A New Constructional Approach to the English *Way* Constructions

Hanae Nakamura

2019

A New Constructional Approach to the English *Way* Constructions

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

from

Kobe Women's University

by

Hanae Nakamura

December 2019

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was completed with the help of many people inside Kobe Women's University and outside.

First, I would like to express my profound gratitude to Professor Yusuke Minami for his invaluable advice, wisdom, enthusiasm, and encouragement. He provided me with consistent guidance, through his careful and kind support that helped me to develop my arguments. I learned a great deal from him over the years, throughout my doctoral course. His suggestions and guidance have greatly contributed to my study.

I am also grateful to Emeritus Professor Seisaku Kawakami, who introduced me to linguistics. He gave me great guidance, throughout my master's degree and my doctoral course for one year.

I would like to thank Professor Ann Cary, Professor James Crocker, and former professor Reginald Gentry, for helping me with my data survey their comments were always insightful and inspiring.

My hearty thanks also go to Professor Naoya Mori and former Professor Yukiko Kinoshita, who supported me in learning and gave me warm encouragement.

During my writing of this dissertation, I was able to spend a good deal of time with Professor Marsha Hayashi and Fujiyo Sumitani, who were always close to me and encouraged me.

I would like to thank the following people outside Kobe Women's University for their helpful comments and support: Naoko Hayase, Takashi Sugimoto, Kazumi Taniguchi, Keisuke Sanada, Haruhiko Murao, Takanori Demizu, Shotaro Sasaki, Ryosaku Asai, Tomoko Nakao, and Kiyama Naoki.

Finally, I’m grateful to my family for their support, and great thanks go to my husband for his encouragement and patience.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. Aim and Scope

This dissertation is dedicated to a cognitive linguistic investigation of the *Way* construction in English. The structure of the *Way* construction is schematically represented as (1), and some examples of the *Way* construction are given in (2).

(1) [SUBJ [V [*POSS way*] OBL]][1]

(2) a. She *made her way* to the door. (COCA 2014)

b. Frank *dug his way* out of the prison. (Goldberg 1995: 199)

c. He *belched his way* out of the restaurant. (*ibid*.: 202)

d. He *danced his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago,"... (COCA 2014)

The *Way* construction has been investigated from different viewpoints: Jackendoff (1990) and Kageyama and Yumoto (1997) take a position of the conceptual structure of the lexical meaning; Goldberg (1995) proposes the theory of Construction Grammar; Takami and Kuno (2002) examines semantic its functions. In

---

[1] SUBJ, V, POSS and OBL represent subject, verb, possessive pronoun, and directional expression, respectively.

particular, Construction Grammar is a relatively new theory which has shed light on several unknown aspects of the *Way* construction. Still, Goldberg's analysis fails to capture some essential characteristics of the *Way* construction. In this dissertation, building upon the basic principles of Construction Grammar, we present a new approach to the constructional meaning of the *Way* construction. We will mainly discuss the three issues as follows:

A: How the polysemous structure of the *Way* construction should be analyzed

B: The linguistic context in which the *Way* construction is used

C: The information structure of the *Way* construction

As to the issue A, we will make a comparison between Goldberg (1995) and Kageyama and Yumoto (1997) in the previous studies. Both of them discuss the polysemous structure of the *Way* construction. The two studies have different views on the number of senses connected with the construction. While Goldberg (1995) says there are two, Kageyama and Yumoto (1997) argue for three distinct senses. In order to clarify the relationship between the two views, we propose what we will call the "*manage to* test," where we make an artificial context with the *Way* construction in order to tackle the aforementioned problems of polysemy. Through the *manage to* test, it will be revealed that we can not only capture the relation between polysemous meanings but also realize the significance of the context in which the *Way* construction is used because the semantic interpretation cannot depend only on difficulty implication or lexical meaning. Moreover, through a thorough observation of cases where the verb *slide* occurs in the *Way* construction, we have to conclude that the semantic interpretation of the *Way* construction is closely tied to the context in which it occurs. All these things having to do with the polysemous structure of the *Way* construction will be dealt with in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

Concerning the issue B, we will investigate the immediate linguistic context of the *Way* construction, and then we can see the preferred linguistic context of this construction. We explore the immediate linguistic context of the *make one's way* construction, the *push one's way* construction, and the *pick one's way* construction because *make*, *push* and *pick* occupy a quite large number of use of the verb occurring in the *Way* construction. Throughout the investigating of the linguistic behavior of the *Way* construction, it will be shown that this construction actually has a certain preferred linguistic context; the *Way* construction occurs in the subordinate clause headed by the conjunction *as* or as a converb[2]. We explore the feature of use of the *Way* construction in the subordinate clause and then we can see the fact that the *Way* construction describes the event by a bird's-eye view. We will also examine the effect of the use of the *Way* construction on discourse level. We can see that the motion event description of the *Way* construction relates to the interpretative process of the addressee. These will be discussed in Chapter 5 and

[2] Converb is defined here as a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination. (Haspelmath and könig (1995: 3))

Chapter 6.

About the issue C, we explore the *Way* construction in terms of information structure. We divide the predicate of the *Way* construction into two components: [V] and [one's way OBL]. It will then be examined which information is asserted/presupposed. To do this we will use the "negation test," which involves prefabricated immediate linguistic contexts. This will be given in Chapter 7.

As far as we know, none of the previous studies of the *Way* construction has ever paid much attention to any of these issues. Instead, previous studies have placed an emphasis upon the semantic features, semantic constraints, and the stylistic side of this construction. Such studies include: Toyama (1968), Jackendoff (1990), Goldberg (1995), Israel (1996), Kageyama and Yumoto (1997), Omuro (2000), Takami and Kuno (2002), Iwata (2012) and Szczesniak (2013). It should be noted that all of them tacitly focus on investigating the *Way* construction as a simple-clause sentence separated from any specific context. Some of them mainly clarify the motion event description from the perspective of the verb occurring in this construction, semantic interpretation, or the semantic constraints. Others point out the rhetorical feature or semantic compositional feature. All of them, however, have almost disregarded the issues of contexts and information structure. In this study, we investigate the (linguistic) context or information structure. Consequently, we can make clear not only the features of the *Way* construction as a motion event description but also its constructional implication and contextual effects. Moreover, it is conceivable that the *Way* construction is not the same in kind as the Caused-motion construction or the Resultative construction.

1.2. The Data in Our Dissertation

In our study, we use many examples of the *Way* construction. We mainly use two types of examples: naturally-occurring examples and examples constructed with the assistance of native speakers of English. Naturally-occurring examples are collected from COCA (*The Corpus of Contemporary American English*). When we have interviews with native speakers, it was asked whether a certain expression is acceptable or unacceptable. Note that our concern centers on the semantic naturalness ("semanticality") rather than grammaticality; namely, when we say an expression is unacceptable, that means *semantic anomaly* rather than purely structural infelicity. In any case, we will be using the star mark ("*") to indicate the unacceptability in this sense; unusual or irregular in meaning. We also use a question mark ("?") to indicate that the expression in question occupies an intermediate position between "unacceptable" and "acceptable." To summarize, we attach a question ("?") to mean "not entirely bad, but sounds unnatural," and a star mark ("*") to mean that the expression is simply anomalous.

1.3. Organization

This thesis is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, we firstly introduce the basic principle of Cognitive Linguistics and usage-based model, and we discuss the notion of categorization and polysemy. We then outline Construction Grammar and we overview the semantic features of the *Way* construction and the previous studies of it. Finally, we present the issues to be discussed in this dissertation. In Chapter 3, we propose the "*manage to* test" as an objective barometer in order to make clear the polysemous structure. Chapter 4 pays attention to the context in which the verb *slide* occurs in order to explore how we construe the constructional meaning when the contrastive meaning such as verb *slide* occurs in the *Way* construction. In Chapter 5, we investigate the immediate linguistic contexts of the *Way* construction. We show the preferred linguistic context of this construction and show that this construction has "Ground" property in terms of the notion of Figure/Ground alignment. In Chapter 6, we consider the "implication" that the *Way* construction triggers off within the motion path. Finally, in Chapter 7, we survey the most salient information in discourse in terms of information structure. In order to investigate the primary part of the information conveyed, the "negation test" will be utilized. Chapter 8 concludes this dissertation.

Chapter 2
Theoretical Background

This chapter lays out the theoretical background adopted in our study. It first introduces the basic tenets of Cognitive Linguistics in 2.1. 2.2 discusses the notion of categorization and polysemy. 2.3 accounts for Construction Grammar. 2.4 will be reviewed previous studies of the *Way* construction. Finally 2.5 outlines issues to be discussed in our dissertation.

2.1. Cognitive Linguistics and Usage-based Approach

In this dissertation, we put forward an enterprise of Cognitive Linguistics (CL). CL has a close connection to perception psychology and cognitive psychology, building upon the assumption that language is tightly united with human cognition and cognitive abilities. In particular, various concepts advanced in perception psychology and Gestalt psychology have underlain cognitive linguistic research.

Firstly, we examine how human beings recognize meaning in language. “Conceptualization” plays a key role. It is assumed that natural language is connected with encyclopedic knowledge, and that language is tightly connected with what human experiences in the real world; meaning of natural language cannot be separated from “conceptualization.” Conceptualization is a fundamental concept for linguistic structures and has the experiential basis. A certain linguistic expression reflects a mode of a construal by the conceptualizer of a situation.

Next, we explain Cognitive Linguistics view of knowledge of language. When we learn a language, usage-based model approaches to language acquisition. It is a theory based on the hypothesis that various knowledge of languages is not highly abstract but is rooted in specific uses. Langacker defines the usage-based model as follows:

(1) usage-based approach: Substantial importance is given to the actual use of the linguistic system and a speaker’s knowledge of this use; the grammar is held responsible for a speaker’s knowledge of the full range of linguistic conventions, regardless of whether these conventions can be subsumed under more general statements. A nonreductive approach to linguistic structure that employs fully articulated schematic networks and emphasizes the importance of lower-level schemas.

(Langacker 1987: 494)

Meaning in language is acquired by experiences or actual use. Therefore, the usage-based approach (UBA) is the theory of language acquisition (Langacker 1987). UBA forms the basis of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987), Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006, Croft 2001), and language acquisition (Pinker 1989, Hilpert 2014). In short, one generally accepted tenet in CL is the principle of “one-to-one” correspondence between meaning and form through actual usage. Construction Grammar proposed by Goldberg (1995) is based upon this tenet.

2.2. Categorization and Polysemy

The usage-based model is supported by the human cognitive process of "categorization." "Categorization" constitutes a crucial kind of construal. Categorization is the process of organizing a category, which underpins human competence of recognizing things and classify them as one group by means of extracting similar things and detecting generality. For instance, we can group *shelves*, *chairs*, and *desks* under the heading of "furniture." Likewise, *crows*, *robins*, and *sparrows* are grouped together as belonging to the category of "bird."

About categorization, **prototype theory** as developed by Rosch (1975) stems from the idea that members of category are heterogeneous; each category includes more prototypical members as well as non-prototypical ones. We can divide entities in the real world into different categories in reference to the prototypes. The existence of the **basic level category** is important in this connection. Words in the basic level category can be distinguished from those in other levels of categories. The members that do not count as the prototype category are recognized as the **extension(s)** from the prototype. That is, a basic level category is a group that has the most distinctive characteristics within that category. The words included in this category are easy for learners to acquire. The basic level category and other levels (superordinate and subordinate categories) is illustrated in Figure 1.

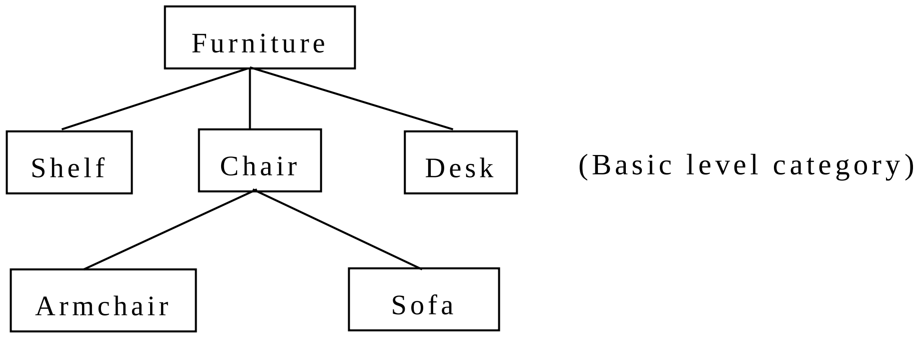


Figure 1: Category and the basic level category

To analyze the knowledge of language, the notion of "frame" is introduced by Fillmore (1982). Frame is defined as a knowledge structure schematized from our recurrent experience in specific situations. That is, "frame" functions as a background in order to understand meaning of the expression such as words or phrases. Any "word" or "phrase" evokes our encyclopedic knowledge along with the "linguistic" meaning as given in dictionary. For instance, the word "monk" is defined in a dictionary, but we have a certain image as to the concept "monk" in our mind. Therefore, word meaning depends on the use in specific context and our knowledge. The semantic theory based on "frame" is called "Frame semantics (Fillmore 1982)."

Prototype theory of categorization is applied to the study of language, particularly polysemy, i.e. a phenomenon where a certain linguistic form is associated with a set of distinct but related senses.

A polysemous word has a core meaning and forms a network of meanings that are related to each other and we can understand the word represented by a single word, even if the meanings shift slightly[3]. Distinct meanings of a unit exhibit different degrees of prototypicality. When the meaning of a certain word X is used in another situation, a category extends itself, and, therefore, the new usage is taken into the category as its new member. A category extension does not take place at random but is motivated by human experiences and conceptualization. Intuitively, this may seem only relevant to word meaning. However, polysemy and category extension are not limited to the word level; they are also applicable to larger or smaller linguistic units. In particular, Goldberg (1995) pointed out that a linguistic unit at the clausal level can also form the network of polysemy and undergo in category extension. We will see her notion of "construction" in the next section.

2.3. Construction Grammar

The present study adopts the basic ideas in Construction Grammar proposed by Goldberg (1995). (The theory of Construction Grammar was originally developed by Charles Fillmore, Paul Kay and their various collaborators, and Goldberg (1995) is influenced by George Lakoff.) Goldberg (1995) has extended the notion of the

[3] In lexical item level, for example, Lakoff (1987) discusses the semantic structure of the word *take* and *over* in terms of the prototype theory.

“constructions” from the “idiomatic expressions” (Evans 2007:44). The emphasis on idiomatic expressions can be found in studies by Charles Fillmore and Paul Kay. What is meant by idiomatic expressions include *kick the bucket*[4], *throw in the towel*[5], and the like we cannot predict the meanings of these expression “by the building of words from scratch” because these expressions are the “stored whole” (Evans 2007: 43-44). That is, the meaning of a complex linguistic expression is not a simple composition of words that comprise it. Rather, such an expression has a specific meaning that is unpredictable from the words as its components. Goldberg (1995) defines such unpredictable expression as a “constructions,” and proposes Construction Grammar.

It is therefore claimed in Construction Grammar that “constructions” independently exist in the speaker’s knowledge; a construction fundamentally is **a paring of form and meaning**. Under the view of Construction Grammar, it is constructions, rather than words, that constitute basic units in our knowledge of language.

This claim is different from the traditional, narrower definition of “construction.” Through analyses of particular constructions, traditional grammarians seem to have committed themselves to the existence of “constructions” in one’s linguistic knowledge. However, their interest centered on the idiosyncrasy of particular, idiosyncratic

---

4 The expression “kick the bucket” means “to die.” (*OALD*, s.v. *kick*)

5 The expression “throw in the towel” means “to admit that you have been defeated and stop trying.” (*OALD*, s.v. *towel*)

linguistic patterns, each of which then was “thrown” into the lexicon, i.e. the wastebasket for anything that cannot be explained in the rules of syntax. The idiosyncratic properties were attributed to each lexical item and then the lexical entries were the last shelter of the idiosyncrasy (Goldberg 1995: 1).

Goldberg (1995) points out that constructions cannot be reduced to any smaller units (i.e. lexical items, mostly) and that a specific combination of a particular semantic structure and a certain formal expression is recognized as a construction. A construction’s semantic properties are not strictly predictable from other constructions. Goldberg (1995) defines the “constructions” as below:

(2) … *constructions*—form-meaning correspondences that exist independently of particular verbs. That is, it is argued that constructions themselves carry meaning, independently of the words in the sentence. (Goldberg 1995: 1)

Goldberg (1995) also proposes that argument structure constructions are basic expression that constitutes clausal expression in language. The interactive relation between constructional meaning and verb meaning is different from the sharp distinction traditionally assumed between syntax and lexicon. Thus, the constructions require that the interaction between verb meaning and constructional meaning be addressed.

Croft (2001) assumes that “constructions” consist of the relation between syntactic patterns and semantics. He explains that both of them consist of a "continuum," and he states as follows:

(3) In fact, there is a continuum between "syntactic" collocational dependencies and "semantic" ones. The continuum requires a uniform treatment of all collocational dependencies as varying on a single continuous parameter. (Croft 2001: 179)

That is, the connection between syntactic and semantic is related with a continuum. Croft (2001) explains that "semantic of collocational dependencies" is called as "selectional restrictions (Croft 2001: 179)." Also the internal structures comprising a word can be constructions; there "morphological constructions" exist. Under this view, words as well as grammatical constructions in the traditional sense are treated as "constructions." For example, the restrictions in use in (4a) on *mud* exhibit "Semantically compositional (Croft 2001: 180)."

(4) a. Mud oozed onto the driveway. (Croft 2001: 180)
b.?* The car oozed onto the driveway. (*ibid.*)

The intermediate of continuum consists of "collocations," which "are combinations of words that are preferred over other combinations which otherwise appear to be semantically equivalent (Croft 2001: 180)." For instance, a pair of "roasted meat" and "toasted bread," is analyzed as semantically compositional and the whole meaning of each is predicted from the meanings of its parts.

On the other hand, pairs of "?*toasted meat" and "?*roasted bread" (Croft 2001: 180) are not conventionalized. That is, these examples are composed of frequent collocational patterns.

Croft's (2001) definition of constructions is more encompassing than that of Goldberg (1995). Interestingly, however, Goldberg (2006) presents the similar stance as Croft's (2001); namely, if a linguistic expression is used with relatively high frequency, even if the meaning of construction is totally predictable from other constructions, that expression is recognized as a construction. Goldberg (2006) defines "construction" as follows:

(5) Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency. (Goldberg 2006: 5)

With respect to the "constructions," Goldberg (1995) states that Construction Grammar does not assume a clear dividing line between semantics and pragmatics. She points out that the information about the focused constituents, topicality, and register also are represented in the semantic information of each construction (Goldberg 1995: 7). Following this idea, this dissertation employs the hypothesis of the continuum no clear boundary between semantics and pragmatics. Goldberg's theory is on the right track, but in effect, her analysis of argument constructions focuses only on the propositional meaning of those constructions; only things at a simple-clause level are considered. To clarify the inadequacy of such an approach is one of the goals of this dissertation.

2.4. The *Way* Construction in Previous Studies

The *Way* construction was once used as a test to see whether an intransitive verb is unergative verb or unaccusative verb (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995). The fact that a certain intransitive verb can occur in the *Way* construction, as illustrated in (6a), means that the verb is unergative verb. On the other hand, if a certain intransitive verb cannot occur in the *Way* construction, as in (6b), the verb is unaccusative verb.

(6) a. Mary *danced her way* through the park.

(Takami and Kuno 2002: 81)

b. *The window *opened/broke its way* into the room.

(Jackendoff 1990: 213)

Thus, the *Way* construction was used as one of the tests to clarify the type of a verb.

