

Adverbial Nominals and Holistic Interpretations in English

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1. Introduction

This paper examines the so-called holistic interpretation observed in certain English grammatical constructions.* In analyzing prototypical constructions like *climb Everest* and *load the truck with hay*, the central concern has been on transitivity from a syntactic point of view. According to this view, the postverbal element is analyzed as the direct object whose referent is in some sense “affected” by the action denoted by the verb (e.g. Dixon (1991), Levin (1993)). However, such an analysis fails to account for a semantic consistency among constructions exhibiting the effect. In this paper, I try to account for the holistic effect from the standpoint of cognitive grammar (henceforth, CG). My main proposals are shown in (I) and (II).

- (I) In constructions with the holistic interpretation, the “affected” element provides a semantic region which extends dynamically according to the process designated by the verb.
- (II) The holistic interpretation can be given when the location specified by the “affected” element is expressed with a certain delimiter evoked in the conceptualization of the relevant scene.

As for (I), the “affected” element in the relevant constructions behaves like an adverbial as well as a nominal because it refers to a semantic region which is profiled according to the activity designated by the verb. For this reason, I call it an *adverbial nominal*. As for (II), a delimiter is a cognitive boundary

evoked when the conceptualizer projects his/her image onto an entity's spatial motion or activity. It can be the shape of the referent of an adverbial nominal or a prepositional phrase, or other cognitive factors like *active zone*. Hence, the holistic effect is a notion subjectively construed by the conceptualizer, rather than a notion that is brought about by purely syntactic configurations.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 points out problems with previous studies concerning constructions exhibiting the holistic effect. After introducing the theoretical assumptions employed in this paper, section 4 provides an alternative account of the holistic effect. Section 5 demonstrates that our analysis gives an impetus to a new outlook on the *way*-construction, which has not been discussed in relation to the holistic effect. Section 6 concludes this paper.

2. Problems with Previous Analyses

Let us begin by examining the following constructions.

- (1) He climbed *Everest*.
- (2) John loaded *the truck* with (the) hay.

(1) is understood to imply that the pinnacle of Everest has been reached. Similarly, (2) implies that the truck is completely filled with (the) hay. Such interpretations in (1) and (2) are called *holistic interpretations*, and these constructions with the interpretation are generally recognized as having *the holistic effect*. So far, this effect has been discussed in comparison with constructions with the “partitive” effect, as illustrated in (3) and (4).

- (3) He climbed *up* Everest. (cf. (1))
- (4) John loaded (the) hay *onto* the truck. (cf. (2))

In comparison with (1), (3) can be used to express the situation that *he* climbed to an arbitrary region leading to the pinnacle of Everest. Likewise, in comparison with its counterpart (2), (4) can be used to mean that there

may remain more room for loading. Based on these observations, Dixon (1991: 281) and Levin (1993: 50) claim that the postverbal element is the direct object whose referent is in some sense “affected” by the motion or the activity denoted by the verb. However, there seem to be a number of theoretical and empirical difficulties in this analysis. An immediate question to be raised is that in a literal sense *Everest* in (1) cannot be affected by climbing (cf. Langacker (1991: 303)). This holds true of (2).

Second, while the holistic interpretation is observed in the constructions in (1) and (2), (3) and (4) do not always reject this reading. Thus, (3) can also be used when *he* got to the top of Everest.

Third, the syntactic approach cannot be extended to the following intransitive constructions exhibiting the holistic effect, where the “affected” element occupies the subject position.

(5) a . *The garden* is swarming with bees.

b . *My cat* is crawling with fleas.

(Langacker (2002: 231))

Since the “affected” element occupies the subject position, it is difficult to attribute this effect to transitivity.

A related problem pertaining to the traditional view lies in the distinction between arguments and adjuncts. It has been traditionally assumed that the following constructions do not have the holistic effect because the postverbal elements are not the direct objects of the verbs, so that they are seen as a sort of adverbial expression.

(6) a . They went *separate ways*.

b . Please come *this way*.

In the same way, constructions with a measure phrase have been illicitly excluded from the scope of the study.

(7) a . He ran *three miles* before breakfast everyday.

b . I like to run *an hour* and then walk *an hour*.

