Degrees of word order freedom in Karuk*

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1 Introduction

Existing descriptions of Karuk word order are brief and emphasize the freedom of position that nominal arguments enjoy (de Angulo and Freeland 1931:194–5, Bright 1957:140–1, Macaulay 2000:479–80):

(1) “Most of the business of the language goes on within the verb. The nouns that represent the actors in the sentence are interspersed between the verbs without syntactic cases or fixed order to show their relations. Elements in the verb refer to them, but they themselves are not ticketed. Even their number, singular, dual, plural, is expressed for them by the verb. As though we were to say for “The trees stand there . . .”, “There they-stand, tree . . .” Or for “I will take the children”, “I-will-take-them, the-child”. (de Angulo and Freeland 1931:194–5)

This talk: examine wider range of verbal arguments and suggest that they partition into two classes as regards their word order freedom:

(2) Class I = DP arguments (S, O) and locative applied objects: word order is grammatically free, but pragmatically restricted

(3) Class II= manner complements, CP complements, quotes: word order is grammatically fixed

Analytic question: can this difference in word order freedom be linked analytically to particular aspects of verbal morphology (Jelinek 1984, Baker 1996, Adger et al. 2009)?

Language background

• Setting
  – spoken along the middle course of the Klamath river in northwestern California
  – isolate within Hokan group
  – neighbours: Yurok (Algic), Shasta (also Hokan), Tolowa (Athabaskan), Hupa (Athabaskan)
  – severely endangered; first-language speakers all elderly; language teaching, documentation, revitalization in communities

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• Relevant linguistic features:

- polysynthetic, no noun incorporation, but highly developed set of directional suffixes (Macaulay, 2005)
- agglutinative; predominantly suffixing
- S and O cross-referenced on V by portmanteau prefix (though see Macaulay 1992)

(4) Karuk agreement prefixes, positive indicative series (Macaulay 1992:184)

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- Transitive agreement with 3rd person objects is systematically identical to intransitive agreement (with the exception of 3PL>3PL). I nonetheless differentiate the glosses by transitivity.¹

(5) a. tā nu-mah.
   PERF 1SG>2SG-see
   I see you.

b. tā ni-mah.
   PERF 1SG>3-see
   I see it.

c. tā ni-kyívish.
   PERF 1SG-fall.down
   I fell down.

Methodology and limitations

• Primarily corpus-based; >5000 sentence online searchable text corpus
  - bulk of textual material is from Bright (1957) (WB-KL-01 through WB-KL-92), based on fieldwork in the late 1940’ies.
  - some earlier texts from Harrington (1931) (JPH-KT) and Kroeber (ALK field notebook 14, 1903)
• some recent targeted elicitation and grammaticality judgments (identified by speaker and date)
• mostly contrasting preverbal vs. postverbal position
• indirect objects and non-locative applied objects not yet examined
• documentation of pragmatic restrictions limited to effect of overt focus-marking on word order

¹All examples are given in the orthography adopted by the Karuk tribe. I use the following abbreviations in the glosses: ANC = ancient tense, ANT = anterior tense, BEN = benefactive, C = complementizer, DIM = diminutive, DUR = durative, FUT = future, INT = intensive, IRR = irrealis, ITER = iterative, LOC = locative, NEG = negation, OBV = obviative, PERF = perfect, PL =plural, PL.ACT = plural action, SG = singular. In some cases the derivational morphemes of a verb stem are not glossed individually.
2 Class I: grammatically free, pragmatically restricted

Karuk displays Hale’s (1983) three hallmarks of a non-configurational language:

(6) Class I arguments may be
   a. freely ordered
   b. freely dropped
   c. freely split

   While grammatically free, the order of Class I arguments seems to be restricted by pragmatic status, such that rheme (new) precedes theme (old) (cf. Tomlin and Rhodes 1979 on Ojibwa and papers in Payne 1992)

(7) a. focused DPs (new/contrastive/identificational) appear preverbally
   b. post-verbal position restricted to non-new, less salient, non-focussed elements
   c. preverbal position as default (cf. Harbour et al. 2012 on Kiowa)

2.1 DP arguments

Intransitive clauses

(8) xás pa-kah’arah-sas kun-ivyĩhuk.
    then the-Shasta.Indian-pl 3pl-come.pl
    And the upriver people came.
    Julia Starritt “Coyote Steals Fire” (WB-KL-10:2)

(9) t-u-piváxra pa-ʼíshaha.
    PERF-3SG-dry.up the-water
    The water had dried up.
    Nettie Reuben “Coyote’s Journey” (WB-KL-01:62)

