Valence Matching in Saliba

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Valence Matching in Complex Verbs

- In Saliba complex verbs, all verbs must be either intransitive or transitive
- **Proposal:** matching results from an operation of type-symmetric Event Composition

Margetts (1999): 99, 103

(1) *intr + intr*

Ye-[kamposi]-[dobi]
3SG.S-jump-go.down
'He jumped down'

(2) *trans + trans*

Ye-[koi]-[kesi]-di
3SG.S-hit-break-3PL.O
'He hit-broke them'

(3) *trans + <u>trans</u>*

Ye-[koi]-[*(**he**)-beku]-ø
3SG.S-hit-**CAUS**-fall-3SG.O
'He made it fall down'

(4) *trans + <u>trans</u>*

Se-[gabae]-[dobi-*(**ei**)]-ø
3SG.S-throw-go.down-**APPL**-3SG.O
'He threw it down'

Outline

Saliba I

General Properties (Margetts 1999)

- Papua New Guinea
- SOV, largely head-final
- Subject + object agreement
- **Fundamental intransitivity:**
  most verbal roots require derivation in order to license objects
- **Rigid transitivity:**
  transitive verbs must take objects / object suffixes

Saliba II

Valence-changing operations

- **Valence-increasing operations:** applicative (7), causative (8)
- **Valence-decreasing operations:** unproductive

Margetts 1999: 41, 47, 78, 165

(5) *intr*

Se-dobi
3PL.S-go.down
'They went down'

(6) *trans*

Ya-kita-di-ko
1SG.S-see-3PL.O-PERF
'I saw them'

(7) *intr ~ trans via* APPL

a. Ye-bahe
3SG.S-carry
'He carried'

b. Ye-bahe-i-di
3SG.S-carry-APPL-3PL.O
'He carried them'

(8) *intr ~ trans via* CAUS

a. Ye-bida
3SG.S-dirty
'It is dirty'

b. Ye-he-bida-ø
3SG.S-CAUS-dirty-3SG.O
'She made it dirty'

Valence Matching in Complex Verbs

Complex verbs

- Combination of 2-4 verbs, most of which occur independently
- **Compactness:** No material can occur between verbs
- One set of agreement affixes

(9) **(*Subject*) (*Object*) AGR_S-[V_1-...-V_n]-AGR_O**

Valence Matching I

- In complex verbs, all verbs must be either intransitive or transitive

Margetts (1999): 99, 103

(10) *intr + intr*

Ye-[kamposi]-[dobi]
3SG.S-jump-go.down
'He jumped down'

(11) *trans + trans*

Ye-[koi]-[kesi]-di
3SG.S-hit-break-3PL.O
'He hit-broke them'

Valence Matching in Complex Verbs

Valence Matching II

- In case of a mismatch, the intransitive verb must be transitivized
- This is achieved via the causative (12) or the applicative (13)
- Matching is never achieved via detransitivization

Margetts (1999): 103, Margetts (2005): 79

(12) *trans + <u>trans</u>*

Ye-[koi]-[*(**he**)-beku]-ø
3SG.S-hit-**CAUS**-fall-3SG.O
'He made it fall down'

(13) *trans + <u>trans</u>*

Se-[gabae]-[dobi-*(**ei**)]-ø
3SG.S-throw-go.down-**APPL**-3SG.O
'He threw it down'

Valence Matching in Complex Verbs

Valence Matching III

- Both verbs may be derived transitives (14)
- An intransitive V_1 cannot be combined with a transitive V_2 (15)

Margetts (1999): 105, Margetts (2005): 67; Anna Margetts p.c.

(14) Ya-tupa-[**he**-yoli]-[**he**-gehe]-di
1SG.S-IMPACT-**CAUS**-sink-**CAUS**-finished-3PL.O
'I will drown all of them'

(15) *Ye-[sobu]-[kesi]-ø
3SG.S-dance-break-3SG.O
('She broke it by dancing' (e.g. a table))

Valence Matching in Complex Verbs

Positional slots

- Fixed relative order
- Only V_a must be filled

Margetts (1999, 2005)

	V_a	V_b	V_c	V_d
Typical meaning	main event means	main event result	directionality	manner phasal
# of stems	open	≥ 39	closed, 7	closed, 12
Valence increase	CAUS	CAUS	APPL	APPL CAUS

Table 1: Positional slots in Saliba complex verbs

Valence Matching in Complex Verbs

Contextual transitivity I

- A handful of verbs in the V_d slot cannot be transitive in isolation

Margetts (2005)

