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Karin Beijering, Gunther Kaltenbock, and María Sol Sansinena, eds. *Insubordination: Theoretical and Empirical Issues.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 29-54.

Marianne Mithun

1 Sources and mechanisms

Abstract: As more descriptions have emerged of formally dependent clauses used as independent sentences, it has become clear that such constructions show rich variety not only in their functions, but also in their diachronic sources and pathways of development. A next step is to examine relationships among the two: the degree to which their origins and the processes they undergo shape their ultimate functions. Here it is shown that their sources may not be deterministic, but the mechanisms by which they develop can strongly affect the outcome. Insubordinate constructions are compared in two unrelated languages, Mohawk and Navajo. Both constructions have emerged from adverbial clauses, but via different mechanisms: matrix erosion in the first, and extension in the second. They now have nothing in common beyond the formal definition.

1 Introduction

Over the past decade, instances of what was previously a barely noticed phenomenon have been identified in a growing number of languages and described in ever finer detail, often with attention to usage documented in corpora of unscripted, interactive speech. It is now clear that 'the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses' (Evans 2007: 367) is widespread. But it is also clear there is considerable variation in the function, form, and scope of constructions defined in these terms. Evidence is emerging, furthermore, that they can develop from a variety of origins via a variety of mechanisms, raising intriguing questions about relationships between sources and processes of development on the one hand, and the nature of the outcome on the other. Here it is shown that a single source construction can serve as a point of departure for the development of entirely different insubordination constructions. The differences are shaped primarily by the processes by which they develop. Two genealogically and areally unrelated languages, Mohawk (Iroquoian) and Navajo (Athabaskan), both contain formally dependent clauses used as independent sentences. Both have sources in adverbial clauses. But they developed via different mechanisms, matrix erosion and extension, and, as a result, now differ completely in function and scope.

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2 Diversity of function, scope, form, and development

A wide variety of functions served by insubordination constructions has been documented, and the list continues to grow. Evans first discussed conventionalized interpretations involving interpersonal coercion (commands, permissives, abilitatives, threats), modal framing (quotation, perception, belief, inference, emotion), and particular local discourse contexts (negation, contrast, reiteration). Verstraete, D'Hertefelt, and Van linden (2012) describe seven functions of Dutch autonomous *dat* constructions in three domains: i) deontic (speakers' hopes or desires), ii) evaluative, and iii) discourse (expansion on previous comment by the speaker or another). Their first would correspond to Evans's modal framing, while their second and third would correspond to his discourse/elaborative functions. Lombardi Vallauri (2016) shows how *se* conditionals in Italian serve as offers/requests, generic questions, reassurance, inhibition of action, and challenge/protest. Floyd (2016) describes constructions in Cha'palaa of Ecuador that signal counter-assertion. Narrog (2016: 278) finds that insubordination constructions documented through the history of Japanese "crystallize around two preferred functions: (i) the subjective expression of the speaker's/writer's emotions, and (ii) the indirect expression of hearer-related speech acts". Importantly, Gras (2016), examining Spanish *que*, and Verstraete & D'Hertefelt (2016), describing Dutch, German, English, Swedish, and Danish constructions point to two recurring macro-functions of insubordination arising from their sources in dependent clauses: context dependency and non-declarative sentence modality.

Insubordinate constructions do vary in their scope: (i) the sentence, (ii), adjacent sentence pairs, or (iii) larger stretches of discourse. The dependency relations originally discussed by Evans are confined to the sentence (including an omitted matrix). But many others involve pairs of sentences or turns. Sansiñena, De Smet, and Cornillie (2015) discuss dyadically-dependent clauses in Spanish, French, German and English complementizer-initial answers in question-answer pairs. The answers can be construed as dependent on the matrix of the previous turn, so the scope of the construction extends over two sentences. The discourse connective insubordination discussed in Gras (2011, 2012), and Gras & Sansiñena (2015) similarly links adjacent sentences. Dwyer (2016) shows how insubordination constructions in modern Turko-Mongolic languages originate as co-constructed utterances in discourse. The Cha'palaa construction described by Floyd (2016) contradicts a statement or implicature of a previous conversational turn. D'Hertefelt and Verstraete (2014) distinguish two types of Swedish and Danish *at(t)* constructions: expressives, whose scope is

confined to the sentence like those described by Evans, and elaboratives, in which speakers elaborate on a previous statement, either of their own or that of a previous speaker. Still other formally similar constructions show even larger scope. Mithun (2008, 2016a) describes constructions in several languages outside of Europe consisting of prosodically independent sentences which convey various aspects of discourse organization. Cristofaro (2016) discusses clausal disengagement in Italian, whereby speakers use insubordinate constructions to introduce a new discourse topic related to background knowledge shared by the hearer.

Formally, the insubordinate constructions first described by Evans contain, by definition, no trace of a matrix clause (2007: 366). Van linden and Van de Velde (2014) add another formal possibility, semi-insubordinate constructions. Fully autonomous insubordinate Dutch *dat* clauses lack an explicit matrix clause, while semi-insubordinate constructions contain an initial element, but one that is not a full clause.

