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Chamorro Grammar

Sandra Chung

CHAMORRO GRAMMAR

View of Saipan from Mañagaha, 1979

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Santa Cruz, California
2020

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PREFACE

This book has taken a long time to complete. That it exists at all is due to the generosity of many people.

First of all, I want to acknowledge and thank the speakers of Chamorro who have generously shared their linguistic insights with me over the years. Manuel F. Borja has been a consultant, collaborator, friend, and member of the family, both in Saipan and in the U.S. mainland, for almost as long as I have been studying the Chamorro language. Of the many others who have been willing to share their judgments and linguistic intuitions with me, I especially want to recognize Priscilla Anderson, Antonio M. Atalig, Felix P. Babauta, Jose A. Bermudez, Jesus M. Cruz, Teresina Garrido, Ray Lujan, Maria T. Quinata, and the late Agnes C. Tabor (in the continental U.S.); and Dr. Elizabeth D. Rechebei, Francisco Tomokane, the late Anicia Q. Tomokane, and the late Maria P. Mafnas (in Saipan).

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Work on this grammar has been facilitated from the beginning by the Chamorro-Carolinian Language Policy Commission of the CNMI and the

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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in the glosses in the examples are, when possible, taken from the list of standard abbreviations used in the Leipzig glossing rules. Some abbreviations have been added. A complete list is given here:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AGR	agreement
ANTIP	antipassive
COMP	complementizer
COMPAR	comparative
DIR	directional
DJ	adjunct
DU	dual
EMP	emphatic particle
EXCL	exclusive
F	feminine
FUT	future
IMPERF	imperfect
IN	*-in-* in exclamatives
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INTR	intransitive
IRR	irrealis
L	linker
LCL	local case
M	masculine
NMLZ	nominalization
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PL	plural

PROG	progressive
PRT	particle (used for *di* and *ki*)
Q	question complementizer
RECP	reciprocal
SBJ	subject
SG	singular
TR	transitive
UNM	unmarked case
WH	wh-agreement

In the Chamorro examples from pubished sources or from the CD database, the source is cited using the abbreviations below. See the References for the full citation of published sources; see 1.6 on the CD database.

Alamagan	Ayuyu 2007
Anakko	Iguel 1979
CD	database for the *Revised Chamorro-English dictiomary* (unedited version)
Dibota	Mafnas-Rosario 1981b
EM	Borja, Borja, and Chung 2006
Estoria-hu	Sanchez 2009
Fafa'ñague	Onedera 1994
Familia	Mafnas-Rosario 1981a
Ginen I Obispo	Camacho 2000-2013
Igu	Hocog-Inos 1981
LSS	Borja and Roppul 2009
Mangadada	Santiago 1974
Mannge'	Marciano 1981a
MM	Michael and Mundo, Sr., eds. 2019
NT	*Nuebu testamento*
Pito	Camacho 1974
Saipan Tribune	del Rosario, Jr. 1998-2000
Tres	Marciano 1981b
Tronko	Lizama 1974

1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   The Chamorro language and its speakers

Chamorro is an Austronesian language indigenous to the Mariana Islands, an archipelago of fifteen islands located just west of the Mariana Trench, in the Western Pacific Ocean (northwest Micronesia). It is the language of the Chamorros, the indigenous people of the Mariana Islands, and a language spoken by many Carolinians (Refaluwasch) whose ancestors settled in the Mariana Islands during the nineteenth century.

The Mariana Islands consist of two political entities, both of which are part of the United States. The southernmost island, Guam (Guåhan), is an unincorporated U.S. territory. The remaining fourteen islands constitute the U.S. Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). The CNMI has three inhabited islands, Rota (Luta), Tinian, and Saipan, which are located in the southern half of the archipelago, less than 150 miles from Guam. Several of the islands farther to the north (Anatahan, Pagan, and Agrihan) formerly had small populations, but are now officially uninhabited.

Both the CNMI and Guam are multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual societies in which the majority of the population is not Chamorro and the dominant language is English. Data from the U.S. census indicates that in 2010, 91.6% of the 12,902 Chamorros in the CNMI, but just 43.5% of the 59,381 Chamorros in Guam, spoke the Chamorro language at home (see Pagel 2019: 265). These figures are one sign of a language decline that began immediately after World War II in Guam and somewhat later in the CNMI (see 1.2). In Guam and the CNMI today, Chamorro is considered an endangered language.

The language has several dialects, which are mutually intelligible and correspond to the three islands with the largest populations: Guam, Saipan, and Rota. The Rota dialect has a distinctive sound structure (see 29.5.3). Otherwise, the dialects differ from one another in minor ways; for instance, in the realizations of certain case markers (see 5.1.1.1). Some indigenous Chamorro words that occur frequently in the Saipan dialect are viewed as archaic in the Guam dialect. Certain Spanish loanwords in the Guam and Rota dialects do not occur in the Saipan dialect, and many of the Japanese loanwords in the Saipan dialect do not occur in the Guam or Rota dialects.

1.2   Language vitality

To appreciate the current situation of the Chamorro language, one must know something about the history of the Mariana Islands.

The Mariana Islands have been controlled by foreign powers for more than three hundred and fifty years. During the Spanish colonial period (1668-1898), Chamorro material culture was largely replaced by the material culture of the Hispanic colonies, and many traditional Chamorro cultural practices disappeared or were suppressed (see Spoehr 1954: 31-36, Farrell 1991: 182-183, and Russell 1998: 317-319). But the Chamorro language survived—a potent symbol of the resilience of the Chamorro people.

At the end of the Spanish-American War (1898), Spain ceded Guam to the United States, and then sold the rest of the Mariana Islands (i.e. the Northern Mariana Islands) to Germany. Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands have had separate histories ever since.

From 1899 to 1941 and 1946 to 1950, Guam fell under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Navy; its appointed governor served simultaneously as the commandant of the U.S. Naval station on Guam (see Sanchez 1987). In 1950, a U.S. federal law known as the Organic Act designated Guam as an unincorporated U.S. territory.

The Northern Mariana Islands were held by Germany from 1899 until 1914. They were next administered by Japan from 1919 until 1944, as part of the South Seas Mandate of the League of Nations. In 1947, most of the islands of Micronesia, including the Northern Mariana Islands, were designated by the United Nations as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and placed under the administration of the United States (see Farrell 1991). The Northern Mariana Islands transitioned from U.N. trusteeship to status as a U.S. Commonwealth (henceforth, the CNMI) in a lengthy formal process that began in 1975 and concluded in 1986.

These separate histories have had separate impacts on the vitality of the Chamorro language. In Guam, the Naval government's sustained efforts to promote English as the primary language used by Chamorros were largely unsuccessful (Underwood 1987: 149-153). But during the immediate postwar period, which brought civilian government, economic growth, and a sense of modernity to Guam (Underwood 1987: 96-98), the use of the Chamorro language began to decline. Underwood (1987: 303) reports that in the early 1970's, "English monolingualism among young children on Guam was on the increase, although most children were bilingual". He goes on to say (1987: 364), "The reality of the 1980s is that the Chamorro language is an adult language among the Chamorro people."

In the Northern Mariana Islands in the late 1970's, Chamorro was still the primary language used by the vast majority of Chamorros, and the first language of most Chamorro children. But the economic growth that accompanied the establishment of the commonwealth led to an abrupt shift in language transmission, from Chamorro to English, first in Saipan in the 1980's, and some years later in Rota. By 2010, the situation of the Chamorro language in the CNMI was perhaps comparable to what Underwood describes for Guam in the 1980's.

Chamorro was recognized as an official language of Guam in 1972 and as an official language of the CNMI in 1985. Language maintenance and revival efforts are ongoing throughout the Mariana Islands, especially in Guam (see Rechebei and Chung 2018).

1.3   Linguistic history

Chamorro is an isolate within the Austronesian language family: its exact relationship to other Austronesian languages is unknown. It most likely belongs to the Western Malayo-Polynesian subfamily or is most closely related to that subfamily (see Reed 2002 and Blust 2013: 31); however, even this minimal classification has been controversial. The development of the Chamorro sound system from Proto-Austronesian has received some attention in Austronesian historical linguistics (see e.g. Costenoble 1940, Dahl 1976, and Blust 2000).

The language borrowed extensively from Spanish during the Spanish colonial period. The borrowings include numerals, kin terms, and words for certain aspects of the natural environment (see e.g. Borja, Borja, and Chung 2006: 113-120 and Rodríguez-Ponga 2009). The large number of Spanish loanwords in the Chamorro lexicon has led some to speculate that the language might be a creole or even a 'mixed language'. These speculations are off the mark: Chamorro has an intricate linguistic structure that is clearly Austronesian (see e.g. Stolz 2003 and Pagel 2019). In other words, it is an Austronesian language that happens to have acquired many words from Spanish, much as English is a Germanic language that happens to have acquired many words from French and Latin.

1.4   Previous descriptions

Several Chamorro grammars and dictionaries that were written before 1920 were intended to facilitate the education of Chamorro students in the colonial language (Spanish or English) or the colonial religion (Catholicism). These are discussed in detail by Stolz (2011a; 2011b), Zimmermann

(2011), and Winkler (2016), and much more briefly by Topping and Dungca (1973: 4-6) and Rechebei and Chung (2018: 84). They will not be surveyed here.

From a linguistic perspective, the most important previous descriptions of Chamorro are William Edwin Safford's 'The Chamorro language of Guam' (1903; 1904; 1905), H. Costenoble's *Die Chamoro Sprache* (1940), Donald M. Topping and Bernadita C. Dungca's *Chamorro reference grammar* (1973), and Topping, Ogo, and Dungca's *Chamorro-English dictionary* (1975).

Safford was a Navy lieutenant who was, in effect, the acting governor during Richard P. Leary's tenure as the first Naval Governor of Guam. During his time on Guam (1899-1900), Safford studied the Chamorro language, learned to speak it, and offered free English classes (Sanchez 1987: 88). His grammar of Chamorro was first published in five parts in the journal *American Anthropologist*, and then republished in 1909 in book form. The grammar, which he hoped would "be of service to students of comparative philology" (1903: 289), offers a clearly written, perceptive analysis of the language in traditional grammar terms. It is still a valuable work.

Costenoble, who was a member of the first German family to settle in the Mariana Islands, is now known to be Hermann Costenoble, Jr., the family's eldest child (see Salazar 2009: 23 and Stolz et al. 2011: 228-234). Costenoble acquired near-native fluency in Chamorro as an adolescent on Guam (1905-1913). Later, as an agricultural adviser in the Philippines, he became interested in Philippine languages and was introduced to comparative Austronesian linguistics by the Philippine linguist Cecilio Lopez (Salazar 2009: 24-25). Costenoble's grammar of Chamorro is a substantial, insightful work that gives an in-depth account of phonology (including the development of the Chamorro sound system from Proto-Austronesian), morphology, and syntax. However, its usefulness is limited by a lack of clarity concerning the extent to which it is a description of Costenoble's own childhood knowledge of the language. Consequently, when the Chamorro data it reports diverge from data found in other sources, it is unclear whether to attribute the differences to language variation and change, or to Costenoble's (perhaps incomplete) control of the language (see Stolz et al. 2011: 237).

Topping, who taught for many years at the University of Hawaii, was the first academically trained linguist to author a grammar and dictionary of Chamorro, and the first to do so with Chamorro native speakers as co-authors. From 1970 to 1974, he was Principal Investigator of the Pacific Languages Development Project, which created grammars, dictionaries, and

standard orthographies for all the major languages of Micronesia, including Chamorro (Rehg 2004). Topping was the consulting linguist on the 1971 Marianas Orthography Committee, which developed the first standard orthography of Chamorro. That orthography evolved into the two official orthographies described in Chapter 29. The 2010 CNMI orthography is used throughout this book.

The grammar co-authored by Topping and Bernadita C. Dungca is an accessible work that aims to teach speakers of Chamorro about the structure of their language. The dictionary co-authored by Topping, Dungca, and Pedro M. Ogo is more accurate, systematic, and linguistically sophisticated than any previous Chamorro dictionary. Both works attempt to describe the Chamorro language in its own terms, rather than in terms appropriate for other languages or for human language more generally. These two works have been the standard reference works on Chamorro for almost fifty years. (*The official Chamorro-English dictionary* (Aguon, Flores, and Leon Guerrero, eds. 2009), published recently in Guam, is a community effort that complements Topping, Ogo, and Dungca 1975 to some extent, but does not replace it.)

1.5   Aims of this book

The current work is a reference grammar that aims to document the structure of the Chamorro language in some depth. Though written by a generative syntactician, it is a traditional grammar broadly informed by the generative approach to linguistics rather than a theoretical work. Quite a bit of factual detail is presented, often in ways that implicitly point to an account, but no attempt is made to construct explicit formal analyses or investigate their theoretical implications. At the same time, the overarching assumption is that there is much that all languages share, as well as many ways that they can differ from one another. In adopting this approach, my hope is to reach out to an audience that includes linguists, speakers of Chamorro, language learners, and Austronesian scholars.

This book is also an attempt to synthesize the two strands of linguistic investigation that I have pursued with respect to Chamorro: linguistic fieldwork and language documentation. My fieldwork on Chamorro, which began in 1977, has involved medium- to long-term elicitation in the U.S. mainland and in Saipan with fourteen Chamorro consultants (seven originally from Guam, six from Saipan, and one from Rota), and shorter-term elicitation with some twenty-five others (six originally from Guam, sixteen from Saipan, and three from Rota). Fieldwork has given me an overview of the linguistic structure of Chamorro and the differences among Chamorro

dialects. But mostly it has involved the targeted investigation of topics in syntax, semantics, and phonology that are relevant to linguistic theory, such as the syntax of agreement, the derivation of verb-first word order, the uses of indefinites, and the interaction of stress, syllable structure, and vowel quality. (Readers interested in this research should consult the references in the bibliography.) In 2008, I became involved in a multi-year collaboration with Chamorro speakers in the CNMI to upgrade the documentation of the Chamorro language before it becomes further endangered. This collaboration, which was initially funded by the National Science Foundation (2008-2011), also involves a significant revision and expansion of Topping, Ogo, and Dungca's (1975) *Chamorro-English dictionary*. Working on the dictionary project has exposed me to aspects of the language that I would never have thought to examine (including adverbs, imperatives, exclamatives, and derivational morphology). Without that exposure, this grammar could not have been completed.

1.6   Sources of data

For the most part, this book aims to describe the Chamorro language as it is spoken throughout the Mariana Islands. But most of the illustrative examples cited are from the CNMI. This is partly a consequence of the decision to cite naturally-occurring data wherever possible. By naturally-occurring data, I mean Chamorro language material provided outside the elicitation context in fieldwork. This includes data from various types of Chamorro discourse, such as written literature, tape-recorded narratives, conference presentations, conversations, letters, and email messages, as well as Chamorro sentences provided to illustrate usage in the revised dictionary that is still in progress.

For the first three years of the dictionary project (2008-2011), some thirty Chamorro speakers in the CNMI were active members of the working groups that met regularly to revise different portions of the dictionary. There were initially six working groups: four on Saipan, one on Tinian, and one on Rota (see Chung and Rechebei 2014). The working groups revised existing entries and contributed new entries. One of their major contributions was to illustrate the usage of each entry in the dictionary database with culturally appropriate Chamorro sentences of varying degrees of complexity. Although the plan was for three illustrative sentences to be created for each entry, some of the groups provided many more. In its unedited version, the dictionary database contains some 29,800 Chamorro sentences of different degrees of complexity, with accompanying English translations. These sentences are a rich source of information about the Chamorro language as it is now spoken in the CNMI.

The unedited version of the Chamorro dictionary database (henceforth, the CD database) is the source of most of the examples cited in this work. (The unedited version is used because the editing process is still ongoing. All examples cited from the CD database were checked against the unedited version of the database that is dated September 23, 2016.) In addition, many examples are cited from Chamorro literature and other written materials produced since the mid 1990's. These works include books by Ayuyu (2007), Borja, Borja, and Chung (2006), Borja and Roppul (2009), Michael and Mundo, Sr., eds. (2019), Onedera (1994), and Sanchez (2009), as well as *Nuebu testamento* (the 2007 Chamorro translation of the New Testament), religious essays published by the late Bishop Tomas A. Camacho in the weekly newsletter of the Diocese of Chalan Kanoa, and editorials and opinion pieces by John S. del Rosario, Jr. in the *Saipan Tribune*. Examples are occasionally cited from Ann Cooreman's (1982; 1983) collections of Chamorro texts and from Chamorro readers developed in the 1970's and early 1980's by bilingual education programs in Guam and the CNMI. See the Abbreviations for the details of how these sources are cited in the examples. Examples not explicitly attributed to any source are from my fieldwork. This includes the ungrammatical examples, which are preceded by an asterisk (*) and presented in red type in an attempt to make it clear that they are not well-formed sentences of the language.

2

PREDICATES

The most minimal clauses contain just a predicate, which can be from any of the major parts of speech. All predicates are marked for aspect. In addition, predicates that are verbs or adjectives are marked for mood and agreement with the subject. This chapter describes the form of predicates and the uses of mood and aspect.

2.1   Minimal clauses

Clauses are simple sentences. The most minimal clauses in Chamorro contain just a predicate. The predicate can be from any of the major parts of speech: verb (as in (1)), adjective (2), or noun (3).

(1) a.   Kumåkati.
           AGR.cry.PROG
           'S/he is crying.'
    b.   Hu po'lu.
           AGR put
           'I put it (there).'
(2) a.   Manlokka'.
           AGR.tall
           'They are tall.'
    b.   Agaga'.
           AGR.red
           'It is red.'
(3) a.   Ma'estru.
           teacher
           'He is a teacher.'
    b.   Ga'lågu.
           dog
           'It's a dog.'

The predicate can also be a preposition (but see 4.3.2).

(4) Para månu?
     to   where?
     'Where are they heading?'

Predicates that are verbs or adjectives agree in person and/or number with their subject. The agreement is sometimes written as a separate word (as in (1b)), under conditions to be described below (in 2.2.2). No other information about the subject needs to be supplied. The Chamorro language permits null arguments: the subject, the direct object, and other noun phrases do not have to appear as separate, pronounced (overt) constituents if their reference can be determined from context (see 8.4).

Chamorro is a predicate-first language. When arguments do appear as independent constituents, they follow the predicate.

(5) a. Kumåkati   i   neni.
         AGR.cry.PROG   the baby
         'The baby is crying.'
    b. Hu po'lu i   nengkanu' gi hilu'   lamasa.
         AGR put   the food   LCL top.L   table
         'I put the food on top of the table.'
    c. Manlokka'   siha.
         AGR.tall   they
         'They are tall.'
    d. Ma'estra   atyu   na palåo'an.
         teacher   that   L   woman
         'That woman is a teacher.'
    e. Para i   tenda   i   famagu'un.
         to   the store   the PL.child
         'The children are heading to the store.'

The word order of clauses is described in greater detail in 3.4.

2.2   The form of predicates

The form of the predicate is determined by its part of speech. All predicates are marked (inflected) for aspect. In addition, if the predicate is a verb or adjective, it is marked for mood and agreement with the subject. Predicates that describe events (i.e. actions, processes, occurrences) differ from predicates that describe states in their uses of aspect and their forms of agreement (see 2.2.1.2 and 2.2.2.2.1).

2.2.1   Aspect
2.2.1.1   Form
2.2.1.1.1   Basics
Chamorro has two aspects, neutral and progressive.[1] The neutral aspect is not indicated by special marking. The progressive aspect is indicated by reduplication: the predicate's stressed vowel (abbeviated V) and any preceding consonant(s) (abbreviated C) are doubled. The copied CV bears primary stress and is placed just before the original CV, which bears secondary stress.

Some examples of predicates and their progressive forms are given in (6), with the original stressed vowel underlined and the copied CV in boldface. Notice that reduplication does not double the entire stressed syllable, but only its nucleus (the stressed vowel) and onset (any preceding consonants).

(6)   PREDICATE   PROGRESSIVE
       k<u>å</u>ti   'cry'   **kå**kati
       s<u>o</u>dda'   'find'   **so**sodda'
       <u>a</u>sudda'   'meet'   **a**'asudda'
       kimas<u>o</u>n   'burn'   kima**so**son
       map<u>o</u>tgi'   'pregnant'   ma**po**potgi'
       d<u>å</u>ngkulu   'big'   **då**dangkulu
       p<u>å</u>tgun   'child'   **på**patgun

2.2.1.1.2   More on reduplication for the progressive
Some details of reduplication for the progressive aspect are noted here.

If the stressed vowel of the predicate is followed by a glide (/w/ or /y/), reduplication for the progressive doubles the vowel but not the glide. In (7), the glides /y/ and /w/ are represented in the orthography as *i* (in *taitai*) and *o* (in *såolak*).

(7)   PREDICATE   PROGRESSIVE
       t<u>a</u>itai   'read'   **ta**taitai
       s<u>å</u>olak   'spank'   **så**såolak

---

[1] Topping and Dungca (1973: 258) call the progressive aspect 'continuative' and the neutral aspect, 'noncontinuative'.

If the stressed vowel is immediately preceded by a consonant plus a glide, reduplication doubles both the consonant and the glide. In (8), the glides /y/ and /w/ are represented in the orthography as *i* (in *dies*) and *u* (in *guaiya* and *kuentus*).

(8)   PREDICATE   PROGRESSIVE

	PREDICATE		PROGRESSIVE
(8)	dies	'ten'	**die**dies
	guaiya	'love'	**gua**guaiya
	kuentus	'speak'	**kue**kuentus

If the stressed vowel is immediately preceded by a consonant plus a liquid (/l/ or /r/), reduplication can double both the consonant and the liquid, or just the liquid.[2]

	PREDICATE		PROGRESSIVE
(9)	plånta	'set'	**plå**planta, **plå**lanta
	tristi	'sad'	**tri**tristi, t**ri**risti

Not all Chamorro predicates have a stressed vowel. The language has unstressed, phonologically dependent predicates that must lean on material to their right to form a phonological word. When a dependent predicate is in the progressive, reduplication affects the larger phonological word containing it. To illustrate: Even though the orthography represents them as separate words, both the verb *malak* 'go to' and the preposition *para* 'to' are dependent. *Malak* leans on material in its goal noun phrase to form a phonological word; *para* leans on material in its object noun phrase. In (10), the phonological word containing the predicate is enclosed in brackets and its stressed vowel is underlined.

(10)a.   [Manmalak månu]?
        AGR.go.to   where?
        'Where did they go?'
   b.   [Para   i   tenda].
        to   the store
        'He headed to the store.'

---

[2] Generally, both the options illustrated in (9) are allowed when the predicate is a borrowed word. When the predicate is an indigenous word, speakers prefer to double only the liquid.

When these predicates are in the progressive, reduplication looks beyond them to double the stressed CV of the entire phonological word.

(11)a.   Manmalak   måmanu?
         AGR.go.to   where.PROG
         'Where are they going?'
    b.   Para   i   tetenda.
         to   the store.PROG
         'He is heading to the store.'

   Another illustration: Every possessed noun that is marked with the linker (see 7.1.1) is phonologically dependent: it leans to the right, on material in the possessor, to form a phonological word. In (12), this phonological word is enclosed in brackets and its stressed vowel is underlined. When a possessed noun of this sort is in the progressive, reduplication doubles the stressed CV of the entire phonological word.

(12)   [Ma'estrun   Ju<u>a</u>n].
         teacher.L   Juan
         'He is Juan's teacher.'
(13)   Ma'estrun   Juajuan   ha'.
         teacher.L   Juan.PROG   EMP
         'He is still Juan's teacher.'

2.2.1.2   Meaning and use
Aspect provides a perspective on the situation described by the clause. Many languages with aspect morphology use one aspect for situations that are viewed as in progress, continuing, or repeated—situations with internal temporal structure—and another aspect for situations that are viewed as undifferentiated wholes. Chamorro fits this basic description, although the progressive aspect in Chamorro has a wider range of uses than the progressive in languages like English. (Note that the Chamorro progressive also differs from the imperfective aspect found in languages like Russian.) This subsection surveys the meaning and use of the progressive aspect and the neutral aspect in Chamorro, first for events (actions, processes, occurrences), then for states, and finally in negative clauses.

2.2.1.2.1   Aspect for events
The progressive is used for events that are ongoing or in progress with respect to some other event. In (14a), the event of Paul Santos's washing his clothes is ongoing with respect to the event of the speaker's drawing him. In

(14b), the event of her mother's heading from the church is ongoing with respect to the event of the her noticing this. And in (14c), the raining event is ongoing with respect to the speech event (the event of the speaker uttering the sentence).

(14) a. Si   Paul Santos,   guiya esti hu penta   anai   ha
      UNM   *Paul Santos*   *he*   *this* *AGR* *draw*   *when*   *AGR*
      fa'gågasi   i   magagu-ña.
      wash.PROG   *the*   *clothes-AGR*
      'Paul Santos is the one I drew while he was washing his clothes.'
      (*Alamagan* 16)

    b. Ha li'i' na   **ginin i Gima' Yuyu'us** si   nanå-ña.
      AGR *see* *COMP*   *from*   *the church.PROG*   *UNM*   *mother-AGR*
      'She saw that her mother was heading from the church.' (*Dibota* 7-8)

    c. **U'uchan**.
      AGR.rain.PROG
      'It's raining.'

The neutral aspect is used for events that are not in progress with respect to some other event. In (15), none of the events is viewed as ongoing with respect to any other event, including the speech event, so every predicate is in the neutral aspect.

(15) a. Anai   ma **baba**,   **humuyung** påtgun.
      when   *AGR* *open*   *AGR.go.out*   *child*
      'When they opened it, a child came out.' (Cooreman 1983: 107)

    b. Ha **nå'i**   guatu   ni na'-ña   ya   **sinangåni**
      AGR *give*   *to.there* *OBL* *food-AGR*   *and.then*   *AGR.PASS.say.to*
      na   para   u   **chotchu**.
      COMP   *FUT*   *AGR* *ANTIP.eat*
      'She gave him his food and told him that he should eat.' (Cooreman 1983: 79-80)

    c. Pues   duru   **uchan**.
      so   *hard*   *AGR.rain*
      'Then it rained hard.'

In (16), the event lasts for a specific time period (*todu diha* 'all day'), but is not viewed as in progress, so the neutral aspect is used.

14

(16)　Todu　diha　nai　**umåssun**　gi　tatalo'-ña.
　　　all　*day*　*COMP*　*AGR.lie*　*LCL back-AGR*
　　　'All day [the turtle] lay on its back.' (*Igu* 4)

Either the progressive or the neutral aspect can be used for repeated events, as can be seen from (17), from a description of a visit to an auto factory.

(17)　**Mana'kabålis**　　　　i　kareta,
　　　AGR.PASS.make.complete　*the car*
　　　mana'kabåbalis　　　i　kareta　**manmanå'yi**
　　　AGR.PASS.make.complete.PROG　*the car*　*AGR.PASS.add*
　　　todu ... esta　todu **manmapienta** todudu esti guini　ni
　　　all　*already all AGR.PASS.paint all.EMP this here*　*COMP*
　　　mana'fankabåbalis　　　　i　kareta　yan lokkui'
　　　AGR.PASS.make.AGR.complete.PROG　*the car*　*and also*
　　　manmatetes　...
　　　AGR.PASS.test.PROG
　　　'[a factory where] the car is assembled, the car is assembled and everything is added, everything is painted, all this here where the cars are assembled and also tested…' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

The use of the progressive for repeated events is crosslinguistically rather unusual. Although it is hard to generalize, the progressive seems to be used for repeated events most systematically when no other material in the sentence explicitly signals the repetition. In (18), the progressive provides the only linguistic cue that the event of his building houses (in (18a)) and the event of our telling our children (18b) are repeated.

(18)a.　**Manhåhatsa**　　　guma'.
　　　AGR.ANTIP.build.PROG　*house*
　　　'He builds houses (e.g. as his profession).'
　　b.　Maila'　ya　　ta aplika giya　hita　håfa　ta
　　　come　*and.then*　*AGR apply LCL*　*us.INCL what? AGR*
　　　sangångani i　famagu'on-ta.
　　　tell.PROG　*the PL.child-AGR*
　　　'Come and let us (incl.) apply to ourselves (incl.) what we (incl.) tell our (incl.) children.' (*Ginen I Obispo* August 9, 2009)

But in (19), the repetition of the event is made explicit by an adverb (*sessu* 'often', *todu i tiempu* 'all the time') or a complementizer (*kada* 'every time that'), and for many speakers the neutral aspect is preferred.

(19)a. Sessu yu' di **mapångun** as nanå-hu yan tatå-hu.
often I PRT AGR.PASS.wake OBL mother-AGR and father-AGR
'Often I was awakened by my mother and father.' (*Familia* 4)

   b. Kada **ma kumprendi** una kosa, umannuk ottra
whenever AGR understand one thing AGR.appear other
kosa ni ti ma kumprendi.
thing COMP not AGR understand
'Every time they understand one thing, another thing appears that they don't understand.' (*Ginen I Obispo* August 9, 2009)

   c. Magåhit na **uchan** todu i tiempu giya
AGR.true COMP AGR.rain all the time LCL
Guåhan.
Guam
'It's true that it rains all the time in Guam.'

The progressive can be used for repeated events even in imperatives.

(20) **Na'tutungu'** ham håfa hinassosom-mu
make.know.PROG us.EXCL what? WH[OBJ].think-AGR.PROG
put esti na che'chu'-måmi.
about this L work-AGR
'Keep on letting us (excl.) know what you think about this work of ours (excl.).' (from an e-mail message)

2.2.1.2.2　Aspect for states
The neutral aspect is the aspect used most often for states, even when the state overlaps in time with some other situation or is repeated. In (21a), the state of there being someone under the table overlaps with the speech event. In (21c), the state of it being not so hot overlaps with the state of it being evening. And in (21d), the state of the speaker's being angry is repeated. Throughout, the neutral aspect is used.

(21)a. Guaha **gaigi** gi papa' lamasa.
AGR.exist AGR.be.at LCL under.L table
'There's someone who is under the table.'

   b. Ha tungu' ha' na **mahettuk** kaskarå-ña.
AGR know EMP COMP AGR.hard shell-AGR

'[The turtle] knew that its shell was hard.' (*Igu* 3)

   c. Ti gof   **maipi**   an puengi.
      not AGR.very   hot   if   evening
      'It's not so hot when it's evening.'

   d. Kada   **tristi**   håo,   lalålu'   yu'.
      whenever AGR.sad you   AGR.angry I
      'Every time you're sad, I'm angry.'

However, under certain circumstances the progressive can be used for states. The progressive can be used for a state in which the subject takes an active role. In (22a), the speaker is viewed as wanting to be actively going ahead down the road; in (22b), the addressee is viewed as actively busy at her job.

(22)a. Ya-hu   ha'   **mofo'na**   påpa' gi chalan.
       like-AGR   EMP   AGR.INF.ahead.PROG down   LCL road
       'I would enjoy going ahead down the road.'

    b. Lokkui' hunggan,   hu kumprendi ha'   na   siempri
       also   yes   AGR understand EMP   COMP indeed
       bibisi   håo gi che'cho'-mu.
       AGR.busy.PROG   you LCL work-AGR
       'And yes, I do understand that you are really keeping busy at your job.' (from a letter)

The progressive can also be used when the state increases in intensity.

(23)a. Esta   **mamaipi**.
       already AGR.hot.PROG
       'It was getting hotter.'

    b. Intri   mås   tiempu, mås   **triristi**   yu'.
       among more   time   more   AGR.sad.PROG   I
       'As time goes on, I get sadder and sadder.'

Finally, the progressive can be used when the state is viewed as persisting, perhaps despite expectations. In such cases, the predicate is usually followed by the emphatic particle *ha'* (see 23.2).

(24)a. Guaha   **gagaigi**   ha'   gi papa' lamasa.
       AGR.exist   AGR.be.at.PROG EMP   LCL under.L table
       'There's someone who is still under the table.'

b. Todu   i   tiempu siempri **meggagai-ña**   ha'   kuestion
all   the time   indeed many-COMPAR.PROG EMP   question
ki   ineppi.
than   answer
'Always there will surely be more questions than answers.' (*Ginen I
Obispo* August 9, 2009)

c. Hu **hahassu**   ha'   atyu   na tiempu anai
AGR remember.PROG EMP   that   L time   COMP
påpatgun   yu'.
child.PROG   I
'I still remember the time when I was a child.'

All the progressive predicates in (22-24) except for *hassu* 'remember'
in (24c) are intransitive. Their marking for mood and agreement is consistent
with the idea that they describe states rather than events (see 2.2.2.1 for the
details). Nonetheless, these predicates can appear in the progressive, al-
though the neutral aspect is also possible. The nuances that determine which
aspect is chosen can be difficult to pin down. Compare (25a), in which the
adjective *fresku* 'fresh' appears in the progressive, and (25b), in which the
same predicate appears in the neutral aspect.

(25)a. **Frefresku**   i   hanum kada   manhånåo   ham
AGR.fresh.PROG the water   whenever   AGR.go   we.EXCL
guatu.
to.there
'The water is fresh every time we (excl.) go there.'

b. **Fresku**   i   hanum kada   manhånåo   ham
AGR.fresh   the water   whenever   AGR.go   we.EXCL
guatu.
to.there
'The water is fresh every time we (excl.) go there.'

2.2.1.2.3   Interaction of aspect with negation

Generally speaking, negation does not have an effect on the choice of aspect:
aspect is used in the same way in negative clauses as in the corresponding
clauses without negation. The progressive is used for events that are in
progress with respect to some other event, for repeated events, and for states
that are viewed as persisting. The neutral aspect is used otherwise. In (26),
the predicate *usa* 'use' is in the progressive because it describes a repeated
action, and the predicate *tungu'* 'know' is in the neutral aspect because it
describes a state.

(26) Atyu ha' i biha ti ha **u'usa** i tinanum
that   EMP   the old.woman not AGR use.PROG   the plant.L
kalamasa sa' ti ha **tungu'** håfa esti na nengkanu'.
pumpkin   because not AGR know   what? this L   food
'It was just the pumpkin plant that the old lady didn't use, because she didn't know what this food was.' (*Mannge'* 2)

However, the progressive has some more specialized uses in negative clauses. The progressive is often used in negative clauses when an event or state *no longer* holds, meaning that it does not hold at the time in question, but had held previously. These negative clauses often include the adverb *esta* 'already'.

(27)a. Esta   i   neni   ti   **tumåtangis**.
already the baby   not AGR.cry.PROG
'The baby is not crying any more.'
b. Ti **mamaipi**   esta   i   nengkanu'.
not AGR.hot.PROG   already the   food
'The food is no longer warm.'
c. Ti **u'uchan**.
not AGR.rain.PROG
'It is no longer raining.'

Similarly, the progressive is often used in negative clauses when an event or state does *not yet* hold, meaning that it does not hold at the time in question, but is expected to hold later. These negative clauses often include the adverb *trabiha* 'still, yet'.

(28)a. Trabiha ti hu **tataitai**   i   lepblu ni   ha nå'i   yu'.
still   not AGR read.PROG the book   COMP   AGR give   me
'I haven't yet read the book that she gave me.'
b. Trabiha ti **areklålåo**   i   gima'.
still   not AGR.orderly.PROG   the house
'The house isn't tidy yet.'
c. Ti **o'ora**.
not hour.PROG
'It wasn't yet time.' (EM 93)

Finally, the progressive is normally used in negative imperatives formed with the negative verb *cha'-* 'better not', which shows agreement like a noun (see 15.2.2.2).

(29)a. Cha'-mu   **chuchuli'** sa'   iyun-ñiha.
      better.not-AGR take.PROG   because   possession-AGR
      'Better not take them, because they are [the ancient people's]
      possessions.' (*Alamagan* 21)
   b. Cha'-ñiha   u **fanluluhan**.
      better.not-AGR   AGR AGR.afraid.PROG
      'They shouldn't be afraid.' (EM 101)

But the neutral aspect is normally used in negative imperatives formed with
the negative predicate *mungnga* 'don't, let it not be' (see 15.2.2.1).

(30)a. Mungnga   ennåo **masångan**.
      don't   that   AGR.PASS.say
      'Don't say that.' (EM 83)
   b. Mungnga   **muma'å'ñåo**.
      don't   AGR.afraid
      'Don't be afraid.' (EM 82)

2.2.2   Mood and agreement

In Chamorro, predicates that are verbs or adjectives are marked for agree-
ment with the subject by means of forms that also signal mood. (Predicates
that are nouns or prepositions do not show agreement; see 4.3.) There are
two moods, realis and irrealis.[3] Depending on mood and on whether the
predicate is transitive or intransitive, the agreement signals either the person
and number, or else just the number, of the subject. The system is intricate,
highly structured, and hard to lay out straightforwardly. This section begins
by presenting the forms of agreement as though there were a single set of
agreement paradigms that are sensitive to mood and transitivity. The
presentation moves from the simple to the complex: first the agreement
forms for transitive verbs are described (in 2.2.2.1), then the agreement
forms for intransitive verbs and adjectives (in 2.2.2.2). The analysis is
revisited in 2.2.2.3, where it is observed that the system actually consists of
two separate types of agreement that can co-occur.

2.2.2.1   Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs show agreement with the subject through morphemes that
precede the verb and are usually treated as proclitics. These morphemes are
written as separate words in the official orthographies. The agreement forms

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[3] Topping and Dungca (1973: 263) refer to the irrealis mood as the 'future
tense' and the realis mood as the 'nonfuture tense'.

for the realis mood are listed in (31), and the forms for the irrealis mood are listed in (32).[4]

(31)   AGREEMENT FOR TRANSITIVE VERBS IN THE REALIS MOOD
         1 sg.   hu
         2 sg.   un
         3 sg.   ha
         1 incl. du./pl.   ta
         1 excl. du./pl.   in
         2 du./pl.   en
         3 du./pl.   ma

(32)   AGREEMENT FOR TRANSITIVE VERBS IN THE IRREALIS MOOD
         1 sg.   (bai) hu / bai
         2 sg.   un
         3 sg.   u
         1 incl. du./pl.   (u)ta
         1 excl. du./pl.   (bai) in
         2 du./pl.   en
         3 du./pl.   uma

Safford (1904), who writes these forms as prefixes, identifies them as verbal particles, saying that they "indicate person, but they are quite distinct from the personal pronoun" (1904: 504). Topping and Dungca (1973: 106) refer to them as *hu*-type pronouns, naming them after the 1 sg. form in the paradigm in (31). The view taken here is that these forms are not pronouns but agreement, since (i) they also indicate mood, and (ii) they co-occur with the subjects they cross-reference. For instance, *ha* in (33a) agrees with *si Tan Biriña*, and *uma* in (33b) agrees with *i famalåo'an* 'the women'.

(33)a. Ha lolommuk   i   amut   si   Tan Biriña.
         AGR pound.PROG   the medicine   UNM   Mrs. Biriña
         'Tan Biriña was pounding the medicine.' (LSS 29)
     b. Para   uma   paini   i   famalåo'an i   gaputulun-ñiha.
         FUT   AGR   comb   the PL.woman   the hair-AGR

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[4] Previous Chamorro grammars report other realizations for the 3 du./pl. forms. According to Safford (1904: 504), the 3 du./pl. realis form is *ha* and the 3 du./pl. irrealis form is *uha*. According to Topping and Dungca (1973: 262-263), the 3 du. irrealis form is *uha* and the 3 pl. irrealis form is *uma*. The form *uha* is apparently still used in Guam (see Stolz 2019).

'The women are going to comb their hair.'

The interaction of agreement with the different types of Chamorro pronouns is discussed in 8.4.2.

The agreement forms in (31) and (32) distinguish three persons: first (referring to the speaker), second (referring to the addressee), and third (referring to individuals other than the speaker or addressee). They also distinguish two numbers: singular (referring to one individual) and dual/plural (referring to two or more than two; the reason for bringing dual into the picture will become clear shortly). The fact that the agreement forms are also sensitive to mood is most obvious in the third person and in certain options for the first person. In the second person, the realis and irrealis agreement forms are the same.

As in many other Austronesian languages, the first person dual/plural forms distinguish between inclusive and exclusive. The inclusive dual/plural *includes* the addressee(s), whereas the exclusive dual/plural *excludes* the addressee(s). The choice of inclusive versus exclusive is straightforward in conversation and can also serve rhetorical functions in group settings. In (34), from an introduction of native healers at a symposium, the use of the first person inclusive highlights the gathering's unity of purpose, while the use of the first person exclusive recognizes the divide between those who are healers and those who are not.

(34) **Ta** po'lu i inangokko'-**ta** na ginin esti na
      AGR put   *the trust-AGR*   *COMP from   this L*
      Symposium ... hamyu, kumu mana'amti, yan **hami**
      symposium   *you.PL as* *PL.healer and we.EXCL*
      ni ti mana'amti, todus **hit** **ta** na'metgut i
      COMP not PL.healer all *we.INCL AGR make.strong the*
      diknu na dinisehå-**ta** ...
      noble L NMLZ.wish-AGR
      'We (incl.) trust that with this Symposium...you (pl.), as native healers, and we (excl.), as nonhealers, together we (incl.) can strengthen our (incl.) noble endeavor...' (LSS 38)

Finally, third person singular agreement is occasionally used to cross-reference a plural subject that is dual (see Stolz 2019) or collective (viewed as an undifferentiated group). This usage occurs in Guam and Rota but seems not to be as frequent in Saipan.

2.2.2.1.1   Pronounciation notes

The sound /h/ is often omitted in Chamorro, so the 1 sg. *hu* is typically pronounced [u], and the 3 sg. realis *ha* is typically pronounced [ɑ]. The orthographies represent the 1 excl. du./pl. as *in* and the 2 du./pl. as *en*, but they have the same pronunciation (i.e. [In] in (35b)). The fact that these two forms are pronounced the same has a result that language learners might appreciate. A polar question whose subject is first person inclusive dual/plural can be answered by simply repeating the words of the question without changing the form of agreement (see (35a)). In spoken Chamorro, the same holds true of certain polar questions whose subject is *second* person dual/plural. As long as the predicate is a transitive verb, the question can be answered without overtly "changing" the agreement, because the 1 excl. du./pl. *in* and the 2 du./pl. *en* are pronounced the same. See (35b).

(35)a.   Kåo   **ta** nisisita ayudu?   — Hunggan,   **ta** nisisita ayudu.
          Q   *AGR need   help*   *yes*   *AGR need   help*
          'Do we (incl.) need help? — Yes, we (incl.) need help.'
     b.   Kåo   **en** nisisita ayudu?   — Hunggan,   **in** nisisita ayudu.
          Q   *AGR need   help*   *yes*   *AGR need   help*
          'Do you (du./pl.) need help? — Yes, we (excl.) need help.'

The first person agreement forms in the irrealis mood include optional material. The 1 incl. du./pl. irrealis form is usually realized as *ta*; the preceding *u* is now less commonly used. Acccording to Costenoble (1940: 307) and Topping and Dungca (1973: 262), the *bai* in the other first person irrealis forms may be borrowed from Spanish *voy*. *Bai* is often present, but can be omitted. In the 1 sg. irrealis agreement form, either *bai* or *hu* can be omitted, but not both.

2.2.2.2   Intransitive verbs and adjectives
2.2.2.2.1   In the realis mood

In the realis mood, intransitive verbs and adjectives show agreement with the subject through affixes that indicate number but not person. These affixes are given below.

(36)   AGREEMENT FOR INTRANSITIVE VERBS / ADJECTIVES
        IN THE REALIS MOOD
        Sg./Du.   -um- / —
        Pl.   man-

The agreement in (36) distinguishes two numbers: singular/dual (referring to one or two individuals) and plural (referring to more than two). Plural is indicated by the prefix *man-*, which can take various forms (see below and 30.4.3). Singular/dual is indicated by the infix *-um-* or by no special marking. Some examples of intransitive predicates with agreement are given in (37), with *-um-* in boldface. Notice that infixes are inserted before the first vowel of the predicate. If the predicate begins with a nasal (*m, n, ñ, ng*) or liquid (*l, r*), some speakers allow the infix *-um-* to be realized as the prefix *mu-*.

(37) PREDICATE   SG./DU. REALIS   PL. REALIS
      kåti   'cry'   k**um**åti   mangåti
      såga   'stay'   s**um**åga   mañåga
      peska   'fish'   p**um**eska   mameska, manpeska,
                                                     mampeska

      hånåo   'go'   h**um**ånåo   manhånåo
      macho'chu' 'work'   macho'chu'   manmacho'chu'
      tangnga   'deaf'   tangnga   mantangnga
      lachi   'wrong'   lachi   manlachi
      betdi   'green'   betdi   manbetdi, mambetdi

Two characteristics of this agreement paradigm stand out. First, it is sparser than the agreement paradigms for transitive verbs (see 2.2.2.1). Second, its handling of number is different: dual (referring to two individuals) is realized by the same forms as singular in (36), but by the same forms as plural in the transitive paradigms in (31-32). The result is a split in the way the agreement system responds to subjects that refer to two individuals. The split is illustrated in (38), an excerpt from a narrative about two thieves in which each predicate is in the realis mood and has a third person dual subject. When the predicate is a transitive verb (*sienti* 'feel' or *galoppi* 'jump over'), the agreement is *ma*—just as it would be if the subject had been plural. When the predicate is intransitive, the agreement is *-um-* (on *påra* 'stop') or no special marking (on *magacha'* 'be detected', *malågu* 'run', and *måttu* 'arrive')—just as it would be if the subject had been singular. (Transitive verbs in this excerpt are glossed TR, and intransitive verbs are glossed INTR.)

(38) **Ma** sienti ya   kana' magacha'   i   dos.
      AGR feel.TR and.then   almost AGR.PASS.detect.INTR the two
      Pues gotpi   ha'   malågu   i   dos,   ti
      then suddenly   EMP   AGR.run.INTR   the two   not
      p**um**åra   asta ki måttu   guatu gi
      AGR.stop.INTR until   PRT AGR.arrive.INTR to.there LCL
      simintetyun   Chalan Kanoa ... **Ma** galoppi   i   patdit   ...
      cemetery.L   Chalan Kanoa AGR jump.TR   the concrete
      'They felt that the two of them were about to be caught out. So
      suddenly they ran off, and didn't stop until they got to the Chalan
      Kanoa cemetery…they jumped the concrete wall…' (from a tape-
      recorded narrative)

The split in the way that the agreement handles dual number is echoed in the
form of nouns and pronouns: dual nouns generally have the same form as the
corresponding singular nouns (see 6.1.1.1), but dual pronouns have the same
form as the corresponding plural pronouns (see 8.1).

The agreement paradigm in (36) is more complicated in its sensitivity to
whether the predicate describes an event or a state.[5]

In the singular/dual, the choice between *-um-* and no special marking is
correlated with whether the predicate describes an event or a state. Spe-
cifically: If *-um-* is the only affix allowed, then the predicate describes an
event. If the predicate describes a state, then either *-um-* or no special
marking can occur, under conditions outlined below.

Almost all intransitive verbs that describe events must use *-um-* in the
realis mood to show singular/dual agreement. See the forms in (37) and
below.

(39) PREDICATE   SG./DU. REALIS
      chotchu   'eat'   ch**um**otchu
      ta'yuk   'jump'   t**um**a'yuk
      attuk   'hide'   **um**attuk
      påra   'stop'   p**um**åra
      kuentus   'speak'   k**um**uentus

However, a few intransitive verbs that describe events cannot use *-um-*.
These include *mumu* 'fight', verbs such as *macho'chu'* 'work', *mamokkat*
'walk', and *måttu* 'arrive' (*m/f* verbs; see 2.2.3.1), all passive verbs (see

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[5] Aspect is also sensitive to whether the predicate describes an event or a
state (see 2.2.1.2).

10.2.1), and antipassive verbs formed with *man-* (see 10.3.1). An even smaller number of verbs allow either *-um-* or no special marking, under the conditions described below (e.g. *maigu'* 'sleep'). All this reveals that *not every* intransitive verb that describes an event must use *-um-* to show singular/dual agreement. Instead, the generalization is that if a predicate must use *-um-* for this agreement, then it describes an event.

Adjectives and intransitive verbs that describe states can use *-um-* or no special marking for singular/dual agreement in the realis mood, but with a difference. When no special marking is used, the predicate simply describes a state. When *-um-* is used, the predicate is inchoative: it describes the beginning (inception) of a state.

(40)   PREDICATE   SG./DU. REALIS
        gaigi   gaigi   'be (at a place)'
                             g**um**aigi   'come to be (at a place)'
        guaha   guaha   'exist'
                             g**um**uaha   'come to exist'
        agaga'   agaga'   'red'
                             umagaga'   'become red, turn red'
        lokka'   lokka'   'tall'
                             l**um**okka',   'become tall'
                             mulokka'
        måolik   måolik   'good'
                             m**um**åolik   'become good'

Note that the agreement can signal the difference between a state and its inception only in the singular/dual, not in the plural. The plural adjective *manlokka'* 'tall (pl.)', for instance, simply describes the state of being tall; there is no way to get the agreement to convey the meaning 'become tall'.

In the plural, there is just one agreement affix, *man-*. This affix is sensitive in a different way to the distinction between events and states.

The plural agreement prefix *man-* is one of the Chamorro prefixes that can undergo the Austronesian alternation known as nasal substitution (see 30.4). In nasal substitution, the *n* of the prefix assimilates to the place of articulation of an immediately following voiceless consonant (/p, t, k, ts, f, s/), and the voiceless consonant deletes. (Notice that *n* becomes the palatal nasal *ñ* before the alveolar fricative *s* and before the alveolar affricate /ts/, which is represented *ch* in the orthographies.) Nasal substitution produces the alternations seen below.

26

(41) PREDICATE   PL. REALIS
    poddung   'fall'   mamoddung
    tångis   'cry'   manångis
    kalamtin   'move, start'   mangalamtin
    kuentus   'speak'   manguentus
    chålik   'laugh'   mañålik
    sena   'have dinner'   mañena

Generally, the plural agreement prefix undergoes nasal substitution when the predicate describes an event but not when it describes a state. Compare the event predicates in (41) with the state predicates in (42).[6]

(42) PREDICATE   PL. REALIS
    pika   'spicy'   manpika
    to'a   'almost ripe'   manto'a
    kadukadu'   'unreal'   mankadukadu'
    chågu'   'distant'   manchågu'
    fåtta   'absent'   manfåtta
    suetti   'lucky'   mansuetti

This general tendency has exceptions. Nasal substitution is optional, or does not occur at all, when the plural agreement prefix combines with certain event predicates.

(43) PREDICATE   PL. REALIS
    påra   'stop'   mamåra, manpåra
    kumplen   'complain'   mangumplen, mankumplen
    tuhu'   'drip, leak'   mantuhu'
    finu'   'speak (a language)'   manfinu'

Nasal substitution never occurs when the plural agreement prefix combines with a passive verb, even one that describes an event.

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[6] A different Austronesian alternation, nasal assimilation, assimilates the /n/ of the prefix to an immediately following voiced consonant. Topping and Dungca (1973: 48-50) treat nasal assimilation as obligatory. But for many speakers in many contexts, it is optional or does not occur at all. The plural realis verbs in (37) include some forms that illustrate nasal assimilation. The effects of this optional alternation are not shown in (42) or in later examples in this chapter.

(44)   PREDICATE   PL. REALIS
      patcha   'touch'   manpinatcha   'be touched'
      tugi'   'write'   mantinigi'   'be written'
      konni'   'take'   mankinenni'   'be taken'
      fa'nå'gui 'teach'   manfina'nå'gui 'be taught'
      sodda'   'find'   mansinedda'   'be found'

On the other hand, when the plural agreement prefix combines with a very few state predicates, nasal substitution *does* occur.

(45)   PREDICATE   PL. REALIS
      kadada'   'short'   mangadada'
      siha   'together (3 pers.)'   mañiha

Speakers vary in their handling of the patterns shown in (43) and (45). One notable example: in the CNMI, the plural of the adjective /tsamoru/ 'Chamorro' is generally *manChamorro*, without nasal substitution; but for some speakers in Guam, it is *maÑamoru*, with nasal substitution. All this makes it difficult to generalize with confidence. Perhaps the best that can be said is that in most cases, the plural prefix does *not* undergo nasal substitution when attached to a state predicate.

Fine-grained and partial though they are, the patterns just described reveal that the marking of mood and agreement, like the marking of aspect, is sensitive to whether the predicate describes an event or a state.

2.2.2.2.2   In the irrealis mood
In the irrealis mood, finally, intransitive verbs and adjectives show agreement with the subject through forms that indicate both person and number. These forms, which are listed below, distinguish *three* numbers: singular, dual, and plural.

(46) AGREEMENT FOR INTRANSITIVE VERBS / ADJECTIVES
     IN THE IRREALIS MOOD

1 sg.	(bai) hu / bai
2 sg.	un
3 sg.	u
1 incl. du.	(u)ta
1 excl. du.	(bai) in
2 du.	en
3 du.	u
1 incl. pl.	(u)ta fan-
1 excl. pl.	(bai) in fan-
2 pl.	en fan-
3 pl.	u fan-

A few examples:

(47)a. Nihi   ta   hånåo.
    let's   AGR go
    'Let's (incl. du.) go.'

   b. Para   bai in   fanguentus.
    FUT   AGR   AGR.speak
    'We (excl. pl.) are going to speak.'

   c. I   putin   kurason u   fanmågung.
    the hurt.L   heart   AGR AGR.healed
    'The heartaches are going to heal.' (EM 66)

2.2.2.3 Agreement revisited

Now that all the agreement forms have been presented, it is time to inspect the paradigms more carefully.

A close look at the irrealis paradigm for intransitive agreement in (46) reveals that it combines elements from two paradigms that were seen earlier. In the singular and dual, this agreement is basically the same as *transitive* agreement in the irrealis mood (see (32)). The only difference is that the 3 du. form is *u*, not *uma*. In the plural, the agreement consists of the dual forms combined with the prefix *fan-*, which is the irrealis form of the plural prefix used for intransitive agreement in the *realis* mood (see (36) and 2.2.3). The fact that *fan-* undergoes nasal substitution under the same conditions as *man-* confirms that the two prefixes are related.

These observations suggest that it would be simpler to analyze the agreement paradigms as the result of two separate types of agreement that can co-occur. The first type of agreement consists of the person-and-number

forms in (31) and (32), annotated to show that in the irrealis mood, the 3 du./pl. form is *uma* for transitive verbs but *u* for intransitive predicates. The second type of agreement consists of the number affixes in (36), with the additional information that in the irrealis mood, the plural prefix is *fan-*. This revised system is presented below.

(48)   AGREEMENT REANALYZED: PERSON-AND-NUMBER FORMS
   a.   *Realis*
        1 sg.   hu
        2 sg.   un
        3 sg.   ha
        1 incl. du./pl.   ta
        1 excl. du./pl.   in
        2 du./pl.   en
        3 du./pl.   ma
   b.   *Irrealis*
        1 sg.   (bai) hu / bai
        2 sg.   un
        3 sg.   u
        1 incl. du./pl.   (u)ta
        1 excl. du./pl.   (bai) in
        2 du./pl.   en
        3 du./pl.   u [intransitive] / uma [transitive]

(49)   AGREEMENT REANALYZED: NUMBER AFFIXES
   a.   *Realis*
        Sg./Du.   -um- / —
        Pl.   man-
   b.   *Irrealis*
        Sg./Du.   —
        Pl.   fan-

The two types of agreement occur together on intransitive verbs and adjectives in the irrealis mood; otherwise they occur separately. The chart in (50) shows how they are distributed according to mood and predicate type.

(50) | | TRANSITIVE VERBS | INTRANSITIVE VERBS / ADJECTIVES |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Realis | person-number (48a) | number affixes (49a) |
| Irrealis | person-number (48b) | person-number (48b) *plus* number affixes (49b) |

Some readers may prefer this revised system to the four agreement paradigms originally presented in (31), (32), (36), and (46). Others may prefer the original paradigms. It makes no difference for much of the material in this book which system is adopted (although the revised system is required in Chapters 12 and 15). What matters is that agreement is sensitive to mood, the predicate's transitivity, and—to some extent—to whether the predicate describes a state or an event.

2.2.3   More on mood
2.2.3.1   The *m/f* alternation
Over and above their marking for mood and agreement (see 2.2.2), a small number of intransitive verbs and adjectives indicate mood through an alternation between initial /m/ and /f/. Some of these *m/f* predicates are shown below, in forms that show agreement with a 3 sg./du. subject.[7]

(51)   SG./DU. REALIS   3 SG./DU. IRREALIS
        'work'   macho'chu'   u facho'chu'
        'wake up'   makmåta   u fakmåta
        'end, be over'   måkpu'   u fåkpu'
        'run'   malågu   u falågu
        'disappear'   malingu   u falingu
        'walk'   mamokkat   u famokkat
        'give birth'   mañågu   u fañågu
        'sit'   matå'chung   u fatå'chung
        'quiet'   matkilu   u fatkilu
        'arrive'   måttu   u fåttu
        'ahead, in front' mo'na   u fo'na
        'be finished'   munhåyan   u funhåyan

Every *m/f* predicate is either an intransitive verb or an adjective. Derived transitive verbs and derived nouns formed from these predicates do not participate in the *m/f* alternation, but always show /f/, as (52) shows.

(52)   fachu'chu'i   'work for'
        fatkiluyi   'be quiet about, keep a secret of'
        na'falingu   'lose, cause to disappear'
        na'funhåyan   'finish, cause to be finished'

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[7] *M/f* predicates generally are not marked with the realis sg./du. infix *-um-*, even to indicate the inception of a state.

finakpu'   'conclusion, end'
finattu   'arrival'

In addition, when an *m/f* predicate is in the progressive aspect and the consonant that precedes the stressed vowel is *m/f,* the C of the copied CV alternates to indicate mood, but the C of the original CV is always /f/. See (53).

(53)   SG./DU. REALIS   3 SG./DU. IRREALIS
                            PROGRESSIVE   PROGRESSIVE
          'arrive'   måfattu   u fåfattu
          'ahead'   mofo'na   u fofo'na

These patterns are evidence that the /f/ of the *m/f* predicate is basic and the /m/ is derived; in other words, the underlying forms of the verbs 'work' and 'arrive' are *facho'chu'* and *fåttu*, the underlying form of the adjective 'quiet' is *fatkilu*, and so on. Assuming this, we can say that for the subclass of predicates illustrated in (51), initial /f/ changes to /m/ in the realis mood.

Although the *m/f* alternation usually indicates mood, there is a wrinkle. Chamorro has two prefixes with the shape *man-/fan-* that undergo the *m/f* alternation: the plural agreement prefix (see 2.2.2.2) and the antipassive prefix, which is attached to transitive verbs to produce their antipassive form (see 10.3). The initial consonant of these prefixes is realized as /m/ in the realis mood and /f/ in the irrealis. Some intransitive verbs or adjectives that show agreement with a 3 pl. subject are cited below.

(54)   PREDICATE   PL. REALIS   3 PL. IRREALIS
        såga   'stay'   mañåga   u fañåga
        applacha'   'dirty'   manapplacha'   u fanapplacha'
        lo'lu'   'cough'   manlo'lu'   u fanlo'lu'

Some antipassive verbs that show agreement with a 3 sg./du. subject appear in (55). (The agreement reflects the fact that antipassive verbs are intransitive.)

(55)   ANTIPASSIVE   ANTIPASSIVE
        PREDICATE   SG./DU. REALIS   3 SG./DU. IRREALIS
        sodda'   'find'   mañodda'   u fañodda'
        osgi   'obey'   manosgi   u fanosgi
        li'i'   'see'   manli'i'   u fanli'i'

The fact that Chamorro has both *m/f* prefixes and *m/f* predicates raises the issue of how these forms combine. Here is the answer: When the plural agreement prefix combines with an *m/f* predicate, the *m/f* of the agreement prefix alternates to indicate mood, but the initial consonant of the *m/f* predicate is always realized as /m/. See (56), which shows some of the same *m/f* predicates as in (51), but this time agreeing with a 3 pl. subject.

(56)

	PL. REALIS	3 PL. IRREALIS
'work'	manmacho'chu'	u fanmacho'chu'
'run'	manmalågu	u fanmalågu
'arrive'	manmåttu	u fanmåttu
'ahead, in front'	manmo'na	u fanmo'na

Similarly, when the plural agreement prefix combines with an antipassive verb, the *m/f* of the agreement prefix alternates to indicate mood, but the *m/f* of the antipassive prefix is always realized as /m/. See (57), which shows the same antipassive verbs as in (55), but this time agreeing with a 3 pl. subject.

(57)

PREDICATE		ANTIPASSIVE PL. REALIS	ANTIPASSIVE 3 PL. IRREALIS
sodda'	'find'	manmañodda'	u fanmañodda'
osgi	'obey'	manmanosgi	u fanmanosgi
li'i'	'see'	manmanli'i'	u fanmanli'i'

Only the leftmost *m/f*—that is, the initial consonant of the plural agreement prefix—alternates to indicate mood. The unexpected fact is that the other *m/f* is realized as /m/, not /f/.[8]

Could this mean that the /m/ of these forms is basic and the /f/ is derived, contrary to what was claimed earlier? Probably not. *M/f* predicates and the antipassive prefix undergo the *m/f* alternation as expected when they show singular/dual agreement; see (51) and (55). Given this, (56) and (57) seem to show that these forms behave unexpectedly when they show plural agreement. But if we continue to assume that the initial consonant of these forms is underlyingly /f/, then the appearance of /m/ after the plural agreement prefix in (56) and (57) cannot be conditioned by mood. There must be

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[8] When an antipassive verb shows agreement, the plural agreement prefix precedes the antipassive prefix. These two prefixes have the same shapes and undergo nasal substitution in the same way, but they differ in how nasal substitution interacts with reduplication for the progressive aspect (see 30.4).

two sources for /m/ in the *m/f* alternation: /f/ changes to /m/ to indicate realis mood *or* when immediately following the plural agreement prefix.

The different components of the *m/f* alternation are summarized below.

(58)   THE *M/F* ALTERNATION IN INTRANSITIVE PREDICATES AND PREFIXES
    a.   The basic form of the initial consonant is /f/.
    b.   This /f/ changes to /m/
           (i)   when the predicate is in the realis mood; or
          (ii) immediately after the plural agreement prefix *fan-*.

The *m/f* alternation is limited to a small number of predicates and pre-fixes. Many intransitive verbs and adjectives have an initial /m/ or an initial /f/ that does not alternate; some examples are cited below.

(59)

	SG./DU. REALIS	3 SG./DU. IRREALIS
'lonely'	mahålang	u mahålang
'sleep'	maigu'	u maigu'
'strong'	metgut	u metgut
'absent'	fåtta	u fåtta
'wet'	fotgun	u fotgun

Finally, a very few intransitive verbs or adjectives have an initial /m/ in all their inflected forms, but are used to create certain derived words that exceptionally show /f/. These words (e.g. *måtai* 'die' and *ma'å'ñåo* 'afraid') suggest that the *m/f* alternation was once more general in the language than it is today.

(60)

	3 SG. IRREALIS	DERIVED N	DERIVED V
'die'	u måtai	finatai	—
'afraid'	u ma'å'ñåo	mina'åñåo	ma'a'ñågui, fa'ñagui

2.2.3.2   Meaning and use
2.2.3.2.1   Overview
Mood indicates whether the situation described by the clause is real, possible, desirable, permitted, or required. In languages that have a morphological contrast between just two moods, one mood is used when the situation is part of the actual world—when it is presented "as a matter of fact" (Huddleston and Pullum 2005: 53). The other mood is used when the situation is located in a world or worlds that are not actual, but rather possible, desirable, permitted, required, and the like. This rough description gives a good initial sketch of the uses of the realis and irrealis moods in Chamorro.

In Chamorro, the realis mood is used for situations that are real or actual—presented as facts. In the sentences below, the destruction of all the boats (in (61a)), the medicine's habitually changing its color (61b), and Alamagan's small size and richness (61c) are all presented as facts.

(61)a. Ma distrosa todu   i   batku   ni   maniståba   gi tasi.
      AGR destroy all   the ship   COMP AGR.used.to.be LCL sea
      'They destroyed all the ships in the ocean.' (Cooreman 1982: 13)

    b. Ha tulalaika   esti i   amut   kulot-ña.
      AGR change.PROG   this the medicine   color-AGR
      'The medicine changes its color.' (LSS 52)

    c. Alamågan na tånu'   sen   dikiki' låo riku
      Alamagan L land   AGR.extremely   small   but AGR.rich
      gi bandan i   nisisidåt   tåotåo.
      LCL side.L   the necessity.L person
      'The island of Alamagan is very tiny, but rich from the standpoint of human needs.' (*Alamagan* 31)

The irrealis mood is used for situations that are not actual—situations that are not presented as facts. Among the many types of nonactual situations are the following:

Situations in the future are not actual, because at the time of the speech event (or other relevant event) they have not occurred. In (62a), the event of our getting together is in the future relative to the speech event; in (62b), the state of the socks being finished is in the future relative to the speech event; and in (62c), the event of his burning the tangantangan is in the future relative to the event of his cutting down the tangantangan. (The verb *funhåyan* in (62b) is an *m/f* predicate.)

(62)a. Ta fandañña'   ta'lu   gi oran   alas   9:00   gi egga'an.
      AGR AGR.join   again   LCL hour.L o'clock 9:00   LCL morning
      'We (incl.) are going to get together again at 9:00 in the morning.' (from an e-mail message)

    b. Esta   para   u funhåyan esti i   un påt   metyas.
      already FUT   AGR be.finished this the one pair.L   socks
      'This pair of socks is about to be finished.' (*Dibota* 8)

    c. Ha u'utut   para   u songgi.
      AGR cut.PROG   FUT   AGR burn
      'He cut down [the tangantangan] so he could burn it.' (EM 88)

Situations that are possible or necessary are not actual, because they are possibly or necessarily located in worlds besides the actual world. In (63a), the state of Sandy's being there is possible; in (63b), the event of our expediting this work is necessary.

(63)a. Pumusipbli na u gaigi si Sandy.
   AGR.possible *COMP* *AGR* *be.at* *UNM* *Sandy*
   'It's now possible that Sandy might be there.' (from an e-mail message)
   b. Nisisåriu na ta apura esti na cho'chu'.
   AGR.necessary *COMP* *AGR* *expedite* *this* *L* *work*
   'It's necessary that we (incl.) expedite this work.' (CD, entry for *apura*)

Events presented by imperative clauses are not actual, given that an imperative directs the addressee to bring the event about. Imperative verbs in Chamorro show agreement with the number affixes but not the person-and-number forms (see 2.2.2.3 and 15.2.1). The shape of the plural agreement prefix in (64a) and the form of the *m/f* predicate in (64b) show that imperative clauses are in the irrealis mood.

(64)a. Floris lestun, fandokku', / Gi iyok-ku hatdín.
   floris *lestun* *AGR.grow* *LCL* *possession-AGR* *garden*
   '*Flores lestun* [a type of flower], grow / In my garden.' (EM 65)
   b. Falågu!
   AGR.run
   'Run!'

Like imperatives, many other types of nonactual situations can be characterized in terms of the speaker's attitude, or the attitude of some other participant in the event described. Situations that are desired or wished for are not actual, for instance. In (65a), the speaker wishes for the event of God's guiding us, and in (65b), Charlie desires the event of his touching the canary.

(65)a. Si Yu'us u isgaihun hit gi todu i
   UNM *God* *AGR* *guide* *us.INCL* *LCL* *all* *the*
   dinisehå-ta.
   WH[OBJ].wish-AGR
   'May God guide us (incl.) in all our (incl.) endeavors.'

b.   Sen   manman   si   Charlie,   ya
     AGR.extremely   amazed   UNM   Charlie   and.then
     sen   malagu'   na   u patcha i   kanåriu.
     AGR.extremely   want   COMP   AGR touch   the canary
     'Charlie was truly amazed, and he really wanted to (lit. that he
     might) touch the canary.' (*Tronko* 43)

Situations that are requested, permitted, or required are not actual. Consider
the embedded clauses in the examples below.

(66)a.   Hu fafaisin   kada   unu giya   hita   na   ta
     AGR ask.PROG   each   one LCL   us.INCL   COMP   AGR
     fana'asangani   put   i   manmamaila'   na   aktibidåt-ta.
     AGR.RECP.tell.PROG   about   the   AGR.come.PROG L   activity-AGR
     'I'm asking each one of us (incl.) that we (incl.) inform one another
     about our (incl.) upcoming activities.' (from an e-mail message)

   b.   Ti para   bai hu sedi   hamyu na   hamyu para   en
     not FUT   AGR   allow   you.PL COMP   you.PL FUT   AGR
     pinu' i   patgon-hu.
     kill   the child-AGR
     'I'm not going to allow you (pl.) to be the ones to kill my child.'
     (EM 93)

Situations to be avoided are not actual, either.

(67)   Adahi na   un falågu åntis   di un cho'gui i
     careful COMP   AGR run   before   PRT AGR do   the
     che'cho'-mu.
     work-AGR
     'Be careful not to (= lest you) run off before you finish your work.'

2.2.3.2.2   Details
Most uses of the realis and irrealis moods in Chamorro conform to the broad
generalizations just described. However, some of the fine details of partic-
ular uses can seem more arbitrary. These details are discussed here.

    Clauses that describe situations in the future are typically in the irrealis
mood. But the realis mood can be used for future situations that the speaker
believes are certain to occur. In such cases, the realis mood occurs along
with the adverb *siempri* 'surely, certainly' to present the future situation as
virtually a fact. In (68a), for instance, the event of the seeds sprouting in the

future is presented as real or actual, but in (68b), the event of the seeds not sprouting in the future is described in a way that allows other possibilities.

(68)a. Siempri dokku' sa' un tånum.
surely *AGR.sprout* *because* *AGR* *plant*
'[The seeds] will definitely sprout, because you planted them.' (EM 139)

b. Siempri sumumimiya ha' ya ti u dokku'.
surely *AGR.seed.PROG* *EMP* *and.then* *not* *AGR* *sprout*
'[Seeds that are not planted] will definitely remain seeds, and might not sprout.' (EM 139)

Embedded clauses introduced by *dispues di* 'after' are in the realis mood, whereas embedded clauses introduced by *antis di* 'before' are in the irrealis mood.

(69)a. Håfa para ta kumpli dispues di munhåyan i
what? *FUT* *AGR* *accomplish* *after* *PRT* *AGR.be.finished* *the*
inali'e'-ta?
NMLZ.RECP.see-AGR
'What will we (incl.) accomplish after our (incl.) meeting is over?'

b. Tåya' ga'lågu åntis di u fanmåttu i Ispañót.
AGR.not.exist *dog* *before* *PRT* *AGR* *AGR.arrive* *the* *Spanish*
'There were no dogs before the Spanish arrived.' (EM 109)

This fixed pattern can be explained largely, but not entirely, in terms of relations in time. Suppose the typical main clause describes a situation that is actual. Situations introduced by *dispues di* 'after' are in the past relative to the situation described by the main clause, so if the main clause situation is actual, they too are actual. Hence, embedded clauses introduced by *dispues di* are in the realis mood. Situations introduced by *åntis di* are in the future relative to the situation described by the main clause: from the perspective of the main clause situation, they have not occurred. Hence, embedded clauses introduced by *åntis di* are in the irrealis mood. The flaw in this line of thought is that some main clauses describe nonactual situations—the main clause in (69a) is an example—but even then, embedded clauses introduced by *dispues di* are realis. This part of the pattern appears to be arbitrary.

Clauses containing the auxiliary *siña* 'can' are typically in the realis mood (as in (70a)), although the irrealis is also possible (70b).

38

(70)a.　Ti　siña manafa'måolik　　i　　mañume'lu.
　　　　　not　can AGR.RECP.treat.well　the　PL.sibling
　　　　　'The brothers could not treat each other right.' (*Tres* 4)
　　b.　Siña　　u　　mamaigu'　ha'.
　　　　　can　　AGR sleep.PROG　EMP
　　　　　'She can just be sleeping.' (EM 141)

But clauses containing the auxiliary *debi (di)* 'ought to, should' are always
in the irrealis mood.

(71)a.　Kada　　unu giya　　hami　debi　　di u　guaha
　　　　　each　　one LCL　　us.EXCL should　PRT AGR exist
　　　　　tarehan-måmi.
　　　　　responsibility-AGR
　　　　　'Each one of us (excl.) ought to have our (excl.) own
　　　　　responsibilities.' (*Alamågan* 16)
　　b.　Ha hassu　　　na　　debi　di u　nå'i　　rispetu i
　　　　　AGR remember　COMP　should　PRT AGR give　respect the
　　　　　muna'såfu'　　　gui'　　gi piligru.
　　　　　WH[SBJ].make.safe　him　　LCL danger
　　　　　'He remembered that he should pay his respects to the one who had
　　　　　saved him from danger.' (*Pito* 13)

It is unclear what is responsible for this difference.

2.2.3.2.3　　　Interaction with negation and conditionals
Mood interacts with negation and conditionals in largely predictable ways.

　　In negative clauses, the choice between the realis and irrealis moods
follows the guidelines presented earlier (in 2.2.3.2.1). The realis mood is
used for situations that are actual or presented as facts; the irrealis mood is
used for situations that are not actual. Note that the situations that are used to
determine mood choice have the negation factored in.[9] In (72a), for instance,
the situation of the mother's not seeing where her son had gone is presented
as a fact, whereas in (72b), the situation of the dog's not hurting the speaker
is presented as not actual.

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[9] If negation were not factored in, the clause ought to be invariably in the
irrealis mood. (72a), for instance, states that the mother did not see where
her son had gone. If mood choice here was determined by the situation of the
mother's *seeing* where her child had gone, then the clause should be irrealis,
because (72a) asserts that such a seeing event is *not* a fact.

(72)a. Ti ha li'i' i nana malak månu i lahi-ña.
 not AGR see the mother AGR.go.to where? the son-AGR
 'The mother did not see where her son had gone.' (Cooreman 1983: 82)
 b. Åhi', buenti ti u na'lamin yu' i ga'lågu.
 no maybe not AGR make.hurt me the dog
 'No, maybe the dog won't hurt me.' (*Igu* 3)

In conditional sentences, the use of the realis and irrealis moods also follows the guidelines presented earlier, but with a difference. The function of a conditional sentence is to relate two situations even when they are not part of the real world. Perhaps because of this, location in the real world has no direct effect on mood choice in conditionals. What matters instead are the specific considerations that identify a situation as not actual: if it is in the future (relative to the other situation described), if it is possible or necessary, if it is desired or requested by the speaker, and so on. When these considerations positively identify a situation as not actual, the irrealis mood is used; otherwise, the default mood in conditionals is realis. The conditional sentences in (73) use the realis mood throughout, because the situations described are not future, desired, requested, etc.

(73)a. Yanggin ha istoriåriayi yu' si tatå-hu
 if AGR tell.story.to.PROG me UNM father-AGR
 kana' ha' yu' måmatai chumålik.
 almost EMP I AGR.die.PROG AGR.INF.laugh
 'If my father was telling me a story, I would almost die laughing.' (*Familia* 6)
 b. Guaha måpan i campus gi ge'papa' yanggin ti
 AGR.exist map.L the campus LCL farther.down if not
 siguru håo månu guatu i kuåttu.
 AGR.sure you where? over.there the classroom
 'There is a map of the campus below if you're not sure where the classroom is located.' (from an e-mail message)

But in the conditional sentence in (74), the antecedent clause (the 'if' clause, introduced by *yanggin* 'if') is irrealis, because the event of their eating is in the future relative to the event of their searching for small fish and plants.

(74) Yanggin para u fañotchu, manhånåo
if   FUT   AGR AGR.ANTIP.eat   AGR.go
manmanaligåo   mandikiki' siha na guihan yan
AGR.INF.ANTIP.look.for AGR.small PL   L   fish   and
tinanum.
plant
'If they were going to eat, they went to look for small fish and plants.' (*Igu* 1)

In the conditional sentence in (75), the main clause is irrealis, because it is an imperative.

(75) Yanggin esta   munhåyan un lommuk, nå'yi dididi'
if   already AGR.finished AGR pound   add   a.little
lañan niyuk.
oil.L   coconut
'When you are done pounding, put a small amount of coconut oil.'
(LSS 59)

In the conditional sentence in (76), finally, the antecedent clause is irrealis because it is in the future with respect to the main clause, and the main clause is irrealis because it contains the auxiliary *debi (di)* 'ought to, should'.

(76) Debi   di un låssas i   kalamasa ... yanggin para   un
should PRT AGR peel   the pumpkin   if   FUT   AGR
na'lågu.
cook
'You should peel the pumpkin...if you're going to cook it.'
(*Mannge'* 8)

2.2.4   Time in a language without tense
Like some other Austronesian languages, Chamorro does not have tense as a grammatical category; the predicate has no marking that specifically indicates tense. Combinations of mood and aspect are used to signal relations in time. For event predicates, the realis mood plus the neutral aspect is used to indicate the past, while the realis mood plus the progressive aspect can indicate either the past or the present.

(77)a. Pues   anai humihut   guatu, ha hunguk atyu   na
then   when AGR.near   to.there AGR hear   that   L

bos   tåotåo   i   uma'apatti.
voice.L person the AGR.RECP.share.PROG
'Then when he got close, he heard those voices of (two) people who
were dividing something.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

b. Bula   tiempu en gagasta   put   esti na impottåntin
much   time   AGR spend.PROG about this L   important.L
cho'chu'.
work
'You (pl.) are spending a lot of time on this important task.'

For state predicates, the realis mood can indicate either the past or the
present.

(78)a. Ti ha tungu' i   asaguå-hu.
not AGR know   the spouse-AGR
'My wife didn't know.' (Cooreman 1983: 180)

b. Ni   guåhu mismu ti hu tungu' håfa   gaigi   gi
even   I   same not AGR know   what? AGR.be.at LCL
tattin   pettan   gima'-ñiha.
behind.L   door.L   house-AGR
'Not even I myself know what lies behind the doors of their
houses.' (*Saipan Tribune* December 10, 1998)

The irrealis mood is used to indicate the future for all types of predicates
(see 2.2.3.2).

2.3   Further reading

See Safford (1903; 1904; 1905) and Topping and Dungca (1973) for other
views of the form of Chamorro predicates, and Chung and Timberlake
(1985) for further discussion of the uses of aspect and mood in Chamorro.

3

CLAUSES

The basic structure of Chamorro clauses is discussed here,
including the grammatical relations borne by arguments to
the predicate, the form and function of some common types
of adjuncts, and word order.

3.1   Predicates, arguments, and adjuncts

The main ingredients of a clause are a predicate and arguments. Predicates
describe an event or a state (see Chapter 2). Arguments are constituents that
name the participants in the event or state described by the predicate. The
clause in (1a) contains the predicate *sangåni* 'tell' plus three arguments: the
noun phrase *si nanå-hu* 'my mother', the pronoun *yu'* 'I', and the embedded
clause *na ti siña bai in patcha* 'that we (excl.) could not touch it'. *Si nanå-hu*
names the one who does the telling, the embedded clause names what is told,
and *yu'* names the one who it is told to. The clause in (1b) contains the
predicate *ma'å'ñåo* 'afraid' plus two arguments: *yu'* 'I', which names the
one who experiences fear, and *as nanå-mu* 'your mother', which names what
is feared.

(1) a. Ha sangåni yu' si   nanå-hu   na   ti siña   bai in
         AGR say.to me UNM   mother-AGR COMP   not can   AGR
         patcha.
         touch
         'My mother would tell me that we (excl.) could not touch it.' (LSS
         426)
     b. Ma'å'ñåo   yu' as nanå-mu.
         AGR.afraid I   OBL mother-AGR
         'I'm afraid of your mother.'

The predicate dictates the structure and function of its arguments,
including their grammatical relations: which argument is realized as the
subject, which as the direct object, and so on. For the predicate *ma'å'ñåo*
'afraid', the argument that names the experiencer of fear is realized as the
subject (*yu'* 'I' in (1b)) and the argument that names what is feared is
realized as an oblique (*as nanå-mu* 'your mother' in (1b)). Predicates can

differ in the grammatical relations used to realize their arguments. For instance, the predicate *ma'a'ñågui* 'fear, afraid of', which is derived from *ma'å'ñåo*, has the same two arguments as *ma'å'ñåo*: one that names the experiencer of fear and another that names what is feared. But the argument that names what is feared is realized as the direct object, not as an oblique; see (2).

(2)   Hu ma'a'ñågui si   nanå-mu.
       AGR fear   UNM   mother-AGR
       'I fear your mother.'

The arguments of a predicate can be *null*: they do not have to appear as independent, overt (pronounced) constituents if their reference can be determined from context (see 8.4). In (2), the argument that names the experiencer of fear does not appear as a separate subject noun phrase, but the verb agrees with this null subject, and the agreement reveals that the one who experiences fear is the speaker. In (3), the argument that names what was touched is not realized as a separate direct object noun phrase and does not trigger any agreement. The discourse reveals that the one that was touched was a sick child.

(3)   Hu patcha — kalintura.
       AGR touch   AGR.feverish
       'I touched him—he had fever.' (LSS 340)

In the minimal clauses discussed in 2.1, all the arguments are null.

In addition to the predicate and its arguments, the clause can include adjuncts—constituents that supply additional information about the event or state and its participants. Adjuncts can be used to specify location in time and space, frequency, duration, manner, degree, purpose, result, and so on. The adjuncts in the clauses below are the location phrase *gi espitåt* 'in the hospital', the time phrases *un puengi* 'one night' and *put fin* 'in the end, finally', and the purpose clause *para u akumprendi* 'so they could come to an understanding'.

(4) a. Gi espitåt ha guifi   si   San Roque un puengi.
       LCL hospital AGR dream   UNM   San Roque one night
       'In the hospital she dreamt of San Roque one night.' (LSS 216)

b. Umafana'   put   fin i dos para   u   akumprendi.
    AGR.RECP.face   because end the two FUT   AGR RECP.understand
    'Finally the two faced each other to come to an understanding.'
    (CD, entry for *áfana'*)

3.2   Grammatical relations

The predicate's arguments bear grammatical relations to the clause. Three grammatical relations are discussed here: subject, direct object, and oblique.

3.2.1   Subject
The subject is the most prominent constituent of the clause. Every Chamorro clause has a subject, which is typically one of the predicate's arguments. In (5a), the subject is the noun phrase *si nanå-hu* 'my mother', which names the one who did the touching; in (5b), it is the pronoun *håo* 'you', which names the one who was told.

(5) a. Ha patcha si   nanå-hu   i sanhilu'   i hetnu'.
        AGR touch UNM   mother-AGR the DIR.above.L the oven
        'My mother touched the top of the incubator.' (EM 92)
    b. Sinangåni   håo as Miguel.
        AGR.PASS.say.to you OBL Miguel
        'You were told by Miguel.'

The complex sentence in (6) contains two clauses (enclosed in brackets), each of which has a subject. *Esti* 'this' is the subject of the main clause (*klåru esti ginin as nanå-hu* 'this is clear from my mother'); it names what is clear. The null first person plural inclusive pronoun is the subject of the embedded clause (*siña ta åmti* 'we can heal them'); it names the ones who do the healing.

(6)   [Klåru   esti ginin   as nanå-hu]   na ... [siña   ta
       AGR.clear   this from   OBL mother-AGR COMP   can   AGR
       åmti].
       heal
       'This is very clear from my mother, that...we (incl.) can treat them.'
       (LSS 318)

Although the subject is typically one of the predicate's arguments, this is not always the case. Clauses formed from a weather predicate, such as *uchan* 'rain' (see (7a)), have a null, meaningless placeholder known as a

dummy as their subject (see 14.2.1). The same is true of clauses formed from the existential verbs *guaha* 'exist' and *tåya'* 'not exist' (see (7b)). Existential clauses have a dummy subject even though they also have an argument that names what exists or does not exist—for instance, the morning glory flowers in (7b) (see 14.2.2).

(7) a. U'uchan.
        rain.PROG
        'It's raining.'
    b. Guaha   kulot å'paka', asut   yan lila   na floris
        AGR.exist color.L white   blue   and purple L flowers.L
        abubu.
        abubu
        'There are white, blue and purple-colored morning glory flowers.'
        (CD, entry for *abubu*)

In the raising construction (see 21.3), the subject of the main clause—*i famagu'un* 'the children' in (8)—is an argument of the *embedded* predicate (*yiluluk* 'rub').

(8)   Manpåra   i   famagu'un [yumiluluk i   ataduk-ñiha].
        AGR.stop   the PL.child   INF.rub   the eye-AGR
        'The children stopped rubbing their eyes.'

    It is easy to identify the subject when the predicate is a verb or adjective: the subject is the constituent that the verb or adjective agrees with (see 2.2.2). If imperatives are set aside, this generalization has no exceptions.[1] Consider (5) and (6) again. The verb *patcha* 'touch' (5a) shows 3 sg. agreement with the subject *si nanå-hu* 'my mother'; the verb *sinangåni* 'be told' (5b) shows sg. agreement with the subject *håo* 'you'; and the adjective *klåru* 'clear' in (6) shows sg. agreement with the subject *esti* 'this'. Dummy subjects are treated as third person singular for agreement purposes, as (9) shows.

(9) a. Para   u   uchan agupa'.
        FUT   AGR rain   tomorrow
        'It's going to rain tomorrow.'

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[1] The verb of an imperative clause does not show person-and-number agreement (see 15.2.1), so if this verb is transitive, it does not show agreement at all.

b. Debi   di u guaha guåfi ni   maninila'.
should   *PRT* *AGR* *exist* *fire*   *COMP*   *AGR.lighted.PROG*
'There should be a fire that is burning.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

Chamorro has many other generalizations that distinguish the subject from other constituents of the clause. For instance:

The understood constituent in an infinitive clause—the constituent that must be missing—is always the subject (see 21.2.2). The infinitive clause is bracketed in (10).

(10)   Maila' ta acha'igi   [gumånna i   premiu].
          come   *AGR* *compete*   *INF.win*   *the* *prize*
          'Let us (incl.) compete to win the prize.' (CD, entry for *achá'igi*)

The constituent that must be missing in an imperative clause is always the subject (see 15.2).

(11)   Fañuha   nåya   guini.
          AGR.move.away *for.awhile*   *here*
          'Move away (pl.) from here for awhile.' (LSS 478)

The subject is the only one of the predicate's arguments that cannot be a negative concord item (see 17.3).

Further, the subject is the only one of the predicate's arguments that must have wide scope with respect to sentence negation (see 17.4). To see this, consider the meaning of the clause in (12). This clause does not say that fewer than three children came to the party (i.e. the party was poorly attended by children). Instead, it says that there were three children who didn't come to the party—a meaning that leaves open the possibility that the party was attended by many (other) children.

(12)   Ti manmåttu tres   na famagu'un gi giput.
          not *AGR.arrive* *three*   *L*   *PL.child*   *LCL* *party*
          'Three children didn't come to the party.'

Two facts about the subject in Chamorro should be emphasized at this point. First, the subject does not have to be a noun phrase. Under the right circumstances, it can be a finite embedded clause or an infinitive clause (see Chapters 20 and 21). Second, the subject does not have to name an agent or instigator of the event. Consider the clauses below. Each of these clauses has

a predicate constructed from the root *sångan* 'say', but a subject that names a different participant in the event of saying. In (13a), the subject (the null first person singular pronoun) names the one who says something to someone; in (13b), the subject (*håfa* 'anything') names what is said; and in (13c), the subject (*hamyu* 'you (pl.)') names the ones who it is said to (see 3.1).

(13)a. Ya   bai hu sangåni håo   put   famagu'un.
       and.then   *AGR*   *say.to* *you*   *about*   *PL.child*
       'And then I'll tell you about children.' (EM 79)
   b. Yanggin   håfa   på'gu   masångan   gi halum i
       if   *anything*   *now*   *AGR.PASS.say*   *LCL inside.L the*
       familiåk-ku …
       family-AGR
       'If anything now was said within my family…' (*Dibota* 4)
   c. Kåo   mansinangåni   hamyu ni famagu'un nu atyu   na
       Q   *AGR.PASS.say.to* *you.PL* *OBL PL.child*   *OBL that*   *L*
       istoria?
       story
       'Were you (pl.) told that story by the children?'

3.2.2   Direct object

The direct object is the other important grammatical relation in Chamorro besides the subject. But whereas every Chamorro clause has a subject, only clauses formed from certain verbs have a direct object. Verbs that take a direct object are called *transitive*. All other verbs—as a matter of fact, all other predicates, whether they are verbs, adjectives, or nouns—are *intransitive*. These terms can also be applied to clauses: clauses formed from a transitive verb are *transitive*, and all other clauses are *intransitive*.

    The presence or absence of a direct object is typically revealed by the form of the predicate's agreement with the *subject*. If the agreement is chosen from the paradigms for transitive verbs (see 2.2.2.1), then the clause has a direct object, although the agreement does not indicate what that direct object is. In the clauses below, the agreement is in boldface; the direct object is *esti* 'this' in (14a) and a null third person plural pronoun in (14b).

(14)a. Yanggin   **ta** pula'   esti gi finu'   English …
       if   *AGR translate*   *this LCL speech.L*   *English*
       'If we (incl.) translate this into English...' (EM 105)
   b. **Ha** na'fanhohomlu'.
       AGR make.AGR.healed.PROG
       'She (habitually) healed them.' (LSS 201)

If the agreement is chosen from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives, then the clause has no direct object. This means that in (15), the place name *Saipan* is not a direct object, but an oblique.

(15) Yanggin **mang**gaigi hit   Saipan
      if   AGR.be.at   we.INCL Saipan
      'If we (incl.) are in Saipan…' (EM 112)

Except in imperatives, the absence of agreement on the predicate means that the clause has no direct object.[2] In (16), the noun phrase *i tenda* 'the store' is not a direct object, but the object of the preposition *para* (see 4.3.2).

(16) Para   i   tenda   ham   gi   una ora.
      to   the store   we.EXCL LCL one hour
      'We (excl.) are heading to the store in an hour.'

Certain transitive verbs, including *ga'ña-* 'prefer', *ga'o-* 'prefer', and *ya-* 'like', exceptionally show agreement with the subject through the suffixes used on nouns to show agreement with the possessor (see 14.4). These verbs are nonetheless transitive, and clauses formed from them have a direct object. In (17), the direct object of *ya-* is *i nuebu na gimå'-ña* 'his new house'.

(17) Ya-**ña**   si   Pito   i   nuebu   na   gimå'-ña.
      like-AGR   UNM   Pito   the new   L   house-AGR
      'Pito liked his new house.' (*Pito* 4)

What else can be said about the direct object? The direct object realizes the same argument of the verb as the subject of the corresponding passive (see 10.2.2.1). This systematic relationship is illustrated by the transitive clause in (18a), which has *esti na dotsi* 'this wild passionfruit' as its direct object, and the corresponding passive in (18b), which has *esti na dotsi* as its subject.

(18)a. Ha kånnu' i   paluma esti na dotsi.
        AGR eat   the bird   this L passion.fruit
        'The bird ate this wild passion fruit.'

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[2] Verbs of imperative clauses systematically lack person-and-number agreement, but can be transitive; see note 1.

b. Kinannu'　　　　ni　paluma esti na　dotsi.
   AGR.PASS.eat　　*OBL bird*　　*this L　passion.fruit*
   'This wild passion fruit was eaten by the bird.'

Chamorro has further generalizations that differentiate subject and direct object noun phrases from other constituents. Subject and direct object noun phrases are the only arguments of the predicate that are always in the unmarked case and never immediately preceded by a preposition (see 5.1.2.1). This is true, for instance, of the direct object *atyu i balutan* 'that package' in (19).

(19)　　Ha　　　baba　atyu　i　balutan　　i　dos umasagua.
　　　　AGR　　open　that　the package　the two AGR.married
　　　　'The couple opened that package.' (Cooreman 1983: 107)

Subject and direct object noun phrases are the only constituents that can be realized as weak pronouns, such as *yu'* 'I' in (20a) and *håo* 'you (sg.)' in (20b) (see 8.3).

(20)a.　Sigi　　　　yu' di ha sangåni na　　hassu　　si
　　　　AGR.keep.on me PRT AGR say.to　COMP　remember　UNM
　　　　Yu'us.
　　　　God
　　　　'She kept on telling me, remember God.' (Cooreman 1983: 177)
　　b.　Ya-hu　　　håo.
　　　　like-AGR　　you
　　　　'I like you.'

Direct objects differ from subjects, however, in that they are always arguments—more precisely, arguments *of verbs*—but the verb never agrees with them. Taken together, these generalizations do a reasonable job of distinguishing direct object noun phrases from other constituents.
　　The situation is different when the direct object is a finite embedded clause or infinitive clause. Then, the most reliable diagnostic for direct objecthood is the form of the predicate's agreement with the subject. In (21), the form of agreement on *chagi* 'try' reveals that the main clause has a direct

object, which in this case is the infinitive clause *tuma'lu tåtti* 'to come back again'.[3]

(21) Guåhu mismu hu chagi tuma'lu tåtti.
      I   same   AGR try INF.again back
      'I myself tried to come back again.' (NT 377)

3.2.3 Obliques

The term *oblique* is used here to refer to the grammatical relations borne by all arguments of the predicate besides the subject and direct object. These arguments are diverse. What unites them that they are not subjects or direct objects.

The obliques include any argument of an intransitive verb, adjective, or noun besides the subject. This argument can name a location, goal, source, instrument, beneficiary, and so on, as is suggested by the examples in (22). (The obliques in the sentences below are represented in boldface.)

(22)a. Manmatåta'chung   i   famagu'un **gi bangkun anåkku'**.
         AGR.sit.PROG   the PL.child LCL bench.L   long
         'The children are sitting on the long bench.' (CD, entry for *bångku*)

  b. Bula   nå'yi manggaigi ni   ti måolik **para**
      AGR.many add   AGR.be.at COMP not AGR.good for
      i   tatåotåo   i   taotåo.
      the body.L   the person
      'There are lots of additives [in the food] that are not good for a person's body.' (LSS 259)

  c. Ti uma'andi'   si   Maria **gi as   Juan**.
      not AGR.flirt.PROG UNM Maria OBL   Juan
      'Maria is not flirting with Juan.'

  d. Mahålang   yu' **nu hågu**, asaguå-hu.
      AGR.lonely I   OBL you   spouse-AGR
      'I missed you very much, my love.' (CD, entry for *mahålang*)

The obliques associated with intransitive verbs include agents of passive verbs (see 10.2.2.1).

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[3] Compare (26b), in which the form of agreement on *malagu'* 'want' reveals that the main clause is intransitive, and therefore the infinitive clause is an oblique.

(23) Inisgaihun   påpa'   **ni un ga'lågu**.
AGR.PASS.guide down   *OBL a   dog*
'He was guided by a dog.' (Cooreman 1983: 14)

They also include oblique objects of antipassive verbs (see 10.3).

(24) Mañåñakki   i dos   **maseha håfa   ni   siña**
AGR.steal.PROG *the two*   *at.all anything*   *COMP   can*
ma bendi.
AGR sell
'The two habitually stole whatever they could sell.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

The obliques also include any argument of a transitive verb besides the subject and the direct object. Once again, this argument can name a location, goal, source, instrument, beneficiary, and so on. Certain types of transitive verbs have more than two arguments and, therefore, usually have obliques. These include verbs of transfer (as in (25b)), verbs of putting and placing (25c), and causatives formed by attaching the causative prefix *na'*- to a transitive verb (25d).

(25)a. Para   u   goddi   **ni patma bendita**.
FUT   AGR tie   *OBL palm   blessed*
'She would tie it with the blessed palm.' (Cooreman 1983: 16)
   b. In risibi   rikesa   **ginin   i   mañainan-måmi**.
AGR receive wealth   from   the PL.parent-AGR
'We (excl.) inherited wealth from our (excl.) parents.' (CD, entry for *rikesa*)
   c. Piót   yanggin para   ta pula'   **gi finu'**
especially   if   FUT   AGR translate   LCL speech.L
English.
English
'Especially if we (incl.) are going to translate it into English.' (EM 143)
   d. Ma na'håtmi   hit   **ni gima'**.
AGR make.trespass   us.INCL OBL house
'They made us (incl.) enter the house illegally.'

Unsurprisingly, different types of constituents can serve as obliques, including noun phrases that are marked for case (e.g. (22a)), noun phrases that are not case-marked (24), and prepositional phrases (25b). Finite

embedded clauses and infinitive clauses can also serve as obliques. The finite embedded clause in (26a) is an oblique associated with the transitive verb *sangåni* 'tell'; the infinitive clause in (26b) is an oblique associated with the intransitive verb *malagu'* 'want'.

(26)a. Ha sangåni i gubetnu **na esta gui'**
      AGR say.to the governor COMP already he
      mañodda'   nubiå-ña.
      AGR.ANTIP.find girlfriend-AGR
      'He told the governor that he had already found a girlfriend.'
      (Cooreman 1983: 193)
  b. Manmalagu'   ham   **mana'lu   tåtti giya**
      AGR.want   we.EXCL   AGR.INF.again back   LCL
      hamyu.
      you.PL
      'We (excl.) wanted to come back to you (pl.).' (NT 377)

Finally, a clause has exactly one subject and can have at most one direct object, but it can have more than one oblique. The clause in (27), which is formed from the antipassive of the verb *nå'i* 'give', has two obliques: *rigålu* 'a gift' and *guatu gi as Carmen* 'to Carmen'.

(27)   Kåo   mannå'i   håo rigålu guatu gi as   Carmen?
      Q   AGR.ANTIP.give you gift   to.there LCL   Carmen
      'Did you give a present to Carmen?'

3.3   A brief survey of adjuncts

Adjuncts are constituents that supply further information about the event or state and its participants. Unlike the predicate and its arguments, adjuncts are always optional. They can be realized in various ways; as noun phrases, prepositional phrases, finite embedded clauses, or adverbs. (Chamorro has no productive way of forming adverbs; see Chapter 18.) Adjuncts are usually classified according to meaning, and that is the approach taken here. The most common types of adjuncts specify location in space (3.3.1), location in time (3.3.2), duration (3.3.3), frequency (3.3.4), and manner (3.3.5). Some further types of adjuncts are mentioned in 3.3.6. Ways of conveying frequency and manner that do not involve adjuncts are discussed in 3.3.7.

3.3.1   Location in space

Adjuncts that specify location in space are usually realized as noun phrases in the local case. The complex sentence below contains two adjuncts of this type (in boldface): the demonstrative *guatu* 'over there' in the main clause and *gi gualu'* 'at the farm' in the embedded clause.

(28)   Ha li'i' **guatu**   i   ma'gas na   guaha
        AGR see over.there   the boss   COMP   AGR.exist
        machocho'chu' **gi   gualu'** dos ånghit.
        AGR.work.PROG LCL farm   two angel
        'The boss saw over there that there were two angels working on the
        farm.' (Cooreman 1983: 159)

Adjuncts that specify location in space are often formed from local nouns, such as *hålum* 'inside', *påpa'* 'bottom, below', *tåtti* 'back, behind', or *uriya* 'surrounding, around' (see 5.3). Local nouns have a possessor that identifies the reference point for the location, as (29) shows.

(29)a. Un diha   anai   mamomokkat i   biha   **gi halum**
        one day   when   AGR.walk.PROG the old.woman LCL inside.L
        i   hatdin ...
        the garden
        'One day when the old lady was walking inside the garden...'
        (*Mannge'* 3)
    b. Sigi   i lalu'   ha bengbingi yu' **gi uriyan**
        AGR.keep.on the fly   AGR buzz.at   me LCL around.L
        lamasa.
        table
        'The fly kept on buzzing at me around the table.' (CD, entry for
        bengbingi)

Adjuncts can also specify location in a more abstract sense—for instance, by identifying the domain with respect to which a state holds. In (30), the noun phrase *gi bandan guålu'* 'in the area of farming' specifies in what respect the people of Rota are skilled.

(30)   Mampraktiku   i   taotåo   Luta   gi bandan guålu'.
        AGR.skilled   the people.L   Luta   LOC side.L farm
        'The people of Rota are skilled in the area of farming.' (CD, entry
        for *praktiku*)

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3.3.2   Location in time

Adjuncts that specify location in time can take various forms. They can be realized as adverbs, such as *åntis* 'before'.

(31)   **Åntis** i kuttura yan i lingguåhi mapratitika
        before the culture and the language AGR.PASS.practice.PROG
        yan ma'infisisisa   mampus.
        and AGR.PASS.enforce.PROG   so.much
        'In the past, culture and language were practiced and enforced.'
        (CD, entry for *åntis*)

They can also be realized as noun phrases, either in the local case (see (32a)) or not case-marked (32b-c).

(32)a.   Ta silelebra   i   añu   nuebu **gi Eneru diha**
          AGR celebrate.PROG   the year   new   LCL January day
          unu.
          one
          'We (incl.) celebrate New Year's Day on January first.' (CD, entry for *Eneru*)
     b.   **Un biåhi** i famagu'un famagu'on-hu   manbatchigu'.
          one time   the PL.child.L PL.child-AGR   AGR.blind
          'At one time my grandchildren's eyes were not opening normally.'
          (LSS 71)
     c.   Håssan   **på'gu na tiempu** un li'i' paluman   apåka'.
          AGR.rare   now   L   time   AGR see bird.L   bird.sp
          'It is rare to see a white-throated dove nowadays.' (CD, entry for *apåka'*)

Adjuncts that specify location in time can be realized as prepositional phrases, such as *dispues di giput* 'after the party'.

(33)   Ni chåsku ti sopbla   **dispues di giput**.
        not trace   not AGR.left.over   after   PRT party
        'There wasn't even a trace of anything left after the party.' (CD, entry for *chåsku*)

Finally, they can be realized as adverbial clauses introduced by subordinating conjunctions such as *anai* 'when (realis)', *yanggin* 'when (future, irrealis, habitual), if', or *gigun* 'as soon as' (see 20.4.2).

(34)a. Pues **anai** **ha atan** **si** **Pedro** **tåtti**, ha li'i'
then *when* *AGR look.at* *UNM* *Pedro* *back* *AGR see*
na haggan gaigi gi tatten-ña.
COMP *turtle* *AGR.be.at* *LCL back-AGR*
'When Pedro looked back, he saw that it was a turtle that was
behind him.' (Cooreman 1983: 102)

b. **Yanggin** **tiempun** **kamuti**, pues mañåkki
if *time.L* *sweet.potato* *then* *AGR.ANTIP.steal*
i dos kamuti ya ma bendi gi tenda.
the two sweet.potato *and.then* *AGR sell* *LCL store*
'If it was sweet potato time, then the two stole sweet potatoes and
sold them at the market.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

3.3.3   Duration
Adjuncts that specify duration are typically realized as noun phrases that are
not case-marked.

(35)   Ya **dos oras** ti kumalamtin.
and.then *two hours* *not AGR.move*
'And for two hours it didn't move.' (EM 52)

They can also be realized as adverbs, such as *tulanotchi* 'all night'.

(36)   Ti maigu' i neni **tulanotchi** ni tatkilu'
not AGR.sleep *the baby* *all.night* *OBL AGR.high*
kalenturå-ña.
fever-AGR
'The baby did not sleep all night because of high fever.' (CD, entry
for *tulanotchi*)

3.3.4   Frequency
Like adjuncts of duration, adjuncts that specify frequency can be realized as
adverbs (as in (37)) or as noun phrases that are not case-marked (38).

(37)   Esti na istoria, **sessu** si nanå-hu ha sangåni yu'
this L *story* *often* *UNM* *mother-AGR* *AGR say.to* *me*
anai dikiki' yu'.
when *AGR.small* *I*
'This story, my mother often told it to me when I was little.' (from a
tape-recorded narrative)

(38)a. Na'guaha   rispetu **todu   i   tiempu** gi mañaina-mu.
        make.exist   respect all   the time   LCL PL.parent-AGR
        'Have respect for your parents always.' (CD, entry for *na'guaha*)

   b. Yanggin   esta   ha gimin **dos,   tres   biåhi** i
       when   already   AGR drink two   three   times   the
       amut   ...
       medicine
       'When [the patient] has taken the medicine two or three times...'
       (LSS 444)

They can also be realized as embedded clauses. Frequency is expressed in (39) by an adverbial clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction *kada* 'every time that, whenever'.

(39)   Pues   **kada   humihut   gui'**,   sumeha   tåtti.
       then   whenever   AGR.near   she   AGR.back.up back
       'Then every time she came near, he backed away.' (EM 98)

Some other ways of expressing frequency are described in 3.3.7.

3.3.5   Manner
Adjuncts that specify manner can be realized as noun phrases in the local case, typically formed from the head noun *manera* 'way'.

(40)a. Ma'u'usa   i   imbudu **gi difirentis   manera**.
        AGR.PASS.use.PROG   the funnel LCL different   way
        'Funnels are used in different ways.' (CD, entry for *imbudu*)

   b. Mana'ayuda   ... **gi maseha håfa   na manera**.
       AGR.RECP.help.PROG   LCL at.all   any   L   way
       'They help one another in whatever way.' (*Alamagan* 12)

They can also be realized as adverbs. For another way of expressing manner, see 3.3.7.

(41)a. **Adumididi'** esta   måmagun   i   chetnut gi addeng-hu.
        gradually   already AGR.heal.PROG   the wound   LCL foot-AGR
        'The sore on my foot is gradually healing.' (CD, entry for *adumídidi'*)

   b. Hu balåha i   balåha **chaddik**.
       AGR shuffle the cards   fast
       'I shuffled the cards in a hurry.' (CD, entry for *balåha*)

3.3.6   Further types

Among the many other types of Chamorro adjuncts are:

(i) Adverbs that specify modal or aspectual notions, including *fa'na'an* 'perhaps', *mohon* (a desiderative or contrary-to-fact adverb), *nåya* 'yet, for awhile', *siempri* 'certainly, surely', and *trabiha* 'still, yet' (see Chapter 18).

(42)a. Ti o'ora   **nåya**   i   amotsan   talu'åni.
         *not hour.*PROG *yet*   *the meal.*L   *afternoon*
         'It is not yet time for lunch.' (CD, entry for *nåya*)

   b. Håfa   ti   un ikspekta / **Siempri**   humålum   gi petta.
        what   not AGR *expect*   *surely   *AGR.*go.in   LCL *door*
        'What you do not expect / Will surely come in the door.' (EM 55)

(ii) Degree morphemes, such as *gof* 'very', *mampus* 'so (much), too (much), extremely', and *sen* 'extremely, most' (see Chapter 25).

(43)a. Ti **gof**   klåru.
         not AGR.*very*   *clear*
         'It wasn't very clear.'

   b. Ma**sen**   agradesi   håo nu i   familia.
        AGR.PASS.*extremely* *appreciate* *you* OBL *the family*
        'You are really appreciated by the family.' (CD, entry for *sen*)

(iii) Adjuncts that specify accompaniment (see 19.7).

(44)   Hami **yan**   si   Juan   che'lu-hu, humåhanåo
        *we.*EXCL *with*   UNM   *Juan   sibling-*AGR AGR.*go.*PROG
        ham   påpa' **yan**   i   asaguan-måmi.
        *we.*EXCL *down*   *with*   *the spouse-*AGR
        'My brother Juan and I were going down with our (excl.) wives.'
        (Cooreman 1983: 183)

(iv) Adjuncts that specify reason.

(45)a. Ta silelebra   esti na guput **put   i**
         AGR *celebrate.*PROG *this* L *party*   *because the*
         hinemlo'-hu.
         NMLZ.*healed-*AGR
         'We (incl.) are celebrating this party because of my cure.'
         (Cooreman 1983: 71)

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b. Ti hu patcha ni håfafa   **sa'   ilek-ñiha   na**
    not AGR touch   not any.EMP   because say-AGR   COMP
    dididi'   ha'.
    AGR.little   EMP
    'I did not touch any of it because they said that there was only a
    little of it.' (LSS 468)

(v) Adjuncts that specify purpose.

(46) Hu båla'   i   paketi   **para   bai hu li'i'   håfa**
      AGR unwrap the package   FUT   AGR   see   what?
      sanhalom-ña.
      DIR.inside-AGR
      'I unwrapped the package in order to find out what was in it.' (CD,
      entry for *båla'*)

3.3.7   A note on frequency and manner
Although Chamorro has adjuncts that specify frequency and manner, often it
conveys these notions through the predicate of a complex sentence.
    To illustrate: one very common Chamorro equivalent of 'sometimes' or
'never' involves a complex sentence in which the predicate is an existential
verb (see 14.2.2), and the argument of the existential verb is *biåhi* 'time', or
a null argument with similar meaning. Information about the situation under
discussion is supplied by a relative clause modifying this argument. The re-
sult can be translated 'there were (no) times when...'. In the sentences below,
the existential verbs are in boldface.

(47)a. **Guaha**   na biåhi   na   i   paluma   dumengkut
        AGR.exist   L   time   COMP   the bird   WH[SBJ].peck
        i   frutas.
        the fruits
        'Sometimes it was the birds that pecked at the fruit.' (EM 89)
    b. **Tåya'**   na   gaigi   si   tatå-ña   guini
        AGR.not.exist   COMP AGR.be.at UNM   father-AGR   LCL.this
        na   silebrasion.
        L   celebration
        'Her father was never at this celebration.' (*Trongko* 21)

    Frequency can also be conveyed through sentence types in which the
predicate is a frequency adjective. The predicate of the first clause in (48) is
the adjective *sessu* 'frequent, often'; this clause can be literally translated 'in

the past you were frequent to here'. The predicate of the second clause is the adjective *ekalak* 'rare, seldom'; its subject is the noun phrase *fattom-mu* 'the way that you arrive'.

(48) Hagas **sessu**   håo mågi, på'gu **ekalak**
      in.past AGR.often you to.here now   AGR.rare
      fattom-mu.
      WH[DJ].arrive-AGR
      'You often came here before, now you seldom come.' (CD, entry for *ekalak*)

Manner, too, is typically conveyed through sentence types in which the predicate is an adjective. In such constructions, information about the situation under discussion is supplied by an infinitive clause or complex noun phrase that serves as an argument of the adjective. The sentences below can be translated 'Warships are fast to travel in the ocean' (see (49a)), 'The way he was injured was very bad' (49b), and 'Why was the way she did it like that?' (49c).

(49)a. I batkun gera siha man**chaddik**   manhånåo gi tasi.
        the ship.L war   PL   AGR.fast   AGR.INF.go LCL sea
        'Warships travel fast in the ocean.' (CD, entry for *båtkun gera*)
     b. Sen   **båba**   ma'annan-ña.
        AGR.extremely   bad   WH[DJ].PASS.injure-AGR
        'He was very badly injured.' (CD, entry for *anña*)
     c. Sa'   håfa   na   **taiguennåo**   bidå-ña?
        because what? COMP AGR.like.that   WH[DJ].do-AGR
        'Why did she do it like that?' (EM 94)

Notice that in (49a), the adjective *chaddik* 'fast' agrees with the subject. The agreement reveals that *chaddik* is the predicate of the clause, and not an adverb. (Compare (41b), where *chaddik* serves as an adverb.) The adjectives *båba* 'bad' in (49b) and *taiguennåo* 'like that' in (49c) likewise agree with the subject, but that agreement is not realized by any special morphology (see 2.2.2.2.1).

The fact that these constructions occur frequently in Chamorro may be related to lexical resources: as mentioned in Chapter 18, the language has no productive means of deriving adverbs from other parts of speech. (See also 14.2.2 on existential clauses, Chapter 21 on infinitive clauses, and Chapter 24 on relative clauses.)

3.4 Word order

3.4.1   The predicate and its arguments

Chamorro is a predicate-first language. In neutral clauses—clauses that could be used to answer the questions 'What happened?', 'What is the situation?', or 'Why?'—the predicate comes first, followed by its arguments.

(50)   Ha po'lu   ta'lu   tåtti   si   nanå-hu   i   låta gi
        AGR put   again   back   UNM   mother-AGR the can LCL
        papa'   i   hagun   gålak.
        under.L the leaf.L galak
        'My mother put the can back again under the galak leaf.' (EM 98)

The predicate's part of speech determines the word order of arguments that are independent constituents—noun phrases, prepositional phrases, finite embedded clauses, or infinitive clauses.[4] The word order of arguments is flexible when the predicate is a verb or adjective, but rigid when the predicate is a noun or preposition.

3.4.1.1   When the predicate is a verb or adjective

When the predicate is a verb or adjective, the order of arguments is flexible. The dominant word order—the word order that occurs most often and is volunteered first in elicitation contexts in fieldwork—is: *Predicate Subject Object Obliques*. (*Object* here refers to the direct object.)

(51)a.   Ha dåggåo i   patgun i   bola   guatu   gi taotåo.
         AGR throw the child the ball   to.there LCL person
         'The child threw the ball to the man.'
     b.   Ma'a'ñåo   si   Juan   ni ga'lågu.
         AGR.afraid UNM   Juan   OBL dog
         'Juan is afraid of the dog.'
     c.   Humånåo   guatu   si   nanå-hu   para   i   me'nan i
         AGR.go   to.there UNM   mother-AGR to   the front.L the
         hetnu.
         oven
         'My mother went to the front of the incubator.' (EM 92)

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[4] The placement of weak pronouns is determined phonologically (see 8.3).

However, other word orders are possible, particularly for the subject. The subject can occur at the right edge of the clause, so that the word order is: *Predicate Object Obliques Subject*.

(52)a. Ha dåggåo i bola guatu gi taotåo i patgun.
  AGR throw the ball to.there LCL person the child
  'The child threw the ball to the man.'

  b. Ha tokcha' i gatgantåk-ku i te'lang i guihan.
  AGR poke the uvula-AGR the bone.L the fish
  'The fish bone poked my uvula.' (CD, entry for *gatgånta*)

  c. Manma'å'ñåo ni ga'lågu i famagu'un.
  AGR.afraid OBL dog the PL.child
  'The children are afraid of the dog.'

  d. Humånåo guatu ta'lu gi hetnu si nanå-hu.
  AGR.go to.there again LCL oven UNM mother-AGR
  'My mother went over to the incubator again.' (EM 93)

The subject can also follow the direct object but precede obliques, giving the word order: *Predicate Object Subject Obliques*.

(53) Para u po'lu i kusås-ña siha i ma'estra gi
  FUT AGR put the things-AGR PL the teacher LCL
  istånti.
  shelf
  'The teacher is going to put her things on the shelf.'

These word orders, which are quite common, appear to be neutral from the standpoint of information structure.

The same word order options are available when one of the predicate's arguments is a finite embedded clause or an infinitive clause. Some of the possibilities are illustrated below, with the finite embedded clause or infinitive clause enclosed in brackets.

(54)a. Ma'å'ñåo si Chungi' [na u måtmus si
  AGR.afraid UNM Chungi' COMP AGR drown UNM
  Kanåriu].
  Kanariu
  'Chungi' was afraid that Kanariu would drown.' (EM 83)

  b. Ha tungu' i neni [kumunanaf].
  AGR know the baby AGR.INF.crawl
  'The baby knows how to crawl.' (CD, entry for *kúnanaf*)

(55)a.   Maleffa   [para   u   apåsi   i   apas kontribusion-ña]
       AGR.forget   FUT   AGR pay   the tax-AGR
       si   Juan.
       UNM   Juan
       'Juan forgot to pay his taxes.' (CD, entry for *åpas kontribusión*)
   b.   Ti ha tungu' [gumoddi   i   sinturon-ña] si   Bill.
       not AGR know   INF.fasten   the belt-AGR   UNM   Bill
       'Bill doesn't know how to fasten his belt.' (CD, entry for *goddi*)

Certain contexts can favor or require one of these word orders. When it could be ambiguous which noun phrase of a transitive clause is the subject and which is the direct object, speakers often report that the subject must precede the direct object: in other words, the word order *Predicate Subject Object* is forced. This is probably a strong preference but not an absolute requirement, since the word order *Predicate Object Subject* is occasionally judged to be well-formed. Compare (56a), in which the subject *si Carmen* precedes the direct object *i lalåhi* 'the men', with the unexpected (56b).[5]

(56)a.   Ha apåpasi   si   Carmen   i   lalåhi   singku pesus.
       AGR pay.PROG   UNM   Carmen   the PL.man five   dollars
       'Carmen is paying the men five dollars.'
   b.   Ha apåpasi   i   lalåhi   singku pesus   si   Carmen.
       AGR pay.PROG   the PL.man five   dollars UNM   Carmen
       'Carmen is paying the men five dollars.'

The fact that the word order *Predicate Subject Object* is strongly preferred or required in cases of potential ambiguity suggests that this is the unmarked word order.

On the other hand, there may be a preference for the word order *Predicate Object Subject* when the direct object contains a reflexive possessor pronoun that is bound by the subject (see 13.2.1.1). But this preference, if it exists at all, is slight. (The reflexive possessor and its antecedent are underlined in the English translations below.)

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[5] In this example, either *si Carmen* and *i lalåhi* could be taken to be the subject. Both noun phrases are in the unmarked case, and both could be cross-referenced by the 3 sg. agreement on the verb, since 3 sg. agreement can be used to cross-reference a plural subject that is collective (see 2.2.2.1). Both noun phrases also name individuals who might plausibly pay money.

(57)a. Ha latchai   i   na'-ña   i   taotåo.
       AGR consume   the food-AGR   the person
       'The man had consumed his food.' (Cooreman 1983: 80)
   b. Ma na'påkpak   kannai-ñiha i   aodensia.
       AGR make.clap   hand-AGR   the audience
       'The audience clapped their hands.' (CD, entry for *åodensia*)

Still more word order options are available to the direct object. In addition to the word orders just described, the direct object can follow an oblique. Many naturally-occurring examples of this pattern involve an oblique noun phrase that is introduced by the null indefinite article. In (58), *i chalan-måmi* 'our (excl.) road' is the direct object and *båras* 'gravel' is the oblique.

(58)   Ha nå'yi   i   taotåo båras   i   chalan-måmi.
       AGR add.to   the person gravel   the road-AGR
       'The man put gravel on our (excl.) road.' (CD, entry for *båras*)

It remains unclear exactly when this word order is allowed, and how it interacts with the different word order options for the subject.

The overall message is that the word order of clauses formed from verbs or adjectives is flexible. The word orders described above range from very frequent (as in (51)) to reasonably frequent (58); all are attested in naturally-occurring data. But once one goes beyond these patterns, it can be hard to determine whether a particular word order seems natural or is merely conceivable.

3.4.1.2   When the predicate is a noun or preposition

When the predicate is a noun or a preposition, the word order is *Predicate-Phrase Subject*, where *Predicate-Phrase* refers to the entire noun phrase or prepositional phrase formed from the predicate and its dependents. This phrase includes the predicate's arguments—except for the subject—as well as modifiers and other material. In the clauses below, the predicate is a noun and the predicate phrase is enclosed in brackets. (In (59d), the weak pronoun *yu'* 'I', which is the subject, occurs inside the predicate phrase; see 8.3.)

(59)a. [Putlumenus   benti   singku åñus]   idat-ñiha.
       at.least   twenty five   years   age-AGR
       'They [should] be at least twenty-five years old (lit. their age should be at least twenty-five years).' (*Estoria-Hu* 5)

b. [Kandit-ñiha i   taotåo   mo'na] esti.
    lamp-AGR   the person.L   before   this
    'These were the lights of the ancient people.' (Cooreman 1983: 5)

c. Para   [batånggan karabåo]   esti.
    FUT   sled.L   carabao   this
    'This is going to be a carabao sled.' (CD, entry for *batångga*)

d. Guåhu lokkui', [un tåotåo   yu' ni   guaha
    I   also   a person I   COMP   AGR.exist
    manma'gås-hu   siha].
    PL.boss-AGR   PL
    'I, too, am a person who has masters.' (NT 13)

In (60a) and in the embedded clause of (60b), the predicate appears to be a preposition (but see 4.3.2).

(60)a. [Disdi i   apuya' para   hulu'] påttin   i   matlina.
        from   the navel   to   above   portion.L   the godmother
        'The godmother's portion is from the navel up.' (Cooreman 1983: 41)

b. Ha li'i' na   [ginin i   Gima' Yuyu'us]   si
    AGR see COMP   from   the house.L God.PROG   UNM
    nanå-ña   guatu.
    mother-AGR to.there
    'She saw that her mother was heading from the church.' (*Dibota* 7-8)

The word order just illustrated is fixed: the subject cannot immediately follow the predicate but precede the other arguments. This is why (61a) is unambiguous and (61b) is ungrammatical. (Note that examples introduced by an asterisk (*) are ungrammatical; Chamorro language material that is ungrammatical is in red.)

(61)a. Kåo   patgon-ña si   Dolores atyu   na ma'estra?
        Q   child-AGR   UNM   Dolores that   L   teacher
        'Is that teacher Dolores's child?' (Not: Is Dolores that teacher's child?)

b. *Disdi påttin   i   matlina   i apuya' para   hulu'.
    from   portion.L   the godmother the navel   to   above
    ('The godmother's portion is from the navel up.')

Clauses formed from nouns or prepositions differ from clauses formed from verbs or adjectives in this respect.

The fact that predicates that are nouns or prepositions form a phrase with their dependents raises the question of whether predicates that are verbs or adjectives might do the same. Do they combine with their dependents to form verb phrases and adjective phrases? The coordination patterns described in 19.6 suggest that they do. This means that an account must be given of the word order options in 3.4.1.1, some of which evidently allow the subject to come in the middle of a verb phrase or adjective phrase.

3.4.2 Adjuncts

The word order of adjuncts is largely flexible. The most common types of adjuncts can occur at the left or right edge of the clause, regardless of whether they are realized as adverbs, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, or adverbial clauses. Except for embedded clauses, many of these adjuncts can also occur after the predicate (in clauses formed from verbs or adjectives) or after the predicate phrase (in clauses formed from nouns or prepositions). Other word orders may be possible as well.

(62)a. **Yanggin maipi i ha'åni**, falak esti na trongku
        if   AGR.hot the day   go.to this L   tree
        ya   un lihing **gi papå'-ña sa'   sen**
        and.then   AGR shelter LCL below-AGR   because AGR.extremely
        fresku.
        cool
        'If it's a hot day, go to this tree and take shelter under it because it's extremely cool.' (*Alamagan* 19)

   b. Manmasusesedi   **sessu gi intri i   difirentis**
       AGR.PASS.experience.PROG   often   LCL among the different
       lingguåhi siha   gi tanu'.
       language   PL   LCL earth
       '[Borrowings] often occur among the different languages of the world.' (EM 113)

A few types of adjuncts have a more restricted distribution:

The desiderative or contrary-to-fact adverb *mohon* immediately follows the constituent it modifies, so it cannot occur at the left edge of the clause. (See Chapter 18 for discussion of adverbs and their word order.)

(63) Kulang   **mohon** sinientin   matarabiran   tånu'.
      seems.like UNREAL   NMLZ.feel.L   NMLZ.PASS.turn.L   earth

'It seems like the feeling of the earth spinning.' (CD, entry for *matarabiran tånu'*)

Even though they are written as independent words, the degree morphemes *gof* 'very' and *sen* 'extremely, most' are stressed prefixes. These prefixes attach to the left of an adjective or verb, immediately after the agreement. (See Chapter 25 for discussion of degree morphemes.)

(64)a. Todu nina'in Yu'us man**sen**   måolik.
        all   gift.L   God   AGR.extremely   good
        'All gifts from God are very good.' (CD, entry for *nina'i*)
   b.   I amigå-hu   ha **sen**   honggi i   paktu.
        the friend-AGR AGR extremely   believe the magic
        'My girlfriend really believes in magic power.' (CD, entry for *påktu*)

Adjuncts that specify accompaniment occur somewhere to the right of the predicate, unless they are syntactically focused or part of a syntactically focused constituent (see 19.7).

(65)   Iståba   un biha   na   sumåsaga   gi un
        AGR.used.to.be   a   old.woman COMP   AGR.live.PROG   LCL a
        guma' dikiki' **yan**   i   ga'-ña katun å'paka' ...
        house.L small   with   the pet-AGR cat.L   white
        'There was an old lady who lived in a little house with her white cat...' (*Mannge'* 1)

Finally, adjuncts that specify purpose typically occur somewhere to the right of the predicate, as (66) shows.

(66)   Ta arienda i   tanu' kosa ki siña   hit
        AGR lease   the land   so.that can   we.INCL
        mulalibiånu.
        AGR.a.little.more.easy
        'We (incl.) will lease the land so that our (incl.) lives can be a little easier.' (CD, entry for *arienda*)

3.4.3   Summary
Although the word order of Chamorro clauses is too flexible to be neatly summarized in a single word order template, many of the facts just discussed

are captured by the templates below. In these templates, x is used to mark the most common locations for adjuncts.

(67)   WORD ORDER OF CHAMORRO CLAUSES (FIRST PASS)
    a.   Dominant word order of clauses formed from verbs or adjectives
       x Predicate x Subject Object Obliques x
    b.   Word order of clauses formed from nouns or prepositions
       x Predicate-Phrase x Subject x

These templates are revised and slightly expanded in 4.1.

3.5   Further reading

The material described here is discussed in almost all previous grammars of Chamorro. For further discussion from the perspective taken here, see Chung (1998).

4

MORE ABOUT CLAUSES

The predicate of the clause can be preceded by negation and a marker of tense-aspect-mood. The tense-aspect-mood markers are described; then, clauses whose predicates are nouns or prepositions are scrutinized more carefully.

4.1   Negation, tense-aspect-mood, and word order

In addition to the predicate, its arguments, and adjuncts, the clause can contain two further elements: the sentential negative *ti* 'not' and a marker of tense-aspect-mood (henceforth TAM). The TAM precedes the predicate, and the negative *ti* precedes the TAM. This information is incorporated below into the word order templates from the end of Chapter 3. (Recall that *x* is used to mark the most common locations for adjuncts.)

(1)   WORD ORDER OF CHAMORRO CLAUSES (FINAL VERSION)
    a.   Dominant word order of clauses formed from verbs or adjectives
        x Negative TAM Predicate x Subject Object Obliques x
    b.   Word order of clauses formed from nouns or prepositions
        x Negative TAM Predicate-Phrase x Subject x

Clauses formed from verbs or adjectives allow a range of word orders (see 3.4.1.1). The template in (1a) shows the dominant word order for clauses of this type.
    Negation in Chamorro is discussed in Chapter 17. The realizations of the TAM are documented below.

4.2   Tense-aspect-mood markers

4.2.1   Form

In Chamorro, the predicate supplies basic information about the tense, aspect, and mood of the clause. Every predicate is marked for neutral versus progressive aspect; predicates that are verbs or adjectives are also marked for realis versus irrealis mood (see Chapter 2). The TAM contributes further information about tense, aspect, and mood. The TAMs include *para*, which indicates future or subjunctive mood; *ginin*, which indicates imperfect tense-

aspect; and the modals *siña* 'can, possible' and *debi (di)* 'should, ought to'. Typically, the TAM restricts the mood of the predicate it combines with. *Para* and *debi (di)* combine only with irrealis predicates; *ginin* combines only with realis predicates; and *siña* typically combines with a realis predicate (but see below and 4.2.2.3). This information is summarized in (2).

(2)   SOME TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD MARKERS

	Meaning of *TAM*	*Mood of* *predicate*
para	future, subjunctive	irrealis
ginin	imperfect	realis
siña	'can, possible'	realis (typically)
debi (di)	'should, ought to'	irrealis

The assumption here is that the TAM is an optional element of the clause. If one assumes instead that every clause has a TAM, then Chamorro also has a TAM that is null (not pronounced) and can combine with realis or irrealis predicates.

Two TAMs are homophonous with prepositions. The future/subjunctive *para* is homophonous with the preposition *para* 'to, for'; the imperfect *ginin* is homophonous with the preposition *ginin* 'from' (see 5.2).

The other two TAMs can be called auxiliaries, meaning that they have some but not all of the characteristics of verbs or adjectives.

Siña 'can, possible' resembles a verb or adjective in certain respects. It can combine with the causative prefix *na'-*, which otherwise attaches only to verbs or adjectives.

(3)   Kumu un nå'i   ånimu, un na'siña   chumo'gui maseha
       if   AGR give   effort AGR make.can   INF.do   at.all
       håfa.
       anything
       'If you give it all you got, you'll be able to do anything.' (CD, entry
       for *na'siña*)

It can have the word order of a verb or adjective: it can be immediately followed by the subject (represented in boldface below).

(4)   Ti siña   **i   biha**   chumotchu   pån   royu,
       not can   the old.woman AGR.ANTIP.eat bread.L roll
       solu   ha sumai   gi kafe.
       only   AGR soak   LCL coffee

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'The old lady cannot eat toasted bread unless she soaks it in coffee.'
(CD, entry for *pån royu*)

Finally, *siña* by itself can form a minimal clause. In the most deeply embedded clause of (5) (enclosed in brackets), *siña* is the only plausible candidate for the predicate.

(5) Si Påli' ha påpagat todu i taotåo siha
     UNM priest AGR preach.PROG all the person PL
     na u fanmanaitai [amånu siña].
     COMP AGR AGR.ANTIP.pray wherever can
     'The priest is preaching to the people to pray as much as they can.'
     (CD, entry for *pågat*)

(Although the English translation of this example makes use of verb phrase ellipsis, Chamorro does not have this type of ellipsis. A more accurate translation of minimal clauses like (5) might be '(it is) possible'.)

In other respects, *siña* more closely resembles the TAMs *para* and *ginin*. Like *para* and *ginin*, *siña* does not show agreement with the subject. And although *siña* can be immediately followed by the subject, it is more usual for the subject to come later in the clause, immediately after the (main) predicate. The more usual word order is consistent with the idea that *siña* too is a TAM.[1] Compare (4) with (6).

(6) Ti siña manhugåndu **i famagu'un** bola sa'
     not can AGR.play the PL.child ball because
     tåya' di'u.
     AGR.not.exist base
     'The children couldn't play baseball because there's no base.' (CD, entry for *di'u*)

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[1] A search of the CD database early in September 2010 turned up 495 examples of clauses containing *siña*. Sixty-seven of these had a subject noun phrase in the vicinity of the predicate. (Clauses with weak pronoun subjects were excluded, because the placement of weak pronouns is determined phonologically; see 8.3. Clauses that could be analyzed either as passive clauses with a subject noun phrase, or as transitive clauses with a third personal plural null pronoun as subject, were excluded when the English translation was not explicitly passive.) In 19 out of 67 examples, the subject came immediately after *siña*; in the remaining 48, the subject came immediately after the main predicate.

The upshot is that *siña* is a predicate, but defective—in other words, it is an auxiliary.

Debi (di) 'should, ought to', the other auxiliary, has the profile of a TAM in certain respects. Like *para* and *ginin*, it cannot combine with the causative prefix *na'-*, cannot form a minimal clause, and does not show agreement with the subject. However, *debi (di)* can have the word order of a verb or adjective. Like *siña*, it can be immediately followed by the subject (as in (7a)), although the subject can also come later in the clause, immediately after the irrealis predicate (7b).[2]

(7) a. Ti debi **i prumesa** di u madisonra.
       not should the promise   PRT AGR PASS.dishonor
       'A promise should not be dishonored.' (CD, entry for *prumesa*)
    b. Rason na   ti debi   di u fanprisenti **i famagu'un**
       reason COMP   not should PRT AGR AGR.present the PL.child
       yanggin guaha   bisita ...
       if   AGR.exist   visitor
       'The reason that children should not be present when there are
       visitors...' (*Familia* 2-3)

More tellingly, the irrealis predicate that follows *debi* can be introduced by the finite complementizer *na* (see 20.2.1). This is expected if the sentence is actually a complex sentence in which *debi* is the predicate of the main clause, and the irrealis predicate is located in an embedded clause. The embedded clause in such an analysis is enclosed in brackets in (8).[3]

(8)   Debi ha' [na   u taiguihi   i hetnu].
       should EMP   COMP AGR like.that   the oven
       'The incubator should be like that.' (EM 92)

Further support for this analysis comes from the *di* that often follows *debi*. This *di* (glossed 'PRT' in the examples) has a limited distribution: it occurs in certain subordinating conjunctions (e.g. *ántis di* 'before', *dispues*

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[2] The CD database contains relatively few examples of *debi (di)*.

[3] The predicate following *siña* can also be introduced by the complementizer *na*. However, examples like (a) are much less frequent than the examples of *debi di* and *debi na* discussed in the text:

(a) Ti siña   na   bai hu yuti'   på'gu ...
    not can   COMP   AGR   discard now
    'I can't abandon [whoever helped me] now.' (EM 96)

di 'since', *inlugåt di* 'instead of'; see 20.2.2), after certain interjections (e.g. *båsta di* 'stop (doing something)'), after the verb *sigi* 'keep on', and so on. In such cases, *di* is followed by an embedded clause. The fact that *di* cannot co-occur with the finite complementizer *na* suggests that the two serve the same function; that is, *di* is a complementizer. But then sentences like (9) should be analyzed as complex sentences in which *debi* is the predicate of the main clause, just like (8).

(9) Ti debi [di un muyuyu'i i mañaina-mu].
   not should *PRT AGR sneer.at.PROG* *the PL.parent-AGR*
   'You should not be sneering at your parents.' (CD, entry for *muyu'i*)

The upshot is that *debi*, too, is a defective predicate—an auxiliary.

  The TAMs are a closed class. Other modal and aspectual predicates in Chamorro, including *malagu'* 'want', *tutuhun* 'begin', *påra* 'stop', and so on, are clearly verbs or adjectives. These other predicates show agreement with the subject, they can combine with the causative prefix *na'-*, and they can form minimal clauses. They have the word order of predicates that are verbs or adjectives. And they can be immediately preceded by a TAM.[4] See Chapter 21 for further discussion of these predicates and the constructions in which they occur.

4.2.2 Meaning and use
4.2.2.1 *Para*

The future/subjunctive TAM *para* often occurs in irrealis clauses that describe a situation in the future, relative to the speech event or to some other event.

(10)a. **Para** u mana'gimin åmut   i   neni sa'
    FUT *AGR PASS.make.drink medicine* *the baby* *because*
    kalintura.
    AGR.feverish
    'They will make the baby drink medicine because it has a slight fever.' (CD, entry for *u*)
  b. Esta **para** talu'åni ya   ha siesienti i
    already FUT *afternoon and.then AGR feel.PROG the*

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[4] *Iståba* 'used to' and perhaps *sigi* 'keep on' are borderline cases. Although *iståba* is identified as a TAM by Chung (1998), it is perhaps better classified as a verb that can also be used as an adverb.

ñalång-ña.
NMLZ.hungry-AGR
'It was about to be afternoon and she was feeling hungry.' (EM 81)

    c.   Un diha,   anai ... **para**   si   nanå-hu   ha'   gi
       one day   *when*   *FUT*   *UNM*   *mother-AGR* *EMP* *LCL*
       tenda,   sinangåni   as tihu-ña ...
       store   *AGR.PASS.say.to* *OBL uncle-AGR*
       'One day, when...it was going to be just my mother at the store, her uncle told her...' (EM 100)

However, when the clause describes a future situation that the speaker believes is certain to occur, the combination of the adverb *siempri* 'surely, certainly' plus the realis mood can be used instead (see 2.2.3.2.2).

    Para can also occur in irrealis clauses that are embedded under verbs of desire, commitment, permission, effort, and so on (see 20.2.1 and 21.4.2). In such cases, the embedded clause describes a non-actual situation that is wanted, promised, allowed, or which effort is devoted to bringing about. The relevant embedded clauses are enclosed in brackets below.

(11)a.   Yanggin   guaha   malago'-ña   [**para** u faisin
       if   *AGR.exist*   *WH[OBL].want-AGR* *FUT*   *AGR ask*
       yu' ta'lu], siña   ha'.
       me again *can*   *EMP*
       'If there's anything else she wants to ask me, she can.' (Cooreman 1983: 38)

    b.   Ti bai hu sedi   håo   [na   **para** un anña   i
       not AGR   *allow*   *you*   *COMP* *FUT*   *AGR harm*   *the*
       patgon-hu].
       child-AGR
       'I will not let you harm my child.' (CD, entry for *anña*)

Para can occur in irrealis clauses embedded under an adjective. The embedded clause in (12) describes a non-actual situation (the taking of coral from the ocean) which has the property named by the adjective (namely, being dangerous).

(12)   Piligru   i   kulåling   [**para** u   machuli'   gi
       AGR.dangerous *the coral*   *FUT*   *AGR PASS.take* *LCL*
       tasi].
       ocean

'It's dangerous to take coral from the ocean.' (CD, entry for *kulåling*)

Finite embedded clauses in Chamorro are generally introduced by the complementizer *na* (see 20.2.1). This complementizer can be omitted if it is immediately followed by *para*, as in (11a) and (12). But it is also possible for *na* and *para* to co-occur, as in (11b) and (13).

(13) Ti ha tungu' si   nanå-hu   [na **para** u guaha
      not AGR know UNM   mother-AGR COMP FUT   AGR exist
      gera].
      war
      'My mother did not know that there was going to be a war.' (EM 102)

Para is optional in irrealis embedded clauses that serve as arguments; its presence or absence there seems to have little impact on meaning.[5] The situation is different in adverbial clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction *sa'* 'because' (see 20.4.2.2). When *para* occurs in an irrealis adverbial clause introduced by *sa'*, the (non-actual) situation described by the embedded clause gives a positive reason for the situation described by the main clause.

(14)a. Ha bareta si   tatå-hu   i   atchu'   sa'   **para**   u
        AGR pry   UNM   father-AGR the rock   because FUT   AGR
        na'suha.
        make.go.away
        'My father pried the rock out with a digging iron because he was going to remove it.' (CD, entry for *bareta*)
  b. Mamuda   hiya'   sa'   **para**   un guput.
      get.dressed for.awhile because FUT   AGR party
      'Get dressed because you are going to go to the party.' (CD, entry for *mamuda*)

But when the embedded clause describes a (non-actual) situation that would be harmful or unfavorable—an alternative future that should be prevented from happening—then *para* does not occur. This can happen, for instance, when the main clause is an imperative. Imperatives of this sort direct the

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[5] The complementizer *na* generally introduces these clauses if *para* does not appear.

addressee to act so as to avoid the non-actual situation described in the embedded clause. See (15).

(15)a. Na'nahung   hånum i satten sa'   u påsmu
    make.enough   water.L the pot   because AGR partly.cooked
    i   sini.
    the taro
    'Put enough water in the pot so that the taro does not become partially cooked (lit. because the taro might become partially cooked).' (CD, entry for *påsmu*)

  b. Mungnga   mampus   mana'bokka'   i basu   sa'
    don't   so.much   AGR.PASS.make.full the glass because
    u   machuda'.
    AGR PASS.spill
    'Do not fill the glass too much or it will spill (lit. because it might spill).' (CD, entry for *bokka'*)

4.2.2.2   *Ginin*
The TAM *ginin* indicates imperfect tense-aspect. It occurs in realis clauses that describe a past situation that lasted for some time. It can appear when the predicate names a state that occurred in the past, as in (16).

(16)a. Si   Ambrosio **ginin** atkåtdin   sankattan   na isla
    UNM   Ambrosio IMPF   mayor.L   DIR.north   L island
    siha.
    PL
    'Ambrosio was the mayor of the Northern Islands.' (CD, entry for *atkåtdi*)

  b. **Ginin** guaha   kantidå na tinanum asukat guini   Saipan
    IMPF   AGR.exist   a.lot   L plant.L sugar here   Saipan
    gi tiempun   Chapanis.
    LCL time.L   Japanese
    'There were once a lot of sugarcane plants here on Saipan during the Japanese time.' (CD, entry for *asukat*)

It can also appear when the predicate names an event that was ongoing or habitual in the past, as in (17). In such cases, the predicate is typically in the progressive aspect.

(17)   **Ginin** manhohokka   yu' bronsi anai
    IMPF   AGR.ANTIP.collect.PROG   I   bronze when

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didikiki' yu'.
AGR.small.PROG I
'I used to collect bronze when I was small.' (CD, entry for *bronsi*)

4.2.2.3   *Siña*
The auxiliary *siña* 'can, possible' is used to indicate possibility (as in (18a))
or ability (18b).

(18)a.   **Siña**   ha'   mafa'tali   i   alaihai.
        can   *EMP*   *AGR.PASS.make.into.rope the morning.glory*
        'The morning glory vine can be used as rope.' (CD, entry for
        alaihai)

   b.   Ma konni'   åndas   si   Juan   sa'   ti   **siña**
        AGR take   *stretcher* *UNM*   *Juan*   *because not can*
        mamokkat.
        AGR.walk
        'They took Juan on the stretcher because he could not walk.' (CD,
        entry for *åndas*)

Although *siña* normally is followed by a realis predicate, it can also combine
with an irrealis predicate. The combination of *siña* plus irrealis mood seems
to convey more remote possibility or, perhaps, greater politeness.

(19)   Kåo   **siña**   bai hu ayåo   i   musigomo'-mu?
       Q   *can*   *AGR   borrow the eraser-AGR*
         'Can I borrow your eraser?' (CD, entry for *musigomo'*)

4.2.2.4   *Debi (di)*
The auxiliary *debi (di)* 'should, ought to' occurs in irrealis clauses to
indicate (cultural or societal) expectation (as in (20a-b)) or personal obli-
gation (20c).

(20)a.   Kumu tiempun   Påsgua Nabidåt, **debi   di** u   guaha
         if   time.L   *Christmas   should PRT AGR exist*
         buñelus   dågu.
         doughnuts.L yam
         'There have to be yam doughnuts in the Christmas season.' (CD,
         entry for *buñelus dågu*)

   b.   **Debi   di** u anåkku' i   gigåo   yanggin para   un
        should PRT AGR long   the fish.trap   if   FUT   AGR

> fangonni’ bula na guihan.
> *ANTIP.catch much L fish*
> ‘The fish trap should be long if you’re going to catch a lot of fish.’
> (CD, entry for *gigåo*)

c. Maskiseha esta un yuti’ i basula, **debi** na un
   although already AGR throw the trash should COMP AGR
   hokka ya un laknus i tutniyu.
   pick.up and.then AGR take.out the screw
   ‘Despite the fact that you already threw out the trash, you must pick
   it back up and take out the screw.’ (CD, entry for *maskiseha*)

4.3 A closer look at nonverbal predicates

As discussed earlier (in Chapters 2 and 3), predicates in Chamorro can be
from any of the major parts of speech. All predicates can be preceded by a
TAM. Predicates that are verbs or adjectives show agreement with the sub-
ject, through forms that also indicate mood; predicates that are nouns or
prepositions do not show agreement with the subject. Although this correctly
characterizes verbs and adjectives, the situation is more complex for nouns
and prepositions. 4.3.1 discusses some initially puzzling patterns involving
predicate nouns. 4.3.2 presents some facts that suggest that prepositions are
not predicates after all, but might instead be arguments of a null copula.

4.3.1 Predicates that are nouns
Predicates that are nouns (or noun phrases) have the same overall distri-
bution as other types of predicates. To begin with, they can be preceded by a
TAM. Consider (10b), (16a), and the following (in which the TAM is in
boldface).

(21)a. **Siña** peknu’ i råbia na chetnut para i taotåo
       can killer the rabies L disease for the person
       siha.
       PL
       ‘Rabies may be deadly diseases (lit. The rabies disease may be a
       killer) for people.’ (CD, entry for *råbia*)
   b. Diretchok-ku esti i para bai hu atyik [håyi **para**
      right-AGR this the FUT AGR choose who? FUT
      asaguå-hu].
      spouse-AGR
      ‘It is my personal right to choose my spouse (lit. who will be my
      spouse).’ (CD, entry for *diretchu*)

c. **Debi   di** ma'eståk-ku   håo.
    should PRT teacher-AGR   you
    'You should be my teacher.'

Predicates that are nouns can occur in main clauses (as in (21a)) and finite embedded clauses (21b). They can also occur in infinitive clauses. In such cases, they show infinitival agreement, which is represented in boldface below (see 21.2.1).

(22)a. Esta   yu' o'o'sun   [m**um**a'eståm-mu].
        already I   AGR.bored.PROG INF.teacher-AGR
        'I'm already getting tired of being your teacher.'
    b. Malagu'   si   Juan   para   u chagi [**um**ampaia'
        AGR.want   UNM   Juan   FUT   AGR try   INF.umpire.L
        afulu'].
        wrestle
        'Juan wants to try being a wrestling referee.' (CD, entry for *ampaia'*)

Predicates that are nouns can occur in the full range of constituent questions (see 22.3). In the questions below, the interrogative word is the predicate in (23a), the subject in (23b), and an adjunct in (23c).

(23)a. Kåo   håyi   håo?
        Q   who?   you
        'Who are you?' (Cooreman 1983: 22)
    b. Håfa   para   sahguan-ña   i   katdu?
        what?   FUT   container-AGR   the   soup
        'What is going to be the container for the soup?' (CD, entry for *sahguan*)
    c. Disdi   ngai'an nai   medikun   nanå-mu   si   Juan?
        since   when?   COMP   doctor.L   mother-AGR UNM   Juan
        'Since when has Juan been your mother's doctor?'

On the other hand, predicates that are nouns differ from predicates that are verbs or adjectives in not showing agreement with the subject. The clauses in (24) contain the future/subjunctive TAM *para*, but no irrealis form of agreement appears on the predicate noun.

(24)a. Kåo   un tungu' [håyi   **para**   ma'eståm-mu]?
        Q   AGR know   who?   FUT   teacher-AGR

'Do you know who will be your teacher? (CD, entry for *tungu'*)

b. Esta   para   talu'åni.
    already   *FUT*   *afternoon*
    'It was almost noon.' (EM 81)

c. Para   låhi   i   patgon-ña.
    FUT   *male*   *the child-AGR*
    'His child is going to be a boy.' (from an e-mail message)

When an agreement form is inserted, the result is often ungrammatical (but see below). In (25), the asterisk (*) means 'ungrammatical', and the ungrammatical language material appears in red.

(25)   Para   (*u)   agupa'   i   fandånggu.
        FUT   *AGR*   *tomorrow*   *the wedding*
        'The wedding is going to be tomorrow.'

This overall picture is not changed by two initially puzzling facts, both of which involve agreement with the subject.

First, some predicates that are nouns appear to show the agreement prefix *man-*, which indicates a plural subject in the realis mood (see 2.2.2.2). In general, only verbs and adjectives show agreement with the subject, so this marking is unexpected.

(26)a.   **Mañ**e'lu-ña   hit   famalåo'an si   Antonio.
        PL.sibling-AGR   *we.INCL PL.woman*   *UNM*   *Antonio*
        'We (incl.) are Antonio's sisters.'

b.   Ni unu gi famagu'un Dolores   **man**neni.
     not one LCL PL.child.L   Dolores   *PL.baby*
     'None of Dolores' children are babies.'

However, *man-* is not only an agreement prefix but also a plural prefix that can optionally be attached to any human noun, whatever its function in the clause (see 6.1.1.1). This plural prefix is attached to the possessor of the direct object in (27a), and to the inner topic at the left edge of the clause in (27b) (see 26.2.1).

(27)a.   Gof   ya-hu   mampågat   famagu'un   **mañ**e'lu
        very   *like-AGR*   *AGR.ANTIP.advise*   *PL.child.L*   *PL.sibling*
        siha.
        PL

'I love giving advice to my siblings' children.' (CD, entry for *pågat*)

b. Meggaiña na **man**neni ma u'usa mamadot
many.COMPAR *L* *PL.baby* *AGR* *use.PROG* *baby.bottle*
kinu u fañusu.
than *AGR* *AGR.breastfeed*
'Most babies use bottles instead of breastfeeding.' (CD, entry for *mamadót*)

The existence of this other prefix suggests that the predicate nouns in (26) do not, in fact, show agreement with the subject, but instead are marked with the plural prefix for human nouns. This view is supported by a further observation: if the *man-* that appears on predicate nouns were a form of agreement with the subject, it should have a corresponding irrealis form. But it does not: there is no **u fañe'lu* or **fañe'lu* corresponding to *mañe'lu* 'siblings', for instance.

Second, Chamorro has a subclass of predicate nouns that clearly *can* be marked for agreement with the subject. These are nouns that name professions, such as *ma'estra* 'teacher (f.)', *ma'estru* 'teacher (m.)', *påli'* 'priest', and so on. In the irrealis embedded clauses below, the affix that shows agreement with the subject (in boldface) is unmistakable:

(28)a. I amko'-hu manistutudia [para **u** påli'].
the *old-AGR* *AGR.ANTIP.study.PROG* *FUT* *AGR* *priest*
'My eldest is studying to be a priest.' (CD, entry for *påli'*)

b. Humånåo si Andrew [para **u** marinun mantikiya
AGR.go *UNM* *Andrew* *FUT* *AGR* *navy.steward*
giya Amerika].
LCL *America*
'Andrew went to join the stewardship on the Navy ship in
America.' (CD, entry for *marinun mantikiya*)

The agreement illustrated in (28) is limited. Though allowed for professional nouns, it normally does not occur on other predicates that are nouns, such as kinship terms, inanimate nouns, and so on; see (10b) and (25). Even on professional nouns, this agreement typically does not occur when the noun shows (suffixal) agreement with a possessor, as in (21c) and (24a). The typical pattern is illustrated below.

(29)a. Para **u** ma'estra ottru såkkan.
FUT *AGR* *teacher* *other* *year*

'She's going to be a teacher next year.'
b.   ?*Para ma'estra   (gui')   ottru   såkkan.
      FUT   *teacher*   *she*   *other*   *year*
      ('She's going to be a teacher next year.')
c.   Para   ma'estråk-ku   gui'   ottru   såkkan.
      FUT   *teacher-AGR*   *she*   *other*   *year*
      'She's going to be my teacher next year.'

This pattern suggests that Chamorro has a word formation process that turns nouns with the meaning 'member of profession *x*' into intransitive verbs that mean 'serve as a member of profession *x*', without adding affixes or other morphology. Assuming this, the predicates in (28) and (29a) would show agreement with the subject because they are derived verbs that mean 'serve as a priest', 'serve as a steward', and 'serve as a teacher'. The predicate in (29c) is a noun because it has a possessor, and generally only nouns have possessors.[6] What matters here is that this predicate noun does not show agreement with the subject.

Chamorro has other word formation processes that convert nouns into derived verbs or adjectives without affixes or other morphology, so the process just proposed has precedents within the language. (This type of word formation, called *conversion*, is discussed in 27.4 and 28.4.9.) Even if one were to deny the existence of conversion and treat the agreement pattern in (28) as exceptional, the exception is systematic. Overall, it remains true that predicates that are nouns can be preceded by a TAM, and have the same overall distribution as other types of predicates, but are not marked for mood or agreement with the subject.

4.3.2   Predicates that are prepositions
Predicates that are prepositions are harder to analyze.

Most predicates that are prepositions do not show agreement with the subject.

(30)a.   Para   si   Maria   esti na   lepblu.
          for   *UNM*   *Maria*   *this L*   *book*

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[6] A few transitive verbs, including *ga'ña-* 'prefer', *ga'o-* 'prefer', and *ya-* 'like', are marked as if they were nouns: they show agreement with the subject using the suffixes for possessor agreement (see 14.4). The subjects of these verbs are subjects, not possessors. In addition, verbs and adjectives in certain forms of wh-agreement agree with their subject as if it were a possessor (see 22.4.1).

'This book is for Maria.'
b. Para   i   tenda   hit   guatu   gi   un   ora.
    to   the store   we.INCL to.there LCL a   hour
    'We (incl.) are heading to the store in an hour.'

However, when the predicate is the preposition *ginin* 'from', some speakers allow it to show agreement with the subject, as shown in (31).

(31)a. Pues   i   palu   siha   **mang**ginin iya   Truk ...
        then   the some   PL   AGR.from   UNM   Truk
        'Then there were some who were from Truk...' (Cooreman 1983: 147)
    b. I   profesias   sessu   **mang**ginin i   manmenhalum   siha na
        the prophecy   often   AGR.from   the AGR.wise   PL   L
        indibiduåt.
        individual
        'Prophecies often come from wise individuals.' (CD, entry for *prófesias*)

Ginin is the only Chamorro preposition that shows this pattern. The agreement is mysterious in several respects. It tends to appear when the prepositional phrase formed from *ginin* describes a permanent or persistent characteristic, such as nationality or place of origin. But it can also appear when no persistent characteristic is involved. See (32).

(32) Tåya'   fumaisin   yu' [**mang**ginin manu   na   guma'
      AGR.not.exist   WH[SBJ].ask me   AGR.from   which? L   house
      i   famagu'un].
      the PL.child
      'No one asked me which house the kids were coming from.'

The form of the agreement is mysterious as well: it is chosen from the agreement paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives in the realis mood (see 2.2.2.2). Like most other Chamorro prepositions, *ginin* takes an object noun phrase in the unmarked case (see 5.2). Given that this noun phrase looks like a direct object, it is unclear why the agreement shown by *ginin* is not chosen from the paradigms for transitive verbs.

Predicates that are prepositions have a peculiarly limited distribution. These predicates are awkward or ungrammatical when preceded by a TAM (in boldface in the examples below).

(33)a. ?**Debi di** para i tenda håo guatu.
      ought PRT to   *the store*   *you to.there*
      'You should head to the store.'

    b. *****Ginin** para i tetenda håo.
      IMPERF to   *the store.*PROG *you*
      ('You had been heading to the store.')

Further, although predicates that are prepositions can occur in main clauses and finite embedded clauses, they cannot form infinitive clauses. This holds true whether or not the preposition shows infinitival agreement (see 21.2.1). Compare the finite embedded clause in (34a) with the infinitive clause in (34b).

(34)a. Humallum yu' [na   ginin Saigon esti i
      AGR.*assume I*   COMP *from*   *Saigon this the*
      cha'guan Saigon].
      Cinderella.weed
      'I assume that this Cinderella weed is from Saigon.' (CD, entry for *chå'guan Saigón*)

    b. *O'sun   yu' [p(um)ara i   tenda].
      AGR.*bored*   *I*   INF.*to*   *the store*
      ('I'm tired of heading to the store.')

Finally, predicates that are prepositions evidently cannot occur in the full range of constituent questions. In the questions below, the interrogative phrase originates in a clause whose predicate is a preposition. The interrogative phrase can be the object of this preposition (as in (35a)) or the subject of the clause (35b). But it cannot be an adjunct (35c).

(35)a. Ti ha tungu' si   Helena esta   [para   månu   gui'
      not AGR *know*   UNM *Helena already to*   *where? she*
      ni atarantåo-ña].
      OBL NMLZ.*indecisive-*AGR
      'Helena does not know where she's going with her indecisiveness.'
      (CD, entry for *atarantåo*)

    b. Månu na aniyu sinangåni   håo as Miguel [na
      which? L   *ring*   AGR.PASS.*say.to* *you* OBL *Miguel* COMP
      para   i che'lu-ña palåo'an]?
      for   *the sibling-*AGR *female*
      'Which ring did Miguel tell you is for his sister?'

c. *Kuåntu   tiempu [para   i   tenda   siha]?
    how.much? time   to   the store   they
    ('How long will they be gone to the store?')

This restricted distribution brings to mind Richards' (2009) discussion of nonverbal predicates in Tagalog, a Western Malayo-Polynesian language related to Chamorro. Richards observes that nonverbal predicates in Tagalog cannot occur in certain infinitive clauses. This leads him to propose that nonverbal predicates in Tagalog are arguments of a null copula. The predicate of an infinitive clause in Tagalog must be marked for aspect, but the null copula cannot be marked for aspect. That, he claims, is why infinitive clauses in this language can be formed only from (overt) verbs.

   Conceivably, Richards' proposal could be extended to Chamorro predicates that are prepositions. The extension might go like this: Every Chamorro predicate that appears to be a preposition actually forms a prepositional phrase that is the argument of a null copula. But in Chamorro, the TAMs and infinitive clauses require a predicate that is overt. That is why 'predicates that are prepositions' cannot be preceded by a TAM or occur in an infinitive clause.

   Such a proposal would handle the limited distribution illustrated in (33) and (34).[7] Moreover, copulas in many languages are intransitive. So the proposal would be consistent with the fact that the exceptional agreement on the preposition *ginin* in (31) and (32) comes from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives (though it would not explain where this agreement appears, or why it appears). This approach deserves further investigation.

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[7] Not yet accounted for: the ungrammaticality of constituent questions like (35c).

5

CASE MARKING
AND PREPOSITIONS

Noun phrases in Chamorro are marked for case. The case system is sensitive to grammatical relations and meaning. Some noun phrases that are obliques or adjuncts are realized as objects of prepositions.

5.1 Case marking

5.1.1 Form
5.1.1.1 Basics

Almost all noun phrases in Chamorro are marked for case. There are three cases: unmarked, oblique, and local. Case is indicated by an unstressed morpheme that immediately precedes the noun phrase and is sensitive to the word from which the noun phrase is constructed. There are separate case markers for noun phrases formed from common nouns (e.g. *palåo'an* 'woman', *guma'* 'house', *nå'an* 'name'), names of people (e.g. *Joaquina*), place names (e.g. *Luta*), and pronouns (e.g. *guåhu* 'I', *siha* 'they').[1] The case markers are listed below in (1).

The case markers show a significant amount of regional variation and individual variation, not all of which is captured in the chart. The unmarked case marker is *si* for names of people, *iya* for place names (in the Guam dialect), and unpronounced otherwise. The oblique case marker for common nouns is *ni* in the Guam dialect and *nu* or *nai* in the Rota dialect; in the Saipan dialect it is *nu* or *ni* before the definite article and *nu* otherwise. The oblique case marker for names of people is *gi as* for some speakers of the Saipan dialect and *as* otherwise. The oblique case marker for pronouns is *ni* for some speakers of the Guam dialect and *nu* otherwise. Very occasionally, the oblique case markers *ni as* (for names of people) and *niya* (for pronouns) are heard; these appear to be nonstandard.

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[1] The common nouns *tåta* 'father', *nåna* 'mother', and *påli'* 'priest' are often marked for case as if they were names of people; e.g. *si nanå-hu* 'my mother (unmarked case)', *as påli'* 'the priest (oblique case)'. Independent pronouns are marked for case, but weak pronouns are not (see 8.3).

(1)   CASE MARKERS

	Unmarked	*Oblique*	*Local*
Common Ns	—	ni [Guam], nu / nai [Rota], nu / ni [Saipan]	gi
Names	si	as, gi as [Saipan]	gi as
Place names	— , iya [Guam]	—	giya
Pronouns	—	nu, ni [Guam]	giya

5.1.1.2   Combined with an article or demonstrative

The case markers for common nouns can combine with an immediately following article or demonstrative. Specifically:

When the oblique case marker *ni* or the local case marker *gi* is immediately followed by the definite article *i*, many speakers fuse the case marker with the article, reducing the two /i/ sounds to one. For these speakers, the noun phrase *i palåo'an* 'the woman' is realized as *gi palåo'an* in the local case, and *ni palåo'an* (in Guam and Saipan), *nu i palåo'an* (in Saipan and Rota), or *nai palåo'an* (in Rota) in the oblique case. Other speakers insert a glottal stop between the case marker and the article. For these speakers, *i palåo'an* is realized as *gi' i palåo'an* in the local case and as *ni' i palåo'an* in the oblique case.

The local case marker *gi* typically combines with a following demonstrative—*esti* 'this (near speaker)', *ennåo* 'that (near addressee)', or *atyu* 'that (near third person)'—to produce the forms *guini*, *guennåo,* and *guihi*, respectively. These forms also serve as locative adverbs that mean 'here', 'there (near addressee)', and 'there (near third person)' (see 6.2.2).

5.1.1.3   Noun phrases with no case marking

The following types of noun phrases are not case-marked:

(i) Vocatives (noun phrases used to call the addressee) are not case-marked. In (2), *Nang* 'Mom' is caseless, because it is vocative.

(2)   **Nang**, sedi   yu' ya   bai patcha i   amot-mu.
          Mom   *allow* *me and.then* *AGR touch* *the medicine-AGR*
          'Mom, allow me to touch your medicine.' (LSS 355)

(ii) The objects of the verbs of possession *gai* 'have' and *tai* 'not have' are not case-marked (see 14.3.2). Even though these objects are formed from nouns and written as independent words in the official orthographies, they are not independent noun phrases. Instead, they are 'small' noun phrases whose head noun is incorporated. In (3), *ganas* 'appetite', which is the object of *tai*, is incorporated.

(3) Sa' tai **ganas** i lina'lå'-hu.
  because AGR.not.have appetite the life-AGR
  'Because my life has no appetite.' (EM 60)

(iii) Noun phrases are not case-marked when a phonologically dependent verb or noun immediately precedes them. For instance, the dependent verb *malak* 'go to' must combine with material in its goal noun phrase to form a phonological word. This noun phrase—*Luta* in (4a)—is not case-marked. A possessed noun that is marked with the linker is phonologically dependent, and must combine with material in its possessor to form a phonological word. This possessor—*Tan Ignacia* in (4b)—is not case-marked.[2]

(4) a. Malak **Luta** si målli'.
   AGR.go.to Luta UNM godmother
   'My *kumairi* went to Rota.' (CD, entry for *målli'*)
  b. i mañainan **Tan Ignacia**
   the PL.parent.L Mrs. Ignacia
   'Tan Ignacia's parents' (EM 101)

In addition, certain types of adjuncts typically are not case-marked. These include adjuncts of duration (such as *dos oras* 'for two hours' in (5a)), adjuncts of frequency (such as *kada diha* 'every day' in (5b)), and certain expressions of location in time (see 5.1.2.3).

(5) a. Ákalayi' fan **dos oras** gi puntan i haligi?
   hang please two hours LCL tip.L the pole
   'Can you hang for two hours on the tip of the pole? (CD, entry for *ákalayi'*)

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[2] Note that the goal argument of *malak* is a noun phrase; possessors are also noun phrases. Objects of the verbs of possession *gai* 'have' and *tai* 'not have' are 'small' (incomplete) noun phrases that cannot contain determiners, possessors, or modifiers preceding the head noun (see 14.3.2).

b. Kahuhulu'   yu' gi chatanmak **kada   diha**.
    AGR.get.up.PROG   I   LCL dawn   every day
    'I get up before dawn every day.' (CD, entry for *chatanmak*)

5.1.1.4   Weak noun phrases in the oblique case

Certain noun phrases in the oblique case are not preceded by an overt (pronounced) case marker when they are *weak* (indefinite in some sense; see 6.2.5). These noun phrases include (i) oblique arguments of intransitive verbs or adjectives, (ii) oblique arguments of nominalized predicates, and (iii) oblique arguments of antipassive, applicative, or causative verbs that correspond to the direct object of the original transitive verb from which these verbs are derived. Noun phrases of types (i-iii) are preceded by the oblique case markers described in 5.1.1.1 when they are *strong*; for instance, when they consist of a pronoun, a name, or a noun phrase with the definite article at its left edge, as shown below.

(6) a. Ma'å'ñåo   yu' **nu hågu**.
        AGR.afraid I   OBL you
        'I'm afraid of you.'
    b. In apåsi   i   patgun låhi   **ni salåppi'**.
        AGR pay   the child.L male   OBL money
        'We (excl.) paid the boy the money.'
    c. Hu na'kumpreprendi   **nu i   linachi-ña**.
        AGR make.understand.PROG   OBL the mistake-AGR
        'I make him understand his mistakes.' (CD, entry for *á'akunseha*)

But when they are *weak*—for instance, when they are noun phrases with the null indefinite article, a numeral, or *bula* 'much, many' at their left edge—then no oblique case marker appears. Compare (6) with (7).