Stem	As main V	As V_d	Valence	Valence change
namwa	'be good'	'properly'	intr	APPL, only as V_d
nogowai	'be slow'	'slowly'		
mwamwayau	'be quick'	'quickly'		
uyo	'return'	'back'		
		'again'		
		REFL / RECIP		

Table 2: Contextually transitive V_ds

Valence Matching in Complex Verbs

Contextual transitivity II

- E.g. *uyo* 'return' (16) and *namwa* 'be good' (17) ban objects in isolation

  Note: (16-b) and (17-b) are constructed

Margetts (2005): 75, Margetts (2013): 13

(16) a. Se-[uyo]-ma
3PL-return-hither
'They came back'

b. *Se-[uyo-i]-ø
3PL-return-APPL-3SG.O
('They came back to it')

(17) a. Kana heyatu ne ye-[namwa]
3SG.POSS tattoo DET 3SG-be.good
'His tattoo is good'

b. *Ye-[namwa-i]-ø
3SG-be.good-APPL-3SG.O
('She did it well')

Valence Matching in Complex Verbs

Contextual transitivity III

- But they must be transitive in the context of a transitive V_{n-1}
- This is always achieved via the applicative, never the causative

(18) Ta-[he-yoli]-[uyo-**i**]-ø
1INC.S-CAUS-sink-return/again-**APPL**-3SG.O
'We again make it sink'

(19) Ye-[he-kata]-[namwa-namwa-**i**]-gai
3SG.S-CAUS-learn-RED-good-**APPL**-1EXCL.O
'She teaches us properly'

- ☞ There is a **mismatch** between a verb's general and specific morpho-syntactic potential
- ☞ ***Contextual transitivity***
- ☞ This is a recurring property of Oceanic complex verbs[1]

[1] (See e.g. Næss & Hovdhaugen (2011) for Pileni, von Prince (2015) for Daakaka.)

Valence Matching in Complex Verbs

Headedness

- V_n determines the object's sortal properties
- E.g. the object of *ini* 'pour' in isolation denotes the thing poured (20)
- But the object of the complex verb in (21) denotes the thing filled
- I.e. it is the object of the V_n *he-mwayau* 'fill', not the V_{n-1} *ini* 'pour'

V = *ini* 'pour' ⇒ object denotes thing poured

(20) Ka-m **ti** ya-ini-ø?
CLF2-2SG.POSS **tea** 1SG-pour-3SG
'Shall I pour you some tea?'

V_n = *he-mwayau* 'fill' ⇒ object denotes thing filled

(21) **Kaputi** ku-[ini]-[he-mwayau]-ø
cup 2SG.S-pour-CAUS-full-3SG
'Pour the cup full'

☞ **V_n is the syntactic head**

Analysis

Assumptions I

- V_n is the syntactic head
- V_1 - V_{n-1} are **V^0-level adjuncts / modifiers**

  (cf. Stiebels (1996) on German prefix and particle verbs)
- Semantically, complex verbs involve **Event Cumulation**
- Matching results from type-sensitive **Event Composition**
- Objects are added **after** complex verb formation

  (cf. Haider (2010) on restructuring, Williams (2015) on resultatives)

Assumptions II

- Agents are introduced by Voice
- Patients are lexical arguments

Analysis

Event Cumulation I

- As discussed in Zimmermann & Amaechi (2018), SVCs are semantically heterogeneous, despite being formally similar
- Saliba complex verbs involve **Event Cumulation:**
  - Macro-event *E*
  - Sub-events e_1 and e_2, symmetrically related via $\oplus$

(22) *Event Cumulation:* (Zimmermann & Amaechi 2018)

$\exists E, e_1, e_2 .\ [E = e_1 \oplus e_2 \ \&\ P(e_1) \ \&\ Q(e_2)]$

Analysis

Event Cumulation II

- Predicate Modification would express the existence of a single event with multiple event predicates (23)
- It would be impossible to distinguish Patients / objects as functions of distinct sub-events (24)

(23) *Predicate Modification:* (Zimmermann & Amaechi 2018)
∃e. [P(e) & Q(e)]

(24) a. Kaputi ku-[ini]-[he-mwayau]-ø
cup 2SG.S-pour-CAUS-full-3SG.O
'Pour the cup full'
b. PAT(*P*) = thing poured ≠ PAT(*Q*) = thing filled

Analysis

Type-sensitive Event Composition (EC_{TS}) I

1. EC_{TS} takes two predicates *P* and *Q* of like types as input
2. It co-indexes the internal arguments of *P* and *Q* (with transitives)
3. It existentially binds all of *P*'s arguments
4. It requires the arguments of *Q* as input

