

Introduction. A subset of languages with ergative alignment display a ban on A'-movement of the ergative subject (Ergative Extraction Constraint = ECC). This constraint is attributed either to the morphosyntactic properties of the ergative agent (Otsuka 2006, 2017; Deal 2016; Polinsky 2016, a.o.) or the high position of the absolutive theme (Aldridge 2004, 2008; Coon et al. 2014, 2021; Tollan and Clemens 2022, a.o.). Based on the behavior of parasitic resumptive pronouns in Samoan, I argue that both properties are crucial to deriving the ECC: movement of the ergative is blocked due to a combination of its structural position and the raising of an internal argument.

Argument asymmetries. Samoan is predicate initial, with the VP raising to a position immediately below TP (Collins 2017). Internal arguments vacate the VP, merging in Spec,vP below the thematic subject (1). As evinced by Condition C effects, VP-external positions are ordered thematically: the ergative agent c-commands both the absolutive theme (2) and the indirect object (3), the indirect object c-commands the absolutive theme (4), and the absolutive subject of an unergative verb c-commands the oblique case-marked object (5).

Based on the case-assigning properties of transitive predicates and constraints on analytic causatives, Tollan (2018); Tollan and Massam (2022) argue that ergative agents are merged in a position that is distinct from absolutive agents of unergative verbs: the former are merged in Spec,VoiceP, while the latter are merged in a lower position in Spec,vP (6). This difference in functional structure is confirmed by the availability of A-scrambling in ergative case-assigning clauses: an absolutive theme or an indirect object may move to VoiceP, ameliorating potential Condition C violations (7a)-(7b). Unergative verbs with an absolutive external argument do not allow comparable A-scrambling: the raising of the oblique case-marked direct object does not ameliorate Condition C, indicating that it is a case of A'-movement (8) – I connect this to the lack of transitive Voice⁰ which introduces the ergative subject and licenses A-scrambling.

Topicalization. Samoan topicalization involves a fronted constituent appearing with the predicative particle *o*. Absolutive and ergative arguments are optionally resumed with a pronoun that matches the fronted constituent in ϕ -features (9), while oblique arguments and possessors are obligatorily resumed with a third person pronoun: the inanimate 3SG form *i ai* for oblique arguments (10) and the 3SG possessive form *analona* for possessors (11). Topicalization displays A'-movement properties such as island sensitivity (12).

Parasitic resumptives. A'-movement dependencies are frequently able to license parasitic gaps in place of a bound pronoun: these gaps are parasitic because they may not appear in the absence of the licensing trace, e.g., due to islandhood constraints (13; Engdahl 1983 *et seq.*). In Samoan, parasitic gaps can be observed in place of oblique arguments or possessors if the topicalized constituent is first or second person. The parasitic gap surfaces as a 3SG resumptive pronoun, as in cases of direct topicalization from the corresponding positions (14; cf. 10-11). Like parasitic gaps, parasitic resumptives are only licensed by A'-movement (cf. ungrammaticality with raising (15)) and may appear in syntactic islands (14), cf. (12). Samoan parasitic resumptives are also subject to the anti-c-command condition on parasitic gaps, i.e. they may not be c-commanded by the licensing gap (Contreras 1984; Engdahl 1985; Safir 1987, a.o.). Thus, a topicalized ergative subject in Spec,VoiceP may not license a parasitic resumptive in a vP level adjunct (16), in contrast to an ergative subject that is topicalized long-distance from a position that does not c-command the adjunct (17). Unergative subjects, on the other hand, may license parasitic resumptives in vP level adjuncts due to their lower position in Spec,vP (14).

