

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-č-čq-éʔq^w ʔiʔ ʔáwə-nə s-ŋəč^2 - áy-s .²
 CONTR-have-big-head CONJ not-exist NOM-pus-container-3POS
 'He has a big head but no brains.'

² The third person intransitive subject is zero. Translations with 'it' could equally well be done with 'he', 'she', or 'they'. In the data the hyphen indicates a relevant morpheme boundary preceding a suffix or following a prefix. The underline precedes an enclitic. The abbreviations used are as follows: CAUS = 'causative', CON = 'connector', CONJ = 'conjunction', CONTR = 'contrast', DET = 'determiner', DIRECT = 'directional applicative transitivizer', FUT = 'future tense marker', HYP = 'hypothetical', IMP = 'imperative enclitic', LIMIT = 'limiting enclitic', NM = 'nominalizer', OBJ = 'object', OBL = 'oblique preposition', POS = 'possessive', PSV = 'passive', QUEST = 'yes/no question enclitic', REQ = 'request enclitic', SUBJ = 'main clause subject', SBDSUBJ = 'subordinate clause subject', TRVZR = 'transitivizer'.

- b. ʔaʔčš-ik^wá-t-əŋ ʔaʔ k^wə nə-síyaʔ.
 change-clothing-TRNVZ-PSV OBL DET 1POS-grandparent
 ‘His clothes were changed by my grandfather.’
- c. ʔáwə-nə nə-k^wɪ-ʔaʔ-čix^w-ícŋ.
 not-exist 1POS-accompany-go.to-enter-back
 ‘I’ve got nobody to go with me to Port Angeles.’³

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. ʔácu cə nəščáʔčaʔ.
 sleep DET my.friend
 ‘My friend is fishing.’
- b. hiyáʔ ʔácu.
 go.away fish
 ‘He/she’s going fishing.’
- c. ɣ^wəŋ ʔiʔ ʔácu.
 can CON fishing
 ‘He can fish.’
- d. ʔáy ʔuʔ ʔácu.
 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.

³ The word for ‘Port Angeles’, *čix^wícŋ*, 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.

- (3) a. $\lambda^w\acute{a}cu_u_ya?$ $c\acute{o}$ $\eta\acute{o}nc\acute{a}t$.
 fish _QUEST_PAST DET your.father
 ‘Did your father fish?’
- b. $hiy\acute{a}?_cn$ $\lambda^w\acute{a}cu$.
 go.away_1SUBJ fish
 ‘I’m going fishing.’
- c. $x^w\acute{o}\eta_c_cx^w$ $\eta i?$ $\lambda^w\acute{a}cu$.
 can_EVID_2SUBJ CON fish
 ‘Apparently, you can fish.’
- d. $\lambda^w\acute{a}y_ca?_st$ $\eta u?$ $\lambda^w\acute{a}cu$.
 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. $hiy\acute{a}?_cn$ $k^w a?$ $\eta itt-x^w$.
 go.away_1SUBJ if/when sleep-2SBDSUBJ
 ‘I’ll go if you sleep.’
- b. $hiy\acute{a}?_cn$ $\eta\acute{o}t$ $\eta itt-x^w$.
 go.away_1SUBJ while sleep-2SBDSUBJ
 ‘I’ll go while you sleep.’
- c. $\eta\acute{a}n\acute{o}-t-\acute{o}\eta_cn$ $\check{c}i$ $n\acute{o}-s-k^w\acute{o}n-c$.
 allow-TRNVZ-PSV_1SUBJ DET 1POS-NM-see-TRNVZ:2OBJ
 ‘I was allowed to see you.’
- d. $\eta\acute{a}n\acute{o}-t-\acute{o}\eta_cn$ $\check{c}i$ $n\acute{o}-s-\eta\acute{o}n\acute{a}$ $k^w\acute{o}n-c$.
 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^wa?* ‘if, when’. In (4b) it is preceded by *?ə?* ‘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^wnátəŋ_ya?_cn ?a? cə qá?ŋi?*
 is.helped_PAST_1SUBJ OBL DET girl
 ‘I was helped **by the girl.**’
- b. *šá?wi? ?a? cə s?ácss.*
 growing OBL DET her.face
 ‘It’s growing **on her face.**’
- c. *?słáq^wł ?a? cə čónss.*
 is.stuck OBL DET his.tooth
 ‘It’s stuck **in his teeth.**’
- d. *?stásł ?a? cə sɣcá?i.*
 is.close OBL DEM weeds
 ‘They are close **to the weeds.**’
- e. *cát_cx^w ?a? cə nəŋáŋa?*
 father_2SUBJ OBL DET my.child
 ‘You are the father **of my child.**’

- f. qəmsít_cn ʔaʔ č̣i saplín.
 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.

