Serial Verbs and Complex Paths in Klallam

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Klallam expresses complex paths in constructions that involve series of motion and location verbs. When no medial legs are mentioned, the end legs (source and goal) of a path are denominal verbs marked by prefixes meaning ‘go to’, ‘go from’, and ‘be at’. Medial legs, marked by a verb meaning ‘go via’, differ from end legs in that their constituent structure must include a prepositional phrase specifying the trajectory or manner of motion. When a medial leg is specified, a goal appears as a renominalized derived verb in a complement clause. The legs form distinct constituents that can be put in any order, with the subject and other enclitics following whichever word comes first.

**KEYWORDS:** Straits Salishan; Klallam; serial verb; path

1. Introduction.

Klallam1 is a verb-initial, moderately polysynthetic language that expresses motion events in serial verb constructions. This paper describes and illustrates these constructions and discusses the place of Klallam in a typology of motion events.

Section 2 of this paper shows that Klallam lexically encodes path elements in verbs and that details of a path are encoded in verbal sister constituents in serial verb constructions.

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Section 3 looks at complex paths, complete traversals from source to goal, in light of typological proposals by Ross (1992, 1995), which find systematic, structural asymmetries between end legs (expressions of source and goal) and medial legs (expressions of trajectory, mode of motion, etc.). Such asymmetries are found in Klallam. Section 4 discusses a further asymmetry between the expression of the starting and ending points of a path that arises only when a specific mode or trajectory is also expressed in the sentence. Section 5 looks at Klallam motion events from the point of view of Talmy’s 1991 typology, as modified by Zlatev and Yangklang 2004 and Slobin 2004. Section 6 looks at possible historical/comparative sources for the morphology of Klallam motion event constructions.

Before paths can be explored, a little background on the structure of the Klallam clause is necessary. Section 1.1 describes the basic sentence structure and demonstrates the polysynthetic nature of Klallam. Section 1.2 shows the basic syntax and function of the Klallam preposition.

1.1. Basic sentence structure.

As is typical of polysynthetic languages, in Klallam several substantive—verbal, adjectival, and nominal—concepts can combine morphologically in the main verb. Though most of the examples in this paper do not show this, examples in (1), ordinary sentences from conversations between fluent native speakers, will serve to demonstrate that Klallam is polysynthetic.

(1) a. ʔuʔ-čq-éqʷ ḗiw ʔáwə-no s-ηəč-áy-s.²
   CONTR-have-big-head CONJ not-exist NOM-pus-container-3POS
   ‘He has a big head but no brains.’


b. ʔaʔč̕-ikʷ-ʔ-t-əŋ ʔaʔ kʷə na-síyaʔ.
    change-clothing-TRNVZ-PSV OBL DET 1POS-grandparent
    ‘His clothes were changed by my grandfather.’

c. ʔáwə-na na-kʷ-lʔaʔ-čixʷ-ícn.
    not-exist 1POS-accompany-go.to-enter-back
    ‘I’ve got nobody to go with me to Port Angeles.’

In Klallam the verb comes first in the clause. The main verb can be preceded by one of
a closed class of auxiliaries or intensifiers which may require a connecting morpheme ʔiʔ or
ʔuʔ (see Montler 2003 for discussion of these constructions):

(2) a. ƛ̕ácu cə nəsčάʔcaʔ.
    sleep DET my.friend
    ‘My friend is fishing.’

b. hiyáʔ ƛ̕ácu.
    go.away fish
    ‘He/she’s going fishing.’

c. χʷʔəʔ ʔiʔ ƛ̕ácu.
    can CON fishing
    ‘He can fish.’

d. ƛ̕áyʔ ʔuʔ ƛ̕ácu.
    also CON fish
    ‘He’s fishing, too.’

There is a class of around twenty second-position clitics that serve to situate the speech
act. These include the markers for first and second person subjects, questions, imperatives,
tense, evidentials, etc. These enclitics always follow the first word of the clause, whatever it
is. The examples in (3) are structurally the same as those in (2) with the addition of second-
position, speech act enclitics.

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3 The word for ‘Port Angeles’, čixʷícn, refers to the harbor inside and behind the spit at the site of the town.
Many of the words in the following examples are similarly morphologically complex. The internal
morphology is shown only where it is relevant to the issue under discussion.
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(3) a. ƛ̕ácu_u_yaʔ čəʔəŋcát.
   fish_QUEST_PAST DET your.father
   ‘Did your father fish?’

b. híyáʔ_čn ƛ̕ácu.
   go.away_1SUBJ fish
   ‘I’m going fishing.’

c. xʷʔən_č_čxʷʔıʔ ƛ̕ácu.
   can_EVID_2SUBJ CON fish
   ‘Apparently, you can fish.’

d. ƛ̕áy_caʔ stʔuʔ ƛ̕ácu.
   really_FUT_1PLSUBJ CON fish
   ‘We will fish, too.’

Klallam has several types of specially marked subordinate clauses. These are illustrated in (4).

(4) a. híyáʔ_čn kʷaʔʔitt-xʷ.
   go.away_1SUBJ if/when sleep-2SBDSUBJ
   ‘I’ll go if you sleep.’

b. híyáʔ_čn ʔəłʔitt-xʷ.
   go.away_1SUBJ while sleep-2SBDSUBJ
   ‘I’ll go while you sleep.’

c. ʔánə-t-ən_čn či nə-s-kʷón-c.
   allow-TRNVZ-PSV_1SUBJ DET 1POS-NM-see-TRNVZ:2OBJ
   ‘I was allowed to see you.’

d. ʔánə-t-ən_čn či nə-s-ʔənʔá kʷón-c.
   allow-TRNVZ-PSV_1SUBJ DET 1POS-NM-come see-TRNVZ:2OBJ
   ‘I was allowed to come see you.’
In example (4a) the subordinate clause is preceded by the particle \( k^w \)a? ‘if, when’. In (4b) it is preceded by \( ?a\) ‘while’. These types of subordinate clauses have subject markers from the subjunctive paradigm. Examples (4c-d) show sentential complements. The first word—the main verb, auxiliary, intensifier, or first verb of a series—of a complement clause is nominalized and it takes a subjective genitive subject. In (4c-d) the first person possessive marks the complement subject. As will be shown in section 4, sentential complements and ‘if’ clauses are relevant to complex paths in Klallam.

