

Subject sharing in Samoan

An investigation of structural properties and missing subjects

Maximilian Wiesner

This paper investigates the structural peculiarities of subject sharing constructions in Samoan (Polynesian). The puzzle is the absence of the subject in the second conjunct which cannot be c-commanded by the subject in the first conjunct. Therefore, a scope relationship cannot be established. I present novel data which show that Samoan subject sharing constructions structurally differ from clausal coordination in that they involve coordination at FP-level (Collins 2017) rather than at the clausal level. I propose that a promising approach are deletion-based accounts and that an exclusively syntactic analysis cannot derive the construction's properties.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the structure and properties of subject sharing constructions in Samoan. Subject sharing constructions consist of two conjoined clauses.¹ 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_i saw the woman and the man_i ran away.
≠ The man_i saw the woman and the woman_j ran away.

In terms of the underlying structure, a straightforward analysis for English subject sharing usually base-generating the subject in a position c-commanding a VP-coordination and, thus, taking

¹ I use the terms *subject sharing* for conjunction reduction with a coreferential pivot/agent and *object sharing* for cases with a coreferential object/patient. Further, I will use the term *subject* which, for the remainder of this paper, is reduced to its syntactic function (= pivot).

scope over both conjuncts as in the schema in (6-a). The subject does not occur within one of the conjuncts but precedes both of them. An alternative could be a coordination of two conjuncts with a subject each and to move the subject to a c-commanding position via *across-the-board* (ATB) movement. 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 dominantly displays VSO order in transitive clauses as in (3).² Consequently, clausal coordination of two transitive clauses yields VSO&VSO word order, cf. (4).

- (3) Lena sa tā e le teine le la'au.
 PST hit ERG ART girl ART tree.ABS
 'The girl hit a tree.'
- (4) Lena sa tā e le teine le la'au ma lena sa si-'ia lugā e le faiaoga le laulau.
 PST hit ERG ART girl ART tree.ABS and PST lift-LD up ERG ART teacher ART table.ABS
 'The girl hit a tree and the teacher lifted a table.'

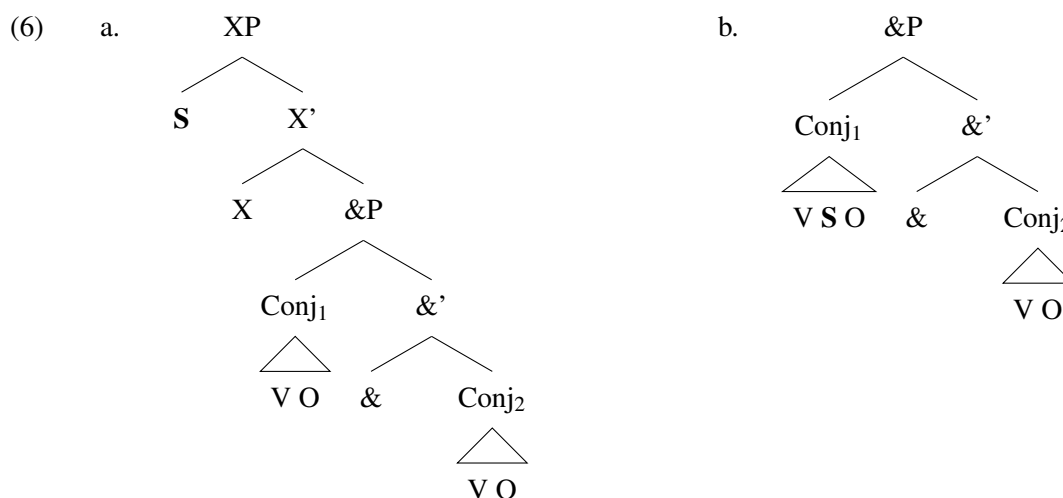
Subject sharing constructions in Samoan now display an interesting structural puzzle. While there are two verb-initial conjuncts, the subject's position appears to differ from the English examples above. That is, in the Samoan subject sharing construction (5), the subject appears to be deeply embedded in the first conjunct.³

- (5) Lena sa [[tā e le teine le la'au] ma [si-'ia lugā le laulau]].
 PST hit ERG ART girl ART tree and lift-LD 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 (5), 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 (6-b).

² Unless indicated otherwise, the data in this paper comes from elicitations with two native speakers of Samoan.

³ Constructions with an identical surface structure are to be found in several other Austronesian languages; i.e. Chamorro (Chung, 1998, p. 134), Niuean (Clemens & Tolland, 2021, p. 106), Tongan (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2021a, p. 78) and Tagalog (MacLachlan, 1997, p. 452).



The structure in (6-b) shows that the subject in the indicated position cannot c-command the second conjunct. Furthermore, the structure suggested for English cannot be applied to the Samoan subject sharing constructions due to the word order. 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 paper, I investigate the structure and syntactic properties of Samoan subject sharing constructions and argue, that they cannot be derived by purely syntactic operations. I present data which suggest that Samoan subject sharing constructions are underlyingly coordinative and involve coordination on a structural level below TP. Moreover, following the predicate fronting approach as by Collins (2017), I show that predicate fronting applies in both conjuncts of subject sharing constructions as well as clausal coordination. I also present data providing evidence and argue against the availability of *pro*-drop in Samoan. Finally, I show that *predicate coordination* (cf. Wunderlich 1988; Höhle 2019; Heycock & Kroch 1993; Johnson 2002; Kathol 1999, 1995) can derive most but not all of the structural properties of Samoan subject sharing constructions and, thus, may constitute as a starting point for further research.

2. Background on Samoan

Samoan is an Austronesian language (Polynesian subbranch). It is spoken by over 400,000 people (as by Collins 2017; Hopperdietzel 2020) not only in Samoa and American Samoa, but also in communities in New Zealand as well as Australia, and the United States. The morphological case marking system in Samoan follows the Ergative-Absolutive alignment while the Samoan syntax displays a neither ergative nor accusative organisation (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:717). 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 & Hovdhaugen 1992:75-83; Rijkhoff 2003). That is, whether an element is for instance a noun or a verb is contextually determined (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:77). 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 transitive clauses is VSO, as displayed in example (7-a). Some speakers additionally accept VOS order as in (7-b). As shown in (8), 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.

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

3. Deriving verb-initiality: Predicate fronting

Samoan word order prominently displays verb-initiality (V1). In the literature, there exist several accounts concerning the structural derivation of V1 languages. In terms of VP-constituency preserving approaches the best-known approaches include verb-raising (McCloskey (1991) and subsequent work for Irish), predicate fronting (Massam (2000) and subsequent work for Niuean, Pearson (2001) and subsequent work for Malagasy, Rackowski (1998) for Tagalog, Cole et al. (2002) for Javanese, among many others), subject-lowering (Chung 1990; Sabbagh 2005), and rightward-specifier-approaches (Chung 1998; Paul 2000). In the following, I will present a brief sketch Collins' (2017) analysis of VP fronting to SpecFP in Samoan which I adopt for the current investigation.

The VP fronting approach assumes movement of the predicate to a position preceding the subject. 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 (9-a), and manner adverbs are positioned right of the verb as can be seen in example (9-b).

