

PREDICATE COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS IN SAMOAN

The primary purpose of this paper is the examination of complement sentences in Samoan. It is, however, impossible to study this problem without also taking into consideration relative clauses and subordinate adverbial clauses. The paper divides into three parts. First will be a very brief sketch of the phrase structure grammar in which the entire analysis is couched. Second will be a study of what are clearly complement structures, mostly of the form 'e mana'o le tama COMP'; 'the boy wants COMP'. Third will be a brief discussion of subordinate adverbial clauses, and their similarities to and differences from complements.

I. PHRASE STRUCTURE GRAMMAR

The analysis in this paper will proceed within the framework of a case grammar, much along the lines discussed by Fillmore.¹

$$S \rightarrow (VB) (ARG) (ADV)$$

$$VB \rightarrow (Q) TNS (NEG) (V)$$

$$ARG \rightarrow (NP) NP (NP) (NP^n) (PP^*) \quad n \leq 3^2$$

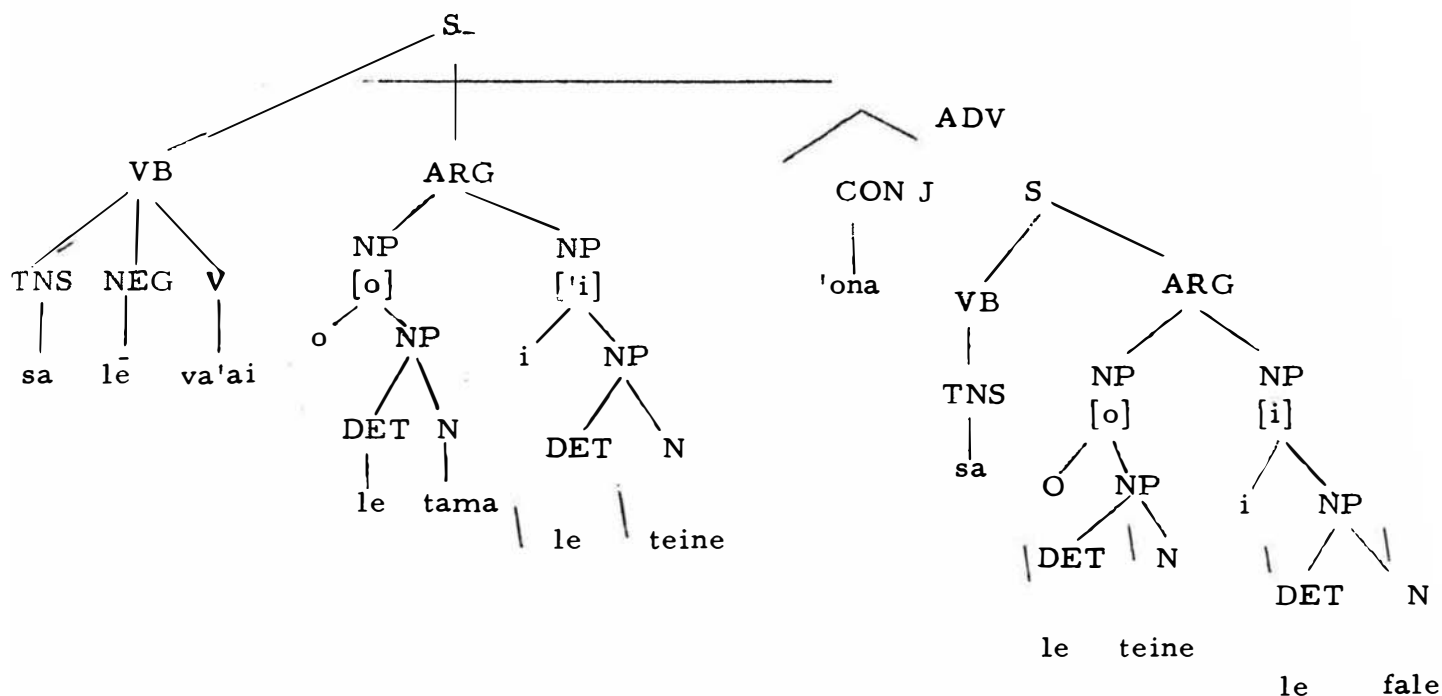
$$[e] \quad [o] \quad [i] \quad [i]$$

$$ADV \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (CONJ S) \\ AV \end{array} \right\}$$

$$PP \rightarrow PREP N$$

$$NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (NP) S \\ DET N \end{array} \right\}$$

A transformation will segmentalize the NP's: $NP \rightarrow_k NP$. A typical tree resulting from these rules would be [k]



which will ultimately become

- 2) Sa lē va'ai le tama 'i le teine 'ona sa i le fale³
 TNS NEG see boy DAT girl because TNS LOC house³
 The boy didn't see the girl because she was in the house.

The sentence expansion rule ignores the fact that either VB or ARG must be written, i. e. $S \rightarrow \text{ADV}$ is not possible. $S \rightarrow \text{VB}$ is realizable as "Ua timu"; "It is raining", and $S \rightarrow \text{ARG}$ is realizable as "O Ioane"; "It is John". The main reason for having this particular tripartite division of S has to do with adverb movement. If $\text{ADV} \rightarrow \text{CONJ S}$, then ADV can only be moved to the front of the S.

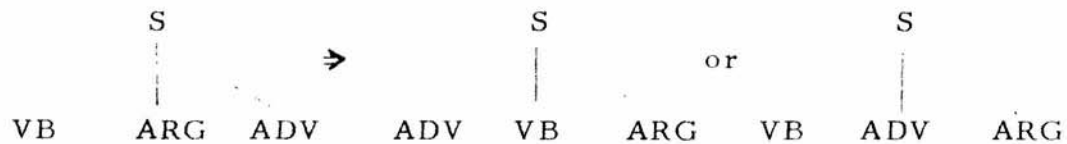
- 3) Sa togi e le tama le ma'a 'ona e gasegase
 TNS throw AG boy rock because TNS be sick
 The boy threw the rock because he is sick
- 4) 'Ona e gasegase sa togi e le tama le ma'a.

If $ADV \rightarrow AV$, ADV can only be moved between VB and ARG .⁴

- 5) Sa togi e le tama le ma'a lelei
 TNS throw AG boy rock well
 The boy threw the rock well

- 6) Sa togi lelei e le tama le ma'a.

