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THE MYSTERIOUS SAMOAN TRANSITIVE SUFFIX¹

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The function of the Samoan verbal suffix -Cia (which marks passive in some other Polynesian languages) has remained a mystery for over a hundred years. In this paper I will attempt to solve this mystery by considering in separate sections the following questions:

- I. What is the synchronic function of -Cia in Samoan?
- II. Why does -Cia, which marks passive in Eastern Polynesian languages, have this function in Samoan?
- III. Why is there variation from speaker to speaker and context to context concerning the presence of -Cia in certain sentences?
- IV. Does Samoan have a rule of passive and if so, does -Cia mark passive in Samoan?

I. The neutral word order in Samoan is VSO. The subject of an intransitive verb is unmarked.²

- 1) 'Ua sau / le tama. (intransitive)
perfect come / the boy
The boy has come.

There are two case marking rules for transitive verbs. Canonical transitive verbs govern ergative case marking. The subject (henceforth ergative subject) is marked e and the direct object (henceforth ergative object) is unmarked. I will refer to this type of sentence as an ergative sentence.

- 2) Na fasi / e le tama / le teine. (ergative)
past hit / by the boy / the girl
The boy hit the girl.

Middle verbs (verbs of emotion and perception) govern accusative case marking. The subject (henceforth accusative subject) is unmarked and the object (henceforth accusative object) is marked i. I will refer to this type of sentence as an accusative sentence.³

- 3) Na va'ai / le tama / i le teine. (accusative)
past see / the boy / to the girl
The boy saw the girl.

As "subject" in the above examples I am referring to that NP in a given sentence which responds to the major cyclic rules of Equi and Raising. E.g. Equi:⁴

- 4) E mana'o le tama e fasi le teine.
unmarked want the boy unmarked hit the girl

The boy wants to hit the girl.

- 5) E mana'o le tama e va'ai i le teine.
 urm. want the boy urm. see to the girl
 The boy wants to see the girl.

Notice, however, that the ergative subject of (2) "looks" like an oblique NP in that it is preceded by a marker. The direct object, on the other hand, looks more like the unmarked subjects of (1) and (2).⁵

The so-called transitive suffix -Cia ((consonant)(i)a or its alternate form -ina) tends to appear in ergative sentences whose subjects have undergone the fronting rules of Question Formation, Clefting, Relativization and Clitic Placement.⁶

- 6) 'O ai na fasi-ina le teine? (Question Formation)
 predicate who past hit-Cia the girl
 Who hit the girl? / lit: Who is it that hit the girl.
- 7) 'O le tama na fasi-ina le teine. (Clefting)
 pred. the boy past hit-Cia the girl
 It is the boy who hit the girl.
- 8) 'O fea le tama na fasi-ina le teine? (Relativization)
 pred. where the boy past hit-Cia the girl
 where is the boy who hit the girl?
- 9) Na ia fasi-ina le teine. (Clitic Placement)
 past 3rd hit-Cia the girl
 He hit the girl.

-Cia in sentences (6-9) has the synchronic function of signaling that an ergative subject (and not some other type of NP) has been fronted.⁷ I will illustrate with Clitic Placement. First we pronominalize the subject of (2).

- 10) Na fasi e ia le teine. (Pronominalization)
 past hit by 3rd the girl
 He hit the girl.

Clitic Placement moves the subject pronoun into second position and if the subject is an ergative subject, -Cia appears suffixed to the verb (9=11).

- 11) Na ia fasi-ina le teine. (Clitic Placement)
 past 3rd hit-Cia the girl
 He hit the girl.

Note that when the ergative subject of (10) was fronted to second position, it lost its case marker e.⁸ -Cia therefore must have been inserted in (11) to compensate in some way for the loss of this case marker -- or more specifically to function as the case marker did by identifying the fronted NP as an ergative subject.

NPs in general lose their case markers when they are fronted. Consider Clefting applied to the NPs of (2) and (3).⁹

- 12) 'O le tama na fasi-ina le teine. (ergative subject)
 pred. the boy past hit-Cia the girl
 It is the boy who hit the girl.
- 13) 'O le teine na fasi e le tama. (ergative object)
 pred. the girl past hit by the boy
 It is the girl who the boy hit.
- 14) 'O le tama na va'ai i le teine. (accusative subject)
 pred. the boy past see to the girl
 It is the boy who saw the girl.
- 15) 'O le teine na va'ai ai le tama. (accusative object)
 pred. the girl past see pronoun the boy
 It is the girl who the boy saw.

