

Stranding in Chamorro internally headed relative clauses

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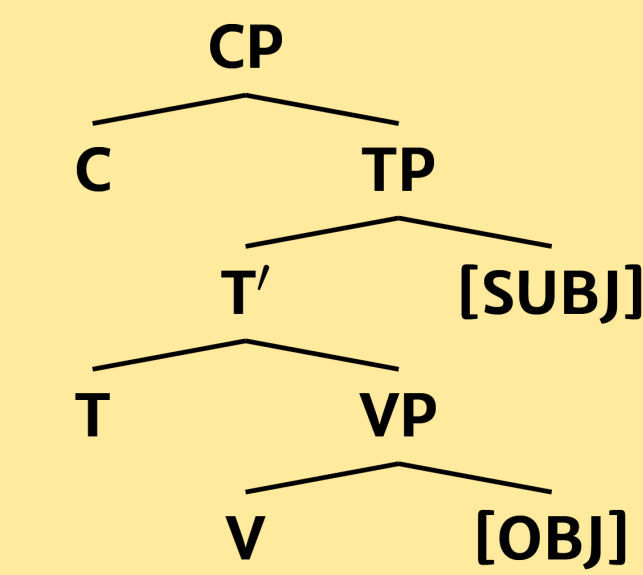


Main questions

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(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.'

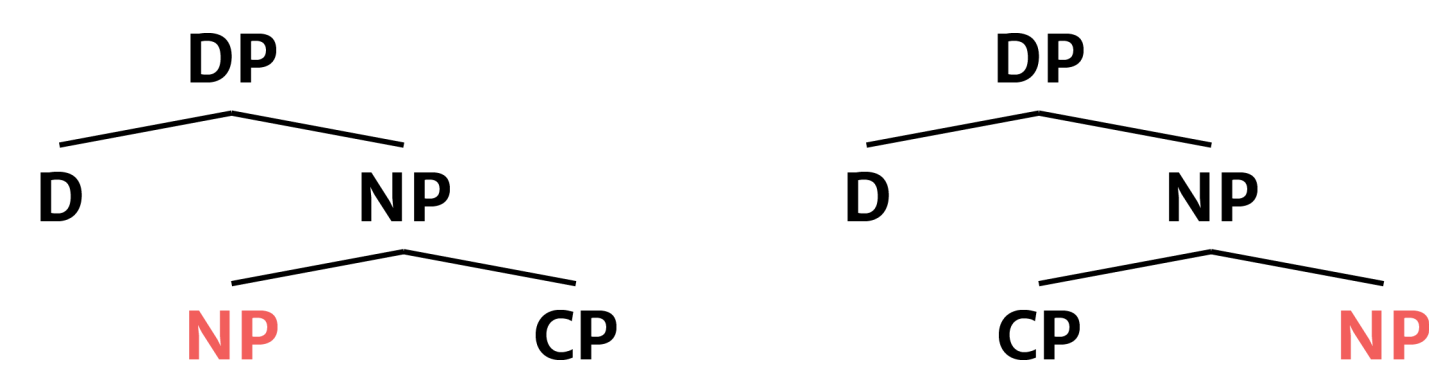
Head-initial RC

- (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.'

Head-final RC

- (3) K(um)âti i [ha=lalâtdi si Maria] na pâtgun.
 (SG.AGR)cry the 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].

