On the Initial Development of the *One's Way* Construction: A Construction Grammatical Perspective*

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1. Introduction

For the past two decades, the *one's way* construction in Present-day English (PDE), exemplified in (1) and schematically represented in (2), has been discussed under various theoretical frameworks.[1]

(1) a. Rasselas dug his way out of the Happy Valley.
b. The wounded soldiers limped their way across the field.
c. *Convulsed with laughter, she giggled her way up the stairs.
(Israel (1996: 218))

(2) [SUBJ$_i$ [V [*POSS$_i$ way*] OBL] (Goldberg (1995: 199))

According to Goldberg (1995: 203), the first citation of the construction in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) was from the Egerton version of *Maundiville*, a Middle English (ME) work.[2]

(3) I made my way... vnto Rome.
(*Mandeville's travels*, ca. 1400 (Roxb.) xxxiv. 156)

However, contrary to what is widely accepted, the example which the OED cites (the Egerton version) may not be a first citation of the *one's way* construction. Let us look at the following sentence, which is the unabbreviated version of the text in question.[3]

(4) ..., þerfore I made my way in my commyng hamward vnto Rome to schew my buke till oure haly fader þe Pape.
'therefore I made my way in my home coming homeward onto

Rome to show my life to our holy father, the pope.'

(*Mandeville's travels*, the Egerton version)

In (4), the prepositional phrase *in my commying hamward* intervenes between the verb phrase *made my way* and the directional phrase *(hamward) vnto Rome.* If we follow a basic assumption that the *one's way* construction in PDE requires a directional phrase to be placed immediately after *one's way*, this sentence may not be regarded as an example of the construction under discussion.[4]

Furthermore, there is an instance with the schema represented in (2) from the end of the Old English (OE) period.

(5) *On his procession ferde sume bioforen him makede his weie toward iersalem.*
'In his procession some went before him and made (ready) his way toward Jerusalem.'

(*Trinity Hominies* 91.33, Ogura (2002: 63))

From a purely structural perspective, one might argue that this is not the first instance of the *one's way* construction. However, the example in (5) is diachronically isolated, and it is doubtful that this example is an ancestor of the *one's way* construction. In fact, examples with the [NON-MOTION VERB + *one's way* + DIRECTIONAL PHRASE] structure were even rarer after the fifteenth century, which is the period of the sentence in (3). For example, there are no examples with this syntactic structure in the works of Chaucer (1340? −1400) and *Paston Letters* (ca. 1420–1500). Even in the works of Shakespeare (1564–1616), only three instances are found.

(6) Come hither, captain; hark, Take thou this note; [Giving Paper.] go follow them to prison: One step I have advanc'd thee; if thou dost As this instructs thee, thou *make thy way To noble fortunes*, ...

(*King Lear*, V, iii.)

(7) Go thrust him out at gates, and let him *smell His way to Douer.*

(*King Lear*, III, vii)

(8) I have seen the day, That with this little arm, and this good sword, *I have made my way through more impediments* Than twenty times your

stop;

(*Othello* V, ii.)

The facts presented so far lead us to assume that the *one's way* construction was not frequent at least until the sixteenth century.

Finding the original instance of the *one's way* construction is a difficult task, but it nevertheless seems possible to derive a correct picture of its initial usage. In this paper, focusing mainly on examples from the period 1670–1700 collected from *Early English Books Online* (EEBO),[5] I present a constructional analysis of the early stages of development of the construction. My main proposals are summarized as follows.

(9) a. The *one's way* construction became common from the seventeenth century onwards.

b. The prototype of the construction is likely the [[make] *one's way* [*through*/(*in-, on-*) *to* NP]] structure.

c. The extension of the *one's way* construction from the schematic meaning [ROAD BUILDING TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE] to the more schematic meaning [MOVEMENT BY FORCE TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE] can be explained from the perspective of construction grammar.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 overviews previous studies on the historical development of the *one's way* construction, and points out that an investigation based solely on the OED is not sufficient for gaining a proper understanding of how the construction developed. Section 3 examines the distribution of the construction based on examples retrieved from EEBO. Section 4 proposes the initial development of the construction in terms of construction grammar, and Section 5 presents the conclusion.

2. Previous Studies on the Historical Development of the *One's Way* Construction

2.1. Goldberg (1995)

One of the characteristics of studies on the *one's way* construction, and studies based on construction grammar in general, is the lack of diachronic perspective (See, however, Akimoto (1983), which seems to be the earliest observation of the construction in PDE with a historical perspective). This is partly because construction grammar is valuable in research on the process of language acquisition. Goldberg, a leading construction grammarian, mentions that the origin of the construction is a syntactic and semantic amalgam of the following two constructions (Goldberg 1995: 207).

