Aspectual Nature of the Path Expressions in the *Way*-Construction

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]

In this paper I discuss the way path of motion is encoded in a certain construction sometimes called the *way*-cosntruction in the literature, as illusrated in (1) (Jackendoff 1990, 1992, 1997; Marantz 1992; Tenny 1994; Ezure 1995; Israel 1996):

(1) a. I made my way to the door of the bar. (Ridpath, p.115)

   b. She feels her way across the stone floor to the corner. (Cordy, p.222)

   c. The tears dripped their way onto the vest. (Grammatical Pattern 1, p.334)

   d. In the centre of the chamber were the Great Stairs, a rough hewn spiral staircase that snaked its way two hundred feet down into the rock beneath the sands of Jordan. (Cordy, p.15)

More specifically, I examine the aspectual nature of the path phrase in the construction. Marantz (1992) claims that the *way*-construction is treated similar to the fake object resultative construction. He argues that in both constructions the event described by the verb is 'measured out' by the direct object NP and is delimited by the phrase occurring after the object NP, i.e., the secondary predicate in the resultative construction and the path phrase in the *way*-construction. His analysis, however, has some problems.[2] I point out some cases in which the path phrase does not delimit the motion. I argue that the *way*-construction and the resultative construction are distinct, and that the *way*-construction refers to atelic motion as well as telic motion, just as lexical verbs of motion do.

In the next section I briefly survey Marantz (1992)'s analysis of the *way*-construction. In section 3, based on the typology of path predicates in Aske (1989), I examines the types of path phrase occurring in the *way*-construction, and argue that the construction permits the path phrase which does not impy the goal of motion. In section 4, I consider the 'end-of-scale' constraint on the resultative construction (Goldberg 1991, 1995). I argue that, contrary to what is expected by Marantz's analysis, the corresponding constraint does not hold in the *way*-construction. In section 5, I go on to discuss the meaning of the postverbal NP, *one's way* in the construction. In the final section, I give the conclusion.

2. THE DELIMITING PATH CONDITION

In his comments on Jackendoff's paper (Jackendoff 1992), which proposes a consruction-

particular linking convention for the *way*-construction, Marantz claims that such special rules are not necessary since the *way*-construction can be treated in the same way as the fake object resultative construction such as in (2):

(2) Elmer sang himself hoarse. (Marantz 1992: 182)

In the construction the postverbal NP plus the secondary AP predicate measures out the event depicted by the verb. Moreover, the secondary predicate delimits the event by providing the endpoint of the event. In (2), for example, the process in which Elmer becomes hoarse measures out his singing, which reaches the endpoint when he is hoarse. Here Marantz borrows the aspectual notions, 'measuring-out' and 'delimiting,' from Tenny (1987, 1994). Measuring-out refers to "the role played by the argument in marking the temporal terminus of the event" (Tenny 1994: 10-11), while delimiting an event is to provide it with "a distinct, definite and inherent endpoint in time" (p. 4). Thus, Elmer's singing temporarily extends over his change of state from being not hoarse to being hoarse, and ends at the time when he gets too hoarse to sing any more.

Marantz provides two pieces of evidence for this analogy between the *way*-construction and the fake object resultative construction. The first evidence is concerned with the semantic selection of the verb. The fake object resultative construction is different from the transitive resultative construction, such as in (3), in that the postverbal NP is not selected as a semantic argument by the verb.

(3) Elmer hammered the nail flat. (Marantz 1992: 182)

In (3) the verb *hammer* selects *the nail* as a semantic argument, whereas in (2) the verb *sing* does not select any semantic argument except the one that is linked to the subject NP. The fake object resultative construction is semantically intrasitive, but syntactically it has a direct object NP. Thus, the direct object must be an NP that independently does not bear any semantic role. Reflexives can be considered as this type of NP since it depends on the antecedent for its semantic role while bearing no semantic role on its own. The *way*-construction resembles the fake object resultative construction in this respect; it seems that the postverbal NP *one's way* does not bear any semantic role.