(7) a. Ma'å'ñåo   yu' **dos klåsin gå'ga'**.
        AGR.afraid I   two sort.L   animal
        'I'm afraid of two kinds of animals.'
    b. In apåsi   i   patgun låhi   **bula   na salåppi'**.
        AGR pay   the child.L male   much   L   money
        'We (excl.) paid the boy a lot of money.'
    c. Ha na'fanmanatyik   ham   i   ma'estru
        AGR make.AGR.ANTIP.choose we.EXCL   the teacher
        ga'chung-måmi.
        partner-AGR
        'The teacher let us (excl.) choose our (excl.) partners.'

d. Hinatmi **gå'ga'** i matå-hu ya
AGR.PASS.get.inside *insect* *the eye-AGR* *and.then*
nina'gef sagi' yan bula mugu'.
AGR.PASS.make.very *painful* *and AGR.much* *eye.discharge*
'An insect got into my eye and it got very irritated and discharges matter.' (CD, entry for *mugu'*)

e. Adumididi' sigi ha' manmaleffa hit **unus kuåntus**
gradually *keep.on EMP* *AGR.forget we.INCL some*
na palåbra.
L word
'We (incl.) gradually keep on forgetting a few words.' (from a conference presentation)

Some speakers also allow passive agents and instruments to exhibit this pattern; see (7d). Other speakers require passive agents and instruments to be preceded by an oblique case marker, even when they are weak.[3]

5.1.2 Use
5.1.2.1 Unmarked case
The many uses of the unmarked case are summarized below.

First of all, the unmarked case is used for noun phrases that are subjects or direct objects. The subject of the clause in (8a) is *si nanå-hu* 'my mother'; the direct objects of the clauses in (8b) are *i kemmun* 'the bathroom' and *i katta* 'the letter'. (Here and below, the noun phrases under discussion are represented in boldface.)

(8) a. Mampus hobin **si nanå-hu**.
so.much AGR.young UNM mother-AGR
'My mother was too young.' (Cooreman 1982: 7)

b. Ha fa' gui' ha na'sesetbi **i kemmun** låo ha
AGR pretend she AGR make.use.PROG the toilet but AGR
tataitai **i katta**.
read.PROG the letter

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[3] Examples cited by Safford (1904: 506) and other early twentieth-century grammars suggest that the older pattern is for instruments and passive agents to have no case marking when they were weak. But for some speakers of the Saipan dialect, instruments and passive agents are preceded by an overt case marker even when they are weak. Note that appositive noun phrases, which are also in the oblique case, are never weak.

'She pretended she was using the toilet, but she was reading the letter.' (Cooreman 1983: 27)

The unmarked case is also used for noun phrases that serve as the subject or direct object of constituents smaller than the clause. For instance, the possessor of a noun phrase can be analyzed as the *subject* of the noun phrase: it is the most prominent constituent of the noun phrase, just as the subject is the most prominent constituent of the clause. When the possessor is an independent constituent, it is in the unmarked case, and the possessed noun agrees with it in person and number (see 7.1.1). The noun phrase in (9) illustrates this pattern: the possessor *si Vicente* is in the unmarked case, and the possessed noun *asagua* 'spouse' shows agreement with it using the 3 sg. possessor agreement suffix *-ña*.

(9)   i   asaguå-ña **si**   **Vicente**
       the spouse-AGR UNM   Vicente
       'Vicente's wife'

(Alternatively, the possessed noun can be marked with the linker, in which case it is phonologically dependent and must combine with material in the possessor to form a phonological word. When that happens, the possessor is caseless and the possessed noun does not show possessor agreement; see 5.1.1.3 and 7.1.1.)

Similarly, the object of a preposition can be analyzed as the *direct object* of the preposition: it bears the same relation to the preposition as a direct object bears to the verb. Most prepositions have an object that is in the unmarked case. This includes prepositions such as *kini* 'than' (see (10a)) and *para* 'to, for' (10b).

(10)a. Ñangnangña   si   Dorothy   kini   si
        AGR.talkative.COMPAR   UNM   Dorothy   than   UNM
        Denita.
        Denita
        'Dorothy is more talkative than Denita.' (CD, entry for *ñangnang*)
    b. Mås   såfu'   para **si**   **Kanåriu** yanggin ha
        more   AGR.safe   for   UNM   Kanariu   if   AGR
        nangga i ma'tin   i   tasi.
        wait   the low.tide.L   the ocean
        'It was safer for Kanåriu if she waited for low tide.' (EM 83)

Second, the unmarked case is used for noun phrases that are topics, syntactically focused, or appear for other reasons at the left edge of the clause. Such noun phrases are in the unmarked case even when a different case would be dictated by their grammatical relation. For instance, noun phrases that are normally in the oblique case, such as agents of passive verbs, appear in the unmarked case when they are syntactically focused. In (11a), the passive agent *si Bernie* is in the unmarked case, because it is syntactically focused. Except in the Saipan dialect, the same holds true for noun phrases that are normally in the local case, such as adjuncts that specify location (see 22.3.2 and 23.3). In (11b), the locative adjunct *atyu i sanpapa' gi kantun tåsi* 'that place down by the beach' appears at the left edge of the clause; this noun phrase is in the unmarked case as well.

(11)a. **Si   Bernie** para   u   inisgaihun gui'.
　　　 UNM   Bernie FUT   AGR PASS.escort she
　　　 'It's Bernie who is going to escort her (lit. who she is going to be escorted by).' (CD, entry for *isgaihun*)
　 b. Pues **atyu   i   sanpapa'   gi   kantun tåsi** guaha
　　　 then   that   the DIR.under   LCL side.L   sea AGR.exist
　　　 guihi   unu,   dos,   poku menus   singku na mandikiki'.
　　　 there   one   two   more.or.less   five   L   AGR.small
　　　 'So, at that place down by the beach there are one, two, more or less five small ones.' (Cooreman 1983: 8)

(In Saipan, a noun phrase that would ordinarily be in the local case can remain in the local case when it appears at the left edge of the clause.)

Third, the unmarked case is used for noun phrases that serve as the predicate of the clause, such as *si Maria Castro* 'Maria Castro' in (11a) and *i gualu' Yu'us* 'God's field' in (12b).

(12)a. Guåhu **si   Maria Castro**.
　　　 I   UNM   Maria Castro
　　　 'I am Maria Castro.'
　 b. Hamyu **i   gualu' Yu'us**.
　　　 you.PL the field.L God
　　　 'You (pl.) are God's field.' (NT 302)

The unmarked case is also used for various types of noun phrases that occur in isolation. Noun phrases that have been stranded by ellipsis, such as *si Juan* in (13), are typically in the unmarked case. (When a noun phrase is

stranded by ellipsis, the rest of the clause associated with it is deleted; see 26.1.)

(13) Mankuinintusi   hamyu as Maria, låo ti **si   Juan**.
      AGR.PASS.speak.to   you.PL OBL Maria but not UNM   Juan
      'Maria spoke to you (pl.); however, not Juan [i.e. Juan didn't speak to you (pl.)].'

Names in signatures are sometimes in the unmarked case, as in (14), but they can also be caseless.

(14) Sin   mås,   **si   Rita**
      without more   UNM   Rita
      'Sincerely, Rita'

The fact that the unmarked case is used for noun phrase predicates and noun phrases in isolation suggests that it is the default case.

5.1.2.2   Oblique case
5.1.2.2.1   Basics
The oblique case is used for most types of arguments that are neither the subject nor the direct object. (These arguments are called *obliques*; see 3.2.3.)
    For instance, agents of passive verbs are in the oblique case.

(15)a. Madåggåo   matå-ña   si   Ben   **ni   bola**.
        AGR.PASS.hit   eye-AGR   UNM   Ben   OBL ball
        'Ben's eye was hit by the ball.'
   b.   Chinatgi   **gi as   tatå-hu**.
        AGR.PASS.smile.at   OBL   father-AGR
        'She was smiled at by my father.' (Cooreman 1982: 6)

So are the obliques associated with many other types of intransitive predicates, including antipassive verbs (as in (16a)), nominalized verbs (16b), and adjectives (16c).

(16)a. Asta   på'gu   ti manhohonggi   yu' **nu** ... **atyu**
        until   now   not AGR.ANTIP.believe.PROG I   OBL   that
        i   siñåt.
        the sign
        'Even now I don't believe in...those signs.' (Cooreman 1983: 184)

b.   ...   sigun   gi kinimprenden-ña   **nu i   finu'**
      according   LCL NMLZ.understand-AGR   OBL the language.L
i   manåmku' siha.
the PL.old   PL
'...according to his understanding of the language of the elders' (EM 131)

c.   Mahålang **gi as   tatå-ña**.
    AGR.lonely OBL   father-AGR
'She is lonely for her father.'

    The oblique case is also used for oblique objects of applicative or causative verbs. These arguments correspond to the direct object of the original transitive verb from which the applicative or causative verb is derived. In (17a), the oblique object of *nå'i* 'give' is *nu i amut* 'the medicine', which names what was given; this noun phrase is in the oblique case. (The direct object of *nå'i* is the noun phrase *si Lucy*, which names who the medicine was given to.) In (17b), the oblique object of the causative verb *na'li'i'* 'cause to see' is *ni tararåñas* 'the spiderweb', which names what was caused to be seen; this noun phrase too is in the oblique case.

(17)a.   Ha nå'i   si   Lucy **nu i   amut**   åntis   di u
      AGR give   UNM   Lucy   OBL the medicine   before   PRT AGR
måtai.
die
'She gave Lucy the medicinal knowledge before she died.' (LSS 388)

b.   In faisin   si   Pedro kåo siña   ha na'li'i'   ham
    AGR ask   UNM   Pedro Q   can   AGR make.see   us.EXCL
ni   tararåñas.
OBL spiderweb
'We (excl.) asked Pedro if he could show us (excl.) the spiderweb.'

    In addition, the oblique case is used for instruments.

(18)   Guaha   gå'ga' ma måtka i   puestun-ñiha   **ni**
    AGR.exist   animal AGR mark   the territory-AGR   OBL
me'mi'-ñiha.
urine-AGR
'There are animals that mark their territory with their urine.' (CD, entry for *puestu*)

Finally, the oblique case is used for noun phrases that are appositives modifying another noun phrase. In (19), the noun phrase *as Miguel* 'Miguel' is an appositive modifier of *i chi'lu-mu* 'your brother'.

(19)   i   chi'lu-mu   **as Miguel**
         the sibling-AGR OBL Miguel
         'your brother Miguel'

5.1.2.2.2   Special uses of *as*

The oblique case marker for names of people, *as*, has some uses beyond those just described.

    As is used to mark names of people that are objects of the preposition *sigun* 'according to' and—for some speakers—objects of the preposition *ginin* 'from' (see 5.2). A few examples are cited in (20).

(20)a.   sigun   **as Chai**
         according   OBL Chai
         'according to Chai' (LSS 453)
  b.   sin   petmision   ginin   **as Joaquin Flores Borja**
         without permission from   OBL Joaquin Flores Borja
         'without permission from Joaquin Flores Borja' (EM 4)

These uses are special, because neither *sigun* nor *ginin* generally takes its object in the oblique case. Objects of *sigun* are generally in the local case (see (21a)); objects of *ginin* are generally in the unmarked case (21b-c).

(21)a.   sigun   **gi kinimprendek-ku**
         according   LCL NMLZ.understand-AGR
         'according to my understanding' (*Familia* 1)
  b.   ginin   **i   asaguå-ña**
         from   the spouse-AGR
         'from his wife'
  c.   ginin   **Saipan**
         from   Saipan
         'from Saipan'

    In addition, *as* combines with names of people to produce locative noun phrases that mean 'at (the person's) home' or 'at (the person's) place'. Some of these locative noun phrases have been conventionalized as place names, as (22) shows.

(22)   As **Matuis**
        OBL Matuis
        'As Matuis (name of a mountainous region in northern Saipan)'

5.1.2.3   Local case
The distribution of the local case is determined primarily by meaning.
        The local case is used for noun phrases that specify location in time or
space, whether they are oblique arguments or adjuncts. In (23a), the noun
phrase that specifies location in space is an oblique argument of the verb
såga 'stay, live'; in (23b), the noun phrase that specifies location in time is
an adjunct. Both noun phrases are in the local case.

(23)a.   Iståba   un biha   na   sumåsaga   **gi un**
          AGR.used.to.be a old.woman COMP   AGR.live.PROG   LCL a
          guma' dikiki'.
          house.L small
          'An old woman was living in a little house.' (*Mannge'* 1)
    b.   Yanggin   listu   håo,   asagua   **gi Sabalu**.
          if   AGR.ready   you   get.married LCL Saturday
          'If you're ready, get married on Saturday.' (Cooreman 1982: 7)

        The local case can also be used for noun phrases that specify source (as
in (24a)) or goal (24b).[4] Goals that are in the locative case are often preceded
by a directional adverb such as *guatu* 'to there (near third person)' or *tåtti*
'back'.

(24)a.   Poddung   i   fallut **gi lamasa**.
          AGR.fall   the lantern LCL table
          'The lantern fell from the table.' (CD, entry for *fållut*)
    b.   Hunggan,   hu nisisita na   un bira   yu' tåtti **gi**
          yes   AGR need   COMP   AGR turn   me back   LCL
          lugåt-tu.
          place-AGR
          'Yes, I need you to return me to my place.' (Cooreman 1983: 105)

        The local case is, finally, used for common noun objects of the prepo-
sition *sigun* 'according to'.

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[4] Noun phrases that specify source or goal can also occur as objects of the
prepositions *ginin* 'from' or *para* 'to'.

(25)　sigun　　**gi　håfa**　　　**na　asuntu　malagu'-måmi**
　　　according　*LCL*　*whatever*　　*L*　*reason*　*WH[OBL].want-AGR*
　　　'according to whatever reasons we (excl.) want'

　　　　Not every noun phrase that specifies location in time or space is in the local case. Noun phrases that serve as subjects or direct objects are always in the unmarked case, even when they specify a location. In addition, the local case is optional for place names that serve as oblique arguments of certain verbs of location or motion, including *såga* 'stay, live', *måttu* 'come, arrive', and *hånåo* 'go'. Place names with this function can occur without any case marking.

(26)a.　Sumåsaga　　　si　　　Rosan　che'lu-hu　(**giya**)　**Tini'an**.
　　　　AGR.stay.PROG　*UNM*　　*Rosa.L*　*sibling-AGR*　*LCL*　　*Tinian*
　　　　'My sister Rosa is living on Tinian.'
　　b.　Yanggin　　guaha　　bisita　　manmåttu　**Alamågan** ...
　　　　if　　　　*AGR.exist*　*visitor*　*AGR.arrive*　*Alamagan*
　　　　'When there are visitors who come to Alamagan...' (*Alamagan* 12)

The local case is optional for certain temporal noun phrases, such as *nigap* 'yesterday'. It typically is not used for certain other temporal noun phrases, including *agupa'* 'tomorrow', *todu i tiempu* 'all the time', and *kada diha* 'every day'.

5.2　Prepositions

Chamorro has a small number of prepositions, most of which were originally borrowed from Spanish. These prepositions indicate relations in time as well as goal, source, benefaction, accompaniment, cause, comparison, and exception. In general, the prepositions are not used for relations in space, which are indicated instead by the local case (see 5.1.2.3) or by a local or directional noun (see 5.3 and 5.4). Some common prepositions are listed below.

(27)　SOME PREPOSITIONS
　　　　åntis di　　　　　　'before'
　　　　asta　　　　　　　'until, up to'
　　　　disdi　　　　　　　'since'
　　　　dispues di　　　　　'after'
　　　　inlugåt di　　　　　'instead of'
　　　　fuera (di / ki)　　　'except'

ginin	'from'
inkuenta (ginin)	'on behalf of'
ki, kinu, kini	'than'
kontra	'against'
para	'to, for'
put	'because of, for the sake of, about'
sa'	'because of'
sigun	'according to'
sin	'without'
yan	'with'

Most prepositions take an object noun phrase in the unmarked case. Other prepositions present a more complicated picture: either they combine an object noun phrase in some other case, or else they combine with a prepositional phrase. Specifically:

(i) For some speakers, the object of the preposition *ginin* 'from' is in the oblique case when it is the name of a person (see 5.1.2.2.2). This pattern is unexpected, given that *ginin* otherwise takes its object in the unmarked case (see (28)).

(28)   ... kosa ki un tungu' **ginin hågu mismu** ya   ti
      so.that *AGR* *know* *from* *you* *same* *and.then* *not*
ginin i ottru.
from   the other
'...so that you know it from you yourself and not from someone else.' (EM 132)

(ii) The object of the preposition *sigun* 'according to' is in the oblique case when it is the name of a person (see 5.1.2.2.2), but in the local case otherwise (see 5.1.2.3).

(iii) The preposition *inkuenta* 'on behalf of' can be followed by an object noun phrase in the unmarked case (as in (29a-b)) or else by a prepositional phrase formed from the preposition *ginin* 'from' (29c).

(29)a. inkuenta   i   familia
      on.behalf   the family
      'on behalf of the family' (CD, entry for *inkuenta*)
    b. inkuenta   si   Juan
      on.behalf   UNM   Juan
      'on behalf of Juan' (CD, entry for *inkuenta*)

c. inkuenta   ginin   hami
   on.behalf   from   us.EXCL
   'on behalf of us (excl.)' (CD, entry for *inkuenta*)

(iv) Like other prepositions, *åntis di* 'before', *dispues di* 'since, after', and *inlugåt di* 'instead of' take an object noun phrase in the unmarked case. It is not entirely clear how to analyze *di*, which is written as an independent word (glossed PRT) but has no obvious meaning.

(30)a. **Åntis di esti**,   si   nanå-ña   biha   ha kokonni'
       before PRT this   UNM   mother-AGR old   AGR take.PROG
       si   Vicky ...
       UNM   Vicky
       'Before this, her grandmother would take Vicky...' (LSS 46)
    b. Si   tatå-hu   måtai anai   mandíkiki' ham,
       UNM   father-AGR AGR.die when AGR.small we.EXCL
       singku åñus **dispues di** i   sinisedin   i   hetnu.
       five   years after   PRT the NMLZ.experience.L   the oven
       'My father died when we (excl.) were little, five years after the event of the incubator.' (EM 95)

Though borrowed from a Spanish preposition (Sp. *de* 'of, from, with'), *di* does not function freely in Chamorro as a preposition; it has a limited distribution. It occurs after *åntis*, *dispues*, and *inlugåt* when these are used as prepositions. It also occurs in certain fixed expressions (e.g. *di nuebu* 'again', *dama di notchi* 'type of plant: *Cestrum nocturnum*'). In addition, it occurs in some contexts where it seems to serve as a complementizer: after the auxiliary *debi* 'should, ought to' (where it alternates with the finite complementizer *na*; see 4.2.1), and optionally after the predicates *båsta* 'stop, enough', *sessu* 'often', and *sigi* 'continue' when these introduce an embedded clause.

Chamorro has several prepositions that can be used as subordinating conjunctions, as will be seen later (in 20.2.2). When combined with the fact that *di* seems to be a complementizer, this may suggest that *di* serves as a preposition when it follows *åntis*, *dispues*, and *inlugåt*. Then *åntis, dispues*, and *inlugåt* would be prepositions that combine with a prepositional phrase formed from *di*, and *di* itself would take an object noun phrase in the unmarked case. Alternatively, one could simply view *åntis di*, *dispues di*, and *inlugåt di* as complex prepositions that take an object noun phrase in the unmarked case.

(v) The preposition *fuera* 'except' can take a prepositional phrase formed from *ki* 'than' (as in (31a)); it can also be followed by *di* and then an object noun phrase in the unmarked case (31b).

(31)a. Bai hu gimin ennåo siha **fuera ki** **sitbesa**.
    AGR   *drink* *that* *PL*   *except* *than*   *beer*
    'I will drink those but not beer.' (CD, entry for *fuera*)
  b. Fuera di i magåhit na ulun i'i'   ...
    besides *PRT* *the true*   *L*   *head.L* *baby.skipjack*
    'Besides the actual head of the baby skipjack...' (EM 127)

The same issues arise as in (iv): *di* can be analyzed as a preposition with unclear meaning, or as part of the complex preposition *fuera di*.

    (vi) Finally, the preposition *ki* 'than' has two variants, *kinu* and *kini*, which may well have originated from the combination of *ki* plus the oblique case marker for common nouns. Whatever their historical origin, all three versions of this preposition are now followed by an object noun phrase in the unmarked case. In (32a-b), the objects of *ki* and *kini* are names of people that are in the unmarked case. In (32c), the object of *kinu* is an indefinite noun phrase formed with the null indefinite article. Since this type of indefinite is not overtly marked for the oblique case (see 5.1.1.4), the fact that *nu* appears here suggests that it is not the oblique case marker.

(32)a. Si   tatå-hu   ha påtti   ham   ni guihan ya
    UNM   *father-AGR* *AGR share* *us.EXCL OBL fish*   *and.then*
    menus   pattek-ku **ki**   **si**   **Ana**.
    AGR.less   *portion-AGR than*   *UNM*   *Ana*
    'My father shared the fish with us (excl.) and I had less fish than Ana.' (CD, entry for *menus*)
  b. Bunitåña   yu' **kini** **si**   **Allison**.
    AGR.pretty.COMPAR *I*   *than* *UNM*   *Allison*
    'I'm more beautiful than Allison.' (CD, entry for *-ña*)
  c. Ga'ok-ku   lalanghita **kinu**   **kåhit**.
    prefer-AGR tangerine   *than*   *orange*
    'I prefer eating tangerines over oranges.' (CD, entry for *lalanghita*)

    Despite the details, it remains true that most prepositions take an object in the unmarked case. Some typical examples are given below.

(33)a. Ya   u balutan gui'   i palåo'an **disdi** **i**
    and.then   *AGR wrap* *her*   *the woman*   *from*   *the*

tiyån-ña påpa' **asta i addeng-ña**.
stomach-AGR *down* *until* *the feet-AGR*
'And the woman should wrap herself from her belly down to her feet.' (LSS 60)

b. Si Vicky manå'i nu i tiningo'-ña **put**
UNM Vicky AGR.PASS.give OBL the NMLZ.know-AGR about
åmut natibu as nanan nanå-ña.
medicine.L native OBL mother.L mother-AGR
'Vicky received her knowledge of how to treat with native medicine from her mother's mother.' (LSS 46)

c. Tåmpi i chetnut nu i gåsa **sa' i lalu'**.
cover the sore OBL the gauze because.of the fly
'Cover the sore with the gauze because of the flies.' (CD, entry for *gåsa*)

d. I abuni ya mafotgi lemmun,
the food.sac and.then AGR.PASS.squeeze lemon
paiririri **yan i titiyas**.
AGR.very.best with the tortillas
'The food sac with lemon juice is best eaten with tortillas.' (CD, entry for *ábuni*)

Finally, some prepositions can serve as subordinating conjunctions: they can be followed by a finite embedded clause instead of a noun phrase (see 20.2.2). These prepositions include *put* 'in order, because of', *sa'* 'because', *sin* 'without' and the complex prepositions *åntis di* 'before', *asta ki* 'until', *dispues di* 'after', and *inlugåt di* 'instead of'.

(34)a. Tåya' ga'lågu [**åntis di** u fanmåttu i
AGR.not.exist dog before PRT AGR AGR.arrive the
Españot].
Spanish
'There were no dogs before the Spanish arrived.' (EM 109)

b. Diretchas kuetdas ha chocho'gui håfa
scattered.left.and.right AGR do.PROG anything
malago'-ña [**sin** mamaisin].
WH[OBL].want-AGR without AGR.ANTIP.ask
'He's doing whatever he wants in a disorderly manner without asking.' (CD, entry for *diretchas kuetdas*)

5.3   Local nouns

Chamorro makes extensive use of *local nouns* to indicate relations in space. A local noun is a possessed noun that names a spatial relation with respect to some reference point, which is identified by its possessor. The local nouns in common use are listed below. (Many local nouns also serve as directional adverbs; see 18.2.)

(35) a.   LOCAL NOUNS THAT ARE ALSO DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS
      hålum   'inside, in(to)'
      hulu'   'top, above'
      huyung   'outside, out'
      mo'na   'front, before'
      påpa'   'bottom, under'
      tåtti   'back, behind'
   b.   OTHER LOCAL NOUNS
      éntalu'   'middle, between'
      fi'un   'beside, near'
      uriya   'vicinity, around'

Like other possessed nouns, the local noun either agrees in person and number with its possessor or else is marked with the linker (see 7.1.1). When the possessor is a (null) pronoun, as in (36), the local noun always agrees with it.

(36) a.   Mampus   mahettuk   esti i   katnin guaka sa'
      so.much   *AGR.tough*   *this the meat.L cow   because*
      bula   getmun **gi   entalo'-ña**.
      AGR.much   gristle   LCL middle-AGR
      'The cow meat is very tough because there is a lot of gristle in between the meat.' (CD, entry for *getmun*)
   b.   Yanggin   maloffan   i   sasata **gi fi'on-mu**,   siempri un
      if   AGR.pass   the bee   LCL near-AGR   indeed AGR
      hunguk bingbing.
      hear   buzz
      'If the bee passes by you, you'll hear a buzz.' (CD, entry for *bingbing*)

Otherwise, the local noun is almost always marked with the linker.[5]

(37) a. Manmaguåssan todu   i   masiksik låhi   **gi hiyung**
       AGR.PASS.mow   all   the grass.sp   LCL outside.L
       gimå'-ña   si   Antonetta.
       house-AGR   UNM   Antonetta
       'The *triumfetta semitriloba* grasses were all mowed outside
       Antonetta's house.' (CD, entry for *masiksik låhi*)
   b. Bula   binådu siha   **gi halum tånu' Luta**.
       AGR.much   deer   PL   LCL inside.L land.L Rota
       'There are many deer in Rota's wilderness.' (CD, entry for *Rota*)

Local nouns are marked for case like other nouns. When they serve as
oblique arguments or adjuncts (as in (36-37)), they are in the local case—
just like other nouns that specify location. When they serve as subjects or
direct objects, they are in the unmarked case, as (38) shows. In (38a), the
local noun is the subject of a passive clause; in (38b), it is the subject of an
adjective.

(38) a. I   chetnut   riuma   ti gof   måolik sa'
       the disease.L   rheumatism not AGR.very   good   because
       inatåtaka   **i   papa'   ådding** yan   i
       AGR.PASS.attack.PROG   the bottom.L   foot   and   the
       kuyintura   siha.
       joint   PL
       'The rheumatism disease is not very pleasant because it attacks the
       soles of the feet and the joints.' (CD, entry for *riuma*)
   b. Mi'atchu'   mampus   **i   uriyan   i   gimå'-hu**.
       AGR.full.of.rock so.much   the vicinity.L   the house-AGR
       'I have lots of rocks around my house.' (CD, entry for *mí'atchu'*)

Local nouns generally require a possessor.[6] However, the words listed in
(35a) can be combined with the prefix *san-* (glossed DIR in the examples) to
create derived nouns that name a location but do not have to be possessed
(see 28.5). When there is no possessor, the reference point for the location is

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[5] Other possessed nouns have a wider range of options when the possessor is
overt (pronounced): they can either agree with the possessor or else be
marked with the linker.
[6] *Uriya* 'vicinity, around' can be used without a possessor, in which case it
means 'vicinity, surroundings, neighborhood'.

recovered from context. This is why the local noun *halum* 'inside' in (39) has a possessor but the derived noun *sanhiyung* '(area, place) outside' does not.

(39) Gåsgas   parehu ha'   **i   halum guma'** yan **i**
      AGR.clean   equal   EMP   the inside.L house and the
      sanhiyung lokkui'.
      DIR.outside   also
      'The inside of the house and the outside as well were equally clean.'
      (*Anakko* 1)

5.4   Directional nouns

Chamorro has four directional nouns that can also serve as directional adverbs. These nouns name a direction from some reference point, which is either specified by a possessor or else recovered from context.

The directional nouns are often assumed to name the cardinal points—the principal directions on a compass. But regional dialects of Chamorro differ in exactly which cardinal point is named by a given directional noun, as can be seen from (40).

(40)   DIRECTIONAL NOUNS IN CHAMORRO DIALECTS

	Guam, Rota	*Saipan*
håya	'south'	'east'
kåttan	'east'	'north'
lågu	'north'	'west'
luchan	'west'	'south'

These differences led Solenberger (1953) to claim that the directions named by the directional nouns were originally defined not by the compass, but by the land-sea axis. Many Austronesian languages have two direction terms, one that means 'toward the ocean' and another that means 'away from the ocean'. Solenberger hypothesized that originally, Chamorro's directional nouns elaborated on this basic pattern, as shown in (41).

(41)   ORIGINAL MEANINGS OF DIRECTIONAL NOUNS (SOLENBERGER 1953)

håya	'away from the ocean, inland'
kåttan	'to the right as one faces the ocean'
lågu	'toward the ocean, seaward'
luchan	'to the left as one faces the ocean'

He proposed that later, as a result of contact with Spanish and other European languages, the directional nouns came to refer to the cardinal points, and their different meanings on different islands reflected the locations of the major Chamorro settlements during that period. In the Guam and Rota dialects, *lågu* came to mean 'north' because the ocean is to the north of Hagåtña (in Guam) and Songsong (in Rota). But in the Saipan dialect, *lågu* came to mean 'west' because the ocean is to the west of Garapan.

Solenberger's hypothesis gives an elegant account of the historical origins of the meaning differences summarized in (40). It also explains some additional, otherwise puzzling facts. It is often suggested that the Chamorro noun *ga'lågu* 'dog' was originally a possessive noun phrase formed from the dependent noun *ga'-* 'animal, pet' plus *lågu* (see 7.1.3). Dogs are not indigenous to the Mariana Islands but were introduced by the Spanish, who came not from the north or the west, but from the Americas—from *across the ocean*. Similarly, the derived noun *sanlagu*, which is formed from the prefix *san-* plus *lågu* (see 5.3 and 28.5), means not only '(area, place) in the *lågu* direction' but also 'the United States mainland'. But the continental U.S. is not to the north or west of the Mariana Islands, but to the east—again, *overseas*.

What are the meanings of the directional nouns today? The vast majority of speakers of Chamorro define them in terms of the cardinal points. And indeed, most speakers of the Saipan dialect who happen to be in Kagman, on the east coast of Saipan, would probably use *lågu* to refer to the west, even though in Kagman, the ocean is to the east or to the south. Nonetheless, even today, one very occasionally encounters Chamorro speakers who define the directional nouns in terms of the land-sea axis. This suggests that the change from (41) to (40) is not yet fully complete.

Some examples of directional nouns are given below, with their meanings in the Saipan dialect.

(42)a. Mambebendi   si   Maria   madoya   **gi kattan**
       AGR.ANTIP.sell.PROG UNM   Maria   fried.banana LCL north.L
       chålan.
       road
       'Mary is selling fried banana at the northern side of the road.' (CD, entry for *madoya*)

   b. Ha a'gu   chalån-ña   i   manglu',   iståba   ginin
      AGR shift   road-AGR   the   wind   formerly   from
      hahaya,   på'gu   ginin   **lilichan**.
      east.PROG   now   from   south.PROG
      'The wind shifted direction, it was coming from the east, now it is

from the south.' (CD, entry for *a'gu*)

c. Meggaiña   na tåotåo **gi sanlagu**
many.COMPAR   L   person LCL DIR.west
mambulenchuk.
AGR.have.pointed.nose
'Most of the mainlanders have pointed noses.' (CD, entry for
bulenchuk)

Note finally that in Chamorro, the directional nouns are used far more often than the words *akakgui* 'left' or *agapa'* 'right', which name directions in terms of orientation with respect to the body.

5.5 Further reading

Directional nouns and their meanings are discussed by Solenberger (1953), Cunningham (1998), and Borja, Borja, and Chung (2006: 105-112).

6

NOUN PHRASES

The typical noun phrase in Chamorro consists of a head noun plus a determiner. The determiner occurs at the left edge of the noun phrase, preceding the head noun. This chapter discusses number and gender within the noun phrase and the form and function of determiners.

6.1 Nouns and noun phrases

Noun phrases in Chamorro can serve as subjects or direct objects and can be marked for case. These phrases can be constructed from a name or a pronoun, but—as the term *noun phrase* suggests—they are most typically constructed from a noun. The noun from which the noun phrase is constructed is called the *head noun*. Some examples of noun phrases are given in (1), with the head noun in boldface.

(1) a. un dångkulun **saligåo**
 a big.L centipede
 'a huge centipede' (CD, entry for *saligåo*)

 b. todudu i **pusision** i guihan
 all.EMP the figure.L the fish
 'the entire figure of the fish' (Cooreman 1983: 11)

 c. i malolommuk siha na **klåsin** åmut
 the AGR.PASS.pound.PROG PL L sort.L medicine
 'the pounded types of medicine' (LSS 400)

 d. **agradesimienton-ña** nu i nina'gimen-ña si
 gratitude-AGR   OBL the NMLZ.make.drink-AGR UNM
 nanå-hu hånum nu guiya
 mother-AGR water OBL him
 'his gratitude for my mother's letting him drink water' (EM 99)

6.1.1 Number
6.1.1.1 Form
Both nouns and noun phrases can be marked for number. There are three numbers: singular (referring to one individual), dual (referring to two individuals), and plural (referring to multiple individuals). However, the only

noun that actually makes a three-way morphological distinction among singular, dual, and plural is *che'lu* 'sibling'.[1]

(2)		SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
	'sibling'	che'lu	chume'lu	mañe'lu

The vast majority of Chamorro nouns distinguish just two numbers, singular/dual and plural, and do so only *optionally*. Singular/dual number is not indicated on nouns by any special morphology. (Dual noun phrases are distinguished from singular noun phrases by the numeral *dos* 'two'.) The morphology used to indicate plural number depends on the noun:

(i) A few nouns are marked irregularly and obligatorily for the plural, with morphology that can involve reduplication or nasal substitution (see 30.4.1). These nouns are listed below.

(3)		SINGULAR/DUAL	PLURAL
	'sibling'	che'lu	mañe'lu
	'man, son'	låhi	lalåhi
	'woman'	palåo'an	famalåo'an
	'priest'	påli'	mamåli'
	'child'	påtgun	famagu'un
	'parent'	saina	mañaina

(ii) A very few nouns borrowed from Spanish are marked for the plural, or the dual/plural, with the suffix *-s* or *-is*. This marking seems to occur on a wider range of nouns in Guam than in the Northern Mariana Islands.[2] For some of these nouns (e.g. *ånghit* 'angel') the dual is identical to the singular form, whereas for others (e.g. *såntu* 'saint') the dual is apparently identical to the plural form.

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[1] *Asagua* 'spouse' might appear to be another noun that distinguishes among singular, dual, and plural. However. the noun *aságua* 'spouse' has a different stress pattern from the related intransitive verb *ásagua* 'get married'. Forms like *umásagua* 'spouses, married ones (du.)' and *manásagua* 'married couples (pl.)'are actually verb forms, because they have the stress pattern of the intransitive verb. So the noun phrase *i dos umásagua* 'the two (ones) who got married' does not have an overt head noun that is dual, but rather a null head noun modified by a relative clause whose verb is dual. See Chapter 24.

[2] The Chamorro nouns *kosas* 'thing' and *tråstis* 'thing' are borrowed from plural nouns in Spanish, but can be singular or plural in Chamorro.

(4) | | SINGULAR | PLURAL |
|---|---|---|
| 'angel' | ånghit | ånghelis |
| 'inch' | putgåda | putgådas |
| 'saint' | såntu | såntus |

(iii) Human (or humanlike) nouns can be optionally marked for the plural with the prefix *man-*. This prefix, which usually does not undergo nasal substitution, can co-occur with the plural suffix *-s* or *-is* described in (ii), but not with the obligatory plural marking described in (i).

(5) | | SINGULAR/DUAL | PLURAL |
|---|---|---|
| 'soul, spirit' | ånimas | manånimas |
| 'angel' | ånghit | manånghelis |
| 'Chamorro' | Chamorro | manChamorro |
| 'Catholic' | katoliku | mangkatoliku |
| 'teacher (f.)' | ma'estra | manma'estra |
| 'saint' | såntu | mañåntus |
| 'father' | tåta | mantåta |
| 'writer' | titugi' | mantitugi' |

In addition to these realizations of plural marking on nouns, a noun phrase can be marked optionally for the plural (as opposed to the singular/dual) with the particle *siha*. The location of *siha* within the noun phrase is flexible. It can occur immediately after the head noun (represented in boldface below).

(6) a. i **famalåo'an** siha
    the PL.woman   PL
    'the women'

   b. i mandångkulu yan i mandikiki' na **bayogu** siha
    the AGR.big   and   the AGR.small L sea.bean   PL
    'the large and the small sea beans' (CD, entry for *bayogu*)

   c. meggai na **palåbra**   siha
    many   L   word   PL
    'many words' (CD, entry for *åtlibis*)

   d. esti na **kosas**   siha
    this L   thing   PL
    'these things' (CD, entry for *gaståo*)

   e. i **prinsipåt** siha   gi iskuela
    the principal   PL   LCL school
    'the school principals' (CD, entry for *atmiråpbli*)

If the head noun is phonologically dependent—for instance, because it is marked with the post-head form of the linker (see 7.3.1)—*siha* occurs immediately after the larger phonological word containing it. This larger phonological word is surrounded by brackets in (7).

(7) a. ni [**bayogun** dångkulu] siha
      OBL sea.bean.L big   *PL*
      'big sea beans' (CD, entry for *bayogun dångkulu*)
   b. i   [**Dipattamentun** Gubietnu] siha
      the department.L   *government PL*
      'the Government Offices' (CD, entry for *ufisiåt*)

Siha can also occur immediately after a determiner that is a phonological word, such as a demonstrative (in (8a-b)) or a quantifier (8c).

(8) a. esti   siha   i   **manpipenta**
      this   *PL*   *the PL.painter*
      'these painters' (CD, entry for *pípenta*)
   b. todu   ennåo siha   manma'utut   na **trongku**
      all   *that* *PL*   *AGR.PASS.cut* *L* *tree*
      'all those trees that were cut' (CD, entry for *pohni*)
   c. todu   siha i   **hugeti**
      all   *PL the toy*
      'all the toys'

And it can occur immediately after an adjective (9a) or a relative clause (9b) that precedes the head noun.

(9) a. i   mandångkulu   siha   na **besti**
      the AGR.big   *PL*   *L* *decoration*
      'the big decorations' (CD, entry for *besti*)
   b. i   nilaksin   Francisca siha   na **metyas**
      the WH[OBJ].sew.L Francisca PL   *L* *socks*
      'the socks that Francisca sewed'

These patterns suggest that *siha* is an enclitic: it must lean on a phonological word to its left. However, matters are more complicated when the noun phrase begins with the definite article *i* (as in (10a)) or the null indefinite article (10b). Then *siha* has a further option: it can occur at the left edge of the noun phrase, preceding the article.

(10)a. Uma   mågi   siha   i   **hayu**.
    carry   to.here   PL   the   wood
    'Carry over all the wood.' (CD, entry for *uma*)
  b. Guaha   siha   **tinanum**   gi   gualu'.
    AGR.exist   PL   plant   LCL   farm
    'There are plants at the farm.' (EM 139)

In such cases, *siha* is not an enclitic. It can be the first word of the sentence (as in (11a)), and can support a phonologically dependent element that must lean to the right (such as *para* 'to' in (11b)).

(11)a. Siha   i   **famagu'un**   fuma'gåsi   i   kareta.
    PL   the   PL.child   WH[SBJ].wash   the   car
    'The children are the ones who washed the car.'
  b. Hu taitai   i   istoria   para   siha   i   **famagu'on-hu**.
    AGR read   the   story   to   PL   the   PL.child-AGR
    'I read the story to my children.'

    These patterns suggest that *siha* can attach to the head noun or to any element preceding it within the noun phrase. In (6), *siha* has attached to the head noun; in (9), to a preceding adjective or relative clause; and in (8), (10), and (11), to the determiner.[3] If the element to which *siha* has attached is a determiner that is not a phonological word, *siha* is realized to its left (see (10-11)). Otherwise, *siha* is realized to the right, as an enclitic (see (6-9)).

    Note finally that *siha* can appear in a noun phrase even when the head noun is already marked for the plural; see (6a), (8a), and (11). This, plus its flexible location, argues that it does not realize the number of the noun, but rather the number of the noun phrase.

6.1.1.2   Meaning and use
For the most part, the uses of number in nouns and noun phrases are straightforward. The singular is used to refer to one individual.

(12)   Guaha   un   patgun   mamomokkat   gi   chalan.
    AGR.exist   a   child   AGR.walk.PROG   LCL   road
    'There was a child who was walking on the road.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

---

[3] When *siha* is attached to an adjective or relative clause, it is realized to the right of the adjective or relative clause.

The dual refers to two individuals; it generally requires the noun phrase to include the numeral *dos* 'two'.

(13)a. Hu chåba'   i   dos påtgun sa'   umá'achonnik.
        AGR interrupt   the dos child   because AGR.RECP.push.PROG
        'I interrupted the two children because they were pushing each other.' (CD, entry for *chåba'*)

  b. Acháma'gas   i   dos palåo'an   guini   na lugåt.
      equally.boss   the two woman   LCL.this L   place
      'Both (lit. the two) ladies are equally ranked leaders in this place.' (CD, entry for *achá-*)

  c. Humånåo   ham   ni dos saina   para bai in higif   i
      AGR.go   we.EXCL   OBL two parent   FUT AGR   surprise the
      famagu'un.
      PL.child
      'We (excl.) two parents went to surprise the kids.' (CD, entry for *higif*)

The plural is used to refer to more than one individual when the conditions for using the dual are not met. Thus, the plural is used to refer to three or more individuals. The plural is also used when the speaker, for whatever reason, chooses to not to make explicit whether the noun phrase refers to two, or more than two, individuals. Compare the singular/dual *saina* 'parents' in (13c) with the plural *mañaina-hu* 'my parents' in (14).

(14) Manmåtai   esta   mañaina-hu   disdi   må'pus   na
      AGR.die   already   PL.parent-AGR   since   AGR.leave   L
      såkkan.
      year
      'My parents have passed away since last year.' (CD, entry for *mañaina*)

It should be emphasized that for the vast majority of Chamorro nouns, number marking is optional (see 6.1.1.1). In the clause in (15), the subject, *i ma'estra* 'the teachers (f.)', refers to multiple teachers. The verb must show plural agreement with this subject, but neither the subject noun phrase nor its head noun is overtly marked for the plural.

(15) Mangunfotmi   i   ma'estra.
      AGR.agree   the   teacher
      'The teachers agreed.'

Further, the only nouns that can be marked for number are animate. Inanimates are generally marked for number only at the level of the noun phrase, with *siha*, which is optional.

(16)a. Manma'abonuyi   siha   i   tinanum.
   AGR.PASS.fertilize   PL   the   plant
   'The plants were fertilized.' (CD, entry for *abonu*)
 b. gi   mamaila'   na   tiempu   siha
   LCL AGR.come.PROG   L   time   PL
   'in the times to come' (CD, entry for *asosiasión*)
 c. Poddak fan   ennåo   siha   i   etdun   gi   tatalo'-hu.
   squeeze please   that   PL   the   pimple   LCL back-AGR
   'Please squeeze all the pimples on my back.' (CD, entry for *poddak*)

6.1.2   Gender

Chamorro does not have a gender system for indigenous nouns. But some nouns borrowed from Spanish have related masculine and feminine forms, where the masculine forms are used to refer to males and the feminine forms, to females. These nouns include kin terms:

(17)   MASCULINE   FEMININE
       'grandparent'   guellu   guella
       'sibling-in-law'   kuñådu   kuñåda
       'grandchild'   nietu   nieta
       'fiance(e)'   nobiu   nobia
       'godparent'   patlinu   matlina
       'cousin'   primu   prima
       'parent-in-law'   sogru   sogra
       'child-in-law'   yetnu   yetna

Terms of respect for elders:

(18)   MASCULINE   FEMININE
       preceding an   Tun   Tan
       elder's name
       term of address   Ñot   Ñora
       in *ngingi'*

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Professional nouns:

(19)		MASCULINE	FEMININE
	'barber'	batberu	batbera
	'teacher'	ma'estru	ma'estra
	'servant'	muchåchu	muchåcha
	'shopkeeper'	tinderu	tindera

And other human nouns, including agentive nouns derived by attaching the agentive suffix *-dót* to a verb (see 28.2.1.2).

(20)		MASCULINE	FEMININE
	'widow(er)'	bi'udu	bi'uda
	'adolescent'	hobinsitu	hobinsita
	'stranger'	istrangheru	istranghera
	'So-and-so'	Fulånu	Fulåna
	'dancer'	bailadót	bailadora
	'director'	direktót	direktora
	'singer'	kantót	kantora

Does this mean that Chamorro has a gender system in a limited part of its lexicon? Probably not. In languages with a gender system, all nouns are classified for gender and the classification does not necessarily have a basis in real-world characteristics; it may be arbitrary. But in Chamorro, only a small number of nouns have separate masculine and feminine forms, and their use is determined by the sex of the individuals referred to: masculine forms are used to refer to males, feminine forms are used to refer to females. This suggests that although the nouns in (17-20) are borrowed from a language with a gender system (Spanish), this does not mean that there is a gender system in Chamorro. The alternations in (17-20) more closely resemble the alternations in English noun pairs such as *actor/actress*, *duke/duchess*, *giant/giantess*. See Stolz (2012) for discussion.

6.2   Determiners

Determiners are words that specify the discourse familiarity, location, or quantity of whatever the noun phrase refers to. In Chamorro, the determiners include articles, demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers. They occur at the left edge of the noun phrase, preceding the head noun. Although determiners do not combine freely with one another, it is possible for a noun phrase to

have more than one determiner. This section surveys the form, meaning, and use of the different determiners and their combinations.

6.2.1   Articles
6.2.1.1   Form
Chamorro has three articles: the definite article *i*, the null indefinite article, and the indefinite singular article *un*. The definite article *i* and the indefinite singular *un* are phonologically dependent; they must lean on a phonological word to their right. As its name suggests, the null indefinite article is not pronounced. It is symbolized with a dash in the chart in (21) but not represented in the examples.

(21)   ARTICLES
        i   'the'
        –   'a, any'
        un   'a, one (sg.)'

The definite article and the null indefinite article can occur in noun phrases that are singular, dual, or plural. As its name suggests, the indefinite singular *un* is restricted to singular noun phrases. All three articles can occur in noun phrases that serve as predicates, arguments, or adjuncts.

    The articles occur at or near the left edge of the noun phrase, preceding the head noun (represented in boldface below) and any adjectives or relative clauses.

(22)a. i   dos na ottru **åmku'** ni   munå'i   si
        the two L other   elder COMP WH[SBJ].give UNM
        Lucy   åmut
        Lucy   medicine
        'the two other elders who gave Lucy medicinal knowledge' (LSS 388)
    b. **balutån-ña** i   bagåsun   chå
        bag-AGR   the ground.leaf.L   tea
        'any bag for the ground tea leaves' (CD, entry for *bagåsu*)
    c. un bagamondu na **tåotåo**
        a   vagabond L person
        'a man who is a vagabond' (CD, entry for *bagamondu*)

The definite article can be preceded within the noun phrase by the plural particle *siha* (see 6.1.1.1), by a demonstrative, and by the quantifier *todu* 'all' (see 6.2.4.2).

(23)a. siha   i   **ga'-hu** manåttilung na letchun
     PL   *the pet-AGR AGR.black L   piglet*
     'my black pet piglets' (*Mangadada* 5)
  b. atyu   i   **tumåtis**   halumtånu'
     that   the tomato.L   forest
     'that forest tomato' (LSS 327)
  c. todu   siha   i   guaha   na **rai**   guihi   na tånu'
     all   PL   the AGR.exist L   king   LCL.that L   land
     'all the kings that there were in the land' (Cooreman 1983: 70)

The null indefinite article can co-occur with *siha*.

(24)   siha   difirentis **klåsin** botas
     PL   different.L   sort.L   boots
     'different kinds of boots' (CD, entry for *botas*)

The indefinite singular *un* cannot co-occur with any of these elements.

6.2.1.2   Meaning and use
Broadly speaking, the articles serve to help the addressee to identify the referent of the noun phrase—the individual, thing, stuff, location, event, idea, or concept that the noun phrase refers to.

6.2.1.2.1   The definite article
The definite article *i* has a number of uses. First of all, it is used when the referent of the noun phrase is familiar to both the speaker and the addressee.[4] The referent may be familiar because it has been mentioned previously in the discourse. In (25), an excerpt from a story, a dog has a turtle in its mouth when it notices a rabbit. After the rabbit is first introduced (by the noun phrase *un kunehu* 'a rabbit'), it is referred to later by noun phrases that contain the definite article, such as the noun phrase in boldface below.

(25)   Ha li'i' un kunehu ...   Malågu para   u gacha'   **i**
     AGR see a   rabbit   AGR.run FUT   AGR catch.up.with   the
     kunehu.
     rabbit
     '[The dog] saw a rabbit … It ran to catch up with the rabbit.' (*Igu* 4)

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[4] The discussion in the text is phrased in terms of familiarity for convenience. One could equally well say that the definite article is used when the referent of the noun phrase is unique in the discourse context.

Alternatively, the referent may be familiar because it is common knowledge that it exists. That is why the sun is referred to in (26) by a noun phrase containing the definite article.

(26) Åppan   i   hanum anai   kumahulu' **i   semnak**.
      AGR.evaporate   the water   when   AGR.get.up   the sun
      'The water evaporated when the sun came up.' (CD, entry for *åppan*)

The definite article is also used when information known to the speaker and the addressee makes it reasonable to assume that the referent exists. In (27), from a story about Tan Amalia, her house is introduced by a noun phrase that contains the definite article. Even though the house has not been mentioned previously, it is treated as familiar because it is reasonable to assume that Tan Amalia lives in a house.

(27) Gaigi   **i   gimå-ña   si   Tan   Amalia** gi   kantun
      AGR.be.at   the house-AGR   UNM   Mrs.   Amalia   LCL edge.L
      gima'yu'us San Antonio.
      church.L   San Antonio
      'Tan Amalia's house was next to the San Antonio church.' (*Dibota* 2)

In (28), from a story about an injured boy, the boy's mother is introduced by a noun phrase containing the definite article, because it is reasonable to assume that the boy has a mother.

(28) Poddung   un påtgun låhi   gi   monkey bar ... **I   nana**
      AGR.fall   a   child.L   male   LCL monkey bar   the mother
      ha konni' para   as   Felipin Kapileo.
      AGR take   to   OBL Felipe.L Kapileo
      'A boy fell down from a monkey bar...The mother took the boy to Mr. Felipe Kapileo.' (LSS 254)

Second, the definite article can be used in generic noun phrases—noun phrases that refer to typical representatives of a kind. In (29a), the generic noun phrase *i taotåo* 'the person' refers to a typical person; in (29b), the generic noun phrase *i eruplånu* 'the airplane' refers to a typical airplane.

(29)a. Siña   lokkui' **i   taotåo** sessu   ha gimin.
       can   also   the person often AGR drink
       'A person may also drink this often.' (LSS 401)

   b. Tinaka'   mås   ki   dies   oras   **i   eruplånu**
      AGR.PASS.last   more   than   ten   hours   the airplane
      para   u   fåttu   sanlagu.
      FUT   AGR arrive   DIR.seaward
      'It takes more than ten hours for an airplane to reach the continental
      United States.' (CD, entry for *sanlagu*)

Third, the definite article can be used in noun phrases constructed from
mass nouns—nouns that refer to substances or qualities that cannot be count-
ed, such as *hånum* 'water' or *rispetu* 'respect, high regard'. In (30), the noun
phrases referring to native medicine contain the definite article. The article is
visible in (30a); it has fused with the local case marker *gi* in (30b) (see
5.1.1).

(30)a. Anai   mafaisin   si   Ling   put   **i   amut**
       when   AGR.PASS.ask   UNM   Ling   about   the medicine.L
       natibu på'gu   na tiempu ...
       native   now   L   time
       'When Ling was asked about the condition of native medicine
       today...' (LSS 159)

   b. Guaha   na chacha ma'u'usa   **gi   amut**
      AGR.exist   L   bush.sp AGR.PASS.use.PROG LCL medicine.L
      natibu.
      native
      'Some types of *chacha* are used in local medicine.' (CD, entry for
      chacha)

Fourth, the definite article is used in noun phrases whose head noun is a
word or expression that is mentioned, meaning that the word or expression
itself is what is referred to. In (31), *achåki* 'incident, trouble' does not refer
to trouble or pestering, but rather to the word *achåki*.

(31)   **I   "achåki,"**   putlumenus, dos kumeke'ilek-ña.
        the achåki   at.least   two meaning-AGR
        '*Achåki* has at least two meanings.' (EM 122)

Fifth and finally, the definite article can be used together with the indef-
inite singular article *un*. In such cases, the head noun must be singular, and

the definite article precedes *un*. This combination of articles can be translated as '(the) one' (as in (32a)) or 'a certain' (32b).

(32)a. Kuåntu   bali-ña   **i un kahitan   påsas** gi tenda?
       how.much? worth-AGR   the one box.L   raisins LCL store
       'How much is one box of raisins at the store?' (CD, entry for *påsas*)

   b. Måttu   esti   **i un saina** yan   i   patgon-ña ...
       AGR.arrive this   the a parent and   the child-AGR
       'A lady came with her daughter...' (LSS 158)

6.2.1.2.2   The null indefinite article
6.2.1.2.2.1 Basics

The null indefinite article is nonspecific. This article is used, first of all, when the speaker has no particular referent in mind, and all that matters is that the referent fits the description supplied by the noun phrase. In (33), the speaker may not know or care what particular shafts were made or what particular medicinal plants were collected. What is important is that shafts were made (in (33a)) and medicinal plants were collected (33b).

(33)a. Esta   ha tutuhun mama'tinas   **latgeru** para   i
       already AGR begin AGR.INF.ANTIP.make shaft   for   the
       fa'i.
       rice.plant
       'He had already started making shafts for the rice plants.'
       (Cooreman 1983: 57)

   b. Sessu sumiha   i   dos mañuli'   **åmut**.
       often   AGR.they   the two AGR.INF.ANTIP.take medicine
       'The two often go together to take medicinal plants.' (LSS 402)

In addition, the null indefinite article is used when multiple (possible) situations are described and the referent of the noun phrase could vary depending on the situation. In (34a), each situation of her needing medicinal plants might involve different plants. In (34b), what Jose wants is for a situation to occur in which he finds a wife; the exact identity of the potential wife might depend on the situation.

(34)a. Yan   kada   ha nisisita **åmut**,   humånåo
       and   whenever AGR need   medicine   AGR.go
       ham   ya   ha na'lili'i'   yu' taimanu
       we.EXCL   and.then   AGR make.see.PROG me how?

ma'utotot-ña.
WH[DJ].PASS.cut-AGR.PROG
'Every time she needed some medicinal plants, we (excl.) would go together and she would show me how to break it off.' (LSS 512)

b. Malagu'   si   Jose   mañodda'   **asaguå-ña**.
AGR.want   UNM   Jose   AGR.INF.ANTIP.find   spouse-AGR
'Jose wants to find a wife (lit. a wife of his).'

The null indefinite article is used in negative sentences for (non-subject) noun phrases that have no referent—in other words, when the event or state described has no participant that fits the description supplied by the noun phrase. The negative sentence in (35a) states that no two-story houses existed in the old days; the negative sentence in (35b) states that no transom was installed in the speaker's house.

(35)a. Tåya'   ha'   **nikai**   åntis   na   tiempu.
AGR.not.exist   EMP   two.story.house   before   L   time
'There weren't any two-story houses in the old days.' (CD, entry for *nikai*)

b. Ti   ma   nå'yi   **trabisåñu**   i   gimå'-hu.
not   AGR   add.to   transom   the   house-AGR
'They did not put a transom in my house.' (CD, entry for *trabisåñu*)

Finally, the null indefinite article is used in three of the same contexts as the definite article. It is used in generic noun phrases—noun phrases that refer to typical representatives of a kind. The noun phrases *petroliu* 'petroleum' in (36a) and *pianu* in (36b) are generic.

(36)a. Gof   piligru   **petroliu**   gi   kantun   guåfi.
AGR.very   dangerous   petroleum   LCL   edge.L   fire
'Petroleum is very dangerous near the fire.' (CD, entry for *petroliu*)

b. Mabebendi   **pianu**   gi   tendan   Joeten.
AGR.PASS.sell.PROG   piano   LCL   store.L   Joeten
'Joeten store sells pianos.' (CD, entry for *pianu*)

It can also be used in noun phrases constructed from mass nouns, such as *åmut natibu* 'native medicine' in (37a) and *ayudu* 'help' in (37b).

(37)a. Si   Åmmi'   manå'i   nu   i   tiningo'-ña   put
UNM   Ammi'   AGR.PASS.give   OBL   the   NMLZ.know-AGR   about

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åmut **natibu** as nanå-ña.
medicine.L *native* *OBL mother-AGR*
'Ammi' received her knowledge of native medicine from her
mother.' (LSS 400)

b. Binabastun i biha pues ha nisisita **ayudu**.
AGR.use.cane.PROG *the old.woman then* *AGR need* *help*
'The old woman was using a cane and so she needed help.' (LSS
512)

Finally, it is used in noun phrases whose head noun is a word or expression
that is mentioned, meaning that the word or expression itself is the referent.
In (38), *lågu* refers not to a direction, but to the word *lågu*.

(38) Giya Guåhan, ***lågu*** på'gu na tiempu, kumeke'ilek-ña
LCL *Guam* *lågu* *now* *L* *time* *meaning-AGR*
gi finu' English, "north".
LCL speech.L *English* *north*
'In Guam, *lågu* nowadays means "north" in English.' (EM 108)

It is not known what factors determine the choice between the definite arti-
cle and the null indefinite article in these contexts.

6.2.1.2.2.2   In possessive noun phrases
Like other articles, the null indefinite article can occur in possessive noun
phrases—noun phrases that include a possessor. The null indefinite article is
often used in possessive noun phrases that are the subject of the clause,
when the predicate is an adjective or noun that describes a persistent
characteristic or quality (see Chung 2008; 2018). The predicates of the
clauses in (39) are the adjectives *bunitu* 'nice' and *mala'it* 'bitter'; their
subjects are possessive noun phrases introduced by the null indefinite article.

(39)a. Bunitu **che'chu'-ñiha**.
AGR.nice *work-AGR*
'Their work is nice.' (heard in conversation)
b. Mala'it **kurason-ña ennåo na tåotåo**.
AGR.bitter *heart-AGR* *that* *L* *person*
'That man has a bitter heart.' (CD, entry for *mala'it*)

This use of the null indefinite article occurs even in negative clauses, as (40)
shows. This appears to be the only context in which the null indefinite article
can introduce the subject of a negative clause (see 17.4).

(40)a. Ti bulenchuk **gui'eng-hu**.
        not AGR.hooked nose-AGR
        'My nose is not hooked.' (CD, entry for *bulenchuk*)
    b. Ti låhi   **patgon-ña si   Rita.**
        not man   child-AGR   UNM   Rita
        'Rita's child is not male.'

In the uses just illustrated, the possessive noun phrase counts as specific.

The null indefinite article can also be used in possessive noun phrases that serve as the direct object of a transitive verb (as in (41a)) or the oblique object of an antipassive verb (41b).

(41)a. Ti bai faggas **matå-mu**.
        not AGR punch face-AGR
        'I will not punch your face.' (CD, entry for *faggas*)
    b. Yanggin   mama'tinas   håo **eskobå-mu** nu i   eskobiya ...
        if   AGR.ANTIP.make you broom-AGR OBL the plant.sp
        'If you make your broom out of *eskobiya*...' (EM 123)

In such cases, if the possessor is a pronoun that agrees with the subject in person and number, it is almost always understood as reflexive. See (34b) and the following.

(42)   Ha guesguis **addeng-ña** si   tåta   sa'   gof
        AGR scrub   foot-AGR   UNM   father because AGR.very
        fachi'.
        muddy
        'Father scrubbed his (own) feet because they were very muddy.'
        (CD, entry for *guesguis*)

6.2.1.2.3   The indefinite singular article
The indefinite singular article *un* has two uses. First, it is used when the referent of the noun phrase is not familiar to the addressee. Sometimes, the speaker is familiar with the referent, as in (43a). Other times, the speaker may not have a particular referent in mind. Some cases of this last type overlap with cases in which the null indefinite article could be used. In (43d), the exact identity of the referent of *un sentimu* 'a penny' is unimportant; in (43e), *un guma'* 'a house' refers to something that satisfies the description of a house; and in (43f), *un saina* 'a parent' refers to a typical parent.

(43)a.　Hu sodda’ **un dångkulu　na kahita** gi kamaroti.
　　　AGR find　a　big　　　L　box　　LCL attic
　　　‘I found a big box in the attic.’ (CD, entry for *kamaroti*)
　b.　Ha tutuhun manåmti　　　　anai　måttu　　**un**
　　　AGR begin　AGR.INF.ANTIP.heal　when　AGR.arrive　a
　　　palåo’an　guatu　as　Ling ...
　　　woman　　to.there　OBL Ling
　　　‘He started healing when a woman came to Ling...’ (LSS 156)
　c.　Mamåhan　　　yu’ **un kostat suni**.
　　　AGR.ANTIP.buy　I　a　sack.L　taro
　　　‘I bought a sack of taro.’ (CD, entry for *kostat*)
　d.　Ti siña　kabålis　　　　i　un pesu　yanggin
　　　not can　AGR.complete　the a　dollar　if
　　　fåfatta　　　　　**un sentimu**.
　　　AGR.absent.PROG　a　cent
　　　‘A dollar will not be complete if a penny is missing.’ (CD, entry for
　　　séntimus)
　e.　Kåo　　nahung　　un arias　　　　para　mahåtsa
　　　Q　　AGR.enough a　100.sq.meters　FUT　AGR.PASS.build
　　　un guma’?
　　　a　house
　　　‘Is one hundred square meters enough to build a house?’ (CD, entry
　　　for *arias*)
　f.　Gof　　　asiga　para　**un saina** para　u　bona　unu
　　　AGR.very　salt　for　a　parent FUT　AGR favor　one
　　　gi　famagu’on-ña.
　　　LCL PL.child-AGR
　　　‘It is taboo for a parent to favor one of their children.’ (CD, entry
　　　for *bona*)

　　The indefinite singular article cannot serve as the determiner of noun phrases that have no referent, such as *prublema* ‘problem’ in (44).[5] The null indefinite article is used instead.

(44)　Tåya’　　　　　(***un**)　**prublema**.
　　　AGR.not.exist　a　　problem
　　　‘There’s no problem.’

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[5] However, the indefinite singular article can combine with the word-level negative *ni* to form the complex determiner *ni un* ‘not (even) one’, as in *ni un tåotåo* ‘not (even) one person’ or *ni un grånu* ‘not a bit’ (see 17.2).

Second, *un* is used to mean 'one', as in the following examples.

(45)a. Mampus difikuttåt ni para bai hu na'omlat todu
so.much difficulty OBL FUT AGR make.fit all
gi **un maleta**.
LCL one suitcase
'I had difficulty fitting everything in one luggage.' (CD, entry for
difikuttåt)

b. Madåggåo matå-ña si Ben ni bola
AGR.PASS.hit eye-AGR UNM Ben OBL ball
ya bumåtchit **un måta.**
and.then AGR.blind one eye
'Ben's eye was hit by a ball and one of his eyes is blind.' (CD, entry
for *båtchit*)

6.2.2 Demonstratives
Demonstratives serve to locate the referent of the noun phrase with respect
to the speaker and the addressee. Chamorro has the three-way system of de-
monstratives shown in (46).

(46) DEMONSTRATIVES
esti 'this', near speaker
ennåo 'that', near addressee
atyu, etyu, yuhi 'that', near third person (away from speaker
and addressee)

This system distinguishes three locations: near the speaker, near the address-
ee, and near some third party that is neither the speaker nor the addressee.
Note that the third person demonstrative *atyu* is often pronounced *etyu*. The
third person demonstrative *yuhi* is sometimes identified as older or archaic;
today it appears to be used mainly in Rota.

Demonstratives occur at the left edge of the noun phrase. If the definite
article is present, the demonstrative precedes the article.

(47)a. Pues humånåo **atyu i trosu** gi tenghon-ña.
then AGR.go that the glob LCL nape-AGR
'Then the glob at the back of his neck went away.' (LSS 338)

b. Chuli' mågi **ennåo i donni' såli**.
bring to.here that the hot.pepper.sp.
'Bring the small pepper here.' (CD, entry for *donni' såli*)

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If no article is present, the pre-head form of the linker, *na*, occurs between the demonstrative and the noun (see 7.3.1).

(48)a. **Esti** lokkui' **na åmut** siña mana'setbi gi
this also L medicine can AGR.PASS.make.use LCL
amut tabatdiyu.
medicine.L headache
'This medicinal leaf can also be used in the *åmut tabatdiyu*.' (LSS 417)

b. Achibåo **ennåo na tåotåo**.
AGR.troublemaker that L person
'That guy is a troublemaker.' (CD, entry for *achibåo*)

When the noun phrase is marked for case, the case marker precedes the demonstrative, as (49) shows.

(49)a. ... sa' håfa na finafaisin gui' nu **atyu**
because what? COMP AGR.PASS.ask.PROG she OBL that
na kuestion.
L question
'...why she was being asked that question.' (EM 96)

b. Månu diretchu gi **esti na magågu**?
which? AGR.right.side.up LCL this L clothing
'Which is the right side up in this skirt?' (CD, entry for *diretchu*)

However, when the noun phrase is in the local case and the demonstrative is followed by the pre-head form of the linker, the local case marker and the demonstrative typically merge to produce the local forms of demonstratives shown below.

(50) LOCAL FORMS OF DEMONSTRATIVES
guini 'this, here', near speaker (local case)
guennåo 'that, there', near addressee (local case)
guihi 'that, over there', near third person (local case)

Some examples of the local forms of demonstratives are given in (51).

(51)a. Intri todus ham na tres ni manmånggi'
among all us.EXCL L three COMP AGR.ANTIP.write
guini na lepblu.
LCL.this L book

'Among all three of us (excl.) who wrote in this book.' (EM 6)

    b.   Bula   halåhas **guihi   na tenda**.
          AGR.much   jewelry LCL.that L   store
          'There's plenty of jewelry in that store.' (CD, entry for *halåhas*)

The local forms of demonstratives also serve as locative adverbs. These adverbs can co-occur with an adjunct in the local case, as in (52).

(52)   Ya   **guini**   giya   AsTeo ...
        and.then   here   LCL   AsTeo
        'And here in AsTeo [many people went strolling].' (EM 86)

Finally, the local forms of demonstratives are used to derive the manner predicates *taiguini* 'like this', *taiguennåo* 'like that (near you)', and *taiguihi* 'like that (near third person)'. The manner predicates can serve as predicates of clauses or as adverbs (see 18.2).

6.2.3   Numerals
The cardinal numerals are borrowed from Spanish. Some representative numerals are listed below.

(53)   SOME NUMERALS

unu	'one'
dos	'two'
tres	'three'
kuåttru	'four'
singku	'five'
otchu	'eight'
dies	'ten'
onsi	'eleven'
diesisais	'sixteen'
benti	'twenty'
benti tres	'twenty three'
singkuenta	'fifty'
sientu	'one hundred'
mit	'one thousand'

Fritz (1989[1904]: 92) and Safford (1904: 95-98) also recorded an indigenous system of cardinal numerals, but observed that it was no longer in common use. Although recent attempts have been made, especially in Guam, to revive this earlier system, for all practical purposes the cardinal numerals

of Chamorro are the numerals illustrated in (53).

The numerals occur to the left of the head noun. When the head noun names a unit of measurement, the numeral simply precedes it.

(54)a. Manmalågu i ga'-måmi ga'lågu **singku åñus** maloffan.
    AGR.run   the pet-AGR   dog   five   years   AGR.past
    'Our (excl.) pet dogs ran away five years ago.' (CD, entry for
    ga'lågun machålik)

  b. **Singku pie   kuåttru   putgådas** ha'   si   Juan
    five   feet   four   inches   EMP   UNM   Juan
    linekkå'-ña.
    height-AGR
    'Juan is only five feet four inches tall (lit. Juan's height is only five
    feet four inches).' (CD, entry for *putgåda*s)

When the head noun does not name a unit of measurement, the numeral occurs after the definite article (if one is present) and before the head noun. The pre-head form of the linker, *na*, appears between the numeral and the noun, optionally if the numeral is *dos* 'two' and obligatorily otherwise (see 7.3.1).

(55)a. Ha dingu **i dos mañaina-ña**.
    AGR leave   the two PL.parent-AGR
    'She left her two parents.' (EM 45)

  b. Mañåda'   i paluma **singku na mambunitun   chåda'**.
    AGR.lay.eggs   the bird   five   L   AGR.pretty.L   egg
    'The bird laid five beautiful eggs.' (CD, entry for *mañåda'*)

  c. Tatkumu   i *ma'estru*   para   **unu   na ma'estru**, yan
    such.as   the ma'estru   for   one   L   teacher   and
    i *ma'estrus*   para   i **mås   ki   unu na ma'estru**.
    the ma'estrus   for   the more   than   one L teacher
    'Such as *ma'estru* for one teacher, and *ma'estrus* for more than one
    teacher.' (EM 118)

The cardinal numerals have some of the word order properties of adjectives, and can be viewed as a subtype of adjective. Like other adjectives, they can serve as the predicate of the clause.

(56)a. **Dos**   ha'   botsån-ña   i katsunes-su.
    two   EMP   pocket-AGR   the pants-AGR

'My pants have only two pockets (lit. pockets of my pants are only two).' (CD, entry for *botsa*)

b. Si   San Pedro **unu**   gi disípulu.
   UNM   *St. Peter*   *one*   *LCL apostles*
   'Saint Peter is one of the apostles.' (CD, entry for *disípulu*)

Except for *fine'nena* 'first', ordinal numerals are formed by attaching the prefix *mina'-* to the corresponding cardinal numerals (see 28.4.7).

(57)   Emi   i   **mina'tressi** na lettra   gi atfabetikun Chamorro.
       m   *the thirteenth*   *L*   *letter*   *LCL alphabet.L   Chamorro*
       'M is the thirteenth letter of the Chamorro alphabet.' (CD, entry for **emi**)

6.2.4   Quantifiers

Quantifiers specify the quantity of the referent of the noun phrase. The most frequently occurring quantifiers in Chamorro are *kada* 'each, every', *todu* 'all', *bula* 'much, many', *meggai* 'many', and *palu* 'some'. These are briefly described below. Their classification as weak or strong is discussed, very briefly, in 6.2.5.

6.2.4.1   *Kada*

Like an article, *kada* 'each, every' occurs at or near the left edge of the noun phrase, preceding the head noun and any modifiers.

(58)a.   Talang kada   pidåsun kåtni   ya   u   manå'yi
         weigh   each   piece.L   meat   and.then   AGR PASS.add
         presiu.
         price
         'Weigh each piece of meat so we can put a price on them.' (CD, entry for *talang*)

b.   Debi   di un difina   kada   palåbra ni   manggaigi gi
     should   PRT AGR define   each   word   COMP   AGR.be.at   LCL
     lista.
     list
     'You have to define each word on the list.' (CD, entry for *difina*)

c.   Guaha   duttrina   an   Såbalu   gi kada   guma'
     AGR.exist   catechism   when   Saturday   LCL each   house.L
     Yu'us.
     God

'Catechism is conducted on Saturdays at each church.' (CD, entry for *duttrina*)

In such cases, the head noun is typically singular (e.g. *kada påtgun* 'each child', not **kada famagu'un* 'each children'), but the entire noun phrase can be treated as singular or plural for the purposes of agreement and anaphora. In (59), the noun phrase *kada påtgun* can be cross-referenced by singular or plural agreement on the verb (see (59a)), and can serve as the antecedent of a singular or plural pronoun (59b).

(59)a. Kada påtgun kumåkati   / mangåkati.
        each child AGR[SG].cry.PROG   AGR[PL].cry.PROG
        'Each child is/are crying.'
   b. Kada påtgun pumula'   gui' / siha.
        each   child WH[SBJ].undress   him   them
        'Each child undressed himself/themselves.'

Kada can co-occur with a numeral, as (60) shows. In such cases, the numeral determines whether the noun is singular/dual or plural.

(60)a. Kada   unu   giya   hita   gai   abilidåt.
        each   one   LCL   us.INCL AGR.have ability
        'Each one of us (incl.) has a natural talent.' (CD, entry for *abilidåt*)
   b. Na'gimin i   patgun dos gota   kada   kuåttru oras.
        make.drink the child   two drop   each   four   hours
        'Make the child drink two drops every four hours.' (CD, entry for *gota*)

Finally, *kada* is the only quantifier that also serves as a subordinating conjunction. As a subordinating conjunction it means 'whenever, every time when'.

(61)a. Chatguaguahu   yu' kada   ma'udai   yu' gi
        AGR.not.feel.well.PROG   I   whenever   AGR.ride   I   LCL
        boti.
        boat
        'I become nauseated every time I ride on a boat.' (CD, entry for *chatguahu*)
   b. Gai   ginagu'   si   Pedro kada   para
        AGR.have   NMLZ.lazy   UNM   Pedro whenever   FUT

u   o'mak.
AGR shower
'Pedro has some laziness whenever it's time to shower.' (CD, entry
for *ginagu'*)

6.2.4.2   *Todu*
Todu 'all' occurs at the left edge of the noun phrase. Unlike other quan-
tifiers, it combines with an entire noun phrase, which typically is definite.
Thus, *todu* can combine with a noun phrase that consists of a pronoun, as in
(62a), or a noun phrase introduced by the definite article or a demonstrative,
as in (62b-d).

(62)a. Todu   hami   manmaigu' tåftaf   gi paingi.
        all   us.EXCL AGR.sleep   early   LCL last.night
        'All of us (excl.) slept early last night.' (CD, entry for *hami*)
   b.   Madoti   yu' ni todu   i   alåhas   Nåna   Maria.
        AGR.PASS.bestow I   OBL all   the jewelry.L   mother Maria
        'I inherited all of grandmother Maria's jewelry.' (CD, entry for
        doti)
   c.   Na'suha   todu   ennåo i   tumåtampi   na
        make.get.away   all   that   the WH[SBJ].cover.PROG L
        go'naf   gi lamasa.
        thin.coat   LCL table
        'Remove all the thin coating that is covering the table.' (CD, entry
        for *go'naf*)
   d.   Maseha månu   guatu si   nanå-hu,   todu   i   tiempu
        at.all   where to.there UNM   mother-AGR all   the time
        tåtatti   ha'   si   tatå-hu   gi santatti.
        AGR.behind.PROG   EMP   UNM   father-AGR LCL DIR.behind
        'Wherever my mother went, all the time my father followed behind
        her.' (Cooreman 1982: 6)

In addition, *todu* can combine directly with a noun and its modifiers, al-
though this appears to be less common.

(63)a. Sigun   gi lai na   debi   na   u   fanmatråta
        according   LCL law COMP should   COMP   AGR AGR.PASS.treat
        todu   tåotåo parehu.
        all   person equally
        'According to the law, all people should be treated equal.' (CD,
        entry for *sigún*)

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b. Mama'titinas   si   Tun Goru todu   klåsin
AGR.ANTIP.make.PROG *UNM*   *Mr. Goru* *all*   *sort.L*
sakapiku   para   lancheru siha.
pick   *for*   *farmer*   *PL*
'Tun Goru makes all types of picks for farmers.' (CD, entry for
sakapiku)

c. Chinepchup   todu   salappe'-ña nu i   poka.
AGR.PASS.absorb all   *money-AGR OBL the poker*
'Poker swallowed up all his money.' (CD, entry for *chinepchup*)

Finally, *todu* can apparently be used as an adverb, meaning 'entirely'.

(64)a. Todu   ebang   i   putserå-ña.
all   *AGR.crooked* *the bracelet-AGR*
'Her bracelet is all crooked.' (CD, entry for *ebang*)

b. Todu   gåtdun   i   istorian Lisa.
all   *AGR.entangled* *the story.L Lisa*
'Lisa's story is all tangled.' (CD, entry for *gåtdun*)

6.2.4.3   *Bula*, *meggai*, and other quantificational adjectives

Bula 'much, many' and *meggai* 'many' are quantificational adjectives that can occur inside or outside the noun phrase. Inside the noun phrase, they are modifiers that precede the head noun, which is marked with the pre-head form of the linker (see 7.3.1). (This head noun is in boldface in (65).)

(65)a. Åntis gi tiempun   militåt, manmayuti'   bula   na
before *LCL time.L*   *military AGR.PASS.throw many* *L*
buteyan Kok gi kantun tåsi gi San Haya
bottle.L *Coke* *LCL edge.L ocean* *LCL DIR landward*
giya   Tinian.
LCL   *Tinian*
'During the military administration, there were lots of discarded Coke bottles at the cliff area on the western part of Tinian.' (CD, entry for *Dåm Kok)*

b. Na'yiyi meggai na **gollai**   i   eskabetchi.
add.to many L **vegetable** *the eskabetchi*
'Put a lot of vegetables in the *eskabetchi*.' (CD, entry for *eskabetchi*)

c. Ma atotta   i gima' siha   ni bulan **simentu.**
AGR put.cement.on *the house* *PL*   *OBL much.L cement*
'They put lots of cement on the houses.' (CD, entry for *atotta*)

Outside the noun phrase, *bula* and *meggai* are impersonal predicates that take a noun phrase argument that is introduced by the null indefinite article (see 14.2.3).

(66)a. Bula   tåotåo   nigap.
      AGR.much   person yesterday
      'There were lots of people yesterday.' (CD, entry for *bula*)
   b. Meggaiña   salappe'-hu kini   hågu.
      AGR.many.COMPAR   money-AGR than   you
      'I have more money than you.' (CD, entry for -*ña*)

The difference in meaning between *bula* and *meggai* is similar to the difference between English 'much' and 'many', but not the same. *Bula* is used when the referent of the noun is viewed as an undifferentiated whole; *meggai* is used when the referent of the noun is viewed as a collection of individual units. So *bula* rather than *meggai* is used with mass nouns, such as *hånum* 'water', *airi* 'air', and *asukat* 'sugar'.

(67)a. Bula   hånum.
      AGR.much   water
      'There's a lot of water.'
   b. Bula   esta   airi.
      AGR.much   already air
      'There's already a lot of air.'
   c. *Meggai   hånum.
      AGR.many   water
      ('There's a lot of water.')
   d. *Meggai   esta   airi.
      AGR.many   already air
      ('There's already a lot of air.')

However, *meggai* can be used with mass nouns when the referent of the noun can be understood as a collection of individuals; for instance, when the noun ranges over different types (as in (68)) or different occasions (69).

(68)a. Bula   chå'guan.
      AGR.much   grass
      'There is a lot of grass.'
   b. Meggai   chå'guan.
      AGR.many   grass
      'There is a lot of (different types of) grass.'

(69)a. Bula   ginimen-mu   letchi.
       AGR.much   WH[OBJ].drink-AGR milk
       'You drank a lot of milk (today).'
    b. Meggai   ginimen-mu   letchi.
       AGR.many   WH[OBJ].drink-AGR milk
       'You drank a lot of milk (in your lifetime).'

In addition, *bula* is routinely used with count nouns when the speaker is not interested in differentiating the individuals in the set referred to. For many speakers, there is no felt difference between *bula tåotåo* in (66a) and *meggai tåotåo* in (70a), or between *bulan biåhi* in (70b) and *meggai na biåhi* in (70c).

(70)a. Meggai   tåotåo gi panaderia.
       AGR.many   person LCL bakery
       'There are a lot of people at the bakery.' (CD, entry for *panaderia*)
    b. Bulan biåhi   ni   manhånåo   ham   guatu para
       much.L time   COMP AGR.go   we.EXCL   to.there FUT
       bai in fanekkunguk   dandan.
       AGR   ANTIP.listen.to   music
       'Many times we (excl.) go there to listen to music.'
    c. Meggai na biåhi   yanggin måttu   yu',kumåti i   neni.
       many   L   time   if   AGR.arrive I   AGR.cry the baby
       'Many times when I arrive, the baby cries.'

Note, finally, that *bula* is also an adjective meaning 'full'.

(71)   Maguf   yu' sa'   bula   i   tangkek-ku ni hanum
       AGR.happy I   because AGR.full   the tank-AGR   OBL water.L
       uchan   gi   paingi.
       rain   LCL last.night
       'I'm happy because my water tank is full of rain water from last night.' (CD, entry for *bula*)

Chamorro has other quantificational adjectives besides *bula* and *meggai.* For instance, *låhyan* 'many' is evidently a synonym of *meggai. Dídidi'* 'few, little, not much', appears to be an antonym of *bula*. Both *låhyan* and *dídidi'* can occur inside the noun phrase.

(72)a. Håspuk   ha'   yu' anai   hu atan   i   lahyan
       AGR.satiated   EMP   I   when AGR look.at the many.L

nengkanu'.
food
'I was full just looking at the large amount of food.' (CD, entry for *låhyan*)

    b.   Templa i   insalåda   ya   un nå'yi dididi' ha'
       mix   the salad   and.then AGR add.to little   EMP
       na sirasimi'.
       L   salad.oil
       'Mix the salad and add very little oil.' (CD, entry for *sirásimi'*)

Both can also occur outside the noun phrase, as impersonal predicates that take a noun phrase argument introduced by the null indefinite article.

(73)a.   Gef   låhyan letchon-ña yanggin mañågu.
       AGR.very   many   piglet-AGR if   AGR.give.birth
       'There would be many of its little piglets when it gave birth.' (EM 88)

    b.   Hagas na tiempu gof   dididi' tåotåo guini giya
       past   L time   AGR.very   few   person here   LCL
       Tinian.
       Tinian
       'Long ago there were only a few people here in Tinian.' (CD, entry for *hagas*)

Dídidi' can also serve as an adverb, meaning 'a little'.

(74)   Baba   dididi' i   bintåna ya   u guaha gueha.
       open   a.little the window and.then AGR exist   ventilation
       'Open the window a little bit to ventilate.' (CD, entry for *gueha*)

6.2.4.4   *Palu*
Palu means 'some (as opposed to others)'. It occurs to the left of the head noun, which is optionally marked with the pre-head form of the linker (see 7.3.1).

(75)a.   Ma bendi palu   doddu   sa'   kantidå   i
       AGR sell   some   damsel.fish because AGR.plenty   the
       kinenni'-ñiha.
       WH[OBJ].catch-AGR
       'They sold some damsel fish because they caught a lot.' (CD, entry for *doddu*)

b. Manggaigi guihi   siha palu   mañe'lu-hu   ni
    AGR.be.at   over.there   PL   some   PL.sibling-AGR   COMP
    manmafañågu   åntis   di   i   gera.
    AGR.born   before   PRT the war
    'Some of my siblings who were born before the war were there.'
    (EM 97)

c. Manma'omiti   palu   na   infotmasion siha   gi   aplikasion.
    AGR.PASS.omit   some   L   information PL   LCL application
    'Some information on the application is omitted.' (CD, entry for
    omiti)

Another determiner with roughly the same meaning and distribution as *palu* is *loskuåntus* (or *noskuåntus*) 'several, a few'.

(76) Ti meppa'   i   trongkun   lalanghita, noskuåntus grånu
      not AGR.fruitful the tree.L   tangerine   a.few   piece
      ha'   tinekchå'-ña.
      EMP   fruit-AGR
      'The tangerine tree is not fruitful, there are only a few fruits.' (CD,
      entry for *noskuåntus*)

6.2.5   The classification of determiners
The preceding discussion treats articles, demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers as separate subtypes of Chamorro determiners. Now is the time to acknowledge another important dimension along which these determiners can be classified.

Certain constructions in Chamorro demand noun phrases with a particular type of determiner. Following Milsark's (1974) discussion of English, a Chamorro determiner can be classified as *weak* if it introduces noun phrases that can serve as the pivot of an existential verb (see 14.2.2), and *strong* if it introduces noun phrases that can serve as the subject of a nonverbal predicate that describes a persistent quality or characteristic. This classification cuts across the subclasses of determiners described earlier: some articles and quantifiers count as weak, whereas other articles and quantifiers count as strong.

The chart in (77) summarizes the classification of Chamorro determiners as strong or weak.[6]

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[6] Noun phrases consisting of pronouns or names are strong.

(77)　STRONG DETERMINERS　　　WEAK DETERMINERS
　　　i (definite article)　　　　− (null indefinite article)
　　　un (indefinite sg. article)　*un* (indefinite sg. article)
　　　demonstratives　　　　　numerals
　　　kada, todu　　　　　　　*bula, meggai, dídidi', palu,* etc.

Note that the indefinite singular article *un* has both strong and weak uses. The null indefinite article is never strong, even though possessive noun phrases constructed from it can be the subjects of nonverbal predicates that describe a persistent quality or characteristic (see 6.2.1.2.2.2).

　　　Determiners can be classified along still other dimensions. For instance, noun phrases constructed from the definite article *i*, the indefinite singular article *un*, a demonstrative, a numeral, or *palu* 'some (but not others)' are specific; noun phrases constructed from the other quantifiers or the null definite article are nonspecific. This difference is discussed further in 16.4.

6.2.6　　Combinations of determiners
Noun phrases in Chamorro can be introduced by a combination of determiners. Some possible combinations have been discussed earlier in this chapter. The definite article *i* can precede the indefinite singular article *un* (see 6.2.1.2.1). A demonstrative can precede the definite article (see 6.2.2). The quantifier *todu* 'all' can combine with a noun phrase beginning with the definite article or a demonstrative (see 6.2.4.2).

　　　In addition, the definite article can precede *palu* 'some (but not all)'.

(78)　Humugåndu　　si　　　Petra　gi halum hatdin　ya
　　　AGR.play　　　*UNM*　*Petra*　*LCL inside.L garden　and.then*
　　　ha　gatcha' **i　palu**　tinanum.
　　　AGR step.on　the　some　plant
　　　'Petra played in the garden and she stepped on (some of) the plants.'
　　　(CD, entry for *gatcha'*)

Perhaps more surprisingly, the definite article can precede the strong quantifiers *kada* 'each' and *todu* 'every'.

(79)a.　Håfa　　ma'a'ñåo-ña　　　**i　kada**　istudiånti?
　　　what?　WH[OBL].afraid-AGR the　each　student
　　　'What is each student afraid of?'
　　b.　Manmabebendi　　**i　todu**　klåsin　katderu siha gi as
　　　AGR.PASS.sell.PROG　the　all　　sort.L　tub　　PL　LCL

Joeten.
Joeten
'Joeten sells a lot of different kind of tubs.' (CD, entry for *katderu*)

Since the definite article can precede *todu*, and *todu* can combine with a definite noun phrase, it is possible to find noun phrases in which the definite article occurs twice, once before and once after *todu*.

(80) Manmaripåsa   i   cha'guan   siha nu **i   todu   i**
     AGR.PASS.remove *the weed*   *PL   OBL the all*   *the*
     famagu'un-måmi   siha.
     PL.child-AGR   *PL*
     'Our (excl.) children removed all the weeds.' (CD, entry for *ripåsa)*

In examples like (79-80), it is not obvious what the definite article at the left edge of the noun phrase contributes to the meaning.

Other combinations of determiners are better analyzed as a determiner followed by an adjective. The numerals, *bula* 'much, many', *meggai* 'many', *låhyan* 'many', and *dídidi'* 'few, not much' are adjectives. Like other adjectives, they can serve as the predicates of clauses. When the definite article or *kada* 'each' precedes a numeral, the numeral is simply functioning as an adjective within the noun phrase (see 6.2.3 and 6.2.4.1). Similarly, when the definite article precedes *bula*, *meggai*, *låhyan*, or *dídidi'*, these quantifiers are simply functioning as adjectives within the noun phrase.

(81)a. Ti tumunuk   yu' gi giput   sa'   ha ispånta yu' **i**
       not AGR.go.down   *I   LCL party*   *because AGR frighten me the*
       bulan tåotåo.
       much.L person
       'I did not attend the party because I was frightened by the large crowd.' (CD, entry for *ispånta*)
   b. Ná'fachi' **i   meggai** na letchi   gi   alåguan.
      AGR.watery the much   L   milk   LCL rice.porridge
      'A lot of milk can cause the rice porridge to be watery.' (CD, entry for *ná'fachi'*)
   c. Imboku ennåo **i   dididi'**   na salåppi'.
      save   that   the not.much   L   money
      'Put aside that small amount of money.' (CD, entry for *imboku*)

6.2.7   Other types of determiners

Chamorro has other types of determiners beyond those described in this chapter. In particular:

(i) The general indefinites *håyi* 'who, anyone', *håfa* 'what, anything', and *månu* 'where, anywhere, which' can be used as determiners in interrogative noun phrases, negative polarity noun phrases, and free choice noun phrases (noun phrases that indicate that the choice among suitable referents is completely free). See Chapter 9.

(ii) The sentential negative *ti* can combine with *todu* 'all' to form the negative determiner *ti todu* 'not all'.

(82)   **Ti todu**   mana'amti   manparehu   amut-ñiha.
       not all   *PL.healer*   *AGR.same*   *medicine-AGR*
       'Not all healers have the same medicine.' (LSS 451)

(iii) Negative determiners can also be formed by combining the word-level negative *ni* with the indefinite singular article *un*, or with a general indefinite (see 9.2.2.2).

(iv) Finally, complex determiners can be formed by combining a comparative word with a numeral, as in (83).

(83)   Tinaka'   **mås   ki   dies** oras   i   eruplånu
       AGR.PASS.take   *more   than   ten hours   the airplane*
       para   u   fåttu   sanlagu.
       FUT   AGR arrive   DIR.seaward
       'It takes more than ten hours for an airplane to reach the continental United States.' (CD, entry for *sanlagu*)

6.3   Further reading

See Chung (2008; 2018) for discussion of the null indefinite article and its use in possessive noun phrases.

7

MORE ABOUT NOUN PHRASES

Besides the head noun and determiners, the noun phrase can also include a possessor, other arguments and adjuncts, adjective modifiers, noun phrase modifiers, and relative clauses. This chapter surveys the form and function of these other constituents. Noun phrase ellipsis is discussed at the end.

7.1   Possessors

7.1.1   Form

Noun phrases that are constructed from a head noun can also contain a possessor. The possessor follows the head noun and is itself a noun phrase: it can consist of a pronoun or a name, or can be constructed from a head noun. The possessors in the noun phrases in (1) are represented in boldface. (The possessor in (1a) is a null pronoun, which is signaled here by an empty set of brackets.)

(1) a.   i   tiempok-ku **[ ]** på'gu   guini
       the   time-AGR   now   here
       'my time here today'
   b.   i   mås   påtgun na påtgun **Ignacia Sablan Diaz**
       the   most   child   L   child.L Ignacia Sablan Diaz
       'the youngest child of Ignacia Sablan Diaz' (EM 103)
   c.   i   atadok-ña   **i   taotåo**
       the   eye-AGR   the person
       'a person's eyes' (LSS 78)
   d.   I   balin   **i   biyeti** kulang   bålin   **un guaka**.
       the   value.L the ticket   seems.like   value.L a   cow
       'The cost of the ticket is almost the price of a cow.' (CD, entry for *biyeti*)

The possessor can be definite or indefinite, animate or inanimate; compare *i taotåo* 'the person' in (1c) with *un guaka* 'a cow' and *i biyeti* 'ticket' in (1d). Noun phrases that contain a possessor are called *possessive noun phrases*; their head noun is called the *possessed noun*.

In a possessive noun phrase, the possessed noun is marked for the presence of the possessor in one of two ways. Either the possessed noun agrees in person and number with the possessor, or else it is marked with the Chamorro morpheme known as the linker.

In the agreement option, the possessed noun shows agreement with the possessor through the suffixes listed in (2). The dash shown in (2) is orthographic: it is used in the official orthographies to separate the suffix from the word it is attached to.

(2)   AGREEMENT WITH THE POSSESSOR

	1 sg.	-hu / -ku
	2 sg.	-mu
	3 sg.	-ña
	1 incl. du./pl.	-ta
	1 excl. du./pl.	(n)-måmi
	2 du./pl.	(n)-miyu
	3 du./pl.	(n)-ñiha

The first four suffixes, which have the shape -CV, undergo the morphophonemic rule of gemination. This rule also determines the choice between the 1 sg. suffixes *-hu* and *-ku* (see 30.3). The parenthesized *n* in the last three suffixes appears when the possessed noun ends in a vowel. (In such cases, the dash in the orthographies appears between *n* and the (rest of) the suffix.)

Possessor agreement can be seen in (1a) and (1c), as well as in the examples below (with the agreement suffixes in boldface). When the possessed noun shows agreement, the possessor appears in the unmarked case, as in (3a) (see 5.1.2.1). When the possessed noun consists of coordinated nouns, as in (3b), possessor agreement generally appears on each noun.

(3) a. Gåchu   talanga-**ña** si   Ken.
          AGR.sticking.out ear-AGR   UNM   Ken
          'Ken's ears stick out.' (CD entry for *gåchu*)
    b. put   i   kutturan-**ñiha** yan   lingguåhin-**ñiha**
          for.sake.of the culture-AGR   and   language-AGR
          'for the sake of their culture and language' (from a conference presentation)

In the linker option, the possessed noun is marked for the presence of the possessor with the *linker*, a morpheme used more generally in Chamorro to indicate that a head has a modifier or other dependent (see 7.3.1). The realization of the linker depends on whether the dependent (which here is the

possessor) precedes or follows the head. Because the possessor follows the possessed noun, the noun is marked with the post-head form of the linker, which is *-n* if the noun ends in a vowel (including, for some speakers, *åo* when stressed), but unrealized otherwise. The post-head form of the linker literally joins the possessed noun to the possessor; it turns the noun into a phonologically dependent element that combines with material in the possessor to form a phonological word (see 2.2.1.1.2).[1] The possessor itself is caseless (see 5.1.1.3).

The linker is used in (1b), (1d), and the examples in (4). When the possessed noun consists of coordinated nouns, as in (4b), only the noun closest to the possessor is marked with the linker.

(4) a. asagua**n**   Antonia
         spouse.L   Antonia
         'Antonia's husband'

     b. put   i   lina'la' yan   sinienti**n**   i   taotåo   siha
         about   the life   and   feeling.L   the person   PL
         'about the lives and feelings of people' (from a conference presentation)

Certain types of possessive noun phrases require possessor agreement. The possessed noun must show possessor agreement when the possessor is a pronoun.

(5)   Bai hu   fanggågåo   nu i   pasiensian-**miyu** [ ] yan i
         AGR   AGR.ANTIP.ask   OBL the patience-AGR   and the
         atension-**miyu** [ ].
         attention-AGR
         'I'm going to ask for your (pl.) patience and attention.' (from a conference presentation)

In such cases, the possessor pronoun must be null, because Chamorro pronouns that are cross-referenced by agreement in person are always null (see 8.4.2).

The possessed noun must show possessor agreement when the possessor is displaced to the left edge of the sentence because it has been questioned, relativized, or syntactically focused (see 22.3.2, 23.3, and 24.2.2).

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[1] More precisely, a noun suffixed with the post-head form of the linker forms a phonological word with the phonological word to its immediate right.

(6)   Kuåntu   na famagu'un guaha   tanu'-**ñiha**?
          how.many?   *L*   *PL.child*   *AGR.exist*   *land-AGR*
          'How many children have land (lit. how many children is there land
          of?)'

Certain other types of possessive noun phrases require the linker. The possessed noun is always marked with the linker when it is a noun used as a measure word (as in (7a)) or the noun *klåsi* 'kind, type, sort' (7b).

(7) a.   Yanggin   un nå'yi   maseha   kuåttru båsu**n** hånum i
          if   *AGR add*   *no.matter*   *four*   *glass.L water*   *the*
          satten.
          pot
          'If you put about four glasses of water in the pot.' (LSS 66)
    b.   Ti   unu ha'   na klåsi**n** åbaka   na matiriåt.
          not one EMP   *L*   *sort.L*   *abaca*   *L*   *material*
          'There is not just one kind of abaca fiber.' (CD, entry for *åbaka*)

The possessed noun is normally marked with the linker when the possessor is a noun phrase introduced by the null indefinite article (as in (8a)); but very occasionally, possessor agreement occurs instead (8b).

(8) a.   Mannge'ña   petna**n** chiba   kini   petna**n** babui.
          AGR.delicious.COMPAR   *thigh.L goat*   *than*   *thigh.L pig*
          'Goat thigh is more delicious than pig thigh.' (CD, entry for *petna*)
    b.   Difirentis   sabot-**ña**   brohas.
          AGR.different   *taste-AGR*   *sponge.cake*
          '(Each) sponge cake has a different taste.' (CD, entry for *brohas*)

When the possessed noun is a local noun and the agreement option is not required (in other words, the possessor is not a pronoun or displaced to the left edge of the sentence), the linker is used (see 5.3).

Otherwise, either possessor agreement or the linker can be used. In pairs of examples like (9), it seems to make no difference whether the linker or possessor agreement is chosen.

(9) a.   I   na'ån-**ña**   i   kabesånti   si   Benigno.
          the name-AGR   *the leader*   *UNM*   *Benigno*
          'The name of the leader is Ben.' (CD, entry for *kabesånti*)
    b.   Si   Ana,   si   Lisa   yan   si   Rita   i
          UNM   *Ana*   *UNM*   *Lisa*   *and*   *UNM*   *Rita*   *the*

na'an   i   famagu'on-hu.
name.L   the   PL.child-AGR
'My children's names are Ana, Lisa and Rita.' (CD, entry for *si*)

Observe, finally, that possessors can be nested: a possessor that is constructed from a head noun can itself contain a possessor. In such cases, every possessed noun must show possessor agreement or be marked with the linker, but—except in the circumstances just noted—the choice between the two is free.

(10)a.   Anai   ma'udai   i   tihu-**ña**   [i tata**n**   [nanå-**hu**
          when   AGR.ride   the uncle-AGR   the father.L mother-AGR
          [ ]]]   gi   batku.
                   LCL   ship
          'When my mother's father's uncle rode in the ship.' (EM 100)
    b.   Sumåga   gui'   Saipan gi gima'   [i che'lu**n**
          AGR.stay   she   Saipan LCL house.L the sibling.L
          [tatå-**ña**   [si   nanå-**hu**   [ ]]]]
          father-AGR   UNM   mother-AGR
          'She stayed in Saipan at the home of my mother's father's brother.'
          (EM 100)
    c.   i   che'chu' [i   fina'na'gui**n**   [i   lingguåhi**n**   [Chamorro]]]
          the work.L   the NMLZ.teach.L   the language.L   Chamorro
          'the work of teaching the Chamorro language'

7.1.2   Meaning and use
The possessor can be considered the subject of the noun phrase. It is the most prominent constituent of the noun phrase, just as the subject is the most prominent constituent of the clause. And, like the subject of the clause, the possessor can bear various semantic relations to the head noun of the noun phrase.

The possessor can realize an argument of the head noun. For instance, when the possessed noun names a part, the possessor can name the whole. In (11b), *hågun* 'leaves' names a part, and *lemmai* 'breadfruit tree' names the whole.

(11)a.   Ha chopchup   i   neni   i   dama'gås-ña.
          AGR suck   the baby   the thumb-AGR
          'The baby sucked his thumb.' (CD, entry for *chopchup*)
    b.   Sen   betdi   /   I   hagun i   lemmai.
          AGR.extremely green   the leaf.L   the breadfruit

'The leaves of the breadfruit tree are very green.' (EM 16)

When the possessed noun names a characteristic or property (e.g *nå'an* 'name'), the possessor can name what has that property (e.g *lepblu* 'book').

(12)a. Atyu   na   uttimon-ña humuyung i na'ån-ña   i
       that   COMP   end-AGR   AGR.go.out the name-AGR   the
       lepblu *Istreyas Mariånas: Chamorro.*
       book   Istreyas Marianas: Chamorro
       'That is why, in the end, the name of the book came to be *Istreyas Marianas: Chamorro*.' (from a conference presentation)
   b. Anai   mås   ha kumprendi si   Kanåriu   i
       when   more   AGR understand UNM   Kanariu   the
       difirensiån-ña   i   tasi   yan   i   ichan.
       difference-AGR   the ocean   and   the rain
       'When Kanariu understood more the difference of (i.e. between) the ocean and rain.' (EM 83)

When the possessed noun names an individual that bears a family relation (e.g. *nåna* 'mother') or some other relation (e.g. *må'gas* 'boss'), the possessor can name the individual at the other end of that relation.

(13)a. Si   nanå-hu   ha atyik   i che'lu-ña   låhi   atyu
       UNM   mother-AGR AGR choose the sibling-AGR male   that
       i mismu na infitmera ...
       the same L nurse
       'My mother chose the brother of that same nurse...' (EM 94)
   b. I ma'gas Josephina   ha na'mamåhlåo   si   Josephina.
       the boss.L Josephina AGR make.ashamed UNM   Josephina
       'Josephina's boss embarrassed her.' (CD, entry for *atagga'*)

When the possessed noun names a spatial relation, the possessor can name the reference point for that relation. Local nouns are possessed nouns that name a spatial relation (see 5.3).

(14)a. Bula   sasata gi halum kollat   chå'guan.
       AGR.much   bee   LCL inside.L fence.L grass
       'There are lots of bees inside the hedges.' (CD, entry for *kollat chå'guan*)
   b. Ha li'i'   na   haggan gaigi   gi tatten-ña.
       AGR see   COMP   turtle AGR.be.at   LCL back-AGR

'He saw that it was a turtle that was behind him.' (Cooreman 1983: 102)

When the possessed noun names an event, the possessor can name a participant in the event.

(15)a. Gof   gåtbu   i   fandånggun Luis   yan si   Ana.
         AGR.very   elegant the wedding.L Luis   and UNM   Ana
         'Luis and Ana's wedding is so elegant.' (CD, entry for *gåtbu*)
    b. Kumåtma   i   bongbung   kurason-ña.
         AGR.calm   the heartbeat.L heart-AGR
         'The beating of her heart calmed down.' (EM 82)

When the possessed noun names a unit of measure, the possessor can name whatever is being measured.

(16)   Ha presta yu' singku tåsan   pugas.
         AGR borrow me five   cup.L   uncooked.rice
         'She asked me for five cups of rice.' (CD, entry for *presta*)

The possessor can realize other types of semantic relations. For instance, it can name the owner of the item named by the possessed noun.

(17)a. Hu usa i   payu-mu   nigap.
         AGR use the umbrella-AGR   yesterday
         'I used your umbrella yesterday.' (CD, entry for *usa*)
    b. Hu hunguk i   karetan asaguå-hu ya   gotpi   yu'
         AGR hear   the car.L   spouse-AGR and.then   suddenly   I
         lalålu'.
         AGR.angry
         'I heard my husband's car and suddenly I got mad.' (CD, entry for *gotpi*)

More generally, the possessor can name any individual, thing, stuff, event, or concept associated with what is named by the possessed noun.

(18)a. Esta   oran   disayunu.
         already hour.L   breakfast
         'It's time for breakfast.' (CD, entry for *disayunu)*
    b. Sa'   tåya'   esta   tiempok-ku.
         because AGR.not.exist   already time-AGR

'Because I don't have time (lit. there isn't any time of mine).' (EM 65)

7.1.3 Dependent nouns

Chamorro has three dependent nouns, *ga'-* 'animal, pet', *na'-* 'food', and *iyu-* 'possession', which have been called possessive classifiers by Topping and Dungca (1973: 164-165, 223-224).[2] These nouns are morphologically dependent: they do not occur as independent noun phrases on their own, but instead must either be possessed or else incorporated into a verb of possession (see 14.3). In (19), *ga'-*, *na'-*, and *iyu-* serve as possessed nouns within a possessive noun phrase, so they show possessor agreement (in (19a-b)) or are marked with the linker (19c).

(19)a. Unu   na be'   ga'-**ña** si   Loling.
     one   L calf   pet-AGR UNM   Loling
     'One calf is Loling's pet.' (CD, entry for *be'*)

    b. Esti   hu na'sesetbi para   bai hu lånsa   i   na'-**hu**.
       this   AGR use.PROG   FUT   AGR   spear   the food-AGR
       'This is what I use to spear my food.' (EM 82)

    c. Låo   i   mañaina,   ma po'lu   esti na lugåt   para
       but   the PL.parent   AGR put   this L place   for
       iyu**n**   todu   i   familian   Tuhu'.
       possession.L   all   the family.L   Tuhu'
       'But the parents set this place aside as the property of the entire Tuhu' family.' (EM 104)

In (20), *ga'-* and *iyu-* are incorporated into *gai* 'have', which is a verb of possession. (As a result of incorporation, the verb of possession and the dependent noun form a single phonological word, although that is not represented in the orthographies.)

(20)a. Håyi gai   ga' i   malingu?
     who? AGR.have   pet the AGR.disappear
     'Who owns the pet that was lost (lit. Who has as pet the one that was lost?)'

    b. Ada   ti gai   iyu   si   Juan   lokkui'?
      INTJ   not AGR.have   possession UNM   Juan   also
      'Doesn't Juan also have it?'

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[2] Topping and Dungca (1973: 164) list a fourth classifier, *gimin* 'drink', but this noun is not morphologically dependent, so it is not discussed here.

Ga'-, *na'-*, and *iyu-* can be followed by a noun that specifies the type of animal, food, or possession referred to. This extra noun is in boldface below.

(21)a. Bula ga' -ña **guaka** si Hilario.
      AGR.much pet-AGR cow UNM Hilario
      'Hilario has a lot of cows.' (CD, entry for *guaka*)

  b. Hu chulili'i håo na'-mu **kåhit**.
      AGR bring.for.PROG you food-AGR orange
      'I am bringing oranges for you.' (CD, entry for *håo*)

  c. Iståba guaha iyun-måmi **guma' fañotchuyan**.
      AGR.used.to.be AGR.exist possession-AGR snack.bar
      'Before we (excl.) had a snack bar.' (CD, entry for *guma' fañotchuyan*)

According to Topping and Dungca, the extra noun serves as the possessed noun from which the possessive noun phrase is constructed, and *ga'-*, *na'-*, and *iyu-* are possessive classifiers—morphemes that identify the possessed noun as belonging to one of three semantic classes. However, in the analysis adopted here, *ga'-*, *na'-*, and *iyu-* themselves are the possessed nouns from which the possessive noun phrase is constructed. The extra noun serves as the head of a noun phrase modifier.[3]

The claim that *ga'-*, *na'-*, and *iyu-* are nouns, even when they are followed by an extra noun, is consistent with the facts of incorporation. In Chamorro, the verbs of possession cannot incorporate a possessive noun phrase (see 14.3.2). But *ga'-, na'-*, and *iyu-* can be incorporated into a verb of possession even when an extra noun follows, as (22) shows.

(22)a. I gua'ut gi halum guma' gai iyu
      the stair LCL inside.L house AGR.have possession
      pasamånu.
      bannister
      'The stairs in the house have bannisters.' (CD, entry for *pasamånu*)

  b. Mantai ga' **letchun** siha.
      AGR.not.have pet baby.pig they
      'They don't have any baby pigs.'

This fact reveals that *ga'-*, *na'-*, and *iyu-* are not possessive classifiers (since

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[3] Head nouns that are followed by a noun phrase modifier are marked with the post-head form of the linker (see 7.3.3), but this marking does not occur if the head noun shows possessor agreement, as in the examples here.

if they were, they would form part of a possessive noun phrase, and the incorporation in (22) should be ungrammatical). Instead, these forms are simply nouns with a limited distribution.

Speakers vary in the frequency with which they employ dependent nouns. When a possessive noun phrase names a domesticated animal, food, or a material possession, some speakers strongly prefer to use a dependent noun followed by a noun phrase modifier. See (21) and the following.

(23)a. Si   Lisa   brumuñi   i   ga'   Lo' ga'lågu.
        UNM   Lisa   WH[SBJ].scrub the   pet.L Lo' dog
        'Lisa washed Lo's dog.' (CD, entry for *bruñi*)

   b.   Guaha   si   bihå-hu   iyon-ña   hotnu
        AGR.exist UNM   grandmother-AGR   possession-AGR   oven
        gi   sanhiyung   i   gimå'-ña.
        LCL DIR.outside.L   the house-AGR
        'My grandmother has an oven outside her house.' (CD, entry for *hotnu*)

Other speakers do not have this preference. In the examples below, the possessive noun phrase is not constructed from a dependent noun, but rather from the possessed nouns *ga'lågu* 'dog', *kåhit* 'orange', and *hotnu* 'oven'—exactly the same nouns that serve as modifiers in the possessive noun phrases in (21b) and (23).

(24)a. Tekchu'   i   ga'lagun   bisinu   sa'
        AGR.predatory   the   dog.L   neighbor   because
        mandudulalak   puyitus.
        AGR.ANTIP.chase.PROG   chick
        'The neighbor's dog is predatory because it attacks baby chicks.'
        (CD, entry for *tekchu'*)

   b.   Magutai   si   Ramon ni kahet-ña   gi gima'.
        AGR.PASS.harvest   UNM   Ramon OBL orange-AGR LCL house
        'Someone picked Ramon's oranges at the house.' (CD, entry for *gutai*)

   c.   Guaha   lokkui' hotnon-ña   dos na hotnun pån.
        AGR.exist   also   oven-AGR   two L   oven.L bread
        'She also had ovens (that were) two bread ovens.' (EM 92)

Finally, speakers tend to use a dependent noun followed by a noun phrase modifier when the word that describes the thing possessed is an English noun that has not yet been fully borrowed into Chamorro.

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(25) Huyung   na dos yan   i   iyok-ku   bodyguard.
      go.out   L   two with   the possession-AGR bodyguard
      'Go out with my bodyguard.' (Cooreman 1983: 113)

Further study is needed to determine what other factors might affect the use of dependent nouns.

7.1.4   Prenominal possessors
As discussed earlier (in 7.1.1), the possessor follows the possessed noun. However, when the possessive noun phrase is introduced by the null indefinite article and serves as the subject of an intransitive clause, or as a direct object, the possessor can optionally occur before the possessed noun, at the left edge of the noun phrase. Some examples of these prenominal possessors are given below (in boldface), with the possessive noun phrase in brackets.

(26)a.   Yanggin   mampus   atdit   [i **patgun** chetnot-ña] ...
         if   so.much   AGR.severe the child   illness-AGR
         'When a child has a very serious illness...' (LSS 73)
   b.   Bula   [**si**   **Leeroy** hadu-ña]   Saipan.
         AGR.much   UNM   Leeroy godchild-AGR   Saipan
         'Leeroy has a lot of godchildren in Saipan.' (CD, entry for *hådu*)
   c.   I   son   ha bilingbingi [i **neni**   talanga-ña].
         the sound AGR buzz.at   the baby   ear-AGR
         'The sound made a buzzing noise in the baby's ear.' (CD, entry for *bilingbingi*)
   d.   Bunitu   [**i oråriun   i   rilos** kulot-ña].
         AGR.nice   the hour.hand.L the watch   color-AGR
         'The hour hand of the watch has a nice color.' (CD, entry for *oråriu*)

In (26d), the prenominal possessor (*i oråriun i rilos* 'the hour hand of the watch') is itself a possessive noun phrase. Notice that this embedded possessive noun phrase shows the normal word order: the possessor (*i rilos* 'the watch') follows the possessed noun (*oråriu* 'hour hand').

When the possessor is prenominal, the possessed noun must show possessor agreement; it cannot be marked with the pre-head form of the linker. The fact that the linker cannot be used suggests that prenominal possessors are not a type of modifier (see 7.3).

Prenominal possessors do not occur in possessive noun phrases that have an overt determiner or bear some grammatical relation other than

intransitive subject or direct object. In the ungrammatical sentences below, the bracketed noun phrase contains the definite article *i* (in (27a)) or serves as an oblique object (27b), and a prenominal possessor is not possible.

(27)a. *Malagu'   yu' bai hu fåhan   [**si**   **Carmen**   i
      AGR.want   *I*   *AGR*   *buy*   *UNM*   *Carmen*   *the*
      gumå'-ña].
      house-AGR
      ('I want to buy Carmen's house.')

    b. *Hu   dåggåo i patgun [**si**   **Francisco**   bulå-ña].
      AGR   *throw*   *the child*   *UNM*   *Francisco*   *ball-AGR*
      ('I threw the child a ball of Francisco's.')

Instead, the possessor must follow the possessed noun.

(28)a. Malagu'   yu' bai hu   fåhan   [i gumå'-ña   si
      AGR.want   *I*   *AGR*   *buy*   *the house-AGR*   *UNM*
      Carmen].
      Carmen
      'I want to buy Carmen's house.'

    b. Hu   dåggåo i patgun [(ni)   bolan   Francisco].
      AGR   *throw*   *the child*   *OBL*   *ball.L*   *Francisco*
      'I threw the child a/the ball of Francisco's.'

    Prenominal possessors can be analyzed as possessors that have been displaced from their normal position to the left edge of the possessive noun phrase. For unclear reasons, this displacement is allowed only when the possessive noun phrase (i) is introduced by the null indefinite article, and (ii) is a direct object or intransitive subject. As in other constructions in which the possessor has been displaced (see 7.1.1), the possessed noun must show possessor agreement.

    A prenominal possessor remains within the possessive noun phrase; it does not raise to become the subject or direct object of the clause. If that sort of raising had occurred, the possessor should be separable from the rest of the possessive noun phrase when the predicate is a verb or adjective (see 3.4.1.1). But this separation is not possible. Compare the possessor in (29a) and the prenominal possessor in (29b) with the ungrammatical (29c), in which the possessor has been separated from the rest of the possessive noun phrase.

(29)a. Ti bråbu   [addeng-ña **si   Jose**] put   i
    not AGR.healthy leg-AGR   UNM   Jose   because the
    daibites-ña.
    diabetes-AGR
    'Jose's leg is not strong because of his diabetes.'

    b. Ma'utut   [**si   Andres** addeng-ña] sa'   esta   ha'
    AGR.PASS.cut   UNM   Andres leg-AGR   because already EMP
    kanggrena.
    AGR.gangrenous
    'Andres' leg was amputated because it had become gangrenous.'
    (CD, entry for *kanggrena*)

    c. *Ti bråbu   **si   Jose**   put   i   daibites-ña
    not AGR.healthy UNM   Jose   because the diabetes-AGR
    [addeng-ña].
    leg-AGR
    ('Jose's leg is not strong because of his diabetes.')

If the possessor had become the subject of the clause, it should be the noun phrase that the verb or adjective agrees with (see 2.2.2), and the constituent that must be missing in an infinitive clause (see 3.2.1 and 21.2.2). But this does not happen. Compare the ungrammatical sentences in (30), which show a possessor attempting to serve as the subject, with their counterparts in (31), in which the entire possessive noun phrase serves as the subject.[4]

(30)a. ?*Ti un   puti   [ilu-mu]   kumu dumiskånsa håo.
    not   AGR[2SG] hurt   head-AGR   if   AGR.relax   you
    ('Your head wouldn't have hurt if you had rested.')

    b. *Malagu' si   Maria lumokka' [patgon-ña].
    AGR.want UNM   Maria INF.tall   child-AGR
    ('Maria wants to have a tall child.')

(31)a. Ti u   puti   [ilu-mu]   kumu dumiskånsa håo.
    not AGR[3SG] hurt   head-AGR   if   AGR.relax   you
    'Your head wouldn't have hurt if you had rested.'

---

[4] The judgments in (30-32) were provided by fluent speakers of Chamorro who are now over the age of 55. Very occasionally, speakers will accept examples of type (30a); the CD database contains one example of this type. All speakers who I have consulted find examples like (30b), and the weak pronouns in examples like (32), to be ungrammatical.

b. Malagu' si Maria para u lokka' [patgon-ña].
AGR.want UNM Maria FUT AGR tall child-AGR
'Maria wants for her child to be tall.'

Finally, if the possessor had become the subject or direct object of the clause, it should be able to be realized as a weak pronoun (see 8.3). But that is not possible.

(32)a. Kåo måhluk (*håo) kannai-mu?
Q AGR.break you arm-AGR
'Did your arm break?'
b. Ha hulus (*yu') patås-su.
AGR rub me foot-AGR
'He rubbed my foot.'

Given that prenominal possessors remain within the noun phrase, it is mysterious that they cannot occur in every type of possessive noun phrase. This is an area where further investigation is needed.

7.2   Other arguments and adjuncts

Just like the predicate of a clause, the head noun of a noun phrase can have arguments and adjuncts. These have roughly the same form and function within the noun phrase as they do within the clause.

As discussed earlier (in 7.1.2), the possessor is the most prominent constituent of the noun phrase, and can be considered to be its subject. In many types of noun phrases, the possessor realizes an argument of the head noun. Nouns do not have direct objects, so if the noun has other arguments, they are realized as obliques. Obliques associated with a head noun occur after the noun, and normally after the possessor.

Consider the noun phrases in brackets below, which are formed from the head nouns *aplikasión* 'utilization' and *agradesimientu* 'appreciation'. Each of these noun phrases contains a (null) possessor and an oblique. In (33a), the possessor names the one who does the utilizing, and the oblique (*i implehåo-mu* 'your employees') names the ones who are utilized. In (33b), the possessor names the one who feels appreciation, and the oblique—a nominalization formed from the causative verb *na'gimin* 'make drink'— names what is appreciated.

(33)a. Sen måolik [aplikasion-mu nu i implehåo-mu].
AGR.extremely good utilization-AGR OBL the employee-AGR

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'Your utilization of your employees is very good.' (CD, entry for
aplikasión)

b. Put   [agradesimienton-ña nu [i   nina'gimen-ña
because appreciation-AGR   OBL the NMLZ.make.drink-AGR
si   nanå-hu   hånum nu guiya]].
UNM   mother-AGR water   OBL him
'Because of his appreciation for my mother's giving him water to
drink.' (EM 99)

Finally, the nominalization formed from *na'gimin* is itself the head of a noun
phrase that contains three arguments: the possessor, *si nanå-hu* 'my mother',
which names the one who caused the drinking, the oblique *guiya* 'him',
which names the one who was made to drink, and the oblique *hånum*
'water', which names what was drunk. (*Hånum* is not preceded by an overt
case marker because it is indefinite; see 5.1.1.4.)

A noun phrase can also contain adjuncts: constituents that supply further
information about what the noun describes. Adjuncts within the noun phrase
are typically prepositional phrases or noun phrases in the local case; they
follow the head noun and its arguments. The adjuncts in the noun phrases in
(34) are represented in boldface.

(34)a. Manatanun   ha'   [famagu'un Vikki **gi as   David**].
AGR.handsome EMP   PL.child.L Vikki LCL   David
'Vikki's children from David are good-looking.' (CD, entry for
atanun)

b. Måolekña   [piesan metåt **ginin   Amerika**] kini
AGR.good.COMPAR sheet.L metal from America   than
Hapones.
Japanese
'American metal sheets are better than Japanese.' (CD, entry for
piesan metåt)

c. [I istoria **put   i   chetnut kånsit**] puru   dinagi.
the story   about the illness.L cancer AGR.full.of lie
'The story about the cancer is only a deception.' (CD, entry for
dinagi)

7.3.   Modifiers

Noun phrases can contain modifiers—constituents whose meaning serves to
narrow down the referent of the noun phrase. In Chamorro, these modifiers
include adjectives and adjective phrases, noun phrases, and relative clauses.

Unlike adjuncts within the noun phrase, which follow the head noun, modifiers can precede or follow the head noun. Some modifiers can also combine with names or pronouns. The form and function of different types of modifiers are surveyed here. The linker, which is characteristically used to mark heads that have modifiers, is described in 7.3.1. Then, adjectives and adjective phrase modifiers are discussed in 7.3.2, noun phrase modifiers in 7.3.3 and 7.3.4, and the placement of relative clauses in 7.3.5. The properties of the different types of modifiers are summarized in 7.3.6.

7.3.1   The linker
Like some other Austronesian languages, Chamorro employs a special marking on nouns and verbs to indicate that they have a modifier or other dependent. This marking, which involves a morpheme known as the *linker*, reveals whether the modifier precedes or follows the head. When the modifier precedes the head, the linker is realized immediately before the head, as the unstressed morpheme *na*. (*Na* leans phonologically on the head, but that is not reflected in the orthographies.) This *pre-head* form of the linker is illustrated in (35).

(35)   dikiki' **na** påtgun
          small   *L*   *child*
          'a small child'

When the modifier follows the head and the head does not show possessor agreement, the linker is realized as a suffix on the head. This suffix has the form *-n* when the head ends in a vowel (including, for some speakers, *åo* when stressed), and is unpronounced otherwise. Whether pronounced or not, the suffix turns the head into a phonologically dependent element that leans on material in the modifier to form a phonological word (see 2.2.1.1.2). The realizations of this *post-head* form of the linker are illustrated in (36).

(36)a.   lamasa**n**   dikiki'
           table.L   *small*
           'a small table'
      b.   påtgun dikiki'
           child.L *small*
           'a small child'

Note that the linker is always realized *between* the head and the modifier, and so could be said to 'join' the two. However, the post-head form of the linker literally joins the head to the modifier in the phonology, whereas

the pre-head form of the linker does not have this effect. This difference is correlated with another difference: a head noun can be preceded within the noun phrase by several instances of the pre-head form of the linker, but can be marked only once with the post-head form.

Verbs in Chamorro are marked with the linker only in limited circumstances: when they are immediately followed by certain adverbs, including the reflexive adverb *maisa* 'self' (see 18.4). Nouns are marked with the linker in a much wider range of circumstances:

(i) When the noun is followed by a possessor and the agreement option is not chosen (see 7.1);

(ii) When the noun is preceded by a demonstrative, a numeral, or a weak quantifier (see 6.2.2, 6.2.3, and 6.2.4.3);

(iii) When the noun is preceded or followed by a modifier, where the modifiers include adjectives and adjective phrases, noun phrases, and relative clauses. This third use of the linker is discussed in more detail below.

7.3.2 Adjective and adjective phrase modifiers

Adjective modifiers follow the determiner within the noun phrase but can precede or follow the head noun. If the adjective precedes the noun, the noun is marked with the pre-head form of the linker. (The adjective modifiers are in boldface below.)

(37)a. Guaha   un **dångkulu**   na kulu   gi hilu'
    AGR.exist   a   big   L   trumpet.shell   LCL top.L
    lamasa.
    table
    'There is a big kulu shell on the table.' (CD, entry for *kulu*)

   b. I **å'paka'** na arina   ti sen   måolik para   i
    the white L flour   not AGR.extremely good for   the
    hinemlo'-ta.
    NMLZ.healthy-AGR
    'White flour is not good for our (incl.) health.' (CD, entry for *arina*)

   c. i **Chamorro** na nasion
    the Chamorro L   nation
    'the Chamorro nation' (from a conference presentation)

If the adjective follows the noun, the noun is marked with the post-head form of the linker.

(38)a. Tinichu'   i   guihan **dikiki'** ni hakmang lisåyu.
    AGR.PASS.devour the fish.L   small   OBL snake.eel

'The snake eel ate the small fish.' (CD, entry for *håkmang lisåyu*)

    b. Guaha   binun **agaga'** yan   binun **å'paka'**.
        AGR.exist   wine.L red   and   wine.L white
        'There is red wine and white wine.' (CD, entry for *binu*)

    c. i   nasion **Ispañot**
        the nation.L Spanish
        'the Spanish nation' (from a conference presentation)

Two details of the realization of the linker should be noted. First, when an adjective follows a noun that shows possessor agreement, the post-head form of the linker does not occur. See (39).

(39) a. Atyu   para   asaguå-ña **sigundu**.
        that   FUT   spouse-AGR second
        'That one would be her second husband.' (EM 102)

    b. Ha na'puputi   i   addeng-hu i   changkletas-su **nuebu**.
        AGR make.hurt.PROG the foot-AGR   the sandal-AGR   new
        'My new sandals are hurting my feet.' (CD, entry for *changkletas*)

Second, when an adjective precedes the noun, speakers sometimes mark the adjective with the post-head form of the linker, rather than using the expected pre-head form. Compare (37) with the following.

(40)a. Fina'ñagui   si   Frank ni   **dangkulun** bikulu' gi
        AGR.PASS.frighten   UNM   Frank OBL big.L   ghost   LCL
        paingi.
        last.night
        'Frank was frightened by the big ghost last night.' (CD, entry for *bíkulu'*)

    b. Gof   **måolik** tåotåo i   pairåstrun i   famagu'on-hu.
        very   good.L person the stepfather.L the PL.child-AGR
        'My children's stepfather is a very good man.' (CD, entry for *pairåstru*)

This use of the post-head form of the linker is uncommon in elicitation contexts in fieldwork, but more frequent in naturally-occurring data. In the CD database, there are 108 instances of the adjective *dångkulu* 'big' preceding the noun it modifies; roughly half of these (52/108) show the pre-head form of the linker (i.e. *dångkulu na*) , and the other half (56/108) show the post-head form (i.e. *dångkulun*).

Chamorro allows many semantic classes of adjectives to precede or follow the noun, including adjectives that describe size, shape, age, color, and nationality. For these adjectives, the choice between the word orders adjective-noun and noun-adjective appears to be free. Both word orders occur in (41), for instance.

(41) disdi   i   famagu'un **díkiki'** asta   i   **manåmku'** na
      since   *the* PL.child.L *little* *until* *the* AGR.old   *L*
      istudiånti
      student
      'from little children up to mature students' (EM 8)

Under other circumstances, the adjective must precede the noun:
  (i) Adjective phrases that consist of a degree morpheme plus an adjective must evidently precede the noun. The adjective phrases are in boldface in the examples below.[5]

(42)a. Garapan   i   **mås   dångkulu** na songsung   giya
        Garapan   *the most   big*   *L* *village*   *LCL*
        Saipan.
        Saipan
        'Garapan is the largest village in Saipan.' (CD, entry for *Gárapan*)
    b. Mafañågu   i   **mås   åmku'** na lahi-hu   gi   tiempun
        AGR.born *the most   old*   *L* *son-AGR*   *LCL time.L*
        Amerikånu.
        American
        'My elder son was born during the American period.' (CD, entry for *mafañågu*)

  (ii) Adjectives that describe properties other than size, shape, age, color, or nationality must precede the noun. Included here are evaluative adjectives (= adjectives that describe properties evaluated as good or bad), as in (43a), and adjectives that describe physiological conditions (43b).

(43)a. Maguf   i   **geftåo**   na   biha.
        AGR.happy *the generous*   *L*   *old.woman*
        'The generous old woman was happy.'

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[5] Adjectives that have complements are not realized as adjective modifiers, but instead as predicates of relative clauses.

b. Kåo   un ayuda   i   **båtchit** na påtgun?
Q   AGR help   the blind   L   child
'Did you help the blind child?'

These adjectives apparently cannot follow the noun.

(44)a. *Maguf   i   bihan   **geftåo**.
AGR.happy   the old.woman.L   generous
('The generous old woman was happy.')
  b. *Kåo   un ayuda   i   påtgun **båtchit**?
Q   AGR help   the child.L blind
('Did you help the blind child?')

(iii) Non-intersective adjectives, such as *tétehnan* 'last, remaining' and *sigienti* 'next', must precede the noun (see Chung and Ladusaw 2006: 336-337).

(45)   Ha latchai   fumåhan   i   **tetehnan**   na aga'   gi
AGR finish.off   INF.buy   the remaining   L   banana LCL
metkåo.
market
'He finished off purchasing all the remaining bananas at the market.' (CD, entry for *latchai*)

(iv) Chamorro generally does not allow adjectives to be stacked on the same side of the noun. When a Chamorro noun has two adjective modifiers, typically one adjective precedes the noun and the other follows the noun. When this tendency is violated and adjectives are stacked on the same side of the noun, they precede the noun.[6]

(46)a. Tumotohgi   **dångkulun å'paka'** na katu.
AGR.stand.PROG big.L   white   L   cat
'A great white cat was standing.' (Cooreman 1983: 185)

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[6] Note that each adjective preceding the noun is followed by some form of the linker. This suggests that there is more internal structure to the noun phrase than is reported in the text. Suppose that the head noun combines with a modifier to form a new noun-like constituent; that new constituent can combine with a further modifier to form another noun-like constituent; and so on. If each such combination is signaled by marking with the linker, multiple linkers would be expected to appear in noun phrases like (46).

b. Para   u   fanliliku'   gi **difirentis** siha   na
FUT   AGR AGR.go.around   LCL different   PL   L
siknifikånti siha   na lugåt giya   Luta.
significant PL   L   place   LCL   Luta
'[The Preservation Office will guide whoever is interested so that]
they might go around to the various significant places in Rota.'
(from a conference announcement)

These patterns reveal that the default is for adjective modifiers to pre-
cede the head noun. This is perhaps unexpected, given that Chamorro is a
head-initial language.

7.3.3   Noun phrase modifiers

Noun phrase modifiers consist of a head noun which can be accompanied by
its own modifiers, but not by determiners. These modifiers have the same
overall profile as adjective modifiers within the noun phrase: they follow the
determiner but can precede or follow the head noun. If a noun phrase
modifier precedes the head noun, the head noun is marked with the pre-head
form of the linker, as in (47). (The noun phrase modifiers are in boldface
below.)

(47)a. put   i   **hinemlu'**   na bånda   gi kutturå-ta
about   the NMLZ.healthy   L   area   LCL culture-AGR
'about the area of health in our (incl.) culture' (from a conference
presentation)
   b. i   **taotåo**   **antigu** na Chamorro   siha
the person.L   ancient L   Chamorro PL
'the ancient Chamorro people' (from a conference presentation)
   c. Ha tutuhun fine'nena   atyu   kulang   atyu   i
AGR begin   first   that   seems.like that   the
gupu'   na klasin   chetnut.
ringworm   L   sort.L   disease
'It started first as if it were some type of ringworm (lit. it seemed
like that ringworm sort of disease).' (Cooreman 1983: 178)

If the noun phrase modifier follows the head noun, the head noun is marked
with the post-head form of the linker. If the head noun shows possessor
agreement, the linker does not occur. This is why *che'lu-hu* 'my sibling' is
not marked with the linker in (48b).

(48)a. Bula   ekspirensiåk-ku gi bandan **edukasion**.
        AGR.much   experience-AGR LCL area.L education
        'I have a lot of experience in the area of education.' (CD, entry for
        ekspirensia)

   b. I   che'lu-hu **mås   åmku' na låhi**,   guiya
       the sibling-AGR more   old   L   man   *he*
       atministradót   i   tanu'-måmi giya Luta.
       administrator.L the land-AGR   LCL Luta
       'My oldest brother is the administrator of our (excl.) land on Rota.'
       (CD, entry for *atministradót*)

   c. Ta li'i' na   guaha   esti i kelaguin: kelaguin
       AGR see COMP   AGR.exist   this the kelaguin   kelaguin.L
       månnuk,   kelaguin   **hagåhaf**…
       chicken   kelaguin.L   crab
       'We (incl.) see that there are these kelaguins: chicken kelaguin, crab
       kelaguin…' (from a conference presentation)

   d. Ya-ña   si   tåta   kumånnu' i estufåon **såli**.
       like-AGR UNM   father INF.eat   the estufao.L bird.sp
       'Father loves to eat *estufao* made from Micronesian starling.' (CD,
       entry for *såli*)

Whatever their word order, noun phrase modifiers are phrasal: they can
themselves contain modifiers, as can be seen from (47b) and (48b).

In general, noun phrase modifiers can freely precede or follow the head
noun. Sometimes, the word order modifier-head seems to be chosen when
the modifier is focused. Other times, the two word orders seem equivalent,
as in (49).

(49)a. I   rai   mås   metgut na kåtta   gi **tres i sietti** na
        the king   more   strong L   card   LCL tres i sietti   L
        huegu.
        game
        'The king is the strongest card in the *tres i sietti* game.' (CD, entry
        for *rai*)

   b. Mana'sesetbi   i   cheggai   gi huegun **chongka**.
       AGR.PASS.use.PROG   the small.cowrie   LCL game.L chongka
       'The small cowrie is used in the *chongka* game.' (CD, entry for
       cheggai)

But when frequency is considered, it becomes clearer that the default is
for noun phrase modifiers to follow the head noun. Many noun phrases that

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name specific types of trees or large plants are constructed from the head noun *trongku* 'tree' plus a noun phrase modifier. There were over 200 noun phrases of this type in the CD database in September 2012. In almost all (over 90%) of these noun phrases, the modifier follows the head noun. This remains true even when the difference between frequent modifiers (such as *niyuk* 'coconut') and infrequent modifiers (such as *puting* 'barringtonia asiatica') is controlled for. For noun phrase modifiers, that is, the word order head-modifier (as in (50a)) is overwhelmingly more common than modifier-head (50b).

(50)a. Guaha   trongkun   **sibukåo**   gi lanchun-måmi.
       AGR.exist   *tree.L*   *tree.sp*   *LCL ranch-AGR*
       'We (excl.) have a *caesalpinia sappan* tree at our (excl.) ranch.'
       (CD, entry for *sibukåo*)
    b. Binenu   i **puting** na trongku.
       AGR.poisonous   *the tree.sp* *L*   *tree*
       'The *barringtonia asiatica* tree is poisonous.' (CD, entry for *puting*)

In short, noun phrase modifiers have a different default word order than adjective modifiers.

Some nouns followed by a noun phrase modifier have been reanalyzed as compound nouns—nouns with internal structure. One such compound is *batkun airi* 'airplane'. Although this compound can be analyzed as the head noun *båtku* 'ship', marked with the linker and followed by the noun modifier *airi* 'air', for all practical purposes the entire expression is simply a noun. Like other nouns, it can show possessor agreement (see (51a)) and can be marked with the post-head form of the linker when an adjective follows (51b).

(51)a. Guaha   batkun airen-ña.
       AGR.exist   *airplane-AGR*
       'He owns an airplane.'
    b. Ma'udai   yu' gi batkun airin dångkulu   para   Amerika.
       AGR.ride   *I   LCL airplane.L   big*   *to*   *America*
       'I rode on a big airplane to America.' (CD, entry for *båtkun airi*)

7.3.4   Modifiers of names
Names in Chamorro can have two types of modifiers. First, in nicknames, a name can be followed by an adjective or noun phrase modifier. The modifier describes something characteristically associated with the individual named, such as a physiological characteristic, a product of the individual's work (as

in (52a)), the individual's spouse (52b), and so on. The name being modified is marked with the post-head form of the linker.

(52)a. Tun   Herman   **Pån**
       Mr.   *Herman.L*   *bread*
       'Tun Herman Pån (nickname of the baker Herman Guerrero)'
   b.   Ennåogui'   si   Ritan   **Jose**.
       there.is   *UNM*   *Rita.L*   *Jose*
       'There was Jose's Rita.'
       (http://paleric.blogspot.com/2011/10/i-duendes.html)

(The fact that the name *Rita* in (52b) is marked with the linker, not possessor agreement, suggests that *Jose* is a noun phrase modifier rather than a possessor.)

     Second, a name can be followed by a modifier that is a possessive noun phrase constructed from a kin term. Once again, the name being modified is marked with the post-head form of the linker.

(53)   Mapotgi'   si   Ritan   **chi'lu-hu**.
       AGR.pregnant   *UNM*   *Rita.L*   *sibling-AGR*
       'My sister Rita is pregnant.'

Modifiers like *chi'lu-hu* 'my sibling' in (53) are similar in meaning to appositives, but different in form. Unlike modifiers, appositives are noun phrases in the oblique case (see 5.1.2.2.1).

7.3.5   Relative clauses

Relative clauses are embedded clause modifiers that serve to narrow down the referent of the head noun. The structure of relative clauses and their distinctive types of agreement are described in Chapter 24. The discussion here focuses on their placement within the larger noun phrase that contains them.

     Like other modifiers, relative clauses follow the determiner but can precede or follow the head noun. When the relative clause precedes the head noun, the head noun is marked with the pre-head form of the linker. (The relative clauses in the examples below are enclosed in brackets, and the head noun is in boldface.)

(54)a.   gi   [asuddada'-hu   giya   Amerika]   na
       LCL WH[OBL].RECP.find-AGR.PROG   *LCL*   *America*   *L*

istudiånti   siha.
student   PL
'among the students who I met in America' (from a conference presentation)

b. Manmatransferi   mågi   lokkui' i [ginin Tinian] na
    AGR.PASS.transfer   *to.here   also   the from   Tinian L*
    tåotåo.
    person
    'The people who were from Tinian were also transferred over here.' (Cooreman 1983: 149)

c. Gef   fåhna   i   manyommuk   na
    AGR.very   in.demand   the AGR.fat   L
    [pineksai-ña]   na **babui**.
    WH[OBJ].raise-AGR   L   pig
    'The fat pigs that he raised were very much in demand.' (EM 89)

However, when the relative clause follows the head noun, the noun is not marked with the post-head form of the linker. In (55a), the head noun *neni* 'baby' ends in a vowel, but is not suffixed with *-n*.

(55)a. Ha patcha si   Doreen i **neni** [ni   på'gu
    AGR touch   UNM   Doreen the baby   COMP now
    mafañåñagu].
    AGR.born.PROG
    'Doreen touched the baby that was just born.' (CD, entry for *patcha*)

b. Kabålis   todu   kuntodu **pugas** [ni   ginin
    AGR.complete   all   including rice   COMP from
    Hapon].
    Japan
    'Everything was complete, including rice that came from Japan.' (Cooreman 1983: 88)

The absence of the linker is surprising, given the patterns seen earlier in this chapter. Nonetheless, the fact that the relative clause follows the head noun is signaled morphologically in other ways.

    Chamorro relative clauses are introduced by a complementizer whose form depends partly on the head noun's function within the relative clause (see 24.3.2). When this function is to name a location in time or space within the relative clause, the relative clause is usually introduced by the complementizer *anai*, as in (56).

(56) Sumåga   gi atyu   na **lugåt** [anai umasudda'   i
      AGR.stay   *LCL that*   *L   place   COMP   AGR.RECP.find   the*
      dos yan   i   haggan].
      two with   the turtle
      'He stayed in that place where he had met the turtle.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

Otherwise, a relative clause that precedes the head noun is not introduced by an overt complementizer.

(57) Ma li'i'   i   [hagas pumoksai   siha] na **tåotåo**.
      AGR see   the past   WH[SBJ].nurture them   L   person
      'They saw the people who nurtured them in the past.' (Cooreman 1983: 167)

But a relative clause that follows the head noun is introduced by the complementizer *ni*.

(58) Si   nåna   guaha   **atkiyå-ña** [ni   ha fåhan
      UNM   mother   AGR.exist   hairpin-AGR COMP   AGR buy
      Amerika].
      America
      'Mother has a large hairpin which she bought in America.' (CD, entry for *atkiya*)

The fact that the complementizer *ni* occurs only when the relative clause *follows* the head noun suggests that it might simultaneously realize the post-head form of the linker (Chung 1998: 231-234). If so, this would be another exceptional case in which the modifier, not the head noun, is marked with the linker (see 7.3.2).

    Relative clauses differ from other modifiers in that they allow a third word order option. In addition to occurring before or after the head noun, they can *surround* the head noun (see Vincent 2017). In this unusual construction, the head noun is located inside the relative clause, following the predicate but preceding other constituents. As usual, the entire relative clause follows the determiner. The relative clause is enclosed in brackets and the head noun is in boldface in (59).

(59) Ha uma   hålum i [kinenne'-ña   **guihan**
      AGR carry.on.shoulder   inside   the WH[OBJ].catch-AGR fish

i   rai].
the king
'He carried in on his shoulder the fish that the king had caught.'
(Cooreman 1983: 118)

See 24.2 for a little more discussion.

As might be expected, the choice among the different word order options for relative clauses is, in principle, free. One relative clause can precede the head noun and another relative clause can follow the head noun, for instance.

(60)   i   [ta u'usa]   na **diksiunåriu** ginin   as Topping,
the AGR use.PROG   L   dictionary   from   OBL Topping
Ogo,   yan Dungca [ni   ma'imprinta   gi 1975]
Ogo   and Dungca COMP   AGR.PASS.publish   LCL 1975
'the Dictionary by Topping, Ogo, and Dunga that we (incl.) use which was published in 1975' (from a conference presentation)

Nonetheless, there are indications that the default for relative clauses is to follow the head noun:

(i) In general, relative clauses can be stacked on the same side of the head noun only when they follow the head noun.

(61)a.   Guaha   esta   **tåotåo** [ni   mañåsaga   guini   na
AGR.exist   already person COMP   AGR.stay.PROG   LCL.this L
isla   siha]   [ni   ma tungu'   put   åmut   natibu].
island PL   COMP   AGR know   about   medicine.L   native
'There already were people who were living on these islands who knew about native medicine.' (LSS 22)
b.   Ha konni' yuhi   na **haggan** [i   sinidda'-ña]
AGR take   that   L   turtle   COMP   WH[OBJ].find-AGR
[ni   díkiki'].
COMP   AGR.small
'He caught that turtle which he had found which was small.'
(Cooreman 1983: 102)

(ii) A pronoun can have a relative clause modifier, but the relative clause must follow the pronoun.

(62)a.   **Hita**   [ni   manlåla'la'   ha']   para   ta abiba.
we.INCL COMP   AGR.alive.PROG   EMP   FUT   AGR encourage

'We (incl.) who are still living are going to encourage them.'

b. ginin   todus   **ham**   [ni   ti   mana'amti]
   from   all.PL us.EXCL COMP not PL.healer
   'from all of us (excl.) who are not healers' (LSS 39)

(iii) Names can have relative clause modifiers, as long as the relative clause follows.

(63)   Si   **Tan Biriña**,   [ni   ti   umiskuela],   ti
       UNM   Mrs. Biriña   COMP   not AGR.go.to.school   not
       parehu   yan   i   doktun   espitåt.
       AGR.same   with   the doctor.L   hospital
       'Tan Biriña, who did not attend school, was not like a hospital doctor.' (LSS 33)

7.3.6   Summary

Modifiers within the noun phrase can generally precede or follow the head noun, and their presence causes the head noun to be marked with the linker. But this broad generalization conceals some systematic differences. The three types of modifiers have different default word orders. The default for adjective (phrase) modifiers is to precede the head noun; the default for noun phrase modifiers and relative clauses is to follow the head noun. Moreover, not all types of modifiers cause the head noun to be marked with the linker. The head noun shows this marking when followed by an adjective or noun phrase modifier, but not when followed by a relative clause.

These differences are summarized below.

(64)   MODIFIERS WITHIN THE NOUN PHRASE

	Adjective	*Noun phrase*	*Relative clause*
Default word order	pre-N	post-N	post-N
Post-head linker on N	yes	yes	no

The chart in (64) reveals that the three types of modifiers are distinct. That in turn suggests that it would be a mistake to try to collapse them.

To see the point, consider the following hypothetical scenario. Recalling that relative clauses are embedded clauses, and the predicate of a clause can be a verb, adjective, or noun, one might conjecture that every modifier within the noun phrase was simply a relative clause. In such a scenario, the adjective in the noun phrase *un dångkulu na kulu'* 'a big trumpet shell'

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would be a relative clause whose predicate was an adjective (as in 'a trumpet shell that was big'); the noun phrase modifier in *kelaguin månnuk* 'chicken kelaguin' would be a relative clause whose predicate was a noun (as in 'kelaguin that was chicken'). What (64) shows is that such a scenario cannot be right. If all modifiers were just relative clauses, they should have a uniform word order with respect to the head noun. But every relative clause can follow the head noun, whereas some types of adjective modifiers cannot. Moreover, if all modifiers following the head noun were just relative clauses, their head noun should be marked with the linker in a uniform way. But the head noun is marked with the post-head form of the linker when the following modifier is an adjective or noun phrase, but not when it is a relative clause. In fact, the head noun *cannot* be marked with the post-head form of the linker when a relative clause follows (see (65a)); instead, the relative clause is introduced by the complementizer *ni*, as in (65b).

(65)a. *Bunitu   i   **chininan**   [un fåhan].
       AGR.nice   the dress.L   AGR buy
       ('The dress you bought was nice.')

  b. Bunitu   i   **chinina** [ni   un fåhan].
       AGR.nice   the dress   COMP   AGR buy
       'The dress you bought was nice.'

In summary, Chamorro has three different types of modifiers within the noun phrase.

7.4   Word order

Chamorro word order is both predicate-first and head-first. Prepositions precede their object noun phrases (see 5.2), complementizers and subordinating conjunctions precede the embedded clauses they introduce (see 20.1), and nouns precede their arguments and adjuncts.

The word order of constituents is less flexible within the noun phrase than it is within the clause. If prenominal possessors are set aside, noun phrases formed from a head noun have a fixed word order. The determiner or determiners come first, followed by the head noun, and then by the possessor, obliques, and adjuncts, as shown in the template below.

(66)   WORD ORDER OF CHAMORRO NOUN PHRASES (FIRST PASS)
     Determiners Noun Possessor Obliques Adjuncts

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It is more challenging to integrate modifiers into this template, given their word order freedom and given that not all possible combinations of modifiers, obliques, and adjuncts have been investigated. Still, some preliminary observations can be made.

Modifiers preceding the head noun occur between the head noun and the determiner. When the head noun is preceded by two modifiers and one of them is a relative clause, the relative clause tends to occur farther to the left, preceding the other modifier (but see (54c) for the opposite word order).

(67) Guaha   [manggai   gualu'] na manriku   na **tåotåo**.
     AGR.exist AGR.have   farm   L AGR.rich   L person
     'There were rich people who had farms.' (Cooreman 1983: 158)

Note that the pre-head form of the linker occurs twice, once between the adjective and the noun and again between the relative clause and the adjective-plus-noun constituent.

The word order of modifiers after the head noun is most straightforward for relative clauses. Relative clauses that follow the head noun occur at the right edge of the noun phrase, after the noun and any other dependents, including obliques and adjuncts. See (60) and the following.

(68) sigun   i   **ripot** gi mes   [ni   ha fa'titinas
     according   the report LCL month   COMP   AGR make.PROG
     i   Dipattamentun   Environmental Quality]
     the Department.L   Environmental Quality
     'according to the monthly report (lit. the report by month) made by the Department of Environmental Quality' (*Marianas Variety* November 6, 1979)

The word order of the possessor with respect to adjective or noun phrase modifiers following the head noun is determined by the marking on the head noun. If the head noun shows possessor agreement, the possessor can precede or follow the modifier.

(69)a. i   **che'lu-ña** si   Juan   palåo'an
       the sibling-AGR UNM   Juan   female
       'Juan's sister'
    b. i   **che'lu-ña** palåo'an   si   Juan
       the sibling-AGR female   UNM   Juan
       'Juan's sister'

If the head noun is marked with the post-head form of the linker, it is phonologically dependent on the possessor, which must occur immediately after it; the modifier occurs farther to the right.

(70) i   **che'lun**   Juan   palåo'an
      the sibling.L   *Juan*   *female*
      'Juan's sister'

Some of these observations are integrated into the word order template for noun phrases in (71), where x is used to mark the most common locations for modifiers. (The template does not specify exactly which types of modifiers occur in these locations.)

(71) WORD ORDER OF CHAMORRO NOUN PHRASES (FINAL VERSION)
      Determiner x Noun x Possessor x Obliques Adjuncts x

7.5   Noun phrase ellipsis

Like many other languages, Chamorro has an ellipsis process that affects noun phrases. This optional process deletes the head noun, along with the possessor, arguments, and adjuncts, as long as certain other elements of the noun phrase are left behind. The fact that the head noun is deleted means that any marking associated with it—notably, the linker—does not appear. The fact that the head noun is deleted along with the possessor, arguments, and adjuncts suggests that these elements form a constituent within the noun phrase that excludes determiners and modifiers.[7] The deleted material is understood to mean 'one' or 'thing'. In generative grammar, this ellipsis process is known as noun phrase ellipsis or N-bar ellipsis. It is called *noun phrase ellipsis* here.

Noun phrase ellipsis in Chamorro can occur only if the part of the noun phrase that is left behind—the part that is actually pronounced—contains a demonstrative, numeral, quantifier, adjective, or relative clause. Some of the possibilities are illustrated below. In (72), ellipsis has left behind a demonstrative (represented in boldface).

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[7] From a crosslinguistic perspective, the fact that the possessor must be deleted in noun phrase ellipsis might be viewed as unexpected. Note, though, that the marking that signals the presence of a possessor is realized on the head noun, and therefore is always removed by the ellipsis. That may be why the possessor is deleted as well.

(72) Tai tiempu yu' humassu **ennåo**.
   AGR.not.have time I INF.think that
   'I have no time to think about that.' (from a conference presentation)

In (73), ellipsis has left behind a numeral, preceded by the definite article.

(73) Mañåñakki **i dos** maseha håfa ni siña
   AGR.ANTIP.steal.PROG the two at.all any COMP can
   ma bendi.
   AGR sell
   'The two (habitually) stole whatever they could sell.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

In (74), ellipsis has left behind the quantifier *todu* 'all, every'.

(74) Bai danchi i tamma' siha ya bai biba **todu**
   AGR hit the marble PL and.then AGR scatter all
   huyung gi aridondu.
   outside LCL circle
   'I'm going to hit the marbles and I'm going to scatter them all out of the circle.' (CD, entry for *biba*)

In (75), it has left behind an adjective, preceded by the definite article.

(75) Unu ha' atyu **i å'paka'**.
   one EMP that the white
   'There's just one white [car] (lit. that white (one) is just one).'

In (76), finally, ellipsis has left behind a relative clause, preceded by the definite article (in (76a)) or a demonstrative (76b).

(76)a. **I [pumenta esti na guma']** ti måolik chi'cho'-ña.
   the WH[SBJ].paint this L house not AGR.good work-AGR
   'The one who painted this house didn't do a good job.'
   b. Kada månggi' yu' gi **atyu i [mafa'na'an**
   whenever AGR.ANTIP.write I LCL that the AGR.PASS.name
   Facebook].
   Facebook
   'Whenever I write in that thing called Facebook.' (from a conference presentation)

8

PRONOUNS

Chamorro has three sets of personal pronouns: independent pronouns, weak pronouns, and null pronouns. Their form and distribution are described here, along with their grammatical relations, possible word orders, and interaction with agreement.

8.1   Overview

Personal pronouns are expressions that serve as noun phrases and pick out different individuals depending on the discourse context. Chamorro has three sets of personal pronouns: independent pronouns, weak pronouns, and null pronouns.

All three sets of pronouns are organized along the same lines. Each set consists of seven pronouns differing in person and number. There are three persons: *first* (referring to the speaker), *second* (referring to the addressee), and *third* (referring to individuals other than the speaker and the addressee). There are two numbers: *singular* (referring to one individual) and *dual/plural* (referring to more than one individual). As in many other Austronesian languages, the first person dual/plural pronouns—which refer to the speaker and at least one other individual—distinguish between *inclusive* and *exclusive*. Inclusive pronouns refer to the addressee(s) as well as the speaker; exclusive pronouns do not refer to the addressee(s). The pronouns do not differ in gender. But in one way or another, they are sensitive to whether or not the individual(s) referred to are animate (or, perhaps, human). Finally, the pronouns have both reflexive and nonreflexive uses. The discussion here focuses on nonreflexive uses; the reflexive use is discussed later, in Chapter 13.

All Chamorro pronouns are noun phrases. The three sets of pronouns differ in their sound structure, the grammatical relations they can bear, their possible word orders, and their interaction with agreement.

8.2   Independent pronouns

As their name suggests, the independent pronouns are phonologically and syntactically independent. They are phonological words, and have the same

word order flexibility as other noun phrases.[1] These pronouns are listed below.

(1) INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS
    1 sg.   guåhu
    2 sg.   hågu
    3 sg.   guiya
    1 incl. du./pl. hita
    1 excl. du./pl. hami
    2 du./pl.   hamyu
    3 du./pl.   siha

The English translations provided by Safford (1903: 308) and Topping and Dungca (1973: 110) for the third person independent pronouns (i.e. 'he, she, it, they') imply that these forms can refer to humans, other living beings, and inanimate objects or concepts. However, the independent pronouns are used only in very limited contexts to refer to nonhumans—notably, in narratives when an animal, bird, turtle, insect, etc. can speak or think, or is otherwise personified. There are few if any contexts in which independent pronouns are used to refer to inanimate objects or concepts. Among the best candidates:

(i) The 3 sg. independent pronoun *guiya* can combine with a demonstrative to create a focused demonstrative that occurs in noun phrases that are syntactically focused (see 23.3). This focused demonstrative can combine with inanimate nouns. It is unclear what *guiya* means in this use: whether it functions as a pronoun that can refer to an inanimate or is merely part of the demonstrative.

(2) Kåo **guiya** esti na lumut i mana'sesetbi gi
     Q   *it*   *this L* *moss* *the AGR.PASS.use.PROG* *LCL*
     gualu'?
     farm
     'Is this the type of moss they use at the farm?' (CD, entry for *lumut*)

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[1] Chamorro pronouns cannot serve as noun phrase modifiers and cannot combine with the incorporating verbs *gai* 'have' or *tai* 'not have'. In these respects, they resemble noun phrases that contain a determiner. In generative syntax, the resemblance is handled by analyzing pronouns as determiners— more specifically, as determiners that do not combine with (a nominal constituent containing) a head noun.

(ii) *Guiya* can be used as a predicate in *ti guiyaya* 'not really so, not really like that'. Here, too, it is unclear whether it functions as a pronoun that can refer to an inanimate or instead has the meaning suggested by its English translation (i.e. 'really so, really like that').

(3)   Gi halatcha   na tiempu abundånsia atulai, på'gu ti
       LCL past   *L   time   AGR.plenty fish.sp now   not*
       guiyaya.
       very.like.that
       'In the past there were a lot of skipjack, but not now.' (CD, entry for *halatcha*)

Outside these narrow contexts, the independent pronouns refer only to humans. Note that the 3 du./pl. pronoun *siha* apparently is not used to refer to inanimate objects or concepts. The *siha* that occurs commonly in inanimate noun phrases is not a pronoun, but rather the plural morpheme (see 6.1.1.1).

More generally, as far as the reference of Chamorro pronouns is concerned, the main divide is between humans—the prototypical animates—and inanimate objects or concepts. Nonhuman animates fall somewhere inbetween: they are normally treated like inanimates, but can be treated like humans when personified. Inanimate objects and concepts are rarely, if ever, personified. These observations introduce some unclarity into the issue of whether the independent pronouns in Chamorro should be thought of as human pronouns or animate pronouns—an unclarity that will not be resolved here.

The independent pronouns cannot serve as subjects, direct objects, or possessors unless they are topics or syntactically focused. Aside from this, they can occur in all the other contexts in which noun phrases can occur. Specifically, independent pronouns are used:
    (i)   When the pronoun is in the oblique or local case.

(4) a. Bula   rispetun-ñiha   nu **hågu.**
       AGR.much   respect-AGR   OBL you
       'They have lot of respect for you.' (CD, entry for *nu*)
    b. Na'guaha   amistå   giya   **hågu**.
       make.exist integrity   LCL   you
       'Have integrity (within you).' (CD, entry for *amistå*)

    (ii) When the pronoun is the object of a preposition.

(5) Yanggin   un tungu' ginin **hågu** mismu.
     if   AGR know   from   you   same
     'When you know it from yourself.' (EM 132)

(iii) When the pronoun is a topic or syntactically focused, and therefore occurs at the left edge of the sentence, preceding the predicate.

(6) a. Si   Chungi',   **guiya** lokkui' mafañågu guini   mismu
        UNM   Chungi'   he   also   AGR.born   LCL.this same
        na   trongku.
        L   tree
        'As for Chungi' [a bird], he too was born in this very same tree.'
        (EM 81)
   b. Ti bai fanggågåo   dispensasion   sa'   ti **guåhu**
        not AGR AGR.ANTIP.ask forgiveness   because not I
        lumachi.
        AGR.wrong
        'I will not apologize because it's not me who did wrong.' (CD,
        entry for *fanggågåo dispensasión*)

(iv) When the pronoun occurs in isolation—for instance, because it has been stranded by ellipsis.

(7) Meggai na tåotåo hu   litråtu,   låo ti **guiya**.
     many L person AGR   photograph but not her
     'I took pictures of many people, but not her.'

(v) When the pronoun serves as one conjunct of a coordinate noun phrase, as in (8a), or as the head of the plural pronoun construction (8b) (see 19.7.2). In such cases, the entire noun phrase can bear any grammatical relation at all, including subject or direct object.

(8) a. Guaha   ha'   tiempu ni   para   u   matatpångi
        AGR.exist   EMP   time   COMP   FUT   AGR PASS.baptize
        [**guiya** yan   i   lahi-ña].
        she   and   the son-AGR
        'There was still time in which she and her son could be baptized.'
        (Cooreman 1982: 40)
   b. Guaha   ginatdun   gi intri   [**hami** yan   i
        AGR.exist   complication   LCL between us.EXCL with   the

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asaguå-hu].
spouse-AGR
'There was a complication between me and my husband.' (CD, entry for *ginatdun*)

Finally, the dual/plural independent pronouns can be used as collective verbs—verbs whose meaning is 'be or do together (said of the individuals referred to by the pronoun)'. Some examples of this distinctive use, which is quite frequent in Chamorro, are given below.

(9) a. Pues   gaigi   ha'   si   nanå-hu   ya
     so   AGR.be.at EMP   UNM   mother-AGR and.then
     sumisiha   yan   i   che'lu-hu   neni   gi espitåt.
     AGR.they.PROG with   the sibling-AGR baby   LCL hospital
     'So my mother was there and was together with my baby brother at the hospital.' (EM 91)
   b. Ya   hami   yan   i   pumalu mañe'lu-hu,
     and.then we.EXCL with   the some   PL.sibling-AGR
     manhahami   yan   si   tatan-måmi gi gima'.
     AGR.we.EXCL.PROG with   UNM   father-AGR LCL house
     'And my other brothers and sisters and I were together with our (excl.) father at home.' (EM 91)

8.3   Weak pronouns

The weak pronouns are unstressed morphemes that lean on phonological material to their left. These pronouns are listed below.

(10)   WEAK PRONOUNS
      1 sg.   yu'
      2 sg.   håo
      3 sg.   gui'
      1 incl. du./pl.   hit / hita
      1 excl. du./pl.   ham / hami
      2 du./pl.   hamyu
      3 du./pl.   siha

Safford's (1903: 308) and Topping and Dungca's (1973: 107) English translations for the third person weak pronouns (i.e. 'he, she, it, they') imply that these forms can refer to humans, other living beings, and inanimate objects

or concepts. But, as with the independent pronouns, the actual situation is more complicated.

First of all, a demonstrative can combine with the 3 sg. weak pronoun *gui'* to create a form that serves as a presentational predicate (e.g. *esti gui'* 'here is, this is (near speaker)'). These presentational predicates can introduce a noun phrase that is inanimate. In (11), the presentational predicate *ennåo gui'* 'there is, that is (near addressee)' introduces the inanimate noun phrase *na'-mu* 'your lesson (lit. your food)'.

(11) Ennåo **gui'** na'-mu   sa'   inamti   håo,   no?
      that *it* *food-AGR* *because* *AGR.PASS.cure* *you*   *right?*
      'That should be a good lesson for you, isn't that so?' (CD, entry for *inamti*)

The unresolved issue is whether *gui'* in this use functions as a pronoun that can refer to an inanimate or merely as part of the presentational predicate. The second possibility seems more likely, given that there are speakers in Rota and Saipan who use these presentational forms more generally as demonstratives within the noun phrase.

Second, the third person weak pronouns in their reflexive use can refer to inanimates (see 13.2.1.1). In the clause in (12), the 3 sg. weak pronoun *gui'*, which serves as the reflexive direct object of *tutuhun* 'begin', refers to the typhoon season.

(12) I   tiempun påkyu ha tutuhun **gui'**   gi Agostu na mes.
      the *time.L* *typhoon* *AGR begin* *it*   *LCL* *August* *L* *month*
      'Typhoon season begins (lit. begins itself) in August.' (CD, entry for *påkyu*)

In other respects, the weak pronouns have the same range of meanings as the independent pronouns. They can be used to refer to nonhuman animates that are personified; otherwise, they refer only to humans. (Recall from 6.1.1.1 that the *siha* that occurs in inanimate noun phrases is not a pronoun, but rather the plural morpheme.)

The 2 du./pl. and 3 du./pl. weak pronouns, *hamyu* and *siha*, have the same form as the corresponding independent pronouns. The forms cited by Safford (1903: 309) and Topping and Dungca (1973: 110-111) suggest that this is the only overlap between the two paradigms. But in the Chamorro now spoken in the CNMI, many speakers permit *all* the dual/plural independent pronouns to be used as weak pronouns. For these speakers, the 1 incl.

du./pl. weak pronoun can be realized as *hit* or *hita*, and the 1 excl. du./pl. weak pronoun can be realized as *ham* or *hami*.

The weak pronouns have a tightly restricted distribution. Their main use within the clause is to serve as subjects or direct objects that are not topics or syntactically focused; see (13). Note, though, that null pronouns, not weak pronouns, are used to represent subjects that are cross-referenced by agreement in person (see 8.4).

(13)a. Esta   ha sienti ha'   atyu   i   amut   na
       already *AGR feel* *EMP*   *that* *the medicine* *COMP*
       gaigi   **håo**.
       AGR.be.at   *you*
       'The [medicinal] plants already sensed that you are there.' (LLS 332)

   b. Chålik   yanggin ma kadidak **håo**.
       laugh   *if*   *AGR tickle*   *you*
       'Laugh if they tickle you.' (CD, entry for *yanggin*)

A weak pronoun can serve the head of the plural pronoun construction (see 19.7.2), but usually not as the left conjunct of a coordinate noun phrase (see 19.5). In (14), the 1 excl. du. pronoun *ham* is the head of the plural pronoun construction (which is enclosed in brackets).

(14) Umalaisin   [ham   yan   si   Påli']   gi
      AGR.RECP.fail.to.meet   *we.EXCL* *with*   *UNM*   *priest* *LCL*
      kapiyu.
      chapel
      'Father and I (lit. we (excl.) with Father) failed to meet each other at the chapel.' (CD, entry for *laisin*)

Within the noun phrase, weak pronouns are used when the quantifier *todu* 'all, every' has combined with a pronoun.

(15) Håyi   mås   ekspirensiåo   gi kontra [todus **hit]**?
      who? *more* *AGR.experienced*   *LCL against all*   *us.INCL*
      'Who is the most experienced amongst us (incl.) all?' (CD, entry for *ekspiriensiåo*)

Weak pronouns are not used in other contexts; independent pronouns or null pronouns are used instead.

The placement of weak pronouns is determined phonologically. A weak pronoun that serves as a subject or direct object occurs in 'second position' in the clause, where the material in 'first position' forms a phonological phrase (see Chung 2006).[2] For practical purposes, this means that:

(i) A weak pronoun can occur immediately after the word that serves as the predicate. The predicate is a verb in (16a-b), an adjective in (16c), and a noun in (16d).