In the meantime, there was an attempt to clarify the semantic structure of the *Way* construction. Jespersen (1949) explained that the direct object represented as “one’s way” in the *Way* construction means an “object of result” in the sense that a path is produced as the result of a certain action. Jackendoff (1990) dealt with the *Way* construction as a kind of "constructional idiom" and built up the foundations of a syntactic structure and the meanings of the *Way* construction in terms of Conceptual Semantics. Jackendoff clarified the process of how the conceptual structure of verbs or prepositions is connected with the arguments or the modifiers. The conceptual structure at the word or phrase level is also compositional, and this theory corresponds to the phrase structure rule in syntax.

Based upon Jespersen (1949) and Jackendoff (1990), Goldberg (1995) shed new light on the *Way* construction in view of Construction Grammar. The *Way* construction was analyzed as being an argument structure construction, along with other argument structure constructions such as the Ditransitive Construction, the Caused-Motion Construction, the Resultative Construction, the Intransitive Motion Construction, and the Conative Construction. In Goldberg's account, the *Way* construction is regarded as one of the Intransitive motion constructions.

Goldberg (1995) treats these kinds of argument structure constructions as forming a special subclass of all the constructions of the English language. The basic idea of Construction Grammar is that constructions are the conventionalized form-meaning pairings. The "form" of the *Way* construction is schematically represented as (7).

(7) [SUBJ [V [*POSS way*] OBL]] (Goldberg 1995: 199)

Goldberg (1995) points out that verbs occurring in the *Way* construction need to be non-stative. The “OBL” encodes the directional, and nothing can intervene between [V] and [*POSS way*], and between [*POSS way*] and [OBL]. The *Way* construction entails the motion of the subject referent. The verb can refer to the “means” or “manner” of motion, and these two meanings are connected via “polysemy link” (Goldberg 1995: 210). Concerning these two senses, Goldberg notes, “means” is the basic interpretation of which “manner” is an extension. This is evidenced by the fact that numerous examples of the *Way* construction can be attested in a corpus which are construed as the “means” interpretation (Goldberg 1995: 202). Also, Goldberg (1995) states that for many English speakers, the “means” interpretation normally comes to the fore. This shows the central status of the “means” interpretation. With respect to these two meanings, the “means” interpretation implies difficulty as exemplified in (8a), while the “manner” interpretation as in (8b) does not necessarily imply difficulty.

(8) a. Frank *dug his way* out of the prison. (Goldberg 1995: 199)
b. He *belched his way* out of the restaurant. (*ibid.*: 202)

In (8a), the verb *dug* indicates the way of the motion of the subject referent and Frank must do the action “dig” in order to move on. In (8b), on the other hand, the verb *belch* denotes an incidental activity or action, and this type cannot have the “means” interpretation.

Moreover, Goldberg (1995: 212-214) proposes several semantic constraints on the *Way* construction: “unbounded activity,” "self-propelled motion," and "directed motion." Firstly, as to the "unbounded activity," some examples are given below:

(9) a. Firing wildly, Jones *shot his way* through the crowd.

b. *With a single bullet, Jones *shot his way* through the crowd (Goldberg 1995: 212)

(10) He *hiccupped his way* out of the restaurant. (*ibid.*)

As can be seen in (9), the verb must designate a repeated action or an unbounded activity. Example (10) entails that a series of hiccups are repeated many times. Jackendoff (1990) has also pointed out this semantic constraint.

The constraint of "self-propelled motion" can be illustrated by examples given in (11) and (12).

(11) *The wood *burns its way* to the ground. (Goldberg 1995: 212)

(12) *The butter *melted its way* off the turkey. (*ibid.*)

With regard to this constraint, the verbs classified as unaccusative verbs cannot occur in the *Way* construction, but it seems that this constraint is semantic rather than lexical, insofar as Goldberg (1995) points out the fact that the verbs such as *grow*, *shrink* are attested.[6] Finally, as to the "directed motion," Goldberg (1995)

[6] The verb *work* and *find* are lexical exception in that particularly, the verb *find* denotes that only the goal or the endpoint of the path are explicit. However, this constraint does not seem to hold for the manner interpretation.

points out that this constraint relates to the “self-propelled motion,” because for a motion to be self-propelled it must be directed. This constraint has to do not only with verb type but also with kinds of prepositional phrases. Some examples are given in (13) and (14).

(13) a. *She *wandered her way* over the field. (Goldberg 1995: 214)
b. *She *meandered her way* through the crowds. (*ibid.*)

(14) * Joe *shoved his way* among the crowd. (*ibid.*)

Goldberg (1995: 214) states that this constraint does not strictly hold for the “manner” interpretation because in a dialect, some native speakers find it acceptable and others say it is peripheral.

Thus, Goldberg (1995) discusses two semantic interpretations and some semantic constraints in the *Way* construction in terms of Construction Grammar. The idea of “construction” was a novel perspective back then, and the study of the *Way* construction has made spectacular advances since her study.

However, Goldberg’s (1995) analysis of the *Way* construction is not adequate because her investigation focuses exclusively on the propositional meaning of this construction at the simple-clause level. Although Goldberg (1995) realizes the necessity of addressing pragmatic sides of meaning such as information structure in Construction Grammar research, it seems that her investigation into the *Way* construction does not throw light on such points. Each of the other previous studies on the “meaning” side of the *Way* construction also has its own perspective (Kageyama and Yumoto 1997, Takami and Kuno 2002, Iwata 2012; among others), but just like Goldberg (1995), all of them commonly stay at the simple-clause level; that is, they do not consider pragmatic aspects such as context and information structure.

2.5. Issues to be Discussed

There are two central interests in previous studies on the semantic functions of the *Way* construction: motion event description and rhetorical description. In the former, the polysemy structures and the semantic constraints/functions are discussed (Goldberg 1995, Kageyama and Yumoto 1997, Takami and Kuno 2002, Iwata 2012). In the latter, the perspective of the speaker's consciousness and of the literary style are discussed (Toyama 1968, Omuro 2000). Toyama (1968) states that the *Way* construction is a stylistically peculiar expression. In particular, although Omuro (2000) points out the "speaker's consciousness," he only focuses on the verb types occurring in the *Way* construction. Each of these studies has a point, but none of them suffices to capture the whole semantic functions of the *Way* construction because, as we have already said in 2.4, most previous studies do not take into account pragmatic aspects including information structure and the contexts where the *Way* construction is actually used what underlies this tendency may be Goldberg's (1995) assumption that a simple-clause sentence can reflect and describe human basic cognition, as in (15). In other words, all the previous analyses are strictly at the simple-clause level.

(15) Simple clause constructions are associated directly with semantic structures which reflect scenes basic to human experience. (Goldberg 1995: 5)

Let us emphasize again that we are concerned with the context and information structure of the *Way* construction in the present study and we will see that previous studies, focusing exclusively on the simple-clause sentences, have failed to capture many features specific to this construction.

With this in mind, the goal of this dissertation is to explore the following issues:

A. Polysemy Issue

Although it has been accepted in a number of studies that the *Way* construction is polysemous, there has been no clear agreement on how many senses the *Way* construction is associated with. While Goldberg (1995), among many others, supposes that there are two distinct senses, Kageyama and Yumoto (1997) assume that there are three. It is thus necessary to further analyze the semantic structure of the *Way* construction in terms of the supposedly key notion of "difficulty" experienced by the subject referent in motion. We explore this point in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

B. Preferred Linguistic Context

We can see that the preferred linguistic context is given as one of the semantic feature; the *Way* construction occurs in a subordinate clause headed by the conjunction *as* or as a converb, and shows the semantic feature as Ground property in terms of the notion of Figure/Ground alignment principle. Therefore, the *Way* construction represents a bird's-eye view or "event-external" perspective; it represents the construal of looking over an event that involves the subject referent and is used to describe the whole motion event. In such a motion event description, the interpretative process of addressee is also a significant factor. We deal with this issue in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

C. Information Structure

On the discourse level, although one could ask which piece of information conveyed by the predicate of the *Way*-construction ([V] or [one's way OBL]) is likely to be more salient than the other, no previous studies have attempted to clarify it. This idea stems from Szczesniak's (2013) hypothesis that the predicate of the *Way* construction conveys two types of information: *manner* and path with goal. We discuss this point in Chapter 7.

Tackling these issues, we would like to address the significance of exploring the context in which the *Way* construction occurs and information structure. By doing so, we can comprehend the constructional uniqueness and dynamic semantic features of the *Way* construction. This construction is not only a sort of motion construction but also triggers off an “implication” by the construction or contextual effects. In this respect this construction may be different in nature from other argument structure constructions analyzed by Goldberg (1995).

Last but not the least, with respect to the relation between semantics and pragmatics, Goldberg (1995) states that Construction Grammar does not draw any dividing line between semantics and pragmatics:

(16) Another notion rejected by Construction Grammar is that of a strict division between semantics and pragmatics. Information about focused constituents, topicality, and register is represented in constructions alongside semantic information.

(Goldberg 1995: 7)

In practice, however, Goldberg (1995) does not discuss the *Way* construction in terms of pragmatics, probably because her theory is based upon a simple-clause sentence (see example (15)). Specifically, Goldberg (1995) cannot fully capture the polysemous structure between meanings, and disregards the peculiar feature of the *Way* construction at the context level. We will reveal the significant role of the (linguistic) context in which the *Way* construction is used and the semantic features in terms of information structure.

Chapter 3
The *Way* Construction and "Difficulty": A Preliminary Survey with the "*Manage to* Test"

3.1. Introduction

The idea that "difficulty" implication constitutes a significant part of the semantics of the *Way* construction is touched upon in Goldberg (1995), in which it is pointed out that there is a close link between the "means" interpretation and difficulty implication, whereas the "manner" interpretation does not necessarily imply difficulty. Goldberg gives two examples represented as in (1) and (2): example (1) denotes the "means" interpretation and implies difficulty, but example (2) denotes the "manner" interpretation and does not always imply difficulty.

(1) [They *were*] *clanging their way* up and down the narrow streets… (Goldberg 1995: 209)

(2) … the commuters *clacking their way* back in the twilight towards… (*ibid.*)

Goldberg (1995) explains a lack of correlation between difficulty implication and the "manner" interpretation as below:

(3) While many of the attested manner cases involve motion in the face of some external difficulty, or obstacle, just like the means cases, this does not seem to be a general constraint on the interpretation of the manner cases. (Goldberg 1995: 209)

Goldberg (1995) implies that the constraint concerning the presence or absence of difficulty implication is not associated with the manner interpretation.

Although Goldberg’s observation as above is insightful, it is solely based upon her own intuition. Such an intuition-based analysis faces the problem of sense boundaries. In fact, Kageyama and Yumoto (1997) assume that there are *three* distinct senses associated with the *Way* construction. If, as suggested by Goldberg, the implication of difficulty plays a central role in the semantic structure of the *Way* construction, it might serve as a useful criterion by which to decide appropriate sense boundaries. In order to implement this idea, however, one person’s intuition doesn’t suffice and some objective test is needed. In what follows, we propose that the phrase “manage to” is one such test. It will also be shown that use of this test helps to reveal more about the polysemous structure of the *Way* construction than Goldberg (1995) and other similar studies.

3.2. Introducing the "*Manage to* Test"

In this section, we argue for the validity of the phrase "manage to" as a test to analyze the polysemous structure of the *Way* construction. In 3.2.1, we discuss the advantages of "manage to" in terms of its lexical meaning as well as its implicative property (Karttunen 1971). In 3.2.2, we exhibit the procedure of the "manage to" test.

3.2.1. The Basic Idea

We use the phrase "manage to" as a test to detect the presence/absence of difficulty implication by the *Way* construction for the following reasons.

Firstly, the lexical meaning of the predicate "manage" is closely linked to the notion of difficulty an actor/agent goes through. *OALD* (*Oxford Advanced Leaner's Dictionary*) explains that "manage" is connected to the notion of difficulty as in (4):

(4) "manage"

1. to succeed in doing something, especially something difficult. (*OALD*, s.v. *manage*)

Secondly, the predicate "manage" is categorized as an "implicative verb" by Karttunen (1971: 341):

(5) ...an implicative main verb carries a presupposition of some necessary and sufficient condition which alone determines whether the event described in the complement took place.

(Karttunen 1971: 340)

In short, the predicate “manage” presupposes the realization of the event described by the *to*-infinitival complement. Karttunen (1971) explains this with (6a)-(6c). (6a) entails (6b); namely, (6b) is embedded in (6a) as the complement clause (“to solve the problem”). (6a) conveys the completion of the event denoted by the *to*-infinitival complement. This is evidenced by (6c), which indicates the non-cancellability of the completion of the event.

(6) a. John managed to solve the problem. (Karttunen 1971: 341)

b. John solved the problem. (*ibid.*)

c. *John managed to solve the problem, but he didn’t solve it.

(*ibid.*: 342)

Therefore, sentences with the phrase “manage to” (such as (6a)) and those without the phrase “manage to” (such as (6b)) are the same in that they both entail the actualization of the event denoted by the *to*-infinitival complement. This is why the phrase “manage to” is far more appropriate for the present purpose than any other similar phrase. For example, although the phrase “try to” and the phrase “manage to” are very much alike in that both entail that the actor/agent makes an effort, the phrase “manage to” is more suitable than "try to" because the latter does not imply the completion of the event like the former.

Thus we would like to propose use of the phrase "manage to" as an objective barometer to see the presence/absence of difficulty implication as suggested by Goldberg (1995). By doing so, we will explore the correlation between the semantic interpretation and the presence/absence of difficulty implication.

3.2.2. The Procedure of the "*Manage to* Test"

We will propose a new perspective: the "manage to" test. This is a heuristic test to see if a *Way*-construction instance has "difficulty" implication as pointed out in previous studies. The "manage to" test includes several steps, each of which is described below:

Step 1) Check whether or not difficulty implication in the *Way* construction is present by adding the phrase "without the slightest effort" or "easily."

As an illustration, let us see (7).

(7) a. Bennet *elbowed his way* through the crowds, [...]

(COCA 2008)

b. Bennet *elbowed his way* through the crowds <u>without the slightest effort/easily</u>.

(7a) is the original instance of the *Way* construction, while (7b) is the example with the phrase "without the slightest effort/easily" added. If (7b) is contradictory, the original *Way* construction in (7a) implies difficulty. On the other hand, if (7b) is acceptable, the *Way* construction in (7a) does not imply difficulty. (7a), actually, implies difficulty; that is, this test indicates that the meaning between the original *Way* construction and that of the same sentence with the phrase "without the slightest effort/easily" are at cross-purposes; these two meanings do not mesh.

Step 2) Paraphrase the verb in the original *Way*-construction sentence in two ways; (i) "go ... by V-ing" and (ii) "go ... V-ing" to examine which is more natural (cf. Jackendoff 1990).

Let us see how it works with the example below.

(8) Bennet *elbowed his way* through the crowds, [...] (= (7a))

(9) a. Bennet went through the crowds <u>by elbowing</u>.

(= "means" interpretation)

b. Bennet went through the crowds <u>elbowing</u>.

(= "manner" interpretation)

Example (8) is the original *Way* construction. (9a) and (9b) are its paraphrased versions, the intended interpretations of which are "means" and "manner," respectively. If (9a) is acceptable, the semantic interpretation in (8) is "means." On the other hand, if (9b) is acceptable, the semantic interpretation in (8) is "manner."

Step 3) Embed the original *Way* construction in the complement of the *manage to* phrase to make another form [S manage to V one's *way* PP[7]] (which will henceforth be called the "*manage to* construction" for convenience), and compare the semantic interpretation of the original *Way* construction with that of the "manage to" construction.

Let us explain this step in more detail. We compare the semantic interpretation of the original *Way* construction with that of the *manage to* construction. Its procedure is as follows; (i) embed the predicate of the original *Way* construction sentence in the complement of *manage to* phrase, and then (ii) see if the meaning of the sentence has or has not changed through the addition of *manage to*. Moreover, we check which of the two paraphrases is more natural ("go... by V-ing" or "go...V-ing.") Take (10a) and (10b), as an illustration.

(10) a. Bennett *elbowed his way* through the crowds, [...] (= (7a))
b. Bennett *managed to elbow his way* through the crowds, [...]
(Bennett went through the crowds **<u>by elbowing</u>** / <u>elbowing</u>.)

[7] PP represents Prepositional Phrase.

Example (10a) is the original *Way* construction, and (10b) is the example where the original *Way* construction is embedded in the complement of the *manage to* phrase. (10a) implies difficulty[8] and the *manage to* construction in (10b) just emphasizes that difficulty implication. Following this test, if an original *Way*-construction sentence implies difficulty, the *manage to* construction serves to stress difficulty implication. On the other hand, if an original *Way*-construction sentence does not imply difficulty, either of the following two situation obtains: (i) the *manage to* construction merely implies difficulty because of the lexical meaning of *manage*; (ii) the interpretation of the original *Way* construction changes into another kind through the coercion of difficulty implication by the *manage to* construction. (i) and (ii) are exemplified by (11) and (12), respectively.

(11) a. He *threaded his way* through the crowd and returned to the table where Emily sat alone. (COCA 2009)

b. He *managed to thread his way* through the crowd and return to the table where Emily sat alone.

(12) a. And you *dance your way* to the front door and [...] (COCA 2000)

b. And you *manage to dance your way* to the front door and, [...]

[8] We check the presence/absence of difficulty implication in step1).

Examples (11a) and (12a) are the original *Way* constructions; (11b) and (12b) are the *manage to* constructions. (11a) does not imply difficulty[9], but the *manage to* construction in (11b) implies difficulty. (12a) does not imply difficulty[10], but (12b) implies difficulty. In this case, it should be noted, (12b) not only implies difficulty but also the semantic interpretation changes because of the coerced difficulty implication. That is, in example (12b), the original "manner" interpretation is coerced into the "means" interpretation.

Thus far, we have described how the "manage to" test works. In the next section, we will attempt a thorough investigation into the polysemous semantic structure of the *Way* construction by means of the "mange to" test: it will be clear that some patterns of "polysemy link" (Goldberg 1995: 210) can be observed in the *Way* construction.

3.3. Survey and Result

In this section, we will focus on the polysemous structure of the *Way* construction through the "*manage to* test." A special reference will be given to Kageyama and Yumoto (1997) where the most detailed classification of senses is presented; they divide the meaning of the *Way* construction into three types: (i) creation of path, (ii) activity incidental to a motion (hereafter, incidental activity), and (iii) manner of motion where the lexical item entails motion. If we compare this with Goldberg's (1995) two-way division (i.e. "means" and "manner"), the type (i) corresponds to the means

---

[9] We check the presence/absence of difficulty implication in step1).
[10] We check the presence/absence of difficulty implication in step1).

interpretation by Goldberg (1995) and type (ii) corresponds to the manner interpretation by Goldberg (1995). Finally, as to type (iii), Kageyama and Yumoto (1997) uses the term "manner," but they assume the unlikely type of "manner (by Goldberg 1995)," and "manner of motion" is defined as a different type from "manner" as suggested by Goldberg (1995).

In what follows, we examine the polysemous structure of the *Way* construction by means of the *manage to* test. For convenience, the instances are divided into three types on the basis of Kageyama and Yumoto's three interpretations. The test result of each type will be given in the following sections.

3.3.1. Type Ⅰ : Creation of Path

Included in this category are instances where verbs describe how the path to go along is created by the mover (i.e. the subject referent) as the motion unfolds.

This type implies difficulty in the *Way* construction. The *manage to* construction, therefore, reinforces the difficulty implication. In all examples, a) shows the original *Way* construction, b) shows Step 1, c) shows Step 2, and d) shows Step 3. In example b), the more natural paraphrase is boldfaced. In cases where both interpretations (go…by V-ing/go…V-ing) are boldfaced, both interpretations are acceptable.

(13) a. Bennett *elbowed his way* through the crowds, [...]

(COCA 2008)

b. ?Bennet *elbowed his way* through the crowds without the slightest effort/easily.

c. Bennet went through the crowds **by elbowing**/or elbowing.

d. Bennett *managed to elbow his way* through the crowds, [...]