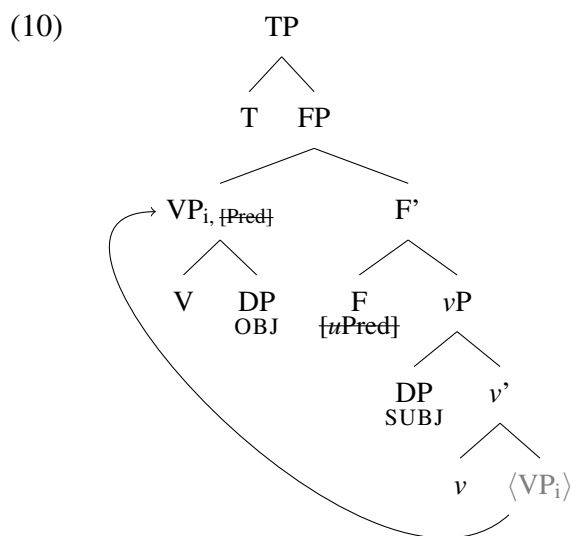
- (9) a. *'ua [efu'efu fa'asamasama] lona fatafata ma lona ua*
 PRF fade CAUS.yellow his chest and his neck
 'His chest and neck [faded yellow].' (Powell 1886:157 in Collins 2017:18)
- b. *sā [moe 'umi] le tama*
 PST sleep long ART boy
 'The boy slept for a long time.' (Mosel 2004:278)

Based on these examples, Collins (2017) concludes that it is, in fact, the entire VP including potential adjuncts which moves. This rules out the movement of only the V-head.

Regarding the underlying mechanism, Collins (2017) suggests moving the entire, least embedded VP to the specifier of a functional, theory-neutral head he labels *F*.⁴ The F head and its projections are positioned below T, but above vP, cf. (10). The movement of VP is motivated by

⁴ I will not discuss the exact nature of the F-head. For the remainder of this paper, I will follow Collins' (2017) assumptions. Likewise, I will assume the TAM maker to reside in TP. However, I do not intend to negate the existence of Mood, Aspect or Voice.

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.⁵ This is visualised in the following structure in (10). 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 a position below TP is crucial to comply with the word order, since TAM markers generally precede the verb.

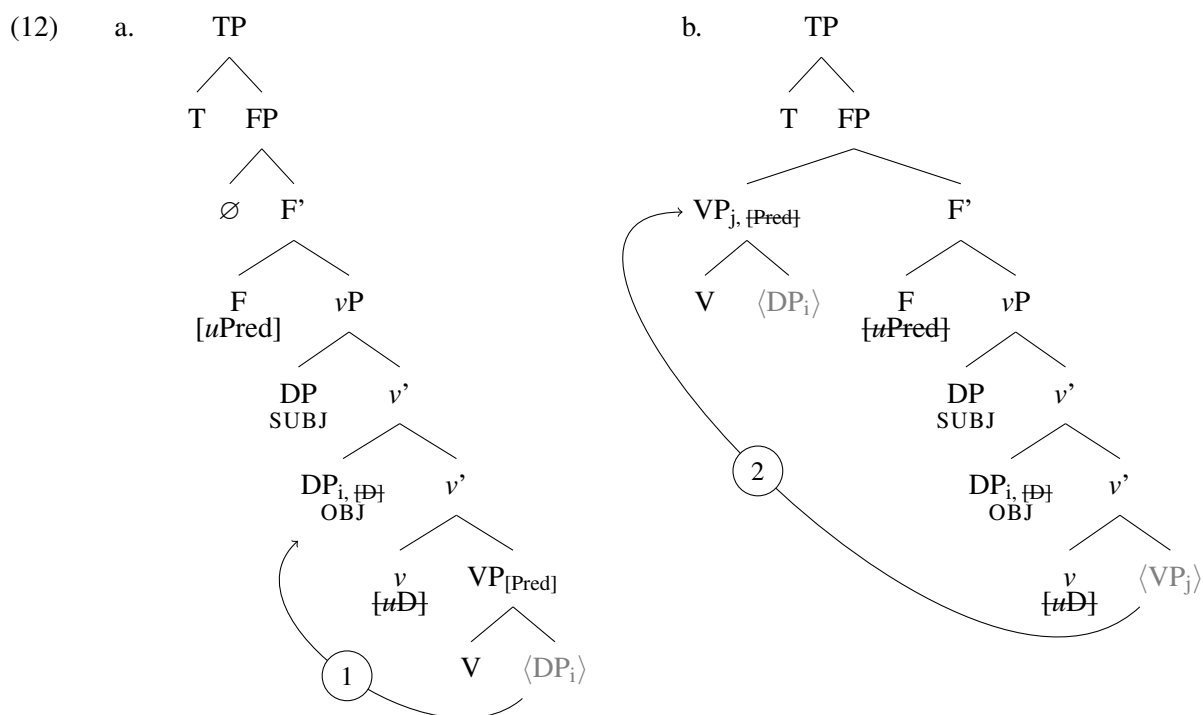


In order to derive VSO order in Samoan, Collins (2017) posits movement of the complement of V out of the VP and to an intermediate projection of *v*. The movement is triggered by an uninterpretable feature [*uD*] on *v* which is checked by the object DP. Consequently, the remnant VP raises to SpecFP deriving V1 order while the object stays in a lower position following the subject. The mechanism is visualised in (12-a) and (12-b). A corresponding sentence is given in example (11).

- (11) *sā tausī e le teine le pepe*
 PST care ERG ART girl ART baby
 ‘The girl took care of the baby.’

(Collins 2017:12)

⁵ According to Collins (2017:10) “VP, NP, DP, AP, and PP may optionally bear the feature [*Pred*]”.



4. Subject sharing in Samoan

In order to get an overview of the phenomenon of subject sharing, the following section will briefly present and describe the main properties and observations. To be more detailed about the term 'subject' in connection to verbs of different transitivity, I will adopt Dixon's (1994) notion of S (argument of intransitive verbs), A (external argument of transitive verbs), and O (internal argument of transitive verbs).

As the following examples show, A is not obligatorily present in the second conjunct in a coordination of two transitive verbs (13) as well as of two ditransitive coordination (14). In both examples, A appears to be embedded in the first conjunct.

- (13) 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.'

- (14) 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 boy and send ART letter LD ART teacher
 'Jon gave the ball to the boy and sent a letter to the teacher.'

The translation of the two examples indicates that *le teine* 'the girl' and *Jon* are shared by both conjuncts. This is the same for coordinations of an intransitive and a transitive verb, as the following examples (15) and (16) show. While the sentences (15-a) and (16-a) display the first conjunct in an isolated main clause, and the sentences in (15-b) and (16-b) display the second conjunct in an isolated main clause, the subject sharing construction is presented in (15-c) and (16-c), respectively.

- (15) 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.'
- (16) 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.'

Both conjuncts in (16-c) and (15-c) 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 (15-c) and VS&VO for (16-c). That is, the subject follows the verb in the first conjunct and both conjuncts are verb-initial. Further, note that in both examples the A DP of the transitive verb receives Ergative case while the S DP of the intransitive verb receives Absolutive case. Despite being shared by both verbs which evidentially constitute distinct case requirements, the subject is obligatorily marked for Ergative case in example (15-c) and cannot be marked for Ergative in (16-c). This can also be seen in the following example (17) where *sii i luga* '(to) lift up' requires Ergative marking, and *alu i ese* '(to) leave' requires Absolutive case.

- (17) 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.'

In summary, subject sharing is possible in Samoan in coordinations of two transitive verbs, two ditransitive verbs, as well as of one transitive and one intransitive verb.⁶ Concerning the case marking requirements in the latter configuration, the subject receives the case which is required by the verb in the same conjunct.

