

# Chamorro Grammar Basics

---

Evelyn TeSelle

May 14th, 2021

All generalizations and data in this paper come from Chung (2020). Page numbers can be found by each example.

## Chapter 1: Introduction to Chamorro and Basic Word Order of Clauses and Noun Phrases

### 1 Introduction

Chamorro is an indigenous language of the Mariana Islands, which is a collection of fifteen islands in the Western Pacific Ocean. The language is spoken primarily by the Chamorros, an indigenous group of the Mariana Islands, as well as Carolinians (Refaluwasch) who came to the islands in the nineteenth century. Chamorro is currently the official language of Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), and there are language revival efforts ongoing.

The goal of this chapter is to describe the basic word order of Chamorro clauses and noun phrases. We will begin by looking at clauses in which the predicate is a verb, and we will examine the word order of these clauses in which both intransitive and transitive verbs are present. We will then examine the word order of clauses with adjective predicates. Next, we will look at the word order of clauses where the predicate is a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase. In order to better understand the aforementioned word orders, we will also take a closer look at where adjuncts can appear in a clause. Finally, we will examine the word order of noun phrases.

### 2 Word Order When Predicate is a Verb or Adjective

The flexibility of Chamorro word order changes depending on the part of speech of the predicate. When the predicate is a verb or adjective, there is some variability in word order. This contrasts with noun and prepositional predicates, which we will examine in section (3). Word order also changes depending on the type of verb.

As a note, adjectives in Chamorro can serve as predicates in that they describe states of being. Their function in the sentence is similar to a verb.

- (1) Mumalangu ya mapo'lu gi espitât  
AGR[SG].sick and.then AGR[SG].PASS.put LCL hospital  
'He became sick and was put in the hospital'  
pg. 186

In example (1) above, we see how the adjective *sick* can serve as the predicate in Chamorro.

#### 2.1 Intransitive Verbs

The most common word order for clauses containing intransitive verbs is PREDICATE SUBJECT OBLIQUES. Some types of adjuncts can also appear on the leftmost side of the clause.

- (2) Yanggin manggaigi hit Saipan.  
if AGR.be.at we.INCL Saipan  
'If we (incl.) are in Saipan...'  
pg. 49

In example (2), the verb *manggaigi* is marked with an intransitive agreement marker *man-*. This means that *Saipan* cannot be a direct object, and is instead an oblique. *Yanggin* is a complementizer, so it can appear before the

predicate. Adjuncts can appear in this position as well. This is the most common word order for intransitive verbs, but in section (2.2) we will lay out some other possible word orders for both intransitive and transitive clauses.

### 2.1.1 Possessive Constructions

Possessive constructions with one argument follow a very similar word order pattern to regular intransitive clauses, with a slight difference in the form of the verb.

In a possessive construction, the verb combines with the item which is being possessed in order to create a complex verb. Otherwise, possessive constructions have the same word order as clauses containing regular intransitive verbs (if they have one argument).

- (3) Gof tai asi' si ton gi as Maria.  
 AGR.very not.have pity UNM Ton LCL LCL Maria  
 'Ton has no pity for Maria'  
 pg. 333

In example (3) above, *not have pity* is all part of the complex verb. We can see that the clause begins with an adjunct and then follows the PREDICATE SUBJECT OBLIQUE word order pattern. We know that *Maria* is an oblique here because it is preceded by local case markers, making *for Maria* a prepositional phrase and not a direct object. The word glossed as *UNM* in this example is a case marker which is showing that this clause as an unmarked case (not to be confused with not being marked for case). Case in Chamorro will be covered in depth in section (9).

## 2.2 Transitive Verbs

The most common word order for clauses containing transitive verbs is PREDICATE SUBJECT OBJECT OBLIQUES.

- (4) Ha daggão i patgun i bola guatu gi taotao  
 AGR throw the child the ball to.there LCL person  
 'The child threw the ball to the man'  
 pg. 61

We can see in example (4) that the predicate (and an agreement marker) comes first, followed by the subject *child*, then the object *ball*, and finally the oblique which is the prepositional phrase *to the man*. This is the most common word order for clauses containing transitive verbs.

But, the word order is flexible for clauses containing both intransitive and transitive verbs, particularly for the subject. The subject can appear at the rightmost edge of the clause or follow the direct object and precede obliques. The options below are also available for intransitive clauses; the possible locations for the subject would be the same and there would not be a direct object.

- (5) Subject on rightmost edge  
 Ha daggão i bola guatu gi taotao i patgun  
 AGR throw the ball to.there LCL person the child  
 'The child threw the ball to the man'  
 pg. 62

- (6) Subject following direct object  
 Para u po'lu i kusàs-ña siha i ma'estra gi istanti  
 FUT AGR put the things-AGR PL the teacher LCL shelf  
 'The teacher is going to put her things on the shelf'  
 pg. 62

The different constructions do not change the meaning of the phrase. When it is unclear which item is the subject and which is the object, the subject comes first for clarity.

- (7) Ha apâpasi si Carmen i lalâhi singku pesos  
 AGR pay.PROG UNM Carmen the PL.man five dollars  
 ‘Carmen is paying the men five dollars’  
 pg. 63

In example (7) above, we can see that the subject *Carmen* precedes the object *the men* for clarity. This is the preferred construction for this sentence.

There are some other types of clauses that follow the same word order patterns as regular transitive clauses, including clauses containing passive constructions, applicatives, and causatives.

### 2.2.1 Passive Constructions

Passive constructions with multiple arguments follow the same word order pattern as regular transitive verbs.

- (8) Nina’i si Lucia as Dorothy ni fingkâs-ña siha.  
 AGR.PASS.give UNM Lucia OBL Dorothy OBL goods-AGR PL  
 ‘Dorothy gave all of her belongings to Lucia’  
 pg. 218

In example (8) above, *Lucia* is the subject, *Dorothy* is the passive agent, and *all of her belongings* is an oblique. This follows the same word order pattern as regular transitive verbs, if the object is replaced by the passive agent.

### 2.2.2 Applicatives

Applicatives promote an oblique to the direct object. In Chamorro, phrases containing applicative verbs follow the same word order patterns as regular transitive verbs.

- (9) Ti ha payuyuni trabiha i ga’lâgu i sagâ-ña  
 not AGR accustomed.to.PROG yet the dog the place-AGR  
 ‘The dog is not accustomed to his place yet’  
 pg. 238

In example (9) above, we can see that *the place* would normally be an oblique, but because of the applicative predicate *payuyuni* it has been promoted to the direct object. This makes the clause a transitive clause, and it follows the same word order patterns as regular transitive clauses. We also see that negation appears on the leftmost edge of the clause in this example.

### 2.2.3 Causatives

For the most part, causative clauses follow the same word order pattern as regular transitive verbs. A causative verb is one that indicates the subject has caused something else to do or be something or caused a change in state.

- (10) Ha na’dotchun i fuetsan i pakyu i hayun loddu’ gi talu’ trongkun niyuk  
 AGR make.penetrate the force.L the typhoon the wood.L 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’  
 pg. 274

In example (10) above, the clause begins with the predicate (and agreement) *make penetrate*, followed by the subject *the force of the typhoon*, followed by the object *a thick piece of wood*, and finally the oblique *into the center of a coconut tree*. This is the same basic word order pattern as regular transitive clauses.

Causative clauses also often take on the other word orders available to transitive clauses. The subject can occur on the far right of the clause or after the direct object but before the obliques and adjuncts.

- (11) Subject on the rightmost edge

Ha na'puti ha' kannai-hu anai ha' gu'ut si Long  
AGR make.hurt EMP hand-AGR when AGR hold UNM Long

'Long made my hand hurt when he grasped it'  
pg. 274

- (12) Subject following direct object

Ha na'kiba' i matã-ña si Joaquin guatu gi as Lourdes  
AGR make.frown the face-AGR UNM Joaquin guatu gi as Lourdes

'Joaquin made a face (lit. made his face frown) to Lourdes'  
pg. 274

The direct object can also appear after an oblique or adjunct, but this is rare.