Transitive clauses with one overt DP argument

(10) kári xás pa-mú-vaas u-pishnáka-rishuk.
    then then the-3SG-blanket 3SG>3-ITER-put.aside-out
    And he undid his blanket.
    Nettie Reuben “Coyote’s Journey” (WB-KL-01:56)

(11) xás kuuk u-páath-ma pa-mú-vaas.
    then to.there 3SG>3-throw.toward the-3SG-blanket
    And he threw his blanket at it.
    Nettie Reuben “Coyote’s Journey” (WB-KL-01:60)

(12) naa nfk ni-p-shan-siipree-vish.
    1SG a.little 1S>3-ITER-carry-up-FUT
    I’ll carry them away.
    Source: Mamie Offield “Duck Hawk and His Wife” (WB-KL-27:27)

(13) . . . tá kun-tápkunup pa-ʼarara-ʼĩn.
    PERF 3PL>3SG-like the-human-OBV
    . . . the people liked him.
    Source: Daisy Jones “The Snake People” (WB-KL-60:22)
Transitive clauses with two overt DP arguments

(14) púyava kári pa-’áraa pa-’urípi u-p-ithyúru-ripaa
you.see then the-human the-net 3SG>3SG-ITER-pull-out
*Then the Indian pulled the net out of the water.*
Source: Julia Starritt “Salmon Fishing” (WB-KL-69:16)

(15) xás pa-piñmii u-píimni pa-mú-’aramah
then the-old.man 3SG>3-fall.in love the-3SG-child
*And the old man fell in love with his child.*
Source: Julia Starritt “Coyote Marries His Own Daughter” (WB-KL-16:3)

(16) ta’ítam kun-ífik-áheen pa-xuntápan pa-’asiktvaan-sa
so 3PL>3SG-pick.up ANT the-acorn the-woman-PL
*Then the women gathered the acorns.*
Source: Mamie Offield “Coyote Gives Salmon and Acorns tp Mankind” (WB-KL-17:34)

(17) pufich-taay kun-iykára-tih, itráhyar mu-túniiv
deer-much 3PL>3SG-beat-DUR ten 3SG-children
*His ten sons were killing lots of deer.*
Source: Chester Pepper “Deer Hunting Medicine” (WB-KL-53:4)

(18) ... chavúra p-eethívhaaneen u-páxyar pa-’áraa
finally the-land 3SG>3-ITER-fill the-human
... *finally the people filled up the earth.*
Source: Mamie Offield “A Trip to the Land of the Dead” (WB-KL-58:56)

(19) ... naa víura fáat íin nee-shkáxshrihmah-cesth
1SG. INT nothing OBJ 3SG>1SG-stop.from.doing-FUT
*(And Fire said,) "Nothing can stop me."*
Source: Mamie Offield “Victory Over Fire” (WB-KL-45:18)

- (8)–(19) confirm grammatically free order of S and O
- verb-final and verb medial order appear to be more common (consistent with Bright (1957:141)).
- No examples in corpus of VSO (cf. Adger et al. (2009) on Kiowa), but VOS is also rare.
- Bright (1957:134): with transpersonal verbs (roughly, verbs that can take animate subject and animate object) S must precede O. (17) and (19) are potential counterexamples to this.

2.2 A preverbal focus position

Karuk has three focus particles: kích ‘only’, káru ‘also’, kúna ‘in addition’. These particles are right-adjointed to the focused element:

(20) naa kích
1.SG only
*only me*

(21) naa káru
1.SG also
*me too*

(22) fáat kúna?
what in addition
*what else?*
Such overtly focus-marked constituents invariably precede the verb:

(23) xás [pa-’únuhich kích] t-u-pá-th-ih.
then the-kidney only PERF-3SG>3-throw-BEN
Then he threw only the kidney to him.
Source: Mrs. Bennett, “Screech Owl and Coyote” (ALK-14-35)

(24) [uumkun káru] kun-pákíriihva.
3PL also 3PL>3SG-sing.songs
They (the Does) were singing too. (After saying that Coyote was singing when he met the Does)
Source: Mamie Offield “Coyote Trades Songs and Goes to the Sky” (WB-KL-09:4)

eel also 3SG-eat-DUR
They ate eels too. (After saying that they ate deer, salmon and acorns.)
Source: Maggie Charley, ”Indian Food” (WB-KL-68:18)

