BJ)	3	N	N	Y	P-M-O	N	B	Y	Y	Y
17.1	Montler (2018) pg. 632	suʔ- yéʔ-s čə ʔuʔ- ʂt-ǎŋ ʔə tʰə snét	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
17.2	Montler (2018) pg. 632	LNK- go -3POSS EVID(?) CONTR- walk-MDL OBL DET night	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
17.3	Montler (2018) pg. 632	So he must have gone and walked in the night. (CJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
18.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	yé? sən ʔáxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
18.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	go 1.SG go.to	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
18.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	I'm going over. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
19.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	yé? sən ʔáxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
19.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	go 1.SG FUT go.to	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
19.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	I'm going to go over. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
20.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	ʔiʔ-yé? sən ʔáxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
20.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	PROC- go 1.SG go.to	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
20.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	I'm on my way over now. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
21.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	yé? ʔáxʷ ʔə kʷséʔə nətʰəʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y

21.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	go go.to OBL DEM one	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
21.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	Go over to that other place. (CJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
22.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	su?-yé?-s ʔáxʷ ʔə tɬ smákʷəç	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
22.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	LNK- go -3POSS go.to OBL DET Point Roberts	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
22.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	So he went over to Point Roberts. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
23.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	yéʔ sən səʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə tɬ sətíʔnəs	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
23.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	go 1.SG FUT go.to OBL DET Sidney. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
23.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	I'm going over to Sidney.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
24.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	kʷɬ- yéʔ sən yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə kʷséʔə	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
24.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	REAL- go 1.SG go go.to OBL DEM	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
24.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	I'm going to go over there. (EC,VW)	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
25.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ ʔə kʷsə nə-stənáwɬxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
25.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	go 1.SG go.to OBL DEM 1.SG-next.door.neighbor	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
25.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	I'm going over to my next door neighbor's. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
26.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	kʷən-nəxʷ sən kʷsə swáyqəʔ kʷsə yéʔ ʔáxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
26.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	see-NCTTRANS 1.SG DEM man DEM go go.to	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
26.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	I saw the man who went over. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
27.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	yéʔ ʃt-əŋ ʔáxʷ ʔə ʃxʷléʔə-s tθə	3	N	N	Y	P-M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
27.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	go walk-MDL go.to OBL location-3POSS DET	3	N	N	Y	P-M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
27.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	They went and walked to where it was. (CP)	3	N	N	Y	P-M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
28.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	yéʔ ləʔ sən ʔáxʷ ʔə ɬ-xʷəʔálxʷəlqʷ nə-suʔ-kʷáwyəkʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
28.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	go PST 1.SG go.to OBL DEM?-Elk.Lake 1.SG-LNK-fishhook	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
28.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	I went to Elk Lake and went fishing there. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
29.1	Montler (2018) pg. 392	suʔ-sé-t-əŋ-s kʷə yéʔ-əs ʔəkʷéʔ-t-əs kʷsə stáləs-s ʔáxʷ ʔə tɬ smákʷəç	2	Y	Y	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	N
29.2	Montler (2018) pg. 392	LNK-order-TRANS-PASS-3POSS if/when go-3SUBJ search<ACTL>-TRANS DEM spouse-3POSS go.to OBL DET Point Roberts	2	Y	Y	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	N
29.3	Montler (2018) pg. 392	He was told to go look for a wife over at Point Roberts. (EC,VW)	2	Y	Y	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	N
30.1	Montler (2018) pg. 393	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ-nəs	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
30.2	Montler (2018) pg. 393	go 1.SG go.to-INTENT	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
30.3	Montler (2018) pg. 393	I went over there (with a purpose). (EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
31.1	Montler (2018) pg. 393	suʔ- yéʔ-s ʔáxʷ-nəs-əs	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
31.2	Montler (2018) pg. 393	LNK- go -3POSS go.to-INTENT-3sbj	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
31.3	Montler (2018) pg. 393	So she went over to him. (MP; EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
32.1	Montler (2018) pg. 393	yéʔ səʔ sxʷ ʔáxʷ-nəs kʷsə n̄-séçs	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y

32.2	Montler (2018) pg. 393	go FUT 2.SG go.to-INTENT DEM 2POSS-uncle	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
32.3	Montler (2018) pg. 393	You will go over to your uncle. (PP)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
33.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ-t-əŋ	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
33.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	go 1.SG go.to-CAUS-PASS	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
33.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	He took me over. (EC,VW)	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
34.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	ʔəwə ləʔ s yéʔ ʔáxʷ-t-əŋ təə sxʷənítəməl	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
34.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	NEG PST NEG.S go go.to-CAUS-PASS DEM white.man's.way	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
34.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	They weren't taken over in the white man's way. (MP)	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
35.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	suʔ- yéʔ -s ʔáxʷ-t-əŋ kʷ s-iʔ-kʷ<ə>yǰ-t-əŋʔʷ-s ʔiʔ čə-yéʔ	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
35.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	LNK- go -3POSS go.to-CAUS-PASS COMP NOM-_- shake<ACTL>-CAUS-PASS<ACTL>-3POSS LNK immed-go	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
35.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	They bring it, shaking it, and it went. (CJ)	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
36.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394, also Montler (1986) line 88	suʔ- yéʔ -t-əŋ-s təəwɪnɪʔ ʔə təə qələŋiʔ ʔáxʷ-t-əŋ ʔə təə mén-s	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
36.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394, also Montler (1986) line 88	LNK- go -CAUS-PASS-3POSS DEM OBL DET girl.PL go.to-CAUS-PASS OBL DET father-3POSS	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
36.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394, also Montler (1986) line 88	So he was taken by the girls over to their father. (EC,VW)	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
37.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	ŋən'txʷə-ləplít ʔiʔ yéʔ čén-ə-əŋ ʔáxʷ-t-əŋ ʔə tɪ Saint Joseph	2/3	Y	Y	Y	O- O/P- O-P	N/N	O/B	Y	Y	Y
37.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	many MUT-priest LNK go move-ptCAUS-PASS go.to-CAUS-PASS OBL DET Saint Joseph	2/3	Y	Y	Y	O- O/P- O-P	N/N	O/B	Y	Y	Y
37.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	A lot of them became priests, and he was transferred to Saint Joseph's (hospital). (CJ)	2/3	Y	Y	Y	O- O/P- O-P	N/N	O/B	Y	Y	Y
38.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	yéʔ sxʷ ʔáxʷ-t-álkʷ	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
38.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	go 2.SG go.to-CAUS-1PL.OBJ	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
38.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	You took us over. (EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
39.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ-t-əŋə	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
39.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	go 1.SG go.to-CAUS-2.OBJ	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
39.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	I took you over. (EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
40.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	yéʔ ʔáxʷ-t-əŋəs	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
40.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	go go.to-CAUS-1SG.OBJ	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y

40.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	He took me over. (EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
41.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	yéʔ sən səʔ ʔaxʷ-t-ájə	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
41.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	go 1.SG FUT go.to-CAUS-2.OBJ	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
41.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	I will take you there. (CP)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
42.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	yéʔ sxʷ ʔaxʷ-t-ájəs	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
42.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	go 2.SG go.to-CAUS-1.SG.OBJ	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
42.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	You took me over. (EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
43.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ-txʷ	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
43.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	go 1.SG go.to-CAUS	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
43.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	I took him over. (EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
44.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	yéʔ ʔáxʷ-t-əs	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
44.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	go go.to-CAUS-3SUBJ	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
44.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	He goes and takes it away. (ErC)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
45.1	Montler (2018) pg. 394	suʔ-yéʔ-s ʔáxʷ-t-əs təwñil Pete tə sléʔəl-s syalaqʷéyəʔ	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
45.2	Montler (2018) pg. 394	LNK-go-3POSS go.to-CAUS-3SUBJ DEM Pete DET in.law-3POSS SYOLEKÁYE	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
45.3	Montler (2018) pg. 394	So Pete took his inlaw SYOLEKÁYE, over there. (CJ)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
46.1	Montler (2018) pg. 390	yéʔ sən ʔáal ʔə tə lílúwt	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
46.2	Montler (2018) pg. 390	go 1.SG go.aboard OBL DET train	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
46.3	Montler (2018) pg. 390	I'm going on the train. (HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
47.1	Montler (2018) pg. 390	suʔ-yéʔ-s təwñil ʔáal ʔə tə qʷléyʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
47.2	Montler (2018) pg. 390	LNK-go-3POSS DEM go.aboard OBL DET log	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
47.3	Montler (2018) pg. 390	So he went aboard the log. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
48.1	Montler (1986) line 34	ʔáal yéʔ tə snəxʷəl kʷéyl ʔə tə kʷəcílʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P-O	N	B	N	Y	Y
48.2	Montler (1986) line 35	go.aboard go DET canoe hide OBL DET morning	2	N	N	Y	P-P-O	N	B	N	Y	Y
48.3	Montler (1986) line 36	He got on the canoe and hid early in the morning.	2	N	N	Y	P-P-O	N	B	N	Y	Y
49.1	Montler (2018) pg. 390	ʔáal yéʔ ʔə tə snəxʷəl tə mén-s suʔ-kʷéyl-s ʔə tə kʷəcílʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P-O	N	B	N	Y	Y
49.2	Montler (2018) pg. 390	go.aboard go OBL DET canoe DET father-3POSS LNK-hide-3POSS OBL DET morning	2	N	N	Y	P-P-O	N	B	N	Y	Y
49.3	Montler (2018) pg. 390	He got on the canoe and hid early in the morning. (EC,VWb)	2	N	N	Y	P-P-O	N	B	N	Y	Y
50.1	Montler (2018) pg. 390	<séʔ>səsiʔ sən kʷ nə-s-yéʔ ʔáal ʔə tə kʷəl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
50.2	Montler (2018) pg. 390	<ACTL>fearful 1.SG COMP 1.SG-NOM- go go.aboard OBL DET fly-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
50.3	Montler (2018) pg. 390	I'm scared to go on the plane. (HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
51.1	Montler (2018) pg. 241	nə-sʔiʔ kʷəče kʷ ən-s-ʔənʔé qʷəʔkʷíləs-əxʷ suʔ-yéʔ-ltə čéʔ>č-əs.	2/2	Y	N	Y	P-P/P-P	N	D/D	Y	Y	Y

51.2	Montler (2018) pg. 241	1.SG-desire therefore COMP -NOM-come go.aboard.with. someone-PTCAUS LNK-go-3.PL chase<ACTL>-PTCAUS	2/2	Y	N	Y	P-P/P-P	N	D/D	Y	Y	Y
51.3	Montler (2018) pg. 241	I want you to go on the canoe with me and follow it. (MP)	2/2	Y	N	Y	P-P/P-P	N	D/D	Y	Y	Y
52.1	Montler (2018) pg. 113	yé? sən tēkʷəl	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
52.2	Montler (2018) pg. 113	go 1.SG go.across	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
52.3	Montler (2018) pg. 113	I'm going across. (HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
53.1	Montler (2018) pg. 113	ʔisté yé? tēkʷəl ʔəpéstən	3	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
53.2	Montler (2018) pg. 113	let's.go go go.across go.to-America	3	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
53.3	Montler (2018) pg. 113	Let's go across to America. (IM)	3	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
54.1	Montler (2018) pg. 113	<sé?>səsi? sən kʷ nə-s-yé? tēkʷəl	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	N
54.2	Montler (2018) pg. 113	<ACTL>fearful 1.SG COMP 1.SG-NOM-go go.across	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	N
54.3	Montler (2018) pg. 113	I'm scared to go across. (HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	N
55.1	Montler (2018) pg. 113	suʔ- yé?-s uʔ- tēkʷəl	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
55.2	Montler (2018) pg. 113	LNK- go-3POSS CONTR-go.across	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
55.3	Montler (2018) pg. 113	So they went across. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
56.1	Montler (2018) pg. 113	suʔ- tēkʷəl-s ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə txʷ-səlínə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	N	Y
56.2	Montler (2018) pg. 113	LNK- go.across-3POSS go.to OBL DEM belong-Salina	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	N	Y
56.3	Montler (2018) pg. 113	It goes across to Salina's. (BJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	N	Y
57.1	Montler (2018) pg. 114	təs ʔə tθə ʔuʔ-ʔənʷ-š- tēkʷəl yé? tʰənʷ-əŋ ʔə tɪ xʷənéʔnəç	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
57.2	Montler (2018) pg. 114	arrive.there OBL DEM CONTR-2POSS-NOM- go.across go go. via-MDL OBL DET Fulford.Harbor	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
57.3	Montler (2018) pg. 114	He came to where you go across to Salt Spring Island. (ErC)	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
58.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	ʔiʔ-səwé? sən yé?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
58.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	PROC-go.along.with 1.SG go	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
58.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	I'll go along. (HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
59.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	yé? sən ʔiʔ-səwé?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
59.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	go 1.SG PROC-go.along.with	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
59.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	I'm going along. (EC, VWb)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
60.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	yé? lə? sən ʔiʔ-səwé?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
60.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	go PST 1.SG PROC-go.along.with	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
60.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	I went along. (EC, VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
61.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	héəʔ, yé? sən ʔiʔ-səwé?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
61.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	yes go 1.SG PROC-go.along.with	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
61.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	Yes, I'll go along. (HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
62.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	ʔənʔé ʔe sxʷ ʔiʔ.səwé?ʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y

