

## Klallam from A to B

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Series of motion and location verbs are used to express movement from one point to another in Klallam. When no medial legs are mentioned the end legs 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 mode. A goal mentioned with a specific medial leg 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.

### 1 Introduction

How does one talk about going from point A to point B in Klallam?<sup>1</sup> What follows here is an attempt to answer this question of how paths of motion are expressed. This paper is intended as a description and as a potential contribution to a typology of paths. Interesting issues are raised with possible explanation left to the future. In particular, there is an asymmetry between the expression of the starting and ending points of a path that arises only when a specific mode or path of travel is also expressed in the sentence. I suspect that the history of the goal and source prefixes may offer a lead to an explanation for this asymmetry.

#### 1.1 Background

Before paths can be explored a little background on the structure of the basic Klallam clause is necessary. In Klallam the verb comes first in the clause.

- (1)    ʔitt    cə    nəsčáʔča?  
      sleep   DET   my friend  
      'My friend sleeps.'

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<sup>1</sup> Klallam is a Central Salishan language of the Straits subgroup spoken on the north shore of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington. Data in this paper come from texts and direct elicitation from the remaining native speaking elders in the past twenty years and from recordings made in the 1950's by Leon Metcalf and in the 1960's by Laurence C. and M. Terry Thompson.

The main verb can be preceded by one of a closed class of auxiliaries or intensifiers which may require a connecting morpheme (Montler 2003):

(2) hiyá? ?ítt.  
go sleep  
'It's going to sleep.'<sup>2</sup>

(3) x<sup>w</sup>áŋ ?i? ?ítt.  
can CON sleep  
'It can sleep.'

(4) t́ŋ ?u? ?ítt.  
really CON sleep  
'It's really asleep.'

There is a class of around twenty second-position clitics that serve to specify the speech act. These include the first and second person subjects, question and command markers, tense, evidentials, etc. These enclitics always follow the first word, whatever it is. Examples (5)-(8) are the same as (1)-(4) with the addition of the second-position, speech act enclitics.

(5) ?ítt\_u\_ya? cə nəsčá?ča?  
sleep\_QUEST\_PAST DET my friend  
'Did my friend sleep?'

(6) hiyá?\_cn ?ítt.  
go\_1SUBJ sleep  
'I'm going to sleep.'

(7) x<sup>w</sup>áŋ\_č'cx<sup>w</sup> ?i? ?ítt.  
can\_EVID\_2SUBJ CON sleep  
'Apparently, you can sleep.'

(8) t́ŋ\_ca?\_st ?u? ?ítt.  
really\_FUT\_1PLSUBJ CON sleep  
'We will really sleep.'

There are several types of specially marked subordinate clauses:

(9) hiyá?\_cn k<sup>w</sup>a? ?ítt-x<sup>w</sup>  
go\_1SUBJ if/when sleep-2SBDSUBJ  
'I'll go if you sleep.'

<sup>2</sup> The third person subject in these examples is zero. The translation with 'it' could equally well be done with 'he', 'she', or 'they'. Abbreviations: CON 'connector', EVID 'evidential', SUBJ 'subject', FUT 'future', SBDSUBJ 'subordinate subject', DET 'demonstrative determiner', OBJ 'object', PREP 'oblique preposition', NM 'nominalizer', COMP 'complementizer', POS 'possessive', FUTSUBJ 'future subject', and REQ 'request for information'.

- (10) hiyáʔ\_cn ʔət ʔitt-x<sup>w</sup>  
 go\_1SUBJ while sleep-2SBDSUBJ  
 'I'll go while you sleep.'
- (11) ʔánə-c\_cn či ʔən'-s-ʔitt  
 allow-2OBJ\_1SUBJ COMP 2POS-NM-sleep  
 'I allow you to sleep.'

In examples (9) and (10) the subordinate clauses are preceded by the 'if' and 'while' introducers and have subject markers from the subjunctive paradigm. Example (11) shows a sentential complement. The first word—the main verb, auxiliary, or intensifier—of a complement clause is nominalized and it takes a subjective genitive subject. In (11) the second person possessive marks the complement subject. As will be shown later, sentential complements and 'if' clauses are relevant to paths in Klallam.