(10) He made a path.

(11) He moved into the room.

Goldberg proposes that these two constructions are amalgamated into a structure with three complements: the creator-theme, the createe-way, and the path. Goldberg's observation is intuitively correct. Syntactically, (10) is a simple transitive construction but, from a functional point of view, the *path* in (10) characterizes the subject referent's spatial motion because it is the result of the process of making a path. However, Goldberg does not offer any historical facts to support this observation.

Nonetheless, it seems to me that her proposal is supported by a number of historical facts. As pointed out in Matsunami (1964) and Ogura (2002), in OE and ME the transitive verb *niman* ('take' in PDE) denotes a spatial motion by taking *weg* (accusative case). In addition, as Mustanoja (1960) points out, in OE and ME, *weg* (<PDE (*one's*) *way*) preceded by an intransitive motion verb and a noun in either genitive or accusative case is used adverbially to indicate a local relation. For example, *weges* in (12) and *wei* in (13), which respectively take the genitive and accusative case, denote the direction of the motion.

(12) þonne rideþ ælc hys weges

'then each rode his way'

(*Alfred Oroisus* 21, Mustanoja (1960: 89))

(13) he fli3t his wei
'he flied his way'

(*The Owl & Nightingale* 308, Ibid. (110))

According to Matsunami (1964: 193), regardless of whether the verb is transitive (e. g. *take*) or intransitive (e. g. *go, come*), the [VERB + (*one's*) *way*] structure was established as an "idiomatic pattern" to express a participant's spatial motion. As a result, idioms such as these became common in the fourteenth century. Since the case distinction between accusative and genitive had disappeared by then, it is reasonable to think that the amalgamation with the creator-theme and the createe-way complements occurred in the history of English.

Even if it is true that the "idiomatic pattern" originated from the syntactic and semantic amalgamation of (10) and (11), it is not so clear cut that the amalgamation directly made the *one's way* construction common. The "idiomatic pattern" which Matsunami had in mind is a [MOTION VERB + *one's way*] structure without a directional phrase, as in (14) below, rather than the *one's way* construction under discussion.

(14) Eliezer is went his wei/And haueð hem boden godun dai.
'Eliezer has departed his way and has wished them good day'

(*Genesis & Exodus* 1429, Ogura (2002: 65))

In addition, with a few exceptions, the *one's way* construction obligatorily contains a directional phrase, but expressions with the schematic structure given in (2) were not common at least until the sixteenth century. Therefore, diachronically speaking, the amalgamation is a potential or indirect cause for the evolution of the *one's way* construction, and analysis based on construction grammar, which pays considerable attention to the occurrence of the [(NON-MOTION) VERB + *one's way*] structure with a directional phrase, is needed in order to explain its origin and development.

2.2. Israel (1996)

Israel (1996) tries to explain the historical development of the *one's way* construction in terms of a usage-based model of grammar, which is a pivotal notion in construction grammar. Using the OED (2nd. ed., CD-ROM version) as a historical source of examples, he concludes that the construction emerged gradually over the course of several centuries (Ibid.: 227). His work is a ground-breaking from both empirical and theoretical standpoints. From the empirical standpoint, he showed that the number of verbs that came to be used in the construction increased over time; from the theoretical one, he provided evidence that usage-based model approaches to grammar are subject to historical linguistic inquiry. A usage-based model, discussed in more detail in Section 4, has been proposed to explain language acquisition from cognitive and constructional perspectives, but it had not been applied to historical linguistic inquiry before Israel's work. In this sense, Israel (1996) was one of the pioneers of historical construction grammar, a new trend in contemporary linguistics.

In spite of these developments, there are at least two problems with Israel's (1996) analytic method. From an empirical point of view, it is well known that the OED is not a representative corpus. It tends to employ new words, and nonce words in particular. Many of them are short-lived and are used in specific contexts or in specific texts (Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009: 55)). From a theoretical point of view, analyses depending only on the OED are not strictly usage-based. Usage-based models share the fundamental idea that the speaker's grammatical knowledge is acquired through communicative situations or 'usage events' in a bottom-up fashion (e. g. Langacker (1987, 2000)). In such models, the occurrence frequency of linguistic expressions is used to examine how they are perceived in native speaker communities and become entrenched in the language system. The frequency of linguistic expressions is categorized into two types as in (15).