1.2. The preposition and oblique objects.

Non-predicative nouns are usually preceded by a demonstrative determiner (Montler 2007). There is only one preposition in Klallam, \( ?a\). Aside from the pronominal possessive affixes, it is the only marker of oblique case. It can mark various semantic roles, as shown in (5), where the prepositional phrase is in boldface.

In (5a) the preposition marks the agent of the passive. In (5b)-(5d) it marks locations. In (5e) it marks genitive and in (5f), a causal.

(5) a. \[ k^w \text{natəŋ}_\text{ya}_\text{?}_\text{cn} \ ?a? \ cə \ ɬáʔni\. \]
   is.helped\_PAST\_1SUBJ OBL DET girl
   ‘I was helped by the girl.’

b. \[ šáʔwi? \ ?a? \ cə \ sáκss. \]
   growing OBL DET her.face
   ‘It’s growing on her face.’

c. \[ sáʔáq\w through ?a? \ cə \ čouse. \]
   is.stuck OBL DET his.tooth
   ‘It’s stuck in his teeth.’

d. \[ ?stásŁ \ ?a? \ cə \ sùcáʔi. \]
   is.close OBL DEM weeds
   ‘They are close to the weeds.’

e. \[ cát\_cxw \ ?a? \ cə \ nəŋəŋaʔ. \]
   father\_2SUBJ OBL DET my.child
   ‘You are the father of my child.’
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f. qəmísit\_cn  ?a?  či  saplíń.
   beg.him\_1SUBJ  OBL  DET  bread
   ‘I begged him for some bread.’

Example (6) shows that it is possible to get more than one of these prepositional phrases in a clause, though three or four seem to be the limit of acceptability.

   is.brought\_PAST  OBL  DET  his.son  OBL  DET  our.land
   ‘He was brought by his son to our land.’

The context usually makes the semantics of the oblique marker clear. The lack of numerous adpositions and case makers in Klallam compared to English and other languages is compensated for by the many verbs that encode path and location.

2. Location and directed-motion verbs.
   Instead of the location and direction adpositions, case markers, or verbal direction affixes found in many languages, Klallam has a large number of verbs that indicate location and direction. Thus far 84 location verbs and 115 directed-motion verbs have been observed in Klallam. The location verbs are shown in (7) and directed-motion verbs are shown in (8):
(7) Klallam location verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Klallam (Klallam)</th>
<th>English (English)</th>
<th>English (English)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔáckw’</td>
<td>‘be on deep water’</td>
<td>ʔiyá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔátaʔ</td>
<td>‘be here’</td>
<td>ʔiyax̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọcūʔ</td>
<td>‘be in the middle’</td>
<td>ʔiyax̓ʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọsáʔ</td>
<td>‘be in the brush’</td>
<td>ʔiʔw̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọsáʔ</td>
<td>‘be outside’</td>
<td>ʔacú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọscáʔ</td>
<td>‘be between’</td>
<td>ʔacw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọscáʔ</td>
<td>‘be up in mountains’</td>
<td>ʔacw̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọscáʔ</td>
<td>‘be on top, upstairs’</td>
<td>ʔčiʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọscéʔ</td>
<td>‘be close to’</td>
<td>ʔčaʔaw̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọscíʔ</td>
<td>‘be through (a hole)’</td>
<td>ʔčaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọscíʔ</td>
<td>‘be inside out’</td>
<td>ʔčapí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọscíʔ</td>
<td>‘be inside’</td>
<td>ʔčʔiʔq̕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọsk̕</td>
<td>‘be in the back seat’</td>
<td>ʔčʔaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọsnáʔ</td>
<td>‘be in’</td>
<td>ʔčʔiyá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọsq̕aʔ</td>
<td>‘be outside’</td>
<td>ʔčʔiyax̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọsq̕aʔ</td>
<td>‘be in water’</td>
<td>ʔčʔy̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọsq̕áʔ</td>
<td>‘be in shelter’</td>
<td>ʔčʔiʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọsq̕</td>
<td>‘be out of the way’</td>
<td>ʔčʔaw̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọs̕aʔ</td>
<td>‘be close by’</td>
<td>ʔčʔx̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọs̕aʔ</td>
<td>‘be in a row’</td>
<td>ʔháʔw̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọs̕aʔ</td>
<td>‘be down a drop’</td>
<td>ʔhέʔu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔọs̕x̕</td>
<td>‘be down’</td>
<td>ʔkʷʔn̕mt̕uy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔiʔaʔ</td>
<td>‘be aboard’</td>
<td>ʔkʷsáʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔiʔć́ʔy̓</td>
<td>‘be ahead’</td>
<td>ʔk̕tí̕s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔiʔc̕áʔ</td>
<td>‘be ahead, in front’</td>
<td>ʔću</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔiʔkʷ</td>
<td>‘be behind’</td>
<td>ʔk̕íʔw̓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔiʔnaʔ</td>
<td>‘be in sight’</td>
<td>ʔtc̕č̕in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔiʔw̓</td>
<td>‘be beside, alongside’</td>
<td>ʔłák̕č̕ı</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(8) Klallam directed-motion verbs