## 1.2 The preposition and oblique objects

Non-predicative nouns are always preceded by a demonstrative determiner (as shown in examples (1) and (5)). There is only one preposition in Klallam. It serves as a general oblique case marker and can mark various semantic relations as shown in (12)-(18).

In (12) the preposition marks the agent of the passive. In (13)-(15) it marks locations. In (16) it marks genitive and in (17), a causal.

- (12) k<sup>w</sup>nátəŋ\_yaʔ\_cn ʔaʔ cə q'áʔpiʔ.  
 is helped\_PAST\_1SUBJ PREP DET girl  
 'I was helped **by the girl.**'
- (13) šáʔwiʔ ʔaʔ cə sʔácss.  
 growing PREP DET her face  
 'It's growing **on her face.**'
- (14) ʔsʔ'áq<sup>w</sup>t ʔaʔ cə čsáns.  
 is stuck PREP DET his tooth  
 'It's stuck **in his teeth.**'
- (15) ʔstást ʔaʔ cə sxcáʔi.  
 close PREP DEM weeds  
 'They are close **to the weeds.**'
- (16) cát\_cx<sup>w</sup> ʔaʔ cə nəŋəgaʔ.  
 father\_2SUBJ PREP DET my child  
 'You are the father **of my child.**'

- (17) qəm'sít\_cn      ʔaʔ čí saplfn.  
 beg him\_1SUBJ PREP DET bread  
 'I begged him **for some bread.**'
- (18) tčístəŋ\_yaʔ      ʔaʔ čí ɣánaʔs ʔaʔ tɪʔə ščístəŋʷənt.  
 is brought\_PAST PREP DET his son PREP DET our land  
 'He was brought **by his son to our land.**'

As (18) shows, 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.

I have never observed that this lack of excess wealth in prepositions compared to English causes any difficulty in interpretation for native speakers. The context makes the use clear.

### 3 Serial directed-motion verbs

So how does Klallam express paths where source, goal, and trajectory are all places and confusion would arise with the use of only one preposition? Instead of the location and direction adpositions, case markers, or verbal direction affixes found in many languages, Klallam has a number of motion verbs that indicate location and direction. Some, probably most, of these directed motion verbs are shown in (19):

- (19)
- |                            |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ʔúxʷ 'go to'               | sáʔ 'rise up'                  |
| ʔúyʔ 'go aboard'           | sáw' 'go into the bush'        |
| cáw 'arrive down at water' | sáxʷ 'come out'                |
| céʔɣŋ 'go up on top'       | síxʷəŋ 'go into water'         |
| čtaʔwíyŋ 'go up high'      | sqíyŋ 'go outside'             |
| cúŋ 'go up from water'     | táči 'arrive here'             |
| číŋi 'go close to'         | táyi 'go upstream'             |
| čiyáct 'go forward'        | tás 'arrive there'             |
| čáŋ 'arrive home'          | txʷʔúxʷ 'go toward'            |
| čəyʷ 'come inside'         | txʷihəwíyŋ 'go back'           |
| haʔwə 'go on a trip'       | tíyi 'go over water'           |
| huʔáčəŋ 'go beyond'        | tákʷi 'go across'              |
| táw' 'run away'            | tánəs 'go next to'             |
| tcú 'go down toward water' | túkʷ 'go home'                 |
| láys 'go backward'         | wáʔ 'go along with'            |
| łcaʔwíyŋ 'go underneath'   | xʷíyŋ 'go down (an incline)'   |
| łčíyŋ 'go down sink'       | xʷkʷíyŋ 'go below drop back'   |
| náw' 'go inside'           | xʷtíyŋ 'fall back'             |
| pšúsəŋ 'go against'        | xʷíqʷíyŋ 'go with (tide/wind)' |
| qtáwəʔ 'go around'         | xʷúqʷi 'go (pole) upstream'    |
| qʷíŋi 'get out of'         | yaʔyíyŋ 'go far away'          |
| qʷəyíyŋ 'go over the top'  |                                |

Klallam can specify several of these verbs in series:

- (20) hiyáʔ\_yaʔ\_cn waʔ ʔúx<sup>w</sup> ták<sup>w</sup>i túk<sup>w</sup>.  
 go\_PAST\_1SUBJ go along go to go across go home  
 'I went along (with someone) across (the strait) over to home.'