(15) a. Token frequency: the number of instances a linguistic expression appears in running text.
b. Type frequency: the number of instances a linguistic pattern appears in running text.

(Bybee (2006: 9))

According to Bybee (2006), the token frequency of a linguistic expression may increase its type frequency, whereas its type frequency contributes to its productivity. On the other hand, there are debates whether token frequency of an expression contributes to its productivity. In any case, since the token frequency of the target construction can hardly be measured with the OED, it is hardly to know from an analysis based on the OED how native speakers of English used the construction on a daily basis. Thus, in order for the analysis of the *one's way* construction to be usage-based as was originally intended, research must be based on the token and type frequencies.

3. Data

3.1. Early English Books Online

Early English Books Online (EEBO) examined in this work is an electronic subscription service providing digitized facsimile editions of over 125,000 British, British Colonial and general English-language items printed between 1473 and 1701. While it contains a vast amount of linguistic material, EEBO is not as well organized for the purposes of linguistic research as, for example, the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpora.[6] As far as the database is concerned, the frequencies of linguistic expressions should be extracted and examined one by one after searching for a keyword or a key phrase. Among a number of combinations between possessive pronouns and *way*, we focus here on the structure [VERB + *their way* + DIRECTIONAL PHRASE (a prepositional or adverbial phrase expressing direction)] in the late seventeenth century, which is the period

when this construction is assumed to have started becoming increasingly common. Searching for the key phrase *their way* and its variants used in works published between 1670 and 1699 yielded 280 instances in 195 works of the [VERB + *their way* + DIRECTIONAL PHRASE] structure from a total of 4771 instances (in 1689 works) of expressions containing *their way*.[7] Some of the relevant examples are provided in (16) through (19).

(16) Those Saint-like men *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, as long as they lived did by Letters exhort each other to a generous Constancy for the maintenance of the truth of the Christian Faith. But the other two Champions having made their way to Heaven, and left him alone not plied with such firm Exhortations, out of desire of longer Life his constancy began at length to be shaken and that by the subtilty and daily perswaisions of *Spanish* Frier.
(1676, *The History of the Reigns of Henry the Seventh, the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary*)

(17) Another Party of the Rebels sat down before *Melifont*, *Novem.* 24, and found a brisk Defence from the Garison, being Fifteen Horse and Twenty four Musquetiers; but their Powder being spent, the Horsemen forced their Way through the Irish Camp to Tredagh, and the Foot surrendered upon Articles, which the Rebels perfidiously broke, and butchered several of them in cold Blood, because they had k[...]ed 140 *Irishmen* in defence of the Place.
(1689, *Hibernia Anglicana or The History of Irelandm from the Conquest Thereof bt the English*)

(18) For there is not the least pretence to any *Rarefaction* or *Tension* of this kind in that experiment, but only a circle of motion in the Air, The mouth draws in the air into the *thorax* by one part of a Tobacco-pipe, and the *thorax* being distended presses the external Air, which finds its way into the other Tobacco-pipe lightened with Tobacco in it, the smaller end immersed into the water; and

> through the water the air and smoke passes, and continues its course till it come into the other piece of a Tobacco-pipe, (...) But that all the parts of the water to the very bottom of it, and the granules of Sand lying at the bottom of the water are put into a tumultuary motion, that is no wonder, (when-as *the Air and smoke are forced to find his way through the water*) and may a little illustrate and facilitate the conception of the true reason of those tumults and agitations of water and the spirit of wine above mentioned, observed in the exhausted Receiver, namely...
>
> (1676, *Remarks upon Two Late Ingenious Discourses*)

The number of instances of the construction by decade is given in Table 1. To demonstrate that the number of examples retrieved from EEBO is sufficiently large for the purposes of the present investigation, let us compare it (i.e. the *one's way* construction only with *their way*) with the results obtained in an investigation based on the OED *Online* (i.e. the *one's way* construction with *their way*) given in parentheses in Table 1.

