

Verbal VP-modifiers in Samoan verb serialization

Introduction: In Samoan (Polynesian, Oceanic) resultative serial verb constructions (RSVCs), the resulting state is encoded by a causative secondary predicate (SP) (Mosel 2004). This contrasts with resultative constructions with stative SPs in other serializing (e.g. Niuean; Massam 2013) and non-serializing languages (e.g. English; Embick 2004). As stative and causative SPs diverge both in their transitivity and event type (cf. Dowty 1979), this talk investigates the syntactic and semantic composition of Samoan RSVCs. Based on various diagnostics (Zimmermann & Amaechi 2019, von Stechow 1996 and others), I demonstrate that the causative predicate is the syntactic head of the RSVC while the manner predicate is merged as a vP-sized adjunct in the specifier of the causative vP – a position that has been cross-linguistically related to event modification (Folli & Harley 2019, Alexiadou et al. 2015, etc.). Thus, this talk not only presents a first in-depth analysis of the syntactic/semantic properties of RSVCs in Samoan but also extends the cross-linguistic typology of verb-internal event modification (√, DP, PP, vP).

RSVCs vs. AP-resultatives: An example of Samoan RSVCs is given in (1) where an initial manner-verb (*solo* ‘wipe’) combines with a causative verb that is obligatorily derived by the causative prefix *fa’a-* (*fa’a-mamā* ‘make clean’; Hopperdietzel to appear, Mosel 2004). In contrast, English-type resultatives only allow non-verbal result-denoting predicates (APs/PPs) with the manner verb as the head of the construction (2a/b) (Larson 1988, etc.). If the result predicate is the syntactic head, the manner denoting predicate must be introduced by an adjoined causative *by*-phrase in English (2c). Most standard approaches on RSVCs assume a unified complementation analysis along the lines of resultatives in non-serializing languages like English (5b) (Cleary-Kemp 2015, Lin 2004, Stewart 2001, Larson 1992). However, based on novel fieldwork data, I argue that a complementation analysis does not apply to Samoan RSVCs.

- (1) *Sā solo fa’a-mamā e Pita le laulau.* (2) a. *Mary wipe the table clean.*
 PST wipe CAUS-clean ERG Peter ART table b. **Mary wipe-cleaned the table.*
 ‘Peter wiped the table clean.’ c. *Mary cleaned the table by wiping it.*

Adjuncts vs. complements: Crucial evidence for the adjunct status of the manner predicate in Samoan RSVCs comes from its availability for the repetitive modifier *toe* ‘again’. In English, *again* allows for both restitutive and repetitive readings in the context of AP-resultatives (Beck 2005): In the restitutive reading, *again* scopes solely over the result state (3a); in the repetitive reading, it scopes over the whole (complex) eventuality including the restitutive reading (3b). Notably, a narrow repetitive reading in which *again* scopes solely over the manner predicate is not available in English AP-resultatives (3c) (Lechner et al. 2015).

- (3) *Peter wiped the table clean again.* a. ... *and the table was clean before.* REST.
 b. ... *and Peter wiped the table clean before.* REP. (WIDE)
 c. # ... *and Peter wiped (it) before.* REP. (NARROW)

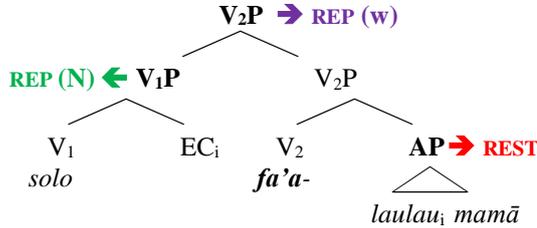
Like in English, Samoan *toe* permits both repetitive and restitutive readings in the context of RSVCs (4a/b) (Hohaus 2017). However, a narrow repetitive reading is also available (4c).