(26) [pa-mu-hróoha kúna] ú-kfuukiraa
the-3SG-wife in.addition 3SG>3-grab
He grabbed his wife in turn. (After grabbing his child.)
Source: Lottie Beck, ”The Greedy Father” (WB-KL-23)

Postverbal placement judged ungrammatical (27); preverbal placement invariably volunteered (28):

(27) *tá nu-’ákih [uxnáhich kích]
PERF 1SG>2SG-feed strawberries only
Intended: All I gave you were strawberries. (Vina Smith, 16/06/2013)

(28) [uxnáhich kích] tá nu-’ákih.
strawberries only PERF 1SG>2SG-feed
All I gave you were strawberries. (Vina Smith, 16/06/2013)

⇒ there is a preverbal focus position. DPs accompanied by a focus particle must occur in that preverbal position.

2.3 Locative applied arguments

Karuk has a rich set of directional suffixes (close to 40). Macaulay (2005) argues that the bulk of these (around 30) function as applicative morphemes that introduce a locative applied object which may, but need not, be realized by an independent locative expression:

(29) páah-ak ú-skaak-ramnih
boat-LOC 3SG-jump-into.container
He jumped into a boat . . .
Source: Mamie Offield, “Coyote’s Journey” (WB-KL-05:101)

(30) xás aas ú-yvaay-ramnih.
then water 3SG>3SG)-pour-into.container
And he poured water in (a basket).
Source: Julia Starritt “Coyote Steals Fire” (WB-KL-10:35)

(31) xás áas ú-skaa-kurih.
then water 3SG-jump-into.water
So he jumped into water.
Source: Mamie Offield, “Coyote’s Journey” (WB-KL-05:30)

It is not clear to me whether the verb agrees with locative applicatives, since 3SG object agreement is invisible; see table in (4).
The applied object may precede or follow the verb:

(32) kári xís impá-ak ú-skaak-sur pa’-asiktávaan.
then then trail-LOC 3SG-jump-off the-woman
And the woman jumped off of the path.
Source: Mamie Offield, “The Devil Discovered” (WB-KL-62:8)

(33) pa’-asiktávaan u-t-rámmih-ti pa’-ásip-ak.
the-woman 3SG-look-into.container-DUR the-bowl-LOC
The woman is looking in the bowl.
Source: Julia Starritt, “Responses to Pictures” (WB-KL-92:83)

(34) chími páah-ak vá-ramnih!
soon boat-LOC go-into.container
“Get in the boat.”
Source: Chester Pepper, “Coyote’s Journey” (WB-KL-03:150)

(35) chími vá-rip-i páah-ak!
soon go-out-IMP boat-LOC
Get out of the boat!
Source: Chester Pepper, “Coyote’s Journey” (WB-KL-03:169)

When overtly focus-marked, applied objects precede the verb.³

(36) [húuk kích] paath-m-i!
to.somewhere only throw-toward-IMP
Just throw it (away) somewhere!
Source: Mamie Offield, “How Deer Meat Was Lost and Regained” (WB-KL-33:64)

(37) [hóoy kích] t-óo p-thívrub-ruprav.
where only PERF-3SG ITER-float-out.through
(She wondered) where they had floated out.

Tentative conclusion: Applied objects pattern with S and O in being able to occur before or after the verb. All are required to occur pre-verbally if focus marked.

3 Class II: Grammatically fixed order

At least three kinds of non-DP dependents exhibit a grammatically fixed order relative to the verb:⁴

1. manner complements precede V
2. complement clauses follow V
3. quotes follow V

3.1 Manner complements

Certain verbs seem to obligatorily occur with an adverbial dependent expressing manner or quality, including ipmahónkoon, ‘feel’, kuupha ‘do, act’, and possibly imusaha ‘look (like)’.

(38) xís vúra kâarim t-óo pmahónkoon.
then INT bad PERF-3SG feel
Then he felt bad.
Source: Julia Starritt, ”Coyote’s Journey” (WB-KL-04:20)

³In (37), tóó is the result of the perfect marker tá coalescing with the 3sg agreement prefix u-.
⁴Or nearly fixed in the case of quotes.
\( \ldots \text{kāarin i-kuph-ee} \text{sh.} \)
bad \text{2SG-do-FUT}
\( \ldots \text{you'll do badly.} \)
Source: Julia Starritt, “Coyote Marries His Own Daughter” (WB-KL-16:18)

