

## Ordinary Insubordination as Transient Discourse

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Insubordination - the conventionalized use of morphologically non-finite forms as finite ones - is an ordinary syntactic event in synchronic spontaneous discourse; it is also an ordinary stage of the grammaticalization of non-finite clauses as finite ones. This paper explores the morphosyntactic typology of insubordination and its ontogeny in Inner Asian Turko-Mongolic languages. In so doing, I hope to clarify criterial features of insubordination. I also consider whether insubordination is a transient phenomenon as part of a larger process of grammaticalization.

Inner Asian Turko-Mongolic insubordination occurs in crosslinguistically typical if-clauses, but it also occurs in several other morphologically nonfinite contexts such as purposive clauses (e.g. Uyghur ...*učun* 'in order to...'), imperfective clauses (e.g. Southeastern Monguor ...*bari-ji* 'taking...'), and even a locative NP (Uyghur *xizmet-te* 'at your service (lit. work-LOC)'). I first survey the range of conventionalized insubordinate readings of such non-finites in a half dozen modern Turko-Mongol languages. Turning to their ontogeny, I then show how contemporary examples of candidate utterances for insubordination often originate as co-constructed utterances in discourse.

The grammaticalization of nonfinite clauses as finite ones is a well-established phenomenon in Turkic and Mongolic (cf. Robeets 2009). Looking at clause length, frequency, and recoverability of semantic content, some conventionalized examples of insubordination (for example the Monguor imperfective clauses with *-ji* above) are losing an insubordination reading and becoming grammaticalized as finite utterances. If insubordination criterially entails semantic and grammatical elision (as Evans 2007:370-376 implies), we may wish to exclude these types. But if insubordination is viewed as a short-term, discourse-based and fundamentally transient phenomenon, then Monguor imperfective nonfinites would be seen as "mature" examples of insubordination, about to lose their status as such. Social and regional variation and even language contact contribute to the introduction of new candidates for insubordination (such as Uyghur *xizmette*, which is a contact-induced innovation), as well as for their loss.

### References.

- Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In Irina Nikolaeva, ed. *Finiteness. Theoretical and empirical foundations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 366-431.
- Robeets, Martine. 2009. Insubordination in Altaic. *Voprosy Filologii* 1: 61-79.