

# Sharing constructions in Samoan

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submitted by

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## Glossary

3	third person	IO	indirect object
A	agent	L	linker
ABS	absolutive	LD	locative-directional case
AGR	agreement	M	masculine
ANG	<i>ang</i> case marker for ‘NP’	NABS	nominative-absolutive case
AP	adverbial particle	NAV	non-actor voice
ART	article	NEG	negative
ATB	across-the-board (movement)	NG	<i>ng</i> case marker for ‘actor/patient’
AV	actor voice	OBL	oblique
CAUS	causative	PASS	passive
COMP	complementizer	POSS	possessive
CONJ	conjunction	PRES	presentational case
CSC	coordinate structure constraint	PRF	perfect
DET	determiner	PROG	progressive
DIR	directional	PRS	present
DO	direct object	PST	past
EMPH	emphasis	PT	patient topic
ERG	ergative	REDUP	reduplication
FUT	future	REFL	reflexive
GENR	general tense particle / present	SG	singular

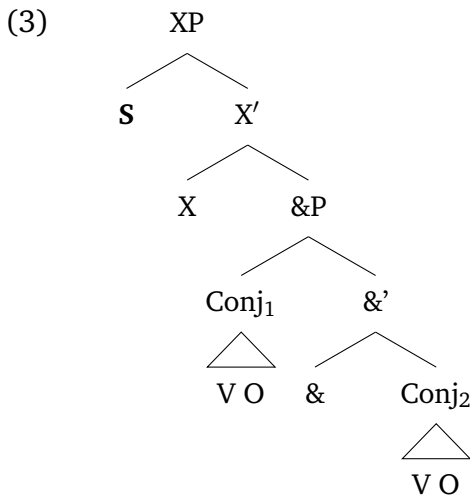
# 1 Introduction

This thesis investigates the structure and properties of subject sharing constructions in Samoan. Subject sharing constructions consist of two conjoined clauses. However, in contrast to clausal coordination (1), only one of the conjuncts contains the subject. Still, the subject is interpreted in both conjuncts. In the English example in (2), the subject in the second conjunct can be omitted if the same coreferential subject is present in the first conjunct.

(1) [The man saw the woman] and [the child dropped a plate].

(2) The man [[saw the woman] and [ran away]].  
 = The man<sub>i</sub> saw the woman and the man<sub>i</sub> ran away.  
 ≠ The man<sub>i</sub> saw the woman and the woman<sub>\*i/j</sub> ran away.

In terms of the underlying structure, a straightforward analysis for English subject sharing usually positions the subject in a position c-commanding and, thus, taking scope over both conjuncts as in the following schema in (3). The subject does not occur within one of the conjuncts and precedes both of them.



By assuming that the subject scopes over both conjuncts, it can straightforwardly be derived that the subject is interpreted in both conjuncts. Additionally, this is in line with the word order of SVO&VO as in (2).

However, this analysis is not compatible with the word order of Samoan subject sharing constructions. Samoan is a verb-initial language which displays dominant VSO order in transitive clauses as in (4). Consequently, clausal coordination of two transitive

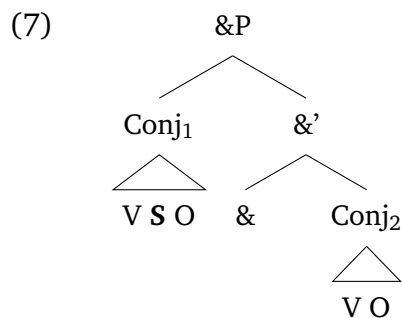
clauses yields VSO&VSO word order, cf. (5).

- (4) Lena sa va'ai Peter i se solofanua.  
 PST look Peter LD ART horse  
 'Peter looked at a horse.'
- (5) Lena sa va'ai Lola i se maile ma lena sa va'ai Peter i se solofanua.  
 PST look Lola LD ART dog and PST look Peter LD ART horse  
 'Lola looked at a dog and Peter looked at a horse.'

Subject sharing constructions in Samoan now display an interesting structural puzzle. While there are still two verb-initial conjuncts, the structural relations appear to be different from the English examples above. In the Samoan subject sharing construction (6), the subject is deeply embedded in the first conjunct.

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

In contrast to English, the subject does not seem to c-command any of the conjuncts. However, as can be seen from the interpretation of (6), the subject *e le teine* 'the girl' serves as the subject of both predicates in both conjuncts. This appears to be at odds with the surface structure of VSO&VO which suggests a structure schematised in (7).



As is apparent from (7), the subject cannot c-command and, thus, cannot take scope over the second conjunct. Furthermore, the structure suggested for English cannot be applied to the Samoan subject sharing constructions. This gives rise to the question of how to derive subject sharing in Samoan and what the underlying structure of these constructions is.

In this thesis, I argue for an analysis involving low-coordination at VP-level. However,



I also show that none of the approaches suggested in the literature works flawlessly. That is, neither *clausal coordination* (Fanselow, 1991; Fortmann, 2005; Hartmann, 1994; Wilder, 1994, among others) nor *predicate coordination* (Heycock & Kroch, 1993; Höhle, 2019a; Johnson, 2002; Kathol, 1995, 1999; Wunderlich, 1988) can derive the structural properties of Samoan subject sharing constructions. I claim that Samoan subject sharing constructions are underlyingly coordinative and involve coordination on a structural level below TP. Further, they differ from clausal coordination as well as subordinative constructions. Moreover, following the predicate fronting approach from Collins (2017), I claim that predicate fronting applies in both conjuncts of subject sharing constructions as well as clausal coordination. This provides further evidence for the predicate-fronting approach as such. Lastly, I also argue against the possibility of *pro*-drop in Samoan.

This thesis is structured as follows. In section 2, I provide the theoretical background regarding the Samoan language and its case system. Subsequently, four proposals for the derivation of verb-initiality – the *rightward specifier* approach, *subject lowering*, *verb raising*, and *predicate fronting* – will be presented. Moreover, I introduce and discuss the properties of *conjunction reduction* and suggest a refined terminology. Finally, data from other Austronesian V1 languages will be provided for a more general overview. Section 3 covers the vast majority of Samoan data. Overall, I present data on clausal coordination, ATB constructions, subject sharing and object sharing. The presentation will focus on word order and the position of the respective arguments. I will turn to further investigations regarding subject sharing constructions in section 4. Apart from a general description of the issues concerning Samoan subject sharing constructions I will focus on the structural issues. By applying a multitude of diagnostics, I will provide evidence for the claims stated above. Finally, in section 5, I will present and evaluate possible structural analyses for Samoan subject sharing constructions. These include *clausal coordination*, *predicate coordination*, and *distributed deletion* combined with VP-coordination. The conclusion of the thesis as well as an outlook on future research will be provided in section 6.

## 2 Theoretical background

In order to provide an overview of the Samoan language, its characteristics and properties as well as the phenomenon of coordination reduction, this section presents an introduction to the most important aspects. First, I will briefly describe the main properties of the Samoan language in section 2.1 and present the Samoan case system including the most frequent cases. Further, I will present four approaches for deriving of verb-initiality including the *Right Specifier* approach, *Subject Lowering*, *Verb Raising*, and *Predicate Fronting* in section 2.2. There, I will additionally determine which of the approaches I will base my analysis on. Subsequently, section 2.3 focusses on the description and definition of *conjunction reduction*, as well as a refinement of the terminology for this thesis. Lastly, I will present data from other Austronesian V1 languages in section 2.4.

### 2.1 Background on Samoan

Samoan is an Austronesian language (Polynesian subbranch). It is spoken by over 400,000 people (as by Collins, 2017; Hopperdietzel, 2020, among others) not only in Samoa and American Samoa, but also in communities in New Zealand as well as Australia, and the United States.

The case marking system in Samoan follows the Ergative-Absolutive alignment (see below for details on the cases and case marking). It generally displays head-orientation to the left with modifiers (nominal and verbal) following their heads (Collins, 2017). In terms of morphosyntactic marking, Samoan displays a rather weak distinction between the major word classes (Mosel and Hovdhaugen, 1992, pp. 75–83; Rijkhoff, 2003). That is, whether an element is for instance a noun or a verb is contextually determined (Mosel & Hovdhaugen, 1992, p. 77). This is also the case for other languages of the Polynesian family like Tongan (Broschart, 1997) and Niuean (Massam, 2005).

The dominant word order in Samoan is VSO in transitive clauses, as displayed in example (8a). Some speakers additionally accept VOS order as in (8b). As shown in (9), the morphological case marking is usually restricted to Ergative marking *e* on the subject of transitive verbs and indirect objects which display Locative-directional case marking *ia*. Subjects of intransitive verbs, and direct object are not morphologically marked for Absolutive case.

- (8) a. *sā tuli e le tamāloa lona atali'i*  
PST chase ERG ART man his son  
'The man chased his son.' (Collins, 2017, p. 6)
- b. *sā tuli lona atali'i e le tamāloa*  
PST chase his son ERG ART man  
'The man chased his son.' (Collins, 2017, p. 6)
- (9) *Lena sa ave e Ari le polo i le tametiti.*  
PST give ERG Ari ART ball LD ART child.M  
'Ari gave a ball to the child.'

In the following, I will briefly describe the most frequent cases in Samoan. The descriptions base on the information provided in Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992, 764 f.). The respective element bearing case-marking will be indicated in italic font.

### Absolutive case

The absolutive (ABS) argument bears no morphological case marker. The syntactic function of these arguments usually is the subject in intransitive clauses as in (10), and the object in transitive clauses as in (11). For both functions, the Absolutive-marked noun phrase must follow the predicate. Overall, there is at most one absolutive noun phrase in a clause (Mosel & Hovdhaugen, 1992).

- (10) *Lena sa taunu'u Simi agapo.*  
PST arrive Simi.ABS last night  
'Simi arrived last night.'
- (11) *Lena sa tā e le teine le la'au.*  
PST hit ERG ART girl ART tree.ABS  
'The girl hit a tree.'

Absolutive arguments receive their semantic function from the verb or the general context. Further, there are almost no distinctions of semantic roles. Therefore, the Absolutive case is highly grammaticalised and can denote a multitude of semantic roles, such as AGENT, EXPERIENCER, PATIENT, PLACE, and TIME, among others. For the remainder of this thesis, I will not indicate Absolutive case in the glosses.

**Ergative case**

In Samoan, the Ergative (ERG) argument co-occurs with the Ergative case marker *e*. While the Ergative marking is obligatory in written and formal spoken Samoan, it is mostly optional in informal spoken contexts.<sup>1</sup> Evidence for the distinction between formal and informal speech regarding the use of the Ergative marker comes from investigations from Duranti and Ochs (1990) and Ochs (1988). Their results show that important factors for the marker's presence or absence are (i) social distance (more distance = marker is used), and (ii) sex of the speaker in the context of non-intimate contexts (usage higher in men than in women). In most cases, it is sufficient to rely on the predominant VSO word order. This strategy is also supported by instances of ungrammaticality due to switched arguments (see section 4.1.2).

- (12)   Lena sa sii i   luga *e*    *le*   *faiaoga* le   laulau.  
          PST     lift LD up   ERG ART teacher ART table  
          'The teacher lifted a table.'

With respect to semantic properties and functions, the Ergative argument is interpreted as the actor of an event in the context of a transitive verb. The notion of the actor can be split in different subtypes like agent, experiencer or natural force. The main common characteristic of Ergative-marked noun phrases is that they cause the initiation of the action through an inherently given impulse or energy.

**Locative-directional case**

In contrast to the Ergative and the Absolutive case, the Locative-directional (LD) case displays a variety of different forms (such as *ia*, *iā*, *'ia*, *'iā* preceding proper names as well as personal pronouns; *iate*, *'iate* for personal pronouns, and *i*, *'i* for common nouns). The syntactic function of the Locative-directional argument, among others, is most commonly the peripheral or indirect argument in verbal clauses. There can also be more than one Locative-directional argument in a clause.

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<sup>1</sup>Since the data in this thesis were elicited in interviews, the context was rather informal than formal. Thus, the overt Ergative-marking is often missing. In those cases where Ergative marking is integral to understanding what the interpretation is, the marking was controlled for.

- (13)    *Lena sa lafo e    Julio se    tusi    i    le    faiaoga.*  
          PST        send ERG Julio ART letter LD ART teacher  
          ‘Julio sent a letter to the teacher.’

The Locative-directional arguments may express a large amount of semantic roles (13 semantic roles according to Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992, p. 770)). The most common are GOAL (OF MOVEMENT), RECIPIENT, and ADDRESSEE.

### **Presentative case**

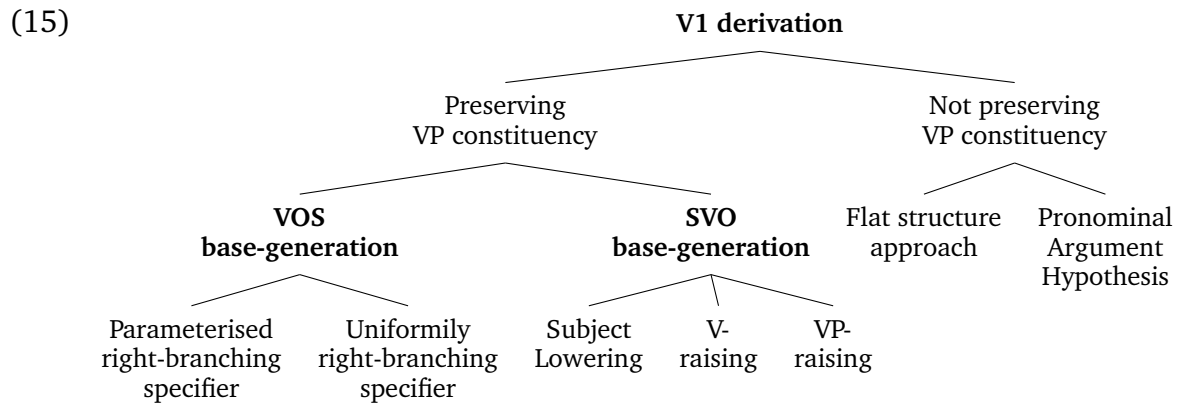
The marker for Presentative (PRES) case is 'o. Noun phrases marked for Presentative case are usually fronted, cf. example (14). Furthermore, the marker can be used for isolated noun phrases in existential clauses.

- (14)    *O    Lola na    fasi le    maile.*  
          PRES Lola PST hit    ART dog  
          ‘Lola hit the dog.’

The application of Presentative case is pragmatically conditioned in that its main contribution to the interpretation is organisation of information Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992). Fronted Presentative noun phrases indicate new participants within the discourse. Furthermore, the case is used to highlight and emphasise participants, and to provide information concerning the spatial and temporal context. In existential clauses, the Presentative noun phrase introduces new participants. The Presentative case is, therefore, not directly connected to the actual content of the sentence in that it is not associated with specific semantic roles.

## 2.2 Deriving V1 word order

The derivation of verb-initial word order in languages like Samoan is not uniform throughout the literature. A multitude of accounts suggest different solutions to issues regarding word order, scope, and the position of the subject. In the following, a brief overview of the different types of V1 derivations will be provided. Unless indicated otherwise, I follow the descriptions and information presented in Clemens and Polinsky (2017).



V1 languages are relatively wide-spread. Across the languages of the world, about 12-19% have dominant verb-initial word order (Haspelmath et al., 2005; Tomlin, 1986; van Everbroeck, 2003). They can be found in several families such as Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Mayan, and Austronesian, among others. However, it is rather difficult to generalise over V1 languages since they are no uniform group (Chung, 2006; Clemens & Polinsky, 2017).

While there are languages which display only VSO or only VOS order, there are other which make use of both word orders. Samoan, in this sense, belongs to the latter type. In the literature, there also is the tendency towards classifying V1 languages as predicate- or VP-initial languages (Aissen, 1992; Aldridge, 2012; Collins, 2017; Coon, 2014; Davis & Matthewson, 1999; England, 1991; Jelinek & Demers, 1994; Norman & Campbell, 1978; Paul, 2000, 2001; Potsdam, 2009; Potsdam & Polinsky, 2011; Wojdak, 2005). Since this approach will be assumed in this thesis, it will be presented in more detail in section 2.2.4.

A consequence of the non-uniformity regarding the dominant word order is a multitude of derivations. The two main types can be characterised by whether they preserve the constituency of VP or not. Regarding the approaches which *preserve VP consistency*,

two subtypes can be identified which differ in the assumed base-generated word order. Firstly, there are approaches which *base-generate* VOS order, and thus, derive VSO order. Secondly, other approaches *base-generate* SVO order which, consequently have to derive VSO as well as VOS order.

The accounts which assume base-generated VOS order derive the sentence-final position of the subject by rightwards branching of specifiers. This approach can be split into two subtypes. As a first subtype, some authors transfer this *rightwards orientation to all specifiers* uniformly (e.g. Chung, 1998). Accounts of the second subtype impose the *rightwards orientation only on specific specifiers* (Aissen, 1992; Guilfoyle et al., 1992, among others). For both of these subtypes, however, deriving VSO word order is achieved by postposing objects. This type of approach will be described further in section 2.2.1.

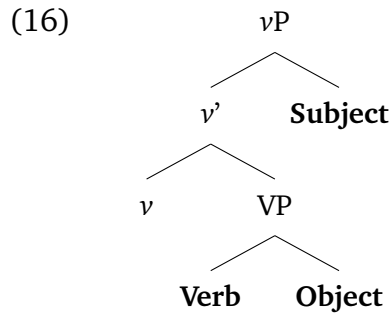
There are also two subtypes of SVO base-generation accounts. They differ in whether they (i) raise only the V-head to a position higher than the subject, or (ii) front the entire VP (or equivalent) to a sentence-initial position. For the former type, often scrambling is suggested for deriving the alternative VOS order. In the case of the latter, the accounts suggest object movement out of VP, and consequent remnant movement. Yet another proposal comes from Chung (1998) who suggests *Subject Lowering* for Chamorro (Austronesian). Her approach will be presented in more detail in section 2.2.2.

In addition to the approaches presented above, there are two which *do not VP constituency*. The *flat structure approach* (Carnie, 2005; Kroeger, 1993; Sells, 2000) makes use of tertiary branching such that the verb as well as both of its arguments form a constituent. The *Pronominal Argument Hypothesis* (Baker, 1996; Jelinek, 1984) assumes lexical nominals to be ‘unselected modifiers’. VP constituency is not preserved, since the verb does not form a constituent with these modifiers. The overview at the beginning of this section summarises the different approaches and their subtypes as described.

The following sections will only present and describe the four accounts which preserve VP constituency. That is, the two variants of the rightwards specifier approach in section 2.2.1, *subject lowering* in section 2.2.2, V-raising in section 2.2.3, and VP-raising in section 2.2.4. Throughout, I will focus on the derivation of verb-initiality. Word order variations concerning the subject and the object will not be described in great detail. Since the labels of categories are not crucial for the purely technical presentation of the following approaches, I will adopt the labels and terms used by the respective authors.

### 2.2.1 Rightward specifier

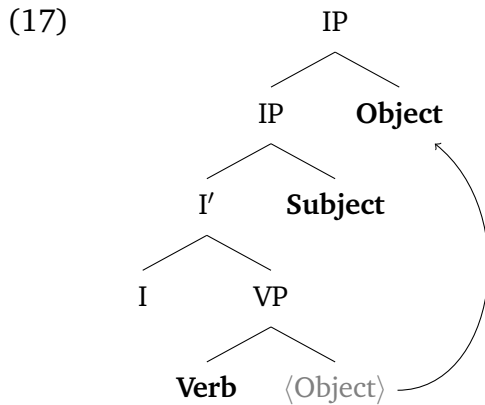
The right-branching specifier approach has been proposed, among other languages, for the Malayo-Polynesian languages Māori (Chung, 1998) and Malagasy (Paul, 2000). The core idea is that the subject is base-generated in the right-branching specifier of  $vP$ , as displayed in the structure in (16) from Clemens and Polinsky (2017, p. 8).



Consequently, the VOS order is base-generated and does not need further derivations. Regarding the general sentence structure under the right specifier approach, there exist two contrasting accounts regarding the orientation of the specifier. First, the rightwards orientation of the specifier extends to all projections. That is, all specifiers appear to the right of the respective intermediate projection. Second, the right-branching specifier does not extend to all projections, but is parameterised. Following Clemens and Polinsky (2017), I will refer to this latter account as *parameterized right-branching specifier* approach. The parameter in this case is often assumed to be parallel to the distinction of lexical and functional heads. In other words, either only the specifiers of lexical phrases (see Aissen, 1992 for Tzotzil, Jakaltek, and Tz’utujil) or only the specifiers of functional phrases (Guilfoyle et al., 1992 for Malagasy) branch to the right.

Since many Austronesian languages display alternations concerning the order of subject and object, the two camps of the right specifier approach have to account for VSO order as well. For the uniform right-branching specifier accounts as well as *Parameterized right-branching specifier* approaches, the word order can be derived via *object postposing* (Chung, 1998, among others). That is, the object can move rightwards into a functional projection as displayed in (17) from Clemens and Polinsky (2017, p. 12).





### 2.2.2 Subject lowering

Another analysis of VSO word order is most prominently proposed by Chung (1990, 1998) for Chamorro and Sabbagh (2005, 2014) for Tagalog (both Austronesian). The subject lowering approach derives verb-initial clauses by lowering the subject rightward past the verb.<sup>2</sup> This section focusses on Chung's (1998) account which appeals mainly to structural evidence.

Chung (1998) bases her analysis on Choe's (1986) approach by applying subject lowering for Chamorro. Choe (1986) first proposed subject lowering for deriving VSO order in Berber. Following her approach, VSO order is derived from SVO by lowering the subject from SpecIP to the right of the predicate. Consequently, an expletive pronoun fills in SpecIP in order to satisfy  $\Theta$ -criterion as well as Case Theory by formation of a chain with the lowered subject. For Chamorro, Chung (1998) proposes a similar approach.

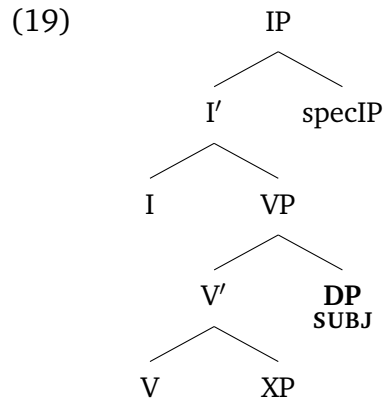
In Chamorro, clauses generally have the following surface structure.

- (18) Ha-ätan i taotao mansu i guagä'-ña.  
 AGR-watch the person tame the fish.basket-AGR  
 'The tame man looked (in) his basket.'  
 (Thompson, 1932, p. 63 from Chung, 1998, p. 21)

The VSO order in example (18) is, as Chung (1998, p. 20) states, "[t]he unmarked and most frequent surface order". To derive this order, Chung (1998) proposes the following analysis.

<sup>2</sup>Whether or not 'lowering' can be analysed as 'movement' is not explicitly stated in Chung (1998). However, she hints at properties of lowering which might be difficult to maintain under theories of movement. In the following, I will use both terms according to Chung (1998).

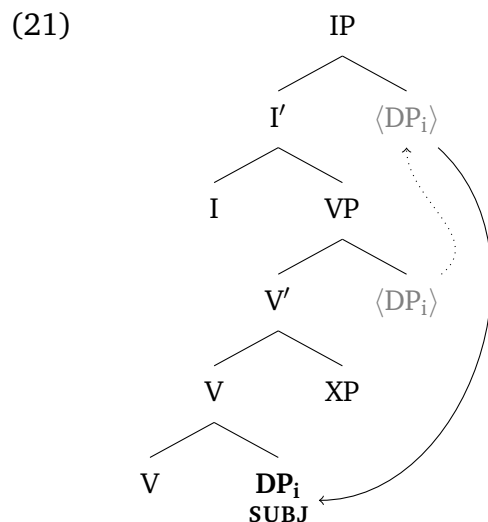
As a head-initial language, Chamorro syntax places not only the head but all of its projections leftwards. Therefore, the complement as well as the specifier occurs to the right of the head or the intermediate projection, respectively. In (19), this is displayed for I and V.



According to Chung (1998, p. 124), a crucial requirement in Chamorro is that the subject must be present in SpecIP “at some point in overt syntax”. Since the subject is not base-generated in SpecIP, but in SpecVP, movement from SpecVP to SpecIP is necessary. Subsequently, the resulting VOS order changes to VSO order by additional subject lowering to a position to the right of the verb, but preceding the object. That is, the subject adjoins rightward to the V head. In example (20), the subject *Dolores* follows the predicate, but precedes the object *asukat* ‘sugar’. The process is exemplified in (21) where the dotted arrow indicates movement and the solid arrow indicates lowering.

- (20) Pära u-na’yi i kek-ña si Dolores asukat.  
Fut AGR-add.to the cake-AGR Dolores sugar  
‘Dolores is going to put sugar in her cake.’

(Chung 1998: p.123)



As can be seen in the structure in (21), subject lowering can derive VSO word order. By adjoining the subject DP to the right of the V-head, the subject moves to a position preceding the object. Note, however, that this type of adjunction is generally not permitted by the *Constraint On Adjunction* (e.g., Chomsky, 1986). That is, only heads can adjoin to other heads, and only maximal projections can adjoin to other maximal projections. What is ruled out is adjunction of a phrase to a head or *vice versa*. A further issue regarding the structure in (21) is a violation of the *Proper Binding Condition*, requiring an antecedent to c-command its trace (Fiengo & May, 1997; Saito, 1992, among others). Chung (1998) also notices these weak spots in her approach, but argues against Chamorro being subject to these constraints.<sup>3</sup>

For clauses with coordinative VPs such as (22), the analysis is the same. In these constructions, the marked VOS order is fundamental. Importantly, despite there being two VPs (in brackets), only one shared subject occurs in the surface structure.

