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Nominalisation: subjunction and main predication¹

Abstract

In Amerindian languages and in many other agglutinative languages subordination is often a matter of nominalisation. In these languages subordinate clauses can be formed by means of nominalised verb forms. In Cholón, a language spoken in North-Peru, this is certainly the case: nominalised forms coincide with subordinate clauses.

In the Cholón language, a nominalised verb form can also coincide with a main predicate. In this paper we study the different subordinate clauses that are formed with nominalisations. We then find out which nominalisations are part of a main predicate, and when this is the case.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to show that in Cholón² - an agglutinative North Peruvian SOV language with prefixes and suffixes – nominalised forms, correspond to subordinate clauses, and that a number of them can also correspond main predicates. Traditionally, subordination is considered to be “a construction in which two (or more) clauses are combined with each other in such way that one clause (the subordinate clause) is a constituent of the other (the main clause)” (Van Gijn, Haude & Muysken, 2011: 3). In Cholón, subordination is mainly a

¹ I would like to thank the editors of this volume for their corrections, remarks and questions, and I thank Willem Adelaar for his most useful comments and observations.

² Cholón belongs to a small language family, called Cholonan. Híbito is the other member. Both languages are extinct.

matter of nominalisation. The language has only one conjunction, the morpheme *-pit*, with which clauses can be co-ordinated. Co-ordinator *-pit* can also be used to express ‘concession’, when suffixed to an imperative or to a nominalised form. In addition to the conjunction *-pit*, the language has two subordinators at his disposal: the suffixes *-eč* ‘purposive’ and *-hu* ‘switch reference’, and one discourse marker: the morpheme *-(w)a* ‘topic’, to construct a subordinate clause. The subordinator *-eč* (not to be confounded with the nominaliser *-(e)č* ‘the fact that’) is used to form a purposive or a resultative clause; the morpheme *-hu* indicates that the subjects of the subordinate and the main clause are not the same person; the topic marker *-(w)a* can also be attached to nominalised forms and it can be employed to construct a conditional clause. In all other cases, including the cases in which the co-ordinator *-pit* and the topicaliser *-(w)a* are suffixed to a nominalised form, subordinate clauses are encoded in nominalised forms.

Nominalisations are verb forms with nominal properties. Like nouns they can be followed by case markers, and they can function as subjects, direct objects, nominal predicates, and modifiers. Nominalisations can be lexical and syntactical. Cholón nominalisations have rather a syntactic than a lexical status. Lexical nominalisations behave like ordinary nouns: they can be pluralised and receive case marking, but they cannot receive subject, object, tense and aspect marking. Cholón nominalised forms, on the other hand, have predominantly verbal properties. They can be marked for subject, object, tense, aspect and negation, but they cannot be pluralised. The only nominal property that they have, showing that the form at issue is a nominalisation after all, is the property of case marking. Syntactic nominalisations are in fact nominalised verb forms which can function as the head (nominalised predicate) of a subordinate clause. Cholón nominalisations can be characterised as ‘clauses in disguise’.

Although Cholón nominalisations cannot be pluralised, a number of them can be noun-like, or, rather, more noun phrase-like, such as the agentive nominalisations *a-kole-wuč* (1SG.OBJ-love-AG) ‘the one who loves me’ = ‘my lover’ and *tsap-uč* (3SG.OBJ.catch-AG) ‘the one who catches (fish)’ = ‘the catcher (of fish)’; the modifying nominalisation *ki-ϕ-čikno-ŋo* (1PL.A-3SG.OBJ-fear-FUT.NMLS2) ‘that what is having to be feared by us’ = ‘something frightening’ = ‘frightening’; the objective nominalisation *ϕ-tsamo-č* (3SG.A-3SG.OBJ.know-FAC) ‘the fact that he is knowing something’ = ‘wisdom’; and the state nominalisations *kot-uč* (be-AG) ‘the one who is’ = ‘a human being’ and *a-kot-lam* (1SG.SBJ-be-FUT.NMLS1) ‘my (future) existence’.

The difference between an English lexical nominalisation, such as ‘lover’, derived from the verb ‘love’, and a syntactic, noun phrase-like nominalisation in Cholón can be illustrated when we compare the lexical form mentioned above with syntactical, noun phrase-like Cholón forms. The canonical structure of the lexical construction is as follows: stem-NMLS(-PL)(-GEN). Syntactic, noun phrase-like nominalised forms can have the following structures in Cholón:

- (A-)OBJ-stem-NMLS when the stem is transitive;
- (A-)3SG.OBJ.stem-NMLS when a third person object is indicated by means of an initial stem alternation;
- (SBJ-)stem-NMLS when the stem is intransitive.

Besides being noun phrase-like, Cholón nominalisations can also be clause-like. Clause-like nominalisations can not only be marked for agent/ subject and object, like the noun phrase-like ones, they can also be marked for aspect, tense and negation, and they can be followed by case markers. Aspect and tense are only marked when the nominalising element is a demonstrative or the negation *-pits-o*. A clause-like construction may thus have the following structures:

- A-OBJ-stem-(aspect/ tense)-(NEG)NMLS(-CM) when the stem is transitive;
- A-3SG.OBJ.stem-(aspect/ tense)-(NEG)NMLS(-CM) when a third person object is indicated by means of an initial stem alternation;
- SBJ-stem/ 3SG.SBJ.stem-(aspect/ tense)-(NEG)NMLS(-CM) when the stem is intransitive.

The fact that Cholón nominalisations, occurring as the nucleus of subordinate clauses, can be marked for tense, aspect, and person agreement, somewhat goes counter to Cristofaro's 'Frequency Hierarchy' (Cristofaro 2003:289), according to which the lack of TAM distinction and of person agreement are the most frequent parameters for the morphosyntactic coding of subordination.