Secondly, it is pointed out that the verb should be unergative in the fake object resultative construction (see also Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995).[3] By contrast, unaccusative verbs do not require a reflexive as a fake object in the resultative. Compare (4) with (5):

(4) *Elmer sang hoarse. (Marantz 1992: 183)

(5) The river froze solid. (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995: 39)

Marantz (1992) claims that the *way*-construction also requires the verb be unergative (if it is not one of a limited number of transitive verbs which can occur in the construction, such as *make, find*, etc.). In fact, Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) provide ungrammatical sentences in which unaccusative verbs are applied to the *way*-construction:

(6) a. *The pebbles rolled their way into the stream.

  b. *The ball bounced its way into the street.

    c. *Andrea appeared her way to fame.

    d. *The explosions occurred their way onto the front page.

    e. *She arrived her way to the front of the line.

Based on these similarities, Marantz asserts that the *way*-construction semantically resembles the fake object resultative construction (at least in its syntactically relevant respects), and that no special convention is necessary to state the linking relation in the construction. Thus, he reduces the *way*-construction to the fake object resultative construction. Here, particularly important to the following discussion is his claim such as given in (7):

    (7) The *way*-construction requires the path expression that delimits motion by representing the goal or the complete traversal of the Ground object.

I will call this 'the delimiting path condition.' The delimiting path condition seems to be important for his treatment of the *way*-construction since it warrants the reduction of the *way*-construction to the resultative construction. In support of this he points out that the *way*-construction does not permit the PP representing the source of motion or the general location in which motion occurs.

    (8) a. *He belched his way from Chicago.

      b. *He belched his way aimlessly around. (Marantz 1992: 184)

It seems that this is not limited to the case in which the verb is intransitive; it also holds in the *way*-construction with a transitive verb, as in (9):

    (9) a. *John made his way from the camp at the mountain foot.

      b. *John made his way aimlessly around the park.

The delimiting path condition may also account for the unacceptability of the sentence in (10), where the PP implies neither the goal nor the complete traversal of the Ground object.

    (10) *I made my way against the crowd rushing to the subway station.

Similarly, it may account for the well-known fact that a path PP is required in the *way*-construction.

    (11) a. *We fought our way a few miles.

      b. *He clawed his way a few miles.

In addition, there seems to be a sense in which we treat a path of motion and a resultant state analogously. Goldberg (1991a) discusses that the resultative AP represents a metaphorical path along which the subject's change of state proceeds. Talmy (1991) argues that the resultant state receives the same kind of morphosyntactic marking as the path of motion across languages (see also Miyakoshi 1993). Moreover, it is often observed that the resultative AP changes an otherwise atelic clause to a telic one in the same way as some path phrases do (Van Valin 1990, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Jackendoff 1996). Compare (12a) and (12b) with (13a) and (13b), respectively.

    (12) a.*He talked in ten minutes.

      b. He talked himself hoarse in ten minutes. (Van Valin 1990: 255)

(13) a.*Luisa ran in the park in an hour.

    b. Luisa ran home in an hour. (Van Valin 1990: 237)

3. BOUNDEDNESS OF THE PATH PHRASE IN THE *WAY*-CONSTRUCTION

Closer investigation of the *way*-construction, however, reveals that the construction permits the path phrases that do not imply the goal or the complete traversal of the Ground object. I will show this by utilizing the typology of path predictates in Aske (1989).

Aske distinguishes path prepositions into three classes in terms of telicity. The first type of path preposition designates the goal (or the source) of motion or the portion of path that includes the goal, such as *to* or *over*. I will call this type of path preposition a bounded path preposition. The second class is ones that do not imply the goal of motion or the portion of a path that contains the goal. Aske points out *along* as a preposition of this type, but *toward* also belongs to this type of path. I will call this type of preposition a nonbounded path preposition. The third class is the prepositions that can be used either way, such as *through* or *across*. I will call this type of preposition an ambiguous path preposition. As Aske and others (Van Valin 1990, Jackendoff 1996) observe, the three types of path preposition determine the telicity of the clause in different ways.