Table 1: Frequencies of constructions following the [VERB + *their way* + DIRECTIONAL PHRASE] pattern in EEBO

Period	No. of occurrences (occurrences in OED *Online*)	No. of works (works in OED *Online*)
1670–1679	58 (0)	43 (0)
1680–1689	115 (0)	76 (0)
1690–1699	107 (5)	76 (5)
Total	280 (5)	195 (5)

Next, let us see what kind of verbs and directional phrases were used in this construction between 1670 and 1699. The following tables show the token and type frequencies of the verbs and directional phrases, where

Tables 2 and 3 show the total numbers of instances for the three decades and their distributions by decade, respectively.[8] In these tables, generic motion verbs such as *go* and *take*, which do not encode means, manner, nor incidental activities, are excluded from the analysis even though they do appear in the VERB slot in the construction, albeit rarely. On the other hand, included are verbs such as *open* and *prepare* as in (19) and (20), both of which hardly ever appear as verbs in the *one's way* construction in PDE.

(19) Howsoever, the *Spaniards*, wounded them on all sides, and lanced them through the sides, though they defended not themselves, onely interposed their bodies between the King and the *Spaniards*, in fine, with much slaughters they opened their way to the King;
(1688, *The Royal Commentaris in Peru*, Chap. X X X Ⅶ)

(20) That on their very *Death-Beds*, [a solemn Time in which should supplant the Love of God and Man; when their abundant Charity, should, through Christ, prepare their way to the *Mercy* of God before whom they are suddenly to appear] that, being engaged in vexatious Suits and Quarrels with others, they have given it in charge to Hairs of their Families, to keep up the Grudg, and continue the Controversy from Generation to Generation.
(1695, *Concerning Doing Good to Posterity* (Thomas Tenison (Sermon)))

Sentences with such verbs do not always imply motion of the subject referent, and hence they are often excluded from the scope of studies on this construction, but, unlike generic motion verbs, they might encode means or manners of motion. Thus, it would be safe for us to include these verbs here to examine the initial stages of the construction's development.

As is clear from Tables 2 and 3, *make* in the VERB slot and *through* and *(in-, on-) to* phrases in the DIRECTIONAL PHRASE slot are predominant

Table 2: Distribution of instances of the *one's way* construction between 1670 and 1699 (total)

make (140), *force* (69), *find* (15), *fight* (14), *break* (8), *cut* (7), *eat* (5), *clear* (4), *dig* (3), *open* (2), *prepare* (2), *tear* (2), *beat* (1), *confirm* (1), *enforce* (1), *facilitate* (1), *mistake* (1), *scratch* (1), *steal* (1), *strew* (1), *work* (1)	280 instances
through (124), (*in-, on-*) *to* (116), *out* (*of* NP) (18), *over* (6), *toward (s)* (4), *down (wards)* (3), *from* (3), *thither* (3), *back* (2), *home* (2), *for* (1), *further* (1), *underground* (1), *up* (1)	285 instances

Table 3: Distribution of instances (by decade)

	VERB + *their way* + DIRECTIONAL PHRASE	
	Verb	Directional phrase
1670–1679	*make* (31), *force* (12), *break* (3), *find* (2), *fight* (4), *confirm* (1), *facilitate* (1), *cut* (2), *eat* (1), *strew* (1)	*through* (26), *(in-, on-) to* (26), *out* (*of* NP) (3), *home* (1), *toward(s)* (1), *back* (1), *over* (1)
1680–1689	*make* (55), *force* (30), *find* (9), *fight* (7), *break* (3), *cut* (2), *clear* (2), *open* (2), *beat* (1), *dig* (1), *eat* (1), *scratch* (1), *tear* (1)	*through* (49), (*in-, on-*) *to* (49), *out* (*of* NP) (5), *back* (1), *down* (*wards*) (1), *from* (1), *further* (1), *home* (1), *toward* (*s*) (3), *over* (4), *underground* (1), *for* (1)
1690–1699	*make* (54), *force* (27), *find* (4), *cut* (3), *eat* (3), *fight* (3), *break* (2), *clear* (2), *dig* (2), *prepare* (2), *enforce* (1), *mistake* (1), *steal* (1), *tear* (1), *work* (1)	*through* (49), (*in-, on-*) *to* (41), *out* (*of* NP) (10), *thither* (3) *from* (2) *up* (1), *down* (*wards*) (2), *over* (1)

at the initial stages of development for at least three decades. Interestingly, of the remaining verbs, *force* appears exceedingly often in the VERB slot. Table 4 shows the distribution of instances with [make/force] *their way through* NP/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP combinations by decade.

