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Subject Positions in Marshallese

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Linguistics

by

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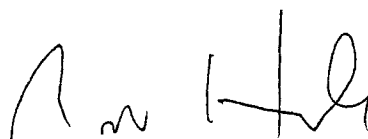
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

.intrans	intransitive verb form
.trans	transitive verb form
-trans	transitive suffix
-obj	object marker
.obj	object pronoun
1s, 1pl	first person singular, first person plural
2s, 2pl	second person singular, second person plural
3s, 3pl	third person singular, third person plural
abl	ablative
abs	absolute
acc	accusative case
AccP	accusative phrase
adv	adverb
AdvP	adverb phrase
agr	agreement
AgrS	subject agreement clitic
AgrSP	subject agreement phrase
Asp_{comp}	completive aspect
Asp_{prox}	proximative aspect
aux	auxiliary
C	complementizer
CP	complementizer phrase
cause	causative prefix
cher.poss	possessive classifier for cherished items
def	definite
dem	demonstrative
DP	determiner phrase
drink.poss	possessive classifier for drinks
dwell.poss	possessive classifier for dwellings/buildings
ex	exclusive
FiniteP	finite phrase
Foc	focus
FocP	focus phrase
food.poss	possessive classifier for food
ForceP	force phrase
gnr.poss	possessive classifier for general items
gen	genitive
h	human
in	inclusive
instr	instrumental
IntP	interrogative phrase
ModifierP	modifier phrase

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neg	negative marker
nh	nonhuman
nom	nominative case
NP	noun phrase
O	object
obl	oblique
pass	passive
pl	plural
PP	prepositional phrase
PredP	predicate phrase
Q	question particle
s	singular
S	subject
T	tense
T(fut)	future tense
T(past)	past tense
T(pres)	present tense
TAM	tense, aspect, modality marker
Top	topic
TopP	topic phrase
V	verb
veh.poss	possessive classifier for vehicles
VP	verb phrase

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I would not have been able to finish this project without the support of my family, especially my parents, Mike and Kathy. Without your encouragement and love, I know I

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Subject Positions in Marshallese

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

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This dissertation examines the position of the Marshallese subject in three different sentence types: basic declaratives, passives and infinitives. Marshallese subjects may surface in one of three positions: sentence initially, internally or finally. However, whether a subject may surface in a particular position is often constrained by clause type. In addition, some positions require a subject to have a special phonological or information status, which, I argue, is reflected in the syntax. After providing a description of the possible subject positions in various clause types, I propose an analysis for each.

In basic declaratives, initial subjects are focused or topics, while sentence internal subjects (when possible) are neutral. Sentences with these subjects do not have a special phonological status. However, sentences with final subjects contain rising intonation and

a pause before the final subject. After concluding that final subjects are right dislocated, I argue for a clause external structure for right dislocation.

Turning to passives, I show that, despite the similarities between passives and statives, there is sufficient syntactic evidence to conclude that Marshallese has a passive construction. Included in this evidence is the prohibition against sentence internal subjects in passive sentences with certain types of agent phrases. I argue that this prohibition can be explained through the smuggling approach to passives (Collins 2005). In this analysis, some Marshallese passive sentences include an overt voice head preceding the agent phrase. However, since passive sentences with other types of agent phrases allow internal subjects, I also propose that Marshallese has a second passive construction similar to that of Watanabe (1993) and Mahajan (1994). While this second type of passive still includes a Voice projection, the head of this projection is null.

Based on a number of syntactic properties including the ability or inability of the subject to immediately follow the matrix verb, I argue that Marshallese infinitival sentences fall into three classes: two of these classes are monoclausal or restructuring infinitives, while the third is a class of biclausal or non-restructuring infinitives. Finally, I propose Marshallese restructuring configurations of the type argued for by Wurmbrand (2001) and Cinque (2006).

Chapter 1. Introduction

Why study lesser-studied languages? Does such an exercise have inherent value simply because it results in the documentation of previously undescribed languages? Is this endeavor important because of what it teaches us about the culture of the peoples who speak these languages? While a "yes" answer to these questions is undeniably warranted, the study of lesser-studied languages has an even greater value because of its ability to teach us about Language and how Language works. When studying lesser-studied languages, linguists often uncover previously unattested linguistic patterns. Not only do these patterns expand our knowledge of linguistics typology but they also provide an invaluable test of linguistic theories, which are often proposed based on the patterns of more commonly known and commonly studied languages. So much (though not all) of the value of studying lesser-studied languages comes from their allowing us to ask if a particular theory can account for previously unattested linguistics patterns and revising our theories accordingly.

With this idea in mind, this dissertation examines three constructions of the Marshallese language (Austronesian, Oceanic, Micronesian): simple declaratives, passives and infinitives. The aim of this examination is first to provide a theoretically informed description of the syntax of these constructions and second, using current linguistic theory, to develop a syntactic analysis of these constructions, verifying and revising theory as necessary.

One of the main focuses of this examination is subject position. In these three constructions, the Marshallese subject surfaces in one of three positions: sentence initial,

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internal or final. Subject position is determined by different syntactic, semantic and phonological factors. First, subject position is constrained by clause type, as not all of these positions are available to the subject in all clause types. Second sentences with subject initial, internal and final sentences differ in their intonation and information status. These differences in semantics and phonology, I will argue, are reflected in the syntax.

Before turning to the examination of these constructions, in this chapter, I provide an introduction to the Marshallese language, as well as other Micronesian languages. This chapter also presents biographical information on the Marshallese speakers consulted for this project, a brief description of other scholarly work on Marshallese and an outline of the dissertation.

1.1 Introduction to the Marshallese language

Marshallese is an Oceanic language of the Micronesian sub-branch of the Austronesian language family and is spoken in the pacific islands nation of the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI). Its location is circled in Figure 1. There are about 62,000 native speakers of Marshallese in the RMI and in the US (The World Factbook 2008).

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Figure 1. Location of the Republic of the Marshall Islands
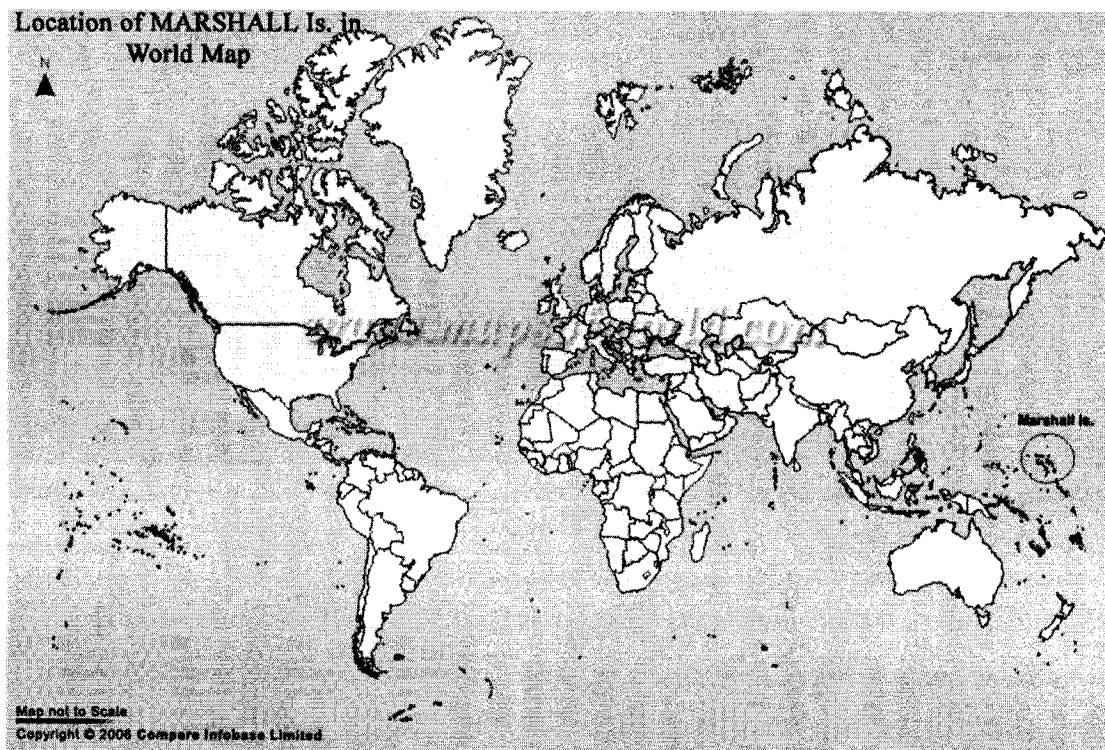
Image taken from mapsofworld.com:
http://www.mapsofworld.com/marshall-islands/marshall-islands-location-map.html

The RMI consists of two island chains: the Ratak chain in the East and the Rālik chain in the west (see Figure 2). Each chain has its own distinct dialect, although the two are mutually intelligible. Dialectical differences are mainly lexical.

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Figure 2. The RMI's island chains
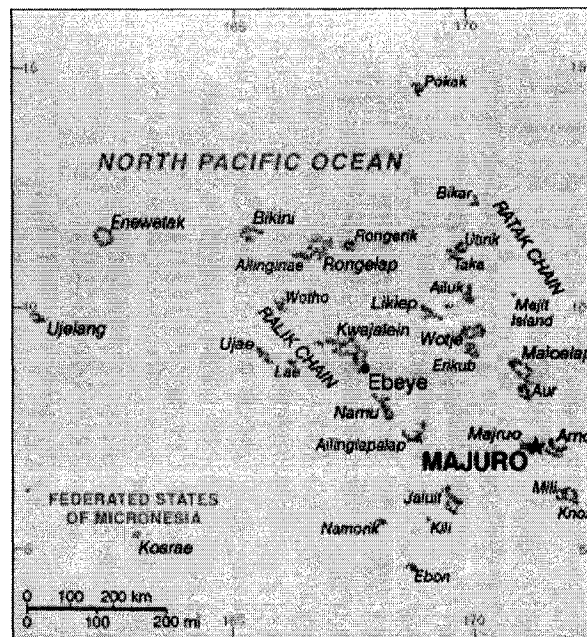
Image taken from the World Factbook: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/print/rm.html

This work examines the dialect spoken on the capital island of Majuro, which, while part of the Ratak chain, contains many lexical elements of the Rālik dialect as a result of Rālik speakers moving to the capital.

1.2 A note on speakers

The data collected for this project came from a number of speakers, whose biographical information is given in Table 1. These speakers vary in age, English speaking abilities, where they grew up and time spent in the US. If the speaker had visited the US but not lived there for any length of time, the amount of time is not given in Table 1. Of the eleven speakers consulted, seven resided in Majuro at the time that the data were collected. With the exception of two speakers (starred in Table 1), all speakers grew up on Majuro. These two speakers grew up on Mili, but moved to Majuro sometime during

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their late childhood years. All consultants are speakers of the Rātak dialect. Of the four

speakers residing in the US during the time the data were collected, two speak only

Marshallese in the home. The other two speak both Marshallese and English.

Table 1. Biographical information for Marshallese consultants[1]

Initials	Age	Sex	resided in	Total time spent in US
C.S.M	21	M	Majuro	2 years
L.L.	60	M	Majuro	undisclosed number of years in Guam
E.J.	56*	M	Majuro	4 months
E.L.	18	F	Majuro	NA
J.B.	21	F	Majuro	NA
I.M.	17	M	Majuro	NA
M.I.	19*	M	Majuro	NA
A.L.K.	mid 20's	F	California	at least 5 years
J.G.	24	F	Utah	7 years
L.G.	30	F	Utah	7 years
E.V.	29	F	North Carolina	7 years

This dissertation also occasionally contains data taken from other scholarly works

or from other sources such as the newspaper or the internet. In these cases, biographical

information regarding the speaker could not be collected.

1.3 Micronesian languages

As a member of the Austronesian language family, Marshallese is distantly related to

more well studied languages such as Malagasy, Tagalog and Chamorro, and to more

commonly known Polynesian languages like Samoan and Tongan. The genetic

relationship between Marshallese and other Micronesian languages is given in Figure 3.

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[1] In cases where I have incomplete biographical information, I have included as much as I know about the speakers, as I have been unable to contact these speakers for clarification.

Figure 3. Micronesian languages
(adapted from Gordon 2005)
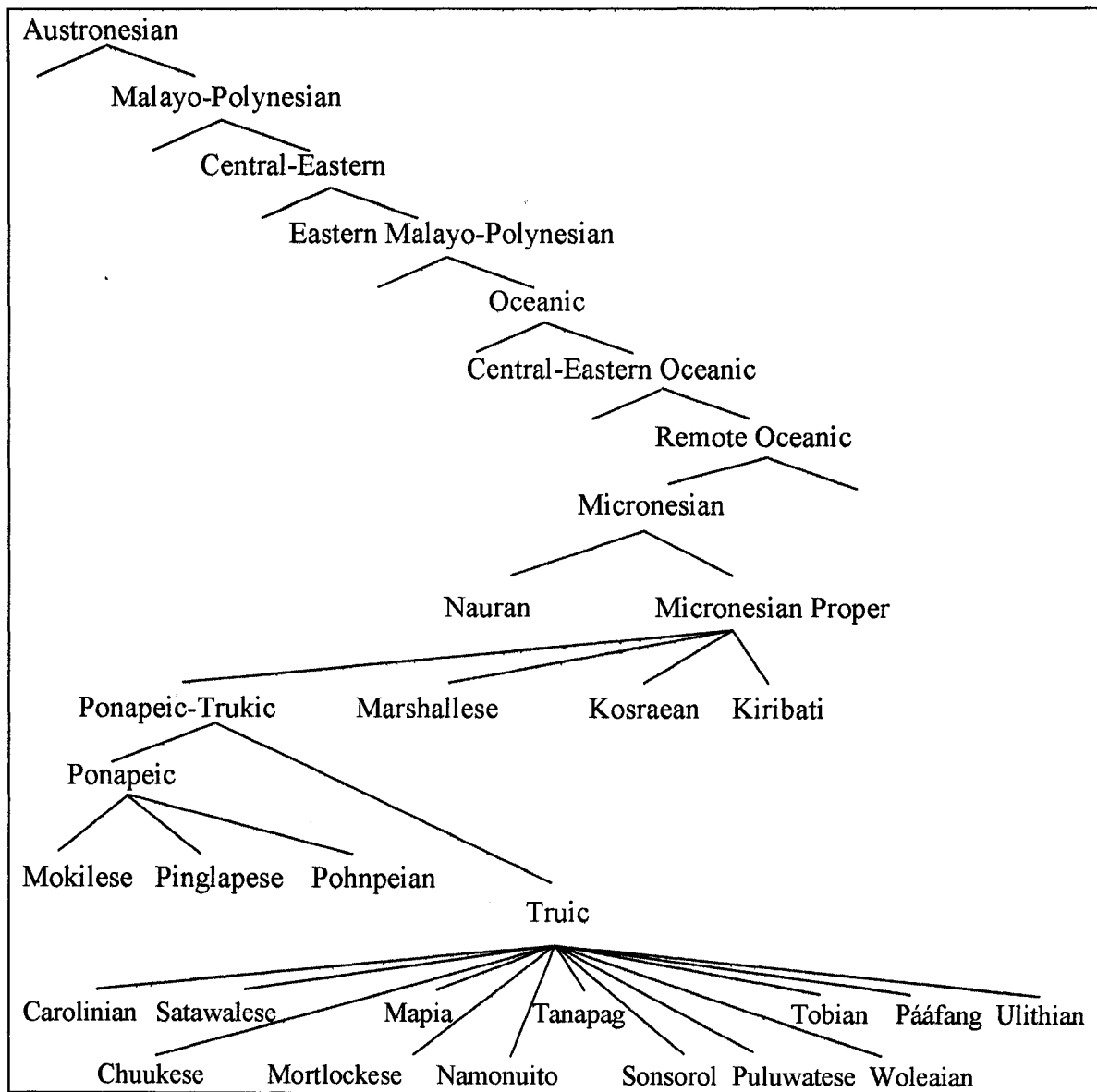
There are 20 Micronesian languages, all of which are included in Figure 3 (Gordon 2005). While some of these languages have tens of thousands of speakers (Marshallese 62,000; Pohnpeian, 34,400; Chuukese 53,000) most of these languages have

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fewer then 10,000 speakers. These languages are listed in Table 2, along with the number

of speakers and the year in which these numbers were compiled (if available).

Table 2. Micronesian languages with fewer than 10,000 speakers

Language	# of speakers	year
Mapia	1	
Tobian	22	1995
Satawalese	458	1987
Sonsorol	660	1990
Namonuito	944	1989
Mokilese	1,050	1979
Pááfang	1,318	1989
Puluwatese	1,364	1989
Woleaian	1,631	1987
Pinglapese	3,000	
Carolinian	3,000	1990
Ulithian	3,000	1987
Tanapag	4,400	2004
Mortlockese	5,904	1989
Nauruan	6,000	1991
Kosraean	7,700	2000

The word order facts of a few of these languages will be discussed in Chapter 3.

1.4 Previous works on Marshallese

The phoneme inventory of Marshallese is extensively and expertly described in many

works, including Bender (1968, 1973), Zewen (1977), Choi (1992, 1995) and Hale

(2000). Other phonological issues, such as vowel dissimilation (Bender 1969b),

reduplication (Harrison 1973), basic intonation (Zewen 1977), and constraints on

consonant sequences (McClintock 1999), have also been investigated. There are also a

few works examining morphological issues, including Bender (1971, 1984), Harrison

(1978), Pagotto (1987, 1992) and Hale (1996), and a number of more comprehensive

works including Erland (1914), which is a cultural look at the Marshallese people but

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nevertheless provides valuable linguistic data; Bailey (1967), which is a transformational outline of Marshallese syntax; and Zewen (1977), which describes some aspects of Marshallese phonology, morphology and syntax. Finally, there are various other Marshallese language learning texts which I will not mention here, the most comprehensive of which is Bender's *Spoken Marshallese*.

The majority of scholarly work on the syntax of Marshallese is usually part of research seeking to examine one particular construction in many Micronesian languages. These include Oda's (1976) examination of complementation, Sohn's (1974) work on relative clauses, Song's (1994) look at object incorporation, and Hale's (1998) investigation of Micronesian clause structure. These works are often useful from a descriptive perspective but are lacking in current syntactic theory, either because of when they were written or because the authors may not have had the examination of syntactic theory in mind. The only exception to this generalization is Hale (1998), whose syntactic analysis of basic Marshallese sentence structure is the starting point for the analysis presented in this dissertation. This being the case, an analysis of Marshallese that employs current linguistic theory is overdue.

1.5 Outline of the dissertation

Chapter 2 is a brief grammatical sketch of the Marshallese language. While it focuses mainly on syntax, both phonology and morphology are also discussed. Following this sketch, the remaining four chapters examine the three constructions that are the main focus of the dissertation. The discussion of basic word order is broken into two chapters. Chapter 3 describes the word order variations of basic declaratives, as well as the

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phonological and information status of these sentences. It also compares Marshallese basic word order to that of other Micronesian languages. An analysis of basic declaratives is then proposed in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, I turn to an examination of passives and argue that Marshallese does, in fact, have a passive construction. After discussing the syntactic differences between stative and passive sentences, I provide an analysis for the Marshallese passive construction along the lines of Collins' (2005) smuggling approach to passives. Following the discussion of passives, in Chapter 6, I discuss infinitives and show that Marshallese has at least three classes of infinitives. These classes have distinct syntactic properties, which provide evidence for the conclusion that two of these classes are monoclausal and the other, biclausal. Chapter 7 is a discussion of the theoretical implications of the analyses presented in previous chapters.

Chapter 2. Grammatical Sketch of Marshallese

This chapter includes a grammatical sketch of the Marshallese language.[2] Following a brief introduction to Marshallese phonology and orthography in section 2.1, section 2.2 describes Marshallese morphology and investigates the morphology associated with different grammatical categories, including nouns, determiners, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. Section 2.3 discusses Marshallese syntax. I first discuss the word order of determiner phrases, including those phrases with definite and indefinite determiners, quantifiers, adjectives, possessive classifiers and relative clauses. Following determiner phrases, prepositional phrases are briefly discussed. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to IP and CP level syntax. Section 2.3.3 examines IP level syntax, including verbless sentences in section 2.3.3.1 and sentences with overt verbs in section 2.3.3.2, although the vast majority of the discussion of basic word order is left until Chapters 3 and 4. In the final section, which discusses CP level syntax, I examine complementation, yes/no questions, embedded questions and *wh-* questions.

2.1 Marshallese phoneme inventory and orthography

What follows is only a brief discussion of Marshallese phonemes and orthography. For a thorough discussion of Marshallese phonology, see Bender (1968, 1969b, 1973), Harrison (1973), Zewen (1977), Choi (1992, 1995), McClintock (1999) and Hale (2000).

2.1.1 Consonants

Marshallese consonants have a primary and a secondary articulation site (Choi 1992, 1995). There are three primary places of articulation – bilabial, coronal and velar – and

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[2] When the information presented in this chapter does not come from my original research, it is cited as such. Otherwise, the information presented in this chapter is the result of my own research.

three secondary places of articulation – palatal, velar and labial. Table 3 lists the Marshallese consonant inventory.

Table 3. Marshallese consonant inventory
(adapted from Choi 1992)

		Bilabials	Coronals	Velars
Stops	Palatalized	p^j	t^j	
	Velarized	p^γ	t^γ	k
	Labialized			k^w
Nasals	Palatalized	m^j	n^j	
	Velarized	m^γ	n^γ	ŋ
	Labialized		n^w	$ŋ^w$
Liquids	Palatalized		$ł^j$	
	Velarized		l^γ	r^γ
	Labialized		l^w	r^w
Glides	Palatalized		j	
	Velarized			ɰ
	Labialized	w		

2.1.2 Vowels

The literature on Marshallese phonology argues in favor of four Marshallese vowel phonemes (Bender 1968; Choi 1992, 1995; Hale 2000). These phonemes are specified for [height] and [ATR] but not for [back] and [round]. Vowels are assigned the qualities [back] and [round] by their surrounding consonants. Vowels become [-back, -round] in the environment of palatalized consonants; [+back, -round] in the environment of velarized consonants; and [+back, +round] in the environment of labialized consonants. It has therefore been argued that there are twelve Marshallese surface vowels (excluding diphthongs, which will be discussed shortly). However Marshallese vowels may be long or short, and although to my knowledge this has not been previously proposed in the

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literature, I would argue that there must be more than four phonemes and more than twelve surface vowels. Consider the following minimal pair:

(1) mat   [mˠɐtˠ]   'be full' (after eating)
     maat [mˠɐɐtˠ] 'all gone'

In this example, a difference in vowel length – short as in *mat* and long as in *maat* – results in a difference in the meaning of the word. Since the vowels of both words are surrounded by the same consonants, vowel length cannot be determined by the surrounding consonants. Therefore, it seems that long and short vowels are separate phonemes and that long vowels should be added to the phoneme inventory.

As this issue has never been investigated, I am unsure if all Marshallese short vowels have corresponding long vowels. Therefore, I will not include them in Table 4, which lists Marshallese surface vowel forms. As long vowels are written with two vowels (i.e. *a* represents [ɐ] and *aa*, [ɐ:]), this issue is not essential to any discussion that follows and will therefore be set aside for now.

Table 4. Marshallese vowels
(adapted from Choi 1992 and Hale 2000)

[-back, -round]	[+back, -round]	[+back, +round]
i	ɯ	u
ɪ	ɤ	ʊ
e	ʌ	o
ɛ	ɐ	ɔ

When a vowel appears between consonants having different secondary places of articulation, the vowel consists of a smooth transition from one target to another (Bender 1968, Choi 1992, Hale 2000). There are, therefore, twenty-four Marshallese diphthongs, six at each specification of height and ATR.

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Table 5. Marshallese diphthongs
(adapted from Choi 1992 and Hale 2000)

iɯ	iu	ɯi	ɯu	ui	uɯ
ɪɣ	ɪʊ	ɣɪ	ɣʊ	ʊɪ	ʊɣ
eʌ	eo	ʌe	ʌo	oe	oʌ
ɛa	ɛɔ	ɐɛ	ɐɔ	ɔɛ	ɔɐ

For example, if a vowel is found between a palatalized consonant and a velarized one (C^jVC^γ), there is steady movement of the tongue throughout the vowel from a [-back, -round] to a [+back, -round] position, such as in *jep* 'return', where there is a transition between [e] and [ʌ]. This word is therefore pronounced /t^{j}eʌp$^\gamma$/. As the spelling of this word indicates, diphthongs are not part of the orthography. This verb is written with only one vowel *e*. But when pronounced, it is a diphthong.

2.1.3 Orthography

In this dissertation, I adopt the orthography used in the Marshallese-English dictionary. Table 6 details this orthography and illustrates how each letter corresponds to the phonemes discussed in sections 2.1.1and 2.1.2.

Table 6. Marshallese orthography
(adapted from Abo, et. al. 1976)

orthography	IPA	description
a	[ɐ]	a low back unrounded vowel
ā	[ɛ]	a low front vowel
b	[pˠ]	a bilabial stop
d	[ɻ]	a retroflex trill
e	[e] or [ɛ]	a mid front vowel
i	[i] or [ɪ]	a high front vowel
j	[tʲ]	a dental stop of affricate
k	[k] or [kʷ]	a velar stop, unrounded or rounded
l	[lʸ]	a lateral
ḷ	[lʷ] or [lˠ]	a lateral, unrounded or rounded
m	[mʲ]	a bilabial nasal
ṃ	[mˠ]	a bilabial nasal
n	[nʲ]	a dental nasal
ṇ	[nʷ] or [nˠ]	a dental nasal, unrounded or rounded
ñ	[ŋ] or [ŋʷ]	a velar nasal, unrounded or rounded
o	[o] or [ɔ]	a mid back rounded vowel
ọ	[ɐ]	a low back rounded vowel
ō	[ɤ] or [ʌ]	a mid back unrounded vowel
p	[pʲ]	a bilabial stop
r	[rʷ] or [rˠ]	a retroflex trill, unrounded or rounded
t	[tˠ]	a dental stop
u	[u]	a high back rounded vowel
ū	[ɯ] or [ʊ]	a high back unrounded vowel
w	[w]	a rounded velar glide
y	[j]	an unrounded palatal glide

This orthography was only recently adopted by the language and culture commission of the RMI. Because of this fact, many Marshallese speakers use other spelling systems, which means that a word's spelling often varies from speaker to speaker. This being the case, any data presented from online texts, the Marshall Islands Journal or other scholarly works not employing the orthography used in the dictionary will first include a line

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showing the orthography used by the speaker/author, followed by a line representing the

dictionary orthography.

2.2 Morphology

This section discusses the grammatical categories of Marshallese words and some of the

morphology that marks these words, including nouns, determiners, pronouns, adjectives,

verbs and adverbs.

2.2.1 Nouns

Most nouns bear no overt morphology marking them as nouns. Nouns are not overtly

inflected for plurality, gender or case. Often times, when a noun becomes a verb or vice

versa, there is no overt prefix or suffix to mark the change in grammatical category.

Thus, it is difficult to determine if the noun is derived from the verb or the verb is derived

from the noun, as in the following example containing the verb *al* 'sing' (trans) and the

noun *al* 'song'.

(2)   Je-n   al   al   in   pālle.
        1pl.in.agr-should   sing.trans song of be.covered[3]
        'We should sing American songs.'

There is one prefix which is used to derive a noun from a verb (Zewen 1977). This prefix

is *ri-* (and its allomorphs *rū-* and *ru-*) and means 'one who' or 'one from'.

(3)   Bwilijmāāṇ eo   e-ar   ka-bōjrak   ri-kǫǫt   eo.
        police.officer the.s 3s.agr-T(past) cause-stop one.who-steal the.s
        'The police officer stopped the thief.'

However, *ri-* may also prefix to nouns, as in (4) and (5), and adverbials, as in (6) (Zewen

1977).

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[3] The Marshallese word for 'American' or 'Westerner' comes from the word *pālle*, which means 'be covered'.

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(4)   E-boọḷ   ri-Ṃajeḷ   ilo Costa Mesa.
        3s.agr-be.many one.from-Marshalls in Costa Mesa
        'There are many Marshallese in Costa Mesa.'

(5)   ri-kīen
        ri-kien
        one.from-government
        'government official'
        (Zewen 1977:60)

(6)   ri-ījo
        ri-ijo
        one.from-there
        'inhabitant (of that place)'
        (Zewen 1977:60)

2.2.2 Determiners

Marshallese definite determiners and demonstratives follow the noun and are inflected

for number (Bender 1969a). There are also different plural determiners for humans and

nonhumans. The singular definite determiner is *eo* (7), while the plural definite

determiners for nonhumans and humans are *ko* and *ro* respectively (8).

(7)   a. Ewi   pinjeḷ eo?
           where.is pencil the.s
           'Where is the pencil?'

        b. Ewi   ḷaddik eo?
           where.is boy   the.s
           'Where is the boy?'

(8)   a. Erki   pinjeḷ ko?
            where.are.nh pencil the.pl.nh
           'Where are the pencils?'

        b. Erri   ḷaddik ro?
            where.are.h boy   the.pl.h
           'Where are the boys?'

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Demonstratives also have a human/nonhuman distinction. But the Marshallese demonstrative system is more complex than the English one. There are five points of reference in the Marshallese demonstrative system: 1) near the speaker; 2) near the speaker and listener; 3) near the listener; 4) away from both the speaker and listener; and 5) distant but visible. Marshallese determiners and demonstratives are given in Table 7.

Table 7. Marshallese determiners and demonstratives
(adapted from Bender 1969a)

	Meaning	singular	pl human	pl nonhuman
determiners	unknown, not visible	eo	ro	ko
demonstratives	near the speaker	e	rā	kā
	near the speaker and listener	in	rein	kein
	near the listener	ņe	raņe	kaņe
	away from both speaker & listener	eņ	raņ	kaņ
	distant but visible	uweo	roro	koko

Given the morphological similarities between the endings of many of the determiners and demonstratives (i.e. the determiners all end with *o*, the demonstrative for objects and people near the speaker and listener all end in *in*, etc.), it is possible that some of these words consist of a prefix (i.e. *r-* for plural human and *k-* for plural nonhuman) followed by a suffix corresponding to a point of reference. Since I am unsure if this is the case, the determiners and demonstratives will not be divided into morphemes in the glosses of example sentences.

The Marshallese singular indefinite determiner is *juon*, which is also the word for 'one'. There is no overt plural indefinite determiner, as shown in (2), repeated here as (10).

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(9) Je-n   al   juon al   in pālle.
     1pl.in.agr-should sing.trans a   song of American
     'We should sing an American song.'

(10) Je-n   al   al   in pālle.
     1pl.in.agr-should sing.trans song of American
     'We should sing American songs.'

2.2.3 Pronouns

Marshallese has two types of pronouns: objective pronouns, which might be argued to

bear accusative case, and what have been referred to in the literature as absolute or

emphatic pronouns. The two types of pronouns are shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Marshallese pronouns
(adapted from Bender 1984)

	absolute/emphatic	objective
1 singular	ña	eō
2 singular	kwe	eok
3 singular	e	e (human only)
1 plural inclusive	kōj	kōj
1 plural exclusive	kōm	kōm
2 plural	koṃ (Rālik); koṃi (Ratak)	koṃ (Rālik); koṃi (Ratak)
3 plural	er	er (human only)

In most cases, the absolute/emphatic pronouns and the objective pronouns have the same

morphological form. The only exceptions are the first and second singular pronouns. In

order to distinguish the two types or pronouns, the gloss for the absolute/emphatic

pronouns will include "abs", while the gloss for the objective pronouns will include "obj".

The third person objective pronouns may only be used for humans and not for

nonhumans (compare (11) and (12) with (13)).

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(11)   E-ar   deñōt   ladik ro.
           E-ar   deñōt   laddik ro.
           3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans boy   the.pl.h
           'He slapped the boys.'
           (Harrison 1978:1075)

(12)   E-ar   deñōt   kweet ko.[4]
           3s.agr-T(past) pound.trans octopus the.pl.nh
           'He pounded the octopuses.'
           (Harrison 1978:1075)

(13)   E-ar   deñōt   er.
           3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans 3pl.obj
           'He slapped them (the boys).'
           *'He pounded them (the octopuses).'

Instead, the object marker is used with a non-overt object pronoun (14).

(14)   E-ar   deñōt-i.
           3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans-obj
           'He slapped them (nonhuman).'
           (Harrison 1978:1075)

The object marker will be discussed in more detail in section 2.2.6.2 of this chapter.

Marshallese absolute/emphatic pronouns may be used as the subjects of sentences

that appear to lack an overt verb (15-16) (Bender 1984);

(15)   Na   rikaki.[5]
           1s.abs teacher
           'I am a teacher.'

(16)   Kwe   ri-nana.
           2s.abs one.who-be.bad
           'You are a bad person.'

as the complements of prepositions (17-18);

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[4] The verb *deñōt* can mean 'slap' or 'pound.' I have followed Harrison's translations in these examples.

[5] Erland (1914) explains that the Marshallese word for teacher comes from the morphemes *ri* 'one who' and *ka-* 'cause to' and *kiki* 'sleep.' However, this expression has been lexicalized to the point that most Marshallese speakers do not recognize this word as consisting of these three morphemes. For this reason, I treat this as one word.

(17) E-ar   le-tok   donut ko   ñan ña   wōt.
     3s.agr-T(past) give-toward.speaker donut the.pl.nh to 1s.abs only
     'He gave the donuts to me only.'

(18) E-ar   jab eḷ-tok   ñan ña.
     3s.agr-T(past) neg pay.attention-toward.speaker to   1s.abs
     'He didn't pay attention to me.'
     (Bender 1984:444)

to emphasize objects (19b) and (20b) (compare with the (a) examples, which do not

emphasized objects);

(19) a. I-j   yokwe eok.
        1s.agr-T(pres) love   2s.obj
        'I love you.'

     b. I-j   yokwe kwe.
        1s.agr-T(pres) love   2s.abs
        'I love you.'

(20) a. Kwō-n   jab joon   eo.
        2s.agr-should neg press.down.trans 1s.obj
        'Don't put your weight on me.'

     b. Kwō-n   jab joon   ña.
        2s.agr-should neg press.down.trans 1s.abs
        'Don't put your weight on me.'
        (Bender 1984:444)

and in coordination structures (21).

(21) Lorina e-ar   kaal-e tok   ña   im kwe.
     Lorina 3s.agr-T(past) call-obj toward.speaker 1s.abs and 2s.abs
     'Lorina called me and you.'

An absolute/emphatic pronoun is only used as a subject when the subject is

emphasized (meaning that these subjects are topicalized or focused) (22). These pronouns

are usually absent, as shown in (23). This is a common pattern in many Oceanic

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languages, in which "a disjunctive pronoun is often used... as the subject of a clause with a non-verbal predicate...for topicalization, focus or emphasis" (Ross 2004).

(22) Ña   i-j   yokwe ajiri ro   nej-ū.
     1s.abs 1s.agr-T(pres) love   child the.pl.h cher.poss-1s.gen
     'Me, I love my children'

(23) I-j   yokwe ajiri ro   nej-u.
     1s.agr-T(pres) love   child the.pl.h cher.poss-1s.gen
     'I love my children'

In addition, all pronouns may be suffixed for numbers representing two or more individuals. These suffixes include -ro 'two' (24), -jil 'three' (25), -eañ 'four' (26), and -uij 'five or more' (Bender 1969a, 1984).

(24) Julius e-j   yokwe kōm-ro.
     Julius 3s.agr-T(pres) love   1pl.ex.obj-2
     'Julius loves the two of us.' (not including you)

(25) Kwe   ña   im Mona, kōj-jil   e-naaj   um̧um̧   ñan bade eo.
     2s.abs 1s.abs and Mona 1pl.in.abs-3 3s.agr-T(fut) bake.intrans for   party the.s
     'You, me and Mona, the three of us will bake for the party.'

(26) Julius e-ar   bōk-tok   donut ñan komi-eañ.
     Julius 3s.agr-T(past) bring-toward.speaker donut to   2pl.abs-4
     'Julius brought donuts to you four.'

Notice that when the absolute/emphatic pronoun is a subject inflected for number, the third singular agreement clitic e- is used (25). Agreement clitics will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.4 Subject agreement clitics

With the exception of some sentences lacking overt verbs, Marshallese sentences include a subject agreement clitic (AgrS). Table 9 lists these clitics.

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Table 9. Marshallese subject agreement clitics

	Singular	Plural
1st person (inclusive)	i	kōj
1st person (exclusive)	-	kōm
2nd person	kwō	koṃ
3rd person	e	re

AgrS immediately follows the subject (if the sentence has an overt subject) and may cliticize to any element following it. For example AgrS may cliticize to the tense, aspect or modality marker (TAM), as in (27).

(27) Irooj ro   re-naaj   ettōr ñan kweiḷọk eo.
     chief the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(fut) run to   meeting the.s
     'The chiefs will run to the meeting.'

However if there is no overt TAM, AgrS may cliticize to a preverbal adverb (28) or, when there is no preverbal adverb, a verb (29).

(28) Ḷaddik eo e-bar   jino   katak.
     boy   the.s 3s.agr-again start.trans study
     'The boy again started to study.'

(29) Herman e-kōṇaan   kiki.
     Herman 3s.agr-want sleep
     'Herman wants to sleep.'

In this respect, the position of AgrS varies from other oceanic languages, in which the subject agreement is canonically realized as a prefix or proclitic on the verb (Ross 2004).

A sentence involving the coordination of two Tense phrases requires only one subject agreement clitic. This clitic cliticizes to the first tense marker (30a). However, it is possible for the sentence to include two agreement clitics, one cliticized to each tense marker (30b):

(30) a. Mary e-kar   Jotak ilo Namorik   im   kar   rittoļǫk ilo Majuro.
        Mary 3s.agr-T(past) born in Namorik   and T(past) grow.up in Majuro
        'Mary was born in Namorik and grew up in Majuro.'

     b. Mary e-kar   Jotak ilo Namorik   im   e-kar   rittoļǫk ilo
        Mary 3s.agr-T(past) born in Namorik   and 3s.agr-T(past) grow.up in
        Majuro.
        Majuro
        'Mary was born in Namorik and grew up in Majuro.'

Erland (1914), Zewen (1977) and Hale (1998) state that AgrS does not agree in

number with postverbal plural subjects and that sentences with postverbal plural subjects

use the 3s agreement clitic, as shown in (31) and (32) (see sections Transitive

sentences3.2 of Chapter 3 for a discussion of postverbal subjects).

(31)   E buromuij   iroj ro.
       E-būroṃōj   irooj ro.
       3s.agr-be.sad chief the.pl.h
       'The chiefs are sad.'
       (Erland 1914:198)

(32)   E jū   nō   ko.
       E-ju   no   ko.
       3s.agr-be.high wave the.pl.nh
       'The waves are high.'
       (Zewen 1977:100)

However my consultants tend to use plural agreement with postverbal plural subjects, as

shown in (33) and (34). When asked about sentences like (31) and (32), they often report

that these sentences are ungrammatical because the subject is plural but the singular

agreement clitic e is used. Consider (33b) and (34b).

(33)   a. Re-naaj   ettōr irooj ro   ñan kweilǫk eo.
          3pl.agr-T(fut) run   chief the.pl.h to meeting the.s
          'The chiefs will run to the meeting.'

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b. *E-naaj   ettōr irooj ro   ñan kweiḷǫk eo.
   3s.agr-T(fut) run   chief the.pl.h to   meeting the.s
   'The chiefs will run to the meeting.'

(34)   a. Re-kar   būroṃōj irooj ro   ilo   pade eo.
          3pl.agr-T(past) be.sad chief the.pl.h during party the.s
          'The chiefs were sad during the party.'

       b. *E-kar   būroṃōj irooj ro   ilo   pade eo.
          3s.agr-T(past) be.sad chief the.pl.h during party the.s
          'The chiefs were sad during the party.'

In the case of (33b) and (34b), speakers reported that these sentences were ungrammatical because the 3s agreement clitic *e* appears with the plural subject *irooj ro* 'the chiefs.' In spite of this fact, there is reason to think that these sentences are grammatical because these speakers often use the singular agreement clitic with a postverbal plural subject in spontaneous speech or when translating a sentence from English to Marshallese. The use of the third singular clitic in spontaneous speech seems to indicate that (33b) and (34b) are, in fact, grammatical.

Historically, it is possible that number agreement with postverbal subjects is a rather new development in Marshallese. This fact is hinted at by Zewen when he states that, while there is no number agreement between postverbal subjects and the agreement clitic in Marshallese, "contemporary" Marshallese often employs the third person plural marker with the postverbal plural subject. Thus the data that was taken from older dialects of Marshallese and that is presented in Erland (1914) and Zewen (1977) may not have allowed plural agreement with postverbal plural subjects, whereas Marshallese as it is used today does.

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2.2.5 Adjectives[6]

Marshallese has both adjectives and stative verbs. Many adjectives are derived from their stative verb counterparts by reduplication of the final syllable, while others have the same morphological form as the stative verb. Consider the verb *kilep* ' be fat, big' in (35).

(35)   Kōrā   ro   re-kilep   kōn   a-er   jab   exercise.
       woman   the.pl.h   3pl.agr-be.fat because.of   gnr.poss-3pl.gen   neg   exercise
       'The women are fat because of their not exercising.'

In its adjectival form, the final syllable of the verb is reduplicated, resulting in the adjective *kileplep* (36).

(36)   Ļoon   kileplep   eo   e-jorrāān.
       boat   big   the.s   3s.agr-be.broken
       'The big boat is broken.'

Table 10 provides a number of other examples of this type of reduplication.

Table 10. Stative verbs and adjectives

English	Stative Verb	Adjective
'great, large'	ļap	ļapļap
'lowly, small'	dik	dikdik
'big, fat'	kilep	kileplep
'small'	jidik	jidikdik
'thick'	mijel	mijeljel
'thin'	māni	mānini
'wide'	depakpak	depakpak
'short'	kadu	kadudu

However, many adjectives have the same morphological form as their stative verbs counterparts, as illustrated by *būrōrō* 'red' (37) and *ṃor* 'old' (38).

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[6] Much of the information contained in this section is taken from a handout given to me by the RMI Ministry of Education. While they indicated that it was given to them by Byron Bender, he has told me that he does not know its source. Although I have verified this information with my consultants, I have been unable to track down the source of this information.

(37) a. Kōm-ar   kǫǫt wa būrōrō eo.
        1pl.ex.agr-T(past) steal car red   the.s
        'We (not including you) stole the red car.'

     b. Re-būrōrō   jea   ko   bwe   i-ar   wūno-ok-i   er.
        3pl.agr-be.red chair the.pl.nh because 1s.agr-T(past) paint-trans-obj 3pl.obj
        'The chairs are red because I painted them.'

(38) a. Kaar m̧or eo   e-ar   itaak ilo m̧weo.
        car old the.s 3s.agr-T(past) crash into the.house
        'The old car crashed into the house.'

     b. Kaar eo   e-m̧or   e-ar   itaak ilo m̧weo.
        car the.s 3s.agr-be.old 3s.agr-T(past) crash into the.house
        'The car that is old crashed into the house.'

2.2.6 Verbal morphology

This section discusses the small set of affixes which prefix or suffix to Marshallese verbs.

These affixes include the causative prefix, the object marker and directional suffixes, as

well as the suffixes used to derive a transitive verb from an intransitive one or vice versa,

and the suffix used to derive a verb from a noun.

2.2.6.1 The causative prefix ka-

There is only one affix that prefixes to Marshallese verbs: the causative prefix ka-, which

has the allomorphs ke-, kō- and ko- (Bender 1969a, Zewen 1977, Pagotto 1992). The

causative prefix may prefix to intransitive verbs, as in the following examples (from

Pagotto 1992):

(39) eañ   'urinate (of children only)' k-eañ   'help (a child) urinate'
     ebeb   'shiver   ka-ebebe   'make (someone) shiver'
     bait   'fight'   ka-baiti   'make (someone) fight'
     bukwelōlō 'kneel'   ka-bukwelōlōuk 'make (someone) kneel'
     bat   'be slow'   kō-bate   'make (something) slow'
     bwebwe   'be stupid'   ka-bwebwe   'fool (someone)'

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When *ka-* prefixes to an intransitive verb, it licenses an additional argument, as shown in

(40a&b).

(40) a. John e-ar   bukwelōlō.
         John 3s.agr-T(past) kneel
         'John knelt.'

      b. I-ar   ka-bukwelōlō-uk John.
         1s.agr-T(past) cause-kneel-trans John
         'I made John kneel.'

Certain weather verbs may also take the causative prefix. When this occurs, the resulting

verb means 'wait (for something)' (Pagotto 1992).

(41) iiaḷañe   'be moonrise'   ka-iiaḷañe   'wait for moonrise'
     ibwij   'be high tide'   ka-ibwij   'wait for high tide'

Notice that weather verbs have only one argument when used with the causative prefix

(*Takwōj* in (42b)), whereas these weather verbs, when used without this prefix, have a

dummy, expletive, non-overt subject (42b) and therefore no arguments to which they

assign a theta role

(42) a. E-ibwij.
        3s.agr-be.high.tide
        'It is high tide.'
        (Abo, et. al. 1976:69)

     b. Takwōj e-n   ka-ibwij-ḷọk.
        Takwōj 3s.agr-should cause-be.high.tide-away.from.both
        'Takwōj should wait for the tide to come in.'

There is also another type of causative construction that is called the stative

causative by Abo, et. al. (1976). This construction differs from the causative construction

illustrated by (40) in that, in the stative causative construction, the causative prefix does

not license an additional argument. If a sentence with a stative verb (43a) is compared to

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one in which the causative prefix is prefixed to that particular stative verb (43b), we find

that both sentences contain only one argument.

(43) a. E-llu   emṃaan eo.
         3s.agr-be.angry man   the.s
         'The man is angry.'

      b. E-ka-llulu   jipij   eo   a-n.
         3s.agr-cause-be.angry speech the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen
         'His speech was provocative.'
         (Abo, et. al. 1976:183)

Stative causative sentences may contain neither an object nor the object marker:

(44) a. *Jipij   eo   a-n   e-ka-llulu   eō.
         speech the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen 3s.agr-cause-be.angry 1s.obj
         'His speech angered me.'

      b. *Jipij   eo   a-n   e-ka-llulu-e   eō.
         speech the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen 3s.agr-cause-be.angry-obj 1s.obj
         'His speech angered me.'

One difference between a stative verb (43a) and a stative causative verb (43b) is

that each verb imposes different selectional restrictions on their subjects. The stative verb

llu 'be angry' may only have an animate or living subject, while the stative causative can

have an inanimate subject.

In the stative causative construction, it is often the case that part or all of the final

syllable of the stative verb is reduplicated, as shown in the following examples (taken

from Pagotto 1992):

(45) llu   'be angry'   ka-llulu   'be provocative'
      jook   'be ashamed' ka-jjookok 'be shameful'
      jiñ   'fart'   ka-jjiñjiñ 'be gas-producing'

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In examples containing the causative prefix, it seems that the subject is responsible for causing the act of the stative.

While many Marshallese verbs may take the causative prefix, there are restrictions on which Marshallese verbs can take this prefix. Pagotto (1992) notes that of 221 intransitive verbs that are derived from their transitive counterparts, only 83 may take the causative.[7] In addition, for the most part, it is not possible for a transitive verb to take the causative prefix. Pagotto (1992) notes four exceptions, listed in (46). While Pagotto lists these different forms, she does not include information as to the meaning difference between the transitive and causative forms. I have, therefore, done my best to indicate what each of forms the listed in (46) mean.

(46)

intrans	trans	causative
ppok	pukot 'look for (something)'	kappukot, kappok 'look for (something)'
bọọror	borōk 'cap something'	kōborōk, kabọọror 'cause (something) to be capped'
kkōnak	kōnak 'wear (something)'	kakōnake 'dress (someone)'
kkiil	kiili 'memorize (something)'	kakiil 'cause (something) to be memorized'

Interestingly enough, adding the causative prefix to these four transitive verbs does not increase the number of arguments. Rather, in some cases, adding the causative prefix to these verbs removes the theme and adds a causee. Consider (47).

(47) a. Kwō-n   kōṇak-e   jokankan eo.
      2s.agr-should wear.trans-obj dress   the.s
      'You should wear the dress.'
      (Abo, et. al. 1976: 149)

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[7] In some cases, the Marshallese intransitive verb form is derived from the transitive form, while, in others, the transitive verb form is derived from the intransitive form. See section 2.2.6.4 for a discussion of Marshallese verb forms.

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b. Kwō-n   ka-kōṇak-e   ajri   eṇ.
   2s.agr-should cause-wear-obj child that
   'You should dress that child.'
   (Abo, et. al. 1976: 149)

c. *Kwō-n   ka-kōṇak-e   jokankan eo   ajri   en.
   2s.agr-should cause-wear-obj dress   the.s child that
   'You should dress that child in the dress.'

d. *Kwō-n   ka-kōṇak-e   ajri   en jokankan eo.
   2s.agr-should cause-wear-obj child that dress   the.s
   'You should dress that child in the dress.'

In (47a), the theme theta role assigned to *jokankan eo* 'the dress' is absent in (47b). But if

three DPs are present in the sentence (47c&d), the sentence is ungrammatical, regardless

of the ordering of the two internal DP arguments.

I have found only one verb for which the addition of the causative prefix to the

transitive form of the verb results in the addition of a theta role. The intransitive form of

this verb is *ṃuri* 'owe' (48a). The transitive form is derived from the intransitive form

through the addition of the transitive suffix *–ik* (48b). (See section 2.2.6.4.4 for a

discussion of the transitive suffix.) But if the causative prefix is added to the transitive

form of the verb, the sentence therefore has three arguments (48c).

(48)   a. Bill e-ṃuri   ippā-n   Isaac.
          Bill 3s.agr-owe with-3s Isaac
          'Bill owes Isaac.'

       b. Bill e-ṃuri-ik   juon wa ippā-n Isaac.
          Bill 3s.agr-owe-trans a   car with-3s Isaac
          'Bill owes Isaac a car.'

       c. Isaac e-j   ka-ṃuri-ik   Bill wa eo   wa-n.
          Isaac 3s.agr-T(pres) cause-owe-trans Bill car the.s veh.poss-3s
          'Isaac is lending Bill his car.'

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However, this verb is more complicated than (48) indicates because the theme DP *wa eo*

wan in (48c) may also be part of a prepositional phrase.

(49) Isaac e-ar   ka-muri-ik   Bill   kōn   wa eo.
      Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) cause-owe-trans Bill   because.of car the.s
      'Isaac loaned Bill the car.'

One difference between (48c) and (49) is that in (48c), the lent item is possessed by the

lender. This may be relevant but at this point, I am unsure if this is the case.

2.2.6.2 The object marking suffix

Some Marshallese transitive verbs allow one of two optional object marking suffixes

(Bender 1969a, 1984; Harrison 1978). Harrison (1978) claims that these object markers

are being reanalyzed as markers of transitivity. While this may be correct, I will continue

to refer to these suffixes as object markers for two reasons. First, the purpose of these

suffixes is not simply to indicate that a verb is transitive, although in some cases the

object marker may be thing that distinguishes the transitive verb form from the

intransitive one. For many verbs, there are other types of verbal morphology which mark

the verb as transitive. In the case of these verbs, the object marker may be optional. Thus,

the object marker is not a marker of transitivity. Second, there is still a connection

between the features of an object (plural, human, nonhuman) and which object marker is

used. Therefore there is still an agreement relation of some sort between the object and

the object marker.

There are two Marshallese object markers. The first, -*e*, is used with singular DPs

(50) and with all pronouns (51)-(52) (Harrison 1978, Bender 1984).

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(50) E-ar   deñōt-e   ladik   eo.
      E-ar   deñōt-e   ḷaddik eo.
      3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans-obj boy   the.s
      'He slapped the boy.'
      (Harrison 1978:1073)

(51) E-ar   deñōt-e   e.
      3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans-obj 3s.obj
      'He slapped her.'
      (Harrison 1978:1073)

(52) E-ar   pukot-e   kōj
      3s.agr-T(past) look.for.trans-obj 1s.in.obj
      'He looked for us (including you)'

This suffix may also be used with plural DP objects (53)-(54).

(53) E-ar   deñōt-e   ladik   ro.
      E-ar   deñōt-e   ḷaddik ro.
      3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans-obj boy   the.pl.h
      'He slapped the boy.'
      (Harrison 1978:1075)

(54) E-ar   deñōt-e   kweet   ko.
      3s.agr-T(past) pound.trans-obj octopus the.pl.nh
      'He pounded the octopuses.'
      (Harrison 1978:1075)

The second object marker, –i, is only used with plural, nonhuman objects.

(55) E-ar   deñōt-i   kweet   ko.
      3s.agr-T(past) pound.trans-obj octopus the.pl.nh
      'He pounded the octopuses.'
      (Harrison 1978:1075)

(56) *E-ar   deñōt-i   ladik   ro.
      *E-ar   deñōt-i   ḷaddik ro.
      3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans-obj boy   the.pl.h
      'He slapped the boys.'
      (Harrison 1978:1075)

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When the verb contains a high vowel, assimilation occurs, such that -*i* rather then -e is used with a DP object, regardless of whether it is singular or plural, human or nonhuman (57).

(57)　I-ar　　　　　iuun-i　　　jea　eo.
　　　1s.agr-T(past)　push.trans-obj　chair the.s
　　　'I pushed the chair.'

Marshallese object markers make possible non-overt third person objects. Compare (58) with (51); (59) and (52); and (60) with (55). (51), (52) and (55) contain both an overt pronoun or DP and an object marker. These overt DPs and pronouns are absent in the following (58)-(60).

(58)　E-ar　　　　　deñōt-e.
　　　3s.agr-T(past)　slap.trans-obj
　　　'He slapped her.'
　　　*'He slapped them.'
　　　(Harrison 1978:1073)

(59)　E-ar　　　　　pukot-e.
　　　3s.agr-T(past)　look.for.trans-obj
　　　'He looked for him.'
　　　*'He looked for them.'
　　　(Harrison 1978:1073)

(60)　E-ar　　　　　deñōt-i.
　　　3s.agr-T(past)　slap.trans-obj
　　　'He slapped them (nonhuman).'
　　　(Harrison 1978:1075)

However, even though –*e* can be used with an overt plural DP object (53)-(54), it cannot be used in with a non-overt plural object. Therefore (58) and (59) cannot mean 'He slapped them' and 'He looked for them' respectively. In addition, since the third person

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plural pronoun may only be used for human objects and *-i* is only used with nonhuman objects, it is not possible for *-i* to be used with a plural pronoun.

(61) *E-ar   deñōt-i   er.
      3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans-obj 3pl.obj
      'He slapped them.'
      (Harrison 1978:1075)

Thus, it is not possible to have a non-overt, third person, plural, human object.

While the object marker is optional in many sentences, the object marker is not optional in sentences with fronted objects. Consider the following:

(62) a. Juuj eo a-ō,   e-ar   lo-e.
         shoe the.s gnr.poss-1s.gen 3s.agr-T(past) see-obj
         'My shoe, he saw.'

      b. *Juuj eo a-ō   e-ar   lo.
         shoe the.s gnr.poss-1s.gen 3s.agr-T(past) see
         'My shoe, he saw.'

(63) a. Jāp-a,   r-ar   rakutak-e.
         cheek-1s.gen 3pl.agr-T(past) scratch.trans-obj
         'My cheek, they scratched.'

      b. *Jāp-a,   r-ar   rakutak.
         cheek-1s.gen 3pl.agr-T(past) scratch.trans
         'My cheek, they scratched.'

In both of the above examples, the object marker may not be omitted. Thus the (b) examples are ungrammatical because there is not object marker in these sentences. The one exception to this rule is that verbs that do not take the object marker, such as *kǫkkure* 'destroy', *bōk-* 'take' and *jibwe* 'catch' (trans), do not require an object marker when the object is fronted.[8]

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[8] I follow Abo, et. al. (1976) in assuming that these verbs do not take an object suffix.

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(64) Oror eo,   piik eo   e-ar   kǫkkure.
     fence the.s, pig the.s 3s.agr-T(past) destroy
     'The fence, the pig destroyed.'

(65) Bao   eo kij-a,   kijdik eo   e-ar
     chicken the.s food.poss-1s.gen rat   the.s 3s.agr-T(past)
     bōk-ḷǫk   ñan el   eo   a-n.
     take-away.from.both to nest the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen
     'My chicken (for eating), the rat took to its nest.'

(66) Bao   ko,   kuuj eo   e-kar   jibwe.
     chicken the.pl.nh cat the.s 3s.agr-T(past) catch.trans
     'The chickens, the cat caught.'

2.2.6.3 Directionals

Like many Oceanic languages, Marshallese has a set of directional suffixes, which

indicate the direction of an action (Bender 1969a, Zewen 1977). There are two types of

Marshallese directions. I will refer to the first type as deictic directions. Deictic

directionals suffixes to a small set of verbs listed as (67) (taken from Zewen 1977).

(67) jekad-   'fling'
     jieb-   'be running over'; 'overflow; erupt'
     jinak-   'move'
     kā-   'fly'
     le-   'give'
     leak-   'take'
     lo-   'visit'
     ḷo-   'be at'
     pāl-   'leap'
     tar-   'go'
     wan-   'go'
     wūjlep-   'give'

There are three deictic directional suffixes: one for actions which occur toward the

speaker, one for those which occur toward the listener and one for away from both.

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(68) -tok, -tak   toward the speaker
     -wōj, -waj   toward the listener
     -ḷọk   away from both

The meaning differences between these three directional suffixes are illustrated in the following examples.

(69) a. Baḷuun eo   e-naaj   kā-tok   ñāāt?
         plane   the.s 3s.agr-T(fut) fly-toward.speaker when
         'When will the plane fly in?'

      b. Lio   e-j   kā-wōj   ñan Majuro.
         the.woman 3s.agr-T(pres) fly-toward.listener to Majuro
         'The woman is flying to Majuro.' (to where you are)

      c. Lijakwe e-naaj   kā-ḷọk   rainin.
         Lijakwe 3s.agr-T(fut) fly-away.from.both today
         'Lijakwe will fly away today.'

In the first example, the plane must be flying toward the speaker, since –tok is used. In the second, the listener must be on Majuro at the time of the utterance, as the use of the suffix -wōj indicates that the woman mentioned in (69b) is flying toward the listener. At the same time, it cannot be the case that the speaker is also on Majuro. Otherwise the suffix -tok would be used. In (69c) the direction of the action is away from the location of both the speaker and the listener, as is clear from the use of suffix -ḷọk. Thus, the location to which Lijakwe will be flying to must be away from both the speaker and listener.

There is also a second set of directionals that precedes deictic directional suffixes (Zewen 1988). This second set of directionals has geographic points of reference rather than points of reference related to the speaker and listener. This second set of directionals are listed in (70).