5. Structural issues and the Double-Duty-Problem

In order to clearly present the issues which arise regarding the word order in Samoan subject sharing constructions, reconsider the example in (18).

- (18) 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

⁶ According to my informants, sharing objects in an identical construction is not possible.

‘The girl hit a tree and lifted a table.’

The TAMVS(O)&V(O) order indicates that (i) both conjuncts are verb-initial and (ii) the entire construction is headed by a single TAM marker. Since the TAM marker apparently takes scope over both conjuncts (both verbs are interpreted in past tense), it can straightforwardly be assumed that the two conjuncts must be c-commanded by T, cf. (6-b). The subject in (18), however, should not be able to take wide scope over both conjuncts, since it superficially appears in a position (potentially *in-situ*) where it cannot c-command the second conjunct. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the examples above clearly indicate a contradiction for the prediction of narrow scope of the subject. I will refer to this issue as the *Subject-Scope-Issue*.

(19) *The Subject-Scope-Issue:*

In a subject sharing construction of two verb-initial conjuncts, the subject does not c-command and, thus, does not take scope over the second conjunct, despite being interpreted there.

Another related concern simply is the absence of the subject in the second conjunct. Under the assumption that the conjuncts of a coordination are parallel in several regards (such as structure or case, Grosu (1985); Franks (1993); Fox (1999), among many others), it follows that if a subject position exists in the syntactic structure of the first conjunct, this must also hold for the second conjunct. In such a case, the ‘absence’ of the subject in the second conjunct must be assumed to be the result of other post-syntactic processes. I further elaborate on this issue in section 7. This rationale is generalised as *Subject-Absence-Issue* in (20). An analysis of subject sharing constructions must, therefore, not only account for the scope of the subject but also its absence in the second conjunct.

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

In a coordination construction, 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 must function for two verbs simultaneously. This is referred to as *Double-Duty-Problem* for SLF-constructions in Barnickel (2017:68).

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

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

In the following, I will apply several diagnostics to gather information regarding the structure of subject sharing constructions in Samoan and, further, of the two conjuncts.

6. Deriving the Double-Duty-Problem

6.1. *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. The *Subject-Scope-Issue* would not arise in such a scenario, since the *pro* in the second conjunct would appear in the subject position of that conjunct and take narrow scope from there. In the following, I present an example sentence and corresponding context which, altogether, indicates that *pro*-drop is not possible in Samoan for subjects. Furthermore, I will argue against other sources which claim that *pro*-drop is available in Samoan.

Consider examples (22) and (23). Both consist of a context in (22-a) and (23-a) in which the crucial argument is already given. If *pro*-drop is available in Samoan, it should be possible in (22-b) and (23-b) to drop the respective argument while preserving the same interpretation.

- (22) 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.'
- (23) 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 (22) and (23), it is not possible to drop the subject in Samoan, neither for intransitive nor for transitive verbs. The pronoun *gaia* '3SG' is obligatory.⁷

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 present two examples from the literature and point out 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 (24-b). Example (24-a) displays the same sentence without *pro*-drop.

- (24) a. Na sasa e Seu Ø l-a-na maile.
 PST beat ERG Seu ABS DET.SG-POSS-3SG dog
 'Seu_i beat his_{i,j} dog.'
 (Homer 2009:43)

⁷ Note that dropping the subject in analogous examples is possible in a *pro*-drop language like Italian as presented in (i) and (ii). Neither the subject nor a replacing pronoun is required in (i-b) and (ii-b).

- | | | | |
|-----|---|------|---|
| (i) | a. Melanie è tornata a casa ieri.
Melanie is came to home yesterday
'Yesterday, Melanie came home.' | (ii) | a. Questa mattina, Jeanne è andata a scuola.
this morning Jeanne is went to school
'This morning, Jeanne went to school.' |
| | b. Ha ballato.
has danced
'She danced.' | | b. Ha picchiato l'insegnante.
has beaten the teacher
'She beat the teacher.' |

- b. Na sasa Ø le maile a Seu.
 PST beat ABS DET.SG dog POSS Seu
 ‘Seu’s dog was beaten.’ Or: ‘S/he_i beat Seu_j’s dog.’
 Or: ‘Seu beat his own dog.’ (Homer 2009:43)

Overall, there are three possible interpretations of the sentence given in (24-b), out of which only one suggests *pro*-drop (‘S/he_i beat Seu_j’s dog’).⁸ Another interpretation of the same sentence is a passive interpretation which is well-known to be difficult to tell apart in Samoan. Overall, there has been a lot of discussion in the literature concerning the distinction between passive and *pro*-drop (Churchward; Churchward; Churchward 1928; 1951; 1926; Lafeber 1928; Williams; Williams 1928; 1927; for an overview and further discussion, the reader is referred to Milner 1962). In general, it is not clear from the sentence in (24-b) 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 (24-b) 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_i beat Seu_j’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 (24-b). 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 (2017:12). According to him, the example in (25-b) is an instance of dropping the direct object *le talo* ‘the taro’ which is present in (25-a).⁹ Note that the glosses provided below are taken from the original source.

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

Again, the author leaves aside effects of reduced valency of the predicate. Analogous to 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 (25-a) is not present in (25-b). Thus, the question arises: if there is no Ergative in (25-b), how can one distinguish the two pos-

⁸ 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.

⁹ 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.

sibilities, namely *pro*-drop and the intransitive version of the verb ‘to eat’. That is, an Ergative marker in (25-b) 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 (25-b) suggests that the verb is intransitive, thus, assigning Absolutive case to the subject. I take this as evidence that (25-b) is not an instance of *pro*-drop, but simply the intransitive version of the verb ‘ai ‘to eat’.

The significance of the examples in (24) and (25) further diminishes, if we take a look at a clear case of *pro*-drop in Tagalog (Austronesian). In example (26), two independent sentences are presented. The second sentence which only consists of the verb *umiak* ‘cried’ displays a clear case of *pro*-drop.¹⁰

- (26) Binaril ng tao ang aso. Umiak.
 PT.shot A man P dog cried
 ‘A man shot the dog. *pro* cried.’
 = dog cried (P)
 = man cried (A) (MacLachlan 1997:449)

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 (22). 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.

6.2. Coordination versus subordination

Since *pro*-drop is not available in Samoan, a subsequent question is whether Samoan subject sharing constructions could perhaps be subordinative rather than coordinative. In the case of subordination, 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*, since a c-commanding relationship of the subject and the second conjunct could be established more easily. In the following, I will apply two diagnostics to find out whether subject sharing constructions display characteristics of coordination or subordination. Each of the diagnostics will be applied, firstly, to clausal coordination with two distinct subjects, secondly, to embedded object-clauses and, lastly, to subject sharing constructions. Therefore, it will be possible to draw direct comparisons between subject sharing on the one hand, and either clausal coordination or subordination on the other hand.

Both diagnostics base on the *coordinate structure constraint* (CSC) which, as by Ross

¹⁰ MacLachlan (1997:449) 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.

(1967:161), states that a coordinate structure does not allow for the extraction (i) of an element out of only one of the two conjuncts and (ii) of only one of the two conjuncts. Regarding the first aspect, 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.

- (27) *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?’
- (28) *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 of the preceding examples is not surprising. Further, this shows that the CSC generally applies to Samoan coordination constructions.