(25) *Intransitive EC_{TS}:*
$\lambda P_{\langle s,t\rangle} \lambda Q_{\langle s,t\rangle} \lambda e_2 \exists e_1 .\ [P(e_1)\ \&\ Q(e_2)]$ $\langle st, \langle st,st\rangle\rangle$

(26) *Transitive EC_{TS}:*
$\lambda P_{\langle e,st\rangle} \lambda Q_{\langle e,st\rangle} \lambda y \lambda e_2 \exists x \exists e_1 .\ [P(e_1,x_i)\ \&\ Q(e_2,y_i)]$ $\langle est, \langle est,est\rangle\rangle$

Generalized EC_{TS}

(27) $\lambda P_{\langle \alpha\rangle} \lambda Q_{\langle \alpha\rangle}, R(P,Q).\ [P(e_1)\ \&\ Q(e_2)]$ $\langle \alpha, \langle \alpha, \alpha\rangle\rangle$

Type-sensitive Event Composition (EC_{TS}) II

- Valence matching does not follow from any general property of Saliba
- Most languages lack it, apparently even if they pattern with Saliba:
  - Nuclear-layer composition
  - Fundamental intransitivity
  - Rigid transitivity
- EC_{TS} ties matching to complex verb formation
- Some degree of parametrization seems independently necessary
  - E.g. some languages have nuclear-layer, others core-layer SVCs, some both

Derivations

(28) Ye-[kamposi]-[dobi]
3SG.S-jump-go.down
'He jumped down'

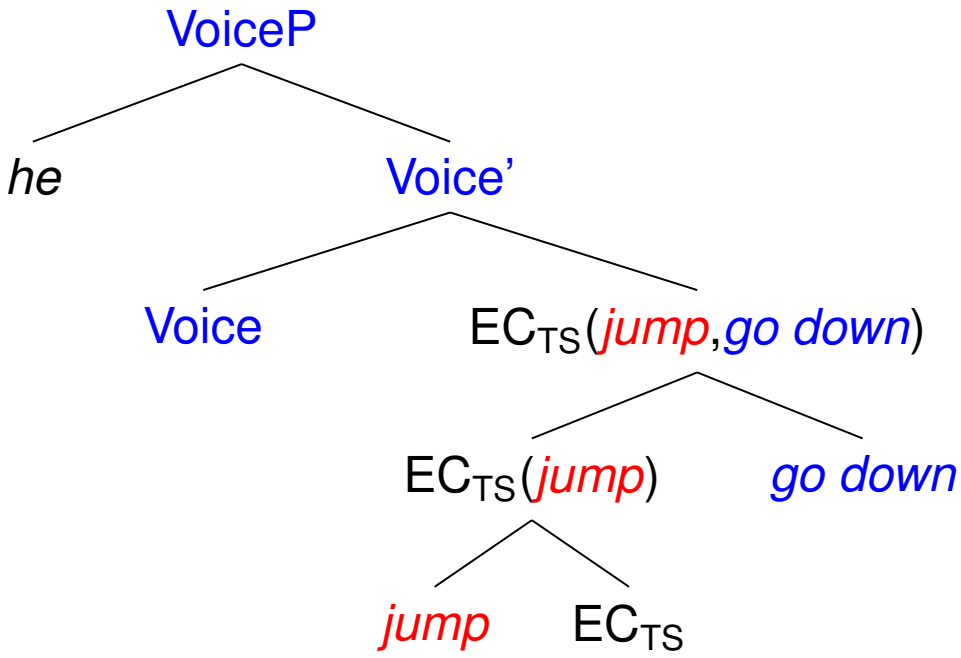
(29) $[\![\textit{kamposi}]\!] = \lambda e_1.\ \text{jump}(e_1)$; $[\![\textit{dobi}]\!] = \lambda e_2.\ \text{go.down}(e_2)$ <s,t>

(30)
a. $\lambda Q_{\langle s,t\rangle} R(P,Q).\ [\text{jump}(e_1) \ \&\ Q(e_2)]$ $EC_{TS}(\textit{jump})$
b. $\lambda e_2 \lambda e_1.\ [\text{jump}(e_1) \ \&\ \text{go.down}(e_2)]$
c. $\lambda e_2 \exists e_1.\ [\text{jump}(e_1) \ \&\ \text{go.down}(e_2)]$ $\exists$-closure(*jump*)
$= EC_{TS}(\textit{jump},\textit{go down})$

