

Chamorro

Chamorro is a (possibly Western) Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian) language, spoken on the Mariana islands (esp. Guam and Saipan). Magellan landed there in 1521, Jesuits in 1668, and Spain's conquest was complete in 1698 (reducing the population of the islands from ca. 12000 to 2000). Guam was purchased by the U.S. in 1898. The Northern Marianas (Saipan etc.) were under German control, then Japanese (between the wars), then U.S. Guam is now an unincorporated U.S. territory, and the Northern Marianas a Commonwealth of the U.S.

Ca. 35000 speakers of Chamorro on Guam, ca. 12000 in the N. Marianas.

[Source: Chung 1998]

Possessor-Noun agreement suffixes: C49

1 sg	-hu / -kku
2 sg	-(m)mu
3 sg	-(n)ña
1 incl du/pl	-(t)ta
1 incl du/pl	-(n)mami
2 du/pl	-(n)miyu
3 du/pl	-(n)ñiha

Subject-Verb agreement for transitive verbs C98:26

	Realis	Irrealis
1 sg	hu-	(bai) u-
2 sg	un-	un-
3 sg	ha-	u-
1 incl du/pl	ta-	(u)ta-
1 excl du/pl	in-	(bai) in-
2 du/pl	in-	in-
3 du/pl	ma-	uma-

Subject-Verb agreement for intransitive verbal and adjectival predicates (C26)

	Realis	Irrealis
1 sg	□	(bai) u-
2 sg	□	un-
3 sg	□	u-
1 incl du	□ -um/--	(u)ta-
1 excl du	□	(bai) in-
2 du	□	in-
3 du	□	u-
1 incl pl	□	(u)tafan-
1 excl pl	□ man-	(bai) infan-
2 pl	□	infan-
3 pl	□	ufan-

Questions

Yes-no: Chamorro *kao* left-peripherally (cf. Irish *a^N*)

- (1) Kao un-kuentusi gui? C35
Q agr-speak.to him/her
'Did you speak to him/her?'

Constituent questions: the interrogative phrase is left-peripheral in the clause, immediately preceding the complementizer *na* (which can be null):

- (2) a. Ginin hayi na un-chuli' i lepblu? C184
from who? Comp agr-take the book
'From whom did you take the book?'
- b. Hayi kumákati? C184
who? WH[nom].agr.cry.Prog
'Who is crying?'
- c. Hafa malago'-mu? C184
what? WH[obl].want-agr
'What do you want?'
- d. Kuantu biahi mu-mímisa? C185
how.many? time agr-go.to.mass.Prog
'How often does he go to church?'
- (3) a. Hayi malago'-ña si Juan na u-kuentus
who? WH[obl].want-agr Juan Comp WH[nom].agr-speak
yan i ma'estra? C191
with the teacher
'Who does Juan want to speak (lit. that should speak)
with the teacher?'
- (4) a. Hafa fina'tinas-ñiha i famalao'an? C201
what? WH[obj].make-agr the women
'What did the women cook?'
- b. *Hafa ma-fa'tinas i famalao'an? C201
what? WH[obj].agr-make the women
(What did the women cook?)

Wh-agreement with a nominative is realized overtly only with realis transitive verbs:

- (5) a. Hayi na famagu'un siha pumatik i bola? C201
who? L children Pl WH[nom].kick the ball
'Which children kicked the ball?'
- b. Hayi mu-lalatdi siha? C201
who? WH[nom]-scold them
'Who scolded them?'
- c. Hayi um-ayuda hao? C201
who? WH[nom]-help you
'Who helped you?'
- cf.
- (6) a. *Hayi na famagu'un siha pära uma-patik i bola? C201
who? L children Pl Fut agr-kick the ball
(Which children are going to kick the ball?)
- b. *Hayi pära u-lalatdi siha? C202
who? Fut agr-scold them
(Who scolded them?)

