

Word-order Patterns in Pahka'anil (Tübatulabal) Narrative Discourse

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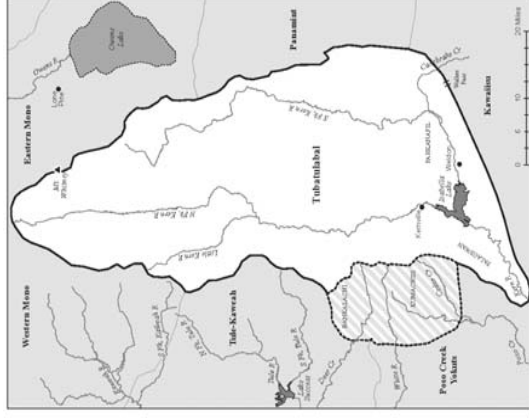
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1

1. Introduction

Pahka'anil (Tübatulabal [tub], exonym) is a Uto-Aztecan language spoken in the Kern River area around present-day Lake Isabella.

Pahka'anil (Tübatulabal) Language Area (from Golla 2011:185)



2

Genetic Position

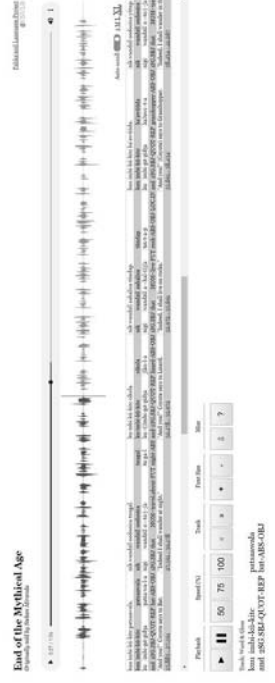
The historical position of Pahka'anil is not entirely settled: some consider it to be its own branch within Uto-Aztecan (e.g. Munro 1977; Mithun 1999:539) while others consider the language to be one of the four branches of Northern Uto-Aztecan (Campbell 1997:134). Manaster Ramer 1992 and Jane Hill 2009 have also suggested that Pahka'anil subgroups with Gabrielino and Cupan as part of an early split in the development of Northern Uto-Aztecan (cf. Golla 2011:185).

Revitalization Efforts Today

While no first-language speakers of the language remain today, language revitalization efforts are underway; Pahka'anil is currently spoken by a growing population of heritage learners, including language teachers as well as other members of the Tübatulabal community across the Kern County area.

3

The Pahka'anil Text Project @ CSULB



<http://web.csulb.edu/projects/lingresearch/pahka'anil/>

Goals:

- 1) to carry out an examination of Pahka'anil narrative discourse patterns (event line expression, verbal aspect, word-order, etc.) and their relationship to the development of grammar and
- 2) to support the Pakanapul Language Team's revitalization efforts by providing online access to time-aligned fully-interlinearized texts and newly-recorded audio in a user-friendly format. At this stage, we are working mainly with texts from Charles Voegelin's published corpus (1935b) as well as Voegelin's field notebooks which have been recently made available to tribal leadership from the American Philosophical Society.

4

1.1. Overview and Scope

- This focus of this paper is limited to an examination word order across multiple constructions and the relative frequency of various core argument NP and V orders in discourse.
- an examination of word order patterns in 11 Pahka'anil narratives (originally published in Voegelin's 1935 Grammar (1935a) and Text Corpus publication (1935b)).
- Voegelin, in his *Grammar of Tibbatulabal* (1935a), reported that word order in Pahka'anil language is 'stylistic' and highly variable (1935:151).

1.2. Pahka'anil Preliminaries

Before examining word order itself, we need to briefly highlight major features of Pahka'anil case and participant reference marking.

1.2.1. Case Marking

Pahka'anil¹ nouns may be absolute (not specified for any possessor) or relative (specified as possessed by subject referent (co-referential with clause's subject referent or a non-subject referent).