(14) a. John didn't play high-school basketball, and after begging groceries in New Orleans for two years, *begged his way* onto his college team. (COCA 1996)

b. ?John didn't play high-school basketball, and after begging groceries in New Orleans for two years, *begged his way* onto his college team without the slightest effort/easily.

c. John didn't play high-school basketball, and after begging groceries in New Orleans for two years, went onto his college team **by begging**/or begging.

d. John didn't play high-school basketball, and after begging groceries in New Orleans for two years, *managed to beg his way* onto his college team.

(15) a. He took a coaching job at Yale, and eventually *talked his way* into Yale Law School. (COCA 2006)

b. ?He took a coaching job at Yale, and eventually *talked his way* into Yale Law School without the slightest effort/easily.

c. He took a coaching job at Yale, and eventually went into Yale Law School **by talking**/or talking.

d. He took a coaching job at Yale, and eventually *managed to talk his way* into Yale Law School.

In (13)-(15), in Step 1, all instances are at cross-purposes with regard to the presence/absence of difficulty implication. That is, these facts show that the original *Way* construction implies difficulty. In Step 2, all instances make sense when paraphrased into "go…by V-ing." In Step 3, all instances reinforces difficulty implication, and are interpreted as "means." example (15) indicates that the subject works for the coach in Yale, so that he can enter the Yale law school. The verb *talk* means "illicit/secret business contact." Therefore, this instance is construed as "means."

3.3.2. TypeⅡ: Incidental Activity

Included in this category are instances where verbs describe in what manner the subject referent goes along the path. That is, the verbs describe incidental activity with motion.

In this type, the *Way* construction does not imply difficulty, while the *manage to* construction implies difficulty, and requires the construal of "means[11];" namely, in the latter case, the semantic interpretation of the *manage to* construction invites coercion; As a result, the semantic interpretation is "means."

[11] In (16d) and (17d), the sign of "?" means that the semantic interpretation of the *manage to* construction happens coercion or is unnatural when we compare the meaning between the *Way* construction and the *manage to* construction.

(16) a. And you *dance your way* to the front door and [...]

(COCA 2000)

b. And you *dance your way* to the front door <u>without the slightest effort/easily</u>.

c. And you go to the front door <u>by dancing</u>/or <u>**dancing**</u>.

d. ?And you *manage to dance your way* to the front door and...[12]

(17) a. Hershie Stern, Dolly's brother, *burped and belched his way* to the stand. (COCA 2000)

b. Hershie Stern, Dolly's brother, *burped and belched his way* to the stand <u>without the slightest effort/easily</u>.

c. Hershie Stern, Dolly's brother, went to the stand <u>by burping and belching</u>/ or <u>**burping and belching**</u>.

d. ? Hershie Stern, Dolly's brother, *managed to burp and belch his way* to the stand.

In Step 1, examples (16)-(17) are consistent; in Step 1, they are not contradictory, that is, the original *Way* construction does not imply difficulty. In Step 2, both of them are paraphrased by "go...V-ing." From these, it follows that the original *Way* construction does not imply difficulty and is interpreted as "manner." In Step 3, (16d) indicates that the subject cannot go to the front door easily because the addressee assumes that there are some obstacles; accordingly, the verb *dance* is interpreted as "means," or the means interpretation is required. Hence, (16d) coerces the manner interpretation into the

[12] We paraphrase the *mange to* construction as follows:
(16d) a. And you go to the front door **by dancing**.
b. ?And you go to the front door *dancing*.

means interpretation. The same thing can be observed with example (17); that is, (17d) indicates that the subject (= Hershie Stern) cannot go to the stand smoothly; the action of burping and belching gets somebody to move out of the way, so that these verbs *burp* and *belch* are interpreted as “means” and the means interpretation is required. Hence, (17d) coerces the manner interpretation into the means interpretation. In this test, the *Way* construction is interpreted as “manner,” but the *manage to* construction is interpreted as “means.” That is, the manner interpretation is coerced into the means interpretation.

3.3.3. About Type Ⅰ and Type Ⅱ

In section 3.3.1. and 3.3.2, we showed Type Ⅰ and Type Ⅱ. First, we made a comparison between the *Way* construction and the *manage to* construction with regard to difficulty implication. Second, we investigated the semantic interpretation of the *Way* construction and the *manage to* construction by using the two types of paraphrases.

In Type Ⅰ, we can see the fact that the *manage to* construction reinforces difficulty implication. When we paraphrase both constructions, both of them can be paraphrased with “go…by V-ing[13]” That is, the *Way* construction and the *manage to* construction equally receive the “means” interpretation.

[13] (13c) Bennet *elbowed his way* through the crowds.
Felicitous paraphrased pattern: Bennet went through the crowds **by elbowing**.
(13d) Bennet *managed to elbow his wa*y through the crowds.
Felicitous paraphrased pattern: Bennet went through the crowds **by elbowing**.

In Type Ⅱ, the *Way* construction does not imply difficulty while the *manage to* construction implies difficulty. That is, the *manage to* construction coerces "manner" into "means." When we try to paraphrase each construction, the *Way* construction can be paraphrased by the phrase of "go…V-ing," but the *manage to* construction can be paraphrased by the phrase of "go… by V-ing." Consequently, we can see that the manner interpretation of the *Way* construction causes coercion.[14]

3.3.4. Type Ⅲ: Manner of Motion

Included in this category are instances where verbs entail the motion.

This type has two patterns: (i) the *Way* construction implies difficulty, and the *manage to* construction emphasizes the difficulty implication; (ii) the *Way* construction does not imply difficulty, while the *manage to* construction implies difficulty. Some examples are given below.

In Step 1, (18a) and (19a) with the *Way* construction imply difficulty because both of them are contradictory with the phrase "without the slightest effort/easily." However, in Step 2, according to (18c), we can see that there is no single semantic interpretation shared among English speakers. In (19c), on the other hand, there is no such divergence. In Step 3, (18d) and (19d) reinforce difficulty

[14] (16c) […] you *dance your way* to front door.
Felicitous paraphrased pattern: you go to the front door **dancing**.
(16d) […] you *manage to dance your way* to front door.
Felicitous paraphrased pattern: you go to the front door **by dancing**.

implication because the paraphrased meaning is interpreted by "go...by V-ing.[15]"

(18) a. Sprawling flat, he *inched his way* over to the edge of the big skylight. (COCA 2009)

b. ?Sprawling flat, he *inched his way* over to the edge of the big skylight without the slightest effort/easily.

c. Sprawling flat, he went over to the edge of the big skylight **by inching**/or **inching**.

d. Sprawling flat, he *managed to inch his way* over to the edge of the big skylight.

(19) a. He *wormed his way* past her and through the audience and into the reporters' area. (COCA 2005)

b. ?He *wormed his way* past her and through the audience and into the reporters' area without the slightest effort/easily.

c. He went past her and through the audience and into the reporters' area **by worming**/or worming.

d. He *managed to worm his way* past her and through the audience and into the reporters' area.

Next, let us see the different type as for difficulty implication although the same verb occurs in the *Way* construction. Although the same verb *slide* occurs in examples (20) and (21), these exhibit different interpretative behaviors.

[15] (18d) Sprawling flat, he went over to the edge of the big skylight **by inching**.

(20) a. I *slid my way* up to the top and when I got there, [...]

(COCA 2009)

b.?I *slid my way* up to the top without the slightest effort/easily, and when I got there, [...]

c. I went up to the top **by sliding**/or **sliding** and when I got there...

d. I *managed to slide my way* up to the top and when I got there...

(21) a. Bartok *slides his way* out to the window ledge. (COCA 1997)

b. Bartok *slides his way* out to the window ledge without the slightest effort/easily.

c. Bartok goes out to the window ledge **by sliding**/or **sliding**.

d. ?Bartok *manages to slide his way* out to the window ledge.

In example (20), in Step 1, (20a) implies difficulty because (20b) indicates that the *Way* construction is contradictory to the phrase “without the slightest effort/easily.” In Step 2, the both types of the paraphrased meaning represented in (20c) can be natural. That is, for some people the means interpretation is more natural than the manner interpretation, and for others the opposite is the case. This fact may indicate that difficulty implication does not correlate with the distinction of “means” and “manner.” In Step 3, (20d) emphasizes difficulty implication.

On the other hand, (21a) does not imply difficulty because (21b) indicates the compatibility between the *Way* construction and the phrase “without the slightest effort.” As shown by (21c), either of the two interpretations is possible. This situation is the same as the one observed with (20c); the semantic interpretation does not correlate to the choice of “means” or “manner.” However, in Step 3, (21d) imposes difficulty implication; difficulty coerces the semantic interpretation. (20d) merely stresses difficulty implication, but (21d) implies difficulty and the semantic interpretation is also coerced into “go... by V-ing” because only “go...by Ving” is felicitous.

The same verb *slide* occurs in examples (20) and (21), but, the possibility of difficulty implication varies depending on contexts.

The next example (22) is similar to (21) in that the *Way* construction does not imply difficulty.

(22) a. He *threaded his way* through the crowd and returned to the table where Emily sat alone. (COCA 2009)

b. He *threaded his way* through the crowd without the slightest effort/easily and returned to the table where Emily sat alone.

c. He went through the crowd by threading/or **threading** and returned to the table where Emily sat alone.

d. ?He *managed to thread his way* through the crowd and returned to the table where Emily sat alone.

In (22a), the subject referent threads through the crowd. At first glance, it seems that (22a) implies difficulty, but in fact, (22a) does not imply difficulty because in Step 1, (22b) indicates the conceptual consistency between the *Way* construction and the phrase “without the slightest effort/easily." In Step 2, the *Way* construction is interpreted as "manner" because (22c) shows the interpretation "go… V-ing." In Step 3, (22d) implies difficulty.

In this section, we investigated the *Way* construction with the "manner of motion" interpretation as suggested by Kageyama and Yumoto (1997). Goldberg (1995) did not pay attention to this interpretation. Firstly, there are two cases: the *Way* construction implies difficulty ((18a), (19a), and (20a)) and does not imply difficulty ((21a), (22a)). Secondly, we paraphrased the *Way* construction and the *manage to* construction in order to investigate the change of the semantic interpretation. We cannot see the consistent observation; namely, the semantic interpretation is complex. From these results, it is conceivable that the role of the constructional meaning is not always foregrounded because the verb itself already entails the motion and cases where the *Way* construction does not imply difficulty. Therefore, the significance of the constructional meaning is lower in TypeⅢ than it is in TypeⅠ and TypeⅡ.

3.3.5. The Result

Table1: The Result of the "*Manage to* Test"

Goldberg (1995)	Kageyama and Yumoto (1997)	Step / instance number	(Step 1): the presence/ absence of difficulty	(Step 2): the interpretation in the *Way* construction	(Step 3): the interpretation of the *manage to* construction
means	creation of path	13(elbow) 14(beg) 15(talk)	presence	by	by
manner	activity incidental to a motion	16(dance) 17 (burp and belch)	absence	ing	by
manner (?)	manner of motion	18(inch)	presence	by/ing	by
		19(worm)	presence	by	by
		20(slide)	presence	by/ing	by/ing
		21(slide)	absence	by/ing	by
		22 (thread)	absence	ing	by/ing

The result is given in Table 1. The group of "means" or the "creation of path" shows the consistent semantic feature. The group including "manner" or the "activity incidental to a motion" also shows consistency. However, the consistent tendency is not observed in the "manner of motion" classified by Kageyama and Yumoto (1997). In particular, although in the examples (20) and (21) the same verb occurs in the *Way* construction, we cannot observe the same behavior between them. The different usage or context brings about different interpretations. From these facts, we suggest that the context in which the *Way* construction is used is also significant factor.

3.4. Summary

In this chapter, I have proposed the "*manage to* test" in order to reveal the polysemous structure in terms of the objective test. From this test, the two points were clarified.

Firstly, in the "manner of motion" type, we made it clear that we cannot strictly split between means interpretation and manner interpretation because this type is not linked with the presence/absence of difficulty.

Secondly, our investigation has shown that manner interpretation suggested by Goldberg (1995) has two subcategories: "activity incidental to a motion" and "manner of motion" suggested by Kageyama and Yumoto (1997). We clarified that "manner of motion" and "activity incidental to a motion" should be distinguished. The reason is the following: we conducted the “*manage to* test” and found that if “activity incidental to a motion” implies difficulty, the manner interpretation changes into the means interpretation.

Through the “*manage to* test,” we can understand that the polysemous structure is not static but dynamic; it varies depending on contextual factor.

Chapter 4
Semantic Fluctuation of the *Way* Construction: The Case of *Slide* Verbs

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we investigated difficulty implication in the *Way* construction. In particular, the semantic interpretation of the "manner of motion" type, compared to those of the other two types, depends more on the context in which the *Way* construction is used. Even when the same verb occurs in the *Way* construction, the semantic interpretation is not always the same. We assume that the context in which a particular *Way* construction is actually used plays a crucial role in determining the nature of its semantic interpretation.

In this chapter, taking up the verb *slide*, we will see how the verb nor the constructional meaning alone cannot always decide the interpretation of the *Way* construction and how it depends on the context in which the sentence is used. Although cognitive/functional linguists are aware of such context-dependency, most of them, including Goldberg (1995, 2006), have not done any research into it. In this chapter, the *Way* construction with the verb *slide* will be named the *slide one's way* construction.

4.1.1. The Main Points in Our Research

The *Way* construction was once used as a kind of tests to determine the types of intransitive verbs; that is, whether a certain intransitive verb is unergative verb or unaccusative verb.

In recent years, many studies have focused on the analysis of the verb types occurring in this construction, the path phrase, and the conditions/constraints (Levin and Rappaport 1988, Jackendoff 1990, Goldberg 1995, among others). On the other hand, Takami and Kuno (2002) present the functional analysis and the intransitive verbs occurring in the *Way* construction. They point out, furthermore, that the interpretation of this construction depends not only on the lexical meaning of the verb occurring in this construction but also on a particular context. However, they don't deal with the *Way* construction with the motion verb type and with the verb type not implying difficulty such as the verb *slide*.

We will explore the *slide one's way* construction because there is a certain mismatch between the lexical meaning of the verb *slide* and the constructional meaning of the *Way* construction. It is thus interesting to see how such a discrepancy is resolved to make sense in a specific context. Before moving on to our analysis, 4.2 will present an overview of Takami and Kuno (2002) because their research deals with many more types of the verbs occurring in the *Way* construction than other studies. In particular, they argue that unergative verbs do not always occur in this construction and unaccusative verbs also can occur in this construction in a certain situation.

4.2. Previous Studies and Their Problems

Goldberg (1995) investigates the *Way* construction from the perspective of Construction Grammar, and we briefly overview Goldberg (1995). Goldberg (1995) brings in a novel perspective concerning the *Way* construction. On the other hand, Takami and Kuno (2002) has a perspective of the verb types occurring in this construction. With regard to the semantic interpretation, they adopt the “single meaning” approach. Therefore, they do not divide the semantic interpretation as Goldberg (1995) does, and they start from the classification of intransitive verbs into unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs. Their study investigate which types of verbs can be occurred in the *Way* construction.

In 4.2.1, firstly we show Goldberg (1995) and then in 4.2.2, we explain the feature of unergative verb and unaccusative verb, referring to Takami and Kuno (2002). In 4.2.2.1, we show the main points and the analysis of Takami and Kuno (2002). After that, in 4.2.3, we point out the problems of the previous studies.

4.2.1. Goldberg (1995)

Goldberg (1995) focuses on the semantic interpretation with regard to the motion event of the *Way* construction in terms of Construction Grammar (cf. Chapter 2). In Construction Grammar, a “construction” is defined as a paring of form and meaning. The constructional meaning acquires more significant position than the lexical meaning. The examples are given as follows:

(1) [SUBJ [V [*POSS way*] OBL]] (Goldberg 1995: 199)

(2) a. Frank *dug his way* out of the prison. (*ibid*.)

b. He *hiccupped his way* out of the room. (*ibid*.: 212)

The form represented in (1) is the syntactic structure of the *Way* construction and this construction entails the motion and two senses. (2a) and (2b) exemplify two distinct types of semantic interpretation, respectively; (2a) denotes "means," while (2b) denotes "manner." "Means" implies difficulty, while "manner" does not necessarily imply difficulty and "means" is the more basic interpretation. The verb occurring in this construction indicates the means by which the subject moves in a certain direction. On the other hand, in "manner," the verb occurring in this construction indicates the manner of motion; "manner" represented by the verb is an action incidental to the motion, and the subject can move without that action. Goldberg (1995) points out that the "construction" can compensate the lack of the meaning of the lexical meaning of the verb. That is, concerning the construal of a certain sentence, Goldberg (1995) considers not only the role of the lexical meaning of the verb but also the role of the constructional meaning.

4.2.2. Takami and Kuno (2002)

Takami and Kuno (2002) summarize characteristics of unergative verb types and unaccusative verb types as below:

(3) Unergative verbs

i) The intransitive verbs that require the subject that represents an actor **intentionally** engaging in an event
(e.g., *talk, walk, smile, skate*)

ii) The intransitive verbs that represent the **non-intentional physiological phenomenon** and that require the subject that represents the experiencer
(e.g., *belch*, *breathe*, *sleep*, *hiccough*)

(4) Unaccusative verbs

i) The intransitive verbs that require the subject that represents the theme or patient that has **non-intention** and **passively** concerns the event
(e.g., *burn*, *sink*, *tremble*, *slip*)

ii) The intransitive verbs that indicate existence or appearance
(e.g., *exist*, *hang*, *emerge*, *happen*)

iii) The aspectual verbs types
(e.g., *begin*, *start*, *end*)

The *Way* construction was thus used as a criterion to classify intransitive verbs into unergative verbs and unaccusative verb types, (see Chapter 2). If a certain verb can occur in the *Way* construction, the verb is categorized into the unergative verb type. On the other hand, if a certain verb cannot occur in the *Way* construction, the verb is categorized into the unaccusative verb type. Takami and Kuno

(2002) show the counter-examples against this simplistic formulation.

4.2.2.1. The Main Points and the Functional Analysis in Takami and Kuno (2002)

Takami and Kuno (2002) focus on the constraint presented by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) that the *Way* construction accepts unergative verbs while excluding unaccusative verbs. Takami and Kuno (2002) argue against this constraint, and they show their investigation as below.

i) Some unergative verbs do not always occur in the *Way* construction

(5) a. *Joe *walked his way* to the store.

(Takami and Kuno 2002: 87)

b. *John *flew his way* to Sun Francisco. (*ibid*.)

ii) Some unaccusative verbs can occur in the *Way* construction

(6) a. The avalanche *rolled its way* into the valley. (*ibid*.: 89)

b. Rainwater *trickles its way* to the underground pool.

(*ibid*.: 89)

Thus, the *Way* construction does not serve as a test for the unergative-unaccusative distinction of intransitive verbs.

Takami and Kuno (2002), moreover, show the functional constraints of the *Way* construction.

(7) The functional constraints of the *Way* construction

i) A long distance concerning a physical, a temporal distance, and a psychological gap

(8) The car *stalled its way* along the street.

(Takami and Kuno 2002: 94)

(9) George *traveled his way* through the 60's, and *worked his way* through the 70's. (*ibid*.: 96)

ii) In an unusual manner

(10) John *belched his way* out of the restaurant. (*ibid*.: 97)

iii) A gradual motion

(11) When the car door flew open, all the balls rolled out onto the sidewalk. The soccer ball *bounced its way* into the street and the whiffleballs landed in the gutter. (*ibid*.: 98)

iv) The verb that denotes manner of motion

(12) John *yelled* / *shouted* / *moaned his way* down the street.