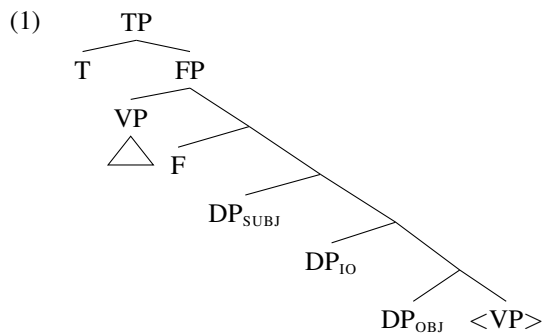
The Ergative Extraction Constraint. In addition to not being able to license parasitic resumptives in vP-level adjuncts, an ergative trace may not license a parasitic resumptive within a DP corresponding to the absolutive theme or indirect object. E.g. the topicalized ergative subject cannot license a parasitic resumptive pronoun in the relative clause adjoined to the absolutive object (18). This is in contrast with the grammaticality of a parasitic resumptive in the absolutive subject DP with a topicalized OBL case-marked object (19). (17) shows that topicalized ergative subjects are generally accessible for A'-movement and correspondingly may license parasitic resumptives. Given that internal arguments may A-scramble to a position above the ergative agent (7a)-(7b), the ungrammaticality of (18) is surprising: the ergative trace does not c-command the parasitic gap in the raised absolutive DP and should thus be able to license it.

I propose that the unavailability of parasitic resumptives in internal arguments with ergative topicalization is due to *the A-movement of the internal argument blocking ergative extraction* per high absolutive accounts of the ECC (Aldridge 2004, 2008; Coon et al. 2014, 2021; Tollan and Clemens 2022, a.o.): the ergative subject may be topicalized only if the internal argument remains in situ – a position that is c-commanded by the ergative trace and thus may not contain a parasitic gap. In contrast to prior analyses, the high position of the absolutive is not related to case or licensing and is thus not obligatory, allowing for grammatical ergative extraction in most contexts.

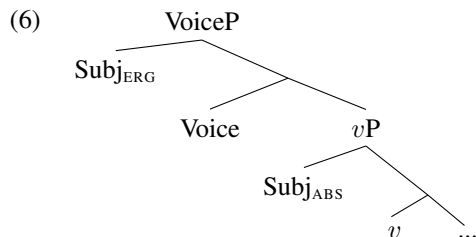
The second ingredient of the Samoan ECC is the structural position of the ergative agent. The raising of the internal argument does not block movement of non-ergative participants, suggesting that this is not a simple intervention effect (cf. Aldridge 2008; Coon et al. 2021) or constraint on crossing dependencies (cf. Tollan and Clemens 2022). For example, an indirect object, which c-commands the absolutive theme in its base position (4) may license a parasitic resumptive in the absolutive DP, indicating that the latter has A-moved to a higher position without blocking A'-movement of the indirect object (20). I propose that the ergative subject is trapped by the raised internal argument due to *both participants occupying specifiers of VoiceP* – a phase per e.g. Legate (2014) – with the scrambled internal argument occupying the outermost specifier. Per Rackowski and Richards (2005), a phase edge is accessible for probing due to being equidistant with the phase itself to the higher probe, with equidistance being defined as there being no X such that “X c-commands α [the phase edge] but does not c-command β [the phase]” (*ibid.*:579). The ergative subject in the lower Spec,VoiceP is c-commanded by the raised internal argument and is thus no longer accessible for probing, deriving the ECC (21).

Conclusion. Despite generally allowing A'-movement of the ergative subject, Samoan displays the ECC in cases where the internal argument has A-scrambled to Spec,VoiceP, blocking ergative extraction. The ECC is indirectly diagnosed based on the licensing of parasitic resumptives and arises from the combination of A-movement of the internal argument and the position of the ergative agent.

Select references. • Collins 2017. *NLLT* 35. • Coon et al. 2014. *LingVar* 14. • Coon et al. 2021. *Language* 97. • Otsuka 2017. In *Oxford Handbook of Ergativity*. • Tollan 2018. *Glossa* 3. • Tollan & Clemens 2022. *LI* 53. • Tollan & Massam 2022. *Syntax* 25.