Table 4: Distribution of instances with the *make/force their way through* NP/to NP combinations by decade

Period	Construction pattern	Instances
1670–1679	[[make] *their way through* NP] (15) [[make] *their way to* NP] (14) [[force] *their way through* NP] (4) [[force] *their way to* NP] (6)	58 (total) 39 (4 patterns) 67.24% (percentage of total)
1680–1689	[[make] *their way through* NP] (27) [[make] *their way to* NP] (21) [[force] *their way through* NP] (9) [[force] *their way to* NP] (17)	118 (total) 74 (4 patterns) 62.71% (percentage of total)
1690–1699	[[make] *their way through* NP] (25) [[make] *their way to* NP] (24) [[force] *their way through* NP] (12) [[force] *their way to* NP] (8)	109 (total) 69 (4 patterns) 63.30% (percentage of total)
Total	[[make] *their way through* NP] (67) [[make] *their way to* NP] (59) [[force] *their way through* NP] (25) [[force] *their way to* NP] (31)	285 (total) 182 (4 patterns) 63.86% (percentage of total)

From Table 4, we understand that these four patterns account for over 60% of the total number of constructions following this pattern in each decade. However, even if these four patterns were predominant in the construction between 1670 and 1699, they were not common at all by the end of the sixteenth century.

Furthermore, Table 5 suggests that the [[make] *their way through* NP/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP] pattern began to appear after the mid-sixteenth century, and the [[force] *their way through* NP/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP] pattern entered common usage slightly later in the mid-seventeenth century. Although the findings in this section are not based on an exhaustive data search, we can say that these four expressions are the predominant construction patterns in the initial stages of the *one's way* construction, where the [[make] *their way through* NP/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP] pattern diachronically preceded the [[force] *their way through*

NP/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP] pattern.

Table 5: Emergence of the four patterns between 1500 and 1699

Search string	Instances	Time period	Distribution
[[make] *their way through* NP	30	1500–1549	0
		1550–1599	2 (of 2 works)
		1600–1649	3 (of 3works)
		1650–1699	25 (of 24 works)
[[make] *their way to* NP]	22	1500–1549	0
		1550–1599	0
		1600–1649	2 (of 2 works)
		1650–1699	20 (of 12 works)
[[force] *their way through* NP]	14	1500–1549	0
		1550–1599	0
		1600–1649	0
		1650–1699	14 (of 12 works)
[[force] *their way to* NP]	4	1500–1549	0
		1550–1599	0
		1600–1649	1 (of 1 work)
		1650–1699	3 (of 3 works)

4. A Construction Grammar Analysis of the *One's Way Construction*

4.1. Construction Grammar

Following the publications of Fillmore, Kay, and O'Conner (1988) and Goldberg (1995), construction grammar has attracted considerable attention in contemporary linguistics. While there are a number of versions of current construction grammar theories (e. g. Fillmore, Kay, O'Conner (1988), Langacker (1987), Goldberg (1995, 2006), Croft (2001), Tomasello (2003)), one of the basic tenets they have in common is that

constructions are symbolic pairings of form and meaning. Although constructions are symbolic in nature, they are built up from actual instances encountered in daily life. To the extent that constructions are organized by the interactions between speech event participants (speakers and addressees), construction grammar is a usage-based rather than a rule-based approach to language acquisition and change. Because of this, in construction grammar the emergence and development of constructions is governed by the contexts in which constructions are used. Since constructions emerge and develop out of particular contexts in a particular language, their meanings are agreed upon by individual speakers or speech communities and often unpredictable from their constituents.

In construction grammar, a novel expression is sanctioned or interpreted in relation to other expressions already present in the speech community in question. This is based on the cognitive process of categorization. A novel expression (construction) is categorized as a structurally or semantically extended instance of another (well-established) expression (construction) if the two are analogous in some respect. According to the way in which such an expression interact with other expressions in the language community, the expressions (constructions) are organized hierarchically, ranging from more typical to less typical, from concrete to abstract, and so on.[9]

Another important cognitive process in the usage-based approach is frequency effects. Generally speaking, frequently used linguistic signs are memorized and easily exposed in language use. However, frequently exposed expressions are not always susceptible to change in language use. As we saw in Section 2, there are two types of frequencies (token and type), and they have different effects on language use and change. Constructions of extremely high token frequency, as in the case of irregular verbs in English, tend to resist further linguistic change because such expressions have been in daily use since earlier times and are stored independently of other analogous expressions. This cognitive process is

known as 'the conserving effect' (Bybee (2006)). In contrast, expressions whose token frequency of an expression increases (often gradually) become entrenched in our mind as conventional units (i.e. constructions), and some of them may be used with other types of expressions (with reference to the original expression) based on similarity and generality. As a result, the type frequency of these expressions increases. For example, the type frequency of the past tense form *-ed* (as in *walked*) has increased since ME by adding *-ed* to originally irregular verbs (such as *learn*) and newly coined ones from ME onwards.

