

Coordination and subordination in Northern Paiute clause chaining

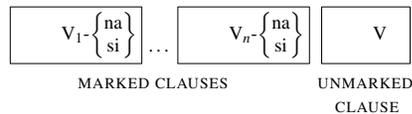
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1 Introduction

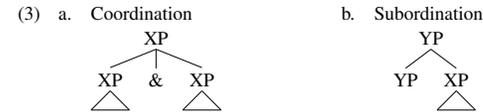
Northern Paiute (Uto-Aztecan, Numic: western United States) uses clause chaining — a sequence of clauses, only one of which is inflected like an independent clause — almost entirely for combining clauses:

- (1) a. Yaisi o=woetsimmi-**na**, yaisi o=ggwidzi-**na**, o=ddzapuni-hu-dzaga-ti.
PTC 3SG.ACC=watch-SIM PTC 3SG.ACC=stir-SIM 3SG.ACC=look.at-PUNC-MOT-TNS
'While you are watching it, while you are stirring it, you look at it every once and a while.'
(dialogue, MS, BP09-1-t4, 7)
- b. Yaisi mi=toogi=tiwau nobiya-u-**si**, mi=toogi=tiwau tsa-hibi-ki-u-ga-**si**,
PTC PL=dog=also pack-PUNC-SEQ PL=dog=also IP.fingers-drink-APPL-PUNC-MOT-SEQ
tammi mia-ga-kwi mii.
IPL.INCL.NOM go-MOT-IRR QUOT
'So then, having packed up the dogs, and having made sure those dogs get a drink, so we'd take off.'
(narrative, Nepa Kennedy, 'Root-Digging Time', Thornes, p.c.)
- (2) Clause chaining in Northern Paiute



In the typological and functionalist literature, clause chaining is frequently said to be difficult to fit into the distinction between coordination and subordination that we are familiar with from better-studied languages:

- Coordination: 'a relation holding between two or more elements of equal syntactic status'
- Subordinate clause: 'function[s] as dependent within the structure of a larger clause'
(Huddleston and Pullum 2006)



The marked clauses look like they are subordinated to the unmarked clause in (1a–b), because they are **dependent** on it. They are not able to stand on their own as independent sentences.

But it is not clear whether the marked clauses are embedded **within** the unmarked clause. For this reason, clause chaining is sometimes taken to occupy an intermediate category — 'cosubordination' — between coordination and subordination (Olson 1981, Foley and Van Valin 1984:256–263, Van Valin and La Polla 1997:448–454, Van Valin 2005:183f.).

I will argue that clause chains in Northern Paiute are, in fact, either coordinated or subordinated.

This syntactic distinction is realized morphologically in Northern Paiute on the subject of the marked clause, which can bear either nominative or accusative case.

- (4) a. Yaisi **hi** pisa hani-hu-**si**, yaisi o=mabina.
PTC 2SG.NOM good do-PUNC-SEQ PTC 3SG.ACC=cover
'Then you take good care of it, and then cover it up.' (procedural text, MS, BP09-1-t4, 6)
- b. Saa'a yaisi **uka** sawabi kado'o mane-**si**, tiipi o-kuba-tu wokwati-kwi.
later PTC **that**.ACC sagebrush nothing become-SEQ earth 3SG.LOC-LOC dump-IRR
'And then, when the sagebrush is gone, you dump dirt on it.' (procedural text, EM, BP13-4-t9, 27)

When the subject of marked clause bears nominative case, the clause chain is coordinated. When it bears accusative case, the marked clause is subordinated to the unmarked clause.

In the rest of this talk, I will:

- in §2, describe the properties of clause chaining in Northern Paiute
- in §3, lay out my proposal for the syntax of clause chaining in Northern Paiute
- in §4, give three arguments that clause chains in Northern Paiute are either coordinated or subordinated, depending on what the case of the subject of the marked clause is:
 - c-command
 - cataphoric reference
 - across-the-board movement

This parallels recent findings in a few other languages. Clause chaining has been argued to be coordination in various Papuan languages (Foley 2010) and Kĩsēdjē (Nonato 2012) or to be ambiguous between coordination and subordination in Mbyá Guaraní (Dooley 2010) and Korean (Kwon and Polinsky 2008).

