Samoan grammar synopsis

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<u>Objective</u>: to give a skeletal outline of Samoan grammar, with a focus on phonology, morphology, and the lexicon. This synopsis is mostly a resource for our research projects, but interested linguists may find it useful as an index of the available literature. The principal source of information is: Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992), henceforth 'the grammar'. References to 'the dictionary' are to the main lexicographic source: Milner (1966)

<u>Acronyms</u>:
TLL= Tautala Lelei
TLG for Tautala Leaga

<u>Table of contents</u>:

1. Introduction

(1) Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992

- Focus is on tautala lelei variant of modern spoken and written Samoan
- Pretty extensive reference grammar, lots of citations to other works
- Data is based on following sources: previous work, modern literary texts, oral texts, letters from Samoan people, fieldwork; stayed with families, observed language directly
- Note: examples from written sources are copied verbatim, so they have spelling idiosyncrasies; examples from fieldwork, etc., are phonetically transcribed
- Morpheme boundaries, marked with '=', are only given for productive affixes and compounds

(2) Other works of significance:

- Pratt's (1893/1911), grammar and dictionary, record of the language over 100 years ago
- Violette's (1879) extensive dictionary
- Spencer Churchward's A Samoan Grammar 1951, first comprehensive grammar (not to be confused with the other Polynesian linguist with the same surname)
- Pawley (1966b): first extensive study of the morpho-syntax
- Chung (1978): for background on Polynesian syntax
- Ochs 1982, 1986, 1988 on child language in Samoan

(3) Some linguistic background

- Classification: Austronesian, Oceanic, Polynesian, Nuclear Polynesian, Samoic Outlier
- Approximately 160K speakers in Western Samoa, many more in American Samoa and New Zealand
- Variation based on geography is very small; this account is based on Samoan spoken in Western Samoan
- Two different sociolinguistic levels: *tautala lelei* (literary language, e.g., spoken at church) and *tautala leaga* (colloquial); main difference is three mergers in the colloquial language, but there are also morphological and syntactic differences; though the context for use of tautalo lelei is quite limited, it is considered the language of 'people of good breeding', and leaga is viewed as vulgur; leaga is much more variable because it doesn't have a written tradition.

2. Phonology

Goal: document the basic sounds, allophonic rules, natural phonological rules, morphophonemic rules, phonetic details of sounds, syllabification, stress patterns, historical phonology, anything else of interest to sound structure, e.g., loanword phonology

2.1 Consonants

(4) Consonant phonemes - Tautala Lelei only in parentheses

Labial	Coronal	Dorsal	Glottal
p m f v	t n s l (r)	(k) ŋ	ʔ (h)

N.b.: /k/, /h/ and /r/ are only found in loans, and all parenthesized Cs typically only occur as part of TLL.

Observations (allophonic and phonetic details):

Oral Stops
- /p/, /t/, /k/
  - are occasionally voiced intervocalically in fast speech.
  - weakly aspirated under emphasis and before or after V́ and utterance
  initially -- more common in young people and children

- /t/
  - is most often lamino-alveolar, but may also be apico-dental, apico-alveolar
    or lamino-dental.
  - before /i/ close to lamino-prepalatal or an increasingly common
  affricated allophone [t͡s], especially among women and children. This shows similarities to other Polynesian languages (eg. Tongan, Niuean)

- /k/
  - → dorso-palatal [c] /__í or / í__ or / __{e, i} #   eg. /keke/ "cake" [ké:ce]
  - mainly restricted to loanwords, eg. /kirikiti/ "cricket", /kalapu/ "club"
  - used in some interjections, eg. /okaoka/ (indicating surprise)
  - used in some borrowings from Tautala Leaga, eg. /oka/ "raw fish"
  - PPN *k > /ʔ/ in Samoan

- /ʔ/
  - written as ‘ in orthography: *ma'i* "be sick"
  - can be realized as creaky voice intervocalically
  - is often dropped between identical vowels in fast speech

-   is very unstable in initial position except in very careful speech. Perhaps dephonemization due to the fact any word initial vowel may get a prothetic [ʔ] under emphasis or in phrase initial position

Nasals
- /n/
  -   lamino-alveolar, although lamino-dental or apico-alveolar may occasionally be heard

- /ŋ/
  -   written as *g* in orthography: *loga* "to hiccup"
  -   dorso-palatal [ɲ] or dorso-velar [ŋ], former variant most common in Tautala Lelei

Fricatives
- /f/
  -   can sometimes be pronounced as bilabial [ɸ] or glottal [h]. PPN *f > [h] is a common development in many Nuclear Polynesian languages (cf. HAW)
  -   one of the last distinctions to be made by children is /f/ and /p/. Many adults mix up these two phonemes, saying [f] for /p/ and [p] for /f/

- /v/
  -   does not occur before /u/ and very seldomly /o/ in native words

- /s/
  -   lamino-alveolar usually
  -   can be → [t͡s] / utterance initially or / before or after emphasized V
  -   sometimes in fast speech → [ʃ] / __i

- /h/
  -   occurs only word-initially in loanwords, eg. /haikomisi/ "high commission"
  -   some emphatic use of /h/ word-initially when addressing domestic animals
  -   PPN *h > Ø in Samoan

Approximants
- /l/
  -   lamino-alveolar or apico-alveolar.

