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ERGATIVITY IN SAMOAN

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PREFACE

The present study on Ergativity in Samoan was written while I was an associated member of the Cologne research project on language universals and typology. I am deeply indebted to my Cologne colleagues, particularly to Prof. Dr. H. Seiler, Dr. Werner Drossard and Nikolaus Himmelmann for commenting on draft sections, and I also want to thank Ingrid Hoyer and Karla Trembour for correcting my English and typing the final draft. My present project on Samoan syntax is financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

As I have not done any fieldwork yet and have had no opportunity of discussing the aspects of syntax to be analysed here with Samoan native speakers staying in Germany, the study is based solely on the texts edited by Krämer (1902/03), Moyle (1981) and Stuebel (1896) and the examples given by Chapin (1970), Chung (1973, 1978), Cook (1978), Duranti (1981), Milner (1966), Pratt (1893, 1911) and in a very few cases on the language course books written by Johnson et al. (n.d.) and Mayer (n.d.). All the examples are quoted in the original orthography. English translations are not changed, but sometimes supplemented by a literal translation, whereas examples taken from Krämer (1902/03) and Stuebel (1896) have been translated into English by myself.

ABBREVIATIONS

The origins of the examples are given by means of the following abbreviations:

Ch	Chung (1978)
F	Moyle (1981)
Kr	Krämer (1902/03)
Mar	Marsack (1962)
Pawley	Pawley (1966)
St	Stuebel (1896)

In the interlinear morphemic translations the following abbreviations are used:

ABS	Absolutive
ANAPH	anaphoric pronoun
ART	article
COLL	prefix deriving collective nouns
CONT	particle, probably indicating the imperfective aspect
DEF	definite
DIR	post-verbal particle indicating the direction of the action referred to by the verb
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic particle
ERG	Ergative
EXC	exclusive
FUT	verbal particle indicating future tense, and that a past event happened after some other past event
INC	inclusive
INSTR	instrumental
INTR	prefix deriving intransitive verbs from transitive ones
LOC	Locative
NEG.IMP	particle used with negative commands
NON-PAST	verbal particle used for unrealized actions, habitual actions, future events; exact meaning unclear
NP.MKR	particle introducing Absolutive noun phrases
OPT	verbal particle denoting wish, desire, request or command
PAST	past tense marker
PERF	verbal particle (tense marker), used with action verbs referring to past events and with stative verbs referring to present and past states
PL	plural
POSS	possessive marker
PROPER	particular form used only with proper nouns
Q	particle introducing questions
RELATIVE	particle introducing relative clauses
SG	singular
TR	transitive suffix

1. INTRODUCTION

Most typological and language specific studies on so-called ergative languages are concerned with case marking patterns, particularly split ergativity, with the organization of syntactic relations as defined by syntactic operations such as co-referential deletion across coordinate conjunctions, Equi-NP-deletion and relativization, and with the notion of subject, but usually neglect the notion of valency, though the inherent relational properties of the verb, i.e. valency, play a fundamental role in the syntactic organization of sentences in ergative as well as in other languages. The following investigation of ergativity in Samoan aims to integrate the notion of valency into the description of semantic and syntactic relations and to outline the characteristic features of Samoan verbal clauses as far as they seem to be relevant to recent and still ongoing discussions on linguistic typology and syntactic theory.

The main points of the definition of valency as given in Mosel (1984) are:

Valency is the property of the verb which determines the obligatory and optional number of its participants, their morphosyntactic form, their semantic class membership (e.g. ±animate, ±human), and their semantic role (e.g. agent, patient, recipient).

All semantic properties and morphosyntactic properties of participants not inherently given by the verb and therefore not predictable from the verb, are not a matter of valency. Valency is not a homogenous property of the verb, but consists of several components which show varying degrees of relevance in different languages or different verb classes within a single language. To our present knowledge, these components or aspects of valency are

1. the quantitative component which determines the number of participants,
2. the semantic component which determines the semantic roles and the semantic class membership of participants,
3. The morphosyntactic component which determines the morphosyntactic form of participants,

4. The pragmatic component which indicates which participant is selected for a particular pragmatic role.

Different verb forms of one and the same lexeme such as the active and passive forms of English verbs can show different valencies. In the case that one of the verb forms is unmarked, whereas others with a different valency are marked, it is reasonable to consider the valency of the unmarked form as basic and that of the marked form as derived or secondary. The characteristic feature of secondary valency is that it is not inherently contained in the verb form, but overtly marked, e.g. by transitive suffixes or analytic passive constructions, which indicate a particular kind of relationality (for further details cf. Mosel 1984).

2. BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CANONICAL INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN SAMOAN

2.1. CASE MARKING

Samoan is a Polynesian language of the so-called Samoic-Outlier subgroup (Pawley 1966). As far as the encoding of nominal participants in canonical intransitive and transitive clauses is concerned, its case marking follows the ergative pattern in that the primary participant of intransitive verbs (S) and the patient of transitive verbs (O) are unmarked and hence form a single morphological category, the Absolutive, whereas the agent of transitive verbs (A) is marked by the preposition e, the Ergative case marker, e.g.

- (1) 'Ua alu le tama
PERF go ART boy
"The boy went."
- (2) 'Ua fasi le teine e le tama
PERF hit ART girl ERG ART boy
"The boy hit the girl."
"The girl was hit by the boy."

Canonical transitive clauses are clauses which contain two referential nominal or independent pronominal participants and express that one participant consciously performs

and controls the action denoted by the verb, whereas the other participant is totally affected by the action and does not have any influence on its performance (compare Hopper & Thompson's parameters of transitivity, 1980:252). Consequently the following types of clauses are not considered canonical, though they contain two participants:

1. clauses containing clitic pronominal participants,
2. clauses containing a non-referential participant,
3. clauses which do not express a real action, but a state of being, a perception, an emotion etc. (e.g. X is tired of Y, X saw Y, X loves Y),
4. clauses which are not controlled by a conscious agent (e.g. the wind shut the door),
5. clauses expressing an action that only partly affects the agent.

In canonical transitive clauses the two participants agent and patient are obligatorily expressed by an Ergative and an Absolutive noun phrase.

Canonical intransitive clauses express actions, processes and states in which only one nominal participant is directly involved. This participant is obligatorily denoted by an Absolutive noun phrase. If it is a participant which is found in a state or which undergoes a process, the clause cannot be expanded by an Ergative noun phrase expressing the initiator of the state or process.

There are several types of verbal clauses which are neither canonical transitive nor canonical intransitive, but constitute various categories which may be subsumed under the cover term "semi-transitive clauses" (cf. p.104, compare Mosel 1982:207). While some of their morphosyntactic characteristics are also shared by intransitive clauses, others relate them more to transitive clauses.

2.2.AGREEMENT

Furthermore, many Samoan verbs distinguish between singular and non-singular forms and then optionally agree with S in the case of intransitive verbs, but with O in the case of transitive verbs, e.g.

- (3) 'Ua \bar{o} \emptyset tama
 PERF go/-SG (ART.DEF.PL) boy
 "The boys went."
- (4) 'Ua fafasi \emptyset teine e le tama
 PERF hit/-SG (ART.DEF.PL) girl ERG ART.DEF.SG boy
 "The boy hit the girls."
 "The girls were hit by the boy."

As the agreement in number between transitive verbs and their undergoers has not been recognized in the literature on ergativity in Samoan (Chung 1978, Cook 1978, Milner 1962, 1973, 1976) further examples are given in the Appendix. Chung's claim (1978:158) that agreement is only triggered by subjects of intransitive verbs is evidently wrong. With the overwhelming majority of nouns number is only indicated by different articles for singular and plural noun phrases, quantifiers and numerals. The articles are classified as follows:

	singular	plural
specific article	<u>le</u> , <u>l=</u>	\emptyset
non-specific article	<u>se</u> , <u>s=</u>	<u>ni</u>
emotional-diminutive article	<u>si</u>	<u>nāi</u>
quantitative-diminutive article (used with mass and abstract nouns)	<u>sina</u>	

(compare Pawley 1966:15, 34, Breidbach 1983:23-26)

Only very few nouns referring to human beings have different singular and plural forms, e.g.

- (5) lo'omatua lo'omātutua
 "old woman" "old women"
- tamaloa tamaloloa
 "man" "men"

In spite of their singular form, collective noun phrases are often combined with non-singular verbs, e.g.

- (6) Ona fa'asaga loa lea 'o Va'atausili
 Then set-to immediately (then) NP.MKR V.
- 'ua fafasi 'uma le uso
 PERF hit/-SG completely ART brotherhood Kr I 270
 "And then Va'atausili prepared to kill all the brothers."

- (7) 'Ua feita le 'au= tama'ita'i 'iā Sina
 PERF be-angry/-SG ART COLL= woman at/PROPER Sina
 "The women became angry at Sina." F. 100

2.3. GRAMMATICAL INDISPENSABILITY OF PARTICIPANTS

In canonical transitive clauses the actor is always optional, while, unless it is understood from the context, the undergoer is obligatory. Thus even in isolation

- (8) 'Ua fasi le teine
 PERF hit/SG ART girl
 "Someone hit the girl."
 "The girl was hit."

is fully grammatical, whereas

- (9) 'Ua fasi e le tama
 PERF hit/SG ERG ART boy
 "The boy hit."

requires contextual information about who was hit.

Similarly, the agent of intransitive verbs denoting actions is optional, as shown by the following clauses taken from a text about how a particular kind of fishing net is made:

- (10) Ona fai 'o le 'upega
 Then make NP.MKR ART net
 Ona alu lea
 Then go.SG (then)
 'ua su'e mai se isi
 PERF look-for DIR ART someone
 na te fai= a le 'upeaga
 3.SG NON-PAST make= TR ART net Kr II 180
 "Then the net is made.
 Someone goes and looks for someone to make the net."

Both with fai "to make" and alu "to go" the agent (i.e., A and S respectively) is not expressed in order not to specify by whom the action is done, whereas the unspecified patient of su'e "to look for" is denoted by se isi "someone". Whether the S of state and process verbs, which refers to an undergoer, behaves like the intransitive agent or the transitive patient is unclear. Our corpus does not contain any clause in which

an intransitive state or process verb, e.g. lavea "to be hurt", tupu "to grow", is not combined with an undergoer.

2.4. BASIC WORD ORDER

The basic word order of verbal clauses is strictly verb initial. The sequential order of nominal participants following the verb is not determined by the role structure of the clause, but by its pragmatic structure. The participant which the speaker wants to focus as being the most important part of the new information directly follows the verb. Consider the following text, which shows that the Ergative NP as well as the Absolutive NP can be focussed.

(A youth has brought a fā'ausi, a kind of dish consisting of cooked grated taro or cut into cubes (mafu) to a woman who desires him.)

- (11)(a) Ona toe fai atu lea 'o le fāfine
 Then again say DIR (then) NP.MKR ART woman
 "Then the woman said again:"
- (b) Se la'ula'u mai e 'oe i lo'u gutu
 Friend put DIR ERG you/SG into my mouth
 "Friend, you put it (the mafu) into my mouth!"
- (c) Ona tu'u atu lea e le tama 'o le mafu i
 Then put DIR (then) ERG ART youth NP.MKR ART cube into
 le gutu o le tamaita'i
 ART mouth of ART lady
 "Then the boy put the cube into the mouth of the lady."
- (d) 'ua lē 'ai=nā le mafu, 'a 'ua miti-solo
 PERF not eat=TR ART cube but PERF suck-up-and-down
 le lima o le tama e le fāfine
 ART hand of ART youth ERG ART woman Kr I 267
 "She did not eat the cube, but kissed the hand of the youth."

In (11)(b) the ergative of the independent pronoun e 'oe is used in order to stress that the woman did not want to take the cube by herself, but that the youth should put it into her mouth (cf. p. 26). Correspondingly, e le tama is the focussed participant in (11)(c) emphasizing that really the boy did what usually should have been done by the woman herself. In (11)(d), however, the Absolutive noun phrase le lima o le tama "the hand of the youth" is focussed, as it contrasts with le mafu "the cube"; whereas the Ergative phrase e le

fafine does not contribute to the new information given by that clause.

Both Milner (1973:636) and Chung (1978:14) claim that the actor of canonical transitive clauses tends to precede the undergoer. This is certainly true for isolated sentences as they are produced by informants when they translate from English (compare Duranti's critical remarks on eliciting techniques, 1981:170ff). A second reason for the basic word order V A O in isolated clauses may be that these clauses denote a single event whose participants are presented according to the "inherent natural attention flow" (De Lancey).

"Events have an inherent natural attention flow, which recreates the flow of attention involved in actually witnessing the event. The basis of this natural attention flow is the temporal ordering of phrases of the event: other things being equal, the ordering of NP's in a sentence will reflect this temporal ordering (...)

Just as unmarked linguistic attention flow in a sentence describing a motion event is iconic, following natural attention flow from Source to Goal, so unmarked linguistic attention flow in a dative sentence is from giver to receiver, and in a transitive sentence is from agent to patient."

(De Lancey 1981:632f)

Since isolated clauses exclude a priori the possibility of one participant deserving more attention because of its pragmatic role in discourse, it seems quite reasonable when their sequential order corresponds to natural attention flow from actor to undergoer. Furthermore, as nominal participants do not refer to speech act participants, actor and undergoer do not have a different status in respect to their relation to the speaker or the hearer which might affect their ordering - and in fact does (cf. p. 27).

Contextually bound clauses, however, usually represent situations which are related to preceding or succeeding situations. Therefore, the sequential order of participants often does not follow the pattern of natural attention flow from actor to undergoer, but is determined by pragmatic factors (cf. p. 124). A thorough study of all clauses in Stuebel (1896), Krämer (1902/1983) and Moyle (1981) which contain both an

Ergative and an Absolutive NP (due to extensive "zero-pronominalization" their number is comparatively small) shows that V O A occurs as often as V A O, so that the frequency of occurrence cannot argue for one or the other sequential word order as basic. Ochs (1982:649) states "that VSO and VOS orders are used with almost equal frequency (34,6% and 36% of transitives with three full constituents)."

A further syntactic means of expressing pragmatic functions of nominal participants is left-dislocation, which will be discussed later in the chapter on the principles of syntactic organization. Here it suffices to note that the pragmatic functions of the participants are not morphologically indicated by the verb form and hence are not predictable from the verb form as in the case of ergative languages which distinguish between unmarked and anti-passive verb forms (compare Van Valin 1980, 1981).

2.5. CONCLUSION

To conclude, nominal S, O and A of canonical intransitive and intransitive clauses are characterized by the following morphosyntactic features:

1. Both S and O are expressed by noun phrases in the Absolutive case and thus contrasted with A marked by the Ergative particle e.
2. If there is agreement in number between the verb and one of its participants, this participant functions as S or O, but not as A.
3. In contextually independent, canonical transitive clauses A is optional, but O is obligatory.
4. In canonical intransitive clauses S is optional, when the verb refers to an action performed by an unspecific actor.
5. The pragmatic functions of S, A and O are not marked morphologically, but only by word order; the participant directly following the verb presents the most important one in respect to the new information to be communicated.

These findings are strong evidence against the classification of S and A as subject in Samoan (compare Chung 1978, Cook 1978, Ochs 1982; for further discussion cf. Ch. 6.1.).

3. CASE MARKING

3.0. INTRODUCTION

The syntactic and semantic relations between the verb and the noun phrases are either unmarked or marked by prepositions. The unmarked case, the Absolutive, and the marked cases show varying degrees of semanticity, i.e. the identification of a participant's semantic role is exhibited by its case marking to varying degrees. The less the semantic role of a participant is indicated by its case, the more the nature of the semantic relation between the verb and the participant is inherently given in the verb or determined by its context.

Whereas, for instance, the Absolutive itself does not give any information about the semantic role of the respective participant, the Ergative unambiguously marks the participant as the agent of an action that affects a patient.

The aim of the following chapter is not only to describe the various functions of the Absolutive, Ergative, Locative, Directional and Possessive, but also to investigate how they are related to each other and to the verb. Though the case marking pattern of pronominalized noun phrases differ considerably from that of noun phrases, it is, at least in Samoan, not justified to speak of split case marking patterns or even regard the case marking patterns of nouns and pronouns as two case systems. Instead, they form a single though complex system.

Consequently, we shall start with a functional description of each case, which only considers nouns, and then look at how the cases are pronominalized and what their kind of pronominalization means to the interrelations between the particular cases and their status within the whole system. In Chapter 6, which represents an extended conclusion, the cases are compared with one another with regard to the semantic functions, the coding properties and the "Behavior and Control Properties" (Keenan (1976) of the respective participants.

Though Ergative, Locative, Directional and Possessor phrases are signified by preposed markers, and superficially resemble

prepositional phrases, they are considered as being marked for case and thus distinguished from prepositional phrases on the basis of morpho-syntactic criteria. In contrast to prepositional phrases all types of phrases marked for case can be pronominalized by particular pronouns which formally differ from independent pronouns, e.g. proclitic pronouns, anaphoric pronouns and pronominal suffixes in the case of Ergative, Locative and Directional and Possessor Phrases respectively. Secondly, they can undergo the syntactic operations of relativization and left-dislocation.

3.1. CASE MARKING OF NOUNS

3.1.1. The Absolutive

As shown by its high degree of indispensability and its agreement in number with the verb, the Absolutive is used with the noun phrase that stands in the closest relationship to the verb. The semantic function of the Absolutive noun phrase is

1. completely determined by the verb, or
2. by the verb and the presence of other participants within the clause, or by the wider context of the clause, which makes it clear how the semantic relation between the verb and the Absolutive noun phrase is to be understood.

When the verbal complex is introduced by a tense, aspect or mood marker and when the verb is only combined with one Absolutive noun phrase, the Absolutive noun phrase is occasionally preceded by the Noun Phrase Marker 'o, e.g.

- (12) ina ua auauna i tamaitai o le tasi tagata
 when PERF serve DIREC lady/PL.DEF NP.MKR ART one man
 "When a man served the women."

The Noun Phrase Marker is, however, obligatory in clauses that are introduced by ona V (ai) lea and in clauses containing two Absolutive noun phrases as may be the case with pei "to be like, resemble" and ta'ua "to be called", where the second Absolutive noun phrase is marked by 'o (cf. below), e.g.

- (13) Ona ave ai lea e Sina o le ia i
 then take ANAPH (then) ERG S. NP.MKR ART fish DIREC
 le tasi puna
 ART one well St 167

"Then Sina took the fish to a well."

- (14) Ona fa'a= mu loa lava lea 'o le
 then CAUS = burn immediately EMPH (then) NP.MKR ART
 fale e Matu'u
 house ERG M. Kr I 266

"Then Matu'u immediately set fire to the house."

The use of 'o in ona V (ai) lea - constructions is independent of the position of the Absolutive noun phrase.

The following examples illustrate the first case to be considered here, where information about the semantic role of the Absolutive noun phrase is contained in the verb.

- 1a) The Absolutive noun phrase can express the agent of an action, if this action does not affect a patient, e.g.

- (15) 'ua alu le tama
 PERF go ART boy
 "The boy went."

- 1b) With verbs expressing uncontrolled perceptions, emotions and similar mental states and processes, the Absolutive noun phrase denotes the participant that experiences the mental state or process, e.g.

- (16) 'ua va'ai le tama 'i le teine
 PERF see ART boy DIREC ART girl
 "The boy saw the girl."

- (17) 'Ua alofa le tama 'i le teine
 PERF love ART boy DIREC ART girl
 "The boy loved the girl."

- 1c) If the verb denotes a consciously performed action which affects a participant, i.e. a patient, this affected participant is expressed by the Absolutive noun phrase, e.g.

- (18) 'Ua fasi le teine e le tama
 PERF hit ART girl ERG ART boy
 "The boy hit the girl."

- 1d) The Absolutive noun phrase of a process verb denotes the participant that involuntarily undergoes the process, i.e. a change of its state of being, signified by the verb, e.g.

- (19) 'Ua tupu le lā'au
 PERF grow ART tree Mi 288
 "The tree is growing."
- (20) 'Ua mu le fale
 PERF burn ART house Mi 150
 "The house is burning."

1e) Following a verb which denotes a state of being, the Absolutive noun phrase represents the participant that is found in this state of being, e.g.

- (21) E uliuli lona lauulu
 NON-PAST black his hair Mi 298
 "His hair is black."

1f) The stative verb pei "be like, resemble" can be combined with two Absolutive noun phrases. While the first Absolutive noun phrase represents the participant to which the property of resembling is ascribed to, the second one denotes the participant with which the first one is compared, e.g.

- (22) E pei le tama 'o lona tama
 NON-PAST resemble ART boy NP.MKR his father Mi 180
 "The boy resembles his father."

Another verb which can be constructed with two Absolutive noun phrases is ta'ua "to be called". Here the first Absolutive noun phrase denotes the patient of the transitive action of calling, whereas the second one expresses what the patient is called, e.g.

- (23) 'O le mea lenā 'ua ta'ua ai Fata ma
 NP.MKR ART thing that PERF be-called ANAPH F. and
 Maulolo 'o Tuisamaua
 M. NP.MKR T. Kr.261

"Because of that Fata and Maulolo were called Tuisamaua."

Now consider the second case, where the nature of the semantic relation between the verb and the Absolutive noun phrase can only be understood from the context.

There are a number of action verbs which may function as the predicate of both transitive and intransitive clauses, which implies that the semantic function of the Absolutive noun phrase is not determined by the verb. The sequence of

V + ABS can either be interpreted as "the action denoted by V is carried out by the ABS referent" or as "the action denoted by V affects the ABS referent", provided that the ABS referent is animate, so that it can be agent and patient. One of these verbs, which following Caucasian linguists are called labile verbs, is 'ai "to eat" (cf. p.108). Compare the following two clauses:

- (24) 'ai loa lea 'o mā'ua
eat immediately then NP.MKR 1.DUAL.EXC F 94
"Eat us then."
- (25) 'ai loa lea 'o Tuiatamai
eat immediately then NP.MKR T. F 92
"Tuiatamai then ate (it)."

Both clauses are unmarked for tense, aspect or mood. The semantic role of the Absolutive noun phrases 'o mā'ua and 'o Tuiatamai can only be recognized from the context. Theoretically (24) could also mean "then we ate" and (25) "eat Tuiatamai then" or "Tuiatamai was eaten". If, however, 'ai + ABS is combined with an Ergative noun phrase, the Absolutive phrase unambiguously denotes the patient:

- (26) E lelei ona 'ai 'o lā'ua e le aitu ?
NON-PAST good that eat NP.MKR 3.DUAL ERG ART spirit
"It is good when they are eaten by the spirit."
Kr I 143

To conclude, taken by itself the Absolutive noun phrase does not contain any information about its semantic or pragmatic function, but only signifies the participant as such, which correlates with its morphological unmarkedness. In verbal clauses the Absolutive noun phrase denotes the participant which is most closely related to the verb. The identification of its semantic function within the clause is guaranteed by the verb, or, as in the case of labile verbs, by the context.

3.1.2. The Ergative

The Ergative is marked by the preposed particle e. In traditional Samoan it is only used to signify the agent of canonical transitive clauses, e.g.

- (27) 'Ua fasi le teine e le tama
PERF hit ART girl ERG ART boy
"The boy hit the girl."

Metaphorically the Ergative is sometimes used with noun phrases referring to inanimate beings, though the Locative is to be preferred here (cf. Pratt 1893:30). Compare

- (28) ina 'ua maua tama e le ma'i malū
 because PERF catch boy ERG ART sick soft F 274
 "Because the boys were afflicted with the soft-sickness."
- (29) 'Ua maua a'u i le ma'alili
 PERF catch 1.SG LOC ART cold Mi 117
 "I have a cold." (lit. "I have been caught by a cold.")
- (30) 'Ua lē maua se filēmu e le tama
 PERF not catch ART peace ERG ART boy F 128
 "The youth did not get peace."

Stative verbs, however, cannot be combined with an Ergative noun phrase in order to denote the initiator of the state, even if its referent is animate. Here the Locative case marking is obligatory, e.g.

- (31) Na lavea le tama ia 'ilātou
 PAST be-hurt ART boy LOC by-them/3.PL Mi 81
 (state)
 "The boy was hurt by them."

To speak of semantic or stative agents in this case, as Chung does (1978:13, 28), blurs rather than clarifies the nature of Samoan case marking in as much Equi-NP-Deletion, which generally applies to agents, does not apply to this kind of "agent", so that Chung is forced to state that Equi "is restricted to targets that are both subjects and semantic agents/experiencers" (1978:131), which unnecessarily complicates her analysis and description, not to mention that her notion of subject is questionable. Though a state may result from an action done by an agent, the relationship between the state itself and this agent whose past action has caused the state, hence called "initiator", is less immediate than that between an action and the agent performing this action. The greater semantic distance between a state and its initiator is shown by the incompatibility of stative verbs and Ergative noun phrases and by the expression of the initiator by the Locative (cf. below).

3.1.3. The Locative

The Locative is marked by iāte with independent singular and plural pronouns, by ia with independent plural pronouns and proper names and by i with common nouns.

independent pronoun, sg.	independent pronoun, pl.	proper name	common noun
<u>iāte</u>	<u>iāte</u> , <u>ia</u>	<u>ia</u>	<u>i</u>
(32)	'o lo'o o'u nofo i le fale IMPERF I stay LOC ART house "I am staying in the house."		Mi 81
(33)	'o lo'o o'u nofo i Pai IMPERF I stay LOC Pai "I am staying at Pai's."		Mi 81
(34)	'ina 'ua lē nofo iate ia 'o Sina because PERF not stay LOC 3.SG NP.MKR. Sina "Because Sina did not stay with him."		Kr I 124/125

The term Locative has been chosen because the basic, semantically most concrete function of this case is to indicate where a situation, i.e. an action, process or state of being, is located in space or time. If the Locative noun phrase refers to a particular stretch of time, it either denotes the duration of the situation spoken about or the point in time when it occurs, e.g.

- (35) 'ole'ā tā talanoa i lenei aso 'ātoa
FUT 1.INC.DU chat LOC this day whole F 20
"You and I will spend the whole day chatting."
- (36) Ona sau lava lea 'o le tagata lenei i
then come EMPH (then) NP.MKR ART man this LOC
lona va'a i pō
his boat LOC night F 64
"This man came in his boat that night."
- (37) 'a'o le nofo 'o fai mea 'ai i le nofo
but ART stay(ing) CONT make thing eat LOC ART stay(ing)
lava i le oneone
EMPH LOC ART stay(ing) F 296
(lit. 'but (as for) the(ir) staying, (they were making the food while the(ir) staying in the sand.')
- "and they stayed and prepared the food while they were on the beach."

The other semantically derived functions of Locative noun phrases include the expression of the initiating force of an

action-like process , e.g.

- (38) 'Ua lelea le pepa i le matagi
 PERF blow ART paper LOC ART wind Mi 105
 "The paper has been blown by the wind."
 (lelea "to blow" is derived from lele (itr) "to fly"
 by the transitive suffix =a and expresses that the en-
 tity denoted by the Absolutive phrase is caused to
 fly.)
- (39) E te lē iloa Tigilau 'ā mū le ali'i
 2.SG NON-PAST not realize T. FUT burn ART chief
 i le lā
 LOC ART sun F 160
 (lit. ' Don't you realize that Tigilau, the chief,
 is about to be burnt in the sun?')
 "Don't you realize that Tigilau is about to be burnt
 by the sun?"

and the expression of the cause of an action, process or state
 resulting from an action, e.g.

- (40) 'Ou te tau i atu 'iate 'oe i lau āmio
 I NON-PAST reward DIR DIREC you/SG LOC your/SG conduct
 "I shall reward you for your conduct." Mi 253
- (41) 'Ua tīma'i =na 'i lātou i le lāuga malosi
 PERF encourage =TR they/PL LOC ART speech strong
 "They were encouraged by a vigorous speech." Mi 265
- (42) 'Ua lavea tele a'u i le ma'alili
 PERF be-hurt very I LOC ART cold Mi 103
 "I am affected by the cold."
- (43) 'Ua māfatia tele a'u i au upu
 PERF hurt very 1.SG LOC your/SG word Mi 119
 "I am deeply hurt by your words."

Chung also states that i indicates sources and gives the fol-
 lowing example:

- (44) 'Ou te sau i Hawai'i
 I NON-PAST come LOC H.
 "I come from Hawaii." Ch 27

In our data, however, sources are only expressed by the pre-
 position mai "from", e.g.

- (45) 'Ua sau lona tinā mai le vao
 PERF come her mother from ART bush F 110
 "Her mother was coming from the bush."

or by i in combination with this preposition mai, e.g.

- (46) e sau ai mai 'inā i le nu'u o
 NON-PAST come ANAPH from there LOC ART village of
 sauali'i 'o le tagata lea
 spirit NP.MKR ART person that F 82
 "And that person had come from there, the village of
 spirits."

or by i in combination with the homonymous directional particle mai, e.g.

- (47) Ia, va'ai mai loa le ilāmutu i lona fale
 Well, look DIR immediately ART aunt LOC her house
 "From inside of her house the aunt looked out." F 160

or by a combination of the directional particle mai and the preposition mai, e.g.