(*ibid*.: 98)

(13) Harry *gambled his way* through the 60's. (*ibid*.: 98)

Takami and Kuno (2002) claim that these constraints are fundamental to the meaning of the *Way* construction and that the semantic features that Goldberg (1995) points out stem from those constraints because the notion of difficulty is not inherent in the *Way* construction but is brought about by the proposed constraints. To support their claim that their suggested constraints are basic compared to the semantic constraints proposed by Goldberg (1995).

Takami and Kuno (2002) provide examples such as (14).

(14) a. The prisoner *dug his way* out of the prison.

b. The hikers *clawed their way* to the top.

(Takami and Kuno 2002: 99)

In (14a), the prisoner moves out of the prison by digging, and the prisoner makes the path by himself. In (14b), the hikers go to the top by clawing, and they make the path by themselves. With respect to these examples, Goldberg (1995) suggests the constraint (15).

(15) the path (the *way*) through which motion takes place is not preestablished, but rather is *created* by some action of the subject referent (Goldberg 1995: 203)

Goldberg states that the point of this constraint is that the "path is created," but Takami and Kuno (2002) explain that the subject referent moves to a certain destination **in an unusual manner** or **for a certain distance**. In short, the created path by subject referent (by Goldberg 1995) is inferred from their constraints. There is also an examples where the path is not created by subject referent such as (16).

(16) John *yelled* / *shouted* / *moaned* / *limped his way* down the street.

(Takami and Kuno 2002: 100)

In (16), Takami and Kuno (2002) explain that the subject referent moves to a certain direction **in an unusual manner** or **for a certain distance**. The path does not necessarily need to be created by the subject referent. Therefore, Takami and Kuno (2002) state that the constraint (17) proposed by Goldberg (1995) is also based on their constraints because the subject referent **gradually** goes along **a physical**, **a temporal distance**, and **a psychological gap in an unusual manner**.

(17) a path is created to effect motion – that the motion takes place despite some kind of external difficulty or is winding and indirect – ... (Goldberg 1995: 205)

Therefore, Takami and Kuno (2002) claim that the notion of difficulty is not inherent.

4.2.3. The Problems of the Previous Studies

Previous studies focus on what types of verb can occur in the *Way* construction or the semantic interpretation. Therefore, it seems that the investigation of the individuals of the verb occurring in the *Way* construction has been missing.

Although Takami and Kuno (2002) observe that many types of verbs can occur in the *Way* construction, cases where the semantic relation between the lexical meaning and the constructional meaning is mismatched has been disregarded. However, it is worth noting that Takami and Kuno (2002) point out that the interpretation/or construal depends on the context in which the *Way* construction occurs. They consider the **condition of use** of the *Way* construction. That is, they analyze the *Way* construction in terms of the context where this construction is used, but their study focuses only on the variation whether the *Way* construction is acceptable or not. Takami and Kuno (2002) does not assume the phenomenon that the semantic interpretation is inconsistent on each context in case the same verb occurs in the *Way* construction.

On the other hand, Goldberg (1995) suggests that “construction” compensates the lack of the lexical meaning by the constructional meaning or coerces the lexical meaning into the constructional meaning in case a certain verb does not entail a certain meaning. In addition, in cases where the same verb occurs in the *Way* construction, the semantic interpretation can be inconsistent. This idea is supported because Goldberg (1995) adopts the polysemous approach with regard to the semantic interpretation of the *Way* construction. However, Goldberg (1995) does not assume that there are cases where there is a mismatch between the lexical meaning and the constructional meaning and still the whole sentence makes sense.

4.3. **Investigation and Analysis**

We are concerned with the relationship between the lexical meaning and the constructional meaning in the *Way* construction. If the occurring verb implies difficulty, what behavior happens in the *Way* construction? Does the difficulty implication obtain in the *Way* construction with the verb *slide*?

To answer this question, we will provide a survey result of the *Way* construction with the verb *slide*. This verb was chosen because its lexical meaning contradicts the difficulty implication that generally constitutes part of the constructional meaning of the *Way* construction. *OALD* (*Oxford Advanced Leaner's Dictionary*) describes the meaning of *slide* as in (18).

(18) 1. to move easily over a smooth or wet surface.

2. to move quickly and quietly, for example in order not to be noticed. (*OALD*, s.v. *slide*)

According to the description of the dictionary, the verb *slide* means an easy, smooth or quiet motion. This is contrary to the constructional meaning with difficulty implication often associated with the *Way* construction.

4.3.1. The Examples the *slide one's way* and Investigation

We put forward a different idea from the "construction" Goldberg (1995) proposes. Our suggestion is that the constructional meanings such as the motion entailment and difficulty implication are not always foregrounded in cases where verb *slide* occurs in the *Way* construction.

In short, we can make an assumption as follows. When the verb *slide* occurs in the *Way* construction, the *Way* construction does not need to provide the motion entailment because the verb *slide* itself entails motion. On the other hand, the verb *slide* does not imply difficulty, so it is conceivable that difficulty implication is imposed on by the constructional meaning of the *Way* construction. In other words, the constructional meaning and the lexical meaning mutually supply the semantic feature.

Thus, I investigated the *slide one's way* so as to show the relationship between the constructional meaning and the lexical meaning. The result will be given in the next section; there turned out to be four distinct types.

4.3.1.1. The Examples of Four Types

● Type I : difficulty implied

Included in this type are the cases where the motion implies difficulty. When the subject referent moves in a certain direction, the *Way* construction implies difficulty, and then this group has not only the feature of the manner of motion by means of the sliding but also another feature.

(19) The driver SLAMS the brakes, PUSHING the truck company into a HORRIBLE SLID. The back fishtails, the wheels JUMP the curb, BASH a mailbox, and then the whole rig ROLLS onto its side and DRAGS to a stop. It's tangled confusion in the rear cab. Firemen, unhurt, piled atop one another. <u>Brian *slides his way* out from under them</u> and looks down the street where plumes of smoke rise six blocks away. He starts running.

(COCA 1991)

In (19), the *slide one's way* construction describes the manner in which Brian creeps from a pile of bodies. The verb *slide* denotes the manner of motion; the subject referent moves in a specific direction while she/he is creeping. A native speaker points out that in this context, the scene "It's tangled confusion in the rear cab" invites difficulty implication. Difficulty implication is inferred in relation to this particular context.

(20) Then he left, and I watched his push his way past everybody, saying, Nope [*sic*], nope, nope, "every time a writer or camera guy tried to get him to answer a question. It got quiet all of a sudden, with lots of shuffling feet and pushing, so <u>I got down low again and started wiggling and *sliding my way* through everybody</u> until one guy elbowed me and I tripped and fell, and when I got up and bumped my way into the clear, I was squashed in with everybody else but I was standing right in front of Jasper Jasmine. (COCA 2002)

(20) describes the situation that many people crowd there and the subject referent feels troubled among the crowed people. The *slide one's way* implies difficulty. The verb *slide* denotes the manner that the subject referent moves among the people.

(21) "It was so terrible. All I could say was, 'Lord, please don't kill me. Forgive me for what I done [*sic*].'" Warner said, as a tear rolled down her cheek. After the storm, she and neighbors waited for rescue, but no one came. The water receded, leaving a layer of muck filled with snakes. But with no water, no electricity and a shrinking supply of food, Warner decided to go for help, <u>*sliding her way* across the goo a block and a half to the fire station</u>. (COCA 2008)

Example (21) describes the situation where the path is muddy and it is difficult for Warner to go somewhere. Warner has to move by a sliding walk. Hence, the verb *slide* denotes her sliding or shuffling walk of her foot.

● Type Ⅱ: no difficulty implied

The feature of this type is that the verb *slide* denotes a smooth, quick motion. The *slide one's way* construction does not imply difficulty. The six examples are given in order to illustrate the way in which we can construct the meaning.

(22) Jack exits the Olds. He pulls himself up the eight-foot stone wall and looks over into the thin woods. Jack drops over onto the property with a thud. He gets to his feet and skirts sideways through the tree cover. Unbeknownst to Jack, on the ground, a photoelectric sensor flashes from green to red. Jack *slides his way* along the trees, looking beyond a flat expanse of lawn to the far mansion. (COCA 2000)

Example (22) describes the situation that Jack moves without being found by anybody intentionally. The verb *slide* means that Jack goes somewhere **in a quick** or **quiet manner**, rubbing his back against the tree.

(23) With the rain falling hard and all the light blinked out, it felt to Bobby like he had gone blind. Even the sounds that might have helped to guide him, like the far-off engine noise from the highway to the east, were lost in the heavy drum of rain. *Sliding his way* downhill, he tried to map in his mind how this canyon fed into the next, but with his traps hidden along the low points, he had to stay on the hillsides, where the walking was rough. (COCA 2012)

In (23), the verb *slide* emphasizes the smooth manner in which the subject referent goes downhill.

(24) VERTERINARIAN: This dog should fly beautiful.

JUDD ROSE: Cleveland traveled in a specially-equipped carrier fitted with a small hidden camera.

AIRLINE EMPLOYEE: There you go, kiddo.

JUDD ROSE: The journey would span six cities in a day and a half. For Cleveland, not hot towels or in-flight movie. What he really needed was a seat belt. In fact, you might say this dog was manhandled-swaying, bumping and *sliding his way* to his destination. Face is, travel for pets can be dangerous. (COCA 1994)

The verb *slide* denotes some cages with dogs or dogs **smoothly** shake or sway parallel with the plane's pitching or rolling.

(25) For the banister in this house stretched from the very top floor-just outside the little room where, if he stood on this tiptoes and held on to the frame of the window tightly, he could see right across Berlin-to the ground floor, just in front of the two enormous oak doors. And Bruno liked nothing better than to get on board the banister at the top floor and *slide his way* through the house, making whooshing sounds as he went. Down from the top floor to the next one, where Mother and Father's room was, and the large bathroom, and where he wasn't supposed to be in any case. (COCA 2006)

The situation is that Bruno slides down with sitting on the banister. The verb *slide* indicates that the speed is very fast, and conveys that Bruno gains pleasure from the situation. The use of the verb *slide* emphasizes/or implicates not only the **smooth** or **quick** motion but also the speed of Bruno's motion or the feeling of Bruno.

(26) The summer a legion of jellyfish came in on the heels of the red tide, possibly to eat the blooming algae. As big around as basketballs, you'd have to dodge them on your surfboard. During open beach, the kids hunted the jellyfish with rocks and sticks. They piled the bodies up on the sand. Then, with boogie-boards, the kids took running starts and tried to *slide their way* across the slimy, glistening mound. (COCA 2010)

Example (26) is similar to (25). The verb *slide* indicates that the speed is very fast, and also conveys that the kids enjoy themselves.

(27) The third participant was a fish. And by that I don't mean he was a sucker or a sap. I mean he had scales and he was wet, green, and slimy. I didn't pay him as much attention as one might imagine he merited, both because I'd met him before (the last time I'd spent a weekend enjoying all the thrilling sights in DT world), and because of what was going on in the chair next to his. A hand of five cards floated in the air, and as I watched in amazement, a couple of dollar bills *slid their way* across the table and into the pot. (COCA 2006)

In (27), a poker game is described. The participants bet bills on the game and put them on that table. Actually, the bills are thrown by human. The verb *slide* describes a smooth movement of the bills on the table.

● Type Ⅲ: ambiguous type

This type is ambiguous. The construe by the native speakers is divided into Type Ⅰ or Type Ⅱ.

(28) The Saipan is still bobbing behind the Fuji Maru. But the HARPOON HOOK, which holds the tow-line and is embedded into the rear deck of the ship, is starting to PRE LOOSE. It JERKS and BUCKS against the metal wall. Canton doesn't notice this <u>as he slips and *slides his way* up to the railing</u>. He sees the Saipan and smiles. (COCA 1998)

This situation described is as follows: in the ship, Carton wants to hold the railing but the floor is wet, and so he has to move by sliding his feet along the floor in order not to slip down. Concerning the *slide one's way* construction, different speakers interpreted it in different ways: some say that Carton's motion implies difficulty but others say that Carton's motion is easy. The former interpretation means that the *slide one's way* construction implies difficulty because of the circumstance that the subject referent moves by "sliding his feet along the floor," and on the other hand, with regard to the latter interpretation, the way of the motion indicates the smooth movement.

(29) Tatiana and Anya throw their arms around each other, both crying, both enjoyed.

TATIANA: Anastasia! Anastasia! You've come home at last! You've come home…

(OUTSIDE THE WINDOW) Dmitri watches Anya and Tatiana's embrace. He smiles sadly, then turns and walks down the dark street alone.

(EXT. ANYA's WINDOW) Bartok *slides his way* out to the window ledge. Overcome with emotion, he is crying big bat tears. (COCA 1997)

This situation is that Bartok goes to the window ledge. One informant says that the verb *slide* describes his motion, but it implies "danger" rather than difficulty. On the other hand, another interprets the verb *slide* as not implying difficulty because Bartok walks on the window ledge (and if Bartok ran on the window ledge, the verb *slide* would imply difficulty).

● Type Ⅳ: metaphorical motion

The description of the motion event relates to the metaphorical expression.

(30) LAUER: People identify with the struggle, there's no question about it. We're going to be hearing an awful lot about you in the next 100 days and the 17 days after that. Bode Miller, thanks for spending time with that.

Mr. MILLER: Thanks, Matt.

LAUER: I appreciate it. It's 41 after, and the book, by the way, is called "Go Fast, Be Good, Have Fun." And up next, some of the other US athletes who hope to be slipping and *sliding their way* to gold. Well, actually experiencing the Olympic spirit in Torino.

(COCA 2005)

This situation (30) describes is that in the Olympic, Mr. Miller is a player of the alpine skiing and he has an interview. In this context, the verb *slide* is used as a metaphorical expression. The event that "gaining the gold medal" is his goal or aim is construed as a metaphorical location.

Moreover, this example attracts our attention because the verbs such as "slip and slide" is combination and we can also see in example (28).

In this section, we have shown there are four distinct types of the *slide one's way* construction, which are summarized as below:

Type 1: The motion implies difficulty. The verb *slide* describes not only the manner of motion but also the state of a part of their bodies such as their foot or their abdomen. In this case, the meaning of the verb *slide* is attributed to the description of a part of their body.

Type 2: The motion does not imply difficulty, and the lexical meaning of the verb *slide* reflects on the construal. Moreover, the verb *slide* also sometimes conveys/or implies the enjoyment or fun that the subject referent feels.

Type 3: The different speakers have different interpretations because there is no fixed interpretation.

Type 4: A metaphorical motion is described.

4.4. Summary

In this chapter, as a case where there is a conceptual gap between the lexical meaning of a verb and a construction which includes it, we have investigated how the meaning of the *slide one's way* construction is construed.

We clarified the four types as we explored in 4.3.1.1. In Type 1, the motion implies difficulty and then the verb *slide* means not only the manner of motion but also the action of a part of the body. In Type 2, the motion does not imply difficulty because the lexical meaning "move **smoothly**, or **quickly**" is foregrounded. In addition, sometimes the verb *slide* conveys/implies enjoyment or fun that the subject referent feels. In Type 3, the construal varies; it is assumed that each hearer construes the meaning of difficulty in different ways. Finally, in Type 4, metaphor works in the motion description.

In particular, looking at types 1-3, we can observe varying degrees of relative salience between constructional meaning and lexical meaning: in Type 1, difficulty implication is foregrounded; in Type 2, the lexical meaning of the verb *slide* ("move **smoothly**, or **quickly**") is foregrounded; in Type 3, it depends on the hearers which aspect of the whole meaning is foregrounded.

In contrast to Goldberg's (1995) stress on the significance of construction meaning, the present study has shown that the constructional meaning is more flexible than assumed by Goldberg and even can be susceptible to the lexical meaning of verbs. It is also important to note that the semantic interpretation of the *Way* construction is closely connected with the context in which the *Way* construction is actually used.

Chapter 5
A Study of the Preferred Linguistic Context: The Case of the "*make one's way*" Construction

5.1. Introduction

Many previous studies on argument structure constructions focus on simple-clause sentences because Goldberg (1995) says that semantic structure connected with basic human experiences can be described in a simple clause. However, we consider that the context in which the construction is used relates to the constructional meaning in the *Way* construction. In the previous chapter, we argued for the importance of focusing on the context where the *Way* construction occurs; that is, concentrating only on a simple clause is not enough to comprehend the meaning of the *Way* construction. We emphasize the significance for investigation of the context in which the *Way* construction occurs. If the *Way* construction particularly has a strong preference for a certain context, that information should also be included in the meaning of the *Way* construction.

5.1.1. Main Points of Construction Grammar and Its Problem

The *Way* construction is a kind of motion construction. Goldberg (1995) analyzes the *Way* construction from the perspective of Construction Grammar. The *Way* construction has the form [SUBJ [V [*POSS way*] OBL]] and two senses: "means" and "manner."

Let us see example (1).

(1) a. Frank *dug his way* out of the prison. (Goldberg 1995: 199)

b. He *belched his way* out of the restaurant. (*ibid*: 202)

(1a) means that Frank moved out of the prison by digging. “Digging” refers to the “means” interpretation by which the subject referent moved. In (1b), on the other hand, “belching” is not a “means” but a “manner.” With the “manner” interpretation the verb indicates an activity incidental to the motion. That is, the verb *belch* in (1b) does not have the “means” interpretation. The relation between “means” and “manner” is connected by polysemy link (Goldberg 1995: 210). “Means” is a basic or central meaning from which “manner” is extended.

Goldberg (1995) holds that constructions also have a polysemy structure just as words and phrases. Goldberg’s (1995) view is different from the lexical approach adopted by scholars like Jackendoff (1990) and Kageyama and Yumoto (1997), who analyze the semantic structure in terms of lexical verb meaning. Takami and Kuno (2002) is similar to Goldberg (1995) in that they seem to presuppose the notion of construction, but they assume each construction is connected with a single meaning; i.e. they adopt a monosemy approach (cf. Chapter 4).

Despite such small differences, all these studies have exclusively focused on a context of a simple clause with the form of [SUBJ [V [*POSS way*] OBL]], based on the hypothesis by Goldberg (1995) that a simple clause sentence is related with the semantic structure which reflects to human experiences:

(2) Simple clause constructions are associated directly with semantic structures which reflect scenes basic to human experience. (Goldberg 1995: 5)

However, it is not conceivable that all argument structure constructions can reflect scenes of human experience. If we explore the contexts in which a certain construction occurs, we can see varying degrees of context-dependencies/preferences. In other words, it is possible that a certain construction has a preference for a specific linguistic context. In what follows we will show that this holds for the *Way* construction.

5.2. Claim of this Chapter

With this background in mind, we will shed a new light on the meaning of the *Way* construction at a discourse level. As a case study, we investigate the *Way* construction with the verb *make* (e.g. As I *made my way* in that direction, I noticed a small table open beside them.) because the verb *make* is said to be a central verb for this construction. Moreover, we would like to point out that the *Way* construction has a preferred linguistic context. We will cast doubt on Goldberg's hypothesis that a semantic description at a simple clause level suffices. In order to explore our idea, we use the examples elicited from COCA (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*) and we argue for two facts concerning the linguistic contextual preference of the *Way* construction: first, the *make one's way* construction tends to constitute not only a simple-clause sentence but also part of a multiple-clause sentence; second, the *make one's way* construction prefers to occur in a subordinate clause if it occurs in a multiple-clause sentence.

Considering this, we will explore the possibility that a specific linguistic context constitutes part of the constructional meaning of the *Way* construction. We will present the following two main findings in our study and will clarify the preferred linguistic contexts of the *make one's way* construction.

- More than 50% of the instances of the *make one's way* construction occur in a part of multiple-clause sentences.
- More than 50% of the instances of the *make one's way* construction occur in a subordinate clause.

Firstly, we will state that the *make one's way* construction occurs in a multiple-clause sentence. We will then point out that the preferred linguistic context in which the *make one's way* construction occurs can also be implied as part of the constructional meaning. Finally, we will account for such preference for subordinate clauses by the *Way* construction from the perspective of Figure/Ground alignment.