- (2) Na fafaga e ia_{i/*j} le tama teine a le fafine_j.
 PST feed ERG s/he the child girl POSS the woman
 ‘S/he_{i/*j} fed the woman’s_j daughter.’ (ERG c-commands ABS)
- (3) Na aumai fugāla’au e ia_{i/*j} i le tinā o Talia_j.
 PST bring flower ERG s/he OBL the mother POSS Talia
 ‘S/he_{i/*j} brought flowers to Talia’s_j mother.’ (ERG c-commands IO)
- (4) Na ou ave-a iā te ia_{i/*j} le api a Talia_j.
 PST I give-INA OBL s/he the notebook POSS Talia
 ‘I gave him/her_{i/*j} Talia’s_j notebook.’ (IO c-commands ABS)
- (5) E alofa ia_{i/*j} i le tama teine a le fafine_j.
 PRES love s/he OBL the child girl POSS the woman
 ‘S/he_{i/*j} loves the woman’s_j daughter.’ (ABS subject c-commands object)



- (7) a. Na fafaga [VoiceP [le tama teine a le fafine_j] e ia_{i/j}]_{vP} t_{ABS}.
 PST feed the child girl POSS the woman ERG s/he
 ‘S/he_{i/j} fed the woman’s_j daughter.’
- b. Na aumai [VoiceP [i le tina: o Talia_j] e ia_{i/j}]_{vP} t_{IO} fugāla’au.
 PST bring OBL the mother POSS Talia ERG s/he flower
 ‘S/he_{i/j} brought flowers to Talia’s_j mother.’

- (8) E alofa [i le tama teine a le fafine_j] ia_{i/*j} t_{OBL}.
 PRES love OBL the child girl POSS the woman s/he
 ‘S/he_{i/*j} loves the woman’s_j daughter.’
- (9) O a’u na (ou) aumai-a l-au tusi.
 PRED I PST (I) bring-INA the-2SG.POSS book
 ‘It was me who brought your book.’
- (10) O oe na togi e le tama le polo i ai.
 PRED you PST throw ERG the boy the ball OBL it.OBL
 ‘It was you the boy threw the ball to.’
- (11) O a’u e moe l-ana maile i i.
 PRED I PRES sleep the-3SG.POSS dog OBL here
 ‘It is me whose dog sleeps here.’
- (12) * O a’u na sau le teine [ina ua e vala’au atu i ai].
 PRED I PST come the girl COMP PERF 2SG call DIR OBL it.OBL
 Intended: ‘It’s me the girl came when you called __.’
- (13) Which articles did John file __ [without reading ___{PG}?] (Engdahl 1983:5)
- (14) O a’u na sau [vP ___{ABS} ...] [ina ua e vala’au atu i ai_{PG}].
 PRED I PST come COMP PERF 2SG call DIR OBL it.OBL
 ‘It’s me who came when you called for me.’
- (15) * Ou te mafai [ona sau ___{ABS} [pe’a e vala’au atu i ai_{PG}].
 I PRES can COMP come if you call DIR OBL it.OBL
 Intended: ‘I can come if you call for me.’
- (16) O a’u na fafāgā [VoiceP ___{ERG} le maile [CP ina ia fiafia iā te a’u / *i ai_{PG}.]]
 PRED I PST feed.INA the dog COMP s/he like OBL I / *OBL it.OBL
 ‘It was me who fed the dog so it would like me.’
- (17) O oe mana’o Talia [CP e avea ___{ERG} lana tupe] [CP ona na te fa’atuatua i ai_{PG}.]
 PRED you want Talia PRES take 3SG.POSS money COMP 3SG PRES trust OBL 3SG.OBL
 ‘It’s you Talia wants to take her money because she trusts in you.’
- (18) O a’u na fafāgā ___{ERG} [tamaiti na aumai-a fugāla’au ia: te a’u / *i ai_{PG}.]
 PRED I PST feed.INA child.PL PST give-INA flower OBL I / *OBL it.OBL
 ‘It was me who fed the kids who brought the flowers to me.’
- (19) O a’u na vili i ai_{IO} [le tamāloa lea e fai-a l-ana_{PG} ta’avale.]
 PRED I PST call OBL it.OBL the man that PRES do-INA the-3SG.POSS car
 ‘It was me the man who is fixing my/his/her car called.’
- (20) O a’u na aumai e le teine tausima’i [l-ana_{PG} tama-tama] i ai_{PG}.
 PRED I PST give ERG the girl nurse the-3SG.POSS child-child OBL it.OBL
 ‘It was me the nurse gave my/his/her son to.’