- (6) tčístəŋ_yaʔ ʔaʔ č̣i ŋənaʔs ʔaʔ tiʔə ščtəŋxʷənt.
 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

| | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|--|-------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| <i>ʔáck^wʔ</i> | ‘be on deep water’ | <i>ʔiyá</i> | ‘be there’ | <i>ʔčáʔáʔwəʔ</i> | ‘be underneath’ |
| <i>ʔáʔaʔ</i> | ‘be here’ | <i>ʔiyəcən</i> | ‘be at the edge’ | <i>ʔáč</i> | ‘be deep’ |
| <i>ʔəctúŋən</i> | ‘be in the middle’ | <i>ʔiyəwəʔ</i> | ‘be beside’ | <i>sʔéʔəyuc</i> | ‘be at the edge’ |
| <i>ʔəsáʔwəʔ</i> | ‘be in the brush’ | <i>caʔyíc</i> | ‘be on top of’ | <i>sʔiyən</i> | ‘be at the end’ |
| <i>ʔəsáqʔ</i> | ‘be outside’ | <i>cácu</i> | ‘be at the water’ | <i>sčíʔaʔyŋ</i> | ‘be upside down’ |
| <i>ʔəsčáčʔ</i> | ‘be between’ | <i>cáw</i> | ‘be up on the beach’ | <i>sáq</i> | ‘be outside’ |
| <i>ʔəsčáyəq^w</i> | ‘be up in mountains’ | <i>cáwcu</i> | ‘be way off shore’ | <i>siqáʔəwəʔ</i> | ‘be surrounding’ |
| <i>ʔəscáʔčáʔ</i> | ‘be on top, upstairs’ | <i>cíct</i> | ‘be high’ | <i>sʔčáʔwəs</i> | ‘be under’ |
| <i>ʔəscéʔčəŋ</i> | ‘be close to’ | <i>čtaʔáwəʔ</i> | ‘be up high’ | <i>sq^wéʔəx^w</i> | ‘be out of the way’ |
| <i>ʔəscəʔk^wəŋ</i> | ‘be through (a hole)’ | <i>čáʔ</i> | ‘be on top’ | <i>sq^waʔháʔaʔŋx^w</i> | ‘be among’ |
| <i>ʔəscéʔíč</i> | ‘be inside out’ | <i>čʔəpi</i> | ‘be under, submerged’ | <i>stə́nəs</i> | ‘be next to’ |
| <i>ʔəscəy^wx^w</i> | ‘be inside’ | <i>čaʔiʔq^wəʔáwəʔ</i> | ‘be in back’ | <i>íánk^w</i> | ‘be among’ |
| <i>ʔəsk^wáʔəʔ</i> | ‘be in the back seat’ | <i>čʔáʔa</i> | ‘be from here’ | <i>təyət</i> | ‘be upriver’ |
| <i>ʔəsnáʔəwəʔ</i> | ‘be in’ | <i>čʔiyá</i> | ‘be from there’ | <i>tiʔtáʔwəʔ</i> | ‘be behind’ |
| <i>ʔəsqaʔáʔwəʔ</i> | ‘be outside’ | <i>čáʔyəq^w</i> | ‘be back in the woods’ | <i>ttaʔáwəʔ</i> | ‘be on this side’ |
| <i>ʔəsqást</i> | ‘be in water’ | <i>čəy^wk^wáʔwəʔ</i> | ‘be behind, ahead of’ | <i>ttnáʔəč</i> | ‘be across’ |
| <i>ʔəsqəy^wč</i> | ‘be in shelter’ | <i>číʔáw</i> | ‘be past’ | <i>tthús</i> | ‘be face down’ |
| <i>ʔəsq^wəyəx^w</i> | ‘be out of the way’ | <i>čáʔáwəʔ</i> | ‘be over on other side’ | <i>tx^wnaʔáwəʔ</i> | ‘be on other side’ |
| <i>ʔəstást</i> | ‘be close by’ | <i>čix^wəyáwəʔ</i> | ‘be inside’ | <i>tx^wnaʔyéʔč</i> | ‘be on other side’ |
| <i>ʔəstáʔnəʔ</i> | ‘be in a row’ | <i>háʔəw</i> | ‘be away’ | <i>tx^wnəwəcən</i> | ‘be from across’ |
| <i>ʔəstəy</i> | ‘be down a drop’ | <i>héʔu</i> | ‘be in the bow’ | <i>x^wéʔi</i> | ‘be away from’ |
| <i>ʔəsx^wát</i> | ‘be down’ | <i>k^wənətíy</i> | ‘be together’ | <i>x^wəynək^wi</i> | ‘be apart’ |
| <i>ʔiʔáʔiʔ</i> | ‘be aboard’ | <i>k^wsáʔič</i> | ‘be behind, inside’ | <i>xaʔxáʔəŋ</i> | ‘be crosswise’ |
| <i>ʔiʔčáʔyə</i> | ‘be ahead’ | <i>k^wtús</i> | ‘be right side up’ | <i>xʔíyəs</i> | ‘be on back, face up’ |
| <i>ʔiʔčáʔi</i> | ‘be ahead, in front’ | <i>ícu</i> | ‘be at the beach’ | <i>x^wq^wiʔnác</i> | ‘be upside down’ |
| <i>ʔiʔk^wáʔwəs</i> | ‘be behind’ | <i>t^wk^wáʔwəs</i> | ‘be behind, following’ | <i>x^wúʔəq^w</i> | ‘be upriver’ |
| <i>ʔínəŋ</i> | ‘be in sight’ | <i>tq^wcín</i> | ‘be on opposite edge’ | <i>yəqáʔ</i> | ‘be in the way’ |
| <i>ʔíwəʔ</i> | ‘be beside, alongside’ | <i>ʔáčʔ</i> | ‘be at bottom, in deep’ | <i>yéy</i> | ‘be far’ |

