Causative morphology in resultative secondary predication: The case of Samoan *fa'a-*[1]

Jens Hopperdietzel
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
jens.hopperdietzel@hu-berlin.de

1 Introduction

- As typical for Oceanic languages, resultative secondary predication (RSP) in Samoan is realized by Serial Verb Construction (RSVC) (Collins 2016, Mosel 2004; cf. Verkerk & Frostad 2013 for an overview on RSP in Oceanic).

(1) a. *e* *[lamu* ***fa'a****-malū]* *ai* *mea* *'ai.*
PRES chew CAUS-soft ANAPH thing eat
'chew the food soft.' (Samoan; Mosel & So'o 2000: 62)

b. *[sele* ***fa'a****-pupu'u]* *le* *lauulu* *i* *se* *seleulu* […]
cut CAUS-short SPEC hair with SPEC scissors
cut the hair short with scissors […].' (Samoan; Mosel & So'o 2000: 26)

c. *Sā* *[auli****fa'a****-mafolafola]* *e* *le* *tamāloa* *le* *tagamea.*
PAST iron CAUS-flat ERG SPEC man SPEC laundry
'The man ironed the shirts flat.' (Samoan; Collins 2016: 22)

- In (1), an initial manner verb (V_1) specifies an event that causes a change of state (COS), while the result state is expressed by a property concept root (V_2). Crucially, the result denoting root is marked obligatorily by the causative prefix *fa'a-* (Mosel 2004).

- However, the marking of the causative relation by a special morpheme within RSP is rather unexpected cross-linguistically (cf. Larson 1991):

  - In non-serializing languages like English, the result state is necessarily encoded by a non-verbal element (*a*P, PP/SC) which is combined with a manner verb without overt causative/inchoative morphology (Williams 2012, Embick 2004, Kratzer 2005).

(2) a. *Mary pounded the apple flat.*
b. **Mary pounded the apple flattened.*
c. **Mary pound-flattened the apple.* (English; Embick 2004: 359)

  - In other serializing languages like Édò (Stewart 2001), Mandarin (Lin 2004) or Daakaka (von Prince 2015), the result state is encoded via a 'stative verb' without overt causative morphology.

[1] I would like to thank Artemis Alexiadou, Nils Hirsch, Vera Hohaus, Itamar Kastner, Benjamin Lowell Sluckin, Diane Massam, Louise McNally, Despina Oikonomou, Florian Schäfer, Giorgos Spathas, Tonjes Veenstra and Malte Zimmermann as well as the audience at the Workshop on Polynesian Syntax in University of Toronto, Canada, for their helpful discussion of this project. This work was funded by *AL 554/8-1, DFG Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Preis 2014 awarded to Artemis Alexiadou.*

Morpheme glosses: 1,2,3 = 1st, 2nd and 3rd person; ABS = absolutive; ACC = accusative; ANAPH = anaphoric pronoun; CAUS= causativizer; ERG = ergative; GEN = genitive; OBL = oblique; PAST = past; PERF = perfect; PRES = present; PRON = pronoun; REAL = realis; SG = singular; SPEC = specifier; STAT = stativizer.

(3) a. *Òzó gbéV èmá!tón wènrénV.*
Ozo beat metal be.thin
'Ozo beat the metal thin'. (Èdó; Stewart 2001)

b. *Ya=m teV ma mwelíliV.*
3PL=REAL hit REAL be.small
'They hit them small.' (Daakaka)

Question: What determines the occurrence of causative morphology in Samoan-type RSP?

➔ In this talk, I propose that in Samoan-type languages, causative morphology is the spell-out of the eventive verbalizer *v* which is sensitive to the presence of *voice* in bi-eventive contexts. Crucially, this structural configuration is matched in RSP.

Outline:

~~1. Introduction~~
2. Background on Samoan
3. Resultative Secondary Predication
4. A syntactic approach to event decomposition
5. *fa'a-* causatives
6. Causative morphology in RSP
7. Conclusion

2 Background on Samoan

- Samoan (Polynesian, Oceanic, Austronesian) is spoken by approx. 470,000 speakers, mostly on the islands of the Samoan archipelgo (Ethnologue 2018).