(14) a. Bill drove the car {for/*in five hours}.

    b. Bill drove the car to New York {??for/in five hours}.

    c. Bill drove the car along the road {for/*in about twenty minutes}.

    d. Bill drove the car toward the sea {for/*in two hours}.

    e. Bill drove the car through the city {for/in about twenty minutes}.

    f. Bill drove the car across the desert {for/in two hours}.

As in (14a), the clause depicting the activity such as driving a car is atelic if it does not contain a path phrase. But if a bounded path PP is added, the whole clause becomes telic, as shown in (14b). On the other hand, if the added PP represents a nonbounded path, the clause is atelic, as in (14c, d). Some path PPs such as *through the city* and *across the desert* can refer to a bounded path or a nonbounded path. Thus, either of the temporal phrases is permitted, as in (14e, f).

Given this typology of path preposition, we can formulate the delimiting path condition above in a different way.

(15) The PP representing a nonbounded path of motion cannot occur in the *way*-construction.

The nonbounded path by definition does not contain the goal of motion, and thus it cannot delimit motion. Therefore, if the delimiting condition in (7) is correct, we can also get the condition in (15). But a number of instances in which the *way*-construction takes a nonbounded path PP are attested in the English copora and the published articles that I investigated. The following are some of the instances.

(16) a. All through July the Discovery picked her way along the 450-mile-long strait,

avoiding ice and the rocky island. (BROWN F16 132-133)

b. Soon they were picking their way along the edge of the stream which glowed in the night. (BROWN K2 70)

c. She slipped in the gates without being noticed and made her way along the curve of the wall until she could get round the mob and cross safely to the broch complex. (Bank of English)

d. She has designed everything from ships' rivet holes to wharves and dredges, and the 23.7m Trigla which, by the way, is named after a fish that surveys its way along the ocean floor testing the bottom for food with its whiskers. (Bank of English)

e. Explorers began finding their way along the threads of the old Silk Route but these Europeans were merely journeying in places used since history began. (Bank of English)

f. Kora is the music of the Mandinka tribe, one of five that share this small strip of land that snakes its way along the gambia as it slides through the mangroves and out into the Atlantic Ocean. (Bank of English)

g. I felt my way along its flank. (Bank of English)

h. Enormous greater kudu, the most gorgeously honored of the African antelopes, picked their way along the forest trails. (Bank of English)

i. They could just might, be Russians, dropped by a helicopter out of the Turks' line of vision, who had worked their way along the ridges to appear here, giving just the impression of a standard band that they did now. (Bank of English)

j. People say that it's not safe to go out at night unless you are prepared to fight your way along the road. (Bank of English)

k. He began inching his way along the wooden walls, shoving baskets and sacks out of his way ... (Bank of English)

l. Sexy Julia Roberts was one of the first to splash her way along the sodden red carpet. (Bank of English)

m. He walked 100 yards down the road, weaved his way along a rubbish-strewn alleyway and shinned up a 7ft wall to clamber into the garage in Soreditch, East London. (Bank of English)

n. Hugging the left-hand shelves he edged his way along the side of the valut as quietly as possible ... (Cordy , p. 508)

o. ... we were now slowly meandering our way along the side of the stream. (Ridpath, p. 351)

p. A couple in fashionable spandex warm-up suits jogs by, headphones jauntily in place, weaving their way along a street of fractured and fallen houses. (Goldberg1992: 204)

(17)a. ... the fingers seemed to be feeling their way toward the idea to come. (BROWN

C12 158-159)

b. A crowd of about 2,000 people told the governor to get lost and go home as he tried to make his way toward the speaker's platform. (Bank of English)

c. ... it wound its way toward the Yarmuk camp where Shakaki was buried. (Bank of Egnlish)

d. The Hiccupper elbowed his way toward Freddie. (Bank of English)

e. With an animal snarl Dera turned away and began showing her way toward the steps. (Bank of English)

f. As for Gaddi House, everyone said there was only one old man living over there: old, old Seoca, doddering his way toward death. (Bank of English)

g. She pulls her way toward the guidance booth. (Bank of English)

h. When Thompson was given the chance of qualifying for the Olympics Kruger accused him of "bullshitting" his way towards Barcelona. (Bank of English)

i. 'Excuse me,' I said to Madeleine and pushed my way through the crowd towards her. (Ridpath, p. 282)

j. I turned to see the bulky frame of Marshall Mills weaving his way through the crowd towards the bar. (Ridpath, p. 273)