In contrast to coordination, asymmetric extraction is expected to be unproblematic in subordination constructions, since the CSC does not apply in this case. Indeed, as the examples below show, extraction out of only the matrix clauses is grammatical.

- (29) 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?’
- (30) 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?’

Given these results, 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 (31) is rather robust: asymmetric extraction is not possible.

- (31) *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.

The second diagnostic builds on the same premise as the preceding diagnostic. Following Ross (1967:176 f.), extraction out of the conjuncts can be achieved via *across-the-board* (ATB) movement. As established above, subordination constructions are not subject to the CSC and they should, therefore, not allow for ATB extraction. The coordination construction in (32) displays the expected result. The lines represent the extraction site.

- (32) 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 (32), the direct object has been extracted from both sentences and has been moved to the front. The grammaticality of this example suggests that, in fact, the object was present in both conjuncts and has been moved to a sentence-initial position. In contrast, subordination constructions display the following results.

- (33) *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?'
 (34) *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 extraction leads to ungrammaticality in subordination constructions. This is expected, especially since the results from the preceding test show that subordination constructions allow for asymmetric extraction. The pattern here is, again, clear-cut and so is the possibility to differentiate 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 possibly 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 (35) displays the result for object ATB movement in a subject sharing construction.

- (35) 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. Overall, both diagnostics indicate a coordinative structure in Samoan subject sharing constructions.¹¹

6.3. Evidence against clausal coordination

Having presented the structural characteristics of coordination, subordination and subject sharing constructions, I will now turn to the question of whether clausal coordination and subject sharing can be considered to involve the same structure. That is, whether both constructions are coordinations of full VSO clauses which are subject to further deletion processes in the case of subject sharing. In the following, I will compare the maximum size of the conjuncts in each of the constructions. If the diagnostic indicates a different size of the conjuncts in one of the two constructions, they cannot be assumed to involve the same coordination structure.

In order to investigate the size of the conjuncts, I will focus on the number of TAM (Tense,

¹¹ Note, that this result also rules out the possibility to explain the *Double-Duty-Problem* via *Equi-NP-deletion* (Chung 1978:106), since this mechanism applies only in subordination/control configurations.

Aspect, Mood) markers in each of the constructions. In the following, I take a TAM marker to indicate that a TP, AspectP, or a MoodP is present in a given structure and that the particular element resides in the respective phrase's head. Since the TAM marker in Samoan usually precedes the verb, the TP can be assumed to be structurally higher than the FP, cf. Collins (2017). Consequently, the following two predictions can be formulated. Firstly, if only one TAM marker is allowed in a construction and all verbs are interpreted according to the one TAM marker, the conjuncts can be assumed to be smaller than a TP and, thus, are dominated by the sole TP. Secondly, if two TAM markers can be present, one can assume two TPs in the structure. This would suggest that the conjuncts appear with an initial TAM marker and, thus, are at least the size of TP. This test, therefore, indicates whether the conjuncts in clausal coordination and in subject sharing constructions are at least the size of TP or rather smaller than TP. Additionally, this implies whether the coordination is situated at the structural level of TP or below TP.

For clausal coordination, the presence of two TAM markers is not problematic as the following examples in (36) display. This holds for the same TAM marker as well as for different TAM markers. That is, the TAM markers in the second conjunct in (36-b) and (36-c) differ from the preceding TAM marker.

- (36) a. Na maua e Petelo se ta'avale ma na gaioi 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. Sa sasa e le faiaoga le tama ma la e taalo e J. ma le maile.
 PST hit ERG ART teacher ART boy and GENR play ERG J. with ART dog
 'The teacher hit the boy and Jeanne plays with the dog.'
- c. Sa gaioi 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.'

In accordance with the rationale put forward above, it can be assumed that a TP is present in each conjunct of the sentences in (36). The size of the conjuncts in clausal coordination must at least have the size of a TP.

For subordination constructions the same is true, as shown in the following example (37) where an overt TAM marker is present in the fronted subordinate clause as well as in the matrix clause. Moreover, (38) displays the possibility to have two differing tense values in one sentence. The verb is interpreted in present tense in the matrix clause and the overt TAM marker in the subordinate clause constitutes past tense.

- (37) 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.'
- (38) Fa'apea Robert, sa ta e Peter le maile.
 think Robert PST hit ERG Peter ART dog
 'Robert thinks that Peter hit the dog.'

Again, this indicates that a TP must be present in each of the clauses. Therefore, constructions which involve subordination overall include two TPs in their structure.

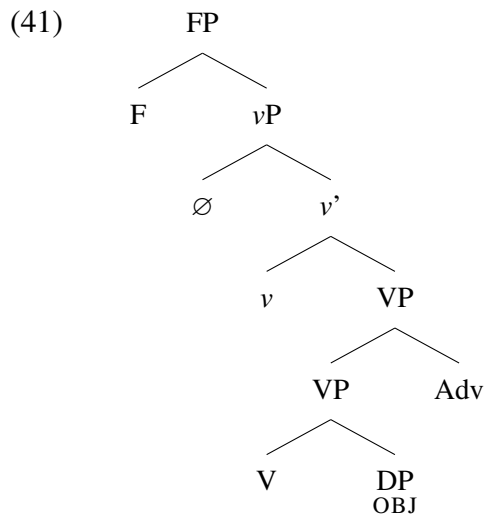
Turning to subject sharing constructions, however, one can observe a different pattern as shown in (39) and (40).

- (39) a. Sa ta le faia'oga_i le tama ma sa siva *(gaia_i).
 PST hit ART teacher ART boy and PST dance 3SG
 'The teacher hit the boy and danced.'
- b. Sa ta le faia'oga_i le tama ma la'a siva *(gaia_i).
 PST hit ART teacher ART boy and FUT dance 3SG
 'The teacher hit the boy and will dance.'
- c. Sa faatau le fafine_i le taaloga ma la'a taalo (iai) *(gaia_i).
 PST purchase ART woman ART game and FUT play it 3SG
 'The woman bought the game and will play.'
- (40) Sa gaoi e Peter_i se ta'avale ma la'a maua *(gaia_i) se uila.
 PST steal ERG Peter ART car and FUT find 3SG ART bike
 'Peter stole a car and will find a bike.'

Importantly, the presence of a TAM marker in the first as well as in the second conjunct obligatorily requires the presence of a subject in the second conjunct. This holds for coordinations of an intransitive verb and a transitive verb (39), but also for coordinations of two transitive verbs (40). Since the presence of two TAM markers and, thus, two TPs requires a subject in both conjuncts, it can consequently be assumed that only one TP and only one TAM marker can be present in Samoan subject sharing constructions. Therefore, the conjuncts in these constructions must be smaller than TP and, furthermore, they must be dominated by a single TP.