62.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	come OBL 2.SG PROC.go.along.with	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
62.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	Are you coming along? (HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
63.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	yé? su?-i?-səwě	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
63.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	go LNK-PROC-go.along.with	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
63.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	So he went along. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
64.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	yé? lə? sən ?i?-səwě? ?ə tθəwɪf	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
64.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	go PST 1.SG PROC-go.along.with OBL DEM	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
64.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	I went along with him. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
65.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	tu?-nə-sɿi? lə? kʷ nə-s-yé? ?i?.səwě?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
65.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	sort.of-1.SG-desire PST SUB1.SG-NOM-go PROC.go.along.with	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
65.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	I kind of wanted to go along (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
66.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	?i?wəwə yé? sən yé? səwě? ?ə ʔ nəkʷə	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
66.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	maybe go 1.SG go go.along.with OBL DET 2.SG	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
66.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	Maybe I'll go along with you. (AJ)	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
67.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	yé? lə? sən ?i?-su?é? ?ə tɪ nəkʷə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
67.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	go PST 1.SG PROC-go.with OBL DET 2.SG	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
67.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	I went with you. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
68.1	Montler (2018) pg. 483	yé? lə? sɪxʷ ?i?-su?é? ?ə tɪ ?ə́sə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
68.2	Montler (2018) pg. 483	go PST 2.SG PROC-go.with OBL DET 1.SG	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
68.3	Montler (2018) pg. 483	You went along with me. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
69.1	Montler (2018) pg. 780	su?-yé?-s čə xʷqʷə?kʷfɪl-ət-əs tθə ɲənə?-s	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
69.2	Montler (2018) pg. 780	LNK-go-3POSS EVID go.along.with.someone-TRANS-3SUBJ DEM child-3POSS	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
69.3	Montler (2018) pg. 780	So he did go along with his son. (MP)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
70.1	Montler (2018) pg. 752	yé? ?i?-wéwə? ?ə tθə swiwləs	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
70.2	Montler (2018) pg. 752	go PROC-go.along.with OBL DEM young.man	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
70.3	Montler (2018) pg. 752	He's going along with the young man. (ErC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
71.1	Montler (2018) pg. 238	su?-qtáθən-s yé?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
71.2	Montler (2018) pg. 238	LNK-go.along.the.beach-3POSS go	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
71.3	Montler (2018) pg. 238	So then she went walking along the beach. (BJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
72.1	Montler (2018) pg. 238	?u?-háy kʷ s-kʷəčifɪl-s ?i? skʷ-át-əŋ tθə xəwsáləkʷəl su?-kʷənəŋát-t-əŋ-s yé? qtáθən	3	Y	Y	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
72.2	Montler (2018) pg. 238	CONTR-only COMP NOM-morning-3POSS LNK? bathe-TRANS-PASS DEM new.dancer LNK-run-CAUS-PASS-3POSS go go.along.the.beach	3	Y	Y	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y

72.3	Montler (2018) pg. 238	Only in the morning they bathe the new-dancers and run them on the beach. (BJ)	3	Y	Y	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
73.1	Montler (2018) pg. 309	yéʔ-s uʔ-ʂt-əŋ ʔiʔ-lčəliqʷ	3	N	N	Y	P-M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
73.2	Montler (2018) pg. 309	go-3POSS CONTR-walk-MDL PROC-go.along.the.edge	3	N	N	Y	P-M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
73.3	Montler (2018) pg. 309	He went walking along the beach. (BJ)	3	N	N	Y	P-M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
74.1	Montler (2018) pg. 235	təxʷ ʔalʷ ʔəwʷ ʔəwkʷ-ná-s ʔiʔ qilʷʔənʔé ʔist tθə yéʔləʔ ʔáʔas	3	N	N	Y	P-P-O	N	B	N	Y	Y
74.2	Montler (2018) pg. 235	just LMT NEG finish-NCTrans-3SUBJ CONJ go.around come paddle DEM go.PST to.get.and.bring.back	3	N	N	Y	P-P-O	N	B	N	Y	Y
74.3	Montler (2018) pg. 235	He just finished them when the ones who went to pick it up came paddling around the point. (ErC)	3	N	N	Y	P-P-O	N	B	N	Y	Y
75.1	Montler (2018) pg. 305	ʔiʔwəwə ʔəyʷkʷ s-yéʔ-ltə léel	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
75.2	Montler (2018) pg. 305	maybe good COMP NOM- go-1PL go.ashore	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
75.3	Montler (2018) pg. 305	Maybe we should go ashore. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
76.1	Montler (2018) pg. 305	ʔiʔ suʔ-yéʔ-s léel tθəwɨl	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
76.2	Montler (2018) pg. 305	CONJ LNK- go-3POSS go.ashore DEM	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
76.3	Montler (2018) pg. 305	And so he went ashore. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
77.1	Montler (2018) pg. 666	təsil-əŋ sxʷ yéʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
77.2	Montler (2018) pg. 666	go.away-MDL 2.SG go	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
77.3	Montler (2018) pg. 666	Go away someplace else. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
78.1	Montler (2018) pg. 666	yéʔ sxʷ tuʔ-təyəl ʔiʔ təs-nəs sxʷ	3	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
78.2	Montler (2018) pg. 666	go 2.SG sort.of-go.toward.the.head.of.a.bay CONJ arrive-INTENT 2.SG	3	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
78.3	Montler (2018) pg. 666	You go into a bay and you get to it. (BJ)	3	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
79.1	Montler (2018) pg. 126	sé-t sxʷ tθə xʷilŋəxʷ kʷə təsil-əŋ-əs yéʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
79.2	Montler (2018) pg. 126	order-TRANS 2.SG DEM person if/when go.away-MDL-3SUBJ go	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
79.3	Montler (2018) pg. 126	Tell that person to get out of the way. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
80.1	Montler (2018) pg. 407	suʔ-xən<-əŋ<-s kʷsə Catherine, "ʔəwə s nə-sʔiʔ kʷ nə-s-yéʔ ʔiʔ- putáal. "	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
80.2	Montler (2018) pg. 407	LNK-say<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL>-3POSS DEM Catherine, "NEG NEG.s 1.SG-desire COMP 1.SG-NOM- go PROC-go.by.boat. "	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
80.3	Montler (2018) pg. 407	Catherine said,"I don't want to go by boat." (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
81.1	Montler (2018) pg. 328	ʔənʔé ltə iʔ- llál	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
81.2	Montler (2018) pg. 328	come 1.PL PROC-go.by.canoe	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
81.3	Montler (2018) pg. 328	We came by canoe. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
82.1	Montler (2018) pg. 65	ʔiʔ kʷl-məkʷ ʔəwʷ čtálas tθə stálas-s ləʔ ʔiʔ yéʔ ləʔ tθəwɨnəniʔləyəʔ xʷkʷástəŋ yéʔ ʔə tθə ʔəšés	2	Y	Y	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	Y

82.2	Montler (2018) pg. 65	LNK(?) REAL-all NEG marry DEM spouse-3POSS PST CONJ (?) go PST 3.SUBJ drag-TRANS-PASS go OBL DEM sea.lion	2	Y	Y	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
82.3	Montler (2018) pg. 65	All of their wives had remarried when they were pulled away by the sea lion. (ErC)	2	Y	Y	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
83.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	yé? sx^w θlá	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
83.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	go 2.SG go.down	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
83.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	Go down toward the water. (MP; EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
84.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	ʔiʔsté yé? θlá	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
84.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	let's go go.down	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
84.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	Let's go down. (IM)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
85.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	ʔənʔé θlá	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
85.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	come go.down	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
85.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	They came to the beach. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
86.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	suʔ- θlá-s qsá-sət yé?	2	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
86.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	LNK- go.down-3POSS immerse-REFL go	2	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
86.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	She went down into the water. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
87.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	suʔ- k^wən.k^wá.nəŋət-s yé? θlá	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
87.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	LNK- PL.run.NMDL-3POSS go go.down	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
87.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	So they ran down to the beach. (ErC)	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
88.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	suʔ- k^wá.nəŋət-s yé? θlá	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
88.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	LNK- run.NCMDL-3POSS go go.down	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
88.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	And he ran away down towards water. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
89.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	suʔ- yé?-s θlá ʔə tθə sé-səw' tθə séwŋən-s	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
89.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	LNK- go-3POSS go.down OBL DEM RSLT-beach DEM beach. side-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
89.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	So she went down to the beach, her beach. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
90.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	hiθ čə k ^w s-ʔi- ʔéʔi?-s yé? θlá ʔə tθəwɪɪl sʔiʔʔəlqəl	2	N	N	Y	O-P-P	Y?	B	Y	Y	Y
90.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	long.time EVID COMP NOM-PROC?- continue-3POSS go go. down OBL DEM child	2	N	N	Y	O-P-P	Y?	B	Y	Y	Y
90.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	The child continued a long time to the beach. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	O-P-P	Y?	B	Y	Y	Y
91.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	suʔ- k^wá.nəŋət-s yé? slá	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
91.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	LNK- run.NCMDL-3POSS go go.to.beach	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
91.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	And he ran away down towards water. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
92.1	Montler (2018) pg. 359	ʔəsə səʔ yé? náq-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
92.2	Montler (2018) pg. 359	1.SG.FOCUS FUT go dive-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
92.3	Montler (2018) pg. 359	I'll dive for you. / I'll be the one to go dive. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y

93.1	Montler (2018) pg. 359	px ^w -álá? ʔi? yé? náq-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
93.2	Montler (2018) pg. 359	blow-ACTV LNK go dive-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
93.3	Montler (2018) pg. 359	It blew and it dove. (ErC)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
94.1	Montler (2018) pg. 359	yé? náq-əŋ yé? nuʔil-əŋ ʔə tθə sɣ ^w álə? go dive-MDL go go.inside-MDL OBL DEM reef.net	4	N	N	Y	P-O-P-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
94.2	Montler (2018) pg. 359		4	N	N	Y	P-O-P-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
94.3	Montler (2018) pg. 359	They go dive going into the reef net. (PP)	4	N	N	Y	P-O-P-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
95.1	Montler (2018) pg. 359	suʔ-tx ^w -háy-s ʔal' tθéʔə čéʔsə? náq-əŋ yé? ʔə tθə θáʔtx	2	N	N	Y	O-P	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
95.2	Montler (2018) pg. 359	LNK-MUT-alone-3POSS LMT DET two.person dive-MDL go OBL DEM halibut.	2	N	N	Y	O-P	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
95.3	Montler (2018) pg. 359	So there were only the two left who went diving for halibut. (ErC)	2	N	N	Y	O-P	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
96.1	Montler (2018) pg. 359	suʔ-xán-əŋ-s tθə náʔt ^θ ə? šx ^w anéʔəm "ʔəy'qə k ^w ə xč.ət-ltə k ^w ə s-x ^w ən<ʔ>éʔ-əŋ'ʔ-s ʔə k ^w shiθ-s ʔə k ^w s-nəq-iŋ-s tθəwñəniʔəyə? ʔənʔé pək ^w	3	N	N	Y	O-P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
96.2	Montler (2018) pg. 359	LNK-say/do-MDL-3POSS DEM one.person Indian.doctor "good EMPH if/when figure.out.REFL-1PL COMP NOM-way<ACTL>PERS-MDL<ACTL>-3POSS OBL COMP how.long(?)-3POSS OBL COMP NOM-dive-MDL-3POSS 3.SBJ come rise.to.the.surface	3	N	N	Y	O-P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
96.3	Montler (2018) pg. 359	So one of the Indian doctors said,"We'd should figure out how long they stay under water when they dive and come up." (ErC)	3	N	N	Y	O-P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
97.1	Montler (2018) pg. 735	s<á>x ^w -əl yé? ʔəčqén-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
97.2	Montler (2018) pg. 735	come.out<RSLT>-DUR go go.down.a.hill-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
97.3	Montler (2018) pg. 735	She came out of the bushes and went down. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
98.1	Montler (2018) pg. 735	yé? sən ʔəčqén-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
98.2	Montler (2018) pg. 735	go 1.SG go.down.a.hill-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
98.3	Montler (2018) pg. 735	I'm going down hill. (LAC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
99.1	Montler (2018) pg. 735	ʔəčqén-əŋ ʔənʔé tθə swíwłəs	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
99.2	Montler (2018) pg. 735	go.down.a.hill-MDL come DEM young.man	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
99.3	Montler (2018) pg. 735	The young man came down the hill. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
100.1	Montler (1986) line 54	tx ^w -háy tθə ʔənáʔ-s x ^w ələq ^w -t-əŋ <ʔəl>ʔaləl ʔə tθə q ^w léy' MUT-alone DEM child-3POSS drift-TRANS-PASS	3	Y	Y	Y	O-M-P	Y	B	Y	N	N
100.2	Montler (1986) line 54	<ACTL>go.aboard OBL DEM log	3	Y	Y	Y	O-M-P	Y	B	Y	N	N
100.3	Montler (1986) line 54	Only his son floating on the log.	3	Y	Y	Y	O-M-P	Y	B	Y	N	N