(18) Every muscle burned with effort as he inched his way higher and higher. (Cordy, p. 513)

In (16), (17), and (18) all the path phrases designate a nonbounded path. From the fact that the *way*-construction permits a PP representing a nonbounded path it follows that the construction can designate atelic motion as well as telic motion. This is actually confirmed in the test using the temporal phnases:

(19) He made his way through the forest in about thirty minutes.

(20) a. We made our way through the crowd for a while.

b. We picked our way through the garden for a while.

We can see from these exmaples that the condition such as in (15) does not hold true. The PPs for a nonbounded path can occur in the *way*-construction. Since nonbounded path PPs do not refer to the endpoint of motion, the *way*-construction is not parallel to the resultative construction in terms of delimitedness.

In addition, it seems that the path can even be non-directinal, as seen in (21):

(21) a. ... he shoved his way among the horses, muttering to them, patting them, selecting the animal who seemed frinedliest.[4] (Bank of English)

b. Mr Thomas was last seen picking his way among the puddles. (Bank of English)

c. More proof that he doesn't know his wife, she thought while threading her way between two patients in wheelchairs in the hospital corridor. (Bank of English)

d. The train bores its way between houses of a curious sort. (Kirchner 1951: 155)

The non-directional path does not imply the goal of motion for the very reason that it is not directional. So it cannot be a bounded path. But, as shown just above, the *way*-construction

permits the PP depicting this kind of path, which is not expected from the delimiting path condition. Furthermore, in some instances the *way*-construction has the PP representing a non-directed path, i.e., a path which is not directed to a definite location.

(22) a. Ordinary Japanese people had to pedal their way about on bicycles. (Grammatical Patterns 1: Verbs, p. 334)

   b. Jasper nosed his way about the house, and registered that Marcus was not home. (Bank of English)

   c. homeless men ... beating their way about the country in hope of finding work (Kirchner 1951: 155)

These examples suggest that the *way*-construction even permits a non-directed path, though it is argued that the *way*-construction does not refer to non-directed (or aimless) motion (Marantz 1992; Goldberg 1992, 1995, 1996). Like the non-directional path, the non-directed or aimless path does not designate the definite goal of motion. Thus, the delimiting path condition fails here again.

As mentioned in the previous section, it is pointed out as the evidence of the delimiting path condition that the PP representing the source of motion cannot occur in the *way*-construction unless it goes together with a PP representing a delimiting path. It seems, however, that this does not hold so strictly. In fact, the source PP is used in the *way*-construction in some cases, even if there is no other path PP.

(23) a. He landed on his knees and grabbed at the weeds as he scratched and clawed his way from the car. (Grisham, p. 20)

   b. In a hearfelt good luck message winging its way from New Zealand, Lomu says: "How fantastic to see my 'brother' Kingsley and my team in the final." (Bank of English)

   c. Once inside, a DJ kept them informed of Five's progress as they made their way from Dublin Airport. (Bank of English)

These instances clearly demonstrate that the delimiting path condition such as Marantz argues does not hold. Rather, V *one's way* can be used to express motion regardless of whether they designate a delimiting path or a non-delimiting path. The event described by the *way*-construction can be non-delimited.

4. THE 'END-OF-SCALE' CONSTRAINT

Another difference between the *way*-construction and the fake object resultative construction becomes clear when we consider a semantic constraint on resultative adjectives. Goldberg (1991b, 1992, 1995) observes that only limited kinds of adjective can occur in the resultative AP because of the semantic constraint she calls the end-of-scale constraint. It is stated as in (24):

(24) *The End-of-Scale Constraint*: The resultative adjective of the fake object construction must code a clearly delimited endpoint, beyond which the event cannot

continue.

This constraint accounts for why a sentence such as in (25) is not acceptable.