Table 1: Case Marking in Pahka'anil

Class	Absolute Case Marking		Relative Case Marking		
	Subject	Object	Genitive	Subject	Object
A1			-ing		
A2			-a'ang		
B1					
B2				-yi	-ø, -i
B3				-tsi	-ø
B4				-nini	-ts
B5				-dzi	-ø
C1				-i, -yi, -iyi	-ø-i
C2				-i, -ni, -iyi	-i, -ø
				-a	-ai, -ø
					-ø
					-in
					NONE
					-in
					-in
					-a'in

¹ All data in this paper are represented in the practical orthography currently in use by the Pakanapul Language Team; stress is not marked. Written letter vs. IPA equivalent for some of the more difficult-to-decipher graphemes are provided here: c [ʃ], j [dʒ], ng [ŋ], ngg [ŋg], r [r], tc [tʃ], ts [ts], x [x], ü [i], and ' [ʔ]; long vowels are written as geminate sequences.

1.2.2. Participant Reference Enclitics

Many topical participants in discourse are referenced either through ellipsis (especially 3SG) or through the use of encliticized forms, which are generally reductions of the free pronouns (this is particularly common for 1st and 2nd person). These enclitics differ as to subject and object case and both subject and object can be used in the same clause (2).

Table 2: Participant Reference Marking with Bound Pronominals

	Subject	Object
1SG.SBJ	-gi	
IDU.SBJ	-gila	1SG.OBJ
IPL.INCL.SBJ	-giltuuts	
IPL.EXCL.SBJ	-gila'ang	1PL.OBJ
2SG.SBJ	-bi	-dzii, -dzüng
2PL.SBJ	-buumu	-düng, -düng, -lüng
3SG.SBJ	-ø	-dulu
3PL.SBJ	-da	-ø
		-dapü

-1SG Subject

- (1) *pic-ki* *it~ilitiik*
then-1SG.SBJ MOM~wake.up
'Then I woke up.'
(Voegelin 1935b: Bull Dream, line 9)

-2SG Subject -1SG Object

- (2) *aahyakinaa-bi-ni*
MOM~leave-ACT>COME-2SG.SBJ-1SG.OBJ *unung-apüit-p*
pound-REL-2SG.POSS
'You left me and went away to your pounding.'
(Voegelin 1935b: Yihawal Steals Girl, line 48)

2. Typological Overview of Pahka'anil Constituency Order

While certain 'preferred' orders are noted for some constructions, no basic order for core elements in the clause was suggested in by Voegelin in his grammar. Both OV and VO and their respective headedness patterns (cf. Greenberg 1963) are commonly observed in narrative discourse.

Table 3: Greenberg's Universals, Headedness, and Constituent Order in Pahka'anil

Greenberg's Universal	Parameter	Attested Patterns in Pahka'anil	
		Head Initial Patterns	Head Final Patterns
1	main clause	VO	OV
3, 4	adposition	preposition?	postposition
2	genitive (possessor) and head noun	N – Genitive	Genitive – N
17	modifier and head noun		Modifier – N
24	relative clause and head noun	N – Relative Clause	Relative Clause – N?
22	comparatives	Quality-Marker-Standard	
9	question particles	Sentence Initial	
27	affixes		Suffixing

2.1. Main Clause Orders

Both VO and OV orders are quite frequently attested in discourse.

- (3) *wah-kitc-ta* **V** **O**
a~ta'aga *taatwa-l-a*
 MOM~meet man-ABS-OBJ
 There they met the man.' (Voegelin 1935a: Yihawal Steals Girl, line 15)
- (4) pic-ki **O** **V**
 tooro'-i aa~dawüük
 then-1SG.SBJ bull-OBJ MOM~see
 'Then I see the bull.' (Voegelin 1935a: Bull Dream, line 4)

2.2. Adpositions

Postpositions are highly frequent in the language, but there are other forms, which Voegelin calls 'particles' (also 'prepositional particles'), that express direction, accompaniment and location and which precede their nominal complements: /aamayu/ 'with', /naawidam/ 'between', /toomiik/ 'down toward', /wahkiik/ 'toward' (Voegelin 1935a:176).²

The postpositional elements generally assign case (object) to their nominal complements.