(8) Klallam directed-motion verbs

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--|----------------------|
| <i>ʔəck^wíyŋ</i> | ‘go far off shore’ | <i>ʔcú</i> | ‘go toward water’ | <i>sxíct</i> | ‘move over, aside’ |
| <i>ʔəčəʔwíyŋ</i> | ‘go around outside’ | <i>ʔóŋ</i> | ‘come off’ | <i>šə́nct</i> | ‘move apart’ |
| <i>ʔənʔá</i> | ‘come’ | <i>ʔk^wáʔsct</i> | ‘go behind, follow’ | <i>tčcínəŋ</i> | ‘go along the edge’ |
| <i>ʔəx^wéʔi</i> | ‘move away’ | <i>ʔqčínəŋ</i> | ‘go to other edge’ | <i>táči</i> | ‘arrive here’ |
| <i>ʔiʔk^wənə́tíy</i> | ‘go together with’ | <i>ʔíy</i> | ‘go away from’ | <i>táyi</i> | ‘go upstream’ |
| <i>ʔiʔháʔaʔ</i> | ‘go through’ | <i>ʔx^wə́t</i> | ‘go straight’ | <i>tás</i> | ‘arrive there’ |
| <i>ʔiʔháʔhuʔ</i> | ‘go away from’ | <i>ʔáys</i> | ‘go backward’ | <i>tx^waʔcícč</i> | ‘go high’ |
| <i>ʔíx^w</i> | ‘go to’ | <i>ʔčəʔwíyŋ</i> | ‘go underneath’ | <i>tx^waʔx^wéʔi</i> | ‘get away from’ |
| <i>ʔíyʔ</i> | ‘go aboard’ | <i>ʔčíyŋ</i> | ‘go down; sink’ | <i>tx^wʔənʔá</i> | ‘come toward’ |
| <i>caʔčáct</i> | ‘go on ahead’ | <i>ʔíq</i> | ‘go up out of water’ | <i>tx^wʔíx^w</i> | ‘get to’ |
| <i>cə́n</i> | ‘go up against’ | <i>ʔíw</i> | ‘get away’ | <i>tx^whə́ʔwi</i> | ‘get to the front’ |
| <i>cə́x^w</i> | ‘go out of sight’ | <i>míx^wəŋ</i> | ‘go back and forth’ | <i>tx^wiʔáxəŋ</i> | ‘go toward’ |
| <i>čəʔwíyŋ</i> | ‘go up high’ | <i>náw</i> | ‘go into’ | <i>tx^wihə́wíyŋ</i> | ‘arrive back’ |
| <i>čə́q^w</i> | ‘go through a hole’ | <i>nə́qəŋ</i> | ‘go down into water’ | <i>tx^wnə́ʔyŋ</i> | ‘move over’ |
| <i>cúyŋ</i> | ‘go up from water’ | <i>nəx^wsə́wíyŋ</i> | ‘go along a trail’ | <i>tx^wtúyi</i> | ‘arrive over water’ |
| <i>čéʔyŋ</i> | ‘go up on top’ | <i>ʔə́k^w</i> | ‘rise to surface’ | <i>túyi</i> | ‘go over water’ |
| <i>čícə́yəŋ</i> | ‘go uphill’ | <i>ʔšúsəŋ</i> | ‘go against flow’ | <i>txənəŋ</i> | ‘go via’ |
| <i>číyəct</i> | ‘go near’ | <i>qə́s</i> | ‘go into water’ | <i>tx^wáʔnáʔ</i> | ‘go toward’ |
| <i>číyi</i> | ‘arrive near’ | <i>q^wúʔqí</i> | ‘go alongside’ | <i>íák^wi</i> | ‘go across’ |