Insubordinate constructions can emerge from a variety of sources, via a variety of mechanisms. Evans (2007) focuses on the simple ellipsis of a matrix clause. Heine, Kaltenböck, and Kuteva (2016: 39) describe a process they term *cooptation*: "Insubordinate clauses are [. . .] information units that are coopted from a construction type [matrix clause-subordinate clause] where the matrix clause is implied but not formally expressed]". Van linden and Van de Velde (2014), building on work by Croft (2000), cite *hypoanalysis*, whereby speakers come to reinterpret the interpersonal meaning of certain Dutch *dat* constructions as an inherent property of the subordinating conjunction rather than the complex sentence as a whole. The reinterpretation can then facilitate omission of the matrix. This proposal would shift the place of ellipsis from the first step in the developmental pathway outlined in Evans to a later position. D'Hertefelt and Verstraet (2014) cite *dependency shift* whereby a formally dependent clause comes to be dependent pragmatically on a previous turn. Mithun (2008, 2016a) characterizes the process involved in the development of constructions in Barbareño Chumash, Central Alaskan Yup'ik Eskimo, and Navajo as *extension of dependency* from the domain of syntax to that of discourse. Cristofaro (2016: 418) concludes that "individual insubordination patterns are compatible with several possible sources and developmental mechanisms, and it is possible that different instances of these patterns are produced in different ways, both cross-linguistically and within individual languages". She suggests that an obvious next step is to investigate correspondences between sources and mechanisms of development of structures on the one hand, and their functions on the other.

Here constructions that meet Evans's original basic formal definition of insubordination are compared in two unrelated languages, Mohawk and Navajo. Both languages show "the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima

facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses". But their functions are completely different: they share no semantic or pragmatic core, and they differ in scope. Both have emerged from adverbial clause constructions, but via different mechanisms, mechanisms which have shaped their modern functions.

AU: The reference "Evans 2016" is cited in the text but is not listed in the references list. Please either delete in-text citation or provide full reference details.

3 Mohawk

The first construction comes from Mohawk, a language of the Iroquoian family indigenous to northeastern North America. It is based on the particle *tsi*, translatable variously as 'at/in/to/as/how/that'. There is no ancient documentation of the language that would permit us to trace its development philologically, but the arrays of constructions in which the particle occurs permit us to reconstruct likely pathways of development according to what we know about recurring tendencies of language change cross-linguistically. (All material cited here was drawn from unscripted, interactive speech.)

3.1 Simple adverbials

The Mohawk particle *tsi* is used to set off constituents that specify places, times, and manners. In (1) and (2) it forms locative expressions.

(1) Mohawk place: Kaia'titáhkhe' Jacobs, speaker p.c.
Wà:kehre' **tsi** ***iakenheiontaientáhkhwa'*** *ieiè:teron'*.
I.thought **at** one.lays.the.dead.with.it there.she.dwells
'I thought maybe she was **at the hospital**.'

(2) Mohawk place: Josie Day, speaker p.c.
Thó ***tsi tetiotóhsate'*** *niahà:ke'* *wa'tkahséntho'*.
there **at** it.elbow.extends there.I went I.cried
'I went **to the corner** [of the porch] and cried.'

In (3) and (4) it forms temporal expressions.

(3) Mohawk time: Watshennine Sawyer, speaker p.c.
Tsi niióhseres *eniakón:ni'*
at so.it.winter.is.long she.will.make
'**In the winter** she would make

ne *wà:io*
the it.is.fruit.in.liquid
jam.'

(4) Mohawk time: Charlotte Bush, speaker p.c.
Thonnéhtha' *ken* ***tsi*** ***niwakénhnhes?***
they.come.by Q **at** so.it.is.summer.long
'Do they come **during the summer**?'

3.2 Adverbial clauses

Mohawk verbs can function as clauses in themselves, but the particle also sets off locations and times designated by larger clauses, as in (5) and (6).

(5) Mohawk locative clause: Josephine Horne, speaker p.c.
Thó *ki'* *iá:ken'* *iahonwaia'ténhawe'.*
there in.fact they.say they.bodily.took.him.there
'They say they just took him up there

tsi ***thonónhsote'*** ***ne*** ***ro'níha.***
to there it him house stands the he.is.father.to.him
to his father's place.'

(6) Mohawk temporal clause: Minnie Hill, speaker
Tsi ***tonsahnohtarhóhseron,***
at they.two.were.cleaning.around.again
'As they were cleaning up,

wahèn:ron', *raksà:'a,*
he.said boy
the boy said,

"Ó:ia' *na'thí:io."*
other so.it.is
'It is very unusual.'

Mohawk, like other Iroquoian languages, is what might be characterized as a fully head-marking language. Grammatical relations are indicated only within the predicate, by pronominal prefixes, like *-honwa-* 3PL>3SG 'they>him' and *-hn-* 2DU.AGT 'they two' in the examples above. In all of the examples seen so far, the *tsi*

constructions designate places or times, but they do not themselves specify the relations of the place or time to the predication. The difference is subtle: most often terms designating places or times locate the situation in space or time. But the same kinds of constructions can serve as core arguments.

3.3 Complement constructions

The same particle *tsi* sets off manner clauses that can serve as complements.

(7) Mohawk complement clause: Billy Two Rivers, speaker p.c.
Teiotierónnion' ***tsi*** ***nitewatenno:ten.***
it.is.strange **how** so.our.words.are.a.kind.of
'**How our words are** is strange' = 'Our language is strange.'

Manner complements are often formed with the particle *tsi* followed by the verb *ní:ioht* based on the verb root *-ht* 'be so'. This verb is often shortened to *ní:*, resulting in a routinized phrase *tsi ni: tsi* 'how', as in (8).

(8) Mohawk manner clause: Charlotte Bush, speaker p.c.
Iáh ki' tetkaié:ri' ***tsi*** ***ní:*** ***tsi*** ***rótston.***
not just not.is.it.correct **how** so.it.is **how** he.is.dressed
'It wasn't correct **the way he was dressed**.'

(9) Mohawk manner clause: Josie Day, speaker p.c.
Iáh tewakaterièn:tare' oh ní: ***tsi*** ***iewá:ko'.***
not not.do.I.know Q how **how** I.arrived.there
'I don't know **how I got there.**'

As in many languages, among them English and Russian, manner clauses can serve as complements of matrix verbs of perception (Kalinina and Sumbatova 2007). A Mohawk group crossing the U.S./Canada border was asked for identification. They responded to the immigration officer's request with the answer in (10).

