Clause chaining and nominalization in Tarahumara: Towards a diachronic source of clausal nominalizing suffixes

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Clause-chaining is a universal functional category with structural-typological diversity (T. Givón p.c.)

1. Introduction
In many languages of the world nominalizing suffixes have been a diachronic source of tense-aspect-mood suffixes (Bybee et al. 1994; Gildea 2008); this is also observed in Tarahumara. Nominalizing suffixes that occur in verbal complement clauses derived from main lexical verbs, e.g. verbs of ‘want’, ‘wish’, or ‘desire’ may evolve into future markers according to Heine & Kuteva (2002: 310). The exact nature of how this kind of change proceeds in different languages, and which are the different sources of the tense-aspect-mood suffixes remains almost unexplored in languages of northwest Mexico, most of all because these languages have no written tradition, and the lack of that kind of material sometimes obscures the source of such suffixes. However the study of spontaneous discourse material can provide good evidences for a diachronic account.

Long sequences of foreground clauses or sequential event clauses are characteristic of clause chaining (Dooley 2010:90) where the most important property of such sequences is the presence of switch-reference markers. Moreover, Overall (2014: 314) defines clause chaining as a “multi-clausal construction consisting of one or more dependent clauses associated with a single finite clause.” This paper considers the diachronic source of some aspect suffixes in Tarahumara, a Uto-Aztecan language from northwest Mexico as the result of nominalizing suffixes that are observed in complement clauses as well as in clause chaining. The analysis argues that clause chaining in Tarahumara makes use of other operators —nominalizing suffixes— rather than switch-reference markers, which seem to be lost in this language and that the Tarahumara syntactic nominalizing suffixes are: -ame, -ya ~ -a, -ka, -i -cho; we attempt to identify the diachronic source of such suffixes.

2. Discourse strategies and their social basis
Clause chaining is a common mechanism for the organization of clause sequences at the discourse level in Tarahumara. Long sequences of clauses are the result of rhetorical strategies, which are characteristic of the nawesari, the sermons of the siriame, the authorities.

➤ The siriame ‘the one who is the chief’ is a central figure within the Tarahumaras’ social order. They are the traditional authorities for every important event in the
Tarahumara lives. One of their main duties is to gather people from different communities and to talk to them about the current problems they are dealing with.

- The *siriames*, who are from different communities, express their thoughts in a ritual act where each *siriam* takes a turn and elaborates a sermon organized in multiple series of clauses.

- The *nawesari* ‘the act of explaining’, ‘the act of advising’ is the traditional name given to the sermons that the *siriam* addresses to the Tarahumaras.

- The rhetorical style of the *nawesari* is traditionally considered exclusive of the *siriam*. It is constructed by following the next pattern: (i) it is divided in well-recognizable temporal prosodic units, (ii) it is organized based on rhythmic contours which are accomplished by the combination of different elements: prosodic delimitative particles, connectives, hesitative/evidential particles and most of all, rhythmic changes of word order, and (iii) it is supported by different mechanisms of clause chaining (e.g., juxtaposition, coordination, and subordination) where the limits between clauses are blurred and clauses easily overlap.

3. Aims of this talk

i. To show that clause chaining makes use of different mechanisms available for clause linking: juxtaposition, coordination, subordination, verbal serializations, morphologically complex verbs and nominalizations.

ii. To show that nominalizing suffixes that occur in dependent clauses are now used as aspect markers in main clauses.

iii. To corroborate that such suffixes are still productive in other Taracahitan languages: Guarijio or Yaqui.

4. Speakers and their language

4.1 *The Tarahumara (Rarámuri)*

- Tarahumara, also known as Rarámuri Ra’ícha, is a Uto-Aztecan language belonging to the Tara-Cahitan branch. It is spoken in Northwest Mexico by around 85,300 people (INEGI 2010).

- The Tarahumara together with other native groups inhabit the Sierra Madre.

- Five distinct varieties of Tarahumara have been traditionally recognized: southwest, north, central, southeast and lowland. Central and lowland varieties include the majority of speakers (Burgess and Merrill 1995, Gordon 2005, Paciotto 1996, and Valiñas 1992).