| <i>čə́w</i> | ‘go out of sight’ | <i>q^wx^wíct</i> | ‘get out of the way’ | <i>íán</i> | ‘go ashore’ |
| <i>čáni</i> | ‘move away’ | <i>qáʔwíyŋ</i> | ‘go around corner’ | <i>íáq^wi</i> | ‘recede’ |
| <i>čiʔáw</i> | ‘go past’ | <i>qə́p</i> | ‘come together’ | <i>íáyəm</i> | ‘go across’ |
| <i>čiqéʔyŋ</i> | ‘move up and down’ | <i>qə́yičct</i> | ‘go to shelter’ | <i>íə́nəŋ</i> | ‘go in line next to’ |
| <i>čiyáct</i> | ‘go forward, ahead’ | <i>q́táwə́t</i> | ‘go around’ | <i>íəŋk^wáʔct</i> | ‘go among’ |
| <i>čəʔwíyŋ</i> | ‘go over to other side’ | <i>q́túcə́n</i> | ‘go along beach’ | <i>íúk^w</i> | ‘go home’ |
| <i>čáŋ</i> | ‘arrive home’ | <i>q́wíyi</i> | ‘get out of’ | <i>íxəct</i> | ‘go wrong way’ |
| <i>čə́yəs</i> | ‘turn around, rotate’ | <i>q́wéʔyŋ</i> | ‘go over the top’ | <i>wáʔ</i> | ‘go along with’ |
| <i>čə́yəx^w</i> | ‘go inside’ | <i>q́wíyaʔyéʔčəŋ</i> | ‘go over hill’ | <i>x^wáŋ</i> | ‘arrive down’ |
| <i>čx^waʔwíyŋ</i> | ‘go on the inside’ | <i>sáʔ</i> | ‘rise up’ | <i>x^wéʔict</i> | ‘go away from’ |
| <i>hə́ʔwi</i> | ‘go forward’ | <i>sáw</i> | ‘arrive in the bush’ | <i>x^wéy</i> | ‘come into view’ |
| <i>hə́wíyŋ</i> | ‘go back, return’ | <i>sə́x^w</i> | ‘come out’ | <i>x^wə́ynək^wə́yŋ</i> | ‘go apart’ |
| <i>híw</i> | ‘come into sight’ | <i>siʔqawíyŋ</i> | ‘go around’ | <i>x^wiʔtiʔə́č</i> | ‘go with the wind’ |
| <i>hiyáʔ</i> | ‘go away, leave’ | <i>siqə́yəsəŋ</i> | ‘turn around’ | <i>x^wíyŋ</i> | ‘go downward’ |
| <i>huʔáčəŋ</i> | ‘go beyond’ | <i>síx^wəŋ</i> | ‘go into water’ | <i>x^wk^wíyŋ</i> | ‘go below, back’ |
| <i>k^wə́q^wi</i> | ‘go downstream’ | <i>sqaʔwíyŋ</i> | ‘go on the outside’ | <i>xə́p</i> | ‘arrive at the end’ |
| <i>k^wsáčəŋ</i> | ‘go to the inside’ | <i>sqíyŋ</i> | ‘go outside’ | <i>x^wíq^wíyŋ</i> | ‘go with the flow’ |
| <i>ʔáʔaʔ</i> | ‘go same way’ | <i>síəŋ</i> | ‘go down’ | <i>x^wúq^wi</i> | ‘go upstream’ |
| <i>ʔáw</i> | ‘go away’ | <i>suʔə́ct</i> | ‘go into the bush’ | <i>yaʔyíyŋ</i> | ‘go far away’ |
| | | | | <i>yə́q</i> | ‘get up to, even’ |

- (12) hiyáʔ_yaʔ_cn waʔ ʔúx^w ʔák^wi ʔúk^w.
 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).