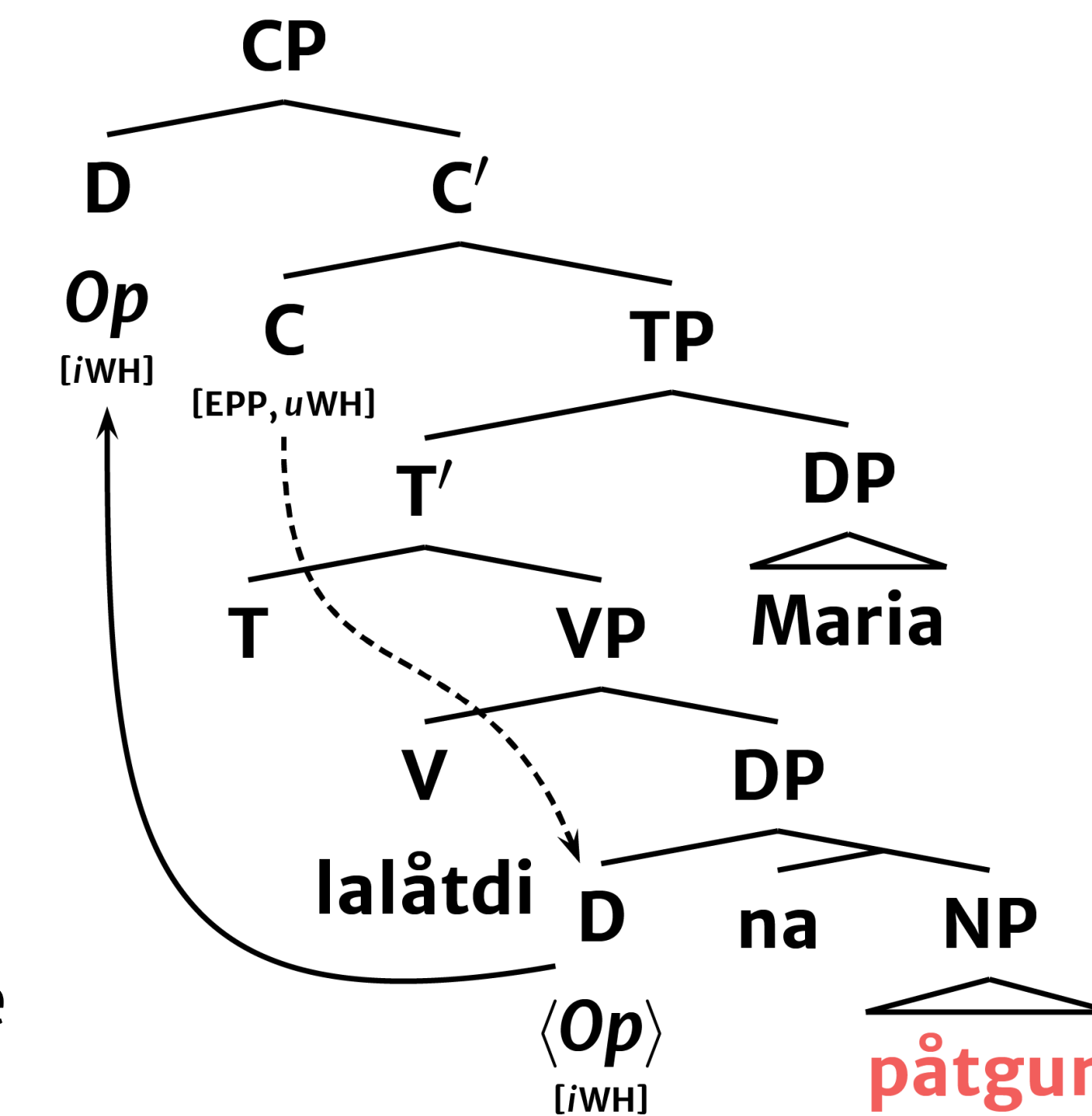
Modifier	Example	Translation
Adjectives	agaga' na kareta	'a red car'
Weak quantifiers	bula na kareta	'many cars'
Demonstratives	atyu na kareta	'that car'
Interrogative determiners	hâfa na kareta	'which car'

- 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]).

$\lambda x. [\text{scold}'(m, iy. [\text{child}'(y) \wedge y=x])]$

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.

- (4) *i [bunitu i doktu [ni ha=tungu' the SG.AGR.handsome the doctor COMP 3SG.AGR=know na mana'malangu na malangu gias Juan]]
 COMP be.made.sick LK patient OBL Juan
 ('the patient who [the doctor who knows that Juan made _ sick is handsome]')

- (5) *i [ha=tungu' si Juan [hâyi muna'malangu na tãotao]]
 the 3SG.AGR=know UNM Juan who make.sick LK man
 ('the man who Juan knows who made _ sick')

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).

- (6) i [g(um)aluti yu' na palão'an nigap]
 the (WH[NOM]AGR)club me LK woman yesterday
 'the woman who clubbed me yesterday'

- (7) i [k(in)enni' Manuel na palão'an para i giput]
 the (WH[OBJ]AGR)take.LK Manuel LK woman to the party
 'the woman who Manuel took to the party' [6]

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-oggan na tãotao gi tasi].
 many PL.AGR-be.stranded LK PL.person LOC sea
 'There were many people stranded at sea.'¹

- (9) Hâfa [un=tânun na tinanum siha gi gualu'
 which 2SG.AGR=plant LK plant PL LOC garden
 gi ma'pus na simâna]?
 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 Clefts (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 [n(in)a'i-hu na pâtgun ni hâfafa ha'
 NEG one (WH[OBJ]AGR)give-1SG LK child NEG anything EMP
 gi kumpliaños-ña].
 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.

References: [1] Chung, S. (1998). Design of agreement: Evidence from Chamorro. [2] Foley, W. A. (1976). Comparative Austronesian Syntax. [3] Heim, I. et al. (1998). Semantics in gen. grammar. [4] Fox, D. (2002). Antecedent-Contained Deletion and the Copy Theory of Movement. LI, 33(1). [5] Reintges, C. H. et al. (2006). Movement, Wh-Agreement, and Apparent Wh-in-Situ. In Wh-Movement: Moving On. [6] Chung, S. (1991). A False Head-Internal Relative in Chamorro. In Fest. for W. Shipley. [7] Potsdam, E. (2009). Austronesian verb-init. lgs. & wh-question strategies. NLLT, 27. [8] Paul, I., & Potsdam, E. (2012). Sluicing w/o wh-movement in Malagasy. In Sluicing: Cross-Linguistic Perspectives. [9] Chung, S. (2009). Six Arguments for Wh-Mvmt. in Chamorro. In Hypothesis A/B. [10] Ladusaw, W. A. (1992). Expressing negation. In SALT 2.

Acknowledgements: Si Yu'us ma'âsi' (thanks) to Sandy Chung, Maziar Toosarvandani, Matt Wagers, the participants of UCSC's Winter 2017 Research Seminar, and my Chamorro consultants: Bernie P. Sablan, Dr. Elizabeth D. Rechebei, Bernadita N. Sondossi, 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 *oggan*.

