Degrees of word order freedom in Karuk*

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1 Introduction

- cross-linguistically word order may be restricted by grammar, pragmatics, and prosody (e.g. Germanic object shift and verb-second).

- Karuk is a head-marking, agglutinating language of northern California.[1]

(1)   kana-p-ípas-roov-i
         2PL>1SG-ITER-take.(someone)-upriver-IMP
         Take me back upriver!   Julia Starritt, *Coyote's Journey* (WB-KL-04, line 158)

- 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):

(2)   "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."   (de Angulo and Freeland 1931:194–5)

- what is the analytic connection between rich verbal morphology and word order freedom? (Jelinek 1984, Baker 1996, Adger et al. 2009)

This talk: document four word order patterns in Karuk and examine their interactions with each other and with agreement.

1. non-nominal arguments are much less free in their positioning than nominals ones

    (a) adverbial complements precede V

    (b) PPs precede V

    (c) clausal complements follow V

2. focused arguments precede V

3. when grammatical and pragmatic restrictions clash, cataphora resolves the word order conflict

4. word order freedom correlates with controlling agreement

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[1]All 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, IMP = imperative, INT = intensive, IRR = irrealis, ITER = iterative, LOC = locative, NEG = negation, OBV = obviative, PERF = perfect, PL =plural, PL.ACT = plural action, RES = resultative, SG = singular. 1SG>3PL = 1SG subject w. 3PL object. In some cases the derivational morphemes of a verb stem are not glossed individually.

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 and schools (head start through high school).

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

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

	3SG (V$_{intrans}$)	3PL	2SG	2PL	1SG	1PL
1SG	*ni-*	*ni-*	*nu-́*	*kiik-́*	X	X
2SG	*i-*	*i-*	X	X	*ná-*	*kín-́*
3SG	*u-*	*u-*	*i-/-ap*	*kiik-́/-ap*	*ná-*	*kín-́*
1PL	*nu-́*	*nu-́*	*nu-́*	*kiik-́/-ap*	X	X
2PL	*ku-*	*ku-*	X	X	*kaná-*	*kín-́*
3PL	*kun-́*	*kín-́*	*i-/-ap*	*kiik-́/-ap*	*kaná-*	*kín-́*

- 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.

(4)   a.   tá   **nu**-mah.
           PERF 1SG>2SG-see
           I see you.
      b.   tá   **ni**-mah.
           PERF 1SG>3-see
           I see it.
      c.   tá   **ni**-kyívish.
           PERF 1SG-fall.down
           I fell down.

Methodology and limitations

- primarily corpus-based; >5000 sentence online searchable text corpus[2]
  - mostly from Bright (1957) based on fieldwork in the late 1940'ies
  - also from de Angulo and Freeland (1931), Harrington (1930, 1932), Kroeber (notebook 14, 1903)

- some recent targeted elicitation and grammaticality judgments (identified by speaker and date)

- indirect and applied objects not yet examined

- contrasting preverbal vs. postverbal position

- documentation of pragmatic restrictions limited to effect of overt focus-marking on word order

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[2]Textual examples are identified by speaker, text, and publication/researcher. WB-KL = Bright (1957), DAF-KT = de Angulo and Freeland (1931), JPH-KT = Harrington (1930), JPH-TKIC = 1932, ALK = Kroeber field notes.

2 Nominal arguments

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

(5)   DP arguments may be

   a. **freely ordered** (cf. opening quote & Appendix A)

   b. freely dropped

   c. freely split

While grammatically free, the order of DP 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)

(6)   a. focused DPs (new/contrastive/identificational) appear preverbally

   b. post-verbal position restricted to non-new, less salient, non-focused elements

   c. preverbal position as default (cf. Harbour et al. 2012 on Kiowa)

(7) $DP_{(FOCUS)}$ V $DP_{NON\text{-}FOCUS}$

2.1 A preverbal focus position

Karuk has three focus particles: *kích* 'only', *káru* 'also', *kúna* 'in addition'. These particles are right-adjoined to the focused element:

(8)   naa kích
        1SG only
        only me

(9)   naa káru
        1SG also
        me too

(10)   fâat kúna?
        what in.addition
        what else?