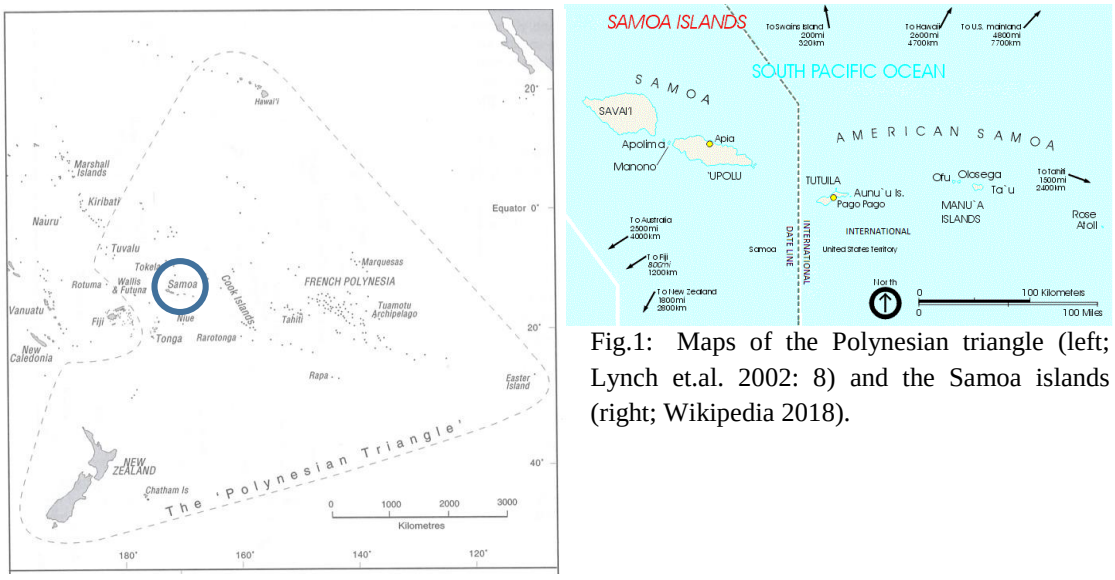


Fig.1: Maps of the Polynesian triangle (left; Lynch et.al. 2002: 8) and the Samoa islands (right; Wikipedia 2018).

2.1 Basic Word Order

- The basic word order in Samoan is VSO.

(4) a. *Sā kiki [e le teine]*Subj *[le polo]*Obj.
PAST kick ERG SPEC woman SPEC ball.ABS
'The girl kicked the ball.' (Tollan 2018: 5)

2.2 Categories

- In Samoan, lexical items seem to be underspecified regarding to their categorical class:

➔ With a few restrictions, roots can function as Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, etc. without any derivational morphology.

➔ The function of these elements is therefore primarily understood from the structural (functional) context of the root. (Mosel 2004, Mosel & Hovdaugen 1992)

- Crucially, while an adjectival or adverbial class is almost absent, 'stative verbal' roots are commonly used in these contexts (5).

(5) a. *e* *lelei* …. predicative
PRES good
'… is good.' (Mosel & Hovdaugen 1992: 74)

b. *'o* *le* *mea* *lelei* attributive
PRES SPEC thing good
'The good thing.' (Mosel & Hovdaugen 1992: 74)

c. *e* *susulu* *lelei* *ai* *le* *lā* adverbial
PRES shine good ANAPH SPEC sun
'The sun shines nicely.' (Mosel 2004: 278)

- In the following, I will treat these 'adjectical verbs/verbal adjectives' as underlyingly adjectival (cf. Dixon 2004, Baker 2003; contra Mosel 1994, Seiter 1980 on Niuean).[2]

2.3 Case Marking

- Samoan is a split-ergative language (Tollan 2018, Yu 2017, Collins 2014, Chung 1978):

(6) a. *Sā* *kiki* *[e* *le* *teine]* *[le* *polo]*. ergative
PAST kick ERG SPEC girl SPEC ball.ABS
'The girl kicked the ball.' (Tollan 2018:5)

b. *Sā* *mulimuli* *[le* *leoleo]* (*[i* *le* *au gaoi]*.) middle
PAST follow SPEC police.ABS ACC SPEC robbers
'The police followed the robbers.' (Tollan 2018: 9)

c. *Sā* *siva* *[le* *teine]*. intransitive
PAST dance SPEC girl.ABS
'The girl danced.' (Tollan 2018: 5)

- Based on the observation of optional transitivity of Samoan middle verbs, Tollan (2018) proposes a split in the *voice* domain (cf. Dowty 1979):

(7) voice^0 ➔ introduces 'high' agentive external arguments (cf. Legate 2008, Aldridge 2004)
➔ assigns inherent ergative case in the context of ergative verbs
(8) Abs^0 ➔ introduces 'low' agentive external arguments (cf. Massam to appear, 2009)
➔ assigns absolutive case to external arguments in the context of middle verbs

3 Resultative secondary predication

3.1 Background

- RSP is a form of complex predicate formation, i.e. secondary predication, that has gained a lot of attention in syntactic/semantic research for a long time (e.g. Beavers 2012, Kratzer 2005, Embick 2004, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2001, Dowty 1979) and typology in more recent years (e.g. Riaubiene 2015, Verkerk & Frostad 2013).

[2] It is still an open question whether this kind of statives should be classified as verbs, adjectives or both in Oceanic (cf. Chung 2012 on Chamorro, Nuger 2016 on Palauan). To my analysis, the exact category is not important.

(9) Definition (Williams 2015):
A resultative secondary predication is a single clause comprising two overt predicates, a manner predicate, that describes the process, and a result predicate, that describes the result state caused by the first predicate.

(10) *Anna hammered the metal flat.* English

- Typologically, RSP is widely attested, but it shows some crucial variation across languages (cf. Haider 2016, Mateu 2011).

