

The curious case of the purposive that  
supposedly went missing but can be  
shown to having been there all the time

Chamorro *para* – subordinator or TMA-marker?

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# Goal(s)

- This talk is intended to prove that the exclusion of *para* from the inventory of Chamorro conjunctions is linguistically unjustified.
- I argue that several functionally and distributionally distinct but homophonous (and historically related) free morphemes need to be distinguished.
- It is shown that many instances of *para* cannot be subsumed under the irrealis category.
- The hypothesis is put forward that the conjunction *para* constitutes a piece of evidence of grammatical Hispanicization of Chamorro.

# Further background information

- written register of the 20th and 21st century
- corpus of some 250,000 words (semi-automatically searchable)
- Guam and Saipan
- different genres (journalism, legends, religious texts, political and administrative prose, academic texts, autobiographical reports, and sundry sources)
- framework-free approach (Haspelmath 2010)
- qualitative methodology with the odd quantitative addition
- primarily synchronic with occasional diachronic digressions

# Where we are: In the Marianas



# Keywords for Chamorro (aka: Chamoru)

A moderately endangered Austronesian language that has experienced age-long Hispanicization with visible effects in phonology, lexicon, and grammar, the borrowed function word *para* being one of the paradigm cases of MAT-cum-PAT-borrowing from Spanish.

# Multifunctional *para* or four distinct *paras*?

- (optional) irrealis (future, subjunctive) marker: *para*<sub>1</sub> optionally occupies the leftmost position in an irrealis construction in which it combines with other irrealis markers such as *bai* and/or *u*.
- **Purposive conjunction:** *para*<sub>2</sub> introduces a subordinate clause that identifies to what end the action in the main clause is taken. In this function, *para*<sub>2</sub> competes with *kosaki* and *put*.
- Directional preposition: *para*<sub>3</sub> heads a PP whose complement identifies the goal in the direction of which a motion event is oriented.
- (alternative) applicative (or: benefactive) marker: *para*<sub>4</sub> heads a PP whose complement is the beneficiary or other oblique participant of the action represented by the lexical verb. *para*<sub>4</sub> competes with the morphological applicative/benefactive of Chamorro verbs.

(1) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 30)

*Para*<sub>1</sub> *u*      *bira*      *gui'*      *si*      *Pang*

FUT      3.FUT      turn      3SG.ABS      DEF      Pang

[*para*<sub>2</sub> *u*      *goppe*      *i*      *sagua'*      [*para*<sub>3</sub> *Hagåtña*]<sub>PP</sub>]<sub>SUBC</sub>

[PURP      3.FUT      jump      DEF      channel      [DIR      Hagåtña]]

'Pang **will** turn around [**to** jump over the channel [**towards** Hagåtña]].'

(2) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 153)

*Eståba dos peskadot na ma na'li~listo i talåya*

EXIST two hunter LK 3PL.ERG CAUS:prepare~PROG DEF net

[**para**<sub>2</sub> u ma konne' dos grånon kunehu

[**PURP** 3.FUT 3PL.ERG catch two piece:LK rabbit

[**para**<sub>4</sub> i ga' i famagu'on-ñiha]<sub>PP</sub>]<sub>SUBC</sub>

[**APPL** DEF animal DEF PL:child.PL-POSS.3PL]]

'There were two hunters who were preparing the net [**to** catch some rabbits [**as** pets for their children]].'

A telling **gap** (Chung 2020: 432-433)

“Some [sic!] subordinating conjunctions”

*achuk* ~ *áchuka* ‘although’, *anai* ‘when (realis)’, *ántis di* ‘before’, *asta ki* ‘until’, *disdi ki* ‘(ever) since’, *dispues di* ‘after’, *gigun* ‘as soon as’, *inlugåt di* ‘instead of’, *kada* ‘whenever, each time that’, *kosa ki* ‘so that’, *kumu* ‘if’, *maseha* ‘even though’, *mientras* ‘while’, **\_\_\_\_\_**, *put* ‘because, so that’, *putnó* ‘so that ... not’, *sa* ‘because’, *sin* ‘without’, *yanggin* ~ *anggin* ~ *an* ‘if, when (future, irrealis, habitual)’

# Irrealis & Cie.

- Cooreman (1987)
- Gibson (1992)
- Chung (2020)

