Circumnominal relative clauses in Chamorro[*][†]

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1 Introduction

1.1 Setting the scene

- Relative clauses (RCs) are often viewed as expressions with two components which make independent semantic contributions: a **head noun** and a **restricting clause**. (Comrie 1989:143)

- Many languages have a surface syntax that supports this view. English, for instance, requires the head noun to surface outside (and to the left) of a RC (1).

(1) The ☐thing☐ [that he caught on film]   ☐ = **head noun;** [ ] = **RC boundaries**
     turned out to be a demon from another dimension.

- But not all languages have a surface syntax that transparently supports the view that the head noun and the RC are fundamentally separate.

- **Chamorro**[1] (Mariana Islands) allows the head noun to surface **inside** the RC.

(2) CIRCUMNOMINAL **RC**[2]
     i [di*n*anchi ***na*** ☐primu-hu☐   ni råmas   trongku nigap]
     the PASS:hit LK cousin-1SG.AGR OBL branch.LK tree   yesterday
     'the cousin of mine who was hit by a tree branch yesterday'   294, EDR

[1]Austronesian family: Malayo-Polynesian subgroup; flexible VSOX word order; 45,000 speakers

[2]The names used for the RC types here (**circumnominal**, **postnominal**, and **prenominal**) are basically equivalent to the terms **head-internal**, **head-initial**, and **head-final**, respectively. I favor the former here since they seem to be more analytically neutral than the latter.

- Though Chamorro *allows* the head noun to surface inside the RC, it can also surface outside, at the left (3) or the right (4) edge.

(3)　　**Postnominal RC**
　　　　i ⎡primu-hu⎤ [*ni* di*n*anchi ni råmas trongku nigap]　　　　269, EDR

(4)　　**Prenominal RC**
　　　　i [di*n*anchi ni råmas trongku nigap] *na* ⎡primu-hu⎤　　　　292, EDR

- This talk focuses on Chamorro's **circumnominal RCs**.

1.2　Preview

- Three hypotheses are considered for Chamorro's circumnominal RCs:

  ▷ **Base-generation** (Basilico 1996)
  ▷ **Scrambling & remnant movement** (Aldridge 2004)
  ▷ **Phonological lowering**

- Based on the empirical landscape, this research finds the most support for the lowering hypothesis.

- A hypothesis that needs further investigation: **head noun stranding**

1.3　Typological significance

- Circumnominal RCs are rare in the world's languages, most frequently occurring in indigenous American languages. (see, e.g., Williamson 1987; Gorbet 1974)

  ▷ Chamorro gives us an opportunity to continue filling out the typology of circumnominal RCs in the world's languages.
  ▷ Although multiple languages have circumnominal word order in RCs, we may see that these languages arrive at this word order by different routes.

1.4　This talk

§2　Modifier-head noun order and the linker

§3　The base-generation hypothesis

§4　The scrambling & remnant movement hypothesis

§5　The phonological lowering hypothesis

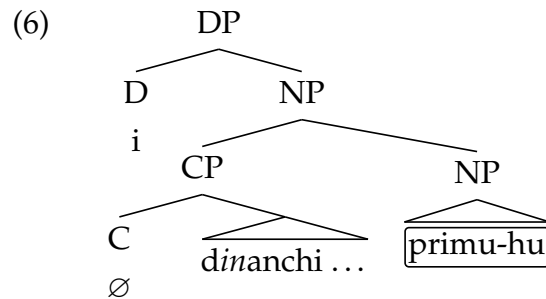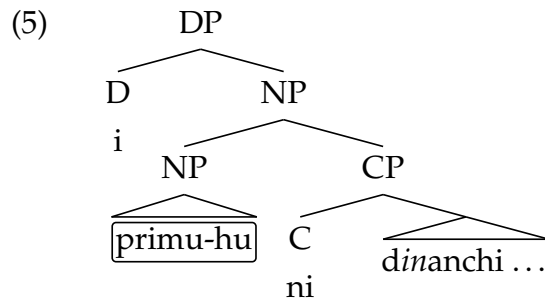§6　Directions for future research and conclusion

2 Prelude: modifier order and the linker

- In order to make my eventual proposal more clear, it's necessary to give some background information on Chamorro's **non**-circumnominal RCs.

- Recall that the RC can either follow the head noun (postnominal, (3)) or precede it (prenominal, (4)).

(3) i [primu-hu]   [*ni*   d*in*anchi ni   råmas   trongku nigap]
     the cousin-1SG.AGR COMP PASS:hit OBL branch.LK tree   yesterday   269, EDR

(4) i [d*in*anchi ni   råmas   trongku nigap]   *na* [primu-hu]
     the PASS:hit OBL branch.LK tree   yesterday LK cousin-1SG.AGR
     'the cousin of mine who was hit by a tree branch yesterday'   292, EDR

- I assume that this variable ordering is due to the option for **left- or right-adjunction** of modifiers. The DP in (3) would have the structure in (5); and (4), the one in (6).