- One established split has been observed between serializing and non-serializing languages according to the categorical nature of the result-denoting secondary predicate (Williams 2015, Mateu 2011, Tomioka 2005, Stewart 2001, Larson 1991 and others):

(11) Serialization Parameter (Larson 1991)
a. non-serializing languages: AP/NP/PP but *VP
b. serializing languages: VP but *NP (?PP, ?AP)

- Non-serializing languages:

(12) a. *Mary pounded the apple flat.*
b. **Mary pounded the apple flattened.*
c. **Mary pound-flattened the apple.* (English; Embick 2004: 359)

- Serializing languages:

(13) a. *Òzó gbé*$_V$ *èmá!tón wènrén*$_V$.
Ozo beat metal be.thin
'Ozo beat the metal thin.' (Èdó; Stewart 2001)

b. *Ya=m te*$_V$ *ma mwelili*$_V$.
3PL-REAL cut REAL be.small
'They cut them small.' (Daakaka)

3.2 Causative morphology in Oceanic RSP

- In their typological study on RSVCs in Oceanic languages, Verkerk & Frostad (2013) revealed a type of RSP that exhibits causative morphology on secondary predicates.

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

b. *Ye-koi-**he**-mwaloi-ø* Saliba
3SG-hit-CAUS-dead-3SG
'He hit it dead.' (Margetts 1999:118)

c. *Aye to koc **fa**-ta-keres=e* Taiof
3SG REAL bite CAUS-STAT-tear=3SG
'He tore it with his teeth.' (Ross 2002: 432)

- Typically, the manner component is expressed by a (transitive) manner predicate (V_1), while the result state is encoded by a causativized PC-root (V_2).

(15) [V_{manner} CAUS-$V_{PROPERTY\ CONCEPT}$]

- Cross-linguistically, this pattern is rather unexpected as it seems to be only marginally present in serializing, but also non-serializing languages outside of the Oceanic language family (cf. Haider 2016, Riaubiene 2015, Verkerk & Frostad 2013).

3.3 RSP in Samoan

- In Samoan, the causative morpheme *fa'a-* occurs obligatorily on result denoting root (Mosel 2004, Mosel & Hovdaugen 1992).

(16)	a.	*lamu*	*fa'a-malū*	chew	CAUS-soft	'chew soft'	(Mosel & So'o 2000: 62)
	b.	*tipi*	*fa'a-nini'i*	cut	CAUS-small	'cut small'	(Mosel & So'o 2000: 73)
	c.	*su'i*	*fa'a-umi*	sew	CAUS-long	'sew long'	(Mosel & So'o 2000: 28)
	d.	*sele*	*fa'a-pupu'u*	cut	CAUS-short	'cut short'	(Mosel & So'o 2000: 26)

- The distribution of roots that can occur as V_1 or V_2 in such a construction is predictable by the semantic type of the root (cf. Manner/Result complementarity; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1998):

(17) a. V_1 ➔ (transitive) Manner roots (e.g. *tipi, sele* 'cut', *auli* 'iron', *lamu* 'chew')
b. V_2 ➔ Property concepts roots (e.g. *lāiti* 'small', *umi* 'long')

- Both elements in a RSVCs seem to be very close syntactically as there are no syntactic elements (such as adverbial modifiers or depictives) that might occur in between V_1 and V_2. Instead these elements occur to the right of the complex predicate (Collins 2016, Read 2010, Mosel 2004).

(18)	*[…]*	*'ua*	*[[tatipi*	*fa'a-lāiti]*	*'uma]*	*o'u*	*'ofu*	*ā'oga*	*[…]*
		PERF	cut	CAUS-small	all	my.PL	dress	school	

'… my school dresses were all cut to make them small (for my sister)…' (Falealili 1970:20)

4 A syntactic approach to event decomposition

- Within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Marantz 1997, Halle & Marantz 1993), event decomposition and argument structure is assumed to be built within the syntactic derivation (e.g. Alexiadou et.al. 2015, Ramchand 2008, Folli & Harley 2005).

4.1 Root Hypothesis

- Roots themselves are acategorical and do not make reference to their category, argument structure or event type by themselves (cf. Acquaviva 2009, Borer 2005, Arad 2005)

- Instead, roots get their categorization by merging with a categorizing/event introducing head (e.g. *v* or *a*). During this process roots also get its idiosyncratic meaning (Embick & Marantz 2008, Arad 2005).

(19) a. *v*P b. *a*P

- In this talk, I assume an eventive verbalizer that introduces an underspecified event variable and a stative adjectivizer that introduces a state variable (cf. Nuger 2016).

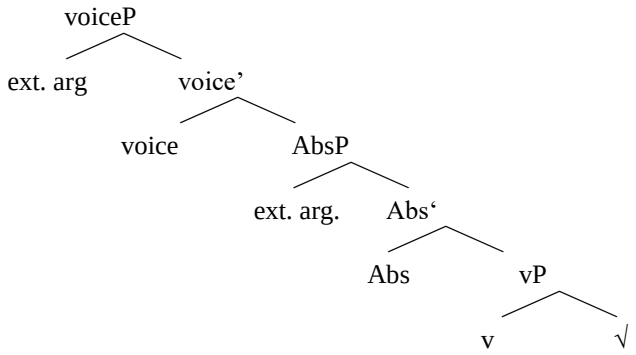
(20) a. *v*: λe. … b. *a*: λs. …

4.2 Argument structure

- The external argument is introduced by a separate *voice* projection (Alexiadou et.al 2006, Kratzer 1996 and others) which takes a *v*P as its complement.