This chapter is organized as follows. In 5.3, we explain the data and method of our research. In 5.4, we investigate the preferred linguistic contexts of the *make one's way* construction. In 5.5, we analyze the *make one's way* construction in terms of Figure/Ground alignment in cognitive linguistics. In conclusion, we will briefly summarize the chief points made in this chapter.

5.3. The Data and the Survey

We discuss the semantic features of the *make one's way* construction on the basis of data from COCA. We extracted the examples of the *make one's way* construction from the data between 2010 and 2012. We then examined each example to see the grammatical environment in which a *make one's way* construction is used.

5.4. Linguistic Context that the "*make one's way*" Construction Prefers

First, our data of the linguistic context that the *make one's way* construction prefers is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Types of Linguistic Context where the "*make one's way*" Construction is Attested

The total number that the *make one's way* construction occurs in multiple-clause sentence	489
the use of the *make one's way* construction with coordinate conjunction [such as *and*]	196
the use of the *make one's way* construction with subordinate conjunction [such like *as*]	293
Other（the use in simple clause）	373
The total of all examples	862

Table 1 shows in what contexts the *make one's way* construction preferentially occurs. The total number of examples of the *make one's way* construction is 862. 489 examples out of 862 occur in multiple-clause sentences. The number of 489 occupies more than half the number of all examples. 196 examples out of 489 occur with a coordinate conjunction such as *and*. 293 instances out of 489 occur with a subordinate conjunction such as *as*. The 293 examples occupy 59.9% of the total. The other examples 373 out of 862 occur in a simple-clause sentence. According to this data, it is clear that the use of the *make one's way* construction is particularly bound up with multiple-clause sentence.

Table 2 displays the *make one's way* construction with subordinate conjunction *as*.

Table 2: The Number of the Occurrence of the "*make one's way*" Construction in Subordinate Conjunction *as*

The total of the *make one's way* construction with subordinate conjunction *as*	181
the use of the *make one's way* construction in main clause	8
the use of the *make one's way* construction in subordinate clause	173
Other subordinate conjunctions[16] and converbs	112
The number of all examples	293

181 out of 293 examples occur in sentences including the conjunction *as*. Only 8 out of 181 occur in a main clause. 173 examples out of 181 occur in a subordinate clause. The other 112 examples occur with other subordinate conjunctions.

From this data, we can point out two things: First, the *make one's way* construction tends to occur in a multiple-clause sentence rather than a simple-clause sentence. Second, the *make one's way* construction shows a clear preference for occurring in a subordinate clause headed by the conjunction *as*.

Because we can see these tendencies of the *make one's way* construction, in the next section, we will pursue what features the *make one's way* construction has when this construction occurs in a subordinate clause headed by the conjunction *as*.

---

[16] Other subordinate conjunctions include *after*, *before*, *while*, *when* and so forth.

5.5. The Analysis of the "*make one's way*" Construction from the Perspective of Cognitive Linguistics

In the previous section, we showed the preferred linguistic context of the *make one's way* construction; specifically, this construction tends to occur in a subordinate clause headed by the conjunction *as*, which we will henceforth name an "*as*-clause." This section will present a cognitive analysis of the feature of the *make one's way* construction. To do this we will adopt the notions of Figure and Ground. In 5.5.1, we explain previous studies concerning the notions of Figure and Ground. In 5.5.2, we show the examples where the *make one's way* construction occurs in the *as*-clause. In 5.5.3, applying the method of Figure-Ground alignment proposed by Hayase (1997), we will argue that the *make one's way* construction tends to have the status of Ground. In 5.5.4, we would like to discuss the significance of linguistic context in which the construction occurs. Finally, in 5.5.5, we investigate the cognitive motivation for the Ground status of the *make one's way* construction.

5.5.1. The Analysis Based on Figure and Ground

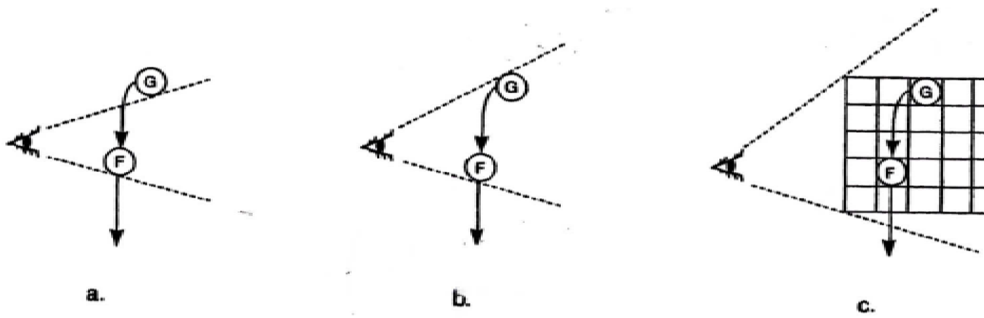
The concepts of Figure and Ground have been adopted from Gestalt psychology. Danish psychologist Edgar Rubin pointed out the phenomenon of figure and ground in 1919 (Evans 2007:79-80), as in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Rubin's vase

This picture called Rubin's vase indicates that observer (or perceiver) always has a certain "perspective." Looking at this picture, we can see either a vase or two faces of men facing each other. This picture thus illustrates a human cognitive ability to perceive one and the same entity in alternate fashions, and such an "alternation" is possible because of our ability to divide a situation into foregrounded part and backgrounded one.

Talmy (1978) has adapted the notion of figure and ground in Gestalt psychology into cognitive semantic research and called them Figure and Ground, respectively. Talmy (1978) explains Figure, Ground, and a reference frame with the examples (3) together with the diagrams in Figure 2:

(3) a. The pen lay on the table.
b. The pen rolled off the table. (Talmy 2000: 311)



(adapted from Talmy 2000: 312)

Figure 2: Figure, Ground, and reference frame

In Figure (2a), the sight of the observer includes only the Figure object, and the observer can see only the object (i.e. pen), but the location does not change. In Figure (2b), the sight of the observer captures both objects (i.e. Figure and Ground), and the observer sees that the location of two objects change, but she/he does not know which object moved or whether those two objects moved, nor does she/he know whether the two objects were once apart. This is because the observer cannot determine the distance between the two objects. Figure (2c) indicates that the observer can see the both objects within the reference frame. Therefore, the observer knows “which object is stationary, which object moves, by how much, and along what path” (Talmy 2000: 313). In other words, we can understand the example (3) because the conditions (Figure, Ground and reference frame) are satisfied as illustrated in Figure (2c).

Thus, a Figure object, a Ground object, and a reference frame as background supply a basis of the linguistic Figure and Ground concepts (Talmy 2000: 313). In a linguistic semantic representation, a Figure object and a Ground object are separated from any background. Therefore, the former object represents the psychological figure and the latter represents the psychological ground. Accordingly, Talmy (2000: 311) explains that Figure is "performed by the concept that needs anchoring" and Ground is "performed by the concept that does the anchoring." The pair of concepts can be related to each other in space in a semantic event of motion or location represented by a simple clause, and also in a temporal, causal, or other types of situation represented by a complex sentence (Talmy 1978, 2000), as stated in (4):

(4) The pair of concepts can be of two objects relating to each other in space in an event of motion or location—and represented by nominals in a simple clause. Or the pair of concepts can be of two events relating to each other in a temporal, causal, or other type of situation—and represented by the main and subordinate clauses of a complex sentence.

(Talmy 2000: 311)

In a simple clause sentence, a location event has a set location within a reference frame such as (5).

(5) a. The bike is near the house.

b. ?The house is near the bike. (Talmy 1978: 628)

These simple sentences describe the small quantity of distance between bike and house, but (5a) and (5b) do not mean the same thing.

The “house” is set in a position within a reference frame and is used as the reference object in order to designate the location of the “bike.” (5a) represents a cognitively natural alignment of Figure and Ground; the “bike” functions as Figure and the “house” as Ground. On the other hand, (5b) sounds unnatural. This fact shows that the Figure/Ground alignment is not always symmetrical as we have seen with the Rubin’s vase.

Talmy (1978, 2000) then applies Figure and Ground concepts to a complex sentence and states that Figure and Ground concepts relating to the location in space can be generalized to the pair of concepts relating to the location of events in time. In the latter case, the Ground is the reference event and is characterized as the relating to the temporal location represented by the Figure, while the Figure is characterized as the temporal location of the event. Talmy (2000) defines this points as follows:

(6) *The temporally specific conceptualizations of Figure and Ground in language*

> The Figure is an event whose location in time is conceived as a variable the particular value of which is the relevant issue.
>
> The Ground is a reference event, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame (generally, the one-dimensional timeline), with respect to which the Figure’s temporal location is characterized.
>
> (Talmy 2000: 320)

Talmy (1978, 2000) analyzes a complex sentence in terms of Figure and Ground concepts and identifies four distinct types of relationships between the two events as in (7):

(7) a. *Temporal sequence* (*with causality*)
b. *Temporal inclusion*
c. *Contingency*
d. *Substitution* (Talmy 2000: 325-326)

Among these Hayase (1997) focuses on only "temporal inclusion" and our study follows this.

In a complex sentence, the two events are connected with the temporal relation (Talmy 2000). The examples are given in (8) and (9):

(8) a. He dreamt while he slept
b. *He slept while he dreamt.
(9) a. He had two affairs while he was married.
b. *He was married through-a-period containing two affairs of his. (Talmy 1978: 636-637)[17]

In (8a), dreaming usually occurs during the event of one's sleeping and in (9a), love affairs occur during the marriage, so the former should be temporally included in the latter and serves as

[17] Talmy (2000) categorizes examples (8) and (9) as "contingency" and "temporal inclusion," respectively. However, Hayase (1997) integrates these two categories proposed by Talmy (2003) into "temporal inclusion."

Figure. Therefore, the subordinate clause functions as Ground, and the main clause functions as Figure (Hayase 1997: 35). (8a) indicates that the event “he slept” described in the subordinate clause temporally includes the event “he dreamt” described in the main clause. Similarly, in (9a) the event “he was married” described in the subordinate clause temporally includes the event “he had two affairs” described in the main clause. This account is supported by the fact that, as shown by (8b) and (9b), the reversed relationship of Figure/Ground causes semantic anomaly (cf. (5b)). With regard to this perspective, Hayase (1997) states as follows:

(10) ... the importance of the Figure-Ground distinction is also reflected on the level of the alignment of events in complex sentences. (Hayase 1997: 35)

The theory of Figure/Ground alignment developed by Talmy (1978) is based on a temporal axis. Ground temporally has a longer time than Figure has, whereas the temporal feature of Figure is punctual or bounded. That is why, concerning “temporal inclusion,” Talmy (1978, 2003) defines “Inclusion principle” as below:

(11) A larger, temporally-containing event acts as Ground (in the subordinate clause) with respect to a contained event as Figure (in the main clause).
(Talmy 1978: 640; Talmy 2000: 328)

In our study, from the fact that the *make one's way* construction tends to occur in the subordinate clause, we claim that Figure/Ground alignment is applicable to the analysis of the *make one's way* construction. We will show the fact that the *make one's way* construction functions as Ground so as to emphasize the main clause serving as Figure. Namely, it is predictable that the event description of the *make one's way* construction temporally includes that of the main clause.

5.5.2. A Survey of the "*make one's way*" Construction in Subordinate Clauses

We will closely investigate examples of the *make one's way* construction occurring in the subordinate clause. We show all examples where the *make one's way* construction occurs in *as*-clause and describes the whole motion event. The whole data can be divided into three types with regard to temporal relation between the main clause and the subordinate clause.

5.5.2.1. Type 1: An Event Described by the Main Clause is Punctual

In what follows the event structures on each type will be shown in Figure 3, Figure 4, and Figure 5. An arrow represents time axis, a black circle represents the event(s) in main clause, and a black rectangle represents the motion event in subordinate clause.

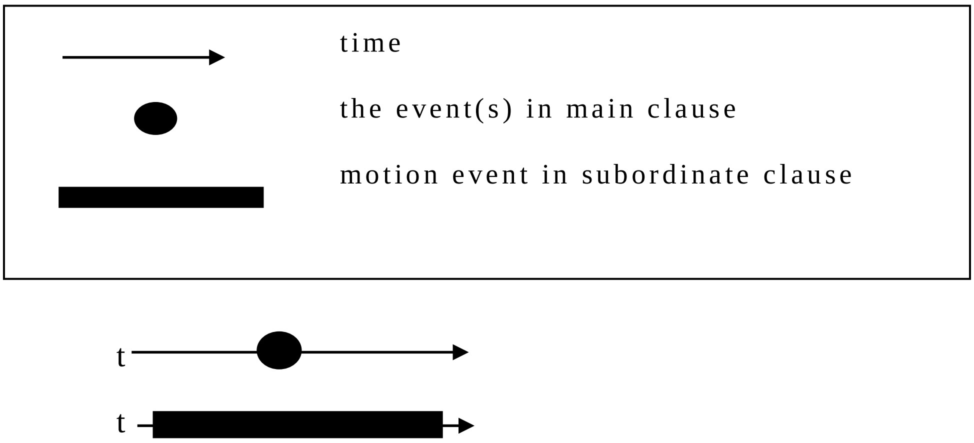


Figure 3: Type1

The Figure 3 is a diagrammatic semantic representation of Type 1. In Type 1, a punctual event described by the main clause is included in the time span during which the subordinate-clause event unfolds. The *make one's way* construction describes a motion event in the subordinate clause and the other event describes the experience by the subject referent during the motion event in the main clause.

(12) My eyes immediately fixed on two women sitting at a table against the far wall. They were leaning toward each other and talking intensely. As I *made my way* in that direction, I noticed a small table open beside them. (COCA 2012)

(13) He felt a twinge of that old guilt as he *made his way* down the pitching hallway toward his office. (COCA 2012)

The motion event that *as*-clause describes has a time duration, but the main clause of the event is punctual. In (12), while the subject referent moves in a certain direction, the punctual event that the subject referent's noticing something is described in the main clause. Likewise, in (13), while the *make one's way* construction describes the motion event in the subordinate clause, the punctual emotional event that he felt within the path is described in the main clause.

5.5.2.2. Type 2: An Event Described by the Main Clause is Repetitive

In examples in this type, a repetitive event is expressed by the main clause. We show the diagram of this type in Figure 4.

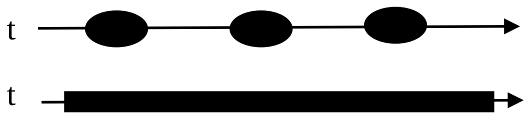


Figure 4: Type 2

The repetitive event described in the main clause refers to actions or occurrences which the subject referent experiences or performs within the motion event that the *make one's way* construction describes. The examples are given in (14) and (15).

(14) Children might want the robots but it was their parents who did the buying. <u>Jake's head throbbed as he *made his way* to the toy department</u>. (COCA 2010)

(15) As Osborne *made her way* down the escalator, she was greeted by family and friends and a diamond ring. (COCA 2011)

In (14), Jake is a father who has to go to a department in order to buy toys for his children. When he goes there, he feels his head throbbing awful. The event that "throbbing" represented in the main clause is repetitive. In (15), this situation is a wedding ceremony. The event that Osborne greets or bows to attendees or her diamond ring is described in the main clause and a summary of these greetings form a repetitive event as a whole. On the other hand, the motion event that she goes down on the escalator is described in the subordinate clause.

Namely, in this Type 2, the specific information about an event is described in the main clause and the event is repetitive in nature, while the whole motion event is described in the *as*-clause with the *make one's way* construction.

5.5.2.3. Type 3: An Event Described by the Main Clause is Durative

In this Type 3, a durative event is represented in the main clause, and Type 3 is not similar to Type 1 and Type 2 which have a feature that the event described by the main clause is included in the *as*-clause with the *make one's way* construction in the subordinate clause. The diagram of the Type 3 is given in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Type 3

In Type 3 described in Figure 5, the event that involves the subject referent is expressed in the main clause and the event is durative. On the other hand, the *as*-clause with *the make one's way* construction also has a time span because this construction describes the whole motion event. That is, in this type, two events unfold as if they almost have the same time span. The examples are given in (16) and (17).

(16) He needed to take a long walk. Lost in his thoughts, he strolled from the Upper East Side all the way to Soho, the dark city passing in a fog. <u>He walked up and down the city's subtle hills as he *made his way* south</u>. (COCA 2011)

(17) <u>Marana heard the trumpets as she *made her way* down Poultry Street</u>, a narrow lane with subtle aromatic reminders of its original inhabitants. (adapted from COCA 2012)

In (16) and (17), the whole motion event is described in the subordinate clause and the way of the description is general, while the more specific information about incidents during the motion event is provided in the main clause.

In both of them, because it seems that the time span of two events is the same, the time relation between the motion event in the subordinate clause and the specific event in the main clause is difficult; that is, which event is a longer time than the other? If we explain the problem, the *make one's way* construction describes the whole motion event; this construction has a general information. The main clause, on the other hand, has a specific, detailed information.

5.5.2.4. Section Summary

We have examined three types of relationships between the two events described by the multiple-clause sentence with *as*-clause. Type 1 makes it clear that the *make one's way* construction has a longer time than the other event, but in Type 2 and Type 3, they do not clarify the time relation between the *make one's way construction* and the other event. In the next section, we would like to explore the time relation between two events that are described in the main clause and the subordinate clause. That is, which event has a longer time than the other event? By doing so, we can clarify the role of the *make one's way* construction in the complex sentence and the feature of the motion event description.

5.5.3. The Relation between the Main Clause and the Subordinate Clause

In the previous sections, we revealed the tendency of the *make one's way* construction to describe the whole motion event in the *as*-clause. From this fact, it can be inferred that the *make one's way* *construction* functions as Ground, following Hayase (1997)[18]. To prove this more explicitly, we have conducted a test of seeing whether or not the reversed alignment of Figure and Ground makes sense.

Let us begin with Type 1. The feature that the *make one's way* construction has a Ground-like property stems from the aspectual property of the phrase "make one's way"; it has a duration. *Noticed* and *felt* describe events that are punctual or bounded, in contrast to the *make one's way* construction.

(18) As I *made my way* in that direction, I noticed a small table open beside them. (= (12))

(18') *I *made my way* in that direction as I noticed a small table open beside them.

(19) He felt a twinge of that old guilt as he *made his way* down the pitching hallway toward his office. (= (13))

(19') *As he felt a twinge of that old guilt, he *made his way* down the pitching hallway toward his office.

In (18') and (19'), *noticed* or *felt* is punctual or bounded, and the feature of punctuality or boundedness corresponds to Figure. The phrase "make one's way" clearly has a longer time duration than *notice* or *felt*. Therefore, (18') and (19') are not acceptable. That is, a

[18] a. Walking along the street, I came across a strange group of musicians.
b. #Coming across a strange group of musicians, I walked along the street.
Hayase (1997) states "the Figure must be aligned with the main clause."
(the mark "#" indicates that pragmatically the meaning is unnatural)

punctual event is not fit for the subordinate clause and a durative event does not well match the main clause. This is because the *make one's way* construction describes the whole motion event itself.

A similar situation can be observed with Type 2. The sampled results of the test are given in (20) and (21).

(20) Jake's head throbbed as he *made his way* to the toy department. (= (14))

(20') *As Jake's head throbbed, he *made his way* to the toy department.

(21) As Osborne *made her way* down the escalator, she was greeted by family and friends and a diamond ring. (= (15))

(21') *Osborne *made her way* down the escalator as she was greeted by family and friends and a diamond ring.