- /r/
  -   realized as [ɹ], only found in loanwords
  -   Often realized even in formal speech as /l/
  -   PPN *r & *l > /l/ in Samoan

(5) Tautala Leaga
- 3 phoneme mergers:
  /t/ & /k/ > /k/
  /n/ & /ŋ/ > /ŋ/
  /r/ & /l/ > /l/

- stronger tendancy to drop /ʔ/ in word initial position (no systematic study of this phenomenon)

- /l/ is frequently realized as [ɹ], [ɾ] or [l]

(6) Consonantal co-occurrence phonotactics (p. 24-25 of grammar)
- Some restrictions with /n/ and /ŋ/ may be due to their relatively low frequency in the language: /n V l V/ only attested in one loanword /nila/ "needle"; /ŋ V mV/ and /ŋ V v V/ never occur in TLL, but very common in TLG
- /v/ has a very low frequency
- Labial consonant restriction in consecutive syllables: within a single morpheme, no labial consonant may co-occur with a different labial consonant.
  - */f V p V/ & */v V p V/ never occur
  - /f V m V/, /p V m V/, /v V m V/, /p V f V/, /m V v V/ & /f V v V/ only occur
  across morpheme boundaries, or recent loanwords
  - sequences with identical consonants are found for all consonants
  - But: /{m, p} f/ and /p v/ do occur, contrary to the general pattern

2.2 Vowels
(7) Vowel phonemes

        i   u
      e   o
        a

Observations (phonetic details and allophonic patterns, p. 25 ff.):
- All vowels have short and long counterparts, which are for the most part identical phonetically, with the exception of the long /o:/ and /e:/, which have a gliding towards a slightly higher vowel.
- /i/ very close to cardinal V1; unstressed word-initial, it tends to become a semi-vowel; between two vowels it is pronounced /ij/, e.g., /va:isao/ 'weak', [va:.i.já.so]
- /e/ is very close to cardinal V2; tends to be very short or realized as schwa in non-word final unstressed position
- /a/ is open and central; more central in unstressed syllables
- /u/ very close to cardinal V8; tends to become semivowel /w/ when unstressed
- /o/ is very close to cardinal V7; tends to be more closed in word final position

(8) Phonetic length categories (see p. 27-28 of the grammar)

    a. Extra short: monomoraic vowels that are reduced, perhaps because of a general unstressed non-final reduction rule, or by a rule that targets nonlexical vowels

    b. Short vowels: monomoraic vowels that get no special phonetic lengthening

    c. Normal vowels: stressed monomoraic vowels that are phonetically lengthened, or non-final bimoraic vowels (or non-main stressed long vowels, since all bimoraic vowels are stressed), which are either not lengthened as much as final stressed long vowels, which get the most prominent stress, or are lengthened because they are stressed, but are then reduced because they are before the penult.

    d. Long vowels: stressed long vowels, typically in final position; they are lengthened by both a final lengthening and a stressed syllable lengthening process. Also two identical monomoraic or bimoraic vowels that have coalesced across a morpheme boundary and are not stressed (see also p. 33 of the grammar).

    e. Extra-long vowels: two identical monomoraic or bimoraic vowels that have coalesced across a morpheme or word boundary and are stressed (see also p. 33 of the grammar).

Issue: there is a basic phonemic distinction between short and long vowels, which we assume is a distinction between mono- and bimoraic vowels. There are five degrees of phonetic quantity, however, so there are a set of phonetic, and possibly gradient, rules that map these phonological structures onto phonetic structures.

Rules: there seems to be four phonetic rules of vowel length: gradient lengthening in stressed syllables and in final syllables, a weakening process for 'nonlexical vowels', i.e., vowels inserted by reduplication or in certain weak grammatical morphemes, finally there is a process of shortening antepenultimate and pre-antepenultimate syllables, perhaps in conjunction with reduction

A residual issue: the description of many kinds of phonological and morpho-phonological phenomena seem to distinguish between two short vowels and a single long vowel (e.g., stress, reduplication), but, at the same time, some of the phenomena seem to also be consistent with the assumption that both are bimoraic singleton, so there is an analytical problem that has to be sorted out before these problems can be solved, namely, is it possible to equate two shorts and a single long vowel in mora count?

(9) Vowel processes

    ▪ Vowel Elision (see pg. 32 of the grammar)
      V[short] → Ø / __# #V or / __ = V
      - Sentence-final short vowels can be voiceless and silent in fast colloquial   speech, which causes a usually unacceptable word/syllable final consonant.
            - silent, voiceless /i/ and /u/ still cause palatalization and
              labialization of preceding consonant.
      - in fast speech, particles of form CVV → CV, eg. /loa/ > [lo]

- occurs in no specific phonological context but perhaps due to fact CV is a common form for free grammatical morphemes, but unacceptable for lexical morphemes

- ▪ <u>Vowel Contraction</u> (see pg. 33 of the grammar)
  $V_i = V_i$ or $V_i##V_i \rightarrow V_i$: or $\acute{V}_i$:: (when stressed), see 'extralong vowels' (8)
  - this rule is in conflict with Vowel Elision when both vowels are short
    eg. /opo=opo/ > [opópo] (elision) or [opó::po] (contraction)
  - tendency to prefer variant with Vowel Elision.

- ▪ <u>Vowel Reduction</u> (see pg. 34 of the grammar)
  - Syllables formed by partial reduplication have a special phonetic status
    - vowel is extra short (8a), and often dropped entirely in fast speech. This results in long consonants which are then usually shortened.
      eg. [nŏnófo] > [n:ófo] > [nófo]
    Thus the reduplicated forms & original forms can have the same phonetic realization: /nofo/ & /nonofo/ > [nófo]
  - in colloquial speech rule is extended to non-reduplicated forms: short vowel between identical consonants in non penult. syllable
    eg. /tuafafine/ > [tuaf:íne] or [tuafíne]

2.3 Prosody

(10) Syllable template: $(C)V_1(V_2)$
- ▪ VV sequences may be two identical vowels, or a possible diphthong
- ▪ possible diphthongs are either falling sonority sequences in which V2 is a high vowel, i.e., /ei, eu, ai, au, ou, oi/, or rarely /ui/; the tautosyllabic analysis is motivated by stress facts because a diphthong in the penultimate syllable attracts stress by default (though in limited contexts there is strict penultimate mora stress), e.g., [téine], *[teíne]; note, however, that individual phonemes are monomoraic between morpheme boundaries, eg. /fe=ita/ > [feíta], *[féita]
- ▪ The grammar and dictionary do distinguish between two identical short vowels and a single long vowel; the evidence seems to be different phonetic lengths and some marginal stress patterns with a penultimate VV, where the second is stressed.
- ▪ All other VV sequences are possible, but they are heterosyllabic
- ▪ No restrictions on sequences of long vowels, eg. /ma:lo:lo:/, when suffix *=ga* is attached to polysyllabic lexical morphemes with final long vowel, the final long vowel is shortened, perhaps to avoid stressed long vowel in penult syllable, eg. [ma:lo:lóŋa]
- ▪ phrase final short vowels may be dropped in fast colloquial speech resulting in syllable-final consonant (see p. 32)
- ▪ appears both monomoraic and bimoraic syllables are allowed

