Revising Talmy’s typological classification of complex event constructions

William Croft, University of New Mexico, USA, wcroft@unm.edu
Jóhanna Barðdal, University of Bergen, Norway, johanna.barddal@uib.no
Willem Hollmann, University of Lancaster, UK, w.hollmann@lancaster.ac.uk
Violeta Sotirova, University of Nottingham, UK, violeta.sotirova@nottingham.ac.uk
Chiaki Taoka, Kobe College, Japan, chiaquita@hi-net.zaq.ne.jp

1. Introduction

In this chapter, we critically examine Talmy’s typological classification of complex event constructions. Talmy first proposed a typological classification of motion event constructions over thirty years ago (Talmy 1972, 1974, 1985); he later extended his typological classification to event constructions in general, particularly, constructions expressing events with resulting states (Talmy 1991, 2000). Talmy’s extension of his typological classification reflects a parallel generalization of the analysis of resultative constructions to include constructions of motion events with a path to a destination (e.g. Goldberg 1995, Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2001).

Talmy’s typological classification of complex event constructions has been extremely influential in linguistics and psycholinguistics. More recently, however, it has started to be modified, in order to account for languages that do not quite fit into the classification. New types have been proposed, by Talmy himself and by others. We developed a similar but more detailed typology independently of the analyses offered by other researchers. We propose two revisions to Talmy’s typological classification (a brief outline is found in Croft 2003:220-24). The first is given in (1):

(1) Talmy’s typological classification of complex event constructions must be elaborated to include additional types.

This first revision offers a richer classification of grammatical constructions that express events than Talmy’s original classification.

Talmy’s classification has generally been taken as a typological classification of languages: that is, languages encode different complex events consistently with the same morphosyntactic type. However, this is not the case, and this is the second revision of Talmy’s typological classification that we offer:

(2) Talmy’s typological classification applies to individual complex event types within a language, not to languages as a whole.

This is in fact the normal state of affairs in typology (Croft 2003:42-45). We demonstrate this fact by using the translation equivalents in Icelandic, Dutch, Bulgarian and Japanese of certain widely cited examples in the resultative construction literature. We demonstrate that all of these languages use more than one of Talmy’s types to encode
complex events. This point is an important one for contrastive construction grammar studies: the basic unit of comparison and contrast across languages is not the language as a whole, but each construction that is used to express an equivalent state of affairs.

More important, there appear to be implicational scales that govern the encoding of different complex events across languages, which demonstrate that the intralinguistic and crosslinguistic variation is constrained. We argue that the revised version of Talmy’s typology of complex events represents stages in two parallel grammaticalization paths leading to the univerbation of commonly occurring or “natural” complex events. In other words, contrastive studies in construction grammar require the theoretical constructs of typological analysis in order to capture the relevant crosslinguistic generalizations.

1.1. Motion events: manner-incorporating and path-incorporating

Talmy’s original typological classification was applied only to motion verb constructions (Talmy 1972, 1975, 1985). Talmy developed an analysis of motion events with four basic semantic components:

(3) a. **Figure**: the entity that is moving or located  
    b. **Ground**: the entity which acts as a spatial reference point for the motion/location of the figure  
    c. **Path**: the path of motion of the figure  
    d. **Manner**: the manner of motion by which the figure moves along the path

Talmy compared the grammatical encoding of the two semantic components of the motion event—manner and path—across languages and developed a three-way typology of how manner and path are expressed. Talmy’s original typological classification was defined in terms of what semantic component is expressed, or ‘incorporated’ in his terms, in the main verb. Talmy distinguished three types: manner-incorporating, path-incorporating and ground-incorporating.

The manner-incorporating type, as its name indicates, expresses manner in the main verb. An example of a manner-incorporating language, according to Talmy’s typological classification, is English (main verb in boldface, satellite in italics):

(4) He **ran** into the cave.  
(5) The bottle **floated** into the cave.  
(6) They **rolled** the barrel **into** the cellar.  
(7) The wise men **followed** the star **out of** Bethlehem.

In (4)-(7), the manner is expressed by the main verb (in boldface), and the path is expressed by an element other than a verb (in italics), which Talmy calls a *satellite* of the main verb (Talmy 1975:184, 1985:102; see §1.3 for more on the definition of a satellite).

The path-incorporating type expresses path instead of manner in the main verb. An example of a path-incorporating language according to Talmy’s typological classification is Spanish (Talmy 1985:111; main verb in boldface, satellite in italics):

(8) **Entró** *corriendo* a la *cueva*
enter.3SG.PST running to the cave
‘He ran into the cave.’

In (8), the path is expressed by the main verb (in boldface), while the manner is expressed optionally in a participial form (in italics), i.e. not as a main verb, Talmy also describes the manner expression as a satellite of the verb (Talmy 1985:110-11).

The ground-incorporating type expresses salient properties of the ground in the main verb such as shape and consistency. An example of a ground-incorporating language according to Talmy’s typology is Atsugewi (Talmy 1985:74; main verb in boldface):

(9) ‘- w- uh- st’aq’ -ik: -a 3SG- 3SG- by.gravity lie.runny.icky.material -on.ground -3SG ‘Runny icky material [e.g. guts] are lying on the ground.’

Talmy’s typological classification, like typological classifications in general, is fundamentally constructional in the sense of ‘construction’ in current versions of construction grammar. Constructions are pairings of form and meaning ranging from individual atomic units (morphemes) to complex grammatical units such as a clause. Typological comparison is always ultimately based on equivalent meanings or functions across languages (Croft 2003:13-19), and typological classification contrasts different grammatical structures that are used to express the meaning/function in question. Thus, what typologists compare across languages are constructions: particular meanings/functions and the form paired with that meaning or function. There is thus a close relationship between typological theory and construction grammar (Croft 2001, 2008).

1.2. Complex events: satellite framing and verb framing

In more recent publications, Talmy has broadened his original classification to include constructions denoting events with resulting states of all types, not just motion events describing motion on a path to a destination. This more generalized concept of a path is called framing in Talmy’s later work: framing includes concepts such as path, aspect etc. that delimit or otherwise frame the verbal event. The event frame in Talmy’s sense corresponds to the result in the dichotomy of event types presented by Levin and Rappaport (2005); the other event component is called manner by Levin and Rappaport. Talmy leaves aside the ground-incorporating type of motion event, and generalizes manner-incorporating and path-incorporating as follows:

the world’s languages generally seem to divide into a two-category typology on the basis of the characteristic pattern in which the conceptual structure of the macro-event is mapped onto syntactic structure. To characterize it initially in broad strokes, the typology consists of whether the core schema [framing event] is expressed by the main verb or by the satellite. (Talmy 2000:221)
The framing semantic component corresponds to the path. English now represents a satellite framing language, in that the framing component is expressed in a satellite, not the main verb (see §1.3 for issues in defining ‘verb’ and ‘satellite’ across languages). In addition to the motion examples given above, the resultative examples in (10)-(13) show that English is a satellite framing language according to Talmy (in these and all following examples, the framing/result event is in boldface):

(10) She painted the wall **red**.
(11) He wiped the table **clean**.
(12) She pounded the dough **flat**.
(13) They shot him **dead/to death**.

Conversely, Spanish is a verb framing language. The motion event example in (8) uses a path as the framing subevent, expressed in the verb. The examples describing events with resulting states in (14)-(16) also show that Spanish is a verb framing language according to Talmy (Talmy 2000:240, 243, 247; framing event in boldface)—compare the satellite framing English translations):

(14) Lo **mataron** quemándolo
       him they **killed** burning.him
       ‘They burned him **to death.**’

(15) Apagué la vela soplándolo
       extinguish:1SG.PST the candle blowing.on -it
       ‘I blew **out** the candle.’