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(70) ar   'toward the lagoon side'
      āne   'islandward or shoreward'
      laḷ   'downward'
      lōñ   'upward'
      lik   'toward the oceanside'
      ṃaan   'forward'
      meto   'seaward'
      niñeañ   'northward'
      nọọj   'interiorward'
      rōkeañ   'southward'
      tak   'eastward'
      to   'westward'

The use of the two sets of directionals is illustrated by (71)-(75). Notice that the order of

verbal suffixes in these sentences is geographic directional first, followed by the deictic

directional.

(71) Ḷōṃaro   r-ar   jū-liñ-ḷok   ik   ñan bao eo.
      Ḷōṃaro   r-ar   ju-lōñ-ḷọk   ek   ñan bao eo.
      those.men 3pl.agr-T(past) throw-upward-away.from.both fish to   bird the.s
      'Those men threw the fish up to the bird.'
      (Zewen 1977:130)

(72) Lio   e-ar   bōk-meto-ḷok   larrik   eo
      Lio   e-ar   bōk-meto-ḷọk   ḷaddik   eo
      the.woman 3s.agr-T(past) take-seaward-away.from.speaker boy   the.s
      neji-n   ilo jābi.
      neji-n   ilo jāpe.
      cher.poss-3s.gen   in wooden.bowl
      'The woman took her son to the ocean in a wooden bowl.'
      (Zewen 1977:130)

(73) Jar   in tarinae e-j   i-rōk-tā-ḷok.
      Jar   in tariṇae e-j   i-rōk-ta-ḷọk.
      group of war   3s.agr-T(pres) go-south-east-away.from.both
      'The army is going southeastward.'
      (Zewen 1977:130)

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(74) Juon kōrā   e ar   wan-ar-tak   jen
     Juon kōrā   e-ar   wan-ar-tak   jān
     a   woman 3s.agr-T(past) go-toward.the.lagoon.side-toward.speaker from
     liki-n   Tūtū.
     liki-n   Tūtū
     ocean.side-3s.gen Tūtū
     'A woman came from the ocean side of Tūtū to the lagoon side.'
     (Zewen 1977:130)

(75) I-naj   aō-ēne-wōj!
     I-naaj   aō-ēne-wōj!
     1s.agr-T(fut) swim-islandward-toward.listener
     'I'll swim ashore to you.'
     (Zewen 1977:130)

Zewen claims that the deictic directional may be omitted from words that normally

require a deictic directional in legends, as is illustrated by the following two examples.

(76) Melanuk e kä meto   īj o.
      Melanuk e-kā-meto   ijo.
      Melanuk 3s.agr-fly-seaward here
      'Here Melanuk has jumped into the ocean.'
      (Zewen 1977:131)

(77) Aoleb ru-bukon   re-j   ī-tak
      Aolep rū-bukwōn   re-j   i-tak.
      all   one.from-village 3pl.agr-T(pres) come-eastward
      'All the villagers are coming eastward.'
      (Zewen 1977:131)

I am unsure of whether the omission of the deictic directionals in these types of sentences

occurs only in legends or if it is common in everyday usage.

2.2.6.4 The derivation of transitive and intransitive verbs

This section discusses the various morphological processes by which transitive verbs are

derived from intransitive ones and vice versa. Based on the assumption that a Marshallese

verb is either underlyingly transitive or underlyingly intransitive, with its corresponding

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intransitive or transitive form (if there is one) being derived through a morphological process, I classify Marshallese verbs as belonging to one of six categories:[9]

1. Underlyingly intransitive with no transitive counterpart
2. Underlyingly transitive with no intransitive counterpart
3. Suppletive (where the morphological forms of both the transitive and intransitive verbs make its impossible to determine what the underlying form is)
4. Underlyingly intransitive, with the transitive form derived from the intransitive one
5. Underlyingly transitive, with the intransitive form derived from the transitive one
6. Verbs with identical transitive and intransitive forms

As the reader may have already observed, when a verb has both a transitive and an intransitive form, the form of the verb is indicated its gloss. However, if a verb is of category 1 or 2, ".intrans" or ".trans" is not included in the gloss. When a Marshallese verb is given in the text, the intransitive form of the verb is listed first, followed by "/" and then the transitive form. This formatting applies to verbs of categories 3-6. For verbs of categories 1 and 2, the form is not included. If only one verb form is given in the text, "(trans)" or "(intrans)" is included after the English translation, so as to indicate whether the word is the transitive or intransitive form of the verb.

2.2.6.4.1 Underlyingly intransitive with no transitive counterpart

There are many Marshallese intransitive verbs that have no transitive counterparts. Some examples of this kind of verb are given in (78).

(78) etal   'go'
     jājḷọk   'slip'
     jeblaak   'leave'
     jepjep   'immigrate'
     jijet   'sit'
     kiki   'sleep'
     oḷọk   'fall'

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[9] There are various other analyses that classify Marshallese verbs based on other criteria. I refer the reader to Zewen (1977), Bender (1984) Pagotto (1992) for these different classifications.

For these verbs, there is no verbal morphology or suffix that may be added to the verb to create a derived transitive form (79b).

(79) a. Ļeo   e-j   jijet.
         the.man 3s.agr-T(pres) sit
         'The man is sitting.'

      b. *Ļeo   e-j   jijet-ik ļaddik eo.
         the.man 3s.agr-T(pres) sit-trans boy   the.s
         'The man is sitting the boy down.'

Most of these verbs may take the causative prefix, however (80).

(80) Ijoke   elane ankila-n   Anij bwe kom   armij in Mejit
      Ijoke   eļaññe ankilaa-n Anij bwe koṃ   armej in Mejit
      nevertheless if   will-3s.gen God that 2pl.abs people of Mejit
      komi-n   ka-jijet io   ilo jea in a-d...
      kōmi-n   ka-jijet eō   ilo jea in a-d...
      2pl.agr-should cause-sit 1s.obj in seat of gnr.poss-1pl.in.gen
      'Nevertheless, if it's the will of God that you, the people of Mejit, cause me to sit
      in our seat (in Nitijela, the lower house of the RMI legislature)...'
      (Momotaro 2003)

But *etal* 'go' may not.

(81) *Kuuj eo e-ar   ka-etal bao eo.
      cat   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) cause-go bird the.s
      'The cat caused the bird to go.'

2.2.6.4.2 Underlyingly transitives with no intransitive counterpart

There are also a number of Marshallese transitive verbs that have no intransitive counterparts. These verbs are listed in (82).

(82) dike   'hate'
      ire   'fight'
      kọkkure   'destroy'
      kōṇaan   'want'
      lale   'see'
      tōpar   'reach'
      yokwe   'love'

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Ungrammatical examples, in which these verbs are used as intransitives, are given in the (b) examples of the following sentences:

(83) a. Piik eo   e-ar   kǫkkure oror eo.
         pig the.s 3s.agr-T(past) destroy   fence the.s
         'The pig destroyed the fence.'

      b. *Piik eo   e-ar   kǫkkure.
         pig   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) destroy
         'The pig destroyed.'

(84) a. I-dike   eok
         1s.agr-hate 2s.obj
         'I hate you.'
         (Abo, et. al. 1976)

      b. *I-dike.
         1s.agr-hate
         'I hate.'

2.2.6.4.3 Suppletive verbs

A very few Marshallese verbs are related through suppletion. These include the following:

(85) | Intransitive | Transitive | English |
      |---|---|---|
      | mǫōñā | kañ | 'eat' |
      | idaak | limi | 'drink' |

(86) a. Ajri ro   re-kar   mǫōñā.
         child the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) eat.intrans
         'The children ate.'

      b. Ajri ro   re-kar   kañ-e   mā   eo.
         child the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) eat.trans-obj breadfruit the.s
         'The children ate the breadfruit.'

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2.2.6.4.4 Underlyingly intransitive - trans form derived from the intrans

For this type of verb, the transitive form of the verb differs from the intransitive form in that the transitive form includes a transitive suffix: *-uk* or *-ik*, with the form of the suffix being phonologically predictable (Pagotto 1987). These use of these suffixes are illustrated by (87) and (88), where the transitive forms of the verbs are shown in the (b) examples.

(87) a. Leddik ro   r-ar   wia.
         girl   the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) buy
         'The girls did some buying.'

      b. Leddik ro   r-ar   wia-ik   m̥ōn̄ā ko.
         girl   the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) buy-trans food the.pl.nh
         'The girls bought the food.'

(88) a. Ḷaddik eo   e-j   kaplo.
         boy   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) spit.intrans
         'The boy is spitting.'

      b. Ḷaddik eo   e-j   kaplo-uk leddik eo.
         boy   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) spit-trans girl   the.s
         'The boy is spitting on the girl.'

In order to distinguish the transitive suffix from the object marker, it is labeled "trans".

(89) lists some examples of verbs that take the transitive suffix.

(89) | intransitive | transitive | English |
      |---|---|---|
      | eō | eō-uk-(i) | 'tatoo' |
      | kaplo | kaplo-uk | 'spit' |
      | um̥m̥a | um̥m̥a-ik(-i) | 'kiss' |
      | wia | wia-ik-(i) | 'buy' |

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2.2.6.4.5 Underlyingly transitive - intrans form derived from the trans

The intransitive form of a verb is often derived from the transitive through reduplication, usually the reduplication of the initial syllable. Take, for example, a transitive verb like *ļot* and its intransitive form *ļotļot* 'pull pandanas key off'.[10]

(90) a. John e-ar   ļot   bōb   eo.
      John 3s.agr-T(past) pull.keys.off.pandanas.trans pandanas the.s
      'John pulled a key off the pandanas.'

      b. John e-ar   ļotļot.
      John 3s.agr-T(past) pull.keys.off.pandanas.intrans
      'John pulled off pandanas keys.'

Since the transitive form of the verb — *ļot* — has only one syllable, the entire word is reduplicated in the intransitive form. Often, however, the transitive form of the verb consists of more than one syllable. In these instances, the initial syllable (or variation of the initial syllable) is reduplicated, and the remainder of the transitive form is lost in the intransitive form. Consider *ṃwijṃwij/ṃwijit* 'cut, operate':

(91) a. Eṃṃaan eo   e-ar   ṃwijit piik eo.
      man   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) cut.trans pig the.s
      'The man cut the pig.'

      b. Eṃṃaan eo   e-ar   ṃwijṃwij.
      man   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) cut.intrans
      'The man did some cutting.'

In this pair the final -*it* of the transitive form is lost in the intransitive form.

In addition to these changes, other phonological changes may occur when the intransitive form of the verb is derived in the transitive one. For example, vowel

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[10] The pandanas fruit is shaped like a globe, with many prism-like sections known as keys. These keys are pulled off and then chewed.

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dissimilation may result in vowel raising in the reduplicated syllable, as in

daṃdeṃ/daṃwij 'lick' (Bender 1969b):

(92)   a. Kidu eo   e-j   daṃwij   ne-ū.
          dog the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) lick.trans foot-1s.gen
          'The dog licked my foot.'

       b. Kidu ko   re-j   daṃdeṃ   ilo pilej ko.
          dog the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(pres) lick.intrans at plate the.pl.nh
          'The dogs are licking the plates.'
          (Abo, et. al. 1976:50)

With a verb like *keke/kiij* 'sew', there is also a phonological change in the vowels of the

reduplicated form:

(93)   a. Kōrā   ro   re-j   kiij-i   nuknuk ko.
          woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) sew.trans-obj dress the.pl.nh
          'The women are sewing the dresses.'

       b. Leddik ro   r-ar   keke   ilo jādede.
          girl   the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) sew.intrans on Saturday
          'The girls sewed on Saturday.'

       (94) lists some examples of verbs that have intransitive forms derived from their

transitive forms (taken from Abo, et. al. 1976).

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(94)

intransitive	transitive	English
bǫbo	bǫur(i)	'catch'
damdem	damwij	'lick'
deñdeñ	deñōt(e)	'slap'
depdep	depete	'spear'; 'poke'
inene	ineek	'carry on shoulders'; 'bear a burden'
kallib	kalbwin(i)	'bury'; 'plant'
keke	kiij(i)	'sew'; 'stitch'
ḷotḷot	ḷot	'pick'; 'pick fruit'; 'pull keys off pandanas'
lemlem	lim(i)	'fold'
loklok	lukwōj(e)	'tie'; 'bind'
ṃwijṃwij	ṃwijit	'cut'; 'operate'; 'slit'
nāmnām	nemak(e)	'taste'; 'smell'
nono	no(e)	'pound'
popo	pook; poob	'sweep'
rōkrok	rōkuj	'scratch'
ukok	ukōt(e)	'change'; 'translate'

2.2.6.4.6 Verbs with identical transitive and intransitive forms

Finally, some verbs have identical transitive and intransitive forms.

(95) a. Jine-ir   e-ar   jeptak   ḷaddik   ro.
          mother-3pl.gen 3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans boy   the.pl.h
          'Their mother slapped the boys.'

      b. I-ar   jeptak.
          1s.agr-T(past) slap.intrans
          'I did some slapping.'

(96) a. Re-j   lukwarkwar Isaac.
          3pl.agr-T(pres) chase.trans Isaac
          'They are chasing Isaac.'

      b. Isaac e-j   lukwarkwar.
          Isaac 3s.agr-T(pres) chase.intrans
          'Isaac is doing some chasing.'

In many cases, the transitive form of the verb may take the object marker. (97) lists some

of the verbs which allow this suffix (taken from Abo, et. al. 1976). In (97), the object

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marker is listed in parentheses to show that it is optional and need not be included in the transitive form of the verb.

(97)
intransitive	transitive	English
aik	aik(e)	'tow'
akwāāl	akwāāl(e)	'quarrel'; 'argue'
alej	alej(e)	'aim a gun at'
būttūk	būttūk(i)	'spurt'; 'squirt'
deblǫk	deblǫk(e)	'pass through'
eǫn̄ōd	eǫn̄ōd(e)	'fish'
iuun	iuun(i)	'push'; 'poke'
jeptak	jeptak(e)	'slap'
karwaan	karwaan(e)	'accompany'; 'escort'
kotak	kotak(e)	'lift'; 'raise'; 'jack up'
luk	luk(i)	'scold'
lukwarkwar	lukwarkwar(e)	'chase'
potak	potak(e)	'tear'; 'torn'
rakutak	rakutak(e)	'scratch'
rup	rup(e)	'break'
tūm̧m̧ǫn̩	tūm̧m̧ǫn̩(e)	'pluck feathers'; 'pull out hairs'

As far as I am aware, all transitive verbs that have the same morphological form for their intransitive counterparts may optionally take the object marker.

2.2.6.4.7 Intransitive verbs with objects

In some cases it is possible for morphologically intransitive verbs to appear with an object, usually when the object is a bare indefinite DP, as shown in (98)–(100) (Bender 1969a, Sugita 1974). The use of intransitive verbs with objects has led some to refer to these verbs as semi-transitive verbs.

(98) Na   i-ar   m̧ōn̄ā   bao.
      1s.abs 1s.agr-T(past) eat.intrans chicken
      'Me, I ate chicken.'

(99) Kōrā   ro   re-j   keke   nuknuk.
      woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) sew.intrans dresses
      'The women are sewing dresses.'

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(100) I-lukkuun   kōṇaan eọñōd   ek.
       1s.agr-really want   fish.intrans fish
       'I really want to fish for fish.'

As the translations suggest, when a bare noun is used with the intransitive form of the

verb, it has a non-specific interpretation, meaning that the speaker has no particular

object in mind. For example, in (98), the speaker is not referring to any particular

chickens, or to any particular fish in (100). While the intransitive form of the verb may be

used with a bare noun, the transitive form may not.

(101) *E-ar   kañ   ek.
       3s.agr-T(past) eat.trans fish
       'He ate fish.'
       (Hale 1998:350)

These examples might lead one to conclude that noun incorporation occurs in

these sentences. However, Sugita (1974) argues against this conclusion based on the

following examples (the glosses are mine, while the translations are Sugita's):

(102) Ye-har   megay- teq   yek.
       E-ar   ṃōñā   tok   ek.
       3s.agr-T(past) eat.intrans toward.speaker fish
       'He came eating fish.'
       (Sugita 1974:403)

(103) Yek men yew ye-har   megay.
       Ek men eo e-ar   ṃōñā.
       fish thing the.s 3s.agr-T(past) eat.intrans
       'It was fish that he ate.'
       (Sugita 1974:403)

(102) includes what Sugita analyzes as a deictic directional suffix but what I believe is an

adverb. (See section 2.2.7 for evidence in favor of my conclusion.) Since an adverb

intervenes between the verb and the bare DP object, it cannot be the case that noun

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incorporation had occurred, as the object should be adjacent to the verb if it had incorporated into it. Sugita also argues that the appearance of the focused object in (103) argues against an incorporation analysis for these objects, since, as it appears sentence initially and not adjacent to the verb, the bare DP *ek* 'fish' cannot have incorporated into the verb. Without knowing more about Sugita's analysis of this focus construction, I can draw no other conclusions about what sentence (103) actually shows. However, (102) does provide sufficient evidence against the incorporation analysis.

For now, I am forced to set aside any further discussion of this construction. I will continue to refer to these verb forms as intransitive or occasionally semi-transitive, with the understanding that future research may lead to a different classification for these verbs.

2.2.6.5 Deriving verbs from nouns

There is a very small number of verbs that are derived from nouns using reduplication. When a verb is derived from a noun in this way, the resulting verb often means something like 'to wear an article of clothing' or 'to use something'. Examples are provided in (104).

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(104)	Noun	Verb	Source
	at 'hat'	atat 'wear a hat'	Bender 1969a
	jōōt 'shirt'	jōōtōt 'wear a shirt'	Bender 1969a
	jokoṇ 'walking-stick'	jokoṇkoṇ 'have a walking-stick'	Zewen 1977
	joob 'soap'	joobob 'be soapy'	Bender 1971
	juuj 'shoes'	juujuj 'wear shoes'	Bender 1969a
	kaḷ 'loincloth'	kaḷkaḷ 'wear a loincloth'	Zewen 1977
	kañūr 'belt'	kañūrñūr 'wear a belt'	Bender 1969a
	kọọj 'blanket'	kọọjoj 'use a blanket'	Bender 1969a
	māj 'glasses'	mājmāj 'wear glasses'	Bender 1969a
	ñ̄ñ̄ur 'sound of groaning'	ñ̄ñ̄urñur 'groan/grunt'	Zewen 1977
	riiñ 'ring'	riiñiñ 'wear a ring'	Bender 1969a
	takin 'socks'	takinkin 'wear socks'	Bender 1969a
	wa 'canoe'	wawa 'go by canoe'	Bender 1971
	waj 'watch'	wajwaj 'wear a watch'	Bender 1969a
	wūt 'flower'	wūtwūt 'wear a flower'	Bender 1969a

2.2.7 Tense, aspect, modality and adverbs

Marshallese has a number of different adverbs and tense, aspect and modality markers (TAM) that may surface between the subject agreement clitic and the verb. I will use the term adverbial to refer to both adverbs, which are merged as specifiers, and functional heads, which are heads of functional projections since, in Marshallese, it is often unclear whether these morphemes are adverbs or functional heads. (See Cinque 1999 for a discussion of adverbs and functional heads.) The classification of these adverbials as adverbs or heads will not be discussed in this work, but a few of these adverbials will be discussed in greater detail in section 4.1.2 of chapter 4. Instead, this section is devoted to identifying the category of these adverbials according to the categorization proposed by Cinque (1999). Thus the classification of an adverbial as tense, aspect or modality is based on Cinque's system.

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In some cases, example sentences may appear to indicate that a particular adverbial is either a suffix or a word. For example, one might infer from (105) that *j* is a suffix, while (107) seems to show that *kar* is a separate word. In these examples, I am following the writing conventions used by most Marshallese speakers and am not making any claim as to the status of these adverbials as suffixes or separate words. What follows in the remainder of this section is a description of Marshallese adverbials and their approximate meanings.

j   present tense (abbreviated as T(pres)).

(105) Kōrā   ro   re-j   kōnono ippā-n Mary.
       woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) talk   with-3s Mary
       'The women are talking with Mary.'

ar, kar past tense (abbreviated as T(past)). The two variants appear to be a dialectical difference between the Ratak and Rālik dialects. However if T(past) does not immediately follow the subject agreement clitic, *kar* must be used (107).

(106) E-ar   le-tok   bok eo   ñan ña.
       3s.agr-T(past) give-toward.speaker book the.s to 1s.abs
       'She gave the book to me.'

(107) a. E-naaj   kar   le-tok   bok eo ñan ña.
          3s.agr-T(fut) T(past) give-toward.speaker book the.s to 1s.abs
          'She would have given the book to me.'

       b. *E-naaj   ar   le-tok   bok eo ñan ña.
          3s.agr-T(fut) T(past) give-toward.speaker book the.s to 1s.abs
          'She would have given the book to me.'

naaj   future tense (abbreviated as T(fut)).

(108) Kōrā   ro   re-naaj   kōnono ippā-n Mary.
       woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(fut)   talk   with-3s Mary
       'The women will talk with Mary.'

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ban   'won't', negative future.

(109) Kōrā   ro   re-ban   kōnono ippā-n Mary.
       woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-won't talk   with-3s Mary
       'The women won't talk with Mary.'

n   'should', deontic modal.

(110) Kōrā   ro   re-n   kōnono ippā-n Mary.
       woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-should talk   with-3s Mary
       'The women should talk with Mary.'

jañin   'not yet', negative anterior tense.

(111) I-jañin   mare.
       1s.agr-not.yet marry.intrans
       'I haven't married yet.'

jamin   'never', often used to talk about things that will never happen.

(112) I-jamin   mare.
       1s.agr-never marry.intrans
       'I will never marry.'

nañin   'almost', prospective aspect.

(113) Ḷaddik eo   e-nañin   wōtḷǫk jān   wōjke eo.
       boy   the.s 3s.agr-almost fall   from tree   the.s
       'The boy almost fell from the tree.'

baj wōt 'almost', prospective aspect.[11]

(114) Ḷaddik eo   e-baj wōt   wōtḷǫk jān   wōjke eo.
       boy   the.s 3s.agr-almost fall   from tree   the.s
       'The boy almost fell from the tree.'

---

[11] Although the conventional Marshallese writing systems write this adverbial as two words, its meaning doesn't seem derived from its component parts. Therefore it is glossed as only one word. The same is the case for *kab de*.

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kab   'just', retrospective aspect.

(115)   I-kab   i-tok   ñan Majuro.
        1s.agr-just come-toward.speaker to   Majuro
        'I just came to Majuro.'

kab de   'still', continuative aspect.

(116)   E-kab de   iukkure basketbọọl.
        3s.agr-still play   basketball
        'He's still playing basketball.'

kōn   'used to', habitual aspect.

(117)   Ḷeo   e-kōn   al ippā-n   choir eo.
        the.man 3s.agr-used.to sing with-3s choir the.s
        'The man used to sing with the choir.'

ja   proximative aspect (Asp_prox), used for an event that happened, is happening, or
              will happen in close proximity to a specific time.

(118)   E-j   ja   rọọl ñan m̧weo   imo-n   Tom.
        3s.agr-T(pres) Asp_prox return to the.house dwell.poss-3s.gen Tom
        'He is returning to Tom's house now.'

(119)   I-kar   ja   m̧ōñā   donut.
        1s.agr-T(past) Asp_prox eat.intrans donut
        'I just ate donuts.'

kijoñ   'usually, too much', frequentative aspect.

(120)   Leddik eo   e-j   kijoñ   jako   jān m̧weo.
        girl   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) too.much be.gone from the.house
        'The girl is away from home too much.'

bar   'again', repetitive aspect.

(121)   E-bar   rọọl ñan m̧weo   imo-n   Tom.
        3s.agr-again return to   the.house dwell.poss-3s.gen Tom
        'He is returning to Tom's house again.'

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There is also an adverb that relates to the reason for doing a particular action. This adverb is *bajjek*.

bajjek   'for no important reason'.

(122) Kōmi-j   bwebwenato bajjek.
    1pl.ex.agr-T(pres) talk   for.no.important.reason
    'We (excluding you) are talking for no important reason.'

This adverb may be postverbal as in (122) or preverbal, as in (123).

(123) Kōmi-j   bajjek   bwebwenato.
    1pl.ex.agr-T(pres) for.no.important.reason talk
    'We (excluding you) are talking for no important reason.'

Both *bar* and *bajjek* will be discussed in section 4.1.2 of chapter 4.

Finally, there is one adverbial that is exclusively postverbal when it occurs by itself. This adverbial is *wōt*.

wōt   'still,' continuative aspect.

(124) I-j   katak   wōt kajin   majeḷ.
    1s.agr-T(pres) study.trans still language.of Marshalls
    'I am still studying Marshallese.'

In addition to these adverbials, there is also a set of directional adverbs that are morphologically identical to the deictic directional suffixes discussed in section 2.2.6.3 but that Pagotto (1987) argues are not suffixes. These adverbs are illustrated in (125a-c).

(125) a. Kajimenlōñ e-j   jerak   tok   ñan Mile.
        Kajimenlōñ 3s.agr-T(pres) sail.intrans toward speaker to   Mile
        'Kajimenlōñ is sailing to Mile (where I am).'

    b. Kajimenlōñ e-j   jerak   wōj   ñan Mile.
        Kajimenlōñ 3s.agr-T(pres) sail.intrans toward.listener to   Mile
        'Kajimenlōñ is sailing to Mile (where you are).'

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c. Kajimenlōñ e-j   jerak   ḷọk   ñan Mile.
   Kajimenlōñ 3s.agr-T(pres) sail.intrans away.from.both to   Mile
   'Kajimenlōñ is sailing to Mile (away from us both).'

In support of Pagotto's conclusion is the fact that other sentential elements, such as the

question particle *ke* (126) or the object marker (127), may intervene between the verb and

the directional adverb, whereas these morphemes may not intervene between the verb and

the directional suffix (128-129).

(126) a. Niññiñ eo   e-ar   burake   ḷọk   ke
         baby   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) spew.out.chewed.food.trans away.from.both Q
         m̧ōñā eo jān   ḷọñii-n?
         food the.s from   mouth-3s.gen
         'Did the baby spit out the food from her mouth?'
         (Pagotto 1987:280)

      b. Niññiñ eo   e-ar   burake   ke ḷọk
         baby   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) spew.out.chewed.food.trans Q away.from.both
         m̧ōñā eo jān   ḷọñii-n?
         food the.s from   mouth-3s.gen
         'Did the baby spit out the food from her mouth?'
         (Pagotto 1987:280)

(127) a. Kwo-n   m̧an   ḷọk   eta-n   jān bok ņe.
         2s.agr-should cross.out.trans away.from.both name-3s.gen from book that
         'Cross his name out of that book.'
         (Pagotto 1987:280)

      b. Kwo-n   m̧an-e   ḷọk   jān bok ņe.
         2s.agr-should cross.out.trans-obj away.from.both from book that
         'Cross it out of that book.'
         (Pagotto 1987:280)

(128) a. Kw-ar   le-ḷọk   ke m̧ōñā eo   ñan niññiñ eo?
         2s.agr-T(past) give-away.from.both Q food the.s to   baby   the.s
         'Did you give the food to the baby?'
         (Pagotto 1987:280)

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b. *Kw-ar   le ke ḷǫk   m̥ōn̄ā eo n̄an nin̄nin̄ eo?
   2s.agr-T(past) give Q away.from.both food the.s to baby the.s
   'Did you give the food to the baby?'
   (Pagotto 1987:280)

(129) a. Kwo-n   le-ḷǫk   bok ṇe n̄an ajri ṇe.
        2s.agr-should give-away.from.both book that to   child that
        'Give that book to that child.'
        (Pagotto 1987:280)

     b. Kwo-n   le-ḷǫk-e   n̄an ajri ṇe.
        2s.agr-should give-away.from.both-obj to   child that
        'Give it to that child.'
        (Pagotto 1987:280)

     c. *Kwo-n   le-e ḷǫk   bok ṇe n̄an ajri ṇe.
        2s.agr-should give-obj away.from.both book that to   child that
        'Give the book to that child.'
        (Pagotto 1987:280)

Also, in sentences with verbs that require a directional suffix, it is possible to have both a

directional suffix and a directional adverb, as in (130):

(130) E-naaj   i-tok   ippā-m-ro tok.
      3s.agr-T(fut) come-toward.speaker with-1pl-2 toward speaker
      'He is coming with the two of us.'

Finally, directional adverbs are optional, whereas directional suffixes are obligatory.

Thus the directional adverb in (125) is optional, as illustrated by (131), whereas it is

obligatory in (132) because kā- 'fly' is a verb which requires a directional suffix.

(131) Kajimenlōn̄ e-j   jerak   n̄an Mile.
      Kajimenlōn̄ 3s.agr-T(pres) sail.intrans to   Mile
      'Kajimenlōn̄ is sailing to Mile.'

(132) *Lijakwe e-naaj   kā rainin.
      Lijakwe   3s.agr-T(fut) fly today
      'Lijakwe will fly today.'

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Following Pagotto, I assume that *tok*, *wōj* and *ḷọk* are deictic directional suffixes when they appear on verbs that require them (see section 2.2.6.3 for a list of these verbs), but that *tok*, *wōj* and *ḷọk* are adverbs in all other cases.

In principal, one might ask how one can tell if *tok*, *wōj* or *ḷọk* is a suffix or an adverb in a sentence like (133).

(133) E-naaj   i-tok.
       3s.agr-T(fut) come-toward.speaker
       'He is coming.'

But remember that verbs like *i-* 'come' require the directional suffix. Therefore we can conclude that *–tok* is a suffix. A verb like *jerak* does not require a directional suffix. Therefore we can conclude that *tok* in (125a), repeated here, is an adverb.

(125) a. Kajimenlōñ e-j   jerak   tok   ñan Mile.
          Kajimenlōñ 3s.agr-T(pres) sail.intrans toward speaker to   Mile
          'Kajimenlōñ is sailing to Mile (where I am).'

Another question one might pose is if optionality is a solid enough basis for concluding that directionals are adverbs rather than suffixes. After all, is it possible that these directionals could be optional suffixes rather than optional adverbs? In response to this question I would offer the fact that, in sentences with verbs that need not have a directional, other sentential elements, such as the question particle, may intervene between the verb and the directional, whereas when the directional is required, these sentential elements may not intervene between the verb and the directional. Therefore, there is a strong correlation between optionality and the ability of these morphemes to intervene between the verb and the directional. In other words, optionality = intervening

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morphemes are possible. Based on these facts, w can conclude that there are no optional

suffixes. Rather, when a directional is optional, it is an adverb.

2.3 Syntax

I will begin this section with a discussion of determiner phrases and prepositional

phrases. After discussing word order in these types of phrases, I then move on to discuss

IP level and CP level syntax.

2.3.1 Determiner phrases

Types of determiner phrases to be discussed in this section include those with nouns,

adjectives, quantifiers and relative clauses.

2.3.1.1 Determiners and quantifiers

The placement of a definite determiner/demonstrative with respect to the noun is

unexpected, given that most other Marshallese phrases are head initial. While we might

expect the determiner to precede the noun, this is not the case. Instead, Marshallese

definite determiners and demonstratives follow the noun.

(134) ...kora   rane   belle-n   lomarene re-j   aikuj kar   drelon
       ...kōrā   raņe   pālee-n   ļōṃaraņe re-j   aikuj kar   deḷọ̄n
       ...woman   those.h   spouse-3s.gen those.men 3pl.agr-T(pres) need T(past) join
       iee...
       ie...
       there
       '...those men's wives need to have joined it...'
       (Lakibwe 2004)

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(135) UNESCO e-j   kio lale   a-n   le-tok
UNESCO e-j   kiiō lale   a-n   le-tok
UNESCO 3s.agr-T(pres) now look.at gnr.poss-3s.gen give-toward.speaker
jiban ikijie-n   special education brokraam   ko...
jipañ kijjie-n   special education būrookraam ko...
aid   regarding special education program   the.pl.nh
'UNESCO is now looking at the aid it gives to the special education programs...'
(Marshall Island Journal 6-22-07:17)

The Marshallese word *juon* 'a', 'one' precedes the noun. This word seems to be used in situations in which the indefinite singular determiner *a* is used in English. This being the case, I will continue to gloss this word as 'a'.

(136) Kuuj eo e-j   jibwe   juon kijdik.
cat   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) catch.trans a   rat
'The cat is catching a rat.'

Quantifiers also precede the noun.

(137) Aolep armej re-kōṇaan   aij kudiim.
every person 3pl.agr-want ice cream
'Everyone wants ice cream.'

There is no plural indefinite determiner. Instead a bare noun is used.

(138) Kuuj eo e-j   jebjeb   kijdik.
cat   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) catch.intrans rat
'The cat is catching rats.'

(139) Leddik re-j   ettōñ ñan ḷaddik ro.
girl   3pl.agr-T(pres) smile at   boy   the.pl.h
'Girls are smiling at the boys.'

2.3.1.2 Adjectives

In Marshallese, adjectives follow the nouns they modify but precede definite determiners.

(140) Ḷoon kileplep eo   e-jorrāān.
boat big   the.s 3s.agr-be.broken
'The big boat is broken.'

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(141) Ḷaddik nana eo   e-ar   etal im kūttiliek jān jin-en.
      boy   bad the.s 3s.agr-T(past) go and hide   from mother-3s.gen
      'The bad boy went and hid from his mother.'

Because the adjective follows the noun, it also follows the indefinite determiner and

quantifier.

(142) Juon kuuj kilmeej e-j   cross a-ō   ial.
      a   cat black 3s.agr-T(pres) cross gnr.poss-1s.gen path
      'A black cat is crossing my path.

(143) Kajojo kuuj kilmeej r-ar   etal i maan kaar eo.
      all   cat black 3pl.agr-T(past) go   on front car the.s
      'All black cats went on the front of the car.'

2.3.1.3 Relative Clauses

As expected given its head initial status, Marshallese has postnominal relative clauses.

Relative clauses may be preceded by an optional relative clause introducer. It is unclear

whether this introducer – *me* – is a relative pronoun or a relative complementizer.

(144) a. Ḷaddik eo   e-ar   lijjidwaḷọk ilo wōjke eo   e-ar   wōtlọk.
         boy   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) swing   in tree the.s 3s.agr-T(past) fall
         'The boy that was swinging in the tree fell.'

      b. Ḷaddik eo   me e-ar   lijjidwaḷọk ilo wōjke eo   e-ar
         boy   the.s that 3s.agr-T(past) swing   in tree the.s 3s.agr-T(past)
         wōtlọk.
         fall
         'The boy that was swinging in the tree fell.'

Note that the relative clause follows not only the noun but also the definite determiner. If

there is an indefinite determiner, then the order is:

IndefiniteDeterminer Noun (Adjective) (me) RelativeClause

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(145) E-ar   le-tok   juon jerbal ḷapḷap i-j   aikuj
      3s.agr-T(past) give-toward.speaker a   work great 1s.agr-T(pres) need
      kōṃṃon-e.
      do-obj
      'She gave me a great work (that) I need to do.'

(146) Atina e-ar   al   ñan juon niñniñ me e-ar
      Atina 3s.agr-T(past) sing.intrans to a   baby   that 3s.agr-T(past)
      ettondikdik.
      laugh
      'Atina sang to a baby that was laughing.'

It is possible not only for the object (145) or subject (146) to be relativized, but also for

the indirect object to be relativized. When this occurs, the preposition *ñan* 'to' must be

followed by a resumptive suffix, which, in (147), is *-e*.

(147) Juon kōrā   e-ar   lo-ḷọk   eṃṃaan eo   me Konio
      a   woman 3s.agr-T(past) visit-away.from.speaker man   the.s that Konio
      e-ar   le-ḷọk   juon bok ñan-e.
      3s.agr-T(past) give-away.from.speaker a   book to-3s
      'A woman visited the man that Konio gave a book to.'

The resumptive suffix must be absent when *ñan* is followed by an overt DP.

(148) Juon kōrā   e-ar   lo-ḷọk   eṃṃaan eo   me
      a   woman 3s.agr-T(past) visit-away.from.speaker man   the.s that
      e-ar   le-ḷọk   juon bok ñan Konio.
      3s.agr-T(past) give-away.from.speaker a   book to Konio
      'A woman visited the man that gave a book to Konio.'

(149) *Juon kōrā   e-ar   lo-ḷọk   eṃṃaan eo   me
      a   woman 3s.agr-T(past) visit-away.from.speaker man   the.s that
      e-ar   le-ḷọk   juon bok ñan-e Konio.[12]
      3s.agr-T(past) give-away.from.speaker a   book to-3s Konio
      'A woman visited the man that gave a book to Konio.'

---

[12] I am unsure of whether the resumptive suffix is the same morpheme as the object marker.

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In addition to the standard relative clause construction which I just described, there is another construction which has not been previously described in the literature. While the word order of both relative clause constructions seems to be the same, this types of relative clause is headed by *im*, which in other circumstances means 'and'.

(150) E-wor   ruo ri Majol   ro   im re-naaj   bok
      E-wor   ruo ri-Ṃajeḷ   ro   im re-naaj   bōk
      3s.agr-exist two one.from-Marshalls the.pl.h and 3pl.agr-T(fut) receive
      jerammon jen   juon special scholarship eo...
      jerammon jān   juon special scholarship eo...
      benefit   from a   special scholarship the.s
      'There are two Marshallese that will receive the benefits from a special
      scholarship...'
      (The Marshall Islands Journal 11-9-07:11)

(151) Juon abnono eo   ikijien bwirej ko   ion Kwajalein im e-jelet
      Juon abṇōṇō eo   ikijjien bwidej ko   ion Kwajalein im e-jelōt
      a   dispute the.s over   land   the.pl.nh on Kwajalein and 3s.agr-involve
      jibuki   jima   taujin   US tala   ko...   e-j   kio tobar
      jibukwi jiṃa   tọujin   US taḷa   ko...   e-j   kiiō tōpar
      hundred and.some thousand US dollar the.pl.nh 3s.agr-T(pres) now reach
      tok   jemlokin.
      tok   jeṃḷọkin
      toward.speaker end
      'A dispute over lands on Kwajalein that involves a hundred some-odd thousand
      US dollars...has now reached an end.'
      (The Marshall Islands Journal 7-6-07:17)

In the case of the first example, it might be argued that *im* is simply the conjunction 'and'. However, the second example rules out this argument because, if *im* were a conjunction, the sentences would violate the coordinate structure constraint, since it would include coordination of a determiner phrase (*juon abnono eo ikijien bwirej ko ion Kwajalein* 'a dispute over lands on Kwajalein') with an entire sentence (*ejelet jibuki jima taujin US*

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tala ko 'it involves a hundred some-odd thousand US dollars'). This sort of coordination is not usually possible in Marshallese.

Before proposing any further analysis of this construction, more research needs to be done on this construction to determine if there are any syntactic differences between this and the other relative clause construction.

2.3.1.4 Possessives

Marshallese possessive phrases consist of at least three elements: the possessor, the possessee and the possessive suffix, although some phrases also include a possessive classifier. The possessor need not be overt and, in fact, may only be overt in the third person singular and plural forms. Table 11 lists the Marshallese possessive suffixes, including the phonological variations in the first person and third person plural forms. In the example sentences in this dissertation, the gloss of the possessive suffixes includes "gen" (for genitive) to distinguish these suffixes from other suffixes.

Table 11. Marshallese possessive suffixes
(from Bender 1969a)

Person	Singular	Plural
1	–i, –ō, –a, –ū	exclusive: – m
		inclusive: – d
2	–m	–mi
3	–n	–er, –ir

When the first or second person possessive suffixes are used, the overt pronoun is not included (152) and (153).

(152) E-booḷ ke nuki-m   ak e-jet?
   3s.agr-be.many Q relatives-2s.gen or 3s.agr-be.few
   'Do you have many relatives or a few?' (lit. 'Are they many, your relatives, or few?)

(153) Leddik eo   e-ar   kǫǫt-e būruo-ō.
       girl   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) steal   heart-1s.gen
       'The girl stole my heart.'

Overt pronouns are never used with possessive suffixes.

Surprisingly, the third person plural suffix is never used with overt third person plural DP possessors. Instead, the third singular possessive suffix is used, regardless of whether the DP is singular or plural. This is illustrated by (154) and (155). In (154), the third person singular suffix -n is suffixed to jine- 'mother' and followed by the singular DP ajri eo 'the child'.

(154) Jine-n   ajri eo   e-ar   ba ñan e   bwe e-n
       mother-3s.gen child the.s 3s.agr-T(past) say to   3s.abs that 3s.agr-should
       iukkure   inabwōj.
       play.intrans   outside
       'The child's mother said to her that she should play outside.'

When the overt possessor is plural, as in ajri ro 'the children', the third singular –n is still used, as in the phrase jine-n ajri ro 'the children's mother' in (155).

(155) Jine-n   ajri ro   e-ar   ba ñan er   bwe re-n
       mother-3s.gen child the.pl.h 3s.agr-T(past) say to 3pl.abs that 3pl.agr-should
       iukkure   inabwōj.
       play.intrans   outside
       'The children's mother said to them that they should play outside.'

However if the DP is non-overt, the third person plural form is used:

(156) Jine-ir   e-ar   ba ñan er   bwe re-n   iukkure
       mother-3pl.gen 3s.agr-T(past) say to   3pl.abs that 3pl.agr-should play.intrans
       inabwōj.
       outside
       'Their mother said to them that they should play outside.'

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The above examples have included only sentences with inalienable possession. Marshallese expresses alienable and inalienable possession in two different ways, as will be discussed in sections 2.3.1.4.1 and 2.3.1.4.2.

2.3.1.4.1 Inalienable possession

With inalienable possession, the possessive suffixes may combine directly with inalienable nouns, such as body parts and kinship nouns. These phrases have the order *Possessee-PossessiveSuffix (Possessor)*, as illustrated by (157) and (158).

(157) Re-metak   nei-n   leddik eo.
       3pl.agr-be.hurt leg-3s.gen girl   the.s
       'The girl's legs hurt.'

(158) Jine-ir   e-j   kouwe   er.
       mother-3pl.gen 3s.agr-T(pres) warn.trans 3pl.obj
       'Their mother is warning them.'

2.3.1.4.2 Alienable possession

With alienable possession, the possessive suffix may not be directly suffixed to the possessee. Instead it must combine with a possessive classifier (Harrison 1988). Table 12, adapted from Harrison (1988) and Zewen (1977), lists the Marshallese possessive classifiers. The second column lists the abbreviation I use in the glosses of these classifiers.

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Table 12. Possessive classifiers[13]

Category	abbreviation	classifier
cherished person/thing, such as child, pet, musical instrument, appliance, toy	cher	neja-
drink	drink	lime-, nime-
dwelling place	dwell	imo-
food	food	kija-
general	gnr	a-
vehicle, boat	veh	wa-
adornments	adorn	m̩arō-*
bait	bait	m̩ora-*
eating implements, kitchen utensils	eat	ñiū-*
mat	mat	kiniō-*
personal possession	pers	m̩weiō-
plants	plant	kōtka-*
prey	prey	kwona-*

There has been some debate as to the categories of these classifiers. Harrison (1988) claims that possessive classifiers are themselves suffixed possessed nouns, while others simply call them classifiers. At this time, my research has little to say regarding this issue.

Possessive classifiers follow the definite determiner, which is followed by the overt possessor (if there is one). So the word order of a definite possessive phrase is:

PossessedNoun DefDeterminer PossessiveClassifer-PossessiveSuffix (Possessor)

This order is illustrated in (159)-(161).

(159) Juon kōrā e-ar   kwaḷkoḷ nuknuk ko   a-n   Lucy.
      a   woman 3s.agr-T(past) wash.trans dress the.pl.nh gnr.poss-3s.gen Lucy
      'A woman washed Lucy's dresses.'

(160) E-nnọ   koḷa eo   nime-m.
      3s.agr-be.delicious cola the.s drink.poss-2s.gen
      'Your cola is delicious.'

---

[13] * classifiers represent those that are used by older speakers but that have fallen out of use with younger ones.

(161) E-kō-kā-lǫk   baḷuun   eo   wa-n.
      3s.agr-cause-fly-away.from.both airplane the veh.poss-3s.gen
      'He got his plane off.'

The possessive classifier and possessor may not precede the noun and determiner when a

definite determiner is present.

(162) *Juon kōrā   e-ar   kwaḷkoḷ   a-n   Lucy nuknuk ko.
      a   woman 3s.agr-T(past) wash.trans gnr.poss-3s.gen Lucy dress   the.pl.nh
      'A woman washed Lucy's dresses.'

For some nouns, the possessive classifier that is used is not determined by the

inherent properties of that noun but rather by the relationship between the possessed noun

and the possessor. For example, a possessed noun like *bao* 'chicken' could either be a pet

belonging to the possessor or the possessor's food. In the former case, the possessive

classifier for cherished items is used (163a); in the latter, the classifier for food is used

(163b).

(163) a. R-ar   kañ   bao   ko   nej-ū.
         3pl.agr-T(past) eat.trans chicken the.pl.nh cher.poss-1s.gen
         'They ate my pet chickens.'

      b. R-ar   kañ   bao   ko   kij-a.
         3pl.agr-T(past) eat.trans chicken the.pl.nh food.poss-1s.gen
         'They ate my chickens (for eating).'

Indefinite possessive phrases differ from definite ones in that the possessive

classifier and the possessor precedes the possessed noun. This order is commonly used in

existential sentences (164) but may also be used in non-existential sentences (165).

(164) E-wor   kije-n   John jikka   im   lime-n   Mary pia.
      3s.agr-exist food.poss-3s.gen John cigarette and drink.poss-3s.gen Mary beer
      'John has cigarettes, and Mary has beer.' (lit. 'They exist John's cigarettes and
      Mary's beer.')

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(165) Bōlen i-naaj wia a-n Mary juuj bajjek.
maybe 1s-T(fut) buy gnr.poss-3s.gen Mary shoe for.no.important.reason
'Maybe I'm going to buy Mary some shoes for no important reason.'

In addition, this word order is used in phrases with numerals or quantifiers. The numeral

or quantifier is phrase initial, followed by the possessive classifier, possessor (if overt)

and possessed noun.

(166) E-wor bwijin neji-n Tina leddik.
3s.agr-exist many cher.poss-3s.gen Tina girl
'Tina has many daughters.'

(167) E-or ruo a-ō waj.
3s.agr-exist two gnr.poss-1s.gen watch
'I have two watches.'

(168) Unin jibarbar ko... e-j... nan jino-e juon
Wūnin jibadbad ko... e-j... ñan jino-e juon
reason.for endeavor the.pl.nh 3s-T(pres) to start.trans-obj a
a-n Kwajalein development plan...
a-n Kwajalein development plan...
gnr.poss-3s.gen Kwajalein development plan...
'The reason for this endeavor is...to start a Kwajalein development plan...'
(The Marshall Islands Journal 3-14-08:21)

If a quantifier appears with a definite possessive phrase, it is still phrase initial:

(169) E-ar kǫǫt-e aolep juuj ko a-ō.
3s.agr-T(past) steal-obj all shoe the.pl.nh gnr.poss-1s.gen
'He stole all my shoes.'

2.3.2 Prepositional phrases

Marshallese has prepositions rather than postpositions. Therefore the DP follows the

preposition in a prepositional phrase:

(170) Ajri ro r-ar bajjek tutu i ar.
child the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) for.no.important.reason swim in lagoon
'The children swam in the lagoon for no important reason.'

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(171) E-ar   kwaḷ-e   wa eo   kōn joop.
        3s.agr-T(past) wash.trans-obj   car the.s instr soap
        'He washed the car with soap.'

Table 13 lists some of the Marshallese prepositions.

Table 13. Marshallese prepositions

Marshallese	English
ilo, i	'in, at, during, through'
ñan	'to'
ion	'on, over'
jān	'from'
kōn	'with' (instrumental), 'because of'
ippā-	'with' (comitative)
ṇae	'against'

One preposition, *ippā-* takes a suffix morphologically identical to the possessive suffix

(see section 2.3.1.4).

(172) John e-j   kōnono ipp-ā.
        John 3s.agr-T(pres) talk   with-1s
        'John is talking with me.'

(173) John e-j   kōnono ipp-er.
        John 3s.agr-T(pres) talk   with-3pl
        'John is talking with them.'

(174) John e-j   kōnono ippā-n   leddik eo.
        John 3s.agr-T(pres) talk   with-3s   girl   the.s
        'John is talking with the girl.'

Prepositional phrases may be used to introduce arguments, as will be discussed in section

3.2.2.2

2.3.3 IP level syntax

Marshallese sentences can be broken down into two types: those without an overt verb

and those with an overt verb.

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2.3.3.1 Verbless sentences

There is no overt Marshallese verb that corresponds to the English verb *be*. Instead, Marshallese sentences that correspond to English sentences with the verb *be* have no overt verb. In this type of sentences, one noun phrase or pronoun is immediately followed by another, the former being the subject and the latter, the predicate.

(175) Armij ri-jerawiwi.
       Armej ri-jerọwiwi.
       man   one.who-sin
       'Man (is) a sinner.'
       (Zewen 1977:82)

If the subject is a pronoun, the absolute form of the pronoun is used (see section 2.2.3 for a description of the Marshallese pronoun system).

(176) Ir-ro   alab.
       Er-ro   alap.
       3pl.abs-2 head.of.a.clan
       'They two (are) heads of a clan.'
       (Zewen 1977:83)

When this type of sentence is negative, the subject agreement clitic must also occur. (See section 2.2.4 for a description of this clitic).

(177) Armej e-j   jab ri-jerọwiwi.
       man   3s.agr-T(pres) neg one.who-sin
       'Man is not a sinner.'

(178) Er-ro   re-j   jab alap.
       3pl.abs-2 3pl.agr-T(pres) neg head.of.a.clan
       'They two are not heads of a clan.'

It is possible for the predicate to appear initially when it is emphasized (Zewen 1977):

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(179) Win ŋa,   raj   kwe.
       Wōn ña,   raj   kwe.
       turtle 1s.abs whale 2s.abs[14]
       'I am a TURTLE, you are a WHALE.'
       (Zewen 1977:83)

While Zewen (1977) translates this sentence with emphasis, by which I am assuming he means focus or topic, and thus translates it as 'I am a TURTLE, you are a WHALE,' perhaps a better translation would be 'The turtle is me, the whale is you.' The reason I offer this alternative is that, in these sentences, *wōn* and *raj* do not appear to be in a sentence initial focus or topic position. This is evident from the negative form of these sentences (177)-(178). If Zewen's examples with "emphasized" predicates were fronted predicates (i.e. predicates which have moved to the front of the sentence) followed by the pronouns, we would expect the subject agreement clitic to agree with the pronoun in negative sentences. However, this is not what occurs. Rather, the clitic agrees not with the pronoun but with what Zewen identifies as the predicate:

(180) Wōn e-jab   ña, raj e-jab   kwe.
       turtle 3s.agr-neg 1s whale 3s.agr-neg 2s.abs
       'The turtle is not me, the whale is not you.'

(181) *Wōn ña   i-jab,   raj   kwe   kwo-jab.
       turtle 1s.abs 1s.agr-neg whale 2s.abs 2s.agr-neg
       'I am not a TURTLE, you are not a WHALE.'

Based on this data, it seems more likely that the pronoun is the predicate and the noun is the subject, since the agreement clitic agrees with the noun and not the pronoun.

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[14] Zewen translates *raj* as 'porpoise.' I have translated it, following Abo et. al. (1976) and my consultants, as 'whale.'

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2.3.3.2 Sentences with overt verbs

Marshallese has stative and non-stative verbs. These two types of verbs seem to behave in very similar ways, and so far I have not uncovered any syntactic differences between the behaviors of these two types of verbs. Both may take verbal suffixes and prefixes and occur with the subject agreement clitic.

(28), repeated here as (182) shows that basic word order of Marshallese sentences with overt verbs appears to be *Subject Verb Object*. However the situation is much more complicated and will be discussed great detail in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

(182) Herman e-lukkuun   kōṇaan men in mour.
       Herman 3s.agr-really love   thing of life
       'Herman really loves animals.'

2.3.4 CP level syntax

This section discusses complementation and questions, both direct and indirect.

2.3.4.1 Complementation

As with many other Micronesian languages, Marshallese has two non-relative clause complementizers corresponding to English *that*: *ke* and *bwe*.[15] Oda (1976) states that the selection of a Micronesian complementizer is often based on the speaker's presupposition as to the truth-value of the embedded sentence, meaning that, in Marshallese, if the speaker is uncertain as to truth value of the embedded clause, *bwe* is used; on the other hand, *ke* is used when the speaker knows the embedded clause to be true, as is illustrated by sentence (183).

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[15] Other Micronesian complementizers include the Kosraean- *lah* and *muh*; the Pulo Annanese- *na* and *bwa*; and the Ulithian- *la* and *bo*.

(183) I-kōṇaan   bwe kwo-n   jelā ke i-lōk-i   eok.
      1s.agr-want that 2s.agr-should know that 1s.agr-trust-obj 2s.obj
      'I want that you should know that I trust you.'
      (Oda 1976:4)

In (183), *bwe* is used prior to the first embedded clause because the speaker is unsure if

the listener knows that he or he trusts him. However *ke* is used before the final clause

because the speaker knows for a fact that he/she trusts the listener.

Marshallese complementizers are clause initial and may be omitted.

(184) a. I-ar   ba bwe e-n   i-tok.
         1s.agr-T(past) say that 3s.agr-should come-toward.speaker
         'I said that he should come.'

      b. I-ar   ba e-n   i-tok.
         1s.agr-T(past) say 3s.agr-should come-toward.speaker
         'I said he should come.'

Word order in embedded clauses appears to be the same as in matrix clauses.

These two complementizers are phonologically identical to two other words that

may be clause initial: *ke* 'as' or 'when (past tense)' and *bwe* 'because' or 'so that'.

(185) Kōrā   eo e-kar   kōmatt-e   bao   eo ke e-ar
      woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) cook.trans-obj chicken the.s when 3s.agr-T(past)
      kwōle.
      be.hungry
      'The woman killed the chicken when she was hungry.'

(186) R-ar   bu-uk-i   ke   e-ar   duoj-tok.
      3pl.agr-T(past) shoot-trans-obj when 3s.agr-T(past) step.out-toward.speaker
      'They shot as he stepped out.'

(187) I-j   kakkije bwe   i-jaad   mōk.
      1s.agr-T(pres) rest   because 1s.agr-fairly be.tired
      'I am resting because I am fairly tired.'

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(188) Ritti bwebwenato eo   m̧okta ippa-m̧ make bwe e-n   kab em̧m̧an
      read story   the.s before with-2s self that 3s.agr-should also be.good
      a-m̧   naaj bwebwenato kake ñan ajri ro.
      gnr.poss-2s.gen T(fut) tell.story   about to child the.pl.h
      'Read the story yourself first so that you'll tell it to the children well.'
      (Jejo , et. al. 1979:215)

2.3.4.2 Questions

There are three types of questions that will be discussed in this section: yes/no questions,

embedded questions and *wh-* questions.

2.3.4.2.1 Yes/no questions

Marshallese forms yes/no questions through the use of the question particle *ke*.

(189) John e-j   ke lukkuun kōnono ippā-n Mary?
      John 3s.agr-T(pres) Q really   talk   with-3s Mary
      'Is John really talking with Mary?'

The use of a question particle is not uncommon among Austronesian languages. For

example, both Kosraean (190), a Micronesian language, and Chamorro (191), a distantly

related Austronesian language, have a sentence initial question particle.

(190) Kuh kom mas?
      Q   2s   be.hungry
      'Are you hungry?'
      (Lee 1975:328)

(191) Kao esta   un-li'i'   nilitratu-hu   siha ni linao?
      Q   already Infl.2s-see picture-agr.1s pl   obl earthquake
      'Have you seen pictures of mine of the earthquake?'
      (Chung 1991:107)

Malagasy (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian) also uses a question particle. However,

unlike the Kosraean and Chamorro question particles, the Malagasy question particle *ve*

occurs between the predicate and the subject or topic (Paul 2001).

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(192) Rasoa ve no manapaka bozaka.
     Rasoa Q no at.cut   grass
     'Is it Rasoa who is cutting grass?'
     (Paul 2001:136)

The position of the Marshallese question particle differs from that of the question particle

in these other languages in that the Marshallese question particle may occur in any

position following TAM, including:

i) after TAM or other preverbal elements

(193) John e-j   ke lukkuun kōnono ippā-n Mary?
     John 3s.agr-T(pres) Q really   talk   with-3s Mary
     'Is John really talking with Mary?'

(194) John e-j   lukkuun ke kōnono ippā-n Mary?
     John 3s.agr-T(pres) really   Q talk   with-3s Mary
     'Is John really talking with Mary?'

ii) immediately following the main verb

(195) Herman e-j   lukkuun kōṇaan ke men in mour?
     Herman 3s.agr-T(pres) really   love   Q thing of life
     'Does Herman really love animals?'

iii) immediately following a definite or indefinite object

(196) Re-n   kōṃṃan bade eo   ke ñan er?
     3pl.agr-should make   party the.s Q for 3pl.abs
     'Should they throw the party for them?'

iv) sentence finally

(197) Herman e-j   lukkuun kōṇaan men in mour ke?
     Herman 3s.agr-T(pres) really   love   thing of life   Q
     'Does Herman really love animals?'

This leaves three positions in which *ke* may not occur. These are:

i) sentence initially

(198) *Ke John e-j   kōnono ippā-n Mary?
       Q   John 3s.agr-T(pres) talk   with-3s Mary
       'Is John talking with Mary?'

ii) between the subject and the agreement clitic

(199) *John ke e-j   kōnono ippā-n Mary?
       John Q 3s.agr-T(pres) talk   with-3s Mary
       'Is John talking with Mary?'

iii) immediately after the agreement clitic

(200) *John e   ke kar   kōnono ippā-n Mary?
       John 3s.agr Q T(past) talk   with-3s Mary
       'Did John talk with Mary?'

(201) *Herman e   ke lukkuun kōṇaan men in mour?
       Herman 3s.agr Q really   love   thing of life
       'Does Herman really love animals?'

Additionally, the question particle may not occur between subconstituents of a
constituent such as a DP or a PP:

(202) a. *Re-n   kōṃṃan bade ke eo   ñan er?
           3pl.agr-should make   party Q the.s for 3pl.abs
           'Should they throw the party for them?'

       b. *Re-n   kōṃṃan bade eo   ñan ke er?
           3pl.agr-should make   party the.s for Q 3pl.abs
           'Should they throw the party for them?'