(Dixon (1991: 285))

However, even if the postverbal elements in (7) do not express a path, they metonymically refer to the path actually followed by the subject referent. Consequently, it is appropriate to assume that the holistic effect is observed irrespective of whether the constructions in question are transitive or intransitive.

3. Theoretical Assumptions

In the following sections, I will attempt to make a unified explanation of the holistic effect observed over a variety of grammatical constructions without recourse to transitivity or affectedness.

3.1 A Cognitive View on Linguistic Categories

CG put forth by Langacker (1987a, 1991, 2000, 2002) attempts to explain linguistic expressions by invoking cognitive abilities that shape our bodily experiences. One of the fundamental abilities to figure a conceived event is to establish relationships. For example, we cannot characterize a hypotenuse without reference to a right triangle in a gestaltic fashion. In such a case, a backgrounded element like a right triangle constitutes the *base* of a cognitive domain, whereas focused elements like a hypotenuse are viewed as being *profiled*. Among the profiled elements in a cognitive domain, the most salient one is termed *trajector*, whereas the reminders are termed *landmark(s)*.

In CG, linguistic categories are characterized in terms of the base/profile organization. Langacker (1987a, 1991) gives the following definitions to nouns, prepositions and adverbs (or adverbials).¹

- (8) NOUN: A symbolic structure whose semantic pole profiles a *thing*.
 PREPOSITION: A symbolic expression that profiles a *relation* with a *thing* as landmark.

ADVERB: A symbolic expression that profiles an atemporal *relation* with a *relation* as trajector.

(Langacker (1987a, 1991))

These categories can be schematized as follows:



Fig. 1

NOUN



Fig. 2

PREPOSITION

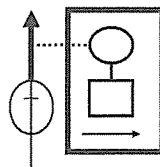


Fig. 3

ADVERB

Among these categories, adverbs are rather complex on conceptual grounds. According to McCawley (1988), *last week* and *that way* in (9) behave adverbially, regardless of the fact that they are morphologically nominals.²

- (9) a . They went *that way*.
 b . John arrived *last week*.

(McCawley (1988: 583))

His observation is naturally accommodated in CG, because the postverbal elements in (9) provide a spatial or a temporal scale with respect to the subject referent's activity. Since an activity is processual (i.e. *relational*) in nature, it seems plausible to regard these adverbs as profiling an atemporal relation between the processual relation taken as trajector and a scale in direction or time.

3.2 Transitivity

In the framework of CG, the notion of transitivity is captured in terms of

transmission of energy. A prototypical transitive event is characterized as an action chain as sketched in Fig. 4 below. The outmost frame in Fig. 4 provides a spatiotemporal cognitive scope called a *setting*, which represents a whole situation required for the description of an event or action. Any fragment of a setting is especially termed a *location*, whereby it can be seen as a special case of the setting. The elements represented by the circle are *participants*, which are taken to be objects engaging directly in relationships that constitute a situation. A prototypical transitive event involves an asymmetric interaction between two participants; the energy transmission from one participant to another through physical contact.

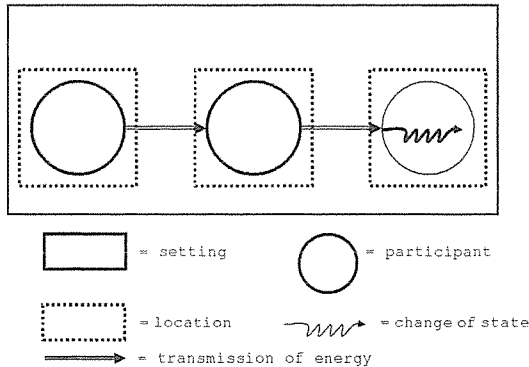


Fig. 4 : Prototypical Transitive Event
(cf. Langacker (1987b: 383))

In contrast to transitive events, intransitive events can be defined as involving one participant's location or change of state (i.e. *thematic relationship*). An intransitive event can be sketched in Fig. 5.

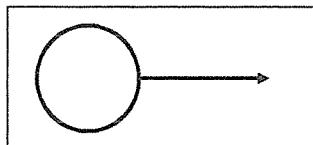


Fig. 5 : Intransitive Event

Transitive sentences are different from intransitive ones in that they depict a situation with an energetic interaction between at least two participants. In CG, however, it is assumed that transitivity has no clear boundary because whether an entity is a participant or setting is not objectively defined, but is subjectively construed by the conceptualizer. Compare the following examples.