*para* ~ TMA marker / no conjunction

# Looking far back in time

- Fritz (1903: 26): “**damit** *para* [] **damit** nicht *para tchámo*“
- Safford (1905: 316-317): “the early missionaries introduced into the Chamorro the preposition[] *para*, to, for, **in order to** [] *para ke*, **in order that, so that**”
- Lopinot (1910: 28\*): “*para que* **damit**, *para muñga*, *para chaho ...* **damit** nicht”
- Von Preissig (1918: 27): “*para que* (**in order that**), *para muñga*; *para châjo* (the same; negated)”
- Costenoble (1940: 210): “*pud para* – **um zu**; wegen; weil [,] *para u* – **um zu**; auf dass; (im Begriffe, in der Absicht) zu”

# More recently

- Topping/Dungca (1973: 151): “*para ki so that*”
- Rodríguez-Ponga (1995: 512): “*pára* [] En combinación con otros elementos gramaticales, forma el futuro, equivalente al futuro perifrástico español o a **construcciones finales**”
- Rodríguez-Ponga (2009: 152): “Aparece en la locución – con uso de **conjunción** – *para ke* ‘para que’”
- Pagel (2010: 99): “*pära* als Marker für [] **Finalität**”
- Stolz (2022: 134): “*para* marks a **purposive** relation”

# Competing analyses

## conjunction

*para*<sub>2</sub> is a subordinating conjunction that links a subordinate clause to the matrix clause thereby conveying the information that what happens in the subordinate clause is intentionally brought about by what happens in the main clause. *para*<sub>2</sub> thus cannot be subsumed under *para*<sub>1</sub>.

## TMA marker

*para*<sub>2</sub> has no clause-linking function but forms part of the preverbal chain of TMA-markers that serve to characterize the action/state/event expressed by the verb as still unrealized or hypothetical. *para*<sub>2</sub> may thus be subsumed under *para*<sub>1</sub>.

# The big problem with the TMA-analysis

- I do not subscribe to the TMA-analysis of *para*<sub>2</sub> because it creates problems for the system of clause-linkage of Chamorro.
- Where otherwise overt connectors are used to link main clauses and subordinate clauses, the TMA-analysis postulates asyndesis.
- Asyndesis can be shown to be an unlikely scenario, whereas syndesis is more in line with the usual structural solutions in Chamorro.

(3a) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 2): Syndesis

*L<um>a-chaddek falagu-ña guatu*

<NPL>CMPR-fast run-POSS.3SG there

**[para<sub>2</sub>**

**[PURP**

*u nã'i si Nanã-ña ni' guagua' ha'iguas]<sub>SUB</sub>*

FUT.3 give DEF mother-POSS.3SG OBL.DEF basket shell]

'She ran a little faster there [**to** give the basket with shells to her mother].'

(3b)(Taimanglo et al. 1999: 2): Asyndesis

*L<um>a-chaddek falagu-ña guatu*

<NPL>CMPR-fast run-POSS.3SG there

[∅

[∅

**/para<sub>1</sub>** *u nã'i/ si Nanã-ña ni' guagua' ha'iguas]<sub>SUB</sub>*

**/IRR** FUT.3 give/ DEF mother-POSS.3SG OBL.DEF basket shell]

'She ran a little faster there [**to** /give/ the basket with shells to her mother].'

# Contenders in similar contexts

- *para*<sub>2</sub> is a purposive conjunction if it displays sufficient distributional similarities with those purposive conjunctions that are recognized as such by Chung (2020), namely *kosaki*, *put*, and *putnó*.
- This means that *para*<sub>2</sub> occupies the interclausal position at the left margin of the subordinate clause by way of serving as an adverbial subordinator that characterizes the relation between main clause and subordinate clause as purposive.
- Wherever *para*<sub>2</sub> fails to fulfil this requirement it is most probably an instance of *para*<sub>1</sub>.

(4) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 114)

*manmåtto i pulisia lokkue'*

PL:come DEF police too

[**para**<sub>2</sub> u ma sen fakkot huyong i gima'

[**PURP** 3.FUT 3PL.ERG INTS delouse outside DEF house

[**kosaki** siña ma sodda' maseha håfa dikike' ibidensia]<sub>SUBC</sub>]<sub>SUBC</sub>

[**PURP** can 3PL.ERG find even what small evidence]]

'[[] also the police came [**to** comb the outside of the house meticulously  
[**to** be able to find whatever evidence]] [].'

