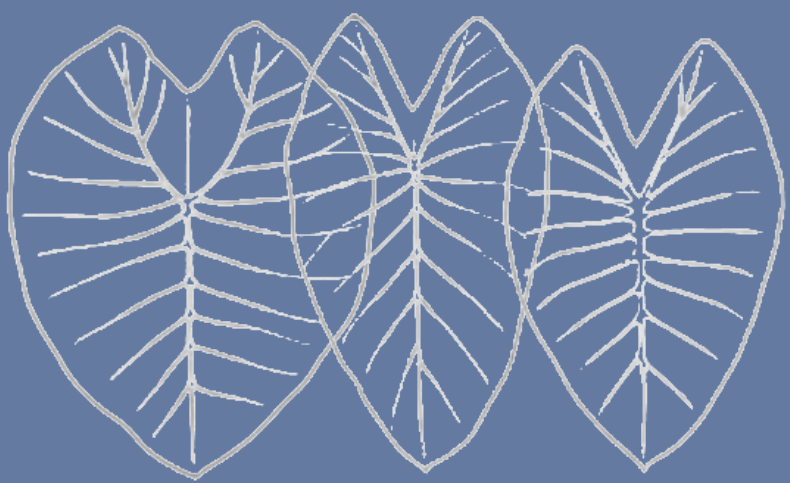
Proceedings of TripleAFLA

9th TripleA workshop for semantic fieldworkers
29th annual meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association



Edited by Vera Hohaus, Jens Hopperdietzel & Siena Weingartz

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Edited by Vera Hohaus, Jens Hopperdietzel & Siena Weingartz
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Taro illustrations from Leo D. Whitney, F. A. I. Bowers & M. Takahashi (1939),
"Taro Varieties in Hawaii", *Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin* 84, Fig. 2, p. 15.
https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/4327

Preface

The TripleAFLA conference was hosted by the Department of Linguistics and English Language at the University of Manchester between the 28th June and the 1st July 2022. The conference was a joint event combining the 9th TripleA workshop for semantic fieldworkers and the 29th annual meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA).

The programme included 22 talks selected by reviewed abstract, of which eight are featured as papers in this volume. Invited talks at the conference were from Sasha Calhoun (Victoria University of Wellington), Tingchun Chen, (National Tsing Hua University, Hsinchu), Joash Gambarage (University of British Columbia, Vancouver), Paloma Jeretič (Leibniz-Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprach-wissenschaft, Berlin), Manfred Krifka (Leibniz-Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), and Luisa Martí (Queen Mary University of London).

We are grateful to the reviewers listed below for their time and feedback.

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The Organisers

Margit Bowler, Emily Hanink, Vera Hohaus,
Jens Hopperdietzel, and Siena Weingartz

Table of Contents

TWO TYPES OF NEGATION IN SAMOAN AND TOKELAUAN*

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Tokelauan and Samoan share many syntactic similarities, including predicate-raising, argument word order and case-assignment. One significant difference is the order of negation and pre-verbal pronouns; Samoan pre-verbal pronouns precede negation while the reverse is true for Tokelauan. This paper accounts for this difference by proposing each language has different types of negation; Samoan has in-situ negation while Tokelauan has clitic negation which attaches to a clause-initial host particle. The difference in order is caused by the roll-up effect of clitics in Tokelauan: a pre-verbal pronoun right-adjoins to negation, which in turn right-adjoins to the tense/aspect/modal (TAM) particle, resulting in a TAM-NEG-*pro* word order. Samoan negation remains in-situ, below the position of the pre-verbal pronoun (which may be analysed as a full DP raising to Spec,TP, or as an enclitic attaching to TAM), creating a surface TAM-*pro*-NEG order.

1. Introduction

Tokelauan and Samoan (both Samoic Polynesian) are sister languages, with many syntactic similarities. At the broadest level, they both have the same verb-initial word order, which has been argued to be formed through predicate-raising (Collins 2017, Middleton and Syed 2022). The verb's arguments follow the same order in both languages (VSO), and a tense/aspect/modal (TAM) particle precedes the verb (1).[1] Both languages have an ergative/absolutive case alignment, with the ergative subject obligatorily overtly marked and absolutive arguments unmarked or marked with *ia* (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992, Hooper 1993).

(1) VSO order in Samoan and Tokelauan

a. Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:108)

Sā	*'ai*	*e*	*le*	*teine*	*le*	*i'a.*
TAM	eat	ERG	DEF	girl	DEF	fish

'The girl ate the fish.'

b. Tokelauan

Na	*tunu*	*e*	*John*	*te*	*ika.*
TAM	cook	ERG	John	DEF	fish

'John cooked the fish.'