4.2. A Network Model

In summary, cognitive approaches to grammar share the following basic assumptions.

(21) a. Constructions are pairs of symbolic form and meaning.
b. Constructions are usage-based.
c. Constructions are structured hierarchically on the basis of general cognitive processes.
d. Constructions are sensitive to frequency effects.

In spite of agreeing on these points, construction grammarians have different opinions about how constructions emerge and develop. Let us take here the network model advocated by Langacker (1987), which is the most standardly employed in the usage-based analyses of grammar.[10] The network model proposed by Langacker shown in Figure 1 is based mainly on two types of categorization approaches, namely categorization by prototype and categorization by schema.

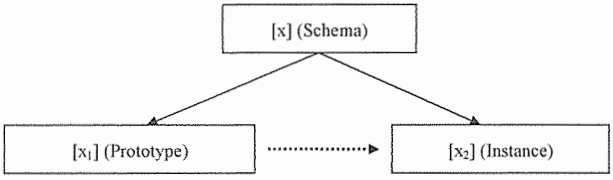

Figure 1: Network model (Langacker (1987: 373))

Langacker defines prototypes and schemas as in (22) and (23), respectively.

(22) A prototype is a typical instance of a category and other elements are assimilated to the category on the basis of their perceived resemblance to the prototype. (Langacker (1987: 371))

(23) A schema [...] is an abstract characterization that is fully compatible with all the member of the category it defines (so membership is not a matter of degree). (Ibid.)

When a lexical item [x_1] is a typical instance of a category, it is recognized as a prototype of that category. The prototype is stored in the speaker's brain as a concrete instance which often contains physical characteristics such as size, weight, and color. Within a category which contains non-prototypical instances as well as prototypical ones, a schema is derived on the basis of similarity. Once the new schema is established, a novel expression may or may not be sanctioned with reference to the schema as a new member of the category. If the instance [x_2] is judged to fit the novel schema, it is regarded as an extension of the prototype. Categorization based on similarity is indicated in Figure 1 with a dotted line. The schema, which is derived from both configurations, is necessarily updated according to changes in events governing the usage. Recognition of expressions by virtue of the derived schema is indicated with a solid line.

A word is necessary regarding the relation between the extraction of schema and frequency of occurrence. The extraction of schema is such a fundamental cognitive ability that it is naturally and easily processed with reference to our (bodily) experiences. Therefore, this cognitive process may happen not only when we repeatedly encountered the target construction but also when we have never experienced it. To put it differently, even if we did not hear it before, we can coin and interpret such words as *mouse* to indicate a piece of computer equipment in relation to a *mouse* (a type of rodent) based on similarity of shape (c. f. Langacker

(2000: 17–19)). In construction grammar, the frequency of occurrence of an expression, be it token or type, is seen as an indicative of how it is entrenched as a linguistic item and it is based on various kinds of (cognitively natural) processing.

4.3. A Usage-Based Explanation

With these basic assumptions in mind, let us now analyze the initial development of the *one's way* construction from the perspective of construction grammar.

Recall first that in the early stages of development, the *one's way* construction exhibits the following four dominant construction patterns.

(24) a. [[make] *their way through* NP]]
b. [[make] *their way* (*in-, on-*) *to* NP]
c. [[force] *their way through* NP]
d. [[force] *their way* (*in-, on-*) *to* NP]

Because there are no differences in frequency between the *through* NP and (*in-, on-*) *to* NP patterns by decade, these four patterns are reduced to two pattern types as in (25).

(25) a. [[make] *their way through* NP/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP] (24a, b)
b. [[force] *their way through* NP/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP] (24c, d)

These pattern types differ in some respects. First, as Table 5 suggests, the pattern type in (25a) diachronically preceded the one in (25b). Second, from the standpoint of frequency, the former type is more frequent than the latter. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the pattern type in (25a) was the prototype of the construction.