(31)
a. $\exists e_2 \exists e_1.\ [\text{jump}(e_1) \ \&\ \text{go.down}(e_2)]$ $\exists$-closure(e_2)
b. $\lambda E \exists e_2 \exists e_1.\ [E = e_1 \oplus e_2 \ \&\ \text{jump}(e_1) \ \&\ \text{go.down}(e_2)]$ E-cumulation
c. $\lambda z \lambda E \exists e_2 \exists e_1.\ [E = e_1 \oplus e_2 \ \&\ \text{jump}(e_1) \ \&\ \text{go.down}(e_2) \ \&\ \text{AGT}(e,z)]$ Agent

(32) $\exists E \exists e_2 \exists e_1.\ [E = e_1 \oplus e_2 \ \&\ \text{jump}(e_1) \ \&\ \text{go.down}(e_2) \ \&\ \text{AGT}(E,\text{he})]$ $\exists$-closure(E)
= 'He jumped and went down' ≈ 'He jumped down' = (28)

Derivations



Tree 1: intr + intr

(33) a. $\lambda Q_{\langle s,t\rangle} R(P,Q).\ [\text{jump}(e_1)\ \&\ Q(e_2)]$ — EC$_{TS}$(*jump*)

b. $\lambda e_2 \exists e_1.\ [\text{jump}(e_1)\ \&\ \text{go.down}(e_2)]$ — EC$_{TS}$(*jump*,*go down*)

c. $\exists e_2 \exists e_1.\ [\text{jump}(e_1)\ \&\ \text{go.down}(e_2)]$ — ∃-closure(e_2)

(34) $\exists E \exists e_2 \exists e_1.\ [E = e_1 \oplus e_2\ \&\ \text{jump}(e_1)\ \&\ \text{go.down}(e_2)\ \&\ \text{AGT}(E,\text{he})$
= 'He jumped and went down' ≈ 'He jumped down' = (28)

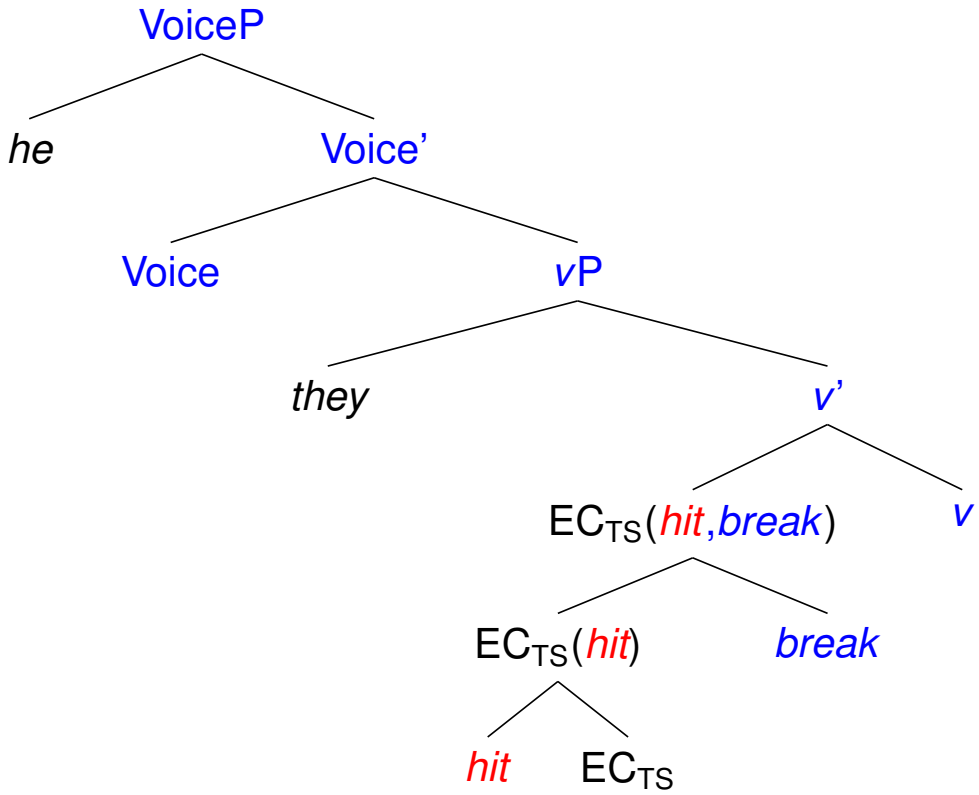
(35) Ye-[koi]-[kesi]-di
3SG.S-hit-break-3PL.O
'He hit-broke them'

(36) $[\![\textit{koi}]\!] = \lambda x \lambda e_1.\ \text{hit}(e_1,x)$; $[\![\textit{kesi}]\!] = \lambda y \lambda e_2.\ \text{break}(e_2,y)$ <e,st>