(5)

```
              DP
            /    \
          D       NP
          i      /  \
              NP      CP
        [primu-hu]   /  \
                    C    d in anchi …
                    ni
```

(6)

```
              DP
            /    \
          D       NP
          i      /    \
              CP        NP
             /  \     [primu-hu]
            C   d in anchi …
            ∅
```

- Notice that there are two different particles in each of these RC types that surface on one side of the head noun.

- *ni* can be analyzed as a complementizer (Chung 1998), but what about *na*, the linker?

- I suggest two options, both of which implicate the linker in modification environments. (For a more thorough discussion, see Appendix A.)

  ▷ **The linker realizes inflectional features** present on the noun and its modifier. (Chung 1998:233–4)

  ▷ **The linker is a syntactic head** and is involved in semantic composition (similar to den Dikken (2006) or Scontras and Nicolae (2014), perhaps incorporating ideas from Chung and Ladusaw (2006)).

- The same ordering flexibility is observed in adjectival modification (7).

(7) a. dikiki' na [boti]   b. [boti]-n dikiki'
         little   LK boat   boat-LK little
   'a little boat'   'a little boat'

- **Important**: the same form of the linker (*na*) occurs with both prenominal (4) and circumnominal (2) RCs, and with other prenominal modifiers (7a).

3

3   Base-generation

- The head noun is merged into an argument position in the RC, and is pronounced in (or near)[3] the position where it was merged.

- The head noun contributes an indefinite that is abstracted over by a null operator merged directly into Spec, CP. (Basilico 1996; Toosarvandani 2011)

(8) Hu   kånnu′ i [ha   fa′tinas na |néngkannu′| si   Maria].
     1SG.AGR eat   the 3SG.AGR cook   LK food   UNM Maria
     'I ate the food that Maria cooked.'   87, EDR

(9)
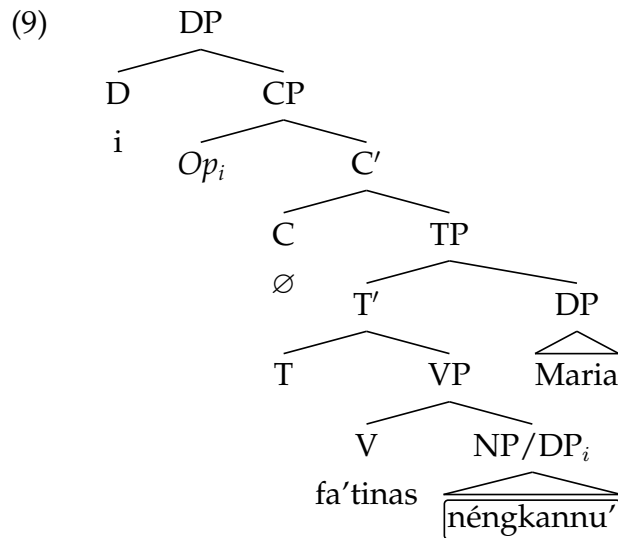
- A major prediction of this account is that there should be **no effects of a movement dependency** between the merge site of the head noun and the RC edge.

  ▷ Placing the head noun inside a syntactic island within the RC should not result in island violation effects. (Chomsky 1977)

    ∗ Island insensitivity *is* observed in some languages with circumnominal RCs. (Williamson 1987; Basilico 1996; Grosu 2012)

  ▷ WH-agreement, normally optional in RCs, should not be available in circumnominal RCs, if taken to be a WH-movement diagnostic (Reintges et al. 2006).

- The prediction is **not** borne out in Chamorro.

  ▷ Island effects are observed ⟶ (10)

  ▷ WH-agreement is possible ⟶ (11) and (12)

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[3]There are other mechanisms that have been proposed to derive an independent post-verbal word order flexibility in Chamorro—in particular, subject lowering (Chung 1998). If these mechanisms are still at play in relative clauses (I assume that they are), then it is possible that the head noun of a circumnominal relative clause will be, or appear to be, dislocated from the position in which it was merged, either because a subject has lowered and attached to the left of the head noun (if the head noun were an object, for example), or if the head noun was itself a subject and participated in subject lowering.