Furthermore, there is semantic difference between the two pattern types. Constructions with *make* denote the building of a road, which is easily predictable from the compositional meaning of the constituents. On the other hand, constructions with *force* refer to a means and/or manner of building a road and/or movement through some space or toward a place. Then, the shift in meaning from the process of road

building to movement, which Israel (1996) names analogical extension, is also predictable because, if one builds a road to a place, one moves to the destination of the road, as discussed in Section 2.[11] However, the verb *force* does not have such an implication. Rather, it refers to a means and/or manner of movement. The semantic relation between the process of road building and the use of force is metonymically motivated in that creating a specific route through a space or to a place, which often implies motion, is accompanied by physical or mental strain. Such metonymical extension is possible with the obligatory requirement of the presence of a directional phrase because it actually refers to a goal to which the subject referent has to create a physically or psychologically nontrivial route (suggesting the presence of an obstacle). In other words, if there is no purpose to road building, which is implied by the directional phrase, there is no need to refer to the means of road building. In this sense, the pattern type in (25b) depends on the entrenchment of the one in (25a).

The development of the *one's way* construction until the end of seventeenth century can be summarized as in Figure 2.

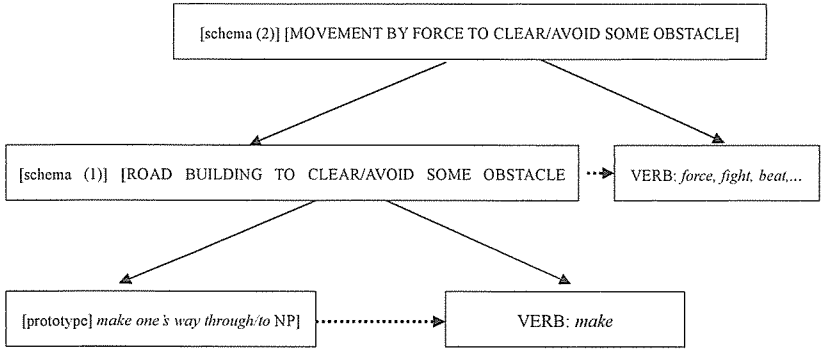

Figure 2: Initial development of the *one's way* construction until the end of the seventeenth century

With the gradual increase in token frequency after 1600, the pattern type given in (20a) ([[make] *their way* [*through*/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP]]) became

entrenched and established as a prototype. With the increase in token frequency of the prototype, the schematic meaning [ROAD BUILDING TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE] emerged. From this schema, which we refer to here as schema (1), another schema [MOVEMENT BY FORCE TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE] is derived on the basis of metonymy, which is referred to as schema (2), and with reference to this schema, verbs relevant to the use of force, such as *force*, *fight*, *break*, and *beat*, came into use in the construction after around 1650.

5. Concluding Remarks

We have examined here the initial development of the *one's way* construction based on examples collected from EEBO and attempted to explain its development in terms of construction grammar. The specific proposals are given in (9) and are repeated in (26) for convenience.

(26) a. The *one's way* construction tends to be frequent from the seventeenth century onwards.
b. The prototype of the construction may be the [[make] *one's way* [*through*/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP]] structure.
c. The extension of the *one's way* construction from the schematic meaning [ROAD BUILDING TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE] to the more schematic meaning [MOVEMENT BY FORCE TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE] can be explained from the perspective of construction grammar.

Regarding (26a), as Table 5 suggests, together with major works written between the late ME and early ModE, examples with the [VERB + *one's way* + DIRECTIONAL PHRASE] structure were less frequent, at least until the sixteenth century.

At first glance, the proposal in (26b) might seem to provide the same conclusion as other studies, such as Goldberg (1995) and Israel (1996).

However, the present proposal is different in that the conclusion is based on the token frequency of the construction, which is a natural view on usage-based approaches. In particular, it is important to point out that the two construction patterns in (25) play a dominant role in the initial stages of development of the construction.

As in (26c), according to the above discussion, the *one's way* construction may have acquired the schematic meaning [MOVEMENT BY FORCE TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE] on the basis of the increase in its token and type frequencies. Thus far, the *one's way* construction with *make* has been regarded as a typical instance interpreted as a means. I agree that the [[make] *one's way* [*though*/(*in-, on-*)*to* NP]] patterns are the prototypes of the construction, but, as far as the present data are concerned, what we regard as an interpretation of means (or manner) is given implicitly by the schematic meaning in schema (2) ([MOVEMENT BY FORCE TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE]), rather than directly by schema (1) ([ROAD BUILDING TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE]).

Notes

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[1] In (1c), "%" indicates that the sentence is marginal at best for many current speakers of English. In (2), V is a non-stative verb and OBL codes a directional phrase.

[2] The historical periods of English assumed are Old English (OE; 450–1100), Middle English (ME; 100–1500), Early Modern English (EModE; 1500–1700), Late Modern English (LModE; 1700–1920), Present-Day English (PDE; 1920–present).