101.1	Montler (2018) pg. 774	suʔ-yéʔ-ltə xʷil-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
101.2	Montler (2018) pg. 774	LNK-go-1.PL go.down-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
101.3	Montler (2018) pg. 774	So we went down. (BJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
102.1	Montler (2018) pg. 774	ʔənʔé suʔ-xʷil-əŋ-s təə sténiʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
102.2	Montler (2018) pg. 774	come LNK-go.down-MDL-3POSS DEM woman	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
102.3	Montler (2018) pg. 774	The lady came down. (GB)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
103.1	Montler (2018) pg. 774	níʔ ʔənʔé-s uʔ-ʔiʔ-ʔʷil-əŋ təə qʷáʔ kʷ s-iʔ-ʔənʔé uʔ səwéʔ kʷ s-ʔənʔé-s ʔiʔ xʷil-əŋ təəwhəniʔləyəʔ	2/2	N	N	Y	P-P	N?	D	Y/Y	Y	Y
103.2	Montler (2018) pg. 774	FOC come-3POSS CONTR-PROC-go.under.water-MDL DEM ACCOM COMP NOM-PROC-come CONTR go.along.with COMP NOM-come-3POSS CONJ go.down-MDL DET	2/2	N	N	Y	P-P	N?	D	Y/Y	Y	Y
103.3	Montler (2018) pg. 774	As the water receded, they went down along with it. (CP)	2/2	N	N	Y	P-P	N?	D	Y/Y	Y	Y
104.1	Montler (2018) pg. 708	yáθ ləʔ ʔalʔ kʷəče ʔuʔ-séʔsəsiʔ ʔə kʷ s-yéʔ-s <θá>θlə ʔə kʷsə snəxʷəl-s	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
104.2	Montler (2018) pg. 708	always PST LMT therefore CONTR-be.afraid OBL COMP NOM-go-3POSS <ACTL>go.down OBL DEM canoe-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
104.3	Montler (2018) pg. 708	We were always scared to go down to his canoe. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
105.1	Montler (2018) pg. 828	xʷəlʔqʷilʔ-əŋʔ təéʔə yéʔ	2	N	N	Y	M-P	Y	D	Y	Y	N
105.2	Montler (2018) pg. 828	drift<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL>DET go	2	N	N	Y	M-P	Y	D	Y	Y	N
105.3	Montler (2018) pg. 828	They went with the tide. (BJ)	2	N	N	Y	M-P	Y	D	Y	Y	N
106.1	Montler (2018) pg. 296	yéʔ sən ləlil-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
106.2	Montler (2018) pg. 296	go 1.SG go.far-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
106.3	Montler (2018) pg. 296	I'm going on a long trip. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
107.1	Montler (2018) pg. 296	ʔəyʔ kʷ s-yéʔ-ltə ləlil-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
107.2	Montler (2018) pg. 296	good COMP NOM-go-1.PL go.far-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
107.3	Montler (2018) pg. 296	We should go far away. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
108.1	Montler (2018) pg. 296	háʔ kʷəče yéʔ səʔ ləlil-əŋ tíʔe nəsxʷiʔémʔ, txʷə-lilʔsəʔ	3	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
108.2	Montler (2018) pg. 296	when therefore go FUT go.far-MDL DET 1.SG-story MUT-far FUT	3	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
108.3	Montler (2018) pg. 296	When my story goes far, it will become far away (in Texas). (MP)	3	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
109.1	Montler (2018) pg. 40	čələ-sət yéʔ kʷ nə-sqʷél	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
109.2	Montler (2018) pg. 40	go.ahead-REFL go COMP 1.SG-word	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
109.3	Montler (2018) pg. 40	I'll go talk first. (GB)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
110.1	Montler (2018) pg. 40	ʔáwʔ kʷ s-híθ-ltə kʷ s-ʔéʔəʔ-ltə ʔiʔ yéʔ ltə čələ-sət	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
110.2	Montler (2018) pg. 40	not COMP NOM-long.time-1PL COMP NOM-be.here-1PL LNK go 1PL go.ahead-REFL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y

110.3	Montler (2018) pg. 40	It won't be long and we will go on ahead from here. (GB)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
111.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	yé? tǎk^h	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
111.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	go go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
111.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	Go home. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
112.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	ʔənʔé tǎk^h	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
112.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	come go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
112.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	They came home. (ErC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
113.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	yé? tǎk^h!	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
113.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	go go.home!	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
113.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	Go home! (VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
114.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	yé? sən tǎk^h	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
114.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	go 1.SG go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
114.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	I'm going home. (CP; AJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
115.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	yé? tǎ tǎk^h	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
115.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	go 1.PL go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
115.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	We'll go home. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
116.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	suʔ-yéʔ-s tǎk^h	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
116.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	LNK-go-3POSS go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
116.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	So he went home. / So they went home. (VW; PP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
117.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	yé? k^wəʔ qə tǎk^h	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
117.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	go INFO EMPH go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
117.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	He must have gone home. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
118.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	yé? sən nə-s-tǎk^h	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
118.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	go 1.SG 1.SG.NOM-go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
118.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	I'm going to bring this home with me. (Food or something from a gathering.) (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
119.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	yé? nə-s-tǎk^h	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
119.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	go 1.SG-NOM-go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
119.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	I'm going to bring this home with me. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
120.1	Montler (2018) pg. 27	yé? čén-əs tθə nəšʔəwěčən	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
120.2	Montler (2018) pg. 27	go move-PTCAUS DET chair	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
120.3	Montler (2018) pg. 27	Go move my chair. (IM,RS)	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
121.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	čəntéŋ səʔ k^w ən'-s-yé? tǎk^h	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
121.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	what.time FUT COMP _-NOM-go go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
121.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	When are you going home? (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y

122.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	suʔ-yéʔ-s kʷəʔ tǎkʷ tθə šnéʔəm	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
122.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	LNK-go-3POSS INFO go.home DEM Indian.doctor/Shaman	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
122.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	So the Indian doctor went home. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
123.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	səlsə́c̣ sən kʷ nə-s-yéʔ tǎkʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
123.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	be.beaten.up 1.SG COMP 1.SG-NOM-go go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
123.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	I really got it when I went home. (AJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
124.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	čəlél ʔiʔ yéʔ sən tǎkʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
124.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	almost PROC go 1.SG go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
124.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	I'm almost going home. (AJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
125.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	χán-əŋ ʔə kʷsə nə-sécs ləʔ, ʔənyées, háʔ ləʔ yéʔ tǎkʷ suʔ-ʔəχʷi-sət-s	2	N	N	Y	P-P-O	Y	B	N	Y	Y
125.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	say/do-MDL OBL DEM 1.SG-uncle PST ʔənyées when PST go go.home LNK-sweep-REFL-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	P-P-O	Y	B	N	Y	Y
125.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	My uncle Eliot said, when someone goes home sweep up. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P-O	Y	B	N	Y	Y
126.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	suʔháy-s kʷə s-ʔiʔlənʷi-s. suʔ-yéʔ-s tǎkʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
126.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	LNK.finish-3POSS if/when NOM-eat-3POSS. LNK-go-3POSS go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
126.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	Then he finished eating. So he went home. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
127.1	Montler (2018) pg. 133	ʔəwʷ kʷ s-yéʔ-s tǎkʷ ʔə tθə ʔéʔlənʷ-s méʔləxəl ʔiʔ-uʔ-ʔəχʷin ʔalʷ ʔə tθéʔə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
127.2	Montler (2018) pg. 133	NEG COMP NOM-go-3POSS go.home OBL DET house-3POSS Malahat PROC-CONTR-where LMT OBL DET	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
127.3	Montler (2018) pg. 133	He never went back home to his home in Malahat where he came from. (CJ, EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
128.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	ʔénʷ kʷəčə əwʷ<θiʔ>θəl kʷ s-yéʔ-s kʷəl-əŋ ʔiʔ-<ǎ>tǎkʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-M-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
128.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	very therefore LNK? <ACTL>high COMP NOM-go-3POSS fly-MDL PROC-<ACTL>go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-M-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
128.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	They were going up very high flying home. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-M-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
129.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	ʔənʔé sən ʔiʔ-<ǎ>tǎkʷ ʔiʔ ʔuʔ-ʔáʔəmət tθə léʔə tθə sál	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	N
129.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	come 1.SG PROC-<ACTL>go.home LNK CONTR-sit<ACT> DEM there DEM door	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	N
129.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	I was coming home and they were sitting there at the door. (BJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	N
130.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	nəʔéxʷ čə kʷ s-yéʔ-s ʔiʔ-<ǎ>tǎkʷ ʔiʔ kʷi-čəqʷə-sət yəxʷ čə tθə s-ʔəl-ʔéləxʷ-s	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
130.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	once EVID COMP NOM-go-3POSS PROC-<ACTL>go.home LNK REAL- burn-REFL must.be EVID DEM s-PL-elder-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N

130.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	One time he went home and his parents must have burned themselves. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
131.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	suʔ-ʔənʔé-ltə ʔǎ<ʔlǎ>kʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
131.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	LNK-come-1.PL go.home<PL>	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
131.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	So we'd come home. (EC,VWb)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
132.1	Montler (2018) pg. 132	ʔáyʷkʷ s-yéʔ-ltə ʔǎ<ʔlǎ>kʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
132.2	Montler (2018) pg. 132	good COMP NOM-go-1.PL go.home<PL>	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
132.3	Montler (2018) pg. 132	We had to go home. (BJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
133.1	Montler (2018) pg. 780	yéʔ sən xʷqtás-t	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
133.2	Montler (2018) pg. 780	go 1.SG go.in.front.of.something-TRANS	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
133.3	Montler (2018) pg. 780	I'm going by in front of them. (EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
134.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	yéʔ čə θá<lǎ>ŋ ʔə tθə yéʔ-txʷ θáj ʔál léʔə ʔə tθə s-t<ə >qéyəʔ	2/2	N	N	Y	P-P/P-P	N/N	D/D	Y	Y	Y
134.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	go EVID go.inland<PL> OBL DEM go-CAUS go.inland road there OBL DEM NOM-wolf<PL>	2/2	N	N	Y	P-P/P-P	N/N	D/D	Y	Y	Y
134.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	They went up to where they took it up the road to where the wolves were. (CP)	2/2	N	N	Y	P-P/P-P	N/N	D/D	Y	Y	Y
135.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	yéʔ kʷəʔ θáj	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
135.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	go INFO go.inland	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
135.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	He's going up. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
136.1	Montler (2018) pg. 709	sté yéʔ θáj	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
136.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	let's go go.inland	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
136.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	Let's go up. (IM)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
137.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	suʔ-yéʔ-s θáj	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
137.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	LNK-go-3POSS go.inland	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
137.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	And they went up the hill. (EC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
138.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	yéʔ sxʷ θáj tθə sʔjənət	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
138.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	go 2.SG go.inland DEM hills(?)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
138.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	Go up into the hills (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
139.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	čəntéŋ kʷ ən-s-yéʔ ʔǎkʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
139.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	when COMP __-NOM-go go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
139.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	When are you going home? (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
140.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	suʔ-yéʔ-s θáj tθəwɨl swíwɨləs	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
140.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	LNK-go-3POSS go.up DEM young man	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
140.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	So the young man goes up. (ErC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
141.1	Montler (2018) pg. 27	yéʔ čénəs tθə lətém	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y

141.2	Montler (2018) pg. 27	go move-PTCAUS DET table	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
141.3	Montler (2018) pg. 27	Go move the table. (IM,RS)	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
142.1	Montler (2018) pg. 706	suʔ-ɣʷənəkʷén-s kʷ s-ʔəyʷ-s kʷ syéʔ-s kʷən-kʷánəhət yéʔ θáŋ ščis-ət	5	N	N	Y	P-M- P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
142.2	Montler (2018) pg. 706	LNK-think.so-3POSS COMP NOM-good-3POSS COMP NOM. go-3POSS PL-run go go.inland go.into.bush-REFL	5	N	N	Y	P-M- P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
142.3	Montler (2018) pg. 706	He thought they'd better go and run up into the bushes. (ErC)	5	N	N	Y	P-M- P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
143.1	Montler (2018) pg. 708	yéʔ ʔiʔ θá<θ>ŋʷʔiʔ kʷi-lčikʷəs tθəwɪnɪl kʷ s-ʔəpɪnəl-əŋ-s	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
143.2	Montler (2018) pg. 708	go PROC go.inland<PL> LNK REAL- tired DEM COMP NOM- hold.breath-MDL-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
143.3	Montler (2018) pg. 708	They were going up, and he got tired of holding his breath. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
144.1	Montler (2018) pg. 708	ʔənʔé sən səʔ nəwʷʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
144.2	Montler (2018) pg. 708	come 1.SG FUT go.inside	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
144.3	Montler (2018) pg. 708	I'll be in. (IM,RS)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
145.1	Montler (2018) pg. 708	ʔənʔé sən səʔ ʔiʔ nəwʷʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
145.2	Montler (2018) pg. 708	come 1.SG FUT LNK/PROC go.inside	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
145.3	Montler (2018) pg. 708	I'll be in a little later. (IM,RS)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
146.1	Montler (2018) pg. 708	háʔ sxʷ kʷəčə qʷəl-ŋi-t-əŋ ʔuʔ-stéŋ ʔalʷ s-čə-čínʷəwʷʔ, háʔ səʔ sxʷ qʷəl-ŋi-t-əŋ ʔiʔ ʔəwə kʷ s- yéʔ-s nəwʷʔ tθə s-xéʔəs sqʷəlqʷəlʷ	2	N	Y	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
146.2	Montler (2018) pg. 708	if 2.SG therefore talk-REL-CAUS-PASS CONTR-what LMT NOM-DIM-dislike<DIM> if FUT 2.SG talk-REL-CAUS-PASS LNK/PROC NEG COMP NOM- go-3POSS enter DEM STAT- bad story	2	N	Y	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
146.3	Montler (2018) pg. 708	So if someone's talking about you, they don't like you, if you're being talked about, the bad talk doesn't come in. (MP)	2	N	Y	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
147.1	Montler (2018) pg. 366	yéʔ sən nəwɪl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
147.2	Montler (2018) pg. 366	go. 1.SG go.inside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
147.3	Montler (2018) pg. 366	I'm going inside. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
148.1	Montler (2018) pg. 366	ʔisté yéʔ nəwɪl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
148.2	Montler (2018) pg. 366	lets go go.inside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
148.3	Montler (2018) pg. 366	Let's go in. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
149.1	Montler (2018) pg. 366	yéʔ ləʔ sən nəwɪl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
149.2	Montler (2018) pg. 366	go PST 1.SG go.inside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
149.3	Montler (2018) pg. 366	I went in. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
150.1	Montler (2018) pg. 366	ʔéʔəl ʔiʔ ʔənʔé nəwɪl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
150.2	Montler (2018) pg. 366	hurry LNK come go.inside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y