(16)a. Sigi umatalak **yu'** guatu as Andre sa' put
         keep.on AGR.stare I to.there OBL Andre because about
         meme'mi'.
         AGR.urinate.PROG
         'I'm staring at Andre because of the fact that he's urinating.' (CD, entry for *atalak*)

   b. Ha bisisita **hit** i Ñiñu Jesus gi gimå'-ta gi
         AGR visit.PROG us.INCL the child Jesus LCL house-AGR LCL
         duråntin i Krismas.
         during.L the Christmas
         'The Infant Jesus visits us (incl.) at our (incl.) homes during Christmas.' (CD, entry for *Ñiñu Jesus*)

   c. Mampus disatentu **håo**.
         so.much AGR.disrespectful you
         'You are very disrespectful.' (CD, entry for *disatentu*)

   d. Ma'estron-ña **gui'** si Carmen.
         teacher-AGR he UNM Carmen
         'He is Carmen's teacher.'

When the predicate is phonologically dependent, the weak pronoun occurs immediately after the larger phonological word containing it. This phonological word is enclosed in brackets below.

(17)a. Ti [patgun Dolores] **yu**'.
         not child.L Dolores I
         'I'm not Dolores's child.'

   b. Kuentat ki humihita, [para håfa] **yu'** ni
         as.long.as PRT AGR.we.INCL.PROG for what? I OBL
         ottru.
         other

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[2] More precisely, a weak pronoun occurs immediately after the phonological phrase at the left edge of the intonational phrase corresponding to the clause.

'So long as we (incl.) are together, I don't care about others.' (CD, entry for *kuentat ki*)

(ii) A weak pronoun can occur to the left of the predicate, but immediately after an auxiliary (e.g. *siña* 'can' in (18a)), a degree word (e.g. *mampus* 'so much' in (18b)), or an adjective modifier of the predicate (e.g. *mansuetti* 'lucky (pl.)' in (18c)).

(18)a. Siña   hao manli'i'   chubåsku   yanggin   un
        can   you AGR.ANTIP.see   storm.over.water   if   AGR
        atan   huyung gi   tasi.
        look.at out   LOC ocean
        'You can see an ocean storm if you keep looking out at the sea.'
        (CD, entry for *chubåsku*)
    b. Dispåsiu,   sa'   mampus   **håo** gekpan.
        slow   because so.much   you AGR.jumpy
        'Slow down, because you are moving too fast.' (CD, entry for
        gekpan)
    c. Mansuetti   **hit**   na tåotåoguis guini giya   Notti
        AGR.lucky   we.INCL L people   here   LCL   Northern
        Mariånas.
        Marianas
        'We (incl.) are very lucky people here in Northern Marianas.' (CD,
        entry for *ginéfsaga*)

(iii) Finally, a weak pronoun can occur even farther to the left, immediately after (the first phonological word of) an interrogative phrase or syntactically focused constituent that occurs at the left edge of the sentence. The interrogative phrase in (19a) is *håyi na famalåo'an* 'which women?'; the syntactically focused constituent in (19b) is *på'gu ha'* 'just now', which occurs at the left edge of an adverbial clause.

(19)a. Håyi   **håo**   na famalåo'an [gai   che'lu]?
        who? *you   L PL.woman AGR.have   sibling*
        'Which women have you as a sibling?'
    b. Tåya'   sa'   på'gu ha' **yu'** ni   måttu.
        AGR.not.exist   because now   EMP   I   COMP AGR.arrive
        'She doesn't have [a chart] because it's just now that I've come [to
        the hospital].' (LSS 70)

The placement of weak pronouns that do not serve as subjects or direct objects is less flexible. When a weak pronoun serves as the head of the plural pronoun construction, the entire complex noun phrase occurs right after the predicate. Within the noun phrase, a weak pronoun that has combined with *todu* 'all, every' occurs immediately after *todu*.

A weak pronoun can co-occur with other unstressed morphemes that lean on material to their left, such as the emphatic particle *ha'* (see 23.2) or the politeness particle *fan* (see 18.3 and 18.4).

(20)a. Kåo   ti   siña   ha'   **håo**   kumetu   guennåo?
      Q   not   can   EMP   you   AGR.quiet there
      'Can't you just keep still there?' (CD, entry for *ha'*)

   b. Sigi   **håo**   ha'   di   mama'baba   esta   ki
      keep.on you   EMP   PRT   AGR.ANTIP.deceive   until   PRT
      poddung   nanning   **håo**   ha'.
      AGR.fall.L   ripe.nut   you   EMP
      'You keep fooling around until you fall down like a ripe almond nut.' (CD, entry for *nanning*)

But weak pronouns do not co-occur with other weak pronouns. Notably, a clause cannot have both a weak pronoun subject and a weak pronoun direct object. One reason for this is discussed in 8.4.2.

8.4   Null pronouns

8.4.1   Basics

Chamorro is a null argument language: it allows the subject, the direct object, and certain other noun phrases to be unpronounced if their reference can be determined from the context. These null arguments pick out different individuals depending on the discourse context, and can therefore be called null pronouns.

Like the independent pronouns and the weak pronouns, the null pronouns distinguish three persons, two numbers, and inclusive versus exclusive. Consider the sentences below. The null pronouns represented by the empty sets of brackets in (21) refer to the speaker in (21a), the addressee in (21b), an individual other than the speaker or addressee in (21c), and more than one such individual in (21d).

(21) a. Ti   hu   lili'i'   [ ]   esti   gi   ottru   siha.
        not   AGR   see.PROG   this   LCL   other   PL
        'I do not see this done in other places.' (LSS 513)

b.   Chamorro   [ ]?
    Chamorro
    'Are you Chamorro?' (heard in conversation)

c.   Kumu   mana'gimin   [ ]   ya   masahalum
    if   *AGR.PASS.make.drink*   *and.then*   *AGR.perspire*
    [ ], måpåo   ha'   i   kalenturå-ña[ ].
      AGR.cool   *EMP*   *the* *fever-AGR*
    'When s/he is given it to drink and s/he perspires, his/her fever goes away.' (LSS 203)

d.   Låo gi presenti,   manhobin [ ] — ti   maninteresåo   [ ].
    but LCL present   *AGR.young*   *not AGR.interested*
    'But at the present time, they are young—they're not interested.' (LSS 190)

The null pronouns in (22) are first person pronouns which include (22a) or exclude (22b) the addressee.

(22)a.   Kalan   mapput   para   ta   sångan [ ] håfa
      seems.like *AGR.difficult*   *FUT*   *AGR say*   *what?*
      gaigi   gi hinassot-ta   [ ].
      AGR.be.at   *LCL thought-AGR*
      'It is kind of difficult for us (incl.) to say what is in our (incl.) thoughts.' (from a conference presentation)

b.   ... para   bai in fanmanåmti   [ ] tåotåo.
     FUT   *AGR* *AGR.ANTIP.treat*   *person*
    '[... when] we (excl.) are going to treat people.' (LSS 183)

The null pronouns differ from the other types of (nonreflexive) pronouns in that they can be animate or inanimate. They are routinely used to refer to humans, other living beings, and inanimate objects or concepts. The null pronoun in (23a) refers to the illness being treated; the null object pronouns in brackets in (23b) refer to the book under discussion.

(23)a.   Tres   biåhi   ha',   yanggin   ti sasala'   [ ].
      three   *time*   *EMP*   *if*   *not AGR.incurable.PROG*
      'Only three times, if it is not that severe.' (LSS 183)

b.   Siña   ta chuli' [ ] ya   ta tataitai   [ ] gi
    can   *AGR take*   *and.then* *AGR read.PROG*   *LCL*
    hilu'   batkun airi.
    top.L   *airplane*
    'We (incl.) can take it and be reading it on the airplane.' (EM 8)

The syntactic distribution of null pronouns is restricted in ways that arguably flow from the fact that they are not pronounced. These pronouns cannot serve as topics, syntactically focused constituents, or noun phrases in isolation. Moreover, they cannot serve as objects of prepositions, and cannot be possessors when the head noun is marked with the linker.[3] They can, however, be used to represent all other noun phrase arguments, where the term *argument* is understood broadly enough to include the various functions of possessors described in 7.1.2. Null pronouns can be used to represent any and all of the following:

(i) The subject. See (21-22).

(ii) The direct object. The clauses in (23b) and (24) contain a null pronoun direct object as well as a null pronoun subject.

(24) Dos   biåhi   ha'   di hu lasa   yan hu na'gimin
      two   *time*   *EMP*   *PRT AGR massage*   *and AGR make.drink*
      åmut.
      medicine
      'I massaged him two times and I made him drink native medicine.'
      (LSS 168)

(iii) Obliques. The sentences in (25) contain multiple null pronouns, including some that are obliques. The null pronoun oblique in (25a), which refers to the medicine that was given, is the oblique argument of a concealed applicative (see 11.5). The null pronoun oblique in (25b), which refers to the fire that did the burning, is a passive agent.

(25)a. Pues   hu nå'i.
        then   *AGR give*
        'Then I gave it to her.' (LSS 243)
    b. ... kosa ki siña   sinenggi   todu   i   sanpapa'-ña.
        so.that can   AGR.PASS.burn   all   the DIR.below-AGR
        'So that all the underside of it [= the breadfruit] can be burned by it.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

(iv) Possessors, when the head noun shows possessor agreement. The possessive noun phrase *hinassot-ta* 'our (incl.) thoughts' in (22a) contains a

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[3] The last two restrictions are probably phonological. Prepositions and nouns that are marked with the linker are phonologically dependent: they must lean on material to their right. But a null pronoun—because it is not pronounced—contains no material for a dependent element to lean on.

null pronoun possessor; so do the possessive noun phrases *i kalenturå-ña* 'his/her fever' in (21c) and *todu i sanpapa'-ña* 'all the underside of it' in (25b).

8.4.2   Null pronouns and agreement

Morphological agreement in Chamorro interacts with pronoun form. The interaction can be characterized as follows: a pronoun cross-referenced by agreement *in person* must be null. In other words, when an agreement affix registers the person of a noun phrase, that noun phrase can be realized as a null pronoun, but not as a weak or independent pronoun.

Transitive verbs in Chamorro agree with their subjects in person and number (see 2.2.2.1). Consequently, the subject of a transitive verb can be realized as a null pronoun, but not as a weak or independent pronoun. This pattern is illustrated in the sentences below. (In this subsection, the person and/or number of the agreement is indicated explicitly in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses.)

(26)a.   Ha   fåhan   (*gui') i   lepblu.
         AGR[3SG]   buy   he   the book
         'He bought the book.'
   b.   Kåo   para   en   taitai   (*hamyu)   i   lepblu?
         Q   FUT   AGR[2PL]   read   you.PL   the   book
         'Are you (pl.) going to read the book?'

Similarly, possessor agreement registers the person and number of the possessor (see 7.1.1). As a result, when a possessed noun shows possessor agreement, the possessor can be realized as a null pronoun, but not as a weak or independent pronoun. (Recall that when the possessor is a pronoun, the head noun *must* show possessor agreement.)

(27)   Nigap   i   kumpliaños-su   (*yu').
         yesterday   the   birthday-AGR[1SG]   I
         'Yesterday was my birthday.'

In contrast, intransitive verbs and adjectives in the realis mood do *not* agree with their subjects in person, although they do agree with them in number (see 2.2.2.2.1). The subjects of these types of predicates can be realized by null pronouns *or* weak pronouns. Compare (28a), in which the adjective *malångu* 'sick' and the passive verb *mapo'lu* 'be put' have null pronoun subjects, with (28b-c), in which *malångu* and the passive verb *inistotba* 'be disturbed' have weak pronoun subjects.

(28)a. Mumalångu   ya   mapo'lu   gi espitåt.
         AGR[SG].sick   and.then   AGR[SG].PASS.put   LCL hospital
         'He became sick and was put in the hospital.' (EM 91)

    b. Sa'   mampus   malångu   gui'.
         because so.much   AGR[SG].sick   he
         'Because he was so sick.' (EM 94)

    c. Esta   ti   inistototba   gui'.
         already not AGR[SG].PASS.disturb.PROG   he
         'He was no longer disturbed by it.' (EM 144)

A more complicated picture is presented by intransitive verbs or adjectives in the *irrealis* mood. These predicates agree with the subject through forms chosen from two agreement paradigms: one paradigm registers person and number and the other registers number alone (see 2.2.2.3). The paradigm that registers person and number neutralizes many distinctions in the irrealis mood; in particular, it employs the same realization, /u/, for the 1 sg., 3 sg., and 3 du./pl. forms. (The 1 sg. form is written *hu*, but usually its pronunciation is the same as the 3 sg. *u* and the 3 du./pl. *u*.[4]) Perhaps as a result, when the subjects of these predicates are 1 sg., 3 sg., or 3 du./pl., they are typically realized as null pronouns. But they are also, very occasionally, realized as weak pronouns.

(29)a. Para   u   pinatmada   (gui')   as Dolores.
         FUT   AGR[3SG]   AGR[SG].PASS.slap   he   OBL Dolores
         'He is going to be slapped by Dolores.'

    b. Håyi   para   u   fankinenni'   (siha)   para
         who?   FUT   AGR[3PL]   AGR[PL].PASS.take   they   to
         iya   siha?
         UNM   them
         'By whom are they going to be taken to their place?'

Subjects of other types of predicates behave as expected in the irrealis mood. If they are pronouns, they must be null.

(30)a. Para   bai in   fanmåttu   (*ham)   agupa'.
         FUT   AGR[1EXCL.PL]   AGR[PL].arrive   we.EXCL   tomorrow
         'We (excl.) are going to arrive tomorrow.'

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[4] The discussion in the text glosses over the fact that the 1 sg. /u/ can optionally be preceded by *bai*.

b. Ngai'an na   para   en   fanmåttu   (*hamyu)?
   when? COMP FUT   AGR[2PL]   AGR[PL].arrive you.PL
   'When will you (pl.) arrive?'

Agreement neutralization may well play a role in the optional appearance of weak pronouns in (29). But that cannot be the whole story, since there are other agreement neutralizations that have no such effect. For instance, in the realis mood, the agreement paradigm for transitive verbs employs the same realization, /in/, for 1 excl. du./pl. and 2 du./pl. agreement. (The orthography represents these forms as *in* and *en*, respectively, but they have the same pronunciation; see 2.2.2.1.1.) A subject that is 1 excl. du./pl. or 2 du./pl. must be realized by a null pronoun; it cannot be realized by a weak pronoun.

(31)   Månu nai   en   sedda' (*hamyu)   i   patgun?
       where? COMP AGR[2PL]   find   you.PL   the child
       'Where did you (pl.) find the child?'

In summary, the generalization that governs the interaction between agreement and pronoun form has some exceptions that cannot be fully rationalized at this point. Still, it remains largely true that a pronoun that is cross-referenced by agreement in person must be null.

8.4.3   Further issues
The fact that null pronouns are unpronounced raises some further issues that are noted briefly here.

First, are these unpronounced constituents really *pronouns*? Some relevant evidence comes from their patterning with respect to the person-animacy restriction. As observed in 16.2, not every combination of subject and direct object can occur in a transitive clause in Chamorro. Some combinations are systematically excluded. For instance, no transitive clause can have a nonpronoun as its subject and a (nonreflexive) pronoun that refers to a human (or personified animate) as its direct object. This can be seen from the ungrammatical clauses in (32), in which the subject is a name and the direct object is a weak pronoun—the 3 sg. *gui'* in (32a) and the 3 du./pl. *siha* in (32b).

(32)a.   *Halalåtdi gui'   si   Maria.
         AGR scold   him   UNM   Maria
         ('Maria scolded him.')

b. *Para   u   bisita   siha   si   Juan   agupa'.
    FUT   AGR visit   them   UNM   Juan   tomorrow
    ('Juan is going to visit them tomorrow.')

Null pronouns behave like other types of pronouns for the purposes of this restriction. A null pronoun that refers to a human (or personified animate) cannot serve as the direct object when the subject is a nonpronoun. See (33).

(33)   *Ha   lalåtdi   i   ma'estra.
        AGR   scold   the teacher
        ('The teacher scolded him/them.')

This is evidence that null pronouns are indeed pronouns. (Note that (33) is grammatical if the null pronoun is taken to be the subject and the non-pronoun *i ma'estra* 'the teacher' is taken to be the direct object. This is unsurprising, since that combination of subject and direct object is not excluded by the restriction that excludes (32) and (33); see 16.2.)

Second, in contexts in which a pronoun must be null because it is cross-referenced by agreement in person, could the *agreement* be analyzed as a pronoun form?

Topping and Dungca (1973: 106-108) took this approach. They analyzed possessor agreement and the person-and-number forms of agreement with the subject as separate sets of pronouns, which they called (respectively) possessive pronouns and *hu*-type pronouns. Here are some reasons why their analysis is not adopted here:

(i) If the morphemes that realize agreement in person were pronouns, one might expect them not to be doubled by noun phrases constructed from a name or head noun. But this 'doubling' systematically occurs. For instance, if the 3 sg. *ha* were taken to be a (subject) pronoun, then it would be doubled by the noun phrase *i patgun* 'the child' in (34).

(34)   Ha   na'ma'åsi'   yu' i   patgun.
        AGR[3SG]   make.pity   me the child
        'The child made me feel sorry.' (LSS 243)

Similarly, if the 3 sg. *u* and the 3 du./pl. *u* were taken to be (subject) pronouns, they would be doubled by a weak pronoun in sentences like those in (29). It is not clear what would explain such doubling.

(ii) The forms that Topping and Dungca call *hu*-type pronouns also realize mood. Crosslinguistically, morphemes that realize subject-predicate

agreement often realize tense, aspect, or mood as well. But mood is rarely, if ever, realized by pronouns.

(iii) Even if the morphemes that realize agreement in person *were* pronouns, it would still be necessary to recognize the existence of null pronouns in Chamorro. Recall that null pronouns can represent noun phrase arguments that are cross-referenced only by agreement in number (as in (28a)), or not cross-referenced by any agreement at all (as in (24-25)). This means that an analysis like Topping and Dungca's would not succeed in completely eliminating null pronouns from Chamorro grammar. It would merely restrict their distribution to contexts in which the possessive pronouns and the *hu*-type pronouns did not occur—a counterintuitive result.

In the approach adopted here, there is no doubling to explain, and null pronouns can be used to represent all noun phrase arguments: subjects, direct objects, obliques, and possessors.

Observe, finally, that the null pronouns resemble the weak pronouns and the independent pronouns in that they refer to specific individuals. In these ways, they differ from the implicit arguments discussed in 9.3.2.

8.5   Further reading

See Chung (1982; 1985; 1989) for discussion of null pronouns in Chamorro, and Chung (2006) on the placement of weak pronouns.

9

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Chamorro has general indefinites—indefinite forms similar to pronouns that serve as noun phrases or determiners, but only in certain constructions. General indefinites serve as interrogative words in constituent questions and as negative indefinites in negative sentences. Noun phrase ellipsis and implicit arguments are also used to convey the meaning of indefinite pronouns.

9.1   Overview

Although Chamorro has no set of indefinite pronouns, it has indefinite forms that serve some of the same functions. These forms, which are called *general indefinites* here, occur only in constituent questions, negative sentences, and certain other constructions. They do not occur in sentences that describe single, one-time events that occurred or are occurring. The meaning of an indefinite pronoun can also be conveyed by noun phrase ellipsis in existential sentences, and by implicit arguments in other constructions. The form, meaning, and uses of general indefinites are documented in 9.2. Then, other mechanisms that can be used to convey the meaning of indefinite pronouns are described in 9.3.

9.2   General indefinites

9.2.1   Form

The general indefinites in Chamorro are indefinite forms that serve as interrogative words in questions and can be used to form negative indefinites in negative sentences. They can also occur in the antecedent clause of conditionals and in the standard of comparative sentences. Finally, they can be used as free-choice indefinites—indefinites that imply that it does not matter at all which referents are chosen; any suitable referent will do.

The general indefinites are listed in (1), along with the restrictions on their use. See 9.2.2 on their meanings in the different constructions in which they occur.

(1)   GENERAL INDEFINITE   RESTRICTED TO
       håyi   humans
       håfa   nonhumans
       (a)månu   locations in space (as pronoun);
                             pre-established sets (as determiner)
       ngai'an   locations in time
       kuåntu   quantities
       taimanu   manners, means, or degrees

These forms are indefinite in that they do not pick out a particular refer-ent. They can be considered pronouns in that their meaning, divorced from context, consists of just their indefiniteness plus the restrictions listed in (1).
    Some general indefinites have the syntactic distribution of phrases:
    The general indefinites *håyi* (human) and *håfa* (nonhuman) have the distribution of noun phrases. Like other noun phrases, they can be marked for the plural with the particle *siha* (see 6.1.1).

(2) a. Tinani'   ha'   manatan   **håyi**   siha
        AGR.occupied   *EMP*   *AGR.INF.ANTIP.watch who?*   *PL*
        manhohosmi   misa.
        AGR.attend.PROG mass
        'He was busy observing who (pl.) were attending mass.' (CD, entry
        for *kómutgan*)
    b. Ni **håfa**   para   suettem-mu.
        not anything   *FUT*   *WH[OBL].lucky-AGR*
        'Nothing will you be lucky at.' (Cooreman 1983: 5)

The general indefinites *(a)månu* (location in space) and *ngai'an* (location in time) have the distribution of noun phrases in the local case that name locations in time or space.

(3) a. **Månu** na   un fåhan   i   painetå-mu?
        where? COMP   AGR buy   the comb-AGR
        'Where did you buy your comb?' (CD, entry for *paineta*)
    b. Yanggin   ti   mañañu   si   tåta,   **ni ngai'an** na
        if   not   AGR.bribed UNM   father   not anytime COMP
        u   sedi   hit   manhånåo.
        AGR allow us.INCL AGR.INF.go
        'If Dad isn't bribed, he would never allow us (incl.) to go.' (CD,
        entry for *mañañu*)

Over and above this, *hayi*, *håfa*, *(a)månu*, and *ngai'an* can serve as determiners within the noun phrase. In this use, they precede the noun, which is marked with the pre-head form of the linker (see 7.3.1). Note that when *(a)månu* serves as a determiner, it is not restricted to noun phrases that name locations; instead, it signals that whatever referent is picked out is chosen from a pre-established set.

(4) a. Si   Juan   mås   ånimu   kinu   **håyi**   na
    UNM   *Juan*   *more* *AGR.courageous* *than*   *any*   *L*
    atungo'-hu.
    friend-AGR
    'Juan has more courage than any of my friends.' (CD, entry for *ånimu*)

    b. **Månu** na tumu   para   un usa gi ko'ku' papåya?
      which? *L*   *coloring* *FUT*   *AGR use LCL pickle.L papaya*
      'Which coloring are you going to use in the papaya pickle?' (CD, entry for *tumu*)

    c. Si   Rosa   ha prometi si   Jesus   para   u   nenggui
      UNM   *Rosa* *AGR promise UNM* *Jesus*   *FUT*   *AGR wait*
      gui'   maseha **ngai'an**   na tiempu tinaka'   ...
      him   *at.all*   *whenever*   *L*   *time*   *AGR.PASS.take.up*
      'Rosa promised Jesus to wait for him for however long it takes...' (CD, entry for *nenggui*)

Like other determiners, *håyi* and *håfa* can be preceded by the definite article *i* (see 6.2.6).

(5)   i   **håfa**   na salåppi' ni   ta u'usa
      the *any*   *L*   *money COMP*   *AGR use.PROG*
     'whatever money we (incl.) are using' (heard in conversation)

The other general indefinites are *kuåntu* (quantity) and *taimanu* (manner, means, degree). *Kuåntu* is a quantificational adjective (see 6.2.4.3). Like other quantificational adjectives, it can appear within the noun phrase (as in (6a)) or serve as a predicate (6b).

(6) a. Tutåt **kuåntu**   na tåotåo para   u   fansåonåo.
    add.up *how.many?* *L* *person* *FUT*   *AGR AGR.participate*
    'Add up how many people will participate.' (CD, entry for *tutåt*)

    b. **Kuåntu**   famagu'on-mu?
      AGR.how.many? *PL.child-AGR*

'How many children do you have (lit. children of yours are how many)?'

When *taimanu* refers to manner or means, it has the distribution of a manner or means adjunct, as in (7a-b) (see 3.3.5); when it refers to degrees, it serves as a predicate (7c).

(7) a. Si   tatå-hu   fuma'nå'gui   yu' **taimanu**   pumeska.
    UNM   father-AGR   WH[SBJ].teach   me how?   AGR.fish
    'My father taught me how to fish.' (CD, entry for *peska*)
  b. Goddi i   chiba   maseha **taimanu**   na   gineddi.
    tie   the goat   at.all   any.way   COMP   AGR.PASS.tie
    'Tie the goat any way it can be tied.' (CD, entry for *maseha taimanu*)
  c. Ti ha tungu' para   u **taimanu**   ni dinangkulon-ña.
    not AGR know   FUT   AGR how?   OBL NMLZ.big-AGR
    'She didn't know how big it would be.' (CD, entry for *abiridåo*)

Note finally that when the subject of the clause is a general indefinite, or has a general indefinite as its determiner, it must be syntactically focused—displaced to the left edge of the clause by wh-movement (see 23.3).

9.2.2 Meaning and use

General indefinites occur only in constituent questions, negative sentences, the antecedent clause of conditionals, the standard of comparative sentences, and free choice contexts. Each of these constructions makes its own contribution to the general indefinite's meaning and dictates certain aspects of its distribution. 9.2.2.1 describes the meaning and use of general indefinites in constituent questions. 9.2.2.2 describes their patterning in negative sentences. 9.2.2.3 deals with general indefinites in conditionals and comparative sentences, and 9.2.2.4, with free choice contexts. Finally, 9.2.2.5 briefly describes concealed conditionals.

9.2.2.1 In questions

General indefinites serve as interrogative words in constituent questions. In this use, they can be translated into English as follows: *håyi* 'who?', *håfa* 'what?', *(a)månu* 'where?', *ngai'an* 'when?', *kuåntu* 'how much, how many?', and *taimånu* 'how?'. Interrogative phrases in Chamorro are displaced to the left edge of the question by wh-movement (see 22.3). This is why the general indefinite—that is, the interrogative word—appears at the

beginning of the constituent questions below. (The questions in (8b) and (8d) occur in embedded clauses, which are enclosed in brackets.)

(8) a. **Håyi** tumutuhun i mimu?
   who? WH[SBJ].begin the fight
   'Who started the fight?' (CD, entry for *tutuhun*)

   b. Na'tungu' yu' [**håfa** malago'-mu].
   make.know me what? WH[OBL].want-AGR
   'Let me know what you want.' (Cooreman 1983: 192)

   c. **Månu** nai un po'lu i kucharon?
   where? COMP AGR put the ladle
   'Where did you put the ladle?' (CD, entry for *kucharón*)

   d. Si Chungi' ha sangåni si Kanåriu para u
   UNM Chungi' AGR say.to UNM Kanåriu FUT AGR
   atan [**taimanu** gui' umo'mak].
   watch how? he AGR.swim
   'Chungi' told Kanåriu to watch how he swam.' (EM 83)

The general indefinite *håfa* has some further uses in constituent questions. It combines with the prepositions *sa'* 'because of' and *para* 'for' to form the interrogative phrases *sa' håfa* 'why?' and *para håfa* 'what for, what is the point of?'. (*Para håfa* is also a fixed expression meaning 'never mind, forget it, don't bother'.) In addition, it combines with the general indefinite *taimanu* to form the interrogative phrase *håfa taimanu*, 'how? (manner, means)', which has the same meaning and distribution as the interrogative word *taimanu* 'how? (manner, means)'.

As mentioned earlier, interrogative phrases formed with the indefinite determiner *(a)månu* range over a pre-established set. *(A)månu* in this use can be translated 'which?' (see (9a)). Interrogative phrases formed with the indefinite determiners *håyi* (human) or *håfa* (nonhuman) can range over pre-established sets, but need not do so. *Håyi* and *håfa* in this use can be translated 'what?' or 'which?' (see (9b-d)).

(9) a. **Månu** na lupis para un håtmi?
   which? L skirt FUT AGR put.on
   'Which skirt are you going to wear?' (CD, entry for *lupis*)

   b. **Håfa** na klåsin pepeska håo, ni haguit
   what? L sort.L fisherman you even fishhook
   tåya' guinaha-mu!
   AGR.not.exist possession-AGR

'What kind of a fisherman are you, you don't even have hooks!'
(CD, entry for *pépeska*)

    c.   Hekkua'   [**håyi**   na   påtgun gumomgum   esti i
        dunno   *who?*   *L*   *child*   *WH[SBJ].pry.loose*   *this the*
        pettan   sanme'na].
        door.L   *DIR.front*
        'I don't know what child pried loose my front door.' (CD, entry for
        gomgum)
    d.   **Håyi**   na påli'   para   u   såonåo   gi interu?
        who? *L* *priest*   *FUT*   *AGR participate* *LCL funeral*
        'Which priest will participate in the funeral?' (CD, entry for *påli'*)

In polar questions (see 22.2), general indefinites can serve as nonspecific indefinites. In such cases, *håyi* can be translated 'any(one)', *håfa* can be translated 'any(thing)', and so on.

(10)   Kåo   siña   **håfa**   bai hu cho'guiyi håo?
        Q   *can*   *anything*   *AGR*   *do.for*   *you*
        'Can I do anything for you?' (EM 84)

9.2.2.2   In negative sentences

A general indefinite can combine with the word-level negative *ni* to form a negative indefinite, such as *ni håyi* 'no (one)', *ni håfa* 'no(thing)', *ni månu* 'no(where)', *ni ngai'an* 'never', *ni kuåntu* 'in no quantity', and *ni taimanu* 'in no way, to no degree'. These negative indefinites can serve as arguments, adjuncts, or determiners within the noun phrase. They often undergo reduplication to indicate degree (see 25.2.1) or are followed by the emphatic particle *ha'* (see 23.2), as in *ni håyiyi ha'* 'no one'.

Negative indefinites occur only in negative sentences. They supply the sentence negation when they are syntactically focused—displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement (see 23.3). Some examples of syntactically focused negative indefinites are cited below.

(11)a. **Ni håyiyi** ha'   na patgon-ña si   Dolores åguaguat.
        not any.EMP EMP   *L*   *child-AGR* *UNM* *Dolores AGR.naughty*
        'No child of Dolores' is naughty.'
    b.   Pues   **ni håfa**   siña   ha apagåyi.
        so   *not anything*   *could*   *AGR carry.on.shoulder*
        'So he could carry nothing.' (CD, entry for *apagåyi*)
    c.   **Ni ngai'an** nai   ta fanmaleffa.
        not anytime COMP   *AGR AGR.forget*

'We will never forget (it).' (*Ginen i Obispo* March 20, 2011)

Negative indefinites that are not syntactically focused serve as negative concord items—nonspecific indefinites that agree in form with the element that expresses sentence negation (see 17.3).[1] In Chamorro, sentence negation can be expressed by the sentential negative *ti* 'not', a syntactically focused negative indefinite, or a negative verb (e.g. *tåya'* 'not exist'; see 17.2). Negative concord items agree in form with one of these elements; they do not have negative meaning, but instead have the meaning of nonspecific indefinites. Compare the form of the negative concord items in (12) with the English translations of the sentences in which they occur.

(12)a. Ti manhonggi　　　**ni håyi**　na espiritu fuera　di i
　　　not AGR.ANTIP.believe　*not any*　*L*　*spirit*　*except*　*PRT the*
　　　guella　　　　　yan　guellun　　　　　Chamorro　ha'.
　　　grandmother　*and*　*grandfather.L*　*Chamorro*　*EMP*
　　　'He does not believe in any spirit except his Chamorro ancestors.'
　　　(CD, entry for *moru*)

　　b. Para　　guåhu　tåya'　　　　　**ni håfa**　　na sinienti.
　　　for　　*me*　*AGR.not.exist*　*not any*　　*L*　*feeling*
　　　'For me there isn't any feeling.' (EM 78)

　　c. Taya'　　　　　nengkanu' **ni amånunu**.
　　　AGR.not.exist　*food*　　　*not anywhere.EMP*
　　　'There's no food anywhere.'

Two restrictions on negative concord items should be noted. First, if no element expresses sentence negation, then the sentence cannot contain a negative concord item (= a negative indefinite that is not syntactically focused). Compare (13a) with the ungrammatical (13b).

(13)a. Chumochotchu　　　gui'.
　　　AGR.ANTIP.eat.PROG　*he*
　　　'He is eating.'

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[1] At least some negative indefinites can apparently serve as predicates; see (a) below. In such cases, it is not clear whether the negative indefinite expresses negation or has an idiomatic meaning.

(a) Ni håyiyi　　　ha'　　si　　Kita　ni tilifón alaihai.
　　not anyone.EMP EMP　*EMP*　*UNM*　*Kita*　*OBL gossip*
　　'Kita is very good in gossiping.' (CD, entry for *tilifón alaihai*)

b. *Chumochotchu   gui'   **ni håfafa**   ha'.
    AGR.ANTIP.eat.PROG he   *not anything.EMP*   *EMP*
    ('He is eating nothing.')

Second, a negative concord item cannot serve as the subject of a negative sentence (see 17.3).

A negative sentence can contain general indefinites that have not combined with the word-level negative *ni*. General indefinites in this use are called *negative polarity items*. They have meanings and distributions that are similar to negative concord items, although their form is different, as can be seen from (14).

(14)   Tai   inangokku yu' nu **håyiyi**   ha'.
        AGR.not.have   *NMLZ.trust* *I   OBL anyone.EMP EMP*
        'I am not dependent on anyone.' (CD, entry for *tái inangokku*)

General indefinites in Chamorro are not used as negative polarity items very often. More typically, a general indefinite combines with *ni* to produce a negative indefinite that can serve as a negative concord item.

9.2.2.3   In conditionals and comparatives
General indefinites can serve as nonspecific indefinites in the antecedent clause of a conditional sentence or the standard of a comparative sentence. In these constructions, they can be translated into English as follows: *håyi* 'any(one)', *håfa* 'any(thing)', *månu* 'any(where)', *ngai'an* 'anytime', *kuåntu* 'in any quantity', and *taimanu* 'in any way, to any degree'.

In Chamorro, the antecedent clause of a conditional sentence is usually introduced by one of the subordinating conjunctions *yanggin, anggin, an*, or *kumu,* all of which mean 'if' (see 20.2.2). Like other adverbial clauses, the antecedent clause can precede or follow the clause in which it is embedded. The antecedent clause can contain a general indefinite. In the antecedent clauses of the conditional sentences below, the general indefinite serves as part of the predicate in (15a) and as the subject in (15b-c).

(15)a. [Yanggin   **håfa**   na distrosu],   i   Red Cross
        if   any   L   disaster   the Red Cross
        manakukudi.
        AGR.ANTIP.assist.PROG
        'The Red Cross helps whenever there is disaster.' (CD, entry for
        distrosu)

b. [Yanggin **håyi** para u hånåo], siempri manayu'us.
   if   anyone FUT   AGR go   indeed AGR.ANTIP.wave
   'When someone is going, she will wave good-by.' (CD, entry for *ayu'us*)

c. Mungnga yu' malakuenta   [yanggin **håfa**
   don't   me AGR.held.responsible   if   anything
   masusedi].
   AGR.PASS.experience
   'I don't want to be held responsible if anything happens.' (CD, entry for *malakuenta*)

If a general indefinite is the subject of the antecedent clause, as in (15b-c), it is syntactically focused—displaced by wh-movement to the left edge of the embedded clause, immediately following the subordinating conjunction (see 23.5.1). General indefinites that bear other grammatical relations within the antecedent clause are typically not syntactically focused.

(16)a. Mana'kåkati   i   busina [yanggin   guaha
       AGR.PASS.make.cry.PROG   the siren   if   AGR.exist
       håfa   na ira].
       any   L   disaster
       'The siren is sounded when there is any disaster.' (CD, entry for *busina*)

b. [Yanggin   guaha   dinanña' gi put **håfa**   na
   if   AGR.exist NMLZ.gather LCL about any   L
   achåki],   siempri u   guaha   asembli.
   incident   indeed AGR exist   assembly
   'If there is a gathering for whatever reason, then there will be an assembly.' (CD, entry for *asembli*)

In Chamorro, the standard of a comparative sentence is a prepositional phrase or adverbial clause formed with one of the prepositions *ki, kinu,* or *kini*, all of which mean 'than' (see 5.2). The standard can contain a general indefinite. In the comparative sentences below, the general indefinite is the object of *kini* 'than' in (17a), the determiner of the object of *kinu* 'than' in (17b), and the object of the adverbial clause in (17c).

(17)a. Hu apela   håo mås   [kini **håyi**].
       AGR depend.on you more   than   anyone
       'I depend on you more than anyone.' (CD, entry for *apela*)

b. Si   Juan   mås   ånimu   [kinu **håyi** na
    UNM   *Juan*   *more*   *AGR.courageous* *than*   *any*   *L*
    atungo'-hu].
    friend-AGR
    'Juan is more courageous than any of my friends.' (CD, entry for
    ånimu)

c. ... [kini   un cho'gui ha'   mo'na pat un sångan ha'
         than   *AGR do*   *EMP*   *ahead or AGR say*   *EMP*
    håfa   [achuk   ha'   ti   gef   siguru   håo]].
    anything   *although*   *EMP*   *not AGR.very*   *sure*   *you*
    '[It's better for you to take time to ask...] than that you just go ahead
    and do or just say anything even though you're not very sure.' (EM
    132)

9.2.2.4   In free choice contexts

In certain contexts, a general indefinite can serve as a free-choice indef-
inite—an indefinite that suggests that it does not matter at all which referent
is chosen. General indefinites in this use can be translated into English as
follows: *håyi* 'whoever, any(one) at all', *håfa* 'whatever, any(thing) at all,'
månu 'wherever, any(where) at all', *ngai'an* 'whenever, any (time) at all',
kuåntu 'however much, however many', *taimanu* 'however'. Free-choice
indefinites in Chamorro are often preceded by *maseha* 'at all, (which)ever,
no matter', a word that makes it explicit that the choice among suitable
referents is completely free.[2]

      The constructions in which free-choice indefinites occur have a modal
or conditional flavor. For instance:

      (i) Free-choice indefinites can occur in clauses containing a modal,
such as the auxiliary *siña* 'possible, can'.

(18)a. Esta   maseha **håyi**   siña   mannå'i   kumuñon.
        already at.all   anyone   *can*   *AGR.ANTIP.give   communion*
        'Now anyone can give the communion.' (CD, entry for *kumuñon*)

   b.   Siña   un usa maseha **håfa**   na klåsin aga'   para
        can   *AGR use at.all*   *any*   *L   sort.L   banana for*
        buñelus   aga'.
        doughnut.L   banana
        'You can use any kind of banana for banana doughnuts.' (CD, entry
        for *buñelus aga'*)

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[2] *Maseha* also routinely occurs with general indefinites that serve as negative
polarity items (see 9.2.2.2).

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(ii) Free-choice indefinites can occur in irrealis clauses, including imperative clauses.

(19)   Na'galilik   ha'   **håfa**   i   listu   para   na'-ta.
       make.roll   *EMP*   *any*   *the AGR.ready   for   food-AGR*
       'Just stir over whatever is ready for our (incl.) food.' (CD, entry for *na'gálilik*)

(iii) Finally, free-choice indefinites can occur in generic or habitual sentences. The generic clause in (20a) makes a statement about a natural kind (the cochineal cactus); the habitual clauses in (20b-d) make statements about the dispositions, habits, or typical states of individuals or locations.

(20)a.   Måolik   i   hila' guaka   para   maseha **håfa**   na
         AGR.good   *the cochineal.cactus*   *for*   *at.all*   *any*   *L*
         chetnut.
         sickness
         'The cochineal cactus is good for any kind of sickness.' (CD, entry for *hila' guaka*)
   b.   Ya-hu   gumimin   maseha **håfa**   na gimin.
        like-AGR   *INF.drink*   *at.all*   *any*   *L   drink*
        'I like to drink any kind of beverage.' (CD, entry for *gimin*)
   c.   Si   Andresina   ha po'lu   maseha **månu**   i
        UNM   *Andresina   AGR put*   *at.all*   *anywhere*   *the*
        sapatos-ña.
        shoes-AGR
        'Andresina puts her shoes anywhere.' (CD, entry for *maseha månu*)
   d.   Åntis   na tiempu gof   bula   ginias   gaddu'
        before   *L   time   AGR.very*   *many*   *slip.L   wild.yam*
        maseha **månu**   na   halumtånu' Tinian.
        at.all   *any*   *L   jungle.L   Tinian*
        'There used to be a lot of wild yam that was ready to plant all around Tinian's jungle.' (CD, entry for *gias*)

In most respects, free-choice indefinites have the same distribution as general indefinites in other uses. They can serve as noun phrases or determiners; when subjects, they must be syntactically focused; otherwise, they can be focused but need not be. In addition, a free-choice indefinite can serve as the head of a special type of complex noun phrase called a free relative. In Chamorro, a free relative consists of a general indefinite followed by a relative clause. This relative clause has the complementizer

agreement of a constituent question rather than an ordinary relative clause (see 24.4).

Free relatives can occur only where a free-choice indefinite can occur; namely, in sentences containing a modal:

(21) Ohala’ mohon na [maseha **håyi** manggånna
hopefully UNREAL COMP *at.all* *anyone* AGR.ANTIP.*win*
para gubietnu] siña ha na’måolik i sichuasion i
for *governor* *can* AGR *make.good* *the* *situation.*L *the*
gubietnamentu.
government
‘I’m wishing that whoever wins as governor can make the situation in the government better.’ (CD, entry for *óhala’*)

In irrealis sentences, including imperatives:

(22)a. [Maseha **håfa** un gågåo] ti un nina’i.
at.all *anything* AGR *ask.for* *not* AGR PASS.*give*
‘Whatever you ask for he won’t give to you.’ (CD, entry for *meskinu*)

b. Para u baila si Dora [maseha **ngai’an**
FUT AGR *dance* UNM *Dora* *at.all* *anytime*
na malagu’].
COMP AGR.*want*
‘Dora will dance anytime she wants.’ (CD, entry for *maseha ngai’an*)

c. Sigi ha’ ya un adingan [maseha
keep.on EMP *and.then* AGR *converse* *at.all*
håfa malago’-mu].
anything WH[OBL].*want-*AGR
‘Go ahead and say whatever you want.’ (CD, entry for *ádingan)*

And in generic or habitual sentences:

(23) [Maseha **månu** hu hanågui], ha tattiyi yu’ i
at.all *anywhere* AGR *go.to* AGR *follow* *me* *the*
anineng-hu.
shadow
‘Wherever I go, my shadow follows me.’ (CD, entry for *ånining*)

9.2.2.5   In concealed conditionals
In Chamorro, free-choice indefinites and negative indefinites can occur in a special type of embedded clause that serves as the antecedent clause of a concealed conditional. Like the antecedent clause of an ordinary conditional (see 9.2.2.3), this embedded clause can precede or follow the higher clause, and its meaning imposes a condition or restriction on the meaning of the higher clause. But unlike other antecedent clauses, the embedded clause is not introduced by a subordinating conjunction such as *yanggin* 'if'. (This is the sense in which the conditional is concealed.) Instead, the embedded clause contains a free-choice indefinite or negative indefinite that is syntactically focused—displaced to the left edge of the embedded clause by wh-movement. The result resembles a free relative in form, but differs in that the general indefinite does not bear any grammatical relation in the higher clause.

Some examples of concealed conditionals are given below, with the antecedent clause enclosed in brackets. In (24), the antecedent clause contains a free-choice indefinite that is syntactically focused.

(24)a. [Maseha   **håfa**   masusedi],   chume'lu   hit
         at.all   *anything*   *AGR.PASS.experience* *DU.sibling* *we.INCL*
         na dos.
         L   *two*
         'No matter what happens, the two of us (incl.) are siblings.' (CD, entry for *che'lu*)
    b. Todu   tiempu ya   [**håfa**   hu cho'gui gi
        every *time* *and.then* *anything*   *AGR* *do*   *LCL*
        che'chu'],   bula   ginatdun.
        work   *AGR.much*   *complication*
        'Every time and whatever I do at work, there is a problem.' (CD, entry for *håfa*)

In (25), the antecedent clause contains a negative indefinite that is syntactically focused.

(25)a. [Ni **håfa**   guaha],   i   nana   siempri u   ampåra i
         not anything   *AGR.exist*   *the mother indeed* *AGR* *protect the*
         patgon-ña.
         child-AGR
         'No matter what there is, a mother will surely protect her child.'
         (CD, entry for *ampåra*)

b. [Ni **kuåntu** tinakkilo'-mu], siempri ha' un tunuk.
not in.any.quantity WH[OBL].high-AGR indeed EMP AGR descend
'No matter how high you are, somehow you'll come down.' (CD,
entry for *ni kuåntu*)

c. [Ni **taimanu** chinago'-mu], bai hu hanågui håo ha'.
not any.degree WH[OBL].far-AGR AGR go.to you EMP
'No matter how far you are, I will still come to you.' (CD, entry for
ni taimanu)

Further investigation of this construction is needed.

9.3 Other ways to express indefiniteness

As noted earlier, general indefinites do not occur in sentences that describe
single, one-time events that occurred or are occurring. Chamorro has other
ways of conveying the meaning of indefinite pronouns in such sentences.
Noun phrase ellipsis can remove the head noun of the pivot of an existential
sentence, leaving behind material in which the deleted head noun cor-
responds to an indefinite pronoun. Moreover, several types of Chamorro
clauses allow an indefinite implicit argument—an argument that has no
syntactic realization at all. The use of noun phrase ellipsis in existential
sentences is described in 9.3.1; two types of clauses that allow an indefinite
implicit argument are discussed in 9.3.2.

9.3.1 Noun phrase ellipsis in existential sentences
Existential sentences in Chamorro are formed from the existential verbs
guaha 'exist' and *tåya'* 'not exist' (see 14.2.2). Both verbs are impersonal
verbs that have two arguments: one argument that names what exists, and
another argument that names the location in time or space where it exists. (In
addition, *tåya'* expresses sentential negation.) The argument that names what
exists is realized as a noun phrase, known as the *pivot*, which must have a
weak determiner (see 6.2.5). In the existential sentences below, the pivot's
weak determiner is the null indefinite article.

(26)a. Hunggan, guaha tåotåomo'na.
yes AGR.exist ancient.spirits
'Yes, there are ancient spirits.' (Cooreman 1982: 2)

b. Na'siguru na guaha ga'chong-mu.
make.sure COMP AGR.exist partner-AGR
'[When you go fishing,] make sure you have a partner (lit. there is a
partner of yours).' (EM 17)

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c. Tåya'   uchan   ya   kulang   åppan   i
    AGR.not.exist   rain   and.then   seems.like   AGR.dry.up   the
    hagoi.
    lake
    'There is no rain and the lake is dry.' (CD, entry for *hagói*)

Like other Chamorro noun phrases, the pivot can undergo noun phrase ellipsis. This process optionally deletes the head noun along with any possessor, arguments, or adjuncts, as long as certain other elements of the noun phrase—for instance, an adjective or relative clause—are left behind (see 7.5). The deleted material is understood to mean 'one' or 'thing'. In existential sentences, when noun phrase ellipsis affects the pivot, the result can sometimes be given an English translation in which the material left behind in the pivot corresponds to the main clause and the deleted head noun corresponds to an indefinite pronoun (e.g. *someone, anything*). Consider the existential sentences in (27) and their free English translations. The pivot in these sentences has undergone noun phrase ellipsis, leaving behind a relative clause (enclosed in brackets).

(27)a. Ha huhunguk   guaha   [umu'ugung].
        AGR hear.PROG   AGR.exist   AGR.moan.PROG
        'She was hearing (that there was) someone moaning.' (EM 98)

   b. Yanggin   måttu   håo manbisita,   siempri
       if   AGR.arrive   you AGR.INF.ANTIP.visit   indeed
       guaha   [inefresi   håo].
       AGR.exist   AGR.PASS.offer   you
       'If you come to visit, he will surely offer you something (lit. there is surely something that you'll be offered by him).' (EM 89)

   c. Tåya'   [hu li'i'   gi uriyan   guma'], pues
       AGR.not.exist   AGR see   LCL around.L   house   so
       sigi   yu' di humoi'.
       keep.on I   PRT AGR.call
       'I didn't see anyone (lit. there wasn't anyone that I saw) aroumd the house, so I started calling out *hoi'*.' (CD, entry for *hoi'*)

Noun phrase ellipsis often occurs in the pivot of an existential sentence when the head noun indicates location in time within the relative clause. The practical result is that in sentences of this type, *guaha na* can be translated 'sometimes, ever', and *tåya' na* can be translated 'never'. See (28).

(28)a. Si   bihå-hu   guaha   [na   ilek-ña
       UNM   *grandmother-AGR*   *AGR.exist*   *COMP*   *say-AGR*
       "girrim"].
       get.him
       'At times (lit. there were (times) when) my grandmother would say
       "get him".' (CD, entry for *girrim*)
   b. Kåo   guaha   [na   un chagi   kumånnu'   aga',
       Q   *AGR.exist*   *COMP*   *AGR try*   *INF.eat*   *banana*
       mångga,   pat åbas]?
       mango   or guava
       'Have you ever tried (lit. was there (a time) when you tried) eating
       bananas, mangos, or guavas?' (EM 82)
   c. Tåya'   magåhit [na   hu li'i' i   tinanum asension].
       AGR.not.exist   *truly   COMP   AGR see the plant.L milkweed*
       'I have really never seen (lit. there hasn't really been (a time) when
       I saw) a milkweed plant.' (CD, entry for *asensión*)

Finally, a curious property of the pivot of an existential sentence should
be noted: unlike other noun phrases, the pivot can be eliminated entirely by
noun phrase ellipsis. It is not necessary for any audible element of the noun
phrase to be left behind. This pattern is illustrated in the dialogues below.

(29)a. Kåo   manmalåti' mañe'lun   Mariano? — Guaha   ha'.
       Q   *AGR.smart PL.sibling.L Mariano   AGR.exist   EMP*
       'Are any of Mariano's brothers and sisters smart? — Some are.'
   b. Håyi   mamomokkat gi kantun tåsi? — Tåya'.
       who?   *AGR.walk.PROG LCL edge.L ocean   AGR.not.exist*
       'Who is walking on the beach? — Nobody.'

It is unclear why noun phrase ellipsis can have this effect on the pivot, but
not on other noun phrases whose determiner is the null indefinite article.

9.3.2   Indefinite implicit arguments

Chamorro has several types of clauses in which the predicate can have an
implicit argument—an argument with no syntactic realization at all. In the
two types of clauses discussed here, the implicit argument is understood as a
nonspecific indefinite.

9.3.2.1   In antipassive clauses

In antipassive clauses, the prefix *man-/fan-* is attached to a transitive verb to
form an antipassive verb (see 10.3). Antipassive verbs are intransitive: they

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have no direct object. Instead, the argument corresponding to the direct object of the original transitive verb is either implicit or else realized as a noun phrase in the oblique case. Some examples of implicit arguments associated with antipassive verbs are cited below, with the antipassive verb in boldface. The relevant point is that the implicit argument—a nonspecific indefinite—can be translated into English with an indefinite pronoun (e.g. *someone, anything*).

(30)a. Todu   i   imfitmera   debi   di   uma   tungu'
       all   the nurse   should PRT   AGR   know
       manmanggraduha.
       INF.ANTIP.take.temperature.of
       'All the nurses should know how to take someone's temperature.'
       (CD, entry for *graduha*)

   b. Intri   todus   ham   na   tres   ni   **manmånggi'**
      among   all   us.EXCL   L   three COMP   AGR.ANTIP.write
      guini   na   lepblu ...
      LCL.this L   book
      'Among all three of us (excl.) who wrote (anything) in this book...'
      (EM 6)

   c. Yanggin   ti   **manmane'kunguk**   i   famagu'un ...
      if   not   AGR.ANTIP.listen.to   the PL.child
      'If the children didn't listen (to anything)...' (EM 138)

Although antipassive verbs can have an implicit argument, the transitive verbs from which they are derived cannot. When the direct object of a transitive verb is 'missing', it is treated as a null pronoun—a pronoun that refers to a specific individual (or object, stuff, event, etc.), but happens not to be pronounced (see 8.4). Compare the implicit arguments in (30) with the null direct objects of the transitive verbs *konni'* 'take' and *ripåra* 'notice' in the sentences below.

(31)a. Si   Maria   ha   disonra   i   familiån-ña anai   ha
       UNM   Maria   AGR disgrace   the   family-AGR   when   AGR
       konni'   para   i   kotti.
       take   to   the court
       'Maria disgraced her family when she took them to court.' (CD, entry for *disonra*)

   b. Ti   ha   ripåra   ya   måspuk   gui'   gi
      not AGR   notice   and.then   AGR.step.accidentally he   LCL

halum   fachi'.
inside.L mud
'He did not realize it and he stepped into the mud.' (CD, entry for
måspuk)

9.3.2.2   In passive clauses
In passive clauses, the infix *-in-* or the prefix *ma-* is attached to a transitive
verb to form a passive verb (see 10.2). Passive verbs are intransitive; their
subject corresponds to the direct object of the original transitive verb. The
argument corresponding to the subject of the original transitive verb is either
unrealized, or else realized as a noun phrase in the oblique case (the passive
agent). When the passive agent is syntactically realized, its number generally
determines which passive affix appears on the verb: the *-in-* passive is used
when the agent is singular, and the *ma-*passive is used otherwise (see
10.2.2.3 for the full details). Interestingly, the distribution of the *-in-* passive
and the *ma-*passive is different when the agent is *not* syntactically realized.
The unrealized agent of the *ma-*passive can be interpreted as an implicit
argument—a nonspecific indefinite whose number is unknown.[3] In the
sentences below, the passive verb is in boldface. Note that the passive agent
is implicit both in Chamorro and in the English translation.

(32)a.   Dos   na turiyu   **manmapunu'** para   i   fandånggu.
         two   L young.bull AGR.PASS.kill for   the wedding
         'Two young bulls were slaughtered for the wedding celebration.'
         (CD, entry for *turiyu*)
   b.   **Machiku**   yu' gi   paingi.
        AGR.PASS.kiss   I   LCL last.night
        'I was kissed last night.'
   c.   Låmlalam   i   kareta anai   munhåyan
        AGR.very.shiny   the car   when   AGR.finished
        mafa'gåsi.
        AGR.PASS.wash
        'The car was very shiny after being washed.' (CD, entry for
        låmlalam)

The unrealized agent of the *-in-*passive cannot be an implicit agument,
but is instead interpreted as a singular null pronoun—a pronoun that has a
specific referent. Compare the implicit arguments in (32) with the null

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[3] The unrealized agent of the *ma-* passive can also be interpreted as a plural
null pronoun that has a specific (plural) referent (see 10.2.2.3).

passive agents in (33), which are translated into English with singular pronouns ('it' and 'she').

(33) a. I kanggrena piligru sa' siña ha'
       the gangrene *AGR.dangerous* *because* *can* *EMP*
       pininu' håo.
       AGR.PASS.kill *you*
       'Gangrene is dangerous because it can kill you (lit. you can be killed by it).' (CD, entry for *kanggrena*)

   b. Kuinentutusi håo.
      AGR.PASS.speak.to.PROG *you*
      'She's speaking to you (lit. you are being spoken to by her).' (heard in conversation)

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10

PASSIVE AND ANTIPASSIVE

Almost every transitive verb in Chamorro has a passive form and an antipassive form. This chapter describes the form of passive verbs, the form of antipassive verbs, and the structure of the clauses in which they occur.

10.1   Overview

Almost every transitive verb in Chamorro has a passive form and an antipassive form. These have the same arguments as the original transitive verb, but realize them with different grammatical relations. For instance, the transitive verb *kassi* 'tease' has two arguments, one that names the teaser and another that names the one who is teased. In the transitive clause in (1), the argument that names the teaser (*Kika'*) is realized as the subject, and the argument that names the one teased (*Kindu'*) is realized as the direct object.

(1)   Ha   kassi   si   Kika'   si   Kindu'.
      AGR   *tease*   *UNM*   *Kika'*   *UNM*   *Kindu'.*
      'Kika' teased Kindu'.'

Compare the passive clause in (2), in which the verb *kassi* is in its passive form (*kinassi*). Here, the argument that names the one teased is realized as the subject, and the argument that names the teaser is realized as an oblique (called the *passive agent* below).

(2)   Kinassi   si   Kindu' as Kika'.
      AGR.PASS.tease   *UNM*   *Kindu'* *OBL* *Kika'*
      'Kindu' was teased by Kika'. (CD, entry for *kinassi*)

The realization of arguments is different again in the antipassive clause in (3), in which the verb *kassi* is in its antipassive form (*mangassi*). Here, the argument that names the teaser is realized as the subject, but the argument that names the one teased is realized as an oblique (called the *antipassive oblique* below).

(3) Mangassi   si   Kika'   as Kindu'.
     AGR.ANTIP.tease UNM   *Kika'*   OBL *Kindu'*
     'Kika' (was one of those who) teased Kindu'.'

Both passive verbs and antipassive verbs are intransitive: they have no direct object (see 3.2.2).

This chapter documents the form of passive verbs and antipassive verbs, and the structure of the clauses in which they occur.

10.2   Passive

10.2.1   Passive verbs

The passive of a transitive verb has two realizations: one formed with the infix *-in-* and the other, with the prefix *ma-*. Some representative verbs and their passives are cited below.

(4)   VERB   -*IN*-PASSIVE   *MA*-PASSIVE
      patmåda   'slap'   pinatmåda   mapatmåda
      bisita   'visit'   binisita   mabisita
      tattiyi   'follow'   tinattiyi   matattiyi
      konni'   'take'   kinenni'   makonni'
      sugun   'drive'   sinigun   masugun
      hålla   'pull'   hinalla   mahålla
      li'i'   'see'   lini'i', nili'i'   mali'i'
      atan   'look at'   inatan   ma'atan
      istotba   'disturb'   inistotba   ma'istotba

The infix *-in-* is inserted before the first vowel of the verb. This morpheme activates umlaut: it causes the vowel of the immediately following syllable to be realized as a front vowel (see 30.2). If the verb begins with *ñ, ng*, or a liquid (*l, r*), some speakers allow *-in-* to be realized as the prefix *ni-*. The prefix *ma-* is attached to the left of the verb. In careful speech, when *ma-* is attached to a verb that begins with a vowel, this vowel is separated from the vowel of the prefix by glottal stop.

Almost all transitive verbs in Chamorro has passive forms. (One exception: transitive verbs that show agreement with the subject as if they were nouns generally do not have passive forms; see 14.4.) Various factors determine the distribution of the *-in*-passive and the *ma*-passive. In simple sentences, the determining factor is usually the number of the passive agent: the *-in*-passive is used when the passive agent is singular, and the *ma-*

passive is used otherwise. But there are circumstances in which other factors are more important (see 10.2.2.3).

10.2.2   Passive clauses
Passive clauses differ systematically from transitive clauses in the grammatical relations used to realize the arguments of the verb. These differences are discussed in 10.2.2.1. Then, 10.2.2.2 briefly discusses the word order of passive clauses. 10.2.2.3 returns to the factors that determine the distribution of the *-in*-passive and the *ma*-passive. Finally, 10.2.2.4 surveys the uses of passive in discourse.

10.2.2.1   Grammatical relations
A passive verb has the same arguments as the original transitive verb, but realizes them differently. The internal argument—the argument that would be the direct object of the original transitive verb—is realized as the subject, and the external argument—the argument that would be the subject of the original transitive verb—is realized as an oblique (the *passive agent*). Chamorro grammar provides many indications that these are indeed the grammatical relations found in passive clauses.

   To begin with, the internal argument of passive has the form of a subject. When this argument is a noun phrase, it is in the unmarked case (see 5.1.2.1), and the passive verb agrees with it in person and/or number (see 2.2.2). As expected if passive clauses are intransitive, the agreement morphemes are chosen from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives (see 2.2.2.2). Note that in the realis mood, singular/dual agreement is indicated by no special morphology.

   Consider the passive clauses below, which have their internal argument represented in boldface. The internal argument is singular or dual in (5) but plural in (6), and this difference is registered by the agreement on the passive verb.

(5) a. Rinimåta   **si**   **Joey**   ni ma'gås-ña gi
         AGR.PASS.kick.out   *UNM*   *Joey*   *OBL boss-AGR*   *LCL*
         chi'cho'-ña.
         work-AGR
         'Joey was kicked out from his job by his boss.' (CD, entry for
         rimåta)
    b. Mayamak   **i**   **batalan** ni napu.
         AGR.PASS.break *the plank*   *OBL wave*
         'The plank was broken by the waves.' (CD, entry for *båtalan*)

c. Dispues di dies åñus   na kasamentu ni madibutsia
   after   PRT ten years   L   marriage   L   AGR.PASS.divorce
   i   dos tåotåo.
   the two person
   'The couple (lit. the two people) were divorced after ten years of
   marriage.' (CD, entry for *dibutsia*)

(6) a. Manrinimåta   **siha   i   famalåo'an** ni taotåo ginin
   AGR.PASS.kick.out   PL   the PL.woman   OBL person from
   i   lanchun-ñiha.
   the   ranch-AGR
   'The women had been chased away from their farm by the man.'
   (CD, entry for *rimåta*)

b. Manmayamak   **todu   i   tinanum**.
   AGR.PASS.break all   the plant
   'All the plants were ruined.' (Cooreman 1983: 50)

Moreover, the internal argument of passive functions like a subject: it is
the most prominent constituent of the clause (see 3.2.1). It is the constituent
that must be missing in a passive infinitive clause (see 21.2.2).

(7) a. Ti malagu'   [ma'åmti].
   not AGR.want   AGR.INF.PASS.cure
   'She doesn't want to be treated.' (CD, entry for *åmti*)

b. Kumu ti ya-mu   [ma'antula],   pues
   if   not like-AGR   AGR.INF.PASS.ridicule   then
   cha'-mu   chocho'gui giya   ottru.
   better.not-AGR   do.PROG   LCL   other
   'If you do not like to be ridiculed, then do not do it to another.'
   (CD, entry for *antula*)

Unlike other arguments and adjuncts, it cannot be a negative concord item
(see 17.3).

(8)   ?*Ti yinilang   **ni un guma' påtdit**   nu i
   not   AGR.PASS.destroy   not a   house.L concrete   OBL the
   taifun.
   typhoon
   ('Not even one concrete house was destroyed by the typhoon.')

And it must have wide scope with respect to sentence negation (see 17.4).[1]

(9) Ti manmakastiga **tres na famagu'un**.
not AGR.PASS.punish three L PL.child
'There were three children who weren't punished.' (Not: There weren't (even) three children who were punished.)

The same considerations reveal that the passive agent is *not* the subject of a passive clause. When the passive agent is a noun phrase, it has the form of an oblique: it appears in the oblique case, and the passive verb does not show agreement with it. (The choice of *-in-* versus *ma-* does not always reflect the number of the passive agent; see 10.2.2.3.)

Moreover, the passive agent is *not* the most prominent constituent of the clause. Unlike the subject, it cannot be the constituent that must be missing in a passive infinitive clause.

(10)a. *Gof ya-ña [chinatgi si Juan].
very like-AGR AGR.INF.PASS.laugh.at UNM Juan
('She likes laughing at Juan (lit. she likes for Juan to be laughed at by her).')
  b. ?*Manma'å'ñåo i ma'estra [manmasohyu' i
AGR.afraid the teacher AGR.INF.PASS.persuade the
istudiåntis].
students
('The teachers are afraid to influence the students.')

And, like all arguments and adjuncts except the subject, it can be a negative concord item.[2]

(11) Ti ya-ña na u mali'i' **ni håyi**.
not like-AGR COMP AGR PASS.see not anyone
'He didn't want her to be seen by anyone.' (Cooreman 1983: 139)

Antecedent-pronoun relations provide additional evidence that the most prominent constituent of a passive clause is the internal argument, not the

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[1] Chamorro does not allow imperatives to be formed from passive clauses (see 15.2.1). For this reason, imperatives are not included in the discussion in the text.
[2] The negative concord item *ni håyi* 'no one' is indefinite, so it is not preceded by an overt oblique case marker in (11) (see 5.1.1.4).

passive agent. In Chamorro, a pronoun can precede its antecedent only when the antecedent is more prominent than the pronoun (see 26.3.1). As expected, a pronoun in a passive clause can precede its antecedent when the antecedent is the internal argument. This is because the internal argument is the subject of the passive clause—its most prominent constituent. In the passive clause in (12), for instance, the null pronoun possessor ('his') of *man'atungo'-ña* 'his friends' precedes its antecedent, which is the internal argument, *atyu na låhi* 'that boy'. (The pronoun and its antecedent are underlined in the English translation of this example.)

(12) Siempri makassi   [ni manatungo'-ña] atyu   na låhi.
      indeed AGR.PASS.tease   OBL PL.friend-AGR   that   L   boy
      '<u>That boy</u> will be teased by <u>his</u> (own) friends.'

But in (13), the null pronoun possessor of *i karetå-ña* 'his/her car' cannot have *Juan* as its antecedent, because the pronoun precedes *Juan*, but *Juan*— the passive agent—is *not* more prominent than the pronoun.[3] (Here, the absence of underlining in the translation indicates that the pronoun has no antecedent within the clause.)

(13) Mafa'måolik   [i karetå-ña]   as Juan.
      AGR.PASS.repair the car-AGR   OBL Juan
      'His/her (= someone else's) car was repaired by Juan.'

   Some other Austronesian languages have so-called 'passive' clauses in which there is no single most prominent constituent. In Tagalog, for instance, the characteristics of the most prominent constituent are divided between the external argument and the internal argument (see Schachter 1976 and many others since). Chamorro differs from these other languages: in its passive clauses, the internal argument is the subject, and the external argument (the passive agent) is *not* the subject.
   The arguments of a passive clause can be noun phrases of any type: definite or indefinite, quantified or not quantified, strong or weak. (They can also be embedded clauses or infinitives; see Chapters 20 and 21.) Some of the possibilities are illustrated below. The passive clauses in (14) have various types of noun phrases as the subject.

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[3] In fact, neither the passive agent nor the pronoun in (13) is more prominent than the other (see Chung 1998: 69-80).

(14)a.   Gi prisienti,   ti ma'u'usa   esta   **talak**.
       LCL present   not AGR.PASS.use.PROG   already grooved.sinker
       'At present, grooved cone-shaped sinkers are no longer used.' (CD,
       entry for *talak*)

    b.   Mayulang   **singku na bintanan-måmi**.
       AGR.PASS.destroy   five   L   window-AGR
       'Five windows of ours (excl.) were ruined.' (from a letter)

    c.   Manyinamak **todu i makineriha**   nu   i   pakyu   gi
       AGR.PASS.break all   the machinery   OBL the storm   LCL
       dipattamentun   gubetnu.
       department.L   government
       'All the machinery in the government departments was destroyed by
       the storm.' (CD, entry for *måkineriha*)

The clauses in (15) have various types of noun phrases as the passive agent.

(15)a.   *Chikun påkpak*   kumeke'ilek-ña chiku   ni
       kiss.L exploded   meaning-AGR   kiss   COMP
       tinattitiyi   **påkpak   na sunidu**.
       AGR.PASS.follow.PROG   exploded   L   sound
       '*Chikun påkpak* means a kiss that is followed by a smacking sound.'
       (CD, entry for *chikun påkpak*)

    b.   Magululumi   yu' ni **bulan sasata** gi halumtånu'.
       AGR.PASS.surround I   OBL many.L bee   LCL forest
       'I was surrounded by a group of bees in the forest.' (CD, entry for
       gululumi)

    c.   Manisisita   ni **kada unu**   na   u fannanånalu'.
       AGR.PASS.need   OBL each   one   COMP AGR AGR.angry.PROG
       'Everyone needs to be angry.'

Speakers of the Guam and Rota dialects allow the passive agent to have no overt case marker when it is weak (indefinite in some sense, see 6.2.5). This pattern, which is attested in early twentieth-century grammars of Chamorro (e.g. Safford 1904: 506), assimilates passive agents to other noun phrases in the oblique case (see 5.1.1.4). However, for some speakers of the Saipan dialect, the passive agent is always preceded by an overt case marker, even when it is weak. Compare (15a) and (16a), in which a weak passive

agent is not preceded by any case marker, with (15b) and (16b), in which the oblique case marker appears.[4]

(16)a. Na'ma'asi' i   palåo'an   sa'
        AGR.pitiful *the* *woman*   *because*
        fina'isklåklabu   **asaguå-ña.**
        AGR.PASS.make.into.slave.PROG   *spouse-AGR*
        'The woman is pitiful because she is treated like a slave by her husband.' (CD, entry for *isklåbu*)

     b. Mannina'yi   siha   i   taotåo ni **un chetnut** na
        AGR.PASS.infect *PL*   *the person* *OBL a*   *disease COMP*
        mafa'nana'an   kabongku.
        AGR.PASS.name.PROG kabongku
        'The people were infected by a disease called *kabongku*.'
        (Cooreman 1983: 146)

    Passive clauses have the expected structure when formed from transitive verbs that have more than two arguments. The argument that would be realized as the direct object of the original transitive verb is realized as the subject, and the argument that would be realized as the subject of the original transitive verb is realized as the passive agent. Other arguments have the same grammatical relations as in the original transitive clause. Consider the clauses below, which are formed from the verb *nå'i* 'give', a concealed applicative that has three arguments (see 11.5).

(17)a. Anai   ha nå'i   yu' i tindera   ni sepblå-hu ...
        when   *AGR give*   *me the shopkeeper* *OBL leftover-AGR*
        'When the cashier gave me my change...' (CD, entry for *átulaika*)

     b. Nina'i   si   Lucia   as Dorothy   ni fingkås-ña
        AGR.PASS.give *UNM* *Lucia* *OBL Dorothy*   *OBL goods-AGR*
        siha.
        PL
        'Dorothy gave all of her belongings to Lucia.' (CD, entry for *fengkas*)

In the transitive clause in (17a), the giver (*i tindera* 'the shopkeeper') is realized as the subject, the recipient (*yu'* 'me') as the direct object, and the thing given (*ni sepblå-hu* 'my change') as an oblique. In the passive clause

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[4] Typically, a passive agent that is introduced by the null indefinite article and has no overt case marker occurs immediately after the verb.

in (17b), the giver (*Dorothy*) is realized as the passive agent and the recipient (*Lucia*) is realized as the subject. Just as in a transitive clause, the thing given (*ni fingkås-ña* 'her belongings') is realized as an oblique.

10.2.2.2   Word order
Passive clauses have the same word order possibilities as other intransitive clauses. Usually the subject occurs immediately after the verb. But the subject can also occur at the right edge of the clause, as in (12) and the following.

(18)   Nina'yi   ni suspetchu i   bisinu-hu.
        AGR.PASS.infect   OBL tuberculosis the neighbor-AGR
        'My neighbor contracted (lit. was infected by) tuberculosis.' (CD, entry for *suspetchu*)

Other word orders are possible. For instance, the subject can precede the passive agent but follow another argument of the verb. In (19), the other argument names the thing given (*agradesimentu* 'thanks').

(19)   Manå'i   agradesimentu kada   palåo'an   ni i
        AGR.PASS.give   thanks   each   woman   OBL the
        pali'   i   sengsung.
        priest.L the village
        'Each woman was thanked by the priest of the village.'

The passive agent can also precede or follow another argument of the verb. In (20), the other argument names the thing thrown: *åtchu'* 'rocks' in (20a) and *ni bola* 'the ball' in (20b).

(20)a.   Måffak   ha'i-ña   si   Maria annai
         AGR.crack   forehead-AGR   UNM   Maria   when
         dinaggåo   as Jose   åtchu'.
         AGR.PASS.throw   OBL Jose   rock
         'Maria cracked her forehead when Jose threw rocks at her.' (CD, entry for *ha'i*)
     b.   Kåo   dinaggåo   håo tåtti   ni bola   gi as   Rita?
          Q   AGR.PASS.throw you back   OBL ball   OBL   Rita
          'Did Rita throw you back the ball (lit. were you thrown back the ball by Rita)?'

These options reflect the fact that the word order of arguments following the predicate is flexible when the predicate is a verb (see 3.4.1.1).

10.2.2.3   More on *-in-* versus *ma-*

Almost every transitive verb has two realizations of passive, one formed with *-in-* and the other with *ma-*. Which form is used is determined by various factors that are ranked in importance. Although there is some variation across speakers in the details, the overall situation is as follows:

(i)   The *ma-*passive is used to form passive infinitive clauses in the control construction (see 21.2.1).

(21)a. Un diha   o'o'sun   si   Ålu   [**ma**sangåni
        one day   AGR.tired.PROG UNM   Alu   AGR.INF.PASS.say.to
        na   metgotña   si   Pan   ki   guiya].
        COMP   AGR.strong.COMPAR   UNM   Pan   than   him
        'One day Alu got tired of being told that Pan was stronger than
        him.' (Cooreman 1982: 31)
    b. Ti   manmalagu' [man**ma**håtmi   lokkui'] esti i   antigu.
        not AGR.want   AGR.INF.PASS.invade also   this the ancient
        'These ancient people did not want to be invaded.' (Cooreman
        1983: 53)

The *ma-*passive is also used in nominalizations of passive clauses. In such cases, the internal argument of passive is realized as a possessor.

(22)   Ma nutisia si   Pedro yan   i   mangga'chong-ña   ni
        AGR report UNM   Peter and   the   PL.partner-AGR   OBL
        todu   i   man**ma**sangånin-ñiha.
        all   the WH[OBJ].AGR.PASS.say.to-AGR
        'They reported briefly to Peter and those with him all that they had
        been told.' (NT 97)

(ii)   The *-in-* passive is generally used in questions, relative clauses, and the focus construction when the passive verb is irrealis and the passive agent is questioned, relativized, or focused. (Most speakers do not allow a passive agent to be questioned, relativized, or focused when the passive verb is realis; see 22.4.1.1.)

(23)a. Tíeneki   ti   humånåo   yu' sa'   tåya'   [para
        probably   not AGR.go   I   because AGR.not.exist   FUT

u   fanp**in**ilan   i   famagu'un].
AGR AGR.PASS.watch   the PL.child
'I am probably not going because there is no one to watch the children.' (CD, entry for *tiéneki*)

b.   Håyi   siha   na   famalåo'an para   un k**in**enni'   para
who?   PL   L   PL.woman   FUT   AGR PASS.take   to
i   giput?
the party
'Which women are going to take you to the party?'

Otherwise, if neither (i) nor (ii) is relevant (i.e. the clause does not involve an infinitive in the control construction, or a nominalization, and the passive agent is not questioned, relativized, or syntactically focused), then:

(iii) The *ma*-passive is used when the passive agent is higher in animacy than the subject. This happens, for instance, when the passive agent is human but the subject is inanimate.

(24)a.   Manachagu'   nifin   i   hagå-hu   ya   para
AGR.far.apart   tooth.L the daughter-AGR   and.then   FUT
u   **ma**'arekla   nu i   dentista.
AGR PASS.fix   OBL the dentist
'There are gaps between my daughter's teeth and the dentist will work on it.' (CD, entry for *áchagu'*)

b.   **Ma**håtsa   i   gima'-måmi   ni as   tatå-hu   yan i
AGR.PASS.build   the house-AGR   OBL   father-AGR   and the
che'lu-hu   låhi.
sibling-AGR male
'My father built our (excl.) house with my brother.'

It also happens when the passive agent names an adult human but the subject names a child.

Finally, if none of (i-iii) is relevant, then:

(iv) The -*in*-passive is used when the passive agent is singular, and the *ma*-passive is used when the passive agent is dual/plural or unknown.

Practically speaking, the result is that the choice between -*in*- and *ma*- is usually determined by the number of the passive agent. Some examples of clauses with a singular passive agent are given below (see also 10.2.2.1). Note that it does not matter whether the passive agent is animate (see (25a)) or inanimate (25b).

(25)a. Pues   **sin**edda'i   gi   as   tatå-ña   un   ga'lagitu.
         then   AGR.PASS.*find.for*   OBL   *father-*AGR   *a*   *puppy*
         'So then his father found him a puppy (lit. he was found a puppy by his father).' (Cooreman 1983: 108)

    b. Adahi   na   un **sin**aolak   nu i   dadalak i   afula'.
         careful COMP   AGR PASS.*spank*   *by*   *the*   *tail.*L   *the*   *manta.ray*
         'Be careful not to be whipped by the tail of the manta ray.' (CD, entry for *afula'*)

Nor does it matter whether the passive agent is an overt (pronounced) noun phrase (as in (25)) or a null pronoun (26). As long as it is singular, the -*in*- passive is used.

(26)a. Si   Ana,   si   Rhonda,   yan   si   Bell
         UNM   *Ana*   UNM   *Rhonda*   *and*   UNM   *Bell*
         mañeha   anai   måttu   si   Thomas para   u
         AGR.*move.back*   *when*   AGR.*arrive*   UNM   *Thomas* FUT   AGR
         fan**in**anña.
         AGR.PASS.*beat.up*
         'Ana, Rhonda, and Bell moved backwards when Thomas came to beat them up (lit. so they would be beaten up by him).' (CD, entry for *seha*)

    b. Håfa   umistototba   i   patgun ni
         what   WH[SBJ].*disturb.*PROG   *the*   *child*   COMP
         kumeha,   esta   ti   **in**istototba   gui'.
         AGR.*complain*   *already* *not* AGR.PASS.*disturb.*PROG   *he*
         'Whatever was disturbing the child who complained, he was no longer disturbed (by it).' (EM 144)

Some examples of clauses in which the passive agent is dual, plural, or unknown are given in (27) (see also 10.2.2.1).

(27)a. Pues   i   mangginin Pis, mangginin Mual, ginin   iya
         then   *the* AGR.*from*   *Pis* AGR.*from*   *Mual*   *from*   UNM
         Truk   man**ma**po'lu   giya   Tinian   ni Alimån.
         Truk   AGR.PASS.*put*   LCL   *Tinian*   OBL *German*
         'So the ones from Pis, from Mual, from Truk were placed in Tinian by the Germans.' (Cooreman 1983: 148)

    b. Ume'kakat   ha'   i   dos putno   u   **ma**sienti.
         AGR.*walk.slowly* EMP   *the two so.that.not*   AGR PASS.*feel*
         'The two [children] walked very slowly so that they would not be

noticed [by the two thieves].' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

c. Åntis na tiempu, bula na åbas man**mat**ånum guini
 before L time many L guava AGR.PASS.plant LCL.this
 na lugåt, atyu na mafa'na'an Åbas.
 L place that COMP AGR.PASS.name Åbas
 'In the early days, a lot of guavas were planted in this place, and
 that's how it got its name, Åbas.' (CD, entry for *Åbas*)

The contrast between (26b) and (27b-c) illustrates a further point. When the agent of the *-in*-passive is syntactically unrealized, it is understood as a singular null pronoun with a specific referent (equivalent to English 'he, she, it'). But when the agent of the *ma*-passive is syntactically unrealized, it can be understood as a dual or plural null pronoun, as in (27b), or as an implicit argument—a nonspecific indefinite whose referent is unknown, as in (27c) (see 9.3.2.2).

10.2.2.4 Passive clauses in discourse
Transitive and passive clauses in Chamorro have different functions in discourse. According to Cooreman (1987: 58), transitive clauses are much more frequent than passive clauses: 72% of the transitive verbs in the transcribed Chamorro narratives she studied were used to form transitive clauses, whereas just 20.3% were used to form passive clauses (16.1% with the *-in*-passive and 4.2% with the *ma*-passive). Cooreman found a correlation between these types of clauses and which argument of the verb serves as the discourse topic (where the *discourse topic* is what the current part of the discourse is about). Generally, transitive clauses are used when the discourse topic is the external argument; passive clauses are used when the discourse topic is the internal argument. This amounts to saying that transitive and passive clauses are deployed so that the discourse topic is generally the subject. In this respect, the Chamorro passive is like the English passive, but unlike the 'symmetric' passives found in Tagalog and some other Austronesian languages.

 Chamorro's person-animacy restriction also contributes to the use of passive clauses in discourse (see 16.2 and Clothier-Goldschmidt 2015). This restriction relies on the person-animacy hierarchy, which is a ranking of types of noun phrases—animate pronouns, animate noun phrases, inanimate noun phrases—according to salience or inherent topicality. In Chamorro, a transitive clause cannot have a direct object that is higher than the subject on the person-animacy hierarchy. This means, among other things, that a transitive clause cannot have an animate direct object but an inanimate subject, or an animate pronoun as direct object but a noun phrase that is not

a pronoun as subject. When a transitive clause would violate this restriction, the most common remedy is for an intransitive clause to be used instead—typically, the corresponding passive clause.

The factors just described favor the use of passive but do not require it. Consequently, it is not always obvious what motivates the use of a given passive clause in discourse. For instance, in (28)—from a homily about the parable of the blind man—it is plausible that the clauses formed from *sodda'* 'find' and *na'fanli'i'* 'cause to see' are passive because that ensures that the discourse topic—the blind man—remains the subject. (The passive verbs are represented in boldface in these examples.)

(28) Låla'la'   gui'   benti   kuåttru oras   gi halum
     AGR.live.PROG   he   twenty four   hours   LCL inside.L
     homhum ... Dispues un diha   **sinedda'**   gui'   as
     dark   then   one day   AGR.PASS.find   he   OBL
     Jesukristu   ya   **nina'fanli'i'**.
     Jesus.Christ and.then   AGR.PASS.make.ANTIP.see
     'He was living 24 hours in darkness...Then one day he was found by Jesus Christ and was caused to see.' (*Ginen i Obispo* April 3, 2011)

However, it is also plausible that the clause formed from *sodda'* is passive because the corresponding transitive clause would violate the person-animacy restriction: it would have an animate pronoun as direct object (*gui'* 'him') but a nonpronoun as subject (*Jesukristu* 'Jesus Christ').

In (29), from a story about two birds, the clause formed from *istotba* 'disturb' is probably passive because the corresponding transitive clause would violate the person-animacy restriction. Note that the bird that is the addressee ('you') seems not to be the discourse topic, since the immediately surrounding discourse is about the bird that is the speaker ('I').

(29) Yanggin ti un **inistotba**,   malagu'   yu' na   bai hu
     if   not AGR PASS.disturb   AGR.want   I   COMP AGR
     såga   guihi   na trongku anai   un håhatsa   i
     live   LCL.that L tree   COMP   AGR build.PROG the
     chemchom-mu.
     nest-AGR
     'Oh, if you won't be disturbed by it, I want to live in that tree where you are building your nest.' (EM 84)

Finally, in (30), from a transcribed narrative, it is unclear why the first clause (formed from *nå'i* 'give') is transitive but the second clause (formed

from *sangani* 'tell') is passive. Both clauses have the exactly same (null) pronouns as external and internal arguments, and the larger discourse context suggests no change in discourse topic. Nonetheless, one clause is passive and the other is not.

(30) Ha nå'i   guatu   ni na'-ña   ya   **sinangåni**
      AGR give   to.there OBL food-AGR   and.then AGR.PASS.say.to
      na   para   u   chotchu.
      COMP   FUT   AGR ANTIP.eat
      'He$_i$ gave him$_j$ his$_j$ food and he$_j$ was told by him$_i$ that he$_j$ should eat.' (Cooreman 1983: 79-80)

10.3 Antipassive

10.3.1 Antipassive verbs
The antipassive of most transitive verbs is formed with a prefix that is realized as *man-* in the realis mood or following the plural agreement prefix, and as *fan-* elsewhere (see 2.2.3.1 on the *m/f* alternation). Some representative transitive verbs and their realis antipassive forms are cited below.

(31) | VERB | | ANTIPASSIVE (REALIS) |
      | --- | --- | --- |
      | patmåda | 'slap' | mamatmåda |
      | bisita | 'visit' | manbisita |
      | taitai | 'read' | manaitai |
      | tungu' | 'know' | manungu' |
      | konni' | 'take' | mangonni' |
      | fåhan | 'buy' | mamåhan |
      | chagi | 'try' | mañagi |
      | sugun | 'drive' | mañugun |
      | gågåo | 'request' | manggågåo |
      | ngingi' | 'sniff, smell' | manngingi' |
      | hålla | 'pull' | manhålla |
      | li'i' | 'see' | manli'i' |
      | atan | 'look at' | manatan |
      | istotba | 'disturb' | manistotba |

The final *n* of the antipassive prefix undergoes the morphophonemic alternation known as nasal substitution (see 30.4): this *n* assimilates in place of articulation to an immediately following voiceless obstruent (*p, t, k, f, ch, s*), and the voiceless obstruent deletes.

A small number of transitive verbs form their antipassive in other ways. A few transitive verbs beginning with *t* form their antipassive with *man-/fan-* but, in addition, delete the stressed vowel of the root and shift the primary stress to the prefix; see (32). Evidence that these antipassives do indeed contain the antipassive prefix comes from the fact that they show the *m/f* alternation; e.g. the irrealis counterpart of *måmfi'* 'pick (fruit) is *fåmfi'*, the irrealis counterpart of *månggi'* 'write' is *fånggi'*, and so on.

(32)　VERB　　　　　　　　　　　　ANTIPASSIVE (REALIS)
　　　tifi'　　　　'pick (fruit)'　　måmfi'
　　　tufuk　　　'weave'　　　　måmfuk
　　　tufung　　　'count'　　　　måmfung, mångfung
　　　tugi'　　　'write'　　　　månggi'

A small number of transitive verbs have an antipassive that does not differ from their transitive form. (Note, though, that the two forms take their agreement from different paradigms; see below and 2.2.2.)

(33)　VERB　　　　　　　　　　　　ANTIPASSIVE
　　　ayåo　　　'borrow'　　　ayåo
　　　dandan　　'play (music)'　dandan
　　　gimin　　　'drink'　　　gimin
　　　måma'　　'chew (betelnut)'　måma'
　　　tilifón　　'telephone'　　tilifón

Finally, the antipassive of *kånnu'* 'eat' is *chotchu*.[5] The antipassive of verbs formed with the causative prefix *na'-* 'cause, make, let' simply shifts the primary stress to the causative prefix (see 12.3.3.2). In the causative verbs in (34), primary stress is indicated by an acute accent.

(34)　VERB　　　　　　　　　　　　ANTIPASSIVE
　　　kånnu'　　'eat'　　　　chotchu
　　　na'hókka　'cause to pick up'　ná'hokka
　　　na'súgun　'cause to drive'　ná'sugun
　　　na'lågu　　'cook'　　　ná'lagu

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[5] More precisely, *chotchu* 'eat' is the antipassive form of *kånnu'* 'eat' in its literal meaning. There are nonliteral uses of *kånnu'* (e.g. in the expression 'eat one's words') that have no analogue involving *chotchu*.

Antipassive verbs are intransitive, so their agreement with the subject is chosen from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives. The morphological make-up of the antipassive verb determines how agreement is realized with a singular/dual subject in the realis mood. For antipassive verbs formed with the prefix *man-/fan-*, as in (31) and (32), singular/dual agreement is indicated by no special morphology. For other antipassive verbs, as in (33) and (34), singular/dual agreement is indicated by *-um-*. See the examples below.

(35)   ANTIPASSIVE
          VERB   (SG./DU. REALIS)
          bisita   'visit'   manbisita
          fåhan   'buy'   mamåhan
          tugi'   'write'   månggi'
          ayåo   'borrow'   umayåo
          kånnu'   'eat'   chumotchu
          na'lågu   'cook'   muná'lagu

A handful of transitive verbs apparently have no antipassive form; these include the verb *nisisita* 'need', transitive verbs that show agreement with the subject as if they were nouns, and transitive verbs derived by attaching the applicative suffix *-i* to an intransitive verb or adjective (such as *ekgu'i* 'be jealous of', *omlati* 'fit into'; see 11.2.2.3 and Cooreman 1987: 125-126).

10.3.2 Antipassive clauses

Antipassive clauses differ systematically from transitive clauses in their realization of the verb's internal argument. This is discussed in 10.3.2.1. Then, 10.3.2.2 briefly discusses word order, and 10.3.2.3 surveys how antipassive clauses are used in discourse.

10.3.2.1 Grammatical relations

An antipassive verb has the same arguments as the original transitive verb, but realizes the internal argument differently. This argument is not realized as the direct object, but instead is implicit—not syntactically realized at all—or else realized as an oblique (the *antipassive oblique*). In contrast, the external argument is realized as the subject, just as it is for the original transitive verb.

The external argument is clearly the subject of an antipassive clause. When this argument is a noun phrase, it is in the unmarked case (see 5.1.2.1), and the antipassive verb agrees with it in person and/or number (see 2.2.2). Consider the realis antipassive clauses below. The external argument

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(in boldface) is singular in (36) but plural in (37), and the agreement on the verb registers this difference in number.

(36)a. Mama'tinas **si Tåta** å'if para inan i
AGR.ANTIP.make *UNM* *Father* *torch* *for* *light.L* *the*
kareran-ñiha guatu gi liyang.
trip-AGR *to.there* *LCL* *cave*
'Father made a torch to light their way into the cave.' (CD, entry for *å'if*)

  b. Chatta' chumotchu **i taotåo**.
barely *AGR.ANTIP.eat* *the* *person*
'The man barely ate.' (CD, entry for *chatta'*)

(37)a. Manmama'tinas **i istudiånti** tilintinis para i
AGR.ANTIP.make *the* *student* *trinkets* *for* *the*
nanan-ñiha.
mother-AGR
'The students made trinkets for their mothers.' (CD, entry for *tilintinis*)

  b. Mañotchu **ham** kelaguin ti'åo yan titiyas.
AGR.ANTIP.eat *we.EXCL* *kelaguin.L* *goatfish and tortillas*
'We (excl.) ate goatfish kelaguin and tortillas.' (CD, entry for *man-*)

In the irrealis antipassive clauses enclosed in brackets in (38), the agreement on the verb registers both person and number.

(38)a. Ge'halum gi gima' ya [un chotchu].
go.further.inside *LCL* *house* *and.then* *AGR ANTIP.eat*
'Do come inside the house and eat.' (CD, entry for *gé'halum*)

  b. Plånta i nengkanu' ya [ta fañotchu].
set.up *the* *food* *and.then* *AGR AGR.ANTIP.eat*
'Serve the food so we (incl.) can eat.' (CD, entry for *néngkanu'*)

This is the agreement pattern characteristic of intransitive verbs and adjectives (see 2.2.2.2).

    As expected from its form, the external argument of an antipassive verb functions like a subject: it is the most prominent constituent of the clause. It is the constituent that must be missing in an infinitive clause (see 21.2.2).

(39)a. Tai ganas yu' [chumotchu].
AGR.not.have *appetite I* *AGR.INF.ANTIP.eat*
'I have no appetite to eat.' (CD, entry for *gånas*)

b. I famagu'un manmafa'nå'gui [manmaninsåtta kulålis
the PL.child AGR.PASS.teach AGR.INF.ANTIP.string bead
para kadena].
for necklace
'The children were taught to string beads for necklaces.' (CD, entry
for *insåtta*)

And, unlike other arguments and adjuncts, it cannot be a negative concord
item (see 17.3).

(40) *Ti mananaitai **ni unu** nu i newspaper.
not AGR.ANTIP.read.PROG not one OBL the newspaper
('No one reads the newspaper.')

Just as clearly, the internal argument of antipassive is not a direct object.
When this argument is syntactically realized, it is in the oblique case, not the
unmarked case.

(41)a. Hassånña si Pedro manbisita as **nåna**
AGR.seldom.COMPAR UNM Pedro AGR.ANTIP.visit OBL mother
kini si Kindu'.
than UNM Kindu'
'Pedro visits mother less than Kindu'.' (CD, entry for *kini*)
b. Måolik manadda' si Frank nu **i**
AGR.good AGR.ANTIP.imitate UNM Frank OBL the
kakanta.
singer
'Frank is good at imitating the singer.' (CD, entry for *adda'*)

Unlike a direct object, it cannot be realized as a weak pronoun (see 8.3), and
it cannot be questioned or relativized.

(42)a. *****Håfa** mamåhan si Maria gi tenda?
what? AGR.ANTIP.buy UNM Maria LCL store
('What did Maria buy at the store?')
b. *Manispipiha yu' **lepblu** ni siña manaitai
AGR.ANTIP.look.for.PROG I book COMP can AGR.ANTIP.read
yu'.
I
('I'm looking for a book that I can read.')

The fact that the agreement of antipassive verbs is chosen from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives provides more evidence that the internal argument is not a direct object, but rather an oblique.

Because the subject of antipassive is an external argument, it must be specific (see 16.4). If it occurs within the clause, after the predicate, it cannot be a quantified noun phrase, a general indefinite, or any other nonspecific noun phrase.

(43) a. *Manaitai **kada palåo'an** lepblu.
AGR.ANTIP.read each woman book
('Each woman read a book.')

b. *Yanggin mamamaisin **håyi** kuestion, guåhu
if AGR.ANTIP.ask.PROG anyone question I
bai hu oppi siha.
AGR answer them
('If anyone is asking a question, I will be the one to answer them.')

The antipassive oblique is not similarly restricted. It can be implicit (not syntactically realized at all), in which case it is understood as a nonspecific indefinite (see 9.3.2).

(44) a. Yuti' i basula sin un famaisin.
discard the trash without AGR ANTIP.ask
'Just throw away the trash without asking (anyone).' (CD, entry for *sin*)

b. Gof prisisu na un tungu' manaitai
AGR.very important COMP AGR know AGR.INF.ANTIP.read
gi lingguahi-mu yan gi finu' Englis.
LCL language-AGR and LCL speech.L English
'It's very important for you to know how to read in your language as well as in English.' (CD, entry for *prisisu*)

c. Pumeska si Ramon gi paingi låo ti
AGR.fish UNM Ramon LCL last.night but not
mangonni', sa' gåtdun i kutdet-ña.
AGR.ANTIP.catch because AGR.entangled the fishing.line-AGR
'Ramon went fishing last night, but he didn't catch (any) because his line got entangled.' (CD, entry for *gåtdun*)

When it is syntactically realized, the antipassive oblique can be any type of noun phrase—definite or indefinite, quantified or not quantified, strong or

weak. (It can also be an embedded clause or infinitive.) This can be seen from (37), (41), and the following.

(45)a. Mungnga   mamatcha   ni **iyun   ottru   tåotåo**.
       don't   AGR.ANTIP.touch OBL possession.L other   person
       'Don't touch the things of other people.'
   b. Manli'i'   yu' **un suttera**.
       AGR.ANTIP.see   I   a   single.woman
       'I saw a young woman.' (EM 72)
   c. Manånum   i   lancheru   **meggai simiyan   kamuti**.
       AGR.ANTIP.plant the farmer   many.L seedling.L   sweet.potato
       'The farmer planted a lot of sweet potato stems.' (CD, entry for
       risiembra)

However, when the event named by the verb has a lasting effect on the internal argument and this argument is definite, most speakers do not use the antipassive (see 10.3.2.3 and Cooreman 1987: 121-124).

Finally, when a transitive verb has more than two arguments, the verb's morphological make-up determines the structure of the corresponding antipassive. There are two patterns:

(i) Chamorro has applicative verbs that are derived by attaching the suffix *-i* to a transitive verb (see 11.3.1). One applicative verb of this type is *sangåni* 'say to, tell', from *sångan* 'say'. Applicative verbs of this type have a third argument that usually names a goal, recipient, or beneficiary and is realized as their direct object. (The original verb's internal argument is realized as an oblique.) In the antipassive of an applicative derived with *-i*, the additional argument serves as the antipassive oblique. It is almost always implicit, as in (46) (see 11.3.2.3).

(46)   Mañangåni   si   Juan   na   måttu   si
       AGR.ANTIP.say.to UNM   Juan   COMP   AGR.arrive UNM
       Jose.
       Jose
       'Juan told (people) that Jose arrived.'

(ii) Chamorro also has *concealed* applicatives—verbs that lack applicative morphology, but resemble applicatives formed from transitive verbs in certain other ways (see 11.5). One such concealed applicative is *gågåo* 'ask for, request'. Concealed applicatives are verbs of transfer that have three arguments: an argument that names the one who did the transfer, another argument that names the recipient, and a third argument that names

what was transferred. The argument that names the recipient is realized as the direct object. (The argument that names what was transferred is realized as an oblique.) In (47), for instance, the recipient of the request (*si Peling*) is realized as the direct object.

(47)   Hu gågåo si   Peling salåppi' para   i   gima'.
       AGR request UNM   Peling money for   the house
       'I asked Peling for money for the house.' (CD, entry for *gågåo*)

In the antipassive of a concealed applicative, it is not the recipient, but rather the object of transfer, that serves as the antipassive oblique. (The recipient is realized as a noun phrase in the local case or as the object of a preposition.) Thus, in (48), the object of transfer (*kalamendu'* 'tamarind') is the antipassive oblique, and the recipient is realized as a noun phrase in the local case (*gi bisinu* 'at the neighbor').

(48)   Manggågåo   yu' kalamendu' gi bisinu.
       AGR.ANTIP.request   I   tamarind   LCL neighbor
       'I asked for tamarind from the neighbor.' (CD, entry for *kalamendu'*)

See 11.5 for further discussion.

10.3.2.2   Word order
Antipassive clauses have the same word order options as other intransitive clauses. Usually, the subject occurs immediately after the verb, as in (36), (37), and many other examples cited earlier. The subject can also occur at the right edge of the clause, as in (49).

(49)a.   Manispipiha   sapatos-ña si   Susana.
         AGR.ANTIP.look.for.PROG shoes-AGR   UNM   Susana
         'Susana is looking for (a pair of) shoes.'
    b.   Mamumulan   famagu'un på'gu   gi egga'an
         AGR.ANTIP.watch.PROG   PL.child   now   LCL morning
         si   Antonio.
         UNM   Antonio
         'Antonio is watching the children this morning.'

In addition, the subject can follow the antipassive oblique but precede other arguments or adjuncts.

(50)a. Mamumulan   famagu'un si   Antonio   på'gu
        AGR.ANTIP.watch.PROG *PL.child* *UNM*   *Antonio*   *now*
        gi egga'an.
        LCL morning
        'Antonio is watching the children this morning.'
    b. Manrisibi   kåtta   si   Juan   ginin   as Maria.
        AGR.ANTIP.receive   *letter* *UNM*   *Juan*   *from*   *OBL Maria*
        'Juan received a letter from Maria.'

And there are other word order possibilities. All these options are expected, given that the word order of arguments after the predicate is flexible when the predicate is a verb (see 3.4.1.1).

10.3.2.3   Antipassive clauses in discourse

Antipassive clauses have different functions in discourse from transitive clauses and passive clauses. To begin with, they occur less often. According to Cooreman (1987: 58), just 7.7% of the transitive verbs in the Chamorro narratives she investigated were used to form antipassive clauses. Cooreman (1987: 72) found that most of these antipassive clauses (61.4%) had an internal argument that was implicit—not syntactically realized at all, and understood as a nonspecific indefinite. In other words, the typical antipassive clause in discourse resembles English clauses of the type *She's reading* or *They wrote*.[6] Cooreman (1987: 69) also found that when the internal argument was syntactically realized, it was almost always indefinite. She concluded (1987: 132-135) that the antipassive is used when the activity described by the predicate is foregrounded and the identity of the internal argument is unimportant.

   The character of the verb's internal and external arguments has an impact on the choice between a transitive clause and the corresponding antipassive clause. According to Topping and Dungca (1973: 239-241), the antipassive must be used when the 'object' of a transitive verb—that is, the internal argument—is indefinite. This is clearly a strong preference, but not an absolute requirement. When the internal argument is indefinite, the clause can be passive, as can be seen from the following.

(51)a. Mahåtsa   dångkulun måkina   para   i   tupu.
        AGR.PASS.build   *big.L*   *machine*   *for*   *the sugar.cane*

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[6] One difference between the antipassive in Chamorro and so-called object deletion in English is that the Chamorro antipassive occurs with a much wider range of verbs.

'A big machine was built for the sugar cane.' (Cooreman 1983: 36)

b. Låo esta   manmatomba   palu.
   but already AGR.PASS.knock.down   some
   'But some [latte stones] have been knocked over.' (Cooreman 1983: 8)

It is also possible for the clause to be transitive, although this is considerably less common.

(52) a. Si   tatå-hu   ha chagi ya   ha sufa'
       UNM   father-AGR AGR try   and.then   AGR rush.at
       trongkun   gågu.
       tree.L   ironwood
       'My father tried [tuba] and he crashed into an ironwood tree.' (EM 84)

   b. Po'lu   monumentu siha   gi kantun chålan.
      put   monument PL   LCL edge.L road
      'Put monuments along the road.' (CD, entry for *monumentu*)

   Cooreman (1987: 121-126) observes that the antipassive cannot be used when the internal argument is definite and the event named by the verb has a lasting effect on it. This observation appears to be correct, but is hard to verify on the basis of naturally-occurring data, given that most antipassive clauses in discourse have internal arguments that are implicit or indefinite.

   Finally, many speakers report that the antipassive is used when the event is performed, caused, or instigated by more than one individual, including the individual named by the subject (see Cooreman 1987: 126-128). This is why (3)—repeated below as (53)—is sometimes translated as 'Kika' was among those who did the teasing of Kindu'', or 'One person teased Kindu', another person teased Kindu'...and then Kika' did the teasing'.

(53)   Mangassi   si   Kika' as Kindu'.
       AGR.ANTIP.tease UNM   Kika'   OBL Kindu'
       'Kika' (was one of those who) teased Kindu'.'

10.4   Further reading

See Gibson (1980), Baker (1988), and Chung (1998; 2013) on the structure of transitive, passive, and antipassive clauses in Chamorro, and Cooreman (1987) for a detailed study of the uses of these types of clauses in Chamorro discourse.

11

APPLICATIVES

Applicatives are transitive verbs derived by adding a direct object to a verb or adjective. They can be derived from many types of verbs and adjectives. This chapter describes the details of how they are formed and the structure of the clauses in which they occur.

11.1   Overview

Applicatives are transitive verbs derived from a verb or adjective. An applicative verb has the same subject as the verb or adjective from which it is derived, but a different direct object. Sometimes this direct object is an argument of the original predicate; other times not.

Consider the intransitive verb *suha* 'go away, get away'. This verb has an argument that names what goes away and another argument that names what is gone away from. In (1), the first of these arguments is realized as the subject; the second is realized as an oblique in the local case.

(1)   Sumuha   gi   fi'on-ña.
        AGR.go.away   *LCL near-AGR*
        '[The lights] moved away from him.' (Cooreman 1982: 23)

The applicative derived from *suha* is *suhåyi* 'go away from, avoid', a transitive verb whose direct object realizes the argument that names what is gone away from. Compare (1) with the last clause of (2), which is enclosed in brackets.

(2)   Maila' ya   esti hit   guatu   ya   [ta
        come   and.then   this we.INCL to.there and.then   AGR
        suhåyi   i   ispikadot].
        go.away.from   the speaker
        'Let's (incl.) go over there and get away from the speaker.' (CD, entry for *guatu*)

This chapter describes the form of applicatives and the structure of the clauses in which they occur. Applicatives derived from intransitive verbs or

adjectives are described in 11.2; applicatives derived from transitive verbs are described in 11.3. Then, two more idiosyncratic types of applicatives are discussed: *false applicatives*, which have applicative morphology but the same direct object as the verb they were derived from (11.4), and *concealed applicatives*, which lack applicative morphology but are similar to applicatives in other ways (11.5).

11.2 Derived from intransitive verbs or adjectives

11.2.1 Applicative verbs
Applicative verbs can be created from many intransitive verbs or adjectives by adding the suffix -*i*. This suffix is realized as -*yi* after a vowel and as -*gui* in some other, less predictable cases.[1] Some representative intransitive verbs or adjectives and the applicatives derived from them are listed below.

(3)

	VERB OR ADJECTIVE		APPLICATIVE	
	chålik	'laugh'	chatgi	'laugh at'
	ekgu'	'jealous'	ekgu'i	'jealous of'
	essitan	'joke'	essitani	'joke with'
	fatå'chung	'sit'	fata'chungi	'sit on'
	guput	'have a party'	guputi	'have a party for'
	keha	'complain'	kihåyi	'complain about'
	kuentus	'speak'	kuentusi	'speak to'
	liliku'	'go in circles'	liliku'i	'encircle'
	ma'å'ñåo	'afraid'	ma'a'ñågui	'afraid of'
	mamåhlåo	'embarrassed'	mamahlågui	'embarrassed about'
	mumu	'fight'	mumuyi	'fight with'
	påyun	'accustomed'	payuni	'accustomed to'
	suha	'go away'	suhåyi	'go away from'
	tåtti	'behind'	tattiyi	'follow'
	to'la'	'spit'	to'lå'i	'spit at'

Some of the intransitive predicates in (3) (e.g. *ekgu'* 'jealous', *ma'å'ñåo* 'afraid', and *tåtti* 'behind') have two arguments: one that is realized as the

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[1] The suffix -*i* is realized as -*gui* after *åo* (/aw/), in which case the /w/ often deletes; e.g. *essalågui* 'shout to' (from *essalåo* 'shout'). It is also realized as -*gui* in a handful of other cases; e.g. *chefflågui* 'whistle at' (from *cheffla* 'whistle'), *falåggui* 'go and get' (from *falak* 'go to'), *fattoigui* 'pay a visit to; haunt' (from *fåttu* 'arrive'), *fo'naigui* 'precede' (from *fo'na* 'before, front'), and *kahulo'gui* 'climb on top of' (from *kahulu'* 'get up, climb up').

subject and another that is realized as an oblique. Applicatives derived from these predicates have the same arguments, but realize the original oblique argument as their direct object. Other verbs and adjectives (e.g. *chålik* 'laugh', *guput* 'have a party', *liliku'* 'go in circles') have just one argument. Applicatives derived from these predicates have an additional argument that is realized as their direct object. The meaning of the additional argument is fixed arbitrarily by the original verb or adjective; e.g. *kuentusi* means 'speak to', not 'speak for' or 'speak about', and *kihåyi* means 'complain about', not 'complain to' or 'complain for'.

Very occasionally, an applicative has a more specialized meaning than the verb or adjective it is derived from. For instance, the applicative *håtmi* (from *hålum* 'go inside, enter') means 'attack, invade', and the applicative *fattoigui* (derived from *fåttu* 'arrive') means 'visit, haunt'.

Applicatives can be created from a large number of intransitive verbs and adjectives, including some that are morphologically complex. For instance, the applicative *finu' Chamorruyi* 'speak Chamorro to', is derived from the intransitive verb *finu' Chamorro* 'speak Chamorro', which is itself derived from the compound noun *finu' Chamorro* 'Chamorro language' (by conversion; see 28.4.9). However, not all intransitive predicates can be used to create applicatives, and speakers do not always agree about which applicatives derived from intransitive predicates are words of the language. (Some speakers recognize e.g. *omlati* 'fit into' and *ma'a'ñågui* 'afraid of' as Chamorro words, but others do not.) Among the intransitive predicates that apparently cannot be used to form applicatives are *gaigi* 'be at (a place)', *poddung* 'fall', and *yayas* 'tired'.

11.2.2 Applicative clauses

Generally, a clause constructed from an applicative verb derived from an intransitive predicate is an ordinary transitive clause with two arguments. 11.2.2.1 discusses the grammatical relations of these clauses. 11.2.2.2 mentions their word order. 11.2.2.3 points out two respects in which applicatives derived from intransitive predicates differ from other transitive verbs.

11.2.2.1   Grammatical relations

Applicative verbs have the same subject as the verb or adjective from which they are derived, but a different direct object. When the original predicate is intransitive, the sense in which the applicative has a different direct object is that it has a direct object *at all*. It is transitive, in other words.

It is very clear that applicative clauses in Chamorro are transitive. First of all, the applicative verb agrees with the subject using forms chosen from

the agreement paradigms for transitive verbs (see 2.2.2.1). These morphemes are represented in boldface below.

(4) a. Tåya' magåhit na **hu** chatgi, sa' kumu
  AGR.not.exist *truly* *COMP* *AGR laugh.at* *because if*
  hu chatgi, siempri manpåra.
  AGR laugh.at *indeed* *AGR.stop*
  'In fact, I never laugh at them, because if I laughed at them, they would stop [speaking Chamorro].' (from a panel discussion at a conference)

 b. Ti **ha** payuyuni trabiha i ga'lågu i sagå-ña.
  not AGR accustomed.to.PROG yet *the dog* *the place-AGR*
  'The dog is not accustomed to his place yet.' (CD, entry for *payuni*)

The nonsubject argument of the applicative, which is referred to here as the *applicative object*, has the form of a direct object. Like other direct object noun phrases, it appears in the unmarked case (see 5.1.2.1).

(5) a. Suhåyi **i** **ichan** / Yanggin gaigi håo
  go.away.from *the rain* *if* *AGR.be.at* *you*
  sanlichan.
  DIR.south
  'Avoid the rain / When you're in the south.' (EM 14)

 b. Mientras mås un essalågui **si** **Ton**, mås
  while *more* *AGR shout.to* *UNM* *Ton* *more*
  guinafi.
  AGR.PASS.make.angry
  'The more you shouted to Ton, the more angry he got.' (CD, entry for *guåfi*)

And it can be realized as a weak pronoun (see 8.3).

(6) a. Mampridika i suruhåna na para bai hu
  AGR.ANTIP.predict *the healer* *COMP* *FUT* *AGR*
  fattoigui **gui'** på'gu.
  arrive.at *her* *now*
  'The native healer predicts that I will visit her today.' (CD, entry for *pridika*)

 b. Ha kuentusi **ham** på'gu gi iskuela si Siñot
  AGR speak.to *us.EXCL now* *LCL school UNM* *Mr.*

Villagomez.
Villagomez
'Mr. Villagomez talked to us (excl.) at school today.' (CD, entry for *siñót*)

Moreover, the applicative object functions like a direct object in the structure of the clause. It realizes the argument that would be realized as the subject of the corresponding passive (see 10.2.2.1). To see this, compare the transitive clauses in (7) with the passive clauses in (8), which are constructed from the same applicative verbs.

(7) a. Ti bai **fo'naigui** håo.
        not AGR ahead.to   you
        'I will not go before you.' (CD, entry for *fo'naigui)*
    b. Hu **essitani** si   Maria gi giput.
        AGR joke.to UNM   Maria   LCL party
        'I joked with Maria at the party.' (CD, entry for *essitani*)
(8) a. **Manfine'naigui**   i   istudiåntis ni i   ma'estra.
        AGR.PASS.ahead.to   the students   OBL the teacher
        'The students were preceded by the teacher.'
    b. **Ma'essitani**   si   Tony   ni mangga'chong-ña.
        AGR.PASS.joke.to UNM   Tony   OBL PL.companion-AGR
        'Tony was joked with by his friends.' (CD, entry for *essitani*)

Finally, the applicative object acts like a direct object for the purposes of the person-animacy restriction (see 16.2). In Chamorro, a transitive clause cannot have a direct object that is higher than the subject on the person-animacy hierarchy. This means, among other things, that a clause cannot have an animate direct object but an inanimate subject, or an animate pronoun as direct object but a nonpronoun as subject.[2] Applicative clauses obey this requirement. The applicative clause in (9) is ungrammatical because the applicative object is animate (*si Carmen*) but the subject is inanimate (*i katta* 'the letter'). Compare the intransitive clause in (10), which has the same meaning but is grammatical, because *si Carmen* is not a direct object, but rather the object of a preposition.

(9)   *Ha   hanåogui   i   katta si   Carmen.
        AGR   go.to   the letter UNM   Carmen

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[2] Note that first person pronouns are not regulated by the person-animacy restriction (see 16.2).

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('The letter went to Carmen.')

(10) Humånåo i katta para si Carmen.
     AGR.go   the letter   to   UNM   Carmen
     'The letter went to Carmen.'

The applicative clause in (11) is grammatical, but only in the meaning in which the subject is a null pronoun and the direct object is the noun phrase *si Juan*, not the reverse.

(11) Ha tattiyi   si   Juan   para i   kareta.
     AGR behind.to   UNM   Juan   to   the car
     'He followed Juan to the car.' (Not: Juan followed him to the car.)

Like other subjects of transitive clauses, the subject of an applicative clause must be specific (see 16.4). When it occurs after the verb, it cannot be a quantified noun phrase, a general indefinite, or any other nonspecific noun phrase. Like other direct objects, the direct object of an applicative clause can a noun phrase of any type: definite or indefinite, quantified or not quantified, strong or weak. It can also be a finite embedded clause or an infinitive clause. In (12), the direct object of the applicative *malagu'i* 'want' is an infinitive clause (enclosed in brackets).

(12) I   katni ni   hu malagu'i   [kumånnu'], taigui
     the meat   COMP   AGR want.to   INF.eat   AGR.not.be.at
     guihi.
     there
     'The meat that I wanted to eat was not there.'

11.2.2.2   Word order
Clauses formed from the applicative verbs described in 11.2.1 have the word order of ordinary transitive clauses (see 3.4.1.1). See e.g. (4b) and (6b).

11.2.2.3   Antipassive and wh-agreement
Though applicatives derived from intransitive predicates are transitive, they differ from other transitive verbs in two curious respects.

(i) Almost every transitive verb in Chamorro has a passive form and an antipassive form (see Chapter 10). As expected, applicatives derived from intransitive predicates can occur in the passive. This can be seen from (8) and the sentences below, in which the passive forms of applicative verbs are represented in boldface.

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(13)a. Mananña   i   ma'estru   unu   na påtgun iskuela
       AGR.ANTIP.beat.up   the teacher   one   L   child.L school
       ya   **makihåyi**   ni mañaina.
       and.then   AGR.PASS.complain.about   OBL PL.parent
       'The teacher hit one of the school children and he was reported on
       by the parents.' (CD, entry for *kihåyi*)

    b.   ... **manhinatmi**   hit   bula   tåotåo ginin
          AGR.PASS.enter.into   we.INCL much   person from
       sanhiyung.
       DIR.outside
       'We (incl.) were invaded by an influx of people from outside.' (CD,
       entry for *kumu mohon*)

    c. **Pinayuni**   as nanå-ña   si   Manuel.
       AGR.PASS.accustomed.to OBL mother-AGR UNM   Manuel
       'Manuel's mother is used to him (i.e. Manuel is known by his
       mother).'

However, applicatives derived from intransitive predicates generally do not occur in the antipassive. Speakers reject the antipassive forms of applicatives such as *fatkiluyi* 'not respond to, ignore' (from *fátkilu* 'silent'), *ma'a'ñågui* 'afraid of' (from *ma'å'ñåo* 'afraid'), *omlati* 'fit into' (from *omlat* 'fit'), *payuni* 'be accustomed to' (from *payun* 'accustomed'), and so on; moreover, antipassives of this sort are not found in corpus data. Just a handful of applicatives are exceptions to this generalization. One such applicative is *kuentusi* 'speak to' (from *kuentus* 'speak'), which occurs in the antipassive in (14).[3]

(14)   Kumu pinilan   si   Ana,   mampus
       if   AGR.menstruate UNM   Ana   so.much
       matå'pang   ya   ni   u **fanguentusi**.
       AGR.unfriendly and.then   not.even   AGR ANTIP.speak.to
       'When Ana has her menstruation, she's so grouchy and won't even
       talk to anybody.' (CD, entry for *pinilan*)

    It is unclear why applicatives derived from intransitive predicates generally have no antipassive. Given that an applicative creates a direct object whereas an antipassive removes the direct object, it is tempting to speculate that the two functions are incompatible. But that cannot be right overall,

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[3] Other applicatives that exceptionally have antipassive forms are *tattiyi* 'follow' (from *tåtti* 'behind') and—for some speakers—*fattoigui* 'visit, haunt' (from *fåttu* 'arrive').

since applicatives derived from transitive verbs can occur in the antipassive under some circumstances (see 11.3.2.3).

(ii) In Chamorro, when an argument of the verb is questioned, relativized, or syntactically focused, the verb shows wh-agreement (see 22.4.1). This special agreement, which replaces the normal agreement with the subject, registers the grammatical relation of the constituent that has been questioned, relativized, or focused—henceforth, the *displaced constituent*. For instance, when the displaced constituent is the subject of a transitive verb in the realis mood, the verb shows the subject form of wh-agreement, which is realized as the infix *-um-*. When the displaced constituent is the direct object, the verb optionally shows the object form of wh-agreement, which is realized as the infix *-in-* plus nominalization of the verb.

Like other transitive verbs in the realis mood, an applicative shows the subject form of wh-agreement when the displaced constituent is the subject. This can be seen from the constituent questions in (15).

(15) a. Håyi **chumatgi** håo?
  who? *WH[SBJ].laugh.at* *you*
  'Who laughed at you?'
 b. Håyi **pumayuni** ennåo?
  who? *WH[SBJ].accustomed.to* *that*
  'Who is used to that?'

However, an applicative cannot show *the object form* of wh-agreement when the displaced constituent is its direct object. Compare the ungrammatical questions in (16) with their grammatical counterparts in (17), which show the ordinary forms of agreement with the subject.

(16) a. *Håyi **chinatgem-mu** / **chinatgi-mu**?
  who? *WH[OBJ].laugh.at-AGR*
  ('Who did you laugh at?')
 b. *Håfa na klåsin nengkanu' **pinayunin-miyu**?
  what? *L* *sort.L* *food* *WH[OBJ].accustomed.to-AGR*
  ('What sort of food are you (pl.) accustomed to?')
(17) a. Håyi **un** chatgi?
  who? *AGR laugh.at*
  'Who did you laugh at?'
 b. Håfa na klåsin nengkanu' **en** payuni?
  what? *L* *sort.L* *food* *AGR accustomed.to*
  'What sort of food are you (pl.) accustomed to?'

Just as with the ungrammatical antipassives that were mentioned earlier, speakers do not recognize the verbs with object wh-agreement in (16) as legitimate verb forms of the language.

This generalization has a handful of exceptions. For instance, the applicative *tattiyi* 'follow' (from *tåtti* 'behind') can show the object form of wh-agreement, as in (18).[4]

(18)　Håyi　**tinattiyin-ñiñiha**?
　　　who?　WH[OBJ].follow-AGR.PROG
　　　'Who are they following?'

But overall, applicatives derived from intransitive predicates cannot show wh-agreement with their direct object. It is unclear why this should be.

11.3　Derived from transitive verbs

11.3.1　Applicative verbs
Applicatives can be derived from transitive verbs by adding one of the suffixes *-i, -iyi*, *-guan*, and *-ñaihun*. The most productive of these suffixes, *-i*, is realized as *-yi* after a vowel and *-gui* after *åo*. When *-i* is attached to a transitive verb, the result is an applicative that has the same subject as the original verb but a different direct object—either an oblique argument of the original verb or else a new argument that has been added. If the argument was an argument of the original verb, it usually names a goal or recipient. If the argument has been added, it typically names a goal, recipient, or beneficiary; sometimes it also names the possessor of the original verb's internal argument. Some representative examples of transitive verbs and their *-i* applicatives are given below.

(19)　TRANSITIVE VERB　　　　APPLICATIVE
　　　chuli'　'take, bring'　chuli'i　'bring to, bring for'
　　　sångan　'say'　　　sangåni　'tell, say to'
　　　taitai　'read'　　　taitayi　'read to'
　　　tugi'　'write'　　　tugi'i　'write to'
　　　cho'gui　'do'　　　chu'guiyi　'do for'

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[4] *Tattiyi* 'follow' and *kuentusi* 'speak to' (see (14)) are probably among the most frequently occurring applicatives derived from intransitive predicates. In the CD database, *tattiyi* occurs 25 times and *kuentusi*, 18 times, but most other applicatives derived from intransitives (e.g. *chatgi* 'laugh at', *payuni* 'accustomed to', *adingani* 'talk to') occur less than 5 times.

fa'tinas	'make'	fa'tinåsi	'make for'
fåhan	'buy'	fahåni	'buy for'
pulan	'watch'	pulåni	'watch for'
tifi'	'pick'	tifi'i	'pick for'

The use of *-i* to derive applicatives from transitive verbs is frequent and productive. Among other things, *-i* applicatives can be formed from some types of morphologically complex transitive verbs, including causatives (e.g. *na'hånåo* 'make go', from *hånåo* 'go') and applicatives derived from intransitive predicates (e.g. *adingani* 'talk to', from *ádingan* 'converse, talk').

(20) TRANSITIVE VERB   APPLICATIVE

na'hånåo	'make go'	na'hanåogui	'make go to, send to'
adingani	'talk to'	adinganiyi	'talk on behalf of (to someone)'

Applicatives can also be derived from transitive verbs with *-guan*, *-iyi*, or *-ñaihun*, but these other suffixes are not used as often or as productively. The suffix *-guan* is realized as *-ngguan* after a vowel; it forms applicatives whose additional argument names a maleficiary—one adversely affected by the event described by the original verb. This additional argument also typically names the possessor of the original verb's internal argument. Very occasionally, the suffix *-iyi* is used to form applicatives whose additional argument names a beneficiary.[5] The suffix *-ñaihun* is realized as *-nñaihun* after a vowel; it can be used to form applicatives whose additional argument names an instrument.[6] Some examples of these types of applicatives are given below.

(21) TRANSITIVE VERB   APPLICATIVE

chuda'	'spill'	chudå'guan	'spill on'
chuli'	'bring, take'	chule'guan	'take or steal from'
såkki	'steal'	sakkengguan	'steal from'
yamak	'break'	yamakguan	'break on'
sångan	'say'	sanganiyi	'say for, interpret'

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[5] The suffix *-iyi* could conceivably be decomposed into two instances of the applicative suffix *-i*. That approach is not taken here.
[6] The suffix *-ñaihun* is homophonous with a suffix that attaches to verbs or adjectives and contributes a durative ('for awhile') or moderative ('slightly') meaning (see 28.3.2).

fa'gåsi	'wash'	fa'gasinñaihun	'wash with'
ipi'	'split'	ipi'ñaihun	'split with'
pika	'chop'	pikanñaihun	'chop with'

A transitive verb can form more than one type of applicative. The applicatives in (22) are both derived from *chuli'* 'take, bring'.

(22)a. Hu **chuli'i** i neni difirentis na kamisita.
        AGR take.to the baby different L undershirt
        'I got the baby different kinds of undershirt.' (CD, entry for *kamisita*)

   b. Ai, linalalo'-ña i patgun anai **machule'guan** ni
        oh NMLZ.angry-AGR the child when AGR.PASS.take.from OBL
        na'-ña kandi.
        food-AGR candy
        'My, how angry the child was when somebody took his candy!'
        (CD, entry for *linalålu'*)

11.3.2 Applicative clauses

An applicative derived from a transitive verb has three arguments. 11.3.2.1 describes how these arguments are realized. 11.3.2.2 briefly mentions the word order of applicative clauses. 11.3.2.3 discusses how applicatives fare with respect to antipassive and wh-agreement.

11.3.2.1   Grammatical relations

As expected, applicatives derived from transitive verbs have the same subject as the original verb, but a different direct object. This *applicative object* realizes an oblique argument of the original verb, or a new argument that has been added. The original verb's internal argument—the argument that would have been realized as its direct object—is realized as an oblique.[7]

The same considerations discussed in 11.2.2.1 reveal that the applicative object is the direct object of the applicative clause. First of all, it has the form of a direct object. It occurs as a noun phrase in the unmarked case.

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[7] Some speakers of the Guam dialect allow the original verb's internal argument to be realized in the unmarked case, as if it were a second direct object. This 'double object' pattern is probably the result of interference from the English double object construction (as in *I gave the child an apple*). The structure of Chamorro applicative clauses with two apparent direct objects has not yet been investigated.

(23)a. Litiyi **i** **neni** ni mamadot-ña.
   mix.for   *the*   *baby*   OBL *milk.bottle-AGR*
   'Mix the baby's milk bottle.' (CD, entry for *liti*)
 b. Ma chule'guan **si** **tåta** ni tenidut basula gi lanchu.
   AGR take.from   UNM   *Father* OBL *pitchfork*   LCL *farm*
   'Someone (lit. they) stole Father's pitchfork at the farm.' (CD, entry
   for *ténidut basula*)

And it can be realized as a weak pronoun.

(24)a. Esti   na istoria ha sangångani **hit**   para   ta tutuhun
   this   L   *story*   *AGR say.to.PROG us.INCL*   FUT   *AGR begin*
   di nuebu.
   over.again
   'This story tells us (incl.) to begin again.' (*Ginen i Obispo* April 29,
   2013)
 b. Hågu   un sanganiyi **yu'** na   ti bai fåttu.
   you   *AGR say.for*   *me* COMP   *not AGR arrive*
   'You explain for me that I am not coming.' (CD, entry for
   sanganiyi)

Further, the applicative object functions like a direct object. It realizes the
argument that would be the subject of the corresponding passive (see
10.2.2.1). Compare the transitive clauses in (25) with the passive clauses in
(26), which are constructed from the same applicative verbs.

(25)a. Båsta ha'   ni   hu **na'laguyi** håo ...
   enough EMP   OBL   *AGR cook.for*   *you*
   'Isn't it enough that I cooked for you...' (CD, entry for *båsta*)
 b. Si   Juan   ha **sakkengguan** i famagu'un ni i
   UNM   *Juan*   *AGR steal.from*   *the* PL.*child*   OBL *the*
   bisikletan-ñiha.
   bicycle-AGR
   'Juan stole the children's bicycle.'
(26)a. Mapput **manmana'laguyi** i sientu   na tåotåo.
   AGR.hard   *AGR.PASS.cook.for*   *the hundred*   L   *person*
   'One hundred people are hard to cook for (lit. hard to be cooked
   for).'
 b. I famagu'un **mansinakkengguan** as Juan ni i
   the PL.*child*   *AGR.PASS.steal.from*   OBL *Juan*   OBL *the*

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bisikletan-ñiha.
bicycle-their
'The children had their bicycle stolen by Juan.'

Like other direct objects, the applicative object cannot be higher than the subject on the person-animacy hierarchy (see 16.2). The applicative clauses in (27) are ungrammatical because they violate this restriction: the applicative object is an animate pronoun, while the subject is a nonpronoun (*si Juan*, *si Susan*).

(27)a. *Ha   tugi'i gui'   kåtta   si   Juan.
         AGR   write.to her   letter UNM   Juan
        ('Juan wrote her a letter.')

  b. *Ha   yamakguan gui'   si   Susan nai bisikletå-ña.
         AGR   break.on   him   UNM   Susan OBL bicycle-AGR
        ('Susan broke his bicycle.')

Compare the applicative clauses in (28), which conform to the person-animacy restriction, because the subject is a pronoun.

(28)a. Un tugi'i   yu' mamis na kåtta.
         AGR write.to me sweet   L   letter
        'You wrote me a sweet letter.' (CD, entry for *mamis*)

  b. Ha yamakguan si   Juan   ni bisikletå-ña.
         AGR break.on   UNM   Juan   OBL bicycle-AGR
        'She broke Juan's bicycle'

In contrast, the original verb's internal argument is not a direct object of the applicative clause, but rather an oblique. When this argument is a noun phrase, it is in the oblique case, not the unmarked case; see (23), (25b), and (28).[8] It cannot be realized as a weak pronoun. And it remains an oblique even when the applicative occurs in the passive, as can be seen from (26b). Applicatives derived from transitive verbs do not have *two* direct objects, in other words. They have just one direct object—the applicative object—and an oblique, which realizes the original verb's internal argument (but see note 7 for a qualification).

When the applicative object realizes a beneficiary or—especially—a maleficiary, it may also realize the possessor of the oblique. In such cases,

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[8] Weak noun phrases in the oblique case are not preceded by an overt case marker (see 5.1.1.4).

the oblique shows possessor agreement, as in (29) and many examples cited earlier.

(29)a. Nå'i   yu' pudet   ya   bai bendiyi håo ni
     give   me authority   and.then   AGR sell.for you OBL
     tano'-mu.
     land-AGR
     'Give me the authority to sell your land for you.' (CD, entry for *pudét*)

   b. Håyi   gai   aturidåt   para   u bendengguan   yu'
     who?   AGR.have   authority   FUT   AGR sell.on   me
     ni   tano'-hu?
     OBL land-AGR
     'Who has authority to sell my land on me?' (from a conference presentation)

   c. Mamåhan   si   nanå-hu   linila   na yåtdas
     AGR.ANTIP.buy   UNM   mother-AGR purplish   L yardage.L
     magågu para   u   laksiyi yu' chininå-hu.
     clothes FUT   AGR saw.for me shirt-AGR
     'My mother bought a purplish piece of cloth so she could sew me a shirt.' (CD, entry for *linila*)

When the applicative object realizes a maleficiary, some speakers require the oblique to show possessor agreement, but others do not; compare (22b) and (23b). No such requirement is in force when the applicative object realizes a beneficiary, as can be seen from the following.

(30)a. Kåo   siña   un cho'guiyi   yu' fabot   ya   un
     Q   can   AGR do.for   me favor   and.then   AGR
     yuti'   i   basula?
     discard the trash
     'Can you please do me a favor and throw out the trash?' (CD, entry for *fabót*)

   b. Hu adinganiyi si   Maria   as Nåna   sa'   ma'å'ñåo
     AGR talk.for   UNM   Maria   OBL Mother because AGR.afraid
     nu i   bidå-ña.
     OBL the WH[OBJ].do-AGR
     'I talked to Mother for Maria, because she is afraid of what she did.' (CD, entry for *adinganiyi*)

Gibson (1980: 37-39) treats applicative clauses in which the direct object realizes the possessor of the oblique as derived by possessor raising. But even in clauses of this type, the direct object is almost always construed as a beneficiary (in *-i* applicatives) or a maleficiary (in *-guan* applicatives). This suggests that the applicative object *always* realizes a goal, recipient, beneficiary, maleficiary, or instrument, and any further relation of possession between the applicative object and the oblique is merely inferred. This is an area where further research is needed.

11.3.2.2   Word order
Clauses formed from the applicative verbs described in 11.3.1 have the word order of transitive clauses with a subject, a direct object, and an oblique (see 3.4.1.1).

11.3.2.3   Antipassive and wh-agreement
As shown earlier (in 11.2.2.3), applicatives derived from intransitive predicates generally do not occur in the antipassive or show the object form of wh-agreement. Interestingly, applicatives derived from transitive verbs can occur in both of these constructions.

    (i) Applicatives derived from transitive verbs can have both passive *and* antipassive forms (see Gibson 1980: 164-166). In this respect, they behave like ordinary transitive verbs. Some passive clauses that are formed from applicatives can be seen in (22b), (26), and below.

(31)a. **Mansinangåni** as Juan   todu   i   bidåda-ña
        AGR.PASS.say.to OBL Juan   all   the WH[OBJ].do-AGR.PROG
        kada   diha.
        each   day
        'Juan told them all the things he had been doing every day.'
        (Cooreman 1983: 85-86)
    b. **Manmachuli'i**   ham   ni in nisisita na mantension.
        AGR.PASS.bring.for we.EXCL   OBL AGR need   L   supplies
        'We (excl.) were brought the provisions we (excl.) needed.' (NT 269)

Some antipassive clauses formed from applicatives are cited in (32). The antipassive of *sangåni* 'say to' (from *sångan* 'say') is volunteered by speakers and attested in conversations and in corpus data. Over and above this, speakers report that other *-i* applicatives, such as *bendiyi* 'sell for' (from *bendi* 'sell'), *chuli'i* 'bring for' (from *chuli'* 'bring'), and *fahåni* 'buy for' (from *fåhan* 'buy'), have antipassive forms as well.

(32)a. Guaha   na tåotåo måolik   para **mañangåni**
     AGR.exist   *L*   *person AGR.good*   *for*   *AGR.INF.ANTIP.say.to*
     rumot.
     rumor
     'Some people are good at spreading (lit. telling) rumors.' (CD, entry
     for *rumót*)
  b. **Mañuli'i**   si   Juan   odda'.
     AGR.bring.for   *UNM*   *Juan*   *dirt*
     'John got dirt (for someone).'

Nonetheless, antipassive clauses seem to be more tightly constrained when they are formed from applicatives than when they are formed from ordinary transitive verbs. The applicative verbs that are known to occur in the antipassive are among the most common *-i* applicatives. Whether the pattern exends to less frequent *-i* applicatives, or to applicatives formed with *-guan*, *-iyi*, or *-ñaihun,* is not yet known. Gibson (180: 165) observes that antipassive clauses formed from applicatives require the applicative object (i.e. the goal or beneficiary) to be implicit. This requirement may well be the default, although there are speakers who are comfortable violating it. It is unclear what is responsible for these patterns.

(ii) Applicatives derived from transitive verbs show wh-agreement in questions, relative clauses, and the focus construction, but not when the displaced constituent is the applicative object. In this respect, they behave like applicatives derived from intransitive predicates. Consider the question in (33a) and the focus construction in (33b), both of which are in the realis mood. Here, the displaced constituent is the subject, and the applicative shows the subject form of wh-agreement.

(33)a. Håyi **sumangåni**   hamyu para   en suhåyi   i
     who? *WH[SBJ].say.to*   *you.PL* *FUT*   *AGR go.away.from*   *the*
     linalålu'   Yu'us?
     NMLZ.angry.L   *God*
     'Who told you (pl.) to flee from God's wrath?' (NT 105)
  b. I   hobinsitu **fumahåni**   yu' gimen-hu   kafe.
     the teenager   *WH[SBJ].buy.for me drink-AGR*   *coffee*
     'It was the teenage boy who bought me a cup of coffee.' (CD, entry
     for *hobinsitu*)

But in (34), the displaced constituent is the applicative object, and the applicative cannot show the object form of wh-agreement.

(34)a. *Håyi **sinanganem-mu** ni istoria?
　　　who?　WH[OBJ].say.to-AGR　OBL story
　　　('Who did you tell the story to?')
　b. *Håyi **tinigi'e'-ña** ni katta?
　　　who?　WH[OBJ].write.to-AGR　OBL letter
　　　('Who did he write the letter to?')

Compare (35), in which the applicative verb shows normal agreement with the subject.

(35)a. Esta på'gu si Dolores ni håyiyi ha' **ha**
　　　until now UNM Dolores not anyone.EMP EMP AGR
　　　sangåni ni minagåhit.
　　　say.to OBL truth
　　　'As for Dolores, until now there's no one she has told the truth to.'
　b. Håyi **un** tugi'i ni i katta?
　　　who? AGR write.to OBL the letter
　　　'Who did you write the letter to?'

This is not the end of the story. Recall that when an applicative is derived from a transitive verb, the original verb's internal argument is realized as an oblique. When this oblique is the displaced constituent, the applicative *can* show the object form of wh-agreement, (36) shows.

(36)a. Håfa **sinanganen-ña** si Juan as Maria?
　　　what? WH[OBJ].say.to-AGR UNM Juan OBL Maria
　　　'What did Juan tell Maria?'
　b. Håfa **tinaitayin-ñiha** ni famagu'un siha?
　　　what? WH[OBJ].read.to-AGR OBL PL.child PL
　　　'What did they read to the children?'

The same holds true when the oblique is the displaced constituent and the applicative is in the passive (see 22.4.1.2).

(37)　Hahassu ... håfa **manmasangånin-miyu** ni
　　　remember.PROG what? WH[OBJ].AGR.PASS.say.to-AGR OBL
　　　manapostolis.
　　　PL.apostle
　　　'Remember...what you (pl.) were told by the apostles.' (NT 457)

The questions in (38) reveal that the object form of wh-agreement is realized optionally, just as it is more generally.

(38)a. Håfa   si   Juan   **ha** sangåni si   Maria?
        what? *UNM* *Juan* *AGR say.to* *UNM*   *Maria*
        'What did Juan tell Maria?'

   b.   Håfa   **ma** taitayi i   famagu'un siha?
        what? *AGR read.to* *the* *PL.child* *PL*
        'What did they read to the children?'

   c.   Hassu   ha'   håfa   manmasangåni.
        remember   *EMP*   *what?*   *AGR.PASS.say.to*
        'Just remember what they were told.'

In other words, it is possible for applicatives derived from transitive verbs to show the object form of wh-agreement when the displaced constituent is the original verb's internal argument, but not when it is the applicative object.

The range of applicatives that exhibit this pattern is not yet known. It is clear from speakers' judgments and from naturally-occurring data that one such applicative is *sangåni* 'say to'. For some speakers, but not all, the pattern extends to other applicatives, particularly when the additional argument is a goal or recipient. The pattern is even more robust for concealed applicatives (see 11.5).

11.4   False applicatives

A few applicatives formed by attaching *-i* to a transitive verb do not have a different direct object from the original verb from which they are derived. These verbs are *false applicatives*: despite their applicative suffix, they do not have the structure or the additional argument characteristic of applicatives. Consider the false applicative *hassuyi* 'think, remember'. Its direct object realizes the argument that names what is thought about or remembered. In this respect, *hassuyi* (as in (39a)) does not differ from *hassu* 'think, remember' (39b), the verb from which it is derived.

(39)a. **Hassuyi**   håfa   hu såsangan.
        think   *what?*   *AGR say.PROG*
        'Think of what I am saying.' (NT 394)

   b.   **Hahassu**   håfa   esta   hu sangåni hamyu.
        think.PROG   *what?*   *already* *AGR say.to* *you.PL*
        'Think of I have told you (pl.).' (NT 58)

The direct object of the false applicative *tåtmi* 'plant' realizes the argument that names the thing planted. In this respect, *tåtmi* does not differ from *tånum* 'plant', the verb from which it is derived.

(40)a.   Hu **tåtmi**   i   nira'   gi   halum   kåhun.
        AGR *plant*   *the leek*   *LCL inside.L box*
        'I planted leeks in the box.' (CD, entry for *nira'*)

    b.   Hu **tånum** i   floris   kunanaf   gi   gima'.
        AGR *plant*   *the flowers.L*   *crawling*   *LCL house*
        'I planted the crawling vine plants at the house.' (CD, *floris kúnanaf*)

Two other false applicatives: *ayudåyi* 'help' (from *ayuda* 'help') and *po'luyi* 'put' (from *po'lu* 'put').

Chamorro has relatively few false applicatives. At least some of them are homophonous with applicatives that add an argument. In the pair of examples below, *po'luyi* is used as a false applicative ('put') in (41a) and as a benefactive applicative ('put for') in (41b).

(41)a.   Anai   hu **po'luyi** bula   na glue   gi lepblu,
        when   *AGR* *put*   *much*   *L*   *glue*   *LCL book*
        gini'ut   måolik.
        AGR.PASS.hold   *good*
        'When I put a lot of glue on the book, it grips very good.' (CD, entry for *gini'ut*)

    b.   Sikera   un **po'luyi** yu' dos grånun   mellun.
        at.least *AGR* *put.for* *me two piece.L cantaloupe*
        'At least you should leave me two pieces of cantaloupe.' (CD, entry for *sikera*)

11.5   Concealed applicatives

Certain Chamorro verbs that describe events of transfer can be viewed as *concealed applicatives*. These verbs lack an applicative suffix, but in other ways are similar to applicatives derived from transitive verbs. There are two types of concealed applicatives, both of which occur quite frequently—more frequently than many of the other types of applicatives documented earlier.

(i) A few verbs of transfer occur only as concealed applicatives (but see below). Some representative examples of these verbs are listed in (42).

(42)   SOME CONCEALED APPLICATIVES
        fa'nå'gui   'teach'
        fa'nu'i   'show'
        faisin   'ask'
        nå'i   'give'
        nå'yi   'add to'
        ofresi   'offer'

The verbs in (42) have three arguments: an argument that names the one who does the transfer, another argument that names the recipient of the transfer, and a third argument that names what is transferred (i.e. the object of transfer). The recipient is realized as the direct object and the object of transfer is realized as an oblique, in a pattern broadly similar to the *-i* applicatives described in 11.3.1. Some illustrative examples:

(43)a. Ha nå'i   yu' ni empe'-ña.
        AGR give   me OBL part-AGR
        'He gave me his part.' (CD, entry for *empi'*)
     b. Si   Andrew ha ofresi si   Annabel   na   para
        UNM   Andrew AGR offer   UNM   Annabel   COMP   FUT
        u   inasagua   ottru   såkkan.
        AGR PASS.marry other   year
        'Andrew proposed to marry Annabel (lit. Andrew offered Anna that she would be married by him) next year.' (CD, entry for *ofresi*)
     c. Hu nå'yi   i   maseta meggai na odda'.
        AGR add.to the vase   much   L   dirt
        'I put a lot of soil in the vase.' (CD, entry for *odda'*)

The noun phrase that realizes the recipient is clearly the direct object of the concealed applicative. This noun phrase has the form of a direct object: it occurs in the unmarked case (see (43b)) and can be a weak pronoun (43a). It also has the function of a direct object: it realizes the argument that would be the subject of the corresponding passive. Compare the applicative clauses in (43) with the passives below.

(44)a. I   gurupun   istudiånti   ma solisita gi ma'estran-ñiha
        the group.L   student   AGR plead   LCL teacher-AGR
        para u fannina'i   siha   mås   tiempu.
        FUT   AGR AGR.PASS.give they   more   time
        'The group of students pleaded with their teacher that they be given more time.' (CD, entry for *solisita*)

b. Inofresi   si   John   as Joey   ni   karetå-ña.
    AGR.PASS.offer   UNM   *John*   OBL *Joey*   OBL *car-AGR*
    'Joey offered John his car.' (CD, entry for *ofresi*)

Like other direct objects, the noun phrase that realizes the recipient con-
forms to the person-animacy restriction. This means, among other things,
that it cannot be an animate pronoun when the subject is a nonpronoun; see
(45).

(45)   *Ha   nå'i   gui'   si   Antonia   ni   rigalu-ña.
        AGR   *give*   *him*   UNM   *Antonia*   OBL *present-AGR*
        ('Antonia gave him a present.')

The constituent that realizes the object of transfer is clearly an oblique. If
this constituent is a noun phrase, it occurs in the oblique case, even when the
applicative has been passivized; see (43a) and (44b).

    Moreover, the concealed applicatives in (42) resemble other applicatives
in their interaction with wh-agreement. In questions, relative clauses, and the
focus construction, when the displaced constituent is the direct object of a
concealed applicative, the verb cannot show the object form of wh-agree-
ment.

(46)a. *Håyi   **nina'i-mu**?
        who?   *WH[OBJ].give-AGR*
        ('Who did you give it to?')
   b.   *Håyi   **fina'na'guem-mu**   nu   arithmetic?
        who?   *WH[OBJ].teach-AGR*   OBL *arithmetic*
        ('Who did you teach arithmetic to?')

But when the oblique is the displaced constituent, the verb can show the ob-
ject form of wh-agreement. This can be seen from the questions in (47a-b)
and the relative clause in (47c).

(47)a. Håfa   **nina'i-mu**?
        what?   *WH[OBJ].give-AGR*
        'What did you give?'
   b.   Håyi   **fina'na'guem-mu**?
        who?   *WH[OBJ].teach-AGR*
        'Who did you teach about (i.e. use as an example in your
        teaching)?'

c. Manmabinenuyi ham   anai   in kannu' atyu   i
   AGR.PASS.poison we.EXCL   when   AGR eat   that   the
   [**nina'in-ñiha**]   na   guihan.
   WH[OBJ].give-AGR   L   fish
   'We (excl.) were poisoned when we (excl.) ate that fish that they
   gave us (excl.).' (CD, entry for *binenuyi*)

Finally, concealed applicatives resemble other applicatives in permitting antipassive only to a limited extent. Recall that applicatives derived from intransitive predicates generally have no antipassive; applicatives derived from transitive verbs occur in the antipassive, but under restricted conditions (see 11.3.2.3). Concealed applicatives may at first seem to go against this pattern, since they have antipassive forms that occur freely and routinely. But there is a complication: these antipassives reconfigure the arguments of the concealed applicative in an unexpected way. The recipient does not serve as the internal argument of antipassive, but is realized as a noun phrase in the local case (see (48a)), or—less frequently—as the object of a preposition (48b).

(48) a. Famaisin   **gi ma'gas** åntis   di un hånåo.
        AGR.ANTIP.ask   LCL boss   before   PRT AGR go
        'Ask the manager before you leave.' (CD, entry for *må'gas*)
     b. Ti hu gosa   mannå'i   grådu **para i**
        not AGR enjoy AGR.INF.ANTIP.give   grade to   the
        istudiånti.
        student
        'I'm not satisfied giving grades to the students.' (CD, entry for
        gosa)

The argument whose realization identifies it as the internal argument of antipassive is, instead, the object of transfer. This argument is either implicit, as in (48a) and (49a), or else occurs in the oblique case, as in (49b).

(49) a. Meskina   si   nanå-hu   ni nengkano'-ña, ti u
        AGR.stingy   UNM   mother-AGR OBL food-AGR   not AGR
        fannå'i   gi ottru   tåotåo.
        ANTIP.give   LCL other   person
        'My mother is so stingy with her food that she will not give (any) to
        other people.' (CD, entry for *meskinu*)
     b. Gof   gåki'   si   Jun;   ti ya-ña
        AGR.very   stingy   UNM   Jun   not like-AGR

manofresi **ni na'-ña**.
AGR.INF.ANTIP.offer OBL food-AGR
'Jun is so stingy he doesn't want to share his food.' (CD, entry for *gaki'*)

That is, the object of transfer serves as the internal argument of antipassive, despite the fact that it is not the direct object of the concealed applicative.

This unexpected pattern falls into place if the antipassives in (48-49) are not formed directly from concealed applicatives after all. Instead, these antipassives, and concealed applicatives like (42), are derived from transitive verbs that never occur in their basic transitive form, but only in certain derived forms. These hypothesized transitive verbs have the same arguments as the verbs in (42), but take the object of transfer as their direct object. On this view, the antipassives in (48-49) are routine: they have the same internal argument as the hypothesized transitive verbs from which they are derived (namely, the object of transfer). Concealed applicatives are also more or less routine: they are derived from the hypothesized transitive verbs, but without an applicative suffix. Like some other applicatives, they have no antipassive form. What remains a mystery is why the hypothesized transitive verbs have such a highly restricted distribution: they are found in the antipassive, and as (concealed) applicatives, but do not occur otherwise.

This picture receives some support from the patterning of the other type of concealed applicative in Chamorro, which is described next.

(ii) A very few verbs of transfer can serve *either* as ordinary transitive verbs *or* as concealed applicatives. Some of these verbs are listed below.

(50)   TRANSITIVE VERBS THAT CAN ALSO BE CONCEALED APPLICATIVES
        ayåo   'borrow'
        bendi   'sell'
        dåggåo   'throw'
        oppi   'answer'

The verbs in (50) have three arguments: an argument that names the one who does the transfer, another argument that names the object of transfer, and a third argument that names the source, recipient, or goal of the transfer. When the verb serves as an ordinary transitive verb, the argument that names the object of transfer is realized as the direct object; the source, recipient, or goal is realized as an oblique noun phrase that appears in the local case or serves as the object of a preposition.

(51)a. Anai   hu dåggåo i   kutdet,   gotpi   måktus.
        when   AGR throw   the fishing.line suddenly   AGR.snap
        'When I threw the line, it suddenly snapped.' (CD, entry for *gotpi*)
   b. Hu ayåo   i   supiyu   ginin   i   gima'.
        AGR borrow the carpenters.plane   from   the house
        'I borrowed the carpenter's plane from the house' (CD, entry for
        supiyu)

When the verb serves as a concealed applicative, the source, recipient, or goal is realized as the direct object, and the object of transfer is realized as an oblique. Compare the ordinary transitive verbs in (51) with the concealed applicatives below.

(52)a. Inatalaki   si   Juana gi as   Acinta sa'   ha
        AGR.PASS.scowl.at   UNM   Juana OBL   Acinta because AGR
        dådaggåo i   katu   ni atchu'.
        throw.PROG the cat   OBL rock
        'Acinta scowled at Juana because she threw a rock at the cat.' (CD,
        entry for *atalaki*)
   b. Ha ayåo   yu' si   Marian ni mulinu para   u   gulik
        AGR borrow me UNM   Marian OBL grinder FUT   AGR grind
        i   denni'.
        the hot.pepper
        'Marian borrowed a grinder from me to grind the hot pepper.' (CD,
        entry for *gulik*)

The diagnostics used earlier reveal that the object of transfer is the direct object in ordinary transitive clauses like (51), but the source, recipient, or goal is the direct object in concealed applicative clauses like (52). The passives corresponding to the two types of clauses are different, for instance. Compare the passive of the ordinary transitive *dåggåo* 'throw' in (53a) with the passive of the concealed applicative *dåggåo* in (53b).

(53)a. Måpta'   i   niyuk   anai   madåggåo   gi trongku.
        AGR.crack   the coconut when   AGR.PASS.throw LCL tree
        'The coconut cracked open when it was thrown at the tree.' (CD,
        entry for *måpta'*)
   b. Puti   i   dinanchin   åtchu' yanggin madåggåo   håo.
        AGR.hurt   the NMLZ.hit.L   stone   if   AGR.PASS.throw you
        'It hurts to get hit by a stone if it is thrown at you (lit. if you are
        thrown at).' (CD, entry for *åtchu'*)

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This suggests that the concealed applicatives in (50) are derived from the corresponding ordinary transitive verbs, but without an applicative suffix, as was proposed for the concealed applicatives in (42). The difference is that the ordinary transitive verbs in (50) have no distributional restrictions: they can occur in the full range of clause types available to transitive verbs.

Concealed applicatives of type (50) resemble other applicatives in their interaction with wh-agreement. In questions, relative clauses, and the focus construction, when the displaced constituent is their direct object—the noun phrase that realizes the source, recipient, or goal—the verb cannot show the object form of wh-agreement. See (54).

(54)a. *Håyi **binendem-mu** nu i kareta?
     who? *WH[OBJ].sell-AGR*   *OBL the car*
    ('Who did you sell the car to?')

  b. *Håyi **inayåo-mu** salåppi'?
     who? *WH[OBJ].borrow-AGR*   *money*
    ('Who did you borrow money from?')

But the verb can show the object form of wh-agreement when the displaced constituent is the oblique—the noun phrase that realizes the object of transfer—as (55) shows.

(55) Håfa **binendem-mu** (as Juan)?
     what? *WH[OBJ].sell-AGR*   *OBL Juan*
    'What did you sell (Juan)?'

Concealed applicatives of type (50) evidently have no antipassive form. When these verbs are used as ordinary transitive verbs, they have an antipassive whose internal argument is the object of transfer, as shown in (56a-b). But when they are used as concealed applicatives, the antipassive is ungrammatical; compare (56c).

(56)a. Si   Juan ha fa'nå'gui yu' **mandåggåo**
    UNM   *Juan* *AGR teach*   *me AGR.INF.ANTIP.throw*
    talåya.
    fishing.net
    'Juan taught me how to cast a fishing net.' (CD, entry for *talåya*)

  b. **Manmanayåo**   i   taotåo iskoba gi bisinu.
    AGR.ANTIP.borrow   *the person rake*   *LCL neighbor*
    'The people borrowed a rake from the neighbor.' (CD, entry for *ayåo*)

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c. ***Manbendi**   yu' påtgun siboyas.
   AGR.ANTIP.sell   *I*   *child*   *onions*
   ('I sold a child onions.')

Stepping back, it is clear that the concealed applicatives in (42) and (50) have essentially the same profile. What differentiates them is the transitive verbs from which they are derived. The concealed applicatives in (42) are derived from hypothesized transitive verbs with a highly restricted distribution: these verbs can occur only in the antipassive or as applicatives. In contrast, the concealed applicatives in (50) are derived from transitive verbs that unquestionably exist and are found in the full range of clause types.

12

CAUSATIVES

> Causatives are transitive verbs derived by adding the prefix *na'*- to a partly inflected verb or adjective. Causatives can be derived from almost every verb or adjective, including passive verbs and antipassive verbs. This chapter describes how causatives are formed and the structure of the clauses in which they occur.

12.1   Overview

Causatives are transitive verbs derived by adding the prefix *na'*- to a partly inflected verb or adjective—a verb or adjective that shows some, but not all, of the marking of an ordinary predicate. Causative verbs name the event of *causing* the event or state described by the original verb or adjective. They take an additional argument that names the causer and is realized as their subject.

For instance, the intransitive verb *suha* 'go away, get away' has two arguments: one argument that names what goes away, and another argument that names what is gone away from. In (1), the first of these arguments is realized as the subject; the second is realized as an oblique in the local case.

(1)   Sumuha   gi fi'on-ña.
        AGR.go.away   *LCL near-AGR*
        '[The lights] moved away from him.' (Cooreman 1982: 23)

The causative derived from *suha* is *na'suha* 'cause to go away, remove'. This transitive verb has an additional argument that names the causer of the going away event and is realized as the subject. In the causative clause in (2) (enclosed in brackets), this additional argument is the addressee ('you'). The argument of *na'suha* that names what goes away (*i chemchum* 'the nest') is realized as the direct object.

(2)   Atyu   ha'   nai   siña   sumuha   i   sasata
        that   *EMP*   *COMP*   *can*   *AGR.go.away*   *the bee*
        yanggin   [un na'suha   i   chemchum].
        if   *AGR make.go.away*   *the nest*

'The only way that the bees will go away is if you remove the nest.'
(CD, entry for *chomchum abeha*)

Causatives are frequent, regular, and productive in Chamorro. They can be derived from just about every verb or adjective in the language, including passive verbs and antipassive verbs. This chapter first describes the form of causative verbs (in 12.2) and then surveys the structure of the clauses in which they occur (in 12.3). Some special uses of the causative prefix are discussed in 12.4.

12.2   Causative verbs

Like the other verb types examined in Chapters 10 and 11, causative verbs are derived by attaching an affix to a verb or adjective. However, the causative prefix *na'-* is not attached directly to a root, but rather to a partly inflected verb or adjective.[1] This original verb or adjective is in the irrealis mood and shows certain types of agreement with its subject. It can take various forms, including passive and antipassive. 12.2.1 deals with causatives derived from intransitive verbs or adjectives; 12.2.2, with causatives derived from transitive verbs; and 12.2.3, with causatives derived from other verb types.

12.2.1   Derived from intransitive verbs or adjectives

Causatives are derived from intransitive verbs or adjectives by attaching *na'-* to the original predicate, which is partly inflected: it is in the irrealis mood and shows agreement with its subject using the number affixes, but not the person-and-number forms, described in Chapter 2 (see 2.2.2.3). The result is a derived verb that means to cause the event or state described by the original predicate.

When the subject of the original predicate is singular or dual, the number affix that signals agreement in the irrealis mood has no realization, so the causative is derived by attaching *na'-* to a form of the predicate identical to the root. Some representative examples are given in (3).

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[1] In generative syntax, one would say that causatives are formed from a phrase that includes not only the verb but also a higher functional head, such as Voice.

(3)   IRREALIS SG./DU.

PREDICATE		CAUSATIVE	
chålik	'laugh'	na'chålik	'cause to (sg./du.) laugh'
hånåo	'go'	na'hånåo	'cause to (sg./du.) go '
kåti	'cry'	na'kåti	'cause to (sg./du.) cry'
såga	'stay'	na'såga	'cause to (sg./du.) stay'
alipåtu	'upside down'	na'alipåtu	'cause to (sg./du.) be upside down'
homlu'	'healed'	na'homlu'	'cause to (sg./du.) be healed'
maipi	'hot'	na'maipi	'cause to (sg./du.) be hot'

When the subject of the original predicate is plural, the number affix that signals agreement in the irrealis mood is *fan-*, so the causative is derived by marking the predicate with *fan-* and attaching *na'-* to the result. This is shown in (4).

(4)   IRREALIS PL.

PREDICATE		CAUSATIVE	
fañålik	'laugh'	na'fañålik	'cause to (pl.) laugh'
fanhånåo	'go'	na'fanhånåo	'cause to (pl.) go '
fangåti	'cry'	na'fangåti	'cause to (pl.) cry'
fañåga	'stay'	na'fañåga	'cause to (pl.) stay'
fanalipåtu	'upside down'	na'fanalipåtu	'cause to (pl.) be upside down'
fanhomlu'	'healed'	na'fanhomlu'	'cause to (pl.) be healed'
fanmaipi	'hot'	na'fanmaipi	'cause to (pl.) be hot'

Matters are more intricate, but in expected ways, when the original predicate shows the *m/f* alternation (see 2.2.3.1). When an *m/f* predicate is in the irrealis mood and its subject is singular or dual, the number affix that signals agreement has no realization, but the predicate itself has an initial /f/. So the causative is derived by attaching *na'-* to the form of the predicate that begins with /f/, as in (5).

(5)   IRREALIS SG./DU.
       PREDICATE   CAUSATIVE
       facho'chu'   'work'   na'facho'chu'   'cause to (sg./du.)
                                                         work'
       fåttu   'arrive'   na'fåttu   'cause to (sg./du.)
                                                         arrive'
       falingu   'disappear'   na'falingu   'cause to (sg./du.)
                                                         disappear'
       fo'na   'ahead'   na'fo'na   'cause to (sg./du.) be
                                                         ahead'

When the subject of the *m/f* predicate is plural, the number affix that signals agreement in the irrealis mood is *fan-*, and the predicate itself has an initial /m/. The causative is derived by attaching *na'-* to this form of the predicate; see (6).

(6)   IRREALIS PL.
       PREDICATE   CAUSATIVE
       fanmåttu   'arrive'   na'fanmåttu   'cause to (pl.) arrive'
       fanmalingu   'disappear'   na'fanmalingu   'cause to (pl.)
                                                         disappear'
       fanmo'na   'ahead'   na'fanmo'na   'cause to (pl.) be
                                                         ahead'

Throughout, the agreement on the original predicate signals the number of the argument that would be that predicate's subject. This argument serves as the *direct object* of the causative verb (see below). The overall pattern can be glimpsed in the examples in (7), in which the causative verbs are in boldface.

(7) a. Ti siña   hu gratifika   si   tatå-hu   yan   si
        not can   AGR repay   UNM   father-AGR   and   UNM
        nanå-hu   ni ha **na'dångkulu**   yu'.
        mother-AGR OBL AGR make.big   me
        'I cannot repay my dad and my mom for raising me (lit. for the fact
        that they caused me to grow up).' (CD, entry for *gratifika*)
    b. Hu poksai sais na famagu'un ya   hu
        AGR nurture six L   PL.child   and.then   AGR
        na'fandångkulu.
        make.AGR.big

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'I nurtured six children and made them grow up.' (CD, entry for *poksai*)

Causatives can be derived from just about every intransitive verb and adjective in Chamorro, including phonologically dependent verbs such as *malak/falak* 'go to' (see 2.2.1.1.2), the incorporating verbs *gai* ' have' and *tai* ' not have' (see 14.3), and the auxiliary verb *siña* 'can, possible' (see 4.2.1).

(8) a. Debi   na   un **na'tai**   hafyi   i   kattri.
     ought *COMP* *AGR make.not.have* *cover* *the bed*
     'You're supposed to make the bed not have a cover.' (CD, entry for *håfyi*)

   b. Kumu un nå'i   ånimu, siña   un **na'siña**   chumo'gui
     if   *AGR give* *effort* *can*   *AGR make.can* *INF.do*
     maseha håfa.
     at.all   anything
     'If you give it all you've got, you can (lit. can make it possible to) do anything.' (CD, entry for *na'siña*)

Causatives can also be derived from intransitive verbs or adjectives that are morphologically complex. The causative in (9a) is formed from an adjective created by attaching the prefix *mí-* 'full of' to a noun (see 28.4.6). The causatives in (9b-c) are formed from intransitive verbs or adjectives created from nouns by conversion (see 27.4 and 28.4.9).

(9) a. Ta **na'fanmititanus**   hit   agupa'   para i tes.
     AGR make.AGR.full.of.brains us.INCL tomorrow for   the test
     'We (incl.) should make ourselves be full-brained for the test tomorrow.' (CD, entry for *mítitanus*)

   b. Nå'i   gråsia sa' atu'åsi ha **na'fansena**   hit.
     give   thanks because at.least AGR make.AGR.eat.dinner us.INCL
     'Thank him because he at least fed us (incl.) dinner.' (CD, entry for *antu'åsi*)

   c. Ha poksai båtbas achai-ña   si   Tatå-hu   ya
     AGR nurture beard chin-AGR UNM father-my and.then
     nina'måtan   åmku'.
     AGR.PASS.make.face.L old
     'My father grew a beard on his chin and it made him look older (lit. be old-faced).' (CD, entry for *achai*)

Note that *na'-* sometimes appears to be attached to a professional noun. In such cases, the causative is probably formed from a derived verb that is created from the noun by conversion (see 4.3.1). In (10), the causative verb is formed from *må'gas i gurupu* 'serve as group leader', an intransitive verb created by conversion from the noun *må'gas i gurupu* 'group leader'.

(10)   Put i   esmeru-ña   si   Jose,   guiya
        for the zeal-AGR   UNM   Jose   he
        mana'må'gas   **i**   **gurupu**.
        AGR.PASS.make.boss.L   the group
        'Because of Jose's eagerness, he was made the group leader.' (CD, entry for *esmeru*)

12.2.2 Derived from transitive verbs

Causatives are derived from transitive verbs by attaching *na'-* directly to the verb. This is expected: *na'-* is attached to a partly inflected predicate that shows (irrealis) agreement with its subject using the number affixes, but not the person-and-number forms. Since transitive verbs show agreement exclusively through the person-and-number forms, the result is that *na'-* is attached to a form of the verb identical to the root. Some representative examples are cited below.

(11)   TRANSITIVE VERB   CAUSATIVE
        fa'gåsi   'wash'   na'fa'gåsi   'cause to wash'
        guåssan   'cut (grass)'   na'guåssan   'cause to cut (grass)'
        kumprendi   'understand'   na'kumprendi   'cause to understand'
        li'i'   'see'   na'li'i'   'cause to see, show'
        patmåda   'slap'   na'patmåda   'cause to slap'
        taitai   'read'   na'taitai   'cause to read'
        tungu'   'know'   na'tungu'   'cause to know'
        uma   'carry'   na'uma   'cause to carry'

Causatives can be derived from almost all transitive verbs in Chamorro, including verbs that are morphologically complex. For instance, causatives can be formed from applicatives derived from intransitive verbs or adjectives. The causative in (12) is derived from the applicative *chatgi* 'laugh at, ridicule' (from the intransitive verb *chålik* 'laugh'; see 11.2.1).

(12)   Na'påra,   sa'   yanggin un **na'chatgi**,   guiya   siempri
        make.stop   because if   AGR make.laugh.at he   indeed

mamåhlåo.
AGR.ashamed
'Stop that, because if you have him ridicule someone, he will be humiliated instead.'

However, causatives cannot be formed from applicatives derived from transitive verbs (see 11.3.1).[2] This restriction is discussed later (in 12.3.5). In addition, most speakers do not allow causatives to be formed from the few verbs that exceptionally show agreement with the subject as if they were nouns, such as *ga'ña-* 'prefer', *ga'o-* 'prefer', *sa'-* 'look good in', and *ya-* 'like' (see 14.4).

12.2.3   Derived from other verb types
Causatives can also be derived from passives, antipassives, reciprocals, and impersonal verbs.

12.2.3.1   Passives
Causatives can be derived by attaching *na'-* to a partly inflected passive verb (see 10.2.1). As expected, the passive verb is in the irrealis mood and shows agreement with its subject using the number affixes, but not the person-and-number forms. Passive verbs are intransitive, and their subject is their internal argument (see 10.2.2). That is why, when a causative is derived from a passive, the partly inflected passive verb signals the number of its internal argument.