In (20) none of these verbs is subordinate to any other. None of the subordination proclitics and affixes (as shown in (9)-(11)) is present or possible in this sentence. The order is very flexible with initial position being the focus and the speech act enclitics following whichever comes first. Two or three of these in series is very common; five, as in the example, though not uncommon, seems to be the limit of acceptability.

Many of these directed motion verbs can be seen to be derived. The *-ŋ* 'middle voice' suffix on many of them, for example, makes an intransitive verb taking an agentive subject. And the *-íy* suffix gives motion to a basically stative stem as shown in (21).

- (21) a. sáq 'be outside' sqíyŋ 'go outside'  
 b. ʔáʔc 'be under' ʔčíyŋ 'go down, sink'

When the path of motion involves **specific** places in the source and goal, motion verbs are derived by adding prefixes to the specific place names. There are two motion verb deriving prefixes: ʔáʔ- 'go to' and čšáʔ- 'go from'.

- (22) ʔ'aʔtáwn\_cn  
 go to town\_1SUBJ  
 'I went to town'
- (23) čšaʔtáwn\_cn  
 go from town\_1SUBJ  
 'I went from town'

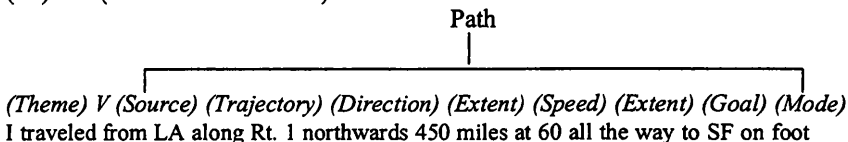
These are truly derived verbs—not case-marked nouns. They can take subjects as in (22) and (23) and can be transitivized, passivized, or imperfective just as any other verb:

- (24) ʔ'aʔtáwn-tx<sup>w</sup>\_cn  
 go to town-CAUSE\_1SUBJ  
 'I took it to town'
- (25) ʔ'aʔtáwn-t-əŋ\_cn  
 go to town-CAUSE-PASSIVE\_1SUBJ  
 'I was made to go to town'
- (26) ʔ'aʔttáʔwn\_cn  
 go to town[with imperfective reduplicaiton and infix]\_1SUBJ  
 'I'm going to town'

#### 4 Paths

The following discussion uses terminology from Ross (1995), which looks at the properties of paths in English, German, and Brazilian. The constituents of a path are shown in (27).

(27) (from Ross 1995:271)



Each of the constituents of the path is a 'leg'. Source, the initial leg, and goal, the final leg, are 'end legs' the others are 'medial legs'.

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.

(28) *čšaʔéʔɬʔaʔ\_cn*                      *ʔaʔmitúliyə.*  
go from Elwha\_1SUBJ      go to Victoria  
'I went from Elwha to Victoria.'

As with the other directed motion verbs, the order is flexible:

(29) *ʔaʔmitúliyə\_cn*                      *čšaʔéʔɬʔaʔ.*  
go to Victoria\_1SUBJ      go from Elwha  
'I went to Victoria from Elwha.'

Other directed motion verbs can be used in series with these:

(30) *tákʔi\_cn*                      *ʔaʔmitúliyə*      *čšaʔéʔɬʔaʔ.*  
go across\_1SUBJ      go to Victoria      go from Elwha  
'I went across to Victoria from Elwha.'

The order continues to be flexible. These three could be put in any order with only a change of focus:

(31) *ʔaʔmitúliyə\_cn*                      *tákʔi*                      *čšaʔéʔɬʔaʔ.*  
go to Victoria\_1SUBJ      go across      go from Elwha  
'I went to Victoria crossing from Elwha.'