150.3	Montler (2018) pg. 366	Hurry and come inside. (HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
151.1	Montler (2018) pg. 366	ʔiʔ háʔ sx ^w tás ʔə k ^w sə ʔəy ^l t ^h xít ʔiʔ ʔəwə s yéʔ nəwil-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
151.2	Montler (2018) pg. 366	CONJ when 2.SG arrive OBL DEM good beach CONJ NEG NEG.s go go.inside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
151.3	Montler (2018) pg. 366	And when you get to a good beach, don't go inside. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
152.1	Montler (2018) pg. 366	ʔiʔ háy t ^h ə t ^h əwésəltx ^w yéʔ əw^l ʔáx^w ʔal^l nəwil-əŋ ʔə k ^w sə sʔəlʔéləx ^w ləʔ smák ^w aws (čəqéwtx ^w)	2	N	N	Y	P-P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
152.2	Montler (2018) pg. 366	LNK only DEM TEWÁSELTW go CONTR go.to LMT go. inside-MDL OBL DEM elders PST traditional.longhouse (longhouse)	2	N	N	Y	P-P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
152.3	Montler (2018) pg. 366	And only TEWÁSELTW went over into the old longhouse. (CJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
153.1	Montler (2018) pg. 366	níʔ ʔəy ^l ʔən ^l -šx ^w -nəwil-əŋ ʔiʔ ʔənʔé sx ^w ʔuʔ-tx ^w ə-š<ə>t-əŋ ^l ? k ^w ən ^l -s-čé<ʔ>i<ʔ>	2	N	N	Y	P-M	C	D	Y	Y	N
153.2	Montler (2018) pg. 366	FOC good 2POSS-2.SG-go.inside-MDL LNK/PROC come 2.SG CONTR- MUT-walk<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL> COMP __-NOM-work<ACTL>	2	N	N	Y	P-M	C	D	Y	Y	N
153.3	Montler (2018) pg. 366	It's better for you to go in there and you can walk to work. (CJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-M	C	D	Y	Y	N
154.1	Montler (2018) pg. 366	ʔənʔé sx ^w nuʔil-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
154.2	Montler (2018) pg. 366	come 2.SG go.inside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
154.3	Montler (2018) pg. 366	Come in. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
155.1	Montler (2018) pg. 368	héə, ʔuʔ-x ^w ən<ʔ>-éŋ ^l ? ʔə t ^h ə s-ʔək ^w -ás-t-əŋ-s t ^h ə s-ʔi-<lé> ləʔsət-s yéʔ nəw^lnájət	2	N	Y	Y	O-P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	N
155.2	Montler (2018) pg. 368	yes CONTR-way<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL> OBL DEM NOM-teach-RCPNT-CAUS-PASS-3POSS DEM NOM-PROC-<ACTL> prepare-REFL-3POSS go get.in-NCMDL	2	N	Y	Y	O-P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	N
155.3	Montler (2018) pg. 368	Yes, that is how they were shown how to prepare to make it inside. (CP)	2	N	Y	Y	O-P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	N
156.1	Montler (2018) pg. 268	yéʔ k ^w əʔ qə qás	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
156.2	Montler (2018) pg. 268	go INFO EMPH go.in.water	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
156.3	Montler (2018) pg. 268	It must have gone in the water. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
157.1	Montler (2018) pg. 271	yéʔ sx ^w qsá-sət	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
157.2	Montler (2018) pg. 271	go 2.SG go.into.water-REFL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
157.3	Montler (2018) pg. 271	Go jump in the water. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
158.1	Montler (2018) pg. 271	suʔ- θlá-s qsá-sət yéʔ	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
158.2	Montler (2018) pg. 271	LNK- go.down.towards.water-3POSS go.into.water-REFL go	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
158.3	Montler (2018) pg. 271	She went down into the water. (MP)	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
159.1	Montler (2018) pg. 516	yéʔ sqíl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y

159.2	Montler (2018) pg. 516	go go.outside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
159.3	Montler (2018) pg. 516	Go outside. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
160.1	Montler (2018) pg. 516	ʔənʔé sqíl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
160.2	Montler (2018) pg. 516	come go.outside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
160.3	Montler (2018) pg. 516	Come out! (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
161.1	Montler (2018) pg. 516	yéʔ sən sqíl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
161.2	Montler (2018) pg. 516	go 1.SG go.outside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
161.3	Montler (2018) pg. 516	I went out. (EC,VW; HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
162.1	Montler (2018) pg. 516	ʔisté yéʔ sqíl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
162.2	Montler (2018) pg. 516	let's go go.outside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
162.3	Montler (2018) pg. 516	Let's go outside. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
163.1	Montler (2018) pg. 516	ʔóo, yéʔ sqíl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
163.2	Montler (2018) pg. 516	Oh go go.outside-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
163.3	Montler (2018) pg. 516	Oh, go out. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
164.1	Montler (2018) pg. 516	sqíl-əŋ sxʷ yéʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
164.2	Montler (2018) pg. 516	go.outside-MDL 2.SG go	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
164.3	Montler (2018) pg. 516	Go outside. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
165.1	Montler (2018) pg. 666	yéʔ čə tás	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	N	Y	Y
165.2	Montler (2018) pg. 666	go EVID arrive	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	N	Y	Y
165.3	Montler (2018) pg. 666	They got there, apparently. (PP)	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	N	Y	Y
166.1	Montler (2018) pg. 516	ʔənʔén' sən uʔ kʷés; yéʔ sən kʷəče sqíl-əŋ yéʔ	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
166.2	Montler (2018) pg. 516	too.much 1.SG CONTR burn; go 1.SG therefore go.outside-MDL go	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
166.3	Montler (2018) pg. 516	I'm too hot; so I'm going to go outside. (LGC)	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
167.1	Montler (2018) pg. 516	háʔ səʔ sxʷ kʷəyáx-t xʷkʷ-ət suʔ-léwʔs tθə scéenəxʷ sqíl-əŋ ʔənʔé	2/3	Y	N	Y/Y	O-P-P	C/Y	B	Y	Y	Y
167.2	Montler (2018) pg. 516	if FUT 2.SG move-TRANS drag-TRANS LNK-escape-3POSS DET salmon go.outside-MDL come	2/3	Y	N	Y/Y	O-P-P	C/Y	B	Y	Y	Y
167.3	Montler (2018) pg. 516	If you move it, pull it, the salmon will escape and come out. (PP)	2/3	Y	N	Y/Y	O-P-P	C/Y	B	Y	Y	Y
168.1	Montler (2018) pg. 669	suʔ-ʔéx-əŋ-s niʔ suʔ-yéʔ-s kʷən-ət tθə s-iʔ-yéʔ čə ʔiʔ-tətáʔəlʔ snəxʷəl-s	2/2	Y	N	Y	P-O/P-O	N/Y	AM/A M	Y	Y	Y
168.2	Montler (2018) pg. 669	LNK-do/say-MDL-3POSS FOC LNK-go-3POSS take-TRANS DET NOM-PROC-go EVID PROC-be.going.towards.deep. water canoe-3POSS	2/2	Y	N	Y	P-O/P-O	N/Y	AM/A M	Y	Y	Y
168.3	Montler (2018) pg. 669	So they said to look at what went out their canoe. (CP)	2/2	Y	N	Y	P-O/P-O	N/Y	AM/A M	Y	Y	Y
169.1	Montler (2018) pg. 794	xənə-t-əŋ kʷ s-yéʔ-s kʷəʔ xʷyéʔlqən ʔə kʷsə šxʷ-čsə-léʔə-s	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	N

178.3	Montler (2018) pg. 841	The young man went swimming across to invite over to Salt Spring Island. (ErC)	3/3	N	N	Y	M-P- P- O-P	Y	D/AM	Y	Y	Y
179.1	Montler (2018) pg. 174	há? sá? ?án?é kʷsá sčéenəxʷ ?i? həqilʔəŋʔ-s ?i? yé? ?ə tθə nʰ-sxʷálə?ʔ	3	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
179.2	Montler (2018) pg. 174	when FUT come DEM salmon LNK go.under-MDL-3POSS PROC go OBL DET 2POSS-reef.net	3	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
179.3	Montler (2018) pg. 174	When the salmon come, they will be going under your reef net. (PP)	3	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
180.1	Montler (2018) pg. 175	há? sá? ?án?é nuʔil-əŋ kʷsá sčéenəxʷ kʷə ʔéčəł-əs sá? tθə nʰ-skʷéłəł yé? sá? həqás-əŋ kʷsá sčéenəxʷ	2/2	N	N	Y	P-P/P- P(?)	Y	D/D (?)	Y	Y	Y
180.2	Montler (2018) pg. 175	when FUT come go.inside-MDL DEM salmon if/when be.at.the.bottom-3SUBJ FUT DET 2POSS-reef.net.floor.line go FUT nose. around.and.go.under-MDL DEM salmon	2/2	N	N	Y	P-P/P- P(?)	Y	D/D (?)	Y	Y	Y
180.3	Montler (2018) pg. 175	When the salmon come in, if your floor line will be deep, then the salmon will nose around and go under. (PP)	2/2	N	N	Y	P-P/P- P(?)	Y	D/D (?)	Y	Y	Y
181.1	Montler (2018) pg. 608	suʔšál-əŋ-s yé?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
181.2	Montler (2018) pg. 608	LNK go.up-MDL-3POSS go	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
181.3	Montler (2018) pg. 608	She climbed up. (MP; EC, VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
182.1	Montler (2018) pg. 608	nə-suʔ-yé? šál-əŋ ?ə kʷsá čə-lé?ə-s	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
182.2	Montler (2018) pg. 608	1.SG-LNK- go go.up-MDL OBL DEM from-there-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
182.3	Montler (2018) pg. 608	I went up to where she came from. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
183.1	Montler (2018) pg. 608	suʔ-ʔəwəná-s čə sən yé? šál-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
183.2	Montler (2018) pg. 608	LNK-not.exist-3POSS EVID 1.SG go go.up-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
183.3	Montler (2018) pg. 608	There was no one to go up. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
184.1	Montler (2018) pg. 608	níł sá? səw-ʔán?é-s kʷsá sčéenəxʷ šál-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
184.2	Montler (2018) pg. 608	FOC FUT so(?)- come-3POSS DEM salmon go.up-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
184.3	Montler (2018) pg. 608	Then the salmon will come up. (PP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
185.1	Montler (2018) pg. 608	suʔ-šál-əŋ-s ʔí?l-əŋ tθə stéskʷəl-s tθə sqéxəʔ-s	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	N	Y
185.2	Montler (2018) pg. 608	LNK- go.up-MDL-3POSS ascend-MDL DET back-3POSS DEM dog-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	N	Y
185.3	Montler (2018) pg. 608	So he climbed up on his dog's back. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	N	Y
186.1	Montler (2018) pg. 608	šál-əŋ ɬə ?i? s-kʷéy kʷ s-šəl-əŋ-náŋət-ɬə	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	N	Y
186.2	Montler (2018) pg. 608	go.up-MDL 1.PL LNK STAT-unable COMP NOM-go.up-MDL-NCMDL-1.PL	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	N	Y
186.3	Montler (2018) pg. 608	We climbed but we couldn't manage to get up. (BJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	N	Y
187.1	Montler (2018) pg. 608	?i? há? yé? ʔé? ʔé?əsət šál-əŋ, ?i? ?əwə s txə-ʔánəwəl ?i? kʷł-híl-əŋ	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y

187.2	Montler (2018) pg. 608	LNK when go try-REFL go.up-MDL , LNK/PROC NEG NEG.s MUT-middle LNK REAL-Fall.down-MDL	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
187.3	Montler (2018) pg. 608	And when they tried to go up, they don't get half-way and they fall down. (EC)	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
188.1	Montler (2018) pg. 608	suʔ-yéʔ-s šəl-əŋ-náŋət	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
188.2	Montler (2018) pg. 608	LNK-go-3POSS go.up-MDL-NCMDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
188.3	Montler (2018) pg. 608	She finally climbed it. (EC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
189.1	Montler (2018) pg. 723	néʔ xʷyéʔqən ʔiʔ ʔéʔ kʷl-yéʔ tʰiʔl-əŋ xʷyéʔqən tʰə kʷənél kʷ s- ʔéx-əŋ-s ʔə tʰéʔə	2/2	N	N	Y	P-O/P- O	N	AM/A M	Y	Y	Y
189.2	Montler (2018) pg. 723	come return LNK again REAL- go ascend-MDL return DET how.many.times COMP NOM-say/do-MDL-3POSS OBL DET	2/2	N	N	Y	P-O/P- O	N	AM/A M	Y	Y	Y
189.3	Montler (2018) pg. 723	He came and returned and again he went up and returned how many times he did that. (CP)	2/2	N	N	Y	P-O/P- O	N	AM/A M	Y	Y	Y
190.1	Montler (2018) pg. 710	yéʔ sən tʰéʔ-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
190.2	Montler (2018) pg. 710	go 1.SG go.up.on-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
190.3	Montler (2018) pg. 710	I'm going up. (LAC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
191.1	Montler (2018) pg. 710	yéʔ ə sxʷ tʰéʔ-əŋ?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
191.2	Montler (2018) pg. 710	go _ 2.SG go.up.on-MDL?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
191.3	Montler (2018) pg. 710	Are you going up? (LAC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
192.1	Montler (2018) pg. 653	yéʔ ləʔ sən t<éʔ>yəlʔ?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	N
192.2	Montler (2018) pg. 653	go PST 1.SG go.upstream<ACTL><ACTL>	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	N
192.3	Montler (2018) pg. 653	I went upstream. (IM)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	N
193.1	Montler (2018) pg. 653	yéʔ ʔiʔ-t<éʔ>yəlʔ?	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
193.2	Montler (2018) pg. 653	go PROC- go.upstream<ACTL><ACTL>	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
193.3	Montler (2018) pg. 653	They were going upstream. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	N
194.1	Montler (2018) pg. 653	čəlél ʔiʔ tɛyəl yéʔ tʰə sčéenəxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
194.2	Montler (2018) pg. 653	soon LNK(?) go.upstream go DET salmon	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
194.3	Montler (2018) pg. 653	Soon the salmon will go upstream. (RS)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
195.1	Montler (2018) pg. 691	yéʔ sən tuʔ-txənʔ-əŋ tʰéʔə ʔuʔ-qéyəs ʔalʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
195.2	Montler (2018) pg. 691	go 1.SG sort.of- go.via-MDL DET CONTR-recent LMT	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
195.3	Montler (2018) pg. 691	I'm just going to go this way for a while. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
196.1	Montler (2018) pg. 691	nif čə tʰə s-məqʷ-s tʰə sqiʔmækʷ txənʔ-əŋ yéʔ ʔə təlélʔə tʰéʔə-nəŋ	3	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
196.2	Montler (2018) pg. 691	it.is EVID DET NOM-thick-3POSS DET octopus go.via-MDL go OBL DET that-thing	3	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
196.3	Montler (2018) pg. 691	It was the thick part of the octopus that went to that place over there. (PP)	3	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y

