

# A Typology of Event Integration

Leonard Talmy

Department of Linguistics Center for Cognitive Science  
State University of New York at Buffalo

## 0. Introduction

### 0.1 The Macro-Event

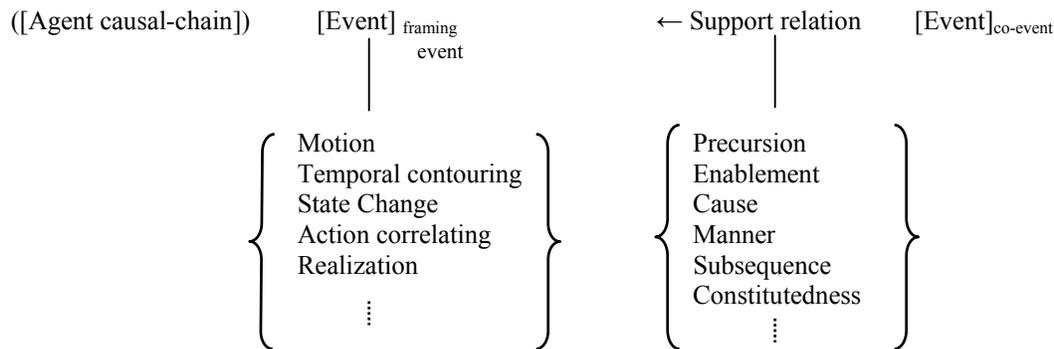
the "macro-event": a kind of situation with extensive and apparently universal representation across languages that is systematically conceptualized at two levels of granularity:

- a. as a complex situation that consists of a main event, a subordinate event, and the relation of the latter to the former that could be represented by a complex sentence with main and subordinate clauses
- b. as a unitary event that could be represented by a single clause

the main event = the "framing event"; the subordinate event = the "co-event" the relation of the latter to the former = the "support relation"

five types of framing event discovered so far that behave alike across languages: Motion; temporal contouring; state change; action correlating; realization

the co-event bears to the framing event a support relation mainly of either Manner or of Cause, but a number of further relations also occur



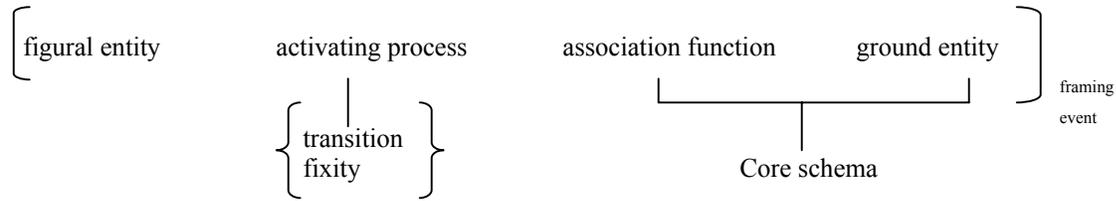
**Figure 1. Conceptual structure of the macro-event**

the framing event consists of four components. As shown here, these components are generic enough to work for all five types of framing event.

For a framing event of Motion in particular, these components are more specifically realized as:

Figure Motion (MOVE/BE-located) Path (path/site) Ground

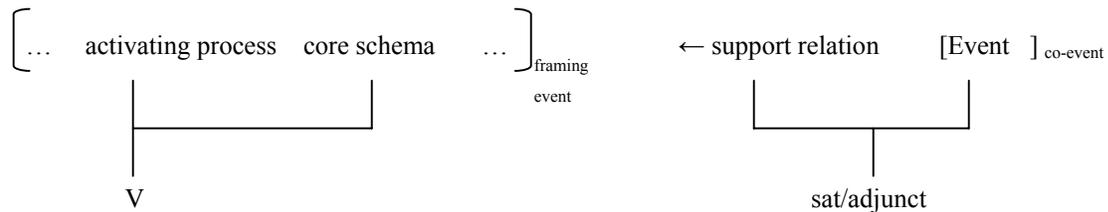
A certain portion of the framing event -- the "core schema" -- is criterial for the typology described next