The concepts 'lexical nominalisation', 'agentive nominalisation', 'action nominalisation', 'syntactic nominalisation', 'noun phrase-like', 'clause-like', and 'clauses in disguise', come from Muysken 1999: 248-252. The Cholón examples are taken from Alexander-Bakkerus 2005 and 2011.

In this paper we first discuss the different kinds of nominalisations, whether or not followed by case markers, that coincide with a subordinate clause (Section 2). Section 3 focuses on the cases in which a nominalisation functions as the head of a main predicate. Section 4 closes the paper with some concluding remarks.

2. Nominalised subordinate clauses

The Cholón language has different morphemes that can nominalise a verb. All, except for the agentive suffix *-(w)uč*, can be followed by case markers. The nominalisations and the subordinate clauses formed without case marking are treated in section 2.1, those formed with case markers in section 2.2.

2.1 Nominalised subordinates formed without case markers

Cholón has the following nominalisers: *-(e)č* ‘factiviser’, *-(k)he* ‘simultaneity’, *-(k)te* ‘infinitive’, *-lam* ‘future nominaliser 1’, *-(n)ap* ‘sequence’, *-(ŋ)o* ‘future nominaliser 2’, *-(w)uč* ‘agentive’, and the negative nominalising suffixes *-pakna* and *-pits-o*. They are regularly attached to the verb stem, with the exception of the *-pits-o*, which is suffixed to a past tense marker. The suffix *-pits-o* consists of a negator *-pits* + the future nominaliser *-(ŋ)o*. (The negative element *-pits* is likely to be a merger of the derivational suffix *-p(e)*, used to form a negative stem, and the passiviser *-its*). The nominalisations formed with the factiviser *-(e)č* and the infinitive marker *-(k)te* are dealt with in section 2.1.1, those formed by the sequence marker *-(k)he* and the simultaneity marker *-(n)ap* are treated in section 2.1.2, and those constructed with the future nominalisers *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o*, and the negative nominalisers *-pakna* and *-pits-o* are discussed in section 2.1.3. Section 2.1.4 deals with the suffix *-(w)uč*. A table presenting an overview of the different types of subordinates constructed with the nominalisers *-(e)č*, *-(k)he*, *-(k)te*, *-lam*, *-(n)ap*, *-(ŋ)o*, *-pakna*, *-pits-o*, and *-wuč* can be found in section 2.1.5.

In addition to the nominalising morphemes mentioned, the language uses the deictics *ko* ‘this (one)’ and *in̄ko* ‘that (one)’ to nominalise finite (fully inflected) forms.³ Finite forms nominalised by *-in̄ko* are never case marked, those by *-ko* can be followed by the causal case marker *-(lak-)pat* ‘because’ and the ablative case marking combination *-man-ap*, connoting ‘instead of’, ‘(rather) than’. Nominalised finite forms ending in *-ko* and *-inko*, usually function as relative clauses:

<i>a-kt-aŋ-ko</i>	(1SG.SBJ-be-IPFV-DEM)	‘I who am’
<i>a-meŋo-w-in̄ko</i>	(1SG.A-3SG.OBJ.want-PST-DEM)	‘I who loved him’

³ The phenomenon of a demonstrative functioning as a nominaliser is not an extraordinary feature in Amerindian languages. In Jebero, for instance, the demonstrative *asu* ‘this (one)’ also has a nominalising function when used as a suffix after verb stems.

In this paper, I do not pay attention to the nominalising demonstratives *ko* and *iŋko*.

2.1.1. Nominalisations formed with *-(e)č* and *-(k)te*

Factiviser *-(e)č* (*-eč* after a consonant, *-č* after a vowel) expresses ‘the fact that’.

Constructions with *-(e)č* can function as a subject clause (1), a direct object clause (2), and causal clause (3):

- (1) *a-pšawo-č* *∅-patsa-ŋ*
 1SG.SBJ-spin-FAC 3S-take.all.day-IPFV
 ‘I spend the day spinning’
 (lit. ‘The fact that I am spinning takes the whole day’).

- (2) *a-pon-pat* *i-ŋa-č* *a-po-yč-iy*
 one-CLF:group-INS 3PL.SBJ-go-FAC 1SG.A-3PL.OBJ-see-PST
 ‘I saw them going in a troop’

- (3) *mitah-la-č* *či-po-šayč-aŋ*
 3SG.OBJ.miss-3PL.A-FAC 3PL.A-3PL.OBJ-whip-IPFV
 ‘They whip them, because they miss it.’

The nominalising suffix *-(k)te* ‘infinitive’ (*-kte* after a vowel and *-te* after a consonant) is frequently employed as a complementiser:

- (4) *a-ŋa-kte* *a-men-aŋ*
 1S-go-INF 1SG.A-3SG.OBJ.want-IPFV
 ‘I want to go.’

2.1.2. Nominalisations formed with *-(k)he* and *-(n)ap*

The meanings of the morphemes *-(k)he* (*-he* after a consonant and *-khe* after a vowel) ‘simultaneity’ and *-(n)ap* (*-ap* after a consonant and *-nap* after a vowel) ‘sequencial’ (‘after’) supplement each other: the simultaneity marker *-(k)he* indicates that the event expressed by the verb takes place simultaneously with the event expressed by another verb (5), whereas the sequence marker *-(n)ap* indicates that the event takes place before another event (6). The ending *-(k)he* corresponds to the ending *-ing* in English, and forms ending in *-(k)he* are in fact gerunds:

- (5) *an-tsel* *Phariseo* *Jesus* *mučaŋ i-l-o-w*,
 one-CLF:elongated Pharisee Jesus prayer 3SG.A-3SG.OBJ-do-PFV
 a-nek *mi-amo-ki-na* *ki-khe*
 1SG.POS-company 2SG.A-eat-IMP-QUOT say-SIM
 ‘A Pharisee prayed Jesus, saying: “Eat with me!”’

