Main questions
1. How are internally headed RCs (IHRCS) derived in Chamorro?
2. How does head-external meaning arise from head-internal syntax?

Chamorro
- Austronesian family (Malayo-Polynesian subgroup)
- Mariana Islands; 45,000 speakers
- Predicate-initial clauses (default VSO); head-initial phrases

1. Multiple RC Configurations

Internally headed RC
(1) K(u)måti i [ha-la-låtti na påtgu] si Maria.
(SG.AGR)cry the child COMP 3SG.AGR=scold UNM Maria
The child that Maria scolded cried.

Head-initial RC
(2) K(u)måti i [na ha-la-låtti si Maria].
(SG.AGR)cry the child COMP 3SG.AGR=scold UNM Maria
The child that Maria scolded cried.

Head-final RC
(3) K(u)måti i [ha-la-låtti si Maria] na påtgu.
(SG.AGR)cry the child COMP 3SG.AGR=scold UNM Maria LK child
The child that Maria scolded cried.

The difference between (2) and (3) might be conceptualized as left- or right-adjunction of the RC, following [1].

 Internally headed RCs are challenging to fold into the traditional conception of RCs as adjuncts to NP.

2. The linker

- Chamorro’s linker na (inflectional element typical of Western Malayo-Polynesian lgs.) separates nouns from “modifiers” [2].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>agogå' na karetå</td>
<td>'a red car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak quantifiers</td>
<td>bula na karetå</td>
<td>'many cars'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>aju na karetå</td>
<td>'that car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative determiners</td>
<td>håfa na karetå</td>
<td>'which car'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The linker is not occurring within its usual distribution in (1).

3. Analysis: Raising with stranding

Syntax
1. Head noun merged as full DP headed by the null operator (Op).
2. Op raises to Spec,CP without its NP complement.
3. Op requires the linker (like the interrogative determiners).

Semantics
1. Variable provided by Op/Predicate Abstraction [3] restricted by stranded NP (following Fox’s Trace Conversion [4]).

Ax.[scold(m,ty.[child(y) A y=x])]

4. Signs of A’ movement

Island effects
- IHRCS whose head NP is in a head-initial RC or embedded question judged to be unacceptable, suggesting island constraints have been violated.

WH-agreement
- Long-distance dependencies not formed by A’ movement do not exhibit WH-agreement in Chamorro (e.g. topicalization) [1,5].
- IHRCS exhibit the same (optional) WH-agreement that head-initial and head-final RCs do (6–7).

5. NP Stranding in other A’ domains

- NPs can also be stranded by overt determiners in constituent questions (8) and focus sentences (9).

(8) Bula [man-øggan na tåtao gi taså].
many PL.AGR-be.stranded LK PL.person LOC sea
'There were many people stranded at sea.'

(9) Håfa [un=tånum na tinunum siha gi guål] which 25G.AGR=plant LK plant PL LOC garden
gi ma’pus na simånå?
LOC last LK week
‘Which plants did you plant in the garden last week?’

That this occurs with overt determiners in other A’ constructions lends credibility to the stranding analysis for IHRCS.

A concern
- Other Austronesian lgs. are known to form constituent questions and sentences like (8–9) as Headless Relative Clitics (HRC) [7,8,9].
- HRC analysis: Clause-initial determiners in (8–9) would be non-verbal predicates; remainder would be a headless RC in Spec, TP.
- Prediction: Negative determiners that serve as predicates in a HRC construction could not license negative concord items in the remainder – too low to c-command negative concord item [10].
- Not born out: fronted negative determiner can be associated with a stranded NP and license a negative concord item (10).

(10) Ni unu [ni]ni’a-hu na påtgu ni håfa ha’ NEG one (1WMOB)AGR=give-1SG LK child NEG anything EMP gi kumplaños-åal.
LOC birthday-3SG.POSS
‘Not one of the children did I give a single thing to on their birthday.’

Conclusions
- Chamorro IHRCS appear to be derived via A’ movement.
- A movement is a common ingredient in RC derivation, even in RCs with no apparent movement.


Acknowledgments: This ma’ten (thanks) to Sandy Chung, Maziar Toosarvandani, Matt Wagers, the participants of UCLA’s Winter 2017 Research Seminar, and my Chamorro consultants: Bernie P. Sablan, Dr. Elizabeth D. Rechelis, Bernadita N. Sison, Lucy N. Shilling, Albert Camacho, Angie C. Villagomez, Manuel F. Borja, and the late Lourdes B. Cruz. Any errors are my own.

Notes: [1] From the Chamorro Dictionary Revision Project: entry for unu.