- (22) [Mu-ma'a'ñaio] ya [ha-yuti' i salappi'] i säkki.  
 AGR-afraid and.then AGR-drop the money the thief  
 'The thief got scared and dropped the money.' (Chung, 1998, p. 133)

In the case of VP coordination, the VP-internal subject Hypothesis (as by Kuroda, 1988; Speas, 1986, among others) necessarily leads to two subjects in the structure – one subject in the specifier of each VP. This prediction poses two main difficulties. First, having two subjects in the syntax, but only one subject in the surface structure, requires explanation as to why two subjects 'become' one. Second, the SpecIP requirement must be fulfilled by movement of the subject to SpecIP. In a coordinate structure, however, movement of only one subject out of the one conjunct violates the *coordinate structure constraint* (CSC, see Ross, 1967, p. 161). Chung's (1998) solution to both difficulties is to assume ATB movement of both subjects from both conjuncts to SpecIP.<sup>4</sup> The movement of the VP-internal subject to SpecIP is also necessary for the subject to be interpreted in both conjuncts. Therefore, the fundamental word order as seen in (22) is correctly derived.

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<sup>3</sup>For reasons of simplicity, I will not dive into Chung's (1998) argumentation. The reader is referred to Chung (1998, pp. 124–129) for discussion.

<sup>4</sup>However, she does not specify the underlying mechanism to ATB movement, such as *parallel extraction* (Blümel, 2014, 2017; Hein & Murphy, 2020; Ross, 1967; E. Williams, 1978) or *multi-dominance* (Citko, 2005).

Although being irrelevant to the surface structure of example (22), there are reasons for Chung (1998) to assume subject lowering in other cases of coordinated VPs as well. The main argument in this case is the flexibility of the subject in clauses with coordinate VPs. In contrast to the example in (22), the subject *i säkki* ‘the thief’ can also occur immediately to the right of the verb in any of the coordinated VPs. This is displayed in example (23).

- (23) a. [Mu-ma’a’ña*o* *i säkki*] ya [ha-yuti’ *i salappi*’].  
 AGR-afraid the thief and.then AGR-drop the money  
 ‘The thief got scared and dropped the money.’ (Chung, 1998, p. 134)
- b. [Mu-ma’a’ña*o*] ya [ha-yuti’ *i säkki i salappi*’].  
 AGR-afraid and.then AGR-drop the thief the money  
 ‘The thief got scared and dropped the money.’ (Chung, 1998, p. 134)

Chung (1998) explains that the subject’s flexibility is due to lowering to any projection of V in any of the conjuncts. Therefore, the subject can occur in any of the VPs which is what is displayed in (23). The same analysis holds for the example in (23), since Chung (1998) puts forward the assumption of Gazdar et al. (1985) that a coordinate structure is projected from all of the conjuncts. That is, a coordinate structure which consists of two VP conjuncts is a projection of V as well.

- (24) [[Ha-utut *i äga*’] ya [ha-ipi’ *i niyuk*] *si tata-hu ni*  
 AGR-cut the banana and.then AGR-split the coconut father-AGR OBL  
*machite-nña*.  
 machete-AGR  
 ‘My father cut some bananas and split some coconuts with his machete.’  
 (Chung, 1998, p. 138)

Since all projections of V can be potentially adjoined to, the subject can now be lowered and consequently adjoin rightwards to the entire coordinate VP as well.<sup>5</sup>

In summary, Chung (1998) proposes subject lowering as an adequate analysis of the VSO order in Chamorro. For the derivation, Chung (1998) has to assume movement out of the VP to SpecIP with consequent lowering from SpecIP to a projection of V. Although this mechanism appears to explain mainly the Chamorro data, the fundamental idea of moving the subject to the right has been adopted for other Austronesian

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<sup>5</sup>Note that *ni machitenña* ‘with his machete’ must also adjoin to the entire coordinate VP.

languages (e.g., Polinsky and Potsdam, 2021a, 2021b for Tongan; Sabbagh, 2005, 2014 for Tagalog).

### 2.2.3 Verb raising

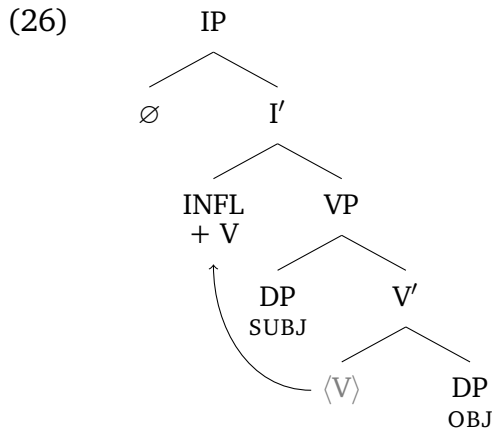
The verb raising approach is one of the most prominent and bases on the idea to move the verb past the subject to derive VSO from SVO order. That is, the verb raises to a position higher than the subject. Whether its landing site is C (Clack, 1994; Emonds, 1980; Otsuka, 2005), the highest inflectional head (Aldridge, 2004b; McCloskey, 1996; Rackowski, 2002; Richards, 2000; Sproat, 1985) or a functional projection between CP and TP (Bossi & Diercks, 2019) is a much debated issue in the literature which I will not discuss here. The reader is referred to Carnie et al. (2000) for an overview of this matter. In the following, I will present the verb raising approach as sketched in Chung and McCloskey (1987) and further developed in McCloskey (1991, 1996) and Guilfoyle and Carnie (2000), all for Irish. However, it has also been adopted for Austronesian languages (Guilfoyle et al. (1992) for Cebuano; Woolford, 1991 for Chamorro and Niuean; Pearce (2002) and Waite (1989) for Māori; Aldridge (2004b), Guilfoyle et al. (1992), Rackowski (2002), Richards (2000), Rackowski and Richards (2005) for Tagalog; Custis (2004) and Otsuka (2000, 2005) for Tongan).

Starting from SVO order as suggested by the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (Koopman & Sportiche, 1991; Kuroda, 1988), the verb raises to the functional head INFL.<sup>6</sup> Since the subject is base generated in SpecVP, the verb now precedes the subject as well as the object. The mechanism is presented in Figure (26), adopted from McCloskey (see 1991, p. 286), which represents the sentence in (25).

- (25)    Cheannaigh Ciarán teach  
         bought        Ciarán house  
         ‘Ciarán bought a house.’(McCloskey, 1991, p. 286)

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<sup>6</sup>Initially, McCloskey (1991) does not implement the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis. Later, however, he adopts it and applies it to the Irish data (see McCloskey, 1991, 285 f).



#### 2.2.4 Predicate fronting

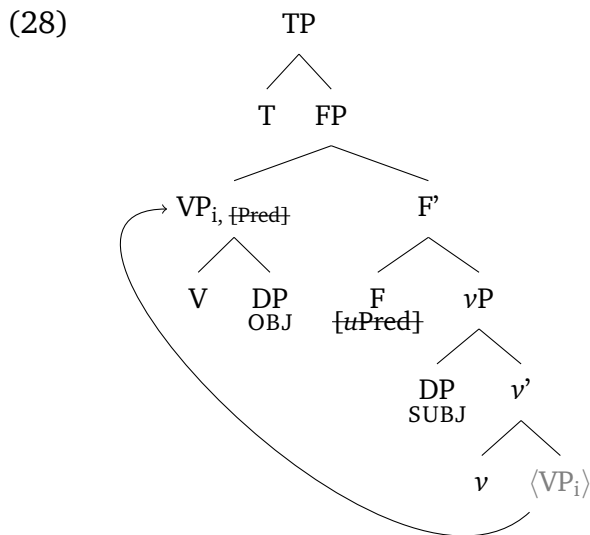
The VP fronting approach bases on the idea to not only move the verbal head, but the entire verb phrase to a position to the left of the subject. It has been adopted by several authors for Niuean (Massam, 2000, 2001, 2005; Massam & Smallwood, 1997; K. Oda, 2005), Malagasy (Pearson, 2001, 2005, 2007; Pensalfini, 1995; Potsdam, 2007; Rackowski & Travis, 2000; Travis, 2005), Tagalog (Rackowski, 1998), Seediq (Aldridge, 2002, 2004a; Holmer, 2005), Toba Batak (Cole & Hermon, 2008), Hawaiian (Medeiros, 2013), Javanese (Cole et al., 2002), and Samoan (Collins, 2017). The split in the VP-raising literature regarding the question of whether VP (Collins, 2017; F. Lee, 2006; Massam, 2001; Rackowski & Travis, 2000) or  $vP$  containing the VP (Aldridge, 2002; Cole & Hermon, 2008; Coon, 2010; Pearson, 2001) is raised will not be discussed here. In the following, I will present Collins' (2017) analysis of VP fronting to SpecFP in Samoan. The overall idea of the approach, however, remains the same as for all authors mentioned above.

Similar to the verb raising approach, the VP fronting approach assumes movement of the predicate to a position preceding the subject. While the mechanism of both approaches is quite similar, Collins (2017) argues for raising the entire verb phrase based on evidence from Samoan resultatives as well as VP-adjoined manner adverbs. The resultatives are positioned left of the subject in the Samoan example in (27a), and manner adverbs are positioned right of the verb as can be seen in example (27b).

- (27) a. ‘ua [‘efu‘efu fa‘asamasama] lona fatafata ma lona ua  
PRF fade CAUS.yellow his chest and his neck  
‘His chest and neck [faded yellow].’  
(Powell, 1886, p. 157 in Collins, 2017, p. 18)
- b. s̄a [moe ‘umi] le tama  
PST sleep long ART boy  
‘The boy slept for a long time.’  
(Mosel, 2004, p. 278)

Evidentially, it is more than the V head which moves. Otherwise VP-internal or VP-adjoined elements like resultatives and manner adverbs would not appear in a position to the left of the subject or right of the verb, respectively. A V raising approach predicts that they would be stranded in their base-generated position to the right of the subject as well as the object in transitive clauses (following Collins, 2017, p. 17).

To account for these data, Collins (2017) suggests moving the entire, least embedded VP to the specifier of a functional, theory-neutral head he labels *F*.<sup>7</sup> The *F* head and its projections are positioned below *T*, but above *vP*, cf. (28). The movement of VP is motivated by an uninterpretable predicate feature [*uPred*] on the *F* head. The complement of *v* (in the current case VP) is assumed to bear a [*Pred*] feature and thus moves to SpecFP in order to check the [*uPred*] feature on *F*.<sup>8</sup> This is visualised in the following example (28).

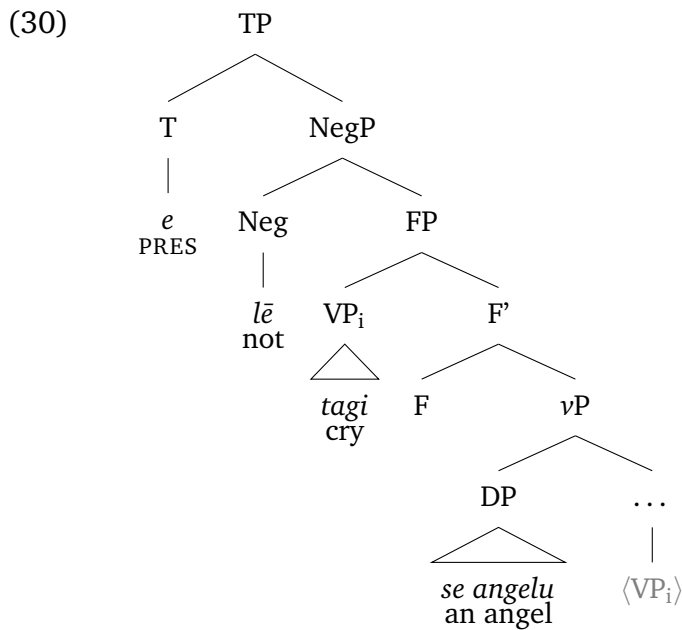


<sup>7</sup>I will neither define nor discuss the exact nature of the *F*-head. For the remainder of this thesis, I will follow Collins' (2017) assumptions.

<sup>8</sup>According to Collins (2017, p. 10) "VP, NP, DP, AP, and PP may optionally bear the feature [*Pred*]".

By raising the entire VP to SpecFP, the complement of V is also moved to a position preceding the subject. Therefore, VOS word order is derived. Note that the movement to SpecFP is crucial in the case of Samoan, since TAM markers as well as negation precede the verb. Thus, a ‘complete’ structure including negation is given in (30) from Collins (2017, p. 35) which corresponds to the sentence in (29), excluding the proper name *Serona*.<sup>9</sup>

- (29) (Sarona,) e lē tagi se agelu  
Sarona PRES NEG cry ART angel  
‘Serona, angels do not cry.’ (Mosel & Hovdhaugen, 1992, p. 264)

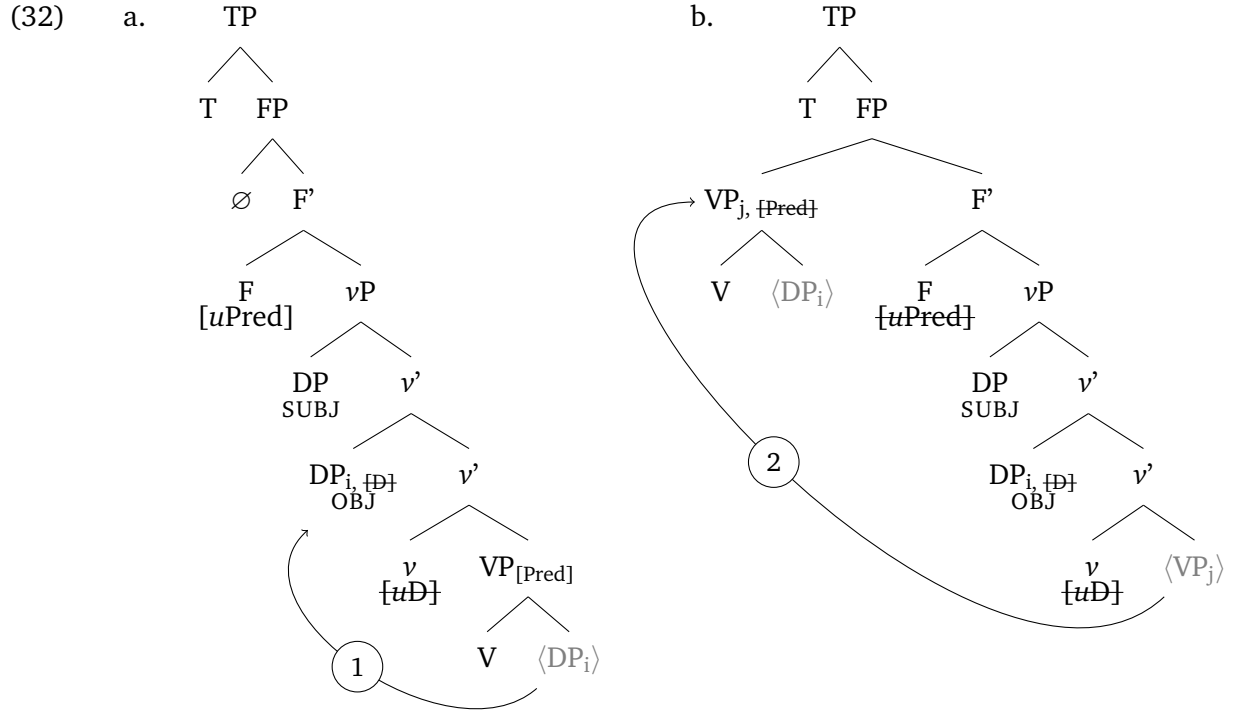


In order to derive the dominant VSO order in Samoan, Collins (2017) applies movement of the complement of V out of the VP to an intermediate projection of  $v$ . This is motivated by an uninterpretable feature  $[uD]$  on  $v$  which is checked by the object DP. Consequently, the remnant VP raises to SpecFP deriving V1 order while the object stays in a position following the subject. The entire mechanism is exemplified in (32a) and (32b). A corresponding sentence is given in example (31).

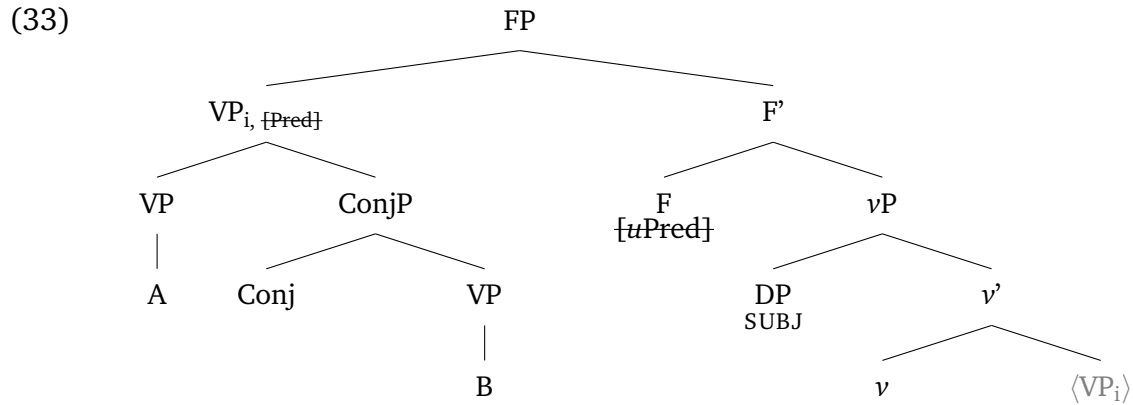
- (31) sā tausi e le teine le pepe  
PST care ERG ART girl ART baby  
‘The girl took care of the baby.’ (Collins, 2017, p. 12)

<sup>9</sup>Minor changes for the structure taken from Collins (2017, p. 35) concern T-to-C movement as well as the question whether the negation adjoins to FP yielding the structure of  $[_{TP} T [_{FP} Neg [_{FP} F \dots ]]]$  or the negation heads its own projection  $[_{TP} T [_{NegP} Neg [_{FP} F \dots ]]]$ . The latter issue is left open by Collins (2017, 35, fn. 29).





For the coordination of two VPs, Collins (2017, p. 22) applies the same idea to the following structure.



Two points are of particular interest here. First, Collins (2017) adjoins the conjunction phrase ConjP to the first VP conjunct. As a consequence, this allows for movement of the entire coordinate VP containing both conjuncts, since VP raising always targets the least embedded VP. The resulting structure and word order correspond to the sentences in (34) from Collins (2017, p. 22).

- (34) a. e [[aulelei tele] ma [atamai tele]] fo'i le fafine  
 PRES beautiful very and intelligent very EMPH the woman  
 'The woman is very beautiful and very intelligent.'

- b. sã [[tā lalo] ma [tipi fa'alaititi]] e Simi le la'au  
PST fell DIR and cut CAUS.small ERG Simi ART tree  
'Simi cut down and chopped the tree into small pieces.'
- c. sã [[aui fa'amafolafola] ma [gaugau fa'alelei]] e le tamāloa  
PST iron CAUS.flat and fold.REDUP CAUS.good ERG ART man  
le tagamea  
ART laundry  
'The man ironed the laundry flat and folded them well.'

However, since these examples fundamentally differ from the constructions I will focus on in this thesis, they will not be analysed in greater detail. For technical reasons, I will stick to the adjunction structure for coordination as presented in (33).

### 2.3 Subject sharing constructions

This section concerns the definition of the term *subject sharing*. Although it heavily relies on the notion of *conjunction reduction*, I rather assume it to be a subcategory which I will provide justification for below. Beforehand, I will present and describe the phenomenon of *conjunction reduction*.

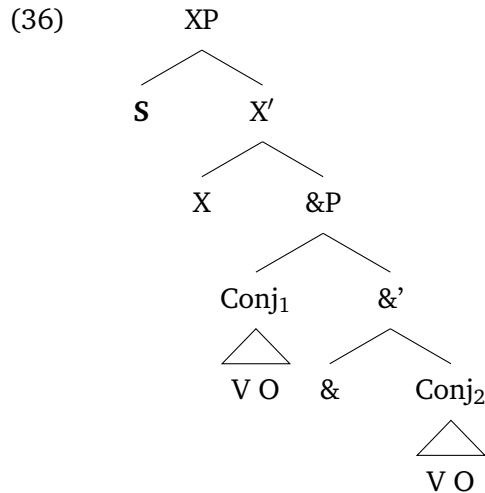
The term *conjunction reduction* indicates that if two clauses are conjoined, only one of the conjuncts contains an argument with a particular function while the other conjunct does not. However, the argument is interpreted in both conjuncts with the same function. In English, for instance, the subject in the second conjunct can be omitted if the same coreferential subject is present in the first conjunct.<sup>10</sup> This is exemplified by the contrast between the interpretations in (35).

- (35) The man saw the woman and ran away.  
= The man<sub>i</sub> saw the woman and the man<sub>i</sub> ran away.  
≠ The man<sub>i</sub> saw the woman and the woman<sub>\*i/j</sub> ran away.

Generally, the subject in the second conjunct can be omitted, since a coreferential subject occurs in the first conjunct. However, it is not possible to omit an object as the incorrect interpretation in (35) suggests. The general form of English conjunction reduction is presented in the following schema in (36).

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<sup>10</sup>There are many proposals regarding the syntactic status of the omitted subject (empty NP (MacLachlan, 1997), ellipsis (Comrie, 1988, among others). This, however, will not be discussed in this thesis. The wording 'omission' is not meant to indicate any theoretical assumptions.



Maclachlan (1997), further notes that conjunction reduction behaves differently in languages with Ergative and Accusative alignment. That is, the pattern is Ergative if the patient (P), but not the agent (A) in the first conjunct is coreferential with the omitted subject in the second conjunct. In contrast, the pattern is Accusative if the agent, but not the patient is coreferential with the omitted subject. Consider examples (37) and (38).

- (37) a. [Rachel called Lorne] and [cried].  
 $\neq$  Lorne cried (P)  
 $=$  Rachel cried (A)  
 b. [Rachel woke up] and [cried].  
 $=$  Rachel cried (A) (Maclachlan, 1997, p. 446)

- (38) [jugumbil yara-nggu balga-n], [e walma-nyu]  
 woman(ABS) man-ERG hit-AONFUT, jump-NONFUT  
 'The man hit the woman and jumped up.'  
 $=$  the woman jumped up (P)  
 $\neq$  the man jumped up (A)  
 Dyirbal (Comrie, 1988, p. 195 in Maclachlan, 1997, p. 446)

In the English example in (37), the pattern is Accusative. The argument which is coreferential with the omitted subject in the second conjunct is not the patient, but the agent. The opposite holds for the Dyirbal sentence in example (38). Here, the Absolutive-marked patient, not the Ergative agent, in the first conjunct is coreferential to the omitted subject. Therefore, the pattern for conjunction reduction in Dyirbal is Ergative.

Other languages, like Chukchi, however, display an ambiguous pattern regarding conjunction reduction (Comrie, 1988). In detail, both, the agent as well as the patient in the first conjunct are available for coreference with the omitted subject. An example of Chukchi is given in (39), where both interpretations provided below are possible.

- (39) [atlög-e talayvd-nen ekdk] ank'am [ekvet-g'i]  
father-ERG hit-PST.3sg son(ABS) and leave-PST.3sg  
'The father hit the son and left.'  
= the son left  
= the father left  
(Nedjalkov, 1979, p. 242 in Comrie, 1988, p. 199 in MacLachlan, 1997, p. 446)

In language like these, Comrie (1988) argues that the entire process of conjunction reduction is conditioned by pragmatic principles rather than syntax. A syntactic conditioned case of conjunction reduction is, for instance, English as the sentence in (40) shows. Despite the clear contrast to world knowledge, it is always the agent in the first conjunct which is coreferential with the omitted subject. Although the patient is a suitable referent in this case, it is not chosen. Thus, the sentence yields the interpretation that *the man burst* and not *the melon burst*.

- (40) The man dropped the melon and burst.  
≠ the melon burst (P)  
= ?the man burst (A) (Comrie, 1988, p. 193 in MacLachlan, 1997, p. 447)

Conjunction reduction is different from clausal coordination in that it is not possible to refer to two different subjects. Both conjuncts, therefore, 'share' the subject in the first conjunct, as already discussed for examples (39a) and (39b). It is not possible to refer to two distinct subjects as shown in example (41).

- (41) The man saw the woman and the child ran away.  
≠ The man saw the woman and ran away.

Since this is the main characteristic of *sharing constructions* like across-the-board (ATB, Ross, 1967) movement or right-node-raising (RNR, *ibid.*), I will subsume *conjunction reduction* under this term. Therefore, and for reasons of theoretical neutrality, I will use the terms *subject sharing* for conjunction reduction with a coreferential subject/agent and *object sharing* for cases with a coreferential object/patient.

In summary, conjunction reduction concerns the absence of the subject in one of the two conjuncts. In that case, the subject or the object of the respective other conjunct serves as the subject for both conjuncts. In the following section, I will combine the last two sections by displaying and briefly describing data of conjunction reduction in various V1-languages.

## 2.4 Subject sharing in Austronesian V1 languages

After having presented possible derivations of V1 order as well as the characteristics of conjunction reduction, I will now turn to a brief presentation of subject sharing in Austronesian V1 languages. The focus will be on the surface structure, and on the position of the subject. I will, however, refrain from drawing comparisons, and from structural analyses, since this section is thought of to be merely an overview. Further note that any translations and glosses including their meaning in this section are adopted from the indicated source.

### Chamorro

Chung (1998) describes the following pattern for clauses with coordinate VPs and a shared subject in Chamorro.<sup>11</sup> In default VP coordination in Chamorro, the word order is VOS (Chung, 1998, p. 133). This can be seen in the following example (42), where the two VPs *humalum* 'enter' and *humosmi misa* 'attend mass' are coordinated by the conjunction *ya* 'and then'.