197.1	Montler (2018) pg. 691	suʔ-ʔənʔé-s yəxw ləʔ suʔ-ʔist-s təwəhəniʔəyəʔ ʔənʔé tʃənʔ-əŋ ʔə tíʔə Victoria	4	N	N	Y	P-P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
197.2	Montler (2018) pg. 691	LNK-come-3POSS must.be PST LNK-paddle-3POSS 3.SBJ come go.via-MDL OBL DEM Victoria	4	N	N	Y	P-P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
197.3	Montler (2018) pg. 691	They came paddling here towards Victoria. (GB)	4	N	N	Y	P-P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
198.1	Montler (2018) pg. 691	yéʔ sxw kʷə ʔuʔ-tʃənʔ-əŋ ʔə təʔ ʔuʔ-háy ʔal' <θiʔ>θəl sŋələnət	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
198.2	Montler (2018) pg. 691	go 2.SG if/when CONTR-go.via-MDL OBL DET CONTR-only LMT <ACT>high mountains	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
198.3	Montler (2018) pg. 691	Just go along to the highest mountains. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
199.1	Montler (2018) pg. 691	yéʔ ʔiʔ ʔuʔ-čl-tʃənʔ-əŋ ʔə təʔ šxw'léʔə-s təʔ čəq s-pəlʃən təwəhəniʔəyəʔ sʔəlilʔqəl léʔə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
199.2	Montler (2018) pg. 691	go LNK/PROC CONTR-IMPACT-go.via-MDL OBL DET where-3POSS DET big NOM-field 3.SBJ children there	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
199.3	Montler (2018) pg. 691	Those children there went and went toward where there was a big field. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
200.1	Montler (2018) pg. 691	suʔ-qʷəl-ŋi-t-əŋ-s ʔə tɪ xéʔəls təʔ ʔá<ʔə>mət ʔəlhtéləxw, "háʔ q sxw tuʔ-ʔič-ət təlétəŋəŋ ʔiʔ ʃwəŋ ʔiʔ yéʔ tʃənʔ-əŋ təʔ qʷáʔ"	2	N	Y	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
200.2	Montler (2018) pg. 691	LNK-talk-REL-CAUS-PASS-3POSS OBL DET Changer DET sit<ACT> person.PL "if _ 2.SG sort.of-dip-TRANS that.there LNK/PROC ACCOM LNK/PROC go go.via-MDL DET accompany"	2	N	Y	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
200.3	Montler (2018) pg. 691	So Changer spoke to those people sitting, "If you kind of dip that there, the water might go toward you. (GB)	2	N	Y	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
201.1	Montler (2018) pg. 691	háʔ čə xč-ət-əs təʔ š-tʃənʔ-əŋ-s ʔiʔ ʔiʔwəwə čəsəʔ s-kʷéčəl ʔiʔ čəl s-yéʔs təs ʔə təʔéʔə p<əl>áʔ-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
201.2	Montler (2018) pg. 691	when EVID figure.out-TRANS-3SUBJ DET NOM-go.via-MDL-3POSS LNK/PROC maybe two NOM-day LNK/PROC IMP NOM-go-3POSS arrive OBL DET smoke<PL>-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
201.3	Montler (2018) pg. 691	When he figured out where it went, maybe it would take two days to go and get to that smoke. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
202.1	Montler (2018) pg. 693	šéʔ sən ʔəw'ʔəlě<ʔə>-nəxw kʷ s-ʔəwə-s kʷ s-ʔáal-t-əŋ-s təʔ xw'íləxw ʔə təʔə stiič ʔə kʷ s-yéʔ-s ʔ-táwən tʃw'ín	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
202.2	Montler (2018) pg. 693	also 1.SG NEG hear<ACT>-NCTTRANS COMP NOM-NEG-3POSS COMP NOM-go.aboard-CAUS-PASS-3POSS DEM person OBL DEM bus OBL COMP NOM-go-3POSS DET-town go.somewhere	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
202.3	Montler (2018) pg. 693	I also heard that they never put the Indians on the bus when they went to town or somewhere. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
203.1	Montler (2018) pg. 693	ʔiʔ yéʔ wəʔáčə yéʔ-t-əŋ tkʷ-ist-əŋ ʔuʔ-t-ʃw'ín-t-əŋ-əs	4	Y	Y	Y	P-P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y

203.2	Montler (2018) pg. 693	LNK/PROC go CONJEC go-CAUS-PASS go.home-CAUS-PASS CONTR- dir-go.somewhere-CAUS-PASS-3SUBJ	4	Y	Y	Y	P-P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
203.3	Montler (2018) pg. 693	They probably went and took him home wherever they took him. (CP)	4	Y	Y	Y	P-P-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
204.1	Montler (2018) pg. 693	yéʔ səʔ ʔáxʷ-nəs-əŋ tθəwñəniʔləyəʔ	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
204.2	Montler (2018) pg. 693	go FUT go.to-INTENT-PASS 3SUBJ	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
204.3	Montler (2018) pg. 693	They are going to go after them. (CP)	2	Y	Y	Y	P-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
205.1	Montler (2018) pg. 693	ʔóo, yéʔ ʔə ʔáxʷ-nəs-əŋ yéʔ tθə sátəč	3	Y	Y	Y	P-P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
205.2	Montler (2018) pg. 693	Oh, go 1.PL go.to-INTENT-PASS go DET North.wind	3	Y	Y	Y	P-P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
205.3	Montler (2018) pg. 693	Oh, we'll go over to North wind. (PP)	3	Y	Y	Y	P-P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
206.1	Montler (2018) pg. 693	s- yéʔ -s ʔuʔ-xʷyélqən ʔáxʷ-nəs-əŋ tθéʔə xéʔxəʔ təŋəxʷ léwəlqəxʷ	3	Y	Y	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
206.2	Montler (2018) pg. 693	NOM- go-3POSS CONTR- return go.to-INTENT-PASS DET holy land Mount Newton	3	Y	Y	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
206.3	Montler (2018) pg. 693	They returned going toward that sacred land, Mt. Newton. (GB)	3	Y	Y	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
207.1	Montler (2018) pg. 693	yéʔ ʔiʔ qʷəqʷəl<> ʔə tθə ʔəl-ʔéləs-s kʷ s- yéʔ -s ʔáxʷ-nəs-əŋ kʷ šxʷléʔə-s kʷsə ŋəni sqʷələlqəxʷ	3	Y	Y	Y	P-P	Y?	D	Y	Y	Y
207.2	Montler (2018) pg. 693	go LNK sun(?)<ACT> OBL DET PL-opposite.sex.sibling-3POSS COMP NOM- go-3POSS go.to-INTENT-PASS COMP where-3POSS DEM many blackberries	3	Y	Y	Y	P-P	Y?	D	Y	Y	Y
207.3	Montler (2018) pg. 693	He went and talked to his sisters to go over to where there are lots of blackberries. (PP)	3	Y	Y	Y	P-P	Y?	D	Y	Y	Y
208.1	Montler (2018) pg. 753	suʔ-kʷən-ét-əŋ-s ʔiʔ tč-ət-əŋ yéʔ wəl-ét-əŋ	2	Y	Y	Y	O-P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
208.2	Montler (2018) pg. 753	LNK-get-TRANS-PASS-3POSS CONJ poke-TRANS-PASS go chase-TRANS-PASS	2	Y	Y	Y	O-P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
208.3	Montler (2018) pg. 753	So they get them and stab them chasing them away. (PP)	2	Y	Y	Y	O-P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
209.1	Montler (2018) pg. 795	təxʷ qīlət ʔiʔ ʔənʔé xʷyélqən ʔiʔ λéʔ əwʷléč-sət ʔiʔ čəŋʷstiqiwəhəl	2/2	N	N	Y	P-O/O-P	N	AM/AM	N	Y	Y
209.2	Montler (2018) pg. 795	exactly daytime CONJ come return CONJ again LNK.dark-REFL CONJ arrive.home travel.by.horse	2/2	N	N	Y	P-O/O-P	N	AM/AM	N	Y	Y
209.3	Montler (2018) pg. 795	It was noon, and when they came back it was also dark and they got home by horse. (BJ)	2/2	N	N	Y	P-O/O-P	N	AM/AM	N	Y	Y
210.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	št-əŋ yéʔ ʔi uʔ-yéʔ	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
210.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	walk-MDL go LNK CONTR-go	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
210.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	He walked and he went. (PP)	2	N	N	Y	M-P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
211.1	Montler (2018) pg. 841	suʔ- yéʔ <lə>ʔ-s ʔist yéʔ	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
211.2	Montler (2018) pg. 841	LNK- go <PL>-3POSS paddle go	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
211.3	Montler (2018) pg. 841	So they went paddling away. (ErC)	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y

212.1	Montler (2018) pg. 532	suʔ-iʔ-kʷən-ét-s tθə yéʔ s-txən-əŋ-s yéʔ t̪kʷəl ʔə tθə ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə txʷənáʔəθ-ən	3	N	N	Y		P-P-P	Y		D	Y	Y	Y
212.2	Montler (2018) pg. 532	LNK-PROC-see-TRANS-3POSS DEM go NOM-go.via-MDL-3POSS go go.across OBL DEM go.to OBL DEM go.to.opposite.side-instru	3	N	N	Y		P-P-P	Y		D	Y	Y	Y
212.3	Montler (2018) pg. 532	He was watching it go over across to the other side. (CP)	3	N	N	Y		P-P-P	Y		D	Y	Y	Y
213.1	Montler (2018) pg. 630	yéʔ sən yéʔ-txʷ tθə sʎəlɪʎqəl suʔ-ʂkʷám-s	2	Y	N	Y		P-P	C		D	Y	Y	Y
213.2	Montler (2018) pg. 630	go 1.SG go-CAUS DEM children LNK-bathe-3POSS	2	Y	N	Y		P-P	C		D	Y	Y	Y
213.3	Montler (2018) pg. 630	I'm going to go take the children swimming. (LGC)	2	Y	N	Y		P-P	C		D	Y	Y	Y
214.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yéʔ sən səʔ yéʔ-txʷ	2	Y	N	Y		P-P	C		D	Y	Y	Y
214.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go 1.SG FUT go-CAUS	2	Y	N	Y		P-P	C		D	Y	Y	Y
214.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I'll go take one. (GB)	2	Y	N	Y		P-P	C		D	Y	Y	Y
215.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yéʔ sən yéʔ-txʷ tθə snəxʷəl	2	Y	N	Y		P-P	C		D	Y	Y	Y
215.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go 1.SG go-CAUS DEM canoe	2	Y	N	Y		P-P	C		D	Y	Y	Y
215.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I will take the canoe (LGC)	2	Y	N	Y		P-P	C		D	Y	Y	Y
216.1	Montler (2018) pg. 149	ʎənʔé sən kʷən-ə-sə	2	Y	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
216.2	Montler (2018) pg. 149	come 1.SG see-TRANS-2OBJ	2	Y	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
216.3	Montler (2018) pg. 149	I've come to see you. (EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
217.1	Montler (2018) pg. 147	yéʔ ʔəlt<á>nʔ-əŋ<ʔ> yéʔ	2	N	N	Y		P-O-P	N		B	Y	Y	Y
217.2	Montler (2018) pg. 148	go berry<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL> go	2	N	N	Y		P-O-P	N		B	Y	Y	Y
217.3	Montler (2018) pg. 149	They went picking berries. (PP)	2	N	N	Y		P-O-P	N		B	Y	Y	Y
218.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	ʔisté yéʔ t̪kʷ	2	N	N	Y		P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
218.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	let's go go.home	2	N	N	Y		P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
218.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	Let's go home. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y		P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
219.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yéʔ sən ʔhən	2	N	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	N	Y	Y
219.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go 1.SG eat	2	N	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	N	Y	Y
219.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I'm going to go eat (EC,VWb)	2	N	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	N	Y	Y
220.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yéʔ sən skʷé-sət	2	N	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
220.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go 1.SG lay.down-REFL	2	N	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
220.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I'm going to lie down (EC,VW; LGC)	2	N	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
221.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yéʔ sən qʷəʂən-ət	2	Y	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
221.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go 1.SG accompany.someone-TRANS	2	Y	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
221.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I'm going to ' someone. (EC,VW)	2	Y	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
222.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yéʔ sən č-táləs	2	N	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
222.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go 1.SG have-spouse	2	N	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y
222.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I'm going to marry. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y		P-O	C		AM	Y	Y	Y