- (48) Ona oso mai ai lea 'o le aitu mai le umu
 Then jump DIR ANAPH then NP.MKR ART spirit from ART oven
 "Then the spirit jumped out of the oven." Kr I 145

3.1.4. The Directional

Similarly to the Locative, the case marker of the Directional shows the three allomorphs 'i, 'iā and 'iāte (cf. Milner 1966:80-82).

3.1.4.1. The Directional as a means of signifying the goal

The main functions of the Directional are to signify
 (a) the goal of a moving or moved entity, e.g.

- (49) alu 'i le ā'oga
 go DIREC ART school Mi 17
 "Go to school."
 (50) 'ave 'i le falepuipui
 send DIREC ART prison Mi 38
 "Send to prison."

(b) the goal, i.e. the recipient, of an action of giving, sending and the like, e.g.

- (51) 'ave le tusi 'iā Mele
 give ART book DIREC M. Mi 38
 "Give the book to Mele."

(c) the goal, i.e. the addressee, of an act of communication, e.g.

- (52) Ia, vala'au loa mai 'iā Matu'utu'uasuga
 Then, call immediately DIR DIREC M.
 "Then she called to M.." F 122,7
- (d) the goal of mental activities such as emotions, feelings, thoughts and perceptions, e.g.
- (53) Sā 'ou ita 'i lo'u uso
 PAST₂ I be-angry DIREC my brother Mi 88
 "I was angry with my brother."
- (54) 'ia 'oulua ālolofa mai lava 'iate a'u
 OPT₁ you/DU feel-sorry DIR EMPH DIREC 1.SG F 126
 "Take pity on me."
- (55) 'Ua mana'o 'o ia 'i lana tama
 PERF want she DIREC her child Mi 80
 "She wants her child."
- (56) 'a'o Matu'utauteneā lenei 'ua manatu loa 'i
 but M. this PERF think-of immediately DIREC
 ona mātua F. 124
 his parents
 "This M. missed his parents. (lit. 'thought of')".
- (57) 'Ua va'ai le tama 'i le teine
 PERF see ART boy DIREC ART girl
 "The boy saw the girl."

Since in all these instances the noun phrase marked by 'i denotes a goal towards which an action or some kind of mental activity is directed, this case is called Directional, though there are some functions which do not suit the cover term Directional.

3.1.4.2. The Directional as a means of denoting what actions and states are concerned with

Both with action and state verbs Directional noun phrases can signify what actions and states are concerned with, which includes

- (a) the expression of what an act of communication or thinking refers to, e.g.

- (58) Ona fai loa lea 'i nei tama 'i le
 then say immediately (then) DIREC these youth DIREC ART

pua'a 'ua pena
pig PERF cut-up

F 144

"He instructed these young men concerning the butchered pig."

- (59) Nofo loa lea 'o le tama'ita'i ma 'ua
sit immediately then NP.MKR ART princess and PERF
na māfaufau pea 'i lenei fa'aailoga
3.SG think still DIREC this evidence F 60

"Then the girl sat still pondering over this evidence."

- (b) the expression of the reason or cause of an action,
mental activity, state or process, e.g.

- (60) 'Ua fasi 'o ia 'i le tama
PERF hit NP.MKR 3.SG DIREC ART boy Mi 80
"She was beaten because of her child."

- (61) 'Ua ou alofa 'iate 'oe 'i le fe'avea'i
PERF I love DIREC you/SG DIREC ART carry-around
'o lo'u tino mamafa
NP.MKR my body heavy F 188

"I love you, because you carried my heavy body around."

- (62) 'Ua su'eina 'i luga fala 'i le matagi
PERF lift DIREC top mat DIREC ART wind Mi 218
"The wind has lifted the mats."

- (63) 'ā leaga 'i le ma'alili
FUT bad DIREC ART cold F 238
"She'll go down with a chill."

- (64) 'Ua tīgā lo'u loto 'i ana upu
PERF hurt my heart DIREC his word
be painful Mi 264
"I was hurt by his remarks."

- (c) the expression of the purpose of an action, e.g.

- (65) Ia, su'i fo'i ma le niu 'i le inu
Well, pierce also and ART coconut DIREC ART drink
a Sina
of S. F 150

"She also pierced a coconut for Sina to drink."

- (66) 'Ua siliga ona taunu'u mai le tama, ona alu
PERF be-too-late that arrive DIR ART boy, then go
ai lea 'i su'e
ANAPH (then) DIREC search F 254

"The youth was overdue arriving back, so she set off in search of him."

- (d) the expression of the aspects in which a state of being
or a particular property is held true, e.g.

- (67) 'a'o sesē 'i lo'u afafine
 but be-wrong DIREC my daughter F 272
 "I've been wrong about my daughter."
- (68) Pagā 'oe , Sinālemalama, 'i lou lē alofa
 terrible you/SG S. DIREC your/SG not love
 "How terrible you were, Sinālemalama, in your lack
 of love." F 86

As the comparison of (60)-(64) and (38)-(43) shows, both Locative and Directional noun phrases can indicate the cause of a situation. There does not seem to be much difference between (38) and (62), as both clauses express action-like processes initiated by an inanimate force, namely the wind. Furthermore, in both clauses the verb is explicitly marked as transitive (lele=a, su'e=ina), which implies that the Absolutive noun phrase (le pepa, fala) denotes a patient that is affected by what the verb refers to. Accordingly, the clauses (42), (43), and (63), (64) are very similar in that they denote that somebody is suffering from something unpleasant. The four verbs lavea, "to be hurt", māfatia "to be very tired, exhausted, to be overcome, stricken", leaga "to be bad" and tiga "to be painful, hurt" are all intransitive stative verbs, so that the varying selection of the Locative and the Directional cannot be a matter of different verbal classes. The data do not provide any two examples in which the same verb is contrastingly constructed with the Locative on the one hand and the Directional on the other, so that it is unclear whether the variation in the use of these two cases is free or determined by the valency of the verb.

3.1.4.3. The Directional as a means of expressing the instrument or material used for an action

With transitive verbs Directional noun phrases can denote instruments and materials used to carry out the action expressed by the verb, e.g.

- (69) 'Ua safue 'o ia e lona tinā 'i
 PERF whip NP.MKR 3.SG ERG his mother DIREC
 le lā'au
 ART stick Mi 196
 "His mother whipped him with a stick."

- (70) E fai 'i le 'ie
NON-PAST make DIREC ART cloth Mi 53
"It is made of cloth."

Chung. (1978:28) claims that instruments are signified by the Locative, but no example of a Locative instead of a Directional could be found in those sources which distinguish between *i* and *'i* (Milner 1966, Moyle 1981).

3.1.4.4. The Directional as a means of
expressing partially affected
patients

Some verbs, as for instance 'ai "to eat" and inu "to drink", may either be used intransitively or transitively, so that the semantic function of the Absolutive noun phrase can only be understood from the presence of further participants in the clause, the wider context or the meaning of the Absolutive phrase (cf. p. 108). If they are used intransitively and, consequently, the Absolutive noun phrase refers to the agent of the action, the patient can be expressed by a Directional noun phrase, e.g.

- (71) 'Ua 'a'ai ma feinu 'i fua fo'i o galuega
 PERF eat/PL and drink/PL DIREC fruit also of work
 a lenei teine 'o Sina
 of this girl NP.MKR S.
 F 190

"They ate and drank the fruits of the girl Sina's work."

The examples found in Krämer (1902/1903) and Stuebel (1896) which, however, do not write the glottal stop and thus do not distinguish between the Locative and the Directional noun phrases (cf. Preface) suggest that the V ABS DIREC-construction expresses a lower degree of transitivity as the V ABS ERG-construction (cf. p. 79ff), e.g.

- (72) Se'i lua 'a'ai i i'a o le lamaga
OPT₂ you/DU eat/PL DIREC/LOC fish of ART fishing with torches
"Eat from the fish which have been caught by
torchlight."
Kr I 143

- (73) 'Ua 'a'ai lava i'a e tele i
 PERF eat/PL EMPH fish NON-PAST many DIREC/LOC
 le pā
 ART hook
 "Many fish bite the hook."
 Kr II 194

In both clauses ((72) and (73)), V + DIREC/LOC expresses that the action of eating only partially affects the patient.

Note that the same pattern

V + ABS + DIREC

is also found with verbs denoting mental activities and there, too, expresses a low degree of transitivity (cf. p. 104)

3.1.4.5. Conclusion

The various meanings or, better, shades of meaning of Directional phrases can be classified on the basis of semantic and syntactic criteria as has already been done implicitly by the organization of the preceding paragraphs. Accordingly, the Directional serves as a means of expressing

1. the goal of an action, i.e. with

verbs of motion and	the local goal
verbs of transportation	
verbs of giving	the recipient
verbs of communication	the addressee
verbs of mental activities	the goal.

2. what an action, process or state is concerned with, i.e.

what an act of communication or thinking refers to
 the cause of an action, mental activity, natural process or state
 the purpose of an action
 the aspect in which a state of being or a particular property is held true

3. partially affected patients,

4. instruments.

Since the most concrete relation expressed by the Directional is the relation between a moving or moved entity and the goal of its movement, it seems plausible to argue that abstract relations which are also indicated by the Directional are conceptualized as bearing the notion of directionality. The situation expressed by a verb and an Absolutive phrase or a verb, and Absolutive and an Ergative phrase is related to what the

situation is concerned with (e.g. cause, purpose) and this relationship is linguistically represented as being directed from the situation towards its concern. A similar concept obviously underlies the English expressions "with regard to", "in respect to", and "with reference to", all of which contain the directional preposition "to".

The fact that partially affected patients are expressed by Directional phrases can be explained in very similar terms. In clauses of the structure

V	ABS	DIREC	
ACTION	AGENT	PARTIALLY AFFECTED	PATIENT

which are syntactically intransitive, the patient is not represented as a nuclear, but as a peripheral participant, so that a clause of this structure can be interpreted as "the agent (ABS) does something (V) in respect to something or somebody (DIREC)", e.g.

(74) 'Ua 'ai le tama 'i le i'a
 PERF eat ART child DIREC ART fish
 ('the child did the action of eating in respect to
 the fish')
 i.e. "The child ate from the fish."

The only function of the Directional which is hard to explain in terms of Directionality is its usage as a means of expressing instruments and materials. As the pronominalization of Directional phrases denoting instruments or materials differs from all other types of Directional phrases, it is perhaps justifiable to speak of a separate Instrumental case (for further discussion of this problem cf. p. 36ff).

3.2. PRONOMINALIZATION

3.2.0. Introduction

The participants of actions, processes and states can be expressed by the independent pronouns and under particular constraints by clitic pronouns preceding the verb.

independent pronouns

Sg 1.	<u>a'u</u>
	<u>'ita</u>
2.	<u>'oe</u>
3.	<u>ia</u>
Du 1. exc	(<u>'i</u>) <u>mā'ua</u>
1. inc	(<u>'i</u>) <u>tā'ua</u>
2.	<u>'oulua</u>
3.	(<u>'i</u>) <u>lā'ua</u>
Pl 1. exc	(<u>'i</u>) <u>mātou</u>
1. inc	(<u>'i</u>) <u>tātou</u>
2.	<u>'outou</u>
3.	(<u>'i</u>) <u>lātou</u>

proclitic pronouns

<u>'ou</u>	I
<u>ta</u>	I (in self-abasement)
<u>'e</u>	you
<u>ia, na</u>	he, she, it
<u>mā</u>	we two (but not you)
<u>tā</u>	I and you (sg), we
<u>lua</u>	you two
<u>lā</u>	they two
<u>mātou</u>	we, but not you
<u>tātou</u>	we including you
<u>'outou, tou</u>	you
<u>lātou</u>	they

The 'i preceding the first and second person dual and plural is optional. It is not identical or anyhow related to the Directional marker 'i, but forms part of the pronouns, though it is written separately.

3.2.1. Independent pronouns

The independent pronouns can express all types of animate participants (inanimate participants undergo deletion in the Absolutive case and are pronominalized by anaphoric pronouns in the Locative and the Directional case, (cf. p.36ff , p.111 ff)).

While in the Absolutive and the Ergative the casemarking of independent pronouns does not differ from that of nouns, the Locative and the Directional are marked by iāte and 'iāte in the case of singular pronouns and by iāte and 'iāte or 'iā in the case of dual and plural pronouns, i.e. with non-singular pronouns the pronominal case marking alternates with that of proper names (cf. p. 15, p. 17):

	sg pronouns	-sg pronouns	proper nouns	common nouns
Locative	<u>iāte</u>	<u>iāte, iā</u>	<u>iā</u>	<u>i</u>
Directional	<u>'iāte</u>	<u>'iāte, 'iā</u>	<u>'iā</u>	<u>'i</u>

Thus both the varying Locative and Directional case markers reflect the hierarchy of individuation, in that the more individuated participants require a more complex form of the case marker than less individuated participants.

The following examples show the various functions of independent pronouns in comparison with those of their nominal counterpart.

1. Absolutive phrases functioning as S (as an agent or patient of an intransitive clause)

(75) 'Ua alu atu le teine
PERF go DIR ART girl
"The girl went off."

(76) 'Ua alu atu a'u
PERF go DIR I
"I went off."

(77) 'Ua ma'i le teine
PERF sick ART girl
"The girl is sick."

(78) 'Ua ma'i a'u
PERF sick I
"I am sick."

2. Absolutive phrases functioning as O (as a patient in a transitive clause)

(79) 'Ua fasi le teine e le tama
PERF hit ART girl ERG ART boy
"The boy hit the girl."

(80) 'Ua fasi a'u e le tama
PERF hit 1.SG ERG ART boy
"I was hit by the boy."

3. Ergative phrases functioning as A (as an agent in a transitive clause)

(81) 'Ua fasi le teine e le tama
PERF hit ART girl ERG ART boy
"The boy hit the girl."

(82) 'Ua fasi le teine e a'u
PERF hit ART girl ERG 1.SG
"I hit the girl."

4. Locative phrases

(83) 'Ua nofo le teine i le nu'u
PERF stay ART girl LOC ART village
"The girl stayed in the village."

- (84) 'Ua nofo le teine iate a'u
 PERF stay ART girl LOC 1.SG
 "The girl stayed with me."

5. Directional phrases

- (85) 'Ua alu le teine 'i le nu'u
 PERF go ART girl DIREC ART village
 "The girl went to the village."
 (86) 'Ua alu le teine 'iate a'u
 PERF go ART girl DIREC 1.SG
 "The girl came to me."

When independent pronouns denote S or A, they always express emphasis as for instance in a sequence of clauses whose participants are contrasted with one another, e.g.

- (87) e alu 'ese 'oe 'ae alu a'u ma la'u tāuga
 NON-PAST go away 2.SG but go 1.SG with my food-gift
 e avatu la'u tāuga e 'oe
 NON-PAST take my food-gift ERG 2.SG F 120
 "You can go away, and I'll go on with my food gift,
 but right now, you can carry my food gift."

In S and A function, the independent pronouns may also be combined with proclitic pronouns, which refer to semantically unmarked participants (cf. p. 27ff) e.g.

- (88) 'Ua ou sau lava a'u
 PERF 1.SG come EMPH 1.SG F 62
 (lit. 'I have come myself)
 "I myself am here."
 (89) 'ou te faia lava e a'u le galuega
 1.SG NON-PAST do EMPH ERG 1.SG ART work
 "I'll do the work myself."

There are no particular reflexive pronouns in Samoan. If, for instance, the agent and the patient of an action are co-referential, the participant mentioned first in the clause is expressed by a common or proper noun and the following participant by an independent pronoun irrespective of their semantic roles and their case marking, e.g.

- (90) sa sogi e ioane ia lava
 PAST cut ERG John 3.SG EMPH (Chapin 1970:369
 "John cut himself."
 (91) sa sogi ioane e ia lava
 PAST cut John ERG 3.SG EMPH (Chapin 1970:369

If it is the case that the first participant is known from the context, it can be pronominalized, e.g.

- (92) Ua ala le leoleo o le fale puipui na
 PERF wake-up ART keeper of ART house fence-off PAST
 moe , ua na iloa faitoto'a o le fale ua
 sleep , PERF 3.SG recognize door of ART house PERF
 avanoa , ona se'i lea e ia o le
 be-open then draw-out (then) ERG 3.SG NP.MKR ART
 pelu a fasi o ia e ia ...
 sword FUT hit NP.MKR 3.SG ERG 3.SG
 "And the keeper of the prison awaking out of his
 sleep, and seeing the prison doors open, he drew
 out his sword and would have killed himself
 (supposing that the prisoners had fled.).
 (Acts 16:27)

3.2.2. Proclitic pronouns

In contrast to independent pronouns, proclitic pronouns cannot express all types of participants, but are restricted to certain semantic roles and categories of person. Or, to put it differently, if the conditions under which proclitic pronouns are permitted are not met, pronominalization either results in zero or in independent pronouns.

As far as canonical intransitive verbs are concerned, the use of proclitic pronouns is restricted to

1. first and second person singular, dual and plural and third person dual and plural agents of intransitive verbs denoting actions (active intransitive verbs) (cf. Chung 1978:220-223), and
2. first and second person singular, dual and plural patients (undergoers) of intransitive verbs denoting states or processes (inactive intransitive verbs) Johnson et al. n.d.: 210)

	actor of intransitive active verbs	undergoer of intransitive inactive verbs
1., 2.sg., du., pl.	+	+
3.du., pl.	+	-
3.sg.	-	-

+ indicates that the use of proclitic pronouns is permitted,
 - indicates that the use of proclitic pronouns is not permitted.

Examples:

1. proclitic pronouns preceding active intransitive verbs,

1.Sg	<u>'ua</u>	<u>'ou</u>	<u>alu</u>	I went
	<u>'ua</u>	<u>ta</u>	<u>alu</u>	I went
2.Sg	<u>'ua</u>	<u>'e</u>	<u>alu</u>	you went
3.Sg	* <u>'ua</u>	<u>ia/na</u>	<u>alu</u>	he/she/it went
	(<u>'ua</u>	<u>∅</u>	<u>alu</u>	(he/she/it)went
	<u>'ua</u>		<u>alu</u> <u>'o ia</u>	he went)
3.Du	<u>'ua</u>	<u>lā</u>	<u>o</u>	they (two) went
3.Pl	<u>'ua</u>	<u>lātou</u>	<u>o</u>	they went

2. proclitic pronouns preceeding inactive intransitive verbs

1.Sg	<u>'ua</u>	<u>'ou</u>	<u>ma'i</u>	I am sick
1.Du	<u>'ua</u>	<u>mā</u>	<u>mama'i</u>	we (two) are sick
3.Du	* <u>'ua</u>	<u>lā</u>	<u>mama'i</u>	they (two) are sick
	(<u>'ua</u>	<u>∅</u>	<u>mama'i</u>	they are sick
	<u>'ua</u>		<u>mama'i</u> (<u>'i</u>) <u>lā'ua</u>	they (two) are sick)
3.Pl	* <u>'ua</u>	<u>lātou</u>	<u>mama'i</u>	they are sick
	(<u>'ua</u>	<u>∅</u>	<u>mama'i</u>	they are sick
	<u>'ua</u>		<u>mama'i</u> (<u>'i</u>) <u>lātou</u>	they are sick

Provided that the data presented by Johnson et al. are right, the distribution of proclitic pronouns provides a morpho-syntactic criterion with which intransitive verbs can be classified into active and inactive ones.

With canonical transitive verbs, e.g. fasi "to hit", the agent, but not the patient, can be expressed by proclitic pronouns of all persons and numbers; i.e. while the Ergative phrase may be substituted by both a proclitic or an independent pronoun, the Absolutive phrase of a canonical transitive clause can only be substituted by an independent pronoun.

- (93) 'ua 'ou fasi=a le teine
 PERF 1.SG hit=TR ART girl
 "I hit the girl."
- (94) 'ua na fasi=a le teine
 PERF 3.SG hit=TR ART girl
 "He/she hit the girl."
- (95) 'ua lā /lātou fasi=a le teine
 PERF 3.DU /3.PL hit=TR ART girl
 "They hit the girl."

- (96) 'ua fasi a'u 'o ia /('i) lātou e le fafine
 PERF hit 1.SG NP.MKR 3.SG 3.PL ERG ART woman
 "The woman hit me/him/her/them."

The comparison of intransitive and transitive clauses shows that the pronominalization of Absolutive phrases varies according to their semantic role, their number and the class membership of the verb, and that, on the other hand, dual and plural Absolutive phrases denoting the actor of intransitive verbs are pronominalized in the same way as Ergative phrases. Similarly, first and second person actors of both transitive and intransitive verbs can be expressed by proclitic pronouns.

	actor of intr.act. verbs (ABS)	undergoer of intr.inact. verbs (ABS)	actor of tr.verbs (ERG)	undergoer of tr.verbs (ABS)
3.Sg	-	-	+	-
3.Du., Pl.	+	-	+	-
1., 2. sg., du., pl.	+	+	+	-

The constructions of intransitive active and transitive verbs, however, differ in that transitive verbs can be preceded by a third person singular proclitic pronoun and in that transitive verbs usually take the so-called transitive suffix (cf. p.63)

Besides canonical transitive and intransitive clauses and, correspondingly, canonical transitive and intransitive verbs, Chung (1978:48f,54f,222f) recognizes a third class of clauses and verbs respectively, namely "middle clauses" and "middle verbs", which in the following will be called "semitransitive clauses and semitransitive verbs" for reasons to be explained later (cf. p.104). Semantically semitransitive verbs include verbs of communication and verbs of mental activities (cf.p.18) As far as the case marking of nominal and pronominal participants is concerned, the semitransitive verbs share common features with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

With intransitive verbs, particularly with intransitive active verbs, semitransitive verbs have the following in common:

1. that they cannot be followed by an Ergative phrase in traditional Samoan (compare p. 104),
2. that the actor (i.e. the experiencer of perceptions, emotions and feelings and the performer of thoughts and acts of communication) is expressed by an Absolutive phrase, if it is nominal,
3. that the most indispensable participant is the actor, and
4. that other participants are expressed by Locative or Directional phrases, as, for instance, the addressee and the goal of mental activities are expressed by Directional phrases.

Thus, with nominal participants semitransitive clauses look like intransitive ones, e.g.

(97) 'Ua va'ai le tama 'i le motu
 PERF see ART youth DIREC ART island
 "The youth saw the island."

(98) 'ua alu le tama 'i le motu
 PERF go ART youth DIREC ART island
 "The youth went to the island."

Semitransitive clauses differ from intransitive clauses and resemble transitive ones in that third person singular actors can be denoted by proclitic pronouns, e.g.

(99) 'Ua na va'ai 'i le motu
 PERF 3.SG see DIREC ART island F 67
 "He saw an island."

(100) 'Ua ia va'ai atu
 PERF 3.SG see DIR F 70
 "He gazed out at it."

In contrast to transitive verbs, semitransitive verbs are not followed by the transitive suffix in this case. But they can, as a number of intransitive verbs, be transitivized by the transitive suffix and then are constructed as any other transitive verb (cf. p. 73ff)

	nominal actor	further participants	verb form	pronominal proclitic actor, 3.SG
intr.verbs	ABS	LOC, DIREC	--TR	-
semitr.verbs	ABS	LOC, DIREC	--TR	+
tr. verbs	ERG	ABS, LOC, DIREC	+=TR	+
	features shared by intr. and semitr.verbs			features shared tr. and semitr. verbs.

Chung (1978:220-223) argues that because of the distribution of the third person singular proclitic pronoun "middle" verbs should be counted as transitive rather than intransitive. The data given above, however, do not justify such a rigid, binary classification, as semitransitive verbs share features with canonical transitive verbs as well as with intransitive verbs. If they were classified as transitive, it would be difficult to explain why $V_{TR} + ABS$ expresses the relation between an event and the entity affected by that event, whereas $V_{SEMITR} + ABS$ denotes the relation between an event and its actor.

3.2.3. The grammatical status of proclitic and independent pronouns

The encoding of first and second person participants by proclitic and independent pronouns might give the impression that it follows a nominative/accusative pattern, when S and A are expressed by proclitic pronouns, and an ergative/absolutive pattern, when S and A are expressed by independent pronouns. Compare:

	S and A expressed by proclitic pronouns			S and A expressed by independent pronouns		
intr.act	'ua PERF	'ou 1.SG	alu go	'ua PERF	alu go	a'u 1.SG
intr.inact.	'ua PERF	'ou 1.SG	ma'i sick	'ua PERF	ma'i sick	a'u 1.SG
intr.act.	'ua PERF	'e 2.SG	alu go	'ua PERF	alu go	'oe 2.SG
intr.inact.	'ua PERF	'e 2.SG	ma'i sick	'ua PERF	ma'i sick	'oe 2.SG
tr.	'ua PERF	'ou 1.SG	fasi=a hit =TR	'ua PERF	fasi hit	'e a'u 'oe ERG 1.SG 2.SG
	'ua PERF	'e 2.SG	fasi=a a'u hit =TR 1.SG	'ua PERF	fasi hit	e 'oe a'u ERG 2.SG 1.SG
	"NOM"/"ACC"			ERG/ABS		

The left pattern, which includes the proclitic pronouns 'ou 1.SG and 'e 2.SG, indeed looks like a nominative/accusative pattern, since the central participants of intransitive clauses (S) show the very same form as the agents of transitive clauses (A) and differ from the patients of transitive clauses (O). But as the "accusative" forms of this pattern (a'u, 'oe)

are exactly the same as the Absolutive forms of the right ERG/ABS-pattern, it is not justified to speak of two typologically different case marking patterns or split case marking patterns.

The proclitic and independent Absolutive and Ergative pronouns form three paradigms,

	proclitic	independent Absolutive	independent Ergative
Sg 1.	<u>'ou</u>	<u>a'u</u>	<u>e a'u</u>
2.	<u>'e</u>	<u>'oe</u>	<u>e 'oe</u>
Du 1. exc	<u>mā</u>	<u>('i) mā'ua</u>	<u>e ('i) mā'ua</u>
1. inc	<u>tā</u>	<u>('i) tā'ua</u>	<u>e ('i) tā'ua</u>
2.	<u>lā</u>	<u>('i) lā'ua</u>	<u>e ('i) lā'ua</u>
Pl 1. exc	<u>mātou</u>	<u>('i) mātou</u>	<u>e ('i) mātou</u>
1. inc	<u>tātou</u>	<u>('i) tātou</u>	<u>e ('i) tātou</u>
2.	<u>'outou, tou</u>	<u>'outou</u>	<u>e 'outou</u>

While the semantic function of the independent Ergative pronouns is indicated by their case marking, the semantic functions of proclitic and independent Absolutive pronouns depend on the verb.

	proclitic	independent Absolutive	independent Ergative
intr. active	actor	actor	-
intr. inactive	undergoer	undergoer	-
semitr.	actor	actor	-
tr.	actor	undergoer	actor

In terms of grammatical relations this means that proclitic pronouns of the first and second person denote S/A, independent Absolutive pronouns S/O and independent Ergative pronouns A. If we distinguish between emphatic and non-emphatic forms, we get the following distribution:

	proclitic	independent Absolutive	independent Ergative
emphatic		S	A
non-emphatic	S, A	O	

The corresponding paradigms of the third person plural and dual and of the third person singular can be described accordingly in the following way:

	proclitic	independent Absolutive	independent Ergative
3.Du	<u>lā</u>	('i) <u>lā'ua</u>	<u>e</u> ('i) <u>lā'ua</u>
3.Pl	<u>lātou</u>	('i) <u>lātou</u>	<u>e</u> ('i) <u>lātou</u>
<u>semantic functions</u>			
intr. active	actor	actor	-
intr. inactive	-	undergoer	-
semitr.	actor	actor	-
tr.	actor	undergoer	actor
<u>grammatical relations</u>			
emphatic		S _{act}	A
non-emphatic	S _{act} , A	S _{inact} , O	
3.Sg	<u>ia, na</u>	<u>'o ia</u>	<u>e ia</u>
<u>semantic functions</u>			
intr. act.	-	actor	-
intr. inact.	-	undergoer	-
semitr.	actor	actor	-
tr.	actor	undergoer	actor
<u>grammatical relations</u>			
emphatic		S	A
non-emphatic	A	O	

Within a single clause two types of combinations of proclitic and independent pronouns occur:

- 1.
- | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|---|--|---------------------------|---|--|-------------------------|
| | proclitic | | | independent
Absolutive | | | independent
Ergative |
| | S | + | | S | | | |
| | A | | | | + | | A |

as a means of expressing emphasis (cf. p. 26) and

- | | | |
|----|-----------|-------------|
| 2. | proclitic | independent |
| | | Absolutive |
| | A | Q |

as a means of expressing pronominal participants of transitive verbs.

To conclude, pronominalization by proclitic pronouns is restricted to

S and A with non-emphatic 1. and 2.person participants

S_{ACT} and A with non-emphatic 3. person dual and plural participants

A with 3. person singular participants.

