

# Macro-events in verb-verb compounds from the perspective of baseline and elaboration: Iconicity in typology and grammaticalization

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Keywords: compound verbs, event integration, baseline and elaboration, grammaticalization, iconicity

In Talmy's typology of event integration, a "macro-event" is a complex event which tends to be conceptually integrated as a single event and represented by a single clause. Macro-events are classified into five types (motion, temporal contouring, state change, action correlating, and realization) by the framing event (the main event) and are treated in a comparable way in Talmy (2000). Considering the high lexical integrity (Anderson 1992) of compound verbs (CVs), which could be the best candidates for encoding conceptually integrated complex events, this paper examines CVs representing macro-events cross-linguistically. Further, it argues that macro-events can be classified into two types by "elaboration" (Langacker 2016): augmentation (motion, state change, and realization) and adaptation (temporal contouring and action correlating). These two types of macro-events show distinct behaviors in the order of the framing event and co-event and the representation of the framing event.

According to Langacker (2016), a baseline (B) is already established, in place, or under control. Its elaboration (E) is an operation consisting in augmentation, adaptation, or additional processing activities. For instance, in the case of augmentation CVs like *aruki-tukareru* [Japanese (OV)] (walk-be.tired) 'get tired from walking', V2 *tukareru* (B) is a verb expressing the framing event (state change) with an open slot "Cause", which the co-event V1 *aruku* can fit in as a slot filler (additive, A). In adaptation CVs such as *boln-e-lagnaa* [Hindi (OV)] (say-CP-feel) 'start to say', the framing event V2 is an adaptation (E) that relates B (V1 = co-event) to B' at a higher stratum  $S_1$  (see Figure 1).

Typologically, while the order of verbs in augmentation CVs tends to be "V1: co-event, V2: framing event" regardless of language type, the order of verbs in adaptation CVs tends to match the temporal sequencing of B/E organization (baseline → elaboration) and show a unified order "V1: co-event, V2: framing event" only in OV languages (*bak-a-kalmak* [Turkish (OV)] (look-CP-remain) 'keep looking' vs. *xiě-qǐ* [Chinese (VO)] (write-get.up) 'start writing' and *qǐ-dòng* [Chinese (VO)] (start-move) 'start moving'), owing to the iconic relation between the word order and order of temporal sequencing in adaptation CVs.

Furthermore, only V2s of adaptation CVs representing elaboration form a closed class mostly with grammaticalized verbs that initially express concrete actions. Moreover, in V2s of adaptation CVs like *obie-kiru* [Japanese (OV)] (be.frightened-cut) 'feel extremely frightened', transitive verbs are used for expressions without an object. In these cases, although the meanings of V2s are bleached, their causative meanings are in an iconic relation with operating on a baseline.

These results suggest that the differences in B/E organization iconically emerge as explicit differences in linguistic forms, indicating the validity of the onomasiological approach (looks at the designations of a particular concept) based on B/E organization.

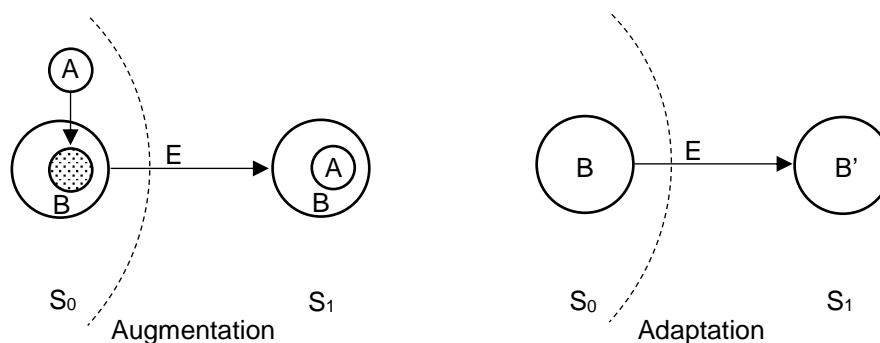


Figure 1. B/E organization of augmentation and adaptation

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