This PSG allows these transformations to apply with a minimal change in the tree configuration; only the linear order of elements is changed, not the dominance relations:



It may well be that the ADV node is derived, rather than basic, but I don't want to get into that bog, so I have put ADV in the PSG.

II TRANSFORMATIONS FOR, AND DEEP STRUCTURE OF, COMPLEMENTS

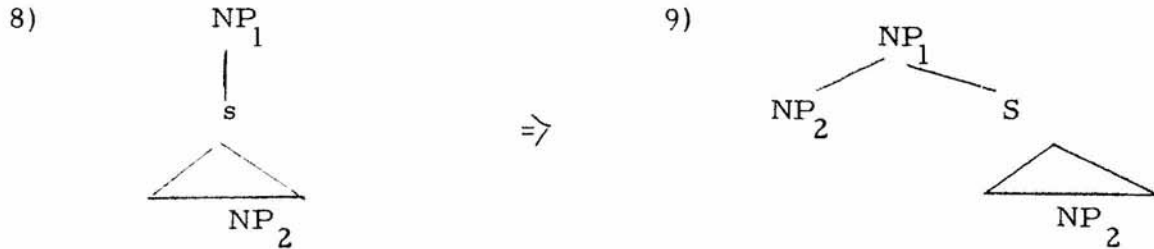
II-A NP Raising

Turning our attention to complement sentences, let's consider first

- 7) E mana'o le tama ia pa'ū le peni
 TNS want boy TNS fall pen
 The boy wants the pen to fall

There are two transformations of particular interest that can apply to sentences like 7), topicalization and raising. Topicalization⁵ (hereafter "T") moves an NP to the front of any S which dominates it, and raising (hereafter "R") raises an NP from a complement S to the NP which immediately dominates this S.

First, I want to claim that raising operates on structures like 8) to yield structures like 9).



(This will be somewhat modified later in the discussion)

In order to do this it will be necessary to claim that "ina" is not some form of "it" à la Rosenbaum.

Consider

- 10) *E mana'o le tama ina
TNS want boy ??

Since 10) is ungrammatical, either "ina" is not a pronoun, or it only occurs pre-sententially.

Next, we note that "ina" is optional; compare 11) and 12)

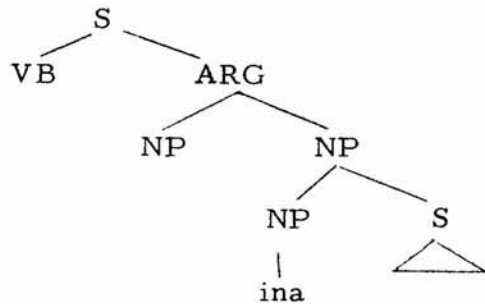
- 11) Ou te mana'o ina ia pa'ū le peni
I TNS want ?? TNS fall pen
I want the pen to fall

- 12) Ou te mana'o ia pa'ū le peni

We can apply R to 12), yielding

- 13) Ou te mana'o 'i le peni ia pa'ū
I TNS want DAT pen TNS fall
I want the pen to fall

If the structure containing "ina" is



we would expect that R would involve replacing "ina" (or "na") with the raised NP. That this is not the case can be seen in

- 14) Ou te mana'o 'i le peni ina ia pa'ū
 I TNS want DAT pen ?? TNS fall
 I want the pen to fall

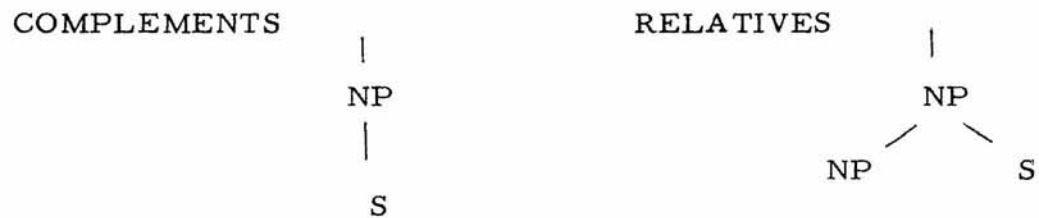
Given the above evidence it is more reasonable to claim that "ina" is a complementizer (similar to English 'that') which is introduced transformationally.

In order to state the rule of NP raising it is necessary to consider relative clauses.

- 15) Ou te mana'o 'i le teine sa fa'apa'ū le peni
 I TNS want DAT girl TNS drop pen
 I want the girl who dropped the pen

- 16) *ou te mana'o 'i le teine ('i) le peni sa fa'apa'ū

That 16) is ungrammatical indicates that you can not raise an NP out of a relative clause, but if "ina" is not a pronoun, then we have a natural way of predicting that you can raise out of a complement but not out of a relative. Assigning deep structures as follows:



the raising rule can be stated rather simply.

$$17) \begin{bmatrix} \text{X NP Y} \\ 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \end{bmatrix}_{\text{S}} \text{NP} \xrightarrow{\quad} [2[1 \ 2 \ 3]_{\text{S}}]_{\text{NP}}$$

Thus, relative clauses will never meet the SD of 17) and complement sentences will.

II-B TNS In Complement Sentences

The tense marker permitted in the complement sentence seems to be determined by the verb of the main sentence. For example, "mana'o"; "want", and "fa'amalosi"; "force", are ungrammatical if

any tense but "ia" or "e" is found in the complement S, whereas "fo"; "surprised", requires "ua" in the complement.

- 18)
- | | | |
|------------------------|--|----------------|
| | $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ia \\ e \\ *ua \\ *ole\bar{a} \\ *sa \\ *olo'o \end{array} \right\}$ | |
| Ou te mana'o | | pa'ū le peni |
| I TNS want | TNS | fall pen |
| I want the pen to fall | | |
- 19)
- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------|
| | $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} *ia \\ *e \\ ua \\ *ole\bar{a} \\ *sa \\ *olo'o \end{array} \right\}$ | |
| Sa ou ofo | | pa'ū le peni |
| TNS I be surprised | TNS | fall pen |
| I was surprised that the pen fell | | |

II-C Complementizer Insertion

My data on cooccurrence of the complementizer "ina" with the TNS of the complement S is extremely sparse. On the basis of 20), 21) and 22), I suggest that there is a rule of complementizer insertion which is blocked if the TNS of the S onto which the complementizer is to be adjoined is "e"; it may well be that there are other tenses which cannot occur with "ina".