In other words, the selection of a participant to be represented by a proclitic pronoun and thus to precede all other participants and even the verb is determined by three interacting factors:

1. the pragmatic function of the participant,
2. its semantic role, and
3. its category of person and number.

While independent pronominal participants signify an essential part of the new information of the clause, proclitic pronouns denote the clause internal topic about which new information is given. In transitive clauses this clause-internal topic is represented by participants denoting the actor irrespective of their person and number, so the the sequential order of participants

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} \text{PROCLITIC PRON} & & + & & \text{V} & & + & & \text{ABS} \\ & & & & & & & & \text{O} \\ & & & & & & & & \text{A} \end{array}$$

reflects the natural attention flow (cf.p.7), whereas the sequential order of nominal and pronominal participants following the verb is variable according to their pragmatic function in discourse (cf.p. 6).

In intransitive clauses only speech-act participants have unrestricted access to occur in the left-most position within the clause and to function as the clause-internal topic, i.e. they are more topic-worthy than 3.person participants.

Though the function of proclitic pronouns is quite easy to understand, it is very difficult to define their grammatical status as a means of expressing the relation between a situation and one of its participants. Evidently they form a category of their own. But they do not constitute a category of case, and, consequently, they do not present an instance of split case marking pattern.

If they were considered to represent a case, which then could perhaps be called Nominative, it would be a "case"

1. which is only used with pronominal participants
2. which is not represented by independent constituents, but by clitic elements bound to the verb
3. which has no semantic functions different from those indicated by the Absolutive and the Ergative, but which cannot denote all semantic functions of these two cases (e.g. proclitic pronouns cannot express patients of transitive actions as do Absolutive noun phrases and independent pronouns),
4. which differs from other cases in that it indicates a clause-internal pragmatic function, whereas other cases are neutral in respect to pragmatic functions.

The fact that the proclitic pronouns are bound to the verb might lead to the assumption that they constitute a category similar to that of cross-referencing pronominal affixes, which in some other Ergative languages as, for instance, Enga also refer to S and A. Similarly, the properties described under 3. and 4., which do not fit the notion of case, are properties which are often found with cross-referencing pronominal affixes. However, Samoan proclitic pronouns are never used to express cross-reference

(101) *'ua lātou ō tama
 PERF 3.PL go/PL children
 "The children went.",

but may only be co-referential with independent pronouns (cf. p. 26) e.g.

- (102) ona 'e nofo lea 'oe 'a'o faitalia a'u
 then 2.SG sit (then) 2.SG while do-as-one-pleases 1.SG
 (If you don't want to be married,)
 "then sit there and leave it up to me." F 106

Here the proclitic pronoun ('e) signifies the clause-internal topic, whereas the co-referential independent pronoun ('oe) expresses emphasis, as the action of the 2. person participant is contrasted with that of the 1. person spoken about in the following clause.

Since the category of proclitic pronouns is neither a case nor a category of cross-referencing clitics, but shares several features with both of these categories, it might perhaps be justified to consider them as a third type of category, which in respect to its grammatical status holds a position between the category of case and the category of cross-referencing clitics and affixes.

3.2.4. T h e a n a p h o r i c p r o n o u n s ai a n d a'i

Ai refers to some antecedent (time, place, third person or idea) that is implicitly understood from the speech situation or has been mentioned earlier. It replaces Locative and Directional phrases and occurs as unmarked or marked by the Directional marker 'i; however, the distribution of the unmarked and marked form does not exactly correlate with the distribution of Locative and Directional phrases. Whereas in their basic functions of denoting a location in time and space and a direction of movement, Locative and Directional phrases are invariantly replaced by ai and 'i ai respectively, there are several functions of the Directional, which either permit the alternation between ai and 'i ai or which only allow pronominalization by ai. A'i exclusively refers to instruments and materials used for an action. Though it corresponds to nominal Directional phrases, it does not alternate with 'i ai but with ai.

	Locative	Directional	anaph. pronouns
Location in time and space	+	-	<u>ai</u>
initiating force, cause	+	-	<u>ai</u>
goal of movement, recipient, addressee	-	+	'i <u>ai</u>
goal of mental activities	-	+	'i <u>ai</u>
concern of states, actions	-	+	<u>ai</u>
partially affected patients	-	+	<u>ai</u>
instruments, materials	-	+	<u>ai</u> , a'i

Thus the pronominalization of Locative and Directional phrases reflects the fact that they functionally contrast in their most basic, most concrete functions, but converge when expressing less concrete relations. Furthermore, the only function of the Directional which could not be explained in terms of Directionality, but was nevertheless quite concrete, was the expression of instruments and materials. It is just in this function that the pronominal counterpart of 'i + NP is not 'i ai, but a separate anaphor, namely a'i, or ai.

	location in time & space	cause	partially affected patients concern	goal of mental activi- ties	goal of movements, addressee, recipient
case	LOC	LOC DIREC	DIREC	DIREC	DIREC
pronoun	<u>ai</u>	<u>ai</u>	<u>ai</u>	<u>ai</u> , <u>'i ai</u>	<u>'i ai</u>

highest degree of
contrast

In texts ai, 'i ai and a'i are found in

1. coordinated clauses where they replace a Locative and Directional phrases coreferential with a nominal phrase in a preceding clause (112),
2. clauses following a left-dislocated noun phrase in the Absolutive as a means of identifying its semantic relationship to the verb as locative, directional or instrumental (p.126f),
3. relative clauses where they replace a relativized Locational

or Directional phrase (p.119f),

4. other subordinated clauses where they replace a Locative or Directional phrase whose reference is provided by a coreferential phrase in the preceding main clause.

Examples:

1. ai referring to a location in time or space

- (103) Ona sosola lea 'o Sina ma le ali'i nei
then escape/PL (then) NP.MKR S. and ART chief this
'o Tulau'ena 'ua nofo ai
NP.MKR T. PERF stay ANAPH Kr I 124
"Sina escaped with this chief Tulau'ena and stayed
with (lit. 'at') him."
- (104) 'A'o le itūlā lava lenā ona fānau ai lenei
but ART hour EMPH this that/CONJ give-birth ANAPH this
teine, fānau ai 'o le 'tama
girl give-birth ANAPH NP.MKR ART boy F 166
"At that same hour this girl gave birth,
gave birth to a son."

2. ai referring to a cause or what a situation is concerned
with

- (105) ma sa'ili se togafitie oti ai 'o Tulau'ena
and look-for ART device NON-PAST die ANAPH NP.MKR T.
"...and he looked for a means to kill Tulau'ena
(lit. 'through which T. would die')."
- (106) 'O le ā mea 'ua 'e sau ai
NP.MKR ART what thing PERF 2.SG come ANAPH F 296
"Why have you come back?"
- (107) Po 'o le ā le mea e fasi ai a'u
Q NP.MKR ART what ART thing NON-PAST hit ANAPH 1.SG
"Why do you hit me?" Kr I 136
- (108) 'O le manu e te sā ai e
NP.MKR ART bird 2.SG NON-PAST forbidden ANAPH NON-PAST
'a'u e 'ai ai
come NON-PAST eat ANAPH F 92
"You are forbidden to go and eat that bird."

3. ai referring to partially affected patients

- (109) 'ua fai le umu
PERF make ART contents of an oven
Ona fu'e ifo
then take out of the oven DIR
'ua 'ai ai le aitū
PERF eat ANAPH ART spirit Kr I 144
"He prepared the food in the oven, then he took it out
of the oven and the spirit ate from it."

- (110) Ua ou iloa o le a aumai le mea oona ou
 PERF 1.SG know FUT bring ART thing bitter 1.SG
 te inu ai
 NON-PAST drink ANAPH St 168
 "I know that the bitter thing (i.e. the poison) will
 be brought from which I should drink."

4. ai referring to the goal of mental activities

- (111) 'aua ne'i 'e fefe ai
 OPT.NEG lest 2.SG fear ANAPH F 172
 "Don't be afraid of them."
 (112) 'ole'ā 'outou silasila ai
 FUT you/PL see ANAPH F 62
 "You will see her."
 (113) e lē mānana'o ai
 NON-PAST not like/PL ANAPH F 162
 "They didn't like them."

5. 'i ai referring to the goal of a movement

- (114) 'a'o Matu'utautenea lenei 'ua manatu loa
 but M. this PERF think-of immediately
 'i ona mātua 'ole'ā alu 'i ai
 DIREC his parents FUT go DIREC ANAPH F 124
 "But this M. missed his parents and decided he would
 go to them."

6. 'i ai referring to the addressee

- (115) ua o atu teine i lo la tama ua
 PERF go/PL DIR girl DIREC their/DU father PERF
 tau atu i ai
 tell DIR DIREC ANAPH
 "The girls went to their father and told him." St 164

7. 'i ai referring to the goal of a mental activity

- (116) Va'ai atu lea 'i ai 'o Matu'utu'uasuga
 see DIR then DIREC ANAPH NP.MKR M.
 "Matu'utu'uasuga saw him." F 128
 (117) 'a'o le tama'ita'i ia e 'ino'ino lava
 but ART lady EMPH NON-PAST hate EMPH
 'i ai
 DIREC ANAPH F 134
 "But the girl hated that."

8. ai referring to instruments and materials

- (118) e tau ni mea e su'i ai tā
 NON-PAST gather ART thing NON-PAST thread ANAPH 1.DU.INC
 'ula
 floral necklaces F 120
 "To gather things to thread us floral necklaces."
- (119) ...'o le oso a Tua sa toto ai ana
 NP.MKR ART stick of T. PAST plant ANAPH his
 tiapula
 taro-top Kr I 28
 "The stick with which he had planted his taro-tops."

9. a'i referring to instruments and materials

- (120) se 'ofe e ta a'i le uso
 ART knife NON-PAST cut-off ANAPH/INST ART umbilical-cord
 o le tama
 of ART child Kr II 52
 "A knife to cut off the umbilical cord of the child."

3.3. POSSESSOR MARKING

3.3.0. Introduction

The Possessor of adnominal Possessive constructions is marked by one of the two Possessive markers a or o, which as the Ergative, Locative and Directional case marker precede the noun or pronoun to be marked, e.g.

- (121) 'o le ta'avale a le ali'i
 NP.MKR ART car POSS ART chief
 "The chief's car."

Since it marks syntactic relations in much the same way as the Ergative, Locative and Directional case marker it seems to be justified to classify the Possessive marker as a case marker and to speak of a Possessive case, or, as the traditional grammarians did, (Neffgen 1903, Pratt 1893), of a Genitive.

Though its main function is to signify the possessor in adnominal possessive constructions which express the relation between two objects, an object and a human being, or two human beings, the Possessive case is mentioned in this description of Ergativity in Samoan for two reasons. Firstly, the participants of nominalized verbs are partly encoded as

Possessors, that it seems worthwhile to investigate, whether, and if it is the case, in which respect, the coding properties of these constructions correlate with those of intransitive and transitive clauses.

Secondly, if the agent of transitive verbs is to be expressed, it is not necessarily denoted by an Ergative phrase or its corresponding proclitic pronoun, but may also be expressed by a Possessor phrase attributed to the patient provided that it is represented by a noun phrase referring to something that belongs to the agent, e.g.

- (122) Ona fai lea 'o le togafati a le tama
 then make (then) NP.MKR ART trick POSS ART child
 (lit. 'then the trick of the boy was made')
 "Then the child played a trick."

For details cf. p. 103f

The adnominal Possessive constructions are endocentric noun phrases which contain two nominals, the head noun and the modifier, and which denote that the head noun referent belongs to what the modifier refers to. If the modifier of a Possessive construction, i.e. the Possessor, is a non-emphasized noun or an independent pronoun, it follows the head noun, i.e. the Possessee (121). The independent pronoun is only used for emphasized Possessors, e.g.

- (123) le naifi a a'u
 ART knife POSS 1.SG
 "my knife, the knife of mine." (Pawley 1962:55)

Emphasized nominal Possessors seem to precede the Possessee, if the construction found in Jensen (1923:23) is adequate (compare Breidbach 1983:20f), e.g.

- (124) l= o le ali'i fale
 ART= POSS ART chief house
 "The chief's house." (Jensen 1923:23)

Unmarked pronominal Possessors are expressed by the Possessive marker plus a pronominal suffix in the singular or plus a clitic or independent pronoun in the dual and plural. These pronominal Possessors are embedded between the article determining the Possessee, e.g.

- (125) l =a =na ta'avale
 ART=POSS=3.SG car
 Possessor
 Possessee
 "his/her car."

- (126) l =o =na fale
 ART=POSS=3.SG house
 "his/her house."

The Possessor marked by a can also occur on clause level as the predicate of nominal referring to the Possessee, e.g.

- (127) e a Ioane le solofanua
 NON-PAST POSS John ART horse
 "The horse is John's." Clark 115

The combination of the Possessive marker and suffixed, clitic or independent pronouns results in the following forms:

SG 1.	<u>o'u</u>	<u>a'u</u>
1. (emotional)	<u>ota</u>	<u>ata</u>
2.	<u>ou</u>	<u>au</u>
3.	<u>ona</u>	<u>ana</u>
DU 1. EXC	<u>o mā</u> / <u>o mā'ua</u>	<u>a mā</u> / <u>a mā'ua</u>
1. INC	<u>o tā</u> / <u>o tā'ua</u>	<u>a tā</u> / <u>a tā'ua</u>
2.	<u>o lua</u> / <u>o 'oulua</u>	<u>a lua</u> / <u>a 'oulua</u>
3.	<u>o lā</u> / <u>o lā'ua</u>	<u>a lā</u> / <u>a lā'ua</u>
PL 1. EXC	<u>o matou</u>	<u>a matou</u>
1. INC	<u>o tatou</u>	<u>a tatou</u>
2.	<u>o tou</u> / <u>o 'outou</u>	<u>a tou</u> / <u>a 'outou</u>
3.	<u>a latou</u>	<u>a latou</u>

When used attributively these pronominal Possessors are, as already mentioned, preceded by one of the articles, unless the Possessee is plural and specific, since specific plural nouns are not determined by any article (cf. p.4). The specific and non-specific singular article occur in their bound form l= and s= respectively, e.g.

- (128) l = a = 'u tusi "my book"
 ART= POSS= 1.SG book
- (129) s = a = 'u tusi "one of my books"
 ART= POSS= 1.SG book
 (lit. 'my non-specific book' which implies that I own several books)

(130)	a	= 'u	tusi	"my books"
	POSS	= 1.SG	book	
(131)	l	= a mā	tusi	"our book"
	ART	= POSS 1.DU.EXC	book	
(132)	s	= a mā	tusi	"one of our books"
	ART	= POSS 1.DU.EXC	book	
(133)	ni	a mā	tusi	"some of our books"
	ART	POSS 1.DU.EXC	book	
(134)	si	a = 'u	tama	"my dear child"
	ART	POSS= 1.SG	child	
(135)	si	a mā	tama	"our dear child"
	ART	POSS 1.DU.EXC	child	
(136)	nāi	a = 'u	tama	"my dear children"
	ART	POSS = 1.SG	child	

For further examples cf. Breidbach 1983, Pawley 1966:34f.

The terms "Possessive", "Possessor" and "Possessee" are only used as linguistic terms in order to classify and label linguistic units, but not to refer to extralinguistic entities such as property, owner etc.. Possessive constructions do not exclusively denote ownership (e.g. "the chief's car"), but various kinds of relations as, for instance,

1. kinship and social relations
2. the relationship between a body part and a human being or animal to which it belongs, e.g. "the dog's tail",
3. part/whole relationships, e.g. "the door of the house",
4. the relationship between a characteristic property and that which is characterized by it, e.g. "the beauty of the girl",
5. spatial relationships, e.g. "the top of the house",
6. locational relationship, i.e. the relationship between a place and that which belongs to it, e.g. "the king of Tonga",
7. referential relationship, e.g. "the story of/about the king",
8. the relationship between an action and its agentive or affected participants in cases where the action is expressed by a noun, e.g. "the work done by the chief", "the defeat of the Samoans" and similarly,
9. the relationship between emotions and perceptions and the perceiver of these, e.g. "the wish of the chief", "the vision of the chief".

3.3.1. A and O Possession

The terms "A Possession" and "O Possession" are used in order to distinguish between the relationships that are marked by the possessive marker a and those that are marked by o (other scholars of Polynesian languages prefer the terms "dominant" and "subordinate possession", respectively; compare (Biggs (1969:43-45), Pawley (1966:6,14)).

Roughly speaking, the possessive marker a serves as a means of describing a relationship as initiated or controlled by the possessor referent, which consequently must be animate. The possessive marker o, on the other hand, signifies that the relationship between the two related entities is understood as naturally or socially given and hence uncontrolled by the possessor referent, or that the possessee referent is considered as constituting some inherently related part or characteristic of the possessor referent. In other words, the possessive markers express how the Samoan native speakers classify relationships between various entities, which depends on the Samoan point of view and is not necessarily determined by reality. Thus the relationship between a human being and his body parts is undoubtedly given by nature and hence marked o, whereas the relationship between the clothes and the person who wears them is neither given by nature nor uncontrolled by that person; but nevertheless, it is considered as being of the same kind as the relationship between a body part and a human being. Similarly, while the relationship between a mother and her children is expressed by the possessive marker a, that between the father and his children is expressed by o.

The distinction between possessive constructions marked by a and o respectively becomes most evident with possessed nouns which can be combined with a as well as o; compare:

<u>'o 'upu a le tagata</u>	"the words of the man"
<u>'o 'upu o le pese</u>	"the words of the song"
<u>'o le tali a le ali'i</u>	"the answer of the chief"
<u>'o le tali o le fesili</u>	"the answer to the question"

'o le 'a'ai a le ali'i

"the town of the chief, i.e.
the town over which he rules."

'o le 'a'ai o le ali'i

"the town of the chief, i.e.
the town where he lives or
was born."

Examples:

1. kinship and social relationships
a-possessive constructions

'o le āvā a le tamāloa

"the man's wife"

'o le tāne a le fafine

"the woman's husband"

'o le tama a le fafine

"the woman's child"

'o le pepe a le fafine

"the woman's baby"

'o le fānau a le fafine/tamāloa

"the woman's/man's children/
offspring"

'o le uō a Simi

"Jimmy's friend"

o-possessive constructions

'o le faletua a le ali'i
wife of a
chief

"the chief's wife"

'o le afafine o Simi
daughter
of a man

"Jimmy's daughter"

'o le atali'i o Simi
son of a
man

"Jimmy's son"

'o le to'alua o Simi
one of a
pair

"Jimmy's spouse"

'o le pologa o le ali'i

"the chief's slave"

'o le uso o Simi
sibling
of the
same sex

"Jimmy's brother"

'o le uso o Mele

"Mary's sister"

'o le tuafifine o Simi
sister of a
man

"Jimmy's sister"

'o le tuagane o Mele
brother of
a woman

"Mary's brother"

'o le tinā o Simi

"Jimmy's mother"

'o le tamā o Simi

"Jimmy's father"

2. bodypart relationshipsa-possessive

(the only example seems to be 'ava "beard"; note that soesā "beard of a chief" is combined with o)

'o le 'ava a Simi "Jimmy's beard"

o-possessive relationships

'o le tino o Simi "Jimmy's body"

ulu head

isu nose

gutū mouth

'o mata o Simi "Jimmy's eyes"

taliga ears

lima hands

vae legs

nifo teeth

3a. part/whole relationships, marked by o

'o le faitoto'a o le fale "the door of the house"

'o le lau o le lā'au "the leaf of the tree"

3b. spatial relationships, marked by o

totonu o "inside of"

fafo o "outside of"

luma o "front of"

tua o "back of"

luga o "top of"

lalo o "below, down, under, underneath"

tala mai o "this side"

tala atu o "that side, beyond"

tala ane o "along side"

These words denoting spatial dimensions are preceded by the Locative or Directional case marker.

i luma o le fale "in front of the house"

alu 'i le fafo o le fale "go out of the house" Mi 52

i le tua o le lā'au "behind the tree"

tu'u i luga o le laulau "put it on the table" Mi 114

i tala ane o le faitoto'a "next to the door" Mi 233

i tala atu o mauga "behind the mountains" Mi 233

i tala atu o le sami "beyond the sea" Mi 233

4. the relationship between a person or thing and its characteristics, marked by o

<u>'o le tau o Sāmoa</u>	"the climate of Samoa"
<u>'o le uiga o lenā upu</u>	"the meaning of that word"
<u>'o le faiva o le tagata</u>	"the job, speciality, business of the man"
<u>'o le lanu o le ta'avale</u>	"the colour of the car"

5. clothes worn by a person, marked by o

<u>'o le 'ofu o le teine</u>	"the girl's dress"
<u>'ofutino o le tama</u>	"the boy's shirt"
<u>'ofuvae o le tama</u>	"the boy's trousers"
<u>'o se'evae o Simi</u>	"Jimmy's shoes"

and similarly:

<u>'o le solosolo o Simi</u>	"Jimmy's handkerchief"
fa'amalu	umbrella

6. the relationship between a tool or a weapon and its owner

A few nouns referring to traditional tools and weapons enter the o-possessive construction (as clothes, bodyparts and characteristics do) e.g.

<u>'o lona tao</u>	"his spear"	Pratt 279
<u>'o lo lātou oso</u>	"their stick (used for planting taro)"	Pratt 92
<u>'o lona to'i</u>	"his hatchet"	Pratt 313

Other tools and weapons are classified as acquired property, e.g.

<u>'o lana naifi</u>	"his knife"	
<u>'o la'u fana</u>	"my gun"	Mi 58

7. the relationship between a person and the location he originates from or habitually used, marked by o

<u>'o le nu'u o le fafine</u>	"the woman's village"
<u>fanua</u>	land
<u>'a'ai</u>	town
<u>atunu'u</u>	country
<u>motu</u>	island
<u>fale</u>	house
<u>moega</u>	bed
<u>nofoa</u>	seat

'o le maota o le ali'i "the chief's residence"

8. the relationship between a boat and its owner, marked by o

'o le va'a o Lata "Lata's ship"

'o le paopao o le tama "the boy's small dugout canoe"

(other vehicles, e.g. ta'avale "car", loli "lorry", as well as solofanua "horse" are treated as acquired belongings and combined with a)

9. referential relationships, marked by o

'o le ata o le i'a "the shadow of the fish"
St 167

lona logo "the information about her"
St 166

but:

'o le tala a le komiti "the report of the committee,
(given by the committee)"
M 232

'o le ata a le fafine "the picture owned by the woman"

10. the relationship between acquired property and its owner, marked by a

'o le ato a le fafine "the woman's basket"

'o le ta'avale a le ali'i "the chief's car"

'o le uatogi a le ali'i "the chief's war-club"

11. the relationship between an action or behaviour and its agent, marked by a

'o le galuega a le tama "the boy's work"

'o le āmio a le tama "the boy's behaviour"

'o tū ma āmioga a Sāmoa "the institutions and customs of Samoa"

12. the relationship between an action and its patient, marked by o

'o le fasiga o se povi "the beating of a cow"

'o le galuega o le fanua "the cultivation of the land"
Mi 75

'o le a'oa'oga o le tale "the teaching of the story"
Mi 22

but (compare 11)

'o le a'oa'oga a le tama "the boy's studies" Mi 22

13. the relationship between a mental activity (emotion, thinking, perception) and its experiencer, marked by a or o depending on whether it is regarded as controlled or not

'o le fa'aloga a le tama'ita'i "the listening of the lady"

'o le ita o le fafine "the anger of the woman"

14. the relationship between a state or process and its undergoer, marked by o

'o le ma'i o le fafine "the sickness of the woman"

'o le oti o lona uso "the death of his brother"

Mi 169

The table below gives a summary of the various functions of A- and O-Possessive constructions; the numbers in brackets refer to the examples given above:

A-Possession	O-Possession	
Possessor: $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{animate} \\ + \text{control} \end{bmatrix}$	Possessor: $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{animate} \\ - \text{control} \end{bmatrix}$	Possessor: $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{animate} \\ - \text{animate} \end{bmatrix}$
kinship	kinship	
(bodypart/animate being) (2)	bodypart/animate being (2)	part/whole (3a)
		spatial relations (3b)
	characteristics/animate being (4)	characteristics/things (4)
	clothes/person (5)	
	weapons and tools/owner (6)	
	location/person (7)	
	boat/owner (8)	
	referential relationship (9)	referential relationship (9)
acquired property/owner (10)		
action/agent (11)	action/patient (12)	action/patient (12)
mental activity/experiencer (13)	mental activity/experiencer (13)	
	state or process/undergoer (14)	state or process/undergoer (14)

3.3.2. The encoding of participants of nominalized verbs

The nominalization of verbs is either marked by the suffix -ga, e.g.

gālue = ga

"work"

fai = ga

"doing, action, method of doing"

or unmarked and then solely indicated by the syntactic environment, e.g.

- (137) 'o l =a ='u alu
 NP.MKR ART=POSS =1.SG go(ing)
 "My going."

The nominalized form sometimes still agrees in number with the primary participant, i.e. the participant in which the corresponding basic clause would be represented by the Absolute case and would control agreement, e.g.

- (138) 'ona 'o l =o lātou ālolofa tele
 because ART=POSS 3.SG love/PL great F 66
 "Out of their great love."

- (139) 'ua na'o le ō ane a le nu'u
 PERF only ART go/PERF along POSS ART village F 180
 (lit. 'it was only the going along of the village')
 "And the village could only go along."

In Samoan discourse nominalizations occur much more frequently than in English and are often preferred to finite verb constructions where speakers of English would never make use of nominalizations (for details cf. Duranti 1981: 175-178), e.g.

- (140) Le aka a le ali'i!
 ART laughter POSS ART guy ! Duranti 177
 "(Look how) the guy is laughing." or
 "(Look at) the guy laughing."

As the examples (137) - (140) show, the participants of nominalized verbs are marked as Possessors. But there seem to be some exceptions. Neglecting the difference between A- and O-Possessive constructions, Chung (1978:238f, 304-310) states the following rules, which are reformulated here in our own terms:

1. Nominal participants are expressed by Possessor phrases, if they refer

a. to the participant of an intransitive verb, e.g.

- (141) le o'o mai o le tala lelei 'i Sāmoa
 ART arrive DIR POSS ART news good DIREC Samoa
 (arrival)
 "The coming of good news to Samoa." Chung 238

b. to the patient of a canonical transitive verb, e.g.

- (142) le kuku=ina o le i'a e John
 ART cook =TR POSS ART fish ERG John
 (cooking)
 "John's cooking of the fish." Chung 306

c. to the agent or experiencer of a semitransitive verb, e.g.

- (143) le tago a le teine 'i l =o =na ulu
 ART touch POSS ART girl DIREC ART =POSS =3.SG head
 (touching)
 "The girl's touching his head." Chung 306

- (144) le mana'o o Iona'e 'i le teine
 ART want POSS John DIREC ART girl
 "John's desiring of the girl." Chung 308

d. to the goal of an action or mental activity expressed by a semitransitive verb provided that it directly follows the nominalized verb, e.g.

- (145) l =o =na va'ai o le teine
 ART=POSS =3.SG see POSS ART girl
 (seeing)
 "His seeing of the girl." Chung 307

- (146) l =o =na mana'o o le teine
 ART=POSS =3.SG want POSS ART girl
 "His desiring of the girl." Chung 307

(In this case, however, the Possessor phrase alternates with a Directional phrase, e.g.

- (147) l =o =na va'ai 'i le teine
 ART=POSS=3.SG see DIREC ART girl
 (seeing)
 "His seeing the girl." Chung 307

2. Nominal participants referring to the agent of a canonical transitive verb are denoted by an Ergative phrase, e.g.

- (148) le kuku=ina e John o le i'a
 ART cook =TR ERG J. POSS ART fish
 (cooking)
 "John's cooking of the fish." Chung 306

- (149) le kuku=ina o le i'a e John
 ART cook =TR POSS ART fish ERG J.
 (cooking)

"John's cooking of the fish."

Ch 306

3. If the nominal goal of an action or a mental activity denoted by a semitransitive verb does not directly follow the nominalized verb, it has to be expressed by a Directional phrase, e.g.

- (150) le mana'o o Ioane 'i le teine
 ART want POSS John DIRECT ART girl
 "John's desiring the girl."

Ch 308

4. Pronominal participants are expressed by Possessor phrases preceding the nominalized verb, if they refer

- a. to the participant of an intransitive verb, e.g.

- (151) l =o lātou ōmai 'i Sāmoa
 ART=POSS 3.PL come DIRECT Samoa
 (coming)

"their coming to Samoa."

Ch 305

- b. to the agent of a canonical transitive verb, e.g.

- (152) l =o =na 'ave =ina o le ta'avale
 ART=POSS =3.SG drive = TR POSS ART car
 (driving)

"His driving of the car."

Ch 239

- (153) l =a =na kuku=ina o le i'a
 ART=POSS=3.SG cook =TR POSS ART fish
 (cooking)

(lit. 'his cooking the fish')

"The way he cooks the fish."

Ch 305

- c. to the agent or experiencer of a semitransitive verb, e.g.

- (154) l =o =na va'ai 'i le teine
 ART=POSS=3.SG see DIRECT ART girl
 (seeing)

"His seeing the girl."