4.2 Relevant morphosyntactic properties

- Agglutinating morphology is quite productive although the inventory is not extensive. According to Caballero (2008:129), the Tarahumara spoken in Choquita (north-central) has a complex verbal template with up to 12 verbal slots.

- Head-Marking tendency in most phrase levels (e.g., possessive noun phrase)
• Unmarked nouns, adjectives and determiners regarding grammatical relations or agreement.
• Verbs remain the same for all persons, except for a reduced set of verbs sensitive to number (i.e., number-based suppletive forms).
• Nominative-Accusative alignment in transitive clauses; primary-secondary object in ditransitive (Caballero 2002). Such alignments are encoded primarily by sets of pronouns distinguishing subject and non-subject forms.
• Tarahumara is predominantly an SOV/APV language for which a free word order tendency has been claimed (Copeland 1988). On the other hand, the most frequent orders are: APV, AVP, PVA and with less occurrences: VPA, VAP and PAV (Cohen 1998).
• Verbal morphology distinguishing aspect and modality: perfective -ri ~ -li, prospective/irrealis -ma ~ -mea, exhortative -bo, continuous -ka and conditional -sa.

4.2.1 System of personal pronouns

➢ Tarahumara is a two-forms language (1st and 2nd person pronouns)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Independent subject pronouns</th>
<th>Reduced subject pronouns</th>
<th>Object pronouns (non-subject)</th>
<th>Possessive pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>nejé</td>
<td>ne ~ na</td>
<td>tami, =ni</td>
<td>kiné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>mujé</td>
<td>mu ~ mi</td>
<td>=mi ~ =mu</td>
<td>kimú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>tamujé ~ tamué</td>
<td>ta ~ ti</td>
<td>tamó ~ ta</td>
<td>kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yemi ~ tumujé</td>
<td>tumu</td>
<td>tamú ~ mu tumujé mi</td>
<td>kitumu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

➢ The only instance of a third person encoded by a pronoun is 3SG.POSS, which uses the pronoun kipu. However, possessive pronouns are being displaced by subject pronouns.
➢ Third person is encoded by the invariable demonstrative échi, which functions as a third person subject pronoun in (1a), or as a determiner in (1b).

(1) échi bilá ko échi riká wil-i-li
DEM CERT TOP DEM EVI be_vertical-PFV
échi choki-chí je’ná kine kompaňero kó
DEM beginning-LOC DEM:PROX 1SG.POSS partner TOP
‘So this is how he was / at the beginning… my partner.’ [tra24]

1 The corpus of this paper has been documented by Estrada’s fieldwork sessions during 2011-2014 on Central Tarahumara from Pahuirachi and Norogachi.
2 Typology provided by Bhat (2004).
- Échi remains the same in a non-subject (object) function, as shown in (2):

(2) tamujé échi rewá-li rapakó ralinéilia-chi
    1PL.S 3p see-PFV yesterday market-LOC
    ‘We saw him/them at the market yesterday.’

- Échi can be omitted when the referent is easily recoverable:

(3) nejé rewá-ki rapakó ralinéilia-chi
    1SG.S see-PFV yesterday market-LOC
    ‘I saw (him/her/them) at the market yesterday.’

5. Clause types and morphosyntactic strategies for clause-linking in Tarahumara

5.1 Preferred clause order

Word order between main clause and dependent clause varies, but the preferred order is dependent clause final:

- Main clause + dependent clause

(4) échi ki belá járo ba napa-wi-ka… mápu...
    DEM TOP CERT other PDP gather-IMPR-CONT SUB
    mapu-a’rí oma-wá-ria ko
    SUB-SIM celebrate-IMPR-APPL TOP
    ‘Well, all of them get together when… when the celebrations take place.’ [tra106]

(5) échi Clarisa retéma-ra a’ niwi biré kári a mi sierra-chi
    DEM Clarisa family-POSS AFF have one house DEM highland-LOC
    mapu-a’rí simí-a ichá-ya.
    SUB-SIM go-HAB sow-CONT
    ‘Clarisa’s family has a house at the highlands to go when sowing.’

