A construction of independent means: the history of the *Way* construction revisited[1]

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(Received 24 November 2017; revised 3 March 2018)

The emergence and development of the *Way* construction was famously examined by Israel (1996) in a study which traced the modern form of the construction to three senses or subschemas, namely manner of motion (*He stumbled his way to the front door*), means of motion (*He dug his way out of the prison*) and incidental activity (*He whistled his way out of the room*). The present article moves beyond the late Middle English period – the starting point of Israel's research – and looks at the precursors of the *Way* construction since Old English times, as well as its interaction with the Intransitive Motion construction (IMC) (*He walked into the room*). By approaching the data in terms of Goldberg's typology (1997) of verb-construction relationships, which is finer-grained than Israel's tripartite division, the analysis identifies the areas of conceptual and constructional overlap that have existed between the *Way* construction and the IMC in the course of history, and shows that the *Way* construction has gradually specialised in the expression of those relations which could not be readily coded in the IMC, such as means of motion and incidental activity. The study thus seeks to contribute to a better understanding of how the constructicon, the repertory of constructions making up the grammar of a language, may change over time.

Keywords: *Way* construction, Intransitive Motion construction, networks, force dynamics, British and American English

1 Introduction

The label WAY CONSTRUCTION, coined by Jackendoff (1990: 211), is applied in the literature to strings such as those in (1), consisting of a verb, the lexical element *way* preceded by a possessive determiner coreferential with the subject, and a directional phrase.

(1) SUBJ_i V $[\text{POSS}_i \text{ } way]$ $\text{OBL}_{\text{directional}}$
       (a) The novice skier walked her way down the ski slope. (Goldberg 1995: 205)
       (b) Frank dug his way out of the prison. (Goldberg 1995: 199)
       (c) Frank found his way to New York. (Goldberg 1995: 199)

In all of these examples, the implication is that the subject referent moves along a path towards a specified goal. Yet as Goldberg noted in her seminal analysis of the *Way*

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construction, 'the construction's semantics cannot be fully predicted on the basis of [its] constituent parts' (1995: 199): though the verb *walk* in (1a) above is indeed a verb of motion, *dig* and *find* in (1b–c) are not, which shows that the motion interpretation has to be attributed not to the verb but 'directly to the construction itself' (1995: 201) as a conventional form–meaning pairing, that is, a CONSTRUCTION in the sense of Construction Grammar (CxG) (Fillmore *et al.* 1988; Goldberg 1995, among many others).

Over the past three decades, the syntactic and semantic properties of the *Way* construction in Present-day English (PDE) have proved to be a favourite topic of discussion. The historical development of the construction has also received considerable attention, initially by Israel (1996), who examined its emergence from late Middle English (ME) times; more recently by Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 76–91), who reinterpret Israel's findings from the perspective of Diachronic Construction Grammar (Traugott & Trousdale 2013; Barðdal & Gildea 2015). Another notable study, also diachronic in orientation, is Perek (2016); this provides the first quantitative, corpus-based analysis of the construction to date, based on data extracted from the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA; Davies 2010–).

Building on the insights offered by these various publications, the present article addresses the *Way* construction with a twofold aim: (i) on the one hand, to attempt to provide answers to aspects of its history and chronology which are still in need of clarification, as expounded in section 2 below; (ii) on the other, to examine the connections between the observed changes in the *Way* construction over the course of time and the changes that have affected another major motion construction of English, the Intransitive Motion construction (IMC), as illustrated in the Old English (OE) example in (2) below. As is well known, CxG sees the grammar of a language as a structured inventory of constructions, a CONSTRUCTICON, but so far the diachronic implications of that conception remain an under-researched area (though see here Traugott & Trousdale 2013: chapter 2). This article seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the role of constructional networks by examining the interrelated developments of two English constructions encoding intransitive motion.

(2)   SUBJ V OBL$_{directional}$
       þæt wif ... **efste** to ðære byrig
       'the woman … hurried to the city' (ÆCHom 5 214; *DOE ef(e)stan* v. A.1.a)

The remainder of the article is organised as follows. Section 2 reviews the diachronic analyses of the *Way* construction mentioned in the previous paragraphs and points to the issues they have left unanswered. Section 3 describes the data sources and the procedure for data collection on the *Way* construction in earlier stages of English. Section 4.1 outlines the theoretical background, in particular Goldberg's typology (1997) of verb-construction relationships. This typology is then applied in section 4.2 to the analysis of the earlier history of the IMC and in section 5 to the analysis of the precursors of the *Way* construction. Section 6 offers a detailed quantitative analysis of the development of the *Way* construction from 1700 onwards, in both British and American English. Section 7 summarises the main findings.

2 Earlier research on the *Way* construction

2.1 Israel (1996)

The *Way* construction was famously chosen by Adele Goldberg (1995) as one of four English patterns which she used to argue for a conception of grammar consisting of an interrelated network of constructions. Her analysis was supplemented shortly afterwards by Israel's influential study (1996), where he applied the principles of CxG to an examination of how the *Way* construction emerged and developed since ME times. Based on the *OED* on CD-ROM and contemporary examples from the Oxford University Press corpus, Israel argues that the modern *Way* construction can be traced back to three early usages or threads, as detailed below, in which possessed nouns such as ME *wei* 'way', *ride* or *strete* 'street' 'appeared in direct object position with verbs of motion [and] path creation' (1996: 221), as in ME *wente he his ride*. Examples with *wei* 'constitute a special case of this more general construction and are common from at least 1350 on' (1996: 221), forming the basis for subsequent analogical extensions to a wide range of verbs:

(i) The *manner* thread; this involves verbs 'featur[ing] high-frequency motion verbs like *go*, *ride*, *run*, *pursue*, *wend* and *pass*' (Israel 1996: 221) and is the earliest subschema. From the seventeenth century onwards, according to Israel, the construction gradually expands 'as verbs coding path shape, rate, and manner of motion ... find their way into usage by analogy with the more basic motion verbs already established in the construction' (1996: 221–2).

(3) From Samos have I **wing'd** my way. (1667 Congreve)[2]

(ii) The *means* thread; this is recorded from the end of the sixteenth century (1996: 223) and involves verbs of path clearing like *cut*, *plug*, *dig*, *clear*, etc.

(4) through the raine Of the wide ayre her way does **cut** amaine. (1590 Spenser)

(iii) The *incidental activity* thread develops by the mid nineteenth century and involves verbs that code 'neither a means nor a manner of motion, but rather some incidental activity that happens to accompany motion' (1996: 224). According to Israel, until well into the twentieth century instances of this sort consistently involve sounds produced in the process of moving:

(5) He ... **whistled** his way to the main front-door. (1866 Blackmore)

Israel's analysis, which is arguably the first to have examined a set of historical changes from a CxG perspective, has proved immensely influential. Yet the tripartite semantic classification he proposes, as discussed at greater length in the remainder of this article, cannot adequately account for the complexities of the *Way* construction, whether in earlier English or in PDE. A second problem is that much of Israel's

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[2] Examples (3)–(5) are Israel's (1996).

discussion relates not to the *Way* construction as we understand it today, but rather to one of its precursors, namely a motion construction with *way* in the object slot but without directional phrase, as in his example *The kyng ... wente his way* (1412, Hoccleve). As a result, it is often not clear whether Israel's claims are meant to apply only to this simpler, shorter construction, or also to the *Way* construction proper, as when he points out (1996: 221) that 'up to 1700 only sixteen verb types are attested in the [manner] thread'; this figure, in light of the quantitative evidence presented below (see in particular tables 5 and 6), seems unrealistic.

Finally, Israel's chronology of the changes is also somewhat uncertain. From his account, it would appear that what he calls the manner thread is the earliest subschema, yet the first example of the manner thread that he adduces which fully conforms to the characteristics of the contemporary *Way* construction is (3) above, which dates from 1667 and is thus later than his first example (1590) of the means thread, quoted above as (4).

2.2 Traugott & Trousdale (2013)

Traugott & Trousdale's more recent approach (2013) to the *Way* construction builds largely on Israel's account (1996). On the basis of a qualitative analysis of examples from the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*; Kurath *et al.* 1952–2001) and other historical sources, Traugott & Trousdale argue that the modern *Way* construction arose out of 'two distinct sets of precursors with ME *wei*: an intransitive motion set, and a transitive set' (2013: 79). The intransitive set is attested with verbs like *go*, *fare*, *flee*, *wend* and *ride*, the latter with transitives, 'mainly the acquisition verbs *nim-* "take", *take*' (2013: 80).