(32) *čšaʔéʔɬʔaʔ\_cn*                      *tákʔi*                      *ʔaʔmitúliyə.*  
go from Elwha\_1SUBJ      go across      go to Victoria  
'I went from Elwha across to Victoria.'

(33) *čšaʔéʔɬʔaʔ\_cn*                      *ʔaʔmitúliyə*      *tákʔi.*  
go from Elwha\_1SUBJ      go to Victoria      go across  
'I went from Elwha to Victoria going across.'

Specific **medial** legs, trajectory and mode, are expressed using the word *txánəŋ* which can be translated 'go via' or 'go through' or 'go by way of'.<sup>3</sup>

- (34) *txánəŋ\_ya?\_cn*  
 go via\_PAST\_1SUBJ  
 'I went that way/I went through.'

This motion verb can occur in series with others:

- (35) *hiyá?\_ya?\_cn ?úx<sup>w</sup> txánəŋ.*  
 go\_PAST\_1SUBJ go to go via  
 'I went over that way.'

A medial leg is specified by the object of a prepositional phrase following *txánəŋ*.

- (36) *txánəŋ\_cn ?a? cə súf.*  
 go via\_1SUBJ PREP DET road, door  
 'I went by the road/through the door.'
- (37) *txánəŋ\_cn ?a? cə nəsnəx<sup>w</sup>ʔ.*  
 go via\_1SUBJ PREP DET my canoe  
 'I went by canoe.'

A source leg marked by the *čša?*- prefix can be used with a constituent headed by *txánəŋ*:

- (38) *čša?é?Hx<sup>w</sup>a?\_cn txánəŋ ?a? cə nəsnəx<sup>w</sup>ʔ.*  
 go from Elwha\_1SUBJ go via PREP DET my canoe  
 'I went from Elwha by canoe.'
- (39) *čša?é?Hx<sup>w</sup>a?\_cn txánəŋ ?a? cə táwn.*  
 go from Elwha\_1SUBJ go via PREP DET town  
 'I went from Elwha through town.'

The phrase headed by *txánəŋ* forms an inviolable constituent. The order of the two major constituents can be reversed as in (40), but the source leg may not be inserted into the *txánəŋ* phrase.

- (40) *txánəŋ\_cn ?a? cə nəsnəx<sup>w</sup>ʔ čša?é?Hx<sup>w</sup>a?.*  
 go via\_1SUBJ PREP DET my canoe go from Elwha  
 'I went by canoe from Elwha.'

<sup>3</sup> The word *txánəŋ* is apparently composed of the stem *x<sup>w</sup>əniŋ* 'way, manner' and the prefix *tx<sup>w</sup>*- 'become', though the morphophonemics is unclear.

An asymmetry between source and goal can be seen when the **goal** is mentioned with a specific medial leg. Given sentences like (28)-(33) where the source is marked by the *čšáʔ-* prefix and the goal is symmetrically marked by the *łáʔ-* prefix, we might expect that we could simply change the *čšáʔ-* to *łáʔ-* in sentences like (38) and (40) to get sentences meaning 'I went **to** Elwha by canoe' and 'I went by canoe **to** Elwha'. But these are not possible. (41a) corresponds to (38) and (41b) to (40):

- (41) a. \*łáʔéʔłxʷaʔ\_cn tʔónəŋ ʔaʔ cə nəsónxʷı̄.  
 b. \*tʔónəŋ\_cn ʔaʔ cə nəsónxʷı̄ łáʔéʔłxʷaʔ.

Instead we get an entirely different construction:

- (42) tʔónəŋ\_cn ʔaʔ cə nəsónxʷı̄ čı̄ nə-s-łáʔéʔłxʷaʔ.  
 go via\_1SUBJ PREP DET my canoe COMP 1POS-NM-go to Elwha  
 'I went by canoe to (go to) Elwha.'

To express a goal with *tʔónəŋ* the *łáʔ-* derived directed motion verb must be nominalized in the sentential complement construction. Compare (42) with (43), a non-*psv*:

- (43) ʔánət-əŋ\_cn ʔaʔ cə nətán čı̄ nə-s-łáʔéʔłxʷaʔ.  
 allow-PSV\_1SUBJ PREP DET my mother COMP 1POS-NM-go to Elwha  
 'I am allowed by my mother to go to Elwha.'

