Causative morphology in resultative secondary predication: The case of Samoan *fa'a-*

Introduction: In the Polynesian language Samoan (Austronesian, Oceanic), resultative secondary predication (RSP) exhibits causative morphology on the result denoting secondary predicate (3) (Mosel 2004). Such an overt marking of the causative relation between the two predicates in an RSP is rather unexpected cross-linguistically (Williams 2012, Larson 1991). Based on a detailed analysis of Samoan causatives (cf. Alexiadou et.al. 2015, Pylkkänen 2008), I will claim that the occurrence of causative morphology in RSP is determined by language specific spell-out rules that are sensitive to the presence of a voice head in its higher syntactic structure (cf. contextual allomorphy; Marantz 2013). Thereby, this talk provides not only a first investigation of causative/resultative constructions in Samoan, but also adds a new perspective to the recent discussion on bundling phenomena in the world's languages (cf. Harley 2017).

Data: In Samoan (VSO word order, dependent-marking, split-ergative), stative predicates are causativized by the prefix *fa'a-*. This is shown in (1) where the stative predicate *mamā* 'be.clean' is derived by the causative prefix *fa'a-* leading to the causative interpretation where the result state is encoded by the stative property concept (PC) root (Tollan 2018, Read 2010).

(1) a. *E mamā lo'u tino*
PRES clean 1.SG.POSS body
'My body is clean.' (Milner 1966: 127)

b. *'Ua fa'a-mamā e a'u le ta'avale*
PERF CAUS-clean ERG 1SG.PRON SPEC car
'I have cleaned the car.' (Hohaus 2016: 107)

In the case of RSP, an additional manner verb (V_1) occurs before the causativized PC root (V_2) specifying the causing event that leads to a change of state (COS) (2) (Mosel 2004).

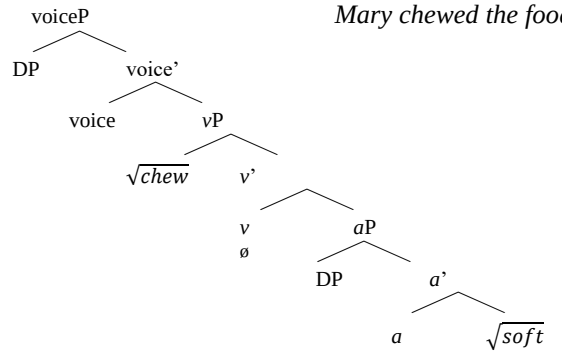
(2) […] *e [lamu **fa'a**-malū] ai mea 'ai.*
PRES chew CAUS-soft ANAPH thing eat
'[molars are broad and big teeth which are used to] chew the food soft.' (Mosel & So'o 2000: 62)

This pattern contrasts resultatives in wide range of the world's languages such as English, the result state is necessarily encoded by a non-verbal element without overt COS morphology (3) (Williams 2012, Kratzer 2005, Embick 2004, Larson 1991).

(3) a. *Mary pounded the apple flat*
b. **Mary pounded the apple flattened. // *Mary pound-flattened the apple.* (Embick 2004: 359)

Framework: Adopting a syntactic approach on event decomposition and argument structure building (Alexiadou et.al. 2015, Marantz 2012, Embick 2009), I will assume that roots enter the syntactic derivation uncategorized and without any denotation of their event type. Instead, roots get their categorization by merging with an eventive/stative categorizing head (*v*, *a*; Embick & Marantz 2008). Crucially, the structural configuration of how roots combine with *v* give rise to a particular semantic interpretation: If a root specifies *v*, it gets a manner interpretation; if a root is the complement of *v* it gets a state/result interpretation (Alexiadou & Lohndal 2011; cf. manner/result complementary, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1998). In a RSP like (4), the manner root *chew* is specifying *v*, while the secondary predicate *flat* is merged in its complement position. Note that the secondary predicate must be previously categorized as a single verbalizer categorizes is only able to categorize a single root (Embick 2004).

(4) *Mary chewed the food soft.*



Analysis: To explore the internal syntactic structure of Samoan causatives/resultatives, I will first classify Samoan *fa'a-* causative according to Pylkkänen's (2008) typology of causatives as phrase-selecting. Evidence for this classification comes from the application of language

specific tests: (a) *fa'a-* takes transitive compliments (Tollan 2018), (b) the argument structure of embedded predicates is preserved under causativization as pseudo noun incorporation (which is limited to internal arguments) is only possible with embedded unaccusative but not with embedded ergative verbs (Collins 2016) and (c) categorizing morphology (like stativizer *ma-*) may occur between *fa'a-* and the root. Secondly, based on the comparison of causative alternations in English and Samoan, I will argue that the presence of *fa'a-* is determined by a voice head in the higher structure. As shown in (5), in English derived inchoatives and causatives are marked alike *(-en)* while in Samoan only derived causatives exhibit an overt realization (*fa'a-*).