In the Early Modern English period there is evidence, according to Traugott & Trousdale, that 'the transitive set was being expanded ... with *take* ... as the prototype. There is construction-type (host-class) expansion of *POSS way* to new verbs including *make*, and *pave*, sometimes with non-animate subjects' (2013: 84). (6) is an example of this new transitive usage:

(6) the Fire ... **made** its way to St. Giovanni di Galermo (1669 Winchilsea)

On the basis of this and analogous examples, Traugott & Trousdale conclude that by the end of the seventeenth century a *Way* construction with transitive verbs had arisen: '[a] number of new verbs meaning "creating a path" are attested at this time. The path-creation is often achieved by some specific means, e.g. *fight*, *battle*, *force*, *push*, *drag*, and often in the face of some obstruction or opposition' (2013: 84–5).

Overall, Traugott & Trousdale's qualitative analysis usefully identifies the historical links of the *Way* construction with both the transitive and intransitive constructions. Yet, like Israel before them, their coverage of the construction is limited, since it starts basically from late ME times and thus overlooks the fact that precursors of the *Way* construction are attested already in OE, as is shown in section 5 below. A second and by no means minor problem has to do with their chronology of the changes,

which suggests that the *Way* construction emerged as a distinct construction later than I believe was actually the case.

2.3 Perek (2016)

Unlike the studies summarised so far, the focus of Perek (2016) is essentially quantitative, his goal being to study changes in the productivity of the *Way* construction over the period 1830–2009. To this end, Perek draws on data from COHA and follows Israel (1996) in distinguishing between the three uses of the construction already mentioned. His comprehensive corpus-based analysis allows him to disclose an aspect of the *Way* construction that none of the previous studies had mentioned explicitly, namely that the path-creation sense (e.g. *They bribed their way into city government*) is by far the most common over the whole period investigated. For instance, in the first (1830–79) of the four subperiods into which Perek organises his data, the number of different verb types coding path-creation is 75 (2016: figure 2), as opposed to only 33 verb types in the case of the manner sense (2016: figure 3), and 11 in the case of the incidental-activity sense (2016: figure 4). This latter usage, as Perek observes, 'is clearly still a novelty in the first half of the 19th century, and remains marginal throughout the whole period of interest, despite a steady increase in frequency starting in the early 20th century' (2016: 6), a finding which confirms similar observations by Goldberg (1995: 203) and Israel (1996: 218, 224).

Perek's analysis has added much to our knowledge and understanding of the *Way* construction in modern times. However, since he only examines data from 1830 onwards, his findings can tell us little about the early history of the construction. A second, more serious shortcoming is that his uncritical reliance on Israel's tripartite semantic classification leads him to lump together usages of the *Way* construction that need to be kept apart, as will be discussed at greater length in section 6 below.

3 Data sources

Like my earlier research (Fanego 2012, 2017) on the development of various motion patterns in the history of English, the analysis of the *Way* construction and its precursors since OE times that is presented here draws on data gathered in various stages and from a variety of sources. The point of departure was the lists of verbs recorded in the *Way* construction in the literature on motion events. Specifically, the important monographs by Ogura (2002) and Huber (2017) have proved essential for Old and Middle English usage, as have my own lists of predicates occurring in the IMC and the *Way* construction since OE times; these were collected, as detailed in Fanego (2017: 40), from reference works such as *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (B&T; Bosworth, Toller & Campbell 1898–1972), the *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*; Cameron *et al.* 2016), the *MED* (see above) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*).

The qualitative data gathered from these various materials were supplemented with evidence retrieved from two large corpora of British and American English covering

Table 1. *Contents of CLMET3.0, per subperiod*

Genre	CLMET3.01 1710–1780	CLMET3.02 1780–1850	CLMET3.03 1850–1920	TOTAL
Narrative fiction	4,642,670	4,830,718	6,311,301	15,784,689
Narrative non-fiction	1,863,855	1,940,245	958,410	4,762,510
Drama	407,885	347,493	607,401	1,362,779
Letters	1,016,745	714,343	479,724	2,210,812
Treatise	1,114,521	1,692,992	1,782,124	4,589,637
Other	1,434,755	1,759,796	2,481,247	5,675,798
TOTAL	10,480,431	11,285,587	12,620,207	34,386,225

Table 2. *Contents of CEAL, per subperiod*

Subcorpora	Number of texts (files)	Authors	Words
CEAL1 (1690–1780)	42	40	1,484,463
CEAL2 (1781–1850)	65	56	5,740,042
CEAL3 (1851–1920)	87	45	6,319,792
TOTAL	194	141	13,544,297

the period 1700–1920, namely the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*, version 3.0 (CLMET3.0; De Smet *et al.* 2013), and the *Corpus of Early American Literature* (CEAL; Höglund & Syrjänen 2016). CLMET3.0 is a collection of texts dating back to 1710–1920 and comprising five major genres, as indicated in table 1. In total, the corpus contains 34 million words of running text, of which 20,547,199 correspond to narrative texts, fictional and non-fictional. Because of its size and composition, CLMET3.0 provides a solid basis for research on motion events, given the intimate connection between narration and frequency of motion descriptions (cf. Slobin 2004).

In turn, CEAL contains American English texts from 1690–1920. As shown in table 2, it is much smaller than CLMET3.0, and the genre distribution between the three subperiods it comprises is somewhat uneven. As its compilers point out, 'almost all of the texts included in CEAL1 are political writings, correspondence, journals, and religious texts' (Höglund & Syrjänen 2016: 21). In CEAL2 the amount of fiction rises considerably to approximately 42 per cent of the texts. Lastly, CEAL3 consists almost solely of fictional texts; non-fiction covers only about 7 per cent of the subcorpus.

CLMET3.0 and CEAL will be employed in section 6 to offer a quantitative analysis of the *Way* construction in BrE and AmE over a period, 1700–1920, crucial in the formation of the construction and which to date has been covered only partly, in Perek's corpus-based study of AmE usage between 1830 and 2009. In addition to data from CLMET3.0 and CEAL, for some of the subschemas of the *Way* construction I will also adduce evidence from the decade 1980–1989, on the basis of the fiction component (12,152,603 words) in COHA.

4 The Intransitive Motion construction: an overview

4.1 Theoretical background: Goldberg's hierarchy of relationships between verbs and constructions

This article, as will have been clear from the opening sections, adopts Goldberg's version of CxG (1995). In this model the clause structure is crucially seen as the result of an interaction between verbs and constructions, hence one of Goldberg's central concerns is to explore the range of possible semantic relationships that verbs can bear to constructions. One of her best-known proposals in this regard is Goldberg (1997), where she establishes the following hierarchy of possible relationships, arranged in order of decreasing prototypicality and frequency:

(7) *Hierarchy of ways verbs can be related to constructions* (based on Goldberg 1997: 396)
Elaboration >
Force-dynamic relation (manner, means, instrument, result, denial) >
Precondition, co-occurring activity

Elaboration is the most common type of relationship. In elaboration the verb simply designates an elaboration of the meaning of the construction, as is the case, for instance, with generic verbs like *come*, *go* and *move* in the IMC. There are cases, however, in which the verbs do not simply designate an elaboration of the constructional meaning, but add a further layer to it. Two examples of this adduced by Goldberg (1997: 387–8), each involving different subtypes of the Intransitive Motion construction, are the following:

(8) The bottle floated into the cave.
(9) The car screeched out of the driveway.

In (8) the floating is the manner in which the bottle moved into the cave, and in (9) the screeching is caused by, or is the result of, the motion. To account for the semantic relationships that the verbs bear to the constructions in such cases, Goldberg proposes to rely on FORCE DYNAMICS (Talmy 1985). Force dynamic relations are those relations that 'involve causes, forces, counterforces and tendencies' (Goldberg 1997: 393); invoking them enables Goldberg to accommodate the above relationships and various others also involving causation, such as means, instrument (*Arthur wristed the ball over the net*) and denial (*Pat refused Chris a kiss*); the latter two will not be discussed further here, since they are not directly relevant to the present research. Verbs, however, can be related to constructions in two further ways: precondition (*Dave baked Elena a cake*), which applies to certain ditransitive constructions, and co-occurrence, which can be seen at work in the two sentences in (10) (= examples (30) and (31) in Goldberg 1997: 395). These are to be interpreted, respectively, as *He went along while whistling* and *He went out of the room while whistling*; in these paraphrases two separate clauses (a main clause and a participial clause) are used instead of the more compact, simpler pattern in (10):
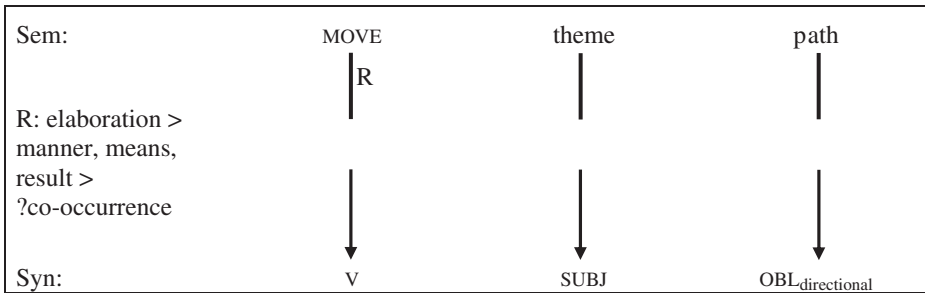
Figure 1. The Intransitive Motion construction in earlier English

(10)   (a) He was whistling his way along.
        (b) ?He whistled out of the room.