(10) a . Everything is peaceful in *the countryside*.

b . The napalm bombs scorched *the countryside*.

(Langacker (1987b: 386))

The countryside in (10a) is a setting whereas that of (10b) is construed as a participant. Generally, physical objects like human beings are most likely to be qualified as participants, but this is not always the case.

(11) a . He shot a revolver at *himself*.

b . I pulled the knob towards *me*.

(Ikegami (1998: 874))

According to Ikegami (1998), while *himself* in (11a) is a participant, *me* in (11b) is construed as a setting rather than a participant. As these examples suggest, the distinction between a participant and setting depends crucially on how the conceptualizer structures a scene, suggesting that the notion of transitivity is a matter of construal.

4. A Cognitive Analysis

4.1 Behavior of Adverbial Nominals

One of the important semantic properties is that an adverbial nominal can be found immediately after a verb expressing a homogeneous process or activity.

(12) a . Langdon had once walked *the Louvre's entire perimeter*, an astonishing

- three-mile journey. (*The Da Vinci Code*: 18)
- b. She worked *twenty hours* a week at a grocery store.
(*The Street Lawyer*: 269)
- c. I watched *ten minutes of the second half*, then left with spasms in my
back, aftereffect of the car wreck. (*Ibid.*: 274)

In addition, an adverbial nominal can also follow a denominal verb expressing locomotion with a particular vehicle so that the sentence as a whole receives a process reading.

- (13) a. They skated *the canals*. (Levin (1993: 43))
- b. The 54-year-old Japanese hero first sailed *the Pacific Ocean* alone in
1952. (Wordbanks Online: S2000930217)
- c. We skied *the Corviglia area* in the morning...
(Wordbanks Online: N6000911221)

With this property and the CG assumptions outlined above in mind, let us consider the constructions with the holistic effect. The first type of construction to be addressed is (1).

- (1) He climbed *Everest*.

This type of construction deviates from prototypical transitive constructions because the referent of the postverbal element in (1) is not realized as the tail of the action chain. Rather, it seems natural to assume that it serves as a *location* along which the subject referent travels (Taniguchi (2005: 53–58)).

Another important facet of this property is that the profile of the *location* is extended according to the participant's change of location. To state it more precisely, the conceptualizer scans sequentially the postverbal element and as a result of the process denoted by the verb it is profiled. Given these properties, it is plausible to qualify *Everest* as an adverbial nominal. The image schema in this type of construction can be sketched as Fig. 6, where the shaded portion represents the profiled *location* as a result of the locomotion. C and PAT stand for a conceptualizer and a participant, respectively.

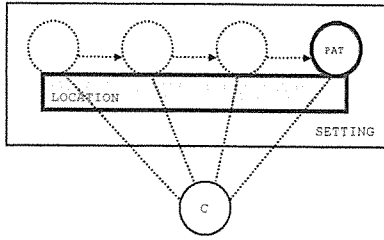


Fig. 6 : The Image Schema for (1)

Much the same analysis can be available to the second type of construction, which is illustrated in (2).

(2) John loaded *the truck* with (the) hay.

In this type of construction as well, the postverbal element can also be viewed as an adverbial nominal, since it profiles not only a (spatial) region but also a scale with respect to John's loading. This type of construction also deviates from a prototypical transitive one seen in Fig. 4. The event structure of (2) is roughly sketched in Fig. 7.

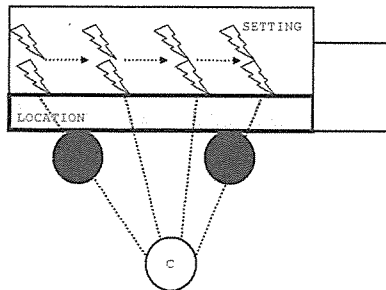


Fig. 7 : The Image Schema for (2)

Finally, observe the intransitive constructions given below.

(5) a . *The garden* is swarming with bees.

b. *The cat* is crawling with fleas.

In the Cognitive literature, it is well known that they are instances of *setting subject construction*, which take the setting as the subject, that is, the most prominent entity in the relevant scene (Langacker (2002: 232)). In contrast to the canonical intransitive construction sketched in Fig. 8 (a), the setting subject construction is diagrammed in Fig. 8 (b).