Ch 307

5. The marking of independent pronouns referring to participants of nominalized verbs follows the same rule as the marking of nominal participants. If, for instance, a transitive agent is expressed by an independent pronoun following the nominalized verb, it is marked for the Ergative case, e.g.

- (155) le faitau=ina e tātou o o le nusipepa
 ART read =TR ERG 1.PL.INC POSS ART newspaper
 (reading)

"Our reading of the newspaper."

Ch 239

If Chung's description is adequate, we may conclude that the marking of nominal participants follows the Ergative pattern in that the marking of the agent of a transitive verb is contrasted with that of a transitive patient and an intransitive participant:

	pronominal	nominal
intransitive participant	+	+
transitive patient	+	+
transitive agent	+	-
semitransitive agent or experiencer	+	+
semi-transitive goal	- (?)	(+)

+ indicates that Possessor Marking is used

(+) indicates that Possessor Marking is subject to certain restrictions

- indicates that Possessor marking is not allowed

In other words, the rule of Possessor Marking is applied to S and O, but not to A, if the participants are expressed by nouns; compare also Ochs' (1982:650f) statement that nominalizations "distinguish between absolutive and ergative constituents". Further more, the Possessor-Marking of the participants of semitransitive verbs give additional evidence that these verbs are indeed semitransitive, as their nominal agent or experiencer is marked like the intransitive participant and thus contrasted with the agent of transitive verbs, whereas the participant referring to the goal can be treated like the patient of transitive verbs instead of being considered as oblique (cf. Chung 1973:665f).

In contrast to Chung's claim several examples found in Milner (1966), Stuebel (1895) and Krämer (1902/1903) suggest that Possessor Marking is also found with the nominal agents of nominalized transitive verbs, e.g.

- (156) 'O lo'o fai le filifili=ga a le nu'u
 CONT do ART chose =NR POSS ART village
 mo se pulenu'u
 for ART (the office of) pulenu'u Mi 65
 "The village is holding a nomination meeting for the
 office of pulenu'u."

- (157) 'o le asiasi = ga a le Minisita⁻
 NP.MKR ART visit = NR POSS ART Minister Mi 24
 "The Minister's visit."
- (158) le fafagu a le ali'i
 ART wake up POSS ART chief Kr I 308
 "The waking up by the chief."

Note, however, that in our data all nominalized transitive verbs whose agent is marked as a Possessor lack the expression of the patient, so that the hypothesis could be put forward that Possessor-marking of transitive agents excludes the expression of transitive patients. The examples given above ((156-158)) also show that the nominalized forms of transitive verbs differ from their finite counterparts in that they do not require the expression of the patient. Moreover, the construction of

fai ART N_v POSS NP
 do (action) (agent) ,

as found in (156) provides a means not to express the otherwise obligatory patient of transitive verbs. The patient in (156) is left unspecified, as it would be the person to be elected, who of course is still unknown in this situation. Consider also the following example:

- (159) ona fai lea o tofi = ga a Pili ua
 then do (then) NP.MKR appoint = NR POSS P. PERF
 tofi = a le Tuamasaga e nofo i le
 appoint = TR ART T. NON-PAST sit LOC ART
 fale tele ma le fue tofi = a Atua
 house big with ART fly-whisk appoint = TR A.
 i le oso totiapula ...
 LOC/DIREC (?) ART stick planting taro St 163
 (lit. 'then the appointments of/by Pili were made...')
 "Then Pili assigned the appointments. He appointed
 Tuamasaga to sit in the Big House with the fly-whisk,
 and he bestowed the stick used for planting taro on
 Atua..."

Irrespective of whether it is marked by the transitive suffix or not the verb tofi "to assign, appoint" is transitive. While the first clause ona fai lea o tofiga a Pili only generally states what kind of action Pili performed, the following clauses express particular actions by specifying the patients.

In other words, the fai + N_V - construction is a means of de-transitivization (cf. p.101). Furthermore, also Chung's claim that the rule of Possessor Marking must be applied to transitive patients (Chung 1978:238) cannot be maintained, as there are several examples in which the transitive patient is denoted by an Absolutive phrase, e.g.

- (160) i le mimiti le isu
 DIREC ART sip(ping) ART nose Kr II 51
 whiff(ing)
 (lit. 'for the whiffing the nose')
 "In order to whiff the nose."

The distribution of A- and O- Possessive constructions with nominalized verbs, which has been neglected so far, is explained by Chung (1973:662):

"In Samoan, the NP following the nominalized verb is usually marked for the possessive. Subjects of intransitives and (some) subjects of transitives can be marked with a or o; this choice is also allowed for the subjects of verbs of emotion and perception (called semi-transitives by S. Churchward 1951). Selection of a or o is semantic, as in Pukapukan, and is determined by much the same considerations of agency or control. A is used to focus on the competence or success of the subject, while o makes no particular statement about it."

The fact that a number of transitive and intransitive nominalizations can occur alternatively with A- or O- Possessive constructions suggests

"that the choice of a or o is not conditioned by the subcategorization of the verb. It is, however, affected by the degree to which the possessor can be conceived of as controlling the action at all." (Chung 1973:663)

These findings can also be illustrated by many examples found in the texts under consideration; compare:

- (161) 'o l = a = 'u alu
 NP.MKR ART = POSS = 1.SG go(ing) F 66
 "my going"
- (162) le alu o le ali'i
 ART go(ing) POSS ART man F 64
 "The man's progress."

- (163) le tagi a le teine
ART cry/sing(ing) POSS ART girl F 280
"The girl's singing."
- (164) l = o laua fetagisi
ART = POSS 3.DU cry/sing(ing)/PL St 171
"Their weeping."
- (165) 'o le asiāsi = ga a le Minisitā
NP.MKR ART visit = NR POSS ART Minister Mi 24
"The Minister's visit."
- (166) le asiāsi = ga o le pule fa'ato'aga
ART visit = NR POSS ART manager plantation Mi 24
"The inspection of the plantation manager."

Being incapable of controlling an action, transitive patients must be marked with o (Chung 1973: 665,680) e.g.

- (167) le 'ai o le fafine
ART eat(ing) POSS ART woman F 54
"The eating of the woman (i.e. the being eaten)."

Similarly, the inactive participant of intransitive states and processes seems to be exclusively marked by o, e.g.

- (168) le ola o Sina
ART live/life POSS S. F 116
"Sina's life."
- (169) l =o =na ma'i
ART =POSS =3.SG (being sick)
"His sickness."

Thus according to Chung's observations and to the evidence given by most examples in our corpus, a and o are distributed in the following way:

	participant + control + animate	participant - control ± animate
nominalized intransitive verbs	<u>a</u> / <u>o</u>	<u>o</u>
nominalized transitive verbs	<u>a</u> / <u>o</u>	<u>o</u>

Since the patient as well as the agent of a nominalized transitive verb can be marked with o, the construction of a nominalized verb plus o + NP can be ambiguous, compare (166) and (167).

In contrast to the rules just stated there are a very few examples in Moyle (1981) where the patient of a nominalized transitive verb is marked with a and which, consequently, throws

doubt on the validity of these rules. For example:

- (170) 'Ua fa'apenā le fasi a le fānau a le
 PERF be-such ART beat(ing) POSS ART offspring POSS ART
 tama'ita'i
 lady F 180
 (lit. 'the beating of the off-spring of the lady was
 like that')
 "That was how they beat their children."
- (171) 'o le tofotofo=ga a le tama pe se
 NP.MKR ART test =NR POSS ART youth whether ART
 tagata pe aitu
 person or spirit F 226
 (lit. 'the testing of the youth whether a person
 or a spirit')
 "Testing whether the youth was a real person or a
 spirit."

As these texts contain some other constructions which contradict the rules of traditional Samoan grammar (cf. p.106f), the construction of transitive patients with the Possessive marker a can perhaps be ascribed to linguistic change probably resulting from the influence of English.

4. VALENCY AND TRANSITIVITY

4.0. INTRODUCTION

On the basis of how the relationship between actions, processes or states and their participants are encoded, the Samoan verbs can be classified into

1. intransitive verbs
2. transitive verbs
3. semitransitive verbs
4. labile verbs

4.1. TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The syntactic criterion by which transitive and intransitive verbs are distinguished in Samoan is whether or not they can be combined with an Ergative phrase, i.e. transitive verbs are defined as being compatible with an Ergative phrase and intransitive verbs as excluding an Ergative phrase. According

to this definition transitive and intransitive verbs will always be considered as belonging to two different classes, though their constructions look alike when they are only combined with an Absolutive phrase, e.g.

(172) 'Ua alu le tama
 PERF go ART boy
 "The boy went."

(173) 'Ua fasi le tama
 PERF hit ART boy
 "The boy was hit./Someone hit the boy."

Since the Ergative phrase denotes the agent controlling an action, its optional presence implies that all transitive verbs are action verbs, whereas the class of intransitive verbs includes action, process and state verbs.

transitive verbs

action verbs

fasi "to hit"

'ave "to give, carry"

pu'e "to catch"

intransitive verbs

action verbs process verbs state verbs

alu "to go"

oso "to jump"

tagi "to weep"

pa'u "to fall"

tupu "to grow"

tafe "to flow"

ma'i "to be sick"

lelei "to be good"

leaga "to be bad"

A further difference between intransitive and transitive verbs, which is closely related to the first one, is found in the semantic and syntactic relations existing between the verb and the Absolutive phrase. While the Absolutive phrase with transitive verbs exclusively denotes the patient affected by the action, the Absolutive phrase of intransitive verbs can denote the agent of an action, the undergoer of a process and a participant that is found in a certain state of being. The second and the last mentioned semantic roles are very similar to that of the patient, as all of them share the feature of lacking any control over the situation referred to by the verb. They differ, however, in that a patient always implies the existence of an agent by whom the action is carried out irrespective of whether it is explicitly expressed or implicitly understood. Syntactically, the difference between Absolutive phrases with intransitive and transitive verbs is reflected by the fact that participants of intransitive verbs can be expressed by proclitic pronouns with certain restrictions to 3rd person participants

(cf. p.27f) whereas patients of transitive verbs cannot.

Intransitive action verbs and transitive verbs do not only differ in that with noun phrases the agent is expressed by an Absolutive and an Ergative phrase respectively, but also in that 3rd person singular agents of transitive verbs can be denoted by the proclitic pronoun na or its allomorph ia. The pronominalization of 3rd person singular agents of intransitive action verbs either results in zero or in the independent pronoun 'o ia (which also holds true for the non-controlling participants of intransitive process and state verbs), e.g.

(174) 'Ua na fasi(=a) le tama
 PERF 3.SG hit (=TR) ART boy
 "He/she hit the boy."

(175) 'Ua na alu
 PERF 3.SG go

(176) 'Ua alu ('o ia)
 PERF go (3.SG)
 "He/she went."

Beyond all these differences , transitive verbs and intransitive verbs have in common that they agree in number with the Absolutive phrase (cf. p. 29f). The fact that the Ergative phrase is optional and that it does not control agreement in number with the verb argues that the relation existing between the verb and the Absolutive phrase is the primary grammatical relation and that the Absolutive phrase denotes the most central participant.

To conclude, syntactically intransitive and transitive verbs differ in three points, namely in respect to

1. whether they may be combined with an Ergative phrase or not,
2. whether the Absolutive phrase following them is grammatically equivalent to a proclitic pronoun or not,
3. whether they may be preceded by the 3rd person singular proclitic pronoun or not.

Semantically transitive verbs are distinguished from intransitive ones in that they denote actions which presuppose two participants, the agent and the patient, whereas intransitive verbs denote all kinds of situations, i.e. actions, processes and states, and presuppose only one participant whose

semantic role varies according to the meaning of the verb.

If these findings are to be reformulated in terms of valency (i.e. that inherent property of the verb which determines the number and the semantic and morphosyntactic features of participants, cf. p. 1f), we can say that the classification of verbs as intransitive or transitive involves the quantitative, the semantic and the morphosyntactic component of valency. Both with transitive and intransitive verbs the semantic component of valency determines the semantic role of the most central participant, whereas the morphosyntactic component determines that this participant must be in the Absolutive case, if it is to be expressed by a noun phrase. Secondly, the interaction of the quantitative, morphosyntactic and semantic component of valency determines that transitive verbs presuppose an additional, less central participant, which is optionally expressed by an Ergative phrase or its pronominal counterpart and which refers to the agent of the action denoted by the verb.

V _{itr/action}	ABS : agent
V _{itr/process}	ABS : undergoer
V _{itr/state}	ABS : participant found in a state
V _{tr/action}	ABS : patient (+ ERG : agent)

This implies that the notion of transitivity in Samoan and probably in many other Ergative languages is quite different from that of Accusative languages. While in the latter transitive clauses are distinguished from intransitive ones by the presence of a direct object denoting the patient, in Samoan transitive clauses differ from intransitive ones in respect to the optional presence of an Ergative phrase or its pronominal counterpart denoting the agent.

	Accusative languages			Samoan		
intransitive clauses	S			S		
transitive clauses	A	+	O	O	+	A
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	NOM			ABS		ERG

(compare Bechert's (1979:50) similar statement on transitivity in Accusative and Ergative languages).

In semantic terms this means that in Accusative languages all kinds of agents, irrespective of whether they control a transitive or an intransitive action, are denoted by the same case, the Nominative, whereas in Samoan, agents of intransitive and transitive actions are distinguished. On the other hand, Ergative languages encode all kinds of non-controlling participants (patients, undergoers of processes and participants found in a state) by the same case, the Absolutive, while Accusative languages distinguish between non-controlling participants of intransitive actions and those of transitive actions. Compare:

- (177) Der Junge ging
 GERMAN the boy went
 NOM: agent
 "The boy went."
- (178) Der Junge schlug den Hund
 GERMAN the boy hit the dog
 NOM: agent ACC: patient (non-controlling participant)
 "The boy hit the dog."
- (179) Der Junge fiel hin
 GERMAN the boy fell down
 NOM: undergoer of a process (non-controlling participant)
 "The boy fell down."
- (180) 'Ua fasi le maile e le tama
 PERF hit ART dog ERG ART boy
 ABS:patient ERG: agent
 "The boy hit the dog."
- (181) 'Ua pa'u le tama
 PERF fall ART boy
 ABS:undergoer of a process (non-controlling participant)
 "The boy fell down."
- (182) 'Ua alu le tama
 PERF go ART boy
 ABS: agent
 "The boy went."

In both types of languages the opposition between agents and non-controlling participants of intransitive clauses is not expressed by case-marking. But intransitive clauses in Samoan and Accusative languages differ in respect to their paradigmatic relations to transitive clauses, since in Accusative languages the intransitive participant is associated to the transitive agent, and in Samoan to the transitive patient.

intransitive
clause

agent	non-controlling participant
-------	--------------------------------

transitive
clause

agent	non-controlling participant
-------	--------------------------------

Accusative languages

agent	non-controlling participant
-------	--------------------------------

agent	non-controlling participant
-------	--------------------------------

Samoan

4.2. THE MYSTERIOUS TRANSITIVE SUFFIX

4.2.0. Introduction

The suffix in question is called Mysterious Transitive Suffix (Chung 1976, Cook 1978), since it has puzzled generations of linguists and since its only characteristic which has been recognized without provoking any contradictions is that all verbs which it has been attached to are transitive. It shows the allomorphs a, ia, ina, tia, fia, sia, mia, na, gia, lia, whose distribution is lexically determined; for examples cf. Pratt (1983:20-22). As most of its allomorphs show the structure Cia, it is also often referred to as the Cia-suffix.

4.2.1. Chung's and Cook's Interpretations

Chung (1978:57, 284-286) distinguishes two -Cia suffixes, referred to as the transitive suffix and the transitivizing suffix. While the transitive suffix, "whose usual surface forms are -a and -ina", is attached to canonical transitive verbs, "the transitivizing suffix has a number of surface forms that are lexically selected by the stem. It is attached to middle verbs to form derived verbs that are typically canonical transitive" (Chung 1978:284), e.g.

(183) Sā vala'au mai 'oia 'iāte a'u
 PAST call DIR 3.SG DIREC 1.SG Chung 284
 "He called me."

(184) Sā vala'au = lia mai a'u e ia
 PAST call = TR DIR 1.SG ERG 3.SG Chung 284
 "He invited me."

The function of the transitive suffix is more complex.

According to Chung (op. cit.) and Cook (1978), it tends to appear

1. in transitive clauses whose "subjects" have been fronted by the rule of Clitic Placement, i.e. in transitive clauses whose agent is expressed by a proclitic pronoun, e.g.

(185) Na fasi e le tama le teine
 PAST hit ERG ART boy ART girl Cook 53
 "The boy hit the girl."

(186) Na ia fasi = ina le teine
 PAST 3.SG hit = TR ART girl Cook 54
 "He hit the girl."

2. in transitive clauses whose "subjects" have been extracted by the rules of Clefting (i.e. left-dislocation) and Question Formation, e.g.

(187) 'o le tama na fasi = ina le teine
 NP.MKR ART boy PAST hit = TR ART girl Cook 54
 "It is the boy who hit the girl."

(188) 'O ai na fasi = ina le teine
 NP.MKR who PAST hit = TR ART girl Cook 54
 "Who hit the girl?"

3. in transitive clauses whose "subjects" have undergone Relativization, e.g.

(189) 'O fea le tama na fasi = ina le teine
 NP.MKR where ART boy PAST hit = TR ART girl Cook 54
 "Where is the boy who hit the girl?"

4. in transitive clauses whose "subjects" are not overt, because they are generic (Chung 1978:86), e.g.

(190) E ta'u = a i latou o le auao
 NON-PAST call = TR 3.PL NP.MKR ART auao St 227
 "They were called 'auao'"

5. in transitive clauses describing an action "in which the agent plays a significant role, even though the agent is unknown" (Cook 1978:60), e.g.

(191) 'Ua gaoi = a o'u 'ofu
 PERF steal = TR my clothes Mi 76
 "My clothes are (have been) stolen."

6. "in negative sentences describing single incomplete events" (Chung 1978:90), e.g.

(192) Sā le'i meli=a e le falemeli le tusi
 PAST not mail =TR ERG ART postoffice ART letter
 "The postoffice didn't deliver the letter." Chung 90f

The transitive suffix is required

7. "in negative imperatives, which specifically direct the

hearer that an event should remain incomplete" (Chung 1978:91), e.g.

- (193) 'Aua lē lafo=ina 'i ai se tusi
NEG.IMP. not send=TR DIREC ANAPH ART letter
"Don't send them a letter!" Chung 91

8. "in negative generic statements which describe events that never become complete" (Chung 1978:91), e.g.

- (194) E lē loka=ina e leoleo tagata gaoi
NON-PAST not lock =TR ERG police person steal
"Policemen do not arrest burglars." Chung 91

Milner's assumption (1962, 1973) that the Mysterious Transitive Suffix marks the perfective aspect is rejected by Chung (1978:90), who shows that -Cia can occur in clauses expressing a "progressive event" such as

- (195) Sā mātou fo'i mai , 'olo'o kuka=(ina) e
 PAST 1.PL.EXC return DIR , CONT cook =(TR) ERG
- tamaiti le keke
children ART cake
- "When we returned, the children were baking a cake."
Chung 90

Since the rules 6 & 7 determine the "distribution of -Cia in only a small proportion of cases" (Chung 1978:93), Chung concludes "that -Cia serves primarily to indicate a missing transitive subject" (Chung 1978:93). Elsewhere (1978:240) she says that the rule of -Cia Insertion "attaches the transitive suffix to the verb as a flag for certain types of missing transitive subjects". More explicitly this rule is read as

"Attach -Cia to a canonical transitive verb if the subject of the clause (a) is the generic agent, or (b) has been moved or extracted by a superficial rule."

(Chung 1978:88)

or, if it is to be stated "in terms of case marking":

"Attach -Cia to the verb if the subject of the clause would have appeared in the ergative case, but (a) is the generic agent, or (b) has been moved or extracted by a superficial rule."

(Chung 1978:240)

While Chung does not consider the difference between clauses of the structure

(196) $V_{tr} + ABS_{(patient)}$

and those of the structure

(197) $V_{tr} = TR + ABS_{(patient)}$,

Cook (1978:60) argues that (196) corresponds to English "impersonal passives", as it is used "if a process is described which we know must involve an agent and yet that agent is of no importance", e.g.

(198) 'Ua eli le lua e tanu ai atigi 'apa
 PERF dig ART hole NON-PAST bury ANAPH empty tin
 "A hole was dug to bury the empty tins." Mi 41

But (197) indicates that "the agent plays a significant role, even though the agent is unknown" (compare p.86, 94) e.g.

(199) 'Ua gaoi =a o'u 'ofu
 PERF steal =TR my clothes
 "My clothes have been stolen." Mi 76

4.2.2. Arguments against Chung's and Cook's interpretations

Particularly, Chung's interpretation is based on the assumption that synchronically two kinds of suffixes have to be distinguished; namely the transitive suffix which is attached to inherently transitive verbs and the transitivizing suffix which derives transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, semi-transitive verbs and nominal bases, and that their different functions correlate with different morphological forms. The "usual surface forms" of the transitive suffix would be -a and -ina, whereas the transitivizing suffix would show several lexically determined allomorphs, i.e. -ia, -tia, -fia, -sia, -mia, -na, -gia and -lia. But a closer look at Milner's and Pratt's dictionaries reveals that there are a number of

inherently transitive verbs which take "transitive" suffixes of the form of the "transitivizing" suffixes, so that this morphological distinction cannot be maintained, e.g.

<u>noa</u> , <u>nonoa</u>	<u>noa=tia</u> , <u>noanoa=tia</u>	"to tie"
<u>puni</u>	<u>puni=tia</u>	"to close"
<u>folo</u>	<u>folo=sia</u>	"to swallow"
<u>fuli</u>	<u>fuli=sia</u>	"to capsize"
<u>una</u>	<u>una=fia</u>	"to pinch (a person with thumb and fingers)"
<u>tanu</u>	<u>tanu=mia</u>	"to bury"
<u>no</u>	<u>no=gia</u>	"to borrow"

The rules stated by Chung (1978:88, 240) give the impression that the transitive suffix serves as a means of filling the slot of the Ergative phrase, i.e. the subject of canonical transitive clauses in her terms, after it has been moved or extracted. This interpretation would only sound reasonable, if, as Chung and Cook assume, the transitive agent marked by the Ergative phrase were the subject and would represent the primary grammatical relation, so that it would really be missed when moved or extracted.

However, as the transitive agent is optional, does not control agreement and does not show any of those properties of syntactic behaviour found with participants constituting primary grammatical relations, it does not seem justified to regard it as subject (cf. p. 3f, §6.1.), and consequently, the transitive suffix probably signifies something else. Secondly, it should be taken into account that the transitive suffix is attached to the verb, so that it presumably marks a property of the verb rather than the application of a certain rule to an optional peripheral participant. Thirdly, Chung's interpretation fails to explain why the transitive suffix is only preferred in its primary function, but is required in negative imperatives and in negative generic statements.

Since the distinction of two types of suffixes, i.e. the "transitivizing" and the "transitive" suffix, cannot be maintained on the basis of morphological criteria, one should try to find a single explanation which would cover both the

functions of this suffix when it is attached to non-transitive bases as a means of deriving transitive verbs and when it is attached to inherently transitive verbs. Since more easily describable, we will first deal with the Mysterious Transitive Suffix when deriving transitive verbs, and then turn to the question of its function with inherently transitive verbs.

4.2.3. The Mysterious Transitive Suffix as a means of deriving transitive verbs from non-transitive bases

As a means of transitivization the Mysterious Transitive Suffix is found with:

1. intransitive verbs, particularly verbs of motion,
2. semi-transitive verbs,
3. nouns.

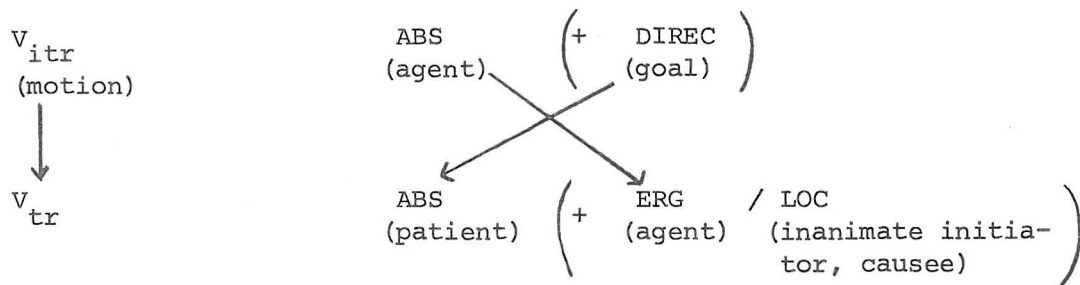
The meaning of the resulting transitive verb and its valency, particularly the semantic component of its valency, are lexically determined and are hence not predictable from the simple form. If, for instance, a verb of communication is transitivized, it is clear that the Ergative phrase of this derived transitive verb denotes the person who communicates, but the semantic properties of the patient expressed by the Absolutive phrases are not predictable. The Absolutive phrase may refer to a person who is affected by the act of communication or to the matter that is spoken about, discussed, cried over, etc (cf. p. 73f).

With certain verbs and nouns the attachment of the transitive suffix does not form transitive verbs, but verbs, which according to our definitions of transitivity and intransitivity in Samoan, constitute a class of their own, called "pseudo-transitive verbs" in the following.

4.2.3.1. Transitivization of intransitive verbs

Many intransitive verbs of motion which combine with Directional phrases denoting the goal can be transitivized, whereby the Directional phrase is promoted to an Absolutive

phrase, and simultaneously, the former Absolutive phrase is demoted to an Ergative phrase or to a Locative phrase referring to an inanimate initiator or causee:



- (200) 'Ua oso le maile 'i le pua'a
 PERF jump ART dog DIREC ART pig
 "The dog jumped on the pig." Mi 168
- (201) 'Ua oso=fia le fa'atoaga e manu 'āviao
 PERF jump=TR ART plantation ERG animal wild
 "Wild animals have broken into the plantation." Mi 168
- (202) Na oso=fia le va'a i peau
 PAST jump=TR ART boat LOC wave
 (lit. 'the boat was jumped on and affected by the waves.')
 "Waves were breaking over into the boat." Mi 168

If, as in the case of oso "jump", one and the same verb can refer equally to a motion consciously initiated and controlled by an animate being and to the uncontrolled movement of an inanimate entity, the case of the demoted, former Absolutive phrase depends solely on the inherent semantic properties of the noun, but is not determined by the valency of the verb. With intransitive verbs of motion, the moving animate being or the moved inanimate entity is represented as the most essential participant of the motion, whereas the goal of the motion plays only a peripheral role. If, however, the verb is transitivized, the relations between the verb and its participants are changed. Now the formerly distantly related goal becomes the participant that is inherently related to and affected by the motion as any other kinds of patients affected by transitive actions. Consider also the following examples:

- (203) 'Ua ia lē mafai ona a'e 'i le mauga
 PERF 3.SG not can that climb DIREC ART hill
 "He cannot climb the hill." Mi 4
- (204) Sā ā'e =a le mauga
 PAST climb =TR ART hill
 "The hill was climbed." Mi 4

Similarly to the Directional phrase in the preceding examples, the Locative phrase of certain verbs of position can be promoted by transitivization to an Absolutive phrase, whereas the former Absolutive phrase is simultaneously demoted. Compare:

- (205) 'Ua nofo le fafine i le fale
 PERF sit ART woman LOC ART house
 "The woman sat in the house."
- (206) 'Ua nōfo=ia le fale fou
 PERF sit =TR ART house new
 "The new house is occupied." Mi 157

Similarly:

- (207) fono i "to have a conference at ..."
fono=tia "to serve as a meeting-place of
 a council."

Some transitivized verbs derived from verbs of motion do not promote the goal, but express a transitive action by which an entity is moved, so that the verb of motion looks like a verb of transportation, e.g.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|---|----------------|
| V _{itr}
(motion) | ABS
(moving entity) | | |
| ↓ | ↓ | | |
| V _{tr}
(transportation) | ABS
(moved entity) | + | ERG
(agent) |
- (208) 'Ua mānu le laumei
 PERF get-to-surface ART turtle
 "The turtle has come to the surface." Mi 130
- (209) 'Ua manu =sia le va'a
 PERF get-to-surface=TR ART boat
 "The boat has been raised to the surface."

While the simple intransitive verb mānu "to come to the surface" (Milner 1966:130), "to rise above, as a rock out of the water, or a tree above other trees, to float high, as a

the semantic domain of pain, suffering and torture, e.g.

- (212) 'Ua mamala le fa'ama'i
 PERF be-severe ART epidemic
 "The epidemic is severe." Mi 122
- (213) 'Ua māla =ia 'i lātou i le oge
 PERF strike = TR 3.PL LOC ART famine
 "Famine has struck them." Mi 122
- (214) E sāuā le tama 'i lona 'āiga
 NON-PAST cruel ART boy DIREC his family
 "The boy is cruel to his family." Mi 202
- (215) Na sāuā = ina ulua'i kerisiano
 PAST cruel = TR first Christians
 (persecute)
 "The first Christians were persecuted." Mi 202

Note that transitive verbs which are derived from intransitive stative verbs usually do not express transitive actions by which the patient is caused to be in the state referred to by the simple verb. Such actions are expressed by causative verbs, e.g.