- c. *Hayi pära u-ayuda hao? C202
 who? Fut agr-help you
 ('Who helped you?')
- (7) Hayi sinangane-nña si Juan malago'-ña pära
 who? WH[obj2].say.to-agr Juan WH[obl].want-agr Fut
 u-bisita? C211
 WH[obj].agr-visit
 'Who did Juan tell (us) that he wants to visit?'
- (8) a. Ha-fa'gasi si Juan i kareta. C236
 agr-wash Juan the car
 'Juan washed the car.'
- b. Hayi fuma'gasi i kareta? C236
 who? WH[nom].wash the car
 'Who washed the car?'
- c. Hafa fina'gasése-nña si Henry pära hagu? C236
 what? WH[obj].wash-agr Henry for you
 'What is Henry washing for you?'
- d. Hafa pära fa'gase-mmu ni kareta? C236
 what? Fut WH[obl].wash-agr Obl car
 'What are you going to wash the car with?'
- (9) a. Hayi mahalang-mu? C238
 who? WH[obl].lonely-agr
 'Who are you lonely for?'
- b. Hayi i mañainä-mu asudda'-ñiha? C238
 who? the parents-agr WH[obl].meet-agr
 'Who did your parents meet with?'

Inflection on verbal and adjectival predicates in wh-questions:

- [Nom] -um- when the predicate is realis and transitive
 [Obj, Obj2] (optional) nominalization, plus -in- when the predicate is transitive
 [Obl] nominalization, plus (optional) -in- when the predicate is unaccusative

Overt realization of wh-agreement *replaces* regular subject-verb agreement.

If wh-agreement is *not* overt, then the predicate has the regular subj-verb agreement.

E.g., with questioned subjects of transitive but irrealis predicates:

- (10) Hayi pära u-sangani yu' ni ansa? C238
 who? Fut WH[nom].agr-say.to me Obl answer
 'Who is going to tell me the answer?'

and with questioned objects if the nominalization option isn't chosen:

- (11) Hafa un-kákannu'? C239
 what? WH[obj].agr-eat.Prog
 'What are you eating?'
- (12) In-li'i' [i palao'an [Op_i ni [lahi-ña t_i]_j] pära binisita-mu t_j].
agr-seethe woman Comp son-agr Fut WH[obj].visit-agr
 'We met the woman whose son you're going to visit.'

cf. focused, fronted DPs: (Chung 1998:113)

- (13) Kāda patgun [kumákati t]
each child WH[nom].agr.cry.Prog

Relative clauses:

- (14) Hu-apasi [i taotao [ni fuma'gasi i kareta-hu]] . C236
agr-pay the person Comp [wash] the car-agr
'I paid the man who washed my car.'
- (15) Fa'nu'i yu' ni [[tinaitai-mu] na lepblu]. C237
show me Obl [read] L book
'Show me the book that you read.'
- (16) Ti man-mamahlaho hām ni [famagu'un [ni un-mamahlagui]] C217
not agr-ashamed we Obl children Comp [be.ashamed.of]
'We're not ashamed of the children who you're ashamed of.'
- (17) Un-tungu' [taotao [ni ti interesáo yu'pära bai u-tungu']]. C218
agr-know person Comp not interested I Fut [know]
- (18) Sigun [i ripót gi mes [ni ha-fa'títinas i
according the report Loc month Comp [make] the
Dipattamentu-n Environmental Quality]] C215
Department-L Environmental Quality
'According to the monthly report that the Department of
Environmental Quality makes.'
- (19) Taya' [[sinedda'-mami] hugeti [ni pära
agr.not.exist [find] toy Comp Fut
gandu-nmami]] C216
[play]
'There were no toys we could play with that we could find.'
- (20) [esti i [siniddä'-ña]].
this the [find]
'this thing he found' (cf. 'that which he found')

Also for covert A'-movement, as in internally-headed relatives (Chung 1991:228)

- (21) i [kinenne'-ña [guihan] i rai]
the WH.obj.catch-3s fish the king
'the fish that the king caught'

Sources:

- Chung, Sandra. 1991. A false internally-headed relative in Chamorro. In S. Chung and J. Hankamer (eds.), *A Festschrift for William F. Shipley*, 221-234. UCSC: Santa Cruz.
- C(98) Chung, Sandra. 1998. *The design of agreement: Evidence from Chamorro*. Univ of Chicago Press: Chicago.

