Subject positions in Marshallese
Willson, Heather

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Subject Positions in Marshallese

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Linguistics

by

Heather Willson

2008
UMI Number: 3351759

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The dissertation of Heather Willson is approved.

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2008
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.intrans</td>
<td>intransitive verb form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.trans</td>
<td>transitive verb form</td>
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<tr>
<td>-trans</td>
<td>transitive suffix</td>
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<td>-obj</td>
<td>object marker</td>
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</tr>
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<td>first person singular, first person plural</td>
</tr>
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<td>predicate phrase</td>
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<td>past tense</td>
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<td>T(pres)</td>
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<td>TAM</td>
<td>tense, aspect, modality marker</td>
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<td>TopP</td>
<td>topic phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veh.poss</td>
<td>possessive classifier for vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
</tr>
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</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who have done so much to help me complete this dissertation that no amount of thanks or recognition can possibly repay them for all they have done for me. I know whatever I say will be inadequate, so I hope they will excuse my feeble attempt to put into words all that I feel.

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xii
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Subject Positions in Marshallese

by

Heather Willson

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2008

Professor Anoop Mahajan, Chair

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, Micronesia): 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,
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).
Figure 1. Location of the Republic of the Marshall Islands

The RMI consists of two island chains: the Ratak chain in the East and the Ralik 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.
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 Râlik dialect as a result of Râlik 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
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**

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

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.

---

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
fewer than 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th># of speakers</th>
<th>year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mapia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobian</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satawalese</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son sorol</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namonuito</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mokilese</td>
<td>1,050</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pááfang</td>
<td>1,318</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puluwatese</td>
<td>1,364</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woleaian</td>
<td>1,631</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinglapesse</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolinian</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulithian</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanapag</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortlockese</td>
<td>5,904</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauruan</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosraean</td>
<td>7,700</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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
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. 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


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

---

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabials</th>
<th>Coronals</th>
<th>Velars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td>Palatalized</td>
<td>p̥</td>
<td>t̥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Velarized</td>
<td>p̦</td>
<td>ț</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labialized</td>
<td>m̥</td>
<td>n̥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>Palatalized</td>
<td>m̦</td>
<td>n̦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Velarized</td>
<td>m̧</td>
<td>ņ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labialized</td>
<td>ñ̥</td>
<td>ņ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liquids</strong></td>
<td>Palatalized</td>
<td>j̥</td>
<td>l̥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Velarized</td>
<td>l̦</td>
<td>r̦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labialized</td>
<td>l̥̃</td>
<td>r̥̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Glides</strong></td>
<td>Palatalized</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>u̥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Velarized</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>u̥</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(1) \text{mat} \quad [m^\text{y}^\text{ey}^\text{y}] \quad \text{'be full' (after eating)}
    \text{maat} \quad [m^\text{y}^\text{ye}^\text{t}^\text{i}] \quad \text{'all gone'}

In this example, a difference in vowel length—short as in \text{mat} and long as in \text{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. \text{a} represents [ə] and \text{aa}, [œː]), this issue is not essential to any discussion that follows
and will therefore be set aside for now.

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
\hline
\hline
i & u & u \\
i & y & u \\
e & ø & o \\
ɛ & ø & o \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Marshallese vowels (adapted from Choi 1992 and Hale 2000)}
\end{table}

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iu</th>
<th>iu</th>
<th>wi</th>
<th>uu</th>
<th>ui</th>
<th>uu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ir</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>ir</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ae</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>ae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åe</td>
<td>åe</td>
<td>åe</td>
<td>åe</td>
<td>åe</td>
<td>åe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åa</td>
<td>åa</td>
<td>åa</td>
<td>åa</td>
<td>åa</td>
<td>åa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, if a vowel is found between a palatalized consonant and a velarized one (C'IVC'), 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 /tieəp/. 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 2.1.1 and 2.1.2.
Table 6. Marshallese orthography
(adapted from Abo, et. al. 1976)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>orthography</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>a low back unrounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>a low front vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>a bilabial stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>a retroflex trill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[e] or [ɛ]</td>
<td>a mid front vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[ɪ] or [i]</td>
<td>a high front vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>[t̪]</td>
<td>a dental stop of affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k] or [kʰ]</td>
<td>a velar stop, unrounded or rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l̪]</td>
<td>a lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>[l̩] or [l̪]</td>
<td>a lateral, unrounded or rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>a bilabial nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̄</td>
<td>[m̄]</td>
<td>a bilabial nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n̄]</td>
<td>a dental nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̄</td>
<td>[n̄] or [n̄]</td>
<td>a dental nasal, unrounded or rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>[ñ]</td>
<td>a velar nasal, unrounded or rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[o] or [o̞]</td>
<td>a mid back rounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o̞</td>
<td>[o̞]</td>
<td>a mid back rounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p̄</td>
<td>[p̄]</td>
<td>a bilabial stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>[ɾ] or [ɾ̪]</td>
<td>a retroflex trill, unrounded or rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>[t̪]</td>
<td>a dental stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>a high back rounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>[u̞] or [u̞]</td>
<td>a high back unrounded vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>a rounded velar glide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>an unrounded palatal glide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 pälle.
    1pl.in.agr-should sing.trans song of be.covered³ '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) Bwilijmān eo e-ar ka-bōjrak ri-kōt 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).

---

³ The Marshallese word for 'American' or 'Westerner' comes from the word pälle, which means 'be covered'.
(4) E-boôl ri-Maîje ilo Costa Mesa.
3s.agr-be.many one.from-Marshalls in Costa Mesa
'There are many Marshallese in Costa Mesa.'

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

(6) ri-îjo
    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 pinjele eo?
    where.is pencil the.s
    'Where is the pencil?'

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>determiners</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>pl human</th>
<th>pl nonhuman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unknown, not visible</td>
<td>eo</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstratives</td>
<td>near the speaker</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>rā</td>
<td>kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near the speaker and listener</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>rein</td>
<td>kein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near the listener</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ranе</td>
<td>kanе</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away from both speaker &amp; listener</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>ran</td>
<td>kan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distant but visible</td>
<td>uweo</td>
<td>roro</td>
<td>koko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(10) Je-n al al in pälle.
    1pl.in.agr-shōught song-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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>absolute/emphatic</th>
<th></th>
<th>objective</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular</td>
<td>ña</td>
<td></td>
<td>eō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular</td>
<td>kwe</td>
<td></td>
<td>eok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 singular</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>e (human only)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 plural inclusive</td>
<td>køj</td>
<td></td>
<td>køj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 plural exclusive</td>
<td>køm</td>
<td></td>
<td>køm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>kom (Rālik); komi (Ratak)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kom (Rālik); komi (Ratak)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 plural</td>
<td>er</td>
<td></td>
<td>er (human only)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)).
(11) E-ar deñōt ladik ro.
E-ar deñōt ladāk 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.

Marshallalese 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);

\(^4\) The verb *deñōt* can mean 'slap' or 'pound.' I have followed Harrison's translations in these examples.

\(^5\) Erland (1914) explains that the Marshallalese 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 Marshallalese 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 wôt.
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 el-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
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) Na 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 ŋa im Mona, kōj-jil e-naaj umuŋum ŋan 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 ŋan 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.
### Table 9. Marshallese subject agreement clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person (inclusive)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>kōj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person (exclusive)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>kwō</td>
<td>kom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; person</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>re</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ŋan kweilōk 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) Ładdik eo e-bar jino katak.
    boy the.s 3s.agr-again start.trans study
    'The boy again started to study.'

(29) Herman e-kōpaan 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):

---

22
(30) a. Mary e-kar żũtak ilo Namorik im kar ritoq̣ok 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 żũtak ilo Namorik im e-kar ritoq̣ok 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-buromouij 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 ettō̂r irooj ro ūn kweilq̣ok eo.
    3pl.agr-T(fut) run chief the.pl.h to meeting the.s
    'The chiefs will run to the meeting.'
b. *E-naaj ettōr irooj ro ŋan kweilōk 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 būromōj 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 būromōj 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.
2.2.5 Adjectives

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) Loon kileplep eo e-jorrān.
    boat big the.s 3s.agr-beroken
    'The big boat is broken.'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Stative Verb</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'great, large'</td>
<td>ʃap</td>
<td>ʃapʃap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lowly, small'</td>
<td>dik</td>
<td>dikdik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'big, fat'</td>
<td>kilep</td>
<td>kileplep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'small'</td>
<td>jidik</td>
<td>jidikdik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thick'</td>
<td>mijel</td>
<td>mijeljel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thin'</td>
<td>māni</td>
<td>mānini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wide'</td>
<td>depakpak</td>
<td>depakpak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'short'</td>
<td>kadu</td>
<td>kadudu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

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 kōt 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 wūnō-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 mōr eo e-ar itaak ilo mweo.
car old the.s 3s.agr-T(past) crash into the.house
'The old car crashed into the house.'

b. Kaar eo e-mōr e-ar itaak ilo mweo.
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-ear
     eebē 'shiver'     ka-eebebe 'make (someone) shiver'
     baai 'fight'      ka-baiti 'make (someone) fight'
     bukwelolō 'kneel' ka-bukwelolōuk 'make (someone) kneel'
     baat 'be slow'     kō-bate 'make (something) slow'
     bwebwe 'be stupid' ka-bwebwe 'fool (someone)'

26
When *ka-* prefixes to an intransitive verb, it licenses an additional argument, as shown in (40a&b).

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

       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) iiialane 'be moonrise' ka-iiialane '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-ʃok.
       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
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  emmaan eo.  
        3s.agr-be.angry man the.s  
        'The man is angry.'
   
   b. E-ka-lluulu  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-lluulu  eð.  
        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-lluulu-e  eð.  
        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)  
     lulu  'be angry'  ka-llulu  'be provocative'
     jook  'be ashamed'  ka-jjookok  'be shameful'
     jin  'fart'  ka-jjinjin  'be gas-producing'
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.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{intrans} & \text{trans} & \text{causative} \\
p\text{pok} & \text{pok} & \text{look for (something)}' \\
\text{b}\text{q}\text{q}\text{or} & \text{b}\text{q}\text{or} & \text{cap something}' \\
\text{k}\text{k}\text{n}\text{ak} & \text{k}\text{n}\text{ak} & \text{wear (something)}' \\
\text{k}\text{k}\text{iil} & \text{k}\text{iil} & \text{memorize (something)}' \\
\end{array}
\]

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).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(47) a. Kw}\text{o}-\text{n } & \text{k}\text{n}\text{ak}-\text{e} \\
\text{2s.agr-should} & \text{w}\text{ear.}\text{trans-obj} \\
\text{dress} & \text{the.s} \\
\text{'}\text{You should wear the dress.}' \\
\text{(Abo, et. al. 1976: 149)} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^7\) 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.
b. Kwō-n ka-kōṇak-e ajri en.
   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 muri '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-muri ippā-n Isaac.
   Bill 3s.agr-owe with-3s Isaac
   'Bill owes Isaac.'

b. Bill e-muri-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-muri-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.'
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-mjuri-ik  Bill kôn  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).
(50)  E-ar   deñöt-e   ladik eo.
      E-ar   deñöt-e   ḣaddik eo.
  3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans-obj boy  the.s
  'He slapped the boy.'
      (Harrison 1978:1073)

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

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

(56)   *E-ar   deñöt-i   ladik ro.
   *E-ar   deñöt-i   ḣaddik ro.
  3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans-obj boy  the.pl.h
  'He slapped the boys.'
      (Harrison 1978:1075)
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 deñot-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 deñot-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
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    deñôt-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-ö,    e-ar    lo-e.
      shoe  the.s  grn.poss-1s.gen  3s.agr-T(past) see-obj
      'My shoe, he saw.'