I have not been able to pinpoint any differences in meaning between sentences with
different *ke* positions. So (193) and (194) appear to have the same meaning, as do (195)
and (197). A summary of the possible and impossible *ke* positions is given in (203):

(203) (*ke) subject (*ke) AgrS (*ke) TAM (ke) Adv (ke) V (ke) object (ke) PP (ke)

       In negative questions, the question particle may only occur sentence finally (204):

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(204) a. Kwo-j   jab etal ñan Rita ke?
           2s.agr-T(pres) neg go   to   Rita Q
           'Aren't you going to Rita?'

       b. *Kwo-j   ke jab etal ñan Rita?
           2s.agr-T(pres) Q neg go   to   Rita
           'Aren't you going to Rita?'

       c. *Kwo-j   jab ke etal ñan Rita?
           2s.agr-T(pres) neg Q go   to   Rita
           'Aren't you going to Rita?'

       d. *Kwo-j   jab etal ke ñan Rita?
           2s.agr-T(pres) neg go   Q   to   Rita
           'Aren't you going to Rita?'

Willson (2004) argues that the position of the question particle is the result of remnant movement of AgrS into the left periphery. In this analysis, *ke* is generated as the head of an interrogative phrase (IntP) in the left periphery. Those elements following *ke* move to a focus position below IntP, followed by remnant movement of the remnant AgrS to a position above IntP. I refer the reader to Willson (2004) for a more detailed description of this analysis.

2.3.4.2.2 Embedded questions

Embedded yes/no questions are formed with either the question particle *ke* or the question complementizer *ñe* 'if.' While there doesn't appear to be any meaning differences between these two words, they have distinctly different distributions in embedded clauses. *Ke* has the same distribution in indirect questions as it does in yes/no questions. It may occur in any sentential position with the exception of the impossible positions mentioned in section 2.3.4.2.1.

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(205) a. I-jaje   e-j   ke ka-ire   kau̧aļo.
         1s.agr-don't.know 3s.agr-T(pres) Q cause-fight spider
         'I don't know if she's spider fighting.'[16]

     b. I-jaje   e-j   ka-ire   ke kau̧aļo.
         1s.agr-don't.know 3s.agr-T(pres) cause-fight Q spider
         'I don't know if she's spider fighting.'

     c. I-jaje   e-j   ka-ire   kau̧aļo ke.
         1s.agr-don't.know 3s.agr-T(pres) cause-fight spider Q
         'I don't know if she's spider fighting.'

When *ke* occurs clause initially, *ke* may function only as the complementizer 'that' rather

than the question particle, as illustrated by (206).

(206) I-jaje   ke e-j   ka-ire   kau̧aļo.
        1s.agr-don't.know that 3s.agr-T(pres) cause-fight spider
        'I didn't know that she's spider fighting.'
        *'I don't know if she's spider fighting.'

Likewise, *ke* may not function as the complementizer when it is not clause initial,

meaning that (205a-c) cannot mean 'I didn't know that she's spider fighting.'

The complementizer *ke* shares the same distribution as the question

complementizer *ñe* 'if', since *ñe* may only appear embedded clause initially.

(207) a. I-jaje   ñe e-j   ka-ire   kau̧aļo.
         1s.agr-don't.know if   3s.agr-T(pres) cause-fight spider
         'I don't know if she's spider fighting.'

     b. *I-jaje   e-j   ñe ka-ire   kau̧aļo.
         1s.agr-don't.know 3s.agr-T(pres) if cause-fight spider
         'I don't know if she's spider fighting.'

---

[16] Spider fighting is a Marshallese children's game in which spiders are put on the bottom of a string and race/fight their way to the top.

c. *I-jaje   e-j   ka-ire   ñe kaułało.
1s.agr-don't.know 3s.agr-T(pres) cause-fight if spider
'I don't know if she's spider fighting.'

d. *I-jaje   e-j   ka-ire   kaułało ñe.
1s.agr-don't.know 3s.agr-T(pres) cause-fight spider if
'I don't know if she's spider fighting.'

This indicates that *ñe*, like *ke*, is a complementizer.

2.3.4.2.3 Wh- questions

Marshallese has three distinct classes of *wh-* question words that have different behaviors with respect to *wh-* movement and the appearance of a determiner following the *wh-* word. These *wh-* words may not co-occur with complementizers.

2.3.4.2.3.1 Class 1

The *wh-* question words belonging to this first class may remain *in situ* or move to a clause initial position, which may possibly be spec CP. These words include *wōn* 'who', *ta* 'what', *ia* 'where' and *ñaat* 'when.'

wōn 'who'
(208) a. Wōn eo   kw-ar   ṃwijbar-e?
        who the.s 2s.agr-T(past) cut.hair.trans-obj
        'Whose hair did you cut?' (lit. 'Who did you haircut?')

        b. Kw-ar   ṃwijbar-e   wōn?
        2s.agr-T(past) cut.hair.trans-obj who
        'Whose hair did you cut?' (lit. 'Who did you haircut?')

(209) a. Wōn eo e-ar   ṃwijbar-e   eok?
        who the.s 3s.agr-T(past) cut.hair.trans-obj 2s.obj
        'Who cut your hair?' (lit. 'Who haircut you?')

        b. Wōn e-ar   ṃwijbar-e   eok?
        who 3s.agr-T(past) cut.hair.trans-obj 2s.obj
        'Who cut your hair?' (lit. 'Who haircut you?')

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ta 'what'

(210) a. Ta   ko   kidu ko   re-kar   kǫkkure?
        what the.pl.nh dog the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) destroy
        'What did the dogs destroy?'

     b. Kidu ko   re-kar   kǫkkure ta?
        dog the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) destroy what
        'What did the dogs destroy?'

(211) a. Ta   eo   e-kar   kǫkkure oror eo?
        what the.s 3s.agr-T(past) destroy fence the.s
        'What destroyed the fence?'

     b. Ta   e-kar   kǫkkure oror eo?
        what 3s.agr-T(past) destroy fence the.s
        'What destroyed the fence?'

ia 'where'

(212) a. Ia   eo   i-j   aṃwin   ie?
        where the.s 1s.agr-T(pres) wash.hands.intrans there
        'Where do I wash my hands?'

     b. I-j   aṃwin   ia?
        1s.agr-T(pres) wash.hands.intrans where
        'Where do I wash my hands?'

ñaat 'when'

(213) a. Nāāt eo   re-naaj   jaṃbo mejinede ro   ñan Laura?
        when the.s 3pl.agr-T(fut) cruise missionary the.pl.h to Laura
        'When will the missionaries cruise to Laura?'

     b. Mejinede ro   re-naaj   jaṃbo ñāāt ñan Laura?
        missionary the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(fut) cruise when to Laura
        'When will the missionaries cruise to Laura?'

Notice that in all of the above (a) sentences, in which the *wh-* word moves to CP,

the *wh-* question word is followed by a determiner. This determiner may not appear when

the *wh-* word remains *in situ*.

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(214) *Kw-ar   m̥wijbar-e   wōn eo?
      2s.agr-T(past) cut.hair.trans-obj who the.s
      'Whose hair did you cut?' (lit. 'Who did you haircut?')

(215) *Kidu ko   re-kar   kǫkkure ta   eo?
      dog the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) destroy what the.s
      'What did the dogs destroy?'

(216) *I-j   am̥win   ia   eo?
      1s.agr-T(pres) wash.hands.intrans where the.s
      'Where do I wash my hands?'

(217) *Mejinede ro   re-naaj   jam̥bo ñāāt eo ñan Laura?
      missionary the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(fut) cruise when the.s to Laura
      'When will the missionaries cruise to Laura?'

The determiner may also be plural when used with *wōn* or *ta*. When a speaker uses a

plural determiner (218a) & (219), the speaker anticipates that the answer will be plural.

However, it is possible for the answer to be singular (218b) or plural (218c).

(218) a. Wōn ro   re-j   tutu i ar?
         who the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) swim in lagoon
         'Who are swimming in the lagoon?'

      b. Leddik eo e-j   tutu i ar.
         girl   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) swim in lagoon
         'The girl is swimming in the lagoon.'

      c. Ajri raṇ   re-j   tutu i ar.
         child those.h 3pl.agr-T(past) swim in lagoon
         'Those children are swimming in the lagoon.'

(219) Ta   ko   re-kar   buktak-e jikin   kallib eo a-m?
      what the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) dig.up-obj place.of plant the.s gnr.poss-2s.gen
      'What (pl) dug up your garden?'

The determiner following the moved *wh-* question word must agree in plurality with the

agreement clitic if the *wh-* question word is a subject. If a singular determiner is used

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with a plural agreement clitic (220a) or plural determiner is used with a singular

agreement clitic (220b), the sentence is ungrammatical.

(220) a. *Ta eo re-kar buktak-e jikin kallib eo a-m?
what the.s 3pl.agr-T(past) dig.up-obj place.of plant the.s gnr.poss-2sgen
'What (sing) dug up your garden?'

b. *Ta ko e-kar buktak-e jikin kallib eo a-m?
what the.pl.nh 3s.agr-T(past) dig.up-obj place.of plant the.s gnr.poss-2s.gen
'What (pl) dug up your garden?'

In place of a determiner, a demonstrative may be used to indicate the position of

an object or person in a question. For example, in (221), *ne* 'that (near the listener)' is

used to indicate that whatever the listeners are talking about is near the listeners, while in

(222), *kaṇ* 'those (away from both speaker and listener but still visible)' is used to indicate

that the food being eaten is away from both the speaker and listener.

(221) Ta ṇe komi-j kōnnaan kak-e?
what that 2pl.agr-T(pres) talk about-3s
'What are you (pl) talking about (by you)?'

(222) Ta kaṇ armej raṇ r-ej ṃōñā?
what those.nh person those.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) eat.intrans
'What are those people (away from us) eating?'

2.3.4.2.3.2 Class 2

The second class of Marshallese *wh-* question words cannot be *in situ* and may not be

followed by a determiner. This class includes the following words:

(223) | Marshallese | English |
|---|---|
| etke | 'why' |
| ewi | 'where is' |
| erri | 'where are (people)' |
| erki | 'where are (things)' |

etke 'why'

(224) a. Etke kwo-j   kōṃṃan bade?
          why   2s.agr-T(pres) make   party
          'Why are you throwing a party?'

       b. *Kwo-j   kōṃṃan bade   etke?
          2s.agr-T(pres) make   party   why
          'Why are you throwing a party?'

       c. *Etke   eo   kwo-j   kōṃṃan bade?
          why   the.s 2s.agr-T(pres) make   party
          'Why are you throwing a party?'

Ewi, erri and *erki* are inflected for plurality and human/nonhuman (in the case of *erri* and

erki). These three words differ from *etke* 'why' in that there is no overt verb in sentences

including one of these three words.

(225) a. Ewi   pinjeḷ   eo?
          where.is pencil   the.s
          'Where is the pencil?'

       b. *Pinjeḷ   eo   ewi?
          pencil   the.s where.is
          'Where is the pencil?'

       c. *Ewi   eo   pinjeḷ   eo?
          where.is the.s pencil   the.s
          'Where is the pencil?'

(226) Erri   ḷaḷḷap   ro?
        where.are.h old.man the.pl.h
        'Where are the old men?'

(227) Erki   nuknuk ko?
        where.are.nh dress   the.pl.nh
        'Where are the dresses?'

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2.3.4.2.3.3 Class 3

There are also two Marshallese question words that must occur at the beginning of the sentences and must be followed by a possessive phrase. These are *elōmen* 'how' and *ekōjkan* 'how'.

(228) Elōmen a-ō naaj rọọl ñan m̧weo im-ō?
how gnr.poss-1s.gen T(fut) return to the.house dwell.poss-1s
'How will I get home?'

(229) Ekōjka-n a-m jeḷā bwe men kein re-m̧ool?
how-3s gnr.poss-2s.gen know that thing these.nh 3pl.agr-be.true
'How do you know that these things are true?

2.3.4.2.4 Complex *wh-* elements

Some *wh-* words, such as *ta* 'which', *rot* 'what kind' and *jete* 'how many', occur as part of a *wh-* phrase. *Ta* and *rot* occur following the noun:

(230) Baḷuun ta ko r-ar jok tok?
plane which the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) land toward.speaker
'Which planes landed?'

(231) Mōr rot eo ri-eọñōd ro re-j iiōk-e?
bait what.kind the.s one.who-fish the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) mix.trans-obj
'What kind of bait is the fisherman mixing?'

However *jete* usually precedes the noun.

(232) Jete bao kw-ar lo-i?
how.many bird 2s.agr-T(past) see-obj
'How many birds did you see?'

While the phrases containing *ta* and *rot* are followed by the determiner, the *wh-* phrase containing *jete* is not usually followed by a determiner (232), although this is possible (233).

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(233) Jete   eo   armej e-ar   kōnono ilo kwelǫk eo?
      how.many the.s person 3s.agr-T(past) speak   at meeting the.s
      'How many people spoke at the meeting?'

I am unsure of the grammatical category of *jete* and do not know if it is more like a quantifier rather than a *wh-* question word.

There is no Marshallese word that means 'whose'. Rather in these types of *wh-* questions, *wōn* 'who' appears as part of a possessive phrase, which I will refer to as a 'whose' phrase to distinguish them from regular possessive phrases. 'Whose' phrases usually consist of a possessive classifier, possessive suffix, possessed noun and a definite determiner. *Wōn* occurs in the place of a possessor. However, when 'whose' phrases are not *in situ*, these elements occur in a different order than in declarative sentences. (See section 2.3.1.4 for a discussion of possessive phrase word order in declaratives.) The word order of a 'whose' phrase is:

PossessiveClassifer-PossessiveSuffix wōn PossessedNoun DefDeterminer

(234) A-n   wōn bok eo ḷaddik ro   r-ar   kǫǫtt-e?
      grn.poss-3s.gen who book the.s boy the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) steal.trans-obj
      'Whose book did the boys steal?'

(235) Kije-n   wōn mā   ko   leddik ro   r-ar
      food.poss-3s.gen who breadfruit the.pl.nh girl the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past)
      kañ-e?
      eat.trans-obj
      'Whose breadfruits did the girls eat?'

When the 'whose' phrase occurs *in situ*, it occurs in the normal possessive phrase order.

PossessedNoun DefDeterminer PossessiveClassifer-PossessiveSuffix wōn

(236) Ḷaddik ro   r-ar   kǫǫtt-e   bok eo a-n   wōn?
      boy the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) steal.trans-obj book the.s grn.poss-3s.gen who
      'Whose book did the boys steal?'

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2.3.4.2.5 Resumptive elements

With *wh-* movement, it is sometimes that the case a resumptive morpheme must occur in the position from which the *wh-* question word has moved. *Wh-* words moved from argument positions never have resumptive elements. Rather resumptive elements occur exclusively with moved adjuncts or when a *wh-* word is extracted from an adjunct. *Naat* 'when' never has a resumptive element, whereas *ia* 'where' typically may. Consider (212a), repeated here.

(212) a. Ia   eo   i-j   aṃwin   ie?
        where the.s 1s.agr-T(pres) wash.hands.intrans there
        'Where do I wash my hands?'

When *ia* is sentence initial, *ie* 'there' must appear in the position from which *ia* has moved. If *ie* is absent, the sentence is ungrammatical (237)

(237) *Ia   eo   i-j   aṃwin?
       where the.s 1s.agr-T(pres) wash.hands.intrans
       'Where do I wash my hands?'

However, the resumptive *ie* is not required in all sentences:

(238) Ia   eo   ḷaddik eo   e-j   kaplo?
       where the.s boy   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) spit.intrans
       'Where is the boy spitting?'

I have been unable to determiner when the resumptive element must occur. I leave this puzzle for future research.

In addition, a resumptive element often appears when a *wh-* element is extracted from an adjunct. In the case of (239) and (240), the *wh-* word is extracted from a prepositional phrase, and a resumptive element must occur.

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(239) a. Ta   eo   kwo-j   kōṃṃanṃōn jikin   kallib eo   ñan e?
        what the.s 2s.agr-T(pres) fix   place.of plant the.s for 3s.abs
        'What are you fixing the garden for (it)?'

     b. *Ta   eo   kwo-j   kōṃṃanṃōn jikin   kallib eo   ñan?
        what the.s 2s.agr-T(pres) fix   place.of plant the.s for
        'What are you fixing the garden for?'

(240) a. Ia   eo   kwo-j   etal ñan ie?
        where the.s 2s.agr-T(pres) go to there
        'Where are you going to (there)?'

     b. *Ia   eo   kwo-j   etal ñan?
        where the.s 2s.agr-T(pres) go to
        'Where are you going to?'

However a resumptive element is not obligatory with all prepositions. For example *ion*

'on' does not require a resumptive element.

(241) Wōn eo   je-naj   likit a-d   kejatdrikdrik ion?
       Wōn eo   je-naaj   likūt a-d   kōjatdikdik   ion?
       who the.s 1pl.in.agr-T(fut) place gnr.poss-1pl.in hope   on?
       'Who will we place our hope on?'
       (Tomeing 2008)

Likewise, when a *wh-* word is extracted from a prepositional phrase headed by *ippān*

'with,' a resumptive element, such as a pronoun, may not occur (242b).

(242) a. Wōn eo   kw-ar   ṃwijbar   ippā-n?
        who the.s 2s.agr-T(past) cut.hair.intrans with-3s
        'Who cut your hair?' (lit. 'Who did you cut hair with?')

     b. *Wōn eo   kw-ar   ṃwijbar   ippā-n e?
        who   the.s 2s.agr-T(past) cut.hair.intrans with-3s 3s.abs
        'Who cut your hair?' (lit. 'Who did you cut hair with?')

2.3.4.2.6 Indirect wh- questions

The syntax of indirect *wh-* questions is similar to that of monoclausal *wh-* questions in

that if the determiner is required in a monoclausal *wh-* question involving movement, it is

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required in an indirect *wh-* question. Therefore, with *wh-* words like *ia* (243) and *ta* (244),

a determiner must follow the *wh-* word when it precedes the embedded clause.

(243) a. Isaac e-ar   jab lo-e   ia   eo   re-j   bōk kōrā
       Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) neg see-obj where the.s 3pl.agr-T(pres) take woman
       eo   ñan e.
       the.s to 3s.abs
       'Isaac didn't see where they are taking the woman to.'

   b. *Isaac e-ar   jab lo-e   ia   re-j   bōk kōrā eo
       Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) neg see-obj where 3pl.agr-T(pres) take woman the.s
       ñan e.
       to 3s.abs
       'Isaac didn't see where they are taking the woman to.'

(244) a. I-jaje   ta   ko   leddik ro   re-j
       1s.agr-don't.know what the.pl.nh girl   the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres)
       āj-i.
       weave.trans-obj
       'I don't know what the girls are weaving.'

   b. *I-jaje   ta   leddik ro   re-j   āj-i.
       1s.agr-don't.know what girl   the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) weave.trans-obj
       'I don't know what the girls are weaving.'

If a determiner is prohibited in a monoclausal *wh-* question, then it is also prohibited in

an indirect question, as is the case with *etke* 'why'.

(245) a. I-jaje   etke Isaac e-ar   jiniete   leddik eo   ilo
       1s.agr-don't.know why Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) show.around girl   the.s in
       town eo.
       town the.s
       'I don't know why Isaac showed the girl around town.'

   b. *I-jaje   etke eo   Isaac e-ar   jiniete   leddik eo
       1s.agr-don't.know why the.s Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) show.around girl   the.s
       ilo town eo.
       in town the.s
       'I don't know why Isaac showed the girl around town.'

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Some speakers seem to find *in situ* indirect questions grammatical, while others don't. So I am unsure as to the grammaticality of *in situ* indirect questions.

Finally, the complementizer may not be present in an indirect question:

(246) a. *Isaac e-ar   jab lo-e   bwe ia   eo re-j   bōk
         Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) neg see-obj that where the.s 3pl.agr-T(pres) take
         kōrā   eo   ñan e.
         woman the.s to   3s.abs
         'Isaac didn't see where they are taking the woman.'

      b. *Isaac e-ar   jab lo-e   ia   eo bwe re-j   bōk
         Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) neg see-obj where the.s that 3pl.agr-T(pres) take
         kōrā   eo   ñan e.
         woman the.s to   3s.abs
         'Isaac didn't see where they are taking the woman.'

2.3.4.2.7 Partial wh- movement

Partial *wh-* movement seems possible if uncommon in Marshallese, as there is a strong preference for full movement ((247a) and (248a)) over partial movement ((247b) and (248b)).

(247) a. Wōn eo   kwo-j   ba ke ļaddik eo e-ar   kinji?
         who the.s 2s.agr-T(pres) say that boy   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) pinch
         'Who did you say the boy pinched?'

      b. Kwo-j   ba ke wōn eo ļaddik eo e-ar   kinji?
         2s.agr-T(pres) say that who the.s boy   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) pinch
         'Who did you say the boy pinched?'

(248) a. Ñāāt eo   Mary e-ar   roñ Jikko e-ar   medeke
         when the.s Mary 3s.agr-T(past) hear Jikko 3s.agr-T(past) curry.favor.with
         Joe kōn   jaan ko   a-n?
         Joe through money the.pl.nh gnr.poss-3s.gen
         'When did Mary hear that Jikko curried favor with Joe through his money?'

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b. Mary e-ar   roñ ñāāt eo Jikko e-ar   medeke
   Mary 3s.agr-T(past) hear when the.s Jikko 3s.agr-T(past) curry.favor.with
   Joe kōn   jaan   ko   a-n?
   Joe through money the.pl.nh gnr.poss-3s.gen
   'When did Mary hear that Jikko curried favor with Joe through his money?'

Speakers will accept sentences like (247b) and (248b). However I have not come across

such sentences in a natural, spontaneous speech. The reader may notice that these partial

movement sentences have the same order as indirect *wh-* questions. These two types of

questions are distinguished from one another by intonation. In partial movement

questions, the intonation rises at the end of the sentence while it falls at the end of an

indirect *wh-* question.

2.3.4.2.8 Multiple wh- movement

In Marshallese, there is a strong aversion to sentences with multiple *wh-* words, such as

(249).

(249)   Wōn eo   e-ar   kalbwin   ta?
        who the.s 3s.agr-T(past) plant.trans what
        'Who planted what?'

Marshallese speakers prefer sentences using coordination rather than those containing

multiple *wh-* question words, as shown in (250).

(250)   a. Wōn eo   ar   kallib   im ta   eo?
        who the.s T(past) plant.intrans and what the.s
        'Who planted what?' (lit. 'Who planted and what?')

In this sentence, the sentence final *wh-* word *ta* 'what' is followed by a determiner. If this

wh- word is, *in situ*, it should not be followed by a determiner. This suggests that this

word is not *in situ*, as such a sentence would be ungrammatical. Instead, I propose that

this sentence is a case of sentential coordination with deletion, as illustrated by (250b).

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(250) b. Wōn eo   ar   kallib   im ta   eo   ~~e ar   kallib~~?
        who the.s T(past) plant.intrans and what the.s ~~3s T(past) plant.intrans~~
        'Who planted and what ~~did he plant~~?'

However more research needs to be done to determine if this is the case.

It is not possible to move two *wh-* question words to the beginning of the sentence, as shown in (251).

(251) *Ta eo   wōn eo   ar   jioñ-e?
       what the.s who the.s T(past) cover.trans-obj
       'Who covered what?'

It seems more acceptable to leave one *wh-* word in situ and move the other:

(252) Wōn ro   r-ar   kōnono kak-e   ta?
       who the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) talk   about-3s what
       Who is talking about what?'

(253) Ia   eo r-ar   kǫǫt-e   ta?
       where the.s 3pl.agr-T(past) steal-obj what
       'Where did they steal what?

2.4 Summary

This chapter has provided a brief grammatical sketch of the Marshallese language and discussed its phonology, morphology and syntax. The chapters that follow examine in more detail some of the topics introduced in this sketch, as well as other topics concerning the syntax of Marshallese. These include basic word order, the passive construction, and infinitival sentences.

Chapter 3. Basic Word Order

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the issue of basic word order. This issue is somewhat complex, since the subject may occupy one of three different sentential positions and since subject position is often constrained by clause type. While chapter 4 will provide a syntactic analysis of declaratives, this chapter focuses on describing the basic word order patterns of Marshallese sentences and examining the phonological, semantic and syntactic factors that affect subject position. I will argue that the subject surfaces in a particular position as a result of either its information status or the information status of the predicate, although the syntax prohibits the subject from surfacing in some positions in some types of sentences. I will show that topicalized and focused subjects appear sentence initially, that neutral subjects appear sentence internally, and that subjects appear sentence finally as a result of topicalization or focalization of the predicate. Further, I will show that sentences with final subjects have a different phonological status than the other two types of sentences.

This chapter proceeds as follows. In section 3.2.1, I catalogue the positions of the Marshallese subject in different types of transitive sentences, including sentences with only one internal DP argument; those with both an internal DP and internal PP argument; and sentences with a CP argument. Section 3.2.2 examines intransitives, including those with and without prepositional phrases. The examination of transitive and intransitive sentences reveals that, while the subject may be sentence internal in intransitives, it may not be internal in transitives. In section 3.3, I turn to the phonology and semantics of

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declaratives. This section shows that sentences with final subject have a unique phonological status, which indicates that sentence final subjects are right dislocated. This section also shows that sentence initial, internal and final subjects have different information status. The final section of this chapter, section 3.4, briefly discusses the word order typology of Micronesian languages and how the word order patterns of these languages are similar to those of Marshallese.

3.2 Subject position and declaratives

In discussing the basic word orders of both transitive and intransitive sentences, I will refer to three subject positions: sentence initial, sentence internal, and sentence final. These three terms are defined as follows:

sentence initial	The position immediately before the subject agreement clitic. In most cases, a subject in this position is the first element in the sentence. However, if another sentential element moves into the CP domain, a subject in this position is not technically the first element in the sentence. Most sentences to be discussed will be ones in which no sentential elements have moved into the CP domain. Therefore, the subjects of these sentences are sentence initial.
sentence internal	This term refers to: 1) subjects that immediately follows the verb or the verb and postverbal adverb (if one is present). (The importance of postverbal adverbials to the analysis of declaratives will be discussed in section 4.1.2 of chapter 4). 2) subjects that occur between an object and a prepositional phrase. 3) subjects of intransitive sentences with $V\ S$ word order. The classification of these subjects as internal rather than final will be discussed in section 3.3.1.

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sentence final	This term refers to subjects that are the last elements in the sentences. Sentences with final subjects must have special intonation, as will be discussed in section 3.3.1.

If we assume that the subject could theoretically occupy any position between two words in a sentences as long as the two words are not a constituent, there are also a number of other possible subject positions that are not included in the above classification. These include:[17]

(254)   AgrS (*subject) TAM (*subject) Neg (*subject) Adv (*subject) V Adv object PP

In (254), these subject positions are each preceded by "*", indicating that the Marshallese subject may not surface in any of these other positions. This being the case, we can conclude that the subject cannot occupy any position between AgrS and the verb. This leaves the following positions:

Initial   *Internal*   *Final*

(255)   (subject) AgrS TAM Neg Adv V (*subject) Adv (subject) object (subject) PP (subject)

All of these positions are grammatical, with the exception of the position between the verb and a postverbal adverb. An explanation as to the ungrammaticality of sentences with the subject in this position will be discussed in section 4.2.1 of chapter 4, while the ungrammaticality of those subject positions shown in (254) will be discussed in section 4.2.5 of chapter 4.

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[17] At this time, I do not have sufficient data to determine whether the subject may intervene between two prepositional phrases, as in (i):

(i)   AgrS-TAM V PP subject PP

The analysis that will be proposed in chapter 4 predicts that this word order should be possible if it has the special intonation that will be discussed in section 3.3.1.

3.2.1 Transitive sentences

This section is devoted to subject position in three types of transitive sentences: those with one internal DP argument, those with an internal DP and internal PP argument, and those with a CP argument.

3.2.1.1 Transitives with one internal DP argument

The basic word order of most Marshallese transitive sentences is *Subject Verb Object* (although the subject is frequently omitted when it is clear from the context of the conversation) (256):

S V O
(256) a. Leddik eo e-ar   kaplo-uk   ļaddik eo.
       girl   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) spit.on-trans boy   the.s
       'The girl spit on the boy.'

Sentences with *V S O* order are ungrammatical.

*V S O
(256) b.*E-ar   kaplo-uk   leddik eo ļaddik eo.
       3s.agr-T(past) spit.on-trans girl the.s boy the.s
       'The girl spit on the boy.'

Most speakers will also accept sentences with final subjects, provided that these sentences have special intonation and a pause before the subject (256c).

V O S
(256) c. E-kar   kaplo-uk   ļaddik eo, leddik eo.
       3s.agr-T(past) spit.on-trans boy   the.s girl the.s
       'She spit on the boy, the girl.'

I have translated (256c) differently from (256a&b) because, as I will argue in section 3.3, these sentences have a different phonological and information status than those with initial or internal subjects. As the translation indicates, I will argue that these sentences

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have right dislocated subjects. I will postpone further discussion of the status of these sentences until section 3.3.

3.2.1.2 Transitives with a DP argument and a PP argument

Marshallese does not have a double object construction corresponding to the English (257a), in which the indirect object DP precedes the direct object DP.

(257) a. My mother sent my sister the skirts.
       b. My mother sent the skirts to my sister.

It does have a dative complement construction comparable to (257b), in which the verb selects both an internal DP and an internal PP argument.

Compare these English sentences to the Marshallese (258)-(260). The (a) examples illustrate the dative complement construction, while the (b) examples illustrate the ungrammatical double object construction.

S V DO PP
(258) a. Jin-ō   e-kar   jilikin-ḷǫk   jet   likko ñan leddik eo
          mother-1s 3s.agr-T(past) send-away.from.both some skirt to   girl   the.s
          je-ū.
          older.sibling-1s.gen
          'My mother sent some skirts to my older sister.'

*S V IO DO
       b. *Jin-ō   e-kar   jilikin-ḷǫk   leddik eo
          mother-1s.gen 3s.agr-T(past) send-away.from.both girl   the.s
          je-ū   jet   likko.
          older.sibling-1s.gen some skirt
          'My mother sent my older sister some skirts.'

S V DO PP
(259) a. Ri-jerbal   ro   re-j   bōk-ḷǫk
          one.who-work the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both
          bwiro   ko   ñan irooj eo.
          preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh to   chief the.s
          'The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to the chief.'

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*S V IO DO

b. *Ri-jerbal   ro   re-j   bōk-ḷǫk   irooj eo.
one.who-work the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both chief the.s
bwiro   ko.
preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh
'The workers are taking the chief the preserved breadfruits.'

S V O PP

(260) a. Isaac e-ar   le-ḷǫk   raanke   eo   a-n
Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) give-away.from.both coconut.grater the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen
ñan Ether.
to   Ether
'Isaac gave his coconut grater to Ether.'

*S V IO DO

b. *Isaac e-ar   le-ḷǫk   Ether raanke   eo
Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) give-away.from.both Ether coconut.grater the.s
a-n.
gnr.poss-3s.gen
'Isaac gave Ether his coconut grater.'

Even if the order is reversed, with the indirect object DP following the direct object DP,

the sentence is still ungrammatical:

S V DO IO

(261) *Jin-ō   e-kar   jilikin-ḷǫk   jet   likko leddik eo
mother-1s.gen 3s.agr-T(past) send-away.from.both some skirt girl   the.s
je-ū.
older.sibling-1s.gen
'My mother sent my older sister some skirts.'

(262) *Ri-jerbal   ro   re-j   bōk-ḷǫk   bwiro
one.who-work the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both preserved.breadfruit
ko   irooj eo.
the.pl.nh chief the.s
'The workers are taking the chief the preserved breadfruits.'

(263) *Isaac e-ar   le-ḷǫk   raanke   eo   a-n
Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) give-away.from.both coconut.grater the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen
Ether.
Ether
'Isaac gave Ether his coconut grater.'

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But it is possible for the PP argument to precede the direct object DP, as shown in the following two examples:

S V PP O
(264) Kōrā   eo   e-ar   bōk-ḷǫk   ñan ippā-n
      woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) take-away.from.both to   with-3s
      ri-kalbuuj   eo,   jidpan eo.
      one.who-be.in.prison the.s saw   the.s
      'The woman took the saw to the prisoner.' (lit. 'The woman took to the prisoner, the saw.'

(265) Ri-jerbal   ro   re-j   bōk-ḷǫk   ñan irooj eo,
      one.who-work the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both to   chief the.s
      bwiro   ko.
      preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh
      'The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to the chief.' (lit. 'The workers are taking to the chief, the breadfruits.')

These two examples require the special phonology associated with final subjects, as will be discussed in section 3.3.1.

All of the verbs in the examples in this section take the deictic directional suffix, which indicates the direction in which the action takes place with relation to the speaker and the listener. (See section 2.2.6.3 of chapter 2 for a discussion of this suffix.) Because these verbs include the deictic directional suffix, the PP may be omitted, as shown in (266)-(268):

S V O
(266) Jin-ō   e-kar   jilikin-tok   jet   likko.
      mother-1s.gen 3s.agr-T(past) send-toward.speaker some skirt
      'My mother sent some skirts to me.'

(267) Ri-jerbal   ro   re-j   bōk-wōj   bwiro
      one.who-work the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) take-toward.listener preserved.breadfruit
      ko.
      the.pl.nh
      'The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to you.'

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(268) Isaac e-ar   le-ḷǫk   raanke   eo a-n.
     Isaac 3s.gen-T(past) give-away.from.both coconut.grater the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen
     'Isaac gave away his coconut grater.'

In the first two sentences, the use of the directional suffixes *tok* and *wōj* make it clear that the direct object is being sent or taken to the speaker or the listener respectively. But in the third example, it is unclear who the coconut grater was given to, since the directional suffix *ḷǫk* indicates that the coconut grater was not given to the speaker or listener but rather to a third party. However, there seems to be an understood recipient of the *raanke* 'coconut grater', which means that this sentence could mean something like 'Isaac gave away his coconut grater to someone' (not the speaker or listener).

The possibility of omitting the internal PP argument brings into question the classification of these sentences as those that require an internal DP and PP argument, as these last three sentences indicate that the PP may not be an argument of the verb or, at the very least, that the PP is not required. These sentences could be handled in one of third ways. First, we might assume that there are two lexical entries for each of these verbs, one requiring an internal PP argument and one that does not. Second, we might conclude that an argument other than a PP in (266)-(268) receives the goal theta role from the verb. This argument might be the deictic directional suffix. Or third, we might argue that there is some sort of non-overt or understood PP in these sentences. As I have no answer for this dilemma, I am forced to set it aside for now and continue to assume that these sentences contain both an internal DP and internal PP argument.

Returning to the subject of word order, these sentences allow the subject to appear in a non-initial position, although not all of the internal positions are available to the subject.

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First, the subject may be sentence final, regardless of whether the PP argument follows (V O PP S) or precedes (V PP O S) the direct object.

V O PP S

(269) Re-j   bōk-ḷǫk   bwiro   ko   ñan irooj
3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh to   chief
eo,   ri-jerbal   ro.
the.s one.who-work the.pl.h
'They are taking the preserved breadfruit to the chief, the workers.'

V PP O S

(270) Re-j   bōk-ḷǫk   ñan irooj eo, bwiro
3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both to   chief the.s preserved.breadfruit
ko,   ri-jerbal   ro.
the.pl.nh one.who-work the.pl.h
'They are taking the preserved breadfruit to the chief, the workers.'

(271) E-ar   jilkin-ḷǫk   ñan mon   wia eo
3s.agr-T(past) sent-away.from.both to   place.of buy the.s
ri-New Zealand   eo, kōrā   eo.
one.from-New Zealand the.s woman the.s
'She sent the New Zealander to the store, the woman.'

The subject may also surface between the direct object and prepositional phrase, provided that the direct object comes before the PP.[18]

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[18] Most speakers find this order grammatical, if uncommon. But two speakers I consulted find this word order slightly deviant. Of these speakers, one of them, when presented with a sentence intended to have *V S O PP* order, interpreted the sentence as having *V O S PP* order, as in (ii).

(ii) E-ar   bōk-ḷǫk   kijdik eo bao   eo kij-a   ñan el   eo
3s.agr-T(past) take-away.from.both rat   the.s chicken the.s food.poss-1s.gen to   nest the.s
a-n.
gnr.poss-3s.gen
'My chicken took the rat to its nest.'
*'The rat took my chicken to its nest.'

This fact suggests that this speaker might accept *V O S PP* sentences in certain situations only.

V O S PP

(272) Re-j   bōk-l̥ọk   bwiro   ko
      3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh
      ri-jerbal   ro   ñan irooj eo.
      one.who-work the.pl.h to   chief the.s
      'The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to the chief.'

There are three word orders with post-verbal subjects and two internal arguments

that are ungrammatical. In all three of these, the subject precedes the object. These

include *V PP S O*, *V S O PP* and *V S PP O*.

*V PP S O

(273) *Re-j   bōk-l̥ọk   ñan irooj eo ri-jerbal   ro
      3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both to   chief the.s one.who-work the.pl.h
      bwiro   ko.
      preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh
      'The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to the chief.'

*V S O PP

(274) *Re-j   bōk-l̥ọk   ri-jerbal   ro   bwiro
      3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both one.who-work the.pl.h preserved.breadfruit
      ko   ñan irooj eo.
      the.pl.nh to   chief the.s
      'The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to the chief.'

*V S PP O

(275) *Re-j   bōk-l̥ọk   ri-jerbal   ro   ñan irooj eo
      3pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from.both one.who-work the.pl.h to   chief the.s
      bwiro   ko.
      preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh
      'The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to the chief.'

The word order facts for the two types of transitives discussed in this chapter are given in

Table 14.

Table 14. Subject position in transitives

Sentence type	initial S	V S O (PP)	V S PP O	V O S PP	V O (PP) S	V PP S O	V PP O S
internal DP	√	*	NA	NA	√	NA	NA
internal DP & PP	√	*	*	√	√	*	√

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The generalization for those transitive sentences examined so far seems to be that sentences in which a non-initial subject precedes the DP object are ungrammatical.

3.2.1.3 CP arguments

Because sentences with CP arguments have two clauses, there are two sentence internal positions in which the subject could potentially surface: the position following the matrix verb and the one following the embedded verb. Therefore, four subject positions need to be considered in sentences with CP arguments: sentence initial, sentence internal (matrix), sentence internal (embedded), and sentence final.

Let us first consider a sentence with two overt subjects: one in the matrix clause and one in the embedded clause (276). Both of these clauses are finite, as indicated by the fact that they both include a subject agreement clitic and/or TAM. The first clause includes AgrS *e*–, while the second includes both *e*– and –*n* 'should'.

S(matrix) *V* [*CP* *S(embedded)* *V PP*]
(276) Lio[19]   e-aikuj   bwe ḷaddik eo   neji-n   e-n
      the.woman 3s.agr-need that boy   the.s cher.poss-3s.gen 3s.agr-should
      pojak   ñan jar.
      be.ready for church
      'The woman needs her son to get ready for church.'

In addition to the sentence initial position, the matrix subject to occupy the sentence final position.

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[19] A number of Marshallese words seem to be a combination of a noun and a determiner or demonstrative. For example, *lio* 'the woman' consists of *li* 'woman' and *eo* 'the', which explains why this word is not followed by a determiner. As I have not sufficiently investigated these words, I have chosen to not divide them into smaller morphemes.

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V [cp S(embedded) V PP] S(matrix)

(277) E-aikuj   bwe laddik eo   neji-n   e-n   pojak   ñan
      3s.agr-need that boy   the.s cher.poss-3s.gen 3s.agr-should be.ready for
      jar,   lio.
      church the.woman
      'She needs her son to get ready for church, the woman.'

However, the matrix subject may not occupy the embedded clause internal position.

*V [cp S(embedded) V S(matrix) PP]

(278) *E-aikuj   bwe laddik eo   neji-n   e-n   pojak   lio
      3s.agr-need that boy   the.s cher.poss-3s.gen 3s.agr-should be.ready the.woman
      ñan jar.
      for church
      'The woman needs her son to get ready for church.'

The facts concerning the position following the matrix verb are more complicated.

Whether subjects may occupy the internal position in the matrix clause is determined by

the matrix verb. With a few exceptions, those verbs that may take a DP object in some

cases or a CP object in others do not allow the matrix subject to occur in this position.

These include the verbs *aikuj* 'need' (279), *kōṇaan* 'want' (280), and *lo* 'see' (281).

S V CP

(279) a. Būreejtōn eo   e-aikuj   bwe e-n   ka-ṃōj-e.
         president the.s 3s.agr-need that 3s.agr-should cause-be.finished-obj
         'The president needs to resign.'

*V S CP

      b.*E-aikuj   būreejtōn eo   bwe e-n   ka-ṃōj-e.
         3s.agr-need president the.s that 3s.agr-should cause-be.finished-obj
         'The president needs to resign.'

S V CP

(280) a. Pastō eo   e-kōṇaan   bwe eṃṃaan ro   re-n   roñjake ilo
         pastor the.s 3s.agr-want   that man   the.pl.h 3pl.agr-should listen   during
         ien jar.
         time church
         'The pastor wants the men to listen during church.'

*V S CP
b.*E-kōṇaan pastō eo bwe emṃaan ro re-n roñjake ilo
3s.agr-want pastor the.s that man the.pl.h 3s.agr-should listen during
ien jar.
time church
'The pastor wants the men to listen during church.'

S V CP
(281) a. Ether e-ar lo bwe Prett e-ar baajkọl ilo ial eo.
Ether 3s.agr-T(past) see that Prett 3s.agr-T(past) ride.bicycle in street the.s
'Ether saw that Prett was bike riding in the street.'

*V S CP
b. *E-ar lo Ether bwe Prett e-ar baajkọl ilo ial eo.
3s.agr-T(past) see Ether that Prett 3s.agr-T(past) ride.bicycle in street the.s
'Ether saw that Prett was bike riding in the street.'

Further, the matrix subject may not occupy the position following the matrix verb in

sentences with a verb like *kāālōt* 'choose' (trans), which allows 1) a DP object, 2) a CP

object or 3) both a DP and a CP object.

S V CP
(282) a. Jet ḷaddik re-j kāālōt bwe re-n jab iukkure
some boy 3pl.agr-T(pres) choose.trans that 3pl.agr-should neg play
iakiu.
baseball
'Some boys choose not to play baseball.'

*V S CP
b. *Re-j kāālōt jet ḷaddik bwe re-n jab ukkure
3pl.agr-T(pres) choose.trans some boy that 3pl.agr-should neg play
iakiu.
baseball
'Some boys choose not to play baseball.'

There are two exceptions to this rule. Both *kallimụr* 'promise' and *roñ* 'hear' may have

matrix subjects that immediately follow the matrix verb.

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S V CP

(283) a. Ri-jikuul   eo e-ar   kallim̗ur bwe e-n   jab
    one.who-go.to.school the.s 3s.agr-T(past) promise that 3s.agr-should neg
    bar joḷọk kilaaj eo a-n.
    again miss class the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen
    'The student promised that she wouldn't miss her class again.'

V S CP

  b. E-ar   kallim̗ur ri-jikuul   eo bwe e-n   jab
    3s.agr-T(past) promise one.who-go.to.school the.s that 3s.agr-should neg
    bar joḷọk kilaaj eo a-n.
    again miss class the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen
    'The student promised that she wouldn't miss her class again.'

S V CP

(284) a. Kōrā eo e-ar   roñ bwe e-ar   jibil jān leo
    woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) hear that 3s.agr-T(past) divorce from the.man
    bele-n.
    spouse-3s.gen
    'The woman$_i$ heard that she$_{i/j}$ divorced her husband.'

V S CP

  b. E-ar   roñ kōrā eo bwe e-ar   jibil jān leo
    3s.agr-T(past) hear woman the.s that 3s.agr-T(past) divorce from the.man
    bele-n.
    spouse-3s.gen
    'The woman$_i$ heard that she$_{i/j}$ divorced her husband.'

Some sentences with matrix verbs that cannot take DP arguments allow internal matrix

subjects, such as those with verbs like *jeḷā* 'know'.

S V CP

(285) a. Kōrā eo e-ar   jeḷā bwe e-ar   rum̗wij ñan kweiḷōk
    woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) know that 3s.agr-T(past) be.late for meeting
    eo
    the.s
    'The woman knew that she was late for the meeting.'

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V S CP

    b. E-ar   jeḷā kōrā   eo   bwe e-ar   ruṃwij ñan kweiḷōk
       3s.agr-T(past) know woman the.s that 3s.agr-T(past) be.late for meeting
       eo
       the.s
       'The woman knew that she was late for the meeting.'

Others show speaker variation as to the grammaticality of the sentence. For example,

some speakers will accept internal matrix subjects in sentences with the matrix verbs *ba*

'say' (286) or *ḷōmṇak* 'think' (287), while others won't.

S V CP

(286) a. Tina e-j   ba bwe kōrā   ro   re-n   kwaḷ-i
        Tina 3s.agr-T(pres) say that woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-should wash.trans-obj
        nuknuk ko.
        clothes the.pl.nh
        'Tina says that the women should wash the clothes.'

%V S CP

    b. %E-j   ba Tina bwe kōrā   ro   re-n   kwaḷ-i
       3s.agr-T(pres) say Tina that woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-should wash.trans-obj
       nuknuk ko.
       clothes the.pl.nh
       'Tina says that the women should wash the clothes.'

S V CP

(287) a. Kapen eo   e-j   ḷōmṇak bwe wa   eo e-n   jerak
        captain the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) think   that boat the.s 3s.agr-should sail
        ñan Mile.
        to Mile
        'The captain thinks that the boat should sail to Mile.'

%V S CP

    b. %E-j   ḷōmṇak kapen eo   bwe wa   eo e-n   jerak
       3s.agr-T(pres) think   captain the.s that boat the.s 3s.agr-should sail
       ñan Mile.
       to Mile
       'The captain thinks that the boat should sail to Mile.'

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Table 15 summarizes the possible word orders in sentences with verbs that take

CP arguments.

Table 15. Subject position in sentences with CP arguments

verb	initial S	final S	V S CP	V [cpV S PP]
aikuj 'need'	√	√	*	*
kāālōt 'choose'	√	√	*	*
kōṇaan 'want'	√	√	*	*
lo 'see'	√	√	*	*
kallimur 'promise'	√	√	√	*
roñ 'hear'	√	√	√	*
jeḷā 'know'	√	√	√	*
ba 'say'	√	√	speaker variation	*
ḷōmṇak 'think'	√	√	speaker variation	*

If a generalization were to be made regarding transitive sentences, it would be that

sentence initial and sentence final subjects are allowed, whereas, barring a few

exceptions, immediately postverbal subjects are not.

3.2.2 Intransitive sentences

There are three types of intransitive sentences that will be discussed in this section. The

first is sentences without a PP; the second, those that require a PP argument; and the

third, those with an optional PP.

3.2.2.1 Intransitives without a PP

In an intransitive sentence without a prepositional phrase, the subject may be sentence

initial or postverbal:

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S V

(288) a. Irooj ro   re-naaj   ettōr.
         chief the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(fut) run
         'The chiefs will run.'

V S

    b. Re-naaj   ettōr irooj ro.
         3pl.agr-T(fut) run chief the.pl.h
         'The chiefs will run.'

S V

(289) a. Ni   eo   e-ju.
         coconut.tree the.s 3s.agr-be.tall.and.straight
         'The coconut tree is tall and straight.'

V S

    b. E-ju   ni   eo.
         3s.agr-be.tall.and.straight coconut.tree the.s
         'The coconut tree is tall and straight.'

As these examples illustrate, there doesn't appear to be any difference in word order between unergative and unaccusative or between active and stative intransitive sentences, nor have I been able to find any other syntactic differences between these two types of sentences. I will therefore not make a distinction between these types of sentences when discussing intransitives.

An interesting question regarding intransitive sentences without prepositional phrases is whether these sentences have internal or final subjects. As these sentences lack a prepositional phrase, it is unclear whether their subjects are occupying the internal or final position. As should be clear from the way in which they are translated into English, the intonation of these sentences is like those of intransitives with internal subjects rather than those with final subjects; there is neither a pause nor rising intonation on the phrase

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before the subject in intransitives without PPs. Therefore, I conclude that these sentences

have internal subjects. This topic will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3.1.

3.2.2.2 Intransitives requiring a PP argument

Marshallese verbs that require a PP argument are morphologically intransitive. While

many of these verbs do not have a transitive form, and are therefore not formally

intransitive, there is one verb – *kajju/kajjuk* 'go straight' – which does have separate

transitive and intransitive forms:

(290) a. Ḷeo   e-ar   kajju   ñan Āne Ṃanit.
     the.man 3s.agr-T(past) go.straight to   Āne Ṃanit
     'The man went straight to Āne Ṃanit.'

   b. Ḷeo   e-ar   kajju-uk   wa eo ñan Āne Ṃanit.
     the.man 3s.agr-T(past) go.straight-trans boat the.s to Āne Ṃanit
     'The man steered the boat to Āne Ṃanit.'

As this verb is one that requires a PP object, I will take it to be representative of the class

as a whole and assume that all verbs of this type are morphologically intransitive.

Sentences with verbs requiring a PP argument may have initial (291)-(292) or

final subjects (293)-(294). Final sentences must have rising intonation and a pause before

the final subject.

S V PP
(291) Jet   ḷaddik re-j   kōnono ippā-n leddik ro.
     some boy   3pl.agr-T(pres) talk   with-3s girl   the.pl.h
     'Some boys are talking with the girls.

(292) Eṃṃaan eo e-j   etal ippā-n visitor eo.
     man   the.s 3.agr-T(pres) go with-3s visitor the.s
     'The man is going with the visitor.'

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V PP S
(293) Re-j   kōnono ippā-n leddik ro,   jet   ḷaddik.
3pl.agr-T(pres) talk   with-3s girl   the.pl.h some boy
'Some boys are talking with the girls.' (lit. 'They are talking with the girls, some boys.'

(294) E-j   etal ippā-n visitor eo, eṃṃaan eo.
3s.agr-T(pres) go with-3s visitor the.s man   the.s
'He is going with the visitor, the man.'

But unlike transitive sentences, intransitive sentences allow sentence internal subjects.

V S PP
(295) Re-j   kōnono jet   ḷaddik ñan leddik ro.
3pl.agr-T(pres) talk   some boy   to   girl   the.pl.h
'Some boys are talking to the girls.'

(296) E-j   etal eṃṃaan eo ippā-n visitor eo.
3s.agr-T(pres) go man   the.s with-3s visitor the.s
'The man is going with the visitor.'

3.2.2.3 Intransitives with an optional PP

Sentences with optional PPs allow subjects in the initial (297)-(298), internal (299)-(300)

or final positions (301)-(302).

S V PP
(297) Armej ro   r-ar   jepjep   ñan outer island.
person the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) immigrate to   outer island
'The people immigrated to outer island.'

(298) Irooj ro   re-kar   būroṃōj ilo   bade eo.
chief the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) be.sad   during party the.s
'The chiefs were sad during the party.'

V S PP
(299) R-ar   jepjep   armej ro   ñan outer island.
3pl.agr-T(past) immigrate person the.pl.h to   outer island
'The people immigrated to outer island.'

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(300) Re-kar   būroṃōj irooj ro   ilo   bade eo.
       3pl.agr-T(past) be.sad   chief the.pl.h during party the.s
       'The chiefs were sad during the party.'

V PP S
(301) R-ar   jepjep   ñan outer island, armej ro.
       3pl.agr-T(past) immigrate to   outer island person the.pl.h
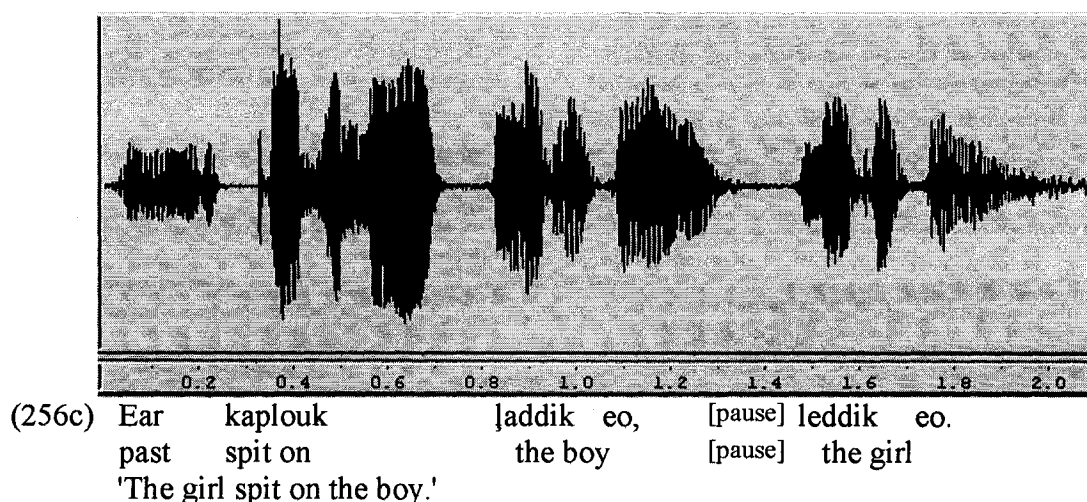   'They immigrated to outer island, the people.'

(302) Re-kar   būroṃōj ilo   bade eo,   irooj ro.
       3pl.agr-T(past) be.sad   during party the.s chief the.pl.h
       'They were sad during the party, the chiefs.'

3.3 Initial, internal and final subjects: phonological and semantic differences
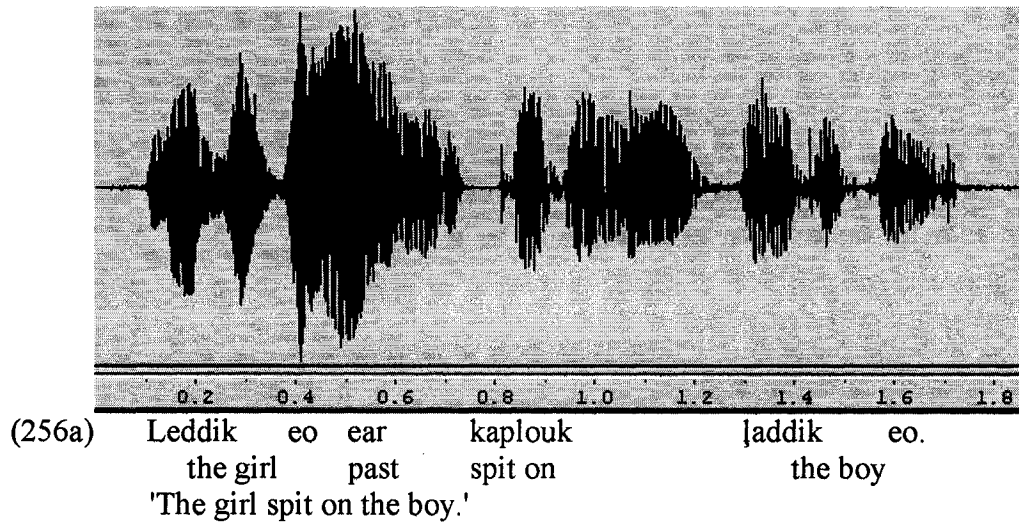
In addition to a difference in the syntactic position of the subject, sentences with initial,

internal and final subjects also have differences in their intonation and information status.
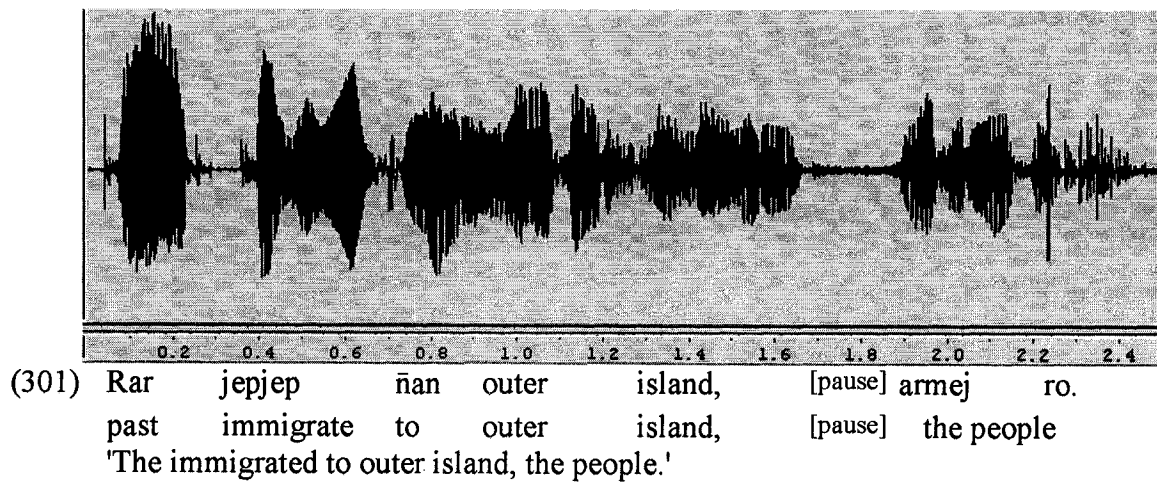
3.3.1 Intonation

As was mentioned briefly in section 3.2.1, sentences with final subjects have unique

phonological patterns that are different from those sentences with initial or internal

subjects. These sentences have a pause before the final subject, as shown in sentence

(256c), repeated here.

(256c) Ear   kaplouk   ḷaddik eo,   [pause] leddik   eo.
       past   spit on   the boy   [pause]   the girl
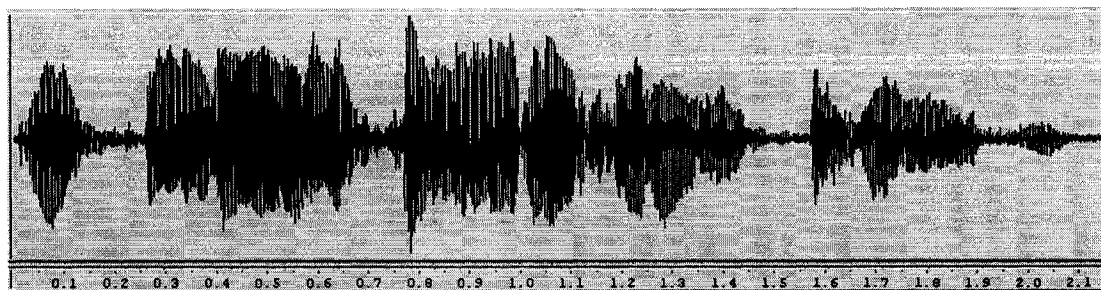   'The girl spit on the boy.'

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This sentence includes a pause of around .2 seconds that precedes the subject *leddik eo* 'the girl'. This pause is absent from a sentence with an initial subject.[20]

(256a) Leddik   eo   ear   kaplouk   ļaddik   eo.
        the girl   past   spit on   the boy
        'The girl spit on the boy.'