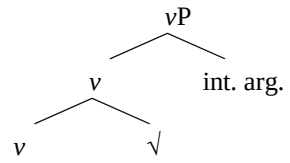
- As mentioned above, Samoan exhibits a split-*voice* structure, including *voice*P and AbsP (Tollan 2018).

(21)

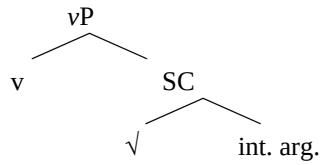


- The internal argument is either introduced in the complement of *v* (20a) or within a small clause (20b) (cf. Lohndal 2014, Acquaviva 2009, Borer 2005, Lin 2004).

(22) a.



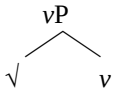
b.



4.3 Event decomposition

- Adopting Alexiadou et.al. (2015), event decomposition includes just a single event layer, namely *v* (contra 'flavors of *v*'; Harley 2017, Folli & Harley 2005, Lin 2004).
- Crucially, the structural configuration of how roots combine with *v* give rise to a particular semantic interpretation (Alexiadou & Lohndal 2011; cf. Alexiadou & Lohndal 2017 for recent discussion):
  - If the root specifies *v*, it gets a manner interpretation.

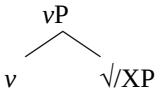
(23)



→ like *pound, run, lamu* 'chew' etc.

  - If the root is the complement of *v*, it gets a state/result interpretation.

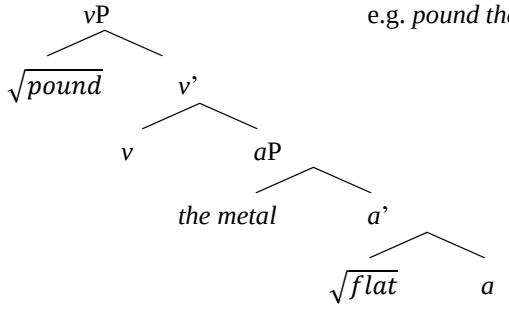
(24)



→ like *flatten, darken, fa'a-malu* 'CAUS-soft' etc.

- Under this view, a RSP occupies both structural at once:

(25)



e.g. *pound the metal flat*

➔ While one root (here: *pound*) specifies the manner component of an eventive *v* head, another root (here: *flat*) is in its complement position specifying the result state of the causing event expressed by the first root (22).

- Note that the causative semantics is read off the structural configuration <e<s>> (Alexiadou et.al. 2015, Marantz 2009, von Stechow 1996).

5 *fa'a-* causatives

- To investigate Samoan RSP, I first classify Samoan *fa'a-* according to the typology proposed in Pylkkänen (2008) with regard to its selectional properties and its location.

5.1 Selectional properties

- In Samoan, causatives are derived by the causative prefix *fa'a-* which attaches to unaccusative (24a/b), unergative (24c) and middle predicates (24d), but not to ergative predicates (24e) (Tollan 2018, Read 2010, Collins 2010).

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

b. *Sā fa'a-puna e le teine le vai.* *dynamic unaccusative*
PAST CAUS-boil ERG SPEC girl SPEC water
'The girl boiled the water.' (Tollan 2018: 27)

c . *Sā fa'a-siva e le tamāloa le teine.* *unergative*
PAST CAUS-dance ERG SPEC man SPEC girl
'The man made the woman dance.' (Tollan 2018: 27)

d. *Sā fa'a-manao e le tame le teine i le masi.* *middle*
PAST CAUS-want ERG SPEC boy SPEC girl *ACC* SPEC cookie
'The boy made the girl want the cookie.' (Tollan 2018: 28)

e . * *Sā fa'a-sasa e le tamāloa le teine i le maile.* *ergative*
PAST CAUS-hit ERG SPEC man SPEC girl *ACC* SPEC dog
Intended: 'The man made the girl hit the dog.' (Tollan 2018:29)

➔ *fa'a-* is able to take phrasal complements of the size of AbsP, but not of *voice*P.

➔ Embedded syntactic structure is preserved under causativization.

5.1.1 Pseudo Noun Incorporation (PNI) of objects

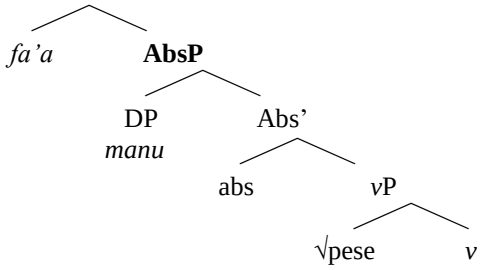
- Collins (2016, 2010) points out that PNI in the context of causativized predicates is possible only with embedded unaccusatives (27a), but not with unergatives (27b).