- Dependent clause + main clause

(6) nari, mapu-a’rí nari biléana eperé-lu-wa ko
    UNC SUB-SIM UNC INDEF dwell.PL-PFV-IMPR TOP
    biléana comunidad-chi ané-lí-wa
    INDEF village-LOC say-PFV-IMPR
    ‘Well… when someone lives in a place it is called comunidad.’ [tra2]
5.2 *Juxtaposition*

(7) mapu-ā’ri oma-wá-li-achi,  
SUB-SIM celebrate-IMPR-PFV-EVI

nari nikú’ura chukú-li la usáni bamíbali  
UNC help AUX-PFV good six year

‘When the traditional festivities were celebrated/ (my husband) was helping for six years.’ [tra21]

5.3 *Syndetic and asyndetic coordination (conjunction a’ri ‘and’)*

(8) rutubúli ko a’ bilá ko awí-wa ba  
rutubuli TOP AFF CERT TOP dance-IMPR PDP

biti-chí ayé ki…  
dwell-LOC walk_around TOP

‘The rutubuli is then danced (when we) are at (our) home…’ [yum4]

(9) a’rí ko échi kochí wirísi-ri,  
CONJ TOP DEM dog stand_up-PFV

a’rí chóta-ri échi músa neká-mia.  
CONJ start-PFV DEM cat bark-PURP

‘And then the dog stood up and started to bark to the cat.’

(10) a’rí mapu-ā’ri ta na’í navá-re jena’i rikáa-chi sierra-chi,  
CONJ SUB-SIM 1PL.S here arrive-PFV here side-LOC mountains-LOC

’a ta simí-ri-re a’rí ta a’rí buyé  
AFF 1PL.S walk-CAUS-PFV CONJ 1PL.S CONJ wait_for

a’rí ta ripí-ri mapu-’oná ta ba’óri-ri.  
CONJ 1PL.S stay-PFV SUB-LOC 1PL.S like-PFV

‘Thus when we reached here, at this part of the mountains, we walked, and we waited (a while), and (then) we stayed where (at the place) we liked.’

(11) mapu-ā’ri chóta-ri bacháwa-ra ukí wichí-ya  
SUB-SIM start-PFV first-POSS rains fall-NMLZ

Pedro simí-re iwé-chi  
Pedro go-PFV field-LOC

a’rí karéwi-ri échi iwé kiti ichi-méa sunú.  
CONJ weed_out-PFV DEM field PURP sow-IRR corn
‘When the first rains started to fall down, Pedro went to the field and weed it out in order to sow corn.’

(12) 
mapu-a’rí bile rarámuri o mukí
SUB-SIM one Tarahumara or woman
échi bilé chibito kasi-la naré-sa
DEM one goat leg-POSS receive-COND
‘When a Tarahumara (man) or a woman receives the leg of a kid goat…’ [yum34]

5.3 Adverbial clauses: temporal, cause/reason, conditionals and purpose and final clauses

According to Dooley (2010) temporal relations are commonly inferred rather than encoded in clause chaining. In Tarahumara the use of a compound subordinator (e.g., mapua’rí) or conjunction conveys temporal relations (e.g., sequential or causal).

(13) mapu-a’rí suini-ri ko’á Juán ku-simi-ri échi kuárto-chi
SUB-SIM finish-PFV eat.NMLZ John REV-go-PFV DET room-LOC
‘When (he) finished eating, John went to the bedroom.’ (temporal)

(14) kíti a’ machi-ká siro-li jápótu-ame ko
SUB AFF know-ST AUX:MV-PFV DEM baptize-NMLZ TOP
‘That’s why the baptized people know this well…’ [tra113] (reason)

(15) mápu ya ni... ju na jurá-ma échi uki ki…
SUB [false_start] LOC send-IRR DET rain TOP
‘In order to se… to send the rain.’ [yum28] (purpose)

(16) ayéna-cho newá ko’-w-ámi be’á…
AFF:still make.IMPF eat-IMPR-NMLZ early
‘Early also (the woman) makes food…’ [rwd11]

mapu kite ko’á-ma kipi kúchu-wa
SUB SUB eat-IRR 3SG.POSS children-POSS
‘… so that her children eat.’ [rwd12] (purpose)

(17) kíti alá já-ma échi namúti ichi-rú-ame…
SUB fine be_standing-IRR DET thing sew-PASS-NMLZ
‘So (they) are all right, the things that have been sown.’ [yum29] (finality)

➢ Adverbial conditional clauses can have only the suffix -sa on the verb, or both the suffix and the conjunction mapu-arí.