2 Clause chaining in Northern Paiute

There are two properties of clause chaining that Northern Paiute shares with other languages (Longacre 2007:398–417):

1. The unmarked clause ‘has a verb of distinctive structure that occurs but once in the entire chain, while the other [marked] clauses have verbs of different and more restricted structures’ (Longacre 2007:399).

(5) Yaisi o=woetsimmi-na yaisi o=ggwidzi-na, o=ddzapuni-hu-dzaga-ti.
 PTC 3SG.ACC=watch-SIM PTC 3SG.ACC=stir-SIM 3SG.ACC=look.at-PUNC-MOT-TNS
 ‘While you are watching it, while you are stirring it, you look at it every once and a while.’
 (dialogue, MS, BP09-1-t4, 7)

(6) a. Su=naatsi’i na-dika-ggi(*-ti)-na, yaka.
 DEF.NOM=boy PASS-eat-APPL-TNS-SIM cry.DUR
 ‘When the boy is fed, he cries.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-5, 27:37)
 b. Su=naatsi’i na-dika-ggi(*-ti)-si, yaisi iwi-huka.
 DEF.NOM=boy PASS-eat-APPL-TNS-SEQ PTC sleep-INCEP.DUR
 ‘The boy is fed, and then he falls asleep.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-5, 29:47)

2. Temporal relations between chained clauses are marked formally. Usually this involves morphology that signals a distinction between: i) temporal simultaneity (e.g. ‘when’ or ‘as’), and ii) temporal sequence (e.g. ‘and then’).

(7) Kate (Trans-New Guinea: Papua New Guinea)
 a. Fisi-**huk** na-wek.
 arrived-**he.SIM** ate-he
 ‘As he arrived, he was eating.’
 b. Fisi-**ra** na-wek.
 arrived-**he.SEQ** ate-he
 ‘He arrive, then he ate.’ (Longacre 2007:402)

Most languages with clause chaining strictly locate the unmarked clause at the end if they have OV basic word order (Longacre 2007:417). While Northern Paiute is verb final, it nonetheless allows the unmarked clause to occur either last (as above) or first (8a–8b).

(8) a. Yaa=bino’o moko **ddakwi-ggwaddi**, mi=naatsi’i **wotui-na**.
 there=PTC shoe **sit.DL-DL** PL=boy **wait-SIM**
 ‘The shoes are sitting there, waiting for the boys.’ (prompted narrative, MS, BP24-1-t3, 98)
 b. Yaa hibbi tibbi-ma **kati** pita-ga, su=naatsi’i u-ma **si’e-hu-si**.
 there PTC rock-LOC **sit** below-LOC NOM=boy 3SG-LOC **scare-PUNC-SEQ**
 ‘The boy went to sit on the rock down there, because he got scared of him.’ (prompted narrative, EM, BP25-2-t1, 86)

This type of variability has been reported in at least one other language that I know of — Mbyá Guaraní (Dooley 2010) — and it will become important later on.

Crucially, as Thornes (2003:464) observes, the subject of the marked clause can bear either nominative or accusative case:

- pronouns

(9) a. **Nii** haki’i-**na**, nabagi’a.
1SG.NOM hiccough-SIM bathe.DUR
 ‘While I was hiccoughing, I swam.’ (elicitation, EM, BP31-5-s, 5)
 b. Nika **u=bbuni-na**, **nii** u=yadui-kwi.
1SG.ACC 3SG.ACC=see-SIM 1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC=talk.to-IRR
 ‘When he sees me, I will talk to him.’ (elicitation, MS, BP40-1-s, 14)
 (10) a. **Nii** woi-hu-**si**, yaisi su=naatsi’i nadaggwane-hu.
1SG.NOM yell-PUNC-SEQ PTC DEF.NOM=boy jump-PUNC
 ‘I yelled, and then the boy jumped.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-1-s, 3)
 b. **I=woi-hu-si**, yaisi su=naatsi’i nadaggwane-hu.
1SG.ACC=jump-PUNC-SEQ PTC DEF.NOM=boy jump-PUNC
 ‘I yelled, and then the boy jumped.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-1-s, 5)