(27) a. *E fa'a-leaga i'a le tamaloa.*
PRES CAUS-bad fish SPEC man
'The man spoils fish.' (Collins 2010)

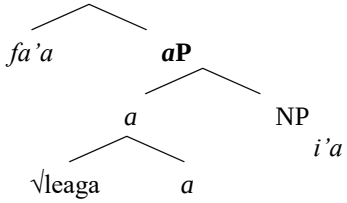
b. * *E fa'a-pese manu le fafine.*
PRES CAUS-sing bird SPEC woman
'The woman makes birds sing.' (Collins 2016: 42)

- As only internal arguments can be subject to PNI in Samoan, this pattern suggest that unaccusative object are generated as internal arguments (28a) while the external argument of a causativized unergative is still in an external argument position (Spec, AbsP (28b) (cf. Collins 2016).

(28) a.



b.



➔ *fa'a-* selects phrasal complements as it does not change the argument structure of the embedded verb by persevering structural constraints.

5.1.2 De-ergative/resultative predicates:

- Certain ergative result roots (like *fa'i* 'break', *goto* 'sink') can be derived with the stativizer prefix (*ma-*) to form result-state predicates which inhere an inchoative meaning. Collins (2010) classifies this prefix as a spell out a stative verbalizer (here: adjectivizer).

(29) *ligi* (erg.) → 'to pour' (Milner 1966: 107)
ma-ligi (v./adj.) → 'to be poured'

- These derived states can further be derived by *fa'a-*:

(30) a. *fa'a-ma-ligi* (erg.) → 'to cause to flow' (lit. 'cause to be poured')
b. [$_v$ fa'a- [$_{aP/vP}$ ma- [$\sqrt{ligi}$]]]

➔ Samoan *fa'a-* causatives are **phrase-taking causatives** (Pylkkänen 2008).

5.2 Causative morphology as contextual allomorphy

- On the basis of a comparison of the argument structure alternations in Samoan and English, I argue that *fa'a-* is a contextually defined spell-out of the eventive verbalizer *v*.

5.2.1 Causative/inchoative alternation

- In (31), the argument structure alternation for derived COS verbs for English and Samoan are given:

(31)

	Root	Simple state	Inchoative	Causative
English	$\sqrt{flat}$	*flat*	*flatten*	*flatten*
Samoan	$\sqrt{malu}$ 'soft'	*malu* 'be.soft'	*malu* 'become soft'	*fa'a-malu* 'cause to be soft'

- The occurrence of COS morphology in the causative/inchoative alternation shows a striking difference in its distribution.[3]

(32)

	Simple state	**Inchoative**	**Causative**
English	*ø*	*-en*	*-en*
Samoan	*ø*	*ø*	*fa'a-*

- To account for this distribution, I will propose that language specific spell-out rules in English and Samoan give rise to the morphological differences.

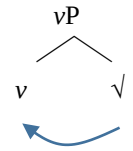
5.2.2 Contextual allomorphy

- Adopting the view that causative semantics is read off the structural configuration (<e <s>>), change-of-state morphology can be interpreted as contextually defined spell-out of *v* (e.g. Alexiadou et.al. 2015, Schäfer 2008, von Stechow 1996).

Inchoatives:

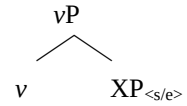
- While in English, the *v* head is spelled out as *-en*, this head is silent ø in Samoan as in the case of unmarked inchoatives.

(33) a. English:



→ like *flatten, soften etc.*

b. Samoan



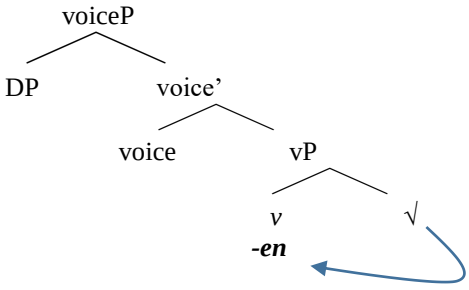
→ like *malu* 'be.soft, soften'.

Note that a further difference is the size of the complement: English = √; Samoan = XP.

Causatives:

- In a causative/resultative event, Schäfer (2012, 2008) argues that agentive causers are introduced by *voice*^{0}.
- By merging this *voice* head to a decomposed causative/resultative structure, the introduced external argument is understood as the agentive causer of the causative event.

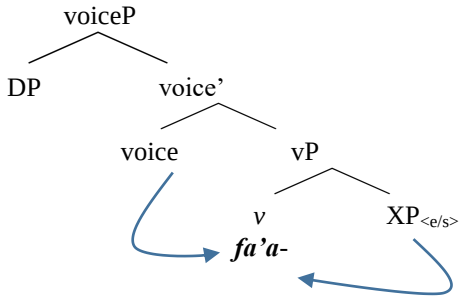
(34) English:



[3] Note that the analysis of the inchoative in Polynesian languages is still under discussion (cf. Hohaus 2016 on Samoan, Koontz-Garboden 2006 on Tongan).

