Φ-feature mismatches in Samoan resumptives as post-syntactic impoverishment

Introduction Samoan A′-movement involves obligatory resumption in oblique and genitive case-marked positions with a third person singular pronoun regardless of the person and number features of the moved constituent. These ϕ-deficient resumptive pronouns exist alongside pronouns which resume absolutive or ergative arguments and are fully specified for ϕ-features. This talk argues that the neutralization of ϕ-features on pronominal copies is due to morphological feature impoverishment in the presence of an A′-feature per Baier (2018), as opposed to partial copy deletion; cf. van Urk (2018).

Samoan resumptives Samoan resumptives are observed with relativization and constituent fronting to encode focus, topicalization, or wh-questions (= *o*-fronting; see e.g. Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:474-476; Hohaus and Howell 2015). Samoan sentences are standardly verb-initial, with nominal arguments following the verb (1) or appearing as a pronominal clitic after the tense particle (2). *O*-fronting involves a constituent appearing preverbally with the predicative particle *o*, with an obligatory resumptive pronoun appearing in oblique (3) and genitive (4) case-marked position. These resumptives surface as a third person pronoun regardless of the ϕ-features of the topicalized constituent, as can be seen for the fronted plural noun phrase in (3) and the fronted first person singular pronoun in (4). This is in contrast with pronouns which are not associated with A′-movement and surface with the full set of ϕ-features regardless of syntactic position (5).

(1) Sa   fafaga [e   le tama] [l-a-na   maile].
    PST feed   ERG the boy   the-GEN-3SG dog
    'The boy fed his dog.'

(2) Sa **e** fafāgā a'u.
    PST **you** feed.TR I
    'You fed me.'

(3) O   [le fānau   a   le fafine]$_i$ na   fafaga *(**i ai$_i$**) ia.
    PRED   the child.PL GEN the woman   PST feed   **OBL 3SG** s/he
    'It is the woman's children that she fed.'

(4) O   [a'u]$_i$ e   moe l-a-*(**na$_i$**)   maile i   ī.
    PRED   I   PRES sleep the-GEN-**3SG** dog   OBL here
    'It is me whose dog sleeps here.'

(5) E   moe l-a-'**u**   maile i   ī.
    PRES sleep the-GEN-**1SG** dog   OBL here
    'My dog sleeps in here.'

In contrast, the topicalization of absolutive direct objects (6) and absolutive and ergative subjects (7-8) involves optional resumption by a pronoun that matches the full ϕ-features of the fronted constituent.

(6) O   [a'u]$_i$ sa   e   fafāgā (**a'u$_i$**).
    PRED   I   PST you feed.TR I(ABS)
    'It is me that you fed.'

(7) O   [a'u]$_i$ na   (**ou$_i$**) aumai-a   l-au   tusi.
    PRED   I   PST I(ERG) bring-INA the-2SG.POSS book
    'It was me who brought your book.'

(8) O   [matou]$_i$ sa   (**matou$_i$**) nonofo i   le taulaga lea.
    PRED   we   PST we(ABS)   live   OBL the town   this
   'It was us who lived in this town.'

Φ-deficient resumptive pronouns are derived via A′-movement; for example, they are island-sensitive (9). Φ-agreeing resumptive pronouns may be base-generated, correspondingly appearing in islands, but may also be movement-derived, as can be seen from their ability to license parasitic gaps. Because Samoan allows pro-drop under co-reference (see e.g. Chung 1978:30-31), parasitic gaps can be diagnosed only in positions which require a ϕ-deficient resumptive pronoun instead of a gap. For example, the second person singular pronoun in (9) may license a parasic third person resumptive pronoun in the adjunct clause.

(9) O   oe   e   mana'o Talia **e**   te   avea l-a-na   tupe   [$_{CP}$ ona   na   te   fa'atuatua
PRED you PRES want   Talia **you** PRES take the-GEN-3sg money   COMP 3SG PRES trust

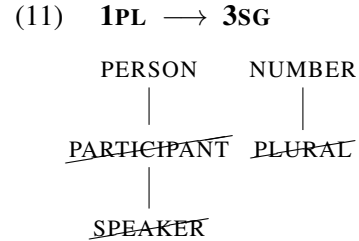**i**   **ai**$_{PG}$.]
OBL **3SG**

'It's you Talia wants to take her money because she trusts in you.'