Overtly focus-marked constituents invariably precede the verb:

(11)   xás [**pa-'únuhich kich**] t-u-páth-ih.
        then the-kidney   only   PERF-3SG>3-throw-BEN
        Then he threw only the kidney to him.
        Mrs. Bennett, "Screech Owl and Coyote" (ALK-14-35)

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

(13)   [**akráa káru**] kun-'áam-tih.
        eel   also   3PL>3SG-eat-DUR
        They ate eels too. (After saying that they ate deer, salmon and acorns.)
        Maggie Charley, "Indian Food" (WB-KL-68:18)

(14)   [**pa-mu-hrôoha kúna**]   ú-kfuukiraa
        the-3SG-wife   in.addition 3SG>3-grab
        He grabbed his wife in turn. (After grabbing his child.)
        Lottie Beck, "The Greedy Father" (WB-KL-23)

Though not necessarily immediately preverbal:

(15) [**sípnuuk   kích**] káan u-kûuntakoo.
      storage.basket only   there 3SG-sit.on
      Just a storage basket is sitting there.
      Julia Starritt, "Coyote Goes to a War Dance" (WB-KL-06)

(16) [**âanxus uum káru**] pákuri u-thiiná-tih.
      weasel   3SG   also   song   3SG>3-have-DUR
      Weasel had a song. (After the Old Woman sings her song)
      Lottie Beck, "The Perils of Weasel" (WB-KL-18)

Postverbal placement judged ungrammatical (17); preverbal placement invariably volunteered (18):

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

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

⇒ focus-marked elements must occur preverbally.

3 Non-nominal arguments

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

1. adverbial complements precede V

2. certain PPs precede V

3. clausal complements follow V

3.1 Adverbial complements

Certain verbs obligatorily occur with a adverbial dependent expressing manner or quality, including *ipmahóonkoon*, 'feel', *kúupha* 'do, act', *imúsaha* 'look (like)', *imxaath* 'smell (like)', *ákat* 'taste (like)'.

(19) xás vúra **kâarim** t-óo   pmahóonkoon.
      then INT   bad   PERF-3SG feel
      Then he felt bad.   Julia Starritt, "Coyote's Journey" (WB-KL-04:20)

(20) . . . **kâarim** i-kuph-eesh.
          bad   2SG-do-FUT
      . . . you'll do badly.   Julia Starritt, "Coyote Marries His Own Daughter" (WB-KL-16:18)

(21) **vaa** u-kúphaa-nik á 'iknêechhan.
      thus 3SG-do-ANC   falcon
      Duck Hawk did this.   Chester Pepper, "Duck Hawk and His Wife" (WB-KL-26:1)

(22) pa-'ishkêesh **yáv** u-músahi-tih.
      the-river   good 3SG-look-DUR
      The river looks good.   (Charlie Thom, Sr., 06/05/2013)

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

(23) Naa **vúra yav** ni-pmahóonkoona-tih.
      1SG INT   good 1SG-feel-DUR
      I feel good.   Vina Smith, 09/07/13

(24) *Naa ni-pmahóonkoona-ti (**vúra**) **yav**.   Vina Smith, 09/07/13
      1SG 1SG-feel-DUR   INT   good

3.2 Postpositional phrases

Certain postpositional phrases precede the verb. This is true of PPs headed by the postpositions *koo* 'as much as' (25), *kumá'ii* 'because of' (26), *kuth* 'because of', and *kuuk* 'to'.

(25) [**ihêera kóo**]   u-'úux.
tobacco as.much.as 3SG-be.bitter
It tastes as bad as tobacco.   Phoebe Maddux, "pahûut u'ákatih", (JPH-TKIC, p. 49)

(26) káru pa-súrip,   pa-[**sárip   kumá'ii**] ta   kun-'áahka-haak, ...
and the-hazel.bush C-hazel.stick because.of PERF 3SG>3SG-burn-IRR
And the hazel bushes, when they burn them off for hazel sticks, ...   Phoebe Maddux (JPH-TKIC, p. 63)

When presented with the PP after the verb, the sentence is either judged ungrammatical (27) or reformulated to not involve a PP (28):

(27) *u-'úux   [**ihêera kóo**]
3SG-be.bitter tobacco as.much.as
Intended: *It tastes as bad as tobacco.*   Vina Smith, 15/01/2014

(28) u-'úux,   kúnish ihêera.
3SG-be.bitter, sort.of tobacco
It is bitter, sort of like tobacco.   Vina Smith, 15/01/2014

Karuk has three other postpositions: *îin*, which marks an obviative subject (Macaulay 2000), *mûuk* 'with (instrumental)', and *xákaan* 'with (comitative)'. PPs headed by these postpositions may occur before or after the verb. I'll return to these briefly at the end of the talk.