The source can be added to (42) by simply adding the *čšáʔ-* derived directed-motion verb either at the beginning (44) or before (45) or after (46) the sentential complement goal:

- (44) čšáʔmitúliyə\_cn tʔónəŋ ʔaʔ cə nəsónxʷı̄  
 go from Victoria\_1SUBJ go via PREP DET my canoe

čı̄ nə-s-łáʔéʔłxʷaʔ.  
 COMP 1POS-NM-go to Elwha  
 'I went from Victoria by canoe to (go to) Elwha.'

- (45) tʔónəŋ\_cn ʔaʔ cə nəsónxʷı̄ čšáʔmitúliyə  
 go via\_1SUBJ PREP DET my canoe go from Victoria

čı̄ nə-s-łáʔéʔłxʷaʔ.  
 COMP 1POS-NM-go to Elwha  
 'I went by canoe from Victoria to (go to) Elwha.'



- (46) tʰənəŋ\_cn ʔaʔ cə nəsnaʰxʷt  
go via\_1SUBJ PREP DET my canoe

či nə-s-ʰaʔéʔtʰaʷaʔ čšaʔmitúliyə.  
COMP 1POS-NM-go to Elwha go from Victoria  
'I went by canoe to (go to) Elwha from Victoria.'

Other verbs that express the mode of movement like *štəŋ* 'walk', *təŋuʔəŋ* 'swim', *xʷítəŋ* 'jump', and *kʷnəŋət* 'run' do not require the subordination of the final leg. Just as in examples (30) to (33), they allow the serial patterning of source and goal.

- (47) štəŋ\_u\_cxʷ ʰaʔčixʷicn čšaʔéʔtʰaʷaʔʔ  
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 (30) to (33) and (47) in contrast with *tʰənəŋ* sentences is that *tʰənəŋ* is used to express a **specific** medial leg of a path. When other directed motion verbs are used to express a specific path, they use the same pattern as *tʰənəŋ*. (48) is one example.

- (48) hiyáʔ q'táwət ʔaʔ cə c'íkəkək.  
go go around PREP DET wagon  
'She went around the wagon.'

But I have no examples of other directed motion verbs used as medial legs in conjunction with a specific 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 *q'táwət* 'go around'. When such senses are elicited, *tʰənəŋ* is used.

It is also possible to derive mode verbs using the *-áyʔ* suffix. For example, *snəxʷ* 'canoe' becomes *snəxʷáyʔ* 'go by canoe'. (49) shows how this is used:

- (49) snəxʷáyʔ\_yaʔ\_cn.  
go by canoe\_PAST\_1SUBJ  
'I went by canoe.'

As for *tʰənəŋ*, when the mode of travel is specified with this morphology, the goal appears in a subordinate clause as in (50), which has the sentential complement structure as in (42) to (46). Another way of expressing this is shown in (51), which has an 'if/when' subordinate clause:

- (50) snəxʷáyʔ\_cn či nə-s-táči.  
go by canoe\_1SUBJ COMP 1POS-NM-arrive at  
'I got there by canoe.'

- (51) snəx<sup>w</sup>ɬáyɬ\_caʔn      k<sup>w</sup>aʔ      hiyáʔ-n      túyi  
 go by canoe\_1FUTSUBJ    if/when    go-1SBDSUBJ    go over water
- ʔúx<sup>w</sup>    ʔaʔmitúliyə  
 go to    be at Victoria  
 'I'll go by canoe when I go to Victoria'

Example (51) also shows that some of the directed motion verbs are goal-linked (Ross, nd) like English 'reach', which does not allow the 'to' preposition on a goal ('I went to Elwha' but 'Reached (\*to) Elwha'). Goal-linked verbs in Klallam may not be followed by a *ʔáʔ*-derived verb. Instead, the goal is prefixed with *ʔaʔ*- 'be at' as in (51) and (52).