(16) El perro **destrozó** el zapato mordiéndolo -lo en 30 minutos
       the dog **destroy**:3SG.PST the shoe biting -it in 30 minutes
       ‘The dog chewed **up** the shoe in 30 minutes.’

Talmy has generalized and also subtly reformulated his typological classification of the encoding of complex events. In the original typology, the question is: which semantic component is expressed by the main verb, manner or path (or ground)? In the new typology, the question is: what morphosyntactic element is the framing semantic component expressed by, the main verb or a satellite? Both formulations, however, are fundamentally constructional: a pairing of a meaning (the event structure) and a form (a construction with different elements expressing components of the event structure).

2. Symmetric coding strategies for event and frame

Before extending Talmy’s typological classification of complex events, we must deal with a definitional problem: identifying ‘verb’ and ‘satellite’ across languages. Talmy’s definition of the two is given in the following passage:
the satellite to the verb…is the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root. The satellite, which can be either a bound affix or a free word, is thus intended to encompass all of the following grammatical forms: English verb particles, German separable and inseparable verb prefixes, Latin or Russian verb prefixes, Chinese verb complements, Lahu nonhead “versatile verbs”, Caddo incorporated nouns and Atsugewi polysynthetic affixes around the verb root. (Talmy 2000:222)

However, the identification of a ‘verb’ and other parts of speech across languages is highly problematic (Croft 1991, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2008). The basic problem is that linguists employ different criteria in each language to identify a category such as ‘verb’. Moreover, the criteria are usually not crosslinguistically comparable, in that they employ language-specific constructions.

A further problem is found in Talmy’s definition of ‘satellite’. Talmy’s definition excludes English prepositions as satellites. This is not so significant for Talmy’s original typology. In that typology, all that mattered was which event component was expressed (‘incorporated’) in the main verb; it did not matter how the other event component was expressed. In the newer classification, however, what matters is which grammatical form encodes the ‘framing’ or result event. In this case, it does matter whether prepositions are satellites. Semantically, there is no difference in the encoding of components of an event between a form that can only be a preposition and a form that can be a particle as well as a preposition:

(17)  a. The bird flew into the cave.
       b. *The bird flew into.

(18)  a. The bird flew over the house.
       b. The bird flew over.

The path is encoded in the (a) sentences by the italicized form whether or not the italicized form can be used alone or not, as in the (b) sentences. Yet if we follow Talmy’s definition of satellite strictly, (17a) is neither verb-framing or satellite-framing, because the framing event is expressed only in a preposition. The same will be true of all motion events just when they have ground expressions governed by a preposition that cannot also be a particle, and other events with result phrases governed by prepositions such as to and into that cannot be used as particles:

(19)  a. She ground the rocks to a fine dust.
       b. *She ground the rocks to.

(20)  a. The chocolate bar split into three pieces.
       b. *The chocolate bar split into.
The solution to the problem of defining categories across languages is to employ the same criteria, and hence crosslinguistically valid criteria. As Croft has argued, this means two things. First, crosslinguistically valid criteria are ultimately based in function, or more precisely, in function and how that function is expressed in morphosyntactic form. For example, verbs (in contrast to nouns and adjectives) can be identified only by comparing the same semantic classes of words and the construction(s) used for the propositional act of predication (Searle 1969, Croft 2001) in each language (vs. reference for “nouns” and modification for “adjectives”). Second, the universals that are found are in fact primarily universals about the constructions used for the crosslinguistically valid criteria.

In the case of Talmy’s definition, we will thus define a morphosyntactic element as a ‘verb root’ if it can occur as a predicate on its own with the same meaning. Thus, English path expressions and resultative expressions are not ‘verb roots’ because they cannot occur as predicates on their own:

(21) *The bottle into the cave.
(22) *The barn red.
(23) *He dead/to death.

Likewise, a participial form such as Spanish flotando is a satellite because it cannot occur as a predicate on its own:

(24) *La botella flotando
    the bottle floating

Anything that is not a verb root but encodes an event component will be analyzed as a satellite. This definition therefore includes English prepositions which encode the framing/result subevent, even if they do not occur without an accompanying ground expression. Beavers (2008:286, fn 3) gives the same analysis of satellites for the same reasons as those given above.

This criterion for verbs vs. satellites allows however for a class of symmetric constructions for the encoding of event and frame. The two types that Talmy originally proposed, satellite framing and verb framing, are asymmetric in their encoding of the semantic components of an event: one component is expressed by a verb/main predicate, and the other component by an element that cannot independently function as a verb/main predicate. But many languages use serial verb constructions in which both event and frame are expressed in forms that may occur as predicates on their own:

*Mandarin Chinese (Li & Thompson 1981:58)*

(25) ta@men pa~o chu@ lali le
    3PL run exit come PF
    ‘They came running out.’

*Lahu (Matisoff 1969:82, 70)*
The Mandarin example includes not only manner and path but also deictic orientation, a third semantic component of motion events that Talmy did not discuss in his original work.

Earlier research on serial verb constructions in the Talmy typology treated them as path-incorporating (Schaefer 1986) or verb-framing (Slobin and Hoiting 1994:492), because the framing/result subevent is expressed as a main verb. But later work analyzed them as a third, symmetric strategy, including the original presentation of this work in 2002 (see Croft 2003b:220-224), Zlatev and Yangklang 2004, Slobin (2004:228) and Bohnemeyer et al. (2007:509). Yet the serial strategy is not the only symmetric strategy, as was noted in the original presentation of this work. A more grammaticalized but still symmetric strategy is compounding, in which the two forms are morphologically bound or at least more tightly integrated than the serial strategy. An example of a compound strategy is illustrated in Kiowa for the combination of a path component (‘reach’) and a deictic component (‘come’), both of which may occur as verbs in the language (Watkins 1984:178):

\[
(26) \text{Na}~\text{hÈ} \quad \text{g}~\text{a} \quad \text{qO}~\text{ch}~\text{s} \quad \text{t}~\text{OS}~\text{p}~\text{ve} \\
\text{we} \quad \text{get return lift} \quad \text{come.out} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{NR} \\
\text{‘We had to lift (it) out again [‘return’] for (them).’}
\]

A third symmetric strategy for expressing complex events is coordination. For example, in Amele, a coordination construction can be used to express the combination of two components of a motion event (in this case, the deictic component ‘go’ and a path component ‘back’/‘return’; Roberts 1987:102):

\[
(28) \text{Coi}~\text{s hina gad} \quad \text{cesel}~\text{-i} \quad \text{nu}~\text{ug}~\text{-a} \\
\text{OK} \quad \text{2SG may} \quad \text{return} \quad \text{-PRED(SS)} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{-2SG -IMP} \\
\text{‘Alright you can go home [back] now.’}
\]

The medial verb form \text{cesel-i} is a ‘stripped same-subject form with zero marking’, used for coordination of any two events with the same subject in an appropriate context (Roberts 1987:236, 273). Other examples of coordination will be discussed below.

Finally, there is another construction, a double framing construction, in which the path or framing expression is expressed twice, once as a detached satellite and once as part of the verb:

French (Aske 1989:14, from Eve Sweetser)

\[
(29) \text{monter en haut/ descendre en bas} \\
\text{go up above/ descend below} \\
\text{‘go up (above)/go down (below)’}
\]
Russian (Talmy 1985:105)

(30) Ja vy- bežal iz doma
I out- ran from house:GEN
'I ran out of the house.'

Bohnemeyer et al. 2007 also identify this type, and describe it as ‘double marking’ (Bohnemeyer et al. 2007: 512, 514). Talmy analyzes double framing as a combination of a satellite associated with the verb and a preposition associated with the noun denoting the ground (Talmy 1975:231; 1985:105). In our analysis, the double framing construction is not symmetrical, in that the complex event is encoded partly in the verb form and partly by a satellite. The French and Russian examples also differ in that the verb in French expresses the framing subevent, but the verb in Russian expresses the manner subevent.