(10) Mohawk perception matrix: Watshennine Sawyer, speaker p.c.
Ió:ken ***tsi*** ***onkwehón:we*** ***na'kwaia'tò:ten.'***
it.is.visible **how** real.people so.we.are.bodily.such.a.kind.of
'You can see **how/that we're Natives.'**

The prosody of such Mohawk complement constructions often reflects information structure more closely than does the syntactic structure. The point of the response in (10) was that they were Native, so they should have free passage across the border. The syntactic construction consists of an initial matrix clause 'it is visible', followed by a complement clause 'that we are Native'. (Although constituent order is otherwise generally pragmatically determined, complement clauses routinely follow the matrix.) In pragmatically unmarked situations, a prosodic sentence typically begins with a high pitch on the first stressed syllable, then shows a steady reduction in pitch on each successive stressed syllable. In this instance, however, the pitch on the complement was as high as the matrix, a fact that makes it all the more prominent because of the expectation of declination. The pitch trace can be seen in Figure 1.

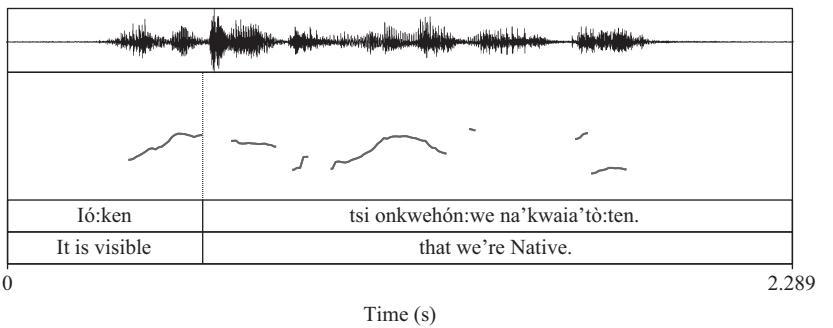


Figure 1: Mohawk complement prosody and information structure.

Such patterns have been observed for other languages as well, among them English and Dutch (Verhagen 2005).

The *tsi* construction is also used with evaluative matrix verbs, as in (11).

(11) Mohawk evaluative matrix: Sisi Provevost, speaker p.c.

Wakatshenón:ni	*kí:ken*
I.am.happy	this
'I was glad	

tsi, …	***enhaweientéhta'ne'***	*wahi'*
that	he.will.come.to.know.how	TAG
that he would learn this you know.'		

And significantly, the same *tsi* construction occurs with degree complements, as in (12), (13), and (14).

(12) Mohawk degree complement: Billy Two Rivers, speaker p.c.
['When we're writing']

tewattó:kahs ***tsi*** ***kanontsistí:io's,*** *wáhe'*.
we.notice **how** it.is.good.heads.variously TAG
'we realize **how smart we are**, don't we.'

(13) Mohawk degree complement: Sisi Provevost, speaker p.c.
Ahsatkáhtho' ***tsi*** ***nihohehtí:io*** ***nòn:wa.***
you.should.see **how** so.he.is.garden.good now
'You should see **how nice his garden is now.**'

(14) Mohawk degree complement: Minnie Hill, speaker
Nakwáh tehotihenréhtha' ***tsi*** ***nihotkanón:ni*** ***wahotíniake'.***
so.much they shout **how** so.he.is.rich they.married.
'They were really bragging **how rich the guy she married was.'**

3.4 Semi-insubordination

As noted earlier, Van linden and Van de Velde (2014) introduced the term *semi-insubordination* to refer to autonomous constructions which contain an initial element that is not a full matrix clause. Mohawk contains constructions which resemble *tsi* complement constructions except that in place of an initial matrix clause, there is just a particle. An example with the particle *tó:ske* 'certainly' is in (15).

(15) Mohawk semi-insubordination: Ima Johnson, speaker
Ó:nen tó:ske ne onkwehón:we
'Then for sure the Native guy

tó:ske ***tsi*** ***rotshenón:ni.***
really **how** he.is.happy
was really happy.'

What is now the particle *tó:ske* 'really, certainly' is apparently an eroded form of a verb like *kató:kenske'* 'it is certain'. It now serves primarily as an intensifier, but the erstwhile complementizer *tsi* remains.

(16) Mohawk semi-insubordination
Ó tó:ske ***tsi*** ***ioiánere'*** ***thí:ken***.
oh really **how** it.is.good that
'Oh **it was so nice**.'

Another particle *kwahí:ken* 'very' serves a similar function, again in construction with a *tsi* complement. Examples are in (17) and (18).

(17) Mohawk semi-insubordination: Watshennine Sawyer, speaker p.c.
Kwahí:ken ***tsi*** ***ionkwarihwiiohstòn:ne'.***
very **how** our.matter.had.been.good
'We were **VERY religious**.'

(18) Mohawk semi-insubordination: Kanerahtenhawi Nicholas, speaker p.c.
Kwahí:ken ***tsi*** *niionkwatshennón:ni*
very **how** we.are.happy
'We are **very happy**

tsi *wa'onthón:tate'* . . .
that she.is.willing
that she's willing . . . '

The origin of this particle *kwahí:ken* can still be discerned. It consists of the particle *kwáh* 'quite' plus the verb *í:ken* 'it is' *(i-ka-i* PROTHETIC-NEUTER-be).

This construction has been generalized so that any exclamative particle can occupy the place of *tó:ske* 'really' and *kwahí:ken* 'very'. The results are exclamative constructions, as in (19), (20), and (21).

(19) Mohawk exclamative: Watshennine Sawyer, speaker p.c.
Há:ke ***tsi*** *onhterá:ko'*
gee **how** it.took.it.off
'Gee, **what a load that took off**

tsi *kanonhtónnion* *á:ke* . . .
how I.am.thinking gee
my mind . . . '

(20) Mohawk exclamative: Watshennine Sawyer, speaker p.c.
Há:ke she's ***tsi*** *niion'wé:sen* *nó:nen* *enhontóhetste'.*
ah then **how** so.it.was.pleasant when they will pass
'Ah **what a relief it was** when they had passed through.'