- 20) Ou te mana'o {ia} pa'ū le peni
 21) Ou te mana'o ina {ia} pa'ū le peni
 22) Ou te ofo (ina) ua pa'ū le peni

Also, I have no explanation whatsoever of why this restriction should hold; I only cite it ad hocly in the rule 23).

- 23) $[[\text{TNS } X]_S]_{NP} \Rightarrow [\text{ina } \# [1 \ 2]_S]_{NP}$ where "#" is intended to denote a Chomsky adjunction

(I will present a weak argument in section II-D-iv. as to why I think that "ina" is Chomsky adjoined to its S).

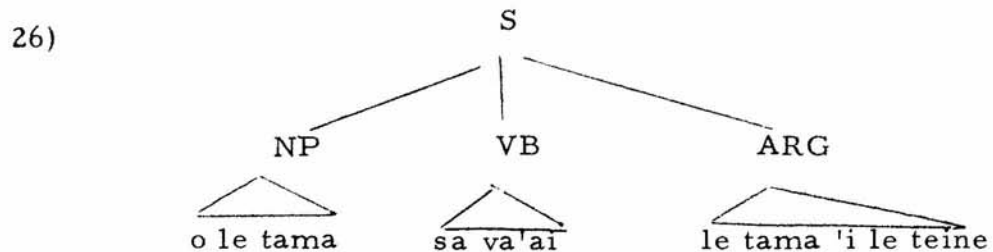
II-D Topicalization

i) Chomsky Adjunction. It is fairly easy to show that T results in Chomsky adjunction of the topicalized NP. Since T is clearly a copying transformation, one stage in the derivation from

- 24) Sa va'ai le tama 'i le teine
 TNS see boy DAT girl
 The boy saw the girl

is 25) *O le tama sa va'ai le tama 'i le teine

(where "o" is the topic marker.) If the topicalized NP is daughter adjoined to the S, rather than Chomsky adjoined



we should be able to pronominalize either occurrence of "le tama."

- 27) O le tama sa va'ai oia 'i le teine

- 28) *Oia sa va'ai le tama 'i le teine

(where "oia" means "he.") That 28) is starred indicates that the left hand occurrence of "le tama" is not commanded by the right hand occurrence, which can only be the case of Chomsky adjunction has taken place.

Also, if topicalization results in 26) we would expect reflexivization to be possible.

- 29) *O le tama sa va'ai oia lava 'i le teine
 T boy TNS see he REFL DAT girl
 *The boy,himself saw the girl

ii) Restrictions on Application of Topicalization. There appear to be few, if any, limitations on what NP's can be topicalized. T can apply to genitives,

- 30) O le tama e lapoa le fale oia
 T boy TNS big house of him
 The boy's house is big

to elements of conjuncts,

- 31) O le tama e va'ai ma le teine 'iā Ioane ⁷
 T boy TNS see and girl DAT John
 The boy and the girl see John

and to sentential NP's.

- 32) Ina ia pa'ū le peni ou te mana'o iai ⁸
 That TNS fall pen I TNS want PRO
 I want the pen to fall

Also, there seems to be no limit to the number of S's an NP can cross when topicalized.

- 33) Ou te fa'amoemoe ia mana'o le teine ia fa'apa'ū
 I TNS hope TNS want girl TNS drop
 e Ioane le peni
 AG John pen
 I hope that the girl wants John to drop the pen

can be transformed into

- 34) O le peni ou te fa'amoemoe ia mana'o le teine ia fa'apa'ū
 e Ioane

Thus the topicalization can be stated quite simply:

- 35) $[X \text{ NP } Y]_S \xrightarrow{2} \# [1 \ 2 \ 3]_S$
 1 2 3

A typical derivation involving topicalization would proceed as follows:

BASE: sa pa'ū le peni (The pen fell)
 TOPICALIZATION (Optional): *o le peni sa pa'ū le peni
 PRONOMINALIZATION (Obligatory): o le peni sa pa'ū oia
 PRONOUN DELETION (Optional): o le peni sa pa'ū

iii) Topicalization of Conjoined NP's. Sentence 36) indicates that T can apply more than once in a sentence.

- 36) O le tama o le ma'a sa togi
 T boy T rock TNS throw
 The boy threw the rock

We also know, from sentence 31), that T can apply to one member of a conjunct. These two facts together suggest that we should be able to topicalize both conjoined elements separately. This is verified by

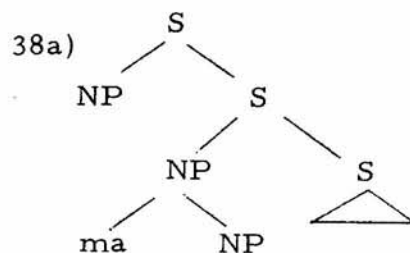
- 37) Sa pa'ū le peni ma le tusi
 TNS fall pen and book
 The pen and the book fell

- 38) O le peni ma le tusi sa pa'ū

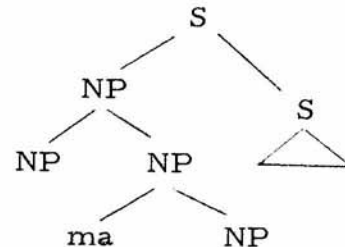
- 39) Ma le tusi o le peni sa pa'ū

- 40) O le peni o le tusi sa pa'ū

38) should, in fact, have two possible structures:



38b)



That it is possible to get an intonation break between "o le peni" and "ma le tusi" indicates (weakly) that 38a) is indeed a possibility.

Sentence 40) necessitates the addition of another rule. The derivation of 40) from 37) would proceed as follows.

- 37) Sa pa'ū le peni ma le tusi
 O le peni sa pa'ū ma le tusi
 *O le peni o le tusi sa pa'ū ma

40) O le peni o le tusi sa pa'u

We need a rule

41) $[ma]_{NP} \rightarrow \emptyset$

Possibly this rule should be extended to cover all stranded case markers, conjunctions, and prepositions; at present I can't argue too strongly for this possibility.⁹

iv) Topicalization Within Complement Sentences. There is a problem in just how to formulate topicalization which applies within a complement sentence. Given the sentence

42) Ou te fa'amalosi ia alu le tama
I TNS force TNS go boy
I force the boy to go

"le tama" can be topicalized to two different positions.