In sum, Talmy’s original typological classification of event constructions should be elaborated as in (31), including abbreviations for the different event construction types that will be used below:

(31) a. Verb framing (VF)
    b. Symmetrical
       (i) Coordinate (CD)
       (ii) Serial
       (iii) Compounding (CP)
    c. Satellite framing (SF)
    d. Double framing (DF)

This is a classification of construction types. The construction types are defined by crosslinguistically valid criteria describing the mapping from meaning to grammatical form. The criteria are ultimately based on the semantics of the event component expressed by a form—using Levin and Rappaport’s terms, MANNER or RESULT; occurrence of a form or forms as a main predicate or not; and for the symmetrical types, degree of integration (separate clauses, co-predications in a single clause, or morphologically bound forms in a single clause).

Before investigating this typology further, we briefly compare our approach to that of Bohnemeyer et al. (2007). Bohnemeyer et al. examine the phenomenon of ‘event segmentation’ of motion events. They reject the Talmy typological classification as a basis for their analysis of event segmentation, because of the variation found across languages in terms of the expression of motion events and their semantic components. They argue that

[a]s it stands, a typology of linguistic event segmentation based on verb phrases or clauses would at best be a typology of the semantics of verb phrases or clauses. It would not tell us directly about the constraints different languages impose on the segmentation of events of a certain kind. In the absence of a universal ‘event phrase’, the best we can aim for is a property of constructions that singles out those constructions in each
We basically agree with the view in the first sentence: as we noted above, in
crosslinguistic comparison, we are not really comparing abstract linguistic categories
across languages; we are comparing the constructions we use in the crosslinguistic
comparison. However, Bohnemeyer et al. do not actually use the verb phrase or clausal
construction in their crosslinguistic comparison. Instead, their strategy is essentially to
use a different construction, namely the time-positional adverbial construction: a
construction consisting of a time-positional adverbial such as a moment later or at seven
forty-five combined with an expression which denotes the events under the scope of the
time-positional adverbial. As a result, their analysis is essentially a typology of the
semantics of the time-positional adverbial construction. This is of course of linguistic
interest, but it does not mean that the study of the typology of the verb phrase or clause is
not of linguistic interest, as Bohnemeyer et al. seem to imply.

Bohnemeyer et al.’s conclusion reflects what is described as methodological
opportunism in Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001): choose a constructional
‘test’ (in their case, the time-positional adverbial construction) and assume that it tells us
something about a more general grammatical category than the construction itself (in
their case, event segmentation). In Radical Construction Grammar, methodological
opportunism is rejected, because constructions vary as to what grammatical categories
they define; differences among constructions must be respected. For example, the time-
positional adverbial construction does not match the verb phrase or clausal construction:
for example, in some languages what appears to be a sequence of verb phrases must be
under the scope of a single time-positional adverbial. Bohnemeyer et al. assume that the
distribution of the time-positional adverbial construction is the only one of universal
significance; and they describe the crosslinguistic variation in the encoding of event
components as ‘language-specific’. The only universals Bohnemeyer et al. identify are
those which are found associated with the time-positional construction in all the
languages in their sample (Bohnemeyer et al. 2007:517-23).

Bohnemeyer et al.’s approach however reflects an impoverished view of language
universals, in which language universals are only unrestricted universals (that is, true of
all languages). The strength of typological theory from Greenberg (1966) onward is that
it reveals language universals that are constraints on crosslinguistic variation, which do
not assume that all languages are identical in the relevant property. The crosslinguistic
variation in the encoding of complex event components, as described by the extended
Talmy typological classification, is ‘language-specific’ only in the sense that there is
variation across languages, and no unrestricted universal governs the occurrence of the
types across languages. But that does not imply that the crosslinguistic variation in the
encoding of complex event components does not conform to universals of language. In
§4, we argue that there appear to be implicational universals governing the encoding of
complex event components.

3. Variation and universals of language types with respect to Talmy’s typological
classification
The second revision of the Talmy typological classification proposed in (2) above is to recognize that languages are not uniform in their constructional encoding of complex events. Our study is based on the native languages of the authors: English, Dutch, Icelandic, Bulgarian and Japanese. Talmy states that ‘most Indo-European [languages] minus Romance’ are satellite framing (Talmy 2000:222); Dutch is also specifically mentioned (Talmy 2000:249). Talmy states that Japanese, on the other hand, is verb framing (Talmy 2000:222). In fact, however, none of these languages are consistently one type or another in the verbalization of events according to the Talmy typological classification.

Berman and Slobin also note this fact, and comment that ‘as a general caveat, it should be remembered that typological characterizations often reflect tendencies rather than absolute differences between languages’ (Berman & Slobin 1994:118, fn 4; emphasized in the original). However, Berman and Slobin’s observation treats the intralinguistic variation as a problem, namely a qualification to classifying a language as a whole as satellite framing, verb framing or whatever. Talmy (2000:64-67) defines ‘split’ and ‘conflated’ language types as ones which use more than one encoding type for different types of motion events or the same type of motion event respectively. But he still treats ‘split’ and ‘conflated’ as language types, rather than applying his typological classification to constructions (i.e. specific situation types) instead. It would be much more interesting if we could find crosslinguistic universals by examining the intralinguistic variation in the encoding of complex events, instead of treating them as exceptions that reduce a “universal” to a “tendency”.

For example, Aske notes that for the putatively verb framing language Spanish, if the path expression is atelic (i.e. does not imply arrival at the destination), then a satellite framing construction is acceptable (Aske 1989:3; Spanish also has the double framing construction like the French examples in (29)):

(32) El libro deslizó hasta el suelo
    the book slide:3SG.PST towards the floor
    ‘The book slid down to the floor.’

Thus, one cannot say that Spanish is a verb framing language. However, if this pattern is general, then one could posit the implicational universal, ‘If a telic path of motion is encoded by a satellite framing construction, then an atelic path of motion is also encoded by a satellite framing construction’. The universals are not about languages, but about how languages encode particular situation types in morphosyntactic form; that is, the universals are about constructions. This is exactly the same as in the typology of other domains of grammar (Croft 2003).

In this section, we will illustrate the intralinguistic and crosslinguistic variation in the encoding of complex events for English, Icelandic, Bulgarian and Japanese (Dutch is discussed in §5). We will use the equivalents of examples of directed motion with a telic path and non-motion resultative constructions that have been discussed frequently in the literature on the analysis of resultatives including telic directed motion. In the next section, we will suggest implicational relations between particular situation types and the type of construction according to the expanded Talmy typological classification. In the
last section, we will propose a pair of parallel grammaticalization paths linking together Talmy’s types.

3.1. English

English is generally taken to be a satellite framing language, and examples such as (33) appear to confirm this fact:

(33) I wiped the table clean.
However, the same situation type can be expressed by a verb framing construction:

(34) I cleaned the table (by wiping it).

As with verb framing constructions in so-called verb framing languages such as Spanish (Slobin 1996:212), the manner component is optional and is often left out.

Other oft-cited examples of resultative (satellite framed) constructions also have natural verb framed alternatives:

(35) a. The sheriff shot him dead.
    b. The sheriff killed him (by shooting him).

(36) a. She hammered the metal flat.
    b. She flattened the metal (by hammering it).

(37) a. He pounded the dough flat.
    b. He flattened the dough (by pounding it).

(38) a. I pushed the door open.
    b. I opened the door (by pushing on it).

However, other oft-cited examples of resultative (satellite framed) constructions do not appear to have a natural verb framed alternative:

(39) a. They painted the barn red.
    b. *They reddened the barn (by painting it).