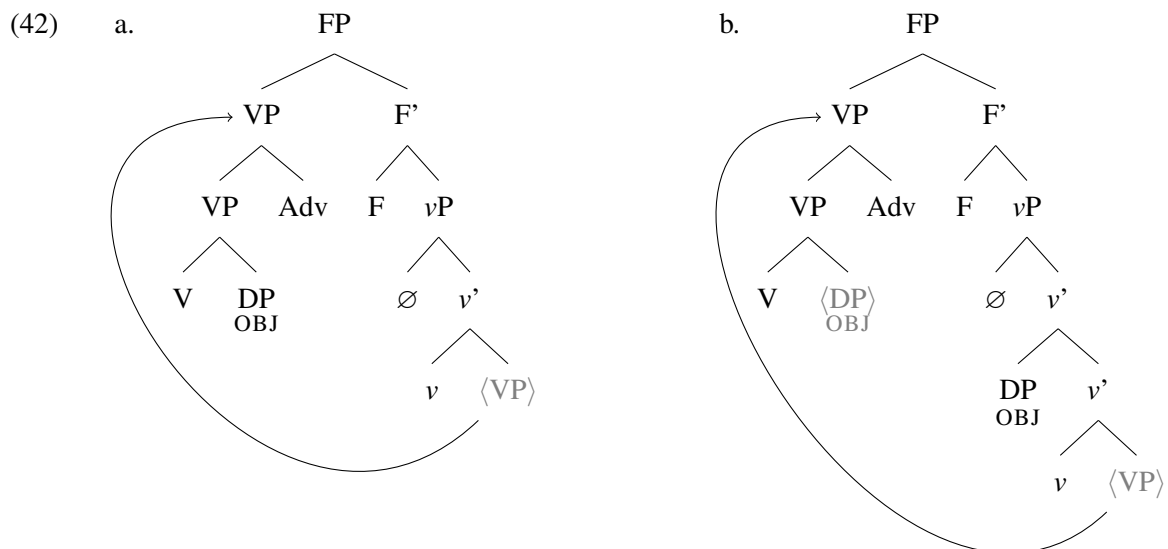
6.4. Predicate fronting in coordinative constructions

Having established that the conjuncts in Samoan subject sharing constructions must be smaller than TP, the question arises what the minimal size of the conjuncts can be. Collins' (2017) account of predicate fronting constitutes 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)). As long as the object is shifted prior to the remnant-movement of the VP, the VP also passes the object. Since objects can occur in the second conjunct of Samoan subject sharing constructions, one can potentially observe whether or not the predicate fronts in the second conjunct. That is, in the base-generated structure in (41), the VP with an adverbial adjunct displays VOADV order. That is, prior to predicate fronting the adverb precedes neither the subject nor the object but follows both (Collins 2017).



Thus, if the observed word order in the second conjunct corresponds to the structure in (41), the adjunct must follow the object. In that case the size of the second conjunct could be considered 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 (42-a). 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 VADV O should arise (42-b). Since the entire remnant-VP is fronted without the object, the adverb should precede the object in this case. This would be a clear indication that the predicate is fronted in the second conjunct as well. 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.



To put this to a test, I will present data of clausal coordination and subject sharing which involves a VP adjunct which comes in the form of an adverb. According to Collins (2017), the adverb *vave* ‘quickly’ attaches to VPs. Two main clauses from Milner (1966:315, cited in Collins 2017, p. 20) which include *vave* are given in (43).

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

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 (43-a). Secondly, the adverb can also precede the verb which leads to the interpretation that the action started ‘earlier than expected’, cf. (43-b). This shows that position of the adverb is closely related to the level of adjunction and, thus, to the semantic interpretation. The following data will be only of the type displayed in (43-a).

As displayed in the following examples of clausal coordination, the position of the adverb is highly restricted. This is expected, since predicate fronting must take place in both conjuncts of a clausal coordination. Therefore, *vave* ‘quickly’ precedes the subject. Furthermore, it follows the verb as in (44) and cannot appear conjunct-finally as in (45).

- (44) Na maua vave e P. se ta’avale ma na gaoi vave e M. le uila.
 PST find quickly ERG P. ART car and PST steal quickly ERG M. ART bike
 ‘Peter quickly found a car and Mary quickly stole a bike.’
- (45) *Na maua e P. se ta’avale vave ma na gaoi e M. le uila vave.
 PST find ERG P. ART car quickly and PST steal ERG M. ART bike quickly
 ‘Peter quickly found a car and Mary quickly stole a bike.’

This must be the case in both conjuncts. In (46), the adverb is in the correct position in the first conjunct, but not in the second. Again, the ungrammaticality of example (46) is expected, since a subject is present in both conjuncts which must be preceded by the adverb.

- (46) *Na maua vave e P. se ta’avale ma na gaoi e M. le uila vave.
 PST find quickly ERG P. ART car and PST steal ERG M. ART bike quickly
 ‘Peter quickly found a car and Mary quickly stole a bike.’

Note, that the word order indicates remnant-movement of the VP in both conjuncts. The fact that the adverb appears to the left of the subject shows that the entire VP including the adjoined adverb is fronted while the object stays in the lower position.

Interestingly, 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 (47) and (48) display, the adverb must precede the object.

- (47) *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.'
- (48) 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 (47), it is not possible for the adverb in the second conjunct to follow the object, but it must precede the object instead, cf. (48). Based on this observation and the assumption that the object appears in the lower position as well, the order of the adverb and the object suggests that the predicate fronts in the second conjunct. The same holds for the first conjunct.¹² Consequently, it can be assumed that both conjuncts are larger than VP and have the structure presented in (42-b).

Overall, the data show that predicate fronting applies in the first and second conjunct in clausal coordination. For subject sharing constructions, the same holds. Based on this result, the conjuncts must be at least the size of FP and the coordination in subject sharing constructions cannot apply lower than on FP-level.

6.5. Cases of case mismatch

By assuming FP-coordination for Samoan subject sharing constructions, one also predicts two subject positions in the structure. This prediction falls out naturally from the fact that each FP includes a *v*P. With the *Double-Duty-Problem* in mind, the interesting question arises whether one can find evidence for two subject positions in the structure. In the following, I will argue that this indeed is the case. However, the argument will not be based on empirical observations but rather on theoretical implications.

Reconsider the subject sharing constructions (15-c) and (16-c), repeated below as (49) and (50), respectively. As already described earlier, the two examples display a peculiar pattern concerning the case marking of their only subject.

- (49) 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.'
- (50) 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.'

Both constructions consist of an unergative verb *siva/taalo* and a transitive verb *fasi/lafo*. As briefly pointed out earlier, S and O bear Absolutive case without overt morphological marking while A is overtly marked for Ergative case. Consequently, both examples do not only require an S as well as an A, but both of these elements are assigned a different case. In detail, *fasi* '(to) beat' in the first conjunct in (49) is transitive and, therefore, requires Ergative case on A. In the second conjunct, *siva* '(to) dance' is unergative and requires Absolutive marking on S. The

¹² This is in line with *parallelism requirements* in coordinative structures, cf. Grosu (1985); Franks (1993); Fox (1999), among many others.

mirror image can be seen in (50) where *taalo* ‘(to) play’ in the first conjunct requires Absolutive on S, and *lafo* ‘(to) send’ requires Ergative on A in the second conjunct.

Since both examples display sharing constructions, however, there is only one overt subject in the structure. That is, in (49) the A of *fasi* ‘(to) beat’ is present but the S of *siva* ‘(to) dance’ is not. The only subject, namely the A, is correctly marked for Ergative case. However, there is no Absolutive S in the structure which is affiliated with the unergative verb in the second conjunct. Overall, this shows that the Ergative marked A is interpreted as the S of the unergative verb in the second conjunct. The grammaticality of example (49) is surprising since previous examples clearly indicated that Ergative marking on S results in ungrammaticality, cf. (15-b) and (16-a). In (50), a similar pattern arises. Here, the S of *taalo* ‘(to) play’ cannot be marked for Ergative. However, there is no Ergative-marked A for *lafo* ‘(to) send’. Since the clearly Absolutive-marked S in the first conjunct is interpreted as the subject of the second conjunct, the result is a case-mismatch. However, as already noted for the preceding example, the sentence is grammatical.