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

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

      b.  *Jäp-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 *kôkkure 'destroy', *bôk- 'take' and *jibwe 'catch' (trans), do not require an object marker when the object is fronted.8

---

8 I follow Abo, et. al. (1976) in assuming that these verbs do not take an object suffix.
(64) Oror eo, piik eo e-ar kôkkure.
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)
bôk-lôk ŋan el eo a-n.
take-away.from.both to nest the.s grn.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'
kû- 'fly'
le- 'give'
leak- 'take'
lo- 'visit'
jo- 'be at'
pâl- 'leap'
tar- 'go'
wan- 'go'
wûjlep- '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.

35
(68)  -tok, -tak     toward the speaker  
       -wōj, -waj    toward the listener  
       -∅k            away from both

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

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

   b. Lio e-j kā-wōj nāan 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-∅k 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 -∅k. 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).
(70) ar 'toward the lagoon side'
     âne 'islandward or shoreward'
     lal 'downward'
     lōn 'upward'
     lik 'toward the oceanside'
     maan 'forward'
     meto 'seaward'
     niñeañ 'northward'
     noog '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) Lōmaro r-ar jū-liñ-jok ik ñan bao eo.
     Lōmaro r-ar jū-lōn-jok 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-jok larrik eo
     Lio e-ar bōk-meto-jok jaddik 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 tariinae e-j i-rōk-tā-jok.
     Jar in tariinae e-j i-rōk-ta-jok.
     group of war 3s.agr-T(pres) go-south-east-away.from.both
     'The army is going southeastward.'
     (Zewen 1977:130)
(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-naaj 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 kā meto ijo.
     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 t-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
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, "\textit{.intrans}" or "\textit{.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, "\textit{(trans)}" or "\textit{(intrans)}" is included after the English translation, so as to indicate whether the word is the transitive or intransitive form of the verb.

\textbf{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).

\begin{verbatim}
(78)  etal    'go'
      jäjlok  'slip'
      jeblaak 'leave'
      jepjep  'immigrate'
      jijet   'sit'
      kiki    'sleep'
      olok    'fall'
\end{verbatim}

⁹There 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. Ëo e-j ji'et.
    the.man 3s.agr-T(pres) sit
    'The man is sitting.'

 b. *Ëo e-j ji'et-ik jaddle 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 eja'ine ankila-a-n Anij bwe kom armej in Mejit
    nevertheless if will-3s.gen God that 2pl.abs people of Mejit
    komi-n ka-ji'et io ilo jea in a-d...
    kōmi-n ka-ji'et 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 etail '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'
    kōkkure 'destroy'
    kōnnaan 'want'
    lale 'see'
    tōpar 'reach'
    yokwe 'love'
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 kôkkure oror eo.
      pig the.s 3s.agr-T(past) destroy fence the.s
      'The pig destroyed the fence.'

         b. *Piik eo e-ar kôkkure.
            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)    \begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
        \hline
        Intransitive & Transitive & English \\
        \hline
        mõnä & kañ & 'eat'
        idaak & limi & 'drink'
        \hline
      \end{tabular}

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

         b. Ajri ro re-kar kañ-e mă eo.
            child the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) eat.trans-obj breadfruit the.s
            'The children ate the breadfruit.'
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 mōnā ko.
      girl the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) buy-trans food the.pl.nh
      'The girls bought the food.'

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

      b. Ładdik ēo e-j kaplo-uk leddik ēo.
      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)  'tattoo'  
      kaplo  kaplo-uk  'spit'
      uṃma  uṃma-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 lot and its intransitive form lot\_lot 'pull pandanas key off'.\(^\text{10}\)

\[(90)\]
\[
a. \text{John e-ar } \text{lot} \quad \text{bōb eo.} \\
John 3s.agr-T(past) pull.keys.off.pandanas.trans pandanas the.s \\
'John pulled a key off the pandanas.'
\]

\[
b. \text{John e-ar } \text{lot}\_\text{lot.} \\
John 3s.agr-T(past) pull.keys.off.pandanas.intrans \\
'John pulled off pandanas keys.'
\]

Since the transitive form of the verb – lot – 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 mwij\_mwij 'cut, operate':

\[(91)\]
\[
a. \text{Emməan eo e-ar } \text{mwijit piik eo.} \\
man the.s 3s.agr-T(past) cut.trans pig the.s \\
'The man cut the pig.'
\]

\[
b. \text{Emməan eo e-ar } \text{mwij}\_\text{mwij}. \\
man the.s 3s.agr-T(past) cut.intrans \\
'The man did some cutting.'
\]

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

---

\(^{10}\) The pandanas fruit is shaped like a globe, with many prism-like sections known as keys. These keys are pulled off and then chewed.
dissimilation may result in vowel raising in the reduplicated syllable, as in

\( \textit{dam}\text{đem}/\textit{dam}\text{wij} \) 'lick' (Bender 1969b):

(92) a. Kidu eo e-j dam\text{wij} ne-ü.
    dog the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) lick.trans foot-1s.gen
    'The dog licked my foot.'

    b. Kidu ko re-j damđem 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 \textit{keke/kijj} 'sew', there is also a phonological change in the vowels of the reduplicated form:

(93) a. Körä ro re-j kijj-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 jădede.
    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).
(94)  intransitive  transitive  English
bobo   bour(i)   'catch'
damden  damwij   'lick'
derden  denot(e)   'slap'
depdep  depete   'spear'; 'poke'
inene  inneek   'carry on shoulders'; 'bear a burden'
kallib  kallbw(i)   'bury'; 'plant'
keke   kiij(i)   'sew'; 'stitch'
lotlot  lot   'pick'; 'pick fruit'; 'pull keys off pandanas'
lemlem  lim(i)   'fold'
lloklok  lukwoj(e)   'tie'; 'bind'
miwikmij  mwiwit   'cut'; 'operate'; 'slit'
namnam  nemak(e)   'taste'; 'smell'
nono   no(e)   'pound'
poopo  poook; poob   'sweep'
rorkrok  rökuj   'scratch'
umkum  ukot(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  jaddik  ro.
      mother-3pl.gen 3s.agr-T(past) slap.trans boy  the.pl.h
      'Their mother slapped the boys.'

      b.  l-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
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'     |
    akwāal | akwāal(e)   | 'quarrel'; 'argue' |
    alej  | alej(e)     | 'aim a gun at' |
    būttūk | būttūk(i)   | 'spurt'; 'squirt' |
    deblok | deblok(e)   | 'pass through' |
    eqōōd | eqōōd(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'    |
    tūmmon | tūmmon(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 mōnā 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.'
(100) I-lukkuun kōnaaŋ eŋōd 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 kān 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 mōña 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 mōña.
   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
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).
(104)  Noun | Verb | Source
---|---|---
at 'hat' | atat 'wear a hat' | Bender 1969a
jōōt 'shirt' | jōōtōt 'wear a shirt' | Bender 1969a
jokoŋ 'walking-stick' | jokoŋkoŋ 'have a walking-stick' | Zewen 1977
joob 'soap' | joobob 'be soapy' | Bender 1971
juuj 'shoes' | juujuj 'wear shoes' | Bender 1969a
kāj 'loincloth' | kaļkaļ 'wear a loincloth' | Zewen 1977
kañūr 'belt' | kañūriļūr 'wear a belt' | Bender 1969a
koļj 'blanket' | koļjoj 'use a blanket' | Bender 1969a
māj 'glasses' | mājmāj 'wear glasses' | Bender 1969a
nūnur 'sound of groaning' | nūnurūn 'groan/grunt' | Zewen 1977
riiņ 'ring' | riiniņ 'wear a ring' | Bender 1969a
takin 'socks' | takikin '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.
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 \( \text{kar} \) 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, \( \text{kar} \) must be used (107).

(106) E-\( \text{ar} \) le-tok bok eo ŋan ŋa.
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 ŋan ŋa.
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 ŋan ŋa.
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.'

50


**ban**  
'won't', negative future.

(109) Körä ro re-ban kōnono ippä-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) Körä ro re-n kōnono ippä-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 ṗare.  
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 ṗare.  
1s.agr-never marry.intrans  
'I will never marry.'

**nañin**  
'almost', prospective aspect.

(113) Ładdik eo e-nañin wötlök jän wöjke eo.  
boy the.s 3s.agr-almost fall from tree the.s  
'The boy almost fell from the tree.'

**baj wöt**  
'almost', prospective aspect.¹¹

(114) Ładdik eo e-baj wöt wötlök jän wöjke 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*.
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  iu:kkre  basketbqol.
3s.agr-still play basketball
'He's still playing basketball.'

kön  'used to', habitual aspect.

(117) Le:o  e-kön  al  ippä-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 (Aspₚᵢₓ), used for an event that happened, is happening, or
will happen in close proximity to a specific time.

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

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

kijoñi  'usually, too much', frequentative aspect.

(120) Leddi:k  eo  e-j  kijoñi  jako  jän  ṃweo.
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  ṛōli  ñan  ṃweo  imo-n  Tom.
3s.agr-again return to the.house dwell.poss-3s.gen Tom
'He is returning to Tom's house again.'

52
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) Kömi-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) Kömi-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 *wöt*.

*wöt*  'still,' continuative aspect.

(124) I-j katak wöt kajin majel.
     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. Kajimenlōn e-j jerak tok ūnan Mile.
     Kajimenlōn 3s.agr-T(pres) sail.intrans toward speaker to Mile
     'Kajimenlōn is sailing to Mile (where I am).'

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

53
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. Niñniñ eo e-ar burake ḳok ke baby the.s 3s.agr-T(past) spew.out.chewed.food.trans away.from.both Q mōnā eo jān ṭōnii-n?
food the.s from mouth-3s.gen
'Did the baby spit out the food from her mouth?'
(Pagotto 1987:280)

b. Niñniñ eo e-ar burake ḳok ke ḳok baby the.s 3s.agr-T(past) spew.out.chewed.food.trans Q away.from.both mōnā eo jān ṭōnii-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 mān ḳok ēta-n jān bok Ṉe. 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 mān-e ḳok jān bok Ṉe. 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-ḡok ke mōnā eo Ṉān niñniñ 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)
b. *Kw-ar le ke ʃøk mʊñø eo ñan niññiñ eo?
2s.agr-T(past) giveQ 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-ʃøk bok ȵe ñan ajri ȵe.
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-ʃøk-e ñan ajri ȵe.
2s agr-should give-away.from both-obj to child that
'Give it to that child.'
(Pagotto 1987:280)

c. *Kwo-n le-e ʃøk bok ȵe ñan ajri ȵe.
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 ippä-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 kä- 'fly' is a verb which requires a directional suffix.

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

(132) *Ljakwe e-naaj kä rainin.
Ljakwe 3s.agr-T(fut) fly today
'Ljakwe will fly today.'
Following Pagotto, I assume that *tok, wōj* and *fok* 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 *fok* are adverbs in all other cases.

In principal, one might ask how one can tell if *tok, wōj* or *fok* 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. Kajimenlōn e-j jerak tok ūan Mile.  
Kajimenlōn 3s.agr-T(pres) sail.intrans toward speaker to Mile  
'Kajimenlōn is sailing to Mile (where I am).'</n
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
morphemes are possible. Based on these facts, we 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 rañe pālee-n jōmarāne re-j aikuj kar dejōn
...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)
(135) UNESCO e-j kio lale a-n le-tok
UNESCO e-j kiōō 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...
jipaŋ kijje-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-kōnaan 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 ettōn ēn laddik 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) Loon kilelep eo e-jorrāān.
boat big the.s 3s.agr-be.broken
'The big boat is broken.'
(141) Laddik nana eo e-ar etal im küttiliek jän 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. Laddik eo e-ar lijjidwålqok ilo wójke eo e-ar wötlök. 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. Laddik eo me e-ar lijjidwålqok ilo wójke eo e-ar boy the.s that 3s.agr-T(past) swing in tree the.s 3s.agr-T(past) wötlök. 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
(145) E-ar le-tok juon jerbal ļapĮap i-j aikuj
3s.agr-T(past) give-toward.speaker a work great 1s.agr-T(pres) need
kōmmon-e.
do-obj
'She gave me a great work (that) I need to do.'

