PATHS AND TELICITY IN IDIOMATIC CONSTRUCTIONS: A LEXICAL-SYNTACTIC APPROACH TO THE *WAY* CONSTRUCTION*

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1. Introduction

In this paper I provide a lexical-syntactic account of 'the *way* construction', which is schematically represented in (1) and exemplified in (2).

(1) $[NP_i\,[V\,[Poss_i$ way$]\,PP]]$

(2) a. Sam joked his way *(into the meeting).
b. Bill elbowed his way *(through the crowd).
c. Adele moaned her way *(out of the room).
d. Morris fandangoed his way *(into the hall).
e. Pat slept her way *(to the top).

Quite interestingly, the analysis of this very productive construction has been argued to yield important conclusions about the syntax-semantics interface.[1] Part of its intrinsic interest is due to its being a clear example of 'unselected object construction':[2] Notice that it is precisely the directional PP what licenses the presence of the *way* NP as the direct object of the construction. Clearly, the *way* NP is not selected by the intransitive verb in (2). Among

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[1] See Salkoff (1988) for an in-depth descriptive study of the *way* construction and Israel (1996) for an interesting account of how this construction showed up in the history of English. See Levin & Rapoport (1988), Jackendoff (1990, 1992, 1997), Marantz (1992), Tenny (1994), and Goldberg (1995, 1997) for different theoretical analyses of this construction. In particular, it is interesting to note the radically different conclusions drawn by Jackendoff (1992) and Marantz (1992) as a result of their pursuing different goals (see below for a reappraisal of both accounts).

other reasons, this fact led Goldberg (1995, 1997) to conclude that the argument structure of (1) is not determined by the verb but by the 'construction' itself.

In the present paper, I will concentrate on how the intransitive verb comes to be integrated into the idiomatic construction under study. From the lexical-syntactic perspective adopted here (Hale & Keyser (1998, 1999)), the role of the *syntactic* incorporation or conflation process will be shown to be crucial in the formation of (1). I will also analyze which is the relational syntax and semantics assigned to this construction. Special attention will be paid to (i) the causative nature of the construction, (ii) the (lexical) telicity contributed by the direccional/resultative PP, and (iii) the crucial distinction between the conceptual semantics *vs.* the relational semantics corresponding to the *way* NP. Conceptually, this NP denotes a 'Path', but it will be shown to have been construed semantically as 'Figure' or 'Theme' in (2).

The present paper is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews some previous approaches to the *way* construction. Section 3 presents the theoretical framework assumed here. In section 4 I present a lexical-syntactic account of the construction under study. Finally, section 5 summarizes the main conclusions.

2. Some previous approaches

In order to provide background on the *way* construction and to introduce some basic points to be dealt with, it will prove useful to review two approaches, upon which my paper draws quite freely: the 'constructional approach' (cf. Jackendoff (1990, ff.) and Goldberg (1995, 1997)), and the 'aspectual approach' (cf. Tenny (1994)), the latter being the basis of Marantz (1992). What these two approaches have in common is that both minimize the role of syntax in dealing with the *way* construction. One of the main problems with these approaches is that they do not address the nature of the incorporation/conflation of the surface verb into the *way* construction. For example, Goldberg does not provide any principled explanation to the non-trivial question of what allows the surface main verb in (2) to be 'integrated' (to use her terms) into the construction. I will argue that a simple solution can be provided in quite a natural way within Hale & Keyser's (1998, 1999) theory of 'L(exical)-syntax'.

[2] See Spencer & Zaretskaya (1998) or Mateu (in press), among others, for two different approaches to so-called 'unselected object constructions'.

Before reviewing Jackendoff's and Goldberg's constructional approaches, one caveat is in order here: I would like to emphasize that my adopting a syntactic approach should not be regarded as incompatible with recognizing that there are semantic restrictions involved in the *way* construction. In this sense I disagree with Jackendoff's (1992: 170) claim that a syntactic account of the data in (2) does not seem reasonable in a theory of autonomous syntax. He notes that the syntactic rule should be posited to be sensitive to the semantic restriction associated with the verb, that is, "to its being an action verb that can be construed as an internally articulated process". According to him, the syntactic rule or other autonomous syntactic principles should prohibit sentences like those in (3):

(3) a. *Bill blushed his way out of the room.
b. *Bill had to crouch his way through the low opening.

Jackendoff (1992: 171))

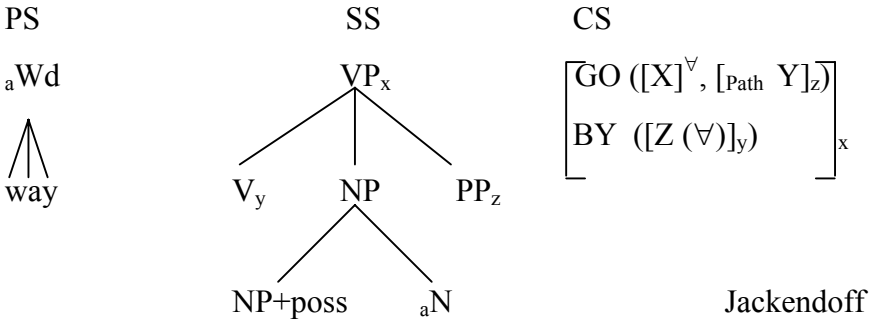
This notwithstanding, I will take pains to show that the relevant syntactic operation of conflation involved in (2) is sensitive to a morphosyntactic reason (section 4.1). The fact that there are semantic restrictions associated to the construction in (2) does not affect its syntactic computation. Accordingly, I would like to propose that sentences like those in (3) are freely generated by the computational system, their anomaly being detected in the interpretive semantic component, where the relevant semantic restrictions analyzed by Jackendoff and Goldberg are to be coded. As far as I can see, such a view respects the autonomy of both syntax and semantics.[3]

First of all, it will be useful to review Jackendoff's account. Jackendoff (1990) was the first linguist to consider the *way* construction as a kind of extralexical construction. More recently, Jackendoff (1997: 172) claimed that the *way* construction can be regarded as a 'constructional idiom', listed in the lexicon with the structure depicted in (4):

[3] Following Marantz (1997), I am sympathetic with his 'exploding' [*sic*] the concept of lexical entry so as to include an 'encyclopedia' component, where the special meanings are to be coded. These are assumed to have no effect on the syntactic computation. By contrast, there are some UG-based syntactico-semantic (i.e., grammatical) features which are argued to determine the syntactic computation. Moreover, with Marantz, I think that showing that a process has "lexical" restrictions is not to be taken as an inevitable sign that syntax is not involved. I must leave the general discussion here. This will be taken up again in the following sections.