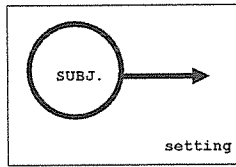


Fig. 8 (a) : Canonical
Intransitive Construction

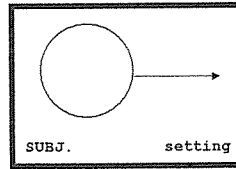


Fig. 8 (b) : Setting Subject
Construction

I analyze this construction as involving exactly the same event structure as the constructions in (1) and (2), with the difference regarding the syntactic position where the adverbial nominal occupies. This event structure can be sketched in Fig. 9.

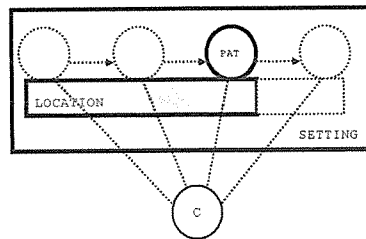


Fig. 9 : The Image Schema for (5)

In Fig. 9, within the global setting specified by the subject nominal, which is a cognitively bounded region, the profiled *location* extends gradually as the bees swarm in (5a), for example.

In sum, I have claimed that the constructions with the holistic effect comprise an adverbial nominal, which is a cognitively well-motivated linguistic category on a par with nouns, verbs, adverbs, and prepositions. It has both nominal and adverbial properties in that it profiles a *location* which extends according to the locomotion or activity designated by the verb.

4.2 The Holistic Effect Reconsidered

Having seen the behavior of adverbial nominals in the relevant constructions, the next step to take is to provide a cognitive characterization of the holistic effect. Under the present analysis, the constructions with an adverbial nominal are assumed to be “holistic” in the sense that the process designated by the verb and the *location* profiled by the adverbial nominal are coextensive. It may lead us to conclude that the holistic interpretation is uniformly observed in ANY construction with an adverbial nominal. Clearly, however, this is a wrong prediction. I propose (14) to make it clear how the holistic interpretation is given.

- (14) In the constructions with an adverbial nominal, the holistic effect is foregrounded or backgrounded depending on the conceptualization of the relevant scene.

In order for (14) to be viable, we should take at least two aspects of a conceptualization process into consideration, as given in (15).

- (15) a . the shape or contour of the location expressed by the adverbial nominal
 b . active zone (Cf. Langacker (1987a, 2000, 2002))

Let us start with (15a). To make our discussion more concrete, we now tentatively classify spatial motion expressions into three types according to the relationship between the shape of the referent of the postverbal element and the motion denoted by the verb.³ Consider the following expressions.

- (16) a . John crossed *the desert* in one hour.
 b . John swam *the English Channel* in 10 hours.

(Wechsler (1989: 424))

Wechsler (1989) observes that the accomplishment of the events in (16) is characterized with the theme as well as the path denoted by the postverbal nominal. In other words, the events in (16) end where the paths end. If an adverbial nominal refers to an entity with a clear contour, like *the desert* and *the English Channel*, the event denoted by a verb like *cross* and *swim* is understood to be telic (See also Wechsler (2005: 261)). In the present framework, his observation is captured by saying that the holistic effect is foregrounded (namely, the holistic interpretation is given) through the interplay between the verbal meaning and the contour or shape of the referent of the adverbial nominal.

There are examples that the holistic effect is not always foregrounded, even if the adverbial nominal refers to an entity with a clear contour.

- (17) a . walks *the trail* in an hour/for an hour
 b . climbs *the bridge* in an hour/for an hour

(Tenny (1994: 32))

According to Tenny (1994: 33), the constructions with *path-object verbs* can receive either a delimited or a non-delimited interpretation. This is because the scale presented by the adverbial nominal depends crucially on what kind of situation the conceptualizer has in mind. To take (17a) as an example, since *walk* itself refers to a homogeneous event, whether the sentence may receive a delimit or a non-delimited reading depends on the shape of a trail which the conceptualizer makes mental contact with first.

Finally, consider the following examples.

- (6) a . They went *separate ways*.
 b . Please come *this way*.