(146) Atina e-ar al ļan juon niṈniṈ me e-ar
Atina 3s.agr-T(past) sing.intrans to a baby that 3s.agr-T(past)
etton dik dik.
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 ļan 'to' must be
followed by a resumptive suffix, which, in (147), is ļ-e.

(147) Juon kōrā e-ar lo-ľok eņmaan eo me Konio
a woman 3s.agr-T(past) visit-away.from.speaker man the.s that Konio
e-ar le-ľok juon bok ļan-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 ļan is followed by an overt DP.

(148) Juon kōrā e-ar lo-ľok eņmaan eo me
a woman 3s.agr-T(past) visit-away.from.speaker man the.s that
e-ar le-ľok juon bok ļan 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-ľok eņmaan eo me
a woman 3s.agr-T(past) visit-away.from.speaker man the.s that
e-ar le-ľok juon bok ļan-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.
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 \textit{im}, which in other circumstances means 'and'.

(150) E-wor ruo ri Majol ro im re-naaj bok  
E-wor ruo ri-Majel ro im re-naaj bök  
3s.agr-exist two one.from-Marshalls the.pl.h and 3pl.agr-T(fut) receive  
jerammon jen juon special scholarship eo...  
jerammon jän 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 abŋŋō eo ikijien bwidej ko ion Kwajalein im e-jelōt  
a dispute the.s over land the.pl.nh on Kwajalein and 3s.agr-involve  
jibuki jima tōujin US tala ko... e-j kio tobar  
jibukwi jima tōujin US tala ko... e-j kiiō tōpar  
hundred and some thousand US dollar the.pl.nh 3s.agr-T(pres) now reach  
tok jemlokın.  
tok jemlokiŋ  
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 \textit{im} is simply the conjunction 'and'. However, the second example rules out this argument because, if \textit{im} were a conjunction, the sentences would violate the coordinate structure constraint, since it would include coordination of a determiner phrase (\textit{juon abnono eo ikijien bwirej ko ion Kwajalein \textquoteleft a dispute over lands on Kwajalein'}) with an entire sentence (\textit{ejelet jibuki jima tāujin US...})
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-i, -o, -a, -u</td>
<td>exclusive: -m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>inclusive: -d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-er, -ir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(152) E-bool 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 kçôt-e bûruo-ö.
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 ŋan 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 ŋan 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 ŋan er bwe re-n iuikkure
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.'
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 kowwe 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>abbreviation</th>
<th>classifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cherished person/thing, such as child, pet,</td>
<td>cher</td>
<td>neja-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musical instrument, appliance, toy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>drink</td>
<td>lime-, nime-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwelling place</td>
<td>dwell</td>
<td>imo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>kija-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general</td>
<td>gnr</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vehicle, boat</td>
<td>veh</td>
<td>wa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adornments</td>
<td>adorn</td>
<td>marö-*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bait</td>
<td>bait</td>
<td>mōra-*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eating implements, kitchen utensils</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>niū-*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>mat</td>
<td>kiniō-*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal possession</td>
<td>pers</td>
<td>nweiō-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plants</td>
<td>plant</td>
<td>kötka-*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prey</td>
<td>prey</td>
<td>kwona-*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 PossessiveClassifier-PossessiveSuffix (Possessor)*

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

(159) Juon körä e-ar kwä[ko]j nuknu kö 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-nno koša 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-lop baļuun 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 kwajkoł 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 
innate 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 līm-ī 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.')
(165) Bølen 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 bwijn nej-i-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 jibabar ko... e-j... nan jino-e juon
Wūnin jibabad ko... e-j... ūnan 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 kōqt-e aolep juuj ko a-ō.
3s.agr-T(past) steal-obj all shoe the.pl.nh gnr.poss-1s.gen
'The 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.'
(171) E-ar kwal-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marshallese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilo, i</td>
<td>'in, at, during, through'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nān</td>
<td>'to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ion</td>
<td>'on, over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jān</td>
<td>'from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōn</td>
<td>'with' (instrumental),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'because of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ippā-n</td>
<td>'with' (comitative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāe</td>
<td>'against'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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-jeɾəwiwi.
     Armej ri-jeɾəwiwi.
     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 əɾəb.
     Er-ro əɾəb.
     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 əɾəb ri-jeɾəwiwi.
     man 3s.agr-T(pres) neg one.who-sin
     'Man is not a sinner.'

(178) Er-ro re-j əɾəb əɾəb.
     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):
(179) \( \text{Win } \eta a, \text{ raj } \text{kwe.} \)
\( \text{Wön } \eta a, \text{ raj } \text{kwe.} \)

\[ \text{turtle 1s.abs whale 2s.abs}^{14} \]
'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, \( \text{wön} \) and \( \text{raj} \) 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) \( \text{Wön e-jab } \eta a, \text{ raj e-jab } \text{kwe.} \)

\[ \text{turtle 3s.agr-neg 1s whale 3s.agr-neg 2s.abs} \]
'The turtle is not me, the whale is not you.'

(181) \( *\text{Wön } \eta a \text{ i-jab, raj kwe kwo-jab.} \)

\[ \text{turtle 1s.abs 1s.agr-neg whale 2s.abs 2s.agr-neg} \]
'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.

\[ ^{14} \text{Zewen translates } \text{raj as 'porpoise.' I have translated it, following Abo et. al. (1976) and my consultants, as 'whale.' } \]
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 kōnaan 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).

\[15\] Other Micronesian complementizers include the Kosraean- lah and muh; the Pulo Annanese- na and bwar; and the Ulithian- la and bo.
(183) I-kōnaan 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) Lj kakkije bwe i-jaad mōk.
1s.agr-T(pres) rest because 1s.agr-fairly be.tired
'I am resting because I am fairly tired.'
(188) Ritti bwebwenato eo mokta ippa-m make bwe e-n kab emanread story the s before with-2s self that 3s.agr-should also be gooda-m naaj bwebwenato kake nan 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 konono ippa-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).
(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 ippä-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 ippä-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 kōñaan 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 kōmman bade eo ke ŋan 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 kōñaan 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 kōṇaān men in mourn?  
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 kōmmān bade ke eo ŋan er?  
3pl.agr-should make party Q the.s for 3pl.abs  
'Should they throw the party for them?'

b. *Re-n kōmmān bade eo ŋan 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):
(204) a. Kwo-j jab etal ŋan Rita ke?
   2s.agr-T(pres) neg go to Rita Q
   'Aren't you going to Rita?'

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

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

d. *Kwo-j jab etal ke ŋan 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.
(205) a. I-jaje e-j ke ka-ire kaulalo.
   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 kaulalo.
   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 kaulalo 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 kaulalo.
   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 *ne* 'if', since *ne* may only appear embedded clause initially.

(207) a. I-jaje ne e-j ka-ire kaulalo.
   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 ne ka-ire kaulalo.
   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 ŋe kaulalo.
   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 kaulalo ŋe.
   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 ŋe, like ke, is a complementizer.

2.3.4.2.3 Wh- questions

Marshallene 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 wën 'who',
ta 'what', ia 'where' and ŋaat 'when'.

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

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

   b. Wön e-ar mwijbar-e eok?
   who 3s.agr-T(past) cut.hair.trans-obj 2s.obj
   'Who cut your hair? (lit. 'Who haircut you?')
ta 'what'
(210) a. Ta ko kidu ko re-kar kôkkure?  
what the.pl.nh dog the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) destroy  
'What did the dogs destroy?'

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

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

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

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

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

ñaat 'when'
(213) a. Nänät eo re-naaj jambo 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 jambo ñänät ñan Laura?  
misionary 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.
(214)  *Kw-ar ṣwijbar-e wön 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 kökkure ta eo?
       dog the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) destroy what the.s
       'What did the dogs destroy?'

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

(217)  *Mejinede ro re-naaj jaṃbo ŋañt eo ŋan 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 wön 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. Wön ro re-j tuṭu i ar?
       who the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(pres) swim in lagoon
       'Who are swimming in the lagoon?'

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

       c. Ajri raŋ re-j tuṭu 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

80
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-2s.gen  
'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), *kan* '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 *ne komi-j kənnaa kak-e?  
what that 2pl.agr-T(pres) talk about-3s  
'What are you (pl) talking about (by you)?'

(222) Ta *kan* armej ran r-ej məŋə?  
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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marshallese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etke</td>
<td>'why'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewi</td>
<td>'where is'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erri</td>
<td>'where are (people)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erki</td>
<td>'where are (things)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
etke 'why'

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

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

c. *Etke eo kwo-j kōmman 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 pinnjel eo?
    where.is pencil the.s
    'Where is the pencil ?'

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

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

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

(227) Erki nkuńkuń ko?
    where.are.nh dress the.pl.nh
    'Where are the dresses ?'
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 roi! Ņan mweo im-ō?
    how gnr.poss-1s.gen T(fut) return to the.house dwell.poss-1s
    'How will I get home?'

(229) Ekōjkan a-m jelā bwe men kein re-mool?
    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) Baļuun 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-eqōd ro re-j iitōk-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).

83
(233) Jete eo armaj e-arr kōnono ilo kwelōk 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:

PossessiveClassifier-PossessiveSuffix wōn PossessedNoun DefDeterminer

(234) A-n wōn bok eo jaddik ro r-ar kōott-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 mē ko leddik ro r-ar
    food.poss-3s.gen who breadfruit the pl nh girl the pl h 3pl.agr-T(past)
    kan-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 PossessiveClassifier-PossessiveSuffix wōn

(236) Jaddik ro r-ar kōott-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?'
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 aŋwin 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 aŋwin? 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 jaddik eo e-j kəplo? 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.
(239) a. Ta eo kwo-j kömmannõn 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 kömmannõn 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 iôn
'on' does not require a resumptive element.

(241) Wûn eo je-naaj likit a-d kejatrdikdrik iôn?
Wûn eo je-naaj likût a-d köjatdïkdik iôn?
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 ippån
'with,' a resumptive element, such as a pronoun, may not occur (242b).

(242) a. Wûn eo kw-ar mwijbar ippâ-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. *Wûn eo kw-ar mwijbar ippâ-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
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 bök körä
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 bök körä eo
Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) neg see-obj where 3pl.agr-T(pres) take woman the.s ñan e.
to 3s.abs
'Izaac 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)
äj-i.
weave.trans-obj
'I don't know what the girls are weaving.'

b. *I-jaje ta leddik ro re-j äj-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.'
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 bök Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) neg see-obj that where the.s 3pl.agr-T(pres) take körä 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 bök Isaac 3s.agr-T(past) neg see-obj where the.s that 3pl.agr-T(pres) take körä 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 ñaddik 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 ñaddik 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. Nāät 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?'
b. Mary e-ar roñ ñaat eo Jikko e-ar medeke
   Mary 3s.agr-T(past) hear when the.s Jikko 3s.agr-T(past) curry.favor.with
   Joe kön 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) Wön 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. Wön 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).
(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 kōnoono 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 kōqt-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
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.
**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:


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
    (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 ḟaddik eo.
        girl the.s 3s.a-gr-T(past) spit.on-trans boy the.s
    'The girl spit on the boy.'

Sentences with \[ V \ S \ O \] order are ungrammatical.

\[ \ast \, V \ S \ O \]

(256) b. \ast \, E-ar kaplo-uk leddik eo ḟaddik eo.
        3s.a-gr-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 ḟaddik eo, leddik eo.
        3s.a-gr-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
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.

