A different level of coordination: Samoan subject sharing

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Subject sharing

Subject sharing:

- two clauses are conjoined

- only one subject in the surface structure

- subject is interpreted in both conjuncts

  ⇒ suggests subject taking scope over both conjuncts
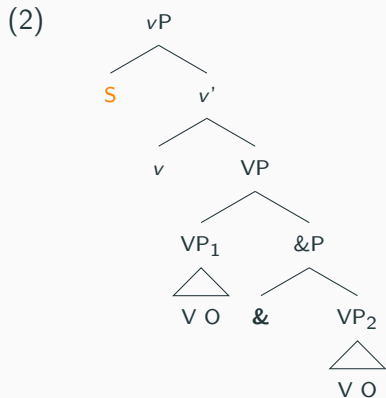 ⇒ subject must c-command both conjuncts

(1) The man saw the woman and ran away.   ⇒ SVO&VO word order
     = The man saw the woman and the man ran away.
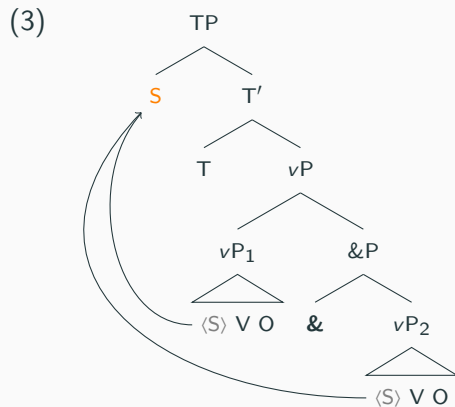   ≠ The man saw the woman and the woman ran away.

Subject sharing

Straightforward analyses for English:

1. VP-coordination dominated by vP
   e.g. Keine (2013) for a similar approach for subject sharing in same subject switch reference contexts

2. vP-coordination + ATB-movement
   e.g. Flor & Zompi (2021)

(2)

vP
- S
- v'
  - v
  - VP
    - VP$_1$
      - V O
    - &P
      - &
      - VP$_2$
        - V O

(3)

TP
- S
- T'
  - T
  - vP
    - vP$_1$
      - ⟨S⟩ V O
    - &P
      - &
      - vP$_2$
        - ⟨S⟩ V O

Background on Samoan

Samoan:

- Austronesian language
- Ergative-Absolutive alignment
- leftwards head-orientation
- verb-initial (V1) language
- dominant word order in transitive clauses: **VSO**
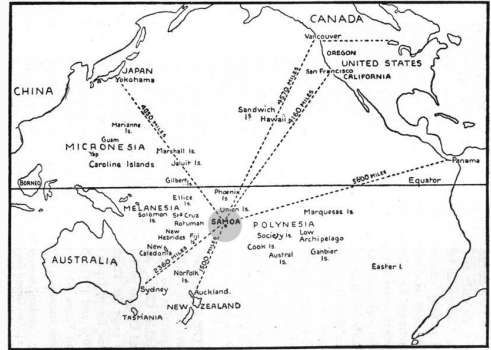
(4)   Lena sa va'ai Peter i   se   solofanua.
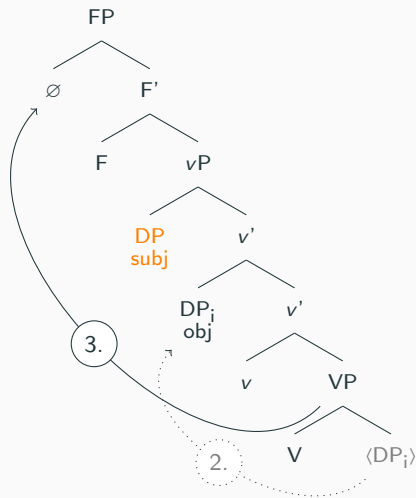   PST   look Peter LD ART horse
      'Peter looked at a horse.'