- (13) Direct object after oblique/adjunct

Ha na'besti floris i gaputilu-ña si Maria  
AGR make.decorated flower the hair-AGR UNM Maria

'Maria decorated her hair with flowers'  
pg. 275

In example (13) above, we can see that the direct object *hair* appears after the obliques *flower*. As we can see from all the above examples, the word order is relatively fluid for clauses with verbs or adjectives as the predicate. Next, we will look at types of clauses that have a fixed word order.

### 3 Word Order When Predicate is an NP or PP

In Chamorro, noun phrases and prepositional phrases can serve as the predicate. A verb is not required in these sentences. The fixed word order for these clauses is *predicate-phrase subject*. This word order cannot change, unlike the flexible word order of clauses where the predicate is a verb or adjective.

- (14) NP Predicate

[Putlumenus benti singku añus] 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).'  
pg. 64

In example (14), the NP *at least twenty five years* is a noun phrase that serves as a predicate-phrase. The subject is the word *age* which agrees with the first person plural, so there is an implied subject from the agreement.

- (15) PP Predicate

[Disdi i apuya' para hulu'] pättin i matlina  
from the navel to above portion.L the godmother

'The godmother's portion is from the navel up.'  
pg. 65

In example (15) above, the PP *from the navel to above* is the prepositional phrase that serves as the predicate-phrase. The subject is the NP *the godmother's portion*. Both of these examples are consistent with the fixed PREDICATE-PHRASE SUBJECT word order of clauses with a NP or PP as the predicate.

## 4 Adjuncts

Adjuncts have many possible locations in which they can appear in a phrase, depending on the type and function of the adjunct. Below is a summary of common word orders for Chamorro clauses, and each *x* represents a place where an adjunct may go. TAM is a marker of tense, aspect, or mood. As we can also see from the below summary, negation appears before the predicate and TAM.

- (16) Dominant word order of clauses formed from verbs or adjectives:  
x Negative TAM Predicate x Subject Object Obliques x  
pg. 69

We can see in example (16) above that in clauses formed from verbs or adjectives, adjuncts can appear on the leftmost side of the clause, after the predicate, or on the rightmost edge of the clause after the obliques.

- (17) Word order of clauses formed from NPs or PPs:  
x Negative TAM Predicate-Phrase x Subject x  
pg. 69

Similarly, we can see in example (17) above that in clauses formed NPs or PPs, adjuncts can appear on the leftmost side of the clause, after the predicate-phrase, or on the rightmost of the clause after the subject.

Most adjuncts, regardless of type, can appear in any of these locations.

- (18) **Yanggin maipi i ha'ani**, falak esti na trongku ya un lihing **gi papá'-ña sa'**  
if AGR.hot the day go.to this L tree and.then AGR shelter LCL below-AGR because  
**sen fresku**  
AGR.extremely cool  
'If it's a hot day, go to this tree and take shelter under it because it's extremely cool'  
pg. 66

In example (18) above, we can see the adjuncts (bolded phrases) coming at both the leftmost and rightmost edge of the phrase. But, there are some type of adjuncts with more restrictions on where they can appear.

- (19) Kulang mohon sinientin matarabiran tãnu  
seems.like UNREAL NMLZ.feel.L NMLZ.PASS.turn.L earth  
'It seems like the feeling of the earth spinning'  
pg. 66

In example (19) above, the adjunct *mohon* must appear directly after the element it is modifying. *Mohon* is a contrary-to-the-fact adverb. This specific type of adjunct cannot be separated from the word it is modifying. This means it cannot appear on the right or left edge of the clause like many other adjuncts can.

- (20) I amigã-hu ha sen honggi i paktu  
the friend-AGR AGR extremely believe the magic  
'My girlfriend really believes in magic power'  
pg. 67

Another example of an adjunct with a restricted placement can be seen in example (20) above. The word *sen* must appear before the verb or adjective that it modifies, as it is considered a prefix to that word.

### 4.1 Adverbs

Like other adjuncts, it is possible for adverbs to appear at the left edge of the clause, the right edge of the clause, or immediately after the predicate. However, there are some limitations on this depending on the type of adverb.

Phonologically-dependent or lexically-dependent adverbs must combine with specific elements of the clause. For instance, the adverb *maisa* must come directly after the verb to give the verb a reflexive meaning.

- (21) Tohgi hulu'ya un        difendin maisa    hã  
 stand up        and.then AGR    defend.L self you  
 'Stand up and defend yourself'  
 pg. 400

Furthermore, there are some adverbs that must go on the left edge of the clause and some that must go on the right edge of the clause. Some adverbs can appear in all three locations. Some generalizations can be made about the types of adverbs in each category, such as the fact that many modal and degree adverbs can only appear on the leftmost edge of the clause.

- (22) Fa'na'an hãgu 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'  
 pg. 401

We see an example of this in (22), where the adverb *fa'na'an* must appear on the leftmost edge of the clause as it is a degree adverb. But despite the fact that some generalizations like this can be made, some of the restrictions still appear arbitrary and require more research.

## 5 Word Order of Noun Phrases

As we have seen in the previous sections about clauses, Chamorro is a predicate-first and head-first language. This means that in a noun phrase, the head noun usually appears to the left of the other elements of the phrase with the exception of the determiner.

- (23) i    che'lun Juan palão'an  
 the sibling.L Juan female  
 'Juan's sister'  
 pg. 171

As we can see in example (23), the head noun is preceded by the determiner, and everything else occurs to the right of the head noun. The main elements that can move around in a NP are the modifiers, which can appear in multiple locations depending on the type of modifier. For instance, relative clauses can appear either to the left of all other modifiers or all the way on the right of the clause.

- (24) sigun i ripot gi mes [ni ha fa'titinas i Dipattamentun Environmental Quality]  
 according the report LCL month COMP AGR make.PROG the Department.L Environmental Quality  
 'according to the monthly report (lit. the report by month) made by the Department of Environmental Quality'  
 pg. 170

In example (24) we see the relative clause in brackets appears on the right of all other modifiers.

Finally, some NPs in Chamorro contain a possessor with possessor agreement. This possessor can precede or follow a modifier if it agrees with the head noun. In example (41), we see the possessor *che'lu-ña* precedes the other modifiers.

- (25) i    che'lu-ña si Juan palão'an  
 the sibling-AGR UNM Juan female  
 'Juan's sister'  
 pg. 171

Now that we have established the basic elements of a Chamorro noun phrase, below is a summary of the word order options described above. Each *x* represents a location where a modifier could appear.

- (26) Word order of noun phrases:  
Determiner *x* Noun *x* Possessor *x* Obliques Adjuncts *x*  
pg. 171

This summary in example (26) as well as the examples above help us understand the basic word order of Chamorro noun phrases as well as the variability in the possible locations of modifiers.

## 6 Conclusion

From the examples we have looked at so far in this chapter, we can see that Chamorro is generally a predicate-first and head-first language. We examined how the most common word order for clauses containing intransitive verbs is *predicate subject obliques*, with some movement being possible for the subject. We also know that possessive constructions behave similarly to intransitive verbs in terms of word order. We also saw that the most common word order for clauses containing transitive verbs is *predicate subject object obliques* and that the subject can move around in these clauses as well. Specifically, the subject can appear on the rightmost edge of the clause or follow the direct object. We also know that passive constructions, applicatives, and causatives have similar word order patterns to regular transitive clauses. Next, we examined how when the predicate is a NP or PP, the fixed word order is *predicate-phrase subject*.

We looked at how adjuncts and adverbs have multiple possible locations in a clause, including the rightmost edge of the clause, the leftmost edge of the clause, or directly after the predicate. These elements have some restrictions on where they can appear depending on the type of adjunct or adverb.