(10) a. *Hu   ayuyuda i [bunitu   i doktu [ni   ha   tungu'
          1SG.AGR help.PROG the handsome the doctor COMP 3SG.AGR know

                 na   ma-na'-malångu   na [malångu] gi as Juan]].
                 COMP PASS-CAUS-be.sick LK patient   OBL Juan

      ('I am helping [the patient]$_i$ that the doctor [that knows that ___$_i$ was gotten
      sick by Juan] is handsome.')   504, EDR

      b. *Hu   li'i' i [ha   tungu' si Juan [håyi mu-na'-malångu na
          1SG.AGR see DEF 3SG.AGR know UNM Juan who AGR-CAUS-be.sick LK

                 [tåotao]]].
                 man.

      ('I saw [the man]$_i$ who Juan knows who got ___$_i$ sick.')[4]   218, EDR

(11) **SUBJECT WH-AGREEMENT**
      ·····························
      Lanchera i   [*gum*aluti   yu' na [palåo'an] nigap].
      farmer   the WH.NOM.AGR:hit.w.club me LK woman   yesterday
      'The woman who clubbed me yesterday is a farmer.'   471, BPS

(12) **OBJECT WH-AGREEMENT**
      ···························
      [p*in*entan-ña   na [litråtu] si Jose ni lapes-ña]
      WH.OBJ.AGR:draw-3SG.AGR LK picture UNM Jose OBL pencil-3SG.AGR
      'pictures that Jose drew with his pencil'   (Chung 1991:228)

- The base-generation hypothesis does not appear to be correct for Chamorro.

4   Scrambling & remnant movement

- Aldridge (2003, 2004) identifies two types of RCs with a circumnominal pattern (in
  that the head noun is flanked on either side by one or more piece from the RC):

  ▷ **True head-internal RCs**: head noun raises to Spec, FP (directly below TP); V to
    T movement results in immediate post-verbal word order:

    $[_{DP} [_D] [_{CP} Op_i [_{C'} [_{TP} [_T \textbf{VERB}] [_{FP} \textbf{HEAD.N}]_i [_{F'} [_{vP} \ldots t_V \ldots t_i \ldots]]]]]]]$

  ▷ **Head-final RCs with stranding**: RC constituent scrambles to Spec, FocP (di-
    rectly below CP); head noun raises to Spec, CP; remnant TP fronts to Spec, DP.

    $[_{DP} [_{TP} \ldots t_i \ldots t_k \ldots] [_{D'} [_D] [_{CP} \textbf{HEAD.N}]_i [_{C'} [_C] [_{FocP} \textbf{SCR}]_k [_{Foc'} \ldots t_{TP} \ldots]]]]]]$

- The derivation for true head-internal RCs in Tagalog isn't available for Chamorro

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[4]The RC shown in (10b) is not unambiguously circumnominal; it could be a prenominal RC, or a cir-
cumnominal RC with no lexical material between the position of the head noun and the right edge of the
RC. If it were the case that prenominal RCs exhibited island effects but circumnominal RCs didn't, (10b)
would most likely be grammatical, so (10b) should still be taken to indicate that island effects are observed
in circumnominal RCs.

$\triangleright$ Absence of V to T movement in Chamorro [5] predicts internal head nouns would appear pre-verbally.

- The head-final RC with stranding analysis (= scrambling & remnant movement) could be ported to Chamorro by allowing more than one constituent to scramble.

    $\triangleright$ Multiple specifiers of FocP?

    $\triangleright$ Generates circumnominal word order, allows multiple constituents to appear after the head noun.

(2) i [d*in*anchi ***na*** ⟨primu-hu⟩   ni råmas   trongku nigap]
     the PASS:hit LK cousin-1SG.AGR OBL branch.LK tree   yesterday
     'the cousin of mine who was hit by a tree branch yesterday'   294, EDR

(13)
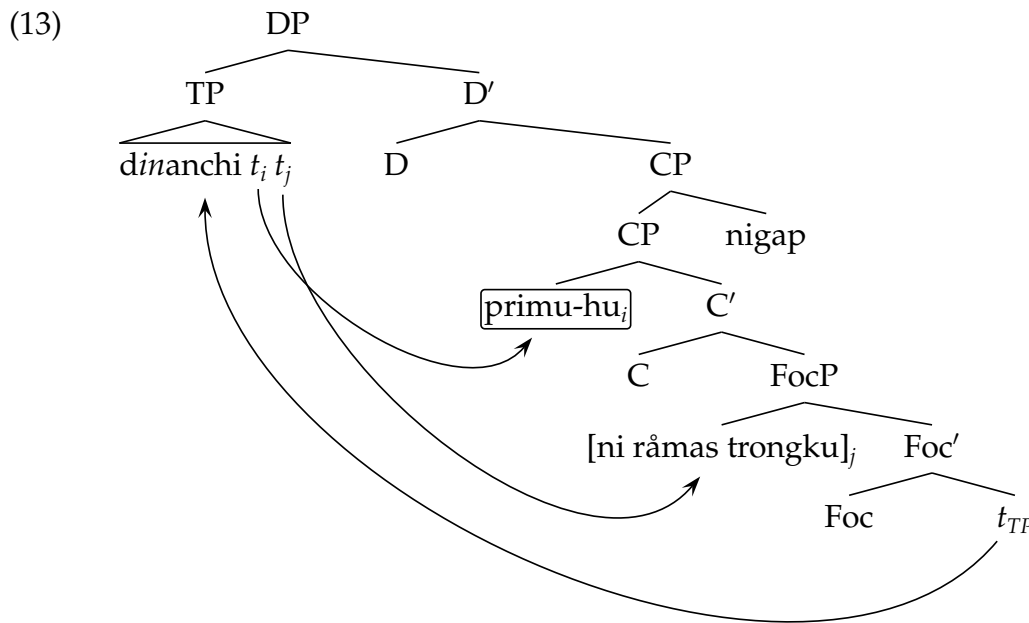
- This analysis predicts that the only constituents that can grammatically follow the head noun are those that can be scrambled (= undergo A′ movement, I assume).