(11) Stress (see pg. 28 - 29 of the grammar)
- Stress falls on the final syllable if it contains a VV sequence (i.e., a long vowel or diphthong), otherwise on the penultimate syllable.
- There is no explicit reference to secondary stress; this could be due to either its absence, consistent with the patterns of Vowel Reduction described below, or because Samoan tends not to have very long words
- In compound words, the initial and final words retain their stresses but the stress on the last word is the strongest while the first word is reduced to secondary stress, and any middle words are stressless (see pg. 37 of the grammar)
- antepenultimate syllables are, with very few exceptions (p. 28), not stressed and can be extra short (mainly in reduplicated syllables) or short, or normal with a long vowel
  - there is tendency in TLG to pronounce all vowels in syllables preceding penult as short, and long vowels before penult are rare.
  - similar tendency in TLG and partly in TLL of shortening long vowels before stressed word final long vowel, eg. /ma:lo:/ > [maló:]

(12) Prosody above the word (grammar, p. 36 ff.)
- 'accent', or phrase-level tonal prominence (p. 37)
  - In normal spoken Samoan it seems to be the rule that there is one accented syllable in each phrase, and for each accented syllable there is a corresponding phrase.
  - particles of CV or V can never receive accent
  - particles of (C)V(C)V can receive accent in careful speech.
  - any disyllabic word, grammatical or lexical, can receive accent sporadically in normal speech before pauses, when hesitating, or under emphasis according to individual and stylistic variation
  - rules for accent assignment on the phrase and sentential level:
    a. The last phrase of an utterance is obligatorily accented and the first phrase of an utterance is normally accented.
    b. Accent occurs on the last lexical morpheme in a phrase
    c. Normally only one accented syllable per phrase but any stem or stressable particle can be accented when emphasized
    d. Any sequence of two phrases which are coordinate or where the second is subordinate to or modifying the preceding phrase can be treated as one phrase having only one accent (see pg. 39-40 of the grammar for examples)
- Intonation
  - Intonation is intimately linked to accent pattern of an utterance.
  - In declarative sentences the tone level of an utterance decreases over time, with a small raising every accented syllable, finishing off with a larger tone raising on the obligatory penultimate syllable.
  - In interrogative sentences the pattern is the same except there is no final obligatorily accented phrase, moving the accent in the final phrase back as far as possible or dropping it altogether

2.4 Historical phonology and miscellany

(13) Samoan orthography
- the diacritics marking long vowels (macrons) and glottal stops (') are not generally used in Samoan orthography, except when absolutely essential to clarify or disambiguate a word in context. Thus many homographs - see the dictionary for systematic use of diacritics
- Word division (see pg 45 - 47 of the grammar)
  - Main principle is that morphemes are written as separate words except:
        1. reduplicated syllables
        2. bound grammatical morphemes, eg. *=ga*, *fe=*
        3. the combination of ART and POSS, eg. *lo*
        4. ART + demonstratives, eg. *lenei*
  - some inconsistencies in the spelling

(14) Sketch of the historical phonology
- Classification: Austronesian, Oceanic, Polynesian, Nuclear Polynesian, Samoic Outlier
- Justification: Samoan is a member of Nuclear Polynesian because it has a set of shared phonological (Elbert 1953) and morphological (Pawley 1966a) innovations that excludes Tongic (i.e., Tongan and Niuean); Samoan is considered part of Samoic Outlier, coordinate with Eastern Polynesian, because it has a set of morphological and morphophonemic features that are exclusive of Tongic and Eastern Polynesian (Pawley 1966a)
- Sound changes from PPN (from Elbert 1951): *k > ʔ, * ʔ > 0, *h > 0, *l/r > l/l

(15) Sources on Proto-Polynesian and Proto-Austronesian
- Blust (2009). The Austronesian Languages. See also electronic file available from the author.
- B Biggs, DS Walsh, J Waqa - Working Papers in Linguistics, 1970. Proto-Polynesian reconstructions with English to Proto-Polynesian finder list; interim listing January 1970 (= Working Papers in Linguistics)
- Dyen, Isadora. 1965. IJAL 31.1 Memoire on proto-austronesian. We have it in the library: PL 5041.
- Dempwolff 1930. Contains an extensive stem list for proto-Austronesian. Historically important, but in German.

(16) Phonology of loanwords
- The grammar devotes no space to a description of loanword phonology due to a lack of a systematic system of borrowing (which results from a history of borrowings from different missionary groups with different systems as well as natural borrowings that didn't necessarily follow the missionaries' systems.)
- Note however that the dictionary does list many loans and conjectured source languages, so it can be coded in a lexical database.

3. Word classes

Goal: get a basic sense of the possible morphological structures, and what categories are marked. Give an analysis of word classes and the subcategories within them.

3.1 Morphological units

(17) Morphological categories and other units

a. Word
- morphosyntactically independent morphemes, including all non-bound members of lexical categories, functional categories and proforms

b. Compound
- well-attested in Samoan. Behave like a single word with respects to derivation, although orthographically may sometimes be found as separate words, with a lot of individual variation. There is also a difficulty in making distinction between sequences of lexical morphemes in a compound, and the syntactic construction of nucleus + modifier

c. Clitic (particle)
- morphosyntactically bound morpheme, including all bound members of lexical categories, functional categories and proforms

d. Phrase
- single morphosyntactic unit made up of several morphemes. So far no idiomatic/formulaic expressions have been described in the grammar

e. Stem/Root

f. Affix
- Affixes are predominantly prefixes and also suffixes, but only few are productive.
See section 4.