- (6) *elefante-wa* *a-tsel* *meč* *ŋan-te*
 elephant-TOP one-CLF:elongated tree face-AD
 pilmoh-no-nap *ϕ-ŋ-aŋ*
 lean.on-REFL-SEQ 3S-sleep-IPFV
 ‘The elephant sleeps rested on a tree’
 (lit. ‘The elephant sleeps after having leant against a tree’)

Forms ending in *-(k)he* and in *-(n)ap* have in common that they need not to be marked for person, when the subject of the verb to which they are suffixed is identical (co-referential) to that of the main verb, as in (5) and (6).

Nominalisations constructed with *-(k)he* may contain a subject clause (7), a direct object clause (8), a nominal predicate clause (9), and they can also have causal meaning (10):

- (7) *me-ʕt-iy* *mi-laš-iy* *te* *putam* *makhay*
 2SG.SBJ-weaken-PST 2SG.SBJ-lame-PST high village joy
 kuʕha-man *mi-esteh-he* *ašman* *ø-kot-an* [...]
 life-IN 2S-enter-SIM first 3S-be-IPFV
 ‘It is better for you to enter into paradise weak and lame [...].’

- (8) *paʕow* *me-kt-eč* *i-m-pas-an-sim*
 good 2S-be-PURP 3SG.A-2SG.OBJ-advise-IPFV-EMP
 mu-lu-poh-he-pits-o
 2SG.SBJ-interior-burn-SIM-NEG-FUT.NMLS2
 ‘He advises you, so that you will be good, not to abhor you.’

Note that the nominaliser *-(k)he* can be followed by another nominalising suffix, namely by the negator *-pits-o*, of which the first element *-pits* may be a merger of the derivational suffix *-p(e)*, used to form a negative stem, and the passiviser *-its*.

- (9) *ip-ta-pi* *ayča* *ʕup-he* *i-ton*
 two-CLF:stony-ALL meat eat-SIM 3PL.SBJ-be-IPFV
 ‘Both are eating meat.’

(10)	<i>pałow</i>	<i>kot-he</i>	<i>tsamoč</i>	<i>a-kot-t-aŋ</i>
	good	be-SIM	learned	1S-be-FUT-IPFV

‘Because I am good, I shall be learned.’

The sequence marker *-(n)ap* ‘after’ is employed to construct temporal clauses, see (6) above, and causal clauses:

(11)	<i>tsi-tu-p</i>	<i>ŋ-a-lo-y</i>	<i>ø-kot-nap</i>	<i>kama</i>
	rain-AD-ABL	3SG.A-1SG.OBJ-wet-PST	3S-be-SEQ	illness
	<i>a-ki-aŋ</i>			
	1S-be-IPFV			

‘I am ill, because the rain wet me.’

2.1.3. Nominalisations formed with *-lam*, *-(η)o*, *-pakna* and *-pits-o*

The nominalisers *-lam* ‘future nominalizer 1’ and *-(ŋ)o* ‘future nominalizer 2’ (*-ŋo* after a vowel, *-o* after a consonant) have the following features in common: (a), both *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o* refer to a future event and to an obligation or a possibility; (b), forms nominalised by *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o* are more noun phrase-like than clause-like: they can be used to derive a noun from a verb (see section 1), and, as nouns, they can modify a head noun and function as relative clauses (12a/b), and they can also function as subjects (13a/b), direct objects (14a/b), and nominal predicates (15a/b). This is in line with what Comrie and Thompson (1985: 393) remark about nominalisations: “It is commonplace that a nominalization can occur wherever a noun-phrase is called for. Thus, it is most natural for nominalizations to occur as subjects or objects [...]”.

Examples of a relative clause, a subject, a direct object and a nominal predicate clause coded by *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o* are as follows :

relative clause:

- (12a) *ki-tsel-pat* *ku-tup-lam* *pana*
 1PL.POS-foot-INS 1PL.SBJ-walk-FUT.NMLS1 road
 ‘the road which we have to walk by our feet’ = ‘a footpath’

- (12b) *u-k-kuŋha-weh-o* *tsukiow*
 3SG.A-1PL.OBJ-life-VB-FUT.NMLS2 medicine
 ‘a medicine which gives us life’ = ‘a vivifying medicine’

subject clause:

- (13a) *poho* *at-mol-e* *iglesia-te* *ki-ŋa-lam*
 morning one-CLF:day-ANT church-AD 1PL.SBJ-go-FUT.NMLS1
ø-pakt-aŋ
 3S-be-IPFV
 ‘The day after tomorrow we have to go to church.’

- (13b) *paŋow* *ki-kot-o* *ø-kot-aŋ*
 good 1PL.SBJ-be-FUT.NMLS2 3S-be-IPFV
 ‘We have to be good’

direct object clause:

- (14a) *mi-l-o-lam* *ohom-aŋ* *l-o-k*

2SG.A-3SG.OBJ-do-FUT.NMLS1 quick-ADV 3SG.OBJ-do-IMP

‘Do quickly what you have to do’

(14b) *ɟapɫoŋ* *i-l-o-ŋo* *ø-tsam-aŋ*
 pan 3SG.A-3SG.OBJ-do-FUT.NMLS2 3SG.SBJ-3SG.OBJ.know-IPFV
 ‘He knows [how] to make pans.’

nominal predicate clause:

(15a)	<i>ki-lʰa-lam</i>	<i>ke-kt-aŋ</i>
	1PL.SBJ-go-FUT.NMLS1	1PL.SBJ-be-IPFV
	‘We can go.’	