This pause is also present in intransitive sentences with final subjects, both in those with an optional PP (301) and those with a PP argument (293).
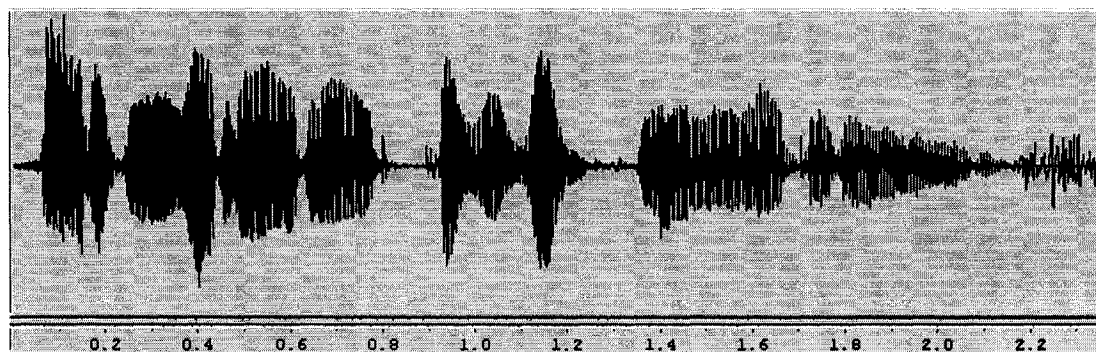

(301) Rar   jepjep   ñan   outer   island,   [pause] armej   ro.
       past   immigrate to   outer   island,   [pause] the people
       'The immigrated to outer island, the people.'

---

[20] See Zewen (1977) for a longer discussion of Marshallese intonation.

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(293) Rej   kōnono   ippān   leddik   ro   [pause] jet ḷaddik.
     pres talk   with   the girls   [pause] some boys
     'They are talking with the girls, some boys.'

As with transitives, these pauses are absent from intransitives with initial subjects, as
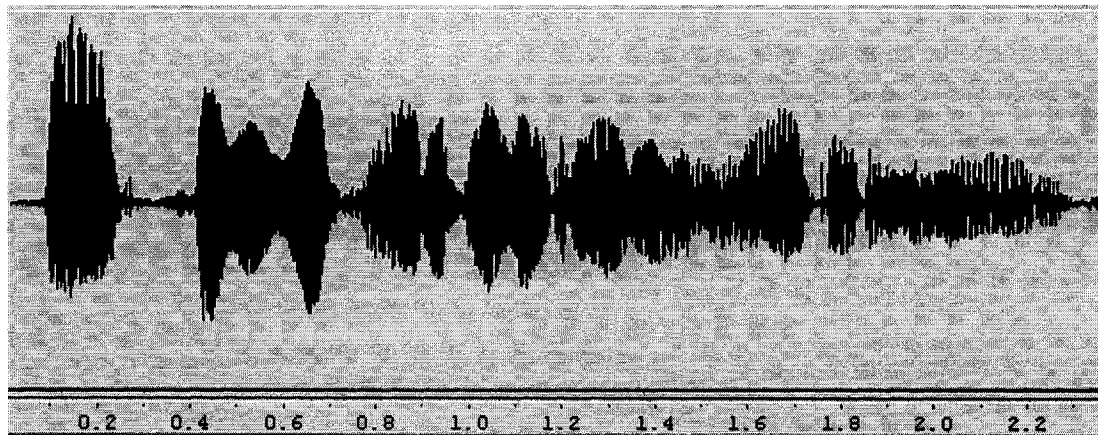
illustrated by (297) and (291).

(297) Armej   ro   rar   jepjep   ñan   outer   island.
     the people   past   immigrate   to   outer   island.
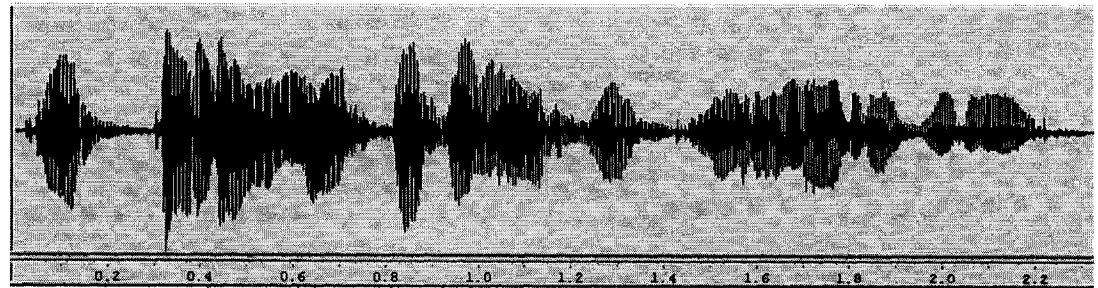   'The people immigrated to outer island.'
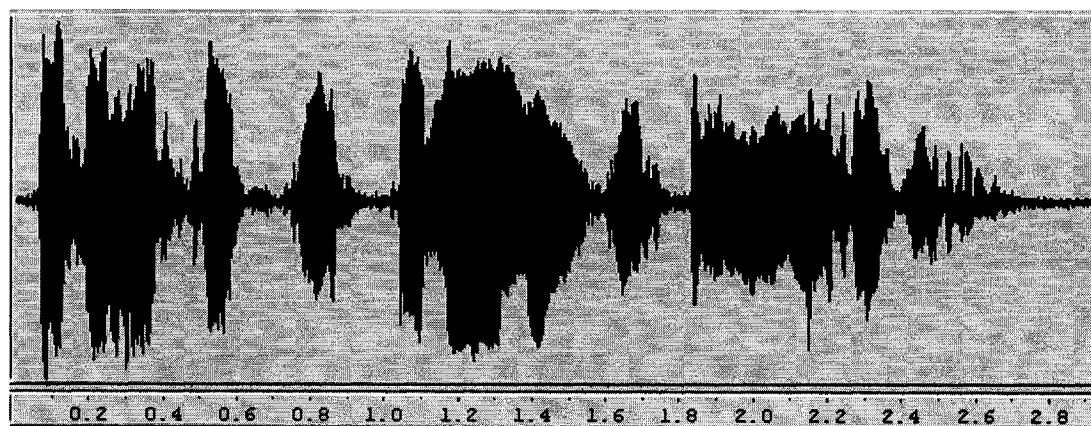
(291) Jet ḷaddik   rej   kōnono   ippān   leddik   ro.
     some boys   pres talk   with   the girls.
     'Some boys are talking with the girls'.

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Sentences with internal subjects lack a pause as well.

(299) Rar jepjep   armej   ro ñan outer   island.
       past immigrate   the people   to   outer   island.
       'The people immigrated to outer island.'

(295) Rej   kōnono   jet   ḷaddik   ñan leddik ro.
       pres   talk   some boys   to the girls
       'Some boys are talking to the girls.'

However, intransitive *V S* sentences patterns like sentences with internal subjects; they do not have a pause before the subject:

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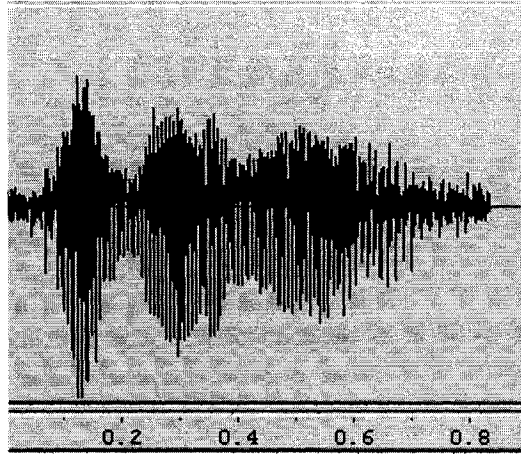
(289b) E   ju   ni eo.
be.tall.and.straight coconut tree
'The coconut tree is tall and straight.'

Because of these patterns, I conclude that sentences with $V\,S$ order, like (289b), have internal rather than final subjects.

There is one more phonological feature of sentences with final subjects: these sentences contain rising intonation on the phrase before the sentence final subject, followed by final falling intonation on the final subject. This rise in intonation before the final subject is absent from sentences with internal and initial subjects, while, as Zewen (1977) points out, the falling intonation at the end of the sentence is a feature of all Marshallese declaratives.

This pattern of rising intonation on the penultimate phrase, followed by a pause before the ultimate phrase is one that is often associated with right dislocation (Jaeggli 1986, Cecchetto 1999). An example of English right dislocation is given in (303).

(303) They spoke to the janitor about that robbery yesterday, the cops.
   (Ross 1967)

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Right dislocation refers to a process by which a sentential element, often the subject, moves to the right edge of the sentence, although the mechanisms by which the subject ends up in the right edge positions have been debated.

The conclusion that this intonation is associated with right dislocation in Marshallese is supported by the fact that any right dislocated element has this same intonation. This is most easily seen in sentences with internal DP and PP arguments. When these sentences appear with the canonical *S V O PP*, there are no special pauses:
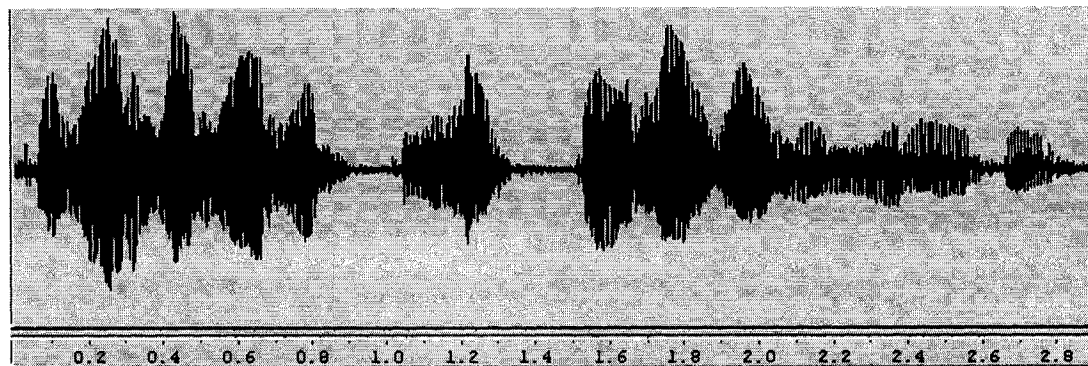
(259a) Rijerbal ro rej bōklǫk <u>bwiro</u> <u>ko</u> <u>ñan irooi</u> <u>eo.</u>
     the workers   pres take   <u>the breadfruit</u>   <u>to the chief</u>
     'The workers are taking the breadfruit to the chief.'

As expected, when the subject is final, there is a pause before the final subject.
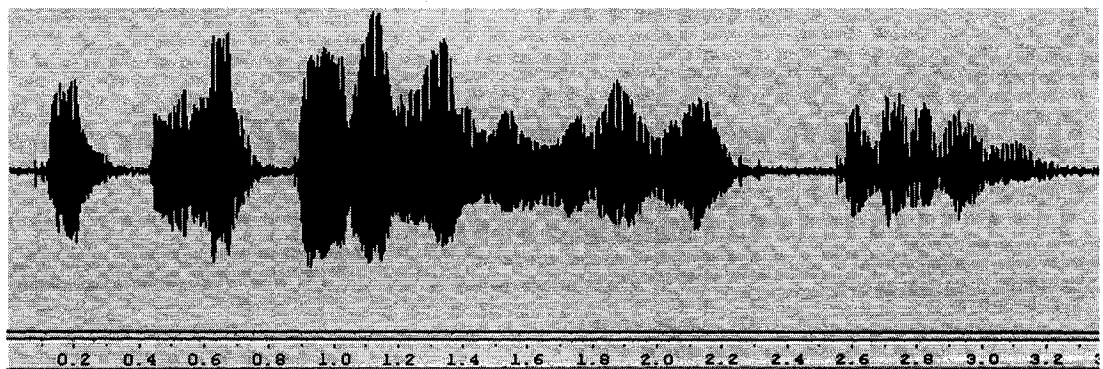
(265)   Rej bōklǫk   <u>bwiro</u> <u>ko</u>   <u>ñan irooi</u> <u>eo.</u>   [pause] rijerbal   ro.
       pres take   <u>the breadfruits</u>   <u>to the chief</u>   the workers
       'They are taking the breadfuits to the chief, the workers.'

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However, if the object is right dislocated, as in *S V PP O* sentences, there is a pause between the PP and the final object DP.
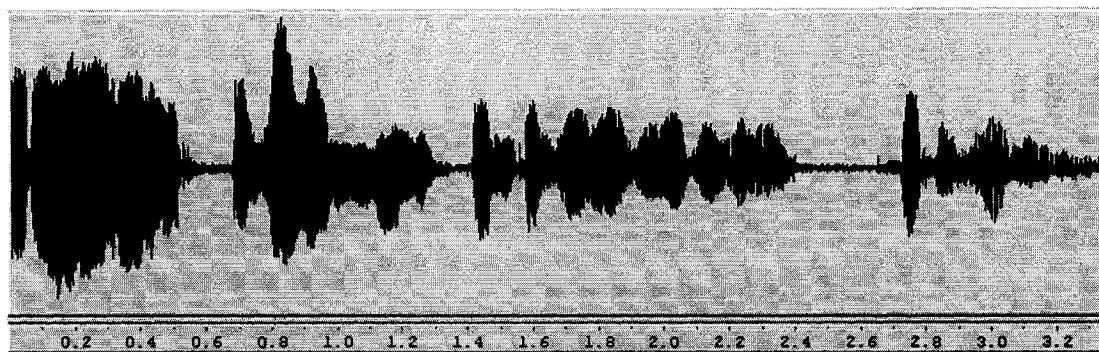
(264) Kōrā eo ear bōkḷǫk ñan ippān rikalbuuj eo. [pause] jidpan eo.
     the woman take   to the prisoner   the saw
     'The woman took the saw to the prisoner.'

What these sentences show is that this phonological patterns, which include a rise before the final phrase, followed by a pause, are not associated exclusively with final subjects. Rather these patterns are associated with any phrase that appears in this right edge, right dislocation position.

If this conclusion is correct, then we would expect each right dislocated phrase to be preceded by a pause if more than one phrase is right dislocated. This is exactly what occurs. Take a sentence with *V O S PP* order, which appears to have a right dislocated subject and a right dislocated PP. In this sentence, there is a pause before the subject and before the PP.

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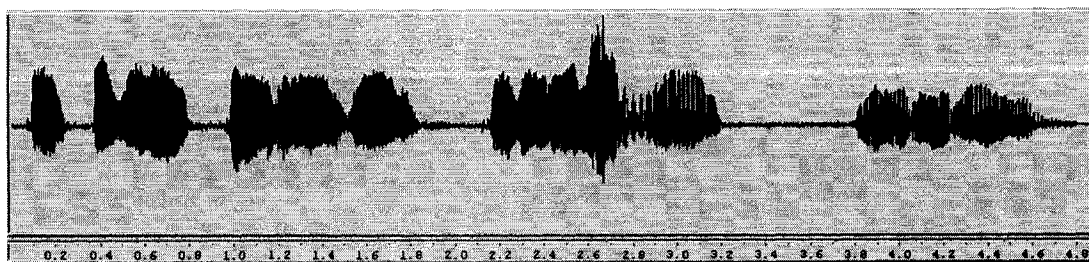
(272) Rej bōkḷǫk   <u>bwiro</u>   <u>ko</u> [pause] rijerbal   ro   [pause] <u>ñan iṛooj eo.</u>
     pres take   the breadfruits   the workers   <u>to the chief</u>
     'The workers are taking the breadfruits to the chief.' (lit. 'They are taking the
     breadfruits, the workers, to the chief.')

Likewise with *V PP O S* sentences, in which both the object and the subject are right

dislocated, there is a pause before the object and another one before the subject:
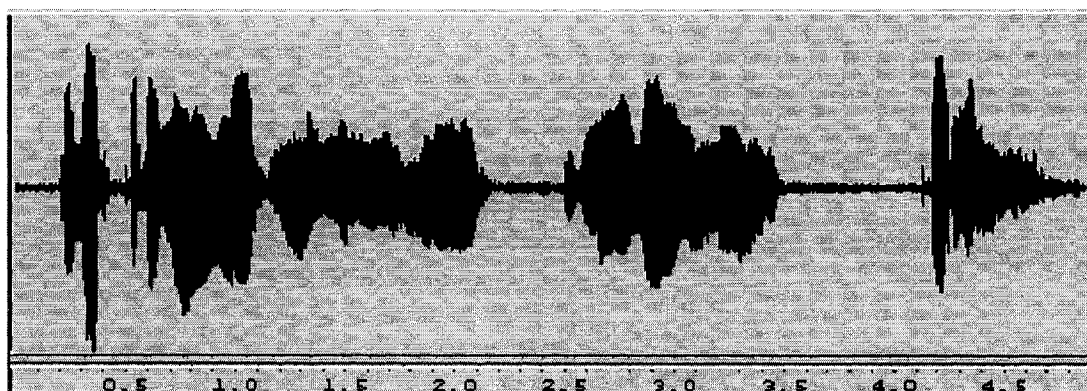
(271)   Ekar jilkinlok   <u>ñan mon wia</u> <u>eo</u> [pause] <u>riNew Zealand eo</u>   [pause]   kōrā   eo.
     past   send   <u>to the store</u>   the New Zealander   the woman
     'The woman sent the New Zealander to the store.' (lit. 'She sent to the store, the
     Ne Zealander, the woman.'

Thus, all phrases appearing in this right dislocated position are separated from the rest of

the sentence by this pause.

Table 16 summarizes the pauses found in Marshallese declaratives (if a pause is

present in a sentence).

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Table 16. Pauses and right dislocation

Transitives	Intransitives
S V O (PP)	S V (PP)
*	V S (PP)
V O (PP) [pause] S	V PP [pause] S
S V PP [pause] O	
V O [pause] S [pause] PP	
V PP [pause] O [pause] S	

3.3.2 Information status

In addition to having different phonological statuses, sentences with initial, internal and final subjects also have different information statuses. As I discuss the information structure of these sentences, there are three possibilities regarding information status that I will pursue. The first is that a subject may bear new information focus. This is a notion that has been proposed for Italian. In Italian, non-initial subjects bear new information focus, while initial subjects are topics (Antinucci and Cinque 1977, Belletti and Shlonsky 1995, Zubizarreta 1998). The second possibility is that the subject may be a topic, which would mean that the subject would have to be old or given information and contextually salient in the discourse. Third, it is possible that the subject might be neutral. I first address sentences with initial and internal subjects in sections 3.3.2.1-3.3.2.3, and reserve the discussion of final subjects for section 3.3.2.4.

There is a vast literature on topic and focus. While it is impossible to review all of it here, I will briefly discuss these two concepts, so as to make clear my use of these terms. Topic is often defined in one of two ways. One definition claims that the topic of an utterance is what the assertion expressed by that utterance is about, given a particular situation (Reinhart 1981). However, the definition I will adopt is one that is proposed by

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Gundel (1974) and Chafe (1976, 1987), who argue that a topic is presupposed information or information that refers to entities mentioned in the previous discourse or known to the speaker and listener by virtue of their world knowledge. Chafe (1987) further defines topic as "an already active concept" or "a concept in a person's focus of consciousness in a particular moment" (quoted in Dubois 1987). By contrast, Focus is often defined as new information, or in the words of Chafe (1987), "a previously inactive concept" or one that is "currently in a person's long-term memory" (quoted in Dubois 1987).

In my discussion of Marshallese subjects, I will use the terms old/given information and new information to refer to Topics and Focused elements respectively. Further, I will assume a Topic to be any phrase that has a connection to the previous discourse, while a Focused element is one that does not have a connection to the previous discourse.

3.3.2.1 *Wh-* questions

Following Belletti (2001), I assume that subjects bearing new information focus may be answers to *wh* questions. Thus, the subject of (304b) has new information focus, as this sentence may serve as an answer to the *wh-* question (304a).

(304) a. Chi ha   parlato?
         who has spoken

      b. Ha parlato Gianni.
        has spoken Gianni

      c. #Gianni ha   parlato.
        Gianni has spoken
        (Belletti 2001:3)

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Since (304b) is a felicitous answer to (304a), Belletti concludes that the Italian postverbal subject is focused, whereas the unfelicitousness of (304c) leads Belletti to conclude that initial Italian subjects do not bear new information focus.

Marshallese seems to have the opposite pattern. The most felicitous way to answer a *wh-* question is with an initial rather than an internal subject, as shown in (305).

(305) a. Ta   eo   e-kar   kālǫk jān   wa   eo?
          what the.s 3s.agr-T(past) jump from boat the.s
          'What jumped from the boat?'

will accept V S PP
      b. E-kar   kālǫk juon ek jān   wa   eo.
          3s.agr-T(past) jump a   fish from boat the.s
          'A fish jumped from the boat.'

preferred response S V PP
      d. Juon ek e-kar   kālǫk jān   wa   eo.
          a   fish 3s.agr-T(past) jump from boat the.s
          'A fish jumped from the boat.'

While many Marshallese speakers will accept a sentence with a non-initial subject as an answer to a *wh-* question, they usually follow up their response by saying that that is not the way they normally to answer and then provide a sentence with an initial subject. This shows that speakers strongly prefer to respond to a *wh-* question with a sentence containing an initial subject.[21] What this indicates is that the initial position, rather than the internal one, is the position for subjects bearing new information focus.

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[21] When I say that a sentence with an initial subject is the preferred response to a *wh-* question, I mean that it is the preferred response when speakers respond with a full sentence. The most common way to respond to these *wh-* questions is with a DP rather than a full sentence.

3.3.2.2 Indefinites

A second diagnostic for the information status of subjects comes from indefinites. It has been argued that topics may not be indefinites because topics must refer to an entity, and indefinites are non-referring. Marshallese indefinite DPs may not be topics, as illustrated by (306). In these sentences, the DP following *kōn* 'about' is a topic. (306a) shows that, if this phrase is definite, the sentence is grammatical. However if this phrase is indefinite, it becomes ungrammatical (306b).

(306) a. E-ar   ba kōn ḷọñ eo   bwe e-j   pād ilowan jaibo eo.[22]
         3s.agr-T(past) say about fly the.s that 3s.agr-T(pres) stay in   jaibo the.s
         'She said about the fly that it is in the jaibo.'

     b. *E-ar   ba kōn juon ḷọñ bwe e-j   pād ilowan jaibo eo.
         3s.agr-T(past) say about a   fly that 3s.agr-T(pres) stay in   jaibo the.s
         'She said about a fly that it is in the jaibo.'

If a topic may not be indefinite, then internal subjects should not be able to be indefinites if they are topics. Since this is possible (307) and (308), we can conclude that the internal position is not a topic position.

(307) E-ar   kālọk juon ek   jān   ḷoon.
      3s.agr-T(past) jump a   fish from boat.
      'A fish jumped from the boat.'

(308) R-ar   emṃōṇōṇo jet   ṃaṃa kōn   tuj.
      3pl.agr-T(past) be.happy some mother because.of dancing
      'Some mothers were happy with the dancing.'

3.3.2.3 Sentence initial non-subject DPs

Another argument against sentence internal subjects being topics comes from non-subject sentence initial phrases. First, consider (309).

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[22] *Jaibo* is a type of Marshallese soup.

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(309) ...drolul ko e-naaj etal 60 raan ko nan a-er
...doulul ko e-naaj etal 60 raan ko ñan a-er
...group the.pl.nh 3s.agr-T(fut) go 60 day the.pl.nh for gnr.poss-3pl.gen
kadrelon tok brojaak ko...
kadeḷǫñ tok būrojāāk ko...
submit toward.speaker project the.pl.nh
'...groups will have 60 days to submit projects...' (lit. '...the groups, 60 days will
go for their submitting projects...'
(MIJ 11-23-07:16)

In this sentence, the phrase *drolul ko* 'groups' is already salient in the discourse and has
been mentioned previously in the article, while the subject *60 raan* '60 days' is not salient
in the discourse. However, the subject of this sentence is not *drolul ko* but is instead *60
raan ko*. So this sentence has an internal subject. If this internal position were a topic
position, then why should the subject appear sentence internally, since it has not
connection to previous discourse is therefore not a topic? Additionally, why should the
phrase *drolul ko*, which has a connection to previous discourse and is therefore a topic,
appear sentence initially if this position is not a topic position? The only way to account
for this data is to conclude that topics appear sentence initially rather than internally.

3.3.2.4 Final subjects and right dislocation

While I have concluded, based on intonation, that sentence final subjects are right
dislocated, this conclusion says nothing about the information status of final subjects.
Among other things, right dislocated phrases have been argued to be:

- (new) information focus – (Law 2003);
- topics – (Gundel 1974, 1985);
- clarifying afterthoughts – (Bauer 1993);
- backgrounded – (Zwart 2001);
- displaced information from the main clause – (Mayol 2006).

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If we first investigate whether the final subject is focused, we find that sentences with

final subjects are not the preferred response to *wh-* questions:

(310) a. Wōn eo   e-ar   kañ   keek eo?
          who the.s 3s.agr-T(past) eat.trans cake the.s
          'Who ate the cake?'

will accept V O S
       b. R-ar   kañ-e   keek eo, kidu ko   nej-ū.
          3pl.agr-T(past) eat.trans-obj cake the.s dog the.pl.nh cher.poss-1s.gen
          'They ate the cake, my dogs.'

preferred response S V O
       c. Kidu ko   nej-ū   r-ar   kañ-e   keek eo.
          dog the.pl.nh cher.poss-1s.gen 3pl.agr-T(past) eat.trans-obj cake the.s
          'My dogs ate the cake.'

(311) a. Ta eo   e-kar   kā-lǫk   jān wa eo?
          what the.s 3s.agr-T(past) jump-away.from.both from boat the.s
          'What jumped from the boat?'

will accept V S PP
       b. E-kar   kā-lǫk   juon ek jān wa eo.
          3s.agr-T(past) jump-away.from.both a   fish from boat the.s
          'A fish jumped from the boat.' (lit. 'It jumped from the boat, a fish.')

preferred response S V PP
       d. Juon ek e-kar   kā-lǫk   jān wa eo.
          a   fish 3s.agr-T(past) jump-away.from.both from boat the.s
          'A fish jumped from the boat.'

Final subjects may also be indefinites, which might be taken as evidence against their

being topics.

V PP S
(312) Re-kar   tūṃṃwi-lǫk   i ar,   bwijin kōrkōr.
       3pl.agr-T(past) sink-away.from.both in lagoon many   canoe
       'Many canoes sank in the lagoon.' (lit. 'They sank in the lagoon, many canoes.')

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(313) Re-j   rorror-e   wa ko,   jilu kidu.
     3pl.agr-T(pres) bark.trans-obj car the.pl.nh three dog
     'Three dogs are barking at the cars.' (lit. 'They are barking at the cars, three dogs.')

However, I will argue that there is more to the information structure of these sentences than simply subject status.

Some speakers find sentences with final subjects ungrammatical when sentences are not presented in any sort of context. These sentences become grammatical to these speakers in one of two contexts. The first context is one which I refer to as the "we're already talking about X" context. For example, (314) becomes grammatical in a conversation in which the dancing or being happy with the dancing is already under discussion.

(314) R-ar   em̧ōņōņō kōn   tuj,   jet   m̧am̧a.
     3pl.agr-T(past) be.happy because.of dancing some mother
     'Some mothers were happy because of the dancing.' (lit. 'They were happy because of the dancing, some mothers.'

Likewise, these speakers find (315) grammatical when there has been some discussion of eating breadfruit.

(315) Re-kar   kañ-e   mā   eo, ajiri ro.
     3pl.agr-T(past) eat.trans-obj breadfruit the.s child the.pl.h
     'They ate the breadfruit, the children.'

The important fact here is that the material preceding the final subject must be given or contextually salient information. In other words, the material preceding the subject must be a topic.

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The second context in which these sentences become grammatical is when they are used to answer a *wh-* question and when the elements preceding the subject are new information.

V PP S
(316) a. Ñāat eo   Ierutia e-ar   jerbal?
       when the.s Ierutia 3s.agr-T(past) work
       'When did Ierutia work?'

     b. E-ar   jerbal boñ,   Ierutia.
        3s.agr-T(past) work last.night Ierutia.
        'She worked last night, Ierutia.'

V O PP S
(317) a. Wōn eo kōrā ro   r-ar   jilikin-ḷọk   raij ñan
        who the.s woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) send-away.from.both rice to
        e?
        3s.abs
        'Who did the women send rice to?'

     b. R-ar   jilikin-ḷọk   raij ñan bamle ko
        3pl.agr-T(past) send-away.from.both rice to   family the.pl.nh
        a-er,   kōrā ro.
        gnr.poss-3pl.gen woman the.pl.h
        'They sent rice to their families, the women.'

So in these sentences, sentential elements preceding the subject must be new information.

Crucially, in these two contexts, the subject must have a different information status than the predicate or the phrases contained within the predicate. While in (316) and (317) sentential elements preceding the subject may be new information, the subject is not. Compare these to sentences in which the entire sentence has the same information status, i.e. the whole sentence is new information:

(318) a. Etke je-jañin   deloñ?
       why 1pl.in.agr-not.yet enter
       'Why haven't we gone in yet?'

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b. *E-jañin   karreo-ik   lal, janitor eo.
   3s.agr-not.yet clean-trans floor janitor the.s
   'He hasn't cleaned the floor yet, the janitor.'

(319) a. Etke e-ar   jab jino   Biit eo?[23]
        why 3s.agr-T(past) neg start.trans Beat the.s
        'Why hasn't the Beat started?'

   b. *R-ar   jab i-tok   jān Laura, ri-iukkure
      3pl.agr-T(past) neg come-toward.speaker from Laura one.who-perform
      ro.
      the.pl.h
      'They didn't come from Laura, the performers.'

These sentences are ungrammatical, in spite of the fact that the information preceding the

subject is new information. Thus what is important in sentences with final subjects is 1)

the information status of the predicate and 2) that the information status of the predicate

is different from that of the subject.

3.3.2.5 Conclusions regarding information structure

In this section, I have reached the following conclusions regarding information status:

1. The sentence initial position is a (new information) focus position; the internal
   subject position is not.
2. The sentence initial position is a topic position; the internal subject position is not.
3. In sentences with final subjects, the information status of the predicate is crucial; the
   predicate (or sentential elements within the predicate) may be topics or focused.
4. In sentences with final subjects, the information status of the predicate must be
   different from the information status of the subject.

There is one more conclusion to be drawn regarding internal subjects. Since they are

neither focused nor topics, nor do the elements before or after them seem to have any

special information status, it seems that the only conclusion to be drawn concerning the

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[23] The Beat is a Marshallese Christmas program involving dancing and singing.

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information status of internal subjects is that they do not appear in any sort of special context at all. This being the case, I conclude that sentence internal subjects are neutral.

In Chapter 4, I will discuss how differences in phonological and information status are reflected in the syntax. But in the remainder of this chapter, I discuss the word order variations of other Micronesian languages. This section is included for two reasons: first, to provide a reference regarding the word order of Micronesian languages and second, because the analysis that is to be proposed for Marshallese may carry over to other Micronesian languages.

3.4 The basic word order typology of Micronesian languages

Of the Micronesian languages mentioned in chapter 2, I have been able to locate grammars or other scholarly research on the following: Mokilese, Pohnpeian, Puluwatese, Woleaian, Ulithian, Kosraean and Kiribati. However, only some of these works provide enough data to draw accurate conclusions regarding word order variations in these languages. Therefore, what follows is a discussion of only a handful of Micronesian languages.

The word order variations common in Marshallese also tend to be prevalent in other Micronesian languages. While $S\ V\ O$ is the most common word order in both Micronesian and Oceanic languages, many of these languages allow different word orders in different clause types (see Hale 1998; Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002; and Ross 2004). This fact is often noted in the grammars on these languages, as illustrated by the following quotes:

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- "The notion of basic constituent order is also somewhat troublesome in the Oceanic context, as (i) there are both verbal and non-verbal clause types, and their predicate/subject orders are not always the same..." (Ross 2004:494)
- "A subject NP is obligatorily postposed if not focused and if the main verb is intransitive..." (Sohn and Bender 1973:358, cited in Hale 1998; Ulithian)
- "The subject NP is obligatorily extraposed in certain circumstances, and optionally extraposed in others..." (Oda 1977:149, cited in Hale 1998; Pulo Annian)
- "In a predicative sentence, the subject noun phrase is often placed after the predicate (normally before an adjunct if there is any)." (Sohn 1975:15, cited in Hale 1998; Woleaian)
- "SUBJECT + INTRANSITIVE VERB > INTRANSITIVE VERB + SUBJECT: When the predicate of a sentence is an intransitive verb and the verb appears in the complete aspect, the word-order of the subject and the predicate can be changed... When the verb appears in the incomplete aspect, the inversion is not common, but possible..." (Lee 1975:319, cited in Hale 1998; Kosraean)

While many Micronesian languages allow word order variations, the three Micronesian languages which appear to be most similar to Marshallese with respect to word order are Puluwatese, Mokilese and Kosraean. For example, Puluwatese transitive sentences have $S V O$ order, but intransitives may have either $V S$ or $S V$ (Lynch, et al 2004).

S V O
(320) Wufumwo   ya   yákékkél-ee-f   yát-e-kkit   mákk.
       Wufumwo   3s   teach-SV-3pl.obj   child-EV-small   writing
       'Wufumwo taught the children writing.'
       (Lynch, et al 2004:812)

S V
(321) Ye-ray   efemahán   Polowat   a   fáyi-to.
       one-CL   man   Puluwat   perf   come-hither
       'A Puluwat man has come.'
       (Lynch, et al 2004:812)

V S
(322) Ye   pwe   le   máálò   manú-hemwaay   we.
       3s   T(fut)   imm.fut   die   dem-SV-sick   dem
       'The sick man will soon die.'
       (Lynch, et al 2004:812)

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Mokilese also allows variable word order, but, unlike Marshallese, there is an asymmetry between unergatives and unaccusatives. Like transitives (323), unergatives (324) must have *S V* order.

Transitive

S V O
(323) Arai   wiahda pohspas.
      they   build boat
      'They built a boat.'
      (Harrison 1976:299)

Unergative

S V
(324) a. Woallo   koaul.
         that.man sing
         'That man sings.'
         (Harrison 1976:300)

V S

      b. *Koaul woallo.
         sing   that.man
         'That man sings.'
         (Harrison 1976:300)

Only unaccusatives allow both *S V* (324a) and *V S* (324b) order.

Unaccusatives

S V
(325) a. Sakaie   soausoau.
         this.rock be.heavy
         'This rock is heavy.'
         (Harrison 1976:300)

V S

      b. Soausoau sakaie.
         be.heavy this.rock
         'This rock is heavy.'
         (Harrison 1976:300)

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On the other hand, *S V* word order is preferred when the subject is an experiencer and the verb lacks the perfective aspect. Thus (326) would preferred to a variation of this sentence with *V S* word order, whereas there is no preference for (327a) over (327b) because the verb includes perfective aspect. (The *V S* version of (326) was not included in the grammar.)

Unaccusatives – experiencer subjects

S V
(326) Liho   injinjued.
       that.woman be.sad
       'That woman is sad.'
       (Harrison 1976:300)

S V
(327) a. Liho   injinjued-la.
          that.woman be.sad-perf
          'That woman became sad.'
          (Harrison 1976:300)

V S
       b. Injinjued-la lih.
          be.sad-perf that.woman
          'That woman became sad.'
          (Harrison 1976:300)

Kosraean word order variations also appear to be quite similar to Marshallese.

The basic word order in Kosraean is *S V O*:

(328) Mwet kuh   se ekuhllah oak   soko ah.[24]
       person strong a turn.over canoe a   the
       'A strong person turned the canoe over.'
       (Lee 1975:317)

In addition, the subject may follow what Lee has called the "adjective", but what I suspect is most likely a stative verb.

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[24] See Good (1986) for a discussion of the Kosraean determiner system.

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(329) a. Mwet   sac arulac puhlaik.
           person the very   brave
           'The person is very brave.'
           (Lee 1975:318)

       b. Arulac puhlaik mwet   sac.
           very   brave   person the
           'The person is very brave.'
           (Lee 1975:318)

The subject may follow the intransitive verb when the verb is in the completive aspect.

(330) a. Nuknuk ah owo-lac.
           clothes the wash-ASP$_{comp}$
           'The clothes are washed.'
           (Lee 1975:319)

       b. Owo-lac   nuknuk ah.
           wash-ASP$_{comp}$ clothes the
           'The clothes are washed.'
           (Lee 1975:319)

V S order is also possible with the incomplete aspect (331b), but this word order is not

common.

(331) a. Nuknuk ah owo.
           clothes the wash
           'The clothes are being washed.'
           (Lee 1975:319)

       b. Owo nuknuk ah.
           wash clothes the
           'The clothes are being washed.'
           (Lee 1975:319)

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Table 17 gives a summary of the word order variations in the Micronesian languages discussed in this section. Of the languages shown in Table 17, Mokilese is the only language which has an unergative/unaccusative asymmetry.[25]

Table 17. Word orders of selected Micronesian languages

Language	Transitive		Unergative		Unaccusative	
	S V O	V S O	S V	V S	S V	V S
Marshallese	√	*	√	√	√	√
Mokilese	√	*	√	*	√	√
Puluwatese	√		√	√	√	√
Kosraean	√		√	√	√	√

3.5 Summary

This chapter has examined basic word order in Marshallese, with special reference to subject position. I have shown that there are three possible subject positions in Marshallese: sentence initial, sentence internal and sentence final. I have also shown that these three positions correspond to different phonological and information statuses and that not all of these subject positions are available in all clause types. In chapter 4, I will propose an analysis for Marshallese declaratives. This analysis will take into account these differences and show how they are reflected in syntactic structure.

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[25] I have been unable to find sources that discuss the grammaticality of *V S O* order in Puluwatese and Kosraean.

# Chapter 4. The Structure of Marshallese Declaratives

In this chapter, I propose an analysis for Marshallese declarative sentences. Some parts of this analysis will draw upon Hale's (1998) analysis of Marshallese declaratives, but my analysis makes a few important modifications. First, in my analysis I propose that, while verb movement does occur in Marshallese (as argued by Hale), the verb moves to a position low in the structure. This conclusion, I will show, is supported by constituency and the position of the verb with respect to Marshallese preverbal adverbs and the negative. Second, following Hale, I argue that sentence internal subjects remain in the specifier of the verb phrase, while sentence initial subjects raise to spec AgrSP or higher. It is these facts that can explain why $V S O$ order is not possible in Marshallese: if the subject remains VP internal, it intervenes between the object and the object's case assigner. This results in the object's inability to receive case and an ungrammatical sentence. In the final sections of this chapter, I propose a structure for sentences with final subjects in which the right dislocated subject is clause external. Then, after a discussion of the structure of declaratives, I conclude by discussing subject agreement.

4.1 Sentences with initial subjects

Following Hale (1998), I begin my discussion of Marshallese declaratives with the assumption that subjects occur sentence initially as a result of their movement to the specifier of AgrSP. This assumption is supported by the necessity of agreement between AgrS and initial subjects. Hale shows that agreement between the subject and the agreement clitic must occur with initial subjects. Therefore, he argues that agreement, in the case of initial subjects, is triggered by movement of the subject to the specifier of

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AgrSP. In addition, in order to explain the *V S* order of Marshallese intransitives, Hale

argues for movement of the verb to AgrS via T. In Hale's approach, the verb moves in all

clauses, but when the subject raises to spec AgrSP, *S V* order results. This is illustrated by

(332), a Hale-esque derivation for (289a) of chapter 3.

(289) a. Ni   eo   e-ju.
           coconut.tree the.s   3s.agr-be.tall.and.straight
           'The coconut tree is tall and straight.'

(332)
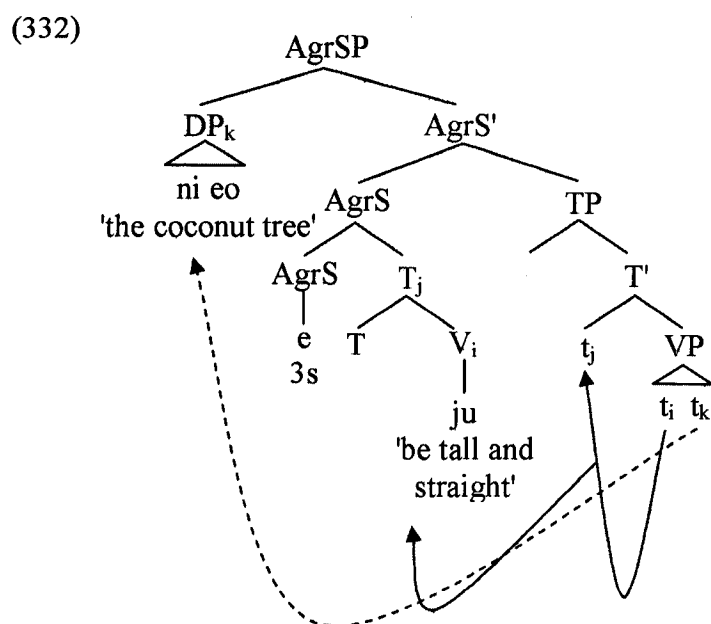
In his derivations, Hale does not have two separate structures for unergatives and

unaccusatives, which means he assumes that, in his derivations, the subjects of

unergatives and unaccusatives are merged in the same position: spec VP. In my

derivations, the subjects of unergatives are merged in the spec vP position, while the

subjects of unaccusatives are merged in the spec VP position.

When the subject remains VP internal, *V S* order results, as in (289b) of chapter 3.

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VS

(289) b. E-ju   ni   eo.
            3s.agr-be.tall and straight coconut.tree the.s
            'The coconut tree is tall and straight.'

(333)   AgrSP

Tree structure (333):

- AgrSP
  - AgrS'
    - AgrS
      - AgrS → e / 3s
      - T$_j$
        - T
        - V$_i$ → ju 'be tall and straight'
    - TP
      - T'
        - t$_j$
        - VP
          - t$_i$
          - ni eo 'the coconut tree'
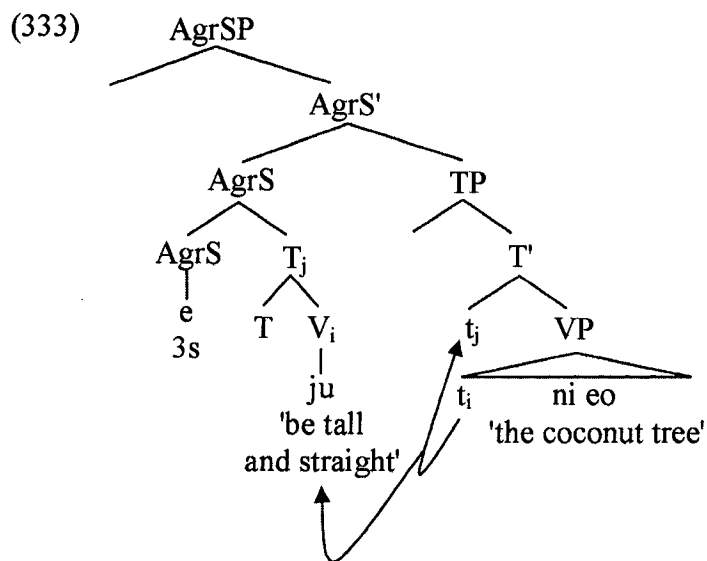
From a theoretical perspective, these structures are problematic because they allow right adjunction, which according to antisymmetry is not possible (Kayne 1994). Aside from theoretical assumptions, there are other reasons for thinking that Hale's analysis must be modified. While I agree that the basic idea of Hale's analysis is correct, there are two pieces of evidence that argue against verb movement to a position as high in the structure as AgrS. The first comes from constituency; the second from the position of the verb with respect to adverbs and the negative.

4.1.1 Constituency

If the Marshallese verb raises to AgrS via T, then the verb, AgrS and tense would be elements of a complex head and, therefore, a constituent. However, constituency tests show that the verb forms a constituent with those elements following it, such as the object

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or a prepositional phrase. The first piece of constituency evidence comes from coordination tests. These tests show that two strings consisting of either a *verb object* sequence (334)-(335) or a *verb PP* sequence (336)-(337) may be coordinated.

S AgrS-T [V O] constituency
(334) Ierutia e-ar   [kwanjin-i[26]   mā   ko]   im   [kōmatt-e
       Ierutia 3s.agr-T(past) roast.trans-obj breadfruit the.pl.nh and cook.trans-obj
       pinana ko].
       banana the.pl.nh
       'Ierutia roasted the breadfruits and cooked the bananas.'

(335) Tina e-ar   [buki   ḷoñ ko]   im [juur   kuḷuḷ   eo].
       Tina 3s.agr-T(past) spray.trans ant the.pl.nh and step.on.trans cockroach the.s
       'Tina sprayed the ants and stepped on the cockroach.'

S AgrS-T [V PP] constituency
(336) Tiṃa eo   e-ar   [jerak   ñan Mile] im [rumḷọk i   loṃaḷo].
       ship the.s 3s.agr-T(past) sail.intrans to Mile and sink   in   lagoon
       'The ship sailed to Mile and sank in the lagoon.'

(337) Mary e-kar   [ḷotak ilo Namorik] im [rūttoḷọk ilo Majuro].
       Mary 3s.agr-T(past) born   in   Namorik and grow.up in   Majuro
       'Mary was born in Namorik and grew up in Majuro.'

Second, the verb and object (338) or the verb and prepositional phrase (339) may be elided in response to a yes/no question. Presumably, these elements form a constituent phrase which is then targeted for deletion.

(338)   a. R-ar   ke dāpij   kuuj eo?
          3pl.agr-T(past) Q   hold.trans cat   the.s
          'Did they hold the cat?

         b. Aet, r-ar
          yes 3pl.agr-T(past)
          'Yes, they did.'

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[26] The verb *kwanjin* refers to the process by which breadfruit is roasted on hot coals, followed by the scraping off of the outer peel using a sharp object. Since it refers to a two step process it can be used to refer to the roasting process or the scraping process. Here this verb is translated as 'roast' and later it will be translated as 'scrape.'

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(339) a. Bilal e-naaj   ke etal ñan Chuuk?
        Bilal 3s.agr-T(fut) Q go to Chuuk
        'Will Bilal go to Chuuk?

     b. Aet, e-naaj
        yes 3s.agr-T(fut)
        'Yes, she will.'

At the same time, coordination tests involving intransitive sentences indicate that

AgrS-T V is not a constituent, as two strings consisting of *AgrS-T* and *V* cannot be

coordinated (340) and (341).

S [AgrS-T V] PP constituency
(340) *Ḷaḷḷap eo   [e-ar   anijnij]   im [e-ar
      old.man the.s 3s.agr-T(past) do.black.magic.intrans and 3s.agr-T(past)
      bubu]   ilowan ṃweo.
      do.divination.intrans inside the.house
      'The old man did black magic (in the house) and did divination in the house.'

(341) *Mary [ear   ḷotak] im [e-ar   rūttoḷọk] ilo Namorik.
      Mary 3s.agr-T(past) born and 3s.agr-T(past) grow.up in Namorik
      'Mary was born (in Namorik) and grew up in Namorik.'

While some speakers will not report that sentences like (340) and (341) are

ungrammatical, they often respond to questions about the grammaticality of such

sentences by saying something like "you don't need to use *ear*", where *ear* refers to the

subject agreement clitic and tense marker of the second conjunct. Then, they often

subsequently offer the following sentences, in which two verbs rather than *AgrS-T V* are

coordinated:

(342) Ḷaḷḷap eo   e-ar   anijnij   im bubu
      old.man the.s 3s.agr-T(past) do.black.magic.intrans and do.divination.intrans
      ilowan ṃweo.
      inside the.house
      'The old man did black magic and divination in the house.'

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(343) Mary ear   ḷotak im rūttoḷǫk ilo Namorik.
      Mary 3s.agr-T(past) born and grow.up in Namorik
      'Mary was born and grew up in Namorik.'

In addition, some speakers have difficulty repeating sentences like (340) and (341). When

asked to do so, they often respond with sentences like (342) and (343). This being the

case, I conclude that intransitive sentences with *AgrS-T V* coordination are

ungrammatical.

However, transitive sentences seem to indicate that *AgrS-T V* is a constituent, as it

is possible to coordinate two strings of *AgrS-T V*:

S [AgrS-T V] O constituency
(344) Kidu eo [e-kar   kōpḷ-e]   im [e-kar   kij-i]   kuuj
      dog the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans-obj and 3s.agr-T(past) bite.trans-obj cat
      eo.
      the.s
      'The dog chased and bit the cat.'

(345) Ajri ro   [r-ar   wia-ik-i]   im [r-ar   kalbwin-i]
      child the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) buy-trans-obj and 3pl.agr-T(past) plant.trans-obj
      ine ko.
      seed the.pl.nh
      'The children bought and planted the seeds.'

In spite of this fact, there is reason to think that these sentences involve coordination of

two *AgrS T V O* strings rather than two *AgrS-T V* strings. In section 2.2.6.2 of chapter 2, I

showed that null *pro* objects are only possible when the object marker is present, as

illustrated by (347a&b). (346) shows a grammatical form of this sentence which has an

overt object but which lacks the agreement clitic.

(346) Kidu eo e-kar   kōpeḷ   kuuj eo.
      dog the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans cat the.s
      'The dog chased the cat.'

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(347) a. Kidu eo   e-kar   kōpḷ-e.
    dog the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans-obj
    'The dog chased it.'

    b. *Kidu eo   e-kar   kōpeḷ.
    dog   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans
    'The dog chased (it).'

In (344) and (345), the verbs in both conjuncts are suffixed with the object marker. If the

verb in the second conjunct does not include object marker, the sentence is still

grammatical.

(348) Kidu eo [e-kar   kōpl-ẹ]   im [e-kar   kij]   kuuj eo.
    dog the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans-obj and 3s.agr-T(past) bite.trans cat the.s
    'The dog chased and bit the cat.'

(349) Ajri ro   [r-ar   wia-ik-i]   im [r-ar   kalbwin] ine
    child the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) buy-trans-obj and 3pl.agr-T(past) plant.trans seed
    ko.
    the.pl.nh
    'The children bought and planted the seeds.'

But if the verb in the first conjunct does not include the object marker, the sentence is

ungrammatical:

(350) *Kidu eo [e-kar   kōpeḷ]]   im [e-kar   kij-i]   kuuj
    dog   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans and 3s.agr-T(past) bite.trans-obj cat
    eo.
    the.s
    'The dog chased and bit the cat.'

(351) *Ajri ro   [r-ar   wia-ik]   im [r-ar   kalbwin-i] ine
    child the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) buy-trans and 3pl.agr-T(past) plant.trans-obj seed
    ko.
    the.pl.nh
    'The children bought and planted the seeds.'

Why should it be grammatical to leave out the second object marker but not the

first? Well, remember that null *pro* is not possible unless the verb also includes an object

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marker. Therefore the ungrammaticality of (350) and (351) could stem from the fact that these sentences contain a null *pro* object in the first conjunct but no object marker, as illustrated by (352) and (353).

(352) *Kidu eo [e-kar kōpel *pro*] im [e-kar kij-i]
dog the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans and 3s.agr-T(past) bite.trans-obj
kuuj eo.
cat the.s
'The dog chased and bit the cat.'

(353) *Ajri ro [r-ar wia-ik *pro*] im [r-ar kalbwin-i]
child the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) buy-trans and 3pl.agr-T(past) plant.trans-obj
ine ko.
seed the.pl.nh
'The children bought and planted the seeds.'

If this is the case, then it could be argued that transitive sentences which appear to include the coordination of two *AgrS-T V* strings, such as (348) and (349), actually include the coordination of two *AgrS-T V O* strings (354) and (355).

(354) Kidu eo [e-kar kōpḷ-e *pro*]im [e-kar kij-i
dog the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans-obj and 3s.agr-T(past) bite.trans-obj
kuuj eo].
cat the.s
'The dog chased and bit the cat.'

(355) Ajri ro [r-ar wia-ik-i *pro*] im [r-ar
child the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) buy-trans-obj and 3pl-T(past)
kalbwin-i] ine ko.
plant.trans-obj seed the.pl.nh
'The children bought and planted the seeds.'

If this is the case, then we are left with no evidence that *AgrS, T* and *V* are a constituent in transitive sentences. Therefore, I conclude that the verb forms a constituent with those elements following it rather than AgrS and T based on sentences (334)-(339).

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4.1.2 Adverbs and the negative

Another reason for concluding that the verb cannot be raising to AgrS comes from the position of the verb with respect to the adverb *bar* 'again' and the negative *jab*. Section of 2.2.7 of chapter 2 discussed a number of adverbials that precede the Marshallese verb. If the ordering of these adverbials with respect to one another is examined, we find that one of the adverbs occurring last in the ordering of Marshallese TAM markers and adverbs is *bar* 'again'. This is not surprising, given that, in Cinque's (1999) universal hierarchy for the ordering of adverbs, this adverb is generated low in the structure. Given this fact, the position of the verb with respect to this adverb can be used as a diagnostic for verb movement. If the verb precedes this adverb, then we can assume that the verb has move to a position above the phrasal projection in which the adverb is merged. But if it follows the adverb, then the verb must occupy a position below this adverb.

While Cinque (1999) allows for adverb movement under special circumstances, including *wh-* or operator movement to the left periphery or movement of an AdvP as part of a larger phrase, the cases to which he refers are ones in which the adverb can appear in more than one position in the sentence. Since *bar* can only appear in one position, I will assume that this adverb does not move and therefore it can be used as a test for verb position

(356) and (357) clearly show that the verb occupies a position lower than the adverb *bar*, as the verb must follow this adverb.

(356) a. E-ar   bar   etal.
          3s.agr-T(past) again go
          'She went again.'

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b. *E-ar   etal bar.
   3s.agr-T(past) go again
   'She went again.'

(357) a. Kōrkōr ko   re-j   bar iāekwōj   i ar.
         canoe the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(pres) again race.intrans in lagoon
         'The canoes are racing in the lagoon again.'

     b. *Kōrkōr ko   r-ar   iāekwōj   bar ilo maļo.
         canoe the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) race.intrans again in lagoon
         'The canoes raced in the lagoon again.'

Therefore the verb cannot be raising to a position in the structure above this adverb, such

as AgrS.

Another diagnostic we can use for verb position is the position of the verb with

respect to the negative. In Marshallese, the verb must follow the negative *jab*.[27]

(358) a. E-ar   jab etal.
         3s.agr-T(past) neg go
         'She didn't go.'

     b. *E-ar   etal jab.
         3s.agr-T(past) go neg
         'She didn't go.'

(359) a. Kōrkōr ko   re-j   jab iāekwōj   i ar.
         canoe the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(pres) neg race.intrans in lagoon
         'The canoes aren't racing in the lagoon.'

     b. *Kōrkōr ko   re-j   iāekwōj   jab ilo maļo.
         canoe the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(pres) race.intrans neg in lagoon
         'The canoes aren't racing in the lagoon.'

Since the Marshallese verb follows neg, we can conclude that Marshallese is like English

and not like French in that its verb does not move to a position high in the structure.

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[27] At this point, I do not know whether the Marshallese negative like a head or an adverb.

When combined with constituency evidence, there is a strong case for concluding that the verb is not raising to AgrS, as Hale proposed.

Rather than assume that the verb raises to AgrS, I propose that the verb raises to a position lower in the structure, to the head of a phrase just above the verb phrase, as shown in (360).

(360)
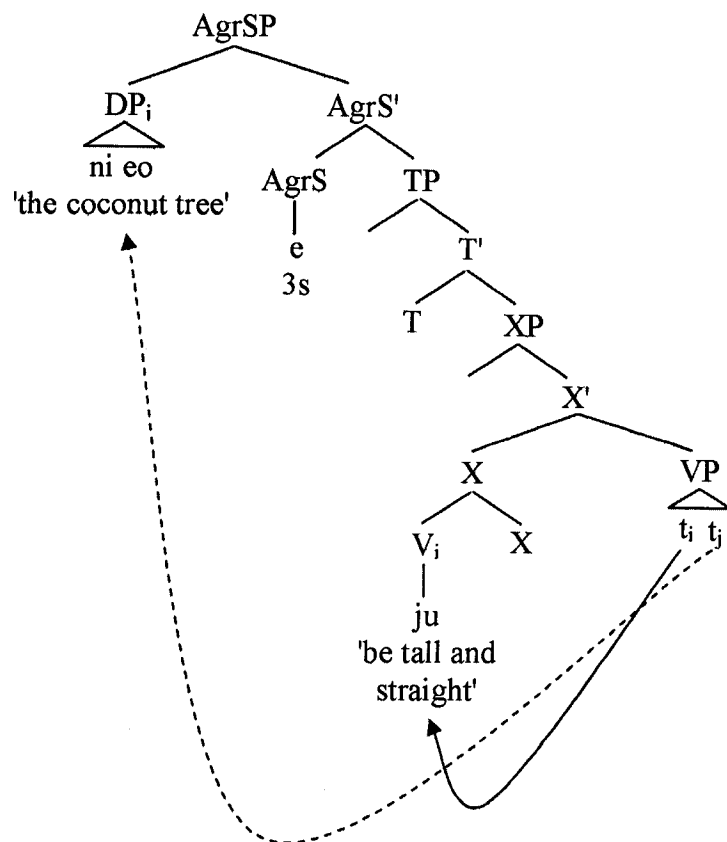
This tree indicates that the head to which the verb moves and adjoins is located between tense and the verb phrase. However, based on the fact that the verb follows the adverb *bar* 'again' and the negative *jab*, we also can assume that the position to which the verb moves is below ASP_{cont} ('again') in Cinque's hierarchy of adverbs.

There is also another Marshallese adverb, *bajjek* 'for no important reason', which

may either precede or follow the verb. (See section 2.2.7 of chapter 2 for a discussion of

this adverb.) (361) shows the position of the verb with respect to both *bar* and *bajjek*. The

fact that *bajjek* may be either preverbal or postverbal is indicated through the use of

parentheses.[28]

(361)   bar (bajjek) verb (bajjek)

In the case of *bajjek*, the change in adverb position does not appear to result in a change

in meaning. Thus (362a) and (362b) have the same meaning.

(362)   a. E-j   bar   bajjek   etal.
           3s.agr-T(pres) again for.no.important.reason go
           'She is going again for no important reason.'

        b. E-j   bar   etal bajjek.
           3s.agr-T(pres) again go   for.no.important.reason
           'She is going again for no important reason.

Cinque (1999) claims that if a particular adverb appears to have the same meaning when

it appears in two different positions, one of three things must be happening: 1) it occurs

in the same position, but other sentential element(s) move around it, 2) the adverb moves

to a different position but retains the interpretation associated with its base generated

position, or 3) it does not, in fact, have the same interpretation in two positions. Since all

speakers I consulted informed me that (362a) and (362b) have the same meaning, I will

rule out the third possibility. Likewise, I will exclude the second possibility given

Cinque's conclusion that movement of an AdvP occurs only in special circumstances,

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[28] There is also an additional adverb – *wōt* 'still' – that may be postverbal. However there is reason to
believe that this adverb may be a clitic, in which case its postverbal position may be the result of
phonological or syntactic movement. Thus this adverb is not useful in determining verb position and will
not be considered in this discussion.