Finally, by examining the word order of noun phrases, we found that noun phrases usually begin with a determiner and the head noun, which is followed by any possessor, obliques, or adjuncts. Modifiers can also appear in many locations throughout the noun phrase. With this information, we can begin to understand the basic word order of Chamorro and how variable word order can be depending on the types of elements present within a clause.

## Chapter 2: Agreement, Case, and Gender

### 7 Introduction

This chapter is a general overview of Chung's (2020) findings on agreement, case, and gender in Chamorro. We will begin by looking at agreement along the lines of transitivity in order to begin to understand the morphemes involved. We will then reanalyze the agreement forms as two groups depending on whether or not they can agree with the person and number of the subject. Next, we will examine three simpler types of agreement: possessor agreement, wh-agreement, and complementizer agreement.

We will then examine the three main cases in Chamorro: unmarked, oblique, and local. We will look at the form of the case markers for each, and then discuss the use of each case in context.

Finally, we will briefly review the gender system in Chamorro, which is not extensive and largely borrowed from Spanish. We will begin by looking at agreement in Chamorro and analyzing the agreement systems for transitive and intransitive verbs and the different moods that can be expressed with agreement.

### 8 Agreement

In Chamorro, verbs generally agree with their subjects and that agreement can be in one of two moods: realis or irrealis. Realis mood is used when the speaker knows that what they are saying is a completely true statement of fact. Irrealis mood is used when the speaker does not know that what they are saying is a statement of fact at the

time of speaking. Depending on the mood and on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, the verb can agree with the subject in either both person and number or just number.

We will begin in sections (8.1) and (8.2) by laying out the Chamorro agreement system for transitive and then intransitive verbs as a “single set of agreement paradigms that are sensitive to mood and transitivity” (Chung, 20). But, in section (8.3) we will look at another method of categorizing the agreement system as “two separate types of agreement that can co-occur” (Chung, 20).

## 8.1 Agreement of Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs agree with their subjects in both person and number. The agreement forms can express first, second, and third person. The forms can also distinguish singular and dual/plural. Agreement with the subject is expressed with the verb through morphemes that precede the verb. The agreement morphemes for both the realis and irrealis moods for transitive verbs will be listed and discussed in the following sections.

### 8.1.1 Transitive Realis Agreement

The table below in example (27) shows the agreement morphemes that appear before transitive verbs in the realis mood in order to agree with the subject in person and number.

(27) 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

These morphemes appear before the verb and stand alone (as opposed to appearing as affixes) but they are still considered to be agreement morphemes instead of pronouns. This is because they both express mood and co-occur with the subjects that they reference. An example of the usage of the agreement morpheme can be seen below.

- (28) Ha lolommuk i amut si Tan Biriña  
 AGR pound.prog the medicine UNM Mrs. Biriña  
 ‘Tan Biriña was pounding the medicine’  
 pg. 21

In example (28) above, the morpheme *ha* agrees with the third person singular subject *Tan Biriña* in both person and number. Next, we will observe the agreement morphemes for transitive verbs in the irrealis mood.

### 8.1.2 Transitive Irrealis Agreement

The table below in example (29) shows the agreement morphemes that appear before transitive verbs in the irrealis mood in order to agree with the subject in person and number.

(29) Agreement for Transitive Verbs in the Realis 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



An example of the usage of these agreement morphemes can be seen below.

- (30) Para uma paini i famalão'an i gaputulun-ñiha  
 FUT AGR comb the PL.woman the hair-AGR  
 'The women are going to comb their hair'  
 pg. 21

In example (30) above, the morpheme *uma* agrees with the third person plural/dual subject *famalão'an* in both person and number.

We can see in the tables in both example (27) and example (29) that the first person dual/plural has both an inclusive and exclusive form. The inclusive form includes the listener, while the exclusive form does not. Next, we will examine the agreement system for both the realis and irrealis moods for intransitive verbs and adjectives.

## 8.2 Intransitive Verbs and Adjectives

The agreement system for intransitive verbs and adjectives is more complicated than that of transitive verbs. There are more distinct differences between how verbs agree in the two different moods, as well as more ways of expressing agreement on a verb including nasal substitution and infixes. We will begin by examining agreement for intransitive verbs and adjectives in the realis mood.

### 8.2.1 Intransitive Realis Agreement

Intransitive verbs and adjectives in the realis mood agree with their subjects in number but not in person. The number can be distinguished as singular/dual or plural. The table below in example (31) shows the agreement morphemes that appear before intransitive verbs and adjectives in the realis mood in order to agree with the subject in number.

- (31) Agreement for Intransitive Verbs and Adjectives in the Realis Mood

sg./du.	-um-/Ø
pl.	man-

As we can see in the table above, the singular/dual number is indicated using the infix *-um-* (before the first vowel in the word) or no marking. The plural number is indicated using the prefix *man-*. An example of these agreement forms can be seen below.

- (32)

Predicate	Singular/Dual Realis	Plural Realis
kâti (cry)	kumâti	mangâti
sâga (stay)	sumâga	mañâga
lachi (wrong)	lachi	manlachi

In example (32) above, we can see three Chamorro predicates agreeing with both a singular/dual subject and a plural subject. We can see that for both *kâti* and *sâga*, the *-um-* infix is added before the first vowel to agree with a singular/dual subject and the prefix *man-* is added to agree with a plural subject. For *lachi*, no marking is added to agree with a singular/dual subject (as this marking is optional) and the prefix *man-* is added to agree with a plural subject.

When we compare this agreement system to that of transitive verbs, we notice that for transitive verbs the dual and plural numbers are realized with the same agreement forms, but for intransitive verbs the dual and singular numbers are realized with the same agreement forms. This split in the handling of the dual number will be explored further in section (8.3).

There is another element to this agreement system in the realis, which regards intransitive verbs and adjectives that describe states of being. When an intransitive verb or adjective is in the realis mood and agreeing with singular or dual subject, it will use *-um-* to agree if it describes the beginning or inception of a state and no marking if

it simply describes a state. This only applies when agreeing with a singular or dual subject, not a plural. An example of this pattern can be seen below.

(33)

Predicate	Singular/Dual Realis	Meaning
gaigi	gaigi	be (at a place)
gaigi	gumaigi	come to be (at a place)

In example (33) above, we can see that the same predicate can have two different meanings when agreeing with a singular/dual subject in the realis mood depending on whether the infix *-um-* is used. When *-um-* is used, the predicate means *come to be* which signifies the inception of the state of being. When no marking is used, the predicate simply means *be*.

Similarly, there is a way to distinguish between states and events using agreement for intransitive verbs and adjectives in the realis mood that agree with a plural subject. In many Austronesian languages including Chamorro, prefixes can undergo a process called nasal substitution. This is where a prefix which ends in a nasal (in this case, the prefix *man-* attaches to a root word and the final nasal “assimilates to the place of articulation of an immediately following voiceless consonant (/p, t, k, ts, f, s/), and the voiceless consonant deletes” (Chung, 26). In this case, the plural agreement prefix will undergo nasal substitution when the verb or adjective describes an event and not when it describes a state. An example of this pattern can be seen below.

(34)

Predicate	Plural Realis	Meaning
poddung	mamoddung	fall
pika	manpika	spicy

In example (34) above, we see that when the predicate describes an event such as *poddung*, the /n/ in the prefix *man-* assimilates to the place of /p/ and the /p/ is deleted. When the predicate describes a state such as *pika*, the prefix *man-* attaches to the root word with no changes. There are some specific exceptions to this generalization of distinguishing states from events, but this is the most common pattern. Next, we will look at the agreement system for intransitive verbs and adjectives in the irrealis mood.

### 8.2.2 Irrealis

Unlike in the realis mood, intransitive verbs and adjectives in the irrealis mood agree with their subjects in both person and number. The forms distinguish three separate numbers: singular, dual, and plural. The table below in example (35) shows the agreement morphemes that appear before intransitive verbs and adjectives in the irrealis mood in order to agree with the subject in person and number.

(35) Agreement for Intransitive Verbs and 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-

An example of the usage of these agreement morphemes can be seen below.