- Though true for Tagalog head-final RCs with stranding (Aldridge 2004:107-109), this prediction is **not** borne out in Chamorro.

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[5]Chamorro verbs do not move to T. As discussed in Chung (1998:130-131), Chamorro has a class of adverbs which surface immediately to the left of a verbal or adjectival predicate, including *kanna'* 'almost' and *kulan* 'kind of, like'. Regardless of whether T is overt, these adverbs surface immediately to the left of the predicate. If V to T movement were assumed to occur only as long as T were not overt, these adverbs would be predicted to occur after the predicate when there is no overt T. This isn't borne out.

(i)   Para ***kanna'*** ha' u-matmus…   (ii)   *Ti man-ganna ***kanna'*** ha' si Antonio.
       FUT almost EMP AGR-drown   NEG AP-win   almost EMP UNM Antonio
       'he'd been about to almost drown…'   ('Antonio didn't almost win.')

6

- At least two types of constituents are systematically unable to participate in A′ movement: (Chung, p.c.)

  ▷ Passive agents of realis clauses—see (14), compare to (2) and (16)

  ▷ Oblique objects of antipassive verbs—see (15), compare to (17)

(14) *Håfa na råmas   trongku d*in*anchi i   primu-mu   nigap?
    what LK branch.LK tree   PASS:hit the cousin-2SG.AGR yesterday
    ('Which tree branch was your cousin hit by yesterday?')   688 , EDR

(15) *Håfa na kanåstra mam-bendi i   biha   gi metkåo?
    what LK basket   AP-sell   the old.lady LOC market
    ('What (kind of) basket did the old lady do some selling of at the market?') 690 , EDR

(16) **PASSIVE AGENTS OF REALIS CLAUSES**:

    a. i [t*in*etpi   na 乂lancheru乄 **ni   kareta** nigap]
        the PASS:collide LK farmer   OBL car   yesterday
        'the farmer who was hit by a car yesterday'   303 , BPS

    b. i [d*in*idilalak   na 乂påtgun乄 **ni   che'lu-ña   palåo'an**]
        the PASS:chase.PROG LK child   OBL sibling-3SG.AGR woman
        'the child who was being chased by his sister'   301 , EDR

(17) **OBLIQUE OBJECTS OF ANTIPASSIVE VERBS**:

    a. gi [mam-bebendi na 乂palåo'an乄 **kanåstra   siha** gi metkao]
        LOC AP-sell.PROG LK woman   OBL.basket PL   LOC market
        '. . . from the woman who sells baskets at the market'   373 , BPS

    b. i [måmanggi'   na 乂bihu乄 **kåtta**   para i senadot siha]
        the write.AP.PROG LK old.man OBL.letter.PL to   the senator PL
        'the old man who was doing some writing of letters to senators' 388 , BPS

- Like the base-generation hypothesis, this hypothesis also appears not to be correct for Chamorro.

5   Phonological lowering

- Circumnominal RCs are a derivational variant of prenominal RCs.

- The head noun and the linker form a phonological constituent,[6] which is lowered and adjoined to a phonological constituent with an edge in the RC string.

- (2) has the initial structure of (4), and is derived via one of the lowerings in (18b), assuming some of the basic syntax–phonology mapping rules from Selkirk (2011:439).[7]

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[6]Remaining neutral as to whether the linker is inserted post-syntactically or is its own head in the syntax...