In this paper I will not discuss the differences between Marantz's and Hale & Keyser's syntactic theories of argument structure. See Hale & Keyser (2000) for an attempt to integrate their theory of Conflation into Halle & Marantz's (1993) framework of Distributed Morphology.

(4)



Jackendoff (1997: 172)

Jackendoff argues that (4) licenses correspondences of syntactic structure (SS) and conceptual structure (CS) that do not follow canonical principles of argument structure mapping. As a result, the verb is not what licenses the argument structure of the rest of the VP; rather, the construction does. According to Jackendoff (1997: 172), the CS in (4) can be read as saying that 'Subject goes along Path designated by PP, by V-ing'.

Concerning the surface syntax of (1), we have seen that the directional PP is obligatory (cf. (2) or (5a)). Moreover, Jackendoff observes (i) that the transitive variant of the verb is unacceptable (cf. (5b)), and (ii) that an adverb may not be inserted after the verb in the *way* construction (cf. (5c)). It seems then plausible to conclude that the *way* NP occupies the position of an ordinary direct object.

(5) a. We ate our way *(across the U.S).
b. *We ate hot dogs our way across the U.S. (cf. We ate hot dogs all the way across the U.S.).
c. *Bill belched noisily his way out of the restaurant (cf. Bill belched noisily all the way out of the restaurant).

Jackendoff (1992: 162)

This said, let me make some critical remarks on Jackendoff's proposal. First, notice that, as it stands, Jackendoff's claim that the V in the SS must be linked to the subordinate conceptual event introduced by the operator BY, is not but a mere (though correct: cf. 4.2 below) stipulation. That is to say, no explanation is provided to why this linking should be established in this way. Quite crucially, in section 4.1 I will show that such a linking can be seen to be motivated by a morphosyntactic reason that appears to be involved in the

'resultativity parameter', which distinguishes 'satellite-framed' languages like English from 'verb-framed' languages like Romance.[4] Only the former languages allow the kind of 'non-canonical' linking involved in the *way* construction, in path of motion constructions like *John danced into the room*, or in resultative constructions like *Jane talked us into a stupor*. Second, it appears to be the case that Jackendoff proposes a kind of "unaccusative semantics" for the *way* construction: *GO* is posited as the main semantic function. However, with Marantz (1992) and Goldberg (1995), I will claim that the *way* construction has a causative-like meaning component, hence its being a transitive construction (cf. sections 4.1 and 4.3). Third, our considering the *way* construction as a causative construction will allow us to treat the *way* NP as a meaningful element, which is surprisingly eliminated from Jackendoff's CS analysis (cf. (4)).

Next I will review Goldberg's (1995) proposal. Quite interestingly, she noted that the existence of the *way* construction appears to be motivated by the fusion of two different constructions, e.g., those in (6). For example, the *way* construction in (2a) is said to inherit aspects of both the creation and motion constructions in (6) (cf. Israel (1996)).

(6) a. Sam made a path.
b. Sam moved into the meeting.

Following Jackendoff (1990), Goldberg (1995: 202) points out that the verb in (2a) can take a means sense (cf. the paraphrase in (7a)), or a manner sense (cf. the paraphrase in (7b)).[5] To put it in Goldberg's terms, the 'verbal meaning' contributed by *joking* is said to be integrated into the 'constructional meaning' formed by the fusion of (6a) with (6b). As a result, *joke* appears as the main verb of the *way* construction in (2a).

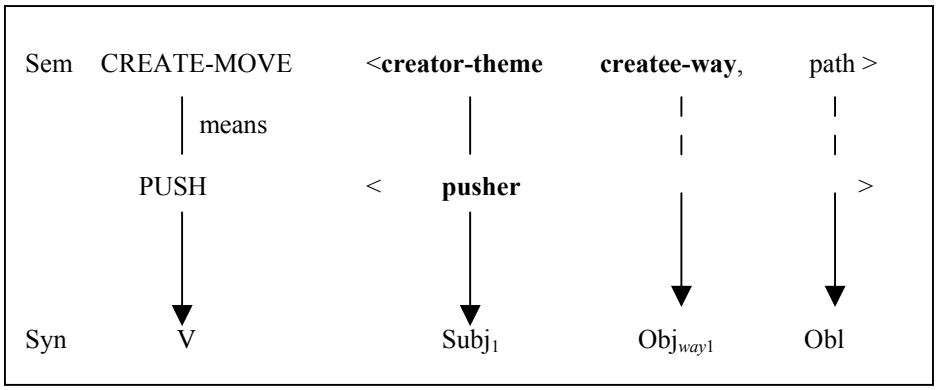
(7) a. Sam got into the meeting by joking. (means)
b. Sam went into the meeting while joking. (manner)

[4] See Talmy (1985, 1991) for such a distinction; see Snyder (1995) or Mateu & Rigau (1999, 2000a,b) for a generative account of Talmy's insights.
[5] Statistically, the means sense is clearly much more frequent than the manner sense (see Goldberg (1995, 1997) and Israel (1996)).

Goldberg takes pains to show that the creation and motion senses must be attributed not to the verb but to the construction itself. In this sense, she notes that her constructional approach is quite different from the lexical-semantic approach adopted by Levin & Rapoport (1988), where it is suggested that each verb in the construction take a special motion sense, which is said to be generated via a lexical subordination rule (e.g., *joke 1- joke 2:* 'to move by joking')). In section 4, I will return to the 'constructional' vs. 'projectionist' views.[6]

Goldberg's constructional analysis can be exemplified with her example in (8), which is said to involve the following 'composite structure': *Way* construction + *push*. In (8), the verb *push* is said to have one obligatory argument, the 'pusher', which turns out to be fused with the 'creator-theme' argument of the construction. On the other hand, both the 'createe-way' and the 'path phrase' are also said to be contributed by the construction.

(8) The demonstrators pushed their way into the building.