In this type of spatial motion construction, the referents of *separate ways* and

this way may be seen simply as *locations*, but nevertheless their characteristics as adverbial nominals are intact because the locations profiled by them extend according to the participants' change of location. In such expressions, for the lack of concreteness with respect to the shape and/or endpoint, the holistic effect tends to be backgrounded consistently.

Let us now turn to (15b). *Active zone* is defined as a portion of an entity that participates most directly and crucially in a relationship. Let us see the following oft-cited example.

(18) Your dog bit my cat. (Langacker (2000: 62))

In (18), it seems logical to assume that the teeth and jaw, rather than the dog as a whole, are directly involved in the biting. In this case, the teeth and jaw, which are implicitly mentioned, are conceived of as *active zone*. Langacker (1991: Ch. 7) further notes that active zone may be specified only when it is worth mentioning for communicative purposes.

(19) a. Your dog bit my cat *on the tail with its sharp teeth*.
 b. ?Your dog bit my cat somewhere *with its sharp teeth*.
 c. ?Your dog bit my cat *with its teeth*.

(Langacker (2002: 190))

In (19), *on the tail* and *with its sharp teeth* elucidate the active zone of the direct object referent and the subject one, respectively. By contrast, *somewhere* in (19b) provides no information about the active zone of *my cat* so that the sentence becomes less acceptable. In the same fashion, (19c) is infelicitous because the expression *with its teeth* is redundant or less informative as the active zone of *your dog*.

On the basis of these observations, let us consider (1) again.

(1) He climbed Everest.

As we saw in section 2, (1) implies that *he* reached the pinnacle of Everest but not that *he* moved from one side to the other side of Everest. That is,

the holistic effect is confined to the active zone in the activity. This clearly reflects our daily experience such that climbers in general get back to the starting point via the top and the purpose of climbing Everest is to get to the pinnacle. The same holds for (2).

(2) John loaded *the truck* with (the) hay.

The active zone in this example is the surface of the truck to be loaded with (the) hay, so that the three-dimensional space of the truck need not be completely filled. Thus, the holistic interpretation is also sensitive to the functional aspects of the situation described.

The above discussion is summarized in (20), in which a delimiter may be evoked by the referent of an adverbial nominal, or other functional reasons like active zone and our experience of the activity described.

(20) An adverbial nominal receives a holistic interpretation when the *location* denoted by it is expressed with a delimiter evoked in the conceptualization of the relevant scene.⁴

4.3 Adverbial Nominals vs. Prepositional Landmarks

This section discusses the conceptual difference between constructions with an adverbial nominal and those with a prepositional phrase. The relevant examples are given in (21) below.

(21) a . He climbed *Everest*. (=(1))
 b . He climbed up *Everest*. (=(3))

As (8) suggests, a preposition takes a thing as landmark but it remains open as for the trajector's selection. If the thing (i.e. *be*) is taken as the trajector, then *up* profiles a local relation between *be* and the resultant location of his motion. The schematic structure of (21b) is illustrated in Fig. 10.

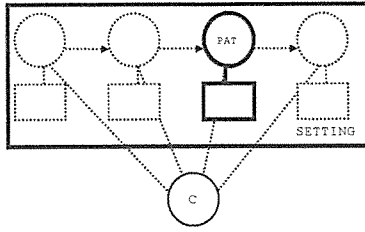


Fig. 10 : The Image Schema for (3) (Tr.: Thing)

Notice in Fig. 10 that the profile is put in an arbitrary location, not in the endpoint of the spatial motion, because *up* refers to an imperfective path. Even if the process (i.e. his climbing) is taken as the trajector, the holistic interpretation is hardly given, since the process is conceptualized independently of the conceptualization of the landmark. This process of conceptualization is sketched in Fig. 11.⁵

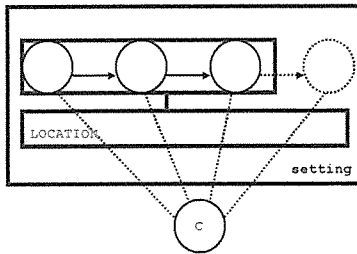


Fig. 11 : The Image Schema for (3) (Tr.: Relation)

A similar analysis can be made in (22).

(22) a . John loaded *the truck* with (the) hay. (=2)

b . John loaded (the) hay onto *the truck*. (=4)

From the meaning of the preposition *onto*, the trajector in (22b) is analyzed as the process, rather than as the thing. Since *the truck* in (22b) can only

be seen as the location to which (the) hay is loaded, the holistic interpretation is hardly evoked.