(15b) *mek hayu ki-kol-o ke-kt-an*
all men 1PL.SBJ-die-FUT.NMLS2 1PL.SBJ-be-IPFV
‘All men are mortal.’

The negative nominaliser *-pakna* occurs in nominalisations encoding a subject clause (16), and a nominal predicate clause (17):

(16) *into-n* *ki-l-o-pakna* *ø-kot-an*
 which-CMP 1PL.A-3SG.OBJ-do-NEG.NMLS 3S-be-IPFV
 ‘There is no remedy [for that].’ (= ‘It cannot be done by us’).

(17) *a-kot-pakna* *a-kt-an*
 1S-be-NEG.NMLS 1S-be-IPFV
 ‘I cannot be’

- Both negative nominalisers express ‘impossibility’, and both may have been derived from the negative derivational suffix *-p(e)*. The former may be a combination of *-p(e)*, an unidentified element *-ak-* and a nominalising element *-na*; the latter may be a combination of *-p(e)*, the derivational suffix *-its*, indicating a passive voice, and the nominalising morpheme *-(η)o*. However, notwithstanding these correspondences, *-pakna* and *-pits-o* differ in usage: *-pakna* directly follows the verb stem, and can be used to form a nominalised subject clause as well as a nominalised predicate clause, whereas *-pits-o* is preceded by a past tense marker, and is only used for the construction of a nominal predicate clause.

The suffix *-(w)uč*, *-uč* after a consonant and *-wuč* after a vowel, is an agentive marker, and indicates the one who performs the action. Nominalisations ending in *-(w)uč* differ from the other nominalised forms, in that, that they are never followed by a case marker, and that the subject or the agent of the verb is not marked by a person prefix, but by the ending indicating a third person singular agent or subject. On the other hand, *-(w)uč* nominalisations can be marked for object.

As said, nominalisations ending in $-(w)u\check{c}$ are noun phrase-like, and, as nouns, they could be used to form a subject clause, a nominal predicate, a direct complement, and a

relative clause. In the data, we have only found instances in which a *-(w)uč* nominalisation is used for the construction of a subject clause (19), and instances showing that the morpheme *-(w)uč* is used to derive an adjective from a verb (20):

- (19) *pi-man-ap-sim* *kamatsin* *ki-o-uč* *mate-kt-aŋ*
 2S-INES-ABL-EMP order 1pO-dO-AG 3sS.come.out-F-IA
a-putam *Israel* *i-ηαλο-kte-he*
 1sPOS-people Israel 3sA-3sO.reign-INF-BEN
 ‘From you will come out the ruler who will reign over my people of Israel’.
- (20) *kečwak* *ηole-wuč* *tup-uč*
 poor 3sO.love-AG walk-AG
 ‘a charitable person’ = ‘merciful’ ‘fond of travelling’
 (lit. ‘the one who loves poor people’)

It is obvious that *-(w)uč* nominalisations, functioning as an adjective, were used to modify a head noun.

2.1.5. Overview of nominalised subordinates formed without case marking

The different types of subordinates that can be constructed with the nominalising suffixes *-(e)č* ‘factiviser’, *-(k)he* ‘simultaneity’, *-(k)te* ‘infinitive’, *-lam* ‘future nominaliser1’, *-(η)o* ‘future nominaliser2’, *-pakna* ‘negative nominaliser’, *-pits-o* ‘negation-future nominaliser2’, and *-wuč* ‘agentive marker’ are shown in the overview in Table 1. The subordinate clauses that assumedly can be formed with the agentive marker *-wuč* are in parentheses.

	subject	direct	nominal	relative	causal	temporal
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	clause	com- plement	predicate	clause	clause	clause
-(<i>e</i>)č ‘factiviser’	+	+	-	-	+	-
-(<i>k</i>)he ‘simultaneity’	+	+	+	-	+	+
-(<i>k</i>)te ‘infinitive’	-	+	-	-	-	-
- <i>lam</i> ‘future nominaliser1’	+	+	+	+	-	-
-(<i>n</i>)ap ‘sequential’	-	-	-	-	+	+
-(<i>η</i>)o ‘future nominaliser2’	+	+	+	+	-	-
- <i>pakna</i> ‘negative nominaliser1’	+	-	+	-	-	-
- <i>pits-o</i> ‘negation- future nominaliser2’	-	-	+	-	-	-
- <i>wuč</i> ‘agentive’	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	-	-

Table 1: Overview subordinate nominalisations formed without case markers

It thus appears that subject clauses, complement/ direct object clauses and nominal predicate clauses can be formed by most of the nominalisers: by five out of eight. Causal clauses can be formed by three nominalisers, and relative and temporal clauses by two out of eight. The most productive nominaliser appears to be the simultaneity marker *-(k)he*. It can be used to construct five different clauses: subject, direct object, nominal predicate, causal and temporal clauses. The simultaneity marker is followed by the future nominalisers *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o*. Both are used to construct four different clauses: subject, direct object, nominal predicate and relative clauses. The factiviser *-(e)č* occurs in the formation of three types of clauses: in subject, object and causal clauses. The sequential marker *-(n)ap* and the negative nominaliser *-pakna* are employed to form two types of clauses: *-(n)ap*: causal and temporal clauses, *-pakna*: subject and nominal predicate clauses. The agentive marker *-(w)uč* is used to construct a subject clause, but it is likely that nominalised forms ending in *-(w)uč* were also used in nominal predicate clauses, in direct complement clauses, and in relative clauses. The nominalisers *-(k)te* and *-pits-o* are the least productive ones. They occur in one kind of clause: the former in complement clauses, the latter in nominal predicate clauses.