(25) *He drank himself {funny/happy}. (Goldberg 1991b: 82)

Adjectives such as *funny and happy* do not have a clearly lower bound and thus are classified as gradable adjectives.[5] They cover up some extended portion of the scale such as that of funniness or happiness, rather than refer to a clearly delimited endpoint of the scale. Therefore the sentnece in (25) violate the end-of-scale constraint. It also gives an account of why otherwise gradable adejctives cease to be gradable when it occurs in the resultative AP. Compare (26a) and (26b).

(26) a. He is {a little sick/a little hoarse}. (Goldberg 1991b: 83)

    b. He {ate himself (?a little) sick/talked himself (?a little) hoarse}. (Goldberg 1991b: 84)

Sick and *hoarse*, like *funny* and *happy*, are gradable adjectives,[6] but we can conceive of the situation in which people are too sick to eat any more or people are too hoarse to talk any more. Because of this pragmatic accommodation, the sentences in (26b) with *sick* and *hoarse* without *a little* do not violate the end-of-scale constraint. Goldbeg further notices that this constraint has some exceptions in the resultative construction other than the fake object resultative one.

(27) a. He made the metal {safe/pretty/dirty}. (Goldberg 1991b: 85)

    b. He painted his house pink-ish. (Goldberg 1991b: 85)

If, as Marantz argues, the *way*-construction should be treated analogously to the fake object resultative, a similar constraint is expected to be found with the *way*-construction. This might be particularly so because Marantz asserts that, among several subtypes of the resultative constructions, the fake object resultative resembles the *way*-construction. Since the *way*-construction expresses not the change of state but motion, the constraint will be as follows:

(28) The path PP of the *way*-construction must denote a clearly delimited endpoint of motion, beyond which the motion does not continue.

This constraint means that the *way*-construction cannot represent the motion only to a certain intermediate point on the path that will lead to the final goal. But this is not correct, as shown in (29):

(29) a. The hikers clawed their way halfway to the top.

    b. He whistled his way halfway through the park.

    c. He shuffled his way ten miles across the desert.

In (29) the route to the top, the park, and the desert are considered as the scale which measures how far the Figure proceeds. If so, the endpoint of the scale will be the top, the opposite side of the park, and the opposite side of the desert, respectively. But in the motion events described in (29) the Figure does not reach these endpoints. So the constraint in (28) would make the sentences in (29) all unacceptable. As shown above, however, this is not the case. From these considerations, we can see that the *way*-construction diverges from the fake

object resultative construction in terms of whether the endpoint is strictly represented. The fake object resultative requires that it should be represented, while the *way*-construction does not.

5. THE MEANING OF THE NP *ONE'S WAY*

So far we discussed semantic differences between the *way*-construction and the resultative construction in terms of the meaning of the path phrase. In this section, however, I will compare them in terms of the meaning of the direct object NP. Marantz argues that the *way*-construction resembles the fake object resultative construction in that the direct object NP is a sort of reflexive, and depends on the subject NP for its referent. Specifically he asserts that "[t]he *way* NP itself names a path" (p. 180) and that "the path in a *way*-construction should be understood as *a person (or object) extended through space*" (p. 185, italics by the author). He further clarifies this by stating that "[t]he path in a *way*-construction is neither a 'road' excluding the person whose 'way' it is nor the action of going extended through time."

If we compare Marantz's account with other accounts in Jackendoff (1990, 1992) and Goldberg (1992, 1995, 1996), we can see that they do not agree in the semantic characterization of *one's way*. On Jackendoff's account, *one's way* is not associated with any specific semantic entity in the semantic (or conceptual in his term) structure. Here *one's way* is taken to refer to no particular entity by itself. Goldberg provides a still different characterization. On her account, *one's way* refers to a created path in the means interpretation, while it does not refer to anything in the manner interpretation. I summarize these in Table 1.

Table 1

Marantz (1992)	Figure
Jackendoff (1990, 1992)	nothing
Goldberg (1992, 1995, 1996)	*the means interpretation* : Path *the manner interpretation* : nothing

Marantz points out as evidence for his view the fact that the noun *way* can receive modification by an adjective that denotes a property of the Figure.