[7]More specifically, I assume that embedded clauses map to φ (phonological phrases); phrases also map to φ; and heads match to ω (prosodic words). I assume that small functional elements like case, agreement,

(2) i [di*n*anchi ***na*** primu-hu   ni råmas   trongku nigap]
     the PASS:hit LK cousin-1SG.AGR OBL branch.LK tree   yesterday
     'the cousin of mine who was hit by a tree branch yesterday'   294, EDR

(4) i [di*n*anchi ni råmas trongku nigap] ***na*** primu-hu   292, EDR

(18) a.   b.
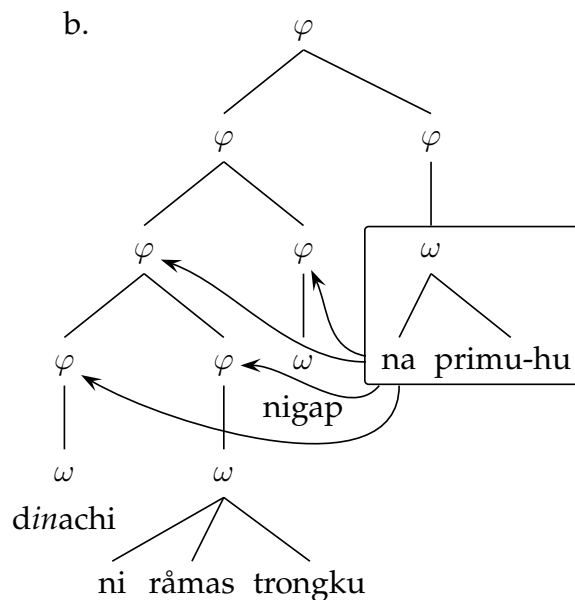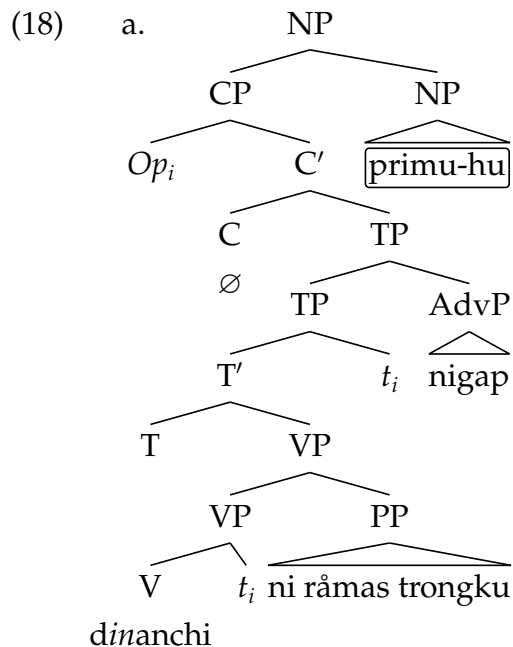
- The account makes the following predictions:

  ▷ Relatively unconstrained positional freedom of the head noun

  ▷ Effects of a syntactic movement dependency, even though the head noun surfaces in the RC

  ▷ Constraints on relations between the head noun and some other constituent in the RC **appearing** to be evaded

- Of the patterns discussed so far, this hypothesis gets some things right:

  ▷ The presence of island effects and WH-agreement in circumnominal RCs

  ▷ The fact that multiple constituents can follow the head noun (16), (17)

- To begin considering the predictions of the hypothesis, observe the behavior of head nouns in RCs with coordinated VPs in (19)–(21).

(19) i [[ma-fåhan na kareta gi Sabalu] **yan** ma-såkki gi Damenggu].
      the PASS-buy LK car   LOC Saturday and PASS-steal LOC Sunday
      'the car that was bought on Saturday and stolen on Sunday'   137, EDR

and linkers attach at the level of the prosodic word. I also incorporate into the prosodification of (18a) some specific assumptions about the phrase *ni råmas trongku*. I've shown *råmas* and *trongku* mapped to a single prosodic word because there is very strong evidence from stress that postnominal modifiers like *trongku* attach at this level (Chung in prep.).

(20) i [[ma-fåhan gi Sabalu na kareta] **yan** ma-såkki gi Damenggu].
the PASS-buy LOC Saturday LK car and PASS-steal LOC Sunday
'the car that was bought on Saturday and stolen on Sunday'   138 , EDR

(21) i [ma-fåhan gi Sabalu **yan** [ma-såkki na kareta gi Damenggu]].
the PASS-buy LOC Saturday and PASS-steal LK car LOC Sunday
'the car that was bought on Saturday and stolen on Sunday'   155 , EDR

POSITIONAL FREEDOM

- Given (19)–(21), the head noun does enjoy a significant amount of positional freedom; the facts are certainly not incompatible with the hypothesis.

  Are the facts compatible with any of the other hypotheses?

- Scrambling & remnant movement: across-the-board movement to Spec, CP of a head noun merged into each conjunct?