3.3 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,[3] as well as aspectual verbs:

(29)   aachíchha   'to be glad'
         áapunma   'to know'
         imus-   'to look at'
         ikrûunti   'to wait for'
         ikyâavarihva 'to try'
         ipêer   'to tell'
         ipshinvárihva 'to forget'
         káriha   'to be ready'
         kôoha   'to stop'
         mah   'to see, to find'
         pasúpiichva 'to reveal'
         piip   'to say'
         pikrôok   'to remember'
         pikyaar   'to finish'
         táapkup   'to like'
         thitiv   'to hear'
         ûurih   'to be unwilling'

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[3]These verbs more typically occur with direct speech complements, but they are also attested with subordinate complement clauses. Quotation also appear postverbally (see Appendix C).

- 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).[4]

- Complement clauses invariably follow the verb in texts:

(30) tá   kun-'áapunma **p=oo-kitaxríharahi-tih**.
      PERF 3PL>3SG-know C=3SG-be.unfaithful-DUR
      They found out that he was being unfaithful.
      Nettie Reuben, "The Adulterers Discovered" (WB-KL-39:24)

(31) kéevniikich vúra uum u-tapkûupu-ti **p=óo-thtii-tih**.
      old.woman   INT 3.SG 3SG>3-like-DUR C-3SG-gamble-DUR
      An old woman liked to gamble.
      Mamie Offield, "The Perils of Weasel" (WB-KL-19:1)

(32) naa íp   ni-pasúpiichv-at [**pa=sôomvaan**   **t-i-'ípasuk**].
      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.
      Mamie Offield, "Duck Hawk and His Wife" (WB-KL-27:23)

and in elicited forms:

(33) naa vúra ni-tapkûupi-ti **pa=ni-'uufíthvu-tih**.
      1SG INT 1SG>3-like-DUR C-1SG-swim-DUR
      I like to swim.   (Vina Smith 09/07/2013)

(34) ni-krûunti   [**iim p=ee-mnísh-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 speaker rejected it as "no good":

(35) *naa vúra **pa=ni-'uufíthvu-ti** ni-tapkûupi-ti.
      1SG INT   C-1SG-swim-DUR   1SG>3-like-DUR
      Intended: *I like to swim.*   (Vina Smith 09/07/2013)

or reinterperted the subordinate clause as an adverbial clause and adjusted the form of the matrix clause accordingly:

(36) [**iim p=ee-mnísh-eesh**] ni-krûuntih-eesh.
      2SG C-2SG>3-cook-FUT   1SG>3-wait.for-FUT
      If you are going to cook, I will wait.   (Vina Smith, 09/08/2013)

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

- Some of the verbs in (29) also allow DP complements and, unlike complement clauses, a DP complement may follow or precede the verb:

(37) **purafâat** vúra ná-'aapunmu-tih-ara.
      nothing   INT 1SG>3-know-DUR-NEG
      I don't know anything.   (Charlie Thom, Sr., 06/05/2013)

(38) xás káan **asiktávaan** u-tápkuup.
      then there woman   3SG>3-like
      He liked a woman there.   Lottie Beck, "Duck Hawk and His Wife" (WB-KL-25)

(39) xás pihnêefich t-u-tápkuup   **pa-'asiktávaan-sa**.
      then coyote   PERF-3SG>3-like the-woman-PL
      And Coyote took a liking to the women.   Chester Pepper, "Coyote's Journey" (WB-KL-03)

⇒ 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 complements may precede or follow the verb, as is generally true of DP arguments.

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[4]This proclitic is segmentally identical to the definite determiner; Bright (1957) distinguishes the two based on the morphophonological precesses they trigger.

4 Interactions

Four word order patterns documented so far:

   i. [XP FOCUS] > V

  ii. Adv > V

 iii. PP > V

 iv. V > CP

These set up two potential word order conflicts:

1. If CPs can be overtly focus marked, (i) and (iv) conflict

2. If CP can be complements of P, (iii) and (iv) might conflict

Both are possible and both are resolved by cataphora across the verb:

(40) $[vaa_i$ FOCUS/P$] >$ V $>$ CP$_i$

vaa 'thus' is the proform used with verbs that take adverbial complements (section 3.1). *vaa* also has anaphoric uses with CP antecedents.