- (42) Pues änai [[*humalum*] ya [ *humosmi misa*]] esti na palao'an  
 then when AGR.enter and.then AGR.attend mass this L woman  
 'So when the women went in and attended mass.'  
 (Cooreman, 1983, p. 127)

Only in the second conjunct, the word order is VOS. That is, the conjunct is VP-initial (including the object) and is subsequently followed by the subject consisting of the determiner, a so-called 'linker' (L) *na* and the noun. The subject, therefore, occurs clause-finally at the sentence's right edge preceded by the entire coordination of two VPs. Since this construction displays VO&VOS order, it appears to consist of a fronted

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<sup>11</sup>Some of the Chamorro examples have been already presented in section 2.2.2. They will be repeated here for convenience.

VP-coordination, followed by the subject which is shared in this construction. Note that this word order is identical to that of the Samoan examples from Collins (2017), presented in section 2.2.4.

Further investigations of Chung (1998) reveal a certain flexibility of the subject in the context of subject sharing constructions as seen above. Firstly, the subject (in italics) can occur to the right of the verb of the leftmost VP as displayed in example (43).

- (43) [Man-aflitu *i mismu patgun* guihan] yan [mam-a'tinas fina'denni'].  
 AGR.AP-fry the same child fish and AGR.AP-make hot.sauce  
 'The same child fried fish and made hot sauce.'

(Chung, 1998, p. 134)

Despite the subject being embedded in the first conjunct, the interpretation is analogous to example (42). The sole subject in the first conjunct is interpreted as subject in both conjuncts. Crucially, the surface structure of VSO&VO does not suggest that the coordination has been fronted. This contrasts with the preceding example (42).

Furthermore, the subject in (43) can also occur to the right of the Verb in the rightmost VP as in example (44). This again produces V&VSO order, suggesting a fronted coordination phrase. The interpretation remains the same.

- (44) [[Bulachu] ya [ma-aresta]] *i mismu taotao* ni pulusia.  
 AGR.drunk and.then AGR.PASS-arrest the same person OBL police  
 'The same man got drunk and was arrested by the police.'

(Chung, 1998, p. 134)

Further, the subject can adjoin to the entire coordinate VP (see also section 2.2.2) as displayed in example (45) where the subject is not embedded in any of the conjuncts. Again, the word order of VO&VOS (excluding the sentence-final adjunct *ni machite-nña* 'with his machete') suggests a fronted coordination phrase.

- (45) [[Ha-utut *i äga'*] ya [ha-ipi' *i niyuk*]] *si tata-hu* ni  
 AGR-cut the banana and.then AGR-split the coconut father-AGR OBL  
*machite-nña.*  
 machete-AGR

'My father cut some bananas and split some coconuts with his machete.'

(Chung, 1998, p. 138)

Another option for the position of the subject in Chamorro subject sharing constructions is to the right of the verb of an interior VP conjunct (Chung, 1998, p. 135). In the following example (46) the subject is not adjoined to the leftmost or rightmost VP, but to the middle one. Again, the subject is interpreted as such in all three VPs.

- (46) [Man-bobuk pälu cha'guan] yan [man-anum si nana-hu pälu flores]  
 AGR.AP-uproot some weed and AGR.AP-plant mother-AGR some flower  
 ya [ha-usa i pala].  
 and.then AGR-use the shovel  
 'My mother dug up some weeds and planted some flowers with her shovel (lit.  
 and used her shovel)' (Chung, 1998, p. 135)

Overall, this leaves us with the following. Chamorro subject sharing constructions are instances of VP-coordination. The subject can occur to the right of every verb in any of the VPs. For coordination structures with two transitive conjuncts, there are two possible word orders, namely VO&VOS and VSO&VO. The interpretation is the same throughout: the subject of one VP is interpreted as the subject of the entire construction.

### Niuean

An example of subject sharing in Niuean is provided in Clemens and Tollan (2021). The word order in the first conjunct in example (47) corresponds to the canonical VSO order in Niuean, as indicated by the Ergative and Absolutive marking.

- (47) Ne [tutuli e Sione a Mele] mo [kata]  
 PST chase ERG Sione ABS Mele and laugh  
 'Sione chased Mele and (Sione/\*Mele) laughed.'  
 (Clemens & Tollan, 2021, p. 106)

Overall, the construction displays TAMVSO&V order. The subject, therefore, follows the verb and appears to be embedded within the verbal domain that is the first conjunct. Nonetheless, it functions as subject in both conjuncts and, thus, is shared.

### Tongan

The Tongan language displays a similar pattern. While coordination constructions like in example (48) and (49) are possible, the language also allows for subject sharing. The construction in (48) does not display a subject sharing construction. Despite the fact

that the subject is interpreted in both conjuncts, it is not embedded within one of the conjuncts, but follows the entire verbal coordination.

- (48) [[’Oku ’a’alo ’a e vaka] mo [pō ’a e ika]] ’e Sione  
 PRS paddle ABS DET boat CONJ catch ABS DET fish ERG Sione  
 ‘Sione is paddling the boat and catching fish.’

(Polinsky & Potsdam, 2021a, p. 78)

This example of coordination-fronting is identical to the Samoan examples presented in section 2.2.4. Similar examples for Tongan, but with a fronted subject come from Chung (1978). In both sentences in (49a) and (49b), the subject precedes the verb in the first conjunct.

- (49) a. Na’a ne [[tu’u hake] ’o [’alu]].  
 PST he stand up COMP go  
 ‘He stood up and went.’ (Chung, 1978, p. 117)
- b. Na’a nau [[ha’u] ’o [’omai ’a e pīsí ma’a-ku]].  
 PST they come COMP bring ABS the peach for-me  
 ‘They came and brought the peaches to me.’ (Chung, 1978, p. 119)
- c. TAM S [[V] & [V (O)]]

Analogous to the example in (48), the subject is not embedded in one of the conjuncts. In the case of (49), the subject precedes the coordination such that it presumably takes scope over both conjuncts, yielding the structure schematised in (49c). In contrast to examples (48) and (49), however, Tongan allows for a different construction yielding the same interpretation, as in (50).

- (50) ’Oku [[’a’alo ’e Sione ’a e vaka] mo [pō ’a e ika]]  
 PRS paddle ERG Sione ABS DET boat CONJ catch ABS DET fish  
 ‘Sione is paddling the boat and catching fish.’

(Polinsky & Potsdam, 2021a, p. 78)

The subject follows the verb and, thus, appears to be embedded within the first conjunct. This yields VSO&VO order and does not suggest coordination fronting. Nevertheless, is is interpreted in the second conjunct as well.



**Tagalog**

In full analogy to Tongan, both types of construction can also be found in Tagalog. The subject in example (51) is not embedded within any of the conjuncts. Rather it follows the entire verbal coordination, suggesting that the coordination has been fronted.

- (51) [[Naka-kita ng kalansay] at [na-takot]] ang bawa't babae.  
 AV.PRF-see NG skeleton and NAV.PRF-afraid ANG each woman  
 'Each woman saw a skeleton and got scared.'  
 (Clemens & Polinsky, 2017, p. 33)

Contrastingly, the example in (52) displays the following word order for subject sharing. Here, the subject following the verb is embedded in the first conjunct.

- (52) [Tinawag ng bata ang babae] at [natulog]  
 PT.called ERG child NABS woman and slept  
 'The child called the woman and slept.'  
 ≠ the woman slept (P)  
 = the child slept (A)  
 (Maclachlan, 1997, p. 452)

The interpretation of (52) also shows that the Ergative-marked argument is the subject in the second conjunct as well.

Overall, this shows that subject sharing of the type presented in section 2.3 can be found in other Austronesian V1 languages. Throughout this section, two main word orders were observed. First, VO&VOS order is possible in Chamorro, Tongan and Tagalog. This word order suggests a fronted coordination phrase VO&VO which has been raised above the subject. Second, VSO&VO order is possible in Chamorro, Niuean, Tongan and Tagalog. It structurally differs from the first word order in that fronting of the coordination phrase cannot be assumed. As has been observed by Collins (2017), Samoan does allow for the first word order for subject sharing constructions. In the following, I will present novel data which shows that Samoan subject sharing constructions can also display the second word order, VSO&VO. The apparently deeply embedded subject raises several structural questions and issues which will be pointed out and discussed in later sections.

### 3 Samoan data

The data presented in this section originate from elicitations with two native speakers of Samoan. The elicitations were conducted in the form of interviews via a video-chat software. Throughout each of the 17 elicitation sessions, I specifically chose to vary the different tasks as much as possible to prevent exhaustion of the informants. The tasks included translations, matching sentences to contexts, choosing the best version of a sentence, and guided conversations regarding the subject under discussion. On average the session lasted approximately 45 minutes on average and a written record of every session was created by using the chat function. As far as possible, the speakers were informed neither about the goal of the task nor about the construction of interest.

In this section, I will present data only from the elicitations. Section 3.1 focusses on clausal coordination constructions in Samoan. Subsequently, I will present data on Samoan sharing constructions including ATB movement, object sharing, and subject sharing in section 3.2. Overall, I will refrain from an analysis in this section, but I will point out the most important issues in section 4.

#### 3.1 Clausal coordination in Samoan

Samoan clausal coordination constructions generally base on two main clauses with default VSO word order. That is, the subject as well as the object appears to be embedded in the verb phrase. The two clauses each are conjuncts connected by the conjunction *ma* ‘and’. An example is presented in (54) where the two sentences in (53a) and (53b) are conjoined.

- (53) a. Lena sa va'ai Lola i se maile.  
           PST    look Lola LD ART dog  
           ‘Lola looked at a dog.’  
       b. Lena sa va'ai Peter i se solofanua.  
           PST    look Peter LD ART horse  
           ‘Peter looked at a horse.’
- (54) Lena sa va'ai Lola i se maile ma lena sa va'ai Peter i se solofanua.  
       PST    look Lola LD ART dog   and PST    look Peter LD ART horse  
       ‘Lola looked at a dog and Peter looked at a horse.’

Since both of the sentences in (53) display VSO order, the coordination in (54), sub-

sequently, has VSO&VSO order. Furthermore, the coordinate construction consequently features two TAM markers *lena sa*. This also extends to sentences with regular Absolutive-marking as presented in the following examples.

- (55) Na maua e Petelo se ta'avale ma na gaoi e Malia se uila.  
 PST find ERG Peter ART car and PST steal ERG Mary ART bike  
 'Peter found a car and Mary stole a bike.'
- (56) Na maua e Jenni se apu ma na aia e James se fa'i.  
 PST find ERG Jenny ART apple and PST eat ERG James ART banana  
 'Jenny found an apple and James ate a banana.'

As can be seen in the examples (55) and (56), the default coordinate construction in Samoan is a conjunction of two main clauses connected by *ma* 'and'. All material from the two underlying main clauses is present in the coordination as well. The presence of elements with the same syntactic function in both conjuncts is not problematic.

## 3.2 Sharing constructions in Samoan

After having presented clausal coordination in Samoan, let us turn to sharing constructions. In the following, I will present Samoan data of ATB constructions as well as object sharing and, finally, subject sharing.

### 3.2.1 ATB movement

Firstly, ATB movement of Samoan subjects will be considered. Since ATB movement is a different type of sharing construction as argument sharing, I will focus on *wh*-extraction in this section.

First, consider *wh*-extraction in a standard main clause with VSO order. In example (57a), the subject follows the verb which suggests embeddedness of the subject in the verb phrase. Extraction of the *wh*-phrase *ai* 'who' from the subject position leads to fronting of that phrase where it is marked with Presentational case as displayed in example (57b). This leaves us with the word order of  $S_{wh}VO$ .

- (57) a. Na fasi e Lola le maile.  
 PST hit ERG Lola ART dog  
 'Lola hit the dog.'

- b. O ai na fasi le maile?  
 PRES who PST hit ART dog  
 ‘Who hit the dog?’

Note that the Ergative case is present in example (57a), but has been replaced by Presentational case in (57b). Since Samoan *wh*-elements cannot be marked for any case, but Presentational (PRES) case, the overwriting of other cases appears to be the default for *wh*-extraction.<sup>12</sup>

In terms of *wh*-extraction, the *wh*-element can also be extracted from both conjuncts of a coordinate construction via ATB movement. In example (58a), two main clauses are conjoined. Extracting a *wh*-element from both conjuncts yields the sentence in (58b) where, as expected, the *wh*-element has moved to a sentence-initial position. That is, the word order changed from VSO&VSO to  $S_{wh}$  VO&VO.

- (58) a. Na maua e Petelo se ta'avale ma na gaoi e Malia le uila.  
 PST find ERG Peter ART car and PST steal ERG Mary ART bike  
 ‘Peter found a car and Mary stole a bike.’  
 b. O ai na maua se ta'avale ma na gaoi le uila?  
 PRES who PST find ART car and PST steal ART bike  
 ‘Who found a car and stole a bike?’

For these examples, the analysis briefly sketched in section 2.3 could derive the correct word order. First, a coordination of two *v*Ps is assumed. Second, the subjects are extracted from the conjunction via ATB movement to a higher position in the structure. The result is a subject-*wh*-initial structure with an embedded *v*P-coordination. As already seen in example (57), the Ergative marking of the subject in example (58a) is overwritten with Presentational case in (58b). Another example for the uniform treatment of all formerly case-marked *wh*-elements is presented in example (59) for intransitive verbs with (null) Absolutive marking of the subject. This also holds for coordination of an intransitive and a transitive verb in (60).

- (59) a. Sa taalo le faine.  
 PST play ART woman.ABS  
 ‘The woman played.’

<sup>12</sup>This also holds for argument-fronting as presented in section 2.1.

- b. O ai sa taalo?  
PRES who PST play  
'Who played?'
- c. O ai na tamo'e ma a'e?  
PRES who PST run and climb  
'Who ran and climbed?'
- (60) O ai sa taalo ma lafo le tusi?  
PRES who PST play and send ART letter  
'Who played and sent the letter?'

The obligation to front the *wh*-element is shown in example (61). While the sentence in (61a) is fine, sentences with *in-situ wh*-elements are ungrammatical as displayed in (61b).

- (61) a. O ai sa fasia le tama ma siva?  
PRES who PST hit ART child and dance  
'Who hit the child and danced?'
- b. \*Sa fasi e ai le tama ma siva ai?  
PST hit ERG who ART child and dance who  
'Who hit the child and who danced?'

Further, these examples show that there is no apparent variability concerning the position of the *wh*-element, and no optionality concerning its presence or absence in conjuncts.

Concerning the ATB extraction of objects, Samoan displays very similar constructions. In the following examples, the *wh*-element *le a/leā* 'what' is extracted from both conjuncts and moved to a sentence-initial position.

- (62) a. O leā le mea sa ta e Melanie ma lafo e Mira?  
PRES what ART thing PST hit ERG Melanie and send ERG Mira  
'What did Melanie hit and Mira send?' [lit. What was the thing that. . .]
- b. O leā le mea na maua e Jenni ma na ai e James?  
PRES what ART thing PST find ERG Jenni and PST eat ERG James  
'What did Jenny find and James eat?'

Importantly, the fronting of the object-*wh* generates a cleft structure which the *wh*-element *le a/leā* 'what' is contained in.

Other than that, there is no major difference between subject and object ATB movement. In both cases, the *wh*-element is extracted from both conjuncts to a sentence-initial

position where it receives Presentational case. The sentence-initial placement is not optional.

### 3.2.2 Samoan object sharing

In the following, I will investigate whether object sharing constructions are possible in Samoan. First, I will focus on the optionality of ABSOLUTIVE/direct and LOCATIVE-DIRECTIONAL/indirect objects in the first conjunct. Subsequently, I will describe the optionality of both types of objects in the second conjunct. Overall, the data will show that object sharing is not possible in Samoan.

In a coordination of two transitive verbs, the direct object (DO) is not optional in the first conjunct. Both conjuncts display VSO order and the object must occur in the first one.

- (63) Lena sa tā le teine \*(le laulau) ma si'ia le faiaoga le laulau.  
 PST hit ART girl ART table and lift ART teacher ART table  
 'The girl hit and the teacher lifted a table.'  
 $\Rightarrow V_{tr} S *(DO_i) \& V_{tr} S DO_i$

If the object is not given in the first conjunct, the sentence is not interpretable. That is, it would not be clear from the sentence that the action of 'the girl hitting' refers to the 'table'. Thus, VS&VO order with a shared object is not possible.

In a coordinate construction of two ditransitive verbs, a similar pattern can be observed for the direct object in the first conjunct. As the following examples display, it is not possible to share the direct object. Similar to the sentences above, the direct object must be present in both conjuncts. The sentence in example (64) is only grammatical with *se tusi* 'a letter' being present in both conjuncts. If the direct object is present only in the second conjunct, the sentence is ungrammatical. Furthermore, the sentence cannot be interpreted, since it is not clear what 'was given to the child'.

- (64) Lena sa ave e Ari \*(se tusi) i le tametiti ma lafoa e Julio se tusi  
 PST give ERG Ari ART letter LD ART child.M and send ERG Julio ART letter  
 i le faia'oga.  
 LD ART teacher  
 'Ari gave a letter to the child and Julio sent a letter to the teacher.'  
 $\Rightarrow V_{tr} S *(DO_i) IO \& V_{tr} S DO_i IO$

Additionally, indirect objects cannot be shared in ditransitive verb coordination either. As can be seen in example (65), the indirect object *le faia'oga* 'the teacher' has to be spelled out in both conjuncts. Otherwise, the sentence is ungrammatical.

- (65) Lena sa ave e Ari le polo \*(i le faia'oga) ma lafo e Julio le tusi  
 PST give ERG Ari ART ball LD ART teacher and send ERG Julio ART letter  
 i le faia'oga.  
 LD ART teacher  
 'Ari gave the ball to the teacher and Julio sent the letter to the teacher.'  
 $\Rightarrow V_{tr} S DO *(IO_i) \& V_{tr} S DO IO_i$

Regarding the interpretation of example (65), it is important to note that the omission of the indirect object leads to a different meaning of the verb *ave* 'give'. While ditransitive *ave* means 'to give', transitive *ave* corresponds to 'to take (away)'. Apparently, the locative/directional argument is a crucial factor for the interpretation of ditransitive verbs.

Turning to the optionality of ABSOLUTIVE/direct and LOCATIVE-DIRECTIONAL/indirect objects in the second conjunct, a rather restrictive pattern arises. In coordination constructions with a transitive verb in both conjuncts, the object in the second conjunct is not optional. In contrast to the sharing construction given in (63) which is repeated below, the object in example (67) cannot be present only in the first conjunct but has to occur in both conjuncts.

- (63) Lena sa tā le teine \*(le laulau) ma si'ia le faiaoga le laulau.  
 PST hit ART girl ART table and lift ART teacher ART table  
 'The girl hit and the teacher lifted the table.'  
 $\Rightarrow V_{tr} S *(DO_i) \& V_{tr} S DO_i$

- (66) Lena sa faatau e Malia se tusi ma lena sa leiloa e John \*(se tusi).  
 PST buy ERG Malia ART book and PST loose ERG John ART book  
 'Malia bought a book and John lost a book.'  
 $\Rightarrow V_{tr} S DO_i \& V_{tr} S *(DO_i)$

The same applies to a coordination of two ditransitive verbs. As presented in the examples (67) and (68), the direct object as well as the indirect object must occur in both conjuncts and is not optional in the second conjunct.

- (67) Lena sa lafo e Malia se mealofa ia John ma lena sa faatau e Peter  
PST send ERG Malia ART gift LD John and PST buy ERG Peter  
\*(se mealofa) mo Anja.  
ART gift for Anja  
‘Malia sent a gift to John and Peter bought a gift for Anja.’  
 $\Rightarrow V_{\text{ditr}} S DO_i IO \& V_{\text{ditr}} S *(DO_i) IO$
- (68) Lena sa faatau e Malia fugāla’au mo Melanie ma lena sa lafo e Peter  
PST buy ERG Malia flowers for Melanie and PST send ERG Peter  
se mealofa \*(ia Melanie).  
ART gift LD Melanie  
‘Malia bought flowers for Melanie and Peter sent a gift to Melanie.’  
 $\Rightarrow V_{\text{ditr}} S DO IO_i \& V_{\text{ditr}} S DO *(IO_i)$

As already observed for previous ditransitive verbs, the sentence in (68) is not interpretable without the indirect object in the second conjunct. In this particular case, it would not be clear who ‘Peter sent the gift to’.

Coindexing the objects in the first and second conjunct does not change the pattern. As displayed above, there is no optionality of any object in the second conjunct if an identical object occupies the same object position (direct/indirect) in the first conjunct. The following examples show that this is also the case if an identical object occupies a different object position in the first conjunct. The relation between both objects is indicated by co-indexation.

Example (69) displays that the indirect object in the second conjunct is not optional if an identical DP functions as the direct object of a transitive verb in the first conjunct. Similarly, in example (70), the direct object in the second conjunct is not optional if an identical DP functions as the indirect object of an intransitive verb in the first conjunct.

- (69) Lena sa vaai Malia ia John ma lena sa lafo e Peter se tusi \*(ia John).  
PST see Malia LD John and PST send ERG Peter ART letter LD John  
‘Malia saw John and Peter sent a letter to John.’  
 $\Rightarrow V_{\text{tr}} S O_i \& V_{\text{ditr}} S DO *(IO_i)$
- (70) Lena sa lafo e Ari se mealofa ia John ma lena sa fasi e Malia  
PST send ERG Ari ART gift LD John and PST beat ERG Malia  
\*(John).  
John  
‘Ari sent a gift to John and Malia beat John.’  
 $\Rightarrow V_{\text{ditr}} S DO IO_i \& V_{\text{tr}} S *(O_i)$



In summary, the optionality of objects in coordinative constructions is quite restricted. In all configurations presented above, it is not possible for the two conjuncts to share the direct as well as the indirect object.

### 3.2.3 Samoan subject sharing

In contrast to objects, subjects can be shared between two conjuncts in Samoan. The following section shows that subjects can be shared in a coordination of intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, and of both kinds of verbs.<sup>13</sup> Since subject sharing constructions raise different issues as to their syntactic structure, they will be analysed in greater detail in section 4.2. In the following, I will merely describe the data and point out the superficial characteristics such as word order. Similarly to section 3.2.2, the absence of the subject will be investigated for the first conjunct and subsequently for the second conjunct.

As the examples in (71) display, Samoan allows for subject sharing in intransitive coordinative constructions.<sup>14</sup> The subject does not occur in the first, but in the second conjunct. Note that these sentences are taken from Collins (2017, p. 4) and were attested by my informants.

- (71) a. 'ua siva ma ta'alo Simi ana po.  
 PERF dance and play Simi last night  
 'Simi danced and played last night.'
- b. 'ua taunu'u ma toefoi Simi ana po.  
 PERF arrive and leave Simi last night  
 'Simi arrived and left last night.'

The coordination of two unergative verbs (71a) and of two unaccusative verbs (71b)

<sup>13</sup>I follow Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992, p. 103) by distinguishing the following pairs of terminology: 'transitive/intransitive' for the semantic valency of verbs and '(un)ergative/(un)accusative' for morphosyntactic case features.

<sup>14</sup>This only holds for intransitives with the same morphosyntax (e.g. unaccusative, unergative). As Collins (2017, p. 4) shows, it is ungrammatical to combine e.g. an unaccusative and an unergative verb as displayed in (i). This has also been attested in the elicitations. An analysis of this asymmetry in Samoan has been suggested in Tollan (2018). Similar analyses assuming differences in terms of the underlying lexical-syntactic representations are proposed by Burzio (1986), J. Lee and Thompson (2011), Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) and Perlmutter (1978).

- (i) \*'ua taunu'u ma siva Simi ana po.  
 PERF arrive and dance Simi last night  
 'Simi arrived and danced last night.'

allows for the subject to occur only in the second conjunct. Thus, the word order in these examples is V&VS.

Evidence that the subject could potentially occur in the first conjunct is provided by coordination of an intransitive and a transitive verb in (72a). Here, the woman is interpreted as the subject of both conjuncts.

- (72) a. Lena sa taalo (le fafine) ma lena sa lafo e le fafine se tusi.  
 PST play ART woman and PST send ERG ART woman ART letter  
 ‘The woman played and the woman sent a letter.’  
 b. Lena sa taalo ma lafo e le fafine se tusi.  
 PST play and send ERG ART woman ART letter  
 ‘The woman played and sent a letter.’

This is also true for sentence (72b) which displays a word order similar to the examples in (71). Further, note that example (72b) is similar to the examples from Collins (2017, p. 22), repeated in (73) from section 2.2.4. Although the subject is shared between both conjuncts, it is presumably not deeply embedded within the second conjunct. Rather, the entire coordination phrase has been fronted as suggested by Collins (2017, 22 f., see section 2.2.4).

- (73) a. e [[aulelei tele] ma [atamai tele]] fo’i le fafine  
 PRES beautiful very and intelligent very EMPH the woman  
 ‘The woman is very beautiful and very intelligent.’  
 b. sã [[tã lalo] ma [tipi fa’alaititi]] e Simi le la’au  
 PST fell DIR and cut CAUS.small ERG Simi SPEC tree  
 ‘Simi cut down and chopped the tree into small pieces.’  
 c. sã [[aui fa’amafolafola] ma [gaugau fa’alelei]] e le  
 PST iron CAUS.flat and fold.REDUP CAUS.good ERG SPEC  
 tamāloa le tagamea  
 man SPEC laundry  
 ‘The man ironed the laundry flat and folded them well.’

However, the pattern differs, if the verbs in both conjuncts are transitive. The shared subject in a transitive coordinative construction appears to be absent in the first conjunct. The examples in (74) and (75) show that the subject can occur in the first conjunct.

- (74) Lena sa tã (e le teine) le la’au ma si’ia lugā e le teine le laulau.  
 PST hit ERG ART girl ART tree and lift up ERG ART girl ART table  
 ‘Someone/(the girl) hit the tree and the girl lifted the table.’