In (20') and (21'), *throbbed* or *greeted* is punctual or bounded, and these actions are repetitive. Perhaps we may consider that the total of the time span of the repetitive action corresponds to the whole motion event that the *make one's way* construction describes. However, if we take the event-external perspective, it is clear that (20') and (21') are not acceptable because the repeated event directly experienced by the subject referent is most naturally felt to be taking place "within" the whole event of motion. Therefore, if the *make one's way* construction describing the whole motion event is assigned to the main clause, leaving the subordinate clause to convey the specific information that the subject referent experiences, semantic anomaly results. Now we have a generalization that an event perceived from the event-external perspective (such as the *make one's way* construction) is likely to be coded by the subordinate clause while one perceived from the event-internal perspective is preferentially expressed by the main clause.

Finally, we examine Type 3.

(22) He walked up and down the city's subtle hills as he *made his way* south. (= (16))

(22') *As he walked up and down the city's subtle hills, he *made his way* south.

(23) Marana heard the trumpets as she *made her way* down Poultry Street, a narrow lane with subtle aromatic reminders of its original inhabitants. (= (17))

(23') *As Marana heard the trumpets, she *made her way* down Poultry Street, a narrow lane with subtle aromatic reminders of its original inhabitants.

(22') and (23') are not acceptable because the *make one's way* construction describes the whole motion event in the main clause, while the event described from the event-internal perspective is expressed in the subordinate clause. The *make one's way* construction has a time duration, whereas it seems that the event described in the subordinate clause also has a time span, but this opposite alignment is not acceptable. Therefore, this suggests that the *make one's way* construction functions as Ground because this construction has an event-external perspective. On the other hand, the other event described in the main clause functions as Figure because the event described in the main clause has an event-internal perspective; that is, the main clause addresses specific information about the motion.

As we have stated above, (18'), (19'), (20'), (21'), (22') and (23') are not acceptable because they all represent the unnatural alignment of Figure and Ground; corresponds to the event-internal perspective and the event-external perspective (=the whole motion event description) correspond to Figure and Ground, respectively. This result supports Talmy's (1978) theory; that is, the fact of the investigation in Type 1, Type 2, and Type 3 shows that in principle the main clause and the subordinate clause serve as Figure and Ground, respectively in a complex sentence. With regard to Figure/Ground alignment, there are several variations. In Type 1, the time duration is the significant factor, which are suggested by Talmy (1978) and Hayase (1997) and also we can see the difference of the time duration between the *make one's way* construction and the other event. In Type 2 and Type 3, the event-internal perspective and the event-external perspective are the significant factors. That is, Figure has the event-internal perspective in a main clause during the movement and Ground has the event-external perspective in a subordinate clause describing the whole motion event.

5.5.4. A Suggestion in Construction Grammar

As we investigated with regard to the time relation between the *make one's way* construction and the other event, we have adopted not only the notion of the "durative time" but also the notion of the "perspective." This is because the *make one's way* construction has Ground property and has a "bird's-eye view" of the motion event. The *make one's way* construction does not be assigned to the status of Figure property.

In this study, we pointed out the fact that the *make one's way* construction tends to occur in *as*-clause; accordingly, we adopted the notion of Figure/Ground alignment and it is made clear that Figure/Ground alignment has correlation with not only "time duration" but also "perspective" in the *make one's way* construction. If we stuck to the traditional assumption that a simple clause construction reflects the human knowledge proposed by Goldberg (1995), it would be impossible to clarify what the present study revealed. Consequently, our study strongly suggests the significance of paying attention to the (at least) immediate linguistic context in which the construction under study is actually used.

5.5.5. The Motivation for the Status as Ground

The motivation for the preferred Ground status of the *make one's way* construction is in accord with Iwata's (2012) proposal that the *Way* construction has a semantic feature of "long-distance motion." Based on this feature, the motion event described by the *Way* construction has a feature that the subject referent takes a long time to go somewhere. Therefore, it is easy to understand that the motion event described by the *Way* construction functions as Ground. It can then be concluded that the notion of a “long-distance motion” proposed by Iwata (2012) without any reference to the linguistic context, independently supports our claim; that is, the eventuality of the *Way* construction can be best characterized by an event-external perspective or a bird’s-eye view.

5.6. Summary

The previous studies of the *Way* construction have been tacitly bound up with Goldberg’s (1995) assumption that a simple-clause construction is associated with the semantic structure which reflects what human experience. The study presented in this chapter has cast doubt on this. We have shown that the linguistic context also should be comprised as a part of the constructional knowledge if a certain construction has a preference for the immediate linguistic context.

In our investigation, we can see that the *make one’s way* construction in multiple-clause sentence occupies more than 50 %. The *make one’s way* construction, moreover, prefers occurring in the *as*-clause to the main clause. From this fact, we considered that Figure/Ground alignment can be adopted in the *make one’s way* construction. We then clarified the fact that the *make one’s way* construction is durative, and that this construction tends to have the status of Ground. It was also discussed that the notion of the "perspective" is also a significant factor. As the main clause and the subordinate clause are divided into Figure and Ground, respectively, the *make one's way* construction serves as Ground because this construction describes the whole motion event from the point of view of the event-external perspective. Hence, we suggested that our investigation relates to a "long-distance motion (Iwata 2012)" that is one of the features of the *Way* construction.

In this chapter, we focused on only the *make one's way* construction. In the next chapter, we further investigate the *Way* construction with other verbs in order to explore whether or not the same behavior as with the *make one's way* construction can be observed.

Chapter 6
Rhetorical Description of Event with the *Way* Construction

6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was shown that there is a particular linguistic context in which the *make one's way* construction preferentially occurs; it tends to occur in a subordinate clause headed by the conjunction *as*. In this chapter, we will extend our analysis to the *Way* constructions with two more verbs: *push* and *pick*: the investigation will be carried out on the *push one's way* construction, the *pick one's way* construction as well as the *make one's way* construction. We argue that the *Way* construction has a peculiar way of the motion event description; the *make one's way* construction functions as Ground property since the *make one's way* construction describes the whole motion event from the viewpoint of the event-external perspective. In addition to this fact, we also give a detailed account in terms of the interpretative process of the addressee.

Semantic studies of the *Way* construction can be divided into two major types: (i) "motion event" type, and (ii) the rhetoric or the conscious usage type. Studies of the former type include Goldberg (1995), Kageyama and Yumoto (1997), Takami and Kuno (2002), and Iwata (2012). Classified into the latter type are Toyama (1968) and

Omuro (2000). The two types of studies have been conducted separately as if the two sides (i.e. event description and rhetorical effect) of the constructional meaning were mutually exclusive. None of them has ever focused on the relationship between interpretative process on the part of the addressee and the context in which the *Way* construction occurs, which will be proved to be connected with the crucial features of the constructions.

Based on the data extracted from COCA, it will be pointed out that the *Way* construction serves the function of event description with a specific rhetorical effect; that is, the descriptive feature of the *Way* construction is “rhetorical description of motion events.”

Before proceeding to a more detailed description of my claim, I will review the two distinct types of semantic study on the *Way*-construction.

6.1.1. Two Types of Previous Studies

The previous studies on the semantic functions of the *Way* construction can be divided into two types; (i) ones focusing on its function of event description and (ii) ones highlighting its rhetorical function. These two types will be outlined in the following.

6.1.1.1. The Motion Event Type

With respect to the motion event type, there are two kinds of approaches in the semantic interpretation of the *Way* construction: the polysemy approach and the monosemy approach.

Goldberg (1995) and Kageyama and Yumoto (1997) analyze the *Way* construction with the assumption that it is polysemous. Goldberg (1995) divides the semantic interpretation into two senses: "means" and "manner," as exemplified in (1) and (2), respectively. Kageyama and Yumoto (1997), on the other hand, divide it into three senses: the "creation of the path," the "activity incidental to a motion," and the "manner of motion," respective examples of which are (3), (4) and (5) (cf. Chapter 3).

(1) Frank *dug his way* out of the prison. (Goldberg 1995: 199)

(2) He *belched his way* out of the restaurant. (*ibid*.: 202)

(3) With a violent thrusting movement of his powerful arms [he] *pushed his way* through. (Kageyama and Yumoto 1997: 179)

(4) He *begged his way* north, ... until eventually in Turin the police picked him up as a vagabond. (*ibid*.: 173)

(5) Alice Slade *inched her way* apologetically into the room. (*ibid*.: 177)

On the other hand, Takami and Kuno (2002) and Iwata (2012) can be characterized as "monosemy" approaches in which the construction is assumed to be linked with a "single meaning." In this perspective, they discuss the sematic constraints or semantic functions of the *Way* construction. Takami and Kuno (2002) show the several functional constraints of the *Way* construction that we have shown in Chapter 4. Here again their constraints will be given below.

1) The long distance of the motion by the subject referent
2) Unusual motion of the path by the subject referent
3) The gradual motion by the subject referent

They claim that the examples such as (6) and (7) can be explained in terms of these specific constraints. In (6) and (7), the time duration is very long, that is, when people do something, they take a long time, the notion of difficulty is attributable to a long time. Such being the case, they claim that the notion of difficulty proposed by Goldberg (1995) derives from their constraints. In other words, the inference with regard to the notion of difficulty is attributable to the constraints they propose.

(6) George *traveled his way* through the 60's, and *worked his way* through the 70's century. (Takami and Kuno 2002: 96)

(7) Harry *gambled* / *rocked his way* through the 60's, and then later became a church preacher. (*ibid*.: 96)

Iwata (2012) reconsiders the semantic constraints proposed by Takami and Kuno (2002), and then claims that the significant semantic feature is relevant to a "long-distance motion." That is, Iwata (2012) explains that the constraints that Takami and Kuno

(2002) propose can be reduced to this one feature.

Thus, these studies are in the same category in that although there are minor differences, all of them concentrate on the semantic interpretation of, or semantic constraints on, the *Way* construction.

6.1.1.2. The Rhetorical Perspective

Toyama (1968) and Omuro (2000) make careful observations concerning the speaker's intention when they use the *Way* construction.

Toyama (1968) points out that "ingenious usage" in a certain expression can create a delicate nuance and adds the poetic touch. The "make one's way" includes a unique rhetorical feature and has some stylistic effect in context. Hence, the poetic nature of the "make one's way" expression, Toyama (1968) further says, exhibits a certain degree of "variation." If the verb *make* in the expression "make one's way" is replaced by the verb *push*, *grope*, *elbow*, the expression has different nuances that "make one's way" does not have.

Omuro (2000) follows Kirchner (1951) with respect to the speaker's conscious usage and states that stylistically "one's way" construction has a humorous and descriptive feature. He says that the speaker uses "one's way" construction with a particular purpose in mind. Omuro (2000) shows that various types of verbs in different forms are attested in the *Way* construction; examples include: the coordinated multiple verbs, rhyme, the use of a nominal technical term as a verb and the use of an onomatopoetic verb.

6.1.2. Claim of this Chapter

Any of the previous studies have focused on either the motion event description or the rhetorical effect, and none has dealt with both sides at the same time. Interestingly, when focusing on one side, the other side tends to be missed; if we try to capture the motion event description in the *Way* construction, we may disregard the viewpoint of the rhetorical effect of the *Way* construction, and vice versa.

In what follows, we argue that the two aspects of the *Way* construction, i.e. the "motion event description" and the "rhetorical or literary effect" are correlated with each other, and that to capture such a correlation, it is necessary to take into consideration of the interpretative process by the addressee as well as the immediate linguistic context in which the *Way* construction occurs. That will reveal the features of the *Way* construction that the previous studies have overlooked. Specifically, we argue for the following two features attributable to the *Way* construction:

A) The *Way* construction not only describes a motion event but also implies something that the subject referent experiences within the motion path. (We name this "the implication in the *Way* construction.")

B) The implication in the *Way* construction brings about the two effects:

B-1) It stimulates the addressee's imagination.

B-2) It motivates the use of another clause within the same sentence that specifies the content of the implication (to varying degrees).

In what follows based on examples attested in COCA as well as ones from the previous studies, we explore the two effects ((B-1) and (B-2)) triggered off by the "implication."

6.2. Investigation and Analysis: Two Effects by the Implication

We investigate the "implication" by the *Way* construction in discourse. In 6.2.1.1, we conduct the investigation considering the interpretative process by the addressee. In 6.2.1.2, we show that the context in which the *Way* construction occurs is correlated with the implication.

6.2.1. Two Effects by the Implication of the *Way* Construction

6.2.1.1. Inducing the Addressee's Imagination

The *Way* construction implicates that the subject referent experiences something noteworthy in the motion denoted. What is meant by "something noteworthy" is the various things that the subject referent experiences while traversing the indicated path. Each addressee brings about three kinds of the imagination by each situation with regard to "something noteworthy."

a) Independency from the interpretation by the addressee

b) The notion of difficulty

c) The abstract path

a) Independency from the interpretation by the addressee

The addressee needs not to make much effort in order to conceptualize the event the subject referent experiences within the motion path. In (8), for example, the verb *belch* directly depicts something noteworthy experienced by the subject referent.

(8) He *belched his way* out of the restaurant. (Goldberg 1995: 202)

It is worth noting in this connection that Szczesniak (2013) states that the *Way* construction describes two kinds of information/elements at the same time and can divide into two elements: [V] (manner) and [one's way OBL] (path with goal), and that, the manner information tends to be more salient than the other information within the clause. That is, the addressee does not have to pay attention to some noteworthy that the *Way* construction implies.

b) The notion of difficulty

In this type, on the other hand, the addressee needs to imagine something noteworthy about the subject referent's experiences because it is not represented by words as it is in type a). That is, an actual activity by the subject referent is represented within the virtual path. Therefore, in this type, much more imagination is required for the addressee than type a). However, the content of something noteworthy is generally conventionalized in this type. As Goldberg (1995) points out, the *Way* construction implies the notion of difficulty as the constructional meaning, and the addressee connects to the notion of difficulty when she/he sees or hears examples such as (9).

(9) Frank *dug his way* out of the prison. (Goldberg 1995: 199)

Any English speaker would agree that the expression such as "dug his way" implies difficulty. This is because such expressions cause us to imagine some experiences or some events within the motion path. That is, difficulty denotes one of noteworthy things that the subject referent experiences.

c) The abstract path

Let us now turn to the cases where the abstract path is involved. Examples such as (10) and (11) require much more imagination on the part of the addressee than those of type a) and type b).

(10) Julie Andrews *has been singing her way* into our hearts. (COCA 2014)

(11) He *danced his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago,"... (COCA 2014)

This type is a metaphorical expression. We can comprehend the constructional meaning in this context. The addressee has to infer what the subject referent actually experienced while moving along the "path." In fact, the *Way* constructions in (10) or (11) evoke various open questions such as: "Where did they sing or dance?; How many times did they sing or dance?; How did they sing or dance?; What did they make an effort to capture our hearts or get the Golden Globe?"

To summarize, the addressee is to imagine the contents of "something noteworthy" with utmost effort in all three types, but the degree of imagination (inference) required of the addressee varies. Type a) does not require the imagination of addressee. On the other hand, type b) requires much more imagination than type a). Type c) requires even more imagination than type b).

It should be noted that the inviting of "imagination" is a different notion from the rhetorical nature of the *Way* construction as hinted at in the literature (Toyama 1968 and Omuro 2000), which have mainly focused on the stylistic feature of the construction. The difference can be seen in examples of type a): although these examples are stylistically peculiar, no particular imagination is induced, as we have seen earlier.

6.2.1.2. Another Clause that Specifies the Contents of the "Implication"

In 6.2.1.1, we have shown that the *Way* construction stirs the addressee's imagination because of its deliberately underspecified description of a motion. In this section, we explore the second point of the two effects; the "implication" motivates the use of another clause that specifies the contents of the "implication." This effect involves the following three features:

① The *Way* construction tends to occur in a part of converb and in subordinate conjunction.

② The *Way* construction particularly prefers to co-occur with the conjunction *as* or occur as a converb.

③ The *Way* construction tends to occur in the subordinate clause when the main clause includes additional, detailed information of the motion described by the *Way* construction.

Firstly, we show the result of a survey with COCA concerning ① and ②. The number of the examples in each category and its ratio is given on Table 1. As is shown in Table 1, the *Way* construction with the verbs *make*, *push* and *pick* were examined. The verb *make* is the most basic, frequently used verb in the *Way* construction, and the verbs *push* and *pick* occupy quite a large number of the verb occurring in the *Way* construction according to COCA.[19] This is the

[19] Iwata (2012) also says that verb *push* and *pick* occupy a superior position in the *Way* construction as the occurring verb.

reason why we examine these three kinds of verbs.

Table 1: The Ratio of the *Way* construction occurring in the Multiple-clause Sentence and *As*-clause and Converb[20]

	total	multiple-clause sentence or a part of converb	*as*-clause and a part of converb
make one's way (2010 – 2014)	1411	923 / 1411 (66 %)	404 / 923 (43 %)
push one's way[21] (2010 – 2017)	197	108 / 197 (55 %)	45 / 108 (42 %)
pick one's way[22] (2010 – 2017)	245	154 / 245 (63 %)	102 / 154 (64 %)

With regard to the "make one's way," there are 1411 instances in total. In 923 out of 1411 examples (i.e. ca. 66%), the construction occurs in multiple-clause sentences or as converbs. In 404 out of 923(i.e. ca. 43%), the construction occurs in the *as* subordinate clause (we call it *as*-clause) or converbs. With regard to the "push one's way," there are 197 cases in total. 108 out of 197 examples (ca. 55%) are multiple-clause sentences or sentences with converbs. 45 out of 108 examples (ca. 42%) are the *as*-clauses or converbs. As for the "pick

[20] Other subordinate conjunctions include *when*, *while*, *before*, *after* and so forth. However, concerning the conjunction *after*, we cannot find any attested example of the *pick one's way* construction

[21] The *push your way* was examined between 1990 and 2017.

[22] The *pick your way* and the *pick their way* were examined between 1990 and 1994.

one's way," there are 245 cases in total. 154 out of 245 examples (ca. 63%) are multiple-clause sentences or sentences with converb. 102 out of 154 (ca. 64%) are *as*-clauses or converbs.

Based on this quantitative survey, it is conceivable that the *Way* construction shows a preference for occurring in a part of converb and *as*-clause.

Next, we examine feature ③ with reference to naturally-occurring examples: the *Way* construction prefers occurring in the subordinate clause and has a feature of the peculiar description. In feature ②, we have proved that the *Way* construction tends to occur in a converb or an *as*-clause. Moreover, we can see the feature that the *Way* construction tends to show a preference for occurring as a subordinate clause. In such cases, there are two event descriptions involved: that of the *Way* construction occurring as a subordinate clause and that of the main clause are. Each of them has a distinct role in conveying information to the addressee. That is, each clause has a different perspective with respect to the contents of the description: the motion event itself is described in the *Way* construction and the detailed information within the motion path is described in the main clause. In other words, the *Way* construction represents a bird's-eye view (or "event-external" perspective: cf. Chapter 5) while the main clause reflects a more "zoomed-in" view. Our survey indicates that there are at least three subtypes of such multiple-clause sentences containing the *Way* construction:

When the *Way* construction occurs in the subordinate clause,

- "Action" that the subject referent conducts within the motion path is described in the main clause.
- "Perception or recognition" that the subject referent feels within the motion path is described in the main clause.
- "Event" that the subject referent experiences within the motion path is described in the main clause.

Firstly, we give an explanation for the first type: "action" that the subject referent carries out is described in the main clause.

(12) As the president and vice president *made their way* out of a congressional luncheon today at the U.S. Capitol, they paused in front of a bust of Martin Luther King Jr. (...). (COCA 2013)

(13) The Greek Chorus scattered, and I ran on from backstage, *pushing my way* through the scrum of actors. (COCA 2013)

(14) Feingold nodded, *picking her way* carefully along the rough trail. (COCA 2017)

In (12), the *Way* construction in the subordinate clause describes the "action" by the subject referent, i.e., the president and the vice president, and their specific activity or working are described in the main clause; that is, the event that they pause in front of the bust is described. Example (13), likewise, illustrates that the motion event is described in the subordinate clause with the *Way* construction, and the detailed information about the action by the subject referent simultaneously is described in the main clause. A similar situation can be observed with example (14). In short, the motion event that Feingold goes through the rough trail is described in the *Way* construction and the action that Feingold did during the running is described in the main clause.