- (5) *ii~mi* **[NP P]**
hamil-a-p
 MOM~go house-OBJ-LOC
 'He went in the house.' (Voegelin 1935a:152)

- (6) *ii~mi* **[NP P]**
hamil-a-batsu
 MOM~go house-OBJ-from
 'He went (away) from the house.' (Voegelin 1935a:152)

² Of these prepositional forms, only *aamayu* and *naawidam* are not clearly multimorphemic; the others involve more than one morpheme potentially (at least diachronically).

At least some of the 'prepositional elements' appear to have developed from postpositional phrase, e.g. in (7) the /p/ in /akadzip/ may be the locative /-p/. In (7), below, we are not sure if the object case is assigned by 'across' or by the verb 'go'. In many examples, it is clear that 'go' (and 'come') assign object case, normally to semantic goal NPs.

- (7) *akadzip oholaal-a* **[NP P]** **[NP P]**
ii~mi cigawiy-a-mi aamaayu
 across canyon-OBJ MOM-go Koso-PL with
 'He went with the Koso Indians across the canyon.' (Voegelin 1935a:150)

The 'with' form /aamaayu/ can also occur before a noun (as in 8).

- (8) *hamil-l-a-mitik* **[P NP]** **[NP]**
aamaay wa-l oomoh-i
 house-ABS-OBJ-toward with DIST-ABS friend-SS.OBJ
 '...toward the house with that one friend (of mine).'
 (from Voegelin 1935b: Autobiography, line 348).

2.3. Genitive and Noun

Voegelin notes that Genitive-Noun order is most common, but the Noun-Genitive order is also quite frequently observed: the dependent possessor takes the genitive suffix while the head possessum (the relative noun), takes a general 3rd person (non-reflexive) possessive ending /-n/ (cf. Voegelin 1935:150-1)

(9) *halü-t-kija* *mügütiḥ tii*
live-DUR-REP Migitiḥ and

tciitc co'ibi-t **N**
one old.woman-ABS grandmother-3SG.POSS Migitiḥ-GEN

wooyo-o-da *halii-t*
both-oh-3PL.SBJ live-DUR

'Migitiḥ is living, and one old woman, the grandmother of Migitiḥ; they are both living.' (Voegelin 1935b: Blood Clot Boy, line 01)

13

The next sentence of the same text shows Genitive-Noun order.

GEN N
(10) *mügütiḥ-ing aabuut-n*
Migitiḥ-GEN mother-3SG.POSS

homokang-gi im-bingk co'ibi-t-a
pregnant-1SG.SBJ MOM-say old.woman-ABS-OBJ
'The mother of Migitiḥ said to the old lady, "I am pregnant" (for Migitiḥ is in her womb).' (Voegelin 1935a: Blood Clot Boy, line 02)

14

2.4. Modifier and Head Noun

Nominal modification (e.g. Demonstrative-Noun and Quantifier-Noun) exhibits modifier-head order (cf. Voegelin 1935a:174-5).

DEM N
(11) *pic wa' taatwa-l üüi-büliüi-gim* *wa-h*
then DIST man-ABS MOM-arrive-COME+ACT DIST-LOC
'Then that man came and arrived there.'
(Voegelin 1935b: Autobiography, line 350).

(12) *nahakanan maa'icik-pi mi-in-at* **DEM N**
sheriff where-LOC-2SG.SBJ go-CAUSE-DUR PROX woman-REP
'"Where are you taking this woman?" the sheriff is saying.'
(Voegelin 1935b text 27:422).

15

(13) *pic-ki wa-l* **QUANT N**
then-1SG.SBJ DIST-ABS all *pini'ik aadzowaa-l-a*
shaman-ABS-OBJ

wubaa wütsü'ac wa-l *aali-tc*
whip.MOM INS DIST-ABS bow-REFL.OBJ
'Then I whipped all those shamans with my bow.'
(Voegelin 1935b: Power of Jimsonweed, line 14)

(14) *pic-ki wa-l* **N QUANT**
then-1SG.SBJ DIST-ABS water.snake-ABS-OBJ all *tuha-t-a pini'ik*

i-wik tuha-t-a *yoowi*
MOM-throw.out water.snake-ABS-OBJ many
'And I threw out all of those many water snakes.'
(Voegelin 1935b: Power of Jimsonweed, line 15).