?ock’iyı̓ ’go far off shore’
?oča’wı̓ yı̓ ’go around outside’
ʔoná ’come’
ʔoxʷ’č̕ i ’move away’
ʔiʔkʷʔən̓ tə́ ’go together with’
ʔiʔ Háʔaʔ ’go through’
ʔiʔ HáʔHu ’go away from’
ʔáxʷ ’go to’
ʔúy ’go aboard’
caʔcác’t ’go on ahead’
śún ’go up against’
čáxʷ ’go out of sight’
ciaʔwı̓ yı̓ ’go up high’
čáw ’go through a hole’
čú ’go up from water’
čé’ányı̓ ’go up on top’
číčáyə́ ’go uphill’
čín ’go near’
číji ’arrive near’
číw ’go out of sight’
čání ’move away’
čiʔáw ’go past’
čiʔé’ıyı̓ ’move up and down’
čiʔáct ’go forward, ahead’
čaʔwı̓ yı̓ ’go over to other side’
čáy ’arrive home’
čáyə́ ’turn around, rotate’
čáyə́xʷ ’go inside’
čaʔ’awı̓ yı̓ ’go on the inside’
héʔwi ’go forward’
howı̓ yı̓ ’go back, return’
híw ’come into sight’
hiyáʔ ’go away, leave’
uʔúčə́ ’go beyond’
kʷsíʔ ’go downstream’
kʷsáʔčə́ ’go to the inside’
tlíʔaʔ ’go same way’
táw ’go away’

lcú ’go toward water’
lsə́ ’come off’
lk’áʔsə́ ’go behind, follow’
lqíčınə́ ’go to other edge’
lqú ’go away from’
lúy ’go underneath’
lxíg ’go down; sink’
lxíq ’go out of water’
lxíw ’get away’
míx’yə́ ’go back and forth’
náw ’go into’
náʃqə́ ’go down into water’
nav’xawı̓ yı̓ ’go along a trail’
p’śk ’rise to surface’
p’súyə́ ’go against flow’
qá ’go into water’
qíg ’go alongside’
qáx ’get out of the way’
qáwı̓ yə́ ’go around corner’
qáw ’go around’
qáw ’rise up’
qáw ’go to the inside’
qáw ’go over hill’
qáy ’go over water’
qáy ’go over water’
qáy ’get away from’
qáy ’go here’
qáy ’go back’
qáy ’come toward’
qáy ’get to’
qáy ’go to the front’
qáy ’go toward’
qamíx ’arrive back’
qawí ’arrive over water’
qay ’go back’
qay ’go via’
qay ’go toward’
lák ’go across’
lán ’go ashore’
líʔ ’recede’
líʔ ’across’
líʔ ’come together’
líʔ ’in line next to’
líʔ ’go among’
líʔ ’go around’
líʔ ’go home’
líʔ ’go wrong way’
wáʔ ’go along with’
xáʔ ’arrive down’
xáʔ ’go away from’
xáʔ ’come into view’
xáʔ ’go apart’
xáʔ ’go with the wind’
xáʔ ’go down’
xáʔ ’go below, back’
xáʔ ’arrive at the end’
xáʔ ’go with the flow’
xáʔ ’go upstream’
xaʔ ’go far away’
xaʔ ’get up to, even’
Any of these words in (7) and (8) can be the main verb of a sentence. Some examples of the location verbs are shown in (9) and the motion verbs in (10).

(9) a. tlnáʔač_caʔ_cn.
    be.across_FUT_1SUBJ
    ‘I’ll be across.’

b. ?iyá_yaʔ_u_cxʷ?
    be.there_PAST_QUEST_2SUBJ
    Were you there?

c. cáw čǝʔǝ́yčǝns.
    be.up.on.the.beach DET her.younger.sister
    ‘Her younger sister was up on the beach.’

(10) a. t̕úkʷYaʔ_st.
    go.home_PAST_1PLSUBJ
    ‘We went home.’

b. t̕ákʷi_caʔ_cn.
    go.across_FUT_1SUBJ
    ‘I’ll go across.’

c. wáʔ_u_q_cn?
    go.along_QUEST_HYP_1SUBJ
    ‘Could I go along?’

2.1. Location and directed-motion verbs in series.

These location and directed-motion verbs may occur alone as main verbs, but more often they occur in series. Serial location verbs are illustrated in (11) and motion verbs in (12).

(11) ?iyá_caʔ_cn  tlnáʔač  cáw.
    be.there_PAST_1SUBJ be.across be.up.on.the.beach
    ‘I’ll be across there on the beach.’
(12)  hiyáʔ_yaʔ_cn  waʔ  ?úxʷ  lákʷi  lükʷw.
    go.away_PAST_1SUBJ  go.along  go.to  go.across  go.home
   ‘I went along (with someone) across (the strait) over to home.’

In (11) and (12) none of the verbs is subordinate to any other. None of the subordination proclitics and affixes, as shown in (4), is present or possible in these sentences. The order is flexible, with initial position being the focus and the speech act enclitics following whichever comes first. Two or three of these verbs in series is very common; five, as in example (12), though not uncommon, seems to be the limit of acceptability.

It is possible to get location verbs combined in series with directed-motion verbs, but there are few examples. One example is (13).

    be.up.on.the.beach  go.to  go.in  OBL  DET  house
   ‘She went into the house up on the beach.’

Motion verbs specifying manner also occur in Klallam and can freely combine in series with the directed-motion verbs. A few examples are shown in (14).

