

# $\Phi$ -feature mismatches in Samoan resumptives as postsyntactic impoverishment

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# $\bar{A}$ -features are $\varphi$ -features

**Standard assumption:**  $\bar{A}$ -movement is driven by  $\bar{A}$ -features.

$\bar{A}$ -features can participate in agreement  $\rightarrow$  WH-agreement.

(Watanabe 1996; Chung 1998, a.o.)

In some languages, wh-agreement behaves like  $\varphi$ -agreement.

e.g. Abaza, West Circassian

(O'Herin 2002; Baier 2018; Ershova 2021)

**Prediction:** If  $\bar{A}$ -features are a type of  $\varphi$ -feature, they may affect pronominal forms, not just agreement.

(cf. Baier and Yuan 2018)

**Confirmed by resumptive pronouns in Samoan.**

# Resumptive pronouns affected by $\bar{A}$ -features

- ▶  $\bar{A}$ -movement from **genitive**, **oblique**, and **ergative** case marked positions triggers **obligatory resumption**.
- ▶ The resumptive pronoun is **3SG** regardless of the  $\phi$ -features of the moved element.

## Contrast with:

- ▶  $\bar{A}$ -movement from **absolutive** case marked positions triggers **optional resumption**.
- ▶ The resumptive pronoun copies the **full  $\phi$ -features** of the moved element.

$\Phi$ -feature mismatch is postsyntactic impoverishment

$\Phi$ -features on pronouns are **deleted**  
if combined with an  **$\bar{A}$ -feature** and a **marked case** feature.

- ▶  **$\bar{A}$ -features as  $\varphi$ -features**
- ▶ Background on Samoan
- ▶ Matching and mismatched resumptives in Samoan
- ▶ The analysis:  $\bar{A}$ -features affect pronominal forms
- ▶ Conclusion

Morphosyntactic reflex of  $\bar{A}$ -movement, e.g. in Chamorro

(Chung 1994, 1998; Reintges et al. 2006)

Ha-bendi si Maria i kareta.  
AGR-sell Maria the car

‘Maria sold the car’

**DECLARATIVE**

Hayi **bumendi** i kareta?  
who **WH.NOM**.sell the car

‘Who sold the car?’

**WH-AGREEMENT WITH SUBJECT**

Hafa **bininde-nña** si Maria?  
what **WH.OBJ**.sell-AGR Maria

‘What did Maria sell?’

**WH-AGREEMENT WITH OBJECT**

# WH-agreement interacts with $\varphi$ -agreement

In some languages, WH-agreement replaces or blocks  $\varphi$ -agreement.

(O'Herin 2002; Baier 2018; Ershova 2021)

E.g. in Abaza and **West Circassian** (Northwest Caucasian).

# WH-agreement in West Circassian

## FINITE CLAUSE:

mə    sabəjə-m    qeʋaʋe-xe-r    [ jə-šəpχ<sup>w</sup>ə-me ]  
this    child-ERG    flower-PL-ABS    3PL.POSS-sister-PL.OBL  
Ø-    a-    r-    jə-    tə-ʋe-x  
3ABS- 3PL.IO- DAT- 3SG.ERG- give-PST-PL

‘This child gave flowers to his sisters.’

ABS- IO- APPL- ERG-

## RELATIVE CLAUSE:

WH-AGREEMENT  
WH-MOVEMENT  
[ Op    txələ-r       <sub>IO</sub>    Ø-    ze-    r-    jə-    tə-ʋe ]  
          book-ABS                    3ABS- WH.IO- DAT- 3SG.ERG- give-PST  
çəfə-r  
person-ABS

‘the person to whom s/he gave the book’ (Lander 2012:276)

# $\bar{A}$ -feature triggers impoverishment

Following Baier (2018):

- ▶ agreement probe copies features from wh-operator:  $[\varphi; WH]$
- ▶ WH-feature triggers postsyntactic feature impoverishment

(Bonet 1991; Noyer 1997 *et seq.*)

$[\varphi; WH] \rightarrow [WH] \Rightarrow$  spelled out as wh-agreement

## Prediction:

If  $\bar{A}$ -features can influence spellout of  $\varphi$ -features on probes, they can influence the spellout of other  $\varphi$ -feature bearing elements, e.g. **pronouns**.