- determiners and adjectives

(11) a. **Su=tiitsi-’yu** naatsi’i yaga-**na**, yaisi **nii** kai pisa i’wi-’yu.
DEF.NOM=little-NOM boy cry-SIM PTC **1SG.NOM** NEG good sleep.DUR-PRS
 ‘When the little boy is crying, I can’t sleep well.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-1-s, 21)
 b. **Ka=tiitsi-ggu** naatsi’i yaga-**na**, **nii** kai pisa i’wi.
DEF.ACC=little-ACC boy cry-SIM **1SG.NOM** NEG good sleep.DUR
 ‘When the little boy is crying, I can’t sleep.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-1-s, 22)
 (12) a. **Su=tiitsi-’yu** naatsi’i pida-hu-**si**, su=mogo’ni=bino’o mia-hu.
DEF.NOM=little-NOM boy make.fire-PUNC-SEQ **DEF.NOM=woman=PTC** go-PUNC
 ‘The little boy lit a fire, and then the woman left.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-4-s, 17)
 b. **Tiitsi-ggu** naatsi’i yaga-**si**, kai pisa **nii** i’wi.
little-ACC boy cry-SEQ **NEG** good **1SG.NOM** sleep.DUR
 ‘The little boy cried, and then I couldn’t sleep well.’ (elicitation, EM, BP41-1-s, 22)

Even when the marked clause follows the unmarked clause, the subject can still bear either nominative or accusative case.

(13) a. Su=mogo’ni iwi-huka, **su=miitsi-’yu** nana u=yadui-**na**.
DEF.NOM=woman sleep-INCH.DUR **DEF.NOM=short-NOM** man **3SG.ACC=talk.to-SIM**
 ‘The woman falls asleep when the short man talks to her.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-2-s, 15)
 b. **Nii** kai pisa i’wi, **ka=tiitsi-ggu** naatsi’i nanadaggwane-**na**.
1SG.NOM NEG good sleep.DUR **DEF.ACC=little-ACC** boy jump-SIM
 ‘I can’t sleep well when the little boy is jumping around.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-3, 20:18)
 (14) a. Su=**thidda** poyoha-ka, **su=tiitsi-’yu** naatsi’i woi-hu-**si**.
DEF.NOM=deer run-MOT **DEF.NOM=little-NOM** boy yell-PUNC-SEQ
 ‘The little boy yelled, and then the deer ran away.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-4-s, 22)
 b. **Thidda** poyoha-ka, **ka=tiitsi-ggu** naatsi’i woi-hu-**si**.
deer run-MOT **DEF.ACC=little-ACC** boy yell-PUNC-SEQ
 ‘The little boy yelled, and then the deer ran away.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-4-s, 24)

I will propose next that this difference in the case of the marked clause’s subject correlates with a difference in the syntax of clause chaining — coordination vs. subordination.

- (21) a. * [Miitsi-'yu mogo'ni₁ saa-na], [yaisi nii ti=₁ddua yadui-kwi].
 short-NOM woman cook-SIM PTC 1SG.NOM REFL=son talk.to-IRR
 Intended: 'While the short woman₁ is cooking, I will talk to her₁ son.' (elicitation, EM, BP39-2, 5:03)
- b. * [Tiitsi-'yu ti=₁ddoogga wohi-na], [su=naatsi'i₁ kai i'wi].
 little-NOM REFL=dog bark-SIM DEF.NOM=boy NEG sleep.DUR
 Intended: 'When his₁ little dog barks, the boy₁ can't sleep.' (elicitation, EM, BP40-4, 15:48)