- (36) Para bai in fanguentus  
 FUT AGR AGR AGR.speak  
 ‘We (excl. pl.) are going to speak’  
 pg. 29

In example (36) above, we see that the morphemes and prefix *bai in fan-* comes before the intransitive verb in the irrealis mood to agree with the exclusive plural subject in person and number. Now that we have looked at all of the agreement systems for transitive and intransitive verbs in both the realis and irrealis moods, we can reexamine these systems to see if there is a more logical way to organize them given the many differences between the patterns for each verb type and mood.

### 8.3 Agreement Reanalyzed

By examining the patterns in the above sections, we can begin to see some connections in the agreement systems between transitive and intransitive verbs. Chung writes that instead of looking at the patterns within the confines of transitive and intransitive verbs, “it would be simpler to analyze the agreement paradigms as the result of two separate types of agreement that can co-occur” (Chung, 29).

The first type of agreement are those systems which agree in both person and number. The second type are those systems which agree in only number. The morphemes that make up these two systems are reorganized into two groups and shown in the tables below.

- (37) Person and Number Forms: Realis

1 sg.	(bai) 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

- (38) Person and Number Forms: 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)

- (39) Number Forms: Realis

sg./du.	-um-/Ø
pl.	man-

- (40) Number Forms: Irrealis

sg./du.	Ø
pl.	fan-

We can see in examples (37), (38), (39), and (40) above that by grouping the agreement forms into two systems based on whether they indicate both person and number or just number, the two groups suddenly become much more clear and consistent with one another. For the person and number forms, the dual and plural numbers are identified by the same morpheme, while for the number forms the dual and singular numbers are identified by the

same morphemes. Additionally, all of the morphemes in the person and number forms are freestanding morphemes, while those in the number category are all affixes. This reanalyzed system of categorization creates more consistent groupings than organizing agreement systems based on the transitivity of verbs.

Although the agreement forms can be reorganized this way, their distribution is still sensitive to transitivity. But, this organization also makes it clear that agreement is sensitive to transitivity, mood, and whether the predicate describes a state or event.

## 8.4 Possessor Agreement

So far we have been looking at ways that verbs and adjectives agree with subjects, but noun phrases also show agreement in Chamorro when they are an object of possession. When a noun is an object of possession, it must somehow be marked for the presence of the possessor. This can be done with a particle called a linker, or through agreement. In this section, we will examine the agreement option, referred to as possessor agreement. The table below shows the agreement suffixes that appear after the possessed noun to agree with the possessor in both person and number.

### (41) Possessor Agreement

1 sg.	-hu/-ku
2 sg.	-mu
3 sg.	-ña
1 incl. du./pl.	-ta
1 excl. du./pl.	(n)-mami
2 du./pl.	(n)-miyu
3 du./pl.	(n)-niha

In example (41) above, we can see that the agreement suffixes on a possessed noun can distinguish two numbers, singular and dual/plural. The parenthesized /n/ appears when the possessed noun ends in a vowel. An example of the use of the suffixes above can be seen below.

- (42) Gāchu                      talanga-ña si      Ken  
 AGR.sticking.out ear-AGR    UNM Ken  
 ‘Ken’s ears stick out’  
 pg. 142

In example (42) above, we can see that the possessed noun *talanga* takes on the suffix *-ña* in order to agree with the third person singular subject *Ken*. Next, we will examine some more types of agreement that appear in questions, relative clauses, and focused phrases.

## 8.5 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” (Chung, 496). This special form of agreement appears on verbs or adjective that are in a phrase with a wh-word and is sensitive to mood and transitivity.

The type of wh-agreement that appears on a predicate depends on what function the displaced word (which becomes the wh-word) served in the sentence. The table below shows the different forms of agreement and in what contexts they appear.

### (43) Wh-Agreement When Displaced Constituent is a:

subject of realis transitive verb	-um-
other subject	Ø
direct object of transitive/causative verb	NMLZ + in
oblique object of applicative/causative/passive verb	NMLZ + in
direct object of applicative verb	Ø
oblique argument of intransitive verb/adjective	NMLZ + (in on state predicates)
passive agent	Ø
manner/means adjunct	NMLZ
other adjunct	Ø
possessor	Ø

In example (43), the acronym *NMLZ* stands for *nominalization*, meaning the predicate becomes nominalized in that instance. In Chamorro, there are multiple ways to discern if a predicate is nominalized. Chung (2020) writes, “these derived nouns exhibit the infix *-in-* in some contexts, 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” (Chung, 635). For the examples in this section, we will note which predicates are nominalized based on Chung’s (2020) descriptions, as it can be difficult to discern purely from morphology.

As we can see from the table, for many functions of the displaced constituent there are no overt wh-agreement forms, while others consist of infixes or nominalization paired with the particle *in*. Some examples of these agreement forms are below.

(44) Subject Wh-Agreement

Hâyi gumugu’ut                      esti na pattida  
 who WH[SUBJ].support.PROG this L party

‘Who is supporting this party?’  
 pg. 497

In example (44) above, we see that when the displaced word is a subject (who) of a realis transitive verb, then the verb *gumugu’ut* takes on the *-um-* infix in order to agree with the wh-word.

(45) Object Wh-Agreement

Ya        hâfa hinaso-mu                      put i eskuelan-ñiha i Chapanis  
 and.then what WH[OBJ].remember-AGR about the school-AGR the Japanese

‘And what do you remember about the Japanese school?’  
 pg. 499

In example (45), we see that when the displaced word is the direct object of a transitive verb, the predicate *hinaso-mu* is nominalized and also takes on the infix *-in-*. This change of including the infix is optional for agreement in this context, but in this example it is overt.

(46) Oblique Wh-Agreement

Hâfa malagu’-ñiha  
 what WH[OBL].want-AGR

‘What did they want?’  
 pg. 501

In example (46) above, we see that when the displaced word is an oblique, the predicate *malagu’-ñiha* is nominalized in order to agree with the wh-word. This predicate could also optionally take on the *in* infix, but in this example it does not.

(47) Adjunct Wh-Agreement

Estaimanu manmatratan-mimiyu                      nu i taotao tãnu' nu i Chapanis  
how        WH[DJ].AGR.PASS.treat-AGR.PROG OBL the person.L land    OBL the Japanese

'How were you (pl.) local people being treated by the Japanese?'  
pg. 502

In example (47) above, we see that when the displaced word is a manner/means adjunct, the predicate *manmatratan-mimiyu* is nominalized to agree with the wh-word.

While this is not an exhaustive list of examples of all the different ways that predicates may agree with wh-words, this section gives a general overview of the overt agreement forms and the contexts in which they appear. Next, we will review a similar type of agreement for complementizers.

## 8.6 Complementizer Agreement

Chung (2020) sums up complementizer agreement by writing, "Complementizer agreement uses the complementizer of the constituent question to register information about the displaced constituent's syntactic category and meaning" (Chung, 503). The new form of the complementizer varies based on region and speaker, but will be one of three options: *na*, *nai*, or *ni*. Chung (2020) writes that, "*na* is used most commonly in Guam, *nai* in Rota, and *ni* in Saipan, but many speakers choose freely among several of these forms" (Chung, 503). The table below shows the contexts in which this new agreement complementizer will appear.

(48) Complementizer Agreement When Displaced Constituent is a:

prepositional phrase	na/nai/ni
noun phrase that names a location in time or space	na/nai/ni
other	null complementizer

As we can also see above in example (48), there are only two conditions where the overt agreement complementizer is used. Otherwise, it will be replaced with a null complementizer. Some examples of these patterns can be seen below.

(49) Prepositional Phrase Complementizer Agreement

[Disdi ngai'an] ni        tumaiguihi    gui'  
since when    COMP AGR.like.that he

'Since when did he become like that?'  
pg. 503

In example (49) above, the displaced phrase is a prepositional phrase, so the complementizer becomes the agreement complementizer *ni*. This could also be *nai* or *na* depending on the speaker.