* I would like to gratefully thank my consultant, Iutana Pue, for sharing the Tokelauan language with me. Any data that is not referenced to another author is from this author's consultant. I would also like to thank the audience of AFLA 29 for their helpful comments with this research.

[1] Abbreviations used in the data follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Additional abbreviations include: ANP=anaphoric particle; DIR=directional particle; EMPH=emphatic; TAM=tense/aspect/modal particle; CIA=agentive verbal suffix.

Despite the great many similarities between both languages, there is one significant ordering difference in respect to pre-verbal pronouns and negation. Both particles sit between the TAM particle and the predicate, but in Samoan, the pre-verbal pronoun precedes negation, while in Tokelauan the order is reversed (2).

(2) Different orders of pre-verbal pronouns and negation

a. Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:321)

Ua	‘ou	lē	*vaai*	*ia*	*Olioli.*
PRF	1SG	NEG	see	LOC	Olioli

‘I have not seen Olioli.’

b. Tokelauan

E	hē	kō	*tuki-a*	*ia*	*Rangi.*
TAM	NEG	1SG	hit-CIA	ABS	Rangi

‘I will not hit Rangi.’

This paper will not present a re-analysis of Samoan; I adopt the model of Samoan word order proposed by Collins (2017). Instead, this paper will put forward a novel proposal for Tokelauan that explains the Tokelauan order of negation and pre-verbal pronouns, and consequently why the two languages differ in respect to this ordering.

This paper will propose that the contrast is due to different types of negation: Samoan negation is in-situ inside NegP while Tokelauan negation is a clitic, attaching to TAM. For both Samoan and Tokelauan, it is argued that TAM particles are generated in T°, and raised to a higher position (Collins 2017, Middleton 2021). The predicate raises to a position below the TAM particle, resulting in the TAM-Verb surface order. For Samoan, Collins (2017) argues the predicate raises to FP, which is below both NegP and TP. Pre-verbal pronouns are argued to raise to Spec,TP, resulting in the TAM-*pro*-NEG-V order (3a). As the predicate raises to a position below both the pre-verbal pronoun and negation, this movement will not be included in any further discussion.

For Tokelauan, this paper argues that both pre-verbal pronouns and negative particles are clitics, which attach to the TAM particle. Clitics attach to their host via head-movement (Kayne 1975), with a roll-up effect. Their order in the clause spine results in the TAM-NEG-*pro* surface order (3b). Middleton and Syed (2022) propose the predicate raises to Spec,TP, but again, since this movement is not relevant for the order of TAM, negation and pre-verbal pronouns, it will not be included in any further derivations. Likewise, Middleton (2021) argues TAM raises to the left periphery; this movement is not important for this paper.

(3) Derivations of Samoan and Tokelauan

a. Samoan (Collins 2017)

$[_{CP}\ \text{TAM}_i\ [_{Spec,TP}\ pro_k\ [_{T^\circ}\ t_i\ [_{NegP}\ \text{NEG}\ [_{vP}\ t_k\ \text{VERB}]$

b. Tokelauan

$[_{TP}\ \text{TAM=NEG}_i\text{=}pro_k\ [_{NegP}\ t_i\ [_{vP}\ t_k\ \text{VERB}]$

This paper is ordered as follows. Section 2 details the analysis of Collins (2017) for Samoan. Pre-verbal pronouns as full DPs is discussed in Section 2.1 and in-situ negation is covered in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 brings it all together to show how the TAM-*pro*-NEG surfaces in Samoan. Section

3 turns to Tokelauan. A clitic analysis of pre-verbal pronouns is given in Section 3.1 and a novel clitic analysis of negation is presented in Section 3.2. Section 3.3 shows how this causes the TAM-NEG-*pro* in Tokelauan. Section 4 concludes.

2. Samoan TAM-*pro*-NEG order

This section will explain how Samoan TAM-*pro*-NEG word order is derived, via the machinery given by Collins (2017). Samoan is a predicate-raising language, where the object DP is extracted out of the predicate before predicate-movement (Collins 2017). The VP predicate moves to a position higher than the subject, and the resulting word order is VSO. The landing site of the predicate is argued to be the specifier position of functional projection FP, below TP. The TAM particle is generated in T˚ and raises to C˚ via T-to-C movement. Pre-verbal pronouns and negation surface between the predicate and the TAM particle. The exact location of these particles is discussed in the following two subsections.