(40) \text{vaa u-kúphaa-nik ā'iknéechhan.}
thus \text{3SG-do-ANC} falcon
\text{Duck Hawk did this.}
Source: Chester Pepper, “Duck Hawk and His Wife” (WB-KL-26:1)

(41) \text{pa-'ishkëesh yáv u-músahi-tih}
the-river good \text{3SG-look-DUR}
The river looks good.
Source: Charlie Thom, Sr., (CT-01:8)

Such complements invariably precede the verb and are judged ungrammatical in post-verbal position:

(42) \text{Naa vúra yav ni-pmahóonkoo}na-tih. \text{1SG feel-DUR}
\text{I feel good.}
Vina Smith, 09/07/13

(43) *\text{Naa ni-pmahóonkoo}na-ti \text{(vúra) yav.} \text{1SG feel-DUR}
\text{I feel good.}
Vina Smith, 09/07/13

• Could this be a matter of prosodic lightness?
  – also heavier manner expressions must occur preverbally \( (\text{kāarin ‘bad(ly)’ yāamach ‘pretty’}) \)
  – monosyllabic DP objects can occur post-verbally:

(44) \text{káru vaa kumá’ii koovúra kuma-keemishatunvéechas kun-áay-ti aah.} \text{also that because.of all 3SG-little.wild.animal} \text{3PL>3SG-fear-DUR fire}
\text{And that’s why all the little wild animals are afraid of fire.}
Source: Mamie Offield, “Victory Over Fire” (WB-KL-45:22)

⇒ The restriction to preverbal position is grammatical in nature, not prosodic.

3.2 Complement clauses

While there appear to be no clausal subjects in Karuk, finite complement clauses are found with verbs of perception, attitude, cognition, and communication, as well as aspectual verbs:

\[ ^5 \text{These verbs more typically occur with direct speech complements, but they are also attested with subordinate complement clauses.} \]
aach`ıchha ‘be glad’
áapunma ‘to know’
imus- ‘to look at’
ikiṟuinti ‘to wait for’
ickyāvarıhva ‘to try’
ipēer ‘to tell’
ipshínhāvarıhva ‘to forget’
kāriha ‘to be ready’
kŏoha ‘to stop’
mah ‘to see, to find’
pasūpichva ‘to reveal’
piip ‘to say’
pikrook ‘to remember’
pikyaar ‘to finish’
tāapkup ‘to like’
thitiv ‘to hear’
ūurih ‘to be unwilling’

Complement clauses are introduced by the proclitic pa=, which Bright (1957:121–2) analyzes as a nominalizer; here I treat it as a complementizer (C).  

Complement clauses invariably follow the verb in texts:

(46) tā kun-‘áapunma p-oo-kitaxrıharahi-tih.
    PERF 3PL>3SG-know C-3SG-be.unfaithful-DUR
They found out that he was being unfaithful.

(47) kēevniikich vūra um u-tapkūupu-ti p-ōo-thtii-tih.
    old.woman INT 3.SG 3SG>3-like-DUR C-3SG-gamble-DUR
An old woman liked to gamble.
Source: Mamie Offield, “The Perils of Weasel” (WB-KL-19:1)

(48) naa īp ni-pasūpichv-at [pa-sōomvaan t-i-’ıpasuk].
    1SG PAST 1SG>3-reveal-PAST C-woman.who.offers.self.in.marriage PERF-2SG>3-bring.person.back
I revealed that you were bringing home a new wife.
Source: Mamie Offield, “Duck Hawk and His Wife” (WB-KL-27:23)

and in elicited forms:

(49) naa vūra ni-tapkūupu-ti pa-ni-’uuftıvhu-tih.
    1SG INT 1SG>3-like-DUR C-1SG-swim-DUR
I like to swim.  
(Vina Smith 09/07/2013)

(50) ni-krūunti [iim p-ee-mnısh-eesh].
    1SG>3-wait.for 2SG C-2SG>3-cook-FUT
I am waiting for you to cook.  
(Vina Smith, 09/08/2013)

When presented with a preverbal complement clause in elicitation, the consultant rejected it as “no good” (compare (51) with (49)):

(51) *naa vūra pa-ni-’uuftıvhu-tih ni-tapkūupu-ti.
    1SG INT C-1SG-swim-DUR 1SG>3-like-DUR
Intended: I like to swim.  
(Vina Smith 09/07/2013)

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6This proclitic is segmentally identical to the definite determiner; Bright (1957) distinguishes the two based on the morphophonological processes they trigger.
or reinterpreted the subordinate clause as an adverbial clause and adjusted its form. Compare (52) with (50):

(52) [iim p-ee-mńš-eesh] ni-krń̤̌uuntih-eesh.
    2SG C-2SG>3-cook-FUT 1SG>3-wait.for-FUT
    If you are going to cook, I will wait.