<u>leaga</u>	"to be bad, be damaged, be out of order"
<u>fa'a = leaga</u>	"to destroy, spoil, ruin"
<u>manuia</u>	"be happy, lucky"
<u>fa'a = manuia</u>	"to bless, wish good luck to"

4.2.3.2. Pseudo-transitive verbs

There is a small class of verbs derived by the transitive suffix which according to our definition cannot be considered as transitive, as they cannot be combined with an Ergative phrase. These verbs have in common that they denote processes caused by a natural force which affect or change the state of being of the Absolutive phrase referent, while their simple form denotes the natural force as such, e.g.

<u>afā</u>	"storm"	
<u>afā = tia</u>	"be struck by a storm"	Mi 4
<u>timu</u>	"be rainy, rain"	
<u>timu = tia</u>	"be drenched in the rain"	F 214

or a process in which typically a certain natural force is involved, e.g.

- (216) 'Ua agi mai le matagi i Sisifo
 PERF blow DIR ART wind LOC West Mi 8
 "The wind is blowing from the West."
- (217) 'Ua agi = na mai le fu'a
 PERF blow = TR DIR ART flag Mi 8
 "The flag is unfurled by the wind."
- (218) 'Ua tafe le vai
 PERF flow ART water Mi 226
 "The water is flowing."
- (219) Na tafe = a le ala laupapa
 PAST flow = TR ART way plank Mi 226
 (be carried away) (bridge)
 "The bridge was washed away."

Another derived verb (and probably several others) which belongs to this class of verbs is lele=a "to be blown (of dust, paper, etc. by the wind, etc.)", e.g.

- (220) 'Ua lele = a le pepa i le matagi
 PERF blow TR ART paper LOC ART wind Mi 104
 "The paper has been blown by the wind."

Here the simple intransitive verb lele "to fly" denotes a controlled movement, whereas the derived verb signifies the same type of movement when it is not controlled by the moving entity, but initiated by some other external force. If it could be combined with an Ergative phrase, lele, lele=a would be of the same type as manu, manu=sia "come to the surface, be raised" (208, 209).

Though verbs like afa=tia "to be struck by a storm", timu=tia "to be drenched in the rain", tafe=a "to be carried away (by a current)" and lele=a "to be blown (by the wind)" are derived by the transitive suffix and hence look like transitive verbs, they cannot be classified as transitive verbs, for they do not express a transitive action controlled by a necessarily animate agent, but a change of state caused by a natural force, which morphosyntactically is reflected by their incompatibility with Ergative phrases. On the other hand, the relationship holding between such a derived verb and the Absolutive phrase is very much like the relationship constituted by a proper transitive verb and an Absolutive phrase denoting the patient. The nature of this similar relationship is

overtly marked by the transitive suffix and also shown by the fact that the Absolutive phrase cannot be pronominalized by a proclitic pronoun, as is the case with Absolutive phrases of intransitive verbs. Consequently, these verbs which are derived by the transitive suffix cannot be classified as fully transitive or intransitive verbs, but constitute a class of their own, which might be called "pseudo-transitive verbs". The term "semi-transitive verbs" would perhaps be more suitable, but has already been used for another class of verbs (Churchward 1951, Chung 1978).

4.2.3.3. Transitivity of semi-transitive verbs

Semi-transitive verbs are verbs which mainly express mental activities and acts of communication and which combine with an Absolutive phrase denoting the experiencer or agent (communicator) and optionally with a Directional phrase signifying what the event is concerned with, i.e. what the respective mental activity refers to (the goal) or the person to whom an act of communication is addressed (the addressee) or what an act of communication is about (the referential object, (cf. p.18fp.104f), e.g.

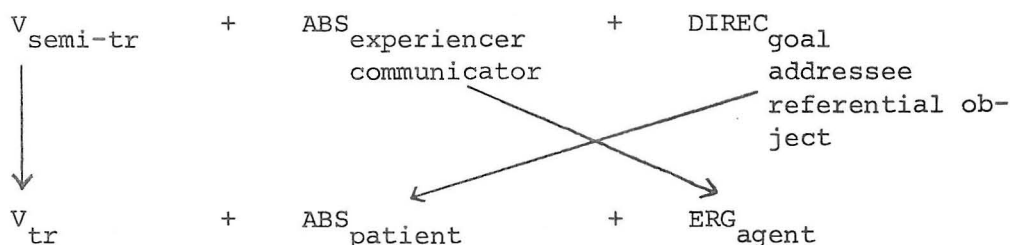
1. V_{mental} + ABS_{experiencer} + DIREC_{goal}
activity
- (221) Ua vaai atu le nuu i le paau o laau
PERF see DIR ART village DIREC ART fall POSS tree
"The village saw the trees falling." St 165
- (222) 'ina 'ua mana'o le tamaita'i i le tupuvae
as PERF want ART girl DIREC ART ankle
"As the girl wanted the ankle ..." Kr I 124
- (223) ma 'ua na mafaufau pea 'i lenei fa'aailoga
and PERF 3.SG think still DIREC this evidence
(lit. 'and she thought of this evidence')
"...pondering over this evidence." F 60
2. V_{act of} + ABS_{communicator} + DIREC_{addressee}
communication
- (224) ona fesili atu lea o Sina ia te ia ...
then ask DIR (then) NP.MKR Sina DIREC 3.SG
ua tali mai le tagata ia te ia ...
PERF answer DIR ART man DIREC 3.SG

"then Sina asked him ... and the man answered her."
St 167

3. V_{act of} + ABS_{communicator} + DIREC_{referen-}
communication tial ob-
ject

(225) 'Ua tagi le tama'ita'i 'i lana fanau
PERF cry ART woman DIREC her off-spring
"The woman cried over her children."

The transitivization of these verbs results in the promotion of the Directional phrase to an Absolutive phrase and the demotion of the former Absolutive phrase to an Ergative phrase. Semantically the transitivized verbs differ from their simple counterparts in that the mental activity or an act of communication is now presented as a consciously performed action that affects a patient.



In other words, the experiencer or communicator now becomes an agent, whereas the goal of the mental activity, the addressee or the referential object becomes a patient. Whether the addressee of the referential object of a verb of communication becomes the patient by transitivization is lexically determined. Compare:

- (226) 'Ua va'ai=a le teine e le tama
PERF see =TR ART girl ERG ART boy
"The boy caught sight of the girl./The boy watched the girl."
- (227) ma 'ua taunu'u atu , ma 'ua va'ai=a loa
and PERF arrive DIR PERF PERF see =TR immediately
e le ali'i le fale
ERG ART man ART house
"And when he arrived, the man immediately saw the house."
F 82

- (228) 'Ua fesili=gia le pāgotā
 PERF ask =TR ART prisoner
 "The prisoner was questioned." Mi 63
- (229) Ona toe sau ai lea i Salelologa
 then again come ANAPH (then) DIREC S.
 ona tali =a ai lea e le aitu faifili
 then answer =TR ANAPH (then) ERG ART spirit make-enemy
 "Then he came to S. and his wishes were met by the
 cunning spirit." Kr I 130
- (230) 'Ua tagi=sia le ma'i
 PERF cry =TR ART sick
 "The patient is cried over." Mi 228

Though both the Directional and the Ergative phrase are optional, the syntactic relation between the Ergative phrase and the verb is much closer than that between the Directional phrase and the verb, as is shown by various syntactic operations such as pronominalization (cf. p.27), nominalization (cf. p.51ff), coreferential deletion across conjunctions (cf. p. 112), relativization (cf. p.119) and topicalization (cf. (335), §6.2). Consequently, the transitivization of semi-transitive verbs does not only result in the demotion of the primary participant (ABS/experiencer, communicator) and the simultaneous promotion of the secondary participant (DIREC/goal, addressee, referential object), but also implies that the secondary participant of the derived pattern (ERG/agent) is more closely related to the verb than the secondary participant (DIREC/goal, addressee, referential object) of the semi-transitive pattern.

4.2.3.4. Denominal verbs derived by the transitive suffix

In a few cases the transitive suffix serves as a means of deriving verbs from nominal bases. These verbs then denote events which affect a participant with what is referred to by the nominal base, e.g.

- (231) 'Ua lōi=a le suka
 PERF ant=TR ART sugar
 (lit. 'affected by ants')
 "The sugar is overrun by ants." Mi 110
- (232) 'Ua mālō =a lo'u fale
 PERF guest =TR my house
 (lit. 'my house is affected by guests')
 "There are guests in my house." Mi 124

- (233) E pili =a le alapae
 NON-PAST lizard =TR ART causeway
 (lit. 'the causeway is affected by lizards.')
- "The causeway is full of lizards." Mi 183
- (234) 'Ua puao=a lana va'ai
 PERF mist=TR his see(ing)
 (lit. 'his seeing is affected by mist.')
- "His sight is blurred." Mi 190

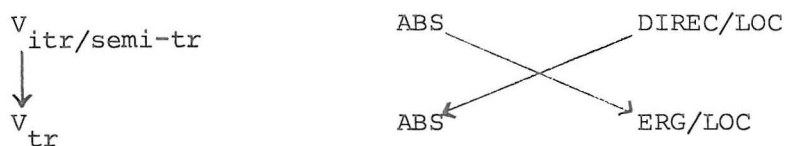
All these verbs are similar to pseudo-transitive verbs, e.g. verbs which are not combinable with an Ergative phrase, though they are derived by the transitive suffix and denote an event that affects a participant as an action affects a patient. The transitive suffix serves here as a means of transforming a non-relational word, e.g. loi "ant", mālō "guest", pili "lizard", puao "mist, fog", into a relational word carrying the information that the noun referent is related to some other entity and that this relationship is one of affectedness. Though the derived verbs (loi=a "to be affected by ants" etc.) cannot be classified as transitive verbs, the notion of transitivization can be maintained in the sense of establishing a relationship of affectedness, which would also hold true for the derivation of pseudo-transitive verbs described above. Therefore, the denominal verbs will be classified as pseudo-transitive verbs as well.

4.2.3.5. Conclusion

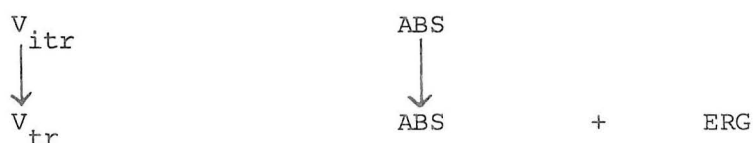
The preceding paragraphs show that transitivization in Samoan is not a homogeneous morphosyntactic operation, but includes several types of transitivization. These can be classified into five categories on the basis of the following criteria:

1. whether the simplex is a verb or a noun,
2. whether the attachment of the transitive suffix results in a transitive or a pseudo-transitive verb,
3. whether, if the simplex is a verb, the Absolutive phrase maintains its morphosyntactic status as primary participant, or is demoted.

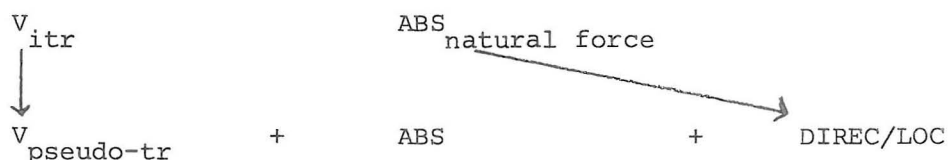
Accordingly we get:

Type I

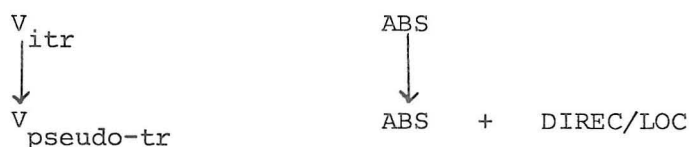
This type of transitivity is found with verbs of motion and position, e.g. oso "jump", oso=fia "affect by jumping" (200)-(202), nofo "to sit, stay", nōfo=ia "to occupy" (205)-(206), with certain intransitive stative verbs, e.g. sāuā "to be cruel to", sāuā=ina "to persecute" (214)-(215), as well as with semi-transitive verbs (221)-(230).

Type II

Intransitive verbs which undergo this type of transitivity are some verbs of motion, e.g. mānu "to rise", mānu=sia "to raise" (p.69) and intransitive inactive verbs denoting a change of state, e.g. moto "to break (inr)", moto=sia "to break (tr)" (210)-(211).

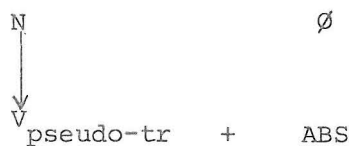
Type III

With this type of intransitivity the intransitive verb expresses a process in which some natural force denoted by the Absolutive phrase is involved, whereas the transitivity verb represents the same kind of event as affecting a patient. The natural force initiating this affectedness is now expressed by a Locative or Directional phrase (216)-(219).

Type IV

Here an intransitive verb of motion, which presupposes an agent controlling the motion, e.g. lele "to fly", is transformed into a pseudo-transitive verb which represents the motion of an inanimate entity as being caused by some external force, e.g. lele=a "to be blown (of dust, paper etc., by the wind)" (220). Similar to type III the relation expressed by the verb and the Absolutive phrase is one of affectedness as is the relation between an action and a patient. Type IV, however, differs from Type II in that the affectedness is not initiated by an agent denoted by an Ergative phrase, but by a neutral force.

Type V



The transitive suffix is attached to a nominal base and derives a pseudo-transitive verb expressing that someone or something is affected by what the nominal base refers to, e.g. loi "ant", loi=a "to be affected by ants" (231)-(234).

All types of transitivization have in common that the transitive suffix establishes a relation of affectedness between the verb and its primary participant. Affectedness means that the state of being of a participant is changed and that this change is caused by an agent or some external force. With denominal pseudo-transitive verbs the initiator of affectedness is denoted by the verb itself. Thus, affectedness always implies an agent or an inanimate initiator, whereas other relations between an event or state and the non-controlling directly involved participant (which are represented by intransitive process or state verbs plus an Absolutive phrase) do not. Irrespective of whether the attachment of the transitive suffix results in a transitive or pseudo-transitive verb, all types of transitivization increase the relationality of the simplex.

4.2.4. The notion of transitivity and transitivity reconsidered

As has already been remarked above, the starting point of any explanation of the function of the Mysterious Transitive Suffix should be the verb itself, and the question which property of the verb is indicated by the Mysterious Transitive Suffix that is not indicated with the unmarked verb. The explanation to be found should possibly cover all instances where the Mysterious Transitive Suffix tends to occur, is strongly preferred or even required. Since the Mysterious Transitive Suffix functions as a means of transitivity of non-transitive bases, the explanation tentatively put forward here is based on the assumption that the function of the Mysterious Transitive Suffix has something to do with transitivity, even in those cases where it is attached to an inherently transitive verb. Therefore, the notions of transitivity and transitivity should be reconsidered first.

In their article on "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse" (1980) Hopper and Thompson regard transitivity as a property of the entire clause which consists of several components. These components are relevant to varying degrees in expressing that an activity is "carried over" or "transferred" from one participant to another and thus constitute parameters by which transitive clauses can be classified as being more or less transitive. These parameters are:

	HIGH	LOW
A. PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and O	1 participant
B. KINESIS	action	non-action
C. ASPECT	telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G. MODE	realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

"The more features a clause has in the 'high' column in A-J, the more Transitive it is - the closer it is to cardinal Transitivity."

(op.cit. p. 254)

This implies that "a sentence with two participants may rate lower than one with a single participant" (op.cit. p. 254). In many languages, for instance, imperfective transitive clauses are formally and semantically less transitive than perfective transitive clauses, as they express a lower degree of affectedness of the patient, and formally this lower degree of affectedness correlates with morphosyntactic features that are otherwise characteristic of intransitive clauses (op.cit. p. 261-264). Or, to take another very common example, in many languages transitive clauses containing a highly individuated patient show a greater degree of transitivity than those of a less individuated participant. The parameters of individuation are (op.cit. p. 253):

INDIVIDUATED	NON-INDIVIDUATED
proper	common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	plural
count	mass
referential, definite	non-referential

Consequently, transitive and intransitive clauses are not to be classified into two dichotomic categories, but each constitute a continuum.

Whereas Hopper and Thompson illustrate each of their parameters with examples from various languages which show the contrast between a prototypical transitive clause and a less transitive one, Drossard (1983, 1984) and Mosel (1982: 206-208, 1984) show how, in Tagalog, Tolai and Palauan, more and less transitive clauses can be ordered on a continuum from prototypical transitive to prototypical intransitive clauses. Each instance of these continua is distinguished from its neighbours by the absence or presence of a certain semantic feature correlating with a certain morphosyntactic feature. Note, however, that often not all types of clauses can be arranged in a strictly linear order, e.g.,

tr \longleftrightarrow itr

but that the various types of clauses may also constitute several or a bundle of continua, e.g.

tr \longleftrightarrow itr
 \longleftrightarrow
 \longleftrightarrow

The varying degrees of transitivity of a clause can be expressed in different ways:

1. The verb is unmarked and inherently contains the information of the nature of its relations to participants, so that the potential clause structure is predictable from the verb.
2. The verb carries a particular marking that explicitly denotes its relationality.
3. If the verb or the derived verb form does not presuppose a particular clause structure in respect to transitivity, the information about varying degrees of transitivity can be given by contrasting forms of the participants.

For example, the unmarked verb alu "to go" inherently contains the information that the clause is intransitive in the clause

(235) 'Ua alu le tama
 PERF go ART boy
 "The boy went"

whereas in

(236) 'Ua va'ai=a le teine e le tama
 PERF see =TR ART girl ERG ART boy
 "The boy caught sight of / watched the girl."

the nature of the relationship is explicitly indicated by the transitive suffix. The third case, which will be discussed later, is found with so-called "labile" verbs which allow both the intransitive and the transitive case marking pattern, so that not the verb itself, but only the case marking of the participants signify the degree of transitivity of the clause. Here we are concerned with the first and second case in order to investigate how different degrees of transitivity are either inherently or overtly indicated by the verb, which function is fulfilled by the Mysterious Transitive Suffix and which factors constitute the Samoan continuum of transitivity.

The preceding analyses have shown:

1. Canonical intransitive verbs enter only one relationship of participation whose semantic nature is determined by the semantic properties of the verb:

V_{itr}	ABS	
action		agent
process		
state		non-controlling participant

Thus the class of canonical intransitive clauses considered as a whole does not imply a specific kind of semantic relationship between the verb and the participant marked by the Absolutive phrase, but a variety of relationships.

2. Canonical unmarked transitive verbs imply two strictly defined relationships of participation, namely a relationship of affectedness and a relationship of agency:

V_{tr}	ABS	ERG
action	patient	agent

3. Both with unmarked intransitive action verbs (e.g. alu "to go") and with unmarked transitive verbs, the expression of the agent is optional. In isolated clauses, or similarly, in clauses whose context does not provide information about the agent, the lack of an agent phrase implies a non-specific agent, i.e. someone who carried out the action, but whose identity is of no interest, or who is not considered to be a particular person.
4. The Attachment of the transitive suffix to non-transitive bases (intransitive, semi-transitive and nominal bases) either results in transitive or pseudo-transitive verbs. In any case it increases the degree of transitivity.
5. The pseudo-transitive verbs can be classified into those which allow the combination with a Locative or Directional phrase referring to an inanimate initiator and those which do not. Both types have in common that in contrast to intransitive verbs and similar to transitive verbs, the relationship between the verb and the Absolutive phrase is one of affectedness.

The clauses constructed by intransitive, transitive and pseudo-transitive verbs and nominal participants can be ordered along a continuum of transitivity, whereby the degree of transitivity is determined by the following parameters:

1. whether or not the verb expresses an action,
2. whether or not the relationship expressed by A + ABS is a relationship of affectedness,
3. whether or not the agent of an action is specific and made explicit,
4. whether or not the initiator of a relationship of affectedness is an agent.

These parameters include Hopper and Thompson's parameters of kinesis, agency and affectedness, and additionally, a further one which can be called "individuation of the agent".

clause structure			primary participant specified	V ABS = relation of affected- ness	initiator specified	initiator = agent
V _{itr}			-	-	-	-
V _{itr}	ABS		+	-	-	-
V _{tr} / pseudo-tr	ABS		+	+	-	-
V _{tr} / pseudo-tr	ABS	LOC/DIREC	+	+	+	-
V _{tr}	ABS	ERG	+	+	+	+

Note that this continuum is still incomplete as it does not take into account clauses with pronominalized participants, derived intransitive verbs, semi-transitive verbs and transitive verbs which are marked by the transitive suffix.

To conclude, transitivity is considered as a property of the clause. Prototypical or canonical transitivity consists of two components, namely the relationship of affectedness and the relationship of agency, which are expressed by the Absolutive and the Ergative phrase respectively. The primary grammatical relation is that between the verb and the Absolutive phrase. In prototypical and pseudo-transitive clauses V ABS expresses a relationship of affectedness, whereas in intransitive clauses the relation of V ABS is not a relationship of affectedness, but either a relationship of controlling, i.e. agentive, or of non-controlling participation. Clauses of the structure V_{tr}/pseudo-tr ABS LOC/DIREC differ from prototypical transitive clauses in respect to the parameter of agency. From a mere syntactical point of view, prototypical transitive clauses are distinguished from all types of less transitive clauses by the presence of an Ergative phrase. Transitive verbs are defined as verbs which express actions implying an agent and which potentially enter a prototypical

transitive clause, whereas the degree of transitivity of a clause is defined by its actual structure. In other words, speaking of transitivity with respect to verbs means something else than speaking of transitivity with regard to clauses.

4.2.5. The attachment of the Mysterious Transitive Suffix to inherently transitive verbs

4.2.5.0. Introduction

As far as our preceding investigation argues, the function of the Mysterious Transitive Suffix is to increase the degree of transitivity. It is not, as one might suppose at first sight, merely a means of deriving transitive verbs; for otherwise the derivation of pseudo-transitive verbs could not be accounted for. Similarly, the explanation to be put forward here is based on the assumption that the transitive suffix with transitive verbs indicates a higher degree of transitivity, i.e. that the verb actually enters a more transitive relation with its participants than in the unmarked case. The primary grammatical relation in prototypical unmarked transitive clauses is that between the verb and the Absolutive phrase, which in semantic terms is the transitive relation of affectedness, or to put it differently, the most central participant is the patient, whereas the agent only plays a secondary role, as is most obviously shown by its indispensability and the fact that it agrees in number with the verb. Chung (1978:86f) has based her analysis on counting the frequency of =Cia in "some twenty pages of Stuebel (1896)" and arrived at the following results:

	total number of canonical tr. clauses	clauses where =Cia is found
whose subjects have undergone clitic-placement	58	36
...have been extracted by relativization or clefting	5	5

	total number of canonical tr. clauses	clauses where =Cia is found
having a generic agent as subject	45	45
falling into other categories	65	448

These statistics account only for the syntactic correlates (i.e. clitic placement, relativization and clefting) of high frequency of =Cia and argue that the relatively high frequency of =Cia is determined by certain syntactic phenomena ("where =Cia appears is rather in clauses whose subjects have been moved or deleted or whose subjects are not overt because they are generic" op.cit.:85). But they do not tell why "subject"-fronting or extraction is correlated with =Cia-insertion and why variation is found. Note that Relativization and Clefting of transitive agents does not necessarily result in =Cia-insertion, as the examples given below show.

Leaving transitive clauses with a "generic subject" aside for the moment, the high frequency of =Cia in transitive clauses whose agent is expressed by a proclitic pronoun or a left-dislocated noun phrase can be explained in terms of our transitivity hypotheses. For in these clauses, e.g.

- (237) 'Ua ia fasi=a le teine
PERF 3.SG hit =TR ART girl
"He hit the girl."
- (238) 'O le tama 'ua fasi=a le teine
NP.MKR ART boy PERF hit =TR ART girl
"It is the boy who hit the girl.",

the agent is not represented as a peripheral participant, but has obtained a pragmatically salient status. It is the starting point of the linguistic representation of the action, whereas in prototypical transitive clauses its starting point is the verb. For the time being we will tentatively argue that a prototypical transitive clause is less transitive than a clause which represents the agent as salient participant in the discourse and marks this pragmatic salience by the transitive suffix. The same argument suffices for the fact that in transitive clauses whose agent has been relativized, the verb is frequently marked by the transitive suffix, e.g.

- (239) ... le tama sa (na) fasi=a le teine
 ART boy PAST (3.SG) hit =TR ART girl
 "The boy who hit the girl." ,

since the agent of the relative clause modifying the head noun is identical with the head noun referent and consequently pragmatically salient.

If the transitive suffix really indicates that the action denoted by the verb implies a pragmatically salient agent, it should also do so in clauses where the agent is not expressed, e.g.

- (240) 'Ua fasi (=a) le teine
 PERF hit (=TR) ART girl
 "The girl was hit./Someone hit the girl." ,

whereas it should be absent in clauses where the agent is of no or only marginal importance. Cook (1978:60, cf. p. 69) has already argued in the same direction but did not provide any evidence. Being an isolated sentence, his example is not illustrative, as one can only guess at the speaker's intentions. Since the attachment of the transitive suffix is not strictly determined by the clause structure, but is variable according to the speaker's intentions, any explanation might be similarly rejected as mere speculation. For who will know exactly what the speaker wants to express when marking an already transitive verb with a transitive suffix or when leaving it unmarked in this type of clause? One way of avoiding mere speculation and of finding linguistic evidence for our transitivity hypotheses is probably the thorough investigation of texts which contrast with regard to the importance of agents. If our transitivity hypotheses is right, the transitive suffix is not to be expected to occur in texts which are solely concerned with what is done to patients without paying attention to agents, whereas it should be used frequently in texts about actions whose agents are as significant as their patients. These two text types will be distinguished by the labels "patient orientated texts" and "agent orientated texts" in the following.

4.2.5.1. Patient-orientated texts

Patient-orientated texts are typically recipes, instructions for or descriptions of fish-net making, boat making, the production of cosmetics, decorations, colours, clothes and mats, house-building etc. (Krämer 1902/1903: II 138-306). In these texts the transitive suffix only rarely occurs, and when it occurs, then only under certain conditions,

1. in general statements telling what is not to be done,
2. in the case that during the action a particular person of authority, for instance a chief, commands other people to do something and that these carry out the required action,
3. in transitive relative clauses which modify a noun referring to a person or some people that have a particular task in the performance of the action of preparing food, fishing, house building etc.

In none of these three cases is the attachment of the transitive suffix obligatory. In the following we will present several examples of the patient-orientated text type and discuss the conditions under which the transitive suffix tends to occur.

The first example is the complete recipe of a taro dish:

- (241) E 'au mai lau o talo.
 NON-PAST bring DIR leaf of taro
- Ona tatau fo'i lea ma le niu.
 then wring-out also (then) also ART coconut
- Ona 'ave ane lea 'o lau=talo
 then take DIR (then) NP.MKR leaf=taro
- 'ua tu'u i ai le niu.
 PERF put DIREC ANAPH ART coconut
- Ona afifi , 'ave 'ua tao.
 then do-s.th.-up-in-a-bundle take PERF cook
 (before cooking)
- E le sui =a i ni sami
 NON-PAST not add-water-to=TR LOC/DIREC ART saltwater
- po 'o ni vai.
 or NP.MKR ART freshwater
- 'A fu'e le umu
 when put-the-contents-of-an-oven-into-baskets ART oven

ona 'au mai lea , 'ua 'ai
 then bring DIR (then) PERF eat

"Taro leaves are brought. Then grated coconut is wrung out. The taro leaves are taken and the coconut cream is added. Then it is done up in a bundle, taken (to the oven) and cooked. Saltwater or fresh water is not added. When it is taken out of the oven, it is brought and eaten."

Kr II 147

In all statements except the negative one, the verb is unmarked and the implied agent is not expressed. That the verb of a negative statement of this sort may also occur in its simple form is shown by the following few clauses taken from a longer text about the preparation of pigs to be baked in an oven:

(242) 'O mea e fai ai le 'ofu o le fatu
 NP.MKR thing NON-PAST make ANAPH ART dress of ART heart
 'o le fatu ma ga'o,
 NP.MKR ART heart and grease
 e lē 'ave i ai ni māma ma 'o
 NON-PAST not take DIREC ANAPH ART lungs and NP.MKR
 toto.
 blood

"The things out of which the dress of the heart is made are the heart and grease, but one takes neither lungs nor blood."