The causatives in (13) are derived from -*in*-passives. The internal argument of passive is singular in (13a) (*håo* 'you (sg.)'), but plural in (13b) (*i famagu'un* 'the children'), and this difference is registered by the agreement on the partly inflected passive verb.

(13)a.   Bai **na'sinaolak**   håo nu i   ma'estra.
      AGR make.PASS.spank   you OBL the teacher
      'I will let the teacher spank you (lit. you be spanked by the teacher).' (CD, entry for *sinaolak*)

   b.   Hu **na'fantinektuk**   i   famagu'un ni che'lu-hu   låhi.
      AGR make.AGR.PASS.hug   the PL.child   OBL sibling-AGR male
      'I made the children be hugged by my brother.'

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[2] Although causatives cannot be derived from applicatives formed from transitive verbs, it is possible for applicatives to be derived from causative verbs (see 12.3.3.3).

The causatives in (14) are derived from *ma*-passives. The internal argument of passive is singular in (14a) (*i ruedan kareta* 'the car tire'), but plural in (14b) (*i lalåhi* 'the men').

(14) a. Hu **na'malimenda** i ruedan kareta nigap.
　　　AGR make.PASS.patch the tire.L car yesterday
　　　'I had the car tire patched yesterday.' (CD, entry for *limenda*)
　　 b. In **na'fanmadulalak** i lalåhi ni famalåo'an.
　　　AGR make.AGR.PASS.chase the PL.man OBL PL.woman
　　　'We (excl.) made the men be chased by the women.'

Causatives can be derived from almost all types of passive verbs in Chamorro, including the passives of (some) causatives. In (15), for instance, the causative is formed from the passive of *na'suha* 'make go away', which is itself the causative of *suha* 'go away, get away' (compare (1-2)).

(15) Si Josephine ha **na'mana'suha** i
　　 UNM Josephine AGR make.PASS.make.go.away the
　　 atgoya gi gui'eng-ña.
　　 nose.ring LCL nose-AGR
　　 'Josephine had her nose ring removed (lit. caused her nose ring to be caused to go away.' (CD, entry for *atgoya*)

However, recall (from 12.2.2) that causatives cannot be formed from applicatives derived from transitive verbs. Most speakers do not allow causatives to be formed from the *passives* of such applicatives, either. It is not obvious what lies behind these restrictions. This is an area that deserves further investigation.

12.2.3.2　Antipassives

Causatives can be derived by attaching *na'*- to a partly inflected antipassive verb (see 10.3.1). Once again, the antipassive verb is in the irrealis mood and shows agreement with its subject using the number affixes, but not the person-and-number forms. Antipassives, like passives, are intransitive, but their subject is their external argument (see 10.3.2). For this reason, when a causative is formed from an antipassive, the partly inflected antipassive verb signals the number of its external argument.

　　Some examples of causatives derived from antipassives are given below. In (16), the antipassive verb is *chotchu*, the morphologically irregular antipassive of *kånnu'* 'eat' (see 10.3.1). The external argument of *chotchu* is singular in (16a) (*håo* 'you (sg.)'), but plural in (16b) (*ham* 'we (excl. pl.)').

(16)a. Båsta ha' ni hu na'laguyi håo, para bai hu
      enough EMP OBL AGR *cook.for you* FUT AGR
      na'chotchu håo ta'lu?
      make.ANTIP.eat you again
      'Isn't it enough that I cooked for you, am I going to feed you as well?' (CD, entry for *båsta*)

   b. Ha **na'fañotchu** ham si Benit gi gima'-ñiha
      AGR *make.AGR.ANTIP.eat us.EXCL* UNM *Benit* LCL *house-AGR*
      gi Sabalu.
      LCL *Saturday*
      'Bernadita made us (excl.) eat at their house on Saturday.' (CD, entry for *Benit*)

In (17), the antipassive verbs are formed with the prefix *man-/fan-*, which exhibits the *m/f* alternation (see 2.2.3.1). The external argument of the antipassive verb is singular in (17a) (*yu'* 'I'), but plural in (17b) (*i taotåo* 'the people').

(17)a. I bakulu-hu ha **na'fanggånna** yu'.
      the marble-AGR AGR *make.ANTIP.win me*
      'My shooter marble made me win.' (CD, entry for *båkulu*)

   b. I abisu ha **na'fanmanunungu'** i taotåo na
      the alarm AGR *make.AGR.ANTIP.know.PROG the person that*
      esta gof hihut i pakyu.
      already AGR.*very close the typhoon*
      'The alarm is letting people know that the typhoon is very close [to the island].' (CD, entry for *abisu*)

12.2.3.3   Reciprocals

Chamorro has reciprocal verbs—intransitive verbs that describe reciprocal action. These verbs are formed by attaching the stressed prefix *á-* to a transitive verb (see 13.3.1). As might be expected, causatives can be derived by attaching *na'-* to a partly inflected reciprocal verb. Some illustrative examples are cited below. The causative in (18a) is derived from *ásudda'* 'meet, find one another', the reciprocal of *sodda'* 'find'. The causative in (18b) is derived from *ápatti* 'share with one another', the reciprocal of *påtti* 'share (with), divide (with)'.

(18)a. Hu **na'asudda'** i dos tåotåo gi chalan.
      AGR *make.RECP.find the two person* LCL *road*
      'I let the two people meet on the road.' (CD, entry for *ásudda'*)

b. Ha **na'fanapatti**   i   famagu'on-ña   ni i
    AGR make.AGR.RECP.share   the   PL.child-AGR   OBL the
    tano'-ña.
    land-AGR
    'He divided his property among his children.' (CD, entry for *ápatti*)

12.2.3.4   Impersonals
Finally, causatives can be derived by attaching *na'-* to an impersonal verb or
adjective such as *guaha* 'exist, there is' or *bula* 'much, many' (see 14.2.2
and 14.2.3). These impersonals are intransitive predicates that describe exis-
tence or quantity; their subject is a null, meaningless dummy (see 3.2.1).
Because the dummy is treated as third person singular for agreement pur-
poses, the impersonal predicate is never marked with an overt number affix.
The result is that in causatives formed from these predicates, *na'-* is attached
directly to the verb or adjective. Some examples:

(19)a. Maila' ta **na'guaha** guput dispidida para   i   bisita
        come   AGR make.exist party.L farewell   for   the visitor
        siha.
        PL
        'Let's (incl.) have a farewell party for the visitors.' (CD, entry
        for *dispidida*)
    b. Hu **na'bula**   siboyas gi cha'lak   i   katni.
        AGR make.much onions   LCL small.cut.L the meat
        'I put lots of onions in the small cut of the meat.' (CD, entry for
        chå'lak)

12.3   Causative clauses

Despite the intricacies of causative verb formation, causative clauses are
ordinary transitive clauses in many respects. 12.3.1 describes how their
arguments are realized. 12.3.2 briefly mentions their word order. 12.3.3
shows that causative verbs can be used to form passives, antipassives, ap-
plicatives, and reciprocals. 12.3.4 documents some respects in which caus-
ative clauses differ from other transitive clauses. Finally, 12.3.5 raises the
issue of whether causatives might be a type of concealed applicative. The
discussion follows Gibson (1980) in concluding that they are not.

12.3.1   Grammatical relations
A causative verb has the same arguments as the partly inflected predicate
from which it is derived, plus an additional argument. The added argument,

which names the causer, is realized as the subject of the causative clause. The argument that would be the subject of the partly inflected predicate is realized as the direct object. Any other arguments of the partly inflected predicate are realized as obliques.

Chamorro grammar provides a wealth of evidence that these are indeed the grammatical relations of causative clauses. To begin with, the argument that names the causer is clearly the subject. When this argument is a noun phrase, it is in the unmarked case (see 5.1.2.1), and the causative verb agrees with it in person and number (see 2.2.2). The fact that the agreement is chosen from the paradigms for transitive verbs reveals that causative clauses are transitive. In (20), the causer and the agreement that cross-references it are represented in boldface.

(20)a. Esta **ha** na'tåya' **si** **Tan Amalia** insåyu
   already *AGR* *make.not.exist* *UNM* *Tan Amalia* *rehearsal*
   guihi na puengi.
   LCL.that L night
   'Tan Amalia caused there to be no rehearsal that night.' (*Dibota* 10)

b. Maila' ya **ta** na'fanatya i sinientet-ta.
   come and.then *AGR* *make.AGR.match the feeling-AGR*
   'Let us (incl.) synchronize our (incl.) spirits (lit. make our feelings match).' (CD, entry for *atya*)

The argument that names the causer also functions like a subject: it is the most prominent constituent of the clause. It is the constituent that must be missing when the causative verb is the predicate of an infinitive clause (see 3.2.1 and 21.2.2).

(21)a. Ha tungu' i kotneteru [muna'suåbi i sunidu
   AGR know the trumpeter *INF.make.refined the sound*
   ni ha lalaknus].
   COMP *AGR put.forth.PROG*
   'The trumpeter knows how to deliver mellow sound (lit. make refined the sound that he is delivering).' (CD, entry for *kotneteru*)

b. Ta chagi [muna'funåyan esti ...].
   AGR try *INF.make.finished this*
   'We (incl.) will try to finish this....' (from an e-mail message)

It is also the constituent that is missing when the causative verb is imperative (see 15.2).

(22)a. Na'takkilu' esti i akunsehu ginin i mañaina-ta.
   make.high this the advice from the PL.parent-AGR
   'Put the advice of our (incl.) elders first.' (CD, entry for *akunsehu*)

   b. Put fabot na'tungu' hit.
   please make.know us.INCL
   'Please let us (incl.) know.' (from an e-mail message)

The argument that would be the original predicate's subject is the direct object of the causative. Like other direct objects, it occurs in the unmarked case (see (23a)) and can be realized as a weak pronoun (23b).

(23)a. Hu na'ayåo **si Isidro** ni kareta.
   AGR make.borrow UNM Isidro OBL car
   'I let Isidro borrow the car.' (CD, entry for *ayåo*)

   b. Ha na'manman **yu'** i difirentis klåsin kotpurasion
   AGR make.amazed me the different sort.L corporation
   ni manggaigi guini gi tano'-ta.
   COMP AGR.be.at LCL.this LCL land-AGR
   'The different kinds of corporation we (incl.) have here on island astonishes me (lit. makes me astonished).' (CD, entry for *kotpurasión*)

Like other direct objects, it realizes the argument that would be the subject of the corresponding passive (see 3.2.2 and below). Compare the causative clauses in (24) with the passive clauses in (25).

(24)a. Ha na'bulåchu yu' atyu i kápsulas ni
   AGR make.dizzy me that the pill COMP
   manå'i yu' nu i mediku.
   AGR.PASS.give I OBL the doctors
   'The pill that I was given by the doctors made me dizzy.' (CD, entry for *kápsulas*)

   b. Ta na'pula' i patgun ni magagu-ña.
   AGR make.take.off the child OBL clothes-AGR
   'We (incl.) made the child take off his clothes.'

(25)a. Mumåma' si Juan ya
   AGR.chew.betelnut UNM Juan and.then
   nina'bulåchu.
   AGR.PASS.make.dizzy
   'Juan chewed betelnut and it made him dizzy (lit. he was made dizzy by it).' (CD, entry for *måma'*)

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b. Para   bai in mana'pula'   ni magagun-måmi.
    FUT   AGR   PASS.make.take.off   OBL clothes-AGR
    'We (excl.) are going to be made to take off our (excl.) clothes.'

Finally, like other direct objects, it cannot be higher than the subject on the person-animacy hierarchy (see 16.2). The causative clause in (26) is grammatical only when the subject is the null pronoun ('s/he') and the direct object is the nonpronoun *si Joaquin*. Reversing these grammatical relations would violate the person-animacy restriction.

(26)   Ha na'ke'kati   **si   Joaquin**.
        AGR make.try.to.cry UNM   Joaquin
        'S/he tried to make Joaquin cry.' (Not: Joaquin tried to make
        him/her cry.)

The causative clause in (27a) is ungrammatical because the direct object (*i patgun* 'the child') is animate but the subject (*i sinisedin-ñiha* 'what they experienced') is inanimate. Compare the corresponding passive clause in (27b), which has no direct object and so does not violate the person-animacy restriction.

(27)a. *Ha   na'ma'å'ñåo   i   sinisedin-ñiha   **i   patgun**.
        AGR   make.afraid   the WH[OBJ].experience-AGR the child
        ('What they experienced made the child afraid.')
    b. Nina'ma'å'ñåo   i   patgun ni i
        AGR.PASS.make.afraid   the child OBL the
        sinisedin-ñiha.
        WH[OBJ].experience-AGR
        'The child was made afraid by what they experienced.'

All other arguments of the original predicate are realized in the causative clause as obliques. For instance, if the original predicate is a transitive verb, the argument that would be its direct object is realized as an oblique (but see 13.2.2.2 for an exception). This argument is in the oblique case if it is a noun phrase, as (28) shows.

(28)   Na'gu'ut   si   Maria **nu i   tali** ya   hu hålla.
        make.hold UNM   Maria OBL the rope   and.then AGR pull
        'Let Maria hold the rope and I'll pull it.' (CD, entry for *gu'ut*)

If the original predicate has obliques, these become associated with the causative clause, but are otherwise unchanged. In (29a), the oblique originally associated with *hålum* 'enter' remains in the local case; in (29b), the oblique originally associated with *maleffa* 'forget' remains in the oblique case.

(29)a. Hu na'hålum   i   kalulot-tu   gi ngulu' liga.
     AGR make.go.in the finger-AGR LCL hole.L wall
     'I put (lit. made go in) my finger through the hole in the wall.' (CD, entry for *ngulu'*)

    b. Ha na'maleffa yu' si   nanå-hu   ni lepblok-ku.
     AGR make.forget me UNM   mother-AGR OBL book-AGR
     'My mother made me forget my books.'

12.3.2 Word order

Causative clauses have the same word order options as transitive clauses more generally. Their dominant word order is: *Verb Subject Object Other* (see 3.4.1.1).

(30)   Ha na'dotchun   i fuetsan i pakyu   i   hayun
      AGR make.penetrate the force.L the typhoon   the wood.L
      loddu' gi talu'   trongkun   niyuk.
      heavy   LCL center.L tree.L   coconut
      'The force of the typhoon made a thick piece of wood penetrate into the center of a coconut tree.' (CD, entry for *na'dotchun*)

But other word orders are possible (see 3.4.1). The subject of the causative often occurs at the far right, after obliques and adjuncts.

(31)   Ha na'puti   ha'   kannai-hu anai   ha gu'ut   si
      AGR make.hurt EMP   hand-AGR   when   AGR hold   UNM
      Long.
      Long
      'Long made my hand hurt when he grasped it.' (CD, entry for *gu'ut*)

The subject often follows the direct object but precedes obliques or adjuncts.

(32)   Ha na'kiba'   i   matå-ña   si   Joaquin   guatu
      AGR make.frown the face-AGR   UNM   Joaquin   to.there
      gi as   Lourdes.
      LCL   Lourdes

'Joaquin made a face (lit. made his face frown) to Lourdes.' (CD, entry for *kiba'*)

The direct object can also follow an oblique or an adjunct, although this may be less common.

(33) Ha na'besti   floris i gaputilu-ña si   Maria.
      AGR make.decorated flower the hair-AGR   UNM   Maria
      'Maria decorated her hair with flowers.' (CD, entry for *na'besti*)

12.3.3 Further patterns
Because causative verbs are transitive, they can occur in the passive and the antipassive, and can be used to derive applicatives and reciprocal verbs.

12.3.3.1   Passives of causatives
The passive of a causative is formed in the usual way, by attaching the infix *-in-* or the prefix *ma-* to the causative verb (see 10.2.2.3 on the choice between *-in-* and *ma-*). Passive clauses differ systematically from transitive clauses in their realization of the verb's arguments (see 10.2.2.1). The internal argument—the argument that would be the transitive verb's direct object—is realized as the subject of passive, and the external argument—the argument that would the transitive verb's subject—is realized as an oblique. Exactly the same holds true for passive clauses formed from causatives. The internal argument of the causative verb is realized as the subject of passive; this is the argument that would have been the subject of the partly inflected predicate from which the causative is derived. The external argument—the argument that names the causer—is realized as an oblique.

Consider the sentences in (34), involving the causative verb *na'maguf* 'make happy' (from the adjective *maguf* 'happy'). In the transitive clause in (34a), the causer ('he') is realized as the subject, and the internal argument, which names the one(s) made happy (*i mañaina-ña* 'his parents'), is realized as the direct object. In the passive clause in (34b), the internal argument (*i patgun* 'the child) is realized as the subject, and the causer (*i chi'uk gi cha'guan* 'the dew on the grass') is realized as an oblique.

(34)a. Ånimu   i patgun [para u **na'maguf** i
        AGR.have.effort the child   FUT   AGR make.happy the
        mañaina-ña].
        PL.parent-AGR
        'The child put a lot of effort into pleasing his parents.' (CD, entry for *ånimu*)

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b. **Nina'maguf** i patgun nu i chi'uk gi
AGR.PASS.make.happy the child OBL the dew LCL
cha'guan.
grass
'The child was delighted by the dew on the grass.' (CD, entry for
chi'uk)

Passives of causatives occur very frequently in Chamorro. They can be
formed from the full range of causative verbs, whether the causative itself is
derived from an adjective (as in (34b)), an intransitive verb (35a), a
transitive verb (35b), or an impersonal predicate (35c).

(35)a. Gof chaddik **mana'chålik** si Rosario,
AGR.very quick AGR.PASS.make.laugh UNM Rosario
sa' chatgun.
because AGR.smiley
'Rosario can quickly be made to laugh, because she laughs easily.'
(CD, entry for *chatgun*)

b. Håfa **nina'li'i'** håo gi as Maria?
what? AGR.PASS.make.see you OBL Maria
'What were you shown (lit. made to see) by Maria?'

c. Nina'fachi' i hineksa' sa'
AGR.PASS.make.saturated the rice because
mana'meggai hånum.
AGR.PASS.make.much water
'The rice became watery because too much water was added (lit.
there was caused to be much water).' (CD, entry for *na'fachi*)

Passives can also be formed from causatives derived from other verb types,
such as passives (as in (36a)), antipassives (36b), and reciprocals (36c). Note
that when a passive is formed from the causative of a passive, the passive
affix *-in-* or *ma-* appears attached to the left of the causative verb as well as
inside the causative verb, to the right of the causative prefix *na'-*.

(36)a. Håfa un na'suha na
what? AGR make.go.away COMP
nina'fanhinengngan siha?
PASS.make.AGR.PASS.astonish they
'What did you take away such that they were made to be surprised?'

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b. Dispues di   Gera II, todu   i   taotåo
since   PRT War II all   the person
mana'fanggimin   ni   satbasat.
PASS.make.AGR.ANTIP.drink   OBL deworming.medicine
'After WWII, all the people took (lit. were made to drink) de-
worming medication.' (CD, entry for *sátbasat*)

c. Bunitu   i   bailan båtsu   yanggin
AGR.beautiful   the dance.L waltz   if
mana'fana'adanchi   i   pasun-ñiha   i   mambabaila.
PASS.make.AGR.RECP.hit.PROG   the step-AGR   the PL.dancer
'Waltz dancing is beautiful when the dancers' steps are timed right.'
(CD, entry for *na'ádanchi*)

Throughout this spectrum of passives, it is clear that the internal argu-
ment of the causative verb is the subject. This argument has the form of a
subject: it appears in the unmarked case, and the passive verb shows agree-
ment with it (but see below).

(37)a. Para   **u**   mana'bibu   **esti na guput**?
FUT   AGR PASS.make.lively this L   party
'Is this party going to be (made) lively?' (CD, entry for *bibu*)

b. Gimin   letchi   kosa ki **un** nina'dångkulu   mås.
drink   milk   so.that AGR PASS.make.big   more
'Drink milk so that it will make you (lit. you will be made to) grow
bigger.' (CD, entry for *na'dångkulu*)

The internal argument also functions like a subject; it is the constituent that
must be missing in a passive infinitive clause, for instance.

(38)   Påyun   i   patgun [mana'ma'udai   gi
AGR.accustomed the child   AGR.INF.PASS.make.ride LCL
apåga].
shoulder
'The child is used to being carried (lit. made to ride) on the
shoulder.' (CD, entry for *apåga*)

However, one part of the agreement pattern exhibited by passives of
causatives is surprising. Since passive verbs are intransitive, they should
show agreement with their subject—the internal argument—using the

number affixes.[3] Now, the internal argument of a causative corresponds to the subject of the original, partly inflected predicate from which the causative is derived. This means that if the original predicate too is intransitive, the number affixes ought to appear twice: once attached to the passive of the causative, and again attached to the original predicate inside the causative verb.

This double marking does occur, as can be seen from (39).[4] (The number affixes are represented in boldface in the examples below; note that the number affix on the original predicate also indicates irrealis mood.)

(39)   I   pigua' **man**nina'**fan**bå'ba'   ni ga'ga' siha.
        the betelnut AGR.PASS.make.AGR.stunted   OBL animal PL
        'The betelnuts were (made) stunted by the betelnut insects.' (CD, entry for *bå'ba'*)

But it is also possible for a number affix to be attached to the passive of the causative but not to the original predicate.

(40)   **Man**mana'alipatu   todu   i   siya.
        AGR.PASS.make.upside.down all   the chair
        'All the chairs were turned upside down.' (CD, entry for *alipatu*)

By far the most common option is for a number affix to be attached to the original predicate but not to the passive of the causative. See the examples in (36) and the following.

(41)a. Ottru   tåotåo siha   mientras mås   bula   na
        other   person PL   while   more   AGR.much L
        botlas   gi magagun-ñiha, mås
        ornament   LCL clothes-AGR   more
        nina'**fan**mamaguf.
        PASS.make.AGR.happy.PROG

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[3] In the irrealis mood, passive verbs—like other intransitive verbs—show agreement with the subject through both the number affixes and the person-and-number affixes; see the discussion below in the text.

[4] In passives of causatives, the number affixes are overt only when the subject is plural. This is because: (i) causatives are formed from a partly inflected *irrealis* predicate, and the sg./du. number affix in the irrealis mood has no realization (see 2.2.2.3); and (ii) passive clauses in the realis mood use the sg./du. number affix that has no realization (see 10.2.2.1).

    'Other people feel happier (lit. are more made happy) when there are more ornaments on their clothes.' (CD, entry for *botlas*)

b. I   dinangkulon-ña esti na guåfi,   esta
    the NMLZ.big-AGR   this L fire   already
    mana'**fan**suha   i   taotåo gi gima'-ñiha.
    PASS.make.AGR.go.away the person LCL house-AGR
    'Because of the big conflagration, the people had to be evacuated from their houses.' (CD, entry for *guåfi*)

c. Guaha   na balotu mana'**fan**hånåo   para   ottru
    AGR.exist   L   ballot PASS.make.AGR.go to   other
    lugåt   siha.
    place   PL
    'Some ballots were sent (lit. made to go) to other places.' (CD, entry for *balotu*)

    The absence of the outer number affix in passives of causatives like (41) does not reflect a general suspension of agreement in passive clauses of this type. In the irrealis mood, agreement is registered on the passive verb by the person-and-number forms, as usual, even when the expected number affix is missing. This can be seen from (42).

(42)   I istudiånti   para   **u** nina'**fan**måfattu   atrasåo
    the student   FUT   AGR PASS.make.AGR.arrive.PROG late
    nai manglu'.
    OBL storm
    'The students will be being made to arrive late due to the storm.'

    The fact that the number affixes do not occur twice in passives of causatives like (40-42) can be viewed as a kind of haplology at-a-distance. The exact mechanisms involved are not known. Note that the haplology strongly favors the appearance of a number affix on the original predicate, rather than on the passive of the causative.

12.3.3.2   Antipassives of causatives

Antipassives of causatives are formed by shifting the stress of the causative verb to the causative prefix *na'-*. Antipassive clauses are like transitive clauses in realizing their external argument as the subject; they differ in realizing their internal argument as an oblique (see 10.3.2.1). The same holds true for antipassive clauses formed from causatives.

    Some representative examples of antipassive clauses formed from causatives are cited below. Note the reduplication for the progressive aspect in

(43a), (43b), and (43d), which reveals that primary stress has shifted to the causative prefix (see 2.2.1.1).

(43) a. Yanggin **munana'gasgas** håo, pues etsisiu
if   AGR.ANTIP.make.clean.PROG you   then   exercise
ennåo lokkui'.
that also
'When you are cleaning (lit. making (something) clean), that is also exercise.' (CD, entry for *etsisiu*)

   b. **Munana'gupu** papaloti si Juanito gi
AGR.ANTIP.make.fly.PROG   kite   UNM   Juanito LCL
kantun tåsi.
edge.L ocean
'Juanito is flying a kite by the seashore.' (CD, entry for *na'gupu*)

   c. **Manna'hanåo** ham åbiu para i mandisgrasiåo.
AGR.ANTIP.make.go   we.EXCL help to   the PL.in.accident
'We (excl.) sent help (lit. caused help to go) to those involved in that accident.' (CD, entry for *åbiu*)

   d. I mapula' i sustånsian i kuentus-ñiha,
the WH[DJ].PASS.interpret.L the meaning.L   the NMLZ.talk-AGR
guiya esti i **munana'kumprendi**.
it   this the AGR.ANTIP.make.understand.PROG
'The interpretation of the conversation means it gives a better understanding (lit. this is what makes (people) understand).' (CD, entry for *pula'*)

Antipassives can be formed from causatives whether the causative verb is derived from an adjective (43a), an intransitive verb (43b-c), or a transitive verb (43d). It is unclear whether antipassives can be formed from causatives derived from other verb types, such as passives or antipassives.

Like other antipassives, antipassives formed from causatives have their external argument—the causer—as the subject. This argument occurs in the unmarked case (see (43b)), and the antipassive verb shows agreement with it. Because antipassive verbs are intransitive, the agreement is chosen from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives. Note that in the realis mood, sg./du. agreement is indicated by the infix *-um-*. The external argument also functions like a subject; for instance, it is the constituent that must be missing in an infinitive clause.

(44) Malagu' si Juan [muna'hanåo kåtta
AGR.want UNM   Juan   AGR.INF.ANTIP.make.go letter

para   i   nubiå-ña].
to   the girlfriend-AGR
'Juan wants to send a letter to his girlfriend.'

As in other antipassives, the internal argument is typically implicit or indefinite (see 10.3.2.1 and 10.3.2.3).

12.3.3.3   Applicatives of causatives
Applicatives can be derived from causatives. Two very common applicatives of this type are *na'hanåogui* 'send, make go to', which is derived from the causative *na'hånåo* 'make go' (from *hånåo* 'go'), and *na'klaruyi* 'explain, make clear to', derived from the causative *na'klåru* 'make clear' (from *klåru* 'clear'). These applicatives are illustrated below.

(45)a. Hu **na'hanåogui**   si   nanå-hu   ramiyetin   floris   gi
        AGR make.go.to   UNM   mother-AGR bouquet.L   flower   LCL
        kumpliaños-ña.
        birthday-AGR
        'I sent my mother a bouquet of roses on her birthday.' (CD, entry
        for *ramiyeti*)
    b. Hu **na'klaruyi**   i   chi'lu-hu   ni   istoria.
        AGR make.clear.to   the   sibling-AGR   OBL   story
        'I made the story clear to my sister.'

Compare (46), which illustrates the causatives from which these applicatives are formed.

(46)a. Hu **na'hånåo**   paketi   para   i   dos lahi-hu.
        AGR make.go   parcel   to   the   two son-AGR
        'I sent a parcel to my two sons.' (CD, entry for *paketi*)
    b. Para   bai hu **na'klåru**   giya hamyu, gi me'nan Yu'us,
        FUT   AGR   make.clear   LCL you.PL LCL front.L God
        na   gof   taddung i   dibusiun-miyu   nu hami.
        COMP   AGR.very   deep   the devotion-AGR   OBL us.EXCL
        'I will make clear to you (pl.), before God, that your (pl.) devotion
        to us (excl.) is deep.' (NT 332)

Because *na'hanåogui* and *na'klaruyi* contain both a causative prefix and an applicative suffix, it is important to establish exactly how they are derived. If these verbs are indeed applicatives derived from causatives, then the

applicative suffix is added last, as shown schematically in *[na'-hanåo]-gui* and *[na'-klaru]-yi*. On the other hand, if they were causatives derived from applicatives, the causative prefix would be added last, as in *na'-[hanåo-gui]* and *na'-[klaru-yi]* (see 12.2.2). The realization of the verb's arguments in (45) shows that the first possibility gives the right derivation. The internal argument of the causative—the argument that would be the subject of *hånåo* 'go' or *klåru* 'clear'—is realized not as the direct object, but rather as an oblique. (This argument is *ramiyetin floris* 'a bouquet of flowers' in (45a) and *ni istoria* 'the story' in (45b).) The argument that is realized as the direct object is the additional argument that names the goal—*si nanå-hu* 'my mother' in (45a) and *i chi'lu-hu* 'my sister' in (45b). This is the outcome expected if these verbs are applicatives formed from causatives, and not the reverse.

Although applicatives can be derived from causatives, the range of causative verbs that allow this is not known. The applicatives *na'hanåogui* and *na'klaruyi*, which occur frequently, are derived from causatives formed from intransitive predicates. It is unclear whether applicatives can be derived from causatives formed from transitive predicates. This is an area where further research is needed.

12.3.3.4   Reciprocals of causatives
Reciprocals of causatives are derived like other reciprocals, by attaching the stressed prefix *á-* to the causative verb. The result is an intransitive verb that describes reciprocal action (see 13.3.1). Some representative examples are cited below. (Primary stress is shown to help readers parse the morphemes in the verb. The verb in (47a), for instance, is parsed *um-á-na'-bubu*.)

(47) a. **Umána'bubu**   ham.
        AGR.RECP.make.angry   we.EXCL
        'We (excl. du.) made each other angry.'
    b. **Umána'empas**   ham   esta   yan   i   amigu-hu
        AGR.RECP.make.even   we.EXCL already with   the friend-AGR
        put   todu   i   ha faburesi   yu'.
        about   all   the AGR contribute.to   me
        'I satisfied my friend (lit. we including my friend made each other even) already for all the favors he had done to me.' (CD, entry for *na'empas*)
    c. Kåo   **umána'patcha**   hamyu ni   feggun?
        Q   AGR.RECP.make.touch   you.DU OBL stove
        'Did you two let each other touch the stove?'

Reciprocals can be formed from causatives whether the causative verb is derived from an adjective (as in (47a-b)), an intransitive verb, or a transitive verb (47c). It is even possible for a reciprocal to be formed from a causative derived from a reciprocal. The reciprocal verb in (48) is formed from the causative *na'achatgi* 'make laugh at one another', which is itself derived from *áchatgi* 'laugh at one another', the reciprocal of *chatgi* 'laugh at', the applicative formed from the intransitive verb *chålik* 'laugh'.

(48) **Manána'achatgi**   i   istudiåntis.
       AGR.RECP.make.RECP.laugh.at   the students
       'The students are making one another laugh at one another.'

12.3.4 Differences from other transitive clauses

Even though causative clauses are transitive, they differ in some ways from other transitive clauses. One difference was discussed at the outset of this chapter: causative verbs are derived from a partly inflected predicate that agrees with the argument that would be its subject—the argument which, in the simplest case, is realized as the causative's *direct object*. This unusual agreement pattern suggests that causative clauses may be more like complex sentences than like clauses. Two more differences between causative clauses and other transitive clauses strengthen this impression.

12.3.4.1 Reflexive objects

Causative clauses can have an unusual realization when the causative verb is derived from a transitive verb with a reflexive direct object.

Chamorro has no separate morphological paradigm for reflexive pronouns (see 8.1 and 13.2.1.1). Instead, personal pronouns have reflexive and nonreflexive uses. In the second clause in (49a), for instance, the direct object is reflexive—understood as bound by the subject—and is realized by a weak pronoun, just like the nonreflexive direct object in (49b).

(49)a. Mampus   si   Marikita   dudus,   sa'   [kada
       so.much   UNM   Marikita   AGR.showy   because each
       biråda   ha atan   **gui'**   gi   espehus].
       return AGR look.at her   LCL mirror
       'Marikita is a flirt, because all the time she looks at herself in the mirror.' (CD, entry for *espehus*)
   b. I   atgumentun-måmi yan   si   Linda   nigap,
       the argument-AGR   with   UNM   Linda   yesterday
       esta   ti   ya-hu   umatan   **gui'**.
       already not like-AGR   INF.look.at her

'After my argument yesterday with Linda, I don't want to look at her now.' (CD, entry for *atgumentu*)

The reflexive meaning can be made explicit by attaching the adverb *maisa* 'self' to the right of the verb, as in (50), but this is not required.

(50)   Ha dossuk maisa **gui'** ni sipit.
       AGR poke.L self   him   OBL chopsticks
       'He poked himself with the chopsticks.' (CD, entry for *sipit*)

In causatives formed from transitive verbs, the original verb's internal argument is realized as an oblique (see 12.3.1). This happens even when the internal argument is reflexive, meaning that it is bound by the original verb's external argument. In (51), the reflexive direct object of the original verb is realized as an oblique associated with the causative.

(51)   In na'fa'gåsi si   Joaquin **nu guiya** nu i   hapbun.
       AGR make.wash UNM   Joaquin OBL him   OBL the soap
       'We (excl.) made Joaquin wash himself with soap.'

However, it is more common for the reflexive internal argument to be realized as a weak pronoun, as in (52).

(52)a.   In na'fa'gåsi **gui'**   si   Joaquin nu i   hapbun.
        AGR make.wash him   UNM   Joaquin OBL the soap
        'We (excl.) made Joaquin wash himself with soap.'
    b.   In na'pula'   **gui'**   i   boi.
        AGR make.undress   him   the boy
        'We (excl.) made the little boy undress himself.'
    c.   In na'painin   maisa **gui'**   si   Maria.
        AGR make.comb.L   self   her   UNM   Maria
        'We (excl.) made Maria comb herself.'

Elsewhere in Chamorro, weak pronouns can serve as subjects or direct objects, but not as obliques (see 8.3). Their unexpected appearance in (52) suggests that in this context at least, a causative sentence may contain two direct objects—one that corresponds to the original verb's subject, and another that corresponds to the original verb's reflexive internal argument.

12.3.4.2   Wh-agreement

Wh-agreement offers support for the idea that certain causative clauses may have two direct objects.

In Chamorro, when an argument of the verb is questioned, relativized, or syntactically focused, the verb shows wh-agreement (see 22.4.1). This special agreement, which replaces the normal agreement with the subject, signals the grammatical relation of the constituent that has been questioned, relativized, or focused—henceforth, the *displaced constituent*. For instance, when the displaced constituent is the subject of a transitive verb in the realis mood, the verb shows the subject form of wh-agreement, which is realized as the infix *-um-*. When the displaced constituent is the direct object, the verb optionally shows the object form of wh-agreement, which is realized as the infix *-in-* plus nominalization of the verb.

Like other transitive verbs, causatives in the realis mood show the subject form of wh-agreement when the displaced constituent is their subject (the causer).

(53)a. Håyi   **muna'såonåo**   håo gi   planu?
        who?   WH[SBJ].make.participate   you LCL plan
        'Who included you (lit. let you participate) in the plan?' (CD, entry for *såonåo*)

   b.   I   riflektan   i   liluk   **muna'sodda'**   yu' ni
        the reflector.L the metal   WH[SBJ].make.find   me OBL
        chalån-hu.
        road-AGR
        'The metal reflector caused me to find my way.' (CD, entry for *riflekta*)

   c.   I   chinatkinimprendi   **muna'guaguaha**   mumu.
        the misunderstanding   WH[SBJ].make.exist.PROG   fight
        'Misunderstanding causes fighting (lit. makes there be fights).' (CD, entry for *chinatkinimprendi*)

And, like other transitive verbs, they optionally show the object form of wh-agreement when the displaced constituent is their direct object—the argument that would be the original predicate's subject. Compare (54), in which this wh-agreement is realized overtly, with (55), in which it is not.

(54)a. Ha na'moderåtu   si   Lillian [i **nina'maipen-ña**
        AGR make.moderate UNM   Lillian   the WH[OBJ].make.hot-AGR
        hånum].
        water

'Lillian heated the water at a moderate temperature (lit. made moderate the water that she was making hot).' (CD, entry for *moderåtu*)

b. Tåya'   tåotåo siña   sumipåra   [håfa
AGR.not.exist   person can   WH[SBJ].separate   what
nina'danña'   Yu'us.
WH[OBJ].make.be.together.L   God
'No one can separate what God has joined (lit. made joined) together.' (NT 36)

c. Håyi **nina'li'e'-ña**   i   palåo'an   ni i   kåtta?
who? WH[OBJ].make.see-AGR   the woman   OBL the letter
'Who did the woman show the letter to (lit. make see the letter)?'

(55)   Håfa   na ideha   siña   un na'hålum gi komiti
what?   L   idea   can   AGR make.go.in LCL committee
para   i   kutturan   Chamorro?
for   the culture.L   Chamorro
'What idea can you suggest (lit. make go in) to the committee for the Chamorro culture?' (CD, entry for *ideha*)

However, causatives can also show the object form of wh-agreement when the displaced constituent is the oblique that corresponds to the *original predicate*'s direct object. Compare (56a), which has this optional form of wh-agreement, with (56b), which does not.

(56)a. Håfa **nina'li'e'-ña**   i patgun palåo'an   as
what? WH[OBJ].make.see-AGR   the child.L female   OBL
nanå-ña?
mother-AGR
'What did the girl show her mother?'

b. Håfa ha na'li'i'   i patgun palåo'an si
what? AGR make.see   the child.L female   UNM
nanå-ña?
mother-AGR
'What did the girl show her mother?'

The object form of wh-agreement is generally not used for obliques. Thus, the pattern in (56) reveals another way in which causative clauses seem to resemble complex sentences: the original verb's internal argument is behaving like a direct object for the purposes of wh-agreement, even though it is not the direct object of the causative.

12.3.5   Causatives versus applicatives

The object form of wh-agreement makes another unexpected appearance in applicative clauses in which the applicative verb is derived from a transitive verb (see 11.3.2.3). The applicative verb in these clauses can show the object form of wh-agreement when the displaced constituent is the oblique that corresponds the original verb's direct object. (This oblique is not the direct object of the applicative.) The fact that the pattern in (56) is similar raises the question of whether Chamorro causatives might be a subtype of applicative; for instance, they might be concealed applicatives similar to *nå'i* 'give' or *fa'nu'i* 'show' (see 11.5). If so, the argument of the causative that corresponds to the original verb's subject would be an applicative object—an argument different from the original verb's direct object.

There are several reasons why such a possibility might seem promising. To begin with, causatives evidently cannot be formed from applicatives derived from transitive verbs (see 12.2.2). Applicatives show the same pattern: a 'double' applicative cannot be formed from an applicative derived from a transitive verb, although one can be formed from an applicative derived from an intransitive predicate (see 11.3.1). Moreover, in many languages of the world, the same morphology is used to derive causatives, on the one hand, and applicatives, on the other. If Chamorro causatives *were* applicatives, the language could be seen as falling under a syntactic version of this typological generalization.

Gibson (1980) was the first to investigate these issues for Chamorro. She observed some systematic differences between Chamorro causatives and applicatives, and used them to argue that Chamorro causatives cannot be reduced to applicatives after all. Here are two of her arguments:

(i)   Causatives differ from applicatives in their ability to occur in the antipassive. All types of applicatives in Chamorro resist being placed in the antipassive to one degree or another. Applicatives derived from intransitive predicates generally have no antipassive form (see 11.2.2.3); applicatives derived from transitive verbs can occur in the antipassive, but only in limited circumstances (11.3.2.3). Although concealed applicatives do occur in the antipassive, their antipassive has an unexpected internal argument (11.5). Causatives, on the other hand, occur freely in the antipassive, and their antipassives are completely regular (see 12.3.3.2). Antipassives of causatives have the expected internal argument—namely, the argument that would be the subject of the original, partly inflected predicate. The internal argument is typically implicit or indefinite (as in (57a)), but this is by no means required (57b). The same pattern is exhibited by the antipassives of ordinary transitive verbs (see 10.3.2).

(57)a. Para   ta   chagi   [**manna'halum**   proposal
       FUT   AGR try   AGR.INF.ANTIP.make.go.in   proposal
       para   X   un biåhi   ta'lu].
       to   X   one time   again
       'We (incl.) are going to try to submit (lit. make go in) a proposal to
       X one more time.' (from an e-mail message)

   b. Ha hahassu   i   ma'estru   [**muna'hanåo**   nu
       AGR think.PROG the teacher   AGR.INF.ANTIP.make.go   OBL
       atyu   na istudiånti   para   i   gima'-ñiha].
       that   L   student   to   the house-AGR
       'The teacher is thinking of sending (lit. making go) that student
       home.'

   (ii) Causatives ultimately *differ* from applicatives in their wh-agreement
pattern. Recall that both causatives and applicatives can show the object
form of wh-agreement when the displaced constituent is an oblique corres-
ponding to the original verb's direct object (see above and 22.4.1.2).
However, an applicative cannot show the object form of wh-agreement when
the displaced constituent is its direct object—the argument that has been
added. This ban is in force for all types of applicatives, including concealed
applicatives (see 11.2.2.3, 11.3.2.3, and 11.5). Causatives do not have this
curious restriction. They can show the object form of wh-agreement when
the displaced constituent is their direct object—the argument that would be
the subject of the original, partly inflected predicate. See (54) and the
following.

(58)a. Malångu   yu' låo bai chagi   i   **nina'siñå-hu**.
       AGR.sick   I   but AGR try   the WH[OBJ].make.possible-AGR
       'I am sick but I will try my best (lit. what I can make possible).'
       (CD, entry for *låo*)

   b. Håyi   na pilotu   **nina'baståm-mu**?
       who?   L   pilot   WH[OBJ].make.quit-AGR
       'Which pilot did you make quit?'

   These differences led Gibson to conclude that causatives should not be
analyzed as a type of applicative.

12.4   Special uses of the causative prefix

Although the main function of the causative prefix *na'-* is to derive causative
verbs, this prefix also has three more specialized uses.

12.4.1 The verb *na'lågu*
Chamorro has a transitive verb, *na'lågu* 'cook', which appears to be a caus-
ative derived by combining *na'-* with a root (*lågu*) that does not otherwise
occur in the language.[5] Like other causatives, *na'lågu* has an antipassive
form that involves shifting the primary stress from its normal location to
na'-. Compare the passive form of *na'lågu* in (59a) with its antipassive form
in (59b). (The location of primary stress is revealed by reduplication for the
progressive aspect; see 2.2.1.1.1).

(59)a. Manlamas   todu   i   gellai   sa'   ti
      AGR.rotten all   the vegetable because not
      mana'lålagu.
      AGR.PASS.cook.PROG
      'The vegetables are rotten beause they are not being cooked.' (CD,
      entry for *lamas*)
  b. Pinat   gi kusinan   sanhiyung   ni
      mostly LCL kitchen.L   DIR.outside COMP
      mannana'lagu   hami.
      AGR.ANTIP.cook.PROG   we.EXCL
      'We (excl.) mostly cook in the outdoor kitchen.' (CD, entry for
      kusina)

Na'lågu does not behave like a causative in other respects; for instance,
its apparent root *lågu* never shows agreement with the internal argument.
This suggests that it may have originated historically as a causative, but is
now simply an unanalyzable verb with an exceptional antipassive form.

12.4.2 Evaluative adjectives
Chamorro has evaluative adjectives that are derived by attaching *ná'-* (the
stressed form of *na'-*) to an intransitive verb or adjective. The most common
derived adjectives of this type are listed below.

(60) PREDICATE   DERIVED ADJECTIVE
     chålik   'laugh'   ná'chalik   'funny'
     ma'å'ñåo 'afraid'   ná'ma'a'ñåo   'scary'
     ma'åsi'   'have pity' ná'ma'si'   'pitiful'

---

[5] Chamorro does have two words with the form *lågu*. One is a directional
whose meaning is 'west (in Saipan), north (in Guam and Rota), towards the
ocean'; the other is a noun that names a type of fish ('sweetlips'). Neither is
a plausible candidate for the root from which *na'lågu* 'cook' is derived.

maguf	'happy'	ná'maguf	'pleasant'
mamåhlåo	'ashamed'	ná'mamahlåo	'shameful'
manman	'astonished'	ná'manman	'astonishing'
o'sun	'bored'	ná'o'sun	'boring'
piniti	'hurt, sad'	ná'piniti	'hurtful, sad'

These forms probably originated as antipassive forms of causatives (e.g. *ná'chalik* 'make (someone) laugh', *ná'maguf* 'make (someone) happy'), and can still be analyzed as antipassives today. In addition, they have a separate analysis as adjectives, as can be seen from the following:

Like other adjectives but unlike most antipassives, the derived forms in (60) can combine with degree morphemes such as *gof* 'very', *sen* 'extremely, most', and so on (see 25.2.2).

(61)a. **Gof** na'ma'añåo esti i haguihin åguas.
   AGR.very scary this the horn-eyed.ghost.crab
   'This horn-eyed ghost crab is very scary.' (CD, entry for *haguihin åguas*)

   b. Gai mudu si Juan gi halum tåotåo
   AGR.have behavior UNM Juan LCL inside.L person
   ya **sen** na'mamahlåo.
   and.then AGR.extremely shameful
   'Juan has an attitude in front of people that is so embarrassing.'
   (CD, entry for *mudu*)

Further, the derived forms in (60) show agreement like adjectives, not like antipassives of causatives. In the realis mood, sg./du. agreement is indicated with no special morphology, not with the infix *-um-* (see (62a)). Note that the original verb or adjective does not show agreement at all. Thus, the plural number affix in (62b) and (62c) must precede *na'-*; it cannot follow *na'-*, even if more than two individuals feel pity (in (62b)) or feel hurt (in (62c)) (see the discussion in 12.3.3.1).

(62)a. Na'ma'añåo gi halum tånu' sa' bula buregu'.
   AGR.scary LCL inside.L land because AGR.many ghost
   'It's scary in the boonies because there are many ghosts.' (CD, entry for *buregu'*)

   b. I militåt ha diliba nengkanu' para i **man**na'ma'si'
   the military AGR deliver food to the AGR.pitiful
   na tåotåo.
   L person

'The military delivers food to the needy people.' (CD, entry for
diliba)

c. I dispresiu na ineppin Rita **man**na'piniti.
the bitter   *L*   *NMLZ.answer.L*   *Rita*   *AGR.hurtful*
'Rita's bitter remarks are hurtful.' (CD, entry for *dispresiu*)

Finally, these forms have the word order of adjectives when they occur within the noun phrase: they typically precede the head noun, as (63) shows (see 7.3.2).

(63)a. Måttu   un **na'maguf** na nutisia.
      AGR.arrive   *a*   *pleasant*   *L*   *news*
      'A piece of good news came.' (CD, entry for *nutisia*)

b. Yanggin **na'piniti** na istoria, ha na'gagai
    if   *sad*   *L*   *story*   *AGR make.have*
    sentimentu   yu'.
    feeling.PROG   *me*
    'When it is a sad story, it makes me have feelings.' (CD, entry for *sentimentu*)

All this suggests that, in addition to forming antipassives of causatives, the stressed prefix *ná'-* can be used to derive evaluative adjectives from intransitive verbs or adjectives. This use is most likely not productive.

12.4.3   The conjunction *muna'*
Chamorro has a word *muna'* (with a variant *mina'*) that means roughly 'the reason that, because, is why'. *Muna'* can be called a conjunction with a highly restricted distribution. It occurs between a constituent that occurs at the left edge of the clause and names a cause or reason, and the rest of the clause, which describes the situation caused. An example is cited below.

(64)   Atyu **muna'** guaguan   sa'   duråpbli.
     that   *is.why* *AGR.expensive*   *because AGR.lasting*
     'It is expensive because it is lasting.' (CD, entry for *duråpbli*)

It is possible to analyze the combination of *muna'* and the adjective following it in (64) as a causative verb (*na'guaguan* 'make expensive') that shows the subject form of wh-agreement: *muna'guaguan*. This suggests an etymology for *muna'*: it may have originated historically as the affixal part of realis causative verbs that showed wh-agreement because their subject—the

causer—had been syntactically focused. The affix combination *mu-na'-* was later reanalyzed as a separate word.

This reanalysis is now complete. Today, *muna'* occurs as an independent word that need not form part of a causative verb. This can be seen from the following:

(i) A verb or adjective that occurs right after *muna'* can be a fully inflected predicate; it does not have to look like the partly inflected predicate from which a causative is derived. This verb or adjective can be in the realis mood, and can show full (as opposed to partial) agreement with the subject. In (65a), the adjective *lakulakung* 'having phlegm' shows realis sg. agreement; in (65b), the passive form of *atan* 'look at, watch' shows realis pl. agreement.

(65)a. I   chipa   håo todu   muna' **mu**lakulakung lu'lo'-mu.
        the smoking   you all   is.why AGR.phlegmy   cough-AGR
        'It is the smoking that makes you cough phlegm (lit. is why your cough has phlegm).' (CD, entry for *lakulakung*)
    b. I   mina'gas-ñiha   muna' **man**ma'a'atan   siha
       the high.position-AGR   is.why AGR.PASS.look.at.PROG   they
       hulu'.
       up
       'Their high position is why they are being looked up to.' (CD, entry for *mina'gas*)

In (66), the transitive verb *padesi* 'suffer' shows agreement with the person-and-number forms.

(66)   Tåya'   fiet   na dibusion   para   si   Yu'us
       AGR.not.exist   faithful L   devotion   to   UNM   God
       muna' **ta** padedesi   atdit   na pridikamentu.
       is.why AGR suffer.PROG severe L   crisis
       'There is no faithful devotion to God; that is the reason we (incl.) are suffering this serious crisis.' (CD, entry for *pridikamentu*)

The verb *ya-* 'like' in (67) is one of the verbs that exceptionally show agreement with the subject as if they were nouns (see 14.4). It too can occur right after *muna'*.

(67)   I   minaggim   kurason-mu muna' **ya-hu**   håo.
       the NMLZ.soft-hearted.L heart-AGR is.why like-AGR   you

'Your soft-heartedness caused me to like you.' (CD, entry for *minaggim*)

(ii) Unlike the causative prefix *na'-*, *muna'* does not have to be attached to a verb or adjective. It occurs right before an inner topic in (68a), and right before negation plus an auxiliary in (68b).

(68)a. Esti muna' **i taotåo Saipan** ma atyik si San
this is.why the person.L Saipan AGR choose UNM San
Isidro.
Isidro
'This is why the people of Saipan chose San Isidro.' (Cooreman 1983: 161)

b. I mina'lak kandet-mu muna' **ti siña** hu li'i'
the NMLZ.bright.L light-AGR is.why not can AGR see
håo.
you
'The brightness of your headlights was the reason I could not see you.' (CD, entry for *mina'lak*)

(iii) Finally, the constituent that precedes *muna'* does not have to be the sort of constituent that could be the subject of a causative. In (66) above, *muna'* is preceded by a clause that looks like a main clause (not an embedded clause). In (69), *muna'* is preceded by a prepositional phrase.

(69) **Put hamyu** muna' måttu yu' mågi.
because you.PL is.why AGR.arrive I to.here
'I came here because of you (pl.).' (CD, entry for *muna'*)

12.5 Further reading

Gibson (1980) gives an in-depth investigation of Chamorro causatives in the Relational Grammar framework. Later works that build on her research on Chamorro include Baker (1985), Gibson and Raposo (1986), Baker (1988), and Chung (2017).

13

REFLEXIVES AND RECIPROCALS

Reflexive clauses involve ordinary verb forms combined with personal pronouns; no special reflexive morphology is required. Nonetheless, pronouns in their reflexive use are treated differently from other types of pronouns. Reciprocal clauses involve a derived intransitive verb that contributes the reciprocal meaning.

13.1   Background

The participants in the event or state described by a predicate are typically different individuals. The clause *Rosa criticized Juan*, for instance, describes a situation in which the criticizer (Rosa) is different from the one criticized (Juan). In reflexive clauses and reciprocal clauses, the link between individuals and their function as participants is more complex. A reflexive clause describes an event or state in which the same individual takes on more than one participant role. For instance, the reflexive clause *Rosa criticized herself* describes a situation in which Rosa is both the criticizer and the one criticized. A reciprocal clause describes a set of events or states involving individuals whose participant status changes from event to event, in such a way that each individual ends up exchanging participant roles with the other(s). For instance, the reciprocal clause *Rosa and Juan criticized each other* describes two criticizing events involving Rosa and Juan: one in which Rosa is the criticizer and Juan is the one criticized, and another in which Juan is the criticizer and Rosa is the one criticized.

Languages often signal that a clause is reflexive or reciprocal by employing special verb morphology or special pronoun forms. Chamorro takes a different approach to reflexive clauses than to reciprocal clauses. Reflexive clauses look much like ordinary clauses: they are formed from ordinary verbs combined with personal pronouns, and do not require special reflexive morphology. Nonetheless, Chamorro grammar treats pronouns in their reflexive use differently from other types of pronouns. Reciprocal clauses are intransitive: they are formed from a derived intransitive verb that contributes the reciprocal meaning.

13.2 Reflexive clauses

13.2.1   Form

13.2.1.1   The reflexive use of personal pronouns

Chamorro has no separate set of reflexive pronouns. Instead, the language's three sets of personal pronouns have a reflexive use. These pronouns can be used just like reflexive pronouns, to refer to individuals that take on more than one participant role in the event or state named by the predicate. In this reflexive use, a pronoun can have the same intended reference as some more prominent noun phrase in the same clause. Such a pronoun is said to be *bound* by the more prominent noun phrase, which is called its *antecedent* (see 26.3).[1]

For instance, a pronoun that serves as a direct object or oblique, or its possessor, can be bound by the subject of the same clause. Consider the reflexive clauses below. (In this section, null pronouns that serve as direct objects or possessors are represented by empty sets of brackets; bound pronouns and their antecedents are underlined in the English translation.)

(1) a.   Yanggin   ti   ta fa'na'an   hit   Chamorro ...
          if   not AGR name   us.INCL Chamorro
          'If <u>we</u> (incl.) didn't name <u>ourselves</u> Chamorro...' (from a conference presentation)
     b.   Sigi   i   lahi   ha faisin   i   asaguå-ña   [ ].
          AGR.keep.on   the man   AGR ask   the spouse-AGR
          '<u>The man</u> kept asking <u>his</u> wife.' (Cooreman 1983: 77)

In (1a), the direct object, the 1 du./pl. incl. weak pronoun *hit*, is bound by the null pronoun subject. In (1b), the null pronoun possessor of the direct object is bound by the subject *i lahi* 'the man'.

In addition, a personal pronoun that serves as an oblique, or its possessor, can be bound by the direct object of the same clause. In (2a), the 3 sg. independent pronoun *guiya*, which is the object of the preposition *kontra* 'against', is bound by the direct object *si Miguel*. In (2b), the null pronoun possessor of the oblique is bound by the direct object *i famagu'un* 'the children.'

(2) a.   Ti siña   in prutehi si   Miguel kontra guiya.
          not can   AGR protect UNM   Miguel against him

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[1] Because the subject is the most prominent noun phrase within the clause, the bound pronoun in a reflexive clause cannot be the subject.

'We (excl.) can't protect <u>Miguel</u> from <u>himself</u>.'

b. Chuli'i   na'-ñiha   [ ] i   famagu'un.
   bring.for   food-AGR   the PL.child
   'Bring <u>the kids</u> some food (lit. <u>their</u> food).' (CD, entry for *na'-*)

The rest of this discussion concentrates on reflexive clauses in which the pronoun is bound by the subject. These are more common, and syntactically more distinctive, than clauses in which the pronoun is bound by the direct object (but see 13.2.2.2).

The three sets of personal pronouns generally have the same form and distribution in their reflexive use as in nonreflexive uses. The weak pronouns (see 8.3) occur as direct objects, as in (1a) and (3).

(3) a. Mayulang   i pesadót anai   ha talang gui'   si
   AGR.PASS.break the scale   when AGR weigh him   UNM
   Pedro.
   Pedro
   'The scale broke when <u>Pedro</u> weighed <u>himself</u>.' (CD, entry for *pesadót*)

b. Éga'ga'   ya   un na'gåsgas håo.
   get.busy   and.then   AGR make.clean you
   'Get busy and (<u>you</u>) clean <u>yourself</u> up.'(CD, entry for *éga'ga'*)

c. Todu   ha'   manma'å'ñåo   pumunu'   siha.
   all   EMP   AGR.afraid   INF.kill   them
   '<u>All</u> are afraid to kill <u>themselves</u>.'

The independent pronouns (see 8.2) occur as obliques that are in the oblique or local case (see (4a-b)), or serve as objects of prepositions (see (2a) and (4c)).

(4) a. Ilek-ña si   Orasima'-san   nu guiya ...
   say-AGR UNM   Orasima'-san   OBL him
   '<u>Orasima'-san</u> said to <u>himself</u>...' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

b. Kada   påtgun ma'å'ñåo giya   guiya.
   each   child   AGR.afraid LCL   him
   '<u>Each child</u> is afraid of <u>himself</u>.'

c. Manápatti   ni i   salåppi' intri   siha.
   AGR.RECP.divide OBL the money among them
   '<u>They</u> divided the money amongst <u>themselves</u>.' (CD, entry for *ápatti*)

The independent pronouns also occur as syntactically focused constituents at the left edge of the clause.

(5) a. Put   guåhu ha'   na   mamåhlåo   yu'.
       about me   EMP   COMP AGR.ashamed I
       'It's <u>myself</u> that <u>I</u>'m ashamed of.'
    b. Guiya ha'   i   chi'lu-hu   ha fachuchu'chu'i.
       him   EMP   the sibling-AGR AGR work.for.PROG
       'It's <u>himself</u> that <u>my brother</u> is working for.'

The null pronouns (see 8.4.1) occur as possessors.

(6) a. Kåo   umátungu'   ha'   hamyu put   i
       Q   AGR.RECP.know   EMP   you.DU about the
       disision-miyu [ ]?
       decision-AGR
       'Did <u>the two of you</u> agree about <u>your</u> decision?' (CD, entry for *umátungu'*)
    b. Mama'tinas   si   Denise baketå-ña   [ ].
       AGR.ANTIP.make UNM   Denise ramrod-AGR
       '<u>Denise</u> made <u>his</u> own ramrod.' (CD, entry for *baketa*)
    c. Mampus   agriesåo   na palåo'an   sa'   ha atotga
       so.much risky   L woman   because   AGR dare
       para u   kontra si   tatå-ña   [ ].
       FUT   AGR challenge UNM   father-AGR
       'She is too risky a lady because she dares to (lit. dares that <u>she</u> should) run against <u>her</u> own father.' (CD, entry for *asaguåni*)

There is just one surprise in this distribution. In general, personal pronouns can be freely pronounced or unpronounced as long as they are not cross-referenced by agreement in person (see 8.4.2 and 8.4.3). Pronouns in their reflexive use do not have the same freedom. When a pronoun is used as a reflexive but is not cross-referenced by agreement in person, it *must* be realized as a weak pronoun or independent pronoun; it cannot be null. For instance, direct object pronouns are not cross-referenced by agreement. These pronouns ordinarily can be null or overt (as shown in (7a)), but in their reflexive use, they must be overt (7b-c).[2] The two uses are contrasted in the complex sentence in (7d): the (nonreflexive) direct object of *fa'nu'i*

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[2] Note that (7c) is grammatical as a nonreflexive clause that means 'I already fixed him/her up' or 'I already fixed it up'.

'show' is a null pronoun, but the reflexive direct object of *bira* 'turn' is a weak pronoun.

(7) a. Kåo   un arerekla   (gui')   esta?
       Q   AGR fix.PROG   her   already
       'Have you already fixed her up?'

   b. Hu arerekla   yu' esta.
      AGR fix.PROG   me already
      'I've already fixed <u>myself</u> up.'

   c. *Hu   arerekla   [ ] esta.
      AGR   fix.PROG   already
      ('I've already fixed <u>myself</u> up.')

   d. Pues   i   haggan ...   ha bira   gui'   ya   ha
      so   the turtle   AGR turn   him   and.then   AGR
      fa'nunu'i   ha' [ ]   ni   tatalo'-ña   [ ].
      show.PROG   EMP   OBL   back-AGR
      'Then <u>the turtle</u>...returned (lit. turned <u>himself</u>) and was just showing him (i.e. Pedro) <u>his</u> back.' (Cooreman 1983: 103)

(Pronouns that are cross-referenced by agreement in person must be null, even in their reflexive use; see the reflexive possessors in (6).)

The fact that pronouns in their reflexive use must be overt when they are not cross-referenced by agreement in person has consequences for the pronoun forms used for inanimates. Ordinarily, null pronouns are the only pronoun forms that can refer to inanimates. Weak pronouns and independent pronouns refer only to humans or other animates that have been personified, such as the turtle in (7d) (see Chapter 8). But when a direct object pronoun in its reflexive use refers to an inanimate, it must be overt, so a weak pronoun is employed instead. The sentences in (8) illustrate this for the 3 sg. weak pronoun *gui'* (glossed here as 'it').[3]

(8) a. Espesiatmenti   sa'   todu   tiningu'   ha tututuhun
       especially   because   all   knowledge   AGR begin.PROG
       gui'   gi   gima'.
       it   LCL house
       'Especially because <u>all knowledge</u> begins (<u>itself</u>) in the home.'
       (from a conference presentation)

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[3] The 3 sg. weak pronoun can routinely refer to inanimates when it used as a reflexive. The 3 pl. weak pronoun *siha* has a similar use, but that use seems less frequent.

b. Ha råspa   i bas i karetå-hu   anai   ha bira   gui'
    AGR side-swipe   the bus the car-AGR   when   AGR turn   it
    hålum   gi iskinan   chålan.
    inside   LCL corner.L   road
    'The bus side-swiped my car when <u>it</u> turned (<u>itself</u>) into the corner
    of the road.' (CD, entry for *råspa*)
c. Ha na'ón   gui'   i tivi.
    AGR make.on   it   the T.V.
    '<u>The T.V.</u> turned <u>itself</u> on.'

What enables *gui'* to refer exceptionally to an inanimate in (8) is the fact
that this pronoun is being used as a reflexive. More precisely, it is bound by
some more prominent noun phrase in the same clause—here, the subject.
Note that *gui'* could not refer to an inanimate if it was bound by some more
prominent noun phrase in a *different* clause; then, a null pronoun would be
used instead. The contrast can be seen in the complex sentence in (9), which
contains two inanimate pronouns that are bound by the subject of the main
clause, *i petta* 'the door'. The first pronoun also occurs in the main clause, as
the direct object of *baba* 'open'. Since it is reflexive (i.e. bound by the
subject of the clause in which it occurs), it is realized as the weak pronoun
gui'. The second pronoun occurs in the adverbial clause, as the direct object
of *huchum* 'close'. Since it is in a different clause from its antecedent, it
must be null.

(9)   Ha baba   gui'   i   petta   dispues di [hu huchum (*gui)].
        AGR open   it   the door   after   PRT AGR close   it
        '<u>The door</u> opened <u>itself</u> after I closed <u>it</u>.'

In short, pronouns in their reflexive use have a distribution that is simi-
lar to other personal pronouns, but not the same.

13.2.1.2   Optional reflexive morphology
Although Chamorro has no separate set of reflexive pronouns, it has two
optional morphemes that can be used to indicate that a pronoun is being used
as a reflexive. These morphemes are *maisa* 'alone, by oneself' and *mismu*
'same, very, own'.

13.2.1.2.1   *Maisa*
The adjective *maisa* 'alone, by oneself' serves as a predicate in (10).

(10) Hu yuti' i ås sa' mamaisa ha' gi kattåk-ku.
AGR discard the ace because AGR.alone.PROG EMPL CL card-AGR
'I dropped the ace because it was alone in my cards.' (CD, entry for *mámaisa*)

Maisa has two other uses of note. First, it can serve as an adverb that occurs immediately after the verb or at the right edge of the clause, marked with the pre-head form of the linker (see 7.3.1 and 18.4). Some examples are cited below.

(11)a. Si Henorah masakåda na palåo'an sa'
UNM Henorah brave L woman because
humånåo para i taddung na halumtånu' na **maisa**.
AGR.go to the deep L forest L alone
'Henorah is a brave woman because she just went to the deep forest by herself.' (CD, entry for *masakåda*)

b. Si Pedro mampus matåla' kumånta na
UNM Pedro so.much AGR.confident AGR.INF.sing L
maisa gi iskuela pat maseha månu na lugåt.
alone LCL school or at.all anywhere L place
'Pedro is very self-confident in singing by himself at the school or anywhere.' (CD, entry for *matåla'*)

Second, *maisa* can indicate that an overt pronoun is being used as a reflexive. When an independent pronoun is in its reflexive use, *maisa* occurs immediately after it, marked with the pre-head form of the linker (see 7.3.1). This use, which is not particularly common, is illustrated below. (Compare (12) with (2a), which does not have *maisa*.)

(12) Ti siña in prutehi si Miguel kontra guiya na **maisa**.
not can AGR protect UNM Miguel against him L self
'We (excl.) can't protect <u>Miguel</u> from <u>himself</u>.'

When a weak pronoun is in its reflexive use, *maisa* immediately follows the verb, and the verb is marked with the post-head form of the linker (which is realized as -*n* when the verb ends in a vowel and unpronounced otherwise).

(13)a. Hu laimin **maisa** yu' anai ti måttu yu' gi hunta.
AGR trick.L self me when not AGR.arrive I LCL meeting
'<u>I</u> tricked <u>myself</u> when I did not show up at the meeting.' (CD, entry for *laimi*)

b. Ha dossuk **maisa** gui' ni sipit.
   AGR poke.L self *him* *OBL chopsticks*
   'He poked himself with the chopsticks.' (CD, entry for *sipit*)
c. Manhuyung i Hetmana siha ya ma ofresin
   AGR.go.out the Sister *PL* *and.then* *AGR offer.L*
   maisa siha para siha u fanmapunu' ...
   self them *FUT* *they* *AGR AGR.PASS.kill*
   'The Sisters came out and they offered themselves for them to be
   the ones who would be killed...' (*Ginen I Obispo* March 2, 2003)

In such cases, the verb and *maisa* form a phonological word, as can be seen
from reduplication for the progressive (see 2.2.1.1).

(14)a. Håyi chumatgin **mamaisa** gui'?
   who? WH[SBJ].laugh.at.L *self.PROG* *him*
   'Who is laughing at himself?'
b. Mientras manayuyuda ottru tåotåo, ma ayudan
   while *AGR.ANTIP.help.PROG* *other* *people* *AGR help.L*
   mamaisa siha.
   self.PROG *them*
   'While they were helping other people, they were helping
   themselves.' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 7, 2002)

This last use of *maisa* is reasonably frequent. But more typically, weak pro-
nouns in their reflexive use are accompanied by no reflexive morphology at
all; see (3) and (8).

Some speakers observe that *maisa* tends to appear in reflexive clauses
when the predicate is more typically nonreflexive. For instance, *maisa* is
more likely to occur when the predicate of the reflexive clause is *bota* 'vote',
as opposed to *fa'gåsi* 'wash', because voting for oneself is a less typical, less
frequent, less ordinary occurrence than washing oneself. These comments
suggest that *maisa* implicitly contrasts the reflexive argument with other po-
tential alternatives; e.g. when voting, one might have voted not for oneself
but for someone else.

Maisa can appear when the pronoun in its reflexive use refers to an in-
animate. Although this use of *maisa* is relatively infrequent, it does occur.

(15)a. Ti hu tungu' håfa taimanu na ha 'paste' **maisa** gui'
   not AGR know *how?* *COMP* *AGR paste* *self* *it*
   esti na litråtu.
   this L *photo*

'I don't know how <u>this photo</u> pasted <u>itself</u> [in the message].' (from an e-mail message)

b. Ha na'ón **maisa** gui' i tivi.
   AGR make.on *self* *it* *the T.V.*
   '<u>The T.V.</u> turned <u>itself</u> on.'

One speaker commented that he prefers to use *maisa* in reflexive clauses like (15) when the event is accidental, or caused by something unknown or not made explicit.[4]

13.2.1.2.2 *Mismu*

The adjective *mismu* 'same' occurs within the noun phrase, before the head noun, which is optionally marked with the pre-head form of the linker.

(16)a. Esta ginin tumohgi gui' guihi **mismu** na kantun
    already IMPERF AGR.stand he that.LCL same L edge.L
    tåsi.
    ocean
    'He had already stood on that same beach.' (*Ginen i Obispo* April 29, 2013)

b. Guaha siha salåppi' lokkui' gi **mismu** iskuela.
   AGR.exist PL money also LCL same school
   'There is also money in the same schools.' (Cooreman 1983: 153)

Mismu can also serve as an emphatic reflexive, meaning '(by) oneself, (the) very (one)'. Then it typically follows the noun phrase it modifies.

(17)a. Måttu i hagan Herodihas **mismu** gi giput.
    AGR.arrive the daughter.L Herodias same LCL party
    'The daughter of Herodias herself came in to the party.' (NT 71)

b. Hita ha' **mismu** muna'guaguaha chinatsaga.
   we.INCL EMP same WH[SBJ].make.exist.PROG suffering
   'We (incl.) ourselves are the ones who create (our own) sufferings.' (CD, entry for *chinátsaga*)

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[4] The fact that *maisa* can appear even with reflexive pronouns that refer to inanimates suggests that it is not a marker of perspective or logophoricity (see Charnavel and Sportiche 2016).

Finally, *mismu* can signal that a null possessor pronoun is being used as a reflexive. In such cases, *mismu* usually occurs before the possessed noun, as shown below.

(18)a. Adahi   na   un bona   unu kontra i   pumalu gi **mismu**
       careful *COMP*   *AGR favor* *one against* *the others* *LCL own*
       familiåm-mu   [ ].
       family-AGR
       'Be careful lest <u>you</u> favor one against the others in <u>your</u> own
       family.' (CD, entry for *bona*)
    b. Fina'ñagui   i   patgun ni **mismu** anineng-ña   [ ].
       AGR.PASS.scare *the child* *OBL own*   *shadow-AGR*
       '<u>The child</u> is scared by <u>her</u> own shadow.' (CD, entry for *ånining*)
    c. Ha traiduti i   **mismu** che'lu-ña   [ ].
       AGR betray *the own*   *sibling-AGR*
       '<u>She</u> betrayed <u>her</u> own sibling.' (CD, entry for *traiduti*)

This last use of *mismu* is reasonably frequent. But more typically, a reflexive possessor pronoun is accompanied by no reflexive morphology at all; see (6) and (7d).

13.2.2   Reflexive clauses versus other clauses
Despite the fact that reflexive clauses often contain no reflexive morphology, they are treated differently from other clauses when the pronoun being used as a reflexive (henceforth, the *reflexive*) is the direct object or a possessor of the direct object. 13.2.2.1 describes how reflexive clauses interact with the restrictions on information packaging; 13.2.2.2 deals with the structure of causatives derived from reflexive clauses.

13.2.2.1   Information packaging
Reflexive clauses are treated differently from other transitive clauses by the restrictions on information packaging discussed in Chapter 16.
   Chamorro has a person-animacy restriction that blocks transitive clauses from having a direct object that is higher than the subject on the person-animacy hierarchy (see 16.2). This restriction prevents clauses from having an animate direct object but an inanimate subject; it also prevents clauses from having an animate pronoun as direct object but a nonpronoun as subject. Direct object pronouns that are reflexive are exempt from this restriction: a transitive clause can have a reflexive direct object even when the subject is a nonpronoun. This exemption is in force whether or not the reflexive morpheme *maisa* also appears, as can be seen from (19) and (20).

(19)a. Sessu   ha riferi   gui'   gi Bipblia si   påli'.
       often   *AGR refer*   *him*   *LCL Bible   UNM   priest*
       'The priest often refers <u>himself</u> to the Bible.' (CD, entry for *riferi*)

   b. Pues   ha bira   gui'   i haggan ya   kumåti.
      then   *AGR turn*   *him*   *the turtle   and.then   AGR.cry*
      'Then <u>the turtle</u> turned (<u>himself</u>) and cried.' (Cooreman 1983: 103)

   c. Ha gosa   gui'   i   patgun ni mångga ya
      AGR enjoy   *him*   *the child   OBL mango   and.then*
      nina'masisinik.
      AGR.PASS.make.defecate.PROG
      '<u>The child</u> overindulged <u>himself</u> with the mangos and he's having
      diarrhea.' (CD, entry for *gosa*)

(20)   Ha disponin **maisa** gui'   i patgun sin   i
       AGR manage.L   **self**   *him*   *the child   without the*
       aturidåt   nanå-ña.
       authority.L   mother-AGR
       '<u>The child</u> managed <u>himself</u> without his mother's authorization.'
       (CD, entry for *disponi*)

Reflexive clauses otherwise obey the person-animacy restriction: they cannot have an animate direct object but an inanimate subject, for instance. The reflexive clause in (21) is ungrammatical because it violates this requirement, even though the direct object contains a reflexive possessor.

(21)   *Ti ha apåpasi   i   espitåt i   infitmerå-ña [ ] siha.
       not AGR pay.PROG   the hospital the   nurse-AGR   PL
       ('<u>The hospital</u> is not paying <u>its</u> nurses.')

The contrast between (19-20) and (21) reveals that reflexive clauses are not generally exempt from the person-animacy restriction. Instead, for whatever reason, a reflexive direct object does not count as a pronoun for the purposes of the person-animacy hierarchy. Recall (from 13.2.1.1) that pronouns in their reflexive use have a slightly different distribution from other personal pronouns. The fact that reflexive pronouns are ignored by the person-animacy restriction is further evidence that they differ syntactically from other pronouns.

Chamorro has a separate restriction that bans transitive clauses in which the subject is third person dual or plural but not a pronoun (see 16.3). This third plural restriction does not affect transitive clauses that contain a reflexive direct object or a reflexive possessor of the direct object. A clause with a

reflexive direct object can have a subject that is third person dual or plural, even when this subject is a nonpronoun, as in (22).

(22)a. Ma fakiki siha   si   Dona yan si   Dick   ni
AGR indulge them   UNM   Dona and UNM   Dick   OBL
chandiha.
watermelon
'<u>Dona and Dick</u> indulged <u>themselves</u> in watermelon.' (CD, entry for *fakiki*)

b. Ma pripåpara   siha   i   familian Tuho' para   i
AGR prepare.PROG   them   the family.L Tuho' for   the
inetnun-ñiha   [ ].
meeting-AGR
'<u>The Tuho' families</u> are preparing (<u>themselves</u>) for <u>their</u> reunion.'
(CD, entry for *pripåra*)

A clause that has a reflexive possessor within the direct object also evades the third plural restriction. See (23).

(23)a. Ma na'påkpak   kannai-ñiha [ ] i   aodensia.
AGR make.clap   hand-AGR   the audience
'<u>The audience</u> clapped <u>their</u> hands.' (CD, entry for *åodensia*)

b. Ma munton i   lakulakung magågun-ñiha [ ] i   famagu'un
AGR bundle the dirty.L   clothes-AGR   the PL.child
sa'   para   u   fanmafa'gåsi.
because FUT   AGR AGR.PASS.wash
'<u>The children</u> put all <u>their</u> dirty clothes in a pile for the laundry.'
(CD, entry for *lakulakung*)

c. Ma lasgui i   lalåhi   i   machettin-ñiha [ ].
AGR sharpen the PL.boy   the machete-AGR
'<u>The boys</u> sharpened <u>their</u> machetes.'

A clause that has a reflexive possessor within the possessor of the direct object, as in (24), evades the restriction as well.

(24) Ma paini   i   gapitulun i   famagu'un-ñiha [ ] i
AGR comb   the hair.L   the PL.child-AGR   the
famalåo'an.
PL.woman
'<u>The women</u> combed <u>their</u> children's hair.'

The antecedent of the reflexive in all of these clauses is the subject. In fact, the antecedent must be the subject, given that the subject is the only noun phrase in the clause that is more prominent than the direct object. This reveals that the third plural restriction is sensitive to the character of the direct object as well as the subject: it specifically bans transitive clauses in which (i) the subject is third person dual or plural, but not a pronoun and (ii) the reference of the direct object is *independent* from the reference of the subject. It makes no difference whether reflexive morphology is present—in fact, no reflexive morphology at all appears in (22-24). What matters is that the direct object or its possessor is bound by a more prominent noun phrase within the same clause.

13.2.2.2 Causatives

Reflexive direct objects are also distinguished from other direct objects in the formation of causatives.

Causatives are transitive verbs derived by adding the prefix *na'-* to a partly inflected verb or adjective (see Chapter 12). These verbs name the event of causing the event or state described by the original verb or adjective. Causative verbs have an additional argument that names the causer and is realized as their subject.

In a causative clause, the arguments of the original predicate are reconfigured as arguments of the causative verb (see 12.3.1). The argument that would have been the subject of the original predicate is reconfigured as the direct object of the causative; all other arguments are reconfigured as obliques. If the original predicate is a transitive verb, its internal argument—the argument that would have been its direct object—is reconfigured as an oblique, and occurs in the oblique case if it is a noun phrase. Compare the transitive clause in (25a) with the causative clause in (25b).

(25) a. Hu fa'gåsi i na'yan.
    AGR wash the dishes
    'I washed the dishes.'
  b. Ha na'fa'gåsi yu' nu i na'yan si nanå-hu.
    AGR make.wash me OBL the dishes UNM mother-AGR
    'My mother made me wash the dishes.'

The situation is different when the original predicate is a transitive verb with a reflexive direct object—more precisely, a transitive verb whose internal argument is reflexive, and whose external argument is the reflexive's antecedent (see 12.3.4.1). The reflexive direct object ought to be reconfigured as an oblique argument of the causative, and realized as an independent

pronoun in the oblique case. Some speakers allow this. But more usually, the reflexive is realized as a weak pronoun; it takes the form that reflects its function as the original verb's direct object. This pattern occurs whether or not reflexive morphology is present, as can be seen from the following.

(26)a. In   na'fa'gåsi gui'   si   Rita   ni hapbun.
        AGR make.wash her   UNM   Rita   OBL soap
        'We (excl.) made <u>Rita</u> wash <u>herself</u> with soap.'
   b.   Hu na'pula'   maisa gui' i neni   sin   i
        AGR make.undress.L self   him   the baby   without the
        ayudu-hu.
        help-AGR
        'I made <u>the baby</u> undress <u>himself</u> without my help.'
   c.   In na'bira   siha   tåtti   i   famagu'un Hapon.
        AGR make.turn   them   back   the PL.child   Japan
        'We (excl.) made <u>the children</u> turn (<u>themselves</u>) back to Japan.'

The antecedent of the reflexive in these examples is the direct object of the causative, which is the original verb's external argument (e.g. *si Rita* in (26a)). When the antecedent is itself a pronoun, only one of the two (identical) pronoun forms is realized, because weak pronouns do not co-occur with other weak pronouns (see 8.3). See (27).

(27)a. Ha na'tarabira   yu' i   mediku.
        AGR make.turn.over me the doctor
        'The doctor let <u>me</u> turn <u>myself</u> over.'
   b.   Ha na'fa'gåsin   maisa ham   ni hapbun si   Rita.
        AGR make.wash.L   self   us.EXCL OBL soap   UNM   Rita
        'Rita made <u>us</u> (excl.) wash <u>ourselves</u> with soap.'
   c.   Kåo   hågu   muna'chatgin   maisa   siha?
        Q   you   WH[SBJ].make.laugh.at.L   self   them
        'Was it you who made <u>them</u> laugh at <u>themselves</u>?'

Otherwise, if some constituent besides the original verb's internal argument is reflexive, or if the antecedent of the reflexive is not the original verb's external argument, then the arguments are reconfigured in the usual way. For instance, when a causative is formed from a transitive verb whose internal argument contains a reflexive possessor, the internal argument is reconfigured as an oblique argument of the causative, as in (28).

(28)a. In na'baba   i   palåo'an   ni malitå-ña   [ ].
       AGR make.open the woman   OBL luggage-AGR
       'We (excl.) made <u>the woman</u> open <u>her</u> luggage.'
   b. In na'po'lu   nu i   kosas-ñiha [ ] i   famagu'un gi
      AGR make.put   OBL the thing-AGR   the PL.child LCL
      halum   kahita.
      inside.L box
      'We (excl.) made <u>the children</u> put <u>their</u> things in the box.'

When a causative is formed from a transitive verb whose internal argument is a pronoun, but the pronoun's antecedent is the subject of the causative (the causer), the internal argument is reconfigured as an oblique argument of the causative. See (29).

(29)   Ha na'kontra   si   Maria si   Juan   nu guiya.
        AGR make.against UNM   Maria UNM   Juan   OBL her
        '<u>Maria</u> turned Juan against <u>her</u>.'

It is unclear exactly how to analyze the syntax of the reflexive direct object in (26) and (27). Nonetheless, these patterns reveal another way in which reflexive direct objects are treated differently from other direct object pronouns in Chamorro.

13.3 Reciprocal clauses

13.3.1 Reciprocal verbs
Reciprocals are intransitive verbs derived by adding the stressed prefix *á-* to a transitive verb. In general, when the meaning of a transitive verb is 'X', the meaning of the corresponding reciprocal verb is 'X-each-other'. Some representative transitive verbs and the reciprocals derived from them are listed below.

(30)   TRANSITIVE VERB   RECIPROCAL
        ayuda   'help'   a'ayuda   'help each other'
        chiku   'kiss'   achiku   'kiss each other'
        chonnik   'push'   achonnik   'push each other'
        fa'baba   'cheat'   afa'baba   'cheat each other'
        fana'   'face'   afana'   'face each other'
        guaiya   'love'   aguaiya   'love each other'
        kassi   'tease'   akassi   'tease each other'
        li'i'   'see'   ali'i'   'see each other'

rispeta	'respect'	arispeta	'respect each other'
se'si'	'stab'	ase'si'	'stab each other'
totpi	'collide with'	atotpi	'collide with each other'

Reciprocals can be created from just about every transitive verb in Chamorro. They can be derived from applicative verbs, whether the applicative is derived from an intransitive verb or adjective (as in (31a)) or a transitive verb (31b), or is a concealed applicative (31c).

(31)   APPLICATIVE VERB   RECIPROCAL

a.	kuentusi	'speak to'	akuentusi	'speak to each other'
	payuni	'accustomed to'	apayuni	'accustomed to each other'
b.	sangåni	'say to, tell'	asangani	'tell each other'
	pulå'i	'take off for'	apula'i	'take off for each other'
	tugi'i	'write to'	atugi'i	'write to each other'
c.	dåggåo	'throw to'	adaggåo	'throw to each other'
	fa'nå'gui	'teach'	afa'na'gui	'teach each other'

Reciprocals can also be derived from causative verbs (see 12.3.3.4).

(32)   CAUSATIVE VERB   RECIPROCAL

na'ma'åsi'	'make pity'	ana'ma'asi'	'make each other pity'
na'chiku	'make kiss'	ana'chiku	'make each other kiss'
na'tungu'	'make know'	ana'tungu'	'make each other know'

A few reciprocals have a more specialized meaning than the verb from which they are derived. For instance, the usual meaning of the reciprocal *ásudda'* (from *sodda'* 'find') is 'meet'; one of the meanings of the reciprocal *áchuli'* (from *chuli'* 'bring, take') is 'resemble each other'.

Because reciprocal verbs are intransitive, their agreement with the subject is chosen from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives (see 2.2.2.2). Note that in the realis mood, sg./du. agreement is indicated by the infix *-um-*.

(33)a.　Umafana'　　　　put fin i　dos para　　u　akumprendi.
　　　　AGR.RECP.face　　at　end the　two FUT　　AGR RECP.understand
　　　　'Finally the two faced each other to come to an understanding (lit.
　　　　so they would understand each other).' (CD, entry for *áfana'*)

　　b.　Uma'achampa　　　　　　　si　　　Jesus　yan i　bisinu-ña.
　　　　AGR.RECP.compete.PROG UNM　　Jesus　and the　neighbor-AGR
　　　　'Jesus and his neighbor are competing with each other.' (CD, entry
　　　　for *chåmpa*)

　　c.　Dispues di　manadisipidi　　　　　　　ham,　　　　in　dingu　i
　　　　after　PRT AGR.RECP.say.farewell.to we.EXCL　　AGR leave　the
　　　　giput.
　　　　party
　　　　'After we (excl.) said good-by to each other, we (excl.) left the
　　　　party.' (CD, entry for *dispidi*)

13.3.2　Grammatical relations

Reciprocal clauses in Chamorro are intransitive. Their subject, which gener-
ally picks out a group of individuals, corresponds to *both* the external
argument *and* the internal argument of the transitive verb from which the
reciprocal is derived. But whereas a transitive verb is typically used to
describe a single event involving different participants, the corresponding
reciprocal describes a set of events involving individuals whose participant
status changes from event to event, in such a way that each individual ends
up exchanging participant roles with the other(s).

　　The subject of a reciprocal clause is usually a noun phrase that is dual or
plural. This noun phrase, which occurs in the unmarked case, serves as the
most prominent noun phrase of the clause (see 3.2.1). It is the constituent
that must be missing in an infinitive clause; see (34).

(34)　　Yan-ñiha　i　　famagu'un　[manapalakñaihun]　　　　　an
　　　　like-AGR　the　PL.child　AGR.INF.RECP.throw.down　if
　　　　manhugågandu.
　　　　AGR.play.PROG
　　　　'The kids love to throw each other down when they play.' (CD,
　　　　entry for *palakñaihun*)

It is also the constituent that must be missing in an imperative.[5]

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[5] The missing subject of an imperative can leave behind a stranded modifier,
such as *na dos* 'two' in (35a). That does not change the fact that the head of
the noun phrase is, and must be, missing.

(35)a. Agofli'i'   fan   na dos.
       RECP.like   *please*   *L*   *two*
       '(You two) be nice to each other.' (CD, entry for *ágofli'i'*)
    b. Fanakumprendi   ya   mungnga   na   u
       AGR.RECP.understand   *and.then*   *don't*   *COMP*   *AGR*
       guaha   disgråsia   gi   familia.
       exist   *disgrace*   *LCL family*
       'Come to terms with each other so that there won't be any disgrace
       in the family.' (CD, entry for *disgråsia*)

Interestingly, the subject of a reciprocal clause can be singular when the clause also contains a prepositional phrase formed with the comitative preposition *yan* 'with' (see 19.7.1). In such cases, even though the subject and the comitative phrase are separate constituents, they together pick out the group of individuals that exchange participant roles in the set of events described by the reciprocal verb. In (36), for instance, the subject of the reciprocal verb *ali'i'* 'see each other' is the 1 sg. weak pronoun *yu'*, but the clause also contains the comitative phrase *yan i doktu* 'with the doctor', so the meaning is that the speaker and the doctor saw each other.

(36)   Umali'i'   yu' lokkui' yan   i   doktu.
       AGR.RECP.see   *I*   *also*   *with*   *the doctor*
       'I also met (lit. saw each other) with the doctor.' (CD, entry for
       aprubecha)

In reciprocal clauses of this type, the subject clearly does not form a larger constituent with the comitative phrase. To begin with, the subject can occur separated from the comitative phrase, as in (36) and the following.

(37)   I   che'lu-hu   umadispatta   yan   i   asaguå-ña.
       the sibling-AGR AGR.RECP.separate   *with*   *the spouse-AGR*
       'My sister separated from her husband (lit. separated from each
       other with her husband).' (CD, entry for *ádispatta*)

Only the subject is obligatorily missing in infinitive clauses and imperatives; the comitative phrase remains unaffected.

(38)a. Sigi   ha'   yu' umatotbus   yan
       AGR.keep.on EMP   *I*   *AGR.INF.RECP.collide.with*   *with*
       tåotåo gi giput   sa'   mampus   bula.
       person LCL party   *because so.much*   *AGR.many*

'I kept on colliding (lit. colliding with each other) with people at the party because it was too crowded.' (CD, entry for *totbus*)

b.   Akumprendi   yan   i   che'lu-mu palåo'an.
    RECP.understand   *with*   *the* *sibling-AGR* *female*
    'Reach an agreement (lit. understand each other) with your sister.'
    (CD, entry for *ákumprendi*)

On the other hand, the comitative phrase can be questioned, relativized, or syntactically focused on its own, leaving the subject behind, as (39) shows.

(39)a.   Håyi   akuentusesen-ña   si   Carmen?
      who? *WH[OBL].RECP.speak.to-AGR.PROG*   *UNM*   *Carmen*
      'Who is Carmen speaking (to each other) with?'

b.   Debi   di ... en kumbida   para   i   fandånggu todu
    should *PRT*   *AGR invite*   *to*   *the* *wedding*   *all*
    i   [asudda'-miyu].
    the *WH[OBL].RECP.find-AGR*
    'You (pl.) should...invite to the wedding everyone you (pl.) meet
    (lit. find each other) with.' (NT 42)

These patterns reveal that reciprocal verbs do not require their subject to be dual or plural. Rather, they impose the semantic requirement that the set of events they describe must involve more than one individual—a requirement that can be satisfied even when the noun phrases that name these individuals do not form a larger syntactic constituent.

Other arguments of the reciprocal verb are realized as obliques. For instance, when a reciprocal is created from an applicative or causative that has been derived from a transitive verb, the noun phrase corresponding to the original transitive verb's internal argument is realized as an oblique. This is illustrated below for reciprocals derived from a concealed applicative in (40a), and from a causative in (40b).

(40)a.   Ta ana'i   **distånsia** ya   mungnga hit
    AGR RECP.give *distance* *and.then* *don't*   *we.INCL*
    umatontun.
    AGR.RECP.bump
    'Let's (incl.) keep a distance from each other (lit. give each other
    distance) so we (incl.) don't bump into each other.' (CD, entry for
    distånsia)

b. Kåo   umana'patcha   hamyu **ni feggun**?
    Q   AGR.RECP.make.touch   you.DU OBL stove
    'Did you (du.) let each other touch the stove?'

Reciprocals are derived fairly often from applicative verbs. The reciprocals in (41) are created from applicatives derived by attaching *-i* to the transitive verbs *sångan* 'say' and *pula'* 'take off (clothing)' (see 11.3.1). Notice that the reciprocal relation holds between the external argument and the additional argument of the applicative (i.e. the applicative object). In (41a), the external argument names the ones who tell, and the applicative argument names the ones who are told; in (41b), the external argument names the ones who remove (clothing), and the applicative argument names the ones from whom clothing is removed.

(41)a. Manasangani   istoria i   famagu'un.
        AGR.RECP.say.to story   the PL.child
        'The children told each other a story.'
    b. Ti siña   umapula'i   kutbåta.
        not can   AGR.RECP.take.off.for   tie
        'They (du.) could not take off each other's ties.' (CD, entry for *ápula'i*)

Reciprocals can also be derived from concealed applicatives (see 11.5).

(42)a. Mana'afaisin   ni   muralidåt   i   doktu.
        AGR.RECP.ask.PROG   OBL morality.L   the doctor
        'They were questioning (lit. asking each other about) the morality of the doctor.' (CD, entry for *muralidåt*)
    b. Sessu   mapuhut   i   isno   para   u
        often   AGR.PASS.press.into.ball   the snow   FUT   AGR
        fanadaggåo.
        AGR.RECP.throw
        'They often pressed the snow into balls so they could throw it at each other.' (CD, entry for *puhut*)

More surprisingly, reciprocals can be derived from transitive verbs in such a way that the reciprocal relation holds between the external argument and a completely new argument. In such cases, the verb from which the reciprocal is formed lacks applicative morphology and is not independently known to be a concealed applicative. This unexpected type of reciprocal is illustrated below. The reciprocal verb in the clauses in (43) appears to be

derived directly from the transitive verb *pula'* 'take off (clothing)'. These clauses have the same structure as (41b), which contains a reciprocal verb derived from the applicative *pulå'i* 'take off (clothing) for'. In all three clauses, the reciprocal relation holds between the external argument and an additional argument, which names the one(s) from whom clothing is removed. The internal argument of the original verb, which names what is removed, is realized as an oblique.

(43) a. Umapula'   balakbak   iskuela.
         AGR.RECP.take.off   purse.L   school
         'They (du.) took off each other's school bags.' (CD, entry for
         ápula')
     b. Apula'   kutbåtan-miyu   na   dos.
         RECP.take.off   tie-AGR   L   two
         '(You two) take off each other's tie.' (CD, entry for *ápula'*)

The reciprocal verbs in (44) appear to be derived directly from the transitive verbs *hålla* 'pull' and *tugan* 'break off'. Here too, the reciprocal relation holds between the external argument and an additional argument, which names the ones from whom stuff was pulled or broken off. The noun phrase corresponding to the original verb's internal argument is realized as an oblique.

(44) a. Umahalla   i   dos påtgun   ni   iskoba   ya
         AGR.RECP.pull   the   two child   OBL   broom   and.then
         måpga'   i   tekpong-ña.
         AGR.split   the   handle-AGR
         'The two children pulled the broom between each other and the
         handle split.' (CD, entry for *måpga'*)
     b. Umatugan   i   dos gåyu   pilun-ñiha.
         AGR.RECP.pull.out   the   two rooster   feather-AGR
         'The two roosters pulled out each other's feathers.' (CD, entry for
         átugan)

Either the reciprocals in (43) and (44) are derived from applicatives that exceptionally lack an applicative suffix, or else they are derived directly from transitive verbs by exceptionally imposing the reciprocal relation between the external argument and a new argument with the same range of meanings as an applicative argument (see 11.3.1). This new argument would name the recipient, beneficiary, or maleficiary of the event; sometimes it would also name the possessor of the original verb's internal argument.

Either way, it is unclear why reciprocals of this sort are allowed, since the grammar has the resources to create them independently from applicatives that have an applicative suffix. This is an area where further investigation is needed.

13.4   Further reading

See Chung (1989) for further discussion of reflexive clauses in Chamorro.

14

OTHER TYPES OF PREDICATES

Chamorro has impersonal verbs and adjectives, verbs of possession, and verbs that show agreement as if they were nouns.

14.1 Overview

Certain verbs and adjectives in Chamorro occur in special types of clauses or have special marking. These include impersonal verbs and adjectives, verbs of possession, and transitive verbs that show agreement as if they were nouns.

14.2 Impersonal verbs and adjectives

Impersonal predicates are predicates that cannot have a meaningful subject. Instead, their subject is a meaningless null placeholder known as an *expletive* or *dummy*. The impersonal predicates in Chamorro include weather verbs, the existential verbs *guaha* 'exist' and *tåya'* 'not exist', and quantificational adjectives such as *bula* 'much, many' and *meggai* 'many' (see 6.2.4.3).

14.2.1 Weather verbs
Several Chamorro words that describe weather events can serve as nouns or verbs. These weather words, which include *uchan* 'rain', *påkyu* 'typhoon, strong storm, tropical cyclone', and *guaifun* 'wind, storm', serve as nouns in the sentences below.

(1) a. Na'fachi'   i   mampus   måtmu na **uchan**.
      AGR.muddying   the so.much   heavy   L   rain
      'Heavy rain can cause muddy ground.' (CD, entry for *ná'fachi'*)
    b. Para   u   fåttu   i   **pakyu**   agupa'.
      FUT   AGR arrive   the typhoon   tomorrow
      'The typhoon is coming tomorrow.' (CD, entry for *påkyu*)

The weather words can serve as intransitive verbs—verbs that describe the event of e.g. raining, storming heavily, or being windy. Like other event

verbs, they are marked for the progressive aspect when the event described is ongoing or in progress with respect to some other event (see 2.2.1.2.1). This other event is the speech event in the sentences in (2).

(2) a. Chuli'   i   payu   sa'   **u'uchan**.
   take   the umbrella   because AGR.rain.PROG
   'Take the umbrella because it is raining.' (CD, entry for *påyu*)
   b. Kalan   **påpakyu**   guini sa'   i   manglu'
   seems.like AGR.typhoon.PROG   here   because the wind
   yan   i   ichan.
   and   the rain
   'It seems like we're having a typhoon here because of the wind and rain.' (CD, entry for *påpakyu*)

The weather verbs take their agreement with the subject from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives. Like a very few other intransitive verbs that describe events (e.g. *maigu'* 'sleep', *malågu* 'run'), they have two forms for sg./du. agreement in the realis mood: the infix -*um*-, which signals that the verb is inchoative, and no special marking, which is used otherwise (see 2.2.2.2.1). Compare the verbs in (3), which are inchoative, with the verbs in (2) and (4), which are not.

(3) a. Manå'pagun   i   magågu gi tali anai   **umuchan**   dididi'.
   AGR.damp   the clothes LCL line when   AGR.rain   a.little
   'The clothes on the line became damp when it rained a little.' (CD, entry for *å'pagun*)
   b. Anai **pumåkyu**,   oggan   si   Sirena gi
   when AGR.typhoon   AGR.run.aground   UNM Sirena LCL
   kantun unai.
   edge.L sand
   'Sirena ran aground on the beach when the storm hit.' (CD, entry for *oggan*)
(4)   Duru   **uchan**   gi nigapña.
   hard   AGR.rain   LCL day.before.yesterday
   'It rained hard the day before yesterday.' (CD, entry for *nigapña*)

Finally, though the weather verbs cannot have a meaningful noun phrase as their subject, they *do* have a subject, which they clearly agree with in the irrealis mood. This 3 sg. agreement is illustrated in (5) (see also (38c)).

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(5) a. Para **u uchan** gi talu'åni på'gu na ha'åni.
    FUT AGR rain LCL afternoon now L day
    'It will rain in the afternoon today.' (CD, entry for *på'gu*)

    b. Yanggin para **u påkyu**, debi un na'guaha
    if FUT AGR typhoon should AGR make.exist
    pribension nengkanu' ...
    provision.L food
    'If there is going to be a typhoon, you should have food provisions
    [for at least four to five days].' (CD, entry for *pribensión*)

The standard diagnostics for a null dummy subject are (i) morphological evidence for the presence of a subject, which typically is third person singular, and (ii) the impossibility of a meaningful subject. These diagnostics reveal that the weather verbs are impersonal: they have a null dummy as their subject.

14.2.2 Existential verbs

The existential verbs *guaha* 'exist' and *tåya'* 'not exist' are intransitive verbs that describe the event of existing at a time or place. In addition, *tåya'* also expresses sentence negation (see Chapter 17). Existential verbs have two arguments: one that names the sort of individual, thing, or event that exists, and another that names the location in time or space where it exists. The argument that names what exists—referred to below as *the pivot*—is realized as a noun phrase in the unmarked case. The location argument is either implicit (see 9.3.2) or else realized as a noun phrase in the local case. Some representative examples appear in (6).

(6) a. **Guaha** lokkui' kollat babui gi uriyan i
    AGR.exist also pen.L pig LCL around.L the
    trongkun mångga.
    tree.L mango
    'There was also a pig pen around the mango trees.' (EM 87)

    b. Pues **tåya'** nengkanu' guihi na tiempu.
    so AGR.not.exist food LCL.that L time
    'So there was no food at that time.' (Cooreman 1983: 50)

Like other event verbs, existential verbs are marked for the progressive aspect when the event described is ongoing with respect to some other event, such as the speech event; see (7).

(7) a. Esta **guaguaha** chunge'-ña si Pedro sa'
already AGR.exist.PROG gray.hair-AGR UNM Pedro because
gof åmku'.
AGR.very old
'Pedro is already having gray hair because he is very old.' (CD,
entry for *chungi'*)

b. Ombris **tåtaya'** salappe'-hu, sigi ha' yu'
even.though AGR.not.exist.PROG money-AGR keep.on EMP me
un ayåo.
AGR borrow
'Even though I'm running out of money, you continue to borrow
from me.' (CD, entry for *ombris*)

They can also be marked for the progressive aspect when they describe a re-
peated event (see 2.2.1.2.1).

(8) Yanggin umachatli'i' i taotåo, atyu nai
if AGR.RECP.hate the person that COMP
guaguaha disgustu.
AGR.exist.PROG quarrel
'When people hate each other, that's when disagreements happen.'
(CD, entry for *áchatli'i'*)

Like other intransitive verbs, existential verbs take their agreement with
the subject from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives. In
addition, like the weather verbs and a very few other intransitive verbs that
describe events, they have two sg./du. agreement forms in the realis mood:
the infix -*um*- when the verb is inchoative, and no special marking otherwise
(see 14.2.1 and 2.2.2.2.1). Compare the examples in (9), in which the verb is
inchoative, with the examples cited above.

(9) a. Esta sen håssan i fanihi giya Mariånas
already AGR.extremely rare the fruit.bat LCL Marianas
disdi ki **gumuaha** paki.
since PRT AGR.exist gun
'Fruit bats are rare now in the Marianas since the introduction of
guns (lit. since there came to be guns).' (CD, entry for *håssan*)

b. **Tumåya'** prubensión pugas anai ti måttu i
AGR.not.exist supplies.L rice when not AGR.arrive the
batku.
ship

'We ran out of rice supply (lit. There came to be no rice supply) when the ship did not arrive.' (CD, entry for *tåya'*)

The fact that existential verbs are intransitive means that the pivot is not their direct object. The pivot is not their subject, either. Instead, existential verbs are impersonal: their subject is a null dummy. That is why their agreement is (third person) singular, even when the pivot is interpreted as plural (as in (10a)) or marked for the plural with the particle *siha* (as in (10c-d)); see 6.1.1.1.[1] Note especially (10d), which shows that a clause in which the existential verb shows plural agreement is ungrammatical.

(10)a. Para   u   **guaha** påstit   gi giput?
         FUT   *AGR* *exist*   *pastry* *LCL* *party*
         'Will there be pastries at the party?' (CD, entry for *påstit*)

   b. Nai'an ni   u   **tåya'**   gera   ya   u   **guaha**
       when? *COMP* *AGR* *not.exist*   *war*   *and.then* *AGR* *exist*
       pås?
       peace
       'When will there be no war and will there be peace?' (CD, entry for *pås*)

   c. **Guaha**   siha   matiriåt   ha cho'gui gi finu'
       AGR.exist   *PL*   *material*   *AGR* *make*   *LCL* *speech.L*
       Chamorro.
       Chamorro
       'There are materials that he made in the Chamorro language.' (from a conference presentation)

   d. (*Mang)**guaha** tåotåo siha gi santatti   gi halum   kareta.
       AGR.exist   *person* *PL* *LCL* *DIR.back*   *LCL* *inside.L* *car*
       'There are some people in the back (seat) in the car.'

These agreement patterns reveal that existential verbs are impersonal, and the pivot is not the subject or the direct object of the existential clause.

The pivot of an existential clause has other properties of note:

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[1] The pattern in (10) was the norm in the 20th century and is still the norm for older speakers today. Very occasionally, one hears younger Chamorro speakers, or Chamorro speakers whose dominant language is English, use plural agreement on an existential verb when the pivot is plural. This pattern is probably the result of contact with English (e.g. *There are people in the back seat*).

(i) As in many other languages, the pivot must be weak (indefinite in some sense; see 6.2.5). Specifically, it must be introduced by an indefinite article (as in (11a)), a numeral (11b), a negative concord determiner (11c), or a quantifier such as *bula* 'much, many' or *meggai* 'many' (11d).

(11) a. Guaha   un dångkulun saligåo   gi kantarun   basula.
    AGR.exist   a   big.L   centipede   LCL can.L   trash
    'There is a huge centipede in the trash can.' (CD, entry for *saligåo*)

  b. Tåya'   miyon na tåotåo giya   CNMI.
    AGR.not.exist   million L person LCL   CNMI
    'There aren't a million people in the CNMI.' (CD, entry for *miyón*)

  c. Tåya'   ni unu na tåotåo pirfektu   gi hilu'
    AGR.not.exist   not one L person AGR.perfect LCL top.L
    tånu'.
    land
    'There is no such perfect person in the world.' (CD, entry for *pirfektu*)

  d. Guaha   meggai tinanum lodigåo gi   halum   tånu'.
    AGR.exist   many   plant.L lodigao LCL inside.L land
    'There are a lot of lodigao plants in the jungle.' (CD, entry for *lódigåo*)

This definiteness effect prevents the pivot from being a pronoun, the name of a person or place, or a noun phrase whose determiner is a strong quantifier, such as *kada* 'each'.[2] However, in the right discourse context, the pivot can have the definite article or a demonstrative as its determiner, even though these determiners are strong. See (12).

(12)   Guaha   atyu   i   finu   yan   guaha   atyu   i
    AGR.exist that   the fine   and   AGR.exist that   the
    båstus   na   påppit aseru.
    rough   L   sandpaper
    'There is fine sandpaper and there is rough sandpaper.' (CD, entry for *påppit aseru*)

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[2] The noun phrase that serves as the pivot cannot be a pronoun, name, or place name. It can have a strong quantifier as its determiner only when the quantification ranges over types rather than individuals. All the examples of this type in the CD database involve the strong quantifier *todu klasi(n)* 'all kinds of'. These patterns also occur in other languages (see McNally 1997).

(ii) Like other noun phrases, the pivot can have various types of modifiers, including relative clauses (which are enclosed in brackets below). A relative clause modifier that follows the pivot can be introduced by a relative clause complementizer, such as *ni* in (13) (see 24.3.2).

(13)a. Guaha   un manåda na aga'   gi gima'   [ni
     AGR.exist   a   lot.of   L   banana LCL house   COMP
     nina'in   Maria].
     WH[OBJ].give.L Maria
     'There are lots of bananas at the house that Maria gave me.' (CD, entry for *manåda*)
   b. Tåya'   alåmli [ni   para   u   mafa'tinas i
     AGR.not.exist   wire   COMP   FUT   AGR PASS.make   the
     gigåo].
     fish.trap
     'There's no wire to make the fish trap.' (CD, entry for *gigåo*)

But more often, the relative clause is introduced by one of the complementizers found in constituent questions or the focus construction, such as the null complementizer in (14). See the discussion in 24.4.

(14)a. Libiånu   si   Tita   sa'   guaha   muchåcha
     AGR.easy   UNM   Tita   because AGR.exist   maid
     [para   u   goggui   i   famagu'un gi gima'].
     FUT   AGR care.for   the PL.child   LCL house
     'Tita is carefree because she has a maid to take care of the children at home.' (CD, entry for *goggui*)
   b. Tåya'   fingkås-ña   si   David [masodda'
     AGR.not.exist   belongings-AGR   UNM   David   AGR.PASS.find
     ni   famagu'on-ña].
     OBL PL.child-AGR
     'David's children have not found any of his belongings (lit. there are no belongings of David that were found by his children).' (CD, entry for *fengkas*)

(iii) Like other noun phrases, the pivot can have a possessor. When that happens, the pivot is typically introduced by the null indefinite article; see below.

(15)a. Guaha   puguå'-hu   låo tåya'   pupulu.
     AGR.exist   betelnut-AGR   but AGR.not.exist   pupulu

'I have betelnut but there's no *pupulu*.' (CD, entry for *pupulu*)

b. Tåya'   rimediån-ña   ennåo   na chetnut.
    AGR.not.exist   remedy-AGR   that   L   disease
    'That sickness does not have a remedy.' (CD, entry for *rimedia*)

Clauses like (15) are often used to state the relation between the possessor and what is possessed. See 14.3 for another way to express this relation.

14.2.3   Quantificational adjectives
The adjectives *bula* 'much, many' and *meggai* 'many' are quantificational adjectives that can occur inside the noun phrase or as predicates of clauses (see 6.2.4.3). Inside the noun phrase, they precede the head noun, which is marked with the pre-head form of the linker (see 7.3.1).

(16)a. Manmanåga' **bula**   na månha.
        AGR.ANTIP.chop many   L   green.coconut
        'They chopped many young coconuts.' (CD, entry for *tåga'*)

b. Mamoddung   **meggai** na manmå'pi'   ispehus gi chalan
    AGR.fall   many   L   AGR.broken.L   glass   LCL road
    anai   guaha   aksidenti.
    when   AGR.exist   accident
    'Lots of pieces of broken glass fell on the road when an accident happened.' (CD, entry for *må'pi' ispehus*)

As predicates, quantificational adjectives have an argument that names the sort of individual, thing, or stuff whose quantity is described. This argument, which is called *the pivot* below, is almost always realized as a noun phrase introduced by the null indefinite article, as in (17).

(17)a. Gai   piligru esti i   luhuriosu   na tiempu sa'
        AGR.have   danger this the playboy   L   time   because
        bula   chetnut.
        AGR.much   disease
        'Being a playboy these days is very dangerous due to the prevalence of STD's (lit. because there is much disease).' (CD, entry for *luhuriosu*)

b. **Bula**   to'lang-ña i   såta   na guihan.
    AGR.many   bone-AGR   the fish.sp   L   fish
    '*Ctenochaetus striatus* is a fish with a lot of bones (lit. there are many bones of the fish *Ctenochaetus striatus*).' (CD, entry for *såta*)

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   c. **Meggai**   tapun   gi chepchup tåsi.
        AGR.many *clam*   *LCL seashore*
        'There are many clams by the seashore.' (CD, entry for *chepchup tåsi*)

Quantificational adjectives behave like other adjectives in most respects. Like other adjectives that serve as predicates of clauses, they combine with the comparative suffix *-ña* to produce their comparative form (see 25.3.1).

(18)a. **Bulåña**   salappe'-ña si   Juan   kini   si
       AGR.much.COMPAR *money-AGR UNM*   *Juan*   *than*   *UNM*
       Ramon.
       Ramon
       'Juan has more money than Ramon.' (CD, entry for *kini*)
   b. **Meggaiña**   guihan gi ma'pus   na såkkan kini
       AGR.many.COMPAR *fish*   *LCL AGR.past* *L* *year*   *than*
       på'gu.
       now
       'There were more fish last year than today.' (CD, entry for *ma'pus na såkkan*)

Their default aspect is the neutral aspect, but they can be marked for the progressive aspect when they describe a state that persists (see 2.2.1.2.2) or is repeated.

(19)a. **Bubula**   ha'   tinanum   ti hu tungu' na
       AGR.many.PROG EMP   *plant*   *not AGR know* *that*
       manmamakannu'.
       AGR.edible
       'There are still many plants I did not know are edible.' (CD, entry for *mámakannu'*)
   b. Kada   såkkan **memeggai**   tåotåo gi simintetyu an
       each   *year*   *AGR.many.PROG people* *LCL cemetery* *if*
       Tulusåntu.
       all.saints.day
       'Every year there are a lot of people at the cemetery on All Saints Day.' (CD, entry for *Tulusåntu*)

And, like other adjectives, they have two forms for sg./du. agreement in the realis mood: the infix *-um-*, which signals that the adjective is inchoative,

and no special marking, which is used otherwise. Compare the predicates in (20), which are inchoative, with those in (17-19), which are not.

(20)a. **Bumula**   mampus   ñåmu   sa'   mampus
AGR.many   *so.much*   *mosquito*   *because so.much*
kåtma.
AGR.calm
'There have been a lot of mosquitos because the wind is so still.'
(CD, entry for *kåtma*)

   b. Mås   **mumeggai** grå.nu matditu   yanggin sessu   un tufung.
more   *AGR.many*   *boil*   *if*   *often*   *AGR count*
'If you always count the boils, you will have more (lit. there will
come to be many more).' (CD, entry for *grå.nu matditu*)

Quantificational adjectives differ from other adjectives, and resemble existential verbs, in that they are impersonal. Their subject is not the pivot, but rather a null expletive. This can be seen from the fact that their agreement is always (third person) singular, even when the pivot explicitly shows plural marking (as in (21a-b)) or is interpreted as plural (21c-d).

(21)a. **Bula**   famalåo'an gi tenda.
AGR.many   *PL.woman*   *LCL store*
'There are a lot of women at the store.' (CD, entry for *famalåo'an*)

   b. **Meggai**   siha   mamprubichosu na tinanum   gi halum
AGR.many   *PL*   *AGR.beneficial*   *L*   *plant*   *LCL inside.L*
tånu'   låo ti   matungu'.
land   *but not AGR.PASS.know*
'There are lots of beneficial plant resources in the jungle but no one knows.' (CD, entry for *prubichosu*)

   c. **Meggaiña**   punidera   ha popoksai   si   Tun
AGR.many.COMPAR   *hen*   *AGR raise.PROG*   *UNM*   *Mr.*
Jose   put   para   u   **bula**   ga'-ña månnuk.
Jose   *so.that*   *FUT*   *AGR many*   *pet-AGR chicken*
'Uncle Joe raises more hens so that he can have more chickens.'
(CD, entry for *punidera*)

   d. Ti **bula**   papåya disti   ki Typhoon Soudelor. Kåsi
not AGR.many   *papaya since*   *PRT Typhoon Soudelor*   *maybe*
u   **meggai** gi halum   dos mesis   na   tiempu.
AGR many   *LCL inside.L two months*   *L*   *time*
'There haven't been a lot of papayas since Typhoon Soudelor.
Maybe there will be more in two months.' (from an e-mail message)

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Finally, the pivot of a quantificational adjective resembles the pivot of an existential clause in some crucial ways (see 14.2.2). It exhibits a definiteness effect: it must have a weak determiner (see 6.2.5). In fact, the pivot of a quantificational adjective is almost always introduced by the null indefinite article. The narrow range of determiners allowed probably reflects the fact that the quantificational adjective itself contributes a determiner-like meaning.[3] Moreover, a relative clause modifier of the pivot has the same complementizer choices as it does in existential clauses. A relative clause modifier that follows the pivot can be introduced by one of the usual relative clause complementizers, such as *ni* below (see 24.3.2).

(22)a. Bula tinanum [ni siña makånnu'] gi
   AGR.many *plant*   *COMP* *can* *AGR.PASS.eat* *LCL*
   Kannat Tåddung.
   Kannat Taddung
   'There are lots of edible plants (lit. plants that can be eaten) at the
   Kannat Taddung.' (CD, entry for *Kannat Tåddung*)

  b. Meggai manmåtai [ni mannina'yi ni atektuk].
   AGR.many *PL.dead* *COMP* *AGR.PASS.infect* *OBL leprosy*
   'There were many dead who had contracted the leprosy disease.'
   (CD, entry for *atektuk*)

But more often, the relative clause is introduced by one of the complementizers found in constituent questions and the focus construction, such as the null complementizer in (23) (see 24.4).

(23)a. Åntis na tiempu bula   buteyan kok
   before *L* *time* *AGR.many* *bottle.L coke*
   [manmayuti'   gi Sabanetan Tahgung].
   AGR.PASS.discard *LCL Sabanetan Tahgung*
   'Back in the old days there were lots of coke bottles dumped at
   Sabanetan Tahgung.' (CD, entry for *Sabanetan Tahgung*)

  b. Meggai familian Ayuyu [mañåsaga giya Pågan
   AGR.many *family.L* *Ayuyu* *AGR.stay.PROG* *LCL Pagan*

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[3] The noun phrase that realizes the argument of a quantificational adjective can have a strong quantifier as its determiner, but only when the quantification explicitly ranges over types. The very few examples of this type in the CD database involve the strong quantifier *todu klasi(n)* 'all kinds of'. See note 2.

na isla].
L island
'There are a lot of Ayuyu families staying in Pagan Island.' (CD, entry for *ayuyu*)

Chamorro has other quantificational adjectives that can serve as impersonal adjectives, although these do not occur as frequently as *bula* or *meggai*. Two such adjectives are *lahyan* 'many' and *dídidi'* 'few, not many'.

14.3 Verbs of possession

14.3.1 Basics
Chamorro has two verbs of possession, *gai* 'have' and *tai* 'not have'. (The two differ in that *tai* also expresses sentence negation; see Chapter 17.) These verbs describe the relation between a possessor and what it possesses—a relation which is as broad here as within the noun phrase (see 7.1.2). It includes the part-whole relation, the relation of events to their participants, the relation of entities to their characteristics, as well as family relations, the ownership relation, and so on.

The verbs of possession are state verbs that usually occur in the neutral aspect. They have two arguments: one that names the possessor and another that names what is possessed. The argument that names the possessor is realized as the subject. The argument that names what is possessed is a noun phrase whose head noun is *incorporated*, meaning that it forms a particularly close morphosyntactic unit with the verb.

14.3.2 Incorporation
Incorporation imposes restrictions on the noun phrase whose head noun is incorporated. This noun phrase must be 'small': it cannot be introduced by a determiner and cannot have a possessor. It must begin with a head noun that is not marked with any regular inflectional affixes, such as the plural prefix *man-* (6.1.1.1), possessor agreement (7.1.1), or the linker (7.3.1).[4] The verb of possession combines with this noun to form a complex verb; this morphosyntactic combination is called *incorporation*. As a result of incorporation,

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[4] However, the head noun can have irregular obligatory plural marking of the type seen in e.g. *famagu'un* 'children' and *famalåo'an* 'women' (see 6.1.1.1). Note that the description in the text is accurate for most older-generation speakers. The CD database contains a few examples in which the 'small' noun phrase begins, exceptionally, with (i) a noun marked with the linker, or (ii) an adjective or noun modifier followed by the head noun.

the verb and the noun form a phonological word in which the verb bears primary stress. This amounts to saying that *gai* and *tai* are realized as stressed prefixes on the noun, despite the fact that they are represented as independent words in the official orthographies.

Some examples of clauses formed from the verbs of possession are given below. These examples reveal that the 'small' noun phrase whose head noun is incorporated can contain various types of complements and modifiers. This noun phrase, which is enclosed in brackets, consists of just the head noun in (24).

(24)a. Gai   [do'an] i   hagun   åhgåo.
      AGR.have   wart   the leaf.L   plant.sp
      '*Premna obtusifolia* leaves have warts.' (CD, entry for *åhgåo*)

    b. Håfa   na   un tungu' na   tai   [tiningu']
      what? COMP AGR know COMP AGR.not.have   knowledge
      si   Carlos?
      UNM   Carlos
      'How did you know that Carlos does not know anything?' (CD, entry for *tái tiningu'*)

The 'small' noun phrases in (25) consist of the head noun followed by an adjective (25a) or a noun modifier (25b). Because of the requirements imposed by incorporation, the head noun is not marked with the linker.

(25)a. Bunitu   i   chinina nu i   gai   [lonnat åttilung].
      AGR.nice   the dress COMP AGR.have   dot   black
      'The dress with black dots is nice.' (CD, entry for *lonnat*)

    b. I   torun guaka gai   [atgoya   alåmli] gi
      the bull.L cattle AGR.have   nose.ring wire   LCL
      gui'eng-ña.
      nose-AGR
      'The bull has a wire nose ring on his nose.' (CD, entry for *atgoya*)

The 'small' noun phrases in (26) consist of the head noun plus a finite embedded clause (26a) or an infinitive clause (26b).

(26)a. Manggai [abilidåt hit   para ta fanmanhassu   måolik].
      AGR.have   ability   we.INCL FUT   AGR AGR.ANTIP.think well
      'We (incl.) have the ability to think wisely (lit. that we (incl.) should think wisely).' (CD, entry for *abilidåt*)

b.   Gof   gai   [ganas chumotchu]   si   Cecilia.
    AGR.very   *have*   *appetite AGR.INF.ANTIP.eat*   *UNM*   *Cecilia*
    'Cecilia has lots of appetite to eat.' (CD, entry for *gái ganas*)

When the head noun has a relative clause modifier, the relative clause can be introduced by one of the relative clause complementizers (as in (27a)) or by one of the complementizers found in constituent questions and the focus construction (27b).

(27)a.   I   gitåla   gai   [oktåba [ni   bunitu   sunidu-ña]].
    the guitar   *AGR.have*   *octave*   *COMP*   *AGR.nice*   *sound-AGR*
    'The guitar has octaves that have good sound.' (CD, entry for
    oktåba)

b.   Hekkua'   håfa   gai   [pengpung [mamoddung   gi
    dunno   *what?*   *AGR.have*   *particle*   *AGR.fall*   *LCL*
    na'-hu   alåguan]].
    food-AGR   *rice.porridge*
    'I don't know what particles (lit. what has particles that) landed on
    my rice porridge.' (CD, entry for *pongpung*)

In this respect, the noun phrase whose head noun is incorporated resembles the pivot of an existential verb or quantificational adjective (see 14.2.2 and 14.2.3).

14.3.3   Grammatical relations
In clauses formed from a verb of possession, the possessor argument is realized as the subject. The argument that names what is possessed—the argument whose head noun is incorporated—is too 'small' to count as an independent constituent. The result is that the complex verb consisting of the verb of possession plus the incorporated noun is intransitive: it has a subject but no direct object.

The complex verb has the morphological profile of an intransitive verb. Its agreement with the subject is chosen from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives, as can be seen from (28) (see 2.2.2.2). (The complex verb is represented in boldface in the examples below.)

(28)a.   Todu   siudadånu   **manggai**   **diretchu**   para   u
    all   *citizen*   *AGR.have*   *right*   *FUT*   *AGR*
    fanguentus.
    AGR.speak
    'All citizens have the right to free speech (lit. that they should

speak).' (CD, entry for *diretchu*)

b. I   manbå'ba'   na kakaguåtis **mantai**
   the AGR.undeveloped   L   peanut   AGR.not.have
   sanhalum.
   DIR.inside
   'The undeveloped peanuts do not have meat inside.' (CD, entry for
   bå'ba')

c. Ti ha tungu' si   nanå-hu   na ... **u   fanggai**
   not AGR know   UNM   mother-AGR COMP   AGR AGR.have
   tanu' AsTeo.
   land   AsTeo
   'My mother did not know that...they would have land in AsTeo.'
   (EM 102)

Like certain intransitive verbs and all adjectives, the complex verb has two
forms for sg./du. agreement in the realis mood: the infix *-um-* when the verb
is inchoative, and no special marking otherwise (see 2.2.2.2.1). The sentence
in (29) contains two complex verbs that are inchoative.

(29)   **Tumai**   **bisiu**   si   Dennis gi anai
       AGR.not.have   habit   UNM   Dennis LCL COMP
       hohobin,   låo gi anai   umåmku'   na   **gumai**
       AGR.young.PROG but LCL COMP   AGR.old   COMP   AGR.have
       bisiu   chumupa.
       habit   AGR.INF.smoke
       'Dennis had (lit. came to have) no habits when he was younger but
       now he has (come to have) a habit of smoking when he's older.'
       (CD, entry for *tái bisiu*)

   Finally, when the subject of the complex verb is a pronoun, it can be re-
alized as a weak pronoun, as in (30) (see 8.3).

(30)a. Kåo   gai   sinienti **håo**?
       Q   AGR.have   feeling you
       'Do you feel anything?' (CD, entry for *sinienti*)

   b. Tumai   ga'chung **yu'** sa'   guåguahu ha'   na
      AGR.not.have   companion I because me.PROG   EMP   L
      maisa.
      self
      'I had no companions because I was alone.' (CD, entry for *tái
      ga'chung*)

14.3.4   The extra noun phrase

In clauses formed from verbs of possession, the 'small' noun phrase whose head noun is incorporated can be doubled by a noun phrase that specifies in more detail what is possessed. This *extra noun phrase* is in the unmarked case; when a pronoun, it can be realized as a weak pronoun. The extra noun phrases in (31) are represented in boldface.

(31)a.   Guaha   na   biåhi   i   mapagåhis   na   gai
         AGR.exist   *L*   *time*   *the* *cloud*   *COMP*   *AGR.have*
         figura   **figuran gå'ga'**.
         shape   *shape.L animal*
         'The clouds sometimes have the shape of an animal.' (CD, entry for *mapagåhis*)

   b.   Gai   ga' si   Antonio   **sietti**   **na** **mampairin**
         AGR.have   *pet* *UNM*   *Antonio*   *seven*   *L*   *AGR.best.L*
         ga'lågu.
         dog
         'Antonio has seven champion dogs as pets.' (CD, entry for *sietti*)

   c.   Unus kuåntus   ha'   na famalåo'an manggai   nå'an   **esti**
         several   *EMP*   *L* *PL.woman* *AGR.have*   *name*   *this*
         i   **Chopia** giya   Sa'ipan.
         the   *Chopia* *LCL*   *Saipan*
         'Only a few women have Chopia as their name here in Saipan.'
         (CD, entry for *Chopia*)

   d.   Håyi   gai   patgun   **håo**?
         who? *AGR.have*   *child*   *you*
         'Whose child are you (lit. who has you as child)?'

   e.   Tai   chotda   si   Jose   **tanduki**.
         AGR.not.have   *green.banana*   *UNM*   *Jose*   *plantain*
         'Jose doesn't have any plantain bananas.'

The extra noun phrase can have all the structure of an ordinary noun phrase, including determiners and a possessor. It has the form of a direct object—it appears in the unmarked case and can be realized as a weak pronoun—but differs from a direct object in that it is syntactically inert. Neither it nor any of its subconstituents can be questioned, relativized, or syntactically focused. A further indication that the extra noun phrase is not a direct object is that the complex verb remains intransitive: its agreement with the subject is chosen from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives.

The extra noun phrase generally does not double a 'small' noun phrase that contains a modifier. But very occasionally, this may be possible; see (32).

(32)   ?Håyi   gai   ga' ga'lågu **atyu   na puppy**?
        who?   AGR.have   pet dog   that   L   puppy
        'Who has that puppy as pet (lit. as a pet dog)?'

Finally, the character of the extra noun phrase is affected by the word order of the subject. When the subject occurs to the left of the complex verb because it is an inner topic, or has been syntactically focused (as in (31c)) or questioned (31d), the extra noun phrase can be definite or indefinite, a pronoun or a nonpronoun. But when the subject follows the complex verb, the extra noun phrase must be indefinite, as in (31b) and (31e). This may be how the grammar resolves the ambiguity created by the fact that the extra noun phrase and the subject have the same form: both are noun phrases in the unmarked case that can be realized as weak pronouns.

14.3.5   Word order
Clauses formed from the verbs of possession have the word order of ordinary intransitive clauses, once it is recognized that their verb is the complex verb consisting of the verb of possession plus the incorporated noun.

The subject can occur immediately after the complex verb, as in (33). This means, among other things, that the subject can separate the incorporated noun from the rest of the 'small' noun phrase (as in (33b-c)) or from the extra noun phrase (33d).

(33)a.   Gof   tai   asi'   si   Ton   gi as   Maria.
         AGR.very   not.have   pity   UNM   Ton   LCL   Maria
         'Ton has no pity for Maria.' (CD, entry for *tái asi'*)
    b.   Tai   ganas   i   neni   gumimin   letchi.
         AGR.not.have   appetite the baby   AGR.INF.ANTIP.drink milk
         'The baby has no appetite to drink milk.' (CD, entry for *tái ganas*)
    c.   Esta   på'gu   manggai   famagu'un   i   famagu'on-hu
         already now   AGR.have   PL.child   the PL.child-AGR
         ni   manggai   famagu'un.
         COMP   AGR.have   PL.child
         'Now my children have children who have children.' (Cooreman 1983: 95)
    d.   Gai   tinanum si   Becky   bilen   gi gima'-ñiha.
         AGR.have   plant   UNM   Becky   Job's.tears LCL house-AGR

'Becky has some Job's tears plants at her house.' (CD, entry for *bilén*)

The subject can also occur at the right edge of the clause, after the 'small' noun phrase (as in (34a)) or the extra noun phrase (34b).

(34)a. Gof   gai   ganas   chumotchu   si   Cecilia.
        AGR.very have appetite AGR.INF.ANTIP.eat UNM Cecilia
        'Cecilia has lots of appetite to eat.' (CD, entry for *gái ganas*)

    b. Gai   iyu   måkinan   manlåksi   si
       AGR.have possession machine.L AGR.ANTIP.sew UNM
       Rosa.
       Rosa
       'Rosa has a sewing machine (lit. has a sewing machine as possession).' (CD, entry for *gái iyu*)

Note that the subject cannot occur immediately after the verb of possession. This is because the verb of possession and the incorporated noun form a single phonological word (see 14.3.2).

14.4   Transitive verbs with the marking of nouns

A few transitive verbs have the marking of nouns: they show agreement with the subject through the suffixes used for possessor agreement. These verbs include *ga'ña-* 'prefer', *ga'o-* 'prefer', *sa'-* 'look good in, suited to', *ya-* 'like', and *ilek-* 'say'. The majority are psychological verbs: they describe feelings or other psychological states. Note that they contrast with the vast majority of psychological verbs in Chamorro, which are ordinary transitive verbs (e.g. *guaiya* 'love', *chatli'i'* 'hate') or adjectives (e.g. *ma'å'ñåo* 'afraid', *ekgu'* 'jealous') that show agreement in the normal way.

Some representative examples of transitive verbs with the marking of nouns are given in (35).

(35)a. **Ya-hu**   håo   låo **ga'ñak-ku** i   ottru.
        like-AGR you but prefer-AGR the other
        'I like you but I prefer the other one.' (EM 25)

    b. **Ilek-ñiha**   na   mås   månngi'
       say-AGR   COMP   more   AGR.delicious
       makåddu   i   poya   ki   i   punidera.
       AGR.PASS.make.into.soup the young.hen than the hen
       'They said that making soup with young chicken is tastier than with

hen.' (CD, entry for *punidera*)

c. **Sa'-ña**   si   Chong i   mistiså-ña.
   suited.to-AGR   UNM   Chong the formal.blouse-AGR
   'Chong looked good in her formal clothes.' (CD, entry for *mestisa*)

Topping and Dungca (1973: 92) identify *ilek-* 'say' as a form of *åluk* 'say', a transitive verb that is relatively infrequent but shows agreement with the subject in the normal way. *Ilek-* is often used to introduce direct quotations, as in (36).

(36)   Ha faisin i   tres   na famagu'un, **ilek-ña**, "Håfa   adai
       AGR ask   the three L PL.child   say-AGR what? INTJ
       bidan-mimiyu   ... ?"
       WH[OBJ].do-AGR.PROG
       'He asked the three children, "What are you (pl.) doing...?" (from a tape-recorded narrative)

Despite their exceptional marking, these verbs are well-behaved in other ways. They clearly serve as the predicate of the clause. They can be marked for the progressive aspect, for instance.

(37)a. Maseha   un fa'håhafa   håo,   **yaya-hu**
        although   AGR make.into.what.PROG   you   like-AGR.PROG
        håo ha'.
        you EMP
        'Even though you're making yourself into something else, I still like you.' (CD, entry for *fa'håfa*)

   b.   Ilek-ña atyu   i   chi'lu-ña,   "Ha? Håfa **ilelek-mu**?"
        say-AGR that   the sibling-AGR   INTJ what? say-AGR.PROG
        'That sibling of his said, "Ha? What are you saying?"' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

They have two arguments: one argument that names the experiencer of the state (e.g. the one who likes) or the performer of the action (e.g. the one who says), and another that names the source of the state (e.g. what is liked) or the result of the action (e.g. what is said). The first argument is realized as the subject, and the second, as the direct object.

The subject and direct object of verbs of this type have essentially the same profiles as the subject and direct object of ordinary transitive verbs. The subject is in the unmarked case, and has the word order flexibility associated with subjects. It can occur immediately after the verb (as in (35c)

and (38a)), at the right edge of the clause (38b), or in other positions (38c-d). (The subjects in the examples below are represented in boldface.)

(38)a. Ya-ña **i apehu** fofotgun na tånu'.
  like-AGR the mangrove.fern AGR.wet.PROG L land
  'The mangrove fern grows best in wetland (lit. likes wetland).' (CD, entry for *apehu*)

  b. Sen ya-ña apotalang **i che'lu-hu**.
  extremely like-AGR box.crab the sibling-AGR
  'My sibling likes box crab a lot.' (CD, entry for *apótalang*)

  c. Ilek-ña på'gu **i radio'** na para u guaifun.
  say-AGR now the radio COMP FUT AGR stormy
  'The radio announced today that it will be a stormy day.' (CD, entry for *guaifun*)

  d. Ti ya-ña mamåhan magågu **si Pedro**
  not like-AGR AGR.INF.ANTIP.buy clothes UNM Pedro
  sa' gof mai'imut na tåotåo.
  because AGR.very stingy L person
  'Pedro does not like to puchase clothes because he is such a stingy person.' (CD, entry for *mai'imut*)

The direct object is in the unmarked case when it is a noun phrase, and can be realized as a weak pronoun; see (35a), (35c), and the following.

(39)a. Gef ya-hu si tatå-hu bihu.
  very like-AGR UNM father-AGR old
  'I really like my grandfather.' (CD, entry for *bihu*)

  b. Ga'ñak-ku håo kini guåhu.
  prefer-AGR you than me
  'I love you more than I do me.' (CD, entry for *kini*)

The direct object can also be an embedded clause, as (40) shows.

(40)a. Si Lucia mampus ti ya-ña [para u atrasåo
  UNM Lucia so.much not like-AGR FUT AGR late
  guatu gi iskuela].
  to.there LCL school
  'Lucia really hates to be late to school.' (CD, entry for *atrasåo*)

  b. Ilek-ña si tatå-hu [na gof
  say-AGR UNM father-AGR COMP AGR.very

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ñamma’   yu’].
sluggish   I
‘My father said that I’m a slow poke.’ (CD, entry for *ñamma’*)

The subject of these verbs is more prominent than the direct object. The subject can be the antecedent of a direct object pronoun in its reflexive use, as can be seen from (41) (see 13.2.1.1).

(41)a. Ya-ña   gui’   si   Miguel.
        like-AGR   him   UNM   Miguel
        ‘Miguel likes himself.’
   b.   Ga’un-ñiha siha   i   famagu’un.
        prefer-AGR   them   the PL.child
        ‘The children prefer themselves.’

The subject can also be the antecedent of a (null) pronoun possessor of the direct object in its reflexive use (see 13.2.1.1).

(42)   Ya-ña   i   bento’-ña   si   Nånu.
        like-AGR   the box.lunch-AGR   UNM   Mariano
        ‘Mariano likes his box lunch.’ (CD, entry for *bento’*)

When the direct object is an infinitive clause, the subject serves as the antecedent of the missing subject of the infinitive (see 21.4.1). See (38d) and the examples below.

(43)a. Gof   ya-hu   [kumånnu’ i   te’lang månnuk],   sa’
        very   like-AGR   INF.eat   the bone.L chicken   because
        bula   getmon-ña.
        AGR.much   cartilage-AGR
        ‘I like to eat the chicken bones, because they have a lot of cartilage.’
        (CD, entry for *gekmun*)
   b.   Sa’-ña   [bumaila].
        suited.to-AGR   AGR.INF.dance
        ‘She is suited to dancing.’ (CD, entry for *sa’-*)

These prominence relations characterize the subject and direct object of transitive clauses more generally.

Perhaps because they show agreement as if they were nouns, the verbs themselves are morphologically deficient. They rarely, if ever, occur in the irrealis mood or as infinitives. Unlike other transitive verbs, they have no

passive or antipassive forms, and cannot be used to create applicatives, reciprocals, or—for most speakers—causatives. They do not show overt forms of wh-agreement. This profile is more characterisic of nouns than of verbs. Nonetheless, *ya-* 'like', *ilek-* 'say', and so on cannot be analyzed as possessed nouns, because they have a direct object, and nouns in Chamorro do not have direct objects. They also cannot be possessed nouns that exceptionally agree with an argument that is not the subject. The word order patterns in (38) and the prominence relations illustrated in (41-43) reveal that despite the exceptional form of the agreement, these verbs agree with the noun phrase that is their subject.

14.5   Further reading

See Chung (1987) for further discussion of Chamorro existential verbs, and Chung and Ladusaw (2004, Chapter 3) on the structure and meaning of incorporation in Chamorro.

15

IMPERATIVES, EXCLAMATIVES, AND INTERJECTIONS

Chamorro has separate forms for affirmative and negative imperatives. It has an exclamative construction and various interjections.

15.1   Overview

Chamorro has separate forms for affirmative and negative imperatives, as well as an exclamative construction and a familiar range of interjections. All these constructions are discussed in this chapter.

15.2   Imperatives

Imperatives are forms of verbs or adjectives that direct the addressee(s) to do something. Their subject is always missing and understood to refer to the addressee(s). Affirmative imperatives are described in 15.2.1. Negative imperatives, which present some complications, are discussed in 15.2.2.

15.2.1   Affirmative imperatives
Affirmative imperatives are formed from verbs or adjectives in the irrealis mood by omitting the person-and-number forms of agreement (see 2.2.2.3). For practical purposes, this means that the imperative of a transitive verb shows no agreement at all.

(1)a. Låo   yanggin uchan   sanhaya, / **Chuli'** i   talåya.
        but   if   AGR.rain   DIR.east   take   the fishing.net
        'But if it rains in the east, / Take the fishing net.' (EM 14)
    b. **Su'un** i   tessun   hålum gi guafi.
        push   the charcoal   inside   LCL fire
        'Push the charcoal in the fire.' (CD, entry for *su'un*)

The imperative of an intransitive verb or adjective shows agreement with the number affixes alone. In the irrealis mood, these affixes are realized by no

special morphology when the subject is singular or dual (as in (2a-b)), and by the prefix *fan-* when the subject is plural (2c).

(2) a. **Baila** iya' gi giput.
   AGR.dance by.the.way LCL party
   'By the way, dance at the party.' (CD, entry for *iya'*)

   b. **Påkaka'** sa' hu keke'hunguk i rediu.
   AGR.silent because AGR try.to.hear.PROG the radio
   'Be quiet because I am trying to listen to the radio.' (CD, entry for *påkaka'*)

   c. **Fanpåra** nu ennåo siha na inadingan yanggin
   AGR.stop OBL that PL L NMLZ.converse if
   manggaigi i famagu'un.
   AGR.be.at the PL.child
   '(There is a need to) stop (with) such talk when children are present.' (CD, entry for *inådingan*)

Because imperatives are in the irrealis mood, the imperative of an *m/f* predicate whose subject is singular or dual begins with /f/ (see 2.2.3.1).

(3) **Famatkilu** sa' mamaigu' i neni.
   AGR.quiet because AGR.sleep.PROG the baby
   'Be quiet because the baby is sleeping.' (CD, entry for *famatkilu*)

Chamorro differs from some other Austronesian languages (e.g. Tagalog and Māori) in not allowing affirmative imperatives to be formed from passive verbs. (The situation with negative imperatives is more complicated; see 15.2.2 below.) However, affirmative imperatives can be formed from all other types of verbs, including antipassives (as in (4a)), applicatives (4b), causatives (4c), and reciprocals (4d).

(4) a. **Fanutut** hågun chotda para padda' i
   AGR.ANTIP.cut leaf.L green.banana for sheet.L the
   titiyas.
   tortillas
   'Cut a banana leaf for the sheet to form tortillas.' (CD, entry for *padda'*)

   b. **Sangåni** si nanå-mu na tåya' esta
   say.to UNM mother-AGR COMP AGR.not.exist already
   ketchap.
   soy.sauce

'Tell your mother that we are out of soy sauce.' (CD, entry for *tåya'*)

c. **Na'banidosu** håo ni lingguahi-mu.
make.proud you OBL language-AGR
'Be proud (lit. make yourself proud) of your native language.' (CD, entry for *lingguåhi*)

d. **Fanásu'un** hålum ya u fanomlat i pumalu.
AGR.RECP.push inside and.then AGR AGR.fit the others
'Squeeze together (lit. push each other in) so the rest can fit.' (CD, entry for *su'un*)

Affirmative imperatives can also be formed from verbs of possession (5a) or collective verbs derived from a plural pronoun (5b).

(5) a. **Fanggai** mina'åsi' nu i taotåo siha.
AGR.have NMLZ.merciful OBL the person PL
'Have mercy on the people.' (CD, entry for *mina'åsi'*)

b. **Fanhamyu** manma'udai.
AGR.you.PL AGR.INFIN.ride
'(You) ride with them (lit. you (pl.) be together riding).' (CD, entry for *hamyu*)

The verb *maila'* 'come, come on' occurs only in the imperative. (The related verb *mamaila'* 'come (of events)' has a broader distribution.)

(6) a. Maila' ya ta boka tinala' kåtni.
come and.then AGR eat dried.L meat
'Come and we'll (incl.) eat dried beef.' (CD, entry for *boka*)

b. Fanmaila', mañe'lu-hu, sa' esta ti atman ha
AGR.come PL.sibling-AGR because already not AGR.long AGR
dingu hit si nanå-ta.
leave us.INCL UNM mother-AGR
'Come, my brothers and sisters, for our (incl.) mother will leave us (incl.) soon.' (CD, entry for *maila'*)

Two further characteristics of affirmative imperatives should be noted. First, affirmative imperatives routinely occur in the progressive. Then they direct the addressee to do something that overlaps with some other event.

(7) a. **Diskåkansa** guennåo gi prisenti mientras
AGR.rest.PROG there LCL present while

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manmåfattu.
AGR.arrive.PROG
'Be resting for the time being while they are arriving.' (CD, entry
for *prisenti*)

b. **Satteteha** i edda' ni un guåguadduk.
sort.PROG   the dirt   COMP   AGR dig.PROG
'Be sorting the dirt as you dig (lit. the dirt that you are digging).'
(CD, entry for *satteha*)

Second, affirmative imperatives are usually conjoined with *yan* 'and' (see
19.2). But it is possible to use the asymmetric conjunction *ya* 'and (then)' to
conjoin an affirmative imperative clause with an irrealis clause whose
predicate shows the normal agreement with the subject (see 19.3). In such
cases, the clause formed from the imperative always precedes the irrealis
clause. The examples below have the force of conjoined imperatives, but
only the predicate on the left has the form of an imperative.

(8) a. [**Fatå'chung**   guennåo]   ya   [un ketu].
sit   there   and.then   AGR keep.still
'Sit there and keep still.' (CD, entry for *guennåo*)

b. [**Hånåo**],   ya   [un bendi   todu   i   guinaha-mu].
go   and.then   AGR sell   all   the possession-AGR
'Go and sell all your possessions.' (NT 36)

15.2.2 Negative imperatives
Chamorro has several strategies for expressing the equivalent of a negative
imperative. One strategy involves the negative predicate *mungnga* 'don't';
another involves the negative verb *cha'-* 'better not, don't'.

15.2.2.1   *Mungnga*
The negative *mungnga* 'don't' can also be translated 'let it not be'. It occurs
mainly in negative purpose clauses and in clauses that have the force of neg-
ative imperatives.
   Mungnga is an invariant predicate that is not marked for aspect, mood,
or agreement with the subject. Nonetheless, like other predicates, it can be
preceded by the future TAM *para*, as can be seen from the negative purpose
clause in (9).

(9)   In sesenggi   i   eddu   [para   **mungnga**   na   u
AGR burn.PROG   the smudge.pot FUT   don't   COMP   AGR

guaha   ñåmu].
exist   mosquito
'[If we are at the ranch at night], we (excl.) burn smudge pots so
that there won't be any mosquitos.' (CD, entry for *oddu*)

Mungnga has just one argument. That argument, which names the event
that should not happen, is realized in various ways:

(i) The argument of *mungnga* can be an irrealis embedded clause. Con-
structions of this sort have several functions. When *mungnga* is the predicate
of the main clause and the embedded clause has a second person subject, the
sentence has the force of a negative imperative. It directs the addressee(s)
not to do something, as in (10).

(10)a. **Mungnga**   na   para   un falågu para   i   lanchu.
        don't   COMP   FUT   AGR run   to   the farm
        'Don't run to the farm.' (CD, entry for *falågu*)
   b. **Mungnga**   na   un isagui   gui'.
       don't   COMP   AGR offend   him
       'Do not offend him.' (CD, entry for *isagui*)

Otherwise, when *mungnga* is the predicate of an embedded clause (as in
(9)), or is conjoined with an affirmative imperative in asymmetric coor-
dination (as in (11)), the construction has the meaning of a negative purpose
clause.

(11)a. [Huchum   i   trangka]   ya   [**mungnga** na   u
        close   the gate   and.then   don't   COMP   AGR
        hålum   i   ga'lågu].
        go.in   the dog
        'Close the gate so the dogs will not come in.' (CD, entry for
        trångka)
   b. [Se'pi   håo]   ya   [**mungnga** na   un mampus
       have.snack you   and.then   don't   COMP   AGR so.much
       ñålang].
       AGR.hungry
       'Have a snack so you won't get so hungry.' (CD, entry for *se'pi*)

(ii) The argument of *mungnga* can be an infinitive clause or a reduced
clause. This construction is reminiscent of raising (see 21.3): the argument
that would normally be realized as the subject of the embedded predicate is
realized as the subject of *mungnga*.

When this argument is first or third person, the construction serves to communicate a refusal (as in (12a-b)) or a suggestion that the speaker and the addressee not do something (12c).

(12) a. Mungnga yu' kumonni' håo sa' gai
   don't *I* *INF.take* *you* *because AGR.have*
   inaguaguat håo.
   NMLZ.naughty *you*
   'I'm not going to take you because you're naughty.' (CD, entry for *ináguaguat*)
  b. Mungnga gui' pumåra kumåti.
   don't *she* *AGR.stop* *AGR.cry*
   'She doesn't want to stop crying.'
  c. Mungnga hit manburuka mientras ki
   don't *we.INCL AGR.INF.make.noise* *while* *PRT*
   mamaigu' ha' i neni.
   AGR.sleep.PROG EMP *the baby*
   'Let's (incl.) not make noise while the baby is still sleeping.' (CD, entry for *mientras*)

Far more often, the argument appears to be second person (but see the discussion below). Then it is unpronounced, and the construction has the force of a negative imperative, can be seen from the following.[1]

(13) a. Mungnga tumohgi guennåo, sa' bula
   don't *AGR.stand* *there* *because AGR.many*
   chichigit ya un inakka'.
   insect.sp *and.then* *AGR PASS.bite*
   'Do not stand there, because there are many *chichigit* and you might get bitten.' (CD, entry for *chichigit*)
  b. Mungnga mampus umandi', un
   don't *so.much* *AGR.showy* *AGR*
   na'fandisganånåo i taotåo.
   make.AGR.disappointed.PROG the person
   'Don't be so showy, you turn people off.' (CD, entry for *andi'*)

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[1] Infinitive clauses can be difficult to distinguish morphologically from reduced clauses (see 21.2.1 and 21.6.1). The embedded transitive verb in (12a) clearly shows infinitival agreement. The embedded predicates in (13) and (14) are treated as the predicates of reduced clauses. Note that long passive occurs in (14) (see 21.6.2).

c. Mungnga   mannå'i   ni ti agradesidu.
   don't   AGR.ANTIP.give OBL not AGR.well.received
   'Don't give something that is not well received.' (CD, entry for
   agradesidu)

The sentences in (13) illustrate the form of these (so-called) negative imperatives when the embedded predicate is intransitive. The structure is different when the embedded predicate is transitive. Then the verb must be passive, and the passive agent—which seems to refer to the addressee(s)—is unpronounced. Negative imperatives of this sort can be constructed from all types of transitive verbs, including applicatives (as in (14c)) and causatives (14d), as can be seen from the following.

(14)a. Mungnga **mafrågua**   na'an   ottru tåotåo.
       don't   AGR.PASS.forge   name.L other person
       'Don't forge another person's name.' (CD, entry for *frågua*)
   b. Mungnga **makonni'**   i   hagåhaf   ni   manggosni.
      don't   AGR.PASS.catch   the sea.crab   COMP AGR.molt
      'Don't catch the sea crabs that are molted.' (CD, entry for *gosni*)
   c. Mungnga **masangåni**   si   Laura   sa'
      don't   AGR.PASS.say.to   UNM   Laura   because
      hamaleffa.
      AGR.often.forget
      'Don't tell Laura because she's a forgetful person.' (CD, entry for
      hámaleffa)
   d. Mungnga **mana'sinilu'**   håo.
      don't   AGR.PASS.make.lose.temper you
      'Don't get out of hand (lit. don't you be made to lose your temper).'
      (CD, entry for *sinilu'*)

Notice that the embedded passive verb is followed by its internal argument—the argument that would be the direct object of the corresponding transitive verb. Curiously, this argument, which seems to be realized as the subject of *mungnga*, can be overt even when it is a second person pronoun, as (14d) shows.

Sentences like (13) and (14) raise difficult questions about the structure and meaning of negative imperatives formed from *mungnga*. One mystery is why an embedded transitive verb must be passive in this construction. Another mystery is why the subject of *mungnga* in sentences like (14a-c) realizes not the argument that (apparently) refers to the addressee, but instead the internal argument of the passive verb. A third mystery is why,

when the subject of *mungnga* does refer to the addressee, as in (13) and (14d), it is sometimes missing and other times overt.

Tellingly, Chamorro has a type of impersonal construction with many of the same characteristics (see 21.6.4). In this impersonal construction, a higher adjective has one argument, which names an event and is realized as a reduced clause. When the embedded predicate of the reduced clause is intransitive, the argument that would normally be realized as its subject is an implicit argument; it has no syntactic realization at all and is understood as nonspecific (see 9.3.2). When the embedded predicate is transitive, long passive must occur, and the implicit argument is the passive agent.

The fact that sentences of the type (13-14) have essentially this profile suggests that they do not have the structure of imperative clauses after all. Rather, they are impersonal sentences in which a higher adjective (*mungnga*) has one argument, which can be realized as a reduced clause. On this view, *mungnga* literally means 'let it not be'; the understood subjects in (13) and the understood passive agents in (14) are implicit arguments, and reference to the addressee(s) is implied rather than direct. For instance, (13a) and (14a) would be translated more literally as 'Let it not be that one stands there...' and 'Let it not be that another person's name is forged.'

15.2.2.2   *Cha'-*

The negative predicate *cha'-* 'better not, don't' is one of the verbs that show agreement with the subject as if they were nouns, with the suffixes used for possessor agreement (see 14.4). *Cha'-* has two arguments. One argument, which is realized as the subject, names the individual who had better not do something; the other argument names what had better not be done. Clauses formed from *cha'-* are not necessarily imperative clauses. The individual who had better not do something does not have to be the addressee, as (15) shows.

(15)a. **Chacha'-ña**   si   Miguel mama'bababa.
        better.not-AGR.PROG UNM   Miguel AGR.INF.ANTIP.deceive.PROG
        'Miguel better not be fooling around.' (CD, entry for *chacha'-*)
   b.   **Cha'-ña**   yu' umessitatani   na   para   u
        better.not-AGR   me INF.joke.with.PROG   COMP   FUT   AGR
        sotta   ha'   yu' guini.
        leave   EMP   me here
        'He better not kid me that he is just going to leave me here.' (CD, entry for *cha'-*)

But when this individual is the addressee, the construction has the force of a negative imperative.

There are various options for realizing the argument that names what had better not be done. This argument is occasionally realized as a finite embedded clause, as in (16).

(16)a. Sangåni si Tihu-mu yan Tihå-mu, na
say.to UNM Uncle-AGR and Aunt-AGR COMP
cha'-ñiha [u fanluluhan].
better.not-AGR AGR AGR.afraid.PROG
'Tell your Uncle and Aunt that they shouldn't be afraid.' (EM 101)
b. Cha'-mu [na para un falingu esta].
better.not-AGR COMP FUT AGR disappear already
'Don't (tell me) that you will disappear already.' (CD, entry for *falingu*)

It can also be realized as an infinitive clause. Then, the infinitive predicate is often marked for the progressive aspect.

(17)a. Cha'-mu chumochotchu nåya.
better.not-AGR AGR.INF.ANTIP.eat.PROG for.awhile
'Don't eat for awhile.' (CD, entry for *nåya*)
b. Cha'-miyu yu' umattokgui.
better.not-AGR me INF.hide.from
'Don't you (pl.) hide from me.' (CD, entry for *cha'-*)
c. Cha'-mu yu' fuma'chachalik.
better.not-AGR me INF.make.fun.of.PROG
'Do not make fun of me.' (CD, entry for *cha'-*)

Most often, the argument is realized as a defective embedded clause that has a missing subject, like an infinitive, but realizes the embedded predicate in a special form that occurs only here (though it is similar to the form of the partly inflected predicate inside causative verbs; see 12.2). This special form is irrealis and marked for the progressive aspect; it shows agreement with the subject through the number affixes alone. Some illustrative examples are cited in (18). Notice that when the initial syllable of the embedded predicate bears primary stress, the morphophonemic alternation known as umlaut can be activated (see 30.2). Umlaut has occurred in *hahanåo* 'be going' in (18a) (from *hånåo* 'go'), and *i'isa* 'be using' in (18c) (from *usa* 'use').

(18)a. Yanggin   ti ma kunsienti   håo,   pues   cha'-mu
        if   *not AGR allow*   *you*   *then*   *better.not-AGR*
        hahanåo.
        go.PROG
        'If they haven't given you permission, then don't go.' (CD, entry
        for *kunsienti*)
    b. Cha'-miyu   **fanggigimin**   gi håra.
        better.not-AGR   *AGR.ANTIP.drink.PROG*   *LCL pitcher*
        'Don't (pl.) drink from the pitcher.' (CD, entry for *håra*)
    c. Cha'-miyu   **i'isa**   meggai na palåbra siha   gi
        better.not-AGR   *use.PROG*   *many*   *L*   *word*   *PL*   *LCL*
        tinayuyut-miyu.
        prayer-AGR
        'Do not (pl.) use many words in your (pl.) prayers.' (NT 9)

The pattern in (18) probably represents the older version of this construction.

15.3 Exclamatives

Exclamatives are sentences that exclaim over the degree to which something
deviates from the norm. In Chamorro, they begin with an interjection, *ai* or *i*
(pronounced [i:], with a (very) long vowel), which can be roughly translated
'oh' or 'wow'. The interjection is followed by what looks like an embedded
clause introduced by the complementizer *na*. The predicate of this embedded
clause describes the property being exclaimed over, and its subject names
who or what has the property.

   Typically, the predicate is an adjective marked with the infix *-in-*, which
is glossed IN in the examples below. (Here and in all its uses, *-in-* activates
umlaut; see 30.2.)

(19)a. Ai na   mina'hu   yu'.
        oh   *COMP*   *IN.thirsty*   *I*
        'My, I am so thirsty.' (CD, entry for *mina'hu*)
    b. Ai na   minaggim esta   esti na biskuchu.
        oh   *COMP*   *IN.damp*   *already this L*   *biscuit*
        'My, this biscuit is so stale already.' (CD, entry for *minaggim*)
    c. I na   chinattåo   si   Kai!
        oh   *COMP*   *IN.stingy*   *UNM*   *Kai*
        'Frances is very stingy!' (CD, entry for *chattåo*)

But the predicate can also be a noun, modified by an adjective that may or may not be marked with the infix *-in-*, as in (20).

(20)a. Ai na   mantinangnga na famagu'un på'gu na tiempu.
     oh COMP   AGR.IN.deaf   L   PL.child   now   L time
    'Gosh, deaf children these days are common.' (CD, entry for
    tinangnga')
  b. I   na   anåkku' donni' ti'åo ennåo.
     oh COMP   long.L pepper.sp that
    'Wow! that's a long pepper.' (CD, entry for *donni' ti'åo*)
  c. Ai na   minisin   månha   esti.
     oh COMP   IN.full.of.liquid.L   green.coconut this
    'My, this young coconut is full of liquid.' (CD, entry for *misin*)

The predicate can even be a noun on its own (as in (21a)), or a verb of possession conjoined with an adjective (21b).

(21)a. Ai na   påtgun ennåo!
     oh COMP   child   that
    'Oh, that child!' (CD, entry for *ai*)
  b. Ai na   mansen   tai   hinenggi   yan
     oh COMP   AGR.extremely   not.have   belief   and
    manlachi   hamyu!
    AGR.wrong you.PL
    'You (pl.) faithless and corrupt (lit. wrong) generation!' (NT 33)

Exclamatives have some of the structure and distribution of ordinary clauses. They can be conjoined with another clause (as in (22a)), and can serve as adverbial clauses introduced by the subordinating conjunction *sa'* 'because' (22b).

(22)a. [Ai na   minipi si   Jose   anai   hohobin],
     oh COMP   IN.hairy UNM   Jose   when   AGR.young.PROG
    låo [på'gu, esta   todu   dåkngas].
    but now   already all   AGR.bald
    'My, Jose was very hairy when he was younger, but now he is
    completely bald.' (CD, entry for *mipi*)
  b. Apreta   fan   ennåo na påtgun sa'   [ai na
     make.hurry please   that   L   child   because   oh COMP
    tinatnun].
    IN.easily.distracted

'Please hurry that child because she is easily distracted.' (CD, entry for *tatnun*)

They can also have adverbial clause modifiers, as in (22a) and (23).

(23)   Ai   na   pinetsu'   si   Rosa, [sa'   ha
       oh *COMP* *IN.good.at.shooting* *UNM*   *Rosa*   *because AGR*
       danchi i   paluma gi hilu'   i   trongku anai   ha fletcha].
       hit   *the bird* *LCL top.L* *the tree*   *when*   *AGR shoot.at*
       'What a sharp shooter Rosa is, because she hit the bird on top of the tree when she shot at it with the slingshot.' (CD, entry for *potsu'*)

The noun phrase that names who or what has the property exclaimed over is clearly the subject. It has the form of a subject: it appears in the unmarked case and can be realized as a weak pronoun (see (19)). It can also serve as the antecedent of the missing subject of an infinitive clause, as in (24).

(24)a. I   na   chinacha' si   Brenda chumotchu.
       oh *COMP* *IN.choosy*   *UNM*   *Brenda* *AGR.INF.ANTIP.eat*
       'Brenda is too choosy in eating.' (CD, entry for *chacha'*)
     b. Ai na   mina'å'ñåo si   Tan Maria ma'udai   gi
       oh *COMP* *IN.afraid* *UNM*   *Tan Maria* *AGR.INF.ride*   *LCL*
       batkun airi.
       airplane
       'Tan Maria has so much fear riding on airplanes.' (CD, entry for *mina'å'ñåo*)

The puzzling aspects of exclamatives involve their predicate. The predicates in (19) and (22-24) might seem initially to be nominalizations derived by attaching the infix *-in-* to an adjective (see 28.6.1). But an analysis that treats these forms as nominalizations would be at odds with their meaning. (19a), for instance, means 'My, I'm so thirsty', not 'My, I'm so the event of being thirsty' (with the meaning of an event nominalization) or 'My, I'm so thirst' (with the meaning of a result nominalization). Moreover, exclamatives like (21b) reveal that the predicate does not have to be a noun. This suggests that the *-in-* attached to the adjective in (19) might well have some function specific to exclamatives. The conjecture is not unreasonable, given that the *-in-* of exclamatives can appear on an adjective modifier of the predicate noun (see (20a) and (20c)). It is unclear just what this function might be.

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15.4 Interjections

Interjections are word-sized or phrase-sized expressions used on their own to make conversational moves. Like other languages, Chamorro has a large number of interjections. This section surveys some of the most common interjections used to affirm, deny, greet, bid farewell to, thank, and hesitate.

The affirmative interjections include the polite *hunggan* 'yes' and the more informal affirmatives *(h)å'a*, *(h)u'u*, and *u nai*, all of which mean 'yes, yeah'.

There is one negative interjection, *åhi'* 'no'. Doubt, uncertainty, or indecision can be expressed with *hekkua'* 'I don't know, dunno'. *Hekkua'* can be followed by an embedded question, as in (25).

(25)a. Hekkua'   håfa   na   ti   anåkku'   esti i   gigåo.
dunno   *what?*   COMP   *not* AGR.*long*   *this the fish.trap*
'I don't know why this fish trap is not long.' (CD, entry for *gigåo*)

   b. Hekkua'   kåo para   si   Hudas o   para   si
dunno   Q   *for*   UNM   *devil*   *or for*   UNM
Yu'us ...
God
'I don't know if we're for the devil or for God...' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

The common greetings include *håfa dai* 'hello, hi' and, more recently in the CNMI, *buenas* 'hello, good day'. (*Buenas* is shortened from greetings borrowed from Spanish, e.g. *buenas dihas* 'good day', *buenas notchis* 'good evening'.) The common farewells include the informal *esta* 'okay, see you' and the more formal *adios* 'good-bye, farewell', which is used for partings that are more serious or of longer duration.

Other common interjections include *buen binidu* 'welcome', *put fabót* 'please', *si Yu'us ma'åsi'* 'thank you (lit. God is merciful)', *diahlu* 'no thank you (used e.g. when declining food)', *ai adai*, 'oh dear, my goodness', and *po'lu ya...* 'let go of it, let's put it off'.

The pause or hesitation form, roughly equivalent to English 'uh', is *nu.*

(26)   Malagu'   yu' nu ...   umekkunguk   hemplu.
    AGR.*want*   *I*   *uh*   INF.*listen.to*   *story*
    'I want to uh...listen to a story.' (CD, entry for *nu*)

16

INFORMATION PACKAGING

Chamorro has some restrictions that ensure that the subject is salient from the perspective of information packaging. Two restrictions prevent a transitive clause from having a direct object that outranks the subject in person, animacy, and related notions. A third restriction requires subjects that are external arguments to be specific.

16.1 Overview

As observed earlier (in 3.2.1), the subject is the most prominent constituent of the clause. Chamorro has several restrictions that ensure that the subject is also salient from the perspective of information packaging, meaning that its linguistic features make it noteworthy, topical, or deserving of attention in the discourse. At the word level, languages tend to treat animate nouns as more salient that inanimate nouns, singular nouns as more salient than plural nouns, pronouns as more salient than nonpronouns, and pronouns that refer to participants in the speech event (= first and second persons) as more salient than other pronouns (= third person). At the sentence level, languages tend to treat noun phrases that are syntactic topics as more salient than other noun phrases. At the discourse level, languages tend to treat noun phrases that are specific (= refer to particular individuals) as more salient than other noun phrases. These tendencies come into play in the restrictions described below, in ways that are familiar from other languages but also unique to Chamorro grammar.

Two Chamorro restrictions, called the *person-animacy restriction* and the *third plural restriction*, prevent a transitive clause from having a subject that falls below a certain level of word-level salience. A third restriction requires subjects that are external arguments to be specific.

16.2 The person-animacy restriction

Chamorro has a restriction that prevents a transitive clause from having a direct object that outranks the subject in person or animacy (see e.g. Aissen 1997, Chung 1998, Clothier-Goldschmidt 2015, Cooreman 1987, and Woolford 1986). This person-animacy restriction has several subcases. First, a

transitive clause cannot have an animate direct object but an inanimate subject. Clauses like those in (1) are ungrammatical, in other words.

(1) a. *Ha na'kåti i manenghing i patgun.
    AGR *make.cry* *the* *cold* *the* *child*
    ('The cold made the child cry.')
  b. *Ha istotba si Carmen [na ha sugun i
    AGR *disturb* *UNM* *Carmen* *COMP* *AGR* *drive* *the*
    kareta i lahi-mu].
    car *the* *son-AGR*
    ('That your son drove the car disturbed Carmen.')

Second, a transitive clause cannot have a direct object that is an animate pronoun but a subject that is not a pronoun. So the clauses in (2) are ungrammatical, whether the animate pronoun is overt (as in (2a-b)) or null (2c) (see Woolford 1986).[1]

(2) a. *Para u lalåtdi gui' si Maria.
    FUT *AGR* *scold* *him* *UNM* *Maria*
    ('Maria is going to scold him.')
  b. *Kåo ha chiku siha i palåo'an?
    Q *AGR* *kiss* *them* *the* *woman*
    ('Did the woman kiss them?')
  c. *Ha tattiyi si Juan guatu gi kareta.
    AGR *follow* *UNM* *Juan* *to.there* *LCL* *car*
    ('Juan followed him to the car.')