- (13) cáw ʔúx^w čáyəx^w ʔaʔ cə ʔáʔiŋ.
 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. k^wánəŋət_cn sqíyŋ.
 run_1SUBJ go.out
 ‘I ran outside.’
- b. ʔənʔá_cn k^wánəŋət ʔúk^w.
 come_1subj run go.home
 ‘I came running home.’
- c. štəŋ hiyáʔ ʔúx^w ʔaʔ tə spúq^ws.
 walk go go.to OBL DET bluff
 ‘He walked over to the bluff.’
- d. ʔəŋúʔəŋ ʔák^wi ʔaʔ cə stúʔwi.
 swim go.across OBL DET river
 ‘It swam across the river.’

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

- (15) ʔáy_st čáy ʔúx^w ʔaʔ cə sq^wiyəsáwtx^w.
 be.again_1PLSUBJ work go.to OBL DET cannery
 ‘We again went to work in the cannery.’

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 k^wánəŋət ʔúx^w ʔaʔ cə sx^wʔəmətáwtx^w.
 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 *ʔiʔ*. One example is given in (17).

- (17) ʔənʔá či čáyəx^w ʔiʔ ʔəmət ʔiʔ ʔíʔən.
 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. x^wítəŋ_yaʔ tx^waʔcícł ʔná-s.
 jump_PAST go.high get it-3SUBJ
 ‘He jumped high and got it.’
- b. ʔúx^w cŋət cə slapúʔ.
 go.to bite.it DET Slapu.
 ‘Go bite Slapu (the witch).’
- c. k^wənánəŋ-t_cn hiyáʔ ʔúx^w ʔák^wi.
 help- TRVZR:3OBI_1SUBJ go.away go.to go.across
 ‘I helped him go across.’

- d. k^wənájə-c ʔúx^w íák^wi.
 help-TRVZR:LOBJ go.to go.across
 ‘Help me go across.’
- e. hiyáʔ_caʔ_st x^wk^wət ʔúx^w ʔaʔ ti ʔǎč ʔíátč.
 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 ʔəs- prefix. For example, ʔəsqásʔ ‘be in water’ comes from qás ‘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. sáq ‘be outside’ sqíyŋ ‘go outside’
 b. ʔǎč ‘be deep’ ʔčíyŋ ‘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: ʔáʔ- ‘go to’ and čšáʔ- ‘go from’.

- (20) a. ʎaʔtáwn_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:

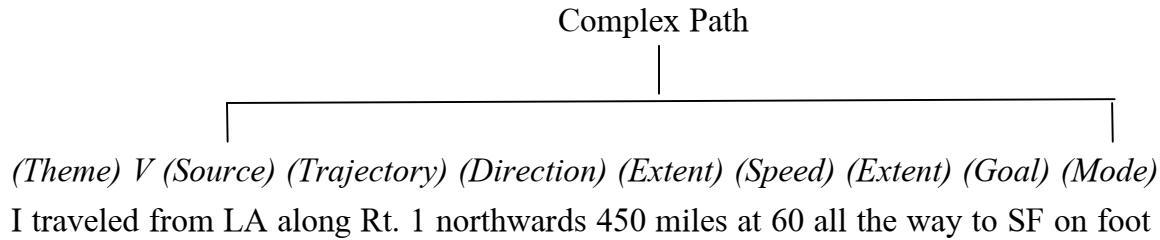
- (21) a. ʎaʔtáwn-tx^w_cn
 go.to.town-CAUS_1SUBJ
 ‘I took it to town’
- b. ʎaʔtáwn-t-əŋ_cn
 go.to.town-CAUS-PSV_1SUBJ
 ‘I was made to go to town’
- c. ʎaʔttáʔwn_cn
 go.to.town[with imperfective reduplication and infix]_1SUBJ
 ‘I’m going to town’

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)



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 *ʔáʔ-* 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. *čšaʔéʔʔxʷaʔ_cn* *ʔaʔmitúliyə.*
 go.from.Elwha_1SUBJ go.to.Victoria
 ‘I went from Elwha to Victoria.’

b. *ʔaʔmitúliyə_cn* *čšaʔéʔʔxʷaʔ.*
 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. *ʔákʷi_cn* *ʔaʔmitúliyə* *čšaʔéʔʔxʷaʔ.*
 go.across_1SUBJ go.to.Victoria go.from.Elwha
 ‘I went across to Victoria from Elwha.’