43) O le tama ou te fa'amalosi ia alu

44) Ou te fa'amalosi o le tama ia alu

If "ina" is present in the complement we have another option available.

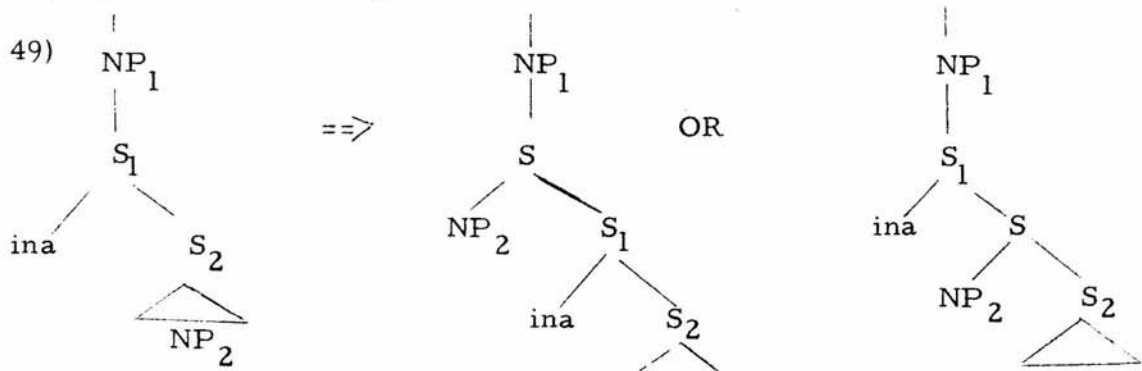
45) Ou te fa'amalosi ina ia alu le tama

46) O le tama ou te fa'amalosi ina ia alu

47) Ou te fa'amalosi o le tama ina ia alu

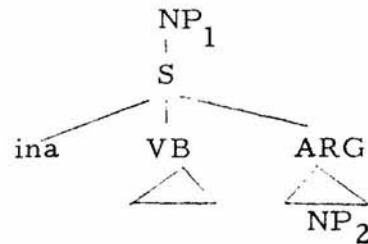
48) Ou te fa'amalosi ina o le tama ia alu.

In order to generate 47) and 48) and to maintain the generalization that T moves an NP to the left of any S node which dominates it, and also Chomsky adjoins the NP to that S, it is imperative that "ina" be Chomsky adjoined to the complement S.



Admittedly, 49) is intuitively distressing. The alternative, however, is to have "ina" daughter adjoined to the complement S and to write the rule of topicalization so that the topicalized NP can move to the left or right of "ina." This is just as counterintuitive as 49) but, worse, it makes it impossible to Chomsky adjoin the topicalized NP in 48), for, given

50)



there is no way to move NP₂ to the right of "ina" and to Chomsky adjoin it to the complement S. Thus the only half way reasonable way out is to allow the derivation of 47) and 48) to proceed as sketched in 49)

v) Ordering of Raising and Topicalization. The argument in the next section depends upon R being ordered before T. This is guaranteed if R is cyclic¹⁰ and T is post-cyclic. It can easily be shown that this order must also hold if T is cyclic, for sentence 51) cannot be generated with the order T, R.

51) O le peni ou te mana'o iai ia pa'ū
T pen I TNS want PRO TNS fall
I want the pen to fall

BASE: [ou te mana'o [ia pa'u le peni]_S]_S

CYCLE 1: T: [ou te mana'o [o le peni ia pa'u]_S]_S

R: cannot apply

CYCLE 2: T: [o le peni ou te mana'o[ia pa'u̯]_S]_S

R: cannot apply

SURFACE: O le peni ou te mana'o ia pa'u

or

CYCLE 2: T: opt not to apply

R: [ou te mana'o 'i le peni [ia pa'ū]_S]_S

SURFACE: Ou te mana'o 'i le peni ia pa'u

vi) Topicalization as a Cyclic Rule. We will now turn to an investigation of whether T is cyclic or post-cyclic.¹¹ Since T is so unrestricted in application, it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide this question without reference to "remnant" pronouns. Thus, if T is cyclic we should be able to go through the following derivation:

BASE: [ou te mana'o [ia pa'ū le peni]_S]_S
 CYCLE 1: R: cannot apply
 T: [ou te mana'o [o le tama ia pa'ū]_S]_S
 CYCLE 2: R: opt not to apply
 T: [o le tama ou te mana'o [ia pa'ū]_S]_S
 SURFACE: O le tama ou te mana'o ia pa'ū

But in this case we should also be able to leave a pronoun behind, giving the surface string

52) O le tama ou te mana'o oia ia pa'ū

where "oia" is coreferential with "le tama." 52) is grammatical but it cannot be derived if T is post-cyclic.

BASE: same as above
 CYCLE 1: R: cannot apply
 CYCLE 2: R: [ou te mana'o 'i le tama[ia pa'ū]_S]_S
 POST-CYCLE: T: [o le tama ou te mana'o iai [ia pa'ū]_S]_S
 or
 CYCLE 2: R: opt not to apply
 POST-CYCLE: T: [o le tama ou te mana'o [ia pa'ū]_S]_S

Neither of these derivations allow "oia" to occur where it does in 52).

On first examination it appears that in sentences with relative clauses topicalization must be post-cyclic. Given a sentence like 53) we should be able to go through a derivation parallel to that of 52).