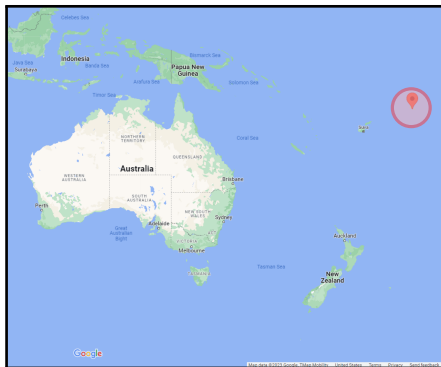
**Confirmed by Samoan resumptive pronouns.**



- ▶  $\bar{A}$ -features as  $\varphi$ -features
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# Samoan

- ▶ Polynesian < Austronesian
- ▶ ~500000 speakers; ~50% of them in the Samoan Islands
- ▶ **Data** from elicitations with one speaker from Apia, Samoa.



**VERB**                      **SUBJ**                      **OBJ**  
E    tausi   e       le   tinā   o       Natia ia.  
PRS   care   ERG   the mother GEN   Natia s/he

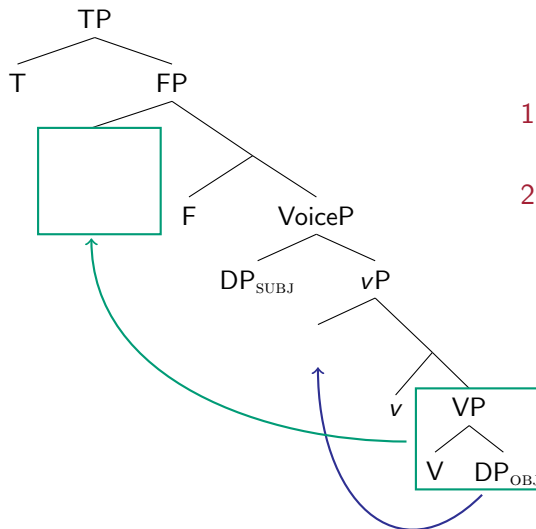
‘Natia’s mother takes care of her.’

**VERB** **OBJ**                      **SUBJ**  
E    tausi   ia       e       le   tinā   o       Natia.  
PRS   care   s/he ERG   the mother GEN   Natia

‘Natia’s mother takes care of her.’

# Verb initiality by VP fronting

Following Collins (2017):



1. internal arguments move out of VP
2. VP moves to position immediately below TP

# Case marking of verbal arguments

Na tanu [ **ERG** le maile ] [ **ABS** le pogāivi ] i le oneone.  
PST bury **ERG** the dog the bone OBL the sand

‘The dog buried the bone in the sand.’

**transitive: ERG-ABS**

Na va'ai [ **ABS** ia ] [ **OBL / ACC** i le tama ].  
PST see s/he OBL the boy

‘S/he saw the boy.’

**middle: ABS-OBL**

E moe [ **ABS** l-a'u maile ] i ī.  
PRS sleep the-my dog OBL here

‘My dog sleeps in here.’

**intransitive: ABS**

# Unmarked preverbal clitics

Pronominal subjects may surface as preverbal clitics which are **absolutive** regardless of verb transitivity:

Na **ou** va'ai i le tagata.  
PST I see OBL the person

'I saw a person.'

**middle: ABS-OBL**

Sa **ou** fafāgā l-a'u maile.  
PST I feed+3SG the-my dog

'I fed my dog.'

**transitive: ERG-ABS**

# Case marking of possessors

le tinā [ o le teine ]  
the mother GEN the girl

‘the girl’s mother’

le faiaoga [ a le teine ]  
the teacher GEN the girl

‘the girl’s teacher’

l-o-na tinā  
the-GEN-3SG mother

‘his/her mother’ **INALIENABLE**

l-a-na faiaoga  
the-GEN-3SG teacher

‘his/her teacher’ **ALIENABLE**

# Case marking: summary

**ABS:**        **unmarked** / high edge tone (Yu 2021)  
subject of intransitive & middle verbs  
object of transitive verbs  
preverbal pronominal subjects

**ERG:**        **e NP**  
subject of transitive verb

**OBL:**        **i NP**  
object of middle verb  
indirect object

**GEN:**        **o/a NP**  
possessor



# Case marking: summary

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**ERG:**        **e NP**  
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**OBL:**        **i NP**  
object of middle verb  
indirect object

**GEN:**        **o/a NP**  
possessor

+  **$\bar{A}$ -feature**  
⇒ **impoverishment**

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# Ā-movement: o-fronting

- ▶ Fronting with particle *o* to encode focus, topicalization and wh-questions. (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:474-476)
- ▶ *O* introduces alternatives – glossed as ALT. (Hohaus and Howell 2015)

[ O    matou ] sa    nonofo \_\_ABS i    le    taulaga lea.  
ALT we       PST live                    OBL the town    this




‘It was us who lived in this town.’