Let us turn to the second type: the subject referent's perception or recognition while traversing the path is described in the main clause.

(15) I thought about it as I *picked my way* through the trees toward the RV. (COCA 2011)

(16) As I *made my way* in that direction, I noticed a small table open beside them. (COCA 2012)

(17) As she *made her way* toward the exit, she saw the two women from the parking lot. (COCA 2014)

In the example (15), the motion event construed in the overall perspective is described by the *Way* construction, and in the main clause, the recognition by the subject referent is depicted as detailed information. The examples (16) and (17) illustrate the same pattern. The overall motion event is described in the *Way* construction; that is, the event the subject referent moves to a certain direction is described by the *Way* construction and the detailed information of the recognition by the subject referent is described in the main clause. The same thing applies to example (17).

Finally, the third type: "event" that the subject referent experiences within the motion path is described in the main clause.

(18) *Making my way* through the ditches and tents, I met a bitter young man with his chest bared (...). (COCA 2014)

(19) Jake's head throbbed as he *made his way* to the toy department. (COCA 2010)

In the example (18), the motion event of the subject referent going through some obstacles is described by the *Way* construction and, in the main clause, the "event" that happened to the subject referent is described. Example (19) illustrates the same pattern. The motion event that Jake goes to the toy department is described by the *Way* construction, whereas in the main clause, the occurrence to Jake is described. The occurrence described in the main clause clarifies detailed information about the motion.

We have kept the observation upon the context of the *Way* construction. We can set up two significant hypotheses based on the observations just presented. The first is the *Way* construction prefers occurring as a subordinate clause. The whole motion event is described with the *Way* construction, and the more detailed information about the motion denoted by the *Way* construction is described in the main clause. That is, the *Way* construction plays two roles at one time: it represents the perspective of the bird's-eye view of the motion event, and it also *requires* the perspective by the subject referent describing the detailed information within the motion event. The second role is unique to the *Way* construction because we cannot observe it with the intransitive motion construction with the verbs such as *go* and *walk*.

All these facts also support our hypothesis that the *Way* construction not only describes the motion event but also implies "something noteworthy."

6.3. Summary

In this chapter, we have explored the peculiar motion event description in the *Way* construction. The *Way* construction is tied to an integrated functions of the motion event description and the rhetorical effect. In this sense, one could say that the *Way* construction serves the function of "rhetorical event description."

Accordingly, there are two conclusions. Firstly, the *Way* construction is not autonomous construction for accounting for the motion event but tends to depend on another clause. This is the reason why the *Way* construction has a feature of rhetorical effect. That is, the motion event description of the *Way* construction triggers off the imagination on the part of the addressee. The imagination indicates the "implication" of the *Way* construction in order to convey the more detailed information to addressee; the *Way* construction includes "something noteworthy." This is because the *Way* construction prefers depending on another clause so as to include more detailed information about the motion event it directly refers to. Such being the case, the *Way* construction has two semantic functions: one is the perspective of bird's eye view of the motion event, and the other is the invitation of the zoomed-in perspective of the describing the detailed information about the motion event.

Secondly, we can capture a peculiar phenomenon of the *Way* construction because we focus on the contents in the *Way* construction and take in the perspective of addressee.

Goldberg (1995) has proposed that the argument structure constructions can describe the motion event with “simple clause constructions” (cf. Chapter 2). Through our investigation, however, we hope to have demonstrated that the constructional feature of the *Way* construction is, unlike those of many other argument structure constructions, analyzable only by going beyond the simple-clause level. In order to investigate these constructional features of the *Way* construction, therefore, it is essential to take in the perspective of the interpretative process in which the addressee refers to the discourse context in which the *Way* construction is used and makes certain inferences if necessary.

Chapter 7
The Salience of Manner in the *Way* Construction

7.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the constructional features of the *Way* construction in terms of information structure. There are a number of preceding studies on the semantic aspects of the *Way* construction, including construction grammar approach (Goldberg 1995) and lexical conceptual semantic approach (Jackendoff 1990, Kageyama and Yumoto 1997). However, none of them have paid any attention to information structure of the *Way* construction.

Our argument in this chapter builds upon the assumption given in Szczesniak (2013) that the predicate of the *Way* construction can be divided into two components: the component [V] and [one's way OBL]. The former describes manner of motion and the latter describes the path and the goal of the motion, respectively. Szczesniak (2013) states that the *Way* construction serves to convey two kinds of information (i.e. manner and result/path with goal) at the same time. By way of illustration, let us examine the predicate of (1).

(1) Frank *dug his way* out of the prison. (Goldberg 1995: 199)

In (1), *dug his way out of the prison* can be divided into two components *dug* and *his way out of the prison*. *Dug* and *his way out of the prison* correspond to [V] and [one's way OBL], respectively. *Dug* denotes manner of motion by the subject referent, whereas *his way out of the prison* denotes the path and the destination of the subject of motion.

Generally speaking, information structure of a sentence consists of two parts: presupposition and assertion (Lambrecht 1994, Frawley 1992, Huddleston and Pullum 2002). These relations between presupposition and assertion correspond to the relations between the "old information" and the "new information," respectively. If this formulation is applied to the two components ([V] and [one's way OBL]) under consideration, we can assume that one element corresponds to the presupposition, while the other element corresponds to the assertion.

In actual usage, which of the two components constitute assertion (or new information)? According to Szczesniak (2013:176), "manner" information is salient in English. Therefore, if his idea is correct, it might be predicted that the manner information is asserted. In fact, however, it is also possible that "manner" component is presupposed under certain conditions. It will be revealed that this distribution depends on the conceptual nature of the component [one's way OBL]: either abstract or concrete. In order to explore how the component [V] and [one's way OBL] relate to the assertion and the presupposition, we utilize the "negation test," which is based on presupposition's general feature of consistency under negation.

This chapter is organized as follows. In 7.2, we will briefly overview Szczesniak (2013), and we will exhibit our main point of this chapter. In 7.3, we will investigate and analyze the constructional feature of the *Way* construction in terms of information structure. In 7.4, we consider the motivation with regard to the result in 7.3. In 7.5, we will summarize this chapter.

7.2. A Previous Study: Szczesniak (2013)

As we have stated above briefly, Szczesniak (2013) assumes that the predicate of the *Way* construction should be semantically divided into two components: "manner" and "path with goal." Hereafter, the two semantic components are represented by [V] and [one's way OBL], respectively. What underlies this idea is "manner/result complementarity" (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010). Szczesniak (2013) points out that the *Way* construction is a solution to the problem of the limitation on the information that a verb can convey:

(2) If lexical units alone were capable of combining manner of motion with reaching a goal, languages would need neither *x's way* nor even the more basic intransitive motion constructions. However, because the respective numbers of possible manners and goals/results are potentially infinite, coining items that would lexicalize both would pose an obvious combinational challenge for memory. A solution to this is offered by constructions - with empty slots for both elements they serve to

circumvent this problem, as new combinations of manner and result can be created, where both result and manner are transparent. (Szczesniak 2013: 173)

It should be noted that Szczesniak (2013) focuses only on the cases where the manner verbs occur in the *Way* construction. However, as is well known, the verb *make* without the manner implication occurs in the *Way* construction with the highest frequency. Therefore, we also investigate the *Way* construction with the verb *make*.

Another insight of Szczesniak (2013) concerns the semantic relevance of the conceptual nature of the denoted path. Analyzing the semantic constraints on the path and the goal in the component [one's way OBL], Szczesniak claims that in the phrase [one' way OBL]: the path and the goal are under the constraints as follows:

(3) If the path is metaphoric and abstract, the goal must be abstract too. (Szczesniak 2013: 181)

(4) If the path is concrete, of course, the goal is concrete too. (*ibid.*)

These clams (3) and (4) are exemplified in (5) and (6), respectively.

(5) a. Lennon *composed his way* to critical acclaim. (*ibid.*)

b. And ET, who *BNX-ed his way* into our hearts in 1982, was cuter still.[23] (*ibid.*)

[23] Szczesniak (2013) explains that the expression "BMX-ed" means "riding a BMX bicycle.

(6) The firefighters *pushed their way* into the building. (*ibid.*)

However, as will be shown in this chapter, whether the path and the goal is abstract or concrete also has a certain relevance to the information structure of the *Way* construction. That is, the relation between the manner and the path (i.e. the component [V] and [one's way OBL]) is also relevant to information structure.

Let us summarize our points. The combinations between [V]: either manner verb or *make* and [one's way OBL]: either concrete or abstract can be seen. Accordingly, we set two parameters on each type: [±manner] and [±abstract] in order to explore the relation between the component [V] and [one's way OBL] in terms of information structure. Therefore, we posit three components: *manner*, *motion* and *path* because if the verb type occurring in the *Way* construction does not entail manner information, we can assume that the motion event itself is more salient than any other information.

7.3. Investigation and Analysis

In this section, we investigate the correlations between the semantic distinctions in the predicate of the *Way* construction and the information status of the two components ([V] and [one's way OBL]) of that predicate. To this end, a negation test will be used because presupposition normally escapes negation. Therefore, in this test, the negated part of information is more salient than the rest, but the other information is presupposed as a background. Applying this notion, we will show that the *Way* construction can be divided into several patterns.

As we touched upon in 7.2, we can assume that if the manner information is particularly salient information, when the manner verb occurs in the *Way* construction, the manner information acquires a priority status as a salient information; namely, the manner information is asserted. On the other hand, the path information represented by [one's way OBL] has the status of backgrounded information; [one's way OBL] is not salient and counts as an old information. The component [one's way OBL] is thus presupposed. However, in fact, the relationships actually observed are more complex than outlined above, as will become clear in 7.3.1.

7.3.1. The Way of the Investigation: with respect to Informant

In this section, we explain the procedure of our investigation.

First, we divide the meaning of the predicate of the *Way* construction into two components [V] and [one's way OBL]. As for the two semantic components, we set up two kinds of parameters on each other, classifying the *Way* construction into four distinct types. As to the component of [V], we set up the parameter such as [±manner] which means whether the component [V] entails the manner information or not. With regard to the component [one's way OBL], we examine whether the path is abstract or not; we set up the parameter [±abstract].

Note that in the present study, manner verbs are treated as covering a wider range of concept than Goldberg's (1995) definition; the verb class including the verb *belch* or *hiccup* is interpreted as "manner," and the verb class including the verb *dig* or *push* is interpreted as "means." However, we treat both of these two verb classes as the "manner" verb type, following Szczesniak (2013); we do not distinguish them. The procedure of our investigation can be summarized as below:

Table 1: Four types of the *Way* construction Based on the Binary Semantic Features

	[V](±manner)	[one's way OBL](±abstract)
Type 1	[－manner]	[－abstract]
Type 2	[＋manner]	[－abstract]
Type 3	[－manner]	[＋abstract]
Type 4	[＋manner]	[＋abstract]

Type1: She *made her way* to her desk. (COCA 2012)

Type2: Frank *dug his way* out of the prison.

(Goldberg 1995: 199)

Type3: He *made his way* to a Tony nomination.

(COCA 1998: revised)

Type4: He *danced his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago,"... (COCA 2014)

The negation test was conducted about each one of these four types with the procedure as follows:

1)[24] Change an affirmative sentence of the *Way* construction into a negative one, then prepare two types of contexts: (i) the one where [V] is intended as the target of negation and (ii) the one where [one's way OBL] is the intended target of negation. (The two types of negation will be called [V]-negation and [one's way OBL]-negation, respectively.)

2) Ask a consultant in which of the two contexts the negated *Way*-construction sentence sounds natural.

7.3.2. The Investigation of Type 1 and Type 2

Let us begin with the investigation of Type 1 and Type 2. Type 1 and Type 2 share the same feature with regard to the component [one's way OBL]; in that it does represent an abstract path, but a concrete one. They differ in verb type. Type 1 does not entail the manner information; the verb *make* occurs in the *Way* construction. We can therefore infer that the degree of salience between [V] and [one's way OBL] is few differences. On the other hand, Type 2 entails manner information; the verb occurring in the *Way* construction refers to manner. We can infer that the component [V] is probably salient information because the manner information is more salient than any other information (Szczesniak 2013).

[24] Cary sensei supports us to make this test.

7.3.2.1. Type 1

Examples (7) and (8) are the original sentences from COCA. Both of (7') and (8') are their negated counterparts. All the other examined sentences will follow the same format: [V]-negation is in a, and [one's way OBL]-negation is in b.

(7) She *made her way* to her desk. (COCA 2012)

(7') a. A: Did she *make her way* to her desk?

B: No, she *didn't make her way* to her desk, but she went to the fountain.

b. The telephone rang, but she *didn't make her way* to her desk.

(8) She *made her way* toward the front of the church. (COCA 2012)

(8') a. A: Did she *make her way* toward the front of the church?

B: No, the groom stood in front of the church, but she *didn't make her way* there. Actually she went somewhere else.

b. A: Did she *make her way* toward the front of the church?

B: No, the groom stood in front of the church, but she *didn't make her way* there. Actually, she just stood still.

Both cases (i.e. ((7'a) (8'a)) and ((7'b) (8'b))) are equally acceptable. This means that for this type both possibilities are equally available: (i) that motion is presupposed and the path and the goal is asserted; and (ii) that motion is asserted and the path and the goal is presupposed.

7.3.2.2. Type 2

The *Way* construction in this type had a slightly different result.

(9) Frank *dug his way* out of the prison. (Goldberg 1995)

(9') a. A: Finally, did Frank *dig his way* out of the prison?

B: No, Frank *didn't dig his way* out of the prison, rather he jumped over the fences.

b. A: Finally, did Frank *dig his way* out of the prison?

B: ?No, Frank *didn't dig his way* out of the prison. No, not prison. It was a police station.

(10) He *hiccupped his way* out of this room.

(Goldberg 1995: revised)

(10') a. A: Did he *hiccup his way* out of this room?

B: No, he didn't hiccup his way out of this room, he sneezed [*coughed*] *his way* out of this room.

b. A: Did he *hiccup his way* out of this room?

B: ?No, he *didn't hiccup his way* into this room. No, not this room. It was that room.

As shown in (9') and (10'), although [V]-negation is natural, [one's way OBL]-negation is not as natural. This suggests that, unlike what we saw with Type 1, the *Way* construction of Type 2 tends to be used to assert the "manner" information, presupposing the "path and goal" information.

7.3.2.3. Summary: the Difference of Type 1 and Type 2

According to the investigation, we can see that Type 1 and Type 2 are different in information structure. In Type 1, it is possible that either of [V] (motion) and [one's way OBL] (path) is salient (i.e. asserted). Conversely, in Type 2, "manner" information is more naturally asserted than it is presupposed. It should be noted that this result agrees with the idea given in Szczesniak (2013) that the manner information tends to be salient in English.

7.3.3. The Investigation of Type 3 and Type 4

In this section, we explore Type 3 and Type 4, both of which contain [one's way OBL] that denotes an abstract path. Just as Type 1 and Type 2, Type 3 and Type 4 differ in verb semantics: the verb *make* in Type 3 does not entail "manner" while that in Type 4 entails "manner."

(11) He *made his way* to a Tony nomination. (COCA 1998: revised)

(12) Josephine Baker *made her way* through Paris in the 1920s. (COCA 1998: revised)

(13) He *danced his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago,"... (COCA 2014)

(14) Julie Andrews *has been singing her way* into our hearts. (COCA 1995)

Some examples in these types are given above: (11)-(14). For instance, what is described by (11) is not an actual situation; it does not mean that the subject referent actually goes to the podium on his foot in order to get a Tony nomination. Rather, it refers to the event of the subject referent's winning of a Tony nomination.

7.3.3.1. Type 3

Let us see the original examples (15) and (16), and their negated counterparts (15') and (16').

(15) He *made his way* to a Tony nomination. (= (11))

(15') a. A: Did he *make his way* to a Tony nomination?

B: ?He *didn't make his way* to a Tony nomination. Actually, he *didn't make his way* anywhere.

b. A: Did he *make his way* to a Tony nomination?

B: He *didn't make his way* to a Tony nomination, <u>but he got the Golden Globe</u>.

(16) Josephine Baker *made her way* through Paris in the 1920s. (= (12))

(16') a. A: Did Josephine Baker *make her way* through Paris in the 1920s?

B: ?No, Josephine Baker *didn't make her way* through Paris in the 1920s. Actually, she *didn't make her way* through anywhere in the 1920s.

b. A: Did Josephine Baker *make her way* through Paris in the 1920s?

B: No, Josephine Baker *didn't make her way* through Paris in the 1920s, but she *did make her way* through London.

In both a. and b., the negated *Way*-constructions are part of a reply by speaker B to the preceding remark by speaker A.

Since the component [V] does not entail the manner information, the component [one's way OBL] (path) constitutes the assertion; [one's way OBL] (path) is the salient information. However, this type does not show the same behavior as Type 1. Type 3 is under the same condition as Type1 in that the component [V] does not entail the manner information. Nevertheless, the component [V] (motion) does not constitute the assertion as the naturalness of B's responses of (15'a) and (16'a). To summarize, the salient (i.e. asserted) information is exclusively the component [one's way OBL] (path).

7.3.3.2. Type 4

With regard to Type 1 and Type 3, the component [one's way OBL] (path) is asserted because the component [V] does not entail the remarkable manner information[25]. On the other hand, with respect to Type 2, [V] (manner) is asserted. Based upon these observations, Type 4 might be expected to exhibit the same behavior as Type 2; the component [V] (manner) is salient because manner information tends to have a priority status (Szczesniak 2013). However, the behavior of

[25] In Type 1, the component [V] (motion) is also asserted (see 7.3.2.1).

Type 4 is entirely different from that of Type 2. Now we examine the examples (17) and (18). The examples (17) and (18) are the originals, and the examples (17') and (18') are their negated versions.

(17) He *danced his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago,"... (= (13))

(17') a. A: Finally, did he *dance his way* to a Golden Globe?

B: ?No, he *didn't dance his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago," rather he *sang his way* to a Golden Globe.

b. A: Finally, did he *dance his way* to a Golden Globe?

B: No, he *didn't dance his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago," <u>but he did get the Emmy Award</u>.

(18) Julie Andrews *has been singing her way* into our hearts. (= (14))

(18') a. A: Has Julie Andrews *been singing her way* into our hearts?

B: ?She *has not been singing her way* into our hearts, instead she *has been dancing* [*skipping*] *her way* into our hearts.

b. A: Has Julie Andrews *been singing her way* into our hearts?

B: She *has not been singing her way* into our hearts, <u>but she *has been singing her way* into Japanese hearts</u>.

In the response B of (17'b) and (18'b), the assumed interpretation of the *Way* construction is that [one's way OBL] is asserted. As to the

Way construction, in the response B of (17'a) and (18'a), on the other hand, it is supposed that [V] is asserted.

The result of this test is as follows: according to (17'b) and (18'b), the component [one's way OBL] (path) is salient information, whereas in (17'a) and (18'a), it is unnatural that the component [V] (manner) constitutes the assertion. Thus, in Type 4, the component [one's way OBL] (path) more naturally constitutes salient information.

7.3.3.3. Summary: Characteristics of Type 3 and Type 4

Both of Type 3 and Type 4 have the same characteristics that the component [one's way OBL] (path) is the salient information. This result is interesting because the behavior of Type 3 and Type 4 concerning salience of information is not parallel to that of Type 1 and Type 2. Type 3 is different from Type 1 in that the component [V] (motion) does not make salient information, but because the component [V] does not entail manner information, we can assume that the component [one's way OBL] constitutes an assertion. However, the behavior of Type 4 is completely different from that of Type 2 although in these the verb occurring in the *Way* construction is a manner verb. Considering the fact that the component [V] is a manner verb, one might expect that the component [V] is asserted and gains salience. In reality, however, the component [one's way OBL] (path) actually constitutes the assertion.