(21) Mohawk exclamative: Joe Deer, speaker
Ó: ***tsi*** *niiohsnó:re'* *tsi* *wahaweientéhta'ne'.*
oh **how** so.it.is.fast how he.became.good.at.it
'Oh **how quickly he learned it**.'

In general, exclamatives still contain an initial expressive element and the particle *tsi*. Occasionally the expressive is omitted, and on very rare occasions, even the particle *tsi*. (Further discussion is in Mithun 2016b.)

Exclamatives in some languages have been described as presupposing a quality and asserting that it holds to an unusually high degree. Presupposition may have been characteristic of the Mohawk constructions at some point, but this is no longer necessarily the case. The speaker of (21), for example, had said that a certain man learned to play the guitar, but there was no previous indication that he had learned quickly. This is of course not unlike their English counterparts (*How nice it is here!*) and the Dutch expressive independent complement constructions cited by D'Hertefelt and Verstraet. The exclamatives simply serve as expressives.

The marker *tsi* thus originated in constructions indicating place, time, and manner. The *tsi* construction was extended to marking clauses functioning as adverbials, to marking degree complements, to semi-insubordination constructions indicating intensity, and finally to semi-insubordinate exclamations. The fact that the scope of the construction is completely contained within the sentence makes sense in terms of its source: a single complex sentence. The mechanisms involved in its development, grammaticalization of an erstwhile matrix clause, then reanalysis of the construction requiring simply some kind of initial expressive marker, and the incipient shift of the expressive force from this initial element to the construction as a whole, also all took place within the context of the single sentence.

4 Navajo

Navajo, genealogically and geographically unrelated to Mohawk, is a language of the Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit family indigenous to the North American Southwest. It, too, contains a construction that could be described as "the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses" (Evans 2016: 367). It developed from a marker of adverbs, the dialectal and phonologically-conditioned enclitic *=go/=ho/=o/=ǫ*. Material cited here is drawn from unscripted conversation in the Navajo Conversational Corpus (Mithun 2015, funded by NSF Award 0853598). Special thanks go to Jalon Begay, Melvatha Chee, Miltina Chee, Warlance Chee, and Irene Silentman for their help with transcription and translation.

4.1 Simple adverbs

The enclitic derives adverbs. Some designate times, as in (22) and (23).

(22) Navajo time: nav007:00:00:58
K'ad doo ádajit'įį' da níio,
now not one.does not he.said
'"Now people don't do that", he said,

abíní=ó.
morning=**ADV**
in the morning.'

(23) Navajo time: nav007:00:33:34
Doo ***náás=ó*** *hódooníił da nisin.*
not forward=**ADV** it.will.happen not I.think
'I don't think it will happen **in the future**.'

The same enclitic derives manner adverbs, as in (24) and (25).

(24) Navajo manner: nav007:00:39:28
Áá ***hazhóó'ó=go*** *bíhijiiníił nahalįo.*
there careful=**ADV** one.adds.them.to.it it.seems.like
'It seems like one adds them to it **slowly**.'

(25) Navajo manner: nav005:00:15:18
Tłéédą́ą́' ***nizhóní=go*** *da'iidą́ą́'.*
last.night good=**ADV** we.ate
'We really ate **well** last night.'

4.2 Adverbial clauses

The same enclitic *=go/=ho/=o/=ǫ* has been extended to form temporal adverbial clauses, as in (26) and (27).

(26) Navajo temporal adverbial clause: nav.007.00:00:16
Ałk'ídą́ą́', ***ádaniilts'iisí=go***
long.ago we.all.were.young=**ADV**
'Long ago, **when all of us were young**,

(my father would tell us all to wake up)

t'ah ***da'iilwosh=ó*** *ábíní=go.*
still we.were.asleep=**ADV** morning=ADV
while we were still asleep early in the morning.'

(27) Navajo temporal adverbial clause: nav005.00:47:57
Ch'íniijéi'=ó *shíí* *chidí* *nihátáadoogis.*
we.walk.out=**ADV** probably vehicle they.will.wash.it.for.us
'**When we're done**, we can get the vehicle washed.'

As in many languages, the construction used for 'when' clauses is also used for conditionals, clauses which provide background conditions for the main clause, as in (28) and (29).

(28) Navajo conditional clause: nav005:00:36:23
T'áá sáhí ***shił dahádiilyeed=o*** *shíí* *t'óó yoo'ádíishaał.*
alone I.drive.off=**ADV** probably I.will.just.get.lost
'**If I drive around by myself** I'll probably get lost.'

(29) Navajo conditional clause: nav007:00:40:20
Áá *ákо*
INTNS so
'It's OK,

doo ***ła'*** ***shikéé'*** ***woosįį=hó***
not one behind.me you.two.will.stand=**ADV**
if you won't stand behind me

shííghahjí *soozį́.*
beside.me you.two.stand
then stand next to me.'

The simultaneity can indicate manner, as in (30) and (31).

(30) Navajo simultaneity: nav005:00:15:24
Shizhéé' ***naalǫ́=ǫ*** *nésh'į́.*
my.saliva **drip.off**=**ADV** I.look.at.it
'I was just looking at it **drooling**.'

(31) Navajo manner clause: nav005:00:15:40
Áko ***t'aá dzâ=o*** *kodi* *adił* *yáshti'*.
so aimless=**ADV** over.here self.with I.talk.to
'I'm just talking to myself **for the fun of it**.'

As in many languages, speakers can echo parts of sentences across turns.

(32) Navajo manner across speakers: nav007:00:52:08
A: ***Tsxǫ́įł=go*** *yee* *yádaałti'* *ya'?*
fast=**ADV** with.it they.all.speak TAG
'They speak it **quickly** right?'