Third and finally, a transitive clause cannot have a direct object that is second person but a subject that is third person (see Cooreman 1987: 97). This is illustrated in (3).

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[1] Some of these examples also have a different meaning in which they are grammatical but irrelevant, because the direct object is either a reflexive pronoun or not a pronoun at all. (2a) is grammatical if the direct object is reflexive; then the sentence means 'Maria is going to scold herself' (see the discussion later in the text). (2c) is grammatical if the direct object is the noun phrase *si Juan*; then the sentence means 'He followed Juan to the car' (see (4e)).

(3)   *Kåo   ha kuentusi   håo åntis   di u   hånåo?
        Q   *AGR speak.to   you before   PRT AGR go*
        ('Did he speak to you before he left?')

Transitive clauses with other combinations of subject and direct object are generally well-formed (but see 16.3). Some examples are cited in (4).

(4) a.   Cha'-mu   sumangångani   si   Vicenta sa'   un
         better.not-AGR   INF.say.to.PROG   UNM   Vicenta because AGR
         na'piniti.
         make.sad
         'Don't tell Vicenta because you will hurt her.' (CD, entry for *piniti*)
    b.   Ha sangåni siha   håfa   sinanganen-ña   si   Tan
         AGR say.to   them   what?   WH[OBJ].say.to-AGR   UNM   Mrs.
         Ignacia.
         Ignacia
         'She told them what Tan Ignacia had said.' (EM 101)
    c.   Ha aråsa   i   gima'-måmi   i   pakyu.
         AGR raze   the house-AGR   the typhoon
         'The typhoon razed our (excl.) home.' (CD, entry for *aråsa*)
    d.   Ha fongfung   si   Pedro   si   Jose   kontra i
         AGR pound.head UNM   Pedro   UNM   Jose   against the
         lamasa.
         table
         'Pedro pounded Jose's head (lit. head-pounded Jose) against the table.' (CD, entry for *fongfung*)
    e.   Ha tattiyi si   Juan   guatu gi kareta.
         AGR follow   UNM   Juan   to.there LCL car
         'He followed Juan to the car.'

Each of the ungrammatical clauses in (1-3) has a direct object that is more salient than the subject. This suggests that Chamorro has a hierarchy of word-level salience according to which noun phrases can be ranked. This hierarchy, which is called the person-animacy hierarchy, is shown in (5).

(5)   PERSON-ANIMACY HIERARCHY
        2 > 3 animate pronoun > animate > inanimate
            (where > means 'is more salient than')

The person-animacy restriction can be stated in terms of this hierarchy, as follows: no transitive clause can have a direct object that is the left of the subject on the person-animacy hierarchy.

Typically, transitive clauses that violate the person-animacy restriction have their meaning expressed by the corresponding passive (see Cooreman 1987 and Clothier-Goldschmidt 2015). Passive clauses trivially satisfy this restriction because they are intransitive (see 10.1). Compare the ungrammatical transitive clauses in (1-3) with the passive clauses below.

(6) a. Inistotba   si   Carmen   [na   ha sugun i
      AGR.PASS.disturb *UNM* *Carmen* *COMP* *AGR drive* *the*
      kareta i   lahi-mu].
      car   *the son-AGR*
      'Carmen was disturbed (by the fact) that your son drove the car.'
   b. Para   u   nilalåtdi   as Maria.
      FUT   *AGR*   *PASS.scold* *OBL Maria*
      'He is going to be scolded by Maria.'
   c. Kåo   manchiniku   siha   ni palåo'an?
      Q   *AGR.PASS.kiss*   *they*   *OBL woman*
      'Were they kissed by the woman?'
   d. Kåo   kuinentusi   håo åntis   di u   hånåo?
      Q   *AGR.PASS.speak.to*   *you before*   *PRT AGR go*
      'Were you spoken to by him before he left?'

The idea that the person-animacy restriction regulates the relative salience of the subject and direct object is supported by some other patterns. To begin with, the restriction is sensitive only to pronouns that are animate. Inanimate direct object pronouns can freely occur with any type of subject. (Inanimate pronouns are always null; see 8.4.)

(7) a. Guesguis   i la'uya åntis   di un na'la'lu.
      scrape   *the pot*   *before* *PRT AGR return*
      'Scrape the pot before you return it.' (CD, entry for *guesguis*)
   b. Humugåndu   si   Isabel ni hilu   ya   ha
      AGR.play   *UNM*   *Isabel* *OBL thread* *and.then*   *AGR*
      na'gåtdun.
      make.entangled
      'Isabel played with the thread and she made it all entangled.' (CD, entry for *gåtdun*)
   c. Masinik   i mannuk gi barånda låo ha guåhni esta
      AGR.defecate   *the chicken LCL porch*   *but AGR remove already*

si   Melchor.
UNM   Melchor
'The chicken pooped in the garage and Melchor removed it.' (CD, entry for *guåhni*)

The restriction also ignores animate pronouns in their reflexive use, as in (8). This is arguably because reflexive pronouns do not compete in salience with their antecedents, and a direct object that is reflexive always has the subject as its antecedent (see 13.2.1.1).

(8) a. Ha bågai   gui'   i   neni   ni   sabanas.
        AGR wrap   him   the baby   OBL blanket
        'The baby wrapped himself with the blanket.' (CD, entry for *bågai*)
    b. Ha måttit   gui'   i   nana   put i   guinaiyan-ña   ni
        AGR martyr her   the mother for the NMLZ.love-AGR   OBL
        lahi-ña.
        son-AGR
        'The mother had martyred herself for the love of her son.' (CD, entry for *måttit*)

Finally, speakers occasionally allow the restriction to ignore the direct object when the subject serves as an inner topic. Inner topics occur at the left edge of the clause, preceding the predicate; they are resumed within the clause by a null pronoun that typically serves as the subject (see 26.2.1). Their discourse salience may be what allows clauses like (9) to occur, although it is mysterious why such clauses are dispreferred and infrequent.

(9)   I   abugåo-mu para   u   difendi håo.
        the lawyer-AGR FUT   AGR defend you
        'Your lawyer will defend you.' (CD, entry for *abugåo*)

Other aspects of the person-animacy restriction are harder to rationalize. The restriction does not affect the distribution of first person pronouns at all. First person pronouns occur freely as direct objects, whatever the character of the subject.

(10)a. Estråñu   sinientek-ku   kada   ha atan   yu'.
        AGR.strange NMLZ.feel-AGR whenever AGR look.at me
        'I have a strange feeling every time he looks at me.' (CD, entry for *estråñu*)

b. Ha hila'gui   yu' si   Jeanette.
   AGR stick.tongue.at   me UNM   Jeanette
   'Jeanette stuck her tongue out at me.' (CD, entry for *hila'gui*)
c. Ha istotba ham   na   binisita   i   hagan-måmi
   AGR disturb us.EXCL COMP   AGR.PASS.visit   the daughter-AGR
   as   Manuel.
   OBL Manuel
   'That Manuel visited our (excl.) daughter disturbs us (excl.).'

First person pronouns also occur freely as subjects, whatever the character of
the direct object.

(11)a. Hu chetchit håo,   låo ti un hunguk.
        AGR whisper you   but not AGR hear
        'I whispered to you, but you didn't hear me.' (CD, entry for
        chetchit)
   b. Hu adinganiyi   i   patgun sa'   mampus   luhan.
       AGR converse.for   the child because so.much   AGR.scared
       'I spoke for the boy, because he was too frightened.' (CD, entry for
       adinganiyi)
   c. Hu na'lokkluk i   cha para   bai hu   gimin.
       AGR make.boil   the tea FUT   AGR   drink
       'I boiled the tea to drink it.' (CD, entry for *cha*)

No position on the person-animacy hierarchy could ensure the freedom of
distribution illustrated in (10-11). It is a mystery why first person pronouns
differ from second person pronouns in escaping this restriction.

   Moreover, the person-animacy restriction does not constrain transitive
clauses across the board. Its effects are limited to clauses that show the
ordinary forms of agreement with the subject—agreement chosen from the
paradigms described in 2.2.2. The restriction has no impact on transitive
clauses that show more specialized types of agreement. This includes clauses
formed from verbs that show agreement as if they were nouns (see 14.4).

(12)   Ti **ya-ña**   håo i nana sa'   ti apropósitu   håo
        not like-AGR   you the mother because not AGR.suitable   you
        para   i   hagå-ña.
        for   the daughter-AGR
        'The mother does not like you because you are not suitable for her
        daughter.' (CD, entry for *apropósitu*)

It also includes infinitive clauses formed from transitive verbs, which show the infinitival agreement infix *-um-*. (Infinitive clauses must have a missing subject. The missing subject of the infinitive clause in the control construction in (13) is a pronoun that must be null; see 21.4.)

(13) Ha chagi   si   Pai'   **umaligåo**   håo gi giput.
     AGR try   *UNM*   *Pai'* *INF.*look.for *you LCL party*
     'Pai' tried to look for you at the party.'

Finally, the restriction has no impact on clauses in which the verb shows an overt form of wh-agreement, since overt wh-agreement supersedes the normal agreement with the subject (see 22.4.1). Consider the constituent questions and the focus construction in (14). The verb in these sentences shows the subject form of wh-agreement, which is realized as the infix *-um-*.

(14)a. Håyi   **kumestiona**   håo?
       who? *WH[SBJ].*question   *you*
       'Who interrogated you?' (CD, entry for *kuestiona*)
   b. Unu   gi disípulus   Jesukristu   **tumakpångi**   gui'.
       one *LCL disciples Jesus.Christ WH[SBJ].*baptize *him*
       'It was one of Jesus's followers who baptized him.' (CD, entry for *disípulu*)
   c. Håfa   **muna'fanlalanan**   i   taotåo?
       what? *WH[SBJ].*make.*AGR.*snore.*PROG*   *the person*
       'What makes people snore?' (CD, entry for *lanan*)

In the constituent question in (15), the verb shows the object form of wh-agreement, which is realized as the infix *-in-* plus nominalization (see 11.5).

(15) Håfa   **nina'i-ña**   si   Rita   nu hågu?
     what? *WH[OBJ].*give-*AGR* *UNM*   *Rita* *OBL you*
     'What did Rita give you?'

Even though the combinations of subject and direct object in (14-15) ought to be illegal, their special agreement allows them to escape the person-animacy restriction. In contrast, when wh-agreement is not overtly realized and the verb shows the normal agreement with the subject, the clause must conform to the person-animacy restriction as expected. Compare (14) with (16), where the subject of a transitive verb has been displaced by wh-movement, but wh-agreement is not overt, because the verb is irrealis.

(16)a. *Håyi para u ayuda håo?
   who? FUT AGR help you
   ('Who is going to help you?')

   b. *Ti hu tungu' håyi para u hassu siha.
   not AGR know who? FUT AGR remember them
   ('I don't know who is going to remember them.')

   c. *Håfa para u na'kåti i patgun?
   what? FUT AGR make.cry the child
   ('What is going to make the child cry?')

The fact that the person-animacy restriction does not affect all transitive clauses, but only those that show the normal forms of agreement with the subject, is surprising from an information structure perspective. The restriction is probably best viewed as a morphological constraint whose function—to regulate word-level salience within the clause—is obscured by some language-specific arbitrariness (see Chung 2014).

Clothier-Goldschmidt (2015) shows that the person-animacy restriction is almost never violated in Chamorro discourse. Her corpus study of sentences from *Nuebu Testamento* (the Chamorro New Testament, translated from English into Chamorro by a small group of fluent native speakers led by the late Bishop Tomas A. Camacho, and published in 2007) uncovered just two violations out of more than 350 Chamorro sentences that could, in principle, have violated the restriction. A smaller study of sentences from the CD database supports her findings. Nonetheless, in elicitation sessions in fieldwork, some speakers occasionally violate the person-animacy restriction when translating from English into Chamorro, or judge violations produced by the linguist to be well-formed. It is unclear how to interpret this variability. The position taken here, which follows Clothier-Goldschmidt (2015), is that the person-animacy restriction is a hard constraint of Chamorro grammar. The variability in the elicitation data may well reflect individual differences in speakers' reactions to the field situation.

16.3 The third plural restriction

A different Chamorro restriction prevents transitive clauses from having a subject that is third person dual or plural but not a pronoun. Because first and second person subjects are always pronouns, the restriction can re-phrased as follows: no transitive clause can have a dual or plural subject that is not a pronoun.

This third plural restriction, as it will be called here, is responsible for the ungrammaticality of the transitive clauses in (17).

(17)a.   *Para   uma   na'gåsgas i   amigu-hu   siha.
        FUT   AGR   make.clean the friend-AGR PL
        ('My friends are going to clean it.')

    b.   *Ma   tungu' i   famagu'un [na   para   u   fåttu
        AGR   know   the PL.child   COMP FUT   AGR arrive
        si   tatan-ñiha   agupa'].
        UNM   father-AGR   tomorrow
        ('The children know that their father is going to arrive tomorrow.')

    c.   *Ma   bota   i   taotåo i   maga'låhi.
        AGR   vote   the person the high.official
        ('The people voted for the governor.')

Each of the transitive clauses in (17) has a subject that is third person plural but not a pronoun. In contrast, the grammatical transitive clauses in (18) have subjects that are third person plural pronouns (see Cooreman 1987: 73-74).

(18)a.   Ma na'gåsgas i   lamasa låo guaha   sopblan   plåtu
        AGR make.clean the table   but AGR.exist   leftover.L   plate
        gi un bånda.
        LCL a   side
        'They cleared the table but there were leftover plates on the side.'
        (CD, entry for *sopbla*)

    b.   Ma såsangan   [na   i   apatcha'   gi gima' måolik na
        AGR say.PROG   COMP   the mantis   LCL house good   L
        siñåt].
        sign
        'They say that a mantis in the house is a good sign.' (CD, entry for *apatcha'*)

    c.   Ma na'tångis   i   neni   sa'   made'un   fasu-ña.
        AGR make.cry   the baby   because AGR.PASS.pinch cheek-AGR
        'They made the baby cry because she was pinched on the cheek.'
        (CD, entry for *tångis*)

    d.   Para   uma kastiga hit   ti   åtman.
        FUT   AGR punish us.INCL not long
        'They are going to punish us (incl.) soon.'

Transitive clauses that violate the third plural restriction, such as those in (17), are judged to be ungrammatical and unparsable. Their meaning can be expressed by the corresponding passives or antipassives, which trivially satisfy the restriction because they are intransitive. Some passive clauses in

which the external argument is third person dual or plural, but not a pronoun, are cited below.[2]

(19)a. Mahigif   i   sakki gi as Juan   yan
   AGR.PASS.catch.by.surprise   the thief   OBL   Juan   and
   Jose.
   Jose
   'Juan and Jose caught the thieves by surprise.' (CD, entry for *higif*)

b. Ti maguaiya   ni famagu'un i   gellai   åppan
   not AGR.PASS.love   OBL PL.child   the vegetable.L dry.L
   chotda.
   green.banana
   'The children don't like the green banana cooked in coconut milk.'
   (CD, entry for *gollai åppan chotda*)

c. Tinampi   i   atdåo ni mapagåhis siha.
   AGR.PASS.cover   the sun   OBL cloud   PL
   'The sun was covered by the clouds.' (CD, entry for *åtdåo*)

d. Manmamahulat   ham   ni mañaina   gi hunta.
   AGR.PASS.subdue   we.EXCL   OBL PL.parent   LCL meeting
   'We (excl.) were subdued by the parents at the meeting.' (CD, entry
   for *hulat*)

Some antipassive clauses in which the external argument is third person plural, but not a pronoun, are given in (20).

(20)a. Manmansolisita   infotmasion i   istudiånti   put   i
    AGR.ANTIP.solicit   information   the student   about   the
    apas   kulehu.
    fee.L   college
    'The students are soliciting information regarding college tuition.'
    (CD, entry for *solisita*)

b. Ma'u'usa   lokkui' i   bongbung   para   u
   AGR.PASS.use.PROG   also   the bamboo.container   FUT   AGR
   fanmanlupuk   i   taotåo hånum gi tipu'.
   AGR.ANTIP.fetch the person water   LCL well
   'Bamboo containers are also used for people to draw (lit. so that
   people can draw) water from the well.' (CD, entry for *bongbung*)

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[2] The *ma*-passive is the default when the external argument is plural (see 10.2.2.3), but in the CD database the *-in*-passive is used occasionally when the external argument is nonhuman.

Another option is for the external argument to correspond to an inner topic. Inner topics occur at the left edge of the clause, preceding the predicate; they are resumed within the clause by a null pronoun that is typically the subject (see 26.2.1). Most transitive clauses with an inner topic at their left edge trivially satisfy the third plural restriction, because their subject is a (null) pronoun.

(21) a. I   istudiånti   ti   ma gofli'i'   i   ma'estra.
       the student   not AGR like   the teacher
       'The students did not like the teacher.' (CD, entry for *gofli'i'*)
    b. I   manåmku'   ma guaiya   i   gellai   åppan
       the PL.elder   AGR love   the vegetable.L dry.L
       chotda   na   åggun.
       green.banana   L   starch
       'The elders like to eat green bananas cooked in coconut milk as a staple food.' (CD, entry for *gollai åppan chotda*)

Assuming that singulars are more salient than plurals and pronouns are more salient than nonpronouns, the third plural restriction can be viewed as a strategy to ensure that the subject of a transitive clause has at least some degree of word-level salience: it must be singular, a pronoun, or both. The third plural restriction differs from the person-animacy restriction in that the direct object's salience does not figure in the calculation. Transitive clauses must satisfy the third plural restriction whether the direct object is animate (as in (17c)) or inanimate (17a-b), and even when the direct object is a first person pronoun, as can be seen from the contrast between (22a) and (22b).

(22) a. *Ma   sangåni yu' i   ma'estra   siha   [na   makkat
       AGR   say.to   me the teacher   PL   COMP   AGR.hard
       i   che'chu'-ñiha].
       the work-AGR
       ('The teachers told me that their work is difficult.')
    b. Ma ikak   yu' gi karera asta   i   iskuela.
       AGR defeat me LCL race   until   the school
       'They defeated me in the race to the school.' (CD, entry for *ikak*)

The third plural restriction resembles the person-animacy restriction in other respects. First of all, it ignores transitive clauses that are reflexive (see 13.2.2.1). A transitive clause whose direct object is a reflexive pronoun, or contains a reflexive possessor pronoun, can have a subject that is third person dual or plural but not a pronoun, as can be seen from the following.

(23)a. Ma fakiki siha i   dos påtgun ni kandi.
   AGR indulge them   the two child   OBL candy
   'The two children took (lit. indulged themselves with) so many
   candies.' (CD, entry for *fakiki*)

   b. Ma kumpli   i   mission-ñiha   i   sindålu.
   AGR complete   the mission-AGR   the soldier
   'The soldiers accomplished their mission.' (CD, entry for *kumpli*)

In addition, the third plural restriction does not affect transitive clauses
across the board, but instead is limited to clauses that show the normal forms
of agreement with the subject (see 2.2.2). It has no impact on transitive
clauses with more specialized types of agreement, such as clauses in which
the verb shows possessor agreement (see 14.4) or an overt form of wh-
agreement (see 22.4.1). The transitive clause in (24a), for instance, is formed
from the verb *ilek-* 'say', which shows agreement as if it were a noun; the
clauses in (24b-c) are focus constructions in which the verb shows an overt
form of wh-agreement. Despite the fact that these clauses have third person
plural subjects that are not pronouns, they are grammatical.

(24)a. **Ilek-ñiha**   i   manåmku' [na   yanggin para   un
   say-AGR   the PL.elder   COMP   if   FUT   AGR
   me'mi' pat masinik   gi halum tånu', debi   di un
   urinate or defecate   LCL inside.L land   should PRT AGR
   famaisin].
   ANTIP.ask
   'The elders say that if you're going to urinate or defecate in the
   forest, you have to ask permission from the spirits first.' (CD, entry
   for *me'mi'*)

   b. I manamko'-ta   åntis **tumutuhun**   umusa Bo gi
   the PL.elder-AGR   before WH[SBJ].begin   INF.use Bo LCL
   na'an   Ramon.
   name.L Ramon
   'Our (incl.) elders were the ones to begin to use Bo as a nickname
   for Ramon.' (CD, entry for *Bo*)

   c. I lancheru   siha **bumebendi**   i gellai   gi
   the farmer   PL   WH[SBJ].sell.PROG the vegetables LCL
   metkåo.
   market
   'The farmers are the ones who are selling the vegetables at the
   market.' (CD, entry for *lancheru*)

Finally, when the third person plural subject of a transitive verb is collective (viewed as an undifferentiated group), some speakers allow the verb to show 3 sg. agreement (see 2.2.2.1). Clauses with this agreement pattern escape the third plural restriction; see (25).

(25)a. Ti **ha** fastidia yu' esti na istudiånti.
       not AGR annoy me this L student
       'The students don't annoy me.' (CD, entry for *fastidia*)
   b. **Ha** sangåni yu' i famagu'un [na esti na kareta ti
       AGR say.to me the PL.child COMP this L car not
       malålagu].
       AGR.run.PROG
       'The children told me that this car is not running.'

In short, the third plural restriction, like the person-animacy restriction, ensures that subjects of transitive clauses meet a certain minimum level of word-level salience. But it is also a morphological restriction that incorporates some language-specific arbitrariness.

16.4   The specificity restriction

Noun phrases can be classified according to whether they are *specific*, where a specific noun phrase refers to a particular individual or individuals. In Chamorro, personal pronouns and names are specific; so are noun phrases whose determiner is the definite article *i*, the indefinite article *un*, a demonstrative, a numeral, or *palu* 'some (contrastive)'. General indefinites and negative indefinites are nonspecific; so are noun phrases whose determiner is the null indefinite article or a quantifier such as *kada* 'each', *todu* 'every, all', *bula* 'much, many' or *meggai* 'many'.

The third restriction discussed here, the *specificity restriction*, employs this notion: it requires the subject to be specific when it realizes the verb's external argument (see Chung 2008).[3]

The specificity restriction has several subcases. Subjects of transitive verbs must be specific, because they are external arguments. Compare the

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[3] The specificity restriction is limited to subjects that are external arguments of verbs. The situation is different when the predicate is an adjective or a noun (see 27.3.2).

subjects of the transitive clauses in (26), which are specific, with the subjects of the transitive clauses in (27), which are not.[4]

(26)a. Ha ispånta i   famagu'un **i   katun Dolores**.
      AGR frighten the PL.child   the cat.L   Dolores
      'Dolores' cat frightened the children.'

   b. Ti ha tungu' **ennåo na pulisiha**   manggubietna
      not AGR know   that   L policeman   AGR.INF.ANTIP.direct
      kareta.
      car
      'That police officer doesn't know how to direct traffic.' (CD, entry for *gubietna*)

   c. Hu såddi   si   Champs   gi petnåk-ku   gi giput.
      AGR hold.on.lap UNM   Champs   LCL thigh-AGR   LCL party
      'I held Champs on my lap at the party.' (CD, entry for *såddi*)

(27)a. *Ha   ispånta i famagu'un **katun Dolores**.
      AGR   frighten the PL.child   cat.L   Dolores
      ('A cat of Dolores' frightened the children.')

   b. *Ha   tungu' **meggai na tåotåo** si   tatå-hu.
      AGR   know   many L person UNM   father-my
      ('Many people know my father.')

   c. *Ha   hoggui **kada dikiki' na palåo'an** i   katu.
      AGR   hold   each   little L woman   the cat
      ('Each little girl held the cat.')

Subjects of antipassive verbs must be specific, because they too are external arguments—they realize the same argument as the subject of the corresponding transitive verb (see 10.3.2.1). Compare (28) with (29).

(28)   Mangonni'   **si   Pedro** gåmsun gi nigap.
      AGR.ANTIP.catch UNM   Pedro   octopus LCL yesterday
      'Pedro caught an octopus yesterday.' (CD, entry for *gåmsun*)

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[4] In the intended, ungrammatical meaning of (27b), the subject is the non-specific noun phrase *meggai na tåotåo* 'many people'; the verb shows 3 sg. agreement, because that enables the clause to escape the third plural restriction (see 16.3). The sentence has another meaning that is grammatical, but irrelevant to the discussion in the text, when the subject is the specific noun phrase *si tatå-hu* 'my father'.

(29) *Manggo'ti   katu   **kada   palåo'an**.
      AGR.ANTIP.hold cat   each   woman
      ('Each girl held a cat.')

Finally, subjects that name the agent or causer of certain intransitive verbs that describe events (unergative verbs) are external arguments. These subjects must be specific, as the contrast between (30) and (31) shows.

(30)a. Kåo   siña   kumuentus **yu'** yan   i   editót?
        Q   can   AGR.speak I   with   the editor
        'Can I talk to the editor?' (CD, entry for *editót*)
    b. Anai   chumålik **i   neni**,   annuk   i   haduk gi dos
        when   AGR.laugh the baby   AGR.appear the dimple LCL two
        båndan fasu-ña.
        side.L   face-AGR
        'When the baby laughed, the dimple appeared on both sides of its face.' (CD, entry for *haduk*)
(31)a. *Manguekuentus **tododu ha'**   a'gang.
        AGR.speak.PROG   all.EMP EMP   loud
        ('Everyone was speaking loudly.')
    b. *Mañåchalik   **lalåhi**.
        AGR.laugh.PROG PL.man
        ('Boys were laughing.')

The specificity restriction ignores all other arguments and adjuncts associated with the predicate. Subjects of passive verbs, which realize the verb's internal argument, can freely be specific or nonspecific. Subjects that name the undergoer of certain intransitive verbs that describe states or events (unaccusative verbs) have the same freedom. Some representative examples of clauses formed from these types of verbs plus a nonspecific subject are cited in (32).

(32)a. Manmatufung **todu   i   balotu** åntis   di u
        AGR.PASS.count all   the ballot   before   PRT AGR
        fanmapåtti   i   distritu.
        AGR.PASS.share.with the district
        'All the ballots were counted before they were distributed to the districts.' (CD, entry for *balotu*)
    b. Manmapegåyi   krusifiu **kada   kuåttu**.
        AGR.PASS.place.in   crucifix each   room
        'Each room had a crucifix placed in it.' (CD, entry for *krusifiu*)

c. Kumahulu' **dångkulu   na haggan**.
    AGR.go.up   big   L   turtle
    'A large turtle came out (of the water).' (from a tape-recorded
    narrative)
d. Mandokku' **bula   na haigui**   gi uriyan
    AGR.sprout many   L   coconut.seedling   LCL around.L
    lånchu.
    farm
    'A lot of coconut seedlings sprouted around the farm.' (CD, entry
    for *haigui*)

Direct objects, oblique arguments, and adjuncts can also freely be specific or
nonspecific. Consider the nonspecific noun phrases in the clauses in (33).

(33)a. Talang **kada   pidåsun   kåtni**   ya   u   manå'yi
        weigh   each   piece.L   meat   and.then   AGR PASS.add
        presiu.
        price
        'Weigh each piece of meat so we can put a price on them.' (CD,
        entry for *talang*)
b. Mangonni'   si   Luis   **bula   na haiting** gi egga'an.
    AGR.ANTIP.catch UNM   Luis   many   L   fish.sp LCL morning
    'Luis caught a lot of big eye scad in the morning.' (CD, entry for
    haiting)
c. Kun   agradesimientu put **todu   i   nina'in-miyu**
    with   gratitude   for all   the WH[OBJ].give-AGR
    siha.
    PL
    'With gratitude for all the things you (pl.) have given us.' (CD,
    entry for *agradesimientu*)

    Specific noun phrases are generally thought to be more discourse-salient
than nonspecific noun phrases. This suggests that the specificity restriction is
a strategy to ensure that certain subjects—those that realize the verb's ex-
ternal argument—are also salient in the discourse.
    The specificity restriction regulates only those subjects that occur within
the clause, following the verb. Subjects that are inner topics or syntactically
focused escape the restriction—conceivably because their position preceding
the verb makes them salient at the sentence level. In fact, one common
strategy for rescuing the subject when it realizes the verb's external argu-
ment, but is nonspecific, is to turn it into an inner topic or displace it to the

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left edge of the sentence by wh-movement. The nonspecific subjects in (34) are inner topics.

(34)a. **Kada senadot** ha ripprisesenta   todu   i   taotåo   i
      each   senator AGR represent.PROG all   the person.L   the
      islå-ña.
      island-AGR
      'Every senator represents his entire island's population.' (CD, entry for *senadót*)

   b. Åntis   na tiempu **todu   i   manåchang**   mañåsaga
      before L time   all   the lower.class   AGR.stay.PROG
      gi kantun tåsi.
      LCL edge.L   ocean
      'In the old days all lower class Chamorros lived along the beach area.' (CD, entry for *manåchang*)

The nonspecific subjects in (35) have been displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement.

(35)a. **Håyi** fuma'tinas   i   tinaktak   kåtni?
      who?   WH[SBJ].make   the minced.L   meat
      'Who cooked the *tinaktak kåtni*?' (CD, entry for *tinaktak*)

   b. **Meggai na tåotåo** umu'usa   i   cha'guan månnuk
      many   L   person WH[SBJ].use.PROG   the grass.sp
      para   eskoba.
      for   broom
      'Plenty of people before used the grass *cha'guan månnuk* for brooms.' (CD, entry for *chå'guan månnuk*)

   c. **Todu** manhånåo   ya   **ni un grånu** sumåsaga.
      all   AGR.go   and.then   not a bit   AGR.stay.PROG
      'Everybody is going and none of them is staying.' (CD, entry for *ni un grånu*)

Because the specificity restriction is concerned with meaning and use, it is sensitive to the fact that noun phrases formed from quantifiers can be understood as specific in certain contexts. Noun phrases formed from *kada* 'each' and *todu* 'every, all' count as specific when they have a partitive

meaning (e.g. 'all of the children'). In such cases, the particular individuals referred to are the set of individuals that the quantifier ranges over.[5]

The specificity restriction is observed systematically in discourse and other types of naturally-occurring data. A search of the CD database, for instance, turned up 96 clauses in which the subject realizes the external argument of the verb, but is nonspecific. In 92 of these clauses, the subject is an inner topic or syntactically focused, so the specificity restriction is satisfied. In the remaining 4 clauses, the subject is formed from the quantifier *todu* 'every, all', and so could count as specific in context.

Speakers consistently reject transitive clauses that violate the specificity restriction in elicitation sessions in fieldwork. However, some speakers react more variably when presented with intransitive clauses like those in (31). It is not clear whether to attribute this variability to the restriction itself or to the field situation.

16.5   Further reading

See Cooreman (1987) for a general discussion of transitivity and discourse in Chamorro, Chung (2014) and Clothier-Goldschmidt (2015) for discussion of the person-animacy restriction, and Chung (1998) on the other restrictions discussed in this chapter.

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[5] This has consequences for agreement. When a subject noun phrase formed from *todu* 'every, all' or *kada* 'each' is construed as partitive and specific, the verb shows plural as opposed to singular agreement (Chung 1998: 113-114).

17

NEGATION

Negative sentences in Chamorro can be formed with the sentential negative *ti*, a negative verb, or a syntactically focused negative indefinite. These sentences allow negative concord and occur in the negative 'even' construction.

17.1 Overview

Negative sentences differ from affirmative (nonnegative) sentences in form and meaning. A negative sentence is false when the corresponding affirmative sentence is true, and vice versa. In addition, a negative sentence contains an element which is not in the corresponding affirmative sentence and which expresses the (meaning of) negation. Chamorro has three ways of expressing sentence negation: with the sentential negative *ti*, with a negative verb, or with a negative indefinite that is syntactically focused. Negative sentences formed with these elements have a distinctive syntax: they allow negative concord and occur in the negative 'even' construction.

This chapter begins by discussing how negative sentences are formed. It then describes negative concord, negation and scope, the negative 'even' construction, and negation in clauses truncated by ellipsis.

17.2 Basics

Chamorro has three ways of creating negative sentences. The default is for negative sentences to be formed with the sentential negative *ti*, which occurs at the beginning of the clause, to the left of the tense-aspect-mood marker and the predicate (see 4.1). Some representative examples of negative sentences formed with *ti* are given in (1).

(1) a. **Ti** para   u   hånåo   i   ma'gas på'gu.
      not FUT   AGR go   the boss   now
      'The boss is not going to leave today.' (CD, entry for *hånåo*)
   b. **Ti** amiga   i   infitmera.
      not friend   the nurse
      'The nurse was not a friend.' (EM 94)

Note that *ti* follows constituents at the left edge of the clause, including inner topics (see (2a)), complementizers (2b), syntactically focused constituents (2c), and subordinating conjunctions (2d).

(2) a. I   asusena   **ti** chå'tan na tinanum.
     the tuberose   not choosy L   plant
     'The asusena plant is not a delicate plant.' (CD, entry for *asusena*)
  b. I infitmera ilek-ña [na   **ti**   måfattu   i   tiempu].
     the nurse   say-AGR COMP   not AGR.arrive.PROG the time
     'The nurse said that the time had not yet come [for the incubator to be turned off].' (EM 93)
  c. Ya   dos oras   **ti** kumalamtin.
     and.then   two hours   not AGR.move
     'And for two hours it didn't move.' (EM 52)
  d. Sa'   **ti** ya-hu   na   un tångis.
     because not like-AGR   COMP   AGR cry
     'Because I don't like for you to cry.' (EM 52)

Negative sentences can also be formed from a negative verb—a verb whose meaning includes sentence negation. Chamorro has five negative verbs, which are listed in (3) along with their affirmative counterparts.

(3)   NEGATIVE VERB   AFFIRMATIVE VERB

tai	'not have'	gai	'have'
taigui	'not be (at a location)'	gaigi	'be (at a location)'
tåya'	'not exist'	guaha	'exist'
cha'-	'better not, don't'	—	
mungnga	'don't, let it not be'	—	

The negative verb *taigui* 'not be (at a location)' and its affirmative counterpart *gaigi* 'be (at a location)' are ordinary intransitive verbs. The other verbs in (3) have special properties. The verbs *tåya'* 'not exist' and *guaha* 'exist' are impersonal verbs of existence (see 14.2.2). The verbs *tai* 'not have' and *gai* 'have' are verbs of possession that incorporate the noun that names what is possessed (see 14.3). Finally, the negative verbs *cha'-* 'better not, don't' and *mungnga* 'don't' are used in constructions that function as negative imperatives (see 15.2.2). Some examples of sentences formed from negative verbs appear below.

(4) a. I patgun siempri ha'   **tumataigui**   gi fi'un i
     the child   indeed EMP   AGR.not.be.at.PROG LCL beside.L the

saina-ña.
parent-AGR
'The child certainly will not be right beside his parent.' (EM 136)

b. **Tai**　　　　sanhalum　i　niyuk　ni
   AGR.not.have　　*DIR.inside*　*the coconut COMP*
   båobåo.
   AGR.hollow.sounding
   'The coconut that sounds hollow inside does not have anything
   inside.' (CD, entry for *båobåo*)

c. Kalakas,　**cha'-mu**　　　chuchuda'　i　kuchinu na　hånum.
   yuck　　　*better.not-AGR spill.PROG the dirty*　*L*　*water*
   'Yuck! Don't spill the dirty water.' (CD, entry for *kalakas*)

Finally, negative sentences can be formed from a negative indefinite that is syntactically focused—displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement.

Negative indefinites in Chamorro are formed by combining the word-level negative *ni* with an indefinite noun phrase, or a prepositional phrase whose object is an indefinite noun phrase. The indefinite noun phrase can be a general indefinite (see 9.2.1 and 9.2.2.2) or a noun phrase introduced by the indefinite article *un*, the numeral *unu* 'one', or a general indefinite used as a determiner. Some representative negative indefinites: *ni håyi* 'no (one)', *ni håfa* 'no(thing)', *ni unu* 'no (one)', and *ni un grånu* 'not a bit'. A negative indefinite that is syntactically focused generally expresses sentence negation, as can be seen from the sentences below (but see note 2).

(5) a. **Ni unu**　u　maguf　ni esti i　che'chu'　　båba.
   not one　*AGR happy*　*OBL this the work.L*　　*bad*
   'No one will be happy with unsatisfactory work.' (CD, entry for
   che'chu' båba)

b. Un kebrånta　　håo muna'lagu　　　låo [**ni håfa**
   AGR assert　　　*you AGR.INF.ANTIP.cook*　*but not anything*
   tiningo'-mu].
   WH[OBJ].know-AGR
   'You came forward about cooking, but you know nothing (about
   it).' (CD, entry for *kebrånta*)

c. **Ni månu**　　　nai　siña　mamåhan　　　yu' pugua'.
   not anywhere　*COMP　can*　*AGR.ANTIP.buy*　*I betelnut*
   'There is nowhere I can buy betelnut.' (CD, entry for *ni månu*)

d. **Ni håyiyi ha'** hininguk-måmi na famagu'un.
   not anyone.EMP EMP WH[OBJ].hear-AGR L PL.child
   'We (excl.) heard no children at all.'

Negative sentences can contain more than one element that expresses sentence negation. This typically happens when the expressions of negation occur in different clauses of a complex sentence, as in the examples below. In (6a), negation is expressed in the main clause by the negative *ti*, and in the adverbial clause by another negative *ti*. In (6b), negation is expressed in the main clause by the negative verb *cha'-* 'better not, don't', and in the embedded clause by the negative *ti*.

(6) a. **Ti** fafakmata yu' [yanggin **ti** para bai facho'chu'
      not light.sleeper I if not FUT AGR work
      tåftaf].
      early
      'I am not an early riser if I'm not going to work early.' (CD, entry
      for *fáfakmata*)
   b. **Cha'-mu** yu' [na **ti** para un fa'nu'i si
      better.not-AGR me COMP not FUT AGR show UNM
      Juan nu i tes-mu].
      Juan OBL the test-AGR
      'Don't (tell) me that you will not show Juan your test.' (CD, entry
      for *fa'nu'i*)

It is also possible for a single clause to contain more than one element that expresses sentence negation. In such cases, two expressions of negation will cancel each other out, producing the same meaning as an affirmative sentence. The simple sentences in (7) contain two expressions of sentence negation: the focused negative indefinite *ni un tåotåo* 'no person' plus a second expression, which is the negative *ti* in (7a) and a negative verb in (7b). Because two expressions of negation cancel each other out, (7a) has the same meaning as 'Everyone cried'; (7b) has the same meaning as 'Everyone has hardship in their lives.'

(7) a. **Ni un tåotåo ti** kumåti.
      not a person not AGR.cry
      'Not one didn't cry.' (Sanchez 2009: 19)
   b. **Ni un tåotåo tai** ginatdun gi lina'la'-ñiha.
      not a person AGR.not.have hardship LCL life-AGR

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'Not even one person doesn't have hardship in their lives.' (CD, entry for *ginatdun*)

Multiple expressions of negation are allowed as long as they conform to the structure of Chamorro clauses. Specifically, no clause can begin with more than one sentential negative *ti*, and no clause can have more than one syntactically focused constituent at its left edge.

17.3   Negative concord

A negative sentence can contain one or more negative indefinites following the predicate, in the normal locations of arguments or adjuncts. These negative indefinites do not express sentence negation. Instead, they are *negative concord items*: they agree in form with the element that expresses sentence negation, but have the meaning of nonspecific noun phrases.

To illustrate: The negative sentences below have just one element that expresses sentence negation: the negative *ti* in (8a) and (8c), and the negative verb *tåya'* 'not exist' in (8b). These sentences also contain a negative indefinite that follows the verb and serves as a negative concord item; namely, *ni håyiyi ha'* 'anyone' in (8a), *ni unu* 'anyone' in (8b), and *ni un grånu na guihan* 'any bit of fish' in (8c).

(8) a.   Ti hu bisita   **ni håyiyi   ha'**.
         not AGR visit   not anyone.EMP EMP
         'I didn't visit anyone.'
    b.   Tåya'   **ni unu**   para   u   kinentra   esti.
         AGR.not.exist   not one   FUT   AGR PASS.oppose this
         'There isn't anyone who is going to challenge this.' (*Ginen I Obispo* September 8, 2013)
    c.   Ti ma påtti   si   Kiko' **ni un grånu na guihan**.
         not AGR share   UNM   Kiko'   not one bit   L   fish
         'They didn't give Kiko' even one bit of fish.' (CD, entry for *grånu*)

A negative sentence can contain more than one negative concord item, as (9) shows.

(9) a.   Ti muna'hanåo   **ni håfafa   ha'   ni para**
         not AGR.ANTIP.make.go   not anything.EMP   EMP   not to
         håyiyi   ha'   si   Antonio.
         anyone.EMP EMP   UNM   Antonio
         'Antonio didn't send anything to anyone.'

b. Tåya' **ni unu** lumi'i' si Dolores **ni**
AGR.not.exist *not one* *WH[SBJ].see* *UNM* *Dolores* *not*
månunu **ha'**.
anywhere.EMP *EMP*
'There isn't anyone who saw Dolores anywhere.'

For a negative indefinite to serve as a negative concord item, the sentence must contain an expression of sentence negation for it to agree with. When there is no such expression, a negative indefinite following the predicate is ungrammatical. Compare the negative sentences in (10) with their ungrammatical counterparts in (11).

(10)a. Ti chumochotchu gui' **ni håfafa** **ha'**.
not *AGR.ANTIP.eat.PROG* *he* *not anything.EMP* *EMP*
'He's not eating anything.'
b. I chi'lu-hu palåo'an tåya' finahån-ña
the sibling-AGR female *AGR.not.exist* *WH[OBJ].buy-AGR*
ni håfafa.
not anything.EMP
'There isn't anything that my sister bought.'
(11)a. *Chumochotchu gui' **ni håfafa** **ha'**.
AGR.ANTIP.eat.PROG *he* *not anything.EMP* *EMP*
('He's eating nothing.')
b. *I chi'lu-hu palåo'an guaha finahån-ña **ni**
the sibling-AGR female *AGR.exist* *WH[OBJ].buy-AGR* *not*
håfafa.
anything.EMP
('There's nothing / anything that my sister bought.')

Negative concord items in Chamorro have a broad distribution. They can serve as direct objects (as in (8a)), pivots of existential verbs (see (8b) and (10b)), and various sorts of obliques (see (8c), (9a), and (10a)).[1] They can also serve as possessors, as in (12).

(12)a. Ti ha tokcha' [kalulut **ni håyi**] i gaddu'.
not *AGR* *poke* *finger.L not anyone* *the wild.yam*
'The thorny wild yam didn't poke anyone's finger.'

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[1] Like other weak noun phrases, negative concord items are not preceded by an overt case marker when in the oblique case (see 5.1.1.4).

b. Ti manlipåra si Miguel ni [karetan **ni unu**].
   not AGR.ANTIP.notice UNM Miguel OBL car.L not one
   'Miguel didn't notice anyone's car.'

Negative concord items can serve as adjuncts, as can be seen from (9b) and
(13). (In (13a), *ni håyiyi ha'* 'no one' is syntactically focused and expresses
sentence negation; *ni månunu ha'* 'not anywhere' is a negative concord
item.)

(13)a. Ni håyiyi ha' na istudiåntin Antonio manhånåo **ni**
      not anyone.EMP EMP L student.L Antonio AGR.go not
      månunu ha'.
      anywhere.EMP EMP
      'None of Antonio's students went anywhere.'
  b. Mungnga makassi si Rosa **ni put**
      don't AGR.PASS.tease UNM Rosa not about
      håfafa ha'.
      anything.EMP EMP
      'Don't tease Rosa about anything.'
  c. Si guellan-måmi ma fa'tinas deklarasion na ti
      UNM grandmother-AGR AGR make declaration COMP not
      para u mabendi i tanu' **ni ngai'an**.
      FUT AGR PASS.sell the land not anytime
      'Our (excl.) ancestors declared that land shall never be sold.' (CD,
      edited entry for *deklarasión*)

Negative concord items can bear any grammatical relation at all when
they occur in a clause embedded within the clause in which sentence nega-
tion is expressed. The complex sentences in (14) consist of a main clause in
which the negation is expressed, plus an embedded clause—finite or
infinitival—that contains a negative concord item. The negative concord
item serves as the direct object of an infinitive in (14a), an embedded
passive agent in (14b), an embedded antipassive oblique in (14c), and an
embedded subject in (14d) and (14e).[2]

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[2] When a negative concord item is the subject of an embedded clause, it
must be syntactically focused—displaced to the left edge of the embedded
clause by wh-movement. Such negative concord items provide the only
exception to the generalization that a focused negative indefinite expresses
sentence negation.

(14)a.   Ti   ma'å'ñåo   håo [kumuentusi   **ni håyiyi**   **ha'**].
      not AGR.afraid   you INF.speak.to   not anyone.EMP EMP
      'You're not afraid to speak to anyone.'

    b.   Ti   ya-ña   [na   u   mali'i'   **ni   håyi**].
      not like-AGR   COMP   AGR PASS.see   not anyone
      'He didn't like that she be seen by anyone.' (Cooreman 1983: 139)

    c.   Yanggin   gaigi   i   taotåo gi hilu'   i   atuf,   ti
      if   AGR.be.at   the person LCL top.L   the roof   not
      debi   di   u   tunuk   påpa'   [para   u   fañuli'   **ni**
      should   PRT AGR descend   down   FUT   AGR ANTIP.take   not
      håfa   ginin   i   gimå'-ña].
      anything   from   the house-AGR
      'If a person is on the rooftop, he should not go down to take (lit. that he might take) anything from his house.' (NT 47)

    d.   Mungnga   masedi   [**ni unu**   u   patcha i
      don't   AGR.PASS.allow   not one   AGR touch   the
      laso'-mu].
      testicle-AGR
      'Do not let anyone touch your testicles.' (CD, entry for *lasu'*)

    e.   Hami   ti   manmalagu'   [**ni unu**   para   u
      we.EXCL   not AGR.want   not one   FUT   AGR
      poddung   gi   kantit].
      fall   LCL cliff
      'We (excl.) don't want anyone to fall off the cliff.'

There is one systematic gap in this distribution: a negative concord item cannot be the subject of a negative sentence. Negative sentences like the following are ungrammatical, in other words.

(15)a.   *Ti ha risisibi   i   katta   ginin   as Jose   **ni**
      not AGR receive.PROG   the letter   from   OBL Jose   not
      ununu   **ha'**.
      one.EMP   EMP
      ('Nobody has received the letter from Jose.')

    b.   *Ti ha åkka'   yu' **ni håfafa**   **ha'**.
      not AGR bite   me not anything.EMP   EMP
      ('Nothing bit me.')

    c.   *Ti kumekuentus   **ni unu**   gi   halum   i   ottru   kuåttu.
      not AGR.speak.PROG not one   LCL inside.L the other   room
      ('No one is talking in the other room.')

The negative concord items in (15) are subjects that are external arguments. Those in (16) are subjects but not external arguments; these negative sentences are ungrammatical as well.[3]

(16)a. ?*Ti mamåhlåo   nu hågu **ni unu**.
       not AGR.ashamed OBL you   not one
       ('No one is ashamed of you.')

   b. *Ti yinilang   **ni un guma' påtdit**   nu i
      not AGR.PASS.destroy   not a house.L concrete   OBL the
      taifun.
      typhoon
      ('No concrete house was destroyed by the typhoon.')

   c. ?*Ti åguaguat   **ni håyiyi   ha'   na patgon-ña**
      not AGR.naughty   not anyone.EMP EMP   L child-AGR
      si   Dolores.
      UNM   Dolores
      ('No child of Dolores' was naughty.')

As long as the negative concord item is the subject of a negative sentence (more precisely, the subject of the clause in which the negation is expressed) the result is ungrammatical. This ungrammaticality differentiates negative concord items from nonspecific noun phrases introduced by the null indefinite article, which can serve as subjects of negative sentences under some circumstances (see 6.2.1.2.2.2).

Ungrammatical negative sentences like (15) and (16) can be repaired in various ways. The most straightforward repair is to remove the sentential negative *ti* and syntactically focus the negative indefinite so that it becomes the element that expresses negation. Compare (15a) and (16c) with the following.

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[3] Sentences like (15) and (16) are not attested in the CD database or in other sources of naturally-occurring data. However, in elicitation sessions in field-work, some speakers react more variably to intransitive clauses like (16a) or passive clauses like (16b), particularly when the predicate describes an event and shows plural agreement with the subject. Some of these clauses might well be impersonal constructions; if so, their subject would be a null dummy rather than the negative concord item. This variability, which requires further study, is ignored in the text.

(17)a. **Ni unu** rumisisibi i katta ginin as
      not one   *WH[SBJ].receive.PROG*   *the letter*   *from*   *OBL*
      Jose.
      Jose
      'No one has received the letter from Jose.'

   b. **Ni håyiyi ha' na patgon-ña si Dolores**
      not anyone.EMP EMP   *L*   *child-AGR*   *UNM*   *Dolores*
      åguaguat.
      AGR.naughty
      'No child of Dolores' was naughty.'

What prevents a negative concord item from serving as the subject of a negative sentence? Recall that the subject is the most prominent constituent of the clause (see 3.2.1). Further, nothing prevents a negative concord item from serving as the subject of an embedded clause when sentence negation is expressed in a higher clause (see (14d) and (14e)). These observations suggest that in order for a negative concord item to agree with sentence negation, it must be syntactically less prominent than the negation. Suppose that sentence negation occupies a prominent position in the clause—more prominent than any of the predicate's arguments or adjuncts, except the subject. Then negative concord items that are direct objects, obliques, and so on will be able to agree with the negation, because they will be syntactically less prominent than it. Negative concord items in an embedded clause will likewise be able to agree with the negation in a higher clause. But a negative concord item that is the subject of the clause containing the negation will be unable to satisfy this condition, because the subject—as the most prominent constituent of the clause—will be more prominent than the negation it is supposed to agree with.[4]

In generative syntax, prominence is defined in terms of relative height in constituent structure (c-command). One way of accounting for the distribution of negative concord items in Chamorro is to say that a negative concord item must agree with a sentence negation that c-commands it. Notice that it would not work to try to state the condition in terms of word order. This is because sentence negation is realized to the left of subjects and nonsubjects alike, and the word order of the subject with respect to other arguments and adjuncts is flexible (see 3.4 and 4.1).

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[4] Chamorro has other words or morphemes that a negative concord item can agree with. These include the verb *adahi* 'be careful (lest)' and comparatives formed with the comparative suffix *-ña* (see 25.3.1).

17.4 Negation and scope

The distribution of negative concord items reflects a more general fact about the Chamorro language: the subject of a negative sentence must have wide scope with respect to negation.

A noun phrase in a negative sentence has *narrow scope* with respect to negation if the negation affects what it refers to. Consider the noun phrases in boldface in (18). Sentence negation affects the reference of these noun phrases, as becomes clear when their meaning is compared with the meaning of the sentence as a whole. Thus, *miyon na tåotåo* means 'a million people', but the meaning of the sentence in (18a) is that there are fewer than a million people in the CNMI. *Todu kalulut-ñiha* means 'all their fingers', but the meaning of the sentence in (18b) is that some of their fingers were not touched by the speaker. *Bulan buelu* means 'many ruffles', but the meaning of the sentence in (18c) is that the speaker likes there to be few ruffles on her dress. These noun phrases have narrow scope with respect to negation.

(18)a. Tåya'   **miyon na tåotåo** giya   CNMI.
      AGR.not.exist   *million* *L* *person* *LCL*   *CNMI*
      'There are not a million people in the CNMI.' (CD, entry for *miyón*)
  b. Ti hu patcha **todu**   **kalulut-ñiha**.
     not *AGR* *touch*   *all*   *finger-AGR*
     'I didn't touch all their fingers (= there were some of their fingers that I didn't touch).'
  c. Ti ya-hu   **bulan buelu** gi chininå-hu.
     not like-AGR   *many.L ruffle*   *LCL dress-AGR*
     'I don't like many ruffles on my dress.' (CD, entry for *buelu*)

In contrast, a noun phrase in a negative sentence has *wide scope* with respect to negation if the negation does not affect what it refers to. This is the case for the noun phrases in boldface in the negative sentences in (19): their reference is not changed in the meaning of the sentence as a whole. Thus, *tres na chåda' månnuk* means 'three chicken eggs', and the meaning of the sentence in (19a) is that three chicken eggs have the property of not having hatched. *Todu mampus* means 'everything in excess', and the meaning of the sentence in (19b) is that everything in excess has the property of not being good. Finally, *bubula ha' tetenan tano'-hu* means 'there's still much of my remaining land', and the meaning of the sentence in (19c) is that much of the speaker's remaining land has the property of not being sold.

(19)a. **Tres   na chåda' månnuk**   ti   manmapulakis.
      three   L   egg.L   chicken   not AGR.PASS.hatch
      'There are three chicken eggs that did not hatch.' (CD, entry for
      mapulakis)

   b. **Todu   mampus**   ti   måolik,   i   moderasion måolik.
      all   so.much   not AGR.good   the moderation AGR.good
      'Everything in excess is not good, moderation is good.' (CD, entry
      for *moderasión*)

   c. **Bubula   ha'   tetehnan   tano'-hu**   ti   hu
      AGR.much.PROG EMP   remaining.L land-AGR   not AGR
      bebendi.
      sell.PROG
      'There's still much of my remaining land that I'm not selling.' (EM
      101)

   Most of the predicate's arguments can have wide or narrow scope with
respect to sentence negation. Generally speaking, they have wide scope if
they are syntactically focused, as in (19a-b), but narrow scope otherwise, as
in (18).[5] But the subject of a negative sentence always has wide scope with
respect to negation, even when it is not syntactically focused. This can be
seen from the negative sentences below, in which the noun phrase *tres na
famagu'un* 'three children' serves as the subject. Sentence negation does not
affect the reference of this noun phrase: the meaning of (20a) is that three
children have the property of not having come to the party, and the meaning
of (20b) is that three children have the property of having not been punished.
These sentences say nothing about how many children actually attended the
party or were punished. (If negation had affected the reference of *tres na
famagu'un*, (20a) would mean that that the number of child attendees at the
party was fewer than three. But (20a) does not mean this.)

(20)a. Ti   manmåttu   **tres   na famagu'un** gi   giput.
      not AGR.arrive   three   L   PL.child   LCL party
      '(There were) three children (who) didn't come to the party.'

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[5] This statement glosses over various details, including the following: (i)
Many speakers will realize the internal argument of a transitive verb as the
direct object when it has wide scope with respect to negation, but as an
antipassive oblique when it has narrow scope (Chung 1998: 387-388). (ii)
Pivots of the negative existential verb *tåya'* 'not exist' must have narrow
scope with respect to negation (Chung and Ladusaw 2004: 100-103).

b. Ti manmakastiga   **tres**   **na famagu'un**.
    not AGR.PASS.punish   three   L   PL.child
    '(There were) three children (who) weren't punished.'

The fact that the subject of a negative sentence in Chamorro always has wide scope with respect to negation can be shown in another way. In Chamorro, a nonspecific noun phrase cannot be the subject of a negative sentence. This is because such a noun phrase would have to satisfy contradictory requirements: nonspecific noun phrases must have narrow scope with respect to negation, but the subject of a negative sentence must have wide scope with respect to negation. Consider, for instance, nonspecific noun phrases formed with the null indefinite article. These noun phrases can be the subjects of affirmative clauses as long as the specificity restriction is observed (see 16.4), but they cannot be the subjects of negative sentences (though see 6.2.1.2.2.2 for an exception). Compare the affirmative sentences in (21) with their negative counterparts in (22).

(21)a. Kumahulu' **dångkulu na haggan**.
        AGR.go.up big   L turtle
        'A large turtle came out (of the water).' (from a tape-recorded narrative)
    b. Kimason **dångkulu na guma'**.
        AGR.burn   big   L house
        'A large house burned down.'
(22)a. *Ti kumahulu' **dångkulu   na haggan**.
        not AGR.go.up big   L turtle
        ('A large turtle didn't come out / No large turtle came out (of the water).')
    b. *Ti kimason   **dångkulu   na guma'**.
        not AGR.burn   big   L house
        ('A large house didn't burn down / No large house burned down.')

Negative concord items are also nonspecific. Recall (from 17.3) that a negative concord item cannot serve as the subject of a negative sentence because then it would be too syntactically prominent to agree with the negation. The discussion here points to a different reason why a negative concord item cannot be the subject of a negative sentence: its scope requirements are incompatible with the scope requirements of the subject.

17.5 Negative 'even'

Chamorro has several words that are sometimes translated as 'even'. One such word is the adverb or preposition *kuntodu* 'including, also, too', which combines with a noun phrase in the unmarked case. *Kontodu* occurs almost exclusively in affirmative sentences, such as (23).

(23) Todu   esti siha   na   håkmang   **kuntodu**   i
      all   *this* *PL*   *L*   *eel*   *also*   *the*
      hakmang palus   mana'achuli'   ha'   na klåsin gå'ga'.
      conger.eel   *AGR.RECP.take.PROG*   *EMP*   *L*   *sort.L*   *animal*
      'All of the salt water eels look similar (lit. are the sort of creatures that resemble one another), even the conger eel.' (CD, entry for *håkmang palús*)

Another such word is the word-level negative *ni* when it appears in the negative 'even' construction.

In the negative 'even' construction, a constituent consisting of *ni* plus a noun phrase in the unmarked case occurs at the left edge of a negative sentence. This constituent (called the *'even' phrase* below) is understood to be the subject of the negative sentence. The construction as a whole conveys that there are others besides the referent of the subject for which the negative sentence is true. For instance, the 'even' phrase in (24) is formed from the noun phrase *i katu* 'the cat'. Sentence (24) means 'Even the cat doesn't want the dog's leftovers'—or, equivalently, 'Not even the cat wants the dog's leftovers' (see Horn 1969). Implicit in the meaning is the idea that there are others besides the cat that do not want the dog's leftovers.

(24) **Ni** i katu   ti malagu'   ni ansopblan i ga'lågu.
      not the cat   *not AGR.want*   *OBL leftover.L*   *the dog*
      'Even the cat does not want the dog's leftovers.' (CD, entry for *án-*)

Some other examples of the negative 'even' construction are given below.

(25)a. Låo   an   kåtma   **ni** i neni   ti u sienti.
        but   *when*   *AGR.calm*   *not the baby*   *not AGR feel*
        'But when it's calm, not even the baby will feel it.' (EM 13)
  b. **Ni** si   Yu'us ti siña   ha tulaika håfa i   esta
      not UNM   *God*   *not can*   *AGR change what*   *the already*
      masusedi.
      AGR.PASS.experience

'Even God cannot change what has already happened.' (*Ginen I Obispo* April 29, 2013)

c. Yanggin **ni** hågu mismu ti malagu' håo
   if   not you   same   not AGR.want   you
   sumåonåo   guini na kinalamtin ...
   AGR.INF.participate LCL.this L movement
   'If even you don't want to participate in this resurgence...' (*Saipan Tribune* December 15, 1998)

Some aspects of the negative 'even' construction are relatively straight-forward. Specifically:

(i) Sentence negation in the 'even' construction is expressed in the usual way, with the negative *ti* (as in the examples above), a negative verb (as in (26a)) or a syntactically focused negative indefinite (e.g. *ni ngai'an* 'never' in (26b)).

(26)a. **Ni** si Juan tai   salappi'.
       not UNM Juan AGR.not.have money
       'Even Juan has no money.'

b. Hu diseseha   na   **ni** hita ni ngai'an nai   ta
   AGR wish.PROG COMP   not we.INCL not anytime COMP AGR
   fanmaleffa.
   AGR.forget
   'I hope that even us (incl.), we (incl.) will never forget it.' (*Ginen i Obispo* March 20, 2011)

If the sentence contains no expression of negation, then the construction is ungrammatical; compare (27a) and (27b).

(27)a. **Ni** si   Juan   ti ha li'i'   i   aksidenti.
       not UNM Juan   not AGR see   the accident
       'Not even Juan saw the accident.'
    b. *Ni   si   Juan   ha li'i'   i   aksidenti.
       not UNM   Juan   AGR see   the accident
       ('Not even Juan saw the accident.')

The ungrammaticality of (27b) also reveals that sentence negation is not expressed by the 'even' phrase or by the word-level negative *ni*.

(ii) The 'even' phrase is not a negative indefinite, despite the fact that it begins with the word-level negative *ni*. Negative indefinites can be formed only from certain types of indefinites (see 17.2 and 17.3), but 'even' phrases

can be formed from a wider range of noun phrases, including definite noun phrases, names, and pronouns (see (25)). Moreover, negative indefinites that occur at the left edge of the clause are syntactically focused, but 'even' phrases are not. The verb does not show wh-agreement with them (see (25b) and (27a)), and they can occur in sentences in which a different constituent is syntactically focused (see (26b)).

(iii) The 'even' phrase occupies a position at the far left edge of the negative sentence, after the complementizer (if any) but before a syntactically focused constituent (see (26b)). The fact that it can be resumed by a weak pronoun, such as *håo* 'you' in (25c), suggests that it originates in this left-edge position and serves as the antecedent of a subject pronoun within the negative sentence. This pronoun can be overt, but more often it is null.

(iv) Although 'even' phrases are usually formed from *ni* plus a noun phrase, they can also be formed from *ni* plus an adverbial clause, as in (28).

(28)a. **Ni** [para u mabuñelus],   esta   esti na
      not FUT   *AGR PASS.make.doughnuts*   *already this L*
      linamas   aga'   tai   bali.
      decayed.L *banana* *AGR.not.have*   *value*
      'Even to make doughnuts with, these decayed bananas are already useless.' (CD, entry for *linamas*)

   b. **Ni** [achuk   ha'   kuåntus   na na'yi   ha usa
      not although   *EMP*   *how.many* *L* *ingredient* *AGR use*
      si   Rosa   gi sukiyaki'], ti   månngi'   ...
      UNM   *Rosa*   *LCL sukiyaki*   *not* *AGR.delicious*
      'No matter how many ingredients Rosa puts in her sukiyaki, it still does not taste good...' (CD, entry for *pacha-*)

The adverbial clause in (28b) is the antecedent clause of a concealed conditional (see 9.2.2.5).

Two other aspects of the negative 'even' construction are more challenging. First, it is not clear what grammatical relations an 'even' phrase can be associated with. 'Even' phrases are generally associated with the subject of the negative sentence. They can also be associated with the direct object. But speakers react more variably when 'even' phrases are associated with other grammatical relations, such as possessor of the pivot of an existential verb (see 14.2.2). Compare (26a) with (29).

(29)   *Ni si   Juan   tåya'   salappe'-ña.
       not UNM   *Juan*   *AGR.not.exist*   *money-AGR*
       ('Even Juan has no money.')

This is an area where further investigation is needed.

Second, it is unclear what the word-level negative *ni* contributes to the meaning of this construction. It was pointed out earlier that the 'even' phrase does not express sentence negation. Nonetheless, there are indications that the *ni* in the 'even' phrase might negate the noun phrase or adverbial clause it combines with. *Ni* can combine with constituents that must be licensed by negation of some sort, such as the negative polarity items *un grånu* (in *ni un grånu* 'not a bit') or *put diós* (in *ni put diós* 'not at all').[6]

(30)a.   **Ni** un grånu ti ma påtti gi tanu'.
        not a   bit   not AGR divide   LCL land
        'Not even one part did they give him on the land.' (CD, entry for *grånu*)

    b.   **Ni** achuka'   ha li'i' si   Jose   na   lalalacha'
        not although   AGR see UNM   Jose   COMP   AGR.lie.PROG
        yu' gi fachi',   **ni** put dios   ti u   ayuda   yu'.
        I   LCL mud   not by god   not AGR help   me
        'Even if Jose sees me lying in the mud, he would not help me.' (CD, entry for *ni put diós*)

Further, *ni* interacts with disjunction inside the noun phrase as if it expresses negation. Consider the negative 'even' construction below.

(31)   **Ni** si   nanå-mu   pat tatå-mu,   ti   man-"impress".
        not UNM   mother-AGR   or   father-AGR   not   AGR.impress
        'Even your mother and your father weren't impressed.' (EM 50)

Pat 'or' indicates disjunction, but the meaning of (31) involves conjunction ('and'): it states that even the addressee's two parents—the mother *and* the father—were not impressed.[7] This alternation brings to mind De Morgan's

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[6] The verb in (30a) can be analyzed in several ways. If it is a passive ('Not even a bit was given to him'), then the 'even' phrase is associated with the subject; if it is an ordinary transitive verb ('Not even a bit they gave to him'), or the transitive or passive form of a concealed applicative ('Not even a bit they gave him', 'Not even a bit he was given'), then the 'even' phrase is associated with a direct object or oblique. There are two 'even' phrases in (30b), a fact that suggests that these phrases can be iterated. It is not clear how to translate *ni put dios* in this example.

[7] Thanks to Manuel F. Borja for providing the English translation and additional commentary.

Laws, one of which states that the negation of a disjunction is equivalent to the conjunction of two negations. If *ni* were to negate the disjunction *si nanå-mu pat tatå-mu* 'your mother or your father', the result—'not [your mother or your father]'—would be equivalent to '[not your mother] and [not your father]', which would supply the 'and' that forms part of the sentence's meaning.

All this suggests two alternative possibilities. On the one hand, the *ni* in the 'even' phrase might express constituent negation. If so, it is unclear just what this negation contributes to the meaning of the construction as a whole. On the other hand, the *ni* in the 'even' phrase might have the form but not the meaning of negation, similar to a negative concord item. If so, it would be agreeing with sentence negation in some new way. This is an area where further investigation is needed.

17.6   Negation and ellipsis

When most of a clause is deleted by ellipsis but the sentence negation is left behind, this negation can be expressed by the sentential negative *ti*, the negative interjection *åhi'* 'no', or the negative verb *mungnga* 'don't, let it not be'.

The sentential negative *ti* is used when ellipsis removes most of the clause but leaves behind the negation followed by some other constituent. This other constituent (enclosed in brackets below) is a noun phrase in (32a), a prepositional phrase in (32b), and an adverbial phrase in (32c).

(32)a. Gof   månngi'   i   letchun sa'   måsa   ha'
        AGR.very   delicious   the piglet because AGR.cooked EMP
        gi   asadot, **ti**   [i   hetnu].
        LCL spit   not   the oven
        'The roasted pig tasted so delicious because it was roasted in the
        spit, not the oven.' (CD, entry for *asadót*)
    b. ... kosa ki un tungu' ginin   hågu   mismu ya   **ti**
             so.that AGR know   from   you   same   and.then   not
        [ginin   i   ottru].
        from   the   other
        '...so that you know it from you yourself and not from another
        person.' (EM 132)
    c. Taitai   i   direksion   sa'   ilelek-ña   guatu guihi,
        read   the direction   because say-AGR.PROG   to.there there
        åhi' **ti** [mågi   guini].
        no   not to.here here

'Read the direction because it's saying that it's over there, not over here.' (CD, entry for *guatu guihi*)

Because the negative *ti* is phonologically dependent—it must lean on material to its right—it cannot be used when ellipsis removes everything in the clause except the negation. In such cases, negation is expressed by the interjection *åhi'* 'no' or by the predicate *mungnga* 'don't, let it not be'. *Mungnga* is used when the truncated clause is irrealis and conveys obligation or necessity (see 15.2.2.1).

(33)a. Hu adibibina   kåo para   bai hu fåhan   pat **mungnga**.
       AGR predict.PROG   Q   FUT   AGR   buy   or   don't
       'I am deciding whether I should buy it or not.' (CD, entry for
       mungnga)

   b. Ha hahassu   kåo para   u   kånnu' pat **mungnga**.
      AGR think.PROG   Q   FUT   AGR eat   or   don't
      'He is thinking if he should eat it or not.' (CD, entry for *mungnga*)

Åhi' appears otherwise (see 15.4); for instance, when the truncated clause is realis (as in (34a)) or when it is irrealis but no obligation or necessity is involved (34b-c).

(34)a. Guaha   na åtgidun mampus   å'paka',   guaha
       AGR.exist   L   cotton so.much   AGR.white   AGR.exist
       åhi'.
       no
       'Some cottons are very white, some (are) not.' (CD, entry for
       åtgidun)

   b. Pa un nå'i   yu' ni malago'-hu   pat **åhi'**?
      FUT AGR give   me OBL WH[OBL].want-AGR   or   no
      'Are you giving me what I want or not?' (CD, entry for *paun*)

   c. Hu chuli' ha' i payu-hu   achuka'   guaha
      AGR bring   EMP the umbrella-AGR   although   AGR.exist
      dinidå-hu   kåo para   u   uchan pat **åhi'**.
      NMLZ.doubt-AGR Q   FUT   AGR rain   or   no
      'I brought my umbrella, even though there was doubt on my part
      whether it would rain or not.' (CD, entry for *dinida*)

17.7 Further reading

See Vincent (2018) for further discussion of negative concord in Chamorro.

18

ADVERBS

Although Chamorro has no productive way of forming adverbs from other parts of speech, it does have adverbs. These are diverse in form, meaning, and word order.

18.1   Overview

Adverbs are words that provide more information about the event or state described by predicate and its participants. Chamorro has no productive way of forming adverbs from other parts of speech, but it does have a number of adverbs. Three very common adverbs—*puedi* 'hopefully', *lokkui'* 'also', and *på'gu* 'now'—are illustrated below.

(1) a. **Puedi**   ti   kånsit   esti na dohlan.
       hopefully   not AGR.cancerous   this L   cyst
       'Hopefully this cyst is not cancerous.' (CD, entry for *dohlan*)
   b. Ma u'usa   i   pi'åo **lokkui'** para   hå'if.
       AGR use.PROG   the bamboo also   for   torch
       'They're using the bamboo also for torches.' (CD, entry for *hå'if*)
   c. Ha tulaika si   Maria na'ån-ña   ya   Chopia
       AGR change UNM   Maria name-AGR   and.then   Chopia
       på'gu.
       now
       'Maria changed her name and now it's Chopia.' (CD, entry for *Chopia*)

This chapter gives a brief survey of adverbs that highlights their diversity in form, meaning, and word order. See 3.3 and 5.2 for some other ways that adverbial meanings can be expressed.

18.2   Form

Adverbs can be classified according to whether they also belong to some other part of speech. Most adverbs are simply adverbs; they have no other syntactic function. Some representative examples of this type of adverb are given below.

(2)　ADVERBS WITH NO OTHER SYNTACTIC FUNCTION
　　　adumídidi'　　　'little by little'
　　　atu'åsi　　　　'(but) at least'
　　　esta　　　　　'already'
　　　guatu　　　　'to there (away from speaker and addressee)'
　　　fan　　　　　'please'
　　　ha'　　　　　emphatic
　　　kulang　　　　'looks like, seems like' (with variants *kulan,*
　　　　　　　　　 kalan, kalang)
　　　lokkui'　　　　'also'
　　　mågi　　　　 'to here (toward the speaker)'
　　　på'gu　　　　'now'
　　　puedi　　　　'hopefully'
　　　tengnga　　　'usually, often'
　　　trabiha　　　 'still, yet'

A smaller number of adverbs also belong to another part of speech that probably represents their primary syntactic function. In particular:

(i) Certain very frequent adjectives also function as adverbs. Some of them are listed in (3).

(3)　ADVERBS THAT ARE ALSO ADJECTIVES
　　　båba　　　　 'bad'
　　　chaddik　　　'fast'
　　　dispåsiu　　　'slow'
　　　hagas　　　　'gone, past, in the past, for a long while (and
　　　　　　　　　 still pertinent)'
　　　måolik　　　 'good'
　　　sessu　　　　'often'
　　　ta'lu　　　　 'again'

When these words serve as adjectives, they can be predicates of clauses (as in (4a)) and modifiers of nouns (4b); they can also be used to form applicative verbs (4d) and causative verbs (4c). Many of these adjectives have an argument that can be realized as an infinitive clause or reduced clause (see 3.3.7 and Chapter 21).

(4) a.　**Manmåolik** bos-ñiha　atyu　siha　i　mangkakanta.
　　　　 AGR.good　voice-AGR　that　PL　the　PL.singer
　　　　 'Those singers' voices are good.' (CD, entry for *bos*)

b. Gi **hagas** na tiempu, i famagu'un ti managuaguat.
   LCL past   L   time   the PL.child   not AGR.naughty
   'In the past, children were not naughty.' (CD, entry for *hagas*)

c. **Na'fanchaddik** i   pasun-miyu.
   make.AGR.fast   the pace-AGR
   'Make your (pl.) pace faster.' (CD, entry for *påsu*)

d. Si   Juan   ha **ta'luyi**   chumuda' i   gimin.
   UNM   Juan   AGR again.to   INF.spill   the drink
   'Juan spilled more of the drink.' (CD, entry for *ta'luyi*)

When they serve as adverbs, they modify the predicate or the clause, and do not show agreement with the subject; see (5).

(5) a. Atan   **måolik** i   yure'-ta   ya   mungnga   na
       watch   good   the zori-AGR   and.then   don't   COMP
       ta   alachi.
       AGR mix.up
       'Let's watch our (incl.) zoris carefully so that we (incl.) don't mix them up.' (CD, entry for *álachi*)

   b. **Hagas** ti   hu li'i' håo   guini   giya   Tinian.
      past   not AGR see you   here   LCL   Tinian
      'I didn't see you for ages here in Tinian.' (CD, entry for *hagas*)

   c. Hu balåha i   balåha **chaddik**.
      AGR shuffle   the card   fast
      'I shuffled the cards quickly.' (CD, entry for *balåha*)

   d. Na'yiyi yu' fan   **ta'lu**   fina'denni'.
      add.for me please   again   hot.sauce
      'Please add more hot sauce for me.' (CD, entry for *na'yiyi*)

   (ii) The local forms of the demonstratives, namely, *guini* 'here (near speaker)', *guennåo* 'there (near addressee)', and *guihi* 'there (near third person)', can function as adverbs of location (see 6.2.2). The use of these forms as adverbs is illustrated in (6).

(6) a. Guaha   nonis   **guini**   na sapåtus sa'
       AGR.exist   AGR.odd   here   L   shoe   because
       taigui   i   ga'chong-ña.
       AGR.not.be.at   the partner-AGR
       'There is an odd shoe here, because its mate is missing.' (CD, entry for *nonis*)

b. Ekkis ha' **guihi** para un bota.
mark.with.x EMP *there* FUT AGR *vote*
'Just mark your vote with an X (lit. mark an X there so you can vote).' (CD, entry for *ekkis*)

Similarly, the manner adjectives *taiguini* 'like this (near speaker)', *taiguennåo* 'like that (near addressee)', and *taiguihi* 'like that (near third person)' are clearly derived from the local forms of demonstratives. These manner adjectives can serve as predicates of clauses, as (7) shows.

(7) a. Disdi ngai'an ni **tumaiguihi** gui'?
since when? COMP AGR.*like.that he*
'Since when did he become like that?' (CD, entry for *disdi ngai'an*)
b. Håfa na **taiguennåo** trahi-mu?
what? COMP AGR.*like.that appearance*-AGR
'Why is your appearance like that?' (CD, entry for *tråhi*)

They can also serve as manner adverbs.

(8) a. Tåya' ni hu li'i' si Long
AGR.*not.exist* COMP AGR *see* UNM *Long*
gumonggung **taiguihi** gi as Nelly.
AGR.*mutter like.that* LCL *Nelly*
'I never saw Long mutter under his breath like that at Nelly.' (CD, entry for *gonggung*)
b. Mungnga madililing i neni **taiguennåo**.
don't AGR.PASS.*carry the baby like.that*
'Don't carry the baby like that.' (CD, entry for *díliling*)

(iii) Local nouns such as *hålum* 'inside, in(to)', *huyung* 'outside, out', *mo'na* 'front, before', and directional nouns such as *lågu* 'north (in Guam and Rota), west (in Saipan), toward the ocean', are also used as directional adverbs (see 5.3 and 5.4).
(iv) The prepositions *åntis di* 'before' and *dispues di* 'after' have counterparts without *di* that serve as time adverbs. These prepositions are discussed in 5.2; their use as adverbs is illustrated below.

(9) a. Guaguan **åntis** i liluk na materiåt.
AGR.*expensive before the iron* L *material*
'Iron was an expensive material a long time ago (lit. before).' (CD, entry for *luluk*)

b. Esta,   ta ali'i'   **dispues**.
    okay   *AGR RECP.see*   *later*
    'Okay, we'll (incl.) see each other later.' (CD, entry for *esta*)

(v) Time expressions such as *na biåhi* 'this time', *na såkkan* 'this year', *na mes* 'this month', *na simåna* 'this week', and so on can be analyzed as adverbs or as heads of relative clauses (see 24.6.3). They consist of a noun that describes (some amount of) time, marked with the pre-head form of the linker.

(vi) Chamorro has a small number of adverbs ending in -*menti* which are borrowed from Spanish (e.g. *espesiatmenti* 'especially', *solamenti* 'only, except, unless', *buluntåriamenti* 'voluntarily'). In Spanish, these adverbs are derived from adjectives. It is less clear whether in Chamorro they should be treated as derived from adjectives. If Chamorro does have a word formation process that derives adverbs ending in -*menti* from adjectives, this process is limited to Spanish loanwords, and is not productive.

Finally, certain types of adjuncts that are noun phrases could be viewed as adverbial, but are not treated as adverbs here (see 5.1.1.3 and 5.1.2.3). These adjuncts typically are not marked for case; they include noun phrases that express duration (e.g. *dos oras* 'for two hours') and frequency (e.g. *kada såkkan* 'every year', *kada råtu* 'every time', *kada diha* 'every day', *todu i tiempu* 'all the time'), as well as certain noun phrases that express location in time (e.g. *nigap* 'yesterday', *agupa'* 'tomorrow').

18.3   Meaning

Adverbs have a wide range of meanings, roughly summarized here.

Modal adverbs indicate the extent to which the event or state described by the predicate is real, possible, desirable, permitted, or required. Chamorro has a large number of modal adverbs. Some representative examples are listed below.

(10)   MODAL ADVERBS
        buenti   'maybe, perhaps, possibly'
        diputsí   'supposed to'
        fa'na'an   'maybe, perhaps, presumably'
        kåsi   'probably, approximately'
        kulang   'looks like, seems like' (with variants *kulan,*
                              kalan, kalang)
        mohon   expresses wish, desire, or something contrary
                              to fact

puedi	'hopefully'
siempri	'certainly, surely (used to indicate certain future)'
téneki	'surely, definitely (indicates less certainty than *siempri*)'

Chamorro also has adverbs that indicate location in time, including *åntis* 'before', *dispues* 'later', *hagas* 'in the past, long ago', *lámu'na* 'tonight', and *på'gu* 'now, today'.

A few adverbs indicate what can be called order in the discourse. These include *finé'nena* 'first', *pues* 'then', and perhaps *lokkui'* 'also'.

There are adverbs that indicate degree or extent, such as *atu'åsi* '(but) at least', *dimasiåo* 'too much', *kana'* 'almost', *kåsi* 'approximately', *putlumenus* 'at least'. Degree morphemes such as *góf* 'very' and *sén* 'extremely, most' are discussed in Chapter 25.

Adverbs can indicate frequency, e.g. *apenas* 'rarely, seldom', *di'åriu* 'daily, every day', *sessu* 'often', *tengnga* 'usually, often'.

Adverbs can indicate other aspectual notions; that is, other notions that provide a perspective on the event or state described by the predicate. The aspectual adverbs include e.g. *esta* 'already', *dinuebu* 'again', *nåya* 'for awhile, yet', *ta'lu* 'again', *trabiha* 'still, yet', and perhaps also *adumídidi'* 'little by little', *diripenti* 'suddenly, unexpectedly', *gotpi* 'suddenly'.

Chamorro has manner adverbs that also serve as adjectives (see 18.2). It is not clear whether the language has manner adverbs that do not belong to any other part of speech.

A number of adverbs indicate direction or location in space. Some of these adverbs also serve as local nouns (e.g. *tåtti* 'back, behind'; see 5.3), directional nouns (e.g. *håya* 'south (in Guam and Rota), east (in Saipan), away from the ocean'; see 5.4), or the local forms of demonstratives (e.g. *guini* 'here (near speaker)'; see 6.2.2). Two directional adverbs that are not also nouns are *mågi* 'to here (toward the speaker)' and *guatu* 'to (over) there (away from speaker or addressee)'.

The reflexive adverb *maisa* 'alone, by oneself' can also be used as a predicate. As an adverb, it serves as an emphatic reflexive or signals that an overt pronoun is reflexive (see 13.2.1.2.1).

Finally, two very frequent forms that are classified as adverbs here are the emphatic particle *ha'*, which indicates focus and is sometimes translated into English as 'just, only, really' (see 23.2), and *fan* 'please', which is used in imperatives to indicate politeness (see 15.2 and 18.4.1).

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18.4   Word order

Overall, adverbs have the same word order possibilities as other adjuncts in Chamorro. They can occur at the left edge of the clause, at the right edge of the clause, or after the predicate (in clauses formed from verbs or adjectives) or after the predicate phrase (in clauses formed from nouns or prepositions). These locations are marked with an *x* in the word order templates below (see 3.4.2, 3.4.3, and 4.1).

(11)   WORD ORDER OF CHAMORRO CLAUSES
    a.   Dominant word order of clauses formed from verbs or adjectives
        *x Negative TAM Predicate **x** Subject Object Obliques **x***
    b.   Word order of clauses formed from nouns or prepositions
        *x Negative TAM Predicate-Phrase **x** Subject **x***

This range of possibilities can be narrowed down somewhat further. 18.4.1 describes two types of phonologically dependent adverbs, and 18.4.2 deals with the remaining types of adverbs.

18.4.1   Phonologically dependent adverbs
Chamorro has two types of phonologically dependent adverbs—adverbs that must combine with some other element to form a phonological word. First, a few adverbs are enclitics—dependent elements that must lean on material to their left to form a phonological word. These adverbs include the modal adverb *mohon*, the emphatic particle *ha'*, and the politeness particle *fan* 'please'.

    The modal adverb *mohon* signals that the situation described by the clause is wished for, desired, or contrary to fact. It can appear after the first phonological word of the clause, whether this word happens to be a subordinating conjunction (as in (12a)), an interrogative word (12b), an adverb (12c), or an interjection (12d). This amounts to saying that *mohon* can occur in 'second position' in the sentence (compare 8.3 on weak pronouns).

(12)a.   Kumu   **mohon** un   cho'gui esti,   ti   un   fañoñotsut.
        if   *UNREAL AGR do*   *this*   *not AGR ANTIP.regret.PROG*
        'If you had done this, you wouldn't be regretting it.' (CD, entry for *kumu mohon*)
    b.   Håfa   **mohon** para   u   masusedi   yanggin
        what?   UNREAL FUT   AGR PASS.experience if
        tåya'   elektrisidå gi   tano'-ta?
        AGR.not.exist   electricity   LCL land-AGR

'What do you think would happen if there were no electric power on the island?' (CD, entry for *elektrisidå*)

c. Kulang **mohon** guaha matai-mu na
seems.like UNREAL AGR.exist *dead-AGR* COMP
linilitu håo.
AGR.wear.black.PROG *you*
'It seems as if you have somebody who died that you are all in black.' (CD, entry for *lutu*)

d. I **mohon** ya ti bai matan åmku' kumu hu
oh UNREAL *and.then* *not* AGR *face.L* *old* *if* AGR
gacha' otchenta åñus.
catch.up.with *eighty* *years*
'Oh, how I wish I won't look old when I get to be eighty!'

Mohon can also occur after the predicate (as in (13a)) or at the right edge of the clause (13b).

(13)a. Kumu hu tungu' **mohon** esti, bai hu fañuñuli'
if AGR *know* UNREAL *this* AGR ANTIP.*bring.PROG*
åtchu'.
rock
'If I had known this, I would have brought a rock.'

b. Ti u måhluk i patås-mu **mohon** yanggin un osgi yu'.
not AGR *break* *the* *leg-AGR* UNREAL *if* AGR *obey* *me*
'Your leg wouldn't have broken if you had obeyed me.'

The emphatic particle *ha'* signals that the immediately preceding word or phrase is focused. It occurs immediately after (the last phonological word of) the focused constituent (see 23.2). Note that the last phonological word of the focused constituent can contain other enclitics. In (14c), for instance, the focused constituent is the adverb *dispåsiu* 'slowly', but the phonological word containing it also includes the enclitic *fan* 'please'.

(14)a. Si Julie para u guput **ha'** gi Sabalu
UNM *Julie* FUT AGR *party* EMP LCL *Saturday*
maseha malålangu.
even.though AGR.sick.PROG
'Julie will still have her party on Saturday even though she's sick.' (CD, entry for *maseha*)

b. Kana' esti **ha'** na kandi guaha åntis na tiempu.
almost *this* EMP L *candy* AGR.exist *before* L *time*

'This was about the only candy in the old days.' (CD, entry for *bukåyu*)

c. Guesguis   dispåsiu   fan   **ha'**   ennåo   i   addeng-hu?
   rub   *slowly*   *please* EMP   *that*   *the foot*-AGR
   'Can you slowly rub my feet?' (CD, entry for *guesguis*)

The politeness particle *fan* 'please' occurs immediately after the phonological word containing the predicate, or at the right edge of the clause. Note that the phonological word that contains the predicate can contain other enclitics, such as *ha'* or a weak pronoun, as in (15c) and (15d).

(15)a. Hånåo   **fan**   guatu   ya   un   inbilikeranñaihun.
       go   *please* *to.there and.then* AGR *snoop.awhile*
       'Could you go there and snoop around.' (CD, entry for *imbilikeru*)

b. Na'bula   hånum   maipi   i   titmosa   **fan**.
   make.full   *water.*L *hot*   *the thermos* *please*
   'Please fill up the thermos with hot water.' (CD, entry for *titmosa*)

c. Po'lunñaihun   ha'   **fan**   ennåo   na   problema   sa'
   put.awhile   EMP   *please*   *that*   L   *problem*   *because*
   ha   na'malilinik   ilu-hu.
   AGR *make.ache.*PROG   *head-*AGR
   'Please set that problem aside, because it is giving me a headache.'
   (CD, entry for *po'lunñaihun*)

d. Chuli'i   yu'   **fan**   singku   lobun   siboyas.
   bring.to me *please* *five* *bulb.*L *onion*
   'Please bring me five bulbs of onions.' (CD, entry for *lobu*)

Second, some adverbs can or must combine phonologically with the verb. These adverbs immediately follow the verb, which is marked with the post-head form of the linker (see 7.3.1). The post-head form of the linker is realized as the suffix *-n* when the verb ends in a vowel (including, for some speakers, stressed *åo*), and is unpronounced otherwise. It turns the verb into a dependent element that forms a phonological word with the adverb (see 2.2.1.1.2). Among the adverbs that can combine with the verb in this way are the manner adverbs *chaddik* 'fast', *dispåsiu* 'slow', *måolik* 'good', and *båba* 'bad'.

(16)a. Ha   chatgin   **båba**   yu'   anai   hu   gånna.
       AGR *laugh.at.*L *bad*   *me*   *when* AGR *win*
       'She laughed at me mockingly when I beat her.' (CD, entry for *chatgi*)

b. Mapput   munhåyan   **chaddik**   i   che'chu'   sa'
    AGR.hard   *AGR.finished.L* *fast*   *the* *work*   *because*
    bula   motmurasion.
    AGR.much   *confusion*
    'The work is difficult to complete because there is so much
    confusion.' (CD, entry for *motmurasión*)

The reflexive adverb *maisa* must combine with the verb when it signals that
a direct object pronoun is reflexive (see 13.2.1.2.1).

(17) Tohgi   hulu'   ya   un difendin   **maisa**   håo.
      stand   *up*   *and.then* *AGR defend.L* *self*   *you*
      'Stand up and defend yourself.' (CD, entry for *tohgi*)

18.4.2   Other adverbs
The remaining adverbs have some or all of the word order options described
earlier: at the left edge of the clause, at the right edge of the clause, or
immediately after the predicate. The word order of individual Chamorro
adverbs has not yet been investigated in detail. Nonetheless, an examination
of the CD database suggests that there are adverbs occur only at the left edge
of the clause, as well as adverbs that occur only immediately after the predi-
cate. There are also adverbs occur at one edge of the clause or immediately
after the predicate, and adverbs that occur in all three locations. A very
preliminary attempt is made here to classify some common adverbs in these
terms. Because the classification is based on a limited amount of naturally-
occurring data, it is quite likely that some adverbs have a wider distribution
than is suggested below.
    A large number of adverbs occur (only) at the left edge of the clause.
These include many modal adverbs, many degree adverbs, some adverbs
that indicate order in the discourse, and a few adverbs that indicate fre-
quency or location in time.

(18) ADVERBS THAT OCCUR AT THE LEFT EDGE OF THE CLAUSE
      apenas   'rarely'
      atu'åsi   '(but) at least'
      diputsí   'supposed to'
      fa'na'an   'maybe, perhaps, I assumed'
      hagas   'gone, past, in the past, for a long while (and
                            still pertinent)'
      kana'   'almost'
      kåsi   'probably, approximately'

kulang	'looks like, seems like' (with variants *kulan, kalan, kalang*)
piót	'especially'
puedi	'hopefully'
pues	'then'
téneki	'surely, definitely (indicates less certainty than *siempri*)'

Some illustrative examples are given in (19).

(19)a. **Fa'na'an** hågu yuhi i hu li'i' gi paingi.
 maybe you that the AGR see LCL last.night
 'Maybe you were the one that I saw last night.' (CD, entry for *fa'na'an*)

  b. Ha sakapiku i edda', **pues** ha tånum i simiya.
 AGR pick the dirt then AGR plant the seed
 'He used a pick on the soil, then he planted the seedlings.' (CD, entry for *sakapiku*)

  c. **Kåsi** manparehu idat-ñiha ennåo na gurupun
 probably AGR.same age-AGR that L group.L
 famagu'un.
 PL.child
 'Perhaps all the children in the group are the same age.' (CD, entry for *idåt*)

  d. Månngi' påo-ña esti i floris hasmin
 AGR.delicious scent-AGR this the flower.L jasmine
 piot an puengi.
 especially when night
 'The scent of the jasmine flower is delightful, especially in the evening.' (CD, entry for *hasmín*)

Some manner adverbs seem to occur immediately after the predicate (and nowhere else), even when they do not combine with it to form a phonological word. Included in this class are *måolik* 'good' and perhaps *båba* 'bad'. In (20), *måolik* occurs right after the verb *fa'gåsi* 'wash', even though *fa'gåsi* is not marked with the linker and the two do not form a phonological word. (This can be seen from the fact that reduplication for the progressive affects the stressed CV of the verb, not the CV that would bear primary stress if the verb and adverb formed a single phonological word; see 2.2.1.1.2.)

(20) I á'amti ha fa'gågasi **måolik** i kannai-ña åntis di
the healer AGR *wash.*PROG *good the hand-*AGR *before* PRT
u patcha i chetnut.
ART *touch the wound*
'The nurse washes her hands well before touching the wound.' (CD,
entry for *á'amti*)

A large number of adverbs can occur immediately after the predicate or
at the right edge of the clause. These include many—perhaps all—adverbs
of direction or location in space, some adverbs that indicate frequency or
other aspectual notions, a few manner adverbs, a few time adverbs, and
maisa 'by oneself, alone'. (When *maisa* has this meaning, it is marked with
the pre-head form of the linker.)

(21) ADVERBS THAT OCCUR (SOMEWHERE) AFTER THE PREDICATE
chaddik 'fast'
dinuebu '(over) again'
guatu 'to there (away from speaker and addressee)'
guennåo 'there (near addressee)'
guihi 'over there (away from speaker and
addressee)'
guini 'here (near speaker)'
huyung 'outside', and other adverbs formed from local
nouns
kåttan 'east (in Guam and Rota), north (in Saipan),
toward one's right as one faces the ocean',
and other adverbs formed from directional
nouns
kuntiempu 'ahead of time, beforehand'
mågi 'to here (toward speaker)'
maisa 'by oneself, alone'
nåya 'for awhile, yet'
taiguini 'like this', and other adverbs formed from
manner adjectives
ta'lu 'again'

Some representative examples are given in (22).

(22)a. Sahguan **hålum** i ramienta gi kahun eståñu.
put inside the tools LCL *box.*L *tin*
'Put the tools in the tin box.' (CD, entry for *eståñu*)

b. Ha barohu si   Manuel i   liluk   **hålum** gi hayu.
   AGR drill   UNM   Manuel the nail   inside   LCL wood
   'Manuel drilled the nail into the wood.' (CD, entry for *barohu*)

c. Ti o'ora   **nåya**   i   amotsan   talu'åni.
   not hour.PROG yet   the meal.L   lunch
   'It is not yet time for lunch.' (CD, entry for *nåya*)

d. Dumiskånsa   i   haggan gi nihung **nåya**.
   AGR.rest   the turtle   LCL shade   awhile
   'The turtle rested in the shaded area for awhile.' (CD, entry for *nuhung*)

A few adverbs can evidently occur at the left edge of the clause or immediately after the predicate; these include *diripenti* 'suddenly', *siempri* 'surely, certainly (used to indicate certain future)', and *tengnga* 'usually, often'.

(23) a. Yanggin   tåya'   bittut-ña   i   taotåo, pues
       if   AGR.not.exist   virtue-AGR the person then
       siempri   chaddik   tumai   pasensia.
       surely   AGR.fast   AGR.INF.not.have   patience
       'If a person does not have virtue, then he quickly becomes impatient.' (CD, entry for *bittut*)

   b. Måttu   **siempri**   si   Kunggresun   Kilili'   gi
      AGR.arrive surely   UNM   congressman.L Kilili'   LCL
      mamamaila'na   simåna.
      coming   L   week
      'Congressman Kilili' will arrive this coming week.' (CD, entry for *mámamaila' na simåna*)

Finally, some adverbs can occur in all three locations: at the left edge of the clause, immediately after the predicate, and at the right edge of the clause. Some of these adverbs are listed below.

(24)   ADVERBS THAT OCCUR WHEREVER ADJUNCTS CAN OCCUR
        adumídidi'   'little by little'
        åntis   'before'
        buenti   'maybe, perhaps, possibly'
        dispues   'later'
        esta   'already'
        fine'nena   'first'
        lámu'na   'tonight'

lokkui'	'also'
på'gu	'now'
sessu	'often'
trabiha	'yet'

This freedom of occurrence is illustrated in (25) for *buenti* 'maybe, perhaps, possibly'.

(25)a. **Buenti** ti siña mafa'besti esti i
  maybe not can AGR.PASS.make.into.decoration this the
  butonsiyu.
  plant.sp
  'Maybe this *butonsiyu* plant cannot be used for decoration.' (CD, entry for *butonsiyu*)

 b. Siña ha' **buenti** mafa'åmut i
  can EMP maybe AGR.PASS.make.into.medicine the
  cha'guan kakaguetis.
  plant.sp.
  'Maybe the *chå'guan kakaguetis* could be used for medicine.' (CD, entry for *chå'guan kakaguetis*)

 c. Para u uchan **buenti**.
  FUT AGR rain maybe
  'Maybe it's going to rain.' (CD, entry for *buenti*)

 d. Nahung ha' esta nengkanu' **buenti**.
  AGR.enough EMP already food maybe
  'Maybe there's enough food already.' (CD, entry for *buenti*)

18.5   Adverb meaning and word order

To what extent can the word order possibilities of an adverb be predicted from its meaning? Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about how adverbs are ordered relative to one another in Chamorro. But if we focus on the location of adverbs with respect to the predicate or edges of the clause, some interesting trends emerge.

Adverbs of direction or location in space occur immediately after the predicate or at the right edge of the clause.

Manner adverbs generally occur immediately after the predicate, even when they do not combine with it to form a phonological word. One exception is the adverb *chaddik* 'fast', which has a wider distribution: it can occur immediately after the predicate or at the right edge of the clause; see (16b) and (5c).

Adverbs of degree or extent usually occur at the left edge of the clause. However, *mampus* 'so (much), extremely, too (much)' can also occur immediately after the predicate or at the right edge of the clause (see 25.2.1). See (26).

(26)a. **Mampus**   maipi   i   ha'åni.
   so.much   *AGR.hot the day*
   'The day is very hot.' (CD, entry for *ha'åni*)

   b. Mahettuk   **mampus**   i   fina'tinås-ña   si   Alice
   AGR.hard   so.much   the WH[OBJ].make-AGR   UNM   Alice
   na   guyuriha.
   L   sugar.biscuit
   'The sugar-coated biscuit that Alice made is very hard.' (CD, entry for *guyuriha*)

   c. Ha gogof   guåfi   yu' si   Jose   **mampus**.
   AGR very   make.angry.PROG   me UNM   Jose   so.much
   'Jose is agitating me so much.' (CD, entry for *guåfi*)

Modal adverbs generally occur at the left edge of the clause, except that *siempri* 'certainly, surely' can also occur immediately after the predicate (as in (23)), and *buenti* 'maybe, perhaps, possibly' can occur wherever adjuncts are allowed (25).

It is harder to generalize about the word order of other types of adverbs. Many time adverbs (e.g. *åntis* 'before', *dispues* 'later', *på'gu* 'now') can occur in all three locations available to adjuncts. But the time adverb *hagas* 'gone, past, in the past, for a long while' apparently must occur at the left edge of the clause (see (5b)), and *kuntiempu* 'ahead of time, beforehand' apparently must occur somewhere to the right of the predicate.

Aspectual adverbs, too, are diverse in their word order possibilities. The adverb *nåya* 'for awhile, yet' apparently must occur somewhere to the right of the predicate (see (22c-d)), but *trabiha* 'still, yet' can occur in all three locations available to adjuncts.[1]

(27)a. **Trabiha**   ti   mama'titinas   si   nåna   sena.
   yet   not AGR.ANTIP.make.PROG   UNM   mother dinner
   'Mother has not cooked dinner yet.' (CD, entry for *trabiha*)

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[1] Both adverbs can occur under the scope of negation. Both can also occur in affirmative sentences. The word order possibilities described for them in the text appear to hold in affirmative as well as negative sentences.

b. Ti ha payuyuni **trabiha** i ga'lågu i sagå-ña.
   not AGR *used.to.*PROG *yet the dog the place-*AGR
   'The dog is not accustomed to his place yet.' (CD, entry for *payuni*)
c. Mama'ya ha' **trabiha** i hinassok-ku håyi
   AGR.*indecisive* EMP *still the* NMLZ.*think-*AGR *who?*
   para bai hu bota.
   FUT AGR *vote*
   'My mind is still indecisive on who to vote for.' (CD, entry for
   måma'ya)
d. Ti hu o'oppi i kattan Russel **trabiha**.
   not AGR *answer.*PROG *the letter.*L *Russel yet*
   'I have not responded to Russel's letter yet.' (CD, entry for *oppi*)

Sessu 'often' can occur in all three locations available to adjuncts. However,
tengnga 'usually, often' seems to occur only at the left edge of the clause or
immediately after the predicate. Compare (28a) with (28b-c).

(28)a. Geftåo si Cornelio ni taotåo siha yan
       AGR.*generous* UNM *Cornelius* OBL *person* PL *and*
       mananayuyut as Yu'us **sessu**.
       AGR.ANTIP.*pray.*PROG OBL *God often*
       'Cornelius was generous to the people and prayed to God often.'
       (NT 230)
   b. **Tengnga** un butleha i taotåo, pues uttimon-ña
      often AGR *mock the person then end-*AGR
      asaguå-mu.
      *spouse-*AGR
      'Oftentimes you mock the person, then you end up being their
      spouse (lit. in the end s/he is your spouse).' (CD, entry for *tengnga*)
   c. Måmamfuk yu' **tengnga** kottut para
      AGR.ANTIP.*weave.*PROG *I often basket for*
      sagan måma'.
      *container.*L *betelnut*
      'I usually weave baskets for betelnut mix containers.' (CD, entry for
      måmfuk)

Although the word order possibilities illustrated above are real, the
status of the tentative generalizations they suggest remains to be determined.
This is an area where further investigation is clearly needed.

19

COORDINATION

In coordination, two constituents of the same type are combined with a conjunction, such as *yan* 'and' or *pat* 'or', to form a larger constituent. Coordination can be used to form sentences, words, and various types of phrases. The plural pronoun construction is used to form noun phrases with meanings similar to coordinate noun phrases.

19.1   Overview

In coordination, two constituents of the same type are combined with a conjunction, such as *yan* 'and' or *pat* 'or', to form a larger constituent. The two constituents that are combined, called *conjuncts*, can be two sentences, two words from the same part of speech, or two phrases of the same type— two noun phrases, for instance. The two conjuncts and the conjunction, which occurs between them, form a larger constituent called a *coordinate structure*. A coordinate structure is always a constituent of the same type as the conjuncts from which it is formed: it is a sentence if its conjuncts are sentences, a predicate phrase if its conjuncts are predicate phrases, a verb if its conjuncts are verbs, and so on. Some coordinate structures are illustrated below. (1a) contains a coordinate sentence; (1b), a coordinate verb; and (1c), a coordinate noun phrase. (The conjuncts in the examples are enclosed in brackets.)

(1) a. [Para   u   guaha gera]   ya   [dispues   para   u
         FUT   AGR exist   war   and.then   then   FUT   AGR
         måtai   i   finene'na   na   asaguå-ña].
         die   the first   L   spouse-AGR
         'There would be a war and then her first husband would die.' (EM 102)
    b. Ti   para   u   [masångan] pat [matungu'] ni   ottru.
        not FUT   AGR PASS.say   or PASS.know   OBL other
        'It will not be said or known by another person.' (EM 124)
    c. Esta   manmamaigu' [i mañe'lun Rosa]   yan   [i
        already AGR.sleep.PROG the PL.sibling.L Rosa   and   the

mañaina-ña].
PL.parent-AGR
'Rosa's siblings and her parents were already asleep.' (Cooreman 1983: 28)

Coordinate structures can be formed from more than two conjuncts. Then a conjunction occurs between the last two conjuncts; other conjuncts may have a conjunction between them, or may be separated from one another merely by intonation or pauses (indicated by commas in the orthography). See (2).

(2)   Mafa'titinas   i   agi   gi   måsan [aga'],
       AGR.PASS.make.PROG   the fruit.liquor LCL ripe.L banana
       [piña],   yan   [ottru   na   frutas   siha].
       pineapple   and   other   L   fruits   PL
       'Fruit liquor is made from ripe bananas, pineapple, and other ripe fruits.' (CD, entry for *agi*)

Coordinate structures with multiple conjuncts are usually assumed to be formed by the repeated combination of pairs of constituents to form larger coordinate structures. In (2), for instance, the noun phrase *aga'* 'bananas' might first be combined with the noun phrase *piña* 'pineapple' to form a coordinate noun phrase that is then combined with the noun phrase *ottru na frutas siha* 'other fruits' to form an even larger coordinate noun phrase. (Another possibility is that the noun phrase *piña* might first be combined with *ottru na frutas siha* to form a coordinate noun phrase that is then combined with *aga'*.)

This chapter begins by describing the Chamorro conjunctions (in 19.2) and then goes on to discuss the coordination of sentences (19.3), words (19.4), and phrases (19.5). After that, the word order of sentences with coordinate verb phrases is discussed (in 19.6). Finally, 19.7 is devoted to comitative constructions, including the plural pronoun construction, which creates noun phrases with meanings similar to coordinate noun phrases.

19.2   Conjunctions

Chamorro has five conjunctions that are used in coordination. These coordinating conjunctions are listed in (3).

(3)   COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS
      låo   'but'
      o sino   'or (else)' (sometimes written as a single
                                        word, *osino*)
      pat   'or'
      ya   'and (then)'
      yan   'and'

These conjunctions differ in distribution and meaning. Specifically:

The conjunctions *yan* 'and', *pat* 'or', and *o sino* 'or (else)' are used to combine sentences, words from the same part of speech, or phrases of the same type. *Ya* 'and (then)' can be used to combine sentences or predicate phrases. *Låo* 'but' is generally used only to combine sentences.

The meaning of *låo* 'but' involves contrast, but the meaning of *yan* 'and' does not. In (4a), *låo* draws an explicit contrast between the degree to which I am derisive and the degree to which you are derisive, but in (4b), *yan* does not explicitly contrast land rocks with ocean rocks—the sentence merely states that both types of rocks exist.

(4) a.   [Siña   ha'   butlon   yu'],   **låo** [butlonña
       can   *EMP*   *AGR.derisive*   *I*   *but AGR.derisive.COMPAR*
       håo].
       you
       'I can be derisive, but you are more derisive.' (CD, entry for *butlón*)
  b.   [Guaha   åtchu' tånu'] **yan**   [guaha   åtchu'   tåsi].
       AGR.exist *rock.L land   and*   *AGR.exist* *rock.L ocean*
       'There are land rocks and there are ocean rocks.' (CD, entry for *åtchu'*)

Both *ya* and *yan* are conjunctive—their meaning is 'and'—and both can be used to combine sentences or verb phrases. But when the events described by the conjuncts are ordered in time, with one preceding the other, the conjunction used is *ya*. In such cases, the conjunct on the left—preceding *ya*—describes the event that occurs first. In (5), for instance, the old woman's arrival at the healer's house precedes her request for treatment.

(5)   [Måttu   un biha]   **ya**   [ha fafaisin   si
      AGR.arrive a old.woman and.then   AGR ask.PROG   UNM
      nanå-hu   kåo siña   inamti   gui'   ta'lu].
      mother-AGR Q   can   AGR.PASS.heal   she   again

'An elder lady came and she was asking my mother if she could treat her again.' (LSS 355-356)

The uses of *ya* and *yan* are discussed further in 19.3.

Both *pat* and *o sino* are disjunctive—their meaning is 'or'—but *o sino* indicates exclusive disjunction, whereas *pat* indicates inclusive disjunction. In exclusive disjunction, the conjuncts describe alternatives that are mutually exclusive—they cannot both be true at the same time. This type of disjunction corresponds roughly to 'either one or the other, not both'. Inclusive disjunction allows for the possibility that both alternatives might be true. The difference can be seen in the examples below. In (6a), *o sino* is used because the alternatives described by the two sentences are mutually exclusive: either you pay the debt, in which case you aren't fined, or else you are fined, because you didn't pay the debt. But in (6b), *pat* is used, because the disjunction is inclusive—a person can change himself, change his actions, or both. Similarly, *pat* is used to form the coordinate verb in (6c) because the activities described by the conjuncts—marking or tearing the catechism book—are *not* mutually exclusive. Notice that the coordinate verb in (6c) is contained within one conjunct of a coordinate sentence. This coordinate sentence is formed with *o sino*, because its conjuncts describe mutually exclusive alternatives—either you didn't deface the catechism book, or else you were fined, but not both.

(6) a. [Apåsi i   dibi-mu]   **o sino** [un mana'mutta].
     pay   the debt-AGR   or   AGR PASS.make.fined
     'Pay your debt or you will be fined.' (CD, entry for *o sinó*)
 b. Dinira   tiempu asta   ki [ha tulaika gui'] **pat** [ha
     AGR.PASS.take   time   until   PRT AGR change him   or   AGR
     tulaika i   håfa   ha chocho'gui].
     change the any   AGR do.PROG
     'It takes time until he changes himself or he changes whatever he is doing.' (EM 124)
 c. Åntis   lokkui' [ti siña   [un måtka] **pat** [un titik]   i
     before also   not can   AGR mark   or AGR tear   the
     katisismu]   **osino** [mana'fanapåsi   håo].
     catechism.book or   AGR.PASS.make.ANTIP.pay   you
     'In the past, you couldn't mark or tear the catechism book, or else you'd pay a fine' (CD, entry for *katisismu*)

O sino is sometimes translated as 'or else' or 'otherwise'.

19.3   Coordination of sentences

All the coordinate conjunctions listed in (3) can be used to form coordinate sentences. Some examples are cited below.

(7) a. [Sen   puti   mangguaiya] / **Låo**
      AGR.extremely   hurt   AGR.ANTIP.love   but
      [putiña   ti   maguaiya].
      AGR.hurt.COMPAR   not AGR.PASS.love
      'Loving really hurts, / But not being loved hurts more.' (EM 30)
   b. [Måolik   na   humånåo   yu' para i   espitåt] **o sino**
      AGR.good   COMP   AGR.go   I   to   the hospital or
      [måtai yu' gi   talu'åni].
      AGR.die I   LCL afternoon
      'It was good that I went to the hospital or else I'd be dead in the afternoon.' (CD, entry for *måolik*)
   c. ... kåo makonni'   i   haggan ni ottru   peskadot] **pat**
        Q   AGR.PASS.take   the turtle OBL other   fisherman   or
      [maleffa   ni   håfa   i   sinangån-ña].
      AGR.forget   OBL what? the WH[OBJ].say-AGR
      '[He thought about] whether the turtle was caught by another fisherman or it had forgotten about what it had said.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

   Note that coordinate sentences can be formed with *yan* 'and' or *ya* 'and (then)', but there is a difference. When *yan* is used, the coordination is symmetric: the conjuncts are equal in status. These conjuncts can generally be reversed with no change in the meaning of the larger structure: a coordinate structure [X and Y] will be synonymous with the reversed version [Y and X]. This holds true for the coordinate sentences in (4b) and (8), which are formed with *yan*. For instance, if the conjuncts in (8a) are reversed, so that *håfa magagugu-ña* 'what dress she was wearing' precedes the conjunction, and *håfa pañuñu-ña* 'what scarf she was wearing' follows the conjunction, the result will have the same meaning as (8a).[1]

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[1] If one conjunct contains a noun phrase that is the antecedent of a pronoun in the other conjunct, as in (8c), reversing the two conjuncts may break the antecedent-pronoun relation (see 26.3.1). Consequently, antecedent-pronoun relations should be ignored when using reversibility of conjuncts as a test for symmetric coordination.

(8) a. Ha sångan ha'   ta'lu   [håfa   pañuñu-ña]   **yan**
    AGR say   EMP   again   what?   scarf-AGR.PROG   and
    [håfa   magagugu-ña].
    what?   clothes-AGR.PROG
    'She said again what scarf she was wearing and what dress she was
    wearing.' (Cooreman 1983: 180)

  b. Hunggan,   [listu   gui']   **yan**   [kunfotmi   gui'
    yes   AGR.ready   he   and   AGR.agree   he
    na   para   u   asagua].
    COMP   FUT   AGR marry
    'Yes, he was ready and he agreed that they would be married.'
    (Cooreman 1982: 7)

  c. [Dikiki' na   tinanum   i   anilis]   **yan**   [siña
    small   L   plant   the anil   and   can
    masodda'   gi   kantun   chålan].
    AGR.PASS.find   LCL edge.L   road
    'The anil is a small plant and it can be found on roadsides.' (CD,
    entry for *anilis*)

But when *ya* is used, the coordination is asymmetric—the conjuncts are
unequal in status. The conjuncts in asymmetric coordination cannot be re-
versed without changing the meaning of the larger structure.

    In Chamorro and other languages, the most common type of asymmetric
coordination involves ordering in time: the event described by one conjunct
precedes the event described by the other conjunct. In such cases, the con-
junct on the left—which precedes *ya*—describes the event that occurs first.
(If the two events overlap in time, the conjunct on the left describes the
event that begins first.) See (5) and the following.

(9) a. [Palaspas   i   laña]   **ya**   [tininu   si
    AGR.splash   the oil   and.then   AGR.PASS.burn   UNM
    Magdalena] anai   ha   afliflitu   i   guihan.
    Magdalena when   AGR fry.PROG   the   fish
    'The oil splashed and it burned Magdalena when she was frying the
    fish.' (CD, entry for *palaspas*)

  b. [Hu si'uk   i   babui]   **ya**   [måtai].
    AGR stab   the   pig   and.then   AGR.die
    'I stabbed the pig and it died.' (CD, entry for *si'uk*)

    Asymmetric coordination can involve other types of relations. The event
described by one conjunct might be the cause of the event described by the

other conjunct. In such cases, the conjunct on the left describes the event that is the cause.

(10)a. Todu   i   notchi [humåohåo i   ga'långu]   **ya**   [ti
     all   the night AGR.bark the dog   and.then   not
     siña   yu' dumiskånsa].
     can   I   AGR.rest
     'All night long a dog barked and I couldn't rest.' (CD, entry for
     notchi)

    b. Gof   ñañu'   i   machetti **ya**   [ti siña ha
     AGR.very dull   the machete and.then not can   AGR
     utut i   hayu].
     cut   the wood
     'The machete is very dull and it cannot chop the wood.' (CD, entry
     for *ñañu'*)

The event described by one conjunct might be the result of the event described by the other conjunct. In such cases the conjunct on the right—which follows *ya*—describes the event that is the result.

(11)   [Hu tufung i   salåppi']   **ya**   [guaha   sitenta
     AGR count the money   and.then   AGR.exist   seventy
     pesus   sopplu].
     dollars AGR.remain
     'I counted the money and there's seventy dollars left over.' (CD,
     entry for *sitenta sopplu*)

The event described by one conjunct might be the purpose of the event described by the other conjunct. In such cases, the conjunct on the right describes the event that is the purpose.

(12)a. [Hu na'setbi i   pala] **ya**   [hu guadduk i   hoyu
     AGR use   the spade and.then   AGR dig   the hole
     para   i   tinanom-hu].
     for   the plant-AGR
     I used the spade to dig the hole for my plants.' (CD, entry for *påla*)

    b. [To'hi tres   gota   na ketchap] **ya**   [u
     put   three   drop   L soy.sauce and.then   AGR
     nina'i   kulot].
     PASS.give   color
     'Add three drops of soy sauce to give it color.' (CD, entry for *to'hi*)

A conjunct that contains an imperative verb or adjective (see 15.2.1) might state a condition that must be fulfilled for the event described by the other conjunct to occur. In such cases, the conjunct on the left states the condition.

(13)　[Fåttu　mågi　agupa']　**ya**　[bai hu　nå'i　håo ni
　　　arrive　to.here　tomorrow　and.then　AGR　give　you OBL
　　　malago'-mu].
　　　WH[OBL].want-AGR
　　　'Come back tomorrow and I will give what you want.' (CD, entry
　　　for *mågi*)

These types of asymmetric coordination are similar in meaning to complex sentences containing an adverbial clause (see 20.4).

In Chamorro, asymmetric coordination can express other meanings as well. Conditional sentences in which the adverb *piot* 'especially' modifies the antecedent clause (the adverbial clause introduced by e.g. *yanggin* 'if') can apparently be paraphrased with asymmetric coordination. In such cases, the conjunct on the right is preceded by *piot*, and states the condition. Compare the conditional sentence in (14a) with the asymmetric coordination in (14b).

(14)a.　Makkat　esti　i　kahun　ramenta,　piot　　yanggin
　　　AGR.heavy　this　the box.L　tool　especially　if
　　　bula　　sinahguan-ña.
　　　AGR.full　contents-AGR
　　　'This toolbox is very heavy, especially if it is full.' (CD, entry for
　　　kåhun ramenta)
　　b.　[Månngi'　mangångas　i　tipu],　piot
　　　AGR.delicious　AGR.PASS.chew　the sugar.cane　especially
　　　ya　[mamis].
　　　and.then　AGR.sweet
　　　'It is good to chew on the sugar cane, especially if the juice is
　　　sweet.' (CD, entry for *tupu*)

Exclamatives and related constructions (see 15.3) in which an interjection is followed by an embedded clause can be paraphrased with asymmetric coordination. Compare the exclamative in (15a) and the asymmetric coordination in (15b).

(15)a.　Ohala　　na　yanggin gumuaha　salappe'-hu, bai hu　siña
　　　hopefully　COMP　if　AGR.exist　money-AGR AGR　can

humånåo   para Amerika.
AGR.go   to   America
'I wish that, if I have money, I could go to the U.S. mainland.' (CD, entry for *óhala*)

b. [Ohala] **ya**   [manggånna   yu' gi lottery].
hopefully and.then   AGR.ANTIP.win   I   LCL lottery
'I wish that I could win the lottery.' (CD, entry for *óhala*)

Finally, asymmetric coordination can be used to paraphrase some types of complex sentences in which a verb has an argument that is realized as an embedded clause. Compare the complex sentence in (16a), in which the embedded clause is an argument of the verb *sangåni* 'say to, tell', with the asymmetric coordination in (16b).

(16)a. Sangåni   si   Tihu-mu   yan   Tihå-mu,   na
say.to   UNM   uncle-AGR   and   aunt-AGR   COMP
cha'-ñiha   u   fanluluhan.
better.not-AGR   AGR AGR.afraid.PROG
'Tell your Uncle and Aunt that they shouldn't be afraid.' (EM 101)

b. [Sangåni   si   Ann]   **ya**   [mungnga
say.to   UNM   Ann   and.then   don't
pumaspas   gi   satgi].
AGR.splash   LCL floor
'Tell Ann not to splash on the floor.' (CD, entry for *paspas*)

Individual speakers vary in whether they prefer to use embedded clauses or asymmetric coordination in sentences such as (14-16). Further investigation of these constructions is needed.

19.4   Coordination of words

The conjunctions *yan* 'and', *pat* 'or', and *o sino* 'or (else)' can be used to combine words from the same part of speech. Coordinate structures of this type are typically formed from nouns, verbs, or adjectives. The sentences in (17) illustrate a coordinate noun (in (17a)), a coordinate verb with multiple conjuncts (17b), and a coordinate adjective (17c).

(17)a. Gi kada   [siudå] **o sino** [songsung] ni   manmåttu
LCL each   city   or   village   COMP   AGR.arrive
hamyu ispiha i   taotåo ...
you.PL look.for the person

'In each city or village that you (pl.) enter, look for the person...'
(NT 10)

b. Månngi'   an [matunu],   [ma'aflitu],   **pat**
    AGR.delicious   *if* *AGR.PASS.burn*   *AGR.PASS.fry*   *or*
    [ma'eskabebetchi].
    AGR.PASS.make.into.eskabetchi.PROG
    '[Fish] is delicious when it's grilled, fried, or made into *eskabetchi*.'
    (EM 75)

c. I   akangkang [måolik]   **yan**   [fresku] na åmut.
    the plant.sp   good   and   fresh   L medicine
    'The *akangkang* is a good and fresh herbal medicine.' (CD, entry
    for *akangkang*)

Coordinate structures can also be formed from adverbs (as in (18a)), numer-
als (18b), or interjections (18c).

(18)a. Siña   ha'   manmåttu [på'gu] **o sino** [agupa'].
        can   *EMP*   *AGR.arrive* *now*   *or*   *tomorrow*
        'They can come now or tomorrow.'

b. Sumai i   dengding gi hanum [tres]   **pat** [kuåttru]
    soak   *the snail*   *LCL water*   *three*   *or four*
    mes.
    months
    'Soak the snail in water for three or four months.' (CD, entry for
    dengdeng)

c. Oppi   [åhi']   **pat** [hunggan].
    answer no   *or yes*
    'Answer no or yes.' (CD, entry for *åhi'*)

Coordinate structures are rarely, if ever, formed from determiners, preposi-
tions, tense-aspect-mood markers, and the like.

Typically, each conjunct has its own inflection in coordinate structures
of this type. Conjuncts that are verbs or predicate adjectives are each marked
for aspect, mood, and agreement with the subject (see 2.2).

(19)a. Asta   på'gu ha'   [manmamaigu'] **yan**   [mandiskåkansa]
        until   *now*   *EMP*   *AGR.sleep.PROG* *and*   *AGR.rest.PROG*
        hamyu?
        you.PL
        'Are you (pl.) still sleeping and resting?' (NT 53)

b. [Hu toktuk] **yan** [hu chiku] si nåna anai
   AGR hug   and   AGR kiss   UNM   mother when
   måttu   manbisita.
   AGR.arrive AGR.INF.ANTIP.visit
   'I hugged and kissed grandma whan she came to visit.' (CD, entry
   for *toktuk*)

Conjuncts that are possessed nouns each show agreement with the possessor when the agreement option is chosen (see 7.1.1).

(20)   San Miget, guåtdian   i   [anti-ta]   **yan**   [tatåotåo-ta].
       St. Michael guardian.L the soul-AGR   and   body-AGR
       'St. Michael, guardian of our (incl.) souls and bodies.' (CD, entry
       for *anti*)

    Two exceptions should be noted. First, when transitive verbs are coordinated, speakers sometimes allow the person-and-number forms of agreement to occur just once, preceding the conjunct on the left. In such cases, the constituent that shows agreement with the subject is apparently the entire coordinate verb. Compare (19b) with the sentences in (21).

(21)a. Ha [arekla]   **yan**   [na'gåtbu] si   Meng i   lugåt
      AGR arrange   and   make.pretty UNM Meng the place.L
      i   giput.
      the party
      'Meng arranged and beautified the party place.' (CD, entry for
      na'gåtbu)
   b. Siña   un [tunu]   **osino** [kåddun niyuk]   i
      can   AGR barbeque or   make.into.coconut.soup the
      aliling tulompu.
      crochus
      'You can grill or make coconut milk soup with crochus.' (CD, entry
      for *aliling tulompu*)

Second, when possessed nouns are coordinated and the linker option is chosen, or when nouns are coordinated and then combined with a following modifier, the linker is not realized on every conjunct (see 7.1.1). Instead, it appears just once, suffixed to the conjunct on the right, as shown below.

(22)a. Ta prutehi i [kuttura]   **yan**   [lingguåhin] islan   Saipan.
      AGR protect the culture   and   language.L island.L Saipan

'Let's (incl.) protect the culture and language of the island of Saipan.' (CD, entry for *Saipan*)

b. Ti manhonggi ni håyi na espiritu fuera di i
not AGR.ANTIP.believe not any L spirit except PRT the
[guella] **yan** [guellun] Chamorro ha'.
grandmother and grandfather.L Chamorro EMP
'He does not believe in any spirit except his Chamorro ancestors.' (CD, entry for *moru*)

These exceptions probably have phonological explanations. (i) The forms of agreement for transitive verbs are usually treated as proclitics rather than affixes (see 2.2.2.1). This suggests that they have some phonological independence from the word they are attached to. That independence may make it possible for the agreement in (21) to be exhibited by the entire coordinate verb, as opposed to the individual verb words from which it is formed. (In contrast, the agreement forms in (19a) are affixes, and agreement must occur on both conjuncts.) (ii) The post-head form of the linker turns the noun into a phonologically dependent element that must combine with material to its right to form a phonological word (see 7.1.1, 7.3.1, and 7.3.2). For that to happen, the noun must be next to the material it combines with—a requirement that is met by the conjunct on the right in a coordinate noun, but not by the conjunct on the left.

19.5 Coordination of phrases

All the coordinating conjunctions except *låo* 'but' are used in the coordination of phrases. The phrases that are combined must be of the same type— for instance, two noun phrases—or serve the same function—for instance, two predicate phrases. Because a phrase can consist of a word or more than one word, some coordinate structures can be analyzed as involving coordination of words *or* coordination of phrases. In (23), the conjuncts could be analyzed as two adjectives or two adjective phrases.

(23) Manparehu todu i taotåo gi matan Yu'us maseha håo
AGR.equal all the person LCL eye.L God whether you
[åttilung] **pat** [å'paka'].
AGR.black or AGR.white
'All people are equal in the eyes of God whether you are black or white.' (CD, entry for *å'paka'*)

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Most of the examples discussed below unambiguously involve coordination of phrases.

Some examples of coordination of phrases are given below. Consider the coordinate noun phrases in (24a) and (24b), the coordinate prepositional phrase in (24c), the coordinate adjective phrase in (24d), and the coordinate verb phrase in (24e).

(24)a. Istååba   giya   Tinian [un tåt   Johnson] **yan**
        AGR.used.to.be *LCL* *Tinian* *a* *certain* *Johnson* *and*
        [i familiån-ña].
        the family-AGR
        'There was on Tinian a certain Johnson and his family.' (CD, entry
        for *tåt*)

    b. Yanggin   [i kannai-mu] **o sino** [i addeng-mu]
        if   *the hand-AGR* *or*   *the foot-AGR*
        numa'lalachi   håo ...
        WH[SBJ].make.wrong.PROG   *you*
        'If your hand or your foot makes you stumble...' (NT 34)

    c. I   matdision   na palåbra makkat   para   uta hunguk
        the curse   *L word* *AGR.hard* *FUT*   *AGR hear*
        [ginin i mañaina   siha] **pat** [ginin ottru   tåotåo].
        from   the PL.parent PL   *or* *from   other   person*
        'A curse is hard for us (incl.) to hear from parents or from other
        people.' (CD, entry for *matdisión*)

    d. I   gualåfun   i   pilan   gi paingi   [sen
        the full.moon.L the moon *LCL last.night* *AGR.extremely*
        ma'lak] **yan** [gof   ridondu].
        bright *and* *AGR.very*   *round*
        'The full moon last night was extremely bright and very round.'
        (CD, entry for *ridondu*)

    e. [Malaksiyi   magågu] **ya**
        AGR.PASS.sew.for *clothes* *and.then*
        [mana'minagågu]   si   Santa   Maria.
        AGR.PASS.make.clothed *UNM* *Santa*   *Maria*
        'The blessed Mary had clothes sewn for her and was clothed.'
        (Cooreman 1982: 25)

Independent pronouns can serve as conjuncts in a coordinate noun phrase, but weak pronouns and null pronouns cannot. Compare (25a) with (25b). (However, weak pronouns and null pronouns can serve as heads of the plural pronoun construction; see 19.7.)

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(25)a. [Hågu] **yan** [guåhu] para u pinenta i liga.
    you   and   me   FUT   AGR PASS.paint the wall
    'You and me are going to paint the wall.' (CD, entry for *guåhu*)
   b. *Kåo mo'na [håo] **pat** [yu']?
    Q   AGR.ahead you   or   I
    ('Are you or I ahead?')

When noun phrases are coordinated, it is possible for both conjuncts, or just the conjunct on the left, to be marked for case. The options are illustrated for the unmarked case in (26) and the local case in (27).

(26)a. Ha konni' si Jesus [si Pedro], [si Santiago]
    AGR take   UNM Jesus UNM   Peter UNM   James
    yan [si Juan].
    and   UNM   John
    'Jesus took Peter, James, and John.' (NT 77-78)
   b. Ha konni' si [Pedro], [Santiago], **yan** [Juan].
    AGR take   UNM   Peter   James   and   John
    'He took Peter, and James, and John.' (NT 91)
(27)a. I saina i mås takkilu' na sasatba [gi tanu'] **yan**
    the parent the most   high   L   savior LCL earth   and
    [gi langit].
    LCL heaven
    'The lord is our highest savior on earth and in heaven.' (CD, entry for *sásatba*)
   b. Todu i guaha gi [tanu'] yan [i tasi]
    all   the AGR.exist LCL earth   and   the ocean
    nina'huyung Yu'us.
    WH[OBJ].create.L   God
    'All that there is in land and water was created by God.' (CD, entry for *nina'huyung*)

Although the case markers combine with a following definite article (as in (27b)), they—like the articles—are best viewed as proclitics rather than affixes (see 5.1.1.1). This degree of phonological independence may make it possible for case marking to appear either on each conjunct or on the entire coordinate noun phrase. (See the discussion of agreement on coordinate transitive verbs in 19.4.)

Finally, predicate phrases of different types can be coordinated. In (28), the conjunct on the left is a verb phrase and the conjunct on the right is an adjective phrase.

(28)　[Tai　　　　　pasiensia]　yan　[se'kanai]　i　taotåo
　　　AGR.not.have　patience　　and　　AGR.violent　the　person
　　　ya　　　　　put　　　　ennåo　na　　mapresu.
　　　and.then　　because.of　that　　COMP　AGR.PASS.imprison
　　　'The man had no patience and was prone to violence and because of
　　　that he was imprisoned.' (CD, entry for *se'kanai*)

Presumably, this type of coordination is allowed because the two phrases
have the same function: both serve as predicates.

19.6　Coordinate verb phrases and word order

The coordination of verb phrases and other predicate phrases interacts with
the word order of the subject. As described earlier (in 3.4.1.1), when the
predicate is a verb or adjective, the order of arguments following it is flex-
ible. The dominant word order of clauses of this type is: *Predicate Subject
Object Obliques*, but the subject frequently occurs in other positions, such as
at the right edge of the clause or immediately after the object.

　　When the predicate is a coordinate verb phrase or a coordinate adjective
phrase, the subject can appear after the entire coordinate structure; see (24e)
and the following. (The subject is underlined in the examples below.)

(29)a.　[Ma　　fa'gåsi siha]　**ya**　　　　[manminagågu] <u>palu　　na</u>
　　　　AGR　wash　them　and.then　AGR.get.dressed　some　L
　　　　<u>famagu'un</u>.
　　　　PL.child
　　　　'Some children washed themselves and dressed.'
　　b.　... esta ki [mamåra　mañålik]　**pat** [mamåra　mañatfinu']
　　　　　until PRT AGR.stop　AGR.laugh　or　AGR.stop　　AGR.swear
　　　　<u>i　　sindålu</u>.
　　　　the　soldier
　　　　'... until the soldiers stopped laughing or stopped swearing.'
　　　　(Cooreman 1982: 26)

The subject can also appear inside the conjunct on the left—for instance,
immediately after the verb or adjective of that conjunct, as in (30).[2]

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[2] In the text, (30b) and (30c) are analyzed as containing coordinate predicate
phrases. These examples can also be analyzed as containing coordinate sen-
tences. (In this other analysis, the conjunct on the right is a sentence with a

(30)a. Ti siña   [apmam   tumalakhiyung <u>i   palåo'an</u>   gi
     not can   AGR.long   AGR.face.out   the woman   LCL
    bintåna]   **pat** [tumohgi   lamitå karera gi petta].
    window   or   AGR.stand   half   journey LCL door
    'The woman should not stand too long by a window or stop
    momentarily on her way out the door.' (*Fafa'ñague* 77)

    b. [Ha bira   gui'   <u>si   Santa Maria</u>] **ya**   [ha
       AGR turn   her   UNM   Santa Maria   and.then   AGR
       fåna'   i   liga].
       face   the wall
       'Blessed Mary turned around and faced the wall.' (Cooreman 1982:
       26)

    c. Håfa,   [matuhuk   <u>håo</u>],   **pat** [magå'an]?
       what? AGR.sleepy   you   or AGR.awake
       'What, are you sleepy or awake?' (CD, entry for *magå'an*)

More surprisingly, the subject can appear inside the conjunct on the right—
for instance, immediately after the verb or adjective of that conjunct. This
option is illustrated below.

(31)a. Ti debi   na   [u gimin cha]   **pat** [u chotchu   <u>i</u>
     not should COMP AGR drink   tea   or AGR ANTIP.eat   the
    <u>patgon-mu</u> pika   na nengkanu'].
    child-AGR   spicy   L   food
    'Your child should not drink tea or eat spicy food.'

    b. [Ha matdisi] **ya**   [ilek-ña <u>si   nanå-ña</u> as
       AGR curse   and.then   say-AGR UNM   mother-AGR OBL
       Sirena   ...]
       Sirena
       'Her mother cursed her and said to Sirena...' (Cooreman 1983: 41)

    c. Sessu   yu' masailagu' yanggin [piniti]   **pat** [mahålang <u>yu'</u>
       often   I AGR.weep   if   AGR.sad   or AGR.lonely I
       nu i   famagu'on-hu].
       OBL the PL.child-AGR
       'I often weep when I'm sad or feel lonely for my children.' (CD,
       entry for *masailågu'*)

See Chung (1998: 133-141) for further discussion of these patterns.

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null pronoun subject.) Notice that the intended meaning of (30a) rules out an
alternative analysis involving coodinate sentences.

19.7 Comitative constructions

19.7.1 Comitative prepositional phrases
The coordinating conjunction *yan* 'and' is homophonous with the comitative preposition *yan*, which means '(together) with, in the company of'. Some uses of this preposition are illustrated below.

(32)a. Sessu pumasehu si Mång para Guam [**yan**
     often   *AGR.travel* *UNM* *Herman* *to* *Guam* *with*
     i che'lu-ña as Francisco].
     the sibling-AGR OBL Francisco
     'Herman often travels to Guam with his brother Francisco.' (CD, entry for *Mång*)

    b. Parehu [**yan** atyu i esta ha sångan si
     AGR.same *with* *that* *the* *already* *AGR say* *UNM*
     Isaias] ...
     Isaiah
     'It is the same as what Isaiah foretold...' (NT 286)

    c. Chuli' i singku ya un muttiplika [**yan**
     take *the* *five* *and.then* *AGR multiply* *with*
     tres].
     three
     'Take five and multiply it by three.' (CD, entry for *muttiplika*)

The preposition *yan* takes an object noun phrase in the unmarked case. This noun phrase names the individual or thing that accompanies some other participant in the event named by the predicate. Usually, the noun phrase that realizes the other participant serves as the subject (see (32a-b)) or the direct object (32c).

    Clauses that contain a comitative prepositional phrase can sometimes be paraphrased with clauses that contain coordinate structures. Compare (32a) and (32c) with the clauses below, which involve coordination.

(33)a. Manhånåo [si Rosa] **yan** [i mangga'chong-ña]
     AGR.go *UNM* *Rosa* *and* *the* *PL.companion-AGR*
     mane'fresku gi kiosku.
     AGR.INF.seek.fresh *LCL pavilion*
     'Rosa and her friends went for fresh air at the pavilion.' (CD, entry for *kiosku*)

b. Bai suma   i   [dos]   **yan**   [kuåttru].
    AGR add   the two   and   four
    'I will add two and four together.' (CD, entry for *suma*)

Nonetheless, the preposition *yan* is different from the conjunction *yan* 'and', and comitative prepositional phrases have a different structure from coordinate noun phrases.

The structural difference involves constituency. The conjuncts and the conjunction of a coordinate noun phrase form a single constituent. But in the clauses in (32), the subject or direct object does not form a constituent with the comitative prepositional phrase that is semantically associated with it; the two phrases are structurally independent. Thus, agreement on the verb registers the person and/or number of the subject, not the combined features of the subject and the comitative prepositional phrase, as can be seen from (34). (The combined features of the subject and the comitative phrase would be plural in (34a) and first person exclusive dual in (34b).)

(34)a. Ti siña   humugåndu   [**yan**   ottru   na   famagu'un
        not can   AGR[SG].play   with   other   L   PL.child
        siha].
        PL
        '[Kika is such a crazy child], she cannot play with other children.'
        (CD, entry for *atmariåo*)
   b.   Hu   nigosiu   [**yan**   i   primu-hu]   i   tano'-ña.
        AGR[1SG]   agree.on   with   the cousin-AGR the land-AGR
        'I agreed with my cousin on his property.' (CD, entry for *nigosiu*)

The subject can be questioned, relativized, or syntactically focused while the comitative prepositional phrase remains within the clause, to the right of the predicate.

(35)   Håyi   para   u   yeba   [**yan**   i   gubietnu]?
        who?   FUT   AGR debate   with   the governor
        'Who will debate with the governor?' (CD, entry for *yeba*)

The subject can be the missing constituent of an infinitive clause or an imperative clause, even when that clause contains a comitative prepositional phrase to the right of the predicate. In (36), the missing constituent refers to Norbert.

(36) Si   Norbert   måsga   [mumu   [**yan**
      UNM   *Norbert*   *AGR.learn.lesson*   *AGR.INF.fight* *with*
      si   Norman]].
      UNM   *Norman*
      'Norbert stopped fighting with Norman because it was so
      unpleasant.' (CD, entry for *måsga*)

Chamorro allows comitative prepositional phrases in some constructions
where English would not. Consider reciprocal clauses, for instance. Recip-
rocal verbs in Chamorro are derived intransitive verbs created by attaching
the stressed prefix *á-* to a transitive verb (see 13.3.1). In general, when the
meaning of the transitive verb is 'X', the meaning of the derived reciprocal
verb is 'X-each-other'. One might expect the subject of a reciprocal clause
always to be dual or plural. But a singular subject is possible as long as the
clause also contains a comitative prepositional phrase, as in (37).

(37)a. Umali'i'   yu' lokkui' [**yan**   i   doktu].
        AGR.RECP.see   *I   also   with*   *the doctor*
        'I also met with the doctor (lit. I saw each other with the doctor).'
        (CD, entry for *aprubecha*)
    b. Umachuli'   [**yan**   hågu]   i   ma'estran   Jose.
        AGR.RECP.take *with*   *you*   *the teacher.L   Jose*
        'Jose's teacher resembles you.'

In reciprocal clauses of this type, the subject and the comitative preposi-
tional phrase do not combine to form a constituent, but rather are structurally
independent. Their syntactic separateness is revealed by the diagnostics used
earlier. The subject is cross-referenced by agreement (e.g. on the nomi-
nalized verb in (38a)), can be questioned (38b), and can serve as the missing
constituent of an infinitive or imperative (38c). The comitative prepositional
phrase is ignored by all these operations.

(38)a. Ginin   i   ali'e'-hu   [**yan**   i   manmalångu]
        from   *the NMLZ.RECP.see-AGR[1SG] with   the   PL.sick*
        na   muna'   sinagu   yu'.
        COMP   *is.why AGR.have.flu   I*
        'I developed this cold from my visit (lit. my seeing each other) with
        the sick.' (CD, entry for *ali'e'-hu*)
    b. Håyi   umasudda'   [**yan**   si   Maria]?
        who?   *AGR.RECP.find   with*   *UNM*   *Maria*
        'Who met (lit. found each other) with Maria?'

c. Akumprendi   [**yan**   i   che'lu-mu   palåo'an].
    RECP.understand   with   the sibling-AGR female
    'Reach an agreement (lit. understand each other) with your sister.'
    (CD, entry for *ákumprendi*)

See 13.3.2 for further discussion of these reciprocal clauses.

19.7.2   The plural pronoun construction

Like some other languages, Chamorro uses comitative prepositional phrases
to form complex noun phrases with meanings similar to certain coordinate
noun phrases. In this *plural pronoun construction*, as it is sometimes called,
the noun phrase consists of a dual or plural pronoun followed by an adjunct
that is a comitative prepositional phrase. The adjunct provides further infor-
mation about the pronoun—specifically, the information that the pronoun
refers to a group whose members *include* the one(s) named by the comitative
prepositional phrase.

   Consider the plural pronoun constructions in the clauses below. In (39a),
the subject is a complex noun phrase that consists of the 1 excl. du/pl. pro-
noun *ham* followed by the comitative prepositional phrase *yan si Maria*
'with Maria'. The agreement on the predicate reveals that this complex noun
phrase is dual, so it means 'we two, including Maria'; in other words, it is
synonymous with 'I and Maria'. In (39b), the subject is a complex noun
phrase that means 'we two, including Juan', and is synonymous with 'I and
Juan'.[3] (Notice these noun phrases do not mean 'we and Maria' or 'we and
Juan'.)

(39)a. Prumima   [ham   [**yan**   si   Maria]].
        AGR.cousin we.EXCL   with   UNM   Maria
        'Maria and I are cousins.' (CD, entry for *prima*)
   b.   Umatotbus   [ham   [**yan**   si   Juan]]   gi   fila.
        AGR.RECP.collide   we.EXCL   with   UNM   Juan   LCL line
        'I collided with Juan (lit. we (excl.) two, including Juan, collided) in
        the line.' (CD, entry for *totbus*)

   Plural pronoun constructions are similar in meaning to coordinate noun
phrases in which one conjunct is a pronoun. Compare the plural pronoun
construction in (39a) with the coordinate noun phrase in (40).

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[3] The verbs in (39b) and (41) are reciprocal verbs (see 13.3 and 19.7.1).

(40) Prima [si Ana] **yan** [guåhu].
cousin UNM Ana and I
'Ana and I are cousins.' (CD, entry for *prima*)

Moreover, clauses that contain a plural pronoun construction can sometimes be paraphrased with clauses that contain a comitative prepositional phrase. Compare (39b), which contains a plural pronoun construction, with (41), which contains a comitative prepositional phrase.

(41) Sigi ha' yu' umatotbus [**yan** tåotåo]
AGR.keep.on EMP I AGR.INF.RECP.collide with person
gi giput sa' mampus bula.
LCL party because so.much AGR.many
'I kept colliding with people in the party because it was too crowded.' (CD, entry for *totbus*)

The upshot is that Chamorro has three ways to express the meaning of an English coordinate noun phrase in which one conjunct is a pronoun: the plural pronoun construction (as in (39)), a coordinate noun phrase (as in (40)), or a clause that contains a comitative prepositional phrase (as in (41)).

Because the plural pronoun construction is a type of noun phrase, it can bear any grammatical relation that noun phrases can bear. It can serve as the subject, the direct object, the object of a preposition, a possessor, and so on; it can also serve as a topic or be syntactically focused. Whether the pronoun itself is realized an independent pronoun, a weak pronoun, or a null pronoun is determined by its grammatical relation, in the usual way (see Chapter 8). Some of the possibilities are illustrated below. The pronoun is a weak pronoun in (42a), an independent pronoun in (42b), and a null pronoun in (42c) and (42d).

(42)a. Mandanña' [ham [**yan** i manachahet-tu]].
AGR.gather we.EXCL with the PL.peer-AGR
'My peers and I got together.' (CD, entry for *achahit*)
b. Guaha ginatdun gi intri [hami [**yan** i
AGR.exist confusion LCL among us.EXCL with the
asaguå-hu]].
spouse-AGR
'There was a confusion between me and my husband.' (CD, entry for *ginatdun*)
c. Bai in fanhånåo [[ ] [**yan** i familiåk-ku]] para
AGR AGR.go with the family-AGR to

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Amerika.
America
'My family and I will be going to America.' (CD, entry for *bai in*)

d. Mapeddi   si   Andre   gi   mimun-ñiha [[   ] [**yan**   si
   AGR.lose   *UNM*   *Andre*   *LCL fight-AGR*   *with*   *UNM*
Muhamed].
Muhamed
'Andre was defeated in his fight with Muhamed.' (CD, entry for
mapeddi)

Some of these examples are, in principle, ambiguous: they could contain a plural pronoun construction or simply a comitative prepositional phrase separate from the predicate's arguments. For instance, the English translation of (42c) reveals that the subject of the Chamorro sentence is a plural pronoun construction whose head is a null pronoun. But this string of words has another possible analysis in which the subject is simply a null pronoun and the clause also contains a separate comitative prepositional phrase. In that case, the English translation would be 'We (excl.) will be going with my family to America', where 'we' might include individuals other than the speaker or the speaker's family. Such ambiguities do not seem to pose difficulties in practice, presumably because they are often resolved by the discourse context.

Plural pronoun constructions seem to occur especially often as subjects, direct objects, or possessors. That may be connected to the fact that pronouns with these grammatical relations must be realized as weak pronouns or null pronouns. (Weak pronouns and null pronouns cannot serve as conjuncts in coordinate noun phrases; see 19.5.)

20

EMBEDDED CLAUSES

> Embedded clauses are clauses that serve as arguments or
> adjuncts. The simplest such clauses are finite embedded
> clauses, which have the form of ordinary clauses preceded
> by a complementizer or subordinating conjunction.

20.1   Overview

Embedded clauses (also called subordinate clauses) are clauses that serve as
arguments of a predicate, or as adjuncts associated with the predicate, the
clause, or a noun phrase. Sentences that contain an embedded clause are
sometimes called complex sentences. This chapter is devoted to the simplest
type of embedded clause, which consists of an ordinary clause preceded by a
complementizer or subordinating conjunction.

Like many other languages, Chamorro has both finite and nonfinite
clauses. Finite clauses can have a tense-aspect-mood marker (see 4.2), and
when their predicate is a verb or adjective, it shows agreement with the sub-
ject through forms that also indicate mood (see 2.2.2). Finite clauses have a
very broad distribution. Every simple sentence in the language is a finite
clause; so is the main clause of every complex sentence. In addition, finite
clauses can occur as embedded clauses, in which case they are preceded by a
complementizer, such as *na* 'that', or a subordinating conjunction, such as
sa' 'because' or *dispues di* 'after'.[1] Compare the main clauses in the com-
plex sentences in (1) with the embedded clauses, which are enclosed in
brackets.

(1) a.   Sen   adahi   [na   un maleffa].
         extremely   careful COMP *AGR forget*
         'Be extremely careful lest you forget.' (EM 17)
    b.   Manmaleffa ha'   hit   [dispues di   manhuyung hit
         AGR.forget   EMP   *we.INCL* after   PRT *AGR.go.out   we.INCL*
         gi   gima'yu'us].
         LCL church

---

[1] Note that some types of relative clauses are not preceded by an overt com-
plementizer (see 24.3.2).

'We (incl.) just forget after we (incl.) get out of church.' (*Ginen I Obispo* February 18, 2001)

Nonfinite clauses have a more limited distribution (see Chapter 21).

This chapter gives a survey of some common types of finite embedded clauses. 20.2 describes the complementizers and subordinating conjunctions used to introduce them. Then, 20.3 discusses their structure and function as arguments of the predicate; 20.4 discusses some of their uses as adjuncts; and 20.5 documents a related construction in which a finite embedded clause is introduced by the definite article.

20.2　Complementizers and conjunctions

Chamorro has two complementizers and a larger number of subordinating conjunctions. The complementizers are used to introduce finite embedded clauses whether they serve as arguments or adjuncts. The subordinating conjunctions, which have preposition-like meanings, are used only to form adverbial clauses.

20.2.1　Complementizers

The Chamorro complementizers are listed in (2), along with approximate English translations.[2] Note that the complementizer *na* is omitted (not pronounced) in contexts to be discussed below. The unpronounced form is symbolized with a dash in (2) but not represented in the examples.

(2)　Complementizers
　　　kåo　　　　　　　'whether'
　　　na / −　　　　　 'that'

The complementizer *kåo* (glossed Q) introduces embedded questions which could be answered 'yes' or 'no' (polar questions; see 22.2) or which explicitly present alternatives for the answer. Some examples are given in (3).

(3) a.　Ti hu tungu' [**kåo**　mamakånnu'　i　bukadutsi].
　　　　not AGR know　Q　AGR.edible　the threadfin
　　　　'I don't know whether the threadfin is edible.' (CD, entry for *bukadutsi*)

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[2] Relative clauses are introduced by a different set of complementizers (see 24.3.2).

b. Låo   nihi ... ta ditetmina [**kåo** siña   ta cho'gui pat
   but   let's   AGR determine Q   can   AGR do   or
   ti   siña].
   not   can
   'But come and let us (incl.) determine whether it's possible for us
   (incl.) to do it or not.' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 30, 2000)

The complementizer *na* (glossed COMP) introduces all other finite em-
bedded clauses that serve as arguments, and some that serve as adjuncts.

(4) a. Magåhit   [**na**   pirfektu   håo   matan tatå-mu].
       AGR.true   COMP   AGR.perfect you   face.L father-AGR
       'It's true that you look exactly like your father.' (CD, entry for
       pirfektu)
    b. Esta   ta tungu' [**na**   metgut   i   tinayuyut].
       already AGR know   COMP   AGR.strong   the prayer
       'We (incl.) already know that prayer is strong.' (*Ginen I Obispo*
       October 21, 2001)
    c. Tåya'   bidå-hu   nigap   [**na**   maigu'
       AGR.not.exist WH[OBJ].do-AGR   yesterday   COMP   AGR.sleep
       ha'].
       EMP
       'I did not do anything yesterday except just sleep.' (CD, entry for
       bida)

Na can be, and often is, omitted when it immediately precedes the TAM
para 'future, subjunctive' (see 4.2.1 and 4.2.2.1). Compare the examples in
(5a-b) and (5c-d), which make the point that *na* is optionally unpronounced
in this context.

(5) a. Un prumeti yu' [**na**   para   un gaigi].
       AGR promise me COMP   FUT   AGR be.at
       'You promised me that you would be there.' (EM 71)
    b. Manmalagu'   hit   [**na**   para   u metgut
       AGR.want   we.INCL COMP   FUT   AGR strong
       karaktet-ta].
       character-AGR
       'We (incl.) want that our (incl.) character will be strong.' (*Ginen I
       Obispo* September 23, 2001)
    c. Ha prumeti siha   [para   u nina'fanmetgut].
       AGR promse them   FUT   AGR PASS.make.AGR.strong

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'He promised them that he would make them strong.' (*Ginen I Obispo* November 18, 2001)

d. Dos puntu malagu' yu' [para ta kunsidera ...]
   two point   AGR.*want*   *I*   FUT   AGR *consider*
   'Two points I want that we (incl.) should consider....' (*Ginen i Obispo* August 26, 2001)

Na is always omitted when it is occurs right after a determiner, such as the definite article *i* (see 6.2).

(6) a. Put   i   [katpinteru gui'   lokkui'],   ha håtsa   un
   because the carpenter he   *also*   AGR *build*   *a*
   na'magoddai   na kotpus.
   attractive   L   *shrine*
   'Because he was also a carpenter, he built an attractive shrine.' (EM 88)

   b. Båba   esti i   [para   ta to'lå'i   i   taotåo].
   AGR.*bad*   *this the* FUT   AGR *spit.at*   *the person*
   'It is bad for us (incl.) to spit at a person.' (CD, entry for *to'lå'i*)

See 20.5 for further discussion of the construction illustrated in (6).

In addition, the complementizer *na* occurs in exclamatives, constituent questions, and the focus construction. In these constructions it has a different distribution (see 15.3 and 22.4.2).

20.2.2   Subordinating conjunctions

Chamorro has a number of subordinating conjunctions, many of which were originally borrowed from Spanish. These differ from the complementizers in that they have preposition-like meanings; they indicate relations in time as well as cause, purpose, condition, and so on. Subordinating conjunctions are used to form *adverbial clauses*—embedded clauses that serve as adjuncts associated with the predicate or the clause.

The most common subordinating conjunctions are listed below.

(7)   SOME SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS
   achuk, áchuka'   'although'
   anai   'when' (realis)'
   åntis di   'before'
   asta ki   'until'
   disdi ki   '(ever) since'
   dispues di   'after'

gigun	'as soon as'
inlugåt di	'instead of'
kada	'whenever, each time that'
kosa ki	'so that'
kumu	'if'
maseha	'even though'
mientras	'while'
put	'because, so that'
putnó	'so that...not'
sa'	'because'
sin	'without'
yanggin, anggin, an	'if, when (future, irrealis, habitual)'

Some subordinating conjunctions also belong to other parts of speech or serve other syntactic functions:

(i) The subordinating conjunctions *åntis di* 'before', *dispues di* 'after', *inlugåt di* 'instead of', *put* 'because, so that', *sa'* 'because', and *sin* 'without' also serve as prepositions (see 5.2). Compare (8a), in which *sa'* is a preposition, with (8b), in which it is a subordinating conjunction.

(8) a. **Sa'** håfa na taiguini esti?
     because what? COMP AGR.like.this this
     'Why (lit. because of what) is this like this?' (*Ginen I Obispo* February 18, 2001)

   b. Ye'ti' yu' [**sa'** puti kannai-hu].
     massage me because AGR.hurt hand-AGR
     'Massage me because my hand is in pain.' (CD, entry for *ye'ti'*)

The *di* in *åntis di* 'before', *dispues di* 'after', and *inlugåt di* 'instead of' is arguably a complementizer with a limited distribution (see 4.2.1).

(ii) *Asta ki* 'until' and *disdi ki* '(ever) since' can be analyzed as consisting of a preposition—*asta* 'until' or *disdi* 'since'—plus *ki*, which is written as an independent word but has no obvious meaning. This *ki*, which is borrowed from a Spanish complementizer (Sp. *que* 'that'), also occurs in the subordinating conjunction *kosa ki* 'so that'.

(iii) *Kada* 'whenever' and *maseha* 'even though' belong to other parts of speech which probably represent their primary syntactic function. *Kada* is also the quantifier 'each' (see 6.2.4.1); *maseha* is the modifier 'at all, (which)ever, no matter', which often precedes general indefinites in their free-choice use (see 9.2.2.4).

20.3 Argument clauses

Finite embedded clauses that are introduced by a complementizer routinely serve as arguments of the predicate. 20.3.1 discusses the structure and function of these embedded clauses, which are called *argument clauses* here. 20.3.2 briefly mentions two special constructions.

20.3.1 Basics

Recall (from 3.1) that the predicate dictates the structure and function of its arguments, including their grammatical relations. In line with this, the predicate determines whether any of its arguments can be an embedded clause. Consider the verb *disidi* 'decide', which has two arguments: one argument that names the one who does the deciding, and another argument that names what is decided. The argument that names what is decided can be a noun phrase (as in (9a)), or an embedded clause (9b).

(9) a. Siña   ha'   ma disidi   i   difirensian-ñiha sin   mumu.
         can   EMP   AGR decide   the difference-AGR   without fight
         'They were able to settle (lit. decide) their difference without a
         fight.' (CD, entry for *difirensia*)

    b. I   amun   ennåo na tintågu'   para   u   disidi
         the master.L   that   L servant   FUT   AGR decide
         [kåo   måolik   pat ti måolik   bidå-ña].
         Q   AGR.good   or not AGR.good   work-AGR
         'The master of that servant will decide whether his work was good
         or bad.' (NT 292)

Predicates that have an argument that is an embedded clause can also dictate whether that clause expresses a question or a statement. Argument clauses that express questions either are introduced by the complementizer *kåo*, as in (9b), or else are constituent questions (see 22.3). Argument clauses that express statements are introduced by the complementizer *na*, which is not pronounced in some contexts (see 20.2.1). Some examples are given in (10).[3]

(10)a. Annuk   ha'   [na   guaha   sinientem-mu
         AGR.appear EMP   COMP   AGR.exist   WH[OBJ].feel-AGR

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[3] In addition, the predicate can dictate whether an argument clause is finite or nonfinite (see Chapter 21).

      para   si   Juan].
      for   *UNM*   *Juan*
      'It appears that you have feelings for Juan.' (CD, entry for *annuk*)

  b.   Hu sedi   i   patgun [para   u   hugåndu].
      AGR allow   *the child*   *FUT*   *AGR play*
      'I allowed the child to play (lit. that he would play).' (CD, entry for
      sedi)

Some predicates allow their argument clause to express a statement or a question. Common predicates of this type include *disidi* 'decide', *duda* 'doubt', *faisin* 'ask', *li'i'* 'see', *sangåni* 'tell', *siguru* 'certain, sure', and *tungu'* know'.[4]

(11)a. Siguru   yu' [na   hamyu en aksepta]!
      AGR.certain I   *COMP*   *you.PL* *AGR accept*
      'I am certain that you (pl.) are going to accept me!' (NT 309)

  b.   Ti siguru   yu' [kåo   esta   hu gånna].
      not AGR.certain I   *Q*   *already AGR win*
      'I am not certain whether I have achieved it.' (NT 365)

  c.   Ti siguru   yu' [håfa   para   bai hu atyik].
      not AGR.certain I   *what?* *FUT*   *AGR*   *choose*
      'I am not certain what I will choose.' (NT 362)

Other predicates require their argument clause to express a statement. Common predicates of this type include *istotba* 'disturb, bother', *magåhit* 'true', *ma'å'ñåo* 'afraid', *makkat* 'difficult', *malagu'* 'want', *sedi* 'allow', *tågu'* 'direct, command', and *ya-* 'like'. The examples in (12) show that the argument clause associated with *ma'å'ñåo* 'afraid' can express a statement but not a question.

(12)a. Manma'å'ñåo [na   u   faninasa   nu i
      AGR.afraid   *COMP* *AGR AGR.PASS.carry.away*   *OBL the*
      metgut nåpu].
      strong.L wave
      'They were afraid that they would be swept out to sea by the strong
      current.' (CD, entry for *inasa*)

  b.   Ma'å'ñåo   yu' [na / *kåo ti   para   un nangga yu'].
      AGR.afraid I   *COMP*   *Q*   *not FUT*   *AGR wait*   *me*

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[4] An embedded constituent question is cited in (11c) for completeness. Constituent questions usually are not introduced by *kåo* (see 22.3).

'I'm afraid that you're not going to wait for me.' (Not: 'I'm afraid whether you're not going to wait for me.')

Very few predicates require their argument clause to express a question. One such predicate is *chek* 'check'.[5]

(13)a. Chek   fan   [kåo   ti tete'i   i   ichan].
       check   please   Q   not AGR.scattered.PROG   the rain
       'Please check whether it is sprinkling rain.' (CD, entry for *te'i*)
   b. Chek   fan   [kåo / *na   gaigi   i   lahi-hu   gi
       check   please   Q   COMP   AGR.be.at   the son-AGR   LCL
       gima'].
       house
       'Please check if my son is at home.' (Not: Please check that my son is at home.)
   c. Chek   fan   [håfa   na nengkanu'   manmakånnu'].
       check   please   what?   L   food   AGR.PASS.eat
       'Please check what food was eaten.'

In addition, the predicate determines the grammatical relations of its arguments: which argument is realized as the subject, which as the direct object, etc. (see 3.1). This determination is made in the same way whether the arguments happen to be noun phrases or embedded clauses. Consider the clauses below, in which the predicates *istotba* 'disturb', *tungu'* 'know', and *malagu'* 'want' have noun phrase arguments. In (14a), *istotba* has an argument, *esti* 'this', which names the source of disturbance and is realized as the subject. In (14b), *tungu'* has an argument, *i siknifikasion i istoria* 'the significance of the story', which names what is known and is realized as the direct object. Finally, in (14c), *malagu'* has an argument, *ni esti na panak tenis* 'this tennis racket', which names what is wanted and is realized as an oblique.

(14)a. Kalan   ha istotba hit   dididi' esti.
       seems.like   AGR disturb us.INCL a.little   this
       'It seems like this disturbs us (incl.) a little.' (*Ginen I Obispo* August 18, 2002)

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[5] An embedded constituent question is cited in (13c) to make the point that the embedded clause that follows *chek* 'check' in these examples is not an adverbial clause (see 20.4.1).

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b. Kåo   un tungu' ha'   i   siknifikasion   i   istoria?
  Q   *AGR know EMP*   *the significance.L   the story*
  'Do you know the significance of the story?' (CD, entry for
  siknifikasión)
c. Malagu'   håo ni esti na panak tenis?
  AGR.want   you OBL this L   tennis.racket
  'Do you want this tennis racket?' (CD, entry for *panak tenis*)

Several types of evidence reveal that the arguments in (14) have these grammatical relations. For instance, consider agreement with the subject (see 2.2.2 and 3.2). The fact that the verb *istotba* in (14a) agrees with *esti* 'this' identifies *esti* as the subject. The fact that the agreement on *tungu'* in (14b) is chosen from the paradigms for transitive verbs indicates the presence of a direct object, which presumably is *i signifikasion i istoria* 'the significance of the story'. Finally, the fact that the agreement on *malagu'* in (14c) is chosen from the paradigms for intransitive verbs and adjectives reveals that *ni esti na panak tenis* 'this tennis racket' is not a direct object, but rather an oblique. Other evidence for these identifications comes from case marking (see 5.1), pronoun forms (see 8.3 and 8.4), passive (see 10.2), the person-animacy restriction (see 16.2), and wh-agreement (see 22.4.1).

Observe now that the argument of *istotba* that names the source of disturbance can be an embedded clause. The same is true for the argument of *tungu'* that names what is known, and the argument of *malagu'* that names what is wanted, as can be seen from (15).

(15)a. Ha istotba ham   [na   binisita   i   hagan-måmi
     AGR disturb us.EXCL COMP   AGR.PASS.visit   the daughter-AGR
     as Miguel].
     OBL Miguel
     'That our (excl.) daughter was visited by Miguel disturbs us (excl.).'
   b. Ada,   ti un tungu' [na   esta   ora   ha']?
     oh   *not AGR know COMP   already hour   EMP*
     'Oh, you didn't know that it is time already?' (CD, entry for *adá*)
   c. ... put   malagu'   håo   [na   bai famatkilu].
     because AGR.want   you   *COMP   AGR quiet*
     '[Do not pacify me just] because you want me to (lit. that I should) be quiet.' (CD, entry for *apasigua*)

Once again, agreement with the subject can be used to investigate the grammatical relations of the arguments in these clauses. Here the agreement patterns, which are the same as in (14), suggest that it is *the argument clause*

that is the subject in (15a), the direct object in (15b), and an oblique in (15c). (Further evidence comes from wh-agreement; see 22.5.2.)

Argument clauses in Chamorro have a wide range of syntactic functions. They can serve as subjects, direct objects, or obliques associated with predicates that are verbs (see (13) and (15)), adjectives (see (11) and (12)), or nouns. The predicates in the complex sentences in (16) are nouns.

(16)a. Finu'   i   manåmku' [na   yanggin   sigi   ha'
       speech.L   the PL.elder COMP   when   AGR.keep.on EMP
       gumupu   gi uriyå-mu i   ababbang   åttilung ...]
       INF.fly   LCL around-AGR the butterfly.L black
       'The old saying is that when a black butterfly flies around you
       repeatedly...' (CD, entry for *ababbang*)
    b. Pues   i   finu'   manåmku' ... sustansiåñ-ña [na
       so   the speech.L   PL.elder   meaning-AGR   COMP
       i   dakun chaddik   magacha' ...]
       the liar   AGR.quick   AGR.PASS.catch.up.with
       'So the meaning of the old saying...is that the liar can quickly be
       caught up with...' (EM 133)

Unsurprisingly, argument clauses can also be associated with verbs that are passive (as in (17a)), antipassive (as in (17b)), applicative (as in (17c)), and causative (as in (17d)).

(17)a. Matungu'   ha'   ni babui [na   oran   chumotchu]
       AGR.PASS.know EMP   OBL pig   COMP   hour.L AGR.INF.eat
       gigun   un ågang bo.
       as.soon.as AGR call   bo
       'Pigs know it is feeding time as soon as you call "*bo*".' (CD, entry
       for *bo*)
    b. Mamaisin   si   Juan [kåo guaha   ñamñam
       AGR.ANTIP.ask UNM   Juan   Q   AGR.exist good.food
       gi halum kåhun ais].
       LCL inside.L box.L ice
       'Juan asked if there is something good in the refrigerator.' (CD,
       entry for *ñamñam*)
    c. Hu sangåni   si   Juan [na   ti   kostås-ña   para
       AGR say.to   UNM   Juan   COMP not issue-AGR   FUT
       u   såonåo   gi mumun-ñiha   si   Maria yan   i
       AGR participate LCL fight-AGR   UNM   Maria and   the

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asaguå-ña].
spouse-AGR
'I told Juan that it was not his issue to get involved in Maria's fight with her husband.' (CD, entry for *kostas*)
d. I   enkatgåo   muna'siguguru   [na   gåsgas   i
    the custodian   WH[SBJ].make.sure.PROG COMP   AGR.clean   the
    iskuela].
    school
    'The custodian is the one who makes sure that the school is clean.'
    (CD, entry for *enkatgåo*)

However, argument clauses usually do not serve as objects of prepositions or as subjects of prepositional phrase predicates (but see 20.5 below).[6]

In terms of word order, an argument clause follows the predicate it is associated with. When this predicate is a verb or adjective, the argument clause is flexibly ordered with respect to the predicate's other arguments. The argument clause in (18a) follows the subject, whereas the argument clause in (18b) precedes the subject.

(18)a. Ha faisin   yu' si   Tåta   [kåo   tåya'   nai
        AGR ask   me UNM   father   Q   AGR.not.exist   COMP
        mafuetsa   yu' chumupa].
        AGR.PASS.force   I   AGR.INF.smoke
        'My father asked me if I was never forced to smoke cigarettes.'
        (CD, entry for *tåya' nai*)
    b. Ha faisin   hit   [kåo   siña manhita]   i   palåo'an.
        AGR ask   us.INCL   Q   can AGR.we.INCL   the woman
        'The girl asked us (incl.) if she could go with us (incl.) (lit. if we (incl.) could go together).'