3.2 Lexical and functional categories

(18) Lexical Categories
- The following lexical categories are determined completely by syntactic environment, with semantic correlation of words to specific categories being far from predictable. However, some affixes overtly indicate the membership of the word to a specific lexical category.

a. Noun
- Nouns are words that appear as the nucleus of a Noun Phrase (see section 5).
eg. *E   alofa le   <u>tama</u> i   le   <u>teine</u>*
GENR love ART boy   LD ART girl
VP----------- NP--------- NP-------------
The boy loves the girl
- The nominalizing suffix *=ga* generally indicates a Noun, i.e. that may only appear as the nucleus in NPs, although there are some *=ga* derived words that also occur as the nucleus of VPs.

b. Verb
- Verbs are words that appear as the nucleus of a Verb Phrase (see section ())
eg. *...sa <u>teine</u> l=o=na   tina*
PAST girl   ART=POSS=3.sg. mother
VP---------- NP-------------------------
...[once] his mother had been a girl...
- The ornative suffix *=a*, and the ergative suffixes (ES) indicate a Verb, i.e. that may only appear as the nucleus in VPs

c. Adjective
- There is a specific syntactic construction that is used almost exclusively in attributive function in NPs. These are the constructions made of causative prefix *fa'a=* + N or NP (see p. 119 of the grammar). However, a separate class of adjectives may be unnecessary due to the small number of these constructions.
eg. *'o   le   li:poti <u>fa'a=le=tausaga</u>*
PRES ART report CAUS=ART=year
an annual report

(19) Functional Categories
These categories constitute closed morpheme classes.

a. Articles
- See paradigm on p. 149 of the grammar for complete list of articles. Articles mark number, specificity and diminutive, and occur as free or bound morphemes, the latter in combination with possessive prepositions in possessive constructions.
eg. *'O   <u>l</u>=o='u   se'evae*
PRES ART(sp. sg.)=POSS=1.sg. shoe
It is my shoe

b. Prepositions
- See p. 143 for complete list of prepositions. Prepositions occur before all other prenuclear modifiers in a NP and indicate the case of the following noun.
eg. *Sa: nonofo   <u>i</u>   Papa*
PAST live(pl)   Locative Determiner   Papa
VP-------------   NP--------------------------
They lived in Papa.

c. TAM particles
- See p. 140 for complete list of TAM particles. Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) particles come before the Verb in VPs or before NPs in SVPs (see section ()). Many of the TAM particles exhibit allomorphic variation.

eg. *'Ua   alu   le   fafine*
    PERF (TAM) go   ART   woman
    VP----------------- NP-------------
    The woman has gone

d. Conjunctions & Complementizers
- see p. 151-152 for complete list of conjunctions (coordinating, subordinating and conditional).

eg. *E   fiu   le   teine i   fa'atali*
    GENR   tired ART girl   CONJ   wait
    The girl is tired of waiting

e. Adverbs & Emphatics
-see p. 142 for a list of prenuclear adverbs and negative particles and p. 151 for a list of postnuclear adverbs and emphatic particles. Adverbs occur before and after the Verb in VPs, and some emphatic particles also occur in NPs.

eg.   *E   fiafia tele   le   teine*
    GENR happy very ART girl
    The girl is very happy

f. Directional particles (DIR)
- see p. 150 for a list. Modify verbs and local nouns, coming directly after the nucleus.

eg. *i   fafo   atu   o   Sa:moa*
   LD outside DIR POSS Samoa
    outside Samoa

3.3 Proforms

(20) Proforms
- Closed morpheme class that substitute words or phrases (mainly nouns). Some proforms have bound allomorphs

a. Personal
- Can be subclassified into independent, preverbal and possessive. Are marked for person and number (including singular, dual and plural), and, for 1st person, also emotionality (indicating self-abasement, humility, or an appeal for help) and inclusivity/exclusivity.

i. independent
- see paradigm on p. 121. Function as the nucleus of an NP.
eg. *'Ua   alu   <u>a'u</u>   i   Apia*
   PERF go   1.sg. LD Apia
I went to Apia

ii. preverbal
- see paradigm on pg. 122. Form prenuclear constituents in VPs, coming after the TAM particle. However, they occur before the TAM particle *e* (GENR), in which case the allomorphic variant *te* (GENR) is used. 1st and 2nd person forms have allomorphs.
eg. <u>*'Ou*</u>   *te*   *nofo i   Apia*
   1.sg. GENR stay   LD   Apia
   I live in Apia

iii. possessive
- see paradigm on p. 124. Function as the nucleus of a possessive SVP (paradigm p. 125) or as prenuclear attributes in NPs (paradigm p. 127-128). Bound variants are found only after possessive prepositions.
eg. *E   a   <u>ma:tou</u>   ta'avale*
   GENR POSS 1.exc.pl.   car
   Our car (SVP)
eg. *'O   l=a=<u>na</u>   ta'avale*
   PRES   ART=POSS=3.sg. car
   His/her car (NP)

b. Deictic
- Can be subclassified into demonstratives, anaphors, deictic local nouns, temporal nouns and deictic verbs (see p. 131 - 135). Generally occur in the same syntactic environment as the word they are substituting. Demonstratives occur before or after the nucleus of a NP.
eg. *Ioane, e   leai   se   mea   <u>fa'a=pe=na</u>*
   Ioane GENR not exist ART(nsp.sg)   thing CAUS=like=that
   Ioane, there is not anything like that (deictic verb use)

c. Interrogative
- See table on p. 136 for list. According to distributional criteria, interrogative proforms do not constitute a class but belong to various different word classes. Appear in situ according to their respective word class' morphosyntactic environment.
eg. *'O   <u>ai</u>   l=o=u   atunu'u?*
   PRES who ART=POSS=2.sg. country
    What is your country?