2.2 Nominalised subordinates formed with case markers

As stated, the nominalisations formed with the suffixes *-(e)č* ‘factiviser’, *-(k)he* ‘simultaneity’, *-(k)te* ‘infinitive’, *-lam* ‘future nominaliser1’, *-(n)ap* ‘sequential’, *-(ŋ)o* ‘future nominaliser2’, *-pakna* ‘negative nominaliser’, and *-pits-o* ‘negation-future nominaliser2’ can be case marked. Case markers are used to form adverbial subordinates, see section 2.2.1. A special type of (subordinate) clause is the hypothetical or irrealis clause, expressing a non-realised event, see section 2.2.2.

2.2.1. Nominalised adverbial clauses

Several nominalised adverbial clauses, such as a causal, a comparative, a contrastive, an instrumental, a purposive, a spatial and a temporal clause, can be formed by means of different case markers and case marker combinations. For instance, a causal clause can be constructed with the case marker sequence *-tu-p* indicating ‘source’. The suffix is a combination of the personnel adessive case marker *-tu* and the ablative marker *-(a)p/ -nap*:

- (21) *into-ŋ-a* *a-m-pako-kt-aŋ* *a-m-yač-pakna*
 which-CMP-Q 1SG.A-2SG.OBJ-know-FUT-IPFV 1SG.A-2SG.OBJ-see-NEG.NMLS
ø-kot-o-tu-p
 3SG.SBJ-be-FUT.NMLS2-AD-ABL
 ‘How shall I know you, for I cannot see you.’

A comparative clause can be formed by means of the suffix combination *-man-ap*, consisting of the inessive case marker *-man*, followed by the ablative marker *-(a)p/ -nap*:

- (22) *a-n-utsa* *a-l-o-kte-man-ap,* *a-kol-o*
 1SG.POS-RFM-sin 1SG.A-3SG.OBJ-do-INF-IN-ABL 1S-die-FUT.NMLS1
a-kt-aŋ
 1S-be-IPFV
 ‘I shall die rather than commit a sin’

Cholón uses the suffix *-nake* ‘via’ to construct a contrastive clause:

- (23) *an-tsel* *a-tsap-te-na*
 one-CLF:elongated 1SG.A-3SG.OBJ.catch-FUT-QUOT
ø-sepeh-he-nake, *an-tsel* *i-tsp-aŋ*
 3SG.SBJ-claim-SIM-PER one-CLF:elongated 3SG.A-3SG.OBJ.catch-IPFV
 ‘Instead of catching one, he catches another one’
 (lit. ‘While claiming: “I shall catch one”, he catches another one’).

The instrumental case marker *-pat* can be used to form an instrumental clause:

- (24) *baptismo-te* *hayu* *ø-maso-kiah-he-pat* *ki-dios-a*
 baptism-AD man 3S-be.born-IT-SIM-INS 1PL.POS-God-TOP
mul-iy-pits-o
 3S.be.satisfied-PFV-NEG-FUT.NMLS2
 ‘Our God was not satisfied with [the fact that] man was reborn in baptism.’

The only example of a spatial clause found in the data is the following subordinate. It is formed by means of the non-personnel adessive case marker *-te*:

- (25) *ki-y-iy-ø-te*
 1PL.SBJ-sleep-PST-NMLS-AD
 ‘where we slept’

The benefactive case marker *-he* is used to construct a purposive clause:

- (26) *pana-nayme* *Soledad-te* *ki-ante-kte-he,*

road-PRO Soledad-AD 1PL.SBJ-arrive-INF-BEN

Huaylillas-nayme ki-paʎ-aŋ

Huaylillas-PRO 1PL.SBJ-pass.by-IPFV

‘In order to arrive at Soledad by road, we pass Huaylillas.’

A temporal clause can be formed with the ablative marker *-(a)p/ -nap*:

- (27) *mi-ʎa-pe-č-ap ko ašmaŋ mi-l-o-ki*
 2S-go-NEG-FAC-ABL this first 2SG.A-3SG.OBJ-do-IMP
 ‘Before you go, do this first’

Examples (21) through (27) show that the case markers and case marker sequences *-tu-p* ‘source’, *-man-ap* ‘ablative’, *-nake* ‘via’, *-he* ‘benefactive’, *-te* ‘adessive’, and *-(a)p/ -nap* ‘ablative’ can be used for the construction of a causal, a comparative, a contrastive, an instrumental, a purposive, a spatial and a temporal clause, respectively.

2.2.2. Hypothetical or irrealis subordinate clauses

Hypothetical or irrealis clauses are formed by attaching the separative case marker *-(k)e*, functioning as an anteriority or nominal past marker, to the nominalising suffixes *-(k)te* ‘infinitive’, *-(ŋ)o* ‘future nominaliser 2’, *-pakna* ‘negative nominaliser1’ and *-pits-o* ‘negation-future nominaliser 2’.

Example (28) below is an instance of a nominalised indirect object clause, constructed with the suffix combination *-(k)te-ke* (consisting of the infinitive marker *-(k)te*, followed by the anteriority marker *-(k)e*), and example (29) that of a nominalised direct object clause,

ending in *-pakna-ke* (consisting of the negative nominaliser1' and the anteriority marker *-ke*).