(37)
a. $\lambda Q_{\langle e,st\rangle} R(P,Q).\ [\text{hit}(e_1,x) \,\&\, Q(e_2)]$ $\text{EC}_{\text{TS}}(\textit{hit})$
b. $\lambda y \lambda e_2 \lambda x \lambda e_1.\ [\text{hit}(e_1,x) \,\&\, \text{break}(e_2,y)]$
c. $\lambda y \lambda e_2 \lambda x \lambda e_1.\ [\text{hit}(e_1,x_i) \,\&\, \text{break}(e_2,y_i)]$ co-indexation
d. $\lambda y \lambda e_2 \exists x \exists e_1.\ [\text{hit}(e_1,x_i) \,\&\, \text{break}(e_2,y_i)]$ $\exists$-closure(*hit*)
$= \text{EC}_{\text{TS}}(\textit{hit},\textit{break})$

(38)
a. $\lambda e_2 \exists x \exists e_1.\ [\text{hit}(e_1,x_i) \,\&\, \text{break}(e_2,\text{they}_i)]$ FA(*they*)
b. $\exists e_2 \exists x \exists e_1.\ [\text{hit}(e_1,x_i) \,\&\, \text{break}(e_2,\text{they}_i)]$ $\exists$-closure(e_2)
c. $\lambda E \exists e_2 \exists x \exists e_1.\ [E = e_1 \oplus e_2 \,\&\, \text{hit}(e_1,x_i) \,\&\, \text{break}(e_2,\text{they}_i)]$ E-cumulation

(39) $\exists E \exists e_2 \exists x \exists e_1.\ [E = e_1 \oplus e_2 \,\&\, \text{hit}(e_1,x_i) \,\&\, \text{break}(e_2,\text{they}_i) \,\&\, \text{AGT}(E,\text{she})]$
= 'He hit and broke them' ≈ 'He hit-broke them' = (35)



Tree 2: trans + trans

(40) a. $\lambda Q_{\langle e,st\rangle} R(P,Q)$. [hit($e_1$,x) & Q($e_2$)] EC_{TS}(*hit*)

b. $\lambda y \lambda e_2 \exists x \exists e_1$. [hit($e_1$,$x_i$) & break($e_2$,$y_i$)] EC_{TS}(*hit*,*break*)

c. $\exists e_2 \exists x \exists e_1$. [hit($e_1$,$x_i$) & break($e_2$,they$_i$)] FA(*they*), ∃-closure(e_2)

(41) $\exists E \exists e_2 \exists x \exists e_1$. [E = $e_1 \oplus e_2$ & hit(e_1,x_i) & break(e_2,they$_i$) & AGT(E,she)]
= 'He hit and broke them' ≈ 'He hit-broke them' = (35)

Derivations

Non-shared objects

- In transitive complex verbs with non-shared objects (42), co-indexation of internal arguments fails
- The object of V_1 / *P* remains implicit (43)
- It cannot be realized as an optional oblique (Anna Margetts p.c.)

(42) Kaputi ku-[ini]-[he-mwayau]-ø
cup 2SG.S-pour-CAUS-full-3SG
'Pour the cup full'

(43) $\exists E \exists e_2 \exists x \exists e_1$. [E = $e_1 \oplus e_2$ & pour(e_1,x_i) & fill(e_2,the cup$_k$) & AGT(E,you)]
= 'Pour (something) and fill the cup' ≈ 'Pour the cup full' = (21)

Derivations

Contextual Transitivity I

- ☞ The trigger ('CAUS-sink',(44-a)) must be present before the target ('return',(44-b))
- ☞ Otherwise the context for exceptional transitivization would not be given
- ☞ This follows from EC_{TS}

(44) a. $[\![\textit{he-yoli}]\!] = \lambda x \lambda e_1.$ CAUS-sink(e_1,x) <e,st>

b. $[\![\textit{uyo}]\!] = \lambda e_2.$ return(e_2) <s,t>

(45) Ta-[he-yoli]-[uyo-i]-ø
1INC.S-CAUS-sink-return-APPL-3SG.O
'We again make it sink'

(46) *Se-[uyo-i]-ø
3PL-return-APPL-3SG.O
('They came back to it')

Derivations

Contextual Transitivity II

- EC_{TS} takes 'CAUS-sink' as its first argument (47-a)
- To be a well-formed second argument to EC_{TS}, 'return' exceptionally shifts to <e,st>
- This happens via the operator ADD, which adds a dummy argument to 'return' (47-c)