[3] This instance is cited from the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx? c = cme; cc = cme; view = toc; idno = acd9576).

Incidentally, in (4) *Pape* was erased and rewritten in the manuscript.

[4] It is interesting to point out that, as far as I looked at EEBO, the phrase *in my coming homeward* has been put after *(on) to Rome* in other versions of *Mandeville* published after 1496. Some of the relevant examples are provided in (i) and (ii). If we consider the fact that word orders changed freely in earlier English, it seems more difficult to identify the first citation of the *one's way* construction.

(i) ...therefore, I made my way to rome in comynge homewarde, to shewe my boke to the holy fader the pope, &...
(1496, *Mandeville*, John, Sir Here endeth the boke of Iohn Maunduyle Knyght of ways to Ierudslem [and] of marueylys of y51xx [Emprentend by Richard Pynson])

(ii) ...therefore, I made my way to Rome in coming homewarde, to show my boke to the holy father the pope, and...
(1568, *The Voiage and Travayle of Sir JOHN MANDEVILLE* (Imprinted at London))

[5] For more details on EEBO, visit http://eebo.chadwyck.com/marketing/about.htm.

[6] Since the word count is not shown in each work, we cannot show the frequency of an expression per 10,000 words with this database.

[7] Most examples of *their way* follow the [VERB + *their way*] and [*their way* NP] structures.

[8] Note that the total numbers of verbs and directional phrases are different. This is because some of the examples of this construction contain two distinct types of directional phrases, such as *downward through NP*. We count such cases as two separate directional phrases.

[9] Depending on the contexts in which the constructions are used, a construction links with another construction based on various levels of categorization. For example, Goldberg (1995) defines links (referred to as *inheritance links* in her work) between constructions to capture the fact that two constructions may be similar in some ways and different in others.

(i) Inheritance links: A motivates construction B iff B inherits from A.
(Goldberg (1995: 72))

Following (i), Goldberg proposes four major links: polysemy links, metaphorical extension links, subpart links, and instance links.

[10] For example, Bybee (2001) proposes a "radical" usage-based model, where there is no need to postulate the process of schematization in the emergence of constructions. He

refers to this as an exemplar-based approach. However, as Goldberg (2006: 48) points out, a certain degree of schematization is implicitly assumed even in this approach.

[11] In this sense, *one's way* placed after *make* is analyzed as an incremental theme, as proposed by Dowty (1991).

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Synopsis

On the Initial Development of the *One's Way* Construction:
A Construction Grammatical Perspective
Yasuaki Ishizaki

The purpose of this paper is to provide an analysis of the early stages of development of the *one's way* construction from the perspective of construction grammar. The construction has been discussed extensively in modern linguistics, but most studies have not paid attention to its historical development. Against this background, Israel's (1996) work is noteworthy because it examines the historical development of the construction in terms of a usage-based approach to grammar. While Israel succeeded in showing that various kinds of verbs began to gradually appear in this construction, his work using examples collected from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) has certain drawbacks from both empirical and theoretical aspects because the OED is not a representative corpus.

In this paper, based on examples retrieved from *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), the *one's way* construction was found to become frequent from the seventeenth century onwards, about two centuries after 1400, which is when the first instance of the construction is claimed to have appeared in English according to the OED. Frequency-based investigation of the present construction also reveals that examples following the [[make] *their way through/(in-, on-)to* NP] and [[force] *their way through/(in-, on-)to* NP] patterns are predominant in the early stages of development, and the former became frequent about 50 years before the latter.

The extension from the prototype [[make] *their way through* NP/*(in-, on-) to* NP] to the [[force] *their way through* NP/*(in-, on-)to* NP] patterns can be explained in terms of a usage-based model commonly assumed in construction grammar. That is, with the increase in token frequency of the prototype, the schematic meaning with prototypical flavor [ROAD BUILDING TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE] (schema (1) in this

paper) emerged. As the instances with reference to this schema increase in token frequency, another schematic meaning [MOVEMENT BY FORCE TO CLEAR/AVOID SOME OBSTACLE] (schema (2) in this paper) was derived from schema (1). The extension from [ROAD BUILDING] to [MOVEMENT BY FORCE] is cognitively and semantically motivated. Cognitively, road building, or creating a new route, often requires the exertion of power. Semantically, the directional phrase, which is obligatory in this construction, refers to a goal to which the subject referent has to create a physically or psychologically nontrivial route, and it is reasonable to assume that the entrenchment of the construction leads to the requirement of a means of movement.