(5)

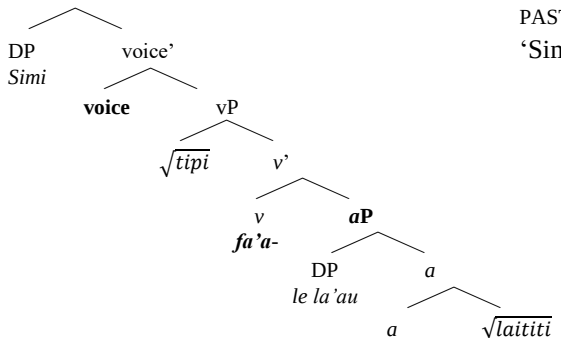
	Root	**Simple state**	**Inchoative**	**Causative**
English	$\sqrt{soft}$	*soft*	*soften*	*soften*
Samoan	$\sqrt{malu}$ 'soft'	*malu*	*malu*	*fa'a-malu*

Following Alexiadou et.al. (2015), COS semantics are read off the structural configuration (<e <s>>) (cf. von Stechow 1996). Therefore, inchoatives and causatives differ structurally only in the presence of a voice projection: While causatives exhibit a voice projection that introduces a causer agent, inchoatives lack such a projection (Schäfer 2012). Thereby, *-en* is analyzed as the spell-out of *v* in the context of a stative root complement (6a). Adopting this analysis, I claim that in Samoan, a stative complement alone does not trigger a morphological realization of *v* (cf. inchoatives). The spell-out is additionally determined by the presence of a higher voice head which introduces a causer agent (6b) (cf. contextual allomorphy; Marantz 2013).

(6) a. English: [*v*] ↔ *-en* / [$_{vP}$ ___ $\sqrt{}_{<s>}$] b. Samoan: [*v*] ↔ ø / [$_{vP}$ ___ XP$_{<e/s>}$]
↔ *fa'a-* / [$_{voiceP}$ voice [$_{vP}$ ___ XP$_{<e/s>}$]

Based on the analysis of Samoan causatives above, I suggest that the crucial difference between Samoan and English RSP is based on the language specific spell-out rules for COS morphology as formulated in (6): While the spell-out rule for *fa'a-* is met in Samoan (7), this is not the case in English as the stative XP complement blocks the realization of *v* as *–en* (4).

(7) a.



b. *Sā* *[tipi* ***fa'a****-laititi]* *e* *Simi* *le* *la'au*
PAST cut CAUS-small ERG Simi SPEC tree
'Simi cut the tree small.' (Collins 2016: 22)

Conclusion: By providing a first detailed analysis of Samoan causatives and resultatives, I argue that the occurrence of causative morphology is determined by language specific spell-out rules that are sensitive to the presence of a higher voice head which are fulfilled in the case of Samoan RSP but not in languages such as English. Moreover, my talk contributes to recent discussions of argument structure alternations (cf. Beavers et.al. 2017) and bundling phenomena in the verbal domain (cf. Harley 2017) in the world's languages.

(Selected) references: Alexiadou, A. et.al. 2015. *External arguments in transitivity alternations.* Oxford: OUP. • Alexiadou, A. & T. Lohndal. 2011. The syntax and semantics of roots. Ms. U Stuttgart & U Maryland. • Collins, James. 2016. Samoan predicate initial word order and object positions. *NLLT* 35(1). 1-59. • Embick, D. 2009. Roots, states, and stative passives. Talk, Roots Workshop, Stuttgart. • Larson, R. 1991. Some issues in verb serialization. In C. Lefebvre (ed.), *Serial verbs,* 185-210. Amsterdam: Benjamins. • Marantz, A. 2013. Locality domains for contextual allomorphy across the interfaces. In O. Matushansky & A. Marantz, *Distributed Morphology Today,* 95-116. Cambridge: MIT Press. • Mosel, U. 2004. Complex predicates […] in Samoan. In I. Bril & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages,* 263-296. Berlin: deGruyter. • Pylkkänen, L. 2008. *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge: MITP. • Schäfer, F. 2012. Two types of external argument licensing. *Studia Linguistica* 66(2). 128-180. • Tollan, R. 2018. Ergatives are different: Two types of transitivity in Samoan. Glossa 3(1). 35. • Williams, A. 2015. *Arguments in Syntax and Semantics*. Cambridge: CUP.