Remnant Movement, Intervention, and Structure Building: the view from Samoan

Hilda Koopman
koopman@ucla.edu

University of California, Los Angeles

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Introduction

- Remnant movement
- Phrasal movement vs Head movement

- Results from Formal language theory (Stabler's Minimalist Grammars)
- Comparative syntax
  Explore the limits of variation, systematically record variation[1]
  .

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[1]Visit, participate, and help develop SSWL, an expert crowdsourced, community based database in development. "The syntactic Structures of the World's Languages" at http://sswl.railsplayground.net/

Today....

- Explore syntactic properties of Samoan, Polynesian
  - Evidence for remnant VP movement
  - Different Object positions
    (*Case patterns*
    pinpoint the location that leads to ergative/ absolutive
    patterns. Intervention).
  - PAGO constructions ("possessors as agent and goals") (Homer
    08, 11) and their properties $--->$ *Backward control*
  - Can the properties of backward control be derived from known
    properties of structure building?
    - via: what we know about *of*).
    - sketch an analysis (no backward control)
    - *An issue*: Does UG allow a parametric choice of spell out
      (pronounce "tail of A-chain under c-command" delete higher
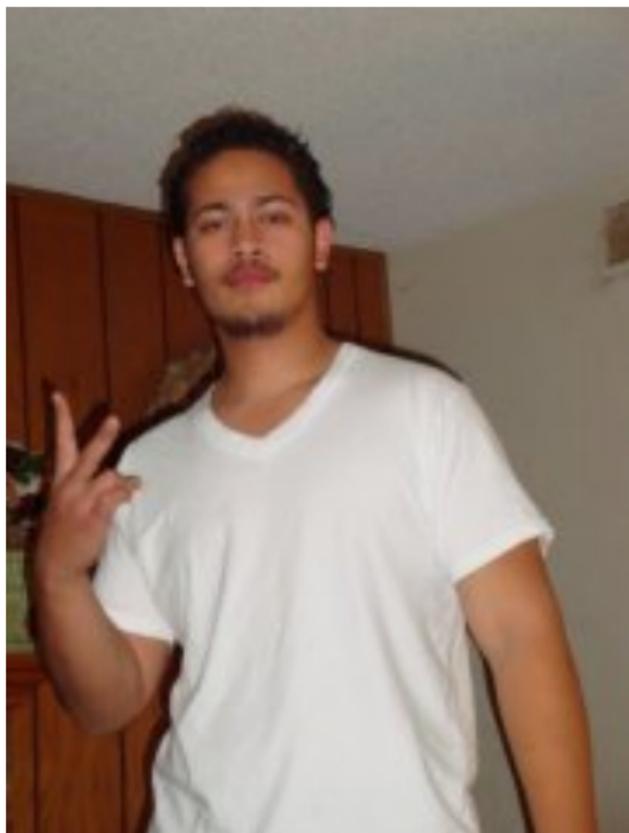   copy).

Samoan Basic facts
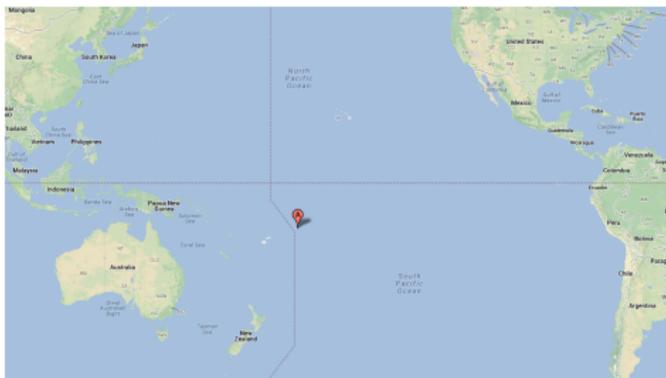
- VSO language (with Ergative-Absolutive Case-marking)
- Every (finite) sentence contains an Absolutive argument (pro-drop 3sg, pl)

Samoan Basic Facts

- "VSO" [a], predicate fronting
  remnant VP movement
- Adpositional case: P DP
- Voice suffixes (and stacking)
- no general active passive
  distinction
- no T morphology selecting
  V.
- non verbal predication
- Postpredicate scrambling
  VSO, VOS

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[a]"TAM VSO: TOP DP C Scl T ...VSO"

Ergativity: Current Minimalist accounts

- little v lacks accusative
- absolutive = nominative: finite T

  (1)   T [S v [$_{VP}$ V O]]]

- S is externally merged as ergative DP/ or PP, *S stays in little v, O (may) stay in big V, or raise to T.*
- detransitivization processes (S of transitive V is ABS, not ergative)
- incorporation/pseudo incorporation (transitive/intransitive little v)
- antipassivization (for any oblique objects)

??

Starting point

- basic syntactic properties

A typical (non-causative) transitive verb paradigm.