B: *Áá* ***tsxǫ́įł=o***
very fast=**ADV**
'Pretty **quickly**.'

Such conversational structures have been described as sources for insubordinate constructions in a number of languages, but this does not appear to be a major factor in the development of the formally dependent autonomous sentence in Navajo. In Navajo insubordinate constructions, there is usually no possible matrix in the preceding context.

The basic uses of the Navajo enclitic *=go/=ho/=o/=ǫ* described so far are much like those of the Mohawk particle *tsi*, marking basic adverbs and adverbial clauses. But their paths of development from this point were quite different and have led to different results.

4.3 Distribution of information

It was noted in Section 1.2 that in Mohawk, as in many languages, the prosody of complement constructions can mirror their information structure more directly than their syntactic structure. The same is true of Navajo, though in part because it has distinctive tone, and in part because of general prosodic patterns in the language, this can be less obvious in pitch traces. Still, an example can be seen in Figure 2 with the sentence 'They said we'll walk around later'. The pitch of 'we'll walk around later', the most important information, is higher than that of the following 'they said'.

But Navajo sentences like this show something more interesting. Certain syntactic constructions mirror information structure more directly than their translation counterparts in many other languages. Verbs of saying and thinking are not only prosodically less salient than the message or the thought (the most

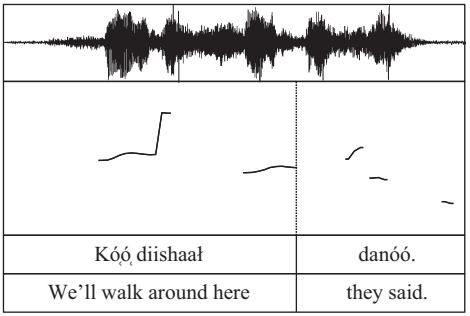


Figure 2: Navajo verb of saying.

important information), they are often grammatically subordinate to them as well. The verb 'they said' in the sentence shown in Figure 2 and analyzed in (33) is grammatically dependent, marked with the adverbial enclitic *=o*. 'They said they'd go there to explore' is literally 'I'll walk around here they saying'.

(33) Navajo subordinate verb of saying: nav005:00:18:36
Kǫ́ǫ́ diishaał ***danó=ó***.
here.about I.will.walk they said=**ADV**
'**They said** they'd go there to explore.'

The same structure can be seen in (34) 'We were told to herd sheep'. The message 'you all herd' is syntactically the main clause, while 'we were told' is grammatically dependent, marked with the adverbial enclitic *=o*.

(34) Navajo subordinate verb of saying: nav007:00:11:15
Nida'nołkaad ***nihi'danó=ó.***
you.all.herd we.were.told=**ADV**
'**We were told** to herd sheep.'

Verbs of thinking generally show the same pattern, where the content of the thought is more important than the fact of thinking.

(35) Navajo subordinate verb of thinking: nav005:00:19:11
Naasht'ézhígii át'é ***nisǫ=ǫ.***
Zuni it.is I think=**ADV**
'**I think** it's a Zuni word.'

The pitch trace in Figure 3 shows that the verb 'I think' was pronounced with lower pitch than 'It's Zuni'. The lower pitch is in keeping with general patterns

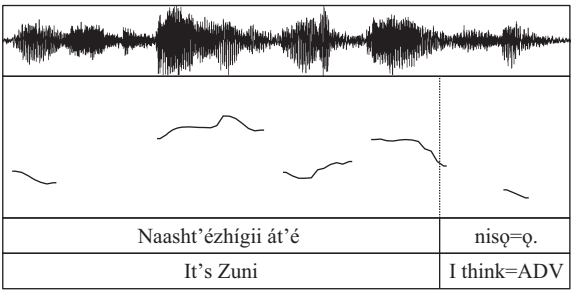


Figure 3: Navajo verb of thinking.

of declination through the course of an intonation unit, but it appears to be lower than it would be the case in a simple clause.

A similar pattern can be seen in (36) and (37) with the subordinate verb 'I think'. Their lower pitch can be seen in Figures 4 and 5.

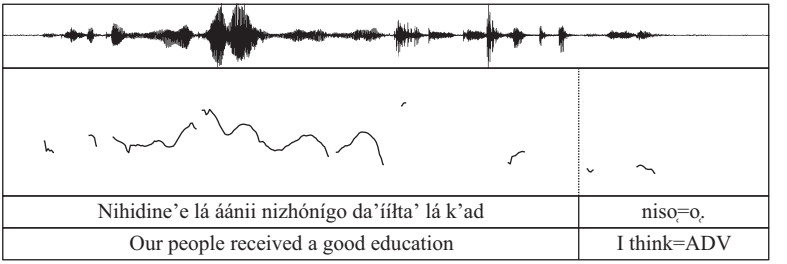


Figure 4: Navajo verb of thinking.

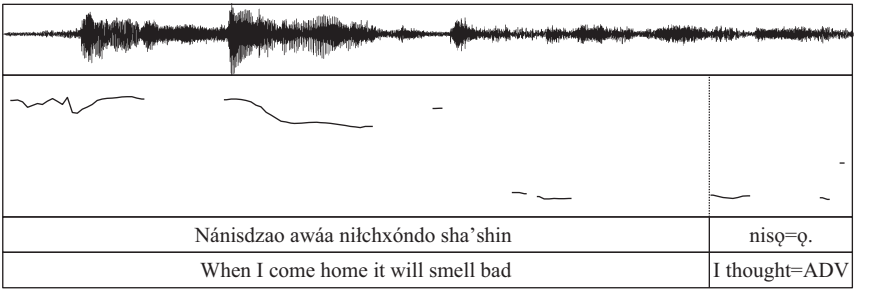


Figure 5: Navajo verb of thinking.