The unmarked ergative object of (2) and the unmarked accusative subject of (3) have nothing to lose when they are fronted in (13) and (14). But when the marked accusative object of (3) is fronted in (15) it leaves behind a pronominal copy (ai). It seems reasonable then that when the marked ergative subject of (2) is fronted, it too should leave behind a marker (-Cia) to signal what type of NP has been fronted. This means, however, that for superficial syntactic rules ergative subjects act more like what we would expect of oblique cases than subjects in that they leave behind some kind of signaling device. 10,11

II. Why does -Cia, which marks Passive in the Eastern Polynesian languages, serve as a flag for fronted ergative subjects in Samoan?

Chung (1976) has argued convincingly in favor of the hypothesis that Proto-Polynesian was accusative and that it had a productive rule of Passive.¹² This rule survived in the Eastern Polynesian languages. In the Tongic and Samoic-Outlier languages, however, passive sentences were reanalyzed as active transitive. In Samoan the ergative case marking of sentences such as (2) is the result of this reanalysis.

As for sentence morphology, Proto-Polynesian was accusative (cf.(3)).

- 16) Verb Subject i Direct Object

Proto-Polynesian also had a productive rule of Passive which removed the subject to an agentive oblique case (marked e) and promoted the direct object to subject. The verb was suffixed with -Cia.¹³

- 17) Verb-Cia Subject e Agent
 (= underlying (= underlying
 object) subject)

Passive sentences were very common in Proto-Polynesian. In the Tongic and Samoic-Outlier languages passive sentences were reanalyzed as active transitive. This resulted in the reinterpretation of the passive agentive phrase of (17) as an ergative subject.

18) Verb-Cia e Subject Direct Object

-Cia was eventually deleted from sentences in which it had no function. It was probably deleted first from the most syntactically simple sentences. -Cia deletion spread through the grammar from one sentence type to another and in this way the ergative morphology of (?) became the norm for canonical transitive sentences. However, this change (the deletion of -Cia) has not been effected in sentences with fronted ergative subjects (6-9).¹⁴ I propose that -Cia was retained in this context because the loss of the case marker e was interpreted as potentially damaging to the surface syntax.¹⁵ -Cia was already associated with the marker e since together they had marked sentences as passive. I suggest then that the grammar "took advantage" of the presence of -Cia in reanalyzed passive sentences (18) and retained it as a flag for fronted ergative subjects.

Notice also that Passive and the fronting rules of (6-9) are related in that they both extract subjects. Passive typically removes the active subject to an oblique case.¹⁶ The fronting rules of (6-9) also extract subjects. These rules are different in that Passive changes grammatical relations and the fronting rules do not. Note, however, that the addition of the passive-to-ergative reanalysis nullified the relation-changing effect of Passive. -Cia today in sentences like (6-9) no longer marks a change in grammatical relations.¹⁷ And yet the same suffix which marked one type of subject-extracting rule (Passive in Proto-Polynesian) has survived to mark another (fronting rules in Samoan).

On the basis of the passive-to-ergative hypothesis we can explain that the subject of a Samoan ergative sentence looks and acts like an oblique NP on the surface because it developed out of a passive agentive phrase. I interpret the fact that the ergative subject is "backed up" by -Cia when it loses its case marker as evidence that it hasn't yet achieved full acceptance as a subject.¹⁸ In the next section I will present synchronic evidence in support of this claim.

III. Up to this point I have ignored the fact that -Cia does not always appear in sentences such as (6-9) and I have dealt with sentences in isolation. I will now describe the conditions under which -Cia tends not to appear in such sentences, but in order to understand these conditions we must look at sentences in context. We will see that the acceptability of (6-9) without the suffix varies from speaker to speaker and from context to context — but it varies systematically.¹⁹

For the historical reasons given above, I will consider the tendency to retain -Cia an indication of a more conservative grammar and I will consider those who have this tendency as more conservative speakers. On a conservative-to-liberal continuum I will refer to four groups: the most conservative, liberal, and the the most liberal (see chart below).

The most conservative speakers always insert -Cia in sentences such as (6-9), the most liberal never insist on it, although they do not find its presence ungrammatical. The vast majority of speakers fall between the two extremes. These speakers will not insist on -Cia insertion in sentences such as (6-9) if they can interpret the fronted NP as a subject. This itself depends on what subject-like properties the NP has already acquired in previous discourse.