Tracking external argument marked ABS or ERG; V invariant

(2) na 'ai   le teine   Generic Object
     PST eat ABS.D.SG girl
     The/a girl ate

(3) e   ['ai i'a]   le   teine   "(pseudo)-Incorporated" object
     E   eat fish   ABS.D.SG girl
     The girl eats fish

(4) na 'ai   le   teine   i   le i'a   d object
     PST eat ABS.D.SG girl OBL D.SG fish
     The/a girl ate from the fish

_____

² D   if & O   1996

A typical (non-causative) transitive verb paradigm.

Tracking external argument marked ABS or ERG; | V invariant |

(2)   na 'ai   le teine | Generic Object |
      PST eat ABS.D.SG girl
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(3)   e   ['ai i'a]   le   teine | "(pseudo)-Incorporated" object |
      E   eat fish   ABS.D.SG girl
      The girl eats fish

(4)   na 'ai   le   teine   i   le i'a | d object |
      PST eat ABS.D.SG girl OBL D.SG fish
      The/a girl ate from the fish

(5)   na 'ai   le   i'a | strong D; no external argument! |
      PST eat ABS.D.SG fish
      the fish got eaten (by someone)/ the fish ate/ multiply ambiguous

(6)   na 'ai   e   le teine   le   i'a | strong D, affected |
      PST eat ERG D.SG girl ABS.D.SG fish
      the girl ate a/the fish   very sparse in primary data[2]

(7)   na 'ai   le i'a a le teine | PAGO |
      PST eat ABS.D.SG D fish POSS D girl
      The/a girl ate her fish *lit: the girls' fish ate*

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[2]

Distribution?

- where are incorporated objects/ pseudo incorporated objects?
- where are oblique objects
- where are absolutive subjects
- where are absolutive objects
- where are ergative subjects
- how to derive VSO?

where in the structure?

- incorporated objects?
  low in the structure: (front with predicate

- pseudoincorporate objects
  low in the structure: (may) front with predicate

- oblique objects
  outside the fronted predicate, no Q-float

- absolutive subjects
  outside of the fronted predicate, Q-float

- absolutive objects outside of the fronted predicate, Q-float

- ergative subjects
  outside the fronted predicate, Q float

- what size constituent fronts?
  quite a big chunk! a remnant predicate

Q-float from Ergative and absolute DP

- Q-float from ergative and absolutive; not from obliques.

(8) *Q-float from ergative:*

e [ilo.a   **'uma**] **e tamaiti** le   pese
E [know.VOICE all   ] ERG   children ABS.D.SG song

The children all know the song

(9) *Q-float from absolutive:*

e [ilo.a   **'uma**] e   le   tamaiti **Øpese**
E [know.VOICE all   ] ERG D.sg child   ABS   D.pl.song

The child knows all the songs

Q-float: impossible from obliques

(10) * 'e [fiefie 'uma] Malia i   Ø pepe
      * E [like   all   ] Mary OBL D.PL.baby
      *Mary likes all the babies

(11) 'e [fiefie]   Malia [Ø pepe   'uma]
      E [like]   Mary [OBL D.PL.baby all   ]
   Mary likes all the babies

Q-float: analysis

a. DPs move past Q (Sportiche 89,),
b. floated Q merges in the spine above S or O (vP) (updated Sportiche 96) and pied-pipes with the predicate
c. obliques stay lower: no floating from OBL c-command:
   Erg $>$ .. Abs$_S$/O ... $>$Q $>$ Oblique O
d. All Samoan internal evidence points towards Ergative P and Abs P merged in a structural layer above Q.
e. no evidence that subjects of transitive verbs *ever* start out as ergative DP or PP, (though they are not in Spec, TP)
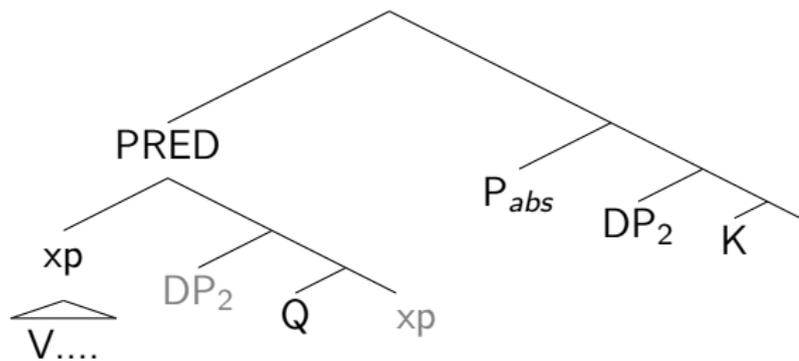
Q float and Pred fronting: a classical argument for remnant movement