2.1 Samoan pre-verbal pronouns

The Western Polynesian languages exhibit two sets of pronominals (Moyse-Faurie 1997). Pronouns may appear post-verbally or pre-verbally, with the two sets often having phonological differences. Post-verbal pronouns are overtly marked with case; pre-verbal equivalents are not.

Samoan exhibits pre-verbal pronouns for both ergative subjects and absolutive subjects (4). Moyse-Faurie (1997) notes that Samoan restricts the use of pre-verbal pronouns to first and second person, although some third person pre-verbal pronouns have been observed.

(4) Samoan pre-verbal pronouns (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:333, 123)

a. *Ua* ‘ou *manatua* *ai* *nei* *fo‘i* *upu.*
PRF 1SG remember ANP now also word(PL)
‘I now also remember the words.’

b. *‘O le ā* a‘u *alu.*
FUT 1SG go
‘I shall go.’

Clitic-like properties have been attributed to Samoan pre-verbal pronouns by Moyse-Faurie (1997). However, Collins (2017) argues that pre-verbal subjects are full DPs which are generated in the ordinary subject position, Spec,vP. The pronoun then raises to Spec,TP due to the EPP feature which resides there. The EPP feature, [uD[+*pro*]], only targets weak pronouns (in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke 1999) which explains why only one set of pronouns end up pre-verbally, while strong pronouns remain in-situ. With T-to-C movement raising TAM above Spec,TP, movement of the weak pronoun to Spec,TP results in the TAM-*pro* order.

In many cases, a weak pronoun will not be generated in the clause structure at all. Collins (2017) circumvents this problem by stating that the EPP feature is conditional: if it can be satisfied with the movement of the appropriate constituent it must be. When a weak pronoun is generated, it will always raise to Spec,TP to fulfil the EPP feature. When no weak pronoun exists in the clause, there is no way the EPP feature may be satisfied, meaning the feature fails to apply.

It is important to note that whether we adopt Collin's (2017) full DP analysis or Moyse-Faurie's (1997) clitic model for Samoan pre-verbal pronouns, the surface order will remain the same. A clitic approach has the pronoun right-adjoining onto the TAM particle, meaning the TAM-*pro* order is achieved. Although I propose a clitic analysis for Tokelauan pre-verbal pronouns, this paper remains neutral on the analysis of pre-verbal pronouns in Samoan.

2.2 Samoan negation

Samoan negation surfaces between the TAM particle and the verb (5).

(5) Samoan negation (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:479)

Sā	lē	*malie*	*lava*	*ia*	*le*	*tamā*.
PST	NEG	pleased	EMPH	EMPH	DEF	father

'The father was not at all pleased.'

Collins (2017) suggests that negation is a head that resides in a negative phrase (NegP).[2] This analysis places NegP below TP due to the fact that nominalisations may include negation. Nominalized clauses consist of a determiner followed by a verbal constituent. Notably, this does not include a TAM particle, which suggests that the determiner takes a constituent smaller than TP as its complement (6). As negation may occur in nominalisations (7), Collins argues that NegP must be generated below TP.

(6) Samoan nominalisation without TAM (Collins 2017:33)

[*le*	(*e)	*faigata*	*o*	*le*	*galuega*	*fa'amatua*]
DEF	TAM	difficult	GEN	DEF	work	parental

'the difficulty of parental work'

(7) Samoan nominalisation with negation (Collins 2017:33)

'O	*fa'a-ali*	. . .	[*le*	lē	*fafagaina*	*lelei*	*o*	*ia*].
FOC	visible		DEF	NEG	fed	well	GEN	her

'That she wasn't being fed well . . . was visible.'

NegP is therefore positioned below TP, but is it above the vP or within the predicate VP? Both would result in the correct TAM-*pro*-NEG-Predicate surface order. Collins (2017) argues that NegP is above vP. As (8) demonstrates, negation takes scope over indefinite subjects, meaning NegP must dominate Spec,vP where the subject is generated.

[2] Collins (2017) actually gives two options: negation heads a NegP, or negation adjoins to FP. In the latter proposal, negation must adjoin higher in FP than the predicate does to obtain the NEG-Predicate order, resulting in a double specifier proposal for FP. The NegP option has been adopted in this paper for simplicity, although either model will result in the same word order.

(8) Samoan negation takes scope over indefinite subjects (Collins 2017:34)
E *lē* *tagi* *se* *agelu.*
PRS NEG cry INDF angel
'No angels cry.'
*'An angel doesn't cry.'