(14)  a.  kʷánəŋat_cn  sqíyŋ.
    run_1SUBJ  go.out
   ‘I ran outside.’

b.  ?ənʔá_cn  kʷánəŋat  lükʷ.
    come_1subj  run  go.home
   ‘I came running home.’

c.  štəŋ  hiyáʔ  ?úxʷ  ?aʔ  tə  spúqʷs.
    walk  go  go.to  OBL  DET  bluff
   ‘He walked over to the bluff.’

d.  Ɂəŋʔəŋ  lákʷi  ?aʔ  cə  stúʔwi.
    swim  go.across  OBL  DET  river
   ‘It swam across the river.’

They can also combine in series with verbs such as ƛ́áy ‘be again’ and čáy ‘work’ that do not express motion or location:

In other serializing languages, such as Thai, the path verb must follow the manner verb in series and can be analyzed as an adverbial satellite (Zlatev and Yangklang 2004). In Klallam there seems to be no limit on the ordering of manner and path verbs. In (16) the manner verb is preceded and followed by directed-motion verbs in series.

(16) hiyáʔ cn sqíyŋ kʷánətʔ úxʷʔ aʔ sqʔiʔmətáwtxʷ.
go.away_1SUBJ go.out run go.to OBL DET toilet
‘I ran to the outhouse.’

All of these examples of verbs in series show that none of the verbs modify the others nor do they refer to a sequence of events. Events in sequence are expressed in clauses conjoined with ?iʔ. One example is given in (17).

(17) ʔenʔá  či  čayoxʷ ʔiʔ  ʔamət ʔiʔ  ʔíʔn.
come IMP  go.in CONJ sit CONJ eat.
‘Come in, sit down and eat.’

2.2. Transitive verbs in series.

Thus far, all of the verbs in the examples are intransitive. It is possible, though less common, to get a transitive verb as part of the series. The examples in (18) each have a transitive verb as one of the series.

(18) a. xʷítəŋ̕yaʔ txʷaʔcícł ƛ̕ná-s.
jump_PAST go.high get it-3SUBJ
‘He jumped high and got it.’

b. ?úxʷ cnət  cə  slapúʔ.
go.to bite.it DET Slapu.
‘Go bite Slapu (the witch).’

c. kʷənət-cn  hiyáʔ  ?úxʷ  ʔákwi.
help- TRVZR:3OBJ_1SUBJ go.away go.to go.across
‘I helped him go across.’
d.  kʷonánja-c  ʔúxʷ  ɬákʷi.  
\[\text{help-TRVR:1OBJ go.to go.across}\]
‘Help me go across.’

e.  híyáʔ_çaʔ_斯坦  xʷkwíst  ʔúxʷ  ʔaʔ  ti  ɬáč  ɬáč.  
\[\text{go.away_FUT_1PLSUBJ tow.it go.to OBL DET deep saltwater}\]
‘We’ll tow it out to the deep water.’

Unlike sentences with all intransitive verbs, the word order makes a difference when transitive verbs are in the series. In (18a-b) the transitive verb is at the end of the series, and the subject is the same for all verbs in the sentence, as in all the previous examples of the serial construction. In (18c-d) the subject of the intransitive motion verbs is the same as the object of the initial transitive verb. In (18e) an initial motion verb and a following transitive verb share the same subject, while the subject of the third verb in the series is the object of the transitive verb. In general, the subject of all verbs in series is the same unless one is transitive. In that case, the subject of following verbs is the same as the object of the transitive.

2.3. Derived directed-motion verbs.

Some of the location verbs are derived from directed-motion verbs with the addition of the stative ʔas- prefix. For example, ʔasqást ‘be in water’ comes from qós ‘go into water’. Similarly, many of the directed-motion verbs in (8) can be seen to be derived from location verbs shown in (7). The -ŋ ‘middle voice’ suffix on many of them, for example, makes an intransitive verb taking an agentive subject. And the -íy suffix adds the idea of motion to a basically stative stem, as shown in (19).

(19) a.  sáoq  ‘be outside’  sqíyn̓  ‘go outside’

b.  ɬáč  ‘be deep’  ɬéy̓íyn̓  ‘go down, sink’

When the path of motion involves definite, specific places in the source and goal, motion verbs are derived by adding prefixes to the specific place names. There are two prefixes that derive motion verbs: ɬáʔ- ‘go to’ and ʔsáʔ- ‘go from’.

(20) a. ḡaʔtáwn.cn.
    go.to.town_1SUBJ
    ‘I went to town.’

b. čšaʔtáwn.cn.
    go.from.town_1SUBJ
    ‘I went from town.’

These are truly derived verbs—not case-marked nouns. They can take subjects as in (20) and can be transitivized as in (21a), passivized as in (21b), or imperfective as in (21c) just as any other verb:

(21)  a. ḡaʔtáwn-txʷ.cn
    go.to.town-CAUS_1SUBJ
    ‘I took it to town’

b. ḡaʔtáwn-t-ǝŋ.cn
    go.to.town-CAUS-PSV_1SUBJ
    ‘I was made to go to town’

c. ḡaʔttáʔwn.cn
    go.to.town[with imperfective reduplication and infix]_1SUBJ
    ‘I’m going to town’

Verbs derived with these two prefixes can occur in series with each other and with other directed-motion verbs. When two such verbs occur together in a sentence, they encode an event that is a complete traversal from source to goal—a complex path.

3. Complex paths.

The following discussion uses terminology from Ross 1995, which looks at the properties of complex paths in English, German, and Brazilian Portuguese. Ross uses the term ‘path’ what is called here ‘complex path’. In this paper the term ‘complex path’ is used in order to distinguish this from the use of ‘path’ by Talmy 1991 and others to refer to the semantic path element that is encoded in the verb in verb-framed languages and elsewhere in satellite-framed language. See section 5 for more on this typological classification. The constituents of a complex path are shown in (22).
(22) (adapted from Ross 1995:271)

Complex Path

(Theme) V (Source) (Trajectory) (Direction) (Extent) (Speed) (Extent) (Goal) (Mode)

I traveled from LA along Rt. 1 northwards 450 miles at 60 all the way to SF on foot

Each of the constituents of the semantic path is a ‘leg’. Source, which is the initial leg, and goal, which is the final leg, are ‘end legs’. The others are ‘medial legs’.