Focus-marked CPs

(41)   iinâak [**vaa**$_i$ **kích**] u-thítiim-ti   [**p=oo-pakurîihvu-ti**]$_i$ "yôotva t-u-'iiv'íiv íkamish t-u-'iiv'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!"
       Lottie Beck, "The Perils of Weasel" (WB-KL-18)

(42)   uum [**vaa**$_i$ **kích**] u-'ítaap-ti   [**pa='árah u-patum-kôo-ti kuma-ánav**]$_i$.
       she this only 3SG-know-DUR C=person 3SG-suck-to-DUR kind-medicine
       She only knows how to treat the person with the sucking kind of medicine.
       Nettie Rueben in conversation with Lottie Beck (LA 078, tape 1, side A, line 397 of Bright's transcription)

CP complements to P   *ík* and *vúra* are second position clitics and therefore intrude between the postposition and its complement in (43)

(43)   [**vaa**$_i$ ík vúra **kóo**]   k**á**an ku-'íin-eesh   [**pa=axvâahar t-óo   msíp-ishri-haak**]$_i$
       this   must INT as.much.as there 2PL-be.(dual)-PROS COMP=pitch.wood PERF-3SG cool.off-RES-IRR
       You must stay there until the pitch-wood is extinguished.
       Julia Starritt, "The Bear and the Deer" (WB-KL-32:39)

(44) schematizes other logically possible ways of resolving the word order conflict:

(44)   a.   [CP P/FOCUS] > V
         b.   V > [CP P/FOCUS]
         c.   P/FOCUS > V > CP

- none of the strategies in (44) are attested in the 5000-sentence corpus.

- absence of (44a) suggests that CP complements—to V or P!— must occur postverbally; cf. (iv)

- absence of (44b) suggests that:
  - PPs must occur preverbally; cf. (iii)
  - focused elements must occur preverbally; cf. (i)

- absence of (44c) suggests that:
  - PPs, unlike DPs, cannot be split across the verb in Karuk
  - there is no long-distance association with focus particles (unlike English)

5   Word order and agreement

Why should it be the case that non-nominal arguments have less freedome of position than nominal arguments?

Baker's (1996) analysis of polysynthesis suggests a possible explanation for this split:

- Nominal dependents do not exhibit fixed position relative to the verb because they are in fact adjuncts and they may be left-adjoined or right-adjoined (to TP).

- The real nominal arguments are null pronominals and these null pronomimals are the controllers of agreement on the verb.

- Non-nominal arguments are actual arguments of the verb—there is no agreement associated with these and no null proforms—and thus they are in structurally fixed positions.

A wrinkle   Recall that there are three postpositions that are not required to occur preverbally—obviative *îin*, comitative *xákaan*, and instrumental *mûuk* —but may occur pre- or postverbally.

Two of those three postpositions are in fact transparent to agreement with the verb, such that their complement controls (or co-controls) subject agreement:

(45)   Obviative *îin*

    a.   . . . naa vúra [púra fâat îin] **nee**-shkáxishrihmath-eesh
        1SG. INT   nothing   OBV 3SG>1SG-stop.from.doing-FUT
        (And Fire said,) "Nothing can stop me."   Mamie Offield "Victory Over Fire" (WB-KL-45:18)

    b.   . . . tá   **kun**-tápkuup [pa-'arara-'íin].
        PERF 3PL>3SG-like   the-human-OBV
        . . . the people liked him.   Daisy Jones "The Snake People" (WB-KL-60:22)

(46)   Comitative *xákaan*

    a.   xás [pa-mú-chaas   xákaan] sáruk   **kun**-ithvírip-fak.
        then the-3SG-younger.brother with   downhill 3PL-(two).run-from.uphill
        And he and his younger brother ran downhill.   Julia Starritt, "The Bear and the Deer" (WB-KL-32)

    b.   ikxunanáhaanich **kun**-'íin   [mu-keechíkyav xákaan]
        evening.star   3PL-(two).be 3SG-sweetheart   with
        Evening Star lived with his sweetheart.
        Nettie Reuben, "Medicine for the Return of a Sweetheart" (WB-KL-49)

Instrumental *mûuk* does not control agreement, and I don't have an explanation for why it is free to occur post-verbally. It does have a closer morphophonological connection with its complement than the postpositions that must appear preverbally, possibly suggesting that it is more of an enclitic (or post-pound in Bright's terminology) than an adposition.