Collins (2017) follows the predicate-raising model where the object is extracted before the predicate fronts. The raised predicate therefore contains a copy of the object DP. However, this copy is not bound by the overt object (Heim and Kratzer 1998). As such, Collins claims the VP is interpreted in its merge position rather than the surface position (in Spec,FP). This rules out the possibility that NegP is within the VP, as negation (which must be interpreted in its base-generated position) would not take scope over the subject.

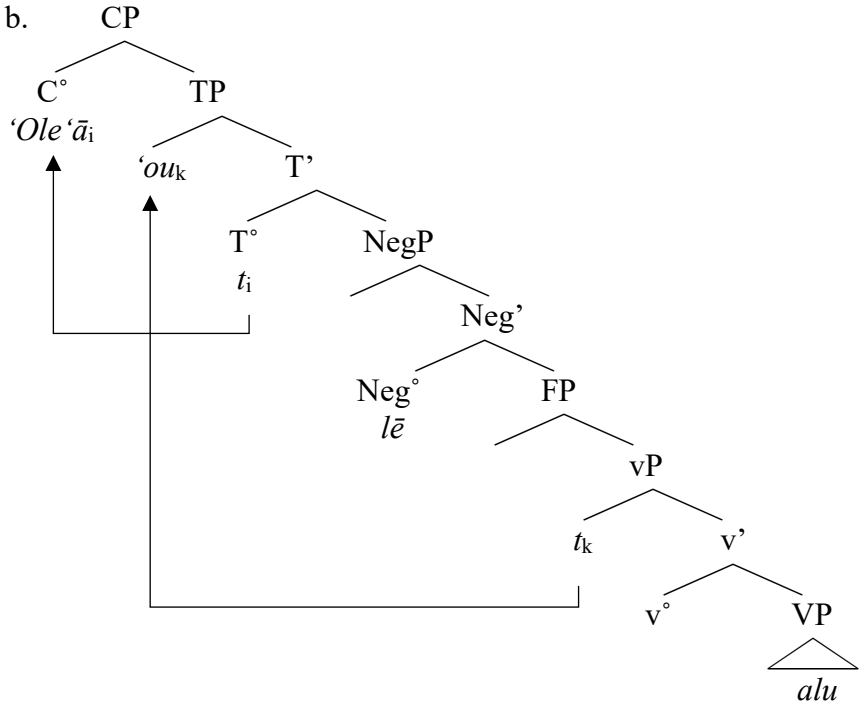
2.3 Samoan TAM-*pro*-NEG order

Following Collins' (2017) analysis of Samoan, we obtain the TAM-*pro*-NEG word order through a series of movements. TAM undergoes T-to-C movement; pre-verbal pronouns raise to Spec,TP; negation remains in-situ below TP and above vP. The clausal structure this results in is given in (9). Note that the VP predicate would raise to FP if this movement was included in the phrase structure schema.

(9) Samoan TAM-*pro*-NEG ordering with full DP pre-verbal pronoun

a. *'Ole'ā* *'ou* *lē* *alu.*
TAM 1SG NEG go
'I will not go.' (Collins 2017:32)

b.



(Collins 2017:32)

3. Tokelauan TAM-NEG-*pro* order

Like Samoan, Tokelauan is a predicate-raising language, but with the predicate raising to Spec,TP (Middleton and Syed 2022). The TAM particle, generated in T°, raises into the left periphery, specifically to the lowest complementiser position FinP (Middleton 2021). Between the predicate and the TAM particle, pre-verbal pronouns and negation appear. The following subsections will argue both particles are clitics attaching to TAM.

3.1 Tokelauan pre-verbal pronouns

The distribution of pre-verbal pronouns in Tokelauan is the most restrictive in the Polynesian languages: only ergative subjects may appear pre-verbally, and this is optional (Hovdhaugen 1989).[3]

(10) Post-verbal and pre-verbal pronouns (Hooper 1993:62)

a. *Na* *velo* e ia *te* *ika.*
PST spear ERG 3SG DEF fish
'He speared the fish.'

b. *Na* ia *velo-a* *te* *ika.*
PST 3SG spear-CIA DEF fish
'He speared the fish.'