    (30) a. He belched his boring way home. (Marantz 1992: 185)

        b. Bill belched his miserable way out of the restaurant. (Jackendoff 1990: 217)

        c. It was Mrs. Kilby, making her toilsome way along the veranda, laden with a clattery collection of mops, blushes, and pails. (BROWN P 34 95-97)

        d. I turned to look at them as they began to make their unsteady way up the street. (Ridpath, p. 191)

        e. He stank his smelly way home. (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995: 139)

        f. They made their noisy way along the Rue Saint Antoine.

        g. They made their weary way home.

        h. He made his sad way home.

    i. He made his winding way up the side of the mountain.

The sentences from (30c) to (30g) suggest that *one's way* does not refer to the path created by the Figure while it is proceeding, since the adjectives modifying the noun *way* should be interpreted as designating a property of the Figure, not of the path. On the other hand, adjectives representing characteristics of the path cannot modify the noun *way*, as seen in (31):

    (31) a. *He made his long way home.

         b. *Our party picked our steep way toward the top.

         c. *The explorer whistled his zigzag way through the forest.

         d. *John found his damp way through the forest.

         e. *He made his straight way to the office.

These facts show that if a adjectival modifier is applied to the noun *way*, it must refer to the characteristics of the Figure, not of the path.

At the same time, it is not correct that the noun *way* can receive any modifier that depicts a property of the person or object.

    (32) a. *John made his blue-eyed way to Japan.

         b. *Mary made her slender way into my room.

We can account for these facts by stating that the adjectival modifier of the noun *way* represents a manner of motion or a state accompanying motion by the Figure. This does not only state that the adjectives modifying *way* express a certain characteristic of the Figure. Rather, it requires that the adjectives should express the characteristic the Figure exhibits just while it moves. This implies that the modifier of the noun *way* cannot refer to an individual-level property; it must refer to a stage-level property. The adjectives such as *blue-eyed* and *slender*, however, represent an individual-level property. This is because the adjectival modifiers of the noun *way* only can express some characteristic that the Figure ceases to exhibit when the motion finishes. This accounts for why the sentences in (32) sound strange. By contrast, the adjectives in (30) all designate a particular characterisitic of the Figure's motion. All of them refer to what the Figure is like while it is moving. Because of these considerations, it might be better to say that they express the characteristics of the Figure's motion than it is to say that they describe the characteristics of the Figure. This implies that the NP *one's way* should not be considered to be a reflexive whose antecedent is the subject NP. If so, we can not account for the unacceptability of the sentences in (32). Interestingly, the same restriction is found with the interpretation of the verb in the construction. Matsumoto (1996) points out that the action accompanying motion conflated in the verb must be temporally coextensive with the motion. Thus, (33) requires that John repetitively belched throughout his way down the hallway.

    (33) John belched his way through the hallway. (Matsumoto 1996: 270)

From this we might say that the contrast between (30) and (32) emerges from the more general condition according to which action or state accompanying motion encoded in V *one's way* must occur throughout the motion described by the construction. [7]

The same point is also born out by the fact that at least some (but not all) speakers find *one's way* can receive the quantifier *most of*, as noted by Ezure (1995).

(34) a. %He found most of his way to New York by himself.

b. %She waltzed most of her way across the room. (Ezure 1995: 124)

In these sentences what is quantified over is not the Figure itself but the Figure's motion. The NP *one's way* seems to be interpreted as referring to the path probably because the motion event is measured out by the path (Jackendoff 1996).