The former expresses a frustrated event, the latter a non-realised event:

- (28) *a-n-uts* *a-tsap-te-ke* *m-a-luwe-y*
 1SG.POS-RF-enemy 1SG.A-3SG.OBJ.catch-INF-ANT 2SG.A-1SG.OBJ-prevent-PST
 'You prevented me from catching my enemy.'

- (29) *mi-ha-wa* *mi-l-o-ha-pakna-ke* *ok-nake*
 2-PL-TOP 2A-3SG.OBJ-do-PL-NEG.NMLS-ANT 1SG-PER
a-l-o-anj
 1SG.A-3SG.OBJ-do-IPFV
 'I do what you (pl) have not been able to do.'

The sequences *-(ŋ)o-ke* 'future nominaliser1-anteriority marker' (30), and *-pits-o-ke* 'negation-future nominaliser2-anteriority marker' (31), occur in conditional clauses formed by means of the topicaliser *-(w)a*:

- (30) *paʔow mi-kot-o-ke-wa* *a-m-peŋo-kte-ke*
 good 2S-be-FUT.NMLS2-ANT-TOP 1SG.A-2SG.OBJ-want-INF-ANT
 'If you had been good, I would have wanted you.'

- (31) *alkalde* *a-kt-iy-pits-o-ke-wa*
 mayor 1S-be-PST-NEG-FUT.NMLS2-ANT-TOP
mi-ʔemtsap-la-pakna-ke
 2SG.OBJ-help-3PL.A-NEG.NMLS-ANT

‘If I had not been mayor, they would not have helped you.’

3. Nominalised main predicates

We may distinguish three groups of nominalised main predicates: nominalisations formed by the future nominalisers *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o*, nominalisations containing the negative nominalisers *-pakna* and *-pits-o*, and a group constructed with the irrealis markers *-(k)te-ke*, *-(ŋ)o-ke*, and *-pakna-ke*. They are treated in section 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3, respectively.

3.1. Main predicates formed by *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o*

As noted in section 2.1.3, nominalisations constructed with the morphemes *-lam* ‘future nominaliser 1’ and *-(ŋ)o* ‘future nominaliser 2’ have in common that they refer to a future event and to an obligation or a possibility, that they can be used to derive a noun from a verb, and that they can modify a head noun and function as relative clauses (12a/b), as subject clauses (13a/b), as direct object clauses (14a/b), and as nominal predicate clauses (15a/b). In the cases in which the nominalised form functions as a subject or as a nominal predicate clause, the main verb is a copulative verb, see the examples (13a/b) and (15a/b), respectively. However, in (13a/b) the subject of the copula is an impersonal third person singular, whereas in (15a/b) the subject of the copula is co-referential with that of the subordinate verb. It appears that, when the copulative verb is omitted, forms ending in *-lam* and in *-(ŋ)o* may correspond to main predicates.

In (32) below, for instance, the main verb, the finite copula form *ø-kot-aŋ* ‘he/ it is’ (< *kot* ‘be’), is omitted after the nominalisations *mits-pale-kiah-lam* and *u-ku-peŋo-lam*. By the

omission of ϕ -*kot-an* ‘he/ it is’, the nominalisations ending in *-lam* take over its function and meaning, so that they resemble main predicates:⁴

- (32) *kapak mi-kot-nake* *kas* *male-pale-kia-ŋ*
 power 2SG.POS-being-PER wind 3S.pass.by-pass.by-REFL-IPFV
tʃi *mits-pale-kiah-lam* *et-pit*
 rain 3S.come-pass.by-REFL-FUT.NMLS1 fire-COR
u-ku-peŋo-lam
 3SG.A-1PL.OBJ-warm-FUT.NMLS1
 ‘By your power, the wind blows from all parts, the rain falls down from all
 parts, and the fire warms us from all parts.’

The same counts for the following example. In (33), the copula *a-kt-an* ‘I am’ is omitted after *a-meŋo-ŋo*:⁵

- (33) *a-pa* *ŋol-iy* ϕ -*kot-an-ko-man-ap-a*
 1SG.POS-father 3S.die-PST 3S-be-IPFV-DEM-IN-ABL-TOP
ok-e *a-kl-iy* *a-kot-te-he*
 1SG-ANT 1S-die-PST 1S-be-INF-BEN
a-meŋo-ŋo
 1SG.A-3SG.OBJ.want-FUT.NMLS2
 ‘I would have preferred to have died myself than that my father had died!’

⁴ Without the copula ϕ -*kot-an* ‘he is’, the forms *mits-pale-kiah-lam* and *u-ku-peŋo-lam* literally mean ‘his falling down from all parts’ and ‘his warming us from all parts’, respectively; the forms *mits-pale-kiah-lam* ϕ -*kot-an* and *u-ku-peŋo-lam* ϕ -*kot-an*, with the copula, are translated as ‘he is falling down from all parts’ and ‘he is warming us from all parts’, respectively.

⁵ *a-meŋo-ŋo*, without the finite form *a-kt-an* ‘I am’, literally means ‘my wanting it’; *a-meŋo-ŋo a-kt-an* with the finite copula form, means ‘I am wanting it’, ‘I want it’. The form *a-kot-te-he* ‘my being’ preceding the nominalised form *a-meŋo-ŋo* is a complement of *a-meŋo-ŋo (a-kt-an)* ‘I want it’, where ‘it’ refers to *a-kot-te-he*.

Nominalised main predicates ending in *-(ŋ)o* often occur in exclamations (see also (33) above):

- (34) *a Dios, into-ŋ-am a-m-pako-ŋo*
 INTJ God which-CMP-Q 1SG.A-2SG.OBJ-know-FUT.NMLS2
a-kot-o a-m-yač-pakna a-kot-o-tu-p
 1S-be-FUT.NMLS2 1SG.A-2SG.OBJ-see-NEG.NMLS 1S-be-FUT.NMLS2-AD-ABL
 ‘O God, how shall I be able to know you, for I cannot see you!’