Clitic pronouns have been discussed in great depth for Romance languages (Perlmutter 1970, Kayne 1975, 1990, 1991, Zwicky 1977, Bonet 1995, Belletti 2011, Wanner 2011, Rizzi 2019), and to some extent for Polynesian languages (Moyse-Faurie 1997). Moyse-Faurie (1997) claims that all Polynesian pre-verbal pronouns are clitics, meaning a full DP analysis (Collins 2017) is the exception not the rule. In Polynesia, Tongan has been studied most thoroughly, with multiple authors demonstrating that Tongan pre-verbal pronouns are clitics. The clitic host is debated: either the pre-verbal pronoun clitic attaches to the verb (Custis 2004) or the TAM particle (Otsuka 2000, 2005, Ball 2008).

For Tokelauan, syntactic diagnostics suggest that pre-verbal pronouns are clitics attaching to TAM.[4] Pronominal clitics are understood to be D heads, meaning they display head-like properties rather that phrasal characteristics (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). Only phrasal XPs may coordinate, while heads may not (Sportiche 1996, Monachesi 1999). Coordination can therefore

[3] This paper will not address the *-Cia* suffix found on some verbs. This suffix surfaces only on transitive verbs, and only when there is a pre-verbal pronoun or negation (Hooper 1993).

[4] Otsuka (2005) employs stress patterns to demonstrate that Tongan pre-verbal pronouns are clitics. Tongan stress falls on the penultimate mora of every word. On bi-moraic TAM particles such as *'óku*, stress falls on the first vowel. When *'oku* is accompanied by a mono-moraic pre-verbal pronoun, the word is larger, so a stress shift in the TAM occurs, with the stress falling upon the second syllable in *'okú*. Tokelauan conspires against us to use stress as a diagnostic. Like Tongan, stress falls on the penultimate mora (Hooper 1993:11). However, the smallest pre-verbal pronouns are bi-moraic (*kō* 1SG, *kē* 2SG and *ia* 3SG), meaning no stress shift occurs when they attach to a bi-moraic TAM.

be used to identify the status of pre-verbal pronouns. Two coordinated post-verbal pronouns are given in (11a); the same structure with pre-verbal pronouns is ungrammatical (11b).

(11) Coordinated nominals

a. *Na fetaui* koe ma ia *i na falekoloa*.
PST meet 2SG and 3SG LOC DEF.PL shop
'You and him met at the shops.'

b. * *Na* kē ma ia *tunu-a nā ika.*
TAM 2SG and 3SG cook-CIA DEF.PL fish
Intended: 'You and him cooked the fish.'

The ban on coordination indicates pre-verbal pronouns have head-like properties, and as such are clitics.

The host of the clitic can be identified through the location of independent adverbs (Ball 2008). Tokelauan's pre-verbal adverbs intervene between pre-verbal pronouns and the verb (12), indicating that the pronoun is an enclitic, attaching to TAM, rather than a proclitic attaching the verb. It is concluded that Tokelauan pre-verbal pronouns are hosted by the clause-initial TAM particle.

(12) Intervening adverbs between pre-verbal pronoun and verb

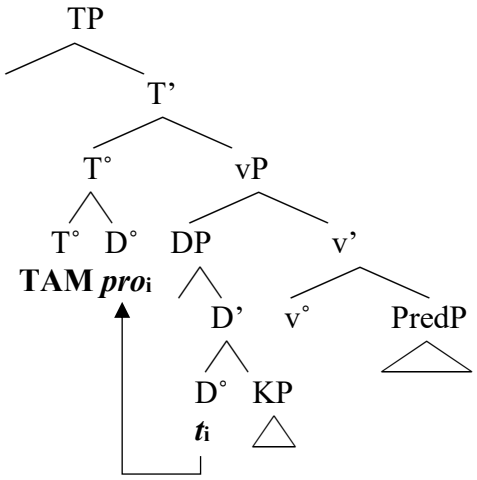
a. *Na ia* toe *velo-a te ika*.
PST 3SG again spear-CIA DEF fish
'He speared the fish again.'

b. *Na ia* hōna *velo-a te ika.*
PST 3SG recklessly spear-CIA DEF fish
'He recklessly speared the fish.'

This paper adopts a movement-approach for clitics (Kayne 1975, 1989, Uriagereka 1995, Anagnostopoulou 2003). The weak pronoun is generated as the head of the subject DP, which takes a null case projection (KP) as its complement (Sportiche 1996). The pronoun undergoes head-movement, adjoining as an enclitic onto the host TAM particle.[5]

[5] This model for pre-verbal pronouns is also adopted by Custis (2004) for Tongan.

(13) *Clitic movement*



3.2 Tokelauan negation

Like Samoan, the negative particle surfaces between TAM and the verb (14). Two forms exist: the imperfective *hē* negates states or situations, while the perfective *hēki* negates events (Hooper 1993:55).