Kr II 162

In the overwhelming majority of negative statements, however, the verb is marked. The reason why negative, generally valid statements are usually distinguished from positive ones by the transitive suffix has to be sought in the fact that the relation of affectedness is represented as not to be realized. Exactly why the realization of the relation of affectedness is unmarked, whereas its non-realization is marked by the transitive suffix is unclear. One might perhaps speculate that the participant who is responsible for this non-realization is somewhat more important than the impersonal agent in generally valid negative statements which focus on the realization of the relation of affectedness. If this interpretation is true, it would also account for the fact that the verb of negative commands is obligatorily marked by the transitive

suffix, whereas it is usually unmarked in positive commands. Furthermore, the similar constructions of negative impersonal statements and negative commands suggest that in the former the attachment of the transitive suffix is not determined by the fact that the implied is unspecific, because the implied agent in commands, i.e. the addressee, is specific. To conclude, the hypothesis put forward here, which, however, needs further linguistic evidence to be convincing, is: if the relation of affectedness is represented as realized or to be realized, the agent only stands in the background. If, however, the relation of affectedness is said not to be realized, then the participant who should avoid its realization gains importance and is moved into the foreground. Thus, as in all other cases which have been discussed so far, the transitive suffix in negative generally valid statements and negative commands indicates that the agent plays a pragmatically salient role.

The following three examples are taken from general descriptions of the preparation of turtle, house-building and fishing, and illustrate that the transitive suffix optionally occurs in generally given commands. The following statements tell how these commands are carried out by the addressed people.

- (243) Ona fai mai lea e ali'i e
 then say DIR (then) ERG chief EMPH
 Fai=a 'o le laumei
 do =TR NP.MKR ART turtle
 Ona fai=a lea 'o sagamua o le laumei
 then do =TR (then) NP.MKR forequarters POSS ART turtle
 "Then the chiefs say: Divide (lit.: 'do') the turtle.
 Then the turtle is divided."

Kr II 164

- (244) Ona fai atu lea 'o le tufuga:
 then say DIR (then) NP.MKR ART carpenter
 'E'eli=a to'omaga o le fatamanu!
 dig/PL =TR pole POSS ART scaffolding
 'Ua 'uma ona 'e'eli 'o to'omaga
 PERF complete that dig/PL NP.MKR pole
 ona fa'atū lea 'o to'omaga
 then erect (then) NP.MKR pole

"Then the carpenter says:
Dig the (holes for) the to'omaga-poles of the
scaffolding!
When the holes for the to'omaga-poles are dug,
the poles are erected."

Kr II 230

- (245) Ona fai mai lea 'o le tagata i le
 then say DIR (then) NP.MKR ART man LOC ART
 taumua:
 fore-part
 Laga le launiu!
 lever-up ART bamboo-fishing-rod
 Ona laga loa lea ma lafo le pā
 then lever-up immediately (then) and throw ART spinner
 i le sami
 DIREC/LOC ART sea

"Then the man in the fore-part of the boat says:
Lever up the fishing-rod. Then he levers it up
and throws the spinner into the sea."

Kr II 197

While in (243) the verb is marked in both the command and the following declarative clause, and in (245) the verb of the command and the verb of the declarative clause are unmarked, in (244) only the verb of the command is marked. In the type of discourse (i.e. command + declarative sentence stating that the command is carried out), the verb of the declarative sentence is only marked if the verb of the command is marked.

Here the transitive suffix obviously indicates that in a sequence of several actions a certain action implies a particular agent. Consequently, it may again be interpreted here as a means of foregrounding the event.

The fact that the verb of transitive relative clauses is marked by the transitive suffix when the agent is relativized has already been discussed above. Therefore, we will only quote two additional examples here in order to illustrate the function of relative clauses in this text type.

- (246) 'Ua tu'u atu e le aiga mea 'uma
 PERF put DIR ERG ART family thing all

na latou sauni =a
PAST they/PL prepare =TR

i le tautai na ia fai=a le upega
LOC/DIREC ART fisherman PAST 3.SG make=TR ART net

"The family takes all the food they have prepared
to the fisherman who has made the net."

Kr II 183

(247) E ta'i to'aluasefulu tagata e fai=a
NON-PAST each twenty man NON-PAST do=TR

lea faiva
that fishing trip

(lit.: 'twenty (are) the men each time who do that
fishing trip.')

"Twenty men at a time take part in that fishing
trip."

Kr II 183

Note that if an agent or a patient of a transitive action is to be quantified in Samoan, the numeral or quantifier functions as the predicate of the quantified participant, whereas the action is expressed by a relative clause. While the verb of the relative clause is optionally marked with quantified and hence relativized agents, it is unmarked with quantified and relativized patients, e.g.

(248) E tolu ana mea e 'ave
NON-PAST three are her thing NON-PAST take
(lit.: 'three are the things which she takes')
"She takes three things with her."

Kr II 173

The last example presented in this paragraph is taken from a text about net-making and illustrates quite well how marked and unmarked verb forms may alternate in a sequence of clauses in order to switch from a patient-orientated to an agent-orientated linguistic representation and vice versa:

(249)(a) Ona fai 'o le 'upega
then make NP.MKR ART net

(b) Ona alu lea 'ua su'e mai se isi
then go (then) PERF search DIR ART other

(c) na te fai=a le 'upega
3.SG NON-PAST make=TR ART net

- (249)(d) Ona fesili lea 'o le tagata i le matai
 then ask (then) NP.MKR ART man LOC/DIREC ART chief
 pe fia le lautele
 Q how-much ART size
 'o le a fai a'i le 'upegā
 FUT make ANAPH/INSTR ART net
- (e) 'Afai 'ua mana'o le matai e matalima
 if PERF want ART chief NON-PAST 50 meshes
 le lautele o lona 'upegā,
 ART size POSS his net
- (f) ona fai ai lea.
 then make ANAPH (then)
- (g) Ona fai = a lea 'o le 'upegā
 then make = TR (then) NP.MKR ART net
 e tusa ma le mana'o o le matai
 NON-PAST correspond with ART want POSS ART chief
- (a) Then the net is made.
 (b) Someone goes and looks for another man
 (c) who shall make the net.
 (d) The man asks the chief in which size the net should be made.
 (e) If the chief wants the size of his net to be 50 meshes,
 (f) it is made in this size / it has to be made in this size.
 (g) Then he (the man) makes the net according to the chief's wish.

Kr II 180

As has already been mentioned (cf. p. 63), Chung (1978:86, 91) claims that =Cia "usually appears when a canonical transitive subject is the generic agent and thus not overt" and that it is "required in negative generic statements", e.g.

- (250) E lē loka = ina e leoleo tagata gaoi
 NON-PAST not lock = TR ERG police person steal
 "Policemen do not arrest burglars."

Ch 91

- (251) E ta'u = a i latou o le auao
 NON-PAST call TR 3.PL NP.MKR ART auao
 "They were called 'auao'."

Ch 86/St 227

The occurrence of the transitive suffix in (250), which in contrast to Chung's claim is not obligatory (compare (242)), is similar to that in (241) and can probably be explained in the

4.2.5.2. Agent-orientated texts

Agent-orientated texts are most clearly represented by narratives about wars and fights, which typically deal with specific agents and particular actions and in which the agent is usually as significant as the patient. Since the occurrence of the transitive suffix in clauses whose agents are left-dislocated, relativized or expressed by a proclitic pronoun has already been discussed, the following investigation concentrates on clauses in which the agent is not explicitly expressed and on those where the agent is denoted by an Ergative phrase, i.e. clauses of the structure of

- (255) 'Ua fasi=a le teine
 PERF hit =TR ART girl
 "The girl was hit/Someone hit the girl."

The first type of construction is found in texts about an already introduced specific agent and seems to focus on the agent's activity, e.g.

- (256) ona oso atu lea o aitu o Upola
 then jump DIR (then) NP.MKR spirit of U.
 ona fai =a lea o le taua tetele lava
 then make =TR (then) NP.MKR ART war very-big EMPH
 ona tuli =a lea o aitu o Savaii
 then chase =TR (then) NP.MKR spirit of S.
 i le mea o i ai le upega
 LOC/DIREC ART thing CONT exist ART net
 ua toatele e ua oti
 PERF many REL PERF die
 ua fasi=a
 PERF hit =TR
 "Then the spirits of Upolu jumped forward.
 They made a very big war.
 They chased the spirits of Savaii to the place
 where the net was.
 Many died (lit.: 'many were (the people) who died).
 They were hit (by the spirits of Upolu)."

St 180

The following text tells the story of the origin of five Samoan idioms concerning war: A couple had four sons who went to Papatea, where three of them were hit:

- (257) Ua oo i le tasi aso
 PERF reach DIREC/LOC ART one day
 ona alu ai lea o la latou evaevaga
 then go ANAPH (then) NP.MKR their party
 i Papatea
 LOC/DIREC P.
 Ona fasi = a ai o le toatolu o na
 then hit = TR ANAPH NP.MKR ART three of DEM
 taulele'a a ua le fasi = a Tala
 men EMPH PERF not hit = TR T.
 "One day
 their party went to Papatea.
 There, three of the young men were hit, Tala was
 not hit." St 163

When they returned home and told her father what had happened,
 he became angry and

- (258) ona si'i ai lea o le "Tauga"
 then instigate ANAPH (then) NP.MKR ART war
 i Papatea
 LOC/DIREC P.
 "Then he instigated the Tauga (war) against Papatea."
 St 163

Since then the word tauga came into use. Here the agent of fasia can only be inferred from the context i Papatea "in Papatea" as being the people or some people of Papatea. Though the agent is not exactly identifiable and not explicitly expressed as such by an Ergative phrase, it is very important for the following story, as it provokes a terrible war from which the word tauga "war" originates.

One of the strongest arguments against Chung's and Cook's claim that the transitive suffix serves as a "flag" for extracted "subjects" is that it is also found in transitive clauses whose agent is expressed by an Ergative phrase. Two typical examples are:

- (259) (then Tua said to Ana: "Poor Ana, what's the matter with you?" Then Ana answered Tua:)
 'Ua 'ou sau i lo'u puapuaga;
 PERF 1.SG come LOC my distress
 'ua fasi = a a'u e le tama ona Saga
 PERF hit = TR 1.SG ERG ART man that S.
 "I come in my distress. That man there, Saga, has
 hit me." Kr I 28

- (260) 'Ia 'oe e fasi=a e tamaiti !
 watch-out 2.SG NON-PAST hit =TR ERG children
 "Watch out that the children don't beat you!"

While in (259) the agent is the subject of the speaker's imputation, in (260) the addressee is warned of the agent's actions, which are both clear instances of pragmatic salience.

The hypotheses that in the preceding examples the transitive suffix serves as a means of indicating the pragmatic salience of the agent is strengthened by clauses in which the patient evidently plays a more important role than the agent and in which, consequently, the verb lacks the transitive suffix. Consider the following example which is a nice counterpiece to (256)

- (261) (Then the woman gave birth to a boy and called him Mata'ulufotu. Then the old man went off and looked for some food.)

'Ua nonofo le fafine ma le tama.
 PERF stay/PL ART woman and ART boy

"Then the woman and the boy stayed behind."

Ona fasi oti le tama e le fafine
 then hit die ART boy ERG ART woman

Ona tipi lea 'o le ulu , 'ua 'ave
 then cut (then) NP.MKR ART head PERF take

'ua tu'u i lalo o le 'ulu
 PERF put LOC/DIREC down of ART breadfruit-tree

'a 'ua 'ai e le fafine le tino o le tama
 but PERF eat ERG ART woman ART body of ART boy

Ona alu ifo lea 'o le toea'ina fesili
 then go down (then) NP.MKR ART old-man ask

Po 'ofea le tama?
 Q where ART boy

"Then the woman killed the boy, cut off his head, took it and put it under a breadfruit-tree, but she ate the body of the boy. The old man went down and asked 'Where is the boy?'".

Kr I 122

A translation which renders the Samoan text more adequately would be:

"Then the boy was killed by the woman, his head was cut off, taken away and put under a breadfruit-tree, but the body of the boy was eaten by the woman ...",

Kr I 122

as the patient le tama "the boy" is here the topic of discourse.

The following text first shows that the transitive verb is unmarked when a patient is contrasted with another participant, and hence is pragmatically salient, and then gives further examples of foregrounding of the agent:

(261)(a) Ona fasi ai lea 'o le tasi i'a a Tigilau
then hit ANAPH (then) NP.MKR ART one fish of T.

'a 'ua toe fo'i mai le tasi i'a
but PERF again return DIR ART one fish

i Samoa
LOC/DIREC Samoa

Then one fish of Tigilau was killed (by the Tongans) but the other one returned to Samoa.

When Tigilau saw that only (the fish) Utuutu came back, but that (the fish) Toga did not come, he said (accusing the Tongans):

(261)(b) 'ua fasi=a lana i'a i Toga
PERF hit =TR his fish LOC/DIREC Tonga
"...that they killed his fish in Tonga."

("He appealed to all spirits of Amoa in his desire to get the fish back. He also came to Safotulafai and Sapapali'i and appealed to the spirits, but he was not heard.")

(261)(c) Ona toe sau ai lea i Salelologa
then again come ANAPH (then) LOC/DIREC Salelologa

(261)(d) Ona tali =a ai lea e le aitu faifili
then accept =TR ANAPH (then) ERG ART spirit cunning

e igoa i le Supa
NON-PAST name LOC/DIREC ART Supa

"Then he came to Salelologa and there he (or: his request) was accepted by the cunning spirit called Supa."

Kr I 130

In (261)(a) the killing of the one fish is contrasted with the return of the other one, whereas (261)(b) is an accusation of the Tongans, i.e. the agent who killed the fish and thus resembles (259). In (261)(d) the response of the spirit Supa in Salelologa is contrasted with the behaviour of the spirits in Safotulafai and Sapapali'i in (261)(c), and, accordingly, the verb tali=a is marked.

4.2.5.3. Conclusion

When attached to transitive verbs in affirmative clauses, the transitive suffix indicates that the agent of the action plays a pragmatically salient role in the discourse, whereas with the simple verb, the pragmatic status of the agent is unmarked. The attachment of the transitive suffix does not depend on whether the agent is explicitly expressed within the clause, implied by the context or understood as being anyone whoever he may be. In generally valid statements about food preparation, net-making, fishing etc. which focus on what is done to certain objects, the verb is not marked by the transitive suffix, whereas in narrative clauses which describe particular actions performed by individual agents the transitive suffix frequently occurs when the agent is the topic of discourse or when, for some reason or other, the hearer's attention should be attracted to the agent. If the agent is not explicitly expressed, the transitive suffix indicates that the agent, although not identified, plays a significant role.

The fact that the transitive suffix is frequently found with verbs whose agent is left-dislocated, expressed by a proclitic pronoun or relativized can also be explained as resulting from the agent's pragmatic salience in these constructions. In negative clauses which express that the relation of affectedness between the action and the patient is not realized or should not be realized, the verb is usually marked by the transitive suffix. This obviously contradicts the hypotheses that the transitive suffix increases the degree of transitivity, as affirmative clauses are considered as more transitive than negative ones (Hopper/Thompson 1980: 252). The tentative explanation suggested here is that the transitive suffix serves as a means of foregrounding the agent; being responsible for the non-realization of the relation of affectedness, the agent is more significant in negative clauses than it is in the corresponding positive ones where the patient stands in the foreground in the unmarked case.

4.3. DETRANSITIVIZATION

4.3.0. Introduction

According to our definition, transitivity is a property of the entire clause and involves two kinds of relations, namely the relation of agency and the relation of affectedness. Detransitivization means derivation of less transitive clauses and may affect the relation of agency or the relation of affectedness. To our present knowledge, four types of detransitivization can be distinguished:

1. detransitivization by the means of deriving an intransitive verb from a transitive one,
2. detransitivization by incorporation of the patient noun into the verbal syntagm,
3. detransitivization by the fai + N_v - construction,
4. detransitivization by expressing the agent as a possessor of the patient.

4.3.1. The derivation of intransitive verbs

A number of transitive verbs which mainly belong to the semantic field of destruction can be transformed into intransitive verbs by the prefix ma-.

<u>fasi</u>	"beat, hit, kill"	<u>mafasi</u>	"(of the skin) be cracked"
<u>fuli</u>	"to turn s.th. over"	<u>mafuli</u>	"fall over lean towards"
<u>ligi</u>	"pour"	<u>maligi</u>	"(of rain or tears) run"
<u>fa'i</u>	"to break off"	<u>mafa'i</u>	"to be broken"

The derived verb either expresses a state of being resulting from the action denoted by the simplex or a process in which an uncontrolling participant is involved and which is not considered as being initiated by an agent.

Thus the relation of affectedness expressed by the transitive verb and the Absolutive phrase is changed into a stative or processual relation. In both the simple and the derived construction the Absolutive phrase denotes the non-

controlling participant of the situation, but in the simple construction it is a patient that is affected by an agent's action, whereas in the derived construction it is a participant found in a certain state or involved in a certain process, e.g.

- (262) Sā fa'i lo'u nifo e le fōma'i
PAST break my tooth ERG ART doctor
"The doctor pulled my tooth out." Mi 55
- (263) 'Ua ma =fa'i le nofoa
PERF INTR=break ART chair
"The chair is broken." Mi 55
- (264) 'o le'ā mā =fa'ifa'i nifo!
FUT INTR =break/PL tooth
"My teeth are about to break off!" F 106
(because the person chewed something very hard)

This type of detransitivization primarily affects the relation of agency, as the transitive verb which denotes an action implying an agent is changed into a verb expressing a state or process, which excludes an agent.

4.3.2. Incorporation of the patient noun

Most transitive constructions can be detransitivized by incorporating the patient noun into the verbal syntagm, so that the verb and the patient noun form a verbal compound which no longer represents a V + ABS-construction, but has the syntactic status of a single intransitive verb. Compare the following two clauses taken from Chung (1978:183):

- (265) E tausi pepe 'o ia
NON-PAST care baby NP.MKR 3.SG
ABS
"He takes care of babies." Ch 183
- (266) E tausi e ia pepe
NON-PAST care ERG 3.SG baby
"He takes care of the babies." Ch 183

In this kind of verbal compound the noun no longer refers to an individuated, specific or unspecific participant, but characterizes the action as generally involving what is denoted by the noun. The verbal compound carries all characteristic features of intransitive verbs:

1. It is not to be combined with an Ergative phrase, but only

with an Absolutive phrase denoting the agent of the action.

2. If the verbal compound enters the ona ... lea-construction, the patient noun directly follows the verb and precedes lea, so that the whole verbal compound takes the same position as a single intransitive verb, whereas the Absolutive phrase denoting the patient of transitive verbs follows ona ... lea and is usually preceded by the noun phrase marker 'o, e.g.

(267) Ona laulau tauga lea 'o ali'i
 then call-out/PL present-of-food (then) NP.MKR chief
 (lit.: 'the chiefs did the action of tauga-announcing')
 "The chiefs called out their presents of food."
Kr I 124

3. The directional particles mai "hither", atu "thither, off, away" etc., always follow the incorporated noun, e.g.

(268) se'i tā alo atu mai
 OPT 1.INC/DU fish bonito DIR
 "Let's fish bonitos / let's do bonito fishing."
Kr I 125

The fact that the patient noun does not refer to an individuated entity, but rather denotes a concept modifying the action is further reflected by the fact that it is not determined by the article and that it does not control agreement in number.

Detransitivization by noun incorporation is a syntactic operation which primarily affects the relation of affectedness, as it changes referential individuated patients to non-referential generic ones. Morphosyntactically this implies that the agent cannot be expressed by an Ergative phrase, but only by an Absolutive phrase. Verbal compounds of the structure V-N_(patient) behave syntactically like intransitive verbs.

4.3.3. The fai + N_v - construction

This construction which has already been described in Ch. 3.3.2. (cf. p. 54), serves as a means of totally suppressing the patient of transitive verbs. Consider again the example

(159) Ona fai lea o tofi =ga a Pili
 then do (then) NP.MKR appoint=NR of Pili
 "Then Pili assigned the appointments." St 163

whose non-derived transitive counterpart would be

- (269) ona tofi (=a) lea 'o X e Pili
 then appoint (=TR) (then) NP.MKR X ERG Pili
 "Pili appointed X."

While the simple transitive verb requires the expression of the patient, here the patient is not specified. In contrast to intransitive verbs derived by ma-, the fai + N_v - construction denotes an action which implies an agent and a patient affected by the action, whereby the patient is unspecified and not to be expressed.

4.3.4. Detransitivization by expressing the agent as a Possessor of the patient

As Duranti (1981:173) has already mentioned, the agent of a transitive verb can be expressed as a Possessor of the patient, when the agent and the patient stand in a Possessive relationship. This construction is found with A- and O-Possession and with pronominal and nominal agents, e.g.

- (270) Ona la o atu lea i le po
 then 3.DU go/PL DIR (then) DIREC/LOC ART night
 ma a laua uatogi e ta'itasi
 with POSS 3.DU club NON-PAST each
 ua tanu le uatogi a le tasi
 PERF bury ART club POSS ART one
 i le tasi itu malae
 LOC/DIREC ART one side village-centre
 'ae tanu fo'i le uatogi a le isi
 but bury again ART club POSS ART other
 i le isi itu malae
 LOC/DIREC ART other side village-centre

"Then they went in the night each with his club; one buried his club at one side of the village-centre, and the other one buried his club at the other side of the village-centre."

(lit. '....the club of one was buried....and the club of the other was buried....') St 181

- (271) Ona lulu lea 'o fulu o le Lupu.
 then shake (then) NP.MKR feather POSS ART Lupu
 "Then the Lupu shook his feathers." Kr I 141

(272) Ona 'avane ai lea 'o a latou mea
 then bring ANAPH (then) NP.MKR POSS 3.PL thing
 (lit. 'then their things were brought')
 "Then they brought their things." Kr I 27

(273) 'Ua maua l = o = 'u igoa
 PERF get ART = POSS = 1.SG name
 (lit. 'my name is got')
 "I have found a name for myself!" F 268

According to our data this Possessive construction seems to be preferred to the V - ABS - ERG - construction, if a Possessive relation holds between the agent and the patient and if this Possessive relation is to be expressed, so that instead of

$V_{tr} + ABS_{patient} - POSSESSOR_{agent} + ERG_{agent}$
 one mostly finds

$V_{tr} + ABS_{patient} - POSSESSOR_{agent}.$

This construction is regarded as an instance of detransitivization, as the relationship of agency is not overtly expressed by an Ergative phrase or the corresponding proclitic pronoun, but is only implied by the expression of the adnominal POSSESSOR which is co-referential with the agent. The identification of the agent is only provided by the context; for theoretically (270) could also mean that the clubs were buried by somebody else, and similarly (271), (272) and (273) could be interpreted that someone else shook the feathers, brought the things and found the name, respectively.

Furthermore, this construction also shows that the Absolute phrase represents the primary participant. Whereas the agent is suppressed when it is coreferential with the Possessor of the patient denoted by the Absolute phrase, the reverse construction is not found. One cannot suppress a patient that is coreferential with the Possessor of an agent and, for instance, say

(274) 'Ua fasi e le tinā o le tama
 PERF hit ERG ART mother POSS ART child
 "The mother of the child hit (it)."

4.4. SEMI-TRANSITIVE

Semi-transitive verbs typically express acts of communication and what in this description has been called mental activities, as, for example, perceptions, emotions and acts of thinking, e.g.

<u>tagi</u>	"cry, weep, ask for, beg for"
<u>vala'au</u>	"call (of people or animals at a distance)"
<u>fai mai/atu</u>	"say"
<u>alofa</u>	"pity, love"
<u>fiafia</u>	"be happy with"
<u>ita</u>	"be angry with, about"
<u>fefe</u>	"fear, be afraid of"
<u>'ino'ino</u>	"hate"
<u>manatu</u>	"think, consider"
<u>mana'o</u>	"want, desire"
<u>māfaufau</u>	"consider, reflect"
<u>va'ai</u>	"see"
<u>fa'alogo</u>	"hear"
<u>tilotilo</u>	"look at"

In the preceding paragraphs semi-transitive verbs have been dealt with in the context of case marking, particularly of the Directional case (cf.p.18), proclitic pronouns (cf.p.29), nominalization (cf.p.51) and transitivization (cf.p.73). They were called "semi-transitive" as they share morphosyntactic features with both transitive and intransitive verbs:

1. Similarly to intransitive verbs of motion, e.g. alu "to go", their valency determines nominal actors (in this case experiencers and communicators) to be expressed by Absolutive phrases and Undergoers (i.e. in this case goals and addressees and referential objects) by Directional phrases, e.g.

(275) 'Ua va'ai le tama 'i le teine
 PERF see ART boy DIREC ART girl
 "The boy saw the girl."

2. In traditional Samoan (as found in the texts edited by Krämer and Stuebel) semi-transitive verbs are not compatible with Ergative phrases.
3. Like many intransitive verbs they can be transitivized by the transitive suffix which implies the promotion of the Directional phrase to an Absolutive phrase and the demotion of the Absolutive phrase to an Ergative phrase, e.g.

- (276) 'Ua va'ai=a le teine e le tama
 PERF see =TR ART girl ERG ART boy
 "The boy caught sight of the girl./ The boy watched
 the girl."

4. In contrast to the Directional phrase of intransitive verbs of motion, the Directional phrase of semi-transitive verbs may be substituted by a Possessor Phrase, when the semi-transitive verb is nominalized and this phrase immediately follows the verb, e.g.

- (277) lona va'ai 'i le teine
 =(147) his see DIREC ART girl
 "His seeing the girl." Ch 307
- (278) lona va'ai o le teine
 =(145) his see POSS ART girl
 "His seeing the girl." Ch 307

In (278) both the experiencer and the mental goal show the same case marking pattern as the agent and patient of nominalized transitive verbs, e.g.

- (279) lona 'aveina o ta'avale
 his driving POSS car
 "His driving of the car." Ch 239

Nominalized semi-transitive verbs, however, differ from their transitive counterparts in that the former require nominal actors (communicators, experiencers) to be marked by the Possessive marker, whereas nominal actors of the latter (agents) are expressed by Ergative phrases:

	nominal actor (agent, communicator experiencer)	nominal undergoer (patient, addressee, referential object, goal of mental activities, goal of motions)
intransitive verbs of motion	Possessive	
semi-transitive verbs	Possessive	Possessive/Directional
transitive verbs	Ergative	Possessive

5. Third person singular actors of semi-transitive verbs can be expressed by proclitic pronouns as those of transitive verbs, but those of intransitive verbs cannot.

To conclude, the preceding investigation has already shown that the affinities between semi-transitive and intransitive verbs on the one hand and semi-transitive and transitive verbs on the other, can be found in respect to the following phenomena:

	intransitive verbs of motion	transitive verbs
case-marking pattern of nominal participants	+	-
transitivization	+	-
encoding of nominal under- goers of nominalized verbs	+	-
expression of 3 rd pers.sg. actors by proclitic pronouns	-	+
+ indicates that this feature is also shared by semi-transitive verbs and		
- indicates that it is not		

Furthermore, according to Chung (1978:183-189) several semi-transitive verbs resemble transitive verbs in allowing the undergoer to be incorporated, whereas incorporation is not found with intransitive verbs of motion:

- (280) Sā tilotilo - teine 'o ia
PAST watch - girl NP.MKR 3.SG
"He was girl-watching" Ch 186
- (281) Sā tilotilo 'o ia 'i le teine
PAST watch NP.MKR 3.SG DIREC ART girl
"He was watching the girl." Ch 186
- (282) E mana'o - tupe 'o ia
NON-PAST want - money NP.MKR 3.SG
"He is money-hungry." Ch 186
- (283) 'ua mana'o 'o ia 'i le tupe
PERF want NP.MKR 3.SG DIREC ART money
"He wanted the money."
- (284) *Sā alu - lotu 'o ia i le aso Sā
PAST go - church NP.MKR 3.SG LOC ART day sacred
Sunday
"He went to church on Sundays." Ch 188

In a very few cases found in the Fāgogo edited by Moyle, semi-transitive verbs follow an Ergative/Directional case-marking pattern, in that the actor is marked by the Ergative case and the undergoer by the Directional, e.g.

- (285) ma le fafine lea 'ua alofa tele
and ART woman that PERF love very
'i ai e le tama
DIREC ANAPH ERG ART youth
(lit.: 'and that woman, the youth loved her very much')
"The youth's love for the girl was very great." F 130

- (286' E lē malie ā 'i ai e Tenea
 NON-PAST not agree EMPH DIREC ANAPH ERG T.
 "Tenea didn't agree to it." F 126

Compare:

- (287) 'Ua malie le komiti 'i le tupe
 PERF agree ART committee DIREC ART money
 "The committee approved the money." Mi 124

The fact that in these clauses the actor is not indicated by the Absolutive case, but by the Ergative, so that the clause lacks the otherwise indispensable Absolutive phrase, may be regarded as a reflection of the similarity between semi-transitive verbs and transitive verbs. On the other hand, the maintenance of the Directional phrase denoting the under-goer shows the affinity between semi-transitive and intransitive verbs.