6   Conclusions and open issues

1. Worth looking at unusual suspects (= non-nominal arguments) in free word order languages!

2. In Karuk, non-nominal arguments have much less word order freedom than nominal arguments.

3. The documented grammatical and pragmatic word order requirements are strong enough that when they conflict, neither is sacrificed; instead the conflict is resolved by cataphora across the verb.

4. The arguments with the highest degree of freedom are the agreement controllers, as per Baker (1996).

5. Are there language-internal analytic reasons for PPs and adverbial complements to be preverbal and CPs to be post-verbal? Or is Karuk verb-final with the post-verbal positioning of CPs being a typological regularity?

6. Are there distinct preverbal positions or is there a preverbal zone with no internal structural differentiation?

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Appendix A: Order of S and O relative to V

Intransitive clauses

(47)   xás   pa-kah'árah-sas   kun-ivyíhuk.
then the-Shasta.Indian-PL 3PL-come.PL
And the upriver people came.   [SV]
Julia Starritt "Coyote Steals Fire" (WB-KL-10:2)

(48)   t-u-piváxra   pa-'íshaha.
PERF-3SG-dry.up the-water
The water had dried up.   [VS]
Nettie Reuben "Coyote's Journey" (WB-KL-01:62)

Transitive clauses with one overt DP argument

(49)   kári xás   pa-mú-vaas   u-p-ishnáka-rishuk.
then then the-3SG-blanket 3SG>3-ITER-put.aside-out
And he undid his blanket.   [OV]
Nettie Reuben "Coyote's Journey" (WB-KL-01:56)

(50)   xás   kúuk   u-páath-ma   pa-mú-vaas.
then to.there 3SG>3-throw-toward the-3SG-blanket
And he threw his blanket at it.   [VO]
Nettie Reuben "Coyote's Journey" (WB-KL-01:60)

(51)   naa ník   ni-p-shan-sîipree-vish.
1SG a.little 1s>3-ITER-carry-up-FUT
I'll carry them away.   [SV]
Mamie Offield "Duck Hawk and His Wife" (WB-KL-27:27)

(52)   ... tá   kun-tápkuup pa-'arara-'íin.
PERF 3PL>3SG-like the-human-OBV
... the people liked him.   [VS]
Daisy Jones "The Snake People" (WB-KL-60:22)

Transitive clauses with two overt DP arguments

(53)   púyava kári pa-'áraar   pa-'urípi u-p-ithyúru-ripaa
you.see then the-human the-net   3SG>3-ITER-pull-out
Then the Indian pulled the net out of the water.   [SOV]
Julia Starritt "Salmon Fishing" (WB-KL-69:16)

(54)   xás   pa-pihnîich 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.   [SVO]
Julia Starritt "Coyote Marries His Own Daughter" (WB-KL-16:3)

(55)   ta'ítam kun-ífik-aheen   pa-xuntápan pa-'asiktávaan-sa
so   3PL>3SG-pick.up-ANT the-acorn   the-woman-PL
Then the women gathered the acorns.   [VOS]
Mamie Offield "Coyote Gives Salmon and Acorns to Mankind" (WB-KL-17:34)

(56)   pufích-taay kun-iykára-tih,   itráhyar mu-túnviiv
deer-much   3PL>3SG-beat-DUR ten   3SG-children
His ten sons were killing lots of deer.   [OVS]
Chester Pepper "Deer Hunting Medicine" (WB-KL-53:4)

(57)   ... chavúra p-eethívthaaneen u-p-áxyar   pa-'áraar
finally   the-land   3SG>3-ITER-fill the-human
... finally the people filled up the earth.   [OVS]
Mamie Offield "A Trip to the Land of the Dead" (WB-KL-58:56)

(58)   ... naa vúra púra fâat îin   nee-shkáxishrihmath-eesh
            1SG. INT   nothing   OBV 3SG>1SG-stop.from.doing-FUT
            (And Fire said,) "Nothing can stop me."   [OSV]
            Mamie Offield "Victory Over Fire" (WB-KL-45:18)

- (47)–(58) 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.