Note Adverbial clauses use the same proclitic subordinator as complement clauses (pa=), but unlike complement clauses adverbial clauses may precede or follow verb, as is typical for languages with an initial subordinator (Diessel, 2001).

• Some of the verbs in (45) also allow DP objects and, unlike complement clauses, the DP object may follow or precede the verb:

(53) puraf áat vírá ná-‘aapnumu-tih-ara.
    nothing INT 1SG>3-know-DUR-NEG
    I don’t know anything.
    Source: Charlie Thom, Sr., (CT-01)

(54) xás káan askitávaan u-tápkuup.
    then there woman 3SG>3-like
    He liked a woman there.
    Source: Lottie Beck, “Duck Hawk and His Wife” (WB-KL-25)

(55) xás pihnëefich t-u-tápkuup pa-‘asiktávaan-sa.
    then coyote PERF-3SG>3-like the-woman-PL
    And Coyote took a liking to the women.
    Source: Chester Pepper, ”Coyote’s Journey” (WB-KL-03)

(56) pa‘asiktávaan mu-krń̤̌uuntih.
    the-woman 1PL>3-wait.for
    We are waiting for the woman.
    (Vina Smith, 09/08/2013)

⇒ So it is not that these particular verbs require their internal argument, irrespective of category, to follow them; rather CP complements must follow the verb, whereas DP object may precede or follow the verb, as is generally true of DP arguments.

• That in turn sets up an interesting question regarding focus marking:

  – focus-marked phrases occur pre-verbally,
  – complement clauses occur post-verbally
  – can one focus-mark a complement clause and if so, what is the word order?

(57) iináak vaa kích u-thítim-ti p-oo-pakuríhv-tu “yóotva t-u-iív’íiv ikamish t-u-iív’íiv”.
    indoors thus only 3SG>3-hear-DUR C-3SG>3-sing,songs>DUR hurray! PERF-3SG-die son.in.law PERF-3SG-die
    Inside he just heard her singing. “Hurray, he’s dead, son-in-law is dead!”
    Source: Lottie Beck, ”The Perils of Weasel” (WB-KL-18)

(58) uum vírá hitihaan vaa kích u-kupi-tih, u-kvaa-tih.
    3SG INT always thus only 3SG-do-DUR 3SG-carry.on.shoulder-DUR
    He did only this all the time, he gathered sweathouse wood.
    Source: Chester Pepper, ”Medicine for the Return of Wives” (WB-KL-52)

(59) yukún náā fí káru vaa ni-kúph-eesh p-oo-kúphaa-ník p-eekń̤̌uumin veekxaréeyav.
    you.see 1SG must also thus 1SG-do-FUT C-3SG-do-ANC the-Burrill.Peak.spirit
    You see, I must also do that way, as Burrill Peak Spirit did.
    Source: Mamie Offield, “Shinny Game Medicine” (WB-KL-54)
### 3.3 Quotations

Like complement clauses quotations follow the verb of saying, typically *piip* ‘say’ or *ipêer* ‘tell’:

(60) k´ ari x´ as pa-`asikt´ avaan u-piip “ch´ımi kan-thinmiup-i”
then then the-woman 3sg.(.-3)-say soon 1sg.(-3sg./pl.)(imper.)-roast.with.coals-IMPER
*And the woman said, “Let me roast it!”*

Source: Mamie Offield, ”The Devil Who Died Laughing” (WB-KL-63), line 6.

(61) x´ as pa-pihnˆ ıich the-old.man `u-peen-vunaa pa-yeerip´ axvuh-sas “ch´ımi soon kan-thimnˆ ıup-i”
then the-old.man 3sg say to.pl the-adolescent.girl-pl soon 2pl-iter-pl-crawl.out-IMP
*And the old man told the girls, “Crawl out again!”*

Source: Julia Starritt, ”The Hair in the Soup” (WB-KL-21)

Again, DP objects and manner complements to the same verbs may precede these verbs, suggesting that it is the category of the dependent, not the verb itself, that matters:

(62) v´ ura int k´ unish hûut tée piip.
*You sort of said something.*

Source: Mamie Offield, “Duck Hawk and His Wife” (WB-KL-27)

(63) p´ uu, pûra fˆ aat nothing v´ ura int n-eep´ı-tih-ara.
*No, I didn't say anything.*