5. The *Way*-construction

This section will show that our analysis can be extended to the *way*-construction, which has not so far assumed to have the holistic effect.

- (23) a . Poirot nodded as though satisfied, and *made his way out through the door*.
(*The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*: 271)
- b . Up at seven thirty, wash, breakfast in main dining room, with the whole school-two hundred and twenty boys *munching their way through eggs, bacon and porridge*.
(*Kane and Abel*: 68)
- c . I was frozen, and it was snowing again. I bought a sandwich, stuffed it into a pocket, and *slogged my way back to the apartment*.
(*The Street Lawyer*: 58)

Restricting our attention to the sense of (spatial) motion, the *way*-construction has a number of syntactic and semantic properties that attract us. Especially intriguing about locomotion is the fact that this construction inevitably involves a kind of change of location, irrespective of whether the verb expresses a spatial motion.

- (24) a . *Frank dug his way out of prison, but he hasn't gone yet.
b . *Frank found his way to New York, but he hasn't gone yet.
(Goldberg (1995: 199))

With respect to the path denoted by the prepositional phrase, Takami and Kuno (2002: 94) observe that native speakers of English tend to understand the path in (25) as expressing the whole path, like (26).

- (25) a . The car stalled its way along the street.
b . The storm howled its way along the shore.
(Takami and Kuno (2002: 94))

- (26) a . The car stalled its way along the street *to her office*.
 b . The car stalled its way along the highway and finally died *just as it reached the exist*.

(Ibid. original emphases)

However, Takami and Kuno note that this is not always true.

- (27) The storm howled its way along the Maine coast, and unexpectedly veered off to sea at Rockland. (Ibid.)

(27) is acceptable even if the storm moved to sea at Rockland, which is located in the middle of the Maine coast. Based on this observation, Takami and Kuno conclude that the *way*-construction is acceptable regardless of whether or not the subject referent moves along the whole path specified by the prepositional phrase.

Takami and Kuno's observation can be explained if we assume that *one's way* and a prepositional phrase are an adverbial nominal and a profiled path, respectively. The first assumption that *one's way* is an adverbial nominal seems to be tenable from the following data.

- (28) a . *We ate hot dogs our way across the U.S.
 b . *Sue whistled a tune her way through the tunnel.
 c . *Bill rolled the barrel its way up the alley.

(Jackendoff (1990: 212))

As the unacceptability of (28) indicates, the construction preserves intransitivity regardless of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. Besides, as illustrated in (29), examples with a verb expressing a single event are generally interpreted as describing repeated events.

- (29) a . Bill belched his way out of the restaurant.
 b . Harry moaned his way down the road.
 c . Sam joked his way into the meeting.

(Jackendoff (1990: 211))

This restriction on the verbs is understandable if we regard *his way* as an adverbial nominal to offer a scale with respect to a process designated by the verb.

Before discussing the assumption that a prepositional phrase immediately after *one's way* is a profiled path, recall here that active zone can be specified when it is worth mentioning for communicative purposes (see section 4.2). If the path expressions after *one's way* refer to profiled paths, we can allow a natural reading that the process designated by the verb extends to the whole path specified as the active zone (i.e. Profile/Active Zone correspondence). Thus, such interpretations in (26) are easily predicted. At the same time, recall also that active zone refers to a portion directly relevant to the situation described. Hence, it can only be the portion of the whole path. (i.e. Profile/Active Zone discrepancy).

Let us turn now to (27). In this example, while the path named by *along the Maine coast* is profiled, the active zone is in fact the path actually followed by the storm: the path leading to sea in Rockland. Consequently, to the extent that the storm moves on its way to Rockland, the holistic interpretation is given, but the profiled portion of the path need not correspond to the active zone specified by the clause *and unexpectedly veered off to sea at Rockland*.

6. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, from a cognitive view of grammar, we have discussed the nature of the holistic effect observed in certain grammatical constructions in English, with special reference to the properties of adverbial nominals. It was argued that adverbial nominals play a crucial role in the holistic effect because they provide a location profiled as a result of the process expressed by the verb. The holistic effect may be foregrounded when the location expressed by the adverbial nominal is expressed with a variety of cognitive factors pertaining to the construal of the relevant scene. In this sense, the holistic effect is a notion that is subjectively construed by the conceptualizer, rather than a notion brought by purely syntactic configurations.