Appendix B: On preverbal position of adverbial complements

- Could the restriction to preverbal position be a matter of prosodic lightness?

  - also heavier manner expressions must occur preverbally, e.g. *kâarim* 'bad(ly)', *kâanimich* 'poor(ly)', *yâamach* 'pretty'

  - monosyllabic DP objects can occur post-verbally:

(59)   káru vaa kumá'ii   koovúra kuma-keemishatunvêechas kun-'áay-ti   **aah**.
            also   that   because.of   all   3SG-little.wild.animals   3PL>3SG-fear-DUR   fire
            And that's why all the little wild animals are afraid of fire.
            Mamie Offield, "Victory Over Fire" (WB-KL-45:22)

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

- Could the restriction be inherent to these particular verbs, as opposed to the syntactic category of the complement?

  - No, the circumflex *kupa*-V-*ahi* 'to V in a certain manner' induce an adverbial complements for an open class of verbs, and these manner adverbials are also preverbal:

  (60)   kári xás xára   vúra **yâamach** kun-**kupá**-'iin-**ahi**-tih.
              then then long.time INT   pretty   3PL-MANNER-(two).be-MANNER-DUR
              And they lived nicely for a long time.
              Nettie Reuben, "Medicine for the Return of a Sweetheart" (WB-KL-49:2)

  (61)   **vaa** kun-**kupee**-ykár-**ahi**-ti   pa-púufich.
              thus 3PL>3SG-MANNER-beat-MANNER-DUR the-deer
              They killed the deer that way.
              Maggie Charley, "Indian Food" (WB-KL-68:16)

  - some of the basic verbs that take manner complements may take a nominal complement, which may follow V:

(62)   pa-'ávansa vaa kúnish u-músahi-tih   **pa-nani-ákah**.
            the-man   thus sort.of   3SG>3-look-DUR the-1SG-father
            That man looks like my father.   (Vina Smith, March 26, 2014)

(63)   uum pa-mu-krívraam vaa kúnish u-mxráath-tih   **pa-mi-krívraam**.
            3SG   the-3SG-house   thus sort.of   3SG>3-smell-DUR the-2SG-house
            His house smells like your house.   (Vina Smith, March 26, 2014)

⇒ the restriction to preverbal position is tied to syntactic category of complement (adverbial vs. nominal), not to the verb itself.

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Appendix C: Quotations   Like complement clauses quotations follow the verb of saying, typically *piip* 'say' or *ipêer* 'tell':

(64)   kári xás pa-ʼasiktávaan u-piip   "chími kan-thimnîup-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.

(65)   xás pa-pihnîich ú-peen-vunaa pa-yeeripáxvuh-sas "chími kiik-p-iru-vôonishuk-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)

Unlike 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.

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:
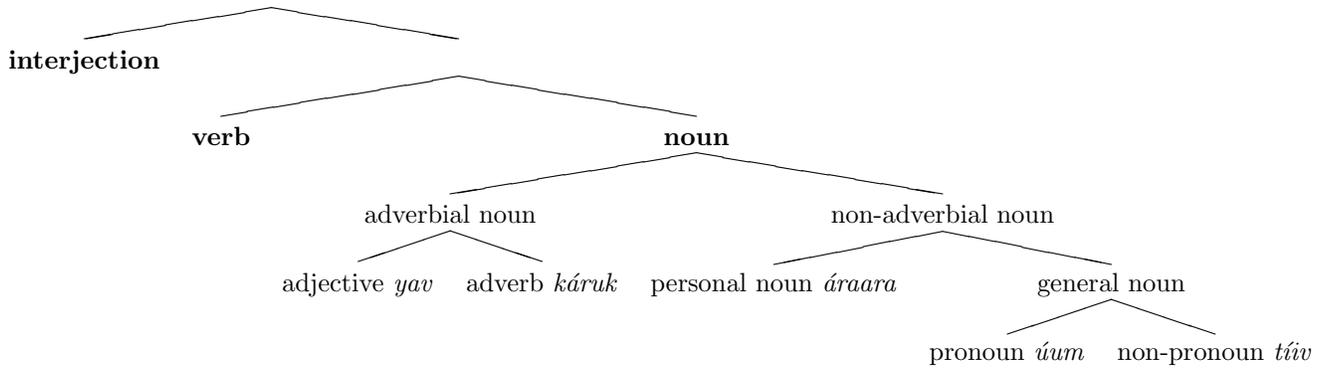
(66)   vúra kúnish **hûut** tée   piip.
       INT   sort.of how   PERF-2SG say
       You sort of said something.
       Source: Mamie Offield, "Duck Hawk and His Wife" (WB-KL-27)