- (75) Lena sa fasi (e le faiaoga) le tama ma lena sa siva le faiaoga.  
 PST beat ERG ART teacher ART child and PST dance ART teacher  
 ‘Someone/(the teacher) beat the child and the teacher danced.’

If the subject does not occur in the first conjunct, the construction is grammatical. However, the sentences in (74) and (75) are not actual subject sharing constructions. That is, the two conjuncts in both sentences do not share the subject, neither semantically nor syntactically. If the subject does not occur in the first conjunct, it is not interpretable who *hit the tree* in sentence (74), and who *beat the child* in sentence (75).

In summary, coordination constructions are possible with the subject occurring only in the second conjunct. That is, in a coordination where at least the verb in the first conjunct is intransitive, the subject can occur in the second conjunct only, yielding V&VS(O) order. This does not hold for coordinative constructions with a transitive verb in each conjunct. However, note that these constructions differ from subject sharing constructions in that the subject is not deeply embedded in the first conjunct. Therefore, these sentences will not be regarded as sharing constructions in the sense of the definition provided in section 2.3. I follow Collins (2017, 22 f) by adopting the ConjP-fronting approach (see section 2.2.4) for these constructions.

Concerning the subject’s absence in the second conjunct, Samoan displays the expected subject-sharing-pattern. As the following examples show, the subject is not obligatorily present in the second conjunct for transitive coordination (76) as well as for ditransitive coordination (77). Further, the subject appears to be deeply embedded in the first conjunct.

- (76) Lena sa tā le teine le la’au ma si’ia lugā le laulau.  
 PST hit ART girl ART tree and lift up ART table  
 ‘The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.’  
 $\Rightarrow V_{tr} S DO \& V_{tr} DO$

- (77) Lena sa ave e Jon le polo i le tametiti ma lafoā se tusi i le faia’oga.  
 PST give ERG Jon ART ball LD ART child.M and send ART letter LD ART teacher  
 ‘Jon gave the ball to the child and sent a letter to the teacher.’  
 $\Rightarrow V_{ditr} S DO IO \& V_{ditr} DO IO$

In both examples, the subject (*le teine* ‘the girl’/*Jon*) is shared between both conjuncts.

Similar results are obtained by coordinative construction with one intransitive and one transitive verb, as the following examples (78) and (79) show. While the sentences (78a) and (79a) display the first conjunct in a main clause, and the sentences in (78b) and (79b) display the second conjunct in a main clause, the subject sharing construction is presented in (78c) and (79c), respectively.

- (78) a. Lena sa fasi e le faiaoga le tama.  
 PST beat ERG ART teacher ART boy  
 ‘The teacher hit the boy.’
- b. Lena sa siva (\*e) le faiaoga.  
 PST dance ERG ART teacher  
 ‘The teacher danced.’
- c. Lena sa fasi e le faiaoga le tama ma siva.  
 PST beat ERG ART teacher ART boy and dance  
 ‘The teacher hit the boy and danced.’  
 $\Rightarrow V_{tr} S DO \& V_{intr}$
- (79) a. Lena sa taalo (\*e) le fafine.  
 PST play ERG ART woman  
 ‘The woman played.’
- b. Lena sa lafo e le fafine se tusi.  
 PST send ERG ART woman ART letter  
 ‘The woman sent a letter.’
- c. Lena sa taalo (\*e) le fafine ma lafo se tusi.  
 PST play ERG ART woman and send ART letter.  
 ‘The woman played and sent a letter.’  
 $\Rightarrow V_{intr} S \& V_{tr} DO$

Both conjuncts in (79c) and (78c) share the subject in the first conjunct. In contrast to intransitive coordination as presented above, the word order in these cases is VSO&V for (78c) and VS&VO for (79c). That is, the subject follows the verb in the first conjunct and both conjuncts are verb-initial. Further, note that in both examples the transitive verb assigns Ergative case to the subject while the intransitive verb assigns Absolutive case to the subject. Despite being shared between both verbs, the subject is obligatorily marked for Ergative case in example (78c) and cannot appear with Ergative marking in (79c). This can also be seen in the following example (80) where *sii i luga* ‘(to) lift up’ requires Ergative marking on the subject, and *alu i ese* ‘(to) leave’ does not.

- (80) Lena sa sii i luga \*(e) Arina se laulau ma alu i ese.  
 PST lift LD up ERG Arina the table and go LD away  
 ‘Arina lifted a table and left.’  
 $\Rightarrow V_{tr} S DO \& V_{intr}$

This apparent case-mismatch will be further described in section 4.1.2. An in-depth analysis of the structure of Samoan subject sharing constructions will be presented in section 4.2.

In summary, subject sharing is possible in Samoan. It is possible in a coordination of two transitive, two ditransitive, and one transitive and one intransitive verb. Constructions which can be derived by ConjP-fronting will not be discussed further, as they most likely are structurally distinct from the subject sharing constructions with an embedded subject. In the following section, I will point out the main problems concerning certain examples. Further, I will discuss and analyse the data in order to find out more about the underlying structure.

## 4 Analysis

After having presented the data, I will now turn to the analysis of Samoan subject sharing constructions. This section consists of two parts. First, I will point out the main issues and puzzles which arise for Samoan sharing constructions in section 4.1. Second, the structure and the properties of subject sharing constructions will be further examined in section 4.2. There, I will also present further data in order to draw conclusions from the respective diagnostics. Finally, I will summarise the issues and findings in section 4.3.

### 4.1 The challenges of Samoan subject sharing

This section focusses on the three most apparent puzzles regarding Samoan subject sharing constructions. In order to discuss and analyse the data presented in section 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, I will firstly consider the two distinct paradigms of Samoan subjects and objects regarding sharing in section 4.1.1. Further, I will briefly point out some issues concerning case in subject sharing constructions in section 4.1.2. Section 4.1.3 will focus on the structural peculiarities of subject sharing constructions. This section will lay the foundation for the analysis in section 4.2 and the structural discussion in section 5. Lastly, in section 4.1.4, I will briefly present a specific German construction which poses challenges identical to Samoan subject sharing.

#### 4.1.1 The asymmetry between subject- and object-sharing

In Samoan, subjects and objects display different restrictions regarding sharing constructions. While objects cannot be shared in general (81a), subjects show greater freedom regarding their position. That is, subjects can (at least on the surface) appear only in the first conjunct (81b). An example for this contrast between subject and object sharing constructions is given below.

- (81) a. Lena sa tā le teine \*(le laulau) ma si'ia le faiaoga \*(le laulau).  
           PST hit ART girl ART table and lift ART teacher ART table  
           ‘The girl hit and the teacher lifted a table.’
- b. Lena sa tā le teine le la'au ma si'ia lugā le laulau.  
           PST hit ART girl ART tree and lift up ART table  
           ‘The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.’

Although being noteworthy, the asymmetry between subjects and objects will not be investigated further. For the remainder of the thesis, I will only focus on subject sharing constructions as they present more issues. These issues, I will present in the following.

#### 4.1.2 Case mismatch in subject sharing

The case mismatch in certain subject sharing constructions has already been described in section 3.2.3. In order to list all issues that arise in subject sharing constructions, I will present the phenomenon again in this section. Furthermore, I will present data which suggests that canonical word order is a more dominant factor than case marking in Samoan.

First, consider the examples in (78c) and (79c) (repeated below in (82) and (83)).

- (82)    Lena sa fasi e    le    faiaoga le    tama ma siva.  
          PST     beat ERG ART teacher ART boy    and dance  
          ‘The teacher hit the boy and danced.’

- (83)    Lena sa taalo (\*e) le    fafine    ma lafo se    tusi.  
          PST     play ERG ART woman and send ART letter.  
          ‘The woman played and sent a letter.’

As already pointed out, the mismatch in both constructions concerns the case of the subject. In example (82), Ergative case is assigned by the verb in the first conjunct, and Absolutive case in the second conjunct – *vice versa* in example (83). The subject occurs in the first conjunct. However, it is marked for Ergative in example (82) and for Absolutive in example (83). That is, the subject bears the marker of the verb it is closest to in both cases. Several questions arise in this context. Most importantly, what happens to the case assigned by the verb in the second conjunct? Investigating this issue could provide evidence for or against an unpronounced subject being present in the second conjunct. Moreover, the case-mismatch itself might be explained. However, this is subject to future research.

Yet another issue is exemplified in the following examples of normal main clauses. In terms of case marking and word order, Samoan exhibits an interesting pattern. As can be seen in (84) and (85), the subject is marked for ergative case which is the standard case assigned to subjects by transitive agentive verbs in Samoan.

- (84) Lena sa sii i luga e le faiaoga le laulau.  
 PST lift LD up ERG ART teacher ART table  
 ‘The teacher lifted the table.’

- (85) ?Lena sa sii i luga le laulau e le faiaoga.  
 PST lift LD up ART table ERG ART teacher  
 ‘The table lifted the teacher.’

The only difference between (84) and (85) is the order of the subject and the object. It appears, however, that the subject and the object cannot be switched without a change in meaning. Despite the Ergative marking on the subject, the sentence in (85) is interpreted such that *le laulau* ‘the table’ is the agent of the action. Although this is a known phenomenon across languages, it is pointed out here to present the full picture. Apparently, case marking the subject/agent with Ergative case does not inhibit a change in meaning if switched with an object. Thus, word order appears to be a more dominant than case marking regarding the sentence’s interpretation.

#### 4.1.3 Structural issues and the *Double-Duty-Problem*

Up to this point, the word order in sharing constructions was not of great interest. In terms of subject sharing, however, the word order, and particularly the position of the subject raises one main issue. In the following, I will describe and explain why the surface word order in Samoan subject sharing constructions poses difficulties regarding the scope of the subject and, consequently, the sentence’s interpretation.

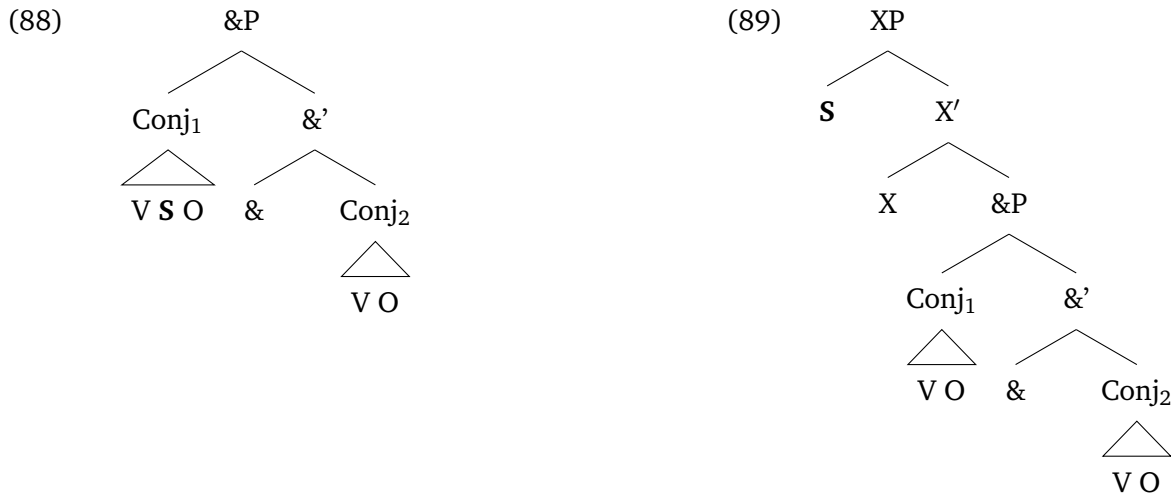
In order to clearly present the issue, reconsider the subject sharing examples from section 3.2.3, repeated below in (86) and (87).

- (86) a. Lena sa fasi e le faiaoga le tama ma siva.  
 PST beat ERG ART teacher ART boy and dance  
 ‘The teacher hit the boy and danced.’  
 b. Lena sa taalo (\*e) le fafine ma lafo se tusi.  
 PST play ERG ART woman and send ART letter.  
 ‘The woman played and sent a letter.’
- (87) a. Lena sa tā e le teine le la’au ma si’ia lugā le laulau.  
 PST hit ERG ART girl ART tree and lift up ART table  
 ‘The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.’



- b. Lena sa ave e Jon le polo i le tametiti ma lafoā se tusi i  
 PST give ERG Jon ART ball LD ART child.M and send ART letter LD  
 le faia'oga.  
 ART teacher  
 'Jon gave the ball to the child and sent a letter to the teacher.'

All of the sentences above display TAMVS(O)&V(O) order. That is, both conjuncts are verb-initial while the entire sentence is headed by a TAM marker. Since the TAM marker apparently takes scope over both conjuncts (both verbs are interpreted in past tense), it seems straightforward that the two conjuncts must be c-commanded by T. The surface structure can be schematized as in (88).<sup>15</sup> This structure is quite different to that of conjunction reduction in English which is repeated in (89).



In contrast to the English structure in (89), the subject in the Samoan structure (88) does not scope over both conjuncts. Since it is not in a position where it can c-command the second conjunct, the subject cannot take scope over the second conjunct. However, the interpretation of the examples above contradicts the narrow scope. While the subject is being shared between both conjuncts, as indicated by the semantic interpretation, it appears to be *in-situ*. That is, it cannot move out of the first conjunct to take scope over both conjuncts, since that would also violate the CSC. I will refer to this issue as the *Subject-Scope-Issue*.

<sup>15</sup>For the sake of simplicity, the internal structure of the conjuncts will not be at issue here, but will be discussed in later sections.

(90) *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 take scope over the second conjunct.

A similar and highly related concern is the absence of the subject in the second conjunct. From the view of base-generation, there is no reason why there should be no subject in the second conjunct – especially since there is one in the first conjunct. A simple solution might involve some form of deletion. However, a mechanism like *deletion under identity*, for instance, requires a c-command relationship of the higher element over the lower one (Citko, 2001). Again, this is impossible given the *Subject-Scope-Issue*. Other possible explanations for the absence of the subject in the second conjunct will be discussed in further sections. I will refer to this issue as *Subject-Absence-Issue*.

(91) *The Subject-Absence-Issue:*

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

In the case of Samoan subject sharing, both, the *Subject-Scope-Issue* and the *Subject-Absence-Issue* are at play and partly give rise to each other. The underlying problem in this regard is that the subject functions for two verbs simultaneously. This is referred to as *Double-Duty-Problem* in Barnickel (2017, p. 68).

(92) *The Double-Duty-Problem:*

A single subject is supposed to serve as the subject of two different predicates at the same time.

That is, the *Subject-Scope-Issue* and the *Subject-Absence-Issue* are symptoms of the *Double-Duty-Problem* which is the underlying structural puzzle. Thus, I propose to split the *Double-Duty-Problem* in two individual, yet related parts, namely the *Subject-Scope-Issue* and the *Subject-Absence-Issue*. At this point, however, I will refrain from a proper assessment of this problem. A thorough analysis of all possibilities listed above will be presented in sections 4.2 and 5.

In summary, there are at least three different peculiarities concerning Samoan subject sharing, namely a subject-object asymmetry, case mismatch, and structural issues. Out of these, the structural issues are the most interesting and, as we will see later, perhaps

the most challenging one. For the remainder of this thesis, I will, thus, focus on the structural analysis of Samoan subject sharing constructions. In the following sections, I will investigate the structure of the construction as well as the internal structure of the two conjuncts.

#### 4.1.4 A similar case: German SLF-constructions

Structural problems similar to those presented above arise in a specific German construction called *SLF-coordination*. The term *SLF* bases on work by Höhle (2019a, 2019b, 2019c) and serves as an abbreviation for ‘Subjekt-lücken in finiten Sätzen’ which translates to ‘subject gaps in finite clauses’. As the name suggests, the main characteristic of this type of coordination is finiteness of both conjuncts while an overt subject is absent in the second conjunct. However, the subject of the first conjunct is also interpreted as the subject for the second conjunct. Furthermore, the canonical word order in German is inverted in the first conjunct. The subject never occurs sentence-initially, but rather appears to be embedded within the first conjunct. Sentence-initial positions, in these cases, are usually filled by prepositional phrases, adverbs or objects (Barnickel, 2017). Due to the non-parallel word order in both conjuncts, SLF-coordinations can be classified as asymmetric coordination constructions. Examples for German SLF-constructions are presented in example (93).

- (93) a. In den Wald ging der Jäger und fing einen Hasen.  
 into the forest went the hunter and caught a rabbit  
 ‘The hunter went into the woods and caught a rabbit.’ (Kathol, 1999, p. 305)
- b. Ihre alte Gitarre verkaufte Maria gestern im Internet und bestellte  
 her old guitar sold Maria yesterday in.the internet and ordered  
 sich gleich eine neue.  
 herself immediately a new  
 ‘Yesterday, Maria sold her old guitar on the internet and ordered a new one immediately.’ (Barnickel, 2017, p. 1)

Regarding the main properties and the surface word order, SLF-coordinations are very similar to subject sharing in Samoan. This also holds for the issues that arise in SLF-constructions. According to Barnickel (2017), the main puzzle regarding SLF-constructions is the *Subject-Scope-Issue*. That is, the subject is deeply embedded in the

first conjunct, but it somehow takes scope over the second conjunct. In SLF-constructions that does not only lead to an interpretation as described earlier, but it appears that pronouns in the second conjunct can be bound by the deeply embedded element in the first conjunct. Another property concerns the semantic relationship of the denoted events. That is, the events in both conjuncts are interpreted as subevents of one main event.<sup>16</sup> Barnickel (2017) concludes that the two conjuncts are seemingly closely related with respect to a syntactic and semantic perspective.

In summary, German SLF-coordinations exhibit very similar issues to the Samoan subject sharing constructions. This is to show that the *Double-Duty-Problem* is not connected to any particular word order or language family.

## 4.2 Analysing the structure of Samoan subject sharing constructions

After having identified the issues regarding the subject sharing constructions, I will now turn to data and diagnostics which reveal more details about the underlying structure. Up to this point, I have presented subject sharing constructions in Samoan, and, moreover, identified why they pose a structural problem. For the remainder of this thesis, the focus will continue to be on the structural issues of Samoan subject sharing.

In this section, I will investigate which of the following explanations provide possible solutions for the structural issues. Firstly, a straightforward solution, namely subject *pro-drop*, will be considered in section 4.2.1. The underlying idea would be that the subject in the second conjunct could have been dropped, such that only the subject in the first conjunct remains. However, I will argue that *pro-drop* is not possible in Samoan.

Since *pro-drop* is not available as an explanation, a subsequent question is whether Samoan subject sharing constructions are coordinative at all. If they were not coordinative, but involved a subordinate structure, the *Subject-Scope-Issue* as well as the *Subject-Absence-Issue* could potentially be derived by assuming a control-construction. In order to shed more light on the type of conjunction in subject sharing constructions,

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<sup>16</sup>Note that Samoan subject sharing is not in line with the claim that “for SLF-coordinations the single-event interpretation is obligatory” (Barnickel, 2017, p. 25), as the following, fully acceptable example with two unrelated events shows.

- (i) Sa pese Mary ma ‘ai le keke.  
 PST sing Mary and eat ART cake  
 ‘Mary sang and ate the cake.’

I will employ multiple diagnostics in section 4.2.2. Based on the results, I will argue for coordinative conjunction in Samoan subject sharing. Furthermore, this section will provide further information regarding the similarities and differences between subject sharing, clausal coordination, and subordinative constructions.

In section 4.2.3 and section 4.2.4, I will examine the size as well as the internal structure of the two conjuncts in subject sharing constructions. Concludingly, the results will be summarised in section 4.3.

#### 4.2.1 *pro-drop* in Samoan

Among the possibilities to solve the *Subject-Absence-Issue*, subject *pro-drop* appears to be the most straightforward option. That is, if *pro-drop* is generally possible in Samoan, one could simply assume that the subject in the second conjunct of subject sharing constructions has been dropped. In the following, I present sentences and corresponding contexts which, altogether, indicate that *pro-drop* is not possible in Samoan, neither for subjects nor for objects.

Consider examples (94) and (95). Both consist of a context in (94a) and (95a) in which the crucial argument is already given. If *pro-drop* were possible in Samoan, it should be possible in (94b) and (95b) to drop the pronoun *gaia* ‘3SG’ while preserving the same interpretation.

- (94) a. Agagafi, lena sa fo'i mai Melanie i le fale.  
yesterday PST come to Melanie LD ART home  
‘Yesterday, Melanie came home.’
- b. Lena sa siva \*(gaia).  
PST dance 3SG  
‘She danced.’
- (95) a. Agagei i le ao, lena sa alu Jeanne i le aoga.  
today LD ART morning, PST go Jeanne LD ART school  
‘This morning, Jeanne went to school.’
- b. Lena sa fasi \*(gaia) le faiaoga.  
PST beat 3SG ART teacher  
‘She beat the teacher.’

However, as can be seen in the examples in (94) and (95), it is not possible to drop the subject in Samoan, neither for intransitive nor for transitive verbs. Therefore, subject

*pro-drop* is not the simple and straightforward solution to the *Subject-Absence-Issue* it could have been.

Similarly, it is not possible to drop pronouns which refer to objects, as displayed in the following example (96).

- (96) a. Lena sa milimili e Jeanne le maile.  
           PST     pet         ERG Jeanne ART dog  
           ‘Jeanne pet the dog.’  
       b. Lena sa u     le     maile \*(gaia).  
           PST     bite ART dog   3SG  
           ‘The dog bit her.’

As shown in the examples (94) and (95), the pronoun *gaia* ‘3SG’ is obligatory in example (96).

This result, however, does not match the general view on Samoan *pro-drop* as presented in the literature. Usually, Samoan is regarded as a *pro-drop* language. There are several accounts on what exactly can be dropped (only 3SG subjects following Koopman, 2012; 3SG subjects and 3SG direct objects following Homer, 2009; any argument can drop if it can be reconstructed from the context following Muāgututi’a, 2017). In the following, I will display two examples from the literature and explain why they do not present instances of *pro-drop* in Samoan.

An alleged example given for Samoan subject *pro-drop* in Homer (2009) is the sentence in (97b). Example (97a) displays the same sentence without *pro-drop*.

- (97) a. Na sasa e Seu ∅ l-a-na maile.  
           PST beat ERG Seu ABS DET.SG-POSS-3SG dog  
           ‘Seu<sub>i</sub> beat his<sub>i,j</sub> dog.’ (Homer, 2009, p. 43)  
       b. Na sasa ∅ le maile a Seu.  
           PST beat ABS DET.SG dog POSS Seu  
           ‘Seu’s dog was beaten.’ Or: ‘S/he<sub>i</sub> beat Seu<sub>j</sub>’s dog.’  
           Or: ‘Seu beat his own dog.’ (Homer, 2009, p. 43)

Overall, we can see three possible interpretations of the sentence in (97b) are given, out of which only one suggests *pro-drop* (‘S/he<sub>i</sub> beat Seu<sub>j</sub>’s dog’).<sup>17</sup> Another interpretation of the same sentence is a passive interpretation which is well-known to be difficult to tell

<sup>17</sup>For the moment, I will leave aside the last interpretation ‘Seu beat his own dog’. However, as will be described below, this interpretation has not been attested by my informants.

apart in Samoan. Overall, there has been a lot of discussion in the literature concerning the distinction between passive and *pro*-drop (Churchward, 1926, 1928, 1951; Lafeber, 1928; H. W. Williams, 1927, 1928; for an overview and further discussion, the reader is referred to Milner, 1962). In general, it is not clear from the sentence in (97b) what the unmarked or ‘correct’ interpretation is. Without a context, the information in the sentence apparently does not suffice to distinguish between the three possible interpretations. As long as a passive interpretation is possible, the sentence in (97b) does not provide much evidence for the possibility of *pro*-drop. Especially, since the main syntactic characteristic of passives is valency reduction. Therefore, following the rationale of Homer (2009), all passive construction basically involve *pro*-drop. This, however, is an unwarranted consequence which is not in line with the general idea of impoverishment in passives.

Moreover, the absence of an agent, and the resulting non-specificity are not necessarily translatable to ‘he/she’. A more appropriate translation would probably be ‘someone’, enforcing the unspecific reading. However, I claim that the interpretation ‘Someone beat Seu’s dog’ is significantly closer to the passive interpretation ‘Seu’s dog was beaten’ than it is to the interpretation involving pronouns ‘S/he<sub>i</sub> beat Seu<sub>j</sub>’s dog’. Further evidence for these arguments comes from the fact that the native speakers in my elicitations did not agree with the last two translations provided in (97b). According to them, only the first translation ‘Seu’s dog was beaten’ is appropriate.

Another alleged example of Samoan object *pro*-drop is given in Muāgututi’a (2017, p. 12). According to him, the example in (98b) is an instance of dropping the direct object *le talo* ‘the taro’ which is present in (98a).<sup>18</sup> Note that the glosses provided below are identical to the original source.

- (98) a. 'Olo'o 'ai e le tama le talo.  
           PROG eat ERG the boy the taro  
           ‘The boy is eating the taro.’ (Muāgututi’a, 2017, p. 12)
- b. 'Olo'o 'ai le tama.  
           PROG eat the boy  
           ‘The boy is eating.’ (Muāgututi’a, 2017, p. 12)

Again, the author leaves aside effects of reduced valency of the predicate. Analogous to

<sup>18</sup>Muāgututi’a (2017) states that *pro*-drop is available in Samoan if the dropped argument is retrievable from the context. However, he does not provide a context for these examples.