- At the point where DP merges with Q, and xp has fronted
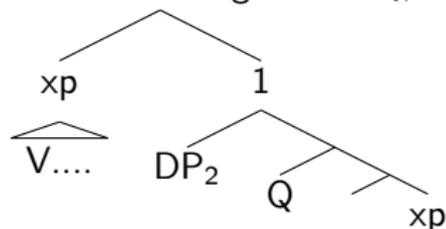
- Merge K/ P: DP_1 moves to K, Q strands, and fronts with the predicate in the next step:
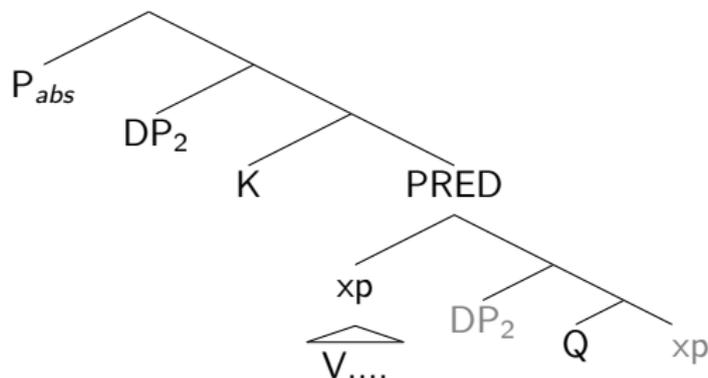
(12)   .... [V .. Q] (FOC) P$_{(hightone)}$ DP K]

When is the external argument Abs, when is it Erg?

- ..Depends on the type of object
  - Abs on S with pseudo-incorporated objects or oblique objects
  - But never on S with absolute object

External argument is absolute

(13) e ['ai i'a] le teine "(pseudo)-Incorporated" object
      E eat fish ABS.D.SG girl
      The girl eats fish

(14) na 'ai le teine i le i'a   d object
      PST eat ABS.D.SG girl OBL D.SG fish
      The/a girl ate from the fish

Nothing special to say, once we understand distributional properties of ob

Trouble with Absolute "objects"

(15)   na 'ai le   i'a | strong D; no external argument! |
PST eat ABS.D.SG fish
the fish got eaten (by someone)/ the fish ate/ multiply ambiguous

(16)   na 'ai e le teine   le   i'a | strong D, affected |
PST eat ERG D.SG girl ABS.D.SG fish
the girl ate a/the fish   very sparse in primary data[3]

(17)   na 'ai   le i'a a le teine | PAGO |
PST eat ABS.D.SG D fish POSS D girl
The/a girl ate her fish *lit: the girls' fish ate*

| why? |

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[3]Oaks and Duranti

Theoretical problem..

- VP internal subjects (K&S 83, 91, and many others...)
- Objects not in argument positions/ "VP" external objects/
  (K&S (83, 91, many others ..)

There is no minimality problem:

(18)   [S v [O [$_{VP}$]]]

   (K&S 91, Sportiche 96, ..Chomsky 01, Probe Goal

There is a minimality problem:

(19)   a.   [$\boxed{O}$ .. [$\boxed{S}$ v [$_{VP}$]]]
        b.   Chomsky 91, .. V to v, to AgrO, Equidistance...
              Chomsky 95: chapter 4 multiple specifiers

Object positions: Diesing 97, Hallman 04

Based on interpretative properties and scopal interactions[4]:

(20)   [$_d$ S] . . [$_D$ O] . . [vP $_\delta$ S v [$_d$OBJ . . [$_{VP}$ $_\delta$OBJ V]]]]]

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[4](δ: Weak NPs (stage-level interpretation); d: Weak NPs (individual-level interpretation); D: Strong NPs). Hallman, Peter. 04. NP-interpretation and the structure of predicates, Language 80.4; Diesing 97, Yiddish VP order and the typology of object movement in Germanic

Intervention

There is no intervention problem for objects below S

(21)   [S v [O [_{VP}]]]

- low objects distribute like Dutch/German *no need for special statements w.r.t case* Universal?

There is an intervention problem for all languages: for strong, affected objects .

(22)   [O .. [S v [_{VP}]]]

- Intervention.. (both for accusative and nominative objects) *V-movement ("object shift"), multiple specifiers, tucking in under, S moves out of the way, Oblique subjects, ergative... Others? Samoan?*

- trouble: for high objects: [$\boxed{\text{O}}$ [$\boxed{\text{S}}$ v [$_{VP}$]]]
  - (Low) Passivization VP movement, smuggling object) [5]
  - $\boxed{\text{PAGO construction}}$: lit: *rides John's bike = John rides his bike* for ABS objects only Homer 09, 11.[6]

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[5]Koopman, Hilda. *Samoan ergatives as double passivization*, in L.BrugÕ, A. Cardinaletti, G Giusti, N. Monera, and C. Poleto (eds), Functional Heads, Oxford University Press: "Passive" (Samoan)

[6]Homer 09. Backward Control in Samoan AFLA 16. Homer 11. To Possess and to Control: Genitive DPs in Samoan, Case by Case workshop, ENS Paris

A close look at the PAGO Puzzle[8]

(23) Na sasa ∅ le   maile a   Seu.
      PST beat ABS DET.SG dog POSS Seu
      'Seu's dog was beaten.' Or: *'S/he$_i$ beat Seu$_j$'s dog.'*
      Or: 'Seu beat his own dog..'