# Two in one

- The example contains two purpose clauses the second of which is embedded in the first one.
- There is no obvious reason to treat *para*<sub>2</sub> differently from *kosaki*.
- They both behave like conjunctions of the adverbial subordinator brand.
- They differ insofar as *para*<sub>2</sub> usually introduces a clause whose verb is marked for the irrealis whereas *kosaki* overwhelmingly combines with impersonal modal verbs (or particles) such as *siña*.
- *para*<sub>2</sub> is unattested in this context.

(5) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 172)

*Ensegidas k<um>ahulo'*

immediately <NPL>climb

[**putno** annok i matitek katsunas-ña]<sub>SUBC</sub>

[**PURP.NEG** exposed DEF split pants-POSS.3SG]

'He immediately climbed up [**so that** the splits in his trousers could **not** be seen].'

# Negative tendencies

- In the corpus, *put* is predominantly used with nouny complements.
- Only the negative *putno* recurs repeatedly as conjunction that introduces a subordinate clause.
- In contrast to *putno*, *para<sub>2</sub>* and *kosaki* are exceptionally used with overtly negated predicates.

(6) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 161)

*Pues* [**putno** *u na'fanluhan i famagu'on-ña*]<sub>SUBC</sub>

then [**PURP.NEG** FUT.3 CAUS:IFUT:PL:terrify DEF child.PL-POSS.3SG]

*si Tomasa ilek-ña* []

DEF Thomas say-POSS.3SG

'Then, [**in order not to** frighten his children], Thomas said [].'

(7) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 20)

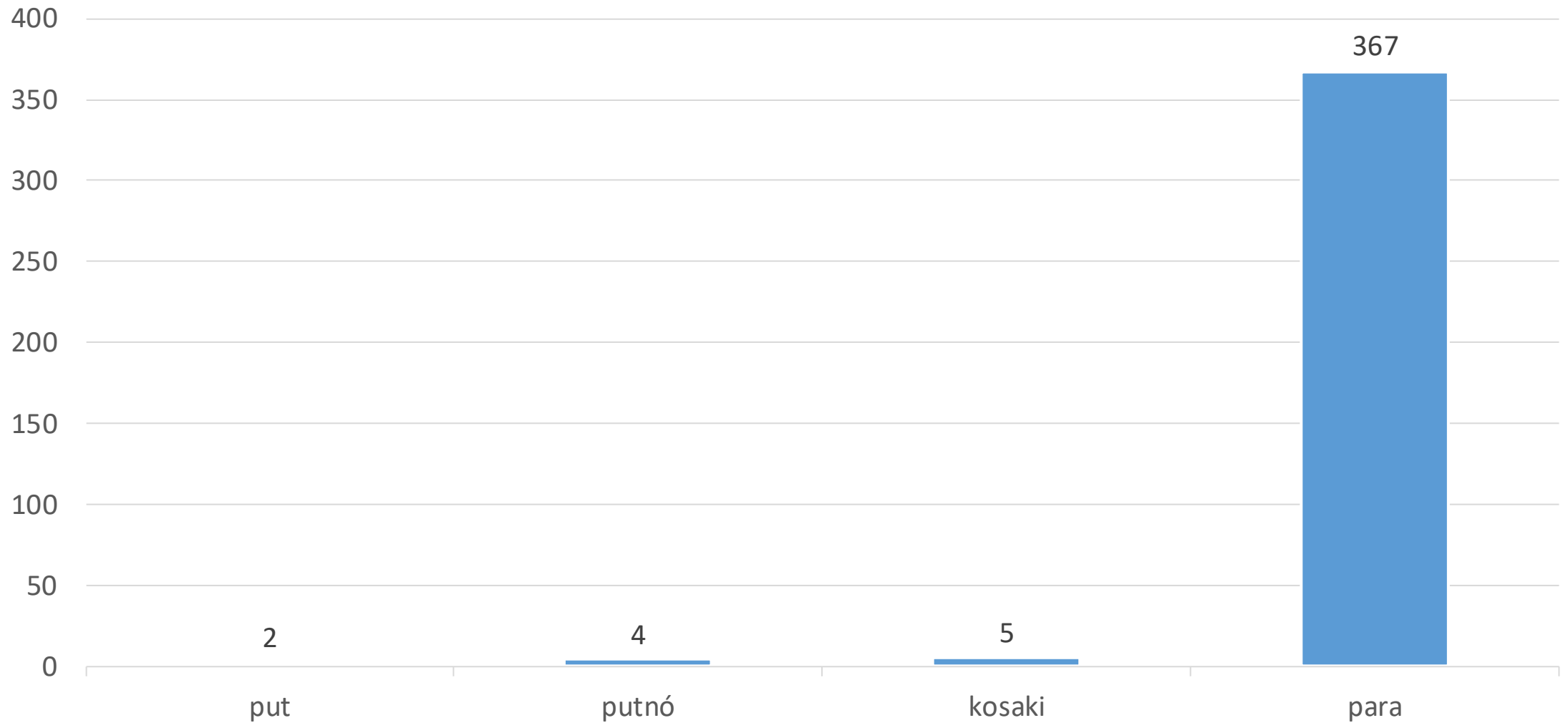
*Ha*     *nã'na'* *gue'*     *pãpa'*     [*para*<sub>2</sub>     *ti*     *u*     *l<in>i'e'*]<sub>SUBC</sub>  
3SG.ERG hide     3SG.ABS below     [PURP     NEG FUT.3     <PASS>see]  
'He hid himself below [not to be seen].'

