

This paper examines Marshallese (Austronesian, Oceanic, Micronesian) infinitival constructions. Marshallese infinitives are distinguished from one another according to their behavior with respect to three properties determined by the matrix verb: 1) the possibility of *in* 'to' between the matrix and infinitival verbs; 2) the possibility of long passives; and 3) the possibility of a post-matrix verbal subject. For the first property, the possibility of *in* between the matrix and the infinitival verb, there are three possibilities. *In* may be obligatory (1a&b), disallowed (2a&b), or optional (3a&b). The second property relates to the fact that some matrix verbs allow the long passive construction, in which the object of the infinitival verb appears sentence initially and triggers subject agreement, as shown by the grammaticality of the plural subject agreement clitic and the ungrammaticality of the singular one in (4). Only a few Marshallese verbs permit the restructuring construction, while the majority do not. Finally, the third property involves the position of the subject in infinitival sentences. The possible subject positions in these types of sentences mirror the possible subject positions in Marshallese monoclausal intransitive sentences. In both monoclausal and biclausal sentences, the subject may appear sentence initially, sentence finally, or immediately following the intransitive verb. Most biclausal sentences allow the subject to follow either the matrix or the infinitival verb. However some matrix verbs disallow immediately post-matrix verbal subjects when *in* is not included in the sentence (5a). When *in* is included, many of these sentences become grammatical (5b). The fact that the inclusion of *in* in these sentences affects the grammaticality of these sentences seems to indicate that there is a strong correlation between the appearance of *in* and the possibility of post-matrix verbal subjects. A summary of the behavior of Marshallese verbs in infinitival constructions with respect to these three properties is included in Table 1, which shows that there are five classes of infinitival constructions.

In order to account for the behavior of these five classes, I argue that some of the Marshallese sentences involve the restructuring configuration, while others do not. In this analysis, the Marshallese restructuring configuration is marked by the following three properties: 1) the absence of *in*, 2) the possibility of long passives, and 3) the impossibility of post-matrix verbal subjects in sentences lacking *in*. Some verbs, such as the verbs of Class 3 in Table 1, are ambiguous between restructuring and non-restructuring verbs, as shown in the fact that they may be optionally followed by *in*. By contrast, in sentences with Class 1 verbs, which never allow long passives or the absence of *in*, the restructuring configuration is never obtained. These facts explain why long passives and the absence of *in* are never allowed in this class of verbs. In turning to the verbs of Class 2, I show that, while these verbs appear to allow long passives with *in*, they actually involve a construction distinct from the long passive construction.

Given this analysis of Marshallese, only Cinque's (2006) analysis of the restructuring configuration can explain why VSV order is disallowed. Cinque argues that, in the restructuring configuration, the matrix verb is the head of a functional projection (FP) rather than the head of a VP and, therefore, cannot take either an internal or external argument. However, the infinitival verb is the head of a VP and can take internal and/or external argument(s). When this analysis is combined with Willson's (2004) account of Marshallese monoclausal intransitive sentences, an account of the Marshallese order is possible. Willson argues that the VS order results from the mandatory raising of the verb to an XP above VP in combination with the subject remaining VP internal, as shown in (6). If Cinque's analysis is correct, then the impossibility of post-matrix verbal subjects is explained. Since the verb raises out of the VP, the only two possible subject positions in the restructuring configuration (excluding sentence finally) are sentence initially, which results when the subject raises to the specifier of the subject agreement phrase (7), and following the infinitival verb, when the subject remains VP internal (8). In addition to a discussion of how Cinque's analysis explains the Marshallese word order facts, I also show how other analyses of the restructuring configuration cannot account for the Marshallese data.

## References

- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2006. *Restructuring and Functional Heads*. New York: Oxford UP.
- Willson, Heather. 2004. Remnant Movement and the Marshallese Question Particle. Unpublished MA thesis. University of California, Los Angeles.

(1) a. Bwilijmāān ro re-j ɭōm̩nak in jibwe ri-kwot ro.  
 police the.pl.human 3pl-pres plan to catch one.who-rob the.pl.human  
 'The police plan to catch the thieves.'

b. \*Bwilijmāān ro re-j ɭōm̩nak jibwe ri-kwot ro.  
 police the.pl.human 3pl-pres plan catch one.who-rob the.pl.human  
 'The police plan to catch the thieves.'

(2) a. Kōrā eo kōṇaan jiniete lakatu eṇ ānin.  
 woman the.s want show.around handsome.man that this.island  
 'The woman wants to show the handsome man around the island.'

b. \*Kōrā eo kōṇaan in jiniete lakatu eṇ ānin.  
 woman the.s want to show.around handsome.man that this.island  
 'The woman wants to show the handsome man around the island.'

(3) a. Kōrā ro re-kar jino in kōmat m̩okta jān am itok.  
 woman the.pl.human 3pl-past start to cook before from your coming  
 'The women started to cook before you came.'

b. Kōrā ro re-kar jino kōmat m̩okta jān am itok.  
 woman the.pl.human 3pl-past start cook before from your coming  
 'The women started to cook before you came.'

(4) M̩ōkein r/\*e-ar jino ekkal iiō eo ɭok.  
 these.houses 3pl/\*3s-past start build year the.s last  
 'These houses were started to be built last year.'

(5) a. \*Re-kar jino kōrā ro kōmat m̩okta jān am itok.  
 3pl-past start woman the.pl.human cook before from your coming  
 'The women started to cook before you came.'

b. Re-kar jino kōrā ro in kōmat m̩okta jān am itok.  
 3pl-past start woman the.pl.human to cook before from your coming  
 'The women started to cook before you came.'

(6) [XP V<sub>i</sub>+X [VP Subject t<sub>i</sub>

(7) [A<sub>gr</sub>SP Subject<sub>j</sub> [TP [FP F [XP V<sub>i</sub>+X [VP t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

(8) [A<sub>gr</sub>SP [TP [FP F [XP V<sub>i</sub>+X [VP Subject t<sub>i</sub>

**Table 1. Marshallese infinitival construction classes**

<b>Verb</b>	<b><i>in</i></b>	<b><u>long passives</u></b>	<b><u>V S V order</u></b> <b><u>with <i>in</i></u></b>	<b><u>V S V order</u></b> <b><u>without <i>in</i></u></b>
<b>Class 1</b>	obligatory	*	possible	NA
<b>Class 2</b>	obligatory	possible	possible	NA
<b>Class 3</b>	optional	possible	possible	*
<b>Class</b>	optional	*	*	*
<b>Class 5</b>	*	*	*	*