Example (10a) illustrates the incidental-activity thread of the *Way* construction, as discussed in section 2 above; (10b) is an example of the IMC which can be heard in some dialects but is judged unacceptable by most speakers of Standard English, as variously noted by Goldberg (1997: 395) and Rohde (2001: 245). Unlike examples (8)–(9) above, in the relationship of co-occurrence the verb designates a co-occurring activity that *is not causally related* to the action designated by the construction; it is correspondingly less common across languages (Goldberg 1997: 394–6) and 'not robustly represented in English' (Talmy 2000: II, 46).

4.2   *The Intransitive Motion construction in earlier English*

The connection between the *Way* construction and the IMC was hinted at by Goldberg when discussing examples such as *Frank dug his way out of the prison* (see (1b) above). She hypothesises that this usage could be viewed 'as a kind of conventionalized amalgam' that combines the syntax and semantics of creation expressions such as *He made a path*, which have two arguments, with the Intransitive Motion construction (*He moved into the room*), which also 'has two arguments – a mover (theme) and a path' (Goldberg 1995: 207).

To explore the nature of the interrelation between the *Way* construction and the IMC is one of the goals of this article, as noted at the beginning. To this end, the earlier history and characteristics of the IMC are summarised in the present section, based on the account in Fanego (2017). Here I proposed the representation of the IMC shown in figure 1. The notation is taken from Goldberg (1995: 61–5, 78), though with some adaptation; the formal side of the construction (*Syn*) specifies a particular configuration of constituents; the semantic side (*Sem*) specifies an overall event meaning as well as a number of semantic roles corresponding to the constituents. In addition, the representation indicates the set of semantic relations (*R*) that may hold between the event meaning provided by the construction and that provided by the verb.

As can be seen in figure 1, the R-relations needed to account for the properties of the IMC over the course of history include five[3] out of the eight mentioned in section 4.1 above (see (7)). Four out of those five relations are briefly illustrated in what follows, namely elaboration, manner, means and result. A fifth relation, co-occurrence, is only attested twice in my comprehensive data from Old English to Present-day English (for details see Fanego 2017: 46–7), which confirms that this relationship is basically incompatible with the IMC in Standard English, as noted earlier.

4.2.1 Elaboration and manner

As pointed out above, verbs coding elaboration are neutral, basic items such as OE *cuman* 'to come', *faran* 'to go, travel', *gan(gan)* 'to go' or *wendan* 'to go, proceed'. In turn, verbs of manner of motion designate the manner in which the entity moves, that is, 'an ill-defined set of dimensions that modulate motion, including motor pattern, rate, rhythm, posture, affect, and evaluative factors' (Slobin 2004: 255). Predicates coding this relation in OE include *ahealtian* 'to limp, crawl', *cleacian* 'to go nimbly, hurry', *creopan* 'to crawl' and *ef(e)stan* 'to hurry', among many others (see (2) above for an example).

Together with elaboration, manner of motion constitutes the relation most frequently coded by the IMC today, as shown by Rohde (2001: 258–9). The same applies to earlier English: Huber's study of motion verb usage in Old and Middle English (2017: 118–19, 187) concludes that the most frequently used verbs are verbs of elaboration, which overall account for 62 per cent of the verbs in the motion descriptions in ME, followed by manner verbs, with 31 per cent. The remaining 7 per cent in Huber's study is represented by path verbs (about 5 per cent), that is, verbs which include a specification of the direction of motion but not manner (e.g. ME *departen* 'to depart', *entren* 'to enter', etc.), and by non-motion verbs (2 per cent) such as those discussed in the next section.

4.2.2 Means

The relation of means pertains to the means by which the motion is achieved, either an action or a system of entities standing in for the action (Olofsson 2014: 4). Unlike the verbs of elaboration and manner of motion, means verbs do not inherently lexicalise motion, but can nevertheless receive a motion reading in context, when combined with a path satellite, through a process of COERCION (Michaelis 2003: 268).

Verbs lexicalising means are rarely used in the IMC in PDE, as shown by Rohde. Her study, which is based on '1358 instantiations of the IMC' (2001: 52) randomly selected from the 350 million-word *North American News Text Corpus*, found that the overwhelming majority of the verbs, namely 93.2 per cent, were verbs of motion (Rohde 2001: 244). The remaining 6.8 per cent consisted of a few much smaller non-

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[3] Fanego (2017: 42–3, 45–6) in fact distinguishes a sixth relation, namely SUBSEQUENCE, which can be seen at work in occurrences of the IMC with the English pre-modals (e.g. OE *Ic to sæ wille* 'I wish [to go] to the sea'). The subsequence relationship has never been available with the *Way* construction (and hence it is not relevant for the present discussion).

motion verb classes, such as verbs of sound emission (*buzz*, *clatter*, *roar*, *rumble*) and verbs of exerting force in a specified manner (*blow*, *break*, *burst*, *cut*, *dig*, *erupt*, *plow*, *press*, *rip*, *squeeze*). These latter correspond to what I am here calling verbs of means.

For the inventory of means verbs occurring in the IMC in earlier periods of English, I have relied on Huber's list (2017: appendixes A & B) of non-motion verbs attested in motion constructions in Old and Middle English, which I supplemented with my own research and judgments on the semantics of individual verbs. On this basis, the group of OE verbs that can be safely characterised as related to motion by a relation of means comprises items such as *(a)feohtan* 'to fight (one's way)' (*DOE* 2); *aredian* 'to find, reach; to make one's way' (*DOE* C.2); *berstan* 'to burst or break into, to burst out' (*DOE* 3.a,b,c); *brecan* 'to break into, to break or burst through' (*DOE* 3.a,b, 4.a,c); *secan* 'to seek; to go or come to' (B&T II.1.3); *swincan* 'to labour at, after, etc. anything' (B&T I.a; not listed in Huber 2017); and *winnan* 'to strive, contend, fight; to win, make one's way' (B&T A.III).

In ME the verbs in Huber's list which can be interpreted as means verbs include the reflexes of some of the means verbs already attested in the IMC in OE, that is, *breken*, *bresten*, *sechen*, *swinken* (in ME as 'to travel with effort', *MED* 2.c) and *winnen*, plus a few other items such as *chesen* 'to choose or take one's way' (*MED* 8) and *ridden* 'to clear (an area, a way) of opposing warriors' (not listed in Huber 2017, but cf. *MED* 1.b, *c*.1400 *KAlex* 2234: *He ... wiȝth gan aboute rede* 'He ... at once began to clear [a way] towards every side'). Most of these verbs involve some kind of forceful, energetic action by which the motion is achieved, though this is not the case with OE *aredian*, ME *chesen* and OE *secan*/ME *sechen*. These seem to evoke the difficulty inherent in surveying and finding a path, rather than its actual creation by force (see in this regard, for instance, (11) below).

Two examples of means verbs used in the IMC in Old English are offered here; note that, in order to render the following quotations acceptable today, a *way* object would have to be supplied:

(11)   lædst me hidres & ðidres on swa þicne wudu ðæt ic ne mæg ut **aredian**
        'you lead me hither and thither into a wood so thick that I cannot find [my way] out' (Bo 35.100.4; *DOE aredian* C.2)

(12)   þa gecwædon hie þæt ... sume þurh ealle þa truman ut **afuhten**
        'then they said that ... some would fight [their way] out through all the troops' (Or 5 7.121.27; *DOE afeohtan* v. 2)

4.2.3   Result

As pointed out in section 4.1 above, in the relation of result or, more fully, resultant sound (*the car screeched out of the driveway*), the co-event of sound – the screeching – that is conflated with the main motion event results from this 'and would not otherwise occur' (Talmy 2000: II, 46). It follows from this, therefore, that this subschema of the IMC cannot accommodate verbs denoting sounds emitted via the vocal tract by an animate entity, such as *bark*, *sing* or *wail*, since with these the sound emitted by the physical entity does not arise from the motion itself. In order to avoid terminological

Table 3. *Sound-emission verbs newly recorded in the IMC, per subperiod*

< 1100	Verb types: 2
1100–1500	New verb types: 10
1500–1700	New verb types: 10
1700–1920	New verb types: 46

Table 4. *The result relation in CLMET3.0: number of occurrences of all sound-emission verbs recorded (n = 34)*

1710–80 (10,480,431 words)	1780–1850 (11,285,587)	1850–1920 (12,620,207 words)
12 (normalised frequency per 100,000 words: 0.11)	87 (normalised frequency per 100,000 words: 0.77)	214 (normalised frequency per 100,000 words: 1.69)

confusion, in the remainder of this article the ad hoc label SOUND-EMISSION VERB will be applied solely to those verbs (or verb uses) capable of occurring in the resultant sound subschema; all other sound verb classes will be referred to simply as SOUND VERBS.