(14) Tokelauan negation

a. *Na* hēki *tuki-a* *e* *John* *ia* *Rangi.*
PST NEG hit-CIA ERG John ABS Rangi
'John didn't hit Rangi.'

b. *Kua* *hē* *ata* *tele* *te* *maile.*
TAM NEG can move DEF dog
'The dog can't move.'

In many Polynesian languages, negation has been analysed as a predicate, which takes a subordinating clause (Hohepa 1969, Chung 1970, 1978, 2021, Waite 1987, Hovdhaugen and Mosel 1999, Custis 2004, Ball 2008, Potsdam and Polinsky 2017, Clemens 2018). In this model, the negative predicate is preceded by its own TAM and the following verb is the predicate of a second clause. In Tokelauan, this analysis is ruled out using *ko*-topicalisation.

Ko-topicalised constituents raise to the left periphery topic position, above the TAM particle. *Ko*-topicalisation is a mono-clausal movement, with the local movement unable to cross clausal boundaries (15).

(15) *Ko*-topics raise to the left periphery of one clause only

E *hē* *kō* *iloa* *e* *John*
TAM NEG 1SG know ERG John
ko te faiaoga *na* *ia* *kai-a* *te* *fuafai*.
TOP DEF teacher PST 3SG eat-CIA DEF banana
'John knows the teacher ate the banana.'

If negatives were predicates in Tokelauan, we would expect sentences with negation to behave as a bi-clausal structure. This means when a DP from the lower clause was *ko*-topicalised, it would only raise to the left periphery of the lower clause. On the surface, the *ko*-topic would follow the negative predicate, as in (16b). In reality, *ko*-topics precede both the TAM particle and the negative (16a), indicating that the sentence is mono-clausal, and that negatives are not predicates in Tokelauan.

(16) *ko*-topicalisation in negated clauses

a. Ko John *kua* *hē* *fano* *nei.*
TOP John TAM NEG go.SG now
'John has not left.'

b. **Kua* *hē* ko John *fano* *nei*.
TAM NEG TOP John go.SG now
Intended: 'John has not left.'

Assuming negation is non-predicative, two other types exist: head-negation, where the negative particle is the head of NegP, and adverb negation, where the negative is an XP constituent (Zanuttini 1997, 2001). The *why not* test (Zeijlstra 2004) may be used to differentiate the two types: 'why not?' is phrasal adjunction, where the negative particle must be phrasal in order to adjoin to the phrasal adverb 'why'. Head negation is unable to form 'why not?' phrases. For example, in French, the head *ne* cannot be used in a 'why not?' phrase, but the negative adverb *pas* can be (17).

(17) French *why not* construction (Zeijstra 2004:155)
Pourquoi *pas/*ne?*
why NEG
'Why not?'

In Tokelauan, negative particles cannot combine with *aihea* 'why' to form a *why not* phrase, indicating that negation is not adverbial, and instead must be a head (of a NegP).

(18) Tokelauan *why not* construction
*Aihea hē/hēki?
why NEG
Intended: 'Why not?'

To locate the placement of NegP, this paper adopts the same diagnostics employed by Collins (2017) for Samoan in section 2.2. Tokelauan negation may occur in nominalisations, indicating that it sits below TP (19).[6] Furthermore, negation takes scope over indefinite subjects (20), which suggests NegP is above vP (rather than inside the predicate VP).

[6] An analysis of nominalisation as a determiner combining with a constituent smaller than TP may require a reanalysis of the landing site of the predicate. Middleton and Syed (2022) claim the predicate raises to Spec,TP, but this may have to be adjusted to a functional projection below TP (like FP, as claimed for Samoan). This is due to the fact that Tokelauan nominalisations also have a fronted predicate, but appear to have no TP layer, so we would have to conclude

(19) Nominalisation with negation (Hooper 1993:87)

[te	hēki	*mauaga*	*o*	*ia]*
DEF	NEG	obtain-NMLZ	GEN	3SG

Lit: 'the failing to find him'

(20) Negation takes scope over indefinite subjects

E	*hē*	*kai-a*	*e*	*ni*	*tino*	*te*	*talo*.
TAM	NEG	eat-CIA	ERG	INDF.PL	man	DEF	taro

'No one (Lit: no men) will eat the taro.'
*'Some men will not eat the taro.'