When the predicate is a noun, the argument clause follows the entire predicate phrase. Argument clauses generally do not appear to the left of the predicate, in topic or focus position.

Finally, some complex sentences in which a predicate has an argument clause can be paraphrased with asymmetric coordination (see 19.3).

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[6] Note, however, that embedded constituent questions can serve as objects of prepositions.

20.3.2 Details

Two special constructions that apparently involve argument clauses should be mentioned here:

(i) The verb *gaigi* 'be at (a location)' has two arguments: one argument that names an individual or object and another argument that names the individual or object's location. The argument that names the location can be a noun phrase (as in (19a)) or an embedded clause introduced by the complementizer *na* (19b).

(19)a. Sa'　　　gaigi　　　yu' gi sanlagu.
　　　because　　　AGR.be.at　　I　　LCL DIR.west
　　　'Because I am in the States.' (EM 58)

　　b. Gaigi　　　si　　　Tåta　[na　　　manånanum
　　　AGR.be.at　　UNM　　Father　COMP　　AGR.ANTIP.plant.PROG
　　　mai'is　gi　lanchon-ña.]
　　　corn　　LCL farm-AGR
　　　'Father is planting corn at his farm.' (CD, entry for *mai'is*)

When the location argument is an embedded clause, the result is a progressive construction: the entire complex sentence describes an ongoing event, and the embedded predicate is typically in the progressive aspect. It is unclear how, if at all, this construction differs in meaning from a simple sentence whose predicate is in the progressive.[7]

(ii) The perception verbs *li'i'* 'see' and *hunguk* 'hear' have two arguments: one argument that names the perceiver and another argument that names what is perceived. The argument that names what is perceived can be a noun phrase (as in (20a)) or an embedded clause introduced by the complementizer *na* (20b).

(20)a. Hu li'i'　　i　　dikiki' na ami'　　　　gi kantun potta.
　　　AGR see　　the small　L　grasshopper　　LCL edge.L　door
　　　'I saw the small grasshopper next to the door.' (CD, entry for *ami'*)

　　b. Yanggin un li'i' [na　　　tumekkun　　　yu'],　disatendi　　ha'.
　　　if　　AGR see COMP　　AGR.bend.down I　　　disregard　　EMP
　　　'When you see that I put my head down, pay no attention.' (CD, entry for *disatendi*)

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[7] The construction illustrated in (19b) is reminiscent of the progressive construction in Old English.

In addition, these verbs sometimes allow the argument that names what-is-perceived to be a constituent that looks like a finite embedded clause but is not introduced by *na*. Sometimes this constituent begins with a noun phrase that looks like an inner topic, preceding the embedded verb, as in (21c-d) (see 26.2.1.1).

(21)a. Ha hunguk [umu'ugung   tåotåo].
        AGR hear   AGR.groan.PROG person
        'She heard a man groaning.' (EM 98)

   b.   Hassan esta   ta li'i' [mahåtsa   guma' saguåli'].
        seldom already AGR see AGR.PASS.build house.L thatched.house
        'We (incl.) rarely see thatched houses being built.' (CD, entry for *saguåli'*)

   c.   Hu li'i' [i palåo'an   gi plasan hugåndu   ha so'gui i
        AGR see the woman   LCL field.L play   AGR scoop   the
        hanum gi girifu gi patman kannai-ña].
        water LCL faucet LCL palm.L hand-AGR
        'I saw a lady at the playground scooping water from the faucet in the palm of her hand.' (CD, entry for *so'gui*)

   d.   Ha li'i' [i lahi-ña sumen   måolik i   lina'lå'-ña].
        AGR see the son-AGR AGR.extremely good   the life-AGR
        'They saw that their son's life had become very good.' (Cooreman 1983: 73)

If the construction illustrated in (21) contained an ordinary finite embedded clause, the embedded clause ought to begin with the complementizer *na* (see 20.2.1). The absence of *na* suggests that this constituent might be smaller than an embedded clause, although it seems nonetheless to be a clause, since it can contain a subject, as (21d) shows.

20.4   Adverbial clauses

Finite embedded clauses that serve as adjuncts associated with the predicate or the clause can be called *adverbial clauses*. This section surveys some common types of adverbial clauses. 20.4.1 describes adverbial clauses introduced by a complementizer; 20.4.2 describes adverbial clauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction.

20.4.1   Introduced by a complementizer

Finite embedded clauses introduced by a complementizer can serve as adverbial clauses, although their functions as adverbial clauses are rather limited.

Embedded clauses introduced by the complementizer *kåo* can be used as adverbial clauses that specify purpose. In such cases, the purpose of the event described by the main clause is to resolve the issue described by the adverbial clause. In (22a), for instance, the purpose of the speaker's smelling the meat is to resolve the issue of whether the meat is rotten; in (22b), the purpose of the addressee's looking at the carpenter's level is to resolve the issue of whether the shelf is straight. *Kåo* in these adverbial clauses corresponds roughly to 'to see whether'.

(22) a. Hu ngingi' i   katni [kåo   båba   esta].
      AGR sniff   the meat   Q   AGR.bad   already
      'I smelled the meat to see whether it is already rotten.' (CD, entry
      for *ngingi'*)

    b. Atan   i   mubet [kåo   esta   tunas   i   istånti].
      look.at the level   Q   already AGR.straight   the shelf
      'Look at the level and see if the shelf is straight.' (CD, entry for
      mubét)

    c. Chagi   ennåo   na sapåtus [kåo   omlat   håo].
      try   that   L   shoes   Q   AGR.fit   you
      'Try those shoes to see whether you fit them.'

Note that embedded polar questions can be used as adverbial clauses, but constituent questions cannot be. (Constituent questions usually are not introduced by *kåo*; see 22.3.)

(23)   *Atan   i   lamasa [håfa   na nengkanu'   manmakånnu'].
      look.at the table   what?   L   food   AGR.PASS.eat
      ('Look at the table to see what foods have been eaten.')

Embedded clauses introduced by *na* can be used as adverbial clauses that specify result or purpose. *Na* in these adverbial clauses roughly corresponds to 'such that' (if the embedded clause is realis) or 'so that, in order to' (if the embedded clause is irrealis). As usual, *na* can be omitted when it comes immediately before the TAM *para* 'future, subjunctive', as in (24c) (see 20.2.1).

(24)a. Hu hånåo guatu ya   hu li'i' håfa   ma chocho'gui
        AGR go   to.there and.then   AGR see what?   AGR do.PROG
        [na   duru   di mañålik].
        COMP   hard   PRT AGR.laugh
        'I'll go over there and see what they're doing such that they're
        laughing so hard.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

      b. Månggi   i iha   [na   ti   manhahamyu
        AGR.where.is?   the daughter   COMP   not AGR.you.PL.PROG
        na   biåhi]?
        L   time
        'Where is the daughter such that she is not with you this time?'
        (CD, entry for *iha*)

      c. Hu båla'   i   paketi   [para   bai hu li'i' håfa
        AGR unwrap the package   FUT   AGR   see what?
        sanhalom-ña].
        DIR.inside-AGR
        'I unwrapped the package in order to find out what was in it.' (CD.
        entry for *båla'*)

Embedded clauses introduced by the complementizer *na* can also be used as adverbial clauses that specify exceptions. Then, the main clause is typically a negative clause, and the adverbial clause states an exception to it. See (25).

(25)a. Ti para   un gimin   i   maneska   [na   para   un
        not FUT   AGR drink   the alcohol   COMP   FUT   AGR
        boyu'   ha'].
        spit.out   EMP
        'You are not to drink the alcohol, only spit it out.' (CD, entry for
        boyu')

      b. Pues   tåya'   chi'chocho'-ña esti i   dos umasagua
        so   AGR.not.exist   work-AGR.PROG this the two AGR.married
        [na   humåhanåo   para   i   sadduk para   u   fa'gåsi
        COMP   AGR.go.PROG   to   the river   FUT   AGR wash
        i   magagun-ñiha].
        the clothes-AGR
        'So these two married people had no job but going to the river to
        wash their clothes.' (Cooreman 1983: 107)

      c. Esti,   ti isåo   i   flores   [na   isåo-mu].
        this   not fault.L the flowers COMP   fault-AGR
        'This is not the fault of the flowers, but it's your fault.' (EM 135)

Na in some instances of this use, such as (25c), seems close in meaning to 'but'.

Adverbial clauses introduced by a complementizer seem to have a more restricted word order than other adjuncts (see 3.4.2 and below). They are generally found at the right edge of the (higher) clause. Adverbial clauses introduced by an overt complementizer generally do not occur at the left edge of the clause, preceding the predicate. But this word order is evidently possible when the complementizer is omitted before *para* 'future, subjunctive', as in (26).

(26)   [Para   ta kumprendi håfa   masusedi]   maila'
        FUT   *AGR understand what? AGR.PASS.happen   come*
        ya   ta ekkunguk esti   un råtu.
        and.then   AGR listen   this   awhile
        'In order for us (incl.) to understand what happened, come and let's (incl.) listen to this for awhile.' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 9, 2000)

20.4.2   Introduced by a subordinating conjunction
20.4.2.1   Basics
Finite clauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction serve exclusively as adverbial clauses. There is a wide range of such adverbial clauses, as can be inferred from the number of subordinating conjunctions listed in 20.2.2. Some examples are cited below.

(27)a.   Siempri un chuda' i   hanum [gigun   un totpi   i
          indeed AGR spill   the water as.soon.as AGR bump   the
          batdi].
          bucket
          'You are going to spill the water as soon as you bump the bucket.' (CD, entry for *gigun*)
    b.   Ta arienda i   tanu' [kosa ki   siña   hit
          AGR lease   the land   so.that   can   we.INCL
          mulalibiånu].
          AGR.a.little.more.easy
          'We (incl.) will lease the land so that our (incl.) lives can be a little easier.' (CD, entry for *arienda*)
    c.   [Yanggin   måtchum i   atdåo], i   mannuk   manetnun
          when   AGR.set   the sun   the chicken   AGR.gather
          gi ramas   alageta.
          LCL branch.L   avocado
          'When the sun sets, the chickens gather on the branches of the

avocado tree.' (EM 87)

d.   [Achuka'   mamakkat   i   che'chu'],   u
    although   *AGR.hard.PROG* *the work*   *AGR*
    na'pusisipbli   ha'   mo'na.
    make.possible.PROG *EMP*   *ahead*
    'Although the work is hard, it makes things possible.' (CD, entry
    for *pusipbli*)

Adverbial clauses that are introduced by subordinating conjunctions can specify relations in time as well as cause, result, condition, contrast, and so on. These adverbial clauses can occur at the left or right edge of the (higher) clause, where they are apparently freely ordered with respect to other adjuncts (see 3.4.2). The following examples are representative. In (28), the adverbial clause *gigun un ågang bo* 'as soon as you call "*bo*"' occurs at the right edge of the higher clause, following the argument clause *na oran chumotchu* 'that it is feeding time'.

(28)   Matungu'   ha'   ni babui [na   oran   chumotchu]
        AGR.PASS.know *EMP*   *OBL pig*   *COMP*   *hour.L* *AGR.INF.eat*
        [gigun   un ågang   bo].
        as.soon.as *AGR call*   *bo*
        'Pigs know it is feeding time as soon as you call "*bo*".' (CD, entry
        for *bo*)

The complex sentences in (29) each contain two adverbial clauses. In (29a), one adverbial clause occurs at the left edge of the higher clause and the other occurs at the right edge; in (29b), both adverbial clauses occur at the right edge; and in (29c), both occur at the left edge.

(29)a.   [Anai   tumetetti   i   ichan   dididi' gi puengi],
        when   *AGR.sprinkle.PROG* *the rain*   *a.little* *LCL night*
        si   nanå-hu   ha båtbaruyi humuyung   huyung ...
        UNM   *mother-AGR* *AGR bold.to*   *AGR.INF.go.out* *outside*
        [put   taigui   esta i   asaguå-ña].
        because AGR.not.be.at   *already the spouse-AGR*
        'When it was sprinkling a little at night, my mother was bold
        enough to go outside...because her husband was no longer there.'
        (EM 98)

b.   Tåya'   donseyu [anai   umasagua   si
    AGR.not.exist   *best.man* *when*   *AGR.get.married UNM*

Jesus], [sa'   i   patlinu-ña   dumimuyi].
Jess   because   the godfather-AGR   WH[SBJ].kneel.for
'There was no best man when Jess got married, because his
godfather stood for him.' (CD, entry for *donseyu*)

c. Låo   [anai ti   måmatai   si   tatå-hu],
    but   when   not AGR.die.PROG   UNM   father-AGR
    [yanggin bakasión   i   iskuela],   manhåhanåo
    if   AGR.on.vacation the   school   AGR.go.PROG
    ham   para i   lanchu.
    we.EXCL   to   the farm
    'But when my father had not yet died, when school was on
    vacation, we (excl.) would go to the farm.' (EM 95)

Adverbial clauses that are introduced by a subordinating conjunction
can also be focused, in which case they appear at the left edge of the higher
clause, preceding the predicate. In (30), an adverbial clause that specifies
location in time has been focused. Note the complementizer *nai* that im-
mediately follows, which realizes complementizer agreement and indicates
that the focused constituent specifies location (see 23.4.2).

(30)   [Yanggin masahalum   håo]   nai   nås   lalålu'
       when   AGR.perspire   you   COMP   more   AGR.angry
       i   gupu'   na chetnut.
       the skin.fungus L   wound
       'When you sweat is when the skin fungus gets more aggressive.'
       (CD, entry for *gupu'*)

20.4.2.2   Details
The meaning of certain subordinating conjunctions has an impact on the
mood of the embedded clause they introduce. Specifically:
    (i) An embedded clause introduced by *åntis di* 'before' is always in the
irrealis mood, whether or not the event it describes has already occurred. In
(31), the arrival of the Spanish, Germans, Japanese, and Americans clearly
happened in the past, but because the adverbial clause that describes this is
introduced by *åntis di*, the verb of the embedded clause is irrealis.

(31)   Tåya'   ga'lågu [åntis di u fanmåttu   i
       AGR.not.exist   dog   before PRT AGR AGR.arrive   the
       Españót,   Alimån,   Chapanís   yan Amerikånu].
       Spanish   German   Japanese   and American

'There were no dogs [in the Mariana Islands] before the Spanish, Germans, Japanese, and Americans arrived.' (EM 109)

(ii) An embedded clause introduced by *put* 'because, so that' is in the realis mood when *put* specifies cause (see (32a)), but in the irrealis mood when *put* specifies purpose (32b).

(32)a. Ti bai få'um   si   Ana   [put   ti   umiskuela].
       not AGR knock.down UNM   Ana   because not AGR.go.to.school
      'I will not knock down Ana because she didn't go to school.' (CD, entry for *få'um*)

   b. Hu dommu'   i   lamasa [put   para   bai hu lipa   i
       AGR punch   the table so.that FUT   AGR   let.off   the
      binibu-hu].
      anger-AGR
      'I hit the table in order to let off my anger.' (CD, entry for *lipa*)

(iii) When an embedded clause introduced by *sa'* 'because' is in irrealis mood, its meaning depends on whether the embedded clause contains the TAM *para* 'future, subjunctive' (see 4.2.2.1). When *para* is present, the embedded clause describes a future event that gives a positive reason for the event described by the main clause; see (33a). When *para* is absent, the embedded clause describes an unfavorable potential event that the event described by the main clause is intended to prevent from happening; see (33b). In such cases, *sa'* corresponds roughly to 'because otherwise'.

(33)a. Si   tåta   umattuk   gi liyang [sa'   para   påkyu].
       UNM   father   AGR.hide   LCL cave   because FUT   typhoon
      'Dad sought shelter in the cave because there was going to be a typhoon.' (CD, entry for *påkyu*).

   b. Gimin åmut   [sa'   un sinagu].
      drink   medicine   because AGR have.flu
      'Drink the medicine or otherwise you'll get the flu.' (CD, entry for *sinagu*)

(iv) Finally, the subordinating conjunctions *yanggin* 'if, when' and *anai* 'when' appear in different types of adverbial clauses. Embedded clauses introduced by *yanggin* can specify a condition, as in (34).

(34)a. [Yanggin   taigui   guini], pues   esta   guaha
       if   AGR.not.be.at   here   then   already AGR.exist

chumuli'.
WH[SBJ].take
'If it's not here, then someone took it.' (CD, entry for *guini*)

    b.   Måolik   ha'   chinago'-ña   [yanggin   para   un
       AGR.good   EMP   NMLZ.far-AGR   if   FUT   AGR
famokkat].
walk
'It's far if you are going to walk.' (CD, entry for *chinagu'*)

Embedded clauses introduced by *yanggin* can also specify a location in time. In this use, the event described by the entire complex sentence either has not yet occurred, as in (35a-b), or is habitual or generic, as in (35c-d).

(35)a.   Para   u   fanatkila   si   Henry   kareta   [yanggin
       FUT   AGR ANTIP.rent   UNM   Henry   car   when
måttu   Guam].
AGR.arrive Guam
'Henry will rent a car when he gets to Guam.' (CD, entry for *atkila*)

    b.   Chuli'   mågi   i   papåya [yanggin   para   un fåttu].
       bring   to.here the papaya when   FUT   AGR arrive
'Bring the papaya on your way over (lit. when you are going to come).' (CD, entry for *chuli' mågi*)

    c.   Bunita   si   Ana   [yanggin   ha usa   i   alåhas].
       AGR.pretty UNM   Ana   when   AGR wear   the jewelry
'Ana looks beautiful when she wears the jewelry.' (CD, entry for *halåhas*)

    d.   [Yanggin   mababa   i   bainan   niyuk], manannuk
       when   AGR.PASS.open   the sheath.L   coconut AGR.appear
i   floris.
the flower
'When the covering of the shoot of the coconut flower opens, the flowers appear.' (CD, entry for *bainan niyuk*)

Embedded clauses introduced by *anai* always specify a location in time. When *anai* is used, the entire complex sentence describes an event that has already occurred; see the examples below.

(36)a.   Kumåti si   John   [anai   ma'ågang   totku].
       AGR.cry UNM   John   when   AGR.PASS.call   idiotic
'John cried when he was called an idiot.' (CD, entry for *totku*)

b. [Anai   kumuleleka   i   punidera],   duru   tumutugåk.
   when   AGR.lay.eggs.PROG   the hen   hard   AGR.cluck
   'When the hen was incubating, it was making a clucking sound.'
   (CD, entry for *tuktugåk*)

c. Mañonggi   yu' oddu   gi paingi   [anai
   AGR.ANTIP.burn I   mosquito.coil LCL last.night when
   para   bai in   fanmaigu'].
   FUT   AGR   AGR.sleep
   'Last night, I burnt a mosquito coil when we (excl.) were about to
   go to sleep.' (CD, entry for *oddu*)

d. Para   bai hu o'mak gi paingi   [anai   måttu
   FUT   AGR   shower LCL last.night when   AGR.arrive
   si   Jean].
   UNM   Jean
   'I was about to shower last night when Jean came.' (CD, entry for
   o'mak).

20.5   Embedded clauses introduced by the definite article

Chamorro allows an embedded clause to be preceded by the definite article *i*.
In this construction, which can be called the *i construction*, the embedded
clause expresses a statement, as can be seen from the representative ex-
amples below. Note that the complementizer *na*, which introduces finite
embedded clauses and can be omitted in some contexts, is always omitted
here (see 20.2.1).

(37)a. Ma fa'huegu   i   [para   u   fanápanak].
       AGR make.into.game   the FUT   AGR AGR.RECP.hit
       'They made a game of hitting each other.' (CD, entry for *ápanak*)

b. I   As Mintagua   ma'å'agang   ha'   nu esti na
   the As Mintagua   AGR.PASS.call.PROG   EMP   OBL this L
   nå'an   sa' put   i   [sumåga   si   Antonio Borja ...].
   name   because   the AGR.live   UNM   Antonio Borja
   'Mintagua is called by this name because Antonio Borja...lived
   there.' (CD, entry for *As Mintagua*)

c. Yanggin ilelek-mu   na   disgråsia   i   [ti para   un
   if   say-AGR.PROG   COMP   disgrace   the not FUT   AGR
   li'i'   bunitå-ña   i   palåo'an   ni   un guaiya ...]
   see   beauty-AGR the woman   COMP   AGR love
   'If you say that it's a shame that you will not see the beauty of the
   woman you love...' (*Ginen I Obispo* April 3, 2011)

d. Atyu ha' nila'la'-ñiñiha, i [humåhanåo
that *EMP* *NMLZ.alive-AGR.PROG* *the* *AGR.go.PROG*
fanggualu'an put fanggualu'an tåotåo ya
field *by* *field.L* *person* *and.then*
mañåñakki i dos ...]
AGR.ANTIP.steal.PROG *the* *two*
'That was their life, that the two would go from field to field and would steal...' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

The structure of the *i* construction is straightforward in certain respects. The embedded clause that is introduced by *i* has the full structure of a sentence. For instance, it can begin with a TAM (as in (37a)) or the sentential negative *ti* (37c). It can also be modified by an adverbial clause, as can be seen from (38) (The adverbial clauses in the examples below are surrounded by the inner set of brackets.)

(38)a. Kulan che'chu' tattamudu ennåo i [[kada
seems.like *work.L* *stupid* *that* *the* *whenever*
mapåsa i lai], ma'amenda gi sigenti notchi].
AGR.PASS.pass *the* *law* *AGR.PASS.amend* *LCL* *following* *night*
'It seems idiotic that whenever a law is passed, it is amended the following night.' (CD, entry for *taktamudu*)

b. Gof na'piniti guini gi tano'-ta i [[achuka'
AGR.very *sad* *LCL.this* *LCL* *land-AGR* *the* *although*
guaha pribilihu-mu], mafa'baba håo ha'].
AGR.exist *privilege-AGR* *AGR.PASS.deceive* *you* *EMP*
'The sad thing here in our (incl.) place is even though you have personal rights, you are still being fooled.' (CD, entry for *pribilehu*)

The *i* in this construction is the definite article, and the constituent that it forms with the embedded clause is a noun phrase. This can be seen from the following:

(i) Like the definite article, the *i* that introduces the embedded clause can be preceded by a demonstrative (see 6.2.2). The demonstratives are in boldface in (39); note that (39b) contains an *i* construction embedded inside another *i* construction.

(39)a. Bisiu esta **ennåo** i [para un fåtta kada Lunis].
habit *already* *that* *the* *FUT* *AGR* *absent* *each* *Monday*
'It is already becoming a habit for you to be absent every Monday.' (CD, entry for *Lunis*)

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b. Na'chatsaga **esti** i [para ta hassu i [mangahulu'
AGR.bothersome this the FUT AGR think the AGR.go.up
i presiu siha gi tenda]].
the price PL LCL store
'It is bothersome for us (incl.) just to think about the fact that prices
are rising at the store.' (CD, entry for *na'chátsaga*)

(ii) Like other noun phrases, the *i* construction is marked for case. The *i*
constructions in the examples above are in the unmarked case; the *i* con-
struction in (40) is in the oblique case.

(40) Dispåsiu håo nu ennåo i [para un
AGR.slow you OBL that the FUT AGR
fanhannan].
ANTIP.threaten.w.finger
'You better slow down when threatening with raised forefinger.'
(CD, entry for *hanhan*)

(iii) Like other noun phrases, the *i* construction can serve as the object of
a preposition. In (41), this preposition is *put* 'because, so that'.

(41) Put i [ti umeksisiu yu'], kulang
because the not AGR.exercise I seems.like
bumåobåo i tatåotåo-hu.
AGR.full.of.liquid the body-AGR
'Because I did not exercise, my body seems to be full of liquid.'
(CD, entry for *båobåo*)

(iv) Like other noun phrases, the *i* construction can appear at the left
edge of the main clause. In (42), the complex sentence begins with an *i*
construction that specifies a location in time.

(42) I [para bai hu atan ha' i batku gi pantalån],
the FUT AGR watch EMP the ship LCL dock
esta yu' bulåchu.
already I AGR.dizzy
'Just looking at the ship at the dock, I get dizzy.' (CD, entry for
bulåchu)

(v) Observe finally that in Chamorro, no argument contained within a
noun phrase, except the possessor, can be questioned, focused or relativized.

This can be seen from the contrast between the statement and the corresponding question in (43). (The relevant noun phrase is enclosed in brackets.)

(43)a. Ha kuntetesta si Lucy [i kåtta ginin i
     AGR reply.PROG UNM Lucy the letter from the
     chi'lu-ña].
     sibling.AGR
     'Lucy is answering the letter from her sister.'

   b. *Ginin håyi na ha kuntetesta si Lucy [i
     from who? COMP AGR reply.PROG UNM Lucy the
     kåtta]?
     letter
     ('From whom is Lucy answering the letter?')

Similarly, no argument contained within the *i* construction can be questioned, focused or relativized. Compare the statement and the corresponding question in (44).

(44)a. Båba i [para un fåla' i guihan].
     AGR.bad the FUT AGR eat.raw the fish
     'For you to eat the fish raw is not good.'

   b. *Kuåntu na klåsin guihan båba i [para un
     how.many? L sort.L fish AGR.bad the FUT AGR
     fåla']?
     eat.raw
     ('How many kinds of fish is it not good for you to eat raw?')

This is yet another respect in which the *i* construction resembles a noun phrase and differs from an embedded clause introduced by *na*. When an embedded clause is introduced by *na*, the arguments it contains can routinely be questioned, focused, or relativized, as (45) is intended to suggest.

(45)a. Båba [na para un fåla' i guihan].
     AGR.bad COMP FUT AGR eat.raw the fish
     'It is not good for you to eat the fish raw.'

   b. Kuåntu na klåsin guihan båba na [para un
     how.many? L sort.L fish AGR.bad COMP FUT AGR
     fåla']?
     eat.raw
     'How many kinds of fish is it not good for you to eat raw?'

In short, the *i* construction is a noun phrase in which the definite article is followed by an embedded clause.

It is more difficult to pinpoint how, if at all, the *i* construction differs in meaning or function from a finite embedded clause introduced by the complementizer *na*. Since the *i* construction is introduced by the definite article (see 6.2.1.2.1), one might imagine that the statement expressed by the embedded clause is already familiar to both speaker and addressee (i.e. it is part of the common ground). And indeed, the *i* construction typically occurs in contexts that meet this description. It often serves as the subject of predicates that are evaluative adjectives or noun phrases; see e.g. (37c), (38), (39), and (44a).

The *i* construction may well be the Chamorro analogue of English noun phrases in which a noun like *fact* or *idea* is followed by a finite embedded clause (which is sometimes called an appositive clause). Further research is needed to take this conjecture further. Note that Chamorro does have noun phrases in which an overt noun is followed by an appositive clause, such as the embedded clause enclosed in brackets in (46), but these are relatively infrequent.

(46) Pues i finu' manåmku' na ["Guse'ña
      so *the speech.L* *PL.elder* *COMP* *AGR.quick.COMPAR*
      magacha' i dakun kini un kohu"] sustansiån-ña ...
      AGR.PASS.catch *the liar* *than* *a* *lame* *meaning-AGR*
      'So the old saying that "A liar is caught up with more quickly
      than a lame man", its meaning is...' (EM 133)

21

INFINITIVES AND REDUCED CLAUSES

Chamorro has nonfinite embedded clauses and clause-like constituents. Infinitive clauses, which are formed from an infinitive predicate, must have a 'missing' subject. Reduced clauses are predicate phrases that are smaller than clauses, but serve some of the same functions as infinitive clauses.

21.1 Overview

In addition to finite embedded clauses (see Chapter 20), Chamorro has two types of nonfinite embedded clauses or clause-like constituents. Infinitive clauses, which are formed from an infinitive predicate, have a 'missing' subject. So-called *reduced clauses* are predicate phrases that are smaller than clauses, but serve some of the same functions as infinitive clauses. Both types of constituents have limited distributions.

This chapter is devoted to infinitive clauses and reduced clauses. The structure and function of infinitive clauses is discussed first (in 21.2). The spotlight then shifts to two constructions in which infinitive clauses occur, known as raising (21.3) and control (21.4). Two differences between control and raising are briefly discussed (in 21.5). Finally, reduced clauses are described (in 21.6).

21.2 Infinitive clauses

21.2.1 Infinitive predicates

An infinitive predicate in Chamorro can be formed from a verb, an adjective, or a noun. These predicates are marked for aspect in the usual way (see 2.2.1). But instead of the normal (finite) forms of agreement with the subject, which also indicate mood (see 2.2.2), they show infinitival agreement with the subject. The forms of this agreement are listed in (1).

(1)   AGREEMENT FOR PREDICATES OF INFINITIVE CLAUSES
    a. *Transitive verbs*
        [invariant]   -um-
    b. *Intransitive predicates*
        Sg./Du.   -um- / ——
        Pl.   man-

Infinitival agreement does not indicate the person of the subject. This agreement is always realized as *-um-* when the predicate is a transitive verb; see (2a) for an illustration. When the predicate is an intransitive verb, the forms of infinitival agreement are the same as the normal (finite) realis forms of agreement (see 2.2.2.2.1). The similarity extends to which affix the verb uses to indicate a sg./du. subject, as can be seen from (2b-c). The infinitive verb *hånåo* 'go' in (2b), whose missing subject is dual, is marked with the infix *-um-*; the infinitive verb *ma'udai* 'ride' in (2c), whose missing subject is singular, shows no special marking. These are the same affixes that these verbs would use in the corresponding finite realis clauses.

(2) a. Hita   lokkui' ta nisisita [**tumungu'** taimanu para   ta
        we.INCL also   AGR need   INF.know   how?   FUT   AGR
        maneha i   chathinassu].
        manage the worry
        'We (incl.) too need to know how we (incl.) should manage worry.'
        (*Ginen I Obispo* November 18, 2001)
    b. Ha tutuhun i   dos   [**humånåo** para   u   fanayuyut].
        AGR begin   the two   AGR.INF.go FUT   AGR ANTIP.pray
        'The two began to go to pray.' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 2, 2000)
    c. Ti malagu'   si   Juan   [**ma'udai** gi andas].
        not AGR.want   UNM   Juan   AGR.INF.ride LCL stretcher
        'Juan did not want to ride on the stretcher.' (CD, entry for *åndas*)
    d. Manmalagu'   [**manhuyung**   gi tasi].
        AGR.want   AGR.INF.go.out LCL ocean
        'They wished to go out to sea.' (CD, entry for *inasa*)

Otherwise, when the predicate is an adjective or noun, the forms of infinitival agreement are similar to the (finite) realis forms of agreement, but not the same. The difference is that infinitival agreement treats the adjective or noun as if it were an intransitive verb that describes an event. Thus, infinitival agreement on an adjective whose missing subject is singular or dual is realized as the infix *-um-*, even when the agreement in the corresponding finite realis clause would be realized by no special marking; see

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(3a). Similarly, infinitival agreement is realized by the overt affixes in (1b) when the predicate is a noun, even though predicates that are nouns do not show agreement with the subject in finite clauses; see (3c-d).[1]

(3) a. Esta   ti   ya-hu   [**umettigu** / *ettigu].
         already not like-AGR   AGR.INF.short
         'I don't like being short anymore.'
     b. I   famagu'un ti   yan-ñiha   [**manyayas**].
         the PL.child   not like-AGR   AGR.INF.tired
         'The children don't like being tired.'
     c. Todu   tåotåo malagu'   [**mumå'gas**].
         every   person AGR.want   AGR.INF.boss
         'Everybody wants to be boss.' (CD, entry for *må'gas*)
     d. ... håfa   para   u   mapadesi ni   atyu   siha   ni
         what? FUT   AGR PASS.endure by   that   PL   COMP
         manhålum   [**mandisipulu-ña**].
         AGR.go.in   AGR.INF.disciple-AGR
         '(He said) what would be endured by those who became his disciples.' (*Ginen I Obispo* September 8, 2013)

Most verbs, adjectives, and nouns can serve as infinitive predicates, including impersonal predicates (see 14.2) and verbs of possession (14.3). However, prepositions evidently cannot serve as infinitive predicates (see 4.3.2); neither can transitive verbs that show agreement as if they were nouns (see 14.4).

When an infinitive predicate in the control construction is formed from a passive verb, the passive affix used is *ma-* (see 10.2.2.3).

(4) a. Hu nisisita [**malasa**]   sa'   manmamuti todu
         AGR need   AGR.INF.PASS.massage   because AGR.ache   all
         i   gugåt-tu.
         the joint-AGR
         'I need to be massaged because all my joints ache.' (CD, entry for *gugat*)
     b. Esta   mano'sun i   famagu'un [**manmalalåtdi**   as
         already AGR.tired   the PL.child   AGR.INF.PASS.scold OBL

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[1] The prefix *man-* in *mandisipulu-ña* 'to be his disciples' in (3d) could be analyzed as infinitival agreement or as the plural prefix on nouns. The *-um-* infix in *mumå'gas* 'to be boss' in (3c) has only one analysis, as infinitival agreement.

tatan-ñiha].
father-AGR
'The children are tired of being scolded by their father.'

21.2.2   Structure and function
Infinitive clauses cannot serve as simple sentences, main clauses of complex sentences, or adjuncts. Instead, they occur as arguments of the predicate in just two constructions, which are called *raising* and *control*. The dependent character of infinitive clauses is related to certain aspects of their structure.

First of all, an infinitive clause cannot begin with any of the tense-aspect-mood markers found in finite clauses (see 4.2). Instead, the semantic mood of an infinitive clause is determined by the *higher predicate*; that is, by the predicate that has the infinitive clause as an argument. Consider the complex sentences below. In (5a), the higher predicate is *malagu'* 'want', so the event of knowing described by the infinitive clause is non-actual and desired. If this event happens at all, it will be in the future relative to the event of wanting. In (5b), the higher predicate is *atotga* 'dare', so the event of saying described by the infinitive clause is simultaneous with the event of daring. If the event of daring has already occurred, then so has the event of saying.

(5) a.   Malagu'   yu' [tumungu'   taimanu macho'guen-ña   esti
          AGR.want   *I*   *INF.know*   *how?*   *WH[DJ].PASS.make-AGR*   *this*
          i   buñelus   månha].
          the doughnut.L green.coconut
          'I want to know how this coconut doughnut is made.' (CD, entry for
          buñelus månha)
     b.   Pues   si   Pedro   ha   atotga   [sumangåni Gui'] ...
          then   *UNM*   *Pedro*   *AGR dare*   *INF.say.to*   *him*
          'Then Peter dared to say to Him...' (NT 81)

Second, an infinitive clause must have a subject that is 'missing'—necessarily unpronounced. The identity of this missing subject is determined by the complex sentence in which the infinitive clause occurs. In (6a), for instance, the infinitive clause is an argument of the higher verb *påra* 'stop' in a raising sentence, so its missing subject is realized as the subject of this higher verb, namely, *håo* 'you (sg.)'. In (6b), the infinitive clause is an argument of the higher verb *ayuda* 'help' in a control sentence, so its missing subject is identified with *gui'* 'her', the argument of *ayuda* that names the one who is helped.

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(6) a. Ma anña   håo teniki kumu   ti   pumåra   håo
    AGR harm   you surely   if   not AGR.stop   you
    [umistotba   siha].
    INF.disturb   them
    'They will harm you if you don't stop bothering them.' (CD, entry
    for *anña*)
   b. Ha ayuda   gui'   [tumohgi   hulu'].
    AGR help   her   AGR.INF.stand   up
    'He helped her to stand up.' (NT 230)

When the infinitive clause is passive, the missing subject is the internal argument of the passive verb, as in (4) (see 10.2.2.1).

    Nonetheless, infinitive clauses *are* clauses. Like other clauses, an infinitive clause can be negated with the sentential negative *ti* (see 4.1 and 17.2).

(7) a. Ha tutuhun dispues i   lahi-hu   [ti mumaguf].
    AGR.begin   then   the son-AGR   not AGR.INF.happy
    'Then my son began to be unhappy.'
   b. Ma'å'ñåo   si   Dolores [ti umosgi   si   nanå-ña].
    AGR.afraid UNM   Dolores not INF.obey   UNM   mother-AGR
    'Dolores is afraid not to obey her mother.'
   c. Pues   en sedi   ha'   gui'   [ti umayuda   si
    so   AGR allow   EMP   him   not INF.help   UNM
    tatå-ña   o sino si   nanå-ña].
    father-AGR   or   UNM   mother-AGR
    'You (pl.) even allow him not to help his father or his mother.' (NT
    74)

    Moreover, an infinitive clause has the same effect as other embedded clauses on the pattern of wh-agreement in Chamorro. In long-distance questions, relative clauses, and focus constructions, when an argument of an embedded clause is displaced to the left edge of a higher clause, the *higher* verb or adjective can show the special agreement known as wh-agreement (see 22.5.2, 23.5.2, and 24.5). In such cases, the form of wh-agreement on the higher predicate signals the grammatical relation of the embedded clause out of which the argument has been displaced. Infinitive clauses pattern just like finite embedded clauses in this respect. For instance, the long-distance relative clauses in (8) are formed by relativizing the direct object of an infinitive clause. The higher verbs in these relative clauses show wh-agreement, and the form of this agreement signals the grammatical relation of the infinitive clause. In (8a), *tungu'* 'know' shows the object form of wh-agree-

ment (which here is not realized overtly), because the infinitive clause serves as its direct object. In (8b), *malagu'* 'want' shows the oblique form of wh-agreement, because the infinitive clause serves as an oblique. (Note that the relative clause in these examples is surrounded by the outer set of brackets and the infinitive clause, by the inner set of brackets.)

(8) a. Mungnga   machånsa   håo   para   un cho'gui i   [ti
         don't   *AGR.PASS.risk* *you*   *FUT*   *AGR do*   *the not*
         un tungu' [chumo'gui]].
         AGR know   *INF.do*
         'Don't take the risk of doing what you don't know how to do.' (CD, entry for *chånsa*)

    b. I   katni   ni   **[malago'-hu**   [kumånnu']],
        the meat *COMP* *WH[OBL].want-AGR* *INF.eat*
        taigui   guennåo.
        AGR.not.be.at   *there*
        'The meat that I wanted to eat was not there.'

These similarities to other embedded clauses make it clear that infinitive clauses are indeed clauses. (Reduced clauses, on the other hand, are smaller than clauses; see 21.6.2.)

An infinitive clause can be embedded within another infinitive clause. This can be seen from (9).

(9) a. Malagu'   yu' [tumungu'   [mama'tinas   brohas]].
         AGR.want   *I   INF.know   AGR.INF.ANTIP.make sponge.cake*
         'I want to learn to make sponge cake.' (CD, entry for *brohas*)

    b. Ma'agoddai si   Joey   ya   ti   malagu'
        AGR.excited UNM   Joey   and.then   not AGR.want
        [pumåra   [pumeska]] sa'   bula   guihan.
        AGR.INF.stop   AGR.INF.fish because AGR.many   fish
        'Joey was so excited and didn't want to stop fishing because there was a lot of fish.' (CD, entry for *ma'agoddai*)

The higher predicate determines much of the structure and function of an infinitive clause, including whether it occurs in the raising construction or the control construction. Raising and control are discussed next.

21.3   Raising

In the raising construction, the higher predicate has just one argument, an infinitive clause that names an event. The missing subject of the infinitive clause is realized as the subject of the higher predicate.

Only a few higher predicates in Chamorro occur in the raising construction, and most or all of them are aspectual verbs. Some of these verbs are listed in (10).

(10)   SOME RAISING PREDICATES
         kuntinuha   'continue'
         påra   'stop'
         tutuhun   'begin'

Some examples of raising sentences were given above in (2b), (6a), and (7a); more are cited below.

(11)a.   I   imang   pumalolo'pu'   ya   ma tutuhun
         the hermit.crab WH[SBJ].fall.on.PROG   and.then   AGR begin
         [**kumånnu'**]   asta   ki manana.
         INF.eat   until   PRT AGR.daylight
         'The hermit crabs would fall on [the leftover coconut] and they
         would begin to eat it until dawn.' (EM 88)

   b.   Låo åntis   di ta kuntinuha [**umakusa** esti na tåotåo] ...
         but before PRT AGR continue   INF.accuse this L   person
         'But before we (incl.) continue to accuse this person...' (*Ginen I
         Obispo* September 30, 2001)

   c.   Ti u   påra   [**gumuaha**   tåotåo   mo'na].
         not AGR stop   AGR.INF.exist   people.L before
         'There are not going to stop coming into existence *taotao mo'na*.'
         (Cooreman 1983: 4)

In the raising sentences in (11), the missing subject of the infinitive clause is realized as a null pronoun that serves as the subject of the higher verb. The null pronoun subject of *tutuhun* 'begin' in (11a) names the ones ('they') who did the eating; the null pronoun subject of *kuntinuha* 'continue' in (11b) names the ones ('we (incl.)') who did the accusing. In (11c), the infinitive clause contains an impersonal verb (see 14.2.2), so the null dummy that is its subject is realized as the subject of *påra* 'stop'. In the raising sentences cited earlier, the missing subject of the infinitive clause is realized as an overt noun phrase that serves as the subject of the higher verb. These noun phrases

are *i dos* 'the two' in (2b), the weak pronoun *håo* 'you' in (6a), and *i lahi-hu* 'my son' in (7a).

Although higher predicates that allow raising can have an argument that is an infinitive clause, they seem to prefer for this argument to be a reduced clause (see 21.6).

21.4   Control

In the control construction, the higher predicate has several arguments. One argument is an embedded clause with a missing noun phrase. Another argument, called the *controller*, is a noun phrase that serves as the antecedent of the missing noun phrase. To put it differently, the controller is the argument of the higher predicate that the missing noun phrase is identified with.

The higher predicate plays an important role in control: it determines which of its arguments serves as the controller and whether control is required or merely allowed. In addition, it determines whether the embedded clause—the clause with the missing noun phrase—is nonfinite or finite. Chamorro is one of the few languages of the world that allow control into both infinitive clauses and finite clauses. Control into infinitive clauses is described in 21.4.1, and control into finite clauses, in 21.4.2.

21.4.1   Into infinitive clauses
When control is into an infinitive clause, the missing noun phrase is always the missing subject of the infinitive (see 21.2.2). The higher predicate determines which of its other arguments serves as the controller.

Higher predicates in control can be classified according to the number of arguments they have, the semantic role of the controller, and whether control is allowed or merely required. The broad outlines of this classification are as follows.

In the simplest case, the higher predicate has just two arguments: an embedded clause. which in this part of the discussion is an infinitive clause, and the noun phrase that serves as the controller. The controller is typically the argument that names the one who causes the event, or experiences the state, that the higher predicate describes.

Consider the control sentences in (12). The higher predicate *ma'å'ñåo* 'afraid' in (12a) has two arguments: the noun phrase *i famagu'un* 'the children', which names the ones who experience fear, and an infinitive clause (enclosed in brackets), which names what is feared. The noun phrase *i famagu'un* serves as the controller of the missing subject of the infinitive clause, which names the ones who ask permission. The higher predicate *chagi* 'try'

in (12b) has two arguments: the null pronoun 'you (sg.)', which names the one who tries, and an infinitive clause, which names what is tried. The null pronoun serves as the controller of the missing subject of the infinitive clause, which names the one who does the eating.

(12)a. I famagu'un manma'å'ñåo [ti manmamaisin
      the PL.child AGR.afraid not AGR.INF.ANTIP.ask
      petmisu gi halum tånu' åntis di u fantinani'].
      permission LCL inside.L land before PRT AGR AGR.go.to.toilet
      'The children are afraid not to ask permission in the jungle before they urinate or defecate.' (CD, entry for *ma'å'ñåo*)
    b. Kåo guaha na un chagi [kumånnu' aga',
      Q AGR.exist COMP AGR try INF.eat banana
      mångga, pat åbas]?
      mango or guava
      'Have you ever tried to eat bananas, mangos, or guavas?' (EM 82)

The predicate dictates the semantic role of the controller, not its grammatical relation. In control sentences formed from the higher verb *tungu'* 'know', for instance, the controller is the argument that names the one who knows. This argument serves as the controller whether it is realized as the subject (as in (13a)) or the passive agent (13b).

(13)a. Ha tungu' i neni [tumugi' i na'ån-hu].
      AGR know the baby INF.write the name-AGR
      'The baby knows how to write my name.'
    b. Matungu' ni famagu'un [tumugi' i na'ån-hu].
      AGR.PASS.know OBL PL.child INF.write the name-AGR
      'The children know how to write my name (lit. how to write my name is known by the children).'

In control sentences formed from the higher verb *ayuda* 'help', the controller is the argument that names the one who receives help. This argument serves as the controller whether it is realized as the direct object (as in (14a)) or the derived subject of passive (14b).

(14)a. Ha na'falak guatu si Pedro i kannai-ña
      AGR make.go.to to.there UNM Pedro the hand-AGR
      ya ha ayuda gui' [tumohgi hulu'].
      and.then AGR help her AGR.INF.stand up
      'Peter gave her his hand and helped her to stand up.' (NT 230)

b. Låo   gine'ti   kannai-ña   as Jesus   ya
   but   AGR.PASS.hold   hand-AGR   OBL Jesus   and.then
   inayuda   gui'   [tumohgi].
   AGR.PASS.help   he   AGR.INF.stand
   'But his hand was taken by Jesus and he was helped to stand.' (NT
   79)

The higher predicate may require control or merely allow it. When the
higher predicate merely allows control, its embedded clause can contain a
missing noun phrase identified with the controller, but does not have to do
so. The two options are illustrated below for *malagu'* 'want'. In (15), this
verb takes an infinitive clause and occurs in the control construction; in (16),
it takes a finite embedded clause and control does not occur.

(15)a. Malagu'   yu' [tumaitai   esti na kåtta   ginin   un sindålu
       AGR.want I   INF.read   this L letter   from   a soldier
       ni   gumera   giya   Vietnam].
       COMP   AGR.make.war   LCL   Vietnam
       'I want to read this letter from a soldier who fought in Vietnam.'
       (*Ginen I Obispo* July 16, 2000)
    b. Ti malagu'   [kalamtin]   esti na kåndit.
       not AGR.want   AGR.INF.start.action this L   lamp
       'This lamp cannot (lit. does not want to) work.' (CD, entry for
       kåndit)
(16)a. Malagu'   yu' [na   u fanadingan   i   familia put
       AGR.want I   COMP   AGR AGR.converse   the family about
       i   mamamaila' na guput].
       the upcoming   L party
       'I want the family to talk about the upcoming party.' (CD, entry for
       ádingan)
    b. Ti malagu'   si   Tang   [para ta usa i   fayåo].
       not AGR.want   UNM   Dad   FUT   AGR use the pestle
       'Dad does not want us (incl.) to use the wooden pestle.' (CD, entry
       for *fayåo*)

Some common higher predicates that have two arguments and allow
control, but do not require it, are listed in (17).

(17)   SOME PREDICATES THAT ALLOW CONTROL
        disidi   'decide'
        ga'o-   'prefer'

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hassu   'remember, think'
ma'å'ñåo   'afraid'
malagu'   'want'
nisisita   'need'
tungu'   'know'
ya-   'like'

In contrast, a higher predicate that requires control *must* occur in the control construction: its embedded clause must have a missing noun phrase that is identified with the controller. Two higher predicates of this type, *atotga* 'dare' and *o'sun* 'tired, bored', appear in control sentences in (18).

(18)a. Ti   ha atotga [umatan   ta'lu].
        not AGR dare   INF.look.at   again
        'He would not venture to look (lit. he did not dare to look at it again).' (NT 224)
    b. O'sun   yu' [humunguk i   kantåm-mu].
        AGR.bored   I   INF.hear   the song-AGR
        'I'm bored of listening to your song.' (CD, entry for *o'sun*)

When the embedded clause contains no missing noun phrase identified with the controller, the result is ungrammatical, as is illustrated in (19). (Finite embedded clauses are used to make this point, because infinitive clauses *must* have a missing noun phrase; see 21.2.2.)

(19)a. *I   palåo'an   ha atotga [para   u   fanmumu].
        the woman   AGR dare   FUT   AGR AGR.fight
        ('The woman dared for them to fight.')
    b. *O'sun   yu' [na   gaigi   håo   guini].
        AGR.bored   I   COMP AGR.be.at   you   here
        ('I'm bored of you being here.')

Some common higher predicates that have two arguments and require control are listed in (20).[2]

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[2] The higher predicate *tutuhun* 'begin' has two uses. It can have just one argument, in which case it occurs in the raising contruction; or it can have two arguments, in which case it occurs in the control construction and requires control (see 21.5).

(20)   SOME PREDICATES THAT REQUIRE CONTROL
        atotga   'dare'
        båsta   'stop, quit, enough; let it be'
        chagi   'try'
        etyak   'copy, imitate, learn'
        o'sun   'tired, bored'
        tutuhun   'begin'
        yayas   'tired'

Finally, the higher predicate can have three arguments: an embedded clause, a noun phrase that serves as the controller, and another noun phrase. In such cases, the controller is typically the argument that names the one who is affected by the event that the higher predicate describes, or toward whom the event is directed.

Two higher predicates of this type that require control are listed in (21).

(21)   MORE PREDICATES THAT REQUIRE CONTROL
        ayuda   'help'
        sedi   'allow, permit'

Control sentences formed from these predicates are cited in (14) and below.

(22)a. I   katgån-ña   era   i   [para u   ayuda   ottru
        the load-AGR   actually   the FUT   AGR help   other
        tåotåo   siha   [umuma   i   katgan-ñiha]].
        person PL   INF.carry the load-AGR
        'His burden, as it turned out, was to help others carry their burdens.'
        (*Ginen I Obispo* July 7, 2002)
   b.   Pues   en sedi   ha'   gui'   [ti umayuda   si
        then   AGR allow EMP   him   not INF.help   UNM
        tatå-ña   o sino   si   nanå-ña].
        father-AGR   or   UNM   mother-AGR
        'You (pl.) even allow him not to help his father or his mother.' (NT 74)

As expected if these predicates require control, their embedded clause must contain a missing noun phrase identified with the controller. When no such noun phrase occurs, the result is ungrammatical; see (23).[3]

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[3] The higher verb *sedi* 'allow, permit' has two uses. In the use illustrated in the text, it is a control predicate that has three arguments: a noun phrase that

(23)a.　*Hu　　sedi　　si　　　Chai'　[para　un　konni'　si
　　　　AGR　　allow　UNM　　Chai'　FUT　AGR take　　UNM
　　　　Ampan　para　　i　　espitåt].
　　　　Ampan　to　　　the　hospital
　　　　('I allowed Chai' for you to take Ampan to the hospital.')
　　b.　*In ayuda　i　　ma'estra　siha　[na　　para　　u
　　　　AGR help　　the　teacher　　PL　　COMP　FUT　　AGR
　　　　na'funhåyan　　si　　　Iku i　che'chu'].
　　　　make.finished　UNM　　Iku the work
　　　　('We (excl.) helped the teachers for Iku to finish the job.')

21.4.2　Into finite clauses
In addition to allowing control into an infinitive clause, Chamorro allows
control into a finite clause. This is typologically unusual: many languages
have control into infinitive clauses, and many other languages have control
into finite clauses, but few languages have both. In Chamorro, when control
is into a finite clause, the embedded clause is in the irrealis mood; the
missing noun phrase is usually the embedded subject, but not always (see
below). The higher predicate determines the semantic role of the controller,
and whether control is required or merely allowed, in the just same way as
when control is into an infinitive clause.

Control into a finite clause is an option for all the higher predicates
described earlier in 21.4.1. This is particularly clear when the higher predi-
cate requires control; that is, when it demands that the embedded clause have
a missing noun phrase identified with the controller. The control sentences
in (24) and (25) involve higher predicates of this type.

(24)a.　Ti　ha atotga　si　　　Miguel [para　u　kundena　　i
　　　　not AGR dare　　UNM　　Miguel　FUT　AGR condemn　　the
　　　　Aniti ...]
　　　　Devil
　　　　'Michael did not dare to condemn the Devil...' (NT 457)
　　b.　Månu　ni　　o'sun　　　håo　　[para　un　famokkåti]?
　　　　where?　COMP　AGR.bored　you　　FUT　　AGR walk.to

names the one who allows, another noun phrase that names who is allowed,
and an embedded clause that names what is allowed. The controller is the
argument that names who is allowed. *Sedi* has a different use in which it has
just two arguments: a noun phrase that names the one who allows, and an
embedded clause that names what is allowed. In this second use, it is not a
control predicate.

'Where are you tired of walking to?'

   c. Si   Tevye ha chagi kuåntu   i   siña   [para u
       UNM   *Tevye* *AGR try*   *how.much* *the can*   *FUT*   *AGR*
      na'kumprendi   i   asaguå-ña].
      make.understand   *the spouse-AGR*
      'Tevye tried as much as possible to make his wife understand.'
      (*Ginen I Obispo* October 27, 2002)

(25)a. I   patgun ha sångan na   [inayuda   gui'   [para
      the child *AGR say*   *COMP* *AGR.PASS.help* *he*   *FUT*
      u   kuntinuha   manayuyut ...]]
      AGR continue   *AGR.INF.ANTIP.pray*
      'The child said that he was helped to continue to pray...' (*Ginen I Obispo* October 21, 2001)

   b. Bai hu sedi   håo   [na   un chiku yu'].
      AGR   *allow*   *you*   *COMP* *AGR kiss*   *me*
      'I will allow you to (lit. that you will) kiss me.' (EM 67)

In these sentences, the higher predicate has a finite embedded clause as one of its arguments, and that clause has a missing noun phrase identified with the controller. In (24a), for instance, *atotga* 'dare' has two arguments, the noun phrase *si Miguel*, which names the one who dares, and the embedded clause, which names what is dared. *Si Miguel* serves as the antecedent of the missing noun phrase in the embedded clause, which is the subject of *kundena* 'condemn'. Because the higher predicate *requires* control, the fact that these sentences are grammatical reveals that control is involved. What is unusual is that the language has infinitives, but nonetheless allows control into a finite clause.

Control into a finite clause is widespread and frequent in Chamorro. Note, though, that it is ultimately the higher predicate that determines whether control is into an infinitive clause or a finite clause. Individual higher predicates differ from one another in this respect. Naturally-occurring data suggest that *chagi* 'try' and *ayuda* 'help' freely allow control into an infinitive or a finite clause; *atotga* 'dare' and *etyak* 'learn' prefer control into an infinitive clause; *o'sun* 'tired, bored' almost always involves control into an infinitive clause; and *sedi* 'allow, permit' almost always involves control into a finite clause.

Other higher predicates both require control and require it to be into a finite clause. These predicates do not allow their embedded clause to be an infinitive clause. Predicates with this profile typically have three arguments; a few are listed in (26).

(26)   SOME PREDICATES THAT REQUIRE CONTROL
         INTO A FINITE CLAUSE
         afuetsas   'force'
         sohyu'   'encourage, urge'
         tågu'   'direct'

Some illustrative examples are cited in (27).

(27)a.   Para   bai hu sohyu' esti siha   i   mañe'lu-ta   [para
         FUT   AGR   urge   this PL   the   PL.sibling-AGR   FUT
         u   fanmofo'na   ya   ...]
         AGR AGR.ahead.PROG and.then
         'I would urge our (incl.) brethren to go ahead and...' (NT 334)
    b.   Ha tågu' yu' si   tåta   [para   bai låbbun i   floris].
         AGR direct   me   UNM   father   FUT   AGR trim   the flower
         'Father told me to trim the flowers.' (CD, entry for *låbbun*)

It is unclear whether Chamorro has any higher predicates that both require
control and require that it be into an infinitive clause.

Recall that when control is into a infinitive clause, the missing noun
phrase identified with the controller is always the missing subject of the
infinitive (see 21.4.1). A wider range of options is available when control is
into a finite clause. Then the missing noun phrase is typically the embedded
subject, as can be seen from the sentences cited earlier. But the missing noun
phrase can also be a passive agent. This happens routinely when passive is
used to evade a violation of the person-animacy restriction, as in (28a-b) (see
16.2). (The control sentences in (28) and (29) involve higher predicates that
require control.)

(28) a. Kåo   ha   atotga ennåo na tåotåo [para   un
         Q   AGR   dare   that   L   person   FUT   AGR
         finaisin   [kåo   kasåo   håo]]?
         PASS.ask   Q   AGR.married   you
         'Did that man dare to ask you (lit. that you would be asked by him)
         if you are married?'
    b.   Cha'-miyu   sesedi   ni håyi   [para   en
         better.not-AGR   allow.PROG   not anyone FUT   AGR
         fanfina'baba].
         AGR.PASS.deceive
         'Do (pl.) not let anyone deceive you (pl.) (lit. that you (pl.) would
         be deceived by him).' (NT 382)

c.   Ha tågu'   i   muchåcha [para   u   nina'i   fina'mamis].
     AGR direct   *the maid*   *FUT* *AGR PASS.give* *pastry*
     'He asked the maid to give him a pastry (lit. that he would be given
     a pastry by her).' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 4, 2002)

Very occasionally, the missing noun phrase can be the possessor of the em-
bedded subject, as in (29).

(29)a.   Put ihemplu,   atyu   i   che'lu ni   ha atotga   [para
         for example   *that*   *the sibling* COMP   *AGR dare*   *FUT*
         u   machuli'   unu na riñon-ña   ...]
         AGR PASS.take   one L   kidney-AGR
         'For example, that sibling who dares for one of his kidneys to be
         taken out [to give to his other sibling]' (*Ginen I Obispo* April 6,
         2003)
    b.   Puedi   si   Yu'us ...   en faninayuda   [para   u
         perhaps UNM   God   AGR AGR.PASS.help*   *FUT*   *AGR*
         fanparehu   hinassun-miyu].
         AGR.similar thought-AGR
         'Now may God...help you (pl.) to be of the same mind (lit. perhaps
         you (pl.) will be helped by God that your (pl.) thoughts be the
         same)...' (NT 294)

In this respect, control into a finite clause is more liberal than control into an
infinitive clause.

What unites the grammatical relations of the missing noun phrase when
control is into a finite clause is that they all count as prominent in one way
or another. The subject is the most prominent constituent of the clause (see
3.2.1). The passive agent is the most prominent argument of the clause—the
external argument (see 10.2.2.1). Arguably, the possessor of the subject
counts as prominent as well, given the subject's prominence and the fact that
the possessor is its most prominent subpart. The missing noun phrase in con-
trol cannot bear any other grammatical relation. In the ungrammatical (30),
for instance, the missing noun phrase is the embedded direct object.

(30)   *Ha   chagi   si   Ling   [na   si   Carmen   u
        AGR   *try*   *UNM*   *Ling*   *COMP* *UNM*   *Carmen*   *AGR*
        sodda   gui'   gi giput].
        find   *her*   *LCL party*
        ('Ling tried that Carmen find her at the party.')

Finally, control into a finite clause is also an option for higher predicates that merely allow control, such as *malagu'* 'want'. This might seem obvious, given sentences like those in (31), in which the subject of the embedded clause is evidently identified with the controller.

(31)a. Malagu'   gui'   [para   u   fåhan   esti na   tånu'].
       AGR.want   he   FUT   AGR buy   this L   land
       'He wanted to buy this land.' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 28, 2002)
   b. Masåsangan   *me'nan Yu'us*   yanggin   malagu'   i
      AGR.PASS.say.PROG   before.L God   if   AGR.want   the
      kumekuentus   [para   u   mahonggi].
      AGR.speak.PROG   FUT   AGR PASS.believe
      '*Honest to God* is used if the speaker wants to be believed.' (CD,
      entry for *me'nan Yu'us*)
   c. Malagu'   yu' [na   bai hu   falak   atyu   na   songsung].
      AGR.want   I   COMP   AGR   go.to   that   L   village
      'I want to go to that village.' (Cooreman 1983: 109)

However, exactly because *malagu'* 'want' does not *require* control, it is not clear whether the embedded subjects in (31) are identified with the controller or merely ordinary null pronouns that happen accidentally to pick out the same referent as the controller. See Chung (2019) for evidence that control is indeed involved in sentences of this type.

21.5   Control versus raising

Much research in generative syntax has been devoted to the differences between control and raising. This section highlights two contrasts between these constructions in Chamorro.

First, in Chamorro as in many other languages, the noun phrase that serves as the controller in the control construction is an argument of the higher predicate. But the noun phrase that serves as the higher subject of the raising construction is *not* an argument of the higher predicate; it merely realizes the missing subject of the infinitive clause. Consequently, the controller cannot be a meaningless null dummy—given that meaningless null dummies are never arguments—but the higher subject in raising can be.

Second, in Chamorro, both control and raising can be formed from an infinitive clause. But only the control construction has the option of being formed from a finite embedded clause; the raising construction does not.[4]

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[4] This is an area where there is considerable crosslinguistic variation.

These contrasts can be used to determine whether a particular higher predicate in Chamorro is a control predicate or a raising predicate—that is, whether it occurs in the control construction or the raising construction. Consider the verbs *nisisita* 'need' and *påra* 'stop'. Both verbs can have an argument that is an infinitive clause, as can be seen from (32).

(32) a.　Ta nisisita [prumutehi kontra binenu todu　i　tipu'　gi
　　　　AGR need　*INF.protect against poison all*　*the well*　*LCL*
　　　　isla].
　　　　island
　　　　'We (incl.) need to protect all the wells on the islands from contamination.' (CD, entry for *tupu'*)

　　b.　Åhi',　ti　kumeke'ilek-ku na　　mampåra　　hamyu
　　　　no　*not meaning-AGR*　*COMP*　*AGR.stop*　*you.PL*
　　　　[umasisti　yu'].
　　　　INF.assist　*me*
　　　　'No, I don't mean that you (pl.) stopped assisting me.' (NT 367)

However, the constructions in (32) are not the same. *Nisisita* 'need' cannot have a meaningless null dummy as its subject (see (33a-b)). Moreover, it can have an infinitive clause or a finite embedded clause as an argument (33c). These patterns are evidence that *nisisita* is a control predicate, and therefore (32a) is a control construction.

(33) a.　*Ha　　nisisita [gumuaha　　　mås　　ayudu para　　i
　　　　AGR　　*need*　*AGR.INF.exist*　*more*　*help*　*for*　*the*
　　　　manhobin].
　　　　PL.young
　　　　('There needs to be more help for youth.')

　　b.　*Ha　　nisisita [umuchan　　giya　　Luta].
　　　　AGR　　*need*　*AGR.INF.rain*　*LCL*　*Luta*
　　　　('It needs to rain on Rota.')

　　c.　Låo　　mås　　ki　　esti — ta nisisita [na　　para　　ta
　　　　but　　*more*　*than*　*this*　*AGR need*　*COMP*　*FUT*　*AGR*
　　　　fanmanisisita].
　　　　AGR.PASS.need
　　　　'But more than this—we (incl.) need to be needed.' (*Ginen I Obispo* September 30, 2001)

Påra 'stop' shows the opposite pattern. This verb can have a meaningless null dummy as its subject (see (11c) and (34a)), and it has an argument that

can be an infinitive clause, but not a finite embedded clause (34b). This is evidence that *påra* is a raising predicate, and therefore (32b) is a raising construction.

(34)a. Pumåra [umuchan].
   AGR.stop *AGR.INF.rain*
   'It stopped raining.'

 b. *Para u påra [para u chotchu] i neni.
   FUT *AGR* *stop* *FUT* *AGR* *ANTIP.eat* *the baby*
   ('The baby is going to stop eating.')

Chamorro has a few higher predicates that can serve as raising predicates *or* control predicates. One such verb is *tutuhun* 'begin', which has an argument that is an infinitive clause in (35).

(35)a. Ha tutuhun esti na palåo'an [tumattiyi si Pablo yan
   AGR *begin* *this* *L* *woman* *INF.follow* *UNM* *Paul* *and*
   hami].
   us.EXCL
   'This woman began to follow Paul and us (excl.).' (NT 244)

 b. Ennåo na mumentu na ha tutuhun [tumailayi] i
   that *L* *moment* *COMP* *AGR* *begin* *AGR.INF.cruel* *the*
   rilihon-mu.
   religion-AGR
   'It's at that moment that your religion begins to be unkind.' (*Ginen I Obispo* November 3, 2002)

The diagnostics used earlier make the point that this verb has two uses. On the one hand, *tutuhun* can have a meaningless null dummy as its subject, as shown in (36). In such cases, it serves as a raising predicate: it has just one argument—an infinitive clause that names an event—and occurs in the raising construction.

(36) Ha tutuhun [humomhum] gi sanhiyung.
   AGR *begin* *AGR.INF.dark* *LCL* *DIR.outside*
   'It began to get dark outside.'

On the other hand, *tutuhun* can also have a finite embedded clause as an argument, as (37) shows. In such cases it serves as a control predicate: it has two arguments—a noun phrase that names the one who begins and an

embedded clause that names what is begun—and occurs in the control construction.

(37)a.　Ha tutuhun i　palåo'an　[na　ti para　u　gof
　　　　AGR begin　the woman　COMP　not FUT　AGR very
　　　　tangis].
　　　　cry
　　　　'The girl began not to cry so much.'
　　b.　...　para　ta tutuhun dinuebu　[para　ta fanlå'la'
　　　　　　FUT　AGR begin　over.again　FUT　AGR AGR.live
　　　　sigun　　gi manmatago'-ta].
　　　　according　LCL WH[OBL].AGR.PASS.direct-AGR
　　　　'[We (incl.) are being invited...that] we (incl.) might begin again to live as we (incl.) were told.' (*Ginen I Obispo* August 6, 2000)

These two uses of *tutuhun* are distinct. When *tutuhun* has a dummy subject, and therefore serves as a raising predicate, its embedded clause must be infinitival, not finite.

(38)a.　Ha　tutuhun [umuchan].
　　　　AGR begin　AGR.INF.rain
　　　　'It began to rain.'
　　b.　?*Ha　tutuhun [para　u　uchan].
　　　　AGR　begin　FUT　AGR rain
　　　　('It began to rain.')

This is expected if *tutuhun* is not (also) a control predicate in (38a).

Although *tutuhun* has two uses, there are circumstances in which these uses can lead to indistinguishable outcomes. When the subject of *tutuhun* is meaningful and the embedded clause is an infinitive clause, as in (35), the sentence could involve raising or control. Linguists often assume that only animate noun phrases can serve as controllers in the control construction. Adopting this point of view, sentences like (35b), in which *tutuhun* has an inanimate subject, must involve raising. But sentences like (35a) have two possible analyses: they could involve raising or control.

21.6　Reduced clauses

Reduced clauses are embedded predicate phrases. Though smaller than clauses, they serve some of the same functions as infinitive clauses. (Constructions that involve a reduced clause are sometimes referred to as

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restructuring or *clause reduction*.) Like infinitive clauses, reduced clauses occur only as arguments of a higher predicate. But unlike infinitive clauses, they form part of the same clause as the higher predicate. This section briefly surveys their form and function. 21.6.1 describes the form of the predicate of a reduced clause (called *the embedded predicate* below). 21.6.2 discusses the structure and function of reduced clauses, and 21.6.3 looks briefly at the higher predicates that allow or require them. Finally, 21.6.4 describes how they are used to form impersonal sentences with an implicit argument.

21.6.1   The embedded predicate

The embedded predicate of a reduced clause is generally a verb or adjective. This predicate is marked for aspect in the usual way (see 2.2.1), and shows agreement with the subject. Because reduced clauses are not clauses but merely predicate phrases, the embedded predicate agrees with the subject of the higher predicate—that is, with the subject of the clause that contains the reduced clause. The form of this agreement is determined partly by the agreement on the *higher* predicate. If the higher predicate shows agreement through the person-and-number forms, then the embedded predicate shows infinitival agreement (see 21.2.1). But if higher predicate shows agreement through the number affixes alone (i.e. it does not indicate person), then the embedded predicate shows (finite) realis agreement (see 2.2.2). Intuitively, this unusual pattern maximizes the chances that the form of agreement on *some* predicate of the clause—ideally the higher predicate, but failing that, the embedded predicate—will register the person of the subject.

Recall that intransitive verbs and adjectives in the realis mood show agreement through the number affixes alone. When the higher predicate has this profile (e.g. *påra* 'stop', *malagu'* 'want'), the embedded predicate of the reduced clause shows (finite) realis agreement, as in (39). (The agreement on the embedded predicate in these examples is represented in boldface.)

(39)a. Pumåra   [**hu** sienti   i   taotåo siha   gi   uriyå-hu].
         AGR.stop   AGR feel   the person PL   LCL around-AGR
         'I stopped feeling the people around me.' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 16, 2000)

     b. Ti malagu'   si   Maria [**ha** tulaika apiyidu-ña].
         not AGR.want   UNM   Maria   AGR change surname-AGR
         'Maria does not want to change her surname.' (CD, entry for *apiyidu*)

     c. Yanggin   ti   manmalagu'   hit   [**ta** tulaika i   baban
         if   not AGR.want   we.INCL AGR change the bad.L

kustumbret-ta]   ...
habit-AGR

'If we (incl.) don't want to change our (incl.) bad habits...' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 9, 2000)

The result is that the agreement on the embedded predicate signals the person and number of the subject (e.g. the 1 sg. *hu* in (39a)).

Otherwise, the embedded predicate shows infinitival agreement. This happens when the higher predicate is transitive (e.g. *tutuhun* 'begin' in (40a-b)) or in the irrealis mood (40b-c).[5] Then, the higher predicate's agreement indicates the person and number of the subject, and the embedded predicate cannot show finite agreement, whether realis (as in (40c)) or irrealis (40b).

(40)a. Ha tutuhun [k**um**uentusi   si   Pedro   i   MamPaganu
         AGR begin   INF.speak.to   UNM   Pedro   the PL.Pagan
         ni   esti siha   na palåbras].
         OBL this PL   L   words
         'Peter began to speak to the Pagans with these words.' (NT 232)
   b. Para   bai in   tutuhun [**mu**na'gåsgas / ***bai in** na'gåsgas   i
         FUT   AGR   begin   INF.make clean AGR   make.clean the
         kusina].
         kitchen
         'We (excl.) are going to begin to clean the kitchen.'
   c. Para   u   påra   [b**um**isita / ***ha** bisita   si   Dolores].
         FUT   AGR stop   INF.visit   AGR visit   UNM   Dolores
         'He's going to stop visiting Dolores.'

This agreement pattern is quite clear when the embedded predicate is a transitive verb (as in (39-40)). The pattern is presumably the same when the embedded predicate is an intransitive verb or adjective, but then the paradigms for infinitival agreement and (finite) realis agreement fall together (see 2.2.2.2.1 and 21.2.1). Consider the sentences in (41), which are in the realis mood and contain a reduced clause whose predicate is an intransitive verb (*gera* 'make war'). This embedded predicate can be assumed to show (finite) realis agreement in (41a), because the higher predicate (*påra* 'stop') is intransitive, but infinitival agreement in (41b), because the higher predicate (*tutuhun* 'begin') is transitive.

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[5] In (40a), *si Pedro* 'Peter', the subject of the higher verb *tutuhun* 'begin', appears inside the reduced clause (see 21.6.2).

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(41)a. Manhinalang   i   Chapanis   ya   manpåra
        AGR.PASS.make.dread   *the* *Japanese*   *and.then*   *AGR.stop*
        [**mang**gera].
        AGR.make.war
        'The Japanese surrendered and they stopped fighting.' (CD, entry
        for *halang*)

    b. Ma tutuhun [**mang**gera]   i   taotåo giya Bosnia ...
        AGR begin   *AGR.INF.make.war*   *the* *person* *LCL Bosnia*
        'The people began to make war in Bosnia...' (*Ginen I Obispo* July
        23, 2000)

To sum up, reduced clauses can be differentiated from infinitive clauses by their agreement with the subject. But the difference is obvious from inspection only when the embedded predicate is transitive. Other differences between reduced clauses and infinitive clauses are discussed immediately below.

21.6.2 Structure and function

Like infinitive clauses, reduced clauses are syntactically dependent. They occur only as arguments of a higher predicate; they cannot begin with any of the tense-aspect-mood markers found in finite clauses (see 4.2); and their subject is usually realized outside them (but see below). However, reduced clauses are unlike infinitive clauses in that they are not clauses in their own right. Instead, they form part of the same clause as the higher predicate.

One indication of this is provided by the agreement pattern discussed just above (in 21.6.1): the form of the embedded predicate's agreement with the higher subject depends on the form of the *higher* predicate's agreement. This strongly suggests that the two predicates belong to the same clause. Other patterns that reveal that reduced clauses are smaller than clauses include the following:

(i) Clauses can be negated with the sentential negative *ti*, which precedes the predicate (see 17.2). But reduced clauses cannot be negated with *ti*. Compare the finite embedded clause in (42a) and the infinitive clause in (42b) with the reduced clause in (42c).

(42)a. Kåo   ha prumeti siha   [na   ti para   u
        Q   *AGR promise them*   *COMP* *not FUT*   *AGR*
        fanchetnudan]?
        AGR.injured
        'Did he promise them that they would not be hurt?' (*Ginen I Obispo*
        November 18, 2001)

b. Ma'å'ñåo   si   Maria   [ti   bumisita   si   nanå-ña].
   AGR.afraid   *UNM*   *Maria*   *not*   *INF.visit*   *UNM*   *mother-AGR*
   'Maria is afraid not to visit her mother.'

c. *Ma'å'ñåo   si   Maria   [ti   ha   bisita   si   nanå-ña].
   AGR.afraid   *UNM*   *Maria*   *not*   *AGR visit*   *UNM*   *mother-AGR*
   ('Maria is afraid not to visit her mother.')

Unsurprisingly, when a clause that contains a reduced clause is negated, the sentential negative *ti* precedes the higher predicate, as in (43).

(43)   Ti   malagu'   si   Juan   [ha ångkas   i   che'lu-ña].
        not   *AGR.want*   *UNM*   *Juan*   *AGR ride.with*   *the*   *sibling-AGR*
        'Juan did not want to ride together with his sibling.' (CD, entry for
        ångkas)

This is the expected pattern if a reduced clause forms part of the same clause as the higher predicate.

(ii) A subject cannot appear in a clause more deeply embedded than the clause in which it originated. In a complex sentence, for instance, the subject of the higher predicate cannot occur inside an embedded clause. This holds true even in control sentences in which the subject of the higher predicate is the controller of the missing subject of the infinitive clause, as in (44). (The subjects in these examples are represented in boldface.)

(44)a.   Yan-ñiha   **i   famalåo'an**   [kumassi   si   Juan].
          like-AGR   *the PL.woman*   *INF.tease*   *UNM*   *Juan*
          'The women like teasing Juan.'

b.   *Yan-ñiha   [kumassi   **i   famalåo'an**   si   Juan].
      like-AGR   *INF.tease*   *the PL.woman*   *UNM*   *Juan*
      ('The women like teasing Juan.')

However, in sentences containing a reduced clause, the subject of the higher predicate can occur right after the higher predicate or appear *inside* the reduced clause, following the embedded predicate. The two options are illustrated below. In (45), the subject occurs right after the higher predicate (see also (39b-c) and (43)).

(45)   Låo   tåya'   nai   pumåra   **i   Saina**   [ha
        but   *AGR.not.exist*   *COMP*   *AGR.stop*   *the Lord*   *AGR*
        honggi na   i   taotåo   siña   mañotsut].
        believe COMP   *the person*   *can*   *AGR.regretful*

'But God never stopped believing that people can feel remorse.'
(*Ginen I Obispo* July 21, 2002)

In (46), the subject appears inside the reduced clause, following the embedded predicate but preceding other constituents of the reduced clause (see also (40a)).

(46)a. Ha tutuhun [hinatmi **i boti** ni hanum].
    AGR begin   AGR.INF.PASS.penetrate the boat   OBL water
    'The boat began to be filled with water (lit. be penetrated by water).' (NT 68)

   b. I fine'nena na biåhi anai ha chagi [umusa **si**
    the first   L time   COMP AGR try   INF.use UNM
    Ana lupis å'paka' ...]
    Ana   skirt.L white
    'The first time that Ana wore a slip...' (CD, entry for *lupis å'paka'*)

These word order options reveal that reduced clauses are not clauses. Instead, both the embedded predicate and the higher predicate belong to the same clause; that is why the subject can appear after either of them.

    (iii) Still more evidence comes from passive clauses. Passive clauses differ systematically from transitive clauses in the grammatical relations used to realize the verb's arguments (see 10.2.2). The internal argument—the argument that would be the direct object of the transitive clause—is realized as the subject of the corresponding passive clause, and the external argument—the argument that would be the subject of the transitive clause—is realized as an oblique (the passive agent). Compare the transitive clause in (47a) with the corresponding passive clause in (47b).

(47)a. Ha lalåtdi si Carmen i famagu'un.
    AGR scold UNM Carmen   the PL.child
    'Carmen scolded the children.'

   b. Manlinalåtdi i famagu'un as Carmen.
    AGR.PASS.scold the PL.child   OBL Carmen
    'The children were scolded by Carmen.'

Interestingly, a passive clause can be formed from a clause that contains a reduced clause. In these *long passives*, the embedded predicate and the higher predicate act as a single complex predicate. The embedded predicate, which must be (originally) transitive, is realized as a passive verb, and the higher predicate is either a passive verb (as in (48)) or a stative intransitive

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verb or adjective (49). (As can be seen from these examples, most long passives have no literal English translation.)

(48)a. Kinenni'   Gui'   as Pedro gi un bånda ya
AGR.PASS.take   he   OBL Pedro LCL a   side   and.then
tinituhun   linalåtdi.
AGR.PASS.scold AGR.PASS.scold
'Peter took Him aside and began to rebuke Him (lit. he was begun to be scolded by him).' (NT 32)

   b. Matutuhun   mafaisin   Gui'   ni   mandisipulu-ña.
AGR.PASS.begin AGR.PASS.ask   he   OBL PL.disciple-AGR
'His disciples began to question Him (lit. he was begun to be asked by his disciples)' (NT 117)

(49)a. Chumaddik inagang   si   Miguel gi as   Maria.
AGR.fast   AGR.PASS.call   UNM   Miguel OBL   Maria
'Maria hurried to call Miguel.'

   b. O'sun   manbinisita   i   famalåo'an ni mediku.
AGR.bored AGR.PASS.visit   the PL.woman   OBL doctor
'The doctor is tired of visiting the women.'

In a long passive, the internal argument of the embedded predicate serves as the subject of the (entire) clause. This can be seen from its form: it is in the unmarked case (see e.g. (49)), it can be realized as a weak pronoun (see (48b)), and both passive predicates can show agreement with it.[6] The argument that would normally be the subject of the higher predicate is realized as the passive agent.

Although speakers freely produce and accept long passives, sentences of this type cannot be formed from all higher predicates. There is considerable individual variation in the range of higher predicates allowed. Generally, long passives can be formed from most or all of the higher predicates listed in (50) below and from at least some of the higher predicates listed in (52). What matters here is that this construction is possible at all. This fact provides additional evidence that reduced clauses form part of the same clause as the higher predicate.

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[6] However, when the higher predicate is a stative intransitive verb, it generally does not show agreement or else agrees with the external argument; see (49b).

21.6.3   The higher predicate

A reduced clause consists of the embedded predicate plus all its arguments except the argument that would normally be realized as the subject. This *unassigned argument* is generally realized as, or identified with, the subject of the higher predicate, in ways reminiscent of raising and control (see 21.3, 21.4, and 21.5). The difference, in the account given here, is that the embedded clause in raising and control contains a subject that is necessarily unpronounced, whereas a reduced clause contains no subject at all.[7]

When the higher predicate has just one argument (namely, the reduced clause), the unassigned argument of the embedded predicate is realized as subject of the higher predicate. Some common higher predicates of this type are listed in (50). Notice that they overlap with the raising predicates listed earlier in (10), but do not coincide with them.

(50)   PREDICATES THAT ALLOW A 'RAISING' REDUCED CLAUSE
        makkat   'hard, difficult'
        mapput   'hard, complicated'
        munhåyan   'done, finished'
        påra   'stop'
        sessu   'often'
        tutuhun   'begin'

Some illustrative examples were cited earlier (in 21.6.1 and 21.6.2); several more appear below.

(51)a. Yanggin   munhåyan hamyu [en   katkulu   i
        if   *AGR.done* *you.DU* *AGR*   *calculate*   *the*
        matiriåt], sangåni si   tåta.
        material   *say.to* *UNM*   *father*
        'When you (du.) are done calculating the material, tell Father.' (CD,
        entry for *katkulu*)
    b. Mansessu   [ma bisita   si   Tita   giya   Luta].
        AGR.often *AGR visit* *UNM*   *Tita*   *LCL*   *Luta*
        'They often visit Tita on Rota.'

When the higher predicate has two arguments, the argument that is not the reduced clause is realized as the subject, and the unassigned argument of

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[7] Alternatively, one could say that embedded clauses and reduced clauses both have subjects, but the subjects occupy different positions in constituent structure.

the embedded predicate is identified with it. Some very common higher predicates of this type are listed in (52). As might be expected, these overlap with some of the control predicates listed earlier in (17) and (20).

(52)   PREDICATES THAT ALLOW A 'CONTROL' REDUCED CLAUSE
         båsta   'stop, quit, enough'
         chaddik   'fast, hurried'
         chagi   'try'
         hassu   'think'
         ma'å'ñåo   'afraid'
         malagu'   'want'
         ya-   'like'

See the examples cited earlier in 21.6.1 and 21.6.2, as well as the following.

(53)a. Ma'å'ñåo   [humånåo   i   patgun para   i   iskuela] ...
        AGR.afraid AGR.go   the child   to   the school
        'The child is afraid to go to school [because he is often threatened].'
        (CD, entry for *ma'å'ñåo*)

   b.   Ti ya-ña   [gumimin   si   Pete   åmut
        not like-AGR   AGR.INF.ANTIP.drink   UNM   Pete   medicine.L
        Chamorro].
        Chamorro
        'Pete doesn't like to drink Chamorro medicine.' (CD, entry for
        gimin)

There are apparently no higher predicates that have a reduced clause argument and two other arguments.

Speakers vary considerably in their views of which higher predicates can have an argument that is a reduced clause. For some speakers, almost every control predicate that has just two arguments allows one of these arguments to be an infinitive clause or a reduced clause. For other speakers, the range of predicates that allow a reduced clause is more limited. This is an area where further investigation is needed.

21.6.4   Sentences with an implicit argument
Reduced clauses can be used to form an impersonal construction in which the unassigned argument of the embedded predicate is an indefinite implicit argument. Curiously, infinitive clauses cannot be used in this construction.

The construction is formed from adjectives, such as *måolik* 'good' and *mapput* 'hard, difficult', that have an argument that can describe an event. This argument can be a finite embedded clause, as (54) shows.

(54)a. Måolekña   [na   un chotchu   gollai]   yanggin
       AGR.good.COMPAR   *COMP*   *AGR ANTIP.eat*   *vegetable*   *if*
       malångu   håo.
       AGR.sick   *you*
       'It is better that you eat vegetables if you're sick.' (CD, entry for *chotchu*)

    b. Sa'   ti   mapput   [para   ta fa'baban   maisa   hit
       because not   *AGR.hard*   *FUT*   *AGR deceive.L*   *self*   *us.INCL*
       ya   ta na'atlibis   i   minagåhit].
       and.then   *AGR make.opposite*   *the truth*
       'Because it's not hard for us (incl.) to deceive ourselves (incl.) and for us (incl.) to turn the truth upside-down.' (*Ginen I Obispo* October 28, 2001)

Alternatively, the argument can be a reduced clause. Then it is possible for the unassigned argument of the embedded predicate to be an indefinite implicit argument—an argument that has no syntactic realization at all and is understood to be nonspecific (see 9.3.2). The result is an impersonal construction that makes a general statement, as in the following.

(55)a. Måolekña   [humånåo adilantåo]   ki   i
       AGR.good.COMPAR   *AGR.go*   *in.advance*   *than*   *the*
       madingu.
       AGR.PASS.leave
       'It is better to go in advance than to be left behind.' (CD, entry for *adilantåo*)

    b. Ha kumprendi na   mapput   [lumå'la'   yan   ottru
       AGR understand COMP   *AGR.hard*   *AGR.live*   *with*   *other*
       tåotåo].
       person
       'He understood that it is hard to live with other people.' (*Ginen I Obispo* September 8, 2002)

    c. Måolik   [manngasan   an hafnut].
       AGR.good   *AGR.ANTIP.trap.fish*   *if incoming.tide*
       'It's good to trap fish during high tide.' (CD, entry for *ngasan*)

These examples involve reduced clauses whose embedded predicate is intransitive (in (55a-b)) or antipassive (55c). Otherwise, when the embedded predicate is originally transitive but not in the antipassive, long passive must occur (see 21.6.2). Then the embedded predicate appears in the *ma*-passive, and its unassigned argument—the implicit argument—corresponds to the passive agent. (The use of the *ma*-passive is expected, given that the *ma*-passive allows the passive agent to be an implicit argument; see 9.3.2.2.)

(56) a. Måolik   manmafa'nå'gui   i   famagu'un
AGR.good   *AGR.PASS.teach*   *the* *PL.child*
manngasan.
AGR.INF.ANTIP.trap.fish
'It's good to teach children to catch fish by trapping them.' (CD, entry for *ngasan*)

b. Mapput   masåtba   esti na prublema   gi halum
AGR.hard   *AGR.PASS.solve* *this L*   *problem*   *LCL inside.L*
familia.
family
'It is difficult to solve this problem within the family.' (CD, entry for *mapput*)

The fact that long passive is required when the embedded predicate is transitive reveals that this construction involves a reduced clause, not an infinitive clause. In fact, infinitive clauses are not allowed, as can be seen from (57).

(57) a. *Måolekña   [muna'lågu i   nengkanu' på'gu].
AGR.good.COMPAR *INF.cook*   *the food*   *now*
('It's better to cook the food now.')

b. *Mapput   [tumattiyi i   areklamentu siha].
AGR.hard   *INF.follow*   *the rule*   *PL*
('It's hard to follow the rules.')

More generally, infinitive clauses in Chamorro do not permit their missing subject to be an indefinite implicit argument. This is another way in which they differ from reduced clauses, which allow their unassigned argument to be implicit.

Impersonal constructions of the type shown in (55-56) can be formed from many higher predicates that are adjectives. More examples are cited below.

(58)a. Pribidu   makonni'   i   aliling   tulompu.
        AGR.forbidden *AGR.PASS.take* *the* *sea.shell.L* *top*
        'It is forbidden to harvest *aliling tulompu*.' (CD, entry for *aliling*
        tulompu)

    b. Na'maguf   ma'atan   i   buton agaga'   siha.
        AGR.pleasant   *AGR.PASS.look.at* *the* *flower.sp*   *PL*
        'It is so pleasing to see the *Gomphrena globosa*.' (CD, entry for
        butón agaga')

21.7   **Further reading**

See Chung (2019) for discussion of control into infinitive clauses and finite clauses. The discussion of restructuring in 21.6 improves on the description in Chung (2006).

22

QUESTIONS

Chamorro has several strategies for forming questions. One strategy involves the dependency known as wh-movement. When an interrogative word or phrase is displaced to the left edge of a question by wh-movement, special types of agreement are used to register information about the displaced constituent.

22.1   Overview

Chamorro has several strategies for forming questions. One strategy for forming constituent questions involves the dependency known as wh-movement. When an interrogative word or phrase is displaced to the left edge of a question by wh-movement, special types of agreement, called *wh-agreement* and *complementizer agreement*, are used to register information about the constituent that has been displaced.

   This chapter is devoted to questions. 22.2 describes the formation of polar questions and alternative questions. Then, 22.3 lays out the basics of constituent questions, 22.4 describes the details of wh-agreement and complementizer agreement, and 22.5 discusses embedded questions and long-distance questions.

22.2   Polar questions and alternative questions

Polar questions are questions that can be answered *hunggan* 'yes' or *åhi'* 'no'. Alternative questions explicitly present two (or more) alternatives for the answer. Like many other languages, Chamorro treats polar questions and alternative questions alike. When these questions serve as main clauses, they are either introduced by the complementizer *kåo* (glossed Q) or else distinguished from statements merely by question intonation. (Question intonation is indicated by a sharp final rise; see Topping and Dungca 1973: 163-164.) The options are illustrated for polar questions in (1).

(1) a. **Kåo**   guaha   nai   manli'i'   håo   lu'åo?
       Q   *AGR.exist* *COMP*   *AGR.ANTIP.see*   *you*   *bird.sp.*
       'Have you ever seen a brown booby?' (CD, entry for *lu'åo*)

b. **Kåo** para un ika gi as Tun Antonio?
   Q FUT AGR donate LCL Mr. Antonio
   'Are you going to give a donation to Tun Antonio?' (CD, entry for *ika*)

 c. Para u guaha påstit gi giput?
   FUT AGR exist pastry LCL party
   'Will there be pastries at the party?' (CD, entry for *påstit*)

d. Ya-mu mumatlina?
   like-AGR AGR.INF.godmother
   'Do you like being a godmother?' (CD, entry for *matlina*)

They are illustrated for alternative questions in (2).

(2) a. **Kåo** ga'ñam-mu otubai' pat karetan guaka para
   Q prefer-AGR motor.scooter or cart.L cow for
   i lanchu?
   the farm
   'Would you prefer a motor scooter or a bullcart for the farm?' (CD, entry for *otubái'*)

b. **Kao** manmasepåra i familia pat manmapo'lu ha'
   Q AGR.PASS.separate the family or AGR.PASS.put EMP
   gi un lugat?
   LCL one place
   'Were the families separated or were they just put in one place?' (MM 14)[1]

c. Pa un nå'i yu' ni malago'-hu pat åhi'?
   FUT AGR give me OBL WH[OBL].want-AGR or no
   'Are you going to give me what I want or not?' (CD, entry for *paun*)

Both polar questions and alternative questions can occur as finite embedded clauses in complex sentences. Then they must be introduced by the complementizer *kåo* (see 20.2.1, 20.3.1, and 20.4.1). Consider the embedded polar questions in (3) and the embedded alternative questions in (4).

(3) a. Ti hu tungu' [**kåo** måolik
   not AGR know Q AGR.good

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[1] The examples cited from MM are from transcribed interviews in the Rota dialect, and are presented in the orthography used in that work.

    mafa'åmut   esti i   palapan hilitai.
    AGR.PASS.make.into.medicine this the plant.sp.
    'I don't know if this *palapan hilitai* is medicinal (lit. good to make
    into medicine).' (CD, entry for *palapan hilitai*)

  b. Ha hahassu   [**kåo**   para   u   re'enggåncha   ta'lu].
    AGR think.PROG Q   *FUT*   *AGR re-enlist*   *again*
    'He is thinking about whether he will re-enlist again.' (CD, entry for
    re'enggåncha)

  c. Ispiha i   chiba   [**kåo**   gåddun].
    look.for the goat   *Q*   *AGR.entangled*
    'Check the goat to see if it is entangled.' (CD, entry for *chiba*)

(4) a. Ti hu tungu' [**kåo**   lokka'   pat e'baba'   esti i
    not AGR know   *Q*   *AGR.tall*   *or AGR.short*   *this the*
    cha'guan Saigon].
    Cinderella.weed
    'I don't know if this Cinderella weed is tall or short.' (CD, entry for
    chå'guan Saigón)

  b. Ha hahassu   [**kåo**   para   u   kånnu' pat mungnga].
    AGR think.PROG Q   *FUT*   *AGR eat*   *or don't*
    'He is thinking about whether he should eat it or not.' (CD, entry for
    mungnga)

22.3   Constituent questions: basics

Constituent questions are questions formed from interrogative words. In
Chamorro, almost all interrogative words are general indefinites (see 9.2.1).
Interrogative words can serve as predicates, arguments, or adjuncts. They
can also be part of phrases that serve as predicates, arguments, or adjuncts,
in which case the phrase is called an *interrogative phrase*. The syntactic
function of interrogative words and phrases affects the form of the question,
including whether wh-movement and the special types of agreement asso-
ciated with it are involved. The details are described below.

22.3.1   Questions of the predicate
Interrogative words can serve as the predicate of a constituent question, as
can be seen from the following.

(5) a. **Håyi**   na'ån-mu?
    who?   name-AGR
    'What is your name (lit. who is your name)?'

b. **Håfa** ennåo na tinanum   i   guma' mela?
   what?   that   L   plant   the plant.sp.
   'What is that *hibiscus rosa-sinensis* plant?' (CD, entry for *guma'*
   mela)

c. **Ngai'an** i   sagun   i   ayuyu?
   when?   the season.L   the coconut.crab
   'When is the coconut crab hunting season?' (CD, entry for *sågu*)

d. **Taimanu** mineddong-ña i   mangga?
   how?   size-AGR   the mango
   'How big is the size of the mango?' (CD, entry for *mineddung*)

e. **Manmånggi**   i   panglåo orus   siha?
   AGR.where.is   the golden.crab   PL
   'Where are the golden crabs?' (CD, entry for *pånglåo orus*)

Most interrogative words that can serve as predicates can serve as adjuncts or arguments as well. However, a few interrogative words, such as the interrogative verb *månggi* 'where is?', must serve as predicates.[2]

Interrogative words can also serve as part of the predicate when the predicate is a noun phrase or prepositional phrase (see 3.4.1.2). For instance, when the predicate is a noun phrase, an interrogative word can serve as its determiner (see (6a)) or the determiner of its possessor (6b-c).[3] When the predicate is a prepositional phrase, an interrogative word can serve as its object (6d).[4]

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[2] Topping and Dungca (1973: 235-236) suggest that *månggi* is derived from *månu nai gaigi*, which literally means 'where is?'.

[3] Although an interrogative word can serve as the possessor of a noun phrase predicate, that happens only rarely. Other constructions, such as verbs of possession, are used instead (see 14.3).

[4] Often when an interrogative word is part of a predicate that is a noun phrase or prepositional phrase, it forms part of the same phonological word as the noun or preposition, although this is not represented in the orthographies. Prepositions in Chamorro are phonologically dependent elements that lean on material to their right to form a phonological word. In (6d), the preposition *ginin* 'from' forms a phonological word with *månu* 'where?', which serves as its object. Similarly, nouns that marked with the post-head form of the linker form a phonological word with material to their right (see 7.3.1). In (6b-c), the nouns *pulu* 'hair' and *siudadånu* 'citizen, resident' are marked with this form of the linker, so they form part of the same phonological word as *håfa* 'what?' and *månu* 'which?'.

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(6) a. [**Håfa** na klåsin] talåya   ennåo?
       what?   L   sort.L   fishing.net   that
       'What kind of fishing net is that?' (CD, entry for *talåya*)

   b. Pulun   [**håfa**   na   gå'ga'] mohon esti?
       hair.L   what?   L   animal   UNREAL   this
       'What kind of animal fur is this (lit. Fur of what animal is this)?'
       (CD, entry for *pulun gå'ga'*)

   c. Siudadånun [**månu** håo na   lugåt]?
       resident.L   which?   you L   place
       'Which state are you a resident of?' (CD, entry for *siudadånu*)

   d. [Ginin **manu**] mågi   i   salang?
       from   where?   to.here   the   land.slug
       'Where do the land slugs come from?' (CD, entry for *sålang*)

Finally, Chamorro has a small number of phonologically dependent verbs that must lean on material to their right to form a phonological word (see 2.2.1.1.2). One such verb is the phonologically dependent verb *malak* 'go to'. *Malak* can combine with a goal argument that is an interrogative word, as in (7). When that happens, the two form a single phonological word, although this is not reflected in the orthographies.[5]

(7)   Manmalak **månu** hamyu anai   matututuhun   i
       AGR.go.to   where?   you.PL   when   AGR.PASS.begin.PROG   the
       gera?
       war
       'Where did you (pl.) go when the war was beginning?' (MM 109)

These types of constituent questions are quite common. In all of them, the interrogative word occurs 'in place' (*in situ*), meaning that its location is determined by its function as the predicate, or by its syntactic category, not by its status as an interrogative word. The interrogative words in (5) occur in the same location as other predicates, at the beginning of the clause. The interrogative words in (6) and (7) occur in positions normally occupied by other noun phrases (see (6d) and (7)) or other determiners (6a-c). (The same positions can be occupied by demonstratives, such as *atyu* 'that (near third

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[5] Although the verbs of possession, *gai* 'have' and *tai* 'not have', are phonologically dependent, they cannot combine with an interrogative word. This is because *gai* and *tai* must combine with a head noun (see 14.3), but no interrogative words are nouns. (Instead, they are general indefinites, which could be considered a type of pronoun.)

person)', for instance; see 6.2.2.) The fact that the interrogative word occurs *in situ* distinguishes questions of the predicate from other types of constituent questions.

22.3.2   Questions of arguments

Interrogative words or phrases can serve as arguments, or parts of arguments, of the predicate. Specifically, they can serve as subjects, direct objects, or obliques associated with a verb or adjective, or as subjects of a predicate that is a noun or preposition. These interrogative words or phrases differ from other arguments in that they do not follow the predicate, but instead occur at the left edge of the question. Their location is determined by their interrogative status, in other words. The discussion here assumes that they are displaced to the left edge of the question by wh-movement.

   When a noun phrase is displaced by wh-movement, it appears in the unmarked case, even if it would have been in some other case if wh-movement had not occurred. Consider the questions in (8) below, which have an interrogative word that is a noun phrase. In (8a-b), the interrogative word is a subject; in (8c), a passive agent; and in (8d), an oblique argument that specifies location. Even though passive agents are normally in the oblique case (see 5.1.2.2) and noun phrases that specify location are normally in the local case (see 5.1.2.3), all these interrogative words are in the unmarked case.

(8) a.   **Håyi**   fafa'tinas   guini   na guma'?
         who?   *one.who.cooks*   *LCL.this*   *L*   *house*
         'Who is the cook in this house?' (CD, entry for *fáfa'tinas*)
    b.   **Håfa**   sumatba   hamyu   gi durantin   i   gera?
         what?   *WH[SBJ].save*   *you.PL*   *LCL during.L*   *the   war*
         'What saved you (pl.) during the war?' (MM 116)
    c.   **Håyi**   para   u   inaprubetcha   todu   siha   i
         who?   *FUT*   *AGR*   *PASS.make.use.of*   *all*   *PL*   *the*
         guinaha-mu?
         possession-AGR
         'Who is going to make use of all your possessions?' (*Ginen I Obispo* October 6, 2002)
    d.   **Amånu**   nai   umatuk   hao?
         where?   *COMP*   *AGR.hide*   *you*
         'Where did you hide?' (MM 44)

One exception to the generalization: some speakers of the Saipan dialect allow a noun phrase to be marked for the local case even when it is displaced

by wh-movement. For these speakers, a noun phrase that would normally be in the local case, such as *håyi* 'who' in (9), can appear either in the unmarked case or the local case when it is displaced.

(9) (Gi) **håyi** ni mamåhlåo håo?
    LCL   *who?* *COMP* *AGR.ashamed* *you*
    'Who are you ashamed of?'

    When an interrogative word serves as part of an argument, the syntactic categories of the interrogative word and the argument determine whether the entire interrogative phrase, or just the interrogative word, is displaced by wh-movement. Specifically:
    When the interrogative word is the determiner of a noun phrase, the entire noun phrase is usually displaced by wh-movement, as shown in (10). (The noun phrase is enclosed in brackets below.)

(10)a. [**Håyi** na påli'] para u såonåo gi interu?
     who? *L* *priest* *FUT*   *AGR participate* *LCL funeral*
     'Which priest will participate in the funeral?' (CD, entry for *påli'*)
  b. [**Kuåntu** na guihan] makonni' ni chinchulu?
     how.many? L *fish*   *AGR.PASS.catch* *OBL fishing.net*
     'How many fish were caught with the long flat fishing net?' (CD, entry for *chinchulu*)
  c. [**Håfa** na klasin nengkanu'] in kanu' durantin i
     what? L *sort.L* *food*   *AGR eat*   *during.L*   *the*
     gera?
     war
     'What types of food did you (pl.) eat during the war?' (MM 13)

But it is also possible for the interrogative determiner to be displaced on its own, leaving the rest of the noun phrase in place, as in (11) (see Vincent 2017).

(11)a. **Kuåntu** un konni' [na papangpang]?
     how.many? AGR catch *L* *slipper.lobster*
     'How many slipper lobsters did you catch?' (CD, entry for *pápangpang*)
  b. **Månu** malago'-mu [na såsi'], i plastik pat i
     which? WH[OBL].want-AGR L *ruler* *the plastic or the*
     hayu?
     wood

'Which measuring stick do you want, the plastic or the wood?' (CD, entry for *såsi'*)

When the interrogative word is the object of a prepositional phrase, or that object's determiner, the entire prepositional phrase is displaced by wh-movement, as shown in (12). Note that the interrogative noun phrase cannot be displaced on its own.

(12) a.   [Ginin **håyi**]   nai   un risibi i   katta?
        from   *who?*   *COMP*   *you receive the letter*
        'From whom did you receive the letter?'
    b.   [Ginin **månu**   na   fandånggu]   na   manmåfattu
        from   *which?*   *L*   *wedding*   *COMP*   *AGR.arrive.PROG*
        atyu   siha   na   tåotåo?
        that   *PL*   *L*   *person*
        'From what wedding are those people coming?'

Finally, an interrogative word can be the possessor of an argument, or the possessor's determiner, in certain limited contexts; namely, when the possessed noun has the null indefinite article as its determiner and serves as the direct object or the subject of an intransitive (state) predicate (see Chung 1998). In such cases the possessor is displaced by wh-movement, leaving behind the possessed noun, which shows possessor agreement (see 7.1.1).

(13) a.   **Håyi**   mås   tatkilu'   [tatos-ña]?
        who?   *more*   *AGR.high*   *bet-AGR*
        'Who has the highest bet (lit. whose bet is the highest)?' (CD, entry for *tåtus*)
    b.   [**Håfa**   na   kareta]   kå'ka'   [bintanå-ña]?
        what?   *L*   *car*   *AGR.crack*   *window-AGR*
        'What car's window cracked?'

Questions of arguments are discussed further in 22.4.

22.3.3   Questions of adjuncts

Interrogative words or phrases can serve as adjuncts to the predicate or to the clause. Adjuncts are optional constituents that provide information about the event or state's location in time or space, duration, frequency, manner, means, degree, cause, purpose, and so on (see 3.3). Adjuncts that are interrogative words or phrases are displaced to the left edge of the question by wh-movement. Some examples are given below.

(14)a. **Håfa taimanu** in seda' i nengkanu'?
how? *AGR find the food*
'How did you (pl.) find the food?' (MM 13)

b. [Para **håfa**] di un chachathinassu put håfa
for what? PRT AGR worry.PROG about what?
kinannono'-hu?
WH[OBJ].eat-AGR.PROG
'Why (lit. for what) are you worrying about what I've been eating?'
(from a tape-recorded narrative)

c. **Ngai'an** nai mafañågu håo?
when? COMP AGR.born you
'When were you born?' (CD, entry for *ngai'an*)

d. [**Kuåntus** tiempu] para un ekstendi i bakasion-mu?
how.much? time FUT AGR extend the vacation-AGR
'How long will you extend your vacation?' (CD, entry for *ekstendi*)

Many adjuncts have no case marking. When an adjunct that would normally be marked for case is displaced by wh-movement, it appears in the unmarked case. But, just as with questions of arguments (22.3.2), some speakers of the Saipan dialect allow an adjunct to be marked for the local case even when it has been displaced by wh-movement. The two options are illustrated in (15).

(15)a. **Amånu** nai siña hit manmamåhan pån para
where? COMP can we.INCL AGR.ANTIP.buy bread for
esti siha na tåotåo?
this PL L person
'Where can we (incl.) buy bread for these people?' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 30, 2000)

b. [Gi **månu** na lanchu] ni para un na'fandokku'
LCL which? L farm COMP FUT AGR make.AGR.sprout
i mangga?
the mango
'In which farm will you grow your mango trees?' (CD, entry for *dokku'*)

Questions of adjuncts are discussed further in 22.4.

22.4   Wh-agreement and complementizer agreement

When an interrogative word or phrase is placed at the left edge of the question by wh-movement, information about the displaced constituent is registered elsewhere by two special types of agreement, which are called wh-agreement and complementizer agreement (see Chung 1998 and the references cited there). Wh-agreement, which is described in 22.4.1, registers the grammatical relation of the displaced constituent on the predicate. Complementizer agreement, which is described in 22.4.2, registers other information about the displaced constituent on the complementizer of the question. Although the discussion here is limited to questions, these distinctive types of agreement are also found in the focus construction and in relative clauses (see Chapters 23 and 24).

22.4.1   Wh-agreement
When an interrogative word or phrase is displaced by wh-movement, its grammatical relation is registered on the predicate associated with it by wh-agreement. This special agreement indicates whether the displaced constituent is a subject, object, oblique argument, or adjunct. Like normal agreement with the subject, wh-agreement appears only on verbs or adjectives, is sensitive to mood and transitivity, and has both overt (pronounced) and null forms. The overt forms replace the normal forms of agreement with the subject. Otherwise, if wh-agreement is not realized overtly, the predicate of the question shows agreement with the subject as usual.

The overt forms of wh-agreement involve morphology that otherwise appears on nonfinite predicates in Chamorro; namely, the infinitival agreement infix -*um*-, and a process of nominalization (abbreviated NMLZ in (16)) that causes the predicate to have the form of a noun (see 28.6). (These types of morphology are descended historically from Proto-Austronesian voice morphology; see Chen 2017.) Nominalized predicates show agreement as if their subject were a possessor (see 7.1.1); their direct object, if any, appears in the oblique case rather than the unmarked case. Some forms of wh-agreement combine nominalization with the infix -*in*-; others involve nominalization without -*in*-.

The forms of wh-agreement are listed below. Note that object wh-agreement and adjunct wh-agreement are realized optionally; that is, their overt forms alternate with a null form that allows the predicate to show normal agreement with the subject.

(16)   WH-AGREEMENT when the displaced constituent is a:
        Subject
                Of realis transitive verb   -um-
                Other subject   —
        Object [wh-agreement is realized optionally]
                Direct object of transitive or causative   NMLZ plus -in-
                    verb; oblique object of applicative,   (but -in- is
                    causative, or passive verb   omitted on
                                                              passive verbs)

                Direct object of applicative verb   —
        Oblique
                Instrument; oblique argument of   NMLZ, with
                    intransitive verb or adjective   optional -in- on
                                                              state predicates

                Passive agent   —
        Adjunct [wh-agreement is realized optionally]
                Manner, means   NMLZ
                Other adjunct   —
        Possessor   —

These forms are discussed and illustrated below.

22.4.1.1   With a subject
Subject wh-agreement registers the grammatical relation of a displaced constituent that is a subject. This form of wh-agreement is sensitive to mood and transitivity. It is realized as the infix *-um-* when the predicate is a transitive verb in the realis mood. (Predicates that show an overt form of wh-agreement appear in boldface in the questions below.)

(17)a.   Håyi   **gumugu'ut**   esti na   pattida?
         who   WH[SBJ].support.PROG   this L   party
         'Who is supporting this party?' (CD, entry for *gu'ut*)
    b.   Håyi   na pitsona **tumungu'**   håfa   masusedi?
         who? L   person WH[SBJ].know   what?   AGR.PASS.experience
         'What person knows what happened?' (CD, entry for *pitsona*)

Otherwise, subject wh-agreement has no overt realization. The displaced constituent in the questions in (18) is a subject, but the predicate is intransitive: a verb in (18a), an adjective in (18b), a passive verb in (18c), and an antipassive verb in (18d). Because wh-agreement is not realized overtly, the predicate shows normal agreement with the subject.

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(18)a. Håyi   ottru   humånåo   para   i   lisåyu?
       who?   other   AGR.go   to   the   rosary
       'Who else went to the rosary?' (CD, entry for *ottru*)
    b. Håyi   mås   la'mun   gi   halum   tånu'?
       who?   more   AGR.familiar   LCL   inside.L land
       'Who is most familiar with the woods in this area?' (CD, entry for
       la'mun)
    c. Håyi   sinaolak   as   Jose?
       who?   AGR.PASS.spank   OBL   Jose
       'Who was spanked by Jose?' (CD, entry for *sinaolak*)
    d. Håyi   manggubiebietna   guini   gi   islan   Tinian?
       who?   AGR.ANTIP.govern.PROG   LCL.this LCL   island.L Tinian
       'Who is governing here on the island of Tinian?' (CD, entry for
       gubietna)

Similarly, the displaced constituent in the constituent questions in (19) is a
subject, but these questions are in the irrealis mood. Once again, wh-agree-
ment is not realized overtly, and the predicate shows normal agreement with
the subject.

(19)a. Håyi   para   u   hånåo   kuentåk-ku?
       who?   FUT   AGR go   account-AGR
       'Who will go on my behalf?' (CD, entry for *u*)
    b. Håyi   para   u   yaka'   esti na   titiyas?
       who?   FUT   AGR knead   this L   tortillas
       'Who will knead these tortillas?' (CD, entry for *yaka'*)

   Many Chamorro speakers prefer not to question the subject of a tran-
sitive verb in the irrealis mood, especially when the direct object is animate.
Such questions are typically expressed as questions of the agent of the
corresponding passive verb, as in (20) (see Chung 1989). Wh-agreement
with a displaced passive agent is not realized overtly, so once again, the
predicate shows normal agreement with the subject.

(20)a. Håyi   para   u   faninatan   i   famagu'un   mientras
       who?   FUT   AGR AGR.PASS.watch   the PL.child   while
       machocho'chu'   håo?
       AGR.work.PROG   you
       'Who will watch the children (lit. by whom will the children be
       watched) while you work?' (CD, entry for *inatan*)

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b. Håyi para u chinili' i ginanna gi ileksion?
who? FUT AGR PASS.take the victory LCL election
'Who is going to take the victory (lit. by whom is the victory going to be taken) in the election?' (CD, entry for *ginanna*)

22.4.1.2   With an object

Object wh-agreement registers the grammatical relation of a displaced constituent that is a direct object or related to a direct object, as described below. This form of wh-agreement is also sensitive to transitivity. It is realized, optionally, as the combination of the infix *-in-* plus nominalization when the displaced constituent is the direct object of an ordinary transitive verb. Compare (21a), which illustrates the overt form, with (21b), which shows that this form is optional.

(21)a. Ya håfa **hinaso-mu** put i
and.then what? WH[OBJ].remember-AGR about the
eskuelan-ñiha i Chapanis?
school-AGR the Japanese
'And what do you remember about the Japanese school?' (MM 167)
b. Håfa un hasu put i gera?
what? AGR remember about the war
'What do you remember about the war?' (MM 192)

Object wh-agreement has the same optional realization in two other contexts. First, when the displaced constituent is the direct object of a causative verb. This is expected, since causative verbs are transitive (see 12.1).

(22)a. Håyi **nina'kati-mu**?
who? WH[OBJ].make.cry-AGR
'Who did you make cry?'
b. Håyi un na'kåti?
who? AGR make.cry
'Who did you make cry?'

Second, when the displaced constituent is the oblique object of an applicative or causative verb; that is, when it realizes the internal argument of the original transitive verb from which the applicative or causative is derived (see 11.3.2.3, 11.5, and 12.3.4.2). The displaced constituent is the oblique object of an applicative verb in (23) and the oblique object of a causative verb in (24).

(23)a. Håfa si Maria **sinanganen-ña** as Joaquin?
what? UNM Maria WH[OBJ].say.to-AGR OBL Joaquin
'What did Maria tell Joaquin?'

b. Håfa si Maria ha sangåni si Joaquin?
what? UNM Maria AGR say.to UNM Joaquin
'What did Maria tell Joaquin?'

(24)a. Håfa **nina'li'e'-ña** i patgun palåo'an as
what? WH[OBJ].make.see-AGR the child.L female OBL
nanå-ña?
mother-AGR
'What did the girl show her mother (lit. cause her mother to see)?'

b. Håfa ha na'li'i' i patgun palåo'an si
what? AGR make.see the child.L female UNM
nanå-ña?
mother-AGR
'What did the girl show her mother (lit. cause her mother to see)?'

When the displaced constituent is the oblique object of the passive of an applicative or causative verb, object wh-agreement is realized, optionally, as nominalization, but -*in*- does not appear. (Nominalizations of passive verbs are formed from the *ma*-passive; see 10.2.2.3. In general, the passive prefix *ma*- and the infix -*in*- do not co-occur.)

(25)a. Gi finakpu' i gera, håfa **manmafa'na'guen-ñiha**
LCL end.L the war what? WH[OBJ].AGR.PASS.teach-AGR
i famagu'un Chamorro?
the PL.child.L Chamorro
'At the end of the war, what were the Chamorro children taught?'
(MM 76)

b. Dispues di WWII, håfa manmafa'na'gui na lingguahi i
after PRT WWII what? AGR.PASS.teach L language the
famagu'un?
PL.child
'After WWII, what language were the children taught?' (MM 72)

Finally, note that object wh-agreement has no overt realization when the displaced constituent is the direct object of an applicative verb (i.e. the applicative object; see 11.2.2.3, 11.3.2.3, and 11.5). This is perhaps surprising, given that applicatives—like causatives—are transitive.

(26)a. Håyi   un kuentusi   put   i   prublema?
       who?   AGR speak.to   about   the   problem
       'Who did you speak to about the problem?' (CD, entry for *kuentusi*)
   b. Håyi   un chuli'i   nu i   amut?
      who?   AGR take.to   OBL the   medicine
      'Who did you take the medicine to?'

22.4.1.3   With an oblique
Wh-agreement with a displaced oblique is realized as nominalization in two
specific contexts. First, when the displaced constituent is an instrument, as in
(27).

(27)a. Håfa   **chachåk-mu**   nu hågu?
       what?   WH[OBL].cut-AGR   OBL you
       'What did you cut yourself with?'
   b. Håfa   para   **goddet-ta**   ni   chiba?
      what?   FUT   WH[OBL].tie-AGR   OBL   goat
      'What are we (incl.) going to tie up the goat with?'

Second, when the displaced constituent is the oblique argument of an ad-
jective or intransitive verb. (One such oblique argument is the comitative
associated with a reciprocal verb; see (28c-d) and 13.3.2.) When the predi-
cate describes a state, nominalization can be accompanied by the *-in-* infix,
as in (28b).

(28)a. Håfa   **malagu'-ñiha**?
       what?   WH[OBL].want-AGR
       'What did they want?' (MM 193)
   b. Håyi   **ma'a'ñåo-ñiha** / **mina'a'ñåo-ñiha**?
      who?   WH[OBL].afraid-AGR
      'Who are they afraid of?'
   c. Håyi   **akuentusesen-ña**   si   Carmen?
      who?   WH[OBL].RECP.speak.to-AGR.PROG   UNM   Carmen
      'Who is Carmen speaking (lit. speaking to each other) with?'
   d. Håyi   para   **ali'e'-ta**?
      who?   FUT   WH[OBL].RECP.see-AGR
      'Who are we (incl.) going to meet (lit. see each other) with?'

Other obliques do not show this form of wh-agreement. Instead, either
they are cross-referenced by a different form of wh-agreement when they are

displaced by wh-movement, or else they cannot be displaced at all. More specifically:

(i) A passive agent (= the oblique that realizes the external argument of a passive verb) can be displaced by wh-movement when the verb is in the irrealis mood, but—for most speakers—not otherwise.[6] In such cases, wh-agreement has no overt realization (see 22.4.1.1).

(ii) An antipassive oblique (= the oblique that realizes the internal argument of an antipassive verb) cannot be displaced by wh-movement.

(iii) Oblique objects of applicative or causative verbs can be displaced by wh-movement, but in such cases, the predicate shows object wh-agreement (see 22.4.1.2).

22.4.1.4   With an adjunct
Wh-agreement with a displaced adjunct is realized, optionally, as nominalization when the adjunct is a manner or means phrase.

(29)a.   Estaimanu   **manmatratan-mimiyu**   nu i   taotao
         how?   WH[DJ].AGR.PASS.treat-AGR.PROG OBL the person.L
         tånu'   nu   i   Chapanis?
         land   OBL the Japanese
         'How were you (pl.) local people being treated by the Japanese?'
         (MM 224)
   b.   Håfa taimanu   manmatrata   hamyu nai Chapanis?
         how?   AGR.PASS.treat you.PL OBL Japanese
         'How were you (pl.) treated by the Japanese?' (MM 154)
(30)a.   Håfa taimanu   **tungo'-mu**   na   mattu   i
         how?   WH[DJ].know-AGR   COMP   AGR.arrive the
         batkunairi?
         plane
         'How did you know that the airplanes had arrived?' (MM 171)
   b.   Håfa taimanu   para   un dollan gi atuf   i   gima'?
         how?   FUT   AGR balance LCL roof.L the house
         'How would you balance yourself on the rooftop?' (CD, entry for
         dollan)

Wh-agreement with other displaced adjuncts has no overt realization.

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[6] Some speakers allow a passive agent to be displaced when the verb is in the realis mood, especially when the corresponding transitive clause might violate the person-animacy restriction; e.g. when the passive agent is third person and the derived subject of passive is second person (see 16.2).

22.4.2   Complementizer agreement

Complementizer agreement uses the complementizer of the constituent question to register information about the displaced constituent's syntactic category and meaning. This agreement replaces the normal finite complementizer, if any, with a special form of the complementizer that follows the displaced constituent, and is sometimes overt and other times null. The special complementizer has three overt realizations, *na, nai*, and *ni*, whose use is subject to some regional and individual variation. (The realizations are different in most relative clauses; see 24.3.2 and 24.4.) One realization, *na*, looks like the complementizer for finite embedded clauses (see 20.2.1); the other realizations apparently do not occur outside complementizer agreement. *Na* is used most commonly in Guam, *nai* in Rota, and *ni* in Saipan, but many speakers choose freely among several of these forms. The key contrast is between the overt realizations and the null realization (abbreviated 'null COMP' in (31)). The forms of complementizer agreement are listed below.

(31)   COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT
          When the displaced constituent is a:
              Prepositional phrase   na / nai / ni
              Noun phrase that names a location in time
                  or space   na / nai / ni
              Other   [null COMP]

Complementizer agreement is realized as *na*, *nai*, or *ni* when the displaced constituent is a prepositional phrase. See (12) as well as (32). (The overt forms of complementizer agreement are represented in boldface in the questions below.)

(32)a.   [Disdi ngai'an]   **ni**   tumaiguihi   gui'?
         since   when?   COMP   AGR.like.that   he
         'Since when did he become like that?' (CD, entry for *disdi ngai'an*)
    b.   [Sa'   håfa]   **na**   un na'fa'it   i   tinala' guihan?
         because what?   COMP   AGR make.salty   the   dried.L   fish
         'Why did you make the dried fish salty?' (CD, entry for *fa'it*)

Complementizer agreement has the same realizations—*na, nai*, or *ni*—when the displaced constituent is a noun phrase that names a location in time or space; in other words, if it would be in the local case if it had not been displaced (see 22.3.2 and 22.3.3).

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(33)a. Ya   amånu **nai**   manmachuchuli'   i   tipu?
      and.then   where? COMP   *AGR.PASS.take.PROG the sugar.cane*
      'And where was the sugar cane being harvested?' (MM 88)

   b. Ngai'an   **na**   para   un hånåo?
      when?   COMP   *FUT*   *AGR go*
      'When are you going to leave?'

   c. Ki ora   **nai**   un tutuhun i   che'chu'?
      what.time? COMP   *AGR begin   the   work*
      'What time did you begin work?' (MM 220)

   d. [Gi håyi] **ni**   un chuli' ennåo na lepblu?
      LCL who? COMP   *AGR take   that   L   book*
      'Who did you get that book from?'

Otherwise, when the displaced constituent is a noun phrase that does not name a location in time or space, complementizer agreement is realized as a null complementizer. Many examples were cited earlier in 22.3.2 and 22.3.3; a few more are given below.

(34)a. Kuåntu   guaha   na pisåo   gi   gimå'-mu?
      how.many?   AGR.exist   L   fishing.pole LCL house-AGR
      'How many fishing poles are there at your house?' (CD, entry for
      pisåo)

   b. Kuåntu   biåhi   bai na'hassu   håo?
      how.many?   time   AGR make.remember   you
      'How many times do I have to remind you?' (CD, entry for *kuåntu*)

Complementizer agreement occasionally responds to a displaced manner or means phrase as if it were a noun phrase that names a location. In such cases the predicate does not show adjunct wh-agreement (which is realized optionally), and an overt form of the special complementizer appears. Compare (35), in which the displaced constituent is treated like a manner or means phrase, with (36), in which is treated like a noun phrase that names a location.

(35)a. Taimanu   **matulaika-ña**   i   lina'la'-mu anai
      how?   WH[DJ].PASS.change-AGR the   life-AGR   when
      makpu'   i   gera?
      AGR.ended   the war
      'How was your life changed when the war ended?' (MM 22)

   b. Taimanu   madilitreha   esti na palåbra?
      how?   AGR.PASS.spell   this L   word

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'How is this word spelled?' (CD, entry for *dilitreha*)

(36)a. Håfa taimanu **na** un tungu' na guaha gera?
   how?   *COMP*   *AGR know*   *COMP*   *AGR.exist*   *war*
   'How did you know that there was a war?' (MM 240)

 b. Taimanu **nai** in singun esti na sinisedi?
   how?   *COMP*   *AGR endure this L*   *experience*
   'How did you (pl.) endure this experience?' (MM 143)

Overt realizations of complementizer agreement and wh-agreement do not co-occur. That is, an overt complementizer that realizes complementizer agreement cannot introduce a predicate that shows an overt form of wh-agreement. This is perhaps not surprising, given that the overt forms of wh-agreement make use of nonfinite morphology (see 22.4.1), but the overt complementizers in Chamorro are finite (see 20.2.1).

22.5 Constituent questions in complex sentences

22.5.1 Embedded questions

Like polar questions and alternative questions (see 22.2), constituent questions can be embedded in complex sentences, where they serve as arguments of a higher predicate (see 20.3.1 and 20.4.1). Embedded constituent questions have the same form as constituent questions in simple sentences. The interrogative word or phrase can occur as the (embedded) predicate, or it can be displaced by wh-movement, accompanied by wh-agreement and complementizer agreement.

In embedded questions of the predicate, the interrogative word or phrase occurs *in situ* (see 22.3.1), as illustrated in (37). These questions generally are not introduced by an overt complementizer.

(37)a. Ripåra [**håyi** achahit-miyu].
   notice who? peer-AGR
   'Be aware of who your (pl.) peers are.' (CD, entry for *achahit*)

 b. Rastreha [ginin **manu** i hale'-mu mågi].
   track from where? the root-AGR to.here
   'Trace where your family originates from.' (CD, entry for *håli'*)

 c. Pues i mañaina ti ma tungu' [malak **månu** i
   then the PL.parent not AGR know go.to where? the
   patgun-ñiha].
   child-AGR
   'So the parents didn't know where their child had gone.' (Cooreman 1983: 144)

d.　Pues　yanggin manmalagu' hit　　[para　ta　ke'tungu'
　　then　if　AGR.want　we.INCL　FUT　AGR try.know
　　[**håyi**　hit　**na tåotåo**]] ...
　　who?　we.INCL L　person
　　'So if we (incl.) want to learn who we (incl.) are...' (*Ginen I Obispo*
　　August 25, 2002)

In embedded questions of arguments or adjuncts, the interrogative word or phrase is displaced to the left edge of the embedded question (see 22.3.2 and 22.3.3), and information about the displaced constituent is registered by wh-agreement and complementizer agreement (see 22.4). This means, among other things, that complementizer agreement dictates the form of the complementizer of the embedded question. Some examples of embedded questions of arguments are cited in (38). (Note that in (38a) and (38e), the entire complex sentence is a polar question introduced by the complementizer *kåo*. In (38d), the embedded questions are coordinated; the first is a question of a direct object and the second, a question of an adjunct.)

(38) a.　Kao　un tungu'　[**håyi**　manggera]?
　　　　Q　AGR know　who?　AGR.at.war
　　　　'Did you know who were at war?' (MM 68)
　　b.　Ti　hu tungu'　[**håyi**　na tåotåo gumu'ut　　si
　　　　not AGR know　who?　L　person WH[SBJ].hold　UNM
　　　　Jun].
　　　　Jun
　　　　'I don't know what person restrained Jun.' (CD, entry for *gu'ut*)
　　c.　Ti　hu atituyi　　　[**håfa**　sinangan　　Ben　gi
　　　　not AGR pay.attention.to　what?　WH[OBJ].say.L　Ben　LCL
　　　　hunta].
　　　　meeting
　　　　'I did not pay attention to what Ben said at the meeting.' (CD, entry for *atituyi*)
　　d.　Cha'-miyu　　fanchachathinassu　[[**håfa**　para　en sangan]
　　　　better.not-AGR　AGR.worry.PROG　　what?　FUT　AGR say
　　　　o sino　[**taimanu**　para　sangan-miyu]].
　　　　or　how?　FUT　WH[DJ].say-AGR
　　　　'Do not (pl.) worry about what you (pl.) are to say or how you (pl.) are to say it.' (NT 17)
　　e.　Kåo　un tungu'　[**månu** nai　gaigi　na siudå　i
　　　　Q　AGR know　where? COMP　AGR.be.at　L　city　the

ofisinan   abugåo as Guerrero   yan Aldan]?
office.L   lawyer OBL Guerrero   and Aldan
'Do you know in which town the law office of Guerrero and Aldan
is located?' (CD, entry for *siudå*)

Some embedded questions of adjuncts are cited in (38d) and (39). (Note that
the embedded questions in (39b) are coordinated. The interrogative word
ngai'an 'when?' serves as an adjunct in the first question, and as the em-
bedded predicate of the second question.)

(39)a. Marikunosi   si   Jack   put   [**taimanu**
  AGR.PASS.investigate   UNM   Jack   about   how?
  na   malingu   i   salåppi'].
  COMP   AGR.disappear   the money
  'Jack was investigated concerning how the money was lost.' (CD,
  entry for *rikunosi*)
 b. Kao   un hasu   [[**ngai'an**   na   matutuhun i
  Q   AGR remember   when?   COMP   AGR.begin   the
  gera]   yan   [**ngai'an**   finakpo'-ña]]?
  war   and   when?   conclusion-AGR
  'Do you remember when the war began and when it ended?' (MM
  143)

Note that Chamorro does not have infinitival questions—embedded
questions in which an infinitive clause is introduced by the interrogative
complementizer *kåo* or begins with a displaced interrogative word or phrase.
There are no exact Chamorro equivalents of English infinitival questions
like *They wondered whether to leave early* or *It was unclear who to invite*.
Embedded questions formed with *taimanu* 'how?' are sometimes translated
into English as infinitival questions, as in (40). But these Chamorro ques-
tions are finite embedded questions in which *taimanu* 'how?' serves as the
embedded predicate, and the apparent infinitive is a reduced clause that
serves as the embedded subject (see 21.6.4).

(40)   Mafa'nå'gui   i   lahi-hu   [**taimanu**   mañugun
  AGR.PASS.teach the son-AGR   how?   AGR.ANTIP.drive
  fodo']   gi as   tihu-ña.
  bulldozer   OBL   uncle-AGR
  'My son was taught how to operate a bulldozer by his uncle.' (CD,
  entry for *fodo'*)

22.5.2   Long-distance questions

In a complex sentence, it is possible for an interrogative word or phrase from an embedded clause—either a finite embedded clause or an infinitive clause—to be displaced to the left edge of a higher clause. The result is a long-distance dependency: the displaced constituent ends up one or more clauses removed from the predicate it is associated with. Consider the long-distance questions in (41).

(41)a. **Håyi**   i   doktu   ma po'lu   [na   esta   måmåolik]?
        who?   the doctor AGR assume COMP   already   AGR.good.PROG
        'Who do the doctors assume is getting better?'

   b. [**Håfa** na disgråsia]   hinassun-miyu   [para   u   cho'gui
       what?   L   disaster   WH[OBJ].think-AGR   FUT   AGR do
       i   dueñun-i   gualu'   nu atyu   i   manmanatkikila]?
       the owner.L the farm   OBL that   the AGR.ANTIP.rent.PROG
       'What disaster do you (pl.) think the owner of the farm will bring upon the renters?' (NT 146)

   c. [Gi **månu**]   na   manmalagu'   siha   [na   para   un
       LCL where?   COMP   AGR.want   they   COMP   FUT   AGR
       fanaligåo   un   nuebu   na   kareta]?
       ANTIP.look.for   a   new   L   car
       'Where do they want you to look for a new car?'

In these questions, the interrogative word or phrase at the left edge of the higher clause has been displaced from the embedded clause. In (41a), *håyi* 'who?' is the subject of the embedded adjective *måolik* 'good'; in (41b), *håfa na disgråsia* 'what disaster?' is the direct object of the embedded verb *cho'gui* 'make, do'; and in (41c), *gi månu* 'where?' is an adjunct of the embedded verb phrase. Long-distance questions in Chamorro must involve wh-movement. Consequently, the interrogative word or phrase can be an argument or adjunct, but not a predicate, because predicates in Chamorro are not displaced by wh-movement (see 22.3.1).

   As expected, information about the displaced constituent in a long-distance question is registered by wh-agreement and complementizer agreement. Complementizer agreement registers information about the displaced constituent on the complementizer of the question (see 22.4.2). This special agreement is responsible for the fact that the interrogative word or phrase is followed by the complementizer *na* in (41c), but by the null complementizer in (41a-b). Wh-agreement registers the grammatical relation of the displaced constituent on the predicate associated with it (see 22.4.1). This special

agreement is overtly realized on the embedded predicates in the long-distance questions in (42).

(42)a. Håyi   sinangåni   håo   gi as   nanå-mu
       who?   *AGR.PASS.say.to* *you*   *OBL*   *mother-AGR*
      [**muna'manman**   si   Juan]?
      WH[SBJ].make.astonished   *UNM*   *Juan*
      'Who did your mother tell you surprised Juan?'

    b. Håfa   sinahangani   håo as nanå-mu   [**finahån-ña**]?
        what? *AGR.PASS.say.to* *you OBL mother-AGR* *WH[OBJ].buy-AGR*
        'What did your mother tell you that she bought?'

    c. Taimanu   malago'-mu   [para **areklåo-ña**   si
        how?   *AGR[OBL].want-AGR* *FUT*   *WH[DJ].fix-AGR* *UNM*
        Pedro   ni   kareta]?
        Pedro   *OBL car*
        'How do you want Pedro to fix the car?'

Over and above this, the *higher* predicates within a long-distance question also show wh-agreement. Wh-agreement on a higher predicate does not register the grammatical relation of the displaced constituent, but rather the grammatical relation of the embedded clause from which it has been displaced. This can be seen from the pairs of questions below. Consider first the long-distance question in (43a) and the embedded long-distance question in (43b).

(43)a. Håfa   **dinisehan-ñiha**   [para   uma   kumpli]?
      what? *WH[OBJ].wish-AGR* *FUT*   *AGR*   *accomplish*
      'What do they hope to (lit. that they will) accomplish?' (NT 321)

    b. Kåo   siña   un na'fitmi   [håfa   **malago'-mu**
        Q   *can*   *AGR make.certain*   *what?*   *WH[OBL].want-AGR*
        [para   un cho'gui]]?
        FUT   *AGR do*
        'Can you make certain of what you want to do?' (CD, entry for
        na'fitmi)

The displaced interrogative word (*håfa* 'what?') is the direct object of the embedded verb *kumpli* 'accomplish' in (43a) and the direct object of the embedded verb *cho'gui* 'do' in (43b). Consequently, both of these verbs show (the null form of) object wh-agreement. The higher verbs within these long-distance questions also show wh-agreement. In (43a), the verb *diseha* 'wish' shows (the overt form of) object wh-agreement; this is because the

embedded clause *para uma kumpli* 'they will accomplish' serves as its direct object. But in (43b), the verb *malagu'* 'want' shows oblique wh-agreement, because the embedded clause *para un cho'gui* 'you will do' serves as its oblique argument.

The overall pattern is similar in the pair of questions in (44).

(44)a. Håfa   na sapåtus **hinassom-mu**   [ti **omlåp-mu**]?
    what? L   shoes WH[OBJ].think-AGR   not WH[OBL].fit-AGR
    'Which shoes do you think you don't fit?'

   b. Håyi **malago'-ña**   si   tatå-mu   [para
    who? WH[OBL].want-AGR   UNM   father-AGR   FUT
    asuddå'-ña]?
    WH[OBL].RECP.find-AGR
    'Who does your father want to meet (lit. find each other) with?'

Here the displaced constituents are oblique arguments of embedded intransitive verbs: *håfa na sapåtus* 'which shoes?' in (44a) is the oblique argument of *omlap* 'fit', and *håyi* 'who?' in (44b) is the oblique argument of *asudda'* 'meet (lit. find each other)'. Consequently, both *omlap* and *asudda'* show oblique wh-agreement. The higher verbs within these questions also show wh-agreement. In (44a), *hassu* 'think' shows (the overt form of) object wh-agreement, because the embedded clause from which *håfa na sapatus* has been displaced serves as its direct object. But in (44b), *malagu'* 'want' shows oblique wh-agreement, because the embedded clause from which *håyi* has been displaced serves as its oblique argument.

Higher predicates in a long-distance question generally show wh-agreement when the interrogative word or phrase is an argument or a 'close' adjunct—an instrument, manner phrase, or means phrase (see Chung 1994; 1998). In long-distance questions of other types of adjuncts, higher predicates might or might not show wh-agreement. Compare (45), in which the higher predicate shows wh-agreement, with (41c), in which it does not.

(45)   Gi månu **malagu'-ñiha**   [na   para   un
    LCL where? WH[OBL].want-AGR   COMP   FUT   AGR
    fanaligåo   un nuebu na kareta]?
    ANTIP.look.for   a   new   L   car
    'Where do they want you to look for a new car?'

This pair of examples illustrates, once again, that overt realizations of complementizer agreement and wh-agreement do not co-occur (see 22.4.2). More specifically, an overt complementizer that realizes complementizer

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agreement cannot introduce a predicate that shows an overt form of wh-agreement.

22.6   Further reading

See Chung (1982; 1994; 1998) for discussion of constituent questions, wh-agreement, and complementizer agreement, as well as Goldberg (1985), Dukes (1992), and Watanabe (1996) for other analyses of wh-agreement.

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FOCUS

Chamorro has several ways of signaling focus. The focused word or phrase can be marked with the emphatic particle *ha'*, or it can be syntactically focused—displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement. When wh-movement occurs, special types of agreement are used to register information about the displaced constituent.

23.1　Overview

Chamorro has several ways of signaling focus; that is, indicating that the information conveyed by a word or phrase is contrastive (singled out from a set of alternatives) or contrary to expectations. The focused word or phrase can be marked with a focus morpheme, such as the emphatic particle *ha'*, or it can be syntactically focused—displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement in the focus construction. When wh-movement occurs, wh-agreement and complementizer agreement are used to register information about the displaced constituent.

23.2 describes the emphatic particle *ha'* and its distribution. The rest of this chapter is devoted to syntactic focus. 23.3 introduces the focus construction and the types of constituents that can be syntactically focused. 23.4 discusses wh-agreement and complementizer agreement in the focus construction. 23.5 describes embedded focus and long-distance focus. Finally, 23.6 asks whether the focus construction and constituent questions should be reanalyzed as types of complex sentences.

23.2　The emphatic particle

The emphatic particle *ha'* indicates that the immediately preceding word or phrase is focused. It is often translated into English using adverbs associated with focus, such as 'even', 'only', 'just', 'really', 'still', or 'alone'. *Ha'* is an unstressed morpheme that must lean on material to its left to form a phonological word. Consequently, the material to its left must be either a phonological word or else some other phonologically dependent element that must lean to the left, such as a weak pronoun (see 8.3) or *fan* 'please', the politeness particle found in imperatives (see 18.4).

Ha' has a very wide distribution. It is routinely used to mark the predicate as focused. In the sentences below, *ha'* comes right after a predicate that is a verb (in (1a)), an adjective (1b), a noun phrase (1c), or a prepositional phrase (1d). Notice that the predicate appears in its usual word order in the clause.

(1) a. Hu siesienti **ha'** i animas i mañaina-hu kada
    AGR feel.PROG   *EMP*   *the spirit.L the PL.parent-AGR each*
    råtu.
    while
    'Every now and then I feel my parents' spirit.' (CD, entry for
    ånimas)

   b. Todu i tiempu bobohbu **ha'** kannai-hu yan
    all the time AGR.swollen.PROG *EMP* *hand-AGR* *and*
    addeng-hu.
    foot-AGR
    'My hands and feet are swollen all the time.' (CD, entry for *bohbu*)

   c. Håfa taimanu tungo'-mu na dos kilumetru **ha'**
    how? WH[DJ].know-AGR COMP two kilometers EMP
    i distånsia esta i sengsung?
    the distance until the village
    'How do you know that the distance to the village is only two
    kilometers?' (CD, entry for *kilumetru*)

   d. Para hami **ha'** esti na inetnun.
    for us.EXCL EMP this L group
    'This gathering is only for us (excl.).' (CD, entry for *hami*)

Ha' can also mark a noun phrase or prepositional phrase as focused. In the sentences in (2), *ha'* comes right after a noun phrase or prepositional phrase that occurs in its usual word order, following the predicate.

(2) a. Fåtta un puntu **ha'** para u gånna i tes.
    AGR.absent one point EMP FUT AGR win the test
    'He needed only one point (lit. only one point was missing) to pass
    the test.' (CD, entry for *puntu*)

   b. I bisinun-måmi gof hambrentu gi todu **ha'**.
    the neighbor-AGR AGR.very greedy LCL all EMP
    'Our (excl.) neighbor is so rapacious in everything.' (CD, entry for
    hambrentu)

   c. Ti uma'akuentusi i dos put agumentu **ha'**.
    not AGR.RECP.speak.to.PROG the two because.of argument EMP

'The two don't talk to each other because of an argument.' (CD, entry for *agumentu*)

In (3), *ha'* comes right after a syntactically focused noun phrase or prepositional phrase that has been displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement (see 23.3).

(3) a. Tres   klåsin floris chuchurika **ha'**   tiningo'-hu.
     three   sort.L flower periwinkle EMP   WH[OBJ].know-AGR
     'There's only three kinds of periwinkle flowers that I know of.'
     (CD, entry for *chuchurika*)

   b. Gi ha'åni **ha'**   ni   machocho'chu' yu'.
     LCL day   EMP   COMP   AGR.work.PROG I
     'During daytime only is when I work.' (CD, entry for *ha'åni*)

   c. Para   åmut   sanhiyung **ha'**   ni
     for   medicine.L DIR.outside EMP   COMP
     ma'u'usa   i   siempribiba.
     AGR.PASS.use.PROG   the plant.sp
     'Spider wort is only used for external remedies.' (CD, entry for
     siempribiba)

Ha' can mark an adverb or an auxiliary as focused. Consider the adverbs *kulang* 'seems like' and *mediu diha* 'half a day' in (4a-b) and the auxiliary *siña* 'can, possible' in (4c).

(4) a. Kulang   **ha'**   otdut   i   chichigit.
     seems.like EMP   ant   the black.insect
     'The *chichigit* is like ants.' (CD, entry for *chíchigit*)

   b. Si   Rosa   mama'gåsi   mediu diha **ha'** nigap.
     UNM   Rosa   AGR.ANTIP.wash half   day   EMP   yesterday
     'Rosa washed for only half a day yesterday.' (CD, entry for *mediu diha*)

   c. Siña   **ha'**   mafa'tali   i   alaihai.
     can   EMP   AGR.PASS.make.into.rope the morning.glory
     'The morning glory vine can be used as rope.' (CD, entry for *alaihai*)

Ha' can mark a demonstrative, numeral, or adjective within the noun phrase as focused, regardless of the noun phrase's function. The noun phrase in which *ha'* occurs serves as the predicate in (5a), as an argument following the predicate in (5b), and as a syntactically focused constituent in (5c).

(5) a. [Bunitu **ha'** na tinanum] esti i butonsiyu.
nice EMP L *plant* *this the plant.sp*
'This *butonsiyu* is a nice plant.' (CD, entry for *butonsiyu*)

b. Yanggin umasagua yu', bai na'guaha [dos **ha'**
if AGR.*marry* I AGR *make.exist* *two* EMP
na donseyan nobia].
L *maid.*L *bride*
'When I get married, I will have only two bridesmaids.' (CD, entry for *donseyan nobia*)

c. [Kana' esti **ha'** na kandi] guaha åntis na tiempu.
almost this EMP L *candy* AGR.*exist* *before* L *time*
'This was about the only candy in the old days.' (CD, entry for *bukåyu*)

Finally, *ha'* can mark certain subordinating conjunctions as focused.

(6) Pues gigun **ha'** måttu atyu gi hinasson-ña,
then *as.soon.as* EMP AGR.*arrive* *that* LCL *thought-*AGR
malågu.
AGR.*ran*
'Then just as soon as that thought came to his mind, he ran away.'
(from a tape-recorded narrative)

Practically the only elements that *ha'* cannot mark as focused are phonologically dependent elements that must lean to the right. These include articles, case markers, most prepositions, tense-aspect-mood markers that are not auxiliaries, complementizers, coordinating conjunctions, and many subordinating conjunctions.

As observed earlier, *ha'* can co-occur with syntactic focus. Then it can mark a range of words and phrases as focused, including the syntactically focused constituent at the left edge of the sentence (see (3)), part of that constituent (see (5c)), or some different constituent. In (7), the prepositional phrase *put ennåo na rason* 'for that reason' is syntactically focused, but *ha'* marks the verb *atotga* 'dare' as focused.

(7) Put ennåo na rason na hu atototga **ha'**
because that L *reason* COMP AGR *dare.*PROG EMP
ti maigu' an puengi.
not INF.*sleep* *if* *night*
'For that reason, I dare not to sleep at night.' (CD, entry for *put ennåo*)

23.3   Syntactic focus: basics

Noun phrases, parts of noun phrases, and prepositional phrases can be syntactically focused in the focus construction. In this construction, the focused constituent appears at the left edge of the sentence, in the same position as the displaced interrogative word or phrase in a constituent question. The assumption here is that syntactically focused constituents, like interrogative words or phrases, are displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement (see 23.6).

Sentences with a syntactically focused constituent share many characteristics with constituent questions formed by wh-movement—so much so that one might be tempted to treat constituent questions as a subtype of focus construction. At the same time, the two constructions differ in certain details.

A much wider range of noun phrases can be displaced by wh-movement in the focus construction than in constituent questions (see 22.3.2 and 22.3.3). Syntactically focused noun phrases can be definite, indefinite, or quantified, as illustrated below (with the focused noun phrase in boldface).

(8) a. **I   guella   ha' gi bandan nanå-hu**   hu fakcha'i.
      the grandmother EMP LCL side.L   mother-AGR AGR find
      'Only my grandmother from my mom's side I saw.' (CD, entry for *guella*)

  b. ... yanggin **Chamorro** gui'   kumuentutusi.
         if   Chamorro   him   WH[SBJ].speak.to.PROG
      '...if a Chamorro was speaking to him.' (from a conference presentation)

  c. **Kada   unu   giya   hita**   gai   abilidåt.
      each   one   LCL   us.INCL AGR.have   ability
      'Each one of us (incl.) has a natural talent.' (CD, entry for *abilidåt*)

  d. **Tres   biåhi   sigidu**   na   masåolak   si
      three   time   successively COMP   AGR.PASS.spank UNM
      Jennifer   gi as   nanå-ña.
      Jennifer   OBL   mother-AGR
      'Jennifer was spanked three consecutive times by her mother.' (CD, entry for *sigidu*)

  e. **Ni unu**   lokkui' muli'i'   i   haggan.
      not one   also   WH[SBJ].see the turtle
      'No one also saw the turtle.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

The head of a focused noun phrase can be a common noun (as in (8a-b) and (8d)), a name (9a), or an independent pronoun (9b).

(9) a. **Si   Juan**   dumoti   i   tanu'   giya   Langa'sat.
       UNM   Juan   WH[SBJ].inherit   the land   LCL   Langa'sat
       'John inherited the land at Langa'sat.' (CD, entry for *doti*)

   b. **Hågu**   abok-ku.
      you   pal-AGR
      'You are my pal.' (CD, entry for *abuk*)

In other respects, syntactically focused constituents have the same distribution as displaced interrogative words and phrases. They can serve as arguments of the predicate: as subjects, direct objects, or obliques associated with a verb or adjective, or as subjects of a predicate that is a noun or preposition. They can also serve as parts of arguments, or as adjuncts, but not as the predicate. In addition:

Like displaced interrogative noun phrases (see 22.3.2), syntactically focused noun phrases appear in the unmarked case, even if they would have occurred in some other case if they had not been displaced by wh-movement. For instance, passive agents are normally in the oblique case, and noun phrases that specify location in time are normally in the local case. Nonetheless, these noun phrases appear in the unmarked case when they are syntacically focused, as (10) shows.

(10) a. Kåo   **i   pulusia pat si   tatan-ñiha** para   u
       Q   the police   or UNM   father-AGR   FUT   AGR
       faninaligåo?
       AGR.PASS.look.for
       'Are they going to be looked for by the police or by their father?'

   b. **I   mit   nuebi   sientus   nubenta   na   såkkan**
      the thousand   nine   hundreds   ninety   L   year
      nai   mafañågu   yu'.
      COMP   AGR.born   I
      'I was born in the year 1990.' (CD, entry for *nubenta*)

This generalization has an exception: some speakers of the Saipan dialect allow a noun phrase to appear the local case even when it is syntactically focused. Compare (10b) with the following.

(11)   Gi **ma'pus na såkkan** nai   måtai   i
        LCL last   L   year   COMP   AGR.die the

bisabuellu-hu   John.
great.grandfather-AGR   John
'My great-grandfather John passed away last year.' (CD, entry for
bisabuellu)

Parts of noun phrases that serve as arguments can be syntactically fo-
cused. Demonstratives, numerals, and certain quantifiers can be displaced to
the left edge of the sentence on their own, leaving the rest of the noun phrase
in place. Compare (12a), in which the entire noun phrase is syntactically
focused, with (12b), in which only the numeral *tres* 'three' is focused.

(12)a. [**Tres   na tintågu'**]   manmasotta   ni ma'gas.
        three   L   servant   AGR.PASS.release   OBL boss
        'Three servants were released by the boss.' (CD, entry for *tintågu'*)

   b. **Tres**   guaha   [na råmas   gubetnu],   i   esekutibu,
        three   AGR.exist   L   branch.L   government the executive
        lehislatura,   yan yudisiåt.
        legislature   and judicial
        'There are three branches of government, the executive, legislative,
        and judicial.' (CD, entry for *eksekutibu*)

The possessor of a noun phrase can be syntactically focused, but only when
the possessed noun is introduced by the null indefinite article and serves as
the direct object or the subject of an intransitive (state) predicate.

(13)   **Meggai na ababbang** mansen   bunitu [kulot-ñiha].
         many   L   butterfly   AGR.extremely   pretty   color-AGR
         'Many butterflies have beautiful colors (lit. their colors are very
         beautiful).' (CD, entry for *ababbang*)

Prepositional phrases can be syntactically focused, whether they serve
as arguments or adjuncts. (Objects of prepositional phrases cannot be syntac-
tically focused on their own.) The focused prepositional phrases in (14) are
adjuncts.

(14)a. **Ginin   i   atbettura   gi satgi**   na   humåhalum   i
        from   the opening   LCL floor   COMP   AGR.go.in.PROG the
        cha'ka.
        rat
        'The rat is getting in from the opening in the floor.' (CD, entry for
        atbettura)

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b. **Put ennåo** na manmalagu' para uma chonnik
   because that COMP *AGR.want* FUT AGR *push*
   gui' huyung.
   him outside
   'Because of that they wanted to push him out.' (*Ginen I Obispo* March 2, 2003)

Essentially the same patterns were documented earlier for displaced interrogative phrases (in 22.3.2 and 22.3.3).

In terms of function, the focus construction provides one way—but not the only way—of answering a constituent question formed by wh-movement. Consider the question in (15a), in which the subject is a displaced interrogative word. This question can be answered with the ordinary transitive clause in (15b) or with the focus construction in (15c). The difference is that (15b) allows for the possibility that there are others besides Jose's teacher who also know the answer, but (15c) does not.

(15)a. **Håyi** tumungu' i ansa?
   who? WH[SBJ].know *the answer*
   'Who knows the answer?'
b. Ha tungu' i ansa i ma'estran Jose.
   AGR *know the answer the teacher.L Jose*
   'Jose's teacher knows the answer.'
c. **I ma'estran Jose** tumungu' i ansa.
   the teacher.L Jose WH[SBJ].know *the answer*
   'Jose's teacher (is the one who) knows the answer.'

Note that the focus construction can occur inside a polar or alternative question. In such cases, the syntactically focused constituent is preceded by the complementizer *kåo*.

(16)a. Kåo **hamyu** lokkui' ti siña manmangumprendi?
   Q *you.PL also not can* AGR.ANTIP.understand
   'Are you (pl.) so lacking in understanding also?' (NT 74)
b. Kåo **tres libra na siboyas** un fåhan?
   Q *three pound* L *onions* AGR *buy*
   'Did you buy three pounds of onions?' (CD, entry for *tres)*

See 23.5.1 and 23.6 for a little more discussion of questions of this type.

23.4   Syntactic focus and agreement

Information about the syntactically focused constituent in the focus construction is registered by two special types of agreement, wh-agreement and complementizer agreement. These types of agreement were described earlier in some detail (see 22.4). The fact that they occur in the focus construction is further evidence that the syntactically focused constituent is displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement.

23.4.1   Wh-agreement
Wh-agreement registers the grammatical relation of the syntactically focused constituent on the predicate associated with it. This special agreement signals whether the focused constituent is a subject, object, oblique, or adjunct. Like agreement with the subject, wh-agreement appears only on verbs or adjectives, and is sensitive to mood and transitivity. The overt forms of wh-agreement replace the normal forms of agreement with the subject. Otherwise, if wh-agreement is not realized overtly, the verb or adjective shows agreement with the subject as usual.

The forms of wh-agreement used in the focus construction are the same as in constituent questions formed by wh-movement. The basic patterns are illustrated below; see 22.4.1 for more details.

Wh-agreement with a syntactically focused subject is realized as the infix *-um-* when the predicate is a transitive verb in the realis mood (see (17a)); otherwise, it has no overt realization (17b).

(17)a.   I   kusturera   **lumåksi**   i   chininå-hu.
　　　　the seamstress   WH[SBJ].sew   the shirt-AGR
　　　　'The seamstress sewed my shirt.' (CD, entry for *kusturera*)
　　b.   Tres   ha'   na palitun   machis sopbla.
　　　　three   EMP   L   small.stick.L   match   AGR.left.over
　　　　'Only three match sticks are left.' (CD, entry for *palitu*)

Wh-agreement with a syntactically focused object is realized, optionally, as the combination of the infix *-in-* plus nominalization when the object is the direct object of an ordinary transitive verb. Compare (18a), which illustrates the overt form of this agreement, with (18b), which shows that the overt form is optional. (The forms of wh-agreement with other types of objects are described in 22.4.1.2.)

(18)a.   Dies   sigidu   **kinenne'-ña**   na guihan.
　　　　ten   successively WH[OBJ].catch-AGR   L   fish

'He caught ten fish successively.' (CD, entry for *sigidu*)

b. I fine'nina na kolumna un usa para un fitma håo.
   the first L column AGR use FUT AGR sign you
   'You use the first column to write your signature.' (CD, entry for
   kolumna)

Wh-agreement with a syntactically focused oblique is realized as nominalization when the oblique is an argument of an adjective or intransitive verb. (The forms of wh-agreement with other types of obliques are described in 22.4.1.3.)

(19) Pues an ennåo **malago'-mu**, fåhan fan.
     then if that WH[OBL].want-AGR buy please
     'Then if that's what you want, please buy it.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

Finally, wh-agreement with a syntactically focused adjunct is not overtly realized. This can be seen from (10b), (11), and (14), as well as (20), in which the focused adjunct is an adverbial clause.

(20) Piot [sa' ginin hiyung] nai tåya'
     especially because from outside COMP AGR.not.exist
     ni håfa siña ta cho'gui.
     not anything can AGR do
     'Especially because it's from outside, there's nothing we (incl.) can do.' (*Saipan Tribune* January 6, 2000)

23.4.2 Complementizer agreement
Complementizer agreement uses the complementizer of the focus construction to register information about the syntactic category and meaning of the focused constituent. This agreement is realized as a special form of the complementizer that follows the focused constituent, and is sometimes overt and other times null.

The forms of complementizer agreement used in the focus construction are largely the same as in constituent questions formed by wh-movement (see 22.4.2). The overt complementizer has three realizations, *na, nai*, and *ni*, whose use is subject to some regional and individual variation. One realization, *na*, looks like the complementizer for finite embedded clauses (see 20.2.1); the other realizations apparently do not occur outside the context of complementizer agreement. *Na* is used most commonly in Guam, *nai* in Rota, and *ni* in Saipan, but many speakers choose freely among several of

these forms. The key contrast is between the overt realizations and the null realization of this agreement.

Complementizer agreement is realized as *na*, *nai*, or *ni* when the syntactically focused constituent is a prepositional phrase, as in (14) and (21).

(21) Ginin i finu' Juan **na** matungu' as
      from the speech.L Juan COMP AGR.PASS.know OBL
      nanå-ña yan tatå-ña ...
      mother-AGR and father-AGR
      'From Juan's words, his mother and father knew...' (Cooreman 1983: 86)

Complementizer agreement has the same realizations—*na, nai*, or *ni*—when the focused constituent is a noun phrase that names a location in time or space; in other words, if it would appear in the local case if it had not been syntactically focused. See (10b), (11), and the following.

(22)a. I chalan ha' yan i sagan gimin **nai**
        the road EMP and the place.L drink COMP
        sumåsaga esti na påtgun.
        AGR.stay.PROG this L child
        'Only on the road and in the bar did this child hang out.' (Cooreman 1983: 125)
   b.   Alas sais **ni** para u fanmåttu i bisita.
        six.o'clock COMP FUT AGR AGR.arrive the visitor
        'At six is when the visitors are going to arrive.'
   c.   Pues gi tattin atyu na dos åmku' **na**
        then LCL behind.L that L two old COMP
        dumimu i dos.
        AGR.kneel the two
        'So behind those two old people is where the two knelt.' (Cooreman 1983: 71)

Complementizer agreement is also realized as *na*, *nai*, or *ni* when the syntactically focused constituent is an adjunct or adverbial clause. See (20) and the examples below. (Note that complementizer agreement is overt in the focus construction in (23a), but would be null in a constituent question formed from the interrogative phrase *kuåntu biåhi* 'how many times?'.)

(23)a. Meggai na biåhi **na** ha atan i kahun gi halum
        many L times COMP AGR look.at the box LCL inside.L

gumå'-ña   ...
house-AGR
'Many times he looked at the box in his house...' (from a tape-recorded narrative)
b. [Anai   måkpu'   i   sena]   **na**   manistudia   i
when   AGR.ended   the   dinner   COMP   AGR.ANTIP.study   the
famagu'un.
PL.child
'The children studied when dinner was over.'

Otherwise, complementizer agreement is realized as a null complementizer, as can be seen from (8a-c) and other examples cited earlier.

Note finally that an overt complementizer that realizes complementizer agreement cannot introduce a predicate that shows an overt form of wh-agreement. This pattern too is familiar from constituent questions formed by wh-movement.

23.5   Syntactic focus in complex sentences

23.5.1   Embedded focus
The focus construction can occur in embedded clauses. In (24), the focus construction occurs inside an embedded clause that serves as an argument of the higher predicate. (The syntactically focused constituent is represented in boldface in these examples.)

(24)a.   Hu diseseha   [na   **i   finattun   esti i   kattåk-ku**
AGR wish.PROG   COMP   the NMLZ.arrive.L   this the   letter-AGR
en   fansinedda'   todus   manbråbu] ....
AGR AGR.PASS.find   all   AGR.healthy
'I'm hoping that the arrival of my letter will find you all well...'
(from a letter)
b.   Makatkukula   [na   **mås   ki $53 miyon   na**
AGR.PASS.estimate.PROG   COMP   more   than $53 million   L
dibin   pupbliku   guaha].
debt.L   public   AGR.exist
'It is estimated that there is more than fifty-three million dollars of public debt.' (*Saipan Tribune* December 10, 1998)

In (25), the focus construction occurs inside an adverbial clause.

(25)a. Misalappi' si TunKiku' [sa' **guiya**
AGR.have.much.money UNM Mr. Kiku' because he
sessu kasadot gi gayera].
often coverer.of.bets LCL cockfight
'Tun Kiku' has a lot of money, because he's often the one who
covers the bets at the cockfight.' (CD, entry for *kasadót*)

b. ... [kosa ki **ni unu** u famadesi gi karera mo'na].
so.that not one AGR ANTIP.suffer LCL journey ahead
'...so that no one will suffer in the journey ahead.' (*Saipan Tribune*
March 5, 1998)

The focus construction has basically the same form in embedded clauses
as in simple sentences. The syntactically focused constituent is displaced to
the left edge of the construction by wh-movement, and information about its
grammatical relation, syntactic category, and meaning is registered by wh-
agreement and complementizer agreement. Wh-agreement is realized overtly
(and represented in boldface) on the predicates of the embedded focus con-
structions in (26).

(26)a. Ha faisin si nanå-hu [kåo guiya
AGR ask UNM mother-AGR Q she
muna'gimin gui' gi paingi].
WH[SBJ].make.drink him LCL last.night
'He asked my mother if it was she who had made him drink the
previous night.' (EM 99)

b. Bira håo [sa' ni håfa para **suettem-mu**].
turn you because not anything FUT WH[OBL].lucky-AGR
'Turn around because you won't have any luck (lit. you'll be lucky
at nothing).' (Cooreman 1983: 5)

Complementizer agreement is realized by an overt complementizer (in bold-
face) following the focused constituent in the embedded focus constructions
in (27). (The focused constituent in (27b) is *ni ngai'an* 'never'.)

(27)a. Mangunfotmi ham [na gi iskuelan-ñiha mismu
AGR.agree we.EXCL COMP LCL school-AGR same
i famagu'un **na** para bai in bisita siha].
the PL.child COMP FUT AGR visit them
'We (excl.) agreed that in the children's own schools is where we
(excl.) would visit them.'

b. Hu diseseha [na   ni hita   ni ngai'an   **nai**   ta
   AGR wish.PROG   COMP   not we.INCL not anytime   COMP   AGR
   fanmaleffa].
   AGR.forget
   'I hope that even us (incl.), never will we (incl.) forget it.' (*Ginen I Obispo* March 20, 2011)

One difference between embedded focus and embedded constituent questions is clear from the examples just cited. Embedded focus is introduced by one of the complementizers or subordinating conjunctions that introduce finite embedded clauses more generally (see 20.2). The syntactically focused constituent is preceded by the complementizer *na* 'that' in the argument clauses in (24) and (27), by the complementizer *kåo* 'whether' in the argument clause in (26a), and by a subordinating conjunction (*sa'* 'because' or *kosa ki* 'so that') in the adverbial clauses in (25) and (26b). These complementizers and subordinating conjunctions are distinct from the complementizer that realizes complementizer agreement, which *follows* the focused constituent. The two can co-occur; see the complementizers surrounding the focused constituents in (27). On the other hand, embedded constituent questions that serve as argument clauses are not introduced by a complementizer (see 22.5.1), although they do show complementizer agreement. (Embedded constituent questions do not occur as adjuncts or adverbial clauses; see 20.4.1.)

The presence of complementizers preceding and following the focused constituent in (27) suggests that when the focus construction occurs in an argument clause, more than one level of embedding is involved. This suggestion could be pursued in several ways. Syntactic focus might be fundamentally a main clause (root) construction. Certain main clause constructions, such as verb second in German and related languages, cannot themselves serve as embedded clause arguments of a higher predicate. Instead, they must be further embedded *within* an argument clause in order to occur in this sort of structure at all. Embedded focus might require double embedding of this type. On the other hand, the focus construction might itself be a type of complex sentence in which the syntactically focused constituent serves as a higher predicate. This second possibility is discussed and evaluated later (in 23.6).

23.5.2   Long-distance focus
In a complex sentence, it is possible for a syntactically focused constituent from an embedded clause (either a finite embedded clause or an infinitive) to be displaced to the left edge of a higher clause. The result is long-distance

focus: the focused constituent ends up one or more clauses removed from the predicate it is associated with. Consider the focus constructions in (28).

(28)a. **Dos   puntu** malagu'   yu' [para   ta   kunsidera   put
   two   point   AGR.want   I   FUT   AGR consider   about
   esti].
   this
   'Two points I want for us (incl.) to consider concerning this.'
   (*Ginen I Obispo* August 26, 2001)

   b. **Ti todu   kåtni** ya-hu   [kumånnu'].
   not all   meat   like-AGR   INF.eat
   'Not all meat I like to eat.' (CD, entry for *kåtni*)

   c. **I   kunfesiunåriu** na   propiu   [para   un sangåni
   the confessional   COMP   AGR.proper FUT   AGR say.to
   si   Påli'   nu   i   isåo-mu siha].
   UNM   priest   OBL the   sin-AGR PL
   'It's proper for you to tell the priest your sins in the confessional.'
   (CD, entry for *kunfesunåriu*)

In these sentences, the focused constituent at the left edge of the higher clause has been displaced from the embedded clause by wh-movement. In (28a), *dos puntu* 'two points' is the direct object of the embedded verb *kunsidera* 'consider'; in (28b), *ti todu kåtni* 'not all meat' is the direct object of the infinitive *kumånnu'* 'to eat'; and in (28c), *i kunfesiunåriu* 'the confessional' is a locative adjunct that modifies the embedded verb phrase.

    Information about the syntactically focused constituent in long-distance focus is registered by wh-agreement and complementizer agreement. Complementizer agreement registers information about the syntactic category and meaning of the focused constituent on the complementizer that immediately follows it. This special agreement is realized by the complementizer *na* in (28c) but by the null complementizer in (28a-b). Wh-agreement registers the grammatical relation of the focused constituent on the predicate associated with it. This special agreement is overtly realized on the embedded predicates in (29).

(29)a. Ni håyiyi   ha'   mamahlåo-hu   [para
   not anyone.EMP EMP   WH[OBL].ashamed-AGR   FUT
   asudda'-hu].
   WH[OBL].RECP.find-AGR
   'There's nobody who I'm ashamed to meet (lit. find each other) with.'

b. Tres   dihas   ha'   matugi'   gi lepblu
   three   days   EMP   AGR.PASS.write *LCL book*
   [**sumagå-ña**].
   WH[OBL].stay-AGR
   'Just three days it is written in the book that he stayed.' (from a
   conference presentation)

In addition, the *higher* predicates in a long-distance focus construction
can also show wh-agreement. Wh-agreement on a higher predicate does not
register the grammatical relation of the focused constituent, but rather the
grammatical relation of the embedded clause from which the focused con-
stituent has been displaced. In the sentences in (30), the focused constituent
is a passive agent (in (30a)) or a subject (30b), but the higher verb shows
object wh-agreement, because the embedded clause serves as its direct
object.