3.1. Source and goal.

The ḥáʔ- and čšaʔ- derived motion verbs of Klallam can be used in series to express the end—initial and final—legs of a path. As with the other directed-motion verbs, the order is flexible, as shown in (23).

(23) a. čšaʔéʔłxʷaʔ_cn ḥaʔmitúliyə.
    go.from.Elwha_1SUBJ go.to.Victoria
    ‘I went from Elwha to Victoria.’

    b. ḥaʔmitúliyə_cn čšaʔéʔłxʷaʔ.
    go.to.Victoria_1SUBJ go.from.Elwha
    ‘I went to Victoria from Elwha.’

Other directed-motion verbs can be used in series with these and, as with other directed-motion verbs, the order of the constituents can be changed with only a change in focus. This is demonstrated in (24).

(24) a. ṭákʷi_cn ḥaʔmitúliyə čšaʔéʔłxʷaʔ.
    go.across_1SUBJ go.to.Victoria go.from.Elwha
    ‘I went across to Victoria from Elwha.’
3.2. Medial legs.

Medial legs—trajectory and mode—are specified using the word txánəŋ ‘go via, go through, go by way of’. This is a directed-motion verb and can function as a main verb in a single verb construction as in (25a) or in series with other verbs as in (25b).

(25)  a. txánəŋ yaʔ cn.
      go.via_PAST 1SUBJ
      ‘I went that way/I went through.’

        b. hiyáʔ yaʔ cn ?uxʷ txánəŋ.
      go.away_PAST 1SUBJ go.to  go.via
      ‘I went over that way.’

A medial leg indicating trajectory or mode of movement is specified as the object of a prepositional phrase following txánəŋ. These are illustrated in (26).

(26)  a. txánəŋ cn ?aʔ cə súł.
      go.via 1SUBJ OBL DET road/door
      ‘I went by the road/through the door.’

        b. txánəŋ cn ?aʔ cə násnáxʷl.
      go.via 1SUBJ OBL DET my.canoe
      ‘I went by canoe.’
A source leg marked by the čšaʔ- prefix can be used with a constituent headed by txáŋəŋ as in (27).

(27) a. čšaʔéʔlxʷaʔ_ čňaŋəŋ ?aʔ cə nəsnəxʷl.
go from Elwha _1 SUBJ go via OBL DET my canoe
I went from Elwha by canoe.

b. čšaʔéʔlxʷaʔ_ čňaŋəŋ ?aʔ cə táwn.
go from Elwha _1 SUBJ go via OBL DET town
I went from Elwha through town.

c. čňaŋəŋ _ cn ?aʔ cə nəsnəxʷl čšaʔéʔlxʷaʔ.
go via _1 SUBJ OBL DET my canoe go from Elwha
I went by canoe from Elwha.

The phrase headed by txáŋəŋ and followed by a prepositional phrase forms an inviolable constituent. The order of the two major constituents can be reversed as in (26c), but the source leg cannot be inserted into the txáŋəŋ phrase.

3.3. A source/goal asymmetry.

Given sentences like those in (23) and (24) where the source is marked by the čšáʔ- prefix and the goal is symmetrically marked by theƛáʔ- prefix, we might expect that we could simply change the čšaʔ- to ƛɑʔ- in sentences like (27) to get sentences meaning ‘I went to Elwha by canoe’ and ‘I went by canoe to Elwha’. But this is not possible. There is an asymmetry between source and goal that can be seen when the goal is mentioned with a specified medial leg. (28a) and (28b) differ, respectively, from (27a) and (27c) only in that the čšaʔ- ‘go from’ prefix is replaced with theƛɑʔ- ‘go to’ prefix. (28a, b) cannot be used to mean ‘I went to Elwha by canoe’ and ‘I went by canoe to Elwha.’ They are consistently rejected by native speakers.

go to Elwha _1 SUBJ go via OBL DET my canoe

Instead we get an entirely different construction. To express a goal with a txánọŋ-marked medial leg, the l̕áʔ-derivative directed-motion verb must be nominalized in a sentential complement construction. When the source and trajectory are encoded together in a sentence, they appear as equal serial verbs, as in (27). In contrast, when the goal and trajectory are encoded together in a sentence, the goal must appear as a sentential complement in a subordinate clause, as shown in (29a). Example (29b), structurally parallel to (29a) is not a complex path. It is given here to show how this subordinate construction is used elsewhere.

    go.via_1SUBJ OBL DET my.canoe DET 1POS-NOM-go.to.Elwha
    ‘I went by canoe to (go to) Elwha.’

    allow-PSV_1SUBJ OBL DET my.mother DET 1POS-NOM-go.to.Elwha
    ‘I was allowed by my mother to go to Elwha.’

The source can be added to (29a) by simply adding the čšaʔ-derivative directed-motion verb either at the beginning of the sentence (30a) or before (30b) or after (30c) the sentential complement goal:

(30)  a. čša?mitúliya _cn txánọŋ ?a? cо nəsnóxʷʔ
    go.from.Victoria_1SUBJ go via OBL DET my.canoe
    či nə-s-l̕aʔéʔlxʷaʔ.
    DET 1POS-NOM-go.to.Elwha
    ‘I went from Victoria by canoe to (go to) Elwha.’

b. txánọŋ _cn ?a? cо nəsnóxʷʔ čša?mitúliya
    go.via_1SUBJ OBL DET my.canoe go.from.Victoria
    či nə-s-l̕aʔéʔlxʷaʔ.
    DET 1POS-NOM-go.to.Elwha
    ‘I went by canoe from Victoria to (go to) Elwha.’
c. txáŋəŋ cn ?a? co nəsnóxʷtı̱
   go via 1SUBJ OBL DET my canoe
   či nə-s-Xaʔéʔl̓xʷaʔ čšaʔmitúliyə.
   DET 1POS-NM-go.to.Elwha go.from.Victoria
   ‘I went by canoe to (go to) Elwha from Victoria.’