This paper proposes that negation is a clitic which attaches to a clause-initial particle, which in most cases is TAM. This analysis is given based of the ungrammaticality of examples with negation in which there is no potential clitic host. If negation is a clitic, we expect there always to be a host; for unmarked verbal clauses and nominalisations, there is always a clause-initial head to act as the host. In verbal clauses the host is the TAM particle (21a), while in nominalisations the host is the determiner (21b).

(21) Verbal clauses and nominalisations have a clitic host

a.

E	hēki	*velo-a*	*e*	*ia*	*te*	*ika*.
TAM	NEG	spear-CIA	ERG	3SG	DEF	fish

'He didn't spear the fish.'

b.

*[*te	hē	*kai-ga*	*o*	*te*	*ika*	*ananafi]*
DEF	NEG	eating-NMLZ	GEN	DEF	fish	yesterday

'the not eating fish yesterday'

In contrast, imperative sentences are cross-linguistically known to not include a TP (Platzack and Rosengren 1998), and as TAM is generated in T˚, Tokelauan imperatives have no clause-initial particle to act as a clitic host (22a). As predicted, negation is impossible in imperatives (22b).

(22) Imperatives

a.

Tipi	*te*	*lakau!*
cut	DEF	wood

'Cut the wood!'

b.

*Hēki	*tipi-a*	*te*	*fafie!*
NEG	cut-CIA	DEF	wood

Intended: 'Don't cut the wood!'

Several analyses have been advanced to explain the ban on negative imperatives in negative head languages. One is that imperatives are formed via movement of the verb head to TP/MoodP, and the negative head blocks head-movement of the verb (Zeijlstra 2004). As Tokelauan is a predicate-

that the predicate-landing site is lower than TP. This issue is left for further research; it does not have a bearing on the word order analysis in this paper.

fronting language, this is not a suitable explanation. An alternative analysis is that NegP resides above TP, and so imperatives, which do not have a TP layer, cannot also contain a NegP (Zanuttini 1994). However, as nominalised clauses in Tokelauan may have negation (21b), we assume NegP is below TP. I suggest that the lack of a suitable host blocks negation from occurring in imperatives, as the clitic has nothing to attach to.

In addition to negative imperatives, nominal predicates also do not have a potential clitic host. Nominal predicates have a predicate marker *ko*, but no TAM particle (23).[7]

(23) Nominal predicates have no TAM

(*E)	*ko*	*he*	*tautai*	*te*	*tamaloa.*
TAM	PRED	INDF	fisherman	DEF	man

'The man is a fisherman.'

Nominal predicates cannot be negated with the negative particle in the usual pre-predicate position (24). Again, I propose this is due to the lack of a suitable clitic host.

(24) Nominal predicate with negation

*Hē	*ko*	*he*	*tautai*	*te*	*tamaloa*.
NEG	PRED	INDF	fisherman	DEF	man

Intended: 'The man is not a fisherman.'

Since no potential clitic host exists, imperatives and nominal predicates adopt different strategies for negation. Negative imperatives are formed with *nahe* (25).

(25) Negative imperatives with nahe

Nahe	*tipi-a*	*te*	*fafie*!
NEG.IMP	cut-CIA	DEF	wood

'Don't cut the wood!'

This paper proposes *nahe* is a grammaticalisation of the TAM particle *na* and the stative negative form *hē*. Since negation requires a clitic host, the presence of a TAM particle in this negative imperative particle is unsurprising. In fact, this analysis is supported by the occurrence for *ko*-topicalised constituents in negative imperatives. The assumption that *nahe* is formed from a negative and a TAM particle implies the existence of a TP layer where the TAM may be generated. Nominals from within a negative imperative may be fronted and topicalised (26). This suggests that negative imperatives have a left periphery, which entails the existence of a lower TP layer.

[7] This predicate marker has the same form as the *ko* marker which precedes *ko*-topicalised nominals. However, the two are different morphemes, since the subject of a nominal predicate may be *ko*-topicalised, resulting in two *ko*-marked DPs next to each other, the first being the *ko*-topic and the second being the nominal predicate (Hooper 1993).

(26) *Ko*-topicalisation in negative imperatives (Hooper 1993:58)

Ko	te	ika	*nahe*	*poapoa*	*mai-a*
TOP	DEF	fish	NEG.IMP	feed-bait	DIR-CIA
ki	*te*	*tafāvaka*.			
to	DEF	beside-canoe			

'Don't lure the fish up to the side of the canoe.'

I suggest that that negative imperatives make use of a last resort TAM particle, which has become grammaticalized into a single negative imperative particle over time.

Nominal predicates employ a similar strategy to circumvent the lack of a suitable clitic host. To negate nominal clauses, a last resort TAM particle appears, in a clause-initial position, to act as the clitic host (27).