Goldberg (1995: 208; Figure 9.2)

Goldberg's account seems to me to have more descriptive validity than Jackendoff's. Not only does her analysis reflect the causative-like meaning of the *way* construction (cf. the semantic predicate *CREATE*), but the *way* NP appears to have its proper place in the semantic representation as well. This notwithstanding, one important issue remains unsolved. It is not clear how the following relations are to be established: (i) the relation between *CREATE* and *MOVE*, and (ii) the relation between *CREATE-MOVE* and *PUSH*. Notice that this issue is partly related to the first problem I have just attributed to Jackendoff's analysis (cf. *supra*). As noted, I think that morphosyntax has an important role to play here (cf. section 4.1).

[6] See Rappaport Hovav & Levin (1998) for a reappraisal of this debate.

Finally, it will be useful to review Tenny's (1994) aspectual approach. According to her, what appears to be involved in (2) is an aspectual operation: "The *his/her way* construction *adds* a [PATH, TERMINUS] aspectual grid to the verb's lexical entry. It applies to typically *unergative verbs*[7]—verbs with no aspectual roles" (p. 110) <(emphasis mine: JM)>. Consider (9):

(9) a. V → V *his/her way* PP_{path}

b. [ ]→ [PATH, TERMINUS] Tenny (1994: 110)

Indeed, Tenny's descriptive rule in (9b) can be regarded as giving the correct result, but its explanatory value has not been shown. First, as it stands, it is not clear why the aspectual operation depicted in (9b) applies to English but not to other languages (e.g., Romance). Actually, once a wider typological perspective is taken into account, it appears to be the case that the "added" element in (2) is not the "Path+Terminus" complex, but the activity verb, as shown by Mateu & Rigau (1999, 2000a,b). Second, as noted above, I will argue that the *way* NP is not to be licensed at the syntax-semantics interface as an element expressing a Path, but rather as Figure/Theme. In this sense, the following observation found in Marantz (1992: 180) appears to be relevant here: "The PP that follows the *way* NP serves as a resultative predicate on the *way* NP, giving the reading that the *way* path transverses or reaches the location described by the PP". In the terms adopted in the present paper, it amounts to saying that the *way* NP is Figure/Theme, and the directional/resultative PP acts as Ground (see section 4.3).[8] In fact, one important goal of this paper is to provide a configurational/syntactic representation to such an insight, which is lacking in Marantz's descriptively oriented paper.

Before providing a lexical-syntactic account of the construction under study, it will be necessary to sketch out the theoretical framework adopted here, i.e., Hale & Keyser's (1998, 1999) configurational theory of argument structure.

[7] See section 4.1 for an explanation of such a structural restriction: only unergative verbs (verbs like that in (5a) included) enter into the *way* construction.

[8] The 'Figure' and 'Ground' terms are borrowed from Talmy (1985). However, in the present paper these terms are to be understood not as purely conceptual notions, but as syntactically relevant semantic notions (see Mateu (1999)).

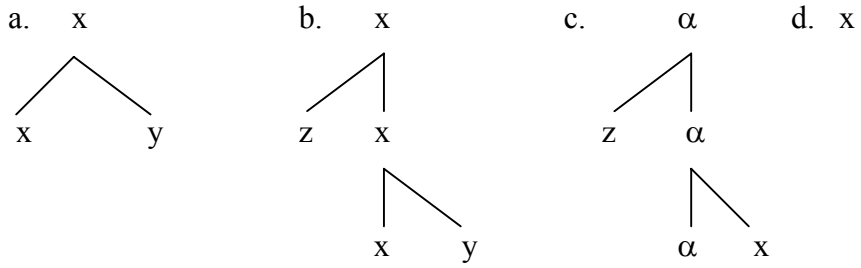
3. The framework

According to Hale & Keyser (1999: 453), argument structure is to be regarded as "the syntactic configuration projected by a lexical item. Argument structure is the system of structural relations holding between heads (nuclei) and the arguments linked to them, as part of their entries in the lexicon. Although a lexical entry is much more than this, of course, argument structure in the sense intended here is precisely this and nothing more".
Their main assumptions, expressed informally, are those embodied in (10):

(10) Argument structure is defined in reference to two possible relations between a head and its arguments, namely, the head-complement relation and the head-specifier relation. (Hale & Keyser (1999: 454))

A given head (i.e., *x* in (11)) may enter into the following structural combinations in (11): "these are its argument structure properties, and its syntactic behavior is determined by these properties" (Hale & Keyser (1999: 455)).[9]

(11) Head (*x*); complement (*y* of *x*), predicate (*x* of *z*)



The main empirical domain on which Hale & Keyser's hypotheses are currently being tested includes denominal verbs (unergative verbs like *laugh* (cf. (12a)), transitive locative verbs like *shelve* (cf. (12b)), or locatum verbs like *saddle* (cf. (12c))), and deadjectival verbs like *clear* (cf. (12d)).

(12) a. John laughed.
b. John shelved the book.
c. John saddled the horse.

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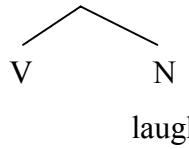
[9] According to Hale & Keyser, the prototypical or unmarked morphosyntactic realizations in English of the syntactic heads in (11) (i.e., the *x*'s) are the following: *V* in (11a), *P* in (11b), *A* in (11c), and *N* in (11d).

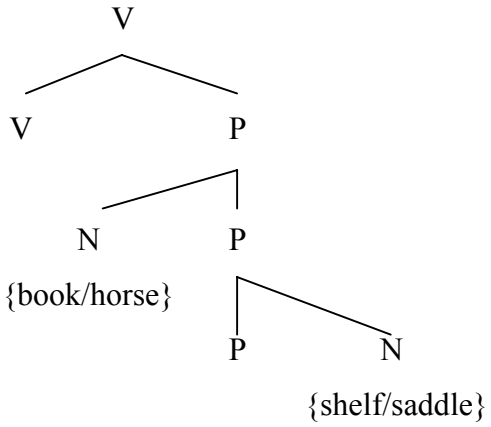
d. John cleared the screen.

Unergative verbs are argued to be transitive since they involve merging a noun with a verbal head (cf. (13a)), this resulting in (12a); both locative and locatum verbs involve merging the structural combination in (11b) into that of (11a):[10] cf. (13b). Finally, transitive deadjectival verbs also involve two structural combinations, i.e., that in (11c) is merged into that in (11a): cf. (13c).