223.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yéʔ sən xéləx	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
223.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go 1.SG war	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
223.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I'm going to war. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
224.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yéʔ sən qékʷ-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
224.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go 1.SG rest-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
224.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I'm going to take a rest. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
225.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	ʔən-s-kʷəsəs yéʔ	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	N	Y	Y
225.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	2POSS-NOM-send go	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	N	Y	Y
225.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	You sent it. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	N	Y	Y
226.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yéʔ kʷəče ʔəmət	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
226.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go therefore sit	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
226.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	Then go sit down. (DE,SW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
227.1	Montler (2018) pg. 83	suʔ-yéʔ-s kʷəl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
227.2	Montler (2018) pg. 83	LNK-go-3POSS fly-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
227.3	Montler (2018) pg. 83	So he flew away (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-M	N	D	Y	Y	Y
228.1	Montler (2018) pg. 83	suʔ-kʷəl-əŋ-s yéʔ	2	N	N	Y	M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
228.2	Montler (2018) pg. 83	LNK-fly-MDL-3POSS go	2	N	N	Y	M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
228.3	Montler (2018) pg. 83	So he flew away. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
229.1	Montler (2018) pg. 331	ʔiktʰəkhát ʔə yéʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
229.2	Montler (2018) pg. 331	go.by.horse.and.buggy? 1.PL go	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
229.3	Montler (2018) pg. 331	We went by horse and buggy. (BJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
230.1	Montler (1986) line 44	suʔ xʷyelqən<ʔ>-s yéʔ ʔə tsə s-qʷəl-əŋ-s	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	N
230.2	Montler (1986) line 44	LNK return<ACTL>-3POSS go OBL DEM NOM-cook-MDL-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	N
230.3	Montler (1986) line 44	So he went back to his barbecue.	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	N
231.1	Montler (2018) pg. 794	xʷən<ʔ>éŋ<ʔ> səʔ ʔiʔ ʔənʔé xʷyelqən	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
231.2	Montler (2018) pg. 794	way<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL> FUT CONJ come return	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
231.3	Montler (2018) pg. 794	They'll be that way and come back. (BJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
232.1	Montler (2018) pg. 794	tuʔ-háʔ səʔ sxʷ tuʔ-kʷən-n-əŋ ʔiʔ kʷl-xʷyelqən yéʔ	2	N	Y	Y	O-P	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
232.2	Montler (2018) pg. 794	sort.of-when FUT 2.SG sort.of-see-NCTrans-PASS CONJ REAL-return go	2	N	Y	Y	O-P	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
232.3	Montler (2018) pg. 794	If they kind of see you, they will go back. (PP)	2	N	Y	Y	O-P	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
233.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	suʔ-ʂt-əŋ-s yéʔ təwñil	2	N	N	Y	M-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
233.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	LNK-walk-3POSS go DEM	2	N	N	Y	M-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y
233.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	So he went walking. (PP)	2	N	N	Y	M-P	Y	D	Y	Y	Y

234.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yé? lə sə? kʰən-ət	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
234.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go 1.PL FUT look-TRANS	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
234.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	We will go look at it. (IM,RS)	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
235.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	ʔəwəna sən yé? ʔáxʷ yé?	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
235.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	nobody 1.SG go go.to go	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
235.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	Nobody went there. (PP)	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
236.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	yé? ə sə? ʔən-s-kʰəsəs	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
236.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	go __ FUT 2POSS-NOM- send	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
236.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	Will you send it? (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
237.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	ʔé? sən kʷl- yé? yé? ʔáxʷ ʔə kʷséʔə	3	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
237.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	again 1.SG REAL- go go go.to OBL DEM	3	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
237.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I'm going to go over there again. (EC,VW)	3	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
238.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	ʔənʔén' sən LNK lčíkʷəs nə-suʔ- ʔítət yé?	2	N	N	Y	O-P	C	AM	N	Y	Y
238.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	too.much 1.SG LNK tired1.SG-LNK- sleep go	2	N	N	Y	O-P	C	AM	N	Y	Y
238.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I was too tired and I went to bed. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	O-P	C	AM	N	Y	Y
239.1	Montler (2018) pg. 840	nə-sʔiʔ kʷ nə-s- yé? ʔé? kʷl-kʰən-n-áŋə	3	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
239.2	Montler (2018) pg. 840	1POSS-desire COMP 1POSS-NOM- go again REAL- see-NCTTRANS-2OBJ	3	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
239.3	Montler (2018) pg. 840	I want to go see you again. (EC,VW)	3	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
240.1	Montler (2018) pg. 621	ʂqəl<ʔ>əčʰsət sxʷ yé? ʔə tʰə sləmæxʷ	2	N	N	Y	O-P	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
240.2	Montler (2018) pg. 622	shelter<actb>-REFL 2.SG go OBL DET rain	2	N	N	Y	O-P	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
240.3	Montler (2018) pg. 623	Go get a shelter from the rain. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	O-P	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
241.1	Montler (2018) pg. 615	ʔi uʔ- š<ə>təŋ<ʔ> yé? ʔə tʰéʔənəŋ	2	N	N	Y	M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
241.2	Montler (2018) pg. 616	PROC CONTR- walk<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL> go OBL particular.thing	2	N	N	Y	M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
241.3	Montler (2018) pg. 617	He was walking going there to that. (PP)	2	N	N	Y	M-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
242.1	Montler (2018) pg. 794	ʔisté yé? xʷyélqən čté-t	3	Y	N	Y	P-O-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
242.2	Montler (2018) pg. 794	let's go return ask-TRANS	3	Y	N	Y	P-O-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
242.3	Montler (2018) pg. 794	Let's go back and ask him. (MP; EC,VW)	3	Y	N	Y	P-O-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
243.1	Montler (2018) pg. 841	yé?<lə>? ləʔ sxʷ ʔiʷʔə tʰ ʔəsə	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
243.2	Montler (2018) pg. 841	go<PL> PST 2.SG escape OBL DET 1.SG	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
243.3	Montler (2018) pg. 841	You folks ran away from me. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
244.1	Montler (2018) pg. 581	suʔ xʷ- pəkʷil-ət-əŋ-s yé? ʔə tʰə sʔpélqən'	2	Y	Y	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
244.2	Montler (2018) pg. 582	LNK LOC-spread-TRANS-PASS-3POSS go OBL DET feathers	2	Y	Y	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
244.3	Montler (2018) pg. 583	So they went and spread the feathers all around. (ErC)	2	Y	Y	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	Y

245.1	Montler (1986) line 34	suʔ se-t-əŋ-s tsə swíwłəs "ʔáal ʔə tsə snəxʷəł. yéʔ lta kʷán-ət. "	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
245.2	Montler (1986) line 34	LNK order-TRANS-PASS-3POSS DEM young.man "go.aboard OBL DEM canoe. go 1.PL see-TRANS. "	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
245.3	Montler (1986) line 34	So he told the young man, "Get on the canoe. We'll go see."	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
246.1	Montler (2018) pg. 794	ʔəwə s ʔiʔ- yéʔ xʷyéłqən	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
246.2	Montler (2018) pg. 794	NEG NEG.s PROC?- go return	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
246.3	Montler (2018) pg. 794	He didn't go back. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
247.1	Montler (2018) pg. 794	néʔ xʷyéłqən	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
247.2	Montler (2018) pg. 794	come return	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
247.3	Montler (2018) pg. 794	Come back. (RS)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
248.1	Montler (2018) pg. 794	suʔyéʔ-s xʷyéłqən yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə šxʷléʔə-s kʷs ʔéʔləŋ-s θəwəniʔəyəʔ	4	N	N	Y	P-O- P-P	N	B	N	Y	Y
248.2	Montler (2018) pg. 794	LNK- go-3POSS return go go.to OBL DET location-3POSS DEM house-3POSS DET	4	N	N	Y	P-O- P-P	N	B	N	Y	Y
248.3	Montler (2018) pg. 794	So he went and returned to where their (the women's) house was. (GB)	4	N	N	Y	P-O- P-P	N	B	N	Y	Y
249.1	Montler (2018) pg. 795	háy θə náʔtʰəʔ, háʔ táyəm-t-əs tθə s-kʷéʔ-s šlīxəs, ʔiʔ níl suʔ- xʷyéłqən-s ʔənʔé kʷs uʔ-stéŋ ʔalʔ	2	N	N	Y	O-P	Y	AM	N	Y	Y
249.2	Montler (2018) pg. 795	only DET one.person, when put.on-TRANS-3SUBJ DET NOM- own-3POSS face.paint, PROC FOC LNK- return-3POSS come DEM CONTR-what LMT	2	N	N	Y	O-P	Y	AM	N	Y	Y
249.3	Montler (2018) pg. 795	The other one, when she puts on her paint, it will come back to whatever it was. (EC, VW)	2	N	N	Y	O-P	Y	AM	N	Y	Y
250.1	Montler (1986) line 74	suʔ se-t-əŋ-s yéʔ-əs ʔléʔ-əŋ ʔə kʷsə s-tálas ʔáxʷ ʔə tɬ smákʷəč.	2	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
250.2	Montler (1986) line 74	LNK order-TRANS-PASS-3POSS go-3SUBJ search-MDL OBL DEM spouse go.to OBL DEM smákʷəč	2	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
250.3	Montler (1986) line 74	He told him to go look for a wife over at Smákʷəč.	2	N	N	Y	P-O-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
251.1	Montler (2018) pg. 106	kʷlé-sət yéʔ ʔə tθə q(é)əł(ʔ)-n-əs ləʔ	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
251.2	Montler (2018) pg. 107	beg-REFL go OBL DET bad<RSLT><ACTL>-NCTrans- 3SUBJ PST	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
251.3	Montler (2018) pg. 108	He went begging to the people he was mad at. (CJ)	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
252.1	Montler (2018) pg. 666	suʔ-təs-s yéʔ ʔə tθə ʔəłéčəs	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	N	Y	Y
252.2	Montler (2018) pg. 666	LNK- arrive-3POSS go OBL DET island	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	N	Y	Y
252.3	Montler (2018) pg. 666	So they got to an island. (ErC)	2	N	N	Y	O-P	N	AM	N	Y	Y
253.1	Montler (2018) pg. 666	yéʔ sən səʔ ʔuʔ-təs	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
253.2	Montler (2018) pg. 666	go 1.SG FUT CONTR- arrive	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
253.3	Montler (2018) pg. 666	I will be there. (IM)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y

254.1	Montler (2018) pg. 666	tás ʔə tθə š-tás-s ʔiʔ-kʷánəŋət	2	N	N	Y	O-O	N	O	Y	N	Y
254.2	Montler (2018) pg. 666	arrive OBL DET STAT-arrive-3POSS PROC-run	2	N	N	Y	O-O	N	O	Y	N	Y
254.3	Montler (2018) pg. 666	They got to where they were going running. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	O-O	N	O	Y	N	Y
255.1	Montler (1986) line 26	suʔ xʷí<ʔ>t-əŋ<ʔ>-s tθəwinił ʔáxʷ ʔə tsə s-léʔə-s tsə mén-s qʷəl-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	M-P	Y	D	Y	N	N
255.2	Montler (1986) line 26	LNK jump<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL>-3POSS DEM go.to OBL DEM NOM-place-3POSS DEM father-3POSS cook-MDL	2	N	N	Y	M-P	Y	D	Y	N	N
255.3	Montler (1986) line 26	He jumped up where his father was barbecuing.	2	N	N	Y	M-P	Y	D	Y	N	N
256.1	Montler (2018) pg. 666	suʔ-yéʔ-s táal. táš ʔə tθéʔə.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
256.2	Montler (2018) pg. 666	LNK-go-3POSS go.over.water. arrive OBL DET.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
256.3	Montler (2018) pg. 666	So they went out in the water. They got there. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
257.1	Montler (2018) pg. 666	háʔ yéʔ táš ʔə tθə šxʷléʔə-s tθə ʔéʔləŋ-s tθə pəpəʔíŋ, ʔiʔ uʔ-šxʷətín ʔa	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
257.2	Montler (2018) pg. 666	when go arrive OBL DET location-3POSS DET house-3POSS DET skunk, CONJ CONTR-dislike certain	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
257.3	Montler (2018) pg. 666	When he went to where Skunk's home was, he was not welcome. (GB)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
258.1	Montler (2018) pg. 683	ʔənʔén' əw'ŋən' tθéʔənəŋ yéʔ šxʷ-iʔ-stésəl	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
258.2	Montler (2018) pg. 683	many LNK much particular.thing go 2.SG-PROC-be.near	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
258.3	Montler (2018) pg. 683	There were many that went there to be close. (PP)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
259.1	Montler (2018) pg. 683	suʔ-qʷələt-s stésəl ʔə tθə sánəwəʔə-s	2	N	N	Y	O-O	N	O	N	N	Y
259.2	Montler (2018) pg. 683	LNK-cook-3POSS be.near OBL DET controlled.fire-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	O-O	N	O	N	N	Y
259.3	Montler (2018) pg. 683	He cooked it close to his fire. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	O-O	N	O	N	N	Y
260.1	Montler (2018) pg. 683	yéʔ sxʷ ʔiʔ-stésəl ʔə tθə sʔəlíłlqəl kʷ ʔən'-s-iʔ-kʷən'ʔ-t	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
260.2	Montler (2018) pg. 683	go 2.SG PROC-be.near OBL DET child.PL COMP 2POSS-NOM-PROC-see<ACTL>-TRANS	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
260.3	Montler (2018) pg. 683	Go get close to the children when you see them. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
261.1	Montler (2018) pg. 683	kʷl-ʔənʔé čə ʔiʔ tuʔtxʷə-stésəl tθə stʰáqʷiʔ kʷ s-iʔ-weʔqəm'ʔ-s ʔi uʔ-kʷə-kʷčəŋi-t-əs	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
261.2	Montler (2018) pg. 683	REAL-come EVID PROC sort.of.MUT-be.near DET salmon COMP NOM-PROC-fish.dive<ACTL>-3POSS PROC CONTR-ACTL-yell-TRANS-3SUBJ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
261.3	Montler (2018) pg. 683	The salmon came closer as it was jumping and he was hollering to it (GB)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	Y
262.1	Montler (2018) pg. 680	yéʔ suʔ-tsət-s ʔə tθə stésəl-s tθə sʔəpiʔsnəč ʔə kʷ sʔənʔé-s xʷil'-t-əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
262.2	Montler (2018) pg. 680	go LNK-arrive.there-3POSS OBL DET be.near-3POSS DET tail OBL COMP NOM-come-3POSS lose-TRANS-PASS (throw)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y