Background on Samoan

VP-fronting (Collins 2017):

1. S in Spec*v*P
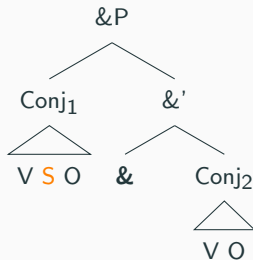2. Object shift
3. remnant VP-fronting

⇒ Derives VSO order

(5) Lena sa va'ai Peter i   se   solofanua.
     PST   look Peter LD ART horse
     'Peter looked at a horse.'

(6)   Lena sa **[[tā** e   le   teine le   la'au] **ma** [si'ia lugā le   laulau]].
        PAST   hit   ERG ART girl   ART tree   and lift up   ART table
        'The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.'

1. only one S for two predicates
2. S is embedded in first conjunct
   - ⇒ S cannot take scope over both conjuncts
   - ⇒ 'English' derivations do not work
3. word order: TAM [V S O] & [V O]

(6) Lena sa **[[tā e   le   teine le   la'au] ma** [si'ia lugā le   laulau]].
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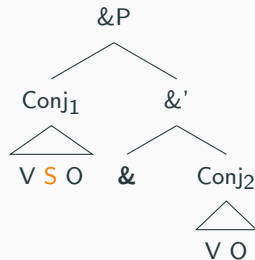   'The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.'

1. only one S for two <u>predicates</u>

2. S is embedded in first conjunct

   ⇒ S cannot take scope over both
     conjuncts
   ⇒ 'English' derivations do not work

3. word order: TAM [V S O] & [V O]

> Could it be *pro*-drop?

&P
    Conj₁   &'
    V S O   &   Conj₂
                V O

A straightforward solution: subject *pro*-drop

(7) Lena sa **[**[tā e   le   teine le   la'au] **ma** [si'ia lugā *pro* le   laulau]].
     PAST hit ERG ART girl ART tree   and lift   up   *pro* ART table
     'The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.'

Subject sharing in Samoan

A straightforward solution: subject *pro*-drop

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    PAST   hit ERG ART girl ART tree and lift   up *pro* ART table
    'The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.'

(8) a. Agagafi, lena sa fo'i   mai Melanie i   le   fale.
       yesterday PAST   come to   Melanie LD ART home
       'Yesterday, Melanie came home.'
    b. Lena sa siva   *(gaia).
       PAST   dance 3.Sg
       'She danced.'

⇒ subject *pro*-drop is not possible (contra Homer 2009, Koopman 2012, Muāgututi'a 2017)

Subject sharing in Samoan

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> How can these constructions be derived? What is the underlying structure?

Claims

This phemonenon **has not been discovered in Samoan** beforehand. Based on the data I **elicited with native speakers**, I claim the following.

1. Samoan subject sharing constructions are coordinative.
2. Their structure involves low-coordination.
3. They cannot be derived convincingly by the most prominent approaches.

Coordination vs. subordination

- Subject is absent in second conjunct
- Samoan does not allow for *pro*-drop
- Subject apparently takes wide scope

> What if Samoan subject sharing constructions were subordinative?

Coordination vs. subordination

Asymmetric extraction is not possible:

(9) *O lea le mea sa [ta e Peter —] ma [ai se apu]?
   PRES what ART thing PAST hit ERG Peter and eat ART apple
   What did Peter hit and ate an apple?

⇒ suggests coordinative structure

Coordination vs. subordination

Asymmetric extraction is not possible:

(9) *O lea le mea sa [ta e Peter __] ma [ai se apu]?
PRES what ART thing PAST hit ERG Peter and eat ART apple
What did Peter hit and ate an apple?

⇒ suggests coordinative structure

Object ATB movement is possible:

(10) O lea le mea sa [maua e Peter __] ma [gaoi __]?
PRES what ART thing PAST find ERG Peter and steal
What did Peter find and steal?