- b. $\lambda\text{a}\lambda\text{mit}\acute{\text{u}}\text{liy}\acute{\text{e}}\text{_{cn}}$ $\acute{\text{t}}\text{á}\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{i}$ $\check{\text{c}}\text{ša}\lambda\acute{\text{e}}\lambda\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{a}\lambda\text{.}$
 go.to.Victoria_1SUBJ go.across go.from.Elwha
 ‘I went to Victoria crossing from Elwha.’
- c. $\check{\text{c}}\text{ša}\lambda\acute{\text{e}}\lambda\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{a}\lambda\text{_{cn}}$ $\acute{\text{t}}\text{á}\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{i}$ $\lambda\text{a}\lambda\text{mit}\acute{\text{u}}\text{liy}\acute{\text{e}}\text{.}$
 go.from.Elwha_1SUBJ go.across go.to.Victoria
 ‘I went from Elwha across to Victoria.’
- d. $\check{\text{c}}\text{ša}\lambda\acute{\text{e}}\lambda\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{a}\lambda\text{_{cn}}$ $\lambda\text{a}\lambda\text{mit}\acute{\text{u}}\text{liy}\acute{\text{e}}$ $\acute{\text{t}}\text{á}\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{i}$.
 go.from.Elwha_1SUBJ go.to.Victoria go.across
 ‘I went from Elwha to Victoria going across.’

3.2. Medial legs.

Medial legs—trajectory and mode—are specified using the word $\text{t}\acute{\text{x}}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{n}}\acute{\text{a}}\eta$ ‘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. $\text{t}\acute{\text{x}}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{n}}\acute{\text{a}}\eta\text{_{ya}}\lambda\text{_{cn}}$.
 go.via_PAST_1SUBJ
 ‘I went that way/I went through.’
- b. $\text{hiy}\acute{\text{a}}\lambda\text{_{ya}}\lambda\text{_{cn}}$ $\lambda\acute{\text{u}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}$ $\text{t}\acute{\text{x}}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{n}}\acute{\text{a}}\eta\text{.}$
 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 $\text{t}\acute{\text{x}}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{n}}\acute{\text{a}}\eta$. These are illustrated in (26).

- (26) a. $\text{t}\acute{\text{x}}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{n}}\acute{\text{a}}\eta\text{_{cn}}$ $\lambda\text{a}\lambda$ $\text{c}\acute{\text{a}}$ $\text{s}\acute{\text{u}}\text{ł}$.
 go.via_1SUBJ OBL DET road/door
 ‘I went by the road/through the door.’
- b. $\text{t}\acute{\text{x}}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{\text{n}}\acute{\text{a}}\eta\text{_{cn}}$ $\lambda\text{a}\lambda$ $\text{c}\acute{\text{a}}$ $\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{s}\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{ł}$.
 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 *tʔáʔəŋ* as in (27).

- (27) a. *čšaʔéʔtʔaʔ_cn tʔáʔəŋ ʔaʔ cə nəsnəxʷt.*
 go.from.Elwha_1SUBJ go.via OBL DET my.canoe
 ‘I went from Elwha by canoe.’
- b. *čšaʔéʔtʔaʔ_cn tʔáʔəŋ ʔaʔ cə táwn.*
 go.from.Elwha_1SUBJ go.via OBL DET town
 ‘I went from Elwha through town.’
- c. *tʔáʔəŋ_cn ʔaʔ cə nəsnəxʷt čšaʔéʔtʔaʔ.*
 go.via_1SUBJ OBL DET my.canoe go.from.Elwha
 ‘I went by canoe from Elwha.’

The phrase headed by *tʔáʔəŋ* 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 *tʔáʔəŋ* phrase.

3.3. A source/goal asymmetry.

Given sentences like those in (23) and (24) where the source is marked by the *čšaʔ-* prefix and the goal is symmetrically marked by the *ʔáʔ-* prefix, we might expect that we could simply change the *čšaʔ-* to *ʔáʔ-* 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 the *ʔáʔ-* ‘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.