# Mismatched resumptives

GEN, OBL and ERG DPs are **obligatorily resumed** by a 3SG pronoun.

E    moe l-**a'u**    maile i    ī.  
PRS sleep the-**1SG** dog    OBL here

'My dog sleeps here.'

  
[O    a'u ] e    moe l-**ana**    maile i    ī.  
PRED I    PRS sleep the-**3SG** dog    OBL here

'It is me whose dog sleeps here.'


# Mismatched resumptives

GEN, OBL and ERG DPs are **obligatorily resumed** by a 3SG pronoun.

Na talanoa mai le tama [ iā i matou ].  
PST talk DIR the boy OBL **we**

‘The boy talked to us.’

[ O matou ] na talanoa mai le tama i ai.  
ALT we PST talk DIR the boy OBL **it**



‘It was us the boy talked to.’


# ERG resumed by a suffix

ERG is resumed by the suffix *-a/-ina* ( $\approx$  3SG pronoun *na*) regardless of  $\varphi$ -features. (Hopperdietzel 2020; Hopperdietzel and Alexiadou 2022)

Na ave [ e a'u ] le tusi i l-o-'u uso.  
PST give ERG **I** the book OBL the-GEN-1sg sister

'I gave the book to my sister.'

[ O a'u ] na ave-**a** le tusi i l-o-'u uso.  
ALT I PST give-**3SG** the book OBL the-GEN-1SG sister




'It was me who gave the book to my sister.'

# Ergative resumption

Ergative resumption is also triggered by A-movement:

- ▶ Preverbal clitic pronouns move to Spec,TP. (Collins 2017)
- ▶ Preverbal clitic **is not marked for ergative case**.

Na     **ou** ave-**a**    le    tusi    i    l-o-'u    uso.  
PST   I    give-**3SG**   the book   OBL   the-GEN-1SG   sister

'I gave the book to my sister.'

\*Ask me how the analysis would change if *-a/-ina* is not a resumptive.

# Mismatched resumptives are movement-derived

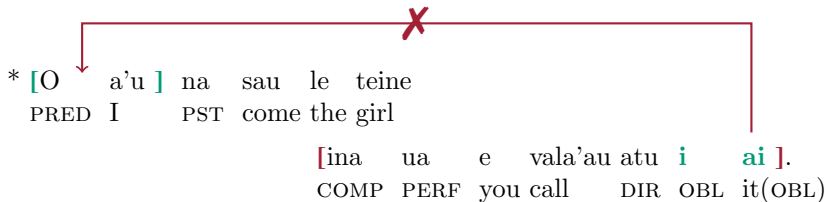
Resumptive pronouns spell out an  $\bar{A}$ -trace:

- ▶ They are island-sensitive.
- ▶ They can license parasitic gaps.



# Resumptive pronouns are island sensitive

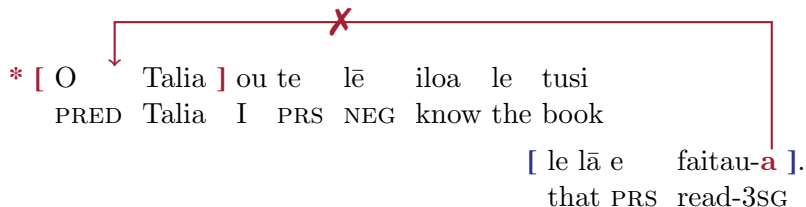
$\phi$ -deficient resumptives cannot appear in islands:



lit. 'It was me who the girl came when you called \_\_.'

# Resumptive pronouns are island sensitive

$\varphi$ -deficient resumptives cannot appear in islands:



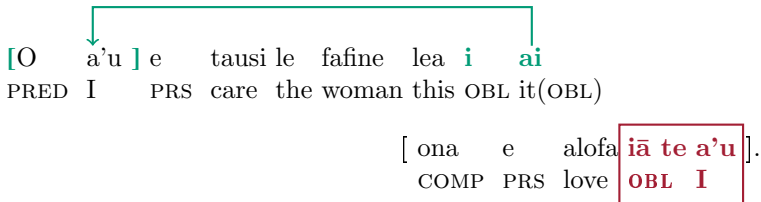
Intended: 'It is Talia, I don't know the book that \_\_\_ is reading.'