Other verbs that express the manner of movement, such as štόŋ ‘walk’, šəŋúʔəŋ ‘swim’, xʷítəŋ ‘jump’, and kʷnáŋət ‘run’, do not require the subordination of the final leg. Just as in examples in (24), they allow the serial patterning of source and goal.

(31) štόŋ_u cxʷ Xaʔčixʷícn čšaʔéʔl̓xʷaʔ?
    walk QUEST 2SUBJ go.to.Port.Angeles go.from.Elwha
    ‘Did you walk to Port Angeles from Elwha?’

It seems that the key difference between sentences like (24) and (31) in contrast with txáŋəŋ sentences is that txáŋəŋ is used to express a definite medial leg of a path. When other directed-motion verbs are used to express a definite path, they use the same pattern as txáŋəŋ. (32) is one example.

(32) híyáʔ ḡtáwəł ?aʔ co číkčók.
    go go.around OBL DET wagon
    ‘She went around the wagon.’

However, I have no examples of other directed-motion verbs used as medial legs in conjunction with a definite final leg. That is, I have no sentences like ‘she went around the point to Jamestown’ or ‘she went across the river to Elwha’ using the other directed-motion verbs like ḡtáwəł ‘go around’. When such senses are elicited, txáŋəŋ is used.

3.4. Derived manner of motion verbs.

It is also possible to derive manner of motion verbs using the -áyɬ suffix. For example, snáxʷ ‘canoe’ becomes snáxʷláyɬ ‘go by canoe’. (33) shows how this is used:

(33) snáxʷláyɬ yaʔ cn.
    go by.canoe PAST 1SUBJ
    ‘I went by canoe.’
Just as for $tx\dot{\eta}$, when the mode of travel is specified with this morphology, the goal appears in a subordinate clause as in (34), which has the sentential complement structure as in (29) and (30).

(34) $sn\dot{x}^w\dot{\omega}l\dot{y}_l\_cn\chi n\sigma-s-t\dot{\alpha}c\dot{i}.$

\begin{verbatim}
  go.by.canoe_1SUBJ  COMP  1POS-NM-get.here
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
  'I got here by canoe.'
\end{verbatim}

3.5. Goal-linked verbs.

Example (35) illustrates another way of expressing the path in an ‘if/when’ subordinate clause:

(35) $sn\dot{x}^w\dot{\omega}l\dot{y}_l\_ca?n k\dot{\omega}a? hiy\dot{a}?n\ t\dot{\i}yi$

\begin{verbatim}
  go.by.canoe_1FUT:SUBJ  if/when  go.away-1SBDSUBJ  go.over.water

  ?\dot{\omega}x^w  ?a?mit\dot{\i}liy\dot{\omega}.

  go.to  be.at.Victoria
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
  'I’ll go by canoe when I go to Victoria.'
\end{verbatim}

Example (35) also shows that some of the directed-motion verbs are goal-linked (Ross 1992) like English ‘reach’, which does not allow the ‘to’ preposition on a goal (‘I went to Elwha’ but ‘I reached (*to) Elwha’). The verb $?\dot{\omega}x^w$ ‘go to’ is goal-linked. Such verbs in Klallam may not be followed by a $\lambda a?$- derived verb. Instead, the goal is prefixed with $?a?$- ‘be at’ as in (35). Just as with the $\lambda a?$- ‘go to’ and $\ddot{\check{c}}a?$- prefixes, the prefix $?a?$- can be added to a definite place. Whereas $\lambda a?$- and $\ddot{\check{c}}a?$- create directed-motion verbs, $?a?$- creates a location verb. Such a verb can occur alone as the main verb as in (36).

(36) $?a?mit\dot{\i}liy\dot{\omega}_c\_n.$

\begin{verbatim}
  be.at.Victoria_1SUBJ
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
  'I’m in Victoria.'
\end{verbatim}

The sentences in (37) compare the verb $?\dot{\omega}x^w$, which is goal-linked, with hiy\dot{a}?, which is not goal-linked.

(37) a. hiy\dot{a}?_cn $\lambda a?mit\dot{\i}liy\dot{\omega}$

\begin{verbatim}
  go.away_1SUBJ  go.to.Victoria
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
  'I went to Victoria.'
\end{verbatim}
b. ʔúxʷ_\_cn ʔaʔmitúliyə
go.to.1SUBJ be.at.Victoria
‘I went to Victoria.’

c. *ʔúxʷ_\_cn ƛ̕aʔmitúliyə
go.to.1SUBJ go.to.Victoria

Goal-linked verbs differ from others in that the order is fixed: the goal verb must follow the
goal linked verb. (38a), with a non-goal-linked verb, corresponds to (37a) and is equally
acceptable. (38b), on the other hand, corresponding to (37b), has a goal linked verb
following the source and so is unacceptable.

(38) a. ƛ̕aʔmitúliyə_\_cn  hiyá?
go.to.Victoria_1SUBJ go.away
‘I went to Victoria.’

   b. *ʔaʔmitúliyə _\_cn ʔúxʷ
    be.at.Victoria _1SUBJ go.to

Some other goal-linked directed-motion verbs are: táči ‘arrive here’, tás ‘arrive there’, and
čáŋ ‘go home’. There seem to be no source-linked directed-motion verbs like English
‘leave’.