**Figure 2. Conceptual structure of the framing event**

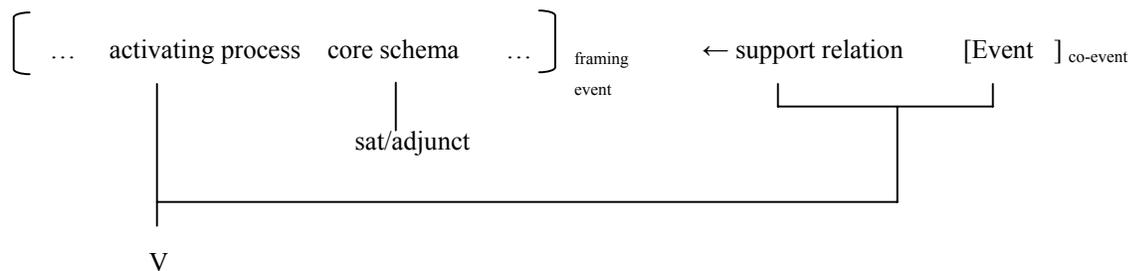
### 0.2 A Typology for The expression of the Macro-Event

The core schema of the framing event characteristically shows up in the main verb in "verb-framed" languages such as: Romance, Semitic, Japanese, Tamil, Polynesian, Bantu, some branches of Mayan, Nez Perce, Caddo.



**Figure 3. Syntactic mapping of macro-event in verb-framed languages**

The core schema of the framing event characteristically shows up in the "satellite" (and/or preposition) in "satellite-framed" languages such as: most Indo-European minus Romance, Finno-Ugric, Chinese, Ojibwa, Warlpiri.



**Figure 4. Syntactic mapping of macro-event in satellite-framed languages**

### 1. A Motion Event as the Framing Event

typological contrast shown here by English, a satellite-framed language, and Spanish, a verb-framed language

(1)

a. **non-agentive**1. *support relation: Manner*

[the bottle MOVED in to the cave] WITH-THE-MANNER-OF [it floated]

English: The bottle floated into the cave.

Spanish: La botella entró flotando a la cueva.

"The bottle entered (MOVED-in) floating to the cave."

2. *support relation: Cause*

[the bone MOVED out from its socket] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [(something) pulled on it]

English: The bone pulled out of its socket.

Spanish: El hueso se salió de su sitio de un tirón.

"The bone exited (MOVED-out) from its location from a pull."

b. **agentive**1. *support relation: Manner*[I <sub>A</sub> MOVED the keg out of the storeroom] WITH-THE-MANNER-OF [I rolled it]

English: I rolled the keg out of the storeroom.

Spanish: Saqué el barril de la bodega rodándolo.

"I extruded (<sub>A</sub> MOVED-out) the keg from the storeroom rolling it."2. *support relation: Cause*[I <sub>A</sub> MOVED the ball in to the box] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [I kicked it]

English: I kicked the ball into the box.

Spanish: Metí la pelota a la caja de una patada.

"I inserted (<sub>A</sub> MOVED-in) the ball to the box by a kick."**2. Temporal Contouring (Aspect) as the Framing Event**

"Temporal contouring" is temporal aspect when it is conceptualized as a separate event in its own right, abstracted out from an entire situation.

In a verb-framed language like Spanish, it is extensively expressed by the main verb. In a satellite-framed language like German, it is extensively expressed by the satellite, or by some other non-verbal constituent such as an adverb.

(2)

- a. 'to finish Ving' / 'to V to a finish / to completion'

Spanish: terminar de V-Inf

German: fertig-V

[I " <sub>A</sub> MOVED" the letter TO COMPLETION] CONSTITUTED-BY [I was writing it]

Terminé de escribir la carta.

Ich habe den Brief fertiggeschrieben.

'I finished writing the letter.' / 'I wrote the letter to completion.'

- b. 'to V again / re-V'

Spanish: volver a V-Inf

German: wieder-V / noch mal V

Volví a comer. / Lo volví a ver.

Ich habe noch mal gegessen. / Ich habe ihn wiedergesehen.

'I ate again.' / 'I saw him again.'

- c. 'to have just Ved'

Spanish: acabar de V-Inf (acabar: imperfective forms)

German: gerade V (perfect forms)

Acabo de comer. / Acababa de comer cuando llegó.

Ich habe gerade gegessen. / Ich hatte gerade gegessen, als er kam.

'I just ate.' / 'I had just eaten when he arrived.'

- d. 'to continue to V / 'to still V'

Spanish: seguir V-Ger

German: (immer) noch V

Sigue durmiendo. / Seguía durmiendo cuando miré.

Er schläft noch. / Er hat noch geschlafen, als ich nachschaute.

'He's still sleeping.' / 'He was still sleeping when I looked in.'

- e. 'to customarily V'

Spanish: soler V-Inf

German: normalerweise V (present) / [früher/...] immer V (past)

Suele comer carne. / Solía comer carne.

Normalerweise isst er Fleisch. / Früher hat er immer Fleisch gegessen.