## (8) Le Petit Prince VIII, 2

*Gi planetan i dikkike' na prinsipi todo i tiempo*  
in planet:LK DEF small LK prince all DEF time  
*man eståba man sensiyo na flores ni man inado~dotna*  
PL EXIST.PST PL simple LK flower REL PL PASS:adorn~RED  
*ni uno ha' na filan hågon flores*  
with one INTS LK row:LK leaf flower  
[**kosa ke** *ti* u okupa bula na kampo]<sub>SUBC</sub>  
[**PURP** **NEG** FUT.3 occupy much LK space]

'On the planet of the Little Prince, there were always simple flowers that were adorned with only one row of petals [**so that** they would **not** occupy a lot of space].'

# Purposive conjunctions in Taimanglo et al. (1999)



# Further variation

- *para*<sub>2</sub> occurs also in contexts from which *kosaki* and *put(nó)* are banned.
- In these contexts, *para*<sub>2</sub> is optional.
- *para*<sub>2</sub> is only one of several structural options that Chamorro speakers have to combine certain higher verbs with lower verbs (the latter corresponding to infinitives e.g. in English)
- A case in point is the verb *disidi* 'decide' that allows for four different ways to combine with a subordinate verb.

(9) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 12)

*I ufisiât siha ma disidi [∅ u ma na'hânao tâtte*  
DEF officer PL 3PL.ERG decide [∅ FUT.3 3PL.ERG CAUS:go back  
*gi sagâ-ña los uttemos]*<sub>SUBC</sub>

in place-POSS.3SG last]

'The officers decided [to send it back to his last address].'

(10) (Perez/Faustino 1975: 32)

*Annai matto i ora-n sena*  
when arrive DEF time-LK dinner  
*si Cha'kan Lancho ha disidi [na u plantayi*  
DEF Country Rat 3SG.ERG decide [COMP FUT.3 set\_up:APPL  
*i amigu-ña i mas mannge' na nenkanno'*  
DEF friend-POSS.3SG DEF more delicious LK food  
*ni' siña ha sodda']<sub>COMPC</sub>*  
REL can 3SG.ERG find

'When dinner time approached, Country Rat decided [to prepare for his friend the most exquisite food he could find].'

(11) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 58)

*ma*     *disidi*     [*na*     *para*<sub>2</sub>     *u*     *ma*     *nã'i*     *palu*  
3PL.ERG     decide     [COMP     PURP     FUT.3     3PL.ERG     give     some

*i*     *atungo'-ñiha*]<sub>COMPC</sub>

DEF     acquaintance-POSS.3PL]

'[ ] they decided [to give some [fish] to their acquaintance] [ ].'