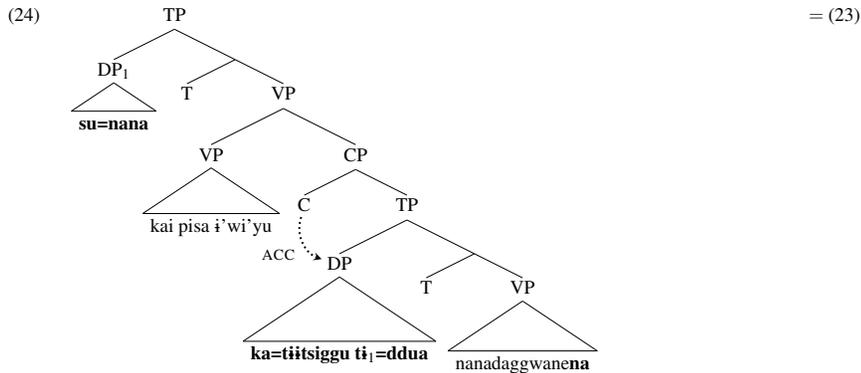
Moving the marked clause into final position makes no difference. The nominative subject of the marked clause still can neither bind into, nor be bound, from the unmarked clause.

- (22) a. * [Nii ti=₁ddua yadui-kwi], [su=miitsi-'yu mogo'ni₁ saa-na].
 1SG.NOM REFL=son talk.to-IRR DEF.NOM=short-NOM woman cook-SIM
 Intended: 'I will talk to her₁ son while the woman₁ cooks.' (elicitation, EM, BP40-3, 37:08)
- b. * [Su=nana₁ kai pisa i'wi-'yu], [su=tiitsi-'yu ti=₁ddua nanadagwane-na].
 DEF.NOM=man NEG good sleep.DUR-PRS DEF.NOM=little-NOM REFL=son jump-SIM
 Intended: 'The man₁ can't sleep well when his₁ little son is jumping up and down.' (elicitation, EM, BP41-1, 18:30)

When the subject of the marked clause bears nominative case, it does not c-command, and is not c-commanded by, material inside the unmarked clause — just as we would expect if the clause chain is coordinated.

In contrast, when the subject of the marked clause is accusative, it can be bound by the subject of the unmarked clause — compare (23) to (22b).

- (23) [Su=nana₁ kai pisa i'wi-'yu, [ka=tiitsi-ggu ti=₁ddua nanadagwane-na]].
 DEF.NOM=man NEG good sleep.DUR-PRS DEF.ACC=little-ACC REFL=son jump-SIM
 'The man₁ can't sleep well when his₁ little son is jumping up and down.' (elicitation, EM, BP41-1-s, 12)



Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the same binding pattern obtains even when the marked clause is in sentence-initial position — again, contrast (25) with (21b).

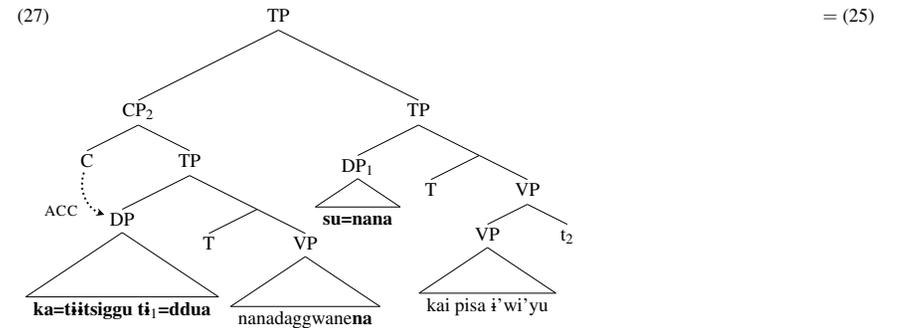
- (25) [[Tiitsi-ggu ti=₁ddogga wohi-na], yaisi su=mogo'ni₁ kai pisa i'wi-'yu].
 little-ACC REFL=dog bark-SIM PTC DEF.NOM=woman NEG good sleep.DUR-PRS
 'When her₁ little dog barks, the woman₁ can't sleep well.' (elicitation, EM, BP41-1-s, 8) cf. (23)

As Iatridou (1991) shows, English exhibits the same pattern with adjunct clauses in sentence-initial position.