  ▷ Post-head noun material in (19) does not form one or more whole constituents

(APPARENT) EVASION OF SYNTACTIC CONSTRAINTS

- In coordinated VPs in which a shared semantic object surfaces in one conjunct only, it is reasonable to assume that a null pronoun would be merged into the VP without the overt object.

- This would be subject to Chamorro's anaphora constraint, which requires the antecedent to either precede or command its dependent. (Chung 1998:83)

  ▷ If the null pronoun were generated in the first VP conjunct, the resulting sentence would be expected to be ungrammatical.

- The acceptability of (21), therefore, is unexpected under the base-generation hypothesis, but expected under phonological lowering.

  ▷ Chamorro's anaphora constraint appears to have been evaded, but in the underlying syntax, it is satisfied.

THE LINKER

- Recall an observation from earlier, and a fact about the linker:

  ▷ **Observation**: the *na* form of the linker precedes the head noun in both prenominal and circumnominal RCs.

  ▷ **Fact**: the linker is implicated in modification environments.

- Considering these two points, it seems notably odd that the linker occurs at all in circumnominal RCs.

  ▷ The linker is no longer separating a lexical head from its modifier, as in the vast majority of its distribution.

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▷ It appears, instead, to be marking which element in the RC is to be interpreted as the head noun.

▷ Under both analyses of the linker mentioned earlier, its presence in circumnominal RCs doesn't seem to make sense.

∗ Inflectional feature approach: linker realizes inflectional features shared by the head noun and its modifier—under any hypothesis but the lowering hypothesis, there would be no modifier in the usual sense.

∗ Syntactic head approach: linker is a head in the syntax and affects semantic composition of predicates—under any hypothesis but lowering, there is no other predicate to compose locally with the head noun.

▷ On the idea that the initial structure of circumnominal RCs is shared with prenominal RCs, the presence of the linker in circumnominal RCs can be (re)united with the rest of its distribution.

- The head noun of circumnominal RCs appears to be constrained in its prosodic size, suggesting that the nature of this construction is somehow related to prosody.

▷ So far, speakers have largely rejected formulations in which the head noun is larger than a prosodic word (see Appendix B), though it remains to be seen whether other factors are at play here.

- Finally, we might be comforted by the fact that Chamorro appears to require lowering in other domains, for subjects in ordinary clauses (Chung 1998).

▷ The lowering as formulated here is somewhat different, since it involves lowering of a non-argument into an adjunct CP; while subject lowering involves lowering of an argument into a position in the extended projection of the verb that the subject is an argument of.

6 Conclusion & directions for future research

- The evidence presented here seems to favor the phonological lowering hypothesis, while disfavoring both the base-generation hypothesis and the scrambling & remnant movement hypothesis.

- Circumnominal RCs in other languages have required the analyses presented here as unfavorable alternatives for Chamorro.

▷ Lakhota → base-generation

▷ Tagalog → scrambling & remnant movement (for some prenominal RCs w/ stranding)

- Even though languages may have similar surface structures, they may arrive at those structures in different ways—even two languages that are closely related.

- Interestingly, Chamorro seems to support the traditional conception of the head noun and the RC as being fundamentally separate.

6.1 Directions for future research

6.1.1 The lowering proposal

- The lowering proposal is still underspecified.

  ▷ What constrains the phonological lowering operation?
  ▷ What level of phonological constituent can the head noun attach to?
  ▷ What drives the movement? Prosodic optimization?
  ▷ What is the relation between head noun lowering and subject lowering, if any?

6.1.2 Head noun stranding?

- In other A′ constructions in Chamorro such as *which-NP* questions, the NP can optionally be left behind in the clause while the question operator moves to a clause-initial position.

  WITHOUT STRANDING:

(22) Håfa na tinanum siha un   tånum gi   gualu′ gi   ma′pus na simåna?
      what LK plant(N) PL   2SG.AGR plant(V) LOC garden LOC last   LK week
      'Which plants did you plant in the garden last week?'   680, EDR

  WITH *na*-NP STRANDING:

(23) Håfa un   tånum na tinanum siha gi   gualu′ gi   ma′pus na simåna?
      what 2SG.AGR plant(V) LK plant(N) PL   LOC garden LOC last   LK week
      'Which plants did you plant in the garden last week?'   681, EDR

- The presence of *na*-NP stranding in other A′ constructions raises the question of whether Chamorro's circumnominal relatives could have essentially the same derivation, but with null operator movement instead of overt operator movement.

- This could potentially derive the island effects of circumnominal RCs, but further research needs to be done to determine if this is the same phenomenon.

Si Yu′us ma′åsi′ nu i atensión-mu!
Thank you for your attention!

A Analyses of the linker

- In the nominal domain, adjectival (and other) modifiers can generally precede or follow the head noun, with the linker surfacing between the two elements in both cases.