A consequence of the present analysis is that it affords a uniform explanation of the holistic effect in the *way*-construction, which has so far been excluded from the study of this effect.

Notes

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¹ In CG, a distinction is made between *nouns* and *nominals*. While a noun merely names a type of thing (e.g. *dog*), a nominal refers to an instance of some type (e.g. *a dog, this dog, the dog, these dogs*). Since the postverbal elements under discussion are inevitably accompanied by grounding predications such as *the, one's, -s*, the term 'nominal' rather than 'noun' is appropriate for the present analysis. By contrast, adverbs and adverbials are not distinguished on conceptual grounds.

² McCawley (1988) analyzes the postverbal elements in (9) as prepositional phrases (PP) with an empty preposition. However, his claim cannot account for why (1) and (3) are interpreted differently, suggesting that an additional treatment is needed.

³ It goes without saying that this classification of spatial motion constructions is a matter of degree, depending on how the conceptualizer captures the shape of the adverbial nominal according to the process denoted by the verb.

⁴ It should be noted that the notion of *delimiter* in (20) is conceptually different from Tenny's (1994). A delimiter in the sense of Tenny (1994: 10) is a temporal property to diagnose a property of constructions and it can be applied to direct internal arguments (i.e. direct object nouns). For this reason, Tenny's notion of delimitness cannot explain why the intransitive constructions given in (5) receive the holistic interpretation.

⁵ (21b) (= (3)) can express the situation that he got to the top of Everest. This reading can be given when his climbing happens to continue to the

pinnacle of Everest.

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Synopsis

Adverbial Nominals and Holistic Interpretations in English

Yasuaki Ishizaki

This paper presents a cognitive analysis of holistic interpretations observed in English grammatical constructions, some of which are illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1) He climbed *Everest*.

(2) John loaded *the truck* with hay.

Traditionally, the holistic effect has been discussed in terms of “affectedness” based on transitivity. However, there are a number of problems with this view. First, the postverbal elements in (1) and (2) are not in a literal sense affected by the activities denoted by the verbs. Furthermore, the analysis based on affectedness cannot explain the following construction, where the “affected” element occupies the subject position.

(3) *The garden* is swarming with bees.

In order to explain the syntactic and semantic properties of expressions with the holistic effect, I claim that the “affected” element is in fact an *adverbial nominal*, which offers a spatial or temporal scale with respect to the subject referent’s activity, rather than the direct object. The adverbial nominal can be found immediately after verbs expressing a homogeneous process or activity, as in (4).

(4) a . They went *separate ways*.

b . He ran *three miles* before breakfast everyday.

c . She worked *twenty hours* a week.

d . They skated *the canals*.

Based on the premise that expressions with the holistic effect involve an adverbial nominal, I propose (5).

(5) An adverbial nominal receives a holistic interpretation when the *location* denoted by it is expressed with a cognitive boundary evoked

in the conceptualization of the relevant scene.

A typical cognitive boundary is the shape of the location expressed by the adverbial nominal, like *the desert* in (6).

(6) John crossed *the desert*.

Another cognitive boundary is active zone, which is defined as a portion of an entity that participates most crucially in a relationship. For instance, (1) implies that the pinnacle of Everest was attained but not that he moved from one side to the other side of Everest. Namely, the holistic effect is also confined to the active zone in the activity rather than the profile as a whole.

The present analysis enables us to explain the holistic effect observed in the *way*-construction, which has not been discussed in the literature in relation to the holistic effect.

(7) a. The storm howled it's way along the shore.

b. The storm howled it's way along the Maine coast, and unexpectedly veered off to sea at Rockland.

In (7a), we tend to understand that the storm moved to the end of the shore (the holistic effect is foregrounded), but such an interpretation is not always given, as (7b) shows. The holistic interpretation is easily expected if we assume *one's way* and a path expression after *one's way* are an *adverbial nominal* and a profiled path, respectively. Besides, we can assume that the holistic interpretation is preserved even in (7b) because there is a discrepancy between the profiled path (*along the Maine coast*) and the active zone (*and*-clause).