- (28) a. **ʔáʔéʔtʔaʔ_cn tʔáʔəŋ ʔaʔ cə nəsnəxʷt.*
 go.to.Elwha_1SUBJ go.via OBL DET my.canoe

- b. *tʰə́nəŋ_cn ʔaʔ cə nəsnəx^wʔ ʎaʔéʔtʰ^waʔ.
 go.via_1SUBJ OBL DET my.canoe go.to.Elwha

Instead we get an entirely different construction. To express a goal with a *tʰə́nəŋ*-marked medial leg, the *ʎáʔ*-derived 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.

- (29) a. tʰə́nəŋ_cn ʔaʔ cə nəsnəx^wʔ č̣i nə-s-ʎaʔéʔtʰ^waʔ.
 go.via_1SUBJ OBL DET my.canoe DET 1POS-NOM-go.to.Elwha
 ‘I went by canoe to (go to) Elwha.’
- b. ʔánət-əŋ_cn ʔaʔ cə nətán č̣i nə-s-ʎaʔéʔtʰ^waʔ.
 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 *č̣šaʔ*-derived directed-motion verb either at the beginning of the sentence (30a) or before (30b) or after (30c) the sentential complement goal:

- (30) a. č̣šaʔmitúliyə_cn tʰə́nəŋ ʔaʔ cə nəsnəx^wʔ
 go.from.Victoria_1SUBJ go via OBL DET my.canoe
 č̣i nə-s-ʎaʔéʔtʰ^waʔ.
 DET 1POS-NOM-go.to.Elwha
 ‘I went from Victoria by canoe to (go to) Elwha.’
- b. tʰə́nəŋ_cn ʔaʔ cə nəsnəx^wʔ č̣šaʔmitúliyə
 go.via_1SUBJ OBL DET my.canoe go.from.Victoria
 č̣i nə-s-ʎaʔéʔtʰ^waʔ.
 DET 1POS-NOM-go.to.Elwha
 ‘I went by canoe from Victoria to (go to) Elwha.’

- c. tʰáʔnəŋ_cn ʔaʔ cə nəsnəxʷt̚
 go.via_1SUBJ OBL DET my.canoe
 č̣i nə-s-ʔaʔéʔt̚xʷaʔ č̣šaʔmitúliyə.
 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 *štəŋ* ‘walk’, *təŋúʔəŋ* ‘swim’, *xʷítəŋ* ‘jump’, and *kʷnáyət* ‘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) štəŋ_u_cxʷ ʔaʔč̣ixʷíc̣n č̣šaʔéʔt̚xʷaʔ?
 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 *tʰáʔnəŋ* sentences is that *tʰáʔnəŋ* 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 *tʰáʔnəŋ*. (32) is one example.

- (32) hiyáʔ q̣táwəʔ ʔaʔ cə č̣íkč̣ək.
 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 *q̣táwəʔ* ‘go around’. When such senses are elicited, *tʰáʔnəŋ* is used.

3.4. Derived manner of motion verbs.

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

- (33) snəxʷt̚áyʔ_yaʔ_cn.
 go.by.canoe_PAST_1SUBJ
 ‘I went by canoe.’

Just as for *tχáñəŋ*, 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) snəx^wəłáył_cn č̣i nə-s-táči.
 go.by.canoe_1SUBJ COMP 1POS-NM-get.here
 ‘I got here by canoe.’

3.5. Goal-linked verbs.

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

- (35) snəx^wəłáył_caʔn k^waʔ hiyáʔ-n túyi
 go.by.canoe_1FUT:SUBJ if/when go.away-1SBDSUBJ go.over.water
 ʔúχ^w ʔaʔmitúliyə.
 go.to be.at.Victoria
 ‘I’ll go by canoe when I go to Victoria.’

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 *ʔúχ^w* ‘go to’ is goal-linked. Such verbs in Klallam may not be followed by a *ʔaʔ-* derived verb. Instead, the goal is prefixed with *ʔaʔ-* ‘be at’ as in (35). Just as with the *ʔaʔ-* ‘go to’ and *čšaʔ-* prefixes, the prefix *ʔaʔ-* can be added to a definite place. Whereas *ʔaʔ-* and *čšaʔ-* create directed-motion verbs, *ʔaʔ-* creates a location verb. Such a verb can occur alone as the main verb as in (36).

- (36) ʔaʔmitúliyə_cn.
 be.at.Victoria_1SUBJ
 ‘I’m in Victoria.’