- Possessors of Absolutive objects can be coreferential with silent Agents (or Goals) **without creating Condition C** effects.   PAGO

Restrict discussion to silent Agents (see Homer for goals[7])

(24) Na 'aumai e   Sina nai ata   a/o Seu.
      PST bring ERG Sina some pictures POSS Seu
      'Sina brought pictures of Seu/Seu's.'
      Or: 'Sina brought pictures of Seu$_i$/Seu$_i$'s to himself$_i$.'

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[7] Cf also John's body sat down: John sat down
[8] All PAGO data from Homer 09,11; thanks to Vincent Homer for sharing his slides w

Our first exposure to the phenomenon

- John Fruean, Field Methods Class, UCLA, 01.09.08 (about the 'Pear story'):

(25) Lae vili mai   iā ∅ le   uila **a   le**
      LAE ride towards IA ABS DET.SG bicycle POSS DET.SG
      kamaikiki sau ∅ le   kamaikiki...
      boy   come ABS DET.SG boy
      'Then the boy rode his bike down and came upon...'
      PAGO

In a nutshell

- external argument is syntactically present
- possessor is coreferential or bound by external argument
- External argument/possessor is DP internal (at surface constituent) we do not know if it starts DP internal

Homer's proposal

- (Backwards) Control

- Control as movement: a DP can 'check' several θ roles (Hornstein 1999 a.o.)

- Possessor Raising (Landau 1999)

- PF deletion of higher copy

- In the case of QNPs, only the higher copy is interpreted, the lower one behaves like a variable

- Extraction blocked out of Obliques, (to which I add: or from derived absolutives)
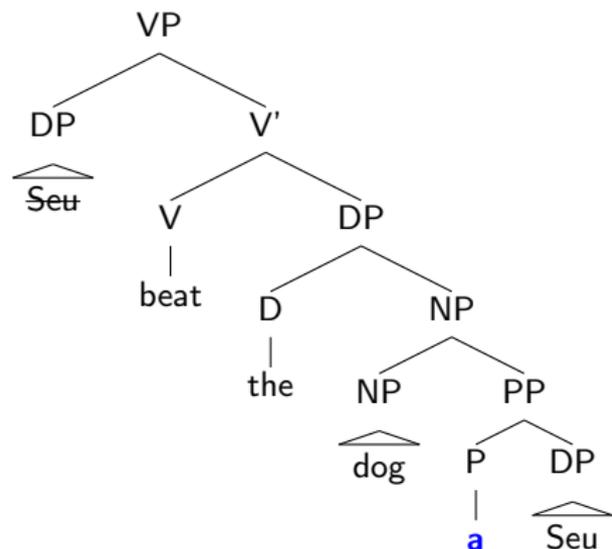
Basic Facts: Possessives

- Possessive morphemes: **A** for alienable possession and
  O, used for inalienable possession as well as for themes of Nouns.

  how are possessives structure build: of insertion. remnant movement

(26) 'o ∅   le   ta'avale **a   Ioane**
      O ABS DET.SG car   POSS John

(27) 'o ∅   le   ulu **o   Ioane**
      O ABS DET.SG head POSS John

(28) Na 'oti e   Sina ∅ le   ata   **a/o Seu.**
      PST cut ERG Sina ABS DET.SG picture POSS Seu
      'Sina cut Seu's picture/ Sina cut the picture of Seu.'

(29) Na 'oti e   Sina ∅ l-**a/o-na**   ata.
      PST cut ERG Sina ABS DET-POSS-3SG picture
      'Sina$_i$ cut her$_{i,j}$ picture.'

Basic Facts: Pro-drop

- Samoan is pro-drop **only for 3rd** person singular and plural.

(30)   *(Q: Did you go to Apia?)*
     I,   na *(ou) alu i   Apia.
     Yes PST 1SGCL go OBL Apia
     'Yes, I went to Apia.'

Basic Facts: Condition C

- Overt pronouns create **Condition C** effects.

(31)   Na sasa **e   ia**   Ø   le   maile a   Seu.
        PST beat ERG 3SG ABS DET.SG dog   POSS Seu
        'S/he$_i$ beat Seu$_{*i,j}$'s dog.'

PAGO from the Absolutive

(32)   Na sasa ∅   le   maile **a**   **Seu.**
          PST beat ABS DET.SG dog   POSS Seu
          'Seu beat his own dog.'   PAGO

Restrictions

- Not all transitive predicates participate in **PAGO**: [9]

(33) E   iloa ∅   le   tinā   **o   le   pepe.**
      PRS know ABS DET.SG mother POSS DET.SG baby
      'S/he$_i$ knows the baby$_j$'s mother.'
      Not: *'The baby knows his own mother.'* | *PAGO |

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[9]the morphologically complex verb *ilo.a* 'know. VOICE' (experiencer verbs are abs/ oblique: ilo.a derives via passive)

No PAGO from the Oblique

- No **PAGO** from the **Oblique** argument.