‘He eats meat.’ / ‘He used to eat meat.’

f. ‘to V (NP) one after another cumulatively’

Spanish: ir V-Ger (NP)

German: (NP) nacheinander / eins nach dem anderen V

(i) Las vacas se fueron muriendo aquel año.

Die Kühe sind in dem Jahr (kurz) nacheinander gestorben.

‘One after another of the cows died that year [Spanish: not necessarily all].’

contrast: Las vacas se estaban muriendo aquel año.

‘The cows were (all sick and concurrently) dying that year.’

(ii) Juan fue aprendiendo las lecciones.

Johann hat die Lektionen eine nach der anderen gelernt.

‘John learned one after another of the lessons.’

g. ‘to finally V’ (positive) / ‘to not quite V’ (negative)

Spanish: llegar a V-Inf ‘to finally V after all’

no llegar a V-Inf ‘to not quite get so far as to V’

German: schliesslich / dann doch V

nicht ganz / dann doch nicht V

(i) El tiempo llegó a mejorar.

Das Wetter ist schliesslich / dann doch besser geworden.

‘The weather finally did improve after all.’

(ii) La botella no llegó a caer.

‘The bottle never did quite go so far as to actually fall [though teetering].’

Die Flasche wackelte, aber fiel dann doch nicht um.

‘The bottle teetered, but didn’t quite fall.’

h. ‘to end up Ving’

Spanish: acabar V-Ger [perf] ‘to end / wind up Ving after all’

German: am Schluss...dann doch V

Acabamos yendo a la fiesta.

Am Schluss sind wir dann doch zur Party gegangen.

‘We wound up going to the party after all (after wavering / deciding not to go).’

i. ‘to have been Ving (since / for...)’

Spanish: llevar V-Ger 'to have been Ving'

German: schon V

Lleva estudiando 8 horas. / Llevaba estudiando 8 horas cuando llegué.

Er studiert schon 8 Stunden lang. / Als ich kam, hatte er schon 8 Stunden studiert.

'He's been studying for 8 hours. / He had been studying for 8 hours when I arrived.'

j. 'to be Ving'

Spanish: estar V-Ger

German: gerade V (non-perfect forms)

Está escribiendo una carta. / Estaba escribiendo una carta.

Sie schreibt gerade einen Brief. / Sie schrieb gerade einen Brief.

'She is writing a letter. / She was writing a letter.'

### 3. State Change as the Framing Event

#### 3.1 Forms Suggesting Parallelism with Path + Ground

(3)

a. **non-agentive**

[he "MOVED" TO DEATH] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [he choked on a bone]

English: He choked to death on a bone.

Spanish: Murió atragantado por un hueso / porque se atragantó con un hueso.

"He died choked by a bone / because he choked himself with a bone."

b. **agentive**

[I "A MOVED" him TO DEATH] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [I burned him]

English: I burned him to death.

Spanish: Lo maté con fuego / quemándolo.

"I killed him with fire / [by] burning him."

The English state-change expression *to death*, which parallels a Path+Ground expression, is equivalent to the monomorphemic German satellite *er-* in one of its usages:

(4) German:  $er_1$ -V NP-Acc 'V NP to death' / 'kill NP by Ving NP'

(er-) drücken / schlagen / würgen / stechen / schießen

'to squeeze / beat / choke / stab / shoot (to death)'

The German satellite *er-*, in another of its state-change usages, has scant English counterpart

but didactically could be cast as an English Path+Ground expression, though this does not exist either

- (5) German: er<sub>2</sub>-V NP-Acc (Refl-Dat) "V NP into one's possession"/'obtain NP by Ving'
- a. [the army " <sub>A</sub> MOVED" the peninsula INTO ITS POSSESSION] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [it battled]  
Die Armee hat (sich) die Halbinsel erkämpft.  
'The army gained the peninsula by battling.'  
as if: "The army battled the peninsula into its possession."
  - b. Die Arbeiter haben sich eine Lohnerhöhung erstreikt.  
'The workers won a pay raise by striking.'  
as if: "The workers struck a pay raise into their possession."
  - c. Wir haben uns öl erbohrt.  
'We obtained oil by drilling.' as if: "We drilled oil into our possession."

### 3.2 Change in State of Existence

#### 3.2.1 from presence to absence

- (6) V out (NP) 'V (NP) to extinguishment' / 'extinguish (NP) by Ving'

**non-agentive with Manner:**

[the candle "MOVED" TO EXTINGUISHMENT] WITH-THE-MANNER-OF [it flickered / ...]