The sentences in (37) compare the verb *ʔúχ^w*, which is goal-linked, with *hiyáʔ*, which is not goal-linked.

- (37) a. hiyáʔ_cn ʔaʔmitúliyə
 go.away_1SUBJ go.to.Victoria
 ‘I went to Victoria.’

b. ʔúx^w_cn ʔaʔmituliyə
 go.to_1SUBJ be.at.Victoria
 ‘I went to Victoria.’

c. *ʔúx^w_cn ʔaʔmitúliyə
 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. ʔaʔmitúliyə_cn hiyáʔ
 go.to.Victoria_1SUBJ go.away
 ‘I went to Victoria.’

b. *ʔaʔmituliyə_cn ʔúx^w
 be.at.Victoria_1SUBJ go.to

Some other goal-linked directed-motion verbs are: *táči* ‘arrive here’, *tás* ‘arrive there’, and *čáy* ‘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. ʔəxín^ʔ_cx^w_ʔuč?
 be.where_2SUBJ_REQ
 ‘Where are you?’
- b. tx^wín^ʔ_cx^w_ʔuč?
 go.to.where_2SUBJ_REQ
 ‘Where are you going to?’
- c. čšaʔəxín^ʔ_cx^w_ʔuč?
 go.from.where_2SUBJ_REQ
 ‘Where are you from?’

The question word for the source leg is based on the root ʔəxín^ʔ ‘be where’. But notice that although there is čšaʔəxín^ʔ there is no *ʔaʔəxín^ʔ. In (39b) ‘go to where’ is tx^wín^ʔ, a distinct form.⁴ Again, the goal patterns differently from the source.

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

- (40) ʔəsx^waʔnéʔŋ ʔay^ʔ či ʔəń^ʔ-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 ʔátaʔ ‘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.’

⁴ The word tx^wín^ʔ may be historically derived from the stem ʔəxín^ʔ ‘be where’ and the prefix tx^w- ‘become’. The phonology of the result of this combination is not synchronically transparent.

- b. čšaʔáʔaʔ_cn.
 go.from.here_1SUBJ
 ‘I went from here.’
- (42) a. *tʰə́nəŋ_cn ʔaʔ ʔiyá.
 go.via_1SUBJ OBL be.there
- b. *ʔaʔiyá_cn.

5. Klallam in light of path typology.

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 (Gerds 2004), has directional applicative morphology, which only fits the satellite-framed and not the equipollently-framed type. The directional applicative transitive, *-nəs*, encodes both notions of direction and purpose, as does its cognate in Halkomelem (Gerds 2004:194), and can attach to either a path verb, such as *ʔúx^w* ‘go to’ in (43a-b), or a manner verb, such as *k^wánəŋət* ‘run’ in (43c). Example (43b) shows that these verbs, also, can occur in serial constructions.⁵

- (43) a. *ʔúx^w-nəs_cn cə slapú?*
 go.to-DIRECT_1SUBJ DET Slapu
 ‘I went to Slapu.’
- b. *k^wánəŋət ʔúx^w-nəs-əŋ cə slapú?*
 run go.to-DIRECT-PSV DET Slapu
 ‘He ran after Slapu.’
- c. *k^wánəŋət-nəs_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 *ʔaʔ-* and *čšaʔ-*. Cognates for *ʔaʔ-* 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 Gerds 2004:196 shows similar Halkomelem examples of the transitive applicative in series with other verbs. The only examples of *-nəs* 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 $\lambda'a$ - 'go to' and $\check{c}sə$ - '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 $\lambda'a$ ‘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 λ' - ‘go to’.

In Lushootseed we can find cognate morphemes for Klallam prefixes $\lambda'a?$ - and $?a?$ -. They are, however, both independent verbs: $\lambda'a$ ‘go to a particular place’ and $?a?$ ‘be there’⁶ (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 $\lambda'a$ is included in Kuipers’ (2002:62) etymology for Proto-Salish root $*\lambda'a?$ ‘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.

⁶ The Lushootseed root $\check{c}s$ ‘send’, which apparently only occurs transitivized, may be cognate with the Klallam prefix $\check{c}ša?$ - and Saanich $\check{c}sə$ - ‘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/, /dʒ/, 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 *ʔiyá* ‘be there’ and *ʔáʔaʔ* ‘be here’ can be prefixed with the verb-deriving *čšaʔ-* ‘from’, but these two verbs cannot occur similarly prefixed with *ʔaʔ-* 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 *ʔaʔ-* 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.

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