(40) a. The pond froze solid.
    b. *The pond solidified (by freezing).

Thus, non-motion complex events in English can be expressed by either satellite framed or verb framed constructions; but some non-motion complex events can only be expressed by satellite framed constructions. In contrast, motion events are exclusively expressed by satellite framed constructions, except for path verbs borrowed from Romance (enter, exit, ascend, descend); and these forms do not sound acceptable with satellite expressions indicating manner:
(41)  a. The bottle floated into the cave.
    b. *?The bottle entered the cave floating.

(42)  a. He crawled to the door.
    b. *?He approached the door crawling.

(43)  a. She ran across the street.
    b. ??She crossed the street running.

3.2. Icelandic

Icelandic is also said to be a satellite framing language. For telic directed motion, including complex motion such as caused motion and following motion, a satellite framing construction is used, indeed with two satellite expressions (for more details of the caused-motion construction in Icelandic, see BarDdal 2001:151-156, 2003, to appear):

(44)  Flaskan flaut inn í hellinn
      bottle:the.NOM floated inside in cave:ACC.the
      ‘The bottle floated into the cave.’

(45)  Ég rúllaði tunnuni út úr húsinu
      I.NOM rolled barrel:the.DAT out of house:the.DAT
      ‘I rolled the barrel out of the house.’

(46)  Vitringamir þrír eltu stjörnuna út úr Bethlehem
      wise.men:the.NOM three: NOM followed star:the. ACC out of Bethlehem
      ‘The three wise men followed the star out of Bethlehem.’

A satellite framing expression can be used for the Icelandic equivalent of English I danced across the street:

(47)  Ég dansaði yfir götuna
      I.NOM danced across street:the.ACC
      ‘I danced across the street.’

However, since dancing is not a natural way of crossing streets, a different construction can be used:

(48)  Ég fór dansandi yfir götuna
      I.NOM went dancing across street:the.ACC
      ‘I went dancing across the street.’

According to Talmy’s newer typological classification, this is also a satellite framing construction. But neither manner nor path (frame) are expressed by the main verb, which is a neutral verb of motion. Talmy’s original classification could accommodate this type,
as one that is neither manner-incorporating nor path-incorporating; but the change in the formulation of the typology prevents even the expanded typology in §2 from capturing the distinction between the constructions in (47) and (48). For us, the salient point about this construction is that it involves two verbal forms, a main verb (‘went’) and an adverbial verb form for the manner (‘dancing’). We will describe this construction as ‘verb framing/double framing’ (VFdf) in our typology.

A satellite framing (resultative) construction is also used for certain non-motion complex events:

(49) Tjörnin fraus í gegn pond:the. NOM froze in through ‘The pond froze solid.’

(50) Ég málaði hlöðuna rauða I.NOM painted barn: the. ACC red. ACC ‘I painted the barn red.’

(51) þeir lömdu hann til óbóta they. NOM hit him. ACC to incurability ‘They beat him senseless.’

(52) Ég ruggaði barninu í svefn I. NOM rolled baby: the. DAT in sleep. ACC ‘I rocked the baby to sleep.’

However, examples (49)-(52) do not represent productive patterns. Instead, for most non-motion complex events, a verb framing construction is used:

(53) a. *Hann drakk flöskuna tóma he. NOM drank bottle: the. ACC empty. ACC ‘He drank the bottle empty.’

   b. Hann tämdi flöskuna he. NOM emptied bottle: the. ACC ‘He emptied the bottle.’

(54) a. *Ég ýtti dyrnum opnum I. NOM pushed door: the. DAT open. DAT ‘I pushed (on) the door.’

   b. Ég ýtti á dyrnar I. NOM pushed on door: ACC ‘I pushed (on) the door.’

   c. Ég opnaði dymar með því að ýta á þær I. NOM opened door: the. ACC with it.DAT to push on them. ACC ‘I opened the door by pushing it.’
(55) Ég flatti deigið út
I.NOM flattened dough:the.ACC out
‘I pounded the dough flat.’

(56) Ég purrkaði af borðinu
I.NOM dried off table:the.ACC
‘I wiped the table clean’

Even a verb framed construction is unacceptable for the equivalent of English *I hammered the metal flat*. Instead, a coordination construction must be used:

(57) Ég barði stálið þangað til það varð flatt
I.NOM hit steel:the.ACC until it.NOM became flat.NOM
‘I pounded the steel flat [lit. I pounded the steel until it became flat].’

3.3. Bulgarian
Bulgarian is also said to be a satellite framing language. In some cases, satellite framing is used, for both telic directed motion and for some non-motion complex events:

(58) Iz- türkaljax varela v mazeto
NEUT.PF- roll.IMPF barrel:the in basement:the
‘I rolled the barrel into the basement.’

(59) Te bojadisaxa plevnjata červena
they paint:PF.AOR barn.F:the red.F
‘They painted the barn red.’

More common is double framing, as in the Russian example (30) above:

(60) Ptičkata ot- letya ot gnezdato
bird:the out- fly:PF.AOR out.of nest:the
The bird flew out of the nest.’

Double framing can also be used for some non-motion complex events, but these are specific conventionalized metaphorical expressions:

(61) Toj me do- kara do ludost/otčajanie
he me drive.AOR to madness/desperation
‘He drove me to madness/desperation.’

(62) Toj me iz- vede ot zatrudnenieto
he me lead.AOR out.of difficulty:the
‘He led me out of difficulty.’
For many non-motion complex events, the expression of the result is not through an independent satellite expression but via perfective aspect, expressed by a prefix on the verb. In the case of motion events, there is also a path expression separate from the verb (compare the difference between (63a) and (63b) to the Spanish telic and atelic path constructions):

(63) a. Toj iz- půlzja do vratata
    he NEUT.PF crawl:AOR to door:the
    ‘He crawled to the door.’ [completed]

b. Toj půlzeše küm vratata
    he crawl:IMPF towards door:the
    ‘He crawled towards the door.’ [not completed]

In many cases of non-motion complex events, the result is not expressed by an independent satellite but implied by the perfective aspect prefix on the verb:

(64) a. Iz- bůrsax masata
    PF- wipe.PF.AOR table:the
    ‘I wiped the table [clean].’ [i.e. perfective aspect implies clean table]

b. Bůrsax masata pet minute no ošte e mrůsna
    wipe.PF.IMPF table:the five minutes but still is dirty
    ‘I wiped the table for five minutes but it is still dirty.’

(65) Ezeroto za- mružna
    pond:the PF-freeze:AOR
    ‘The pond froze [solid].’

(66) Te go za- streljaja
    they him PF-shoot:AOR
    ‘They shot him [dead].’

The Bulgarian perfective is technically satellite framed—the perfective aspect prefixes cannot be main predicates on their own. But the absence of any other expression of the result suggests that the Bulgarian perfective is perhaps not to be treated identically with, say, the English resultative expressions which are the translations of (64a), (65) and (66). They appear to resemble something more like compounding in that the main verb contains both the encoding of manner or process and the encoding of the result. We will return to this observation in §5, and for now describe it as ‘aspectual compounding’ (CPasp) in our typology.

Nevertheless, many of the situation types described in the sections on English and Icelandic are expressed by verb framing constructions in Bulgarian. For example, the most natural way to express the scene described by *The bottle floated into the cave* is by the verb framing construction in (67), in the perfective of course because the complex event is telic:
A natural way to express the scene described by *I ran across the street* is (68), and natural ways to express flattening are in (64)-(65):

(68) **presjakox** ulitsata na begom
    **across.PF:cut:AOR.1SG** street:the on running
    ‘I crossed the street running.’

(69) Tja **spleska** željazoto s čuk
    **she flatten.PF:AOR** iron:the with hammer
    ‘She hammered the metal flat.’