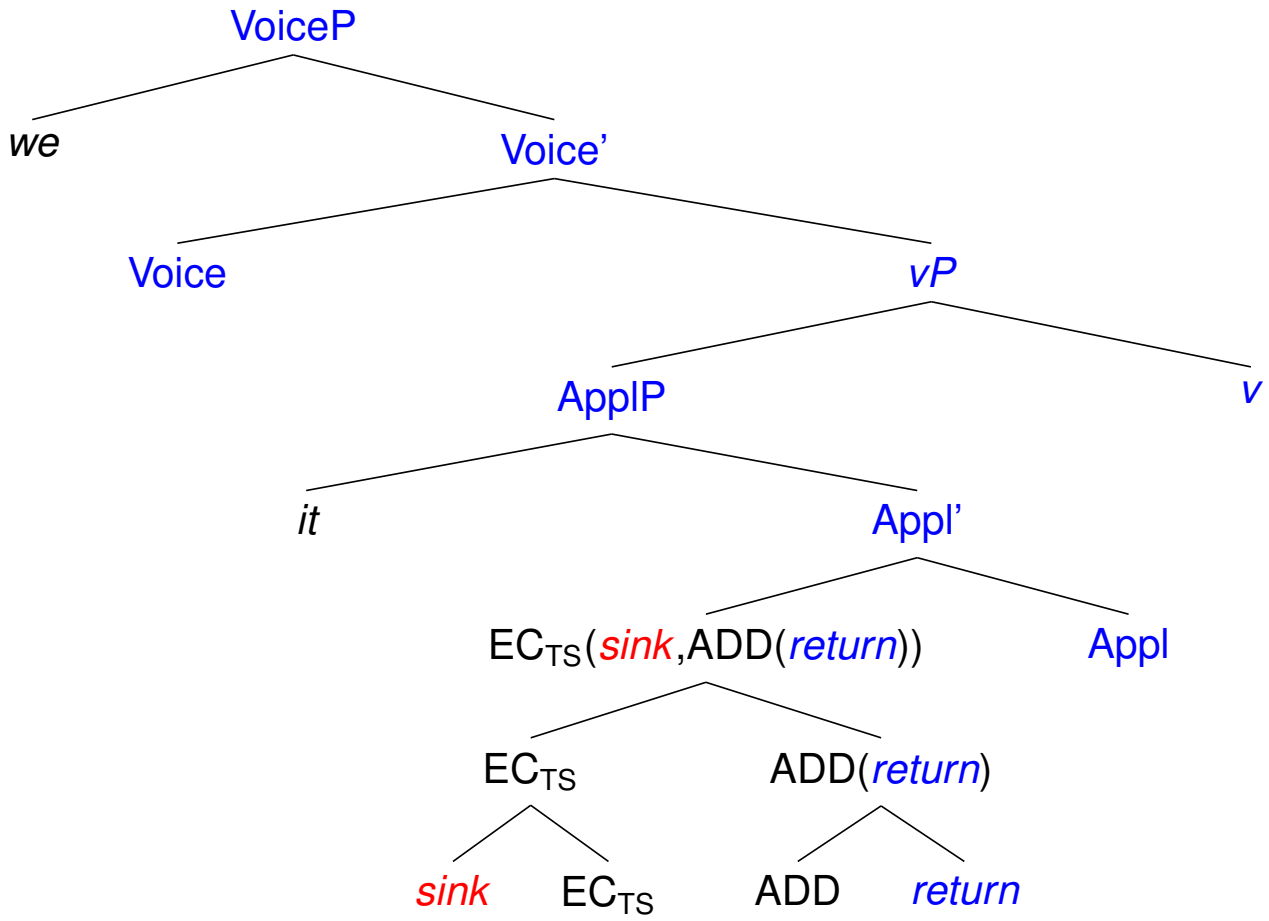
(47) a. $\lambda Q_{\langle e,st\rangle} R(P,Q).\ [sink(e_1,x)\ \&\ Q(e_2)]$ $EC_{TS}(\textit{sink})$

b. $ADD(\lambda e_2.\ [return(e_2)]) = \lambda \mathbf{y} \lambda e_2.\ [return(e_2)\ \&\ \mathbf{DUM(e_2,y)}]$ $ADD(\textit{return})$

c. $\lambda y \lambda e_2 \exists x \exists e_1.\ [sink(e_1,x_i)\ \&\ return(e_2)\ \&\ DUM(e_2,y_i)]$
$EC_{TS}(\textit{hit}, ADD(\textit{return}))$

(48) $\lambda e_2 \exists x \exists e_1.\ [sink(e_1,x_i)\ \&\ return(e_2)\ \&\ DUM(e_2,it_i)]$ $FA(\textit{it})$