3.5 Subcategories of nouns and verbs

(21) Subcategories for nouns

    i. Common individual noun
- Combined with articles, denote single entities. Along with collective nouns, can be subclassified into human/nonhuman and animate/inanimate. Human nouns cause numerals to take the prefix *to'a=*, while non-human nouns cannot be pronominalized by 3rd Person pronouns. The plural forms of some verbs (eg. *o:* "go, pl.") can only be used with animate nouns.

    eg. *'Ua   o: <u>tagata</u>*
        PERF go(pl.)   person (sp.pl)
        The people went

    ii. Common collective nouns
- Combined with articles, denote a group of people or animals which form a unit. Mainly combine with singular article, but verb shows plural form. Some words, like *uo:* "friend", can be both collective and individual.

    eg. *'Ua   momoe   uma le   <u>aiga</u>*
        PERF sleep(pl) all   ART family
        The whole family was asleep

    iii. Local nouns
- Closed class denoting spatial dimensions of objects and directions (see p. 94 for list). Frequently occur in locative-directional case marked by *i*. Occur in a number of typical Noun environments: see p. 95 for syntactic distribution.

    eg. *E   fagogota   i   <u>tua'au</u>   i   o   latou va'a=afi*
        GENR go fishing(pl) LD beyond the reef LD POSS 3pl   boat=fire
        They go fishing beyond the reef with their motor boats

    iv. Proper nouns
- Persons, places, months, weekdays. Except weekdays, not normally combined with any article; marked by prep *'o* when functioning as an apposition. Proper names of persons take allomorph *ia:* of LD prep *i*. Place names can function as attributes.

    eg. *Alu ia: <u>Mareko</u>*
        go   LD   Mark
        Go to Mark.

    v. Nouns of address
- Attract the attention of the person spoken to (see p. 99). Found mainly in TLG. Not combined with any particle, and can either form an utterance by itself or introduce utterances.

    eg. *<u>Funa</u>=e   'o   ai   'oe?*
        woman=VOC PRES who 2.sg
        Woman, who are you?

(22) Subcategories for verbs
   -Verbs form the following classes according to valency (table from p. 102):

name of the verb class	possible combinations of arguments	example
I.		
Ergative verbs	ABS/ ERG ABS	'ave "carry" (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.9.2.)
Presentive-ergative verbs	ABS PRES/ABS LD/ ERG ABS PRES/ ERG ABS PRES	fa'a=igoa "call" (cf. Ch.4.2.1.9.7.)
ABS-ERG/LD verbs	ABS ERG/ABS LD	si'omia "been closed by" (cf.Ch.4.2.1.9.6.)
II.		
Non-ergative verbs	ABS[25]	alu "go" (cf. Ch.4.2.1.9.3.)
Meteorological verbal	no argument/ABS	timu "rain" (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.9.4.)
Labile verbs	ERG ABS/ ABS LD/ABS	'ai "eat" (cf. Ch.4.2.1.9.5.)
Presentive-non-ergative verbs	ABS PRES/ABS LD	igoa "be called"(cf. Ch.4.2.1.9.7.)
Predicative verbs	ABS PRED	'avea "become"(cf. Ch.4.2.1.9.8.)
Ablative verbs	ABS ABL	aunoa "be without" (cf. Ch.4.2.1.9.9.)
The existential verbs iai/leai	ABS	(cf. Ch.4.2.1.9.10)

i. Ergative verbs
   - can be basic or derived, eg. from causative prefix *fa'a*, ergative suffixes (see p. 104), etc.
   Argument expressing actor is marked by *e*, and is optional and often omitted.
   eg. *'Ua   maua e   le   leoleo   le   gaoi*
        PERF catch ERG ART policeman ART thief
         the policeman has caught the thief

ii. Presentative verbs
   -limited to small number of verbs expressing the action of naming or   addressing, requiring a presentative NP (or some also taking LD NPs).
   eg. *E   fa'alagi Seu 'o   le   ali'i*
        GENR   address Seu PRES ART ali'i
        Seu is addressed as the *ali'i*

iii. ABS - ERG/LD verbs
   - require not only an ABS argument but an ERG or LD as well.
   eg. *'Ua   ufi=tia   le   lagi i   ao*
        PERF   cover=ES ART sky LD cloud
        The sky is covered by clouds

iv. Non-ergative verbs
   - Express actions, processes, qualities, states, or a mix. Also includes mental activities and acts of communication. When the addressee of communication, the goal towards which a mental activity is directed or the cause of an emotion or feeling is expressed, it is denoted by a LD NP. The dropping of the absolutive argument is acceptable if context sufficiently supplies enough information to determine the participant.
   eg. *Sa: 'ou   ita   'i   l=o='u   uso*
        PAST 1sg. angry LD ART=POSS=1sg. brother
        I was angry with my brother

v. Meterological verbs
   - Can form independent clauses without any arguments.
   eg. *'Ua   timu*
        PAST   rain

vi. Labile verbs
- Can behave like ergative or non-ergative verbs. VP[labile] + ABS is ambiguous, as it could be an ERG VP without an actor or a non-ERG VP with subject.
eg. *Sa:* <u>*'ai*</u> *(e)* *le* *teine* *(le* *i'a)*
 PAST eat ERG ART girl ART fish
 The girl ate (the fish)

vii. Predicative verbs
- Two verbs, *'avea* (become) and *fai* (used as, used for, turn into) combine obligatorily with predicative NP introduced by *ma*.
eg. *'Ua* *amata* *ona* <u>*ave=a*</u> *au* *ma* *tagata* *matua*
 PERF start CONJ take=ES 1.sg. PRED person adult
 I was becoming an adult

viii. Ablative verbs
- express separation, avoidance or lacking and are combined with ablative NP introduced by *ma* or *mai*.
eg. *...a* *ua* <u>*augapiu*</u> *oe* *ma=se* *alofa*
 but PERF entirely devoid of 2.sg. ABL=ART(nsp.sg.) love
 ...but you are entirely devoid of love.