The candle flickered / sputtered out.

**non-agentive with Cause:**

[the candle "MOVED" TO EXTINGUISHMENT] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [SOMETHING blew on it]

The candle blew out.

**agentive with Cause:**

[I " <sub>A</sub> MOVED" the candle TO EXTINGUISHMENT] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [I blew on / ... it]

I blew / waved / pinched the candle out.

Spanish: Apagué la vela soplándola / de un soplido.

"I extinguished the candle [by] blowing-on it / with a blow"

- (7) V away 'V to gradual disappearance' / 'gradually disappear as a result of Ving'

[the meat "MOVED" GRADUALLY TO DISAPPEARANCE] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [it rotted]

The meat rotted away.

also: The ice melted away. / The hinge rusted away. /

The image faded away. / The jacket's elbows have worn away.

English: The leaves withered away. Spanish: Las hojas se desintegraron al secarse.

"The leaves disintegrated by withering."

- (8) V up 'V to consumedness' / 'become consumed in Ving'

V up NP 'V NP to consumedness' / 'consume NP by Ving it'

- a. [the log "MOVED" TO CONSUMEDNESS in 1 hour] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [it was burning]

The log burned up in 1 hour.

contrast *burn* alone: The log burned (for 30 mins. before going out by itself).

- b. [I " <sub>A</sub> MOVED" the popcorn TO CONSUMEDNESS in 10 mins.]

WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [I was eating it]

I ate up the popcorn in 10 mins.

contrast *eat* alone: I ate the popcorn (for 5 mins. before I stopped myself).

In the following, the state change from presence to absence pertains not to a first-order object, which instead may continue in existence, but rather to an abstract second-order meta-object, the supply.

- (9) German: ver-V NP-Acc 'use up / exhaust NP by Ving (with) it' / "V NP to exhaustion"

- a. [I " <sub>A</sub> MOVED" all the ink TO EXHAUSTION] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [I wrote with it]

Ich habe die ganze Tinte verschrieben.

"I've written all the ink to exhaustion."

'I've used up all the ink in writing.'

- b. Ich habe alle Wolle versponnen. 'I've used up all the wool in spinning.'

- c. Ich habe meine ganze Munition verschossen. 'I've exhausted my ammunition in shooting.'

### 3.2.2 from absence to presence

(10) V up NP 'V NP into existence' / 'make/create NP by Ving'

- a. [I " <sub>A</sub> MOVED" INTO EXISTENCE three copies of his original letter]  
 WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [I xeroxed it]  
 I xeroxed up (\*xeroxed) three copies of his original letter.  
 contrast *xerox* alone: I xeroxed (\*up) his original letter.
- b. I boiled up (\*boiled) some fresh coffee for breakfast at our campsite.  
 contrast *boil* alone (any acceptable use of *up* has a different sense):  
 I boiled (\*up) last night's coffee for breakfast / some water at our campsite.
- c. [I " <sub>A</sub> MOVED" INTO EXISTENCE a plan]  
 WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [I thought (about the issues)]  
 I thought up (\*thought) a plan.  
 contrast *think* alone: I thought \*up / about the issues.

In the following, the state change from absence to presence pertains not to a first-order object, which instead is already in existence, but rather to an abstract second-order meta-object, an accumulation.

(11) V up NP 'progressively accumulate / amass NP by Ving'

- a. [I " <sub>A</sub> MOVED" INTO AN ACCUMULATION 5,000 dollars in 5 years]  
 WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [I saved it]  
 I saved up 5,000 dollars in 5 years.  
 contrast *save* alone: I saved (\*up) (the/my) 1,000 dollars for 2 years.
- b. Jane has bought up beach-front property in the county.  
 --i.e., has progressively amassed a good deal of property over time  
 contrast: Jane has bought beach-front property in the county.  
 --possibly just a little on one occasion

contrast of satellites pertaining to a first-order object  
 and a second-order meta-object: an accumulation:

(12) Russian: na-V NP-Gen 'create an accumulation of NP by Ving NP'

Ona nagrebla orexov v fartuk. "She accumulation-scraped nuts(Gen) into apron."  
 'By scraping them together into her apron, she accumulated (a heap/pile of) nuts'.  
 contrast: Ona sgrebla orexi v fartuk. "She together-scraped nuts(Acc) into apron."  
 'She scraped together the nuts into her apron'.

### 3.3 Change in Condition

further cases of state change other than change in state of existence

(13)

- a. English: V up NP / German: kaputt-V NP-Acc ‘make NP non-intact by Ving it’

[the dog " <sup>A</sup> MOVED" TO NON-INTACTNESS the shoe in 30 mins.]

WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [he chewed on it]

The dog chewed the shoe up in 30 mins.

contrast *chew* without *up*: The dog chewed on the shoe (for 15 mins.).

- b. German: Der Hund hat den Schuh in 30 Minuten kaputtgebissen.

"The dog bit the shoe up in 30 mins."

contrast: Der Hund hat 15 Minuten an dem Schue gekaut.

"The dog chewed on the shoe [for] 15 mins."

- c. Spanish: El perro destruyó el zapato a mordiscos / mordiéndolo en 30 minutos.

"The dog destroyed the shoe with bites / [by] biting it in 30 mins."

contrast: El perro mordisqueó el zapato (durante 15 minutos).

"The dog chewed-on the shoe (for 15 mins.)."

from other satellite-framed languages, state-change satellites that are semantically unusual from the English perspective: German:

(14)

German: ein-V Refl-Acc in NP-Acc

‘to have gradually managed to become easefully familiar with all the ins and outs of NP in Ving (in/with) NP’

- a. Ich habe mich in das Buch eingelesen.

"I have read myself into the book."

‘I’ve gotten familiarized enough with the book

that I can keep all the characters and plot involvements straight.’

- b. Der Schauspieler hat sich in seine Rolle eingespielt.

"The actor has played himself into his role."

‘The actor has come to know his part with ease in the course of acting in it.’

- c. Ich habe mich in meinen Beruf eingearbeitet.

"I have worked myself into my job."

‘I know the ropes in my work now.’

In the preceding, it was the Patient that manifested the change in condition; in the following, it is the Agent

- (15) German: heraus-V NP-Acc [V: sensory verb]  
 ‘detect and sensorily single out NP among other comparable NPs via the sensory modality of Ving’

Sie hat ihr Kind herausgehört.

"She has heard out her child."

‘She could distinguish her child’s voice from among the other children talking.’

Russian / Dutch / Yiddish:

- (16) a. Russian: za-V -s’a (=reflexive)  
 ‘become attentionally engrossed/absorbed in the activity of Ving and hence be inattentive to other events of relevance in the context’

where V = čitat’ ‘read’: za-čitat’-s’a

‘to get absorbed in what one is reading’ (so that, e.g., one misses a remark directed at one)

where V = smotret’ ‘look’: za-smotret’-s’a

‘to get absorbed in watching something’ (e.g., a person ahead of one as one walks along, so that, e.g., one bypasses one’s destination)’

- b. Dutch: bij- V NP  
 ‘put the finishing touches on NP in Ving it /execute the few remaining bits of Ving action that will bring NP up to optimal / complete/up-to-date condition’  
 [example from Melissa Bowerman, p.c.]

where V = knippen ‘cut with scissors’: bij-knippen

e.g., ‘trim those hairs that have grown out beyond the hairdo’

where V = betalen ‘pay’: bij-betalen

‘pay the additionally necessary increment’, e.g., to correct an error and bring a sum up to the right amount or to upgrade a ticket to the next higher class

- c. Yiddish: tsu-V (NP1) tsu NP2  
 ‘add NP1 by Ving it -- or add the (intangible) product of Ving -- to the same or comparable material already present in NP2’

Ikh hob tsugegosn milkh tsum teyg.

"I have ADD-poured milk to-the dough"

‘I added milk to the dough by pouring it.’

Ikh hob zikh tsugezetst tsu der khevre.

"I have REFL ADD-sat to the group"

‘I pulled up a chair and joined the group.’

#### 4. Action Correlating as the Framing Event

Here, there are two entities -- an Agent and an Agency -- each performing some action.

The Agent sets her action to correlate with that of the Agency:

either to be the same as or similar to it, or to complement it.

It is this act of correlating that constitutes the framing event, and that

is expressed by the verb in a verb-framed language but by the satellite in a satellite-framed language

(17) [Agent ACT In-Correlation-With Agency] CONSTITUTED-BY [Agent PERFORM]

#### 4.1 The Agency's Action is the Same(-Category) as the Agent's Action.

##### 4.1.1 'concert'

(18) English: V together with NP 'act in concert with NP at Ving'

[I ACTed IN-CONCERT-WITH him] CONSTITUTED-BY [I played the melody]  
I played the melody together with him.

##### 4.1.2 'accompaniment'

(19) English: V along (with NP) / German: mit-V (mit NP-Dat)  
'act in accompaniment of / as an adjunct to // accompany / join (in with) NP at Ving'

[I ACTed IN-ACCOMPANIMENT-OF him] CONSTITUTED-BY [I played the melody]

English: I played the melody along with him.