(18) ayéna wakiche-a willí-sa…
also dry_up-NMLZ be-vertical-COND
‘Also, if it (the corn plant) is growing weak…’ [yum26] (conditional)
(19) mapu-a’ri tenáanchi rika’áchi já’-sa
    SUB-SIM    tenáanchi once    put-COND
échina biléana comunidad-chi
DEM    INDEF    comunidad-LOC
‘When (someone) is chosen as a tenanchi in a village.’ [yum32] (conditional)

5.4 Verbal complement clauses

- Embedded (20) and adjunct verbal complements (21) are nominalized clauses:

(20) a. nejé [ krí-chi simé-ya ] natá’-ri.
    1SG.S    Creel-LOC    go-NMLZ    think-PFV
‘I thought going/traveling to Creel.’

    b. ayéna siné ka’áchi ’a [ wikaná ]
    also some_times AFF    bring.
    bilá nula-li-wa échi remé ke…
    CERT    make-PFV-IMPR    DET    tortilla    TOP
‘Also sometimes somebody is made to bring tortillas…’ [yum133]

(21) a. kin mari tamí bené-ri-ri [ ku rapaná ]
    1SG.POSS    father 1SG.NS    learn-CAUS-PFV    firewood    cut.NMLZ
‘My father taught me to cut firewood.’

    b. nejé bené-ri [ kina kuch-wa wéria ]
    1SG.S    learn-PFV    1SG.POSS    children-POSS    raise_children.NMLZ
‘I learned to take care of my children.

- Verbal complements introduced by the subordinator mápu or other subordinator are marked for either aspect or mood, which does not necessarily match the main verb tense:

(22) a. ne mayé-(r)i [ mápu towí rajá-ri ]
    1SG.S    believe-PFV    SUB    child    burn-PFV
‘I thought that the boy burnt.’

    b. nejé mayé [ mápu na ku-sim-méa ]
    1SG.S    believe.IMPF    SUB    LOC    REV-go-IRR
‘I think that I will go back there.’

5.5 Morphologically complex verbs

(23) kuri ne néwa-niri mápu mu simí-re
    recently 1SG.S    do-DES    SUB    2SG.S    go-PFV
‘I just wanted to do it and you probably had left.’
(24) ne mayè mápu towi kóchi-nari
1SG.S believe.IMPF SUB child sleep-DES
‘I believe that the boy wants to sleep.’

(25) ayéna bela échi riká kuwa-níwa bilé rutubúli ba nibí
AFF CERT this.way finish-make one rutubuli PDP EXCL
‘Thus, in this way, (the organizer) makes finish the rutubuli.’ [yum212]

6. Clause chaining in Tarahumara

According to Overall (2014: 314) clause chaining is a “multi-clausal construction consisting of one or more dependent clauses associated with a single finite clause.”

In a similar line of thought, Dooley (2010: 3) point out what he considers a main characteristic of clause chaining: “the possibility of long sequences of foreground clauses with operator dependence”. Such operator is a switch-reference marker.

• Carlson (1994: 597-598) considers clause chaining to be a “distinctive system” where the first clause within the narrative text encodes or “sets the tense-aspect stage”. The following clauses make use of a “narrative tense” and include a “narrative conjunction.”

• Givón (2001: 355): “the term clause chaining itself, due to Longacre (1983, 1985), was taken initially as a suggestion that a radically different system of clause-combining existed, one in which the traditional distinction between subordinate and coordinate was either irrelevant or superseded.”