**SV DO PP**

(258)  
a. Jin-ō e-kar jilikin-łok 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 VIO DO

b. *Jin-ō e-kar jilikin-łok 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.'

**SV DO PP**

(259)  
a. Ri-jerbal ro re-j bōk-łok
    one.who-work the.plh 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.'
*SVIDO
   b. *Ri- jerbal ro re-j bök-лож 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.'

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

*SVIDO
   b. *Isaac e-ar le-лож 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:

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

(262) *Ri- jerbal ro re-j bök-лож 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-лож 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:

\[SVPPO\]

(264) Körä eo e-ar bök-lok ñan ippä-n
woman the.s 3s.aagr-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 bök-lok ñan irooj eo,
one.who-work the.pl.h 3pl.aagr-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):

\[SVO\]

(266) Jin-ô e-kar jilikin-tok jet likko.
mother-1s.gen 3s.aagr-T(past) send-toward.speaker some skirt
'My mother sent some skirts to me.'

(267) Ri-jerbal ro re-j bök-wøj bwiro
one.who-work the.pl.h 3pl.aagr-T(pres) take-toward.listener preserved.breadfruit
ko.
the.pl.nh
'The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to you.'
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 *lok* 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 three 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.
First, the subject may be sentence final, regardless of whether the PP argument follows \( (V O P P S) \) or precedes \( (V P P O S) \) the direct object.

\[ (269) \quad \text{Re-j bōk-į̣k bwirot ko ŋan irooj} \]
\[ 3\text{pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from both preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh to chief} \]
\[ \text{eo, ri-jerbal ro.} \]
\[ \text{the.s one.who-work the.pl.h} \]
\[ '\text{They are taking the preserved breadfruit to the chief, the workers.'} \]

\[ (270) \quad \text{Re-j bōk-į̣k ŋan irooj eo, bwirot} \]
\[ 3\text{pl.agr-T(pres) take-away.from both to chief the.s preserved.breadfruit} \]
\[ \text{ko, ri-jerbal ro.} \]
\[ \text{the.pl.nh one.who-work the.pl.h} \]
\[ '\text{They are taking the preserved breadfruit to the chief, the workers.'} \]

\[ (271) \quad \text{E-ar jilkin-į̣k ŋan mọ̣n wia eo} \]
\[ 3\text{s.agr-T(past) sent-away.from both to place.of buy the.s} \]
\[ \text{ri-New Zealand eo, kōrā eo.} \]
\[ \text{one.from-New Zealand the.s woman the.s} \]
\[ '\text{She sent the New Zealander to the store, the woman.'} \]

The subject may also surface between the direct object and prepositional phrase, provided that the direct object comes before the PP.\(^{18}\)

---

\(^{18}\) 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 \( V S O P P \) order, interpreted the sentence as having \( V O S P P \) order, as in (ii).

\[ (ii) \quad \text{E-ar bōk-į̣k kijdiako bao eo kij-a ŋan el eo} \]
\[ 3\text{s.agr-T(past) take-away.from both rat the.s chicken the.s food.poss-1s.gen to nest the.s a-n.} \]
\[ \text{gmr.poss-3s.gen} \]
\[ '\text{My chicken took the rat to its nest.'} \]
\[ *'\text{The rat took my chicken to its nest.'} \]

This fact suggests that this speaker might accept \( V O S P P \) sentences in certain situations only.
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 \( VPP\ S\ O \), \( VSO\ PP \) and \( V\ S\ PP\ O \).

\( VPP\ S\ O \)

\[ (273) \]  
\( \text{Re-j bōk-} \text{lōk \ ŋan irooj eo ri-} \text{jeral ro} \)  
\( 3\text{pl.agr-T(pres) take-away from both preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh} \)  
\( \text{ri-jeral ro ŋan irooj eo.} \)  
\( \text{one.who-work the.pl.h to chief the.s} \)  
\( \text{The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to the chief.'} \)

\( VSO\ PP \)

\[ (274) \]  
\( \text{Re-j bōk-} \text{lōk ri-} \text{jeral ro} \)  
\( 3\text{pl.agr-T(pres) take-away from both one.who-work the.pl.h preserved.breadfruit} \)  
\( \text{ri-jeral ro ŋan irooj eo.} \)  
\( \text{preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh the.pl.h ko.} \)  
\( \text{the.pl.nh to chief the.s} \)  
\( \text{The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to the chief.'} \)

\( V\ S\ PP\ O \)

\[ (275) \]  
\( \text{Re-j bōk-} \text{lōk ri-} \text{jeral ro ŋan irooj eo} \)  
\( 3\text{pl.agr-T(pres) take-away from both one.who-work the.pl.h to chief the.s} \)  
\( \text{ri-jeral ro ŋan irooj eo.} \)  
\( \text{preserved.breadfruit the.pl.nh} \)  
\( \text{the.pl.nh ko.} \)  
\( \text{The workers are taking the preserved breadfruits to the chief.'} \)

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence type</th>
<th>initial S</th>
<th>V S O (PP)</th>
<th>V S PP O</th>
<th>V O S PP</th>
<th>V O (PP) S</th>
<th>V PP S O</th>
<th>V PP O S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>internal DP</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal DP &amp; PP</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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'.

\[ S_{(matrix)} V [C_P S_{(embedded)} V PP] \]

(276) Lio\(^{19}\) e-aikuj bwe šaddik eo neji-n e-n the.woman 3s.agr-need that boy the.s cher.poss-3s.gen 3s.agr-should pojak ňan 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.

\(^{19}\) 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.
\[V \{\text{CP} S_{\text{(embedded)}} \} V \{\text{PP} \} S_{\text{(matrix)}}\]

(277) E-aikuj bwe jaddik 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.
chuch 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.

\[*V \{\text{CP} S_{\text{(embedded)}} \} V S_{\text{(matrix)}} \} PP\]

(278) *E-aikuj bwe jaddik 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), kōnaan 'want' (280), and lo 'see' (281).

\[S V CP\]

(279) a. Büreejtön eo e-aikuj bwe e-n ka-møj-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 büreejtön eo bwe e-n ka-møj-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-kōnaan bwe emļaan ro re-n roņjake 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.'
*VSCP
b. *E-kōnaan pastō eo bwe emmaan ro re-n roñjake ilo
   3s.agr-want pastor the.s that man the.pl.h 3s.agr-should listen during
   time church
   'The pastor wants the men to listen during church.'

SVC
(281) a. Ether e-ar lo bwe Prett e-ar baajkol 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.'

*VSCP
b. *E-ar lo Ether bwe Prett e-ar baajkol 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 kāalōt 'choose' (trans), which allows 1) a DP object, 2) a CP
object or 3) both a DP and a CP object.

SVC
(282) a. Jet jaddik re-j kāalōt 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.'

*VSCP
b. *Re-j kāalōt jet jaddik 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 kallimur 'promise' and roñ 'hear' may have
matrix subjects that immediately follow the matrix verb.
SVCP

(283) a. Ri-jikuul eo e-ar kallimur bwe e-n jab
one.who-go.to.school the.s 3s.agr-T(past) promise that 3s.agr-should neg
bar jolok kilaaj eo a-n.
again miss class the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen
'The student promised that she wouldn't miss her class again.'

VS

(283) b. E-ar kallimur 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 jolok kilaaj eo a-n.
again miss class the.s gnr.poss-3s.gen
'The student promised that she wouldn't miss her class again.'

SVCP

(284) a. Kora eo e-ar roñ bwe e-ar jibil jän 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 heard that she divorced her husband.'

VS

(284) b. E-ar roñ kora eo bwe e-ar jibil jän 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 heard that she divorced her husband.'

Some sentences with matrix verbs that cannot take DP arguments allow internal matrix
subjects, such as those with verbs like jelä 'know'.

SVCP

(285) a. Kora eo e-ar jelä bwe e-ar rumwij ñan kwejök
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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Table 15 summarizes the possible word orders in sentences with verbs that take CP arguments.

**Table 15. Subject position in sentences with CP arguments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>initial S</th>
<th>final S</th>
<th>V S CP</th>
<th>V [CP V S PP]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aikuj 'need'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāālōt 'choose'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōṇaam 'want'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo 'see'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kallimur 'promise'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roā 'hear'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jelā 'know'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba 'say'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>speaker variation</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōmnāk 'think'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>speaker variation</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
SV
(288) a. Irooj ro re-naaj ettör.
   chief the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(fut) run
   'The chiefs will run.'

VS
b. Re-naaj ettör irooj ro.
   3pl.agr-T(fut) run chief the.pl.h
   'The chiefs will run.'

SV
(289) a. Ni eo e-ju.
   coconut.tree the.s 3s.agr-be.tall.and.straight
   'The coconut tree is tall and straight.'

VS
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
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

Marshallse 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. Leo e-ar kajju ñan Āne Mānit.  
    the.man 3s.agr-T(past) go.straight to Āne Mānit  
    'The man went straight to Āne Mānit.'

        b. Leo e-ar kajju-uk wa eo ñan Āne Mānit.  
            the.man 3s.agr-T(past) go.straight-trans boat the.s to Āne Mānit  
            'The man steered the boat to Āne Mānit.'

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.

*SVPP*

(291) Jet laddik re-j konono ippä-n leddik ro.  
    some boy 3pl.agr-T(pres) talk with-3s girl the.pl.h  
    'Some boys are talking with the girls.'

(292) Emmaan eo e-j etal ippä-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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(300) Re-kar būromōj 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.'

VPP S
(301) R-ar jepjep ŋan outer island, arnej ro.
3pl.agr-T(past) immigrate to outer island person the.pl.h
'They immigrated to outer island, the people.'

(302) Re-kar būromōj 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 jaddik eo, [pause] leddik eo.
past spit on the boy [pause] the girl
'The girl spit on the boy.'
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.  

(256a)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0.2</th>
<th>0.4</th>
<th>0.6</th>
<th>0.8</th>
<th>1.0</th>
<th>1.2</th>
<th>1.4</th>
<th>1.6</th>
<th>1.8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*leddik eo* ear kaplouk *jaddik 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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0.2</th>
<th>0.4</th>
<th>0.6</th>
<th>0.8</th>
<th>1.0</th>
<th>1.2</th>
<th>1.4</th>
<th>1.6</th>
<th>1.8</th>
<th>2.0</th>
<th>2.2</th>
<th>2.4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*Rar jepjep ŋan outer island,* [pause] *arnej 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.
(293) Rej kōnono ippān leddik ro [pause] jet laddik.
    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) Arnej ro rar jepjep ūnan outer island.
    the people past immigrate to outer island.
'The people immigrated to outer island.'

(291) Jet laddik rej kōnono ippān leddik ro.
    some boys pres talk with the girls.
'Some boys are talking with the girls.'
Sentences with internal subjects lack a pause as well.

(299)  Rar jepjep armej ro ŋan outer island.
past immigrate the people to outer island.
'The people immigrated to outer island.'

(295)  Rej kōnono jet laddik ŋan 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:
Because of these patterns, I conclude that sentences with $VS$ 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)
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 $SVOPP$, there are no special pauses:

(259a) Rijerbal ro rej bökļok bwiro ko ənan irooi eo.
the workers pres take the breadfruit to the chief
'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 bökļok bwiro ko ənan irooi eo. [pause] rijerbal ro.
pres take the breadfruits to the chief the workers
'They are taking the breadfruits to the chief, the workers.'
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) Kõrā eo ear bökloŋ ŋan ippān rīkalbuui eo. [pause] jidpan eo.

the woman take to the prisoner [pause] 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.
    pres take the breadfruits the workers to the chief
    'The workers are taking the breadfruits to the chief.' (lit. 'They are taking the breadfruits, the workers, to the chief.')