From these considerations we can say that the direct object NP *one's way* should not refer to the Figure itself as Marantz argues it does. Rather, it seems that, combining with the verb, it represents the Figure's motion. This might be close to Jackendoff's view, in which the combination of the verb and *one's way* encodes the Figure's motion. Before leaving this section, I will show Marantz's view and my view of the linking pattern in the *way*-construction in Figure 1 and Figure 2 respectively:
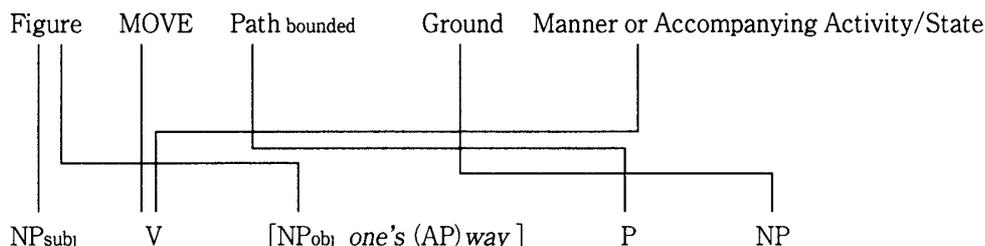
Figure   MOVE   Path bounded   Ground   Manner or Accompanying Activity/State

NPsubj   V   [NPobj *one's* (AP) *way*]   P   NP

Figure 1 : Marantz's view of the linking pattern in the *way*-construction

Figure   MOVE   Path Ground   Manner or Accompanying Activity/State

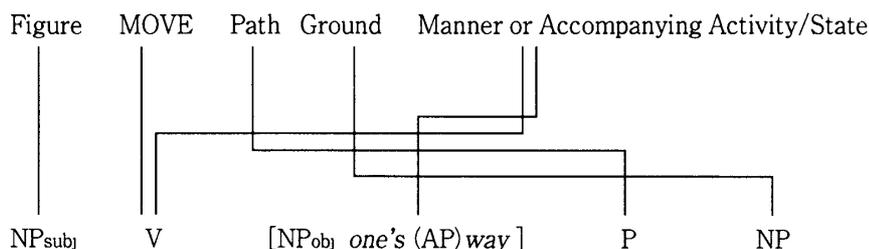NPsubj   V   [NPobj *one's* (AP) *way*]   P   NP

Figure 2 : my view of the linking pattern in the *way*-construction

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper I investigated aspectual nature of the path phrase in the *way*-construction by comparing the construction with the fake object resultative construction. I showed that these constructions are distinct construction, with different semantic characteristics from each other. The *way*-construction can represent atelic motion as well as telic motion and permits either a nonbounded path phrase or a bounded path phrase. It also can express motion to an intermediate location on the path leading to a goal. I also argued that the direct object NP *one's way* is semantically related to the Figure's motion, not directly representing the Figure. In all these respects the *way*-construction differs from the fake object resultative. Rather, the

way-construction expresses a variety of motion without being constrained aspectually as in the resultative construction.

NOTES

(1) An earlier version of this paper was read at Meiji Gakuin University on February 24, 1996. I am grateful to Yo Matsumoto for his comments. I also thank to Giffen Glen and Nancy Graves for helping me with the data. Any shortcoming, of course, is due to me.

(2) Goldberg (1995, 1996), Jackendoff (1997) and Takami & Kuno (1999) criticize Marantz's analsyis from different points of view. Kageyama (1997) and Takami & Kuno (1999) independently notice the same problems as I discuss in Takao (1996) and the section 2 of this paper.

(3) See Takami & Kuno (1999) for some exceptions to this generalization.

(4) Goldberg (1992, 1995, 1996) states the sentence is not acceptable if *among* is used to express the path in the *way*-construction, giving an examples such as (i):

(i) *Joe shoved his way among the crowd. (Goldberg 1995: 214)

But, given the sentence in (19a, b), her judgement should not be shared among the speakers of English. Goldbeg also notes that the constraint does not strictly hold of the manner interpretation. But the data from the corpus show that it is also not strictly applied to the means interpretation.

(5) A standard test for gradability is the possibility of adding the phrase *a little*. According to this test, *funny* and *happy* are gradable:

(i) a little {funny/happy}

(6) These adjectives can recieve the modification by *a little*:

(i) a little {sick/hoarse} (Goldberg 1991b: 83)

(7) Matsumoto provides his constraint, called the Coextensiveness Condition, as a still more general one. He argues with a variety of examples that the Coextensiveness Condition constrains conflation of semantic components into a monolexical verb in general.

THE DATA SOURCES

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