(27) Nominal predicate with negation and TAM

E	hē	*ko*	*he*	*tautai*	*te*	*tamaloa.*
TAM	NEG	PRED	INDF	fisherman	DEF	man

'The man is not a fisherman.'

I suggest that this TAM particle is employed as a last resort clitic host for the negative particle. If negation is a clitic, it requires something to attach to; when no host occurs, a last resort TAM particle is generated to act as the host. This explains why there is an obligatory TAM particle in negative nominal predicates, even when no TAM particle is seen in positive nominal predicate clauses. This is supported by the fact that when there is a potential host, such as an overt complementiser in bi-clausal structures, the last resort TAM particle is no longer required (28).

(28) Subordinate negated nominal clauses with no TAM

E	*mafai*	ke	hē	*ko*	*Viliamu*	*te*	*faiaoga*.
TAM	possible	COMP	NEG	PRED	Viliamu	DEF	teacher

'It is possible that William is not the teacher.'

2.3 Tokelauan TAM-NEG-*pro* order

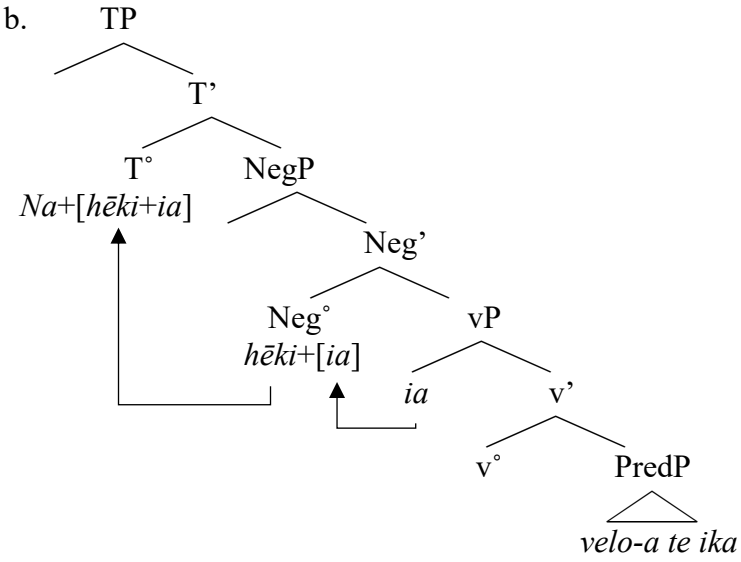
Having argued that both pre-verbal pronouns and negation are clitics in Tokelauan, all that is left to explain is the relative order of these clitics.

The TAM-NEG-*pro* order falls out for free if we adopt the head-movement approach for clitics (Kayne 1975). Both negation and pre-verbal pronouns are enclitics, appearing to the right of TAM. This means the clitics 'tuck in' to the right side of the head they raise to. Recall that NegP is generated higher in the clause than Spec,vP; the subject pronoun will be the first clitic to raise via head-movement. Therefore, when a pre-verbal subject pronoun is generated in Spec,vP, it will raise to Neg°, tucking in to the right. This forms the correct NEG-*pro* ordering seen on the surface. Thereafter, the combined NEG-*pro* head raises to TAM, tucking in to the right, resulting in the TAM-NEG-*pro* order. A diagram of how this movement forms the correct order of (29a) is given in (29b).

(29) Tokelauan pre-verbal pronouns and negation clitic movement

a. *Na* *hēki* *ia* *velo-a* *te* *ika.*
TAM NEG 3SG spear-CIA DEF fish
'He didn't spear the fish.'

b.



4. Conclusion

This paper has identified a curious difference in word order for two very closely related languages, Samoan and Tokelauan. While most things in the basic clause have the same linear order, preverbal pronouns and negation have different orders in each language. I argue that this is attributable to two different models for negation in Samoan and Tokelauan.

In Samoan, negation remains in-situ in NegP, which sits below TP (Collins 2017). Pre-verbal pronouns raise to Spec,TP, and TAM particles raise from T° to C°. The resulting surface word order is TAM-*pro*-NEG.

This paper proposes that in Tokelauan, both pre-verbal pronouns and negation are clitics attaching to a clause-initial TAM. NegP is generated higher than Spec,vP where the pronouns originate. The roll-up effect of the enclitics raising to TAM first forms a NEG-*pro* head, and then a TAM-NEG-*pro* head. This accounts for the difference in surface orders between Samoan and Tokelauan.

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