Prototypical properties of clause chaining languages

➢ Examples in parentheses illustrate what has been attested in Tarahumara:

a. Sequences of dependent clauses (3 ~ 5 clauses), most of them temporal.
b. Clausal connectives –simple and complex– at initial position, e.g., mapu-a’ri, mapu-riká, etc. (cf. section 5.2 and 5.3) (e.g., 9-19).
c. Cataphoric reference, (e.g., 26 and 27)
d. Medial clauses: unmarked or neutral bare verbal stems + ba ‘DPD’ or ki ~ ko ‘TOP’, (e.g., 28 and 34).
e. Nominalizing suffixes: -a, -chi ~ -cho, -na, -ka, (e.g., 29-45).
f. Tarahumara from Norogachi and Pahuirachi lacks switch-referent markers.3

6.1 Clause chaining particles

Clause-chaining is accomplished by a set of discursive particles conveying: location na, hesitation nari, certainty bila, evidentiality rika ~ reke, assertion a’, emphasis or topic marker ko, and focus iyera. Prosodic units are delimited by ba ~ pa or by clausal connectives; in particular: mapu, mapua’ri, a’ri, échi reké.

6.2 Rhythm supporting particles (prosodic delimitative particle)

ba ~ pa
ko ~ ku

6.3 Cataphoric reference

According to Haspelmath (1995: 12-17) cataphoric reference is a situation where a pronoun can appear within the first clause and “whose ‘antecedent’ is in the second clause (as in): After he stumbled, John fell.” Cataphoric reference is according to Dooley (2010) a characteristic property of clause chaining. As for clause chaining in Tarahumara, the first clause may show no overt pronoun, as an instance of zero anaphora. The first example in (26) illustrates a case of cataphoric reference: within the first clause no grammatical element makes reference to échi wikará-amé ‘the singer’, which occurs until the second clause.

(26) kilii ko tamí nul-é ba
calm TOP 1PL.OBJ order-IPFV PDP
échi wikará-amé belá a’ nawésa ba
DEM sing-NMLZ CERT AFF preach PDP
‘(He) demand us to keep calm…the singer, who is delivering a sermon.’[yum222]

➢ The following chain is another example of cataphoric reference. The first clause encodes a demonstrative échi whose antecedent occurs in the second clause:

(27) ayéna-cho nawésa échi
AFF-still preach DEM
mápu chóta-li-cho la échi rutubúli ba nibí
SUB start-PPV-NMLZ EVI DET Rutubuli PDP EXCL
‘Thus delivers a sermon that one, the only (one who) started the Rutubuli, huh…’ [yum225]
6.4 Clause chaining, medial verb in neutral basic form

(28) ayéna-cho sine ka’achi a’ awi=bá biré rutubúlii
AFF-still sometimes AFF dance=PDP one rutubuli
‘So sometimes the rutubuli is danced as well.’ [yum31]

cf. Underlined verbs in (34).

7. Nominalization strategies in Tarahumara and their diachronic source

7.1 The nominalizing suffixes

Tarahumara makes use of several nominalizing suffixes -ame, -ya ~ -a, -ka, -cho. Each one of them has grammaticalized different functional domains.

A. -ame is a fairly productive derivative nominalizing suffix. Clausal nominalization by using the suffix -ame is not attested in Tarahumara, while it is observed in Guarijio and Yaqui. Its diachronic source is unknown. This is the oldest nominalizing suffix, and for that reason its function is restricted, in general, to derive nouns (agentive and patientive nominalizations) out of verbs (i.e., deverbal nouns).

(29) iyé bené-ri-ri [ ko’wá-ame newa-yá ]
mother learn-CAUS-PFV eat-NMLZ prepare-NMLZ
kipu rará.
3.SG.POSS daughter
‘The mother taught her daughter to prepare meals.’

(30) tani-wa la [ panina beté-ami ] bá…
ask-IMPR REP up_there dwell-NMLZ PDP
‘It is said that they ask to the one who lives up there (on the top)…’ [yum27]

However, it is still possible to find a headless relative construction modifying a locative NP, although it is rare:

(31) échi namúti kawi-chí jáw-ami
DEM thing land-LOC be_standing-NMLZ
‘(All) the things that are on (our) land.’ [tf15]

B. -ya ~ -a suffixes: they nominalize verbal complements. A verb bearing one of these suffixes can be considered the nominal form of the verb. The suffix -ya and its shorter allomorph have been grammaticalized from the verb ayeto ‘to be in a place’

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4 Rutubuli is the name of the dance that the Tarahumara perform to celebrate the Yumari ‘the celebration of the crop.’
During the grammaticalization process, the verb erodes its form and occurs attached to a verb that functions as a noun. -ya is used after a verb ending in a vowel /a/ or /e/, and its allomorph after any other vowel.