English, the verb 'ai 'to eat' appears to have an intransitive as well as a transitive form. This, however, is different from *pro*-drop. Furthermore, the Ergative marker in (98a) is not present in (98b). Thus, the question arises: if there is no Ergative in (98b), how can one distinguish the two possibilities, namely *pro*-drop and the intransitive version of the verb 'to eat'. That is, an Ergative marker in (98b) would indicate that the verb actually is transitive (since the subject receives Ergative case only from transitive and ditransitive verbs). Since the subject is not morphologically marked for case, the example in (98b) suggests that the verb is intransitive, thus, assigning Absolutive case to the subject. I take this as evidence that (98b) is not an instance of *pro*-drop, but simply the intransitive version of the verb 'ai 'to eat'.

The significance of the examples in (97) and (98) further vanishes, if we take a look at a clear case of *pro*-drop in Tagalog (Austronesian). In example (99), two independent sentences are presented. The second sentence which only consists of the verb *umiak* 'cried' displays a clear case of *pro*-drop.<sup>19</sup>

- (99) Binaril ng tao ang aso. Umiak.  
 PT.shot NG.A man ANG dog cried  
 'A man shot the dog. *pro* cried.'  
 = dog cried (P)  
 = man cried (A) (Maclachlan, 1997, p. 449)

This example clearly shows that *pro*-drop is available in Tagalog. The *pro* can be coreferential with either the object or the subject. A reason for the two possibilities might be that the verb shows no agreement. Note that this example is syntactically analogous to the Samoan examples presented in (94) - (96). If *pro*-drop of this kind is generally available in other Austronesian languages like Tagalog, I therefore conclude that Samoan does not allow for *pro*-drop.

In summary, the data presented in this section does not appear to support the claim that Samoan is a *pro*-drop language. Alleged evidence for this claim does not provide clear-cut contexts and do not exclude other possible interpretations. Further, any effect regarding the valency of verbs is not taken into account. Based on this result, Samoan subject sharing constructions cannot be explained by *pro*-drop.

<sup>19</sup>Maclachlan (1997, p. 449) refers to this example as being "two conjuncts in a conjunction reduction construction [that] are [...] independent sentences". However, it is not clear how two independent sentences which are not conjoined can constitute as conjunction reduction.



### 4.2.2 Coordination versus subordination

This section concerns the question whether Samoan subject sharing constructions display characteristics of coordination or subordination. In the former case, the native speakers' intuition and the logical approach ('and' = coordination) can be deemed correct. However, the issue concerning sentence structure will remain. In the latter case, the *Subject-Scope-Issue* and *Subject-Absence-Issue* could be solved by i.e. subject control. Thus, a subordinative structure of Samoan subject sharing constructions would possibly simplify the derivation of the *Double-Duty-Problem*.

In the following, I will apply six diagnostics. They are (i) asymmetric extraction, (ii) ATB movement, (iii) interchangeability of the conjuncts, (iv) scope of negation, (v) backwards pronominalisation, and (vi) inserting two tense markers in the structure. While the first five diagnostics aim at investigating the general structure of the subject sharing constructions, the last test rather concerns the size of the two conjuncts. For each of the diagnostics, I will present examples of clausal coordination, subordinative constructions, and subject sharing constructions. I will follow this order throughout the section. That is, I will apply the test to clausal coordination and subordinative constructions first, and then to subject sharing. Thereby, I will be able to draw a comparison between clausal coordination and subject sharing on the one hand, and subordinative constructions and subject sharing on the other hand.

#### Asymmetric extraction

This test bases on the enquiry to which of the constructions the CSC applies. As by Ross (1967, p. 161), a coordinate structure does not allow for the extraction of an element out of only one of the two conjuncts. This means that if the extraction out of only one conjunct is possible, the two conjuncts cannot be coordinated but must be in a subordinative relationship. Concerning clausal coordination, the test yields the following result.

- (100) \*O leā le mea sa ta e Peter ma sa ai e Jeanne se apu?  
 PRES what ART thing PST hit ERG Peter and PST eat ERG Jeanne ART apple  
 'What did Peter hit and Jeanne ate an apple?'

- (101) \*O ai sa sasaina le tama ma Jeanne la e taalo ma le maile.  
 PRES who PST hit ART boy and Jeanne GENR play with ART dog  
 ‘Who hit the child and Jeanne plays with the dog.’ (not interpreted as a question)

Since these constructions are clearly coordinative, the ungrammaticality is not surprising. This further shows, that the CSC also applies to coordination in Samoan.

Contrastingly, in subordination constructions, one would expect asymmetric extraction to be unproblematic, since the CSC does not apply. Indeed, as the examples below show, the result is grammatical.

- (102) O ai sa mauaina le apu a’o la e ‘ai e James le apu?  
 PRES who PST find ART apple but-PRES GENR eat ERG James ART apple  
 ‘Who found an apple while James eats an apple?’
- (103) O ai sa fa’apea, sa ta e Peter le maile?  
 PRES who PST think PST hit ERG Peter ART dog  
 ‘Who thought that Peter hit the dog?’

With these results in line, a clear-cut distinction can be established regarding asymmetric extraction in Samoan. While subordination constructions allow for asymmetric extraction, coordination constructions do not. Thus, the result for the subject sharing construction in (104) is rather robust: asymmetric extraction is not possible.

- (104) \*O lea le mea sa ta e Peter ma ai se apu?  
 PRES what ART thing PST hit ERG Peter and eat ART apple  
 ‘What did Peter hit and ate an apple?’

The ungrammaticality of the example suggests that subject sharing constructions in Samoan are coordinative.

### ATB movement

Testing for the possibility of ATB movement builds on the same premise as the preceding diagnostic. Since Samoan coordination constructions are subject to the CSC, extraction out of the conjuncts should only be possible via ATB movement. Subordination constructions are not affected by the CSC and they should therefore not allow for ATB movement. The coordination construction in (105) displays the expected result.

- (105) O le a le mea sa ta e Melanie — ma lafo e Mira —?  
 PRES what ART thing PST hit ERG Melanie and send ERG Mira  
 ‘What did Melanie hit and Mira send?’

In the sentence in example (105), the direct object is extracted from both sentences and moved to the front. The grammaticality of this example suggests that the object was present in both conjuncts. For subordination constructions in Samoan the results are the following.

- (106) \*O lea le mea sa maua e Melanie a’o sa ta e James?  
 PRES what ART thing PST find ERG Melanie but-PRES PST hit ERG James  
 ‘What did Melanie find while James hit?’
- (107) \*O ai sa fa’apea, sa ta le maile?  
 PRES who PST think PST hit ART dog  
 ‘Who thought that hit the dog?’

As can be observed in these examples, ATB movement leads to ungrammaticality in subordination constructions. This is expected, especially since the results from the preceeding test show that subordination constructions also allow for asymmetric extraction. The pattern here is, again, straightforward and so is the distinction between coordination and subordination constructions. The result for the subject sharing constructions should, thus, be robust. However, it is not possible to test for subject ATB movement in subject sharing constructions, since their main characteristic is the missing subject in the second conjunct. In that case, the surface structure would be identical to that of a coordination construction. It would, thus, be impossible to identify whether the original sentence without extraction is a coordination construction with two subjects or a subject sharing construction with only one subject. Therefore, only object ATB movement can be reliably tested here. The following sentence in example (108) displays the result for object ATB movement in a subject sharing construction.

- (108) O leā le mea sa maua e Peter ma gaoi?  
 PRES what ART thing PST find ERG Peter and steal  
 ‘What did Peter find and steal?’

The grammaticality of the construction suggests that subject sharing is coordinative and not subordinative. Given the clear pattern for coordination and subordination

constructions, this result is in line with the result of the preceding test.

### Interchangeability of the conjuncts

The interchangeability test indicates whether or not two conjuncts of a sentence are co-dependent concerning the semantic interpretation of the sentence. In this regard, the coordination constructions in (109) display the following result.

- (109) a. Na maua e Petelo se ta'avale ma na gaoi e Malia le uila.  
 PST find ERG Peter ART car and PST steal ERG Mary ART bike  
 'Peter found a car and Mary stole a bike.'
- b. Na gaoi e Malia le uila ma na maua e Petelo se ta'avale.  
 PST steal ERG Mary ART bike and PST find ERG Peter ART car  
 'Mary stole a bike and Peter found a car.'

Both sentences have the same interpretation, namely that 'A happened and also B happened'. The grammaticality of (109b), therefore, shows that the conjuncts in Samoan coordination constructions are interchangeable.

For the subordinative sentences in Samoan, the results are not as clear. On the one hand, the following examples show that the matrix clause and the embedded clause in subordination constructions cannot be switched without a change in interpretation. Further, the subordinating element *a'o* 'while' cannot appear sentence-initially.

- (110) a. Na maua e Kati se apu a'o James na ai se fa'i.  
 PST find ERG Kate ART apple but-PRES James PST eat ART banana  
 'Kate found an apple while James ate a banana.'
- b. Na ai James se fa'i a'o Kati na maua se apu.  
 PST eat James ART banana but-PRES Kate PST find ART apple  
 'James ate a banana while Kate found an apple.'
- c. \*A'o James na ai se fa'i na maua e Kati se apu.  
 but-PRES James PST eat ART banana PST find ERG Kate ART apple  
 'While James ate a banana Kate found an apple.'

For the following examples, the opposite is the case. Here, the matrix clause and the embedded clause are interchangeable while maintaining the same interpretation. Furthermore, the subordinating element *gae* 'because' can appear sentence-initially.

- (111) a. Sa fa'atau Ari se fa'i gae lena sa fia ai Kate.  
 PST buy Ari ART banana because PST want eat Kate  
 'Ari bought a banana because Kate was hungry.'
- b. Gae lena sa fia ai Kate, sa fa'atau e Ari se fa'i.  
 because PST want eat Kate PST buy ERG Ari ART banana  
 'Because Kate was hungry Ari bought a banana.'

Similar results are provided by the next pair. Here, the embedded clause can precede the matrix clause, again, without a change in meaning. However, no subordinating element is present in the structure.

- (112) a. Fa'apea Robert, sa ta e Peter le maile.  
 think Robert PST hit ERG Peter ART dog  
 'Robert thinks that Peter hit the dog.'
- b. Sa ta e Peter le maile, fa'apea ai Robert.  
 PST hit ERG Peter ART dog think REFL Robert  
 'That Peter hit the dog is what Robert thinks.'

In conclusion, I assume subordination constructions in Samoan to allow for interchangeability with the same semantic interpretation. The reason is twofold: first, two out of three subordination constructions showed the respective characteristics and, second, the pair in (112) is a rather basic subordination construction with little to no influence of other phenomena, e.g. a specific subordinating element as in (110) and (111). Subordination and coordination, thus, behave alike regarding the interchangeability of their conjuncts. Concerning the assessment of the subject sharing constructions this means that no indication in one direction or the other is possible. However, the results for these constructions show that the conjuncts are not interchangeable. The following example (113) with the word order of TAMVSO&V is grammatical, however if changed to V&TAMVSO it becomes ungrammatical.

- (113) a. Sa faatau e le fafine le taaloga ma taalo.  
 PST purchase ERG ART woman ART game and play  
 'The woman purchased the game and played.' ⇒ TAM V S O & V
- b. \*Taalo ma sa faatau e le fafine le taaloga.  
 Play and PST purchase ERG ART woman ART game  
 'The woman played and purchased the game.' ⇒ V & TAM V S O

- (114) a. \*Taalo le fafine ma sa faatau le taaloga.  
 Play ART woman and PST purchase ART game  
 ‘The woman played and purchased the game.’  $\Rightarrow$  V S & TAM V O
- b. Sa taalo le fafine ma faatau le taaloga.  
 PST play ART woman and purchase ART game  
 ‘The woman played and purchased the game.’  $\Rightarrow$  TAM V S & V O

As can be seen from the examples in (113), switching the two conjuncts results in ungrammaticality. Also, the sentence in (114a) is still ungrammatical. Only if the first conjunct includes the TAM marker, the verb and the subject, the sentence is grammatical (114b). In that case the semantic interpretation is the same, but structurally, the construction does not have the expected structure of V&VSO.

The same is true for the following example with two transitive verbs. Here the changed word order of VO&VSO is not possible (115b).

- (115) a. Sa maua e Peter le taavale ma gaoi le uila.  
 PST steal ERG Peter ART car and find ART bike  
 ‘Peter stole a car and found a bike.’  $\Rightarrow$  V S O & V O
- b. \*Sa gaoi le uila ma maua e Peter le taavale.  
 PST find ART bike and steal ERG Peter ART car  
 ‘Found a bike and Peter stole a car.’  $\Rightarrow$  V O & V S O

Analogous to the previous example (114), the only grammatical construction is the one that has the TAM marker, the verb and the subject present in the first conjunct (115a). These results show that the subject sharing constructions behave differently from coordination as well as subordination constructions.

By not providing a clear answer as to whether or not subject sharing in Samoan is coordinative or subordinative, this test suggests that subject sharing constructions are structurally distinct from clausal coordination as well as from subordination constructions.

### Scope of negation

This diagnostic concerns the scope and the interpretation of negation. The rationale is that the negation in the first conjunct can either refer to both conjuncts or just the first conjunct. A negative interpretation for both conjuncts would suggest that both verbs are c-commanded by the negation. Thus, the scope of the negation spreads over both

conjuncts. If the second conjunct is, however, not interpreted under negation, one can assume that the negation c-commands only the verb in the first conjunct. Here, the negation only takes narrow scope to the first conjunct. Therefore, the interpretation of the second conjunct remains the same. Clausal coordination in Samoan displays the following result.

- (116) Sa lē maua e Peter se ta'avale ma sa gaoi e Mary se uila.  
 PST NEG find ERG Peter ART car and PST steal ERG Mary ART bike  
 'Peter did not find a car and Mary did steal a bike.'

As expected for coordinative constructions, the negation is not interpreted in the second conjunct. This suggests that the negation is embedded in the first conjunct such that it cannot c-command the second conjunct.

For subordinative constructions, the results are the following.

- (117) Sa lē fa'atau e Ari se fa'i gae lena sa fia ai Kate.  
 PST NEG buy ERG Ari ART banana because PST want eat Kate  
 'Ari did not buy a banana because Kate was hungry.'
- (118) Sa lē fa'apea Robert, sa ta e Peter le maile.  
 PST NEG think Robert PST hit ERG Peter ART dog  
 'Robert did not think that Peter hit the dog.' (Peter still hit the dog)

In contrast to the expected interpretation, the embedded clause is not negated in Samoan subordination constructions. The interpretations of the examples in (117) and (118) are that 'Kate was still hungry' and that 'Peter still hit the dog', respectively. In turn, this suggests that the negation does not c-command the embedded clause which is surprising in many regards. Since the structure of subordination constructions is beyond the scope of this thesis, I will not discuss this further. These results, again, provide no possibility for a clear distinction between clausal coordination and subordination constructions regarding this diagnostic. However, the subject sharing constructions yield the following results.

- (119) a. Sa lē ta le faia'oga le maile ma siva.  
 PST NEG hit ART teacher ART dog and dance  
 'The teacher did not hit the dog and did not dance.'
- b. Sa lē faatau e le fafine le taaloga ma taalo.  
 PST NEG purchase ERG ART woman ART game and play  
 'The woman did not purchase the game and did not play.'
- c. Sa lē fasi le faia'oga le tama ma fa'asala le teine.  
 PST NEG hit ART teacher ART boy and punish ART girl  
 'The teacher did not hit the boy and did not punish the girl.'

In all three sentences in (119), the negation is interpreted in both conjuncts. Contrasting both, clausal coordination and subordination constructions, the subject sharing constructions allow for a wide scope of negation. This suggests, as described above, that the negation c-commands both verbs and, thus, must be structurally higher than the conjuncts. Overall, this result provides further evidence for the claim that Samoan subject sharing constructions structurally differ from clausal coordination as well as subordination.

### Backwards pronominalisation

Backwards pronominalisation indicates whether a pronoun can precede its host in a given construction. For coordination constructions, this is not expected to be possible due to the coordinative structure. However, for subordination constructions it is.

Regarding clausal coordination in Samoan the test yields the following results.

- (120) Lena sa fai e gaia<sub>\*i/j</sub> se mea'ai ma Peter<sub>i</sub> na alu i le fale.  
 PST cook ERG 3SG ART meal and Peter PST go LD ART home  
 'He cooked a meal and Peter went home.'

As expected, the pronoun in the first conjunct cannot be coreferential with the proper name in the second conjunct. For subordination constructions, the following results were obtained.

- (121) a. Fa'apea Robert<sub>i</sub>, sa ta e gaia<sub>i</sub> le maile.  
 think Robert PST hit ERG 3SG ART dog  
 'Robert thinks that he hit the dog.'
- b. Sa fa'apea gaia<sub>\*i/j</sub>, sa ta e Robert<sub>i</sub> le maile.  
 PST think 3SG PST hit ERG Robert ART dog  
 'He thinks that Robert hit the dog.'



In contrast to the expectation, subordination constructions in Samoan do not allow for backwards pronominalisation. In (121b), the pronoun cannot precede its host in the embedded clause. This means that, yet again, coordination and subordination constructions are not distinguishable via the results of this test.

Concerning Samoan subject sharing constructions, it is not possible to test for subject reference, since there is no subject in the second conjunct. Therefore, only the reference to an object can be tested. The subject sharing constructions display the following results in (122).

- (122) Sa faasala e le faiaoga<sub>i</sub> gaia<sub>\*i/j</sub> ma sasa le tama<sub>j</sub>.  
 PST punish ERG ART teacher 3SG and hit ART boy  
 ‘The teacher punished him and hit the boy.’

As already observed in preceding tests, subject sharing constructions display characteristics which do not match neither clausal coordination nor subordination constructions. As can be seen in example (122), it is possible for the pronoun *gaia* ‘3SG’ to precede its host *le tama* ‘the boy’ in the second conjunct. Therefore, subject sharing constructions behave neither like clausal coordination nor like subordination constructions with respect to this test.

### Number of TAM markers

Having presented the structural characteristics of coordination, subordination and subject sharing constructions, I will now turn to a final diagnostic. It concerns the structure as well as the size of the conjuncts in subject sharing constructions. A TAM (tense, aspect, mood) marker indicates that a TP is present in a given structure since it is assumed to be positioned in T. If only one TAM marker is allowed in a construction and all verbs would be interpreted according to the one TAM marker, one would assume the conjuncts to be smaller than a TP and, thus, being dominated by the one TP. If two TAM markers can be present, however, one would assume two TPs in the structure which are contained in the conjuncts, respectively. This test, therefore, indicates whether the conjuncts are at least the size of TP or smaller. For coordination constructions, the presence of two TAM markers is not problematic as the following examples in (123) display. This holds for the same as well as for different TAM markers.

- (123) a. Sa sasa e le faiaoga le tama ma la e taalo eJeanne ma  
 PST hit ERG ART teacher ART boy and GENR play ERG Jeanne  
 le maile.  
 with ART dog  
 ‘The teacher hit the boy and Jeanne plays with the dog.’
- b. Na maua e Petelo se ta’avale ma na gaoi e Malia le uila.  
 PST find ERG Peter ART car and PST steal ERG Mary ART bike  
 ‘Peter found a car and Mary stole a bike.’
- c. Sa gaoi e Peter se ta’avale ma la’a maua e Maria se uila.  
 PST steal ERG Peter ART car and FUT find ERG Mary ART bike  
 ‘Peter stole a car and Mary will find a bike.’

Therefore, it can be assumed that there is a TP present in each conjunct. The size of the conjuncts must at least have the size of a TP.

For subordination constructions the same is true, as shown in the following example (124) with the verb, interpreted in present tense in the first conjunct. Further, (125) displays two overt TAM markers in the fronted subordinative clause as well as in the matrix clause.

- (124) ∅ Fa’apea Robert, sa ta e Peter le maile.  
 PRS think Robert PST hit ERG Peter ART dog  
 ‘Robert thinks that Peter hit the dog.’
- (125) Sa ta e Peter le maile, na fa’apea ai Robert.  
 PST hit ERG Peter ART dog PST think REFL Robert  
 ‘That Peter hit the dog Robert thought.’

Here, the matrix clause and the embedded clause contain a TAM marker. Therefore, a TP must be present in each of the conjuncts.

Subject sharing constructions in (126), however, display a different pattern.

- (126) a. Sa ta le faia’oga<sub>i</sub> le tama ma sa siva \*(gaia<sub>i</sub>).  
 PST hit ART teacher ART boy and PST dance 3SG  
 ‘The teacher hit the boy and danced.’
- b. Sa ta le faia’oga<sub>i</sub> le tama ma la’a siva \*(gaia<sub>i</sub>).  
 PST hit ART teacher ART boy and FUT dance 3SG  
 ‘The teacher hit the boy and will dance.’
- c. Sa faatau le fafine<sub>i</sub> le taaloga ma la’a taalo (iai) \*(gaia<sub>i</sub>).  
 PST purchase ART woman ART game and FUT play it 3SG  
 ‘The woman bought the game and will play.’

The presence of a TAM marker in the first and second conjunct necessarily required the presence of a subject in the second conjunct. This holds for intransitive verbs (126), but also for transitive verbs (127).

- (127) Sa gaoi e Peter<sub>i</sub> se ta'avale ma la'a maua \*(gaia<sub>i</sub>) se uila.  
 PST steal ERG Peter ART car and FUT find 3SG ART bike  
 'Peter stole a car and will find a bike.'

The presence of two TAM markers and, thus, two TPs requires a subject in both conjuncts. This shows that only one TP and one TAM marker can be present in subject sharing constructions. Therefore, the conjuncts in these constructions must be smaller than a TP and both of them must be dominated by a single TP.

In summary, the results concerning the structure of Samoan subject sharing constructions present a rather mixed picture. While two of the tests (asymmetric extraction and ATB movement) clearly point towards a coordinative structure, three tests (interchangeability, negation and backwards pronominalisation) show that they behave neither like clausal coordination nor subordination constructions. In the following, I will briefly repeat the results and present the structural conclusions that can be drawn from them.

The first diagnostic, asymmetric extraction, revealed that subject sharing constructions in Samoan are coordinative rather than subordinative. This is displayed by the impossibility to asymmetrically extract out of only one conjunct, which is possible for subordination constructions. Similarly, the second diagnostic (ATB movement) also points towards a coordinative structure for subject sharing constructions. Due to the grammaticality of object ATB movement in subject sharing constructions, it can be assumed that the underlying structure must be coordinative. For the third, fourth and fifth diagnostic (interchangeability, negation, backwards pronominalisation), no clear results concerning the coordinative or subordinative structure can be obtained. This is due to the reason that, concerning the respective diagnostics, clausal coordination and subordination constructions display the same characteristics. Although a distinction cannot be made, the results reveal important information about the structure, nonetheless.

Subject sharing constructions allow for wide scope of negation. That is, both verb in both conjuncts are negated. Structurally, this suggests that the negation phrase (NegP) c-commands both conjuncts. This also matches the word order in surface structure where

the negation always precedes the verb.

The last diagnostic revealed that a TAM marker in each of the conjuncts of a subject sharing construction obligatorily requires a subject to be present in each of the conjuncts as well. However, this produces VSO&VSO word order which is a regular clausal coordination construction. This shows that in subject sharing constructions only one TAM marker and, thus, only one TP can be present. Since the entire sentence is interpreted according to the respective TAM marker, it can be assumed that the TP dominates both conjuncts.<sup>20</sup> In analogy to the NegP, the surface structure of the respective examples suggest that the TP dominates the NegP and, therefore, also both conjuncts including the verbs. In the following table, all results are summarised. The grey cells indicate the results for subject sharing as well as the matches with other constructions' results.

Test	coordination	subject sharing	subordination
1. Asymmetric extraction	n	n	y
2. ATB movement	y	y	n
3. Interchangeability	y	n	y
4. Wide negation scope	n	y	n
5. Backwards pronominalisation	n	y	n
6. Two TAM markers	y	n	y

Table 1: Overview of the characteristics of clausal coordination, subject sharing and subordination constructions in Samoan

#### 4.2.3 Low coordination: *vP* versus *VP*

An important issue of subject sharing in general concerns the absence of the subject in one of the conjuncts. While there are several claims as to what the underlying mechanism might be (see section 5.1), a more basic question must be addressed first, that is, whether there actually are two subject positions to begin with or not. In other words: are there

<sup>20</sup>I would like to report on the following conflicting data point, where the verb in the second conjunct can be interpreted in past tense or in present tense.

- (i) Sa fasi e le faiaoga le tama ma siva.  
 PAST hit ERG ART teacher ART boy and dance  
 'The teacher hit the boy and danced/dances.'

However, it is the only data point of this type that arose. Further, the judgments of the native speakers indicate that the default interpretation is past tense for both verbs.

two vPs or only one vP in the structure of Samoan subject sharing constructions? To shed some light on this enquiry, I chose three different diagnostics to be found in the literature, namely *free-agent-cumulativity*, the interpretation of *negative all-quantors*, and the *scope of vP-adjoining adverbs*. In this section, I will present the theoretical background and the underlying rationale for each of the diagnostics, followed by a brief presentation and discussion of the relevant data.

### **Free-agent-cumulativity**

One possibility to differentiate between vP-coordination and VP-coordination is *free-agent-cumulativity* in e(vent)-cumulation contexts. In the following, I will first provide some theoretical background on e-cumulation and the effect of *free-agent-cumulativity* in these environments. Subsequently, I will present and discuss the data for Samoan contexts.

E-cumulation refers to the idea that two or more atomic events (henceforth: subevents) can form a semantic plurality, that is, a cumulated plurality of events. The individual sub-events, however, are not necessarily directly related to one another concerning the order and causation. Since there is only one main event, it is assumed that agenthood is assigned to the entire plural subject and, therefore, only once.

Free-agent-cumulativity, on the other hand, means that plural agents can be cumulated freely over the plurality of subevents as for e-cumulation (Zimmermann & Amaechi, 2022, p. 20). In other words, given a plurality of events which consists of two subevents, a certain number of individual subparts of a plural agent can be ‘assigned’ to one subevent. The remaining subparts of the plural agent are ‘assigned’ to the other subevent. Consider the context in (128). In the case of the example in (128a), it is possible for the plural agentive subject ‘the children’ to cumulate over the plurality of subevents which is ‘bought five apples’. That is, (128a) is true in a situation in which a contextually given group of children bought five apples, with each child buying at least one apple.