- While the spell-out of *v* is contextually determined only by its complement in English, in Samoan, it is additionally determined by the presence of *voice*^{0} in its higher structure.

(35) Samoan:



- Therefore, the occurrence of *fa'a-* can be classified as **contextual allomorphy** (Marantz 2013, Embick 2010, Bobaljik 2000):

(36) [*v*] ↔ ø / [$_{vP}$ ____ XP$_{<e/s>}$]
↔ *fa'a-* / [$_{voiceP}$ voice [$_{vP}$ ___ XP$_{<e/s>}$]

5.2.3 Oblique causers

- Evidence for this assumption comes from causatives with non-volitional causers which are not assumed to be introduced by *voice* but *v*P internal (Schäfer 2012).

- For English inchoatives, it has been shown that unvolitional (natural) causers but not volitional (agentive) causer can be introduced by an oblique PP.

(37) a. The window broke from the storm.
b. *The window broke from the girl / by the girl.

➔ The absence of agentive causer PPs indicate that inchoatives lack a *voice* layer and non-volitional causers are introduced within the causative *v*P.

➔ This predicts the absence of *fa'a-* in clauses with unvolitional causers in Samoan.

- The prediction is borne out by the data (28) as natural causers are obligatorily introduced as oblique DPs/PPs and the verb occurs in its bare form (cf. Koopman 2008).

(38) *'Ua* *mamago* *'ofu* *i* / **e* *le* *la.*
PERF dry clothes.ABS OBL / *ERG SPEC sun
'The sun dried the clothes.' (lit.: 'The clothes dried at the sun.'; Koopman 2008: 172)

6 Causative morphology in RSP

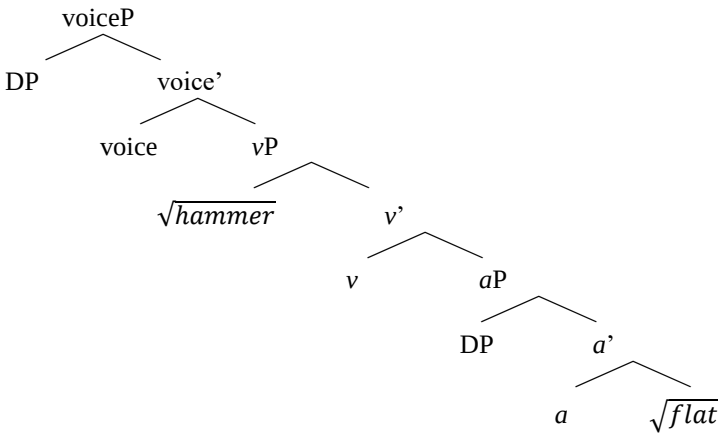
6.1 Absence of COS morphology in English

- The structure of English RSP involves a manner root which appears in the specifier of the eventive categorizer *v* and a stative SC/*a*P component which is merged in its complement position (Embick 2009, 2004).

- The difference to *-en*-COS verbs (i.e. *flatten*) (cf. 24) is that the result state must be previously categorized as a single categorizer is only able to categorize a single root; here the manner root in its specifier (Alexiadou & Lohndal 2011, Embick 2004).

(39) *Mary hammered the metal flat.*

(40)



➔ The spell-out-condition for *v* as *-en* is no longer met in the environment of RSP in English as the complement of *v* is not a bare root.

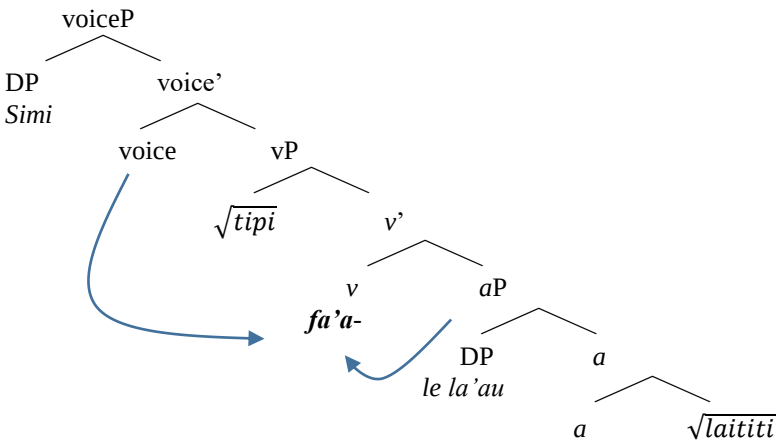
➔ Absence of COS morphology in English RSP.

6.2 Presence of causative morphology in Samoan

- In contrast, the language specific conditions for *v* to be spelled out as *fa'a-* are fulfilled as the verbalizer is merged with a stative XP complement under a voice projection.

(41) *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)

(42)



➔ Presence of causative morphology in RSP in Samoan

7 Conclusion

- In this talk I have established a special case of RSP that exhibits causative morphology on the secondary predicate.

- While this pattern seems to be not very frequent cross-linguistically, it occurs widespread in the Oceanic family (cf. Verkerk & Frostad 2013).