4. Asymmetry between end legs and medial legs.

Ross (1995) shows that there are systematic differences between end-legs and medial-
legs in English, German, and Brazilian Portuguese. In English, for example, 1) end-legs can
be questioned—medial legs cannot (‘where did Mary walk from Elwha to?’ but ‘*where did
Mary walk to Elwha through?’), 2) end-legs can be indefinite—medial legs cannot (‘Mary
walked to somewhere through Elwha’ but ‘*Mary walked to Elwha through somewhere’),
3) the adverb ‘right’ can modify ‘there’ in end legs but not medial legs (‘Mary walked from
right there through Elwha’ but ‘*Mary walked from Elwha through right there’).

It does not seem possible to say for sure whether Klallam shows these same systematic
differences between end and medial legs of a path. Such subtle grammaticality judgments
are difficult or impossible to obtain in elicitation. We can, however, look at the corpus and
see what does and does not occur. In Klallam, end-legs have special question forms illustrated in (39).

(39) a. ʔǝxín_ cxʷʔuč?
    be.where_2SUBJ_REQ
    ‘Where are you?’

b. txʷín_ cxʷʔuč?
    go.to.where_2SUBJ_REQ
    ‘Where are you going to?’

c. čšaʔǝxín_ cxʷʔuč?
    go.from.where_2SUBJ_REQ
    ‘Where are you from?’

The question word for the source leg is based on the root ʔǝxín ‘be where’. But notice that although there is čšaʔǝxín there is no *ƛ̕aʔǝxín. In (39b) ‘go to where’ is txʷín, a distinct form. Again, the goal patterns differently from the source.

The only way to question a medial leg is with ‘how’, as shown in (40).

(40) ʔosxʷaʔnéʔŋ ay či ʔǝń-s-táči?
    how LIMIT DET 2POS-NOM-get.here
    ‘How did you get here?’

Another difference between the source and other legs in a complex path can be seen with the location verbs ʔiyá ‘be there’ and ʔála ‘be here’. These both can take čšaʔ- as shown in (41), but neither can appear in a medial or goal leg. Both sentences in (42) are soundly rejected by native speakers.

(41) a. čšaʔiyá cn.
    go.from.there_1SUBJ
    ‘I went from there.’

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4 The word txʷín may be historically derived from the stem ʔaxín ‘be where’ and the prefix txʷ- ‘become’. The phonology of the result of this combination is not synchronically transparent.
b. čšaʔálaʔ.cn.
   go.from.here_1SUBJ
   ‘I went from here.’

(42) a. *txóνηʔ.cn ʔaʔ iıyá.
   go.via_1SUBJ OBL be.there

b. *ƛ̕aʔiıyá.cn.


In terms of the path typology established by Talmy 1991, Klallam has features of both
verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. In verb-framed languages the path of motion is
lexically encoded in the verb; in satellite-framed languages path is elaborated in constituents
that are structural sisters—satellites—of the verb. The Romance languages, for example, are
typically verb-framed, while the Germanic languages are satellite-framed. This can be seen
by comparing Spanish motion verbs with their English glosses: salir ‘go out’, entrar ‘go
in’, subir ‘go up’, bajar ‘go down’. The path elements ‘out’, ‘in’, ‘up’, ‘down’ are sisters of
the verb in English and encoded in the verb in Spanish. In a verb-framed language, like
Spanish, the manner is expressed externally to the main verb; in a satellite-framed language
like English the manner is encoded lexically in the verb. For example, compare Spanish
entró corriendo with English it ran in.

As shown in sections 2 and 3, Klallam has a large number of verbs that lexically encode
the path, as listed in (8), and it also has derived path verbs. Even typical verb-framed
languages such as Spanish and Japanese rely on adpositional, satellite marking of some
directional concepts such as ‘to’ and ‘from’—for example, Spanish a/de and Japanese
to/kara. Klallam has no such adpositions; it has only one, semantically neutral preposition.
With its reliance on its large number of path verbs, Klallam would seem to be an example
of an extremely verb-framed language. On the other hand, Klallam has both lexical and
derived manner verbs. In the serial construction, neither manner nor path is subordinate to
the other.

Klallam’s combination of verb- and satellite-framed features would seem to make it a
quintessential example of a third type proposed by Zlatev and Yangklang (2004) and called
‘equipollently-framed’ by Slobin (2004). This third type covers languages with serial verb
constructions, such as Thai. According to Slobin (2004:249), in equipollently-framed
languages “path and manner are expressed by equivalent grammatical forms.” This is the
case in Klallam in that there are manner verbs and path (directed-motion) verbs that pattern serially in a clause, as in (31). Yet when we look at complex paths with definite trajectories the goal is subordinate to a verb expressing the manner of motion as in examples (29), (30), and (34), in a pattern typical of satellite-framed languages.

Klallam, a polysynthetic language, also deviates from this third type in that it, like other Central Salishan languages (Gerdts 2004), has directional applicative morphology, which only fits the satellite-framed and not the equipollently-framed type. The directional applicative transitivizer, -nǝs, encodes both notions of direction and purpose, as does its cognate in Halkomelem (Gerdts 2004:194), and can attach to either a path verb, such as ṭúxʷ ‘go to’ in (43a-b), or a manner verb, such as kʷánəŋat ‘run’ in (43c). Example (43b) shows that these verbs, also, can occur in serial constructions.5

(43)  a. ṭúxʷ-nǝs cn  cə slapú?.
    go.to-DIRECT_1SUBJ DET Slapu
    ‘I went to Slapu.’

    b. kʷánəŋat ṭúxʷ-nǝs-ǝn  cə slapú?.
    run  go.to-DIRECT-PSV DET Slapu
    ‘He ran after Slapu.’

    c. kʷánəŋat-nǝs cn.
    run-DIRECT_1SUBJ
    ‘I ran at him.’