(128) *Context: Mary and John have three children: Anna, Brian and Camelia. Anna goes to the supermarket in the morning to buy two apples. Later that day, Brian also goes to the supermarket to buy two apples. In the evening, Camelia buys one apple on her way home.*

a. The children bought five apples.

b. #The child bought five apples.

In contrast, example (128b) has a singular agentive subject. Therefore, there is no plural agent which can freely cumulated over the subevents. In this case, ‘the child’ is the sole agent of all subevents, and thus, of the cumulated event plurality. It is the same child which bought five apples.

With the plurality of agents comes one particular problem. Despite consisting of several individual entities, plural subjects can be interpreted as a group and, thus, as a single group of agents. In these cases, a cumulativity reading is possible, even if only subparts of the plural agent carry out the subevents. The plurality of events is perceived as a subpart of a plan executed as a collective by the group of agents. In contrast to *free (independent) agent cumulativity*, however, these are instances of *dependent cumulativity* (Zimmermann & Amaechi, 2022, p. 31). In the case of example (129) this means that a group of friends carried out the subevents as one group of agents, meaning that they are thought of following a collective plan. Under this reading, *free-agent-cumulativity* does not arise.

(129) *Context: Gary’s friends want to surprise him. They prepare six presents. While some friends wrap the presents, others tie them after they have been wrapped.*

The friends wrapped six presents and tied them.

Dependent cumulativity readings, however, are not possible in clear instances of *free-agent-cumulativity*. In order to rule out such readings, conflicting e-cumulations can be used. These contexts force a *free-agent-cumulativity* interpretation, since it is impossible that the described subevents are part of a collective enterprise of the plurality of agents. Consequently, the plurality of agents cannot be interpreted as a collectively acting group. An example is given in (130) where it is logically impossible for both agents, *Susi* and *Jean*, to parttake in both subevents. That is, one of them must prepare

the meal while the other one steals is, unbeknownst to the other. As can be seen in (130), English subject sharing constructions do not allow for this interpretation. Rather, both agents have to parttake in both subevents which reveals that the agents cannot freely cumulate over the subevents in English constructions like this.

- (130)     *Context: Susi and Jean are camping. While Susi prepares a meal, she turns her back to the stove. In that moment, Jean steals the meal.*  
               #Susi and Jean prepared a meal and stole it.

In these clear instances of *free-agent-cumulativity*, the interpretation necessarily changes. In an example like (130), the interpretation must be that the individual subparts of the plural agent *Susi and Jean* carried out one of the two independent subevents without the respective other agentive subpart knowing.

To map these semantic readings and interpretations to syntactic structures, the following correlations have to be considered. For this matter the possibility or impossibility of *free-agent-cumulativity* is key. On the one hand, if *free-agent-cumulativity* is possible, only one  $\nu P$  is thought to be present in the structure. Due to the fact that the subevents can be freely cumulated over the plurality of agents, the assumption is that the plural agentive subject is merged in Spec $\nu P$  as a whole. On the other hand, if *free-agent-cumulativity* is not possible, this consequently indicates that more than one  $\nu P$  is present in the structure. In this case it is assumed that the plurality of agents consists of actually distinct agents. That is, each agentive subpart originates in its own Spec $\nu P$  position. Therefore, at least two  $\nu P$ s must be present in the structure.

Importantly, *free-agent-cumulativity* suggests that either one  $\nu P$  or more than one  $\nu P$  is present in the structure. However, no actual structural relations can be derived. The core assumptions are summarised in (131).

- (131)     **Plurality of agents** ( $A1 + A2$ ) & **Multi-event VP** (sub-event1 + sub-event2)  
               *A1 does sub-event1 & A2 does sub-event2*  
                $\Rightarrow$  one  $\nu P$ , *free-agent-cumulativity*  
               *(A1 + A2) do sub-event1 & (A1 + A2) do sub-event2*  
                $\Rightarrow$  more than one  $\nu P$

The context and the corresponding example in (132) show, that *free-agent-cumulativity* is not available in Samoan subject sharing construction. The two agents cannot freely cumulate over the two sub-events. Rather, only a reading in which both of them carried out both actions is possible.

- (132) *Context: Yesterday, Ana and Myriam, two kids, were at a children's birthday party. One of them played and the other one destroyed the game.*

#Sa kalepe Ana ma Myriam le taaloga ma ta'aalo.

PST destroy Ana and Myriam ART game and play  
'Ana and Myriam destroyed the game and played.'

(meaning: Both of them destroyed the game and both of them played.)

This is in line with the results presented in Hopperdietzel (2020) for Samoan serial verb constructions. The fact that a *free-agent-cumulativity* interpretation of the sentence in (132) is not possible suggests that there are two *vPs* in the structure of Samoan subject sharing constructions. However, the context and the combination of the two sub-events make it difficult to logically assign only one of the agents to one of the sub-events. Therefore, I take this result as a suggestion, and leave further investigations to future research.

### Scope of negative all-quantors

Another diagnostic to differentiate between *vP*- and *VP*-coordination is to observe the interpretation of negative all-quantors. Regarding subject sharing constructions, the enquiry is whether one or two elements like *nobody*, which are assumed to reside in the specifier of *vP*, are present in the structure. The rationale behind that is the following. A sentence like (133) yields a different interpretation than the sentence in (134).

- (133) Nobody danced and sang.

$\neg \exists x [\text{danced}(x) \wedge \text{sang}(x)]$

'there is no individual *x* such that *x* danced and *x* sang'

- (134) Nobody danced and nobody sang.

$\neg (\exists x) [\text{danced}(x)] \wedge \neg (\exists y) [\text{sang}(y)]$

'there is no individual *x* such that *x* danced and there is no individual *y* such that *y* sang'



While in (134) the reading that *somebody danced* or that *somebody sang* is impossible, (133) allows for another interpretation. Here, the reading that *there is somebody who did both, dance and sing* is ruled out. However, it is still possible that *somebody danced* or *somebody sang*, doing only one of the two actions.

In order to find out whether the former or the latter interpretation holds for Samoan subject sharing constructions, two contexts (135) and (136) are needed. The context in (135) triggers an interpretation as in (133) such that there is nobody who both, *hit the boy* and *dance*. However, the other people in the context still *dance*. The second context in (136) aims at the interpretation along the lines of (134). That is, there is nobody at all who carried out any of the two actions *hit the boy* and *dance*. If the subject sharing construction is acceptable in the first context in (135), this is a sign of only one *nobody* in the structure and, therefore, only one *vP*. In contrast, if the construction fits the context in (136), this hints at two *vPs* since *nobody* must be present twice in the structure to match the specific interpretation.

- (135) Context: *Two boys, Benno and Jost, are arguing at a party. While everybody else is dancing, Jost hits Benno. Being angry, Jost is not dancing.*

a. #Leai se isi sa fasi le tama ma siva.  
not.exist ART other PST hit ART boy and dance  
'Nobody hit the boy and nobody danced.'  
[lit. No one exists who hit the boy and danced.]

- (136) Context: *Two boys, Benno and Jost, are arguing at a party. Jost is shouting at Benno, but he does not hit him. Due to the tense situation, no one is dancing.*

Leai se isi sa fasi le tama ma siva.  
not.exist ART other PST hit ART boy and dance  
'Nobody hit the boy and nobody danced.'

The results in this case are straightforward. While it is unacceptable to use the subject sharing construction in the context (135), it is completely acceptable to use it in context (136). Therefore, the interpretation of the subject sharing construction is that nobody did any of the two, *hit the boy* and *dance*.

Note, however, that there is no single element in the Samoan sentences which corresponds to English *nobody*. The meaning is rather conveyed by the phrasal constituent *leai se isi* 'no one exists' which appears sentence-initially. That is, it does not appear in

the same position the subjects usually appear in. Moreover, it precedes the TAM marker which scopes over both conjuncts (as suggested in section 4.2.2). In that case, it must be assumed that it also scopes over both conjuncts. This, however, would render impossible a distinction as described above. In other words, as long as the negative all-quantor phrase scopes over both conjuncts, one cannot expect the interpretation in (133) to arise. Since the wide scope always triggers a reading corresponding to (134), it cannot be clearly determined whether the subject sharing constructions have one or two *v*Ps. Overall, however, the results were rather robust, and the topic should be investigated further in future research.

### Adverbial scope

A third diagnostic to differentiate between *v*P- and VP-coordination comes in the form of adverbial scope. The test bases on the assumption that adverbs like *already* or *still* adjoin to *v*P or to a higher projection like an aspect phrase (AspectP). Therefore, the adverb takes scope over the entire *v*P. Consequently, one would expect that in a coordination of two *v*Ps an adverb in the first conjunct scopes only over the first, but not the second conjunct. The opposite is expected for VP-coordination. In that case, the adverb should scope over both conjuncts, since a VP-coordination would be dominated by a single *v*P.<sup>21</sup> The following examples in (137) display the mechanism for VP-coordination in English. The adverbs *already* and *still* take scope over the entire coordination and, thus, over both conjuncts.

- (137) a. She had **already** [[seen the movie] and [written a review]].  
 b. He was **still** [[writing a review] and [waiting for inspiration]].

Therefore, the respective adverb is interpreted with respect to both conjuncts. That is, the interpretation in (137a) equates to ‘she had already seen the movie and already written a review’. Analogously, (137b) is interpreted as ‘he was still writing a review and still waiting for inspiration’.

The examples in (138a) and (138b) reveal that the adverb in subject sharing only scopes over the first and not the second conjunct.

<sup>21</sup>However, both predictions fail if the adverb adjoins to AspectP, since then a *v*P-coordination dominated by a single AspectP would also be possible.

(138) Context: In a kindergarten, some children are playing a game. While all the other children are standing, one child, Luna, is sitting on the ground.

- a. Ua sa nofo e Luna i le folo ma taalo.  
 PRF PST sit ERG Luna LD ART floor and play  
 ‘Luna already sat on the ground and played.’  
 (Luna was sitting on the floor before others did, but she did not play before others did.)
- b. Lena sa nofo a e Luna i le folo ma taalo.  
 PST sit still ERG Luna LD ART floor and play  
 ‘Luna still sat on the ground and played.’  
 (Luna was sitting on the floor and played while others were playing, but they were not sitting on the ground anymore.)

Given the context above, the sentence in (138a) is interpreted such that *Luna* was sitting on the ground before other children also sat down. This reading, however, does not transfer to the *playing*. That is, *Luna* did not play before the other children did. In (138b), the interpretation is analogous. Here, *Luna* is the last one sitting on the ground, but she is not the last one playing. Note that the adverb *a* ‘still’ is present in example (138b), but there is no individual element with the meaning of *already* in example (138a).

The missing adverb in example (138a) gives rise to the idea that the element which is responsible for the *already* interpretation is actually the TAM marker.<sup>22</sup> Evidence comes from the sentence in (139) from Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992, p. 773).

- (139) Ua uma ona ai le teine.  
 PRF complete CONJ eat ART girl  
 ‘The girl has already eaten.’  
 [lit.: It is completed that the girl has eaten]

This is a similar issue to the one described in the last section regarding negative all-quantors. An interesting consequence of this assumption is that it remains unclear why only the first conjunct is interpreted in terms of *already*. However, this is not the first instance of unexpectedly early termination of a scope domain. In section 4.2.2, a similar pattern arose for negation scope. This is a phenomenon that should be looked into in

<sup>22</sup>Regarding the scope of the TAM marker, it remains unclear why only the first conjunct is interpreted for perfect. However, similar results were obtained for the scope of negation in section 4.2.2.

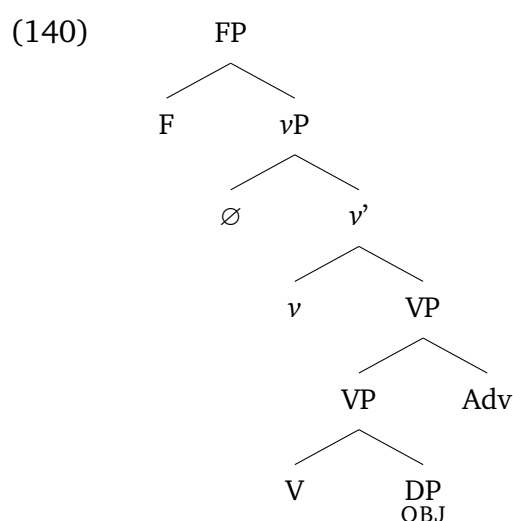
future research.

In example (138b), however, there is an overt adverb which occurs to the right of the first verb. This suggests that Samoan subject sharing constructions involve  $\nu$ P-coordination. The result also provides further evidence for the predicate-fronting approach. Since the adverb *a* ‘still’ adjoins to  $\nu$ P, it is assumed to appear to the left of the subject in Spec $\nu$ P, but to the right of the fronted VP which, in the case of (138b), only consists of the verb.

Concludingly, these diagnostics lack data as well as an in-depth analysis of the Samoan language, in order to make a convincing argument. As can be seen clearly from the negative all-quantor test, not all diagnostics found in the literature are applicable to Samoan. Thus, further research and applicable diagnostics are needed to come to a less vague conclusion. I take the results in this section as a suggestion. However, for the remainder of this thesis, I will also consider the possibility of VP-coordination.

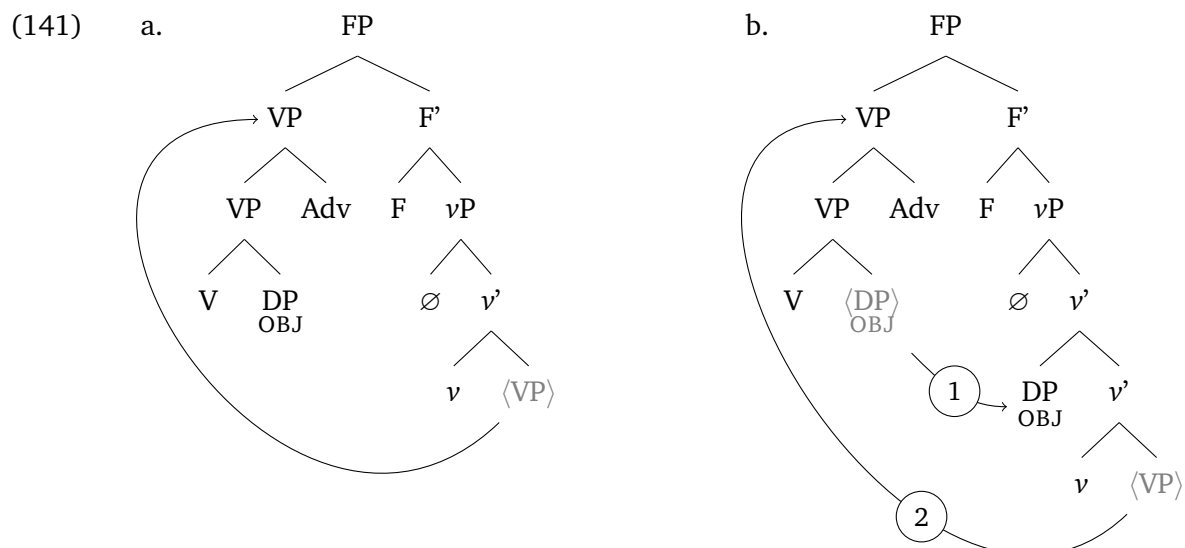
#### 4.2.4 Predicate fronting in coordinative constructions

The assumption of predicate fronting yields a diagnostic which can be used to further examine the size of the second conjunct. In detail, the predicate fronting approach predicts that any material within or adjoined to VP is raised to a position higher than the subject (SpecFP, Collins, 2017). Since objects can occur in the second conjunct of Samoan subject sharing constructions, one can observe whether or not the predicate fronts in the second conjunct. That is, in the structure in (140a), the VP with an adverbial adjunct displays VOADV order. The adverb precedes neither the subject nor the object.



Thus, if the observed word order in the second conjunct corresponds to the structure in (140), the adjunct must follow the object. In that case the size of the second constituent would probably be smaller than FP.

If, however, predicate fronting takes place in the second conjunct, there are two possibilities. First, if the object does not move out of the VP, the base-generated VOADV order remains (141a). Since there is no (overt) subject present in the second conjunct, the surface structure is identical to the base-generated word order. Thus, there would be no difference between the *in-situ*-configuration and predicate fronting. Second, if the object does move out of the VP, a new word order of VADVO should arise (see (141b)). Since the entire VP is fronted without the object, the adverb should precede the object. This would be a clear indication that the predicate fronts in the second conjunct. Further, the second conjunct would be expected to have at least the size of FP, since the specifier of FP provides the landing site for the fronted VP.



According to Collins (2017), the adverb *vave* ‘quickly’ attaches to VPs. Two main clauses from Milner (1966, 315, cited in Collins 2017, p. 20) are given in (142).

- (142) a. ‘ua sau vave le teine.  
 PERF come quickly ART girl  
 ‘The girl came quickly.’  
 (The action of *arriving* was done in a quick manner.)
- b. ‘ua vave sau le teine.  
 PERF quickly come ART girl  
 ‘The girl came quickly.’  
 (The action of *arriving* began early.)

The adverb can occur in two positions. Firstly, *vave* ‘quickly’ can follow the verb. In this case, it modifies the verb as indicated by the semantic interpretation in (142a). Secondly, the adverb can also precede the verb which leads to the interpretation that the action started ‘earlier than expected’, cf. (142b).<sup>23</sup> This shows that position of the adverb is closely related to the level of adjunctions and, thus, to the semantic interpretation. The following data will be of the former type displayed in (142a).

As displayed in the following examples of clausal coordination, the position of the adverb is highly restricted. This, however, is expected since predicate fronting must take place in both conjuncts of a clausal coordination. Therefore, *vave* ‘quickly’ must precede the subject. In the following examples, it can only follow the verb as in (143) and cannot appear conjunct-finally as in (144).

<sup>23</sup>I thank Jens Hopperdietzel for pointing this out to me.

- (143) Na maua vave e Petelo se ta'avale ma na gaoi vave e Malia  
 PST find quickly ERG Peter ART car and PST steal quickly ERG Mary  
 le uila.  
 ART bike  
 'Peter quickly found a car and Mary quickly stole a bike.'
- (144) \*Na maua e Petelo se ta'avale vave ma na gaoi e Malia le uila  
 PST find ERG Peter ART car quickly and PST steal ERG Mary ART bike  
 vave.  
 quickly  
 'Peter quickly found a car and Mary quickly stole a bike.'

This also holds for only one conjunct. In (145), the adverb is in the correct position in the first conjunct, but not in the second. Again, the ungrammaticality is expected, since a subject is present in both conjuncts which must be preceded by the adverb.

- (145) \*Na maua vave e Petelo se ta'avale ma na gaoi e Malia le uila  
 PST find quickly ERG Peter ART car and PST steal ERG Mary ART bike  
 vave.  
 quickly  
 'Peter quickly found a car and Mary quickly stole a bike.'

Interestingly, the subject sharing constructions behave similarly regarding the position of the adverb. Without a subject in the second conjunct, the indication of whether or not predicate fronting takes place depends on the order of the object and the adverb. If the order is ADV O, this would hint at predicate fronting in the second conjunct. As the examples in (146) and (147) display, the prediction is borne out.

- (146) \*Lena sa fasi vave e le fafine le tama ma lafo se tusi vave.  
 PST beat quickly ERG ART woman ART boy and send ART letter quickly  
 'The woman quickly hit the boy and and quickly sent a letter.'
- (147) Lena sa fasi vave e le fafine le tama ma lafo vave se tusi.  
 PST beat quickly ERG ART woman ART boy and send quickly ART letter  
 'The woman quickly hit the boy and quickly sent a letter.'

As can be seen in example (146), it is not possible for the adverb in the second conjunct to follow the object. It must precede the object instead, cf. (147). Therefore, the position of the adverb suggests that the predicate fronts in the second conjunct. The same holds for the first conjunct.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, it might be assumed that both conjuncts are at

<sup>24</sup>This is in line with *parallelism requirements* in coordinative structures (Fox, 1999; Franks, 1993;

least an FP with the structure presented in (141b).

However, it must be noted that the placement of the adverb can only provide evidence for predicate fronting, if a subject is present. That is, the crucial indicator is the order of subject and adverb. While ADVS order is observed in the case of predicate-fronting, it should be SADV order if predicate fronting does not apply. Since there is no subject in the second conjunct, the data displayed in this chapter provide evidence for predicate fronting in the first, but not in the second conjunct. Further, it is not clear how the object and the adverb are ordered relative to each other in their *in-situ* configuration. This word order is never overtly displayed.

Overall, the data show that predicate fronting applies in the first and second conjunct in clausal coordination. For subject sharing constructions, this cannot be determined with certainty. The missing subject in the second conjunct makes it impossible to observe the position of the adverb relative to the position of the subject. As with previous tests, I take this result as a suggestion. In this thesis, I will not assume the conjuncts in subject sharing constructions to necessarily have the size of FP. Future research should rather focus on diagnostics like *free-agent-cumulativity*, as the results would be more reliable.

### 4.3 Interim Summary

Before I will present and discuss possibilities of how to derive Samoan subject sharing construction, I will briefly summarise the past sections. The overview will follow the order of appearance and focus on the main results only.

In section 4.1, three peculiarities regarding Samoan conjunction reduction were observed. First, the data show that subjects and objects do not display the same restrictions regarding sharing constructions. Objects cannot be shared in general while subjects sharing is possible. Second, case marking has no effect on the interpretation if the sentence does not display the canonical word order of VSO. I concluded that word order is more dominant than case marking regarding the interpretation. Third, I illustrated the main issue concerning the position of the subject in surface structure. Further, I suggested that there are two underlying issues which arise due to the *Double-Duty-Problem* (148).

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Grosu, 1985, among many others).



(148) *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)

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.

In an attempt to solve the *Double-Duty-Problem*, the possibility of *pro*-drop in Samoan was evaluated in section 4.2.1. The data presented there suggest that Samoan does not allow for *pro*-drop. Challenging data from other authors have been argued to not convincingly prove that *pro*-drop is possible. On this basis, I concluded that the *Double-Duty-Problem* and, thus, subject sharing constructions cannot be explained by *pro*-drop. Another possible solution for the *Double-Duty-Problem* is that subject sharing constructions are subordinative rather than coordinative conjunctions. This idea was put to a test in section 4.2.2. The diagnostics revealed the following results.

Regarding asymmetric extraction and object ATB movement, subject sharing constructions patterned with clausal coordination. The diagnostics involving interchangeability, negation, and backwards pronominalisation provided no clear results concerning a coordinative or subordinative structure. This was due to the reason that clausal coordination and subordination constructions behaved alike in these contexts. Therefore, no discrimination between the two was possible. I adopt the result of the first two tests and assume that Samoan sharing constructions involve a coordinative structure. Furthermore, the data showed that subject sharing constructions allow for wide negation scope from within the first conjunct, meaning that both conjuncts are in the scope of the negation. This result, and the negation's position in surface structure led to the assumption that the negation phrase c-commands both conjuncts. The final diagnostic revealed that the structure of subject sharing constructions contains only one TAM marker and, thus, only one TP. Two TAM markers, and thus two TPs, require an overt subject in the second conjunct which, consequently, is a clausal coordination with VSO&VSO order. Since the TAM marker precedes the negation in surface structure, I assume the TP to dominate the

NegP. I also concluded that the individual conjuncts must be smaller than TP in subject sharing constructions while in clausal coordination, the conjuncts must be at least the size of TP.

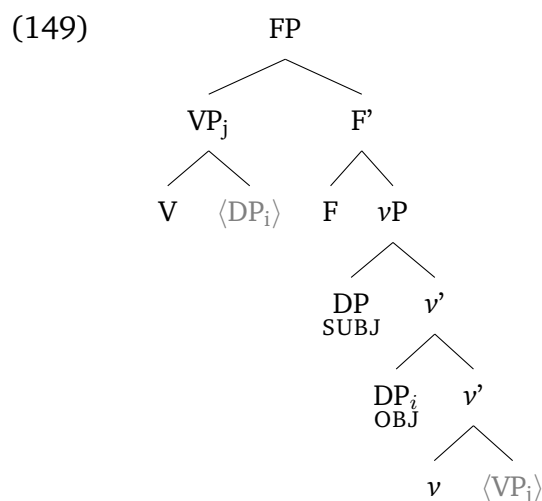
In an effort to find out more about the structure of the conjuncts in subject sharing, I presented sentences with  $\nu$ P-adjoining adverbs in the second conjunct in section 4.2.4. The position of the adverb provided evidence that predicate fronting takes place in the second conjunct. Based on this result, I concluded that the conjuncts in subject sharing constructions must be at least the size of FP. Consequently, section 4.2.3 aimed at revealing more information about the level of coordination. That is, I employed three different diagnostics to differentiate between  $\nu$ P- and VP-coordination. Despite the fact that one of them hinted at coordination of two  $\nu$ Ps, none of the tests provided a clear result. Although, I do not exclude the possibility of  $\nu$ P-coordination, more research including a multitude of applicable diagnostics has to be conducted on this particular area to obtain reliable results.

Overall, the results rule out clausal coordination to be the underlying structure of subject sharing constructions. Rather, they hint at coordination which applies low in the structure. In the following section, I will discuss two possible derivations which aim at solving the *Double-Duty-Problem* including the underlying issues. The results obtained in section 4.2 will be incorporated in the respective analyses.

## 5 Structural derivation of Samoan subject sharing

The problems and peculiarities observed in the past sections create a puzzle which appears to be more difficult than expected. A similar puzzle is found in German SLF constructions, as already described in section 4.1.4. However, the question remains how subject sharing can be derived structurally and how low the coordination applies.