Sound-emission verbs frequently attested in the result subschema of the IMC in modern times include, among others, *boom*, *clatter*, *crash*, *patter*, *rattle*, *roar*, *rumble*, *rustle*, *splash*, *thunder*, *whistle* and *whizz* (see Rohde 2001: 355; Fanego 2017: 56–65).

In the analysis of the result relation that I provided in earlier research, I showed that the occurrence of sound-emission verbs in the IMC can be traced back to OE, but remains uncommon until about the end of the eighteenth century, when a marked increase in both type and token frequency can be observed. Table 3, based on the findings in Fanego (2017), gives an overview of the new verb types entering the construction in each of the historical periods from OE onwards. Table 4 presents quantitative data on the occurrence of the result subschema in CLMET3.0.

In principle, it would be tempting to interpret the more frequent use of sound-emission verbs just described simply as a manifestation of the overall tendency towards greater semantic specificity which has characterised the expression of motion events throughout the history of English (for details, see Fanego 2012). But this is not the only explanation, since the increase in frequency of the result subschema of the IMC is also a reflection of an important change in usage that has taken place in recent times, whereby from Late Modern English onwards sound-emission verbs have become vastly more common in *all* their uses, as I have discussed at length elsewhere (Fanego 2017: 62–7). The question of whether this change has also had consequences for the properties of the *Way* construction itself is considered in section 6 below.

4.2.4 Interim summary

As is evident from the account in Fanego (2017) and the previous sections, throughout its recorded history the IMC has been specialised in the expression of relations of elaboration (*He went into the house*) and manner of motion (*He walked out of the room*). To these can be added, mostly from the LModE period, the relation of resultant sound (*She rustled into the shop*), which enabled speakers of English to further increase the expressivity of motion constructions by encoding information not just on the manner of the motion, but also on the kinds of sounds resulting from it. As regards the means subschema of the IMC (*An enemy torpedo ripped through the hull of the ship*), this has been attested from OE to the present day, but has always been restricted to just a small number of verbs, as discussed in section 4.2.2. Finally, unlike in other Germanic languages (for details, see Olofsson 2014: 4), the relation of co-occurrence is incompatible with the IMC in Standard English.

5   The *Way* construction and its precursors

The connection between the modern *Way* construction and a more general ME construction in which a verb of motion takes a path noun as optional argument, e.g. *wente he his ride* (*c.*1250)*, wente his wei* (1390), etc., was clearly established by Israel (1996: 220–1) more than two decades ago, as summarised in section 2.1 above. The features of this general construction have also been addressed in some detail by Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 80–1), who, like Israel, look exclusively at ME data; Israel's study, in fact, as becomes clear from his table 1 (1996: 226), only covers from 1374 onwards. However, since the motion pattern in question is attested already in OE times, it seems reasonable to start the analysis of the precursors of the *Way* construction from that period, rather than several centuries later.

   The noun *weg* and its less frequent synonym *stig* 'path, (narrow) way' (B&T s.vv. *weg* n., *stīg* n.; cf. also *MED stie* n.[1]) were employed in OE as apparent objects, in collocation with transitive verbs; they are attested also with intransitives, as adverbial accusatives or genitives indicating extent in space or the direction and path of movement (Mitchell 1985: I, §1382, §§1395–9; Ogura 2002: 61–5). In some of these uses *weg*, or *on weg*, served to translate Latin *via*, which had a similar semantic range (*OED way* n.; Ogura 2002: 63–4) and could be employed in motion patterns involving non-motion verbs such as *committo* 'to commit (to a place); (refl.) to venture' (Clare 2004 [1982] s.v. *committo* v. 10.b), or *patefacio* 'to open', e.g. *viæ se committere* (Cic.) 'to take one's way' (Bravo *et al.* 1795 [1590]: 72); *viam ferro patefacere* (Tac.), *ferro patefacere viam* (Ter.) 'to open, make one's way with the sword' (van Peene 1818, s.v. *patefacio*). It is important to note that these collocations with *via* had acquired idiomatic status already in Latin, as is clear from the information provided by the phraseological dictionaries I have just quoted.

   Turning now to OE, the intransitive verbs taking a *weg* argument include verbs of general meaning coding a relation of elaboration, as defined earlier, such as *faran* 'to go' (*DOE* I.A.4.b.i; I.C.1), *gan* 'to go, walk' (*DOE* I.3.b.ii: 'in glosses of Latin

constructions with an accusative object') and *gangan* 'to go, walk' (*DOE* I.3.c.i); also occasionally manner of motion verbs such as *ridan* 'to ride on horseback' (B&T I, Ors. 1.1: *rídeþ ǽlc hys weges* 'each rides his way'). The transitives include a handful of verbs such as *aredian* 'to find, reach; to make one's way' (*DOE* C.1), *geceosan* 'to choose, seek out' (*DOE* 1.1.a; see Ogura 2002: 63), *don* 'to do, perform, make' (in glosses, for Lat. *facere*; Ogura 2002: 63), *niman* 'to take (one's way)' (B&T VIII), *ryman* 'to clear a way' (B&T II), *(ge)wyrcan* 'to make, do, perform' (B&T, supplement s.v. *wyrcan* II.i.a; Ogura 2002: 63), and perhaps one or two others (see Ogura 2002: 63–4). Of these, *aredian* is also attested in the IMC (see (11) above), as is *niman*, which occurs with a *weg* object (e.g. B&T VIII, GenA 1329b), but also intransitively (e.g. B&T VIII.6). It is difficult to determine the exact semantic import of *niman*, but being a verb of very general meaning it probably contributed little to its clause beyond the meaning of the construction itself, so it will be classed here as a verb of elaboration. As regards *aredian*, *geceosan*, *don*, *ryman* and *(ge)wyrcan*, they code a relation of means of motion; the first two (*aredian* and *geceosan*), as already noted in section 4.2.2 above, evoke the difficulty inherent in surveying and finding a path, rather than a more energetic and forceful action.

Of the various verbs just mentioned, *aredian* 'to find, reach' collocated with *weg* quite frequently: according to the *DOE*, there are 40 occurrences of this verb in the extant OE records, seven with *weg* and one with its synonym *stig*. *Ryman* 'to clear a way' is also attested several times with *weg* (five instances in Ogura 2002: 62), as in (14) below.

(13) ðæt ðu grapie on midne dæg ... & ðæt ðu ne mæge ðine wegas **aredian**
      'so that you grope at midday ... & be unable to find your way' (Deut 28.28;
      cf. Dt 28:29 *non dirigas vias tuas*; *DOE aredian* C.1)

(14) Hi becomon ða eft to ðam witniedlicum fyre, and se gewæpnoda engel **rymde**
      him weg þurh þæt fyr. todælende ðone lig on emtwa
      'They then came again to the penal fire, and the armed angel cleared a way for
      them through the fire, dividing the flame in two' (ÆCHom II.344, 13; B&T *ryman* v. II.)