- (26) [[If her₁ son joins the army], no mother₁ is happy]. cf. (19)

Iatridou argues that an adjunct clause can optionally start out adjoined to VP and then raise to sentence-initial position. Consequently, it is able to reconstruct into its base position for the purposes of variable binding.

Adopting Iatridou's proposal, we can say that the initial marked clause reconstructs to a VP-adjoined position, where the accusative subject of the marked clause is c-commanded by the subject of the unmarked clause.



When the subject of the marked clause bears accusative case, it is c-commanded — at some level of representation — by material inside the unmarked clause, just as we would expect if the marked clause is subordinated.

4.2 Cataphoric reference

In coordinate structures, a pronoun cannot precede its antecedent (the Backwards Anaphora Constraint; Langacker 1969:171). By contrast, in a subordination structure, such cataphoric reference is possible.

- (28) * [He₁ plays the trombone], and [Max₁ can read music].
 (29) [[If he₁ plays the trombone], Max₁ can read music].

In Northern Paiute clause chaining, cataphoric reference is impossible when the subject of the marked clause bears nominative case. In contrast, it is possible when the subject bears accusative case.

- (30) a. * [Usu₁ yaga-na], [su=naatsi'i₁ hubiatu].
 3SG.NOM cry-SIM DEF.NOM=boy sing.DUR
 Intended: 'When he₁ cries, the boy₁ sings.' (elicitation, EM, BP43-3, 42:53)
 [EM: "That could be [some] two there, init? *Usu yagana*, you know, sounds like somebody else crying."]
 b. [[U=₁yaga-na], su=naatsi'i₁ hubiatu].
 3SG.ACC=cry-SIM DEF.NOM=boy sing.DUR
 'When he₁ cries, the boy₁ sings.' (elicitation, EM, BP43-3, 44:13)
 [EM: "Could be just the same boy, too, init? He cried and then he singing."]
- (31) a. * [Usu₁ hubiadu-si], [su=naatsi'i₁ nika].
 that.NOM sing-SEQ DEF.NOM=boy dance.DUR
 Intended: 'He₁ sings, and then the boy₁ dances.' (elicitation, EM, BP42-7, 0:33)
 [MT: "So is there one person or are there two people?" EM: "Two people."]
 b. [[U=₁hubiadu-si], yaisi naatsi'i₁ nika].
 3SG.ACC=sing-SEQ PTC boy dance.DUR
 'He₁ sings, and then the boy₁ dances.' (elicitation, EM, BP43-4-s, 1)
 [EM: "Probably just one, init?"]

When the subject of the marked clause bears accusative case, cataphoric reference is possible, because then the marked clause is subordinated to the unmarked clause. When it bears nominative case, the clause chain is coordinated and cataphoric reference is not possible.

4.3 Across-the-board movement

Coordinations are subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967:161), which rules out extraction from just one coordinate. Movement must instead take place in an across-the-board fashion. Subordinate clauses do not allow this across-the-board movement.

- (32) a. * Which trombone₁ did [the nurse polish t₁], and [the plumber computed my tax]?
 b. * Whose tax₁ did [the nurse polish her trombone], and [the plumber compute t₁]?
 (Ross 1967:160)
 c. What₁ did [the nurse polish t₁], and [the plumber play t₁]?
 (33) * Who₁ did [Max tell t₁ [if he saw t₁]]?

In Northern Paiute clause chaining, across-the-board movement is only possible when the subject of the marked clause bears nominative case — not accusative case.

- (34) a. Himma₁ [ni₁ t₁ tika-na], [yaisi su=naatsi'i=bino'o t₁ tika]?
 what 1SG.NOM eat-SIM PTC DEF.NOM=boy=PTC eat
 'What, when I eat it, does the boy eat, too?' (elicitation, EM, BP39-2-s, 24)
 b. * Himma₁ [[t₁ i=dika-na], yaisi su=naatsi'i=bino'o t₁ tika]?
 what 1SG.ACC=eat-SIM PTC DEF.NOM=boy=PTC eat
 Intended: 'What, when I eat it, does the boy eat, too?' (elicitation, EM, BP39-2, 44:55)