The usual construction of semi-transitive verbs is said to follow a Nominative/Accusative case-marking pattern, as the actor shows the same form as the only participant of intransitive verbs (compare Tsunoda 1981:405f, 409):

V _{itr}	ABS _{actor/undergoer}	
V _{semi-tr}	ABS _{actor}	DIREC _{undergoer}

This case marking pattern is opposed to the Ergative/Absolutive case marking pattern, which again is observed by comparing intransitive clauses with canonical transitive clauses:

V _{itr}	ABS _{actor/undergoer}	
V _{itr}	ABS _{undergoer}	ERG _{actor}

The coexistence of two such different case marking patterns for verbs implying two participants is called split-case marking pattern, which as far as the construction of Samoan semi-transitive and transitive verbs is concerned, is conditioned by the semantic nature of the verb (Tsunoda 1981:390).

As the case marking pattern of transitive verbs and that of semi-transitive verbs are distinguished by comparison with one and the same class of intransitive verbs and as the semi-transitive verbs share morpho-syntactic features with intransitive

as well as with transitive verbs, I do not see any reason to speak of two case-marking patterns and, consequently, of split-case marking or split ergativity here. I would prefer to count at least three case-marking patterns, i.e. an intransitive, a semi-transitive and a transitive one, and integrate them into one system which forms a continuum from the case-marking pattern of transitive verbs via that of semi-transitive verbs to that of intransitive verbs and vice versa:

V _{itr}	V _{semi-tr}	V _{tr}
ABS (+LOC, +DIREC)	ABS DIREC or DIREC ERG	ABS ERG

The fact that it is more justified to speak of a continuum than of split ergativity is most clearly shown by the recently introduced ERG-DIREC-pattern of semi-transitive verbs, which easily fits into the continuum as it shares the marking of the undergoer (goal, addressee) with the ABS-DIREC-pattern of intransitive verbs of motion and the marking of the actor (experiencer, communicator) with the ERG-ABS-pattern of transitive verbs.

4.5. LABILE VERBS

As mentioned earlier (p.13), labile verbs are verbs which may be used transitively as well as intransitively, so that the sequence of V ABS either denotes a relationship of agency, e.g.

(288) 'Ua 'ai le i'a
PERF eat ART fish
"The fish ate."

or a relationship of affectedness, e.g.

(289) 'Ua 'ai le i'a
PERF eat ART fish
"The fish was eaten."

When 'ai "to eat" is intransitive, it agrees in number with the Absolutive phrase denoting the eater, e.g.

- (290) Ona fai ai lea 'o le talisuaga
 then do ANAPH (then) NP.MKR ART evening-meal
 a le malaga
 of ART travelling-party
 'ua 'a'ai lava lātou
 PERF eat/PL EMPH 3.PL
 (lit. 'then the evening meal of the travelling-party
 was taken')
 "Then the travelling-party took their/its evening
 meal..."
 (lit. 'they ate indeed themselves')
 "...and they ate up everything themselves."
 Kr I 122

but when it is transitive, the plural form is not used to agree with plural patients, e.g.

- (291)'i le manu lea 'ua 'ai laufa'i
 DIREC ART animal that PERF eat banana
 "at the animal eating the bananas" F 94

When used intransitively, 'ai may be followed by a Directional phrase in order to express partial affectedness of what is referred to by the Directional phrase (cf. p. 21), e.g.

- (292) 'Ua 'ai le teine 'i le i'a
 PERF eat ART girl DIREC ART fish
 "The girl ate of the fish."

Thus the intransitive construction, the construction with the Absolutive and the Directional and the transitive construction form a continuum of transitivity, e.g.

V	ABS _{agent}		no affectedness
V	ABS _{agent}	DIREC _{patient}	partial affectedness
V	ABS _{patient}	ERG _{agent}	total affectedness

Another typical labile verb is fānau "to give birth, to be born". Consider the following sentence which contains both a transitive and an intransitive construction:

- (293) 'a'o le itūlā lava lenā
 but ART hour EMPH that
 ona fānau ai lenei teine
 then give-birth ANAPH this girl
 fānau ai 'o le tama
 give-birth ANAPH NP.MKR ART boy
 to

"at that same hour this girl gave birth, gave birth
to a son." F 166

Here the Absolutive phrase lenei teine "this girl" denotes an intransitive agent, whereas the Absolutive phrase 'o le tama refers to the patient.

Due to insufficient data it is impossible to tell how many and which verbs belong to the class of labile verbs, so that the presentation of two further examples must do for the moment:

- (294) Ona vavalu loa atu lea 'o Lefaoseau
then scratch immediately DIR (then) NP.MKR L.
i lona soa - seu
LOC/DIREC his partner - hunt
e alaga le lupe
NON-PAST announce ART pigeon
Ona alaga loa lea 'o le soa - seu
then announce immediately (then) NP.MKR ART partner - hunt
o Lefaoseau
of L.

"Then Lefaoseau scratched his hunting-partner to
announce the pigeon. Then the hunting-partner of
Lefaoseau made the announcement." Kr I 309

Here the first V ABS - construction denotes a relation of affectedness, whereas the second one expresses an intransitive relationship of agency. And similarly:

- (295) Ona nonofo ai lea 'o tama
then stay/PL ANAPH (then) NP.MKR youth
na leoleo le Pipil
PAST watch ART P.

"Then the youths stayed behind and watched the Pipil."
Kr I 256

- (296) 'o lo'o leoleo 'o ia i lona ma'umaga
CONT watch NP.MKR 3.SG LOC his taro-patch
"He is on guard in his taro patch." Mi 106

In terms of valency, labile verbs differ from transitive, semi-transitive and intransitive verbs in that their valency does not contain a semantic component which would determine the semantic nature of the relationship between the verb and the Absolutive. As for the Absolutive, this further supports our claim that it is the most grammaticalized case and that the Absolutive phrase represents the primary participant.

5. THE PRINCIPLES OF SYNTACTIC ORGANIZATION

5.0. INTRODUCTION

According to Anderson (1976), Chung (1978), Keenan (1976), Plank (1979), Van Valin (1981) and Van Valin & Foley (1979), and others, in many ergative languages the morphological case marking pattern is not necessarily correlated with an ergatively organized syntax as in Dyirbal, in which syntactic operations such as coreferential deletion and relativization equally apply to S and O, but not to A, and thus establish S and O as a single syntactic category. Rather, there are many ergative languages in which S and O do not constitute the syntactic pivot, but in which syntactic operations apply to S and A, as in Enga, or in which the operation of syntactic rules is entirely semantically determined as in Archi. Furthermore, in one and the same language various syntactic processes may choose different pivots as in Jacaltec (Van Valin 1981). As far as their syntactic organization is concerned, languages like Archi and Jacaltec are neither ergative nor accusative as for instance Dyirbal and Enga respectively.

In order to investigate the syntactic organization of Samoan, we follow Van Valin (1981) in examining the rules of coreferential deletion across conjunctions, Equi-NP-deletion, Relativization, and Left-dislocation. This has already partly been done by Chung (1978), but whereas she arrives at the conclusion that Samoan is syntactically accusative, the following analysis argues against any rigid syntactic classification in terms of ergativity or accusativity.

5.1. COREFERENTIAL DELETION ACROSS COORDINATE CONJUNCTIONS

5.1.0. Introduction

Coreferential deletion across coordinate conjunctions is briefly mentioned by Chung under the heading "Zeropronominalization" as an optional, unbounded rule without lexical

exceptions which in most Polynesian languages affects pronouns of any syntactic function "though it applies most commonly to subjects (i.e. S, A - U.M.) and direct objects" (1978:30). Being optional and unbounded, coreferential deletion across coordinate conjunctions is not of any further interest for her investigation of the interrelation between case marking and grammatical relations.

But the fact that this rule equally applies to S, A and O must not be neglected in the comprehension of Samoan syntax, as it reflects an important feature of Samoan, namely the lack of a grammaticalized topic, which correlates with the absence of an antipassive construction. In general, the absence of a syntactic category to which a particular rule is restricted is important as its otherwise widespread existence and needs to be accounted for in correlation with other syntactic features. In the following we give examples for all possible varieties of S, A and O controlling the deletion of a coreferential S, A or O in the target clause. For simplicity each instance of coreferential deletion is presented by a formula depicting the participants that trigger the deletion as

S, A, and O respectively
 ↓ ↓ ↓

and the target as (S), (A), and (O). Thus the formula

V A O
 ↓
 V (S)

means that the A of a transitive clause, which may be presented by an Ergative noun phrase or by a proclitic pronoun, controls the deletion of the S of an intransitive clause. Coreferential noun phrases other than S, A and O cannot be deleted, but only be substituted by anaphoric pronouns or the construction of a preposition and an independent pronoun, e.g. (301).

5.1.1. S triggering the deletion of (S),
(A) and (O)

V S
 ↓
V (S)
 ↓
V (O)

- (297) Ona \bar{o} ane lea 'o i'a
 then go/PL DIR (then) NP.MKR fish
 'ua 'a'ai i matau.
 PERF eat/PL LOC/DIR hook
 Ona sisi lea i luga
 then raise (then) LOC/DIR up
 "Then fish come along and bite the hooks.
 Then they are pulled upwards." Kr II 194

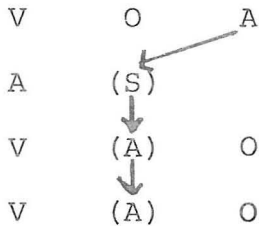
V S
 ↓
V (S) DIREC
 ↓
V (A) (O)
 ↓
V (A) (O) DIREC

- (298) Tū atu loa lea 'o Sina
 stand DIR immediately then NP.MKR Sina
 tago 'i le lupe
 take-hold-of DIREC ART pigeon
 titina
 strangle
 togi 'i fafo
 throw DIREC outside
 "Sina stood up, took hold of the pigeon, strangled
 it, then threw it outside." F 102

V S
 ↓
V (O) A

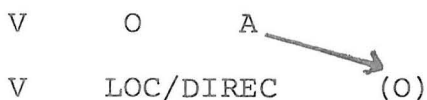
- (299) 'ua tagi le teine
 PERF weep ART girl
 'ina 'ua fāifai e le tama
 because PERF insult ERG ART boy
 "The girl is crying, because the boy has insulted
 her." Mi 55

5.1.2. A triggering the deletion of
(S), (A) and (O)



- (300) Ona sā'ili loa lea 'o le vala'au
 then look-for immediately (then) NP.MKR ART caller
 e le toea'ina ma le lo'omatua
 ERG ART old-man and ART old-woman
 ma 'ua o'o ai 'i lalo 'i le vanu
 and PERF reach ANAPH DIREC down DIREC ART ravine
 ma 'ua fai ai le fata
 and PERF make ANAPH ART litter
 ma 'ua amo ā le tama'ita'i lea
 and PERF carry EMPH ART girl that
 'i lo lātou 'āiga
 DIREC their/PL family

"The old man and woman went off looking for the caller (i.e. the girl)
 and they arrived down in the ravine, made a litter
 and carried the girl to their home."



- (301) 'A solia lenā tulafono e se tasi
 If tread-on this law ERG ART one
 e fa'asala'ina i 'aumatua e lua
 NON-PAST punish LOC/DIREC fat-pig NON-PAST two
 ma talo e mataselau
 and taro NON-PAST hundred
 "If someone breaks this law he is fined two fat pigs
 and one hundred taros."

Kr I 40



- (302) ma 'ua va'ai=a loa se le ali'i le fale
 and PERF see =TR immediately ERG ART chief ART house
 ma 'ua fa'asino 'i ai e le ilāmutu
 and PERF direct DIREC ANAPH ERG ART aunt
 "The man (chief) immediately saw the house, having
 been directed specifically to it by the aunt."

V A O
 ↓ ↓
 V (A) (O)

- (303) Ona avane e ia o le tuga
 then take ERG 3.SG NP.MKR ART eel
 ma 'ua fafaga i totonu o le ipu
 and PERF feed LOC/DIREC inside of ART cup
 "She took the eel and fed it in a cup."
 (i.e. she took the eel, put it into a cup and
 fed it.)

St 167

5.1.3. O triggering the deletion of (O), (S) and (A)

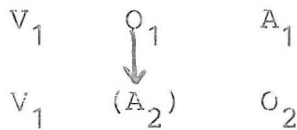
V O
 ↓
 V (O)

- (304) Ona 'aumai lea 'o nofoa e iva
 then bring (then) NP.MKR chair NON-PAST nine
 'ua fa'atutū i le malae
 PERF put LOC/DIREC ART Malae
 "Then nine chairs were brought and put on to the
 Malae (open space in the middle of a village)."
 Kr I 149

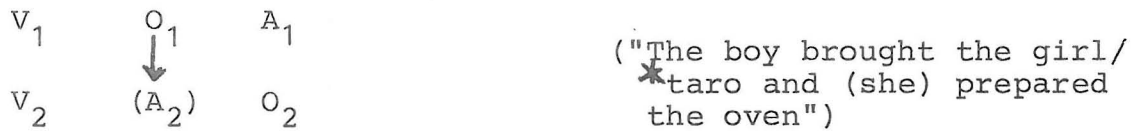
V O DIREC
 ↓
 V (S) DIREC
 V S LOC

- (305) 'Ole'ā sisi a'u 'i lugā
 FUT hoist 1.SG DIREC up
 ona alu lea 'i lugā
 then go (then) DIREC up
 mā tūtū mai lea
 1.DU.EXC stand DIR then
 i luga o le mauga
 LOC up of ART mountain
 "I'll get hoisted up and when I go up, the two
 of us will stand on top of the mountain."
 F 96

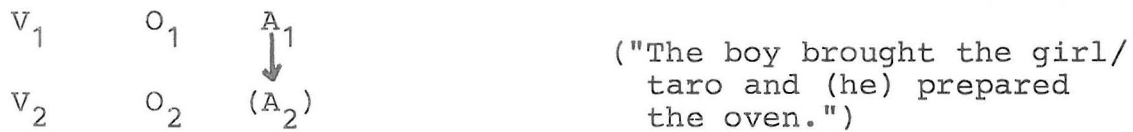
The corpus under consideration does not contain any sequences of coordinated clauses showing the structure



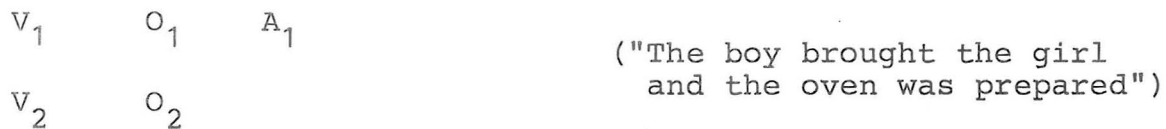
That there is no instance of an O controlling the deletion of an A across coordinate conjunctions is certainly not due to syntactic, but to semantic constraints. For in order to be likely to be interpreted as



instead of



the sequence



must fulfill the following conditions:

1. O_1 must be animate so that it can control the action denoted by V_2 .
2. The semantic relation between V_2 and O_2 (i.e. the meaning of the transitive action $(V_2 O_2)^2$), and the semantic nature of O_1 and A_1 must be such that the only participant of V_1 which can be the implicit A of $(V_2 O_2)$ is O_1 , but not A_1 .

Whereas the first condition is not met when O_1 refers, for instance, to taro, the second condition is not met in all the examples given above, since the preparation of an oven could be done by the boy as well as by the girl.

If, however, the transitive action denoted by $(V_2 O_2)$ is an action that can be performed only by a woman, such as giving birth to a child, the sequence of

V ₁	O ₁	A ₁	DIREC
(bring	woman	by her husband	to her family)
V ₂	ANAPH	O ₂	
(give-birth-to	there	to a child)	

is unambiguous and thus likely to occur, though unfortunately it does not in our texts, e.g.

(306) Ona 'ave lea 'o le fafine
 then bring (then) NP.MKR ART woman
 e lona to'alua 'i lona 'āiga
 ERG her spouse to her family
 'ua fānau ai le tama
 PERF give-birth-to ANAPH ART child
 "Then the woman was brought to her family by her
 husband and gave birth to a child there."

5.1.4. Conclusion

The preceding paragraphs show that, out of nine possible types of coreferential deletion across conjunctions, eight can be attested by the data under consideration, namely

S triggering the deletion of S, A, O
 A triggering the deletion of S, A, O
 O triggering the deletion of S, O.

In respect to the last type of O triggering the deletion of A it was argued that the lack of any example does not result from grammatical constraints, but from insufficient data due to semantic reasons. In contrast to Enga and Dyirbal, but similar to Archi and Chuckchee (van Valin 1981, Nedjalkov 1979) coreferential deletion across conjunctions is not restricted to certain types of participants. Neither S and A as in Enga, nor S and O as in Dyirbal, function as a syntactic pivot to which this syntactic rule is exclusively applied. This unrestrictedness correlates well with the fact that neither the Absolutive, nor the Ergative phrase represent a grammaticalized topic and that Samoan lacks an antipassive.

5.2. RELATIVIZATION

5.2.0. Introduction

There are two types of relative clauses in Samoan. The first one, henceforth called "asyndetic relative clause", is juxtaposed to its head, while the second one, the "syndetic relative clause", is connected to the head noun by means of the relative pronoun lē (SG), ē (PL), which agrees with the head noun in number. Both types of relative clause follow the head noun.

5.2.1. Asyndetic relative clauses

In asyndetic relative clauses the relativized noun is deleted or pronominalized depending on its function in the relative clause. If the relativized noun functions as O or S it is obligatorily deleted, but if it functions as A, it may be deleted or represented by a proclitic pronoun, e.g.

- 1.
- | | | |
|-------|------|-------|
| | N | |
| | HEAD | |
| + | V | ↓ (S) |
| (REL) | | |

- (307) 'A'o tagata 'uma sa momoe i le fala
 but people all PAST sleep/PL LOC ART house
 'ua oti 'uma lava
 PERF dead all EMPH

"But all the people who had slept in the house were dead."

Kr I 123

2. (a)
- | | | |
|-------|------|-------|
| | N | |
| | HEAD | |
| + | V | ↓ (O) |
| (REL) | | |
- (b)
- | | | |
|-------|--------|---------|
| | N | |
| | HEAD | |
| + | A PRON | V ↓ (O) |
| (REL) | | |
- (c)
- | | | |
|-------|------|-------------|
| | N | |
| | HEAD | |
| + | V | ↓ (O) A ERG |
| (REL) | | |

- (308) (a) 'O lana fe'au e fai i aso 'uma
 NP.MKR his business NON-PAST do LOC day all
 'o le fa'ase'e
 NP.MKR ART surf

(lit.: 'his business which he did all day was surfing.')

"And what he did all day was surfing."

Kr I 269

- (309) (b) 'ua 'uma solo 'ua 'ou tusia
 PERF complete poems PERF 1.SG write
 "The poems which I have written are completed."
 Kr I 5

- (310) (c) 'o le taua na si'i e lona tamā
 NP.MKR ART war PAST raise ERG her father
 i Savai'i
 LOC/DIREC S.
 "The war which her father had provoked against
 Savai'i."

Kr I 197

3. (a) $\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \downarrow \text{HEAD} \\ \text{(A)} \end{array}$ V O
 +
 (REL)
- (b) $\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \downarrow \text{HEAD} \\ \text{A} \end{array}$ PRON V O
 +
 (REL)

- (311) (a) Fai atu loa lea 'o taulele'a
 say DIR immediately (then) NP.MKR young men
 s̄a faia le pua'a
 PAST make ART pig
 "The young men, who had been attending the pig
 replied."

F 144

- (312) (b) tagi 'i le manu 'ua 'ai laufa'i
 cry DIREC ART animal PERF eat banana
 "... sang out at the animal eating the bananas."
 F 94

Locative, Directional and Instrumental phrases are usually not deleted, but replaced by pronouns when relativized. The following examples show

1. a relativized Locative phrase denoting a place

- (313) 'ua fafa le 'ato
 PERF carry on one's back ART basket
 'o fafao ai le ulu o le tama
 CONT enclose ANAPH ART head of ART child
 i le tua o le fafine
 LOC ART back of ART woman
 "The woman carried the basket which contained the
 head of the child on her back. (lit. the basket
 where the head of the child was enclosed was
 carried on the back of the woman)".

Kr I 122

2. a relativized Locative phrase denoting a cause

- (314) auā na tupu tele namu
because PAST grow many mosquito

'ua tigaina ai Samoa
PERF suffer ANAPH S.

"Because many mosquitos came up from which the
Samoan suffered."

Kr I 357

3. a relativized Directional phrase denoting the goal of
a movement

- (315) Toe va'ai atu Alipia i le moa
again see DIR A. DIREC ART hen

'ua mulimuli 'uma lana toloa'i iate ia
PERF follow all her chicken DIREC 3.SG

"Alipia saw again a hen that was followed by all her
chickens."

Kr I 205

4. a relativized Directional phrase denoting the goal of a
mental activity

- (316) So'o se mea e te finagalo i ai
any ART thing ERG NON-PAST desire DIREC ANAPH
e faia lava e lenei Faleapolu
NON-PAST do EMPH ERG this F.

"Anything you want will be done by this fellow
Faleapolu."

Kr I 137

5. a relativized Directional phrase referring to the aspect
in which a state of being is held true (cf.p.25)

- (317) alu e 'aūmēi le manu lenā e te
go NON-PAST bring ART bird that 2.SG NON-PAST
sā ai e 'a'u e 'ai ai
be-forbidden ANAPH NON-PAST reach NON-PAST eat ANAPH

"Go and get that bird you are forbidden to go and
eat."

F 92

6. a relativized instrumental phrase

- (318) Ona ō a'e lea 'ua va'ai atu i
then go/PL up (then) PERF see DIR DIREC
lau o le fue na taufi a'i
leaves of ART liane PAST cover ANAPH/INSTR
le umu
ART contents-of-an-oven

"Then they went up and had a look at the leaves of
the liana with which the food had been covered."

Kr I 214

The two examples found in Moyle (1981) which do not contain a pronoun substituting a relativized oblique phrase are:

- (319) 'O le ali'i lenei , lenei
 NP.MKR ART chief this this
 e te fa'a'e'e le tagi
 2.SG NON-PAST howl ART cry
 'a'o lē 'ua lē fāgota
 but RELATIVE PERF not go-fishing
 "This man, the one you're howling about in complaint, doesn't go out fishing."
 F 100

- (320) 'ole'a alu le 'aumoega 'i le
 FUT go ART courting-party DIREC ART
 tama'ita'i e 'aumai nei tala
 girl NON-PAST bring these story
 "A courting party is about to go to that girl about whom these stories are being brought."
 F 208

In both of these sentences the relativized phrase refers to a person that is referred to by an act of communication.

Apart from Absolutive, Ergative, Directional and Instrumental phrases, Possessor phrases can also be relativized. The examples found in the corpus only include relative clauses in which the possessed noun functions as S and in which information of the nature of the possessive relation between the possessor and the possessed is inherently given in the possessed noun as in the case of body part relationships and part/whole relationships (Seiler 1983, Breidbach 1983). The possessor, which is coreferential with the head noun of the relative clause is optionally referred to by a possessive pronoun, e.g.

- (321) le mea e felefele ina taliga
 ART thing NON-PAST bushy its ears
 (lit. 'the thing whose ears are bushy')
 "That thing with bushy ears." F 80
- (322) i totonu o lona fale , 'o le fale
 LOC inside of his house NP.MKR ART house
 e tasi le faitoto'a
 NON-PAST single ART door
 (lit. 'inside his house, a house whose door is single')
 "Inside his house, a house with a single door."
 F 82

Similar to Tongan (Chung 1978:37-45), relativization in Samoan follows a different rule than coreferential deletion across conjunctions in that deletion is obligatorily applied to S and O, whereas A is either deleted or pronominalized and oblique phrases are mostly pronominalized. The variability in the treatment of A and of oblique participants shows that relativization in Samoan does not strictly follow an ergative pattern (otherwise the pronominalization of A would be expected to be obligatory), but a pattern which in respect to its syntactic status holds a position between an ergative pattern and that of global zero-pronominalization found with coreferential S, O and A in coordinate clauses. In any case, relativization in Samoan cannot serve as an argument in favour of regarding S, A as the primary syntactic relation, and, consequently, Samoan as a syntactically accusative language.

5.2.2. Syndetic relative clauses

The corpus under consideration does not provide sufficient data to recognize the functional difference between asyndetic and syndetic relative clauses following a head noun. Both types of relative clauses may be, as the examples show, restrictive or non-restrictive (compare for instance, (307) with (328) and (319) with (327)). In contrast to asyndetic relative clauses, however, syndetic ones can lack the head noun; in this case they are grammatically equivalent to a noun phrase, which is reflected by the fact that they are usually preceded by the noun phrase marker 'o, e.g.

(323) 'o lē na tusia lenei tusi
NP.MKR RELATIVE PAST write this book
"He who has written this book." Mi 104

(324) 'o ē na mālo
NP.MKR RELATIVE PAST win
"They who won." Mi 104

but

(325) Pē 'e te manatua lē sa nofo
Q you/SG NON-PAST remember RELATIVE PAST sit
nei i 'i
now LOC here
"Do you remember the one who was sitting here just now?"
Joh 363

Furthermore, the form of the relative pronoun \bar{le} for the singular in contrast to \bar{e} for the plural suggests that it consists of the definite article and a marker \bar{e} in the singular, whereas plural relative clauses lack an article as plural definite noun phrases do.

Relative clauses lacking a head noun seem to function only as S or O, which is an argument for syntactic ergativity in this case.

Similar to asyndetic relative clauses, the relativized noun in syndetic relative clauses can be in the function of an Absolutive, an Ergative or an oblique phrase, i.e. relativization is equally applied to S, O and A and more distant participants, e.g.

- (326) Po 'o le ā le 'ato fou la \bar{le}
 Q NP.MKR ART what ART basket new that RELATIVE
 tautau ifo i le 'au'au o le fale
 hang DIR LOC ART ridge-pole of ART house
 "What is that for a new new basket hanging on
 the ridge-pole of the house?" Kr I 123
- (327) 'i le tinā o le teine \bar{le} tū mai i gāuta
 to ART mother of ART girl RELATIVE standDIR LOC inland
 "To the girl's mother standing over there inland."
 F 144
- (328) Sa le o mai tagata 'o e
 PAST ART go/PL DIR people NP.MKR RELATIVE
 sa 'ou vala'au
 PAST 1.SG invite
 "The people who I invited did not come."
 Mar 76
- (329) 'o le fesili a tagata Sāvavau
 NP.MKR ART question of people S.
 'o ē sā leoina le maota fesili atu
 NP.MKR RELATIVE PAST guard ART house ask DIR
 "The question of the Savavau people who had been
 guarding the house, their question was ..."
 F 64
- (330) 'o lea 'o le tama'ita'i \bar{le}
 NP.MKR that NP.MKR ART woman RELATIVE
 na tātou ō 'i ai
 PAST 1.PL.INCL go/PL DIREC ANAPH
 "She is the woman we went to find." F 218

5.3. LEFT-DISLOCATION

Any participant can be extracted from the clause and promoted to the left of the verb. Irrespective of its semantic function, the left-dislocated noun phrase stands in the Absolutive case and is nearly always preceded by the noun phrase marker 'o. Left-dislocated noun phrases functioning as O (i.e. the patient of transitive actions) are never referred to by pronouns in the following clause, e.g.

- (331) 'O 'oe 'o lo'o māfaufau=ina e le tama'ita'i
 NP.MKR 2.SG CONT think-of =TR ERG ART girl
 "You are the one constantly on the mind of the girl."
 F 226

- (332) 'O lenā papā 'ua 'ave e Nafanua
 NP.MKR that title PERF take ERG N.
 "That title, however, was taken by Nafanua."
 Kr I 200

When functioning as S, left-dislocated participants other than third person singular participants can be copied by the corresponding proclitic pronoun, e.g.

- (333) 'a'o ali'i 'ua saofa'i ma le tama'ita'i
 while chief PERF be-seated with ART girl
 "While the chiefs were seated with the girl."
 F 122

- (334) aua o tagata malolosi ma le totoa mai lea
 for NP.MKR man strong/PL with ART brave from that
 itu malo ma lea itu malo lātou e
 side government and that side government they NON-PAST
 o mai e leoleo le tupu
 go/PL DIR NON-PAST guard ART king
 "For strong and brave men from the various districts came in order to guard the king."
 St 171

Particularly first and second person participants are often referred to by a proclitic pronoun, e.g.

- (335) na 'o 'oe lava e te nofo i le
 just NP.MKR 2.SG EMPH 2.SG NON-PAST sit LOC ART
 fala i fafō
 mat LOC outside
 "Only you would sit outside on a mat." Kr I 207

- (336) 'O a'u na ='u sau po 'ua 'e iloa lo'u fili
 NP.MKR 1.SG just =1.SG come Q PERF 2.SG know my lover
 "I only came (in order to ask) whether you know
 (where) my lover (is)." Kr I 126

That left-dislocated third person singular participants are not referred to by a pronominal copy corresponds to the fact that these participants cannot be pronominalized by a proclitic pronoun, but only by the independent pronoun. Since the independent pronoun in S-function, however, is also a means of emphasizing, though a less stronger one than left-dislocation, it seems plausible that they cannot appear in the unmarked position of a pronominal copy. Accordingly, left-dislocated participants in A-function, including third person singular participants, are either referred to by a proclitic pronoun, or do not show a pronominal copy, e.g.