6. Cognates in other Central Salishan languages.

It may be possible that an explanation for the asymmetries between the source and goal in Klallam can be found in the histories of the morphemes. I do not yet have such an explanation, but there is certainly a historical asymmetry between ḥaʔ- and čšaʔ-. Cognates for ḥaʔ- are readily found, but I have not been able to identify any clear cognates for čšaʔ- outside of the Straits group, which is composed of Klallam and Northern Straits.

Although I currently have little data on cognate constructions in Northern Straits, the Central Salishan language most closely related to Klallam, they seem, from a preliminary inspection of the corpus, to be very similar to Klallam. In the material I have collected on

5 Gerdts 2004:196 shows similar Halkomelem examples of the transitive applicative in series with other verbs. The only examples of -nǝs derived verbs in serial construction that I have found in Klallam are passivized. In general, Klallam seems to make less use of this applicative morphology than Halkomelem.
the Saanich dialect of Northern Straits there are serial directed-motion verbs and prefixes ƛ̕ə- ‘go to’ and čsə- ‘go from’ that are identical in function and distribution to the Klallam prefixes.

Kuipers (1967) identifies a class of “relator-verbs” in Squamish, which semantically “correspond to English prepositions” (Kuipers 1967:153), that include, though are not coextensive with the class of Klallam directed-motion verbs. The ƛ̕a ‘relative’ article in Squamish (Kuipers 1967:136) is phonologically similar to the Klallam ‘go to’ prefix and it is also similar in that it only occurs with nouns having definite, specific semantics—proper names and personal pronouns. Its function and semantics seem very different, however.

For Comox, Hagège (1981:125) shows motion verbs in a serial construction. Although there are motion verbs with prepositional/relator function (148–49), there are no verbalizing prefixes like the source and goal prefixes of Klallam.

A class of verbs similar to the Squamish relator-verbs is identified in Halkomelem by Galloway (1993:339) as “prepositional verbs”. Gerdts (2004) shows that Halkomelem has serial motion verbs similar to, though not necessarily cognate with, those in Klallam. Halkomelem also has a set of verb-forming prefixes (Gerdts 2002), cognates of which can be found in Klallam, including a prefix ƛ̕- ‘go to’.

In Lushootseed we can find cognate morphemes for Klallam prefixes ƛ̕áʔ- and ʔaʔ-. They are, however, both independent verbs: ƛ̕a ‘go to a particular place’ and ʔaʔ ‘be there’ (Bates, Hess, Hilbert 1994). Both of these in Lushootseed can be stressed and can take transitivizing, tense, aspect, and subject morphology. In Lushootseed these have all the properties of independent verb roots. The Klallam cognates are entirely bound to a following stem—they can never be transitivized, never take tense, subject or any other speech act enclitic, and are never stressed. In Klallam they have all the properties of prefixes.

The Lushootseed root ƛ̕a is included in Kuipers’ (2002:62) etymology for Proto-Salish root *ƛ̕əʔ? ‘to go after, look for st.’. As Gerdts and Hukari (2004) point out, these verbalizing prefixes must be the result of grammaticalization of verb roots. That this striking innovation is shared apparently only by Klallam, Northern Straits, and Halkomelem suggests that these three languages, or rather Halkomelem and the Straits group, form a sub-family within the South Georgia branch of Central Salish.

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6 The Lushootseed root čsə ‘send’, which apparently only occurs transitivized, may be cognate with the Klallam prefix čsaʔ- and Saanich čsə- ‘go from’. If so, the phonology would indicate that it would have to be a loan in the Straits languages, Lushootseed or both. Cognates of Klallam words with initial /č/ have /p/, /d/, or /y/ in Lushootseed.
7. Conclusion.

This paper documents the use of serial verb constructions to express complex paths in a polysynthetic language. A complex path in Klallam is expressed as a series of directed-motion and mode verbs. Specific end legs, source and goal, are expressed as directed-motion verbs derived from specific nouns unless a specific medial leg is present. An asymmetry between the expressions of source and goal arises when a specific medial leg occurs in the path. In this case the goal must be expressed as a derived directed-motion verb in a sentential complement clause.

Asymmetries between end legs and medial legs similar to those found by Ross (1995) can also be found in Klallam. The source differs from other legs of a complex path in that ḡiyá ‘be there’ and ḡá?ə ‘be here’ can be prefixed with the verb-deriving čšaʔ- ‘from’, but these two verbs cannot occur similarly prefixed with ḡaʔ- as goal legs. Also, just as in English, Klallam medial legs differ from end legs in that they cannot be questioned.

Comparative evidence indicates that at least the goal prefix ḡaʔ- derives historically and relatively recently from a grammaticalized root. As such it represents an intermediate stage in grammaticalization between verb and case marker. Although in other Central Salishan languages the cognate is synchronically a root, and it can be reconstructed to Proto-Salish as a root, this morpheme as a prefix with goal-marking function has so far been found as a shared innovation only in Halkomelem, Northern Straits, and Klallam. This is evidence that Halkomelem and the Straits group are more closely related to each other than to the other members of the Central Salishan sub-family.

It seems that Klallam, having features of the three types proposed by Slobin 2004—verb-framed, satellite-framed, and equipollently-framed—cannot be clearly placed into any of the categories. The most remarkable results of Talmy’s typology, as pursued in such works as Slobin 2004, have been in the recognition that languages of different path lexicalization types have correspondingly different rhetorical styles. This has not yet been investigated in Salishan languages. It will be interesting to see how the narrative style of Klallam and other Central Salishan languages is reflected in the mixed typology.

References