(70) Tja raz- **toči** testoto
    **she PF- press.dough.flat:AOR** dough:the
    ‘She pounded the dough flat.’

As with Icelandic however, and even more so, the most natural way to express certain complex events in Bulgarian that are typically resultative (satellite framed) in English, is with some sort of coordination construction (connective in boldface):

(71) te sledvaha zvezdata i izljazoha ot vitleem
    **they followed star:the and went.out out.of Bethlehem**
    ‘They followed the star out of Bethlehem.’

    Probably the most natural way of saying *I danced across the street* is (67):

(72) tancuvax **dokato** presičax ulicata
    **dance.IMPF:AOR** while **across:cut:IMPF.IMPERF.1SG** street:the
    ‘I danced while I was crossing the street.’

    A fairly natural way to say *I pushed the door open* is (68):

(73) butnax vratata i ja otvorix
    **push:SMLF:PF:AOR.1SG** door:the **and it.F PF:open:AOR.1SG**
    ‘I pushed the door and opened it.’

    However, the second clause is redundant in most contexts: it is not ungrammatical, but without the second clause, the perfective initial clause in (73) can be understood as conveying that I opened the door.

    Finally, the most natural way to say *She rocked the baby to sleep* is (74):

(74) tja ljulja bebe -to i go prispa
she rocked baby -the **and** it send.to.sleep
‘She rocked the baby to sleep.’

It is also possible to express this result with the conjunction **dokato** ‘until’. We will distinguish between coordination with *‘and’* (CD) and a two-clause construction using the connective **dokato** ‘until’ (CDwh).

### 3.4. Japanese

Japanese is standardly said to be verb framing (e.g., Talmy 2000:222). However, many non-motion complex events are expressed using a satellite framing construction (compare Washio 1997):

(75) kabe o **akaku** nuru
wall **ACC** **red** paint
‘paint the wall red’

(76) teeburu o **kireini** huku
table **ACC** **clean** wipe
‘wipe the table clean’

(77) **ike wa** kachikachini kootta.
pond **TOP** **hard/solid** freeze:**PST**
‘The pond froze solid.’

(78) ringo o **hutatsu ni** kiru
apple **ACC** **two** **to** cut
‘cut the apple in half’

One of the most common constructions for complex events in Japanese is the symmetric strategy of compounding. There are two types of verbal compounding constructions, the *i*-compound (sometimes realized as *-e*), and the *te*-compound. The two types are illustrated in (74a-b), with a telic directed motion event:

(79) **a. watashi wa ie ni kake- -konda**
I **TOP** house to run- -go.into:**PST** *(i-compound)*
‘I ran into the house.’

**b. watashi wa ie ni hashitte--haitta**
I **TOP** house to run- -go.into:**PST** *(te-compound)*
‘I ran into the house.’

For this type of event, the *i*-compound form in (79a) is more pervasive and more natural than the *te*-compound construction in (79b); see §5 for further discussion. However, only the *te*-compound can be a natural translation equivalent of *The bottle floated into the cave*. 
(80) a. bin ga doukutsu no naka ni ukande- -itta
   bottle NOM cave GEN inside to float- -go:PST
   ‘The bottle floated to the inside of the cave.’ (te-compound)

Many of the oft-cited English non-motion resultative forms are most naturally rendered with *i*-compounds in Japanese:

(81) watashi wa sara o teeburu kara oshi- -noketa.
   I TOP dish ACC table from push- -put.aside:PST
   ‘I pushed a dish off the table.’

(82) kuma o uchi- -korosu
   bear ACC shoot- -kill
   ‘shoot the bear dead’

(83) to o oshi- -akeru
   door ACC push- -open
   ‘push the door open’

(84) kinzoku o tataki- -nobasu
   metal ACC pound- -extend
   ‘pound the metal flat’

(85) kiji o uchi-/tataki- -nobasu
   dough ACC pound-/hit- -spread/flatten
   ‘pound the dough flat’

Further examples of Japanese *i*-compounds are given in (86) (examples from Matsumoto 1996):

(86) yake-shinu (burn-die)
    burn to death
    obore-shinu (be.drowned-die)
    drown “to death”
    yake-ochiru (burn-fall)
    burn down
    hashiri-tsukareru (run-get.tired)
    run until tired
    mochi-komu (have-go.in)
    bring in
    naguri-korosu (strike-kill)
    kill by striking
    mushiri-toru (pluck-take)
    pluck off

These compounds are extremely frequent in Japanese and in some cases do not translate into simple resultative expressions in English (for example, one cannot say *I ran tired— cf. hashiri-tsukareru—but must use the reflexive pseudo-resultative I ran myself tired). In our typology, we will distinguish these two types of compounding as *i*-compounds (CP$i$) and *te*-compounding (CP$te$).
Nevertheless, there are a number of complex events that must be expressed in Japanese by the less grammaticalized symmetric strategy of coordination. These include the caused motion event in (87) and the following motion event in (88), as well as the non-motion event in (89):

(87) watashi wa taru o korogashi -te chikashitsu ni ireta.
*I rolled the barrel into the basement."

(88) sanhakase wa hoshi ni shitagat -te betsurehemu o deta.
*The wise men followed the star out of Bethlehem."

(89) kanojo wa akanbo o yusut -te nemur -aseta
*She rocked the baby to sleep."

The motion events in (90)-(91) also require two clauses, although they could be analyzed as verb framing. However, coordination with the -te form is impossible in these cases.

(90) Kanojo wa odori -nagara douro o watatta
*She danced (her way) across the street [lit. She crossed the street, dancing]."

(91) Kanojo wa shaberi -nagara douro o watatta
*She talked her way across the street [lit. She crossed the street, talking]."

In our typology, we distinguish coordination with te (CDte) from coordination with the adverbial subordinate nagara (CDwh).

4. Universals in linguistic variation: the coding of complex events

The data presented in §3 of this chapter, classified according to the typology in §2 (with the modifications mentioned in §3), falls into a pattern that represents constraints on how event structures of different kinds are expressed in constructions within and across languages. There are no unrestricted universals, such that all languages express certain event structures with the same syntactic construction. Instead, there appear to be parallel implicational scales that emerge from the data: a formal scale of syntactic constructions and a conceptual scale of event types. The scales are aligned such that event types higher on the conceptual scale must be expressed by construction types higher on the formal scale in any given language. This form of the data is exactly the same type as Givón’s binding hierarchy of sentential complement constructions (Givón 1980).
Table 1 summarizes the intralinguistic and crosslinguistic variation we have described in §3 (for the Dutch data, which is unusually uniform, see §5). The event types are arranged in Table 1 following the conceptual scale that emerges from the data, with separate scales for motion events and non-motion events (see below). The relative position of the syntactic constructions expressing those event types on the formal scale is indicated by typeface (bold = higher, roman = intermediate, italic = lower). The scales are discussed following the table.