Likewise with $V \text{PP} O S$ 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:

    past send to the store 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).
Table 16. Pauses and right dislocation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitives</th>
<th>Intransitives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S V O (PP)</td>
<td>S V (PP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>V S (PP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V O (PP) [pause] S</td>
<td>V PP [pause] S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V PP [pause] O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V O [pause] S [pause] PP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V PP [pause] O [pause] S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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)
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 kāloŋ jān wa eo?
       what the.s 3s.agr-T(past) jump from boat the.s
       'What jumped from the boat?'

   will accept *V SPP*
   b. E-kar kāloŋ 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 VPP*
   d. Juon ek e-kar kāloŋ 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.

\(^{21}\) 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 kôn '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 kôn loñ eo bwe e-j päd 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 kôn juon loñ bwe e-j päd 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 kålôk juon ek jän loon.
   3s.agr-T(past) jump a fish from boat.
   'A fish jumped from the boat.'

(308) R-ar emǒpǒpo jet mânja kôn 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).

---

22 Jaibo is a type of Marshallese soup.
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 ko* '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).
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 kān 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 kān-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 kān-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-lok 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-lok 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-lok 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 tūmūwi-lōk i ar, bwijin körkör.  
    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.')

123
VOS
(313) Re-jorrør-e wa ko, jílu 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 emőñəŋə kón tuj, jët mâmə.
  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 má 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.
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.

\(VPPS\)
(316) a. \(N\ddot{a}t\ eo \ Ierutia\ e-ar \ jerbal?\)
    when the.s Ierutia 3s.agr-T(past) work
     'When did Ierutia work?'

b. E-ar \ jerbal bo\(\ddot{n}\) \ Ierutia.
    3s.agr-T(past) work last.night Ierutia.
     'She worked last night, Ierutia.'

\(VOPPS\)
(317) a. \(W\ddot{\text{on}}\ eo \ k\ddot{\text{or}}\ddot{\text{a}}\ ro \ r-ar \ jilikin-\ddot{j}\ddot{\text{ok}} \ raij \ \ddot{n}\ddot{\text{an}}\)
    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-\ddot{j}\ddot{\text{ok}} \ raij \ \ddot{n}\ddot{\text{an}}\ baml\ddot{e} \ ko
    3pl.agr-T(past) send-away.from both rice to family the.pl.nh
d\ddot{e}, \ k\ddot{\text{or}}\ddot{\text{a}} \ 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. \(Etke\ je-j\ddot{\text{a}}\ddot{\text{n}}\ddot{i}\ \ delo\ddot{n}\?\)
    why 1pl.in.agr-not.yet enter
     'Why haven't we gone in yet?'

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b. *E-janin 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 jabo jino Biit eo\textsuperscript{23}
   why 3s.agr-T(past) neg start.trans Beat the.s
   'Why hasn't the Beat started?'

b. *R-ar jabo i-tok jän 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

\textsuperscript{23} The Beat is a Marshallese Christmas program involving dancing and singing.
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:
• "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-ʃ yát-e-kkit mákk.
    Wufumwo 3s teach-SV-3pl.obj child-EV-small writing
   'Wufumwo taught the children writing.'

\( S\ V \)

(321) Ye-ray efemahán Polowat a fäyi-to.
    one-CL man Puluwat perf come-hither
   'A Puluwat man has come.'

\( V\ S \)

(322) Ye pwe le mááló manü-hemwaay we.
    3s T(fut) imm.fut die dem-SV-sick dem
   'The sick man will soon die.'
Mokilese also allows variable word order, but, unlike Marshallese, there is an asymmetry between unergatives and unaccusatives. Like transitives (323), unergatives (324) must have $SV$ order.

**Transitive**

$SVO$

(323) Arai wiahda pohspas.

they build boat

'They built a boat.'

(Harrison 1976:299)

**Unergative**

$SV$

(324) a. Woallo koaul.

that.man sing

'That man sings.'

(Harrison 1976:300)

$VS$

b. *Koaul woallo.

sing that.man

'That man sings.'

(Harrison 1976:300)

Only unaccusatives allow both $SV$ (324a) and $VS$ (324b) order.

**Unaccusatives**

$SV$

(325) a. Sakaie soausoau.

this.rock be.heavy

'This rock is heavy.'

(Harrison 1976:300)

$VS$

b. Soausoau sakaike.

be.heavy this.rock

'This rock is heavy.'

(Harrison 1976:300)
On the other hand, $SV$ 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 $VS$ word order, whereas there is no preference for (327a) over (327b) because the verb includes perfective aspect. (The $VS$ version of (326) was not included in the grammar.)

**Unaccusatives – experiencer subjects**

$SV$

(326)  
Liho injinjued.
that.woman be.sad
'That woman is sad.'
(Harrison 1976:300)

$SV$

(327)  
a. Liho injinjued-la.
that.woman be.sad-perf
'That woman became sad.'
(Harrison 1976:300)

$VS$

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 $SVO$:

(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.

---

$^{24}$ See Good (1986) for a discussion of the Kosraean determiner system.
(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.

   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)
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th></th>
<th>Unergative</th>
<th></th>
<th>Unaccusative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S V O</td>
<td>V S O</td>
<td>S V</td>
<td>V S</td>
<td>S V</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marshallese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mokilese</td>
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<td>√</td>
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<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puluwatese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kosraean</td>
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<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 VSO 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
AgrSP. In addition, in order to explain the \( VS \) 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, \( SV \) 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, \( VS \) order results, as in (289b) of chapter 3.
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
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.

\[ S \texttt{Ag}r\texttt{S-}T \texttt{[V O]} \texttt{constituency} \]

(334) Ierutia e-ar \[ kwanjin:i^{26} \texttt{mā ko] im [kōmatt-e} \]
Ierutia 3s.agr-T(past) roast.trans-obj breadfruit the.pl.nh and cook.trans-obj
banana the.pl.nh
'Ierutia roasted the breadfruits and cooked the bananas.'

(335) Tina e-ar \[ buki ꝙń ko] im [juur kulul 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.'

\[ S \texttt{Ag}r\texttt{S-}T \texttt{[V PP]} \texttt{constituency} \]

(336) Tiña e-ar \[ jerak ꝙń Mile] im [rumiŋk i lomálo].
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 \[ jotak ilo Namorik] im [rüttóŋk 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.'

\[ ^{26} \text{The verb } kwanjin \text{ refers to the process by which breadfruit is roasted on hot coals, followed by the scraping off of the outer peel using a sharp object. Since it refers to a two step process it can be used to refer to the roasting process or the scraping process. Here this verb is translated as 'roast' and later it will be translated as 'scrape.'} \]
(339) a. Bilal e-naaj ke etal ñan Chuuk?
   Bilal 3s.a.gr-T(fut) Q go to Chuuk
   'Will Bilal go to Chuuk?'

   b. Aet, e-naaj
   yes 3s.a.gr-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) *Laajap eo [e-ar anijnij] im [e-ar
   old.man the.s 3s.a.gr-T(past) do.black.magic.intrans and 3s.a.gr-T(past)
   bubu] ilowan ñweo.
   do.divination.intrans inside the.house
   'The old man did black magic (in the house) and did divination in the house.'

   Mary 3s.a.gr-T(past) born and 3s.a.gr-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 \( \text{ear} \) 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) Laajap eo e-ar anijnij im bubu
   old.man the.s 3s.a.gr-T(past) do.black.magic.intrans and do.divination.intrans
   ilowan ñweo.
   inside the.house
   'The old man did black magic and divination in the house.'
(343) Mary ear jotak im rūtojok 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 kōp-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 kōpel kuuj eo.
dog the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans cat the.s
'The dog chased the cat.'
(347) a. Kidu eo e-kar kōp-pl-e. dog the.s 3s.agr-T(past) chase.trans-obj 'The dog chased it.'

b. *Kidu eo e-kar kōpel. 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 kō-pl-e] 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 kōpe] 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
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 kõpel 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 kõp]-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).
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.'
b. *E-ar etal bar.
   3s.agr-T(past) go again
   'She went again.'

(357) a. Körkör ko re-j bar iäekwōj i ar.
   canoe the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(pres) again race.intrans in lagoon
   'The canoes are racing in the lagoon again.'

b. *Körkör ko r-ar iäekwōj bar ilo malo.
   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. Körkör ko re-j jab iäekwōj i ar.
   canoe the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(pres) neg race.intrans in lagoon
   'The canoes aren't racing in the lagoon.'

b. *Körkör ko re-j iäekwōj jab ilo malo.
   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.

\(^{27}\) 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\textsubscript{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 – *wot* '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.
such as *wh*- or focus movement. Since *bajjak* never occurs in the left periphery, these special circumstances are not met. So I will assume that *bajjak*'s preverbal and postverbal positions result from either verb movement above *bajjak* or from the absence of verb movement.

Given the position of the verb with respect to *bar* and *bajjak*, it seems logical to conclude that the XP to which the verb moves is located below *bajjak*, as shown in (363), the derivation of (362a).²⁹

²⁹ In (363) I follow Cinque (1999) in assuming that adverbs are merged as the specifiers of phonetically null heads.
It is possible that the verb is moving to Adv₂, 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 Adv₂ and then to left adjoin to Adv₁, 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.'
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 Adv₁ or Adv₂ 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
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-palle ion peet eo] im [wōtlök kuuj 3s.agr-T(past) roll.over one.who-be.covered on bed the.s and fall.off cat eo jän 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 kuļu] i kii-n mweo] im 3s.agr-T(pres) crawl.intrans one cockroach on wall-3s the.house and [ekkāke eo juon ilowan rum̑ 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.
(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
   leaving
   'The women were whispering again after we (excluding you) left.'

b. *R-ar unojidrikdrik bār kōrā ro ālikin a-mim
   3pl.agr-T(past) whisper again woman the.pl.h after gnr.poss-1pl.ex.gen
   leaving
   'The women were whispering again after we (excluding you) left.'

(368) a. E-j jab jambo John ŋan Laura.
   3s.agr-T(pres) neg cruise John to Laura
   'John's not cruising to 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 ŋan outer island.
   3pl.agr-T(past) immigrate person the.pl.h to outer island
   'The people immigrated 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
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 jaddik ūan leddik ro] im [jet
3pl.agr-T(pres) whistle.intrans some boy at girl the.pl.h and some
jaddik ūan kidu ko].
boy at dog the.pl.nh
'Some boys are whistling at the girls and some boys at the dogs.'

(371)  R-ar tūmŋ,čok [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
ocean
lik].
'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
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 bōbo Ether] im
3s.agr-T(pres) fish.for.flying.fish.at.night with.net and torch.intrans Ether and
[e-j turōŋ 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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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 ]addik im [re-j al 3pl.agr-T(pres) whistle:intrans some boy and 3pl.agr-T(pres) sing.intrans ]addik ro jet ūnan 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 bajiek with respect to internal subjects. When the subject is sentence internal, bajiek 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 bajiek bubu ri-kapāl eo 3s.agr-T(pres) for.no.important.reason do.magic.intrans one.who-do.magic the.s i ńweo 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 bajiek leddik eo ūnan 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 bajiek ūnan downtown. 3s.agr-T(pres) walk girl the.s for.no.important.reason to downtown 'The girl is walking downtown for no important reason.'
*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. \[
\ldots \left[ Y_P \left[ X_P \left[ V_P \left[ t_{t v} \left[ A_d v_p \ b a j j e k \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]
\]
b. \[
\ldots \left[ A_d v_p \ b a j j e k \right] \left[ X_P \left[ V_P \left[ t_{t v} \ t_{A_d v_p} \right] \right] \right]
\]

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.
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).
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.
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.
(295) Re-j könono jet ḋaddik ñan leddik ro.  
   3pl.agr-T(pres) talk some boy to girl the.pl.h  
'Some boys are talking to the girls.'