(30)a. Si   Jose   ha'   **inikspektåk-ku**   [para   un chiniku].
        UNM   *Jose* EMP   WH[OBJ].expect-AGR   FUT   AGR PASS.kiss
        'I expected only Jose to kiss you (lit. that you would be kissed by
        only Jose).'
   b.   Esti i   abusu   gi nanan   guma' yan   famagu'un
        this the abuse LCL *mother.L   house and*   PL.child
        pine'lok-ku   [na   ti   masusesedi
        WH[OBJ].put-AGR   COMP   not   AGR.PASS.experience.PROG
        guini   na islas   siha].
        LCL.this L   *island* PL
        'This abuse of wives and children I had assumed was not happening
        in these islands.' (*Saipan Tribune* November 11, 1998)

In (31), the syntactically focused constituent is a subject, but the higher verb
shows oblique wh-agreement, because the embedded clause serves as its
oblique argument.

(31)   Esti   **malagu'-ñiha**   i   tintågu'   [para   u
        this   WH[OBL].want-AGR   *the servant*   FUT   AGR
        macho'gui guihi   gi gualu' ...]
        PASS.do   LCL.that LCL *farm*
        'The servants wanted to do this (lit. that this would be done) on that
        farm...' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 21, 2002)

Wh-agreement on the higher predicates in long-distance focus is often optional; compare (28a) with (31) (see Chung 1994; 1998). Note finally that, as was seen earlier for constituent questions (in 22.4.2 and 22.5.2), overt forms of complementizer agreement and wh-agreement do not co-occur. An overt complementizer that realizes complementizer agreement cannot introduce a predicate that shows an overt form of wh-agreement. This is why complementizer agreement is not realized overtly in the long-distance focus construction below.

(32) Gi sirimonias **linuhan-måmami**   [na   u
      LCL ceremony   WH[OBL].afraid-AGR.PROG   COMP   AGR
      fanmalagu' [para   u   fangånta]].
      AGR.want   FUT   AGR AGR.sing
      'We (excl.) are afraid that they might want to sing at the ceremony.'

23.6   Syntactic focus, constituent questions, and clefts

When the focus construction is embedded in an argument clause, the focused constituent is introduced by an overt complementizer and can be followed by a complementizer that realizes complementizer agreement (see 23.5.1). One way of handling this pattern would be to treat the focus construction itself as a type of complex sentence. Suppose that the focused constituent was not displaced by wh-movement, but was instead a higher predicate whose subject was an embedded clause—perhaps a relative clause with a null head. Then a focus construction like (33) would be a cleft sentence, similar to 'It was me that led the novena' or 'The one who led the novena was me.'

(33) Guåhu tumutucha   i   nubena.
      I   WH[SBJ].lead.prayer.PROG   the novena
      'I led the novena prayer.' (CD, entry for *tucha*)

This analysis could be extended to constituent questions in which the interrogative word or phrase is an argument or adjunct. Then a question like (34) would also be a cleft sentence, similar to 'Who is it that is supporting this political party?' or 'Who is the one who is supporting this political party?'

(34) Håyi   gumugu'ut   esti na pattida?
      who?   WH[SBJ].support.PROG   this L   political.party
      'Who is supporting this political party?' (CD, entry for *gu'ut*)

Analyses that treat syntactic focus and constituent questions as complex sentences—usually cleft sentences—have been motivated for Tagalog, Māori, and other Austronesian languages (see e.g. Bauer 1991 on Māori and Potsdam 2006 on Malagasy). In Chamorro, a complex sentence analysis is plausible for some instances of these constructions. The most likely analysis of the constituent question in (35), for instance, is that the interrogative phrase is the predicate and the noun phrase following it—which transparently contains a relative clause—is the subject.

(35)   Håyi   atyu   siha   i   [manmakumbida   ya   ti
       who?   *that*   *PL*   *the* *AGR.PASS.invite*   *and.then*   *not*
       manmåttu]?
       AGR.arrive
       'Who were those who were invited and didn't show up?' (*Ginen I Obispo* October 13, 2002)

However, the complex sentence analysis does not generalize to all types of syntactic focus and constituent questions in Chamorro. The language has syntactically focused constituents, and interrogative words and phrases, that do not serve as (higher) predicates; these must have been displaced by wh-movement. Two types of such constituents are discussed below.
     (i)   Noun phrases in the local case do not serve as predicates.

(36)a.   *Gi lamasa   esti na   låpis.
        LCL table   *this L*   *pencil*
        ('This pencil is on the table.')
   b.   *Giya   Saipan   yu' på'gu.
        LCL   *Saipan I*   *now*
        ('I'm in Saipan now.')

Sentences like (36) are expressed instead with a verb of location, such as *gaigi* 'be (at)', which takes a noun phrase in the local case as one of its arguments.

(37)a.   Gaigi   gi lamasa   esti na   låpis.
        AGR.be.at   *LCL table*   *this L*   *pencil*
        'This pencil is on the table.'
   b.   Gaigi   yu' giya   Saipan på'gu.
        AGR.be.at   *I*   *LCL*   *Saipan now*
        'I'm in Saipan now.'

Given that noun phrases in the local case do not serve as predicates, they cannot be (higher) predicates in focus constructions like (38a) or constituent questions like (38b). (Many similar examples were cited earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 22.)

(38)a. Gi gima' Yu'us nai makundudukta i
      LCL house.L God   COMP   AGR.PASS.conduct.PROG the
      duktrina.
      religious.instruction
      'At the church is where religious instruction is conducted.' (CD, entry for *guma' Yu'us*)
   b. Gi månu na lanchu ni para un na'fandokku'
      LCL which? L   farm   COMP   FUT   AGR make.AGR.sprout
      i mangga?
      the mango
      'At which farm will you grow the mango trees?' (CD, entry for *dokku'*)

Instead, these noun phrases have been displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement.

    (ii) When a noun phrase that serves as the predicate of the clause is followed by a subject noun phrase, that subject must be specific. In other words, it obeys the specificity restriction (see 16.4). Such a subject cannot have the null indefinite article as its determiner (but see 6.2.1.2.2.2 for a systematic exception).

(39)a. *Kåo måolik na tåotåo ma'estru?
      Q   good   L   person teacher
      ('Is a teacher a good person?')
   b. *Nipa åtuf.
      palm   roof
      ('A roof is nipa palm.')

The subjects in the ungrammatical sentences in (39) are introduced by the null indefinite article. Compare the subjects in (40), which are introduced by the definite article *i*.

(40)a. Kåo måolik na tåotåo i ma'estru?
      Q   good   L   person the teacher
      'Is the teacher a good person?'

b. Nipa   i   atuf.
    palm   the   roof
    'The roof is nipa palm.'

Now consider what happens when a syntactically focused noun phrase or interrogative noun phrase appears at the left edge of the sentence. If these noun phrases were predicates, they should not be followed by a 'subject' noun phrase introduced by the null indefinite article, just as in (39). But constructions like the following are grammatical and quite common.

(41)a. Ni håyi   guini   gi halum esti na kuåttu doktu.
        not anyone LCL.this LCL inside.L this L   room   doctor
        'No one in this room is a doctor.'
   b. Håyi   na Chamorro   ma'estru?
       who?   L   Chamorro   teacher
       'Which Chamorro was a teacher?' (MM 191)

The grammaticality of (41) reveals that the noun phrases *ni håyi* 'no one' in (41a) and *håyi na Chamorro* 'which Chamorro?' in (41b) do not serve as predicates in these constructions. Rather, the predicate is the noun phrase introduced by the null indefinite article—*doktu* 'doctor' in (41a) and *ma'estru* 'teacher' in (41b)—and its subject is the noun phrase that has been displaced to the left edge of the construction by wh-movement. Note that this conclusion cannot be evaded by maintaining that *doktu* and *ma'estru* in (41) are actually embedded predicates within relative clauses. If that were a plausible analysis, it ought to be equally available in (39)—but the sentences in (39) are ungrammatical.

These and other sorts of evidence make it clear that Chamorro does indeed have syntactically focused constituents—and interrogative phrases—that are displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement.

23.7 Further reading

See Chung (1998) for further discussion of syntactic focus in Chamorro, and Chung (2009) on the wh-movement analysis of the focus construction and constituent questions.

24

RELATIVE CLAUSES

> Relative clauses are embedded clauses that modify a head noun. They contain a gap—a missing constituent that corresponds to the head noun. Information about the gap is registered by the special types of agreement associated with wh-movement.

24.1 Overview

Relative clauses are embedded clauses that modify a head noun. Like other modifiers within the noun phrase, they follow the determiner but can precede or follow the head noun (see 7.3). There is no relative pronoun or other constituent that has obviously been displaced to the left edge of the relative clause. Nonetheless, relative clauses contain a gap—a missing constituent that corresponds to the head noun. Wh-agreement and complementizer agreement are used to register information about the gap, and this suggests that some unpronounced constituent identified with the head noun, or perhaps the head noun itself, has been displaced within the relative clause by wh-movement.

   24.2 describes the location of relative clauses within the noun phrase and their internal structure. 24.3 discusses wh-agreement and complementizer agreement in relative clauses. Complementizer agreement has a different set of realizations when the relative clause occurs in a noun phrase that is necessarily indefinite; 24.4 presents the details. 24.5 describes long-distance relative clauses. Finally, 24.6 looks briefly at some constructions that may involve relative clauses but can also be analyzed in other ways.

24.2 Basics

24.2.1 Location within the noun phrase
Relative clauses follow the determiner but can precede or follow the head noun (see 7.3.5). These options are illustrated below, with the head noun represented in boldface and the relative clause enclosed in brackets.

(1) a. Kumådu   i **nengkanu'** [ni   hu na'lågu].
       AGR.scorched   *the food*   *COMP*   *AGR cook*

'The food that I cooked became scorched.' (CD, entry for *kumådu*)

b.   Ti ya-hu   i [nina'lagu-ña   si   nanå-hu]   na
not like-AGR   the WH[OBJ].cook-AGR   UNM   mother-AGR L
nengkanu'.
food
'I didn't like the food that my mother cooked.' (CD, entry for
uttimamenti)

The relative clause follows the head noun in (1a), but precedes it in (1b).

A third, less frequent option is that the relative clause can *surround* the head noun (see Vincent 2017). In this unusual construction, illustrated in (2), the head noun is located inside the relative clause, following the embedded predicate (and possibly other material) but preceding other constituents (see 7.3.5).[1] As usual, the entire relative clause follows the determiner.

(2)   Ti klåru   i [mapupblika   na **disiplina**   ginin
        not AGR.clear   the AGR.PASS.publish   L   training   from
        i   iskuela].
        the school
        'The rule of conduct published by the school is not clear.' (CD,
        edited entry for *disiplina*)

The head noun of a relative clause does not have to be overt. It is often deleted by noun phrase ellipsis, as in (3) (see 7.4).

(3)   I   kusineru   ha sabureha   i [nina'lagu-ña].
        the cook   AGR taste   the WH[OBJ].cook-AGR
        'The cook tasted the (food) he cooked.' (CD, entry for *sabureha*)

When the relative clause precedes the head noun, the head noun is marked with *na*, the pre-head form of the linker; see (4a) below. Sometimes the linker does not appear when the predicate of the relative clause shows possessor agreement (= has an agreement suffix) and the head noun immediately follows it; this is shown in (4b). The same patterns occur when the relative clause surrounds the head noun, as can be seen from (4c) and (4d).

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[1] This construction is attested in some early twentieth-century grammars of Chamorro. The example below is cited by Safford 1903: 311):

(a) Hihina   i [ha konni' nigap   na **guihan** si   Manuel].
    poisoner   the AGR catch   yesterday   L fish   UNM Manuel
    'The fish Manuel caught yesterday was poisonous'

(4) a. Ti siña   hu fåhan   i   [malago'-hu]   na **kareta** ...
    not can   AGR buy   the WH[OBL].want-AGR   L   car
    'I can't buy the car that I wanted...' (CD, entry for *chatda'*)

    b. Mama'kaddu   i   [nina'lagu-hu]   **batåtas**.
    AGR.ANTIP.turn.into.soup the WH[OBJ].cook-AGR   potato
    'The potatoes I cooked became liquid.' (CD, entry for *mama'*)

    c. Ti tufungun   kuåntu   mineggai-ña
    not AGR.countable   how.much? quantity-AGR
    [pineksai-ña   na **månnuk**   si   Antonio].
    WH[OBJ].raise-AGR   L   chicken   UNM   Antonio
    'It's uncountable how many (lit. how large the quantity is of) chickens Antonio is raising.' (CD, entry for *tufungun*)

    d. Yan-ñiha   i   bisinu   i   [fina'tinås-ña   **pån**
    like-AGR   the neighbor   the WH[OBJ].make-AGR   bread
    si   nanå-hu].
    UNM   mother-AGR
    'The neighbors loved my mom's bread.' (CD, entry for *pån*)

When the relative clause follows the head noun, the head noun is not marked with the post-head form of the linker. The absence of the linker is unexpected. It may be that in this environment, the linker is realized simultaneously with complementizer agreement (see 7.3.5 and 24.3.2).

Although all three of the word order options for relative clauses are well-attested, the default is for the relative clause to follow the head noun (see 7.3.5). This is the most frequent word order when the head noun is a common noun, and the only option when it is a pronoun or name, as in the example in (5).

(5)   Buen binidu todus   **hamyu** [ni   manggaigi guini].
    welcome   all   you.PL COMP AGR.be.at   here
    'Welcome to all of you (pl.) who are here.' (CD, entry for *buen binidu*)

When relative clauses are stacked on the same side of the head noun, they generally follow the head noun, as in (6).

(6)   Manasudda'   yan   un **Hudihus** [ni   kakahna]
    AGR.RECP.find   with   a   Jew   COMP   magician
    [ni   na'ån-ña   si   Bar-Jesus] [ni   ha fa'
    COMP   name-AGR UNM   Bar-Jesus COMP   AGR pretend

profeta gui'].
prophet he
'They met with a Jew who was a magician whose name was Bar-Jesus who pretended to be a prophet.' (NT 236)

Moreover, noun phrases in which the relative clause follows the head noun can be introduced by the full range of determiners, including the definite article *i* (in (1a)), the null indefinite article, the indefinite article *un* (in (6)), a demonstrative (in (7a)), or a quantifier (in (7b-c)).

(7) a. Nuebu ha' esti na **mohon** [ni
    AGR.new   *EMP*   *this L*   *boundary.marker*   *COMP*
     mapo'lu].
    AGR.PASS.put
    'This boundary marker that was placed is just new.' (CD, entry for *mohón*)

   b. Mamuga' si Benigno meggai **hima** [ni
    AGR.ANTIP.split   *UNM*   *Benigno*   *many.L*   *giant.clam*   *COMP*
     ginin Palau].
    from   *Palau*
    'Benigno split open a lot of clams that were from Palau.' (CD, entry for *mamuga'*)

   c. Debi di un difina kada **palåbra** [ni manggaigi
    should   *PRT*   *AGR* *define*   *each*   *word*   *COMP*   *AGR.be.at*
     gi lista].
    LCL list
    'You have to define each word on the list.' (CD, entry for *difina*)

Noun phrases in which the relative clause precedes the head noun are introduced by a more limited set of determiners—usually, the definite article *i* or the null indefinite article, as in (8).

(8) a. Estagui' i risuttan i CCR ... put i [un gigimin]
    here.is   *the result.L the CCR*   *about*   *the AGR* *drink.PROG*
     na **hånum**.
    L   water
    'Here are the results of the CCR about the water you drink.'
    (*Commonwealth Utility News*, July 2014: 8)

   b. Guåhu kumuentutusi hamyu kumu [manggai
    I   *WH[SBJ].speak.to.PROG*   *you.PL*   *as*   *AGR.have*

kinimprendi]　　na **tåotågui**.
understanding　*L*　*people*
'I am speaking to you (pl.) as men who are wise.' (NT 311-312)

Noun phrases in which the relative clause modifies an unpronounced head noun have a similarly limited set of determiners; see (9).

(9) a.　Tåya'　　　siña　　numa'adispatta　　　　　i　[ha
　　　　AGR.not.exist　*can*　*WH[SBJ].make.RECP.separate*　*the*　*AGR*
　　　　na'danña'　si　　Yu'us].
　　　　make.joined　*UNM*　*God*
　　　　'No one can separate what (lit. the ones that) God has joined
　　　　together.' (CD, entry for *na'ádispatta*)
　　b.　Guaha　　[gumåguassan　　　i　　lugåt　Flora　esta].
　　　　AGR.exist　*WH[SBJ].trim.PROG*　*the place.L　Flora*　*already*
　　　　'There is someone weeding Flora's area already.' (CD, entry for
　　　　guåssan)

The reasons for this limitation are unclear. Still, the fact that any determiner at all can introduce the head noun in noun phrases like (7) is further evidence that the default is for relative clauses to follow the head noun.

24.2.2　Internal structure
Relative clauses have essentially the same internal structure whatever their word order within the noun phrase, and whether the head noun is overt or null. These embedded clauses are finite clauses that can have other clauses embedded more deeply within them. Each of the relative clauses in (10), for instance, is a complex sentence that contains an embedded adverbial clause (enclosed by the inner set of brackets). Note that the relative clause follows the head noun in (10a), precedes it in (10b), and surrounds it in (10c).

(10)a.　In　li'i'　un　**tåotåo**　[ni　　ha　u'usa　　　i　　na'ån-mu
　　　　AGR see a　person　COMP　AGR use.PROG　the　name-AGR
　　　　[para　　u　　fandulalak　aniti　　]]　...
　　　　FUT　　AGR ANTIP.chase　devil
　　　　'We (excl.) saw a person who was using your name to chase away
　　　　demons.' (NT 79)
　　b.　Si　　　Vincent　[bisiosu　　　[yanggin　kumuentus]]　na　**tåotåo**.
　　　　UNM　　Vincent AGR.vicious　if　　　AGR.speak　　L　　person
　　　　'Vincent is a vicious person when he talks.' (CD, entry for *bisiosu*)

c.   I   [finahan   Jose   na **pidåsun   tånu'**   [dispues di
the WH[OBJ].buy.L   Jose   L piece.L   land   after   PRT
umasagua   yan   si   Maria]],   humuyung propiedåt
AGR.marry   with   UNM   Maria   AGR.go.out property.L
komunidåt.
community
'The piece of land that Jose bought after he married Maria becomes community property.' (CD, entry for *propiedåt komunidåt*)

Each of the relative clauses in (11) is a complex sentence that contains an embedded infinitive clause. The head noun is overt in (11a), but not in (11b).

(11)a.   I   **taotåo** [ni   ti   malagu'   [ma'atbeti]]   siempri
the person COMP   not AGR.want   AGR.INF.PASS.advise indeed
ti   måolik   para   humuyong-ña.
not AGR.good   FUT   WH[DJ].go.out-AGR
'The person who does not want to be advised will eventually go wrong.' (CD, entry for *atbeti*)
 b.   Guaha   [ti manmalagu' [tumulaika na'an-ñiha]].
AGR.exist   not AGR.want   INF.change name-AGR
'There were some who did not want to change their names.' (from a conference presentation)

Chamorro has no relative pronouns, so there is no relative pronoun or other overt constituent that has obviously been displaced to the left edge of the relative clause. Nonetheless, relative clauses contain a gap—a missing constituent that corresponds to the head noun. With one exception to be discussed below, the gap is a missing noun phrase. This missing noun phrase can serve as an argument of the predicate; specifically, as a subject, direct object, or oblique associated with a verb or adjective, or as the subject of a predicate that is a noun or preposition. It can also serve as an adjunct, but not as the predicate. The gap is a subject in the relative clauses in (7), (8b), and (9b)), a direct object in the relative clauses in (1) and (3), and an oblique in the relative clauses below.

(12)a.   I   taotåo-ta   lokkui' humuyung gi batku   ya   ha
the person-AGR also   AGR.go.out LCL ship   and.then   AGR
chuli'   i   [malagu'-ñiha]!
take   the WH[OBL].want-AGR
'Our (incl.) people too went out to the ship and took what they wanted!' (from a conference presentation)

b. Ha chuli' i [nina'i   nu atyu   i   haggan] **kåhun**.
   AGR take   the AGR.PASS.give   OBL that   the turtle   box
   'He took the box that he had been given by that turtle.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

c. Siguru   na   tåya'   **ni unu** [para   u
   AGR.certain   COMP   AGR.not.exist   not one   FUT   AGR
   kinentra   esti].
   PASS.challenge   this
   'It is certain that there is no one who will challenge this (lit. by whom this will be challenged).' (*Ginen I Obispo* September 8, 2013)

Note that the gap cannot be the object of a preposition.

The gap can be a possessor in limited contexts; namely, when the possessed noun has the null indefinite article as its determiner and serves as the direct object or the subject of an intransitive (state) predicate. Then the possessed noun shows possessor agreement, as in (13).

(13)a. Låo mapput   para   i [10 åñus   idåt-ña]   na **påtgun**.
       but AGR.hard   for   the ten years   age-AGR   L   child
       'But it was hard for a ten year-old child.' (*Ginen I Obispo* April 29, 2013)

b. Ti måolik   i **katpinteru** ni   [tåya'
   not AGR.good   the carpenter   COMP   AGR.not.exist
   nibet-ña].
   level-AGR
   'A carpenter without a level (lit. who there is no level of) is not right.' (CD, entry for *nibét*)

Gaps that serve as adjuncts can specify location in time or space, means, or manner. The gap in the relative clause in (14a) specifies location in time. There are two relative clauses in (14b): the gap in the outer relative clause specifies location in space, and the gap in the inner relative clause specifies means.

(14)a. Låo   på'gu hågu   un udu   ... asta   atyu   na
       but   now   you   AGR mute   until   that   L
       ha'åni [anai   para   u fanmakumpli   esti siha].
       day   COMP   FUT   AGR AGR.PASS.fulfill this PL
       'But now you shall be mute until that day that these things are accomplished.' (NT 99)

b. ... kululo'ña   i   Unibetsidåt Guam yan ottru **lugåt**
        especially   *the university.L Guam and other   place*
    siha [ni   ma'u'usa   ennåo   i   [para
    PL   COMP   AGR.PASS.use.PROG   that   the FUT
    ma'istudia i   finu'   Chamorro]].
    PASS.study   the speech.L   Chamorro
    '...especially the University of Guam and other places where that
    (material) for studying the Chamorro language is used.' (from a
    conference presentation)

The one exception to this pattern involves relative clauses that surround
the head noun. Then the gap cannot be a missing noun phrase, because the
head noun occurs inside the relative clause, so no noun phrase is missing, as
can be seen from (15).

(15)   Manmantika   i   [kininne'-ña   na **haiting**   si
       AGR.fatty   *the WH[OBJ].catch-AGR   L   bigeye.scad UNM*
       Luis].
       Luis
       'The bigeye scad that Luis caught are very fatty.' (CD, entry for
       haiting)

However, Vincent (2017) observes that when the head noun occurs inside
the relative clause, it cannot be preceded by an overt determiner, but—
surprisingly—is marked with the pre-head form of the linker. He proposes
that in such cases, the gap is a missing determiner associated with the head
noun—a determiner whose presence is signaled by the pre-head form of the
linker.

With this in place, it becomes clear that gaps in relative clauses have the
same overall distribution as noun phrases, and parts of noun phrases, that
can be displaced by wh-movement. For instance, interrogative noun phrases
are displaced by wh-movement in constituent questions when they serve as
arguments or adjuncts, but not when they serve as the predicate (see 22.3).
The same is true of syntactically focused noun phrases that are displaced by
wh-movement in the focus construction (see 23.2 and 23.3). The noun
phrases that are displaced can be subjects, direct objects, or obliques, but not
objects of prepositions.[2] They can be possessors as long as the possessed

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[2] Prepositional phrases can be displaced by wh-movement in questions and
in the focus construction, but the gap in relative clauses must be a noun
phrase; it cannot be a prepositional phrase.

noun is introduced by the null indefinite article and serves as a direct object or the subject of an intransitive (state) predicate. They can also be adjuncts that specify location in time or space, means, or manner. Finally, interrogative determiners or focused determiners that form part of a noun phrase argument can be displaced on their own, leaving the rest of the noun phrase in place. In such cases, the head noun is marked with the pre-head form of the linker, just as in (15).

These parallels suggest that the gap in relative clauses is created when a constituent is displaced to the left edge of the relative clause by wh-movement. When the relative clause surrounds the head noun, the displaced constituent is an unpronounced determiner. Otherwise, it is either an unpronounced noun phrase identified with the head noun, or perhaps the head noun itself. The exact identity of the displaced noun (phrase) is not important here.[3] What matters is the assumption that some constituent corresponding to the head noun is displaced by wh-movement within the relative clause.

24.3   Relative clauses and agreement

In relative clauses, information about the gap is registered on the embedded predicate and the embedded complementizer by two special types of agreement: wh-agreement and complementizer agreement. These types of agreement are associated with wh-movement elsewhere in Chamorro (see 22.4 and 23.4), so their presence in relative clauses strengthens the case that the gap is created by wh-movement.

Wh-agreement in relative clauses is described in 24.3.1, and complementizer agreement, in 24.3.2. Complementizer agreement has a different set of realizations when the relative clause occurs in a necessarily indefinite noun phrase; the details are postponed to 24.4.

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[3] Relative clauses have received two types of accounts in generative syntax. In external head accounts, the head noun originates outside the relative clause, and is identified with some constituent inside the relative clause that undergoes wh-movement. In head raising accounts, the head noun originates inside the relative clause, undergoes wh-movement, and then is adjoined to the relative clause, creating an external head (see e.g. Bianchi 1999, Bhatt 2002). Much evidence suggests that both types of accounts must be available. It remains to be seen whether both are utilized in Chamorro.

24.3.1   Wh-agreement

Wh-agreement in relative clauses registers the grammatical relation of the gap on the predicate associated with it. This special agreement signals whether the gap is a subject, object, oblique, or adjunct. Like subject-verb agreement, wh-agreement appears only on verbs or adjectives, and is sensitive to mood and transitivity. The overt forms of wh-agreement replace the normal forms of subject-verb agreement. Otherwise, if wh-agreement is not realized overtly, the verb or adjective is inflected for subject-verb agreement as usual.

Wh-agreement has the same overt forms in relative clauses as it does in constituent questions and the focus construction (see 22.4.1 and 23.4.1). However, some overt forms of agreement that are obligatory in questions and the focus construction are merely optional in relative clauses.

Wh-agreement with a subject gap is realized as *-um-*, but only optionally, when the predicate is a transitive verb in the realis mood; see (16a-b). (This overt realization of wh-agreement is obligatory in questions and the focus construction.) Otherwise, wh-agreement with a subject gap has no overt realization, as (16c) shows.

(16)a.   Manlibri   yan   ma li'i'   i   [hagas   **pumoksai**
         AGR.saved   *and*   *AGR see*   *the long.ago*   *WH[SBJ].nurture*
         siha]   na   tåotåo.
         them   *L*   *person*
         'They were free and they saw those people who used to nurture them in the past.' (Cooreman 1983: 167)
   b.   Ennåo   siha   na   fina'nå'gui   kalang   un   chetnut [ni
         that   *PL*   *L*   *teaching*   *seems.like*   *a   disease that*
         ha   kåkannu'   i   sensin].
         AGR eat.PROG   *the flesh*
         'Those teachings are like a disease that eats flesh.' (NT 395)
   c.   Mungnga   mannå'i   ni   [ti   agradesidu].
         don't   *AGR.ANTIP.give*   *OBL not   AGR.well-received*
         'Don't give something that is not well-received.' (CD, entry for *agradesidu*)

Wh-agreement with an object gap is realized, optionally, as the combination of *-in-* plus nominalization when the gap is the direct object of an ordinary transitive verb (see (17a-b)). The realization is the same when the gap is the oblique object of an applicative or passive verb, except that *-in-* is omitted when the verb is passive (17c-d). (See 22.4.1.2 on the realization of wh-agreement with other types of objects.)

(17)a. Ha konni' yuhi   na haggan [i   **siniddå'-ña**]
      AGR catch   that   L   turtle COMP   WH[OBJ].find-AGR
     [ni   dikiki'].
     COMP   AGR.small
     'He caught that small turtle that he had found.' (Cooreman 1983:
     102)

   b. Siempri si   Yu'us   ha na'funhåyan   i   [ha tutuhun]
     indeed UNM   God   AGR make.finished   the AGR begin
     na cho'chu'.
     L   work
     'Surely God will finish the work that he began.' (*Ginen I Obispo*
     September 8, 2013)

   c. Kalang   mampus   tåddung   para   i
     seems.like   so.much   AGR.deep   for   the
     [**manmana'i-ta**]   na titanus.
     WH[OBJ].AGR.PASS.give-AGR   L   brain
     'It seems too profound for the brains we (incl.) were given.' (*Ginen
     I Obispo* March 20, 2011)

   d. Aprubetcha i   tiempu [ni   manå'i   håo].
     make.use.of the time   COMP   AGR.PASS.give   you
     'Make use of the time that you are given.' (CD, entry for
     aprubecha)

Wh-agreement with an oblique gap is realized as nominalization when the gap is an argument of an adjective or intransitive verb, as in (18a). The realization is the same, but merely optional, when the gap is an instrument, as in (18b-c). (Overt wh-agreement with an instrument gap is obligatory in questions and the focus construction.)

(18)a. Todu   klåsin   åtti   [ni   **malago'-mu**]   siña   ha
     all   sort.L   design   COMP   WH[OBL].want-AGR   can   AGR
     botda   i   makina.
     embroider   the machine
     'The machine can embroider all kinds of designs that you want.'
     (CD, entry for *botda*)

   b. Nå'i   yu' ni hapbun [ni   para   **fa'gasem-mu**   ni
     give   me OBL soap   COMP   FUT   WH[OBL].wash-AGR   OBL
     kareta].
     car
     'Give me the soap that you're going to wash the car with.'

c. Tåya'   alåmli [ni   para   u   mafa'tinas i
   AGR.not.exist   *wire*   *COMP*   *FUT*   *AGR PASS.make*   *the*
   gigåo].
   fish.trap
   'There's no wire to make the fish trap with.' (CD, entry for *gigåo*)

Finally, wh-agreement with an adjunct gap is realized, optionally, as nominalization when the gap specifies manner or means (see (19a)); it has no overt realization otherwise (19b).

(19)a.   Måolik   i   Lai yanggin ma'usa   gi   [diputsi
         AGR.good   *the law if*   *AGR.PASS.use*   *LCL supposed.to*
         para   **ma'uså-ña**].
         FUT   *WH[DJ].PASS.use-AGR*
         'The law is good, if it is used in the (way) it is supposed to be used.'
         (NT 386)
   b.   Sumåga   gi atyu   na lugåt   [anai   umasudda'   i
         AGR.stay   *LCL that*   *L place*   *COMP*   *AGR.RECP.find*   *the*
         dos yan   i   haggan].
         two with   *the turtle*
         'He stayed in that place where he and the turtle had met.' (from a
         tape-recorded narrative)

The examples above illustrate the pattern of wh-agreement in relative clauses that precede or follow the head noun, or whose head noun is not overt. Wh-agreement also occurs in relative clauses that surround the head noun, when the gap is a missing determiner (see 24.2.2). Then the agreement registers the grammatical relation of the noun phrase associated with the missing determiner—the noun phrase whose head noun remains in place inside the relative clause. In (4c-d), for instance, the gap is the missing determiner of the direct object, so the verb of the relative clause shows (the overt form) of object wh-agreement. The pattern is the same when an interrogative determiner is displaced in constituent questions (see 22.3.2) and—presumably—when a syntactically focused determiner is displaced in the focus construction.

24.3.2 Complementizer agreement
Complementizer agreement uses the complementizer of the relative clause to register information about the head noun, including its function within the relative clause. This agreement is realized as a special form of the comple-mentizer that is sometimes overt and other times null. Complementizer

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agreement is realized differently in relative clauses than in constituent questions and the focus construction, and the conditioning factors are more complex. Three sorts of information are encoded: (i) the head noun's function within the relative clause—specifically, whether it names a location in time or space, (ii) whether the head noun precedes the relative clause, and (iii) whether the head noun is immediately preceded by a demonstrative.

The first sort of information is registered by complementizer agreement elsewhere in Chamorro (see 22.4.2 and 23.4.2). However, the second and third sorts of information are usually encoded by the morpheme known as the linker (see 7.3.1). Recall (from 24.2.1) that a head noun that precedes a relative clause is—unexpectedly—not marked with the linker. This suggests that complementizer agreement in relative clauses may have taken over some of the linker's functions.

The forms of complementizer agreement in relative clauses are listed below. Note that the null complementizer is abbreviated 'null COMP'.

(20)   COMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT IN RELATIVE CLAUSES
    When the head noun names a location in time or space and:
        Precedes the relative clause   anai / ni / nai
        Otherwise   anai
    When the head noun has some other function and:
        Precedes the relative clause and is preceded
            by a demonstrative plus the linker   i
        Precedes the relative clause   ni / nai
        Otherwise   [null COMP]

Some details: One overt realization of complementizer agreement, *anai*, looks like the subordinating conjunction *anai* 'when (realis)'; the other overt realizations apparently do not occur as complementizers outside the context of complementizer agreement. There is some regional and individual variation in the use of *ni* and *nai* (see below). In slow speech, *ni* is occasionally pronounced *nu i* (in the Saipan dialect) or *ni' i* (in the Guam dialect). It is unclear how to view these variants. Most likely, they can be traced to the fact that *ni* is homophonous with the oblique case marker *ni*. The oblique case marker normally fuses with the definite article *i*, but the two can also be pronounced separately, as *nu i* or *ni' i* (see 5.1.1.1, 5.1.1.2, and Safford 1903: 311). The appearance of the same forms in complementizer agreement, as slow speech variants of *ni*, could well be a further extension of the homophony of the two *ni*'s. (Another possibility: these slow speech forms might indicate a deeper connection between case marking and complementizer agreement.)

When the head noun names a location in time or space within the relative clause, complementizer agreement is realized as *anai*. Some examples are cited in (21).[4]

(21)a. Ti ya-ña si Nåna atyu na guma' [**anai**
   not like-AGR UNM mother that L house COMP
   sumåsaga].
   AGR.stay.PROG
   'Mother doesn't like that house that she's staying in.' (CD, entry for
   guma')
  b. Måttu   gi un lugåt [**anai** bula   tinanum gi
   AGR.arrive LCL a place COMP AGR.much plant   LCL
   halum hånum].
   inside.L water
   '[The turtle] arrived at a place where there were many plants in the
   water.' (*Igu* 2)
  c. Gof yan-ñiha i sagamai gi [**anai** guaha
   very like-AGR the gnat   LCL COMP AGR.exist
   lamas fruta pat gollai].
   rotten.L fruit or vegetable
   'The gnats love to be at (places) where there are rotten fruits or
   vegetables.' (CD, entry for *ságamai*)

When the head noun also precedes the relative clause, the realizations *ni* or *nai* can be used instead of *anai*. *Ni* is more common in Saipan, and *nai* in Rota, but many speakers choose freely among all three forms.

(22)a. Ti måfattu   i tiempu [**ni** para u
   not AGR.arrive.PROG the time COMP FUT AGR
   mapunu'   i hetnu].
   PASS.turn.off the oven
   'The time at which the incubator (lit. oven) would be turned off had
   not yet come.' (EM 93)
  b. Mannatata   mampus i madduk [**nai** para u
   AGR.shallow   so.much the hole   COMP FUT AGR

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[4] When the head noun is overt and names a location in time or space within the relative clause, the relative clause normally does not precede it. I have been unable to locate any relative clauses of this type in the naturally-occurring data. The situation with respect to relative clauses that surround the head noun is not known. This is an area that deserves further study.

matånum   i   sini].
PASS.plant   the   taro
'The holes in which the taro is going to be planted are too shallow.'
(CD, entry for *nátata*)

Complementizer agreement has a different set of realizations when the head noun has some other function inside the relative clause. It is realized as *i* when the head noun precedes the relative clause and is itself immediately preceded by a demonstrative plus the pre-head form of the linker, as in (23) (but see the discussion below).[5]

(23)a.   Esti na Ibangheliu [**i**   ta   hunguk mapruklåma
         this L   gospel   COMP   AGR hear   AGR.PASS.proclaim
         på'gu]   ha   sangångani hit   mås   ki   ...
         now   AGR say.to.PROG   us.INCL   more   than
         'This gospel that we (incl.) hear proclaimed today tells us (incl.)
         more than...' (*Ginen I Obispo* October 28, 2001)
   b.   Ya-ña   si   Tang   atyu   na kesu   [**i**
         like-AGR   UNM   Dad   that   L   cheese   COMP
         kalan   mutung   påo-ña].
         seems.like   AGR.stinky   smell-AGR
         'Dad likes that cheese that has sort of a funny smell.' (CD, entry for
         kesu)

Otherwise, when the head noun precedes the relative clause, complementizer agreement is realized as *nai* (in the Rota dialect) or *ni*; see (7) and (24). Sometimes these realizations are used even when a demonstrative immediately precedes the head noun, as (24c) shows.

(24)a.   In   manohu   todu   i   sakåti   [**ni**   para   bai in
         AGR tie.in.bundle   all   the   grass   COMP   FUT   AGR
         senggi].
         burn
         'We (excl.) tied together all the grasses that we (excl.) are going to
         burn.' (CD, entry for *manohu*)

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[5] The *i* represented in boldface in (23) is a realization of complementizer agreement, not the definite article, since it is replaced by a different form of complementizer agreement when the head noun names a location in time or space (see (21a)).

b.   ... ta ayuda esti siha i membru [**nai** ma
     AGR help   this PL   the member   COMP AGR
     putfifiha   na   para   ma ripåsa   i   diksiunåriun
     persist.PROG   COMP FUT   AGR revise the dictionary.L
     Chamorro].
     Chamorro
     '[I ask that] we (incl.) help these members who are persevering in
     revising the Chamorro dictionary.' (from a conference presentation)
c.   Ta li'i'   esti na gurupun   palåbra siha   [**ni**
     AGR see   this L group.L   word   PL   COMP
     manhålum gi finu'   Chamorro] ...
     AGR.go.in LCL speech.L   Chamorro
     'We (incl.) see these phrases (lit. groups of words) that have come
     into the Chamorro language...' (EM 117)

In all other contexts—namely, when the head noun is not overt or the rela-
tive clause precedes it, or surrounds it—complementizer agreement is real-
ized as the null complementizer. Some representative examples are cited in
(25).

(25)a.   I   espitåt era   atyu   i   [matungu'   kumu
         the hospital actually that   the AGR.PASS.know as
         espitåt   i   Navy].
         hospital.L   the Navy
         'The hospital was actually what (lit. that which) was known as the
         Navy hospital.' (EM 91)
b.   Nå'i   ham   på'gu   na ha'åni ni [in nisisita] na
     give   us.EXCL now   L   day   OBL AGR need   L
     nengkanu'.
     food
     'Give us (excl.) today the food we (excl.) need.' (NT 10)
c.   Guaha   [na'ån-ña   na tåotåo Magellan].
     AGR.exist   name-AGR   L person Magellan
     'There was a person whose name was Magellan.' (from a
     conference presentation)

This is considerably more elaborate than the pattern of complementizer
agreement found in constituent questions and the focus construction.

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24.4   In necessarily indefinite noun phrases

Chamorro has four constructions that involve a necessarily indefinite noun phrase. These constructions are summarized very briefly here:

(i)   The existential verbs *guaha* 'exist' and *tåya'* 'not exist' have two arguments: one argument that names what exists, and another argument that names the location in time or space where it exists (see 14.2.2). The argument that names what exists, known as the *pivot*, is a noun phrase that must be indefinite; more precisely, it must have a weak determiner (see 6.2.5). (The necessarily indefinite noun phrase is represented in boldface in the examples below.)

(26)a.   Åntis   guaha   **un dångkulu na kollat babui** gi As
         before *AGR.exist* *a   big*   *L pen.L   pig*   *LCL As*
         Abed.
         Abed
         'Back then there was a large pig pen at As Abed.' (CD, entry for *As Abed*)
   b.   Tåya'   **sopbla**   gi salappe'-hu, hokkuk   gi
        AGR.not.exist   *remains*   *LCL money-AGR AGR.all.gone   LCL*
        tenda.
        store
        'There's nothing left of my money, it ran out at the store.' (CD, entry for *sopbla*)

(ii)   Quantificational adjectives such as *bula* 'much, many' and *meggai* 'many' have just one argument. That argument must be an indefinite noun phrase, and is almost always introduced by the null indefinite article (see 14.2.3).

(27)   Meggai   **tåotåo** gi sirimonias i   gubetnu.
       AGR.many   person LCL ceremony.L the governor
       'There were many people at the governor's ceremony.' (CD, entry for *sirimonias*)

(iii) The verbs of possession *gai* 'have' and *tai* 'not have' have two arguments: one argument that names the possessor, and another argument that names what is possessed. The argument that names what is possessed is a noun phrase whose head noun is incorporated (see 14.3). This noun phrase, which has no determiner, has the meaning of an indefinite.

(28) Poddung si Tona' gi trongku ya
AGR.fall *UNM* *Tona'* *LCL tree* *and.then*
tai **chetnut**.
AGR.not.have *injury*
'Tona' was not injured when she fell off the tree.' (CD, entry for *tái chetnut*)

(iv) General indefinites are indefinite forms that serve as noun phrases or determiners and are restricted to certain syntactic contexts (see Chapter 9). In free choice contexts, the general indefinite *håyi* can be translated as 'whoever, any(one) at all', the general indefinite *håfa* can be translated as 'whatever, any(thing) at all', and so on (see 9.2.2.4). General indefinites in free choice contexts are often preceded by *maseha* 'at all, (which)ever, no matter'.

(29) Mama'udai yu' gi **maseha håfa na klåsin udai**.
rider *I* *LCL at.all* *any* *L* *sort.L* *transportation*
'I'm a rider of any kind of rides.' (CD, entry for *máma'udai*)

Necessarily indefinite noun phrases can be modified by a relative clause. When the necessarily indefinite noun phrase is the argument of an existential verb or a quantificational adjective, this relative clause has all the word order options described earlier in 24.2.1: it can precede, follow, or surround the head noun, and the head noun can be overt or unpronounced.

(30) a. Guaha **un påharita** [inakka' ni cha'ka gi
AGR.exist *a little.bird* *AGR.PASS.bite* *OBL rat* *LCL*
paingi].
last.night
'There was one small bird that was bitten by the rat last night.' (CD, entry for *påharita*)
    b. Meggai [fina'tinås-ña i biha] **pångket**.
AGR.many *WH[OBJ].make-AGR* *the old.woman* *pancake*
'There were a lot of pancakes that the old lady made.' (CD, entry for *pångket*)
    c. Siempri guaha [ha risibi **dångkulu na guinaha**
indeed AGR.exist *AGR receive large* *L* *wealth*
si Jack].
UNM *Jack*
'There will soon be a lot of wealth that Jack receives.' (CD, entry for *guinaha*)

    d.   Tåya'   [umagradesi   ma'umiya   gi
        AGR.not.exist   WH[SBJ].appreciate AGR.INF.PASS.humiliate   LCL
        me'nan tåotåo].
        front.L   people
        'There's no one who appreciates being humiliated in front of
        people.' (CD, entry for *umiya*)

When the necessarily indefinite noun phrase has an incorporated head noun or is a general indefinite, the word order options are more limited: the head noun must be overt, and the relative clause must follow it.

(31)a.   Esta   gai   **mulidu siha**   [åttilung]   i   peras.
        already AGR.have   bruise PL   AGR.black   the pear
        'The pear has bruises of dark spots (lit. that are black).' (CD, entry
        for *mulidu*)
    b.   Arekla **maseha håfa**   [mayamak].
        fix   at.all   anything   AGR.PASS.break
        'Fix whatever is broken.' (CD, entry for *arekla*)

    As might be expected, information about the gap is registered within the relative clause by wh-agreement and complementizer agreement. But though wh-agreement operates as usual, complementizer agreement does not. The default in these relative clauses is for complementizer agreement to have the same realizations as in constituent questions and the focus construction (see 22.4.2 and 23.4.2). These realizations are shown in (32).

(32)   C<small>OMPLEMENTIZER AGREEMENT IN RELATIVE CLAUSES</small>
        When the head noun is necessarily indefinite and:
            Names a location in time or space   na / nai / ni
            Otherwise   [null C<small>OMP</small>]

    To illustrate, consider the relative clauses below, which modify a necessarily indefinite noun phrase. In (33), complementizer agreement is realized as *na*, *nai*, or *ni*, because the head noun names a location in time or space within the relative clause.

(33)a.   Guaha   [**ni**   matå'pang i   tipu].
        AGR.exist   COMP   AGR.bland the sugar.cane
        'Sometimes (lit. there are (times) when) sugar cane is bland.' (CD,
        entry for *tupu*)

b. Tåya' [**nai** hu chagi kumånnu' i haguhi].
  AGR.not.exist *COMP* *AGR try* *INF.eat* *the sandcrab*
  'I've never tried (lit. There isn't a (time) when I tried) eating
  sandcrabs.' (CD, entry for *haguhi*)

c. Para u baila si Dora maseha ngai'an [**na**
  FUT *AGR dance* *UNM* *Dora* *at.all* *anytime COMP*
  malagu'].
  AGR.want
  'Dora will dance anytime she wants.' (CD, entry for *maseha
  ngai'an*)

In (34), complementizer agreement is realized as the null complementizer,
because the head noun has some other function within the relative clause.
(More examples of this type are cited in (30-31) and 9.2.2.4).

(34)a. Kada puengi guaha [sumirinånata gi
  each *night* *AGR.exist* *WH[SBJ].serenade.PROG* *LCL*
  bisinu].
  neighbor
  'There's someone serenading at the neighbor every night.' (CD,
  entry for *sirinåta*)

b. Bulan botas hu chagi, låo tåya' [omlat-tu].
  many.L boots *AGR try* *but AGR.not.exist* *WH[OBL].fit-AGR*
  'I tried many boots, but there were none that fit me.' (CD, entry for
  botas)

c. Meggai [nirikohi-ña salåppi' i laraina].
  AGR.much *WH[OBJ].collect-AGR money* *the queen*
  'The queen raised a lot of money (lit. There was much money that
  the queen raised).' (CD, entry for *laraina*)

It is not clear why complementizer agreement in these relative clauses uses
the realizations found in constituent questions and the focus construction
(but see Chung 1987 for a proposal).

  Very occasionally, a relative clause that modifies a necessarily indef-
inite noun phrase will deviate from this pattern, and use the realizations of
complementizer agreement found in ordinary relative clauses instead (i.e. the
forms shown in (20)). See (35).

(35)a. Si nåna guaha atkiyå-ña [**ni** ha fåhan
  UNM *mother* *AGR.exist* *hairpin-AGR COMP* *AGR buy*

Amerika].
America
'Mother has a large hairpin that she bought in America.' (CD, entry for *atkiya*)

b. Ti gef   bula   finu'   Chamorro [**ni**
   not AGR.very   much   word.L   Chamorro COMP
   tinituhun   ni   u*].*
   AGR.PASS.begin   OBL   u
   'There are not too many Chamorro words that begin with *u*.' (CD, entry for *u*)

c. I   gitåla   gai   oktaba [**ni**   bunitu   sunidu-ña].
   the guitar AGR.have   octave COMP   AGR.nice   sound-AGR
   'The guitar has octaves that have a good sound.' (CD, entry for *oktåba*)

Finally, if a necessarily indefinite noun phrase is modified by several relative clauses, at most one of these relative clauses realizes complementizer agreement as shown in (32). The other relative clauses realize complementizer agreement in the same way as ordinary relative clauses (see Chung 1987).

(36)a. Meggai   [manmåtai] [**ni**   mannina'yi   ni atektuk].
       AGR.many   AGR.die   COMP   AGR.PASS.infect OBL leprosy
       'There were many who died who were infected with Hansen's disease.' (CD, entry for *atektuk*)

b. Meggai   suni   [**ni**   manbå'ba']
   AGR.many   taro   COMP   AGR.defective
   [manpåsmu].
   AGR.incompletely.developed
   'Many taros that are defective are not fully grown.' (CD, entry for *bå'ba'*)

This too deserves further study.

24.5 Long-distance relative clauses

When a relative clause is formed from a complex sentence, the gap can occur in an embedded clause of the complex sentence, separated by more than one clause from the head noun. The result can be called a long-distance relative clause. In the long-distance relative clauses in (37), the gap occurs in the most deeply embedded clause, enclosed by the innermost set of brackets.

(The relative clause precedes the head noun in (37a-b) and surrounds it in (37c); the head noun is not overt in (37d)).

(37)a. Bota   atyu   na **kandidåtu** [i   un tungu' [na
       vote.for that   L candidate   COMP   AGR know   COMP
       para   u fachu'chu'i i   intires   i   taotåo gi
       FUT   AGR work.for   the interest.L   the person LCL
       leyislatura]].
       legislature
       'Vote for the candidate who you think will work for the people's interest in the legislature.' (CD, entry for *leyislatura*)
    b. I   **trongku**   [ni   mahonggi   [na   gaigi
       the tree   COMP   AGR.PASS.believe   COMP   AGR.be.at
       [na   mañåsaga]]]   na'ån-ña   trongkun   nunu.
       COMP   AGR.stay.PROG name-AGR   tree.L   banyan
       'The tree that it is believed that [the *tåotåo mo'na*] are staying in is called the banyan tree.' (Cooreman 1982: 2)
    c. Tåya'   [mamahlåo-hu   na **palåo'an**   [para
       AGR.not.exist WH[OBL].ashamed-AGR   L woman   FUT
       asudda'-hu]].
       WH[OBL].RECP.find-AGR
       'There was no woman who I was ashamed to meet with.'
    d. Mungnga   machånsa   håo para   un cho'gui i [ti un
       don't   AGR.PASS.risk   you FUT   AGR do   the not AGR
       tungu'   [chumo'gui]].
       know   INF.do
       'Don't take the risk of doing what you don't know how to do.' (CD, entry for *chånsa*)

The gap is the subject of *fachu'chu'i* 'work for' in (37a), the locative argument of *såga* 'stay' in (37b), the oblique (comitative) argument of *asudda'* 'meet with (lit. find each other)' in (37c), and the direct object of the infinitive *chumo'gui* 'to do' in (37d).

Information about the gap in long-distance relative clauses is registered by the special types of agreement associated with wh-movement. Complementizer agreement is generally realized by the forms in (20), but when the relative clause modifies a necessarily indefinite noun phrase, the default is for the forms in (32) to be used instead (see 24.3.2 and 24.4). For instance, both of the long-distance relative clauses in (38) follow the head noun and have a gap that is the direct object of *taitai* 'read'. Complementizer agreement is realized as *ni* in (38a) but as the null complementizer in (38b),

because the relative clause in (38b) modifies a necessarily indefinite noun phrase.

(38) a. I lepblu [**ni** malagu' si Carmen [para u
　　　 the book COMP AGR.want UNM *Carmen* FUT AGR
　　　 taitai]], taigui guini.
　　　 read AGR.not.be.at *here*
　　　 'The book that Carmen wanted to read is not here.'
　 b. Tåya' ni håfafa na lepblu [malago'-hu
　　　 AGR.not.exist *not any.EMP* L *book* WH[OBL].want-AGR
　　　 [para bai hu taitai]].
　　　 FUT AGR *read*
　　　 'There aren't any books that I want to read.'

Wh-agreement registers the grammatical relation of the gap on the predicate associated with it (see 24.3.1). In addition, the *higher* predicates within the relative clause can optionally show wh-agreement. Wh-agreement on a higher predicate does not register the grammatical relation of the gap, but rather the grammatical relation of the embedded clause that contains the gap. In the pair of relative clauses in (38), for instance, the embedded verb *taitai* 'read' shows (the null form of) object wh-agreement, because the gap is its direct object. But in (38b), the higher verb *malagu'* 'want' shows oblique wh-agreement, because the embedded clause containing the gap serves as its oblique argument. (The higher verb in (38a) is not marked with wh-agreement, because wh-agreement on higher predicates is optional in long-distance relative clauses.)

The long-distance relative clauses in (39) provide another illustration of this pattern. Wh-agreement on the most deeply embedded verb registers the grammatical relation of the gap, which is a subject in (39a), a direct object in (39b), and a manner adjunct in (39c). But when the higher verb of the relative clause is marked with an overt form of wh-agreement, as it is in (39b) and (39c), it shows object wh-agreement, because it is a (concealed) applicative, and the embedded clause containing the gap serves as its oblique object.[6]

(39) a. Kåo atyu na låhi i [un sangåni yu' [bumisita
　　　 Q *that* L *man* *the* AGR say.to *me* WH[SBJ].visit

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[6] The higher verbs in these relative clauses are the applicative *sangåni* 'tell' (from *sångan* 'say') and the concealed applicative *tågu'* 'direct'.

si   Maria]]?
UNM   Maria
'Is that the man who you told me visited Maria?'
b. Yanggin   munhåyan en che'gui todu   i
   if   AGR.done AGR do   all   the
   [manmatågu'-miyu   [para   en che'gui]] ...
   WH[OBJ].AGR.PASS.direct-AGR FUT   AGR do
   'When you (pl.) have done all that you (pl.) were told that you (pl.)
   should do...' (NT 140)
c. Mafa'tinas   taiguihi   i [tinago'-ña   si
   AGR.PASS.make   like.that   the WH[OBJ].direct-AGR   UNM
   Yu'us   as Moises [para   mafa'tinås-ña]]   ...
   God   OBL Moses FUT   WH[DJ].PASS.make-AGR
   'It was made in the (way) that God commanded Moses that it
   should be made.' (NT 225)

Finally, when a long-distance relative clause modifies a necessarily in-
definite noun phrase, higher predicates within the relative clause generally
must show wh-agreement, as in (38b).

24.6   Related constructions

Three constructions are briefly described here which may involve relative
clauses but can also be analyzed in other ways. They are: embedded clause
modifiers introduced by the complementizer *na* (discussed in 24.6.1), exis-
tential verbs used as determiners (in 24.6.2), and time adverbs formed from
nouns marked with the pre-head form of the linker (in 24.6.3).

24.6.1   Embedded clause modifiers introduced by *na*
Very occasionally, an indefinite head noun seems to be modified by a finite
embedded clause that does not have the characteristic morphology of rela-
tive clauses. These embedded clause modifiers do not show complementizer
agreement or wh-agreement. They follow the head noun, and are introduced
by the finite complementizer *na*. Some examples are cited in (40).

(40)a. Guaha   finu'   i   manåmku' [**na**   sen
       AGR.exist   speech.L   the PL.old   COMP   AGR.extremely
       magåhit].
       true
       'There is a saying of the elders that is really true.' (*Ginen I Obispo
       July 9, 2000*)

b. Ha sodda' un kareta gi halum palåsyu [**na** bula
AGR find a car LCL inside.L palace COMP AGR.many
diamond yan oru].
diamond and gold
'He found a carriage inside the palace loaded with diamonds and gold (lit. that there were many diamonds and gold).' (Cooreman 1983: 110)

c. Guaha nai ma lili'i' palåo'an [**na**
AGR.exist COMP AGR see.PROG woman COMP
å'a'paka' magagu-ña ya anåkku' påpa'
AGR.white.PROG clothes-AGR and.then AGR.long down
gaputilu-ña].
hair-AGR
'There were (times) when they saw a woman who had whitish clothes and long hair.' (Cooreman 1983: 3)

Embedded clause modifiers of this type could be analyzed as relative clauses (cf. Safford 1903: 311). If they are, some explanation must be given for why they do not show complementizer agreement or wh-agreement. The alternative is that they might not be relative clauses at all. If so, they would not contain a gap, but instead would be complete embedded clauses that serve as modifiers, like certain embedded clauses in English introduced by *such that* (e.g. *This is the value of n such that 3n=7*). This second alternative is not unreasonable, given that elsewhere in Chamorro, embedded clauses introduced by *na* can serve as modifiers (adverbial clauses; see 20.4.1).

24.6.2 Existential verbs as determiners
When a relative clause follows the head noun, the head noun is not marked with the post-head form of the linker (see 24.2.1). However, sentences occasionally occur that seem to be existential sentences in which a relative clause follows the head noun, but the head noun is marked with the *pre-head* form of the linker. These sentences begin with an existential verb, either *guaha* 'exist' or *tåya'* 'not exist', followed by a head noun that seems to be the verb's necessarily indefinite argument. Two examples are cited in (41).

(41)a. Guaha **na** åtgidun mampus å'paka', guaha
AGR.exist L cotton so.much AGR.white AGR.exist
åhi'.
no
'Some cottons are very white, some are not.' (CD, entry for *åtgidun*)

b. Tåya'   **na** Chamorro giya   Guam   tumungu'
    AGR.not.exist   *L* *Chamorro* *LCL*   *Guam*   *WH[SBJ].know*
    fuminu'   Ispañot.
    AGR.INF.speak   *Spanish*
    'No Chamorros on Guam knew how to speak Spanish.' (from a
    conference presentation on Magellan's landing in the Mariana
    Islands)

The form of the linker in (41) suggests that these sentences might not involve a relative clause after all. Instead, they are focus constructions in which some modifier *precedes* the head noun, and the entire noun phrase has been displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement. The preceding modifier could, in principle, be a relative clause formed from the existential verb, but that is probably not the right analysis, given that (41b) means 'No Chamorros on Guam knew how to speak Spanish', not 'Chamorros who there were none of on Guam knew how to speak Spanish'.

A more likely hypothesis is that the existential verbs *guaha* and *tåya'* in these constructions are serving, unusually, as quantificational determiners (i.e. *guaha* 'some', *tåya'* 'no'). That would explain why the head noun is marked with the pre-head form of the linker. It would also strengthen the parallels between existential verbs and the quantificational adjectives *bula* 'much, many' and *meggai* 'many', which routinely serve as predicates or determiners (see 6.2.4.3).

Note, though, that *bula* and *meggai* can serve as determiners in noun phrases that bear a wide range of grammatical relations, including noun phrases that are in the local case or are objects of prepositions. But *guaha* and *tåya'* only occasionally serve as determiners, and when they do, the noun phrase they introduce generally occurs at the left edge of the sentence, in topic or focus position.

Speakers vary considerably in their willingness to use *guaha* and *tåya'* as determiners. This is an area that deserves further study.

24.6.3   Time adverbs marked with the linker
Nouns such as *biåhi* 'time', *mes* 'month', *puengi* 'night', *såkkan* 'year', *simåna* 'week', and *tiempu* 'time' can be used as time adverbs when they are marked with the pre-head form of the linker. These adverbs describe times that overlap with the speech event (e.g. *na biåhi* 'this time', *na såkkan* 'this year', and so on). They generally occur at the right edge of the clause, as shown in (42).

(42)a. Gof   makkat i   lina'la' **na** tiempu.
         AGR.very   hard   the life   L   time
         'Life is very hard nowadays.' (CD, entry for *lina'la'*)

   b. Ti chåochåo   i   tasi   **na** simåna.
         not AGR.choppy the sea   L   week
         'The sea is not choppy this week.' (CD, entry for *chåochåo*)

   c. Månggi   i iha   na   ti manhahamyu   **na**
         where.is?   the daughter   COMP   not AGR.you.PL.PROG   L
         biåhi?
         time
         'Where is the daughter (such) that you (pl.) are not together this
         time?' (CD, entry for *iha*)

   d. Ta fambota   **na** såkkan.
         AGR AGR.vote   L   year
         'We (incl.) will vote this year.' (CD, entry for *bota*)

   e. Måtai håo   **na** biåhi.
         AGR.die you   L   time
         'You're gonna die this time.'

Given that the nouns at the right edge of the clause in (42) are marked with the pre-head form of the linker, one might wonder whether the 'rest of the clause' was, in fact, a relative clause. If so, the entire sentence would be a complex sentence whose predicate was a noun modified by a preceding relative clause, as in 'It is a time when life is very hard', 'It is a year when we will vote', and so on.

That could well be how time adverbs like *na biåhi*, *na såkkan*, and so on originated historically, but it is probably not the best analysis for them in contemporary Chamorro. For one thing, it would require an unusual word order. In Chamorro today, when a noun modified by a relative clause names a location in time or space within the relative clause, the relative clause normally follows it rather than preceding it (see note 4). If the sentences in (42) contained relative clauses, the word order would be the opposite. This too is an area where further investigation is needed.

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25

COMPARISON

Chamorro has degree morphemes, comparatives, and other ways of expressing comparison with adjectives and certain types of verbs.

25.1 Overview

Chamorro has degree morphemes, comparatives, and other ways of expressing comparison with adjectives and certain types of verbs. Degree morphemes such as *gof* 'very' and *sen* 'extremely, most' compare the extent to which some property holds to the extent to which it typically holds. When someone describes today as *gof maipi* 'very hot', they are saying that today's heat exceeds the heat of a typical hot day. Comparatives compare the extents to which some property holds for different individuals or for different states of affairs. In the comparative sentence *Lokkå'ña håo ki si Carmen* 'You're taller than Carmen', the comparative suffix *-ña* 'more' on *lokka'* 'tall' indicates that the addressee's tallness exceeds Carmen's.

This chapter gives a survey of degree morphemes, comparatives, and other ways of expressing comparison. Degree morphemes are described first (in 25.2), and then comparatives (in 25.3). Superlatives and equatives are dealt with briefly in 25.4. Degree morphemes and comparative morphemes that are restricted to local nouns and directional nouns are discussed later, in Chapter 28.

25.2 Degree morphemes

25.2.1 Form

Chamorro has a small number of degree morphemes, including *gof* 'very'*, sen* 'extremely, most', *mampus* 'so (much), extremely, too', *lá-* 'slightly more, a little more', and *chát-* 'slightly less, hardly, barely'. (*Gof* has several variants, *gef*, *gos*, and *ges*, which are briefly discussed below.) Degree can also be indicated by reduplication.

Gof, *sen*, and *mampus* occur very frequently and are highly productive: they can combine with just about any adjective or verb with the right kind of meaning (see 25.2.2). *Lá-* and *chát-* occur less frequently and are probably

less productive. Reduplication to indicate degree is productive, and involves an element of language play.

Mampus is the only one of these degree morphemes that is an independent word. It is an adverb that can occur at the left edge of the clause, immediately after the predicate, or at the right edge of the clause, as can be seen in (1) (see 18.5). Note that when *mampus* occurs at the left edge of the clause, it can be immediately followed by a weak pronoun, as in (1b).

(1) a. **Mampus**   ma'lak   i   semnak na ogga'an.
     so.much   *AGR.bright* *the sun*   *L*   *morning*
     'The sun is so bright this morning.' (CD, entry for *somnak*)

   b. **Mampus**   yu' ma'empun.
     so.much   *I*   *AGR.need.to.urinate*
     'I need to urinate badly.' (CD, entry for *ma'empun*)

   c. Ma agradesi   **mampus**   i   nengkanu'.
     AGR appreciate   *so.much*   *the food*
     'They really appreciated the food.' (CD, entry for *agradesi*)

   d. Ha padda' tenghu-hu si   Nancy ya   ha
     AGR slap   *neck-AGR*   *UNM*   *Nancy* *and.then*   *AGR*
     hongngan   yu' **mampus**.
     startle   *me so.much*
     'Nancy slapped my neck and it startled me badly.' (CD, entry for *padda'*)

Lá- 'slightly more, a little more' and *chát-* 'slightly less, barely, hardly' are stressed prefixes that combine with an adjective or verb to form a derived word from the same part of speech (see 29.4.1 on stressed prefixes). For instance, *lá-* combines with the adjective *måolik* 'good' to form the adjective *lámåolik* 'a little better', *chát-* combines with the transitive verb *hassu* 'think (of)' to form the transitive verb *cháthassu* 'barely think (of)', and so on. These derived words behave like the verbs and adjectives from which they are formed. They can serve as the predicate of the clause, in which case they show agreement with the subject (see 2.2.2). The agreement affixes are in boldface in (2).

(2) a. Bai hu sikat   dididi' ya   **u** lamåolik
     AGR   *nap*   *a.little* *and.then*   *AGR slightly.more.good*
     sinientek-ku.
     feeling-AGR
     'I'm going to take a short nap and then I'll feel better (lit. my feelings will be a little better).' (CD, entry for *sikat*)

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b. Båsta ch**um**atkuentus, sa' ti siñahu kumprendi håo.
stop *AGR.barely.speak* *because not can AGR understand you*
'Stop speaking incoherently, because I can't understand you.' (CD, entry for *chátkuentus*)

c. Kumu mohon **man**larektu hit put
if *UNREAL* *AGR.slightly.more.strict* *we.INCL about*
imigrasion ...
immigration
'If we (incl.) had been stricter about immigration...' (CD, entry for *kumu mohon*)

When the predicate is in the progressive aspect, reduplication for the progressive doubles the CV of the degree morpheme, which bears the primary stress of the derived word (see 2.2.1.1). This is shown in (3).

(3) Kalang esta **lala**magung i
seems.like *already* *AGR.slightly.more.healed.PROG* *the*
sinagu-mu.
cold-AGR
'It seems like your cold is getting better.' (CD, entry for *lámagung*)

Finally, derived words formed with *lá-* or *chát-* can be used to create even more complex predicates, such as the causative verbs in (4) (see 12.2).

(4) a. Kåo siña un na'la'anåkku' i chininå-hu?
Q *can* *AGR make.slightly.more.long* *the dress-AGR*
'Can you make my dress a little longer?' (CD, entry for *anåkku'*)

b. Esta nina'chachatkuentus ni minalagu-ña.
already *AGR.PASS.make.barely.speak.PROG* *OBL NMLZ.sick-AGR*
'Her sickness is making her speak incoherently.' (CD, entry for *chátkuentus*)

Gof 'very' and *sen* 'extremely, most' are also stressed prefixes, despite the fact that they written as separate words in the official orthographies. Like *lá-* and *chát-*, they combine with an adjective or verb to form a derived word from the same part of speech. For instance, *gof* combines with the transitive verb *nisisita* 'need' to form the transitive verb *gof nisisita* 'very much need', *sen* combines with the adjective *månngi'* 'delicious' to form the adjective *sen månngi'* 'most delicious', and so on. (These derived words are spelled here as two separate words, as is required by the official orthographies. More revealing representations would be *gófnisisita* and *sénmanngi'*.) These

derived words too behave like the verbs and adjectives from which they are formed. They can serve as the predicate of the clause, in which case they agree with the subject. The agreement affixes appear in the expected positions at the left edge of the derived word, as can be seen from (5).

(5) a. **Ha** gof   tungu' mama'tinas   åmut
     AGR very   *know*   *AGR.INF.ANTIP.make*   *medicine.L*
     måkpung   si   Donald.
     frequent.urination   *UNM*   *Donald*
     'Donald really knows how to prepare medicine for frequent urination.' (CD, entry for *måkpung*)

   b. **Sum**en   ma'lak i   puti'un na   puengi.
     AGR.extremely   *bright*   *the star*   *L*   *night*
     'The star is extremely bright tonight.' (CD, entry for *puti'un*)

   c. Esta   i   siboyas **mang**gof   mekpi'.
     already the onion   *AGR.very*   *overgrown*
     'The onions are very overgrown.' (CD, entry for *mekpi'*)

When the predicate is in the progressive aspect, reduplication for the progressive doubles the CV of *gof* or *sen*, which bears the primary stress of the derived word.

(6) a. **Gogo**f adahi   i   kosås-mu   sa'   todu   i
     very   *careful.PROG*   *the thing-AGR*   *because all*   *the*
     tiempu guaha   chekli'.
     time   *AGR.exist*   *thief*
     'Always be very careful of your things, because there's always a thief around.' (CD, entry for *chekli'*)

   b. Kumu   dinanchi   mapo'lon-ña   gi   laña,   esti i
     if   *AGR.right*   *WH[DJ].PASS.put-AGR*   *LCL oil*   *this the*
     buñelus   okinaua'   **sum**esen   adamellung.
     doughnut.L Okinawa   *AGR.extremely*   *round.PROG*
     'If the dough is placed in the oil properly, the *buñelus okinaua'* comes out perfectly round.' (CD, entry for *buñelus okinaua'*)

Finally, derived words formed with *gof* or *sen* can be used to create even more complex predicates, such as the causative verbs in (7).

(7) a. Nina'gof   pisadumbri si   Maria   anai   måtai
     AGR.PASS.make.very grieve   *UNM*   *Maria*   *when*   *AGR.die*

> si   tatå-ña.
> UNM   *father-AGR*
> 'Maria was in very deep grief when her father died.' (CD, entry for
> *pisadumbri*)

b. Un na'sen   piniti   yu' sa'   un na'dekkun   yu'
   AGR *make.extremely hurt   me because* AGR *cause.shame.to   me*
   ni   churan   bidå-mu.
   OBL *ugly.L   act-AGR*
   'You really hurt me because you caused me shame with your
   misdeeds.' (CD, entry for *na'dekkun*)

In addition, reduplication can be used to indicate degree. When an adjective describes a property that holds to a greater extent than usual, this can be indicated by repeating the CV of the final unstressed syllable one or more times, as in *anåkkuku'* 'very long' (from *anåkku'* 'long'), *dångkululu* 'very big' (from *dångkulu* 'big'), *dångkulululu* 'very, very big', and so on. The more times the CV is repeated, the more the extent of the property exceeds the typical. In (8), reduplication has applied three times to the adjective *pika* 'hot (spicy)' to derive the adjective *pikakakaka* 'very, very, very hot', which is used to form a causative verb.

(8)   Mafa'denni'   i   satdinas   ya
       AGR.PASS.make.w.hot.pepper the sardines   and.then
       mana'pikakakaka.
       AGR.PASS.make.very.very.very.hot
       'The sardines were mixed with hot pepper and were made very,
       very, very hot.' (CD, entry for *satdinas*)

Some details:

(i) *Gof* has several variants: *gef,* which is also quite frequent, and *gos* and *ges*, which are used occasionally in the Guam dialect. These forms are more or less interchangeable in Chamorro today (e.g. *gof atdit* or *gef atdit* 'very severe', *gof daddåo* or *gos daddåo* 'very vicious'), but at an earlier stage of the language were probably conditioned by sound structure. The /e/ of *gef* and *ges* was most likely produced by umlaut when umlaut was a regular, more general phonological rule (see 30.2). The /s/ of *gos* and *ges* may have originally resulted from dissimilation, given that speakers who use these forms often produce them before labial consonants (e.g. /p/ and /m/).

(ii) The prefixes *góf* and *chát-* occur in a number of derived words whose meanings cannot be predicted from the meaning of the root. In some of these frozen forms, the prefix is unstressed. Some common words of these

types: *gófha'an* (or *géfha'an*) 'sunny, bright' and *cháta'an* 'rainy, dreary' (from *ha'åni* 'day'); *géfmata* 'sharp-sighted, perceptive' and *chátmata* 'having poor eyesight' (from *måta* 'eye, face'); *gófsaga* 'wealthy' and *chátsaga* 'difficult' (evidently from *såga* 'stay, live'); *géfpa'gu* 'pretty' and *chátpa'gu* 'ugly' (evidently from *på'gu* 'now'); *gofli'i'* 'like, befriend' and *chatli'i'* 'hate' (from *li'i'* 'see'); *chatguahu* 'not feel well (of the speaker)' (from *guåhu* 'I'); and *chatguiya* 'not feel well (of a third person)' (from *guiya* 's/he').

25.2.2 Meaning and use

Most degree morphemes compare the extent to which some property holds to the extent to which it typically holds. Consider the degree prefixes *gof* 'very', *sen* 'extremely, most', *lá-* 'slightly more, a little more', and *chát-* 'slightly less, hardly, barely', as well as reduplication for degree. One way of visualizing the meanings of these morphemes is to imagine them arranged on a measuring stick that is used to measure properties, as in (9).

(9)   MEASURING STICK FOR PROPERTIES
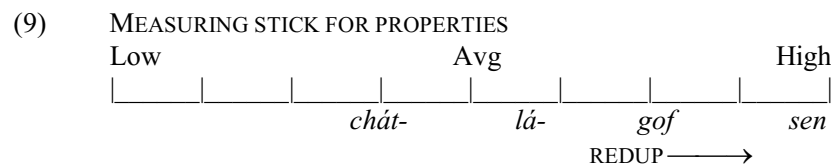
The middle of the measuring stick represents the typical extent to which some property holds—its average amount for whatever type of individual or thing is being discussed. *Sen* 'extremely, most' is located at the top of the high end of the measuring stick; *lá-* 'slightly more, a little more' is located slightly above the middle of the measuring stick; *gof* 'very' is located somewhere between *sen* and *lá-* in the top half of the measuring stick. Reduplication for degree is located in the vicinity of *gof*, but the more times the CV is repeated, the more the meaning shifts toward the high end of the measuring stick. The only degree prefix between the middle and the low end of the measuring stick is *chát-* 'slightly less, hardly, barely'.

   More concretely, suppose that big dogs are being discussed. Then *dångkulu* 'big' describes the size of a typical big dog. *Sen dangkulu* 'extremely big' describes the size of the very biggest dogs, *ládangkulu* 'a little bigger' describes the size of dogs that are slightly bigger than typical big dogs, and so on.

   The degree prefixes that are clearly productive are *gof* and *sen*. These can combine with almost any adjective—unsurprisingly, given that the vast

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majority of adjectives describe properties that can hold to different extents (i.e. are gradable). Some representative examples are given below.

(10)a. **Sen** gasgas i satgi anai malampåsu.
  AGR.extremely clean the floor when AGR.PASS.mop
  'The floor was so clean when it was mopped.' (CD, entry for *såtgi*)

b. Meggai na ababbang man**sen** bunitu kulot-ñiha.
  many L butterfly AGR.extremely pretty color-AGR
  'Many butterflies have extremely beautiful colors.' (CD, entry for *ababbang*)

c. **Gof** manåchang na påtgun si Ana.
  very bashful L child UNM Ana
  'Ana is a very bashful child.' (CD, entry for *manåchang*)

d. **Sen** ma'å'ñåo si Juan ni dangkulun
  AGR.extremely afraid UNM Juan OBL big.L
  pakpak gi paingi.
  loud.noise LCL last.night
  'Juan was terrified by (lit. extremely afraid of) the loud noise last night.' (CD, entry for *ma'å'ñåo*)

In addition, *gof* and *sen* can combine with existential verbs and quantificational adjectives (see 14.2.2 and 14.2.3).

(11)a. **Gof** meggai låstrun påtas babui gi inai.
  AGR.very many trace.L foot.L pig LCL sand
  'There are very many pigs' footprints in the sand.' (CD, entry for *låstru*)

b. **Sen** tåya' nengkanu' gi kusina.
  AGR.extremely not.exist food LCL kitchen
  'There's no food at all in the kitchen.'

And they can combine with verbs that describe psychological or cognitive states, including verbs of perception. (This use has no literal English translation, since English does not allow degree words to combine with verbs.)

(12)a. **Gof** malagu'i kumairek-ku humugåndu bingo'.
  AGR.very want the godmother-AGR AGR.INF.play bingo
  'My godmother really wants to play bingo.' (CD, entry for *gof*)

b. Hu **sen** agradesi håo.
  AGR extremely appreciate you
  'I really appreciate you.'

c. I   amigå-hu   ha **sen**   honggi i   paktu.
   the friend-AGR AGR extremely   believe the magic.power
   'My girlfriend really believes in magic power.' (CD, entry for
   påktu)

d. Ha **gof**   tungu' si   Juan   chuminchulu
   AGR very   know UNM   Juan   AGR.INF.fish.w.long.net
   disti   anai   dikiki'.
   since   COMP   AGR.small
   'John really knows how to net fish since he was a child.' (CD, entry
   for *chuminchulu*)

e. Ha **sen**   ekkunguk   si   Judy   i   palåbra anai
   AGR extremely   listen.to   UNM   Judy   the   word   when
   ha delikora   i   ma'estra.
   AGR pronounce.by.syllable   the   teacher
   'Judy listened very carefully to the word when the teacher
   pronounced it syllable by syllable.' (CD, entry for *delikora*)

Gof and *sen* generally do not combine other types of verbs.

The degree prefixes *lá-*, and especially *chát-*, seem to be less productive. Reduplication for degree is productive, but involves an element of language play. These morphemes can be attached to (at least some) adjectives. The full range of predicates they combine with remains to be investigated.

The degree adverb *mampus* 'so (much), extremely, too' presents a different picture. Unlike the other degree morphemes, *mampus* seems to indicate that the extent to which some property holds significantly exceeds the speaker's expectations. In this respect, *mampus* has a meaning similar to one meaning of English 'so'.

(13)a. **Mampus**   i   asaguå-hu   hamaleffa.
       so.much   the   spouse-AGR   AGR.often.forget
       'My husband is so forgetful.' (CD, entry for *hámaleffa*)

b. Ånglu' **mampus**   i   pån,   esta   ha   ñuñukut   yu'.
   AGR.dry so.much   the   bread   already   AGR choke.PROG   me
   'The bread is so dry it is choking me.' (CD, entry for *ånglu'*)

c. Anai   hu baba   i   satten   hineksa',   å'asu
   when   AGR open   the   pot.L   rice   steam.PROG
   mampus.
   so.much
   'When I opened the rice cooker, it was so steamy.' (CD, entry for
   åsu)

When the speaker views it as undesirable for his/her expectations to be exceeded, *mampus* can be translated as 'too'.

(14)a. **Mampus** a'gang i dandån-mu.
  so.much   *AGR.loud*   *the*   *music-AGR*
  'Your music is too loud.' (CD, entry for *a'gang*)

   b. Mungnga chumotchu **mampus** bula na
  don't   *AGR.INF.ANTIP.eat*   *so.much*   *much*   *L*
  nengkanu' sa' un digula.
  food   *because AGR stuffed.from.eating*
  'Don't eat too much food because you'll have a stomach ache.'
  (CD, entry for *digula*)

Mampus is similar to *gof* and *sen* in that it is used when the extent of some property (significantly) exceeds a standard. The difference is that for *gof* and *sen*, the standard is set by the property's typical extent for whatever is being discussed, whereas for *mampus*, the standard is set by the speaker's expectations about what the property's extent should be. The fact that *mampus* contributes a different sort of meaning than *gof* or *sen* suggests that it could conceivably modify a derived adjective or verb formed with *gof* or *sen*. Very occasionally, this happens, as (15) shows.

(15)a. Put **gof** baba **mampus** i ikunumiha, ha
  because AGR.very   *bad*   *so.much*   *the economy*   *AGR*
  aguånta i para u huchum i tendån-ña.
  resist   *the FUT*   *AGR close*   *the store-AGR*
  'Because the economy was extremely bad, he restrained himself from closing his store.' (CD, entry for *aguånta*)

   b. Si Joshua ha **sen** guaiya i hagå-ña
  UNM   *Joshua AGR extremely*   *love*   *the daughter-AGR*
  mampus.
  so.much
  'Joshua loves his daughter dearly.' (CD, entry for *guaiya*)

Unlike the other degree morphemes, which are prefixes, *mampus* can modify predicates of all types. In the examples below, *mampus* modifies adjectives (in (16a)), an intransitive verb (16b), a transitive verb (16c), a passive verb (16d), and a noun (phrase) (16e).

(16)a. Bumula **mampus** ñåmu sa' **mampus**
  AGR.lots.of   *so.much*   *mosquito*   *because so.much*

kåtma.
AGR.calm
'There have been so many mosquitos because the wind is so still.'
(CD, entry for *kåtma*)

b. Ennåo na katu **mampus** asupak mågi gi
   that   L   cat   so.much   AGR.insert.self   to.here   LCL
   gima'.
   house
   'That cat keeps coming to the house too much.' (CD, entry for
   ásupak)

c. Debi di ta na'påra umusa **mampus** i butsiyun
   should   PRT AGR make.stop   INF.use   so.much   the bag.L
   uli.
   plastic
   'We (incl.) must stop using plastic bags so much.' (CD, entry for
   uli)

d. Mungnga **mampus** makuetdåsi i rilos, sa' un
   don't   so.much   AGR.PASS.wind   the clock   because AGR
   yulang.
   break
   'Do not overwind the clock, because you might break it.' (CD, entry
   for *kuetdåsi*)

e. Si Juan **mampus** peknu' gå'ga'.
   UNM   Juan   so.much   killer.L   animal
   'Juan is such an animal killer.' (CD, entry for *peknu'*)

25.3   Comparatives

25.3.1   Comparative morphemes
Chamorro has three comparative morphemes: *-ña* 'more', *mås* 'more', and
menus 'less'. The morphemes *-ña* and *mås* are very frequent and productive;
menus occurs less often.

The comparative suffix *-ña* 'more' combines with adjectives and certain
types of verbs to produce their comparative form. This -CV suffix is one of
the suffixes that are affected by the morphophonemic rule of gemination (see
29.3.2.1 and 30.3). Compare (17a) with (17b), in which gemination has oc-
curred and the /ñ/ of *-ña* has been doubled to /nñ/.

(17)a. Bunitu**ña** i bås turis kini bås iskuela.
       AGR.pretty.COMPAR   the bus.L   tourist   than   bus.L   school
       'The tourist bus is nicer than the school bus.' (CD, entry for *bås*)

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b. Guaha   na apatcha'   dångkulo**nña**   kini   ottru.
   AGR.exist   L   grasshopper   AGR.big.COMPAR than   other
   'Some grasshoppers are bigger than others.' (CD, entry for
   apatcha')

c. Manma'a'ñåo**ña**   ham   ki   hagu.
   AGR.afraid.COMPAR   we.EXCL than   you
   'We (excl.) are more afraid than you.'

d. Amigu-ta   gui'   ni   ha tungo'**ña**   håyi   hit
   friend-AGR he   COMP   AGR know.COMPAR   who?   we.INCL
   ki   hita   mismu.
   than   we.INCL same
   'He is our (incl.) friend who knows better than we (incl.) ourselves
   who we (incl.) are.' (*Ginen I Obispo* December 1, 2002)

Comparatives formed with *-ña* are predicates that show the same agreement as the predicates from which they are derived. Thus, in the realis clauses in (17), the adjectives *bunitu* 'nice, pretty', *dångkulu* 'big', and *ma'å'ñåo* 'afraid' agree with their subjects via affixes that register number alone, but the transitive verb *tungu'* 'know' agrees with its subject via the person-and-number forms (see 2.2.2). Note that the comparative *-ña* cannot occur with certain suffixes that appear on nouns, such as the suffixes that realize possessor agreement and the posthead form of the linker (see 7.1.1). As a result, *-ña* cannot be attached to verbs that show agreement with the subject as if they were nouns (such as *ya-* 'like'; see 14.4).

The comparative *mås* 'more' can occur within the clause or within the noun phrase. Within the clause, *mås* serves as as an adverb that modifies the predicate. It usually precedes the predicate but follows the person-and-number forms of agreement with the subject, as can be seen from the following.

(18)a. I   kulålis tilintinis   **mås**   bunitu.
      the beads.L bead.trinkets   more   AGR.pretty
      'The trinkets made of beads are most beautiful.' (CD, entry for
      tilintinis)

b. Bula   klåsin ubas,   låo i   tai   simiya
   AGR.many   sort.L grape   but the AGR.not.have   seed
   mås   ya-hu.
   more   like-AGR
   'There are many types of grapes, but the seedless is my favorite (lit.
   what I like more).' (CD, entry for *ubas*)

c. I   famagu'un mandikiki' **mås**   manninana'yi
   the PL.child.L   AGR.small   more   AGR.PASS.infect.PROG

buchi.
mumps
'Young children usually have mumps (lit. are infected more with mumps).' (CD, entry for *buchi*)

d. Ti debi   esti i kansinsiyu na   u **mås** anåkku'
not should this the undershorts COMP AGR more long
ki   i   katsunis.
than   the pants
'The undershorts should not be longer than the pants.' (CD, entry for *kansunsiyu*)

Mås can also occur immediately after the predicate, as in (19a-b), or at the right edge of the clause, as in the main clause of (19c).

(19)a. Bumunitu   **mås**   i   litratu-mu anai   mapega   gi
AGR.pretty   more   the picture-AGR when   AGR.PASS.put   LCL
kuadru.
frame
'Your picture looks better when it is put in the frame.' (CD, entry for *kuådru*)

b. Guaha   atyu   the ya-ña   **mås**   i   potu
AGR.exist   that   the like-AGR   more   the rice.cake
kini   i   bibingka.
than   the rice.pancake
'There are those who like the rice cake better than the rice pancake.' (CD, entry for *bibingka*)

c. Ma na'gåsgas   i   gualu'   **mås**   [sa'   para   uma
AGR make.clean the farmland   more   because FUT   AGR
na'lameggai   i   tinanum-ñiha].
make.slightly.more.many the WH[OBJ].plant-AGR
'They cleared the land further so that they could enlarge the space for planting.' (CD, entry for *lumámeggai*)

Mås and the comparative suffix *-ña* have the same meaning, but *-ña* has a more limited distribution. Like the degree prefixes *gof* 'very' and *sen* 'most, extremely' (see 25.2.2), *-ña* can combine with adjectives, quantificational adjectives, and verbs that describe psychological or cognitive states, but generally not with other types of verbs. See (17) and the sentences cited below.

(20)a. Mannge'**ña**   i   mangga yanggin
    AGR.delicious.COMPAR   *the mango if*
    mana'måsan   manunuk.
    AGR.PASS.make.ripe.L   *AGR.PASS.ripen.in.dark*
    'Mangos taste better if they are ripened in a dark place.' (CD, entry
    for *nunuk*)

b. Maguaiyan**ña**   ni   taotåo   tempura'   uhang   kinu
    AGR.PASS.love.COMPAR   *OBL person   tempura.L   shrimp   than*
    tempura'   gollai.
    tempura.L   vegetable
    'People like shrimp tempura more than vegetable tempura.' (CD,
    entry for *témpura'*)

Mås combines not only with adjectives and quantificational adjectives, but
with verbs of all types. See (18), (19), and the following.

(21)a. Nai   ha hunguk i   kanta ... **mås**   umarima   si
    when   AGR hear   the song   more   AGR.get.close   UNM
    Kolasa guatu   gi as   Nano.
    Kolasa   to.there LCL   Nano
    'When Kolasa heard the song...she moved closer to Nano.' (CD,
    entry for *arima*)

b. Sigi   ha'   **mås**   ma'åomenta   i   tiningo'-hu.
    keep.on EMP   more   AGR.PASS.expand   the knowledge-AGR
    'My knowledge keeps expanding (lit. being expanded) more.' (CD,
    entry for *åomenta*)

c. I   palåbra *asaiti*   esta   ti   gof   ma'usa   på'gu;
    the word   oil   already not AGR.very   PASS.use   now
    mås   ma'u'usa   *låña*   ki   *asaiti.*
    more   AGR.PASS.use.PROG   oil   than   oil
    'The word *asaiti* is not very much used now; *låña* is used more than
    asaiti.' (CD, entry for *asaiti*)

Within the noun phrase, *mås* can serve as a quantificational adjective
that precedes the head noun, similar to *bula* 'much, many' or *meggai* 'many'
(see 6.2.4.3).

(22)a. Guaha   **mås**   tåotåo   gi   misan   tåtti.
    AGR.exist   more   person   LCL mass.L   back
    'There are more people at the last mass of the day.' (CD, entry for
    misan tåtti)

b. Kumu te'uk   i   timplåda,   diliti **mås**   hånum.
if   AGR.thick   the mixture   dilute   more   water
'If the mixture is too thick, dilute it with water.' (CD, entry for
diliti)

It can also serve as an adverb, in which case it can precede or follow the
head noun. The head noun in (23b) is a local noun (see 5.3).

(23)a. Debi   di u guaha **mås**   måolik na sitbisiu para   i
should PRT AGR exist   more   good   L   service for   the
... heniråt   pupbliku.
   general.L   public
'There should be better...services for the general public.' (CD, entry
for *sosiåt*)
   b. Påpa' **mås** ni   gaigi   i   lanchu.
below   more COMP AGR.be.at   the farm
'Farther down is where the farm is.' (CD, entry for *påpa'*)

Finally, the comparative *menus* 'less' seems to be relatively infrequent.
It can occur as an impersonal predicate, similar to the quantificational adjec-
tives *bula* 'much, many' and *meggai* 'many' (see 6.2.4.3).

(24)a. Disdi   mumalångu si   Tomas, **menus**
since   AGR.sick   UNM   Tomas AGR.less
tenhos-ña.
WH[DJ].impatient-AGR
'Since Tomas became ill, his impatience has lessened.' (CD, entry
for *tenhus*)
   b. Mås **menus**   kinanno'-hu   nigap   na ha'åni
more AGR.less   WH[OBJ].eat-AGR   yesterday L   day
ki   på'gu na ogga'an.
than   now   L   morning
'I ate much less food (lit. what I ate was much less) yesterday than
this morning.' (CD, entry for *menus*)

Menus can also serve as an adverb, similar to *mås* 'more'. In (25), *menus*
and *mås* occur in parallel clauses, immediately after their respective
predicates.

(25)   Siempri mås   manmåolik hit   na tåotågui'   yanggin ta
    indeed more   AGR.good   we.INCL L   people   if   AGR

dimånda **menus** ginin ottru ya ta
demand *less* *from* *other* *and.then* *AGR*
fanmannå'i **mås** para i ottru.
AGR.ANTIP.give *more* *to* *the other*
'We (incl.) will be better people if we (incl.) demand less of others and give more to others.' (*Ginen I Obispo* October 14, 2001)

25.3.2 Comparative sentences

Comparative sentences compare the extents to which some property holds for different individuals, or different states of affairs. They are constructed from other sentences by inserting one of the comparative morphemes described in 25.3.1. Syntactic constituents called the *target* and the *standard* refer to the individuals or states of affairs involved in the comparison. The target, which is a constituent of the original sentence, can bear any grammatical relation at all. The standard is an added constituent that is realized as the object of the preposition *ki* 'than', or else implicit (syntactically unrealized; see 9.3.2). (*Ki* has the variants *kinu* and *kini*; see 5.2.) The comparative morphemes *-ña* 'more' and *mås* 'more' indicate that the extent to which the property holds for the referent of the target exceeds the extent to which it holds for the referent of the standard. *Menus* 'less' indicates the reverse.

To illustrate: The sentences in (26) compare the extents to which different animals have the property of being big. In the comparative sentence in (26a), the target is *i gansu* 'the goose', which serves as the subject of the comparative adjective *dångkulonña* 'bigger'. The standard is *i nganga'* 'the duck'. This sentence means that the goose's bigness exceeds the duck's bigness. In (26b), the target in the second clause is *i bayena* 'the whale', which refers to whales in general and serves as the subject of *dångkulonña*. Although the standard is implicit, the context reveals that it refers to dolphins in general, so this clause means that the bigness of whales (in general) exceeds the bigness of dolphins (in general).

(26)a. Dangkulo**nña** i gansu **ki** i nganga'.
     AGR.big.COMPAR *the goose* *than* *the duck*
     'The goose is bigger than the duck.' (CD, entry for *gånsu*)

  b. Dångkulu i tuninus na gå'ga', låo dangkulo**nña** i
     AGR.big *the dolphin* *L* *animal* *but* *AGR.big.COMPAR* *the*
     bayena.
     whale
     'Dolphins are big sea animals, but whales are bigger.' (CD, entry for *tuninus*)

See 25.3.1 for other examples of comparative sentences.

The target in a comparative sentence does not have to be the subject. Consider (27), which compares the extents to which fishermen (in general) and stores (in general) have the property of being good sources to buy fish from. The target, *i peskadot* 'the fisherman', which is the object of the preposition *ginin* 'from', is an argument of the verb *fåhan* 'buy' in the reduced clause (see 21.6.4).

(27)   Målek**ña**   mamåhan   guihan ginin   i
        AGR.good.COMPAR   *AGR.ANTIP.buy*   *fish*   *from*   *the*
        peskadot   **kini**   i   tenda.
        fisherman *than*   *the store*
        'It's better to buy fish from a fisherman than (at) the store.' (CD, entry for *peskadót*)

The target does not even have to be an argument of the predicate. In (28), the targets are adjuncts. (28a) compares the extents to which different time periods have the property of brown-spotted grasshoppers being numerous (*meggai* 'many'). The target, *åntis* 'before', is an adjunct that specifies location in time. (28b) compares the extents to which different kinds of trees have the property of many birds sleeping in them. The target, *trongkun gågu* 'ironwood trees', is an adjunct that specifies location in space.

(28)a. **Mås**   meggai   apatcha' måtai   åntis   **kini**
       more   *AGR.many*   *brown.spotted.grasshopper*   *before*   *than*
       på'gu.
       now
       'There were more brown-spotted grasshoppers in the past than now.' (CD, entry for *apatcha' måtai*)
    b. Bulå**ña**   chungi' manmamaigu' gi trongkun
       AGR.much.COMPAR   *bird.sp* *AGR.sleep.PROG* *LCL tree.L*
       gågu   **kini**   ottru   trongku siha.
       ironwood *than*   *other*   *tree*   *PL*
       'There are more white-tailed tropic birds sleeping in ironwood trees than any other trees.' (CD, entry for *chungi'*)

Finally, (29) compares the extents to which Rosa and Juan have the property of having space in their rooms. Here the target, which refers to Rosa, is the null pronoun possessor of *kåmpu* 'space', the standard is *si Juan* 'Juan', and the comparative morpheme is the impersonal predicate *menus* 'less'. Note

the meaning of the sentence: the extent to which Juan has space in his room exceeds the extent to which Rosa has space in her room.

(29) Si   Rosa   **menus**   kampon-ña gi halum kuatton-ña
      UNM   *Rosa* *AGR.less*   *space-AGR* *LCL* *inside.L* *room-AGR*
      ki   si   Juan.
      than   *UNM*   *Juan*
      'Rosa has less space in her room (lit. There is less space of Rosa's in her room) than Juan.' (CD, entry for *menus*)

When the comparison involves different states of affairs, the target, the standard, or both can be realized as embedded clauses. In (30a), the target is a null pronoun and the standard is a finite embedded clause (*tåya'* 'there is none'). In (30b), both the target and the standard are reduced clauses.

(30)a. Maseha   loskuåntus ha'   guaha,   måolek**ña**
        *even.though several   *EMP*   *AGR.exist* *AGR.good.COMPAR*
        kini   tåya'.
        than   *AGR.not.exist*
        'Even though there are only a few available, it's better than there being none.' (CD, entry for *loskuåntus*)
     b. Måolek**ña**   mana'mamåhlåo   **kinu**
        AGR.good.COMPAR   *AGR.PASS.make.ashamed* *than*
        muna'mamåhlåo.
        AGR.ANTIP.make.ashamed
        'It is better to be humiliated than to humiliate.' (CD, entry for *mamåhlåo*)

Comparative sentences are complex in structure and meaning; they have not been investigated in much detail in Chamorro. This is an area that merits further study.

25.4   Other ways of expressing comparison

25.4.1   Superlatives

Superlatives indicate that some property holds for a certain individual to a greater extent than for any other individuals being discussed. Chamorro has a superlative morpheme, the adverb *itmås* 'most, best' (from Sp. *el mas*), but it is not widely used. One example is cited in (31).

(31)   Guihan **itmås**   ya-hu   na nengkanu'.
       fish   most   like-AGR   L   food
       'Fish is the food I like the best.' (CD, entry for *itmås*)

   More often, the superlative is expressed by the combination of the definite article *i* and the comparative adverb *mås* 'more' within the noun phrase. In such cases, *mås* generally precedes the adjective or verb it modifies, as in (32).

(32)a. Ladigåo   **i   mås**   mala'it na yetbas åmut.
        plant.sp   the more   bitter   L   plant.L medicine
        '*Clerodendrum inerme* is the most bitter medicinal plant.' (CD, entry for *ládigåo*)
    b. Esta   suttera   **i   mås**   påtgun na hagå-hu.
        already   single.woman   the more   child   L   daughter-AGR
        'My youngest daughter has already reached puberty.' (CD, entry for *suttera*)
    c. Chetdan   tanduki **i   mås**   ya-hu   na chotda.
        green.banana.L   tanduki the more   like-AGR   L   gr.banana
        '*Tanduki* banana is my favorite banana.' (CD, entry for *chotda*)
    d. **I   mås**   matungu'   na pilung giya   Sa'ipan
        the more   AGR.PASS.know   L   chief   LCL   Saipan
        si   Jose.
        UNM   Jose
        'Jose is the most influential person on Saipan.' (CD, entry for *pilung*)

   When the comparative adverb *mås* is used on its own, within the clause or within the noun phrase, a superlative meaning can be inferred. In the sentences below, *mås* occurs without the definite article *i*, but is translated into English as 'the most'.

(33)a. Håyi **mås**   gofli'un   gi famagu'on-mu?
        who?   more   AGR.amicable   LCL PL.child-AGR
        'Who is the most amicable among your children?' (CD, entry for *gofli'i'un*)
    b. Dia'   na   guiya **mås**   måolik na istudiånti
        see.here   COMP   she   more   good   L   student
        på'gu na simåna.
        now   L   week
        'Notice that she's the best student this week.' (CD, entry for *dia'*)

c. Bula   na tåotåo sumåsangan   na   i   tuninus
    many   L   person WH[SBJ].say.PROG   COMP   the dolphin
    mås malåti'   na gå'ga'   tåsi.
    more   intelligent L   animal.L   ocean
    'Most people say that the dolphin is the most intelligent sea
    animal.' (CD, entry for *tuninus*)

25.4.2   Equatives

Equatives indicate that some property holds to the same extent for different individuals. Chamorro has an equative morpheme, the stressed prefix *achá-* 'equally, similarly', which combines with an intransitive predicate to produce a derived predicate from the same part of speech. In the sentences below, *achá-* has combined with an adjective (in (34a)), an intransitive verb (34b), a passive verb (34c), and a noun (34d).

(34)a. **Acha**dangkulu i   rainun   rain   Ispåña yan   i
        AGR.equally.big the kingdom.L   king.L Spain and   the
        rain   Inglatera.
        king.L   England
        'The king of Spain's kingdom is as big as the King of England's.'
        (CD, entry for *rainu*)
    b. Umase'si'   i   dos gåyu   ya   **acha**matai.
        AGR.RECP.wound   the two rooster and.then   AGR.equally.die
        'The two roosters wounded each other and both died.' (CD, entry
        for *se'si'*)
    c. **Acha**mayamak   i   dos tumobit anai
        AGR.equally.PASS.wreck   the two car   when
        umasufa'.
        AGR.RECP.charge.at
        'Both vehicles got wrecked when they collided.' (CD, entry for
        tumobit)
    d. **Acha**ma'gas   i   dos palåo'an   guini na lugåt.
        AGR.equally.boss   the two woman   LCL.this L   place
        'Both women are equally ranked leaders in this place.' (CD, entry
        for *achá-*)

Derived predicates formed with *achá-* show agreement with the subject as expected. When the predicate is in the progressive aspect, reduplication for the progressive doubles the stressed CV of *achá-*, which bears the primary stress of the derived word. Both of these observations are illustrated in (35).

(35)a. På'gu **achacha**malangu   ha'   ham   na dos.
        now   AGR.equally.sick.PROG   EMP   we.EXCL   L   two
        'Now we (excl.) are both getting sick.'
    b . Ya-hu   umegga'   S.W.A.T.   na mubi   sa'
        like-AGR   AGR.INF.watch   S.W.A.T.   L   movie because
        man**achacha**potsu'   i   akta   siha.
        AGR.equally.good.at.shooting.PROG   the   actor   PL
        'I like to watch S.W.A.T. movies because all the actors are sharp
        shooters (lit. the actors are equally good at shooting).' (CD, entry
        for *potsu'*)

Equative sentences are intransitive clauses whose predicate is formed
with *achá-*. The predicate names the property under discussion; the subject
names the individuals for whom it holds to the same extent. In (34a), for
instance, the subject is *i rainun rain Ispåña yan i rain Inglatera* 'the king-
doms of the king of Spain and the king of England'; in (34b), a null pronoun
that refers to the two roosters; and in (35a), *ham na dos* 'we (excl.) two'.

26

TOPICS AND ANAPHORA

Chamorro has two types of topics. It also has general conditions that govern the relation between pronouns and their antecedents.

26.1   Overview

Anaphora and ellipsis are two general methods of signaling that the meaning of a constituent can be calculated from the meaning of some other constituent, called the *antecedent*. In anaphora, constituents whose reference can be calculated from the intended reference of the antecedent are realized as pronouns. In ellipsis, a constituent whose sense can be calculated from the sense of the antecedent is deleted.

Several types of anaphora and ellipsis are discussed in other chapters of this book. The relation between pronouns and their antecedents in reflexive clauses is a type of anaphora (see 13.2). So is the relation between the missing noun phrase and the controller in the control construction, if the missing noun phrase is assumed to be a null pronoun (see 21.2 and 21.4). Noun phrase ellipsis deletes the head noun and other parts of the noun phrase, leaving behind a determiner, adjective, or relative clause (see 7.4 and 9.3.1). Some other types of ellipsis delete most of the clause but leave behind negation, either alone or followed by a single constituent (see 17.6).

This chapter deals with some other aspects of anaphora. (Ellipsis is not discussed further; see the sections cited above.) 26.2 describes two types of topics: inner topics, which participate in a type of anaphora, and outer topics, which do not have this requirement. 26.3 briefly discusses two conditions that govern the relation between Chamorro pronouns and their antecedents.

26.2   Two types of topics

A topic is an optional noun phrase that precedes the predicate and refers to who or what is under discussion. Chamorro has two types of topics, which are referred to here as *inner* and *outer* topics. Inner topics occur at the left edge of a finite clause, preceding the predicate but following certain other left-edge constituents. An inner topic serves as the antecedent of a pronoun inside the clause. Outer topics occur at the very beginning of the sentence.

An outer topic is semantically connected to the rest of the sentence, but does not necessarily participate in any anaphora. Inner topics are discussed in 26.2.1, and outer topics in 26.2.2.

26.2.1   Inner topics
26.2.1.1   Form and function
Finite clauses in Chamorro can have an inner topic. This noun phrase occurs at the left edge of the clause, preceding the predicate, the tense-aspect-mood marker (if there is one; see 4.2), and the sentential negative *ti* 'not' (see Chapter 17). Some examples from connected discourse are cited below (with the inner topic in boldface).[1]

(1) a. **Si   Chungi'**   sigi   ha dibina håfa   na
         UNM   Chungi'   AGR.keep.on   AGR guess   what?   COMP
         ti   parehu   kulot-ñiha i   dos.
         not AGR.same   color-AGR   the two
         'Chungi' kept on guessing why the two [birds] were not the same color.' (EM 81)

   b. **Guåhu** si   Ana Songao Hocog.
       I   UNM   Ana Songao Hocog
       'I am Ana Songao Hocog.' (MM 57)

   c. Pues   **i   Chapanis** ti   ma konsigi   i   planun i
       then   the Japanese   not AGR continue   the plan.L   the
       para   mapunu'   i   Chamorro.
       FUT   PASS.kill   the Chamorro
       'So the Japanese did not follow the plan to kill the Chamorros.'
       (MM 38)

Inner topics are in the unmarked case. Because they refer to who or what is under discussion, they must have a specific referent. Names and independent pronouns can serve as inner topics, as (1a-b) shows. So can noun phrases constructed from a head noun, as long as the noun phrase begins with a strong determiner, such as the definite article *i* (as in (1c) and

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[1] Inner topics occur both in connected discourse and in isolated sentences. Most of the examples of inner topics cited in this chapter are from connected discourse, such as stories (from *Istreyas Mariånas* (EM)), religious essays (from *Ginen I Obispo*), and recorded interviews (from *Memories & Music* (MM)). Examples from MM are in the Rota dialect and are cited in the Chamorro orthography used in that work.

(2a)), a demonstrative (2b), or strong quantifiers such as *kada* 'each' (2c) or *todu* 'all' (see 6.2.5).

(2) a. **I mañainan-måmi** para u fåttu ya u
the PL.parent-AGR FUT AGR arrive and.then AGR
konni' ham ...
take us.EXCL
'Our (excl.) parents were going to come and take us (excl.)...' (MM 51)

    b. **Esti na hotnu** ti hotnun pån, låo ma'å'agan ha'
this L oven not oven.L bread but AGR.PASS.call.PROG EMP
hotnu sa' ...
oven because
'This incubator is not a bread oven, but it is called *hotnu* ('oven') because...' (EM 91)

    c. **Kada unu giya hita på'gu guini** guaha ta
each one LCL us.INCL now here AGR.exist AGR
padedesi.
endure.PROG
'Each one of us (incl.) here now has something we (incl.) are enduring.' (*Ginen I Obispo* July 2, 2000)

Very occasionally, the inner topic is a noun phrase that begins with the indefinite singular article *un* in its strong use. In (3), from a homily about an old man who is going blind and a doctor, a third character—a child—is introduced by the inner topic *un påtgun ni ha chulili'i na'-ña i amku'* 'a child who was bringing the old man his food'.

(3)   Unus kuåntus dihas maloffan, **un påtgun ni ha**
several days past a child COMP AGR
chulili'i na'-ña i amku' ha sangåni i doktu ...
bring.for.PROG food-AGR the old.one AGR say.to the doctor
'Several days later, a child who was bringing the old man his food told the doctor...' (*Ginen I Obispo* December 15, 2002)

An inner topic cannot begin with the null indefinite article. This is expected, given that inner topics must have a specific referent, but the null indefinite article is nonspecific (see 6.2.1.2.2).

    Inner topics routinely occur at the left edge of finite embedded clauses. The complex sentence in (4a) has an inner topic at the left edge of the main clause, and a different inner topic at the left edge of the embedded clause. In

(4b), an inner topic occurs at the left edge of an adverbial clause. In (4c), there is an inner topic at the left edge of each conjunct of an embedded coordinate sentence.

(4) a. **Si   Chungi'**   ha sangåni si   Kanåriu   [na   **i**
      UNM   Chungi'   AGR say.to   UNM   Kanåriu   COMP   the
      ichan ti parehu   yan   i   hanum tåsi].
      rain   not AGR.same   with   the water.L ocean
      'Chungi' told Kanåriu that rain was not the same as seawater.' (EM 83)

   b. Manggåsgas   todu   siha   i   papa' i   trongku [sa'
      AGR.clean   all   PL   the under.L the trees   because
      si   Tun Akin ha ripåpasa   nu i   fusiñus].
      UNM   Mr. Akin   AGR weed.PROG   OBL the hoe
      'All the [areas] under the trees were clean because Tun Akin would weed them with the hoe.' (EM 87)

   c. Sinangåni   na   u atuk   [sa'   [**i Chapanis**
      AGR.PASS.say.to   COMP AGR hide   because the Japanese
      manlalaoya]   ya   [**i sindålun   Chapanis** ma
      AGR.patrol.PROG and.then   the soldier.L   Japanese AGR
      espipiha   siha   Chamorro   ...]]
      look.for.PROG   PL   Chamorro
      'He told him that he should hide because the Japanese were patrolling and the Japanese soldiers were looking for Chamorros...' (MM 52)

An inner topic at the left edge of an embedded clause follows the complementizer or subordinating conjunction (e.g. *na* in (4a), *sa'* 'because' in (4b)). An inner topic at the beginning of the right conjunct of a coordinate sentence follows the conjunction (e.g. *ya* 'and then' in (4c)).

   Inner topics are also found in constituent questions and the focus construction, when an interrogative or syntactically focused constituent has been displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement (see 22.3 and 23.3). Then the inner topic follows the displaced constituent, as can be seen from the sentences below. The inner topics in the questions in (5a) and (5b) follow *håfa* 'what?' and *sa' håfa* 'why?'; the inner topic in the focus construction in (5c) follows the focused noun phrase *todu* 'everything'.

(5) a. Hu kumprendi [håfa   **si**   **nanå-hu**   kumeke'ilek-ña
      AGR understand what?   UNM   mother-AGR try.to.say-AGR.PROG

nu i ineppen-ña   nu i che'lu-ña].
OBL the WH[OBJ].answer-AGR   OBL the sibling-AGR
'I understand what my mother was trying to say in what she
answered to her brother.' (EM 97)

b. Sa'   håfa   **i   alu   na guihan** na   ha
because what?   the barracuda   L   fish   COMP   AGR
dalalalaki   i   atulai?
follow.PROG the   fish.sp
'Why does the barracuda follow the *atulai*?' (*Ginen I Obispo* April
6, 2003)

c. Todu   esta   **i   Chapanis** ma chuli'.
all   already the Japanese   AGR take
'The Japanese had taken everything.' (MM 52)

In contrast to all this, inner topics can precede or follow adjuncts that
occur at the left edge of the clause, whether they are adverbs, noun phrases,
prepositional phrases, or adverbial clauses (see 3.4.2). This limited word or-
der freedom is illustrated below. An inner topic can precede or follow the
degree adverb *mampus* 'so (much), too, extremely', as (6) shows.

(6) a. **I   bisiok-ku** mampus   ha dimånda   i   libittåo-hu.
the habit-AGR   so.much   AGR demand   the leisure-AGR
'My hobbies demand too much of my free time.' (CD, entry for
dimånda)

b. Mampus   **i   nietu-hu**   ha okukupa   i
so.much   the grandson-AGR   AGR occupy.PROG   the
tiempok-ku.
time-AGR
'My grandson takes up too much of my time.' (CD, entry for *okupa*)

An inner topic can also precede or follow the time phrase *kada diha* 'every
day', as in (7).

(7) a. **Si   Manuel** kada   diha   ha åmti   i   chetnot-ña
UNM   Manuel   each   day   AGR treat   the wound-AGR
put   para   u   måsu.
so.that   FUT   AGR healed
'Manuel treats his wound every day so that it will be healed.' (CD,
entry for *måsu*)

b. Kada   diha   **i   nana** ha såddi   i   neni-ña.
each   day   the mother AGR hold.on.lap the baby-AGR

'Every day the mother holds her baby on her lap.' (CD, entry for *såddi*)

An inner topic can even precede or follow an adverbial clause, as in (8).

(8) a. **I lugat-måmi** [an ogga'an] mampus å'asgun.
     the place-AGR if morning so.much AGR.foggy.PROG
     'Our (excl.) place is always so foggy in the morning.' (CD, entry for *åsgun*)

   b. [Gigun mananana'], **si Tun Akin** ha
     as.soon.as AGR.be.daylight.PROG UNM Mr. Akin AGR
     chuli' i batden-ña ...
     take the bucket-AGR
     'As soon as it was getting to be daylight, Tun Akin would take his bucket...' (EM 89)

The fact that inner topics are freely ordered with respect to adjuncts suggests that they too are adjuncts that occur at the left edge of the clause.

   Cooreman's (1987) study of transitivity and discourse structure in Chamorro includes a detailed investigation of the discourse function of inner topics. She concludes that the use of clauses with an inner topic "reflects the organization of the narrative at the level of the thematic paragraph" (1987: 208). More specifically, clauses with an inner topic are "mostly used to indicate that the theme has either changed or is temporarily suspended in order to give background information or...additional comments not necessarily pertaining to the theme of the present paragraph" (1987: 208). Although Cooreman's study is based on narratives recorded in the early 1980's, it seems likely that the discourse function of inner topics remains essentially the same in the Chamorro language today.

26.2.1.2   Inner topics and anaphora
Cooreman (1987) assumes that inner topics are subjects, and clauses with an inner topic are clauses with the word order *Subject Verb Object*. However, there is ample evidence that the inner topic is not itself the subject of the clause.

   First of all, if the inner topic were the subject, it should be realized as an overt pronoun only when the predicate does *not* agree with it in person (see 8.4.2). But an inner topic can be an overt pronoun even when the predicate shows this sort of agreement, as can be seen from the sentences in (9).

(9) a. **Guåhu** hu nisisita i ayudu-mu, ya **hågu** un
     I   AGR need the help-AGR   and.then   you   AGR
     nisisita i ayudu-hu.
     need   the help-AGR
     'I need your help, and you need my help.' (*Ginen I Obispo*
     November 24, 2002)

   b. **Hita** ta tungu' na na'maguf uttimon-ña esti na
     we.INCL AGR know   COMP AGR.pleasant   end-AGR   this L
     istoria.
     story
     'We (incl.) know that the end of this story is joyful.' (*Ginen I
     Obispo* August 18, 2002)

Second, if the inner topic were the subject, the clause should have no other subject. But it is possible for a clause to have both an inner topic and an overt subject following the predicate—a subject that is a weak pronoun. In (10), for instance, the intransitive verb *hånåo* 'go' is preceded by an inner topic that is a coordinate noun phrase, and followed by a subject that is a weak pronoun, namely, the 1 excl. du. pronoun *ham*. (This pronoun can be overt because it is not cross-referenced by agreement in person.)

(10) **I primu-hu yan guåhu** humånao ham bai in
     the cousin-AGR and   I   AGR.go   we.EXCL   AGR
     fama'ensalådan tumåtis ....
     ANTIP.make.into.salad.L tomato
     'My cousin and I left to make tomato salad...' (MM 52)

Third, if the inner topic were the subject, it should obey the Chamorro restrictions on information packaging, including the person-animacy restriction (see 16.2) and the third plural restriction (16.3). But these restrictions ignore the inner topic. In the transitive clause in (11a), the direct object is an animate pronoun and the inner topic is a nonpronoun. If the inner topic were the subject, this subject-object combination ought to violate the person-animacy restriction; instead, it is grammatical. In the transitive clause in (11b), the inner topic is third person plural, but not a pronoun. Subjects with this profile violate the third plural restriction, but (11b) is well-formed.

(11)a. **I mairåstran Joey** ha gogof mattråta gui'.
     the stepmother.L   Joey   AGR very   mistreat.PROG   him
     'Joey's stepmother has been mistreating him.' (CD, entry for
     mattråta)

b. **Siha** **yan** **i** **nanan** **Catlos Calvo** ma translada
they *and* *the mother.L* *Carlos Calvo* *AGR translate*
i finu' Españot esta i Chamorro.
the speech.L *Spanish* *until* *the Chamorro*
'They and the mother of Carlos Calvo translated Spanish into
Chamorro.' (MM 53)

Finally, the inner topic is not a subject that has been displaced to the left edge of the clause by wh-movement. If it were, its grammatical relation should be registered on the predicate by the subject form of wh-agreement, which is overt when the predicate is a transitive verb in the realis mood (see 22.4.1 and 23.4.1). In fact, wh-agreement does not occur; see (9) and (11).

Although the inner topic is not itself the subject, it serves as the antecedent of a pronoun inside the clause—a pronoun that usually is the subject. In (10), the inner topic (*i primu-hu yan guåhu* 'my cousin and I') is the antecedent of the 1 excl. du. weak pronoun *ham*. In (9) and (11), the inner topics are the antecedents of subject pronouns that are null because the verb agrees with them in person. Note that these subjects are necessarily pronouns. The subjects in (9) are first or second person. The subjects in (11), which are third person, must be pronouns as well, because otherwise the person-animacy restriction or the third plural restriction would be violated.

It seems to be a firm requirement that the inner topic must be the antecedent of a pronoun inside the clause. Usually, this pronoun is the subject, but in certain contexts it can have a wider range of grammatical relations. In intransitive clauses, an inner topic can be the antecedent of a pronoun possessor of the subject, as in (12).

(12)a. Klåru [na **si** **Jesukristu** metgut
AGR.clear *COMP* *UNM* *Jesus.Christ AGR.strong*
inangokkon-ña gi ottru tåotåo].
trust-AGR *LCL other* *person*
'It is clear that Jesus Christ's trust in others was strong.' (*Ginen I Obispo* November 4, 2001)
b. **Si** **Jose** mampus mutung i metyås-ña yanggin
UNM *Jose* *so.much* *AGR.stinky* *the socks-AGR* *if*
fotgun.
AGR.wet
'Jose's socks get so stinky when they are wet.' (CD, entry for *metyas*)

In impersonal clauses formed from an existential verb or quantificational adjective (see 14.2.2 and 14.2.3), an inner topic can be the antecedent of a pronoun possessor of the pivot, as in (13a-b), or a pronoun possessor of the locative argument, as in (13c).

(13)a. **Todus hit**   guaha   nisisidåt-ta.
      all   *us.*INCL AGR.*exist*   *need-*AGR
      'All of us (incl.) have needs (lit. there are needs of ours).' (*Ginen I Obispo* November 24, 2002)

    b. Låo **Tun Achu'** mås   bula   trongkun manggån-ña.
      but Mr. Achu' *more*   AGR.*many* *tree.*L   *mango-*AGR
      'But Tun Achu' had more mango trees (lit. there were many more of his mango trees).' (EM 88)

    c. Ha li'i' [na   **i taotåo** bula   håga' gi chininå-ña].
      AGR *see* COMP   *the person* AGR.*much* *blood*   LCL *shirt-*AGR
      'She saw that the man had a lot of blood (lit. there was much blood) on his shirt.' (EM 98)

Intuitively, in all these cases the pronoun is syntactically prominent. This suggests that an inner topic at the left edge of a clause must be the antecedent of a pronoun that is, in some sense, the most prominent noun phrase in the clause. Exactly how to flesh out this intuition remains a topic for future research.

26.2.1.3   Topic versus focus

Readers might wonder how to distinguish an inner topic from a syntactically focused noun phrase that is placed at the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement (see 23.3). Here are the main differences between the two:

(i) Inner topics and syntactically focused constituents have different discourse functions. An inner topic refers to who or what is under discussion. A syntactically focused constituent has a referent that is contrastive (singled out from a set of alternatives) or contrary to expectations.

(ii) Inner topics are adjuncts at the left edge of the clause; they serve as antecedents of a syntactically prominent pronoun inside the clause. Syntactically focused constituents originate within the clause, and are displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement.

(iii) An inner topic must be a pronoun, a name, or a noun phrase introduced by a strong determiner. A syntactically focused constituent can be any type of noun phrase or prepositional phrase.

(iv) Syntactically focused constituents have their grammatical relation registered on the predicate by wh-agreement. Inner topics do not.

(v) When a clause has both a syntactically focused constituent and an inner topic at its left edge, the syntactically focused constituent precedes the inner topic.

26.2.2   Outer topics

Occasionally, a Chamorro sentence has what can be called an outer topic. This noun phrase occurs at the very beginning of the sentence, preceding the predicate and all left-edge constituents, and separated from them by a noticeable intonation break or pause. (The intonation break or pause is often indicated by a comma in the orthography.) Like inner topics, outer topics are in the unmarked case and must have a specific referent. They differ from inner topics in the following ways:

Outer topics are associated with sentences, not with clauses. They apparently do not occur inside embedded clauses.

Outer topics are found in connected discourse, but not typically in isolated sentences, such as the sentences in the CD database or sentences produced in elicitation contexts in fieldwork. Outer topics are also relatively infrequent. In contrast, inner topics are quite common; they occur routinely in isolated sentences as well as connected discourse.

An outer topic precedes all left-edge constituents, including constituents that have been displaced to the left edge of the sentence by wh-movement. In (14), for instance, the outer topic *si Matå'pang* precedes the syntactically focused noun phrase *guiya esti na tåotåo* 'this person'.[2]

(14)   **Si   Matå'pang**,   guiya   esti na   tåotåo   i   pumunu'
       UNM   Matå'pang   he   this L   person   the WH[SBJ].kill
       si   Påli'   Sanvitores.
       UNM   priest.L Sanvitores
       'About Matå'pang, he is (lit. it's this person who is) the one who
       killed Fr. Sanvitores.' (CD, entry for *Matå'pang*)

Although an outer topic is semantically connected to the rest of the sentence, it is not required to be the antecedent of a pronoun inside the sentence. The outer topics in (15) are not antecedents of pronouns; instead, their content is repeated by indefinite noun phrases that occur later in the sentence. (This repetition is not a type of anaphora.)

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[2] The focused noun phrase begins with a focused form of the demonstrative (see 8.2).

(15)a. **I   antis   yan   pa'gu**, difirensiao   antis   yan   ti
      the   before   and   now   AGR.*different*   *before   and   not*
      parehu   antis   yan   pa'gu.
      AGR.*same   before   and   now*
      '[Life] before and now, [life] before was different and [life] before
      was not the same as now.' (MM 30)
    b. Pues   **i   hanum**,   humåhanao   yu' mañuli'
      then   the   water   AGR.*go.*PROG   *I*   AGR.INF.ANTIP.*take*
      lisensia   para   un fanlupuk   hånum ...
      permission   FUT   AGR ANTIP.*fetch.from.well   water*
      'Then about the water, I would go and get a license for you to get
      water...' (MM 26)

In (16), the outer topic *i natibu* 'the local people' refers to the Chamorros on Rota, a group that happens to include the speaker. Although the null pronoun possessor of *atmas-måmi* 'our (excl.) weapons' also refers to this group, the outer topic is not its antecedent, because the outer topic is third person but the null pronoun is first person.

(16)   **I   natibu**   tåya'   atmas-måmi   macheti   ha'
     the   indigenous   AGR.*not.exist   weapon*-AGR   *machete*   EMP
     yan   kama'   yan   åchu'.
     and   sickle   and   rock
     'As for the local people, we (excl.) had no weapons, only machetes
     and sickles and rocks.' (MM 82)

In (17), the outer topic *i simintetyu* 'the burial ground' describes the function of the places referred to by the noun phrase *dos lugåt* 'two places'. Once again, this semantic relation does not involve anaphora.

(17)   **I   simintetyu**   guaha   dos na lugåt,   gi
     the   burial.ground   AGR.*exist   two* L   *place*   LCL
     tiningo'-hu.
     WH[OBJ].*know*-AGR
     'As for the [ancient] burial ground, there are two places, as far as I
     know.' (Cooreman 1983: 8)

It is hard to say more about outer topics, given that they are relatively infrequent and found mostly in connected discourse. This is an area where further research is needed.

26.3 Conditions on anaphora

Like other languages, Chamorro has various types of anaphora, some of which impose specific conditions on the relation between antecedent and pronoun. For instance, a pronoun in its reflexive use must have an antecedent that is a more prominent noun phrase in the same clause (see 13.2.1.1). The missing noun phrase in the control construction, which can be assumed to be a null pronoun, must have an antecedent in the higher clause with a particular semantic role dictated by the higher predicate (see 21.4). An inner topic at the left edge of a clause must be the antecedent of a pronoun which is, in some sense, the most prominent noun phrase inside the clause (see 26.2.1.2). And so on.

Over and above this, Chamorro has general conditions on anaphora that every relation between a pronoun and its antecedent must satisfy. Two such conditions are discussed here.

26.3.1 The basic condition

Not all pronouns have a linguistic antecedent. In (18), from the beginning of an interview, the null possessor pronoun does not have a linguistic antecedent in the sentence or the discourse. Instead, the nonlinguistic context reveals who the pronoun refers to.

(18)   Håyi   na'an-mu?
        who?   *name-AGR*
        'What is your name?' (MM 218)

But when a Chamorro pronoun has a linguistic antecedent, the relation between the two must satisfy a basic condition: the antecedent must (i) be more prominent than the pronoun or (ii) precede the pronoun in the discourse (or both). Pronouns with a more prominent antecedent are said to be *bound* by their antecedent.

In generative syntax, the prominence relation involved in anaphora is called *c-command* and defined in terms of hierarchical constituent structure (see Reinhart 1976 and much literature since). For current purposes, it will work almost as well to give an informal characterization of prominence in terms of grammatical relations and constituency.[3] This simplified characterization is presented below.

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[3] The simplified characterization in the text glosses over numerous details, including the following: An inner topic is more prominent than the subject. The question of whether the subject is more prominent than other left-edge

Recall that the subject is the most prominent constituent of the clause—more prominent than the other constituents following the predicate (see 3.2.1). This means that if X and Y are constituents of the same clause and X is the subject but Y is not, then X is more prominent than Y. In (19), for instance, the noun phrase *i taotåo* 'the person' is more prominent than the pronoun *gui'* 'him': the two are constituents of the same clause and *i taotåo* is the subject, but *gui'* is not. Because *i taotåo* is also the antecedent of *gui'*, which here is used as a reflexive, *gui'* is bound by *i taotåo*. (In the examples below, null pronouns are represented by empty sets of brackets; the relation between a pronoun and its antecedent is represented by underlining their English counterparts in the free translation.)

(19)   Ha gosa   gui'   i   taotåo [åntis   di   u   asagua [ ]].
       AGR enjoy   him   the person before   PRT AGR marry
       'The person enjoyed himself before he got married.' (CD, entry for
       gosa)

The direct object is the most prominent argument of the clause after the subject. Therefore, if X and Y are nonsubject arguments of the same clause and X is the direct object but Y is not, then X is more prominent than Y. In (20), the noun phrase *si Miguel* is more prominent than the pronoun *guiya* 'him': both are nonsubject arguments of *prutehi* 'protect', but *si Miguel* is the direct object whereas *guiya* is not. Because *si Miguel* is also the antecedent of *guiya*, *guiya* is bound by *si Miguel*.

(20)   Ti siña   in prutehi si   Miguel kontra guiya.
       not can   AGR protect UNM   Miguel against him
       'We (excl.) can't protect Miguel from himself.'

In addition, if X is more prominent than Y, then X is more prominent than any constituent contained in Y. Some specific examples: if Y is a noun phrase that contains the possessor Z, then X is more prominent than Z; if Y contains an embedded clause and Z is a constituent of that embedded clause, then X is more prominent than Z; and so on. When Z is also a pronoun that has X as its antecedent, the result is that Z is bound by X. Thus, the null pronoun possessor of the locative noun phrase in (21a) is bound by the subject, *i katpinteru* 'the carpenter'. The null pronoun possessor of the pas-

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constituents is complicated by the issue of whether these other constituents have been displaced by wh-movement. Direct objects are more prominent than some, but not all, types of adjuncts.

sive agent in (21b) is bound by the subject, *si Aaron*. And the null pronoun subject of the adverbial clause in (19) is bound by the subject of the main clause, *i taotåo* 'the person'.

(21)a. Ha chedduk   i   katpinteru   i   lapis   gi
        AGR insert.for.carrying   the carpenter   the pencil   LCL
        [talanga-ña [ ]].
        ear-AGR
        'The carpenter put the pencil behind <u>his</u> ear.' (CD, entry for
        chedduk)
   b. Inatåki   si   Aaron   ni [guhå-ña   [ ]] ta'lu.
       AGR.PASS.attack UNM   Aaron   OBL asthma-AGR   again
       '<u>Aaron</u> was attacked by <u>his</u> asthma again.' (CD, entry for *atåki*)

When a pronoun is bound by its antecedent, the relation between the two satisfies the basic condition on anaphora, so the antecedent is not required to precede the pronoun, although it may do so. The pairs of sentences below illustrate this for various types of anaphora. In the reflexive clauses in (22), the pronoun *guiya* 'her' is bound by its antecedent *si Dolores*, so *si Dolores* may precede or follow it.

(22)a. Mamåhlåo   si   Dolores ni   guiya.
        AGR.ashamed   UNM   Dolores OBL her
        '<u>Dolores</u> is ashamed of <u>herself</u>.'
   b. Mamåhlåo   ni guiya si   Dolores.
       AGR.ashamed   OBL her   UNM   Dolores
       '<u>Dolores </u>is ashamed of <u>herself</u>.'

In the reflexive clauses in (23), the null pronoun possessor of the direct object is bound by its antecedent, which is *i katu* 'the cat' in (23a) and *i gayu* 'the rooster' in (23b). Once again, the antecedent may precede the pronoun (see (23a)) but is not required to do so (23b). In other words, the antecedent may precede or follow the possessive noun phrase containing the pronoun.

(23)a. Ha patmåda   i   katu   [i   dadalåk-ña [ ]].
        AGR slap   the cat   the tail-AGR
        '<u>The cat</u> slapped <u>its</u> tail.' (CD, entry for *patmåda*)
   b. Ha palappa [i   pappan-ña [ ]]   i   gayu,   pues   umo'o'.
       AGR flap   the wing-AGR   the rooster then   AGR.crow
       '<u>The rooster</u> flapped <u>its</u> wings, then crowed.' (CD, entry for
       palappa)

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In the control sentences in (24), the null pronoun that is the missing noun phrase of the infinitive clause is bound by the controller, which is the subject of *hånåo* 'go'. Because the controller is more prominent than the pronoun, it may precede or follow the pronoun and the infinitive clause containing it.

(24)a. Manhånåo i   manhobin   [maniskuela   [ ] giya
      AGR.go   *the* *PL.youth*   *AGR.INF.go.to.school*   *LCL*
      Amerika].
      America
      'The young people left to go to school in America.' (CD, entry for
      manhobin)
   b. Kada   diha   humånåo   [pumeska   [ ]] si
      each   *day*   *AGR.go*   *AGR.INF.catch.fish*   *UNM*
      Orasima'.
      Orasima'
      'Every day Orasima' went to fish.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

Finally, in the complex sentences in (25), the pronoun *gui'* 'he' inside the embedded question is bound by an antecedent in the main clause. In (25a), the antecedent *si Alu* precedes *gui'*; in (25b), the antecedent *si Jose* follows *gui'*. (Each of these examples also contains a null pronoun that is bound by the same antecedent as *gui'*.)

(25)a. Ha faisin si   Alu   [[håyi gui']   yan   [håfa
      AGR ask *UNM*   *Alu*   *who?* *he*   *and*   *what?*
      malago'-ña   [ ]]].
      WH[OBL].want-AGR
      'She asked <u>Alu</u> who <u>he</u> was and what <u>he</u> wanted.' (Cooreman 1982:
      32)
   b. Gi sigundu biåhi   ha na'matungu'   [håyi   gui']
      LCL second *time*   *AGR make.PASS.know*   *who?* *he*
      si   Jose   ni [mañe'lu-ña [ ]].
      UNM   *Jose* *OBL PL.sibling-AGR*
      'The second time, <u>Joseph</u> let <u>his</u> brothers know who <u>he</u> was.' (NT
      223)

When a pronoun is not bound by its antecedent, the antecedent must precede it in the discourse in order for the basic condition to be satisfied. This happens, for instance, when the antecedent and the pronoun are in completely different sentences, so there is no prominence relation between the two. See (26).

(26)   Gotpi   humålum   gi   kuåttu   esti na påtgun.
        suddenly   *AGR.go.in*   *LCL classroom*   *this L*   *child*
        Malak   guatu   [ ]   gi   lamasa ...
        AGR.go.to   *to.there*   *LCL table*
        'Suddenly <u>this child</u> came into the classroom. <u>He</u> went up to the
        desk...' (*Ginen I Obispo* October 21, 2001)

Similarly, when the antecedent and the pronoun are in different conjuncts of a coordinate structure, neither is more prominent than the other, so the antecedent must precede the pronoun. See (27).

(27)   [Hu kuentutusi   si   Rudy], låo [ti   ha atetendi
        AGR speak.to.PROG   *UNM*   *Rudy*   *but not*   *AGR heed.PROG*
        yu' [ ]].
        me
        'I was talking to <u>Rudy</u>, but <u>he</u> was not paying attention to me.' (CD, entry for *atendi*)

When the antecedent is too deeply embedded inside a complex sentence to be more prominent than the pronoun, it must precede the pronoun. In the complex sentences in (28), the antecedent is inside an adverbial clause at the left edge of the main clause, and the pronoun is the subject of the main clause—too high in the structure to be bound by the antecedent.

(28)a.   Pues   [anai   maloffan   esti i   patgun],   ha hunguk [ ]
        then   *when*   *AGR.pass.by*   *this the*   *child*   *AGR hear*
        na   guaha   tåotåo   gogonggung   ...
        COMP   *AGR.exist*   *person*   *AGR.grumble.PROG*
        'Then when <u>this child</u> passed by, <u>he</u> heard that there was a person grumbling...' (from a tape-recorded narrative)
   b.   [Yanggin   tåya'   [kaddon-ña i   niyuk]],   pues
        if   *AGR.not.exist*   *juice-AGR*   *the coconut*   *then*
        buenti   mama'fåha'   [ ].
        maybe   *AGR.ANTIP.make.into.sprouting.stage*
        'If <u>the coconut</u> doesn't have juice in it (lit. there is no juice of <u>the coconut</u>), then <u>it</u> is already at the sprouting stage.' (CD, entry for *fåha'*)

Note that certain types of anaphora require the pronoun to be bound by its antecedent. These include anaphora in reflexive clauses, in the control

construction, and in sentences in which the antecedent is a quantified noun phrase (see the references cited in 26.5).

26.3.2 The subject condition

In addition to the basic condition, Chamorro has another condition on anaphora that targets the subject and its possessor. This condition prevents a pronoun subject or a pronoun possessor of the subject from having an antecedent in the same clause.

The effects of the subject condition are most obvious in clauses like (29) and (30), in which a (null) pronoun possessor of the subject is preceded by another noun phrase in the clause that could, in principle, be its antecedent. Despite the fact that the basic condition is satisfied, this antecedent-pronoun relation is not allowed. Instead, the pronoun possessor must have a different referent from the other noun phrase, as in the passive clauses in (29).

(29)a. Inispiha   as Ramon [i   neni-ña   [ ]].
     AGR.PASS.look.for   *OBL Ramon the baby-AGR*
     'His$_i$ (i.e. someone else's) baby was looked for by Ramon$_j$.' (Not: <u>Ramon</u> looked for <u>his</u> baby.)

   b. Manmasåolak   ni famalåo'an [i   famagu'un-ñiha [ ]].
     AGR.PASS.spank   *OBL PL.woman   the PL.child-AGR*
     'Their$_i$ (i.e. other people's) children were spanked by the women$_j$.' (Not: <u>The women</u> spanked <u>their</u> children.)

Or else the noun phrase containing the pronoun possessor must be taken to be the direct object rather than the subject, as in the transitive clause in (30).

(30) Ha bisita   si   Juan [si   nanå-ña   [ ]].
     AGR visit   UNM   Juan   UNM   mother-AGR
     '<u>John</u> visited <u>his</u> mother.' (Not: <u>His</u> mother visited <u>Juan</u>.)

The pattern is similar in clauses that contain a (null) pronoun subject, such as (31).[4]

(31) Linalatdi   (gui')   as [nanan   Juan [ ]].
     AGR.PASS.scold   he   OBL mother.L   Juan
     'He$_i$ (i.e. someone else) was scolded by Juan$_j$'s mother.' (Not: <u>Juan</u>'s mother scolded <u>him</u>.)

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[4] In generative syntax, the fact that the subject pronoun in (31) cannot have *Juan* as its antecedent is attributed to Principle C of the Binding Theory.

The subject condition is insensitive to antecedent-pronoun relations when the antecedent and the pronoun are not in the same clause. Consider the complex sentences below. In (32a), the quantified noun phrase that serves as the subject of the main clause is the antecedent of the (null) pronoun subject of the embedded clause. In (32b), the passive agent in the main clause is the antecedent of a (null) pronoun contained inside the subject, which happens to be an embedded clause. And in (32c), the passive agent in the main clause is the antecedent of a pronoun inside the relative clause that modifies the subject. All these relations are legal, because the antecedent and the pronoun are in different clauses.

(32)a. Kada   påtgun sumångan [na   para   u   fanggånna [ ]].
      each   child   WH[SBJ].say COM FUT   AGR ANTIP.win
      '<u>Each child</u> said that <u>he</u> would win.'
   b. Matungu'   ni lalåhi [na   manatrasåo [ ]].
      AGR.PASS.know   OBL PL.man COMP   AGR.late
      'That <u>they</u> are late is known by <u>the men</u>.'
   c. Pinatmada   gi as Dolores   [i lahi   [ni
      AGR.PASS.slap   OBL Dolores   the boy   COMP
      muna'mamåhlåo   gui']].
      WH[SBJ].make.ashamed   her
      'The boy who made <u>her</u> ashamed was slapped by <u>Dolores</u>.'

The subject condition is also insensitive to inner topics. Even though the inner topic serves as the antecedent of a pronoun that is usually the subject, or the possessor of the subject, the subject condition ignores that relation (see 26.2.1.2). This suggests that the inner topic, which has the word order of a left-edge adjunct, is technically outside the clause.

26.4   Further reading

Inner topics in Chamorro are described by Cooreman (1987) and Chung (1998), who refer to them simply as topics. See Chung (1989; 1998) for discussion of the Chamorro conditions on antecedent-pronoun relations, and Chung (2013) on the ellipsis process known as sluicing.

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PARTS OF SPEECH

> Chamorro has nouns, verbs, and adjectives. It also has word
> formation processes, called conversion, which turn certain
> nouns into verbs, and certain other nouns into adjectives,
> without affixes or other morphology.

27.1   Overview

In this book, Chamorro words are classified according to the traditional parts
of speech: noun, verb, adjective, as well as article, preposition, conjunction,
demonstrative, complementizer, and so on. The assumption that Chamorro
has these parts of speech can be found in many earlier descriptions of the
language (e.g. Safford 1903, von Preissig 1918, Costenoble 1940, Gibson
1980, Cooreman 1987). Nonetheless, it is controversial. In their grammar,
Topping and Dungca (1973: 76-82) maintain that the Chamorro language
has a unique system of word classification that does not involve nouns,
verbs, or adjectives. Their system is employed, with minor modifications, in
the entries in Topping, Ogo, and Dungca's (1975) dictionary.

This chapter compares these two views of Chamorro parts of speech.
27.2 presents Topping and Dungca's (1973) approach and their reasons for
adopting it. 27.3 surveys a wider range of evidence that reveals that the
language does, in fact, have nouns, verbs, and adjectives. 27.4 discusses
several Chamorro word formation processes that turn certain nouns into
verbs, and certain other nouns into adjectives, without affixes or other
morphology. These processes of *conversion* may be partly responsible for
Topping and Dungca's (1973: 101) observation that "a single word can often
function as a verb, noun, or modifier" in Chamorro.

27.2   Topping and Dungca's approach

Although Topping and Dungca's (1973) system of word classification cov-
ers all words of the language, their discussion mainly concerns what they
call the *major word class*—the class corresponding to what are called lexical
categories (i.e. noun, verb, adjective) in generative syntax. The major word
class consists of content words and is an open (potentially unlimited) class.
Topping and Dungca also recognize a *minor word class*, which is divided

into closed (limited) subclasses such as pronoun, preposition, article, and the like. Their treatment of the minor word class is brief and not that different from more traditional treatments, so it is not discussed here.

Topping and Dungca maintain that the major word class is further divided into Chamorro-specific subclasses that are not the same as the traditional noun, verb, or adjective. They flesh out their position in two ways. First, they observe that in Chamorro, "we often find the same word functioning as a noun, a verb, and an adjective" (1973: 77). Specifically, they say, *dångkulu* 'big' serves in (1a) below "as the predicate...where we would normally expect to find a verb", but apparently as the direct object in (1b), "where we would normally expect to find a noun", and as "a modifier of the word *taotao*" in (1c), and therefore "ordinarily call[ed]...an adjective" (1973: 77).

(1) a. Dångkulu   si   Juan.
       AGR.big   *UNM*   *Juan*
       'Juan is big.' (Topping & Dungca 1973: 77)
    b. Hu li'i'   i   dangkulu.
       AGR see   *the* *big*
       'I saw the big one.' (Topping & Dungca 1973: 77)
    c. Hu li'i'   i   dångkulu   na   tåotåo.
       AGR see   *the* *big*   *L*   *person*
       'I saw the big person.' (Topping & Dungca 1973: 77)

Second, they identify three distributional properties in Chamorro which they use to divide the major word class into three subclasses, called Class I, Class II, and Class III (Topping and Dungca 1973: 78-80). These properties are: (i) the ability to combine with the passive prefix *ma-*, (ii) the ability to combine with the goal focus infix *-in-* (see below), and (iii) the ability to serve as the predicate when the subject is the 1 sg. pronoun *yu'* "or a pronoun of the same class" (Topping and Dungca 1973: 82). Words that exhibit properties (i) and (ii) are in Class I; some representative examples are cited in (2).

(2)   WORDS IN TOPPING AND DUNGCA'S (1973) CLASS I
        fa'tinas   'make'
        li'i'   'see'
        patcha   'touch'
        sångan   'say'
        tungu'   'know'

Words that exhibit property (iii) are in Class II; some representative examples are cited in (3).[1]

(3)   WORDS IN TOPPING AND DUNGCA'S (1973) CLASS II

amigu	'friend'
dångkulu	'big'
gupu	'fly'
hånåo	'go, leave'
måttu	'arrive'
låhi	'man, male'
lokka'	'tall'
malåti'	'intelligent'
tånu'	'land'
tåotåo	'person'

Finally, words in Class III are members of closed subclasses which exceptionally "do not take the full set of verb affixation" or "must occur with a particular type of subject pronoun" (Topping and Dungca 1973: 80). Some representative examples are cited in (4).

(4)   WORDS IN TOPPING AND DUNGCA'S (1973) CLASS III

gai	'have'
gaigi	'be at (a location)'
guaha	'exist'
ilek-	'say'
malak	'go to'
mungnga	'don't'
ya-	'like'

What Topping and Dungca call the goal focus infix *-in-* is analyzed as a passive infix in Chapter 10 of this book. This means that, from the perspective taken here, their properties (i) and (ii) are equivalent to the property of having a passive form—a property characteristic of almost all transitive verbs in Chamorro. The words in their Class 1 are just the transitive verbs, in other words. (See Topping and Dungca 1973: 78 for explicit recognition of this.) Moreover, the 1 sg. pronoun *yu'* is a weak pronoun: an unstressed pronoun that leans on phonological material to its left. It was shown in Chapter

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[1] Topping and Dungca (1973: 106-107) assume that overt pronouns in Chamorro can generally refer to animates or inanimates. Although this assumption is incorrect (see Chapter 8), it is adopted here for convenience.

8 that weak pronouns can serve as subjects, but not as the subjects of transitive verbs. The reason is that transitive verbs show person-and-number agreement with their subjects, and pronouns that are cross-referenced by agreement in person must be null (see 8.4.2). Consequently, from the perspective of this book, Topping and Dungca's property (iii) is equivalent to the property of being a content word that is intransitive. (See Topping, Ogo, and Dungca 1975: xx, where this is made explicit.)

The defining characteristic of the words in Class III is their exceptionality. They include the existential verbs (see 14.2.2), the verbs of possession (14.3), verbs that show agreement as if they were nouns (14.4), the predicates used in negative imperatives (15.2.2); and a phonologically dependent predicate (*malak* 'go to'; 2.2.1.1.2). Every approach to Chamorro grammar must treat these predicates specially. There is, however, no positive distributional evidence that they form a unified class. This suggests that they should be set aside for the purposes of this discussion.

Two questions now arise about the words in the 'regular' Classes I and II. Does Chamorro have distributional patterns that divide the words in Class II (i.e. the intransitive content words) into different subclasses? And does the language have distributional patterns that group the words in Class I (that is, the transitive verbs) together with some intransitive content words, but not others? These questions are addressed next.

27.3 Further evidence

The Chamorro language offers ample evidence for a more fine-grained classification of content words than what Topping and Dungca propose. Consider (5), which rearranges the representative words from (2) and (3) into four groups that are temporarily labeled A, B, C, and D.

(5) a. A WORDS
   fa'tinas   'make'
   li'i'   'see'
   patcha   'touch'
   sångan   'say'
   tungu'   'know'
  b. B WORDS
   amigu   'friend'
   låhi   'man, male'
   tånu'   'land'
   tåotåo   'person'

    c.   C WORDS

        dångkulu   'big'

        lokka'   'tall'

        malåti'   'intelligent'

    d.   D WORDS

        gupu   'fly'

        hånåo   'go'

        måttu   'arrive'

According to Topping and Dungca's classification, the A words would be in Class I, and the B, C, and D words, in Class II. In the system of parts of speech adopted in this book, the A words are transitive verbs, while the B words are nouns, the C words are adjectives, and the D words are intransitive verbs.

The rest of this section presents some of the evidence that the Chamorro language distinguishes among all four of these subclasses of content words.

27.3.1   Nouns versus other content words

A number of distributional patterns in Chamorro differentiate the B words from the A, C, and D words. From the perspective adopted in this book, these patterns differentiate nouns from other content words. Here are three such patterns:

(i)   When a B word serves as the predicate of a clause in the irrealis mood, it does not show person-and-number agreement with the subject (see 4.3.1). This is illustrated in (6) for *amigu* 'friend' and *låhi* 'man, male'.

(6) a. Malagu'   [para **amigu**-ña si   Kanåriu].
        AGR.want   *FUT*   *friend-AGR* *UNM*   *Kanåriu*
        'He wanted to be (lit. that he would be) Kanåriu's friend.' (EM 81)

    b. Para   **låhi**   i   patgon-ña.
        FUT   *male*   *the child-AGR*
        'His child is going to be a boy.' (from an e-mail message)

But when an A, C, or D word serves as the predicate of a clause in the irrealis mood, it shows person-and-number agreement with the subject (see 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2.2). This is shown in (7), where the predicates are *li'i'* 'see' (an A word), *lokka'* 'tall' (a C word), and *hånåo* 'go' (a D word).

(7) a. Ti måfattu   ha'   i   infitmera   [para
        not AGR.arrive.PROG   *EMP*   *the nurse*   *FUT*

u **li'i'** i hetnu].
AGR see   the oven
'The nurse still hadn't come to (lit. so that she would) see the
incubator.' (EM 93)

b. Malagu'   si   Maria   [na   para   u   **lokka'** i
AGR.want UNM   Maria   COMP   FUT   AGR tall   the
patgon-ña].
child-AGR
'Maria wants her child to be tall.'

c. Esti   kumeke'ilek-ña [na   para   u   **hånåo** si
this   meaning-AGR   COMP   FUT   AGR go   UNM
Fulånu   ...]
So.and.so
'The meaning of this is that So-and-so is going to leave...' (EM 129)

(ii) The predicates *gai* 'have' and *tai* 'not have' must participate in
incorporation; they combine with their complement to form a phonological
word (see 14.3). Their complement must be a B word; it cannot be an A, C,
or D word. Compare the grammatical combinations in (8a) with the ungram-
matical combinations in (8b).

(8) a. gai amigu   'have a friend / friends'
        gai lahi   'have a son'
        gai tanu'   'have land'
        gai taotåo   'have a person, be possessed by a spirit'
    b. *gai li'i'   ('have see')
        *gai tungu'   ('have know')
        *gai lokka'   ('have tall')
        *gai malati'   ('have smart')
        *gai hanåo   ('have go')

(iii) The stressed prefix *mí-* 'having lots of, full of' attaches to a content
word to form a derived word (see 28.4.6). This prefix can be freely attached
to B words (see (9a)), but it cannot be attached to A, C, or D words (9b).

(9) a. mi'amigu   'having lots of friends'
        milalahi   'having lots of sons'
        mitanu'   'having lots of land'
        mitaotåo   'having lots of people, populated'
    b. *mili'i'   ('having lots of see')
        *misangan   ('having lots of say')

   *midangkulu   ('having lots of big')
   *mihanåo   ('having lots of go')

27.3.2 Verbs versus other content words

A few distributional patterns in Chamorro separate the A and D words, on the one hand, from the B and C words, on the other. From the perspective taken here, these patterns differentiate verbs from other content words.

  Consider, for instance, what types of content words can serve as the predicate of the clause when the subject begins with the null indefinite article, which is nonspecific. (The discussion here is concerned only with the use of the null indefinite article to pick out an individual or individuals, not with its generic use; see 6.2.1.2.2.)

  An A word cannot serve as the predicate in this context. Compare the ungrammatical clauses in (10) with their grammatical counterparts in (11), in which the subject begins with the definite article *i*.

(10)a. *Ha **li'i'** yommuk na påtgun i aksidenti.
    AGR *see* *fat* *L* *child* *the* *accident*
    ('A fat child saw the accident.')
  b. *Ha **tungu'** hit ma'estra.
    AGR *know* *us.INCL* *teacher*
    ('A teacher knows us (incl.).')
  c. *Ha **li'i'** yu' che'lun Antonio gi nigap.
    AGR *see* *me* *sibling.L* *Antonio* *LCL* *yesterday*
    ('A brother of Antonio saw me yesterday.')
(11)a. Ha **tungu'** hit i ma'estra.
    AGR *know* *us.INCL* *the* *teacher*
    'The teacher knows us (incl.).'
  b. Ha **li'i'** yu' i che'lun Antonio gi nigap.
    AGR *see* *me* *the* *sibling.L* *Antonio* *LCL* *yesterday*
    'The brother of Antonio saw me yesterday.'

  D words generally exhibit the same pattern: a D word cannot serve as the predicate when the subject begins with the null indefinite article. Compare (12) with the grammatical clauses in (13), in which the subject begins with the definite article or the indefinite singular article *un* (see 6.2.1.2.3).[2]

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[2] Note that (12c) is ungrammatical because the subject begins with the null indefinite article, not because *asagua* 'spouse' is presupposed to be unique (see Chung 2018).

(12)a. ***Humånåo** kåtta para si Carmen.
       AGR.go   *letter*   *to*   *UNM*   *Carmen*
       ('A letter went to Carmen.')

   b. ***Måttu** tåotåo gi petta.
       AGR.arrive *person* *LCL* *door*
       ('A person came to the door.')

   c. ***Kumekuentus** asaguå-ña si Carmen.
       AGR.speak.PROG *spouse-AGR* *UNM*   *Carmen*
       ('Carmen's husband is speaking.')

(13)a. **Humånåo** i kåtta para si Carmen.
       AGR.go   *the letter*   *to*   *UNM*   *Carmen*
       'The letter went to Carmen.'

   b. **Måttu** un tåotåo gi petta.
       AGR.arrive *a* *person* *LCL* *door*
       'A person came to the door.'

   c. **Kumekuentus** i asaguå-ña si Carmen.
       AGR.speak.PROG *the* *spouse-AGR* *UNM*   *Carmen*
       'Carmen's husband is speaking.'

A few D words are exceptions to this generalization. Then the clause seems to have a presentational function, as can be seen from (14).

(14)a. Anai ma baba, **humuyung** påtgun.
       when   *AGR open*   *AGR.go.out* *child*
       'When they opened it, a child came out.' (Cooreman 1983: 107)

   b. Un diha, anai pumepeska ... **kumahulu'** dångkulu na
       one day   *when*   *AGR.fish.PROG*   *AGR.get.up* *big*   *L*
       haggan, ya kuinentusi gui'.
       turtle   *and.then*   *AGR.PASS.speak.to*   *he*
       'One day, when he was fishing...a big turtle rose up, and spoke to him.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)

It is hard to pinpoint exactly what allows the D words *huyung* '(go) out' and *kahulu'* '(get) up' to serve as predicates in (14). Although both are verbs of directed motion, other verbs of directed motion are ungrammatical in this context, as can be seen from (12a) and (12b).

    B and C words display a different pattern (see Chung 2008). These words can routinely serve as the predicate when the subject begins with the

null indefinite article. However, they can do so only when the subject is a possessive noun phrase—that is, when it has a possessor, as in (15).[3]

(15)a. Si   Carmen   **lalåhi** ha'   chi'lu-ña.
    UNM   *Carmen*   *PL.man* *EMP*   *sibling-AGR*
    'Carmen has only brothers (lit. her siblings are only men).'
  b. Pues   ekkunguk sa'   håfa   na   para   **Ifit**
    then   *listen*   *because what?* *COMP* *FUT* *tree.sp*
    na'ån-hu.
    name-AGR
    'So listen to why my name is going to be Ifit [i.e. scrub mahogany].' (from a conference presentation)
  c. I   heavy equipment   na klåsin tråk   **mandångkulu**
    the heavy equipment   *L* *sort.L* *truck*   *AGR.big*
    ruedan-ñiha.
    wheel-AGR
    'The heavy equipment kind of trucks have big wheels on them (lit. their wheels are big).' (CD, entry for *rueda*)
  d. Kåo   **manlokka'** famagu'on-ña si   Maria?
    Q   *AGR.tall* *PL.child-AGR* *UNM* *Maria*
    'Are Maria's children tall?'
  e. **Malåti'**   chi'lu-ña.
    AGR.intelligent *sibling-AGR*
    'She has a smart sibling (lit. A sibling of hers is smart).'

When the subject begins with the null indefinite article but has no possessor, B and C words are ungrammatical, as (16) shows.

(16)a. *Låhi   påtgun.
    man   *child*
    ('A child is a boy.')
  b. *Mandångkulu rueda siha.
    AGR.big   *tire* *PL*
    ('Tires are big.')
  c. *Agaga'   kareta.
    AGR.red   *car*
    ('A car is red.')

---

[3] The clauses in (15a) and (15c) have an inner topic at their left edge (see 26.2.1).

The key point is that the ability of B and C words to serve as the predicate in this context is systematic but limited: it depends on whether the subject has a possessor. Significantly, the distribution of A and D words is different. Whether these words are ungrammatical—as in (10) and (12)—or exceptionally grammatical—as in (14)—the presence or absence of a possessor has no bearing on their status. See (10c) and (12c) for illustrations.

27.3.3   Summary

The evidence just discussed is summarized in the chart below. The rows in (17) correspond to the four subclasses of words. The columns report on how each subclass behaves with respect to the distributional patterns described earlier. In the columns, the label 'Passive form?' refers to Topping and Dungca's properties (i-ii), and the label 'Weak pronoun subject?' refers to their property (iii). The labels 'Irrealis agreement?' and 'Occurs with *gai* and *mí*-?' refer to the patterns described in 27.3.1. The label 'Nonspecific subject requires possessor?' refers to the pattern described in 27.3.2.

(17)

	PASSIVE FORM?	WEAK PN SUBJ?	IRREALIS AGR?	OCCURS W *GAI* & *MÍ*-?	NONSPEC SUBJ REQUIRES POSSR?
A	yes	no	yes	no	no
B	no	yes	no	yes	yes
C	no	yes	yes	no	yes
D	no	yes	yes	no	no

A comparison of the rows in the chart reveals that each subclass differs from the other three. (Each row has a different combination of 'yes' and 'no' cells.) This finding argues against Topping and Dungca's Chamorro-specific system of parts of speech. In particular, it contradicts their claim that the words in their Class II (i.e. B, C, and D words) form a single undifferentiated class. But it is compatible with the approach to parts of speech taken in this book, according to which Chamorro content words are classified as nouns, verbs, or adjectives and further cross-classified for transitivity. (18) shows how this more traditional approach treats the four subclasses of words investigated earlier in this section.

(18)   CLASSIFICATION OF CHAMORRO CONTENT WORDS

Lexical Category	*Transitivity*	
noun	intransitive	B Words
adjective	intransitive	C Words
verb	intransitive	D Words
verb	transitive	A Words

See Chung (2012a; 2012b) for further discussion.

It is important that this approach to Chamorro parts of speech can account for all the distributional evidence discussed so far, including Topping and Dungca's properties (i-iii). The difficulty with their system of word classification is not that it makes the wrong cut, but rather that it does not draw enough distinctions. That is why it cannot handle the evidence presented in 27.3.1 and 27.3.2. The traditional system of parts of speech, which is more articulated, does not have this issue.

27.4   Conversion

Let us now return to Topping and Dungca's (1973: 77) observation that in Chamorro "we often find the same word functioning as a noun, a verb, and an adjective". Although *dångkulu* 'big' in (1) may not be the best illustration of this,[4] the overall point is correct. What could account for it?

One possibility is that Chamorro content words might have all-purpose 'predicative' meanings that would enable them to be used in multiple functions. (Similar claims have been made for languages that are thought to group content words into a single undifferentiated class; see e.g. Evans and Levinson 2009: 434.) But if the vagueness of word meanings were responsible for Topping and Dungca's observation, it should be a systematic property of all content words in the language. This is not the case. Individual Chamorro words differ arbitrarily from one another in their ability to occur in more than one part of speech. Consider, for instance, *go'naf* 'scale', *se'si'* 'knife', *chetnut* 'wound', and *håyu* 'stick'. All four words can occur as nouns, in which case they have the distributional profile of nouns (see 27.3.1). *Go'naf* 'scale' and *se'si'* 'knife' can also occur as transitive verbs, in which case they show person-and-number agreement with their subject, as illustrated in (19) (see 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.3). But *chetnut* 'wound' and *guma'* 'house' cannot occur as transitive verbs, as can be seen from (20).

(19)a.   Hu **go'naf**   i   kahåo.
         AGR scale   *the fish.sp*
         'I scaled the soapy.' (CD, entry for *kåhåo*)

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[4] In the approach taken in this book, *dångkulu* 'big' is an adjective in all of the examples in (1). It serves as the predicate of the clause in (1a) and as a modifier within the noun phrase in (1b) and (1c). The head noun in (1b) has undergone noun phrase ellipsis (see 7.4).

b. Ma **se'si'** i babui para u mapunu'.
AGR knife the pig FUT AGR PASS.kill
'They stabbed the pig so that it would die.' (CD, entry for *se'si'*)

(20)a. *Ha **chetnut** yu'.
AGR wound me
('He wounded me.')

b. *Ha **håyu** yu' si Juan.
AGR stick me UNM Juan
('Juan hit me with a stick.')

Another illustration: the Chamorro words *mantika* and *potbus*, which are borrowed from Spanish, can occur as nouns or adjectives. In their noun use, *mantika* means 'fat, grease' and *potbus* means 'dust'. In their adjective use, illustrated in (21), *mantika* means 'fatty, greasy' and *potbus* means 'dusty'. In contrast, the words *asiga* 'salt' (an Austronesian word) and *asukat* 'sugar' (borrowed from Spanish) occur as nouns, but not as adjectives. This is why (22a) means 'Our (excl.) food was salt', not 'Our food was salty'.

(21)a. Mansen **mantika** i abunin i imang.
AGR.extremely fatty the food.sac.L the hermit.crab
'The food sacs of hermit crabs are very fatty.' (CD, entry for *ábuni*)

b. **Potbus** i simientu.
AGR.dusty the cement
'The cement is dusty.' (CD, entry for *simientu*)

(22)a. **Asiga** na'-måmi.
salt food-AGR
'Our (excl.) food was salt.' (Not: Our food was salty.)

b. **Asukat** na'-måmi.
sugar food-AGR
'Our (excl.) food was sugar.' (Not: Our food was sugary/sweet.)

The lexical arbitrariness illustrated in (19-22) strongly suggests that no general property of word meanings in Chamorro lies behind Topping and Dungca's observation.

Another possibility is that Chamorro has word formation processes that allow a content word from one part of speech to be converted to another part of speech without affixes or other morphology. This type of word formation process, which is robustly attested in English, is called *conversion* (see e.g. Bauer and Huddleston 2002: 1640).

Conversion is productively employed in English to turn nouns into derived verbs, as can be seen from the verbs in verb phrases such as *bottle*

the wine, *pocket the cash*, *butter the bread*, *mop the floor*, and *skewer the meat* (see e.g. Clark and Clark 1979, Hale and Keyser 1993, Levin 1993, Kiparsky 1997). Conversion is also employed to turn verbs into derived nouns, as can be seen from the nouns in noun phrases such as *our moves*, *your sleep*, *their wants*, and *my asks*. Although conversion differs from other word formation processes in not involving overt morphology, it resembles these other processes in the following ways: (i) the form and meaning of the words that undergo the process can be specified, and (ii) so can the form and meaning of the derived words that are produced; (iii) the process itself can be productive or unproductive, but (iv) even when it is productive, there may be words that arbitrarily fail to undergo it.

The rest of this section discusses two productive types of conversion in Chamorro. One type turns certain nouns into derived transitive verbs; the other type turns certain other nouns into derived adjectives.

27.4.1 Noun-to-verb

Chamorro uses conversion productively to turn certain types of nouns into transitive verbs. This process, which is strikingly similar to some types of conversion in English (see e.g. Clark and Clark 1979, Kiparsky 1979) can be characterized as follows (see Levin 2008: 2):

(i) A noun that names a container or location can be converted to a transitive verb whose meaning is 'put (something) in that container or location'. Some representative nouns that can undergo this process are listed in (23), along with their meanings and the meanings of the corresponding derived verbs.

(23) | WORD | AS NOUN | AS DERIVED VERB |
|---|---|---|
| å'fi | 'sling' | 'put in a sling' |
| apåga | 'shoulder' | 'carry on shoulder' |
| balutan | 'wrapper' | 'wrap' |
| botsa | 'pocket' | 'put in pocket' |
| chåhan | 'underground pit' | 'cook in an underground pit' |
| letchin niyuk | 'coconut milk' | 'cook in coconut milk' |
| presu | 'prison' | 'put in prison' |

A few of the derived verbs in (23) are illustrated in (24).

(24)a. Binalutan   i   boti   ni dangkulun nåpu.
       AGR.PASS.wrap   *the boat* *OBL big.L*   *wave*
       'The boat was covered in big waves.' (CD, entry for *binalutan*)

b. Machåhan i babui para i giput.
AGR.PASS.cook.in.pit the pig for the party
'The pig was roasted underground for the party.' (CD, entry for *chåhan*)

c. Ha letchin niyuk si nåna i ayuyu.
AGR cook.in.coconut.milk UNM mother the coconut.crab
'Mother cooked the coconut crab in coconut milk.' (CD, entry for *letchin niyuk*)

(ii) A noun that names a thing or stuff can be converted to a transitive verb that means 'put that thing or stuff at (some location).' Some representative nouns that undergo this process are listed in (25), and a few of the derived verbs are illustrated in (26).

(25) | WORD | AS NOUN | AS DERIVED VERB |
|---|---|---|
| achai | 'chin' | 'lean the chin on' |
| åtbidun | 'starch' | 'add starch to' |
| åtuf | 'roof' | 'put a roof on' |
| chå'lak | 'small cut' | 'make a small cut in' |
| håfyi | 'protecting cover' | 'put a protecting cover on' |
| kollat | 'fence' | 'fence' |
| sådi' | 'diaper' | 'put a diaper on' |
| tåmpi | 'cover' | 'cover' |

(26)a. Manma'åtbidun siha i magågun mamåli'
AGR.PASS.add.starch.to PL the clothes.L PL.priest
gi as Ana.
OBL Ana
'The priests' clothes were starched by Ana.' (CD, entry for *åtbidun*)

b. Hu chå'lak i laggua.
AGR make.small.cut.in the parrot.fish
'I made a small cut in the parrot fish.' (CD, entry for *chå'lak*)

c. Tinampi todu i lamasa ni tesna.
AGR.PASS.cover all the table OBL charcoal.dust
'The table was all covered with charcoal dust.' (CD, entry for *tesna*)

(iii) Finally, a noun that names an instrument can be converted to a transitive verb that means 'use that instrument in its intended function on (something)'. Some representative nouns that undergo this process are listed in (27), and a few derived verbs are illustrated in (28).

(27) WORD   AS NOUN   AS DERIVED VERB
      bålas   'whip'   'hit with a whip'
      barohu   'drill'   'drill'
      chåchak   'saw'   'cut with a saw, slice'
      dekka'   'pole, stick'   'poke, pick (w. pole or stick)'
      lampåsu   'mop'   'mop'
      paini   'comb'   'arrange (hair) with a comb'
      se'si'   'knife'   'cut with a knife'
      tupak   'fishing line'   'catch with a fishing line'

(28)a. Chinachak   si   Donald ni se'si'   tuberu   sa'
        AGR.PASS.slice   *UNM*   *Donald OBL knife.L winemaker   because*
        ha chatusa.
        AGR barely.use
        'Donald was cut by the winemaker's knife because he used it
        improperly.' (CD, entry for *se'si' tuberu*)

   b.   Malampåsu   i   satgi   as   Monica gi egga'an.
        AGR.PASS.mop   the   floor   OBL   Monica LCL morning
        'Monica mopped the floor this morning.' (CD, entry for *ma-*)

   c.   Ngaha' tåtti   i   ilu-mu   ya   bai hu paini   i
        tilt   back   the   head-AGR   and.then   AGR   comb   the
        gaputulu-mu.
        hair-AGR
        'Tilt your head back and I'll comb your hair.' (CD, entry for
        ngaha')

All three subtypes of conversion are productive in Chamorro (see Chung 2012a further examples and discussion). Nonetheless, not all nouns with the relevant type of meaning can be converted to transitive verbs. Even though the nouns *guma'* 'house' and *baina* 'sheath' arguably name locations, and the noun *håyu* 'stick' arguably names an instrument, these nouns cannot be converted to transitive verbs meaning 'put (someone or something) in a house', 'put (something) in a sheath', or 'poke (someone) with a stick'; see e.g. (20b). This is the sort of arbitrariness that word formation processes often exhibit.