**Table 1. The relationship between complex event types and syntactic strategies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTION</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Icelandic</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘run out of’</td>
<td>DF</td>
<td>CP/ite</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘run into’</td>
<td>SF (deic)</td>
<td>CP/ite</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘crawl to’</td>
<td>SF (deic)</td>
<td>CPte</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘float into’</td>
<td>VF</td>
<td>CPte</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘run across’</td>
<td>VF</td>
<td>CDte/CPte</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘follow X out of’</td>
<td>CD</td>
<td>CDte</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dance across’</td>
<td>CDwh</td>
<td>CDwh</td>
<td>SF/VFdf</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘roll X into’</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>CDte</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHANGE OF STATE</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Icelandic</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘paint X red’</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>(SF)</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘freeze solid’</td>
<td>CPasp</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>(SF)</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shoot X to death’</td>
<td>CPasp</td>
<td>CPi</td>
<td>(SF)</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF/VF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wipe table clean’</td>
<td>CPasp</td>
<td>SF</td>
<td>VFdf</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF/VF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pound dough flat’</td>
<td>VF</td>
<td>CPi</td>
<td>VFdf</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF/VF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hammer metal flat’</td>
<td>VF</td>
<td>CPi</td>
<td>CD</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF/VF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘push door open’</td>
<td>CD(?)</td>
<td>CPi</td>
<td>VFdf</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF/VF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rock X to sleep’</td>
<td>CD</td>
<td>CD</td>
<td>(SF)</td>
<td>SF/CPsat</td>
<td>SF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DF - double framing  
SF - satellite framing  
(SF) - this construction (with prepositional satellite) is not productive in Icelandic  
VF - verb framing  
VFdf - verb framing “double framing”: Icelandic framing verb plus framing particle  
CP - compounding (Japanese te-ki-compounds differentiated)  
CPasp - Bulgarian perfective aspect (expressed by prefix compounded with verb) used for framing event  
CPsat - Dutch satellite expression affixed to verb (see below)  
CD - coordination  
CDwh - coordination with ‘while’ conjunction  
(deic) - deictic use of Bulgarian aspectual prefix
Based on the data presented in this chapter, the constructions in the expanded Talmy typological classification appear to be best understood as forming the implicational scale proposed in (92):

(92)  **double framing, satellite framing** < verb framing, compounding < coordination

As noted above, in order to make the scale of constructions in Table 1 easier to observe, the constructions in the leftmost part of the scale are in boldface in Table 1 and in the scale in (92), and the constructions in the rightmost part of the scale are in italics in both places. It can be observed that with the ranking of situation types for motion situations and change of state situations, for each language, the constructions used for each situation type at the top of Table 1 are higher on the construction scale in (92), and as one goes down the columns of Table 1, situations lower in the column may use constructions lower on the scale in (92); the few exceptions will be discussed below under the conceptual implicational scale.

The implicational scale of syntactic structures given in (92) and suggested by the data in this chapter appears to be best explained in terms of a scale representing degree of integration or cohesiveness of the construction, from more to less integrated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coordination</th>
<th>[Verb Conn Verb]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[MANNER RESULT]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb framing/ Compounding</th>
<th>[Verbal Adverb (-) Verb]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[MANNER RESULT]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satellite framing/ Double framing</th>
<th>[Verb (-Satellite) Satellite]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[MANNER RESULT]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In coordination, there are two independent clauses, each containing a main verb predicate. This construction type provides the least syntactic integration of the MANNER and RESULT event components. In verb framing and compounding, the MANNER event component is expressed by a form which cannot stand alone, because it is adverbial in form or it always occurs bound to another verb form. This form may be derived from a verb. These constructions provide an intermediate degree of syntactic integration: the adverbiaform is not an independent finite main clause, but a subordinate form to the main verb expressing the RESULT event component. In satellite framing and double framing, the main verb encodes the MANNER event component, and the RESULT component is expressed by a satellite which is typically a minimally inflected and paradigmatically restricted form, and often syntactically closely associated with the object argument of the main verb (e.g. as an adposition or secondary predicate), or also as an affix on the main verb (in double framing). These constructions are the most highly integrated, in that the satellite is least like a separate clause. The degree of syntactic integration which appears to motivate the implicational scale of event structure
constructions in turn results from two grammaticalization processes leading from complex sentence (multi-clausal) constructions to simple sentence (monoclausal) constructions. This scale and grammaticalization process will be discussed further in §5.

The ranking of the constructions that emerges from the data in this chapter, and represented by the ranking of the examples in Table 1, allows us to simultaneously induce a parallel implicational scale of the conceptual situation types. These conceptual situation types are universal, that is, they are equivalent across the languages compared (for more discussion of the comparability of situation types across languages, see Croft 2001, chapter 3, and Croft 2003, §1.4). The data are best understood by separating motion situations and non-motion situations, that is, comparing motion situations to each other and non-motion situations to each other. The implicational scale of conceptual (semantic) situation types for complex motion events is given in (93):

(93) ‘run out of’ < ‘run into’ < ‘crawl to’ < ‘float into’ < ‘run across’ < ‘follow X out of’ < ‘dance across’

Most of the evidence for this scale is based on the intralinguistic variation in Bulgarian and Japanese, since the Germanic languages are largely uniform in their encoding of the complex motion events examined by us. The one anomalous case is ‘roll X into’. This is possibly because ‘roll X into’ is caused motion, not self-agentive motion, unlike the other situation types examined in this chapter. ‘Follow X into’ is semantically peculiar in that it is self-agentive motion, but relative to another moving entity. It does fit in the conceptual scale along with the other self-agentive motion verbs.

The implicational scale for complex non-motion change of state events is given in (94):

(94) ‘paint X red’ < ‘freeze solid’ < ‘wipe table clean’, ‘shoot X dead’ < ‘pound dough flat’ < ‘hammer metal flat’, ‘push door open’ < ‘rock X to sleep’

For ‘wipe clean’ and ‘shoot dead’, Japanese suggests one order, Icelandic the opposite, so it may be that there is no universal ranking of these situation types, although data from other languages might show otherwise overall. Likewise, for ‘hammer metal flat’ and ‘push door open’, Bulgarian suggests one order and Icelandic the opposite, so we have treated them as a single point on the scale. The most anomalous situation type is ‘rock X to sleep’, which largely uses a satellite framing construction in the Germanic languages but a complex sentence construction in the other two languages.

Although the sample is small, both in terms of number of situation types and number of languages, it appears that there is a pattern that roughly forms an implicational scale in the data presented in this chapter. The conceptual scales in (93) and (94) appear to be sensitive to several different factors. The first is that the difference between motion and non-motion change of state events. Motion is distinctive for a number of reasons, in particular that the incremental theme associated with motion events is a path rather than a property or state of the object; and that motion events are ‘simple events’ in some sense of that term (except for externally caused motion, as in ‘roll X into’).

A second factor in the case of motion events is the nature of the path. Certain paths appear to be construed as conceptually more common, or at least more commonly
conceptualized, than others. The implicational scale in (93) places ‘into’/‘out of’ in more integrated syntactic constructions than ‘across’, which is in turn higher on the scale than ‘follow’ (for ‘dance across’, see below). ‘Into’ and ‘out of’ are paths defined in terms of a simple path relative to the ground, either towards or away from. Such paths are also crosslinguistically more likely to be expressed as a simple directional or adposition than paths defined in terms of a more complex relationship to the ground. ‘Across’ is an example of the latter: the path describes motion towards, crossing and then away from the ground. Finally, ‘follow’ differs from the preceding path expressions in that the path is defined with respect to a moving ground object (the thing being followed) rather than a stationary one. Hence complexity of the path’s relation to the ground object appears to be a factor accounting for much of the implicational scale in (93).

A third factor that applies to both motion and non-motion events is the typicality or naturalness of the process leading to the result. For example, running into a space is a more typical manner of movement into something than crawling into that space, from the perspective of human beings. Crawling is in turn a more typical manner of movement into a space than floating, for land-dwelling creatures such as human language speakers. Likewise, running across the street is a more typical manner of movement across a street than dancing across the street. This relationship between manner of motion appears to account for the ranking ‘run’ < ‘crawl’ < ‘float’ in (93), where all of these manners of motion result in the same path of motion. It also appears to account for the ranking ‘run’ < ‘dance’ for the ‘across’ path.