(34)   E   alofa i   le   maile **a**   **Seu.**
         PRS like   OBL DET.SG dog   POSS Seu
         'S/he$_i$ likes Seu$_j$'s dog.'
         Not: *'Seu likes his own dog.'*   *PAGO

Interpretation: Mandatory Possessive Reading

- Under coreference (**P**A**GO**), the possessive reading is mandatory.

(35)   Na sasa ∅   le   maile **a   Seu.**
       PST beat ABS DET.SG dog POSS Seu
       'Seu's dog was beaten.'
       Or: *'S/he$_i$ beat Seu$_j$'s dog.'*
       Or: *'Seu beat his own dog.'*   PAGO
       Not: *'Seu beat a dog.'*

Surface Constituency

- Constituency: the **P**A**GO** Possessor-DP forms a constituent with the NP or the coordination of NPs it modifies, just like regular Possessor-DPs.

  how are regular possessors build? stay tuned Kayne -of

(36) Na sasa ∅   le   maile ma ∅   le pusi **a   Seu.**
      PST beat ABS DET dog   with ABS DET cat POSS Seu
      'S/he_i beat some dog and Seu_j's cat/Seu_j's dog and cat.'
      Or: *'Seu beat some dog and his own cat.'* | PAGO |
      Or: *'Seu beat his own dog and his own cat.'* | PAGO |
      Not: *'Seu beat his own dog and some cat.'*

Surface Constituency

- The Absolutive object can be Ā-moved without loss of the **PAGO** effect.

(37) 'O   le   maile **a**   **Seu** na   sasa.
      TOP DET.SG dog   POSS Seu PST beat

      'It was his own dog that Seu beat.'   PAGO

(38) 'O   lea   le   ata   **o**   **Seu** na   'oti?
      TOP thing DET.SG picture POSS Seu PST cut

      'Which picture of Seu was cut?'
      Or: *'Which picture of himself did Seu cut?'*   PAGO

Informativeness[10]

- It appears that the coreference is asserted, rather than being simply compatible with the beliefs of the speaker.

(39)   *(Context: The girl was asked if she wanted to address the audience...)*
Na luelue ∅   le   ulu   **o   le   teine** ona
PST shake ABS DET.SG head POSS DET.SG girl   then
faimai...
say
'The girl nodded and then she said...'   PAGO

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[10]see Homer for many more cases

Presence of external argument: Agreement

- Few verbs inflect for number; plural agreement is optional; certain verbs agree with the external argument only.

- Verbs can agree in number with the **Possessor** of their **Absolutive** argument in the **PAGO** construction.

(40)   Na (pe)pese   ∅   le   pese **a**   **Ioane ma Sina.**
        PST (<RED>)sing ABS DET.SG song POSS John   and Sina
        'John and Sina sang their common song.' | PAGO |

- Verbs don't normally agree with Absolutive-internal Possessors.

(41)   Na (*pe)pese   e   Seu ∅   le   pese **a**   **Ioane**
        PST (<RED>)sing ERG Seu ABS DET.SG song POSS John
        ma Sina.
        and Sina
        'Seu sang John and Sina's song.'

Presence of external argument: Q-float

- A floating **'uma** 'all' can be associated with the Possessor-DP in **PAGO** constructions.

(42)   Na pepese   **'uma** ∅   le   pese **a**   ∅
       PST <RED>sing all   ABS DET.SG song POSS DET.PL
       tamāloloa.
       <RED>man
       'All the men_i sang their_i song.'   PAGO

Presence of the Subject: Q-float

- A floating **'uma** 'all' can be associated with the Possessor-DP in **PAGO** constructions.
- This is not possible with regular Possessor-DPs.

(43)   Na pese (***'uma**) e   Ioane (***'uma**) ∅   le   pese
       PST sing all   ERG John all   ABS DET.SG song
       a   ∅   tamāloloa.
       POSS DET.PL <RED>man
       'John sang the song of all the men.'

- The **PAGO** Possessor appears to bind a variable in the position of the null external argument.

(44)   For each x, x beat x's dog.

(45)   Na sasa Ø   le   maile **a**   Ø   **tamāloloa**
       PST beat ABS DET.SG dog   POSS DET.PL <RED>man
       ta'itasi.
       each
       'The dog that belongs to all the men was beaten.'
       Or: *'S/he beat the dog that belongs to all the men.'*
       Or: *'Each man beat his own dog.'*   PAGO

Presence of the Subject: Pronominal Binding

(46) For each x, x should sing x's song.

