

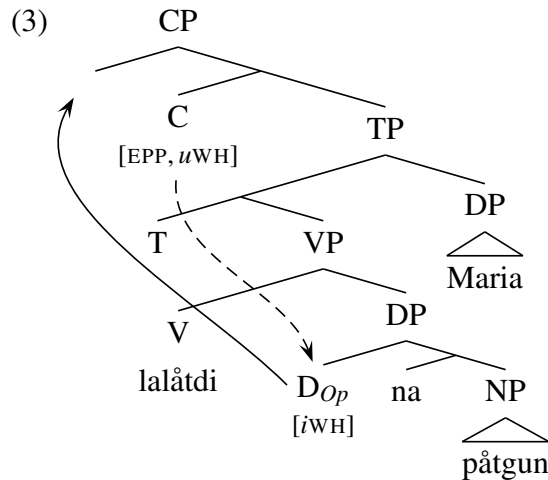
Stranding in Chamorro internally headed relative clauses

Overview: This study investigates the syntax of internally headed relative clauses (IHRCs) in Chamorro, a verb-initial Austronesian language spoken in the Mariana Islands (Micronesia). We argue that Chamorro IHRCs are derived by long-distance head movement of the null operator (a determiner) from a RC-internal DP to the clause periphery. This analysis is supported by the presence of island effects, the possibility for WH-agreement in IHRCs, the mandatory presence of a linker particle on the head NP, and parallels in other types of long-distance dependencies.

Phenomenon: IHRCs are characterized by the appearance of a nominal phrase within the boundaries of a relative clause which is interpreted as the modifier of that nominal phrase (Comrie 1989, p. 145). Since Chamorro is verb-initial, this gives rise to a construction in which a determiner is immediately followed by the verb of the relative clause (1). The head NP (boxed) must be preceded by the linker particle *na*. Every IHRC in Chamorro can also be restated as a head-initial RC (2).

- (1) K⟨um⟩âti i [ha=lalâtdi na pâtgun si Maria].
 ⟨SG.AGR⟩cry the 3SG.AGR=scold LK child UNM Maria
 ‘The child that Maria scolded cried.’ (EDR: 62)
- (2) K⟨um⟩âti i patgun [ni ha=lalâtdi si Maria].
 ⟨SG.AGR⟩cry the child COMP 3SG.AGR=scold UNM Maria
 ‘The child that Maria scolded cried.’ (EDR: 60)

Analysis: We argue that the internal head NP (IH) of Chamorro IHRCs is merged as a full DP headed by the null operator, which takes an overt NP complement. The operator D^0 is targeted by the C probe to the exclusion of its maximal projection and all DP contents other than D^0 . WH-movement then occurs in the usual way (3). This analysis is in contrast to long-distance binding analyses without movement (Grosu 2012) and complex predicate formation analyses for related Austronesian languages (Aldridge 2017).



Support: First, despite the appearance of the IH within the boundaries of the RC, IHRCs still exhibit island effects. (4) shows a RC whose IH is inside of an embedded question, which are known islands in Chamorro (Chung 1998, pp. 351-6). This is straightforwardly captured under the proposed analysis.

- (4) *i [ha=tungu' si Juan [hãyi mu-na'-malãngu na [tãotao]]]
 the 3SG.AGR=know UNM Juan who WH[NOM]AGR-CAUS-ill LK person
 ('the man₁ that Juan knows who made ___₁ sick') (EDR: 218)

Second, Chamorro IHRCs can display WH-agreement (5), a special inflection which occurs in A'-constructions that cross-references the case of the moved phrase (and supersedes the usual S-V agreement). If the presence of WH-agreement is taken as a diagnostic for WH-movement (Reintges et al. 2006), its presence in IHRCs is well-explained by a movement analysis like the current one.

- (5) Lanchera i [g<um>aluti yu' na [palão'an] nigap].
 farmer the <WH[NOM]AGR>hit me LK woman yesterday
 'The woman who hit me yesterday is a farmer.' (BPS: 471)

Third, the mandatory presence of the linker particle *na* to the left of the IH is unusual: it normally only surfaces when an NP forms a constituent with either a modifier or a determiner that surfaces immediately to the left of the NP. The determiners that condition the presence of the linker include interrogative determiners and most weak quantifiers. On the proposed analysis, its presence is accounted for: the null operator is one of the determiner types that requires the presence of the linker, and the linker is still pronounced even though its trigger has moved.

Finally, the phenomenon is mirrored in other A' constructions (constituent questions, sentences with focus) with *overt* determiners, so that the two semantically connected constituents surface in a discontinuous fashion (6a). There is an option for the *na*-NP string to be pied-piped in these constructions (6b) with no interpretive difference (in fact, pied-piping is the default), which suggests that the moved determiner in these constructions underlyingly forms a constituent with *na*-NP.

- (6) a. Hãyi [_{C'} um-ã'agan i amigu-ña siha] na [tãotao] sessu]?
 who WH[NOM]AGR-call.PROG the friend-3SG.POSS PL LK person often
 'Which man calls his friends all the time?' (BPS: 704)
- b. Hãyi na [tãotao] [_{C'} um-ã'agan i amigu-ña siha sessu]? (BPS: 703)

Implications: The proposed analysis, if correct, shows that even apparently internally headed RCs (in Chamorro) are derived by standard WH-movement, uniting them with more familiar A'-constructions and demonstrating one way in which surface word order can betray the presence of underlying syntactic operations. Furthermore, the proposal has potential implications for current discussions of syntactic head movement (Harizanov and Gribanova resubmitted), the interaction between syntactic labeling and syntactic features, and bare phrase structure (Chomsky 1995).

References: Aldridge, E. (2017). "Internally and Externally Headed RCs in Tagalog". *Glossa* 2:1. • Chomsky, N. (1995). "Bare Phrase Structure". In H. Campos and P. Kempchinsky (Eds.), *Evolution and Revolution in Linguistic Theory*. • Chung, S. (1998). *The Design of Agreement: Evidence from Chamorro*. University of Chicago Press. • Comrie, B. (1989). *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: Syntax and Morphology*. University of Chicago Press. • Grosu, A. (2012). "Towards a more articulated typology of IHRC Constructions". *Linguistics and Language Compass* 6:7. • Harizanov, B. and V. Gribanova. (resubmitted). "Whither head movement?" Ms., Stanford University. • Reintges, C., P. LeSourd, and S. Chung. (2006). "Movement, Wh-Agreement, and Apparent Wh-in-situ". In L. Lai-Shen Cheng, N. Corver, and N. Chomsky (Eds.), *Wh-Movement: Moving On*. MIT Press.