In the case of non-motion events, it is not clear to what extent the typicality or naturalness of the manner-result combinations plays a role in the implicational scale. This is probably because the examples that are found in the syntactic literature, at least the ones we have sampled here, are all examples of fairly typical or natural manner-result combinations. As Boas (2003) has clearly shown, these resultative expressions are not nearly as productive as these examples might indicate: many examples that are syntactically and otherwise semantically equivalent are unacceptable. Nevertheless, our crosslinguistic comparison of these natural-sounding English resultative constructions indicates that these situation types can be ranked on an implicational scale; that is, they are not all equal in their linguistic expressibility across languages. The evidence suggests that the situations that are higher in the implicational scale are more typical than those lower on the scale, in that the higher events in the scale are those in which overt expression of the result is considered redundant (if possible at all) in languages such as Bulgarian, and a perfective aspect marker is sufficient to indicate the resulting state from the process. For the situation types lower in the implicational scale in (94), a case can be made that they are less typical or natural: one might normally hammer metal into shapes other than flat; pushing a door open is not the typical manner of opening a door; and rocking a baby to sleep is not the only common way to put a baby to sleep.

Another semantic factor that may be involved concerns the degree of resistance put up by the theme or patient argument to the action described by the predicate. Consider for example the different positions on the scale occupied by ‘pound the dough flat’ as against ‘hammer the metal flat’: dough is much easier to shape than metal. The expression push the door open is usually reserved for cases where the agent has their hands full and needs to use their elbow or shoulder, or for contexts where the door is especially heavy; compare open the door, which is the preferred option in more normal situations. Rocking
a baby to sleep, finally, is often not easy to do either, and is in fact a method that parents
typically resort to when the baby appears to want to stay awake. The lower degree of
syntactic integration towards the bottom of the scale may thus reflect a lower degree of
semantic integration of the causing event and the result, in that it is increasingly difficult
for the agent to establish control over the theme/patient. Concerning the higher positions
on the scale (94), a high degree control is clearly present. When a person with a gun uses
it to kill someone else, any resistance is usually easily overcome. In the case of ‘paint X
red’ and ‘wipe table clean’ the themes are virtually by definition unable to put up any
resistance, and in ‘freeze solid’ the change of state is construed as happening ‘from
within’, i.e. without any external agency which might be resisted. The higher degree of
control and relative absence of resistance on this end of the implicational scale in (94) is
reflected by the higher degree of syntactic integration. (Compare Hollmann 2004, 2005
and Broccias and Hollmann 2007 for similar suggestions concerning iconic effects of
control on the syntax of periphrastic causative constructions.)

The non-motion situation types in our examples are much more varied and unique
than the motion examples, which are semantically a more coherent set, and where path
and manner are independently varied in the example sentences used here. Thus our
analysis of the factors influencing the constructional expression of motion events is better
supported by the evidence we have offered. Nevertheless, this factor, in essentially the
same form as we suggest, has been proposed by Washio (1997) to account for the more
restricted used of the satellite-framing resultative construction in Japanese in contrast to
English. The same factor has been proposed as an explanation for which event types are
more likely to have a more basic causative (transitive) or noncausative (intransitive) form
by Croft (1990) and Haspelmath (1993). Further support for the role of naturalness in
defining position on the implicational scale is the use of the perfective aspect form in
Bulgarian for resultatives with an implied result state (cf. Washio 1997): the resulting
state is such a natural outcome of the process that it is not specified apart from perfective
aspect.

These initial observations regarding the conceptual scales are tentative, and should be
investigated in more detail, with the employment of more sophisticated analytical
techniques such as multidimensional scaling to the larger array of data that will emerge.
Nevertheless, the patterns in the data investigated here suggest that the intralinguistic and
crosslinguistic variation conforms to universal constraints on variation, which may be
broadly described as: more typical or natural process + result combinations in complex
events will be encoded in more highly integrated morphosyntactic constructions, where
degree of morphosyntactic integration is defined by the constructional scale in (92).

5. Event integration and grammaticalization in the Talmy typological classification

The pattern of formal expression represented by the grammatical hierarchy of the
Talmy typological classification in (92) appears to represent a grammaticalization path of
morphosyntactic integration which iconically reflects event integration. In the preceding
section, we argued that more typical or natural combinations of event + frame (including
manner + path and process + result) are expressed in more highly integrated
constructions. In addition, there is some evidence of two grammaticalization paths that
ultimately end in univerbation of the event and frame morphemes (V = verb, AV = adverbial verb form, ST = satellite, ev = event, fr = frame):

(95) Coordination > Serialization > Satellite framing > Satellite compounding

(96) Coordination > Verb framing > Verb-Adverb compounding

5.1. From coordination to satellite-framing compounding

The first step in the grammaticalization path in (95) involves coordination > serialization. A serial verb construction is a symmetric strategy for encoding event and frame, illustrated in §2 with Mandarin Chinese and Lahu. A serial verb construction appears to be a more highly integrated type of coordination construction, sharing participants and verbal semantic dimensions (tense, aspect, modality). Serial constructions probably arose via the grammaticalization of asyndetic coordination. However, there are even examples of syndetic serial verb constructions, as in Mooré (Schiller 1990:38; see Croft 2001:353), which suggests that the semantic and grammatical integration of serial verb constructions may occur even in syndetic coordination.

A verb in a serial verb construction may become specialized in meaning and syntactic distribution, in which case it can be described as a satellite. For example, the positions of the manner, path and deictic verbs in Mandarin serial verb constructions are fixed. Although the path and deictic morphemes continue to be used as verbs in Mandarin, other serial “verbs” no longer can function as independent predicates, including at least one directional (path) form, wàng ‘toward’ (Li and Thompson 1981: 361, from a verb formerly meaning ‘go’).

It is of course lost to history whether the familiar directional satellites of Indo-European were originally serial verbs, though it is a plausible hypothesis. Other satellite forms are historically resultative verbal forms, such as dead in shoot dead, or stative, such as solid in freeze solid. There is a grammaticalization process evident in Indo-European languages in which satellites are attracted to the verb, leading to a compounded expression of both event and frame in a single predicate. This was observed above for Bulgarian. As with other Slavic languages, Bulgarian prefixes path morphemes to manner verbs (combined with expression of the path as a preposition governing the ground expression). In addition, the path prefixes are used to encode the framing subevent, so that for example ‘freeze solid’ and ‘wipe clean’ do not require further specification of the framing subevent with an independent satellite expression.

In Germanic languages including Dutch, the so-called separable prefix constructions represent an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization process. English on the other hand consistently expresses the satellite as a separate element. In Dutch, the path morpheme is a classic satellite in the simple past or present of a main clause without an auxiliary, as in (97):
Contrast *De fles dreef in de grot*, with the satellite functioning as a preposition: it is very awkward with this interpretation, and is almost completely restricted to location (i.e., the bottle was floating around in the cave; the word order in *de grot* is presumably the original one, and the difference between caused-motion and location was generally expressed with dative vs. accusative with motion verbs in the Indo-European languages, cf. BarDdal 2001: 151).

In all other grammatical contexts—with an auxiliary (98-99), and in balanced or deranked subordinate clause constructions (100-101)—the path expression is prefixed to the manner verb:

(98) De fles is de grot in- -gedreven
the bottle is the cave in- -floated
‘The bottle has floated into the cave.’

(99) De fles zal waarschijnlijk zo de grot in- -drijven
the bottle will probably soon the cave in- -float:INF
‘The bottle will probably float into the cave soon.’

(100) Ik zag hoe de fles de grot in- -dreef
I saw how the bottle the cave in- -floated
‘I saw how the bottle floated into the cave.’

(101) De grot in- -drijvend verdween de fles uit het zicht
the cave in- -floating disappeared the bottle out the sight
‘Floating into the cave the bottle disappeared out of sight.’

The same grammatical behavior is found with resultative constructions (i.e., non-motion framing events):

(102) Ze schoten hem dood
they shot him dead
‘They shot him to death/dead.’