(47) E   usu   ā   Ø   le   pese   **a   le   tagata**
GENR sing EMPH ABS DET.SG song POSS DET.SG person
ia.
INT

'Each person should sing their own song.'   PAGO

(Duranti and Ochs 1996, ex. 7)

Presence of the Subject: Pronominal Binding

(48)   Na sasa Ø   le   maile **a**   Ø   **tamāloloa ta'itasi.**
          PST beat ABS DET dog   POSS DET.PL <RED>man each

- Not a case of **Genitive Binding**/**Inverse binding** (see Homer). (could Absolutive move higher than pro(external argument, and bind the subject.)

(49)   [[Every child]$_i$'s mother] thinks that he$_i$ is clever.

(50)   Na sasa e   le   matai **a**   Ø   **maile ta'itasi**
          PST beat ERG DET.SG owner POSS DET.PL dog   each
          ia.
          3SG
          'The owner of [each dog]$_i$ beat it$_i$.'

Specificity

- Assuming that there is no Genitive Binding at play, there is an additional problem for the *pro* Hypothesis:

- The non specific plural quantifier **nai** 'some' enters into the construction, which is unexpected under a *pro* based theory, as *pro* is specific.

(51) Na   sasa Ø   le   maile **a   nai   teine.**
      PST beat ABS DET.SG dog   POSS some girls

      'Some girls or others beat their own dog.'   PAGO

Strong Crossover

- The *pro* Hypothesis wrongly predicts Strong Crossover in ??.

(52)   *(Context: At a party, all the guests came with cooked rice. . .)*

'O	Ø	le	alaisa **a**	**ai**	na	'ai?

TOP ABS DET.SG rice POSS who PST eat

'Whose rice was eaten?'

Or: *'Who ate his own rice?'*   PAGO

Beyond Homer's proposal: further theoretical questions

- (Backwards) Control ?

- Control as movement: a DP can 'check' several θ roles (Hornstein 1999 a.o.)

- Possessor Raising (Landau 1999)

- PF deletion of higher copy ?

- In the case of QNPs, only the higher copy is interpreted, the lower one behaves like a variable ?
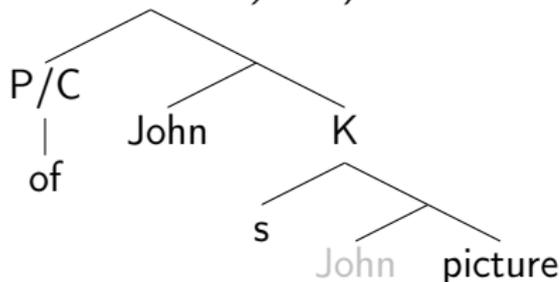
- Extraction blocked out of Obliques, ?

-
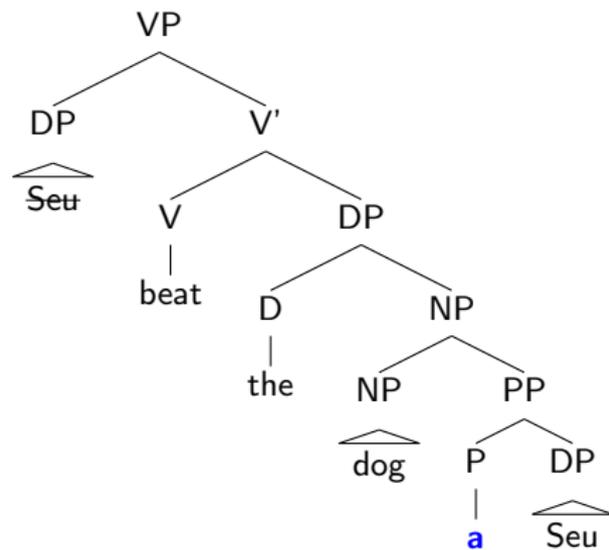
  What about a? Is it like English *of*?

What we know about *of*. Kayne 1994, 2000.. [11]

- A picture of John's/ A picture of John.
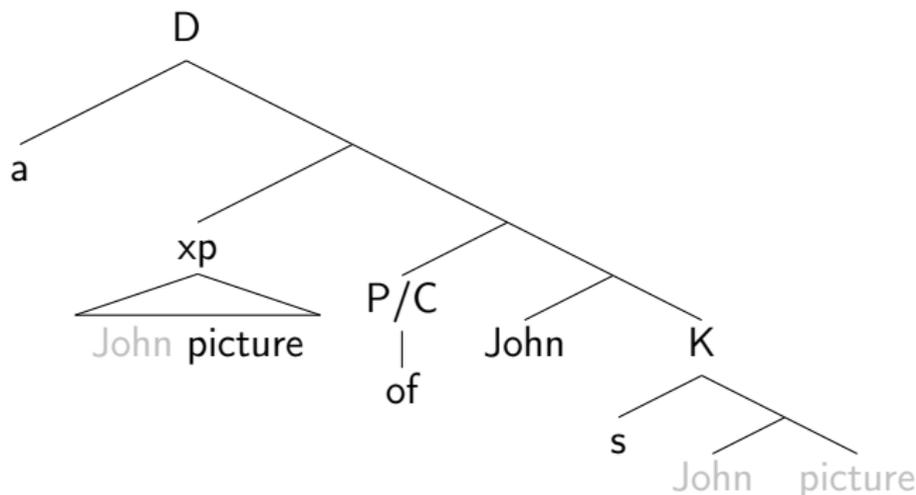- relative clause.

```
        sc
       /  \
   John   picture
```
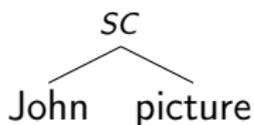
- Merge K, attract John, merge P, attract "Pred" (complement of K: *(continues on next)slide*)

```
          /\
         /  \
   P/C  /    \
    |  John   K
    of       / \
            /   \
           s     \
              John  picture
```