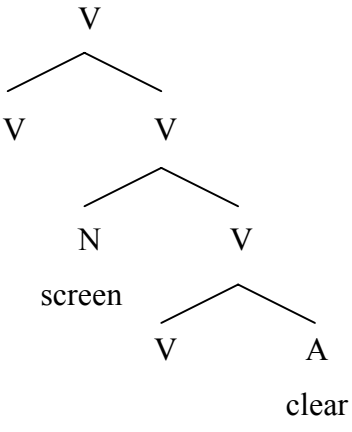
(13) a.



b.



c.



[10] Hale & Keyser propose the same argument structure configuration for both locative and locatum verbs. The main difference between them is a semantic one: the P involved in the argument structure of a location verb like *shelve* is a terminal coincidence relation (cf. *John put the book onto the shelf*), while the P involved in the

Locative and locatum verbs are typically transitive (**the book shelved/ *the horse saddled*), because their inner P-projection cannot occur as an autonomous predicate. By contrast, deadjectival verbs can be intransitive (i.e., unaccusative: *the screen cleared*), since their inner V-projection can occur as an autonomous predicate.[11] Furthermore, as justified in Hale & Keyser (1993, ff.), the external argument of transitive constructions (unergatives included) is said to be truly external to the argument structure configuration. It will appear as the specifier of a functional projection.[12]

Both denominal and deadjectival verbs implicate a process of conflation, essentially an operation that copies a full phonological matrix into an empty one, this operation being carried out in a local configuration: i.e., a head-complement one. That is to say, conflation from a specifier/adjunct position is banned. Indeed, if conflation can be argued to be concomitant of Merge (Hale & Keyser (1999, 2000)), the argument structures in (13) turn out to be quite abstract since they have been depicted as abstracted away from the conflation processes involved in the examples in (12). However, these structures have a syntactic and semantic reality, as stressed by Hale and Keyser (2000: 52): "the syntactic structure of the verb phrase is left intact. All information necessary for the purposes of syntax and logical form is fully present in the structure (with the understanding, of course, that the conflated nodes are abbreviations of the full sets of syntactic and semantic features pertaining to those nodes)". Accordingly, conflation is to be regarded as an operation on phonological labels. Applying the conflation operation to (13a) involves copying the full phonological matrix of the noun *laugh* into the empty one corresponding to the verb. Applying it to (13b) involves two steps: the full phonological matrix of the noun {*shelf*/*saddle*}is first copied into the empty one corresponding to the preposition; since the phonological matrix corresponding to the verb is also empty, the conflation applies again from the saturated phonological matrix of the preposition to the unsaturated matrix of the verb. Finally, applying the conflation process to (13c) involves two steps as well: the full phonological matrix of the adjective *clear* is first copied into the empty one corresponding to the inner verb; since the phonological matrix corresponding to the external verb is also empty, the conflation applies again from the saturated phonological matrix of the inner verb to the unsaturated matrix of the external verb.

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argument structure of a locatum verb like *saddle* is a central coincidence relation (cf. *John provided the horse with a saddle*). See Mateu (in press) for a slightly different analysis.

[11] Crucially, notice that it can be associated with tense morphology.

[12] See Chomsky (1995) or Kratzer (1996) for two specific proposals.

With this sketchily reviewed theoretical background in mind, I will deal with the lexical-syntactic account of the *way* construction. Basically, I will concentrate on showing that it is precisely a lexical-syntactic operation what accounts for the 'non-canonical' linking involved in this construction.

4. On the l(exical)-syntax of the *way* construction

As noted in section 1, the study of the *way* construction is theoretically interesting because it can be argued to shed light on some important issues concerning the syntax-semantics interface. The linguists who have studied the *way* construction differ in their assuming (i) a lexical approach (Levin & Rapoport (1988)) *vs.* a constructional approach (Jackendoff (1997); Goldberg (1995, 1997)); (ii) a subordination account (Levin & Rapoport (1988); Jackendoff (1990, ff.)); (iii) a syntactically transparent semantic composition (Marantz (1992)) *vs.* an 'enriched' composition (Jackendoff (1997)). Within the framework sketched out in section 3, I will put forward some arguments in favor of adopting a lexical-syntactic approach (section 4.1), a subordination account (section 4.2), and a syntactically transparent semantic composition (section 4.3).

4.1. A lexical-syntactic approach

To begin with, I will not try to account for constructions like that in (2a) by means of generating a special motion sense to be encoded into the particular lexical entry of the verb *joke*, i.e., by means of creating -let's say- *joke 2* as 'move by joking' (cf. Levin & Rapoport (1988)). Rather, my proposal is more in tune with Hoekstra's (1992), Borer's (1994), or Ritter & Rosen's (1998) proposal that the so-called "extended meaning" is to be created in syntax. However, I part ways with the latter in two important respects:

First, I do not adhere to Borer's (1994) or Ritter & Rosen's (1998) claim that the meaning associated to syntax is licensed through Tenny's (1994) aspectual principles encoded into the syntax of functional categories. Furthermore, for the purposes of the present paper, my adopting such a position will be shown to be coherent with the fact that 'the resultativity parameter' involved in (2) has nothing to do with morphosyntactic properties associated to functional categories, as would be expected under Borer's (1984) or Chomsky's (1995) assumptions, but with those associated to lexical categories (Snyder (1995), Mateu & Rigau (1999, 2000a,b)).

Second, they omit the 'conflation process' involved in the formation of complex resultative constructions (those in (2) included). Actually, such an omission is related to the fact that they do not take a subordination account, as I do (cf. section 4.2).

The point of departure of my lexical-syntactic account of the *way* construction is to be found in the following fact: There is a morphosyntactic explanation accounting for the existence of resultative-like constructions such as those in (2) in 'satellite-framed' languages like English, and for their absence in 'verb-framed' languages like Romance. Let me then briefly summarize the main points dealt with in Mateu & Rigau's (1999, 2000a,b) generative account of Talmy's (1985, 1991) descriptive analysis of so-called 'conflation processes': In Romance, the directional/Path relation is conflated into the verb, this fact preventing the verb from being conflated with another independent component (e.g., Talmy's 'manner' component). By contrast, in satellite-framed languages like English, the directional/Path relation is (allowed to be)[13] left stranded as a satellite around the verb, this fact enabling the verb to be conflated with an independent 'manner' component.