(383) \[ \text{AgrSP} \]
\[ \text{AgrS'} \]
\[ \text{AgrS} \]
\[ \text{re} \]
\[ 3pl \]
\[ T \]
\[ j \]
\[ T(pres) \]
\[ XP \]
\[ X' \]
\[ vP \]
\[ X \]
\[ v \]
\[ v_j \]
\[ jet ḋaddik \]
'şome boys'
\[ X \]
\[ VP \]
\[ V_j \]
\[ ọt. ñan outer island \]
'to outer island'

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.'
4.2.5 *VSO* order

One final virtue of the analysis I have presented for Marshallese declaratives is that it can explain why *VSO* 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 *VSO* 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
structure than the verb phrase and a clause internal focus position, as illustrated by (385),
where the lines indicate case assignment.

(385) \ldots [_{\text{AccP}} \nu + \text{Acc} [_{\text{FocP}} [\text{subject}] \text{Foc} [_{\text{VP}} \text{t}_{\text{subject}} \text{t}_v [_{\text{VP}} \text{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 laddik eo. 3s.agr-T(past) spit.on-trans girl the.s boy the.s 'The girl spit on the boy.'

(386) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{AgrSP} \\
\text{AgrS'} \\
\text{AgrS} \\
\text{re} \\
3pl \\
T \\
j \\
T(pres) \\
\text{AccP} \\
\text{Acc'} \\
\text{Acc} \\
\text{XP} \\
\text{X'} \\
\text{vP} \\
\text{v} \\
\text{DP} \\
\text{t_j} \\
\text{VP} \\
laddik eo 'the boy' \\
t_i}
\end{array}
\]

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).
(387) \[
(\text{TP} \ T [\text{AccP} \ \text{v+Acc} \ [\text{FocP} \ [\text{subject} \ Foc \ [\text{vP} \ t_{\text{subject}} \ t_{\text{v}} \ [\text{vP} \ V \ \text{object}]]]]])
\]

This analysis can also explain the difference in grammaticality between \(V S O\) and \(V S P P\) 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) \(\text{AgrS (}^{*}\text{subject) TAM (}^{*}\text{subject) Neg (}^{*}\text{subject) Adv (}^{*}\text{subject) V Adv object PP}\)

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
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) \[\ldots [\text{VP} \text{V} + \text{v} + \text{Acc} + \text{X} + \text{Y} [\text{XP} \text{subject} \text{t}_X [\text{t}_{\text{Acc} \text{t}_{\text{Acc}}} [\text{VP} \text{t}_{\text{subject}} \text{t}_v [\text{VP} \text{tv object}]]]]]]

As evidence in favor of the second possibility, Belletti compares the position of the Icelandic subject, which allows \textit{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 \textit{sennilega} 'probably' and \textit{alveg} 'completely'. If the subject follows both of these adverbs, the sentence is ungrammatical (390b).

(390) a. \textit{það luku sennilega einhverjir studentar alveg verkefninu.} 
there finished probably some students completely the assignment

b. *\textit{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 \textit{tutto} 'everything'

(391) or \textit{completamente} 'completely' (392), in which the subjects must follow these adverbs.\textsuperscript{30}

(391) a. ?\textit{Spiegherà completamente Maria al direttore.}  
will.explain completely Maria to. the director

b. *\textit{Spiegherà Maria completamente al direttore.}  
will.explain Maria completely to. the director

(392) a. \textit{Spiegherà tutto Maria al direttore.}  
will.explain everything Maria to. the director

\textsuperscript{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\textsubscript{PICompletive}.

One of the few adverbs that Marshallese does have is the bar 'again' Asp\textsubscript{repetitive}. (See sections 2.2.7 and 4.1.2 for more discussion of this adverb). In Cinque's hierarchy, there are two Asp\textsubscript{repetitive} projections: one above Asp\textsubscript{PICompletive} and one below it.

In order to determine if bar is lower or higher than Asp\textsubscript{PICompletive}, we can examine its position with respect to the Asp\textsubscript{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) \[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Marshallese} & \text{bar?} & \text{kab} & \text{tutto} \\
\text{Italian} & \text{Asp}\textsubscript{repetitive(I)} & \text{Asp}\textsubscript{retrospective} & \text{Asp}\textsubscript{PICompletive} & \text{Asp}\textsubscript{repetitive(II)}
\end{array}
\]

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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.'

    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 AspPrimCompleteive.

Since the Marshallese postverbal subject must follow bar, we can conclude that, like the Italian subject, the Marshallese subject occupies a position below AspPrimCompleteive. This being the case, Marshallese adverbs provide evidence in favor of the idea that the subjects of languages that allow VSO 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 lsubject lverb]]]
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) \[ XP [IP pro aux V t_{subject}] X [VP subject Y [t_{IP}]] \]

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 \textit{subject} = \textit{focus} and \textit{predicate} = \textit{topic} information structure is not one that is traditionally associated with a clause internal structure. Rather, clause internal structures are typically associated with the \textit{subject} = \textit{topic} and \textit{predicate} = \textit{focus} information structure. Longobardi also states that the \textit{subject} = \textit{focus} and \textit{predicate} = \textit{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 chiamo spesso, Gianni.
    him they.call.up often Gianni

b. *Lo chiamo spesso, GIANNI.
    him they.call.up often GIANNI
(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. \[CP \{Ip \{pro aux V \text{t}_{\text{subject}}\}\} \{subject\} C \{t_{IP}\}\]

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,
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 VP may be coordinated.

\[\text{AgrS-T VP} \ S \ \text{constituency}\]

\[(400) \ \text{[E-ar jerak ŋan Mile] im [e-ar ruŋŋok i lomalo], 3s.aug-T(past) sail.intrans to Mile and 3s.aug-T(past) sink in ocean tima eo. steamer the.s} \]

'It sailed to Mile and sank in the ocean, the steamer.'

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(401) [R-ar tu tu i ar] im [r-ar eŋŋōd i lik],
3pl.agr-T(past) swim in lagoon and 3pl.agr-T(past) fish.intrans in ocean
the.men
'They swam in the lagoon and fished in the ocean, the men.'

[AgrS-T V O] S constituency
(402) [E-ar umŋa-ik laddik eo] im [e-ar jujen jeptak laddik
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 [eŋŋōd i lik], lōmo.aro.
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 [limo ilo ien mōŋa], laddik
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 churche time 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], lērti.ia.
the.pl.nh lērti.ia
'She roasted the breadfruits and cooked the bananas, lērti.ia.'

(406) E-ar [karre-o uk-i rūm eŋ] im [joŋk jōkpej eo],
3s.agr-T(past) clean-trans-obj room that and throw.out.trans trash the.s
ri-karre eo.
one.who-clean the.s
'He cleaned that room and threw out the trash, the janitor.'
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. \[ CP [AgrSP t_{subject} [XP V+V+X [VP t_{subject} t_v [VP t_v \text{ object}]]]] [subject] C t_{AgrSP} \]

b. \[ CP [AgrSP t_{subject} [XP V+X [VP [VP t_{subject} t_v] Y [VP PP t_{VP}]]]] [subject] C t_{AgrSP} \]

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:

\[ AgrS-T \ V \ [PP \ S] \ \text{constituency} \]

(408)  Re-j kwanjin [kön kükör jet leddik] im [kön 3pl.agr-T(pres) scrape.breadfruit.intrans instr shell some girl and instr mötta-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.'

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(409) R-ar tutu [i lik leddik ro] im [i ar, jaddik 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 um̃ma-ik [jaddik eo leddik eo] im [j]al]ap eo,  
3pl.agr-T(past) kiss-trans boy the.s girl the.s and old.man the.s  
lö]lap eo].  
old.woman the.s  
'The girl kissed the boy and the old woman, the old man.'  

(411) E-ar anijنيj-i [Lorina j]a]lap eo] im [Jabkon,  
3s.agr-T(past) do-black.magic.trans-obj Lorina old.man the.s and Jabkon  
lö]lap 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).
(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.
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). 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.

---

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.
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
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) \[\text{CP} \ [\text{IP} \text{pro aux V } \text{t}_{\text{subject}}] \ [\text{DP subject} C [\text{t}_{\text{RP}}]]\]

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
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).
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence type</th>
<th>initial S</th>
<th>final S</th>
<th>V  S  O (PP)</th>
<th>V  S  PP  O</th>
<th>V  O  S  PP</th>
<th>V  PP  S  O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DP &amp; PP arguments</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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).

\[SVPP \text{ [pause]} O\]

(418) a. \([\text{Top}_P [\text{AgrSP subject} V \text{ tobject PP}] \text{ Top} [\text{Foc}_P \text{ object} Foc \text{ t}_{\text{AgrSP}}]]\)

b. \([\text{Foc}_P [\text{AgrSP subject} V \text{ tobject PP}] \text{ Foc} [\text{Top}_P \text{ object} \text{ Top} \text{ t}_{\text{AgrSP}}]]\)
\( V O PP \) [pause] \( S \)

(419) a. \([\text{TopP} [\text{AgrSP t}\text{subject}] \text{V object PP}] \text{Top [FocP subject Top [tAgrSP]]} \]

b. \([\text{FocP [AgrSP t}\text{subject}] \text{V object PP}] \text{Foc [TopP subject Top [tAgrSP]]} \]

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).\(^{32}\)

\( VO \) [pause] \( S \) [pause] \( PP \)

(420) a. \([\text{FocP [AgrSP t}\text{subject}] \text{V object tPP}] \text{Foc [TopP subject Top [TopP PP Top tAgrSP]]} \]

b. \([\text{TopP [AgrSP t}\text{subject}] \text{V object tPP}] \text{Top [FocP subject Foc [TopP PP Top tAgrSP]]} \]

\( VPP \) [pause] \( O \) [pause] \( S \)

(421) a. \([\text{FocP [AgrSP t}\text{subject}] \text{V t}\text{object PP}] \text{Foc [TopP object Top [TopP subject Top tAgrSP]]} \]

b. \([\text{TopP [AgrSP t}\text{subject}] \text{V t}\text{object PP}] \text{Top [FocP object Foc [TopP subject Top tAgrSP]]} \]

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 \( V SO PP \) and \( V S PP O \) order are given in (423) and (424) respectively.\(^{33}\)

---

\(^{32}\) 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.

---

180
\[ *VSO\ PP \]
\[ (423) \quad [\text{Foc}_\text{P} [\text{Agr}_\text{SP} [\text{Acc}_\text{P} \text{Acc} V+\nu X \text{subject} t_{\text{object} \text{PP}}]] \text{Foc} [\text{Top}_\text{P} \text{object} \text{Top} [\text{Top}_\text{P} \text{PP} \text{Top} t_{\text{Agr}_\text{SP}}]]] \]

\[ *VSSPP\ O \]
\[ (424) \quad [\text{Foc}_\text{P} [\text{Agr}_\text{SP} [\text{Acc}_\text{P} \text{Acc} V+\nu X \text{subject} t_{\text{object} \text{PP}}]] \text{Foc} [\text{Top}_\text{P} \text{PP} \text{Top} [\text{Top}_\text{P} \text{object} \text{Top} t_{\text{Agr}_\text{SP}}]]] \]

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:

\[ *VSO\ PP \]
\[ (425) \quad ... [\text{Acc}_\text{P} \text{Acc} [\text{XP} V+\nu X [\text{VP} \text{subject} t_\text{V} [\text{VP} \text{object} t_\text{V} \text{PP}]]]] \]

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 *VSPPO sentence, as this sentence also requires the subject to remain verb phrase internal.