(12) (Taimanglo et al. 1999: 23)

*Esta para<sub>1</sub> u malachai i nengkanno'*

already FUT FUT.3 exhaust DEF food

*ya kada maga'låhi ma disidi [para<sub>2</sub> u fanhånao*

and each chief 3PL.ERG decide [PURP FUT.3 FUT.PL:go

*guatu gi otro bånda isla*

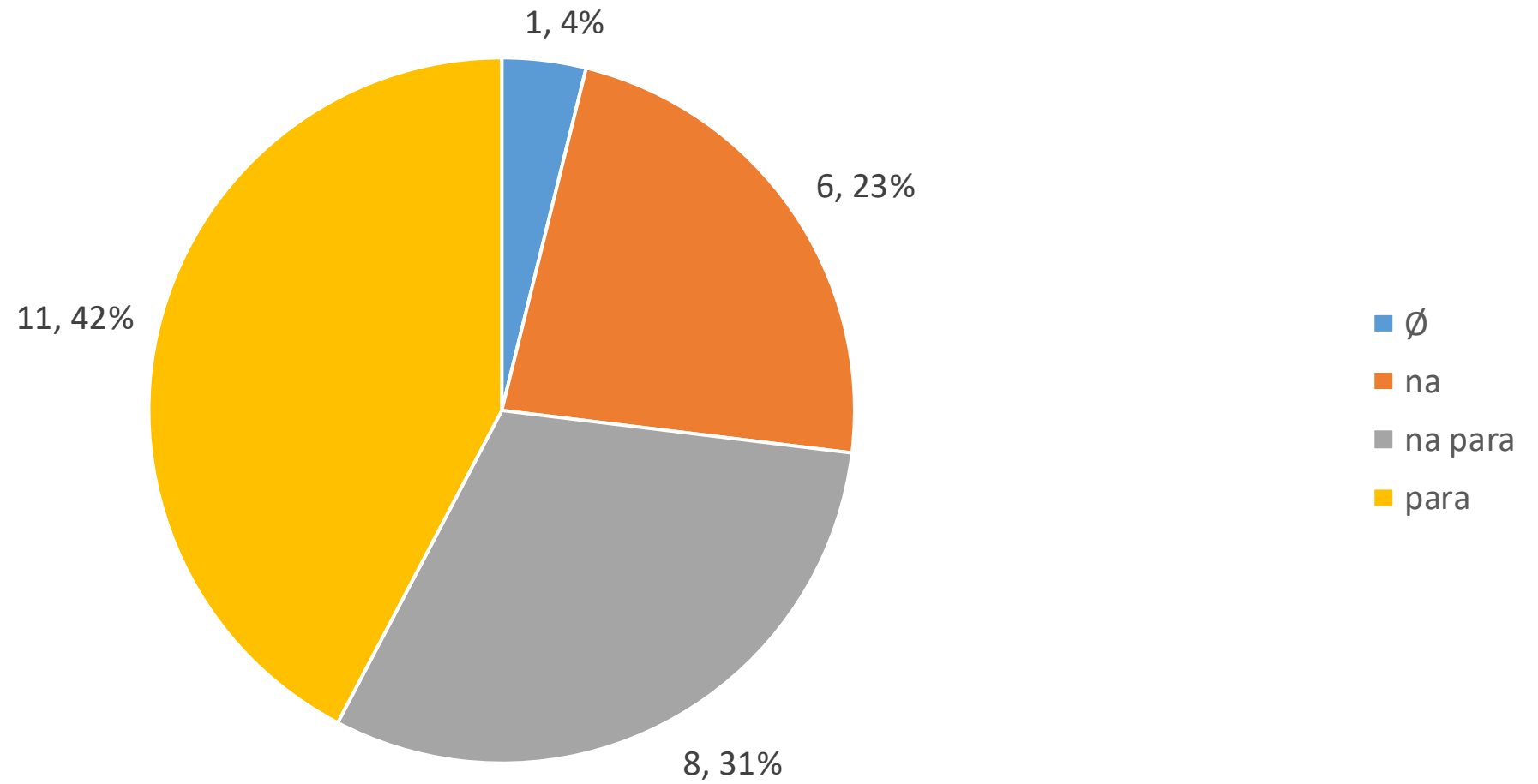
there in other side island

*[para<sub>2</sub> u fan mana'ligåo nengkanno']<sub>SUBC</sub><sub>SUBC</sub>.*

[PURP FUT.3 FUT.PL APASS:search\_for food

'The food was becoming scarce and all the chiefs decided [to go to the other side of the island [to search for food]].'