Following Hale & Keyser's (1997: 228-229) analysis of complex constructions like *Rizzuto slid into third base* (i.e., 'Rizzuto got into third base sliding'), I will posit that the *way* construction in (2a) *Sam joked his way into the meeting* can also be argued to be the result of conflating two different, independent lexical-syntactic structures. However, in the present case we are dealing not with an unaccusative structure expressing a change of location which is conflated with an unergative structure expressing an activity (e.g., cf. *Rizzuto danced into the room, he slid into third base,...*), but with a transitive structure expressing a caused change of location, that represented in (14a), which is conflated with an unergative structure corresponding to the activity of *doing joke(s)*: cf. (14b).

Notice that the lexical-syntactic structure in (14a) is essentially identical to that of location verbs like *shelve* (cf. (13b)), the difference being that the P-projection is now an overt "small clause" (Stowell (1981); Hoekstra (1992)), whose head is a birelational Path element relating

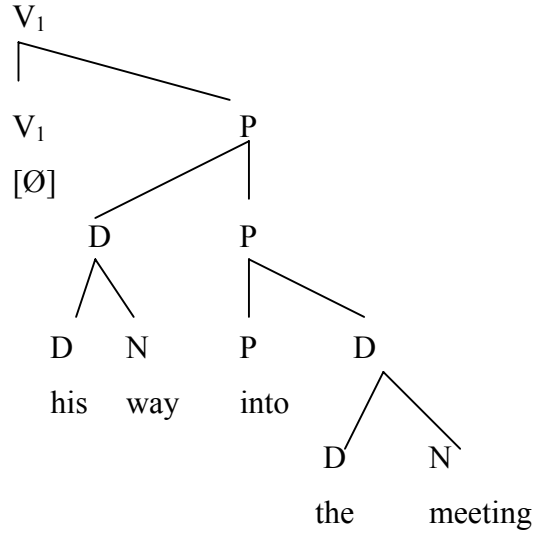
[13] Assuming that final states involved in causative predicates encode abstract Paths (e.g., cf. Goldberg (1995)), we are directly faced with the following fact: i.e.,"typologies leak". For example, as noted by Juffs (1996: 81) from a personal communication by Talmy, "English may depart from its own main satellite-framed system for caused change of state <(cf. *I kicked the door open // I open the door with a kick*)>, and is like Romance in that it allows verb-framed CAUSE".

On the other hand, as noted by Talmy (1985), English is a mixed bag in that it is verb-framed in its "Romance lexicon": cf. *enter, return, descend, exit, ...*).

two non-relational elements, *his way* (i.e., the Figure) and *the meeting* (i.e., the Ground).[14] As in (13b), the P-projection is said to be subcategorized for by a phonologically null causative verb (V_1), the external argument being introduced by the relevant functional projection (Chomsky (1995); Kratzer (1996)).

(14)

a.



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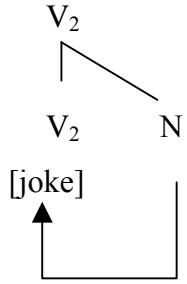
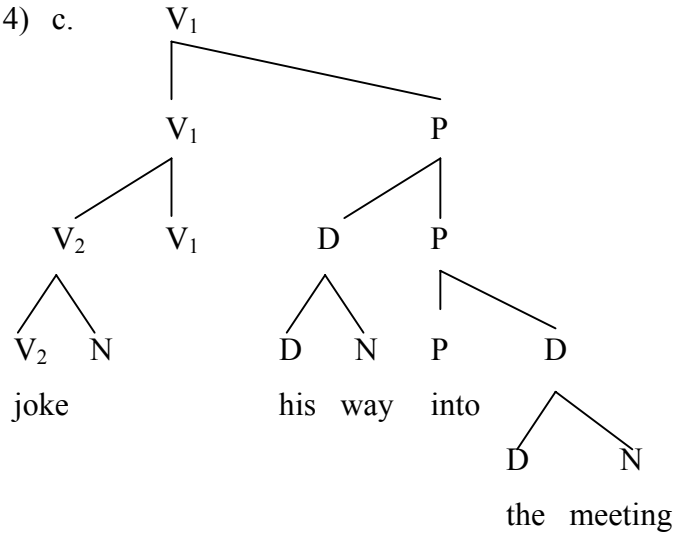


Following Hale & Keyser (1997), I will assume that the conflation process involving two structures like those in (14a-b) can be argued to be carried out via a lexical-syntactic operation, which they consider similar to a 'generalized transformation' (Chomsky (1957, 1995)).

Crucially, due to the *satellite* nature of the P head *into*, the phonologically null V_1 of the transitive lexical-syntactic structure in (14a) is allowed to be saturated by another independent lexical-syntactic object: e.g., the complex unergative structure in (14b), which is in turn said to be formed via the conflation of N into V_2. To avoid the phonologically empty matrix of V_1, the complex unergative head in (14b) is adjoined to V_1 via a generalized transformation, the full head providing the empty one with phonological content: see (14c). Accordingly, notice that the conflation process involved in (14c) appears to be motivated by the following reason pointed out by Hale & Keyser (1998: 80): "empty phonological matrices must be eliminated from the morphosyntactic representation of sentences".

[14] In Mateu (in press) I argue that 'terminal ({initial (e.g., *out*)/final (e.g., *to*)}) coincidence relations' like those involved in the *way* construction are to be related to the aspectual notion of (lexical) telicity, while those expressing 'central coincidence' (e.g., *with*) are to be related to that of (lexical) atelicity.

(14) c.



Some relevant remarks are in order here. First of all, I would like to emphasize again that there is no incongruity in positing a syntactic analysis for the formation of a 'constructional idiom' (to adopt Jackendoff's terms) like the *way* construction. In fact, as noted by Hale & Keyser (1993: 94-99), lexical processes are not to be seen as radically opposed to syntactic processes. Their following statement is clearly representative of adopting such a position: "In reality, all verbs are to some extent phrasal idioms, that is, syntactic structures that must be learned as the conventional 'names' for various dynamic events" (p. 96). That is, a location verb like *shelve* can also be taken as a kind of phrasal idiom. Indeed, the "lexical entry" of this verb should account for its peculiar semantic restrictions (e.g., cf. *he put the sand onto the shelf vs. # he shelved the sand*), but our accepting such an obvious point should not prevent us from positing its syntactic formation. Similarly, HK's (1999: 453) following words are also worth noting here: "Conflation is a lexical matter in the sense that denominal verbs and deadjectival verbs as well must be listed in the lexicon. Although their formation has a *syntactic* character, as we claim, they constitute part of the *lexical* inventory of the language. *The two characteristics, the syntactic and the lexical, are in no way incompatible*" (emphasis mine: JM).