# Resumptive pronouns license parasitic gaps

Parasitic gaps surface as  $\varphi$ -mismatched resumptive pronouns:

E    tausi le    fafine    lea    **iā te a'u** [ ona    e    alofa    **iā te a'u** ].  
PRS   care   the woman this OBL   I            COMP   PRS   love   OBL   I

‘This woman takes care of me because she loves me.’



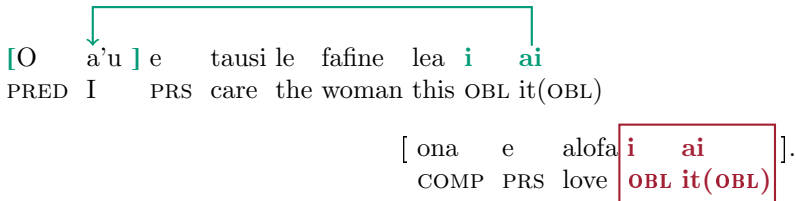
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‘This woman takes care of me because she loves me.’



‘It’s me this woman takes care of because she loves me.’

# Summary: mismatched resumptives

- ▶  $\bar{A}$ -movement from GEN, OBL, and ERG case marked positions triggers **obligatory resumption**.
- ▶ The resumptive pronoun surfaces as **3SG** regardless of the  $\varphi$ -features of the moved DP.
- ▶ Mismatched resumptive pronouns are movement-derived  $\Rightarrow$  spell out an  $\bar{A}$ -trace.

## Deriving mismatched resumptive pronouns


- ▶  $\bar{A}$ -traces in marked case positions are pronounced as pronouns.  $\Leftarrow$  marked case must be overtly realized
- ▶ Pronouns surface as 3SG:  
 $\bar{A}$ -feature + **marked case** (GEN,OBL,ERG)  
 $\Rightarrow \varphi$ -feature deletion

# $\Phi$ -feature matching resumptives

Abslutive DPs may be **optionally resumed** by a  $\phi$ -agreeing pronoun.

## Preverbal subjects:


[O matou ] sa (matou) nonofo i le taulaga lea.  
PRED we PST we live.PL OBL the town this



'It was us who lived in this town.'

## Abslutive objects:

[ O a'u ] e fafaga e l-o-na tinā (a'u).  
ALT I PRS feed ERG the-GEN-3SG mother I



'It is me whom his/her mother feeds.'

# $\Phi$ -matching resumptives are movement-derived

$\Phi$ -matching resumptives may license parasitic gaps:

[ O   oe ] e   mana'o   Talia   (e)   te   ave-**a**  
ALT   you   PRS   want   Talia   you   PRS   take-**3SG**

l-a-na   tupe   [ ona   na   te   fa'atuatua   **i   ai.** ]  
the-GEN-3SG   money   COMP   3SG   PRS   trust   OBL 3SG

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

! Preverbal clitic derived by raising from ERG position  
→  $\varphi$ -mismatched resumptive *-ina*.

! Raising to preverbal subject is A-movement and does not  
license parasitic gaps.

⇒ PG is licensed by  $\alpha$ -fronting from preverbal subject position.

# Summary: $\varphi$ -mismatched vs. matching resumptives

## $\varphi$ -mismatched resumptives

- ▶ movement-derived
- ▶ always 3SG
- ▶ obligatory
- ▶ in marked case positions (GEN, OBL, ERG)

## $\varphi$ -matching resumptives

- ▶ movement-derived
- ▶ full  $\varphi$ -features
- ▶ optional
- ▶ in unmarked case positions (ABS)



# Why the mismatch in $\varphi$ -features?

- ▶  $\varphi$ -matching resumptives are also movement-derived  
 $\Rightarrow$   $\varphi$ -mismatch not due to  $\bar{A}$ -feature.
- ▶ Full  $\varphi$ -features are possible in GEN, OBL, and ERG positions  
 $\Rightarrow$   $\varphi$ -mismatch not due to marked case.

$\varphi$ -features are deleted in presence of both  $\bar{A}$ -feature and marked case feature.