(49) $\exists E \exists e_2 \exists x \exists e_1.\ [E = e_1 \oplus e_2\ \&\ sink(e_1,x_i)\ \&\ return(e_2)\ \&\ DUM(e_2,it_i)\ \&\ AGT(E,we)]$
= 'We sink it and return' ≈ 'We again make it sink' = (45)



Tree 3: trans + contextual trans

(50) $\exists E \exists e_2 \exists x \exists e_1 .$ [$E = e_1 \oplus e_2$ & $sink(e_1, x_i)$ & $return(e_2)$ & $DUM(e_2, it_i)$ & $AGT(E, we)$]
= 'We sink it and return' ≈ 'We again make it sink' = (45)

Derivations

Prediction I

- Matching is due to a local binary operation
- ☞ Correctly predicts across the board matching with >2 verbs

Margetts (2005): 67

(51) *trans + <u>trans</u> + <u>trans</u>*

Kabo ya-[tupa]-[he-yoli]-[he-gehe]-di
TAM 1SG.S-bump-CAUS-sink-CAUS-finished-3PL.O
'I'll drown all of them'

(52) *trans + trans + lab + <u>trans</u>*

Ye-[tu]-[isini]-[sae]-[kasaya-i]-ø
3SG.S-throw-raise-put.up-in.vain-APPL-3SG.O
'He threw it up in vain'

Derivations

Prediction II

- Matching is sensitive to **valence**, not transitivity
- ☞ Correctly predicts that transitive, and **intransitive but bivalent** verbs can combine (54)

Margetts (2005): 73, 83, Margetts (2013): 3

(53) Ye-lao bili wa unai
3SG-go room inside POSTP
'She went into the room' <e,st>

(54) a. Ye-[kai-kaikewa]-[lao] ka-na kaha ne unai
3SG.S-RED-look(.at)-go CLF2-3SG.POSS friend DET POSTP
'He is looking over to his friend' <e,st> + <e,st>

b. Kabo ya-[lao]-[gabae]-go
TAM 1SG.S-go-throw-2SG.O
'I will leave you' <e,st> + <e,st>

Outside Saliba

Toqabaqita

- When V_1 is transitive and V_2 intransitive, the object is realized oblique (55)
- Neither V_1 nor V_2 license obliques in isolation
- When V_2 is also transitive, the object is direct (56)

Lichtenberk (2008): 265ff.

(55) Nau ku [fanga]-[baqita] **qana alo**
1SG 1SG.NFUT eat.CF-be.big PREP taro
'I ate a lot of taro' trans + intr

(56) Nau ku [qala]-[muu-si]-a **si** **qoko**
1SG 1SG.NFUT bite.CF-sever-TR-3.O CLF vine
'I severed the vine by biting it' trans + trans

Contextual transitivity as a repair

- We can think of contextual transitivity as a morpho-syntactic repair
- I.e. a property illicit in the general case, but well-formed in a specific case (cf. Murphy 2019)

Conflict
Realize object vs Intransitive verb
⇓
Type of repair
Realize object ≫ Suppress object
⇓
Shape of repair
Structural (Saliba) vs Oblique (Toqabaqita)

- ☞ Applicative *-(e)i*: Saliba's generic transitivizer
- ☞ Preposition *qana*: Toqabaqita's generic oblique marker
- ☞ Pileni: generic vs stem-conditioned allomorphic transitivizer

☞ It's not clear whether an OT analysis is the way to go

Outside Saliba

The domain of matching

- Descriptions of SVCs in other languages are not as detailed as for Saliba
- A few generalizations nevertheless emerge:
  - Matching is typically found in more cohesive domains
  - Matching may be localized to SVC sub-types or individual verbs

Outside Saliba

Contextual transitivity in Oceanic

- A systematically recurring property, e.g. in Daakaka (57)
- Perhaps due to the need to realize the object of a preceding transitive verb, indirectly via 'parasitic binding'
  - The combination **trans + intr** seems to be most restricted
  - In Äiwoo, only the final verb shows matching (Næss & Boerger 2006)
- For Saliba, suggests that complex verb formation is layered:
  - One component for matching
  - One component for contextual transitivity

von Prince (2015): 315

(57) Ma [ling] [bup-ane] ding
REAL put tumble(INTR)-TR mat
'(S)he put the mat the wrong way up / with the wrong side facing up'

Outside Saliba

Cohesive domains: Paamese

- Matching is only found in contiguous SVCs, cf. (58) vs (59)
- Both the structural (59-a) and the oblique (59-b) option are possible

Crowley (2002): 61,87

(58) [A-ro-saani-tei]$_i$ **seluusiene** [vo$_i$-tahosi]
3SG-NEG1-send-NEG2 message 3SG.FUT-good
'They didn't send the message properly'