# Shares of subordination strategies with *disidi*



# Interchangeability / combinability

- *para*<sub>2</sub> may introduce the subordinate verb on its own.
- *para*<sub>2</sub> may be absent from the construction.
- *para*<sub>2</sub> may be replaced with the complementizer *na*.
- *para*<sub>2</sub> may combine with complementizer *na*.
- The subordinate verb is always in the irrealis no matter whether *para*<sub>2</sub> is present or absent.
- The irrealis is thus independent of the co-presence of *para*<sub>2</sub>.
- *para*<sub>2</sub> optionally subordinates the lower predicate.

# Spanish ancestry

- The subordinating function of *para*<sub>2</sub> is reminiscent of the use of its etymological equivalent in Spanish.
- In Spanish, *para* + INFINITIVE is employed for purposive relations between higher and lower verb if subject-identity applies.
- In Spanish, *para que* + FINITE VERB (in the SUBJUNCTIVE) is the correct choice in cases of different subjects for higher and lower verb.
- The use of the SUBJUNCTIVE mood in Spanish corresponds to the use of the IRREALIS after *para*<sub>2</sub> in Chamorro.

# Le Petit Prince III, 1

## Spanish

*Necesité mucho tiempo*

need:1SG.PST much time

*[para<sub>2</sub> comprender de dónde*

*[PURP understand:INF from where*

*venía]*<sub>SUBC</sub>

come:3SG.IPF]

'I needed a lot of time [to understand where he came from].'

## Chamorro

*T<in>aka' anãkko' na tiempo*

<PASS>search long LK time

*[para<sub>2</sub> bai tungo' ginen*

*[PURP FUT.1SG know from*

*mano gue']*<sub>SUBC</sub>

where 3SG.ABS]

'I searched a long time [to know where he was from].'

# Summary

- The data speak against classifying *para*<sub>2</sub> as a TMA-particle, i.e., *para*<sub>2</sub> is not like *para*<sub>1</sub>.
- *para*<sub>2</sub> does not belong to the verbal group.
- *para*<sub>2</sub> occurs only in those contexts where a higher verb and a lower verb need to be linked to each other.
- In some of these contexts, *para*<sub>2</sub> behaves similarly to *kosaki* and *put(nó)* without being freely interchangeable with them; their domains overlap only partially.
- In other contexts, *para*<sub>2</sub> replaces the complementizer and vice versa.
- Thus, *para*<sub>2</sub> mostly behaves like an overt means of clause-linkage.
- In this it very much resembles Spanish *para (que)*.

# Conclusion(s)

- *para*<sub>2</sub> is a conjunction.
- *para*<sub>2</sub> serves to indicate that the relation between main clause and subordinate clause / higher verb and lower verb is purposive.
- Since *para*<sub>2</sub> numerically ousts all other purposive conjunctions by far, it is the prototypical purposive conjunction of Chamorro.
- Accordingly, it must be admitted to a revised list of Chamorro subordinating conjunctions which should look like this:

## Filling the gap

*achuk ~ áchuka* 'although', *anai* 'when (realis)', *ántis di* 'before', *asta ki* 'until', *disdi ki* '(ever) since', *dispues di* 'after', *gigun* 'as soon as', *inlugát di* 'instead of', *kada* 'whenever, each time that', *kosa ki* 'so that', *kumu* 'if', *maseha* 'even though', *mientras* 'while', *para* 'so that', *put* 'because, so that', *putnó* 'so that ... not', *sa* 'because', *sin* 'without', *yanggin ~ anggin ~ an* 'if, when (future, irrealis, habitual)'

# Abbreviation

ABS = absolutive, APASS = antipassive, APPL = applicative, CAUS = causative, CMPR = comparative, COMPC = complement clause, DEF = definite, DIR = directional, ERG = ergative, EXIST = existential, FUT = future, INF = infinitive, INTS = intensifier, IPF = imperfect, LK = linker, NEG = negation/negative, NPL = non-plural, OBL = oblique, PASS = passive, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PP = prepositional phrase, PROG = progressive, PST = past, PURP = purposive, REL = relativizer, SG = singular, SUBC = subordinate clause

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# Translations of *Le Petit Prince*

- Chamorro

- Saint-Exupéry, Antoine de [translator: Pål'e' Eric Forbes]. 2023. *I Dikkiki' na Prinsipì*. Lausanne: Fondation Jean-Marc Probst pour le Petit Prince.

- Spanish

- Saint-Exupéry, Antoine de [translator: Bonifacio del Carríl]. 1995. *El Principito*. Madrid, Buenos Aires: Emecé.