

On the composition of manner and result: Causative secondary predicates in Oceanic

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Introduction: In resultatives (e.g. *Peter hammered the metal flat*), an initial predicate (*hammer*) denotes the manner of an action that causes a change-of-state of an object with the resultant state expressed by a secondary predicate (SP; *flat*). Thus, two (independent) predicates together form a complex predicate ('hammer-flat') of a single clause (cf. Levin 2019, Williams 2015, Beavers 2012, Halliday 1967). In Oceanic languages, this type of complex predication is usually expressed within a serial verb construction (RSVC) (Verkerk & Frostad 2013; see also Gast, König & Moysse-Faurie 2014, Næss 2012, Bradshaw 1982 for more detailed discussions). Crucially, many Oceanic languages show a cross-linguistically rare type of resultatives in which a transitive/causative verb functions as the SP (1-3). This pattern contrasts intransitive/stative SPs in more prominent languages such as English or Mandarin (e.g. Hu 2018, Kratzer 2005). As transitive/causative SPs do not only diverge in their transitivity but also in their basic event type from intransitive/stative SPs (accomplishments vs. states; cf. Dowty 1979), this talk investigates the syntactic and semantic composition of the two predicates in RSVCs with causative SPs in Oceanic. As a result, the data suggests that the different types of complex resultative predication differ essentially in their headedness and argumenthood.

Two types of causative SPs: Conducting a cross-linguistic survey of Oceanic RSVCs, I classify two basic types of causatives SPs: (i) bare (lexical) causatives like Daakaka (1) and (ii) morphological causatives derived by a reflex of the Proto-Oceanic causative prefix **pa-/paka-* like in Samoan (2) (Mosel 2004). While in some languages such as Daakaka and Samoan, only one of the two types is available, both types may co-occur within a single language (3a/c) (e.g. Saliba; Margetts 2005). However, this distribution is barely understood yet (but see Verkerk & Frostad 2013, Bradshaw 1982).

- (1) *Bong mwe tas tiwiye etastas.* DAAKAKA (2) *Sā lamu fa'a-malū e Malia le mea ai.* SAMOAN
Bong REAL sit break.TR bench PST chew CAUS-soft ERG Mary ART food
'Bong break the bench by sitting.'
'Mary softened the food by chewing it.'
- (3) a. *Ye-koi-kesi-∅.* b. **Ye-koi-mwaloi-∅* c. *Ye-koi-he-mwaloi-∅.* SALIBA
3SG-hit-break-3SG.OBJ 3SG-hit-dead-3SG.OBJ 3SG-hit-CAUS-dead-3.SG-OBJ
'He broke it.' Int.: 'He hit it dead.' 'He hit it dead.' (Margetts 2005)

The distribution of causative SPs: Based on novel data from Daakaka and Samoan, I demonstrate that the derivational type of causative SPs is determined by the lexical semantics of the respective verbs: While stative property concept verbs (e.g. *malū* 'be.soft' or *mwaloi* 'be.dead') must be causativized in RSVCs, inherently causative verbs (e.g. *tiwiye* 'break.TR', *kesi* 'break.TR') appear in their bare form. Note that bare stative SPs are ungrammatical in all three languages (3b). Moreover, the complementary distribution of bare and causativized SPs in Daakaka and Samoan arise from language specific morphosyntactic and semantic properties: (i) Daakaka lost its Proto-Oceanic causative prefix and lacks morphological causatives altogether; (ii) Samoan seems to lack lexical causatives based on several diagnostics on manner/result entailment of verbs (e.g. combinatorial restriction with instruments/resultatives; cf. Beavers & Koontz-Garboden 2012 et seq., Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1998 et seq.). Instead, causatives must be derived by the causative prefix *fa'a-*. In contrast, Saliba has both lexical and morphological causatives and as predicted, exhibits both types of causative SPs.

The compositional type of RSVCs with causative SPs: Assuming a bi-eventive structure of causatives (event + state), I propose that causative SPs are actually the head of RSVCs with the initial predicate as a manner modifying adjunct, i.e. the initial predicate modifies the yet unspecified action within the complex causative SP (cf. Dowty 1979). This contrasts, resultative constructions with stative SPs in which the initial predicate has been shown to be the head of the construction that takes the stative SP as a syntactic argument (Christie 2013, Larson 1991, Simpson 1983, etc.). Additional evidence for this claim comes from the availability of a narrow reading of 'again' that solely scopes over the initial predicate; a reading that is notably absent in resultative construction with stative SPs (cf. Lechner et al. 2015, Beck & Snyder 2001). Thus, Oceanic RSVCs with causative SP instantiate a

distinct type of resultatives diverging both in their semantic and syntactic composition from resultatives with stative SPs. Instead, they rather resemble structures like causative *by*-phrases in English in which a manner-denoting PP is adjoined to a causative verb (e.g. *I killed him by hitting him*).