For example, if we overheard a conversation about a certain boy, we might break into the conversation by asking (19), (20) or (21). We could expect an answer such as (9)(copied here as (22)).

- 19) 'O le ā lau tala e uiga i le tama?
pred. the what your statement urm. concern to the boy
What did you say about the boy?
- 20) 'O le ā le mea na fai e le tama?
pred. the what the thing past do by the boy
What did the boy do?
- 21) 'O le ā le mea a le tama na fai?
pred. the what the thing of the boy past do
what did the boy do?
- 22) Na ia fasi(-ina) le teine.
past 3rd hit-Cia the girl
He hit the girl.

In (19) attention is drawn to the boy as a topic to be discussed. Liberal speakers will accept (22) without -Cia as an answer to (19); conservative speakers will not. Conservative speakers will insist on -Cia in (22) if it is the answer to (19). Both liberal and conservative speakers, however, will accept (22) without -Cia if it is the answer to (20) or the more idiomatic (21). Le tama in (20) is overtly marked as an ergative subject. In (21) it is marked as an agentive possessor.²⁰ We see then that if an animate NP is introduced as a topic in a given question, for liberal speakers it qualifies in the answer as a subject without being backed up by -Cia. Conservative speakers, however, require that the NP be established as at least an agent (21). I interpret this as evidence that ergative subjects in Samoan are still in the process of being accepted as full subjects.

Note also that (at least for Samoan canonical transitive verbs) an NP is more likely to qualify as a subject if it is an agent than if it is a topic.

What would happen if there were no previous discourse con-

cerning the boy? Suppose we saw the girl badly bruised. We could ask (6) and expect an answer like (7) (copied here as (23) and (24)).²¹

- 23) 'O ai na fasi-ina le teine?
 pred. who past hit-Cia the girl
 who hit the girl?
- 24) 'O le tama na fasi-ina le teine.
 pred. the boy past hit -Cia the girl
 The boy hit the girl.

Under these conditions both liberal and conservative speakers would insert -Cia in both the question and the answer. This makes sense in that it is precisely with these sentences that the identity of the subject is established. It seems that until the referent of the subject is identified, no NP can be assumed to be a subject.

-Cia Insertion

	NP role in previous discourse		
	none	topic	agent
most conservative	✓	✓	✓
conservative	✓	✓	
liberal	✓		
most liberal			

Ignoring variation from speaker to speaker, we can also make generalizations about Samoan relative clauses and situations involving presupposition. Restrictive relative clauses are typically used to identify the referent of an NP. The relative clause in (8) is restrictive with -Cia (=25); it is unrestrictive without -Cia (=26). Returning to our conversation about the boy who hit the girl, if I first asked you who hit the girl (23) and you answered that the boy did (24), I could then ask you (8) without -Cia (=26) because in (24) you had established the boy as subject. The restrictive clause in (25) would be used under different circumstances.²²

- 25) 'O fea le tama na fasi-ina le teine? (restrictive)
 pred. where the boy past hit-Cia the girl
 (I am asking you) where is the boy who hit the girl?
- 26) 'O fea le tama na fasi le teine? (unrestrictive)
 pred. where the boy past hit the girl
 (I am asking you) where is the boy (about whom
 you have asserted that) he hit the girl?

-Cia deletion also involves presupposition. If we find the

boy who we are assuming hit the girl, we can approach him and ask:

- 27) 'Aiseā na 'e fasi ai le teine?
 why past you hit pron. the girl
 why did you hit the girl?
 Presupposition: You hit the girl for a reason.
 Question: What was that reason?

Even though we had no previous conversation with the boy himself in which we might have established him as subject, -Cia is not likely to appear in (27) because we are assuming that the boy did in fact hit the girl.

The same is generally true of three-place predications in which the subject-object relationship is assumed and an assertion is made about an oblique object.

- 28) 'O le tama na 'ave le tusi i le teine.
 pred. the boy past give the book to the girl
 The boy gave the book to the girl.
 Presupposition: The boy gave the book to someone.
 Assertion: It was the girl (that he gave the book to).

In short, -Cia serves to identify an unmarked fronted NP as an ergative subject. Speakers, however, may choose not to insert -Cia when they can interpret a fronted NP as a subject because it has acquired subject-like properties in previous discourse or because it is the assumed subject of a presupposition.