- (35) a. Haga₁ [su=tii₁tsi-^{*}yu naatsi'i t₁ mutuhe-hu-si], [su=nana=bino'o t₁ mutuhe-hu]?
 who DEF.NOM=little-NOM boy kiss-PUNC-SEQ DEF.NOM=man=PTC kiss-PUNC
 'Who did the little boy kiss, and then the man kiss, too?' (elicitation, EM, BP43-4-s, 4)
 b. * Haga₁ [[t₁i₁tsi-ggu naatsi'i t₁ mutuhe-hu-si], su=nana=bino'o t₁ mutuhe-hu]?
 who little-ACC boy kiss-PUNC-SEQ DEF.NOM=man=PTC kiss-PUNC
 Intended: 'Who did the little boy kiss, and then the man kiss, too?' (elicitation, EM, BP43-4, 29:32)

When the subject of the marked clause receives nominative case, across-the-board movement is possible, because then the clause chain is coordinated. When it receives accusative case, the marked clause is subordinated and across-the-board movement is ruled out.

5 Conclusions

Clause chains in Northern Paiute can be either coordinated or subordinated — a syntactic distinction that is realized morphologically on the subject of the marked clause.

	ENGLISH		NORTHERN PAIUTE	
	coordination	subordination	nominative	accusative
c-command	no	yes	no	yes
cataphoric reference	no	yes	no	yes
across-the-board movement	yes	no	yes	no

This parallels some recent findings about clause chaining in a range of other languages, though Northern Paiute is different from them in interesting ways.

- In Mbyá Guaraní (Dooley 2010) and Korean (Kwon and Polinsky 2008), clause chaining is *formally ambiguous* between coordination and subordination structures.
 In contrast, in Northern Paiute, clause chains are not ambiguous in the same way, because the case of the marked clause's subject indicates whether it is coordinated or subordinated. How else might languages mark this distinction formally?
- In various Papuan languages (Foley 2010) and Kĩsêdjê (Nonato 2012), clause chaining always involves a coordination structure.
 In contrast, in Northern Paiute, clause chains can be either coordinated or subordinated. Why might languages vary in this way?

Clearly, more crosslinguistic investigation is needed. But I suspect that clause chaining is not nearly as mysterious as first thought.

Data and acknowledgments

Northern Paiute is comprised of several closely related dialects (Babel et al., to appear). Most data comes from my own fieldwork on the Mono Lake variety, spoken at Mono Lake in eastern California and immediately to the north in Bridgeport and Coleville, California and Sweetwater, Nevada. Additional data comes from the Burns, Oregon variety (Thornes 2003). For all dialects of Northern Paiute, there are probably no more than 300 fluent speakers today (Golla 2011:174), and for the Mono Lake dialect, there are around five speakers.

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Abbreviations

ACC = accusative, ADV = adverbial suffix, APPL = applicative, CAUS = causative, COMPL = completed, DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, DIM = diminutive, DL = dual, DS = different subject, DUR = durative, EMPH = emphatic particle, EXCL = exclusive, F = feminine, FUT = future, GEN = genitive, IMPF = imperfective, INCEP = inceptive, INCH = inchoative, INCL = inclusive, IND = free choice indefinite, INSTR = instrumental nominalizer, INT = intensive, IP = instrumental prefix, IRR = irrealis, LOC = locative postposition, M = masculine, MOD = modal particle, MOT = motion suffix, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, SIM = nominalizer, NSP = nonspecific object, PASS = passive, PERF = perfect, PL = plural, PRO = resumptive pronoun, PLUR = pluractional, PRS = present tense, PTC = discourse particle, QUOT = quotative, REFL = possessive anaphor, SEQ = sequential marker, SG = singular, STAT = stative aspect, TNS = ‘general tense’ (Thornes 2003:398)

Appendix: Asyndetic coordination and subordination

Asyndetic coordination is found in most — if not all — languages of the world (Haspelmath 2007:7). So it is perhaps not too surprising that clauses can be combined in this way outside of clause chains in Northern Paiute.