(32) échi muni iyéri napó-a
DET beans FOC weed-NMLZ
‘Weeding the bean-plants’ [rwd19]

(33) échi riká birá ko biléana rutubúri-chi
DET EVI CERT TOP INDEF rutuburi-LOC
ku machinery la ba échi rejói…
again appear.NMLZ REP PDP DEM man
‘So this is exactly the way they say the man comes back in a rutubuli …’[yum35]

(34) kilípi nirá béla machi-rú-ame nili jépuna José Antonio ko
slowly exist CERT know-PASS-NMLZ feel DEM:DIST José Antonio TOP
mápu chú-riká kúira chukú-li a’ kípi retéma-la
SUB what-EVI help.NMLZ AUX-PFV AFF 3SG.POSS people-POSS
‘A feeling for the known person appeared, for that Jose Antonio…how he was helping his people…’ [tra115]

The following examples illustrate the context where -ya, in (35-36), or -a, in (37-39), occur; that is, -ya after vowel /a/, and -a after any other sound.

(35) rapakó=ne suiní-li ichá-ya
yesterday=1SG.S finish-PFV sow-NMLZ
‘I finished sowing yesterday.’ [arch296]

(36) biré mukí ’a chukú sakí newa-ýá,
one woman AFF AUX pinole make-NMLZ
‘A woman is (standing) making pinole.’ (rwd7)

(37) bilé mukí ko biré rawé nári wiká nátame nótsa
one woman TOP uno día UNC many way work.NMLZ
‘A woman comes to work on many different things… in a single day.’

(38) ’a chukú remé-a be’á asísi-ka,
AFF AUX tortilla-NMLZ early get_up-CONT
‘(She) is making tortillas early (in the morning).’

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5 Several of the lexical elements considered in this section were taken from Thord-Gray (1955).
6 By ‘the man’ the narrator makes reference to the tenanchi, the responsible for the ceremony.
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(39) napíwili batú'-a
corn_grain grind- NMLZ
‘(she is) grinding processed corn.’ (rwd8)

A cognate form of the nominalizing suffix -a, has also been attested in Guaríjio:

(40) a. Hustína nawése-re owitiame cuhcúri ki’ki-ri-a.
Agustína talk-PFV woman dog bite-PFV-NMLZ
‘Agustína talked to the woman whom the dog bit.’ (Félix 2007: 83)

b. ki=kawé intá-ni-ni-a tapaná amó yowá-ri-a.
neg=weak agree-PRS-1SG-S=EMPH yesterday 2SG.NS make-PFV-NMLZ
‘I frown upon what you did yesterday.’ (Félix 2007: 161)

C. -ka stative (continuous), also nominalizes verbs in complements of manner. Unlike other Uto-Aztecan languages from the area, there is no verb kaat ‘stay’, ‘be placed’ in Tarahumara, as in Pima Bajo. However, the nominalizing (participle) suffix has been attested in Opata, Yaqui, Guaríjio, Pima Bajo as well as in Tarahumara. The suffix is used in complements of verbs of movement, or in resultative constructions. Its function is clear: it nominalizes verbs to mark a stative, either durative or continuous event or situation, including a property. The suffix qualifies to be called a converb also, as it occurs in Yaqui with the suffix -kai (-ka + -i, the last one another nominalizing suffix):

(41) a. ayéna bèla a... awi-ká ta ono-ká ba (manner)
also CERT danc… dance-ST 1PL.S make-ST PDP
échina biti-chí ayé ke
there dwell-LOC walk_around TOP
‘So this is the way it is danced, we do it, (when) (we) are at home…’ [yum4]

b. échi bilá biré échi sili-ame iséli-ka mi bikía ju
DET CERT one DET be_chief-NMLZ divide-ST LOC three COP
‘So this (system) is divided into three governors…’ [tra9]