(50) Space/Time Noun Phrase Complementizer Agreement

Ya        amãnu nai    manmachuchuli'        i    tipu  
and.then where    COMP AGR.PASS.take.PROG the sugar.cane

'And where was the sugar cane being harvested?'  
pg. 504

In example (50) above, the displaced phrase is a NP that describes a location in space, so the complementizer becomes the agreement complementizer *nai*. This could also be *na* or *ni* depending on the speaker.

(51) Other Complementizer Agreement

Kuántu biãhi bai na'hassu hã  
how.many time AGR make.remember you

'How many times do I have to remind you?'  
pg. 504

For all other types of displaced phrases, the complementizer will appear as null to agree with the phrase. In example (51) above, we see that the displaced phrase is a NP that does not describe a place in time or space, so there is a null complementizer.

## 9 Case

In Chamorro, almost all noun phrases are marked for case. There are three main cases: unmarked, oblique, and local. Case is marked on a noun phrase by a freestanding morpheme that appears before the noun phrase. The form of the case markers within each case can be different depending on the type of noun phrase (common nouns, names of people, pronouns). The table below shows the different case markers and the contexts in which they appear. The specific meaning and use of each case will be detailed in the following sections.

(52)

	Unmarked	Oblique	Local
common nouns	Ø	ni (Guam)/nu, nai (Rota)/nu, ni (Saipan)	gi
names	si	as/gi as (Saipan)	gi as
place names	Ø/iya (Guam)	Ø	giya
pronouns	Ø	nu/ni (Guam)	giya

We can see in example (52) above that the case markers sometimes vary by region. We also see that some case markers do not appear overtly. Finally, we can observe how sometimes the case markers vary between the type of noun phrase, but sometimes they simply remain the same. In the following sections, we will look into the use of each case and review some language examples showing these patterns.

### 9.1 Unmarked Case

Chung (2020) suggests that the unmarked case can be thought of as the "default" case in Chamorro, as it has many uses which we will explore in this section. The first use of the unmarked case is for noun phrases that are subjects or direct objects. An example of an unmarked case noun phrase serving as a subject can be seen below.

(53) Mampus hobin si nanã-hu  
so.much AGR.young UNM mother-AGR  
'My mother was too young'  
pg. 91

In example (53) above, we can see that when the noun phrase *nanã-hu* is the subject of the sentence, it is marked with the case marker *si* to indicate that it is in the unmarked case. The use of the case marker *si* here suggests that *mother* is being treated as a name. Another place where the unmarked case is used is when the noun phrase is the object of a preposition. An example of this can be seen below.

(54) Mãs sãfu' para si Kanãriu yanggin ha nangga i ma'tin i tasi  
more AGR.safe for UNM Kanariu if AGR wait the low.tide.L the ocean  
'It was safer for Kanãriu if she waited for low tide'  
pg. 92

In example (54) above, we can see that the noun phrase *Kanariu* is the object of the preposition *para* and a name, so it is marked with the case marker *si* to indicate that it is in the unmarked case. Another use of the unmarked case is noun phrases that are topics, syntactically focused, or are fronted to the left edge of the clause for another reason. An example of this can be seen below.

- (55) Si Bernie para u inisgaihun gui'  
 UNM Bernie FUT AGR PASS.escort she  
 'It's Bernie who is going to escort her'  
 pg. 93

In example (55) above, we can see that when the noun phrase *Bernie* is focus fronted and a name, it is marked with the case marker *si* to indicate that it is in the unmarked case.

Another use of the unmarked case is for noun phrases that serve as the predicate of the sentence. An example of this pattern can be seen below.

- (56) Guãhu si Maria Castro  
 I UNM Maria Castro  
 'I am Maria Castro'  
 pg. 93

In example (56) above, *Maria Castro* serves as the predicate of the sentence and a name, so it is marked with the case marker *si* to indicate that it is in the unmarked case. Finally, the unmarked case can be used for noun phrases in isolation. An example of this is letter signatures, which can be seen below.

- (57) Sin mãs, si Rita  
 without more UNM Rita  
 'Sincerely, Rita'  
 pg. 94

In example (57) above, *Rita* is a noun phrase that appears in isolation and a name, so it is marked with the case marker *si* to indicate that it is in the unmarked case. Because the unmarked case can appear in so many contexts, especially on noun phrases in isolation, Chung (2020) designates it as the default case. Next, we will look at the contexts in which the oblique case appears.

## 9.2 Oblique Case

"The oblique case is used for most types of arguments that are neither the subject nor the direct object" (Chung, 94). This includes obliques associated with intransitive predicates, such as agents of passive verbs. An example of this can be seen below.

- (58) Chinatgi gi as tatã-hu  
 AGR.PASS.smile.at OBL OBL father-AGR  
 'She was smiled at by my father'  
 pg. 94

In example (58) above, the oblique *tatã-hu* is the agent of a passive verb, so it is marked by the case marker *gi as* to indicate that it is in the oblique case. The use of the case marker *gi as* here implies that *father* is being treated as a name. Another use of the oblique case is for oblique objects of applicative and causative verbs. An example of this pattern can be seen below.

- (59) In faisinsi Pedro kã o siñaha na'li' i' ham ni tararãñas  
 AGR ask UNM Pedro Q can AGR make.see us.EXCL OBL spiderweb  
 'We (excl.) asked Pedro if he could show us (excl.) the spiderweb'  
 pg. 94

In example (59) above, *tararãñas* is an object of the causative verb *come to see* and a common noun, but it is an oblique object so it is marked by the case marker *ni* to indicate that it is in the oblique case. The final use of the oblique case is for appositive noun phrases that modify another noun phrase.



- (60) i chi'lu-mu as Miguel  
 the sibling-AGR OBL Miguel  
 'Your brother miguel'  
 pg. 96

In example (60), the (name) noun phrase *Miguel* is an appositive because it modifies *your brother*, so it is marked by the case marker *as* to indicate that it is in the oblique case.

### 9.3 Local Case

"The local case is used for noun phrases that specify location in time or space, whether they are oblique arguments or adjuncts" (Chung, 97). An example of this can be seen below.

- (61) Yanggin listu hão, asagua gi Sabalu  
 if AGR.ready you get.married LCL Saturday  
 'If you're ready, get married on Saturday'  
 pg. 97

In example (61) above, the common noun phrase *Sabalu* references a location in time, so it is marked by the case marker *gi* to indicate that it is in the local case. Another use of the local case is for noun phrases that specify source. An example of this can be seen below.

- (62) Poddung i fallut gi lamasa  
 AGR.fall the lantern LCL table  
 'The lantern fell from the table'  
 pg. 97

In example (62) above, the common noun phrase *lamasa* is a source (the place where the lantern fell from), so it is marked by the case marker *gi* to indicate that it is in the local case. The final use of the local case is for "common noun objects of the preposition *sigun* 'according to'" (Chung, 2020). An example of this can be seen below.

- (63) sigun gi hãfa na asuntu malagu'-mãmi  
 according LCL whatever L reason WH(OBL).want-AGR  
 'According to whatever reasons we (excl.) want'  
 pg. 98

In example (63) above, the entire noun phrase *hãfa na asuntu malagu'-mãmi* is the object of the preposition *sigun*, so it is marked by the case marker *gi* to indicate that it is in the local case.

## 10 Gender

In Chamorro, there is no gender system for indigenous nouns. Only nouns that are borrowed from Spanish have feminine and masculine forms. Additionally, these gendered forms are only used to refer to the gender of the person being spoken about. Some examples of gendered words in Chamorro (borrowed from Spanish).

- (64)
- | English Translation       | Masculine   | Feminine    |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| grandparent               | guellu      | guella      |
| preceding an elder's name | Tun         | Tan         |
| barber                    | batberu     | batbera     |
| stranger                  | istrangheru | istranghera |

In example (64) above, we can see that there are gendered forms of words that refer to people in some way. But, this gender system is only used to reference the gender of the person being spoken about; there is no arbitrary application of gender in Chamorro. Gender does not appear on nouns that do not describe a person. Chung (2020) writes “This suggests that although the nouns...are borrowed from a language with a gender system (Spanish), this does not mean that there is a gender system in Chamorro” (Chung, 116). Overall, the gender system in Chamorro is borrowed from Spanish and only used in specific words where a person is being referenced.