(15) Weg þu **weortest** on sæ
      'You made [your] way on the sea' (Lat. *uiam fecisti in mari*, Ps. L. Lind. 242, 20;
      B&T, supplement s.v. *wyrcan* II.i.a)

Summing up, the OE data are consistent with ME usage, as described by Israel (1996) and Traugott & Trousdale (2013), whose earliest examples refer to some of the verbs mentioned above, such as *go*, *nim* (OE *niman*/ME *nimen* 'to take') and *ride*. Israel (1996: 221, 223) and Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 78, 80, 84–5) also mention three other predicates not attested with *weg* in OE, namely *find*, *make* and *take*. But these are synonymous with several of the OE verbs listed earlier: *find* replaced OE *aredian*/ME *areden* 'to find' when this latter verb went out of use in the early fourteenth century (*MED areden* v.[2]). *Make* represents OE *macian*, whose

Table 5. *1100–1587: verb types occurring in the patterns [SUBJ$_i$ V POSS$_i$ way]*
and [SUBJ$_i$ V POSS$_i$ way OBL$_{directional}$]

Verb type	Meaning	R-relation
faren	'to go'	Elaboration
fongen	'to take' (*MED fongen* 1(c); Huber 2017: 228)	Elaboration
gon	'to go'	Elaboration
holden (forth)	'to proceed on one's way, go' (*MED holden*[1] 21(b))	Elaboration
marken	'to take (a road), follow a route' (*MED marken*[2] (b))	Elaboration
nimen	'to take'	Elaboration
passen forth	'to go forth, go on, proceed' (*MED passen* 1.c(d))	Elaboration
taken	'to take'	Elaboration
walken forth	'to set out, go forth; go away' (*MED walken* 2b)	Elaboration (?)
wenden	'to follow a course, take one's way' (*MED wenden* 3(a))	Elaboration
driven forth	'to sail, travel by sea' (*MED driven* 7.a(c); *wei* 2.b(b))	Manner
flen / *flien*	'to run away, flee' (*MED flen* 1(a)); 'to fly with wings' (*MED flien* 1.a(a)); 'to hasten, hurry' (*MED* 3.a(a))	Manner
hasten	'to make haste, to hurry' (*MED hasten* 2(c))	Manner
rennen	'to run'	Manner
riden	'to ride'	Manner
shapen	'to direct (one's way)' (*MED shapen* 7(a); *wei* 2.b(e))	Manner (?)
turnen	'to change course so as to go in a different direction' (*MED turnen* 16(a)); 'to make one's way back to a place' (*MED turnen* 19a(a))	Manner
chesen	'to choose'	Means
finden	'to find'	Means
maken	'to make'	Means
ridden	'to clear a way' (*MED ridden* 1(b); *OED redd*[2] 1.c)	Means
rimen	'to clear a way' (*MED rimen* v.[3] (a))	Means
sechen	'to seek'	Means

usual sense in OE was 'to bring into existence; to construct'; in its current modern
sense it was much less common than OE *don* 'to do, make' (the word most commonly
used to translate Lat. *facere*) and *(ge)wyrcan* 'to make' (B&T and supplement; *OED*
s.v. *make*). Finally, *take* (OE *tacan*) is a borrowing from early Scandinavian with very
few attestations in OE; during the course of ME it gradually superseded the native verb
nim (B&T s.v. *tacan*, *OED* s.v. *take*).

The above information on OE and ME usage can be usefully supplemented with the
list of verbs which occurred, between 1100 and 1587,[4] in the *way* patterns of greater
interest for our purposes here, that is, those containing a possessed argument coindexed
with the higher subject. This list, presented as table 5, is based on the comprehensive
MED entry for the noun *wei* and the *OED* quotation database (which Israel also used
for his own analysis). As can be seen, elaboration verbs (10) predominate, followed by

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[4] The time span 1100–1587 was chosen so that it coincided, at least partly, with the dates of the earliest period
(1374–1587) examined by Israel.

manner verbs (7) and means verbs (6); most verb types attested are quite general in meaning.

In addition to the increase in productivity of the *way* patterns which seems to be apparent when we compare the information in table 5 with the smaller number (10) of verb types that collocated with *weg* in OE, the other major development taking place from ME onwards relates to the growing obligatorification of the directional argument. In late ME this was most often absent, as has been shown by Israel (1996: 226) on the basis of the *OED* quotation database: out of Israel's 40 tokens attested with *way* in the period 1374–1587, some 24 (= 60%) lack a directional phrase; by 1946–60, the figure has fallen to just 4 (= 5%) out of 74 tokens, so that the construction has settled into the rigid syntax that characterises it today. The presence of the directional argument is of course essential to argue that the *Way* construction, as we understand it now, has effectively entered the grammar, and most particularly, it is the prerequisite for it to constitute an alternative to the IMC. In my view, this already happens in ME times, as is suggested by the examples below, among many others which could be adduced from my sources. Traugott & Trousdale's (2013: 84–5) dating of the *Way* construction to the end of the seventeenth century, to which I referred in section 2.2 above, therefore seems far too late.

(16) Corineus ... harde smot ... & **made** is wey bi eiþer side, & percede þe route.
      'Corineus ... struck hard ... & made his way in every direction & pressed into the enemy ranks.' (*c*.1325 (*c*.1300) *Glo.Chron.A* (Clg A.11) 391; *MED percen* 3.a)

(17) To me tended þei nouȝt, but **tok** forþ here wey wilfulli to sum wildernesse
      'They did not pay attention to me, but took their way wilfully to a wilderness' (a.1375 *William of Palerne* (1867) l. 1781; *OED tend* v.[2] 1.a)

(18) Me thoght I sih a barli cake, Which fro the Hull his weie **hath take**, And cam rollende doun at ones.
      'I thought I saw a barley cake, which had taken its way from the hill, and came rolling down at once.' (a.1393 Gower *Confessio Amantis* (Fairf). vii. 3707; *MED barli*, n. 3(a))

(19) To London, vnto Eilred, **hasted** þei þer weie.
      (?a.1400(a.1338) Mannyng *Chron.Pt.2* (Petyt 511 p. 47; *MED hasten* 2.b)

(20) With swerdis dynt behuffis ws, Throw amyddis our ennemys **red** our way.
      '[It] behoves us by force of arms, [to] clear our way through among our enemies.' (1513 G. Douglas tr. Virgil *Æneid* x. vii. 30; *OED redd* v.[2] 1.c.)

As can be observed, these early examples are all relatively compositional, with the noun *way* still encoding a fairly concrete notion of a path that is tangible; this was to be expected: the development of the *Way* construction, as we know from the literature, started with the expression of concrete motion, abstract types of motion, as Perek puts it, being 'plausibly derived as metaphorical extensions of attested concrete uses with specific verbs' (2016: 22).

Also worthy of notice is the surface syntax of examples (17)–(20), where facts of preposing and discontinuity between the *way* phrase and the directional phrase, and possibility of adjunct insertion (*wilfulli*, in (17)) after the *way* phrase show that the directional phrase cannot be parsed as a postmodifier of *way*, but as a separate constituent under VP, that is, a separate argument. In other words, the construction appears to exhibit the constituency and surface syntax which it has in PDE (for discussion, see Jackendoff 1990: 211–12). Overall, therefore, the historical data point to the following development: a first stage in which a relatively small group of verbs and a *way* phrase would frequently occur together to designate motion along a path (*go one's way*, *make one's way*, *take one's way*, etc.), until they eventually cohered to form a more complex unit of memory organisation, i.e. a 'chunk' (cf. Bybee 2010: 34–7). This larger unit would subsequently have been combined with a directional phrase indicating the goal of the motion, an innovation which enabled the *Way* construction to compete with the IMC, the other major construction of intransitive directed motion existing in English.

After this overview of the precursors and early history of the *Way* construction, the next section turns to its development from 1700 onwards, on the basis of the corpora detailed in section 3.

6   The *Way* construction from 1700 onwards

In her seminal analysis of the *Way* construction, Goldberg observed that so-called 'vanilla motion' verbs, that is, high-frequency, monomorphemic verbs such as *go, walk, run, step* and *move*, 'are typically unacceptable in [the] construction' (1995: 205):

(21) *She went/walked/ran/stepped/moved her way to New York.

This claim appears to be largely true for at least the verbs *go* and *take.* Based on two large fiction samples covering the periods 1460–1700 and 1960–93, Mondorf has shown (2011: 409) that the ratio of occurrence of *go* in *Way* constructions (e.g. *He went his way to the alehouse*) has decreased dramatically in the course of time. A similar comment applies to *take*: *take one's way*, like *go one's way* itself, survives in the grammar of PDE only as an archaism, as is evident from a quick search in COHA. These findings reflect the gradual development of the *Way* construction from its primary, original function of expressing motion on a stretch of gravel, grass, mud and the like, to its increasingly grammaticalised use today, where the motion meaning is expressed by the construction as a whole. This, as Mondorf notes, leaves the verb free to assume the important role of coding whatever additional information needs to be transmitted, for instance, the kind of incidental activity co-occurring with the motion (e.g. *She giggled her way up the stairs*). Vanilla motion verbs, being generic and semantically neutral, are unfit for that role and therefore are 'regarded as redundant' (Mondorf 2011: 409).

In addition to this important development that has affected the *Way* construction in modern times, I would like to draw attention in this section to the fact that the entrenchment of the *Way* construction from ME onwards seems to have resulted in a division of labour between it and the IMC. By comparison to other English motion constructions, the syntactic frame of the IMC (SUBJ V OBL) is relatively inexplicit. For instance, the Caused-Motion construction (Goldberg 1995: 152–79) in (22) contains two participants, an agent (*John*, *Frank*) and a moving figure (*the ball*, *the tissue*); the agent is 'the source of the figure's motion in a physical as well as a spatial sense' (Rohde 2001: 286), which brings about quite naturally a notion of directionality as well as dynamicity. This explains why the Caused-Motion construction can readily accommodate in its syntactic frame non-motion verbs such as *sneeze* in (22b).