The issue in this regard only arises if one assumes only one subject position. That is, a sole subject cannot be marked for two cases simultaneously (leaving aside the possibility of *case stacking* (cf. Richards 2013) which has not been attested in Samoan). Even if this was the case, the subject would always be overtly marked for Ergative, since the Absolutive is not morphologically marked. This, however, is not the case, cf. (50). Furthermore, it is equally unlikely to assume the case feature in the second conjunct to disappear or that a single subject position can accommodate multiple subjects. Overall, one would expect a pattern regarding the subject different from the current one.

The assumption that there are, in fact, two subject positions in Samoan subject sharing constructions receives more support by the assignment of Ergative and Absolutive case. While the Ergative is commonly assumed to be inherently assigned by *v* to the DP in SpecvP (Spec-Head Ergative, Tollan 2018), Absolutive case is assigned by T (see Aldridge 2004 for an overview and alternative accounts). A subject position in each conjunct would simplify the issue described above. In the case of (49), this would mean that *v* assigns Ergative case to the DP in its specifier in the first conjunct, and T assigns Absolutive case to the DP in SpecvP in the second conjunct.¹³ Consequently, only the Ergative-marked subject in the first conjunct is spelt out. In the case of (50), the Absolutive in the first conjunct would be assigned by T and the Ergative by *v* in the second conjunct. Again, only the first subject bearing Absolutive case is spelt out. Therefore, one can derive the observed pattern. Overall, such an account which assumes two subject positions and two TPs would be able to derive the issues concerning case assignment. However, without any additional assumptions, it cannot explain the fact that Samoan subject sharing constructions appear to have only one TP.¹⁴

Note, further, that a derivation as sketched above does not explain why the subject in the second conjunct is not spelled out in both constructions. That is, the reason for the *Subject-Absence-Issue* is to be found elsewhere. Based on the idea that both conjuncts are parallel in structure, two possible solutions might be that (i) the absence of the case marked subject in the second conjunct is either due to an additional, possibly post-syntactic mechanism (i.e. deletion or ellipsis) or (ii) the subject in the second conjunct is an empty element or a null argument. In

¹³ Note, that this would not only predict a subject position in the second conjunct, but potentially also a TP since Absolutive case in the second conjunct is assigned by T. This prediction shall be ignored for now, but should be taken up again in future research.

¹⁴ I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out to me.

this case, the underlying reason for the *Subject-Absence-Issue* would be non-structural. Further enquiries regarding this matter, however, will be left open for future research.

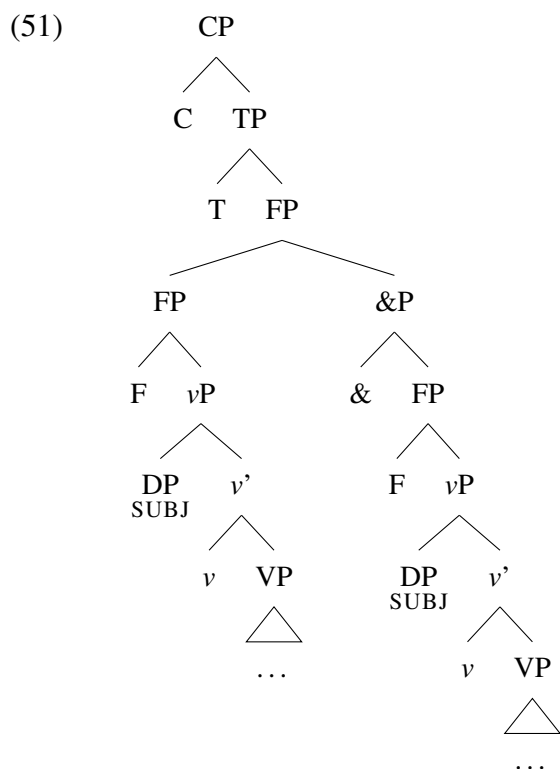
7. Structural analysis: Predicate coordination

In the past sections, the following results were obtained. Firstly, subject sharing constructions display coordinative properties, but their structural characteristics apparently differ from clausal coordination. That is, the data suggest that they include only one MoodP/AspectP/TP overall while clausal coordination includes one per conjunct. Secondly and consequently, the conjuncts in subject sharing constructions can be assumed to be smaller than MoodP/AspectP/TP but must have at least the size of FP. Lastly, coordinations of a transitive and an unaccusative verb is grammatical which led to the observation that there are grammatical cases of case mismatch in subject sharing constructions. This implies that there must be two subject positions in the structure. In order to account for the *Double-Duty-Problem*, however, *pro*-drop cannot be assumed based on the data presented above.

This data provides two possible options in terms of how to proceed. First, one can come up with a particular (post-syntactic) deletion mechanism or empty/null element to explain the *Subject-Absence-Issue*. Second, one can try to find a structure which can derive the remaining facts without (post-syntactic) deletion or empty/null element. In order to show that the first option is to be preferred over the second one, I will showcase the second option in the following and point out the advantages as well as the disadvantages.

The results presented above paint the following picture. Samoan subject sharing are coordinations of two FP-sized conjuncts which (i) include a subject position, (ii) include a landing site for predicate fronting and (iii) are dominated by a single TP.¹⁵ Furthermore, a CP layer can be added in order to represent the clause. This gives us the structure displayed in (51).

¹⁵ For the sake of simplicity, I follow Collins (2017) in assuming coordination with an adjunction structure.