- 53) Ou te mana'o 'i le teine sa fa'apa'ū le peni
 I TNS want DAT girl TNS drop pen
 I want the girl who dropped the pen

BASE: [ou te mana'o 'i le teine [sa fa'apa'ū e le teine le peni]_S]_S

CYCLE 1: T: [ou te mana'o 'i le teine [o le peni sa fa'apa'ū e le teine oia]_S]_S¹²

CYCLE 2: T: [o le peni ou te mana'o 'i le teine [oia sa fa'apa'ū]_S]_S

However, given this surface string it is impossible for the informant to regard "le peni" and "oia" as coreferential; "oia" can only be coreferential with "le teine." It is unpleasant in the extreme to have T cyclic for complements and post-cyclic for relatives. Since it is difficult to imagine how 52) could be generated with T post-cyclic, it becomes necessary to find a way to show that T is actually cyclic in relatives. Three possible approaches suggest themselves. The first is that T is obligatory for the relativized noun, and that T can only apply once within the relative clause. The derivation of 53) would then proceed

CYCLE 1: T: [ou te mana'o 'i le teine [o le teine sa fa'apa'ū le peni]_S]_S

CYCLE 2: T: [o le peni ou te mana'o 'i le teine [oia sa fa'apa'ū]_S]_S

It seems that further topicalization within the relative clause is blocked because of the ungrammaticality of

- 54) O le peni ou te mana'o 'i le teine oia oia sa fa'apa'ū

that is, it is impossible to apply T twice in Cycle 1.

CYCLE 1: T: [ou te mana'o 'i le teine [o le teine o le peni sa fa'apa'ū]_S]_S

CYCLE 2: T: [o le peni ou te mana'o 'i le teine [oia oia sa fa'apa'ū]_S]_S

This analysis is suspect, however, because we have already seen, in 36), that in the main clause T can apply more than once.

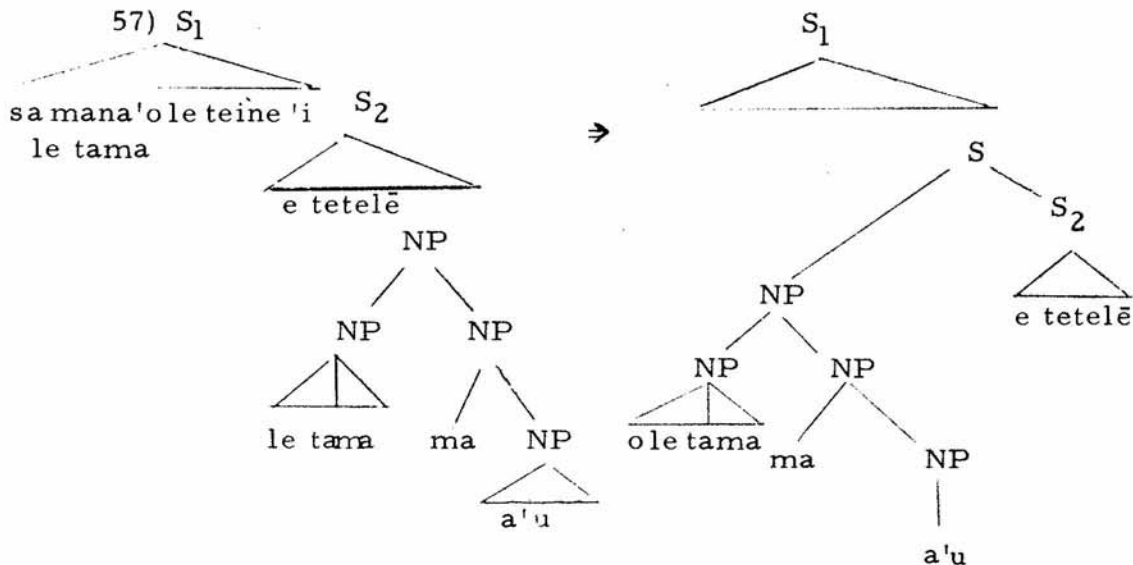
The second alternative is that the "oia" of 53) is a relative pronoun rather than a pronoun remaining from topicalization, that is, that it attains its position in the sentence as a result of WH-REL MOVEMENT rather than of T. Then we could claim that the presence of the relative pronoun blocks T within the relative clause. This is immediately ruled out by the fact that "o le" is the relative pronoun, and "o le" and "oia" can occur together in a relative clause, both coreferential with the relativized noun.

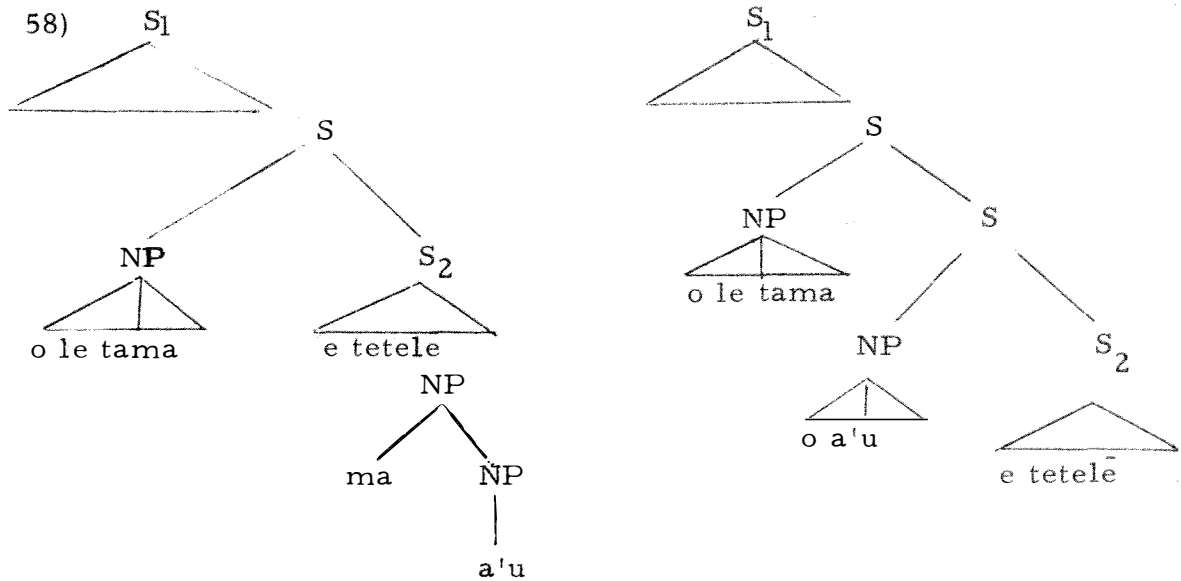
55) Ou te mana'o 'i le teine oia o le sa fa'apa'ū le peni.