16

2.5. Relative Clause and Head Noun

Voegelin notes in his grammar that relativized verbs (and other nominalized verbs) precede their head nouns (Voegelin 1935a 174-175)—features commonly associated with OV patterns. However, in the texts, we have found many examples of headless relative clauses and only examples where the relativized verb follows its head.

- (15) *met aaiyaamuuts üüdzim miy-apüü-ts*
already 1PL.SBJ long.time go-REL-SS.OBJ
'...already a long time that we had been gone.'
(Voegelin 1935b: Autobiography, line 714)
- (16) *pic-ki tumuuga ümbii*
then-1SG.SBJ dream again
- N REL**
- wa-l uuna-l-a un~dumuug-apüü-i*
DEM-ABS bear-ABS-OBJ MOM~dream-REL-SS.OBJ
'Then I dreamt again (of) that bear that I dreamt about.'
(Voegelin 1935b: Bear Dream, line 18)

17

2.6. Comparatives

While comparative constructions are not themselves great predictors of basic word order due to inconsistencies with the other constructional patterns (cf. Payne 1997:89), there are general tendencies that may be expected with respect to headedness. Pahka'anil's pattern shows the order Quality – Marker – Standard in its comparative construction (a non-active complement construction with a zero copula).

- | Quality | Marker | Standard |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| (17) <i>piüü' tohii-l</i> | <i>ooyanac</i> | <i>paaim-i</i> |
| heavy deer-ABS | than | some-OBJ |
- 'The deer is heavier than some.'
(Voegelin 1935a:176)

18

2.7. Question Particles

Polar question particles are positioned at the beginning of the interrogative clause. This is a feature more commonly associated with VO orders.

- (18) *an-bi tika-t*
QP-2SG.SBJ eat-DUR
'Are you eating?'

2.8. Affixes

Essentially all bound morphology in Pahka'anil is suffixal (as observable in the examples above).

19

3. Textual Examination

While the word order counts presented in Table 4 are from this corpus of eleven texts, some illustrative examples of particular orders which follow are pulled from other texts in Voegelin's 27-text set (1935b).

3.1. Notes on Methodology

This study examines all clauses across the eleven narratives mentioned above.

- These texts were originally transcribed and translated into English by Voegelin (1935b).
- Initial interlinearizations were completed by Lindsay Marean in a Toolbox database.
- The NPs in these interlinearized narratives were then tagged for grammatical relation, locative status, and main vs. subordinate clause status. We used a combination of Toolbox (concordance and searching) and AntConc to examine our corpus.
- All full-NP (overt, non-cliticized) subjects and objects were counted (relative to their verb), except for those NPs in non-finite subordinate clauses and the subjects which follow the reduced 'say' quotative verb.

20

3.2. Relative Counts of Overt Subject, Object and V

As expected, out of the 400+ clauses in our corpus, only 21 clauses exhibit both subject and object with the verb—15 of these are SVO. The order SV is five times more frequent than VS. Interestingly, though, the VO and OV are similar in frequency.

Table 4: Order and Frequency of Overt (full NP and V) Constituents

	#Clauses	SV	VS	VO	OV	SVO	SOV	OSV	VOS
Hoarded Game	103	25	2	7	3	5	0	2	0
Coyote and Bear	73	28	4	3	5	7	3	0	1
Yihawal Steals Girl	62	16	3	5	4	1	0	0	0
The Power of Jimsonweed	31	2	3	2	6	0	0	0	0
Bear Dream	29	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
Journey from Tejon	29	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
Deer Hunt	22	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
End of the Mythical Age	20	7	0	4	0	1	0	0	0
Fiesta Near Bishop	17	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Bull Dream	13	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0
The Winged One	8	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
TOTAL (N)	407	87	15	30	26	15	3	2	1
TOTAL (%)	100%	21%	4%	7%	6%	4%	.7%	.5%	.2%

4. Discussion of Factors Which Appear to Shape Constituent Order

New topics are introduced with overt (full) noun phrases but once they become highly activated, they are often expressed with only zero (no 3SG enclitic and no overt NP), in contexts of maximum referential continuity.