(43) [V_{manner} CAUS-$V_{PROPERTY\ CONCEPT}$]

- By focusing on Samoan, I have argued that the presence of causative morphology is subject to a language specific sensitivity to the presence of a *voice* layer in bi-eventive contexts (cf. contextual allomorphy; Embick 2010):

(44) [*v*] ↔ ø / [$_{vP}$ ____ XP$_{<e/s>}$]
↔ *fa'a-* / [$_{voiceP}$ voice [$_{vP}$ ___ XP$_{<e/s>}$]

- Crucially, this structural configuration is met in resultative secondary predication yielding to the presence of causative morphology in Samoan-type languages.

References

Acquaviva, Paolo. 2008. Roots and lexicality in Distributed Morphology. *York Papers in Linguistics*. 1-21

Aldridge, Edith. 2004. *Ergativity and word order in Austronesian languages*. PhD Dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca.

Alexiadou, Artemis & Terje Lohndal. 2017. The structural configurations of root categorization. In Leah Bauke & Andreas Blümel, *Labels and Roots*, 203-232. Boston: deGruyter.

Alexiadou, Artemis & Terje Lohndal. 2011. The syntax and semantics of roots. Ms. University of Stuttgart & University of Maryland.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou & Florian Schäfer 2015. *External arguments in transitivity alternations: A layering approach.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou & Florian Schäfer. 2006. The properties of anticausatives cross-linguistically. In Mara Frascarelli (ed.), *Phases of interpretation*, 187-211. Berlin: Mouton deGruyter.

Arad, Maya. 2005. *Roots and patterns: Hebrew morpho-syntax.* Dodrecht: Springer.

Baker, Mark C. 2003. *Lexical categories: Verbs, nouns, and adjectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beavers, John. 2012. Resultative Constructions. In Robert Binnink (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of tense and aspect*, 908-933. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bobaljik, Jonathan D. 2000. The ins and outs of contextual allomorphy. *University of Maryland working papers in linguistics* 10. 35-71.

Borer, Hagit. 2005. *The normal course of events.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Collins, James. 2016. Samoan predicate initial word order and object positions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 35(1). 1-59.

Collins, James. 2014. The distribution of unmarked cases in Samoan. In I. Wayan Arka & N.L.K. Mas Indrawati (eds.), *Argument Realizations and Related Constructions in Austronesian Languages: Papers from the 12th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Vol. 2*, 93-110. Canberra: Asia-Pacific linguistics.

Collins, James. 2010. *Syntactic derivations of Samoan predicates*. B.A. thesis: University of Sydney.

Chung, Sandra. 2012. Are lexical categories universal? The view from Chamorro. *Theoretical Linguistics* 38. 1-56.