(36) Navajo subordinate verb of thinking: nav001:00:17:10
Nihidine'é lá áánii nizhónígo da'iiłta' lá k'ad

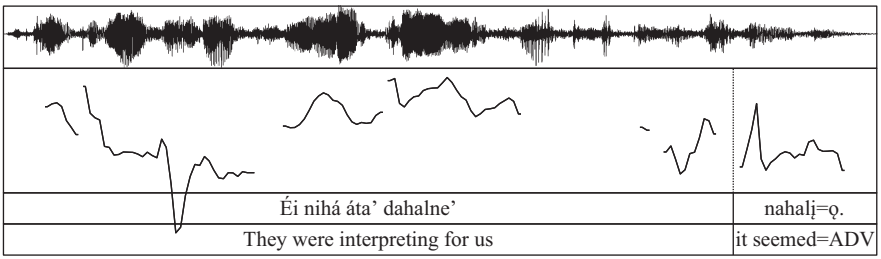
our.people EMPH real well we.went.to.school EMPH now
nisǫ=ǫ.
I.think=**ADV**
'I was thinking our people received a good education.'

(37) Navajo subordinate verb of thinking
N'anisdzao awáa niłchxóndo sha'shin ***nisǫ=ǫ.***
when.I.come.back very smell possibly I.thought=**ADV**
'**I thought to myself**, when I come home it will smell very bad.'

Constructions involving verbs of saying and thinking frequently take this form. Other verbs which would usually serve as matrix clauses in other languages but do not express the most important information of the sentence also appear subordinated in Navajo. The verb 'look like/seem' is subordinated in (38) and (39).

(38) Navajo subordinate 'seem': nav007:00:28:12
Éi nihá áta' dahalne' ***nahaląi=ǫ.***
that for.us between they.tell it.looks.like=**ADV**
'**It seemed like** they were interpreting for us.'

A pitch trace of this sentence is in Figure 6.



AU: Please mention Figure 6 in the text.

Figure 6: Navajo verb 'seem'.

(39) Navajo subordinate verb 'seem': nav.007:00:27:49
Łahóó ádaadin ***nahaląi=ǫ.***
parts they.are.gone it.looks.like=**ADV**
'**It seemed like** there were parts missing.'

The use of grammatical subordination to convey information structure can be seen with other verbs as well. The main information in (40) 'I was taught that

back in 1500 the Europeans hadn't yet set sail for America' was that the Europeans had not yet set sail. The verb 'I was taught' was subordinate.

(40) Navajo subordinate verb 'I was taught': nav005:00:19:55

Nashi'di'neeztą́ą́=go *éi yahi*
I.was.taught=**ADV** specifically
'I was taught that

1500 *yę́ę́dą́ą́'*
then.in.the.past
back in 1500

k'ad *doo* *bilagáana* *bił* *dei'eeł* *kojo.*
now NEG Anglos with.it they.float on.this.side
the Europeans hadn't yet set sail for America.'

4.4 Extension into discourse

The sensitivity of the grammar to information status has been extended a major step further in Navajo. The enclitic *=go/=ho/=o/=ǫ* that served a lexical function deriving adverbs within clauses, and was then extended to a syntactic function marking dependency of clauses within sentences, was extended further to mark the pragmatic dependency of independent sentences in discourse. It now occurs pervasively in prosodically independent sentences conveying comments that are subordinate to the main event line of a narrative or the main topic of a discussion: background information, parenthetical asides, explanations, and evaluative statements. These marked sentences are not dependent on a specific matrix clause, either spoken or unspoken, in the previous context of the same turn or that of another. Their context is the discourse situation. (In all of the examples cited here, the entire conversation was in Navajo, but free translations without the original Navajo are provided to supply context. For the Navajo, separate intonation units are shown on separate lines, and punctuation reflects prosody, with commas for medial phrases and periods for terminal intonation contours.)

Examples (41) and (42) show their use in explanations. Some men were discussing an area at the base of a mountain.

(41) Navajo explanation: nav002:00:04:15
'There's a lot of this thing called sumac berry.
They say there used to be a lot there in the ditch.'

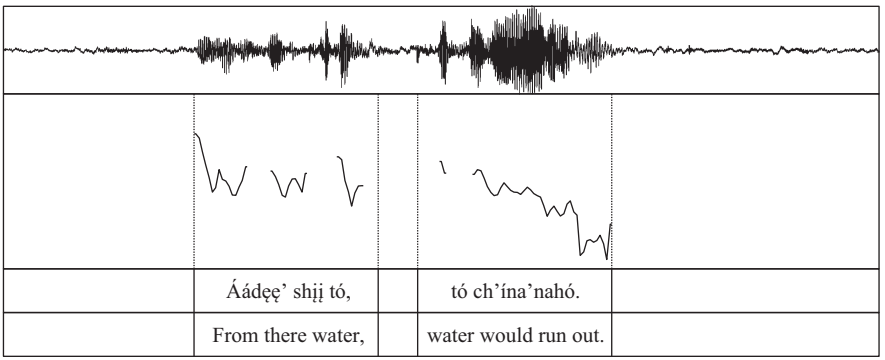
Á'adęę́'	***shį́į́***	***tó,***
from.there	maybe	water

'Maybe water,

tó	***ch'ína'na=hó.***
water	it.crawls.outward=**ADV**

would run out from there.'

The final sentence carried the adverbializing enclitic *=ho*, because rather than adding to the description of the area, it was offered as a possible explanation for the profusion of the sumac. Prosodically, however, it constituted a complete sentence in itself, beginning with a full pitch reset, ending with a final terminal fall, and surrounded by pauses as can be seen in Figure 7.



AU: Please mention Figure 7 in the text.

Figure 7: Navajo explanation.