(22)   (a) John threw the ball over the fence.
        (b) Frank sneezed the tissue off the table.

The IMC, by contrast, lacks a second participant and is thus far less specified. As Rohde observes (2001: 287), 'the single participant is AGENT and FIGURE at the same time'. This reduces the power of the construction, which, as we saw in section 4 above, has been used since OE times chiefly with verbs predicating motion, to code relations of elaboration (*go*, *move*) and manner (*ride*, *climb*).

In turn, the *Way* construction expresses intransitive motion, as does the IMC, but contains both a lexically specified element referring to the path of motion (the *way* argument) and a goal argument. The constructional template is, therefore, far more explicit than that of the IMC and offers a lot of freedom for the choice of verb. One could thus predict that as the *Way* construction increased its productivity in the course of time, it would tend to be preferably used to code those R-relations that either cannot be expressed at all by the IMC (such as co-occurrence) or can be expressed less easily (such as means of motion).

Thanks to Perek's quantitative study (2016) of the *Way* construction, we know that the above prediction is indeed correct as regards the means relation; this shows a steep increase in frequency over the period investigated by Perek, namely 1830–2009 (Perek 2016: 7–8), and particularly from the 1890s onwards. For the co-occurrence relation, however, the information offered by Perek is not wholly accurate. Like Israel (1996: 222) and Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 78, example (28d), 87) before him, Perek (2016: 18) lumps together under the heading of incidental action (his label for what I am calling the R-relation of co-occurrence) cases which clearly do not belong in that category. Witness in this respect the following examples adduced by Perek in his discussion of the 'incidental-action sense' in his section 4.4:

(23)   Others died under his knife, or **babbled** their way to eternity in a fog of opium. (1995)
(24)   The tractor began to **thump** its way into the wheat belt. (1935)

Whereas (23), containing the manner of speaking verb *babble*, indeed illustrates the co-occurrence subschema ('Others ... departed to eternity while babbling at the same time'), (24) does not. This latter involves the sound-emission verb *thump* and is a classic example of the resultant sound subschema (the thumping results from the tractor's

Table 6. *The* Way *construction: overview of verb types and R-relations in CLMET3.0 and CEAL*

Corpus and subperiod	Verb types and R-relations
CLMET3.01 (1710–1780), 10,480,431 words	Elaboration: 3 (12 tokens = 6.98%) Manner of motion: 3 (9 tokens = 5.2%) Means: 17 (151 tokens = 87.8%)
CEAL1 (1690–1780), 1,484,463 words	Elaboration: 1 (1 token = 5%) Manner of motion: 1 (1 token = 5.0%) Means: 4 (18 tokens = 90.0%)
CLMET3.03 (1850–1920), 12,620,207 words	Elaboration: 2 (8 tokens = 1.5%) Manner of motion: 20 (60 tokens = 11.54%) Means: 46 (448 tokens = 86.15%) Resultant sound: 1 (1 token = 0.19%) Co-occurrence: 3 (3 tokens = 0.58%)
CEAL3 (1851–1920), 6,319,792 words	Elaboration: 4 (10 tokens = 2.25%) Manner of motion: 16 (38 tokens = 8.56%) Means: 40 (394 tokens = 88.74%) Resultant sound: 2 (2 tokens = 0.45%)

motion); it is therefore not comparable to the other example, neither semantically nor in terms of its historical development, as will be shown later in this section.

In order to examine in detail this and other aspects of usage, I carried out a study based on the two large corpora of British and American English described in section 3 above, namely CLMET3.0 (1710–1920) and CEAL (1690–1920). For both corpora I considered only subperiods 1 (covering until 1780) and 3 (1850–1920). In the case of subperiod 1 the data in tables 6–7 refer to *all* tokens of the *Way* construction retrieved after a search for the noun *way*. In subperiod 3, however, the analysis was restricted to the first 6,351 hits recorded in CLMET3.03 (out of a total of 12,702) and the first 4,050 hits recorded in CEAL3 (out of a total of 8,099).[5]

A number of aspects deserve mention in relation with the information in tables 6–8. Firstly, the absence of major differences in usage between the two supranational varieties of English – British and American. In subperiod 1 (1690–1780) the normalised frequencies of the *Way* construction per 100,000 words in both varieties are roughly comparable at 1.64 and 1.34 respectively, and the slight difference here might have to do with the different genre balance of CLMET3.01 and CEAL1 mentioned in section 3 above. Likewise, both varieties show steep increases in frequency, in terms of both types and tokens, from subperiod 1 to subperiod 3 (1850–1920), as was to be expected in view of the overall development of the construction outlined in Israel (1996). And lastly, the predicates entering the *Way* construction in both varieties largely coincide, with two generic predicates familiar from earlier periods, *find* and *make*, being by far the most common. All this suggests that, as already argued in section 5

[5] In CLMET3.01 and CEAL1, the hits for the search word *way* were 6,004 and 1,047 respectively.

Table 7. *The* Way *construction in CLMET3.01 (1710–1780; 10,480,431 words) and CEAL1 (1690–1780; 1,484,463 words)*

CLMET3.01		CEAL1	
Verb types and R-relations	No. of tokens	Verb types and R-relations	No. of tokens
bend (manner)	3	–	–
break (means)	1	–	–
burst (means)	1	–	–
cut (means)	14	–	–
direct (manner)	1	–	–
eat (means)	3	–	–
explore (means)	4	–	–
feel (means)	1	–	–
fight (means)	3	–	–
find (means)	36	*find* (means)	4
force (means)	30	*force* (means)	2
–	–	*gnaw* (means)	1
go (elaboration)	1	–	–
grope (means)	2	–	–
hold (elaboration)	1	–	–
make (means)	44	*make* (means)	11
push (means)	2	–	–
rend (means)	1	–	–
seek (means)	1	–	–
take (elaboration)	10	*take* (elaboration)	1
–	–	*urge* (manner)	1
weather (means)	1	–	–
win (means)	2	–	–
wing (manner)	5	–	–
work (means)	5	–	–
Total types: 23	Total tokens: 172 (frequency normalised per 100,000 words: 1.64)	Total types: 6	Total tokens: 20 (frequency normalised per 100,000 words: 1.34)

above, the basic features of the *Way* construction must have been in place well before the start of the Colonial period in 1607.

As regards R-relations, the data show (see especially table 6) that throughout the period examined the role of *elaboration* verbs is marginal, with just a few occurrences of *hold* (2), *keep* (1), *go* (5) and *take* (23). The frequencies of the last two predicates, as pointed out at the beginning of this section, have continued to decline, until they have become restricted to a few specialised, idiomatic usages. The *means relation* is by far the most common, with percentages of 87.8 in CLMET3.01, 90.0 in CEAL1, 86.15 in CLMET3.03 and 88.74 in CEAL3. By contrast, the *manner relation* is infrequent in terms of both types (40) and tokens (108), with token percentages ranging from

Table 8. *The* Way *construction in CLMET3.03 (1850–1920; 12,620,207 words) and CEAL3 (1851–1920; 6,319,792 words)*

CLMET3.03		CEAL3	
Verb types and R-relations	No. of tokens	Verb types and R-relations	No. of tokens
beat (means)	1	*beat* (means)	3
beg (means)	2	*beg* (means)	1
bend (manner)	3	–	–
blast (means)	1	–	–
–	–	*blaze* (means)	1
bob (manner)	1	–	–
bore (means)	1	–	–
bounce (manner)	1	–	–
break (means)	3	*break* (means)	1
bump (manner)	1	–	–
burn (means)	1	*burn* (means)	1
burst (means)	2	–	–
carve (means)	1	–	–
–	–	*churn* (manner)	1
–	–	*chop* (means)	1
claw (means)	1	*claw* (means)	1
clear (means)	1	–	–
cleave (means)	3	–	–
crush (means)	2	*crush* (means)	1
cut (means)	6	*cut* (means)	13
delve (means)	1	–	–
–	–	*dig* (means)	2
–	–	*drag* (manner)	2
eat (means)	8	*eat* (means)	4
edge (manner)	1	*edge* (manner)	4
elbow (means)	6	*elbow* (means)	4
explore (means)	1	–	–
feel (means)	25	*feel* (means)	28
fight (means)	7	*fight* (means)	26
find (means)	106	*find* (means)	47
flap (manner)	2	–	–
–	–	*fling* (manner)	1
force (means)	23	*force* (means)	11
forge (means)	2	–	–
fumble (means)	1	*fumble* (means)	1
gasp (co–occurrence)	1	–	–
go (elaboration)	2	*go* (elaboration)	2
grope (means)	20	*grope* (means)	17
–	–	*hew* (means)	1
–	–	*hitch* (manner)	1
–	–	*hold* (elaboration)	1
–	–	*keep* (elaboration)	1