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such as *wh-* or focus movement. Since *bajjek* never occurs in the left periphery, these special circumstances are not met. So I will assume that *bajjek*'s preverbal and postverbal positions result from either verb movement above *bajjek* or from the absence of verb movement.

Given the position of the verb with respect to *bar* and *bajjek*, it seems logical to conclude that the XP to which the verb moves is located below *bajjek*, as shown in (363), the derivation of (362a).[29]
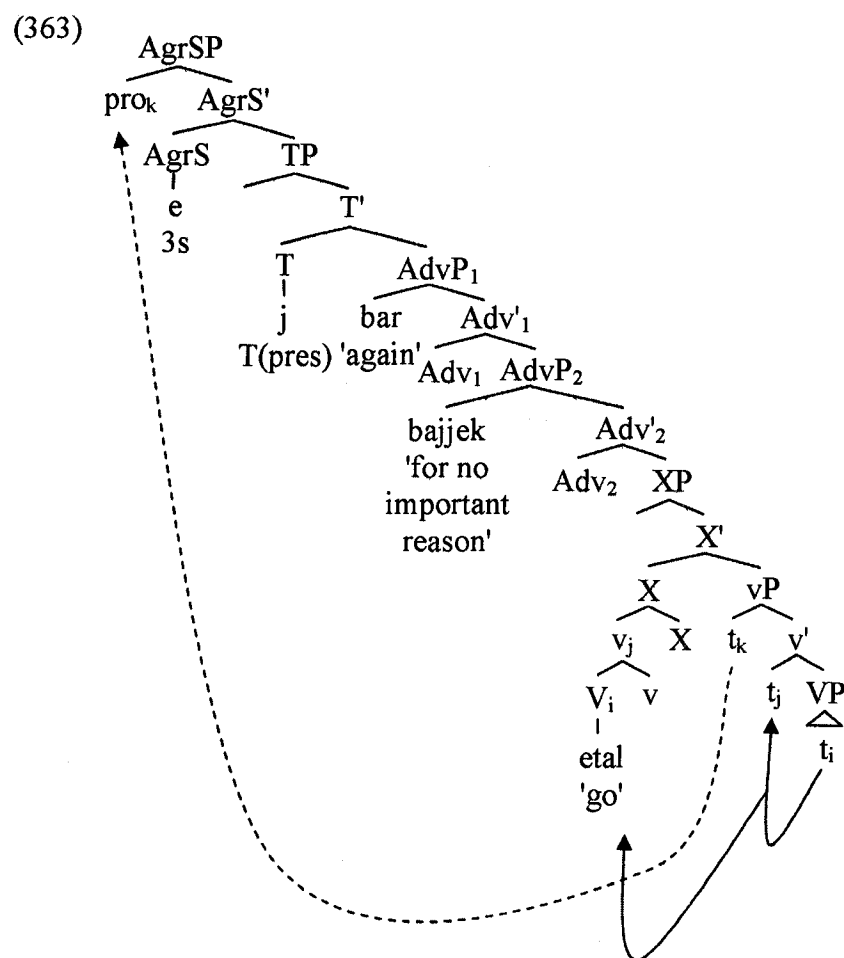
(363)

```
        AgrSP
        ⌢
    prok    AgrS'
        ⌢
      AgrS    TP
       |     ⌢
       e       T'
       3s     ⌢
            T      AdvP₁
            |     ⌢
            j    bar    Adv'₁
         T(pres) 'again' ⌢
                     Adv₁  AdvP₂
                     ⌢
                  bajjek    Adv'₂
                  'for no  ⌢
                  Adv₂  XP
                 important  ⌢
                  reason'      X'
                            ⌢
                          X      vP
                         ⌢     ⌢
                       vⱼ  X   tₖ   v'
                      ⌢       ⌢
                    Vᵢ  v      tⱼ  VP
                    |            △
                   etal          tᵢ
                   'go'
```

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It is possible that the verb is moving to Adv_2, but since there are no overt elements between Adv and X, it is impossible to tell if this is the case. I will therefore assume that the verb only moves to X.

Since it is also possible for the verb to precede *bajjek*, it must be the case that the verb may move to left adjoin to Adv_2 and then to left adjoin to Adv_1, as in (364), the derivation of (362b).

(362) b. E-j   bar   etal bajjek.
       3s.agr-T(pres) again go   for.no.important.reason
       'She is going again for no important reason.'

(364)
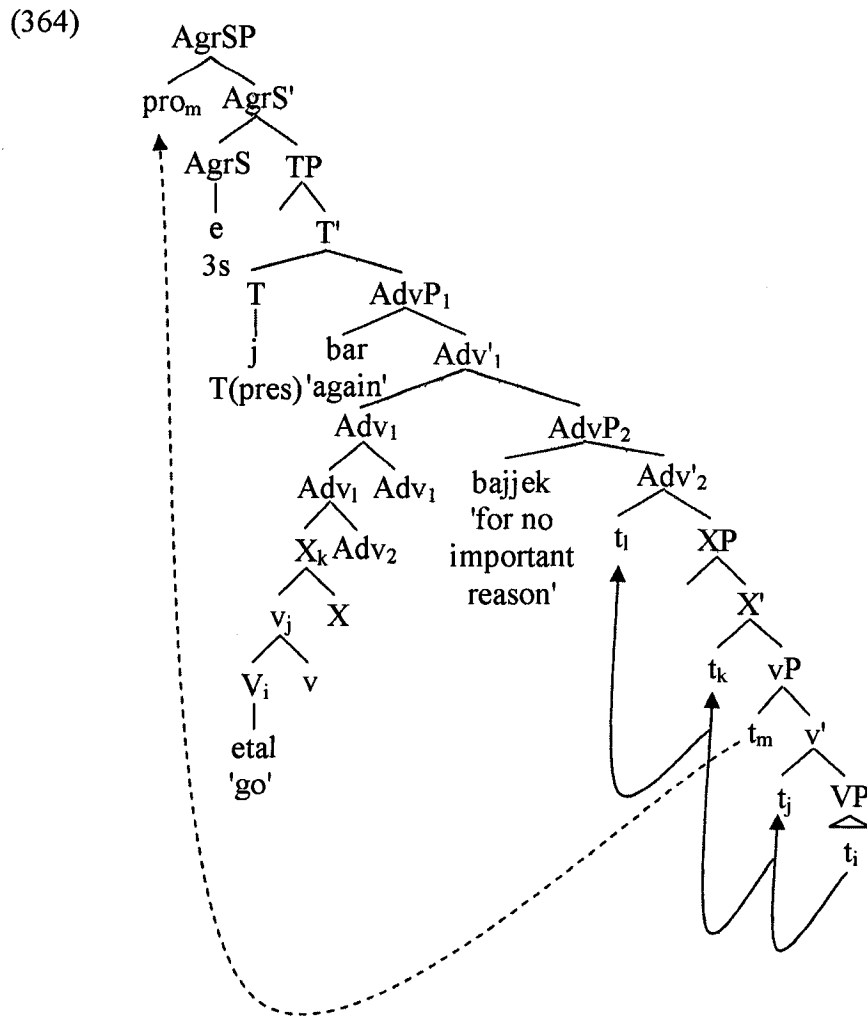
As is illustrated by (364), I assume that XP is merged directly about the verb phrase and that the verb must move to left adjoin to the head of XP but that it may optionally move to left adjoin to Adv_1 or Adv_2 when they are present.

4.2 Internal subjects

There are four different types of sentences with internal subjects to be considered in this section. The first two are intransitives containing a PP; one type has an adjunct PP and the second has an argument PP. The third type of sentence to be considered here is

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intransitives lacking a PP (*V S* sentences). The final type is the ungrammatical *V S O* transitive sentences.

4.2.1 Intransitives with an adjunct PP

As discussed in the previous section, Hale proposes that *V S* order results when the Marshallese verb raises out of the verb phrase and the subject remains VP internal. However, I argued that verb movement must be to a position low in the structure. If, in sentences with internal subjects, we examine the same sort of evidence that was used to support my argument, we get the same type of results: the verb forms a constituent with the sentential elements following it rather than with those preceding it. First two strings consisting of the verb, internal subject and PP may be coordinated, which indicates that these elements are a constituent.

AgrS-T [verb subject PP] constituency
(365) E-ar   [oktak   ri-pälle   ion peet eo] im [wōtlǫk kuuj
      3s.agr-T(past) roll.over one.who-be.covered on bed the.s and fall.off cat
      eo   jān   peet eo].
      the.s from bed the.s
      'The Westerner rolled over on the bed and the cat fell from the bed.'

(366) E-j   [tōbalbal   juon kuḷuḷ   i   kii-n   m̧weo]   im
      3s.agr-T(pres) crawl.intrans one cockroach on wall-3s   the.house and
      [ekkāke   eo   juon ilowan ruum̧ en].
      fly.around.intrans the.s other inside room that
      'One cockroach is crawling on the wall of the house and the other one is flying
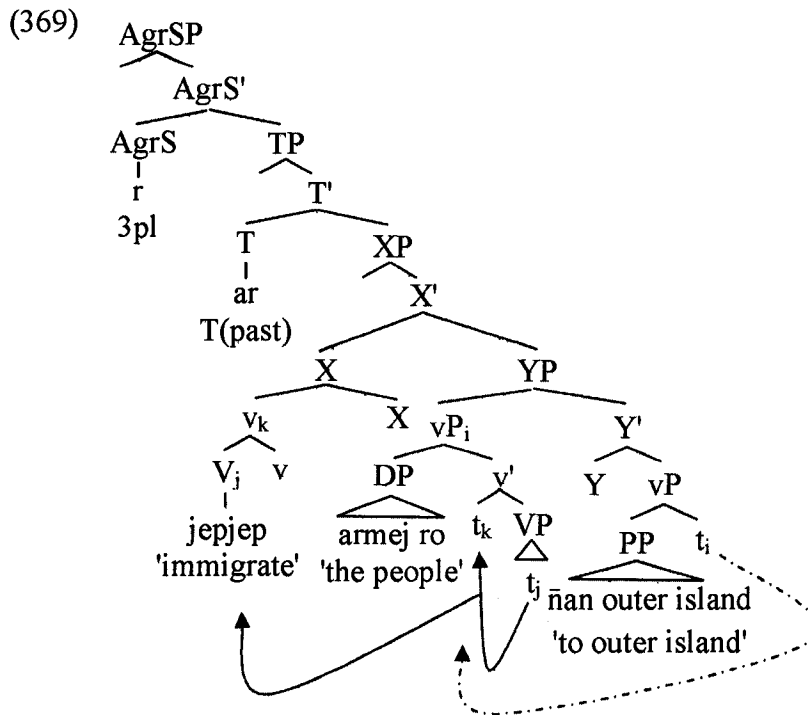   around inside that room.'

Second, the verb must follow adverbs (367) and the negative (368) in sentences with internal subjects, while we would expect the verb to precede these elements if it were moving to AgrS.

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(367) a. R-ar   bar   unojidrikdrik kōrā   ro   ālikin a-mim
       3pl.agr-T(past) again whisper   woman the.pl.h after   gnr.poss-1pl.ex.gen
       etal.
       leaving
       'The women were whispering again after we (excluding you) left.'

     b. *R-ar   unojidrikdrik bar   kōrā   ro   ālikin a-mim
       3pl.agr-T(past) whisper   again woman the.pl.h after   gnr.poss-1pl.ex.gen
       etal.
       leaving
       'The women were whispering again after we (excluding you) left.'

(368) a. E-j   jab jaṃbo John ñan Laura.
       3s.agr-T(pres) neg cruise John to   Laura
       'John's not cruising to Laura.

     b. *E-j   jaṃbo jab John ñan Laura.
       3s.agr-T(pres) cruise neg John to   Laura
       'John's not cruising to Laura.

So the verb cannot be raising to AgrS.

The next question we must ask regarding sentences with internal subjects is what position the subject occupies. Recall from section 3.3.2 of chapter 3 that Marshallese internal subjects do not have any special semantic status as either focused or topicalized elements. The neutrality of internal subjects supports Hale's conclusion that internal subjects remain VP internal. Therefore, I conclude that sentences with internal subjects have a structure like that of (369), the derivation of (299) from chapter 3.

(299) R-ar   jepjep   armej   ro   ñan outer island.
       3pl.agr-T(past) immigrate person   the.pl.h to   outer island
       'The people immigrated to outer island.'

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(369)

```
                AgrSP
                /  \
             AgrS'
            /    \
        AgrS      TP
         |       /  \
         r      T'
        3pl    /  \
              T      XP
              |     /  \
              ar   X'
           T(past) /    \
                  X       YP
                 / \     /  \
               v_k  X  vP_i  Y'
              / \      / \   / \
            V_j  v   DP  v'  Y  vP
             |       /\  |      / \
           jepjep armej ro t_k VP  PP   t_i
        'immigrate' 'the people'  Δ  / \
                              t_j  ñan outer island
                                   'to outer island'
```

In this structure, I adopt an analysis of prepositional phrases slightly reminiscent of Cinque (1999, 2004, 2006). In this analysis, PPs are left adjoined to the verb phrase, and their position following the verb phrase results from a "rolling up" structure, in which the verb phrase moves to the specifier of a phrase above vP, which I have labeled YP. Cinque (2006) proposes an even more complicated structure for sentences with prepositional phrases, but, as this work has nothing to say regarding it, I adopt this more simplified one. Following movement of the verb phrase, the verb moves out of the VP to left adjoin to the head of XP, presumably to satisfy the features of X.

In addition to correctly predicting the constituency of sentences with internal subjects and the position of the verb with respect to adverbs and the negative, this structure predicts that the subject and PP are a constituent, as in (369), the subject and PP are the only sentential elements contained within YP. This prediction turns out to be

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correct, as illustrated by the fact that two strings consisting of the subject and the PP may

be coordinated.

AgrS-T V [subject PP] constituency
(370) Re-j   ajwewe   [jet ḷaddik ñan leddik ro]   im [jet
      3pl.agr-T(pres) whistle.intrans some boy   at girl the.pl.h and some
      ḷaddik ñan kidu ko].
      boy   at dog the.pl.nh
      'Some boys are whistling at the girls and some boys at the dogs.'

(371) R-ar   tūṃṃḷọk [kōrkōr ko   i ar]   im [tima ko   i
      3pl.agr-T(past) sink   canoe the.pl.nh in lagoon and steamer the.pl.nh in
      lik].
      ocean
      'The canoe sank in the lagoon and the steamer in the ocean.'

This structure also correctly predicts that two strings consisting of the subject and

the V or two strings consisting of AgrS-T, V and S should not be able to be coordinated,

since these strings are not constituents. This turns out to be the case, as illustrated by

(372)-(375):

*AgrS-T [V S] PP constituency
(372) *E-ar   [ruñḷọk kōrkōr eo] im [jerak   tima   eo] i lik.
      3s.agr-T(past) sink   canoe the.s and sail.intrans steamer the.s in ocean
      'The canoe sank (in the ocean) and the steamer sailed in the ocean.'

(373) *E-j   [ekkāke   ajri eo] im [kiki jine-n]   ion peet
      3s.agr-T(pres) jump.up.and.down child the.s and sleep mother-3s.gen on bed
      eo.
      the.s
      'The child jumped up and down (on the bed) and the woman slept on the bed.'

*[AgrS-T V S] PP constituency
(374) *[E-j   bọbo   Ether] im
      3s.agr-T(pres) fish.for.flying.fish.at.night.with.net.and.torch.intrans Ether and
      [e-j   turọñ   Michael] ilo ar.
      3s.agr-T(pres) spearfish.intrans Michael in lagoon
      'Ether is fishing for flying fish at night with a net and torch (in the lagoon) and
      Michael is spear fishing in the lagoon.'

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(375) *[Re-j   ajwewe   jet   ļaddik] im [re-j   al
     3pl.agr-T(pres) whistle.intrans some boy   and 3pl.agr-T(pres) sing.intrans
     ļaddik ro   jet]   ñan leddik ro.
     boy   the.pl.h other at girl   the.pl.h
     'Some boys are whistling (at the girls) and some boys are singing to the girls.'

In case of this final example, there is a grammatical reading in which two separate

sentences are coordinated.

(376) [Re-j   ajwewe   jet   ļaddik] im [re-j   al
     3pl.agr-T(pres) whistle.intrans some boy   and 3pl.agr-T(pres) sing.intrans
     ļaddik ro   jet   ñan leddik ro].
     boy   the.pl.h other at girl   the.pl.h
   'Some boys are whistling (not at the girls), and some boys are singing to the girls.'

Thus in none of these sentences are AgrS-T, V and the subject a constituent, a fact which

supports the structure I have proposed for Marshallese sentences with internal subjects, as

illustrated by (369).

Another piece of evidence in favor of this analysis is that it can explain the

distribution of adverb *bajjek* with respect to internal subjects. When the subject is

sentence internal, *bajjek* may precede the verb (377). It may also follow the verb (378a),

provided that it is not preceded by the subject (378b).

(377) E-j   bajjek   bubu   ri-kapāl   eo
     3s.agr-T(pres) for.no.important.reason do.magic.intrans one.who-do.magic the.s
     i   ṃweo imō-n.
     in house dwell.poss-3s.gen
     'The magician is doing magic in his house for no important reason.'

(378) a. E-j   etetal bajjek   leddik eo ñan downtown.
        3s.agr-T(pres) walk for.no.important.reason girl   the.s to downtown
        'The girl is walking downtown for no important reason.'

     b. *E-j   etetal leddik eo   bajjek   ñan downtown.
        3s.agr-T(pres) walk girl   the.s for.no.important.reason to downtown
        'The girl is walking downtown for no important reason.'

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Bajjek must precede the internal subject when they are both postverbal because the verb moves to a position above *bajjek*, while the subject remains VP internal, as shown in (379), the derivation of (378a). Since, in (378a), the verb precedes *bajjek*, there must be a position above the adverb *bajjek* to which the verb can move. In (379), this position is the head of the phrase ZP.

(379)
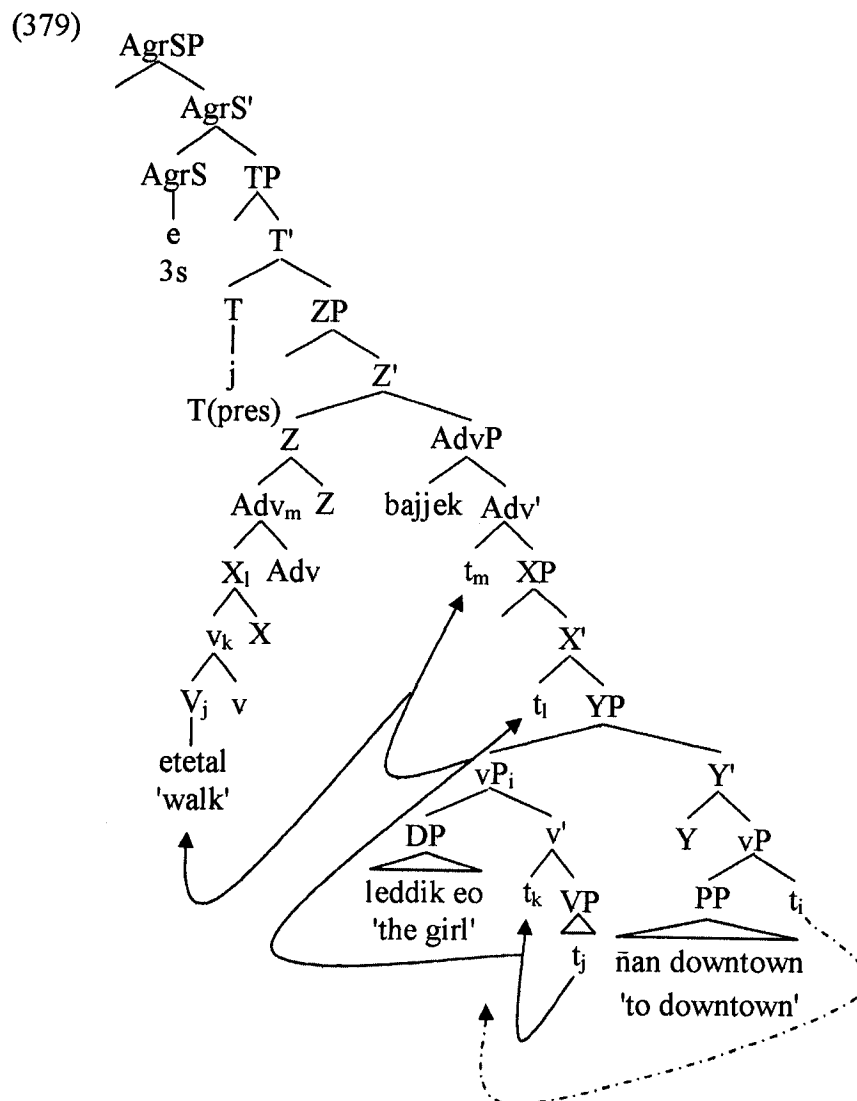
Crucially, there is no position between the verb and *bajjek* to which the subject could move. Therefore, there is no way to derive (378b) and the subject may not intervene between the verb and postverbal *bajjek*.

There is one alternative analysis that we may want to consider: it might be the case that *bajjek* is generated below the verb (380a), and its position above the verb results from its movement to a position above the verb phrase, as shown in (380b):

(380) a. ...[$_{YP}$ [$_{XP}$ V+X [$_{VP}$ subject t$_V$ [$_{AdvP}$ bajjek]]]]
       b. ...[$_{YP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ bajjek] [$_{XP}$ V+X [$_{VP}$ subject t$_V$ t$_{AdvP}$]]]

However, this analysis makes an incorrect prediction about the position of the subject with respect to postverbal *bajjek*. It predicts that the subject should intervene between the verb and *bajjek*. This is because *bajjek* is generated below the subject. Therefore, if it remains in its base generated position and if the verb raises above the subject, the subject should intervene between the verb and *bajjek*, as illustrated by (380a). Therefore, this cannot be the correct analysis.

4.2.2 Gapping and constituency

The coordination tests of sentences with internal subjects and an adjunct PP might cause one to wonder if these sentences involve gapping. I will argue that, even though this might be the case, we can still conclude that these sentences prove that the subject and the PP are a constituent.

Let us begin by taking a structure of gapping as argued for by Johnson (2006). (381) illustrates this structure. One of the main features of Johnson's analysis is that it does not involve VP ellipsis, but rather involves rightward movement of the object or PP;

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vP coordination; and across the board VP movement to the specifier of a predicate phrase.

(381)
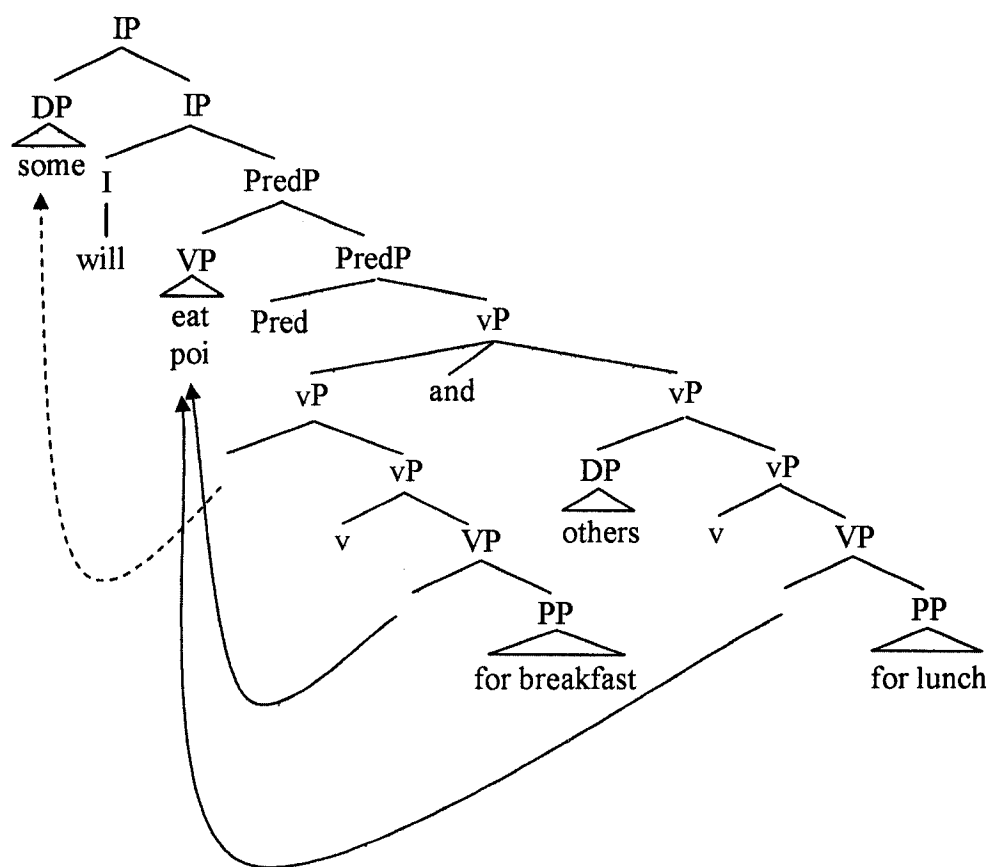
Given my theoretical assumptions and the structure I have argued for Marshallese declaratives, this structure must be slightly modified. First, I follow Kayne in assuming that rightward movement is not possible. Therefore, in order to derive the correct word order, I argue that Marshallese gapping involves YP rather than vP coordination. For a Marshallese sentence like (370) (repeated here), this translates into (382).

(370) Re-j   ajwewe   [jet ļaddik ñan leddik ro]   im [jet
      3pl.agr-T(pres) whistle.intrans some boy   at   girl   the.pl.h and some
      ļaddik ñan kidu ko].
      boy   at   dog the.pl.nh
      'Some boys are whistling at the girls and some boys at the dogs.'

(382)
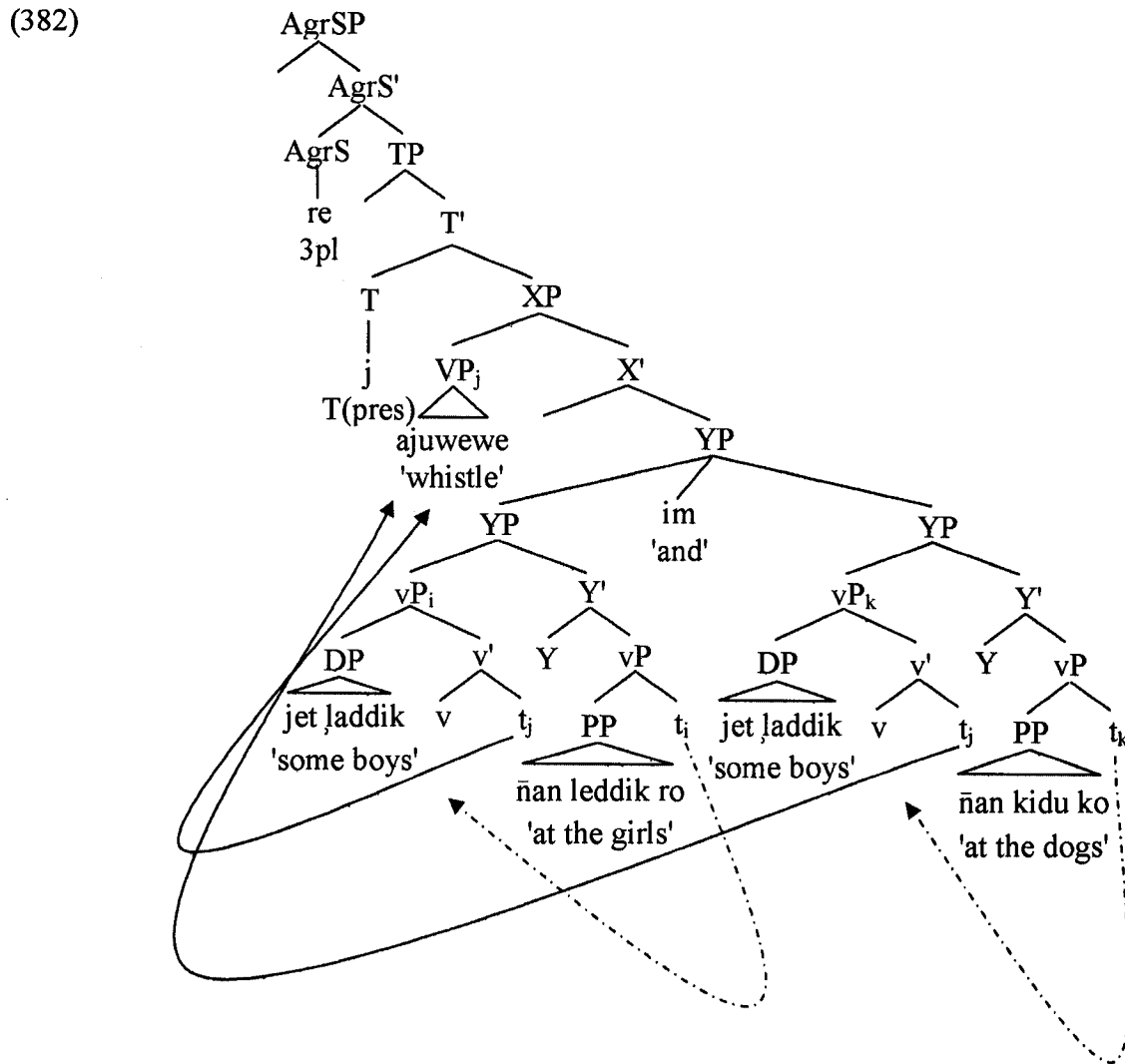
In (382), the VPs move to spec XP, rather than PredP, as Johnson argues. In giving this
phrasal projection the generic category XP, I am not ruling out the possibility that it is, in
fact, PredP. However, at this time I don't have enough evidence to arrive at this
conclusion, so I will use the generic XP.

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In order for this to be the correct structure for Marshallese gapping sentences, we must make one more assumption regarding the features of X. In section 4.2.1, I stated that the verb moves to X to satisfy the features of X. If, in gapping sentences, the VP rather than the verb moves to XP, we must assume that the features of X that motivate verb movement can also be satisfied by movement of the VP to the specifier of XP.

So if the *AgrS-T V [S PP]* sentences can be derived via gapping, are we left with any evidence as to the constituency of sentences with internal subjects? My response to this question is yes, but only because it is possible to rule out all other possible constituencies. If we exclude ternary branching structures based on theoretical arguments, then sentences with internal subjects must have either *AgrS-T V [S PP]* or *AgrS-T [V S] PP* constituency. But *AgrS-T [V S] PP* constituency is excluded based on the failure of coordination tests. If sentences with internal subjects did have this constituency, then we would expect coordination to be possible. Therefore, *AgrS-T V [S PP]* must be the correct constituency for these sentences, even though these sentences may also be derived using a gapping structure.

4.2.3 Intransitives with PP arguments

The primary difference between sentences with PP arguments and those with PP adjuncts is that adjunct PPs are left adjoined to vP, while argument PPs are part of the VP (see Chomsky 1995 and Baker 1996). This means that the derivation of a sentence like (295) of chapter 3, repeated here, includes V movement to X but does not include vP movement to spec YP, as shown in (383). This, I assume, is because vP movement to spec YP only occurs in sentences with an adjunct PP.

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(295) Re-j   kōnono jet   ļaddik ñan leddik ro.
      3pl.agr-T(pres) talk   some boy   to   girl   the.pl.h
      'Some boys are talking to the girls.'

(383)
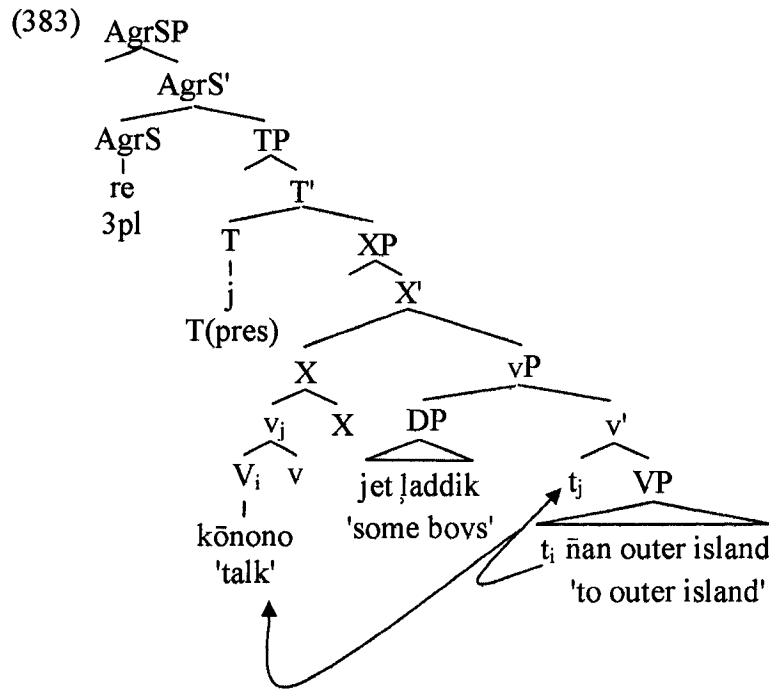
4.2.4 *V S* order

The intonation of a *V S* sentence indicates that, although the subject is the final element in the sentence, the subject is more appropriately categorized as internal rather than final, since it occupies the same position in the sentence as an internal subject (see section 3.3.1). As a result, the derivation of a *V S* sentence is similar to that of sentences with internal subjects (see sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.3). The only difference is that *V S* sentences lack both a PP argument and a PP adjunct. Thus derivation of this type of sentence – (289b) of chapter 3 – is given in (384).

(289) b. E-ju   ni   eo.
          3s.agr-be.tall.and.straight coconut.tree the.s
          'The coconut tree is tall and straight.'

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(384)

```
AgrSP
  |
 AgrS'
 /    \
AgrS   TP
 |     /
 e    T'
 3s   /  \
     T    XP
          /
         X'
        /  \
       X    VP
      / \   /  \
    Vᵢ  X  tᵢ  ni eo
     |          'the coconut tree'
     ju
    'be tall
    and straight'
```
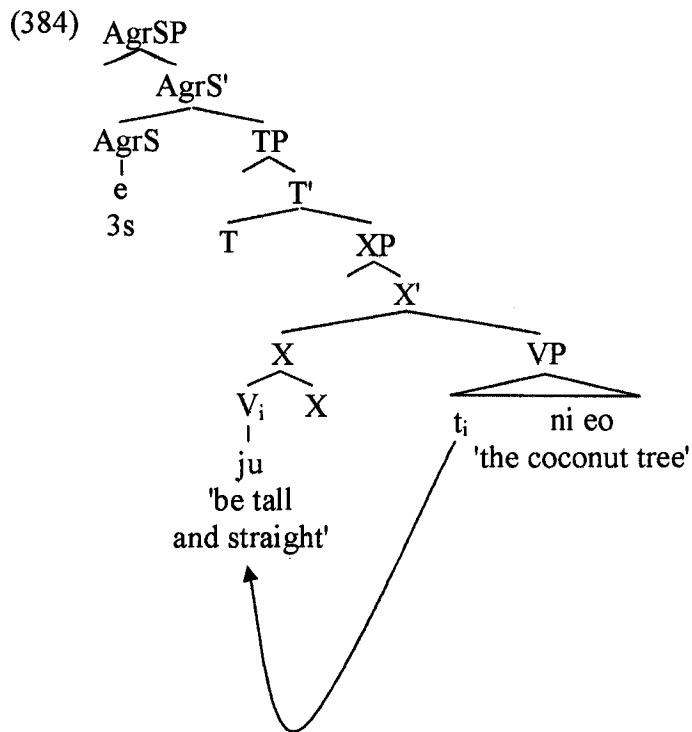
4.2.5 *V S O* order

One final virtue of the analysis I have presented for Marshallese declaratives is that it can explain why *V S O* order is not possible in Marshallese. In pursuit of this explanation, I turn to an idea proposed by Belletti (2001, 2004), who rules out the same word order in Italian. Belletti argues that the ungrammaticality of *V S O* stems from the way accusative case is assigned. Following Chomsky (2001, 2002), she assumes that both nominative and accusative case may be assigned non-locally as opposed to through a spec-head relationship. Therefore nominative case may be assigned by T to a postverbal subject through an Agree relationship. In a similar fashion, Belletti proposes that accusative case is also assigned to the object via Agree, but rather than assuming that accusative case is assigned within the verb phrase, she assumes that it is assigned by an accusative case assigning head (Acc) that heads Acc(usative)P. This AccP, she argues, is higher in the

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structure than the verb phrase and a clause internal focus position, as illustrated by (385), where the lines indicate case assignment.

(385) ...[$_{AccP}$ v+Acc [$_{FocP}$ [subject] Foc [$_{vP}$ t$_{subject}$ t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ V object]]]]
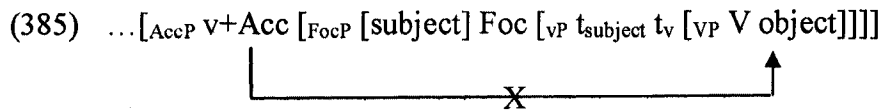
Since Italian postverbal subjects are focused, the subject moves to the specifier of the focus phrase. When this occurs, the subject intervenes between Acc and the object, which remains in the VP. In order for accusative case to be assigned to the object, Acc must establish an Agree relationship with the object. However the position of the subject prevents it from doing so. This is because a Relativized Minimality (RM) violation will occur if Acc establishes an Agree relationship with the object, which bears case features, when there is an intervening element – the subject – which bears features of the same structural type as case. While Belletti ties this RM violation to the subject's Focus features, which, according to Rizzi's (1990, 2001, 2002) categorization of features, are of the same structural type as case, the fact that both the subject and the object bear case features is sufficient to rule out any derivation in which the subject intervenes between Acc and the object.

One important difference between Marshallese and Italian is that Marshallese internal subjects are not focused. So, rather than moving to the specifier of a Focus phrase, Marshallese subjects remain in the specifier of the verb phrase. But this fact is not problematic. Since the subject bears case features, a RM violation will still result if the subject remains in any position between Acc and the object, which also bears case

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features. Therefore, if the subject remains in the verb phrase, the sentence is ungrammatical, as shown in (386), the derivation of (256b) of chapter 3.

(256) b.*E-ar   kaplo-uk   leddik eo   ļaddik eo.
       3s.agr-T(past) spit.on-trans girl   the.s boy   the.s
       'The girl spit on the boy.'

(386)
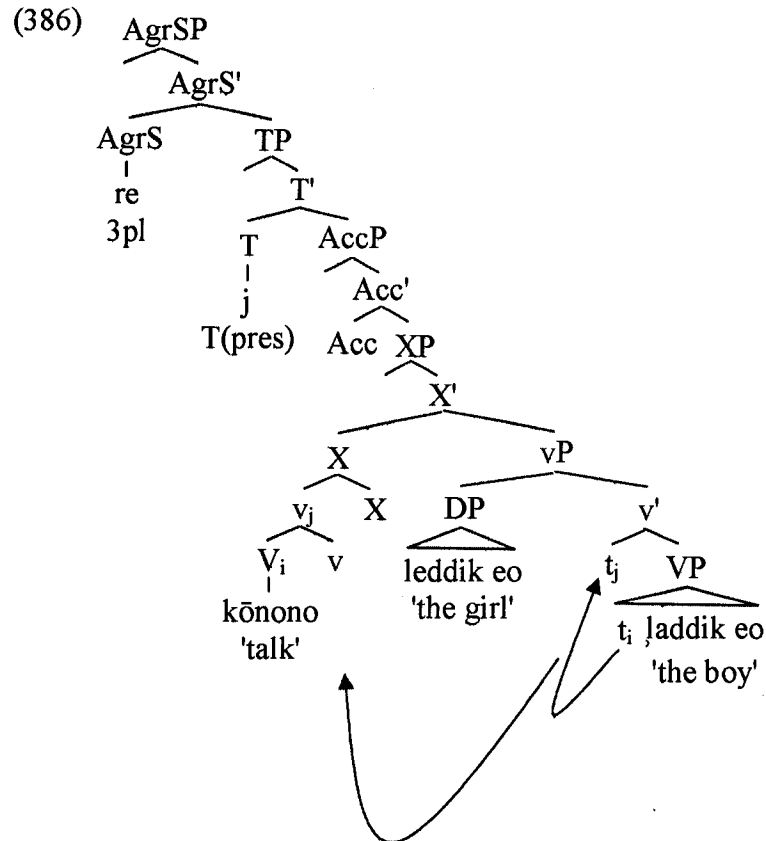
Alternatively, we might suppose that accusative case could be assigned to the subject by Acc, and nominative, to the object by T. However this derivation will also result in an RM violation. The problem with this derivation is that the subject intervenes between the object and T. Therefore, an Agree relationship between the object and T results in an RM violation, as shown in (387).

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(387) ...[TP T [AccP v+Acc [FocP [subject] Foc [vP tsubject tv [vP V object]]]]
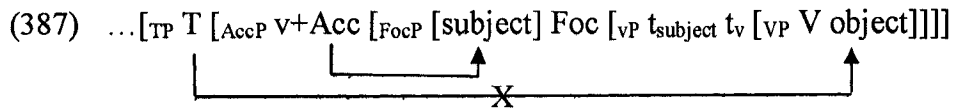
This analysis can also explain the difference in grammaticality between *V S O* and *V S PP* sentences. Since PPs do not require case, it is not problematic for the subject to remain in the verb phrase, as there is no accusative case to be assigned. This analysis also effective rules out the other preverbal ungrammatical subject positions discussed in section 3.2 of chapter 3. These positions are:

(388) AgrS (*subject) TAM (*subject) Neg (*subject) Adv (*subject) V Adv object PP

In my analysis, the only clause internal positions the subject may occupy are the specifier of AgrSP or the specifier of the verb phrase. This effectively rules out all of the positions shown in (388), as the subject would have to occupy the specifier position of another phrasal projection in order to surface in one of these ungrammatical positions.

4.2.6 *V S O* languages

On the surface, this analysis appears to rule out *V S O* word order in all languages. This, of course, is an undesirable result, as there are many languages in the world that allow *V S O* either as the basic word order or as a variation on the basic word order.

Belletti makes two suggestions as to how *V S O* word order could be derived in these languages. First she proposes that accusative case might be assigned in the VP in these languages. If this were the case, then the subject could remain vP internal because it would not intervene between the object and the head responsible for assigning accusative case. Belletti's second suggestion is that, in *V S O* languages, the subject moves to a

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position higher in the structure than the accusative case assigning head, and thus does not

intervene between the object and Acc, as illustrated by (389).

(389) ... [$_{YP}$ V+v+Acc+X+Y [$_{XP}$ [subject] t$_X$ [$_{AccP}$ t$_{Acc}$ [$_{vP}$ t$_{subject}$ t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ object]]]]]
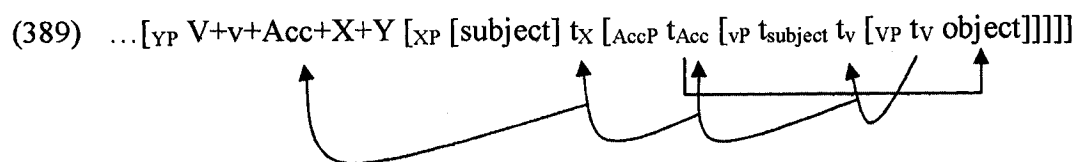
As evidence in favor of the second possibility, Belletti compares the position of the

Icelandic subject, which allows *V S O* order, to the position of the Italian subject, which

does not. Consider first Icelandic, in which the subject occurs between the adverbs

sennilega 'probably' and *alveg* 'completely'. If the subject follows both of these adverbs,

the sentence is ungrammatical (390b).

(390) a. það luku   sennilega einhverjir studentar alveg   verkefninu.
          there finished probably some   students   completely the assignment

       b. *það luku   sennilega alveg   einhverjir studentar verkefninu.
          there finished probably completely some   students   the assignment
          (Bobaljik and Jonas 1996:21, cited in Belletti 2004)

Compare these sentences to Italian sentences containing the adverbs *tutto* 'everything'

(391) or *completamente* 'completely' (392), in which the subjects must follow these

adverbs.[30]

(391) a. ?Spiegherà completamente Maria al   direttore.
          will.explain completely   Maria to.the director

       b. *Spiegherà Maria completamente al   direttore.
          will.explain Maria completely   to.the director

(392) a. Spiegherà tutto   Maria al   direttore.
          will.explain everything Maria to.the director

---

[30] Alessandro Duranti has commented that these sentences are acceptable in certain contexts. I will accept Belletti's judgments, however, given that she is considering a neutral context.

b. *Spiegherà   Maria   tutto   al   direttore.
   will.explain Maria everything to.the director

If, as is suggested by Cinque, adverbs are generated in a universal hierarchy, then these examples show that the Italian subject is in a lower position that the Icelandic subject, since the Italian subject must follow the adverb meaning 'completely' but the Icelandic subject must precede it. Thus it is conceivable that the Icelandic subject moves to a position above the accusative case assigning head, while the Italian subject does not.

If this analysis were to be extended to Marshallese, it would have to be the case that the Marshallese subject follows these adverbs. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine if this is the case using the same adverbs Belletti uses because Marshallese does not have these adverbs. However we can use transitivity to determine if the Marshallese internal subject occupies a position lower or higher than *tutto* $Asp_{PlCompletive}$. One of the few adverbs that Marshallese does have is the *bar* 'again' $Asp_{repetitive}$. (See sections 2.2.7 and 4.1.2 for more discussion of this adverb). In Cinque's hierarchy, there are two $Asp_{repetitive}$ projections: one above $Asp_{PlCompletive}$ and one below it.

In order to determine if *bar* is lower or higher than $Asp_{PlCompletive}$, we can examine its position with respect to the $Asp_{retrospective}$ *kab* 'just', which is generated above *tutto*. The placement of these four adverbs with respect to one another in Cinque's hierarchy is given in (393), with the "?" following *bar* indicating that I have not yet determined what position this adverb is generated in:

(393)   [$Asp_{repetitive(I)}$ [$Asp_{retrospective}$ [$Asp_{PlCompletive}$ [$Asp_{repetitive(II)}$
Marshallese   *bar?*   *kab*   *bar?*
Italian   *tutto*

Given this ordering, if *bar* precedes *kab*, it must be generated above *tutto*, but if it follows *kab*, it must be generated below *tutto*. Sentences (394a) and (394b), show that *bar* must follow *kab*.

(394) a. E-j   kab   bar   ruj.
          3s.agr-T(pres) just again wake.up
          'He just woke up again.'

       b. *E-j   bar   kab ruj.
          3s.agr-T(pres) again just wake.up
          'He just woke up again.'

Therefore we can conclude that *bar* is generated in the lower position and that it is generated in a position lower than $Asp_{PICompletive}$.

Since the Marshallese postverbal subject must follow *bar*, we can conclude that, like the Italian subject, the Marshallese subject occupies a position below $Asp_{PICompletive}$. This being the case, Marshallese adverbs provide evidence in favor of the idea that the subjects of languages that allow *V S O* word order may occupy a position higher than the one occupied by the subjects of languages that do not.

4.3 Final subjects

In chapter 3, I argued that sentence final subjects are right dislocated. However this conclusion doesn't say much about the structure of sentences with final subjects. In this section, I will consider two different structures that have been proposed for right dislocation sentences: the clause internal and the clause external structures. In the clause internal structure, the right dislocated element is contained within the clause, as shown in (395) (see Cecchetto 1997, 1999):

(395) $[_{IP}$ aux verb $[_{TopicP}$ subject $[_{VP}$ $t_{subject}$ $t_{verb}]]]$

In (395), the subject moves from the VP to a clause internal topic position. This is followed by movement of the verb to a position above the subject. In the clause external structure, the right dislocated subject moves to an IP external position, followed by movement of IP to a position above the subject (Kayne, class lectures 1995, quoted in Cecchetto 1999:48ff; Longobardi 2000; Cardinaletti 2002):

(396) [$_{XP}$ [$_{IP}$ *pro* aux V t$_{subject}$] X [$_{YP}$ subject Y [t$_{IP}$]]]

While both analyses have theoretical merit, the clause external structure is the only one that can explain both the status of the Marshallese predicate and the constituency of sentences with final subjects.

4.3.1 Predicate status

Recall that one context in which a right dislocated subject is possible is one in which the predicate preceding the subject is "given" information or, in other words, a topic (see section 3.3.2.4). In discussing a similar pattern in Italian, Longobardi (2000) argues that the *subject* = *focus* and *predicate* = *topic* information structure is not one that is traditionally associated with a clause internal structure. Rather, clause internal structures are typically associated with the *subject* = *topic* and *predicate* = *focus* information structure. Longobardi also states that the *subject* = *focus* and *predicate* = *topic* information structure is incompatible with the most classic cases of Italian right dislocation, which contain an object with a resumptive clitic (397) and (398):

(397) a. Lo   chiamano   spesso, Gianni.
        him they.call.up often   Gianni

     b. *Lo   chiamano   spesso, GIANNI.
        him they.call.up often   GIANNI

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(398) a. Li individuano facilmente, insetti di grandi dimensioni.
     them they identify easily   insects of large   size

b. *Li individuano facilmente, INSETTI DI GRANDI DIMENSIONI.
   them they.identify easily   INSECTS OF LARGE   SIZE
   (Longobardi 2002:695)

In order to explain these facts, Longobardi argues that two structures rather than one correspond to what have traditionally been labeled "right dislocated" sentences: one which always has an intonational break before the subject and either a "given" or "new" reading of the predicate; and one which has flat intonation and what he terms an "unarticulated" information structure. The former he assigns a clause external structure (399a); the latter, a clause internal one (399b):

(399) a. [CP [IP *pro* aux V t~subject~] [subject] C [t~IP~]]
      b. [IP *pro* [aux V [DP subject]]]

Notice that the intonation and information status of the Italian clause external construction match the intonation and information status of the Marshallese right dislocation construction. This being the case, I conclude that Marshallese right dislocation sentences have a clause external structure.

In his analysis, Longobardi suggests that the intonation break necessary in (399a) is associated with the right edge of the predicate. His suggestion is partially based on the fact that Italian postverbal subjects are characterized by two distinct sets of syntactic behavior: one associated with the clause external construction, and the other, with the clause internal construction. The clause external construction requires the intonation break (399a), while the clause internal construction does not (399b). Thus because the subject in (399a) is not part of the predicate, there is an intonation break preceding it,

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whereas the subject in (399b) is part of the predicate. Therefore, there is no pause. This analysis makes sense, given that it can explain why a pause is found in Marshallese sentences with final subjects but absent from those with internal subjects.

This idea – that the edge of a syntactic category may correspond to a prosodic category – is argued for by Selkirk (1986, 1995) and Truckenbrodt (1999). They claim that phonological constraints align the right or left edges of syntactic phrases to the right or left edges of phonological phrases. In addition, Truckenbrodt argues for a constraint that requires each XP to be contained within a phonological phrase. This phonological phrase is then sensitive to tone, vowel length, phrasing, etc. If we adopt these ideas, then we might suppose that the right edge of the Marshallese predicate, when it moves to the left periphery, is marked phonologically by a pause.

4.3.2 Constituency and final subjects

The clause internal and clause external structures differ from one another in that they have different constituencies. In the clause external structure, the subject is not part of the constituent that is contained within the IP, or to adapt this to the Marshallese structure, AgrSP, whereas, in the clause internal one, the subject is part of this constituent. This being the case, constituency can help determine if Marshallese right dislocation sentences have a clause internal or clause external structure. Coordination tests show that the clause external structure is correct, as two strings of *AgrS-T V PP* may be coordinated.

[AgrS-T V PP] S constituency
(400) [E-ar   jerak   ñan Mile] im [e-ar   ruñḷọk i lomalo],
      3s.agr-T(past) sail.intrans to   Mile and 3s.agr-T(past) sink   in ocean
      tima   eo.
      steamer the.s
      'It sailed to Mile and sank in the ocean, the steamer.'

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(401) [R-ar   tutu   i   ar]   im   [r-ar   eọñōd   i   lik],
       3pl.agr-T(past) swim   in   lagoon   and   3pl.agr-T(past) fish.intrans in   ocean
       ḷōṃaro.
       the.men
       'They swam in the lagoon and fished in the ocean, the men.'

[AgrS-T V O] S constituency
(402) [E-ar   uṃṃa-ik   ḷaddik   eo]   im   [e-ar   jujen jeptak   ḷaddik
       3s.agr-T(past) kiss-trans   boy   the.s and   3s.agr-T(past) then   slap.trans boy
       eo   juon], leddik   eo.
       the.s other   girl   the.s
       'She kissed the boy and then slapped another boy, the girl.'

In addition, the verb and any sentential elements between the verb and the subject are a

constituent, as two strings consisting of the verb and a preposition phrase (403)-(404) or

the verb and the object may be coordinated (405)-(406):

AgrS-T [V PP] S constituency
(403) R-ar   [tutu i   ar]   im   [eọñōd   i   lik],   ḷōṃaro.
       3pl.agr-T(past) swim in   lagoon   and   fish.intrans in   ocean   the.men
       'They swam in the lagoon and fished in the ocean, the men.'

(404) E-ar   [mejki ilo ien   jar]   im   [ḷimo   ilo ien   ṃōñā], ḷaddik
       3s.agr-T(past) be.tired at   time   prayer   and   be.excited at   time eat   boy
       eo   nej-ū.
       the.s cher.poss-1s.gen
       'He was tired at churchtime and excited at mealtime, my son.'

AgrS-T [V O] S constituency
(405) E-ar   [kwanjin-i   mā   ko]   im   [kōmatt-i   pinana
       3s.agr-T(past) roast.trans-obj   breadfruit the.pl.nh   and   cook.trans-obj banana
       ko],   Ierutia.
       the.pl.nh Ierutia
       'She roasted the breadfruits and cooked the bananas, Ierutia.'

(406) E-ar   [karreo-uk-i   ruuṃ eṇ] im   [joḷọk   jọkpej eo],
       3s.agr-T(past) clean-trans-obj   room   that   and   throw.out.trans trash   the.s
       ri-karreo   eo.
       one.who-clean the.s
       'He cleaned that room and threw out the trash, the janitor.'

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This constituency data is explained by a clause external analysis of right dislocation. Let us consider why this would be the case.

In my analysis of Marshallese declaratives, the verb moves to left adjoin to X. So the verb and any sentential elements following it are a constituent. In the clause external right dislocation structure, the subject moves out of the verb phrase, and therefore the verb and the PP or object are the only elements remaining in XP. As a result, the verb and the PP or the verb and the object are a constituent, as shown in (407).

(407) a. [$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ [$_{XP}$ V+v+X [$_{vP}$ t$_{subject}$ t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ t$_V$ object]]]] [subject] C t$_{AgrSP}$]

b. [$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ [$_{XP}$ V+X [$_{YP}$ [$_{vP}$ t$_{subject}$ t$_V$] Y [$_{vP}$ PP t$_{vP}$]]]] [subject] C t$_{AgrSP}$]

Thus this analysis predicts that the verb and the object or the verb and the prepositional phrase are a constituent.

While this may be the case, the situation is more complicated, as constituency tests also show that the final subject and the phrase immediately preceding it are a constituent:

AgrS-T V [PP S] constituency
(408) Re-j   kwanjin   [kōn kūkōr jet   leddik] im [kōn
       3pl.agr-T(pres) scrape.breadfruit.intrans instr shell some girl   and instr
       mōtta-n bato, leddik ro   jet].
       piece-3s bottle girl   the.pl.h other
       'Some girls scraped breadfruit with shells and the other girls, with a piece of a bottle.'

(409) R-ar   tutu [i lik   leddik ro]   im [i ar,   ḷaddik ro].
      3pl.agr-T(past) swim in ocean girl   the.pl.h and in lagoon boy   the.pl.h
      'The girls swam in the ocean and the boys, in the lagoon.'

AgrS-T V [O S] constituency
(410) E-ar   uṃṃa-ik [ḷaddik eo   leddik eo] im [ḷaḷḷap   eo,
      3pl.agr-T(past) kiss-trans boy   the.s girl   the.s and old.man the.s
      lōḷḷap   eo].
      old.woman the.s
      'The girl kissed the boy and the old woman, the old man.'

(411) E-ar   anijnij-i   [Lorina ḷaḷḷap   eo] im [Jabkon,
      3s.agr-T(past) do.black.magic.trans-obj Lorina old.man the.s and Jabkon
      lōḷḷap   eo].
      old.woman the.s
      'The old man did black magic on Lorina and the old woman, on Jabkon.'

These sentences are problematic for the clause external analysis because, in this analysis,

the PP and final subject or the object and final subject are not constituents.

We can account for these sentences with *AgrS-T V [X S]* constituency in one of

two ways. First we might assume that the *X S* constituent is contained within AgrSP. If

this is the case, then it is possible that these sentences have a structure similar to that of

gapping sentences, in which there is across the board VP movement and coordination of

two remnant phrases containing the subject and object or prepositional phrase (see

section 4.2.2). However, gapping sentences have *AgrS-T V PP S* order. In order to get this

reverse order, in which the subject follows the prepositional phrase or object, the object

or PP must move to a position above the subject, as shown in (412).

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(412)

AgrSP
  AgrS'
    AgrS   TP
     |
     e   T'
    3s
        T   AccP
        |
        ar   Acc'
     T(past)
            Acc   XP
                VP$_j$ X'
              anijniji t$_i$ X   YP
             'do black magic on'
                                    YP   im   YP
                                             'and'
                            DP$_i$ Y'   DP$_i$ Y'
                           Lorina Y   vP   Jabkon   Y   vP
                                  DP   v'   DP   v'
                              ḷaḷḷap eo v   t$_j$ lōḷḷap eo v   t$_j$
   'the old man'   'the old woman'

(412) has what might be termed a reverse gapping structure. One virtue of this structure

is that it can explain the intonation of these sentences. For the most part these sentences

have only one pause before the final subject in the second conjunct, which is an

intonation pattern commonly found in gapping sentences.

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However, there are two flaws with this analysis. First this analysis is faced with the burden of explaining why the object moves to spec YP. This is not to say that providing an explanation is impossible. However, at this point there doesn't seem to be any motivation for this movement. Second, if this is the correct structure for sentences like (410) and (411), then these sentences should be ungrammatical because of an RM violation. While it is possible for accusative case to be assigned to the object in this structure, the subject cannot receive nominative case from T because the object intervenes between T and the subject.

There is a second option as to the structure of these sentences, one that has a clause external structure. In a clause external structure of sentences with *AgrS-T V [X S]* constituency, the subject still occupies a clause external position but so does the object or prepositional phrase. This is then followed by deletion of the remnant AgrSP of the second conjunct, as illustrated by (413).[31] If this is the correct structure, then *AgrS-T V [X S]* constituency sentences contain two coordinated CPs rather than two coordinated phrases containing both the subject and object or PP.