⇒ suggests coordinative structure

Coordination vs. subordination

- Subject is absent in second conjunct
- Samoan does not allow for *pro*-drop
- Subject apparently takes wide scope
- Samoan subject sharing constructions are coordinative

Do subject sharing constructions have the same structure as clausal coordination?

Coordination structure

Clausal coordination

(11) [Na maua e Petelo se ta'avale] ma [na gaoi e Malia le uila].
      PAST find ERG Peter ART car and PAST steal ERG Mary ART bike
      'Peter found a car and Mary stole a bike.'

- Conjunction of two transitive clauses
- VSO&VSO word order → 2 subjects
- 2 TAM markers
    - ⇒ one TP in each conjunct
    - ⇒ both conjuncts must be at least the size of TP

Coordination structure

Can subject sharing constructions have 2 TAM markers as well?

(12) Lena sa [fasi e le faiaoga le tama] ma [siva].
      PAST beat ERG ART teacher ART boy and dance
      The teacher hit the boy and danced.

(13) [Sa tā e le faia'oga$_i$ le tama] ma [sa siva *(gaia$_i$)].
      PAST hit ERG ART teacher ART boy and PAST dance 3.Sg
      The teacher hit the boy and danced.

$\Rightarrow$ only one TP is present in subject sharing constructions

$\Rightarrow$ conjuncts must be smaller than TP

$\Rightarrow$ coordination must apply below TP

Summary

- Subject sharing constructions display coordinative properties.

- However, they differ from clausal coordination.

- They include only one TP.

- The conjuncts must be smaller than TP.

⇒ The coordination must apply low in the structure.

Double-Duty-Problem

(14)   *The Double-Duty-Problem:*
A single subject is supposed to serve as the subject of two different predicates at the same time. (Barnickel 2017:68 for German SLF-constructions)

1. *The Subject-Scope-Issue:*
   In a coordination of two verb-initial conjuncts, the embedded subject in the first conjunct does not c-command and, thus, does not scope over the second conjunct.
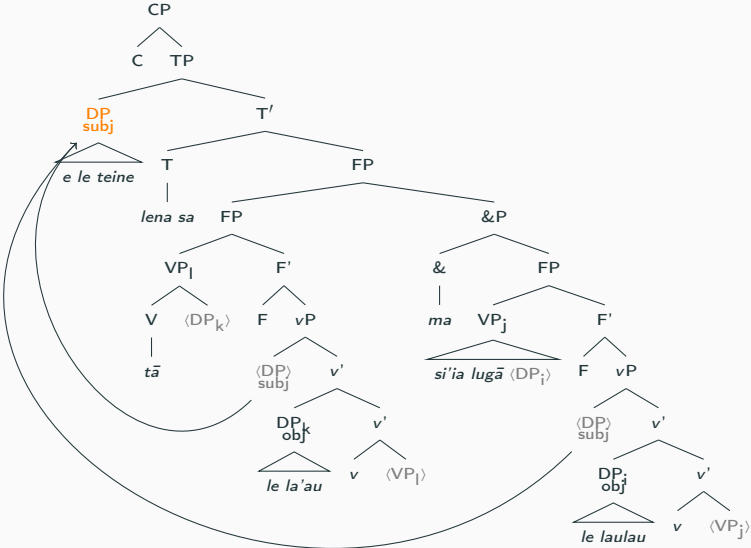
2. *The Subject-Absence-Issue:*
   In a coordination, the subject in the second conjunct does not appear in surface structure.

Double-Duty-Problem

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1. *The Subject-Scope-Issue:*

   In a coordination of two verb-initial conjuncts, the embedded subject in the first conjunct does not c-command and, thus, does not scope over the second conjunct.

2. *The Subject-Absence-Issue:*

   In a coordination, the subject in the second conjunct does not appear in surface structure.

> How low does the coordination apply? At FP- or VP-level?