## 11 Conclusion

In this chapter, we began by looking at agreement in Chamorro. We first examined agreement along the lines of transitivity and mood, beginning with transitive verbs in the realis and irrealis moods. We then examined intransitive verbs in both moods. Through this comparison, we found that there is a significant amount of inconsistency within the agreement of each type of verbs, specifically regarding agreement with person and number. Next, we reanalyzed the agreement system as two different systems which co-occur, and divided the agreement particles into person and number forms and just number forms. This system works much better in terms of consistency. For the person and number forms, the dual and plural numbers are identified by the same morpheme, while for the number forms the dual and singular numbers are identified by the same morphemes. Additionally, all of the morphemes in the person and number forms are freestanding particles, while those in the number category are all affixes. This reanalyzed system of categorization creates more consistent groupings than organizing agreement systems based on the transitivity of verbs.

Next, we looked at possessor agreement and saw how agreement suffixes on a possessed noun can distinguish two numbers, singular and dual/plural. We also looked at *wh*-agreement, in which the predicate agrees with a displaced constituent (a *wh*-word) in a manner that identifies the role of the displaced constituent in the phrase. The final type of agreement we examined was complementizer agreement, in which the complementizer takes on a form that agrees with the type of phrase that was displaced to form a complementizer phrase.

Next, we looked at the three main cases in Chamorro: unmarked, oblique, and local. We saw how unmarked case could be interpreted as the “default” case as it can be used in many circumstances as well as on isolated noun phrases. We then looked at the oblique case, and saw how it is mainly used on noun phrases that are not subjects or direct objects. Finally, we looked at the local case which marks noun phrases that reference a location in time or space.

Lastly, we reviewed the gender system in Chamorro that is borrowed from Spanish, and discussed how it is only used on some words that reference the gender of the person being spoken about. This was a general report on Chung’s (2020) description of Chamorro agreement, case, and gender.

## Chapter 3: Focus, Imperatives, Exclamatives, and Interjections

This chapter is a general overview of Focus, Imperatives, Exclamatives, and Interjections in Chamorro. We will begin by looking at the complex system of focus. We will examine two methods of creating focus constructions: the emphatic particle and syntactic focus. Within syntactic focus, we will look at two types of agreement that appear in focus constructions: *wh*-agreement and complementizer agreement. We will also look at many examples of focus in simple Chamorro sentences. Focus can also appear in complex sentences that include embedded clauses and clefts, but these will not be reviewed in this paper.

Next, we will examine imperative constructions in Chamorro. We will look at how to create both affirmative and negative imperative constructions, which can be very different from one another. Next, we will investigate exclamatives, which involve a complex kind of embedded clause and a specific type of infix that only appears on predicates in an exclamative constructions. Finally, we will survey an array of interjections, and look at a few examples of how interjections can be used in a Chamorro sentence.

## 12 Focus

In Chamorro, a word or phrase is focused when it conveys information that is contrary to what is expected. There are two ways to indicate focus in Chamorro. The first is by using an emphatic particle, and the second is syntactic focus.

### 12.1 Emphatic Particle

The emphatic particle *ha'* appears after a focused word or phrase. *Ha'* can appear after many kinds of predicates, including verbs, adjectives, noun phrases, and prepositional phrases.

#### (65) Focus on Verb Predicate

Hu siesienti ha' i animas i mañaina-hu kada rātu  
AGR feel.PROG EMP the spirit.L the PL.parent-AGR each while

'Every now and then I feel my parents' spirit'  
pg. 514

In example (65), the emphatic particle *ha'* appears after the verb predicate *siesienti*, which adds focus and emphasis onto that verb.

#### (66) Focus on Adjective Predicate

Todu i tiempu bobohbu ha' kannai-hu yan addeng-hu  
all the time AGR.swollen.PROG EMP hand-AGR and foot-AGR

'My hands and feet are swollen all the time'  
pg. 514

In example (66), the emphatic particle *ha'* appears after the adjective predicate *bobohbu*, which adds focus and emphasis onto that adjective.

#### (67) Focus on Noun Phrase Predicate

Håfa taimanu tungo'-mu na dos kilumetru ha' i distânsia esta i sengsung?  
how how WH[DJ].know-AGR COMP two kilometers EMP the distance until the village

'How do you know that the distance to the village is only two kilometers?'  
pg. 514

In example (67), the emphatic particle *ha'* appears after the noun phrase predicate *dos kilumetru*, which adds focus and emphasis onto that noun phrase.

#### (68) Focus on Prepositional Phrase Predicate

Para hami ha' esti na inetnun  
for us.EXCL EMP this L group

'This gathering is only for us (excl.)'  
pg. 514

In example (68), the emphatic particle *ha'* appears after the prepositional phrase predicate *para hami*, which adds focus and emphasis onto that prepositional phrase. As we can see from the above examples, the emphatic particle can come after many different types of predicates. It can also come after a noun phrase or prepositional phrase that is not serving as a predicate, and which appears in the normal word order (following the predicate).

(69) Focus on Noun Phrase

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'  
pg. 514

In example (69), the emphatic particle *ha'* appears after the noun phrase *un puntu*, which adds focus and emphasis onto that noun phrase.

(70) Focus on Prepositional Phrase

I bisinun-måmi gof hambrentu gi todú ha'  
the neighbor-AGR AGR.very greedy LCL all EMP

'Our (excl.) neighbor is so rapacious in everything'  
pg. 514

In example (70), the emphatic particle *ha'* appears after the prepositional phrase *gi todú*, which adds focus and emphasis onto that prepositional phrase. We can see from the above examples that the emphatic particle can be used in many places to focus different elements of a phrase. Additionally, the emphatic particle can mark other kinds of phrases not shown here; the only types of words it cannot mark for focus are those that are phonologically dependent on elements to their right, such as articles and case markers. Another slightly more complicated method of focus is syntactic focus.

## 12.2 Syntactic Focus

Noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and parts of noun phrases can both be focused via syntactic focus. Chung writes, "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" (Chung, 517).

(71) Ordinary Transitive Clause

Ha tungu' i ansa i ma'estran Jose  
AGR know the answer the teacher.L Jose

'Jose's teacher knows the answer'  
pg. 520

In example (71) above, we can see the common word order of an ordinary transitive clause. As we can see, the noun phrase *i ma'estran Jose* occurs on the rightmost edge of the clause.

(72) Transitive Clause with Focus on Noun Phrase

I ma'estran Jose tumungu' i ansa  
the teacher.L Jose WH[SUBJ].know the answer

'Jose's teacher (is the one who) knows the answer'  
pg. 520

In example (72) above, we can see that the entire noun phrase *i ma'estran Jose* has been moved to the leftmost edge of the clause in order to add focus and emphasis to that noun phrase. We can also see that the verb *tungu'* bears the infix *-um-* in (72) and not in example (71). This is a special type of agreement used in focus clauses and other types of clauses that use wh-movement, which will be explained in section 12.2.1. Additionally, the entire noun phrase does not have to be focused together. Part of a noun phrase, such as a numeral, can be focused.

(73) Focus on Partial Noun Phrase

Tres guaha [na rãmas gubetnu], i esekutibu, lehislatura, yan yudisiât  
Three AGR.exist L branch.L government the executive legislature and judicial

‘There are three branches of government, the executive, legislative, and judicial’  
pg. 519

In example (73) above, we can see that the numeral *tres* has been separated from the rest of the noun phrase *na rãmas gubetnu* and moved to the leftmost edge of the clause in order to add focus and emphasis to that numeral. This also can apply for possessors, determiners, and other similar parts of noun phrases. When noun phrases are focused, they almost always appear in the unmarked case regardless of what case they would have usually appeared in.

