

## Multiple exponence of derivational morphology in Rarámuri (Tarahumara)

Cross-linguistic evidence for principles of economy in word formation has led to the development of theories of structural complexity and blocking (Anderson 1982, 1992, Andrews 1990). These theories are challenged by cases of Multiple Exponence (ME), where a morphological category is multiply marked in an apparently redundant fashion. ME has been argued to support realizational theories of morphology and syntax (Matthews 1972, Stump 2001), where morphosyntactic features are transferred and realized morphologically in several ways in the language. This definition, however, entails that cases of ME will be exclusive of *inflectional* categories, particularly agreement. This paper documents several patterns of ME in a Uto-Aztecan language, Rarámuri (Tarahumara), which crucially involve derivational information. The evidence is used to argue that patterns of ME might also arise through prosodic and purely morphological conditions, and not only through transfer of morphosyntactic features.

Rarámuri is language spoken in the northern Mexican State of Chihuahua that is agglutinative and mostly suffixing. ME in this language is formally expressed at the word level through: i) a reduplicative prefix and medial stem consonant mutation to mark an intensive (i.e., *kipá* ‘to snow’ > *i-kibá* ‘to snow a lot’); ii) multiple suffixation of causative and applicative suffixes with no parallel semantic recursivity (i.e., *watóna-ki-ki-ma* stretch.out(tr)-APPL-APPL-FUT.SG ‘(he/she) will stretch it out for somebody’); and iii) applicative stems that take applicative suffixes (i.e., *uké-ki-ma* rain.APPL-APPL-FUT.SG ‘it will rain on me (along the road)’). There are more derivational categories (including an inchoative, three transitivizers and two applicatives), but ME exclusively involves morphemes that occupy defined positions in the hierarchical structure of the verb in this agglutinating language. Independent morphophonological and morphotactic evidence for defining this hierarchical structure include back harmony, compensatory lengthening, attested affix ordering, and stress behavior of affixes.

Through examination of a large body of data obtained through field research, this paper argues that ME in Rarámuri targets the morphological categories that, due to their position in the hierarchical structure of the verb, are subject to increasing opacity and are getting reanalyzed as being part of the stem. Specifically, the inner copy of the morpheme is either of receding productivity or is getting fused phonologically into the stem, requiring an outer copy for morphological transparency. This case resembles ME of subject agreement in Skou (Donohue 1999, 2003), where sound changes collapsed contrasts that generated loss of differentiation of the inflected verb, leading to a second cycle of subject agreement marking. As in Skou, Rarámuri has opaque inner morphological markers that fused with the stem, generating a morpho-prosodic constituent that requires further affixation.

This case raises the more general issue of the status of derivational morphology for realizational models of morphology, which are founded on the assumption that inflection and derivation belong to different components of the grammar (the ‘Split Morphology Hypothesis’ (Matthews 1972, 1991; Anderson 1992)). This paper shows that ME can be morphologically conditioned and not constrained to inflection, constituting an example of how inflectional and derivational morphology do not differ drastically as to their formal morphological properties.