German: Ich habe mit ihm die Melodie mitgespielt.

Spanish: Yo lo acompañé cuando tocamos la melodía.

"I accompanied him when we played the melody." (both he and I played)

Yo lo acompañé tocando la melodía.

"I accompanied him [by] playing the melody." (only I played)

a further English example contrasting 'concert' with 'accompaniment':

I jogged together / along with him.

Yiddish subdivides the 'accompaniment' type into:

mit- 'contributory accompaniment'

tsu- 'peripheral accompaniment'

- (20) Yiddish: tsu-V 'V as a peripheral accompaniment to another action'

where V = krekhtsn 'to groan, gripe'

Er hot tsugekrekhtst. "he has TSU-griped"; for example:

'He punctuated his exertions with an undertone of periodic groans.'

or 'He chimed in / piped up in our gripe session with some of his own gripes.'

where V = tantsn 'to dance'

Zi hot tsugetantst. "she has TSU-danced"; for example:

'She did a little dance on the sidelines in time to the music.'

#### 4.1.3 'imitation'

- (21) German: nach-V (NP-Dat)  
'V in imitation of NP' / 'imitate / copy NP at Ving'

[I ACTed IN-IMITATION-OF him] CONSTITUTED-BY [I played the melody]

German: Ich habe ihm die Melodie nachgespielt.

English: I played the melody in imitation of him.

Spanish: Yo lo seguia cuando tocamos la melodia.

"I followed him when we played the melody." (both he and I played)

Yo lo seguia tocando la melodia.

"I followed him [by] playing the melody." (only I played)

#### 4.1.4 'surpassment'

- (22) English: out-V NP 'surpass / best / beat NP at Ving'

[I ACTed IN-SURPASSMENT-OF him] CONSTITUTED-BY [I played (the melody)]

English: I outplayed him. (cf.: I outran / outcooked him.)

Spanish: Yo lo superé tocando la melodia.

"I surpassed him playing the melody."

### 4.2 The Agency's Action is Fixed and Distinct from the Agent's Action

#### 4.2.1 'demonstration - observation'

(23) German: vor-V NP-Dat 'demonstrate to NP one's Ving'

[Agent PUT Agent's Action IN-DEMONSTRATION-TO Agency's OBSERVATION]  
 CONSTITUTED-BY [Agent PERFORM]

[I ACTed IN-DEMONSTRATION-TO him] CONSTITUTED-BY [I played the melody]

German: Ich habe ihm die Melodie vorgespielt.

"I played the melody in demonstration to him."

English: I showed him how I / how to play the melody.

Spanish: Yo le mostré como toco / tocar la melodía. (same as English)

## 5. Realization as the Framing Event

"Realization" is the indication that some intended event that had been understood as merely potential or presumed has in fact been realized.

It has two main types: fulfillment of an intended goal & confirmation of an implicature.

Not all languages have an extensive system of indicating realization. But among those that do,

the indication is made by a satellite in satellite-framed languages & by the main verb in verb-framed languages.

parallels across types of framing event:

as the space domain has motion from elsewhere to a particular location,

and as the state domain has change from the absence to the presence of a particular property,

so the realization domain has transition from a potential stage to an actualized stage of realization,

or from an assumed degree to a definite degree of realization.

### 5.1 Incremental Semantic Series Containing Realization Types

(24)

- a. **intrinsic-fulfillment verb:** action  
**further-event satellite:** the state-change resulting from that action  
 e.g., V: *kick* ‘propel foot into impact with’  
 Sat: *flat*: ‘thereby causing to become flat’  
 I kicked the hubcap. / I kicked the hubcap flat.
- b. **moot-fulfillment verb:** action + goal  
**fulfillment satellite:** fulfillment of that goal  
 e.g., V: *hunt* ‘go about looking with the goal of thereby finding and capturing’  
 Sat: *down*: ‘with fulfillment of the goal’  
 The police hunted the fugitive for/\*in 3 days (but they didn’t catch him).  
 The police hunted the fugitive down in/\*for 5 days (\*but they didn’t catch him).
- c. **implied-fulfillment verb:** action + goal + implicature of fulfillment of the goal  
**confirmation satellite:** confirmation of that implicature  
 e.g., V: *wash*  
 ‘immerse and agitate with the goal of cleansing thereby  
 + the implicature of attaining that goal’  
 Sat: *clean*: ‘with confirmation of the implicature of attaining the goal of cleansing’  
 I washed the shirt (but it came out dirty).  
 I washed the shirt clean (\*but it came out dirty).
- or V: *call*  
 ‘dial a number with the goal of thereby telephonically connecting with a party’  
 + the implicature of attaining that goal’  
 Sat: *up*: ‘with confirmation of the implicature of attaining the goal of connecting’  
 I called her (but there was no answer).  
 I called her up (\*but there was no answer). [this example works for most speakers]
- d. **attained-fulfillment verb:** action+goal+fulfillment of that goal  
**pleonastic satellite:** fulfillment of the goal (generally avoided in English)  
 e.g., V: *drown* ‘submerge with the goal of killing thereby + attainment of that goal’  
 Sat: *dead / to death*: ‘with the attainment of the goal of killing’  
 I drowned him (\*but he wasn’t dead). / \*I drowned him dead / to death.