  ▷ Modifier precedes noun ↦ MODIFIER **na** NOUN (24)

  ▷ Noun precedes modifier ↦ NOUN–{**n**/∅} MODIFIER (25)

(24) a. dikiki' na ⃞boti⃞
          small LK boat
          'a small boat'
      b. un dikiki' na ⃞haggan⃞
          a small LK turtle
          'a little turtle'

(25) a. ⃞boti⃞-n dikiki'
          boat-LK small
          'a small boat'
      b. un ⃞haggan⃞-∅ dikiki'
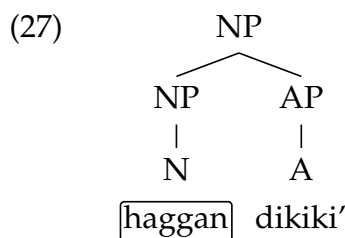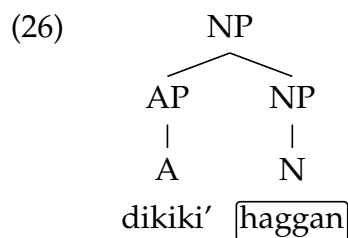   a turtle-LK small
          'a little turtle'

  ✎ The linker that surfaces following a prenominal adjective (**na**) is the same linker that surfaces after a prenominal RC.[8]

- **Two options come to mind** to derive the flexible ordering of modifiers and their hosts. Each of these depends on a particular analysis of the linker.

  > **OPTION 1:** Flexible linearization; linker inserted post-syntactically

- These word-order facts are the result of optional left- or right-adjunction of modifiers to NP[9]:

(26)
```
        NP
      /    \
    AP      NP
    |        |
    A        N
  dikiki'  haggan
```

(27)
```
        NP
      /    \
    NP      AP
    |        |
    N        A
  haggan   dikiki'
```

- I suggest that the linearization mechanism is primarily concerned with the left-to-right ordering of heads (X^0) and their complements, and can order adjuncts either to the left or to the right of their hosts. This can be fleshed out in multiple ways.

  ▷ Along with Chung (1998:233–4), we might assume that lexical heads and their modifiers are realized with inflectional features [L-MODIF] or [R-MODIF], which instruct the linearization mechanism how to realize the host and its modifier.

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[8]Prenominal adjectives should not be analyzed as RCs; Chamorro has RCs that consist only of an adjective and a gap, but in those cases, the adjective is inflected for mood and phi-features of the subject.

[9]This analysis might be unsatisfactory to some, who might prefer to take one of the word orders as basic, with the other order involving a raising operation that results in inversion of the basic word order. (see, e.g., Mikkelsen 2005; den Dikken 2006); however, for the reasons discussed under Option 1, I don't think such an analysis is necessary.
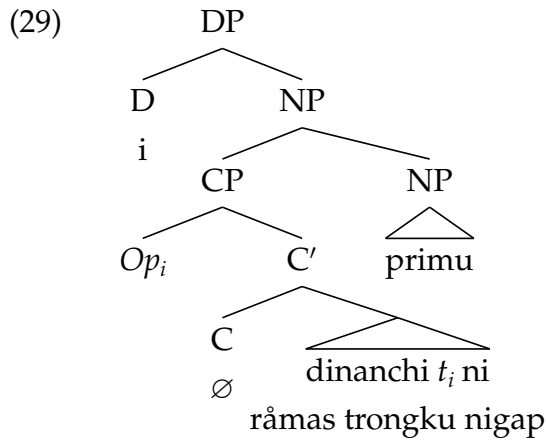
▷ We might also assume that the linearization mechanism makes a random (or stochastic) determination for elements it doesn't recognize as heads or complements.

☛ If RCs are nominal modifiers just like adjectives, then it is unsurprising that RCs can surface to the left or to the right of their host, which I assume is NP.