In the following, I will present two possible solutions to the *Double-Duty-Problem* and evaluate them regarding their ability to derive Samoan subject sharing constructions. Throughout the analyses, I will adopt the predicate-internal structure as well as the VP-fronting approach from Collins (2017).<sup>25</sup> That is, VSO order is derived by movement of the object to an intermediate projection of  $\nu$ P and subsequent VP-fronting to SpecFP. Further, I adopt from Collins (2017) the predicate-internal structure in (149).



Further, I will base the structural analyses on the results from the previous section, namely that (i) subject sharing constructions include a coordinative structure which applies below TP, and (ii) there is only one TP in the structure. The remaining suggestions from other diagnostics (see sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4) will not be discussed regarding the structure, since they require further research. The remaining questions regarding the *Double-Duty-Problem*, and similarly the *Subject-Scope-Issue* and the *Subject-Absence-Issue*, will be discussed for of the respective derivations in the following sections. That is, I will investigate whether or not these approaches can solve the *Double-Duty-Problem*. More importantly, however, this section aims at discussing how low the coordination in

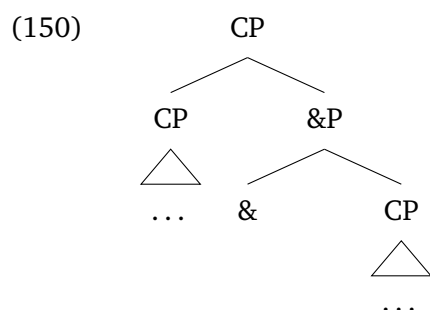
<sup>25</sup>Whether or not the same derivations and analyses might work under a different V1 approach will not be discussed in this thesis and is left for future research.

Samoan subject sharing applies.

In section 5.1, I will briefly present the structure for clausal coordination, and I will point out why it cannot be the correct structure (see also section 4.2.2). I will then turn to predicate coordination in section 5.2. I will present FP-coordination as well as VP-coordination and discuss the respective advantages and disadvantages. Lastly, section 5.3 focusses on a mixture of two approaches, namely VP-coordination and *distributed deletion*.

## 5.1 Clausal coordination

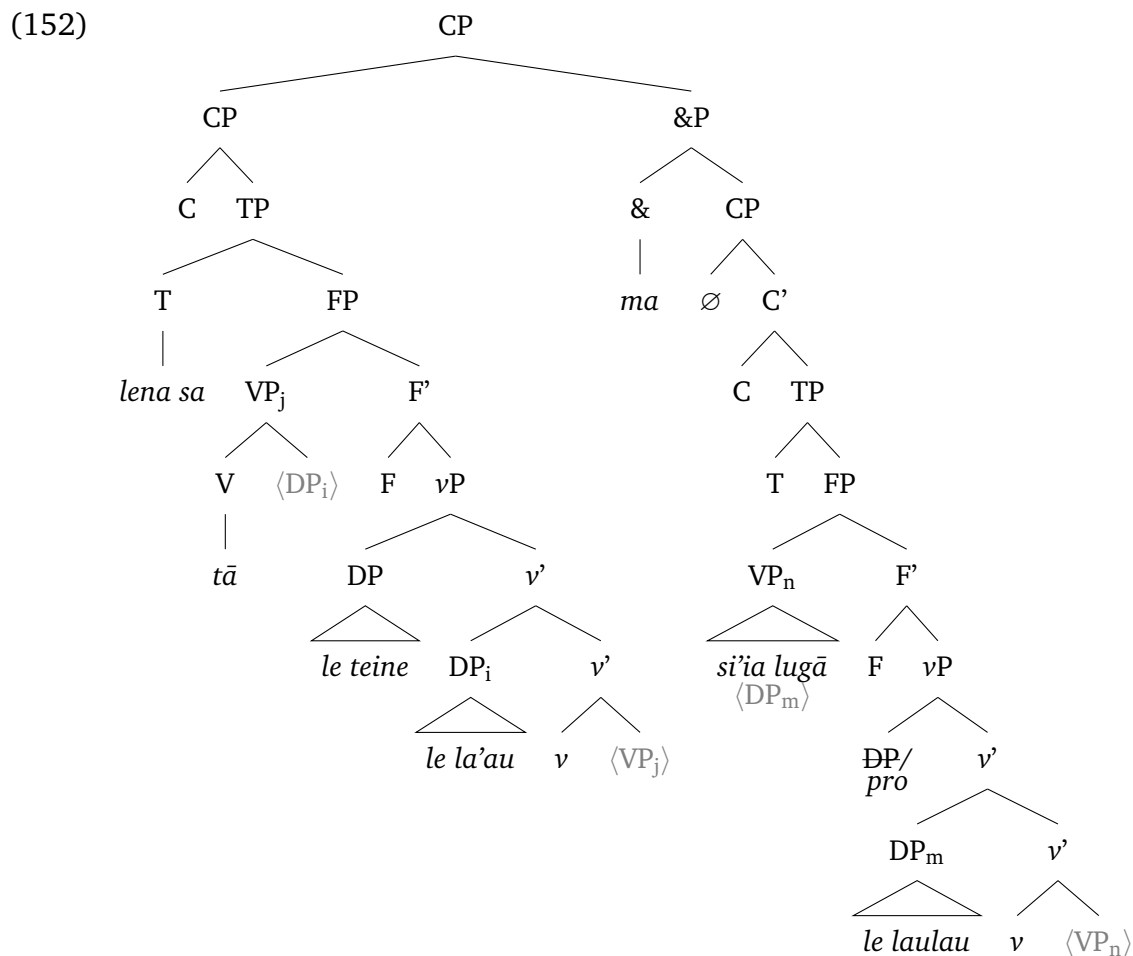
The underlying idea of clausal coordination is to coordinate two entire clauses, yielding a coordination of CPs (Fanselow, 1991; Fortmann, 2005; Hartmann, 1994; Wilder, 1994, among others). Following Collins (2017), I assume the ConjP to be adjoined to the first CP conjunct. For reasons of specificity, I will indicate the conjunction phrase as a coordination phrase (&P). The tree in (150) displays this structure. Since the highest projection in each conjunct is CP, coordination structures of this type also involve two TPs and two *v*Ps.



Since both conjuncts contain their own *v*- projection, there must be two subjects in the structure, as they are base-generated in Spec*v*P.<sup>26</sup> Transferred to a Samoan subject sharing construction (151), the following structure (152) can be assumed.

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

<sup>26</sup>This is not true for all accounts, since only Fortmann (2005) assumes a Spec*v*P base-generation of the subject in the second conjunct. Wilder (1994), Fanselow (1991), and Hartmann (1994) base-generate the subject in the specifier of CP in the second second conjunct (Barnickel, 2017).



Clausal coordination circumvents two major issues. Firstly, there is no violation of the CSC because the object moves inside the conjuncts. Although, this has not been concerning to this point, we will see in the following section that this is a major issue for predicate coordination (cf. section 5.2). In terms of object movement, it does not violate the CSC in clausal coordination. Regarding the second major issue, namely the *Subject-Absence-Issue*, there exist different generative approaches as to how a structural derivation might look like. The two main accounts involve either ellipsis (Fortmann, 2005; Wilder, 1994) or an empty *pro* instead of the subject Fanselow (1991) and Hartmann (1994). That is, the subject in the second conjunct is either elided or there is no overt subject to begin with. In the latter case, an empty *pro* is base-generated in the subject position.

However, due to the observations from section 4.2.2 and 4.2.4, this structure cannot be correct for Samoan subject sharing constructions. Firstly, a coordination of CPs does not straightforwardly derive the fact that the conjuncts must be smaller than TPs. Recall that two TPs in a Samoan coordination necessarily require an overt subject in the

second conjunct which always leads to clausal coordination with VSO&VSO order. One possibility to get around this problem in the case of clausal coordination is to assume a similar mechanism for the subject as well as for the TAM marker and negation. That is, the TAM marker or negation might also be elided, for instance. However, I argue that the conjuncts are smaller than TPs which makes this structure incompatible with subject sharing constructions.

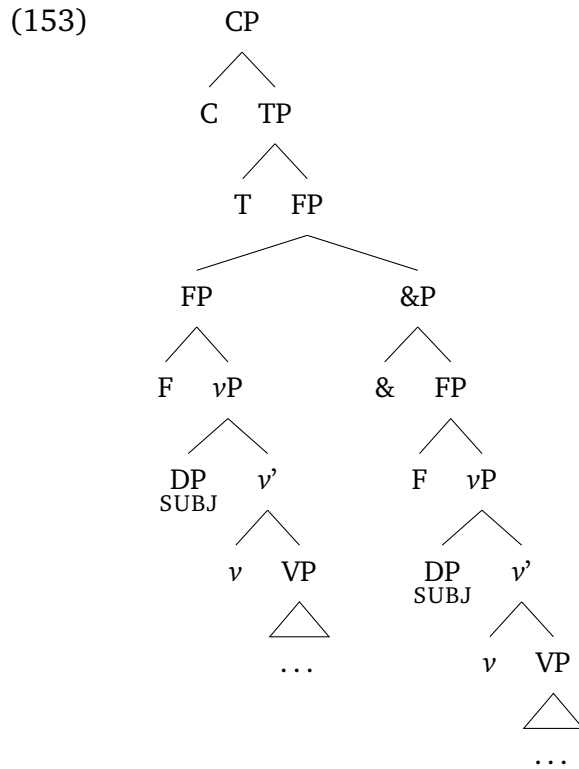
Further, clausal coordination cannot derive and account for the scope effects. The subject is deeply embedded within the first conjunct and there is no possibility to take scope over the second conjunct. This, however, would be expected in order to derive the subject's interpretation in both conjuncts. Therefore, while the *Subject-Absence-Issue* can be derived to a certain degree, the *Subject-Scope-Issue* cannot.

In conclusion, a coordination structure with clausal conjuncts is not suited to derive Samoan subject sharing constructions. While the general idea of employing mechanisms like subject ellipsis or an empty *pro* instead of the subject in the second conjunct might be applicable, the overall structure does not match the results from section 4.2. Furthermore, the clausal conjunction account cannot provide an explanation for the *Subject-Scope-Issue*.

## 5.2 Predicate coordination

In contrast to clausal coordination, the conjuncts in predicate coordination are smaller than CP. Thus, it can be considered an instance of *low coordination* – that is, a coordination which is situated low in the structure. The advantage of this approach is the derivation of the *Subject-Scope-Issue* by assuming that the subject is base-generated outside of the coordination. It has been suggested for German SLF-constructions by Wunderlich (1988), Höhle (2019c), Heycock and Kroch (1993), Johnson (2002), and Kathol (1995, 1999). In the following, I will discuss two structures for Samoan subject sharing constructions. First, I will focus on FP-coordination, and second, on VP-coordination.

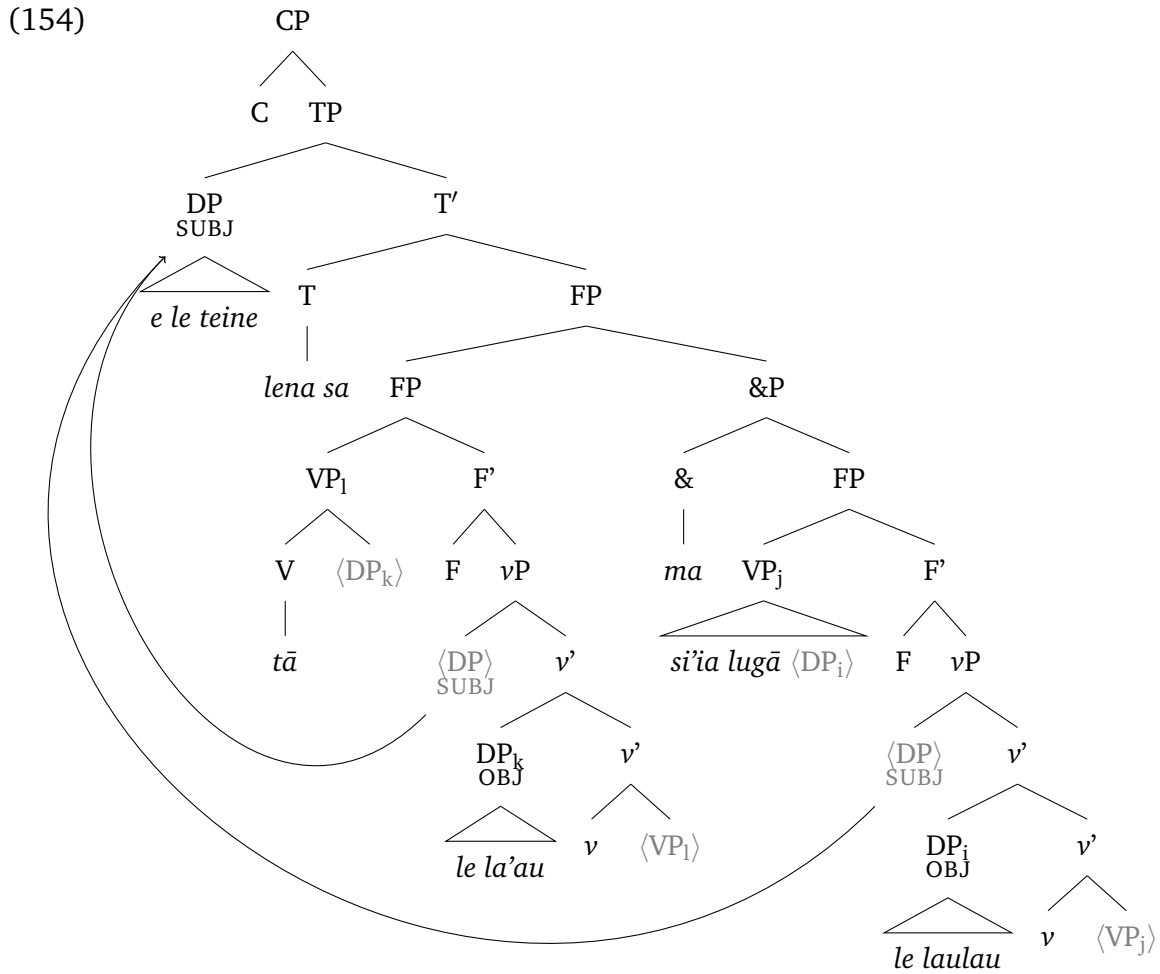
In FP-coordination, the two FP-conjuncts are coordinated below TP. Therefore, only one TP is present in the structure. Furthermore, each conjunct contains a subject. This, consequently results in overall two subjects in the structure. In this regard, FP-coordination is similar to clausal coordination. The general structure is displayed in (153).



In order to derive the absence of the subject in the second conjunct (*Subject-Absence-Issue*), one could assume similar solutions as have been proposed for clausal coordination, namely ellipsis or an empty *pro* element in SpecvP in the second conjunct. As is the case for clausal coordination, the *Subject-Scope-Issue* would still remain under this account. In contrast to clausal coordination, however, FP-coordination allows for yet another structural mechanism to derive the *Double-Duty-Problem*. As is displayed in the following structure (155), the subject can be moved via ATB movement from both conjuncts to SpecTP.<sup>27</sup> The corresponding sentence (154) is repeated here for convenience.

<sup>27</sup>The arrows are not meant to indicate any particular theoretical assumption concerning the mechanism underlying ATB movement.

- (151) Lena sa tā le teine le la'au ma si'ia lugā le laulau.  
 PST hit ART girl ART tree and lift up ART table  
 'The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.'



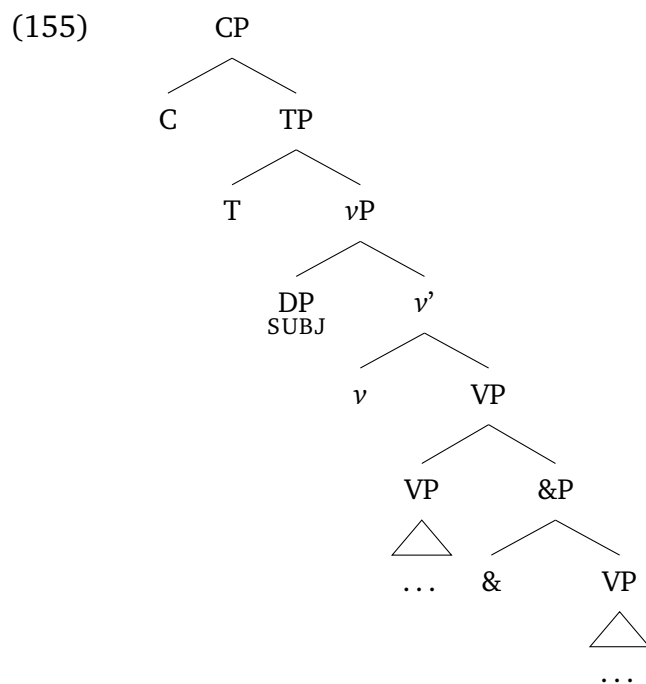
The advantages of this approach are that, firstly, the *Double-Duty-Problem* can be solved via ATB movement. Positioning the coreferential subject in SpecTP can derive the scope of the subject over both conjuncts and, thus, solves the *Subject-Scope-Issue*. Further, since there is only one subject present, it appears in surface structure as if the subject is absent in the second conjunct. Second, there is only one TAM-marker and, thus, one TP in the structure. The TAM-marker in T takes scope over both conjuncts.

A major disadvantage of this approach, however, is that it derives the incorrect word order of STAMVO&VO. The ATB movement leads to the subject appearing in sentence-initial position which renders impossible the expected predicate-initial order. This cannot be solved by further movement. For instance, head movement of V from the first conjunct to C is not possible, since (i) the VP is frozen after it has moved to SpecFP, and (ii) it would violate the CSC. Additionally, this would not solve the word order issues, but



rather produce *V S TAM O* order. In summary, this approach cannot flawlessly derive Samoan subject sharing constructions.

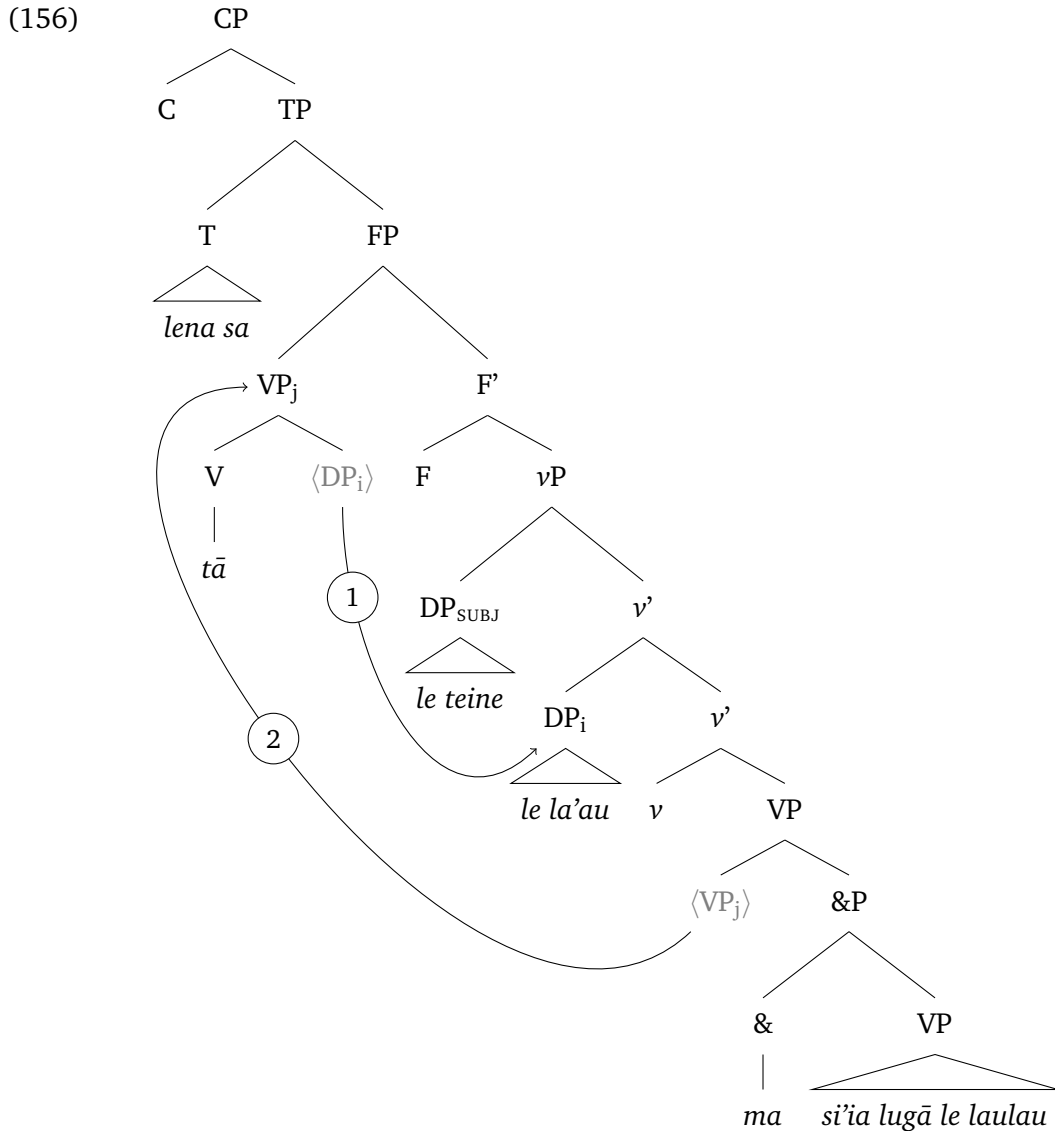
The second type of predicate coordination assumes VP-coordination. That is, the conjuncts are VPs and include the verb and the object, but not the subject which is base-generated in SpecvP. Apart from the fact that the coordination applies on a lower level, the structure of VP-coordination (155) is very similar to that of FP-coordination.



Overall, there are a number of advantages to this approach. In contrast to clausal coordination and FP-coordination, the subject in (155) is not deeply embedded in the first conjunct, but c-commands both conjuncts in its base-generated position in SpecvP. Therefore, the *Subject-Scope-Issue* never arises in this structure. Furthermore, the *Subject-Absence-Issue* does not arise either, since there is only one subject in the structure to begin with. This structure, thus, resembles that of an English subject sharing construction. The fact that the TAM-marker takes scope over both conjuncts as well, can derive the fact that only one TAM-marker is necessary in a subject sharing construction. Most importantly, with this approach, the correct word order can be derived by fronting the first VP-conjunct. In detail, since the subject is positioned in a position below FP, the fronting of VP to SpecFP necessarily moves past the subject, yielding VS order. Due to the low coordination of two VPs (cf. Keine, 2013 for subject sharing in same subject switch reference contexts), I will refer to this approach as *low VP-coordination*. The structure in

(157) refers to the sentence in (156), repeated here for convenience.

- (151) Lena sa tā le teine le la'au ma si'ia lugā le laulau.  
PST hit ART girl ART tree and lift up ART table  
'The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.'



A coordination of two VP-conjuncts can derive the coordinative properties of the construction. However, this approach is not without problems. Most importantly, a CSC violation arises due to the asymmetric extraction of the object out of the first conjunct. The reason for that is twofold. First, only if the object moves out of VP, VSO order can be derived. Second, the object must move first due to the fact, that the VP becomes a frozen category after it has been moved (Culicover and Wexler, 1977; Ross, 1967; Wexler and Culicover, 1980; Corver, 2017 for an overview). If the object did not move

out beforehand, VOS order would be the only possible word order. Note, however, that the extraction of the entire VP does not necessarily present an instance of asymmetric extraction. Following H. Oda (2017, 2021) idea to split the CSC into two conditions, Samoan could theoretically be a language which allows for extractions of a conjunct (in this case VP), but not out of a conjunct (as for the object movement). Whether or not this is the case will be left open for future research.

Overall, FP- as well as VP-coordination as presented in this section cannot flawlessly derive Samoan subject sharing constructions. The major issues concerning the derivation and the structure are the word order for FP-coordination and a violation of the CSC for VP-coordination. However, VP-coordination can derive the *Double-Duty-Problem* without issues by positioning the coordination below *vP*. As I will show in the following section, the general structure of VP-coordination can be used to derive the *Double-Duty-Problem* in combination with other mechanisms.

### 5.3 Combining VP-coordination and distributed deletion

Another approach which might be combined with VP-coordination to derive the structure of Samoan subject sharing constructions is *distributed deletion* (Fanselow & Ćavar, 2002).<sup>28</sup> Originally presented as an explanation for split DPs in German and Croatian, the mechanism might potentially derive the properties of subject sharing while simultaneously solve the *Double-Duty-Problem*. In the following, I will briefly present the structural and functional details of *distributed deletion*, leaving aside the featural motivation of the specific steps. Subsequently, I will transfer the approach to Samoan subject sharing constructions and discuss the advantages and disadvantages.