ix. Existential verbs
- *iai* (exist), and *leai* (not exist). Cannot be negated by a negative particle, and must not be followed by the anaphoric pronoun *ai*.
eg. *Sa* <u>*iai*</u> *le* *ulugalii* *i* *Tutuila*
 PAST exist ART couple LD Tutuila
 There was a couple who lived in Tutuila

x. Numerals
- Unlike other verbs, cannot occur as attributes except in special constructions (see p. 88). Occur as cardinal numbers, distributive numerals (derived by prefix *ta'i*), and frequentative numerals (derived by CAUS prefix *fa'a*), but no distinct ordinal numeral class.
eg. *E* *tolu* *tusi* *na* *maua*
 GENR three letter (sp.pl) PAST get
 (She/he) got three letters

(23) Other word classes
- Interjections: Syntactically isolated words. See list on p. 163.
- Sentential modifiers: particles that modify sentences and clauses. See list on p. 155-160

4. Morphology

Goal: provide a skeletal sketch of the morphology, including the range of morphological processes found in the language, the major inflectional and derivational categories referred to by the morphology, a morphological frame for nouns and verbs, and explicit discussion of reduplication

4.1 Preliminaries

(24) Inflectional/Derivational Categories

- Samoan morphology is mainly derivational; there are no inflectional paradigms in the traditional sense as it expresses grammatical functions like tense, aspect, mood, negation, case etc., through particles and prepositions (see below). Samoan does not mark for gender/noun class.

- Some affixes (mainly prefixes) cannot be combined with partial reduplication

- The main derivational categories referred to by morphology are: causative; plurality of subject, events or patients; frequentative; reciprocal; ornative; ergativizing and de-ergativizing; nominalization and verbalization.

- Most grammatical functions are expressed by a number of various affixes or morphological processes. eg., ergativization occurs through:

  1. prefix *fa'a*

  2. prefix *ta=*

  3. suffix *=(C)i*

  4. partial reduplication

  5. suffix *=ina*

  6. suffix *=(C)ia*

(25) Particles and prepositions

-TAM particles (p. 140):

e, te	general (GENR)	'olo'ua	progressive-perfect (PROG-PERF)
'ia	subjunctive (SUBJ)		
na	past perfective (PAST)	sā	past imperfect (PAST)
ne'i	negative subjunctive (NEG.SUBJ)	se'i	optative (OPT)
		se'ia	until
'ole'ā, 'ā	future (FUT)	'olo'o, 'o	progressive (PROG)
		'ua	perfect (PERF)

- Case Marking Prepositions (p. 143):

a	possessive	ma	comitative.
ai	locative	ma	predicative
'ai	ablative	mai	ablative
e	ergative	mo	benefactive
i	locative-directional	nai	ablative
ia	absolutive	o	possessive
ma	ablative	'o	presentative
ma	benefactive	tau	"concerning"

(26) Problems of interest in Samoan morphology

- The "many marks" and "many functions" problem: particular morphemes can be used to mark more than one derivational category, and a particular morphological process or morpheme can be 'recycled' in many different contexts

- Plurality of verbs is an interesting case, as it is not universally marked and is expressed through various processes for different words (or sometimes for the same word). Plurality can be referring to subject-verb agreement for number, patient-verb agreement for number, or a plurality of events, which is not often labeled clearly in the grammar.

- Difficulty in ascertaining whether plurality is inflectional or derivational. Sometimes the addition of plural morphemes changes the meaning of the word (derivational characteristic) and sometimes it is completely regular (inflectional characteristic). Some nouns are also marked for plurality, but again, more analysis is needed of which words, how, and why they are marked. For example, plurality of verbs is expressed through:
  1. partial reduplication
  2. full reduplication
  3. prefix *fe=*
  4. prefix *ta=*
  5. suppletion
  6. suffix *=(C)i*

4.2 Morphological processes

(27) Morphological processes:

- Affixation (prefixation and suffixation), reduplication, vowel lengthening and compounding.

a. Prefixation p. 173 - 191
   Prefix template, p. 173

NON-RELIC PREFIXES IN SAMOAN			
(')ā=	future	ma=	de-ergative
ana=	past	mā=	de-ergative
au=	lacking something	ta=	plurality of patients
au=	continous/repeated activity	ta=	verbal derivation
fa'a=	causative	tā=	verbal derivation
fe=	plurality of events	ta'i=	distributive
ma=	able to	tau=	typically related to[7]
		to'a=	human

   - Common productive prefixes:
   fa'a= (CAUS) (p. 175-9)
   a. *fa'a=leaga* 'destroy' (erg.) < *leaga* 'bad' (non-erg.)
      b. *fa'a=ma:sima* 'salt' (erg.) < *ma:sima* 'salt' (n.)

   fe= (plurality of events, sequence of identical events, reciprocal) (p. 180-3)
      c. *fe=a'a* (erg.v.pl "kick") < *a'a* 'kick' (erg.)
      - Is most often combined with suffix *=(C)a'i*

d. *fe=fi:nau=a'i* 'quarrel with one another' (non-erg.) < *fi:nau* 'argue, quarrel' (non-erg.)

tau= ("typically related to") (p. 190)

    e. *tau=fanua* 'commoner, owner of land' (n.) < *fanua* 'land' (n.)

- Common but unproductive:

ma= (DEERG) (184-5)

    f. *ma=fa'i* 'broken' (non-erg.) < *fa'i* 'break off, pull out' (erg.v)

b. Suffixation p. 192-208

- Some suffixes have a thematic consonant (see p. 209 - 216 for list of words with thematic consonants), which appears to be a remnant of earlier-stage word-final consonants which were lost.

-Note that the reanalysis of a stem-final consonant as the first part of one of many lexically chosen suffixes is a classic problem in both generative and Austonesian linguistics; see Hale's paper on Maori, clear description of the same facts in Dixon's grammar of Boumaa Fijian, even Hayes' 2009 problem set on Samoan.