- (4) *Sā toe solo fa’a-mamā e Pete le laulau.*
 PST again wipe CAUS-clean erg Peter ART table
 a. ‘Peter wiped the table clean again (and the table was clean before).’ REST.
 b. ‘Peter wiped the table clean again (and he wiped the table clean before).’ REP. (WIDE)
 c. ‘Peter wiped the table clean again (and he wiped the table before).’ REP. (NARROW)

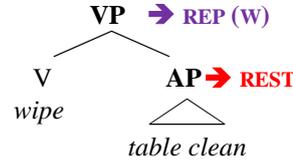
Adopting a structural analysis of ‘again’ (Lechner et al. 2015, von Stechow 1996), the syntactic position of ‘again’ gives rise to the different readings: If ‘again’ attaches to the result-denoting predicate (AP), it triggers a restitutive reading; if it attaches to the manner predicate (VP), it triggers a repetitive reading. Crucially, a narrow repetitive reading is only available in adjoined structures as it requires the structural independence of the manner VP. Thus, the availability of a narrow repetitive reading in Samoan strongly suggests an adjunct status of the manner predicate whereas its unavailability supports the complementation analysis for AP-resultatives in English (5). Further evidence for this claim comes from the presence of causative morphology

(*fa'a-*) on the SP. Cross-linguistically, causative morphology has been analyzed as the spell-out of a bare causative light verb which is silent if a lexical root is attached to it (Hopperdietzel to appear on Samoan; cf. Wood 2011, Embick 2004). Hence, the overt realization of the causative light verb on the SP indicates that the manner root is not directly merged to the AP-selecting causative light verb, but constitutes its own separate VP (contra English AP-resultatives) (5).

(5) a. Adjunction (Samoan)



b. Complementation (English)



Event Modification: To further specify the syntactic composition of Samoan RSVCs, I have run the (event) semantic diagnostics proposed by Zimmermann & Amaechi (2019). This set of diagnostics discriminates various compositional types that have been suggested to be involved in SVCs (cf. Stewart 2001, Déchaine 1993). Notably, all types are compatible with an adjunction analysis but require different syntactic configurations: Predicate Modification (vP-adjunct), Event Extension (VoiceP-adjunct), Event Cumulation (CumP) and Event Conjunction (ConjP).

(6)

	P-MOD	E-EXT	E-CUM	E-CONJ	RSVC
Contradictory adverbs	X	X	✓	✓	X
Adverbial quantification	X	X	X	✓	X
Agent cumulativity	X	X	✓	X	X
Agent consistency	✓	X	✓	✓	✓

The results in (6) clearly indicate that the two predicates in RSVCs are combined via Predicate modification (Heim & Kratzer 1998): The initial manner predicate (*solo* ‘wipe’) modifies the underspecified event variable entailed by causative predicate (*fa'a-mamā* ‘make clean’) (7).

- (7) a. $[_{vIP} solo] = \lambda e. wipe(e)$ b. $[_{v2P} fa'a-mamā] = \lambda e. \exists s. CAUSE(e, s) \wedge clean(s)$
 c. $[_{v2P} [_{vIP} solo] fa'a-mamā] = \lambda e. \exists s. wipe(e) \wedge CAUSE(e, s) \wedge clean(s)$ via PREDICATE MODIFICATION

Thus, Samoan RSVCs and English AP-resultatives seem to be identical at LF (Kratzer 2005). Moreover, the diagnostics suggests that the syntactic size of the manner predicate is smaller than VoiceP – as it does not allow for (covert) embedded agents (cf. Agent consistency) – but is bigger than just a root – as it can be modified by adverbials (e.g. *toe* ‘again’ or *vave* ‘quick’).

The Spec, vP position: Adopting a layering approach on argument structure (Folli & Harley 2019, Alexiadou et al. 2015; Ramchand 2008), I propose that the manner vP is merged in the specifier of the causative predicate (8) (cf. Kayne 1993 on adjuncts as specifiers). This position has been cross-linguistically identified to host event modification of various categorial types: manner roots (Folli & Harley 2019), causative/causer PPs (Alexiadou et al. 2015), causer DPs (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou to appear). Samoan extends this typology by vP-event modifiers (see also Tomioka 2004 on Japanese). Therefore, Samoan RSVCs rather resemble causative PPs in English (3c) as the causative predicate is the syntactic head of the construction (Truswell 2007). In sum, this talk not only presents a first in-depth analysis of the syntactic and semantic composition of RSVCs in Samoan but also contributes a novel case to the typology of verb-internal event-modification in the world’s languages.