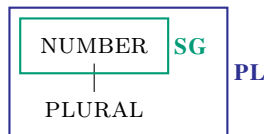
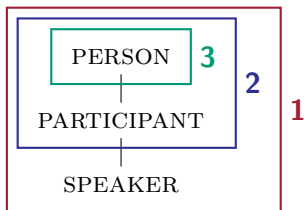
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# Recipe for $\varphi$ -mismatched resumptives

1. Movement-derived resumptives spell out the lower copy of a movement chain.  
(Koopman 1984; Engdahl 1985, *et seq.*)
2. Resumptives are featurally identical to the higher copy  
= they have full  $\varphi$ -features.  
 $\Rightarrow$  **ABS resumptives surface with full  $\varphi$ -features.**
3.  $\bar{A}$ -feature + marked case feature (ERG, OBL, or GEN)  
 $\rightarrow$  deletion of  $\varphi$ -features  
 $\Rightarrow$  **ERG, OBL, and GEN resumptives surface as 3SG.**

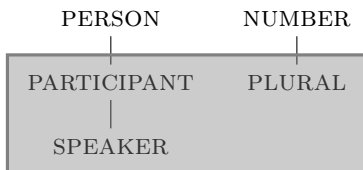
# Third person singular is default

- $\varphi$ -features organized hierarchically: (Harley and Ritter 2002; Bejar 2003, a.o.)



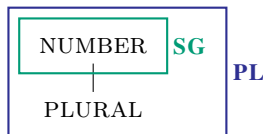
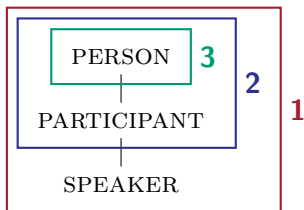
- FOC + ERG/OBL/GEN triggers impoverishment:

**i matou (1PL)**



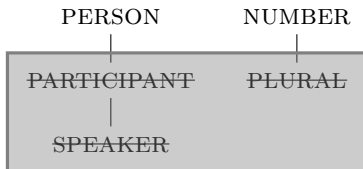
# Third person singular is default

- $\varphi$ -features organized hierarchically: (Harley and Ritter 2002; Bejar 2003, a.o.)



- FOC + ERG/OBL/GEN triggers impoverishment:

**i ai (3SG)**



# Summary: $\bar{A}$ -features in resumptive pronouns

Two types of movement-derived resumptive pronouns:

1.  $\varphi$ -agreeing – in unmarked ( $\text{ABS}$ ) case positions
2.  $\varphi$ -mismatched ( $\text{3SG}$ ) – in marked case positions  
( $\text{ERG}/\text{OBL}/\text{GEN}$ )

$\varphi$ -mismatched resumptives result from **feature impoverishment**:

$\bar{A}$ -feature + marked case  $\rightarrow$   $\varphi$ -feature deletion

Both ingredients necessary:

- ▶  $\bar{A}$ -feature without marked case  $\rightarrow$  no impoverishment  
( $\text{ABS}$  resumptive)
- ▶ marked case without  $\bar{A}$ -feature  $\rightarrow$  no impoverishment  
(regular  $\text{ERG}/\text{GEN}/\text{OBL}$  pronouns)

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- ▶ **Conclusion**

# $\bar{A}$ -features interacting with $\varphi$ -features

In Samoan resumptive pronouns,  $\varphi$ -features are deleted **when combined with an  $\bar{A}$ -feature and marked case.**

Effect of each type of feature is individually attested:

- ▶ WH-feature triggers  $\varphi$ -feature neutralization.  
(Abaza; West Circassian)
- ▶ Morphological case triggers  $\varphi$ -feature neutralization.

(Arkadiev 2009)

A novel type of 'partial copying':

**markedness-based feature deletion.**

Cf. partial copy deletion based on economy (Van Urk 2018).



# Features in syntax $\leftrightarrow$ features in morphology

Samoan resumptives confirm:

**$\bar{A}$ -features may interact with  $\varphi$ -features,**  
not just on agreement probes,  
but on  $\varphi$ -feature bearing elements like pronouns.

**This is a desirable prediction:**

movement is feature driven

features affect morphology

**movement features  
affect morphology**

# Thank you!

- ▶ Rev. Tala Faaleava for sharing his language
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- Arkadiev, Peter. 2009. Syncretisms and neutralizations involving morphological case: Challenges for markedness theory. In *New challenges in typology: Transcending the borders and refining the distinctions*, eds. A. Arkhipov and P. Epps. Mouton de Gruyter.
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