- Common productive suffixes:

=e (Vocative) (written as separate word) (p. 193)

    a. *Funa =e, sau!* 'Woman, come!'

=a, *=ina* (Ergativising) (p. 200-3)

    b. *asa=ina* and *asa=a* 'wade through, make way through' (erg.) < *asa* id. (non-erg.)

=a (ornative) (p. 204)

    c. *lo:i=a* 'overrun with ants' < *loi* 'ant'

- Common but unproductive:

=(C)ia (Ergativising) (199-200)

    d. *au=lia* 'reach' (erg.) < *au* 'flow on, continue, reach' (non-erg.)

=(C)aga and *=ga* (Nominalising) (p. 194-6)

    e. *fusu='aga* 'boxing match' (n.) < *fusu* 'box' (non-erg.)

    f. *tali=ga* 'feeding' (n.) < *tali* 'fill one's belly' (v.)

=(C)a'i (intensifier of meaning) (p. 207-208)

    g. *a'o=a'i* 'reprove, admonish' (v.) < *a'o* 'teach, learn' (erg.)

c. Vowel Lengthening p. 237-9

- not very common, but can express plurality of nouns and verbs. Is also present as an accompanying feature of reduplication and suffixation, and has a ligative function with morpheme final -*a*, or in *=ga* compounds. The 1st and last syllables of a word may be lengthened to indicate emphasis.

eg. *va:'ai* pl. of *va'ai* 'look at' (lab.v)

d. Compounding p. 240-50
Three types:

    i. The different lexical morphemes are linked by a ligative morpheme
       - see p. 197- 198 for a description of the only productive ligative construction in
       modern Samoan, =*ga*, which derives verbal nouns. Other relic ligative morphemes are
       listed on p. 241
       eg. *mu:=ga:=la:* 'burning of the sun'
          burn=NR(nominalizer)+LIG=sun

    ii. One or both of the lexical morphemes are bound lexical morphemes
       - Can be prefixed or suffixed. See p. 241-4 for list of prefixed bound lexical morphemes,
       and p. 244-6 for a list of suffixed bound lexical morphemes.
       eg. <u>*matua:*</u>*=manu* 'old (and wily) pigeon' ('old and/or fat'='bird, animal')
          niu=<u>*tea*</u> 'white coconut' ('coconut'='white variety')
       - Food classifiers are bound lexical morphemes which are mainly used in connection
       with numerals referring to items of food. Becoming obsolete, as are a remnant of the
       traditional Samoan way of life.   see p. 246 - 250 for list + examples. In general, if a
       classifier is prefixed, number represents tens and hundreds; if suffixed, numbers
       represents 1-9.
       eg. <u>*afi*</u>*=lua* 'twenty bundles of fish' (classifier of packages of small fish='two')

    iii. The compound's meaning is not immediately derivable from the meaning of its
components.
       - not dealt with in the grammar

(28) Reduplication types

'Full' reduplication	Partial reduplication
-involves a copying of two syllables (cf. normal use of this term), which syllables not completely determined -tends to convey frequentative or continuing actions -clearly productive, applies to loans - attested with all affixes except *=(C)ia*	-involves copying the penultimate syllable (i.e., stressed syllable) -most common in marking plurals -not as productive as full reduplication, and many morphological restrictions - seldom combined with prefixes other than *fa'a=*, and suffixes other than *=ina* and *=a*

Observations:
- While these two types tend to have different functions, there is some overlap in the meanings that they convey

- Partial reduplication seems to be limited to roots, and not apply across morpheme boundaries, but there are some exceptions

- There are some morphological restrictions, e.g., partial reduplication seldom used in words with prefixes, except the causative prefix /faʔa-/

- Both types may correlate with either lengthening of the copied syllable (or the syllable it was copied from, since this is not clear from the analysis), or a syllable prior to the copied syllable.

(29) Description and exemplification: partial reduplication

a. atamai → atamamai 'clever', (pl, non-erg)'

b. 'emo → 'e'emo 'blink (pl, non-erg)'

c. ola → null

d. taa → tataa 'hit, strike (pl, erg)'

e. naamu → nanamu 'smell of (non-erg, pl?)

f. alofa → aalolofa 'love (non-erg., pl)

Observations:

- The principle semantic category marked by partial reduplication is plurality in verbs (I think this is subject-verb agreement), but there are other categories marked, including ergatives from non-ergatives, emphasis, and certain idiosyncratic derivations

- Partial reduplication essentially involves copying the penultimate CV syllable and inserting it adjacent to this syllable (or making it the new penult) (a-b)

- Reduplication is blocked if the penultimate syllable lacks an onset (c)

- There is a difference in the retention of length in final and non-final positions: final long vowels are retained (e), but non-final long vowels are not (this is connected with analytical assumptions about the difference between long vowels and VV sequences, but the facts seem clear)

- The first syllable of the root may be lengthened in reduplication (f), and while this is not an absolute, there are certain tendencies: very frequent with trisyllabic roots and bisyllabic roots that start with /t/ or /s/, very uncommon with bisyllabic roots in general and with CVV roots

- The vowel of the reduplicated syllable (assumed to be the unstressed one) is extremely short and seems to undergo certain weakening processes, including being dropped, with the result that the two identical consonants become a geminate, and may then be weakened further to be identical to the base form

- Partial reduplications that mark categories other than plurals are always (verify) bisyllabic; trisyllabic or greater roots are always found with plural marking

(30) Description and exemplification: full reduplication

    a. fiti → fiti-fiti 'flick (non-erg., pl)'

    b. ma'a-ma'ai 'sharp (non-erg., pl)'

    c. maanava → maanava-nava 'rest, breathe (non-erg., pl)

    d. maaluu → maaluuluu 'cold (non-erg., opaque)

    e. auee → auee-uee 'bitter (non-erg., opaque)

    f. ooi → ooi-ooi 'groan (non-erg, fqv)

    g. maai → fa'a-maai-maai 'too salty (non-erg., opaque)

    h. lagiaa → lagilagiaa 'stormy (non-erg, opaque)

    i. saauni → saauniuni 'prepare (erg., pl)