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[11]chapter 15.Note on Prepositions, complementizers, Word Order Universals..

Derivation continued

Merge complement of K with P, Merge D:

- Expectations: c-command
  binding, pronominal binding, parasitic gaps, (Hoekstra 99...) [12]

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[12]Hoekstra 1999 *Parallels between nominal and verbal projections* (in Adger et al)

Follow up on 94. Where is *of* allowed to merge? What does it buy us?

(53) Where can P.. K be merged? *variable*

  a. P...K "of" merges with "nominal T" $-->$ P K
      strictly DP internal

  b. P.. K merges with vP (di/de Romance prepositional
      complementizers), attract IP

  c. $\boxed{\text{P... K merges with vP}}$ *PP extraposition, and DP
      islands* (Kayne 2000, chapter 15)

PP extraposition

PP extraposition from structure building. (there is no PP extraposition per se)

(54)   .. showing [John a picture] to me $--$ > merge K *of*
       .. K showing [John a picture] to me $--$ > attract *John*
       .. John K showing [t a picture] to me $--$ > merge P *of* ..
       of John K showing [t a picture] to me $--$ > move
       complement of K
   .. [showing [t a picture] to me] of John K

- extends to P stranding outside of DP, derivation of subject islands.

An (attempt) to "Backwards control" via movement/relative clause formation: a is like -of

The external argument starts out as spec, vP, but ends up DP internal as a side effect of the derivation.
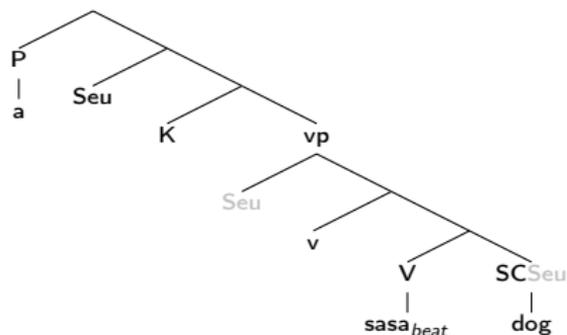
Step1

1. Merge [PRO/Seu NP] as theme.. *no convergence if you don't*
2. Merge *Seu* as agent in Spec, little v
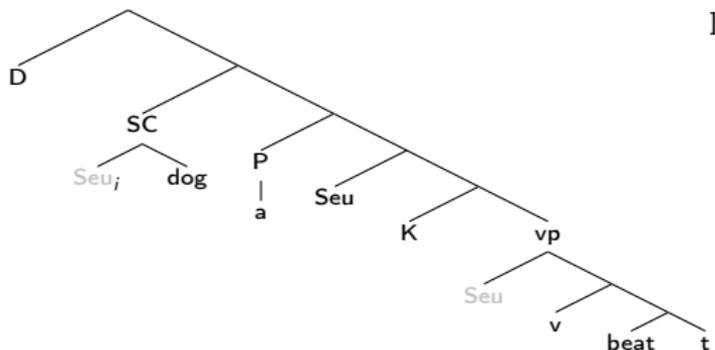3. delete Seu under c-command/ Pronounced highest copy
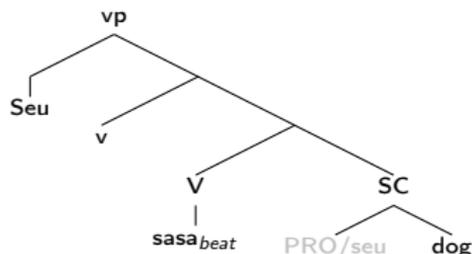
Step2

1. Case: ABS (for affected theme) and GEN a (for external argument/possessor, full DP).

2. Order of Merge Abs > GEN a

3. Merge P.. K a with "vP" (or any structure below Abs but above Q, a. attracts DP
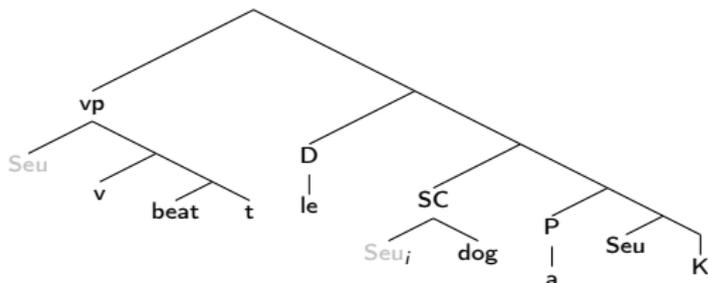
Step3