(74) Focus on Prepositional Phrase

Ginin i atbettura gi satgi na humâhalum i cha’ka  
from the opening LCL floor COMP AGR.go.in.PROG the rat

‘The rat is getting in from the opening in the floor’  
pg. 519

In example (74) above, the prepositional phrase *ginin i atbettura* is moved to the leftmost edge of the clause in order to add focus and emphasis to that prepositional phrase. This can apply to prepositional phrases that are arguments or adjuncts.

Syntactic focus constructions are marked with two types of special agreement: wh-agreement and complementizer agreement.

### 12.2.1 Wh-Agreement

Although the focused constituents in these focused constructions are not being replaced by wh-words, their movement to the leftmost edge of the clause is a similar process to wh-movement. For this reason, information about the focused constituent is registered with wh-agreement. Chung writes, “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” (Chung, 521). A more detailed description of wh-agreement can be found in Section (8.5) of the Case, Agreement, and Gender chapter, but in this section we will briefly review the aspects of wh-agreement that are relevant to the focus constructions we are discussing here.

If the predicate of a phrase is a transitive verb in the realis mood and the syntactically focused NP is the subject, wh-agreement is realized as the infix *-um-* on the predicate. If the verb is not a transitive verb in the realis mood, there is no overt agreement.

- (75) I kusturera lumâksi i chininâ-hu  
the seamstress WH[SB].sew the shirt-AGR  
‘The seamstress sewed my shirt’  
pg. 521

In example (75) above, we can see that the subject NP *i kusturera* has been syntactically focused and the predicate is a transitive verb in the realis mood, so the infix *-um-* appears on the predicate to mark the syntactically focused constituent’s relation to the predicate.

If the predicate is an ordinary transitive verb and the syntactically focused constituent is the object of that verb, wh-agreement is realized as the infix *-in-* on the predicate plus nominalization of the predicate. However, this agreement is optional.

- (76) Dies sigidu            kinenne'-ña            na guihan  
 ten successively WH[OBJ].catch-AGR L fish  
 'He caught ten fish successively'  
 pg. 521

In example (76) above, we can see that the numeral of the object NP, *dies*, has been syntactically focused. Since this is a partial NP that is the subject of the ordinary transitive verb *catch*, the infix *-in-* appears on the predicate to mark the syntactically focused constituent's relation to the predicate.

When the predicate is an intransitive verb or adjective and the syntactically focused constituent is an oblique argument of the predicate, wh-agreement is realized as nominalization of the predicate.

- (77) Pues an ennão malago'-mu,            fãhan fan  
 then if that WH[OBL].want-AGR buy please  
 'Then if that's what you want, please buy it'  
 pg. 522

In example (77) above, we can see that the oblique argument *pues an ennão* is syntactically focused and the predicate is the intransitive verb *want*. Therefore, wh-agreement is realized as nominalization of the predicate to mark the syntactically focused constituent's relation to the predicate.

Finally, regardless of the type of predicate, there is no overtly realized wh-agreement when the syntactically focused constituent is an adjunct. This can be seen in example (74) above, where the syntactically focused adjunct *from the opening* does not trigger any wh-agreement on the predicate.

### 12.2.2 Complementizer Agreement

Another type of agreement that appears during syntactic focus constructions is complementizer agreement. Chung writes, "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" (Chung, 522). A more detailed description of complementizer agreement can be found in Section (8.6) of the Case, Agreement, and Gender chapter, but in this section we will briefly review the aspects of complementizer agreement that are relevant to the focus constructions we are discussing here.

The complementizer used for agreement here can be overtly realized as *nai*, *ni*, or *na*. Which version is used can vary by region and individual speaker. What is important in this agreement context is whether the complementizer is realized as overt or null.

The complementizer is overtly realized when the syntactically focused constituent is a prepositional phrase.

- (78) Ginin i finu' Juan na matungu' as nanã-ña yan tatã-ña...  
 from the speech.L Juan COMP AGR.PASS.know OBL mother-AGR and father-AGR  
 'From Juan's words, his mother and father knew...'  
 pg. 523

We can see in example (78) above that when the prepositional phrase *ginin i finu'* is syntactically focused, the complementizer *na* is overtly realized.

The complementizer is also overtly realized when the syntactically focused constituent is an adjunct or adverbial clause.

- (79) [Anai mākpu' i sena] na manistudia i famagu'un  
 when AGR.ended the dinner COMP AGR.ANTIP.study the PL.child  
 'The children studied when dinner was over'  
 pg. 524

We can see in example (79) above that when the adjunct *anai mākpu' i sena* is syntactically focused, the complementizer *na* is overtly realized.

In all other instances of syntactic focus, the complementizer is realized as null.

- (80) Ni unu lokkui' muli'i' i haggan  
 not one also WH[SUBJ].see the turtle  
 'No one also saw the turtle'  
 pg. 517

In example (80) above, we see that when the syntactically focused constituent is the noun phrase *ni unu*, the complementizer is realized as null.

The two methods of focus (emphatic particle and syntactic) explored in this section as well as the two types of agreement that appear in a syntactic focus construction provide a basic overview of focus in a simple Chamorro sentence.

## 13 Imperatives, Exclamatives, and Interjections

In Chamorro, there is an extensive system for forming imperatives which interacts with the language's complicated agreement system. There is also a wide variety of exclamatives and interjections which we will review in the following sections.

### 13.1 Imperatives

Chung defines imperatives as "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)" (Chung, 339). In Chamorro, the construction for affirmative imperatives is relatively simple, while the construction for negative imperatives is more complex.

#### 13.1.1 Affirmative Imperatives

The formation of affirmative imperatives interacts with the complex agreement system in Chamorro. All imperatives are in the irrealis mood, so we can start forming the imperative with the verb or adjective showing the irrealis forms of agreement. For transitive verbs, both the person and number forms of agreement are removed to form the imperative. This means that the imperative shows no forms of agreement at all.

- (81) Su'un i tessun hālum gi guafi  
 push the charcoal inside LCL fire  
 'Push the charcoal in the fire'  
 pg. 339

In example (81) above, we can see that both the person and number agreement forms do not appear on the imperative *su'un*.

For intransitive verbs and adjectives, we also begin with the agreement forms in the irrealis mood to create the imperative. For most forms of these imperatives, neither the person or number forms of agreement are overtly realized. But, when the subject is plural the imperative agrees just in number with the prefix *fan-*.

- (82) Intransitive Affirmative Imperative with Singular/Dual Subject  
 Baila iya' gi giput  
 AGR.dance by.the.way LCL party  
 'By the way, dance at the party'  
 pg. 340

In example (82) above, we can see that there is no overt person or number agreement on the imperative *baila*. Since we do see number agreement on intransitive affirmative imperatives with plural subjects, the null agreement on those with singular/dual subject denotes that they are singular/dual.

(83) Intransitive Affirmative Imperative with Plural Subject

Fanpâra nu ennâo siha na inadingan yanggin manggaigi i famagu'un  
 AGR.stop OBL that PL L NMLZ.converse if AGR.be.at the PL.child

‘(There is a need to) stop (with) such talk when children are present’

pg. 340

In example (83) above, we can see that there is only agreement in number on the imperative *fanpâra* with the prefix *fan-* as it has a plural subject.

The affirmative imperative structures we see above can be formed from many different types of verbs, including antipassives, applicatives, causatives, verbs of possession, and reciprocals. However, affirmative imperatives cannot be formed from passive verbs in the passive voice.

### 13.1.2 Negative Imperatives

The formation of negative imperatives is more complex than of affirmative imperatives, and there are multiple different strategies for forming sentences that carry the impact of a negative imperative in Chamorro. The first method is using the predicate *mungnga*, which can be translated to *don't* in English. The predicate takes one argument, which is the thing that shouldn't be done. This argument can be realized in multiple ways. The first way is as an embedded clause.