- Pahka'anil does not appear to exhibit any consistent correlation with respect to the cross-structural headedness patterns, i.e. there is no strong VO or OV pattern.
- After a participant has been introduced, if it is mentioned again, it is often positioned toward the end of a clause. This information is both older and identifiable and in many instances is demonstrably the topic.
- Information that is particularly important (i.e. newsworthy, cf. Mithun 1992) tends to be positioned early in the clause; of course, this relates quite clearly to new information.

Let's begin with considering the SV vs. VS orders

- (19) 1 *pic-kiic* then-REP **S (new)** *tuumu-pi-n* offspring-DIM-3SG.POSS **V** *anang-at* cry-DUR
 always
 'Then her child is crying all the time when her mother goes pounding.'
- 2 *tcitwana'ac* mother-SS.POSS **[S** *abuu-i* V1-subordinate *unung-atala-ng* pound-GO+ACT-SUB.DS
 always
 'Then her child is crying all the time when her mother goes pounding.'
- 3 *pic-kiic* then-REP **V** *tii* and evening *anang-at* cry-DUR **S** *anaawic-pi-t* girl-DIM-ABS
 'Then also in the evening the little girl cries.'
 (Voegelin 1935b: Yihawal Steals Girl, lines 6-7)

Are there any morphosyntactic patterns which allow the S to move more freely? Mithun notes that languages with "substantive bound pronouns referring to all core arguments" allow for more pragmatic ordering of constituents (1992:58).

Speech Act Participants are Overtly Coded with Enclitics

Repeated from (1) and (2), above:

- (20) *pic-ki* then-1SG.SBJ *ii'~iilitiik* MOM~wake.up
 'Then I woke up.'
 (Voegelin 1935b: Bull Dream, line 9)
- (21) *aahyakinaa-bi-ni* MOM~leave-ACT>COME-2SG.SBJ-1SG.OBJ *unung-apiiit-p* pound-REL-2SG.POSS
 'You left me and went away to your pounding.'
 (Voegelin 1935b: Yihawal Steals Girl, line 48)

Zero Anaphora for 3SG is frequent in contexts of “maximum referential continuity” (Givón 2016: 12-25).

- (22) 1 *pic-kitic* *yáha'awa-l* **S** *toh-at* *piní'ik* *taa-l*
 then-REP mythical creature-ABS hunt-DUR every day-ABS
 ‘Then Yihawal hunts every day.’
- 2 *yoowo-gitic* *tuuh-t-a* **V** *pin-a* *üüüü'üing*
 many-REP mountain.quail-ABS-OBJ bring-DUR evening
 ‘He brings many mountain quail in the evening.’
- 3 *pic-kitic* *waa'-at* **O** *tuuh-t-a* *kaaluk-p*
 then-REP broil-DUR mountain.quail-ABS-OBJ armpit-LOC:IN
 ‘Then he roasts the mountain quail in his own armpits.’
- 4 *ku-dii-gitic* *paacii-l-a* **V** *haaiy-at* *hom'mo-l-a-p*
 and-also-REP chia.seeds-ABS-OBJ stir-DUR cooking.basket-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘and also, he stirs chia seed in the cooking basket.’
- 5 *pic-kitic* *wa-h* **V** *cingg-üt* *hom'mo-l-a-p*
 then-REP DIST-LOC blow.nose-DUR cooking basket-ABS-OBJ-LOC:IN
 ‘Then he blows his nose there in the cooking-basket.’
 (Voegelin 1935b: Yihawal Steals Girl, lines 19-23)

25

Consider (23-25), the first and two later mentions of ‘those people’ in “Coyote and Bear.” The preverbal position is common before the referent is a fully established topic:

- (23) *yoowi-gitic* *anghanii-l* **V** *hal-üt* *ku-di* *ict*
 many-REP people-ABS live-DUR and-also coyote-ABS
 ‘Many people were living, and also Coyote.’
 (Voegelin 1935b: Coyote and Bear, line 1)
- (24) *kuu-gitic* *wanda* **S** *anghanii* **V** *pin-at* *tohii-l-a* *üüüü'üing*
 and-REP DIST.PL people-ABS bring-DUR deer-ABS-OBJ evening
 ‘...and those people bring deer in the evening.’
 (Voegelin 1935b: Coyote and Bear, line 1)

In (25), though, the 3PL enclitic co-occurs with an appositive restatement of the referent.