IV. No discussion of the Samoan transitive suffix would be complete without considering the century-old controversy as to whether or not Samoan has a passive voice and in particular whether or not -Cia marks passive in Samoan. Passive as a major cyclic rule which changes grammatical relations and feeds other major cyclic rules does not exist in Samoan. Such a rule, as proposed above for Proto-Polynesian, must have existed at some earlier stage since what we have today are the remnants of a once productive rule.

What do we expect a rule of Passive to do and how are these functions carried out today in Samoan? Passive typically demotes the active subject to an oblique case and promotes the direct object to subject. This, along with certain side effects (coding devices, semantic effects, etc.), comprises a definition for a given language (Perlmutter and Postal 1974). To begin with, we expect Passive to have a syntactic function. We have seen above that -Cia, which marks Passive in Eastern Polynesian languages, does have a syntactic function in Samoan in that it serves as a flag for fronted ergative subjects. But we expect a rule of Passive to change grammatical relations. -Cia does not mark a change

in grammatical relations (for the historical reasons given above). This does not mean, however, that we cannot promote a direct object to a type of psychological subject at least on a superficial level even though this direct object does not acquire the subject-like property of responding to the subject-referring rules such as Equi and Raising. To say it simply, we can "talk about" direct objects. To give an example, sentence (2) is in the neutral word order. It could be the answer to "What happened?" or "What did the boy do?" (20-21). If, however, we asked "what happened to the girl?" (29), we could expect (30) as an answer. In Samoan the NP which is "talked about" (le teine of (30)) is likely to move left, be pronominalized or even deleted (as suggested by the parenthesis of (31)).²³

- 29) 'O le ā le mea 'ua tupu i le teine?
 pred. the what the thing perf. happen to the girl
 What happened to the girl?
- 30) Na fasi le teine e le tama.
 past hit the girl by the boy
 The boy hit the girl./ The girl was hit by the boy.
- 31) Na fasi ('o ia) e le tama.
 past hit 3rd by the boy
 The boy hit her./ She was hit by the boy.

We see then that for pragmatic purposes the direct object can acquire the subject-like property of being "talked about" even though this type of promotion only has a clause-internal effect. What is of importance is to note that -Cia does not appear in (30) which is the closest thing in Samoan to the corresponding English passive sentence.

We would also expect a rule of passive to derive some type of agentless construction. In Samoan, if a process is described which we know must involve an agent and yet that agent is of no importance, the simple form of the verb is used and the agent fails to appear in the sentence.

- 32) 'Ua 'eli le lua e tanu ai atigi 'apa.
 perf. dig the hole urm. bury pro. empty tin
 A hole was dug to bury the empty tins. (Milner 1966:41)

If, however, an action is described in which the agent plays a significant role, even though the agent is unknown, his presence can be implied by inserting -Cia.²⁴

- 33) 'Ua gaoia o'u 'ofu.
 perf. steal -Cia my clothes
 My clothes are (have been) stolen. (Milner 1966:76)

We see then that although -Cia can imply the presence of an agent (33), it is not inserted in "impersonal passives" such as (32).

Up to this point we have only considered the syntactic function of -Cia in Samoan. The truth is -Cia has also survived to mark semantic aspects typically associated with Passive. Notable among these is what Milner (1962,1966,1973) calls the perfective aspect. The suffix -Cia can emphasize the results or completion of the action.

- 34) Na fuia le togālā'au e le tama.
 past water-Cia the garden by the boy
 The boy has watered the garden. (Milner 1966:72)

It can also make the agent or action seem remote (Chung 1976:73).

- 35) 'Ua mana'omia 'oe e le ali'i.
 perf. want -Cia you by the chief
 The chief wants you. (Milner 1966:128)

-Cia can also stress the duration or generality of the action (Chung 1976:72).

- 36) 'Ua alofagia 'itātou e le nu'u.
 perf. love -Cia we by the village
 We are well-treated by the village. (Milner 1966:17)

The action expressed by the suffixed form is often more intense or complicated or involves more people than that expressed by the simple form (compare fasi: "hit" in (2) with fasia: "beat up" in (37)).