NB: the (a) + (d) verb types -- i.e., the intrinsic-fulfillment and the attained-fulfillment types --  
 are both **fulfilled** verb types  
 the (b) + (c) verb types -- i.e., the moot-fulfillment and the implied-fulfillment types --  
 are both **conative** verb types  
 and the (b) + (c) satellite types -- i.e., the fulfillment and confirmation types --  
 are both **realization** satellite types

## 5.2 Cline in Strength of Implicature

(25) The stranger (a) choked / (b) stabbed / (c) strangled / (d) drowned him.  
(but he was still alive when the police arrived.)

(26) The stranger choked / stabbed / ?strangled / \*drowned him to death.

### 5.3 Lexicalized Implicature

1. intention 'to make clean': is part of the meaning of *wash*

I soaked / ?? washed the shirt in dirty ink.

2. implicature 'it gets clean': is automatically associated with the morpheme *wash*

I soaked the shirt. --no implicature 'it got clean'

I washed the shirt. --implicature 'it got clean'

3. notion 'getting clean': is not an essential part of the meaning of *wash*

I washed / \*cleaned the shirt, but it came out dirty.

4. notion 'getting clean': is not simply a part of a larger metonymic frame

"washing action + getting clean + drying + putting away for use"

I washed the shirt and left it wet.

?? I washed the shirt and left it dirty.

5. notion 'getting clean': is not conventional implicature, because it is defeasible

I washed the shirt but it came out dirty.

\*He stayed but she left,

and there is no contrast between these two facts.

proposed term: "lexicalized implicature".

### 5.4 Typological Difference in the Expression of Realization

(27)

a. [Agent " <sub>A</sub> MOVE" TO FULFILLMENT the INTENTION (to CAUSE X)]  
WITH-THE-SUBSTRATE-OF [Agent ACT + INTEND to CAUSE X THEREBY]

b. [Agent " <sub>A</sub> MOVE" TO CONFIRMATION  
the IMPLICATURE of the FULFILLMENT of the INTENTION (to CAUSE X)]  
WITH-THE-SUBSTRATE-OF [Agent ACT + INTEND to CAUSE X THEREBY  
+ IMPLICATURE of the FULFILLMENT of the INTENTION to CAUSE X]

#### 5.4.1 Mandarin: a Satellite-Framed Language Exhibiting Realization

- (28) a. wǒ kāi le mén (dàn-shì mén méi kāi)  
I open PERF door (but door not-PAST open)
- b. wǒ kāi kāi le mén  
I open(V) open(Sat) PERF door
- (29) a. wǒ shā le tā (dàn-shì méi shā sǐ)  
I kill PERFhim (but not-PAST kill dead)
- b. wǒ shā sǐ le tā  
I kill dead PERFhim
- (30) a. wǒ tī le tā (dàn-shì méi tī zháo)  
I kick PERFhim (but not-PAST kick into-contact)
- b. wǒ tī zháo le tā  
I kick into-contact PERFhim

#### 5.4.1.1 Comparison of English and Mandarin Verb Lexicalization

English has "resection": processes for cutting back on the full reference of a fulfilled verb down to a moot-fulfillment reference accomplished by such grammatical devices as: the progressive / addition of *at*

- (31) a. I opened the door / wine bottle.  
b. I was opening the door / wine bottle when I heard a scream.
- (32) a. I kicked him. / I grasped the rope.  
b. I kicked (out) at him. / I grasped at the rope.

symmetric complementarity between the characteristic English and Mandarin verb types:

the Mandarin conative verb *tī* = English *kick at*

i.e., a fulfilled verb that has been resected the English fulfilled verb *kick* = Mandarin *tī zháo*, 'kick into-contact',  
i.e., a conative verb that has been realized.