1. P (a) attracts NP predicate. Merge (relative clause) D: this will just look like a DP with the first copy silent.

Step4

1. Merge complement of K with D: this yields Homer's backward controls structures. (Pabs K still needs to be build.)

Conclusion

- Explored basic properties of Samoan, Polynesian
    - Evidence for remnant VP movement deriving VSO surface order
    - Strong evidence for different Object positions and their interpretive properties: universal? Hierarchy of object positions interacts with Case
    and help localize the problem of oblique/ergative subjects and absolute/nominative objects/ accusative).
    - Strategy of getting around Intervention: low passivization– Ergative is always optional
    - bunding agent as possessor. PAGO constructions ("possessors as agent and goals") (Homer 08, 11) and their properties
    $-->$ _Backward control_
    - Derive backward control from known properties of structure building?
        - what we know about possessives,_of_), attempt at a possible account (inward bound, derivations become deeper but simpler)

Samoan absolute objects C Sc T .. V .. S O

- trouble: for high objects: [O][S v [$_{VP}$]]]
    - external argument optional ($-->$"passive" : VP movement, smuggling object) [13]
    - No accusative, but absolute (No accusative in canonical passives): (related to spell out (verb is in big V))
    - Ergative, only if absolute.. ERG builds on absolutive: (second round of smuggling, necessary to get around intervention)
    - independent evidence: Cause causatives: no possible "accusative" alignment with morphologically simplex verbs (i.e. ERG mapping on Cause, ABS on theme)
      *the storm destroyed the house; *the fever killed him; *the key opened the door *this made John laugh*
      the house destroyed from the storm, etc

- PAGO construction : lit: *rides John's bike = John rides his bike* for ABS objects only Homer 09, 11.[14].

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[13]Koopman, Hilda. ÒSamoan ergatives as double passivizationÓ, in L.BrugÕ, A. Cardinaletti, G Giusti, N. Monera, and C. Poleto (eds), Functional Heads, Oxford University Press: "Passive" (Samoan)

[14]Homer 09. Backward Control in Samoan AFLA 16. Homer 11. To Possess

Basic Facts: C-Command

- TAM V   **Erg**   >   **Abs**

  ⇒ Condition C violation expected in **PAGO**

- TAM V   **Abs**   >/<   **Erg**

  Absolutive DPs c-command **Ergative** DPs only if they are 'scrambled' past them. Ergative c-commands Absolutive.

  ⇒ Condition C violation expected in **PAGO**

Basic Facts: C-Command

- **Absolutive** DPs can be 'scrambled' past **Ergative** DPs;
- An **Ergative** DP binds into an **Absolutive** DP, whatever the surface order may be.

(55) Na tutuli   **e**   **tamā 'uma l.o.na**
      PST <RED>chase ERG boys all   DETSG.POSS.3SG
      tinā.
      mother

      'Each boy chased his own mother.' | Erg Abs |

(56) Na tutuli   **l.o.na**   **tinā** **e**   **tamā**
      PST <RED>chase DETSG.POSS.3SG mother ERG boys
      'uma.
      all

      'Each boy chased his own mother.' | Abs Erg |

Basic Facts: C-Command

- **Oblique** DPs can be scrambled past **Absolute** DPs;
- An **Absolute** DP binds into an **Oblique** DP, whatever the surface order may be.

(57)   E   alolofa   ∅   ∅   **tamā 'uma i**
        PST <RED>love ABS DET.PL boys all   OBL
        l.o.na   **tinā.**
        DETSG.POSS.3SG mother
        'Each boy loves his own mother.'

(58)   E   alolofa   **i**   **l.o.na**   **tinā**   ∅
        PST <RED>love OBL DETSG.POSS.3SG mother ABS
        ∅   **tamā 'uma.**
        DET.PL boys all
        'Each boy loves his own mother.'

Basic Facts: C-Command

- Goal-DPs bind into Theme-DPs in the canonical and in the scrambled order:

(59) Na fāʻali e   Sina ∅ **l.o.na**   **tin**ā   **i**
      PST show ERG Sina ABS DETSG.POSS.3SG mother OBL
      tamā **ʻuma.**
      boys all
      'Sina showed each boy his own mother.'

(60) Na fāʻali e   Sina **i**   **tam**ā **ʻuma** ∅ **l.o.na**
      PST show ERG Sina OBL boys all   ABS DETSG.POSS.3SG
      tinā.
      mother
      'Sina showed each boy his own mother.'