- 37) 'Ua fasia le taliga a tama.
 perf. hit-Cia the elopement-party of boy
 The boys' elopement party was beaten up. (Milner 1966:237)

It is easy to see why it has been claimed that -Cia in Samoan marks Passive. Many of the above examples show an orientation towards the direct object. However, as we saw in (30-32), -Cia does not have to be present in order to "talk about" the direct object.

Another reason why it might be claimed that Samoan has a rule of Passive is that it is possible to find pairs of sentences, one of which is active and the other "looks" passive.

- 38) Sā manatu le tama i le teine.
 past think the boy about the girl
 The boy thought about the girl.
 39) Sā manatua le teine e le tama.
 past remember the girl by the boy
 The boy remembered the girl./
 The girl was remembered by the boy.

But if we apply a subject-referring rule such as Clitic Placement to (39), we see in (40) that it is the semantic subject which responds and not the object.²⁵ In other words, -Cia in (39) does not mark a change in grammatical relations.

- 40) Sa ia manatua le teine.
 past 3rd remember the girl
 He remembered the girl.

Manatua in (39) can be considered a derived transitive verb since it governs ergative case marking (as does fasi in (2), for example). Also, this derivation should be lexical since there is an obvious change in meaning (manatu: think, manatua: remember).²⁶

We see then that -Cia is also employed to derive canonical transitive verbs (manatua) from middle verbs (manatu). The morphology of (39), therefore, is not the result of a syntactic rule of Passive but of a lexical rule of derivation.²⁷

I will summarize by answering the four questions outlined in the introduction:

I. -Cia has several synchronic functions in Samoan. On a syntactic level it serves as a flag for fronted ergative subjects. On a semantic level it marks the aspects typically associated with Passive. -Cia is also a part of a lexical process by which one type of verb is derived from another.²⁸

II. The fact that -Cia has more than one function can be explained historically. Proto-Polynesian had a rule of Passive. In the Tongic and Samoic-Outlier languages passive sentences were reanalyzed as active transitive. -Cia, which had marked Passive in Proto-Polynesian, survived with different functions on several levels of grammar.

III. There is variation from speaker to speaker and from context to context concerning the presence of -Cia in sentences with fronted ergative subjects because ergative subjects are still in the process of being accepted as full subjects without being backed up by -Cia.

IV. Passive is no longer a productive syntactic rule in Samoan. Direct objects may be promoted to a type of psychological subject for pragmatic purposes. There are sentences in Samoan which look passive and yet their direct objects do not respond to subject-referring rules.

The passive-to-ergative reanalysis nullified the relation-changing effect of the formerly passive morphology. Therefore -Cia, the "mysterious Samoan transitive suffix", no longer marks a change in grammatical relations.

NOTES

1. I credit the term "mysterious transitive suffix" to Chung (1976).

2. A note on phonology: ' represents a glottal stop, g is a velar nasal.

3. I consider sentences such as (3) transitive because their objects respond to direct-object-referring rules such as Object Incorporation (Chung 1976:198). Churchward (1951:25) considers middle verbs "semi-transitive".

Generally middle verbs govern accusative case marking and canonical transitive verbs govern ergative. There is evidence, however, that verbs of contact (e.g. fasi in (2)) permitted both (now they allow only ergative) and ergative case marking is now being extended to verbs of perception (Chung 1976:446). In short, the semantic class of the verb cannot always be trusted for decoding the case marking.

4. I have defined "subject" in this way for the reasons given in Anderson (1976).

Actually there are two types of Raising in Samoan. One type governed by verbs such as mafai ("be able") raises only subjects. The other type governed by verbs such as māsani ("be accustomed") raises all types of NPs (Chung 1976:149).

5. The subject properties (Keenan 1976) do not converge on either NP of this type of sentence.

6. Chung (1976:61) and I independently reached the same conclusions concerning the types of sentences in which -Cia tends to appear.

The 'o of sentences (6-8) and below is not a case marker. It marks nominal predications and occasionally serves as a dummy verb since Samoan does not tolerate noun-initial sentences.

7. I am only considering the syntactic function of -Cia at this point. In section IV I will consider its semantic and lexical functions. For the time being I will also ignore the fact that -Cia does not always appear in these environments. This will be discussed in section III.

8. It is not fronting a subject per se which conditions the insertion of -Cia. When we apply Clitic Placement to the accusative subject of (3), -Cia does not appear:

Na ia va'ai i le teine.
past 3rd see to the girl
He saw the girl.