(84) Mungnga na un isagui gui'  
 don't COMP AGR offend him

‘Do not offend him’

pg. 343

In example (84), we can see that the predicate *mungnga* takes the argument *isagui* which exists inside an embedded clause. This construction serves as a negative imperative. *Mungnga* can also be used with intransitive predicates in sentences where the subject is in the second person and unpronounced.

(85) Mungnga mampus umandi', un na'fandisganânâo i taotâo  
 don't so.much AGR.showy AGR make.AGR.disappointed.PROG the person

‘Don't be so showy, you turn people off’

pg. 344

In example (85), we can see that when the subject argument of *mungnga* is in the second person, the sentence carries the force of a negative imperative as the negated predicate applies to the addressee.

When the predicate is a transitive verb, the verb must be made passive and the second person passive agent is unpronounced.

(86) Mungnga mafrâgua na'an ottru tâotâo  
 don't AGR.PASS.forge name.L other person

‘Don't forge another person's name’

pg. 345

In example (86) above, we can see that the verb *mafrâgua* is made passive and the passive agent is not overtly expressed. Therefore the sentence carries the force of a negative imperative. This same construction can be made for any type of transitive verb.



The second way to create a negative imperative is by using the negative predicate *cha'*- which translates to *better not* or *don't* in English. Chung writes, "*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" (Chung, 346). Not every sentence that contains this negative predicate is an imperative—it only becomes an imperative if the addressee is one of the arguments.

- (87) Cha'-mu            [na    paraun falingu esta]  
 better.not-AGR COMP FUT    AGR    disappear already  
 'Don't (tell me) that you will disappear already'  
 pg. 347

In example (87) above, we see that when the negative predicate agrees with the second person addressee, it becomes a negative imperative phrase. We can also see in this example that the second argument *falingu* is realized in an embedded clause. This is one way for the argument to be realized; another is in an infinitive clause.

- (88) Cha'-mu            chumochotchu            nãya  
 better.not-AGR AGR.INF.ANTIP.eat.PROG for.awhile  
 'Don't eat for awhile'  
 pg. 347

In example (87) above, we see that when the second argument (the one that isn't the addressee) appears in an infinitive clause, it is also marked for the progressive aspect.

The final and most common way that *cha'*- is used to create a negative imperative is by realizing the second argument in a "defective" embedded clause. These clauses are missing a subject and realizes the embedded predicate in the progressive aspect with agreement with the subject only in number. This type of predicate realization is only found in this type of negative imperative construction.

- (89) Yanggin ti    ma    kunsienti hão, pues cha'-mu            hahanão  
 if            not AGR allow    you then better.not-AGR go.PROG  
 'If they haven't given you permission, then don't go'  
 pg. 348

In this special construction in example (89), we see that the second argument occurs in an embedded clause, but it also occurs in the progressive as the infinitive clause constructions did. We also see no overt subject, and we only see agreement with the implied subject in number.

All of the above constructions show the many possible ways to create negative imperative constructions in Chamorro.

## 13.2 Exclamatives

Chung defines exclamatives as "sentences that exclaim over the degree to which something deviates from the norm" (Chung, 348). In Chamorro, an exclamative is usually introduced with *ai* or *i*, interjections which translate to *oh* or *wow* in English. This interjection is then followed by a complementizer which introduces an embedded clause, the predicate of which is the property being exclaimed over and the subject of which is the person or thing possessing that property.

Most commonly, the predicate of this embedded clause is an adjective. In these cases, the adjective is marked with the infix *-in-*, which Chung simply glosses as *IN*.

- (90) Ai na            mina'hu yu'  
 oh COMP IN.thirsty I  
 'My, I am so thirsty'  
 pg. 348

In example (90) above, we see that the predicate of the embedded clause is *mina'hu*, the property being exclaimed over which is marked with the infix *-in-*. We also see that the subject, *yu'* is the person possessing that property.

It is also possible for the predicate of the embedded clause to be a noun, and that noun can optionally be modified by an adjective. This adjective can optionally contain the infix *-in-*.

(91) Noun Predicate

Ai na pátgun ennáo  
oh COMP child that

'Oh, that child!'  
pg. 349

In example (91) above, we see that the noun *pátgun* serves as the predicate of the embedded clause with no modifier.

(92) Noun Predicate Modified by Adjective

I na anákku' donni'ti'áo ennáo  
oh COMP long.L pepper.sp that

'Wow! that's a long pepper'  
pg. 349

In example (92) above, we see that the noun *donni'ti'áo* serves as the predicate of the embedded clause, and it is modified by the adjective *anákku'* which has no infix.

(93) Noun Predicate Modified by Adjective with Infix

Ai na minisin mánha esti  
oh COMP IN.full.of.liquid.L green.coconut this

'My, this young coconut is full of liquid'  
pg. 349

In example (93) above, we see that the noun *mánha* serves as the predicate of the embedded clause, and it is modified by the adjective *minisin* which does bear the infix *-in-*.

If we look more into the above embedded clauses, we can easily see that the noun which names the possessor of the exclaimed quality is the subject. Chung writes, "It has the form of a subject: it appears in the unmarked case" (Chung, 350). However, the predicates which often bear the infix *-in-* are less straightforward. Commonly, attaching the infix *-in-* to an adjective creates a nominalization, but in these contexts it does not make sense for these predicates to be nominalized adjectives. For instance, example (90) would translate to "My, I'm so thirsty" if the predicate were nominalized. This fact has led Chung to speculate that this infix *-in-* may be a separate infix that is exclusive to exclamative constructions. Chung writes that it remains unclear what the exact function of the infix is.

### 13.3 Interjections

Chung defines interjections as "word-sized or phrase-sized expressions used on their own to make conversational moves" (Chung, 351). The table below covers some of the most common interjections in Chamorro.

(94)

Interjection	English Translation
hunggan	yes
(h)ã'a	yes, yeah
(h)u'u	yes, yeah
u nai	yes, yeah
ãhi'	no
hekkua'	dunno
hãfa dai	hello, hi
buenas	hello, good day
esta	okay, see you
adios	goodbye, farewell
buen binidu	welcome
put fabót	please
si Yu'us ma'ãsi'	thank you (lit. God is merciful)
diahlu	no thank you (used e.g. when declining food)
ai adai	oh dear, my goodness
po'lu ya	let go of it, let's put it off
nu	uh, um

The negative interjection *hekkua'* can be followed by an embedded question.

- (95) Hekkua' hãfa na ti anãkku' esti i gigão  
dunno what? COMP not AGR.long this the fish.trap  
'I don't know why this fish trap is not long'  
pg. 351

We can see in example (95), we can see the interjection *hekkua'* is followed by an imbedded question. This is the only negative interjection in Chamorro, and it can be used to express doubt, uncertainty, and indecision. Another commonly used interjection is the filler word *nu*.

- (96) Malagu' yu' nu... umekkunguk hemplu  
AGR.want I uh INF.listen.to story  
'I want to uh...listen to a story'  
pg. 351

In example (96), we can see that the interjection *nu* serves as a filler word and can be inserted anywhere in a phrase. It creates as a pause or hesitation in speech.

## 14 Conclusion

In this chapter, we conducted a general overview of focus, imperatives, exclamatives, and interjections in Chamorro. We began by looking at two methods of focus constructions: the emphatic particle and syntactic focus. We saw that two types of agreement appear in focus constructions: wh-agreement and complementizer agreement. We looked at many examples of focus in simple Chamorro sentences and how these types of agreement appear specifically in focus constructions.

Next, we examined imperative constructions in Chamorro. We looked at both affirmative and negative imperative constructions, and observed how there are two different methods for constructing negative imperatives. We then investigated exclamatives, which involved a complex kind of embedded clause and the infix *in* that only appears on predicates in an exclamative constructions. Finally, we went over an array of interjections, and looked at a few sample sentences which contained interjections.

## **15 References**

Chung, Sandra. August 14, 2020. Chamorro Grammar. Santa Cruz, California: eScholarship