- (52) ʔaʔmitúliyə\_cn  
 be at Victoria\_1SUBJ  
 'I'm in Victoria'

The verb *ʔúx<sup>w</sup>* differs from *hiyáʔ* only in that the former is goal-linked. Compare (53) and (54):

- (53) hiyáʔ\_cn    ʔaʔmitúliyə  
 go\_1SUBJ    go to Victoria  
 'I went to Victoria'
- (54) ʔúx<sup>w</sup>\_cn    ʔaʔmitúliyə      [\*ʔúx<sup>w</sup>\_cn ʔaʔmitúliyə]  
 go to\_1SUBJ    be at Victoria  
 'I went to Victoria'

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

## 5      **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.

- (55) ʔəxín\_cxʷ\_ʔuč?  
be where\_2SUBJ\_REQ  
'Where are you?'
- (56) txʷín\_cxʷ\_ʔuč?  
go to where\_2SUBJ\_REQ  
'Where are you going to?'
- (57) čšaʔəxín\_cxʷ\_ʔuč?  
go from where\_2SUBJ\_REQ  
'Where are you from?'

The question word for the source leg is based on the ʔəxín' 'where' root. But notice that although there is čšaʔəxín' there is no \*ʔaʔəxín'. 'go to' has the txʷ- 'become' prefix. Again, the goal patterns differently from the source.

The only way to question a medial leg is with 'how'.

- (58) ʔəsxʷaʔnéʔŋ ʔay' či ʔən'stáči.  
how LIMIT COMP you get here  
'How did you get here?'

Another difference between the source and other legs in a path can be seen with the non-specific location predicates ʔíyaʔ 'there' and ʔátaʔ 'here'. These both can take čšaʔ- as shown in (59), but neither can appear in a medial or goal leg. Both sentences in (60) are soundly rejected by native speakers.

- (59) čšaʔíyaʔ\_cn  
go from there\_1SUBJ  
'I went from there.'
- (60) a. \*txʷən'əŋ\_cn ʔaʔ ʔíyaʔ  
b. \*ʔaʔíyaʔ\_cn

## 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 čša-. Cognates for ʔaʔ- are readily found, but I have not been able to identify any clear cognates for čšaʔ- outside of the Straits group.

Although I currently have little data on the Northern Straits cognate constructions, they seem, from a preliminary inspection of the corpus, to be very similar to Klallam. In the material I have collected on the Saanich dialect there are serial directed-motion verbs and prefixes ʔə- '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 would include, though not be 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 specific semantics—proper names and personal pronouns. Its function and semantics seem very different, however.

For Comox, Hagège (1981:125) shows motion verbs in 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'. Gerdtz (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 (Gerdtz 2002) cognates of which can be found in Klallam including a prefix  $\lambda'$ - 'go to'.

In Lushootseed we can find cognate morphemes for Klallam prefixes  $\lambda'a?$ - and  $?a?$ -. They are, however, each independent verbs:  $\lambda'a$  'go to a particular place' and  $?a?$  'be there'<sup>4</sup> (Bates, Hess, Hilbert 1994). Each of these in Lushootseed can be transitivized, take tense, aspect, subject, and stress. In Lushootseed these have all the properties of independent 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  $\lambda'a$  root is included in Kuipers' (2002:62) etymology for Proto-Salish root  $*\lambda'a?$  'to go after, look for st.'. As Gerdtz (2002) points 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.

## 7 Conclusion

A path—motion from point A to point B—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.

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<sup>4</sup> The Lushootseed root  $\check{c}as$  'send', which apparently only occurs transitivized, may be cognate with the Klallam prefix  $\check{c}sa?$ - and Saanich  $\check{c}as$ - 'go from'. If so, the phonology would indicate that it would have to be a loan either in the Straits languages or in Lushootseed.

Asymmetries between end legs and medial legs similar to those found by Ross (1995) can also be found in Klallam. The source leg differs from other legs in that 'there' and 'here' can be expressed with the prefixed forms while medial and goal legs cannot. Just as in English, medial legs differ from end legs in that they cannot be questioned.

Comparative evidence indicates that at least the goal prefix,  $\lambda'a?$ -derives historically and relatively recently from a grammaticalized root. 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.

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