262.3	Montler (2018) pg. 680	He went and approached where his tail got close when they threw it toward him. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
263.1	Montler (2018) pg. 680	ʔáwə kʷ s-yéʔ-s tsá-sət	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
263.2	Montler (2018) pg. 680	NEG COMP NOM-go-3POSS arrive.there-REFL	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
263.3	Montler (2018) pg. 680	He didn't go near it. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
264.1	Montler (2018) pg. 680	suʔ-ɣʷənəkʷéni-s, "ʔáyʷ kʷ nə-s-yéʔ tuʔ-tsá-sət kʷán-ət kʷə stéj-əs."	3	Y	N	Y	P-O-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
264.2	Montler (2018) pg. 680	LNK-think.so-3POSS, "good COMP 1SG-NOM-go sort.of-arrive.there-REFL see-TRANS if/when what-3SUBJ."	3	Y	N	Y	P-O-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
264.3	Montler (2018) pg. 680	So he thought, "I'd better get closer to look at what it is." (MP)	3	Y	N	Y	P-O-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
265.1	Montler (2018) pg. 667	ʔáwə s yéʔ ʔuʔt<á>s-sət	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
265.2	Montler (2018) pg. 667	NEG NEG.s go CONTR.arrive.there<ACTL>-REFL	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
265.3	Montler (2018) pg. 667	Don't go too close. (MP; EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
266.1	Montler (2018) pg. 667	ʔiʔ téti<ʔ> tθəwnəniʔləyəʔ ʔuʔ-təs-nəs-əŋ	2	Y	Y	Y	O-O	Y	O	Y	N	N
266.2	Montler (2018) pg. 667	CONJ canoe.race<ACTL> DET CONTR-arrive.there-INTENT-PASS	2	Y	Y	Y	O-O	Y	O	Y	N	N
266.3	Montler (2018) pg. 667	And they raced after them. (CP)	2	Y	Y	Y	O-O	Y	O	Y	N	N
267.1	Montler (2018) pg. 667	háy kʷənít-əs ʔiʔ tuʔ-<tʰé>tʰəp təs-nəs-əŋ ʔə tɬ xəʔəls	2	Y	Y	Y	O-O	N	O	Y	N	Y
267.2	Montler (2018) pg. 667	only take-TRANS-3SUBJ CONJ sort.of-<ACTL>busy arrive.there-INTENT-PASS OBL DET Changer	2	Y	Y	Y	O-O	N	O	Y	N	Y
267.3	Montler (2018) pg. 667	Only he took it and he was kind of busy when Changer arrived. (GB)	2	Y	Y	Y	O-O	N	O	Y	N	Y
268.1	Montler (2018) pg. 457	níʔ ləʔ tθə sʔəlʔéləxʷ ʔənʔé ɣʷəlqʷíləŋ ʔənʔé kʷs ʔáyʷskʷéčəl	3	N	N	Y	O-P-P	Y	B	N	Y	Y
268.2	Montler (2018) pg. 458	exist PST DET old.people come go.with.tide come COMP good weather	3	N	N	Y	O-P-P	Y	B	N	Y	Y
268.3	Montler (2018) pg. 459	Some of the old people came with the tide when the good weather came. (MP)	3	N	N	Y	O-P-P	Y	B	N	Y	Y
269.1	Montler (1986) line 16	suʔ yéʔ-s kʷəw<ʔ>əy<ʔ>kʷ tθəwníʔ spáalʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	N
269.2	Montler (1986) line 17	LNK go-3POSS fishhook<ACTL> DEM Raven	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	N
269.3	Montler (1986) line 18	So Raven went fishing. (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	N
270.1	Montler (1986) line 18	suʔ yéʔ s-kʷəw<ʔ>əy<ʔ>kʷ tθəwníʔ spáalʷ suʔ lələʔn-əŋ tθəwníʔ s-iʔ č-qéyʔʔəʔ-s tsə mén-s tsə sčéenəxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	N
270.2	Montler (1986) line 18	LNK go NOM(?)-fishhook<ACTL> DEM Raven LNK hear-MDL DEM NOM-CONJ have-catch<ACTL>-3POSS DEM father-3POSS DEM salmon	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	N
270.3	Montler (1986) line 18	So he went fishing and he could hear his father catching fish (salmon). (EC,VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	Y	AM	Y	Y	N
271.1	Montler (1986) line 51	s-iʔ suʔ yéʔ-s léel tθəwníʔ.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y

271.2	Montler (1986) line 51	NOM-CONJ LNK go-3POSS go.ashore DEM	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
271.3	Montler (1986) line 51	So he went ashore.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
272.1	Montler (1986) line 53	suʔ háy-s kʷə s-ʔi<ʔ>lənʔ-s suʔ yéʔ-s tǎkʷ.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
272.2	Montler (1986) line 53	finish-3POSS if/when NOM-eat<ACTL>-3POSS LNK go-3POSS go.home	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
272.3	Montler (1986) line 53	Then he finished eating and he went home.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
273.1	Montler (1986) line 77	suʔ yéʔ tθəwɪnɪl ʔáal ʔə tsə √qʷɪ=éyʔ.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
273.2	Montler (1986) line 77	LNK go DEM go.aboard OBL DEM log	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
273.3	Montler (1986) line 77	So he went on the log.	2	N	N	Y	P-P	Y	D	N	Y	Y
274.1	Montler (2018) pg. 531	sxʷ-ət sxʷ yéʔ ʔə tθə s-mé-məʔkʷ-əl sʔiʔʔəlqəl	2	Y	N	Y	O-P	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
274.2	Montler (2018) pg. 532	exit.bush-TRANS 2.SG go OBL DET STAT-RSLT-injure-DUR child	2	Y	N	Y	O-P	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
274.3	Montler (2018) pg. 533	Take the injured child out of the woods. (LGC)	2	Y	N	Y	O-P	C	AM	Y	Y	Y
275.1	Montler (2018) pg. 573	śál-əŋ sxʷ yéʔ ʔə tθə stʰəʔsónəŋ	2	N	N	Y	M-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
275.2	Montler (2018) pg. 573	climb-MDL 2.SGʔ go OBL DET ladder	2	N	N	Y	M-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
275.3	Montler (2018) pg. 575	Climb up the ladder. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	M-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
276.1	Montler (2018) pg. 67	ʔəyʔ kʷ nʔ-s- yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə kʷséʔə ʔélə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
276.2	Montler (2018) pg. 67	good COMP 2POSS-NOM- go go.to OBL DEM place	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
276.3	Montler (2018) pg. 67	You should go over to that place. (CJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
277.1	Montler (2018) pg. 81	yéʔ sxʷ ʔáxʷ ʔə táléʔə ʔənʔ-suʔ-kʷə<l>kʷəx-ət	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
277.2	Montler (2018) pg. 81	go 2.SG go.to OBL DET 2POSS-LNK-ACTL<PL>eject-TRANS	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
277.3	Montler (2018) pg. 81	Go over there and kick them out. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
278.1	Montler (2018) pg. 88	xč-ət kʷ ənʔ-s- yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə šxʷimélə kʷən-és-əŋ ʔə kʷ s-ʔilən	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
278.2	Montler (2018) pg. 88	know-TRANS COMP _-NOM- go go.to OBL DET store take-PTCAUS-MDL OBL COMP NOM-eat	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
278.3	Montler (2018) pg. 88	Figure out where you're going to go to pick out food at the store. (AJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
279.1	Montler (2018) pg. 108	s-šáʔʔəmʔ ə yəxʷ kʷ s- yéʔ -s ʔáxʷ ʔə kʷséʔə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
279.2	Montler (2018) pg. 108	STAT-correct _ must.be COMP NOM- go-3POSS go.to OBL DEM	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
279.3	Montler (2018) pg. 108	I wonder if it's all right if he/she goes there. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
280.1	Montler (2018) pg. 175	ná háléyʔ čəl qəl ʔisté yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə stiič	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
280.2	Montler (2018) pg. 175	indeed lets.go encourage EMPH! lets.go go go.to OBL DET bus	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
280.3	Montler (2018) pg. 175	Hurry! Let's get on the bus. (MPb)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
281.1	Montler (2018) pg. 195	yéʔ sxʷ ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə ʔiləxən	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
281.2	Montler (2018) pg. 195	go 2.SG go.to OBL DET edge	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y

281.3	Montler (2018) pg. 195	Go over to the edge. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
282.1	Montler (2018) pg. 197	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ ʔə tə ʔilənəwtxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
282.2	Montler (2018) pg. 197	go 1.SG go.to OBL DET restaurant	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
282.3	Montler (2018) pg. 197	I'm going to the restaurant. (IM)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
283.1	Montler (2018) pg. 228	níʔ suʔ-čéʔ-s yéʔ -s ʔáxʷ ʔə tə w-šxʷ-léʔə-s kʷ s-qəl<ʔ>-iŋ<ʔ>-s təwhəníʔləyəʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
283.2	Montler (2018) pg. 228	FOC LNK-immediate-3POSS go -3POSS go.to OBL DET _-for-location-3POSS COMP NOM-camp<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL>-3POSS 3SUBJ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
283.3	Montler (2018) pg. 228	Then they went right over to where they were camping. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
284.1	Montler (2018) pg. 240	háʔ yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə tə farmer kʷs qʷčínəʔ ʔə tə čákən	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
284.2	Montler (2018) pg. 240	if/when go go.to OBL DET farmer DEM kill OBL DET chicken	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
284.3	Montler (2018) pg. 240	When he went to the farmer's place, he killed the chicken. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
285.1	Montler (2018) pg. 252	čén-əs yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə tə nətʰəʔ qéqən	3	Y	N	Y	O-P-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
285.2	Montler (2018) pg. 252	move-PTCAUS go go.to OBL DET one pole	3	Y	N	Y	O-P-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
285.3	Montler (2018) pg. 252	She moved over to another house post. (CP)	3	Y	N	Y	O-P-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
286.1	Montler (2018) pg. 298	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ ʔə tə ləplašéwtxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
286.2	Montler (2018) pg. 298	go 1.SG go.to OBL DET lumberyard	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
286.3	Montler (2018) pg. 298	I'm going to the lumberyard. (HJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
287.1	Montler (2018) pg. 306	ʔənʔé ʔáxʷ ʔə léʔə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
287.2	Montler (2018) pg. 306	come go.to OBL here	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
287.3	Montler (2018) pg. 306	Come here. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
288.1	Montler (2018) pg. 347	ʔisté yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə ʔ mətúliyə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
288.2	Montler (2018) pg. 347	lets.go go go.to OBL DET Victoria	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
288.3	Montler (2018) pg. 347	Let's go over to Victoria. (IM)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
289.1	Montler (2018) pg. 347	yéʔ sən táal ʔáxʷ ʔə t mətúliyə	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
289.2	Montler (2018) pg. 347	go 1.SG go.over.water go.to OBL DET Victoria	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
289.3	Montler (2018) pg. 347	I'm going out over the water to Victoria. (AJ)	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
290.1	Montler (2018) pg. 364	yéʔ sən nətʰəwtxʷ-əŋ ʔáxʷ ʔə t Janet	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C	B	Y	Y	Y
290.2	Montler (2018) pg. 364	go 1.SG visit-MDL go.to OBL DET Janet	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C	B	Y	Y	Y
290.3	Montler (2018) pg. 364	I'll go over and visit Janet. (IM,RS)	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C	B	Y	Y	Y
291.1	Montler (2018) pg. 365	yéʔ sən nətʰəwtxʷ-əŋ ʔáxʷ ʔə tə nə-sčéʔčəʔ	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C	B	Y	Y	Y
291.2	Montler (2018) pg. 365	go 1.SG visit-MDL go.to OBL DET 1POSS-relative	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C	B	Y	Y	Y
291.3	Montler (2018) pg. 365	I'm going visiting over at my relative's. (LGC)	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C	B	Y	Y	Y
292.1	Montler (2018) pg. 370	yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə tʔ péstən tə níʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
292.2	Montler (2018) pg. 370	go go.to OBL DET States DET exist	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y