3.2. Main predicates formed by *-pakna* and *-pits-o*

Nominalisations ending in *-pakna* occur as subject clauses, see (16), and as nominal predicates (17), and the ones ending in *-pits-o* as nominal predicates (18). In all these cases the main verb is a copula. When the copula is missing, the subject and nominal predicate clauses formed with *-pakna* and the nominal predicate ones constructed with *-pits-o* appear to take the place of the copula and resemble main predicates, like those ending in *-lam* and *-(ŋ)o* do when the copulative verb is absent, see section 3.1 above,

- (35) *into-ŋko hayu-pit misa i-sinah-pakna-le*
 which-DEM man-INDF Mass 3SG.A-3SG.OBJ.hear-NEG.NMLS-Q
 ‘Is there anyone not attending Mass?’

- (36) *a-sinah-pits-o*
 1SG.A-3SG.OBJ.hear-NEG-FUT.NMLS2

‘I did not hear it’⁶

3.3. Main predicates formed by *-(k)te-ke*, *-(ŋ)o-ke*, *-pakna-ke*

In section 2.2.2 we have seen that the nominalisations ending in *-(k)te-ke* ‘INF-ANT’, *-(ŋ)o-ke* ‘FUT.NMLS2-ANT’, and *-pakna-ke* ‘NEG.NMLS-ANT’ are used to form a subordinate clause. However, like those constructed with *-lam*, *-(ŋ)o*, *-pakna* and *-pits-o*, they can also be used for the construction of a main predicate. The nominalised forms ending *-lam*, *-(ŋ)o*, *-pakna* and *-pits-o* look like a main predicate when a copulative verb is omitted. I therefore assume that, analogically, the forms constructed with *-(k)te-ke*, *-(ŋ)o-ke*, *-pakna-ke* also resemble main predicates when a copulative verb is absented. In section 2.2.2 we have also seen that nominalised forms ending in *-(k)te-ke*, *-(ŋ)o-ke*, and *-pakna-ke* express a non-realised or a hypothetical event. The latter is also the case when the *-(k)te-ke* and *-(ŋ)o-ke* nominalisations are similar to main predicates. The fact is, both *-(k)te-ke* and *-(ŋ)o-ke* consist of an element indicating ‘future’: *-(k)te* ‘to do something’ and *-(ŋ)o* ‘future nominaliser 2’, respectively, and, at the same time, of a morpheme indicating ‘past’: the anteriority marker *-ke*. Both *-(k)te-ke* and *-(ŋ)o-ke* thus express ‘future in the past’ and indicate an event that could or would take/ have taken place, hence their occurrence in main clauses expressing a wish:

- (37) *inaham* *Dios* *a-ŋole-kte-ke*
 wishfully God 1SG.A-3S.OBJ.love-INF-ANT
 ‘I wished I had loved God.’

- (38) *inaham,* *pałow* *a-kot-o-ke*

⁶ *a-sinah-pits-o* literally means ‘my not having to hear it’. The non-nominalised counterpart of *a-sinah-pits-o* ‘I did not hear it’ would be *a-sinah-pe-y* ‘1sA-3sO.hear-NEG-PST’.

wishfully good 1S-be-FUT.NMLS2-ANT

‘I wished I had been good.’

The use of nominalisations formed by *-pakna-ke* partly differs from those formed with *-(k)te-ke* and *-(ŋ)o-ke*. The *-pakna-ke* nominalisations are negative by nature and indicate an event that could not happen. Therefore, they are not suitable to express a wishful thinking. On the other hand, nominalised forms constructed with *-pakna-ke* do occur in main clauses following a conditional ‘if’ clause (40), as do the nominalisations constructed with *-(k)te-ke* (39):

- (39) *Juan pałow ø-kot-o-ke-wa mul-pit*
 Juan good 3S-be-FUT.NMLS2-ANT-TOP 3SG.POSS.son-COR
pałow ø-kot-te-ke
 good 3S-be-INF-ANT
 ‘If Juan had been good, his son would also have been good.’

- (40) *yel ø-kot-iy-pits-o-ke-wa ayča*
 salt 3S-be-PST-NEG-FUT.NMLS2-ANT-TOP meat
ki-mtih-pakna-ke
 1PL.A-3SG.OBJ.salt-NEG.NMLS-ANT
 ‘If there had not been salt, we could not salt the meat.’

Examples (39) and (40) resemble each other. Both instances are complex sentences consisting of a conditional clause: *Juan pałow ø-kot-o-ke-wa* ‘if Juan had been good’ and *yel ø-kot-iy-pits-o-ke-wa* ‘if there had not been salt’, respectively, followed by a main clause expressing

the implication of the condition. Note also that in Cholón the clause in which the condition is stipulated regularly precedes the main clause, describing the fulfilment of the condition, and that both the subordinated ‘if-clause’ and the main clause are nominalised forms.

4. Concluding remarks

In section 1 we have seen that Cholón nominalisations are more noun phrase-like or more clause-like, and that they can be considered as ‘clauses in disguise.’ Besides a nominalising suffix, attached to the verb stem, a nominalisation may contain morphemes referring to a subject, if the stem is intransitive, or to an agent and an object, when the stem is transitive. The nominalised form can furthermore contain a negation, and only a past marker, if the negator is *-pits-o*.