- (36) Nii woi-hu, su=naatsi'i nadawane-hu.
 1SG.NOM yell-PUNC DEF.NOM=boy jump-PUNC
 ‘I yelled; the boy jumped.’ (elicitation, MS, BP40-1-s, 2)

On the other hand, asyndetic subordination is less familiar. But it, too, is found in Northern Paiute outside of clause chaining. When two clauses are juxtaposed without the simultaneous suffix *-na* or the sequential suffix *-si*, the subject is able to bear either nominative case (36) or accusative case (37).

- (37) I=woi-hu, su=naatsi'i nadaggwane.
 1SG.ACC=yell-PUNC DEF.NOM=boy jump
 ‘I yelled; the boy jumped.’ (elicitation, MS, BP40-1-s, 4)

This case distinction correlates with the three syntactic properties that distinguish coordination and subordination:

1. The clause with the accusative subject is c-commanded by material in the other clause, regardless of whether it precedes or follows.

- (38) a. * [Su=nana₁ kai pisa i'wi], [tiitsi-'yu ti=1ddua nadaggwane-dui].
 DEF.NOM=man NEG good sleep.DUR little-NOM REFL=son jump-INT
 Intended: ‘The man₁ can't sleep well; his₁ little son is jumping up and down.’ (elicitation, EM, BP41-4, 17:55)

- b. * [Tiitsi-'yu ti=1ddoogga wohi-'yu], [su=naatsi'i₁ kai i'wi].
 little-NOM REFL=dog bark-PRS DEF.NOM=boy NEG sleep.DUR
 Intended: ‘His₁ little dog is barking; the boy₁ can't sleep.’ (elicitation, EM, BP41-4, 11:29)

- (39) a. [Su=nana₁ kai i'wi], [tiitsi-ggu ti=1ddua nadaggwane]].
 DEF.NOM=man NEG sleep.DUR little-ACC REFL=son jump
 ‘The man₁ can't sleep; his₁ little son is jumping up and down.’ (elicitation, MS, BP41-4-s, 2)

- b. [[Ka=tiitsi-ggu ti=1ddogga wohi], su=naatsi'i₁ kai i'wi].
 DEF.ACC=little-NOM REFL=dog bark DEF.NOM=boy NEG sleep.DUR
 ‘His₁ little dog is barking; the boy₁ can't sleep.’ (elicitation, EM, BP41-4, 14:19)

2. Cataphoric reference is possible when the subject bears accusative case.

- (40) a. * [Usu nadaggwane-hu], [su=naatsi'i paa'a-we habi-hu].
 3SG.NOM jump-PUNC DEF.NOM=boy water-LOC lie-PUNC
 Intended: ‘He₁ jumped; the boy₁ fell into the water.’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-2, 2:59)
 [EM: “Sound like there's two person there. *Usu*, you know, you say, *usu*.”]

- b. [[U=1yaka-dui], su=naatsi'i₁ yaisi iwi-huka].
 3SG.ACC=cry.DUR-INT DEF.NOM=boy PTC sleep-INCH.DUR
 ‘He₁ kept on crying; the boy₁ fell asleep.’ (elicitation, EM, BP41-1, 1:14:30)

3. Across-the-board movement is not possible when the subject bears accusative case, but is with nominative case.

- (41) a. Himma₁ [nii t₁ tika-hu], [yaisi su=naatsi'i=bino'o t₁ tika-hu]?
 what 1SG.NOM eat-PUNC PTC DEF.NOM=boy=PTC eat-PUNC
 ‘What did I eat, and the boy ate, too?’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-1-s, 10)

- b. * Himma₁ [[t₁ i=dika-hu], yaisi su=naatsi'i=bino'o t₁ tika-hu]?
 what 1SG.ACC=eat-PUNC PTC DEF.NOM=boy=PTC eat-PUNC
 Intended: ‘What did I eat, and the boy ate, too?’ (elicitation, EM, BP40-1, 31:27)

Even clausal juxtaposition in Northern Paiute has two distinct syntactic structures — asyndetic coordination and asyndetic subordination, cf. Otomi (Palancar 2012) and Shona (Güldemann 2005).

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