At another point the men were discussing the status of the Navajo language, and where on the reservation children were speaking it. When one observed that children from Window Rock did not speak, another offered an explanation in a separate sentence marked by the adverbial enclitic.

(42) Navajo explanation: nav002:00:17:00

A:	*Tséghahoodzánídoo*	*nidaakaiígii*		*doo*	*Dinék'ehjí́*
	from.Window.Rock	they.walk.around.NMLZ		NEG	in.Navajo
	yádaałti'	*da*			
	they.speak	NEG			

'It's always said that those from Window Rock don't speak Navajo.'

ha'níi	*łeh.*
it.is.said	usually

B: *Ą́ą́'ą.*
'Uhuh.'

Aoo'í.
'Yes.'

Yaa ***yádánizin=ó.***
about.it they are shy=**ADV**
'They're ashamed of it.'

This explanation occurred not only in a separate prosodic sentence, but also across turns. As can be seen in Figure 8, it, too, began with a pitch reset and ended with a terminal fall, followed by a pause.

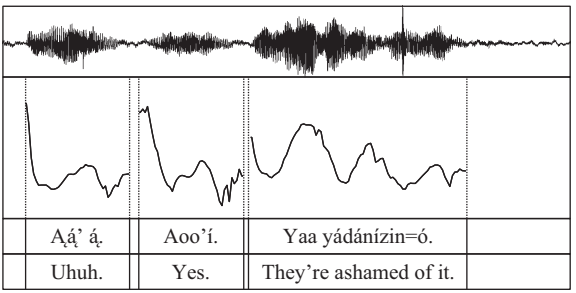


Figure 8: Navajo explanation.

When this speaker then resumed his discussion, it was with another pitch reset, as can be seen in Figure 9.

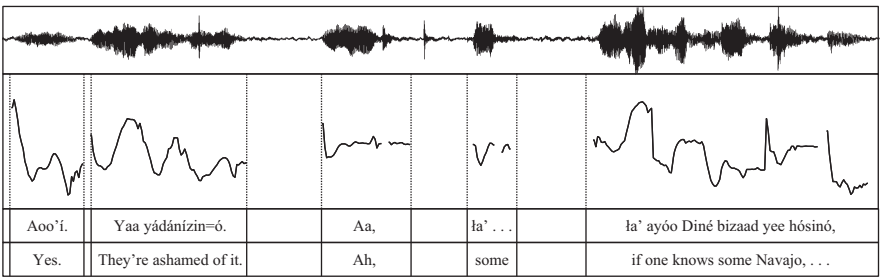


Figure 9: Navajo pitch reset.

The discourse context to which such sentences are pragmatically subordinate can be extensive. After recounting a series of events, the speaker in (43) added

some incidental information, off the event line: 'My son was driving us around at the time'. It was in a separate prosodic sentence marked with the adverbial subordinator.

(43) Navajo asides: nav006:00:01:48

A: 'I first tried to take it [your blanket] over there . . . I told him to call to Two Grey Hills for me. But then my son said they weren't there. They told us they probably wouldn't be there until the next day. So then we went to this other place but it was closed. Again they weren't there. At that one place in Shiprock they call the Trading Place, right there. Remember that place I told you about where she was buying warp.'

B: 'Yes, over at that place, right? Oh yes, I remember that one place we drove by on the way out. It was closed.'

A: 'Because of that I also took it to that place again, but they weren't there. I was told the buyer was not available. They told me the buyer would be in the store the next day. That happened and so we left.'

Shiyáázh	***nihił***	***na'iłbąąs=o***	***éi.***
my.son	us	he.drove=**ADV**	that.

'My son was driving us around that time.'

B: *Aoo'o*.
'Yes'.

Speaker A then returned to her narrative, but after recounting a few more events, she added an explanation for why she could go to only one place: 'I had to take care of my mom, so that limited what I could do'. Her explanation was in a separate prosodic sentence marked with the adverbial subordinator. After this aside, she returned to her narrative.

(43′) A: 'We left from there and headed over there. We got to that one place.'

B: 'Yes.'

A: 'Ah. Where was it. We were only supposed to go that place.
That was where we were supposed to take your blanket.'

Shimá	***baa nishtł'a=go.***
my.mother	she.hampered me=**ADV**

'I had to take care of my mom, so that limited what I could do.'

'So we went to the auction.'

As can be seen in Figure 10, this *=go*-marked sentence began with a full pitch reset and ended with a terminal fall. It was an independent sentence prosodically.

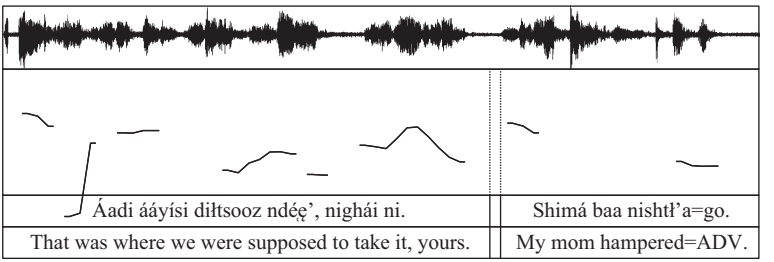


Figure 10: Navajo pitch reset and terminal fall.

Offline comments may offer explanations or simply supply additional information. They are not differentiated formally. The sentence in (44) below could be interpreted as an explanation or simply supplementary information. A woman told her friends that at a certain point, she had realized that her children did not know Navajo. She decided to bring them back to the reservation to live in a hogan with her grandmother. Both she (A) and another participant in the conversation (B) supplied some asides in independent sentences with formal subordinate marking (with overlap marked by brackets). Their asides provided information from their modern vantage point; information that was off the event-line of the narrative.

(44) Navajo aside: nav007:00:30:10

A: 'I lived with my children there for maybe six months.
So that water, we all hauled water.
And things like wood, things like chopping wood.
Still that is what they remember the most now.'