On the other hand, it is interesting to point out that the *way* construction can be regarded as a diagnostic for unergative verbs.[15] Only unergative verbs (intransitivized verbs like that in (5a) included) can enter into this transitive construction. There are in principle two different

[15] See Marantz (1992), Tenny (1994), or Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995).

hypotheses that could be put forward to explain such a *syntactic* restriction:[16] One has to do with Case theory, the other with Theta theory.

Let us first deal with the first hypothesis. Assuming that unergative verbs have the ability to assign accusative Case (Burzio (1986)), Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) point out that "unaccusative verbs do not appear in this construction, presumably because they lack the ability to assign Case to a postverbal NP" (p. 137). However, this Case-based explanation is not available once the complex syntactic structure in (14c) is taken into acccount: Notice that it is the main transitive verb (i.e., V_1), rather than the subordinate unergative verb (i.e., V_2), that assigns accusative Case to the *way* NP. Accordingly, as pointed out by Mateu (in press), it makes no sense to characterize the *way* NP as an 'unselected object': It is not but a misnomer. That is to say, at the risk of causing terminological confusion with Goldberg's (1995) constructional account, we could say that it is an argument of the transitive *construction* in (14a), not of the unergative *verb* in (14b). However, following Hale & Keyser's (1993: 94-99) remarks mentioned above, we could take both structures ((14a) *and* (14b)) as phrasal idioms. The result of conflating them gives us a complex phrasal idiom: As a complex syntactic object, it is created/generated by the computational system; as a complex lexical unity, it is to be licensed if its idiosyncratic restrictions pointed out by Jackendoff (1990, ff.) or Goldberg (1995, 1997) are respected. Hopefully, such a characterization could be taken as a good starting point to try to reconcile both approaches, the semantic one and the syntactic one.

Returning to our main discussion, let us deal with the second hypothesis concerning why only unergative verbs enter into the *way* construction. Interestingly, there is a simple and elegant explanation provided by Hale & Keyser's (1997, ff.) configurational theory of thematic structure: The Theme role assigned by the unaccusative verb to its direct internal argument could not be licensed in the *way* construction, since this argument would not occupy its corresponding structural position (i.e., specifier of P), this position being occupied by the *way* NP, which is licensed as Figure/Theme at the syntax-semantics interface (see section 4.3).

Next I must say something concerning the manner/means distinction involved in the *way* construction in (2a) (cf. (7) and its associated discussion above)). I think that such a

[16] Syntactic restrictions must be distinguished from semantic restrictions like those commented on in section 2.

distinction is not relevant at the syntax-semantics interface. However, Goldberg (1995: 209-210) argues for a different position. She notes that the syntactic form of the *way* construction in (1) is not semantically motivated when the 'manner sense' appears to be involved. In this case the construction is argued to lack causative force, and the *way* NP is regarded as non-meaningful. This leads her to propose that the relevant semantic representation lacks both the 'creator' and the 'createe-way' (*vs*. cf. (8) above).

Be this as it may, I would like to emphasize that the {means/manner}component lacks primitive status in the present approach. The interpretation of this component will depend on the semantics of the complex unergative head conflated into the phonologically empty causative verb. That is to say, as a result of this conflation process, the subordinate unergative verb in (14c) will appear to denote 'means' or 'manner' depending on the relation of its associated conceptual content with the causative meaning of the transitive verb.

Finally, one issue concerning the constructional-like nature of Hale & Keyser's approach must be addressed.[17] As can be inferred from the discussion above, the present syntactic approach is not constructional in Jackendoff's (1990, ff.) or Goldberg's (1995) sense.

First of all, some misconceptions force me to reply Goldberg's criticism of Chomsky's effort towards eliminating constructions from the linguistic theory. To start with, it should be clear that Chomsky does not deny the obvious: i.e., the very real existence of constructions. Rather it is the case that he simply states that their existence is not motivated by I-language principles. *Punkt.*

In tune with Chomsky's perspective, my main criticism to those who are looking around for previously undiscovered constructions is the following one:[18] For our present purposes, it should be useful to distinguish two types of 'constructions', those involving linguistic parameterization (e.g., the {PP/AP} resultative constructions (the *way* construction included)) and those that do not (e.g., the *let alone* construction (cf. Fillmore et al. (1988))). To be sure, constructionalists are right in saying that the two types of constructions do involve semantic and/or pragmatic restrictions of their own, but what they neglect is that only the former constructions can be argued to involve a non-trivial I-linguistic explanation. Let me exemplify what I mean. For example, the fact that a Romance language like Spanish lacks the *let alone* construction (cf. (15b)) can be argued to have nothing to do with an I-linguistic reason: its

[17] See Rappaport Hovav & Levin (1998: 130; fn. 23) for an appraisal of Hale & Keyser's approach as a constructional one.

[18] See Mateu & Amadas (1999) for more discussion.

absence is due to an E-linguistic fact. It is simply the case that its metaphorical interpretation is missing in Spanish. By contrast, there *is* a morphosyntactic explanation accounting for the absence of resultative constructions like those in (15d) and (15f) in a 'verb-framed' language like Spanish: As noted above, in Romance, the directional/Path relation is conflated into the verb, this fact preventing the verb from being conflated with another independent component (e.g., Talmy's (1985) 'manner' component). By contrast, in 'satellite-framed' languages like English, the directional/Path relation can be left stranded around the verb (e.g., cf. (14a)). As a result, in this language the verb is allowed to be conflated with an independent 'manner' component (e.g., cf. (14c)): Hence the well-formedness of both (15c) and (15e).

(15) a. The Chomskian linguist doesn't read Meillet, let alone Ernout.
b. ≠ El lingüista chomskiano no lee a Meillet, deja solo a Ernout. (Spanish)
c. Adele moaned her way out of the stage.
d. *Adele gimió su camino fuera del escenario.
e. Jane talked us into a stupor.
f. *Jane nos_{acc} habló a nosotros hasta el estupor.