(59) a. Kai [ø-mutau]-[ramoboŋo-ni] **tirausise one-ne**
3SG 3SG.REAL-defecate-do.accidentally-TR shorts POSS-3SG
'(S)he accidentally shat his/her shorts'

b. kai [ø-mutau]-[ramoboŋo] eni **tirausise one-ne**
3SG 3SG.REAL-defecate-do.accidentally PREP shorts POSS-3SG
'(S)he accidentally shat his/her shorts'

Counterexamples: Dyirbal (Dixon 2011), Wambaya (Nordlinger 2014), Panoan (Valenzuela 2011)

Sub-types of SVCs: Tariana

- Matching is only found in directional SVCs (60)
- It is absent in e.g. motion modification SVCs (61)

Aikhenvald (2018): 116

(60) a. [di-ka] [di-ɾuku-ita]
3SG.NF-see 3SG.NF-go.down-CAUS
'He looked down (at something) trans + trans

b. [di-ka] [di-ɾuku]
3SG.NF-see 3SG.NF-go.down
'He looked down' intr + intr

Aikhenvald (2006): 190

(61) nama-ita [nu-eku] [nu-pinita-ka-na]
two-NUM.CL:ANIM 1SG-run 1SG-pursue-DEC-REM.PST.VIS
'I pursued two (pigs) by running' intr + trans

Outside Saliba

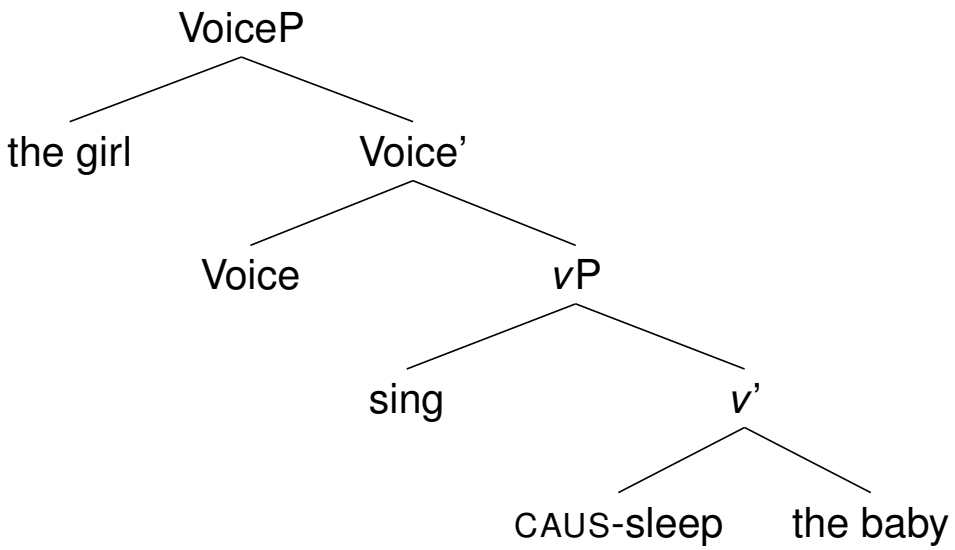
Presence vs absence of matching

- Strong correlation with rigid transitivity
- Apparent ingredients:
  - Mode of semantic composition
  - Mode / level of syntactic composition
- E.g. *v*P adjunction in Samoan (62) — Hopperdietzel (2019)
- E.g. complementation in Niuean — Massam (2013)

Hopperdietzel (2019): 1

(62) Sa [pese] [fa'a-moe-moe] e le teine le pepe
PST sing CAUS-RED-sleep ERG SPEC mother SPEC baby.ABS
'The girl sang the baby to sleep' intr + trans

Outside Saliba



Tree 4: *v*P manner modification via adjunction in Samoan

Hopperdietzel (2019)

(63) Sa [pese] [fa'a-moe-moe] e le teine le pepe
PST sing CAUS-RED-sleep ERG SPEC mother SPEC baby.ABS
'The girl sang the baby to sleep' intr + trans

Conclusion & Outlook

- Valence matching follows from type-symmetric Event Composition at the V^0-level
- EC_{TS} takes two predicates of like types as its input
- Contextual transitivity instantiates a morpho-syntactic repair
- Apparent ingredients for matching include:
  - Rigid transitivity
  - Cohesive morpho-syntactic domain
  - Certain semantic and syntactic mode of composition
- Open issues:
  - Exact distribution of matching
  - Other modes of achieving matching
  - Relation to other phenomena:
    - Resultatives
    - Transitivity agreement / transitivity-conditioned allomorphy

Thank you

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