27.4.2 Noun-to-adjective
Chamorro also uses conversion productively to turn certain types of nouns into adjectives. To see the effects of this process, consider the nouns *chåtku* 'stain', *mantika* 'fat, grease', and *mulidu* 'bruise'. These words have the distributional profile of nouns, as can be seen from (29).

(29)a. Gai   chatku i   kueyun esti na chinina.
     AGR.have   stain   the collar.L this L   blouse
     'The collar of this blouse has a stain.' (CD, entry for *kueyun chinina*)

   b. Månngi'   i   guihan bakalåo sa'
     AGR.delicious   the fish.L   cod   because
     mimantika.
     AGR.having.lots.of.fat
     'Cod fish is delicious because it has lots of fat.' (CD, entry for *bakalåo*)

   c. Esta   gai   mulidu siha   åttilung i   peras.
     already AGR.have   bruise PL   black   the pear
     'The pear has bruises of dark spots.' (CD, entry for *mulidu*)

Conversion turns these nouns into the derived adjectives *chåtku* 'stained', *mantika* 'fatty, greasy', and *mulidu* 'bruised'. Then they have the distributional profile of adjectives, as (30) shows.

(30)a. Adahi na   u chåtku i magagu-mu   ginin   i
     careful COMP   AGR stained the clothes-AGR   from   the
     manha.
     green.coconut
     'Be careful that your clothes aren't stained from the green coconut's husk.' (CD, entry for *chåtku*)

   b. Ti debi   di u   mantika   i   impanåda.
     not should   PRT AGR greasy   the empanada
     'The empanada should not be greasy.'

   c. Mungnga mafåhan   i   mansåna   ni   mulidu
     don't   AGR.PASS.buy   the apple   COMP   AGR.bruised
     esta   lassås-ña.
     already skin-AGR
     'Don't buy the apples that have bruised skins.' (CD, entry for *mulidu*)

Noun-adjective conversion has no English analogue. But, like noun-verb conversion, it is productive in Chamorro. Here are the details:

(i) A noun that names a distinctive feature of the body can be converted to an adjective that means 'characterized by that feature of the body'. Some representative nouns that undergo this process are listed in (31), and a few derived adjectives are illustrated in (32).

(31) WORD   AS NOUN   AS DERIVED ADJECTIVE
      busu'   'lump'   'lumpy, swelling'
      dådu'   'malformed nose,   'malformed (of nose), cleft
                     cleft palate'   (of palate)'
      dondun   'freckle'   'spotted'
      haduk   'dimple'   'dimpled'
      matan åmku'   'old face'   'old-looking'
      mulidu   'bruise'   'bruised'
      paladang   'scar'   'scarred'

(32)a. Bumusu'   tiyan-ña   si   Karina anai   malångu.
        AGR.lumpy stomach-AGR   UNM   Karina when   AGR.sick
        'Karina's stomach swells when she is sick.' (CD, entry for *busu'*)
    b. Paladang   i   kalulot-ña   anai   chinachak   ni   se'si'.
        AGR.scarred the finger-AGR   when   AGR.PASS.cut   OBL knife
        'He got a scar on his finger when he got cut with the knife.' (CD,
        entry for *paladang*)

(ii) A noun that names a disease or medical condition can be converted to an adjective that means 'infected by that disease' or 'characterized by that medical condition'. Some representative nouns that undergo this process are listed in (33), and a few derived adjectives are illustrated in (34).

(33) WORD   AS NOUN   AS DERIVED ADJECTIVE
      daibitis   'diabetes'   'diabetic'
      kalentura   'fever'   'feverish'
      kånsit   'cancer'   'having cancer'
      mañum   'cold, flu'   'having a cold, having flu'
      såtna   'rash, sores' 'having rash, having sores'

(34)a. Mapput   mågung   i   chetnot-ña   sa'   daibitis
        AGR.hard   AGR.healed the wound-AGR   because AGR.diabetic
        gui'.
        he
        'It is hard for his sore to heal because he is diabetic.' (CD, entry for
        chetnut)
    b. Bula   na   famalåo'an   mankåkansit.
        many   L   PL.woman   AGR.have.cancer.PROG
        'Many women have cancer.' (CD, entry for *kånsit*)

c. Manmañum   ham   todu   guini   mågi.
   AGR.have.cold   *we.EXCL*   *all*   *here*   *to.here*
   'We (excl.) all have colds here.' (CD, entry for *mañum*)

(iii) Finally, various other concrete and abstract nouns can be converted to adjectives that mean 'characterized by [whatever the noun names]'. These nouns include *chåtku* 'stain' and *mantika* 'fat, grease', which were discussed earlier. Some other nouns of this type are listed in (35) and illustrated in (36).

(35)   WORD   AS NOUN   AS DERIVED ADJECTIVE
        bo'an   'foam'   'foamy'
        fachi'   'mud'   'muddy'
        getmun   'crunchy sound'   'crunchy-sounding'
        odda'   'dirt'   'dirty'
        oksu'   'hill'   'hilly'
        potbus   'dust'   'dusty'

(36)a.   Annuk   ha'   na   hinina   i   patgun ni
          AGR.appear   *EMP*   *COMP*   *AGR.PASS.poison*   *the*   *child*   *OBL*
          na'-ña   sa'   bobo'an   i   pachot-ña.
          food-AGR   *because*   *AGR.foamy.PROG*   *the*   *mouth-AGR*
          'You can tell that the child was poisoned by his food because his mouth is foamy.' (CD, entry for *bo'an*)
    b.   Si   Jenielle ha gatcha' i   edda'   ya   umodda'
          UNM   *Jenielle*   *AGR*   *step.on*   *the*   *dirt*   *and.then*   *AGR.dirty*
          addeng-ña.
          foot-AGR
          'Jenielle stepped on the ground and his feet got dirty.' (CD, entry for *odda'*)

See Chung (2012a) for further examples and discussion. As might be expected by now, not all nouns undergo noun-adjective conversion, even though this process is productive. The nouns *asiga* 'salt' and *asukat* 'sugar', for instance, cannot be turned into derived adjectives meaning 'salty' and 'sugary', even though they might seem to be eligible for the conversion described just above; see (22).

27.4.3 Summary
Word formation processes are partly responsible for the fact that many Chamorro words seem initially to have multiple functions. Like English,

Chamorro has conversion, a word formation process that turns a content word from one part of speech into a word from another part of speech without affixes or other morphology. This means that Topping and Dungca's (1973) observation about multiple functions is compatible with the idea that Chamorro has nouns, verbs, and adjectives. In fact, the discussion of conversion presented earlier in this section relies on the assumption that the language has these parts of speech.

English has a rich array of types of conversion besides the noun-to-verb conversion mentioned earlier in this section (see Clark and Clark 1979). Chamorro too has other types of conversion. Conversion is no doubt responsible for turning the nouns in (37), which name types of prepared food, into derived transitive verbs meaning 'make (something) into that type of food'.

(37)	WORD	AS NOUN	AS DERIVED VERB
	balensiåna	'red rice'	'make into red rice'
	kåddu	'soup'	'boil into soup'
	kelaguin	'meat or fish half-cooked with lemon juice'	'make into *kelaguin*'
	lantiyas	'pudding'	'make into pudding'
	saibuk	'boiled starchy food'	'boil (starchy food)'

Conversion is probably responsible for the relation between the intransitive verbs in (38), which describe an activity, and the homonymous nouns, which name an instance of that activity, or the result of that activity. (Conceivably, some of these pairs of words involve noun-verb conversion and others, verb-noun conversion.)

(38)	WORD	AS VERB	AS NOUN
	atalak	'stare'	'stare'
	baila	'dance'	'dance'
	bakasion	'be on vacation'	'vacation'
	guput	'have a party'	'party'
	kånta	'sing'	'song'
	mumu	'fight'	'fight'
	uchan	'rain'	'rain'

Conversion can also be seen at work in the process that turns professional nouns such as *ma'estra* 'teacher (f.)' and *påli'* 'priest' into intransitive verbs that mean 'serve as a member of that profession' (see 4.3.1). Two other

types of conversion are described in 28.4.9. Overall, this is clearly a topic that deserves further investigation.

27.5   Further reading

Topping and Dungca's approach to parts of speech in Chamorro is presented in Topping and Dungca (1973) and in the introduction to Topping, Ogo and Dungca (1975). See Chung (2012a; 2012b) for commentary and discussion.

28

WORD FORMATION

Chamorro has ways of creating derived nouns, verbs, or adjectives from other words. It also has event nominalizations formed from verbs and adjectives. Finally, it has strategies for creating nicknames from given names.

28.1   Overview

The Chamorro language has various ways of creating derived nouns, verbs, or adjectives from other words. Some of these word formation processes involve prefixes, infixes, suffixes, or reduplication; others, known as conversion, involve no affixes or other morphology (see 27.4). Word formation processes differ from one another in the extent to which they are productive—the extent to which they can be used to create derived words that are entirely new.

Safford (1903; 1904; 1905) and Topping and Dungca (1973) give detailed descriptions of the affixes and reduplication used in word formation in Chamorro. The survey presented here builds on their work, but also includes conversion. 28.2 is devoted to ways of creating derived nouns; 28.3, to ways of creating derived aspectual predicates; and 28.4, to other ways of creating derived verbs and adjectives. 28.5 describes some word formation processes that apply to local and directional nouns. Most of the illustrative examples in these sections are taken from the CD database. Word formation in Chamorro is complicated by individual variation and dialect differences, as well as language loss and issues connected with language revival. Partly because of this, much of the discussion is tentative and incomplete.[1] 28.6 describes nominalized predicates and the event nominalizations that can be formed

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[1] For instance, two affixes described by Safford (1903: 515) and Topping and Dungca (1973: 178, 180) are not discussed here at all: the stressed prefix *ká-* in e.g. *káhaga'* 'bloody' (from *håga'* 'blood') and *kálaña* 'oily' (from *låña* 'oil'), and the suffix *-an* in e.g. *påguan* 'smelly' (from *påo* 'smell') and *yini'usan* 'godlike' (from *yu'us* 'god' plus the infix *-in-*). Both affixes turn nouns into derived adjectives. Both affixes also appear to be quite unproductive today.

from them. Finally, 28.7 briefly discusses some of the strategies used to create nicknames from given names.

28.2 Derived nouns

28.2.1 Agentive nouns
Chamorro has two ways of creating agentive nouns—derived nouns that name who or what performs the action described by the verb.

28.2.1.1 Reduplication plus umlaut
The combination of reduplication plus umlaut (i.e. vowel fronting) turns a verb into an agentive noun (see Bibbs 2018). Reduplication copies the initial vowel of the word and the preceding consonant, if there is one, and places the copied (C)V at the beginning of the word, where it bears primary stress. Umlaut causes the copied vowel to be realized as a front vowel (see 30.2). More specifically:

If the verb begins with a vowel, reduplication copies that vowel and places it at the beginning of the word, where it bears primary stress. (This vowel is separated from the original vowel by glottal stop.) Umlaut causes the copied vowel to be realized as a front vowel. For instance, if the original vowel was low, the copied vowel is realized as /a/, as in (1).

(1)	VERB		DERIVED NOUN	
	åddak	'knock'	á'addak	'knocker'
	åmti	'cure'	á'amti	'doctor, healer'
	akunseha	'advise'	á'akunseha	'adviser'
	ayuda	'help'	á'ayuda	'helper, assistant'

If the verb begins with a consonant followed by a vowel, reduplication copies that CV and places it at the beginning of the word, where it bears primary stress. Once again, umlaut causes the copied vowel to be realized as a front vowel. The copied vowel is realized as /a/ if the vowel of the original word was low, and as /i/ if the vowel of the original word was high. See (2).

(2)		VERB		DERIVED NOUN	
	a.	bålli	'sweep'	báballi	'sweeper'
		danña'	'be together'	dádanña'	'joiner, team worker'
		falågu	'run (irrealis)'	fáfalagu	'runner'
		tåtsi	'poison'	tátatsi	'poisoner'
	b.	dibina	'guess'	dídibina	'fortune teller'
		hina	'poison'	híhina	'poisoner'

| tugi' | 'write' | títugi' | 'writer' |
| tumu | 'dye' | títumu | 'something that stains' |

If the vowel of the original verb is mid, the copied vowel is sometimes re-alized as /i/, and other times as /e/. The historically older option is /i/ (see Safford 1903: 306). It is unclear to what extent both options are available and productive today.

(3)   VERB   DERIVED NOUN

a.	cheffla	'whistle'	chícheffla	'whistler'
	kuentus	'speak'	kuíkuentus	'orator'
	penta	'paint'	pípenta	'painter'
	peska	'fish'	pípeska	'fisherman'
	tokcha'	'spear'	títokcha'	'bee stinger'
b.	de'un	'pinch'	déde'un	'pincher'
	penta	'paint'	pépenta	'painter'
	peska	'fish'	pépeska	'fisherman'

This word formation process appears to be productive. It applies freely to verbs whether they are indigenous or borrowed. It also applies to derived verbs created by conversion and to certain antipassive verbs, as (4) shows.

(4)   VERB   DERIVED NOUN

gualu'	'till soil' (from *gualu* 'farm')	guágualu'	'(good) farmer'
tufuk	'weave'	títufuk	'weaver'
måmfuk	'weave (realis antipassive)'	mámamfuk	'weaver'
fåmfuk	'weave (irrealis antipassive)'	fáfamfuk	'weaver'

Occasionally, it derives agentive nouns from adjectives, as in (5).

(5)   ADJECTIVE   DERIVED NOUN

| isåo | 'sin; guilty' | í'isåo | 'sinner' |
| binenu | 'poisonous' | bíbinenu | 'poisoner' |

28.2.1.2   *-dót*

A number of agentive nouns borrowed from Spanish consist a verb followed by the agentive suffix *-dót* (or its feminine form *-dora*). In most cases, both

the agentive noun and the verb from which it is derived were borrowed from Spanish into Chamorro. The examples below are representative.

(6)   VERB   DERIVED NOUN
        akusa   'accuse'   akusadót   'accuser'
        baila   'dance'   bailadót,   'dancer (m.),
                                bailadora   dancer (f.)'
        bota   'vote'   botadót   'voter'
        gånna   'win'   gannadót   'winner, champion'
        peska   'fish'   peskadót   'fisherman'
        såtba   'save'   satbadót   'savior'

The systematic character of the verb-noun relation in (6) suggests that the word formation process that creates these agentive nouns was also borrowed into Chamorro. That is, *-dót* is now a Chamorro suffix that turns verbs from the nonindigenous vocabulary into agentive nouns. And indeed, there are Chamorro agentive nouns of this type that have no direct analogue in Spanish, despite the fact that they are derived by attaching *-dót* to a verb that was borrowed from Spanish. Some nouns of this type appear in (7).[2]

(7)   VERB   DERIVED NOUN
        keha   'complain' kehadót   'accuser'
        kuenta   'include'   kuentadót   'accountant'
        pasehu   'travel'   pasiadót   'traveler'
        suspetcha   'suspect'   suspetchadót   'suspicious person'

The use of *-dót* to derive agentive nouns from nonindigenous verbs may be productive, especially in the elevated rhetorical style often used in speeches to large audiences. This process is typically limited to verbs borrowed from Spanish, but there are occasional exceptions; e.g. *fattadót* 'boaster' (from *fatta'* 'boast about, show off (something)') and *ispikadót* 'speaker' (from the English noun *speaker*).

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[2] Spanish has no agentive nouns derived from *quejarse* 'to complain' or *sospechar* 'to suspect'. (Many thanks to Victoria González Pagani for this information.) In Spanish, the agentive noun derived from *contar* 'to count' (3sg. prs. *cuenta*) is *contador* 'accountant', not *cuentador*. The Spanish agentive noun *paseador*, from *pasear* 'walk, stroll', apparently means 'walker' or 'minder', not 'traveler'.

28.2.2   Nouns of location

The combination of the prefix *fan-* plus the suffix *-an* (sometimes referred to as the circumfix *fan-...-an*) turns a noun or verb into a noun of location—a derived noun that names a location characterized by whatever the original word describes. The derived word typically exhibits the alternation known as nasal substitution (see 30.4). Note that the suffix *-an* is realized as *-yan* after a vowel.

   The CD database includes a large number of nouns of location. Nouns of this type are very frequently derived from verbs, as in (8).

(8)	VERB		DERIVED NOUN	
	apu'	'lean against'	fanapu'an	'footstool'
	diskånsa	'rest, relax'	fandiskansåyan	'rest space'
	fa'gåsi	'wash'	fama'gasiyan	'wash basin'
	få'pus	'depart (irrealis)'	fanfa'pusan	'passageway'
	huyung	'go out'	fanhuyungan	'exit'
	håfut	'bury'	fanhafutan	'cemetery'
	punu'	'kill'	famunu'an	'slaughterhouse'
	tåla'	'hang to dry'	fanalå'an	'drying place'

They can also be derived from nouns, as in (9).

(9)	NOUN		DERIVED NOUN	
	åtchu'	'rock, stone'	fanatchu'an	'quarry'
	binådu	'deer'	fambinaduyan	'deer hunting region'
	få'i	'rice plant'	fanfa'iyan	'rice field'
	kamuti	'sweet potato'	fangamutiyan	'potato field'
	somnak	'sunshine'	fañomnågan	'dry season'

28.2.3   *án-*

The stressed prefix *án-* turns a noun or verb into a derived noun that includes the meaning 'leftover, residue'. Some derived nouns of this type are cited in (10). It is unclear whether this process is productive.

(10)		WORD		DERIVED NOUN	
	a.	basihu	'empty container'	ánbasihu	'empty container'
		nå'yan	'dish, food'	ánna'yan	'leftover food; used dishes'
		sopbla	'leftovers'	ánsopbla	'leftovers'

	supiyu	'carpenter's plane'	ánsupiyu	'wood shaving'
b.	kånnu'	'eat'	ánkannu'	'leftover food'
	lasgui	'whittle'	ánlasgui	'wood shaving'
	tupa	'tear off'	ántupa	'rubbish, debris'
	usa	'use'	ánusa	'something used'

28.3   Derived aspectual predicates

The predicate of every Chamorro clause is marked for neutral versus progressive aspect (see 2.2.1). Over and above this, the language has two ways of creating derived verbs or adjectives that incorporate more aspectual information.

28.3.1   *ké'-*

The stressed prefix *ké'-* (or its variant *ké-*) turns a verb or adjective into a prospective verb—a derived verb that includes the meaning 'try to' or 'be about to'. Prospective verbs are transitive when they are derived from transitive verbs, and intransitive otherwise. The process that creates these verbs is productive.

   Some examples of prospective verbs created from transitive verbs are cited in (11).

(11)	TRANSITIVE VERB		DERIVED VERB	
	chagi	'try'	ké'chagi	'try'
	danchi	'hit (a target)'	ké'danchi	'try to hit (a target)'
	fåhan	'buy'	ké'fahan	'try to buy'
	konni'	'catch'	ké'konni'	'try to catch'
	latchai	'finish off'	ké'latchai	'try to finish off'
	sångan	'say'	ké'sangan	'try to say'
	tungu'	'know'	ké'tungu'	'find out, learn'

These prospective verbs are transitive, as can be seen from their forms of agreement with the subject in (12).

(12)a. I   famagu'un ma keke'konni'   i   apatcha'.
       the PL.child   AGR try.catch.PROG   the grasshopper
       'The children are trying to catch grasshoppers.' (CD, entry for *apatcha'*)

   b. Si   Rosita ha ke'latchai   i   fina'denni' aliling.
      UNM   *Rosita* AGR *try.finish.off*   *the* *pickle.L*   *conch*

'Rosita tried to eat all of the conch pickling.' (CD, entry for *ké'latchai*)

Some examples of prospective verbs created from intransitive verbs or adjectives are cited in (13).

(13)   INTRANSITIVE
       VERB / ADJECTIVE   DERIVED VERB
       cháta'an   'rainy'   ké'chata'an   'about to be rainy'
       maigu'   'sleep'   ké'maigu'   'try to sleep'
       mañokñuk   'sink'   ké'mañokñuk   'about to sink'
       måtai   'die'   ké'matai   'about to die'
       påsmu   'have   ké'pasmu   'about to have
                      pneumonia'   pneumonia'
       poddung   'fall'   ké'poddung   'about to fall'
       riku   'rich'   ké'riku   'about to be rich'

These prospective verbs are intransitive, as can be seen from their forms of agreement with the subject in (14).

(14)a. Kumeke'riku   yu' sa'   hu keke'bendi   i
        AGR.try.rich.PROG   I   because AGR try.sell.PROG   the
        tano'-hu   gi   miyon pesus.
        land-AGR   LCL million dollars
        'It seems I'm getting rich because I'm trying to sell my land for a
        million dollars.' (CD, entry for *riku*)
    b. Kåo   kume'pasmu   si   Lolita?
        Q   AGR.try.have.pneumonia UNM   Lolita
        'Does Lolita have pneumonia?' (CD, entry for *påsmu*)

Prospective verbs are verbs that describe events—events of preparing-to-happen—even when they are derived from adjectives or from verbs that describe states. Thus, they occur in the progressive aspect when the event of preparing-to-happen is ongoing with respect to the speech event or some other event, as in (12a) and (14a). Moreover, when an intransitive prospective verb is in the realis mood, it uses the infix *-um-*, rather than no special marking, to show agreement with a singular or dual subject; see (14).

28.3.2   *-ñaihun*
The suffix *-ñaihun* (which is realized as *-nñaihun* after a vowel) has two uses. In one use, it turns transitive verbs into applicative verbs (see 11.3.1).

In the other use, which is described here, it attaches to verbs or adjectives but does not change their structure or function. Instead, it merely contributes meaning that can be characterized as durative or moderative. When -*ñaihun* in this use is attached to a verb, it means 'for awhile'.

(15) VERB   DERIVED VERB
      atan   'watch'   atanñaihun   'watch for awhile'
      falågu   'run (irrealis)'   falagunñaihun   'run for awhile
                                                    (irrealis)'
      malingu   'disappear   malingunñaihun 'disappear for awhile
                 (realis)'   (realis)'
      po'lu   'put'   po'lunñaihun   'put aside for
                                                    awhile'
      såga   'stay, live'   saganñaihun   'stay for awhile'

When it is attached to an adjective, it can mean 'slightly', as in (16).

(16) ADJECTIVE   DERIVED ADJECTIVE
      fotgun   'wet'   fotgunñaihun   'damp, slightly wet'
      matuhuk   'sleepy'   matuhukñaihun   'half asleep, sleepy
                                                    for awhile'

28.4   Other derived verbs and adjectives

28.4.1   *é'*- and *ó'*-
The stressed prefixes *é'*- and *ó'*- (or their variants *é*- and *ó*-) are combined with nouns to create derived intransitive verbs that mean 'search for [whatever the noun names]'. These prefixes are often used to create derived verbs that describe types of hunting or fishing, as in (17).

(17) NOUN   DERIVED VERB
      ayuyu   'coconut crab'   é'ayuyu   'go coconut crab
                                                    hunting'
      binådu   'deer'   é'binadu   'go deer hunting'
      guihan   'fish'   é'guihan,   'go fishing'
                                   ó'guihan
      paluma   'bird'   é'paluma   'hunt for birds'
      pånglåo   'crab'   é'panglåo,   'hunt for crabs'
                                   ó'panglåo

The prefix *é'*- is used much more frequently than *ó'*-. Some additional examples of verbs derived by attaching *é'*- to a noun are cited in (18).

(18) | Noun | | Derived verb | |
|---|---|---|---|
| aliling | 'cateye shell' | é'aliling | 'search for shells' |
| baratura | 'sale' | é'baratura | 'search for sales' |
| gå'ga' | 'animal' | éga'ga' | 'hunt for animals; get busy' |
| hulu' | 'top' | ékkulu' | 'climb up, get on top of' |

Occasionally, *é'*- combines with a noun that names the method of search, rather than what is searched for; see (19).

(19) | Noun | | Derived verb | |
|---|---|---|---|
| tokcha' | 'spear' | é'tokcha' | 'spearfish, skindive' |
| tupak | 'fishing line' | é'tupak | 'fish by line' |

Note that *é'*- and *ó'*- could be analyzed as verbs that incorporate their object, as long as it is understood that their incorporated object is syntactically inert. Unlike the incorporated objects of verbs of possession (see 14.3), the original noun cannot be modified by an adjective or relative clause, and cannot be doubled by an extra object.

28.4.2 *fa'*-

The prefix *fa'*- turns a noun into a derived transitive verb that means 'change into [whatever the noun names]' or 'treat as [whatever the noun names]'. Some examples are cited in (20).

(20) | Noun | | Derived verb | |
|---|---|---|---|
| abuk | 'friend, pal' | fa'abuk | 'make friends with' |
| bateha | 'washing board' | fa'bateha | 'use as a washing board' |
| håfa | 'anything' | fa'håfa | 'make into anything' |
| insalåda | 'salad' | fa'insalåda | 'make into salad' |
| muntón | 'cluster' | fa'muntón | 'accumulate, pile up' |
| ottru | 'other' | fa'ottru | 'exclude, disguise' |

The prefix *fa'*- occasionally activates umlaut (see 30.2). When the initial syllable of the original noun bears primary stress, the vowel of that syllable is realized as a front vowel, as in (21).

(21)   NOUN   DERIVED VERB

NOUN		DERIVED VERB	
chåda'	'egg'	fa'chada'	'flatter'
donni'	'hot pepper'	fa'denni'	'prepare with hot sauce'
gå'ga'	'animal'	fa'ga'ga'	'treat dishonestly, play a trick on, make fun of'
hånum	'water'	fa'hanum	'cause to melt'
huyung	'outside'	fa'hiyung	'exclude'
yu'us	'god'	fa'yi'us	'deify'

Verbs derived with *fa'-* have antipassive forms whose meaning can be paraphrased 'make [whatever the noun names]'. See the examples in (22).

(22)

NOUN		DERIVED VERB (ANTIPASSIVE REALIS)	
anibat	'honey'	mama'anibat	'make honey'
difirensia	'difference'	mama'difirensia	'make a difference'
goha	'fan'	mama'goha	'make a fan'
potu	'rice cake'	mama'potu	'make rice cake'
tali	'rope'	mama'tali	'make rope'

In addition to these uses of *fa'-*, which occur frequently and may be productive, Chamorro has two other morphemes pronounced /faʔ/. (See Safford 1904: 111-112 for an early discussion.) First, a few transitive verbs appear to consist of *fa'-* plus an adjective; see (23). Historically, these verbs may have once been derived by an earlier version of the word formation process illustrated above, but they are probably unanalyzable today.

(23)

ADJECTIVE		TRANSITIVE VERB	
båba	'bad'	fa'baba	'deceive'
la'mun	'responsible'	fa'la'mun	'take for oneself'
måolik	'good'	fa'måolik	'fix, repair'
sahngi	'strange'	fa'sahngi	'segregate, detach'

Second, Chamorro has a transitive verb *fa'* 'pretend' that is phonologically dependent. This verb has two arguments: a noun phrase argument that names the pretender and an embedded clause argument that names what is pretended. Because *fa'* is unstressed, it must lean to its right, on material in the embedded clause, to form a phonological word (see Chung 2017). The embedded clause is enclosed in brackets in the sentences in (24).

(24)a.   Ha fa'   [gof   måolik gui'   na tåotåo].
         AGR pretend very   good   he   L   person
         'He pretended to be (lit. that he was) a very good person.' (CD,
         entry for *fa'*)
    b.   In fa'   [in tingu' i   ti   un tungu'].
         AGR pretend AGR know   the not AGR know
         'We (excl.) pretend we (excl.) know what you don't know.' (from a
         conference presentation)

Unsurprisingly, *fa'* 'pretend' has an antipassive form, illustrated in (25).

(25)   Adahi na   un fama'   [i dikiki' na påtgun gi
         careful COMP   AGR ANTIP.pretend   the small   L   child   LCL
         iskuela].
         school
         'Don't act childlike (lit. careful lest you pretend to be the small
         child) at school.' (CD, entry for *fama'*)

The transitive verb *fa'* 'pretend' and the prefix *fa'-* co-occur in the sentence
in (26).

(26)   Fama'   [tåotåo] ya   un mafa'tåotåo.
         AGR.ANTIP.pretend   person and.then   AGR PASS.treat.as.person
         'Act like a man and you'll be treated like one.' (CD, entry for
         fama')

    Obviously, the verb *fa'* 'pretend' and the prefix *fa'-* 'change into' have
different meanings. Another difference: the verb *fa'* can be immediately fol-
lowed by agreement (as in (24b)) or the definite article (as in (25)), but the
prefix *fa'-* must be attached to a noun or adjective.

28.4.3 *há-*
The stressed prefix *há-* combines with an adjective or intransitive verb that
describes a state to produce a derived adjective that includes the meaning
'usually, typically, easily'. Some examples are cited in (27).

(27)   ADJECTIVE / VERB   DERIVED ADJECTIVE
    a.   abak   'lost'   há'abak   'usually lost'
        bubu   'angry'   hábubu   'easily angered'
        guha   'having   háguha   'asthmatic'
                   asthma'

	malångu	'sick'	hámalangu	'sickly'
b.	falågu	'run (irrealis)'	háfalagu	'tending to run away'
	guinafi	'angered (passive)'	háguinafi	'excitable, easily angered'
	maleffa	'forget'	hámaleffa	'forgetful'
	mañienti	'feel (antipassive)'	hámanienti	'sensitive, touchy'

It is unclear to what extent this process is productive.

28.4.4   -in-

The Chamorro infix -in- has several different uses. It is used to form passive verbs (see 10.2.1); in addition, it can appear in certain types of nominalized verbs or adjectives (see 22.4.1 and 28.6). In all its uses, -in- activates umlaut: the vowel of the immediately following syllable is realized as front (see 30.2).

In the use described here, -in- turns a noun that names a type of clothing or jewelry into an intransitive verb that means 'wear [that type of clothing or jewelry]'. Some examples of intransitive verbs derived by attaching -in- to a noun are cited in (28).

(28)	NOUN		DERIVED VERB	
	alitus	'earring'	inalitus	'wear earrings'
	katsunis	'pants'	kinatsunis	'wear pants'
	magågu	'clothes'	minagågu	'wear clothes'
	mestisa	'formal blouse'	minestisa	'wear formal blouse'
	såku	'suit'	sinaku	'wear a suit'
	sapåtus	'shoes'	sinapåtus	'wear shoes'
	tuhung	'hat'	tinihung	'wear a hat'

This process may be productive. Occasionally it applies to a noun followed by an adjective modifier, as in (29).

(29)	NOUN		DERIVED VERB	
	magågun agaga'	'red clothes'	minagågun agaga'	'wear red clothes'
	sapåtus lokka'	'high heels'	sinapåtus lokka'	'wear high heels'

In a related use, *-in-* can turn a noun that names a means of transportation into an intransitive verb that means 'use [that means of transportation]'.

(30) | NOUN | | DERIVED VERB | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| bisikleta | 'bicycle' | binisikleta | 'ride a bicycle' |
| botosaikut | 'motorcycle' | binotosaikut | 'ride a motorcycle' |

28.4.5 *man-/fan-*

The prefix *man-* and its irrealis form *fan-* have several different uses. They are among the affixes used by intransitive verbs and adjectives to show agreement with the subject (see 2.2.2.2). Separately from this, they can be used to form antipassive verbs (see 10.3.1). In all their uses, the derived words formed from them exhibit some version of the alternation known as nasal substitution (see 30.4).

In the use described here, *man-/fan-* turns a noun into an intransitive verb that means 'evolve, undergo development of [whatever the noun names]'. The derived verb is an *m/f* predicate (see 2.2.3.1) that selects one argument, which is typically nonagentive. Some examples are cited in (31).

(31) | NOUN | | DERIVED VERB (REALIS) | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| chåda' | 'egg' | mañåda' | 'lay eggs' |
| chetnut | 'wound, sore' | mañetnut | 'become infected' |
| chugu' | 'sap, semen' | mañugu' | 'ooze, ejaculate' |
| floris | 'flower' | mamfloris | 'bloom' |
| håli' | 'root' | manhåli' | 'sprout roots' |

The word formation process illustrated in (31) seems to be unproductive. See 30.4.2 on nasal substitution in these derived verbs and how it interacts with reduplication for the progressive aspect.

28.4.6 *mí-*

The stressed prefix *mí-* turns a noun into a derived adjective that means 'having lots of, full of [whatever the noun names]'. This prefix optionally activates umlaut (see 30.2): when the initial syllable of the original noun bears primary stress, the vowel of that syllable can be realized as a front vowel. The use of *mí-* to form derived adjectives is productive. See (32) for some examples.

(32) | NOUN | | DERIVED ADJECTIVE | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| åtchu' | 'rock' | mí'atchu' | 'rocky' |
| guinaha | 'wealth' | míguinaha | 'wealthy' |

hutu	'louse'	míhitu	'infested with lice'
kulót	'color'	míkulot	'colorful'
pulu	'feather, hair'	mípilu	'hairy'
títanus	'brain'	mítitanus	'full-brained, wise'

28.4.7 *mina'-*

The prefix *mina'-* is used to create ordinal numerals from cardinal numerals such as *dos* 'two' and higher numerals. (The ordinal numeral corresponding to *unu* 'one' is *finéne'na* 'first'.)

(33)	CARDINAL NUMERAL		ORDINAL NUMERAL	
	dos	'two'	mina'dos	'second'
	tressi	'thirteen'	mina'tressi	'thirteenth'
	benti sais	'twenty-six'	mina'benti sais	'twenty-sixth'
	kuarenta	'forty'	mina'kuarenta	'fortieth'

28.4.8 *-un*

The suffix *-un* (realized as *-yun* after a vowel) turns transitive verbs into derived adjectives that include the meaning 'capable of being, able to be'. This process, which may be productive, is illustrated in (34).

(34)	VERB		DERIVED ADJECTIVE	
	åmti	'cure'	amtiyun	'curable'
	honggi	'believe'	honggiyun	'believable'
	kadidak	'tickle'	kadidakun	'ticklish'
	li'i'	'see'	li'e'un	'visible'
	rispeta	'respect'	rispetåyun	'respectable'
	tuna	'praise'	tunåyun	'praiseworthy'
	tungu'	'know'	tungu'un	'comprehensible'

28.4.9 Conversion

Chamorro has various types of conversion—word formation processes that turn a word from one part of speech into another part of speech without affixes or other morphology. Some productive types of conversion were discussed in 27.4. Two further types of conversion are mentioned here.

First, conversion can turn a noun that names a thing or location into a derived intransitive verb that describes the activity typically associated with that thing or location. See (35).

(35) | WORD | AS NOUN | AS DERIVED VERB |
|---|---|---|
| bola | 'ball' | 'play ball' |
| chupa | 'tobacco, cigarette' | 'smoke a cigarette' |
| dåma | 'checkers' | 'play checkers' |
| guålu' | 'farm' | 'farm, till soil' |
| halumtånu' | 'woods, jungle' | 'go into the jungle, hunt' |
| tres sietti | 'Chamorro card game' | 'play *tres sietti*' |

This type of conversion may be productive.

Second, conversion turns certain local nouns (see 5.3) into derived intransitive verbs. Some of these derived verbs are motion verbs (see (36a)); others are location verbs (36b). Apparently, not all local nouns can undergo this process.

(36) | | WORD | AS LOCAL NOUN | AS DERIVED VERB |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | éntalu' | 'between' | 'meddle, interfere' |
| | hålum | 'inside' | 'go in, enter' |
| | huyung | 'outside' | 'go out, emerge' |
| b. | mo'na | 'front, ahead' | 'be in front' |
| | tåtti | 'back, behind' | 'be in back' |

Note that the verb *mo'na* 'be in front' is an *m/f* predicate (see 2.2.3.1).

28.5   Word formation for local and directional nouns

Chamorro has affixes that are attached only to local and/or directional nouns (see 5.3 and 5.4). These affixes are the prefix *san-*, the stressed prefixes *gé'-*, *hát-*, and *ták-*, and the combination of the prefix *ya-* plus reduplication to indicate degree.

The prefix *san-* is attached to a local or directional noun to create a derived noun that has essentially the same meaning as the original noun, but does not require a possessor. (Local nouns generally require a possessor; see 5.3.) This prefix activates umlaut. The word formation process illustrated in (37) is completely regular, and the derived nouns are used very frequently.

(37) | NOUN | | DERIVED NOUN | |
|---|---|---|---|
| huyung | 'outside' | sanhiyung | 'outside' |
| luchan | 'south (CNMI), west (Guam)' | sanlichan | 'south (CNMI),' west (Guam)' |

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| mo'na | 'front' | sanme'na | 'front' |
| påpa' | 'bottom' | sanpapa' | 'bottom' |

Topping and Dungca (1973: 184) refer to *san-* and the other affixes listed just above as directional prefixes. Safford (1905: 306) suggests that derived words formed with *san-* are adverbs; however, these words have the form and distribution of nouns.

The other affixes have meanings that involve comparison in one way or another. Specifically:

The stressed prefixes *gé'-* or *hát-* can turn a local or directional noun into a derived intransitive verb that means 'go further [in that direction]'. These prefixes activate umlaut. Note that when *hát-* is immediately followed by /h/ or /l/, these consonants assimilate to /t/.

(38) NOUN   DERIVED VERB

hålum	'inside'	háttalum	'go in further'
hulu'	'top'	gé'hilu'	'move higher'
mo'na	'front'	hátfe'na	'move forward'
lågu	'west (CNMI), north (Guam)'	háttagu	'move further west (CNMI) or north (Guam)'

The stressed prefix *ták-* can be attached to a local or directional noun to create a derived adjective whose meaning can involve degree. This prefix activates umlaut. Most likely, the word formation process involved here is no longer active.

(39) NOUN   DERIVED ADJECTIVE

hålum	'inside'	tákkalum	'deep inside'
hulu'	'top'	tákkilu'	'high, eminent'
huyung	'outside'	tákkiyung	'slightly outside'
påpa'	'bottom'	tákpapa'	'low, lacking'

The combination of the prefix *ya-* plus reduplication to indicate degree (see 25.2) can turn a local noun, a directional noun, or the directional adverb *guatu* 'to there (away from speaker and addressee)' into a noun that names the location that is the farthest in that direction.

(40) NOUN / ADVERB   DERIVED NOUN

| guatu | 'to there' | yaguátutu | 'the farthest away' |
| hålum | 'inside' | yahålulum | 'the farthest inside' |

| huyung | 'outside' | yahúyuyung | 'the farthest outside' |
| kåttan | 'north (CNMI), east (Guam)' | yakåttatan | 'the farthest north (CNMI) or east (Guam)' |

28.6   Event nominalizations

Chamorro has nominalized forms of predicates—derived nouns that have essentially the same meaning as the original verb or adjective from which they were created. These derived nouns have various uses. In one use, they serve to realize wh-agreement with a displaced constituent that is not the subject (see 22.4.1, 23.4.1, and 24.3.1). In another use, discussed here, they serve as the head noun of a type of noun phrase that can be called an *event nominalization*. 28.6.1 deals with the form of nominalized predicates, and 28.6.2, with the structure and function of event nominalizations.

28.6.1   Form
The nominalized form of a predicate has essentially the same meaning as the original verb or adjective from which it was created. These derived nouns exhibit the infix *-in-* in some contexts (see below), but are associated with no special morphology in other contexts. Perhaps a more telling characteristic is that the subject of the original verb or adjective is realized as the possessor of the nominalized predicate. Consequently, the nominalized predicate either shows possessor agreement or else is marked with the post-head form of the linker (see 7.1). If the nominalized predicate was created from a transitive verb, its direct object appears in the oblique case (see 5.1.2.2).

The process that creates nominalized predicates is general and regular. Transitive verbs, including causatives and most types of applicatives, have nominalized forms; so do passive verbs, antipassive verbs, other intransitive verbs, and adjectives. Nominalized passive verbs use the passive prefix *ma-* (see 10.2.1). Nominalized antipassive verbs realize the antipassive prefix as *man-* (see 10.3.1). Other nominalized *m/f* predicates generally have /f/ as their initial consonant (see 2.2.3.1). A few types of verbs evidently have no nominalized form; e.g. verbs of possession (14.3), transitive verbs with the marking of nouns (14.4), and most applicative verbs created from intransitive verbs or adjectives (11.2.1).

The infix *-in-* that is attached to some nominalized predicates has a slightly different distribution in event nominalizations than in wh-agreement.

The differences are minor; it is unclear what is responsible for them.[3] The details of *-in-*'s appearance in wh-agreement are described in 22.4.1. The situation with respect to event nominalizations is as follows:

The infix *-in-* is attached to nominalized predicates derived from transitive verbs. In this and all its other uses, *-in-* activates umlaut: the vowel of the immediately following syllable is realized as a front vowel (see 30.2). See (41) for some examples of event nominalizations formed from transitive verbs.

(41) a. i hiningok-ña nu guåhu
    the NMLZ.hear-AGR OBL me
    'his hearing me'
  b. i tinituhun i tiempun para manånum
    the NMLZ.begin.L the time.L for AGR.ANTIP.plant
    'the beginning of planting season' (CD, entry for *tiempu*)

In addition, *-in-* is generally attached to nominalized predicates derived from intransitive motion verbs (as in (42a-b)), and often, but not always, attached to nominalized adjectives (42c-e). Lexical idiosyncrasy may play a role in the presence vs. absence of *-in-* in these contexts.

(42) a. i finatton-ña mågi Luta
    the NMLZ.arrive-AGR to.here Luta
    'his trip here to Luta' (CD, entry for *na'chilung*)
  b. i hinanåo-mu guatu Hapon
    the NMLZ.go-AGR to.there Japan
    'your trip to Japan' (CD, entry for *chilung*)
  c. i linihån-ña si Pedro
    the NMLZ.afraid-AGR UNM Pedro
    'Pedro's fear' (CD, entry for *gencha'*)
  d. put mahalång-ña gi as tatå-ña
    because NMLZ.lonely.for-AGR LCL father-AGR
    'because of her feeling lonely for her father' (CD, entry for *apuråo*)

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[3] For instance, *-in-* is not attached to nominalized transitive verbs that realize wh-agreement with a displaced oblique (see 2.2.4.1). Apparently, no corresponding form is used in event nominalizations. When a nominalized intransitive verb or adjective of type (42) realizes wh-agreement with a displaced oblique, *-in-* is optional, although here too, some lexical idiosyncrasy is involved.

e. ni minahalång-ña   i   asaguå-ña   as Pedro
    OBL NMLZ.lonely.for-AGR the spouse-AGR OBL Pedro
    'by his [i.e. Juan's] wife's feeling lonely for Pedro'

Other types of nominalized verbs show no special morphology; see (43).

(43)a. i   kuentos-ña
        the NMLZ.speak-AGR
        'his speaking' (CD, entry for *tái uttimu*)
    b. maigo'-hu
        NMLZ.sleep-AGR
        'my sleep' (CD, entry for *paspas*)
    c. chalik-ñiha   i   taotåo siha
        NMLZ.laugh-AGR the person PL
        'people's laughter' (CD, entry for *chålik*)
    d. i   ma'arimåtan   i   kampåna
        the NMLZ.PASS.ring.L   the bell
        'the ringing (lit. being rung) of the (last church) bell' (CD, entry for *ma'arimåta*)

Note finally that some speakers allow the infix *-um-* to appear in certain nominalized intransitive verbs instead of *-in-* or no special marking.

(44)a. i   humuyong-ña   si   Pedro gi gima'
        the NMLZ.go.out-AGR   UNM   Pedro LCL house
        'Pedro's going out of the house' (CD, entry for *kåttan*)
    b. chumeflålam-mu
        NMLZ.whistle-AGR.PROG
        'your whistling'
    c. i   dumanña'-ñiha   i   dos tåotåo
        the NMLZ.be.together-AGR   the two people
        'the couple's living together' (CD, entry for *ginitus finihu*)

This pattern is mysterious. One might think initially that *-um-* in (44) could be the infix that realizes realis agreement with a singular or dual subject. And indeed, *-um-* seems to appear only when the possessor of the nominalized predicate is singular (as in (44a-b)) or dual (44c). On the other hand, nominalized intransitive verbs do not show the plural agreement prefix *man-* or *fan-* in event nominalizations, even when their possessor is plural (see (43c)). This suggests that *-um-* in (44) is not a realization of agreement, but instead has some other function.

28.6.2   Structure and distribution

Event nominalizations are noun phrases that describe the event (or state) named by the nominalized predicate, which serves as their head noun. These nominalizations clearly are noun phrases, as can be seen from the following.

(i) Like other noun phrases, an event nominalization often begins with an article: usually the definite article *i*, but occasionally the indefinite singular article *un* or the null indefinite article. This can be seen from the event nominalizations below, which are enclosed in brackets.

(45)a.   Guiya   esti na   istoria   i   istorian [i   hinanåo-hu   para
         it   *this L*   *story*   *the*   *story.L*   *the*   *NMLZ.go-AGR*   *to*
         Hapon].
         Japan
         'This story is the story of my trip to Japan.' (from a tape-recorded narrative)
   b.   Gi [un humuyong-ña   huyung],   ha hunguk
        LCL a   *NMLZ.go.out-AGR*   *outside*   *AGR hear*
        umu'ugung   tåotåo.
        AGR.moan.PROG *person*
        'In one of her venturings outside, she heard a man moaning.' (EM 98)

(ii) Like other noun phrases, an event nominalization can be marked for case. The event nominalizations in (45) are in the unmarked case (45a) and the local case (45b); the event nominalization in (46) is in the oblique case.

(46)   Hinengngang   ni [macho'men-ña   ni hanum].
         AGR.PASS.startle *OBL NMLZ.PASS.splash-AGR*   *OBL water*
         'He was startled by being splashed by the water.' (Cooreman 1983: 170)

(iii) Like other noun phrases, an event nominalization can be the object of a preposition. An event nominalization serves as the object of *put* 'because, so that' in (42d), and as the object of *ginin* 'from' in (47).

(47)   Ginin   [i   luklolok-ña]   na   åppan   i   hanum.
         from   *the NMLZ.boil-AGR.PROG COMP*   *AGR.dry.up*   *the water*
         'It's from its boiling that the water evaporated.'

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(iv) Like other noun phrases, an event nominalization can appear at the left edge of the clause. The sentence in (48) begins with an event nominalization that is used to specify a location in time.

(48)   [I   minanghang-ña   si   Susan] esta   poddung   gi
         the NMLZ.startled-AGR   UNM   Susan   already AGR.fall   LCL
         gua'ut.
         stairs
         'In her sudden fright, Susan fell off the stairs.' (CD, entry for *manghang*)

Event nominalizations have much of the structure of clauses. They include the nominalized predicate as well as its arguments and adjuncts, as is evident from the examples cited earlier. The nominalized predicate has many characteristics of the predicate of a clause: it can occur in the progressive aspect (see (47) and (49a)), and it can be passive (as in (46)) or antipassive (as in the second nominalization in (49b)).

(49)a.   Ginin   [inalulan-måmami],   esta   umalachi   yori'-måmi.
        from   NMLZ.hurry-AGR.PROG   already AGR.mix.up zori-AGR
        'In our (excl.) hurry, we (excl.) even mixed up each other's zoris.' (CD, entry for *álachi*)
    b.   Ta   silelebra   esti na   guput   put   [i
        AGR celebrate.PROG   this L   party   because the
        hinemlo'-hu]   yan   [i   manggannåk-ku   gi gera].
        NMLZ.healed-AGR   and   the NMLZ.ANTIP.win-AGR LCL war
        'We (incl.) are celebrating this party because of my being cured and my winning the war.' (Cooreman 1983: 71)

Nonetheless, event nominalizations do not have the full structure of clauses. A search of the CD database suggests that the nominalized predicate cannot be preceded by a TAM or sentential negation. That in turn suggests that event nominalizations might include the equivalent of a verb phrase or other predicate phrase, but no higher clausal structure. If so, they would be similar to, say, gerunds in English. This is an area where further research is needed.

28.7   Nicknames

Nicknames are a distinctive feature of the Chamorro language—one that is documented in Topping, Ogo, and Dungca's (1975) dictionary and in the CD

database. Chamorro has a number of strategies for creating nicknames from given names. Although it is not predictable which strategies are applied to which given names, more can be said about the form of the typical nickname produced.

Almost all nicknames are monosyllabic or disyllabic (i.e. they consist of just one or two syllables). The final syllable of the nickname is usually closed by a consonant—often by glottal stop (/ʔ/) or the velar nasal (/ŋ/). These tendencies are in force even when the nickname and the corresponding given name are not phonologically related, as in (50).

(50)   NAME   NICKNAME
        Jesus   Umbai', Bai'
        Juan   Iku
        Rosa   Chai'

More often, the nickname is phonologically related to the given name. For instance, a monosyllabic nickname can be the same as, or similar to, to the stressed syllable of the given name, as (51) shows.

(51)   NAME   NICKNAME
        Joaquin   Kin
        Antonio   Ton, Tong
        Isabel   Bek
        Rita   Rit
        Ramon   Bo

A monosyllabic nickname can begin with a consonant that is the same as, or similar to, to a consonant of the given name—typically, a consonant in the onset of the last syllable of the given name, as in (52).

(52)   NAME   NICKNAME
        Leonardo   Ding
        Dolores   Ling
        Pedro   Dung
        Francisca   Kai'
        Josepha   Pai'

A disyllabic nickname can be the same as, or similar to, to the last two syllables of the given name. In such cases, the given name typically has primary stress on the penultimate (next-to-last) syllable, as in (53).

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(53) NAME   NICKNAME
      Andersina   Sina
      Bernadita   Dita
      Estefania   Nia'
      Antonia   Tona'
      Cornelio   Ellu'
      Ignacia   Acha'
      Ignacio   Achu'
      Susana   Chana'
      Rosario   Chåru'
      Faustino   Tinung
      Cecilia   Chilang
      Lucia   Chian, Chiang

A disyllabic nickname can also consist of a stressed syllable that is the same as, or similar to, the stressed syllable of the given name, followed by an apparently unrelated syllable, as in (54).

(54) NAME   NICKNAME
      Joaquin   Kindu'
      Carmen   Ammi'
      Barbara   Baran

A disyllabic nickname can be the same as, or similar to, the first two syllables of the given name. It can also consist of an initial syllable similar to the first syllable of the given name, followed by an apparently unrelated syllable. Both possibilities are illustrated in (55).

(55) NAME   NICKNAME
      Escolastica   Esko
      Bernadita   Benit
      Anicia   Anning
      Antonio   Antung
      Manuel   Manning

Finally, some disyllabic nicknames may involve reduplication of a consonant that is the same as, or similar to, a consonant of the given name—typically, a consonant in the onset of the given name's last syllable.

(56) NAME   NICKNAME
      Pedro   Dudung
      Francisca   Kika'
      Francisco   Kiku'
      Jacinto   Titu
      Oliva   Biban, Bibang
      Teresa   Checha'

Generally speaking, nicknames created via these strategies are derived from given names borrowed from Spanish. A few nicknames are also associated with given names borrowed from English, as in (57). It is unclear whether the relation between the nickname and the given name in such cases is direct or indirect, since *Bek*, *Kai'* and *Anning* are also nicknames for (respectively) *Isabel* (see (51)), *Francisca* (52), and *Anicia* (55).

(57) NAME   NICKNAME
      Elizabeth   Bek
      Frances   Kai'
      Agnes   Anning

This brief overview does not do justice to the intricacies of Chamorro nicknames. Here too, further research is needed.

29

SOUNDS AND SPELLING

This chapter describes the distinctive sounds of Chamorro, their organization into syllables, and stress. It also describes the two official spelling systems of the Mariana Islands: the CNMI's 'one sound, one symbol' orthography and Guam's 'one word, one spelling' orthography.

29.1   Distinctive sounds

The Chamorro language has twenty-six distinctive sounds (phonemes): six vowels and twenty consonants. These sounds are described below.

A word on notation: Sounds are represented using symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Distinctive sounds are represented inside slashes (/ /); their pronunciation (phonetic realization) is represented inside square brackets ([ ]). When syllable structure or stress is relevant, syllables are separated from one another with a period, and primary stress is marked with ' immediately before the stressed syllable. The question of how sounds are spelled in the official orthographies is taken up in 29.2 and 29.6.

29.1.1   Vowels
The six vowels of Chamorro contrast in height and backness. There are two high vowels, two mid vowels, and two low vowels. The back vowels are round; the front vowels are not round. These sounds are represented by IPA symbols and arranged by height and backness in (1) below.[1]

(1)   CHAMORRO VOWELS

	Front	Back
High	/i/	/u/
Mid	/e/	/o/
Low	/a/	/ɒ/

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[1] As mentioned earlier, symbols inside slashes represent distinctive sounds (phonemes); symbols inside square brackets represent sounds as they are pronounced (phones). When a Chamorro word is not inside slashes or square brackets, it is spelled in the CNMI orthography. (Some words are also spelled in the Guam orthography in 29.6.2 and 29.6.3.)

See 29.2 on how these sounds are spelled.

The two low vowels, /a/ and /ɒ/, contrast in some environments but not others. Only the low back vowel /ɒ/ occurs in stressed syllables that end in /w/ (e.g. /mɒwlik/ 'good'); only the low front vowel /a/ occurs in stressed syllables that end in /j/ (e.g. /majlaʔ/ 'come (over)!'). Otherwise, the two low vowels are distinguished from each other in syllables that bear primary stress (= are the loudest syllable of the word). Compare /'bɒba/ 'bad' with /'baba/ 'open', and /'ɒntis/ 'before' with /'anti/ 'spirit'. Under secondary stress, the two low vowels usually merge to /a/. When unstressed, they merge to a low vowel whose backness and rounding are determined by the adjacent sounds. The merged low vowel is represented here as /a/; its pronunciation when unstressed is represented as [ɑ].

In the Rota dialect, the two low vowels have merged, or are undergoing merger, even under primary stress. Most Chamorro words that have /ɒ/ in the other dialects (e.g. /pɒʔgu/ 'now', /tɒtti/ 'back', /ɒɲus/ 'years') have /a/ in Rota (e.g. /paʔgu/, /tati/, /aɲus/). However, /ɒ/ is retained in some words in Rota (e.g. /papɒdza/ 'papaya', /hɒfa/ 'what?'), in a way that varies across speakers, is apparently not predictable, and could conceivably be due to contact with the other dialects. This variation reveals that the merger of /ɒ/ and /a/ is not yet complete.

The low back vowel is pronounced more back and more round in Saipan ([ɒ]) than in Guam ([ɑ]). The low front vowel is pronounced farther front in Guam and Rota ([æ]) than in Saipan ([a]). Consistent with this, Topping and Dungca's (1973: 18-19) phonemic representations of the low vowels are /æ/ for the low front vowel and /a/ for the low back vowel.

The mid vowels /e, o/ and the high vowels /i, u/ are pronounced lower (lax) when they occur in syllables that end in a consonant that is not glottal stop or /h/. Compare the phonemic representations of the vowels in (2) with their pronunciations:

(2) PHONEMIC
     REPRESENTATION   PRONUNCIATION
     /gwesgwis/   [gwɛsgwɪs]   'scrub'
     /oppi/   [ɔppi]   'answer'
     /mapput/   [mappʊt]   'hard, complicated'
     /poʔlu/   [poʔlu]   'put'
     /neni/   [neni]   'baby'

There will be more to say about the mid and high vowels in 29.5.

Vowels are pronounced long when they occur in open syllables that bear primary stress and are the next-to-last (penultimate) syllable in the word. So

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/ˈtitik/ 'tear' and /aˈsagwa/ 'spouse' are pronounced [ˈtiːtɪk] and [ɑˈsaːgwɑ]. When the stressed syllable is not penultimate, lengthening does not occur (or does not occur to the same extent); so /ˈpikaru/ 'rascally, tricky', /ˈmamaʔti/ 'reef', and /kaˈfe/ 'coffee' are pronounced [ˈpikɑru], [ˈmamɑʔti], and [kɑˈfe]. Note that in the progressive aspect (see 2.2.1.1.1), the vowel of the reduplicated CV—which bears primary stress—is pronounced short even when it is penultimate; e.g. /kimaˈsoson/ 'burn (progressive)' is pronounced [kimaʼsɔsɔn].

Finally, in Rota but not in the other dialects, a vowel at the end of a sentence—more precisely, at the end of an intonational phrase—can be pronounced voiceless. (Vowel lenition is a property of word-final or phrase-final vowels in a number of Micronesian languages; see Rehg 1993.)

29.1.2   Consonants

The twenty consonants of Chamorro include seven stops, two affricates, three fricatives, four nasals, two liquids, and two glides. Except for glottal stop, the stops and affricates come in pairs that contrast in voicing. The consonants are represented by IPA symbols, and arranged according to place and manner of articulation, in the chart below.

(3)   CHAMORRO CONSONANTS

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops					
vceless	/p/	/t/		/k/	/ʔ/
vced	/b/	/d/		/g/	
Affricates					
vceless		/ts/			
vced		/dz/			
Fricatives	/f/	/s/			/h/
Nasals	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/	/ŋ/	
Liquids		/l/, /ɾ/			
Glides	/w/		/j/		

The liquid /ɾ/ occurs only in borrowed words. The glides /w/ and /j/ occur in indigenous words only after a low vowel or (very rarely) after /o/ (e.g. /haˈgoj/ 'lake'); they have a wider distribution in borrowed words. Some reasons for analyzing the glides as consonants (approximants) rather than parts of complex vowels (diphthongs) are given in 29.3.2.

The affricates /ts/ and /dz/ are often pronounced as alveopalatal [tʃ] and [dʒ] before a mid or high front vowel. This palatalization is frequent in Saipan, but occurs less often in Guam. Glottal stop and /h/ often assimilate

to an adjacent consonant; e.g. /ˈeʔkuŋuk/ 'listen to', /paˈlɒwʔan/ 'woman', and /minakˈkathu/ 'my weight' are typically pronounced [ˈekkuŋUk], [pɑˈlɒwwɑn], and [minɑˈkattu]. Otherwise, glottal stop is pronounced when it occurs right after a stressed vowel, but often unpronounced elsewhere; /h/ can be unpronounced wherever it occurs.

29.2   Spelling: basics

The Chamorro language has two official orthographies: one adopted in Guam in 1983 and most recently updated and revised in 2019, and another adopted in the CNMI in 2010. These orthographies differ subtly but significantly: they use the same letters, but deploy them differently in the spelling of words. The two orthographies coexist with a much older, less standardized spelling that was introduced by the Spanish missionaries.[2] Chamorro speakers, language learners, linguists, and others who read material written in or about the Chamorro language will inevitably encounter all three types of spelling, so it is important to understand how each works and to be able to distinguish them from one another. This chapter focuses on the two official orthographies (henceforth called the CNMI orthography and the Guam orthography). Occasionally, features of the older, less standardized spelling are pointed out as well.

   As just mentioned, the CNMI orthography and the Guam orthography use the same letters. The vowels are spelled as shown in (4). The low back vowel /ɒ/ is spelled with a ring (*lonnat*) over the letter *a*; the other vowels are spelled with the symbols used in IPA. The merged low vowel has the same spelling as the low front vowel.

(4)   THE SPELLING OF CHAMORRO VOWELS

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low	a	å

(In the older, less standardized spelling, the two low vowels are not differentiated; both are spelled with the letter *a*. Nonlow vowels in the final syllable of a word are generally spelled *e* or *o*.)

   The consonants are spelled as shown in (5).

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[2] The older, less standardized spelling is used by e.g. Safford (1903; 1904; 1905) and Sanchez (2009), and found occasionally in newspaper articles.

(5)　　THE SPELLING OF CHAMORRO CONSONANTS

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops					
vceless	p	t		k	ʼ
vced	b	d		g	
Affricates					
vceless			ch		
vced			y		
Fricatives	f	s			h
Nasals	m	n	ñ	ng	
Liquids		l, r			
Glides	u/o		i		

This spelling includes some conventions found in other modern orthographies of Austronesian languages: glottal stop is spelled with an apostrophe (*glota*), and the velar nasal /ŋ/ is spelled *ng*. Other conventions are legacies from the Spanish period. For instance, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is spelled with a tilde over *n*. The glides are spelled with vowel symbols: /j/ is spelled *i*, and /w/ is spelled *o* (after a low vowel) or *u* (otherwise). The voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/ is spelled *ch*, and—strikingly—the voiced alveolar affricate /dz/ is spelled *y*. Otherwise, the consonants are spelled roughly as in IPA, except that the tap /ɾ/ is spelled *r*.

(In the older, less standardized spelling, glottal stop is sometimes not represented and other times represented by an accent on (the letter for) the preceding vowel. In some versions of this spelling, the voiceless velar stop /k/ is spelled *g* at the end of a word, and *c* elsewhere. The velar nasal is spelled *ñg*; note the tilde.[3] Occasionally, the apostrophe is used as a diacritic to separate adjacent vowels, to indicate stress, or for less clear purposes.)

Some examples of words that are spelled the same in the CNMI orthography and the Guam orthography are given below. (The hyphen is used in these orthographies to separate a possessor agreement suffix from the word it is attached to; see 7.1.1.)

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[3] The older spelling's representation of the velar nasal /ŋ/ as *ñg* succeeds in uniquely identifying this sound, since in Chamorro the palatal nasal /ɲ/ (spelled *ñ*) never occurs just before the voiced velar stop (spelled *g*). In this one respect, the older spelling could be viewed as preferable to the two official orthographies, which have no good way to distinguish an /n/ followed /g/ from both /ŋ/ (spelled *ng*) and /ŋg/ (spelled *ngg*). See the discussion later in the text.

(6)   PHONEMIC   SPELLING
        REPRESENTATION   (CNMI / GUAM)
        /gumaʔ/   guma'   'house'
        /gwajdza/   guaiya   'love'
        /tupu/   tupu   'sugar cane'
        /tseʔlu/   che'lu   'sibling'
        /palɒwʔan/   palåo'an   'woman'
        /ŋɒŋaʔ/   ngånga'   'duck'
        /manŋeʔɲa/   mannge'ña   'more delicious'
        /siɲa/   siña   'can'
        /patgonɲa/   patgon-ña   'his/her child'
        /gwifi/   guifi   'dream'
        /hɒdzi/   håyi   'who?'
        /titidza/   titiya   'tortilla'
        /adzudzu/   ayuyu   'coconut crab'
        /pweɲi/   puengi   'night'
        /pɒkpak/   påkpak   'clap'

The fact that the velar nasal is spelled *ng*, and the glides are spelled with vowel symbols, has consequences for the spelling of other combinations of sounds. Specifically:

(i) The combination of the alveolar nasal /n/ followed by the voiced velar stop /g/ is spelled not *ng*, but rather *ngg*. This spelling successfully distinguishes /ng/ from the velar nasal /ŋ/, which is spelled *ng*. However, it collapses the spelling of /ng/ with the spelling of /ŋg/, as can be seen in (7).

(7)   PHONEMIC   SPELLING
        REPRESENTATION   (CNMI / GUAM)
        /mangɒnna/   manggånna   'win (antipassive realis
                                                    sg./du.)'
                                                    (= /man-/ + /gɒnna/)
        /maŋaniti/   manganiti   'devil'
        /mɒŋga/   mångga   'mango'

The decision to give /ng/ and /ŋg/ the same spelling has a phonological rationale. In Chamorro, a nasal assimilates in place of articulation to an immediately following stop in the same morpheme, as can be seen from /ombuʔ/ 'carry', /andiʔ/ 'flirt, show off', and /dzaŋgin/ 'if'. This nasal assimilation can also occur across morphemes, although there it is disfavored for speakers of the Saipan dialect and for some speakers of the Guam dialect. So /man-biha/ 'old women (pl.)' is pronounced [mɑnbiɑ] or [mɑmbiɑ], /man-

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gɒgaw/ 'request (antipassive realis sg./du.)' is pronounced [mɑngɒgɑw] or [mɑŋgɒgɑw], and so on. The fact that nasal assimilation is always possible makes it reasonable for /ng/ and /ŋg/ to be spelled the same (everywhere). The important point is that this spelling distinguishes both of these consonant clusters from /ŋ/.

(ii) Sequences of adjacent vowels are spelled with an intervening *h*. This *h* is a diacritic: it does not represent a sound, but merely indicates that the two vowels are in different syllables. Thus, /tsandia/ 'watermelon' and /gɾadua/ 'graduate' are spelled *chandiha* and *graduha*. The *h* makes it clear that the letters *i* and *u* in the spelling of these words do not represent glides. But it means that the letter *h* serves two functions in the orthography: it can be a diacritic or can represent the fricative /h/, as it does in /siha/ 'they', which is spelled *siha*. The ambiguity is perhaps made less serious by the fact that the fricative /h/ is often not pronounced (see 29.1.2).

As mentioned earlier, the CNMI orthography and the Guam orthography differ in how they deploy letters in the spelling of words. To appreciate the difference, one must first understand Chamorro syllable structure, stress, and their impact on how vowels are pronounced. These topics are discussed next. The differences between the two orthographies are presented in 29.6.

29.3   Syllables

29.3.1   Basics

Syllables in Chamorro are either *open* (= they end in a vowel) or *closed* (= they end in a consonant). The vowel forms the *nucleus* of the syllable, any preceding consonants form the *onset,* and any following consonant forms the *coda*. The nucleus is the only obligatory part of a syllable; the onset and the coda can be absent. In Chamorro, the onset of a syllable can be complex: it can consist of a consonant followed by a liquid or glide. The coda, if present, consists of just one consonant. To illustrate: the 3 sg. weak pronoun /gwiʔ/ 's/he' consists of a single closed syllable in which /i/ is the nucleus, /gw/ is the onset, and /ʔ/ is the coda.

The words in (8) are divided into syllables in their phonemic representation.

(8) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
     REPRESENTATION   (CNMI / GUAM)
     /gu.maʔ/   guma'   'house'
     /maj.laʔ/   maila'   'come!'
     /tseʔ.lu/   che'lu   'sibling'
     /pa.lɒw.ʔan/   palåo'an   'woman'

/du.la.lak/	dulalak	'chase'
/mɒŋ.ga/	mångga	'mango'
/man.ŋeʔ.ɲa/	mannge'ña	'more delicious'
/a.dzu.dzu/	ayuyu	'coconut crab'
/pwe.ŋi/	puengi	'night'
/pɒk.pak/	påkpak	'clap'
/plɒn.ta/	plånta	'set up, place'
/bi.ʔu.du/	bi'udu	'widower'

The voiceless stops /p, t, k/, the fricatives /f, s/, and the nasals /m, n, ŋ/ can occur freely in the onset or coda of syllables, and at the beginning or end of words. Other consonants have a more limited distribution:

Glottal stop cannot begin a word (= it cannot be the onset of a word-initial syllable). Within the root, it always follows a vowel or glide.

The fricative /h/ cannot end a word (= it cannot be the coda of a word-final syllable.)

The glides /w/ and /j/ occur in onsets only when preceded by another consonant (e.g. /pwe.ŋi/ 'night', /kwen.tus/ 'speak', /sjen.ti/ 'feel').[4] In Saipan, /j/ is often not pronounced before /e/; very occasionally, the same is also true of /w/. Thus, /sjen.ti/ 'feel', /gu.bjet.nu/ 'governor', and /bwen binidu/ 'welcome' are usually pronounced [sɛn.ti], [gu.bɛt.nu], and [bɛn bi.ni.du]. The status of glides is discussed in 29.3.2.

The liquid /ɾ/ occurs only in onsets.

The voiced stops /b, d, g/ and the liquid /l/ can occur as codas only in geminates (i.e. when the coda and the beginning of the onset of the next syllable are identical; see 29.3.3). Some examples are given in (9).

(9)	PHONEMIC	SPELLING	
	REPRESENTATION	(CNMI / GUAM)	
	/a.bab.baŋ/	ababbang	'butterfly'
	/ad.daʔ/	adda'	'mimic, imitate'
	/meg.gaj/	meggai	'many'
	/hɒl.la/	hålla	'push'

Finally, the affricates /ts, dz/ and the palatal nasal /ɲ/ cannot end a word, and generally do not occur as codas. The issue of whether they can occur in geminates is discussed in 29.3.3.3.

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[4] A glide occurs alone in the onset in a very few borrowed words, such as /wa.jaʔ/ 'wire'.

29.3.2   Glides
29.3.2.1   After a vowel
Evidence that the glides /w/ and /j/ are consonants (approximants), not part of complex vowels (diphthongs), comes from their patterning in Chamorro syllable structure. When the glides follow a vowel, they generally behave like codas rather than part of the nucleus.

For instance, consider reduplication for the progressive. In Chamorro, the progressive aspect is signaled on the predicate by a fully regular process of reduplication (see 2.2.1.1.1). The onset and nucleus of the stressed syllable are doubled, and the doubled material (called the *reduplicant*) is placed just to the left of the original syllable. The reduplicant forms an open syllable that bears primary stress; the original syllable bears secondary stress. If the original syllable had no onset, a glottal stop separates it from the reduplicant. Some examples of predicates and their progressive (reduplicated) forms are given below.[5] (Note that primary stress is represented in these forms, but secondary stress is not.)

(10)   PREDICATE   PROGRESSIVE
       /'gu.pu/   'fly'   /'gu.gu.pu/
       /bi.'si.ta/   'visit'   /bi.'si.si.ta/
       /'dɒŋ.ku.lu/   'big'   /'dɒ.daŋ.ku.lu/
       /'eŋ.ŋu.luʔ/   'peek'   /'e. ʔeŋ.ŋu.luʔ/
       /'at.tuk/   'hide'   /'a.ʔat.tuk/
       /'ben.di/   'sell'   /'be.ben.di/
       /ma.'tsoʔ.tsuʔ/   'work'   /ma.'tso.tsoʔ.tsuʔ/

Note that reduplication doubles the onset and nucleus of the stressed syllable, but not the coda.

When the vowel of the stressed syllable is followed by a glide, reduplication doubles the vowel but not the glide. (The significance of this fact for the analysis of glides is noted by Topping and Dungca 1973: 25.)

(11)   PREDICATE   PROGRESSIVE
       /'taj.taj/   'read'   /'ta.taj.taj/
       /'gwaj.dza/   'love'   /'gwa.gwaj.dza/
       /'sɒw.naw/   'participate'   /'sɒ.saw.naw/

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[5] As described earlier (in 29.1.1), the two low vowels contrast under primary stress but merge to the low front vowel under secondary stress. This is why the second vowel of /'gɒ.gas.gas/ 'clean (progressive)' is a low front vowel; it bears secondary stress in the reduplicated form.

/ˈmɒw.lik/	'good'	/ˈmɒ.maw.lik/
/a.tra.ˈsɒw/	'late'	/a.tra.ˈsɒ.saw/

This pattern reveals that the glide is not part of a complex vowel in the nucleus of the stressed syllable. Instead, it occurs in the coda, as a consonant.

Next, consider the morphophonemic rule of gemination (see 30.3). This process affects five Chamorro suffixes with the shape -CV: the possessor agreement suffixes *-hu* '1 sg.', *-mu* '2 sg.', *-ña* ' 3 sg.', *–ta* '1 incl. du./pl.' and the comparative suffix *-ña* 'more'. When these suffixes are attached to a word that ends in a vowel and the stressed syllable of the original word is closed, the C of the suffix is doubled (geminated). Exceptionally, the geminated form of the /h/ of *-hu* is /kk/. All this is illustrated in (12), which shows the suffix *-hu* attached to various words that end in a vowel.

(12)	WORD		SUFFIXED W. *-hu*
a.	/ˈkɒn.ta/	'song'	/kan.ˈtɒk.ku/
	/maj.ˈrɒs.tɾa/	'stepmother'	/maj.ɾas.ˈtɾɒk.ku/
	/pi.ˈneʔ.lu/	'assumption'	/pi.neʔ.ˈlok.ku/
	/ˈded.di.gu/	'heel'	/ded.di.ˈgok.ku/
b.	/ˈnɒ.na/	'mother'	/na.ˈnɒ.hu/
	/mat.ˈli.na/	'godmother'	/mat.li.ˈnɒ.hu/
	/ˈhi.ga.du/	'liver'	/hi.ga.ˈdu.hu/

In (12a), the stressed syllable of the original word is closed, and gemination occurs. But in (12b), this syllable is open, and there is no gemination.

When one of these -CV suffixes is attached to a word that ends in a vowel and the stressed syllable of that word *ends in a glide*, gemination occurs: the C of the suffix is doubled.[6]

(13)	WORD		SUFFIXED W. *-hu*
	/ku.ˈmaj.ɾi/	'godmother'	/ku.maj.ˈɾek.ku/
	/gwi.ˈnaj.dza/	'loving'	/gwi.naj.ˈdzak.ku/
	/ˈkɒw.sa/	'case'	/kaw.ˈsɒk.ku/

This is further evidence that the glide closes the stressed syllable: it does not form part of a complex vowel in the nucleus, but instead occurs in the coda, as a consonant.

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[6] One of the very few exceptions to this generalization is *saina* 'parent' (/ˈsaj.na/) (see 30.3). When a -CV suffix is attached this word, gemination exceptionally does not occur; e.g. *saina-hu* 'my parent'.

Glides are also consonants when they follow a vowel that is *unstressed*. The possessor agreement suffixes *-(n)måmi* '1 excl. du./pl.', *-(n)miyu* '2 du./pl.', and *-(n)ñiha* '3 du./pl.' have two forms. The form with *n* is attached to words that end in a vowel (e.g. /ˈtɒta/ 'father'); the form without *n* is used elsewhere (e.g. with /ˈgumaʔ/ 'house'). When one of these suffixes is attached to a word that ends in an unstressed vowel plus a glide, the form without *n* is used. See the last two forms cited below.

(14) WORD   SUFFIXED W. *-(n)måmi*
      /ˈtɒ.ta/   'father'   /ta.tan.ˈmɒ.mi/
      /ˈgu.maʔ/   'house'   /gu.maʔ.ˈmɒ.mi/
      /pi.ˈnek.saj/   'nurturing'   /pi.nek.saj.ˈmɒ.mi/
      /ˈtɒw.taw/   'person'   /taw.taw.ˈmɒ.mi/

All this evidence indicates that Chamorro glides that follow a vowel are consonants.

However, two other sorts of evidence suggest that in the final syllable of the word, some instances of glides may be part of a complex vowel. First, a small number of words end in a low vowel followed by the glide /j/ plus glottal stop. These include *anai'* 'termite', a few words borrowed from Japanese (e.g. *otubái'* 'motorscooter'), and a number of nicknames, such as *Chai'* 'nickname for Rosa', *Kai'* 'nickname for Francisca', *Pai'* 'nickname for Josepha', *Umbai'* 'nickname for Jesus', and so on (see 28.7). It seems more reasonable to identify the glide here as part of a complex vowel (the diphthong *ai*) than as part of the coda, since Chamorro syllables otherwise do not have complex codas. Second, the post-head form of the linker, which attaches as a suffix to the noun, has the form *-n* when the noun ends in a vowel, but is unpronounced when the noun ends in a consonant (see 7.3.1). The linker is generally unpronounced when the noun ends in a vowel plus a glide, e.g. /ˌtaw.taw ˈLu.ta/ 'Rota person', /met.ˌkɒw ˈLu.ta/ 'Rota market'. But some speakers allow the linker to have the form *–n* when the noun ends in a stressed vowel plus a glide, e.g. *metkåon Luta* 'Rota market' (from a sign on a building).

Stepping back, it is clear that glides that follow a vowel are generally consonants. The evidence supporting this claim is substantial: reduplication, gemination, and the alternation in the possessor agreement suffixes are processes that are frequent, highly regular, and clearly part of the indigenous sound structure. However, in the final syllable of the word, certain instances of glides instead combine with a preceding vowel to form a complex vowel: this happens in final syllables that end in glottal stop (e.g. *Chai'* 'nickname

for Rosa') or are stressed (e.g. *metkåo* 'market'). Further investigation is needed to determine the status of this second pattern.

29.3.2.2   Before a vowel

Are the glides consonants when they precede a vowel? If so, the glides in /hu.lju/ 'July', /sjen.ti/ 'feel', /bjɒ.hi/ 'time, journey', /kwen.tus/ 'speak', and /gwa.ha/ 'exist' would occur in the onset of the syllable rather than in the nucleus.

The situation is complicated, as can be seen from the details of infixation. Chamorro has two productive infixes, *-um-* and *-in-*, which serve various grammatical functions.[7] The infix *-um-* is used to indicate realis sg./du. agreement (see 2.2.2.2.1), infinitival agreement (21.2.1), and the subject form of wh-agreement (see 22.4.1). The infix *-in-* is used to indicate passive (see 10.2.1), the object form of wh-agreement (see 22.4.1), and nominalization (see 28.6.1). In addition, *-in-* is used to derive intransitive verbs from certain types of nouns (see 28.4.4). Whatever their function, infixes are inserted just before the nucleus of the first syllable of the word they combine with. The resulting word is resyllabified so that the infix is split between two syllables; for instance, when *-um-* is combined with /kɒn.ta/ 'sing', the result is /ku.mɒn.ta/.

When an infix combines with a word that begins with a consonant followed by a glide, it can be inserted before or after the glide. In (15), the infix is inserted before the glide.

(15)   PHONEMIC
        REPRESENTATION   INFIXED FORM
        /bjɒhi/   'take a trip'   /bumjɒhi/
        /sjenti/   'feel'   /sinjenti/
        /kwentusi/   'speak to'   /kumwentusi/
        /gwajfi/   'blow'   /gumwajfi/
        /gwaha/   'exist'   /gumwaha/

In (16), the infix is inserted after the glide, and the glide deletes if it has the same backness and rounding as the vowel of the infix. The deleted glides are shown in parentheses below. (The deletion occurs because Chamorro does not permit the sequences /ji/ or /wu/.)

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[7] A third infix, *-Vl-*, is found in a small number of onomatopoeic words; e.g. *bilisbis* 'ooze' (derived from *bisbis* 'ooze'), *palaspas* 'splash' (from *paspas* 'splash'), *bulosbus* 'spurt' (from *bosbus* 'swarm').

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(16)   PHONEMIC
        REPRESENTATION   INFIXED FORM
        /sjenti/   'feel'   /s(j)inenti/
        /kwentusi/   'speak to'   /k(w)umentusi/,
                                                /kwinentusi/
        /gwajfi/   'blow'   /g(w)umajfi/, /gwinajfi/
        /gwaha/   'exist'   /gwinaha/

Although there is more to say about the details,[8] the overall point is that glides preceding a vowel can occur in the onset *or* the nucleus. When a glide occurs in the onset, it is a consonant (as in (16)); when it occurs in the nucleus, it is (the initial) part of a complex vowel (15). This result holds not only for borrowed words but also for the many indigenous words in which /w/ follows the voiced velar stop /g/. See the last two words in (15-16) as well as the following.

(17)   PHONEMIC   SPELLING
        REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)
        /asagwa/   asagua   'spouse'
        /gwajdza/   guaiya   'love'
        /gwɒhu/   guåhu   'I'
        /hagwit/   haguit   'fishhook'

Historically, what is represented as /gw/ in (17) was almost certainly a single sound—the labiovelar stop /gʷ/ (descended from Proto-Austronesian *w, just as the affricate /dz/ is descended from Proto-Austronesian *j; see Dahl 1976: 46-51 and Blust 2000: 97-99). But in contemporary Chamorro, this earlier stop has been reanalyzed as a sequence of /g/ plus /w/, since the two sounds can be separated from one another in infixed forms like /gumwaha/ 'exist', /gumwajfi/ 'blow', and /gumwajdza/ 'love'. Accordingly, /gw/ is treated here as a combination of stop plus glide. (See Safford 1903: 295-296 and Topping and Dungca 1973: 36-37 for similar approaches; cp. Costenoble 1940 and Chung 1983, who adopt the single-consonant analysis.)

29.3.3   Geminates
In Chamorro, a *geminate* is a doubled consonant that is realized as the coda of one syllable and (part of) the onset of the immediately following syllable. 29.3.3.1 introduces the geminates and some rules that create or destroy them.

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[8] For instance, the infix *-in-* is rarely if ever inserted before /w/, and the infix *-um-* seems never to be inserted after /j/.

29.3.3.2 describes the pronunciation and spelling of geminates formed from voiced consonants. 29.3.3.3 suggests that geminates can be formed from the alveolar affriciates /ts, dz/ and the palatal nasal /ɲ/, although these geminates are not represented by doubled letters in the official orthographies.

29.3.3.1   Distribution

Chamorro allows geminates to be formed any stop, affricate, fricative, nasal, or liquid except for glottal stop, /h/, and /ɾ/. (Discussion of geminates that are formed from affricates, or from the palatal nasal, is postponed until later; see 29.3.3.3.) The examples below are representative.

(18)	PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION	SPELLING (CNMI)	
	/ap.pliŋ/	appling	'twisted'
	/tat.ti.dzi/	tattiyi	'follow'
	/hok.ka/	hokka	'collect'
	/a.bab.baŋ/	ababbang	'butterfly'
	/dɒg.gaw/	dåggåo	'throw'
	/ma.lef.fa/	maleffa	'forget'
	/hi.nas.su/	hinassu	'thought, thinking'
	/lem.maj/	lemmai	'breadfruit'
	/mɒn.nuk/	månnuk	'chicken'
	/taŋ.ŋa/	tangnga	'deaf'
	/hal.lum/	hallum	'assume'

In the phonemic representations in (18), geminates are divided between the coda of one syllable and (the first part of) the onset of the next. Evidence for this division comes from two processes described earlier: reduplication for the progressive and the morphophonemic rule of gemination (see 29.3.2.1).

When a word like /tat.'ti.dzi/ 'follow' is reduplicated for the progressive, the second half of the geminate and the stressed vowel are doubled: /tattitidzi/. This is evidence that the second half of the geminate occupies the onset of the stressed syllable. Similarly, when the possessor agreement suffix -*hu* '1 sg.' is attached to a word like /ma.'lef.fa/ 'forget' or /hi.'nas.su/ 'thought', the /h/ of -*hu* doubles to /kk/: /maleffɒkku/, /hinassokku/. This is evidence that the first half of the geminate closes the stressed syllable of the original word.

Although geminates are represented here as doubled consonants, they differ from other Chamorro consonant clusters (e.g. /tm/, /kp/, /nt/) in that they are created and destroyed by phonological rules. The morphophonemic rule of gemination creates geminates by doubling the consonant of certain

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suffixes under very specific circumstances (see 29.3.2.1 and 30.3). Likewise, the process of degemination destroys geminates by causing them to be pronounced as single (undoubled) consonants after an unstressed vowel. This degemination is responsible for the fact that, except in slow, very careful speech, /tat'tidzi/ 'follow' and /malef'fɒkku/ 'what I forgot' are pronounced [tɑtidzi] and [malifɒkku].

Finally, in the Rota dialect, all geminates have been simplified to single (undoubled) consonants. The Rota forms of e.g. 'follow', 'forget', and 'thought, thinking' in (18) are /tatidzi/, /malefa/, and /hinasu/. In this dialect, there is no gemination rule, and the /h/ of the possessor agreement suffix *-hu* '1 sg.' is never realized as /kk/ (or /k/).

29.3.3.2   Geminates formed from voiced stops

Geminates formed from voiceless stops, fricatives, the nasals /m, n, ŋ/, or /l/ have a straightforward pronunciation: they are phonetically long. But the pronunciation of geminates formed from the voiced stops /b, d, g/ is more variable. In Guam, these geminates are typically pronounced with a voiceless first half and a voiced second half; e.g. /habbun/ 'soap', /soddaʔ/ 'find', and /haggan/ 'turtle' are pronounced [hapbUn], [sɔtdɑʔ], and [hakgɑn]. The fact that the two halves differ in voicing gives a reason for analyzing geminates as doubled consonants rather than single long consonants.

In Saipan, geminates formed from voiced stops can be pronounced as in Guam, or can be voiced throughout. The options are illustrated in (19).

(19)   PHONEMIC   PRONUNCIATION
        REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)
        /habbun/   [hapbUn], [habbUn]   'soap'
        /soddaʔ/   [sɔtdɑʔ], [sɔddɑʔ]   'find'
        /podduŋ/   [pɔtdUŋ], [pɔddUŋ]   'fall'
        /akaggwi/   [ɑkakgwi], [ɑkaggwi]   'left (side)'

Individuals vary in which of these options they prefer, and for which words. For instance, for many speakers of the Saipan dialect, the geminates in /ababbaŋ/ 'butterfly', /kɒddu/ 'soup', and /hoggwi/ 'carry in the arms' are voiced all the way through, but the geminates in /habbun/ 'soap', /lalɒddi/ 'scold', and /akaggwi/ 'left (side)' vary more freely between the two pronunciations. The details of this variation deserve further study. Nonetheless, whatever the favored pronunciation, it is clear that all of these clusters *are* geminates. They correspond to single (undoubled) voiced consonants in the Rota dialect (e.g. the Rota forms of 'soap' and 'left (side)' are /habun/ and

/akagwi/). And they undergo degemination in suffixed words when they follow an unstressed vowel, as can be seen from (20).

(20)　PHONEMIC
　　　REPRESENTATION　　PRONUNCIATION
　　　/hab'bun-i/　　　[hɑbuni]　　　　'clean with soap'
　　　/sod'daʔ-i/　　　[sudaʔi]　　　　'find for'
　　　/akag'gwe-kku/　　[akɑgwɛkku]　　'my left (side)'

All this suggests that there is no distinctive (phonemic) contrast between a geminate that is voiced throughout (e.g. [bb]) and one whose first half is pronounced voiceless (e.g. [pb]).

In the official orthographies, geminates formed from voiced stops can be spelled *pb* or *bb*, *td* or *dd*, *kg* or *gg*. This flexibility allows the spelling to record some of the word-specific variation in the pronunciation of these sound combinations. Consistent with this, in the CD database there are separate dictionary entries for *habbun* 'soap' and *hapbun* 'soap'; the entry of *potdak* 'depimple' lists *poddak* as a variant; and illustrative examples for other entries include alternative spellings for e.g. *sodda', sotda'* 'find' and *poddung, potdung* 'fall'.

29.3.3.3　Geminates formed from affricates and palatals

It is sometimes assumed that Chamorro does not allow geminates to be formed from the affricates /ts, dz/ or the palatal nasal /ɲ/ (see e.g. Topping and Dungca 1973: 38). However, these geminates do occur in Chamorro.

Consider first how geminates formed from these consonants would be pronounced if they were to occur. Phonetically, the most salient difference between geminate and nongeminate consonants is length: a geminate has a longer closure than the corresponding nongeminate (see Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 92). The affricates /ts/ and /dz/ are phonetically complex sounds with a stop closure ([t] or [d]) followed by a fricative release ([s] or [z]). This suggests that geminates formed from affricates might simply have a longer stop closure than the corresponding simple affricate; they might be pronounced like [t] followed by [ts], or [d] followed by [dz].

In fact, Chamorro routinely allows clusters of an apparent alveolar stop in the coda followed by an affricate in the onset of the next syllable. Some examples are given below.

(21)   PHONEMIC   SPELLING
             REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)

a.	/gat.tsaʔ/	gatcha'	'step on'
	/im.pɒt.tsu/	impåtchu	'bored, fed up'
	/pat.tsa/	patcha	'touch'
	/lat.tsaj/	latchai	'consume'
b.	/ad.dzu/	atyu	'that (demonstrative)'
	/ad.dzik/	atyik	'choose'
	/ed.dzak/	etyak	'imitate'
	/med.dzas/	metyas	'socks'

This cluster of stop plus affricate differs minimally from the single (i.e. un-doubled) affricate in examples like the following.

(22)   PHONEMIC   SPELLING
             REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)

a.	/ga.tsaʔ/	gacha'	'detect, catch up with'
	/bu.lɒ.tsu/	bulåchu	'drunk'
	/fa.tsiʔ/	fachi'	'mud'
	/la.tsi/	lachi	'wrong'
b.	/hɒ.dzu/	håyu	'wood'
	/tɒ.dzaʔ/	tåya'	'not exist'
	/bu.te.dza/	buteya	'bottle'
	/is.tɾe.dzas/	istreyas	'stars'

Clusters of an alveolar stop plus an affricate act like geminates for the purposes of the sound patterns described earlier. They correspond to single affricates in the Rota dialect; e.g. the Rota forms of 'touch' and 'choose' are /pa.tsa/ and /a.dzik/. And they undergo degemination after an unstressed vowel, in which case they are reduced to just the affricate. For instance, /pi.nat.ˈtsak.ku/ 'what I touched' is usually pronounced [pi.nɑ.tsak.ku], and /in.ad.ˈdzek.mu/ 'what you chose' is usually pronounced [i.nɑ.dzɛk.mu]. In these respects, they differ from clusters formed from a labial or velar stop followed by an affricate; e.g. /pts/ in /tsoptsup/ 'suck', /kts/ in /toktsaʔ/ 'pierce', and /kdz/ in /pɒkdzu/ 'typhoon'. Clusters like /pts/, /kts/, and /kdz/ are not simplified in the Rota dialect, and do not undergo degemination.

In short, clusters of an alveolar stop plus an affricate *are* geminates formed from affricates. This suggests that they might be appropriately represented as /tsts/ and /dzdz/ (but see below).

Similarly, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ could be viewed as phonetically complex, in the sense that the end of this sound (its release) is sometimes perceived as

more obviously palatal than the beginning (its closure). If so, geminates formed from /ɲ/ might simply have a longer default nasal closure than the corresponding nongeminate. In other words, they might sound like [n], the default nasal, followed by [ɲ].

Unsurprisingly, Chamorro permits clusters of an apparent alveolar nasal in the coda followed by a palatal nasal in the onset of the next syllable; see e.g. /anɲa/ 'beat up', /danɲaʔ/ 'be together, congregate', /honɲuʔ/ 'press down'. The cluster in these words contrasts minimally with the single (nongeminate) /ɲ/ in e.g. /lɒɲa/ 'oil', the expletive /laɲaʔ/, and /doɲa/ 'Mrs.'. Further, when the morphophonemic rule of gemination applies to -ña, the /ɲ/ of the suffix is doubled to what speakers perceive as /nɲ/. This suggests that /nɲ/ is actually a geminate formed from /ɲ/; in other words, it might be appropriately represented as /ɲɲ/.

The official orthographies do not have a transparent spelling for geminates formed from affricates or /ɲ/ . The Guam orthography generally does not distinguish these geminates from their nongeminate counterparts; both are simply spelled *ch*, *y*, and *ñ*. In the CNMI orthography, geminates formed from /ts/ are spelled *tch*, and geminates formed from /dz/ are spelled *ty* (see (21)). According to the official 2010 description of the CNMI orthography, geminates formed from /ɲ/ should be spelled with a doubled *ñ* (i.e. *ññ*), but that spelling proved so unpopular that it has been replaced in practice by *nñ* (with no tilde on the first letter).

29.4 Stress and intonation

29.4.1 Stress

Chamorro is a language with stress. Each word has one syllable that bears primary stress (i.e. is louder or more prominent than the other syllables in the word). This syllable is generally the penultimate (next-to-last) syllable of the word.

Primary stress is determined differently for roots (unaffixed words) than for affixed words. A substantial number of roots, most of them borrowed from Spanish, exceptionally have primary stress on the last syllable.

(23)　PHONEMIC　　　SPELLING
　　　REPRESENTATION　(CNMI)
　　　/aˈsut/　　　　　asut　　　　　'blue'
　　　/atɾaˈsɒw/　　　atrasåo　　　'late'
　　　/sjuˈdɒ/　　　　siudå　　　　'city'
　　　/tutuˈgak/　　　tutugak　　　'cluck'

A substantial number of roots exceptionally have primary stress on the antepenultimate (third-from-last) syllable.

(24) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
      REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)
      /ˈdeddigu/   deddigu   'heel'
      /ˈɒʔpakaʔ/   å'paka'   'white'
      /aˈpigigiʔ/   apigigi'   'coconut and tapioca
                                          dessert'
      /ˈkunanaf/   kunanaf   'crawl, creep'
      /ˈlilikuʔ/   liliku'   'revolve'

All other roots have primary stress on the penultimate (next-to-last) syllable.[9]

(25) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
      REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)
      /ˈsajna/   saina   'parent'
      /iˈlotis/   ilotis   'sweet corn boiled with
                                          milk'
      /kaˈdidak/   kadidak   'tickle'
      /siminˈteddzu/   simintetyu   'cemetery'

In affixed words, primary stress is determined by whether the affix is a suffix, an inherently stressed prefix, or some other morpheme.
   (i) When the affix is a suffix, primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the suffixed word. Some examples are given below.

(26) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
      REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)
      /kuɾaˈson-hu/   kurason-hu   'my heart'
      /kuɾason-ˈmɒmi/   kurason-måmi   'our (excl.) hearts'
      /deddiˈgo-kku/   deddigok-ku   'my heel'
      /liliˈkuʔ-i/   liliku'i   'encircle'

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[9] A very small number of roots are phonologically or morphologically dependent. Phonologically dependent roots (e.g. *malak* 'go to') must lean on other material to form a phonological word; these roots never have primary stress. Morphologically dependent roots (e.g. *ya-* 'like', *ga'o-* 'prefer') must combine with affixes, and therefore show the stress patterns of affixed words; see below in the text.

(ii) When the affix is a stressed prefix, primary stress falls on the prefix, as illustrated in (27).[10]

(27)	PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION	SPELLING (CNMI)	
	/ˈmi-unaj/	mi'unai	'sandy, full of sand'
	/ˈmi-salappiʔ/	misalappi'	'having lots of money'
	/aˈtsa-oʔsun/	acha'o'sun	'equally bored'
	/ˈsen-agɾadesi/	sen agradesi	'really appreciate'

(The reduplicated CV in reduplication for the progressive aspect could be viewed as a stressed prefix that sometimes ends up in the middle of the word; see 2.2.1.1.1.)

(iii) Other affixes do not affect the stress pattern: primary stress falls on the same syllable as in the unaffixed word.

(28)	PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION	SPELLING (CNMI)	
	/man-atɾaˈsɒw/	manatrasåo	'late (realis pl.)'
	/d-uˈm-ɒŋkulu/	dumångkulu	'become big (realis sg./du.)'
	/man-ˈdɒŋkulu/	mandångkulu	'big (realis pl.)'
	/maˈɲ-eʔlu/	mañe'lu	'siblings'
	/man-ma-kaˈdidak/	manmakadidak	'tickled (passive realis pl.)'

When more than one affix is attached to a root, primary stress is determined by the affix added last. Consider the affixed words *á-tatti-yi* 'follow one another' and *mi-tano'-ña* 'having more land'. Although each word contains a stressed prefix and a suffix, their order of affixation is different. The stressed reciprocal prefix *á-* can be attached to *tatti-yi* 'follow' but not to *tåtti* 'back, behind'. So in *á-tatti-yi*, the order of affixation must be *á-[tatti-yi]*, where *á-* is the affix added last. Primary stress falls on this prefix: /ˈatattidzi/. In contrast, the comparative suffix *-ña* 'more' can be attached to *mí-tanu'* 'having much land' but not to *tånu'* 'land'. So in *mi-tano'-ña*, the

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[10] The stressed prefixes include: *á-* '(reciprocal)', *achá-* 'together', *án-* 'leftover', *chát-* 'barely', *é'-* 'search for', *há-* 'often', *ké'-* 'try to', *lá-* 'more', *mí-* 'having lots of', as well as four stressed prefixes that are written as independent words in the official orthographies: *gof* 'very', *sen* 'extremely, most', *gai* 'have', and *tai* 'not have'.

order of affixation must be *[mí-tano']-ña*, where the suffix *-ña* is the affix added last. Accordingly, primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word: /mita'noʔɲa/.

Syllables can also bear secondary stress (marked with ˌ immediately before the secondarily stressed syllable). In affixed words, secondary stress falls on the syllable that would bear primary stress in the unaffixed word, as long as that syllable does not immediately precede the syllable that actually bears primary stress. See /ˌdeddi'go-kku/ 'my heel', /ˌpatgun-'midzu/, 'your (pl.) child', but /pat'gon-hu/ 'my child'. Note that this type of secondary stress can immediately *follow* the primary stress. This happens in words formed with stressed prefixes (e.g. /'keʔ-ˌtuŋuʔ/ 'try to know') or words that have been reduplicated for the progressive aspect (e.g. /'dɒˌdaŋkulu/ 'big (prog.)'). In addition, secondary stress falls on any syllable that is not next to any other stressed syllable; e.g. /ˌsimin'teddzu/ 'cemetery', /ˌbilim'binis/ 'star apple', /eŋˌkisi'fwesi/ 'no matter', /'ɒʔpaˌkaʔ/ 'white'.

29.4.2   Intonation
Chamorro has a typologically unusual correlation between stress and pitch.[11] According to previous descriptions (e.g. Costenoble 1940: 12, Topping and Dungca 1973: 44-46, Chung 1983: 38), primary stress is correlated with low pitch followed by a rise. (In most languages, primary stress is correlated with high pitch.) Some preliminary instrumental research on Chamorro pitch suggests a different characterization: primary stress may be correlated simply with a delayed pitch rise. However it is characterized, one practical consequence of the stress-pitch correlation is that second language learners can find it hard to reliably identify the location of primary stress.

The stress-pitch correlation in Chamorro exhibits regional variation: it is different, or holds over a different phonological domain, in the Rota dialect than in the other dialects. Speakers sometimes characterize the difference by saying that the Rota dialect has 'singing' or 'sing-song' intonation. Further study is needed to elucidate this area of grammar.

29.5   The distribution of Chamorro vowels

Although Chamorro has six distinctive vowels, the distinctions among them are neutralized in many environments. Earlier (in 29.1.1), it was observed that the low vowels /a/ and /ɒ/ merge except under primary stress. There are

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[11] This could conceivably be an areal phenomenon. High pitch and primary stress are dissociated in several languages of the Micronesian language family (see Rehg 1993).

also circumstances under which the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ merge with the corresponding high vowels, /i/ and /u/. In fact, for large portions of the Chamorro lexicon, the mid and high vowels are in complementary distribution, with mid vowels occurring in some environments and high vowels occurring in others. The details of this distribution are examined here. 29.5.1 describes the patterning of mid and high vowels in roots (unaffixed words), first in the indigenous vocabulary and then in borrowings. 29.5.2 discusses the patterning of all six vowels in affixed words. 29.5.2.1 deals with the low vowels, and 29.5.2.2, with the mid and high vowels. 29.5.3 deals with vowel patterns in the Rota dialect. Finally, 29.5.4 concludes.

29.5.1   Mid and high vowels
29.5.1.1   In indigenous roots
For almost all indigenous roots in Chamorro, the distribution of mid and high vowels can stated very simply: mid vowels occur in closed syllables that bear primary stress, and high vowels occur elsewhere (= in syllables that are open or unstressed). This pattern is illustrated below.

(29)	PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION	SPELLING (CNMI)	
	/ˈɒt.ti.luŋ/	åttilung	'black'
	/a.ˈdzu.dzu/	ayuyu	'coconut crab'
	/gwa.ˈli.ʔik/	guali'ik	'gecko'
	/ˈtsop.tsup/	chopchup	'suck'
	/ˈtseʔ.lu/	che'lu	'sibling'
	/ˈtsoʔ.tsuʔ/	cho'chu'	'work'
	/ˈdzu.tiʔ/	yuti'	'throw away'

The indigenous roots that are exceptions to this pattern are few indeed. They fall into two groups:

(i)   A very few roots that are apparently indigenous, notably /ˈhuŋ.gan/ 'yes', /ˈmuŋ.ŋa/ 'don't, let it not be', and /pweŋi/ 'night', have a high vowel in a closed syllable that bears primary stress or a mid vowel in an open syllable that bears primary stress.

(ii) When a nonlow vowel that bears primary stress is followed by glottal stop and then another vowel, the nonlow vowel is high (as expected) in some indigenous roots but mid in others. Compare the roots in (30) and (31).

(30) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
      REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)
      /ˈliʔuf/   li'uf   'dive'
      /ˈiʔiʔ/   i'i'   'baby skipjack'
      /haˈluʔu/   halu'u   'shark'

(31) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
      REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)
      /ˈdeʔun/   de'un   'pinch'
      /ˈteʔi/   te'i   'scattered (of showers)'
      /ˈdoʔak/   do'ak   'white spot on eye'

Only a small number of roots are involved, and they appear to be roughly evenly divided between the two patterns (see Bibbs 2019).

29.5.1.2   In borrowed roots

The nonlow vowels in many borrowed roots have assimilated to the indigenous pattern: these vowels are mid in closed syllables that bear primary stress, and high everywhere else. However, there are very many borrowed roots whose nonlow vowels have not assimilated. Specifically:

(i) A handful of borrowed roots have a high vowel in a closed syllable that bears primary stress: e.g. /ˈut.ti.mu/ 'last', /ˈhun.ta/ 'meeting', /ˈpun.tu/ 'point', /di.ˈbut.sja/ 'divorce', /a.ˈsut/ 'blue', /a.si.ˈrin/ 'sawdust'.

(ii) A large number of borrowed roots have a mid vowel in an open syllable that bears primary stress; some examples are cited below.

(32) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
      REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)
      /ˈbe.la/   bela   'wake, vigil'
      /ˈne.ni/   neni   'baby'
      /ˈbo.la/   bola   'ball'
      /ˈso.bri/   sobri   'envelope'
      /ˈso.baʔ/   soba'   'noodles'

(iii) Over and above this, a large number of borrowed roots have mid vowels in unstressed syllables. Many of these vowels are in the process of being assimilated to the indigenous pattern, so they are pronounced high by some speakers, presumably because they have been reanalyzed as shown in (33).

(33) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
      REPRESENTATION (CNMI)

/hen.e.ˈrɒt/ ~   heneråt ~   'general'
  /hen.i.ˈrɒt/   heniråt

/pe.ɾe.ˈgɾi.nu/ ~   peregrinu ~   'pilgrim'
  /pi.li.ˈgɾi.nu/   piligrinu

/kom.ˈpju.ta/ ~   kompiuta ~   'computer'
  /kum.ˈpju.ta/   kumpiuta

/koŋ.ˈgre.su/ ~   konggresu ~   'congressman'
  /kuŋ.ˈgre.su/   kunggresu

29.5.2   Vowels in affixed words

Because the distribution of Chamorro vowels is stress-sensitive, it is affected
by affixes that change the stress pattern. The low vowels are affected differ-
ently from the mid and high vowels, so the two are discussed separately.
29.5.2.1 discusses the low vowels, and 29.5.2.2, the mid and high vowels.

In sorting through the details, the reader should keep in mind three
generalizations from 29.4.1. First, in words formed with a suffix, primary
stress falls on the penultimate syllable; in words formed with a stressed
prefix, primary stress falls on the prefix. Second, in all words, a syllable is
unstressed if it comes immediately before the primary stress. Third, if the
primarily stressed syllable of the root does not come immediately before the
primary stress of the affixed word, it can bear secondary stress.

29.5.2.1   Low vowels

As seen earlier, the low vowels /a/ and /ɒ/ are distinguished under primary
stress but merge otherwise (see 29.1.1). The phonetics of the merged vowel
can vary, but phonemically it is just one distinctive sound, which is repre-
sented here as /a/.

Low vowels in affixed words conform to this pattern. If a low vowel
that was primarily stressed in the root does not have primary stress in the
affixed word, it is realized as the merged vowel /a/. Compare the low vowels
in the roots /ˈtɒnuʔ/ 'land', /ˈɒmut/ 'medicine' and /ˈgaguʔ/ 'lazy' with their
realization in the affixed words /ˈmi-ˌtanuʔ/ 'having lots of land', /aˈmot-mu/
'your (sg.) medicine', /ˌamut-ˈmidzu/ 'your (pl.) medicine', /gaˈgoʔ-mu/
'your (sg.) laziness', and /ˌgaguʔ-ˈmidzu/ 'your (pl.) laziness'.[12]

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[12] The description in the text leaves out the following detail: If a low back
vowel that was primarily stressed in the root bears secondary stress in the
affixed word, it can be realized as the merged vowel /a/ or as /ɒ/, e.g. /ˌamut-
ˈmidzu/ or /ˌɒmut-ˈmidzu/ 'your (pl.) medicine' (see Chung 1983).

On the other hand, when a low vowel that was unstressed in the root comes to bear primary stress in the affixed word, this vowel is realized as /ɒ/ in some roots, but /a/ in others. Compare the final unstressed low vowels of the roots in (34) with their realization in the corresponding suffixed words.

(34)　ROOT　　　　　　　　　　　SUFFIXED WORD
　　a.　/ˈnɒna/　‘mother’　　　/naˈnɒ-hu/　　‘my mother’
　　　　/aˈgɒʔgaʔ/　‘neck’　　　/agaʔˈgɒʔ-mu/　‘your (sg.) neck’
　　　　/ˈduda/　‘doubt’　　　/duˈdɒ-mu/　　‘what you (sg.)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　doubted’
　　b.　/ˈsajna/　‘parent’　　　/sajˈna-hu/　　‘my parent’
　　　　/ˈpattsa/　‘touch’　　　/patˈtsa-mmu/　‘what you (sg.)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　touched with’
　　　　/baˈlakbak/　‘handbag’　/balakˈbak-mu/　‘your (sg.)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　handbag’

The backness of these vowels often matches the backness of the vowel that was originally stressed in the root. If the original stressed vowel was front, the stressed low vowel in the suffixed word is often front (/a/); otherwise, the stressed low vowel in the suffixed word generally is back (/ɒ/). However, this apparent tendency has many exceptions, some of which are cited in (35).

(35)　ROOT　　　　　　　　　　　SUFFIXED WORD
　　　　/aˈsagwa/　‘spouse’　　　/asaˈgwɒ-hu/　　‘my spouse’
　　　　/ˈgwaha/　‘exist’　　　　/gwaˈhɒ-ɲa/　　‘what s/he has’

　　　　/maˈleffa/　‘forget’　　　/malefˈfɒ-kku/　‘what I forgot’
　　　　/faˈmilja/　‘family’　　　/familˈjɒ-mmu/　‘your (sg.)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　family’

The exceptions suggest that the backness of a low vowel that comes to bear primary stress cannot be completely predicted from the backness of other vowels in the root (see Topping and Dungca 1973: 22).

　　　More likely, the final unstressed low vowel found in roots is itself the product of merger. On this view, different roots would have different low vowels in their final syllables; for instance, the phonemic representations of ‘parent’ and ‘exist’ would actually be /ˈsajna/ and /ˈgwahɒ/. But the character of these low vowels would be revealed only under primary stress, since they would merge to /a/ in other contexts.

29.5.2.2   Mid and high vowels

Recall that the mid and high vowels are in complementary distribution in almost all indigenous Chamorro roots: mid vowels occur in stressed closed syllables, and high vowels occur elsewhere (see 29.5.1.1). Mid and high vowels in affixed words basically exhibit the same pattern. The details are as follows.

First of all, when a nonlow vowel that is unstressed in the root comes to bear primary stress in an affixed word, it is mid if it occurs in a closed syllable and high otherwise. This generalization has no exceptions. Note that it does not matter whether the root is indigenous or borrowed.

(36)   ROOT   SUFFIXED WORD
        /ˈad.diŋ/   'foot'   /ad.ˈdeŋ.hu/   'my foot'
        /ˈtɒt.ti/   'back, behind' /tat.ˈtek.ku/   'behind me'
        /ˈtɒt.ti/   'back, behind' /tat.ˈti.dzi/   'follow'
        /ˈme.di.ku/   'doctor'   /me.di.ˈku.hu/   'my doctor'
        /ˈdok.tu/   'doctor'   /dok.ˈtok.ku/   'my doctor'
        /ˈhab.bun/   'soap'   /hab.ˈbu.ni/   'clean with
                                                         soap'

Second, when a nonlow vowel that bears primary stress in the root comes to have secondary stress in an affixed word, it has the same realization as it does in the root. In other words, these nonlow vowels are just as well-behaved (or exceptional) in affixed words as they are in the corresponding roots.

(37)   ROOT   AFFIXED WORD
        /ˈsensin/   'flesh'   /ˌsensinˈmidzu/   'your (pl.) flesh'
        /ˈsensin/   'flesh'   /ˈmiˌsensin/   'full of flesh'
        /ˈneni/   'baby'   /ˌneninˈmidzu/   'your (pl.) baby'
        /isˈtoɾja/   'story'   /ˈmiʔisˌtoɾja/   'having lots of
                                                         stories'

Third, when a nonlow vowel that bears primary stress in the root is unstressed in an affixed word, the vowel is typically realized as high, because it is unstressed. This conforms to the indigenous pattern.

(38)   ROOT   SUFFIXED WORD
        /ˈsensin/   'flesh'   /sinˈsenmu/   'your (sg.) flesh'
        /ˈpettsu/   'chest'   /pitˈtsommu/   'your (sg.)
                                                         chest'

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/di'geɾu/	'cheat'	/digi'ɾudzi/	'cheat (s.o.)'
/'tsoʔgwi/	'do'	/tsuʔ'gwidzi/	'do for'
/'boti/	'boat'	/bu'timu/	'your (sg.) boat'
/is'toɾja/	'story'	/istu'ɾjɒmu/	'your (sg.) story'

However, in slow, careful speech, it is also possible for such a vowel to be realized as mid, (i) if it occurs in a closed syllable, or (ii) if the root is a borrowed root of type (32)—a root in which the vowel would have been mid in an open syllable. These last options, illustrated below, do not conform as transparently to the indigenous pattern (but see Chung 1983).

(39)   Rᴏᴏᴛ   Sᴜꜰꜰɪxᴇᴅ ᴡᴏʀᴅ

a.	/'pettsu/	'chest'	/pet'tsommu/	'your (sg.) chest'
	/'tsoʔgwi/	'do'	/tsoʔ'gwidzi/	'do for'
b.	/'boti/	'boat'	/bo'timu/	'your (sg.) boat'
	/di'geɾu/	'cheat'	/dige'ɾudzi/	'cheat (s.o.)'

The distribution of nonlow vowels is fixed only after the Chamorro rules of gemination and degemination have applied. Nonlow vowels in stressed syllables that have been closed by the gemination rule are always mid; see e.g. /tat.'tek.ku/ 'behind me' and /dok.'tok.ku/ 'my doctor' in (36). Similarly, nonlow vowels in unstressed syllables that have been opened by degemination are always high. Compare /gi.nip.pem.mu/ ~ /gi.nep.pem.mu/ 'what you (sg.) jumped over' (from *goppi* 'jump over') with /gi.ni.pem.mu/, in which degemination has applied (not */gi.ne.pem.mu/).

On the other hand, the distribution of nonlow vowels is not changed by reduplication for the progressive aspect. Despite the fact that the reduplicant is always an open syllable, nonlow vowels in the reduplicant are mid if the original stressed vowel was mid, and high if the original stressed vowel was high. Some examples: /'sosoddaʔ/ 'find (progressive)' (from *sodda'* 'find') and /'tutuŋuʔ/ 'know (progressive)' (from *tungu'* 'know').

29.5.3   The Rota dialect

The distribution of the low vowels in the Rota dialect is different from the other dialects. As was observed earlier (in 29.1.1), /ɒ/ and /a/ have largely merged in this dialect, even under primary stress. Although the merger is not yet complete, it has gone far enough that when an unstressed low vowel in the root comes to bear primary stress in an affixed word, it is almost always realized as /a/ in Rota. Compare e.g. the Rota forms /i'dat-hu/ 'my age', /na'ʔan-mu/ 'your (sg.) name', and /famil'ja-mu/ 'your (sg.) family' with

their realizations in the other dialects (namely, /iˈdɒt-hu/, /naˈʔɒn-mu/, and /famiˈlʲjɒ-mmu/.).

What about the mid and high vowels? As mentioned earlier, the Rota dialect has simplified all geminate consonants to single (undoubled) consonants, and has no gemination rule (see 29.3.3.1). As a result, mid and high vowels are not in complementary distribution in this dialect, since they contrast minimally in pairs of words like those in (40). (The Saipan/Guam forms of these words are cited for comparison.)

(40) Rota   Saipan / Guam
      /ˈdedigu/   'heel'   /ˈdeddigu/
      /ˈdididiʔ/   'few'   /ˈdididiʔ/
      /ˈtsoda/   'green banana'   /ˈtsodda/
      /ˈtsudaʔ/   'spill'   /ˈtsudaʔ/
      /sininˈte-hu/   'what I felt'   /sininˈte-kku/
      /piniˈti-hu/   'my emotional pain'   /piniˈti-hu/

The phonological differences between the Rota dialect and the other dialects can be summarized as follows. In the Rota dialect:

(i)   The two low vowels have largely merged, even under primary stress (29.1.1);

(ii) There are no geminate consonants (29.3.3.1);

(iii) There is no morphophonemic rule of gemination (29.3.3.1);

(iv) Mid and high vowels are not in complementary distribution;

(v) The stress-pitch correlation is different than in the other dialects (29.4.2);

(vi) Vowels are sometimes devoiced at the end of an intonational phrase (29.1.1).

29.5.4   Minimal words

Phonological words bear stress. For instance, *che'lu* 'sibling' is a phonological word, and bears stress; the weak pronoun *håo* 'you (sg.)', which does not bear stress, is not a phonological word. Indigenous phonological words have a minimal word requirement—they must be at least two syllables long. Borrowed words (e.g. *bos* 'voice', *bam* 'bomb') and recent creations (e.g. *be* 'b, the fourth letter of the Chamorro alphabet') are exempt from the minimal word requirement.

29.5.5   Summary

Overall, the Chamorro vowel system is characterized by neutralization—the collapsing of phonemic distinctions. Although the language has six distinc-

tive vowels, there are many environments in which not all six vowels can occur. Only three vowels occur in the unstressed syllables of most words: the merged low vowel and the two high vowels. Further, except in the Rota dialect, the mid and high vowels are largely in complementary distribution. When all this is combined with the fact that some affixed words are stressed differently from the corresponding roots, the result is a sound system that poses some spelling challenges. These are discussed next.

29.6   Spelling: the official orthographies

Two general goals of orthography (spelling systems) are, first, to represent distinctive sounds simply and accurately and, second, to represent a word uniformly in all the different environments in which it occurs. These goals are encapsulated in the slogans 'one sound, one symbol' and 'one word, one spelling'. The Chamorro sound patterns just described pose a dilemma for orthographies that aim to meet both goals simultaneously. Consider the roots /asagwa/ 'spouse' and /sajna/ 'parent'. In order to spell these words as they sound, their final vowels should be spelled the same, with *a*, the letter used to represent the merged low vowel; e.g. *asagua* and *saina*. But the final vowels of these roots contrast in the suffixed forms /asagwɒ-mu/ 'your (sg.) spouse' and /sajna-mu/ 'your (sg.) parent'. So, in order for each word to have a uniform spelling wherever it occurs, these vowels should be spelled with different letters; e.g. *asaguå* and *saina*. Neither spelling of /asagwa/ satisfies both orthographic goals. The same point can be made with the roots /tɒtti/ 'back, behind' and /neni/ 'baby'. To represent these words as they sound, their final vowels should be spelled with the letter *i*; e.g. *tåtti* and *neni*. But given that the final vowel of the root is mid in the suffixed form /tatte-kku/ 'behind me', but high in /nini-hu/ 'my baby', a spelling that gives a uniform representation to each word wherever it occurs should spell /tɒtti/ as *tåtte* but /neni/ as *neni*. Neither spelling of /tɒtti/ satisfies both goals.

The two official Chamorro orthographies respond differently to this dilemma. The 2010 CNMI spelling system is a 'one sound, one symbol' orthography. It spells words as they sound, even if that means that roots are spelled differently in the different environments in which they occur. The 2019 Guam spelling system (as well as its earlier versions, going back to 1983) adopts 'one sound, one symbol' for the low vowels, but in other respects it is a 'one word, one spelling' orthography. Roots with mid or high vowels have a uniform spelling in the different environments in which they occur, even if that spelling does not always correlate transparently with sound. The details are described for the 2010 CNMI orthography in 29.6.1, and for the 2019 Guam orthography in 29.6.2.

29.6.1   The CNMI orthography

The 2010 CNMI spelling system is a 'one sound, one symbol' orthography. The letters described in 29.2 are deployed to represent distinctive sound, even if the result is that roots are spelled differently in their affixed and un-affixed forms. Some illustrative examples are given below

(41)   PHONEMIC   SPELLING
         REPRESENTATION   (CNMI)
         /ˈgwaha/   guaha   'exist'
         /gwaˈhɒ-ɲa/   guahå-ña   'what s/he has'
         /ˈtɒtti/   tåtti   'back, behind'
         /tatˈte-kku/   tattek-ku / tatek-ku   'behind me'
         /tatˈti-dzi/   tattiyi / tatiyi   'follow'
         /ˈpoʔlu/   po'lu   'put'
         /p-in-eʔˈlo-mmu/   pine'lom-mu   'what you (sg.) put'
         /puʔˈlu-dzi/ ~   pu'luyi / po'luyi   'put for'
             /poʔˈlu-dzi/

The merged low vowel is spelled *a*; the mid vowels are spelled *e* and *o*, the high vowels are spelled *i* and *u*. The near complementary distribution of mid and high vowels in indigenous roots, and the individual variation in pronunciation illustrated above in (33), can lead to the same root being spelled in different ways.

   Some details: In the CNMI spelling system, the possessor agreement suffixes are separated from the rest of the word with a dash. This convention is inherited from the orthography adopted by the Marianas Orthography Committee in 1971. In theory, other affixes are not separated from the root with a dash. But the dash is sometimes used in practice with the comparative suffix -*ña*, which is homophonous with the 3 sg. possessor agreement suffix -*ña* and, like it, undergoes the gemination rule.

   Geminates are spelled as doubled consonants (e.g. *pp, bb, ss, ll, ngng*), except that geminates formed from voiced stops can be spelled *pb, td, kg* or *bb, dd, gg*. These spelling options reflect nondistinctive variation in sound (see 29.3.3.2). Geminates formed from affricates are spelled *tch* and *ty*; geminates formed from the palatal nasal are spelled *nñ* (see 29.3.3.3).

   Geminates created by the morphophonemic rule of gemination are treated like other geminates for spelling purposes. When the consonant of a possessor agreement suffix is geminated, the dash that separates the suffix from the rest of the word in the spelling is inserted between the letters representing the geminate; e.g. *lipblok-ku* 'my book'.

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Geminates that can be simplified by the degemination rule are sometimes spelled as single consonants, other times as doubled consonants. (In this book they are mostly spelled as doubled consonants, to make it easier to identify the root.)

The glide /j/ is spelled *i* wherever it occurs; e.g. *taitai* 'read', *sietti* 'seven', *hagoi* 'lake'. The glide /w/ is spelled *o* when it follows a low vowel and *u* when it precedes a vowel; e.g. *måolik* 'good', *kuentus* 'speak'.

Other details of the CNMI orthography have been modified since 2010. For instance, the official 2010 documentation for this orthography uses *a* or *å* to spell an unstressed low vowel preceding the glide /w/. Users of the orthography have since decided to spell the combination of a low vowel plus /w/ as *åo* everywhere, regardless of stress. The only exception: the spelling *ao* is used when the syllable immediately follows a morpheme that activates umlaut (see 30.2). This practice is adopted here.

29.6.2   The Guam orthography
The 2019 Guam orthography also spells the low vowels as they sound, even if the result is that a root is spelled differently in its affixed and unaffixed forms. Thus, the Guam spelling of the words below is identical to the CNMI spelling (see (41)).

(42)   PHONEMIC   SPELLING
         REPRESENTATION   (GUAM)
         /ˈgwaha/   guaha   'exist'
         /gwaˈhɒ-ɲa/   guahå-ña   'what s/he has'

However, in other respects the Guam spelling system is a 'one word, one spelling' orthography. With one exception (described below), the letters described in 29.2 are deployed to give a uniform spelling to roots in all the different environments in which they occur. What this means for the spelling of nonlow vowels is the following:

(i)   In the Guam orthography, a nonlow vowel is spelled *e* or *o* if it is realized as mid in any form of the word, whether affixed or unaffixed; otherwise it is spelled *i* or *u*. Thus, the final vowels of the roots in (43) are spelled *e* or *o*, because these vowels are realized as mid in certain suffixed forms.

(43)   PHONEMIC   SPELLING
         REPRESENTATION   (GUAM)
         /ˈpɒtgun/   påtgon   'child'
         /patˈgon-hu/   patgon-hu   'my child'
         /ˈtɒtti/   tåtte   'back, behind'

/tat'te-kku/	tatte-ku	'behind me'
/'poʔlu/	po'lo	'put'
/p-in-eʔ'lo-mmu/	pine'lo-mu	'what you (sg.) put'

The vowels in the nonfinal syllables of the roots in (44) are also spelled *e* or *o*, even in suffixed words in which they are realized as high, because these vowels are realized as mid in the root.

(44) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
      REPRESENTATION (GUAM)

/'sensin/	sensen	'flesh'
/sin'sen-mu/	sensen-mu	'your (sg.) flesh'
/'boti/	boti	'boat'
/bu'ti-mu/	boti-mu	'your (sg.) boat'

(ii) An unstressed nonlow vowel that is pronounced high in all forms of the word is nonetheless spelled *e* or *o* when it occurs in a closed syllable; see (45a). In addition, in certain roots, an unstressed nonlow vowel that occurs in an open syllable and is pronounced high is spelled *e* or *o* when it precedes another vowel that is spelled *e* or *o*. This last convention is applied more consistently when the nonlow vowel is back than when it is front, as can be seen from the spelling of the middle vowels of the words in (45b).

(45) PHONEMIC   SPELLING
      REPRESENTATION (GUAM)

a.	/tsin'tsulu/	chenchulu	'fishing net'
	/kum'bida/	kombida	'invite'
	/ginin/	ginen	'from'
b.	/'ettigu/	ettigo	'low'
	/'uttimu/	uttimo	'last, final'
	/'dɒŋkulu/	dångkolo	'big'

(iii) However, when a nonlow vowel occurs in a stressed open syllable and is realized as high, it must be spelled *i* or *u*, even if it is 'normally' spelled *e* or *o*. This systematic exception to (i) produces a different spelling for some roots in certain types of suffixed words. For instance, according to (i), the roots /'tɒtti/ 'back, behind' and /'poʔlu/ 'put' are spelled *tåtte* and *po'lo*. But in words formed with the suffix *-(y)i*, the final vowel of the root occurs in a stressed open syllable and is realized as high (e.g. /tat'ti-dzi/ 'follow' and /puʔ'lu-dzi/ 'put for'), so in these words the vowel is exceptionally spelled *i* or *u* (e.g. *tattiyi* and *po'luyi*).

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Some details: In the Guam orthography, as in the CNMI orthography, the possessor agreement suffixes are separated from the rest of the word with a dash. See the discussion of this spelling convention in 29.6.1.

Geminates formed from voiceless stops, fricatives, the nasals /m, n, ŋ/, or /l/ are generally spelled as doubled consonants. Geminates formed from voiced stops can be spelled *pb, td, kg* or *bb, dd, gg* (see 29.3.3.2). Geminates formed from affricates, or from the palatal nasal, are spelled as single (undoubled) consonants; the Guam orthography does not distinguish them from the corresponding nongeminates. Consistent with the goal of giving just one spelling to each morpheme, the orthography does not represent the results of the phonological rules of gemination or degemination. E.g. /tatte-kku/ 'behind me' (which is usually pronounced [tɑtɛ-kku]) and /pineʔlo-mmu/ 'what you (sg.) put' are spelled *tatte-ku* and *pine'lo-mu*.

The glide /j/ is spelled *i* wherever it occurs; e.g. *taitai* 'read', *siette* 'seven', *hagoi* 'lake'. The glide /w/ is spelled *o* when it follows a low vowel and *u* when it precedes a vowel; e.g. *måolek* 'good', *kuentos* 'speak'. Note that a low vowel preceding the glide /w/ is spelled *å* when stressed but *a* otherwise; e.g. *tåotao* 'person', *hånao* 'go', *baotismo* 'baptism'.

When primary stress falls on a syllable that is not penultimate, it is indicated by an acute accent; e.g. *asút* 'blue', *tátaitai* 'read (progressive)'.

Finally, it should be noted that the 2019 Guam orthography capitalizes *ch* and *ng* as though they were single letters. The rationale for this seems to be that *ch* and *ng* each represent a single sound. Perhaps the sociolinguistically most significant result of this convention is a distinctive spelling of the word 'Chamorro': *CHamoru*.

29.6.3   Illustration of the differences

The brief excerpt below (from EM 81-82) illustrates some of the differences between the two official orthographies. It is presented in the 2010 CNMI orthography in (46a) and in the 2019 Guam orthography in (46b).

(46)a.   CNMI ORTHOGRAPHY
   Si Kanåriu mama'chechemchum gi ramas trongkun nunu...Si Kanåriu hinasson-ña na manlili'i' gui' birak…Tumekkun si Kanåriu ya ha oppi i kuestion Chungi'. Ilek-ña taiguini, "Kåo un li'i' atyu guatu na tinekcha'?"

   b.   GUAM ORTHOGRAPHY
   Si Kanårio mama'chéchemchom gi ramas trongkon nunu…Si Kanårio hinasso-ña na manlíli'e' gui' birak…Tumekkon si Kanårio ya ha oppe i kuestion CHunge'. Ilek-ña taiguini, "Kao un li'e' ayo guatu na tinekcha'?"

(47) repeats each sentence of the excerpt in the CNMI orthography, this time with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and a free translation.

(47)a. Si   Kanåriu   mama'chechemchum   gi   ramas
       UNM   *Kanåriu*   *AGR.ANTIP.make.nest.PROG*   *LCL branch.L*
       trongkun   nunu.
       tree.L   *banyan*
       'Kanåriu was making a nest in the branches of a banyan tree.'

    b. Si   Kanåriu   hinasson-ña   na
       UNM   *Kanåriu*   *WH[OBJ].think-AGR*   *COMP*
       manlili'i'   gui'   birak.
       AGR.ANTIP.see.PROG *she*   *ghost*
       'Kanåriu thought that she was seeing a ghost.'

    c. Tumekkun   si   Kanåriu   ya   ha oppi   i
       AGR.bow   *UNM*   *Kanariu*   *and.then*   *AGR answer the*
       kuestion   Chungi'.
       question.L   *Chungi'*
       'Kanariu bowed and answered Chungi's question.'

    d. Ilek-ña taiguini,   "Kåo   un li'i'   atyu   guatu   na
       say-AGR like.this   *Q*   *AGR see*   *that*   *over.there*   *L*
       tinekcha'?"
       fruit
       'She spoke like this, "Do you see that fruit over there?"'

29.7   More on glottal stop

Glottal stop is one of several distinctive sounds in Chamorro with a limited distribution within the word. This consonant apparently does not occur at the beginning of words (but see below); when it occurs within a root, it must follow a vowel or glide (see 29.3.1). And although glottal stop is pronounced when it occurs right after a stressed vowel, elsewhere it is often assimilated to an adjacent consonant or simply deleted (see 29.1.2).

This much is reasonably clear. However, glottal stops also occur in spoken Chamorro in environments where they are not obviously distinctive sounds. For instance, when speakers are asked to say a word beginning with a vowel, such as *åsu* 'smoke', in isolation, they sometimes will pronounce the word with no initial onset ([ɒsu]) or with initial breathy voice ([ɦɒsu]), but other times will pronounce it with an initial glottal stop ([ʔɒsu]). The last pronunciation raises a question: might the Chamorro words traditionally described as beginning with a vowel actually begin with the phoneme glottal stop? If such a reanalysis were adopted in its most general form, the lan-

guage would have no vowel-initial words at all. Instead, all words formerly thought to be vowel-initial (e.g. *åsu*) would begin with an initial consonant, namely, the phoneme glottal stop (as in the hypothetical *'åsu*).

A few descriptions of Chamorro phonology advocate this sort of re-analysis (see e.g. Topping and Dungca 1973: 170 and Klein 2005: 973). But when a broader range of facts is considered, it becomes clear that there is little positive evidence for taking word-initial glottal stop to be a *distinctive* sound.

(i) In a study of the perception and production of glottal stop, Garellek (2013) observes that "most languages tend to 'insert' glottal stops before vowel-initial words...Glottal stops before word-initial vowels are often optional...No other phonological insertion rule seems to be as widespread as glottal stop insertion across languages" (2013: 2). This crosslinguistic tendency could well lie behind the Chamorro pronunciation patterns described just above. If so, the initial glottal stop sometimes heard in the pronunciation of e.g. *åsu* would not be present in the underlying form of the word.

(ii) Glottal stops occur routinely in inflected words in Chamorro to separate two vowels that would otherwise be adjacent. Specifically:

When a prefix or proclitic that ends in a vowel is attached to a vowel-initial word, the two vowels are separated by a glottal stop. See the morpheme combinations and their pronunciations in (48). (Primary stress in these examples is represented with '. For simplicity, glottal stops that may precede the inflected word when it is pronounced in isolation are ignored.)

(48) MORPHOLOGY   PRONUNCIATION
      ma- + atan   [maˈʔatɑn]   'be looked at (passive
                                       realis sg./du.)'
      mí- + unai   [ˈmiʔunɑj]   'sandy, full of sand'
      á- + ayuda   [ˈaʔɑdzudɑ]   'help one another'
      ha + atan   [hɑˈʔatɑn]   'look at, watch (3 sg.
                                       realis)'

When reduplication for the progressive aspect (abbreviated RED in (49); see 2.2.1.1.1) applies to a stressed syllable with no onset, the reduplicated vowel is separated from the original vowel by a glottal stop.

(49) MORPHOLOGY   PRONUNCIATION
      atan + RED   [ˈaʔatɑn]   'look at (prog.)'
      á-kuentusi + RED [ˈaʔakwɛntusi]   'speak to each other
                                          (prog.)'

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The appearance of glottal stop in these environments *could* be viewed as further evidence that words like *atan* 'look at', *unai* 'sand', and so on begin with the phoneme glottal stop. However, another explanation is available: Chamorro is a language in which adjacent vowels are disallowed in indigenous words.[13] This makes it just as likely that the glottal stops in (48) and (49) are not present in the roots *atan*, *unai*, etc., but instead are inserted later, to prevent an illegal sequence of adjacent vowels in the inflected word.

(iii) The key test for recognizing distinctive sound is the existence of minimal pairs: pairs of unrelated words that differ in only one sound. Minimal pairs establish that the contrasting sounds are distinctive—different phonemes. Minimal pairs such as *bula* 'much, many' and *bola* 'ball' establish that /u/ and /o/ are different phonemes in Chamorro, despite the fact that the difference between them is neutralized in many environments. Similarly, the minimal pairs in (50), which differ only in the presence versus absence of glottal stop, establish that glottal stop is a phoneme when it occurs in the coda of a syllable.

(50) a. luga 'wall'
   luga' 'spit out'
  b. ngånga' 'duck'
   ngå'nga' 'open-mouthed'
  c. latti 'large stone pillar'
   latti' 'pull a scab off'
  d. ulu 'head'
   ulu' 'worm'
  e. tupu 'sugar cane'
   tupu' 'well (for water)'

The existence of minimal pairs like these makes it significant that Chamorro has no minimal pairs that differ only in the presence or absence of glottal stop in the onset of a syllable—and, more specifically, at the beginning of the word. This lack of positive evidence suggests that word-initial glottal stop is not a phoneme after all.

(iv) Finally, glottal stops sometimes occur in spoken Chamorro to separate vowel-initial words from prefixes or proclitics that end in sonorant

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[13] The ban on adjacent vowels holds for indigenous words but not for borrowed words, such as the Spanish loanwords /di.a/ 'day', /tsan.di.a/ 'watermelon', and so on. See 29.2 on the spelling of words containing sequences of adjacent vowels.

consonants—specifically, /j/ or /n/.[14] As with the pronunciation facts described at the beginning of this section, glottal stops in this environment are highly variable across speakers and situations. Impressionistically, they are found more often in slow speech than in fast speech, and more often when the initial vowel is stressed than when it is unstressed. A few examples are cited below.

(51) MORPHOLOGY   PRONUNCIATION

gái- + amiga   ['ga.jɑ.mi.gɑ] ~   'have a friend'
    ['gaj.ʔɑ.mi.gɑ]

man- + atan   [mɑ.'na.tɑn] ~   'look at (antipassive
    [mɑn.'ʔa.tɑn]   realis sg./du.)'

man- + ápplacha'   [mɑ.'nap.plɑ.tsɑʔ] ~   'dirty (realis pl.)'
    [mɑn.'ʔap.plɑ.tsɑʔ]

As in (ii) above, the appearance of glottal stop in these environments *could* be viewed as evidence that words like *atan* 'look at' begin with the phoneme glottal stop. (If so, this glottal stop would have to delete optionally after prefixes or proclitics ending in sonorant consonants and obligatorily after prefixes or proclitics ending in obstruents.) The alternative is to say that the patterns in (51) result from a failure of resyllabify. Generally, when a consonant-final prefix or proclitic combines with a vowel-initial root, the consonant and vowel are reconfigured as members of the same syllable (e.g. *chát-anti* 'bad spirit' is resyllabified as /'tsa.tan.ti/). The forms in (51) suggest that this resyllabification does not have to occur when the prefix or proclitic ends in a sonorant consonant (/j/ or /n/). When resyllabification fails, glottal stop is inserted as a remedy, to turn the vowel-initial syllable into a syllable with an onset.

Overall, the evidence just surveyed is either neutral between the two hypotheses (see (i), (ii), and (iv) earlier in this section) or else tilts in favor of the hypothesis that words like *åsu* do indeed begin with vowels.

29.8 Further reading

There have been many discussions of the Chamorro sound system, by e.g. Seiden (1960), Topping (1968), Topping and Dungca (1973), Witucki (1973), Chung (1983), Crosswhite (1998), Klein (2000), and Kaplan (2011). The CNMI spelling system and the Guam spelling system are both de-

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[14] These happen to be the only sonorant consonants that occur at the end of prefixes or proclitics.

scended from the standard orthography adopted by the Marianas Orthography Committee in 1971, which is described in Topping, Ogo, and Dungca (1975).

30

MORE SOUND PATTERNS

This chapter describes three morphophonemic alternations: umlaut, gemination, and nasal substitution.

30.1   Overview

The sound patterns described in Chapter 29 occur throughout the Chamorro language. Though intricate, they are fully general. Unsurprisingly, Chamorro also has sound patterns that are morphologically restricted, meaning that only certain morphemes activate them or exhibit them. Two of these morphophonemic alternations are used to indicate aspect or mood: reduplication for the progressive aspect (see 2.2.1.1) and the *m/f* alternation (see 2.2.3.1). This chapter is devoted to three morphophonemic alternations that are not used to convey meaning: umlaut (also known as vowel fronting), gemination, and nasal substitution. 30.5 summarizes how these alternations interact with reduplication for the progressive aspect.

30.2   Umlaut

Chamorro has a set of morphemes that cause the vowel of the immediately following syllable to be realized as a front vowel. When this happens, /u/ is realized as /i/, /o/ is realized as /e/, and /ɒ/ is realized as /a/. The similarity of this vowel fronting to the German morphophonemic alternation known as umlaut has been noted by many investigators (e.g. Safford 1903: 294, von Preissig 1918: 6, Chung 1983, Klein 2000, Kaplan 2011).[1] For this reason, the Chamorro alternation is called *umlaut* here.

   In Chamorro, umlaut is regularly activated by the following affixes and proclitics: the infix *-in-* (in all its uses), the definite article *i*, the oblique case marker *ni*, the local case marker *gi*, the subject agreement forms *in* '1 excl. du./pl.' and *en* '2 du./pl.' (both phonemically /in/; see 2.2.2.1.1). Umlaut is also activated, optionally, by the stressed prefix *mí-* 'full of' (28.4.6), the verbs of possession *gai* 'have' and *tai* 'not have' (see 14.3), and—for some

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[1] Conant (1911) and Topping (1968) instead connect this Chamorro alternation to vowel harmony in e.g. Turkic languages.

speakers—the preposition *ki* 'than'.[2] The fact that most of these morphemes contain a high front vowel suggests that at an earlier stage, the language may have had a more general phonological process that assimilated a vowel to any (high) front vowel in the immediately preceding syllable. But whatever its earlier history, umlaut is no longer a general, fully regular alternation in Chamorro today. This can be seen from the following:

(i) When umlaut is activated by the infix *-in-*, it affects the vowel of the immediately following syllable whether that vowel is stressed or not. See the forms in the righthand column below.

(1)

			WITH ACTIVATING
	SPELLING		MORPHEME *-in-*
/ˈkɒnnuʔ/	kånnu'	'eat'	kinannu'
/ˈpoʔlu/	po'lu	'put'	pine'lu
/ˈtugiʔ/	tugi'	'write'	tinigi'
/ˈdulalak/	dulalak	'chase'	dinilalak
/tuˈtuhun/	tutuhun	'begin'	tinituhun
/tuˈlajka/	tulaika	'change'	tinilaika

(ii) Otherwise, umlaut is sensitive to stress. It affects vowels that bear primary stress, as in (2).

(2)

			WITH ACTIVATING
	SPELLING		MORPHEME
/ˈtɒnuʔ/	tånu'	'land'	i tanu'
/ˈkostat/	kostat	'sack'	gi kestat
/ˈunaj/	unai	'sand'	i inai
/ˈkɒnnuʔ/	kånnu'	'eat'	in kannu'
/ˈpoʔlu/	po'lu	'put'	in pe'lu
/ˈhɒgu/	hågu	'you (sg.)'	ki hagu

In affixed words, umlaut can optionally affect vowels that are unstressed or bear secondary stress, as long as these vowels would have borne primary stress in the root (see Chung 1983). This is shown in (3a) for suffixed words

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[2] *Gai* 'have' and *tai* 'not have' are stressed prefixes, despite the fact that they are written as independent words in the official orthographies (see 14.3).

formed from *guma'* 'house', and in (3b) for a word formed by attaching the stressed prefix *mí-* (which activates umlaut) to *pugas* 'uncooked rice'.[3]

(3)

		SPELLING	WITH ACTIVATING MORPHEME
a.	/ˈgumaʔ/	guma'	gi gima'
	/guˈmɒʔ-hu/	gumå'-hu	gi gumå'-hu ~ gi gimå'-hu
	/ˌgumaʔ-ˈmidzu/	guma'-miyu	i guma'-miyu ~ i gima'-miyu
b.	/ˈpugas/	pugas	mipugas ~ mipigas

But if the activating morpheme is not -*in*-, umlaut does not affect vowels that are unstressed in all forms of the word. Compare the forms in (1) with those in (4).

(4)

	SPELLING		WITH ACTIVATING MORPHEME
/puˈpulu/	pupulu	'pepper leaf'	i pupulu
/kusˈtumbɾi/	kustumbri	'custom'	gi kustumbri
/tuˈtuhun/	tutuhun	'begin'	in tutuhun
/tuˈlajka/	tulaika	'change'	in tulaika

(iii) Although umlaut applies to many borrowed words, there are many borrowed words that it does not affect. The words in (5a) show this alternation, but those in (5b) do not.

(5)

		SPELLING		WITH ACTIVATING MORPHEME
a.	/kumˈbida/	kumbida	'invite'	kinimbida
	/ˈkɒtni/	kåtni	'meat'	i katni
	/ˈpotta/	potta	'door'	gi petta
	/ˈkobbli/	kopbli	'money'	i kepbli
b.	/ˈbota/	bota	'vote'	binota
	/ˈkwɒttu/	kuåttu	'room'	i kuåttu

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[3] No examples are cited of low vowels undergoing umlaut in this context, because the two low vowels merge when they do not bear primary stress (see 29.1.1 and 29.5.2.1).

/'bola/	bola	'ball'	i bola
/'troŋku/	trongku	'tree'	i trongku

Speakers mostly agree on which words are affected by umlaut and which are not, but a few words are treated differently by different speakers. For instance, when the infix *-in-* is attached to *hobin* 'young', the result is *hinoben* (without umlaut) for some speakers but *hineben* (with umlaut) for others; when *gåyu* 'rooster' is preceded by the definite article *i*, the result is *i gåyu* (without umlaut) for some speakers but *i gayu* (with umlaut) for others.

(iv) Exceptionally, umlaut can apply in possessed nouns even when no activating morpheme is present, as long as the initial syllable of the word would have borne primary stress in the root. This 'spontaneous' umlaut is illustrated in (6), with a possessed noun formed from *guma'* 'house'. Because this possessed noun is the complement of the negative existential verb *tåya'* 'not exist', it could not be preceded by any of the activating morphemes that normally occur with nouns; namely, the definite article *i* or the case markers *gi* or *ni* (see 14.2.2). Nonetheless, umlaut can optionally occur.

(6) Tåya'   gimå'-ña si   Jose   anai   umasagua.
     AGR.not.exist house-AGR UNM   Jose   when   AGR.marry
     'Jose didn't have a home when he got married.' (CD, entry for *guma'*)

(v) Umlaut appears to be optional for generic nouns—nouns that refer to typical representatives of a kind. In (7), the nouns *chupa* 'tobacco, cigarette' and *chotda* 'banana tree, green banana' are used generically: *chupa* refers to smoking in general, not any particular tobacco or smoking event, and *chotda* refers to whatever green bananas are being cooked in the (typical) boiling event described. The initial syllable of both nouns bears primary stress and is preceded by *i*, a morpheme that regularly activates umlaut. Although umlaut applies in (7a), it does not apply in (7b).

(7) a. I   chipa   muna'kånsit   si   Jose.
       the tobacco WH[SBJ].make.having.cancer UNM   Jose
       'Smoking caused Jose's cancer.' (CD, entry for *kånsit*)
    b. Saibuk i   chotda esta ki   åppan   i   kaddon-ña.
       boil   the banana until PRT AGR.dry.up the broth-AGR
       'Boil the banana until the liquid dries up.' (CD, entry for *åppan*)

Compare (8), in which *chotda* refers to a particular group of banana trees, and umlaut occurs.

(8) Mantinemba   i   chetda nu i   metgut na månglu'
    AGR.PASS.knock.down   the banana OBL the strong L   wind
    gi   ma'pus na   såkkan.
    LCL past   L   year
    'The bananas were knocked down by the strong wind last year.'
    (CD, entry for *gelli'appan chotda*)

All of this reveals that umlaut is an alternation in decline—one that has many intricate, idiosyncratic conditions. Consistent with this, there is morphological evidence that umlaut once applied more generally than it does now. Chamorro has two prefixes, *san-* and *ták-*, which attach only to local or directional nouns (see 28.5). The prefix *san-* creates derived nouns that name a location (see 5.5); the stressed prefix *ták-*, which is not productive, creates derived adjectives whose meaning can involve degree. Both prefixes activate umlaut in the small number of derived words in which they occur; compare e.g. *hulu'* 'top, above' with *sanhilu'* 'top, above' (from *san-* plus *hulu'*) and *tákkilu'* 'high' (from *ták-* plus *hulu'*). Similarly, the prefix *fa'-* 'make into' activates umlaut in a small number of derived words, many of which have unpredictable meanings (see 28.4.2); e.g. *fa'baba* 'deceive' (from *fa'-* plus *båba* 'bad'), *fa'ga'ga'* 'treat dishonestly, make fun of' (from *fa'-* plus *gå'ga'* 'animal').

Observe, finally, that umlaut occurs before reduplication for the progressive aspect (see 2.2.1.1.1). The result is that if the vowel of the CV copied by reduplication is front because of umlaut, then the vowel of the original CV is, too. Compare the verbs in (9a) with their progressive forms in (9b).

(9) | | | SPELLING | | WITH ACTIVATING MORPHEME |
    |---|---|---|---|---|
    | a. | /ˈsoŋgi/ | songgi | 'set on fire' | sinenggi |
    | | | | | in senggi |
    | | /ˈpulan/ | pulan | 'watch over' | pinilan |
    | | | | | in pilan |
    | b. | /ˈsosoŋgi/ | sosonggi | 'set on fire (prog.)' | sinesenggi |
    | | | | | in sesenggi |
    | | /ˈpupulan/ | pupulan | 'watch over (prog.)' | pinipilan |
    | | | | | in pipilan |

30.3   Gemination

The morphophonemic rule of gemination affects five suffixes with the shape -CV: the possessor agreement suffixes *-hu* '1 sg.', *-mu* '2 sg.', *-ña* '3 sg.' *-ta*

'1 incl. du./pl.', and the comparative suffix *-ña* 'more' (see 29.3.2.1).[4] When one of these suffixes is attached to a word that ends in a vowel and the stressed syllable of the original word is closed, gemination doubles (geminates) the consonant of the suffix. In Chamorro, primary stress always falls on the next-to-last (penultimate) syllable of a suffixed word (see 29.4.1). When the suffix has the shape -CV, primary stress falls on the syllable immediately preceding it—the syllable closed by the first half of the doubled consonant created by gemination. Intuitively, the result is that words with primary stress on a closed syllable maintain that pattern in certain suffixed forms, where they show primary stress on a *different* closed syllable (see Chung 1983).

The effects of gemination are illustrated below (see also 29.3.2.1). Note that the geminated form of *ñ* is spelled *nñ* (see 29.3.3.3). When the consonant of a possessor agreement suffix is geminated, the dash that separates the suffix from the rest of the word in the CNMI orthography is inserted between the doubled letters representing the geminated consonant (see 29.6.1). (Consonants that are doubled by gemination are spelled as single consonants in the Guam orthography; see 29.6.2.)

(10)			WITH -CV
	SPELLING		SUFFIX
/hi.ˈnas.su/	hinassu	'thought'	hinassom-mu
/ˈhun.ta/	hunta	'meeting'	huntåt-ta
/di.ˈɾet.tsu/	diretchu	'right'	diretchon-ña
/ˈkɒt.ni/	kåtni	'meat'	katnen-ña
/ˈdɒŋ.ku.lu/	dångkulu	'big'	dangkulonña

The forms in (11) show that gemination does not apply when a -CV suffix is attached to a word that has primary stress on an *open* syllable.

(11)			WITH -CV
	SPELLING		SUFFIX
/ˈtɒ.ta/	tåta	'father'	tatå-hu
/ma.ˈgɒ.gu/	magågu	'clothes'	magagu-mu
/kut.ˈtu.ɾa/	kuttura	'culture'	kutturå-ta
/di.ˈni.da/	dinida	'doubt'	dinidå-ña

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[4] The applicative suffix *-i* has the form *-yi* when attached to words ending in a vowel. Despite the fact that *-yi* has the shape -CV, it does not undergo the gemination rule; see below in the text.

When gemination applies to the 1 sg. suffix *-hu*, the /h/ exceptionally doubles to /kk/. Given that Chamorro /h/ is descended from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian **k*, this suggests that gemination is a relatively old feature of the Chamorro language.

(12)

	Spelling		With -CV suffix
/ma.ˈʔes.tɾa/	ma'estra	'teacher'	ma'estråk-ku
/ˈdeg.ga/	degga	'footwear'	deggåk-ku
/hi.ˈneŋ.gi/	hinenggi	'belief'	hinengek-ku

Gemination is an extraordinarily robust alternation. It affects almost all words that satisfy its conditions, whether they are indigenous or borrowed. (The borrowed words in (10) and (12) are *hunta* 'meeting', *diretchu* 'right', *kåtni* 'meat', and *ma'estra* 'teacher'.) The known exceptions are exceedingly few:

(i) Gemination exceptionally does not apply when a -CV suffix is attached to *che'lu* 'sibling', *saina* 'parent', or *anti* 'spirit', even though these words end in a vowel and have primary stress on a closed syllable. See e.g. *che'lu-hu* 'my sibling', *saina-mu* 'your (sg.) parent', *anti-ña* 'his soul'.

(ii) In the Saipan dialect, gemination exceptionally applies when a -CV suffix is attached to the directional nouns *håya* 'east, south, away from the ocean' and *lågu* 'west, north, towards the ocean'; e.g. *hayåk-ku* 'east of me', *lagok-ku* 'west of me' (see 5.4). Gemination does not apply to these forms today in the Guam dialect; e.g. *lagu-hu* 'north of me'. (Both *lagu-hu* and *lagok-ku* 'north of me' are reported by Safford (1903: 512, 1905: 307) for the Chamorro spoken on Guam at the beginning of the twentieth century.) In both Guam and Saipan, gemination exceptionally applies when a -CV suffix is attached to the dependent noun *iyu-* 'possession' (see 7.1.3); e.g. *iyom-mu* 'your (sg.) possession'.

(iii) When a -CV suffix is attached to a derived verb formed with the applicative suffix *-i*, gemination exceptionally occurs even if the verb is not stressed on a closed syllable. This is shown in (13) for the transitive verb *fa'gåsi* 'wash', which contains a fossilized version of *-i*, and the applicative *sangåni* 'tell', which is derived from *sångan* 'say'. Curiously, gemination does not occur when the derived verb is formed with *-yi*, the version of the applicative suffix *-i* that attaches to vowel-final roots. This is shown below for *tattiyi* 'follow', the applicative derived from *tåtti* 'back, behind'.

(13)

	Spelling		With -CV suffix
/faʔ.'ɡɒ.s-i/	fa'gåsi	'wash'	fina'gasem-mu
/sa.'ŋɒ.n-i/	sangåni	'tell'	sinanganen-ña
/tat.'ti.-dzi/	tattiyi	'follow'	tinattiyi-ña

The regular character of gemination makes it possible to use it as a diagnostic for syllable structure. The Chamorro language has two ways of syllabifying word-internal consonant clusters consisting of a consonant followed by a liquid or glide. In the indigenous pattern, the consonant forms the coda of one syllable and the liquid or glide forms the onset of the next syllable (e.g. /lok.luk/ 'boil'). In the borrowed pattern, the consonant forms a complex onset with the liquid or glide, so that the two are in the same syllable (e.g. /li.bɾa/ 'pound (unit of weight)'). Gemination is sensitive to this difference. When a -CV suffix is attached to e.g. *libra*, the consonant of the suffix is not doubled; see *librå-ña* 'his/her (weight in) pounds'. On the other hand, when a -CV suffix is attached to e.g. *bisiu* 'habit', *familia* 'family', or *rekla* 'menstruation', gemination occurs. This is evidence that in borrowed words of this second type, the syllable structure has assimilated to the indigenous pattern, as shown in the lefthand column of (14).[5]

(14)

	Spelling		With -CV suffix
/'bis.ju/	bisiu	'habit'	bisiok-ku
/fa.'mil.ja/	familia	'family'	familiån-ña
/'ɾek.la/	rekla	'menstruation'	reklåm-mu

Note, finally, that the Rota dialect has no geminate consonants at all, so it has no gemination rule (see 29.3.3.1).

30.4 Nasal substitution

The alternation known as nasal substitution occurs in most Western Malayo-Polynesian languages (see Blust 2013: 242). In Chamorro, this alternation occurs in words formed with the prefix *man-* and its irrealis form *fan-*. There are four such prefixes: (i) the plural prefix *man-* for human nouns (see 6.1.1.1); (ii) an unproductive prefix that attaches to nouns to form derived

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[5] Further evidence for resyllabification comes from the fact that the stressed mid and high vowels in these roots are pronounced lower (lax), as expected if their syllables are closed; e.g. [bIs.ju], [fɑ.mIl.jɑ], [ɾɛk.lɑ] (see 29.1.1).

intransitive verbs (see 28.4.5); (iii) the plural agreement prefix for intransitive verbs and adjectives (see 2.2.2.2); and (iv) the prefix that attaches to transitive verbs to derive the antipassive form (see 10.3.1). When the /n/ of any of these prefixes is immediately followed by a voiceless consonant (/p, t, k, ts, f, s/), the /n/ assimilates to the consonant in place of articulation, and the consonant deletes. Some examples of nasal substitution are given below.

(15) | | SPELLING | PREFIXED FORM | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /pɒliʔ/ | påli' | mamåli' | 'priests' |
| /tɒŋis/ | tångis | manångis | 'cry (realis pl.)' |
| /kahuluʔ/ | kahulu' | mangahulu' | 'rise (realis pl.)' |
| /fɒhan/ | fåhan | mamåhan | 'buy (antipassive realis sg.)' |

Note that when the voiceless consonant is the affricate /ts/ or the alveolar fricative /s/, /n/ becomes the palatal nasal /ɲ/ (spelled *ñ*). This too is characteristic of nasal substitution more generally in the Western Malayo-Polynesian languages.

(16) | | SPELLING | PREFIXED FORM | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /tseʔlu/ | che'lu | mañe'lu | 'siblings' |
| /sɒga/ | såga | mañåga | 'stay (realis pl.)' |
| /soddaʔ/ | sodda' | mañodda' | 'find (antipassive realis sg.)' |

Although the effects of nasal substitution are constant, the conditions under which it occurs vary from one prefix to another. So does the interaction of nasal substitution with reduplication for the progressive. The details are laid out below.

30.4.1 In plural nouns
A very few Chamorro nouns are obligatorily marked for the plural with the prefix *man-*; namely, *che'lu* 'sibling', *saina* 'parent', and *påli'* 'priest'. These plural nouns show nasal substitution.

(17) | NOUN | | PLURAL |
|---|---|---|
| che'lu | 'sibling' | mañe'lu |
| saina | 'parent' | mañaina |
| påli' | 'priest' | mamåli' |

In addition, the nouns *palåo'an* 'woman' and *påtgun* 'child' have irregular plural forms in which nasal substitution can be discerned; i.e. *famalåo'an* 'women' and *famagu'un* 'children'.

Otherwise, human plural nouns are marked only optionally with *man-* (and inanimate nouns do not show this marking at all; see 6.1.1.1). Nasal substitution usually does not occur in plural nouns as this type, as (18) shows. (The plural of *såntu* 'saint' is an exception to the generalization.)

(18)　NOUN　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　PLURAL
　　　　tåta　　　　　　'father'　　　　　　mantåta
　　　　parentis　　　　'relative'　　　　　manparentis
　　　　titugi'　　　　　'writer'　　　　　　mantitugi'
　　　　katoliku　　　　'Catholic'　　　　　mangkatoliku
　　　　sakki　　　　　'thief'　　　　　　　mansakki
　　　　såntu　　　　　'saint'　　　　　　　mañåntus

30.4.2　In denominal verbs

In Chamorro, the prefix *man-* (or its irrealis form *fan-*) is attached to a small number of nouns to create derived intransitive verbs that mean 'evolve, undergo development of [whatever the noun names]' (see 28.4.5). The derived verbs are *m/f* predicates (see 2.2.3.1). These verbs typically undergo nasal substitution when the conditions for the alternation are satisfied. In the forms cited in (19), the only denominal verb that fails to show nasal substitution is *mamfloris* 'bloom'.

(19)　NOUN　　　　　　　　　　DERIVED VERB
　　　　chåda'　　　'egg'　　　　mañåda'　　　　'lay eggs'
　　　　chetnut　　　'wound'　　　mañetnut　　　　'become infected'
　　　　chugu'　　　'sap'　　　　mañugu'　　　　'ooze'
　　　　susu　　　　'breast'　　　mañusu　　　　　'bud, develop'
　　　　floris　　　　'flower'　　　mamfloris　　　　'bloom'

Nasal substitution in denominal verbs like (19) occurs before the verb undergoes reduplication for the progressive. In other words, the nasal that 'replaces' the voiceless consonant of the original noun is doubled when the stressed CV of the denominal verb is reduplicated, as (20) shows.

(20)　DERIVED VERB　　　　　　　　　　　PROGRESSIVE
　　　　mañetnut　　　'become infected'　　mañeñetnut
　　　　mañugu'　　　'ooze'　　　　　　　mañuñugu'
　　　　mañusu　　　'bud, develop'　　　　mañuñusu

Given that word formation (here, the creation of the denominal verb) typically occurs before the derived word is inflected, this is unsurprising.

30.4.3 In intransitive verbs and adjectives
When an intransitive verb or adjective has a plural subject, it is marked with the plural agreement prefix *man-* in the realis mood, and *fan-* in the irrealis. Predicates that are marked with the plural agreement prefix generally show nasal substitution when they describe an event, but not when they describe a state (see 2.2.2.2.1). Compare the predicates in (21a), which show the realis plural prefix *man-* and undergo nasal substitution, with those in (21b), which do not.

(21) PREDICATE   REALIS PL.
 a. tohgi   'stand up'   manohgi
     kånta   'sing'   mangånta
     kalamtin   'move'   mangalamtin
     chotchu   'eat'   mañotchu
     såga   'stay, live'   mañåga
 b. puti   'hurt, ache'   manputi
     fotgun   'wet, soaked'   manfotgun
     chaddik   'quick'   manchaddik
     såfu'   'safe'   mansåfu'

This overall tendency has some exceptions. Certain event predicates that are marked with the plural agreement prefix show nasal substitution only optionally, or not at all.

(22) PREDICATE   REALIS PL.
     peska   'catch fish'   mameska ~ manpeska
     finu'   'speak (a language)' manfinu'
     kimason   'burn'   mankimason

Certain state predicates that are marked with this prefix can or must show nasal substitution.

(23) PREDICATE   REALIS PL.
     popbli   'poor'   mamopbli ~ manpopbli
     tai   'not have'   mantai ~ manai
     siha   'together (3 pers.)' mañiha

Moreover, even though passive verbs are intransitive (see 10.2), they do not show nasal substitution when they are marked for plural agreement, even when they describe events.

(24) PREDICATE   REALIS PL.
      pininu'   'be killed'   manpininu'
      tinigung   'be rushed at'   mantinigung
      chiniku   'be kissed'   manchiniku
      sinangåni   'be told'   mansinangåni

Note, finally, that when a predicate is marked with the plural agreement prefix, nasal substitution takes effect *after* reduplication for the progressive. The result is that even when a voiceless consonant in the doubled CV is 'replaced' by the nasal of the plural agreement prefix, the voiceless consonant in the original CV remains unchanged. This distinctive pattern is illustrated below.

(25) PROGRESSIVE VERB   REALIS PL.
      popoddung   'fall (prog.)'   mamopoddung
      totohgi   'stand (prog.)'   manotohgi
      kåkanta   'sing (prog.)'   mangåkanta
      chochotchu   'eat (prog.)'   mañochotchu
      såsaga   'stay, live (prog.)' mañåsaga

See the next subsection for more discussion.

30.4.4   In antipassive verbs
In Chamorro, the antipassive of most transitive verbs is formed with the antipassive prefix *man-* (or its irrealis counterpart *fan-*). The result is an intransitive form of the verb whose internal argument cannot be realized as a direct object, but instead is implicit, or else realized as a noun phrase in the oblique case (see 10.3).

Antipassive verbs that are formed with the antipassive prefix undergo nasal substitution with great regularity, whether they are indigenous or borrowed words.

(26)   ANTIPASSIVE
      VERB   (REALIS SG.)
      punu'   'kill'   mamunu'
      padesi   'suffer'   mamadesi
      tugung   'rush at'   manugung

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tenta	'tempt'	manenta
kumbida	'invite'	mangumbida
fa'nå'gui	'teach'	mama'nå'gui
chagi	'try'	mañagi
setbi	'serve'	mañetbi

Only a very few antipassive verbs exceptionally do not show nasal substitution, or show it only optionally. Two such verbs, both of them borrowed words, are cited below.

(27)   ANTIPASSIVE

VERB		(REALIS SG.)
prensa	'iron'	mamrensa ~ manprensa
translåda	'translate'	mantranslåda

When nasal substitution applies to an antipassive verb, the alternation takes effect *before* reduplication for the progressive. In other words, if a voiceless consonant in the doubled CV is 'replaced' by the nasal of the antipassive prefix, then the consonant in the original CV is, too. This is the reverse of what was seen earlier (in 30.4.3) for intransitive predicates that are marked with the plural agreement prefix. Compare the antipassive verbs in the righthand column of (28) with the predicates that show plural agreement in (25).

(28)   ANTIPASSIVE

PROGRESSIVE VERB		(REALIS SG.)
pupunu'	'kill (prog.)'	mamumunu'
tutugung	'rush at (prog.)'	manunugung
kakassi	'tease (prog.)'	mangangassi
chagi	'try (prog.)'	mañañagi
sodda'	'find (prog.)'	mañoñodda'

Recall now that antipassive verbs are intransitive. When they have a plural subject, they show the plural agreement prefix, as shown below.

(29)   ANTIPASSIVE

VERB		(REALIS PL.)
punu'	'kill'	manmamunu'
tugung	'rush at'	manmanugung
kassi	'tease'	manmangassi
sodda'	'find'	manmañodda'

Each verb in the righthand column of (29) contains two *man-* prefixes: the antipassive prefix and the plural agreement prefix. Because nasal substitution treats these prefixes differently when it interacts with reduplication, it is possible to use the difference to determine which prefix occurs first when they occur together. In fact, plural antipassive verbs that are marked for the progressive aspect show the 'antipassive' pattern of nasal substitution: if the consonant of the doubled CV is 'replaced' by the nasal of the prefix, then the consonant of the original CV is, too. This pattern, illustrated in (30), reveals that the prefix closest to the verb is the antipassive prefix. In other words, the order of prefixes is plural agreement followed by antipassive.

(30)

		ANTIPASSIVE
PROGRESSIVE VERB		(REALIS PL.)
pupunu'	'kill (prog.)'	manmamumunu'
kassi	'tease (prog.)'	manmangangassi
sodda'	'find (prog.)'	manmañoñodda'

30.5 Interaction with reduplication

The preceding sections have not dealt systematically with reduplication for the progressive aspect (see 2.2.1.1). However, the issue of how this reduplication interacts with other morphophonemic alternations, and with the sound structure of Chamorro more generally, has come up several times before. The details described earlier are brought together here.

The following morphophonemic alternations, and other aspects of Chamorro sound structure, are fixed *before* a predicate is reduplicated for the progressive:

(i)   umlaut (see 30.2);

(ii) gemination (see 30.3);[6]

(iii) nasal substitution with the denominal verb prefix (see 30.4.2) and the antipassive prefix (see 30.4.4);

(iv) the distribution and pronunciation of mid and high vowels (see 29.1.1, 29.5.1, and 29.5.2.2).

The following morphophonemic alternations, and other aspects of sound structure, are fixed only *after* reduplication for the progressive has occurred:

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[6] Gemination takes effect before reduplication for the progressive aspect for the following reason: it must take effect before the distribution of mid and high vowels is determined (see 29.5.2.2). Because the distribution of mid and high vowels is fixed before reduplication occurs, gemination too must occur before this point.

(v) nasal substitution with the plural agreement prefix (see 30.4.3);

(vi) the distribution and pronunciation of low vowels (see 29.1.1 and 29.5.2.1).

Finally, the infixes *-um-* and *-in-* are inserted only *after* reduplication for the progressive has occurred (see Harizanov 2017 for discussion).

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