There are two derivations which can derive *VPPSO 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.

\[ 33 \text{ AgrSP, PP and O might also occupy the specifier positions of TopP, FocP, and TopP, but as the positions these phrase occupy is not essential to the argument, I will not show these derivations.} \]

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(426) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{AgrS subject AgrS} \\
\text{T \left[ Acc \text{ Subject} \right] V+X \left[ \text{VP object t_v PP} \right]} \\
\end{array}
\]

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) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{AgrS AgrS T} \\
\text{T \left[ Acc \text{ Subject} \right] V+X \left[ \text{VP object t_v PP} \right]} \\
\end{array}
\]

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.
Table 19. Subject position with CP arguments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>main verb</th>
<th>initial S</th>
<th>final S</th>
<th>V S CP</th>
<th>V [V S PP]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aikau 'need'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāalōr 'choose'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōnāan 'want'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo 'see'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kallimur 'promise'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roā 'hear'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jelā 'know'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba 'say'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>variation</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jōmjēk 'think'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>variation</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \[AgrSP AgrS [TP T [XP V+V+X [VP subject tv [VP tv CP]]]]\]
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. \([\text{TopP } [\text{AgrSP } t_{\text{subject}} V CP] \text{ Top } [\text{FocP } \text{subject Foc } t_{\text{AgrSP}}]]\)

b. \([\text{FocP } [\text{AgrSP } t_{\text{subject}} V CP] \text{ Foc } [\text{TopP } \text{subject Top } t_{\text{AgrSP}}]]\)

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
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
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 dā pij.
     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 tuhlhhk sac.
      Sepe 3s hit  child the
      'Sepe is hitting the child.'

   b. Tuhlhhk sac puok-yuhk-lac.
      child  the hit-pass-Asp\textsubscript{comp}
      'The child was hit.'

(434) a. Ei kamate-a\textsubscript{i} te naeta\textsubscript{j} te moa\textsubscript{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 \textit{-ed} appears on the verb, while the Kosraean and Kiribatese verbs
include the passive suffixes \textit{-yuhk} and \textit{-ak} respectively.
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 mwiwmwij 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
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.\(^\text{34}\) 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 *ippân* 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):

\(^{\text{34}}\) 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".
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
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 mōnā bao.
    1s.abs 1s.agr-(past) eat.intrans chicken
    'Me, I ate chicken.'

(99) Kōrā ro re-j keke nuknuk.
    woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-(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).
(438) Jaki eo e-ar lemlem.
    mat the.s 3s.agr-T(past) fold.intrans
    'The mat was folded.'
    #'The mat folded.'

(439) Amimono ko r-ar aij.
    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) Koraro r-ar aij.
    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 aij amimono 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 mweo.  
3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans mat the.pl.nh in the.house  
The mats were folded in the house.

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 äj amimōno 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.
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 ṁōṅā ippā-n emmāan 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.'
(452) Ilo manit in Majel, ledik re-j jab ekkōŋak jedoujij.
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. Amiŋōno 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. Amiŋōno 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. Amiŋōno 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
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:

   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 Jamba
   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.

   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 jăn does not introduce an agent and 2) that ippän and jăn 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 ippän or jăn, 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 ippän or jăn need not be adjacent.

(458) a. R-ar lemlem jaki ko ippän 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 jăn kōrā ro.
3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans mat the.pl.nh from woman the.pl.h
'The mats were folded by the women.'

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 amimōno ko ippän 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 amimōno ko jăn kōrā eo.
3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans handicraft the.pl.nh from woman the.s
'The handicrafts were woven by the woman.'
c. *R-ar āj amimono ko in korā 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 mōk '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) Oor ko r-ar deblōk 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).
(462) *Nuknok 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) *Ładdik 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 äj 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 deblōk in juon wa. fence the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) pass.through of a car 'The fences were passed through by a car.'
(468) *Emmaan 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 ippan 'with', jän '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 jän may introduce a causer, while ippan 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 jillok 'bend over' cannot be passivized
because they do not have a transitive form.
(469)  a. Môn 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. Môn 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. Ierutia e-ar jillok.
    Ierutia 3s.agr-T(past) bend over
    *'Ierutia was bent over.'
    'Ierutia bent over.'

    b. Ierutia e-ar jillok 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 kokkure 'destroy', lale 'watch' and jojok 'throw'.

(471)  *Oror eo e-ar koakkure 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)  *Bool eo e-ar jojok 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
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 kättîl 'burn', karreo 'clean', eq 'tattoo' and wūno 'paint'.

(474) Łokwa-n kijdik eo e-ar kättîl 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 ļeo.
     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 eq.
     hand-1s.gen 3s.agr-T(past) tattoo.intrans
     'My hand was tattooed.'

     b. Ładdik eo e-ar eq in jeme-n.
     boy the.s 3s.agr-T(past) tattoo.intrans of father-3s.gen
     'The boy was tattooed by his father.'

(477) Môn jar eo e-ar wūno in ļeo.
     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', mako '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 īppā-n īerooj 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  bön bö  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) *Niñniñ eo  e-ar  mākoko  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 Woleian passive suffixes -ag or -eg. In
Woleian, 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 Woleian verbs may be passivized. These include verbs like \textit{baiteg} 'untie',
\textit{fisingeg} 'burn' and \textit{baliteg} 'inspect'.

(481) Gelaag laal ye sa  bait-eg.
   dog  that  it  Asp_{per}t  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\footnote{\textit{-iy} indicates that the speaker is on the island at the time of the utterance.}
 'This island will be inspected by us (including you).'
 (Sohn 1975:246)
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
the stative form. For example, *jebjebijibwe '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-būrōō-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 ŋan 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 iumw-in juon minit.
    chicken the.s 3s.agr-T(past) be.caught for a minute
    'The bird was caught for a minute.'
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.'

       chair the.s 3s.agr-T(past) be.red
       'The chair was red.'

       b. E-ar būrōrō 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)
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.'

    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-būrōō ippā-n leddik eo.
    dress the.s grn.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-būrōō jān leddik eo.
    dress the.s grn.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-kōqt eo e-ar po ippā-n emmāan 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-kōqt eo e-ar po jān emmāan 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.'
b. E-abwinmake likao eo jän 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-būrōō 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 jän 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-kōqt eo ippā-n emmaan 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.'

(507) *Nuknuk eo a-ō e-būrōō 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-kōqt eo e-ar po in emmaan 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Passives</th>
<th>Statives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-initial subjects</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no agreement with postverbal S</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent phrases with ippān and jān</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent phrases with in</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bōbo 'catch' and deñdeñ 'hit' allow agent phrases headed by ippān or jān, but do not allow those headed by in.

(510) a. Bōqël eo e-ar bōbo ippā-n Isaac.
     ball the.s 3s.agr-T(past) catch.intrans with-3s Isaac
     'The ball was caught by Isaac.'

     b. Bōqël eo e-ar bōbo jān Isaac.
     ball the.s 3s.agr-T(past) catch.intrans from Isaac
     'The ball was caught by Isaac.'

     c. *Bōqël eo e-ar bōbo 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 ḥaddik 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 ḥaddik ro.
     girl the.s 3s.agr-T(past) hit.intrans from boy the.pl.h
     'The girl was hit by the boys.'

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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 *ippa and ja 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 *ippa and V S ja 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).
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, \textit{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 (\textsc{spec vP}) in both active and passive sentences, which means that UTAH is not violated. Finally, Collins proposes that accusative case is dissociated from \textsc{v} and somehow moves to the Voice head so that the agent phrase receives accusative case from the Voice head \textit{by}. Therefore–\textit{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
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, ippân, and jän, and second, it can explain the ungrammaticality of V S in order.

5.5.1 The distribution of in, ippân and jän

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 jän and ippân may appear in non-passive sentences, it cannot also be the case that these words are Voice heads. Instead, I propose that jän and ippân 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. Amimôno ko r-ar āj in kôrâ 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 kôrâ 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 amimôno ko to move to the specifier of AgrSP.
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. Amimōno 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).
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.
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) Amimōno 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 ippân phrases would be prepositional phrases adjoined to the vP, as illustrated by (517a) and (517b).

(517) a. \[ \text{AgrSP} \]
\[
\text{DP}_i \quad \text{AgrS'} \quad \text{TP}
\]
\[
\text{subject} \quad \text{AgrS} \quad \text{TP}
\]
\[
\text{T'} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{VP}
\]
\[
\text{VP} \quad \text{PP}
\]
\[
\text{V'} \quad \text{in agent}
\]
\[
\text{V} \quad \text{passive}
\]

b. \[ \text{AgrSP} \]
\[
\text{DP}_i \quad \text{AgrS'} \quad \text{TP}
\]
\[
\text{subject} \quad \text{AgrS} \quad \text{TP}
\]
\[
\text{T'} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{VP}
\]
\[
\text{VP} \quad \text{PP}
\]
\[
\text{V'} \quad \text{ippân agent}
\]
\[
\text{V} \quad \text{passive}
\]

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
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. Amimōno 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, amimōno 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).
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.
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 ippän phrases

While V S in order is ruled out in this analysis, V S ippän sentences are correctly predicted to be grammatical. Consider a sentence like (459), repeated here.

(459) R-ar āj aminōko ippā-n kōrā eo.
3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans handicap 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).
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
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 leemlm [ippā-n kōrā ro] im mat the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-T(past) fold.intrans with-3s woman the.pl.h and [ippā-n leddik ro].
[with-3s girl the.pl.h
'The mats were folded by the women and by the girls.'

b. *Jaki ko  r-ar leemlm [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 leelm. 
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 leelm.
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 leelm ilowan nywo 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.'
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 mweo 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-ð e-būrōrō ippā-n leddik eo.
   dress the.s grn.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.
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.
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
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
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modal verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motion verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspectual verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causatives</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>try</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>±</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forget, manage</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dare, seem</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allow, permit</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decide, plan</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regret</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assume, claim</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21 also illustrates that there are also certain verbs that never seem to be restructuring verbs, such as regret, assume, and claim.
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), aje '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 aj, the finite, intransitive form of this verb (531a&b).

(530) a. Körä ro r-ar aje amimono ko.
woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.trans-obj handicraft the.pl.nh
'The women wove the handicrafts.'

b. Körä ro r-ar jöm nak in aje amimono
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. Körä ro r-ar aj.
woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) weave.intrans
'The women wove.'

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.
b. Kōrā ro r-ar jōmŋak 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 jōmŋak in leddik ro
woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan IN girl the.pl.h
r-āj-e amimōŋo 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 jōmŋak leddik ro in
woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan girl the.pl.h IN
r-āj-e amimōŋo 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.
(532) c. *Kōrā ro r-ar lōṃak in r-āj-e
woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan IN 3pl.agr-weave.trans-obj
amimōno 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 kōnaan '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 kōnaan āj-e amimōno 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 kōnaan leddik ro
woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) want girl the.pl.h
r-āj-e amimōno ko.
3pl.agr-weave.trans-obj handicraft the.pl.nh
'The women wanted the girls to weave the handicrafts.'

c. *Kōrā ro r-ar kōnaan r-āj-e amimōno
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 nān

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

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.
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 ŋan 'for the purpose of' or 'in order to':

(534) Bamle eo e-ar koba ŋan keemem-e niňniň
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 ŋan mōňa i
neighbor-1s.gen 3pl.agr-T(past) come-toward.speaker in.order.to eat.intrans at
myweo im-ō.
the.house dwell.poss-1s.gen
'My neighbors came (toward where I am) in order to eat at my house.'

Like in, ŋan is homophonous with a preposition. As a preposition, ŋan means 'to' or 'for':

(536) I-naaj i-ňok ŋan Disneyland.
1s.agr-T(fut) go-away.from both to Disneyland
'I will go (away from where we are) to Disneyland.'

(537) Leō e-ar mān piik eo ŋan 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.'
Despite appearing to occupy the same position in the clause, there are some semantic and syntactic differences between *in* and ꦠ ꦲ. First *in* and ꦠ ꦲ have different meanings. While it might be argued that a good translation for *in* is something similar to the English infinitival *to*, ꦠ ꦲ 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, ꦠ ꦲ.