Table 8. *Continued*

CLMET3.03		CEAL3	
Verb types and R-relations	No. of tokens	Verb types and R-relations	No. of tokens
make (means)	116	*make* (means)	133
mine (means)	1	–	–
–	–	*mow* (means)	1
–	–	*nudge* (means)	1
–	–	*pave* (means)	1
–	–	*pay* (means)	2
peck (means)	1	–	–
pick (means)	17	*pick* (means)	14
–	–	*play* (means)	1
plod (manner)	2	–	–
plough (means)	5	*plough* (means)	2
poke (means)	2	–	–
–	–	*press* (means)	1
pull (means)	1	–	–
purr (co-occurrence)	1	–	–
push (means)	21	*push* (means)	22
rake (manner)	1	–	–
reason (means)	2	–	–
–	–	*rend* (means)	1
rub (co-occurrence)	1	–	–
–	–	*scent* (means)	1
–	–	*scramble* (manner)	1
scrape (means)	2	–	–
scratch (means)	1	–	–
screw (manner)	1	–	–
–	–	*seek* (means)	1
shape (means)	1	–	–
shoulder (means)	1	*shoulder* (means)	3
–	–	*shriek* (resultant sound)	1
–	–	*slam* (means)	1
slash (means)	1	–	–
splash (resultant sound)	1	*splash* (resultant sound)	1
squeeze (means)	1	–	–
steal (manner)	1	–	–
storm (manner)	2	–	–
take (elaboration)	6	*take* (elaboration)	6
–	–	*tap* (manner)	1
tear (means)	1	*tear* (means)	1
think (means)	1	–	–
thread (manner)	14	*thread* (manner)	10
–	–	*thrust* (manner)	2
–	–	*tiptoe* (manner)	2

Table 8. *Continued*

CLMET3.03		CEAL3	
Verb types and R-relations	No. of tokens	Verb types and R-relations	No. of tokens
toddle (manner)	1	–	–
track (manner)	1	–	–
twine (manner)	1	–	–
twist (manner)	1	*twist* (manner)	1
wear (means)	1	*wear* (means)	1
–	–	*wedge* (means)	1
wend (manner)	10	*wend* (manner)	5
win (means)	7	*win* (means)	5
wind (manner)	7	*wind* (manner)	3
wing (manner)	5	*wing* (manner)	1
work (means)	31	*work* (means)	33
worm (manner)	4	*worm* (manner)	5
worry (means)	1	–	–
wrestle (means)	1	*wrestle* (means)	1
–	–	*zigzag* (manner)	1
Total types: 72	Total tokens: 520	Total types: 62	Total tokens: 444

5.23 in CLMET3.01 and 5 in CEAL1 to 11.54 in CLMET3.03 and 8.56 in CEAL3. In view of these relatively modest figures, Israel's assertion (1996: 224) that in the nineteenth century 'the manner thread experiences a rapid expansion' does not seem fully justified, especially if we recall that during the modern period the number of manner of motion verbs increased enormously, as I have shown elsewhere (Fanego 2012: 50–7). So the increase in the manner of motion types occurring in the *Way* construction in subperiod 3 is hardly proportionate to the changes undergone by the manner of motion lexicon over the same period.

In any case, it is true that the relation of manner constitutes the major area of constructional overlap between the *Way* construction and the IMC. Both are equally suited to express manner of motion, as can be seen in the following two examples:

(25) (a) I have now been something like five hours on the tramp, **plodding** my
          way through a deep glen in a pine forest, (CLMET3.03 1890 *Punch*, 16 August)
      (b) for an hour they had been **plodding** through grey solitudes, (CLMET3.03
          1893 George Gissing, *The Odd Women*)

In addition to elaboration, manner and means, R-relations of resultant sound and co-occurrence are also represented in the two corpora examined here (see table 6 above). From a quantitative point of view these relations are marginal in my data, yet the fact that they have not always been properly understood in the earlier literature on the *Way* construction merits attention, and thus they will be addressed in a separate section.

6.1 Resultant sound and co-occurrence

The frequent use in the *Way* construction, mostly from the twentieth century onwards, of different types of verbs describing sound emission has often been noted, initially by Israel (1996: 222–3, 225) and subsequently by Traugott & Trousdale (2013) and Perek (2016: 18, 23). Israel ascribes uses such as (26) below to the manner of motion thread, and those like (27) to the co-occurrence relation (which he calls incidental activity).

(26)   The cars that ... **clanged** their way past Wayne were filled to the running-boards
        (1917 Mathewson; quoted from Israel 1996: 223)

(27)   He ... **whistled** his way to the main front-door. (1866 Blackmore; quoted from
        Israel 1996: 225)

In turn, Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 87–8) subsume both of the above uses under the relation of co-occurrence ('accompaniment', in their terminology), as does Perek. Perek (2016: 8, 17–18) notes, too, that especially from 1930 onwards there has been a steady increase in frequency of the co-occurrence relation, so that, comparatively, this has now become the most productive use of the *Way* construction. Based on extensive data from COHA for the period 1830–2009, he enumerates some of the semantic classes of verbs which, according to him, enter the co-occurrence relation (2016: 18); they include (using Perek's labels) ingestion verbs (*drink*, *eat*, *smoke*, etc.), performance verbs (*chant*, *dance*, *play*, *sing*, *whistle*), bodily functions verbs (*cough*, *sweat*, *vomit*, etc.), noise verbs (*clatter*, *rattle*, *rumble*, *thump*, etc.), speech verbs (*apologize, babble*, *curse*, *swear*, *thank*, etc.), cry verbs (*roar*, *scream*, *shout*, etc.), and verbs of 'other human sounds' (*gasp*, *groan*, *weep*, etc.).

As I pointed out in the previous section (see also section 2.3), the problem with Perek's classification (and equally with Traugott & Trousdale's) is that it lumps together uses of verbs of sound emission which denote a force-dynamic (i.e. causal) relation between the activity expressed by the verb and the constructional semantics, as in (24) above with the verb *thump* and (28) from my own data, and genuine cases of co-occurrence such as (27) above and (29) below, in which the action described by the verb merely occurs concomitantly with the motion, but is in no way caused by it. This has the effect of obscuring any differences that might exist in the behaviour of these two uses of English sound verbs.

(28)   The native ... waited until the saw had **shrieked** its way through the log of oak,
        (CEAL3 1907 Harold B. Wright, *The Shepherd of the Hills*)

(29)   A favourite animal, white as snow, brought by one of the visitors, **purred** its
        way gracefully among the wine-cups, (CLMET3.03 1885 Walter Pater, *Marius
        the Epicurean*)

A question that emerges, therefore, is whether the marked increase in the co-occurrence relation which Perek reports during the twentieth century applies *both* to the co-occurrence relation properly speaking and to the relation of resultant sound, or only to the former. In order to check this, I made use of the set of 34 sound-emission verbs attested in motion constructions in CLMET3.0 (see Fanego 2017: 63–4 and table 4 above). This set served as the basis for a comparative analysis of all

Table 9. *Sound-emission verbs recorded in the resultant-sound relation in three historical corpora*[6]

Set of 34 verbs examined	CLMET3.03 (1850–1920; 12,620,207 words)	CEAL3 (1851–1920; 6,319,792 words)	COHA Fiction (1980–9; 12,152,603 words)
boom, buzz, clamp/clomp/clump, clank, clatter, clink, crash, creak, crunch, fizz, hiss, hum, hurtle, jingle, patter, pipe, plash, rattle, roar, rumble, rustle, scream, sing, spatter, splash, squeal, squelch, swish, thump, thunder, tinkle, whirr, whistle, whizz	No. of occurrences in the IMC: 179 No. of occurrences in the *Way* construction: 1, with the verb *splash*. E.g. 1865 Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: 'the frightened Mouse splashed his way through the neighbouring pool'	No. of occurrences in the IMC: 180 No. of occurrences in the *Way* construction: 2, with the verbs *sing* and *splash*. E.g. 1907 van Dyke, *Days Off*: 'He knew all the cold, foaming, musical brooks that sang their way down from the hills.'	No. of occurrences in the IMC: 474 No. of occurrences in the *Way* construction: 3, with the verbs *clatter, rustle* and *thump*. E.g. 1986 Scott Rohan, *Anvil of Ice*: 'A little way along the line of bushes something else was rustling its way forward,'

occurrences of the verbs in question, in both the IMC and the *Way* construction, in three different subcorpora, namely CLMET3.03, CEAL3 and the Fiction component in COHA, decade 1980–9. An overview of the results obtained is offered in table 9. It shows, first, that by the end of the twentieth century the IMC remains the default choice to code resultant sound; the *Way* construction, though possible, is very rarely used for such a purpose. From this we can conclude that the increase in productivity mentioned by Perek has to be interpreted as applying mostly to the co-occurrence subschema (*He whistled his way to the main front-door*) of the *Way* construction, but not to the resultant sound subschema. To a large extent, this finding was to be expected, if we recall that the IMC has been attested with sound-emission verbs since OE times, so that there seems to be no obvious reason why the *Way* construction should have encroached upon it in that particular function.