FP-coordination

- conjuncts are FPs
- each conjunct includes a subject
- coordination dominated by TP

(15) Lena sa [tā e   le   teine le   la'au] ma [si'ia lugā le   laulau].
      PAST   hit ERG ART girl   ART tree and lift   up   ART table
      The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.

(16)

FP-coordination

Pro:

- solves *Double-Duty-Problem* via ATB movement
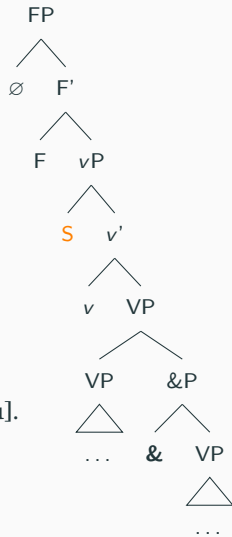- TAM-marker in T takes scope over both conjuncts

Contra:

- derives incorrect word order → S TAM [V O] & [V O]

VP-coordination

- conjuncts are VP

- derivation of *Double-Duty-Problem* by base-generating the subject in a c-commanding position (Höhle (1990), Johnson (2002), among others)

(17) Lena sa [tā e le teine le la'au] ma [si'ia lugā le laulau].
      PAST hit ERG ART girl ART tree and lift up ART table
      The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.

VP-coordination

(18)
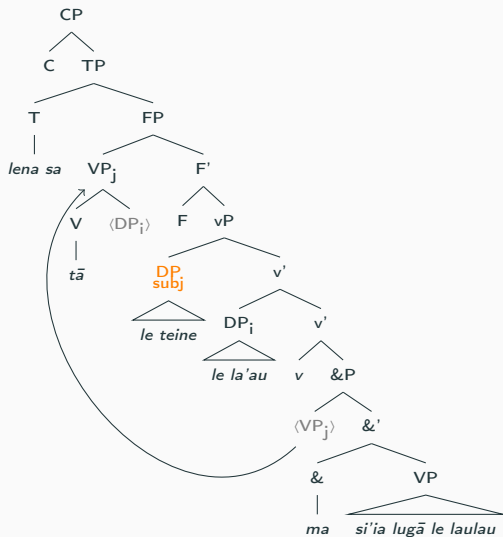
VP-coordination

Pro:

- solves *Double-Duty-Problem*
- fronted VP must necessarily move to a position higher than the subject → V+S order
- TAM-marker in T takes scope over both conjuncts
- derives correct word order

Contra:

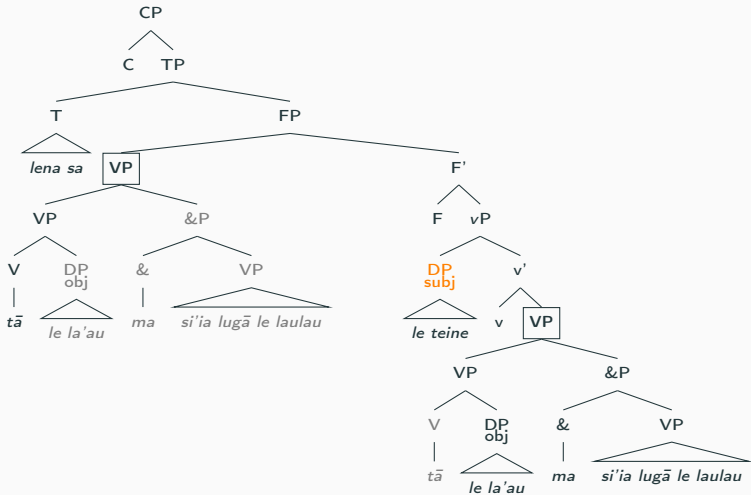- CSC violation due to object shift and remnant VP-fronting

- movement = **copy** and **delete**
- two copies of an element can exist simultaneously
- subsequent deletion may apply to both copies, but only partially so (Fanselow & Ćavar 2002)
- can be combined with low-coordination