- (337) 'A 'o Tigilau 'ua fasi lana avā tuai
 but NP.MKR T. PERF hit his wife former
 "But Tigilau hit his former wife." Kr I 142

- (338) 'o le ali'i 'o Letufuga 'ua na fasi
 NP.MKR ART chief NP.MKR L. PERF 3.SG hit
 mai lo tatou faleupolu !
 DIR our/PL.INC F.
 "The chief Letufuga has hit (killed) our Faleupolu!"
 Kr I 142

While with participants in S- and A-function pronominalization and zero-representation seem to be equally frequent, left-dislocated Locative, Directional and Possessor phrases are mostly referred to by their pronominal counterparts.

Examples:

1. left-dislocated Possessor phrases:

- (339) o Toga ma Samoa e leai
 NP.MKR T. and S. NON-PAST be-absent
 ni taula o latou vaa
 ART anchor of 3.PL boat
 (lit.: 'the Tongans and Samoans, the anchors of their
 boats were absent')
 "The boats of the Tongans and the Samoans had no an-
 chors." St 181

- (340) O isi ua leai ni ulu
 NP.MKR some PERF be-absent ART head
 "Some had no heads."
 (lit. 'some, heads were absent') St 180
- (341) 'O le ali'i nei 'o Leota e iai
 NP.MKR ART chief this NP.MKR L. NON-PAST exist
 le ma'i papala
 ART sickness sore
 (lit. 'this chief Leota - (his) sore - sickness
 existed.'
 "This chief Leota suffered from sores." Kr I 266

If the left-dislocated NP were referred to by a pronominal copy, the following sentence would result:

- (342) 'o le ali'i nei 'o Leota e iai lona ma'i papala.
 his

2. left-dislocated Directional phrases:

- (343) 'O fea alu 'i ai lenei sau'ai
 NP.MKR where go DIREC ANAPH this spirit
 "Where is she going, this spirit?" F 172
- (344) 'O lenei tusi 'ua s̄ lava se tagata
 NP.MKR this book PERF forbidden EMPH ART person
 e tagofua i ai
 NON-PAST touch DIREC ANAPH
 "This book, is forbidden to be touched by any person."
 Kr I 5

3. left-dislocated Locative phrases referring to the time of an event, e.g.

- (345) 'A'o le taeao fo'i lea
 but ART morning also That
 'o lo'o gālulue ai mātua o tama
 CONT work/PL ANAPH parents of youth
 i le fa'atoaga
 LOC ART plantation
 "That same morning the youths' parents were out
 working in the plantation." F 276
- (346) Ma 'o le aso muamua 'ua asi
 and NP.MKR ART day first PERF visit
 'ua tasi le lau = fa'i
 PERF single ART leaf = banana
 (lit. 'And the first day a visit was made, the
 banana-leaf was single.'
 "On the first day the palm was visited, one leaf had
 appeared." F 90

and referring to the cause of an event, e.g.

- (347) 'O le mea lenā
 NP.MKR ART thing that
 'ua ta'ua ai Fata ma Maulolo 'o Tuisamua
 PERF be-called ANAPH F. and M. NP.MKR T.
 "Therefore Fata and Maulolo were called Tuisama."
 Kr I 261
- (348) 'O lenā e tagi atu ā Sina
 NP.MKR that NON-PAST weep DIR EMPH S.
 (lit. 'that (was why) Sina was weeping')
 "which was why Sina was weeping" F 78

The left-dislocated noun phrase is not necessarily extracted from the immediately following clause, but can be related to the subsequent clause, which may result in rather complex structures, e.g.

- (349) 'a'o lau maga
 but your/SG mouthful-of-kava
 e tū mai se tasi na te avatua
 NON-PAST stand DIR ART one 3.SG NON-PAST take-to
 "but as for your portion, somebody else should get up
 and take it there." Kr I 207
- (350) 'a'o a'u
 but 1.SG
 na 'e sau lava 'oe 'i le vai
 PAST 2.SG come EMPH 2.SG DIREC ART water
 'ae fai a'u mo'omo'oga
 but make my/PL wish
 (lit. 'but I - YOU came to the pool, but my wishes
 were made.')
- "but when you came to the pool, I made a wish"
 F 132

While in the first sentence the left-dislocated noun phrase functions as O, in the second one (350) the Possessor of mo'omo'oga "wishes" has been singled out.

Until now the function of left-dislocation has been very vaguely described as a means of emphasizing a participant. If we take a closer look at the contexts where left-dislocation is used, three functions of left-dislocation can be recognized, whose common denominator can be considered as a kind of topicalization. Most frequently left-dislocation is used to single out a participant whose involvement in an action or

state is contrasted with that of another participant in some other action or state, e.g.

- (351) sau 'inā e molia Faleata ma Folasaitu
 come in-order-to NON-PAST take-to F. and F.
 'a'o a'u nei
 but I this
 'ua 'ou mana'o tele ia Sanalāla
 PERF 1.SG long-for very DIREC S.
 "come and take Folasaitu to Faleata, but I desire
 Sanalala very much" (said by a woman who desires
 a man called Sanalala, but does not like Folasaitu)
 Kr I 254

(compare also (333, 337, 349, 350), which are all introduced by 'a'o, a conjunction denoting contrast).

Secondly, a participant which has been mentioned in the preceding context can be left-dislocated as the given starting point upon which some new information is built. A very typical example is

- (352) "Po o ai 'oulua ?"
 Q NP.MKR who 2.DU
 'ua tali 'i laua :
 PERF answer 3.DU
 " O i maua ma te o mai
 NP.MKR 1.DU.EXC 1.DU.EXC NON-PAST go/PL DIR
 i le aso o Malietoa."
 DIREC ART Aso of M.
 "'Who are you?' They answered: 'We have come for the
 Aso of Malietoa.'" St 171

A similar function is found with the rather frequently left-dislocated phrase

- (353) 'o le mea lenā
 NP.MKR ART thing that

which refers to the preceding context as the reason or cause of what is said in the following clause (compare (347)). Thus, left-dislocation of this type (352, 353) serves as a means of linking a clause to a preceding one.

Thirdly, noun phrases referring to a point of time are left-dislocated in order to set the temporal framework within which the main predication holds (compare Chafe 1976:50), e.g.

- (354) 'a'o le itulā lava lenā
 but ART hour EMPH that
 ona fānau ai lenei teine
 then give-birth ANAPH this girl
 "at that same hour this girl gave birth" F 166

(Note that at least in traditional Samoan texts Locational phrases must not be placed at the beginning of a sentence.)

To conclude, left-dislocated noun phrases in O-function differ from all other left-dislocated noun-phrases in that the following clauses from which they have been singled out must not show a pronominal copy. Left-dislocated participants in S- and A-function have in common that they are also optionally represented by a proclitic pronoun and thus resemble left-dislocated Locative, Directional and Possessor phrases which are optionally referred to by means of anaphoric and possessive pronouns, respectively. However, topicalized Locative, Directional and Possessor phrases are much more frequently referred to by a pronominal copy than Absolutive and Ergative phrases. The fact that the topicalization of the Absolutive phrase in O-function represents the unmarked case, contradicts Chung's claim that Samoan is syntactically a nominative/accusative language and favours our claim that the Absolutive phrase represents the primary syntactic relation.

	ABS (O)	ABS (S)	ERG (A)	LOC	DIREC	P'OR
pronominal- ized by	∅	proclitic pron.	proclitic pron.	anaph. pron.	anaph. pron.	possessive pron.
		preceding the verb		following the verb		

5.4. EQUI-NP-DELETION

The rule of Equi-NP-deletion is defined by Chung (1978: 106) as a rule "which deletes a NP of an embedded clause (the target) under coreference with some NP of the next higher clause (the controller)." In Samoan "this rule applies in certain two-clause structures in which one clause contains a verb of motion, volition, effort, force or persuasion, and the other clause is embedded directly under it." (Chung 1978:

125). In other words, the matrix clause expresses that someone is voluntarily or involuntarily motivated to participate in an action that is expressed by the embedded clause. Consider, for example, the following sentence where the subordinated clause is embedded between the verb and the Absolutive phrase of the matrix clause:

- (355) Ua alu atu e utu sami mai le fānau
 PERF go DIR NON-PAST fill salt-water DIR ART off-spring
 a Matatalalo
 of M.
 "The children of Matatalalo went (to the beach) to
 get saltwater." St 164

Sentences of this structure are rare; usually the subordinated clause follows the matrix clause.

According to Chung (1978:128-131), the rule of Equi-NP-deletion is only applied to "targets that are both subjects and semantic agents/experiencers", but not to "subjects that are semantic patients" or to "absolutive direct objects". In the latter two instances pronominalization has to be applied instead of Equi-NP-deletion, e.g.

- (356) Mātou te le'i mānana'o e maua
 1.PL/EXC NON-PAST not want/PL NON-PAST catch
 e leoleo mātou
 ERG police 1.PL/EXC
 "We didn't want that we should be caught by the
 police." Ch 130
- (357) Sā mātou mānana'o 'ia pa'u'ū mātou
 PAST 1.PL/EXC want/PL OPT fall/PL 1.PL/EXC
 "We wanted that we should fall." Ch 131

Though Equi-NP-deletion does not generally apply to S and A, but only to agentive intransitive subjects (S_{AG}) and agentive transitive subjects (A), Chung states that its restricted applicability supports the claim that subject, i.e. S/A, "is one of the categories central to the syntax of all Polynesian languages" (1978:131). In contrast to Chung, we think that the applicability of this rule is solely semantically determined. If the controlling NP functions as S in the matrix clause, it optionally triggers the deletion of the coreferential agentive participant in the embedded clause.

As the intransitive matrix clause contains a verb of volition, motion, etc., whose participant is agentive, the unmarked case is represented by embedded clauses whose agent is co-referential with that of the matrix clause, irrespective of whether the agent of the embedded clause is the agent of an intransitive or transitive action:

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 V_{itr}(\text{volition, motion}) & S_{\text{agent}} & \text{matrix clause} \\
 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V_{tr}(\text{action}) \\ V_{tr} \end{array} \right. & \left(\begin{array}{l} S_{\text{agent}} \\ A_{\text{agent}} \end{array} \right) & \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ O_{\text{patient}} \end{array} \right\} \text{embedded clause}
 \end{array}$$

Furthermore, Chung neglects constructions which contain a transitive verb in the matrix clause, e.g. tuli "to chase", 'aumai "to bring", and which express that the patient is motivated to participate in the action denoted by the subordinated clause, e.g.

- (358) 'Ua tuli loa si nei teine laititi
 PERF chase immediately ART this girl young
 e alu e fai mea 'ai
 NON-PAST go NON-PAST make thing eat
 "They chased the poor young girl to go and make the food." F 196

Here the patient NP of the matrix clause triggers the deletion of the S of alu and of the A of fai:

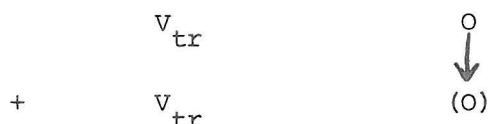
$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 & V_{tr} & O \\
 & \downarrow & \downarrow \\
 + & V_{itr} & (S) \\
 & \downarrow & \downarrow \\
 + & V_{tr} & (A) \quad O
 \end{array}$$

With transitive verbs of transportation, force, etc., this type of coreferential deletion does not only apply if the target is agentive, but also if it is the patient of a transitive action, so that the controlling NP and the target agree in respect to the semantic feature (-agentive), e.g.

(359) Na 'ave=ina le taga koko e fua
 PAST take=TR ART bag cocoa NON-PAST weigh
 "The bag of cocoa was taken to be weighed." Mi 38

(360) E tau =a tagata e aumai e ai
 NON-PAST call=TR person NON-PAST bring NON-PAST eat
 o le aso o le alii nei
 NP.MKR ART Aso of ART chief this
 "The people who were brought to be eaten were
 called the Aso of this chief." St 170

(The last example is also quoted by Chung in a footnote (1978: 206) without further discussion).



To conclude, Equi-deletion applies to agentive participants of embedded intransitive and transitive clauses dependent on intransitive verbs of motion and volition and on transitive verbs of transportation (tuli "to chase", 'ave "to take", aumai "to bring"), and, secondly, it applies to patients if the controlling participant is a patient of a verb of transportation. These findings evidently argue against Chung's claim that Equi-NP-deletion refers to the category "subject".

6. CONCLUSION: CASE MARKING AND

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN SAMOAN

6.0. INTRODUCTION

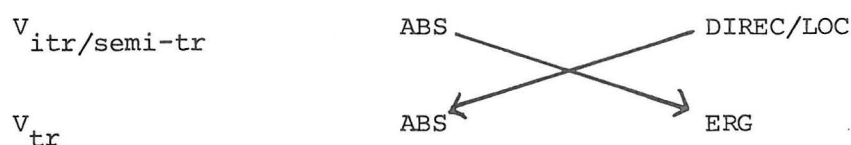
The aim of this last chapter is to summarize the coding, behaviour and control properties of the participants of Samoan verbs and to show that the primary participant in Samoan is the Absolutive phrase and not what Chung and others call the "subject". There is no subject in Samoan comparable to the subjects of Accusative languages, i.e. a syntactic category which denotes the participant of intransitive clauses and which, in respect to syntactic

operations such as coreferential deletion across conjunctions, relativization, Equi-NP-deletion and Left-dislocation, constitutes the syntactic pivot. If one wants to consider a participant as a subject in Samoan, it should be the Absolutive phrase.

6.1. THE ABSOLUTIVE

In contrast to other participants, the Absolutive is unmarked and controls agreement in number (p.3-5). These two coding properties alone provide evidence that the Absolutive phrase is the most central participant. Furthermore, it is the most grammaticalized participant, as its semantic function is completely determined by the verb or, as in the case of labile verbs, by the presence of other participants within the clause or the wider context of the clause (p.10-13, 58-62, 108-110). Thus, according to its context, the Absolutive can indicate an agent, an experiencer, a natural force (cf.p.72), a patient, a participant found in a certain state and the undergoer of a process. All other Samoan cases have a particular semantic function, which, however, as in the case of the Directional, may comprise various shades of meaning (pp.15-17, 22f).

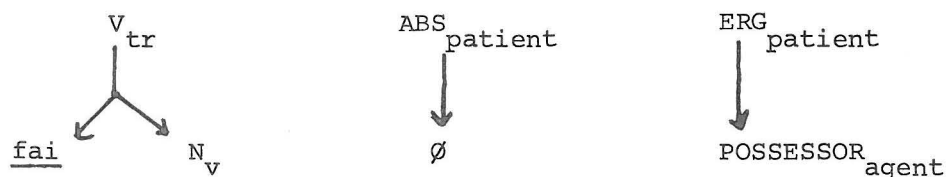
The only derivational operation found in Samoan that results in the change of grammatical relations is the transitivity of certain intransitive verbs (pp.67-69) and of semi-transitive verbs (pp.73-75). Both types of derivation have in common that a peripheral participant, i.e. a Locative or a Directional phrase is promoted to an Absolutive phrase, whereas the former Absolutive phrase is demoted to an optional Ergative phrase.



Since the Ergative is optional and does not control agreement, it does not seem to be justified to regard the former Absolutive as being promoted to an Ergative. That the Absolutive rather than the Ergative or other cases represents

the target of promotions argues for the Absolutive as primary syntactic category. With other types of transitivization of intransitive verbs, either the participant of the intransitive clause becomes the patient of the transitive clause, so that its case marking is maintained (cf.p.69f, 72, 77), or the participant of the intransitive verb is demoted to a Directional or Locative and a new participant functioning as patient and marked by the Absolutive is simultaneously introduced. All types of transitivization of intransitive verbs have in common that the resulting verb requires an Absolutive denoting the patient. (cf.p.78).

Similarly to transitivization, all types of detransitivization result in clauses that obligatorily contain an Absolutive. Even if the patient of a transitive action is to be suppressed by means of detransitivization, the resulting clause contains an Absolutive since patient suppression can only be arrived at by the fai + N_v - construction, in which the action is expressed by a nominalized verb in the Absolutive and the agent by a Possessor (cf.p.101):



Thus there are no syntactic processes which result in the promotion of a participant to an Ergative or in a clause lacking an Absolutive.

The comparison of patient-orientated texts with agent-orientated texts has shown that transitive verbs are marked by the transitive suffix when the agent plays a pragmatically salient role, but remains unmarked in the case that the patient is more important in the discourse than the agent. The fact that a particular marking on the verb (the transitive suffix) is used to draw attention to the transitive agent provides further evidence for our claim that the Absolutive phrase is the most central participant.

As for the syntactic operations which in general display the syntactic organization of languages, we investigated coreferential deletion across conjunctions, relativization, left-dislocation and Equi-NP-deletion. The rule of coreferential deletion across conjunctions is not restricted to any of the three grammatical relations which are labelled as S, A and O, but is only determined by the meaning of the clause and its context. Whenever misunderstandings are excluded by the context, any participant in S, A, or O function can be omitted. Consequently, this rule does not provide any evidence of whether S, A and O constitute a hierarchy or not.

Similarly, Equi-NP-deletion does not support the claim that S/A constitutes the subject in Samoan, because it is not restricted to intransitive participants (S) and transitive agents (A), but only to intransitive agents and transitive agents, when the coreferential deletion is controlled by the agentive participant of an intransitive verb of motion or volition. Here the applicability of Equi-NP-deletion is solely determined by the semantic roles of the participants. If sentences like "the bag of cocoa was taken to be weighed", "the girl was chased to go and prepare the food" are also regarded as instances of Equi-NP-deletion (we do not see any reason why they should not be), Equi-NP-deletion can be said to apply to S, A and O when it is controlled by patients of transitive verbs (i.e. mostly verbs of transportation). In this case, Equi-NP-deletion is unrestricted and does not identify only certain participants with the exclusion of others as a syntactic category.

The rule of relativization corresponds to the morphological Ergativity of Samoan in that the participants marked by the Absolutive (S,O) are obligatorily deleted when relativized, whereas the transitive agent may be copied by a proclitic pronoun (pp 118-121). Another rule that is obligatorily applied to S and O, but not to A, is Possessor marking of nominal participants of nominalized verbs (p.53).

Left-dislocated noun phrases can be copied by a pronoun in the clause from which they have been extracted, when they refer to an intransitive actor or undergoer (S) or to a

transitive actor (A), but they must not be copied when they function as the patient of a transitive verb (O). Thus this rule selects O as a particular unmarked syntactic category and contrasts it with all other participants. Since left-dislocation of a noun phrase in O-function represents the unmarked case, it does not argue for classifying S and A as a subject.

The only rule which refers to (S) and (A) and excludes (O) is Clitic Placement (pronominalization by proclitic pronouns) (pp.27-36). Without any restrictions, however, this rule only applies to the speech act participants, whereas with third person participants certain restrictions occur (cf. the table below).

To conclude, the coding, behaviour and control properties of S, A and O participants in Samoan clearly show that it is a role-dominated language (Foley & van Valin 1980), in which the Absolutive constitutes the primary grammatical relation (compare Sasse 1978).

	O	S	A	
case marking: ABS (unmarked)	+	+		
indispensable	+	(+)		(+): referring only to undergoers
target of advancement rules (transitivization)	+			
remaining participant in detransitivized clauses	+	or	+	
target and controller of coreferential dele- tion across conjunctions	+	+	+	
target of Equi-NP-dele- tion when controlled by the S of an intransitive matrix clause		(+)	+	(+): referring only to actors
obligatory deletion by relativization	+	+		
obligatory absence of a pronominal copy when left-dislocated	+			

	O	S	A	
pronominalization by proclitic pronouns				
1. and 2. pers.		+	+	
3. dual and plural		(+)	+	(+): referring only to actors
3. singular			+	

6.2. THE ERGATIVE, THE LOCATIVE AND THE DIRECTIONAL

Both the Locative and the Directional are used to denote natural forces and physical or mental experiences from which the affection or the state of being of a participant results, as well as indicating the cause or reason of a participant's conscious doing or feeling. Compare

- (361) 'Ua lofi =a 'auvai o le ālia i tāfega
 PERF be-flooded-over=TR bank of ART stream LOC flood
 "The floods have flooded over the banks of the stream."
 Mi 110
- (362) 'Ua o'o =tia 'o ia i le fa'anoanoa
 PERF reach =TR NP.MKR 3.SG LOC ART sorrow
 "Sorrow has struck him."
 Mi 166
- (363) 'Ua lavea tele a'u i le ma'alili
 =(42) PERF be-hurt very 1.SG LOC ART cold
 (stative)
 "I am affected by the cold."
 Mi 103
- (364) 'Ua nuti momoi =a fo'i lona loto
 PERF smash dash-to-pieces =TR also her heart
 'i le alofa 'iā Tigilau
 DIREC ART love DIREC T.
 "and was heart-broken out of sympathy towards
 Tigilau."
 (lit.: 'and her heart was smashed to pieces because
 of her love to Tigilau')

and (29), (31), (38), (62) and (63) with

- (365) 'Ou te tau i atu 'iate 'oe i lau āmio
 =(40) 1.SG NON-PAST reward DIR DIREC 2.AG LOC your conduct
 "I shall reward you for your conduct." Mi 253

and (60), (61). While from our European point of view the Locative and Directional noun phrases in the first case seem to express actor-like initiators, they obviously denote only indirectly involved participants in the second one. However, in contrast to English (compare particularly the English

translations of (361), (362)), this semantic difference is not expressed in Samoan, and hence should not be made by the linguist. All Locative and Directional noun phrases that denote the cause of a situation have the same syntactic status, i.e. are nothing else than sentential adjuncts, even if they follow a V=TR ABS-construction and denote the initiator of this transitive relationship ((361), (362)).

The Ergative noun phrase seems to obtain a syntactic status similar to that of Locative and Directional noun phrases denoting the cause, as it is also optionally expressed and alternates with Locative and Directional noun phrases depending on whether the initiator of the situation is animate or inanimate, compare:

- (366) 'Ua maua le tama e le leoleo
 PERF catch ART child ERG ART police
 "The child was caught by the police."
 (367) 'Ua maua le tama i le ma'alili
 PERF catch ART child LOC ART cold
 "The child was affected by the cold."

In spite of this similarity, however, Ergative and Locative or Directional noun phrases denoting the cause are not peripheral to the same degree. Ergative noun phrases are more closely related to the verb than the Locative and Directional noun phrases as first shown by clauses where Ergative noun phrases and Locative or Directional noun phrases combine, secondly by the fact that animate Locative or Directional and Ergative noun phrases evidently contrast in meaning when used with transitive verbs, thirdly by the different ways in which they are pronominalized, and fourthly by the fact that with certain verbs Locative and Directional phrases can be promoted to Absolutive phrases through transitivization of the verb (cf.p.67f).

1. In clauses of the structure

V_{TR} ABS_{PAT} ERG_{AG} DIREC/LOC_{CAUS}

the Ergative noun phrase denotes the agent which consciously performs the action affecting a patient, whereas the Locative or Directional noun phrase expresses why the action involving a patient and an agent takes place. i.e. while the Ergative noun phrase is related to (V ABS), the Directional or Locative phrase is related to ((V ABS) ERG).

2. If a transitive verb is followed by an animate Locative or Directional noun phrase denoting the cause of the action, it is always implied that the action is done by an agent different from the referent of this Locative or Directional noun phrase and that the Locative or Directional noun phrase refers to a participant on whose account the agent did the action; for animate agents of transitive actions are obligatorily expressed by Ergative noun phrases. Compare:

(368) 'Ua fasi 'o ia 'i le tama
 PERF hit NP.MKR 3.SG DIREC ART child
 "She was beaten (by someone) because of her child."
 Mi 80

(369) 'Ua fasi 'o ia e le tama
 PERF hit NP-MKR 3.SG ERG ART child
 "She was beaten by her/the child."

3. As far as pronominalization is concerned, Ergative noun phrases are similar to Absolutive noun phrases of intransitive clauses in that they can be substituted by proclitic pronouns preceding the verb, whereas Locative and Directional noun phrases cannot. The latter are pronominalized by anaphoric pronouns or by 'iate/iate plus independent pronouns both following the verb, e.g.

(370) 'Ua 'ou alu atu
 PERF 1.SG go DIR
 "I went off."

(371) 'Ua 'ou fasi=a le tama
 PERF 1.SG hit =TR ART child
 "I hit the child."

(372) 'O le ā mea 'e sau ai
 NP.MKR ART what thing 2.SG come ANAPH
 "Why have you come back."

Further evidence for the Ergative denoting a closer syntactic relationship to the verb than the Locative or the Directional is found in the different ways in which syntactic operations apply to Absolutive, Ergative, Locative and Directional noun phrases. Whereas, for instance, the syntactic rules of coreferential deletion across coordinate conjunctions equally applies to Ergative and Absolutive noun phrases, Locative and Directional noun phrases cannot be deleted, but must be substituted by anaphoric pronouns or by independent pronouns following the case markers i and 'i. Similarly, the rules of relativization and left-dislocation show that the Ergative noun phrases are more distantly related to the verb than Absolutive noun phrases, but more closely than Locative and Directional noun phrases.

The fact that Locative and Directional noun phrases are more distantly related to the verb than Ergative noun phrases is also reflected in the different range of their semantic functions. The Ergative noun phrase almost exclusively denotes the agent of a transitive action (for exceptions cf. p.14). Because of this restricted function, a clause must not contain more than one Ergative noun phrase. But the semantic range of Locative and Directional noun phrases is much wider. Though a common meaning ("Gesamtbedeutung") can be found for the Locative and the Directional respectively, each case encompasses a number of shades of meanings that are different enough to allow Locative and Directional noun phrases to occur more than once within a clause (cf.p.27), e.g.

- (373) 'Ua tagi mai fo'i le tama'ita'i 'o Sisialefafa
 PERF cry DIR also ART lady NP.MKR S.
 'iā Fa'alata'itāuaga 'i lana fānau
 DIREC F. DIREC her off-spring
 "S. sang out to F. on account of her children."
 F 114

As far as the Locative and the Directional are concerned, it cannot be decided yet if they differ in respect to their difference to the verb or if they are peripheral to the same degree. The fact that the anaphor of the Locative ai is less marked than that of the Directional 'i ai seems to argue for the Locative as being more closely related to the verb, which would correlate with our intuition that the location of a situation is semantically more closely related to the action, state or process denoted by the verb than its directedness is.

APPENDIX

Examples showing that the Absolutive noun phrase in transitive clauses controls agreement in number:

- (1) e ave i ai tagata e
NON-PAST take DIREC ANAPH person NON-PAST
fa'a=nonofo ai ae fafasi ia oti
CAUS=sit/PL ANAPH but hit/PL OPT die
"The people were brought and made to sit down in order to be killed." St 171
- (2) Ona fafasi ai lea 'o tama e lolā tamā
then hit/PL ANAPH (then) NP.MKR boy ERG their/DU father
"Then the boys were hit by their father." Kr I 214
- (3) auā 'ua la iloa 'o le a fafasi i laua
because PERF 3.DU know FUT hit/PL 2.DU
"Because they knew that they were to be hit." Kr I 357
- (4) Ona fa'asaga loa lea o Va'atausili
then set-to immediately (then) NP.MKR V.
'ua fafasi 'uma le uso
PERF hit/PL all ART brotherhood
"Then Va'atausili started to beat all the brothers." Kr I 270
- (5) 'Ua fofoa fuāmoa
PERF hatch/PL egg
"The eggs have been hatched." Mi 67
- (6) Ona noanoa lea 'o fuasa
then tie/PL (then) NP.MKR bundle
"Then the bundles are tied up." Kr II 174
- (7) 'A 'ua sauniuni ni tanoa se lua pe tasi ...
when PERF prepare ART bowl ART two or one
"When two or one bowls are prepared." Kr II 125
- (8) na te lē mafai sisi'i ona vae
3.SG NON-PAST not can raise his foot
"He cannot raise his feet." Churchw. §359
- (9) 'Ua tatā isi i le fale 'a e
PERF tatoo/PL some LOC ART house but NON-PAST
tatā isi i fafo
tatoo/PL some LOC outside
"Some are tatooed in the house, others outside." Kr II 72
- (10) E fa'apenā ona tatanu 'o
NON-PAST be-like-that that bury/PL NP.MKR
laufasi 'uma lava o le toufi
slice of yam for planting all EMPH POSS ART yam plantation
"All slices of yam for planting are planted in the yam plantation." Kr II 62

- (11) se'ia e tetefe anea i matou
 OPT 2.SG circumcise/PL soon 1.PL/EXC
 "That you should circumcise us soon." Kr II 62

Examples showing that the Ergative phrase or the corresponding proclitic pronoun does not control agreement in number:

- (12) 'Ua sua le ma'umaga e pua'a
 PERF uproot ART taropatch ERG pig
 "The pigs are rooting (in) the taro patch." Mi 217
- (13) 'A tēte'i le 'au =pua'a 'ae fē=ita 'iāte: 'oe
 when awake/PL ART COLL =pig but PL=mad DIREC 2.SG
 ona tou tuli loa lea
 then 3.PL chase immediately (then)
 "When the pigs suddenly awake and are mad at you,
 they'll chase you." F 108

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