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[31] As I have not discussed what position in the left periphery AgrSP and the subject move, I will simply label these positions as specifiers of CP for the time being.

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(413)
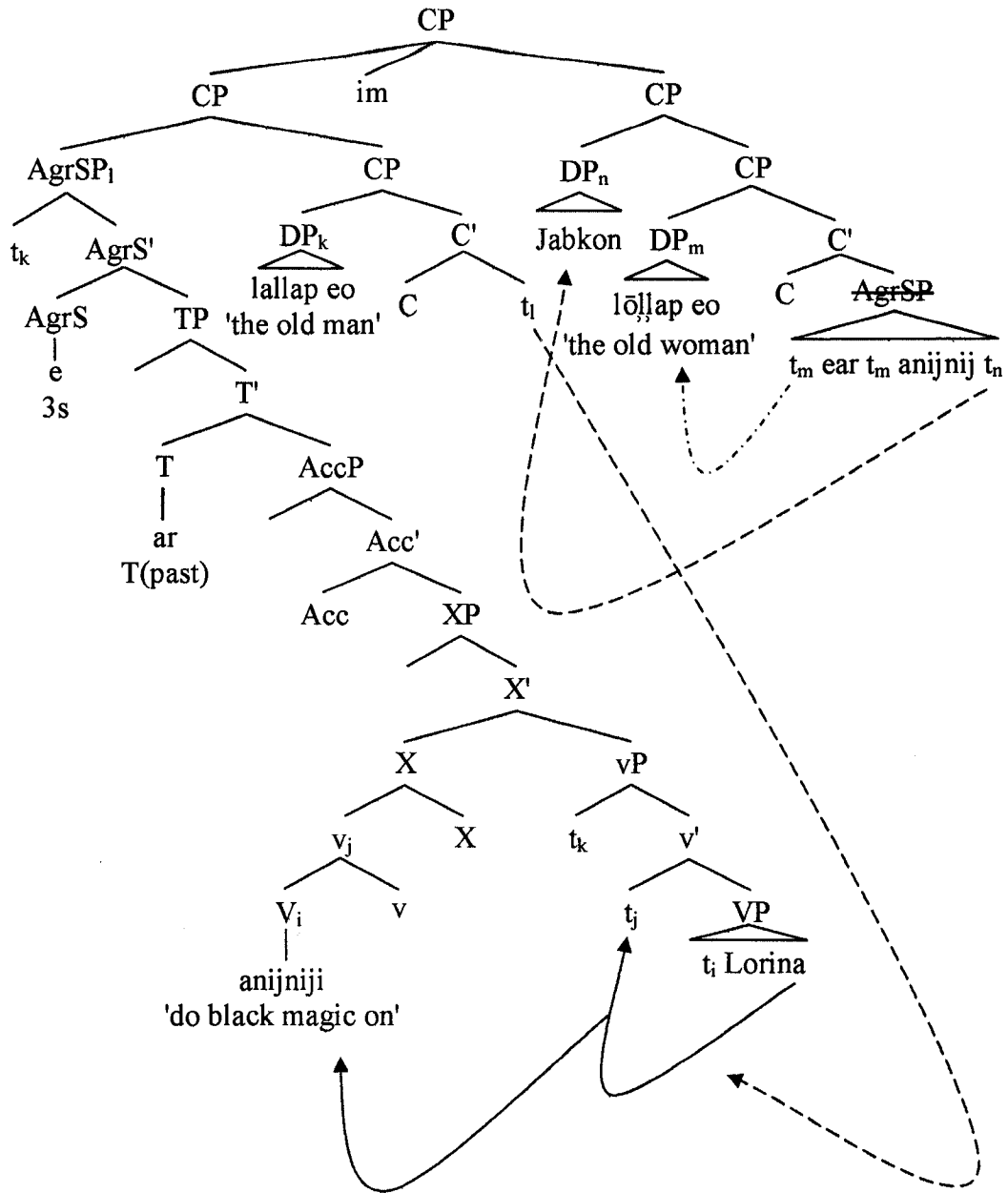
This structure avoids the RM violation of the previous structure. There is one problem with this structure: this structure seems to predict that there should be an intonation break in the first conjunct, given my argument that the intonation break before the predicate marks the right edge of the predicate. While it is possible to have an intonation break before the final subjects of both conjuncts, this is not necessary. The prevalent

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phonological pattern seems to be one in which there is only one pause, found before the final subject in the second conjunct. So we must either assume that this is not the correct structure or say more regarding the pause in right dislocation structures. There is, however, a rise in intonation before the final subject in both conjuncts, which matches the intonation patterns of right dislocation sentences.

Since the first structure contains a RM violation, I will adopt the second structure for sentences with *AgrS-T V [X S]* constituency, in spite of the missing pause in the first conjunct in many sentences. More work must be done regarding the phonological patterns of Marshallese before this issue is completely resolved.

4.3.3 The structure of right dislocation sentences

I have argued for a structure of Marshallese right dislocation sentences along the lines of (414):

(414) $[_{CP} [_{IP}$ *pro* aux V $t_{subject}] [[_{DP}$ subject$]$ C $[t_{IP}]]]$

In this section, I address the topic of what position in the left periphery AgrSP and the subject move to.

First let us examine the movement of AgrSP. Recall that in the "we're already talking about X" context of left dislocation sentences, the predicate preceding the subject is a topic (see section 3.3.2.4). This being the case, it seems likely that AgrSP moves to the specifier of a topic position in the left periphery (see Rizzi 1997, 2001, 2002).

Longobardi notes that, in similar Italian sentence, the status of the predicate as "given" implies that the subject has the status of "new" information. Although he doesn't specify where in the left periphery the subject and the predicate move to, it sounds as if

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he may be implying that the predicate moves to spec TopP, while the subject moves to spec FocP. If we adopt a similar analysis for Marshallese, then we seem to be contradicting conclusions reached earlier regarding the non-focus status of final subjects (see section 3.3.2.4). But recall that, while not preferred as answers to *wh-* questions, sentences with final subjects are possible, which means that final subject might bear new information focus. I resolve this issue by returning to the fact that, in sentences with final subject, the information status of the predicate is what is crucial. Given this fact, it is possible that speakers report that sentences with final subjects are not preferred as answers to *wh-* questions because the predicates of these sentences are topics, whereas these speakers would prefer to answer these questions with a sentence in which the predicate is not a topic, i.e. the sentence with an initial subject. If this is correct, then sentences with final subjects in which the predicate is a topic have the structure illustrated by (415).

(415)
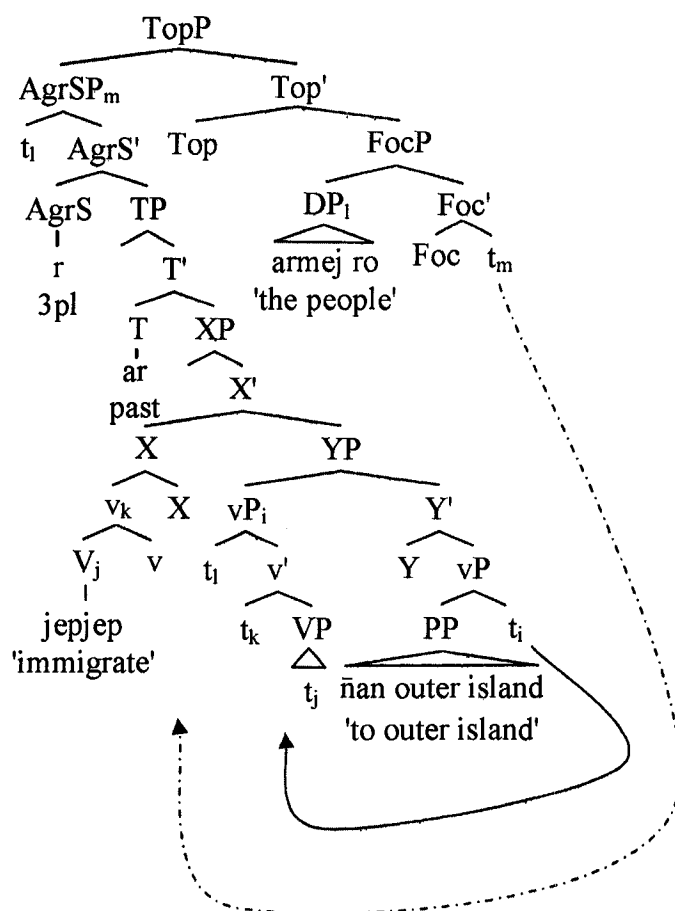
In these types of sentences, the subject need not move to AgrSP, although this is possible. I have arrived at this conclusion based on the fact that singular agreement is possible with third person plural final subjects. If the subject always moved to spec AgrSP, then agreement would always occur. Since agreement need not occur, I will follow Longobardi and Cardinaletti in assuming that a *pro* subject may be merged in spec AgrSP. When this occurs, there is singular agreement, whereas there is plural agreement when the subject moves through spec AgrSP. Subject agreement will be discussed in more detail in section 4.6.

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In addition to the "we're already talking about X" context, final subjects are also possible when the predicate is "new" information. In Italian, this reverse information structure, in which the predicate is "new" information and the subject is "given" information, is also possible. In this second context, the predicate (or elements within the predicate) are focused and therefore AgrSP moves to spec FocP, while the subject moves to spec TopP:

(416)
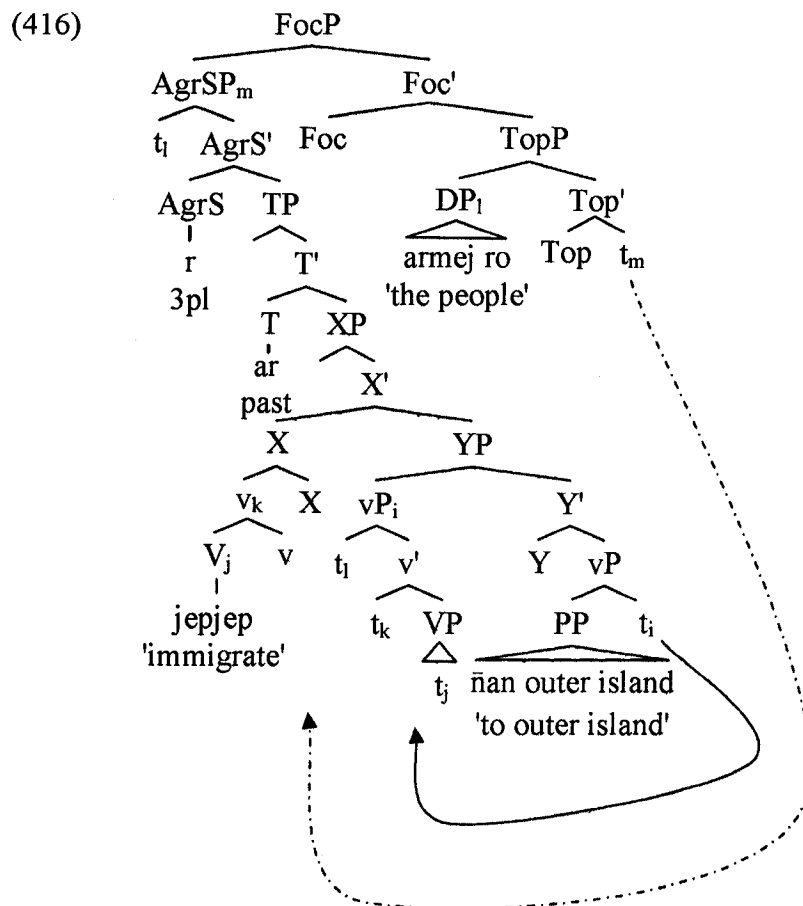
4.4 The structure of sentences with a DP and a PP argument

The final type of declarative to be discussed in this section is that with both a DP and a PP internal argument. The word order facts regarding these sentences, as presented in section 3.2.1.2 of chapter 3, are summarized in Table 18.

Table 18. Subject position in sentences with DP and PP internal arguments

Sentence type	initial S	final S	V S O (PP)	V S PP O	V O S PP	V PP S O
DP & PP arguments	√	√	*	*	√	*

The placement of pauses in each of these sentences is crucial to the structure of these sentences. Recall from section 3.3.1 of chapter 3 that there is a pause between a right dislocated phrase and the phrase preceding it. (417) indicates where pauses are found in the sentences with grammatical word orders.

(417) a. S V PP [pause] O
       b. V O PP [pause] S
       c. V O [pause] S [pause] PP
       d. V PP [pause] O [pause] S

Since, in my analysis, pauses mark movement of phrase into the left periphery, a likely analysis for the sentences with more than one pause is that, in addition to the remnant AgrSP, more than one phrase has moved to the left periphery. To begin, let's first examine the structure of a sentence with only one sentence final phrase. In this type of sentence, the final phrase moves to the left periphery, followed by movement of AgrSP to a position above the dislocated phrase, as illustrated by (418) and (419).

S V PP [pause] O
(418) a. [$_{TopP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ subject V t_{object} PP] Top [$_{FocP}$ object Foc t_{AgrSP}]]

       b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ subject V t_{object} PP] Foc [$_{TopP}$ object Top t_{AgrSP}]]

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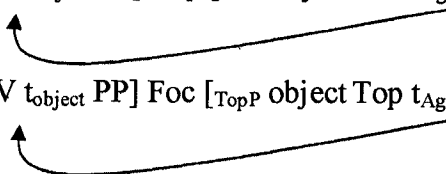
V O PP [pause] S

(419) a. [$_{TopP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ V object PP] Top [$_{FocP}$ subject Top [t$_{AgrSP}$]]]

  b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ V object PP] Foc [$_{TopP}$ subject Top [t$_{AgrSP}$]]]

If there is more than one sentence final phrase, then more than one phrase must have moved out of AgrSP and into the left periphery (420) and (421):[32]
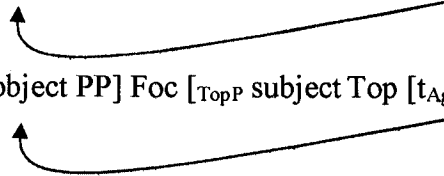
V O [pause] S [pause] PP

(420) a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ V object t$_{PP}$] Foc [$_{TopP}$ subject Top [$_{TopP}$ PP Top t$_{AgrSP}$]]]

  b. [$_{TopP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ V object t$_{PP}$] Top [$_{FocP}$ subject Foc [$_{TopP}$ PP Top t$_{AgrSP}$]]]
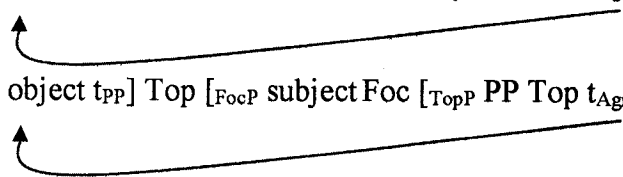
V PP [pause] O [pause] S

(421) a. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ V t$_{object}$ PP] Foc [$_{TopP}$ object Top [$_{TopP}$ subject Top t$_{AgrSP}$]]]

  b. [$_{TopP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ V t$_{object}$ PP] Top [$_{FocP}$ object Foc [$_{TopP}$ subject Top t$_{AgrSP}$]]]
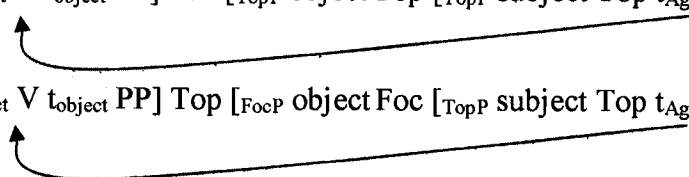
The ungrammaticality of sentences with a DP and PP argument falls out nicely from this analysis. Notice that there is one thing that all of these sentences have in common: in all of them the subject precedes the object.

(422) a. *V S O PP
  b. *V S PP O
  c. *V PP S O

The structure of sentences with *V S O PP* and *V S PP O* order are given in (423) and (424) respectively.[33]

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[32] Rizzi's left periphery allows for iterative Topic phrases but not Focus phrases. Therefore, it is possible to have more than one topic but not more than one focused element.

*V S O PP

(423) [FocP [AgrSP [AccP Acc V+v+X subject t_object t_PP]] Foc [TopP object Top [TopP PP Top t_AgrSP]]]

*V S PP O

(424) [FocP [AgrSP [AccP Acc V+v+X subject t_object t_PP]] Foc [TopP PP Top [TopP object Top t_AgrSP]]]
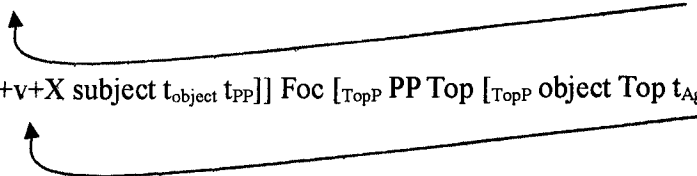
In both of these derivations, the subject remains vP internal, since the subject is immediately postverbal. This means that when the object receives accusative case prior to its movement into the left periphery, the subject intervenes between the Accusative case assigning head and the object, as shown in (425), an intermediate stage of the derivation:

*V S O PP

(425) ... [AccP Acc [XP V+v+X [vP subject t_v [VP object t_V PP]]]]
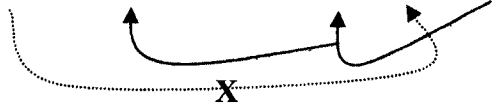
This derivation is ungrammatical because the subject intervenes between Acc and the object. Therefore accusative case cannot be assigned. The same RM violation occurs in a *V S PP O sentence, as this sentence also requires the subject to remain verb phrase internal.

There are two derivations which can derive *V PP S O word order. Unlike the other ungrammatical sentences, in which the subject remains vP internal, the subject's status as a right dislocated phrase makes it possible for the subject to have moved from spec vP to spec AgrSP before moving to the left periphery. If the subject moves to spec AgrSP first, then it does not intervene between Acc and the object when accusative case is assigned as shown in (426), an intermediate stage of the derivation.

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[33] AgrSP, PP and O might also occupy the specifier positions of TopP, FocP, and TopP, but as the positions these phrase occupy is not essential to the argument, I will not show these derivations.

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(426) [$_{AgrSP}$ subject AgrS [$_{TP}$ T [$_{AccP}$ Acc [$_{XP}$ V+v+X [$_{vP}$ t$_{subject}$ t$_V$ [$_{VP}$ object t$_V$ PP]]]]]]
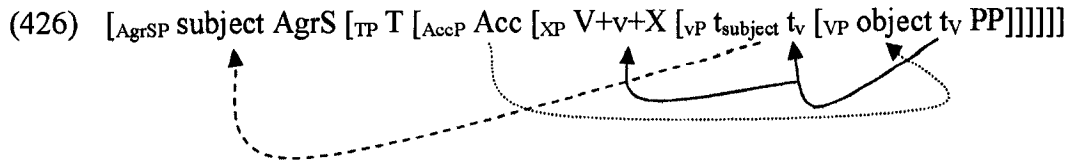
Alternatively, it is possible that the subject remains vP internal and does not move to the specifier of AgrSP. If this occurs, then the subject intervenes between the object and the accusative case assigning head, as in (427), an intermediate stage of the derivation.

(427) [$_{AgrSP}$ AgrS [$_{TP}$ T [$_{AccP}$ Acc [$_{XP}$ V+v+X [$_{vP}$ subject t$_V$ [$_{VP}$ object t$_V$ PP]]]]]]
                                                          X
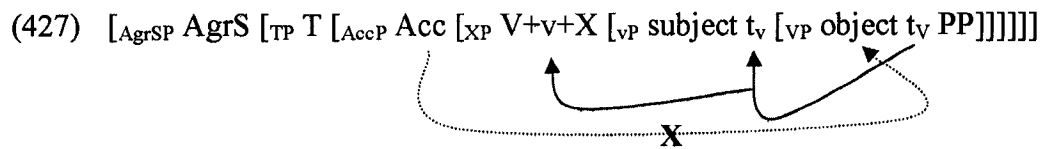
There is virtually no way to distinguish between these two derivations, as, in both of them, the subject is merged in the same position and ultimately ends up in the same specifier position. The only difference between the two is that the second predicts that this word order is ungrammatical. Therefore, we can only assume that this is the correct structure.

4.5 Clausal arguments

The analysis I have proposed predicts that sentence internal subject should be possible in any sentence in which the phrase following the subject does not require case checking. In the case of CP complements, this prediction turns out to be true for many sentences. Table 19 summarizes the word order possibilities of sentences with CP complements as presented in section 3.2.1.3 of Chapter 3.

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Table 19. Subject position with CP arguments

main verb	initial S	final S	V S CP	V [V S PP]
aikuj 'need'	√	√	*	*
kāālōt 'choose'	√	√	*	*
kōṇaan 'want'	√	√	*	*
lo 'see'	√	√	*	*
kallimur 'promise'	√	√	√	*
roñ 'hear'	√	√	√	*
jeḷā 'know'	√	√	√	*
ba 'say'	√	√	variation	*
ḷōmṇak 'think'	√	√	variation	*

Of the nine verbs listed in Table 19, just over half allow *V S CP* order if we include those verbs with speaker variation. Given that the theory of declaratives I have proposed predicts that all these sentences should be grammatical, it is important to address the question of why some of these verbs do not allow internal subjects. At this time, I do not have an answer to this question. However, these Marshallese facts are similar to those of Italian, which does not allow internal subjects with the verbs 'think', 'start', 'believe', 'decide' and 'choose' (Belletti 2001). This indicates that, for some reason, languages allow a certain amount of variation as to whether a verb with a CP argument allows an internal subject. I leave this topic for future research.

The structure of sentences with *V S CP* order is similar to that of intransitives with internal subjects in that the subject remains verb phrase internal, as illustrated by (428):

(428) [AgrSP AgrS [TP T [XP V+v+X [vP subject t_v [vP t_v CP]]]

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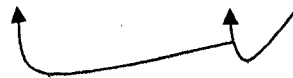
For those sentences with CP arguments and final subjects, I assume that they have a right dislocation structure in which the subject moves to a position in the left periphery, followed by movement of the remnant AgrSP (429):

V CP S

(429) a. [$_{TopP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ V CP] Top [$_{FocP}$ subject Foc t$_{AgrSP}$]]
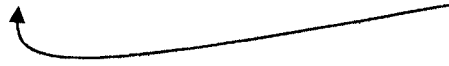
b. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_{subject}$ V CP] Foc [$_{TopP}$ subject Top t$_{AgrSP}$]]
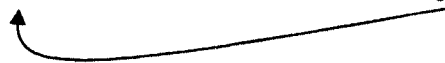
This analysis is supported by the fact that these sentences have right dislocation intonation.

4.6 Subject agreement

In the final section of this chapter, I address the issue of subject agreement with non-initial subjects. Recall that, like Hale (1998), I assume that one way agreement occurs is through a spec-head relationship. This is a desirable assumption because it can explain why agreement must occur with preverbal subjects. However it doesn't explain why third singular agreement may occur with non-initial third person plural subjects. In the analysis I have pursued, some non-initial subjects do not occupy the specifier of AgrSP at any point in the derivation. This being the case, we need to find some other explanation as to how agreement occurs with non-initial subjects.

I propose that there is, in addition to the spec-head relationship, another avenue by which agreement may occur: a probe-goal relationship, as argued for by Chomsky (2000). In this proposal, when spec AgrSP is empty, a probe originating in AgrS searches its c-command domain for an appropriate goal, in this case, the DP subject occupying the

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specifier of the verb phrase. If this DP subject is third plural, then AgrS will likewise be third plural. Thus agreement features may be checked in a non-local relationship. Regarding the cases where third singular agreement occurs with a postverbal plural subject, I follow Belletti (2004) and Longobardi (2000) in assuming that spec AgrSP may be occupied by a null expletive *pro*. When this happens, agreement occurs with *pro* occupying spec AgrS, and 3s agreement results.

Under this framework, we are left with two questions. First does T bear an EPP feature in Marshallese and second, if there is no EPP feature, what triggers movement of the subject to spec AgrSP? The extended projection principle (EPP) was first proposed as a requirement that all sentences have a subject but has been redefined as a feature, often a D feature on T that requires a subject. It has often been argued that subjects move to the specifier of TP so that this D feature may be checked and that this is a universal feature, found in all languages.

In my analysis of Marshallese, an internal subject may remain verb phrase internal. If I am correct, then, if Marshallese has an EPP feature, it may be satisfied in one of two ways. First we would have to assume that a null *pro* occupies spec TP. But this is problematic in that *pro* triggers singular agreement. If *pro* can check the features of AgrSP, then the existence of *pro* in spec TP would result in 3s agreement because the probe responsible for checking agreement features must agree with the closest active goal in its c-command domain. In this configuration, the closest active goal would be *pro* rather than the subject DP. Thus 3pl agreement could never occur with internal subjects. Since 3pl agreement does occur, we must conclude that this cannot be the correct

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assumption regarding the EPP. Second we might assume that the EPP can be satisfied through an Agree relationship, but this seems an odd conclusion given that the EPP is often argued to require movement spec AgrSP.

Alternatively, we might assume that the Marshallese T does bear an EPP feature. Although many linguists assume that EPP is universal, McCloskey (1996) argues that Irish has no EPP feature. Thus the idea that some languages do not have an EPP feature is not unheard of. If we assume that Marshallese does not have an EPP feature, we are left with the question of what motivates movement of the subject to its sentence initial position. Since the probe-goal relationship can check agreement features, agreement with AgrS does not motivate subject movement. Instead, I believe that the answer to this question is that movement is motivated by topic or focus features of the preverbal subject. Recall that initial subjects in Marshallese are topics or focused. If this is the case, then, assuming that topic and focus are syntactic features, it could be possible that the Marshallese subject must move in order to satisfy these features.

If the preverbal subject is a topic, then conceivably it could be moving to the specifier of the Topic phrase in the left periphery. Unfortunately, there is no way to verify if this is the case. In Rizzi's expanded left periphery, there are multiple topic positions, as shown in (430):

(430) [ForceP [TopicP* [IntP [TopicP* [FocusP [TopicP* [ModifierP* [FiniteP [AgrSP

Notice there are only two phrasal projections between the lowest Topic phrase and AgrSP: Mod(ifier)P and FiniteP. If the subject moves to spec TopicP, then we might anticipate that the subject could be followed by some adverb that occupies spec ModP.

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But there are no sentence modifying adverbs in Marshallese. Likewise, if there is a morpheme in Marshallese that marks a phrase as finite or non-finite, it must be non-overt, as there is no overt morpheme that serves this purpose. Therefore, we have no way to verify if the subject moves to spec TopP.

Alternatively the preverbal subject may bear new information Focus features. Rizzi (1999) argues that elements bearing new information focus features, such as *wh*-phrases, may move to spec FocP. However he also allows for phrases that bear this kind of focus to be clause internal. In the case of clause internal subjects, he argues that the subject remains clause internal and moves to spec FocP of the left periphery covertly. If this is correct, then the subject might be moving to spec FocP. There is reason to think that perhaps Marshallese focused subjects move to spec FocP covertly rather than overtly. First, if spec FocP in the left periphery were available for subjects bearing new information focus, then we would expect that other sentential elements bearing new information focus could move to this position and be sentence initial. But this virtually never occurs in Marshallese. Second, if the subject overtly moves to spec FocP, then, in theory, other phrases should be able to move to the specifier of the Topic phrase below FocP. In the case of objects, this does not appear to be possible:

(431)   *Leddik ro,   kuuj eo,   r-ar   dāpij.
        girl   the.pl.h cat   the.s 3pl.agr-T(past) hold.trans
        'The girls, the cat, they held.'

This being the case, I will tentatively conclude that Marshallese initial focused subjects occupy spec AgrSP, while intending to return to this topic in the future.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has proposed an analysis of Marshallese declaratives and argued that the three Marshallese subject positions – sentence initial, sentence internal and sentence final –correspond to different positions within the syntactic structure: the specifier of AgrSP, the specifier of the verb phrase, or the specifier of TopP or FocP in the left periphery. I have also argued that the sentence final position of the Marshallese subject is due not only to subject movement but also to movement of the remnant AgrSP into the left periphery. I have shown that this analysis is supported by constituency and the position of the verb with respect to adverbs and the negative and that this analysis provides the tools to explain why $V S O$ order is not possible in Marshallese. Finally, I have provided an explanation as to how third singular agreement occurs with postverbal third plural subjects.

Chapter 5. Passives

5.1 Introduction

Not all languages have a passive construction of the type shown in the (b) examples of

(432)-(434), which correspond to the active (a) examples. (432) is from English, while

(433) and (434) are from Kosraean (Austronesian, Micronesian) and Kiribatese

(Austronesian, Micronesian) respectively.

(432) a. The chicken killed the snake.
      b. The snake was killed.

(433) a. Sepe el puok tuhlihk sac.
        Sepe 3s hit   child   the
        'Sepe is hitting the child.'

      b. Tuhlihk sac puok-yuhk-lac.
         child   the hit-pass-Asp$_{comp}$
         'The child was hit.'

(434) a. Ei kamate-a$_j$ te naeta$_j$ te moa$_i$.
        it kill-it   the snake the chicken
        'The chicken killed the snake.'

      b. Ej kamate-aki te naeta (iroun te moa).
        it kill-pass   the snake (by   the chicken)
        'The snake was killed (by the chicken).'
        (Keenan and Dryer 2006:327)

There are two similarities in the syntactic properties of these three passive constructions.

First, the objects of the active (a) sentences appear as the subjects of the passive (b)

sentences. Second, each language has a morpheme that marks the verb as passive. In

English, the suffix *-ed* appears on the verb, while the Kosraean and Kiribatese verbs

include the passive suffixes *-yuhk* and *-ak* respectively.

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It has been argued that Marshallese has a passive construction (see Bender 1969a, Zewen 1977, Pagotto 1992, Hale 1998). However there is no overt passive morphology in Marshallese. Rather a passive verb has the same morphological form as an intransitive verb, which means that a sentence such as (435) may have an active or a passive reading.

(435) Jawan ye-nahaj   mijmij   rahyinyin.
       John   e-naaj   m̦wijm̦wij rainin.
       John   3s.agr-T(fut) operate   today
       'John will be operated on today.'
       'John will operate today.'
       (Bender 1969a:111)

While not explicitly stated, it is my guess that the primary reason Marshallese scholars have classified sentences like (435) as passive is that semantically they may have a passive reading. However, this criterion is not adequate in all cases. Consider sentence (436), which appears to have a passive reading:

(436) Bao   eo   e-ar   po.
       chicken the.s 3s.agr-T(past) be.caught
       'The chicken was caught.'

While the translation of this sentence seems to indicate that this sentence is passive, Abo, et. al. (1976) classify the verb *po* 'be caught' as the perfective or "special stative" form of the verb, a classification which I will show to be correct based on the syntax of this sentence. Because of its classification as a special stative, perhaps a better translation for this verb would be something like "in the state of having been caught". This being the case, a verb like *po* presents a problem for the classification of Marshallese passives based on semantics because, if we reclassify a sentence that looks semantically like a passive as a stative, what is to stop us from classifying all passives as statives? In other

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words, how do we really know that Marshallese has a passive construction if the language has stative verbs that seem semantically to be passives?

In this chapter, I argue that, in spite of the absence of overt passive morphology, there is syntactic evidence that supports the existence of a Marshallese passive construction. I will show that the main syntactic difference between passives and statives is that they allow different types of agent phrases: passives allow agent phrases headed by *in*; stative verbs do not.[34] This difference is explained in an analysis in which *in* is a Voice head, whereas the heads of other agent phrases are prepositions. Finally, I will argue in that Marshallese employs two strategies for forming a passive. For sentences with agent phrases headed by *in*, I argue in favor of the smuggling analysis to passives, as proposed by Collins (2005). In this analysis, *in* is a Voice head and the agent phrase is merged as the specifier of vP. But for sentences with *ippān* phrases, I argue for an analysis similar to that proposed by Watanabe (1993) and Mahajan (1994), in which the agent phrase is a prepositional phrase merged as the specifier of vP.

5.2 Properties of passives and statives

Before continuing, there are certain clarifications that must be made regarding the terms stative and passive. In a stative sentence, I assume that the verb is unaccusative and assigns a patient or experiencer theta role to its DP sister. This DP sister is the subject of the sentence. Therefore a stative sentence has the underlying structure shown in (437):

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[34] I am using the term "agent phrase" to refer to what is usually referred to as a *by* phrase. In section 5.5, I will argue that agent phrases headed by *in* are not, in fact, phrases, as *in* and the DP that follows it are not a constituent. For simplicity, I will continue to use the term "agent phrase".

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(437)

```
AgrSP
   /\
      AgrS'
      /\
  AgrS  TP
        /\
          T'
          /\
         T  XP
            /\
              X'
              /\
             X  VP
                /\
               V  DP
                  /\
                 subject
```
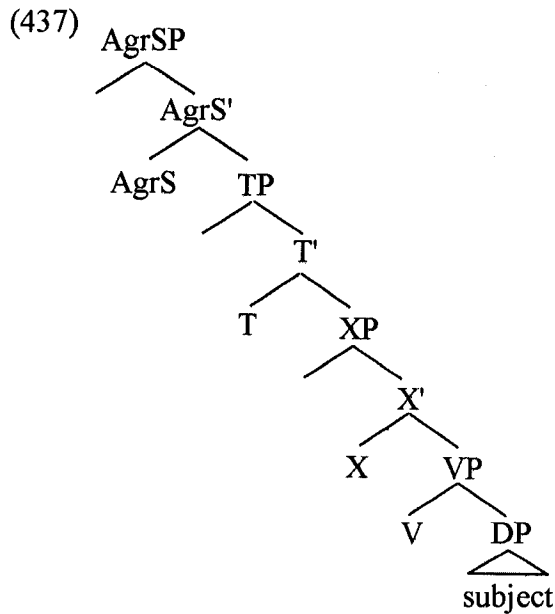
While a stative sentence is an intransitive because the stative verb selects only one argument, the intransitive-ness of a passive sentence arises from the syntax. In passive sentences, the verb is the head of a VP that is the complement of vP. Thus the verb of a passive sentence is one that, in an active sentence, selects two arguments: an internal theme argument and an external agent argument. However, in a passive sentence, something occurs in the syntax that causes the DP theme argument to become the syntactic subject and that allows the agent DP to be absent. Sections 5.5 will discuss the syntactic factors that cause this to occur.

Cook (1996) defines a prototypical passive as follows:

"A prototypical passive clause has (a) a transitive verb stem and (b) some special morphology (often a verbal affix). (c) The subject is a patient, and (d) the agent (if encoded as a nominal) is an oblique."

Marshallese fails to meet criteria (a) and (b), unless we assume that the realization of passive morphology on the transitive verb is a morphological form identical to the

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intransitive form of the verb. Alternatively, the form of the verb used in passive sentences might be the semi-transitive one, described in section 2.2.6.4.7 of chapter 2. Recall that these verbs may take objects in some cases, as in (98) and (99) from chapter 2.

(98)   Na   i-ar   m̧ōñā   bao.
         1s.abs 1s.agr-T(past) eat.intrans chicken
         'Me, I ate chicken.'

(99)   Kōrā   ro   re-j   keke   nuknuk.
         woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) sew.intrans dresses
         'The women are sewing dresses.'

Marshallese does meet criteria (c) and (d) of Cook's definition. However, in section 5.4 I will show that stative sentences also meet these criteria. This being the case, it seems that we must find other criteria by which to classify a Marshallese sentence as passive. I now turn my attention to finding these criteria.

5.3 The passive construction

There are a number of different criteria that we may want to use in order to determine if there is enough syntactic evidence for a Marshallese passive construction. These include word order, subject agreement, and whether agent phrases are possible.

Before turning to these criteria, there is one more point to be made regarding morphology and Marshallese passives. Recall that the passive form of a verb has the same morphological form as the intransitive, which means that many passive sentences may have both an active and a passive reading. While the intended reading is often clear from the context, the intended reading may also be made clear by the subject. For example, sentences (438) and (439) are interpreted as having a passive reading, since mats don't fold things and handicrafts don't weave (generally speaking).

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(438) Jaki eo   e-ar   lemlem.
      mat the.s 3s.agr-T(past) fold.intrans
      'The mat was folded.'
      #'The mat folded.'

(439) Amiṃōṇo ko   r-ar   āj.
      handicraft the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans
      'The handicrafts were woven.'
      #'The handicrafts wove.'

If the subjects of sentences (438) and (439) are replaced with human subjects, the

resulting sentences have an active reading because the speaker cannot be folded, nor can

women can't be woven.

(440) I-ar   lemlem.
      1s.agr-T(past) fold.intrans
      'I did some folding.'
      #'I was folded.'

(441) Kōrā   ro   r-ar   āj.
      woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans
      'The women did some weaving.'
      #'The women were woven.'

5.3.1 Word order

As with active intransitive sentences, it is possible for the subject of a passive sentence to

occur sentence initially (438) and (439) or in a non-initial position (442) and (443):

(442) E-ar   lemlem   jaki eo.
      3s.agr-T(past) fold.intrans mat the.s
      'The mat was folded.'

(443) R-ar   āj   amiṃōṇo ko.
      3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans handicraft the.pl.nh
      'The handicrafts were woven.'

When the sentence contains a prepositional phrase that is not an agent phrase, the subject

may either precede (444a) and (445a) or follow the PP (444b) and (445b):

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(444) a. R-ar   lemelm   jaki ko   ilo ṃweo.
        3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans mat the.pl.nh in the.house
        'The mats were folded in the house.'

     c. R-ar   lemelm   ilo ṃweo,   jaki ko.
        3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans in the.house mat the.pl.nh
        'They were folded in the house, the mats.'

(445) a. R-ar   āj   jaki ko   ilo ṃon   amiṃōṇo eo.
        3pl.agr-(past) weave.intrans mat the.pl.nh at place.of handicraft the.s
        'The mats were woven at the handicraft shop.'

     b. R-ar   āj   ilo ṃon   amiṃōṇo eo, jaki ko.
        3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans at place.of handicraft the.s mat the.pl.nh
        'They were woven at the handicraft shop, the mats.'

The phonology of passive sentences with final subjects (the (b) sentences only) indicate

that these subjects are right dislocated, as there is a pause and rising intonation before the

final subject.

5.3.2 Agreement

As in active sentences, singular agreement may occur with postverbal third person plural

subjects:

(446) E-ar   lemlem   jaki ko.
      3s.agr-T(past) fold.intrans mat the.pl.nh
      'The mats were hit.'

(447) E-ar   āj   amiṃōṇo ko.
      3s.agr-T(past) weave.intrans handicraft the.pl.nh
      'The handicrafts were woven.'

while plural agreement must occur with preverbal third plural subjects:

(448) *Jaki ko   e-ar   lemlem.
       mat the.pl.nh 3s.agr-T(past) fold.intrans
       'The mats were hit.'

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(449) *Amiṃōṇo ko   e-ar   āj.
       handicraft the.pl.nh 3s.agr-T(past) weave.intrans
       'The handicrafts were woven.'

5.3.3 Agent phrases

There are three different prepositions which may be found in agent phrases – *ippān*

(Pagotto 1992), *jān* and *in*. In the introduction to this chapter, I introduced the term

"agent phrase" to refer to a phrase that is traditionally called a *by* phrase. In this section

and in sections to follow, I will show that, in the case of two of the three types of agent

phrases, this term is misleading. First, I will show that the term agent is inappropriate in

the case of the preposition *jān*, as this preposition may introduce a causer rather than an

agent. Second, the use of the term phrase is inappropriate in the case of *in*, as in section

5.5 I will show that *in* and the DP agent that follows it do not constitute a phrase. This

being the case, rather than call the DP that follows the preposition its complement, I will

refer to this DP as the logical subject. However, I will continue to use the term agent

phrase.

When not used in a passive sentence, *ippān* has a comitative reading:

(450) Kwo-n   jab ṃōṇā   ippā-n emṃaan eo   bwe   e-naaj
       2s.agr-should neg eat.intrans with-3s man   the.s because 3s-T(fut)
       kōpāl   eok.
       curse.trans 2s
       'You shouldn't eat with that man because he will curse you.'

while *jān* means 'from' and *in*, 'of'.

(451) Cindy e-ar   ko   jān Alice.
       Cindy 3s.agr-T(past) run.away from Alice
       'Cindy ran away from Alice.'

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(452) Ilo m̧anit in M̧ajȩl, leddik re-j jab ekkōn̄ak jeḑujij.
    in custom of Marshalls girl 3pl.agr-T(pres) neg wear.intrans pants
    'In Marshallese custom, girls don't wear pants.'

In (453) and (454), these three prepositions are used in agent phrases of passive
sentences.

(453) a. Jaki ko re-kar lemlem ippā-n ajri ro.
    mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans with-3s child the.pl.h
    'The mats were folded by the children.'

    b. Jaki ko re-kar lemlem jān ajri ro.
    mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans from child the.pl.h
    'The mats were folded by the children.'

    c. Jaki ko re-kar lemlem in ajri ro.
    mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans of child the.pl.h
    'The mats were folded by the children.'

(454) a. Amim̧ōn̄o ko r-ar āj ippā-n kōrā eo.
    handicraft the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans with-3s woman the.s
    'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

    b. Amim̧ōn̄o ko r-ar āj jān kōrā eo.
    handicraft the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans from woman the.s
    'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

    c. Amim̧ōn̄o ko r-ar āj in kōrā eo.
    handicraft the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans of woman the.s
    'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

Pagotto (1992) notes that agent phrases headed by *ippān* are not grammatical to
all speakers. To this I would add that some speakers find agent phrases headed by *jān*
ungrammatical. Of the speakers I consulted, one of them had a strong preference to
translate agent phrases with the preposition *jān* but did not find those with *ippān*
grammatical, while another speaker found those with *ippān* completely grammatical but
often found those with *jān* ungrammatical. One factor that may be affecting these results

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is that one of the aforementioned speakers has resided in the US for the past eight years. Thus her dialect may be different from those speakers still residing in the Marshall Islands. Alternatively, the difference in speaker preference might be related to speaker variation.

The appearance of these three prepositions as heads of agent phrases is not surprising cross-linguistically. Keenan and Dryer (2006) note that ablative markers (455) and possessive markers (456b) are often used in agent phrases:

(455)   Ngada ra-yii-ju   mun-da   balarr-ina maku-na.
        1s.nom bite-mid-potent buttock-nom white-abl woman-abl
        'I will be injected in the buttocks by the white woman.'
        (Keenan and Dryer 2006:344; Kayardild)

(456)   a. ny entan-dRakoto
           the packages-Rakoto
           'the packages of Rakoto'

        b. Nosasan-dRakoto   ny lamba
           wash.pass-by.Rakoto the clothes
           'The clothes were washed by Rakoto.'
           (Keenan and Dryer 2006:344; Malagasy)

Collins (2005) also cites an example from Kiswahili in which the preposition meaning 'with' is used in the *by* phrase of a passive sentence.

(457)   a. Ni-li-sem-a   na   Juma.
           1s-past-speak-fv with Juma
           'I spoke with Juma.'
           (Collins 2005:100)

        b. Shati langu li-li-tengenz-w-a   na mama yangu.
           shirt my   5agr-past-made-pass-fv by mother my
           'My shirt was made by my mother.'
           (Collins 2005:87)

Agent phrases headed by these three Marshallese prepositions behave similarly. But there are a few significant syntactic and semantic differences between these phrases such that, in the sections that follow, I conclude 1) that *jān* does not introduce an agent and 2) that *ippān* and *jān* are prepositions, whereas *in* is a Voice head.

5.3.3.1 The syntax of agent phrases

There is one restriction on the word order of postverbal subject sentences with agent phrases headed by *in* that is absent from sentences with agent phrases headed by the other two prepositions. The subject may immediately follow the verb in sentences with an agent phrase headed by *ippān* or *jān*, but it may not follow the verb when the agent phrase is headed by *in*. That is to say that the verb and *in* must be adjacent, whereas the verb and *ippān* or *jān* need not be adjacent.

(458) a. R-ar   lemlem   jaki ko   ippā-n kōrā   ro.
        3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans mat the.pl.nh with-3s woman the.pl.h
        'The mats were folded by the women.'

    b. R-ar   lemlem   jaki ko   jān kōrā   ro.
        3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans mat the.pl.nh from woman the.pl.h
        'The mats were folded by the women.'

    c. *R-ar   lemlem   jaki ko   in kōrā   ro.
        3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans mat the.pl.nh of woman the.pl.h
        'The mats were folded by the women.'

(459) a. R-ar   āj   amimọ̄ṇo ko   ippā-n kōrā   eo.
        3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans handicraft the.pl.nh with-3s woman the.s
        'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

    b. R-ar   āj   amimọ̄ṇo ko   jān kōrā   eo.
        3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans handicraft the.pl.nh from woman the.s
        'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

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c. *R-ar   āj   amim̗ōn̗o ko   in kōrā   eo.
   3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans handicraft the.pl.nh of woman the.s
   'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

An analysis for passives that accounts for this restriction will be proposed in section 5.5.

5.3.3.2 The semantics of agent phrases

In section 5.4, I will show that stative sentences may have agent phrases. Since this is the case, the example sentences in this section consist of both passive and stative sentences, as there are no differences between the semantics of an agent phrase used with a stative verb, such as *būrōrō* 'be red', *jepdak* ' be crushed in', or *m̗ōk* 'be tired', and the semantics of that used with a passive verb.

When Marshallese speakers are asked to translate English passive sentences to Marshallese or vice versa, they use the three prepositions interchangeably as the English word *by*. However, at least in the case of *jān*, there appear to be semantic differences between these three words. First *jān* may introduce an inanimate DP (460) and (461).

(460) Nuknuk eo   a-ō   e-būrōrō   jān lipstick eo.
       dress   the.s gnr.poss-1s.gen 3s.agr-be.red from lipstick the.s
       'My dress is red from the lipstick.'

(461) Oror ko   r-ar   deblo̗k   jān juon wa.
       fence the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) pass.through from a   car
       'The fences were passed through by a car.'

In this sentence *lipstick eo* cannot be an agent, since agents must be animate. Rather the DP following *jān* seems more like a causer than an agent.

The facts concerning *ippān* are more complicated. While *ippān* does not allow inanimate DPs such as 'lipstick' (462) or 'hose' (463), it does allow inanimate DPs like 'fire' (464) and 'car' (465).

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(462) *Nuknuk eo   a-ō   e-būrōrō   ippā-n lipstick eo.
      dress   the.s gnr.poss-1s.gen 3s.agr-be.red with-3s lipstick the.s
      'My dress is red from the lipstick.'

(463) *Ḷaddik ro   r-ar   būttūk   ippā-n hose eo.
      boy   the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) spray.intrans with-3s hose the.s
      'The boys were sprayed by the hose.'

(464) Mā   eo   e-j   kōmat   ippā-n kijeek.
      breadfruit the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) cook.intrans with-3s fire
      'The breadfruit is being cooked by the fire.'

(465) Bato ko   r-ar   jepdak   ippā-n wa eo.
      bottle the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) be.crushed.in with-3s car the.s
      The bottles were crushed in by the car.'

When asked if an agent phrase headed by *ippān* may have a causative meaning,

Marshallese speakers respond in the negative and explain that the DP following *ippān*

must be the person or thing performing the action, meaning that, for a sentence like (465),

the car must have crushed the bottle, rather than have caused the crushing event to occur.

Consider also a sentence like (466):

(466) Jaki ko   r-ar   āj   ippā-n ri-China   ro.
      mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) weave with-3s one.from-China the.pl.h
      'The mats were woven by the Chinese.'

This sentence may not have a reading in which the Chinese caused someone else to do

the weaving. Rather it must be the case that the Chinese wove the mats. Thus *ippān*

seems to introduce an agent phrase.

In also behaves differently from *jān* and *ippān* in that it may never introduce an

inanimate DP of any kind.

(467) *Oror ko   r-ar   deblǫk   in juon wa.
      fence the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) pass.through of a   car
      'The fences were passed through by a car.'

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(462) *Nuknuk eo   a-ō   e-būrōrō   ippā-n lipstick eo.
      dress   the.s gnr.poss-1s.gen 3s.agr-be.red with-3s lipstick the.s
      'My dress is red from the lipstick.'

(463) *Ḷaddik ro   r-ar   būttūk   ippā-n hose eo.
      boy   the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) spray.intrans with-3s hose the.s
      'The boys were sprayed by the hose.'

(464) Mā   eo   e-j   kōmat   ippā-n kijeek.
      breadfruit the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) cook.intrans with-3s fire
      'The breadfruit is being cooked by the fire.'

(465) Bato ko   r-ar   jepdak   ippā-n wa eo.
      bottle the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) be.crushed.in with-3s car the.s
      The bottles were crushed in by the car.'

When asked if an agent phrase headed by *ippān* may have a causative meaning,

Marshallese speakers respond in the negative and explain that the DP following *ippān*

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      'The mats were woven by the Chinese.'

This sentence may not have a reading in which the Chinese caused someone else to do

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seems to introduce an agent phrase.

In also behaves differently from *jān* and *ippān* in that it may never introduce an

inanimate DP of any kind.

(467) *Oror ko   r-ar   deblǫk   in juon wa.
      fence the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) pass.through of a   car
      'The fences were passed through by a car.'

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(468) *Eṃṃaan eo   e-ar   bwil in kijeek eo.
      man   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) burn of fire   the.s
      'The man was burned by the fire.'

If this preposition introduced a causer rather than an agent, we might expect that it could

take inanimate complements. Since it can't, I conclude that *in* introduces an agent DP.

So far, we've discussed the following five characteristics of Marshallese passive

sentences:

1. There is no overt passive morphology.
2. Subjects may be non-initial.
3. Agreement occurs between AgrS and a third plural subject when the subject is sentence initial.
4. Agent phrases are possible with *ippān* 'with', *jān* 'from' and *in* 'of'.
5. Subjects may be immediately postverbal when not followed by an *in* agent phrase.

This section has also discussed the semantics of the prepositions found in agent phrases,

showing that *jān* may introduce a causer, while *ippān* and *in* introduce agents. As a final

point in my discussion of the passive construction, I will discuss the semantic and

morphological factors that affect whether a verb may be passivized.

5.3.4 Verbs that may not be passivized

Passivization is not a completely productive syntactic process in Marshallese, and there

are a number of verbs that may not be passivized. Whether or not a verb can be

passivized is determined by two factors, one morphological and the other semantic.

In order for a verb to be passivized, it must have both an intransitive and a

transitive form. Thus verbs like *etal* 'go' and *jillọk* 'bend over' cannot be passivized

because they do not have a transitive form.

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(469) a. M̦on   wia eo   e-ar   etal.
       place.of buy the.s 3s.agr-T(past) go
       *'The store was gone to.'
       #'The store went (somewhere).'

       b. M̦on   wia eo   e-ar   etal ippā-n Ether.
       place.of buy the.s 3s.agr-T(past) go   with-3s Ether
       *'The store was gone to by Ether.'
       #'The store went (somewhere) with Ether.'

(470) a. Iertuia e-ar   jillǫk.
       Ierutia 3s.agr-T(past) bend.over
       *'Ierutia was bent over.'
       'Ierutia bent over.'

       b. Ierutia e-ar   jillǫk   ippā-n Amelia.
       Ierutia 3s.agr-T(past) bend.over with-3s Amelia
       *'Ierutia was bent over by Amelia.'
       'Ierutia bent over with Amelia.'

This not surprising since these verbs do not have a transitive form that can be passivized.

In addition, verbs without an intransitive form cannot be passivized. This type of verbs

includes *kǫkkure* 'destroy', *lale* 'watch' and *jǫḷǫk* 'throw'.

(471) *Oror eo   e-ar   kǫkkure ippā-n piik eo.
       fence the.s 3s.agr-T(past) destroy with-3s pig the.s
       'The fence was destroyed by the pig.'

(472) *Bao eo   e-ar   lale.
       bird the.s 3s.agr-T(past) watch
       'The bird was watched.'

(473) *Bǫǫl eo   e-ar   joḷǫk ippā-n leddik eo.
       ball   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) throw with-3s girl   the.s
       'The ball was thrown by the girl.'

For those verbs which have both a transitive and an intransitive form, a verb must

meet semantic criteria related to the affectedness of the patient argument in order to be

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passivized. Only those verbs whose patient arguments undergo either a physical change or a change in their physical locations can be passivized. Some examples of verbs which undergo a physical change are *kattil* 'burn', *karreo* 'clean', *eọ* 'tattoo' and *wūno* 'paint'.

(474) Ḷokwa-n   kijdik eo   e-ar   kattil in Takjur.
     tail-3s.gen rat   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) burn of Takjur
     'The rat's tail was burnt by Takjur.'

(475) a. Wa ko   r-ar   karreo.
        car the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) clean
        'The cars were cleaned.'

     b. Wa ko   r-ar   karreo in ḷeo.
        car the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) clean of the.man
        'The cars were cleaned by the man.'

(476) a. Pei-ū   e-ar   eọ.
        hand-1s.gen 3s.agr-T(past) tattoo.intrans
        'My hand was tattooed.'

     b. Ḷaddik eo   e-ar   eọ   in jeme-n.
        boy   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) tattoo.intrans of father-3s.gen
        'The boy was tattooed by his father.'

(477) Ṃon   jar   eo   e-ar   wūno   in ḷeo.
     place.of prayer the.s 3s.agr-T(past) paint.intrans of the.man
     'The church was painted by the man.'

These criteria rule out verbs like *bōnbōn* 'count', *ṃakoko* 'refuse' and *kaplo* 'spit'.

(478) a. Irooj ro   r-ar   bōnbōn.
        chief the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) count.intrans
        *'The chiefs were counted.'
        'The chiefs counted.'

     b. Irooj ro   r-ar   bōnbōn   ippā-n lerooj ro.
        chief the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) count.intrans with-3s queen the.pl.h
        *'The chiefs were counted by the queens.'
        'The chiefs counted with the queens.'

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c. *Irooj ro   r-ar   bōnbōn   in lerooj ro.
   chief the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) count.intrans of queen the.pl.h
   'The chiefs were counted by the queens.'

(479) *Niññiñ eo e-ar   makoko   ippā-n Ierutia.
      baby   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) refuse.intrans with-3s Ierutia
      'The baby was refused by Ierutia.'

(480) I-ar   kaplo.
      1s.agr-T(past) spit.intrans
      *I was spit on.'
      'I spit.'

Restrictions on the types of verbs that can be passivized are not uncommon in Oceanic languages. For example, the Samoan passive suffix may not attach to all transitive verbs (Cook 1996), nor may the Woleaian passive suffixes –*ag* or *-eg*. In Woleaian, only transitive verbs "whose meanings can be physically or at least psychologically changeable" can take these suffixes (Sohn 1975). As a result, only around 40 Woleaian verbs may be passivized. These include verbs like *baiteg* 'untie', *fisingeg* 'burn' and *baliteg* 'inspect'.

(481) Gelaag laal ye sa   bait-eg.
      dog   that it Asp$_{perf}$ tie-pass
      'The dog over there is untied.'
      (Sohn 1975:76)

(482) Ye fising-eg   baabiyor we yaa-l.
      it burn-pass paper   the gnr.poss-3s.gen
      'His paper was burnt.'
      (Sohn 1975:245)

(483) Ye be   balit-eg   ngali-yash   faliuwe-iy.
      it Asp$_{pros}$ inspect-pass with.it-1pl.in island.poss-this[35]
      'This island will be inspected by us (including you).'
      (Sohn 1975:246)

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[35] -*Iy* indicates that the speaker is on the island at the time of the utterance.

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Thus it is not surprising that Marshallese has similar restrictions.

5.4 The stative construction

This section discusses the properties of the Marshallese stative construction. I will show

that, although the syntactic properties of stative sentences are similar to those of passives,

there are syntactic differences that provide evidence in favor of both a stative and a

passive construction. In this section, I consider two types of statives. The normal type is

exemplified by (484) and (485).

(484)   Likao   eo   e-abwinmake.
        young.man   the.s 3s.agr-be.afraid.of.demons
        'The young man is afraid of demons.'

(485)   Jea   eo   e-ar   būrōrō.
        chair the.s 3s.agr-T(past) be.red
        'The chair was red.'

The second type, "special statives", is exemplified by *po* 'be caught' and *jepdak* 'be

crushed in':

(486)   E-po   bao   eo.
        3s.agr-be.caught chicken   the.s
        'The chicken is caught.'
        (Abo, et. al. 1976:245)

(487)   E-jepdak   tibat   eo.
        3s.agr-be.crushed.in teapot the.s
        'The teapot is crushed in.'
        (Abo, et. al. 1976:99)

I have not found any syntactic differences between these two types of stative other than

the following: the "special statives" have a transitive and an intransitive form, whereas

normal statives do not usually have a transitive form or an intransitive form distinct from

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the stative form. For example, *jebjeb/jibwe* 'catch' are the intransitive and transitive forms

of the "special stative" *po* (Abo, et. al. 1976).

(488) a. Kuuj eo   e-j   jibwe   bao eo.
           cat   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) catch.trans bird the.s
           'The cat is catching the bird.'

      b. Kuuj eo   e-j   jebjeb.
           cat   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) catch.intrans
           'The cat is doing some catching.'

However, if the form of a normal stative verb includes transitive morphology, this form

usually also includes the causative prefix, as illustrated by (489).

(489) Archie e-ar   ka-būrōrō-ik   jea eo.
      Archie 3s.agr-T(past) cause-be.red-trans chair the.s
      'Archie made the chair red.'

According to various universal criteria used to indentify stativity, these "special

statives" are true statives in spite of the fact that their semantics suggest that they are

passives. For example, these verbs may not occur in the infinitival complement of a verb

like *force* (Lakoff 1966, Dowty 1979; cited in Jackson 2005).

(490) *Mama e-ar   booje leddik eo   ñan po.
      mama 3s.agr-T(past) force girl   the.s to be.caught
      'Mama forced the girl to be caught.'

In addition, sentences with "special statives" may occur with phrases like *for a minute*

(Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979; cited in Jackson 2005).

(491) Bao   eo   e-ar   po   iumwin juon minit.
      chicken the.s 3s.agr-T(past) be.caught for   a   minute
      'The bird was caught for a minute.'

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5.4.1 Properties of stative sentences

Let us now consider how the syntactic properties of stative sentences compare to those of

passive sentences. As with passive verbs, there is no overt morphology that marks a verb

as stative. And stative verbs, both normal (492)-(493) and "special" (494)-(495), allow

the same word order variations found in other Marshallese intransitive sentences.

(492) a. Likao   eo   e-abwinmake.
        young.man the.s 3s.agr-be.afraid.of.demons
        'The young man is afraid of demons.'

     b. E-abwinmakelep   likao   eo.
        3s.agr-be.afraid.of.demons young.man the.s
        'The young man is afraid of demons.'