D. -i, according to Thorn-Gray (1955: 191) this suffix means ‘here’, ‘in this place’. Its origin was probably a verb. Hilton (1993:39) registers the verb iyéna ‘to walk around’ which first syllable could be another source for this nominalizing suffix. In data from Tarahumara, this suffix nominalizes verbs when they occur in adverbial clauses:

(42) a. napári ke cho narú-i ko sekundári ba
when NEG still exist-NMLZ TOP secondary_school PDP
‘When there was not a secondary yet…’ (Caballero 2008:430)
b. échi ke uméro-ri ra’icha échi yúa
DEM NEG be_able-PFV speak.NMLZ DEM COM
mapu-a’rí échi nará-i
SUB-SIM DEM cry-NMLZ
‘They could not talk to her while she (was) crying.’ [adv1as24]

c. Fransiska isábu-i mapu-a’rí mujé nótsa-i⁷
F. rest-IPFV SUB-SIM 2SG.S work-NMLZ
‘Francisca (was) resting while you (were) working.’ [adv1as27]

E. -cho, probably grammaticalized from the verb chogi ‘to be very near a thing’ (Sp. por poco), or ‘to shoot at a target (Sp. tirar al blanco-flechar [atinar] Thord-Gray (1955:133). This verb grammaticalized into the adverb cho(pi) ‘only, solely, alone’, which consequently became the nominalizing suffix -cho. When it is used as a nominalizing suffix, it functions as an Aktionsart accomplishment suffix, where the event is perceived as unique.

(43) mápu-riká nócha-cho échi muní iyéri.
SUB- EVI work-NMLZ DET bean FOC
‘So this way, (we are) only working on the beans.’

(44) reyáwi bone-yá nócha-cho.
herbs weed-NMLZ work-NMLZ
‘Working only weeding out the herbs.’

(45) ayéna-cho nawésa échi
AFF-still preach DEM
mápu chóta-li-cho la échi rutubúli ba nibí
SUB start-PFV-NMLZ EVI DET Rutubuli PDP EXCL
‘Thus delivers a sermon that one, the only one (who can start the Rutubuli), huh…” [yum225]

8. Final remarks

- Clause chaining in Tarahumara makes use of different mechanisms: juxtaposition, coordination, subordination, verbal serializations, morphologically complex verbs and nominalizations. All such resources not only build a coherent discourse but also control the information flow.
- Simple and complex connectives as well as verbal nominalizations are the most relevant properties of clause chaining in Tarahumara.
- Cataphoric reference is also an important property of clause chaining regarding this head-final language.

⁷ Observe that the nominalizing suffix is also coding imperfective aspect on the main verb.
Subject continuity or discontinuity is not overtly marked in Tarahumara (anaphora zero).

Nominalizations in Tarahumara use the suffixes: -ame, -ya~a, -ka, -i and -cho.

As expected, nominalizing suffixes have positional verbs as their diachronic source: -ya < (‘to be in a place’), -ka < (‘to stay’ / ‘to keep/save’); -i < (‘here’) < (‘to walk around’), -cho < (‘to be close to s.t.’)

The suffix -ame remains unclear regarding its diachronic source, although its use is restricted to derive agentive nouns.

Abbreviations
1, 2, 3, first, second, third person, AFF affirmative, APPL applicative, AUX auxiliary, CAUS causative, CAUSE cause, CERT certainty, COP copula, COND conditional, CONJ conjunction, CONT continuous, DEM demonstrative, DET determiner, EVI evidential, EXCL exclamative interjection, HAB habitual, INDEF indefinite, IPFV imperfective, IMPR impersonal, INT intensive, IRR irrealis, LOC locative, MANN manner, NS non subject (object), NMLZ nominalizer, PASS passive, PDP prosodic delimitative particle, PFV perfective, POSS possessive, PROX proximate, PURP purposive REP reportative, S subject, SIM simultaneous, ST stative, SUB subordinator, TOP topic, UNC uncertainty.

References