Notice that my proposal does not necessarily require that the *way* construction be present in all satellite-framed languages. For example, Goldberg (1995: 217) notes that Dutch does not have this construction. However, it should be clear that the fact that both Spanish and Dutch do not have the *way* construction must be attributed to different reasons. Whereas there is a morphosyntactic reason (i.e., an I-linguistic reason) involved in the absence of the *way* construction in Spanish (see the discussion above), the fact that Dutch does not have it is due to an external fact (i.e., to an E-linguistic reason). Indeed, there appears to be no *grammatical* reason preventing Dutch from having such a construction. By contrast, there is a grammatical reason preventing Spanish (and other verb-framed languages) from having constructions like those in (2), path of motion constructions like *John danced into the room*, or resultative constructions like *Jane talked us into a stupor*. As noted above, the relevant crosslinguistic differences must be related to the different morphosyntactic properties of the directional/Path relation in both types of languages.

4.2. A subordination account

It should be clear that the lexical-syntactic operation of conflation depicted in (14c) is in accordance with the so-called 'subordination account' (Levin & Rapoport (1988); Jackendoff

(1990, ff.)). I have just argued that the relevant operation accounting for the data in (2) involves two different lexical-syntactic structures, the main one being transitive (cf. (14a)), and the *subordinate* one being unergative (cf. (14b)). Although I agree with Levin & Rapoport (1988) and Jackendoff (1990, ff.) in their proposing a subordination account to deal with the data in (2), I disagree with their claiming that the *way* construction involves a reversal of the syntax-semantics relations. According to them, what appears as the main verb in (2) corresponds to a subordinate predicate in the semantic/conceptual representation (e.g., cf. (4)). By contrast, notice that my lexical-syntactic analysis in (14c) does not imply such a reversal. In fact, this reversal is not but a by-product of a surface illusion, which appears to be due to the fact that it is the subordinate unergative verb (V_2) that provides the main transitive verb (V_1) with phonological content via the syntactic operation of conflation. This notwithstanding, notice that V_1 (i.e., the causative verb) remains as the main verb in syntax.

On the other hand, Marantz (1992: 187) points out that the subordination operation proposed for complex resultative constructions (the *way* construction included) could be applied to almost any change-of-state verb in English:

(16) "So *x hits y* can be paraphrased as *x makes contact with y by hitting*. When decomposing English verbs of change of state into primitive predicates, there is usually a 'residual' meaning that describes the manner or means of bringing about the change of state". Marantz (1992: 187)

Putting aside the fact that *hit* is not typically classified as 'a change-of-state verb' (e.g., cf. Jackendoff (1990: 107-111)), I think that Marantz is wrong in placing a complex resultative construction like that in (17a) on a par with a simple construction like that in (17b), as far as the *grammatically relevant* operation of subordination is concerned.

(17) a. John wiped the table dry.
b. John hit the table.

To be sure, Marantz's paraphrase of *hit* in (16) could be granted descriptive validity as a first approximation, but it relies on a pure intuition, since there is no empirical evidence supporting it. By contrast, it should be clear that there *is* evidence for analyzing complex resultative constructions like that in (17a) as the result of 'fusing' two *independently*

motivated semantic components: e.g., by taking a cursory look at Talmy's (1985) study of conflation processes, one realizes that while a vast majority of languages can be seen to have sentences similar to (17b), it is the case that not all languages have complex resultative constructions involving the *grammatically relevant* conflation of two semantic components like {'motion'/'causation'} *plus* 'manner'. As noted above, Romance languages typically lack this kind of constructions, the subordination being expressed adverbially:

(18) a. *Juan fregó la mesa seca. (Spanish)
John wiped the table dry
b. Juan secó la mesa fregando(la).
John dried the table wiping(it)

We can then conclude that there is in fact empirical evidence supporting a subordination account of constructions like those in (2). Basically, this comes from Talmy's (1985, 1991) typological work on conflation processes.

4.3. A syntactically transparent semantic composition

Unlike Jackendoff's analysis in (4), next I would like to propose that the mere syntactic form of the *way* construction is quite informative with respect to its associated semantic structure. This proposal should be regarded in accordance with the hypothesis that there is a strong homomorphism between the syntax and semantics of argument structure: Following Hoekstra (1992), Baker (1997), or Mateu (1999), among others, I am assuming that syntax precisely mirrors coarse semantic configurations.[19]

By contrast, Jackendoff (1990, 1997) has been trying to show that this attractive, ideal situation is false, and hence cannot be sustained. He points out that there are many cases which appear to disconfirm the hypothesis of 'simple composition' or 'syntactically transparent semantic composition', and hence the analysis of these cases points to the existence of what he calls an 'enriched composition'. According to Jackendoff (1997: 173), the *way* construction "offers another source of enriched semantic composition".

Obviously, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss Jackendoff's (1990, ff.) proposal of non-syntactically based semantic composition.[20] Here I will limit myself to showing that

[19] In particular, it should be noted that this hypothesis is also plausible for those theories that accept Baker's (1988, 1997) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis. See Mateu (1999) for more discussion.
[20] See Bouchard (1995) or Mateu (1999, 2000) for some critical remarks on Jackendoff's conceptual approach.

the *way* construction can be correctly analyzed from a theory that maintains the simple composition hypothesis.

To start with, let me explain where the alleged motion sense in (2) comes from. Recall that constructionalists like Jackendoff or Goldberg attribute it to the extralexical construction. My proposal is that it is not syntactically represented but it comes from the interpretive effect of associating V_1 in (14a), which can be said to represent the causation involved in an act of *creation of a path* (Goldberg (1995)), with P, which encodes a directional relation. That is, the causative V_1 *plus* the directional PP imply that there is a caused, inherently directed motion involved in the *way* construction.

By contrast, recall that Jackendoff does not take into account that idea of causation involved in such an act of creation, and eliminates it from the CS in (4). Moreover, notice that his CS analysis does not capture the semantics contributed by the *way* NP. In short, Jackendoff proposes a kind of "unaccusative semantics" for the *way* construction.

In the remainder of this section, I will review some arguments pointing to the fact that the syntax of the *way* construction cannot be associated with a 'motion event', but rather with a 'causative event', as would be expected under a syntactically transparent semantic composition. The following discussion will review some important descriptive observations to be found in Marantz (1992) and Goldberg (1995). Ideally, the lexical-syntactic analysis presented in section 4.1 could be seen as providing us with an appropriate structural representation that accounts for the configurational aspect of their descriptive statements.