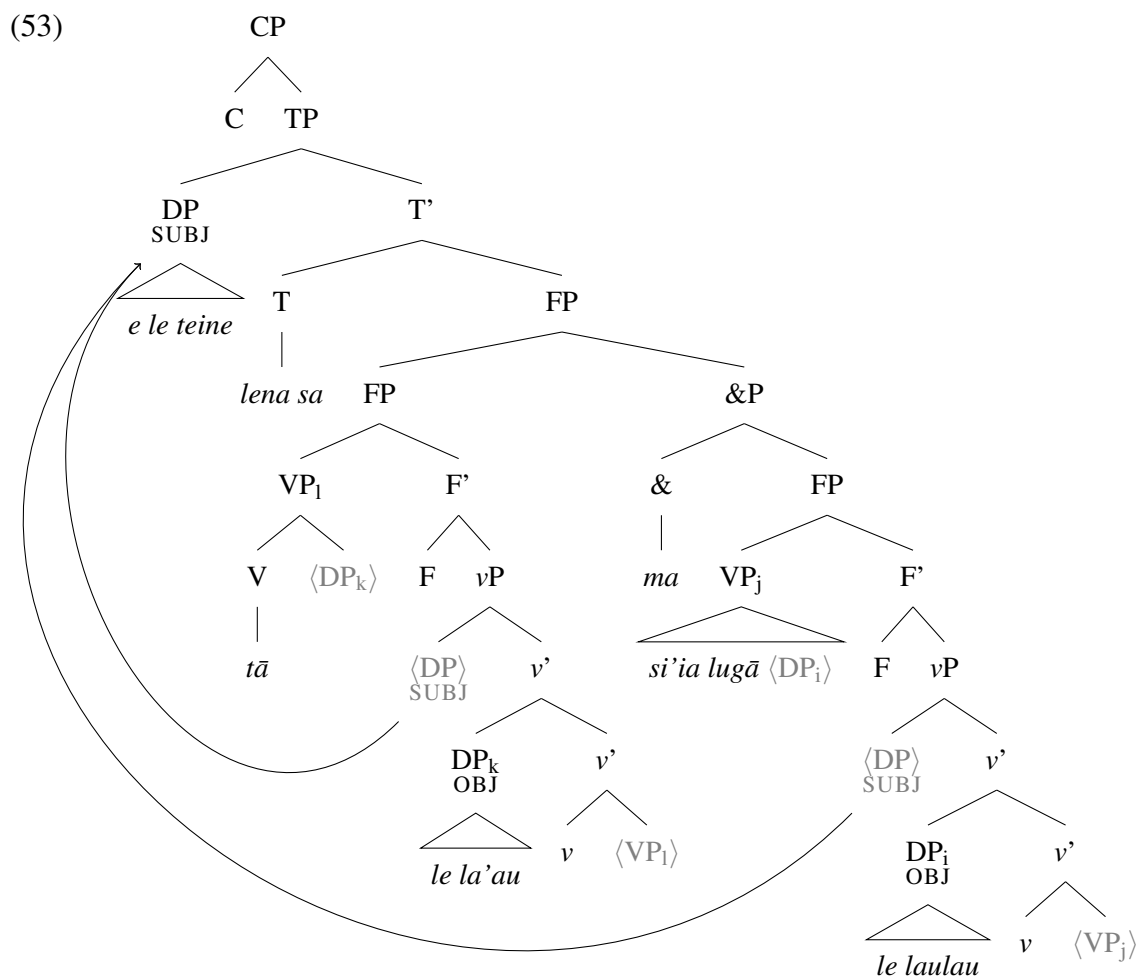
In order to solve the structural issues of the *Double-Duty-Problem* in a purely structural way, one has to assume mechanisms which do not involve deletion or null elements. That is, to comply with the currently assumed second option stated above, assuming deletion or a null element in SpecvP in the second conjunct is ‘not allowed’, since this solution is not a structural one.

One possibility to reduce two identical elements in a coordination to only one element is ATB movement.¹⁶ In the following, I will transfer this to the structure presented in (51).

Since a prominent characteristic of ATB movement is movement out of the coordination, the landing site for this movement must be situated in a position which dominates the coordination phrase. A possible candidate regarding the structure in (51) is SpecTP. As displayed in the following structure (53), the two subjects are moved via ATB movement from both conjuncts to SpecTP. The corresponding sentence is given in (52). Note, that the verbs in (52) are both transitive, so case-mismatch does not arise.

- (52) 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.’

¹⁶ I do not assume any particular theoretical account concerning the mechanism underlying ATB movement. The application of ATB movement regarding the matter in hand bases on the observation that two identical and co-referent elements can be moved and represented by one instance of the same form in a higher position.



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, explaining the *Subject-Absence-Issue*. Second, there is only one TAM-marker and, thus, one TP in the structure. The TAM-marker in T takes scope over both conjuncts. Third, the coordination of two FPs is capable of explaining the evidence for two subject positions.

A major disadvantage of this approach, however, is that it derives the incorrect word order of S TAM [VO]&[VO]. The ATB movement in this case leads to the subject being positioned sentence-initially which renders impossible the expected predicate-initial word order. This issue also cannot be solved by further movement operations. For instance, head movement of V from the first conjunct to C is not possible, since (i) the VP is a frozen category after it has been moved to SpecFP (Corver 2017), and (ii) the movement would violate the CSC, since the V would asymmetrically move out of the first conjunct. Additionally, this would not solve the word order issues, but rather produce VS TAM [O]&[VO] word order.¹⁷

Overall, this shows that the second option, namely a non-deletion approach to Samoan sub-

¹⁷ However, one could also assume ATB movement to an additional abstract, functional projection above FP, but below TP. Although there is no independent evidence for this, it remains a technical possibility.

ject sharing constructions, cannot derive the results without creating new issues. Deriving the structure via a mechanism which involves deletion appears to be a more effective and applicable approach. In such a case, one would simply impose a coordination-specific deletion rule which targets subjects under certain circumstances (possibly along the lines of *gapping*). Moreover, such a rule could not only target subjects but could be extended to TAM markers which in turn would eliminate the distinction between subject sharing and clausal coordination. In other words, the currently rather stipulative mechanism could apply in a certain context and delete the TAM marker as well as the subject. When this mechanism is set to apply and what the motivation as well as consequences are, I will leave for future research. A starting point should be to gather more information about the conjunct-internal structure. Diagnostics for testing whether or not a TP is present in both conjuncts of Samoan subject sharing constructions as well should include tests for the assignment of Absolutive case in the second conjunct. An additional idea to put forward is to analyse subject sharing as serial verb constructions which are known to exist in Samoan (Hopperdietzel 2020). Generally, mechanisms like *deletion under identity* or *Equi-NP-deletion* are not suited since both require c-command of the higher element over the lower one (Chung 1978; Citko 2001). Potentially, an account along the lines of *distributed deletion* (Fanselow & Ćavar 2002) could be a possible derivation, if sufficiently constrained. Another possibility in this regard might be V-stranding clausal ellipsis. Inquiries concerning the application and nature of such a deletion approach will be left for future research.

8. Conclusion

In this paper, I investigated the structure, the properties of subject sharing constructions in Samoan and the challenges they pose. The main observations include the intriguing position of the subject in the surface structure and grammatical cases of case mismatch in coordinations of an ergative and an unergative verb. By analysing these constructions, I presented evidence (i) against the availability of *pro*-drop in Samoan, (ii) for the coordinative nature of subject sharing constructions, (iii) for the distinctiveness of subject sharing constructions and clausal coordination, and (iv) for the application of predicate fronting in the first and second conjunct in both of these constructions. I reasoned that the individual conjuncts must be smaller than TP, but have to be at least the size of FP in the sense of Collins (2017). Subsequently, the coordination must occur below TP. Furthermore, I reinforced the idea predicted by FP-coordination that there must be two subject position in Samoan subject sharing constructions.

With these results at hand, it seems likely that the *Double-Duty-Problem* in Samoan subject sharing constructions arises due to certain, possibly context-specific deletion rules. These rules could either take the form of PF-deletion (cf. Chung 1978), V-stranding clausal ellipsis or distributed deletion, or they could be based on semantic principles (cf. Mosel 1987). The exact nature of the rules as well as their domain of application will be left open for future research. Overall, the phenomenon at hand constitute an intriguing puzzle which requires more elaborate research and data.

Acknowledgements

This research was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) – Project ID 317633480 – SFB 1287, Project C05 (Georgi). I would like to thank Astrid van Alem, Kenyon Branan, Doreen Georgi, Mitcho Erlewine, James Griffiths, Vera Hohauser, Jens Hopperdietzel, Jozina Vander Klok and Philipp Weisser for their helpful comments and discussion. Further, I would like to thank the audiences at ConSOLE 31, TripleA 10, APLL 15 and AFLA 30 for their useful suggestions. I also thank an anonymous reviewer. Finally, I thank Lola Nifara Kraus and Asenati Ene for their judgments and their helpful comments during the elicitation sessions.