(19)
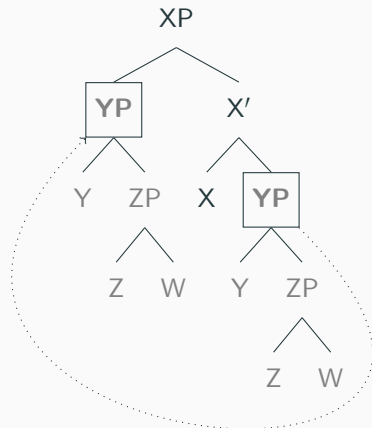
VP-coordination & distributed deletion

Pro:

- solves *Double-Duty-Problem* via VP-coordination
- no CSC violation
- TAM-marker c-commands both conjuncts
- derives correct word order

Contra:

- difficult to motivate this approach in Samoan by using pragmatically conditioned features like *focus* and *topic* (as in Fanselow & Ćavar 2002)
  → unlikely that Samoan subject sharing constructions involve pragmatic information which is fundamentally different from that of other coordination constructions
- However, see van Urk (2022) for a similar proposal with different features.

Conclusion

- Samoan subject sharing constructions involve coordinative structure.
- As the observations show, they differ from clausal coordination.
- They cannot be derived convincingly by *clausal coordination*, *predicate/VP-coordination*.
- Future research: Evidence for or against VP-coordination
  - ⇒ Possible semantic diagnostic: *free-agent-cumulativity*

Acknowledgements
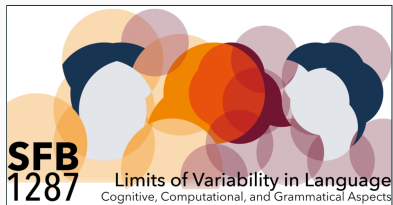
I thank Kenyon Branan for suggesting *distributed deletion*.

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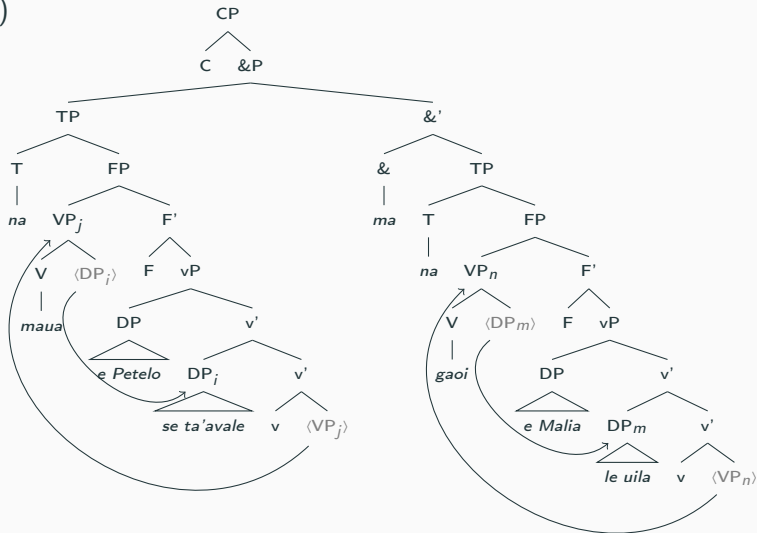
Clausal coordination

(20) [Na maua e Petelo se ta'avale] ma [na gaoi e Malia le uila].
PAST find ERG Peter ART car   and PAST steal ERG Mary ART bike
'Peter found a car and Mary stole a bike.'

- Conjunction of two transitive clauses
- VSO&VSO word order

Clausal coordination

(21)

Clausal coordination

Can derive the following:

- the two conjuncts are at least the size of TP

- there are two TAM-markers in the structure

- there is an obligatory subject in the second conjunct

- predicate fronting takes place in both conjuncts

- only one SpecCP position is necessary

  (22) O   ai na   maua se ta'avale ma na   gaoi le uila?
        PRES who PAST find ART car   and PAST steal ART bike
        'Who found a car and stole a bike?'