



- (6) i [[ma-fâhan na kareta gi Sabalu] yan ma-sâkki 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
- (7) i [[ma-fâhan gi Sabalu na kareta] yan ma-sâkki gi Damenggu]. 138, EDR
- (8) i [ma-fâhan gi Sabalu yan [ma-sâkki na kareta gi Damenggu]]. 155, EDR

This flexibility poses a problem for all but the lowering hypothesis. In (6), the material following the head NP is not a constituent and couldn't have gotten there via scrambling. In (7), the head NP is not in an object position, and therefore not in a position where it could have been base-generated. The base-generation hypothesis doesn't disallow e.g. the head NP anteceding a null pronoun in the other conjunct, but (8), in this case, would violate Chamorro's constraints on anaphora, since the antecedent would neither precede nor c-command its antecedent (Chung 1998:136).

(b) *The linker.* As mentioned, Chamorro's linker generally occurs between lexical heads and their modifiers, making its presence in circumnominal RCs puzzling. Assuming with Chung (1998) that the linker is inserted post-syntactically in modification environments, only the lowering hypothesis is viable, since circumnominal RCs are derived from structures with the requisite modification environment.

(c) *Islands.* Evidence from island effects suggests that circumnominal RCs still contain a movement dependency (Chomsky 1977). If the head noun were in a base-generated position within an island, there would be no movement dependency across the island boundary, and we would predict not to see island violation effects, yet we do:

- (9) \*Hu li'i i [ha tungu' si Juan [hayi mu-na'-malângu na tãotao]].  
 AGR see the AGR know Juan who PASS-CAUS-be.ill LK man.  
 ('I saw the man who Juan knows who got (the man) sick.') 218, EDR

(d) *Constituents that can follow the head NP.* A handful of constituent types in Chamorro cannot undergo A' movement; among them, realis passive agents, and objects of antipassive verbs. These constituents should not be able to follow the internal head NP if the scrambling & remnant movement analysis is correct, but such sentences are judged to be grammatical by speakers. (1) shows a realis passive agent following a head NP, and (10) shows an antipassive object following a head NP.

- (10) i [mam-bendi na biha kanâstra gi metkâo]  
 the AP-sell LK old.lady OBL.basket LOC market  
 'the old lady who sold baskets at the market' 364, EDR

**Implications** • If the analysis I argue for here is correct, circumnominal RCs in Chamorro will be added to the list of word-order phenomena that are not directly attributable to the underlying syntax of an expression (Bennett et al. 2016, Sabbagh 2014, Chung 2003). Though it is very unlikely that all syntactic analyses of circumnominal RCs should be replaced with phonological movement analyses, it might be worth evaluating languages with circumnominal RCs to see whether such analyses would be tenable.

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