(103) Ze hebben hem dood- -geschoten
they have him dead- -shot
‘They have shot him to death.’

(104) Ze willen hem dood- -schielen
they will him dead- -shoot:INF
‘They want to shoot him to death.’
Ik zag hoe ze hem vervolgens dood-schoten
I saw how they him then dead-shot
‘I saw how they then shot him to death.’

Other examples of non-motion resultative constructions that behave in the same way are given in (106):

(106) schoon-vegen ‘wipe clean’
plaat-slaan ‘pound flat’
kapot-vriezen ‘freeze broken’ (e.g. a pipe line)
glad-wrijven ‘rub smooth’
vast-nieten ‘staple attached/fixed’
vol-stouwen ‘squeeze full’ (as with a suitcase or the trunk of a car)
bloot-woelen ‘toss naked’ (as when people who toss a lot in their sleep may end up without any blanket)

There is one event + frame construction that is always compounded, even in the simple past or present:

(107) Zij vieren-delen hem
they four.parts-divide him
‘They quartered him.’ [medieval execution technique]

However, this is the lone example in Het Electronische Groene Boekje (2006), and the phenomenon described here may represent a grammaticalization process going from satellite framing constructions to satellite compounding constructions in an earlier stage of Dutch that later halted.

5.2. From coordination to verb-framing compounding

The other grammaticalization process leads via verb framing constructions to compound constructions. Japanese appears to be an example of a language in which coordination leads directly to compounding, that is, there is no intermediate stage at which the manner or process subevent is expressed by an adverbial verb form as in the classic verb framing examples from Spanish illustrated in (8) and (14)-(16) in §1. This is perhaps because Japanese employs a deranking construction for coordination: the first clause(s) in a coordination construction are expressed in a special form (this is common for coordination constructions in verb-final languages). As noted in §3.4, some events are apparently not sufficiently conceptually integrated to be expressed by anything other than a coordinate construction using the -te verb form:

(108) akanbo o yusut -te nemur-ase -ru
baby ACC rock -and sleep -CAUS -INF
‘rock a baby to sleep’ [te coordination]

In the case of typical manner + path events, a more grammaticalized version of the te coordination construction, the te-compound construction, indicates a higher degree of
conceptual integration of the event, as indicated by the verb + satellite translation in English for (109b):

(109) a. kanojo wa arui -te douro o yokogitta
    she TOP walk -and street ACC cross:PST
    ‘She walked and crossed the street.’ [te coordination]

    b. kanojo wa douro o aruite- -yokogitta
    she TOP street ACC walk- -cross:PST
    ‘She walked across the street.’ [te-compound]

Another compound construction, the i-compound, appears to encode events that are at least as conceptually integrated as the te-compound. In examples (110)-(112), the i-compound and te-compound constructions are compared to the te coordination construction. The natural English translations of the (a) and (b) sentences indicate the difference in conceptual integration of the two events in the different constructions:

(110) a. Chichi wa shorui o mot -te ie ni kaetta.
    father TOP document ACC have -and house to return:PST
    ‘Having the document with him, Father came back home.’ [te coordination]

    b. Chichi wa shorui o ie ni mochi- -kaetta.
    father TOP document ACC house to have- -return:PST
    ‘Father brought the document home.’ [i-compound]

(111) a. Watashi wa hana o kat -te yuujintaku ni itta.
    I TOP flower ACC buy -and friend.house to go:PST
    ‘Having bought flowers, I went to my friend’s house.’ [te coordination]

    b. Watashi wa yuujintaku ni hana o katte- -itta.
    I TOP friend.house to flower ACC buy- -go:PST
    ‘I bought flowers for my friend’s house.’ [te-compound]

(112) a. Watashitachi wa non -de sono ichiya o akashi-ta.
    we TOP drink -and that night ACC spend:PST
    ‘We drank and spent the night.’ [te coordination]

    b. Watashitachi wa sono ichiya o nomi- -akashita
    we TOP that night ACC drink- -spend:PST
    ‘We drank that night away.’ [i-compound]

In some cases, the two verbs in the compound construction rarely if ever occur independently. For example, ‘run out’ is expressed by the i-compound hashiri-deru (run-exit), but one cannot express ‘run into’ by *hashiri-hairu (run-enter). Instead, one must either use the te-compound hashitte-hairu or more commonly a compound construction using two entirely different lexemes, kake-komu:
However, *kakeru* almost never occurs alone, and *komu* never occurs alone. This fact represents a further step in the grammaticalization path towards univerbation of the manner + path motion conceptualization.

An example of grammaticalization from what appears to be some sort of adverbial manner to compounding is found in Nez Perce. Talmy discusses a Nez Perce example as a manner satellite fused onto a verb (Talmy 1985:110):

(114) /hi- quqú.- láhsa -e / (= hiqqoláhsaya)

3SG- galloping- go.up -PST

‘He galloped uphill.’

The manner of motion forms are described by Aoki (1970:84) as adverbial prefixes, which do not occur as independent verbs. Aoki lists 167 adverbial prefixes, many of which are probably not verbal in origin (e.g. *him* ‘with mouth’, *sepé*: ‘wind, air’). While examples like (114) are clearly examples of a manner form compounded with a verbal path, one can express manner of motion without a path by using a general verb of locomotion (Aoki 1970:87):

(115) /wilé:- ke/y -k -se / (= wilé:ke/ykse)

running- move -? -PRES.IND:SG

‘I am running.’

In other words, although manner of motion is not expressed by a verbal predication in Nez Perce, one can express manner of motion by compounding the manner of motion adverb form with a semantically highly general locomotion verb. That is, all motion expressions are expressed in a single lexical predicate form.

6. Conclusions

In this chapter, we have argued that Talmy’s typology of complex event constructions should be expanded. It should include three symmetrical construction types—coordination, serialization and compounding—only one of which (serialization) has been previously discussed in the literature on the Talmy typology. It should also include the double framing construction type represented by Bulgarian and Icelandic in the languages investigated here.

More important, the Talmy typology is not a typology of how a language encodes complex events in general, but rather a typology of how particular complex event types are encoded by different constructions in a language. Languages make use of multiple strategies to encode complex events, depending of the type of complex event involved. This follows the more general trend in typological research away from typologizing
languages as a whole—which usually leads to declaring that all languages are a “mixed” type—to typologizing particular situation types expressed in a language.

The value of refining the typological classification is that there are patterns in the complex event types encoded by different constructional types in Talmy’s typological classification. One can define a morphosyntactic scale of the different constructions in the Talmy classification; the morphosyntactic scale is paralleled by a semantic or conceptual scale of how typically or naturally the subevents of the complex event go together. Finally, there is evidence that the different types in the Talmy classification can be placed into two more or less parallel grammaticalization paths that end with the univerbation of the event and frame expressions in a single morphologically bound predicate form.

The sort of constructional analysis presented in this chapter has important consequences for construction grammar, and also for typological theory. Construction grammar and typological theory have a basic starting point in common: pairings of form and meaning, including the pairing of complex morphosyntactic structures with complex semantic situation types. This starting point represents something that emerges from the careful analysis of language-internal data in construction grammar, and from methodological necessity in dealing with crosslinguistic diversity in typology. Typology brings in a word of caution for construction grammar, namely that the detailed analysis of a range of examples in one language may not, in fact usually does not, carry over into another language. As we have seen, the constructions used for complex event types vary even in a sample biased towards Germanic languages and European languages. Construction grammar can benefit from the theoretical tools developed in typology to handle crosslinguistic variation. In our study, implicational scales inductively derived from crosslinguistic data provide universals that constrain language variation in the pairing of form and meaning in complex event constructions. The employment of these typological tools is essential as construction grammar expands to encompass contrastive construction grammar.

References