7.3.4. The Result of this Investigation

The result of the survey is given in Table 2.

Table 2: The Result of the "Negation Test"

	[V]	[one's way OBL]	Salient information
Type1	*make*	concrete	[V](motion) or [one's way OBL](path)
Type2	manner verb	concrete	[V](manner)
Type3	*make*	abstract	[one's way OBL](path)
Type4	manner verb	abstract	[one's way OBL](path)

In Type 1 and Type 3, both of them do not entail the manner information because the verb occurring in the *Way* construction is *make*. We, therefore, made it clear that the component [one's way OBL] (path) is a salient information. This result was expected in advance, and our investigation actually proved the fact. In addition, our investigation made it clear that the component [V] (motion) is a salient information with regard to Type 1; the negation test proved that [V] (motion) is asserted. On the other hand, in Type 2 and Type 4, even though the component [V] (manner) is under the same condition, both of them showed different results. In Type 2, the component [V] (manner) counts as salient information. On the contrary, the component [one's way OBL] (path) is the salient information in Type 4. This result means that salient information relates not only to the verb type occurring in the *Way* construction but also to the nature of the path ([one’s way OBL] (path)); either abstract or concrete. Accordingly, when a manner verb occurs in the *Way* construction, we can see different behavior of the *Way* construction with regard to information structure when the path has a different feature. We can see two types. In cases where the component [one’s way OBL] (path) has the concrete path, the component [V] (manner) is salient (Type 2). In cases where the component [one’s way OBL] (path) refers to the abstract path, the component [one’s way OBL] (path) is salient (Type 4).

In the next section, we will search for the motivation for such difference in information salience.

7.4. The Motivation for the Salience of [one’s way OBL] (path) in Type 4

In this section, we will consider the motivation for the salient status of the component [one’s way OBL] (path) in Type 4.

In previous section, we have shown the result as follows: the example (19) shows one of the examples of Type 2 and the component [V] (manner) is asserted. On the other hand, the examples (20) and (21) show Type 4 and the component [one’s way OBL] (path) is asserted. In Type 2 and Type 4, the same verb type occurs in the *Way* construction, but a different feature of the component [one’s way OBL] (path) means a different information structure. Concerning the feature of the path, Type 2 and Type 4 describe the concrete path and the abstract path, respectively.

(19) Frank *dug his way* out of the prison. (Goldberg 1995: 199) (=9)

(19') a. A: Finally, did Frank *dig his way* out of the prison?

B: No, Frank *didn't dig his way* out of the prison, rather he jumped over the fences.

b. A: Finally, did Frank *dig his way* out of the prison?

B: ?No, Frank *didn't dig his way* out of the prison. No, not prison. It was a police station.

(20) He *danced his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago,"... (= (13), (17))

(20') a. A: Finally, did he *dance his way* to a Golden Globe?

B: ?No, he *didn't dance his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago," rather he *sang his way* to a Golden Globe.

b. A: Finally, did he *dance his way* to a Golden Globe?

B: No, he *didn't dance his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago," but he did get the Emmy Award.

(21) Julie Andrews *has been singing her way* into our hearts.

(= (14), (18))

(21)' a. A: Has Julie Andrews *been singing her way* into our hearts?

B: ?She *has not been singing her way* into our hearts, instead she *has been dancing* [*skipping*] *her way* into our hearts.

b. A: Has Julie Andrews *been singing her way* into our hearts?

B: She *has not been singing her way* into our hearts, but she *has been singing her way* into Japanese hearts.

According to Szczesniak (2013), in Type 4, the verb type occurring in the *Way* construction is the manner type. The manner information describes how the subject referent goes through the path; accordingly we assume that the component [V] (manner) is salient information just as it is in Type 2. In fact, however, in the negation test, the component [one's way OBL] (path) is asserted. Hence, we can see the salience of the component [one's way OBL] (path).

In Type 4, the component [one's way OBL] (path) describes the abstract path. The manner information is not noticeable because the subject referent does not do the actual activity; the subject referent works within the virtual path. Apparently, it seems that the manner of motion leads to the goal/result whether the path is abstract or concrete. For example, in (20), the event "he *danced his way* to a Golden Globe" describes that the summary of the action "dancing" causes the goal/result of "getting a Golden Globe." In the same way, in (21), the event "Julie Andrews *has been singing her way* into our hearts" describes that the summary of the action "singing" causes the goal/result of "getting our hearts." However, the repetitive performance such as "dancing" or "singing" itself is not associated with any concrete motion path. In other words, in cases where the component [one's way OBL] (path) is abstract, the component [one's way OBL] (path) is not necessarily attributable to the summary of the action denoted by the manner-of-motion verb. Consequently, the content of the component [one's way OBL] (path) itself is informative. Therefore, the component [one's way OBL] (path) is more salient than any other information. In this case, the manner information only shows a part of the information about how the subject referent moves toward the goal/result. As a result, the addressee's attention naturally focuses on the component [one's way OBL] (path). On the other hand, [V] (manner) describes the action as the performance. Therefore, the component [V] (manner) cannot be asserted just as Type 2.

In order to make clear what we mentioned above, let us now observe the example of (22). Example (22) is the same as examples (13) and (17) in Type 4, but, we can also interpret this example as if it were an example of Type 2. If we interpret the original sentence (22) as Type 2, the context given in the example (22') is a natural situation in the negative sentence.

(22) He *danced his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago." (= (13), (17))

(22') He *didn't dance his way* to a Golden Globe for his brilliant performance in "Chicago." <u>Actually he *skipped his way* to a Golden Globe</u>.

If we interpret the example (22) as an actual performance such as Type 2, "Actually he *skipped his way* to a Golden Globe" is a natural context. This phenomenon shows the fact that the manner information is salient. In short, the verb *dance* is interpreted as manner of motion linked to an actual performance. If the manner information were interpreted as an actual performance, the verb *dance* would describe how the subject referent moves to the goal along the red carpet in order to get a trophy or an award certificate and so forth; the actual activity “dancing” leads to the goal/result (= a Golden Globe). Therefore, we can see that the component [V] (manner) is closely tied to the component [one’s way OBL] (path). In this case, the motion itself does not have the primary status of salience because the motion by the subject referent toward the destination exists as a concrete path. On the other hand, the manner of motion is noticeable information because the manner of motion that the subject referent goes through the path deserves the peculiarity. Therefore, the manner of motion deserves to be salient information.

On the contrary, in cases where the component [one’s way OBL] (path) is abstract, the component [V] (manner) is not interpreted as an actual performance; it is not assumed that the summary of the repeated performances reaches an actual result/goal (= [one’s way OBL] (path)). This case does not mean that the action by the subject referent unfolds within the actual path; rather, it means the virtual, imaginary path through the cognitive process of summary scanning. Therefore, there is no objective relation of cause and effect. Accordingly, we dare to imagine the event that the component [one’s way OBL] (path) evokes because the path is abstract. Hence, this construal is salient; the component [one’s way OBL] (path) is asserted.

7.5. Summary

In this chapter, we have investigated the *Way* construction in terms of information structure. We divided the predicate of the *Way* construction into two components that are [V] (motion/manner) and [one's way OBL] (path). We then investigated which information is more salient than the other. Previous studies pointed out that the *Way* construction has the polysemy structure with regard to the event structure of motion (Goldberg 1995, Israel 1996), but in this chapter, we indicated the possibility that the *Way* construction has several variations in term of information structure.

Concerning the salience of information with the *Way* construction, the manner verb occurring in the *Way* construction is more salient than the component [one's way OBL] (path). We can see this result from the comparison between the manner verb and verb *make* occurring in the *Way* construction. However, this result is available only when the component [one's way OBL] (path) denotes a concrete path. On the contrary, in cases where the component [one's way OBL] (path) describes an abstract path, the component [one's way OBL] (path) is salient. That we can see that these differences in behavior are attributable to the construal by the speaker (or conceptualizer). That is, in the case of concrete path, the manner information of how the subject referent's motion toward the destination/goal constitutes an assertion; the component [V] (manner) is salient. On the contrary, in the case of abstract path, we have to imagine a specific path because there is no concrete path. Even though the subject referent conducts the activities such as *dance* or *sing*, because there is no concrete path on the way to the goal/result, the component [one's way OBL] (path) constitutes salient information, making it feasible to construe the activity as unfolding within the imaginary path.

As mentioned above, our investigation suggests a particular pattern of distribution with regard to information structure in the *Way* construction in relation to the two parameters: (i) whether the component [V] entails the manner information or not, and (ii) the component [one's way OBL] (path) describes either abstract path or concrete path. This investigation is no more than the first step of the discourse analysis in the *Way* construction. In order to ensure this investigation, we have to analyze many more examples of the *Way* construction, taking into consideration at the discourse level.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

This dissertation shed new light on the constructional features of the *Way* construction. We dealt with the three issues:

A: How the polysemy structure of the *Way* construction should be analyzed

B: The linguistic context in which the *Way* construction is used

C: The information structure of the *Way* construction

Regarding issue A, in Chapter 3, we investigated the relation between two distinct views (i.e. two senses (Goldberg 1995) and three senses (Kageyama and Yumoto 1997). In order to implement this, we focused on difficulty implication that is often said to be closely connected to the *Way* construction. To see whether an instance implies difficulty, we utilized the "*manage to* test." Consequently, it was shown that not only difficulty implication but also the context in which the *Way* construction is used determines the nature of the semantic interpretation that actually obtains. In Chapter 4, we investigated the semantic interpretation of the *slide one's way* construction because there is a certain semantic discrepancy between the lexical meaning of the verb *slide* and the constructional meaning of the *Way* construction. Through the investigation of Chapter 4, it was concluded that the constructional meaning always does not be assigned to the foreground. Namely, the constructional meaning is more flexible and more dynamic than assumed in Construction Grammar works (Goldberg 1995, etc.). The investigations given in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 strongly support the necessity to consider the context in which the *Way* construction is actually used.

Concerning issue B, we explored the linguistic context of the *Way* construction. In Chapter 5, it was claimed that the *Way* construction with the verb *make* ("*make one's way* construction") preferentially occurs in a subordinate clause headed by the conjunction *as* or a converb. It was then discussed that the *Way* construction has the "Ground" status in terms of Figure/Ground alignment and describes the whole motion event. That is, the *Way* construction reflects the conceptualizer's event-external perspective or bird's eye view. In Chapter 6, we considered the rhetorical feature of the *Way* construction, and showed that the *Way* construction conveys "implication" in the motion event description. In short, the motion event description of the *Way* construction is related with the perspective of interpretative process of the addressee. Through Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, we emphasized the significance of the investigation at a discourse level. The *Way* construction is more than just a description of a motion event.

As regards the issue C, we investigated the *Way* construction in terms of information structure. Assuming that the *Way* construction conveys two information: [V] (manner/motion) and [one's way OBL] (path), we explored which part constitutes more salient information under what conditions. In order to investigate that, the "negation test” was used. Although it is said that in English a manner information encapsulated in a verb is likely to be a salient as opposed to the other information within the clause (Szczesniak 2013). The result of the survey in this study was not so simple. We showed that the salience of information is related to the semantic feature of the component [one’s way OBL] (path) i.e. whether the denoted path is abstract or concrete.

In this dissertation, we have claimed that the semantic interpretation of the *Way* construction does not depend on the notion of difficulty and the *Way* construction has a peculiar feature with regard to the motion event description; the *Way* construction is not merely a motion expression. We have to focus on the context in which the *Way* construction is used (i.e. at discourse level) and information structure. The most significant theoretical implication by the studies given in this dissertation is that in the research of “constructions,” one should not only focus on a “simple-clause sentence” proposed by Goldberg (1995), but also on the “context” in which a certain construction occurs. In other words, it is necessary to incorporate the perspective of pragmatics more into analyses of grammatical constructions such as argument structure constructions, which have traditionally been analyzed almost exclusively at the clause level.

Bibliography and Sources

Bibliography

Atlas, Jay David (2012) "Negation" in Allan, Keith and Kasai M. Jaszczolt (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics*, 351–376, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Croft, William (2001) *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Croft, William (2012) *Verbs: Aspect and Causal Structure,* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Croft, William and Alan Cruse (2004) *Cognitive Linguistics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Cruse, Alan (2011) *Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Evans, Vyvyan (2007) *A Glossary of Cognitive Linguistics*, The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Evans, Vyvyan and Melanie Green (2006) *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Fillmore, Charles J. (1982) "Frame Semantics," in The Linguistic Society of Korea (ed.) *Linguistics in the Meaning Calm*, 111–138, Hanshin, Soel.

Frawley, William (1992) "Modality and Negation," *Linguistic Semantics*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

Greeraerts, Dirk and Hubert Cuyckens (2007) "Introducing Cognitive Linguistics" in Dirk Greeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens (eds.) *The Oxford*

Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics, 3－21, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Goldberg, Adele E. (1995) *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Goldberg Adele. E. (1997) "The Relationships between Verbs and Constructions," in Marjolijn Verspoor, Kee Dong Lee and Eve Sweetser (eds.) *Lexical and Syntactical Constructions and the Construction Meaning*, 383–398, John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.

Goldberg Adele. E. (2006) *Constructions at Work*: *The Nature of Generalization in Language*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Goldberg Adele. E. (2010) "Verbs, Constructions, and Semantic Frames," in Malka Rappaport Hovav, Edit Doron, and Ivy Sichel (eds.) *Lexical Semantics*, *Syntax*, *and Event Structure*, 39–58, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Haspelmath, Martin and Ekkehard König (eds.) (1995) *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Hayase, Naoko (1997) "The Role of Figure, Ground, and Coercion in Aspectual Interpretation," in Marjolin Verspoor, Kee-Dong Lee and Eve Sweetser (eds.) *Lexical and Syntactical Constructions and the Construction of Meaning*, 33–51, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Hilpert, Martin (2014) *Construction Grammar and its Application to English*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey K. Pullum (2002) *The Cambridge Grammar of English Language*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Israel, Michael (1996) "The Way Constructions Grow," in Adele E. Goldberg (ed.) *Conceptual Structure, Discourse and Language*, 217–230, CSLI Publishing.

Iwata, Seizi (2012) "Way Koubun ha Donoyounaidou wo Arawasuka?" (What Movement does the *Way* Construction Represent?), in Hatakeyama Yuji (ed.) *Nichieigo no Ko-bunkenkyukarasaguru Rirongengogaku no kanousei (The Possibility of the Theoretical Linguistic on Constructions in Japanese and English)*, 85–97, Kaitakusha, Tokyo.

Jackendoff, Ray (1990) *Semantic Structures*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Jespersen, Otto (1949) *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. Part 3, Syntax*, Munksgaard, Copenhagen.

Kageyama Taro (2001) "Idou to Keiro no Hyogen (Representation of the Movement and the Path)," in Kageyama Taro (ed.) *Nichiei Taishou Dooshi no Imi to Kobun (The Meanings of Verbs and their Constructions in Japanese and English)*, 40–68, Taishukan Publishing Company, Tokyo.

Kageyama, Toro and Yumoto Yoko (1997) "Tango o Koeta Gokeisei (A Word Formation beyond Words)," in Nakau Minoru (ed.) *Gokeisei to Gainenkouzou* (*Word Formation and Conceptual Structure*), 128–197, Kenkyusya, Tokyo.

Karttunen, Lauri (1971) "Implicative Verbs," *Language* 45, 340–358.

Kirchner, Gustav (1951) "A Special Case of the Object of Result," *English Studies* 32, 153–159.

Lakoff, George (1987) *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Lambrecht, Knud (1994) *Information Structure and Sentence Form*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Langacker, Ronald W. (1987) *Foundation of Cognitive Grammar, vol. I: Theoretical Prerequisites*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Langacker, Ronald W. (2008) *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Levin, Beth (1993) *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Levin, Beth, and T. Rapapport (1988) "Lexical Subordination," *CLS* 24, Part 1, 275–289.

Levin, Beth, and Malka Rapapport Hovav (1990) "The Lexical Semantics of Verbs of Motion: The Perspective from Unaccusativity," in I. M. Roca (ed.) *Thematic Structure*: *Its Role in Grammar*, 247–269, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport Hovav (1995) *Unaccusativity: At the Syntax Lexical Semantics Interface*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport Hovav (2005) *Argument Realization*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Nakamura, Hanae (2013) "*Way* Kobunno Imitekitokucho: *Slide*-gata Doushi (Semantic Features of the *Way* Construction: The Case of *Slide* Verbs)," *TABARD*, vol. 28, 37–52, The English Literature Society of Kobe Women's University.

Nakamura, Hanae (2014) "*Way* Kobunnitomonau Konnansei: *manage to* Tesuto no Teian (The *Way* Construction and "Difficulty": A Preliminary Survey with the *Manage to* Test), *TABARD*, vol. 29, 55–66, The English

Literature Society of Kobe Women's University.

Nakamura, Hanae (2016) "Tansetureberu o Koeta Kobunbunseki-*make one's way* no Baai (A Study of the Preferred Linguistic Context: The Case of the *Make One's Way* Construction)," *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Japanese Cognitive Linguistics Association*, 189–201.

Nakamura, Hanae (2018) "Way Kobunniokeru 'Yotai' no Kiwadachi o megutte (Regarding the "manner" in the *Way* construction)," in Ohashi, Hiroshi, Kawase Yoshikiyo, Koga Keisuke, Cho Kanako, and Murao Haruhiko (ed.) *Ninchigengogaku Kenkyu no Hirogari* (*The Spread of Cognitive Linguistic Research*), 184–197, Kaitakusya,Tokyo.

Omuro, Takeshi (2000) "One's Way Kobun no Ishikitekishiyou ni tsuite-Kirchner (1951) no Kansatu o Chushinni (About Conscious Use of One's Way Construction: With Special Reference to Kirchner (1951))," *Eigokyoiku*, vol. 49 (3), 34–36, Taishukan Publishing Company, Tokyo.

Pinker, Steven (1989) *Learnability and Cognition: The Acquisition of Argument Structure*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Rappaport, Hovav, Malka, and Beth Levin (2010) "Reflections on Manner / Result Complementarity," in Malka Rappaport Hovav, Edit Doron, and Ivy Sichel (eds.) *Lexical Semantics, Syntax, and Event Structure*, 21–38, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Rosch, Eleanor, and Carolyn Mervis (1975) "Family Resemblances: Studies in the Internal Structure of Categories," *Cognitive Psychology* 7: 573–605.

Sandt, Rob van der (2012) "Presupposition and Accommodation in

Discourse," in Allan, Keith and Kasai M. Jaszczolt (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics*, 229–350, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Szczesniak, Konard (2013) "You Can't Cry Your Way to Candy: Motion Events and Paths in the X's Way Construction," *Cognitive Linguistics* 24, 159–194.

Takami, Ken-ichi and Susumu Kuno (2002) *Nichieigo no Jidoushikoubun* (*A Functional Analysis of Intransitive Constructions in English and Japanese*), Kenkyusha, Tokyo.

Talmy, Leonard (1978) "Figure and Ground in Complex Sentences," in Joseph H. Greenberg (ed.) *Universals in Human Language*, vol.4, 627–649, Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Talmy, Leonard (2000) *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, Vol.1, *Concept Structuring System*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Taylor, John R (2002) *Cognitive Grammar*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Taylor, John R (2012) *The Mental Corpus*: *How Language is Represented in the Mind*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Toyama, Shigehiko (1968), *Shujitekizanzou (Rhetorical Afterimage)*, Misuzushobou, Tokyo.

Online Sources

Davies, Mark. (2008-) *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): 560 million words, 1990-present*. Available online athttps://corpus.byu.edu/coca/.