(493) a. Jea eo e-ar   bũrõrõ.
        chair the.s 3s.agr-T(past) be.red
        'The chair was red.'

     b. E-ar   bũrõrõ jea eo.
        3s.agr-T(past) be.red   chair the.s
        'The chair was red.'

(494) a. Bao   eo   e-po.
        chicken the.s 3s.agr-be.caught
        'The chicken is caught.'

     b. E-po   bao   eo.
        3s.agr-be.caught chicken the.s
        'The chicken is caught.'
        (Abo, et. al. 1976:245)

(495) a. Tibat eo e-jepdak.
        teapot the.s 3s.agr-be.crushed.in
        'The teapot is crushed in.'

     b. E-jepdak   tibat eo.
        3s.agr-be.crushed.in teapot the.s
        'The teapot is crushed in.'
        (Abo, et. al. 1976:99)

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Stative sentences also allow postverbal third plural subjects with the singular agreement clitic (496c) and (497c), whereas preverbal ones do not (496b) and (497b).

(496) a. Jea ko   r-ar   būrōrō.
          chair the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) be.red
          'The chairs were red.'

       b. *Jea ko   e-ar   būrōrō.
          chair the.pl.nh 3s.agr-T(past) be.red
          'The chairs were red.'

       c. E-ar   būrōrō jea   ko.
          3s.agr-T(past) be.red chair the.pl.nh
          'The chairs were red.'

       d. R-ar   būrōrō jea   ko.
          3pl.agr-T(past) be.red chair the.pl.nh
          'The chairs were red.'

(497) a. Bao   ko   r-ar   po.
          chicken the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) be.caught
          'The chickens were caught.'

       b. *Bao   eo   r-ar   po.
          chicken the.s 3pl.agr-T(past) be.caught
          'The chickens were caught.'

       c. E-ar   po   bao   ko.
          3s.agr-T(past) be.caught chicken the.pl.nh
          'The chickens were caught.'

       d. R-ar   po   bao   ko.
          3pl.agr-T(past) be.caught chicken the.s
          'The chickens were caught.'

So far, stative sentences have presented us with nothing surprising given the syntactic patterns of Marshallese intransitives (see section 3.2.2 for a discussion of these patterns). However, what is surprising about these sentences is that they may include

agent or causer phrases with *ippān* or with *jān*. These phrases are possible with normal statives (498)-(499) and with most special statives (500)-(501).

(498) a. Likao   eo   e-abwinmake   ippā-n jine-n.
           young.man the.s 3s.agr-be.afraid.of.demons with-3s mother-3s.gen
           'The young man is afraid of demons because of his mother.'

       b. Likao   eo   e-abwinmake   jān   jine-n.
           young.man the.s 3s.agr-be.afraid.of.demons from mother-3s.gen
           'The young man is afraid of demons because of his mother.'

(499) a. Nuknuk eo   a-ō   e-būrōrō   ippā-n leddik eo.
           dress   the.s gnr.poss-1s.gen 3s.agr-be.red with-3s girl   the.s
           'My dress is red because of the girl.'

       b. Nuknuk eo   a-ō   e-būrōrō   jān   leddik eo.
           dress   the.s gnr.poss-1s.gen 3s.agr-be.red from girl   the.s
           'My dress is red because of the girl.'

(500) a. Bato ko   r-ar   jepdak   ippā-n wa eo.
           bottle the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) be.crushed.in with-3s car the.s
           'The bottles were crushed in by the car.'

       b. Bato ko   r-ar   jepdak   jān   wa   eo.
           bottle the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) be.crushed.in from car   the.s
           'The bottles were crushed in by the car.'

(501) a. Ri-kǫǫt   eo   e-ar   po   ippā-n emṃaan eo.
           one.who-steal the.s 3s.agr-T(past) be.caught with-3s man   the.s
           'The thief was caught by the man.'

       b. *Ri-kǫǫt   eo   e-ar   po   jān   emṃaan eo.
           one.who-steal the.s 3s.agr-T(past) be.caught from man   the.s
           'The thief was caught by the man.'

In sentences with *ippān* or *jān* phrases, the subject may immediately follow the verb.

(502) a. E-abwinmake   likao   eo   ippā-n jine-n.
           3s.agr-be.afraid.of.demons young.man the.s with-3s mother-3s.gen
           'The young man is afraid of demons because of his mother.'

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b. E-abwinmake   likao   eo   jān   jine-n.
3s.agr-be.afraid.of.demons young.man the.s from mother-3s.gen
'The young man is afraid of demons because of his mother.'

(503) E-būrōrō   jea   eo   ippā-n   Archie.
         3s.agr-be.red chair   the.s with-3s Archie
         'The chair is red because of Archie.'

(504) a. Re-jepdak   bato   ko   ippā-n   wa   eo.
           3pl.agr-be.crushed.in bottle the.pl.nh with-3s car the.s
           'The bottles were crushed in by the car.'

        b. Re-jepdak   bato   ko   jān   wa   eo.
           3pl.agr-be.crushed.in bottle the.pl.nh from   car   the.s
           'The bottles were crushed in by the car.'

(505) E-kar   po   ri-kǫǫt   eo   ippā-n   eṃṃaan eo.
         3s.agr-T(past) be.caught one.who-steal   the.s with-3s man   the.s
         'The thief was caught by the man.'

There is one syntactic difference between passives and statives: statives do not

allow agent phrases headed by *in*.

(506) *Likao eo   e-abwinmake   in   jine-n.
         boy   the.s 3s.agr-be.afraid.of.demons of   mother-3s.gen
         'The boy is afraid of demons because of his mother.' [36]

(507) *Nuknuk eo   a-ō   e-būrōrō   in   leddik   eo.
         dress   the.s gnr.poss-1s.gen 3s.agr-be.red of   girl   the.s
         'My dress is red because of the girl.'

(508) *Bato ko   r-ar   jepdak   in   wa eo.
         bottle the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) be.crushed.in of   car the.s
         'The bottles were crushed in by the car.'

(509) *Ri-kǫǫt   eo   e-ar   po   in   eṃṃaan eo.
         one.who-steal the.s 3s.agr-T(past) be.caught of   man   the.s
         'The thief was caught by the man.'

Table 20 compares the properties of passives and statives.

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[36] For reasons I don't fully understand, some speakers find this sentence slightly better than (506), (508)and
(509).

Table 20. Syntactic properties of passives and statives

	Passives	Statives
non-initial subjects	√	√
no agreement with postverbal S	√	√
agent phrases with *ippān* and *jān*	√	√
agent phrases with *in*	√	*

Since agent phrases with *in* are not possible in stative sentences, we have a diagnostic that can be used to determine if a sentence is a passive: if a sentence allows an *in* phrase, then it is a passive sentence. But if a sentence appears to be passive but does not allow an *in* phrase, then we can conclude that it is not passive, even if it allows an *ippān* phrase or a *jān* phrase.

There appear to be two exceptions to this rule regarding *in*. The verbs *bǫbo* 'catch' and *deñdeñ* 'hit' allow agent phrases headed by *ippān* or *jān*, but do not allow those headed by *in*.

(510) a. Bǫǫḷ eo   e-ar   bǫbo   ippā-n Isaac.
        ball the.s 3s.agr-T(past) catch.intrans with-3s Isaac
        'The ball was caught by Isaac.'

    b. Bǫǫḷ eo   e-ar   bǫbo   jān   Isaac.
        ball the.s 3s.agr-T(past) catch.intrans from   Isaac
        'The ball was caught by Isaac.'

    c. *Bǫǫḷ eo   e-ar   bǫbo   in   Isaac.
        ball the.s 3s.agr-T(past) catch.intrans of   Isaac
        'The ball was caught by Isaac.'

(511) a. Leddik eo   e-kar   deñdeñ ippā-n ḷaddik ro.
        girl   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) hit.intrans with-3s boy   the.pl.h
        'The girl was hit by the boys.'

    b. Leddik eo   e-kar   deñdeñ jān   ḷaddik ro.
        girl   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) hit.intrans from   boy   the.pl.h
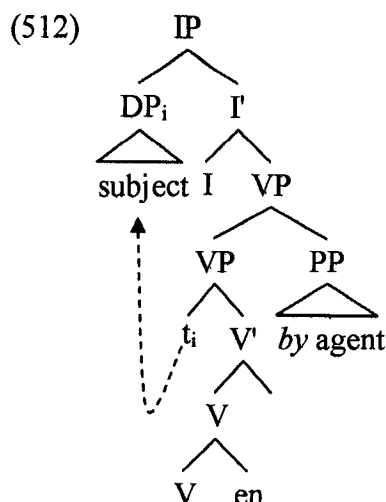   'The girl was hit by the boys.'

c. *Leddik eo   e-kar   deñdeñ   in ḷaddik ro.
   girl   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) hit.intrans of boy   the.pl.h
   'The girl was hit by the boys.'

The only way to account for these verbs is to assume that they are lexically specified to
allow agent phrases headed by *ippān* and *jān* but not *in*. More research needs to be done
in order to determine if there are more verbs that follow this pattern.

5.5 The structure of passive sentences

The main focus of my discussion of passives will be proposing a derivation that excludes
V S *in* order but allows V S *ippān* and V S *jān* order. In order to do so, I turn to the
smuggling approach to passives as proposed by Collins (2005). Collins' approach to
passives differs from a more traditional one in a number of ways. In order to discuss
these differences, I first outline the traditional approach.

The hallmark of the traditional passive structure is that the passive morphology,
which in the case of English is the suffix *–en*, absorbs both accusative case and the
external theta role. As a result, the verb no longer assigns an agent theta role to an
external argument, nor is it able to assign accusative case to its internal argument.
Because it can no longer receive case in the VP, the internal argument raises to the
subject position to receive nominative case, becoming the subject of the sentence. In the
traditional structure, the agent phrase is an optional prepositional phrase that may be left
adjoined to the verb phrase (see Chomsky 1982; Jaeggli 1986; Roberts 1987; Baker 1988;
and Baker, Johnson and Roberts 1989). This structure is illustrated by (512).

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(512)

```
              IP
            /    \
         DPᵢ      I'
        /  \     /  \
   subject I    VP
                /   \
              VP     PP
             /  \   /  \
           tᵢ    V'  by agent
                 /  \
                V
               /  \
              V    en
```

In this analysis, the DP complement of the preposition receives both case and the agent theta role from the preposition *by*.

As Collins notes, there are problems with this analysis. First, it violates the uniform theta assignment hypothesis (UTAH), as proposed by Baker (1988) (Watanabe 1993, Mahajan 1994). In both an active and a passive sentence, a DP may receive an agent theta role. But in the active sentence, it is assigned to the DP external argument of the verb, which is merged as the specifier of vP. In a passive sentence, however, the agent theta role is assigned to the DP complement of the preposition *by*. So, the agent theta role is assigned to one syntactic position in an active sentence but to a different position in a passive sentence. Second, the traditional structure does not explain why a *by* phrase cannot occur in other positions, such as in nominals, or why it is limited to being the external argument in passives. Finally, it doesn't really explain how accusative case is absorbed in a passive. Why would the suffix *–en* on the passive verb need to be assigned case since it is not an argument of the verb?

Instead, Collins proposes the structure for passive sentences that is shown in (513) (adapted from Collins 2005):

(513)
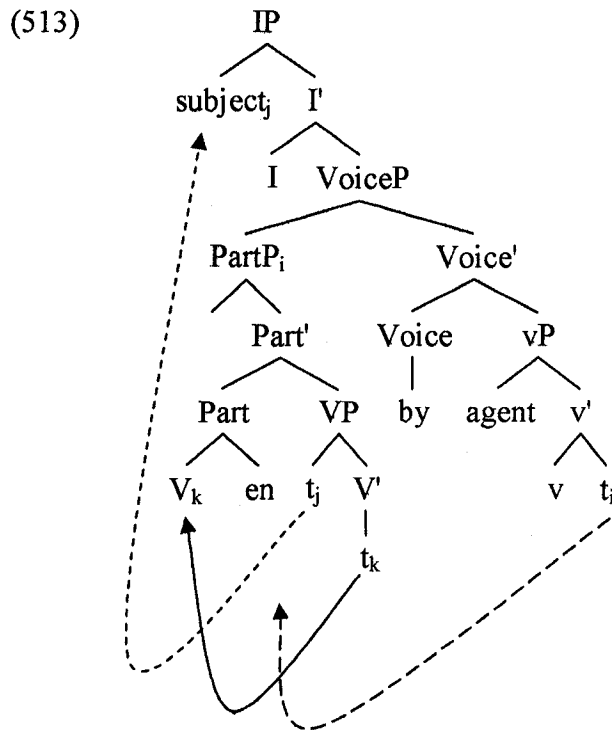
In Collins' analysis, *by* is the head of VoiceP rather than of a prepositional phrase. This fact explains its distribution because, as the realization of a passive voice head, it may only occur in passive sentences. Since the agent phrase in this passive structure is merged as the external argument of the verb, the agent theta role is assigned to the same position (spec vP) in both active and passive sentences, which means that UTAH is not violated. Finally, Collins proposes that accusative case is dissociated from v and somehow moves to the Voice head so that the agent phrase receives accusative case from the Voice head *by*. Therefore–*en* does not absorb accusative case.

Another important feature of Collins' analysis is the movement of PartP to the specifier of VoiceP. Because accusative case is assigned by Voice to the DP occupying

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spec vP, the subject must be smuggled past this DP in order to receive nominative case. If PartP were to remain the complement of vP, then the agent phrase would intervene between I (the nominative case assigning head) and the DP subject. Therefore the head of IP could not establish the necessary relationship in order to assign nominative case to the subject. But since the subject moves past the DP in spec vP as part of PartP, it is smuggled past this phrase, and therefore does not intervene between the accusative case assigner and the DP in spec vP. The subject DP is then free to move to spec IP.

There are two reasons that this analysis of passives is an attractive one for Marshallese. First, it can explain the distribution of *in*, *ippān*, and *jān*, and second, it can explain the ungrammaticality of V S *in* order.
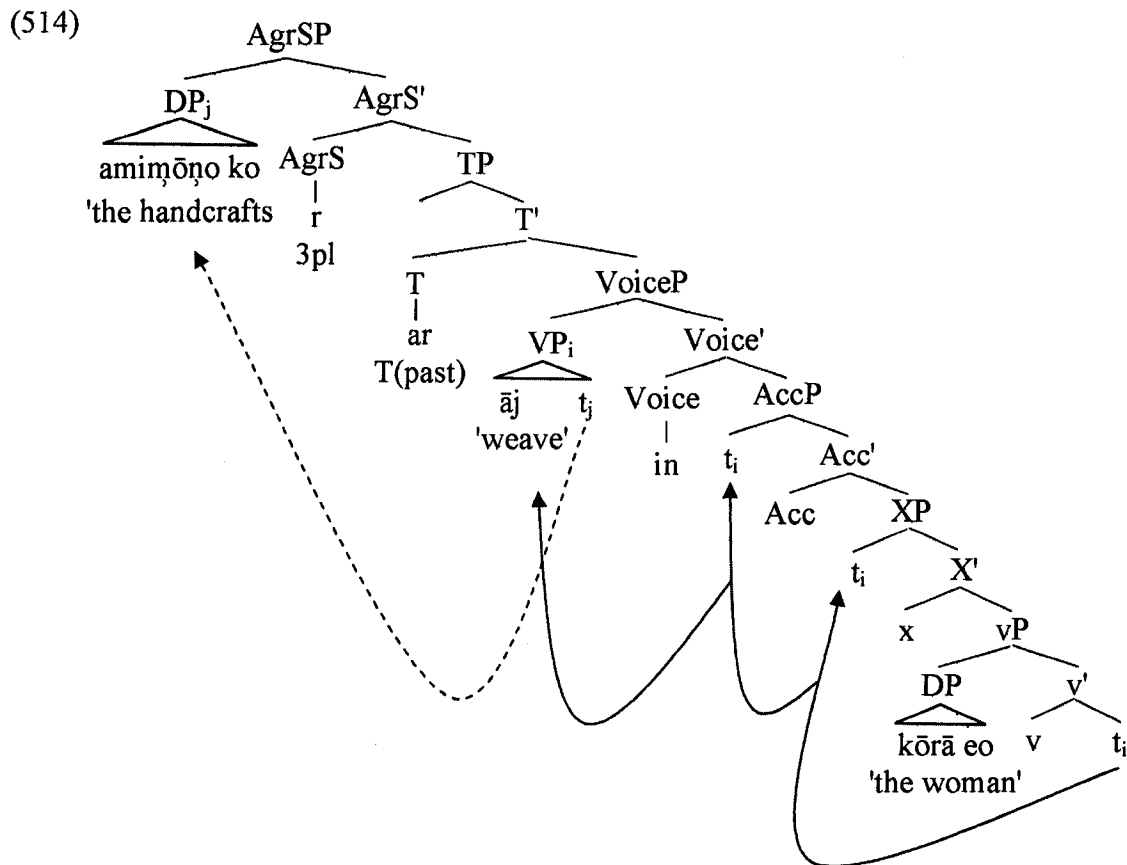
5.5.1 The distribution of *in*, *ippān* and *jān*

If *in* is a passive Voice head in the same way that the English *by* is a Voice head, then it follows that *in* may only appear in passive sentences and not in stative ones. However, since *jān* and *ippān* may appear in non-passive sentences, it cannot also be the case that these words are Voice heads. Instead, I propose that *jān* and *ippān* are prepositions.

In this analysis, a passive sentence may have one of three structures. First, a passive sentences may include the overt Voice head *in*, as shown in (454c), repeated here.

(454) c. Amim̧ōn̦o ko   r-ar   āj   in kōrā   eo.
          handicraft the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans of woman the.s
          'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

In this sentence, the agent phrase *kōrā ro* is merged as the specifier of vP and *in* is the Voice head. The VP smuggles the subject past the agent phrase and moves to spec VoiceP, which then allows the subject *amim̧ōn̦o ko* to move to the specifier of AgrSP.

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(514)

AgrSP
DP_j — AgrS'
amim̥ōno ko / 'the handcrafts
AgrS — TP
r
3pl
AgrS
TP — T'
T
ar
T(past)
VoiceP
VP_i — Voice'
āj t_j
'weave'
Voice — AccP
in
t_i — Acc'
Acc — XP
t_i — X'
x — vP
DP — v'
kōrā eo v t_i
'the woman'

This structure also includes two phrasal projections that I introduced in chapter 4. These are AccP and XP. AccP is merged as the complement of VoiceP. Thus, my suggestion is that VoiceP takes AccP as its complement, while AccP takes XP as its complement, and XP, vP.

Collins argues that, in a passive sentence, accusative case is "disassociated" from v and added to the head of Voice, allowing *by* to assign case to the DP in the specifier of vP. If Collins is correct in his conclusion that accusative case is assigned in a passive sentence, then AccP must appear in passive sentences when there is an overt DP in spec vP.
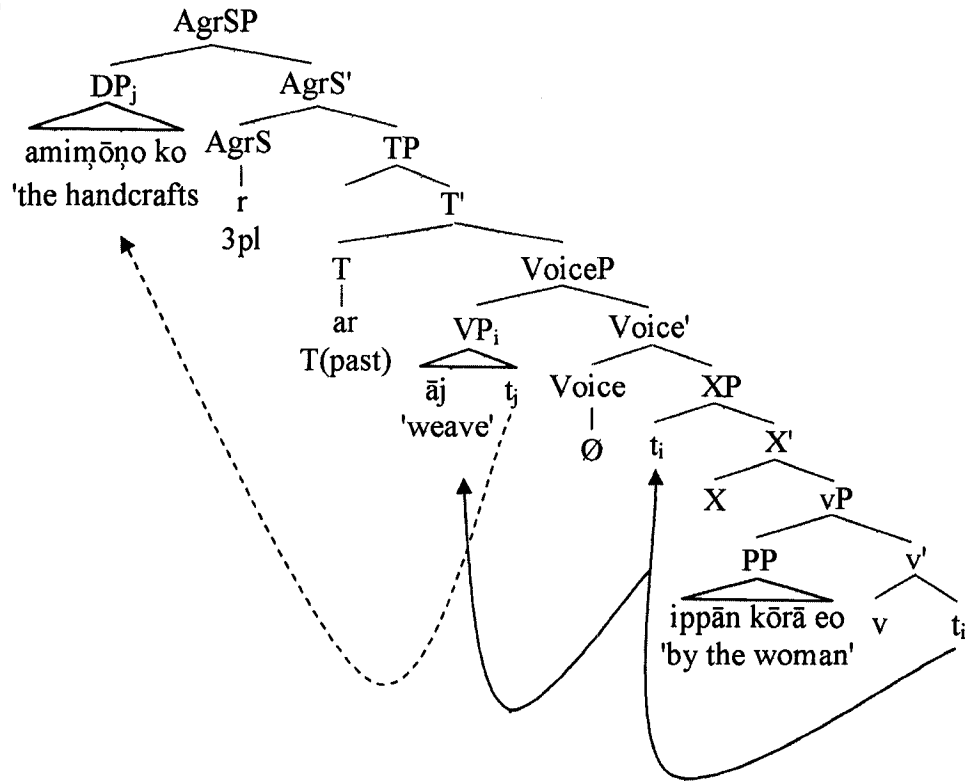
Notice that, in passive sentences, the features of X are satisfied by movement of VP to spec XP rather than movement of V to X. I argued for a similar analysis for gapping sentences in section 4.2.2.

The second Marshallese passive structure is one in which there is a null voice head and an *ippān* phrase, as in (454a) repeated here, or *jān* phrase. In the discussion that follows, I assume that *jān* and *ippān* are the same sort of prepositions. Therefore I will only discuss sentences with *ippān*, with the stipulation that anything I say regarding *ippān* generalizes to *jān*.

(454) a. Amim̧ōņo ko   r-ar   āj   ippā-n kōrā   eo.
         handicraft the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans with-3s woman the.s
         'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

For sentences like (454a), I turn to an idea considered by Collins for Japanese and Mahajan (1994) for Hindi. This idea is that the logical subject is still merged in the spec vP position in passives, but that it is merged as part of a prepositional phrase. In Marshallese, this means that the agent phrase in (454a) – *ippān kōrā eo* – is merged in spec vP, as illustrated by (515).

(515)

```
                    AgrSP
              _____|_____
            DPⱼ          AgrS'
         ___|___       ___|___
    amim̥ōṇo ko  AgrS        TP
    'the handcrafts  |      __|__
                     r          T'
                    3pl      ___|___
                            T        VoiceP
                            |      ___|___
                            ar   VPᵢ      Voice'
                          T(past) _|_    ___|___
                              āj   tⱼ  Voice     XP
                            'weave'     |      ___|___
                                        Ø   tᵢ      X'
                                              ___|___
                                             X       vP
                                                   ___|___
                                                 PP        v'
                                              ___|___    __|__
                                          ippān kōrā eo  v   tᵢ
                                          'by the woman'
```

In this structure, the PP is merged as the specifier of vP, followed by the movement of VP to spec VoiceP via spec XP. Presumably, the DP complement of *ippān* receives case from this preposition. In addition, there is no accusative case assigning phrase in this structure. We can account for absence of AccP by assuming that a Voice projection headed by *in* selects AccP as its complement, while the null Voice head selects vP. Therefore, when there is a null Voice head, AccP will be absent. This assumption prevents a DP from being merged in spec vP when there is a null Voice head. If a DP is merged in this type of sentence, it will not receive case, as T would be the only case assigner and would assign it to the subject.

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The final possible passive structure is the short passive construction. Short passives are those passives which lack overt agent phrases. This construction is illustrated by (439), repeated here.

(439) Amiṃōṇo ko   r-ar   āj.
       handicraft the.pl.nh   3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans
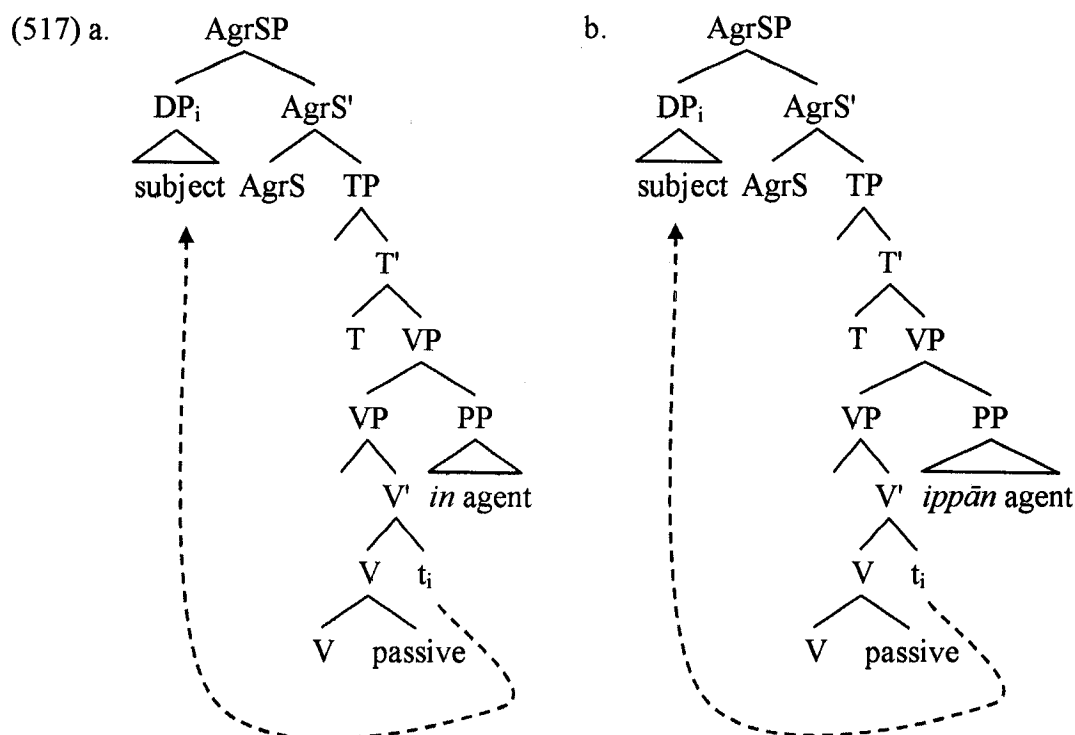   'The handicrafts were woven.'

It has been argued for many languages that short passives include an implicit agent. At this point, I have not investigated whether this is the case for Marshallese.

I argue that short passives also contain a null Voice head and that these passives also have movement of VP to spec VoiceP. If we assume that the same features motivating VP movement are found in both long and short passive sentences, then it must also be the case that the VP moves to spec VoiceP in short passives as well, as shown in (516):

(516)
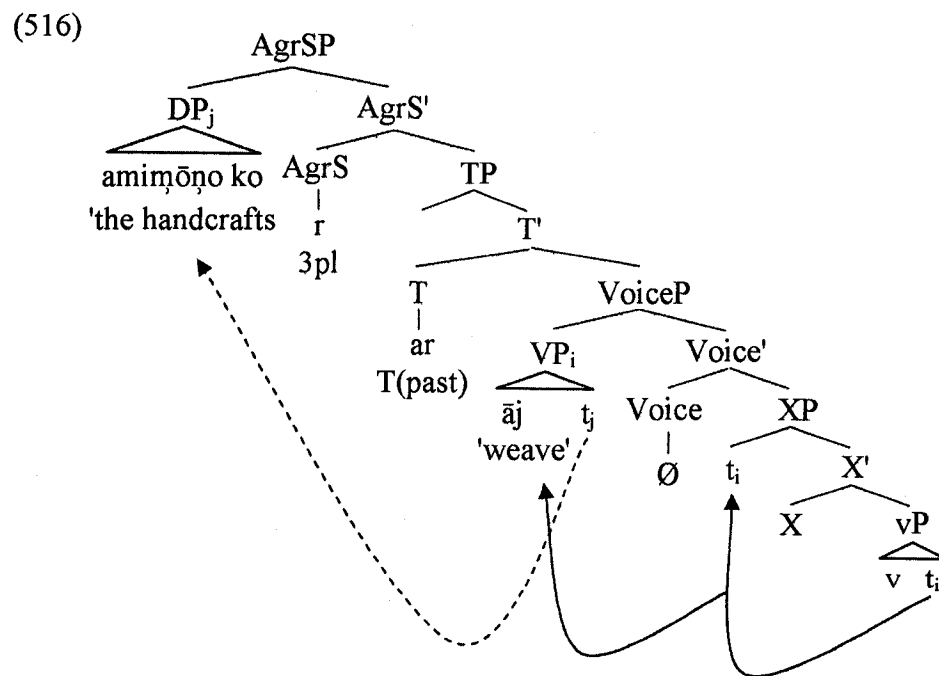
5.5.2 Sentences internal subjects and passive sentences

Another reason this analysis is an attractive one for Marshallese is that it can explain the prohibition against V S *in* order. In the traditional analysis of passives, there is no reason why this word order should be ungrammatical, as both *in* phrases and *ippān* phrases would be prepositional phrases adjoined to the vP, as illustrated by (517a) and (517b).

(517) a.

```
              AgrSP
             /     \
          DPi       AgrS'
         /   \      /   \
   subject  AgrS  TP
                   \
                    T'
                   /  \
                  T    VP
                      /   \
                    VP     PP
                   /  \    /  \
                 V'  in agent
                / \
               V   ti
              / \
             V  passive
```

b.

```
              AgrSP
             /     \
          DPi       AgrS'
         /   \      /   \
   subject  AgrS  TP
                   \
                    T'
                   /  \
                  T    VP
                      /   \
                    VP     PP
                   /  \    /  \
                 V' ippān agent
                / \
               V   ti
              / \
             V  passive
```

If this analysis were correct, sentences with *in* phrases should be grammatical even if the subject intervenes between the verb and *in*. However if *in* is a Voice head, there is a way to account for the ungrammaticality of V S *in* sentences. In order to explain the ungrammaticality of these sentences, I appeal to a concept suggested by Collins, who proposes that there is language variation as to whether V movement to Voice or VP movement to spec VoiceP occurs. In the case of Marshallese, I will argue that, while VP

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movement to spec VoiceP occurs in all passive, V movement to Voice also occurs in

passives with a non-overt Voice head.

5.5.2.1 Passive sentences with *in* phrases

Let us begin with the derivation of sentence (454c).

(454) c. Amiṃōṇo ko   r-ar   āj   in kōrā   eo.
           handicraft the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans of woman the.s
           'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

In this sentence, *amiṃōṇo ko* is merged as the specifier of VP, while *kōrā eo* is merged as

the specifier of vP. As this sentence has an overt Voice head, AccP is merged as the

complement of Voice, and the VP moves to spec AccP. At this point, the verb moves to

Voice and the VP, to spec VoiceP, as illustrated by (518).

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(518)
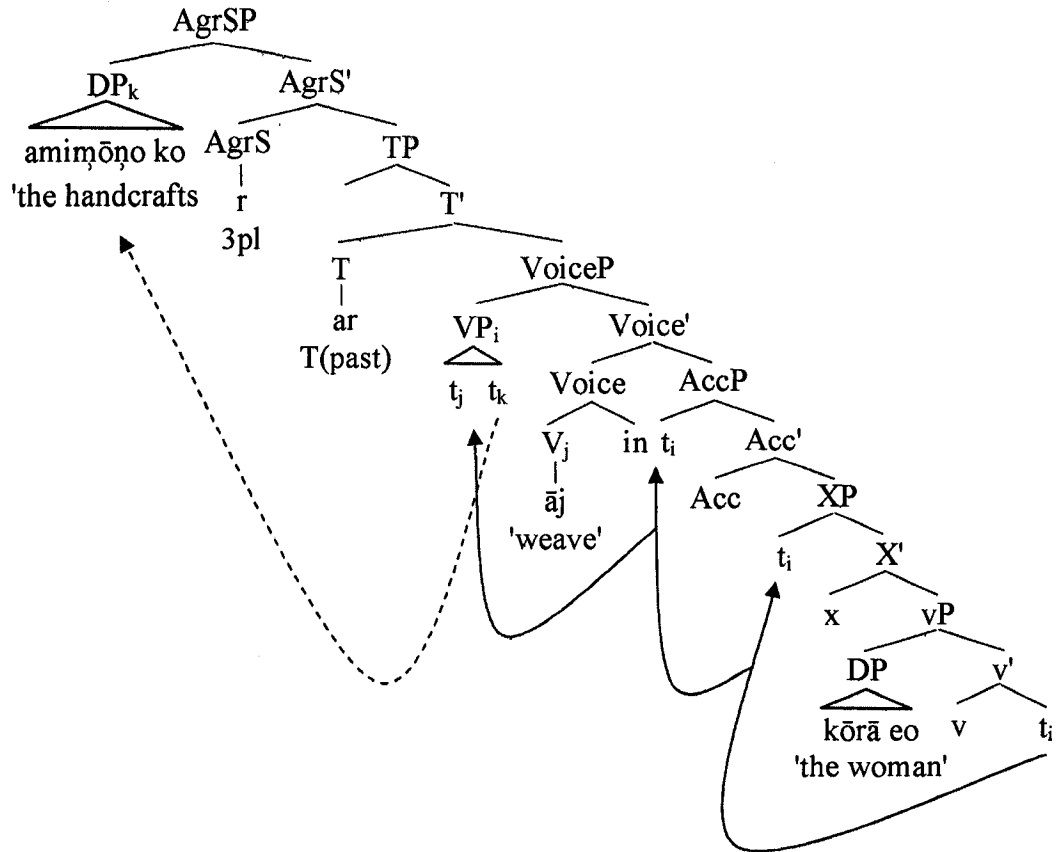
In passives, the VP must move to the specifier of VoiceP so that the subject can receive nominative case. VoiceP is presumably a phase. Therefore, the subject needs to move to the edge of the phase in order to be visible to nominative case. If the subject remains in the vP, it is not at the edge of a phase and therefore is not visible for nominative case assignment.

Following movement of VP to spec VoiceP, the subject must move to AgrSP. This is because Marshallese appears to have a morphological property that requires that no DP intervene between AgrS and T or T and the verb. Therefore, the subject cannot remain in the specifier of VoiceP.

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This analysis effectively rules out V S *in* order because there is no position between the verb and *in* which may be occupied by the subject, as the verb has incorporated into the Voice head. It also rules out any word order in which the subject follows *in* (with the exception of the grammatical right dislocation structure), as spec AgrSP is the only position within the clause that the subject may occupy.

5.5.2.2 Passive sentences with *ippān* phrases

While V S *in* order is ruled out in this analysis, V S *ippān* sentences are correctly predicted to be grammatical. Consider a sentence like (459), repeated here.

(459) R-ar   āj   amiṃōṇo ko   ippā-n kōrā   eo.
       3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans handicraft the.pl.nh with-3s woman the.s
       'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'

The derivation of this sentence is similar to that of a sentence with *in*. While VP movement occurs in these sentences, V movement to Voice does not. Therefore both the verb and the subject remain in the VP occupying spec VoiceP in (459). Since the subject follows the verb when the subject remains VP internal, there is no reason that it must move to spec AgrSP, as it does not intervene between T and the V in these sentences. The derivation of (459) is illustrated by (519).

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(519)

```
                    AgrSP
                   /    \
                      AgrS'
                    /    \
                AgrS      TP
                 |       /  \
                 r          T'
                3pl       /   \
                        T      VoiceP
                        |     /    \
                       ar   VPᵢ     Voice'
                    T(past)  /\    /   \
                  āj amimōṇo ko  Voice  XP
                  'weave the handicrafts'  |    /\
                                          Ø   tᵢ  x'
                                                 /\
                                                x  vP
                                                  /  \
                                                PP    v'
                                               /\    /\
                                          ippān kōrā eo  v  tᵢ
                                          'by the woman'
```
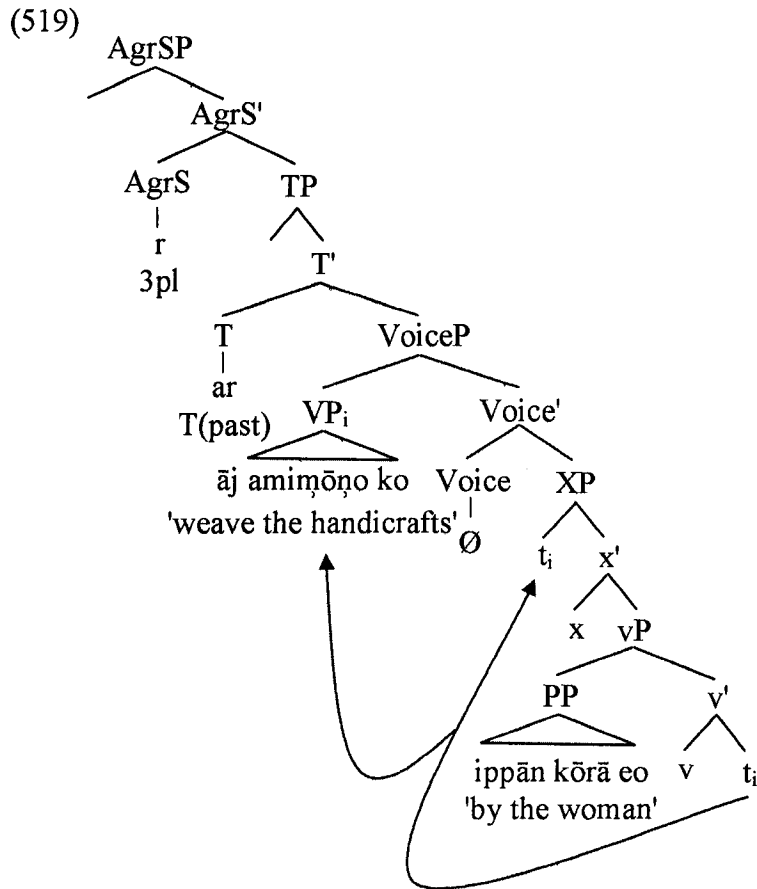
In accordance with previous discussion of this type of sentence, this structure lacks an accusative case assigning head. Since there is no DP occupying the specifier of vP, accusative case is not assigned to this position. Therefore this projection is absent from the structure.

5.5.3 Evidence for the smuggling analysis

In addition to explaining the grammatical and ungrammatical word orders of Marshallese passives, the smuggling analysis makes the correct predictions regarding the constituency of the different types of passive sentences. First, it predicts that the verb and *in* but not *in* and the agent phrase are a constituent. Second, it predicts that *ippān* and the agent are a

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constituent. These constituency facts are verified by coordination tests, as it is possible to

coordinate two *ippān* phrases but not two *in* phrases.

(520) a. Jaki ko   r-ar   lemelm   [ippā-n kōrā   ro]   im
mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans with-3s woman the.pl.h and
[ippā-n leddikro].
[with-3s girl   the.pl.h
'The mats were folded by the women and by the girls.'

    b. *Jaki ko   r-ar   lemelm   [in kōrā   ro]   im
mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans of woman the.pl.h and
[in leddik ro].
of girl   the.pl.h
'The mats were folded by the women and by the girls.'

In addition, it is possible to move *ippān* and the agent to the beginning of a sentence but

not *in* and the agent.

(521)   Ippā-n leddik eo, jaki ko   r-ar   āj.
with-3s girl   the.s, mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans
'By the girl, the mats were woven.'

(522)   Ippā-n kōrā ro,   jaki ko   r-ar   lemlem.
with-3s woman the.pl.h mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans
'By the women, the mats were folded.'

(523)   *In kōrā   ro,   jaki ko   r-ar   lemlem.
of   woman the.pl.h mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans
'By the women, the mats were folded.'

Finally, no other sentential elements may intervene between the *in* and the verb. In the

case of (524), a prepositional phrase intervenes between the verb and *in*, and the sentence

is ungrammatical.

(524)   *Jaki ko   r-ar   lemelm ilowan m̩weo   in kōrā   ro
mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold   inside.of the.house of woman the.pl.h
'The mats were folded in the house by the women.'

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But in a sentence containing an *ippān*, a prepositional phrase may intervene between the

verb and the *ippān* phrase, as is predicted by my analysis.

(525) Jaki ko   r-ar   lemelm ilowan   m̧weo   ippā-n kōrā
      mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold   inside.of the.house with-3s woman
      ro.
      the.pl.h
      'The mats were folded in the house by the women.'

In this respect, Marshallese agent phrases headed by *in* are quite different from

English *by* phrases, as illustrated by the following sentences, taken from Collins (2005).

(526) a. The book was written by John and by Bill.
      b. By whom was the book given to Mary?
      c. The book was given to Mary by the editor.

In English, two *by* phrases may be coordinated (a), a *by* phrase may be fronted (b) and the

by phrase need not be adjacent to the verb (c). But the difference between Marshallese

English is explained by the fact that, while *in* and *by* are both Voice heads, the English

verb does not incorporate into the Voice head. Instead it stays in the verb phrase.

Therefore, assuming that the VP moves to a position higher than VoiceP, *by* and the DP

in spec vP are a constituent in English (although they are part of a remnant constituent).

In Marshallese, the verb does incorporate into the Voice head, which means that *in* and

the DP occupying spec vP are not a constituent to the exclusion of the verb. So *by* and the

DP are expected to behave like a constituent, whereas *in* and the DP are not.

5.6 Stative structure

While they have similar syntactic properties, a Marshallese stative sentence with an *ippān*

or a *jān* phrase verb different from a passive sentence containing a phrase headed by one

of these two prepositions. First, a stative sentence does not have a VoiceP projection.

Second, it does not contain a vP projection. And third, the *ippān* phrase in a stative

sentence is left adjoined to the VP.

Take a sentence like (499a), repeated here.

(499) a. Nuknuk eo   a-ō   e-būrōrō   ippā-n   leddik eo.
           dress   the.s gnr.poss-1s.gen 3s.agr-be.red with-3s   girl   the.s
           'My dress is red because of the girl.'

In these sentences, the PP left adjoins to the VP, followed by movement of VP to the

specifier of YP and movement of V to left adjoin to X.

(527)
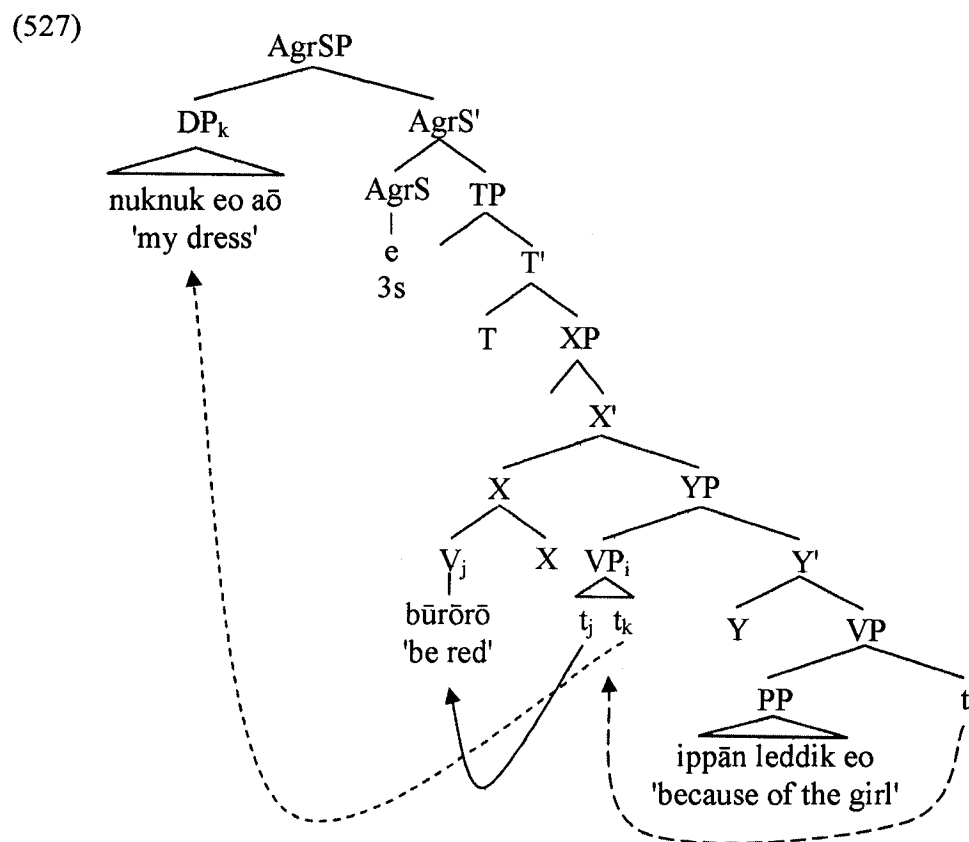
In stative sentences, the subject may either remain in the VP or move to the specifier of

AgrSP.

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5.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have argued that, while the stative construction and the passive construction have similar syntactic properties, there are sufficient differences between passives and statives to support positing two distinct constructions. I have also discussed two strategies of passive formation. These include Watanabe's (1993) and Mahajan's (1994) proposals that *by* phrases are merged as the specifiers of vP, and Collins' (2005) smuggling approach to passives, in which *by* is a Voice head and in which the agent is merged as the specifier of vP. In the case of Marshallese, I have argued that both passive formation strategies are employed. I proposed that *ippān* phrases are merged as the specifiers of vPs, while *in* is a Voice head that licenses an overt DP agent in the specifier of vP. However, I have shown that the differences in the behavior of English *by* phrases and Marshallese *in* phrases result from the fact that the Marshallese verb incorporates into the overt Voice head, whereas English *by* does not.

Given that Collins also entertains the idea that Japanese *by* phrases are merged as the specifiers of vPs, we may want to further conclude that some languages employ an English-like passive formation strategy, while others employ a Japanese and Hindi-like strategy. Marshallese suggests that there is also a third option: a language may employ both strategies. This conclusion is supported by the syntactic difference between passive sentences with *in* and those with *ippān*. Thus, it may be argued that, typologically speaking, there is a three way division between passives in the world's languages

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Chapter 6. Infinitives and Restructuring

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses Marshallese infinitival constructions. As a starting point for this discussion, I take an idea that began with Bech (1955), who notes that some infinitives behave as if they have their own clausal domain, while others behave as if they belong to the clausal domain of the matrix clause. It was later proposed that the latter group undergoes a process by which a biclausal structure becomes a monoclausal one. This process was named restructuring by Rizzi (1976) (see also Aissen and Perlmutter 1976), although later research argues that these monoclausal infinitives begin the derivation as monoclausal rather than biclausal structures.

In keeping with the discussion of subject position, this chapter shows that, in addition to three other syntactic properties, the position of the subject in infinitival sentences supports dividing Marshallese infinitives into at least two classes. In what I will argue are biclausal infinitives, the subject may follow the matrix but not the embedded verb, whereas in sentences that are monoclausal, the opposite is true: the matrix subject may follow the embedded verb but not the matrix verb. The three additional syntactic properties that divide mono from biclausal infinitives include: 1) whether *in* must be present, 2) whether long passives are possible and 3) whether there are scope ambiguities with the negative.

I argue that whether a structure is mono or biclausal is determined by the matrix verb and that matrix verbs of monoclausal infinitives are the heads of functional projections rather than verbs (see Wurmbrand 2001 and Cinque 2006). As such, these

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verbs have two important properties that account for their syntactic behavior: they do not

assign a theta role to the subject of the sentence and they select as their complements

projections smaller than CP.

6.2 The syntactic properties of restructuring

Early work on restructuring notes that in some cases the infinitival clause serves as a

"boundary for processes that are restricted to apply within one clause", while in other

cases there appears to be no such boundary (Wurmbrand 2001:6). Some of these

processes include clitic climbing, object preposing, and auxiliary switch in the case of

Romance and long distance scrambling, verb raising and long passives in the case of

Germanic. Since the long passive construction is the only one of these processes relevant

to Marshallese, it is the only one that will be discussed in any detail.

The long passive construction is one in which the DP receiving the theme theta

role from the embedded verb surfaces as the subject of the matrix clause, as shown in the

following examples from Spanish (528) and German (529):

(528)   Esta madera se quiere cortar.
        this wood   se wants   to.cut
        'Someone wanted to cut this wood.' (lit. 'This wood is wanted to be cut.')
        (Cinque 2006:66)

(529)   ...dass der Traktor   zu reparieren versucht wurde.
        ...that the tractor-NOM   to repair   tried   was.
        '...that they tried to repair the tractor.' (lit. '...that the tractor was tried to be
        repaired.')
        (Wurmbrand 2001:19)

In the case of German, the infinitival verb has no passive morphology, while the matrix

verb does. According to Wurmbrand, the crucial property of long passive sentences is

that the passivization of the matrix verb affects the case assigning properties of the

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embedded verb. Because the matrix verb is passivized, the embedded verb loses its ability to assign accusative case to the theme argument. As a result, the theme argument must move from the embedded clause to the matrix clause to receive nominative case, as is illustrated by (528). This result is unexpected if these sentences have a biclausal structure, therefore it is often concluded that these sentences have a monoclausal structure. (The structure of long passive sentences will be discussed in more detail in section 6.6.2.)

Whether an infinitive is mono or biclausal is determined by the matrix verb. Matrix verbs that occur in monoclausal structures form a core class of restructuring predicates that are found in many languages that allow restructuring. These predicates include modal, motion, aspectual and causative verbs. In addition, there is also variation in restructuring predicates across languages, as illustrated in Table 21.

Table 21. Restructuring and non-restructuring predicates in selected languages (adapted from Wurmbrand 2001)

Verb	German	Dutch	Spanish	Italian	Japanese
modal verbs	+	+	+	+	+
motion verbs	+	+	+	+	+
aspectual verbs	+	+	+	+	+
causatives	+	+	+	+	+
try	+	+	%	%	±
forget, manage	+	+	%	%	+
dare, seem	+	+	-	%	-
allow, permit	+	-	%	-	-
decide, plan	%	%	-	-	-
regret	-	-	-	-	-
assume, claim	-	-	-	-	-

Table 21 also illustrates that there are also certain verbs that never seem to be restructuring verbs, such as *regret*, *assume*, and *claim*.

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The data presented in Table 21 show that restructuring is more freely available in some languages than in others. For example, German and Dutch have a greater number of restructuring predicates than Spanish and Italian. Marshallese has a very small number of restructuring predicates. However, these restructuring predicates are core restructuring predicates, and it is therefore not surprising that they are restructuring predicates.

Sections 6.3-6.5 will examine the syntactic properties of both restructuring and non-restructuring Marshallese infinitivals.

6.3 Marshallese infinitival sentences

Marshallese infinitival verbs lack overt infinitival morphology. As a result, the infinitival form of a verb is identical to the finite form. Consider (530) and (531). In (530a), *āje* 'weave' (trans) is a finite verb. If we compare the morphological form of this verb to that of (530b), in which this verb is part of the infinitival clause, we find that their overt morphological forms are the identical.[37] This is also the case for *āj*, the finite, intransitive form of this verb (531a&b).

(530) a. Kōrā   ro   r-ar   āj-e   amiṃōṇo ko.
        woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.trans-obj handicraft the.pl.nh
        'The women wove the handicrafts.'

     b. Kōrā   ro   r-ar   ḷōmṇak in āj-e   amiṃōṇo
        woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan   IN weave.trans-obj handicraft
        ko.
        the.pl.nh
        'The women planned to weave the handicrafts.'

(531) a. Kōrā   ro   r-ar   āj.
        woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans
        'The women wove.'

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[37] (530b) and (531b) include *in*, which intervenes between the matrix and the embedded verbs. This word is not contained in all Marshallese infinitives and will be discussed in sections 6.5.

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b. Kōrā   ro   r-ar   ḷōmṇak in āj.
   woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan   IN weave.intrans
   'The women planned to weave.'

Because there is no overt infinitival morphology, I will refer to verbs in infinitival

sentences as the matrix and embedded verbs, rather than the matrix and infinitival verbs.

As there is no overt infinitival morphology indicating that a verb is non-finite, it is

necessary to use other properties to determine that a Marshallese sentence is an infinitival

one. The only property common to all Marshallese infinitival sentences is the lack of an

overt DP subject and subject agreement clitic in the embedded clause. This is illustrated

by the ungrammatical (532a-c). (The grammatical version of these sentences is presented

as (530b)). (532a) shows that, when the embedded clause includes AgrS and an overt

subject, the sentence is ungrammatical.

(532) a. *Kōrā   ro   r-ar   ḷōmṇak in leddik   ro
          woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan   IN girl   the.pl.h
          r-āj-e   amimōṇo ko.
          3pl.agr-weave.trans-obj handicraft the.pl.nh
          'The women planned for the girls to weave the handicrafts.'

This sentence is still ungrammatical when the embedded subject precedes *in* (532b).

(532) b. *Kōrā   ro   r-ar   ḷōmṇak leddik   ro   in
          woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan   girl   the.pl.h IN
          r-āj-e   amimōṇo ko.
          3pl.agr-weave.trans-obj handicraft the.pl.nh
          'The women planned for the girls to weave the handicrafts.'

If the overt subject is omitted from the embedded clause, leaving only a subject

agreement clitic, the sentence is still ungrammatical.

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(532) c. *Kōrā ro   r-ar   lōmṇak in   r-āj-e
        woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan   IN   3pl.agr-weave.trans-obj
        amiṃōṇo ko.
        handicraft the.pl.nh
        'The women planned to weave the handicrafts.'

The facts are the same for a verb that does not allow *in*, such as *kōṇaan* 'want'.

(533a) illustrates the grammatical version of the sentence, while (533b) and (533c) are

ungrammatical because their embedded clauses contain an overt subject and AgrS (533b)

or an overt subject (533c).

(533) a. Kōrā   ro   r-ar   kōṇaan āj-e   amiṃōṇo ko.
        woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) want   weave.trans-obj handicraft the.pl.nh
        'The women wanted to weave the handicrafts.'

     b. *Kōrā   ro   r-ar   kōṇaan leddik ro
        woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) want   girl   the.pl.h
        r-āj-e   amiṃōṇo ko.
        3pl.agr-weave.trans-obj handicraft the.pl.nh
        'The women wanted the girls to weave the handicrafts.'

     c. *Kōrā   ro   r-ar   kōṇaan r-āj-e   amiṃōṇo
        woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) want   3pl.agr-weave.trans-obj handicraft
        ko.
        the.pl.nh
        'The women wanted to weave the handicrafts.'

Therefore we can conclude that all infinitivals are marked by the absence of AgrS and

overt subject in the embedded clause.[38]

6.4 *In* and *ñan*

Many of the examples presented so far in this chapter have included the morpheme *in*,

which often intervenes between the matrix and embedded verbs. I have glossed and will

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[38] The embedded clauses of the example sentences in this section also lack an overt marker of present, past or future tense. However it is possible for a tense marker to be contained within the embedded clause, as will be discussed in section 6.5.4.

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continue to gloss this word as IN to distinguish it from the preposition *in* and the Voice head *in* that were discussed in section 5.3.3 of chapter 5. There is no evidence that the infinitival *in* is the same morpheme as the preposition or the Voice head. Instead, this seems to be a case of simple homophony, although I do not rule out the possibility that these words are historically related. The grammatical category and distribution of *in* will be discussed in section 6.5. For now, it suffices to state that this morpheme is necessary with some matrix verbs, possible with others, and impossible with yet others.

There is another morpheme that may intervene between the matrix and embedded verbs, although its distribution is less restricted. This word is *ñan* 'for the purpose of' or 'in order to':

(534) Bamle eo   e-ar   koba   ñan   keemem-e   niñniñ
      family the.s 3s.agr-T(past) gather in.order.to celebrate.first.birthday-obj baby
      eo.
      the.s
      'The family gathered in order to celebrate the first birthday of the baby.'

(535) Rūturi-ō   r-ar   i-tok   ñan   mōñā   i
      neighbor-1s.gen 3pl.agr-T(past) come-toward.speaker in.order.to eat.intrans at
      m̧weo   im̧-ō.
      the.house dwell.poss-1s.gen
      'My neighbors came (toward where I am) in order to eat at my house.'

Like *in*, *ñan* is homophonous with a preposition. As a preposition, *ñan* means 'to' or 'for':

(536) I-naaj   i-l̗o̗k   ñan Disneyland.
      1s.agr-T(fut) go-away.from.both to   Disneyland
      'I will go (away from where we are) to Disneyland.'

(537) L̗eo   e-ar   m̧an   piik eo   ñan pade   eo.
      the.man 3s.agr-T(past) kill.trans pig the.s for party the.s
      'The man killed the pig for the party.'

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Despite appearing to occupy the same position in the clause, there are some semantic and syntactic differences between *in* and *ñan*. First *in* and *ñan* have different meanings. While it might be argued that a good translation for *in* is something similar to the English infinitival *to*, *ñan* means something more like 'for the purpose of' or 'in order to'. Consider the following two sentences, which are identical except for the fact that the first contains *in*, and the second, *ñan*.

(538) Ļeo   e-ar   jino   in   jeraaṃṃan   ilo a-n   katak.
      the.man 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans IN be.successful in gnr.poss-3s.gen study
      'The man started to be successful in his studies.'

(539) Ļeo   e-ar   jino   ñan   jeraaṃṃan   ilo a-n
      the.man 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans in.order.to be.successful in gnr.poss-3s.gen
      katak.
      study
      'The man started (something) in order to be successful in his studies.'

In the first sentence, the sentential elements following the matrix verb *jino* indicate what the man started to do, i.e. to be successful at his studies. In the second sentence, these same elements tell you the reason for the man's starting some activity, which would be clear from the discourse; it does not imply that the man started being successful in his studies. Thus, the meaning of *ñan* in (539) seems very close to its prepositional, goal/benefactive meaning.

Nan also differs from *in* in that it may be followed by a clausal possessive phrase.

(540) Kōrā   eo   e-ar   jutak   ñan   a-n   tōl   al
      woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) stand in.order.to gnr.poss-3s.gen lead.trans song
      eo.
      the.s
      'The woman stood for her leading of the song.'

(541) *Kōrā   eo   e-ar   jutak in a-n   tōl   al   eo.
      woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) stand IN gnr.poss-3s.gen lead.trans song the.s
      'The woman stood for her leading of the song.'

In (540), *ñan* is followed by a phrase headed by the general possessive classifier *an*,

which indicates that the complement of *ñan* is not a CP or an AgrSP. This sort of phrase

may not follow *in* (541). But if the possessive classifier is excluded, the sentence is

grammatical with either *ñan* or *in*.

(542) Kōrā   eo   e-ar   jutak ñan   tōl   al   eo.
      woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) stand in.order.to lead.trans song the.s
      'The woman stood in order to lead the song.'

(543) Kōrā   eo   e-ar   jutak in tōl   al   eo.
      woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) stand IN lead.trans song the.s
      'The woman stood to lead the song.'

In order to account for the facts concerning *ñan*, two analyses might be proposed. First it

might be argued that *ñan* may be followed by either a phrase headed by the possessive

classifier (544a) or one of a different grammatical category, possibly TP or VP (544b).