- (25) *pic-kitic-ta* **-S** *ümbü* **V** *ii~mi* *meedak* *wanda* *anghanii-l*
 then-REP-3PL.SBJ again MOM~go morning DIST.PL people-ABS
 ‘Then they went again in the morning, those people.’
 (Voegelin 1935b: Coyote and Bear, line 5)

26

As expected, in the vast majority of instances in the corpus where the 3PL enclitic is used, it is the only expression of the subject in the clause. That is, the NP at the end of (25) is clearly not required syntactically. This is not a surprise, given that we have seen already that zero anaphora is acceptable as the only expression for 3SG subjects in contexts of high referential continuity (as in (22)).

In (26) the topic shifts back to ‘bear’ in the very next line of “Coyote and Bear,” and the SV order is observed.

- (26) *pic-kitic* *uuna-l* **S** *ii~mi* **V**
 then-REP bear-ABS MOM~go
 ‘Then Bear took leave.’
 (Voegelin 1935b: Coyote and Bear, line 6)
- (27) *wa-h-kitic* **S** *tiibaitc* **V** *haliiit*
 DIST-LOC-REP wolf live-DUR
 ‘Wolf is sitting there.’
- V** *taawüügü'at-kitic* **S** *tiibaitc* *cuuna-yi-n* *hamii-l-ing*
 look.about-DUR-REP wolf heart-DS.OBJ-3SG.POSS house-ABS-GEN
 ‘Wolf looks around inside the house.’
 (Voegelin 1935b: Hoarded Game, lines 31-32)

27

28

In (28), all enclitics and full NP arguments are labeled.

- (28) 1 *wah-aa-i-gi* **-S** **V** **O**
 DIST-from-1SG.SBJ *ü~wügitüyau tohii-l-a*
 'From there I tracked the deer.'
- 2 *ii~mi wanaang*
 MOM-go far.away
 'He went far away.'
- 3 *ii~tsilituu ooholaa-l-a-p*
 MOM~cross.mountain canyon-Abs-Obj-LOC.IN
 'He crossed the ridge in the canyon.'
- 4 *wüin-gi ogon* **O** **V** *miy-at*
 COP-1SG.SBJ on.and.on tracks-DS.OBJ-3SG.POSS
 'I am going (after) his tracks standing (there).'

29

- 5 *wanaang ipcaagim* **V** *wüingaa-l-a-p*
 far.away MOM~come.out-COME+ACT summit-Abs-Obj-LOC.IN
 'Far away he came out in the summit.'
- 6 *wüin-gi ogon* **O** **V** *kim-at*
 COP-1SG.SBJ on.and.on tracks-DS.OBJ-3SG.POSS
 'I am coming (after) his tracks standing (there).'
- 7 *wah-ki* **-S** **V** **IO** *tsüliw-ac*
 DIST-1SG.SBJ MOM~find-COME+ACT summit-Abs-Obj cross-SUB.SS
 'There I came and found him while I was crossing the summit.'
- 8 *miy-ak-ang-ni* **-O** **V** **S** *apabaa'aniiganaan*
 go-INT-SUB.DS-1SG.OBJ *e'-eela-min* MOM~jump-ACT>GO three.pointer
 'The three-pointer jumped in front of me, interrupting me as I was going.'
 (Voegelin 1935b: Deer Hunt, lines 3-8)

30

Let's consider the VO and OV patterns in the excerpt below (repeated from (20) above).