Abbreviations

A	Agent	LD	Locative-directional	PT	Patient topic
ABS	Absolutive	O	object	REFL	reflexive
ART	article	P	Patient	S	subject
CAUS	causative	PRES	present	TAM	Tense, Aspect, Mood
ERG	Ergative	PRF	perfect	V	verb
FUT	future	PST	past		

Maximilian Wiesner
University of Potsdam
wiesner@uni-potsdam.de
maximilian-wiesner.github.io

References

- Aldridge, E. (2004). *Ergativity and Word Order in Austronesian Languages*. [PhD thesis]. Cornell University.
- Barnickel, K. (2017). *Deriving Asymmetric Coordination in German: A non-monotonic approach*. [PhD thesis]. University of Leipzig.
- Broschart, J. (1997). Why Tongan does it differently: Categorical distinctions in a language without nouns and verbs. *Linguistic Typology* 1:2.
- Chung, S. (1978). *Case marking and grammatical relations in Polynesian*. University of Texas Press.
- Chung, S. (1990). VPs and Verb Movement in Chamorro. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 8, pp. 559–619.
- Chung, S. (1998). *The design of agreement: Evidence from Chamorro*. University of Chicago Press.
- Churchward, S. (1926). *A new Samoan grammar*. Spectator Publishing Company for the Methodist Church of Australasia, Samoa District, Melbourne.
- Churchward, S. (1928). On the Origin of the Polynesian Passive. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 37:3 (147), pp. 300–305.
- Churchward, S. (1951). *A Samoan Grammar*. Methodist Church of Australasia, Samoa District, Melbourne, 2nd edn.
- Citko, B. (2001). Deletion under identity in relative clauses. *North East Linguistics Society*, vol. 31, pp. 131–145.
- Cole, P., G. Hermon, K. Inoha & Y. Tjung (2002). A constraint on *wh*-in-situ in Javanese. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 44, pp. 91–106.
- Collins, J. N. (2017). Samoan predicate initial word order and object positions. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 35:1, pp. 1–59.

- Corver, N. (2017). Freezing effects. Everaert, M. & H. C. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., second edn.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (1994). *Ergativity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fanselow, G. & D. Ćavar (2002). Distributed deletion. Alexiadou, A. (ed.), *Theoretical Approaches to Universals*, John Benjamins.
- Fox, D. (1999). Focus, parallelism and accommodation. *Semantics and Linguistic Theory*, vol. 9, pp. 70–90.
- Franks, S. (1993). On parallelism in across-the-board dependencies. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24:3, pp. 509–529.
- Grosu, A. (1985). Subcategorization and parallelism. *Theoretical Linguistics* 12:2-3, pp. 231–240.
- Heycock, C. & A. Kroch (1993). Verb movement and the status of subjects: implications for the theory of licensing. *GAGL: Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik* 36, pp. 75–102.
- Höhle, T. N. (2019). Assumptions about asymmetric coordination in German. Müller, S., M. Reis & F. Richter (eds.), *Beiträge zur deutschen Grammatik: Gesammelte Schriften von Tilman N. Höhle*, Language Science Press, second edn. Originally published in Joan Mascaró & Marina Nespó (eds.), 1990. *Grammar in progress. GLOW essays for Henk van Riemsdijk* (Studies in Generative Grammar 36), 221–235. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Homer, V. (2009). Backward control in Samoan. Chung, S., D. Finer, I. Paul & E. Potsdam (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA)*, University of California, Santa Cruz, pp. 45–59.
- Hopperdietzel, J. (2020). *Resultatives: A view from Oceanic verb serialization*. [PhD thesis]. Humboldt Universität zu Berlin (Germany).
- Johnson, K. (2002). Restoring exotic coordinations to normalcy. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33:1, pp. 97–156.
- Kathol, A. (1995). *Linearization-based German syntax*. [PhD thesis]. The Ohio State University.
- Kathol, A. (1999). Linearization vs. Phrase Structure in German Coordination Constructions. *Cognitive Linguistics* 10:4, pp. 303–342.
- Koopman, H. (2012). Samoan ergativity as double passivization. Brugé, L., A. Cardinaletti, G. Giusti, N. Munaro & C. Poletto (eds.), *Functional Heads, Volume 7: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, Oxford University Press.
- Lafeber, A. (1928). The Grammatical Value of Constructions with *e* in the Polynesian Dialects Compared with Similar Cases in Indonesia. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 37:4 (148), pp. 403–425.
- MacLachlan, A. (1997). Conjunction reduction and the syntax of case in Tagalog. Odé, C. (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, Rodopi, Leiden, pp. 443–460.
- Massam, D. (2000). VSO and VOS: Aspects of Niuean word order. Carnie, A. & E. Guilfoyle (eds.), *The Syntax of Verb Initial Languages*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 97–116.
- Massam, D. (2005). Lexical categories, lack of inflection, and predicate fronting in Niuean. Carnie, A., H. Harley & S. A. Dooley (eds.), *Verb First: On the syntax of verb-initial languages*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 227–242.
- McCloskey, J. (1991). Clause structure, ellipsis and proper government in Irish. *Lingua* 85, pp. 259–302.
- Milner, G. B. (1962). Active, passive or perfective in Samoan: A fresh appraisal of the problem. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* pp. 151–161.
- Milner, G. B. (1966). *Samoan dictionary*. Polynesian Press.
- Mosel, U. (1987). Subject in Samoan. Laycock, D. C. & W. Winter (eds.), *A World of Language: Papers presented to Professor S.A. Wurm on his 65th Birthday*, no. C-100 in Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 455–479.
- Mosel, U. (2004). Demonstratives in Samoan. Senft, G. (ed.), *Deixis and demonstratives in Oceanic languages*, Pacific Linguistics, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 141–174.
- Mosel, U. & E. Hovdhaugen (1992). *Samoan reference grammar*. Scandinavian University Press, Oslo.
- Muāgututi’a, G. (2017). *An Ergative Intervention in Heritage Samoan*. [PhD thesis]. University of Hawai’i at Mānoa Department of Linguistics.
- Paul, I. M. (2000). *Malagasy clause structure*. [PhD thesis]. McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Pearson, M. (2001). *The clause structure of Malagasy: A minimalist approach*. [PhD thesis]. University of California, Los Angeles.
- Powell, T. (1886). *O le tala i tino o tagata ma mea ola eseese: ei ai foi o tala i manu ua ta’ua i le Tusi Paia. A manual of Zoology: Embracing the Animals of Scripture in the Samoan Dialect*. Unwin Brothers.
- Rackowski, A. (1998). Malagasy adverbs. Paul, I. (ed.), *The Structure of Malagasy*, University of California, vol. 2 of *UCLA Occasional Papers in Linguistics*, pp. 11–33.
- Richards, N. (2013). Lardil “case stacking” and the timing of case assignment. *Syntax* 16:1, pp. 42–76.

- Rijkhoff, J. (2003). When can a language have nouns and verbs? *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 35:1, pp. 7–38.
- Ross, J. R. (1967). *Constraints on variables in syntax*. [PhD thesis]. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Sabbagh, J. (2005). *Non-verbal argument structure: evidence from Tagalog*. [PhD thesis]. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Tollan, R. (2018). Unergatives are different: Two types of transitivity in Samoan. *Glossa* 3:1.
- Williams, H. W. (1927). A New Samoan Grammar (Review). *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 36:2 (142), pp. 194–197.
- Williams, H. W. (1928). Some observations on Polynesian verbs. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 37:3 (147), pp. 306–317.
- Wunderlich, D. (1988). Some problems of coordination in German. Reyle, U. & C. Rohrer (eds.), *Natural Language Parsing and Linguistic Theories*, Reidel, pp. 289–316.