292.3	Montler (2018) pg. 370	Some were going over to the States. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
293.1	Montler (2018) pg. 396	ḡán' ləʔ yéʔ tuʔ- ʔáxʷ ʔə tθéʔə péstən s-ʔéʔit-s	3	N	N	Y	O-P-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
293.2	Montler (2018) pg. 396	many PST go sort.of- go.to OBL DET States NOM-fish.for.lingcod-3POSS	3	N	N	Y	O-P-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
293.3	Montler (2018) pg. 396	There were many going to the States lingcod fishing. (MP)	3	N	N	Y	O-P-P	N	B	Y	Y	Y
294.1	Montler (2018) pg. 396	ʔiʔwəwə yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ ʔə ʔ péstən	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
294.2	Montler (2018) pg. 396	maybe go 1.SG go.to OBL DET States	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
294.3	Montler (2018) pg. 396	I'm planning or thinking of going to the States. (AJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
295.1	Montler (2018) pg. 403	téŋən ʔiʔ yéʔ sən piʔát-əl ʔáxʷ ʔə kʷs léʔə lən<ʔ>kʷ-t tθə wíçəns, tənəqsən	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C	B	Y	Y	N
295.2	Montler (2018) pg. 403	evening CONJ go 1.SG hunt.duck-DUR go.to OBL DEM here shoot<ACTL>-TRANS DET wigeons, mallards	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C	B	Y	Y	N
295.3	Montler (2018) pg. 403	In the evening I'd go duck hunting over here shooting the wigeons, mallards. (BJ)	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C	B	Y	Y	N
296.1	Montler (2018) pg. 403	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə pipəhéwtxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
296.2	Montler (2018) pg. 403	go 1.SG go.to OBL DET post.office	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
296.3	Montler (2018) pg. 403	I'm going over to the post office. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
297.1	Montler (2018) pg. 407	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə pukéwtxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
297.2	Montler (2018) pg. 407	go 1.SG go.to OBL DET library	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
297.3	Montler (2018) pg. 407	I'm going over to the library. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
298.1	Montler (2018) pg. 464	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə skuléwtxʷ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
298.2	Montler (2018) pg. 464	go 1.SG go.to OBL DET schoolhouse	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
298.3	Montler (2018) pg. 464	I went over to the school. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
299.1	Montler (2018) pg. 464	yéʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə tɬ stéyəs	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
299.2	Montler (2018) pg. 464	go go.to OBL DET Pender.Island	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
299.3	Montler (2018) pg. 464	We went over to North Pender Island. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
300.1	Montler (2018) pg. 465	ʔuʔ-yéʔ sən léʔ ʔáxʷ ʔə tɬ stéyəs	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
300.2	Montler (2018) pg. 465	CONTR- go 1.SG again go.to OBL DET Pender.Island	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
300.3	Montler (2018) pg. 465	I went over to Pender Island again. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
301.1	Montler (2018) pg. 465	yéʔ-s uʔ-ʔáxʷ ʔə θə sɬéʔ-s	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N(?)	Y	Y
301.2	Montler (2018) pg. 465	go-3POSS LNK(?) - go.to OBL DET grandparent-3POSS	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N(?)	Y	Y
301.3	Montler (2018) pg. 465	He went over to his grandmother. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N(?)	Y	Y
302.1	Montler (2018) pg. 499	yéʔ sən ʔáxʷ ʔə tθə sčónəŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
302.2	Montler (2018) pg. 499	go 1.SG go.to OBL DET Shaker.Church	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
302.3	Montler (2018) pg. 499	I went over to the Shaker Church. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y

303.1	Montler (2018) pg. 503	sk ^w éy k ^w n [·] s-čǎlé<?>ən ʔiʔ yéʔ sx ^w x ^w yélqən ʔáx ^w ʔə k ^w sə n [·] -šx ^w léʔə ləʔ ʔə k ^w n [·] s-qəl<?>-iŋ<?>	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C		B	N	Y	Y
303.2	Montler (2018) pg. 503	unable COMP 2POSS-NOM-turn<ACTL> CONJ go 2.SG return go.to OBL DEM 2POSS-location PST? OBL COMP 2POSS-NOM-camp<ACTL>-MDL<ACTL>	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C		B	N	Y	Y
303.3	Montler (2018) pg. 503	You can't turn around and go back to the place where you stayed overnight. (MP)	3	N	N	Y	P-O-P	C		B	N	Y	Y
304.1	Montler (2018) pg. 534	yéʔ sən ʔáx ^w ʔə tθə smílə	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
304.2	Montler (2018) pg. 534	go 1.SG go.to OBL DET spirit.dance.gathering	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
304.3	Montler (2018) pg. 534	I went to the dance gathering. LGC(nr)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
305.1	Montler (2018) pg. 544	yéʔ sən ʔáx ^w ʔə ʔ sáʔək ^w	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
305.2	Montler (2018) pg. 544	go 1.SG go.to OBL DET Sooke	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
305.3	Montler (2018) pg. 544	I'm going to Sooke. (IM)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
306.1	Montler (2018) pg. 551	yéʔ ʔáx ^w ʔə tθə tuʔ-spəlχən tθéʔə sléniʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
306.2	Montler (2018) pg. 551	go go.to OBL DET sort.of-field DET woman	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
306.3	Montler (2018) pg. 551	That woman went over to the kind of field. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
307.1	Montler (2018) pg. 567	suʔ-yéʔ-s ʔáx ^w ʔə tθə stáʔlawʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
307.2	Montler (2018) pg. 567	LNK-go-3POSS go.to OBL DET river	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
307.3	Montler (2018) pg. 567	So he went over to the river. (VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
308.1	Montler (2018) pg. 601	ʔisté yéʔ ʔáx ^w ʔə ʔ sx ^w iméləl	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
308.2	Montler (2018) pg. 601	lets.go go go.to OBL DET Esquimalt	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
308.3	Montler (2018) pg. 601	Let's go over to Esquimalt. (IM)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y
309.1	Montler (2018) pg. 625	yéʔ sx ^w ʔáx ^w ʔə tθə šlqǎθ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
309.2	Montler (2018) pg. 625	go 2.SG go.to OBL DET opposite.side	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
309.3	Montler (2018) pg. 625	Go over to the other side. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
310.1	Montler (2018) pg. 626	yéʔ ʔə ʔáx ^w ʔə tθə š-mák ^v -əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
310.2	Montler (2018) pg. 626	go 1.PL go.to OBL DET NOM-claim-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
310.3	Montler (2018) pg. 626	We went over to the dump (to get some stuff). (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
311.1	Montler (2018) pg. 626	yéʔ sx ^w ʔáx ^w ʔə tθə š-mák ^w -əŋ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
311.2	Montler (2018) pg. 626	go 2.SG go.to OBL DET NOM-claim-MDL	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
311.3	Montler (2018) pg. 626	Go over to the dump. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
312.1	Montler (2018) pg. 628	yéʔ ʔə ʔáx ^w ʔə tθə tuʔ-sŋéʔčǎč	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
312.2	Montler (2018) pg. 628	go 1.PL go.to OBL DET sort.of-bay	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
312.3	Montler (2018) pg. 628	We'll go over to that kind of bay. (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C		D	N	Y	Y
313.1	Montler (2018) pg. 628	suʔ-χǎn-əŋ-s k ^w sə nə-mén, "yéʔ ʔáx ^w ʔə tǎléʔə tuʔ-sŋéʔčǎč."	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N		D	N	Y	Y

313.2	Montler (2018) pg. 628	LNK-say-MDL-3POSS DEM 1POSS-father, "go go.to OBL DET sort.of-bay."	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
313.3	Montler (2018) pg. 628	So my father said,"Go over there to that sort of bay." (MP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
314.1	Montler (2018) pg. 635	yéʔ sx ^w ʔáx^w ʔə tθə lətém. ʔən ⁻ suʔ-x ^w t ^θ əwěč-əŋ ʔə tθə st ^θ əwéčəən	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
314.2	Montler (2018) pg. 635	go 2.SG go.to OBL DET table. 2POSS-LNK-sit-MDL OBL DET chair	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
314.3	Montler (2018) pg. 635	Go over to the table. Then sit in a chair. (AJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
315.1	Montler (2018) pg. 646	yéʔ sx ^w ʔáx^w ʔə tθə ʔéʔləŋ; níʔ tθə sʔələs ʔən ⁻ suʔ-k ^w ən-ət	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
315.2	Montler (2018) pg. 646	go 2.SG go.to OBL DET house; exist DET image 2POSS-LNK-look-TRANS	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
315.3	Montler (2018) pg. 646	Go over to the house; there's a picture that I want you to look at. (AJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
316.1	Montler (2018) pg. 652	ʔéʔ tθə səʔ uʔ k ^w l- yéʔ ʔáx^w ʔə k ^w sə yéʔ ləʔ šx ^w -ʔáx ^w -tθə k ^w ə ʔéʔ-əs ténən	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
316.2	Montler (2018) pg. 652	also 1.PL FUT LNK REAL- go go.to OBL DEM go PST for- go.to -1.PL if/when again-3SUBJ evening	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
316.3	Montler (2018) pg. 652	We'll also go to where we went when it is evening again. (CP)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	Y	Y	Y
317.1	Montler (2018) pg. 679	yéʔ -s uʔ táal ʔáx^w ʔə tθə s-ʔək ^w á<ʔ>s-t-əŋ<ʔ> ʔə tθə lələθəən	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
317.2	Montler (2018) pg. 679	go -3POSS LNK(?) go.over.water go.to OBL DET NOM-teach<ACTL>-TRANS-PASS<ACTL> OBL DET eel	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
317.3	Montler (2018) pg. 679	He went out over to where he was told to by Eel. (CP)	3	N	N	Y	P-P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
318.1	Montler (2018) pg. 691	suʔ-čt-ét-s. suʔ-sʔiʔ-s tθəwñiʔ sqəlěw' k ^w s- yéʔ -s ʔáx^w ʔə tθə ʔéʔləŋ ʔə tɪ k ^w étən' k ^w səw ⁻ tx ^w léʔə-s ʔal'	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
318.2	Montler (2018) pg. 691	LNK-ask-TRANS-3POSS. LNK-desire-3POSS DEM beaver COMP NOM- go -3POSS go.to OBL DET house OBL DET mouse COMP LNK-stay.there-3POSS LMT	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
318.3	Montler (2018) pg. 691	He asked her. Beaver wanted to go over to Rat's house and stay with her. (VW)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
319.1	Montler (2018) pg. 701	suʔ- yéʔ -s x ^w yélhən yéʔ ʔáx^w ʔə tθə šx ^w léʔə-s k ^w s ʔéʔləŋ-s θəwñəniʔləyəʔ	4	N	N	Y	P-O-P-P	N	B	N	Y	Y
319.2	Montler (2018) pg. 701	LNK- go -3POSS return go go.to OBL DET woman-3POSS DEM house-3POSS DEM	4	N	N	Y	P-O-P-P	N	B	N	Y	Y
319.3	Montler (2018) pg. 701	So he went and returned to where their (the women's) house was. (GB)	4	N	N	Y	P-O-P-P	N	B	N	Y	Y
320.1	Montler (2018) pg. 721	yéʔ tθə ʔáx^w ʔə tθə t ^θ əxŋiněwtx ^w	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
320.2	Montler (2018) pg. 721	go 1.PL go.to OBL DET secondhand.store	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
320.3	Montler (2018) pg. 721	We went over to the second hand store. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y
321.1	Montler (2018) pg. 725	yéʔ tθə ʔáx^w ʔə k ^w sə t ^θ q ^w əŋěwtx ^w	2	N	N	Y	P-P	C	D	N	Y	Y

331.3	Montler (2018) pg. 26	I'm going to move. (AJ)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
332.1	Montler (2018) pg. 26	yéʔ sən səʔ čénəl kʷə kʷéʔčəl'-əs	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
332.2	Montler (2018) pg. 26	go 1.SG FUT move if/when day.break-3SUBJ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
332.3	Montler (2018) pg. 26	I am going to move tomorrow. (IM,RS)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	C	AM	N	Y	Y
333.1	Montler (2018) pg. 26	yéʔ-t-əs tθə ʔéwkʷ kʷ s-yéʔ-s čénəl	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
333.2	Montler (2018) pg. 26	go-CAUS-3SUBJ DET belongings COMP NOM-go-3POSS move	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
333.3	Montler (2018) pg. 26	They took their belongings and moved away. (CP)	2	Y	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	N	Y	Y
334.1	Montler (2018) pg. 26	suʔ-kʷən-ət-s tθə sʔilən-s s-yéʔ-s ʔuʔ-čénəl	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
334.2	Montler (2018) pg. 26	LNK-take-TRANS-3POSS DET NOM-eat-3POSS NOM-go-3POSS CONTR-move	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
334.3	Montler (2018) pg. 26	So he took his food and moved. (GB)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y	Y	Y
335.1	Montler (2018) pg. 27	čénəŋ səʔ tθə snəxʷəl ʔənʔé-ʔəs téčəl tθə swáyqəʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y(?)	Y	Y
335.2	Montler (2018) pg. 27	move FUT DET canoe come- __ arrive.here DET man	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y(?)	Y	Y
335.3	Montler (2018) pg. 27	The canoe will be moved when the man arrives. (LGC)	2	N	N	Y	P-O	N	AM	Y(?)	Y	Y
336.1	Montler (n.d.) Section 63, Line 8	ʔiʔ hiʔəw'čə kʷəče tθə s-kʷtaʔ kʷ s-kʷl-yeʔ-s ʔist tθəwnəniʔlyəʔ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
336.2	Montler (n.d.) Section 63, Line 8	CONJ front EVID therefore DET NOM-Raven COMP NOM-REAL-go-3POSS paddle 3SUBJ	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
336.3	Montler (n.d.) Section 63, Line 8	Raven was in the bow when they went paddling.'	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	Y	Y	Y
337.1	Montler (n.d.) Section 63, Line 9	suʔ yeʔ-s ʔist	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
337.2	Montler (n.d.) Section 63, Line 9	LNK go-POSS paddle	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y
337.3	Montler (n.d.) Section 63, Line 9	So they went off paddling.'	2	N	N	Y	P-P	N	D	N	Y	Y