Chung, Sandra. 1978. *Case marking and grammatical relations in Polynesian.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Dixon, R.M.W. 2004. Adjective classes in typological perspective. In R.M.W. Dixon & Alexandra Aikhenvald (eds.), *Adjective classes: A cross-linguistic typology*, 1-49. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Dowty, David. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67(3). 547-619.
Dowty, David. 1979. *Word meaning and Montague grammar*. Dodrecht: Reidel.
Embick, David. 2010. *Localism vs. globalism in morphology and phonology*. Cambridge, MIT Press.
Embick, David. 2009. Roots, states, and stative passives. Talk given at the Roots Workshop, Stuttgart.
Embick, David. 2004. On the structure of resultative participles in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35(3). 355-392.
Embick, David & Alec Marantz. 2008. Architecture and Blocking. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39, 1-53.
Ethnologue. 2018. Samoan. https://www.ethnologue.com/language/smo <Accessed 2018>.
Falealili, Koke Aino. 1970. *Olaga i se 'âiga to 'atele*. Apia: Dept. of Education.
Folli, Raffaella & Heidi Harley. 2005. Flavors of v: Consuming results in Italian and English. In Paula Kempchinsky & Roumyana Slabakova (eds.), *Aspectual Enquiries*, 95-120. Dodrecht: Springer.
Haider, Hubert. 2016. On predicting resultative constructions. Ms. Universität Salzburg.
Halle, Morris & Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed Morphology and pieces of inflection. In Kenneth Hale & S. Jay Keyser (eds.), *The view from Building 20*, 111-176. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Harley, Heidi. 2017. The "bundling" hypothesis and the disparate functions of little v. In Roberta D'Alessandro, Irene Franco & Angel J. Gallego (eds.), *The verbal domain, 3-28*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hohaus, Vera. 2016. The inchoative aspect in Samoan. *Proceedings of AFLA* 23. 96-110.
Kratzer, Angelika. 2005. Building resultatives. In Claudia Maienborn & Angelika Wöllstein, *Event arguments: Foundations and applications*, 177-212. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In Johan Rooryck & Laurie Zaring (eds.), *Phrase structure and the lexicon*, 109-137. Dodrecht: Kluwer.
Koontz-Garboden, Andrew. 2005. On the typology of state/change in state alternations. In Geert Booj & Jaap Van Marle (eds.). *Yearbook of Morphology 2005*. Dodrecht: Springer.
Koopman, Hilda. 2012. Samoan ergatives as double passives. In Laura Brugé, Anna Cardinaletti, Guilana Giusti, Nicola Monera & Cecilia Poletto (eds.), *Functional heads: The cartography of syntactic structures*, 168-180. New York: Oxford University Press.
Larson, Richard. 1991. Some issues in verb serialization. In Claire Lefebvre (ed.) , *Serial verbs: Grammatical, comparative and cognitive approaches*, 185-210. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Levin, Beth & Malka Rappaport Hovav. 2001. An event structure account of English resultatives. *Language* 77, 766-797.
Legate, Julie Anne. 2008. Morphological and abstract case. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39. 55-101.
Lin, Jimmy. 2004. *Event structure and the encoding of arguments: The syntax of the Mandarin and English verb phrase*. PhD dissertation, MIT, Cambridge.
Lohndal, Terje. 2014. *Phrase structure and argument structure: A case study of the syntax-semantics interface*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Marantz, Alec. 2013. Locality domains for contextual allomorphy across the interfaces. In Ora Matushansky & Alec Marantz, *Distributed Morphology Today*, 95-116. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Marantz, Alec. 2009. Roots, re- and affected agents: Can roots pull the agent under little v? Handout presented at the Root's workshopt, Stuttgart.
Marantz, Alec. 1997.No escape from syntax: Don't try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 4 (2). 201-225.
Margetts, Anna. 1999. *Valence and transitivity in Saliba.* Nijmegen: MPI.
Massam, Diane. To appear. *Isolating grammar: Predication, case and argument structure in Niuean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Massam, Diane. 2017. Multi verb constructions in Niuean. Talk given at the Workshop on Multi Verb Constructions, Berlin.
Massam, Diane. 2009. The structure of (un)ergatives. In Sandra Chung, Daniel Finer, Ileana Paul & Eric Potsdam (eds.), *Proceedings of the AFLA 16*, 125-135.
Mateu, Jaume. 2011. Types of resultatives and linguistic variation. Paper presented at Workshop on Verbal Elasticity, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
Milner, George B. 1966. *Samoan Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press.
Mosel, Ulrike. 2004. Complex predicates and juxtapositional constructions in Samoan. In Isabelle Bril & Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre, *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages*, 263-296. Berlin: deGruyter.

Mosel, Ulrike. 1994. Samoan. In Darrell Tryon (ed.), *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary: An introduction to Austronesian Studies*, 943-946. Berlin: deGruyter.

Mosel, Ulrike & Even Hovdaugen. 1992. *Samoan reference grammar*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.

Mosel, Ulrike & Ainslie So'o. 2000. *Utugagana*. Apia: Pacific Printers.

Nuger, Justin. 2016. *Building Predicates: The view from Palauan.* New York: Springer.

Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. Introducing arguments. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Ramchand, Gilian. 2008. *Verb meaning and the lexicon: A first phase syntax.* Cambridge: Cambrige University Press.

Rappaport Hovav, Malka & Beth Levin. 1998. Building Verb Meaning. In Miriam Butt & Wilhelm Geuder (eds.), *The projection of arguments: Lexical and compositional factors*, 97-134. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

Read, Bridget. 2010. An examination of the causative *fa'a-* in Samoan. B.A. thesis: University of Canterbury.

Riaubiene, Benita. 2015. *Resultative secondary predication in European languages*. PhD Dissertation, Vilnius University.

Ross, Malcom. 2002. Taiof. In John Lynch, Malcom Ross & Terry Crowley. *The Oceanic languages*, 456-466. Ruchmond: Curzon Press.

Schäfer, Florian. 2012. Two types of external argument licensing: The case of causers. *Studia Linguistica* 66(2). 128-180.

Schäfer, Florian. 2008. The syntax of (Anti-)Causatives: External arguments in change of state contexts. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Seiter, William. 1980. *Studies in Niuean syntax.* New York: Garland.

Stewart, Osamuyimen Thompson. 2001. *The serial verb construction parameter.* New York: Garland.

Tollan, Rebecca. 2018. Ergatives are different: Two types of transitivity in Samoan. Glossa 3(1). 35.

Tomioka, Naoko. 2005. Resultative serial verb constructions and resultative V-V compounds. In *McGill Working Papers in Languistics* 20 (1). 79-108.

Verkerk, Annemarie & Benedicte Haraldstad Frostad. 2013. The encoding of manner predications and resultatives in Oceanic: A typological and historical overview. *Oceanic Linguistics* 52(1). 1-35.

Von Prince, Kilu. 2015. *A grammar of Daakaka*. Berlin: deGruyter.

Von Stechow, Arnim. 1996. The different readings of *wieder* ('again'): A structural account. *Journal of Semantics* 13(2). 87-138.

Williams, Alexander. 2015. *Arguments in Syntax and Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, Alexander. 2012. Objects in resultatives. Ms. University of Maryland.

Yu, Kristine. 2017. Tonal marking of absolutive case in Samoan. (Submitted manuscript).