(67)   pûu, **púra fâat** vúra n-eepí-tih-ara.
       no   nothing   INT 1SG-say-DUR-NEG
       No, I didn't say anything.
       Source: Mamie Offield, "Duck Hawk and His Wife" (WB-KL-27)

(68)   **púra fâat** vúra kin-ípeen-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)

(69)   **fatamakêesh kích** ára   ú-peer-eesh.
       anything   only person 3SG-tell-FUT
       She'll tell a person just anything.
       Source: Nettie Reuben, "Blue Jay As Doctor" (WB-KL-29)

(70)   payêem vaa nee-pêer   **pa-píkvah**.
       now   thus 2SG>1SG-tell the-story
       Tell me that story again.   Vina Smith, 03/26/2014

Interaction with focus marking:

(71)   xás **vaa kích** kun-ipí-tih   "pu-kín-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)

(72)   **vaa kích** u-pí-ti   pa-kéevniikich   "yôotva t-u-ʼiv   pa-nani-ʼíkam"
       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)

(73)   víri **vaa kích** u-pí-ti   p-oo-ʼíih-tih   "shakatíiyu'inaa híyoo"
       so   thus only 3SG-say-DUR C-3SG-dance-DUR shakatíiyu'inaa   híyoo
       He said only this as he danced, "shakatiyu'inaa hyoo."
       Source: Nettie Reuben, "Lizard and Grizzly Bear" (WB-KL-34)

Appendix D: Karuk word classes   Bright posits three major word classes: interjections, verbs, nouns

```
                              interjection
                              /          \
                          verb            noun
                                        /      \
                            adverbial noun      non-adverbial noun
                              /        \           /          \
                    adjective yav  adverb káruk  personal noun áraara  general noun
                                                                        /        \
                                                              pronoun úum   non-pronoun tíiv
```

1. interjections (WB 250): outside any system of derivation or inflection, e.g. *anoo!* 'ouch', *ayukîi* 'hello', *hãa* 'yes'

2. verbs (WB 230): occurs with one or more verbal affixes, e.g. *niʼáhoo* 'I go'

3. nouns (WB 600): can't occur with verbal affix, may occur with nominal affix, may compound

    (a) adverbial: can act as adverbial satellite, i.e. occur with no noticable restrictions in any type of clause, i.e. be an adjunct (845)

        i. adverb *aʼ* 'up, above', *áachip* 'middle, center', *âapun* 'on the ground', *astiip* 'on the river bank', *ata* 'maybe', *áav* 'face', *áxak* 'two', *axákyaan* 'twice', *axmay* 'suddenly', *chakaʼîich* 'gently', *hárivari* 'when?', *îikam* 'outdoors', *ikxáram* 'night', *imaan* 'tomorrow', *ip* 'recent past', *káruk* 'upriver', *kaan* 'there', *kári* 'still'

        ii. adjective: *áriim* 'dead', *áruun* 'empty', *asśuuxara* 'fasting', *ásxaay* 'damp, green (of wood)', *áthiik* 'cold', *ikpíhan* 'strong', *imfira* 'hot'

    (b) non-adverbial:

        i. personal: *araara* 'man, human being, person, Indian', *asiktávaan* 'woman', *ávansa* 'man', *avansáxiich* 'boy', *êem* 'Indian doctor', *ifápiit* 'young unmarried woman', *ifmâara* 'married man', *ikxaréeyav* 'a spirit or god', *imafúnvaan* 'person who begs salmon', *kíit* 'female grand-relative through a woman', *koopitxaaríhvaan* 'sweathouse companion of the priest in the world-renewal ceremony'

        ii. general (incl. pronouns): *ákah* 'father', *átraax* 'arm', *ánav* 'medicine', *apraax* 'fox', *áptiik* 'branch', *fâat* 'what', *impaah* 'trail, path, road'