Áádą́ą́'	*um*	*áadi,*
there.past		there.at
'Back then um, back then,'		

B: ***Áadi*** ***da'diltłi'ígíí*** ***ádin=o,***
there.at they.are.lit.NMLZ there.is.none=**ADV**
'There were no lights,
[***electricity***.]'

A: **[*da'diltłi'íi*]** ***ádaadin=o*** ***ą́ą́'ą́.***
there.are.lit there.were.none=**ADV** yes
'there were no lights.'

'When we lived with my grandmother was the only time we were all happy.'

A group was reminiscing about school experiences. Speaker A stepped back from her narrative to note that when they were young, children were in school the whole year, rarely going home.

(45) Navajo aside: nav007:00:27:24

A: 'So I remember that when I went to school, and a White woman held up a drawing of a sheep. I remember she kept just saying "sheep". So all of us were Navajo. We Navajos were just looking at it, while she just kept saying "sheep". We were told not to speak Navajo. Only English.'

Níléí ***um,***
That **um**

bini'ántą́ą́tsohdoo ***ndi*** ***shíí*** ***át'é*** ***niléí,*** . . .
from.September but maybe it.is that
maybe starting from September

níléí ***T'ą́ą́chil*,**
over.there April
to April,

T'ą́ą́tsohji,
up.to.May
up to May

áá ***áa*** ***da'íínílta'=o.***
over.there over.there we.were.going.to.school=**ADV**
we were all going to school over there.'

B: *Ḿm.*

Some Navajo language teachers were discussing what they do in their classes. One went through her daily routine, but left this topic briefly to comment on her grandmother's experiences with the language. The diversion was expressed as an independent prosodic sentence with the adverbial enclitic *=o*.

(46) Navajo aside: nav007:00:47:07
'This is what I tell them when they attend my class.
"This, like the way you all walked in, consider it your home.
We are all here only to learn this language, our language.
It's true that back then we were being chased around.
We were told that our language would disappear.
So I will make that my duty here.
I'll teach you all my grandmother's language."'

Éí **tihooz'nii'=o.**
that she suffered=ADV
'She suffered.'

The subordinating enclitic is used pervasively by Navajo speakers to add dimension to discourse, marking information which is off the event line of narrative or peripheral to the topic at hand. As with many discourse devices, speakers have choices in how they choose to shape their message, and not all speakers will make the same choices.

5 Theoretical implications

The emerging recognition of the diverse functions served by insubordinate constructions on the one hand, and their varied diachronic origins and pathways of development on the other, raise intriguing questions about relationships between the two. Here two constructions have been compared that emerged from similar points of departure in adverbial clause constructions, but differ completely in their modern functions. The Mohawk *tsi* construction and the Navajo *=go* construction share only Evans's original defining formal feature: both are formally dependent clauses used as independent sentences. They share no semantic or pragmatic characteristics, and they differ in scope. Their modern profiles were not determined at the outset by their sources, but are products of the pathways by which they developed.

The Mohawk *tsi* construction is much like the kinds of insubordination first described in Evans 2007. It functions as an exclamative, serving to express intensive evaluation. This function has been described for similar constructions in many languages. It was cited by Evans for English *that* clauses and German *daß* clauses (2007: 403), by Kalinina and Sumbatova for the Nakh Daghestanian languages Bagwalal and Dargwa (2007: 184), for Dutch by Verstraete, D'Hertefelt, and Van linden (2012), and for Japanese by Narrog (2016: 278), among others.

The scope of the Mohawk construction is confined to a single sentence, like its source. It emerged from a single complex sentence construction, though not by instantaneous omission of an identifiable matrix. The particle *tsi* began as a place/time/manner nominalizer, which was extended to mark clauses denoting places, times, and manners. Because grammatical relations are specified in Mohawk on the predicate rather than dependents, these clauses contain no indication of their grammatical role. Because of their semantics, however, they most often serve an adverbial function. As in a number of other languages, they also came to serve as complements of certain matrix verbs. From there the routinization and erosion typical of grammaticalization turned some of those matrix verbs into simple particles. At a certain point, speakers apparently generalized the construction so that any exclamatory particles could occur in the initial particle position. The result is what is termed by Van linden and Van de Velde *semi-autonomous insubordinate* or *semi-subordinate* constructions. On rare occasions the initial particles are now beginning to be omitted from Mohawk *tsi* exclamatives, suggesting that this could be a stage along a pathway toward a full-fledged, autonomous insubordination construction. This could be viewed as an instance of what is termed *hypoanalysis* by Croft (2000) and Van linden and Van de Velde (2014), whereby the exclamative function was transferred from the original full complex sentence to the *tsi*-marked subordinate clause, or even the subordinating marker *tsi*, in turn facilitating the omission of the matrix. It could also be interpreted as an example of what Heine, Kaltenböck, and Kuteva (2016: 39) have termed *cooptation*, where the matrix clause is implied but not formally expressed.

The Navajo *=go* construction has an entirely different function from the Mohawk *tsi* construction: it serves as a discourse structuring device, permitting speakers to mark information that is incidental to the main thrust of the discourse. Its scope is different: it goes well beyond the sentence to the larger discourse, anywhere from a preceding remark to a lengthy narrative or discussion, often extending across turns from different speakers. The major process in its development was extension: The backgrounding function of the adverbial subordinator *=go* was generalized from marking the syntactic subordination of adverbial clauses within the sentence to marking the pragmatic subordination of sentences within discourse. Constructions with similar functions and histories can be seen in Central Alaskan Yup'ik and Barbareño Chumash (Mithun 2008, 2016a).

Though the Mohawk *tsi* construction and Navajo *=go* construction both emerged from adverbial clauses, different mechanisms produced quite different outcomes. The functions and scope of these modern constructions are the product of their subsequent histories, but, as seen here, such histories can be complex.

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