The third possibility is that there is a severe perceptual problem involved. The syntax, on this analysis, can generate 53) with "oia" coreferential with "le peni", but perceptual strategies always dictate that "oia" refer to the adjacent relativized noun. That we never get the sequence "...oia oia..." suggests that if this sequence is ever generated it either collapses to a single pronoun "oia" ("oia" can mean "he", "she", "it", or "they")¹³ or the sentence is thrown out by a surface structure constraint.¹⁴ This is all rank speculation until we find some evidence to support the "perceptual-hangup" analysis. Some possible evidence is provided by

56) O a'u sa mana'o le teine 'i le tama o ma'ua
 T me TNS want girl DAT boy T we
 e tetele
 TNS big
 *The girl wants the boy who and I are big.

Incredibly enough this is both grammatical and semantically perspicuous for the informant. It should, considering the discussion of II-A-iii, be generable in two ways.





Then, regardless of whether we have the structure 57) or 58), "o le tama" will pronominalize to "oia". In 58), "oia ma o a'u" will presumably collapse to "ma'ua", giving 56). This is not very convincing evidence that T is cyclic in relatives, however, since we could still claim that only 57) is possible in the cycle, as WH-REL MOVEMENT, and the topicalization of "a'u" in S₁ is still post-cyclic. Better evidence for the cyclic claim is provided by

59) O a'u e mana'o le teine 'i le tama o a'u oia o le
 T me TNS want girl DAT boy T me he he
 sa kisi
 TNS kiss

The girl wants the boy who kissed me

In 59) "oia" and "o le" both refer to "le tama", the former being a pronoun resulting from topicalization, the latter being the result of WH-REL Movement. It seems that we must topicalize "a'u" and "le tama" on the cycle on the relative clause, and then further topicalize "a'u" on the cycle on the main clause. This then lends support to the notion that T is always cyclic, and that the problem with 53) is indeed a perceptual problem.

II-E Raising As Chomsky Adjunction

Sentence 60) brings out a pair of interesting problems.

- 60) Ina ua momo'e 'i le fale sa ou ofo
 COMP TNS run DIR house TNS I be surprised
 ai 'iā Ioane¹⁴
 PRO INST John
 I was surprised that John ran into the house

'ai' is a pronoun coreferential with 'ina ua momo'e i le fale' (cf footnote 8).

Considering 60) as containing a complement S, its deep structure is roughly

- 61) [sa ou ofo[[ina ua momo'e Ioane 'i le fale]_S]_{NP}]_S

The first transformation of interest in deriving 60) is NP Raising applied to 'Ioane.'

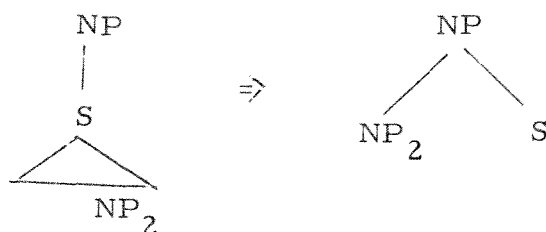
- 62) [Sa ou ofo [iā Ioane [ina ua momo'e 'i le fale]_S]_{NP}]_S

But notice that [ina ua momo'e 'i le fale]_S is no longer an NP. One of two changes is necessary to generate 60): either we must allow T to apply to some non-NP's, or else we must change the rule of NP Raising (17) in such a way that [ina ua momo'e 'i le fale]_S is an NP. The former is clearly undesirable; we would need very ad hoc restrictions to prevent T from applying to relative clauses while still allowing it to apply to structures like 62), for notice that if we allow T to apply to 63), a structure very similar to 62), we derive the ungrammatical 64).

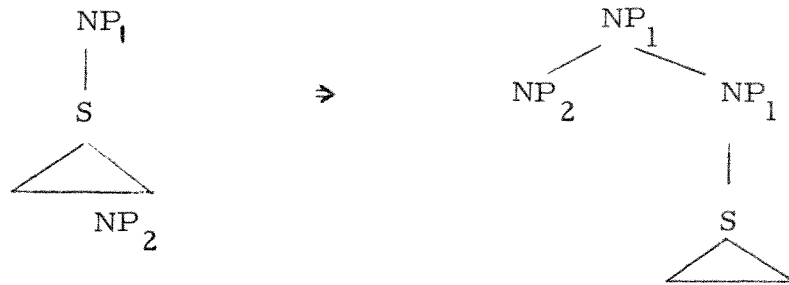
- 63) [Sa ou va'ai['i le teine [sa kisi 'iā Pili]_S]_{NP}]_S
 TNS I see DAT DET girl TNS kiss DAT Bill
 I saw the girl who kissed Bill

- 64) *Sa kisi 'iā Pili sa ou va'ai (iai) 'i le teine

Thus, instead of NP Raising looking like



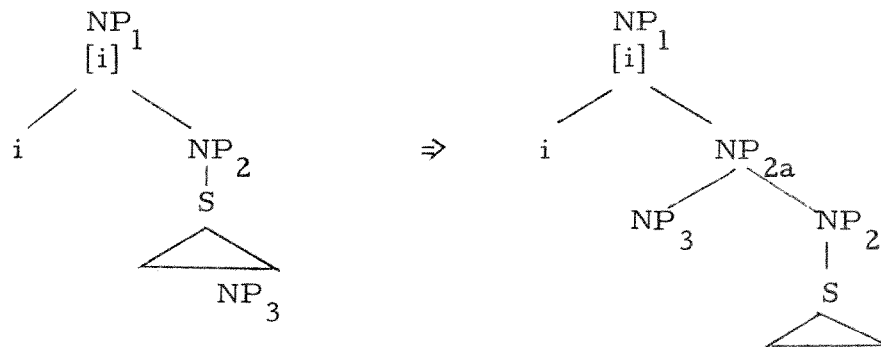
as formulated in 17), the correct derivation should be