(538) ḋọọ e-ar jino i jeraamman 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) ḋọọ e-ar jino ꦠ ꦲ jeraamman ilo a-n
the.man 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans in.order.to be.successful in gnr.poss-3s.gen
study katak.
'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 ꦠ ꦲ in (539) seems very close to its prepositional, goal/benefactive meaning.

*掮* also differs from *in* in that it may be followed by a clausal possessive phrase.

(540) Kọrā eo e-ar jutak ꦠ ꦲ 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) \*Körä eo e-ar jutak in a-n töl 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), ŋan is followed by a phrase headed by the general possessive classifier an,
which indicates that the complement of ŋan 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 ŋan or in.

(542) Körä eo e-ar jutak ŋan töl 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) Körä eo e-ar jutak in töl 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 ŋan, two analyses might be proposed. First it
might be argued that ŋan 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 körä eo ear jutak [CP ŋan [TP/VP töl al eo]]]
b. [AgrSP körä eo ear jutak [PP ŋan [XP an töl al eo]]]

One major difference between these two structures is that, (544a) is a biclausal structure,
with ŋan as the head of CP, while (544b) is a monoclausal structure. Alternatively, it
might be the case that ŋan 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 körä eo ear jutak ŋan [XP Ø töl al eo]]
b. [AgrSP körä eo ear jutak ŋan [XP an töl al eo]]
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 grn.poss-3s.gen again
koman-e imon jarom eo...
kömman-e mòn 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 ikueaik i
beauty the.pl.h 3pl-T(past) be.ready for grn.poss-3pl.gen T(past) roam in
meñan ñneo.
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 *lõmнак*, and (549), which includes the matrix verb *jino*.

(548) Kôrâ ro r-ar Ɂlõmнак in āj.
woman the.pl.h 3pl.agr-T(past) plan IN weave.intrans
'The women planned to weave.'

(549) Kôrâ 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 biclusal.
The final two classes are monoclusal, 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 Biclusal infinitives

The majority of Marshallese infinitives have a biclusal structure. Biclusal infinitives
must include *in*, as shown in (550) and (551). If *in* is absent, the sentence is
ungrammatical (550b) and (551b).

(550) a. Kôrâ eo e-ar Ɂlõmнак in āj.
woman the.s 3s.agr-T(past) plan IN weave.intrans
'The woman planned to weave.'

b. *Kôrâ eo e-ar Ɂlõmнак 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 Jōmnak 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.'
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 biclusal.

Further evidence that these sentences are biclusal comes from long passives and the scope of negation. First, this class of verbs does not allow long passives.

(556) *Amiŋoŋo ko r-ar jōŋak 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 məkoko in ekkal iiō eo ĵok. 
    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 jəb 'not', when found between the matrix and embedded verbs, may not take scope over the matrix verb.

(558) E-ar jōŋak in jəb etal ēn 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb non-restructuring</th>
<th>in required</th>
<th>V S (in)</th>
<th>long passives with neg</th>
<th>scope ambiguities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 23 provides a list of Marshallese non-restructuring verbs.
Table 23. Marshallese non-restructuring verbs

- motion
- böjrak 'stop'
- melöklok 'forget'
- fommak 'plan'
- kāaloi 'decide'
- stative verbs
- kōjatdiktik 'hope'
- makoko 'refuse'
- kallimur 'promise'
- likjab 'fail'

6.5.2 Monoclusal infinitives – type 1

The second class of verbs, which are found in monoclusal 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 monoclusal infinitives, the subject may not immediately follow the matrix verb, regardless of whether in is present.
(561) a. *E-aikuj ri- jerakrōk eo in aō ŋan âne 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 ŋan âne eo.
       3s.agr-need one.who-sail the.s swim to 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 ŋan âne 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 ŋan âne eo.
       3s.agr-need IN swim one.who-sail the.s to land the.s
       'The sailor needs to swim to the land.'

       3s.agr-need visit-away.from both one.who-sail the.pl.h Kosrae
       'The sailor needs to visit Kosrae.'

       3s.agr-need IN visit-away.from both one.who-sail the.pl.h Kosrae
       'The sailors needs to visit Kosrae.'
The subject may also be sentence final if it has right dislocation intonation:

(564) a. R-ar jino ikkük ilo piknik eo, ᵃⁿᵃᵐ 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 ikkük ilo piknik eo, ᵃⁿᵃᵐ 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 ᵃⁿᵃⁿ āñe eo, ri-jerakrök 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 ᵃⁿᵃⁿ āñe eo, ri-jerakrök 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. Jiroṇ 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
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 lōk.
      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 ijinol 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 ijinoljino (572). This comparison shows that this verb appears in its transitive form when it is in a long passive.

(571) Watak e-ar jino kweĩloŋ eo.
      Watak 3s.agr-T(past) start.trans meeting the.s
      'Watak started the meeting.'

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(572) Kweilok 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 lôk.
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 mõña jâelele.
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:\textsuperscript{39}

(576) Likao eo e-j aikuj bwe e-n jab mõña
young.man the.s 3s.agr-T(pres) suppose that 3s.agr-should neg eat.intrans
jâelele.
meat
'The young man is supposed to not eat meat.'
**"The young man is not supposed to eat meat.'

\textsuperscript{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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>modal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maroñ́ 'be able', 'can', 'might'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aikuj 'need', 'supposed to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspectual</td>
<td>jino 'start'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.3 Monoclusal infinitives – type 2

In addition to the class of monoclusal infinitives discussed in section 6.5.2, there is also another class of infinitives, whose behavior differs from that of other monoclusal infinitives. In spite of this fact, I will still argue that these infinitives are monoclusal, 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 eṃmaan 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 eṃmaan 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:
(578) a. *E-ar kajjioŋ taktō eo in mwijit emmāan 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 kajjioŋ taktō eo mwijit emmāan 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. Emmāan eo e-ar kajjioŋ in mwijmwiŋ.
    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. Emmāan eo e-ar kajjioŋ mwijmwiŋ.
    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 kōŋaan 'want'. This verb never allows in.

(580) a. Takwōj e-kōŋaan mwijit-i mā ko.
    Takwōj 3s.agr-want cut.trans-obj breadfruit the.pl.nh
    'Takwōj wants to cut the breadfruits.'

    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.

    3s.agr-want Takwōj cut.trans-obj breadfruit the.pl.nh
    'Takwōj wants to cut the breadfruits.'
   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-kōnaan mวijmวij.
   breadfruit the.pl.nh 3pl.agr-want cut.intrans
   'The breadfruits are wanted to be cut.'

(583) *Leddi ek e-kōnaan jab mare-ik jaddik 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>in</th>
<th>V S (in)</th>
<th>long passives</th>
<th>scope ambiguities with neg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-restructuring</td>
<td>required</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restructuring</td>
<td>not required</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kajjion</td>
<td>not required</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōnaan</td>
<td>not allowed</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Wurmbrand shows that, in the case of German, semi-functional restructuring verbs do not allow long passives. Therefore, we cannot conclude that *kajjiōn* and *kōnān* 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 maroṇi 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
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 marker.

(587) Körä 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 mokta jān a-er etal.
before from gnr.poss-3pl.gen leave
'The women planned to weave the mats before their leaving.'

(588) Iterutia e-j etal in naaj kōnnaan ippā-n wulio ro.
Iterutia 3s.agr-T(pres) go IN T(fut) talk with-3s handsome.man the.pl.h
'Iterutia 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
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 Monoclusal 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

```
  VP
  |  
  F'  F
  |   
  V_matrix  vP
  |       
  subject  v'
  |    
  v  VP
  |  
  V'  V
  |   
  V_{embedded}
```

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 jōmŋak in wōt.
3s.agr-T(past) plan IN rain
'It planned to rain.'

(595) *E-kar makokọ 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 jōmŋak 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.'

the.house 3s.agr-T(pres) refuse IN cause-be.afraid Jebra
'The house refuses to frighten Jebra.'

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 maroŋi 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.'
Therefore these data support the conclusion that aikuj, marōn and jino are functional restructuring verbs.

The functional restructuring configuration can explain the prohibition against VS (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 ŋan āne eo.
    3s.agr-need swim one.who-sail the.s to land the.s
    'The sailor needs to swim to the land.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The derivation of VSPP order:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. PP is left adjoined to vP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. vP moves to spec YP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. V moves to v; V+v moves to X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The subject remains vP internal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
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. \( [\text{AgrSP subject}_{\text{matrix}} \ V_{\text{matrix}} [\text{CP } [\text{AgrSP pro } \ V_{\text{embedded}} \ \text{object}]]] \)

   b. \( [\text{AgrSP } \text{object}_{\text{embedded}}]; [\text{Voice } [\text{VP } V_{\text{matrix}} [\text{CP } [\text{AgrSP } \text{Voice } [\text{VP } V_{\text{embedded}} t_j]; \emptyset t_k])); \emptyset t_j] \)

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. \( [\text{AgrSP } \text{subject}_{\text{matrix}} V_{\text{matrix}} [\text{VP } t_i \ V_{\text{embedded}} \text{object}]] \)

   b. \( [\text{AgrSP } \text{object}_{\text{matrix}} V_{\text{matrix}} [\text{Voice } [\text{VP } V_{\text{embedded}} t_j]; \emptyset t_k]]; \emptyset t_j] \)

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.'
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
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

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and incorporates with Voice. Thus a sentence like (607) has the structure shown in (608).\textsuperscript{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)

\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (AgrSP) {AgrSP}
  child {node (DPk) {DP\textsubscript{k}}
    child {node (AgrS) {AgrS'}}
    child {node (TP) {im on jikuul eo AgrS i e 3s T' \node (T) {T'} \node (FP) {FP} \node (ar) {ar} \node (T(past)) {T(past)} \node (F) {F} \node (VoiceP) {VoiceP} \node (jino) {jino 'start' \node (VPi) {VP\textsubscript{i}} \node (Voice'i) {Voice' \node (Voice) {Voice} \node (AccP) {AccP} \node (ekkal) {ekkal 'build' \node (O) {O} \node (Acc) {Acc} \node (XP) {XP} \node (t\textsubscript{i}) {t\textsubscript{i}} \node (X') {X'} \node (vP) {vP} \node (DP) {DP} \node (ritarinae ro 'the soldiers' \node (t\textsubscript{i}) {t\textsubscript{i}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}
\end{tikzpicture}

\textsuperscript{40} I have not yet had the opportunity to research subject position in long passives.

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6.6.3 Monoclusal 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))

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
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Matrix passive</th>
<th>Extrapolation of infinitive</th>
<th>theta restrictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>functional</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-functional</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kaijioŋ ‘try’ and kōŋaŋ ‘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 *kōnaan because this verb cannot normally be passivized:

(611) a. Lio e-kōnaan bobo.41
    the woman 3s.agr-want bobo
    'The woman wants bobo.'

   b. *Bobo e-kōnaan 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_{\text{matrix}}+v+X [vp subject t_v [vp t_{v_{\text{matrix}}} [vp V_{\text{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 *bajek 'for not important reason'. If the verbs in question were lexical restructuring

---

41 Bobo is a Marshallese food that is made from pounded breadfruit or coconut.
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 lerutia.
lerutia 'Eddie went for no important reason to talk with Lerutia.'

(615) Ładdik eo e-j mōñoñā 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 kōñaam prohibits the verb from moving to
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 kōnaan nor kajjīn 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-kōnaan mwijit-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
internal, then the movement of the matrix verb to X results in \textit{V S in V} word order. This derivation is illustrated by (617).

(552) E-ar \ljomn\=ak k\=o\=ra eo in \=aj.
3s.agr-T(past) plan woman the.s IN weave.intrans
'The woman planned to weave.'

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
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.
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.
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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