9. (12-15) represent the most common phrasing of such sentences. Both ergative and accusative subjects, however, can also leave behind pronouns. Note that this violates the Keenan-Comrie (1977) claim that a strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the Accessibility Hierarchy. Pronominalization in Samoan "skips" ergative direct objects. Keenan and Comrie (1977:86) have offered a historical explanation for this phenomenon in Tongan which is

essentially the same as that offered below for Samoan.

10. Note that the verb is marked under conditions essentially opposite to those of the English passive. In Samoan fronting the subject marks the verb, in English fronting the direct object. This causes problems for Samoans when they speak English:

- i "Can you fixed my T.V.?"
- ii " You won't mind if your room is change.(?)"

11. Churchward (1951:72) claims that -Cia incorporates the meaning of an object pronoun:

- i=11) Na ia fasi-ina le teine.
past 3rd hit-Cia the girl
He hit (her) the girl.

That -Cia in (i) is conditioned by the presence of an unmarked fronted ergative subject can be easily shown simply by deleting the pronoun:

- ii) Na fasi le teine.
(He) hit the girl.

12. Chung(1976) has modified the Hale(1968)-Hohepa(1969) hypothesis.

13. I propose this word order because the NP which is "talked about" in Polynesian languages in general immediately follows the verb and because in older Samoan texts "relic" sentences which have "passive" morphology tend to have this word order.

14. There is comparative evidence which supports this claim. In Pukapukan (another Samoic-Outlier language) which apparently is now undergoing the passive-to-ergative reanalysis, Passive is still a productive rule which feeds other rules. eNPs can undergo Clitic Placement and Question Formation only if the verb is marked with the passive suffix -Cia (Chung 1976:92,467).

15. I am assuming that fronting rules operated then as they do now in that NPs lose their case markers when they are fronted.

16. Keenan (1975:346) proposes that subject demotion is the primary condition of Passive.

17. This was essentially what Pratt (1911:25) had noticed when he claimed that verbs suffixed with -Cia were deponent (passive in form, active in meaning) when they appeared with clitic pronouns.

18. See Chung(1973) for a related discussion concerning ergative subjects and nominalizations in Samoan.

19. My informants were: Falana'i Ala, Leitū Teofilo, Louā Li-li'o, Vao Lepolo, Henry Mitchell, Willie Uili, Reupena and Sina Samuelu, Lila Lokeni, Ta'itasi Ta'itasi, Noela Hymas, Joe 'Auva'a, Gogo and Veve Vaimili, 'Ese Lemusu, Iose and Seteuati Aula'i, Olo Leifi, Sila Kupu and the members of the family of 'Aumua Pa'ala — in particular Lemalie, Otaota, Lafoina, Sulufa'iga and Eneleni.

20. Samoan has two ways of marking possession: a marks domi-

nant possession and *o* marks subordinate. Possessors of activities are marked a (Chung 1973:643).

21. Of course the elliptical answer "'O le tama." would also be acceptable.

22. In terms of operators the difference is that a restrictive relative clause (25) is under the sentential qualifier (QUESTION) of the main clause; an unrestrictive relative clause (26) has its own sentential qualifier (ASSERTION) (Seuren 1969:190).

23. For the sake of exposition I am ignoring stress. "Talked about" NPs also tend to be unstressed. Contrastive stress can reverse effects.

24. This use of -Cia is obviously related to the flag function described in section II.

25. Clitic Placement is available to subjects only. I credit this argument to Milner (1962). Clitic Placement is a superficial movement rule, but the same results are obtained when major cyclic rules such as Equi and Raising apply.

26. What is interesting to note is that, along the lines of Fillmore(1977), when the object is preceded by a preposition (i), it is interpreted as indirectly affected by the action (3,38), but when the object has no preposition, it is interpreted as more directly affected (2,39,etc.). Fillmore points out that there is a similar lexical process in Hungarian which also involves a perfectivizing affix (fn. p.77).

27. This is probably why Churchward(1951) claims that -Cia marks a verb as formally transitive. In particular a transitive verb can be derived from an intransitive verb by means of this suffix (tatalo: pray, talosia: pray for).

The word order of (39) can be attributed to the type of promotion to psychological subject described above for (30). In other words, if we were talking about the boy specifically, e le tama would more naturally precede le teine.

28. There are also minor functions which are grammatically predictable. See Chung (1973) for -Cia in nominalizations.

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