Cholón has only four subordinating affixes to form a subordinate clause, to wit: the purposive marker *-(e)č*, the switch reference marker *-hu*, the coordinator *-pit*, and the topic marker *-(w)a*. The vast majority of the subordinate clauses are formed by nominalised forms, constructed with the following morphemes: the factiviser *-(e)č*, the simultaneity marker *-(k)he*, the infinitive marker *-(k)te*, the future nominaliser *-lam*, the sequence marker *-(n)ap*, the future marker *-(ŋ)o*, and the negative nominalisers *-pakna* and *-pits-o*. They are suffixed to a verb stem and they are used to form the following subordinates: subject, direct complement, nominal predicate, relative, causal and temporal clauses. See the overview of nominalisers and the different subordinate clauses formed by them in Table 1, section 2.1.5.

The nominalised forms mentioned above can be followed by case markers, which underlines the nominal status of these forms, since only nominal stems can be case marked. Examples of case marking suffixes encountered with nominalised forms are *-(a)p* */-nap* ‘ablative’, *-he* ‘benefactive’, *-man-ap* ‘ablative’, *-nake* ‘perlative’, *-pat* ‘instrumental’, *-te*

‘non-personnel adessive’, *-tu-p* ‘source’. They are used to form the following adverbial subordinate clauses: causal, comparative, contrastive, instrumental, purposive, spatial and temporal clauses, respectively.

A special type of nominalised subordinates is the irrealis or hypothetical clause. Irrealis clauses are constructed with the nominalisations ending in *-(k)te*, *-(ŋ)o*, *-pakna*, *-pits-o*, followed by the nominal past marker *-(k)e*, see section 2.2.2.

In Amerindian languages, it is not uncommon for a nominalised form to function as the head of a subordinate clause. In Cholón, interestingly, the nominalisations ending in *-lam*, *-(ŋ)o*, *-pakna*, *-pits-o*, and in the irrealis endings *-(k)te-ke*, *-(ŋ)o-ke*, *-pakna-ke*, and *-pits-o-ke* are used to form as the head of both a subordinate clause and a main clause. They normally function as a subordinate clause, but they become a main predicate when, functioning as a subject clause or as a nominal predicate clause, the verb they are related to by subordination is a copulative verb that is omitted. In these cases the nominalised form can substitute the copula and take its place.

Nominalised forms constructed with *-(ŋ)o* ‘future nominaliser2’ often occur as main predicates in exclamations, see (33) and (34), those with *-(k)te-ke* ‘INF-ANT’ and *-(ŋ)o-ke* ‘FUT.NMLS2-ANT’ in wishes (37) and (38), and the ones with *-(k)te-ke* ‘INF-ANT’ and *-pakna-ke* ‘NEG.NMLS-ANT’ in sentences in which a condition is made, see (39) and (40). In such ‘if ... then’ sentences, the conditional ‘if’-clause contains a nominalisation formed by *-(ŋ)o-ke* ‘FUT.NMLS2-ANT’ and *-pits-o-ke* ‘NEG-FUT.NMLS2-ANT’, and the corresponding main clause a nominalisation formed by *-(k)te-ke* ‘INF-ANT’ and *-pakna-ke* ‘NEG.NMLS-ANT’, respectively. It is never the other way round. Nominalised conditional clauses ending in *-(k)te-ke* ‘INF-ANT’ or *-pakna-ke* ‘NEG.NMLS-ANT’, followed by main predicates ending in *-(ŋ)o-ke* ‘FUT.NMLS2-ANT’ and *-pits-o-ke* ‘NEG-FUT.NMLS2-ANT’ have not been found in the data. The canonical order in

‘if ... then’ sentences seems to be: *-(ŋ)o-ke* ‘FUT.NMLS2-ANT’ ... *-(k)te-ke* ‘INF-ANT’, and *-pits-o-ke* ‘NEG-FUT.NMLS2-ANT’... *-pakna-ke* ‘NEG.NMLS-ANT’.

So, as regards nominalisations resembling main clauses, in conclusion we can say that only the nominalisations formed by means of the morphemes *-lam*, *-(ŋ)o*, *-pakna*, *-pits-o*, *-(k)te-ke*, *-(ŋ)o-ke*, *-pakna-ke*, and *-pits-o-ke* can look like main predicates, when: (a), they originally functioned as a subject or as a nominal predicate clause; (b), the main verb they were subordinated to is a copulative verb; (c), the copulative verb is suppressed. Nominalisations constructed with *-lam*, *-(ŋ)o*, *-pakna*, *-pits-o*, *-(k)te-ke*, *-(ŋ)o-ke*, *-pakna-ke*, and *-pits-o-ke* thus function as the head of a main predicate, provided that a copula is understood.

Abbreviations and symbols

A	agent
ABL	ablative
AD	adessive
ADV	adverbial marker
AG	agentive
ALL	allative
ANT	anteriority
BEN	benefactive
CLF	classifier
CM	case marker
CMP	comparative
COR	co-ordinator
DEM	demonstrative

DIM	diminutive
EMP	emphasis
FUT	future marker
FAC	factiviser
FUT.NMLS1	future nominaliser expressing obligation
FUT.NMLS2	future nominaliser expressing obligation/ possibility
IMP	imperative
IN	inessive
INDF	indefinite
INES	inessive
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INT	intensifier
INTJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective aspect
IS	indirect speech
IT	iterative marker
NEG	negator, negation
NF	nominalised form
NMLS	nominaliser
OBJ	object
PASS	passive
PER	perlative
PL	plural
POS	possessive

PRO	prolative
PST	past
PURP	purpose
Q	question
QUOT	quotation
REFL	reflexive
RFM	relational form marker
SG	singular
S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb
SBJ	subject
SEQ	sequence marker
SIM	simultaneity marker
TER	terminative
TOP	topicaliser
VB	verbaliser
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

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