Observations:

- 'Full reduplication' involves a copying of two syllables (cf. 'total reduplication, which is copying of whole word), which is sometimes the whole word (a), and in longer words may be the first CVCV (b) or the last (c)

- Full redup. tends to give a frequentative meaning to a verb, or indicate a continuation of the action or state described by the verb, though there are many other semantic categories, including verb plurality, conversion, 'diminutives', intensives, and other functions that seem unsystematic

- As far as what 'counts' as a bisyllabic copied part, a final CVV is considered bisyllabic (d), but a final VV is not enough (e)

- Final long vowels as part of a CVV syllable are the full reduplicated part (d), but when a long vowel is adjacent to another vowel, both the long vowel and adjacent vowel are copied (f)

- Roots of form CVCVCVV (with optional onsets) always copy the first two syllables (h), but if the first syllable is long, CVVCVCV, then the last two are copied (i)

- There seems to be a general preference in CVCVCV roots to copy the last two syllables, but in CVCVV or CVCVCVCV roots, either is possible.

(31) Problems of some interest in Samoan reduplication

- <u>Morphological restrictions</u>: especially partial reduplication, there seems to be restrictions on the types of complex structures that can be counted as a 'base', e.g., certain prefixed structures excluded

- <u>Phonological blocking</u>: why is it that if the penultimate syllable lacks an onset, reduplication is blocked? (Idea: emergent unmarkedness of Onset)

- <u>Lengthening</u>: what predicts the occurrence of lengthening, either the non-copied portion before the reduplicated syllable, or the copied syllable? (Idea: think about (Idea: something that separates two feet, like in ternary stress)

- <u>Archoring effect</u>: in full reduplication, why are the first two syllables copied sometimes, but the last two in others?

(32) Morphological Frames

Affixes with unreduplicated root and fully reduplicated stem:
({{(*fa'a*=) ({Art, NEG}) (*fe*=), (*fe*=) (*fa'a*=)}}) (Af$_3$) Root/Stem$_{[F.Redup]}$ (Af$_4$*)(DIR)(=*ga*)(=a_1)(=*ina*)

Affixes with partially reduplicated stem:
(*fa'a*=) Stem$_{[Part.Redup]}$ (=a_1)(=*ina*)

Af$_3$ - all other prefixes
Af$_4$ - all other suffixes
a_1 - ES
*   - suffix =*(C)ia* cannot be combined with full reduplication

5. Basic sentences
Goal: provide a 'whole wheat syntax' of Samoan, so you can get a sense of the range of possible sentence structures.

(33) Classification (see pg. 50 - 51 of the grammar)

- Sentences in Samoan are either simple, containing just one clause, or complex, consisting of more than one clause. Clauses are made up of one or more phrases which are classified into:
  1. Verb Phrases (VP) (marked for tense, aspect or mood by TAM particles)
       VP →TAM (NEG) (ADV) V (DIR) (ANAPH) (ADV) (EMPH)
  2. Noun Phrases (NP) (marked for case by Preps and determined by Articles)
       NP →(Prep) (ART) (POSS) (Dem) N (EMPH)
  3 Semi-<u>verbal</u> phrases (SVP) (appear to indicate location, possession, state/quality of NPs)
       SVP→ TAM   NP

- The 5 types of clauses are:
  1. Verbal Clauses
  2. Nominal Clauses
  3. Semi-verbal Clauses
  4. Nominalized Verbal Clauses
  5. Semi-Nominalized Verbal Clauses
  - Clauses are subcategorized into basic and non-basic:
       1. Basic - Declarative; predicate followed by arguments

2. Non-basic - Interrogative, imperative, exclamative or negative; predicate preceded by argument(s)(eg. fronted, topicalized NP); preverbal pronoun use

- Independent clauses differ from dependent clauses in that:

    1. Do not function as an argument or attribute in another clause

    2. Contain all arguments required to make it grammatical and meaningful

    3. Verbal or Semi-verbal declarative clauses are marked for TAM

(34) Clause types

- Verbal Clause

VP   (NP) (NP)
Pred   Argument(s)

- syntactic relationship between the predicate and arguments is indicated by prepositions marking NP case, and some verbs agree with the primary   argument in number, eg. "go": *alu* (sing.), *o:* (pl). Thus free word order of   arguments: VSO, VOS

- ergative marking of agents of transitive verbs with preposition *e*

- arguments are not just agents, patients and addressees but also scene- setting elements such as place, goal, source, duration, point of time, cause   and purpose, etc.

- Nominal Clause

NP   (NP)
Pred   Argument

- solo NP is an existential clause

- NP NP is an equational clause - the first NP indicates someone or something,   and the second NP expresses its quality or identity.

- Semi-verbal Clause

SVP   NP
Pred   Argument

- Nominalized Verbal Clause

(Prep) ART (POSS) (NEG) (ADV) V (DIR) (ADV) (EMPH)   NP
Pred-- Argument

-structurally related to both NPs and Verbal Clauses: a Verbal Clause transformed into a Nominal Clause

-different from Verbal clauses by: not marked with a TAM, determined by an article and marked by a prep, and primary argument is mostly expressed by possessive NPs, not absolute NPs

- different from NPs by: can be combined with negative particles and adverbs, can be combined with an ergative NP (provided nucleus is ergative verb), and can be marked for plurality like regular VPs

- Semi-nominalized Verbal Clause

CONJ (NEG) V (ADV) NP
Pred------------------   Arg

- dependent embedded clause. Function is indicated by conjunction: *ona* indicates a complement clause functioning as an absolutive argument, *ina* and *i* indicate adverbial clauses functioning as a locative directional argument.

- can be replaced by nominalized clauses

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