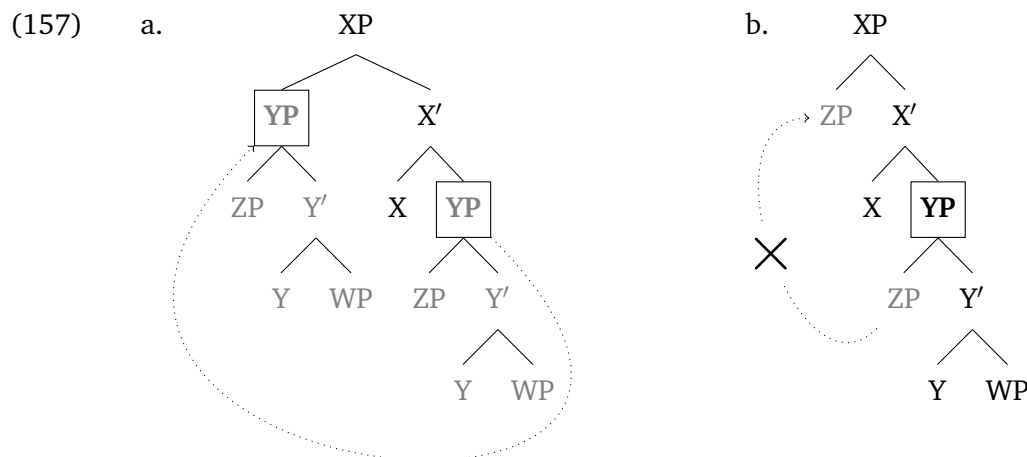
The *distributed deletion* approach can be thought of as a copy and deletion exploit approach which was first proposed in Fanselow and Ćavar (2002) for split DPs. It bases and capitalises on the assumption that movement does consist of not one, but two independent steps, namely copy and delete (Chomsky, 1995; Nunes, 2001, 2004, 2011). Under ‘normal’ circumstances, that is, standard movement, the respective element is copied. Then the copy surfaces in the landing site while the lower copy is either deleted or made invisible to the PF component. Importantly, Fanselow and Ćavar (2002) assume that the deletion of the copy left behind does not automatically follow from movement.

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<sup>28</sup>I thank Kenyon Branan for this suggestion.

If movement applies, however, it can do so *partially* to both copies.

A further crucial assumption is that a barrier for movement itself can be split up.<sup>29</sup> In other words, the barrier prevents movement of elements it dominates, but the barrier itself, including the elements it dominates, can move. Consider a coordination construction which is a barrier for movement in that it does not allow for movement out of one of its conjuncts (CSC). While one cannot move elements out of the conjuncts, the entire coordination phrase can be moved. Overall, this allows for a mechanism that copies a constituent which cannot be extracted from, and places the copy in a specific landing site.<sup>30</sup> Thus, there are two identical copies in the structure containing the same material (via chain-formation). This mechanism is presented in (157) where YP is a movement barrier, the dotted arrows indicate the copying mechanism and the grey nodes represent copied material.



As presented in the structure in (157a), the copy-mechanism can apply if the barrier itself is copied. If it is blocked by a barrier, movement cannot take place cf. (157b).

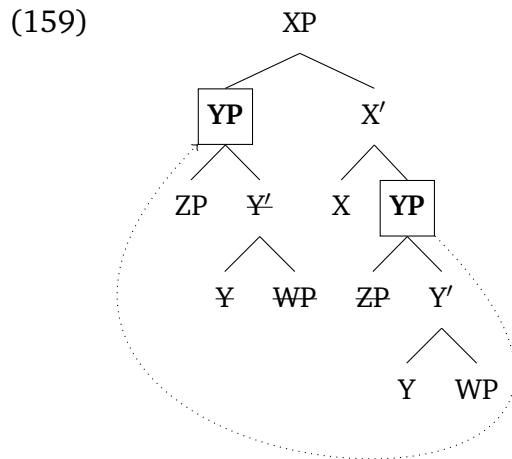
Fanselow and Ćavar (2002) refer to Höhle (2019b) and Pesetsky (1998) for evidence regarding the distinct treatment of copying material and (partially) deleting copies. That is, Höhle (2019b) argues that ‘light’ *wh*-phrases are not always able to detect a Copy-Construction and, thus, multiple copies are realised as in (158). Moreover, Pesetsky (1998) claims that resumptive pronouns are leftovers of partially deleted copies.

<sup>29</sup>The term *barrier* is not necessarily to be understood in terms of Chomsky (1986) but can relate to any movement-blocking structure like islands and similar configurations, for instance the CSC.

<sup>30</sup>Fanselow and Ćavar (2002) add that barriers which dominate the copied barrier cannot be disregarded.

- (158) wer denkst du denn wer du bist?  
 who think you PTC who you are  
 ‘Who do you think you are?’ (Fanselow & Ćavar, 2002, p. 14)

In general, the *distributed deletion* approach follows the rationale that there are more “legal modes of treating chains in terms of phonological realizations” (Fanselow & Ćavar, 2002, p. 14). Therefore, the main idea is that the deletion mechanism might not only apply to the higher or the lower copy, but it might also partially apply to both such that the respective XP appears as having been split by movement. That is, the upper and lower copy can be partially realised regarding the phonetic material, cf, (159) where deletion is indicated by strikethrough and spell-out by black font. Note that this structure results in the same surface structure as the impossible structure in (157b).

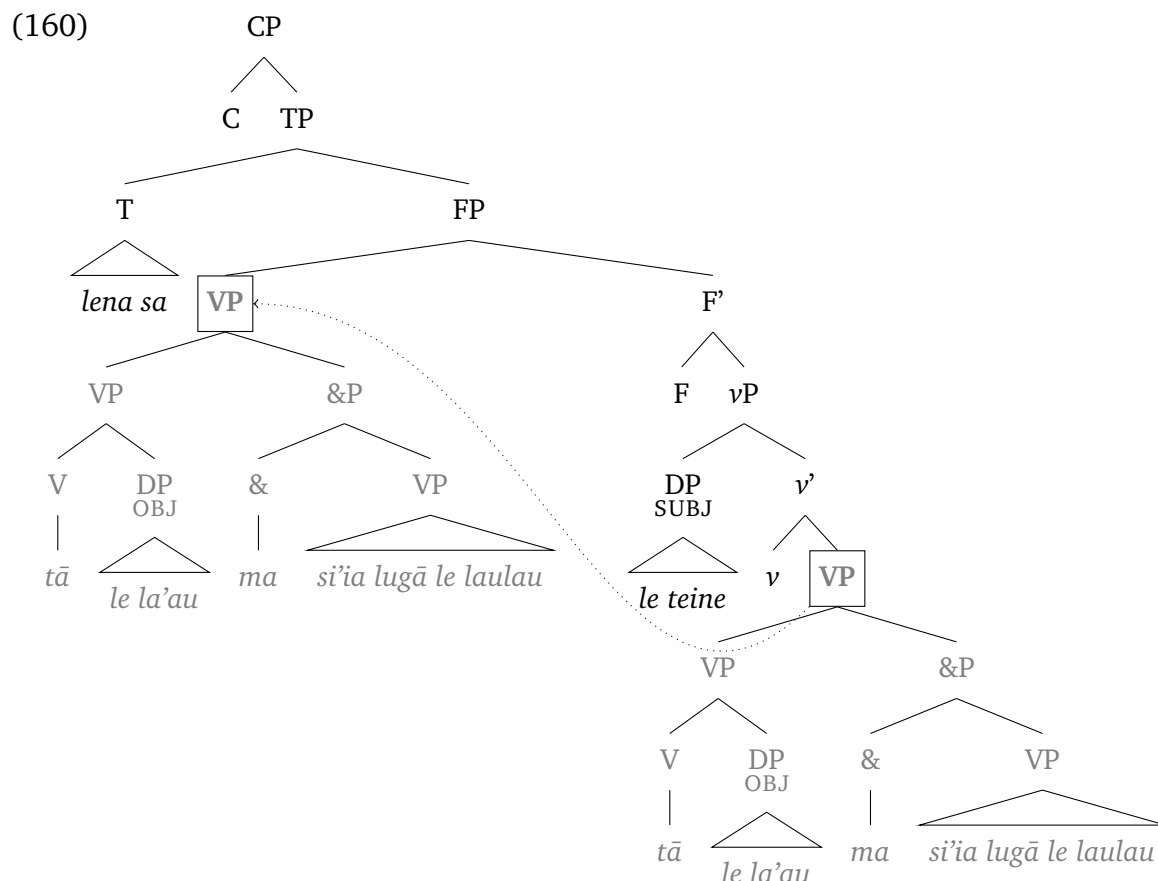


Since I have argued for low coordination to apply in the case of subject sharing. I will continue to assume VP-coordination as displayed in the preceding section. Further, I will show that a combination of VP-coordination and *distributed deletion* can derive the properties of Samoan subject sharing constructions (see van Urk, 2022 for a similar proposal and discussion). The structure is displayed in (161) which represents the sentence in (160), repeated here for convenience. The coordination construction functions as a movement barrier in this case, since it imposes the CSC on its conjuncts.<sup>31</sup> In the structure below, the least embedded VP represents the entire coordination construction. As already indicated for the structures above, the dotted arrow represents the copying

<sup>31</sup>The notion of *movement barrier* regarding the coordination structure is conceptualised in terms of the CSC. That is, the coordination structure is a movement barrier for the movement of any material out of only one of the conjuncts. Thus, ATB movement is still possible, since they do not violate the CSC. This is in line with the fact that object ATB extraction is possible for subject sharing constructions (see section 4.2.2).

mechanism and the copied material appears in grey.

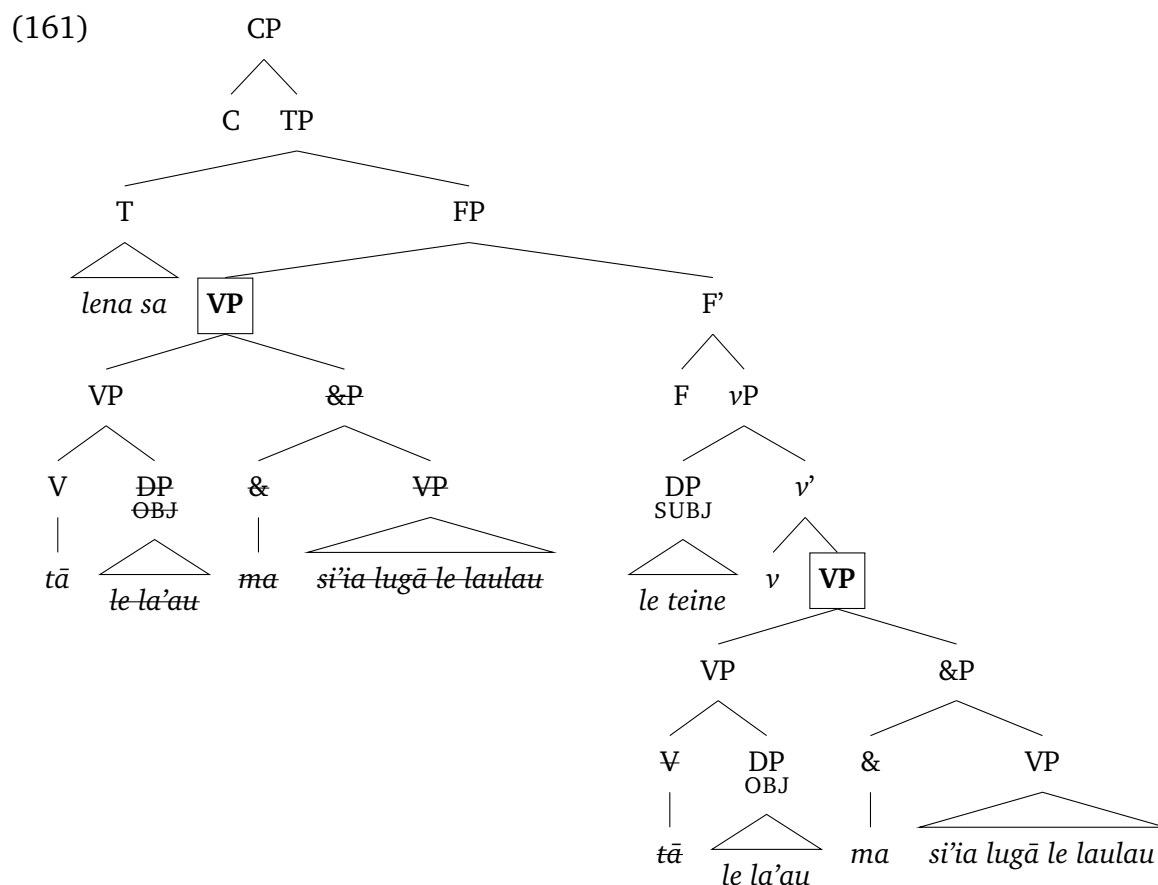
- (151) Lena sa tā le teine le la'au ma si'ia lugā le laulau.  
 PST hit ART girl ART tree and lift up ART table  
 'The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.'



In the structure in (160), two important concepts work in tandem. First, the only subject in the structure c-commands both conjuncts. As already described for low VP-coordination, this solves not only the *Subject-Absence-Issue*, but also the *Subject-Scope-Issue*. Thus, the main problems, which subsume under the *Double-Duty-Problem*, do not arise. Second, due to the fact that a barrier itself can be copied, it is possible to front the entire low coordination which also contains the predicate of the first conjunct. This gives us two identical copies of the entire coordination. Furthermore, the movement of the least embedded VP to SpecFP is in line with Collins' (2017) assumptions regarding the fronting of the conjunction phrase as described in section 2.2.4.

Following Fanselow and Ćavar (2002) as well as van Urk (2022), it is possible for the delete mechanism to partly apply to the higher and to the lower copy. In assuming that Samoan subject constructions allow for *distributed deletion*, the correct word order

can be derived, as shown in (161). Again, deletion is indicated by strikethrough and spell-out is indicated by black font colour.



By deleting everything but the verb in the higher copy, and deleting only the verb in the lower copy, the correct word order can be derived. As already described above, the underlying issues regarding the *Double-Duty-Problem* do not arise.

However, there is an issue regarding the *distributed deletion* approach. Fanselow and Ćavar (2002) base their proposal on pragmatically conditioned features like *focus* and *topic*. To my knowledge, there is no indication that there are differences regarding focus marking or topicalisation between subject sharing and clausal coordination, for instance. With these features, this approach would probably overgenerate. The reader is referred to van Urk (2022) for an implementation of *distributed deletion* accompanied by VP-fronting for the derivation of word order in Imere. For reasons of space, I will not discuss his approach here. However, it might be applicable to Samoan sharing constructions combined with low predicate coordination.

## 5.4 Summary

In the past sections, I presented different approaches which aim at solving the structural issues of subject sharing constructions in Samoan. In an effort to provide an analysis which can (i) derive the results obtained in section 4.2, and (ii) provide a solution for the *Double-Duty-Problem*, I discussed the structural ideas with respect to Samoan subject sharing constructions. In the following, I will briefly summarise the results as well as the advantages and disadvantages of each approach.

Firstly, I argued why clausal coordination cannot be the underlying structure for Samoan subject sharing constructions. The approach cannot derive conjuncts smaller than TP, but, more crucial, it cannot derive the scope of the subject over both conjuncts. Thus, it cannot solve the *Subject-Scope-Issue*. Overall, the clausal coordination is not suited to derive subject sharing constructions.

Secondly, I discussed predicate-coordination. First, FP-coordination can account for the *Double-Duty-Problem* via ATB movement, but fails to derive the correct word order. Second, VP-coordination appears to be more suitable for subject sharing. That is, the coordination of two VPs is immediately dominated by a  $\nu$ P. Thereby, the word order can be derived correctly, and the scope relations as well as the single-subject account remain. Furthermore, the FP allows for the predicate to front to a position which fits the surface structure. Lastly, the T-projection takes scope over both conjuncts. However, issues arise for the low VP-coordination approach as well. Most importantly, CSC violations arise, since the object must be asymmetrically moved out of the first conjunct in order to derive the correct word order.

Lastly, I presented a combination of VP-coordination and *distributed deletion*. The latter bases on the idea that two copies of an element can exist simultaneously, and subsequent deletion may apply to both copies, but only partially. In combination with VP-coordination, this mechanism can derive most of the properties and issues, including the *Double-Duty-Problem*. However, the following issue arises. On the other hand, it appears to be rather difficult to motivate this approach in Samoan by using pragmatically conditioned features. Although I did not present the feature-driven mechanism as described in Fanselow and Ćavar (2002), it seems unlikely that Samoan subject sharing constructions involve a pragmatic structure which is fundamentally different from that of other coordination constructions in Samoan. An implementation of the same idea,



but with a different set of non-pragmatic features is proposed in van Urk (2022) for Imere. Future research might reveal a similar mechanism for Samoan subject sharing constructions. For further discussion regarding other different approaches to the *Double-Duty-Problem* in asymmetric conditional inversion in English, the reader is referred to Flor and Zompì (2021).

## 6 Conclusion

In this thesis, I investigated the structure, the properties and the challenges of subject sharing constructions in Samoan. Since I analysed them from several different angles, I will provide a brief summary of every section before, eventually, concluding the main claims and observations.

Section 2 was concerned with a theoretical background for the Samoan language and its most frequent cases. Due to the language's VSO order, I briefly presented four proposals regarding the derivation of verb-initiality – the *rightward specifier* approach, *subject lowering*, *verb raising*, and *predicate fronting*. I chose *predicate fronting* and a predicate-internal structure along the lines of Collins (2017) as a structural basis for Samoan clauses in this thesis. Moreover, I described the properties of *conjunction reduction* and suggested two subcategories, namely *subject sharing* and *object sharing*. Finally, I provided data from other Austronesian V1 languages for a more general overview of the construction.

Section 3 displayed the vast majority of Samoan data. First, I presented clausal coordination followed by sharing constructions. Overall, three types of sharing constructions were addressed – *ATB constructions*, *subject sharing* and *object sharing*. The presentation mainly focussed on word order as well as the position and occurrence of the respective arguments.

I further investigated and analysed the data in section 4. I found that there are issues regarding the asymmetry between subject and object sharing, case, and scope. The latter appeared particularly problematic, since the verb-initial word order in Samoan cannot straightforwardly derive the scope of the subject. A deeper look into the structural issues revealed an underlying *Double-Duty-Problem*. Subsequently, I focussed on the investigation of the structural issues and the *Double-Duty-Problem* with respect to Samoan

subject sharing. First, I argued against the availability of *pro*-drop in Samoan. Thus, subject sharing cannot be derived by subject *pro*-drop. Second, I investigated whether subject sharing constructions are underlyingly subordinative which would render possible other approaches to the *Double-Duty-Problem*, such as control constructions. However, I provided evidence (i) for the coordinative nature of subject sharing constructions, and (ii) for the distinctiveness of subject sharing constructions and both, clausal coordination and subordinative constructions. Furthermore, I showed that the individual conjuncts must be smaller than TP. Based on that, I claim that the coordination must occur below TP and that clausal coordination, thus, cannot be a tenable derivation. A subsequent analysis aimed at identifying whether the coordination applies at the level of VP or *v*P. Although one diagnostic partially suggested *v*P-coordination, the results were not robust. Therefore, I assume VP-coordination to still be tenable. Lastly, I provided evidence for the application of predicate fronting in the first and second conjunct. Based on that, I concluded that the size of the conjuncts must be at least the size of FP in the sense of Collins (2017).

Finally, section 5 presented and evaluated possible structures for subject sharing constructions. Firstly, I presented clausal coordination and iterated why it cannot derive subject sharing. Secondly, I discussed predicate coordination. Although the *Double-Duty-Problem* can be resolved and the correct word order can be derived, the construction necessarily violates the CSC. In an attempt to improve the analysis, and to rule out any CSC violation, I subsequently presented an approach which involves *distributed deletion*, but still assumes VP-coordination. This approach can derive the issues as well as the word order. However, its application cannot be motivated by pragmatically conditioned features (as by Fanselow & Ćavar, 2002), but must be triggered differently (cf. van Urk, 2022).

In conclusion, I claim that Samoan does not allow for *pro*-drop. I pointed out that the data in the literature provides ambiguous evidence which cannot clearly be allocated to the existence of *pro*-drop. Secondly, I claim that Samoan subject sharing constructions are structurally different from clausal coordination as well as from subordinative constructions. Finally, I claim that Samoan subject sharing constructions are coordinative and involve coordination on a structural level below TP. A coordination of two VPs immediately dominated by *v*P can straightforwardly derive the *Double-Duty-Problem*. In

combination with *distributed deletion* it can also derive the correct word order without violating the CSC. Therefore, it might be a possibility to derive Samoan subject sharing constructions.

Future research should concern the case-mismatch and a certain possible variability that comes with it. In general, the correlation between case marking and word order in Samoan appears to be quite challenging. Furthermore, additional semantic diagnostics should be applied in order to find out at which level the coordination applies and whether one or two *v*Ps are present in the structure of Samoan subject sharing constructions. One possibility is *free-agent-cumulativity* which requires more research. Moreover, the structural derivation of subject sharing constructions in Samoan should be analysed in more depth. That is, all of the approaches presented in this thesis either do not work, or they create new problems and issues by solving the already known ones. The new approach should also be able to derive the fact that objects cannot be shared. Overall, the challenges posed by Samoan subject sharing and other non-Indo-European languages have the potential to provide a new perspective for a multitude of theoretical assumptions.

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## Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

Die vorliegende Arbeit setzt sich mit Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen in der samoanischen Sprache auseinander. Diese Konstruktionen weisen die folgenden charakteristischen Merkmale auf. Sie enthalten, erstens, eine zugrundeliegend koordinative syntaktische Struktur mit (mindestens) zwei Konjunkten. Zweitens gibt es in ihrer Oberflächenstruktur lediglich ein Subjekt. Dieses Subjekt wird letztlich jedoch in beiden Konjunkten interpretiert. Dieses sogenannte *Double-Duty-Problem* (Barnickel, 2017) beinhaltet daher auch die grundlegende Schwierigkeit, den Skopus des Subjekts über beide Konjunkte abzuleiten. Diese Schwierigkeit kann in SVO Sprachen wie Englisch durch verschiedene Annahmen gelöst werden. Beispielsweise können, einerseits, beide Subjekte aus ihren vP-Konjunkten durch ATB-Bewegung in eine c-kommandierende Position bewegt werden (siehe, u.a. Flor and Zompì, 2021). Andererseits kann der Skopus des Subjekts über VP-Koordination abgeleitet werden. In diesem Fall kann angenommen werden, dass das Subjekt im Spezifizierer von vP basis-generiert wird und damit die gesamte VP-Koordination c-kommandiert (siehe Keine, 2013 für einen ähnlichen Vorschlag bezüglich Subjekt-sharing in same-subject-switch-reference Kontexten).

In dieser Arbeit wird gezeigt und argumentiert, dass diese Analysen nicht auf samoanische Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen übertragen werden können. Die Problematik bezüglich dieser Konstruktionen besteht darin, dass sich in dieser Sprache das Prädikat (d.h. die gesamte VP) in Satz-initialer Position befindet (Collins, 2017) und somit VSO die Standard-Wortstellung ist. Bezogen auf Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen bedeutet dies, dass in diesem Fall eine VSO&VO Wortstellung vorliegt. Das Subjekt, jedoch, kann in dieser Position nicht das zweite Konjunkt c-kommandieren und daher ebenfalls keinen Skopus über das zweite Konjunkt ausüben. Die scheinbar tiefe Einbettung des Subjekts lässt eine Ableitung ähnlich zu der des Englischen nicht zu. Daraus resultiert die Frage, was die grundlegende Struktur der samoanischen Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen ist?

Grundlage der Untersuchungen sind Daten, die für diese Arbeit mit Muttersprachlern des Samoanischen erhoben wurde. Da es keine bestehenden Arbeiten über Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen für das Samoanische gibt, werden in Kapitel 3 die wichtigsten Datenpunkte für reguläre Koordination sowie für sharing-Konstruktionen (ATB-Bewegung, Subjekt-sharing, Objekt-sharing) präsentiert.

In anschließenden Analysen wird erstens gezeigt, dass (Subjekt) *pro-drop* im Sam-

samoanischen nicht möglich ist (contra Homer, 2009, Koopman, 2012, Muāgututi’a, 2017) und daher keinen Lösungsansatz bezüglich des *Double-Duty-Problems* darstellt. Darüber hinaus kann nachgewiesen werden, dass Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen im Samoanischen eine zugrundeliegend koordinative und keine subordinative Struktur beinhalten. Daher entfallen weitere Möglichkeiten, wie Subjekt-Kontroll-Konstruktionen, als mögliche Erklärung. Des Weiteren wird gezeigt, dass Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen nur eine TP enthalten können, und dass daher die Koordination unterhalb der TP applizieren muss. Daraus kann geschlossen werden, dass die Konjunkte in Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen notwendigerweise kleiner als TP sein müssen und sich dadurch strukturell von regulären Koordinationskonstruktionen unterscheiden. Letztlich wird durch verschiedene Diagnostika untersucht, ob (i) eine *vP* oder zwei *vPs* in der Struktur von samoanischen Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen enthalten sind, und (ii) das Prädikat in beiden Konjunkten in eine höhere Position bewegt wird. Die Anwendung beider Diagnostika resultiert in Hinweisen, jedoch kann nicht auf ein eindeutiges, robustes Ergebnis geschlossen werden.

Mithilfe der strukturellen Informationen wird weiterhin untersucht, welche strukturellen Analyse-Möglichkeiten für die Ableitung von Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen im Samoanischen in Frage kommen. Im Detail ist die Frage, auf welcher Ebene die Koordination appliziert. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird FP- und VP-Koordination diskutiert. Da beide Ansätze die Konstruktionen nicht ohne Probleme ableiten können, wird anschließend eine Kombination aus zwei Ansätzen, nämlich VP-Koordination und *distributed deletion* (Fanselow & Ćavar, 2002) präsentiert und kurz diskutiert. Dieser Ansatz kann die Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen zwar problemlos ableiten, jedoch wird diese Möglichkeit nicht weiter untersucht. Dieses Thema wird für zukünftige Forschung vorgeschlagen.

Diese Arbeit zeigt, dass Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen im Samoanischen tiefe Koordination, d.h. Koordination unterhalb von TP enthält. Daher sind Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen und reguläre Koordination strukturell unterschiedliche Konstruktionen. Darüber hinaus wird argumentiert, dass die Samoanische Sprache kein *pro-drop* erlaubt. Die Relevanz dieser Arbeit liegt in der erstmaligen theoretischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Samoanischen bezüglich Subjekt-sharing-Konstruktionen sowie Koordination im Allgemeinen.

## Selbstständigkeitserklärung

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