#### 5.4.2 Tamil: a Verb-Framed Language Exhibiting Realization

(33) a. Nān̄ avanaī konrēn̄.  
 I he-Acc kill(Finite)-Past-1s  
 'I killed him.'

Ānāl̄ avan̄ cāka-villai.  
 but he die-Neg  
 'But he didn't die.'

b. Nān̄ avanaī konru-(vi)ttēn̄.  
 I he-Acc kill(Non-Finite)-leave(Finite)-Past-1s  
 'I killed him.'

\*Ānāl̄ avan̄ cāka-villai.  
 but he die-Neg  
 \*'But he didn't die.'

## 6. Evidence that the Framing Satellite Expresses the Main Event

### 6.1 Determining Complement Structure and the Semantic Character of Arguments

A framing satellite determines most or all of the complement structure of its clause as well as the semantic character of the arguments represented in these complements.

with satellite added: intransitive --> transitive complement structure  
 (as well as: unbounded --> punctual aspect; steady-state --> state-entry)

I blew on the flame.  
 I blew the flame out.

with satellite added: same as preceding + semantic shift of participants:  
 Path+Ground (course followed) --> animate Patient (person surpassed)

I ran along the street.  
 I outran him.

with satellite added: shift in transitivity + definiteness (as well as aspect):  
 indefinite or definite:

mit (der) Tinte schreiben 'write with (the) ink'

definite only:

die (ganze) Tinte verschreiben 'exhaust (all) the ink in writing'  
 \*Tinte verschreiben 'exhaust ink in writing'

with satellite added: shift in argument order / precedence

I poured water (Figure) into the glass (Ground).  
 I poured the glass (Ground) full of water (Figure).

### 6.2 Determining Overall Aspect

Path satellites:

with satellite added to the following basic sentence with unbounded aspect:

The bottle floated on the water for an hour / \*in an hour (before finally sinking)

*across* shifts it to bounded aspect:

The bottle floated across (the entire canal) in ten minutes / \*for ten minutes

*in / past* shifts it to punctual aspect:

The bottle floated in (-to the cleft) / past (the rock) at exactly 3 o'clock / \*for an hour

*along* maintains the unbounded aspect:

The bottle floated along (the canal) for one hour / \*in an hour.

state-change satellites:

without satellite, aspect can be unbounded or punctual, but not bounded:

The candle flickered for minutes / at exactly midnight / \*in 5 minutes.

with satellite added, aspect can be punctual or bounded, but not unbounded:

The candle flickered out \*for minutes / at exactly midnight / in 5 minutes.

### 6.3 Determining the Auxiliary in German

- (34) a. Ich bin / \*habe um die ganze Stadt gelaufen.  
'I ran around the whole city.'
- b. Ich habe / \*bin die Füße (\*um die ganze Stadt) wundgelaufen.  
'I ran my feet sore (\*around the whole city)' /  
"I made my feet sore in running".

### 6.4 Determining the "Upshot"

The framing satellite, in representing the main event, expresses the "upshot" of the whole macro-event:

the core of what is asserted in a declarative construction, denied under negation,  
asked about in an interrogative construction, demanded in an imperative

- (35) a. I didn't eat the popcorn.  
b. I didn't eat up the popcorn. [I did eat it, but did not finish]
- (36) a. The police didn't hunt the fugitive.  
b. The police didn't hunt down the fugitive. [They did search, but did not find him]

### 6.5 Licensing Generic (Dummy) Verbs

satellite-framed languages, where the satellite can express the semantically rich content of a framing event,  
often develop a system of generic verbs as syntactic "place markers"  
that express no particular co-event content but that allow the sentence to go on to its satellite's content,  
when this alone is what the speaker wants to convey

English mostly uses: go / put / do / make:

The fire blew out. / The fire went out.

I blew the fire out. / I put the fire out.  
 They talked on. / They went on (talking).  
 I outcooked him. / I outdid him (at cooking).  
 I ran off with the money. / I made off with the money.

German mostly uses: machen / gehen

fertigmachen 'to finish',  
 weitermachen 'to continue',  
 kaputtmachen 'to destroy',  
 mitmachen 'to accompany, join in with',  
 nachmachen 'to imitate',  
 vormachen 'to demonstrate'

### References

Note: All my work is freely available on my website:

<http://linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/talmy/talmyweb/index.html>

Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, volume II: *Typology and process in concept structuring*.  
 i-viii, 1-495. Cambridge: MIT Press.  
 -- chapters 1 and 3