[6] The following clarifications are in order regarding the information provided in table 9: (i) The discrepancy between the number of tokens (179) indicated in table 9 for CLMET3.03 and the number of tokens (214) in table 4 above, which is based on the same set of sound-emission verbs, is due to the fact that for the comparative study in table 9 I only took into account those cases in which the sound-emission verb was the main verb of its own clause (i.e. I excluded reduced participial clauses). (ii) In the case of CLMET3.03 and CEAL3, the search for the high-frequency verb *sing* was restricted to the forms *sings* and *sang*. In the case of COHA Fiction, the following limitations in the data also have to be noted: the results for *crash* are based only on the form *crashes* and the first 100 hits of the form *crashed*; for *roar* on the form *roars* and the first 100 hits of the form *roared*; for *sing* on the form *sings* and the first 100 hits of the form *sang*; for *thunder* on the forms *thunders*, *thundered*, *thundering*. It follows from this, therefore, that if my searches had not been restricted as indicated, the token frequency of sound-emission verbs in COHA would probably be much higher than 39.2 per million words.

The data in table 9 also reveal that the remarkable growth in frequency in the use of sound-emission verbs initiated in the late eighteenth century, which I pointed out in section 4.2.3 above, has continued during the twentieth century, as shown by the evidence from the two AmE corpora. CEAL3 (1851–1920) consists almost solely of fiction texts and is thus basically comparable to COHA Fiction (1980–9) in terms of genre composition, yet the token frequency of the 34 sound-emission verbs investigated here, normalised per million words, has varied from 28.7 in CEAL3 to 39.2 in COHA. The increase in COHA is even more pronounced when compared to nineteenth-century BrE usage, as represented in CLMET3.03 (normalised token frequency of sound-emission verbs per million words: 14.2), but this subcorpus offers a less reliable basis for comparison, because about half of it (6,308,906 words) is non-fiction (see table 1 above), which is arguably less prone to being rich in motion descriptions.

In any case, bearing in mind that the English sound verb lexicon consists chiefly of imitative formations (for discussion, see Fanego 2017: 62–3), the growth in frequency of English sound-emission verbs over the past 200 years appears to confirm Jespersen's important observation that 'in all languages the creation and use of echoic and symbolic words seems to have been on the increase in historical times' (1922: 409–11). If that is the case, then this same factor might be responsible, too, for the prominence of sound verbs in the co-occurrence subschema noted in earlier research on the *Way* construction. In other words, the imitative, echoic character is shared by both the group of sound-emission verbs examined in this section and by many of the sound verbs that denote actions amenable to being performed simultaneously with motion and which, as a consequence, are often employed in the co-occurrence subschema, as happens with manner-of-speaking verbs (*babble*, *gibber*, *murmur*, etc.; Levin 1993: §37.3) or verbs of nonverbal expression (*cackle*, *chuckle*, *giggle*, etc.; Levin 1993: §40.2), among others. Therefore, an aspect worthy of further investigation is whether, as seems likely, these other verb classes have experienced a similar increase in frequency in modern times that might explain their increased use in the co-occurrence subschema of the *Way* construction.

7 Summing up

The historical development of the *Way* construction has been interpreted as either a constructional change involving grammaticalisation (Israel 1996; Mondorf 2011) or as a change 'that shares a lot with the more commonly analysed processes of grammaticalization involving lexical items' and is thus 'relevant to grammaticalization theory' (Gisborne & Patten 2011: 100). Evidence of the traditional diagnostics of grammaticalisation can be found in features such as a significant expansion in the semantic domain of the construction (Israel 1996; Perek 2016), increased productivity and extensive analogisation (the range of verbs occurring in the construction has evolved from a few generic verbs to a wide range of verbs coding secondary or metaphorically derived senses), bleaching and decategorialisation of the noun *way*

(Mondorf 2011: 408–9), and increasing obligatorification of the directional argument (Israel 1996: 226–7). These various aspects of the *Way* construction are well known, so, as noted in the introduction, this article has approached its development from a different standpoint, trying to shed light on issues not previously discussed in the literature, such as the precursors of the *Way* construction from OE times – a period neglected in all previous studies – and, in particular, its interaction with the IMC in the larger inventory of English motion constructions. Some of the main findings relating to these various aspects are summarised in this section.

7.1   *The chronology of the* Way *construction and its precursors*

As discussed in section 2.1, Israel's influential study (1996) traces the origins of the modern *Way* construction to a simpler motion construction consisting of a verb of motion followed by a path noun, as in *wente his wei* (1390); according to Israel, this structure is 'common from at least 1350 on' (1996: 221) and its early instances tend to feature high-frequency motion verbs. Also according to Israel, the means sense of the construction comes in fairly late, 'at the end of the sixteenth century' (Israel 1996: 223), and is then further extended to an increasing number of new verbs.

The above account has remained basically unchallenged in the vast literature on the *Way* construction, such as Gisborne & Patten (2011: 96), Mondorf (2011: 408), Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 80, 84–5) and Barðdal & Gildea (2015: 8–9), among others. But as was discussed in section 5, the motion construction which Israel identifies as a precursor of the *Way* construction is attested as far back as OE, that is, considerably earlier than 1350, and seems to have been modelled on a Latin analogue with the noun *via* 'way'; the exact contribution of this pattern to the English *Way* construction is an issue that merits further investigation.

Already at the early stage of OE, the range of verbs collocating with a *way* argument comprised not just general motion verbs, as asserted by Israel, but also, crucially, non-motion verbs of path creation such as OE *aredian* 'to find', *ryman* 'to make, clear a way' and *(ge)wyrcan* 'to make, do', among others (see (13), (14), (15) above). The reflex of OE *(ge)wyrcan*, PDE *work*, is still commonly used in the *Way* construction (see tables 7–8); *aredian* and *ryman* went out of use in early ME, but close synonyms like ME *finden* and *maken* became available instead and have remained two of the predicates most commonly employed in the *Way* construction. It can be said, therefore, that since OE times there has existed remarkable semantic continuity between the *Way* construction and its precursors, a finding which is reminiscent of Hopper's (1991: 28–30) Principle of Persistence in grammaticalisation, according to which when a form undergoes grammaticalisation from a lexical to a grammatical function, 'some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution' (1991: 22).

7.2   Networking with the IMC

The connection between the *Way* construction and the IMC was hinted at by Goldberg (1995: 207) two decades ago and has been explored in this article by examining the historical development of those two constructions in the light of Goldberg's typology (1995: 59–66, 1997) of R-relations, as detailed in section 4.1. Section 4.2 was concerned with the earlier history of the IMC, based on the account in Fanego (2017). Sections 5 and 6, which constitute the core of this research, turned to the analysis of the *Way* construction, its precursors since OE times and its development from 1700 onwards. The hypothesis was put forward that, once the *Way* construction had become part of the grammar of English in the form described in section 5, its preferable use would tend to be to code those R-relations which the IMC coded only sparingly (such as means) or with which it was not compatible (such as co-occurrence). The detailed quantitative analysis of British and American English presented in section 6 proved such a hypothesis to be correct: in modern times the *Way* construction has become specialised in the expression of means (which is its most common use by far from a quantitative point of view, with token frequencies in the range of 90 per cent in the two corpora of Late Modern British and American English examined in this paper) and co-occurrence (which, according to Perek (2016: 8), has now become its most productive subschema). Finally, the analysis of late twentieth-century AmE usage in the Fiction component of COHA reveals that the *Way* construction is employed to code the resultant-sound subschema only marginally, so that the IMC continues to be the preferred option to express that relation. This finding is hardly surprising if we recall that the sound resulting from a motion is part of the motor pattern of the motion event, and can thus be perceived as intimately related to its manner; and coding manner, as repeatedly noted, has always been one of the central uses of the IMC.

An issue which could not be examined here because of space limitations involves the factors behind the emergence of the co-occurrence subschema. Has this stemmed from the manner thread, as Israel suggests (1996: 225), or rather, as argued by Perek, is it an extension of the means or path-creation sense, 'drawing on the idea that it relates to cases where the enablement of motion is accidental rather than intended' (2016: 18)? What exactly has been the role of sound verbs in the development and growth of that subschema? These are questions that surely deserve further investigation, as I pointed out at the end of section 6, but which for the time being must be left for future research.

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