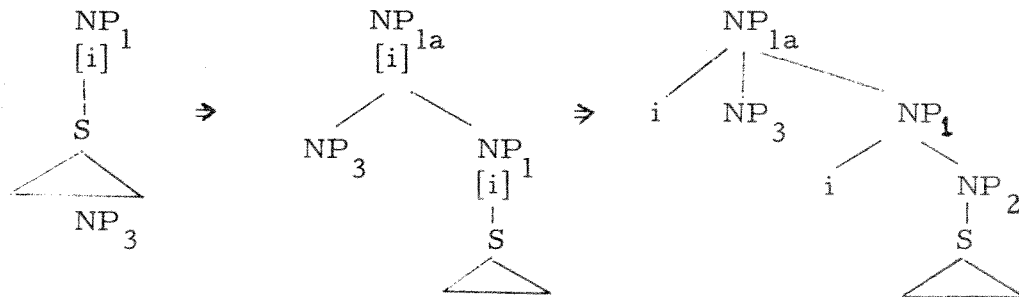
R must be changed to

$$65) \begin{matrix} [[X & NP & Y]_{S_{NP}} \\ 1 & 2 & 3 \end{matrix} \Rightarrow 2 \# [[1 \ 2 \ 3]_{S_{NP}}$$

This brings out the other interesting problem with R. Given rule 65), if we segmentalize the case marker before raising



we should not, after topicalizing NP_2 , have both the remnant pronoun "ai" and the "i" in "i NP_3 ." These problems are avoided if we segmentalize NP after applying the raising transformation. If when Chomsky adj-[i]oining we copy the NP node with all its features we get the following derivation.



then the desired results are obtained if we add the rule

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} 66) & X & \text{CASE } S & Y & \Rightarrow & 1 & \emptyset & 3 & 4 \\ & & 1 & 2 & & 3 & 4 & & \end{array}$$

which we need anyway for 7) and other such sentences.

II-F Complementizer Deletion

In section II-C we formulated a rule for complementizer insertion. Nothing was said, however, about whether this rule should be obligatory or optional; the crucial type of examples occur when the entire complement sentence has been topicalized, as in 32).

$$32) \text{ Ina ia pa}'\bar{u} \text{ le peni ou te mana'o iai}$$

If we make complementizer insertion optional we should be able to generate

$$67) \text{ *Ia pa}'\bar{u} \text{ le peni ou te mana'o iai}$$

That 67) is ungrammatical indicates that complementizer insertion should be obligatory and that there be an optional rule of complementizer deletion, and also that complementizer deletion cannot apply if "ina" is in sentence-initial position.¹⁵ The rule would look something like

$$68) [X [\text{ina } S]_{NP} Y]_S \Rightarrow 1 \emptyset 3 4 \quad \text{Condition: } X \text{ is not null}$$

It is moot whether the rule should have the condition attached to it or whether sentences like 67) should be blocked by an output condition.

II-G Two Other Apparent Perceptual Problems

i) An interesting phenomenon occurs in a particular derivation involving conjunct-splitting. Consider the following derivation.

LNLJ II

BASE: [e mana'o Pili [ia alu Maria ma Marki]_S]_S
 CYCLE 1: T: [e mana'o Pili [ma Marki ia alu Maria]_S]_S
 CYCLE 2: T: [o Maria e mana'o Pili [ma Marki ia alu]_S]_S
 SURFACE: O Maria e mana'o Pili ma Marki ia alu

This same surface string can be derived from a different base.

BASE: [e mana'o Pili ma Marki [ia alu Maria]_S]_S
 CYCLE 1: T: opt not to apply
 CYCLE 2: T: [o Maria e mana'o Pili ma Marki [ia alu]_S]_S

This surface string should be ambiguous, then, between "Bill wants Mark and Mary to go" (the upper derivation), and "Bill and Mark want Mary to go" (the lower derivation). In fact, only the latter reading is possible. To constrain T so as to block the first derivation would be very complicated and ad hoc. It is more likely that there is again a perceptual problem involved. Given a surface sequence "...NP₁ ma NP₂.....", this will be understood as a semantic unit (i.e. as conjoined in deep structure) if there is no semantic anomaly involved, regardless of what "ma NP₂" was actually conjoined to in the deep structure. It should not be surprising that a language which allows conjuncts to split and which further also allows the pronoun which has been left by the moved conjunct to be deleted should occasionally create perceptually unmanageable surface strings.

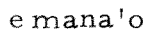
ii) Sentence 69), which was presented to the informant at various times, was reacted to in three distinct ways.

69) O le teine ou te mana'o o le peni ia fa'apa'u
 T girl I TNS want T pen TNS drop

For this, and other sentences like it, I have received the following responses:

- a) Grammatical: means "I want the girl to drop the pen"
- b) Grammatical: means "I want the girl and (I want) the pen to drop"
- c) Ungrammatical: must be two separate sentences

- 1



The following suggestions pertaining to SAC are worth further investigation.

III-A In SAC the words "'ona" and "ina" (there are, of course, several other related words) can not be deleted. Thus, if "'ona" is left out of 72) the meaning is changed to that of 71), whereas if "ina" is left out of 70) there is no change of meaning. Similarly, dropping "ina" from 73) causes a change of meaning. (To be more precise, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical if it must be interpreted as a single sentence).

- 73) Sa ia togi le ma'a ina oleā ia va'ai 'i le tama
 TNS he throw rock CONJ TNS he see DAT boy
 He threw the rock before he saw the boy
- 74) *Sa ia togi le ma'a oleā ia va'ai 'i le tama
 He threw the rock; he will see the boy

III-B Subordinate clauses cannot function as the object of verbs, as can complement sentences.

- 75) E mana'o le tama ina ia pa'ū le peni
 The boy wants the pen to fall
- 76) *E mana'o le tama 'ona sa pa'ū le peni
 *The boy wants because the pen fell
- 77) E mana'o le tama 'i le peni ina ia pa'ū
 The boy wants the pen to fall
- 78) E mana'o le tama 'i le peni 'ona sa pa'u
 The boy wants the pen because it fell

III-C A semantic corollary to III-B is that in sentence 78) what the boy wants is the pen itself, not, as in 77), for something to happen involving the pen.

III-D Subordinate clauses that are fronted do not leave
pronouns after the verb of the main S.

- 79) Ua fa'anoanoa le tama 'ona sa gasegase le teine
 TNS is sad boy CONJ TNS is sick girl
 The boy is sad because the girl is sick

- 80) 'Ona sa gasegase le teine ua fa'anoanoa (*ai, *iai) le tama

This indicates that we have a rule of adverb movement operating here
(as suggested in Section I, sentences 3)-6)) rather than topicalization, and
that the adverb is not dominated by an NP.