An important insight can be found in Marantz (1992) that allows us to analyze the *way* construction correctly. He emphasizes the parallelism of the data in (2) with the so-called 'fake resultatives' (cf. (19)):

(19) a. He sang himself hoarse.
b. She cried herself asleep.

Such a parallelism appears to be motivated by an important observation due to Marantz (1992: 185):

(20) "Nor is the path named by *way* the physical road o location of the journey; it is the person named by the possessor of *way* extended in space (and time)".

In order to strenghten his statement in (20), Marantz puts forward empirical evidence based on adjectival modification of the *way* NP, which was seen to be considered as non-meaningful by Jackendoff (cf. (4)).

(21) a. He belched his silly way home.
b. *He belched his quick way home.
c. He belched his boring way home.
Marantz (1992: 185)

Crucially, Marantz notes that the adjectives in (21) modifiy the meaningful *way* NP, this being now understood as the person extended through space and time. For example, Marantz (1992: 185) points out that "*silly* in (21a; his (12a)) describes the path of *he*, spread out spatially from some understood starting position to 'home' –he was silly while belching on his way home. (21a) does not mean that he went in a silly manner (...) as would be expected if *silly* transferred as an adverbial modification to some GO predicate".

Goldberg (1995: 216) makes an interesting reinterpretation of Marantz's proposal. She notes that the *way* NP can be interpreted as an inalienably possessed path:

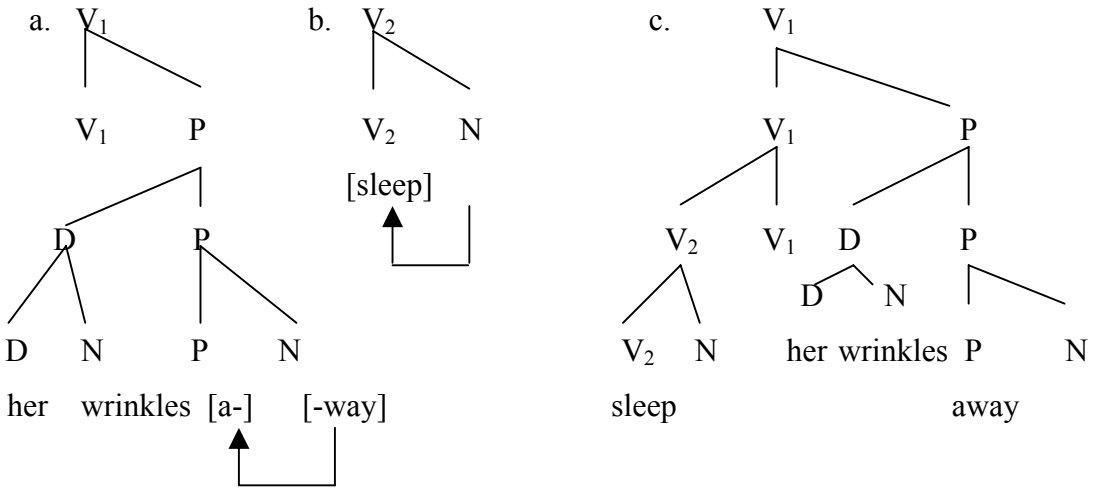
(22) "The path exists only where the mover travels because it is created by the traveler. The path is therefore inalienable".

It seems then plausible to relate the data in (2) to 'fake object' cases that denote inalienably possessed terms, specifically body part terms: cf. (23).

(23) a. She slept her wrinkles away.
b. He cried his eyes out.

This accepted, it is reasonable to postulate that the very same lexical-syntactic analysis depicted in (14) applies to resultative constructions like those in (23):[21]

(24)



Accordingly, notice that the configurational aspect of Marantz's and Goldberg's descriptive insights can be structurally represented in (14a-24a) by means of a 'small clause'-like PP, this PP being in turn subcategorized for by the causative verb V_1. Unlike Jackendoff, I claim that the unquestionable *causative* semantics of (23a) (cf. 'she caused her wrinkles to go away by sleeping') holds for the *way* construction as well.

As noted in section 3, the external argument (i.e., the causer) is assumed to be introduced by the relevant functional projection, be it Chomsky's (1995) *v* or Kratzer's (1996) *Voice*. In both the *way* construction and the resultative constructions in (23), the external argument is to be coindexed with the possessor included in the spec of P, this relation of inalienable possession being configurationally represented and licensed at LF. Given this, the ungrammaticality of sentences like those in (25) is then to be attributed to identical reasons.

(25) a. *He joked her way into the meeting.
b. *Sleep my wrinkles away/*He cried her eyes out.

Furthermore, concerning my proposal that the specifier of P is to be interpreted as Figure and its complement as Ground, it is interesting to notice that Marantz's (1992: 185) observation that the *way* NP is nothing but "the person extended though space", is coherent with representing it as the Figure of the transitive lexical-syntactic structure in (14a), i.e., as the internal subject of the PP resultative predicate which represents the location (i.e., the Ground) reached by the "mover". My proposal is then that both the mover represented by the *way* NP and the inalienably possessed objects in (23) are to be interpreted semantically as

[21] As expected, those constructions in (19) and (23) do not exist in verb-framed languages.

Figure. Indeed, as noted in section 1, the *way* NP can be said to refer to a Path in the non-linguistic conceptual scene, but what is actually relevant in our analysis of so-called 'syntactically relevant aspects of meaning',[22] is that it is construed as Figure/Theme at the syntax-semantics interface. In other words, the conceptual scene involved in the *way* construction can be said to describe a motion situation, but what is grammatically (i.e., syntactically) relevant is that such a situation has been construed as a causative event.

Our positing such an important distinction leads us naturally to the most important conclusions worth being drawn from the present paper.

5. Conclusions

In this paper I have tried to show that the existence of the *way* construction can receive an adequate explanation within Hale & Keyser's (1998, 1999) framework. Basically, I have concentrated on (i) why it is the case that complex resultative constructions (the *way* construction included), which involve conflation of two different lexical-syntactic structures, are only to be found in so-called 'satellite-framed' languages (pace Talmy (1985, 1991)), and (ii) why the semantic composition involved in the *way* construction can be naturally viewed as syntactically transparent (pace Marantz (1992)).

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[22] See Pinker (1989), Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), and Rappaport Hovav & Levin (1998).

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