(544) a. [$_{AgrSP}$ kōrā eo ear jutak [$_{CP}$ ñan [$_{TP/VP}$ tōl al eo]]]
       b. [$_{AgrSP}$ kōrā eo ear jutak [$_{PP}$ ñan [$_{XP}$ an tōl al eo]]]

One major difference between these two structures is that, (544a) is a biclausal structure,

with *ñan* as the head of CP, while (544b) is a monoclausal structure. Alternatively, it

might be the case that *ñan* is always followed by the same type of phrase and that this

phrase may be headed by either a possessive classifier or a null head (545):

(545) a. [$_{AgrSP}$ kōrā eo ear jutak ñan [$_{XP}$ Ø tōl al eo]]]
       b. [$_{AgrSP}$ kōrā eo ear jutak ñan [$_{XP}$ an tōl al eo]]]

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It is difficult to distinguish between these two theories, since clausal possessive phrases of the type shown in the (b) examples may include both the adverb *bar* (546) and tense markers (547).

(546) MEC ej   etal nane $700,000 nan an   bar
       MEC e-j   etal ñane $700,000 ñan a-n   bar
       MEC 3s-T(pres) go   to   3s.abs $700,000 for   gnr.poss-3s.gen again
       koman-e imon   jarom eo...
       kōṃṃan-e ṃon   jarom eo...
       make-obj place.of power the.s
       'MEC is receiving $700,000 to rebuild the power plant...'
       (The Marshall Island Journal 9-21-07:17)

(547) Likatu ro   r-ar   pojak   ñan a-er   kar   ikueaak i
       beauty the.pl.h 3pl-T(past) be.ready for   gnr.poss-3pl.gen T(past) roam   in
       meḷan   āneo.
       area.of the.island
       'The beauties were ready for their roaming around the island.'

Thus it is unclear what category of phrase follows the possessive classifier. Further, it may be argued that *ñan* forms a constituent with the sentential elements following it regardless of whether phrase following *ñan* includes a possessive classifier. Therefore constituency tests cannot be used to distinguish between these structures. In order to fully address this issue, more must be known about the structure of clausal possessive phrases. For now, I am forced to leave this issue. The remainder of the chapter will discuss infinitival sentences that do not include *ñan*.

6.5 Categories of Marshallese infinitivals

While all Marshallese infinitival sentences have the properties described in section 6.3, there is sentential variation with regards to certain other properties, which argues for the

existence of different infinitival classes. Two of these classes are characterized by (548), which includes the matrix verb *ļōmṇak*, and (549), which includes the matrix verb *jino*.

(548) Kōrā   ro   r-ar   ļōmṇak in   āj.
      woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan   IN weave.intrans
      'The women planned to weave.'

(549) Kōrā   ro   r-ar   jino   āj.
      woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) start.trans weave.intrans
      'The women started to weave.'

These classes differ as to whether:

1. *in* is required
2. the subject may immediately follow the matrix verb
3. long passives are possible
4. there are scope ambiguities with the negative

Based on their behavior with respect to these four properties, Marshallese infinitives can be divided into three classes. The first, categorized by sentences like (548), are biclausal. The final two classes are monoclausal, but their behaviors with respect to these properties indicate that they have different structures. Each of these categories will be discussed in the next three subsections.

6.5.1 Biclausal infinitives

The majority of Marshallese infinitives have a biclausal structure. Biclausal infinitives must include *in*, as shown in (550) and (551). If *in* is absent, the sentence is ungrammatical (550b) and (551b).

(550) a. Kōrā   eo   e-ar   ļōmṇak in   āj.
         woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) plan   IN weave.intrans
         'The woman planned to weave.'

      b. *Kōrā   eo   e-ar   ļōmṇak āj.
         woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) plan   weave.intrans
         'The woman planned to weave.'

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(551) a. Ri-jerakrōk   ro   r-ar   i-tok   in iāekwōj i
       one.who-sail the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) come-toward.speaker IN race   in
       ar.
       lagoon
       'The sailors came to race in the lagoon.'

     b. *Ri-jerakrōk ro   r-ar   i-tok   iāekwōj i ar.
       one.who-sail the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) come-toward.speaker race   in lagoon
       'The sailors came to race in the lagoon.'

Turning to subject position, the subjects of biclausal infinitives may immediately

follow the matrix verb:

(552) E-ar   l̦ōmn̦ak kōrā   eo   in āj.
       3s.agr-T(past) plan   woman the.s IN weave.intrans
       'The woman planned to weave.'

(553) R-ar   i-tok   ri-jerakrōk   ro   in iāekwōj i
       3pl.agr-T(past) come-toward.speaker one.who-sail the.pl.h IN race   in
       ar.
       lagoon
       'The sailors came to race in the lagoon.'

The subject of a biclausal infinitive may also appear sentence finally or immediately

following the embedded verb, but the intonation of these sentences indicates that these

sentences have right dislocated elements.

(554) R-ar   i-tok   in iāekwōj, ri-jerakrōk   ro,   i
       3pl.agr-T(past) come-toward.speaker IN race   one.who-sail the.pl.h in
       ar.
       lagoon
       'The sailors came to race in the lagoon.'

(555) R-ar   i-tok   in iāekwōj i ar,   ri-jerakrōk
       3pl.agr-T(past) come-toward.speaker IN race   in lagoon one.who-sail
       ro,.
       the.pl.h
       'They came to race in the lagoon, the sailors.'

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Therefore I conclude that the post embedded verb position is unavailable to non-right dislocated subjects. The ability of the subject to follow the matrix but not the embedded clause will be essential to the analysis of these sentences are biclausal.

Further evidence that these sentences are biclausal comes from long passives and the scope of negation. First, this class of verbs does not allow long passives.

(556) *Amimōṇo ko   r-ar   ḷōmṇak in āj.
      handicraft the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) plan   IN weave.intrans
      'The handicrafts were planned to be woven.'

(557) *Imoko   r-ar   ṃakoko in ekkal   iiō eo   ḷọk.
      the.houses 3pl.agr-T(past) refuse   IN build.intrans year the.s last
      'The houses were refused to be built last year.'

Second the negative *jab* 'not', when found between the matrix and embedded verbs, may not take scope over the matrix verb.

(558) E-ar   ḷōmṇak in jab etal ñan Fountain Valley.
      3s.agr-T(past) plan   IN neg go   to   Fountain Valley
      'He planned to not go to Fountain Valley.'
      *'He didn't plan to go to Fountain Valley.'

The properties of verbs of this class are summarized in Table 22.

Table 22. The syntactic properties of non-restructuring infinitivals

Verb	in	V S (in)	long passives	scope ambiguities with neg
non-restructuring	required	√	*	No

Table 23 provides a list of Marshallese non-restructuring verbs.

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Table 23. Marshallese non-restructuring verbs

motion
bōjrak 'stop'
meḷōkḷōk 'forget'
ḷōmṇak 'plan'
kāālōt 'decide'
stative verbs
kōjatdiktik 'hope'
ṃakoko 'refuse'
kalliṃur 'promise'
likjab 'fail'

6.5.2 Monoclausal infinitives – type 1

The second class of verbs, which are found in monoclausal infinitival, differs from the first class in that they need not be followed by *in*.

(559) a. Takwōj e-aikuj   in lim-i   jaki ko.
Takwōj 3s.agr-need IN fold.trans-obj mat the.pl.nh
'Takwōj needs to fold the mats.'

b. Takwōj e-aikuj   lim-i   jaki ko.
Takwōj 3s.agr-need fold.trans-obj mat the.pl.nh
'Takwōj needs to fold the mats.'

(560) a. Kōrā   ro   r-ar   jino   in āj.
woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) start.trans IN weave.intrans
'The women started to weave.'

b. Kōrā   ro   r-ar   jino   āj.
woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) start.trans weave.intrans
'The women started to weave.'

Speakers have indicated that there are no meaning differences between those sentences with *in* and those without *in*.

In monoclausal infinitives, the subject may not immediately follow the matrix verb, regardless of whether *in* is present.

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(561) a. *E-aikuj   ri-jerakrōk   eo   in aō   ñan āne eo.
       3s.agr-need one.who-sail the.s IN swim to land the.s
       'The sailor needs to swim to the land.'

     b. *E-aikuj   ri-jerakrōk   eo   aō ñan āne eo.
       3s.agr-need one.who-sail the.s swimto land the.s
       'The sailor needs to swim to the land.'

Sentences with this word order become grammatical if there is a pause before and a pause after the internal subject, which seems to indicate that the grammatical versions of these sentences involve dislocation. Crucially, biclausal sentences with V S *in* V order do not require a pause and are never considered ungrammatical by speakers. Thus sentences like (561) seem to correspond to V S *in* V biclausal sentences. Therefore the grammatical version of these sentences, which contain the aforementioned pauses, will not be considered here.

While the subject may not follow the matrix verb, it is possible for the subject to follow the embedded verb, provided that the embedded verb is not transitive. These sentences do not require right dislocation intonation.

(562) a. E-aikuj   aō   ri-jerakrōk   eo   ñan āne eo.
       3s.agr-need swim one.who-sail the.s to   land the.s
       'The sailor needs to swim to the land.'

     b. E-aikuj   in aō   ri-jerakrōk   eo   ñan āne eo.
       3s.agr-need IN swim one.who-sail the.s to   landthe.s
       'The sailor needs to swim to the land.'

(563) a. *E-aikuj   lo-ḷọk   ri-jerakrōk   ro   Kosrae.
       3s.agr-need visit-away.from.both one.who-sail the.pl.h Kosrae
       'The sailor needs to visit Kosrae.'

     b. *E-aikuj   in lo-ḷọk   ri-jerakrōk   ro   Kosrae.
       3s.agr-need IN visit-away.from.both one.who-sail the.pl.h Kosrae
       'The sailors needs to visit Kosrae.'

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The subject may also be sentence final if it has right dislocation intonation:

(564) a. R-ar   jino   ikkūk   ilo piknik eo,   ṇaṃ   ko.
         3pl.agr-T(past) start.trans bite.intrans at   picnic   the.s mosquito the.pl.nh
         'They started to bite at the picnic, the mosquitoes.'

       b. R-ar   jino   in ikkūk   ilo piknik eo,   ṇaṃ   ko
         3pl.agr-T(past) start.trans IN bite.intrans at   picnic   the.s mosquito the.pl.nh
         'They start to bite at the picnic, the mosquitoes.'

(565) a. E-aikuj   aō   ñan āne eo,   ri-jerakrōk   eo.
         3s.agr-need swim to   land the.s one.who-sail the.s
         'He needs to swim to the land, the sailor.'

       b. E-aikuj   in aō   ñan āne eo,   ri-jerakrōk   eo.
         3s.agr-need IN swim to   land the.s one.who-sail the.s
         'He needs to swim to the land, the sailor.'

Third, this class of verbs allows long passives (566b) and (567b). (566a) and (567a) show the corresponding active sentences.

(566) a. Kōrā   ro   r-aikuj   lim-i   jaki ko.
         woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-need fold.trans-obj mat the.pl.nh
         'The woman needs to fold the mats.'

       b. Jaki ko   r-aikuj   lemlem.
         mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-need fold.intrans
         'The mats need to be folded.'

(567) a. Jiron̄   eo e-kar   jino   kōmatt-e   kweet eo.
         young.woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans cook.trans-obj octopus the.s
         'The young woman started to cook the octopus.'

       b. Kweet   eo   e-kar   jino   kōmat.
         octopus the.s 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans cook.intrans
         'The octopus started to be cooked.'

As with monoclausal passives discussed in Chapter 5, the necessity of agreement between the preverbal subject and AgrS shows that this construction is not an impersonal

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passive construction. If there is no number agreement with the 3pl sentence initial subject, the sentence is ungrammatical:

(568) *Jaki ko   e-aikuj   lemlem.
mat   the.pl.nh 3s.agr-need fold.intrans
'The mats need to be folded.'

(569) *Kweet eo   re-kar   jino   kōmat.
octopus the.s 3pl.agr-T(past) start.trans cook.intrans
'The octopus was started to be cooked.

When the subject is non-initial, however, singular agreement is possible with a plural subject.

(570) E-ar   jino ekkal   imoko   iia   eo   lǫk.
3s-T(past) start build.intrans the.houses year the.s last
'The houses were started to be built last year.'

Therefore, these sentences pattern like other monoclausal declaratives when it comes to agreement.

The use of the intransitive form of the embedded verb clearly shows that this verb is passive. In many languages that allow restructuring, such as German and Chamorro, the matrix verb is passivized as well. The only Marshallese verb of the class under discussion that has both a transitive and intransitive form is *ijjino/jino* 'start'. So we would expect that this verb should allow us to determine if the matrix verb is also passivized in Marshallese. First let us compare the form of this verb used in a long passive (567b) with its transitive form *jino* (571) and in its passive form *ijjino* (572). This comparison shows that this verb appears in its transitive form when it is in a long passive.

(571) Watak e-ar   jino   kweilǫk eo.
Watak 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans meeting the.s
'Watak started the meeting.'

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(572) Kweilǫk eo   e-ar   ijjino   in Watak.
      meeting the.s 3s.agr-T(past) start.intrans of Watak
      'The meeting was started by Watak.'

But speakers have indicated that it is also possible for this verb to appear in its

intransitive form in a long passive (573):

(573) Imoko   r-ar   ijjino   ekkal   iia eo ḷǫk.
      the.houses 3pl.agr-T(past) start.intrans build.intrans year the.s last
      'The houses started to be built last year.'

Therefore, it is unclear whether the matrix verb is passivized in long passive sentences.

Finally, in sentences of this class, there are scope ambiguities when the negative

jab appears between the matrix and embedded verbs. The negative may take scope over

the matrix verb, as well as over the embedded verb only:

(574) Komi-ro   maroñ jab invite.
      you.pl.abs-2 might neg invite
      'You two might not be invited.'
      'You two can't invite someone.'

(575) Likao   eo   e-j   aikuj   jab m̧ōñā   jālele.
      young.man the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) suppose neg eat.intrans meat
      'The young man is supposed to not eat meat.'
      'The young man is not supposed to eat meat.'

Compare this to a biclausal sentence with *aikuj* as its matrix verb. Scope ambiguities are

not possible with this sentence.[39]

(576) Likao   eo   e-j   aikuj   bwe e-n   jab m̧ōñā
      young.man the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) suppose that 3s.agr-should neg eat.intrans
      jālele.
      meat
      'The young man is supposed to not eat meat.'
      *'The young man is not supposed to eat meat.'

---

[39] *Maroñ* may not take a full biclausal complement of this sort. Therefore, it is impossible to provide a comparable biclausal sentence with *maroñ* as the matrix verb.

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Table 24 lists the Marshallese restructuring verbs of type 1; only three verbs are of this type. In this respect, Marshallese differs from German and Romance languages with restructuring verbs, which have a greater number of such verbs, as well as from Chamorro, a distantly related Austronesian language in which restructuring is permitted with any predicate that takes an infinitival complement (Chung 2004).

Table 24. Marshallese restructuring verbs – type 1

<u>Verb</u>
modal
    maroñ 'be able', 'can', 'might'
    aikuj 'need', 'supposed to'
aspectual
    jino 'start'

6.5.3 Monoclausal infinitives – type 2

In addition to the class of monoclausal infinitives discussed in section 6.5.2, there is also another class of infinitives, whose behavior differs from that of other monoclausal infinitives. In spite of this fact, I will still argue that these infinitives are monoclausal, as they behave like restructuring verbs in some respects. The first verb is *kajjioñ* 'try'. Like restructuring verbs of type 1, this verb does not require *in*.

(577) a. Taktō eo e-ar   kajjioñ in mwijit   eṃṃaan eo.
    doctor the.s 3s.agr-T(past) try   IN operate.trans man   the.s
    'The doctor tried to operate on the man.'

    b. Taktō eo e-ar   kajjioñ mwijit   eṃṃaan eo.
    doctor the.s 3s.agr-T(past) try   operate.trans man   the.s
    'The doctor tried to operate on the man.'

Further, it is not possible for the subject to follow *kajjioñ*, regardless of whether *in* is included in these sentences:

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(578) a. *E-ar   kajjion̄ taktō eo   in mwijit   eṃṃaan eo.
        3s.agr-T(past) try   doctor the.s IN operate.trans man   the.s
        'The doctor tried to operate on the man.'

     b. *E-ar   kajjion̄ taktō eo   mwijit   eṃṃaan eo.
        3s.agr-T(past) try   doctor the.s operate.trans man   the.s
        'The doctor tried to operate on the man.'

However, unlike other restructuring verbs, long passives are not possible. While a passive

reading is possible with the embedded verb, the matrix verb may not have a passive

reading:

(579) a. Eṃṃaan eo   e-ar   kajjion̄ in ṃwijṃwij.
        man   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) try   IN operate.intrans
        'The man tried to be operated on.'
        *'The man was tried to be operated on.'

     b. Eṃṃaan eo   e-ar   kajjion̄ ṃwijṃwij.
        man   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) try   operate.intrans
        'The man tried to be operated on.'
        *'The man was tried to be operated on.'

The second verb of this type is *kōṇaan* 'want'. This verb never allows *in*.

(580) a. Takwōj e-kōṇaan ṃwijit-i   mā   ko.
        Takwōj 3s.agr-want cut.trans-obj breadfruit the.pl.nh
        'Takwōj wants to cut the breadfruits.'

     b. *Takwōj e-kōṇaan in ṃwijit-i   mā   ko.
        Takwōj 3s.agr-want IN cut.trans-obj breadfruit the.pl.nh
        'Takwōj wants to cut the breadfruits.'

And the subject may not immediately follow the matrix verb.

(581) a. *E-kōṇaan Takwōj ṃwijit-i   mā   ko.
        3s.agr-want Takwōj cut.trans-obj breadfruit the.pl.nh
        'Takwōj wants to cut the breadfruits.'

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b. *E-kōṇaan Takwōj in ṃwijit-i   mā   ko.
    3s.agr-want Takwōj IN cut.trans-obj breadfruit the.pl.nh
    'Takwōj wants to cut the breadfruits.'

In addition this verb does not allow long passives (582), nor does it allow *jab* immediately preceding the embedded verb (583). Thus scope ambiguities are not possible.

(582) *Mā   ko   re-kōṇaan   ṃwijṃwij.
    breadfruit the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-want cut.intrans
    'The breadfruits are wanted to be cut.'

(583) *Leddik eo   e-kōṇaan   jab mare-ik   ḷaddik eo.
    girl   the.s 3s.agr-want neg marry-trans boy   the.s
    'The girl wants to not marry the boy.'

A comparison of these two verbs with restructuring of type 1 and non-restructuring verbs is given in Table 25.

Table 25. The syntactic properties of Marshallese infinitivals

Verb	*in*	V S *(in)*	long passives	scope ambiguities with neg
non-restructuring	required	√	*	No
restructuring	not required	*	√	Yes
kajjioñ	not required	*	*	
kōṇaan	not allowed	*	*	NA

Given these facts, it seems necessary to posit at least one more category of infinitives. This is not an unheard of proposal. Wurmbrand (2001) proposes that there are three types of restructuring verbs – lexical, functional and semi-functional – as well as two types of non-restructuring verbs – reduced and full. The important question here is whether these last two verbs are restructuring or non-restructuring verbs.

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Wurmbrand shows that, in the case of German, semi-functional restructuring verbs do not allow long passives. Therefore, we cannot conclude that *kajjioñ* and *kōņaan* are non-restructuring verbs based this criteria. Nor can we draw any conclusions based on whether these verbs allow *in*, although the necessity of *in* in non-restructuring infinitives makes it tempting to do so. This is because, in many languages, there is no correlation between the appearance of the infinitival 'to' and biclausal structure (Wurmbrand 2001). The same seems to be the case with Marshallese as well, as long passives are possible with *in*.

(584) Jaki ko   r-aikuj   in lemlem.
      mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-need IN fold.intrans
      'The mats need to be folded.'

(585) Kweet eo e-kar   jino   in kōmat.
      octopus the.s 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans IN cook.intrans
      'The octopus started to be cooked.'

Additionally, the negative *jab* may take scope over the matrix verb in sentences with *in*.

(586) Komi-ro   maroñ in jab invite.
      you.pl.abs-2 might IN neg invite
      'You two might not be invited.'
      'You two can't invite someone.'

If *in* marked a biclausal structure, we would anticipate that these kinds of transparency effects could not occur with *in*. Since they do occur, we can conclude that *in* is not the marker of a biclausal structure and therefore not the head of CP. So we cannot conclude that these last two infinitives are restructuring infinitives based on the distribution of *in*. Having ruled out all other criteria, the only syntactic property we are left with is word order. In section 6.6, I will argue that the inability of the subject to follow the matrix verb

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is the consequence of the restructuring configuration and is one of the hallmarks of a monoclausal infinitive. Therefore, since these two verbs pattern like restructuring verbs with respect to the position of their subjects, I conclude that they must be restructuring verbs.

6.5.4 The grammatical category of *in*

Before discussing the structure of restructuring and non-restructuring infinitives, there are few more words I wish to say regarding *in*. Having ruled out the possibility that *in* is a C head, we are left with few possibilities as to its grammatical category. One possibility is that *in* might be the head of a tense projection and mark infinitival tense. If this is correct, then we might also want to assume that those sentences without *in* have some sort of null head marking infinitival tense. At first glance, this doesn't seem to be a promising possibility, since *in* may co-occur with a past or future tense maker.

(587) Kōrā   ro   r-ar   pepe in kar   āj-i   jaki ko
       woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan IN T(past)weave.trans-obj mat the.pl.nh
       ṃokta jān   a-er   etal.
       before from gnr.poss-3pl.gen leave
       'The women planned to weave the mats before their leaving.'

(588) Ierutia e-j   etal in naaj   kōnnaan ippā-n wulio   ro.
       Ierutia 3s.agr-T(pres) go   IN T(fut) talk   with-3s handsome.man the.pl.h
       'Ierutia is going to talk with the handsome men.'

However, speakers have indicated that sentences like (587) and (588) have the same meaning, with or without the tense markers in the embedded clause. This raises questions as to the actual semantic contribution of the tense marker in the embedded clauses. We must also consider the possibility that the meaning distinctions between sentences with and without tense markers in the embedded clause are so subtle that speakers have

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difficulty articulating the differences. Given these complex facts, I am forced to set aside further discussion of the grammatical category of *in*. In the remainder of this chapter, I will simply assume that *in* is the head of a functional projection (ZP) that may occur between the matrix and embedded verbs.

6.6 The structure of infinitives

This section proposes structures for the three different types of Marshallese infinitives: functional restructuring infinitives, semi-functional restructuring infinitives, and biclausal infinitives. It also details how these structures explain the syntactic properties of Marshallese infinitives. I start by discussing functional restructuring infinitives.

6.6.1 Monoclausal infinitives of type 1 – functional restructuring infinitives

The analysis I propose for this type of infinitives is one proposed by Cinque (2004, 2006) and Wurmbrand (2001). Both Cinque and Wurmbrand argue for the existence of a functional restructuring configuration, in which restructuring verbs are the heads of functional rather than VP projections (589).

(589)   The functional restructuring configuration
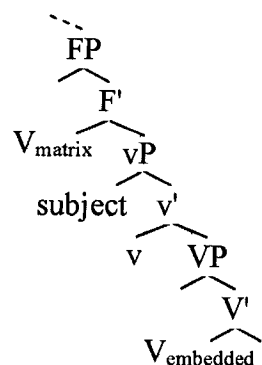
In this structure, the matrix verb is the head of FP, while the embedded verb is the head of VP. The matrix subject is selected by the embedded rather than the matrix verb, which

means that the matrix verb does not assign a theta role to the subject of a functional restructuring sentence. Since it does not assign a theta role to the subject, the matrix verb should not impose selectional restrictions on the subject. In the case of Marshallese functional restructuring verbs, this turns out to be the case.

First let us examine infinitival sentences that include weather verbs. Since weather verbs do not have a theta role to assign, sentences with weather verbs have dummy subjects, as illustrated by (590).

(590) E-wōt.
      3s.agr-rain
      'It's raining.'

This being the case, if a weather verb is the embedded verb of an infinitival sentence, any theta role assigned to the matrix subject would have to be assigned by the matrix verb. This is because the matrix verb is the only verb in the sentence with a theta role to assign. However if the matrix verb does not assign a theta role to the subject, then dummy subjects, which do not require a theta role, should be possible. In Marshallese, dummy subjects are possible in infinitivals with embedded weather verbs and functional restructuring matrix verbs:

(591) E-aikuj   wōt.
      3s.agr-need rain
      'It needs to rain.'

(592) E-maroñ   wōt.
      3s.agr-might rain
      'It might rain.'

(593) E-j   jino wōt.
      3s.agr-T(pres) start rain
      'It's starting to rain.'

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However, dummy subject are not possible in infinitivals with non-restructuring matrix verbs and embedded weather verbs:

(594) *E-ar   ḷōmṇak in wōt.
      3s.agr-T(past) plan   IN rain
      'It planned to rain.'

(595) *E-kar   makọkọ in wōt.
      3s.agr-T(past) refuse   IN rain
      'It refused to rain.'

Therefore, we can conclude that restructuring verbs do not assign theta roles to their subjects but non-restructuring verbs do.

This conclusion is also supported by sentences with inanimate subjects. Inanimate subjects are incompatible with non-restructuring verbs. This is because these verbs assign an agent theta role to the subject. As a result, the subjects of these sentences must be something or someone capable of being an agent and of planning in the case of (596) or refusing in the case of (597).

(596) *Accident eo e-ar   ḷōmṇak in ka-bōjrak ri-kọọt   eo.
       accident   the.s 3s.agr-T(past) plan   IN cause-stop one.who-steal the.s
       'The accident planned to stop the thief.'

(597) *Ṃweo e-j   makọkọ in ka-mijak   Jebro.
       the.house 3s.agr-T(pres) refuse   IN cause-be.afraid Jebro
       'The house refuses to frighten Jebro.'

With restructuring verbs, however, inanimate subjects are possible.

(598) Accident eo e-j   aikuj in ka-bōjrak ri-kọọt   eo.
      accident   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) need IN cause-stop one.who-steal the.s
      'The accident needs to stop the thief.'

(599) Accident eo e-j   maroñ ka-bōjrak ri-kọọt   eo.
      accident   the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) might cause-stop one.who-steal the.s
      'The accident might to stop the thief.'

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(600) M̧weo   e-j   jino ka-mijak   Jebro.
       the.house 3s.agr-T(pres) start cause-be.afraid Jebro
       'The house is starting to frighten Jebro.'

Therefore these data support the conclusion that *aikuj*, *maroñ* and *jino* are functional restructuring verbs.

The functional restructuring configuration can explain the prohibition against *V S (in) V order* in sentences with these verbs. Recall from chapter 4 that if the Marshallese subject remains vP internal, it will follow the verb. This occurs as a result of verb movement to left adjoin to the head of XP above vP. But in functional restructuring sentences, the subject is selected by the embedded verb. Therefore if the embedded verb moves to X, the subject will follow the embedded verb when it remains vP internal. XP is generated below FP, which is the domain in which the functional restructuring verb, or what I have been calling the matrix verb, is merged. So in functional restructuring sentences, if the subject remains vP internal, *V (in) V S* order will result. This is illustrated by (601), the derivation of (562a).

(562) a. E-aikuj   aō   ri-jerakrōk   eo   ñan āne eo.
         3s.agr-need swim one.who-sail the.s to   land the.s
         'The sailor needs to swim to the land.'

The derivation of *V V S PP* order:
1. PP is left adjoined to vP
2. vP moves to spec YP
3. V moves to v; V+v moves to X
4. The subject remains vP internal

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(601)

```
AgrSP
    AgrS'
  AgrS   TP
    |      T'
    e    T   FP
   3s          F'
             F    XP
           aikuj    X'
           'need'  X      YP
                  vₖ  X  vPᵢ    Y'
                 Vⱼ  v  DP  x'  Y  vP
                  |          tₖ    PP  tᵢ
                 aō  rijerakrōk eo  VP  ñan āne eo
                'swim'  'the sailor'  tⱼ  'to the land'
```
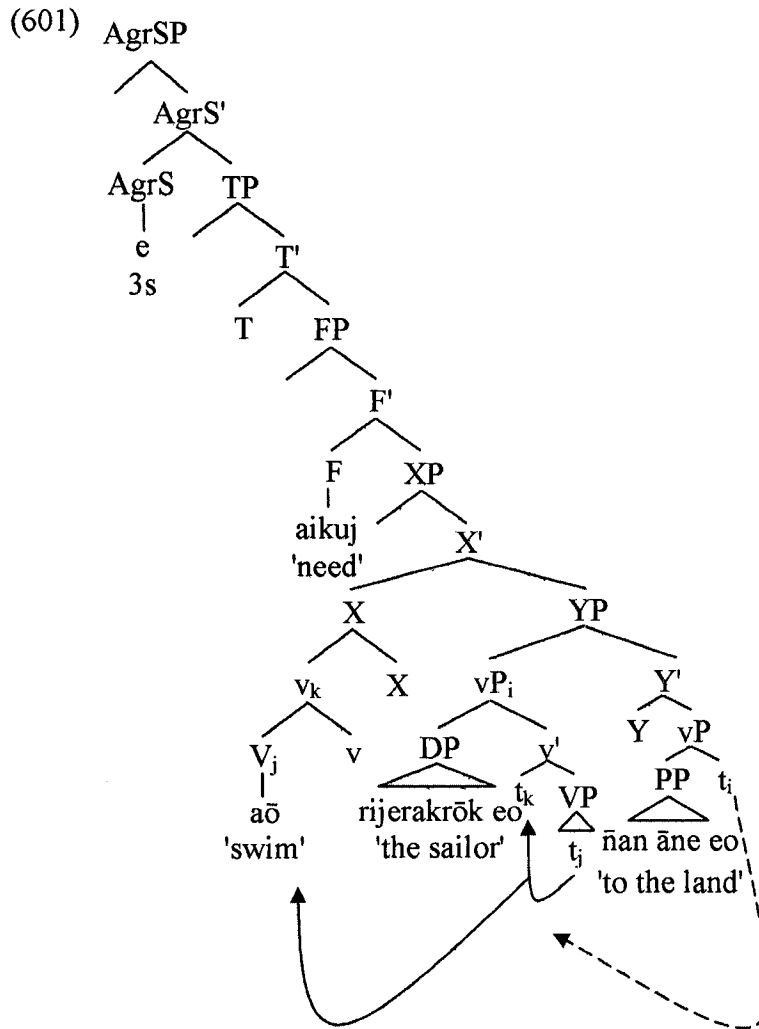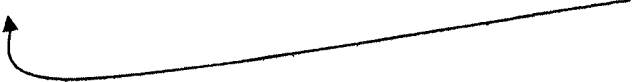
This structure rules out *V S (in) V* order because there is no position between FP and vP to which the subject may move. This structure also rules out *V V S O* order because, if the subject remains vP internal, it will intervene between the accusative case assigning head and the object, and the sentence will be ungrammatical.
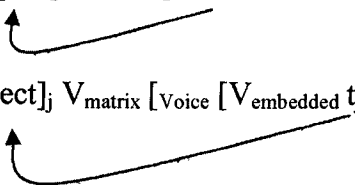
6.6.2 Long passives

This analysis allows us to draw certain conclusions regarding the structure of long passives. First, since infinitives that allow long passives are monoclausal rather than biclausal, we can rule out a structure in which long passives are derived from a biclausal

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structure. One possible such structure is shown in (602). (602a) depicts the corresponding

active sentence from which the passive one (602b) is derived.

(602) a. [$_{AgrSP}$ subject$_{matrix}$ V$_{matrix}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ *pro* V$_{embedded}$ object]]]

  b. [$_{AgrSP}$ [object$_{embedded}$]$_i$ [$_{Voice}$ [$_{VP}$ V$_{matrix}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ [$_{Voice}$ [$_{VP}$ V$_{embedded}$ t$_i$]$_k$ Ø t$_k$]]]]$_j$ Ø t$_j$]]

In the active sentence, both the matrix and embedded verbs are the heads of verb phrases

and select the subject DP or *pro* respectively. As verbs, they both move to spec VoiceP as

part of the VP in the passive sentence, followed by movement of the embedded object to

become the matrix subject. But since sentences with long passives are not biclausal, this

cannot be the correct structure. Instead, I argue that the structure of a long passive

sentence is like that of (603b), with (603a) depicting the corresponding active sentence

from which the passive is derived.

(603) a. [$_{AgrSP}$ [subject]$_i$ V$_{matrix}$ [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ V$_{embedded}$ object]]

  b. [$_{AgrSP}$ [object]$_j$ V$_{matrix}$ [$_{Voice}$ [V$_{embedded}$ t$_j$]$_i$ Ø t$_i$]]

In a long passive sentence, the subject is merged in the canonical object position and is

the complement of the embedded verb. As in passives of the type discussed in chapter 5,

this phrase raises to spec AgrSP in long passives. So a sentence like (566b) has the

structure shown in (604).

(566) b. Jaki ko   r-aikuj   lemlem.
       mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-need fold.intrans
       'The mats need to be folded.'

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(604)

```
                        AgrSP
                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                  DPⱼ          AgrS'
                  △        ┌────┴────┐
               jaki ko   AgrS       TP
              'the mats'   |        ╱╲
                           r          T'
                          3pl      ┌───┴───┐
                                   T       FP
                                          ╱╲
                                            F'
                                    ┌───────┴───────┐
                                    F             VoiceP
                                    |          ┌────┴────┐
                                  aikuj       VPᵢ      Voice'
                                  'need'      △      ┌────┴────┐
                                           lemlem tⱼ Voice     XP
                                            'fold'    |       ╱╲
                                                      Ø      tᵢ   X'
                                                                 ╱╲
                                                                X   vP
                                                                    △
                                                                   v tᵢ
```
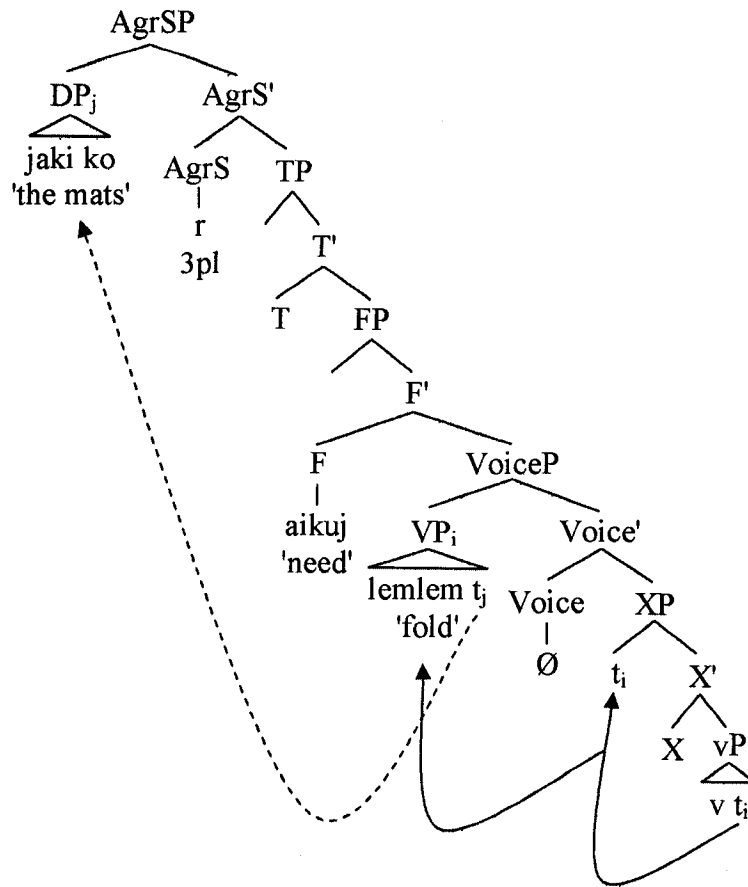
It must be the case that both VoiceP and XP are located below FP in order to derive the correct word order. This is in accordance with Cinque (2006), who argues that VoiceP is relatively low in the ordering of functional heads.

This structure follows the analysis for short passives presented in section 5.5 of chapter 5. In this analysis, VP moves to spec VoiceP via spec XP and, as this structure includes a null Voice head, there is no AccP projection.

It is also possible for Marshallese long passives to include agent phrases. Long passives with agent phrases have structures similar to that of (604), with the necessary modifications for agent phrases as proposed in chapter 5. When a long passive includes an *ippān* phrase, the structure includes a PP merged as the specifier of vP (see section

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5.5.2.2 of chapter 5 for a discussion of this structure). This is illustrated by (606), the derivation of (605).

(605) Imon   jikuul eo   e-ar   jino   ekkal   ippā-n
      place.of school the.s 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans build.intrans with-3s
      ri-tarinae   ro.
      one.who-fight the.pl.h
   'The school started to be built by the soldiers.'

(606)
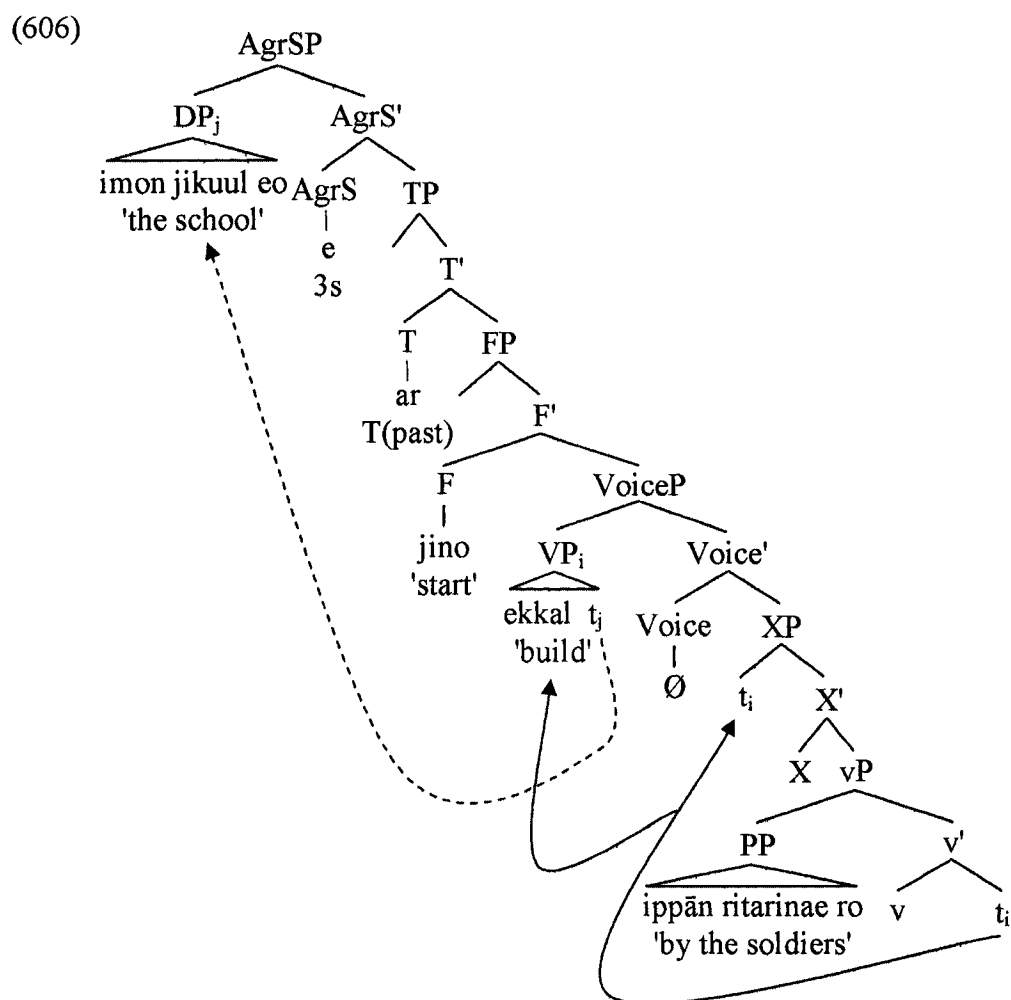
But if the long passive has an *in* phrase, rather than *ippān* phrase, the structure includes an AccP projection, as proposed in section 5.5. In addition, the verb moves out of the VP

and incorporates with Voice. Thus a sentence like (607) has the structure shown in

(608).[40]

(607) Imon   jikuul eo   e-ar   jino   ekkal   in ri-tarinae
      place.of school the.s 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans build.intrans of one.who-fight
      ro.
      the.pl.h
      'The school started to be built by the soldiers.'

(608)

_____
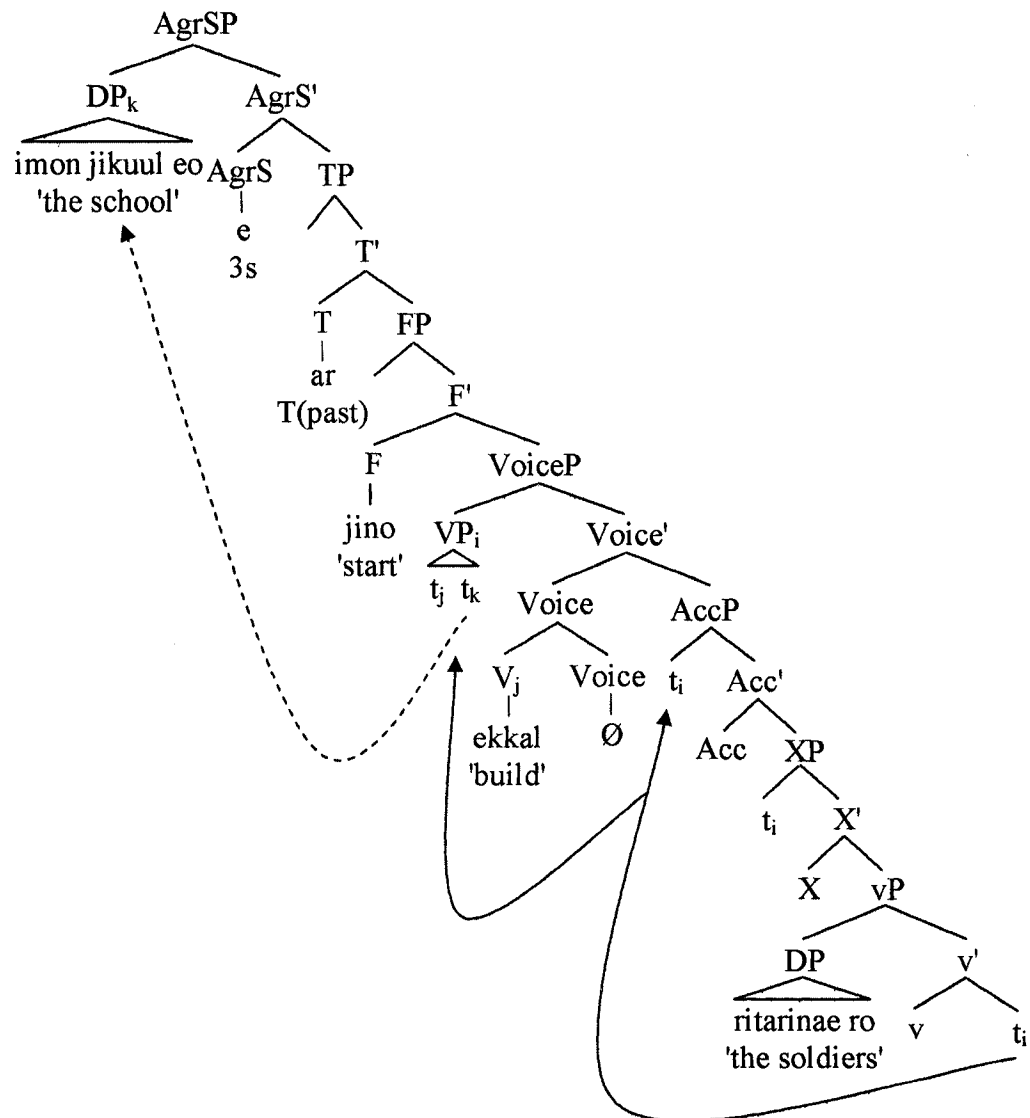
[40] I have not yet had the opportunity to research subject position in long passives.

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6.6.3 Monoclausal infinitives of type 2 – semi-functional restructuring infinitives

In addition to the functional restructuring configuration, Wurmbrand (2001) proposes two other restructuring configurations. The first is the lexical restructuring configuration (609):

(609) The lexical restructuring configuration
(adapted from Wurmbrand (2001))

```
              vP
        subject   v'
                v   VP
           V matrix   VP
                V embedded  object
```
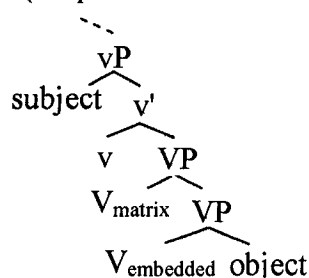
Like the functional restructuring configuration, the lexical restructuring configuration is monoclausal. The major difference between the lexical and functional restructuring configurations is that both verbs in the lexical restructuring configuration are heads of VPs. However, the matrix verb of the lexical restructuring configuration selects a bare VP without a little v projection as its complement. Thus the embedded verb does not select an external argument.

In the case of German, the lexical/functional distinction accounts for the different properties of restructuring infinitives. These properties include whether the matrix verb is passive in long passives, whether the infinitival complement may be extraposed and whether there are theta restrictions on the subject (to name only a few). Wurmbrand also argues for a class of semi-functional restructuring predicates, which behave like functional restructuring infinitives in some respects and lexical restructuring infinitives in

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others. The behavior of the different restructuring predicates with respect to these properties is shown in Table 26.

Table 26. Properties of German (semi-)functional and lexical restructuring predicates (adapted from Wurmbrand 2001)

	Matrix passive	Extraposition of infinitive	theta restrictions
functional	-	-	-
semi-functional	-	-	+
lexical	+	+	+

Wurmbrand proposes the following structure for semi-functional predicates:

(610) The semi-functional restructuring configuration
(adapted from Wurmbrand (2001)

```
        vP
       /\
  subject  v'
          /\
    V_matrix  VP
            /\
```
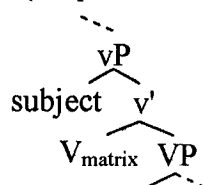
Crucially, the matrix or semi-functional verb is the head of little v. Therefore, it is the functional head of a functional category, which explains why it behaves like a functional restructuring verb. At the same time, Wurmbrand argues that it is still part of the lexical domain and can therefore assign a theta role, which explains why it behaves like a lexical restructuring predicate. I refer the reader to Wurmbrand for a full discussion of semi-functional restructuring predicates.

If we take the relevant properties of the Marshallese verbs *kajjioñ* 'try' and *kōṇaan* 'want' and compare them to the properties of German, we find that these verbs pattern like semi-functional predicates in that they impose selectional restrictions on their subjects and do not allow long passives . However, concluding that these two verbs are

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semi-functional based on their behavior with respect to matrix passives is problematic at least in the case of *kōṇaan* because this verb cannot normally be passivized:

(611) a. Lio   e-kōṇaan   bobo.[41]
        the.woman 3s.agr-want bobo
        'The woman wants bobo.'

     b. *Bobo e-kōṇaan   ippā-n lio.
        bobo 3s.agr-want with-3s the.woman
        'Bobo is wanted by the woman.'

It is therefore unclear whether the ungrammaticality of long passives containing these verbs is due to the fact that these verbs are semi-functional predicates or to the fact that these verbs cannot be passivized. In spite of this fact, there is reason to think that these verbs might be semi-functional rather than lexical predicates.

If these verbs were lexical predicates, we would expect that, as full verbs/heads of verb phrases rather than functional projections, these verbs would raise to left adjoin to X, as in (612).

(612)   ...[$_{XP}$ V$_{matrix}$+v+X [$_{vP}$ subject t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ t$_{Vmatrix}$ [$_{VP}$ V$_{embedded}$]]]]

If this were to occur, then *V S V* order should be possible. However this is not the case. Alternatively if these verbs are semi-functional predicates, then it might be argued that, like functional predicates, they do not raise to X. If these verbs don't raise to X then the fact that they do not allow *V S V* order is explained.

There is other evidence that suggests that this may be the correct analysis. Recall from section 4.1.2 of chapter 4 that the Marshallese verb may either precede or follow the adverb *bajjek* 'for not important reason'. If the verbs in question were lexical restructuring

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[41] Bobo is a Marshallese food that is made from pounded breadfruit or coconut.

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verbs that moved to X, we would expect that they could either precede or follow *bajjek*.

However, these verbs may follow but not precede *bajjek*.

(613) a. Ri-Kosrae ro re-j bajjek kajjioñ in
one.from-Kosrae the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) for.no.important.reason try IN
i-tok ñan Majuro.
come-toward.speaker to Majuro
'The Kosraeans are tried for no reason to come to Majuro.'

b. * Ri-Kosrae ro re-j kajjioñ bajjek in
one.from-Kosrae the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) try for.no.important.reason IN
i-tok ñan Majuro.
come-toward.speaker to Majuro
'The Kosraeans tried for no reason to come to Majuro.'

This seems to indicate that these verbs do not move to a position above *bajjek*. (See section 4.1.2 for an analysis of *bajjek* and verb position.)

Let us compare these facts to those of biclausal infinitives. In biclausal infinitives, *bajjek* may be postverbal.

(614) Eddie e-ar etal bajjek in bwebwenato ippā-n
Eddie 3s.agr-T(past) go for.no.important.reason IN talk with-3s
Ierutia.
Ierutia
'Eddie went for no important reason to talk with Ierutia.'

(615) Ḷaddik eo e-j m̗ōņōņō bajjek in ineek kidu
boy the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) be.happy for.no.important.reason IN carry.trans dog
eo neji-n.
the.s cher.poss-3s.gen
'The boy is happy for no important reason to carry his dog.'

Since the verb may precede *bajjek* in biclausal infinitives, we can conclude that the ungrammaticality of (613b) is not due to an intrinsic property of infinitives. Rather, since this position is available in biclausal infinitives, we must conclude that something about the structure of sentences including *kajjioñ* and *kōņaan* prohibits the verb from moving to

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X. If these verbs are semi-functional restructuring verbs, then we have an explanation as to why this is the case. Therefore I will assume that neither *kōṇaan* nor *kajjioñ* move to X and adopt a semi-functional restructuring analysis for these verbs. In this analysis, a sentence like (580a) has the structure show in (616).

(580) a. Takwōj e-kōṇaan   ṃwijit-i   mā   ko.
       Takwōj 3s.agr-want cut.trans-obj breadfruit the.pl.nh
   'Takwōj wants to cut the breadfruits.'

(616)
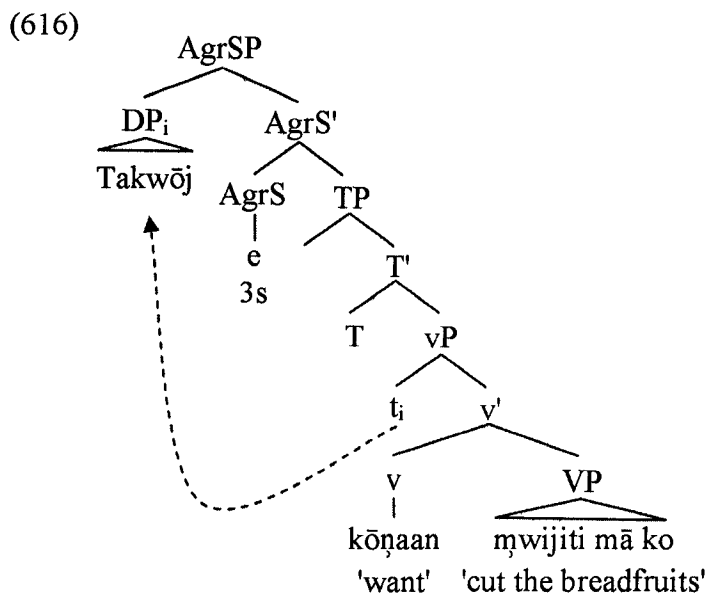
6.6.4 Biclausal sentences

In biclausal sentences, both the matrix and the embedded verbs are V heads, and therefore, both move to the left adjoin to the head of an XP. Additionally, they both select an external argument. In the case of the matrix verb, this external argument is the matrix subject, while in the case of the embedded verb, it is PRO. This configuration explains why the subject may immediately follow the matrix verb. If the subject remains vP

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internal, then the movement of the matrix verb to X results in *V S in V* word order. This

derivation is illustrated by (617).

(552) E-ar   ļōmņak kōrā   eo   in   āj.
       3s.agr-T(past) plan   woman the.s IN weave.intrans
       'The woman planned to weave.'

(617)
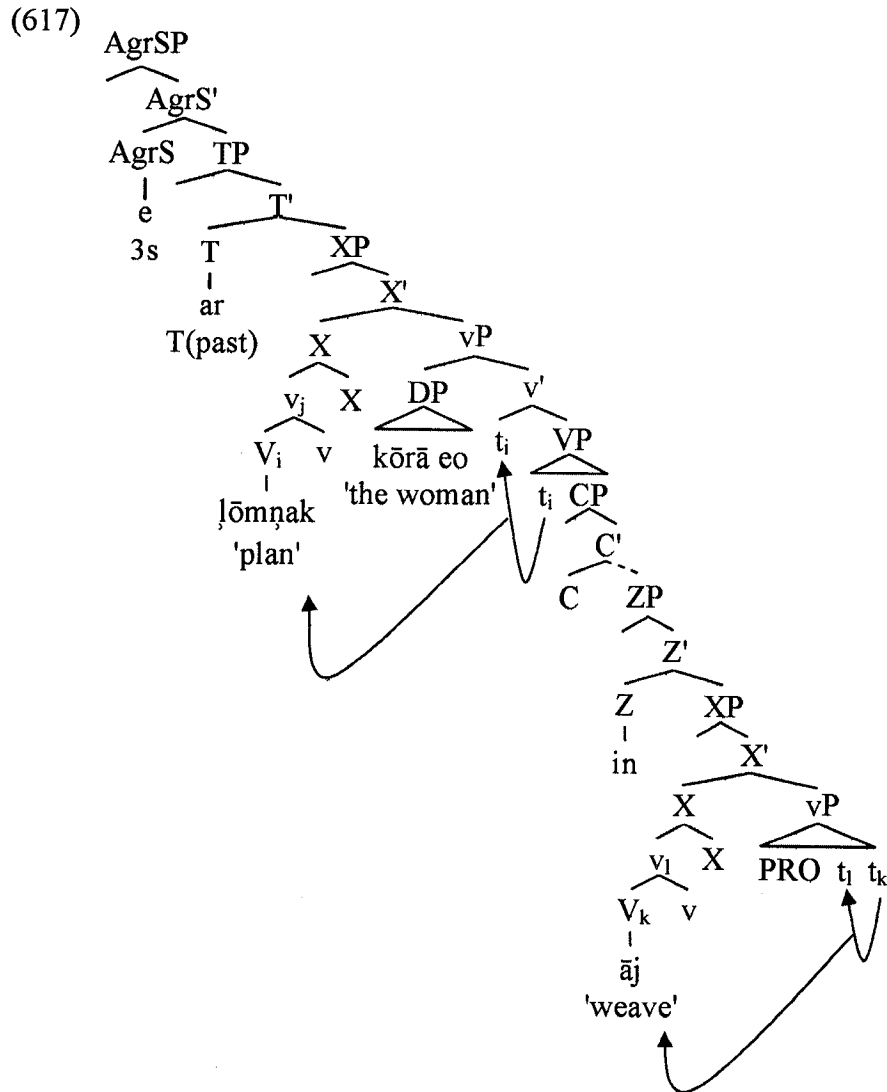
6.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have argued that there are three different types of Marshallese

infinitives: biclausal, functional restructuring and semi-functional restructuring. I have

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also argued that these three types of infinitives differ in their syntactic behaviors with respect to various properties, including subject position, long passives and the scope of negation. Following Wurmbrand (2001) and Cinque (2004, 2006), I have proposed a functional restructuring configuration and have also proposed a semi-functional restructuring configuration for Marshallese.

This research supports the conclusions reached by Wurmbrand and Cinque with regards to the existence of the functional restructuring configuration. One of the major differences between Wurmbrand's and Cinque's proposals regarding restructuring is that Wurmbrand posits a number of different types of restructuring configurations. In regards to the Marshallese data, the existence of at least two different types of restructuring seems supported, as Wurmbrand has proposed.

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Chapter 7. Conclusions and Discussion

This dissertation has had two main focuses: 1) providing a syntactic description of word order and subject position in Marshallese basic declaratives, passives and infinitives and 2) proposing analyses for three Marshallese sentence types. In this dissertation, I have argued in favor of certain syntactic theories in order to account for the syntactic behaviors of these sentence types. Some of these include Belletti's accusative case assigning head, Collins' smuggling approach to passives, Watanabe's and Mahajan's analysis of passives, and the restructuring configurations proposed by Wurmbrand (2001) and Rizzi (2006).

In addition, the analyses presented here have a number of theoretical implications regarding syntax, including the following:

1. In order to account for the position to which the verb and in some cases the verb phrase moves (XP and YP in my trees), we must make one of two assumptions. First, this movement may be feature driven. If this is the case, we would have to assume that the heads of these phrases are non-overt lexical elements and that we have just not yet discovered what these heads are. Alternatively, we could assume that the grammar allows for non-lexical morphemes, much like Kayne's Word Order Phrases (WPs), which he uses to derive the correct word order in a number of different types of sentences. Under this second theory, we would have to assume that the grammar somehow knows the correct word order and uses these WPs to derive this order. While the matter is far from settled, I am partial to the first possibility, as it seems to me that there must be some motivation for verb or VP movement beyond simply deriving the correct word order.

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2. There must be a connection between the syntax and the phonology, as proposed by Selkirk and by Truckenbrodt, such that syntactic phrases may correspond to phonological phrases so that the edges of these phrases may be marked in the phonology.

3. Accusative case must be assigned by a head distinct from little v. If this is the case, there must also be a mechanism by which *V S O* order is derivable in some languages but not in others. If this is done through movement of the subject to a position above this accusative case assigning head in *V S O* languages, then we can assume that this Acc head is generated in the same position in the clause in all languages. But if it is the case that the subjects of these languages do not move to a position higher in the structure than AccP, we must assume that AccP is generated in a lower position in the clause in *V S O* languages. This second proposition then forces us to assume that there is a division in the grammar between heads with semantic values, such as adverbs, which must be generated in a universal hierarchy, and formal features with no semantic values, such as Acc, which allow language variation as to where they are generated.

4. Feature checking must be able to occur in either a spec-head relationship or an Agree relationship.

5. There may be three possibilities for how a language forms a passive. First, languages may include an overt Voice head and merge a DP in spec vP. Second, languages may have a null Voice head and merge a PP in spec vP. Third, languages may have both constructions.

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