F O O T N O T E S

¹ Fillmore, Charles J, 1968. "The Case for Case" in Universals in Linguistic Theory, edited by Bach and Harms.

² NP is the source of three semantically distinct NP's: locative [i] ("i le fale" ; "in the house"), time ("i le taeao": "in the morning"), and instrumental ("i le ma'a"; "with a rock"). It seems that no simplex sentence can have more than one NP from each of the above groups.

³ The following abbreviations will be used in the glosses:

"e" :	TNS	One of the tense markers; other tense markers will also be indicated by TNS
	AG	Agent case marker
"i" :	DAT	Dative case marker
	DIR	Directional case marker
"i" :	LOC	Locative case marker
	TIME	Time case marker
	INST	Instrumental case marker
"o" :	T	Topic marker
"le" :		I will not indicate a gloss for "le" in the text; it is a determiner indicating definite singular

⁴ AV can occur within ARG, but it then modifies the NP to its left:

Sa togi e le tama lelei le ma'a
The good boy threw the rock

⁵ This is probably too strong; it is likely that given a sufficient complex sentence, T would be somewhat limited with regard to which S's it can move an NP to the front of.

⁶ The variables X and Y in 17) can contain S. Evidence for this is that

- a) Ou te ofo ua mana'o Pili ia pa'ū le peni
 I TNS be surprised TNS want Bill TNS fall peni
 I am surprised that Bill wants the pen to fall

can be converted to

- b) Ou te ofo i le peni ua mana'o Pili ia pa'ū

If Raising had gone stepwise from a) to

- c) Ou te ofo ua mana'o Pili i le peni ia pa'ū

and then to b), then we would have needed "iai" after mana'o.
 (cf. footnote 8).

- d) Ou te ofo i le peni ua mana'o iai Pili ia pa'ū

d) is grammatical, but the "iai" is not required; "i le peni" could not have ever been the object of "mana'o" as it is in c). In other words, a) can be changed directly to b) without an intervening form like c). Thus NP Raising can cross S's.

⁷ "i" and "i" are realized as "iā" and "iā", respectively, before proper nouns.

⁸ If an NP dominated by NP is moved out of the ARG which contains it, the pronoun "iai" [i] must be left behind; if an NP dominated by NP is so moved, "ai" is left behind.
 [i]

⁹ Postal has stated (in Cross-Over Phenomena: A Study in the Grammar of Coreference, footnote 2 to Chapter 4):

"It is, as far as I know, an unexceptionable fact that whenever an NP in English is deleted, its preceding preposition, if any, also disappears. On the other hand, if the NP is moved, its preposition may be left behind. In other words, in English at least, prepositions may be stranded by transformations which reorder constituents but not by those which delete them ... One would like to know the degree of universality of the generalization concerning preposition stranding in English."

My data with Samoan prepositions is very scanty, but the case markers seem to be functioning as Postal suggests. Given the base

- a) Sa va'ai e le tama le teine
 TNS look at AG boy girl
 The boy looked at the girl

a derivation involving topicalization can proceed in three steps:

- b) COPYING: *O le tama sa va'ai e le tama le teine
 c) PRONOMINALIZATION: O le tama sa va'ai eia le teine
 d) PRONOUN DELETION: O le tama sa va'ai le teine

In c), an acceptable surface string, the case marker "e" and the pronoun "ia" are fused into one word, but

- e) *O le tama sa va'ai ia le teine

where the case marker has been deleted is ungrammatical. It seems likely that Pronoun Deletion should delete only "ia", leaving "e" behind.

- f) *O le tama sa va'ai e le teine

(Actually f) is grammatical but can only mean "The girl looked at the boy"). Thus it seems that when NP movement has occurred, the case marker remains until and unless Pronoun Deletion occurs. I would suggest that Postal's suggestion be extended to include prepositions, case markers, conjunctions, and perhaps a few other "similar" classes of words. Since English has no overt case markers (ignoring such distinctions as "he"- "him"), and since it does not allow splitting of conjuncts, and hence stranding of conjunctions, this extension of Postal's suggestion is obviously unnecessary for English considered alone, but this extension is more general, and therefore, more interesting, than Postal's more restricted potential universal.

¹⁰ That R is cyclic is shown in the following derivation:

BASE: [Ou te fa'anoanoa [[ia mana'o le tama]
 I TNS hope NP S TNS want boy NP
 [ia pa'u le peni]]]
 S TNS fall pen S NP S NP S
 I hope that the boy wants the pen to fall

CYCLE 1: R:

S [Ou te fa'anoanoa_s] NP S [[ia mana'o le tama 'i le peni_s]
[[ia pa'u_s]] NP] S NP] S

CYCLE 2: R:

S Ou te fa'anoanao i le peni NP S [[ia mana'o iai le
tama NPS [[ia pa'u] S NP S NP S]

SURFACE: Ou te fa'anoanoa i le peni ia mana'o iai le tama
 ia pa'u

The presence of "iai" in the surface string coreferential with "le peni" requires that at some point in the derivation "le peni" must have been in the simplex S "ia mana'o le tama..."; this is only possible if raising is cyclic.

¹¹ All of the succeeding arguments apply just as well if we are considering T as last-cyclic instead of post-cyclic. For ease of exposition I will mention only post-cyclicity in the text.

12 In this and subsequent derivations I will allow pronominalization and pronoun deletion to apply as necessary, without comment. This is not intended as a sleight of hand maneuver to trick the reader into thinking that all is well in these areas of Samoan syntax; as in English, Samoan pronominalization is a mind-blowing psychedelia. For purposes of this paper it is much simpler to skirt these problems as much as possible.

¹³ This is parallel to **"He and he met"* collapsing to *"They met"* in English.

14 This would be like the output Perlmutter proposes (in his thesis Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax; see, for example, page 149) to characterize as ungrammatical Spanish sentences like *"Cuando se tiene frío, se se enferma muy pronto"; "When one is cold, one gets sick pretty quick." More specifically, the syntax of Spanish should generate the sequence "...se se...", but no sentence is grammatical which contains such a sequence.

¹⁵ This is quite similar to the following set of English sentences:

It is certain that John will come
It is certain John will come
That John will come is certain
*John will come is certain.