Source: Mamie Offield, “Duck Hawk and His Wife” (WB-KL-27)

(64) pûra fˆ aat vûra kin-`ipeen-tih-at
nothing int 3>1pl-say.to-dur-past
*They (the government) didn’t say anything to us.*

Source: Emily Donahue, “Preparing Basket Materials” (WB-KL-85)

(65) fatamakˆ eesh kîch ára ú-peer-eesh.
*She'll tell a person just anything.*

Source: Nettie Reuben, “Blue Jay As Doctor” (WB-KL-29)

Interaction with focus marking:

(66) x´ as vaa kîch kun-`ipeen-tih “pu-kin-taapxuv-eesh-ara”
then thus only 3pl-say-dur neg-1pl-capsize-fut-neg
*And they said only that, “We won't capsize.”*

Source: Nettie Reuben, “The Boy from Itúkuk” (WB-KL-57)

(67) vaa kîch u-pi-ti pa-`keevniikich “yŏotva t-u-iv pa-nani-`ikami”
thus only 3sg-say-dur the-old.woman.dim hurray Perf-3sg-die the-1sg-son.in.law
*The old woman was just saying, “Hurray, he’s dead, my son-in-law.”*

Source: Lottie Beck, ”The Perils of Weasel” (WB-KL-18)

(68) viri vaa kîch u-pi-ti p-oo-`ihih-tih “shakatiyu’inaa hiyoo”
so thus only 3sg-say-dur c-3sg-dance-dur shakatiyu’inaa hiyoo
*He said only this as he danced, “shakatiyu’inaa hyoo.”*

Source: Nettie Reuben, “Lizard and Grizzly Bear” (WB-KL-34)

7Unlike the situation with complement clauses, there are there are examples of quotations that are split across the verb or fully predece the verb of saying. Of 378 corpus examples of *piip* ‘to say’ with a quotative complement, 1 has the quote preceding *piip* and 2 have the quote split (examples reproduced in appendix). Of 110 examples of *ipêer* ‘to tell’ with a quotative complement, 1 has the quote split and 1 has the quote preverbally. These might have independent explanations or they show that postverbal position is not grammatically determined, but highly dominant in the narrative genres represented in the corpus.
4 Summary

1. In Karuk different types of verbal arguments exhibit different degrees of word order freedom:
   - Class I (S, O and locative applied O) are grammatically free(er)
   - Class II are grammatically fixed:
     manner complements > V > quotes/CP complements

2. Karuk has a separate requirement that overtly focus-marked elements must precede the verb:
   \[ [\text{XP FOC}] > V \]
   - For S, O and locative applied O, this fixes their position to one of several possible ones.
   - For quotes and possibly CP complements, this triggers cataphora:
     \[ [\text{vaa}, \text{FOC}] > V > \text{quotes}/\text{CP} \]

5 Open Issues

1. Can the difference in word order freedom be linked to the syntactic category of the argument?
   - Are Class I arguments nominal (locative -ak notwithstanding)?
   - Are Class II arguments non-nominal (“nominalizing" pa= notwithstanding)?

2. Can it be linked to agreement (Jelinek, 1984) or “Morphological Visibility” (Baker, 1996)?
   - difficult to determine whether locatives and CP control object agreement
   - Karuk lacks noun incorporation, so is not polysynthetic in Baker’s sense.

3. Should the sentence-final position of complement clauses and quotes even receive a language-specific explanation, since it is a property found in a wide variety of other-wise verb-final languages, including Farsi, German, and Hindi. It is also true of Mohawk (Baker 1996:115)

4. Is Karuk (simply) a weakly verb-final language?

Appendix: Quotations spanning or preceding verb of saying

(69) “vírí akáray” tá kun-píip.
    so who PERF 3pl-say
    “Then who is it?” they said.
    Source: Julia Starritt, “Coyote Goes to a War Dance” (WB-KL-06)

(70) “vaa umm” kun-ipí-ti “pitaxyárih.”
    that 3SG 3PL-say-DUR swearing
    That, they said, was “swearing.”
    Source: Julia Starrit “Swearing” (WB-KL-0:3)

(71) xás “koovíra pa-parishřhva-an-sa” u-píip “ôok kii-vyřhuk-i.”
    then all the-twine-Agentive-PL 3SG-say here 2PL-come-IMP
    And he said, “All twiners, come here!”
    Source: Julia Starritt, ”Coyote Goes to the Sky” (WB-KL-08)
References