- (29) 1 *pic-kitic yüha'awa-l* **S** **V** *toh-at pini'ik taa-l*
 then-REP mythical creature-Abs hunt-DUR every day-Abs
 'Then Yihawal hunts every day.'
- Ist mention* **O** **V** *pin-a üüliü'üing*
 2 *yoowo-gitic tuuh-t-a* pin-a üüliü'üing
 many-REP mountain.quail-Abs-Obj bring-DUR evening
 'He brings many mountain quail in the evening.'
- 2nd mention* **V** **O** *kaaluk-p*
 3 *pic-kitic waa'-at tuuh-t-a* kaaluk-p
 then-REP broil-DUR mountain.quail-Abs-Obj armpit-LOC.IN
 'Then he roasts the mountain quail in his own armpits.'
- Ist mention* **O** **V** *haaiy-at hom'mo-l-a-p*
 4 *ku-dii-gitic pacacii-l-a* haaiy-at hom'mo-l-a-p
 and-also-REP chia.seeds-Abs-Obj stir-DUR cooking.basket-Abs-Obj-LOC.IN
 'and also, he stirs chia seed in the cooking basket.'
- 5 *pic-kitic wa-h* **V** *cingg-iit hom'mo-l-a-p*
 then-REP DIST-LOC blow.nose-DUR cooking.basket-Abs-Obj-LOC.IN
 'Then he blows his nose there in the cooking-basket.'
 (Voegelin 1935b: Yihawal Steals Girl, lines 19-23)

31

- (30) 1 *wa-l-gitic kooim* **V** *tiik-at*
 DIST-Abs-REP woman eat-DUR
 'That woman eats (the contents of the cooking-basket).'
- O** **V** *tiüwiil-aan-in*
 2 *üici-tsi-n-gitic* tiüwiil-aan-in
 blanket-DS.OBJ-3SG.POSS-REP fix-BEN-CAUSE
 'He fixes her blankets for her.'
- 3 *wa-l-gitic iicüi-t*
 DIST-Abs-REP blanket-Abs
 'That one, the blanket.'
- 4 *tiüwiil-wan iicüi-n*
 good-COP blanket-3SG.POSS
 'It's good, his blanket.'
- 5 *oo'-omin-gija tuuh-t-ing* *poon-in*
 MOM~string.beads-REP mountain.quail-Abs-Gen
 'He strung (them of) the skin of the mountain quail.'
 (Voegelin 1935b: Yihawal Steals Girl, lines 24-28)

32

New Referent

- (31) 1 üwün tohiti-i-a niü'üng kin-i-i-n
 COP deer-ABS-OBJ 1SG.POSS bring-NMLZ-3SG.POSS
 'Here is the deer I brought.' (literally, 'of my bringing')
- 2 waa' -anaa-mo-ling nüüma-yi-n
 broil-BEN-let-2SG.OBJ liver-DS.OBJ-3SG.POSS
 'Let me cook his liver for you.'
- 3 pic-kite wa-i O [THM] V O [REC]
 then-REP DIST-ABS broil.meat-SS.OBJ MOM-give coyote-ABS-OBJ
 'Then he gave his broiled meat to Coyote.'
- 4 tuuci-gite wa-i O S V
 straight.on-REP DIST-ABS coyote-ABS MOM-swallow-ACT>GO
 'It is said Coyote swallowed that.'
 (Voegelin 1935b: Hoarded Game, lines 80-82).

33

5. Conclusions and Considerations for Further Work

- Significance of the study lies in the fact that this is the first examination of Pahka'anil word order patterns that explicitly considers the role of both syntactic and pragmatic pressures in shaping the order of elements in the clause. This study also lends further support to the notion that some languages do not exhibit a single coherent underlying order of constituents; in such systems, pragmatic pressure plays a role in shaping word-order (cf. Payne 1987).
- New participants show a strong tendency to be introduced preverbally
 - After a participant has been introduced, if it is mentioned again (in relative proximity), it is often positioned toward the end of the clause, post-verbally. This information is both older and identifiable and is frequently the topic.
 - The flexibility of the arguments with respect to the verb appears to be related to the fact that bound pronominal enclitics express core categories.
 - All manner of constituents can move to early positions in the clause, including verbs, locatives, etc. Newsworthiness (Mithun 1992) may play a role, e.g. in the placement of new and/or indefinite referents earlier in the clause.
 - Future work: We would like to expand the corpus to include all 27 of Voegelin's published texts, complete participant tracking through all texts, and also investigate the placement of the bound pronominal enclitics.

34

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35