Φ-feature mismatches from impoverishment As standardly proposed for movement-derived resumptives (Koopman 1984; Engdahl 1985 *et seq.*), I assume that Samoan resumptive pronouns are the overt spellout of the lower copy in a movement chain. Syntactically, the pronouns are featurally identical to their higher copy, i.e. they resume the full set of ϕ-features associated with the moved constituent. This can be observed for resumptives in the ergative and absolute case-marked positions (6-8).

In the oblique and genitive case-marked positions, resumptive pronouns are neutralized for ϕ-features as a result of post-syntactic feature impoverishment (Bonet 1991; Noyer 1997 *et seq.*). Following Harley and Ritter (2002); Bejar (2003), a.o., person features are organized hierarchically, with all person features being specified for [PERSON], second person being additionally specified for [PARTICIPANT] and first person being maximally specified with the former two features, as well as [SPEAKER] (10). Number is likewise privatively expressed with the hierarchy [NUMBER — PLURAL], where the full feature set corresponds to the plural and [NUMBER] corresponds to the singular. With resumptive pronouns, feature impoverishment targets the features below [PERSON] and [NUMBER], resulting in the corresponding pronoun uniformly surfacing as third person singular (11).

(10)
```
PERSON
  |
PARTICIPANT
  |
SPEAKER
```
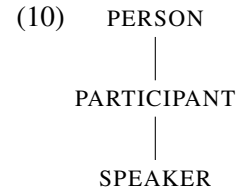
Following Baier's (2018) analysis of wh-agreement, I propose that impoverishment is triggered by the presence of an A$'$-feature (e.g. FOC, TOP, WH) on the corresponding pronoun, in combination with a marked case feature (OBL or GEN). This correctly captures the observation that pronouns neutralize for ϕ-features only when they spell out the copy of a movement chain in a marked case position as in (3-4) and are spelled out with the full set of ϕ-features if they do not bear an A$'$-movement feature (5) or a marked case feature (6-8). Typologically, it is common for neutralization of pronominal ϕ-features to be conditioned by morphological case (Arkadiev 2009).

(11)   **1PL** $\longrightarrow$ **3SG**
```
PERSON        NUMBER
  |              |
PARTICIPANT   PLURAL
  |
SPEAKER
```

Against partial copy deletion Person neutralization in Samoan resumptives is not due to partial copy deletion, as proposed by van Urk (2018) for a superficially similar construction in Dinka. Partial deletion arises when there are phonological constraints which rule out full deletion – for Samoan, this might be the necessity to overtly express oblique or genitive case. Van Urk argues that pronominal copies are underspecified for person due to the deletion of nP where person features are introduced in pronouns, but remain specified for number because this deletion preserves the higher Num projection (12). In this approach, nP is targeted due to its phasehood status, and languages may allow for full ϕ-feature expression if nP is not a phase.

For Samoan, such an approach would require the deletion of NumP rather than nP to account for number neutralization, which is difficult to justify in the absence of evidence for the phasehood of NumP. Additionally, this type of approach fails to capture the contrast between absolutive and ergative resumptives, on the one hand, which are not neutralized for ϕ-features, and the ϕ-deficient oblique and genitive case-marked resumptives.

(12)
```
      KP
     /  \
    K    NumP
         /  \
       Num  <nP>
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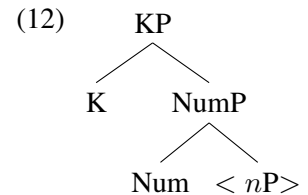
Conclusion Φ-deficient resumptive pronouns in Samoan provide evidence for treating the neutralization of ϕ-features on pronominal copies as post-syntactic feature impoverishment and not partial copy deletion.

Select references •Arkadiev 2009. In *New challenges to typology.* •Baier 2018. UC Berkeley diss. •Hohaus & Howell 2015. In *Proceedings of AFLA 21.* •Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992. *Samoan reference grammar.*