☛ The linker could be the realization of the inflectional features just mentioned; when [L-MODIF] is present, *na* is adjoined to the left of the head noun; when [R-MODIF] is present, $-\{n/\varnothing\}$ is adjoined to the right of the head noun.
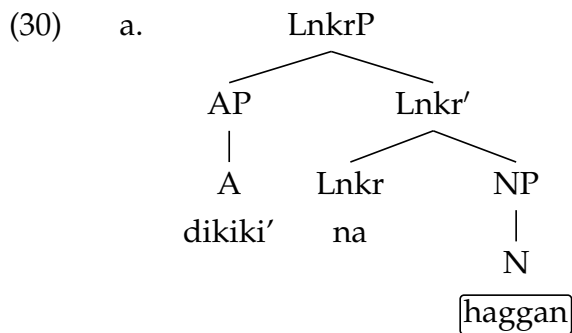
▷ When the relative clause CP surfaces to the left, we get prenominal RCs and the *na* form of the linker, as shown below for (4), repeated as (28).
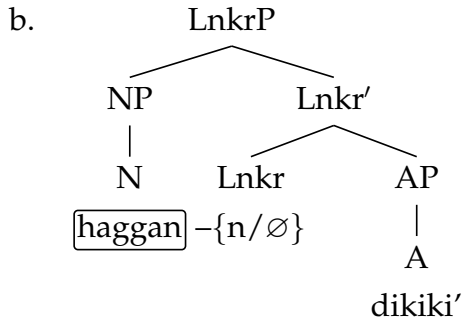
(28) i [di*n*anchi ni råmas trongku nigap] ***na*** ⌐primu-hu⌐
the PASS:hit OBL branch.LK tree yesterday LK cousin-3SG.POSSR
'the cousin of mine who was hit by a tree branch yesterday' 292, EDR

(29)

```
              DP
            ╱    ╲
          D        NP
          i      ╱    ╲
              CP        NP
            ╱   ╲      ╱╲
         Op_i    C'  primu
               ╱   ╲
              C     ╱╲
              ∅  dinanchi t_i ni
                 råmas trongku nigap
```

┌───┐
│ **OPTION 2**: Linker is a syntactic head; modifiers are complements or specifiers │
└───┘

• Along the lines of den Dikken (2006), the linker heads its own phrase and takes one predicate as its complement, and the other as its specifier.

• Under this view, it would be favorable to view the pre- and post-head forms of the linker as two different lexical items that signal to the semantics how the two predicates are to be composed (illustrated for (24b) and (25a) below, respectively).

(30) a.

```
              LnkrP
            ╱      ╲
          AP        Lnkr'
          │        ╱    ╲
          A      Lnkr     NP
        dikiki'   na       │
                           N
                        ⌐haggan⌐
```

13

b.

```
                    LnkrP
                   /      \
                 NP        Lnkr'
                 |        /      \
                 N      Lnkr      AP
             [haggan] –{n/∅}      |
                                  A
                                dikiki'
```

- Whatever the preferred approach is, the important generalization is that an analysis of the linker will place it in a modification environment, where two predicates need to be composed to form a larger predicate.

- The mystery of Chamorro's circumnominal RCs becomes more apparent: if the linker surfaces in modification environments, why does it appear when the head noun surfaces inside a RC?

  ▷ Instead of separating the head noun from its modifier, it appears to be acting similarly to special-purpose elements in other languages that mark the head noun in circumnominal RCs, e.g. the Niger-Congo language Bambara (Comrie 1989:ch. 7).

B Prosodic size constraint of the head noun

- My consultants have largely rejected configurations in which the head noun of a circumnominal RC is larger than a prosodic word, e.g. when the head noun has a prenominal modifier.

  ▷ Prenominal modification of the head noun ⟶ **unacceptable**

  ▷ Postnominal modification of the head noun ⟶ **acceptable**

    ∗ As discussed independently in Chung (in prep.: ch. 2), postnominal modifiers have the unique property that they form a prosodic word with their host, resulting in some interesting patterns (31) when clausal predicates are modified NPs inflected for progressive aspect, which involves reduplication of the initial CV of the syllable bearing primary stress in the prosodic word.

(31) Ma'estru-n Juajuan   ha'
      [teacher-LK Juan].PROG EMP
      He is still Juan's teacher.   (Chung in prep.:ch.2, p.7)

      PRENOMINAL MODIFIERS ON INTERNAL HEAD NOUN:

(32) *Ch*um*ålik   i   matå'chung na [dikiki' na påtgun] gi   siya.
       SG.AGR:laugh the sit   LK little LK child   LOC chair
       ('The little child who sat in the chair laughed.')   104, EDR

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(33) *Gaigi   i basnak   na $\boxed{\text{malångu na bihu}}$ gi   Sabalu   gi
SG.AGR.be.there the SG.AGR.fall LK sick LK old.man   LOC Saturday LOC
espitåt.
hospital.
('The sick old man who fell on Saturday is in the hospital.')   106, EDR

POSTNOMINAL MODIFIERS ON INTERNAL HEAD NOUN:

(34) Ch*um*ålik   i matå'chung na $\boxed{\text{påtgun dikiki'}}$ gi   siya.
SG.AGR:laugh the sit   LK child.LK little   LOC chair
'The little child who sat in the chair laughed.'   119, EDR

(35) Ch*um*ålik   i matå'chung na $\boxed{\text{påtgun palåo'an}}$ gi   siya.
SG.AGR:laugh the sit   LK child.LK woman LOC chair
'The girl who sat in the chair laughed.'   124, EDR

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